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TEXTES ET MÉMOIRES



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TROISIÈME SÉRIE
VOLUME I

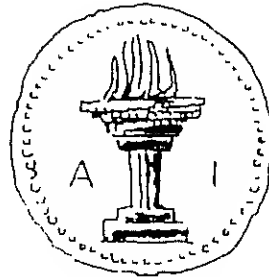
TEXTES ET MÉMOIRES

VOLUME I

THE GĀTHĀS OF
ZARATHUSTRA

by

S. INSLER



1975

DIFFUSION
E. J. BRILL
LEIDEN

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For

Paul Thieme

vidvā haṣ hucistiścū yā mā maṭhṛaṇam paṭhō sīṣaṭ
yaścā mōi aśā daxṣaṭ yaṭhā vohū urvājē manaijhā
taṁ paourvyam hugarābham aēṣam vahiṣṭanam sravaṅham
ahyā vahniāi stūtaēcā ā tām yaṭhānām vaēdayāmahī

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INTRODUCTION

Because of their relative brevity and the almost total lack of other earlier or contemporary works of Old Iranian literature, the Gāthās of Zarathustra are truly a text bound with seven seals. Much of the grammar, the vocabulary and the syntax encountered in these lyrics remains unique in relationship to the language appearing in the later texts assembled in the Avesta. Likewise, the prophet's hymns are laden with ambiguities resulting both from the merger of many grammatical endings and from the intentionally compact and often elliptical style which characterizes his poetic art. The higher level question of the interpretation of the Gāthās' content, frequently expressed in metaphorical and allegorical terms, is even more problematic. The noted literary isolation of the text within the ancient period has excluded the possibility of fixing a true position to the prophet's theology within the preceding developments of Iranian religion. Similarly, there exist no early analytical commentaries of the Zoroastrian tradition, written in the wake of Zarathustra's influence, which could present in detail the meaning of his message to the community of his adherents. And finally, the mechanical arrangement of the Gāthās within the Avesta according to their metrical schemes has effaced all certain chances of even following the prophet's intellectual evolution within his own fragmentary works. Thus, to anyone struggling with these lyrics, the Gāthās truly appear to be a book of riddles.

But like all riddles, the problems encountered within the Gāthās beg to be solved, and many have been solved. Most of the grammatical forms have been puzzled out through the help of the related Indian Rigveda, which has also provided the source for establishing much of the fundamental vocabulary of Zarathustra's lyrics. This literary monument of India has likewise revealed a number of stylistic figures and syntactic conventions which have aided in the interpretation of various passages in the prophet's hymns. And the Rigveda has moreover furnished a textual counterpart against which the dominant themes of Zarathustra's teachings can be compared and judged. Other progress in understanding this ancient Avestan text has been achieved, primarily through the efforts of Humbach, by the careful internal analysis of recurrent literary devices and repeated expressions within the

language of the Gāthās. For, besides establishing without doubt the unity of composition of these lyric poems, this type of philological study has been extremely helpful in revealing several basic techniques of the syntactic and expressive organization of the prophet's words.

Yet many riddles still persist which prevent us from grasping unequivocally the meaning of Zarathustra's poetry. The transmitted text of the Gāthās has suffered profound corruption in a few important passages which escape assured reconstruction. Furthermore, various items of the vocabulary of these lyrics remain unknown; others, particularly those which appear to have connections with the Rigvedic vocabulary, continue to be a source of dispute owing to the possibility of either a difference in meaning between cognate words or a false basis of comparison. But overshadowing all the difficulties inherent in properly understanding the Gāthās is the problem of disentangling the intricacies of their syntax. Because, as long as little certainty exists in the establishment of definite rules for interpreting the various possibilities of syntactic coordination within the special eloquence of Zarathustra's poetry, there can be no assurance that the translation of a given passage approaches the intentions originally formulated by the prophet. When this lack of certitude exists for the greater number of verses within the limited corpus of the Gāthās, then we are faced with the realization that much of our knowledge of these poems is highly doubtful.

This present work results from the attempt to offer some solutions to the persistent problems of the text, the grammar, the vocabulary and, especially, the syntax of the Gāthās, which can better aid our understanding of the prophet's words on several levels. In this regard I have followed the main philological principles which have been described above: analysis and explanation through comparative and internal material. For the abundant data of the Rigveda not only provides a means of access to the problems of Gāthic philology, but equally offers a well tried touchstone against which one can test new suggestions concerning the interpretation of the Iranian evidence. Equally, the remarkable unity of composition and content of the Gāthās allows us to search within the framework of that text itself for evidence of parallel or equivalent formulations. For Zarathustra is a man haunted by a vision, which has pursued him relentlessly throughout his life, and his poetry is in as many ways the autobiography of an idea as much as it is the self-portrait of the prophet.

In this last regard, it is precisely the recognition of this obsessive

determination lying behind the formulations of these lyrics which obliges us in turn to seek a coherent and uniform interpretation of their teachings. For where doubt and hesitation exist in the understanding of the Gāthās, they exist only for us. For Zarathustra, who composed these exalted poems with all the craft of his admirable poetic art, the compelling character of his message was undoubtedly clear, and he surely labored with great pains to express his thoughts in a fashion ultimately comprehensible to those who cared to listen to him. And for us, too, the approach to these lyrics must be the same: an effort founded upon the careful labor and examination into the composition of the prophet's poetry to reveal its underlying unity of thought and language. There can be only one correct interpretation of each line for us as there was for the man who first formulated them.

THE TEXT

I have followed in general the text of the Gāthās given by Humbach (1959, I), since he has proposed a few helpful improvements to the readings, while adopting the many variants favored by Bartholomae (1904) which are more in keeping with the regular orthographic practices of the Mss. than those presented in the standard text in Geldner's edition (1896). Where I have differed from his text with regard to a critical reading, I have indicated in the notes to each Gāthā the Ms. source(s) which I have followed, and I have explained in the commentary to the pertinent passages the reasons for preferring the selected variants. A similar approach has been chosen with respect to the emendations which I have accepted from previous studies of the Gāthās and which I myself have conjectured. These emendations are noted in the apparatus at the end of each Gāthā and are further discussed in the commentary. No attempt, however, has been made to correct all the instances of false vowel length or to restore all underlying forms masked by orthographic conventions. Only those forms which contribute a substantial change to the understanding of a passage are included in the notes. There the term 'read' indicates an emendation, the term 'for' signifies that orthographic principles have prevented writing a word in its historically correct form.

Unlike Humbach, however, I find the text reconstructible from the surviving Mss. an often imperfect and inadequate representation of the earlier form of the Gāthās, and I therefore have sought to establish

some procedure which would permit the possibility to explain the appearance of clearly incorrect forms in the standard text as well as the means to justify other necessary emendations. Such a procedure, to my mind, must be both restrictive and predictable in its application. For as Humbach rightly argues (1959, I 28ff.), the chief fault with Andreas' theory of false vocalizations of an earlier unpointed text lies in its inability to explain why the most archaic forms of the Gāthās, such as *sraotā* 30.2, 45.1, *dabanaotā* 32.5, have escaped alteration and why so much of the surviving form of the text in general conforms to our linguistic expectations. This is certainly not to be awaited if a new recension of the text has been produced independent of an unbroken tradition, a premise which is at the basis of Andreas' approach to text criticism. To evoke an extraordinary mechanism only to aid in limited instances betrays at once its general ineffectiveness and ultimate misconception.

For my own part, I have tried to develop a procedure of text criticism, utilizing the existing materials, based upon the observation and subsequent categorization of the variants appearing in the extant Mss. For the characteristic tendencies of the variations observed in such late Mss. as we possess must certainly be an accurate index to similar types of variations which existed in earlier forms of the Mss. And in the case of the Gāthās, the back projection of such characteristic mistakes and their consequent application as a mechanism of text criticism for the reconstructed text is particularly effective, since all our surviving Mss. clearly repose on a single archetype whose date can be no more remote than some 300 or 400 years before the oldest extant Ms. (cf. Geldner's comments 1896, xxxiii ff.).

Evidence for the existence of a unique archetype is readily drawn from the following facts. All surviving Mss., apart from very few added glosses, omissions, abbreviations and the expected orthographic variation, offer essentially the same underlying text of the Gāthās. Furthermore, this reconstructible text as found in the Mss. reveals intrusions of common glosses throughout the hymns which destroy the proper, awaited meter, be they the hypermetric repetitions of preverbs or the unconscious doubling of small words such as *cā*; and conversely, instances in common where the meter is clearly defective for obvious reasons. Similarly, the Mss. underlying the reconstructed text exhibit the same heavy hand of redactional interference in exactly the same passages, be it the question of the inconsistently applied repetition of preverbs or the introduction of compromise forms, such

as *yāngstū* 46.14, *vāstā* 46.17, or the redactional absurdities *gāuś.āiś* 30.2 and *gāuś.ā* 51.3 for **gaośāiś* and **gaośā*, *θwōi ahī* 34.11 for **θwōyahī* (**θwayahī*), etc. Finally, all the Mss. indicate the identical readings in those passages where the text can be clearly shown to be incorrect in its reconstructed form. That there exists such thoroughgoing uniformity in the Ms. readings with regard to these issues just mentioned attests, to my mind, the descent of the extant Mss. from a single archetype, for it is otherwise impossible to envision any other genealogy which could impart the mark of such curious consistency to the text of the Gāthās appearing in the surviving Mss.

Acknowledging this unique origin of the Mss., it therefore becomes quite reasonable to apply to the reconstructed text of the Gāthās the methods of a text criticism based on the observation of the different categories of variation encountered in these extant Mss. For it is our full expectation that those signs which clearly distinguish the offspring must have also characterized their parent. With this view in mind, I present here the various types of variation observable in the surviving Mss. and the ways in which I have utilized them to correct the defective text of the Gāthās.

(1) *Preservation and anticipation*

These effects involve the alteration of the end of a word under the influence of forms which precede or follow it. Instances occur in the variants to the following passages. 28.7a *tqm aśīm vaḡhāuś* (var. *vaḡhīm*), 32.16a *taḡ vahištācīḡ* (*vahištācīḡ*), 33.11c *ādāi kaḡyācīḡ* (*kaḡyācīḡ*). 34.9ab *spautqm ārmaitīm ... hərəxδqm ... əvistī* (*əvistīm*), 43.1e *aśīś vaḡhāuś* (*vaḡhīś*), 48.5c *yaōzdā maśīyā* (*maśyā*), 50.11ab *aḡhācā ... tavācā isāicā* (*isācā*), etc.

The observation of this process is of significant importance in its first application in determining the correct reading in passages where variants of equally good Mss. stand in opposition to one another. Thus, in 51.12a *vaēpyō kavīnō pəratā* (*pəratō*) = *ənnō*, the loc. form *pəratā* is preferable, since it reappears in the Ilg. 51.13b *cīvatō pəratā* (cf. *xratā* 48.4); the var. *pəratō* shows assimilation to the ending of the surrounding forms. Similarly, in 44.8d *yācā aśā aḡhāuś arām vaēdyā* (-*dyāi*), the bracketed var. is clearly inferior in that it reveals the influence of *məudāidyāi* in line b. The same effect is seen in 46.3e *θwā sastrā* (-*trāi*) *vərauē*, whose var. stems from the effects of *darəθrāi* and *ūθāi* earlier in the verse. In 47.4c *aśāunē kāθō* (*kāθē*), the former reading is better because it yields a phrase parallel to the antithesis

akō drəgvātē in the flg. line: the var. is simply a preservation form. A similar instance is encountered at 44.11d *paouriyō (-yē) fravōivīdē*, where the latter var. anticipates the ending of the following verb form. Likewise, in 33.13c *frō spəutā ārmaiti (-tē)*, the var. has arisen under the influence of *vourucašānē* in line a occupying the same metrical position in its line before the caesura. In the other direction, in 43.16d *xāug.dərəsō (-sōi) xšaθrōi hīyāi ārmaitis*, the var. stems from anticipatory tendencies: the gen. reading appears to be the favored one in view of 53.9d *taī mazdā tavā xšaθrām* and the usual appearance of a gen. with *xšaθrām* in 31.16a *dəmauihyā xšaθrām*, 33.5b *xšaθrām vāyhāuš manayhō*, etc. Further examples of this process at work are easily multiplied.

The recognition of preservation and anticipation in the attested Mss. permits us in turn to postulate the same processes in an earlier stage of development of the text and to acknowledge their effects as already accomplished in the archetype underlying the surviving Mss. This offers a valuable tool for emendation in the following passages.

In 46.11e *gavōi vīspāi drūjō dəmānāi astayō*, *dəmānāi* replaces orig. **dəmānē*, as is evident from the parallel 49.11d *drūjō dəmānē haiθyā aīhan astayō*. The reading *dəmānāi* has been subject to the effects of preceding *vīspāi*. The identical mistake has also occurred in 47.3hc *yā ahmāi gum ... aī hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitim*, where *vāstrāi* stands for orig. **vāstrē* (dat. of *vāstar-* 'pastor'). For the verse contains the typical juxtaposition of *gao-* and *vāstar-* seen in 29.1 *gāuš urvā ... vāstā*, 29.2 *gavōi ... vāstrā*. Preceding *ahmāi* has clearly evoked the change to *vāstrāi*. Similarly, 53.5b *xšmaihyācā vadəmnō* reposes on an orig. reading *xšmaihyācā *vadəmnā* 'and to you, ye bridegrooms', which has yielded to the influence of *vazyanmāhyō kainihyō* appearing in the preceding line. And in the same hymn, 53.2d *dāyhō əzəuš paθō* should be emended to **dāyhē əzəuš paθō*: the attested reading has been subject to the effects of the surrounding forms *vīštāspō*, *spitāmō*, *aluvō* and *saošyantō* besides the influence of adjacent *paθō*.

As cases of anticipation there are the following 2 passages. In 31.2ab *advā aibi.dərəštā valiyā aī vā vīspāng āyōi*, there is no reason whatsoever to accept the form *advā* as the proper nom. sg. to *advānam* 34.13, 44.3, evoked by the parallel word *pantā*. Rather, for this unique attestation of the nom. it is much more sensible to emend to **advā* (= Ved. *ádhvā*) for this oldest stage of Avestan and to recognize the anticipatory effects of *valiyā* and the rhyme combination *aī vā*; cf. also *mazdā ayā qsayā* in line c. Similarly, 32.12c *yāis grēlumā ašāī varatā karapā* requires the

emendation of *grāhmā* to **grāhmā*, since such a form patterns better as masc. nom. sg. to the neut. *grāhmō* attested in 11g. 32.13-14. Cf. this type of mistake in 44.18c *dasā aspā* (aspā), 51.6b *xšāθrā mazdā* (-dā), etc.

Of the same type as 34.9ab *spəntqm ārmaitim ... bəraχδqm ... əvistī* (-sūm) is clearly 33.5ab *yastē vīspā.mazištəm səraošəm ... darəgō.jyāitīm ā xšāθrəm*, where **darəgō.jyāitī* must be restored as an adj. agreeing with *xšāθrəm*; cf. passage for disc. Note this type of preservation also in 34.4b *asīštəm əmavəntəm stōi rapantē* (-ntəm) *ciθrā.əvəyħəm*. Similarly, 1 sec the effects of preservation in 31.4a *yadā ašəm zəvīm* (= *zəvīvəm*), which derives from Urtext **yadā ašəm zuvīya* (aor. opt.); cf. 43.10a *ašəm hyaʔ mā zəozəomī*, 51.10c *maibyō zəbayā ašəm*.

Preservation effects are also observed in the Mss. which influence the vocalism of non-final syllables. Thus, 29.1b *aēšəmō ... rəməō* (rəēmō), 31.7a *paouruyō raocəbiš rōiθwən* (raoθwən), 32.6a *aēnā ənāxštā* (aēnāxštā). With regard to this, it is important to note that the pl. subj. form *əyħāmā* appears only in the phrases 32.1c *dūtəyħō əyħāmā* and 49.8d *fraēštəyħō əyħāmā*, where the preceding words contain *-əyħ-*. This explains the peculiar vocalism of *əyħāmā* vis-à-vis *əyħā əyħaʔ* etc. Similarly, note that the loc. *afšmānī* occurs at 46.17a *afšmānī səngħānī* preceding a subj. form containing the proper sequence *-ānī*.

This exact process clearly lies in the attested reading 32.7ab *əojōi hādrōyā yā jōyā* (= *hādrōiyā yā jōiyā*), which should be emended to *əojōi *hādrāyā yā *jūyā* (for orig. **jīyā*). Cf. in the same hymn 32.10 *mōrəndaʔ ... yā ... əogədə ... yəcā vadarə vōiždaʔ ašəunē* (vars. *maōirəndaʔ ... vaōiždaʔ ašəonē*). Such influence has arisen in these passages because of the rarity of the forms in question, which in general are the first ones to submit to alteration.

In the opposite direction, the appearance of *y* internally in a word exerts anticipatory influence on preceding forms. Cf. 34.8b *əojā* (əojyā) *nāidəyħəm* and 32.4bc *vaxšəntē* (vaxšyantē) ... *sīzdyəmnā ... nəsyəntō*. The very type *vaxšəntē* (vaxšyantē) must be recognized in 48.7a *nī aēšəmō (nī).dyātqm paitī rəməm (paitī).syōdūm*, where *dyātqm* clearly replaces orig. aor. impv. **dātqm* under the effect of 11g. *syōdūm*. Note also the appearance of *vəzəyātqm* in identical metrical position in preceding vs. 48.5d, which worked its own influence. This emendation thus allows the proper combination of *nī *dātqm* with the Ved. idiom *nī dhā* 'stop'.

Other verb forms show the same effects of preservation and anticipation as do nouns, and particularly so, since they appear in fixed

positions within the verse lines, a condition which makes them especially susceptible to normalizing influences. Thus, apart from the expected type 31.6 *ayhaṭ ... vaocāṭ* (var. -caṭ) ... *vaxṣaṭ*, note 51.10a *maraxṣaitē* and 51.13a *marādaitī*, both appearing before the caesura, with the var. *marādaitē* in the latter passage. Similarly, in line-final position cf. 31.1 *sāughāmahī* (-mahē) ... *vīmarāncaitē*, 46.4 *pāṭ ... caraṭ* (-rāṭ), etc.

As in the instances of nouns, the recognition of this tendency aids in choosing a preferred variant. Thus, in 47.2 *vāraṇyāṭ* (-yaṭ), where the verb form appears at the end of the line, the short-vowel var. shows the influence of 11g. 47.3 *hām.taṣaṭ* and 47.4 *ayhaṭ*, both occupying the same metrical position. Likewise, 48.11 *dāntī* (-ntē) has been conditioned by 11g. 48.12 *hucāntē*; cf. also 48.10 *visantē*, all at the end of the line.

This insight allows us now to explain *āyāṭ* (against *āyaṭ* 31.20) in 46.6a *nā isamṇō āyāṭ* as having arisen from the effect of *gāṭ*, similarly placed at the end of the next line. The emendation **āyaṭ* is therefore required. In a similar fashion, 51.5a *vīdaṭ* reposes upon an orig. reading subj. **vidāṭ*, which is required by the syntax; its final vowel was shortened under the influence of the surrounding forms 51.4a *axṣtaṭ* and 51.6a *rādaṭ* appearing in the same line-final position. Also a subj. **anṣāṭ* (= **ānṣāṭ*) should be restored at 53.7c *anṣaṭ*: the form has been normalized after *nṣaṭ* in the preceding verse. Finally, 50.3d *gāēθam drāgvā baxṣaitī* makes no sense in attested form and should be emended to **baxṣaitē*. Here the ending *-tī* of the attested form stems from *ayhaitī* in line a and *baraitī* in 11g. 50.6a, all again at the end of the verse line. Once established, the line ending *drāgvā baxṣaitī* was imported to 47.5c by reason of the process of normalization of similar passages discussed below.

Influence of neighboring words plays an important role in the following examples. In 44.20bc *aēībyō kqm yāiṣ gqm karapā, kqm* clearly reposes on orig. **kām* (= Ved. *kām* with preceding dat.). The attested vocalism stems from the pressure of neighboring *gqm*. In 31.9ab *θwōi as ārmaitiṣ, θwō ā gāuṣ taṣā as xratuṣ mainyuṣ*, the word **aṣ.xratuṣ* should be restored; attested *as xratuṣ* shows the effects of preceding *θwōi as ārmaitiṣ*. And similarly, 34.8b *hyaṭ as aojā nāidyāyham* requires restoration of **aṣ.aojā*, which yielded to the influence of *as* in the surrounding phrases *yaēṣū as pairi pourubyō iḥyejō* and *aēībyō dūirē volū as manō*. Finally, in 43.2b *x'āθrōyā* (= *x'āθrōi yā*) *nā x'āθram*, we must posit **x'arāθam* for this last word, which was remodeled to the attested reading under the influence

of the initial word in the line. Again, all instances of the elimination of rare forms in the text.

With regard to pronouns, the following passages come into consideration. In 51.17b *yqm hōi isyqm dātū*, the rel. pron. is syntactically impossible in employment with an impv. form. Here it is best to restore the conjunction **yā!* 'in consequence of which', changed under the influence of *isyqm* and preceding vs. 51.16b *yqm cistūm ašā mantā* occupying the exact metrical position. Similarly, in 44.9b *kaθā mōi yqm yaoš daēnaqm dānē*, the use of the rel. pron. is difficult in a question and likewise metrically difficult in its position before the caesura. Emendation to **iqm* seems necessary, a reading which was altered under the influence of line c *yqm hudānaoš* etc. Also the masc. acc. *tām* in 53.4a *tām zī vā ... nivarānī yā fādrōi vidā!* is impossible in view of the fem. rel. *yā*. It replaces orig. **iqm* under the influence of the opening of the preceding vs. 53.3a *tāmcā tū*. That this form itself stands for an older **tāncā* (see below), we clearly see that processes of change were at work continuously throughout the history of the text transmission in the same fashion as they can be observed in the surviving Mss. With 53.4a, cf. also 51.15c *tā vā volū manayhā* for **ta!* *vā* discussed below.

Two parallel emendations are seen in the following examples. In 51.12c *hya! hōi im ... zōišəmū vāzā*, the senseless *im* stands for orig. du. **i* agreeing with *vāzā*. The form has been replaced under the effect of *im* in line a *uōi! tā im xšnānš*. Likewise, 45.4b *yā im dā!* should be changed to *yā i! dā!*, since the pron. refers to antecedent neut. *vahištəm ašā! hacā*. The reading *im* stems from the appearance of *im* in the previous vs. 45.3cd *yōi im vā uōi! ... yaθā im mānāicā vaocacā*. Cf. comparable mistake in Mss. at 44.19ce *yā i! almāi ... dāitē, ... yā im* (var. *i!*) *ayha! apāmā*, with *i!* taken over from the earlier line.

Typologically similar mistakes must be also acknowledged in the following examples. 50.2d *ākāstāng mā nišqyā* reposes on orig. **akqstāng mā nišqyā*, with the reading influenced by flg. 50.4d *ākā aradrāng* appearing in identical verse position. 31.18a *mā.ciš a!* ... *drāgvatō ... gūštā* offers no significant meaning with prohibitive *mā.ciš*. Therefore I emend to **naēciš*, ascribing the change to *mā avīdvā aipī dābāvaya!* in preceding 31.17b. This change, however, may be a conscious redactional substitution of the type seen directly in *aipī dābāvaya!* for orig. **aipī bāvaya!*. Likewise, 46.7a *kāmnā ... pāyūm dadā* stands for orig. **kām vā ...* as is evident from the parallel opening of the next vs. 46.8a *yā vā mōi*. The change to *kāmnā* has

been motivated by the appearance of *kammaṣṣvā* and *kammānā* in earlier 46.2b of the same hymn.

(2) *False division*

A second important process easily observed in the attested Ms. variants is that of false division. In some instances this effect can be compared to the preservation procedure insofar as these false divisions result from the appearance of parallel forms earlier in the verse. Examples of this process at work in the Mss. are seen in 28.9b *yōi vā yōiṭhāmā* (var. *yōi* (ṭhāmā)), 29.2bc *ḍātā ... vādāyōiṭ* (*vā dāyōiṭ*), 49.2a *aṭ ahyā mā bhāndvāhyā mānayeitī* (*mā nayeitī*), etc., all evoked by normalization after the preceding forms. Thus, in 34.13b *yāhū karatā* (var. *yā hū.karatā*) *aśāciṭ urvā.xṣaṭ*, the bracketed reading is inferior since it has been modeled after preceding vs. 34.12b *yā vīdāyāṭ aśīṣ rāṣṇam*, which occurs in the exact same position in the verse line.

The equivalent process has already taken place in the archetype of our Mss. with regard to the following passages. Orig. **yāmāṅg* has been divided into the attested reading *yā māṅg* at 48.2b *yā māṅg parāṭhā jīṃaitī* owing to *yā tvām vīdvā ahurā* in line a. Similarly, 29.6a *aṭ ā vaocaṭ* reposes on **atā* (= Ved. *ātas*) *vaocaṭ*, separated because of the influence of *aṭ ī* in line c and preceding 29.5a *aṭ vā*, both in initial position. The same mistake is to be noted at 43.9d *aḍā* (var. *aṭ ā*), where the underlying form should be emended to **adā* (= **ādā* 'I said'); cf. 43.8a *aṭ hōi*, 8c *aṭ aśāonē*, 10a *aṭ nū*, all of which have exerted their influence on the variant. In the same hymn, note 43.8e *yavaṭ ā* for **yavatā*, influenced by preceding line 8d *hyaṭ ā* and the appearance of *yavaṭ* in line-initial position at 28.4c, 50.11b, 53.7b.

Other instances of false divisions found in the Mss. have been evoked by the occurrence of words encountered elsewhere in the text of the Gāthās. The effect can be seen in the vars. 28.6 *arāṣvāiṣ* (*arāṣ vāiṣ*), 28.10 *aśāaṭcā* (*aśā aṭcā*), 29.1 *kā mā* (*kām ā*), 30.3 *yāmā* (*yā mā*), 32.8 *ahmākāṅg* (*ahmā kāṅg*), 44.2 *paitiṣāṭ* (*paitiṣ āṭ*), 49.7 *gūśahvā* (*gūś ahvā*). Here the words have been incorrectly divided owing to the appearance of the independent forms *arāṣ*, *aśā*, *aṭcā*, *kām*, *yā mā*, etc. throughout the text of the hymns. The effect has also been responsible for the division of the orig. compounds 29.11 **āhmā.rātōiṣ*, 30.9 **haṭrā.manā*, 33.9 **maēṭhā.mayā*, 43.11 **xśmā.uxḍāiṣ*, 44.10 **ṭwā.iṣṭiṣ*, 46.17 **hadā.vasīā* into the attested readings *āhmā rātōiṣ*, *haṭrā manā* etc. under the pressures of un-compounded *āhmā*, *haṭrā*, *maēṭhā*, *xśmā*, *uxḍāiṣ* etc. attested elsewhere in the text. Cf. in the Mss. separated

variants to 34.2 *pairigaēθē*, 43.2 *darəgā.jyātāiš*, 43.8 *vasasə.xšaθrahyā*, etc.

In a less obvious fashion, the following passages show the effects of false division. 28.4a *mān gairē* should be emended to **māng airē*; the attested reading results from the influence of *garā* 45.8, 50.4, 51.15. Also 29.11a *aṭ mā mašā* reposes on underlying **aṭ maṃ ašā* (= **ariā*), which was influenced by 49.1a *aṭ mā yavā*, 51.10a *aṭ yē mā* and the consistent use of *mā* in second position in its clause throughout these hymns. Likewise, 32.14b *varəcā.hicā* for **varəcahicā* results from *hī* 31.10, *hīm* 29.2, 44.14, 50.2, which appear in second position within the line (cf. also *vīspā.hišas* 45.4); and 33.10a *vīspā.stōi* for **vīspās.tōi* has been evoked by the placement of *stōi* in this same position at 45.10. This wide-ranging influence has also worked upon 44.12c *katārəm ā* for **katārē mā*, which is the obvious reading in view of *yē mā dragvā* in the flg. line. Normalization has taken place under the influence of 31.17a *katārəm ašavā*. This last example is especially interesting in that it shows that *-ā* also appeared freq. in the text at the end of words longer than 2 syllables at one time.

The freq. appearance of the repeated preverb in *ayamaitē* 31.13, *anāšē* 44.14, *avaēnā* 46.2, *arapā* 49.1 has been responsible for attested 31.16b *fradaθāi aspərəzatā* for underlying **fradaθāi.ā spərəzatā*; cf. *fradaθāi.ā* 45.9. Note the same effect in 32.3c *yāiš asrūdīm* for **yāiš ā srūdīm* and 46.4c *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš ahāmustō* for **x'āiš šyaoθanāiš ā hāmustō*, which clearly belong to the syntactic type encountered in 28.11c *yāiš ā aṅhuš* 32.15a *auāiš ā vī.uānāsā*, 34.11c *tāiš ā mazdā*, etc. Here too consider 30.3a *yā yāmū x'afənā asrvātəm* for **x'afənū ā srvātəm*, which contains a similar fixed syntactic employment of *ā* with loc.; cf. passage for disc. These last 3 exx. belong more properly with the instances of false combination, but they have been presented here because of the similar motivation lying behind the alterations.

Finally, 32.6b *hātā.marānē* reflects older **hātəm arānē* (better **aranē*) and 53.6c *drūjō āyesē hōiš piθā* older **hōi spiθā*, although it is difficult to understand why the first form was altered in view of common *hatəm* in the text. Some influence, however, may have been exerted by *vaurucašānē* 33.13, which occupies a close position to *hātā.marānē* in the verse line.

(3) Influence of *ave* passage upon another

Many of the instances of preservation and false division previously discussed have resulted from the conscious or unconscious attempt

to normalize passages within these Gāthās after other ones containing parallel forms. Yet this process of mutual interaction has much wider effects than those already described, and involves the replacement of a word in a segment of text under the pressures of a similar sounding sequence appearing in a second passage. Such effects can be noticed in the Ms. variants to the following examples. 31.20a *yā āyaṭ* (var. *dāyāṭ*): *dāyāṭ* stems from 29.7c *yā i dāyāṭ*. 34.10b *dqmūn vīdvā hiṭqm* (*haiṭim*) *aśahyā*: influence of 31.8c *haiṭim aśahyā dqmīn*. 34.11b *vayhāus xśaθrā* (*xraθwā*) *manayhō*: *xraθwā* intrudes from 48.3d *vayhāus xraθwā manayhō*. 46.18b *muliyā istōis* (*cistōis*): var. from 44.10e *muliyā cistōis*.

Recognition of this principle clearly permits the necessary emendations in the following passages. In 45.10de *xśaθrōi hōi haurvātā amərətātā alumāi sōi dqm* *əvīṣi mayūti*, *dqm* must be emended to loc. **dqm*, thus parallel to preceding loc. *xśaθrōi*. The form *dqm* has penetrated from similar 47.1c *alumāi dqm haurvātā amərətātā*. Similarly, 51.10a *anyāθā alumāṭ* stands for older *anyāθā *ahmaṭ*, with *ahmāṭ* imported under the influence of 45.11c *anyāṅ ahmāṭ* (cf. also *ahmaṭ* 34.9 with var. *ahmāṭ*). Also note that the beginning of the line *aṭ yā mā nā* (var. *nā*) appears with a variant influenced by 32.10a *hvō mā nā* and 46.10a *yā vā nōi nā*. Here too we must consider 47.5c *dragvā haxsāiti* for **haxsāitē*, whose form was generalized after 50.3d *dragvā haxsāiti*, where the wrong form arose under preservation effects (see above). Also cf. 46.10c *aśəm* (var. *aśim*) *asāi volū xśaθrəm manayhā*, with var. *aśim* influenced by 43.16c *aśim śyuoθauāis volū daidiṭ manayhā*.

A parallel process is seen in the next two examples. The pron. *tā* in 51.15c *tā vā volū manayhā* clearly replaces **taṭ*, since the referent is *hyaṭ miṣdam* in line a. The form *tā* has arisen from the pressure of the similar line opening *tā vā* found in preceding 51.2a *tā vā mazdā* and 31.1a *tā vā urvātā*. Likewise, the senseless 30.7c *aēsqm tōi ā anyhaṭ* requires emendation to *aēsqm *pōi ā anyhaṭ*, which belongs with 44.15h *ahyā ... pōi ... xśayehi*. The attested reading stems from the influence of 34.1c *aēsqm tōi alurā* appearing in the identical position in the verse and from the freq. attestation of *tōi* and *tē* in second position in the line. Cf. also the type 46.7a *kāmūā* for **kām vā* and 50.2d *ākāstāug mā* for **akāstāug mā* discussed under preservation procedures above.

In a similar fashion, 33.14bc *manayhascā vayhāus mazdāi śyuoθanahyā aśā yēcā* exerted its influence on the orig. form of 30.1bc *vayhāus manayhō humqzdrāi *aśāyēcā*, changing **aśāyēcā* to attested *aśā yēcā* (through *aśā *yēcā*). Here it is quite clear that the sequence of similar

words in 33.14bc, which appear in the same metric positions, has worked profound effects in 30.1bc. The identical mistake in 51.2a *tā vā mazdā paourvim ahurā ašā(i) yecā* for **ašāyācā* also seems to be dependent on the freq. juxtaposition of *mazdā* or *ahurā* with *ašā(i)cā*, as seen in 29.8b *mazdā vašti ašāicā*, 32.9c *mazdā ašāicā*, 34.6a *mazdā ašā*, 34.3a *ahurā ... ašāicā dāmā*. Note also flg. 51.15c *tā vā volū manayhā ašāicā* for **ašācā*, which belongs with the general confusion of the forms *ašācā* and *ašāicā* seen throughout the surviving Mss. of the Gāthās.

To my mind, 48.11bc *lušaitiš vāstravaiti ... drəgvō.dəbiš xrūrāiš rāmąm dānti* requires the emendation of *rāmąm* to **rəməm* because of the surrounding terms *drəgvō.dəbiš xrūrāiš*; cf. 29.1-2. The reading *rāmąm* has been introduced owing to the similarity of 29.10b *yā lušaitiš rāmąmcā dāt*. Cf. similar mistake in Mss. to 43.10e *aēšəm dyāt*, with var. *aēšəməm* which has been evoked from the like sounding parallel 44.20c *aēšəmāi dātā*. Likewise, 48.7a *ni aēšəmō (ni).dyātąm paiti rəməm (paitī).syōdīim* shows that **rəməm* must also be introduced into 49.4a *aēšəməm varədən rāmąmcā*. The appearance of *rāmąmcā* is probably to be ascribed to the process of generalization of a single form *rāmąmcā* in the text, based on its first attestation at 29.10.

Lastly, note that 34.11c *tāiš ā mazdā vidvaēšąm θwōi ali* for **vidvaēšəm* **θwōyalū* (assim. of **θwayalū*; cf. *θwōrəštā* etc.) shows the undeniable influence of 31.9a *θwōi as* as normalizing model. Also 29.1c *aθā mōi sųstā volū vāstryā* for **vāstrā* probably has been effected by Vr. 15.1 *vəzəyatąm ida volu vāstrya*, and *nō* in 30.2c *ahuuāi nō sazdyāi* stems from 51.6c *aθā nō sazdyāi*.

(4) *Replacement or alteration of rare words by frequently occurring types*

Here the attempt is made to eliminate uncommon forms by leveling in favor of common types. Thus, *vidvanōi* 31.3, *vaēdənā* 34.7, *hacənuā* 44.13 all have vars. *vidvanuōi*, *vaēđunuā*, *hacənuā*, which are modeled after the freq. med. parts. in *-anua-*, *-ənuā-*. The forms *dyā* 43.8, *ušyā* 43.15 and *raēdyā* 44.8 appear with vars. *dyāi*, *ušyāi* and *vaēdyāi* influenced by the common infs. in *-dyāi*, such as *vōizdyāi* 43.13, *sūidyāi* 44.2, *məndūidyāi* 44.8. Similarly, the hapaxes *mazdāθā* 30.1, *hāmō* 31.7, *maēnīs* 31.15, 44.19, *srāvahyeiti* 32.6, *ā.hōiθōi* 32.14, *mązəđəm* 34.3, *azə* 43.14, *madahyā* 48.10, etc. show variants *mazdā θwā*, *huomō*, *mainyuš*, *srāvayeiti* (source of long vocalism in *srāvahyeiti*!), *ā hōi θwōi*, *mīzəđəm*, *azəm*, *magahyā*, which have been normalized after forms better known elsewhere in the Gāthās and the later Avesta.

This process has also been responsible for the appearance of the following forms in the antecedent archetype, *dyāi* 29.8 for **dyā*: this form reveals the same effect of the infs. in *-dyāi* (cf. *dyāidyāi* 43.8 cited above). Similarly, *divannam* 31.20 for **dyannam* is not to be considered a case of false vocalization but rather as the attempt to introduce the freq. part. ending *-annam* into the underlying form. Note that attested *divannam* can be the graphic representation of **dyvannam*, which would have resulted from this normalization.

uraoi 32.14 for **urayē* shows the influence of *uramī*, as is also attested in some Mss. to the passage. *ārōi* 34.3 for **arōi* has been leveled after the preceding perf. form *ārōi* 33.9: the same form has been generalized into *ārōi* 50.5. Note that the old inf. survives in the false division 28.4a *mān gairē* for **māng airē* (see above). *frāxšunē* 43.12 for **frāxšunē* has submitted to neighboring *frāxšunam* in flg. 43.14; cf. also *frāxšunā* 29.11. *asīstis* 44.9 for **asīstis* has been affected by *asīstā* 30.10, *asīstam* 34.4, and *daiḍyaḥ* (with var. *daiḍyāḥ*) 44.10 for **daiḍyaḥ* has been modeled after the common yAv. opt. *daiḍyāḥ*. *vidvaēsam* 34.11 for **vidvaēsam* shows influence of common rhyme gen. *aēsam* etc. Furthermore, *pišyeimī* 44.20 for **pišyeimī* surely shows the influence of *šyeimī* YH. 37.2, 39.3, Y. 12.3. Note correct shape is maintained in *pišyasū* 50.2, which also appears with dominant var. *pišyasū* evoked by 44.20.

In the same category of elimination of uncommon forms belongs 53.3a *iṣucā iṣ poutucistā* for orig. **iṣucā iṣ*; cf. *hānu* 33.7, 53.8 with var. *hānu iṣ*. Also *vaocajhē* 28.11 for **vaocajhē*, developed from **vaocajhyā* (= Ved. *vacasjā*), which was drawn into the inf. type *vaēnajhē* 32.10, *aēnajhē* 46.7, 8, etc. Likewise, the freq. form *dātā* is the source of the introduction of the long vowel into 3pl. *dātā* 44.20 for **dātā* and *mərəzdātā* 33.11 for **mərəzdātā*; and the opt. type *ḥyānu* 30.9, *ḥyātā* 50.7 the source of the long vowel in *višyātā* 30.3, 6, *maiṣyātā* 45.11, *vərəzyātqm* 48.5, etc. Again, supplantation of unusual forms through the processes of normalization after common ones.

How far these changes are the results of unconscious processes and how far they issue from the institution of direct redactional efforts is often difficult to decide. In some instances, such as the uniform appearance of *ārōi* in the text, the handiwork of the redactors seems apparent. In other cases, however, it is unmistakable. Thus, in 45.3ab *fravaxšyā ... paourvīn, yqm mōi ... vaocaḥ, paourvīn* must clearly be emended to fem. **paourvyqm* to agree with flg. rel. *yqm* (sc. *sastim*).

The reason for the attested reading, however, becomes obvious when we notice the fact that all of the other 4 exx. of *paourvīm* in the Uṣṭavaitī verse form (43.5, 8, 11, 44.2) appear similarly at the end of the verse line. Therefore it seems rather obvious that a redaction of the text equally introduced *paourvīm* in place of the abnormal **paourvyqm* in this special position at 45.3a. Of similar origins is the appearance of *haiθīm* in 51.13a *daēnā arəzaos haiθīm*, where again a fem. form **haiθyqm* is needed in this passage to refer to preceding *daēnā*. Observing the occurrence of *haiθīm* likewise in line-final position at 31.6, we can probably attribute the reading *haiθīm* in place of expected **haiθyqm* to the normalizing activities of the redactors.

The clearest instance of their direct interference is found in the examples of *mān dā* appearing in the Gāthās. For there is no way that the surviving reading 53.5b *māncā i mazdazdān* can have arisen through the repetition of preverbs except by the existence of an earlier form of the phrase as **maścā i mazdazdān* (modeled after 44.9b *raoš daēnqm raozdānē*). Likewise, 31.5b *māncā dāidyāi* must repose on orig. **maścā dāidyāi* and 44.8b *māndāidyāi* on **mazdāidyāi*, all parallel to *hunaqzdrāi* 30.1. However, once the orig. form of 28.4a **māng airē ... dadē* was falsely divided into *mān gairē ... dadē*, as we noted above, the redaction simply generalized the first form of the text throughout the rest of the Gāthās. This process thus parallels the generalization of *frō* as unique tmesis form of the preverb in these hymns on the basis of its first attestation at 28.11b *frō.mā sīsā*, where the change of **frā* to *frō* is phonetically motivated, although it is not proper at 33.13c *frō spantā*, 46.3b *frō asahyā*, 46.10e *frō tāis*.

Yet we can continue the argument. The repetition of orig. **frā* in 33.8a *frō mōi trāvōizdān* and 49.6a *frō vā fraēšyā* must have occurred before the phonetic development of **frā* to *frō* and its subsequent generalization, otherwise there is no means to explain why *fra-* is the only form of the repeated preverb and why *frō* is the only normalized form in tmesis. In this way we can distinguish at least two clear levels of redactional activity and two clear levels of textual history. The first involves the redactional procedure concerning the repetition of preverbs. This must have taken place at a time when the text existed in a relatively archaic state, for it is only at this period that both 33.8a **frā mōi trāvōizdān* and 33.13c **frā spantā ... fradaxšayā* could be possible, as well as 53.5b **maścā i mazdazdān*. The second level involves the generalization of the tmesis forms of the preverbs, and this can only have occurred after the phonetically conditioned

change of **frā* to *frō* (similarly, **apā* > *apō*, **avā* > *avō*) and the false division of **māng airē* to *mān gairē* had already been achieved. This represents a period considerably later than the former one, a time when the oral Vulgate had already exerted substantial interference upon the older canonical written form of the text. It is probably during the redactional activities of this later period that such normalizations as *paourvīm*, *haiθīm*, *ārōi* etc. were accomplished. For in outlook they are not really different from the generalization concerning tmesis forms of the preverbs. Here too one should probably consider the discussion of 31.16b *fradaθāi asparāzaiū*, 32.3c *yāis asrūdīm*, 46.4c *x'āiš šyaobhaiūš ahānustō*, 30.3a *γā γāmā x'afaiū asrvātām* found under the category of false division. For they most likely show the effects of direct redactional interference in the attempt to treat the older preceding **ā* on the model of the repeated preverbs. Similarly, to this period belongs the redactional generalization of *naihyō* 28.2, 31.4 etc. and *taihyō* 30.8, 34.1 etc. as pause forms, against the retention of older *naihyācā* and *taihyācā*, although the mechanism which motivated *naihyō* and *taihyō* is not clear to me. Possibly 43.14b *naihyō mazdā* is the primary locus.

To this same period I would ascribe the redactional changes of *dīdaijē* 43.11 for perf. **dāidaijē* and *dīdarašaiū* 46.7 for perf. subj. **dāidarašaiū* (= Ved. *dadharasati*), which arise from the attempt to introduce *-i-* into the reduplicating syllable of uncommon forms, modeled after *dīdarašō* 44.15 *dīdrayō.duyō* 48.7, *jīgārazaī* 32.13, etc. Conversely, the change of **dīdyaī* to *daihyaī* in 44.10 after well known opt. *daiðyāī* etc.: the word does not have a clear reduplicative character. Likewise, *aipi dāhāyayaī* for *aipi *hāyayaī* in 31.17 results from the redactors' attempt to normalize the form after *dāhuomā* 30.6, *dāhauotā* 32.5, etc.: cf. hypercorrect *dāhazaiū* 44.6, *dāhazaiū* 47.6, *dragvō.dāhīs* 29.2, 48.11, etc. Similarly, *īsasā* 31.4, *īsasōiī* 30.2, *īsasas* 51.19 for **īsā*, **īsōiī*, **īsas* stem from the learned effort to indicate that these forms are related to common yAv. *īsaiti* etc. As usual, this attempt is not systematically introduced (*īsamō* 30.1, 47.6, etc. remain) and falsely applied in the hypercorrection of **hīsaī* to *hīsasaiī* at 32.13.

(5) *The false combination of forms*

This process is the reverse of the mechanism of false division, and consists of the incorrect joining of words which surely were separated in the original. Motivation usually arises from the similarity with other segments of the same shape attested elsewhere in the hymns.

For the variants this effect can be observed in 29.1a *kā mā* (var. *kāmā*) *tašaṭ*, 31.5b *yehyā mā* (*yehyāmā*), 32.3b *maš yazaitē* (*mašyazaitē*), 32.7b *yā jōyā* (*yājōyā*), 34.9c *maš ašā* (*mašašā*), 51.12b *urūraost aštō* (*urūraostaštō*), etc. In these examples the occurrences of *kāmam* 28.10, *hīyāmā* 30.9, *mašyā* 32.4 etc., *hādrōyā* 32.7 and *isōyā* 43.8, *taštō* 49.9 have exerted influence on the Ms. tradition.

The same effect has already taken place with regard to a number of forms in the underlying ancestor of the surviving Mss. 46.4e *frō.gā ... caraṭ* should be divided into *frō gā ... caraṭ*, since we are clearly dealing with the idiom *fra kar* 'reveal, free'; cf. passage for disc. The combination results from the pressures of 49.6a *frō.vā fraēšyā*; also influence of common *frō.mā* (*mōi*). Likewise, 48.1a *adāiš* for older **ād āiš* reflects the influence of the instr. forms *anāiš* 28.9, 32.15, 53.6, 8 and *avāiš* 32.15, 44.15. And quite similar to this last example is 46.5a *adaš dritā* for **ā daš dritā*, undoubtedly affected by *adā* 29.2, 30.10 and *adō* 44.4. The effect of forms such as *uxšāuō* 46.3, *marətāuō* 30.6, 32.12, *mąθrāuō* 32.13 brought about the false combination *apāuō* in 33.5b, which stands in place of underlying **apā nō* 'I shall attain for us'. This instance is of particular interest in that the false joining must have occurred before the replacement of final *-ā* by *-ō* in almost all polysyllabic words; cf. *katārēm ā* for **katārē mā* in 44.12c discussed above, which also supports this view, and note *frāxšūanō* 29.11. Thus the change must have been realized while **uxšāuō*, **marətāuō* etc. still existed in the older recension of the Gāthās.

Of similar origins is *sā.x'āni* 53.5 for **sā.x'ān ī* (older **sax'qni ī*), falsely combined because of the existence of the loc. type *cašmaīni* 31.8, 45.8, with its vocalism adjusted according to *x'ānug* 44.3, 50.10, etc. The compound *vispō.mazištəm* 33.5 also has evoked *manō.vistāiš* 46.19 (both before the caesura) for **manō vistāiš* (older **manā vistāiš*). Here one should notice the interesting detail that **manō vistāiš* has developed phonetically in the oral Vulgate to attested *manō.vistāiš* in a way fully parallel to **savištō > səvištō*, **avistī > əvistī*, etc.

In the instance of *ādīvyeimī hacōuā* for **ādī vyeimī hacōuā* in 44.13d, the combination stems from the rarity of the forms in question, for the Mss. tend to blend together words of unusual character. Cf. variants in 31.20b *āyū təmaṭhō* (*āyūtəmaṭhō*), 44.4b *adō uabāscā* (*adōnabāscā*), etc.

Finally, *ā.mōyastrā* 30.9 reposes on orig. **ā mōi* (*a*)*stā* and 43.7d *daxšārā fərasayāi dišā* on orig. **daxšār ā fərasē* (*ā*)*dīšā*. The history of these changes is discussed in detail in the commentary.

(6) *Effects of the oral Vulgate*

As Geldner carefully noted (1896, xlvii), the Mss. of the Gāthās reveal in obvious fashion the encroachment of an oral Vulgate recension upon the older written version of the text, a situation arising from the fact that the scribes who copied the Mss. undoubtedly knew these hymns by heart and frequently adjusted the Ms. readings before them according to their memorized version of the Vulgate text. Unmistakable signs of the Vulgate influence are seen first in the incursion of yAv. types into the Mss. which reflect modern pronunciation. This can be found in the variants to *aojōnghvaṭ* 28.6 (var. *aojōṅhvaṭ* *aojaṅhvaṭ*), *dvaēšā* 28.6 (ṭbaēšā), *vām* 28.11 (tūm), *frasāhyō* 29.5 (-sābyō), *vijāmyā* 44.11 (vijimyāṭ), etc., as well as the modern forms which already have penetrated into the reconstructible text. Cf. *ṣṣuyentē* 29.5 (: *ṣṣuyantaēcā* 29.6), *māṅhī* 29.10 (: *māṅhī* 31.8 etc.), *vārayā* 31.3 (: *vāwōimaidī* 28.5), *jimaitī* 48.2 (: *jamaitī* 30.8), etc.

Secondly, the influence of the Vulgate is noticeable in the expected oral processes of (a) haplology and contraction, (b) vacillation or hesitation in similar vocoid complexes. Type (a) developments can be observed in the Mss. at 31.1c *zaradā aṅhan* (var. *zarazdāṅhan*), 31.15a *parāsā avai* (parāsāvai), 33.10c *vohū uxšyā* (vohūxšyā), 43.7c *kaḥyā ahī* (kaḥyāhī), 47.1ab *manaṅhā hacā* (manaṅhācā), *sāsnamam* 48.3 (sāsnam), *srāvayaēmā* 49.6 (srāvaēmā), etc. Type (b) appears in *jasaitam* 30.4 (jasaitam), *taihyō* 30.8 etc. (taēibyō), *šaitī* 33.5, 43.3, 46.16 (šaitī šaitī šaitī etc.), *ašāonē* 32.10 etc. (ašāonē).

Recognition of the effects of type (a) already accomplished in the underlying archetype is essential in the following instances. Clear haplology appears in *vairiyā* 43.13 for **vairiyayā*, *hācā* 46.1 for **hāhācā*, and 46.2c *garazōi tōi ā iṭ avāēnā* for **garazōi tōi ā ā iṭ avāēnā*. These emendations are essential to improve defective meter. Likewise, contraction must be acknowledged in *yāhī* 46.14, which reposes on **yā ahī*, a change which both improves the meter and allows a sensible interpretation of the passage. Similarly, the contraction seen in *srāvayaēmā* 49.6 (srāvaēmā) has already had profound effects on the shape of most opt. forms in the Gāthās. Thus, *zaranaēmā* 28.9, *aṅhāyā* 32.16 and *xšayā* 50.9 have developed from **zarānāyaēmā*, **aṅhāya(i)yā* and **xšaya(i)yā*, again forms required on metrical grounds. Note the same origins for the forms *xšaēša* Y. 8.5 and *xšaētā* YH. 41.2, *apaēmā* YH. 41.2, *zāēmā* YH. 41.4, which derive from **xšayaēša* and **xšayaētā* (: *xšayete*), **apayaēmā* (: *apayēiti*), **zayaēmā* (: *ivizayaθā*

53.7). And, in parallel fashion, *srāvīmā* 28.7 (= **srōimā*; cf. *cāvīṣī* 51.15 for **cōiṣī*) has developed from older **sravōimā*; cf. var. *sravaēimā*, which is a modernization. Thus we must posit a general tendency to contract the parallel sequences **-āyai-* > *-ai-* (= *-aē-C-*, *-ay-V-*) and **-avōi-* > *-ōi-*.

Preferable readings or emendations based on type (b) are required in *pārāsaitē* 31.12, *pārāsaitē* 31.13 and *hām̐yāsaitē* 33.1 for **hām̐.yasāētē* (vocalism of attested reading affected by *yāsā* 28.1, 8, etc.). These suggestions all conform to the general confusion seen in the variants.

Returning a moment to the question of contraction, it is perhaps to avoid the possible effects of this process that the attested reading 45.7d *utayūtā yā naraṣ* for *utayūtā *ā naraṣ* developed. But in this example we might be able to ascribe the false reading to normalization after the rel. pron. which appears so frequently in this position following the caesura. Possibly the var. *lahmī* encountered in 34.5a *yaṭhā vā ahmī* also stems from an unconscious attempt to anticipate the *h* of *ahmī*, in order to create an effective hiatus tilger capable of preventing the tendency towards contraction. Cf. in the Mss. the type 51.12c *hyaṭ hōi im* (var. *hīm*; but probably a preservation form).

The existence of this oral Vulgate beside the older Ms. tradition has resulted also in a definite tension between the two recensions with regard to forms which were possible in pronunciation and forms which could not be written because of existing orthographic restrictions. The forms in question are naturally those involving sequences of the semivowels **-īy-* and **-īv-* (and their combinations), and for the most part, the problem of indicating proper meter was accomplished by the use of the vowel *a*, fundamentally employed as a syllable marker in the written version of the text. We see this practice in the Ms. variants to *zavīṣṭyāḥhō* 28.9 (var. *-tayāḥhō*), *tvām* 28.11 (*tvaōm*, i.e. *tavōm*), *dvaīdī* 29.5 for **divaidī* (*davaīdī*), *vāstryaēcā* 29.6 (*vāstrayaēcā*), *dayāi* 29.8 (*dayāi*), *javāmahī* 31.2 (*javāmahī*), *javantō* 31.3 (*javantō*), etc.

The observation of this practice now allows us to correctly evaluate some critical readings. Thus, with regard to *bvaṭ* 30.9, *hvaitī* 30.10, *bvaiūtī* 33.10, all with var. *bav-*, the readings beginning with *hv-* are far preferable, since they can be interpreted as **buvaṭ* etc. and exactly compared with the Ved. subj. *bhūvat*. The correct forms also require us to consider *bavaṭ* 28.11 as the graphic representation of **buvaṭ* as well. Similarly, *davqscinā* 31.10 can be the graphic representation of **duvqscinā*, and the word can therefore be related to Ved. *divas-*, a help in understanding the passage.

If we consider the question of the Vulgate in broader terms, the following points can be mentioned. The text of the Gāthās reconstructible from the extant Mss. already shows considerable influence of a Vulgate text. Apart from the defective forms just discussed, which arise from oral processes such as haplology and contraction and which must be also projected back into the antecedent archetype, the reconstructed text of the hymns reveals the interference of the Vulgate also in the penetration of modern forms (type *jimut*, *śūyentē*, etc.) and in the many examples of phonetically conditioned readings (type *frō.mā*, *ābaxō.hvā*, *dragvō.dābīś* for pre-redactional **dragvodbīś*, etc.) whose appearance is likewise guaranteed for the ancestor Ms. What does this archetype then represent? As I view the matter, the archetype of our extant Mss., or the earlier Mss. from which it directly derives, must represent the attempt to reconcile an archaic written version of the Gāthās with a liturgically employed recension of the text, whose chief characteristic, of course, was the consistent protraction of all final vowels. When this special redaction was achieved is very difficult to determine, for its subsequent history must have been in many ways parallel to the history of the text of the hymns we can see in the extant Mss. That is to say, this older text must have been subject to a constant attack on the forms it contained by conscious and unconscious processes and influences parallel to those which we have just described in the preceding pages. In view of such a history and the various effects occurring during its development, it is remarkable that so great a part of the Gāthās has survived for us in uncorrupted form.

THE TRANSLATION

In the following translation of the Gāthās, I have endeavored to render as literally as possible the grammar and syntax of the original text, while attempting to still maintain a reasonable degree of immediate readability. Where there has been a departure from the original, usually to avoid the cumbersome sequences of relative clauses encountered in the hymns, this fact is mentioned in the commentary if it is of any consequence. Equal care has also been devoted to the translation of individual words which, whenever possible, appear translated with only one English equivalent. Again, any variance from this practice is fully justified in the following commentary by a thorough study of the employment of such terms in the hymns in their differing contexts. All these efforts, of course, have been made

in the desire to allow the text to speak for itself, for it is our primary task to interpret what the text itself says, not to project our interpretations into it. However, some notes have been appended to the translation whose purpose is to supply certain fundamental ideas occasionally left unexpressed by Zarathustra in his poetry and to explain some basic notions reappearing in the hymns. The latter have been added for the aid of those who might wish to consult the translation without any philological interest in the text or commentary. For them I have also normalized the transcriptions of proper names encountered in the translation, and I have adopted the same procedure in the introductions to the individual hymns found at the beginning of the commentary on each Gāthā.

THE COMMENTARY

My chief aim in the commentary has been to discuss the difficult problems of the syntax of the Gāthās, while adding my views on the truly thorny issues of grammar and vocabulary. This end I have tried to achieve through a thorough and impartial investigation of the important material in the hymns, in the attempt to avoid the usual polemics which have characterized many investigations of these remarkable poems. With this view in mind, I have omitted a good deal of negative criticism of ideas and interpretations which I have rejected, for it became clear that this work could never have been completed if a discussion of every alternative suggestion had been presented and evaluated in its turn. In the interest of economy, I also have not repeated the many well known examples of textual parallels existing between the Gāthās and the Rīgveda, since these are readily available in the works of Humbach (1959, II) and Schlerath (1968a, II). New examples, however, have been included where they have been overlooked by previous studies.

My own efforts with regard to the question of parallel passages has been concentrated in other directions. In the first place, I have stressed the appearance of contrasting or antithetical statements and ideas appearing throughout the Gāthās, because I believe that these notions belong to Zarathustra's fundamental philosophy and therefore are often of importance in establishing the exact interpretation of passages whose meaning is not clear when approached independently. Secondly, I have tried to signal as far as possible the thematic parallels existing in these lyrics, that is, instances in which Zarathustra expresses the same underlying idea through the technique of paraphrase or through

other means of variation and amplification. For, as mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, the message of the Gāthās is remarkably uniform and consistent in both outlook and expression, and in this light, the indication of thematic parallels is a productive instrument in assessing the meaning of many a passage whose interpretation is uncertain at first glance. The usual method of presentation of these thematic parallels is to gather and treat them together in one place in the commentary, while signaling this place of discussion at the other points in the text where the individual parallels appear.

This indeed is the general technique of presentation in the commentary with regard to all matters under consideration and investigation. Thus, for example, an indication such as cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā jasaṣ* etc. signifies that the pertinent material for the interpretation of the text is presented in the commentary on Y. 30.7, in the paragraph beginning *ahmāicā jasaṣ*. Where such indications have been regrettably overlooked, the parallels can nonetheless be found through the aid of the index locorum, which signals line by line the places in the commentary where each text citation has been mentioned.

An introduction precedes the commentary on each Gāthā, wherein I have attempted to explain the contents of the hymn and to give indications of who is addressed by Zarathustra and for which purpose. Furthermore, I have tried to emphasize in these introductions the moral and ethical character of Zarathustra's teachings, which, to my mind, has been seriously neglected in the recent misplaced fascination with the ritualistic background of these exalted lyrics. It may be true that the prophet has emerged from a society actively engaged in the performance of the traditional cultic rites, and that by upbringing and training he had inherited the techniques and crafts of this ritualism, which reveal themselves in the signposts of his vocabulary and in the general character of his poetic art, but above all this, the focus and emphatic insistence of the prophet's hymns are directed towards a purpose and unity of thought which oppose the empty, mechanical methods of the ritual. In contrast, I see the extraordinary contribution of Zarathustra in the profound realization that man can both serve and honor god more meaningfully in the enactment of the lordly principles of truth and good thinking among his fellow men than in the awesome reverence founded upon fear and dread. It is true that god merits praise and worship, but chiefly so because he created and offered to his people those instruments of good which can in turn offer dignity and happiness in the world of man. If the world

is to be saved, this can only happen if man responds to man in accordance with those lofty principles which god founded and represents and which man must uphold in determination and spirit.

Yasna 28

1. *ahyā yāsā uəmanhā ustānazastō rafədrəhyā*
mainyāuš mazdā paourvīm spəntahyā ašā višpāng šyaoθanā
vayhōuš xratīum manayhō yā xsnəvīšā gəušcā urvənam
2. *yā vā mazdā ahurā pairī . jasāi volū manayhā*
maihyō dā vōi ahvā asivatascā hyatcā manayhō
āyapitā ašā! hacā yāiš rapantō daidī x'āθrē
3. *yā vā ašā ufyāni manascā volū apaourvīm*
mazdəmē ahurəm yaēihyō xsəθrəmcā ayzōnvanənam¹
varədaiti āmaitiš ā mōi rafədrāi zavəng jasatā
4. *yā urvənam² mən gairē² volū dadē haθrā manayhā*
ašīšcā šyaoθananəm vīduš mazdā ahurahyā
yava! isāi tavācā avaj xsāi aēšē ašahyā
5. *ašā ka! θvā darəsāni manascā volū vaēdəmnō*
gātīmē ahurāi səvištāi səraošəm mazdāi
anā mθrā mazištəm vāurōimaidi xrafstrā hizvā
6. *volū gaidi manayhā dāidi ašā dā darəgāyū*
ərašvāiš tū uxδāiš mazdā zaraθuštrāi aojōnghvaj rafənō
ahmaihyācā ahurā yā daihišvatō dvaēšā taurvāimā³

¹ K₃₇: cf. ayzōnvanənam M₁₂.

² read *məng airē*.

³ read *taurvāimā*.

Yasna 28

1. With hands outstretched in reverence of him, (our) support, the spirit virtuous through truth, I first entreat all (of you), Wise One¹, through this act, for (that) through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow².

2. I who shall serve all of you, Wise Lord, with good thinking, to me are to be granted the attainments of both existences — yes, of matter as well as of mind — those attainments befitting truth through which one might set Thy supporters in happiness.

3. I who shall eulogize all of you as never before — thee, o truth, and good thinking and the Wise Lord and (those others³) for whom piety⁴ increases their unharmable rule — come ye to my calls for support.

4. I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift myself with good thinking, and who knowingly bear in mind the Wise Lord's rewards for (our) actions⁵, as long as I shall be able and be strong, so long shall I look in quest of truth.

5. Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord? With a fierce tongue we would turn the greatest obedience to the most powerful Lord through the following prayer :

6. *“Come Thou together with good thinking. Along with truth, grant in accordance with Thy lofty words, Wise One, the long-lived gift of strong support to Zarathustra and to us, Lord, through which we shall overcome the enmities of the enemy^{6”}.*

¹ Also intended are truth and good thinking, who appear in the company of Ahura Mazda (the Wise Lord) throughout this hymn.

² The soul of the cow, or the cow alone, is the good vision, a view of the world governed by truth and good thinking. Cf. introd. to Y. 29.

³ Namely, the other good and enduring values which the Wise Lord represents.

⁴ That is, the piety of the faithful.

⁵ *be they good or bad*. The intention is that a man shall be rewarded according to his actions at the moment of judgment.

⁶ The enemy is deceit and its followers, the deceitful ones, who have ruined the present world.

7. *dāidi ašā iqm ašim* *vayhāuš āyaptā manayhō*
dāidi m̄ ārmaitē *vištāspāi išəm maihyācā*
dāstū mazdā xsayācā *yā vē maθrā srəvimā⁴ rādā*
8. *vahištəm θwā vahištā* *yām ašā vahištā hazaošəm*
ahurəm yzīsā vōunūš *narōi fərašaostṛai maihyācā*
yaēihyascā iṣ rāyhayhōi *višpāi yavē vayhāuš manayhō*
9. *aiūiš vā rōiṣ ahurā mazdā⁵* *ašəmcā yānāiš zaranaēmə⁶*
manascā Iyaṣ vahištəm *yōi vā yōiθəmā dasəmə stūtqm*
yūzəm zəvištayāyhō *išō xsəθrəmcā savayhqm*
10. *aṣ yəng ašāaṣcā vōištā* *vayhāušcā dāθəng manayhō*
arəθwəng mazdā ahurā *aēihyō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm*
aṣ vā xsəmaihyā⁷ asīmā vaēdā *x'araiθyā vaintyā sravā*
11. *yā aiš ašəm nīpəyhē* *manascā vohī yavaētāitē*
ivənu mazdā ahurā *frō.mā sīsā θwəhmāṣ vacayhē⁸*
mainyāuš hacā θwā əəyḥā *yāiš ā ayhuš paouruyō havaṣ⁹.*

⁴ read *srōimā*, from orig. *sravōimā*: cf. *sravaēmā* K.

⁵ omit.

⁶ read *zaranaēyaēmā* (metr. *zarnāyaēmā*).

⁷ omit.

⁸ read *vacayhē*, from orig. *vacayhyā*.

⁹ for *havaṣ*.

7. Give, o truth, this reward, namely, the attainments of good thinking. Give thou, o piety, power to Vishtaspa⁷ and to me. And do Thou give, Wise Ruler, that promise through which we may hear of your solicitude (for us).

8. Thee, Best One, the Lord who art of the same temperament with the best truth, do I lovingly entreat for the best for Frashaoshtra⁸, the hero, and for me, and (for those others⁹) to whom Thou shalt grant it, the best for a whole lifetime of good thinking.

9. May we not anger all of you, Lord, by these entreaties — not Thee and the truth and that thinking which is best — we who are organized in the offering of praises to you. (But) ye are the strongest, (and) to mighty ones (like you) belong the powers and the mastery¹⁰.

10. Therefore, those whom Thou dost know, Wise Lord, to be just and deserving in conformity with truth and good thinking, for them do Thou fulfill their longing with these attainments. For I know that words deriving from good purpose and from love are not to be left wanting by you.

11. Thou who dost guard truth and good thinking for eternity in accord with the following things, do Thou, Wise Lord, instruct me (in these very things) through the eloquence befitting Thy spirit and with Thine own mouth, the things by means of which the foremost existence¹¹ shall come about here.

⁷ Prince Vishtaspa was Zarathustra's patron, who accepted the prophet and founded the first community of true adherents to Z.'s message.

⁸ Frashaoshtra and his brother Jamaspa were noblemen in the circle of Vishtaspa. Jamaspa, so tradition tells, was adviser to the prince and married Pourucista, one of Z.'s daughters. Cf. Y. 53.3-4.

⁹ *among the faithful.*

¹⁰ *to grant these requests.*

¹¹ The foremost existence is the time when deceit and its forces shall be destroyed and the rule of truth and good thinking shall reign in the world.

Yasna 29

1. xšmaibhyā gāuš urvā gərəždā kahmā i mā θwarōzdūm kē mā tašaḥ
ā mā aēšərna hazascā rəmō (ā)hišāyā dərəšcā¹ tavišcā
nōiḥ mōi vāstā xšmaḥ anyō aθā māi sṣstā vohū vāstryā²
2. adā tašā gāuš pərəsaḥ ašəm kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš
hyaḥ hīm dātā xšayantō hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θwa.xšō
kōm hōi uštā ahurəm yā drəgvō.dəbiš aēšəməm vādāyōiḥ
3. ahmāi ašā nōiḥ sarəjā advaēšō gavōi paiti.mravaḥ
avaēšəm nōiḥ vidhyē yā šavaitē ādrəng ərašvājhō
hātqm hvō aojištō yalunāi zavəng jīmā kərədušā
4. mazdā sax'ārē mairištō yā zi vāvərəzōi pairi.ciθiḥ
daēvāišcā mašyāišcā yācā varəšaitē aipi.ciθiḥ
hvō vīcīrō ahurō aθā nō aḥhaḥ yaθā hvō vasaḥ
5. aḥ vā ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā
mō urvā gāušcā azyā hyaḥ mazdaqm dvaiddi³ frasābyō
nōiḥ ərəžəjyāi frajyāitiš nōiḥ fšuyentē drəgvasū pairi

¹ omit cā.² read vāstrā.³ for divaidi.

Yasna 29*

1. To all of you¹ the soul of the cow² lamented: *"For whom did ye shape me? Who fashioned me? (For) the cruelty of fury and violence, of bondage and might, holds me in captivity. I have no pastor other than you. Therefore appear to me with good pasturage"*.

2. Thereupon the fashioner of the cow³ asked truth: *"Is thy judgment for the cow to be in this way? If ye ruling ones have placed her (on earth), there should always be cow-caring zeal by a pastor. Whom do ye wish to be her master, one who might destroy the fury (caused) by the deceitful?"*

3. To him they replied through truth: *"There is no help free of enmity for the cow. Of yonder beings, that strongest one is not to be found through whom the lofty are to activate the lowly⁴, to whom I of ready ear shall come at his calls"*.

4. *"The Wise One is the first to heed His agreements with both gods and men, those which He indeed openly brought about and those which He shall bring about in secret. He is the decisive Lord. As He shall wish it, so shall it be for us"*.

5. Thus⁵, indeed, did we two continue to pray to the Lord with outstretched hands — namely, my self and that of the fertile cow — that we might dispose the Wise One to the questions: *"Is there to be no future for the man who lives honestly? No future for the man who breeds cattle⁶ among the deceitful?"*

* The verses should properly follow the sequence 1-3, 6-9, 4-5, 10-11.

¹ *immortal ones*. Here Ahura Mazda, truth, good thinking and the virtuous spirit are the personages addressed.

² That is, the good vision: cf. Y. 28, fn 2.

³ The fashioner of the cow is the virtuous spirit.

⁴ The lofty are the heavenly, immortal ones: the lowly are the mortals on earth.

⁵ Namely, with the preceding prayer contained in verse 4.

⁶ Metaphor for the truthful man who increases the flock of the faithful.

6. ⁴ aī ā⁴ vaꝛoꝛaī ahurō mazdā vīdvā vaīfūš vyānaya
 uōi aēvā ahū vīstō naēdā ratuš ašāīcī hacā
 aī zī θwā ššuyantaēcā vāstryaīcā θwōrāštā tatašā
7. iēm āzūtōiš ahurō maθrām iašaī ašā haꝛaošō
 mazdā gəzvōi xšvīdāmcā hvō urušaēīhyō spəntō sāsnayā
 kastē volhū manayhā yā ī dāyāī āēvā marətaēīhyō
8. aēm mōi idā vīstō yā nō aēvō sāsnā gūšatā
 zaraθušīrō spitāmō hvō nō mazdā vašīī ašāīcā
 carəkəꝛəθvā srāvayeyihē hyaī hōi hučəmāim dyāi⁵ vaꝛəδrahyā
9. aīcā gūuš urvā raostā yā amaēšəm⁶ xšnaqm māne⁶ rādəm
 vācim nərəš asūrahyaī yēm ā vasəni īšā xšaθrīm
 kadā yavā hvō ayhaī yā hōi dūdaī zastavaī avō
10. yūšēm aēīhyō ahurā aogō dāiā ašā xšaθrāmcā
 ayaī volhū manayhā yā hušəiīš rāmqmācā dāī
 azāmcī cīhyā mazdā θwqm mōijhī paourvīm vaēdəm
11. kudā ašəm volucā manō xšaθrāmcā aī⁷ mā mašā⁷
 yūšēm mazdā frāxšnənō⁸ mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā
 ahurā nū nā avarō⁹ āhmā rātōiš⁹ yūšmāvatqm

⁴ read aīš.⁵ read dyā. for dīyā.⁶ H₁: read xšnaqm mānā.⁷ read maqm ašā (*mām aīa).⁸ J₂. M₁.⁹ read āhmā.rātōiš.

6. Thereupon the Wise Lord, the Knowing One, spoke these solemn words by reason of His attentiveness: "*A master has not been found by a single one (of us), nor a judgment which indeed befits truth. However, the shaper did fashion thee for both a cattle-breeder and a pastor*"⁷.

7. The Wise Lord, who is of the same temperament with truth, fashioned that promise of butter and milk⁸ for the cow. He is virtuous to the needy in accord with His commandment. (He said :) "*Who has (been found) by thee, good thinking, who might give these things to the mortals below?*"

8. "*This*⁹ *one, Zarathustra Spitama, has been found by me here to be the only one who has given ear to our commandments. He wishes, Wise One, to recite hymns of commemoration for us and for truth, if he might receive for himself sweetness of speech*".

9. But thereupon the soul of the cow wept: "*I who have recognized that my caretaker is powerless, (merely) the voice of a man without might, although I wish him to be one who possesses rule through power — when, during my lifetime, shall that person appear who shall give help and hand*¹⁰ *to him?*"

10. "*Lord*¹¹, *grant ye to these (mortals) strength and the rule of truth and of good thinking, by means of which one shall create peace and tranquility*¹². *I have indeed recognized the first possessor of this to be Thee, Wise One*".

11. "*Where*¹³ *are truth and good thinking and where their rule? Yes, come ye now to me, Wise One, do ye acknowledge those fit for the great task! Lord, (come) now to us down here in consequence of our gift for you*¹⁴".

⁷ Metaphor for the truthful man who devotes his care to prospering the good vision.

⁸ The promise of butter and milk refers to the preceding words of AhM, in verse 6 which reassure the cow that there will be those who will care for her. Butter and milk is a metaphor for strength and prosperity.

⁹ Good thinking answers.

¹⁰ That is, assistance.

¹¹ Zarathustra supplicates.

¹² That is, in place of the current cruelty, fury, violence, etc.

¹³ Zarathustra continues.

¹⁴ Namely, the gift of piety and faith.

Yasna 30

1. *aṭ tā vaخشyā išəniō yā mazdāθā hyaṭciṭ vīdhišē*
staoiācā aṭhurāi yesnyācā vaḡhāuš manayhiō
humazdriāi ¹ ² ašā yecā ² yā raoēbīš darəsaīā urvāzā
2. *sraoiā gəuš.āiš vahištā avaiēuatā sūcā manayhā*
āvarənā vīciθalyā narāni narəni x'alīyāi tanuyē
parā mazē yāḡhō ahmāi uē ³ sazdyāi baodantō pairi
3. *aṭ tā mainyū paouruyē yā yəmə x'afənā asrvātəni ⁴*
manahicā ⁵ vacahicā šyaoθauōi lī vahyō akəmcū
āscā hudāḡhō ərəš vīšyātā nōiṭ duzdāḡhō
4. *aṭcā hyaṭ tā hēm mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē*
gaēmā ajyūitīmā yaθācā aḡhaṭ apəməni aḡhuš
acištō drəgyatəm aṭ ašāuuē vahištəm mauō
5. *ayā mainivā varaiā yā drəgvā acištā vərəzyō*
ašəm mainyūš spəništō yə xraoždīštəng asənō vastē
yaēcā xšnciošəni ahrəni haiθyāiš šyaoθauāiš fraorəṭ mazdəm
6. *ayā nōiṭ ərəš vīšyātā daēvāciūā hyaṭ iš ā.dəbaoniā ⁶*
pərəsmanəng upā.jasaṭ hyaṭ vərənūtā acištəm mauō
aṭ aēšəməni hənchārəutā yā hquayəni ahūm marətāuō

¹ L₁.² read *ašāyecā*, from orig. *ašāyūcā*.³ omit.⁴ read *ā srvātəm*.⁵ omit *cā*.⁶ read *ā dəbaomā*.

Yasna 30

1. (to the adherents). Yes, to those (of you) seeking¹, I shall speak of those things which are to be borne in mind — even by one who already knows — through both praise and worship for the very Wise Master of good thinking and for truth, which things are to be looked upon in joy throughout your days.

2. Listen with your ears to the best things. Reflect with a clear mind — man by man for himself — upon the two choices of decision, being aware to declare yourselves to Him before the great retribution².

3. Yes, there are two fundamental spirits, twins which are renowned to be in conflict. In thought and in word, in action, they are two: the good and the bad. And between these two, the beneficent have correctly chosen, not the maleficent.

4. Furthermore, when these two spirits first came together, they created life and death, and how, at the end, the worst existence shall be for the deceitful but the best thinking³ for the truthful person.

5. Of these two spirits, the deceitful one chose to bring to realization the worst things. (But) the very virtuous spirit, who is clothed in the hardest stones⁴, chose the truth, and (so shall those⁵) who shall satisfy the Wise Lord continuously with true actions.

6. The gods⁶ did not at all choose correctly between these two, since the deceptive one⁷ approached them as they were deliberating. Since they chose the worst thought, they then rushed into fury, with which they have afflicted the world and mankind.

¹ *to know.*

² This is the time of the final judgment.

³ Best thinking here is an abbreviation for the House of Best Thinking, a metaphor for heaven.

⁴ Intention is that truth is enduring and unchanging like stone.

⁵ *among you mortals.*

⁶ Cf. Y. 32, fn 1.

⁷ The evil spirit spoken of previously.

7. *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā vahū ašācā*
aṭ kəhrpānz utayūitiš dadāṭ ārmaitiš qmā
aēšqm iōi⁷ ā aṭhaṭ yaθā ayayhā⁸ ādānāiš paouruyō
8. *aṭcā yadā ciēšqm kaēnā jamaiti aēnayhqm*
aṭ mazdā i aiḃyō xšaθrām vohū manayhā vāi.vīdaitē⁹
aēiḃyō sasrē alurā yōi ašāi dadən zastayō drujim
9. *aṭcā iōi vaēm hīyāmā yōi im fərasəm kərənaon alūm*
mazdāscā alurāyḥō ā.mōyastrā¹⁰ baranā ašācā
hyaṭ¹¹ haθrā manā¹¹ hvaṭ¹² yaθrā cistiš aṭhaṭ maēθā
10. *adā zi avā drūjō (avō) hvaiti¹³ skəndō sprayaθrahyā*
aṭ asištā yaojautē ā lušitōiš vaḥhḃnš manayhō
mazdā ašəhīyācā yōi zazənti vaḥhān sravahi
11. *hyaṭ tā urvūtā sašaθā yā mazdā dadāṭ mašvāyḥō*
x'itīcā āuəiti hyaṭcā darəgədm drəgvō.dəḃyō rašō
savacā ašərvahyō aṭ aipṭi tāiš aṭhaiti uštā

⁷ read *pōi*.

⁸ omit.

⁹ Jp₁. cf. *vōivīdaitē* J₂.

¹⁰ read *ā mōi (a)stā*.

¹¹ read *haθrā.manā*.

¹² Pt₄. Mf₂. etc.

¹³ J₂.

7. But to this world He⁸ came with the rule of good thinking and of truth, and (our) enduring piety gave body and breath (to it). He shall be here for the protection of these (faithful), just as He shall be the first (to do so) during the requitals with the (molten) iron⁹.

8. (to the Wise Lord). And thus, when the punishment for these sinners shall come to pass, then, for Thee, Wise One, shall the rule of good thinking be at hand, in order to be announced to those, Lord, who shall deliver deceit into the hands of truth.

9. Therefore may we be those who shall heal this world! Wise One and ye other lords, be present to me with support and with truth, so that one shall become convinced even where his understanding shall be false¹⁰.

10. For then shall descend the destruction of the prosperity of deceit, and there shall be yoked from the good dwelling place of good thinking¹¹ the swiftest steeds¹², which shall race ahead unto the good fame of the Wise One and of truth.

11. (to the adherents). Men, when ye learn those commandments which the Wise One has posed, when ye learn (there is) both a way of easy access and one with no access, as well as long destruction for the deceitful but salvation for the truthful, then each one (of you) shall abide by (all) these commandments. Wish it so.

⁸ Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord.

⁹ The test of truth during the final judgment.

¹⁰ *concerning our ultimate goal.*

¹¹ Metaphor for the community of the faithful and the truthful.

¹² Metaphor for the faithful and truthful themselves.

Yasna 31

1. *tā vā urvātā maraūtō agnītā vacā sēnghāmahī*
aēibyō yōi urvātāis drījō aśahyā gaēθā vīuərəucaitē
aīciṅ aēibyō valīštā yōi zrazdā aṅhau mazdāi
2. *yēzi āiṣ nō iṅ urvānē acvā¹ aihī.clərəštā valīyā*
aṅ vā viṣpāng āyōi² yaθā ratūm ahurō vaēdā
mazdā ayā qsayā yā aśāṅ hucā jvāmahī
3. *yam dā mēinyū āθrācā aśācā cōiṣ rāuōihyā xśnūtām*
hyaṅ urvatəm cazdōnghvacāhyō taṅ nō mazdā vidvanōi vaocā
hizvā θwalīyā āṅhō yā jvantō viṣpāng vāurayā
4. *yadā aśəm zəvīm³ aṅhau mazdāscā ahurāṅhō*
aśicā ārmaitī valīštā iśasā⁴ manāṅhā
maihyō xśēθrəm aōjōnghvaṅ yehyā vərəcā vauaēinā drujim
5. *taṅ mōi vīcīhyāi vaocā hyaṅ mōi aśā dātā valīyō*
vīdhyē volū manāṅhā mōucā daidyāi yehyā mā ərəšiš
tāciṅ mazdā ahurā yā nōiṅ vā aṅhaṅ aṅhaii vā
6. *alunāi aṅhaṅ valīštāu yō mōi vīdvā vaocāṅ haiθim*
maqθrau yim haurvatātō aśahyā amərətātascā
mazdāi avəṅ xśaθrəm hyaṅ hōi volū va.xśaṅ manāṅhā

¹ read *advā*.² for *ā.īyōi*.³ read *zəvyā*, for orig. *zuvīyā*.⁴ read *iśā*.

Yasna 31

1. (to the immortal ones). Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach those words¹ which have gone unheard by those who, by reason of the commandments of deceit, continue to destroy the creatures of truth, but indeed are the best words for those who shall be faithful to the Wise One.

2. (to the adherents). If the better course for the soul has not been seen through these words, then let me lead all of you in which way the Wise Lord knows (to exist) that judgment between the two alternatives by which we are going to live in accordance with truth.

3. (to the Wise Lord). That satisfaction which Thou hast created for both factions² together with Thy spirit and hast promised (to them) through fire and truth³, that commandment which is for Thy adherents — speak, Wise One, with the tongue of Thine own mouth, in order for us to know (all) that, by means of which I might convert all the living.

4. (to the adherents). When I might call upon truth, the Wise One and the other lords⁴ shall appear; also reward and piety. (And) through the very best thinking I shall seek for myself their rule of strength, through whose growth we might conquer deceit.

5. (to the Wise Lord). Speak Thou, in order for me to discern that very good thing which has been created for me by truth, in order for me to know and to bear in mind with good thinking (that thing) of which I am to be the seer. Even those things, Wise Lord, which either shall not be or shall be.

6. (to the adherents). The best shall be for him, the knowing man, who shall tell me the real precept concerning the truth of His completeness and immortality: *“Such is the rule for the Wise One that one shall increase it for Him through good thinking”*.

¹ of your precepts.

² Namely, the truthful and the deceitful.

³ That is, at the time of the final judgment.

⁴ Here, truth and good thinking.

7. *yastā mantā paouruyō raocēbīs rōiθwəθ x'āθrā*
hvō xraθwā dāmīs ašəm yā dārayaṭ vahīštəm manā
tā mazdā mraimyū uxšyō yā ā nūrāmcīṭ ahurā hāmō
8. *aṭ θwā mānghi paourvīm mazdā yazūm stōi manayhā*
vayhāuš ptaṛām⁵ manayhō hyaṭ θwā hām cašmainī (hān) grabəm
haiθim ašaHyā dāmim ayhāuš ahurəm šyaoθanaēšū
9. *θwōi as ārmaitīs θwā ā gēuš tašā⁶ as xratus⁶*
mainyuš⁷ mrazdā ahurā hyaṭ ahīyāi dadā paθqm
vāstryāṭ vā āitē⁸ yā vā nōiṭ ayhaṭ vāstryō
10. *aṭ hī ayā fravaratā vāstrīm ahīyāi šnyantəm*
ahurəm ašcavanəm vayhāuš ššānghīm manayhō
nōiṭ mazdā avāstryō dāvqscinā⁹ hūnəratōiš baxštā
11. *hyaṭ nā mazdā paourvīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā*
θwā manayhā xratuscā hyaṭ astvantəm dadā nštanəm
hyaṭ šyaoθamācū sānghqscā yaθrā varənāng vasā dāyētē
12. *aθrā vācīm haraiti niθahvacā vā əraš.vacā vā*
vīdvā vā əvīdvā vā ahīyā zəradācū manayhācā
āmuš.haxš.ārmaitīs mainyū pərəsāitē¹⁰ yaθrā maēθā

⁵ Jp₁, Mf_{1,2}, etc.

⁶ read *aš.xratus*.

⁷ Jp₁, Mf_{1,2}, etc.

⁸ for *ā.itē*.

⁹ for *dāvqscinā*

¹⁰ K₄, Mf₂.

7. He who first thought thus, "*They are to be joined with happiness throughout their days*", He created truth in accordance with this very intention, by reason of which He has (also) upheld the very best thinking.

(to the Wise Lord). Through this spirit⁵, Wise One, Thou art to grow, Thou who, up to now indeed, hast been the same, Lord.

8. Yes, although Thou art the First One, I realized Thee to be (ever) young in mind, Wise One, when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the Father of good thinking, the real Creator of truth, (and) the Lord of existence in Thy actions.

9. Thine was to be piety, Thine the fashioner of the cow, namely, that spirit of great determination, when Thou didst grant the way to her⁶ to go either (to him who) shall act as pastor⁷ or (to him) who shall not be pastor (for her).

10. And, of these two, she⁶ chose for herself the cattle-breeding pastor to be her truthful master (and) the cultivator of good thinking⁸. Wise One, never did the non-pastor share the friendship of her who requires good attention.

11. Since Thou, Wise One, at the beginning, didst fashion for us by Thy thinking creatures and conceptions and intentions, since Thou didst create body and breath, since (Thou didst create) both actions and words, (all these things) whereby a person with volition⁹ expresses his preferences,

12. Therefore one raises his voice in accord with both his heart and his mind, be he false-speaking or true-speaking, be he knowing or unknowing. (But) in due course, piety shall come to terms with one's spirit where there has been opposition.

⁵ That is, through this very same spirit among men allied with truth and good thinking in this world.

⁶ The cow, i.e. the good vision.

⁷ The truthful man.

⁸ Good thinking among men is 'the pasture which sustains the cow' in the human world.

⁹ That is, the man who is free to act: one who is not a slave and subservient to the will of another.

13. *yā frasā ā višyā yā vā mazdā pərəsaiitē*¹¹ *iaγā*
yā vā kasəuš aēnaγhō ā mazištəm (a)yamaite būjim
tā cašmāng θwisrā hārā aibi ašā (aibi).vaēuahī višpā
14. *tā θwā pərəsā alurā yā zī āiti*¹² *jōnghaticā*
yā išudō dādautē dāθrauqm hacā ašāmō
yāscā mazdā drəgvō.dəbyō yaθā tā aγhəu hānkəratā hγaγ
15. *pərəsā avcaγ yā naēniš yā drəgvāitē xsəθrəm huiāiti*
duš.šyaəθəniā ahurā yā nāiγ jyātūm hanarə vimasti
vāstryehyā aēnaγhō pasəuš vīrāaγcā adrujyantiō
16. *pərəsā avcaγ yaθā hvō yā ludānuš cləmanahyā xsəθrəm*
*šāiθrahγā vā dahyāuš vā ašā*¹³ *fradaθāi aspərəzatā*¹³
θwāvax mazdā alurā yadā hvō aγhaγ yā.šyaəθənuascā
17. *katārəm ašuvā vā drəgvā vā vərənvaite mazγā*
*vīdvā vidu.šcē nraotū nū əvidvā aipi dāhāvayaγ*¹⁴
zdi nū mazdā alurā vaγhəuš fradaxštā manahhō
18. *mā.ciš*¹⁵ *ciγ vā drəgvatō nuθraqscā gūštā sāsnāscā*
āzi dāmānəm višəm vā šōiθrəm vā dahyūm vā (ā)dāγ
dušitācā marakaēcā aθā iš sādūm snaiθišā
19. *gūštā yā mantā ašəm aliūm.biš vīdvā ahurā*
ərəxəxōdāi vacaγhəm xsəyamnā hizvā vasō
θwā āθrā snxrā mazdā vaγhāu vīdātā rqaγyā

¹¹ K₃. H₁.

¹² read *ā.aēti* or *ā.aēiti*.

¹³ read *fradaθāi.ā spərəzatā*.

¹⁴ read *hāvayaγ*.

¹⁵ read *naēciš*.

13. The open deliberation and the one which is deliberated in secret, o Wise One, the person guilty of a small offense (and the one who) shall receive a very great punishment — regarding with clarity of vision, Thou dost look upon all these things with truth.

14. I ask Thee, Lord, about those things which indeed are coming and shall come, namely, about which of the payments shall be taken as claims from the truthful and which from the deceitful, Wise One, and about how they shall appear when their readiness is at hand.

15. Likewise, I ask about which payments shall be (for him) who shall promote the rule for the deceitful one of evil actions¹⁰, Lord, for that one who finds no means of living apart from harming the cattle and men of the undeceiving pastor.

16. Likewise, I ask about how that person shall be, namely, the blessed one¹¹ who shall be eager to prosper the rule of the house or of the district or of the land with truth, and about when he — someone like Thee, Wise Lord — shall appear and with which actions.

17. (Tell) which of the two? Does the truthful man or the deceitful one turn to what is more important? Let the Knowing One¹² speak to the knowing, (but) let not the unknowing person participate. Be for us, Wise Lord, the revealer of good thinking.

18. No one at all who belongs to the deceitful (faction) has listened to your precepts and instructions. For such a person has (already) placed house and settlement and district and land in strife and destruction. Therefore cut these down with your weapon.

19. This knowing world-healer¹³ has listened, he who has respected the truth, Lord, being one who has mastery over his tongue at will for the true speaking of the (proper) words when the distribution in the good shall occur to both factions through Thy bright fire¹⁴, Wise One.

¹⁰ The evil spirit.

¹¹ The savior, the faithful man who is the incarnation of truth in this world.

¹² Intended is Ahura Mazda himself.

¹³ Namely, Zarathustra.

¹⁴ At the time of the final judgment.

20. *yā āyaṭ ašvanəm divamnəm¹⁶ hōi aparəṃ xšayō¹⁷*
darəgəṃ ā yū təmaṭhō duš.x'arəθəṃ avaētās vacō
təm vā ahīm drəgvantō šyaοθanāiš x'āiš daēnā naēšaṭ
21. *mazdā dactāṭ ahurō haurvatō aməraiatascā*
bīvōiš ā ašaiyācā x'āpaiθyāṭ xšəθrahyā sarō
vəṭhəus vacdvarā manayhō yā hōi mainyū šyaοθanāišcā urvaθō
22. *cīθrā i huclāyḥē yaθənā vaēdammāi manayhā*
volū hvō xšəθrā ašəṃ vacayhā šyaοθanācā hapti
hvō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aṭhaiti astiš

¹⁶ read *dyumnəm*.

¹⁷ J₂, K₂, etc.

20. *"Heavenliness¹⁵ shall be the future possession of him who shall come to a truthful person (now)¹⁶. (But) a long lifetime of dorkness, foul food, the word woe — to such on existence shall your conception, along with its (corresponding) actions, lead you, ye deceitful ones"*.

21. *"The Wise Lord, in consequence of His abounding authority of rule over completeness and immortality and over truth, shall give the permanence of good thinking's alliance to him, the one who is His ally in spirit and actions"*.

22. These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking. He serves truth, during his rule, with good word and good action. Such a person shall be Thy most welcome guest, Wise Lord.

¹⁵ These next two verses are citations from Ahura Mazda's own words. They are the precepts mentioned in verses 18 and 19.

¹⁶ Namely, for instruction in these truths.

Yasna 32

1. *ahyācā x'arētis yāsaḥ* *ahyā vərəzənanəm maḥ airyamnā*
ahyā daēvō mahmi manōi *ahurahyā urvāzamā mazdā*
θwōi dūtārtjho ājrhāmā *tāng dārayō yōi vā daihišanti*
2. *aēihyō mazdā ahurō* *sārəmuō volhū manayhā*
xšaθrāḥ haxcā paiti.mraoḥ *ašā huš.haxā x'ənvātā*
spəntqm vā ārmaitim *vəjrhim varəmaidī hā nō aḥhaḥ*
3. *aḥ yūs daēvā vīspāyhō* *akāḥ manayhō stā ciθrəm*
yascā vā maš yazaitē *drūjascā pairi.maiθiścā*
šyaomqm aipi daihitānā *yāiš asrūdūm¹ hūmyā haptaiθē*
4. *yāaḥ yūštā framimāθā²* *yā mašyā acīštā dantō*
vaxšəntē daēvō.zuštā *vəjrhūš siždyamnā manayhō*
mazdā ahurahyā *xratūš nasyantō ašāaḥcā*
5. *tā dəbənəcētā mašim* *hujyātōiš amərətātascā*
hyaḥ vā akā manayhā *yəng daēvəng akascā mainyus*
akā šyaəθanəm vacayhā *yā fracinas drəgvantəm xšayō*
6. *pouru aēnā āiāxštā* *yāiš srāvahyeiti yezi tāiš aθā*
hātā.marānē³ ahurā *vahištā vōištā manayhā*
θwalmī vā mazdā xšaθrōi *ašāicā sənghō vidqm*

¹ read *ā srūdūm*.² read *framimāθā*.³ read *hātqm arānē*.

Yasna 32

1. (to the gods). At my insistence, ye gods¹, the family, the community together with the clan², entreated for the grace of Him, the Wise Lord, (saying :) *“Let us be Thy messengers, in order to hold back those who are inimical to you”*.

2. To them did the Wise Lord reply, as befits His rulership, He who is allied with good thinking and the good companion of sunlike truth: *“We have chosen your good and virtuous piety. It shall be Ours”*.

3. But ye gods — as well as the one who worships you — all of you are the offspring stemming from evil thinking, deceit and disrespect. Hateful, too, are your actions, by reason of which ye have become renowned in this seventh part of the earth³.

4. Insofar as ye authorize these actions, which the worst mortals (then) serve, those agreeable to (you) the gods shall increase, as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and from truth.

5. In this way ye have deceived mankind out of the good way of life and immortality, much as ye have deceived yourselves, the gods, (of it) by such evil thinking, and the evil spirit himself. Your action is allied with evil words, by reason of which the Ruler has marked the deceitful person⁴.

6. (to the Wise Lord). Shameful are the many sins by which one attains fame, if at all by such things. (But) Thou knowest, Lord, (only) when there is uplifting of beings with the very best thinking, fame is to serve Thee and the truth, Wise One, under Thy rule.

¹ By ‘gods’ Z. refers to those other divinities who stand outside of the system formed by Ahura Mazda and his forces, and who are worshiped by the proponents of the old, traditional religious system now so fully enveloped by deceit.

² That is, the whole society of the truthful.

³ The area inhabited by the Aryans.

⁴ for future damnation.

7. *aēšqm aēnahqm naēciṭ vīdvā aojōi hādrōyā⁴*
yā jāyā⁵ sāughaiē yāiš srāvī x'aēnā ayayhā
yaēšqm tū ahurā irixtəm mazdā vaēdištō ahi
8. *aēšqm aēnahqm vīvahušō srāvī yimasciṭ*
yā mašyāng cixšmūšō alhmākāng gāuš bagā x'ārānuō
aēšqmcīṭ ā ahmi θwahmī mazdā viciθōi aipi
9. *duš.sastiš sravā mōrandaṭ hvō jyāiēuš sāughaiēiš xratīm*
apō mā īštīm (apa)yamū hərəxδqm haitīm⁶ vahhōuš manayhō
tā uxδā mahyūuš mahyū mazdā ašāicā yūšmaihyā gərəzē
10. *hvā mā nā sravā mōrandaṭ yō acištəm vaēnahhē aogadā*
gqm ašihyā hvarēcā yascā dāθāng drəgvatō dadāṭ
yascā vāstrā vīvāpaṭ yascā vadurē vōiždaṭ ašāuiē
11. *taēciṭ mā mōrāndən jyōiūu yōi drəgvantō mazbiš⁷ cikōitarāš*
ayuhišcā ayhavascā arayeitī raēxənahhō vaēdəm
yōi vahištāṭ ašauō mazdā rārəšyqm manayhō
12. *yā rāhəyəu sravayhā vahištāṭ šyaθamāṭ marətānō*
aēihyō mazdā akā uraoṭ yōi gāuš niārāndən urvāxs.uxti jyōtīm
yāiš grāhmā⁸ ašāṭ varatā karapā xšaθrəmcā īsauqm drujim

⁴ read *hādrāyā*.

⁵ read *jūyā*, for orig. *jīvyā*.

⁶ Jp₁, J₂, K₄.

⁷ Jp₁, Pt₄, K₄, etc.

⁸ read *grāhmā*.

7. By reason of his correct conduct, a knowing person is never accused of those sins which are decreed to be capital, for which one has (already) been tried by molten iron, and of which Thou, Wise Lord, art the One who dost best know the consequences⁵.

8. Even Yama⁶, the son of Vivahvant, was tried for these sins, he who wanted to satisfy our men (by) swearing: "*The cow is goddess*"⁷. If I, too, am guilty of these sins, Wise One, lies in Thy judgment.

9. The one of evil doctrine⁸ has ruined the (true) words. He has ruined the intention of life by his own teachings. He has robbed the esteemed power which really belongs to good thinking. I lament these words of my spirit (to Thee), Wise One, and to truth — to all of you!

10. Each such man has (also) ruined Thy teachings: the one who has professed the worst in order to see the cow and the sun with his eyes⁹; the one who has set the deceitful against the just; the one who has cut down the pastures¹⁰; the one who has raised a weapon to the truthful man.

11. Those deceitful ones who appear in grandeur as lords and ladies, even they have ruined this life by stealing the property of the (true) inheritor, (as well as those) who have tried to deflect the truthful from the very best thinking.

12. By reason of that teaching with which they deflected men from the best action, the Wise Lord spoke of bad things for them¹¹, for those who have ruined the life of the cow¹² with their habit of pleasure, and because of whom the rich Karpan¹³ chose the rule of tyrants and deceit rather than truth.

⁵ That is, the punishment to be wrought at the final judgment.

⁶ Yama was the first mortal and king during the golden age of mankind.

⁷ The cow here is not the good vision but the earth, which was worshiped as a goddess by the Aryans.

⁸ The evil spirit.

⁹ This expression means 'to remain alive'.

¹⁰ Namely, those of truth and good thinking.

¹¹ Namely, at the final judgment.

¹² Here the cow is both the earth and the good vision.

¹³ A class of traditional priests.

13. *yā xšaθrā grāhmō hišasaḥ*⁹ *acištahyā dāmānē manayhō*
*aḥhāuš mai-xštārō*¹⁰ *ahyā yaēcā mazdā jīgərəzaḥ kāmē*
θwahyā mæθrānā dūtīm yā īš pāḥ darāsāḥ ašahyā
14. *ahyā grāhmrō ā.hōiθāi ni kāvayascēḥ xratūš (ni).dadaḥ*
*varəcā.hicā*¹¹ *fraidivā hyaḥ višāntā drəgvantəm avō*
*hyaḥcā gāuš jaidyāi mraoī*¹² *yā dūraošəm saocayaḥ avō*
15. *anāiš ā vi.izdušā yā karapō.tāscā kəvitāscā*
avāiš aibi xšug dainti nōiḥ jyātāuš xšayamūšəng vasā
*tōi āhyā*¹³ *hairyāntē vaḥhāuš ā dāmānē manayhō*
16. *hamām taḥ valištācēḥ yā nšurnyē syascēḥ dahmahyā*
xšayəš maizdā alurā yehyā mā aiθišcēḥ dvaēθā
*hyaḥ aēnaijhē drəgvatō āānū išyāng aḥhāyā*¹⁴

⁹ read *hišaḥ*.

¹⁰ Jp₁, J₂, K₅, K₄, etc.

¹¹ read *varəcahicā*.

¹² read *mruyē*. For orig. *mruvōi*.

¹³ read *a(i)hī ā*.

¹⁴ K₁₀, L₂. from orig. *āḥhāya(i)yā*.

13. Because of such (evil) rule, the destroyers of this world viewed their riches in the House of Worst Thinking¹⁴. Also those who complained, in their lust¹⁵, about the message of Thy prophet, Wise One, a lust which did guard them from the sight of truth.

14. Even the Kavis¹⁶ have continually fixed their intentions on capturing and plundering the riches of this world, since they have begun to aid the deceitful one¹⁷ and to say: "*The cow¹⁸ is to be killed (for him) who has been kindling the Haoma¹⁹ ...*".

15. Because of these things, the class of Karpans is disappearing, and the Kavis, along with those they ensnare. They shall not be brought to those who rule over life at will in the House of Good Thinking²⁰.

16. This is equal to the best²¹ indeed (for him) who surely lies in the ... of the Wondrous One. Wise Lord, (may I) have mastery over each person whose threat is surely inimical to me, if I am to capture the deceitful for their harm against the worthy.

¹⁴ That is, hell.

¹⁵ *for riches.*

¹⁶ A class of rulers, the princes of the lands.

¹⁷ The evil spirit.

¹⁸ Here the good vision.

¹⁹ The intoxicating drink which formed the sacrament in the worship of the traditional gods.

²⁰ That is, heaven.

²¹ Namely, to be brought to heaven.

Yasna 33

1. *yaθā āiš iθā varāšaitē yā dātā aṅhāns paouruveliyā*
ratus¹ śycaoθauā razištā drəgvataēcā hyaicā aśaouē
yehyā hōmryōsaiē² miθahyā yācā hōi ārazvā
2. *aṭ yā akərṁ drəgvāitē vacayhā vā aṭ vā manayhā*
zastōihyā vā varāšaitī vayhāu vā cōiθaitē astim
tōi vārāi rādauī ahurahyā zaosē mazdā
3. *yā aśāumē vahistō x^ouētū vā aṭ vā vərəzəuyō*
airyamanuā vā ahurā vidys vā θwaxšayhā gavōi
aṭ hvō ašehiyā ayhaṭ vayhōušcā vāstrē manayhō
4. *yā θwaṭ mazdā asruštium akəmcā mauō yazāi apā*
x^ouētūušcā tarōmaiitū vərəzənahyācā nazdištqu drijim
airyamanascā nadəuō gəušcā vāstrāṭ acīštəu mantūu
5. *yastē vīspō.mazīštəm sərəosəm zbayā avayhāuē*
apānō³ darəgō.jyāitū⁴ ā xšaθrəu vayhōuš manayhō
aśāṭ ā arəzūš paθō yaēšū mazdā ahurō šaēiti
6. *yā zaotā aśā drəvus hvō mainyōuš ā vahistāṭ kayā*
almāṭ avā manayhā yā vərəzəyēidyāi manū vāstryā
tā tōi izyā ahurā mazdā darštōišcā hōm.parštōišcā

¹ J₂, H₁, etc.² Lb₂, B₂, etc.: read *hōm.yasaētē*.³ read *apā nō (nā)*.⁴ read *darəgō.jyāitī*.

Yasna 33

1. (to the adherents). As in harmony with those things which are the laws of the foremost existence¹, the (final) judgment thus shall bring to realization the most just actions for the deceitful as well as for the truthful man, and for the person for whom falsity and honesty are held to be indifferent.

2. Therefore, who shall bring about what is bad for the deceitful one² either by word or by thought, or with his hands, or who shall enlighten his guest in the good — all these shall bring success to His desire and be in the approval of the Wise Lord.

3. (to the Wise Lord). The person who is very good to a truthful man, be he allied by family, or a member of his community, or allied by clan, Lord, or be he someone who continues to serve the cow³ with zeal, such a person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking.

4. Wise One, (it is) I who, through worship, shall turn away disobedience and bad thinking from Thee, and opposition from the family, and the nearest deceit of the community, and scorners from the clan, and the worst counselor⁴ from the pasture of the cow⁵.

5. I who, at the stopping (of these), shall summon the all-greatest obedience for Thee, I shall attain for us here the long-lived rule of good thinking and the paths, straight in accord with truth, wherein the Wise Lord dwells.

6. The priest who is just in harmony with truth is the offspring from the best spirit. In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking by reason of which he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties. By reason of this very thinking, Wise Lord, I am eager for Thy sight and Thy counsel.

¹ Cf. Y. 28. fn 11.

² The evil spirit.

³ The good vision.

⁴ The evil spirit.

⁵ Metaphor for the community of the faithful and truthful.

7. *ā mā (ā)icīūu vališṭā ā x'aiθyācā mazdā darəšaiceā*
ašā volūi manayhā yā srūyē parē magaouō
āviš nā anr arə hāntū uəma,x'aitiš ciθrā rātayō
8. *frō mōi (f'ra)vōizdūm arəθā tā yā volūi šyavāi manayhā*
yasuəm niczdā xsmāvatō aṭ vā ašā staomyā vacā
dātā vā anrəratāscū utayūiti haurvatās draonō
9. *aṭ tōi mazclā iēm mainyūu ašao,xšayantā sarəidyayā*
x'āθrā⁵ maēθā mayā⁵ vališṭā barəiū manayhā
ayā ārōi hēikuranəm yayā hacintē urvquō
10. *vīspā.stōi⁶ hujitayō yā zī āgharē yāscā hānti*
yāscā mazclā hvainti⁷ θwalmi hiš zaošē ābaxšō.hvā
volūi uxšyčē manayhā xšəθrā ašācā uštātānūm⁸
11. *yā səvištō ahurō mazdāscā ārmaitišcā*
ašəmeā frēdaṭ.gəēθəm manascā volūi xšəθrəmeā
sraotā mōi uəwəzdātā mōi ādāi kahyāciṭ paiti
12. *us mōi (uz)ārəšvā ahurā ārmaiti təvišim dasvā*
spāništā mainyū mazdā vayhuyā zavō ādā
ašā hazō ʒmavaṭ volūi manayhā ʒsəratūm
13. *rafəδrāi vourncasānē dōiši mōi yā vō ahifrā*
tā xšəθrahuyā ahurā yā vayhānš ašiš manayhō
frō spəntā ārmaiti⁹ ašā daēnā (fra)da,xšayā
14. *aṭ rātaqm zaraθuštrō tanvaseiṭ x'alīyā uštānəm*
dadāiti pəurvatātəm manayhascā vayhānš mazdāi
šyuoθanahuyā ašā yācā uxδalīyācā səraošəm xšəθrəmeā

⁵ read *maēθā mayā*.

⁶ read *vīspās iōi*.

⁷ S₁: cf. *hvainti* MΓ₂.

⁸ J₂, MΓ₁, S₁.

⁹ Jp₁: read *ārmaiti*.

7. Come hither to me, ye best ones. Hither, both personally and boldly — Thou, Wise One, together with truth and good thinking — by reason of which I am to be famed before (every other) adherent. Let bright gifts and reverence (for all of you) be manifest amid us.

8. Take ye heed of these goals of mine, which I shall enact with good thinking: worship of all of you, Wise One, and words praiseworthy with truth. Your enduring worshipful offering has been established to be immortality and completeness⁶.

9. Yes, for Thee, Wise One, let a person support with good thinking the very spirit of these two companions⁷ who increase truth through that happiness consisting of change⁸. The association of these two has already arisen⁹, under whom (all) souls are in harmony.

10. All those (beings) whose way of life is good for Thee — those who have been, and those who are, and those who shall be — give them a share in Thy approval, Wise One. (And) grow Thyself, in breath and body, through the rule of good thinking and of truth.

11. The Wise One who is the Mightiest Lord, and piety, and truth which prospers the creatures, and good thinking, and (good) rule — listen to me, have mercy on me, when there is any requital.

12. Rise up to me, Lord. Along with Thy most virtuous spirit, Wise One, receive force through (our) piety, strength through (every) good requital, powerful might through truth, protection through (our) good thinking.

13. Lord of broad vision, disclose to me for support the safeguards of your rule. those which are the reward for good thinking. Reveal to me, by reason of my virtuous piety, those conceptions in harmony with truth.

14. For Zarathustra does give the breath of even his own person as a gift, in order that there be for the Wise One predominance of good thinking along with (predominance) of the action and the word allied with truth, that there be obedience and His (good) rule.

⁶ That is, granted by the good thinking and piety of the truthful man.

⁷ These are most probably good thinking and piety.

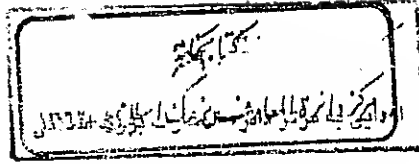
⁸ *in this world*. That is, the change brought about by the healing of the world currently afflicted by the ways of deceit.

⁹ *among Thy followers*.

Yasna 34

1. *yā šyaoθanā yā vacayhā yā yasnā aməvətaiātəm*
ašənicā taihyē dāyhā mazdā xšaθrənicā hauryatātō
aēšqm tōi ahurū āhunā pourutəmāiš dastē
2. *aṣcā ī tōi manayhā mainyēniscā vahhəuš vīspā dātā*
spəntahyācā nərəš šyaoθanā yehyā urvā ašā hacaitē
pairigaēθē xšnāvātō valunē mazdā garōhīs stūtqm
3. *aṣ tōi myazdəm alurā nəmayhā ašāicā dāmā*
gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi yā volū θraoštā manayhā
ārōi¹ zī lucdāyhō vīspāiš mazdā xšnāvasū savō
4. *aṣ tōi ātrəm əhurā əjōghvantəm ašā usənahi*
asīstəm əmavəntəm stōi rapantē ciθrā.əvayhəni
aṣ mazdā daihišyantē zastāišiāiš dəvəštā.əənahəm
5. *kaṣ vā xšaθrəni kā ištīs šyaoθanāi mazdā yaθā vā ahmi²*
ašā volū manayhā θrāyōidvāi drīgūm yūsmākəm
parā vā vīspāiš (parā).vaoxəniā dāēvāišcā xrafsrāiš nīšyāišcā
6. *yezī aθā stā huiθim mazdā ašā volū manayhā*
aṣ taṣ mōi daxštəm dātā ahyā aghəuš vīspā maēθā
yaθā vā yazəmmascā urvāidyā stavas ayeuī paitī
7. *kuθrā tōi arədrā mazdā yōi vahhəuš vaēdəuō manayhō*
sānglūš vaēxəuā aspəncīṣ sādrcīṣ caxrayō ušəurū
naēcim tən ənyəm yūsməṣ vūēdā ašā aθā nā θrāzdūm

¹ read *ārōi*.² S₁, O₂, etc.



Yasna 34

1. By whichever action, by whichever word, by whichever worship, Wise One, Thou didst receive for Thyself immortality, truth, and mastery over completeness, let these very things be given by us to Thee, Lord, in the very greatest number.

2. Moreover, all these things have been granted to Thee by the (correct) thinking stemming from good spirit, by the action of the virtuous man whose soul is in alliance with truth, (and) by songs of praise (sung) in universal glory of your kind, Wise One.

3. Therefore, let us reverently give an offering¹ to Thee, Lord, and to truth, all of us creatures under Thy rule whom one has nourished with good thinking. Indeed let salvation be granted to the beneficent man by all those among your kind, Wise One!

4. Now, we wish Thy fire, Lord, which possesses strength through truth and which is the swiftest, forceful thing, to be of clear help to Thy supporter but of visible harm, with the powers in its hands, to Thy enemy, Wise One.

5. Have ye the mastery, have ye the power, Wise One, for the act to protect your needy dependent — as I indeed am — with truth and with good thinking? We have said that ye are above all others. be they fierce gods or mortals.

6. If ye are truly so — Thou, Wise One, along with truth and good thinking — then give ye that sign to me through every change of this world², so that I shall very happily approach all of you, as I worship and praise.

7. Wise One, where are those sincere ones who, through their possession of good thinking, make even immoral decrees and painful legacies disappear? I know none other than you. Therefore protect us in accord with truth.

¹ That is, the one true offering of piety and good thinking.

² *for the better.*

8. *tāiš zi ná šy-aοθanāiš hyaini³ yaēšū as pairi pouruhyō iθyejō*
hya⁴ as aοjā⁴ nāidyā⁴həm θwahyā mazdā aštā urvātalhyā
yōi nōi⁴ ašə⁴m mainyanūā aēihyō dūrē vohū as manō
9. *yōi spəntam⁴ ārmaitim θwahyā mazdā bə⁴rəxδəm vidušō*
duš.šyaoθairā avazaza⁴ va⁴yhāuš avisti manayhō
aēihyō maš ašā syazda⁴ yava⁴ alma⁴ aurimā xra⁴strā
10. *ahyā va⁴yhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā vaoca⁴ gə⁴rəbəm huxratuš*
spəntamcā ē⁴rmaitim dəmim vidvā hiθəm ašahyā
tācā vi⁴spā ahurā θwalmi mazdā xšəθrōi ā vōyaθrā
11. *a⁴ iōi ubē haurvāscā x⁴arəθāi.ā amərətātāscā*
va⁴yhāuš xšəθrā mauiayhō ašā ma⁴ ārmaitiš va⁴xšt
uayūiti təvīšī tāiš ā mazdā⁵ vidvaēšəm θwōi.ahi⁵
12. *ka⁴ iōi rāzarō ka⁴ vašō⁶ ka⁴ vā stūtō ka⁴ vā yasnahyā*
srūidyāi mazdā frāvaoeā yā vidāyā⁴ ašiš rāšnəm
sišā nā ašā paθō va⁴yhāuš x⁴aētāng mauiayhō
13. *tām advānəm ahurā yām mōi mraoš va⁴yhāuš mauiayhō*
daēnā saosyanəm yāhū⁷ karāiā⁸ ašācī⁴ urvāxša⁴
hya⁴ avistiā⁹ hūdāhyō miždəm mazdā yehyā tū daθrəm

³ J₂.⁴ read *aš.aojā*.⁵ read *vidvaēšəm θwōiyahi*.⁶ J₁, J₂; read *vašā*.⁷ J₂, S₁, etc.⁸ in *hū.karāiā* J₁, MΓ₂, K₁, etc.⁹ read *vōištā*.

8. Because they frighten us — much as a man of great strength a weaker person — with such actions in which there has been danger for many, good thinking has remained at a distance from these persons who, because of malice for Thy commandment, Wise One, have not respected truth.

9. Those of evil actions who, through their lack of good thinking, have abandoned virtuous piety which is esteemed by Thy knowing follower, from them one has certainly retreated in accordance with truth, much as fierce beasts (retreat) from us.

10. By his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety, knowing, as he does, the creator and companion of truth³, and all those other forces existing under Thy rule, Wise Lord.

11. Yes, both completeness and immortality are for Thy sustenance⁴. Together with the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring powers (for Thee). Because of these things, Wise One, Thou dost terrorize the enemy.

12. What is Thy directive? What is Thy wish? Is it for praise? Is it for worship? Speak out, Wise One, in order for that thing to be heard according to which one should distribute the rewards to those who follow Thy directive⁵. Instruct us to those paths of good thinking, easy to travel in alliance with truth,

13. To that. Lord, which Thou hast told me to be the road of good thinking, to the conceptions of those who shall save, along which Thy extoller shall proceed in alliance with truth indeed to the prize which has been promised to the beneficent, and of which Thou art the (only) source of giving, Wise One⁶.

³ to be Thee.

⁴ That is, the completeness and immortality created by the faith and devotion of the truthful is the only sustenance which Ahura Mazda requires.

⁵ That is, at the time of the final judgment.

⁶ The prize is earthly and heavenly salvation.

14. *taṭ zī mazdā vairīm astvaitē nštānāi dātā*
vayhδuš šyaθbanā manayhō yōi zī gδuš vərəzδuē azyā
xšmākqm hucistim ahurā xratδuš ašā frādō vərəzδuā
15. *mazdā aṭ mōi vahistā sravāscā šyaθbanācā vaocā*
tā tū volū manayhā ašācā išudam stūtō
xšmākā xšaθrā uhurā fərəšəm vasnā haiθyēm dā ahīm

14. For that prize, desirable for the body and breath, Wise One, has been established (for those) who, through their action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow⁷, as they further the good understanding of your will with truth, Lord, throughout the (whole) community.

15. Wise One, therefore tell me the best words and actions, namely, those allied with good thinking and truth, as the just claim for my praises. By your rule, Lord, Thou shalt truly heal this world in accord with our wish.

⁷ Metaphor for the society of truthful adherents who promote the good vision on earth.

Yasna 43

1. *uštā aluāi yaluāi uštā kaluāicī*
vasō xšayqs mazdā dāyāi aluō
utayūiti¹ tənīšim gaṭ.tōi vasōni
ašəm darəidγ-ai taṭ mōi dā ārmaiti²
tāyō ašīs vaṭhōuš gaēm manajhō
2. *aṭcā aluāi vīspauqm valūštəu*
x'āθrōyā³ uā x'āθrəm⁴ daiclītā
θwā ciciθwā spəništā maniyū mazdā
yā dā ašā vaṭhōuš māyā manajhō
vīspā ayārā darəgō.jyūtōiš urvādayhā
3. *aṭ hvō vaṭhōuš vahyō uā aibi.jamiyāi*
yā nā arəzūš savajhō paθō sīsōi
ahyā aṭhōuš astvatō manajhəscā
haiθyōng ā.srīs yōng ā.šəēiti aluō
arədrō θwāveis huzōntuš spəutō mazdā
4. *aṭ θwā mōnghāi taxuənicā spəutəm mazdā*
hyaṭ tā zastē yā nū haṭšī avā
yā dā ašīs drəgvāitē ašāmaēcā
θwahyā garəniā āθrō ašā.əojajhō
hyaṭ mōi vaṭhōuš hazō jinaṭ manajhō
5. *spəutəm aṭ θwā mazdā mōnghī aluā*
hyaṭ θwā aṭhōuš zqθōi darəšəm paəurvim
hyaṭ dā šyaəθəniā niždavqm yācā uxδā
akām akāi vaṭhōuš ašūn vaṭhəovē
θwā hunarā dāmōiš urvaēšē arəmə

¹ read *utayūitīm*.² J₂: cf. *ārmaiti* Jp₁, Mf₂, K₄, etc.³ for *x'āθrōi yā*.⁴ read *x'arəθəm*.

Yasna 43

1. "May¹ the Wise Lord, who rules at will², grant wishes to him, to the person whosoever has wishes". I (therefore) wish enduring strength to come, in order to uphold the truth. By reason of my piety, grant this to me : the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking.

2. Moreover, (I wish) for this person³ the best of all things, that by which a man might place a person of good purpose in happiness : to be understanding all his days, with the joy of long life, understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit, Wise One, by reason of which Thou didst create the wondrous powers of good thinking allied with truth.

3. And may that man reach what is better than good, namely, the one who would instruct us to the straight paths of the Mighty One — (to those) of this material existence and (to those) of the mind — and to the true heights where the Lord dwells, he being someone sincere, of good lineage, and virtuous like Thee, Wise One.

4. Yes, I shall (truly) realize Thee to be both brave and virtuous, Wise One, if Thou shalt help me (now) with the very hand with which Thou dost hold those rewards Thou shalt give, through the heat of Thy truth-strong fire, to the deceitful and to the truthful⁴, and also if the force of good thinking shall come to me.

5. But I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when I saw Thee to be the First One at the creation of the world, and when I saw that Thou didst determine actions as well as words to have their prizes, namely, bad for the bad, a good reward for the good, (each to be given) through Thy skill at the final turning point of creation.

¹ A citation from a sacred prayer, cf. Y. 45.4 with note.

² *over everything*.

³ Namely, Z. himself.

⁴ That is, the very best thing mentioned in the previous verse.

⁵ That is, at the time of the final judgment.

6. *yahmi sprantū θwā mainyū irvaēsē jasō*
mazdā xsāθrā ahurī volhū manayhā
yehyā syaoθamāis gaēθā ašā frādantē
aēihyā ratūš sōnghaitī ārmaitīš
θwahyā xratūš yōm naēcis dāhayeiti
7. *spantəm aī θwā mazdā mōnghī ahurā*
hyaī mā volhū pairī.jasaī manayhā
pərəsaīcā nū cīs ahī kahyā ahī
kaθā ayarō⁵ daxšārā fərasayāi dīšā⁵
aibi θwāhī gaēθāhī umšicā⁶
8. *aī hōi aōjī zaraθuštrō paourvīm*
haiθyō dvatēšā hyaī isōyā⁷ drəgvāitē
aī ašaonē rafəuō hīyōm aōjōnghvaī
hyaī ā hūš tīš vasaxə.xšaθrahyā dyā
⁸yavaī ā⁸ θwā mazdā staomī nfyācā
9. *spantəm aī θwā mazdā mōnghī ahurā*
hyaī mā volhū pairī.jasaī manayhā
ahyā fərasōm kahmāi vivichiyē vašī
adā⁹ θwahmāi āθrē rātqm aēmanayhō
ašahyā mī yavaī isāi manayāi
10. *aī tū mōi dāiš ašəm hyaī mā zaōzomī*
ārmaitī hacimō īī ārəm
pərəsācā mī yā tōi dīunā parštā
parštōm zī θwā yaθmā iaī dīnavatqm
hyaī θwā xsayqs aēšəm dyāī dīnavantəm
11. *spantəm aī θwā mazdā mōnghī ahurā*
hyaī mā volhū pari.jasaī manayhā
hyaī¹⁰ xšmā uxδāiš¹⁰ dīdaijē¹¹ paourvīm
sādrā mōi sqs mašyaēšū zrazdāitīš
iaī vərəzpeidyāi hyaī mōi mraotā valištəm

⁵ read *daxšārō ā fərasē t ā dīšā*.

⁶ read *umšicā*.

⁷ for *isōiyā*.

⁸ read *yavalā*.

⁹ J₂: read *adā* (**ādā*).

¹⁰ read *xšmā uxδāiš*.

¹¹ read *dādaijē*.

6. (But) at this very turning point in which I exist, Thou, the Wise One, hast come into the world with Thy virtuous spirit (and) with the rule of good thinking, through the actions of which the creatures allied with truth do prosper. To them does piety announce the judgments of Thy will, Thou, whom no one is able to deceive.

7. And I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he⁶ attended me with good thinking and asked me: "*Who art thou? To which side dost thou belong? How, this day, wouldst thou begin to explain these revelations among thy creatures and thine own?*".

8. Then I said to him first: "*(I am) Zorothustra. If I were able, I would be a true enemy to the deceitful one⁷ but a strong support to the Truthful One⁸*". That, while I continue to praise and eulogize Thee, Wise One, I would begin (to explain) the endeavors of Him who rules at His wish.

9. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking. To his question, "*Whom dost thou wish to serve?*" I then replied: "*Thy fire. As long as I shall be able, I shall respect that truth is to have a gift of reverence⁹*".

10. "*Therefore do thou reveal to me the truth, which I continue to summon. Being in companionship with piety, I have deserved it. And counsel us with regard to what has been asked by us of thee. For what is counseled through thy effort, that belongs to the forceful. since the Ruling One¹⁰ could create thee to be powerful and forceful*".

11. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking. (But) when I was first instructed by your words, painful seemed to me my faith in men to bring to realization that which ye told me is the best (for them).

⁶ The virtuous spirit of the lord.

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ Ahura Mazda.

⁹ Fire was considered to be a manifestation of truth. Therefore worship of the fire was worship of truth.

¹⁰ Namely, Ahura Mazda.

12. *hyaicā nōi mraos ašəm jasō frāxsənauē*¹²
a! tū mōi nōi? asruštā pairyaoyzā
uzirəidyāi parā hya! mōi ā.jima!
səraosō ašī mačā.rayā hacimnō
yā vī ašīs rānōibvō savōi (vī)dāyā!
13. *spəntəm a! θwā mazdā mānghī alurā*
hya! mā volhū pairī.jasa! managhā
arəθā vōizdyāi kāmahyā təm mōi dātā
darəghayā yauš yəm vā naēciš dārašt itē
*vairyā*¹³ *stōiš yā θwalmi xšaθrōi vācī*
14. *hya! nā fryāi vaōdamnō isvā daidī?*
maihyō mazdā tavā rafəuō frāxsənənm
hya! θwā xšaθrā ašā! hacā fraštā
uzirəidyāi azō sarədanā sənglahyā
ma! tōi vīspā is yōi tōi maθrā marəntī
15. *spəntəm a! θwā mazdā mānghī alurā*
 : *hya! mā volhū pairī.jasa! managhā*
 : *daχsaj usyā*¹⁴ *tišnā.maitiš vahišitā*
 : *nōi nā pourūš drəgvatō hyā! ciχsmišō*
 : *a! tōi vīspāng angrəng ašaonō ādarō*
16. *a! alurā hvō mainyūm zaraθuštō*
vərautē mazdā yastē cišcā spəništō
astva! ašəm hyā! uštānā əojənghva!
*x'əng.darasō*¹⁵ *xšaθrōi hyā! ārmaitiš*
ašīm syəoθauziš volhū daidī? managhā

¹² read *frāxsānē*.¹³ read *vairyaō*.¹⁴ S₁.¹⁵ K₁, P₁₂.

12. However, that Thou didst say to me: "*Thou hast come to the truth in thy discernment; moreover, thou hast never contradicted Me in disobedience*", it was for me to arise before obedience was to come to me accompanied by a wealth-granting reward, (for it is obedience) according to which one should distribute the rewards to both factions at the time of (our) salvation¹¹.

13. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking, in order that the goals of my wish be known. "*Grant*¹² *ye all to me that wish for long life, to which no one has dared you to accede, and that wish for the desirable condition which is said to exist under thy rule*¹³".

14. Yes, Wise One, (grant) to me Thy proper support, which an able man, possessing such, should give to his friend and which has been obtained through Thy rule that is in accord with truth. Let me arise and drive out the opponents of Thy teaching! Let me along with all those who remember Thy precepts!

15. Yes, I have already realized Thee to be virtuous, Wise Lord, when he attended me with good thinking and revealed — he the meditative one — the best things to be said: "*A man should not wish to satisfy the many deceitful people, for they say that the truthful are all bad*".

16. Therefore, Lord, this Zarathustra chooses that very spirit of Thine which indeed is the most virtuous of all, Wise One. "*May*¹⁴ *truth be embodied and strong with breath. May there be piety under the rule of Him who has the appearance of the sun*¹⁵. *May He dispense through His good thinking (each) reward corresponding to one's actions*".

¹¹ That is, the final judgment shall bring salvation to the truthful but damnation to the deceitful. Z. therefore looks upon the final judgment as a time of salvation.

¹² Words of Z. spoken to the virtuous spirit during his revelations. These are paraphrased in the following verse, which is addressed now to Ahura Mazda.

¹³ Namely, under the lord's rule of truth and good thinking which is motivated by his own virtuous spirit.

¹⁴ Continues the words of the virtuous spirit begun in the preceding verse; thus an affirmation of Zarathustra's understanding expressed in the opening lines of verse 16.

¹⁵ Namely, Ahura Mazda.

Yasna 44

1. *taṭ θwā pərəsā* *ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
manayhō ā *yaθā nənō xšmāvatō*
mazdā frīyāi *θwāvaqs saliyāi manvaitē*
aṭ uō ašā *frīyā dazdyāi hākurauiā*
yaθā nā ā *volū jūnaṭ manayhā*
2. *taṭ θwā pərəsā* *ərəš mōi vaocā alurā*
kaθā aṭhāuš *vahištahyā paourvīm*
kāθā sūidyāi *yā i paitišāi*
hvō zī ašā *spautō irixtəm vīspōihyō*
hārō mainyū *alūm.hiš urvaθō mazdā*
3. *taṭ θwā ...*
kasnā zqθā *ptā¹ ašahyā paouruyē²*
kasuā x'āng *starāncā³ dāi ahvānəm*
kā yā uō *uxšyēiti nərəfsaiti θwaṭ*
tāciṭ mazdā *vasəni aṭyācā viduyē*
4. *taṭ θwā ...*
kasnā dərətā *zqncā adā nabāscā*
avapastōiš *kā apō urvarāscā*
kā vātāi *dvaṇmaiḥyascā vaogəṭ āsū*
kasuā vaṭhāuš *mazdā dpmiš manayhō*
5. *taṭ θwā ...*
kā hvāpā *raocāscā dāi tənāscā*
kā hvāpā *x'afəuəncā dāi zāēmācā*
kā yā ušā *arənm.piθwā xšapācā*
yā manaoθrīš *cazdōughvauntəm arəθahyā*
6. *taṭ θwā ...*
yā frava.xšyā *yezī tā aθā haiθyā*
ašəm šyaοθaiūiš *dəbqzaii ārmaitiš*
taihyō xšaθrəm *volū cinas manayhā*
kaēihyō azīm *tānyō.skəətīiun gqm tašō*

¹ Jp₁, Mf_{1,2}, K₄.² J₂, K₄.³ Jm₁, O₂, etc.

Yasna 44

1. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, Someone like Thee, Wise One, should declare to me, his friend, how reverence for your kind is to be from the reverent person, and how friendly associations with truth are to be established by us, in order that it shall come to us together with good thinking.

2. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Is the beginning of the best existence in such a way that the loving man who shall seek after these things is to be saved? For such a person, virtuous through truth, watching over the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One.

3. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Which man in the beginning was the father of truth during the creation? Which man did fix the course of the sun and of the stars? Through whom does the moon wax (now), wane later? These things indeed and others I wish to know, Wise One.

4. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Which man has upheld the earth below and the heavens (above) from falling? Who the waters and the plants? Who yoked the pairs of swift (steeds) to the wind and to the clouds? Which man, Wise One, is the creator of good thinking?

5. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Which craftsman created the luminous bodies and the dark spaces? Which craftsman created both sleep and activity? Through whom does dawn exist, along with midday and evening, (all of) which remind the worshiper of his purpose¹?

6. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, if these things which I shall speak forth are really true. Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth. It has made clear to Thee the rule of good thinking. For whom hast Thou fashioned the joy-bringing, fertile cow²?

¹ Namely, to praise the lord.

² The good vision.

7. *taṭ θwā ...*
kā bərəxδəm tāsī xšaθrā maṭ ārmaitiim
kā uzəmām cōraṭ vṇūuayā piθrəm piθrē
azəm tāsī θwā fraxšnē⁴ avāmī mazdā
spəmiā mainiyē vīspauqm dāiārəm
8. *taṭ θwā ...*
niəndāidyāi yā tōi mazdā ādištīš
yācā volhū uxδā frašī manajhā
yācā ašā aṇhīnš arəm vaēdyā⁵
kā mō urvā volhū urvāxšaṭ āgəmaṭ .tā
9. *taṭ θwā ...*
kaθā mōi ym⁶ yaos daēnqm (yaoz) dāuē
ym ludāuaoš paitišə sahyāṭ xšaθrahyā
ərəšvā xšaθrā θwāyqs asīštīš⁷ mazdā
hadəmōi ašā volucā šyqs manajhā
10. *taṭ θwā ...*
tm daēnqm yā hāim valīštā
yā mōi gaēθcā ašā frādōiṭ hacəmuā
ārmaitōiš uxδāiš šyaoθamā ərəš dāidyay⁸
mahyā cīstōiš⁹ θwā īštīš⁹ usən mazdā
11. *taṭ θwā ...*
kaθā təng ā vijəmyāṭ ārmaitiš
yaēihyō mazdā θwāi vašvetē daēnā
azəm tōi āiš paouruyō¹⁰ fravdōividē
vīspəng aṇyōng mainyāiš spasyā dvaēšajhā

⁴ J₁.⁵ J₂, K₅.⁶ read *tm*.⁷ read *as.īštīš*.⁸ read *didyaṭ*.⁹ read *θwā.īštīš*.¹⁰ H₁, J_n, etc.

7. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Who fashioned esteemed piety in addition to rule? Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father? By these (questions), Wise One, I am helping to discern Thee to be the creator of everything³ by reason of Thy virtuous spirit.

8. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, in order for me to bear in mind Thy (every) precept and those words about which I have taken counsel with good thinking and those things which are to be correctly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth. To what goods shall my soul proceed in the future?

9. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How shall I bring to life that vision of mine, which the master of a blessed dominion — someone of great power like Thee, Wise Lord — would decree by reason of his lofty rule, as he continues to dwell in his seat⁴ in alliance with truth and good thinking?

10. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Have they truly seen that vision which is the best for those who exist, and which, in companionship with truth, would prosper my creatures already allied with truth through words and acts stemming from piety? In consequence of my insight they have wished for Thy powers, Wise One.

11. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How might piety separately come to those to whom Thy conception⁵ is taught, Wise One? I have been accepted by them as Thy foremost (follower). Do Thou look upon all others with enmity of spirit!

³ That is, creator of everything in both the physical and the moral worlds.

⁴ Or, *on his throne*.

⁵ Still the good vision of a world governed by truth and good thinking.

12. *taṭ θwā ...*
kā aśavā yāiš pərəsāi drəgvā vā
¹¹ *katārāni ā augrō vā hvō vā augrō*
yā mā drəgvā θwā savā paiti.arətē
cyanghaṭ¹² hvō nōiṭ ayāim augrō maiiuyetē
13. *taṭ θwā ...*
kaθā drujāni niš aluiay ā (niš) .nāśāmā
tāug ā avā yōi asrnišāiš pərəniayhō
nōiṭ aśahyā ādīveyēni¹³ hacāmā
nōiṭ frasayā vajhānš cāxnarō manayhō
14. *taṭ θwā ...*
kaθā aśāi drujōm dyqm zastayō
nī hīm mərəqzdyāi θwahyā mqθrāiš sāughahyā
ānavaitīm siuqm dāyōi drəgvasū
ā iš dvaṭšāng mazdā .a māšē qstajscā
15. *taṭ θwā ...*
yezi ahya aśā pōi mai xšayehi
hyaṭ hōm spāilā anaocayhā jamaētē
avāiš urvātēiš yā tū mazdā didərəžō
kuθrā ayā kalnūi vamanqm dadā
16. *taṭ θwā ...*
kā vərəθrəti.jā θwā pōi sāughā yōi hantī
ciθrā mōi dqm alūni.biš ratūm cīzdi
aṭ hōi volū sərəošō jenuū manayhā
mazdā alnāi yalunāi vaši kalnūaicī
17. *taṭ θwā ...*
kaθā mazdā zarəm carāni hacā xšnuay
āškaitim xšnūkqm hyaṭcā mōi hyāṭ vāxš aēšō
sarōi bhēdyāi haurvātā amərətātā
avā mqθrā yō rāθəmō aśāṭ hacā

¹¹ read *katārō māi*.

¹² read *ci anghaṭ*.

¹³ read *ādi vyeimzi*.

12. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord, (those principles) according to which I shall ask : "*Who is truthful or who is deceitful? Is this one evil or is that one evil?*" The deceitful person who, in order to fight against Thy (means of) salvation, shall act with evil, is it that such a person — not this one⁶ — is considered evil?

13. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How shall we repel deceit away from us and on to those who, being full of disobedience, do not pursue truth's care and company, nor delight in the counsel of good thinking?

14. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth, in order to destroy it in accord with the precepts of Thy teaching⁷, in order to create a powerful schism among the deceitful ones, in order to bring afflictions and evils upon them?

15. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. If Thou hast the (necessary) mastery to protect the world allied with truth in accordance with those commandments Thou dost seek to uphold, Wise One, when the two hosts who share no wants come together, where and to which one shalt Thou grant victory?

16. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Who shall smash the obstacle (of deceit) in order to protect, in accord with Thy teaching⁸, those pure ones who exist in my house⁹? As world-healer, promise us a judge, and let obedience to him come through good thinking, to him whomsoever Thou dost wish him to be, Wise One.

17. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Wise One, how shall I, with your accord, impassion your following, so that my voice might be powerful (enough) to strive for alliance with completeness and immortality (for Thee) in accordance with that precept¹⁰ which adheres to the truth?

⁶ Namely, Zarathustra himself.

⁷ Cf. Y. 47.4.

⁸ Cf. Y. 47.4 again.

⁹ That is, the community of the truthful and the faithful who are adherents to Zarathustra's message.

¹⁰ Cf. Y. 31.6.

18. *taṭ θwā ...*
kaθā ašā taṭ miždəm hanāni
dasā aspā aršnavaitiš nštramicā
hyaṭ mōi mazdā apivaiti haurvātā
aməraiatā yaθā hi taibyo dāyhā
19. *taṭ θwā ...*
yastat miždərən hanəntē nōi dāiti
yā iṭ ahmāi arəšnxdā nā dāitē
kā tām ahya māēniš aṭhaṭ paomnyē
vidvā avəm yā n n aṭhaṭ apāmā
20. *ciθanā mazdā huxšaθrā daēvā āṭharā*
aṭ iṭ pərəsā yōi pišyeimī¹⁴ aēibyo kəm¹⁵
yāiš gəm karapā nsixšcā aēšamāi dātā
yācā kavā qumānē vrūdōyatā
nōiṭ hīm mižən¹⁶ ašā vāstrəm frādañhē

¹⁴ read *pišyeimī*.

¹⁵ read *kəm*.

¹⁶ read *ižən*.

18. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. How shall I win through truth this prize, namely, ten mares together with their stallions and a camel¹¹, a prize which is to inspire completeness and immortality in me, just as Thou hast received these two for Thyself?

19. This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. The person who shall not give that prize to the one winning it, namely, to the man who should receive it in accord with (our) promise — what shall be the first punishment for such a person? I know the final one which shall befall him¹².

20. Wise One, were the gods good rulers in any way? Yes, I ask this (about them), they who continue to lie to those¹³ along with whom the Karpan and the Usig¹⁴ have delivered the cow¹⁵ unto fury, and the Kavi as well. ... They have not been eager to prosper her and her pasturage¹⁶ with truth.

¹¹ Metaphor for a devoted following of Zarathustra's teachings, and most probably Vishtaspa and his circle.

¹² Namely, damnation.

¹³ Most probably, the evil rulers of the lands.

¹⁴ Another traditional type of priest.

¹⁵ The good vision.

¹⁶ Metaphor for the faithful followers of the good vision.

Yasna 45

1. *aṣ frava.xšyā* *nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā*
yaēcā asnā! *yaēcā dhīrā! išaθā*
nū im vīspā *cīθrō zī mazdāyho.dūm*
uōiḡ daibitīm *duš.sastiš ahūm mərəqšyā!*
akā varanā *drəgvā hizvā āvərətō*
2. *aṣ frava.xšyā* *aṣhēuš mainyū paouruyē*
yaγā spanyā *ūiī mravaṣ γānu angrəm*
uōiḡ nā manā *nōiḡ sdughā nōiḡ xratavō*
naēdā varanā *uōiḡ uxδā naēdā šyaοθanā*
nōiḡ daēnā *uōiḡ urvquā hacaiutē*
3. *aṣ frava.xšyā* · *aṣhēuš aḡyā paourvūn*¹
· *γqm mōi vidvč* *mazdā vaocai ahurō*
· *γōi im vā uōiḡ* *iθā mṡθrəm varəšəuti*
· *γaθā im* *mānāicā vaucacā*
· *aēihyō aṣhēuš* *avōi aḡhaṣ apəmən*
4. *aṣ frava.xšyā* *aṣhēuš aḡyā vahīštəm*
ašā! hacā *mazdā vaēdā γā im*² *dā!*
*ptarēm*³ *vaḡhēuš* *varə-ayantō manayhō*
aṣ hōi dugədā *hušyaοθanā ārmaitiš*
uōiḡ dīwzaiḡyēi *vīspā.hišas ahurō*
5. *aṣ frava.xšyā* *hvaṣ mōi mraoṣ spəutō.ṣəutō*
vač svūidyāi *hvaṣ mərətaēihyō vahīštəm*
γōi mōi ahmāi *səraošəm dqu caγascā*
upā.jimən *haurvātā amərətātā*
vaḡhēuš mərəḡyūuš *šyaοθanāiš mazdā ahurō*

¹ read *paourvuyqm*.² read *iḡ*.³ K₅, M_{1,2}, (P_{1,4}).

Yasna 45

1. (to the adherents). Yes, I shall speak out. Give ear now, listen now, ye who seek from both near and far. (Listen) now, all of you, to this (precept). Because it is clear, bear it in mind. *"May not the deceitful one of evil doctrine¹ destroy the world for a second time², he who has turned hither with his tongue and his evil preference"*.

2. Yes, I shall speak of the two fundamental spirits of existence, of which the virtuous one would have thus spoken to the evil one: *"Neither our thoughts nor teachings nor intentions, neither our preferences nor words, neither our actions nor conceptions nor our souls are in accord"*.

3. Now, I shall speak of the foremost (doctrine) of this existence³, that which the Wise Lord, the Knowing One, told me: *"Those of you who shall not bring to realization (each) precept now exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it, for them shall there be woe at the end of existence"*.

4. Now, I shall speak of the best thing of this existence in accord with truth⁴: *"I⁵ know the Wise One who created it to be the Father of effective good thinking. And His daughter is piety of good actions. The All-viewing Lord is not to be deceived"*.

5. Now, I shall speak of what the most virtuous one⁶ told me, that word which is to be heard as the best for men: *"Those of you who shall give obedience and regard to this (Lord) of mine, they shall reach completeness and immortality⁷. The Wise One is Lord through such actions stemming from good spirit⁸"*.

¹ The evil spirit.

² The first destruction was the false choice made by the traditional gods; cf. Y. 30.6.

³ Namely, piety for the Wise Lord

⁴ Namely, the very best truth itself.

⁵ Probably a citation from a sacred prayer of the type Y. 28.6. Y. 51.21, 22. Cf. verses 6 and 7 below.

⁶ The virtuous spirit who inspired the revelations in Zarathustra; cf. Y. 43.7 ff.

⁷ in the next world.

⁸ enacted among the faithful.

6. *aṭ frava xšyā vīspanam mazīštanu*
stavas ašā yā ludā yōi hōutī
spəntā maīnyū sraotū mazdā ahurō
yehyā valunē volū frašī maiaṭhā
ahyā xratū frō.mā sāstū vahistā
7. *yehyā savā išantī rādayhō*
yōi zī jyā āṭharəcā hvainticā
aməratātī ašaouō urvā aēšō
mayūtā yā⁴ nərəqš sādvrā drəḡvatō
tācā xšaθvrā mazdā dpmiš ahurō
8. *təm nō stao tātīs māiaṭhō ā.vīvarəšō*
nū zīṭ cəišmaīni vyādarəšəni
vaṭhōuš māiuyōuš šyuoθanahyā uxdaḥyācā
vīduš ašā yəm mazdpmi ahurəni
aṭ hōi valunəḡ dənānē garō nidāmā
9. *təm nō volūī maṭ maiaṭhā cixšmūšō*
yā nō usōni cōrəṭ spəncā aspəncā
mazdā xšaθvī varəzī uā dyāṭ ahurō
pasūš vīrəḡ alnūkəḡ fraclaθāi.ā
vaṭhōuš ašēi haozəθwāṭ ā maiaṭhō
10. *təm nō yasrūtīs ārnatōis mimayzō*
yā qmōnī mazdā srāvi ahurō
hyəṭ hōi ašā voluncā cōišī maiaṭhā
xšaθvrōi hōi haurvātā aməratātā
almāi stōi dpm⁵ təvišī mayūtī

⁴ read *ā*.⁵ read *dpm*.

6. Now, I shall speak of the Greatest One⁹ of all, praising with truth Him who is beneficent through His virtuous spirit to those who exist. "*May*¹⁰ *the Wise Lord listen, in Whose glory I have taken counsel with good thinking. May He instruct me in His best intentions.*

7. "*Because those who are alive, and those who have been, and those who shall be, shall seek after the salvation that comes from Him, the One who offers solicitude. That the soul of the truthful person be powerful in immortality, that woes beset the deceitful men in an enduring fashion — these things, too, did the Wise Lord create by reason of His rule*¹¹".

8. I shall try to turn Him hither to us by praises of reverence, for I have just now, knowingly through truth, seen the Wise One in a vision to be Lord of the word and deed stemming from good spirit. Yes, let us set down His glories in the House of Song¹².

9. I shall try to gratify Him for us with good thinking, Him who left to our will (to choose between) the virtuous and the unvirtuous. May the Lord, Wise in His rule, place us in effectiveness, in order to prosper our cattle and our men in consequence of the good relationship of good thinking with truth¹³.

10. I shall try to glorify Him for us with prayers of piety, Him, the Lord who is famed to be Wise in His soul. Whatever one has promised to Him with truth and with good thinking is to be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule, is to be these two enduring powers for Him in His house.

⁹ Namely, Ahura Mazdā himself.

¹⁰ These lines and the whole following verse are probably citations from a sacred prayer.

¹¹ *over everything.*

¹² Metaphor for heaven.

¹³ *existing among the faithful on earth.*

11. *yastā daēvāiṅ aparō⁶ mašyascā*
tarā.mastā yōi im tarā.maiṅyantā
anyāṅ ahmzī! yā hōi arān maiṅyātā
saošyautō dāṅ patōiš spantā daēnā
urvaθō brā iē ptā vā mazdā ahurā

⁶ read *āparō* = *ā.parō*.

11. (to the Wise Lord). The person who, in this very way¹⁴, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals who, in their turn, have kept on opposing this one¹⁵ — that is, people other than the man who has been pious to him — such a person, by reason of his virtuous conception, is an ally, a brother, or a father (of Thee), Wise Lord, the Master of the house Who shall save (us)¹⁶.

¹⁴ Namely, by promising to behave with truth and good thinking.

¹⁵ Namely, Zarathustra himself.

¹⁶ That is, any man in this world who acts under the motivation of his own virtuous spirit is himself of the very nature of god.

Yasna 46

1. *kəm nəmōi zəqm kuθrā nəmōi ayeni*
pairi x'aēiānš aīryannaascā dadaiti
nōiḡ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzēmā hēcā¹
uaēdā daliyānš yōi sāsīārō drəgvantō
kaθā θwā mazdā xšnaošāi ahurā
2. *vaēdā taḡ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō*
mā kamuaḡšvā hyaḡcā kamuiānā ahmī
gərəzōi tōi² ā iḡ (a)vaēnā ahurā
rafōdrēm cəgvā hyaḡ fryō fryāi daidīḡ
āxsō vaḡhānš ašā īšnū manuaḡhō
3. *kadā mazdā yōi uxšānō asuqm*
ayhānš darəθrāi frō ašahyā (fr)ārəntē
vərəzdāiš sēnghāiš saoxvautqm xratavō
kaēihyō ūθāi volū jīmaḡ manuaḡhā
maihyō θwā sḡstrā³ vərənē ahurā
4. *aḡ tēng drəgvā yāug ašahyā vaēdrēng pāḡ*
gā frōratōiš šōiθrahyā vā daliyānš vā
duzazōhā hqs x'āiš šyaθanāiš ahēmnišō⁴
yasīēm xšaθrāḡ mazdā mōiθaḡ jvātānš vā
hvō tēng frō.gā⁵ paθmāng lucistōiš caraḡ
5. *yō vā xšayqs adqs⁶ drītā ayantəm*
urvātōiš vā lucīntiḡ miθrōihyō vā
rašnā jvqs yō ašavā drəgvantəm
vicirō hqs taḡ frō x'aēiavē mruyāḡ
uzhīθyāi ūm mazdā xrīmyāḡ ahurā

¹ read hēhēcā (*hahura).² read tōi ā.³ J₂, K₂.⁴ read ā hēmnišō.⁵ read frō.gā.⁶ read ā dqs.

Yasna 46

1. To what land to flee? Where shall I go to flee? They exclude (me) from my family and from my clan. The community with which I have associated has not satisfied me, nor those who are the deceitful rulers of the land. How, then, shall I satisfy Thee, Wise Lord?

2. I know that (reason) because of which I am powerless, Wise One: by my condition of having few cattle, as well as (that) I am a person with few men. I lament to Thee. Take notice of it, Lord, offering the support which a friend should grant to a friend. Let me see the power of good thinking allied with truth!

3. Wise One, when shall the bulls of the heavens¹ rise forth for the maintenance of the world of truth? The intentions of those who shall save² are in accord with Thy mature teachings! To which persons shall one come with good thinking to (give) help? To me? I choose (only) Thy teachings, Lord.

4. Yes, the deceitful one³ has guarded the draft oxen of truth⁴ — either those of the district or those of the land — from arising, being, as he is, difficult to challenge and contentious by reason of his actions. Whoever shall expel him, Wise One, from rule or from life, that person shall free the oxen for the flight of good understanding⁵.

5. The man of good lineage, who is master of a house, should respectfully receive any person coming (to him), be it in consequence of an order or (other) pacts. (But) if a truthful person, living in accordance with this directive, discerns that man to be deceitful, he should declare it to his own family, in order to save it from violation. Wise Lord.

¹ Metaphor for Ahura Mazda and his immortal forces.

² That is, the earthly community of the truthful.

³ The evil spirit.

⁴ Metaphor for the community of the faithful and truthful.

⁵ Another term for the good vision.

6. *aṭ yastīm nōiṭ nā isəmnō āyāṭ*⁷
drūjō hvō dāmam haēθahyā gāṭ
hvō zi drəgvā yē drəgvāitē vahistō
hvō ašavā valmāi ašavā fryō
hyaṭ daēnā paouruyā dā ahurā
7. *kāmnā*⁸ *niazdā mavaiē pāyūm dadā*
*hyaṭ mō drəgvā didarəšatā*⁹ *aēnaijhē*
anyēm θwahmāṭ āθrascū manajhascā
yaγā šyaοθanōiš ašam θraoštā almrā
tqm mōi dąst vqm daēnayāi frōvaocā
8. *yē vā nōi γā gaēθā dazdē aēnaijhē*
nōiṭ ahya mā āθriš šyaοθanōiš frōxyāṭ
¹⁰ paityaoγəṭ tā¹⁰ alhmāi jasōiṭ dvaēšayhā
tauvēm ā yā im hujyāidōiš pāyāṭ
nōiṭ dužyāitōiš kēcīṭ mazdā dvaēšayhā
9. *kā hvō yē mā aradrō cōiθaṭ paouruyō*
 ... *yaθā θvō zəyīštīm nzdmōhi*
 ... *šyaοθanōi sprəntəm ahurəm ašavanəm*
 ... *yā tōi ašā yā ašāi gāuš tašō mraoṭ*
 ... *išəntī mā tā tōi volhū manajhā*
10. *yē vā mōi nā gəṇā vā niazdā almrā*
dāyāṭ aṭhōnš yā tū vōistā vahistā
*ašam*¹¹ *ašāi volhū xšaθrəm manajhā*
yaqcū haxšāi xšmāvatqm valmāi.ā
frō tāiš vīspāiš cinvatō (fra)frō pərətūm
11. *xšaθrāiš yūjēn karapanō kāvayascū*
akāiš šyaοθanōiš alhm mərəngəidyāi mašim
yōng x'ō urvā x'aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā
hyaṭ aibi.gəməṇ yaθrā cinvatō pərətūš
*yanōi vīspāi drūjō dāmānāi*¹² *astayā*

⁷ read *ā ayāṭ*.⁸ read *kām vā*.⁹ read *dādarəšatā*.¹⁰ read *paityaoγəṭ.tā*.¹¹ J. .¹² read *dāmānē*.

6. But which person, likewise being able⁶, would not (receive) him who shall come, such a person shall go to the bonds of deceit's captivity. For that person is deceitful who is extremely good to the deceitful man, and that person is truthful for whom the truthful man is a friend, ever since Thou didst establish the first conceptions, Lord.

7. Whom hast Thou appointed as guardian for me, Wise One, if the deceitful one⁷ shall dare to harm me? Whom other than Thy fire and Thy (good) thinking, through whose actions one has nourished the truth, Lord? Proclaim that wondrous state to me for the sake of the (good) conception.

8. May the threat (caused) by the actions of that person not reach me, namely, the one who takes it upon himself to harm those who are my creatures. With responding enmity may it come back to him, up to his person which guarded him from the good way of life but not from the bad way of life. With every sort of enmity, Wise One!

9. Who is that person, the sincere one who shall first enlighten me in how to respect Thee, the Most Mighty One, the truthful Lord, virtuous in His action? They (the adherents) indeed seek after those things of Thine which are in harmony with truth (and) those which the fashioner of the cow⁸ told to truth. (Also) those things of Thine in harmony with good thinking.

10. Wise Lord, whoever — be it man or woman — would grant to me those things which Thou dost know to be the best for existence, namely, the truth for the truth⁹ and the rule of good thinking, (with that person) as well as those whom I shall accompany in the glory of your kind — with all these I shall cross over the Bridge of the Judge¹⁰.

11. During their regimes, the Karpans and the Kavis yoked (us) with evil actions in order to destroy the world and mankind. But their own soul and their own conception did vex them when they reached the Bridge of the Judge, (there) to become guests in the House of Deceit¹¹ forever.

⁶ Namely, also being a man of means.

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ The virtuous spirit.

⁹ Namely, the enactment of truth for the knowledge of truth.

¹⁰ The place where the final judgment is enacted.

¹¹ Metaphor for hell.

12. *hyaṭ us ašā* *uapyaēšū naṣṣucā*
tīrahyā (uz) jōu *ṣṣyānahyā aōjyaēšū*
ārmaitiis *gaēθā frādō θwaxšayhā*
aṭ is volū *hōm.aibī.mōist manayhā*
aēihyā rafōdrāi *mazdā sastiē ahurō*
13. *yō spītānōm* *zaraθuštrəm rādayhā*
marətaēšū xšnuāuš *hvō uā ṣṣasrūidyāi ərəθwō*
aṭ hōi mazdā *ahūm dadāṭ ahurō*
ahmāi gaēθā *volū frāday manayhā*
tōm vō ašā *mōhūmāidī hm̄.haxāūm*
14. *zaraθuštrā* *kastiē ašavā urvaθō*
mazōi magāi *kō vā ṣṣasrūidyāi vaštī*
aṭ hvō kavā *vīštāspō yāhī¹³*
yōugstū mazelā *hulənmōi mīnuš ahurā*
tōng zhayā *vayhōuš uxδāiš manayhō*
15. *haēcaṭ.aspā* *va.xšyā vō spītānāyho*
hyaṭ dāθōng *vīcayāθā adāθəncā*
tāiš yūš ṣṣyaθəmāiš *ašəu xšmāihyā daduyē*
yāiš dātāiš *paomnyāiš ahurahyā*

16. *ṣṣrasəoštṛā* *aθrā m̄ aradrāiš idī*
hvō.gvā tāiš *yōug usvahī uštā stōi*
yaθrā ašā *hacəitē ārmaitiis*
yaθrā vayhōuš *manayhō īštā xšaθrəm*
yaθrā mazdā *varədamuṇ saēitī ahurō*
17. *yaθrā vō* *aṣmānī sōughānī*
nōij anaṣmən *dājāmāspā hvō.gvā*
¹⁴ *hadā vōstā¹⁴* *valmōng səraošā rādayhō*
yō vīcīmaoṭ *dāθəncā adāθəncā*
dangrā martū *ašā mazdā ahurō*

¹³ read *yā ahi*.¹⁴ read *hadā.vāstā*.

12. Since thou, truth, didst arise among the noteworthy children and grandchildren of Friyana, the Turanian, the one who prospered his creatures with the zeal of piety, therefore did the Wise Lord unite them with good thinking, in order to announce Himself to them for their support.

13. (to the adherents). Who among men did gratify Zarathustra Spitama with solicitude, that man was deserving of being famed. And the Wise Lord granted existence to him and prospered his creatures with good thinking. We respected him among you as the good companion of truth.

14. Zarathustra, which truthful person is thy committed friend for the great task? Who, moreover, wishes to become famed? Yes, it is Kavi Vishtaspa¹², with whom thou art allied. *"With¹³ words stemming from good thinking I shall call upon those whom Thou, Wise Lord, hast assembled in Thy abode"*.

15. Haecataspas, ye Spitamas¹⁴, I shall tell you how ye shall distinguish the just and the unjust men. Through such actions ye shall assume the truth for yourselves, in accord with which first laws of the Lord (the foremost existence shall come about here).

16. Frashaoshtra Haugva¹⁵, come thou hither together with those sincere men whom we two wish to be in His favor. Hither, where piety is in harmony with truth, where sovereignty is in the power of good thinking, where the Wise Lord dwells in maturity.

17. Hither, where, o Jamaspa Haugva¹⁶, I shall declare to you in verse — not in non-verse — in total inspiration, and with obedience, the glories of Him who offers solicitude (to us), the Wise Lord who, together with His clever advisor, truth, has judged the just and the unjust¹⁷.

¹² Cf. Y. 28, fn 7.

¹³ Citation of Vishtaspa's words, revealing that he has truly committed himself to the support of Ahura Mazda.

¹⁴ Members of Zarathustra's family.

¹⁵ Cf. Y. 28, fn 8.

¹⁶ Cf. Y. 28, fn 8.

¹⁷ *appropriately*.

18. *yā maīhyā yaoš* *alnuāi ascīy vahīštā*
malīyā īštōiš *volū cōišən manajhā*
qstīnug alnuāi *yā nā qstāi daiditā*
mazdā asā *xšmākəm vārəm xšuaosənmō*
taī māi xratīzš *manajhascā vīcīθəm*
19. *yā mōi asāy* *haiθim hacā varəšaiti*
zaraθuštrāi *hyaī vasuā fərašō. təməm*
alnuāi mīzdəm *haθmōc parālhīm*
manō. vistāiš¹⁵ *maī vispāiš gāvā azi*
tācīy mōi sqs *tvōm mazdā vaēdištō*

¹⁵ read *manō vistāiš*.

18. (to the Wise Lord). The person who (has given) life to me, to him I indeed have promised with good thinking the best things in my power. But evils to the person who would deliver us to evil! — thus satisfying your wish with truth, Wise One. This is the decision of my will and my mind.

19. The person who, really in accordance with truth, shall bring to realization for me, Zarathustra, what is most healing¹⁸ according to (our) wish, for such a person, (besides) winning the prize of a future existence, shall there be a fertile cow and a steer¹⁹, along with all my possessions (in this existence). Even these things, it has seemed to me, Thou dost best know, Wise One.

¹⁸ Namely, what is most healing and restorative for the world currently afflicted by deceit.

¹⁹ Metaphor for the good vision and Zarathustra himself.

Yasna 47

1. *spəntā mainyē* *vahištācā manayhā*
hačā ašā *šyaoθanācā vacayhācā*
ahmāi dəm *haurvātā anarəitātā*
mazdā xsəθrē *ərmaiti alurō*
2. *ahyā mainyēiš* *spəništahyā vahištəm*
hičvā uxδāiš *vayhōuš āānū manayhō*
ərmatōiš *zastōibhyā šyaoθanā vərəzγā*¹
*ōyā*² *cisti* *hvō ptā ašahyā mazdā*
3. *ahyā mainyēiš* *tvəm ahī tā spəntō*
yā alunāi gəm *rānyō skərəitīm hām.taša*
a *hōi vāstrāi*³ *rāmā dā ərmaitiīm*
hya *hōm volū* *mazdā (hōm) fraštā manayhā*
4. *ahmāi mainyēuš* *rārəšyeintī drəgvantō*
mazdā spəntēi *uōi* *iθā ašəontō*
kasəušēi *nā* *ašānnē kəθō*⁴ *ayha*
isvāci *haqs* *paraos akō drəgvāitē*
5. *tācā spəntā* *mainyū mazdā alurā*
ašānnē cōiš *γā zi cīcā vahištā*
hanarə θvalmā *zaošā* *drəgvā baxšaiti*⁵
ahyā šyaoθanāiš *akā* *ā šyqs manayhō*
6. *tā dā spəntā* *mainyū mazdā alurā*
āθrā vayhāu *vidāitiīm rānōibhyā*
ərmatōiš *dəhəzayhā ašahyācā*
hā zi pouriš *išəntō vānrāitē*

¹ Jp.² for *ōiyā*, from *ōivā*.³ read *vāstrē*.⁴ Mf_{1,2}, K₄, etc.⁵ read *baxšaitē*.

Yasna 47

1. *“Through¹ a virtuous spirit and the best thinking, through both the action and the word befitting truth, they shall grant completeness and immortality to Him. The Wise One in rule is Lord through piety”*.

2. *“A person shall bring to realization the best for His most virtuous spirit with his tongue, through words stemming from good thinking, and with his hands, through (every) act of piety, according to the single understanding : the Wise One is the Father of truth”*.

3. Thou art the virtuous Father of this spirit, the spirit who fashioned the joy-bringing cow² for this world. Moreover, Thou didst create tranquility and piety for her pastor³ when he took counsel with good thinking, Wise One.

4. Wise One, the deceitful are not able to deflect those who are properly truthful from this virtuous spirit. *“Be⁴ a man indeed of little worth (or) indeed the master of much, he shall be loving to the truthful person and bad to the deceitful one”⁵*.

5. And through this very virtuous spirit⁶, Wise Lord, Thou hast promised for the truthful person what indeed are the very best things. (But) the deceitful man shall have his share apart from Thy approval, since he lives by his actions stemming from evil thinking.

6. Wise Lord, together with this virtuous spirit Thou shalt give the distribution in the good to both factions through Thy fire, by reason of the solidarity of piety and truth⁷. For it shall convert the many who are seeking⁸.

¹ The first two verses are citations from Ahura Mazda's precepts.

² The good vision.

³ Here Zarathustra himself.

⁴ Another citation from a precept of the lord.

⁵ The expression 'the truthful person and the deceitful one' is to be understood on two levels. First, as men of this world; secondly, as AhM. as 'the Truthful One' and the evil spirit as 'the deceitful one'.

⁶ That is, when it is enacted by the faithful believers in this world.

⁷ That is, when piety and truth have grown strong among the faithful.

⁸ to know.

Yasna 48

1. *yezi adāiš¹ ašā drujīm vānghanaii*
hyaḥ qsašmā yā daibitānā fraoxtā
aməraētāitē² daēvāišcā mašyāišcā
aḥ iōi savāiš valuməm vaxšaḥ ahurā
2. *vaocā mōi yā tvān vidvā ahurā*
parā hyaḥ mā³ yā māng³ pərəθā jūnaiti
kuḥ ašavā mazdā vānghanā drəgvantəm
hā zi aghēnš vaḥuhi vistā ākarətiš
3. *aḥ vaēdānuuāi vališiā sāsnaunqm*
yqm hudā sāsiti ašō ahurō
spəuti vīdvā yaēcī gū-rā sənghanāghō
θwāvqs mazdā vaḥhēnš xraθwā manayhō
4. *yā dāḥ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā*
hvō daēnqm šyaosθauācā vacayhācā
ahyā zaošəng nštiš varəuəng hacaiḥ
θwahmī xratā apənəni nauā aghaḥ
5. *hušəθrā xšəntqm mā nō dušəxšaθrā xšəntā*
vaḥhuyñ cistōiš šyaosθauāiš ārmaiti⁴
yaosdā mašyā aipi zəθəm vališiā
gavōi vərəzyātqm tqm nō x'arəθāi šnyō
6. *hā zi nō hušəiθəniā hā nō utayūitiḥ*
dāḥ təvišim vaḥhēnš manayhō hərəxədm⁵
aḥ ahīyāi ašō mazdā urvarā vaxšaḥ
ahurō aghēnš zəθōi paournyehyā

¹ read *ād āiš*.² J_{P1}.³ read *yāmāng*.⁴ J_{P1} (J₂).⁵ J₂ (K₂).

Yasna 48

1. (to the Wise Lord). If, during the times after this (present) one which is under the workings of evil, one shall defeat deceit by truth, that hateful deceit which has been taught by gods and men for the sake of immortality, then one shall increase Thy glory, Lord, during those times of salvation.

2. Tell me what things Thou dost know, Lord, before the far end of the course shall come to me¹. Shall the truthful finally conquer the deceitful, Wise One? For that is known to be the good form of existence.

3. (to the adherents). Yes, for the person who accepts this, there applies the best of commands which the Lord, beneficent through truth, virtuous and knowing, commands, and even His profound teachings.

(to the Wise Lord). Through the determination of his good thinking, he shall be someone like Thee, Wise One.

4. Who has set his mind on the good, Wise One, and (who) on the bad, (each) such person follows his conception in action and in word; also his pleasures, his desires, and his preferences. (But) when Thy will shall be done, the end shall be different (for each).

5. Let those of good rule rule over us — not those of evil rule — with actions stemming from good understanding and with piety.

(to the adherents). Men, let the best vitalization for the cow² be brought to realization on earth, in order to breed her for our food³.

6. For she shall bring peace to us, she shall grant to us the enduring and esteemed strength of good thinking. And the Wise One shall increase the plants⁴ for her through truth, He (who is to be) Lord at the birth of the foremost existence.

¹ Namely, *before I die*.

² The good vision.

³ That is, *so that she shall sustain us in our quest*.

⁴ Metaphor for the faithful believers in the good vision.

7. *uī aēšəmō (uī).dyūtiṃ^a paiiti rəməm (paiiti).syōdēm
yōi ā vaṃhēiš māmaṃhō didrayzō.duyē
asā vyqm yphyā hūhāiš uī spəntī
aī hōi dāmṃṣi θwalmī ũ dqm ahurā*
8. *kā iōi vaṃhēiš muzlā xšaθrahyā īštīš
kā iōi asōiš θwalyū māihyō ahurā
kā θwāi asō ũkā arədrəug īšyā
vaṃhēiš māihyōiš švaθamnam javarō*
9. *kadā vadā yezī calhyā xšaynθā
mazdā asā yehyū mā aiθiš dvaēθā
ərəš mōi (ərəz)ūcqm vaṃhēiš vafūš māmaṃhō
vīdyāi suōšyēs yaθū hōi asīš aṃhṃ*
10. *kadā mazdē nuṃurēiš urō vīsəntī
kadā ajən mūθrəm uhyā maclahyā
yā angrayā karapantī urūpayeintī
yārā xratū dušəxšəθrā dahiyunqm*
11. *kadā mazdā asā maī armaidīš
jūmaī xšaθrā hūšəitīš vāstravaitī
kōi drəgvō.īšbīš xrūrāiš rāmṃ⁷ dāmī⁸
kəng ā vaṃhēiš jūmaī māmaṃhō cistīš*
12. *aī iōi aṃhən suōšyantō dahiyunqm
yōi xšūidm volū māmaṃhā hacəntē
švaθanāiš cisū θwalyā mazlā sdughahyā
iōi zi dātā hamaēstūrō aēšəm.mahyā*

^a read *dātqm*.⁷ read *rəməm*.⁸ *Jp₁*.

7. Let fury be stopped. Cut away cruelty, ye who wish to attract the attention of good thinking along with (that of) truth. The virtuous man indeed is its companion.

(to the Wise Lord). Yes, his bonds are in Thy house, Lord.

8. What is the power of Thy good rule, Wise One? What of Thy reward for me, Lord? What (reward) of Thine is to be sent by truth to those who are certainly sincere as an incentive for actions stemming from good spirit?

9. When shall I know, Wise One, if ye have mastery through truth over anyone whose threat is inimical to me? Let the solemn words of good thinking be truly told to me. (For) he who shall save should know how his reward shall be.

10. When, Wise One, shall men desist from murdering? When shall they fear the folly of that intoxicating drink⁵, through the effects of which the Karpans as well as the evil rulers of the lands torture our (good) intentions in an evil way?

11. When, Wise One, shall piety come along with truth, bringing peace and pasturage⁶ throughout the dominion? Which men shall stop the cruelty (caused) by the violent deceitful persons? To which man shall come the understanding stemming from good thinking?

12. Yes, those men shall be the saviors of the lands, namely, those who shall follow their knowledge of Thy teaching with actions in harmony with good thinking and with truth. Wise One. These indeed have been fated to be the expellers of fury.

⁵ The Haoma, cf. Y. 32, fn 19.

⁶ Metaphor for freedom.

Yasna 49

1. aṣ nā yavā hōndvō pafrē mazīštō
 yā dušarəθrīš cixšnušā ašā mazdā
 vaṣuhū āclā gaidī nōi ā nōi (a)rapā
 ahyā volū uošō vīdā manayhā
2. aṣ ahyā nā hōndvahyā mānayeitī
 ŋkaēšō drəgvē daihitā ašā rārāšō
 nōiṣpənu dōrəšt aluāi stōi ārmaitim
 naēdā volū mazdā fraštā manayhā
3. aṣā ahnāi varənāi mazdā nidātəm
 ašəm sūidyāi ŋkaēšāi rāšayeḡhē druxš
 tā vaḡhduš sarō izyā manayhō
 antarā vīspənuḡ drəgvatō haḡnuḡ (antarā).mrnyē
4. yōi duš.xraθwā aēšənuəm varədu rānuəncā¹
 x'āiš hizubīš ḡḡyasū afḡyantiō
 yaēšəm nōiṣ hvarštāiš vaš dužvarštā
 tōi daēvḡḡ chm yā drəgvatō daēnā
5. aṣ hvō mazclē ižācā āzūitīscā
 yō daēnuḡ valū sārəštā manayhā
 ārmuōiš kaseṣ ašā hužnuš
 tāišeā vīspāiš θwaluī xšaθrōi ahurā
6. frō vā (fra)ēxyā mazdā ašəncā nūitē
 yā vā xratōiš xšmākahyā ā.manayhā
 ərəš vīcidyāi yaθā i srāvayueḡnā
 tuḡ daēnuḡ yā xšmāvatō ahurā

¹ read rānəncā.

Yasna 49

1. Yes, throughout my lifetime I have been condemned as the greatest defiler, I who try to satisfy the poorly protected (creatures) with truth, Wise One. If requital is good, come to me and give support to me. Through good thinking find a means of destruction of this.

2. Yes, the deceitful professor of this resembles the defiler, as he deflects (others) from the truth by himself. Neither has he supported virtuous piety in order that it be his, nor has he taken counsel with good thinking.

3. However, it has been fated for this world, Wise One, that the truth is to be saved for its (good) preference, that deceit is to be destroyed for its (false) profession. By reason of this, I am eager for the alliance of good thinking, in order to ban all the deceitful persons from our company.

4. Those who, with ill will, have increased fury and cruelty¹ with their own tongues among the cattle-breeders, these non-cattle-breeders² whose evil effects one has not yet defeated with good effects, they have served the gods, which is the conception of a deceitful person.

5. But that man, Wise One, is both milk and butter³ (for Thee), namely, the one who has allied his conception with good thinking. Any such person of piety is of the (same) good lineage with truth and all those (other forces) existing under Thy rule, Lord.

6. I do urge you — Thee, Wise One, and the truth — to tell (us) what the intentions of your will are, in order for us to correctly judge how we might make them heard as that conception which belongs to one of your kind, Lord.

¹ *for the cow*, i.e. for the good vision.

² The cattle-breeders are the followers of the good vision, the non-cattle-breeders are their deceitful opponents.

³ Metaphor for strength and prosperity. Intention is that every believer grants new power to god through his faith.

7. *taicā volū mazdā sraotū manayhā*
sraotū ašā gūšalvā tū alurā
kā airyamā kā x'atēuš dūtāiš ayhaṭ
yā varəzānāī vaṇuhim dāṭ frasastim
8. *fərašaostṛāi urvāz ištəm ašahyū dā*
sarəm taṭ θwā māzdū yāsā alurū
maihyācā yəpən vaṇhūn θwalunī ā xšaθrōi
yavōi vīspāi fraēštāyho āyhanū
9. *sraotū sāsnū fšānghyō suyē taštō*
nōiṭ əwəš vacēī surəm ihlqš drəgvātū
hyaṭ ihēnā valihštē yūjān nūz dē
ašā yuxnū yāhī dējāmāspā
10. *taicā mazdā θwalunī n dym nīpūyhe*
manō volū uruascā ašāumqm
uəmascā yā ārnaiṭiš ižācā
maqzā xšaθrā vaṭlayhū avāmīrā²
11. *aṭ dušəxšaθrāng duš šyaoθanəng duzvarayhō*
duzdaēuṭng ihzmmuyhū drəgvātō
akāiš x'arəθōiš paiṭi urvqūō (pūit) yantō³
drūjō ihniānē haiθyā nyhəu astayō
12. *kuṭ iōi nšā zbayentē avayhō*
zaraθuštṛāi kaṭ iōi volū manayhā
yō vō staoiā iš māzdū frināi uhurā
avuy yāsṃs hyaṭ vō ištā valihštəm

² read *amāmīrā* (?)³ J₂ (K₅).

7. And let a person listen to that with good thinking, Wise One. Let him listen with truth. Do Thou, Lord, (also) give ear (to this). Which clan, which family shall abide by Thy laws, thus being one which shall give good fame to the (whole) community?

8. Do Thou grant the most happy alliance of truth to Frashaoshtra⁴ — I entreat Thee for this, Wise Lord — and also to me, namely, that alliance which exists under Thy good rule. We shall be Thy envoys forever.

9. Let the cultivator⁵, being one fashioned to save, listen to these instructions: "*The⁶ truly speaking man has never expounded alliance with the deceitful one⁷, since those who are yoked with truth⁸ have yoked their conceptions on the best prize when the retribution comes*". Yes, Jamaspa⁹.

10. Wise One, Thou dost guard in Thy house this good thinking, and the souls of the truthful ones, and reverence with which are allied piety and milk¹⁰ — Thou dost guard (all these) with an inalterable permanence that grants rule (to Thee).

11. But the deceitful persons, bad in rule, bad in actions and words, bad in conceptions and thoughts, them shall their souls continue to encounter with foul food when they shall be the true guests in the House of Deceit¹¹.

12. What help by truth hast Thou for Zurathustra who calls? What help by good thinking hast Thou for me, who shall propitiate all of you with praises. Wise Lord, while continuing to entreat for the best which exists in your power¹²?

⁴ Cf. Y. 28. fn 8.

⁵ *of good thinking.*

⁶ Another precept of the lord.

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ Metaphor for the truthful adherents.

⁹ Cf. Y. 28. fn 8.

¹⁰ Term for worship. On another level, milk is again a metaphor (cf. fn 3 above) for the strength the lord receives through the piety of the faithful.

¹¹ Metaphor for hell.

¹² Paraphrase of *your very best power*, i.e. the rule of truth and good thinking.

Yasna 50

1. *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō*
kā mōi pasōuš kā mō.nā θrātā vīstō
aṅyō ašā! θwaṭcā mazdā ahurā
azdā zūtā vahīštāṭcā manayhō
2. *kaθā mazdā rānyō.skərəitīm gəm išasōi!*¹
yā him ahmāi vāstravaiīm sīṅi nxyā!
*ərəzājis ašā pūrušū hvarō pišyasū*²
*ākāstāng*³ *mā nišqsyā dāθōm dāhvā*
3. *aṭcī ahmāi mazdā ašā aṅhaiti*
yəm hōi xšəθrā volucā cōišti manayhā
yā nā ašōiš_ aojayhā varədayaētā
*yəm nazdišīqm gəθōqm drəgvā baxšaiti*⁴
4. *aṭ vā yazāi stavas mazdā ahurā*
hadā ašā vahīštācā manayhā
xšəθrācā yā isō stāṅhaṭ ū paiθi
ākā arədrōng dāmānə garō sərəuošānə
5. *ārōi*⁵ *zi xšmā mazdā ašā ahurā*
hya! yūšmākōi mąθrānə vaorāzaθā
aibi.dərəštā āvišyā avayhā
zastāištā yā nā x'āθrē dāyā!
6. *yā mąθrā vācim mazdā baraiti*
urvaθō ašā nāmayhā zərəθištō
dātā xratōuš hīzvō raiθīm sīṅi
malhyā rāzōng volū sālīṭ manayhā

¹ read *išōi*.² H₁, J₁, etc.³ read *akastāng*.⁴ read *baxšaitē*.⁵ read *arōi*.

Yasna 50

1. Does my person have control over anyone who can offer help? Who has been found to be the protector of my cattle? Who of me? Who other than truth and Thee, Wise Lord, and best thinking, when my summoning really occurs?

2. How, Wise One, should that person seek after the joy-bringing cow¹, namely, the one who would wish her to bring pasturage² to him, as he lives honestly in harmony with truth among the many who secretly betray (us)? Reject these latter evil ones, (but) accept the just man.

3. For she³, indeed, whom one has promised with good thinking to him during the rule of truth and good thinking, she shall belong to that person who would strengthen, with the power of such a reward⁴, his nearest fellow creature, whom the deceitful one⁵ shall (otherwise) appropriate.

4. Yes, praising, I shall always worship all of you, Wise Lord, with truth and the very best thinking and with their rule through which one shall stand on the path of (good) power. I shall always obey (you), the truly sincere ones existing in the House of Song⁶.

5. Lord, let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth! Yes, if ye shall be pleased with your prophet, reveal Thyself with visible help, mighty through Thy hand, through which he might set us in happiness.

6. Reverent Zarathustra, the prophet who raises his voice, Wise One, is an ally of truth. May the Creator instruct through good thinking (the course) of my direction, in order to be the charioteer of my will and my tongue.

¹ The good vision.

² Metaphor for peace and freedom.

³ Again the good vision.

⁴ Namely, the advent of the foremost existence.

⁵ The evil spirit.

⁶ Metaphor for heaven.

7. *aṣ vā yaojā zəvišiyəng airvaiō
 jayāiš pərəθīš valmahiyā yāšmākahyā
 mazdā ašā ugrəng volū manayhā
 yāiš azāθā maluuāi hīyātā avayhē*
8. *naṣ vā padāiš yā frastrūtā ižayā
 pairijasāi mazdā usiāmazasiō
 aṣ vā ašā arədrahīyēcā nəmanayhā
 aṣ vā vayhənš manayhō humarəiāiā*
9. *iāiš vā yasuč īš pairī stavas ayeni
 mazdā ašā vayhənš šyaoθanāiš manayhō
 yadā ašōiš mahīyā vasō xšayū^b
 aṣ hulānaos išayəs gərəzdā hīyən*
10. *aṣ yā varəšā yēcā pairi āiš šyaoθanā
 yēcā volū caišnaqm arəjaṣ manayhā
 vaocā x'əng asnaqm uxšā aēnuš
 xšmākāi ašā valuuāi mazdā ahurā*
11. *aṣ vā staotā aojāi mazdā ayhēcā
 yanay ašā tanēcā isāicā
 dātā ayhənš arədaṣ volū manayhā
 haiθyāvarəš rqm hīyay vasuū frašō. 1əməm*

^b read xšayuti(yā).

7. Yes, I shall yoke for you the swiftest steeds⁷, those wide (going) with the victories of your glory and strong with both truth and good thinking⁸, the steeds with which ye shall race (ahead)⁹, would ye be ready for my help.

8. With hands outstretched, Wise One, I shall serve all of you with the renowned footprints of milk¹⁰. You, moreover, with truth and with the reverence (worthy) of a sincere person. You, moreover, with the skillfulness of good thinking.

9. Praising, I shall encounter you with such worship, Wise One, and with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth. When I could rule at will over my reward, then I would, exercising such power, be in the stride of the blessed one¹¹.

10. Yes, those things which Thou hast brought to realization, as well as those things which Thou hast reached by Thy action, and those things which one shall esteem, through good thinking, in his vision — the lights of the sun, the bright bull of the heavens¹² — these are for your glory¹³, Wise Lord allied with truth.

11. Yes. I shall swear to be your praiser, Wise One, and I shall be it, as long as I shall have strength and be able, o truth. Through good thinking the Creator of existence shall promote the true realization of what is most healing¹⁴ according to our wish.

⁷ Metaphor for the faithful and the truthful.

⁸ The intention is that truth and good thinking offer strength to the faithful to persevere in their quest for a better world.

⁹ Namely, to win the race with the forces of deceit.

¹⁰ Metaphor for worship as well as for the strength which the lord receives through the worship of those who believe in him.

¹¹ This is truth.

¹² Most likely the moon.

¹³ That is, these things will be praised in the hymns to glorify the wondrous achievements of god.

¹⁴ Namely, what is healing and restorative for the world currently afflicted by deceit. That is the rule of truth and good thinking.

Yasna 51

1. *volū xšaθrānī vairiū hāgəm aibi, hairištəm*
vidišəmūāi ižēcī? ašā amarə, caraiti
šyaoθanāiš mazdā valiištəm ta? uō uīcī? varəšāuē
2. *iā vā mazdā puourvim alurā ¹ašā yecā¹*
taibyācā ārmaitē dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm
xšmākəm volū manajhā valmāi dāidi savajhō
3. *ā vā gəuš.ā hān, yautū yōi vā šyaoθanāiš sārəutē*
alurō ašā hižvā uxδāiš vajhəuš manajhō
yāšəqm uī puouruyō mazdā fradaxštā ahi
4. *kuθrā ārōiš ē, šəratuš kuθrā mərəždikā axštə?*
kuθrā yasō, hiyēn ašəm kū spəntā ārmaitiš
kuθrā mauō valiištəm kuθrā θwā xšaθrā mazdā
5. *vispā iā pərəsəqs yəθā ašā? hacā gəm vidə?²*
vāstryō šyaoθanāiš ərəšvō hqs huxratuš nənajhā
yō dāθəēibyō ərəš ratūm xšəyəs ašivā cistā

¹ read *ašāyecā*, from orig. *ašāyācā*.

² read *vidā?*.

Yasna 51

1. That good rule must be chosen which best brings good fortune to the man serving it with milk¹. In alliance with truth, it shall encompass the best (for us) through its actions, Wise One. This very rule shall I now bring to realization for us.

2. These things² indeed first belonged to you — to Thee, Wise Lord, and to truth. But to thee, o piety, I shall reveal these things³ in consequence of my power⁴. Grant thou, piety, your rule of good thinking for the glory of the Mighty One.

3. Those who (already) are allied with you by their actions, let them (also) join with you with their ears. (For) Thou art the Lord by reason of Thy tongue (which is) in harmony with truth and by reason of Thy words stemming from good thinking, of which Thou, Wise One, art the foremost revealer.

4. Where shall there be protection instead of injury? Where shall mercy take place⁵? Where truth which attains glory? Where virtuous piety? Where the very best thinking? Where, Wise One, through Thy rule?

5. Through all this I am asking how the pastor⁶, lofty by reason of his actions, shall (best) serve the cow⁷ in accord with truth, as he continues to be a reverent person of good determination and one who, although having the power over (the choice of) both rewards, has correctly understood the (proper) judgment for the just people.

¹ Milk represents both the milk-offering, a term for worship, and the metaphoric sense of strength, the power which the rule of god receives through the belief of the faithful in him. The rule implied here is the rule of truth and good thinking.

² Namely, the above-mentioned good rule, good fortune and the best of everything, among men here on earth.

³ That is, *If I have the power to do so.*

⁴ *in place of punishment.*

⁵ The truthful man.

⁶ The good vision.

6. *yā vahyō vaighēns dazdē yaseā hōi vārāi rādaḥ
alunrō xšaθrē mazdā aḥ alunāi akāḥ ašyō
yā hōi uōiḥ vīdāiti apāmē aighēns urvaēsē*
7. *dāidi mōi yā gqm tašō apascā urvarāscā
amərətātā hεmrvātā spāuisiā mainyū mazdā
təviši utayūti māuaighā volūc sēuḡhē³*
8. *aḥ zī tōi va.xšyā mazdā vīdušē zī uā uruḡyāḥ
hyaḥ akōyā⁴ drəgvātē nstā yā ašəm dādrē
hvō zī maθrē šyātō yā vīchešē mravaiiti*
9. *yqm xšnūtəm rāuōiḡyā dā θvā āθrā snxrā mazdā
ayaghā xšustā aibi ahvāhū daxštəm dāvōi
rāšayeyhē drəgvantəm savayō ašavanəm*
10. *aḥ yā mā uēi⁵ marəxsaitē anyāθā alunāḥ⁶ mazdā
hvō dāmōiš drūjō hmuš tā duždā yōi həuti
maiḡyō zha.yā ašəm vaḡhuyā aši gaḥ.tē*
11. *kā urvaθō spitamāi zaraθnštrāi nā mazdā
kā vā ašā āfraštā kā spəntā ūrmaitiš
kā vā vaighēns manayhō acistā magāi ərašvō*
12. *uōiḥ tā im xšnāns vaēpyō kəviuō pərətā⁷ zəmtō
zaraθnštrəm spitəntəm hyaḥ alunī mūrəost aštō
hyaḥ hōi im⁸ carutascā aodərəscā zōišəntū vāzā*

³ P_{1a}.⁴ for akōiyā.⁵ K_a.⁶ read alunaj.⁷ Jp₁, J₂, Mf_{1,2}, etc.⁸ read i.

6. The one who accepts what is better than good⁸ and who shall bring success to His wish, (him) the Lord, Wise in His rule, (shall accept). But what is worse than bad shall be, at the final turning point of existence, for that man who shall not serve Him.

7. Thou, Wise One, who hast fashioned the cow as well as the waters and the plants⁹ by reason of Thy most virtuous spirit, grant Thou to me immortality and completeness¹⁰, those two enduring forces which are to be praised with good thinking.

8. For then I shall say to Thee, Wise One — because a man should say it to the One who knows¹¹ — that I would do evil to the deceitful one¹², (as) in accordance with the wish of Him who has upheld the truth¹¹. Indeed would this prophet be happy, who shall say it to Him who knows.

9. The satisfaction which Thou shalt give to both factions through Thy pure fire and the molten iron, Wise One, is to be given as a sign among living beings, in order to destroy the deceitful and to save the truthful.

10. Yes, the person indeed who shall try to destroy us, Wise One, is different from us: he is a son stemming from deceit's creator and thereby maleficent (to those) who exist. I (therefore) summon truth to me, to come with my good reward.

11. Wise One, which man has been an ally to Zarathustra Spitama? Which one has taken counsel with truth? With whom is virtuous piety allied? Which man of good thinking has shown himself to be lofty (enough) for the (great) task?

12. In no such way did the roguish Kavi satisfy this Zarathustra Spitama at Earth-bridge¹³, since he rejected (him who) arrived at that spot, although his two draft animals were trembling from wandering and from the cold.

⁸ That is, the very best, which here is a paraphrase of the very best truth.

⁹ On the metaphoric level, the cow is the good vision and the waters and the plants are the devoted faithful. On the literal level, the cow is employed as a symbol for the earth.

¹⁰ That is, a devoted following of adherents who believe in the prophet's message.

¹¹ Ahura Mazda.

¹² The evil spirit.

¹³ Probably a place name.

13. *tā drəgvatō marədaīr daēnā ərazaoš haiθim*⁹
yehyā urvā xraodaii cinvatō pəratā ākā
x'āiš šyaoθarīiš hizvascā ašahyā naqsvā paθō
14. *nōiṭ urvāθā clāiāibhvascā karapanō vāstrāi arəm*¹⁰
gavōi arōiš tī sāndā x'āiš šyaoθanāišcā sānghāišcā
yā iš sānghō apāməm drijō dāmānē ādāi
15. *hyaṭ miždānī zaraθuštīrō magavahyō cōiši parā*
garō dāmānē ahurō mazdā jusat paouruyō
*tā*¹¹ *vā volhī manayhā ašāicā*¹² *savāiš cəvīši*¹³
16. *iqm kavā vīšīāspō magahyā xšaθrā naqsaṭ*
vahhānš paclōhīs manayhō yqm cistīm ašā mamā
spəntō mazdā ahurō aθā nō sazdyāi nštā
17. *bərxəqm mōi fərašaostīrō hvō.gvō clāēdōiši kəhrpəm*
*daēnayāi vahhuyāi yqm*¹⁴ *hōi išyqm dātī*
xšayqs mazdā ahurō ašahyā āzdyāi gərazdīm
18. *iqm cistīm dšjāmāspō hvō.gvō ištōiš x'arənā*
ašā vərəntē taṭ xšaθrəm manayhō vahhānš vīdō
taṭ mōi dāicī ahurā hyaṭ mazdā rapən tavā
19. *hvō taṭ nā maidyōi.māyjhā spitamā ahmāi dazdē*
*daēnayā veicdəmnō yā ahūm išasqs*¹⁵ *aibi*
mazdā dātā mraoṭ gayehyā šyaoθanāiš vahyō

⁹ read *haiθyqm*.¹⁰ read *arəm*.¹¹ read *taṭ*.¹² read *ašāicā*.¹³ read *cōiši*.¹⁴ read *yā*.¹⁵ read *išqs*.

13. By reason of this, the conception of the deceitful person misses the true (conception) of the honest man. His soul shall vex him at the Bridge of the Judge¹⁴ surely, in that he has disappeared from the path of truth by reason of his own actions and (the words) of his tongue.

14. Neither are the Karpans our allies, they who are at a distance from our laws and from the pasture¹⁵. Theirs is a pleasure from (bringing) injury to the cow¹⁶ by their actions and their words, a doctrine which shall place them in the House of Deceit¹⁷ in the end.

15. What prize Zarathustra previously promised to his adherents — into that House of Song¹⁸ did the Wise Lord come as the first one. This prize has been promised to you during the times of salvation by reason of your good thinking and truth.

16. Through his rulership (following) along the paths of good thinking, Kavi Vishtaspa¹⁹ reached this understanding of our task, which he respected in harmony with truth: "*The*²⁰ *Wise Lord is virtuous. Therefore wish ye for Him to announce Himself to us*".

17. Frashaoshtra Haugva²¹ has continuously displayed to me the esteemed form (of piety) for the sake of the good conception, in consequence of which let the Ruler, the Wise Lord, grant power to him, in order for him to attain the stride of truth.

18. Glorious Jamaspa Haugva²¹ (has displayed) this understanding of His power: "*One*²² *chooses that rule of good thinking allied with truth in order to serve (Him). Wise Lord, grant to me Thy support*".

19. Madyoimanha Spitamas²³, acquiring it by his (good) conception, that man assumes for himself this rule, namely, the one who continues to seek for existence to be (in accord with what) the Wise Creator said is better for life through its actions²⁴.

¹⁴ Cf. Y. 46. fn 10.

¹⁵ *of truth and good thinking.*

¹⁶ The good vision.

¹⁷ Metaphor for hell.

¹⁸ Metaphor for heaven.

¹⁹ Cf. Y. 28. fn 7.

²⁰ Words of Kavi V.

²¹ Cf. Y. 28. fn 8.

²² Words of Jamaspa.

²³ Members of Zarathustra's family.

²⁴ Namely, the enactment of truth and good thinking in this world.

20. *taṣ vā nō haꝥaosašāhō vīspāhō daidyāi savō*
ašəm volhū maiaihā uxδā yāiš āriṃaitiš
yaꝥamāhō nōmaihā mazdā rafəδram cagədō
21. *ārmaitiš nā sprəntō hvō cisti uxδāiš šyaoθanā*
daēnā ašəm spənuvaṣ volhū xšaθrəm maiaihā
mazdā daidā ṣ aluṃ tōm vaṃhūm yāsā ašīm
22. *yehyā mōi ašāṣ hacā vahistəm yesnē pairi*
vaēdā mizdēi aluṃ yōi āhharəcā hōnticā
ta yaꝥāi x'āiš nāmānīš^{1b} pairicā jasāi vauntā

^{1b} read *nāmāhīs*.

20. All ye (immortals) of the same temperament, let that salvation of yours be granted to us: truth allied with good thinking! (We shall offer) words allied with piety, while worshiping with reverence of the Wise One who offers support (to us).

21. *"Virtuous²⁵ is the man of piety. He is so by reason of his understanding, his words, his action, his conception. Virtuous is truth and the rule of good thinking. The Wise Lord created this, (and) I shall entreat Him for this good reward"*.

22. *"I know in whose worship there exists for me the best in accordance with truth. It is the Wise Lord as well as those who have existed and (still) exist²⁶. Them (all) shall I worship with their own names²⁷, and I shall serve them with love"*.

²⁵ This verse and the following one are sacred prayers.

²⁶ Namely: those who are immortal; specifically, the good and enduring values of the lord.

²⁷ That is, *I shall worship truth with truth, good thinking with good thinking, etc.*

Yasna 53

1. *vahištā ištīs srāvi zaraθištrahē*
spitāmahiṽ yezī hōi dāi āyaptā
ašāi hacā ahurō mazdā yavōi vīspāi.ā hvaḡhəvim
yaēcā hōi daēnəyā saškəucā daēnəyā vaḡhuyā uxδā
šyaοθamācā
2. *aṡcā hōi scəntū manayhā uxδāiš šyaοθamāiścā*
xšnān mazdē valmāi.ā fəarəi yasnuścā
kavacā vīštāspō zaraθištīš spitāmō fərašaοštascā
dāḡhō¹ ərəzīš paθō yqm daēnqm alurō saəšyamō dadāi
3. *tāncā² tū pəurncistā haēcajaspānā*
spitāmī yezīvi dḡədrqm zaraθištrahē
vaḡhəuš paṡyāstūn manayhō ašahyā mazdāscā taḡhyō dāi
sarəni
aθā hām.fərašvā θwā xraθwā spāništā ārmaitōiš
hudānvarəšvā³
4. *təm⁴ zi vō spərədā nivarāni yā fədrōi vidāi*
paṡyaēcā vāstryaēihyō aṡcā x'aētaəvē
ašāunī ašəvəhyō manayhō vaḡhəuš x'ənuvaj haḡhəuš niδn
həəduš
mazdā dadāi alurō daēnəyāi vaḡhuyāi yavōi vīspāi.ā
5. *sā.x'əni⁵ vačyanmāhyō kaiūihyō mraomī*
xšmaihyācā vadənmō⁶ mēncā ī (mč)dačdān
vaēdō.dīun daēnābiš ahyascā alūn yō vaḡhəuš manayhō
ašā vō anyō aiūn vīvənghatū taṡ zi hōi hušənəm aḡhaṡ

¹ read *dāḡhē*.² read *tāncā*.³ for *hudānū varəšvā*.⁴ read *iqm*.⁵ read *sā.x'əni* (**səx'qm*) *i*.⁶ read *vadənmā*.

Yasna 53

1. (to the adherents). The best wish of Zarathustra Spitama has been heard if the Wise Lord shall grant to him those attainments in accord with truth and a good existence for all his lifetime. Likewise, to those who have accepted and taught the words and actions stemming from His good conception¹.

2. Moreover, let Kavi Vishtaspa², the son of Zarathustra Spitama³ and Frashaostra⁴ continually accompany their knowledge — and their prayers as well — with words and actions in harmony with such (good) thinking, for the glory of Him, the Wise One, in order to serve the straight paths⁵ and that conception which the Lord granted His savior.

3. Do thou persevere, Pourucista of the lineage of Haecataspa and Spitama, thou young one among Zarathustra's daughters. To thee shall He grant the firm foundation of good thinking and the alliance of truth and of wisdom. Therefore, come to terms with thy will, and bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts) of piety.

4. For I shall join in marriage her among you, the one who shall serve father, husband, pastors and family. If she is truthful to the truthful, the Wise Lord shall grant (to her) the sunlike gain of good thinking ... for her whole lifetime, for the sake of the good conception.

5. I tell these words to these girls who are being married and to you, ye bridegrooms. Bear them in mind, too. Through the (proper) conceptions acquire for yourselves and your women an existence of good thinking. Let each of you try to win the other with truth, for this shall be of good gain for each.

¹ Again the good vision of a world ruled by truth and good thinking.

² Cf. Y. 28, fn 7.

³ Intended is the eldest son of Zarathustra, whose name was Isatvastra.

⁴ Cf. Y. 28, fn 8.

⁵ *of truth*

6. *iθā ī haiθyā narō aθā jānayō*
drūjō hacā rāθamō yāma spašuθā frāidim
drūjō āyēsē ˆ hōiš piθā ˆ tanvō parā vayū.bərədubyō duš.xˆ arəθām
uqsai xˆ āθram
drəgvō.dəhγō dāji. arətaēihyō anāiš ā manahim ahim
marəngəduyē
7. *aicā vā mīzdān ayhai ahyā magahyā*
yavai āzūš zrazdištō būnōi haxtayā
paracā mraocys aorācā yaθrā mainyus drəgvatō auqsai⁸
parā
ivizayaθā magān tān ai vā vayōi ayhaitī apāməm vacō
8. *anāiš ā dužvarəšnaγhō dajšuyā hānūtī*
zaliyācā vřspāγhō xraosəutqm upā
luxšaθrāiš jānərqm xrūnərqmē rānərqmē āiš dadātī
šyeitihyō vižihyō
iratū iš dvařšō hvō dərəzā nərəθyaoš mazīštō mošucā astū
9. *dužvarənā iš vaēšō rāsti tōi narəpīs rajīs*
aēšasā dāji. arətā pəšō.tanvō
kū ašavā elhurō yā iš jyātūš hāmiθyā! vasō.itōišcā
ta! mazdā tanvā xšaθram yā ərəžəjyōi dāhi drigaonē vahyō

ˆ read *hōi spiθā*.⁸ read *auqsai*.

6. These things are exactly true, men; exactly, women. There is an adherent of deceit when ye see a prospering of deceit. (But) I am taking these prosperous conditions away from his person. Foul food shall be for these, as they cry 'woe'⁶, in that happiness has been lost to the deceitful who violate truth. In alliance with them, ye are going to destroy the spiritual existence.

7. However, there shall be for you a (good) prize for the following task. Namely, that there be the most faithful fervor (by you), while your legs are on the ground⁷, in that place where the spirit of the deceitful one⁸, sinking lower and lower, shall finally disappear. If ye abandon this task, then the word woe shall (also) be for you at the end.

8. By reason of these things, let those of evil effects become trickable and risible. Let them all scream out. But in alliance with those who have good mastery over the men-killing, men-violating (deceitful persons), let a man create tranquility for the peacefully dwelling settlements. Let that affliction, most mighty with death's bondage, come to these (deceitful), and let it come quickly.

9. Poison adheres to those of evil preferences. They are decline and darkness. these furious violators of truth whose persons have been condemned. Where is the truthful Lord who would expel them from life and liberty?

(to the Wise Lord). Such is Thy rule. Wise One. through which Thou shalt grant what is very good to Thy needy dependent who lives honestly.

⁶ Namely, when they shall be in hell.

⁷ That is, *while ye are still alive*.

⁸ The evil spirit.

Yasna 28

This lyric is essentially a series of entreaties (1-3, 6-10) addressed to Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord, and to his two most effective forces, truth and good thinking. Throughout the Gāthā Zarathustra supplicates for power, strength and solicitude for his supporters and himself, whose purpose is to defeat the forces of deceit in this world (6), whereby the foremost existence shall come about on earth (11). This is the realization of the rule of good thinking and of truth (cf. 29.10, 30.7) in this world, which shall permit mankind, so long oppressed by the ruinous and destructive effects of deceit (30.6, 31.1), to shape this earthly existence according to the noble and enduring values of truth and good thinking that so uniquely characterize the true nature of the one true god and his creative powers (cf. 31.8). As a result of the advent of this rule of truth and good thinking in this world, there shall thus arise happiness and prosperity for the just and deserving man (2, 10), who by his faith and piety and by his enactment of these lordly principles shall increase the power and meaning of god and his rule (3). In essence this Gāthā closely approaches the nature of a pact between god and man in the profound realization that only by the mutual support of god and man can either one survive.

Against the dominant theme of supplication and entreaty, Zarathustra has worked into the composition of this poem the subtle counterpoint of his fundamental moral philosophy. In verse 1 the prophet sets the scene immediately by stating his reverence for the virtuous spirit, since the mention of this spiritual force has two aims in mind. The first is to draw the attention of the Wise Lord to the fact that the awakening of a similar virtuous spirit in Zarathustra (the theme of Y. 43) has truly been the source of his good determination in viewing himself as the chosen pastor for the cow, namely, the promoter of the vision of a world governed by truth and by good thinking. Moreover, the power of this spirit has been a true support for the prophet in his perseverance to fulfill his good conception of such a view of a perfect world founded upon the essence of goodness. The second purpose in expressing his devotion for the virtuous spirit is to evoke a feeling of compassion and identification in the Wise Lord, for it has been through the workings of such a spirit in the Wise One himself that the lord has been moved to offer

a means of escape from the ways of deceit and to create thereby a possibility of salvation for the world and for mankind (cf. 30.7-9). In this fashion the prophet and his god are of the same nature, and the recognition of the sameness of their essence is intended to arouse the Wise One to come to the aid of his followers.

Verses 2-4 then specify in an undertoned manner the workings of the virtuous spirit in man in both their sacred and profane dimensions. First, service and eulogy for the lord, as he deserves, for above all his nature as godhead must be maintained through the piety and respect of the faithful directed towards him and the eternal principles which he represents. Second, there must be continual enactment of good thinking among men as well as the relentless quest for truth in this world, for this correct behavior of the true and the just man equally promotes in its own way the fitting homage to god by bringing to life in this earthly existence the qualities and character which define the lord's own beneficent spirit.

In the next verse Zarathustra stresses the need for obedience for the Wise One, since he is the most powerful of gods. Defining the character of god in this way also has its special purpose. If man can approach the nature of god by enacting his enduring values in this world, then too man must also possess an analogue of the majestic power of god to ensure the effective realization of these prime qualities of god in his own earthly space. Thus the prophet invokes his god to rise to this need, and thereby justifies his incessant demands for power and might which dominate the following verses 6-9.

Verse 10 then unites both the themes of supplication for assistance and of the recognition of the virtuous spirit in man by asking the Wise One to aid those who are truly motivated by truth and good thinking. For the world is moving towards the better through the efforts of the few who now know the true potential of these lordly values, and yet existence can improve even beyond that through the decisive intercession of the powers of god. This is the point of the final verse, which calls for the advent of the foremost existence through the direct help of the lord, thus resuming the initial supplication found in verse 1: The power to fulfill an existence of truth and good thinking.

28.1. *ahyā yāsā nəmaṅhā ustānazastō rafədrahyā* 'I entreat with hands outstretched in reverence of him, (our) support'. The gens. *ahyā* and *rafədrahyā*, as well as flg. *mainyāuš spəntahyā*, are dependent upon

nəməyḥā. The term *nəmah-* is always construed with an obj. gen. when there is a nominal complement: 44.1b *yəθā uəmə xšmāvatō* 'how reverence for one of your kind (is to be)'. 50.8c *arədrəhiyəcā uəməyḥā* 'with reverence (worthy) of a sincere one'. 51.20c *uəməyḥā mazdā raḥādrəm caḡədlō* 'with reverence for the Wise One who offers support'. In RV, both *uāmasā* and *nānuobhīḥ* are used only adverbially and thus do not appear with dependent nouns, but *stōma-* is often construed with an obj. gen.: X 99.11a *asyā stōmēbhīḥ* 'with praises for him'. V 16.3a *asyā stōmē maghōnah* 'in praise of him, the liberal one', etc., which are typologically similar.

The formula *uəməyḥā ustānazastō* also appears in RV, VI 16.46d *utānāhasto uāmasā* and III 14.5b, X 79.2d. Both *ustāna-* and Ved. *utānā-* continue Indoir. **uts-iānā-*, a form dissim. from the aor. part. **uts-mānā-* of **uts ian* 'stretch up, out' (SI, 1968a, 61 fn 5). On med. parts., cf. *aḡzōrwanuam* in 28.3 below. On *yāsā uəməyḥā*, cf. RV, III 2.14d *iān imāhe uāmasā vājīnam bhāt* 'Reverently we entreat him, the booty-bringer, for a lofty (gift)'.
 The root *yā* 'entreat for' (cf. W. P. Schmid 1956, 222 ff.) is regularly construed with double acc. in Av. and Ved. Cf. 28.8ab below *vahištəm θwā ... yāsā* 'I entreat Thee for the best'. 51.21c *tām vaḡuhim yāsā ašim* 'I entreat Him for this good reward', etc.; RV, VIII 27.1cd *yeā yāmi ... devānu āvaḥ* 'With my song I entreat the gods for help'. I 24.11a *tāt tvā yāmi* 'I entreat thee for this'. Yet the acc. of content needed here in 28.1 cannot be *xyəθəuā*, since the flg. rel. pron. would have to be *yāiš*, not attested *yā*. Note directly flg. 28.2bc *uūhyō dāvōi ... āyaptā ašāḥ hucā yāiš ... daiḥi* 'To me are to be granted the attainments befitting truth through which one may place ...'. 50.7ad *yaōjā zəvīštyāng auvəatō ... yāiš azāθā* 'I shall yoke the swiftest steeds with which ye shall drive', etc. In form *xyəθəuā* is therefore instr. Nor can the obj. of *yāsā* be *xratūm*, because *cā* of *gāušcā urvaḡəm* can only connect this last phrase with *xratūm*, with both terms dependent upon *xšnuvīšā*.

Object of *yāsā* is thus the oft suppressed demon. pron. *taḥ*. Cf. 31.5b (*taḥ*) *viduyē ... yehyā mā əvəšiš* 'to know (that) of which I am to be seer'. 34.12b (*taḥ*) *srūidyāi mazdā frāvaocā yā vidāyāḥ ašiš rāšum* 'Speak out, Wise One, in order for (that thing) to be heard according to which one shall distribute the rewards to those who follow Thy directive'; also 34.13bc, 45.5ab, etc.

Note that it is dialectally significant that Zarathustra does not employ the closely synonymous root *jad* 'request', known to the rest of the Avesta and to OP. (pres. *jaiḍya-*, OP. *jadiya-*).

mainyāus ... *spəntahyā ašā* 'of the spirit virtuous through truth'. Besides parallel 44.2d *ašā spəntō*, *ašā* freq. appears as attributive instr. with other adjs.: 33.6a *yā zaotā ašā arəzuš* 'the priest who is just in harmony with truth', 50.2c *arəzəjīš ašā* 'living honestly in harmony with truth'; 34.4a *aojōughvantəm ašā*, 50.7c *ašā ugrāng volū manayhā* 'strong through truth and good thinking', 33.8b *ašā staomyā vacā* 'words praiseworthy with truth', 48.3b *hucā* ... *ašā* 'beneficent through truth'. Related also: 43.2c *θwā ciciθwā spəništā mainyū* 'understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit', 45.6bc *yā hucā* ... *spəntā mainyū* 'who is beneficent by reason of His virtuous spirit', 51.6b (passim) *xšaθrā mazdā* 'wise with rule' (cf. 47.1).

The exact determination of the meaning of *spənta-* is difficult (cf. Lommel 1971, 16f.). However, I have chosen the translation 'virtuous', not 'holy', since *spənta-* and its related forms often interchange with forms of *volu-* 'good'. In 30.3b the two spirits are called *vahyō akəmcā*, and this is parallel to their description in 45.2b as *spəntā ... angrəm*. The phrase 45.11d *spəntā daēnā* is the equiv. of the more common *vayuhī (vahištā) daēnā* in 44.10b *təm daēnəm yā hātəm vahištā* 'the vision which is best for those who exist', in 51.17b *daēnayāi vayhuyāi*, 53.1d, etc. Similarly, 53.3d *spəništā āratōiš *hucāuū *varəšvā* 'Bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts) of piety' recalls 43.11e *taṭ varəzeydyāi hyaṭ mōi mtaotā vahištəm* 'to bring to realization that which ye told me is the best'; cf. also 47.2 *vahištəm ... varəzāṭ*. AhM. is described as 29.7b *livō urušaēihyō spəntō* 'He is virtuous to the needy', and a similar expression concerning man appears in 33.3a *yā ašāumē vahištō* 'who is very good to the truthful one'. Finally, it should be noted that *spəništā mainyū* of 33.12b (also 30.5b, 43.16ab) exchanges with *mainyāus vahištāṭ* in preceding 33.6a.

vispāng. As obj. of *yāsā*, *vispāng* requires *rā*, obvious from *vā ... pairi.jasāi* and *vā ... ufyāni* in vss. 2a and 3a below.

vayhāus xratūm manayhō: *yā xšnəvišā gəušcā urvəqəm* 'through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow'. The phrase *vayhāus xratūm manayhō* has been preposed before the rel. pron. so as not to break this syntactically close unit across the caesura. Similar convention appears in 30.10c *mazdā ašuhyācā*: *yōi zazənti vayhān sravahi* 'which shall race ahead unto the good fame of the Wise One and of truth', 31.8b *vayhāus ptarəm manayhō*: *hyaṭ θwā hān cašmaini grabəm* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the Father of good thinking', 34.14b *vayhāus šyaθbanā manayhō*: *yōi zī gəuš varəzəniē azyā* 'who, through their

action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow'. Cf. also 33.1 and 53.8 *hu.xšaθrāiš* etc.

xratūm. Just as *manah-* signifies the faculty 'mind', its process 'thinking' and its object 'thought', *xratu-* is employed in the 3 meanings 'will' (fac.), 'determination' (proc.) and 'intention' (obj.). First meaning clearly in 43.6de *ratūš ... θvahyā xratūš* 'judgments of Thy will', 46.18e *taṭ mōi xratūš manayhucā vicitham* 'This is the decision of my will and my mind'. Second occurs here and in 48.3d *vayhūš xraθwā manayhō* 'through the determination stemming from good thinking'. Third in 32.9a *hyō nōrandaṭ jvātūš sōnghānāiš xratūm* 'he has ruined the intention of life by his own teachings', 45.6e *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāstū vahistā* 'Let Him instruct me in His best intentions', etc. A similar frame of meanings occurs for *cašman-* as 'eye' (fac.) in Yt. 10.23 *cašmanā sūkam* 'the light of their eyes': 'vision' (proc.) in 50.10b *yācā volū cašman arəjaṭ manayhā* 'and which one shall esteem in his vision'; 'vision' (obj.) in 31.8b *hyaṭ θwā hōm cašmanū grabam* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision' (also 45.8b). Likewise, *šyaoθana-* is 'action, act' (proc. and obj.): *xšaθra-* is 'rulership, mastery' (conceived as fac.), 'rule, sovereignty, control' (proc.), 'dominion, realm' (obj.). Different uses of these last 2 words are freq. Cf. Addenda.

xšnəvišā. Humbach (1956b, 69 f.) has argued that this form can only be 2sg. pres. opt., but this is unlikely since the root *xšnu* otherwise appears in the Gāthās only as an s-aorist: 3sg. *xšnōuš* 46.1, 13, 51.12; *xšnaošəm* 30.5; *xšnaošāi* 46.1; them. part. *xšnaošəmno* 46.18. The expected 2sg. opt. to the med. sigm. aor. should have been **xšnavišā*, which simply dissimilated in Zarathustra's speech to **xšnəvišā* > *xšnəvišā* (cp. **savišta-* > *səvišta-* etc.) under the effect of the surrounding *š* sounds. This explains the unexpected full grade (correct pres. opt. **xšnəvišā* like *framviša* 'thou shouldst declare' Yt. 10.119), which is normal for med. sigm. aor. opt. (cf. Narten 1964, 43 f.).

For the root *xšnu* itself, I find the translation 'satisfy, gratify' suffices for the whole of the Avesta; cf. particularly *xšnūt-* at 31.3. Benveniste's attempt (1945, 48) to explain this root as a relative of *xšnā* 'know' has no validity, since *xšnu* is cognate with Ved. *ni hnu* 'satisfy, appease, gratify', *āpa hnu* 'displease'. In Brāhmaṇa texts *ni hnu* is employed uniformly in passages which describe the appeasement of a god (or the sacrifice itself), who would be angered by a certain incorrect ritual action. E.g., ŚBr. 3.8.2.2 *tāṃ vācayati nāmas ta ātānēti ... tāsmāi evātād yajñāya nihnute tātha hainām eṣā yajñā nā hinasti* 'He makes her recite — Hail to thee, extended one. In this way she satisfies

the sacrifice, and thus the sacrifice does not harm her'. This corresponds exactly to the usual Av. usage of *xšnu* in sacrificial contexts, e.g. Y. 62.9, Yt. 10.32, 120, where *xšmūta-* 'gratified' is opposed freq. to *ībišta-* 'angered'. Zarathustra employs *xšnu* in a broader sense, as he freq. does with old cultic terms, but this extended usage also appears in Ved. *āpa hnu* 'displease'. Cf. RV. I 138.4fg *nahi tvā pūṣam atimānye ... nā te sakhyām apahnuvé* 'Pūṣan, I never disrespect thee, nor do I displease thy comradeship'. Connection of *xšnu* and Ved. *hnu* had been tentatively proposed by Bthlm. (1887, 20), but later abandoned by him.

gāuš urvanəm 'the soul of the cow' is the good vision, the good conception, a view of the world ruled by truth and good thinking; cf. introd. to Y. 29.

The whole final line thus expresses the notion that the Lord must offer the necessary support to allow Zarathustra to spread the idea of the good vision, which itself seeks to come to full realization. The determination of the faithful is also linked to the future of the cow in 51.5ab *yaθā ašāi hacā gəm *vidāi vāstryō ... hqs huxratuš namayhā* '... how the pastor shall (best) serve the cow in accord with truth, as he continues to be a reverent man of good determination' (note *gəm ... huxratuš* parallel to *xratūm ... gāuš*). Yasna 29 in general deals extensively with this theme.

28.2. *yā vā ... pairi.jasāi* 'I who shall serve you ...'. Etymological translations of *pairi gam* as 'umschreiten, umwandeln' etc. offer no sense in the Gāthās. This combination is equiv. to Ved. *pāri car* 'wait on, attend, serve'. and has exactly the same meaning. Cf. RV. V 29.13a *kathō ni te pāri carāyi vidvān* 'How shall I, the knowing one, attend thee now?'; I 127.9ef *ādha smā te pāri caranti ... śruṣṭivānah* 'Thus (the peoples) serve thee with obedience'; acc. in ChUp. 4.10.1 *tasya ... agniṁ paricacāra. pairi gam* usually occurs in association with *yaz* 'worship': 51.22c *tū yazāi ... pairicā jasāi vantā* 'I shall worship them and serve them with love'; Yt. 10.6 *miθrəm yazāi zaθrāhyō. təm pairi.jasāi vantaca namayhaca* 'I shall worship Mithra with libations; I shall serve him with love and reverence'. Note also that 50.8b *pairijasāi ... ustānazastō* is followed by 50.9a *yasnāiš patī stavas ayenī* 'Praising, I shall encounter you with prayers'. Seems to be old cultic term, but also appears in typical extended usage of Zarathustra's community in YH. 36.4 *vohū θwā manayhā vohū θwā ašā vayhuyā θwā cistōiš śyaoθanāišcā vacābīscā pairijasāmaidē* 'We shall serve Thee with good thinking, Thee with good truth, Thee with actions and words stemming

from good understanding' and in Zarathustra's description of his encounter with the virtuous spirit in 43.7 ff. Bthlm. (1905, 1) correctly has 'dienen', but only in this passage, which Duchesne (1948) follows.

astvatascā hyaṭcā manayhō 'of the body as well as of the mind'. *hyaṭcā* is simply a conjunction 'as well as'. We have 30.11b *x'itīcā ānaitī hyaṭcā darəgām ... rašō* 'both a way of easy access and one with no access, as well as long destruction': 32.14bc *hyaṭ višmā ... avō hyaṭcā ... mraoī* 'since they have begun to help ... as well as to say': 33.1b *drəgvataēcā hyaṭcā ašaonē* 'for the deceitful as well as for the truthful' (comparable to 43.4c *drəgvaitē ašāmaēcā*): 46.2b *mā kamnašvā hyaṭcā kamnānā ahmi* 'by my condition of having few cattle, as well as (that) I am one with few men': etc.

Almost identical in usage to *hyaṭcā* is the employment of *yācā*, which tends to follow gender and number. Cf. 33.1c *rehyācā *hām.yasaētē nīθahyā yācā hōi arəzrā* 'and whose falsity as well as his honesty are held to be indifferent': 43.5c *hyaṭ dā šyaoθanā miždavən yācā uxδā* 'that Thou didst establish actions as well as words to have their prizes'. However, there are passages where *yācā* has no true grammatical reference. In 33.14bc, *yācā* must refer to the preceding *paurvatātəm*, i.e. *paurvatātəm manayhusecā vaḡhāuš ... šyaoθanahyā ašā yācā uxδahyācā* 'predominance of good thinking as well as (predominance) of the action and word allied with truth'. Similarly, *yācā* in 44.20de *karapā usixšcā ... yācā kavā* 'the Karpan and the Usig ... as well as the Kavi': 48.10cd *karapanō ... yācā ... dušəxšəθrā dalhyumqm* 'the Karpans ... as well as the evil rulers of the lands'. Note also that the usage of *-cā ... hyaṭcā* and *-cā ... yācā* in 28.2b here *astvatas-cā hyaṭcā manayhō*, in 33.1b *drəgvataē-cā hyaṭcā ašaonē*, and in 33.14bc *paurvatātəm manayhas-cā vaḡhāuš ... ašā yācā* support the dual interpretation of **x'itī *aniti* in 30.11b *x'itī-cā ānaitī hyaṭcā darəgām ... rašō*. If these terms were not in the dual, *cā* would have to follow *ānaitī* as in 44.20de *karapā usixš-cā ... yācā kavā*.

maibyō dāvōi ahvā ... āyaptā ašāṭ hacā 'To me are to be granted the attainments in accord with truth which belong to both worlds'. Cf. 53.1abc *vahištā ištīš srāvi zaraθuštrahē spitāmahyā yezi hōi dāt āyaptā ašāṭ hacā ahurō* 'The best wish of Zarathustra Sp. has been heard if the Lord shall grant to him the attainments in accord with truth'. The attainments of both existences (worlds) are spelled out in 43.1e *rāyō ašīš vaḡhāuš gaēm manayhō* 'the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking' and in 43.13cde *təm mōi dātā darəgahyā yaos ... vairyā stōiš yā θvalmī xšaθrōi vāci* 'Grant to me that (wish) for long

life and for the desirable condition which is said to exist under Thy rule'. This latter is the truly 'good reward' (*vajuhī ašiš*), and it is a life governed by truth and good thinking. Even it alone is good for both existences. Cf. 34.14a *taṭ zī mazdā vairīm astvaitē uštānāi* 'for this (prize) is desirable for body and breath, Wise One'.

āyapta- is surely dissim. from **abyāpta-* (to Ved. *abhi āp* 'attain'), a view Tedesco presented to me many years ago.

28.3. *yā vā ašā ufyāuī manascā vohū ... mazdāmcā ahurām* 'I who shall eulogize all of you — thee, o truth, and good thinking and the Wise Lord'. Syntax of this type of construction has been correctly explained by Zwolanek (1970, 56 ff.). Essentially it consists of a plural pron. form (following the required case of verb) used in conjunction with a voc. sg. of a person included in the group addressed. The remaining parties follow the inflected case of the preceding pronominal form. For translation, it is best to repeat a pronominal form agreeing with the voc.

Other exx. in the Gāthās are as follows. With acc.: 28.9ab below ... *vā uōiṭ ahurā ašāmcā ... zarauaēinā manascā hyaṭ vahīštəm* 'May we not anger you — not Thee, Lord, and truth and the thinking which is best'; 49.6a *frō vā iṣyā mazdā ašāmcā* 'I do urge you — Thee, Wise One, and the truth'. With dat.: 29.8b *hvō nā mazdā vašti ašāicā* 'He wishes to ... for us, Wise One, and for truth'; 32.6c ... *vā mazdā ... ašāicā sūghō vidm* 'Fame is to serve you — Thee, Wise One, and truth'; 32.9c ... *mazdā ašāicā yūšmaihyā garazē* 'I lament to Thee, Wise One, and to truth — to all of you'; related (with sg. pron.) 34.3a *aṭ tōi uyazdām ahurā ... ašāicā dāmā* 'Therefore let us give an offering to Thee, Lord, and to truth'. Also 51.2a *tā vā mazdā puourvīm ahurā *ašāyācā* (Mss. *ašā. ašāi yecā*) 'These things first belonged to you, Wise Lord — to Thee and to truth'.

When the intended parties are subject of a verb form, the voc. is then accompanied by a comit. instr. of the remaining members not included in the direct address. Thus, 33.7ab *ā nā idūm ... mazdā ... ašā vohū manayhā* 'Come ye hither, Wise One — Thou together with truth and good thinking'; 34.6a *yezī aθā siā huīθim mazdā ašā vohū manayhā* 'If ye are truly so — Thou, Wise One, along with truth and good thinking'. Since there are no encl. nom. forms of the plural prons., these naturally do not appear.

However, against Zwolanek (op. cit. 38), I do not recognize comit. instrs. employed with any other than the implicit nom. case in direct

address. Therefore, translate 50.4abe *aṭ vā yazāi ... mazdā ahurā / hadā ašā vahiš tācā managhā / xšaθrācā ...* as 'I shall always worship you, Wise Lord, with truth and best thinking and with their rule ...'. Were this passage of the same type as 28.3ab etc., it would require *... *hadā ašā vahištāmē mānō xšaθrāmē*. See passage for further disc.

yaēihyō xšaθrāmē ayžōnvamnam varədaiti ārmaitiš 'and (those others) for whom piety increases their unharmable (unassailable) rule'. *cā* cannot connect *xšaθrām* and *ārmaitiš*, since *varədaiti* must be 3sg. pres., not pres. part. fem. (expected part. **varədaitī*). Thus *xšaθrām ayžōnvamnam* is the obj. of *varədaiti*, and *cā* belongs with *yaēihyō*. Syntactic placement of *cā* is identical in 29.7b *gavōi xšvīdāmē*. To *yaēihyō* supply *iṅg ayvāng* (intended are the remaining Aməša Spəntas), exactly as below 28.8c *yaēihyascā iṭ rāghahhōi* requires *aēihyō ayvāēihyō*.

ayžōnvamnam (var. *ayžau-*). A.-W. (1931, 317) suggested that this word was a mistake for **ayžinvamna-* (to Ved. *kṣiṇōti* 'destroys'), but it is difficult to see why there should have been a confusion between *i* and *ō*. *ao*. It is therefore preferable to relate the word to Ved. *kṣaṇutē* 'is hurt, harmed', in ŚBr. 4.4.3.13 *utā vōi yuktāḥ kṣaṇutē vā vī vā liśāte* 'Moreover, if a yoked (animal) is hurt or scratched'; cf. also AV. X 1.16d *mā kṣaṇiṣṭhāḥ pārehi* 'Do not hurt thyself. Go away'. The Skt. part. should be *kṣaṇvāna-*, to which one expects Av. **ayžanvāna-*. But here it is important to notice that Zarathustra does not employ any med. parts. in *-āna-*, only them. forms in *-amna-*. Thus *ayžōnvamna-* (orig. **ayžanvamna-*) replaces **ayžanvāna-* exactly as *isāna-* 'able' 46.6a and *xšnaošāna-* 'satisfying' 46.18d replace *isāna-* Y. 65.14 etc. and **xšnaošāna-*. Note also purported perf. part. *apānō* 33.5b is for orig. **āpā* **nā*. The only athem. form is continued in *ustāna-* (cf. 28.1 above), but this is an old, inherited form belonging to the formulaic religious vocabulary and was probably not perceived as a part. Better orthography would be **ayžōnvamna-*, as Bthlm. (1904, 50f.) proposed. Vars. with *ao* show freq. replacement of *ō* by *ao*.

In general, *xšaθrām ... varədaiti ārmaitiš* expresses the very important idea that the power of god is only as strong as the piety and respect men allot to him and his authority. The mutual dependency of *xšaθrām* and *ārmaitiš* is one of the principle themes of the Gāthās and appears in the following citations. 30.7ab *xšaθrā jasaṭ ... aṭ kəhrpāni utayūitīš dadāi ārmaitiš amnā* 'He came with His rule, and (our) enduring piety gave body and breath to it'; 44.6ed *ašam ... dəhəzaiti ārmaitiš*,

taibyō xšaθrəm ... cinas 'Piety gives substance to truth and has made clear to Thee Thy rule'; 47.1d *mazdā xšaθrā ārmaiti ahurō* 'The Wise One in rule is Lord by reason of (our) piety'. With *təviši-* 'force, power' in place of *xšaθrəm*: 33.12a *ārmaiti təvišim dasvā* 'Assume (Thy) power by reason of (our) piety'; 34.11bc *ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūiti təviši* 'Piety has increased these two enduring forces (= immortality and completeness) for Thee'. Here, too, belong passages of the type 31.6c *mazdāi avaṣ xšaθrəm hyaṣ liōi volū vaxšaṣ manayhā*, which are collected there. Zarathustra also expresses the interdependency of piety and rule in the question 44.7b *kə bərəxδqm tāšt xšaθrā maṣ ārmaitim* 'Who fashioned esteemed piety in addition to rule?'

Related notion also appears in RV. Cf. VII 91.1ab *knvid aṅgā nāmasā yé vṛdhāsaḥ, purā devā anavadyāsa āsan* 'Certainly indeed it was by reverence that the faultless gods became strong previously' and I 171.2d *yūyāṃ hi śthā *nāmasā* (text *nāmasa*) *id vṛdhāsaḥ* 'Indeed ye are strong by reason of (our) reverence'. Thus the idea is old and surely belongs to the IndoIranian religious system.

28.4. *yā urvanəm māu gairē volū dadē haθrā manayhā*. The interpretations of *gairē* as inf. 'to wake' or 'to sing', or dat. of *gar-* 'song' make little sense in this passage. It is important for the understanding of this line to recognize that *urvan-* appears in both meanings 'soul' and 'self', a usage completely parallel to that of Ved. *ātmán-*. Consequently, we can then redive *māu gairē* as **māug *airē*, and take *airē* as inf. to the root *ar* 'rise, raise'. On inf. **airē*, cf. identical form *ārōi* (for **arōi*) in 50.5a *ārōi zi xšnā mazdā ošā ahurā* 'Let wisdom arise (come) in the company of truth across the earth, Lord'. Note also comparable inf. **arōi* from *ar* 'grant' in 34.3c **arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*) *zi ludāghō ... savō* 'Salvation of the beneficent man is to be granted'.

In fact, the redivision of *mān gairē* is preferable since the majority of the best Mss. write *mān gairē*, with the nasal sign only correct before a flg. stop; cf. *tāng, daēvāng*, etc. The form **māng* thus derives from **mans*, as in *humq=dra-* 'very wise' 30.1, and shows the correct development of **-aus* to *-āng* also appearing in the acc. pl. forms *mašyāng* 32.8 (*mašyāscā* 45.11), *yāng* 28.10 etc. (*yāscā* 46.10), etc.; in the gen. *xāng* from **suvans* 43.16, 44.3b, etc. (cf. Humbach 1959, I 30f.).

Furthermore, the sandhi-vars. *mašyāscā, yāscā*, etc. show quite clearly that attested 31.5b *māncā daidyāi* and 53.5b *māncā i (maq-)dazdūm*

cannot be the orig. readings. Rather, in both instances **māscā* must have appeared in the text, and in fact 53.5b *māzdāzdīm* makes this certain, for the repeated form before *dāzdīm* is modeled after the type 44.9b *yaoš ... (yaoš) dānē*, and this can only have occurred if **māscā* existed at one time in the Urtext. Similarly, 44.8 *māndāidyāi* is a reworking of **māzdāidyāi*. What we are dealing with is the common process of the conscious leveling of one standard form throughout the text of the Gāthās at the expense of sandhi variants (cf. e.g. 46.14d *yāngstū* for **yāstū*), and in the instance of *māy*, we can at once note that this must have occurred only after the false division of **māy gairē* into *māy gairē*. The first form in the text was thus assumed to be the standard one. For disc., cf. introd. p. 14 ff.

haθrā, like Ved. *satrá*, has the value 'completely, thoroughly'. Cf. YH. 38.1 *imqm zqm gānābīs haθrā yazamaidē yā.nā baraiti yāscā tōi gānā ahurā mazdā* 'Wise Lord, we worship completely this earth which supports us and those women of Thine (= waters)'; RV. 1.71.9b *ekah satrá sūro vāsra īxe* 'Only the sun alone is completely master of (every) good', etc. The comit. instr. is expressed only by *maṭ*: 32.1a *rəzəduəm maṭ airyanūā* 'the community together with the clan', 43.14e *maṭ tāis vispāis* 'together with all those', 44.7b *kā hərəxδqm tāšt xsāθrā maṭ ārmaitim* 'Who fashioned esteemed piety along with rule?', etc. *haθrā* never appears in this function.

This whole line is therefore *yā urvquəm *māng *airē volhū dadē haθrā manayhā* 'I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift myself with good thinking', and is to be directly compared with 32.6b **hātqm *arānē* (Mss. *hātā.marānē*) *vahistā manayhā* 'in the uplifting of beings with the best thinking'. Idea corresponds to the usual notion that one best serves the Lord with good thinking and truth. Cf. 34.10ab *ahyā vahhāns manayhō šyaoθanā vaocaṭ gərəbqm huxratnš spantqm ārmaitim* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety'; 50.9ab (*vā*) *paiti ... ayenī ... ašā vahhāns šyaoθanāis manayhō* 'I shall encounter you with acts stemming from good thinking allied with truth'; etc.

ašišcā šyaoθananqm viduš mazdā ahurahyā 'and (who) knowingly bear in mind the Wise Lord's rewards for our actions'. *cā* connects this line also to be obj. of **māng dadē*. *viduš*, however, cannot be nom. sg. of *vidvah-*, which appears only as *vidvā* in the Gāthās. Rather, the form is nom.-acc. sg. neut. of the part. and is employed adverbially like the Ved. forms *drovāt* 'quickly', *dhyāt* 'boldly', etc. Similar use in

45.8bd *nū zīṭ caśmaini vyāclarəsəm ... viduś aśā* 'For I have just now seen (Him) in a vision, knowingly with truth ...'. Same explanation required for *vāmuś* in flg. 28.8b *ahurəm yāsā vāmuś* 'I do lovingly entreat the Lord'. Rigvedic *viduś* (2x) requires a different explanation.

šyaoθananəm is an obj. gen. dependent upon *aśiš*, and since *mazdā ahurahyā* cannot belong with *viduś*, it modifies *aśiš*, i.e. 'the Wise Lord's rewards for (our) actions'. Parallel obj. gens. in the Gāthās appear in 31.19c *vidātā ranayā* 'distribution for both factions', 33.13c *yā vajhāuš aśiš manayhō* 'which is the reward for good thinking', 34.8b *θwahyā ... uštā urvātahyā* 'malice for Thy commandment', 34.15b *iśudəm stūtō* 'the claim for (my) praises', 43.13cde *tām (kāməm) mōi dātā darəgahyā yaos ... *vairiyayā stōiš* 'Grant to me that wish for long life and for the desirable condition ...'. Related: 48.8d *vajhāuš mainyāuš šyaoθananəm javarō* 'incentive for actions stemming from good spirit'. Cf. also disc. at 44.10b *yā hātəm vahūštā*.

Bearing in mind the rewards for actions means remembering that the Lord at the end will reward one according to his actions. Common theme: cf. 43.16e *aśim šyaoθanāiš volū claidiṭ manayhā* 'May He dispense with good thinking (each) reward corresponding to one's actions'; 43.5cd *hyaṭ dā šyaoθauū mīzdavəm yācā uxδā | akām akāi vajhūm aśim vajhaovē* '... that Thou didst determine actions as well as words to have their prizes: bad for the bad, but a good reward for the good': etc.

avaṭ xsāi aēšē aśahyā 'so long shall I look in quest of truth'. The word *aēša-*, like Ved. *éṣa-*, has more the sense of 'search' than of 'desire': cf. Oldenberg (1908, 477 f.). Related passage: 46.9de *yā tōi aśā ... iśanti mā* 'They indeed seek after those things of Thine which are in harmony with truth'; cf. 32.2 for syntax.

28.5. *munascā volū vaēdānuō gātūmcā ahurāi* 'as I continue to acquire both good thinking and a way to the Lord'. H.-P. Schmidt (1957, 165 ff.) has convincingly shown that *vaēdānmō* belongs to the root *vid* 'find', since the form here follows *aēša-* in vs. 4 in the same way as *aēša-* and *vaēda-* appear together in Y. 68.13 *razištahē paθō aēšəmca vaēdāmcā*. He then posits a meaning development 'find' to 'find out, understand' for this med. pres. stem, which he tries to defend throughout the Gāthās. But *vaēda-* clearly means 'possession' in 32.11b *apayēiti raēxənuayhō vaēdəm* 'stealing the possession of the inheritor', and it is also possible to translate Y. 68.13 as, 'the search for and acquisition of the straightest path'. Note, too, the same meanings for

vaēdana- and *avisti-* in 34.7a *vayhāuš vaēdāuā manayhō* ‘through the acquisition of good thinking’ and 34.9b *vayhāuš avistī manayhō* ‘through the lack of ...’, which correspond to Ved. *védana-* *vittā-*, both ‘acquisition, possession’. Thus, I prefer ‘acquire, possess’ for all occurrences of the med. stem *vaēda-*, which then corresponds to the usage of the Ved. med. pres. *vindāte*.

Note also that 53.5c *vaēdō.dūm ... *ābyascā ahūm yā vayhāuš manayhō* ‘Acquire for yourselves and your women an existence of good thinking’ closely resembles in structure and meaning 46.15c *tāis yūs šyuoθauāiš ašam xšmaihyā dduhyē* ‘Through such actions ye shall receive (acquire) the truth for yourselves’. Cf. as well 51.19a *hyō taī (= xšaθrəm) ... ahmāi dazdē* ‘he receives that rule’ and 51.6a *yā vahyō vayhāuš dazdē* ‘who accepts (acquires?) what is better than good’, where *vahyō vayhāuš* is much the same as *vayhāuš ahūm manayhō ašā maī* ‘an existence of good thinking allied with truth’. Thus it appears to me that med. *dā*, with or without accompanying pron., meaning ‘receive, assume, acquire’, is the equiv. of med. *vaēda-*. Interesting also is the distribution: there are 5 exx. of *vaēdānuia-* but only 1 finite form (53.5b cited above); med. *dā* only appears in finite forms, never in the pres. part. Thus these two seem to be in suppletion with one another, and occasionally, as in 48.3 *vaēdānuāi*, the sense of med. *vid* shades into ‘accept’.

For other parallels to the current line, cf. 31.22ab *ciθrā i hudāyhē yaθanā vaēdānuāi manayhā volū* ‘These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking’: 44.8d *yācū ašā ayhāuš arəm vaēdyā* ‘and which are to be properly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth’, where *ašā ayhāuš* is a stylistic variant of *ahūm yā vayhāuš manayhō*.

səvištāi sərəošəm mazdāi anā maθrā mazīštəm vāurōimaidi xrafstrā hizvā. The appearance of 33.5a *vīspā.mazīštəm sərəošəm zbayā* ‘I shall summon the all-greatest obedience’ makes it impossible to separate *sərəošəm* and *mazīštəm* here. This last word then cannot be an adverb. Similarly, the positioning of *mazīštəm* after *anā maθrā* excludes the possibility of considering *sərəošəm* to be in apposition to the preceding *gātūmcā*, as does the use of double *cā* in *manascā volū* and *gātūmcā*, a fully inclusive type of coordination. The best solution is to end the first sentence with *ahurāi*, and thus to take *sərəošəm* as the obj. of *vāurōimaidi*. Syntax thus basically same as RV. II 14.9a *ādihvaryavah kartaṇā sruṣṭim asmai* ‘Celebrants, manifest your obedience to him’.

This form *vāurōimaidi* I ascribe to the redup. aor. of *var* ‘turn’.

Here the translation 'turn' fits very well, and in the 2 other passages, a technical sense 'convert' is present. Cf. 31.3c *yā jvantō vīspāng vāurayā* 'with which I might convert all the living' and 47.6d *hā zī pourūs išantō vāuraitē* 'For it shall convert the many who are seeking'. This root *var* also occurs in the pres. *vərəuvaitē* (Ved. type *piuvate* 'swells') in 31.17a *ašavā vā drəgvā vā vərəuvaitē maz-yō* 'Does the truthful one or the deceitful one turn to what is more important?' (note *vərəuvaitē maz-yō*: *mazištəm vāurōimaidī*); in the desid. *ā.vīvarəšō* in 45.8a *tām nā staotāiš nəmauḡhō ā.vīvarəšō* 'Let me try to turn Him hither to us with praises of reverence' (q.v. for Ved. parallels); and in the past part. *āvərətō* in 45.1e *akā varanā drəgvā hizvā āvərətō* 'The Deceitful One turned hither with his evil tongue and his evil preference' (note *hizvā* as in 28.5 here). Connections of the stem *vāura-* with root *var* 'choose' are excluded, since the idea of 'profess' and the like is expressed only by the combination *frā var*: Y. 12.8 *mazdayasū zaraθuštriš fravarānē ...* Vr. 5.3 *frā tē vərəue ... mazdayasū zaraθuštriš*, etc.

xrafstrā is simply an adj. modifying *hizvā*, and probably means 'fierce'. Cf. 34.5c *daēvāišcā xrafstrāiš mašyāišcā* 'by fierce gods and men'. The application of this word to describe wild, harmful animals is a specialization of the original meaning, and parallels the development of *daēva-* 'god' to signify 'fallen god, demon'. In general, I find the expression *xrafstrā hizvā* 'with a fierce tongue' no more unusual than the parallel *xraoždyeḡya frasrūti* 'with a harder recitation' in Y. 9.14 *frasrāvayō ... aparəm xraoždyeḡya frasrūti* 'thou didst recite successively with a harder (= louder) recitation'.

Thus translate: 'May we turn the greatest obedience to the most Mighty Lord through the following sacred-formulation (prayer)'.

28.6. *dvaēšā taurvayāmā*. The form *taurvayāmā* is a modernization of orig. **taurvāmā* (cf. Meillet 1920, 196) under the influence of the freq. yAv. expression *ṡhaēšā taurvayēiti* etc. The stem *taurva-* is the equiv. of Ved. *tūrvati* 'overtakes, surpasses'.

28.7. *dāicī ... vīštāspāi išəm maibyūcā* 'Grant power to V. and to me'. Both *iš-* and *išti-* allow the consistent translation 'power' throughout the Gāthās and are characteristically employed beside the allied concept *xšaθra-* 'mastery, sovereignty'. Cf. 28.9c below *išō xšaθramcā savayḡuḡm* 'To mighty ones belong the powers and the mastery'; 34.5a *kaḡ vō xšaθrəm kā ištiš* 'Have ye the mastery, have ye the power?';

46.16d *yaθrā vaṅhāuš manayhō īstā xsāθrām* 'where the sovereignty is in the power of good thinking'; also 51.18 *īstōis ... xsāθrām*. Note also that the fig. *vaṅhāuš īsti- manayhō* (also 32.9, 46.2) exchanges with *hazah-* 'force' in 43.4e *vaṅhāuš hazā manayhō*. Cf. also 50.9 *aṭ hūdāuaoš īsayas* etc.

Similarly, *aēša-* is 'powerful' and *amaēša-* 'powerless'. Thus YH. 41.4 *aēšācā ... āmāvauiascā huγamā* 'May we be powerful and forceful' and 43.10e *hγcγ θvā xsāγas aēšam dγāṭ āmāvauiam* 'since the Ruler could create thee to be powerful and forceful' clearly belong with YI. 10.33 *dazeli ... īstīm amam vərəθraγmāuca* 'Grant power, force and victory'. Similarly, 29.9ab apposes *amaēšam rādām* 'powerless caretaker' with *vācīm nərəš asūrahγā* 'the voice of a man lacking might'. Other related forms in *īsta-* 'power' in *zastāīsta-* 34.4, 50.5, *īyā-* 'id.' 51.17, *īsam* 'having power' 32.12, and pres. part. demon. *īsayas* 'exercising power' 50.9. Note, too, that 51.17b ... *hōi īyamt dātū* is a variant of *dāidi ... vīstāspāi īsam māihγācā* in 28.7 here.

Since the set *īs- īsti- īsta- aēša-* is parallel to Ved. *jūṣ- jūṣti- jūṣta- jōṣa-* etc., it is best to set up a root *īs* 'have power'. Similar meaning 'power' for Ved. *īṣti-* in I 166.14cd *ā yāt tatānan vjāne jūnāsa, ehlir yajñēhlis tād abhīṣtim aśyām* 'If our men are to spread out in the community, then might I reach such power with these worships'. Note also that Ved. *īṣ-* can freq. = 'power'; cf. 29.7 *tām āzūtōis* etc.

dāstū mazdā xsāγācā 'and do Thou give, Wise Ruler'. The *cā* here can only coordinate this phrase with the preceding *dāidi*, and its unusual placement is governed by the following syntactic conventions. (1) *tū* occurs in 2nd position in its pāda or clause. E.g. above 28.6b *arāšvāis tū, dāidi tū* in vs. 7 here, 32.7c *γāēšqm tū*, 34.13c *γehγā tū*, etc. (2) A compound voc. sg. cannot be broken within a given metrical unit. E.g. above 28.2a *γā vā mazdā ahurā*, below 28.10b *arāθwāug mazdā ahurā*, 28.11b *tvām mazdā ahurā*, 31.5c *tācīγ mazdā ahurā*, etc. (3) *va* and *tū* never follow one another in Ved., and thus presumably also in Gāthic. Therefore, since *tū* must follow *dās* and since *mazdā xsāγā* cannot be split, *cā* has moved to the end of the line.

It follows then that the 2 exx. of *-cā tū* in the Avesta cannot be correct. In 53.3a *tāncā.tū pourucistā* emend to **tāncā.tū* (cf. passage for disc.). Similarly, YH. 41.4 *rapōišcā tū.nā darəgāncā nštācā hātqm hūdāstāmā* should be altered to **rapōis tū.nā darəgāncā *īstā *yā hātqm hūdāstāmā* 'And do Thou support us for a long time under that power (of Thine) which is most beneficent for those who exist'. In this passage the

false use of *-cā* has been assimilated from preceding *hanaēmācā zaēmācā ... aēsācā θwā ānavantascā ...* by the text tradition, but note that *-cā* has moved to position after *darəgəm*, first non-enclitic after *tū.nō*, as in *dāstū mazdā xšayācā*.

xšaya- 'ruler' also appears at 32.5, and this word approximates the meaning of *xšayəs* at 43.10, 51.17, where we meet the similar fig. *xšayəs mazdā ahurō*.

yā vā mθrā srəvimā rādā 'through which promise we may hear of your solicitude for us'. On meaning, cf. 29.7 *tām āzūtōiš ... mθrənt*. The obj. of *dās* is *mθrəm*, which has moved into the rel. clause. Similar syntax in 46.1c *nōi mā xšnāuš yā vərəzəñā *hāhēcā* (Mss. *hēcā*) 'The community with which I have associated has not satisfied me'. Cf. also RV. I 166.14ab *yēna dīrghām marutaḥ sūśāvāma. yuṣmākena pāriṣasū turāsah* 'Swift Maruts. (grant) your bounty through which we shall grow strong for a long time'.

srəvimā = **srōimā*, just as *cəvišī* 51.15 and *cəvištā* 34.13 = **cōišī* and **cōištā*. This **srōimā* is a contraction of **sravōimā*, aor. opt. of *sru*, which in fact is attested in the modernized form *sravaēmā* in K₅. Similar contractions occur in *zar'uaēmā* 28.9 below from **zar'uāyaēmā*; *zəimā* YH. 41.4 from **zayaēmā*; *xšayā* 50.9, *xšāēša* Y. 8.5, *xšāētā* YH. 41.2 from **xšaya(i)yā* **xšayaēša* **xšayaētā*; *apaēmā* YH. 41.2 from **apayaēmā*; and *aḥhāyā* 32.16 from **āḥhāya(i)yā*. These latter forms all have *-āyati* presents. However, **sravōimā* itself has been built to aor. subj. **sravāimā*, thus parallel to the Ved. type *gamēma* founded upon aor. subj. *gamāma*. Similarly, opt. *isōyā* 43.8 (= **isōiyā*) has been built to corresponding subj. *isāi* 28.4, 43.9, 50.11. Note also *vairiā* 43.13 contracted from **vairiyā*.

The word *rādah-* cannot be dissociated from *rādu-* (or *rād-*) 'caretaker' 29.9 (also Y. 9.23), and means 'care, solicitude'. The adj. form appears in the gen. *rādahō* 'offering care, solicitude' 45.7, 46.17, which always refers to AhM. Good support for meaning from Ved., where 'solicitude' is the favorable translation as well. Best exx.: RV. VIII 1.6cd *mātā ca me chodayathah samā vaso, vasutvanāya rādhuṣe* 'Thou, good (Indra), and my mother seem to me equal with regard to goodness and solicitude'. IV 20.2ab *ā na indro ... yātu ... āvase rādhuṣe ca* 'Let Indra drive hither for our help and solicitude'.

28.8. *yāsā vāmuš* 'I do lovingly entreat'. *vāmuš* is adverb: cf. *viduš* in 28.4 above. The root *van* 'adore, love' belongs to the standard vocabulary of worship. Cf. 51.22c *tā yazāi ... pairicā jusāi vantā*

'I shall worship them and serve them with love' (cf. 28.2 above); 28.10c below *vainiyā sravā* 'words founded on love'. Note also Ved. *vaniṣ-* 'adorer' in RV. IV 44.3cd *ṛāśya vā vaniṣe pūrṇyāya, nāmo yemānāḥ ...* 'or offering reverence to the foremost adorer of truth', III 27.11 *agnim ... ṛāśya yōge vaniṣah, viprāḥ ... sām indhute* 'The adorers and the poets kindle Agni in this event of truth', etc.

yaēihyascā requires *uēihyō auyuēihyō*: cf. *yaēihyō xšaθrəmcā* in 28.3 above.

28.9. *ahurā mazdā, mazdā* is a gloss, discernible from the splitting of the voc. across the caesura: cf. 28.7 above.

zar'uāēmā has contracted in recitation from **zar'nāyaēmā*: cf. *srāvīnū* in 28.7 above. The stem *zar-uā-ya-* is thus directly cognate with Ved. *hr-ūā-yānt-* *hr-ūā-yā-*: but the vocalism *zar-* (in place of **zr-*) stems from the perf. *zazurāna-* (= Ved. *jahurāmi-*). Note that the med. form *zar-uīnna-* Yt. 10.47 < **zar-u-yanna-* also exactly corresponds to Ved. *hr-ūi-yannāna-*: thus with proper loss of **a* in medial syllables.

yūšm zəvīštyāghō išō xšaθrəmcā savayhqm 'Ye are the strongest. To mighty ones (like you) belong the powers and the mastery'. This last line explains the reason for Zarathustra's entreaties: only the immortal ones have the necessary power to grant these requests. Although *zəvīštya-* is 'swiftest' at 50.7 (modifying *aurvatō* 'steeds'), here and at 46.9, where it refers to AhM., the value is 'strongest'. This corresponds to *zavah-* 'strength' in 33.12, where *zəvīšm zavō* and *huzō* stand in parallel. Cf. also Sogd. *z'wr* 'strength'.

Syntax of *cā* in *išō xšaθrəmcā savayhqm* follows 31.15c *pasōis virūatcā adrujyuntō* 'from the cattle and man of the undeceiving one', etc. The stem *savah-*, like *rādah-* discussed above, when used in the gen. is adjectival and refers to AhM.: cf. 43.3.

28.10. *aī yōng ašāatcā vōistā vayhōnscā dāθōng manayhō əəθwōng* 'Therefore, those whom Thou knowest to be just and deserving in conformity with truth and good thinking ...'. Because *manayhō* follows *dāθōng* rather than precedes it, *ašāatcā ... vayhōnscā manayhō* modifies *dāθōng* rather than *vōistā*. The term *əəθwōng* is simply attached asyndetically to *dāθōng*. Word order is thus identical to 33.3c *aī hvō ašahyā aghat vayhōnscā vāstrē manayhō* 'That person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking'. Note that adverbial phrases surround the verb which they modify: e.g. 45.10c *hyat hōi ašā vohucā*

cōišt manayhā, 32.4bc *vayhēuš sīzdyaunā manayhō ... nasyautō ašātcā*, 33.8a *yā volū šyavāi manayhā*, etc.

dāθa- is 'just' and belongs with *dāta-* 'law' (HH. 1952b, 4); fuller disc. at *kāθa-* 44.2. *arəθwa-* means 'deserving' (close, Bthlm's 'worthy', etc.), and the word is derived from a root *ar* 'deserve'. I also identify the same root in *aši-* (**yi-*) 'reward', i.e. 'what one deserves', and in the 1 sg. imperf. (or aor.) *ārəm* in 43.10b *ārmaitī hacimnō iṭ ārəm* 'Being in companionship with piety, I have deserved it'. Later use of *aši-* with *ar* 'grant' results from secondary association.

Omit *xšmaibyā* (gloss of *vš*) in the last line (so, A.-W. 1931, 319), whose meter requires *aṭ vā asūnā vaēdā*: *huvar"θiyā vaintiyā sraṇā*. *asūna-* belongs best with Skt. **asūna-* 'not empty, wanting' (in *aśūnya-*). *x'araiθiyā-* and *vaintiyā-* are secondary derivs. from **x'arəθa-* (3 syllables) 'of good goal, purpose' 43.2 (= Ved. **r-ārtha-*) and *vautā-* 'love' 51.22. On this last word, cf. *vāmuš* in 28.8 above.

Thus the final line is *aṭ vā asūnā vaēdā x'araiθiyā vaintiyā sraṇā* 'I know that words deriving from good purpose and from love are not left wanting by you'. Idea recalls RV. III 33.8a *etād vaco jaritar māpi mṛyṭhāh* 'Do not ignore this word, singer'. VII 32.5ab *śrāvāc chrit-karṇaḥ ... nī cū no mardhiṣad girāḥ* 'The one of listening ears shall listen. He shall never ignore our songs', etc., employed in the same context of worship.

28.11. *frō.mā sīsā θvalunāṭ vacajhē mainyēuš hacā θvā dāyjhā*. The reading *vacajhē* seems incorrect for 2 reasons. (1) The positioning of *θvalunāṭ* and *mainyēuš* around *vacajhē* conforms to Zarathustra's usual syntactic practice of framing a noun by the phrase which modifies it. Cf. 43.4d *θvaliyā garəmā āθrō*, 44.14c *θvaliyā maθrāiš sānghahyā*, 46.14e *vayhēuš uxδāiš manayhō*, etc. (2) Parallel passages with the instr. *hi-zvā* usually occur with a 2nd instr. Cf. 45.1e *akā varauā drəgvā hi-zvā āvərətō*, 47.2b *hi-zvā uxδāiš vayhēuš dānū manayhō* = 51.3b *hi-zvā uxδāiš vayhēuš manayhō*, and especially above 28.5c *anā maθrā ... vāurōimaidi ... hi-zvā*.

In light of this, I emend to *θvalunāṭ *vacajhyā mainyēuš* 'through the eloquence befitting Thy spirit', with **vacajhyā* the instr. of *vacajhyā-* 'eloquence' = Ved. *vacasyā-*. Thus the line has a parallel sequence of **vacajhyā ... dāyjhā*. Good support also from RV. II 10.6cd ... *agnim juhvā vacasyā ... jhaviṃi* 'I summon Agni with my tongue and its eloquence'. Mistake seems to arise from the development of **vacajhyā* > **vacajhē*; cf. *kainē* Vd. 15.11 from **kanyā*, *sāujhē*

51.7 from **sānryjhyā*, also *paouruyē* 30.3, 44.19 from **paouruyā* (cf. Bthlm. 1895, 157 §268.32). Subsequent normalization of **vacajhē* to inf. *vaocajhē* follows tendency to replace rare words by commonly known forms: cf. introd. p. 13 ff.

sīsā requires *tā*, agreeing with surrounding *āis* and *yāis*. Similarly, 48.2a *vaocā mōi yā tvāu vidvā* 'Tell to me (those things) which Thou knowest', 44.8b *māndāidyāi yā tōi ... ādištis* 'in order to bear in mind (that) which is Thy precept', etc.

yāis ā aghus paouruyō bavaṭ 'by means of which the foremost existence shall come about'. On syntax of *yāis ā*, cf. 32.3 *šyaoumni aipi* etc. The form *bavaṭ* is orthographic for **buvaṭ*, since the sequence *-uva-* is written either as *-ava-* or *-va-*: cf. *yvānam yavāuam* Vr. 3.3, *kyaciṭ kavaciṭ* Y. 23.3, etc. Thus cognate with the Ved. aor. subj. *bhūvat* which, like the indie. *ābhūt* and perf. *babhūva*, is properly built with zero grade (differently, K. Hoffmann 1967, 236 ln 246). Similarly, *bavaṭ* 30.9, *bavaiti* 30.10, *bavainti* 33.10 all require *bu-*. In these last passages excellent Mss. offer the alternate orthography *bvaṭ* etc., which I have adopted: cf. also *bvainti* 45.7. In general, cf. introd. p. 19.

This explanation of *bavaṭ* substantially aids in the understanding of the expression *aghus paouruyō*, since the use of the subj. form clearly indicates that this state of existence has not yet taken place. Thus I do not believe with Lommel (1930, 144 ff.) that *aghus paouruyō* is the 'first existence' in the sense of the 'spiritual existence of the present world' viewed as the time preceding the future existence, i.e. the time following the final judgment. Rather, I understood *aghus paouruyō* 'the first existence' to mean 'the foremost existence', viz. the one ahead of all others in terms of its importance. This is the time when the rule of truth and good thinking (*xšaθrām volūi manayhā ašācā*) shall be brought to realization on earth (cf. 30.7-8), when deceit shall be destroyed forever (cf. 48.1-2), thus bringing on the 'good form of existence'. This 'good form of existence' (48.2d *aghūs vaṅulū ākərətis*) and 'the foremost existence' are identical in my opinion, and both belong to the future. They are also called 'the best existence' (44.2b *aghūs vahīštahyā*) and 'the healed (or restored) existence' (*fərəšəm ahūm* 30.9a, 34.15c).

Here it is important to note that Zarathustra employs *paouryya-* in the sense of *fratama-*, a word which does not occur in the Gāthās. This usage, however, is also common in the RV. for the cognate *pūryā-*. Cf. III 10.5ab *prā hōtre pūryāṃ vāco, agnāye bharatā bhāt* 'Offer on high the foremost word to Agni, our Hotar', X 49.1a

aham dāṃ gṛṇatē pūrvaṃ vāsu 'I gave the foremost wealth to the singer', etc. Thus, similar interpretation for 33.1a *yā dātā aṃhāuṣ paouruyehyā* 'which are the laws of the foremost existence', 48.6d *ahurō aṃhāuṣ zqθōi paouruyehyā* 'Lord at the birth of the foremost existence' and their variant 46.15d *yāiṣ dātāiṣ paouruyāiṣ ahurahyā* 'through which foremost laws of the Lord ...'. Also here: 44.11d *a-ēm tōi āiṣ paouruyō frauōividē* 'I have been accepted by them as Thy foremost (follower)'.

Yasna 29

This hymn is essentially a supplication for help (1, 5, 9, 10-11), whose purpose is to destroy the fury wrought by the powers of deceit (1-2) and to bring about in its place peace and tranquility through the rule of good thinking and of truth (10-11). In it we also encounter the heavenly approval of Zarathustra (8) to be the chosen one to lead his followmen in this great task (11).

Of all the extant works of Zarathustra, this Gāthā has attracted the greatest attention of scholars, and justifiably so, since the content of the poem is unfolded in dramatic form, which places this work in a unique position among the prophet's surviving creative output. Yet, notwithstanding the care and concern expended upon the interpretation of this poem, many problems remain regarding the proper understanding of the message contained in its eleven verses. From the question of the identification of the cast of characters, through the problems pertaining to the development of the action depicted in the Gāthā, to the final assessment of the overall significance of its content, there still remains among these interrelated issues much that is unclear or uncertain in the previous treatments of this work. In the hope that a careful analysis can further clarify some of these troublesome problems, we begin our discussion of this Gāthā with a study of the personages and the action appearing in this poetic drama.

The opening action of the hymn is immediately placed in focus by the words of the narrator, *xšmaihyā gāuš urvā garəždā* 'To you the soul of the cow lamented'. Not only does this brief description set the general tone of helplessness which dominates the whole of the following Gāthā, but it equally signals the existence of the several parties who participate in the drama, here indicated by a contrast among the pronoun *xšmaihyā*, the specified soul of the cow and the unnamed narrator. The use of *xšmaihyā* anticipates the later appearance of *yūžəm* 'ye' in vss. 10 and 11, where it is employed with the voc. *ahurā* or *mazdā* occurring both times in close proximity with *ašəm* 'truth' and *volū manō* 'good thinking'. Since each of these characters plays an active role in the ensuing development of the poem (vss. 2-3, 6-8), it is evident that the Wise Lord, truth and good thinking are included in this group first addressed. Furthermore, when the lamentations of the cow

at once provoke the fashioner of the cow (*gāuš tašā*) to question truth in the very next verse, we can conclude that he also belongs to the same group of heavenly personalities hidden behind the pronoun *xšmaibyā*. Who the fashioner of the cow really is cannot be ascertained from Y. 29 alone, since he makes this single appearance in the drama which merely mentions his responsiveness to the cow and quotes his words directed to truth. However, both 31.9ab *θwā ā gāuš tašā *aš.xratuš mainyuš* 'Thine (= AhM.) was to be the fashioner of the cow, that spirit of great determination' and 47.3ab *ahyā mainyāuš tvām alī tā spəntō yō ... gəm ... hām.tašaṭ* 'Thou (= AhM.) art the virtuous Father of this spirit which fashioned the cow' allow us to readily identify the fashioner of the cow with the virtuous spirit (cf. also 51.7ab *yō gəm tašō ... spəništā mainyū mazdā*). Thus the personages to whom the cow complains comprise the intimate circle of the Wise Lord, the virtuous spirit (his motivating force), and truth and good thinking (the foremost moral principles which he represents).

The identification of the cow is discussed later in the introduction, where it is argued that she is a metaphorical representation of 'the good vision' (*vayulī daēnā*). Here we wish to stress with Humbach (1958, 52 ff. and 1959, II 12), that in the singular the stem *gao-* typically refers to a cow in the Gāthās, since this word is referred to anaphorically by fem. pronouns in 31.9ab *gāuš tašā ... ahīyāi* and 48.5d *gavōi ... təm* (48.6a *hā*), or combined with an unambiguous fem. adj. at 50.2ab *gəm ... vāstravitīm*. Therefore, the cow appearing in 1a. 9a *gāuš urvā*. 2a *gāuš tašā*. 3a. 7b *gavōi* must be the same figure described as *gāuš(cā) azyā* in 5b *mō urvā gāušcā azyā* 'my soul and that of the fertile cow'. This excludes the possibility of interpreting the phrase *mō urvā gāušcā azyā* as spoken by a bull (the great Urrind) in the company of its mother cow, which latter character would otherwise play no role in this or any other Gāthā. Rather, *mō urvā* 'my soul' in vs. 5 must be compared to the diction of 44.8e *mō urvā*, 50.1a *mōi urvā* and 28.4a *urvanəm*, where this phrase constantly refers to Zarathustra himself (so Humbach, op. cit.), and similarly identified there with the prophet who is named in the course of Y. 29.

As to the narrator, there can be little doubt that the impersonal voice describing the progress of the action is that of Zarathustra. For he alone has truly understood the lamentable condition into which the world has fallen under the forces of deceit and he alone has been the first to realize that help and support for mankind can come

only through the intercession of the Wise One and his good forces. His identification emerges from the discussion of the dramatic evolution described in the poem which follows. But let us note here that the prophet manipulates the scenes with great psychological control by not speaking in his own personal voice until he has been accepted as the protector of the cow by both the heavenly powers and the cow herself.

The succession of events in the first 3 verses forms an integrated development which can be paraphrased in the following fashion. Lamenting to the Wise Lord and his close circle, the cow asks them why she has been created, if she is to remain in the oppression of the cruel and violent forces of deceit on earth. Since no mortal has come forth to protect her in this deplorable condition, she must turn to her heavenly benefactors and entreat them to offer the means for her to survive (1). These plaintive words instantly arouse the virtuous spirit, who bears the responsibility for the cow's existence, to ask truth whether this is a proper judgment for the cow. He singles out truth from among the group of his allies insofar as it must be truth itself who best understands that this judgment for the cow in no way befits the truth as it should be. In contrast, the spirit continues by way of his further questions, a proper judgment would exist if all of those who placed her on earth — the Wise Lord, good thinking and truth — could also provide care for her through a protector and master capable of destroying the oppressive forces directed at the cow (2). In vs. 3 truth accedes that the virtuous spirit's proposal is correct indeed, and that he and his companions would assist such a person, but a human mighty enough to protect the cow has not been found among yonder mortals. There only exists widespread hostility in the world of mankind.

Verse 4 follows with a statement that the Wise Lord always heeds his agreements, no matter with whom they have been concluded, and that he is the one and only decisive lord who disposes as he wishes. This verse has been traditionally regarded as a continuation of truth's answer in vs. 3, namely, that the truly decisive issue concerning the fate of the cow lies in the hands of the Wise Lord, to whom the fashioner of the cow must now turn. But two things speak against such an interpretation. First, the major part of the verse treats the theme of the Wise Lord's adherence to his word, yet there has been no mention of any promise or agreement in the preceding development of the hymn which can be underscored now with reference to this motif. Second, it is not possible to envision that the final phrase

aθā nē aṅhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ 'So shall it be for us as He shall wish it' can be spoken by truth. Such a statement belongs only in the mouth of man, for it is a clear affirmation that this worldly design, for better or for worse, truly lies in the powers of heaven.

For these reasons it seems best to me to combine vs. 4 with the opening of vs. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā mē urvā gāušcā azyā* 'Thus indeed did we two continue to pray to the Lord with outstretched hands, namely, my self and that of the fertile cow (= I and the fertile cow)'. Above we have noted that the dual subject *mē urvā gāušcā azyā* requires the interpretation of Zarathustra and the cow (cf. also the elliptic dual in 46.19d *gāvā azī* = Zarathustra and the cow), and it becomes understandable at once that the content of vs. 4, which we have described as only appropriate to the words of mortals, pertains to Zarathustra's trust in his god, expressed in his prayers mentioned in vs. 5 and uttered in the company of the cow. Furthermore, when the purpose of the prayers is described in vs. 5 as a means to move the Wise One to answer the questions of whether there is to be a future or survival for the cow's pastor and protector as well, we immediately see the link with the preceding statement *aθā nē aṅhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* of vs. 4. Be the answer yes or no, it is nonetheless the will of god, a will imposed upon the lowly beings on earth.

Two problems remain as yet unanswered. What is the reason for stressing the Wise Lord's nature to honor his agreements? Why does Zarathustra speak in vss. 4-5, when he is first mentioned in vs. 8 below? These will be explained in the course of the following discussion.

Verse 6, in which the Wise Lord is the speaker, contains answers to the two questions originally posed by the fashioner of the cow to truth in vs. 2. That is, the Wise One relates that no earthly master has been found by anyone among his kind (*nōiṭ aēvā ahū vistō* responds to 2c *kām hōi ustā ahurəm*), nor a judgment befitting the truth (*naēclā ratuš ašūcīṭ hacū* responds to 2a *kaθā tōi [= ašahyā] gavōi ratuš*). To whom can he be speaking? It cannot be either truth or the fashioner of the cow, since both already know the answers from vs. 3. Nor can it be good thinking, who does not appear until later and who does not ask any questions. Nor can it be Zarathustra and the cow, who are the subjects of vs. 5. For these two have asked whether there is not to be a future for the pastor, and the Wise Lord's answers concern the survival of the cow, certainly an inappropriate response. The only possible resolution to this problem, as I view the matter, is that the

Wise Lord is responding to the cow alone, and this suggestion is supported by the use of the pronoun *θwā* in the first line *aī zī θwā fšuyantaēcā vāstrγāicā θwōrāštā tatašā* 'However, the fashioner did fashion *thee* for both a cattle-breeder and a pastor'. For the use of *θwā* is an ill suited form of address to the preceding dual subject explicitly mentioned in vs. 5.

This signifies that vs. 6 must originally have followed directly after vs. 3. Placing vs. 6 in this position continues the logical development of the action very clearly. Once truth has reported, in vs. 3, to the virtuous spirit the unfortunate lack of a mighty mortal, this sorrowful news is conveyed to the cow directly by the Wise Lord. Yet he goes on to reassure her that a protector will be forthcoming, since her fashioner did foresee the need for such care. This is an important point, for these words are truly a promise to the cow and constitute the underpinnings of the allusion to the Wise Lord's adherence to his agreements appearing in vs. 4. However, vss. 4-5 cannot follow immediately upon vs. 6 because of the aforementioned appearance of Zarathustra in these two connected stanzas.

Rather, vs. 7 continues the action of vs. 6 quite correctly, insofar as a promise is mentioned in its opening words, *tām āzūtōiš alurō maθrām tatašā ... mazdā gavōi xšvīdamecā* 'This promise of butter and milk did the Wise Lord fashion for the cow'. Through the use of the anaphoric pron. *tām*, this statement must refer to the previous words of Ahura Mazda, *aī zī θwā fšuyantaēcā* etc. Thus the narrator begins vs. 7 with the affirmation that the Wise Lord indeed promised the cow that there would be strength and prosperity for her in her world (butter and milk are metaphoric), and he explains that this promise is in harmony with the Wise One's benevolent nature shown for the needy. The direct quotation which ends the verse, *kastē vohū manayhā yā ī dāyāī āānvā marataēihyō* 'Who has been found by thee, good thinking, who might deliver these things (or, these two = butter and milk?) down to (yon) mortals?', must be the words of the Wise Lord. They express his attempt to fulfill his solemn word to the cow by turning to good thinking for a solution. This act forms a balanced counterpart to the attempt of the virtuous spirit (the fashioner of the cow) to do so earlier by enlisting the aid of truth to resolve the woeful fate of the cow.

There naturally follows the answer of good thinking given in vs. 8. Zarathustra is the one who can aid the cow, for he alone in his insight has hearkened to the words of the one true god and his forces.

Moreover, he also wishes to spread the fame of these heavenly forces among his fellowmen through praise for and instruction in the principles which they represent. Herein lies the essential difference between truth and good thinking. Whereas truth, in an uncompromising way, sought might as the only solution to protect the cow (cf. 3bc *nōiṭ viduyē ... hvō aojištō*) against the equally mighty destructive forces of deceit, good thinking recognized, in his selection of the understanding prophet as the cow's protector, that the eventual overthrow of deceit must depend upon the growth of reason and understanding in mankind. Namely, a further show of strength in the world leads only to further antagonism, but the human condition can be elevated for the better by the exercise of good thinking.

The choice of Zarathustra by good thinking subsequently evokes the response of the cow in vs. 9, who complains once again that her appointed master is apparently powerless, although she has longed for him to be a mighty protector. Her stance follows the argument: What good are such fine words, even if they embody the highest principles, when they issue from a man who has no real power? Thus she entreats the heavenly ones to send someone who can offer the needed support of strength to her new found master. The cow seemingly takes truth's side in the question of the means required for the ultimate victory.

To my mind, vss. 6-9, as just described, constitute a coherent succession of events, which attaches itself quite logically to the opening vss. 1-3. In vs. 6 Ahura Mazdā informs the cow of truth's inability to find an adequate protector, but he goes on to promise her that there indeed shall be one. Verse 7 then underscores this promise and relates how the Wise Lord turns to good thinking to help him fulfill his word. Verse 8 reveals good thinking's answer to that promise: Zarathustra is the one to be the cow's master. Finally in vs. 9 the cow accepts Zarathustra, however reluctantly, as her master and entreats for further support. It is at this point that the conjoined vss. 4-5 naturally belong, and precisely here for the following reasons. Once the impersonal narrator, who has described the succession of events in the new sequence of verses 1-3, 6-9, has been named as Zarathustra in vs. 8 and has been accepted by the cow in vs. 9, he can then speak personally as *mā urvā* in the company of the cow, as indeed is the case in vs. 5. But, more importantly, the preoccupation in the beginning of the connected vs. 4 with the Wise Lord's adherence to his agreements can only have direct reference to the promise which he made in vs. 6

and which is immediately repeated at the start of vs. 7. Furthermore, if we remember that the final words of the cow in vs. 9 ask whether someone shall come to aid her powerless master, then we can view this supplication as a prelude to the following question in newly placed vs. 5 which enquires whether there shall not be a future for the cattle-breeder. For both phrases ask the same basic question, yet the latter one (of vs. 5) is attached to a verse intoning the truth that Ahura Mazda is the first to heed his promises. Its citation by Zarathustra and the cow is thus intended to remind the Wise Lord to hearken to his already given promise to send aid. For if this god has promised real support to the cow, he must also protect her master as well.

No answer comes directly from Ahura Mazda because Zarathustra immediately suggests, by his supplications in the final vss. 10-11, what means are required to guarantee the survival of the caretaker of the cow and, by implication, of the cow herself. He thus answers this question by his entreaty for both strength and the rule in harmony with truth and good thinking for the people on earth (*aēihyō* resumes *avaēšqm hātqm* of vs. 4). This is the combination of the individual solutions offered by truth and good thinking earlier, and it reflects the position that the good rule on earth, although it be founded upon truth and good thinking, must be backed by the necessary power to bring it to realization. Here, it seems, the cow has effectively convinced the prophet of the real need for a show of strength. Only in this way, Zarathustra continues, shall there be peace and tranquility in the world of man, thus freeing the cow from the oppressive state she described and lamented over in the opening vs. of the Gāthā. In the final verse the prophet repeats his preceding entreaties by supplicating for the advent of truth and good thinking and their rule on earth. By his omission of strength or power, he returns somewhat to his earlier stance, reflected in the words of good thinking, that reason and understanding alone may suffice to bring about the good way of life. To stress this point, he beseeches the Wise One and his allies to acknowledge all those others whose insight and proper thinking have prepared them for the great task which lies ahead. At the conclusion, the prophet promises a gift to Ahura Mazda and his forces if they intercede. This can only be piety (*ārmaitiš*) and obedience (*saraošō*), as yet left unmentioned in the great scheme of cooperation between man and god described in this Gāthā, which are the unique gifts man can actively offer to god. For the power of god is only as strong as the belief men place in him (cf. 28.3, 31.6, etc.).

Accepting this necessary reordering and explanation of the basic drama depicted in Y. 29, we must nevertheless seek a reason for the apparent rearrangement of the verses of the Gāthā. Here too an answer can be found without great difficulty. Namely, the similarity of 5c *nōiṣ fšuyentē dragvasū pairī* with 6c *aṭ zī θwā fšuyantaēcā*, as well as the appearance of *ahurō* in 4c, *ahurāi.ā* in 5a and *ahurō* in 6a and 7a, motivated the redactors of this hymn to present in order those verses which contained similar diction. This process is in no way different from the ordering of Y. 31 after Y. 30 because the former Gāthā begins *tā vā urvātā murəntō* and the latter one ends *hyaṭ tā urvātā sašaθā* (30.11a), and likewise the placement of Y. 50 after Y. 49 based upon the textual similarities of 49.12a *kaṭ tōi ašā zbayentē avayhō* and 50.1a *kaṭ nōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō*. Undoubtedly the same principle is at work in both sorts of situations.

Before we can truly determine the significance of the drama unfolded in Y. 29, it is necessary to identify the figure of the cow who plays such an important role in this hymn and elsewhere in the Gāthās. Valuable progress in this direction has been contributed by Cameron (1968), who has recognized that the terms cow and herdsman (cattle-breeder, pastor) are consistently employed in metaphoric usage by Zarathustra throughout his poetry. Cameron rightly stresses (267 ff.) that it would be surprising to find embedded amid such exalted and serious verse constant reference to the mere protection and preservation of cattle, which in fact never prospered well in the barrenness of Iran, or to encounter impassioned statements on Zarathustra's part against the followers of another religious faith whose ritual centered around the slaying of animals and the drinking of the intoxicating Haoma beverage (Lommel's position, last defined in 1971, 32 ff.). He thus concludes (270 ff.) that the cow is a symbol for 'God's flock' and that the herdsman is an energetic member of this flock who follows the will of God in thought, word and deed.

Although I approve of Cameron's metaphoric understanding of cow and herdsman, and accept for the most part his definition of the role of the pastor, it is on the question of the underlying nature of the cow that I disagree with him. For I do not believe that the cow can be a symbol for humanity, because Zarathustra makes it quite clear in his poetry that the cow is a benevolent force which must be sought after by the truthful man (50.2), and which shall be given to the honestly living person as a reward in order to save his fellowman from the forces of deceit (50.3). In this way the figure of the cow approaches in

essence the Lord-created values of truth and good thinking, whose quest for and realization on earth is the task of the righteous man (29.10, 31.4, 47.2, 51.1. etc.), and which shall bring on the defeat of deceit (31.4, 48.1. etc.). Similarly, when 51.5-6 juxtapose in antithetical fashion the notions of a person who shall serve the cow in accordance with truth and of a person who shall not serve the Wise Lord, the reverence to be allotted to the cow comes very near to that of Ahura Mazda himself in importance. Thus the cow in origin seems to belong to a higher world than that of man, and her appearance on earth and her required attention are for the purposes of bringing nourishment and peace to the faithful (48.5-6), much as the attainment of good thinking and truth in the mortal world are to accomplish these very same aims (29.10, 33.5, 34.12-14, etc.).

This line of reasoning leads me to believe that the cow is an allegorical figure for the *vayuhī daēnā* 'the good vision' (51.17, 53.1.3), the conception of the foremost existence belonging to the immortal forces (45.11, 49.6), and one which the Wise Lord granted to the savior Zarathustra (53.2). It is the conception which is best for those who exist (44.10), and entails the pious and faithful worship of the Wise One and his allies (44.10, 49.5, etc.), in order that he grant the rule of good thinking and of truth on earth (29.10, 31.4, 51.18). The whole outlook of Zarathustra on these points is aptly summarized in 51.21: 'Virtuous is the man of piety. He is so by reason of his understanding, his words and actions, his conception. Virtuous is truth and the rule of good thinking. The Wise Lord created this, and I shall entreat Him for this good reward'. This verse also clarifies the content of 33.3 which states that the man serving the cow with zeal shall be on the *pasture* of truth and good thinking. For the person who dedicates himself to Ahura Mazda and to the values of truth and good thinking which the Wise One created, represents and sustains is the one who strengthens the power of his god by granting meaning and significance to the very qualities which characterize the true nature of the Wise Lord. He is the pastor, the man of faith and piety, the champion of what is good and proper, who tends and promotes the good conception of a world governed by truth and good thinking by his own active involvement in his own world through these lordly principles conceived by wisdom and aroused by a spirit of virtue. In this way he gives life to the essence of his god on earth, whereby the whole human condition is elevated towards a better existence.

The questions now to determine are whether Zarathustra was able

to employ such metaphoric imagery in his poetry and whether the cow is indeed an appropriate symbol for the good vision. We can give affirmative answers to both these questions, in my view, by returning once again to the diction of Y. 29. For there we see that, once the cow has lamented her pitiable state to the heavenly forces and demanded their support expressed as good pasturage, the guarantee of protection is described as 'the promise of butter and milk' in vs. 7. Yet, can the Wise Lord have truly intended to relieve her suffering by offering to her butter and milk, if these terms are to be interpreted literally? What possible good could these have served to free her from the oppression of deceit? None, in any realistic view of the situation. Rather, as suggested above, the terms butter and milk require the metaphoric interpretation of strength and prosperity, for these are exactly the conditions which can free the cow from her bondage and which are directly expressed at the end of the Gāthā as 10ab *aogō ... ašā xšaθrəmcā avaṭ vohū manəḡhā*. Similarly, when we turn to 49.5ab *aṭ hvō mazdā ižācā āzūitišcā yā daēnəm vohū sārəštā manəḡhā* 'Yes, Wise One, that person is both milk and butter (for Thee), who has allied his conception with good thinking', are we to accept the parallel 'milk and butter' only on face value? This is clearly not possible, and we are forced again to view these terms in their metaphoric sense of strength and prosperity as before.

At this point we can combine both ideas. If milk and butter, those products which issue from the cow, are utilized by Zarathustra in his poetry to express strength and prosperity, then does not the cow, the very source of these products, equally represent that entity or capacity which can provide the signaled strength and prosperity? When the Gāthās constantly stress the message, as we remarked above, that only the good vision, that is, the view of the world governed by truth and good thinking, shall prosper the creatures, is the best for those who exist, shall bring good fortune to the peoples, etc., then can we not conclude that the cow and the good vision are equivalent entities? The parallelism of both sets of terms cow : butter and milk and good vision : peace, tranquility, prosperity etc. speaks for just this identification with which I feel obliged to operate in reaching a proper understanding of the message of Y. 29.

Accepting the true nature of the cow, we can return to a new assessment of some important points described in this remarkable Gāthā.

Verse 1 really expresses the notion that although the idea of ruler-

ship through truth and good thinking exists on earth, the forces of deceit have prevented men from bringing this good rule to realization. This corresponds to the prophet's own lament throughout the Gāthās.

The major problem concerning vs. 2 is why the virtuous spirit is the fashioner of the cow, whereas Ahura Mazda is elsewhere depicted as the creator of everything, including truth and good thinking. The answer lies in the realization that it has been the awakening of a virtuous spirit in Zarathustra himself, so eloquently described in Y. 43, which brought the prophet to understand that this worldly salvation depends upon the institution of truth and good thinking among men. In this measure the virtuous spirit is truly the creator of the good vision in the world of the prophet. Note as well that in addressing truth and his allies as *xšayantō*, there is a direct allusion to the phrase *ašā xšaθram avat vohū manayhā* appearing later in vs. 10ab.

Why truth is seeking, in vs. 3, for strength alone to further the good vision is difficult to answer, but it is this quality which is characteristically associated with truth in the Gāthās. Cf. 34.4a *ātrām ... aojōghyantam ašā* and especially 43.16c *astvaṭ ašam liyāṭ uštānā aojōnghvaṭ* among other citations. However, it cannot be said that truth's inability to uncover a master reflects a basic disinterest in or distance from the problems of humanity (cf. Duchesne 1973, 101). He does admit that he would assist such a person and he does join the Wise Lord in vs. 7 to promise help for the cow. Perhaps the proper understanding of truth's position is to be sought in the fact that he represents a state of perfection, both physical and mental (of the two existences repeated in the Gāthās), which is difficult to achieve by a single man and which forms the characterization of Ahura Mazda as *yā savištō ahurō mazdāscā* 'who is the mightiest and wise lord' at 33.11a. Thus, whereas good thinking is willing to accept Zarathustra's insight as reason alone to appoint him master of the cow, truth cannot accept this compromise at first.

Verse 6 essentially contains the reassurance that the good vision shall be fulfilled on earth, the only promise of this given in all of the Gāthās. And vss. 7-8 continue this notion by affirming that it is Zarathustra who shall bring this to pass insofar as he has been the first to hearken to the true solutions to the problems of existence. These verses are of equal importance because they reveal the heavenly acceptance of Zarathustra as the true prophet of Ahura Mazda and his teachings.

When the good vision complains in vs. 9 that words alone are not

sufficient means to bring about the good rule, this thought corresponds directly to Zarathustra's entreaty in 44.9: 'How shall I bring to life that vision of mine, which the lord of a blessed dominion — someone of great power like Thee, Wise Lord — would decree by reason of his lofty rule?'. It is the realization that force must be added to reason in order to further the prophet's ideas. Verses 4-5, which must follow here, continue the same motif, but express it from all possible sides. Namely, the prophet, his conception and his god all wish this to come about.

In the final 2 verses Zarathustra abandons the drama and directly entreats for the advent of the rule of truth and good thinking for all other mortals who have understood the importance of these principles in their lives. Thus, whereas the purpose of the former part of the Gāthā has been to explain the origin and current state of the good vision and the recognition of Zarathustra as its heavenly appointed prophet, the finale is intended to move Ahura Mazda to offer this means of earthly salvation to other men. Support for the good rule must stem from the cooperation of others on earth in whom awareness and insight have likewise awakened.

It is difficult to say exactly why the image of the cow was chosen to represent the concept of a world motivated by truth and good thinking. Dumézil (1965, 23 ff.) has pointed out that the lamentations of the cow in Y. 29 correspond to a widely diffused theme in Indo-Iranian folklore characterized by the complaint of a cow (or bull etc.) to a lofty god bemoaning the cruel and harsh fate which has befallen her lot. Consequently, he sees the existence of this motif behind the construct of this Gāthā and Zarathustra's general employment of the allegorical use of the cow throughout his poetry, which in Dumézil's view is an adaptation and exploitation of the underlying myth. There may be some truth to his opinion, but it is difficult to determine, especially so, since the cow is not the only personage who laments in the Gāthās nor the only character who incessantly supplicates for assistance. All of the actions of the cow in Y. 29 are equally appropriate to Zarathustra himself. He laments the treachery and degradation caused by the deceitful spirit in Y. 32.9 (note 32.9c *yušmaibyā gərəzē* mirrors 29.1a *xšmaibyā gəuš urvā gərəzdā*), and likewise complains in 46.2 about his general powerless condition (note 46.2a *vaēdā taṭ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō* is an avatar of 29.9a *aṭcā gəuš urvā raostā yā anaēšam *xšnuqm *mānā*). Similarly, the prophet entreats his lofty gods for help and support throughout the Gāthās, and the expression of the

particular request in 31.4bc *vahištā *išā manayhā maibyō xšaθrəm aojōnghvaṭ* corresponds to the supplication of the cow in 29.10a *yūzēm aēibyō ahwā uogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmcā avaṭ vohū manayhā*. Thus we are faced with the dilemma: Has Zarathustra modified his whole approach in the Gāthās after the prototype of the folklore drama of the cow crystallized in Y. 29 or has he cast Y. 29 in a dramatic form intended to reflect his basic emotions concerning the deplorable state of his world?

I tend to believe the latter alternative insofar as the lamentations of the cow in Y. 29 can be viewed as the attempt to present the complementary notion to the expression of Zarathustra's enduring determination to bring to realization his own special idea of a world founded upon truth and good thinking which characterizes the message of the Gāthās. What the prophet and poet has achieved in this remarkable hymn is the presentation of the reverse side of the coin. Namely, by creating a work in which he expresses the desire of the good vision itself to reach fulfillment, he has provided a model to justify his own ends, to offer him and his supporters the belief and faith that their devotion and efforts are not an useless cause founded upon the greedy and destructive motives which dominate the behavior of their deceitful adversaries. Rather, the construction of Y. 29 embodies the noble thoughts that the vision of a world of truth and good thinking has been created by the Wise Lord through his spirit of virtue and has been presented to the world of man as a means of salvation, and that the Wise One and his forces have promised their assistance in bringing this godly idea to fruition, as it deserves and as it so desires itself.

This still leaves unanswered the question of the exact choice of the image of the cow. However, if we examine those passages in the Gāthās where there are mentioned the direct benefits the cow shall bring to the world of man, these passages seem to express a uniform theme: The cow shall bring peace to the world. We see this in 48.6a *hā zī nā hušōiθamā* 'She shall bring peace to us' and in the question 50.2ab *kaθā mazdā rānyō.skərəitīm gəm *išōiṭ, yā hīm ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ* 'How, Wise One, shall a person seek the joy-bringing cow, namely, the one who would wish her to bring pasturage (= peace) to him?' And in the direct context of Y. 29.10, we notice the pointed supplication for the rule *yā hušaitiš rāmqmcā dāṭ* 'through which one shall bring peace and tranquility'. Herein, I believe, lies the answer to the choice of the cow as symbol for the rule of truth and good thinking. The peaceful and tranquil nature of the cow represents the prototype

of those attributes which can best serve the need of man in constructing a peaceful society for himself through the institution of truth and good thinking. Although cows may not have prospered in Iran, the whole use of pastoral vocabulary in the Gāthās surely provides evidence for their presence in the land, and thus the nature of the cow, undoubtedly well known to his audience, could function as a meaningful symbol for Zarathustra in his poetry.

29.1. *ā mā aēšamō hazascā rəmō hišāyā dərəscā tavišcā* 'The cruelty of fury and violence, of bondage and might, holds me in captivity'. Omit *cā* after *dərəš*; cf. A.-W. (1931, 320). The subject of *ā ... hišāyā* is *rəmō*, with *aēšamō hazascā* and *dərəš tavišcā* each in apposition to this term.

The perf. *ā hišāyā* belongs to *hi* 'bind' (cf. SI. 1971, 580 f.), but this root has already acquired the special meaning 'capture' in the Gāthās. Besides our passage, we have 32.14ab *ā.hōiθōi ni kāvayasciṭ xratūš dadaṭ *varəcahicā* 'even the Kavis have fixed their intentions on the capture and plunder ...', 45.6b *drūjō hvō dāmṇi haēθahyā gāṭ* 'he shall go to the bonds of deceit's captivity'. Similarly, for *ā hā* in 32.16c *drəgvātō ... aṅhāyā* (orig. **āyḥāyayā*) 'if I might capture the deceitful'. Meaning attested also for the root *si* in the RV. : VIII 67.8a *mā naḥ sētuḥ siṣed ayām* 'May this trap not capture us'.

*aθā mōi sṣtā vohū *vāstrā* (Mss. *vāstryā*) 'Therefore appear to me with good pasturage'. *sṣtā* and *sṣs* 43.11, 46.19 best belong to the root *sand* 'seem, please'; the s-aor. *sṣs* and yAv. pres. *saḍayeiti* = Ved. *āchlāu* and *chadāyati*. There seems to be no evidence at all for the assumption of a root *sand* 'vollziehen': *sastē* 30.8, 46.12 and *sazdyāi* 30.2, 51.16 are inf.s. from *sauh* 'declare'; cf. 30.2 (final para.). *sāndā* 51.14 is a noun meaning 'pleasure'; cf. passage for disc.

Emendation of *vāstryā* to **vāstrā* is required; the former word is otherwise always trisyllabic, which is metrically unfavorable here.

29.2. *kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš* 'Is thy judgment for the cow (to be) in this way?'. *kaθā*, with value 'is it in this (such a) way?', also appears in 44.2b *kaθā aṅhāuš valištahyā paourvīm* 'Is the foundation of the best existence in such a way (that) ...?'. It is thus a shortening of *kaṭ aθā*. *kaṭ* usually functions as a particle of questioning: cf. 48.2c *kaṭ ašavā ... vānghaṭ drəgvantəm* 'Shall the truthful defeat the deceitful?', 50.1a *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō* 'Does my person have control over anyone who has help (to offer)?', etc.

hadā vāstrā guodāyō θwaxšō 'always (to be) cow-caring zeal by a pastor', *hadā* is only adverb 'always' = Ved. *sādā* (similarly, Benveniste 1945, 51 ff.). Cf. 50.4ab *aṭ vā yazāi stavas mazdā ahurā hadā ašā vahištācā manazjhā* 'Yes, praising, I shall worship you, Wise Lord, always with truth and the very best thinking' and RV. III 54.21a *sādā sugāḥ piturnāḥi astu pānthāḥ* 'Let the path always be easy to travel and full of food', VII 1.20d *yūyām pāta svastibluḥ sādā uah* 'Protect us always with welfare', etc.

The form *vāstrā* here is instr. of *vāstar-* 'pastor', corresponding to nom. *vāstā* in the preceding verse, and it is immediately resumed by the following word *ahurām*. The syntax of *vāstrā guodāyō θwaxšō* 'cow-caring zeal by a pastor' is thus exactly parallel to the following *dragvō.dabīš aēšəmām* 'fury by the deceitful', where it is intentional that *vāstrā* and *dragvō.dabīš*, *guodāyō θwaxšō* and *aēšəmām* are contrasting terms. The stem *vāstar-* also is required at 47.3 **vāstrē* (Mss. *vāstrāi*). The fig. *guodāyō θwaxšō* corresponds to 33.3b *viduṣ vā θwaxšayhā gavōi*. For disc., cf. 32.4 *γā mašyā acištā* etc.

29.3. *ahmāi ašā nōiṭ sarajā advaēšō gavōi paiti.mravaṭ* 'To him did they reply through truth: "There is no help free of enmity for the cow"', *nōiṭ sarajā advaēšō gavōi* is direct speech; the rest is narrative. Framing of direct speech also occurs at 43.8a *aṭ hōi aoji zaraθuštrō paourvīm* 'Then I first said to him: "(I am) Zarathustra"', 32.14c *hyaṭcā gāuš jaidyāi mraoi* '... as well as to say: "The cow is to be killed"', etc.

The form *paiti.mravaṭ* is 3pl. imperf. of *paiti mrvā* 'reply', and has been formed in analogy to the proterodyne 3pl. **stavaṭ* (cf. Narten 1968, 9 ff.), owing to the merger in vocalism of *mraomī* and *staomī* etc. (cf. SI. 1972a, 64). Similar forms appear in the 3pl. imperf. *syazdaṭ* 34.9 and the 3pl. aor. *xraodaṭ* 46.11. The change to the 3pl. form *mravaṭ* has been motivated by the fact that the preceding question has moved from 2sg. (*kaθā tōi ratuš*) to 2pl. (*dātā xšayantō*; *kām uštā*); correct, Gershevitch (1952, 174 f.). For the difficult *sarajā*, I follow Bthlm. (1904, 1566) in positing a stem *sarajan-* (-*gan-*), but I take it as a neut. 'help', with *advaēšō* (= Ved. *adveśās-*) modifying it.

avaēšqm nōiṭ viduyē etc. *avaēšqm nōiṭ viduyē* belongs immediately together with the following *hātqm hvō aojištō*, with the first rel. clause interposed. This syntactic feature is characteristic of this Gāthā and is also found in the following verse, where *mazdā saxārā mairištō* and *daēvāišcā mašyāišcā* are a syntactic unit, with the *γā zī* clause again interposed; again in vs. 8, where *aēm mōi idā vistō* and *zaraθuštrō*

spitāmō belong together and the *yā nā aēvō* ... clause occupies a position between both parts of the syntactic unit. Note also the identical syntax in 46.19ab *yā mōi ašāṭ haiθīm hacā varāšaitī | zaraθuštrāi hyaṭ vasnā fərasā.taməm*, where the pre-caesura *zaraθuštrāi* in the 2nd line belongs with *mōi* in the 1st line. Cf. also 47.4 (final para.).

yā šavaitē ādrāng ərašvāṅhō 'through whom the lofty are to activate the lowly'. Idea corresponds to 44.17bc *kaθā mazdā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ āskaitīm xšmākəm* 'How, Wise One, shall I, with your accord, impassion your following?'.
 The form *šavaitē* cannot be 3pl. pres. because of the subj. form in the following *yalmāi jimā*. Indic. and subj. cannot stand in parallel in rel. clauses of such future value, only modal forms or inf. Cf. 33.2ab *yā akəm ... zastōibyā vā varāšaiti vayhāu vā cōiθaitē astīm* 'Who shall bring about what is evil with his hands or (who) shall enlighten his guest in the good', 33.7ab *ā mā idūm ... yā sruyē* 'Come ye hither to me, by reason of which I am to become famed ...', etc. Syntax of *nōiṭ viduyē hvō aojištō yā šavaitē ādrāng ərašvāṅhō* 'That strongest one is not to be found through whom ...' is thus similar to 31.3bc *taṭ nō ... vidvanōi vaacā ... yā jvantō vīspāng vāurayā* 'Speak in order for us to know that thing through which I might convert all the living', with its correct modal opt. Thus *šavaitē* is an inf. of the type *sastē* 30.8 (q.v. for disc.), and the underlying stem is *šavati-* (suffix *-ati*), comparable to Ved. *amāti-* 'force', *aṃhati-* 'narrowness', yAv. *aiwi.varati-* 'overflow', etc.

ādra- 'lowly' contrasts with *ərašva-* 'lofty' exactly as do Ved. cognates *ādhrá-* and *ṛṣvā-*. Both *ādra-* and Ved. *ādhrá-* continue Indoír. **ādhrá-*, simply a sec. deriv. to **adhar* 'below'; cf. *adara-* = Ved. *adhara-* 'inferior, lower'. This **adhar* is thus parallel to *avarā* 'below' = Ved. *avár*, Ved. *upár-i* 'above', etc. In our verse the *ādrāng* 'lowly' are those who live on earth (*avaēšqm hātqm* 'yon beings'), the *ərašvāṅhō* 'lofty' are the ones who live in heaven.

yalmāi zavāng jimā kərədušā 'to whom I of attentive ear shall come at his calls'. The difficult *kərədušā* I take as nom. sg. of a deriv. stem *kərəd-uš-* 'of ready, attentive ear', where the underlying *kərəd-uš-* is similar to Ved. *śrūt-karṇa-* 'of listening ear'. Cf. RV. VII 32.5a *śrávac chritkarṇaḥ* 'The one of listening ears shall listen', VIII 45.17bc *śrūtkarṇaṇi sántam ūtáye, dūrād ihá havāmahe* 'The one of listening ears (= attentive one) do we call hither from the distance for help', etc. employed in similar context. Thus a form like yAv. *sruṭ.gaoša-*.

29.4. *mazdā sax'arē mairištō* and *daēvāišcā mašyāišcā* belong together

syntactically; cf. preceding verse. *sax'ārē* is neut. pl. of a stem *sax'ar/n-* 'word', also appearing in 53.5a **sāx'ān *i ... kainibyō mraomī* 'I tell these words to the girls'. Cf. also Sogd. *swym* 'parole'. Here used as the word of god, it is clearly 'promise, agreement'.

vāvarazōi and *varāšaitē* need not be passive, since med. *vz* is trans. in 33.1ab *varāšaitē ... šyaoθanā razistā* 'it will bring to realization the most just acts'. 51.1c *taṭ ... varāšānē*. 53.3d *spāništā ... *hūdānū *varāšvā* 'bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts)', etc. With Benveniste (1954a, 26). I believe *vz* means only 'bring to realization', never simply 'do'. Cf. also caus. in 45.4c *vayhōuš varāzayantō manayhō* 'of effective good thinking'; also *varaz-* 'effectiveness' in 45.9c *varazī uā dyaṭ ahurō* 'May the Lord place us in effectiveness', *hvaršta-* 'good effect' and *duzvaršta-* 'ill effect' both 49.4. *duzvarāšitah-* 'of ill effects' 53.8.

I take the enigmatic *pairi.ciθiṭ* and *aipi.ciθiṭ* to be adverbs, and relate the latter to Ved. *apicyā-* 'secret'; *pairi.ciθiṭ* must be the opposite 'openly'. Humbach's interpretation (1959, II 15) of *ciθiṭ* as opt. is not possible, since such forms only occur with (descriptive) full grade before *-iṭ*: *daiḍiṭ sāhiṭ vainiṭ zahīṭ* (= **zāhiṭ*).

This whole verse is the prayer referred to in the following verse, for it is impossible that the final statement *aθā nō aṅhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* 'As He shall wish it, so shall it be for us' can be spoken by truth. It belongs in the mouth of men, and its purpose is to remind AhM. to fulfill all the agreements which he has concluded with gods and men. Benveniste (1967, 144 ff.) has shown that in the context of the Gāthās the word *daēva-* still has the meaning 'god', but with the overtone of 'false god', and represents a divinity of some competing religious system. According to Burrow (1973, 128 ff.) most likely those of the Indian system, which he believes still existed in Eastern Iran.

29.5. *ahvā ... frināmnā ahurāi.ā* 'as we two continued to pray to the Lord'. The construction with the root *ah* and a pres. part. to express 'to continue to' is similar to Ved. *tiṣṭhati* with pres. part. Cf. e.g. RV. X 18.12a *uechvāñcamānā pṛthivī sū tiṣṭhatu* 'Let the earth continue to remain gaping'. Latter construction at Vd. 5.19 *hištanti yzarə.yzarəntiṣ* 'they continue to flow'. Related also: 43.15d *nōiṭ nā pourūš drəgvatō hyāṭ cixšnušō* 'A man should not continue to try to satisfy the many deceitful'. Possibly 50.9c *išayqs ... hīyām*.

In general, the pres. part. by itself is consistently employed to express continuing action in the Gāthās. Cf. 28.5a *kaṭ θwā darāsāni manascā*

volū vaēdamnō 'Shall I see thee as I continue to acquire good thinking ..?'; 32.4bc *vaxšantē ... vajhāuš siždyamnā manajhō ... nasyantō ašāatcā* '... shall increase as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from truth'; 33.3b *vidqs vā θvaxšajhā gavōi* 'or continues to serve the cow with zeal'; 44.9e *hadamōi ašā volucā šyqs manajhā* 'as he continues to dwell in his seat in alliance with truth and good thinking'; 49.11bc *drəgvatō akāiš xʷarəθāiš paiti urvanō yantō* 'their souls shall continue to encounter the deceitful with bad food'; 49.12cd *yā ... frīnāi ... avat yāsqs* 'I who shall pray, as I continue to entreat for that ...'.

hyaṭ mazdqm dvidi frasābyō 'that we two might dispose the Wise One to the questions'. The form *dvidi* cannot be du. med. aor. of *dā*, since full-grade restitution must take place before consonantal endings; **dāvidi* thus is the only expected form (cf. SI. 1971, 573 ff.). The form *dvidi* is therefore opt. and represents **dīvidi*, just as *jvāmahī* 31.2, *jvantō* 31.3 etc., yAv. *cvant-* represent **jīvāmahī* **jīvantō* **cīvant-*. The correct form is hidden in orig. reading *dvīaidi* of J₂. The opt. is also employed in prterite contexts at 43.10e *hyaṭ θvā xšayqs aēšam dyāṭ əmavantəm* '... since the Ruler could create thee to be powerful and forceful' and 46.8d *tanvəm ā yā im hujyātōiš pāyāṭ* '... up to his person which could guard him from the good way of life'. For later use of pret. opt., cf. Tedesco (1923, 298 ff.) and Dresden (1970, 136 ff.).

Other med. opt. aor. forms of *dā* occur as 1sg. *ā dyā* (= **dīyā*) 43.8, 2sg. *ā dīšā* 43.7, 3sg. **dyā* (= **dīyā*) 29.8. Necessary full-grade restitution in med. indic. *dājhā* 34.1, 44.18, 3sg. (pass.) *dātā* 31.5, 34.2.14; act. opt. *dāyāṭ* 29.7, 43.1 etc.; act. impv. *dāidi* (freq.), med. impv. *dālvā* 50.2. 3sg. **dātqm* 48.7. Note that the opts. *dyqm* 44.14 and *dyāṭ* 43.10, 45.9 are best considered as analogic to pres. opt. forms yAv. *daiḍyqm daiḍyāṭ*, evoked by the relationship between parallel indic. *dadāṭ* and *dāṭ* etc., which are similarly built with secondary endings.

nōiṭ ərəzəjyōi frajyāitiš nōiṭ fšuyentē drəgvasū pairi 'Is there not to be a future for the honestly living man? Not for the cattle-breeder among the deceitful?'. Humbach (1959, II 16) correctly combines *frajyāiti-* with *hujyāiti-* 'good way of life' 32.5, 46.8, and translates the word as 'Lebensmöglichkeit'. But it seems to me more of a question concerning the future life of the cow on earth, and I therefore translate the term as 'future'. Same sense in Ved. *āti jīv* 'survive' in ŚBr. 4.2.4.6f. *nā ha samvatsarāṇi yājamānō 'ti jīvet ... tātho ha yājannāno jyōg jīvati* 'The worshiper would not survive the year. Likewise the worshiper lives for a long time'.

The fig. *arəžəjvōi ... dragvasū pairi* is varied at 50.2c *arəžəjīs ... pišvasū*. Cf. latter passage for disc.

29.6. **atā* (Miss. *aī ā*) *vaocaī ahurō mazdā vidvā vafūs vyānayā* 'Thereupon the Wise Lord, the Knowing One, spoke these solemn words by reason of his attentiveness'. *aī ā* is clearly for **atā*, the equiv. of Ved. *ātas* 'thereupon'. Word falsely divided under influence of freq. line-initial *aī*; cf. particularly *aī vā* in preceding vs. Similarly, *yavaī ā* 43.8e reposes on orig. **yavatā*. In general, cf. introd. p. 10.

48.9c *arəš mōi ūcam vayhāuš vafūs manayhō* 'Let the solemn words stemming from good thinking be told to me truly' shows clearly that *vafūs* is obj. of *vaocaī*, not of *vidvā*, here in 29.6a. Cf. also 31.6ab *yā māi vidvā vaocaī haiθim maθram* 'the knowing one who shall tell to me the true precept' and 45.3b *yqm (sastim) mōi vidvā mazdā vaocaī ahurō* 'which (doctrine) AhM., the Knowing One, told me'.

vyānayā is instr. of a stem *vyānā-* 'attentiveness' (cf. *sāsnayā* in vs. 7b in identical metrical position), which belongs to the root *vyā* 'turn one's attention to, pursue', an enlargement of *vī* 'id.'. Both are related to Ved. *vī* 'id.', on which cf. W.P. Schmid (1968, 613 ff.). The appearance of *vyānā-* in 44.7c next to *uzamā-* 'respectful' is very fitting: *kā uzamām cōraī vyānayā puθram piθrē* 'Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father?'. In our verse *vyānayā* provides the motivation for AhM.'s reassurance to the cow. Cf. also *vyā-* 'attention' 48.7 and **vyeinti* 44.13.

nōi aēvā ahū vistō 'a master has not been found by a single one (of us)'. The parallelism of this phrase with vs. 8a *aēm mōi idā vistā* and with vs. 7c *kastē volū manayhā* permits the equation of *ahū*, *aēm* and *kas*, of instr. *aēvā*, *māi* and *tē*, and clearly necessitates the addition of *vistō* in vs. 7c. Thus *ahū* is undoubtedly nom. sg. here, as also in Y. 27.13. Best suggestion concerning its peculiar inflection stems from J. Schmidt (1889, 78 f.), who proposed that the form has come from a dual *ahū ratuścā* of the Ved. type *mitrā ... vārujo yās ca sukrātuḥ* (RV. VIII 25.2ab). But this seems unlikely because this Ved. type, very rare in itself, is surely secondary to the nom.-voc. type *mitra ... vārujaś ca* (cf. Zwolanek 1970, 45 ff.).

I agree with the dual origin of *ahū*, but I insist that it must stem from a dvandva in which the second member is ambiguously dual or singular, thus allowing the same indecisiveness concerning *ahū*. Only one such dvandva is possible, viz. **ahū ahvi* 'lord and lady', where **ahvi* (later *ayuhī*) is either nom. sg. or du. On this figure, cf. 32.11b

ayuhīścā aḡhavasčā 'ladies and lords'; on dual, cf. *gāvā azi* 46.19, *uīayūiti tāvīši* (freq.), both *-ī*-stems. The words *ahu-* and *ahura-*, both 'lord, master', belong best with Hitt. *ḫaššū-* 'king'; cf. Sehlerath (1968b, 146).

The *fšuyant-* 'cattle-breeder' is the man who increases the flock of the faithful; the *vāstar-* or *vāstrya-* 'pastor' is the man who provides the pasturage of his faith to the eow (the good vision) for her continued prosperity.

29.7. *tām āzūtōiš alurō maθram ... gavōi xšvīdamcā* 'The Lord fashioned this promise of butter and milk for the cow'. This must refer to the preceding words of AhM. to the cow, viz. *aḡ zī θvā fšuyantaēcā vāstryāicā θvōrāštā tatašā* 'However, the shaper did fashion thee for both a cattle-breeder and a pastor'. Namely, the promise that there will be a prosperous future on earth for the good vision. Thus, this statement belongs in the context of 49.5ab *aḡ hvō mazdā ižācā āzūtōišcā, yā daēnqm volūi sārāštā-manayhā* 'That man is truly milk and butter (for Thee), Wise One, who has allied his conception with good thinking', where *ižācā āzūtōišcā* is also metaphor for prosperity and strength (similarly, H.-P. Schmidt 1968, 175). In the direct application of 29.6-7 here, the milk and butter are to be taken as a symbol for prosperity embodied in the previously mentioned *fšuyant-* and *vāstrya-*. Comparable use of such metaphor also appears at Y. 55.2 *tā.nō hanti gāθā harāθravaitīšca pāθravaitīšca ... tā.nō hanti urune* "vaēm x'arāθamca vastrameca 'These Gāthās offer refuge and protection for us. They are for us both food and clothing', where the expression 'food and clothing' is likewise symbolic. Cf. Addenda.

Note also that the Ved. terms *iṣ-* and *ūrj-*, the close equiv. of *āzūtōi-* and *xšvīd-* or *ižā-*, are also used in the RV. as a metaphor for strength and prosperity. Cf. II 19.9cd *brahmaṇyāntah ... iṣam ūrjanī sukṣītīṇī sunmām aśyuhī* 'May the eloquent poets attain strength and prosperity, peace and happiness', etc.

The word *maθra-* (once *maθrā-* 43.14) is almost always the word of god, usually envisioned as his solemn precepts (cf. particularly 45.3), and in this usage *maθra-* often is associated with *sāsnā-* 'command, instruction' or *sāuḡha-* 'teaching'. Thus, 31.18a *uā.ciš* (orig. **uaēciš*) *aḡ vā drāgvatō maθraqscā gūštā sāsuāscā* 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened to your precepts and instructions' and 44.14e *nī hīm* (= *drujām*) *māraqšdyāi θwahyā maθrāiš sānghahyā* 'in order to destroy it in accord with the precepts of Thy teaching'; also 31.6, 44.17.

The passage 43.1 4de *azā sarādanā sānghahiyā maṭ iāiš vispāi yōi iōi maθrā marānti* 'to drive away, with the help of those who heed Thy precepts, the opponents of Thy teaching' is important, for the fig. *maθrā marānti* corresponds to 31.1a *iā vā uvātā marānti* 'heeding your commandments', where the word of god is considered an imperative to those who are faithful, and undoubtedly also implied in the parallel usage of *maθra-*. And in the same sense belongs 45.3bcd *yam (sastim) ... vaocay almrō | yōi im vā uōiṭ iθā maθram varāśanti | yaθā im māuāicā vaocacā* '... which (doctrine) the Lord told to me: "Those of you who shall not bring to realization (every) precept exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it ..."', for the conclusion of the verse tells of the damnation awaiting the heedless. *maθra-* is thus the sacred word or formulation stemming from god.

Yet the word of god can have other senses. In 28.7c, where it is a question of AhM.'s solicitude for the faithful, the meaning of *maθra-* can only be understood in the sense of 'promise': god promises solicitude to his adherents. Thus, 28.7c *dāstū ... yā vā maθrā sravimā rādā* 'Grant Thou that promise through which we may hear of your solicitude (for us)'. Similarly, I see *āzūtōiš maθram* in the identical sense 'the promise of hutter (strength)' and combine its employment with vs. 4a *mazdā sax'ārā mairištō* 'the Wise One is the first to heed His words (= agreements)', where too the words of god are his agreements or promises. Finally, it may be said that since *maθra-* is the word of god, it can also be used as the word for god, and this is the usage of 28.5bc *sarāśam mazdāi anā maθrā ... vāurōimaidi*, where the sacred formulation of men follows in the next verse.

lvō urušaēihyā spāntō sāstuyā 'He is virtuous to the needy in accord with His instruction'. Syntax and sense related to 45.6bc *yā hudā yōi hantū spāntā māiuyā* 'who is beneficent by reason of His virtuous spirit to those who exist'. *uruša-* belongs with Ved. *rūkṣā-* 'lean, weak'; cf. Humbach (1958, 51).

kastē vohū manayhā. From the preceding discussion of vs. 6b *uōi aēvā alū vistō* and from vs. 8a *aēm mōi idā vistō*, it is clear that we must supply *vistō* to *kastē vohū manayhā* here as well, and that *tē* functions as a parallel instr. This permits the identification of *tē* with the following instr. *vohū manayhā*, and thus places the answer in vs. 8 in the mouth of good thinking, as Bthlm. correctly supposed (cf. also Duchesne 1948, 197; 1973, 101 ff.). Syntax of *tē ... vohū manayhā* thus resembles 46.19ab *mōi ... zaraθuštāi* and the Ved. type RV. X 10.7a *yamāśya mā yamyāṇi kāmā āgan* 'Lust for Yama has come upon me, Yamī'.

Wackernagel (1930, 473) cites Rām. 3.43.49 *apramattena te bhāvyaṃ āśramasthena* 'Thou shouldst become a serious recluse', with *te* in function of instr., and it appears to me that Hitop. 22, 14 (Schlegel and Lassen) *kiṃ tvayā pāpakarmaṇā kṛtam* is best translated as: "Why was this done by thee, evil doer?", with *pāpakarmaṇā* almost in the function of voc. as in *voḥū manajhā* here. Note also that the answer in vs. 8b *hvō nā mazdā vaštī ašāicā* 'he wishes to ... for us, Wise One, and for truth' is of considerable importance, because it is meaningful only if *voḥū manō* is the speaker.

yā i dāyāḥ āāvā marataēibyō 'who might give these to the mortals below'. *āāvā* is for normal *avā* (so, HH. 1958, 53), and corresponds to *avarā* in vs. 11. The question in vs. 7c is asked in heaven, and it is proper that the mortals are below (cf. again vs. 3bc *avaēšqm hātqm*). The first 2 lines of vs. 7 are spoken, however, by a narrator, who is Zarathustra, and who identifies, when necessary, each speaker as he appears, including himself in vs. 5. The final line of vs. 7 is AhM.'s question, however, and it appears without a verb of speaking, but such usage also occurs at 32.1c.

29.8. *aēm nōi idā vistō ... zaraθustrō spitāmō* 'This one, Zarathustra Sp., has been found by me here'. These two phrases belong together syntactically; cf. above 29.3 *avaēšqm nōiḥ* etc. Similar syntax also in 46.19ab *yā nōi ašāḥ haiθim hacā varāšaiti | zaraθustrāi ...* 'Who shall really in accord with truth bring to realization for me, Zarathustra ...'.

hvō ... vaštī ... hyaḥ hōi hudamām dyāi vaxōdrahyā. The reading *hōi ... dyāi* cannot be correct. Med. *dā* in association with a pers. or reflex. pron. consistently means 'to receive or assume for oneself, acquire' in the Gāthās. Cf. 34.1ab *yā ... ašamcā taibyō dāyhā xšaθramcā* 'with which ... Thou didst receive truth and the rule for Thyself', 44.18e *yaθā hi taibyō dāyhā* 'just as Thou didst receive these two for Thyself', 46.15c *ašam xšmaibyā dadnyē* 'Ye shall receive the truth for yourselves', 51.19a *hvō taḥ nā ... ahmāi dazdē* 'Such a man receives this for himself', etc. Thus, in our verse it is clear that we must translate 'He wishes ... if he might receive for himself (acquire) sweetness of speech'. Consequently, we must read *hōi ... *dyā*, as I formerly proposed (SI. 1962, 67 f.), but I now see that the form *dyā* can only be 3sg. med. aor. opt., i.e. **diyā*. This **diyā*, with ending **-a*, is extremely archaic and is directly comparable to the archaic Ved. opt. *dūhiyá-t*; cf. SI. (1972b, 562 ff.). In the med. aor. opt., we have 1sg. *ā dyā* 43.8, 2sg. *ā dišā* 43.7, and 3sg. **dyā* here. The reading *dyāi* simply results from

the influence of the common inf. in *-dyāi* throughout the text: cf. introd. p. 13 f.

29.9. *yā anaēšam xšumānē rūdām*. The accepted reading *xšumānē* does not seem correct for two reasons. (1) The use of an inf. is difficult next to the finite forms *vasami* and *dadaŋ* in the parallel rel. clauses. (2) The Mss. vars. *xšum māne* H₁, *xšumā nā* S₁, *xšum māne* J₆, etc. point to an orig. reading beginning with *xšm-*. Thus I reconstruct **xšum *mānā*, where *xšum* = 1sg. aor. of *xšmā* 'know, recognize' and **mānā* (orig. **mauā*) = gen. 'of me'. Cf. *paiti.zānatā* in 29.11 below and **manā* 46.19, **mā.uā* 50.1. The sequence thus attained, viz. *yā *xšum ... yān vasami ... yā dadaŋ* is therefore identical to the sequence of verbs in 30.5 *varatā yā dragvā ... yā vastē ... yācā xšmaošam*.

vācim nərəš ašīrahā 'the voice of a man without might'. Idea corresponds to 44.17c *hyaicā nōi hyāŋ rāxš aššō* 'so that my voice be powerful (enough) ...', where Zarathustra speaks. Above it was noted that 29.3b *yā šavaīte ādrūgərəšvāghō* corresponds to 44.17bc *kaθā ... zarəm carāni hecā xšmaŋ āskaitim xšmākam*.

yavā is 'during my lifetime': identical usage appears in 49.1a *mā yavā*. Cf. 30.7 *ayaghā ādānāiš*.

29.10. *aogō dātā ašā xšaθrāucā / avaŋ volū managhā* 'Grant strength and the rule in alliance with truth and good thinking'. *aogō* and *xšaθrām* are the objs. of *dātā*, and *ašā avaŋ volū managhā* modifies *xšaθrām* according to the fig. *xšaθrām volū managhā ašācā*. On latter, cf. 30.7 for full disc.

For *avaŋ* itself, note the interesting observation that its use in the consecutive verses 31.14-16, containing the sequence *pərəsā* (14), *pərəsā avaŋ ...* (15), *pərəsā avaŋ ...* (16), resembles the employment of *utā* in the Ved. type RV. VIII 60.9 *pāhi ... pāhi utā ... pāhi*, etc. Consequently, we can also combine the use of *avaŋ* in *ašā ... avaŋ volū managhā* with the use of *utā* in the Ved. type III 32.13cd *yā stómebhīr vāvydhē pūrvyēbhīr, yō madhyamēbhīr utā nūtanebhīh*, etc. Thus *avaŋ* functions freq. as 'likewise, moreover'.

yā hušaitiš rāmqncā dāŋ 'through which one shall create peace and tranquility'. Parallels are given at 50.2 *yā him ahmāi* etc. The fig. *hušaitiš rāmqncā* is opposed to 31.18c *dušitācā marakaēcā* 'in strife and destruction' (also with *dāŋ*).

rāmqncā is for orig. **rāmqncā*. Similarly, *šyaomqm* 32.3, *varadāmqm*

46.16, *anašmąm* 46.17, *dāmąm* 48.7, *cašmąm* 50.10 are all from orig. *-mąm*. They all have arisen through assimilation in the oral recitation of the text.

29.11. *kudā ašəm vohucā manō xšaθrəmcā* 'Where are truth and good thinking, and (where) their rule?'. *xšaθrəm* must refer back to *ašəm* and *vohū manō* in consequence of the preceding fig. *ašā xšaθrəm avat vohū manayhā*. The identical disjunctiveness also appears at 33.11b *ašəmcā frādaṭ.gaēθəm manascā vohū xšaθrəmcā* and 50.4abc *aṭ vā yazāi ... | hadā ašā vahistācā manayhā | xšaθrəcā yā išō stāyhaṭ ā paiθi* 'I shall always worship you with truth and the very best thinking and with their rule through which one shall stand on the path of (good) power'.

aṭ mā mašā. I follow Lommel (1935b, 99; 1971, 31), who suggested the emendation **mąm ašā*, since *mašā* 'men' is fully out of place here. Yet, I interpret *ašā* for **artā*, i.e. 2pl. impv. aor. of *ar* 'arise'. Thus the translation 'Yes. come to me!' belongs with 33.12a *us mōi arəsvā alurā* 'Rise up to me, Lord!' and 50.5a **arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*) *zi xsmā mazdā ašā alurā* 'Let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth. Lord!'. Note also 53.8d *iratū iš dvafšō* 'Let affliction come to them!'. Cf. Addenda.

yūzəm mazdā frāxšnəuō mazōi magāi.ā paiti.zānatā 'Wise One, acknowledge ye those fit for the great task!'. The var. *frāxšnəuō* (J₂, Mf, etc.) is far preferable since *paiti.zānatā* requires an acc. obj. and because a plural form is certainly expected in view of the following *uā* and **ālmā.rātōiš*. The form is thus acc. pl. of the stem *frāxšnau-* (later *fraxšnū-*), whose meaning 'discerning' has developed the sense 'fit, proper' (through one's discernment). In this way the fig. *frāxšnau-mazōi magāi.ā* 'fit for the great task' is merely a variant of 51.11c *magāi arəsvō* 'lofty (enough) for the task', where again the implication is 'serious, fit enough for'. Both correspond to the diction of 28.10ab *ašāaṭcā vayhəuścā dāθəng manayhō arəθwəng* 'just and deserving in conformity with truth and good thinking'. In 43.14b *maibyō mazdā tavā rafəuō frāxšnəuəm* '(Grant) to me Thy proper support, Wise One', one also encounters the same proposed sense for the them. form *frāxšnəna-*. Cf. also the yAv. fig. *fraxšni avi manō* 'if his attitude is fitting, proper' (= nom. absolute).

For *maga-*. I believe with Bthlm. (1904, 1110) that this word is hardly the same as Ved. *maghā-* 'liberality', whose gender is also different. However, I see the word to mean 'task' from the definitive context of 53.7. There the text clearly states 'There shall be a prize

(*mīzdām*) for you for the following *maga*˚, which is then described as the continued, most faithful fervor of the truthful during their lifetimes. The text then concludes, 'If ye abandon this *maga*, then the word woe shall be for you at the end'. In no way can the value 'liberal gift' or even 'Bund' satisfy the intention of this passage; only some term like 'task, enterprise'. For I see the fig. *magānu zā* to be the equiv. of Skt. *udyogam tyaj* appearing in Pañcat. II 147 *nā ... tyajed udyogam āmānah* 'one should not abandon his task'. Similarly, the meaning 'task' fits well in the remaining passages: 46.14ab *kastē ašavā urvaθō mazōi magāi* 'Which truthful person is thy ally for the great task?', 51.16ab *tan kevā vištāspō magahyā xšaθrā naxat ... yam cistim ašā mantā* 'Through his rulership Kavi V. reached this understanding of (our) task, which he respected in harmony with truth'.

Consequently, I take *magavau-* to mean 'one sharing the task: adherent, follower'. Thus, 51.15a *hyaṭ mīzdām zaraθuštrō magavahyō cōišṭ parā* 'which prize Zarathustra previously promised to the adherents' and 33.7ab *ā mā idūm ... yā sruyē parō magaonō* 'Come ye hither to me ... by reason of which I am to become famed ahead of (every) adherent' (q.v.).

For *āhmā rātōiš* a compound **āhmā.rātōiš* is better in view of *ahmā.rafanah-* YH. 40.3. Similarly, **haθrā.namā* 30.9 (cf. *haθra.taršti-*), **maēθā.mayū* 33.9, **xšmā.nxδāiš* 43.11, **θwā.īštīš* 44.10 (so Bthlm.), **hadā.vāstā* 46.17 should all be restored. All have been falsely divided in the Mss. owing to the existence of uncompounded *āhmā*, *haθrā*, *maēθā*, *xšmā*, *θwā* and *hadā* elsewhere in the text of the Gāthās. For the principle, cf. introd. p. 10f.

Yasna 30

This Gāthā is a hymn of instruction in the fundamental teachings of the prophet, and its theme is primarily concerned with explaining the nature and the consequences of the choice between good and evil, truth and deceit (2-3, 5-6, 11), which are manifestations of the virtuous and good spirit and of the deceitful and evil spirit (3-5). The old gods wrongly chose the ways of deceit and thereby afflicted this world and mankind (6). But Ahura Mazdā came to the world with his rule founded upon good thinking and truth, in order to reestablish the proper equity for each man's individual choice as well as to guarantee a means of protection from the destructive powers of deceit and its followers (7-8). To adhere to the ways of deceit shall bring a man at the end to the very worst existence and extensive ruin, but the paradise founded upon and sustained by good thinking, along with the means of salvation in this world, awaits the pious man who follows the ways of truth (4, 11). Therefore a man should be pious to the true lord (7) and wish to unite in the only common true cause (8-9) which shall heal this fallen and debased earthly existence (9), as it brings ruin upon the forces of deceit (10). Verses 1-7 are spoken to Zarathustra's followers: verses 8-10 to the Wise Lord and his immortal forces, triggered by the view of the earthly and heavenly salvation described in verse 7.

The presentation of these ideas in this Gāthā follows Zarathustra's typically imaginative and eloquent style of composition. In verse 1 the prophet promises to speak of those things which shall bring joy to mankind if they are heeded through the fitting worship of the master of truth and of good thinking, the Wise Lord. Thereby he implies the Wise One indeed created this means of happiness for mankind and thus deserves the reverence and praise for manifesting his godly powers in a fashion which can save the world. Similarly, the careful designation of god as the very wise master of truth and good thinking has its own specific end: To signal that these moral qualities of truth and good thinking belong only to the Wise Lord and that through their effect upon him the Wise One was moved to offer an alternative to this woeful existence. These notions, only hinted at here, are directly expressed later in verse 7.

Verse 2, introducing the dominant motif of the choice between

good and evil, intimates at the complementary theme to the first verse by its mention of the great retribution. For the prophet thus evokes the incisive idea that the Wise Lord not only controls the means to save but he also possesses the power which can damn when he sees fit. In this indirect fashion Zarathustra thus places the concept of salvation and damnation in parallel with the motif of good and evil, and leaves no doubt at the beginning, as he emphasizes at the end of this hymn, that these two issues are intimately connected.

In that there exist two possible decisions for each man to weigh, verses 3-5 now explain how these came to pass. Existence is permeated by two motivating spirits which stand in total opposition to one another. Through their conflicting interests they have taken their stand at the opposite poles of good and evil in thought, word and action, and they have created the antithetical conditions of life and death and of salvation and damnation to symbolize the exclusive nature of their beings. Cutting across all modes of existence with their opposing values, these pervasive spirits have forced mankind, by imposing these contrary categories upon all dimensions of life, to equally make a decisive choice with regard to its alliance with the essence of good or with the essence of evil, which, so to say, exist in the nature of things. The maleficent and the deceitful have chosen to follow the ways of evil, but the beneficent and truthful have selected the ways of virtue and truth. Foremost among these latter are those who shall serve the Wise Lord continuously in the recognition that he is the prototype of the totally beneficent and truthful being and also the creator and master of the exalted principles of truth and good thinking.

By the nature of his being which is in harmony with truth and good thinking and by his prime motivation through the effects of the spirit of good and virtue, the Wise Lord therefore stands in opposition to the old, traditional gods. For as these were deciding their own position concerning the choice between good and evil, the evil spirit deluded them into following ways of deceit, and in consequence of this, they have caused the debasement of this world and of mankind in general. Verse 6 thus concludes in this fashion the evolution of evil from a creative or anticreative principle, through its existence amid the divine world, to its manifestation as a powerful and ruinous force in the life of man.

Verse 7 now focuses on the highlight of the prophet's teachings. Recognizing the unfair and sorrowful state of this earthly existence, the Wise Lord has come into the world, offering protection and

salvation to mankind through the acceptance of his rule of truth and good thinking. Thus man truly possesses now an alternative to the evil ways of deceit in this world and the balance between good and evil has been set in equilibrium once again. Moreover, this rule of the Wise Lord is more than the reciprocal choice of evil: It signifies a means of salvation in this current earthly life and in the next one for those who are devoted to the Wise One who has created this.

Having spoken of the Wise One's great gift for the world, Zarathustra now turns to his lord, to directly move his master. Verse 9 affirms that the faithful shall indeed rally to the cause of the rule of good thinking and of truth when the time for the deliverance from deceit is at hand. Therefore, verse 9 concludes, the Wise One and his forces should bring assistance to his prophet, so that he may ever increase the number of followers convinced by the principle of the good, which alone shall heal the world of the afflictions of deceit. Verse 10 then promises that these adherents, driven by the force of good thinking, shall ensure victory and fame for the Wise One and truth in this world, as they certainly do merit. This is the awaited oath of man for his god if the almighty likewise intercedes for the cause of the good in this world.

In the final verse Zarathustra returns to address his followers, and the prophet admonishes them, in their new found understanding, to heed the commandments of his true god, for there exists no other possibility to save themselves and this earthly existence from inherent destruction.

30.1. *aṭ tā vaṅšyā išantō* 'Yes, I shall speak to those seeking about the things ...'. The pres. stem *isaiti* uniformly means 'seeks' and is the equiv. of yAv. *isaiti* = Ved. *ichāti*. It has arisen in Zarathustra's dialect by the substitution of the freq. root-final *-s* of *iš* also into the old pres. *isaiti* (cf. SI. 1970, 190). Here, too, belong the hypermetrical forms *išasā* 31.4, *išasōiṭ* 50.2, *išasas* 51.19 (for orig. **išā* **išōiṭ* **išas*), which show the attempt to correct the Gāthic pres. *isaiti* alter the yAv. pres. *isaiti*. This process has in turn led to the redaction of orig. **hišaṭ* 32.13 into the false and hypermetric form *hišasaṭ*.

Parallel Gāthic and Vedic uses of *iš* 'seek' exist in the following exx. 50.2a *kaθā mazdā rūnyō .skaraitim gəm *išōiṭ* and RV. I 164.27b *vatsām ichānti ... abhy āgāt* 'She has come hither, seeking her calf'. 31.4bc *vahištā *išā manayhā maibyō xšaθrəm aojōnghvaṭ* 'With the very best thinking I shall seek powerful rule for myself' and RV. III 57.3a

... *vīšna ichānti śaktīm* 'they (who) seek power for the bull'. 51.19b *yā ahūn *išqs a zbi* 'who seeks existence' and RV. VI 47.10a ... *māhyaṇi jivātumi icha* 'seek life for me'. In 30.1a here, *išantō* has the implication *viduyē* 'to know' because of the following *viduśē*. Cf. KāušSū. 94.2 *vidvāṇsanaṇ brahmāṇam iche* 'one should seek a B. who knows' (cf. SI. 1970, 188).

staotācā ahurāi yesnyācā vaṇhōuš manayhō humqzdrāi ašā yecā. Despite my earlier attempts to defend the traditional text (op. cit. 199), I now follow K. Hoffmann's suggestion that we must restore **ašāyecā* = older **ašāyācā* (dat.), since *ahurāi ... *ašāyācā* reflects the same combination as *mazdā ašahyācā* seen in vs. 10c below. Similarly, 51.2a *tā vā mazdā paourvīm ahurā ašā yecā* should be restored to **... ašāyācā* insofar as the construction is of the same type as 32.6c ... *vā mazdā ... ašāicā* (cf. 28.3 for disc.). I see the motivation for the separation of orig. ... *vaṇhōuš manayhō humqzdrāi *ašāyācā* into **ašā yācā* stemming from 33.14bc *manayhasecā vaṇhōuš mazdāi śraoθanahyā ašā yācā*, owing to the similarity of expressions in both passages: following *yā* of *yā raocāhīs ...* also exerted some effect. The subsequent separation in 51.2a is based upon the normalizing tendencies of the redactors. For disc. of these processes, cf. introd. p. 11 ff. The change of **yācā* to *yecā* is parallel to the change of **ayāni* to younger *ayeni* 34.6, 46.1, 50.9.

vaṇhōuš manayhō appears to be dependent upon *ahurāi*, i.e., 'lord, master of good thinking', acc. to 31.8b *vaṇhōuš pitarēm manayhō*, 45.4c *ptarēm vaṇhōuš varəzayantō manayhō*, etc.

Furthermore, it is also apparent that the var. *humqzdrāi* (L₁) is superior to *humqzdrā*, for the collocation *ahurāi ... humqzdrāi* is nothing other than a stylistic variant of *ahurāi mazdāi*. The prevalent var. *humqzdrā* simply shows assimilation to surrounding *-ā* forms *staotācā*, *yesnyācā*, sec. *ašā yecā* and *urvāzā*, with preservation of the predominant vocalism in the verse: cf. introd. p. 5 ff.

The remaining *staotācā ... yesnyācā* are instr., dependent upon *mazdāθā* acc. to the usage seen in 31.5b *viduyē volū manayhā māncā daidyāi* 'to be known and borne in mind through good thinking'. Thus we have *staotācā ahurāi yesnyācā vaṇhōuš manayhō humqzdrāi *ašāyācā* 'through praise and worshipful act for the very Wise Master of good thinking and for truth'. On the use of the dat., cf. 33.14b *paourvatātəm manayhasecā vaṇhōuš mazdāi* 'and predominance of good thinking for the Wise One'.

yā raocāhīs darəsatā urvāzā 'which (things) are to be looked upon in

joy throughout your days'. *yā* refers back to *tā* in *tā vaxšyā*. On *raocēbīš*, cf. 30.7 *ayajhā ādānāiš* below. The form *darəsatā* is best taken with Kuiper (1964a, 105, fn 40) as the equiv. of Ved. *darśatā-*. Finally, *urvāzā* is loc. of a stem *urvāzi-* 'joy', whose instr. *urvāzyā* appears in YH. 36.2 (cf. SI., op. cit. 187 ff.).

30.2. *avaēnatā sūcā manajhā* 'reflect with a clear mind' corresponds to the idea found in 31.13c *cašmāng θwisrā hārō* 'looking with clarity of vision'. Adj. *sūca-* = Ved. *sucā-* (so, Bthlm. 1904, 1581; thus against Humbach, 1959, II 20).

āvarəna- is 'choice' and is different from *varəna-* 31.11, 45.1,2, 48.4, 49.3, which is consistently 'preference'.

parā mazō yājhō 'before the great retribution'. The difficult word *yāh-* (always *yāh-*) has been variously interpreted. Bthlm. 'Krise, Wendepunkt' (so, Lommel 1930; 'Wende' 1971), Duchesne 'épreuve', Humbach 'Bittgang', etc. Recently H.-P. Schmidt has argued (1968, 178) for the meaning 'Gang, entscheidender Gang' > 'Entscheidung', and his proposal has been newly endorsed by Kuiper (1973, 186). Schmidt's argument is based on the fact that Zarathustra employs the terms *urvaēsu-* 'turning point' (of a race-course) and *zā* 'race ahead' in speaking of the moment of decision, and he therefore concludes that *yāh-* must be another horse-racing term used metaphorically or allegorically by Zarathustra.

But I do not follow his conclusions. The root *yā* clearly means 'to travel or race' in Vedic (never 'go'): cf. RV. II 1.6c *tvam vātaih ... yāsi* 'thou dost race with the winds', VI 62.2d *apō dhānvāny āti yātho ājran* 'Ye race beyond the waters, deserts and fields', etc. Thus if *yāh-* belongs to the root *yā*, then we should expect the word to mean 'race, contest' (like *āji-*), and in view of Y. 44.15, where the question of a decisive contest between truth and deceit is envisioned, the meaning 'contest' would be fully defensible.

However, I do not believe this. Horse-racing is not the only source of Zarathustra's vocabulary. We surely have many terms from agriculture and its allied enterprises in the use of *gao-*, *vāstar-*, *vāstra-*, *ššuyant-*, *ššānghiya-*, etc. And the legalistic sector provides many important terms: *vīcira-* 'juridically decisive', *vīciθa-* 'j. decision', *irixta-* 'consequence', *raēxənah-* 'legal inheritor', *sānghūš-* 'decree', *aoj* 'to accuse', *sru* 'to try', *sanh* 'to decree', etc. And specifically, with regard to the question of the final judgment, most of the terms applicable here do belong to the legal sector: *ratu-* 'judgment' is certainly a

legal term, as is *xšnūt-* 'satisfaction' (cf. 31.3). Similarly, both *ādā-* and *ādāna-* 'requital, repayment' must be words of legal origins, since Skt. *ā dā* is employed in the legal sense of 'to reclaim' (cf. Manu VIII. 222 ff.).

I therefore also view *yāh-* as a word of equally legalistic origins and combine it with Ved. *yātár-* 'revenger, repayer', *ṛṇa-yā-* and *ṛṇa-yāvan-* 'repaying, requiting debts', which also belong to the same technical vocabulary. Thus I understand *yāh-* to mean 'retribution', and the word pointedly refers to the time when the truthful and the deceitful shall receive their fair share, a repeated major theme of the Gāthās.

The underlying root *yā* is far better attested than hitherto acknowledged, since the Ved. concept of *āva yā* 'to make payment, requite, redress' must belong here. E.g. RV. 1V 1.4ab *tvám uo agne váruṇasya vidván. devásya hēḥō va yāsisisḥāḥ* 'Agni, thou the knowing one shouldst redress Varuṇa's anger for us'. VI 66.5d *uñ cū sudānur āva yāsad ugrām* 'Now indeed shall the blessed one redress the strong ones (= the gods)'. Also *aravātūr-* 'redresser, requiter' in I 129.11b *avayātā sādām id durmatinām* '(Indra) is always the requiter of evil minded ones' and VIII 48.2b *avayātā háraso dáivyasya* 'the redresser of divine wrath'. This concept can in no way belong to *yā* 'entreat', as is possible with German 'abhitten', for it is exactly the process of incessant entreaty which angers the gods. Cf. 28.9a *nōiḥ vā ... yānāis zarauiāemā* 'May we not anger you with these entreaties'. We therefore must accept an Indoir. root *yā* 'repay, revenge' for all of these terms, and most likely add to these the Gk. word *zēmiā* 'penalty, amends'.

ahmāi (nā) sazdyāi huodantō patīi 'being aware to declare (announce) yourselves to Him'. *nā* is a later addition to the line, transported into the passage from 51.16c *aθā nā sazdyāi*; cf. introd. p. 13. Note that *ahmāi* belongs only to the demon. pron., as Humbach stresses.

The infs. *sazdyāi* and *sastē* both belong to *sanh* 'declare' and are consistently employed medio-passively in the sense 'declare oneself, to announce oneself, with the dat. of the person addressed. Cf. 30.8bc below *xšaθrām ... vōi.vīdaitē aēibhyō sastē* 'the rule shall take place in order to announce itself to those ...'; 46.12de *aḥ iś vohū hām.aibi.mōist manayhā aēibhyō sastē* 'Then did He unite them with good thinking in order to announce Himself'; 51.16c *aθā nā sazdyāi uštā* 'Therefore wish ye for Him to declare Himself to us'. The point is that both god and his adherents must announce their faith in each other before the final judgment. On similar constructions, cf. 43.6de *aēibhyō ratūš sānghaitī ārmaitiš θwahyā xratūš* 'To them does piety declare the

judgments of Thy will'. Medio-pass. in 32.7b *yā jōyā* (**jīvyā*) *sānghaitē* 'which are decreed to be capital' (technical use). The root *sauh* is treated in detail at 31.1.

30.3. *yā yāmā xʷafənā *ā *srvātəm* (Mss. *asrvātəm*) 'which twins are renowned to be in conflict'. It is not possible in my view to ascribe *xʷafənā* here to the word *xʷafna-* 'sleep'; such a meaning has no sense in this passage. Rather, acc. to the apt Ved. parallel cited by Humbach (RV. VII 104.12b *sác cāsac ca vácasi pasp̄dhāte* 'the true and the untrue word are in contention'), we should expect a comparable statement concerning the two spirits. I therefore take *xʷafənā* = loc. to a stem *xʷafni-* 'rivalry', which I relate to Ved. *duṣvāpnyā-* 'ill rivalry'. That the Ved. word also cannot belong to *svāpna-* 'sleep' is shown by RV. VIII 47.14ab *yác ca gōṣu duṣvāpnyam yác cāsmé ...* 'what ill rivalry exists among our cattle or among ourselves ...', where it should be clear that it is a question of fighting among the herd, not of the animals' loss of sleep or nightmares. Moreover, X 36.4ab *grāvā ... āpa rākṣāṃsi sedhatu duṣvāpnyam nirṛtiṃ viśvam atriṇam* also shows by its juxtaposition of *rākṣas-* 'destructive force', *nirṛti-* 'destruction' and *atrin-* 'type of hostility' with *duṣvāpnyā-* that the concept represented by the last word is much stronger than 'nightmare' or the like, and is capable of being repelled by the pressing stone. Here one should compare VI 47.29d *dūrād dāviyo āpa sedha sātṛin* 'Repel our rivals farther than far away'. Lastly, note Y. 62.5 (*dāyā*) *uairyam pascaēta hṛm.varatim arādwō.ṣṅgam axʷafnyam* 'Thou shouldst grant afterwards heroic valor, straight-legged (= uncowering) and frce from rivalry', where *axʷafnyā-* must also be an appropriate quality of *hṛm.varāiti-* 'valor, bravery'. Thus I see the necessity to posit Indoir. **svapni-* 'rivalry', **svapnyā-* 'rivalrous, rivalrousness'. Cf. Addenda.

The form *asrvātəm* should be restored as **ā *srvātəm* with **ā* belonging to the preceding loc. *xʷafənā*. This syntactic fig. *xʷafənā *ā* 'in conflict' follows the pattern of 34.3b *gaēθā vispā ā xšaθrōi*, 34.10c *θwalmi ... xšaθrōi ā*, 48.7d *θwalmi ā dqm* 'in Thy house' = 49.10a, 49.8c *vayhān θwalmi ā xšaθrōi*, 50.4c *išō stāyhaṭ ā paiθi* '(by which) one shall stand on the path of power', etc. The orthography *asrvātəm* thus shows the influence of passages, such as 31.13b *ā mazistam ayamaitē*, 46.2c *ā iḷ avaēnā*, 49.1c *ā mōi arapā*, where the repeated preverb appears in shortened form before the verbal form with which it belongs. Similar influence in *avaēnatā* for **āvaēnatā* (impv.) 30.2, *acistā* for **ācistā* 51.11. Likewise, 31.16b *ašā fradaθāi aspərəzatā*

requires the emendation **fradaθāi.ā* **spərəzaiā* and 32.3c *yāiš usrūdūm* is to be emended as *yāiš *ā *srūdūm*: cf. passages for disc. and introd. p. 11.

hudāyḥō ... duzdāyḥō. Andreas' translations (1909. 7) 'die Guthandelnden' and 'die Schlechthandelnden' seem to be the proper designations for these terms (similarly, Lommel 1971). They are not cognate with Ved. *sudās-* 'of good gifts' (so. Humbach), but belong rather with *sudhā-* 'good basis, welfare' and *durdhā-* 'disorder, misery'. In general, *hudāh-* corresponds quite clearly in usage to the Ved. word *sukṛt-*, which also equally applies to men and gods. One can compare 34.13c *hyaḥ cavištā hudāyḥō mīzdām* 'which prize has been promised to the beneficent' with RV. 1.128.6f. *viśvasmā it sukṛte vāram ṛvati (agnih)* 'Agni grants what is desirable to each beneficent person'. This Ved. passage containing the combination of *sukṛt-* and the root *ar* 'grant' also recalls 34.3c **arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*) *zi hudāyḥō ... savō* 'Salvation of the beneficent man is to be granted', where *hudāh-* likewise appears with the root *ar*. Finally, notice that the freq. designation of the Amāša Spāntas as both *huxšaθrā* and *hudāyḥō* (e.g. Y. 13.4. 35.1. 58.5 etc.) is quite pointed: not only do they possess the necessary mastery to act as they wish, but they also employ their mastery to bring about what is good for the world. Cf. the characterization of AhM. at 45.6bc *yā hudā yōi hōmī spāntā mainyū* 'who is beneficent by reason of His virtuous spirit to those who exist', which corresponds to his designation as *vayhudāh-* 'good-creating' at YH. 38.4.

duzdāh-, by contrast, is 'maleficent' and its meaning is quite apparent at Yt. 10.52, where it is glossed as *ayāvarəz-* 'evil-working': cf. *āaḥ yaḥ duzdā fradvaraiti yō ayāvaraš ...* 'Then, when the maleficent man who is evil-working rushes forth ...'.

30.4. *hyaḥ ... hām jasaētəm ... duzdē gaēmā ayyūitīmā* 'When the two came together, they created life and death'. Here *duzdē* must be 3du. imperf. (or perf.) of *dā*, fully parallel to the preceding *jasaētəm* (correct, Bthlm. 1894, 66 §120.1c), and permits the following explanation. If the Av. 3pl. ending *-āire* corresponds to Ved. *-ire* (SI. 1971, 575), then we can reconstruct for Indoir. both a full-grade **-arai* and a zero-grade **-ərai*. Similarly, the 3du. med. ending must have been both **-aətai* and **-ətai*. Vedic continues this last ending in the full-grade form (*bruvāte dadhāte* etc.) because the *-ā-* is always accented. But in the 3pl. of the middle, where the last (or first) syllable is accented, only the zero-grade form survives (*bhejiré ūhiré, ísire* etc.). Conse-

quently, for Av. both **-ātē* and **-tē* (with loss of internal **ə*) are expected, depending upon the placement of the accent. Former ending is preserved in *mamanāitē* Y. 13.4; latter ending in *dazdē* here. Good support also from the Ved. du. impv. *trāsīthām* (metrically always **trāsīthām* in cadence), where we have the zero-grade Ved. alternant **-īthām* of usual *-āthām*.

ayhuš acištō drəgvatəm aṭ ašāunē vahištəm manā 'the worst existence for the deceitful ones but the best thinking for the truthful man'. The similar juxtaposition appearing in 32.13a *acištahyā dāmānē manayhā* and 32.15c *vayhāuš ā dāmānē manayhō* strongly suggests that *vahištəm manō* is metonymy for *vahištahyā dāmānəm manayhō*. Note, however, that *vahištəm manō* has been carefully chosen in order to contrast with *acištəm manā* in 30.6b below.

30.5. *fraorəṭ* 'continuously'. Since the root *var* 'choose' is originally a heavy base, the final *-t* of *fraorəṭ* excludes derivation of this word from that root (cf. *gar-* 'song': Ved. *gṛhātī*, etc.). The word therefore is identical with Ved. *pravṛt*, which belongs to *prā vṛt* 'to proceed, continue'. Single occurrence at VS. XV.9 *pravṛd asi pravṛte tvā* allows the translation 'Thou art continuity. For continuity thee!'. However, in our passage *fraorəṭ* is clearly adverbial. Note that the image contained in *yaēcā xšnaošan ahmrəm ... fraorəṭ* 'and those who shall satisfy the Lord continuously' is a conscious imitation of the preceding description of the *spəntō mainyuš* as *yə xraoēdištāng asənō vastē* 'who is clothed in the hardest stones', for the latter description can only mean 'who is enduring, indestructible'. The intention is that the faithful must also be as enduring in their determination as the virtuous spirit of god himself.

30.6. *hyaṭ iš ā.dəbaomā pərəsmanəng upā.jasaṭ*. Kuiper (1973, 201 ff.) has convincingly argued to emend *ā.dəbaomā* to **ā *dəbaomā*, since **ā ... upā.jasaṭ* belongs well with the Ved. type RV. III 42.1a *ipa nah sntām ā gahi*, etc. However, unlike him and almost all translators, I believe that Geldner's interpretation (1926, 3) of *dəbaomā* from an agent noun *dəbaoman-* 'deceiver, betrayer' offers the best sense. It is certainly the *angrō mainyuš* who has deceived the gods in 32.5, and in 30.6 here he undoubtedly is the intended *dəbaoman-*, particularly in view of the discussion of the two spirits in vss. 3-5. Vedic has enough agent nouns, such as *dharmān-* 'supporter', *vadmān-* 'speaker', *samān-* 'presser', etc., to support this type of formation. Thus translate: 'since the betrayer approached them as they were deliberating'.

yā bhayāyau ahūm marətānō '(fury) with which they have afflicted (defiled) the world and mankind'. Humbach (1957a, 306f.) has correctly argued that *marətānō* cannot be gen. sg. because of the existence of *yAv. gen. marəθiō*, but he has overlooked the possibility that *marətānō* can also be acc. pl. (cf. Ved. type *ukṣāyas vjśayas*). We surely have acc. pl. *asānō* in the preceding verse (= *yAv. asānō*), which is also different from the *yAv. gen. sg. aśnō*. Thus, *ahūm* and *marətānō* are asyndetic 'the world and mankind', and this interpretation is supported by the variant 46.11b *ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašim* 'to destroy existence and mankind', where *mašim* is the substitute for *marətānō*. Similarly, *marətānō* in 32.12a is also acc. pl.: cf. *yā rəyhayən sravayhā vahistā! śyaoθənā! marətānō* 'Because of that teaching with which they deflected men from the best action ...'.

30.7. *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasa! manayhā volū ašacā* 'But to this world He came with the rule in alliance (harmony) with good thinking and truth'. This line stands in antithesis to the preceding line: although the gods have ruined the world (by accepting the ways of deceit), the Lord has come with his rule founded on truth and good thinking to offer salvation to the faithful community of the truthful. *cā* is thus clearly adversative as in flg. 30.11bc *darəgəm dragvā.dəhyō rušō sāvacā ašavahyō* 'long destruction for the deceitful but salvation for the truthful', etc.

ahmāi resumes *ahūm* of the preceding vs. and thus refers to this world, a usage identical to Ved. *asyā asmīn*, which often signify this world. Parallel resumption also appears in 32.13b *ayhəuš ... ahvā*, which is then followed by *ahvā* in 32.14a; also in 43.5b *ayhəuš*, followed by *ahmī* in 43.6b (cited below). Similarly, 44.15b *ahvā ašā pōi* 'for the protection of the world allied with truth' belongs with 46.3b *ayhəuš darəθrāi ... ašahvā* 'for the maintenance of the world of truth' (cf. also 44.8d *ašā ayhəuš*). In the same function, *ahmāi* also appears in 47.3b *yā ahmāi gəm rānyō.skəraitim hām.tašaj* 'who fashioned the joy-bringing cow for this world', which is simply a metaphorical paraphrase of our line, with *gəm* = *volū xšaθram*. The full phrase *ahvā ayhəuš* 'of this world' occurs at 32.13b, 34.6b, 43.3c, 45.3a.

Since *cā* in the phrase *xšaθrā ... manayhā volū ašacā* only follows the last term, these words cannot be in equal coordination: cf. 31.21 *haurvatō* etc. Rather, both *manayhā volū* and *ašā* modify *xšaθrā* in the sense 'the rule in alliance (harmony) with good thinking and truth', a stylistic usage characteristic of the Gāthās. For disc. and full

exx., cf. 32.2. The other exx. of this important figure are: 29.10ab *aogō dātā ašā xšaθrāmcā avaṭ vohū manayhā* (q.v.), 33.10c *vohū uxšyā manayhā xšaθrā ašācā*, 50.3ab *ašā ... xšaθrā vohucā cōišt manayhā* 'promised during the rule of truth and good thinking'.

Frequently only *vahū manayhā* appears: 30.8b (next vs.) *xšaθrām vohū manayhā*, 31.4bc *vahištā išasā manayhā maibyō xšaθrām aojōnghvaṭ*, 43.6ab ... *urvaēsē jasō mazdā xšaθrā ahmi vohū manayhā* 'At this turning point Thou, the Wise One, hast come into this world with Thy rule in alliance with good thinking' (closest variant of current 30.7a), 44.6d *taibyō xšaθrām vahū cinas manayhā*, 46.10c *vohū xšaθrām manayhā*, 51.2bc *xšaθrām xsmākəm vohū manayhā ... dāidi*, 51.21b *ašəm spānvaṭ vohū xšaθrām manayhā* 'Virtuous is truth and the rule allied with good thinking'.

Variants also occur in 34.11bc *vayhāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ* 'through the rule of good thinking allied with truth' = 51.18b *ašā vərəntē taṭ xšaθrām manayhō vayhāuš* 'He chooses that rule of good thinking allied with truth' and in 46.16d *yaθrā vayhāuš manayhō ištā xšaθrām* 'where the rule is in the power of good thinking'. Also related: 33.5b **darəgō.jyāiti ā xšaθrām vayhāuš manayhō, ašāṭ ā əvəuš paθō* 'the long-lived rule of good thinking and the paths straight in accord with truth' and 51.16ab *xšaθrā ... vayhāuš padəbīs manayhō* 'by his rule following the paths of good thinking'. Cf. also 50.4abc *aṭ vā yazāi ... hadā ašā vahīštācā manayhā, xšaθrācā yā ...* For ease of translation, I have adopted the expression 'rule of truth and good thinking' throughout the Gāthās.

aṭ kəhrpəm utayūitiš dadāṭ ārmaitiš qumā 'and (our) enduring piety gave body and breath to it'. *utayūitiš* is, as always, only an adj., agreeing here with *ārmaitiš*; it is only natural that the piety of the faithful be enduring. Support for adj. interpretation stems from the equivalence of 33.5b **darəgō.jyāiti ... xšaθrām vayhāuš manayhō* 'the long-lived rule of good thinking' and 48.6ab *utayūitīm ... təvišim vayhāuš manayhō* 'the enduring power of good thinking'. Thus I interpret the dual *utayūiti təvišī* at 34.11c, 45.10e, 51.7c as 'the two enduring powers, forces', and in these last two passages they stand in apposition to the dual *anəratātā haurvātā* 'immortality and completeness', which they always represent.

kəhrpəm 'body' and *qumā* 'breath' are thus the asyndetic objs. of *dadāṭ*. Similar syntax occurs for the equiv. terms *astvant-* and *uštāna-*: cf. 31.11b *hyaṭ astvantəm dadā uštānəm* 'since Thou didst create body and breath'; 34.14a *vairim astvaitē uštānāi* 'desirable for body and

breath'. Coordination with *cā* in YH. 37.3 *tām alimākāiš azdihiscā uštānāišcā yazam aidē* 'We worship Him with our body and breath', which is clearly related to 33.14ab *aī rātqm zaraθuštrō tanvascī x'alivā uštānām ... mazdāi* 'Therefore Zarathustra does give us a gift to the Wise One even the breath of his own body'. *qnam-* is thus the equiv. of Ved. *ātman-* (HH. 1959, II 60 compares *animus*), which also is used asyndetically with *tanū-* 'body': cf. AV. I 18.3a *yāt ta ātmāni tanvāu ghorān āsti* 'whatever awful thing is in thy breath and body'.

This line 30.7b expresses again the important theme that only the piety of the faithful grant strength to the Lord and His authority. Cf. 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varādaiti ārmaitiš* for disc.

aēšqm tōi ā aṅhaī yaθā ayaṅhā ādānāiš paouruṇō. Since it follows that AhM. must be the subject of *aṅhaī*, the reading *tōi* cannot be correct. I therefore propose to read **pōi*, as in 44.15b *ahyā ašā pōi* 'for the protection of the world allied with truth (see above)', which also appears with a dependent gen. Also note gen. in 46.3b *aṅhāiš darəθrāi ... usahyā* also cited above. The change of *pōi* to *tōi* has taken place under the influence of 34.1c *aēšqm tōi ahurā*, appearing in identical metrical position. For principle, cf. introd. p. 11 ff.

ayaṅhā ādānāiš 'during the (time of the) requitals with the iron'. Kuiper (1964b, 85 ff.) has plausibly suggested that *ayaṅhā* is a later gloss added to this passage, since *ayaṅhā* otherwise appears in the Gāthās accompanied by a qualifying adj., viz. 32.7b *x'aēnā ayaṅhā* and 51.9b *ayaṅhā xšustā*. This may well be the case.

In terms of syntax, *ādānāiš* is an instr. of temporal extent. Similar usage in 29.9c *yavā* 'during my lifetime' = 49.1a *nā yavā*; 30.1c, 31.7a *raocāhīs* 'throughout the days': 31.22b *xšaθrā* 'during his rule' = 46.11a *xšaθrāiš* 'during their rule, regimes': 44.3b *zəθā* 'during the birth, creation': 48.1d, 51.15c *savāiš* 'during the times of salvation': 48.1a *adāiš* (for orig. **ād āiš*) 'during the times after this'. Instr. of spatial extent is found in 34.14c *varəzənā* 'throughout the community': 48.11b *xšaθrā* 'throughout the dominion': 50.5a *xšmā* 'across the earth' (= γAv. *zəmā*, Ved. *jmā*). Vedic has identical usage in *āhabhis dyūbhis* 'throughout the days', *kṣapā naktābhis* 'during the night', and also with non-time nouns such as *tyājasā* 'during the time of danger', *janūšā jānmanā* 'during his birth'. Cf. RV. I 166.12c *indraś canā tyājasā vi hruṇāti *tām* (text *tāt*) 'Indra never avoids that person during a time of danger': I 156.3ab ... *yāthā vidā ptāsya gārghanī janūšā pipartaua* 'As is well known, tend the child of truth during his birth': III 26.7a *agnir asmi jānmanā jātāvedāḥ* 'I am Agni J. during the time of my birth':

etc. Instr. of spatial extent in *pr̥thivyá* 'across the earth', *rájosā* 'across the reaches', *kr̥ṣtibhiḥ* 'throughout the countries'. Latter in I 100.10ab *só grámebhiḥ sánitā ... vidē višvābhiḥ kr̥ṣtibhir uv ádyā* 'He is known today as a victor throughout the villages and all the countries'.

Thus the final line is: 'He shall be present for the protection of these (faithful), just as He shall be the first (to do so) during the times of requital (by the molten iron)'. Theme thus corresponds to common notion that the Lord will support the truthful in this world as well as at the time of the final judgment, when they shall be saved.

30.8. *aēšqm kaēnā ... aēnayhqm* 'the penalty for these sinners'. Since *aēšqm* in the preceding vs. must refer to the truthful, *aēnayhqm* must be ascribed to the possessive stem *aēnah-* 'sinner' here. Thus *aēšqm aēnayhqm* resumes *marātānō* in vs. 6c, i.e. the men whom the gods have inflicted with fury and deceit in their turn, viz. the deceitful. Cf. 32.11 *raēxənah-*.

aṭ mazdā taibyō xšaθrəm volū manayhā vōi.vidaitē 'then for Thee. Wise One, shall the rule of good thinking take place (be at hand)'. Elsewhere in the Gāthās where a sequence of *yadā ... aṭ* occurs, the verb in the second clause is always 'to be'. Cf. 50.9cd *yadā ... xšayā. aṭ ... hīyām* 'If I had control, then I would be': with ellipsis 31.4a *yadā ... *zəviyā, (aṭ) ayhan mazdāscā alurāghō* 'When I might call ..., then the Wise One and the other lords shall appear'. Thus, in 30.8b here the var. *vōi.vidaitē* J₁ (cf. also *vōividaitē* J₂) is preferable, since it belongs together with the Ved. med. intensive of *vid* 'find', which means 'be present, be at hand'. Cf. RV. III 54.4cd *nāraś cid vāṇi samithē śīrasātau. vavandirē pr̥thivi vévidānāḥ* 'The men who were present in the conflict, in the battle of heroes, were praised by you two, o earth'. Same meaning in med. aor. in VI 21.12ab *sā no bodhi puraetā sugēṣu, utā durgēṣu pathikēd vidānaḥ* 'Be our leader in comfort and the pathfinder in difficulties, once thou art present'. The form *vōi.vidaitē* is thus properly subj. (against Humbach's protests 1959, II 22), and is correctly parallel to its correlative subj. *jamaiti*. In the RV. the subjs. of intens. stems usually appear with zero grade of root: *cēkītat marmyjat marmyṣat* etc. The Mss. vars. *vōi.vidaiti* etc. have been influenced by common *vidaiti* etc: 'he serves'. Lommel (1971, 42) aptly translates 'einfinden'.

aēibyo sastē 'in order to be announced (announce itself) to those'. *sastē* is inf. to *sanh* 'declare' here and at 46.12. For disc., cf. above 30.2 *ahmāi sazdyōi*. The other infs. of this type in the Gāthās are

itē 43.13, *aitē* (read *ā.itē*) 31.9, *gaṭ.tōi* 43.1, *gaṭ.tē* 51.10, *paiti.aratē* 44.12, *mrūtē* 49.6, *šavaitē* 29.3, *stōi* 31.8, 34.4 etc. They are simply the equiv. of the yAv. inf. in *-tē* and *-tayaēca*, namely, dat. sg. of the fem. abstr. in *-ti-*. Note *šavaitē* is a formation in *-ati-*: cf. 29.3. The Gāthīc ending merely results from haplology in Zarathustra's dialect of orig. **-taya* > **-tay* (> *-tōi -tē*). Thus these forms belong directly to the abl. inf. *avapastōiš* 44.4, *frōratōiš* 46.4. Inf. *sastē* is therefore related to *fra-sastim* 49.7 and Ved. *śasti-*. Benveniste's explanation (1935, 67) of these forms is false. Cf. also *dastē* 34.1.

30.9. *aṭcā tōi vaēm hīyāmā yōi im fārašām kārnaou ahūm* 'Yes, may we be those who shall make this world healed'. Clearly intended to contrast with above 30.6c *yā (aēšamā) hquayān ahūm marātānō* 'with which (fury) they have afflicted the world and mankind'. Similarly, 34.15c *xšmākā xšaθrā ahurā fārašām vasnā haiθyām dā ahūm* 'Through your rule, Lord, Thou shalt truly make this world healed in accord with our wish' is meant to function as antithesis to 46.11ab *xšaθrāiš yūjān karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaoθanāiš ahūm mərəugəidyāi mašm* 'During their regimes, the Kurpans and the Kavis yoked (us) with evil actions in order to destroy this world and mankind'. Thus, the idiom *ahūm fārašām kar* or *dā* in the Gāthās must mean 'to heal, repair the world' and it is employed to express the restorative change that AhM.'s rule of truth and good thinking (cf. preceding vss. 7-8) shall bring to the world currently afflicted by the destructive powers of deceit. Molé (1963, 172 ff.) is correct in comparing the later use of *fāraša-* as 'renovated'.

With regard to its etymology, *fāraša-* is undoubtedly to be derived as past part. from *fra ar*, i.e. **frarta-* > *fāraša-*, for its use is strongly reminiscent of the employment of Ved. *ūd ar* or sec. *īr*, also appearing in the meaning 'heal, repair'. Cf. RV. I 117.24cd ... *śyāvam ašvinā vikastam, ūj jivāsa airayatam* 'Ye Ašvins did heal Śyāva who was split open, in order for him to live'; I 118.6a *ūd vāndanam airataṃ danśānābhīḥ* 'Ye healed Vandana by means of your wondrous skills'; II 34.4cd *im no vīrāṇ arpayā bheṣajēbhir, bhīṣaktamaṃ tvā bhīṣajāṇ śṛṇami* 'Heal our heroes with your medicines. I hear that thou art the best of physicians'; etc. With this last Ved. passage, note the characterization of AhM. and Zarathustra as *ahūm.biš* 'healer of the world (existence)' 31.19, 44.2,16, which is a pointed contrast to the phrase 32.13c *aṭhāuš marəxtārō ahyā* 'the destroyers of this world' (= yAv. *ahū.mərənc-*), said of the deceitful.

mazdāscā ahurōjñhō ā.mōyastrā barauā ašōcō. This line lacks a verb, which in fact is hidden in *ā.mōyastrō*. I envision an orig. reading **ā mōi stā*, which should have become **ō mōi astā* with the usual repetition of preverbs. Cf. 46.2c *ā iḥ avaēnā*, 49.1c *ā mōi arapā*, etc. Subsequently, accidentally changed to **ā mōyastā* in scriptio continua; and the final alteration of *-stā* to *-strā* results from the effects of the normalizing tendencies seen in *vāstā sṣstā* 29.1, which have variants *vāstrā sṣstrō*, etc.

Thus emend and translate: *mazdāscā ohurōjñhō *ā *mōi *(a)stō baranā ašōcō* 'Wise One and ye other lords, be present to me with support and truth'. **ā *mōi *(a)stā* thus corresponds to preceding 30.7c *aēšqm *pōi ā ayhaḥ* 'He shall be present for the protection of these'. On *stā*, cf. 32.3, 34.6. *baranācā ašōcā* 'with support and truth' thus recalls 28.6ab *dāidī ašā ... aojōnghvaḥ rafānō* 'Along with truth, grant powerful support', with a similar combination of *ašā ... rafānō*; etc.

*hyaḥ *haθrā.manā hvaḥ yaθrā cistiš ayhaḥ maēθā* 'so that one (also) shall become convinced where his understanding might be false'. A compound **haθrā.manā* is preferable to Mss. *haθrā manā*, whose separation has taken place under the influence of *haθrā* 28.4 (cf. 29.11). For its meaning, **haθrā.manā* 'completely minded' certainly implies the notion of 'convinced'. On *hvaḥ*, cf. *bovaḥ* discussed at 28.11.

cistiš maēθā here contrasts with 48.5b *vayhuyā cistōiš* 'of good insight'. The root *miθ* originally meant 'to be on opposing sides', but early acquired the sense 'to be false', clearly attested in *miθahvacah* 'of false words' 31.12, *miθahyā-* 'falsity' 33.1 (cf. SI. 1973. 163 ff.). Thus I prefer 'false understanding' for *cistiš maēθā*. However, in 31.12c *ānuš.haxš ārmaitiš mainyū pərəsāitē yaθrā maēθā* 'In due course piety shall come to terms with one's spirit where there has been opposition', it is best to consider *maēθā* as a noun contrasting with *ārmaitiš*. Thus the antithesis *ārmaitiš: maēθā* belongs to the type Y. 60.5 *ārmaitiš: tarōmaitīm* (quoted at 33.4), 33.4 *asruštīm tarōmaitīm: 33.5 sərəošəm* etc.

30.10. *adā zī avā drūjō hvaitī skandō spayaθrahyā* 'Then indeed shall descend the destruction of the prosperity of deceit'. J₂ *hvaitī* = **buvaitī* is the correct reading; cf. 28.11 *bavaḥ*. Most closely related parallels concerning the end of deceit appear in 44.14d *āmovaitīm sinqm dāvōi drəgvasū* 'to create a powerful schism among the deceitful' and 53.6c *āyesē *hōi *spiθā tanvō parā* 'I am taking away the prosperous conditions from his person', where the phrase *frāidīm drūjō* 'the

prosperity of deceit' precedes. The expressions *drūjō spayaθra-* and *drūjō frāidi-*, **hōi *spiθa-* are intentionally parallel.

spayaθra-, derived from *spā* 'grow strong, prosperous' = Ved. *śvā* 'id.', permits the analysis *spay-aθra-*, with *y* replacing lost **a* to prevent contraction (cf. *xšay-ati* < **xšaa-ati* etc.: Sl. 1971, 580 fn 14); the suffix *-aθra-* is also found in *dərəzi.takaθra-* 'of mighty onrush' Vd. 3.42. The word *spi-θa-* is therefore secondary to *spayaθra-* (root is not **spāy*), following the normal pattern *ay: i* of *i*-roots. Thus, *spayaθra-* is comparable to Ved. *śvātrā-*, which is employed in similar situations. Cf. RV. X 88.4cd *sā patatrīvarāṃ śhā jāgud yāc, chvātrām agnir akṣot* 'Agni has brought to prosper what flies and what goes (on foot), what stays and what moves'.

aḥ asištā yuojantē ā hušitōis vaḥhōis manayhō 'Then there shall be yoked (the swiftest (steeds) from the good dwelling place of good thinking'. RV VII 60.3a (≈ I 115.4c) *āyukta sapta haritaḥ sadhāsthāt* 'He yoked his seven steeds from (out of) their abode' clearly suggests that *hušitōis* is abl. like *sadhāsthāt*. Thus, *hušiti-* is employed as a simple noun here (not possessive), as in 29.10b. Similar usage often in RV.: cf. II 35.15a *ziyāṇsum agne sukṣitiṃ jānāyu* 'Agni, I offered a good dwelling place to the folk', etc. Note also that *hušiti-* is simply 'good understanding' in 34.14c and 46.4e.

mazdā aśahyācā yōi zazantī vaḥhāu sravahī 'which shall race ahead unto the good fame of the Wise One and of truth'. Because *cā* follows only *aśahyā*, it is impossible to connect *mazdā aśahyācā* with the preceding *vaḥhōis manayhō*; cf. 31.21 *haurvatō* etc. Thus, *mazdā aśahyācā* are dependent upon the following *vaḥhāu sravahī*, and they have been preposed before the rel. pron. to avoid breaking this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For disc., cf. 28.1 *vaḥhōis xraūm manayhō*. In the RV. *śrāvas-* also often appears with dependent gen.: cf. V 18.5cd *dymnād agne māhi śrāvo, bhāt kṛdhi maghōnām* 'Agni, make the fame of the liberal ones to be brilliant, great and lofty'; VIII 15.8ab *tāva ... pṛthivī vardhati śrāvah* 'The earth increases thy fame'; etc.

zā with loc. is 'surpass in, race ahead unto'. Similar usage of related Ved. *hā* in RV. I 169.2cd *marūtām pṛtsutir hāsamānā ... pradhānasya sātāu* 'The legion of the Maruts surpassed in the battle for the (good) prize'. Same meaning without loc. also in YH. 41.4 *hanaēmācā zāēmācā mazdā ahurā θwahmi rafānahī daragāyāu* 'May we win and surpass under Thy long-lived rule, Wise Lord'. K. Hoffmann (1968, 284 f.) prefers the translation 'to win a race for'.

In general, it is important to note that *asištā hušitāiš vañhōuš manayhā* 'the swiftest steeds of good thinking's dwelling place' is a metaphor for the faithful members of the true community. They are also called *ašahyā važdrāng gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' in 46.4ab *aṭ tāng drəgvā yāng ašahyā važdrāng pāṭ gā frārətāiš* 'the Deceitful One has prevented the draft oxen of truth from arising'. That passage and 30.10 here are directly related: the forces of deceit have restrained the forces of truth (46.4); but if deceit is destroyed, the truthful shall spread out to increase the good fame of their Lord (30.10). Likewise, the root *yuj* is employed metaphorically in 49.9d *ašā yuxtā* 'those yoked with truth' and in 50.7ac *aṭ vā yaojā zəvīštyāng aurvatā ... ašā ugrāng volū manayhā* 'I shall yoke for you the swiftest steeds, strong with truth and good thinking', both times referring again to the faithful with their characteristic attributes of *ašəm* and *volū manā*. Note also the metaphor *gāuš vərəzāna-* in 34.14b *vañhōuš šyaθanā manayhā yōi zī gāuš vərəzānē azγā* 'who, through their action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow', where again it refers to the truthful and the cow stands for the way of good thinking and truth.

In another direction, the faithful are called *urvarā* 'plants' in 48.6c *aṭ ahγāi ... mazdā urvarā vaxšat* 'and the Wise One shall increase the plants for her', where 'her' once more refers to the good vision in the guise of the cow. Similarly, *apuscā urvarāscā* 'waters and plants' describe the faithful in 51.7a *yā gəm tašō apuscā urvarāscā* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow as well as the waters and the plants', with *gəm* appearing in its usual allegorical sense.

30.11. *hγat tā urvātā sašathā yā mazdā dadāt* 'When ye learn those commandments which the Wise One has posed ...'. Cf. Y. 55.6 *yā dātā aṭhōuš paouruvehγā ... *sixšənuu sācaγanna dadrāna ...* 'the laws of the foremost existence which are to be learned and taught, upheld ...', with cognates of *sašathā* employed in similar context. Note also that the use of *tā urvātā sašathā* corresponds to *tā vaxšγā* 'I shall speak of those things' (= teach) appearing in 30.1a above and also to 31.1a *tā vā urvātā marəntō ... vacū sənghāmahi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach those words ...' in the beginning of the next hymn.

Despite H.-P. Schmidt's careful study (1958) of Ved. *vratā-* and Av. *urvātā-*, I cannot accept his attempt to explain these related words as 'vow'. Rather, I find the meaning 'commandment' given by Grassmann

(1873) et al. a far more appropriate designation for these words, particularly in view of its juxtaposition in the RV. with *śruṣṭi-* 'obedience'. Here it can only be a question of obeying the commandments of a god. E.g. RV. I 69.7ab *nākiṣ ja etā vratā niṁanti, nībhyo yād ebhyāḥ śruṣṭim cakārtha* 'No one infringes these commandments of thine, since thou hast demanded obedience from these men': II 38.2 *viśvasya hi śruṣṭāye devā ūrdhvāḥ, prā bhāvā pṛthūpāṇi sisarti āpaś cid aṣya vratā ā niṁgrā, ctyāṁ cid vāto ranate pariṣvan* 'To have the obedience of everyone, the lofty, broad-palmed god stretches forth his arms. At his command even the waters become tranquil, even the wind stops on its circuit'.

This same question of obedience to a commandment is also expressed in a different aspect by the freq. *vratāṁ sac* 'to follow a commandment', which also alternates with *śāsur sac* 'to follow an order': VII 5.4ab *tāva ... vratām eigne sacanta* 'They have followed thy commandment, Agni' and I 60.2a *śāsur ubhāvāsaḥ sacante* 'Both follow his order', etc. Here again the emphasis lies in the direction of obeying an injunction originating from a god rather than the avowal on the part of men (or priests) to establish a relationship with a god. Similarly, too, for those other verbs which designate more or less a comparable idea: *ānu i, gam, car* 'to follow', *ūpa kṣi* 'abide by', *ā dā* 'accept', etc. The concept of commandment (command) is too strikingly marked in the RV. to be denied.

For the post-Rigv. usage of *vratā-*, one must acknowledge that the various religious precepts and rules are likewise commandments pertaining to the religious sphere, and that the typical usage of *vratām ūpa i* or *vratāṁ car* has the definite signification of 'approach, undertake a religious rule' or 'practice a religious rule'. Once religious life had become organized by standardized and required practices, these rules governing religious behavior were as much commandments and injunctions for the good Aryan as those issuing from his kingly leader. In these terms, *ānuvrata-* is much more 'dutiful, obedient' than it is 'faithful'.

For the Gāthās the same conceptual framework behind the Rigv. use of *vratā-* is also present for *uvrāta-*. AhM. after all is a ruler (*xšayō, xšayās*), and in this capacity he certainly instructs or commands: 48.3b *yam (sāsnam) hudā sāsī ašā ahurō*, 45.6c *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsī vahistā*. And it is the duty of the faithful to know what the command of the lord is, as well as to follow and heed it (cf. important remarks at 48.3). Thus, there are the related statements in the same Gāthā

of 31.3b *hyaṭ urvatəm cazdōnjhavadəbyō taṭ nō mazdā vidvanōi vaocā* 'Speak, Wise One, in order for us to know what is the commandment for Thy adherents' and 31.1a *tā vō urvātā marəntō* 'Heeding these commandments of yours ...'. In both instances the *urvata-* issues from god, as is expected. Similarly, it is understandable that the separation of the truthful from the deceitful lies in the adherence to the commands of AhM., a question also touched upon in Y. 31: cf. 31.18a **naēcīs* (Mss. *mā.cīs*) *aṭ vō drəgvatō maθraqscā gūštā sāsuāscā* 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened to your precepts and orders (instructions)' contrasting with 31.19a *gūštā yō mantā ašəm* 'He has listened, who has respected the truth'. Therefore the deceitful are characterized to have hatred for AhM.'s commandments (34.8b *θwalyā mazdā qštā urvātahyā*) and to follow the contrary commandments of deceit (31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drūjō*). Cf. Addenda to 28.1.

Finally, it appears that if we have the relationship of *dāθa-* 'just' to *dāta-* 'law', then *urvaθa-* is best translated as 'ally' in view of *urvāta-* 'commandment'.

x'itīcā ənəitī hyaṭcā 'both a way of easy access and one without access, as well as ...'. Cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyaṭcā*.

darəgām drəgvō.dəbyō rašō savacā ašavabyō 'long destruction for the deceitful but salvation for the truthful'. *cā* is adversative here; cf. above 30.7 *ahmāicā*.

aṭ aipī tāiš aṅhaiti 'then one shall abide by these (commandments)'. *aipī ah* with instr. is the equiv. of Ved. *āpi as* 'to abide in' with loc. Cf. RV. VIII 44.24c *syāma te sunatāv āpi* 'May we abide in thy benevolence'. X 71.6ab *yās tityāja ... sākhyayai, nā tāsyā vācy āpi bhāgō asti* 'Good fortune does not abide in the speech of the person who has abandoned his comrade', etc. Similar usage without *aipī* also in the Gāthās at 49.7c *kō x'aētus dātāiš aṅhaṭ* 'Which family shall abide by Thy laws?' The suppletive caus. is found in 31.17b *uā əvidvā aipī dābāvayaṭ* (orig. **bāvayaṭ*) 'Let not the unknowing one participate'. In general, *aipī urvātāiš ah* corresponds to Ved. *vratām ūpa kṣi*: cf. RV. III 59.3c *ādityāsya vratām upakṣiyāntaḥ* 'abiding in the commandment of the Āditya'.

uštā 'Wish it so!' Interpretation as impv. seems fully defensible in the Gāthās. Later usage as 'hail' can simply be a reassessment of the term as a benediction. History of the word is thus parallel to Indic *hānta*, also originally an impv. form (cf. Thieme 1938, 2 f.).

Yasna 31

The theme of this Gāthā focuses upon the precepts of the Wise Lord (1-3, 5-6, 18-21) and the benefits which they can bring to this debased earthly existence if they are brought to realization by mankind in its world. To justify the need for mankind to obey these commandments of the Wise One, Zarathustra searches into the essence and character of his true lord and of the moral principles which he created that compelled him to then offer these as a means of salvation for this life (7-13). Again the prophet inquires of his god how these lordly values shall be brought to life on earth (14, 16, 22) and how the deceitful shall be punished for their hindrance of the institution of truth and good thinking in this world (15, 18, 20).

The beginning of this lyric is of extremely complex structure in that the first 6 verses are alternately addressed first to the immortal forces (1, 3, 5), then to the adherents of the prophet (2, 4, 6), with each of the statements provoking a corresponding affirmation directed to the complementary sides of the forces of truth and good thinking represented by god and man. Similarly, the first part of verse 7 is addressed to men, the last part to the lord, again motivated by the mutual cooperation required by both god and man for each to survive.

Establishing the inherent antithesis between the destructive powers of deceit and the creative capacity of truth in verse 1, Zarathustra immediately seizes upon the notion of the precepts and commandments of the Wise Lord and affirms to his god that those men in this world who are allied with truth obey and propagate the true words of the Wise One, because it is through the enactment of the lord's teachings that good shall arise again in this existence. Turning now to his followers in verse 2, the prophet assures them that he shall move them in a compelling way to bring about the good in their lives even if their understanding of its power is not immediately comprehended from the precepts of their lord. This provides the transition to verse 3, in which Zarathustra asks his master to reveal the final nature of the reward or punishment for mankind, for it is perhaps through the fear of damnation that the prophet must convince these mortals, in a coercive fashion, to turn to the cause of virtue.

Verse 4 then assures the adherents that the Wise One and his enduring moral forces shall rally to this cause of virtue, whereby the

power of deceit shall be destroyed on earth. After promising this participation of god in the defeat of evil, Zarathustra needs to ask of his god in the following verse how he indeed shall offer help to his prophet. This requirement of god's intercession to preserve the existence of man moves into the profound statement addressed to the adherents in verse 6: Man also must intercede to preserve the existence of god, for the power of god derives its strength from the enactment of his essence and principles in the world of man. This message is so important that it is presented as a precept of the lord.

Verse 7 then paraphrases this fundamental notion in a decisive way. To bring happiness and the good to mankind, the Wise Lord was moved by his benevolent spirit to create truth and good thinking. Yet for the lord to grow in his rightful power, mankind must also be moved by the same spirit founded upon truth and good thinking. The destiny of the world of man and the destiny of the world of god are thus linked in this cooperative function.

The remainder of this hymn is addressed to the Wise Lord. First, Zarathustra announces his own personal vision of the nature of the Wise One. He is the first and the last because he is ever creative in spirit, and his creativity wrought the godly principles of truth and good thinking (8). He created piety to give dignity to his rule, the virtuous spirit to move him in a benevolent way. And through this benevolence he created the rule of good thinking and truth for mankind, while also fashioning the truthful man who can promote this blessing in his own world (9-10). He granted men the full dimension of freedom and understanding so that each person can make his individual choice with regard to good and evil (11-12). He is all-knowing and just, and possesses powers to dispose as his just nature sees fit (13).

This embracing portrait of god by his prophet is intended to disclose to the Wise One that his chief supporter truly understands the depth and breadth of his lord's nature and that he is therefore fit to know the ultimate truths about which he then inquires in the following verses 14-17. These concern the events of the future: Will deceit be defeated, and what punishment shall there be for the deceitful? Who shall bring about the furtherance of truth, and how shall the truthful be rewarded?

The final verses return to the question of the precepts of the lord. Verse 18 affirms that the deceitful have taken no heed of the Wise One's precepts, since they have continued to destroy the world. By contrast, in verse 19 Zarathustra solemnly asserts that he has indeed

been mindful of these truths in his self-envisioned role as healer of the world. In proof of this he cites directly in verses 20-21 from those words of his god which contain the fundamental doctrines of existence in its highest form: The deceitful await damnation but the truthful heaven and salvation, for the truthful man is of the same essence as his true and virtuous god. The last verse again affirms to the Wise Lord that these teachings are the inspiration for any man who has chosen to serve the good cause of man and god with truth and good thinking.

31.1. *tā vā urvātā marəutō aguštā vacā sənghāmahi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach those words (gone) unheard ...'. *aguštā* is intentional contrast to *marəutō*, just as 31.18a **naēciš* (Mss. *mā.ciš*) *uṣ vā drəgvatō naθrəscā gūštā sāsnāscā* is careful antithesis to the whole phrase *tā vā urvātā marəutō*. On *urvātā*, cf. 30.11.

sənghāmahi. The root *sauh* is employed in 3 senses in the Gāthās. (1) 'declare or announce'. Cf. 44.1bc *yaθā nənā ... θwāvəq sahyāṣ navaihē* 'Someone like Thee should declare to me how reverence is to be ...' and 43.6dc *aēihyō ratūš sənghaiti ārmaitiθ θwalyā xrətōuš* 'To them piety announces the judgments of Thy will'. Same usage also for the inf. *sazdyāi* and *sasti* discussed at 30.2 *ahuiāi (nā) sazdyāi* etc. This employment corresponds to *səngha-* 'word' when used in unmarked association with *šyaθana-* 'deed', e.g. 31.11c *šyaθanācā sənghəscā*, 51.14b *xāiš šyaθanāišcā sənghāišcā*; also *sax'ar/n-* 'word' (cf. 29.4).

(2) 'teach'. Here the meaning is most easily perceived in the singular use of *sənghu-*. Cf. 44.14c *θwalyā naθrāiš sənghahyā* 'according to the precepts of Thy teaching', 48.12bc *xšnəm* (orig. **xšnəm*) ... *θwalyā sənghahyā* 'the understanding of Thy teaching', 43.14d *sarədanū sənghahyā* 'the opponents of Thy teaching'. Also in plural in 48.3c *yaēciṣ gūzrā sənghāyhō* 'even the secret teachings', 46.3c *vərəzdūiš sənghāiš saōšyantqu xrətavō* 'the intentions of the saviors are in harmony with Thy mature teachings', etc. For verbal forms in this meaning, I find besides 31.1 here the use of *sənghāni* at 46.17ac *yaθrā vā ašmāni sənghāni ... vahmāng* 'where I shall teach to you in verse the glories ...', where the situation also describes the instruction of the faithful into the true doctrines. Same use also for *sqstra-* 46.3; *duš.sasti-* 32.9, 45.1, both times referring to *augrō mainyuš*.

(3) technical sense 'decree' (legally). Clearly in 32.7b *yā* (= *aēnā*) *jōyā* (**jivyā*) *sənghaitē* 'which sins are decreed to be capital', where employed next to legal terms *aoj* 'accuse', *sru* 'try', etc. Similarly, in 44.9cd, where it is a question of a ruler decreeing an institute throughout

his realm : *yqm ... paitišə saliyāi xšaθrahyā ərašvā xšaθrā* 'which the master of a realm would decree by reason of his lofty rule'. Finally, legal sense is attested also in *sənghuš-* 'decree' 34.7, which appears besides similar legal term *raēxənah-* 'legacy' (cf. 32.11 *apayeiṭi raēxənahyō vaēdəm*).

gaēθā- is simply 'living creature' and corresponds to *gaya-* 'life' in the same way as *ahvā-* 'being' 51.9 corresponds to *ahu-* 'existence, world'. With the latter, we also have *yōi hanti* 'those who exist' 44.16, 45.6, 51.10, whose gen. is always *hātqm* 44.10 (restored also at 32.6), never **aēsqm yōi hanti*. Note also 29.3 *avaēsqm hātqm* 'of you beings', referring to men on earth. The fig. *aśahyā gaēθā* is discussed at 44.15.

The juxtaposition of *urvātā marəntō* 'heeding your commandments' and *vacā sənghāmahi ... vahistā* 'we teach the best words' reappears in 48.3 as the prime directive for the man who will accept the good form of existence. Cf. latter passage for disc.

31.2. *yezī āiš nōiṭ urvānē *advā* (Mss. *advā*) *aibi.dərəštā valiyā* 'If the better course for the soul has not been seen through these (words) ...'. The attested reading *advā* as nom. sg. of *advan-*, besides acc. *advānam* 34.13, 44.3. does not show influence of *pautā* 'path', but has been changed in the course of the transmission of the text from **advā* under the effects of adjacent *valiyā, aṭ vā* (particularly), *mazdā ayā qsayā*; cf. introd. p. 6. The form **advā* should be restored in this passage.

Here *aibi.dərəštā* is 3sg. medio-pass. aor. of *dṛs*. Besides the regular pass. forms in *-i*, viz. *cəviši* (**cōiši*) 'was promised' 51.15, *vāci* 'was said' 43.13, *srāvi* 'was heard' 32.7,8, 45.10, 53.1, the following *-tā* forms are employed passively: *fiqštā* 'was attained' 43.14, *acistā* (**ācistā*) 'has shown himself' 51.11, *cəvištā* (**cōištā*) 'was promised' 34.13, *dātā* 'was granted, established' 31.5, 33.8, 34.2,14 (on ablaut, cf. 29.5 *hyat mazdqm dvidi*).

aṭ vā vispəng āyōi yaθā ratīm ahurō vaēdā 'then let me lead all of you in which way the Wise Lord knows to exist that judgment ...'. *āyōi* requires *aθā* or *iθā* as correlative to following *yaθā*. Similar syntax in 31.14ac *pərəsā ... yaθā tā ayhəu*, 44.1bc *yaθā nəmā ... saliyāi*, 44.18de *apivaiṭi ... yaθā hi taihyō dāyhā*, all with suppression of correlative *aθā* or *iθā*. The acc. *ratīm* in 31.2b here probably requires an inf. *stōi*.

āyōi is inf. to *ā i* and is to be read as **ā.iyōi*, exactly as the inf. *āitē* in 31.9 below metrically requires **ā.itē*. Its employment is clearly jussive, parallel to **arōi* in 50.5a **arōi ... mazdā* 'Let wisdom come (or

arise)'. and its ca. us. value 'lead' the only possible interpretation. Connections with *yā* 'entreat' are excluded, since this root does not appear with the preverb *ā*: cf. *yāsā* 28.1.8, 49.8 etc., *yāsaŋ* 32.1, *yāsqs* 49.12.

ayā asayā 'between the two lots, alternatives'. *asa-* is cognate with Ved. *āṅśa-* 'portion' and the Av. word is used in the sense 'alternative, possibility'.

31.3. *yam ... cōis rānōibyā xsuūtəm* 'which satisfaction Thou hast promised to both factions'. *xsuūt-*, from the root *xśnu* 'satisfy' (cf. 28.1 *xśnāvisā*), is 'satisfaction' in the legalistic sense. Cf. Oxf. Eng. Dict. IX, 121 sub satisfaction 1.1: 'The payment in full of a debt, or the fulfilment of an obligation or claim ... the pecuniary or other gift or penalty, or the act, by which a debt or obligation is discharged or an offense atoned for'. This is exactly the sense in which *xsuūt-* appears in the Gāthās. In general, almost all words pertaining to the final judgment are taken from the legal vocabulary: cf. 30.2 *yāh-*.

yā jvauō vīspāug vārayā 'by which I might convert all the living'. On *vārayā*, cf. 28.5 *vāurōnuaidi*.

31.4. *yadā aśəm zəvīm aghəm nazdāscā almrāghō* 'When I might summon truth, (then) the Wise One and the other lords shall appear'. According to 50.9cd *yadā ... xśayā, aŋ ... hīyāu* 'when I might have control, then I would be ...' and 30.8ab *yadā ... jamaiti, aŋ ... vōi.vīdaitē* 'when it will come, then it shall be on hand', it appears clear that 31.4a here is shortened from *yadā aśəm zəvīm, (aŋ) aghəm ...*, and that *zəvīm* must represent a modal verbal form. Thus, the metrically necessary restitution **zəvīyəm* represents the old 1sg. med. aor. opt. **zuvīya*, which has attracted the final *-m* of *aśəm* in the course of the recitation of the Gāthās. For a similar mistake, cf. 33.5b *darəgō.jyāitīm ā xśaθrəm* and introd. p. 7. The aor. form is thus comparable to 1sg. **diyā* 29.8, and the fig. **aśəm *zuvīya* of the Urtext recalls 43.10a *aśəm hyaŋ mā zaozəomī*, 51.10c *maihyō zəyā aśəm* (partially incorrect, SI, 1965, 19). A proper orthographic representation of **zuvīyā* in the Mss. should be **zūyā* (cf. *jūya-* from **jīvyā-*) or **zəvyā*.

vahīštā išasā (orig. **išā*) *manayhā* 'I shall seek through the very best thinking'. For meaning and orthography, cf. 30.1 *išantō*. Cf. also 50.2 *kaθā ... gəm išasōiŋ*, where this phrase is discussed.

31.5. *hyaŋ mōi aśā dātā vohyō* 'what very good thing has been created for me by truth'. *dātā* is 3sg. med. aor. used passively. On the necessary full-grade restoration of *dā-*, cf. 29.8 **dīyā*. Cf. also 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā* above.

31.6. *ahmāi aṅhaṭ vahīštəm yā mōi vidvā vaocāḥ* 'The best shall be for him, the knowing one who shall tell to me ...'. The referent of *ahmāi* and *yā* is impersonal, not AhM., since it is one of the prime duties of the faithful to realize that their piety and good actions give life to god, the notion contained in the *maqθra* appearing in line c. This impersonal usage is quite common, and the nearest parallels appear in 46.18ab *yā maibyā yaoš ahmāi ascīḥ vahīštā ... cōišəm* 'Who (has given) life to me, to him I have promised the very best things' and 46.19ac *yā mōi ... varəšaiti ... ahmāi miždam* 'Who shall bring to realization for me ..., for him shall there be a prize'.

haiθim maθram yim haurvatātō ašahyā aməratātascā 'the real precept concerning the truth of (His = AhM.) completeness and immortality'. The following *maqθra* pertains to AhM., and therefore the current line concerns the truth about AhM.'s completeness and immortality, not the completeness and immortality of truth, a subject never touched upon in the text. On *maqθra*-, cf. 29.7 The word *maqθra*- etc.

mazdāi avaḥ xšaθram hyaḥ hōi volū vaxšaḥ manayhā 'Such is the rule for the Wise One that one shall increase it for Him through good thinking'. Possible also: 'Rule for the Wise One is (only) as great as one shall ...'. This line is surely the *maqθra* mentioned, for it contains one of the fundamental precepts for the faithful. For parallels and disc., cf. 47.1 *spəntā mainyū* etc.

31.7. *raocəbiš rōiθwəu x'āθrā* 'Let them be joined with happiness throughout their days'. Direct quote dependent upon preceding *manā*. On *raocəbiš* 'throughout the days', cf. 30.7 *ayaṅhā ādānāis* (also SI. 1970, 187 ff.). *rōiθwəu* is typical usage of jussive inf.; cf. also *āyōi* in 31.2 above, *uxšyō* below, and list given at 34.3. Syntax of *rōiθwəu x'āθrā* follows *tā ... mainyū uxšyō* 'through this very spirit Thou art to grow' in line c.

hvō xraθwā dəmīš ašəm yā dārayaḥ vahīštəm manō 'He created truth with this intention, with which (intention) He has (also) upheld the very best thinking'. Idea follows naturally upon the preceding statement: once AhM. decided to bring enduring happiness to the world, he created truth and good thinking to make this possible. Thus, *yā* must resume *xraθwā*, which is varied with *tā ... mainyū* in the final line. On this syntactic type, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc.

tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō 'through this very spirit Thou art to grow, Wise One'. Intention is: through the same effort of truth and good thinking on the part of the faithful man, AhM. will grow in strength.

Thus, a paraphrase of the preceding *mąθra* 31.6c *mazdāi avay xšaθrəm hyaī hōi vohū va.xšaī manayhā*.

ā nūrēnciī 'up to now indeed'. Same use of *ā* with acc. in 46.8d *tanvēm ā* 'up to his body (person)'.
 31.8. *paourvīnt ... yazūm stōi* '... the first one to be (ever) young'. Intentional juxtaposition of *paourvya-* and *yazu-* meant to express not only the immortality of god but also his constant creative powers.

vayhāuš ptarēm manayhō hyaī θwā hām cašmainī grabəm 'when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the Father of good thinking ...'. *vayhāuš ptarēm manayhō* belongs within the rel. clause, but has been preposed in order not to break this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For parallels, cf. 28.1 *vayhāuš xratūm manayhō*. Generally, this whole verse is a paraphrase of the preceding vs. 31.7.

31.9. *θwā ā gāuš tašā *aš.xratuš* (Mss. *as xratuš*) *mainyuš* (Jp₁, Mf₁₋₂, Pt₁, etc.) 'Thine was the fashioner of the cow, the spirit of great determination'. In view of Yt. 10.141 *hayanəm asti aš.xraθwastəmō*, it is preferable to restore **aš.xratuš*, agreeing with *mainyuš*, in place of accepted reading *as xratuš* (note *aš* in L₁, Bb₁). Reading has been influenced by *as* in the preceding parallel phrase *θwōi as ārmaitiš*; for disc. and parallels, cf. introd. p. 8. The var. *mainyuš* is also better since the *spəntō mainyuš* is the *gāuš tašā*, and both terms are merely set in apposition with one another.

vāstryāī vā āitē (metr. **ā.itē*) *yā vā nōiī aṇhaī vāstryō* 'Either to go (to him who) shall act as pastor or (to him) who shall not be pastor'. The form *vāstryōī* is 3sg. subj. of denom. **vāstryaiti* (cf. *vāstryaēta* Vd. 14.17, etc.) and thus is antithesis to flg. *yā nōiī aṇhaī vāstryā*. Latter phrase is necessary because negative denom. **avāstryaiti* is impossible. Thus, *yā* has been omitted in the beginning of the first phrase, a feature also occurring in 31.13b below, where *yā vā kasāuš aēnayhō ā mazīstəm yamaitē būjīm* stands for *yā vā ... *yā vā ā ... yamaitē ...* Likewise in 48.4a *yā dāī manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā*, which derives from underlying **yā dāī manō vahyō mazdā yascā ašyō*. Similarly, *ahmāi* is suppressed in both clauses (indirect obj. of *āitē*), but this omission of the demon. pron. is a common feature. Cf. below 31.15a *yā maēniš (ahmāi) yā ... hunāiī*, 31.21ac *dadāī ... vazdvarā (ahmāi) yā hōi ... urvaθō*, etc.

This type of abbreviated style of discourse also reoccurs at 46.6a *aī yastēm nōiī nā isəmnō āyāī*, again representing **aī yastēm nōiī nā isəmnō ādrītā yā ahmāi āyāī* 'But the able man who would not receive that person who shall come to him ...'. Also 51.12b *hyaī ahmi urūraost*

aštō, which stands for **hyaṭ tām ahmī urūraost yē aštō* 'when he rebuffed him who had arrived at that spot'.

31.10. *fšānghiya-* (also 49.9) I translate as 'cultivator', following Bailey's suggestion (1934, 275 f.) that the word belongs with Mid. Pers. *fšah*, *fšeh* 'farmer'. This is reasonable in view of the agricultural vocabulary chosen by Zarathustra to speak in metaphoric terms of his ideas; cf. 30.2 *yāh-*.

nōiṭ ... avāstryō davqscinā humərətōiš baxštā 'Never did the non-pastor have a share in the friendship of her who requires good attention'. Related to 29.9b *hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō* 'there should always be cow-caring zeal by a pastor'. I connect *davqscinā* (for **duvqscinā*; cf. 28.11 *bavaṭ*) with Ved. *dīvas-* 'friendship', *duvasyāti* 'befriends'. Thus the notion *davqscinā ... baxštā* close to Ved. idea in RV. III 33.12b *ābhakta vipraḥ sumatiṃ nadīnām* 'The poet has shared the benevolence of the rivers'.

The root *mar* 'remember' has the connotation 'heed, be attentive to' in the Gāthās. Cf. above 31.1a *urvatā marəntō*, 43.14e *yōi tōi maθrā marənti* 'who are attentive to (heed) Thy precepts', 29.4a *mazdā sax'ārē mairištō* 'The Wise One is the first to heed His words (agreements)'. Thus, I interpret *humərətī-* as 'needing good attention', and this recalls *gaodāyō* of 29.2 cited above. The good vision requires an effort on the part of the truthful man: cf. below 31.22a *ciθrā ī hudāyḥē yaθənā vaēdəmnāi manayḥā* 'These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking' and 50.2ab *kaθā mazdā rānyō.skəvəitīm gəm išasōiṭ, yē him ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ* 'How, Wise One, should that person seek after the joy-bringing cow (= the good vision), namely, the one who would wish her to bring pasturage (= peace) to him?'. Therefore, it is natural that the deceitful man who has rejected the ways of truth and good thinking should have no interest in expending the required attention to the cow.

31.11. *hyaṭ astvantəm dadā uštanəm* 'since Thou didst create body and breath'. On asyndetic *astvantəm ... uštanəm*, cf. 30.7 *kəhrpəm ... qnmā*.

yaθrā varənəng vasā dāyētē 'whereby a person with volition expresses his preferences'. I follow Bthlm. (1904, 1383) in taking *vasā* as nom. sg. of adj. *vasah-*, for the idea intended is surely that when a man is free to do so, he shows certain definite preferences. Thus, *vasā* corresponds to the common idiom *vasē xsā* 'to rule at will, have free reign

over', and the implication arising from the next verse, and in fact from this whole Gāthā, is that the truthful man makes the correct decisions. Cf. same notion in 50.9cd *yadā ašōiš mahiyā vasō xšayā, aṭ hudānaoš ... garazdā hīām* 'If I could have free reign over my reward, then I would be in the stride of the blessed one (= truth)'.
dāyētē is difficult, but may represent orig. **dayetē* (with influence of *dāyāṭ* etc.). In that case I would derive it from *dī* 'view, consider' (cf. *daidyāṭ* for **didyaṭ* 44.10), with the pair perf. *diḍaya* Y. 62.8 (sec. pres. **diḍaēti*) and pres. **dayatē* parallel to Ved. *bibhāya* (sec. pres. *bibheti*) and *bhāyate* (cf. SI. 1971, 583 f.). As for the meaning 'express' besides 'view', note that the root *caś*, like Ved. *khyā*, means both 'see' and 'relate'. Cf. N. 17 *yō *azrazdāi *maqθrām cašte* 'who relates the precept to the unfaithful man ...'.

31.12. *ānuš.haxš ārmaitiš mainyū pārāsaitē yaθrā maēθā* 'In due course piety shall come to terms with one's spirit where there has been opposition'. *ārmaitiš* 'piety' and *maēθā* 'opposition' are in deliberate contrast here: cf. 30.9 *cistiš maēθā* for disc. Owing to the preceding adverb *ānuš.haxš* (= Ved. *ānuśāk* 'in turn'), the subj. *pārāsaitē* (K₄, Mf₂, etc.) is the preferable reading. Cf. RV. IV 4.10d *yās ta āritihyām ānuśāg jūjoṣat*. X 176.2c *havyē no vakṣad ānuśāk*, etc., where *ānuśāk* occurs with subj. verb form.

31.13. *yā frasā āvišyā yā vā ... pārāsaitē tayā* 'which deliberation is open, or which is deliberated in secret'. In view of *frasāhyō* 29.5, *fārasām* (*-qm) 43.9, etc., *frasā* must be nom. sg. of the stem *frasā-* 'question' (so, HH. 1952a, 26). Consequently, *yā vā ...* of the second clause must be fully parallel to the preceding *yā āvišyā frasā* and therefore nom. sg. as well. Thus *pārāsaitē* (K₅, H₁) is the correct reading. Syntax simply same as 45.1b *yaēcā asuāṭ yaēcā dūrāṭ iśaθā* 'both ye who seek from near and ye who from afar', 48.4a *yā dāṭ manō vahyō ... ašyascā* 'who has set his mind on the good and (who) on the bad', etc. Similarly, 31.17a below *ašavā vā dragvā vā vārvanvaitē mazyō* 'Does the truthful man or the deceitful one turn to what is more important?'.
tayā (for **tāyā*) coming at the end of the line is most likely adverbial 'in secret'. Such adverbial qualifications usually appear in this metrical position: *vyānavā* 29.6, *sāsuayā* 29.7, *yezi tāiš aθā* 32.6a, *vispāng ... spašyā dvaēšajhā* 44.11c, etc.

yā vā kasāuš aēnayhō ā mazištqm yamaitē būjīm 'either the one who is guilty of a small offense, (or the one who) shall receive a very great punishment'. Hinz (1960, 85 f.) is correct in requiring a contrast of

subjects in this line, as in the preceding one. Line is thus reduced from expected **yā vā kasāuš aēnāyhō yā vā ā mazištqm yamaitē būjim*. For disc. and syntactic parallels, cf. above 31.9 *vāstryāt vā* etc.

The gen. *kasāuš aēnāyhō* (sc. *astī*) is the regular way to express the notion 'to be guilty of'. Cf. 32.7a *aēšqm aēnāyhqm nuēcīṭ vīdvā aojōi* 'a knowing man is never accused (to be guilty) of these sins' and 32.8c *aēšqmcīṭ ā ahmī* 'if I am indeed guilty of these (sins) ...'.

cašmāng θwisrā hārō 'regarding with clarity of vision' corresponds to the notion 30.2a *avaēnatā sūcā mauahā* 'Reflect with a clear mind'.

abī ašā vaēnāhi vīspā corresponds to the Ved. type RV. VII 61.1c *abhi yō vīšvā bhūvanāni cāstṛe* 'who looks upon all creatures', said of the sun in its function as the eye of Varuṇa.

31.14. On the sequence in verses 14-16 of *pārasā ... pārasā avaṭ ... pārasā avaṭ ...*, cf. 29.10 *avaṭ*. The form *āiti* is to be read as **ā.aē(i)ti*; cf. *āyōi* (for **ā.iyōi*) in vs. 2 above, *āitē* (for **ā.itē*) in vs. 9 above.

yā išudō dadāntē dāθrauqm hacā ašāunō is literally 'which claims among the payments shall be taken from the truthful'. Bthlm. (1904. 375) was certainly right in defining *išud-* as 'Schuldforderung', although I prefer 'claim, due', which can be applied to the denom. *išūidyaiti* 'pay or give due (to someone)'. Cf. YH. 39.4 *aθā θwā āiš yazamaidē aθā nāmaliyāmahī aθā išūidyāmahī θwā mazdā ahurā* 'In exactly this way we worship Thee with these goods, we reverence Thee, we give Thee Thy due. Wise Lord'. Same meaning also valid in RV. for *išudhyāti*: cf. V 50.1abc *vīšvo devāsya uetūr, mārto virita sakhyaṃ | vīšva rāyā išudhyati* 'Each mortal should choose the comradeship of the god who is leader. Each pays (him) his due for the purpose of wealth'. Note that RV. V 41.6c has *išudhyāva ṛtasāpah* 'giving one's due and serving with truth' in coordination; these terms almost define each other. In general, we can say that *išudam* with med. *dā* 'to take as a claim' is merely the complementary expression to the common notion *xšnūtəm* with act. *dā* 'to give one's satisfaction'. Both are certainly legal terms.

yaθā tā aṅhān hāukarātā hyaṭ 'how they shall appear when their readiness (is at hand)'. *hāukarātā* is clearly related to Ved. *sāṃskṛ* 'to prepare, make ready', and the best solution is to take the form as a syncope from **hāukarātātā*, thus directly comparable to the freq. *amāratāt-* often syncopated from *amāratātāt-*. Cf. also **hām.us.tō* 46.4 < **ham.us.tatō*.

31.15. Verse 15 is antithesis to verse 16.

drəgvāitē ... duš.šyaoθanāi 'for the deceitful one of evil actions' must refer to *angrō mainyuš*, whose rule here (*xšaθrəm*) is contrasted with the rule of truth (*xšaθrəm ... ašā*) in the flg. vs. In general, Zarathustra refers to the evil spirit by his true name only when describing cosmological events (cf. 30.3,5, 45.2), but otherwise refers to him by appropriate epithets when discussing his effects or possible effects in the world at the current time or in the future. Most common epithet is *drəgvant-* appearing at 32.14b, 33.2a (contrast *ahuraityā mazdā*), 43.8b (contr. *ašaouē. vasasə.xšaθrahyā* = AhM.), 45.1de *duš.sastiš ... drəgvā*, 46.4a (contr. *ašahyā*), 46.7b (contr. *θvahmāi* [= AhM.] *āθrascā* etc.), 49.9b (contr. *ašā*), 50.3d (contr. *mazdā*), 51.8b (contr. *yā ašəm dādrē* = AhM.), 53.7c. Like *drəgvāitē ... duš.šyaoθanāi* here, note also *duš.sastiš* 32.9a, 45.1de (see above). Finally, *acištəm mantūm* 33.4c also refers to *angrō mainyuš*.

yā nōiṭ jyōtūm huanarə vīnasti vāstryehyā aēnajiḥō pasēnš virāatcā adrujyantō 'who finds no means of living apart from harming the cattle and men of the undeceiving pastor'. Related: 46.7b *hyaṭ mā drəgvā *dādarəšati aēnajiḥē* 'if the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*) shall dare to harm me' and 46.8a *yā vā mōi yā gaēθā dazdē aēnajiḥē* 'who takes it upon himself to harm my creatures'. The flg. *vāstryehyā adrujyantō* is intended to contrast with preceding *drəgvā*.

31.16. *yaθā hvō yā hudānuš dāmanahyā xšaθrəm ... ašā fradaθāi aspərəzatā*. Since the augment is never used in the Gāthās with a verbal stem beginning with a consonant, *fradaθāi aspərəzatā* should be emended to read **fradaθāi.ā *spərəzatā*. Cf. 30.3 *asrvātəm* for parallel restorations, and cp. the related forms *ahurāi.ā* 29.5, *magāi.ā* 29.11, *x^rarəθāi.ā* 34.11, etc., all altered from orig. **-āyā* by the redactors since this form of the them. dat. was unknown to them. Furthermore, *spərəzatā* cannot be an imperf. (or aor.) verbal form because the rel. clause must contain a subj. parallel to the following *ajhaṭ* of *yadā hvō ajhaṭ*. Therefore I see the necessity of supplying *ajhaṭ* in both phrases *yaθā hvā* and *yā hudānuš*, and of interpreting *spərəzatā* as instr. of an abstr. *spərəzatā*- 'eagerness'; cf. *hānkəratā*- from **hānkəratatā*- in vs. 14 above and *yAv. yesnyatā- vahmyatā- xšnaoθvatā*-, all Yt. 8.50. Also possible *spərəzatā* < **spərəza-tāt-ā*.

Therefore translation is: 'how that person shall be, the blessed one who shall appear with eagerness to prosper the rule of house ... with truth'. Free use of infinitival **fradaθāi.ā* also appears in the related

passage 45.9cd *varəzi nā dyāṭ ahurā pasūš vīrāng ahmākāng fradaθāi.ā* 'May the Lord place us in effectiveness in order to prosper our cattle and men with truth'. To prosper the rule with truth is a paraphrase for the realization of the rule of truth.

31.17. *ašavā vā dragvā vā vərənyaitē mazyō* 'Does the truthful one or the deceitful one turn to what is more important?'. For translation, cf. 28.5 *vānrāimaidī*.

mā əvidvā aipi dābāvayaṭ. Since we have the caus.-iter. *dābayeiṭī* 'deceives' 43.6, it is impossible that *dābāvayaṭ* (metr. **dbāv-*) can belong to the root *dab* 'deceive'. The form simply stands for **bāvayaṭ* and shows the same hypercorrect orthography found in *dəbqzaitī* 44.6, *dəbqzayhā* 47.6, etc.; cf. also *aipi.dbaoya-* Yt. 15.45 and Bthlm. (1895, 178 §302.5). This **aipi bāvayaṭ* is simply the suppletive caus. to *aipi ... aṅhaitī* 'shall abide' discussed at 30.11, and has the sense 'participate', similar to Skt. *amī bhū* 'participate, experience'.

31.18. Verses 18 and 19 contrast with one another.

mā.ciš aṭ vā dragvatō mqrqscā gūštā sāsnaścā. I find the reading *mā.ciš* difficult for two reasons. (1) In the preceding verse the prohibitive *mā əvidvā aipi dābāvayaṭ* correctly contrasts with a preceding impv. *mraotū*, but in vs. 18 here *gūštā* seems only to be a simple past coordinated with the flg. simple past *dāṭ*. (2) Since 18 and 19 are antithetical, I would expect that a statement 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened' would be the proper contrast to the following *gūštā yō mantā ašəm*, also a simple past. For these reasons I emend *mā.ciš* to **naēcīš* and explain *mā* as an intrusion from the preceding verse, perhaps ascribable to the handwork of the redactors. Cf. introd. p. 9.

Thus translate: 'No one belonging to the deceitful faction has listened to your precepts and orders (instructions)'. Idea resumes notion of above 31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drijā ašaliyā gaēθā vīmərəncaitē* 'who, in accord with the commandments of deceit, destroy the creatures of truth', for the enemies of the truthful clearly obey the precepts of deceit rather than those of AhM.

āzi dāmānəm ... dāṭ dūsitācā marakaēcā 'for he has set house ... in strife and destruction'. Contrasts with 29.10b *yā (= xšaθrā) lušəitīs rāmaṃcā dāṭ* 'through which (rule) one shall create peace and tranquility'.

31.19. *gūštā yō mantā ašəm* 'He has listened who has respected the

truth'. The root *man* freq. has the sense 'respect' in the Gāthās. Cf. 33.6b *yā* (= *maziayhā*) *varəzveidyāi mantā vāstiyā* 'with which (thinking) he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties': 51.16ab *taṃ ... naṣat ... yaṃ ciṣṭiṃ ašā mantā* 'he reached this understanding, which he respected in harmony with truth': 43.9de *rātəm namayhā ... manyāi* 'I shall respect the gift of reverence': 46.13c *tām rā ašā māhmaidī huš.haxāim* 'We respected him among you as the good companion of truth'. This meaning of *man* contrasts with *pāri man* 'disrespect', which appears in *pāri.maiti-* in 32.3ab *aṭ yūš daēvā ... sīā ciθram drūjasā pairi.matōišcā* 'But ye *daēvas* are the seed of deceit and disrespect'. Also stated as 34.8c *yōi nōiṭ ašəm mainyanā* 'who have not respected the truth', which is an intended contrast to *yā mantā ašəm* here in 31.19a.

Vedic has exactly the same meanings for *man* and *pāri man*. Cf. RV. VI 30.2a *ādihā manye brhād asuryāni asya* 'I respect his lofty lordiness': X 34.13b *vittē ramaṣva bahū manyamānah* 'Take pleasure in thy possessions, respecting them much': II 12.10b *āmanyamānūn chārīvā jaghāna* 'With his missile he slew those who did not respect him'. On last 2 passages, cf. Lüders (1940, 593 fn 1). *Pāri man* appears in VII 59.3ab *nahī vacš caramānī cautā, vāsiṣṭhah parimāṃsate* 'V. shall never disrespect even the least (important one) of you': VII 93.6c *nū cid dhi parimamūthe asmān* 'Ye two indeed have never disrespected us'.

Moreover, the same contrast between *man* 'respect' and *pāri man* 'disrespect' is also seen in *aog* 'assert' and *pāri aog* 'contradict'. This latter combination clearly with negative value in 43.12h *aṭ iū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairycayzā* 'Moreover, thou hast never contradicted me in disobedience'. Sense follows that of Ved. *pāri vad* 'revile, contradict' in KauṣBr. 6.4 (end) *tasya vratam brāhmaṇam eva na parivaded iti* 'His rule is: One should not contradict a Brahman'.

Since we have *pāri man* and *pāri aog*, we should also expect *pāri vṛz* 'to counteract', and this combination clearly occurs at Vr. 15.1: ... *hvarštanəm šyaoθnanəm varəzāi ... pairi ... dužvarštanəm šyaoθnanəm varəzāi* 'for the realization of well done actions, ... for the counteraction of badly done actions'. This group of roots *man*, *aog* and *vṛz* is thus fully attested with the preverb *pāri* functioning negatively or perjoratively. And this special use of *pāri* is an aid in interpreting the difficult *pāri dā* at 46.1b. Since the flg. lines cd state that neither the community nor the leaders of the lands have satisfied Zarathustra, it is also clear that 46.1b *pāri x^aaētāuš airyamanascā dadaiti* must contain a parallel statement. Thus I translate: 'They exclude me from my family and from my clan', and I see *pāri dā* 'exclude' to be the opposite of med. *dā* 'accept, receive', which is discussed at 29.8 *hvō ... vaštī*.

vayhāu vīdātā raṇayā 'when the distribution in the good shall occur for both factions'. The phrase is loc. abs.; other exx. of this construction appear in the Gāthās at 33.11c *ādāi kahyācīṭ paitī* 'when any requital occurs', 48.4d *θivalunī xratā* 'when Thy will be done', 49.9d *yāhī* 'when the retribution comes', 50.1d *azdā zūtā* 'when my summoning really occurs', 53.7b *būnōi haxtayā* 'while your legs are still on the ground'.

31.20. Verses 20 and 21 are *maqθras*. This is made apparent by the absence of voc. *ahurā mazdā* appearing in the surrounding verses 19 and 22, and also by the context involved. When vs. 19 begins with the statement 'The one who has respected the truth has listened (to your precepts and orders)' and vs. 22 likewise commences with the expression 'These things are clear to the beneficent man', then the precepts and orders (instructions) are precisely the material covered in vss. 20 and 21. Speaker must be envisaged as AhM. himself, but with Zarathustra relating back to his Lord information which had been passed over to him on a previous occasion.

yā āyaṭ ašavanəm 'who shall come to a truthful man'. Here, it seems, we must supply some word such as 'for instruction'. I relate this with the idea of 30.1a *vaxšyā išantō* 'I shall speak to those seeking (to know)', for the phrase in 31.20a seems to express the notion that if a man chooses sides with the truthful, he shall ultimately reach salvation through his right knowledge. Intended to contrast with the false conception (*daēnā*) of the deceitful expressed in the final line.

divanuəm is, with A.-W. (1911, 31), a mistake for orig. **dyumuəm*, the equiv. of Ved. *dyumna-* 'heavenliness'. However, I do not explain the form arising from false vocalization but rather from the replacement of *-nu-* by more common *-nu-* during an earlier redaction of the text, with resulting **dyuvanuəm* written *divanuəm*. Cf. *mainivā* < **mainyivā* and introd. p. 13 ff.

aparəm xšayō 'final possession'. *xšayō* (J₂, K₅) can only be the correct reading, since this word belongs to *xšā* 'possess'. Its formation is founded upon the pres. stem *xšay-a-* in analogy to the type *raoc-ah-*: **raoc-a-iē*, *rād-ah-*: **rād-a-ti*, which accounts for the segmentation *xšay-ah-*. When a root in final *-ā* built an athem. pres., then the related *-ah-* stem appeared as disyllabic *-āh-* (= *-aah-*): e.g. *yāh-*: **yāti* 'requisites' (cf. 30.2), *hudāh-*: **dadāti*, Ved. *bhās-*: *bhāti*, etc.

šyaoθanāiš x'āiš daēnā noēšaṭ '(your) conception together with its corresponding actions shall lead ...'. *šyaoθanāiš x'āiš* is comit. instr. with *daēnā*. Syntax similar to 44.1e *yaθā nā ū volū jinaṭ monayhā* 'so

that it (= truth) shall come to us together with good thinking': 46.10e *frō tāiš vīspāiš cinvatō frā pərətūm* 'I shall cross the Bridge of the Judge together with these'; etc., all usually with a verb of motion.

daēnā constantly stands for **dayanā* in the Gāthās and represents the reworking of Midlr. *dēn* into the redaction of the text. The word signifies 'vision, conception' and thus continues the value of its underlying stative root *dī* 'view, consider', with which it is employed etymologically at 44.10hd *tuṃ daēnuṃ ... daidyat* (orig. **didyat*) 'have they seen that vision ...?' (cf. Nyberg 1938, 114 ff.). Later, of course, the meaning develops into 'religion', but for the Gāthās, however, its usage is often close to that of Ved. *dhi-* 'vision, thought', on which cf. Gonda (1963, 68 ff.). In the Gāthās the expression *vaṅhū daēnā* 'the good vision' refers to a world governed by *xšaθrām vohū manayhā ašācā* 'the rule of good thinking and truth', which is discussed at 30.7. Related terms to this concept are signaled at 28.11 *ayhuš paouruṃyō* 'the foremost existence'.

31.21. *haurvatō amərətātasčā / būrōiš ā ašaliyācā x'āpaiθyāt xšaθrahyā* 'In consequence of His abounding authority of rule over completeness and immortality and over truth ...'. The 3 gens. *haurvatō*, *amərətātasčā* and *ašaliyācā* are dependent upon *xšaθrahyā*, since *x ... yčā ... zčā* (or *xčā ... yčā ... zčā*) is the only correct way to coordinate equal terms in the language of the Gāthās. Cf. 32.3ah *akāt manayhō stā ciθrām ... drūjasčā pairi.maiθōiščā* 'Ye are the seed stemming from evil thinking, deceit and disrespect'; 32.10 *yā aogadā, yascā dadāt, yascā vivāpat, yascā vōiždat*; 33.10ab *yā zi āyharō yāscā hantī yāscā ... hvaintī*; 33.11ab *yā ... mazdāscā ārmaitiščā ašāmcā ... manascā vohū xšaθramčā*; etc. Thus the sequence of terms is identical to that of 34.1ab *yā yasnā amərətātātəm / ašāmcā taihyō dāyhā mazdā xšaθramčā haurvatātō* 'Through which worship Thou, Wise One, hast received for Thyself immortality, truth and rule over completeness', where *xšaθrām* is employed only with the final member of the 3 terms because a gen. *ašaliyācā* would not fit the meter in the passage. Both passages are related moreover, for only once having acquired these principles which characterize his godliness, can AhM. grant good thinking to the faithful, as befits his total mastery over everything.

būrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyāt shows typical use of ablative, with or without *ā*, to express result. Syntactic parallels in 33.6b *ahmā avā manayhā yā ... mantā* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking by which he has respected ...'; 44.10e *malīyā cistōiš *θwā.ištīš usān*

mazdā 'In consequence of my understanding, they have desired Thy powers, Wise One'; 45.9e *vayhēuš ašā haozqθwāṭ ā manayhō* 'in consequence of the good relationship of good thinking with truth'. Cf. also Ved. type RV. VII 89.5d *mā nas tāsmād énaso deva rīriṣaḥ* 'God, do not harm us in consequence of this offense', etc.

sarō vayhēuš vazdvarē manayhō 'the permanence of good thinking's alliance'. The parallels 32.2a *sārəmnō vohū manayhā* 'being allied with good thinking', 49.3c *vayhēuš sarē izyā manayhō* 'I am eager for the alliance of good thinking', 49.5b *yā daēnaṃ vohū sārəštā manayhā* 'who allied his conception with good thinking', etc. show that *vayhēuš manayhō* must also be dependent upon the gen. *sarō* here in 31.21. Thus *vazdvarē* 'permanence' governs the preceding gen. *sarō*. Note the structural parallelism of earlier dependent gens. *ašahiyācā ... xšaθrahyā* with *sarō vayhēuš ... manayhō*.

yā hōi mainyū šyaoθanāišcā urvaθō 'who is his ally in spirit and actions'. Syntactic use of the instr. similar to 44.2de *hvō zī ... mainyū ahīm.biš urvaθō* 'for that man is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit', to the fig. *xšaθrā mazdā* 'wise by his rule' discussed at 47.1, and to 51.5b *šyaoθanāiš ərašvō* 'lofty in his actions'.

31.22. *ciθrā ī hudāyhē yaθənā vaēdəmnāi manayhā vohū* 'These things are clear to the beneficent man who accepts them along with the effort in harmony with good thinking'. *ciθrā ī* refers back to the precepts embodied in vss. 20 and 21; cf. disc. at 31.20 above. Cf. similar expression at RV. VII 104.12a *suviṣṭānāni cikitūṣe jānāyu* 'It is of easy perception for the person who understands'.

yaθənā (J₂, K₅, M₁), metr. **yaθuā*, seems to me best combined with Skt. *yatna-* 'effort'. Meaning also valid at 43.10d *parštəm zī θvā yaθənā taṭ əmavatəṃ* 'for what is counseled through thy effort, that belongs to the powerful'. The instr. *manayhā vohū* qualifies preceding *yaθənā* in the sense 'the effort in harmony with (in alliance with) good thinking'; cf. 32.2 for full disc.

vaēdəmnāi acts as suppletive part. to med. *dā* 'receive, accept' (cf. 28.5) and clearly appears in that function here. To my mind, Zarathustra expresses the notion here that these precepts of the lord are clear to the man who accepts them not only as doctrine, but who also brings them to realization through his good actions. Thus I interpret *yaθənā* as a comit. instr. dependent upon a suppressed *ī*, and see this figure to be fully parallel to the flg. *vohū ... vacayhā šyaoθanācā haptī* 'he serves with good word and good deed', where word and action appear in their usual juxtaposition. For fuller disc., cf. 48.12.

xšaθrā 'during his rule' is instr. of temporal extent: for parallels, cf. 30.7 *ayaṅhā ādānāiš*.

vāzištō aṅhaur̥ astiš 'He shall be the most welcome guest'. *vāzištō* is uncertain. Translation merely follows the context.

Yasna 32

The dominant theme of this lyric is the condemnation of the ways of deceit and of sin. Turning to the most notorious of sinners, Zarathustra first addresses the old gods in the first 5 verses and reminds them of their great failings. By stressing from the outset in verses 1 and 2 that the prophet's society, namely, the whole community of the truthful, begged to serve the means of the Wise Lord, who indeed did accept their devotion and piety, the prophet clearly discloses to the opposing gods their fatal mistake of not also having wished to seek the honor and favor of the Wise One. Similarly, in his characterization of the Wise Lord as the ally of good thinking and the companion of truth, Zarathustra thus prepares the proper focus of transition to then damn the gods in verse 3 as the offspring of evil thinking, deceit and disrespect, of those values which are antithetical to the nature of the one true lord. The prophet then further censures the gods for their hateful actions, undoubtedly motivated by their perverse origins, and for their encouragement of equally evil actions in those who pay service to them. This last wicked activity is likewise a damnable offense, for as the forces of the gods' worshipers increase, these men are driven away from the principles of truth and good thinking, from the very essence of the Wise Lord. Thus in verse 5 the prophet seals the fate of all the deceitful in disclosing to the gods that their deceitful ways have gained nothing but a vile and insidious fame among these lands. Rather, they have lost the possibility to attain a good existence and immortality, and they have been marked for damnation by the true lord.

This evokes the notion by contrast that there indeed exists a possibility to reach a good form of existence, immortality, salvation and enduring good fame. Therefore Zarathustra turns in verse 6 to the Wise One who, by his rule of truth and good thinking, has offered to mankind the means of attaining these desirable conditions, and the prophet affirms to his lord that it is the enactment of good thinking in this very world — never the institution of sin — which is the only fitting way for the devoted and pious man to render true service and true fame to the god of truth. The man who understands this and therefore acts with justice and honesty, the next verse continues, shall never be judged guilty of any offense, for which the Wise One also controls the methods and means of punishment at the end.

Verses 8-14 then investigate in detail the uselessness of sin, its various manifestations in this world, and the unfortunate consequences to which it has brought those entrapped by its toils. Beginning with Yama the first mortal (8) and concentrating on the current evil rulers (11) and evil priests (12, 14) who have fallen into the corrupting influence of the evil spirit (9), Zarathustra laments to his lord how these sinners have missed the mark of truth either by their weakness (Yama's fault undoubtedly) or by their insatiable greed and lust for riches, which have driven them to follow the ways of deceit and to oppose the ways of truth and its followers. Punctuating these denunciations with the knowledge that the Wise Lord has indeed damned these sinners, Zarathustra now states in verses 15 and 16 that hell shall be for these sinners but heaven for those who abide in the Wise Lord's enduring values. The pointed reference in verse 15 to the Karpans and the Kavis, the deceitful priests and rulers who continue to serve the old gods, has two purposes. First, to link their condemnation here with the condemnation of those they serve appearing in the beginning of the hymn. Second, by mentioning that these adherents of the deceitful world are now disappearing, the prophet intends to disclose to his lord that the creatures who belong to the world of truth are growing strong in their turn. This provides the transition to the final verse, which entreats the Wise One to offer further support to the just and worthy men of this world.

32.1. *ahyā daēvā. daēvā* can only be voc. here, since it is clear from vss. 3-5 that Zarathustra is addressing the *daēvas* and recalling to them the wrong choice which they made (30.6). The *daēvas* never sought to serve AhM., only the evil spirit, and this was their great offense and the first ruin of the world. *ahyā* is thus a stylistic repetition in anticipation of the flg. *ahurahyā*: cf. 28.1a *ahyā ... rafōdrahyā* with the same technique.

mahmī manōi 'at my insistence' is uncertain. I derive *manōi* from *man* 'remain' as a tentative guess. This figure might also mean 'in respect for me', with the special sense of *man* discussed at 31.19 *manūā*.

32.2. *sārəmnō vohū manayhā ... ašā huš.haxā* '(who) is allied with good thinking and the good companion (comrade) with (= of) truth'. Closest parallel of content: 44.9e *hadəmnōi ašā vohucā šyqs manayhā* 'as He continues to dwell in His seat in alliance with truth and good thinking'.

The notion 'to be allied with' is expressed by the med. pres. of the root *sar* accompanied by the instr.: cf. *sārəmnō vohū manayhā* here and

51.3a *ā vā gāuš.ā hām.yantū yōi vā šyaoθanāiš sārəntē* 'Those who (already) are allied with you by their actions, let them (also) join with their ears'. The trans. notion to this is expressed by the aor. stem *sārəš-* in 49.5b *yā daēnəm volū sārəštā manajhā* 'who allied his conception with good thinking'; but note only when the subject performs this action on his own behalf. When a different subject performs the act for another person, the trans. notion is expressed by the idiom *sarəm dā* 'to give the alliance of'. Thus 49.8ab *fərašaoštrāi ... ašahyā dā sarəm* 'Grant to F. the alliance of truth', 53.3c *ašahyā mazdāscā taibyō dā! sarəm* 'He shall grant to thee the alliance of truth and wisdom', also 31.21 *dadā! ... sarō vaṃhəuš vazdvarē manajhō*. Similarly, once with *ham aibi mit* at 46.12d *a! iš volū hām.aibi.mōist manajhā* 'Therefore did He unite them with good thinking', again with different persons involved.

The notion in the present system corresponding to 49.5b *yā daēnəm volū sārəštā manajhā* appears with *hacaitē* in 48.4bc *hvō daēnəm šyaoθanācā vacajhācā ... hacaitē* 'he follows (allies) his conception with the action and the word ...' and 48.12bc *yōi xšnəm (*xšnəm) ... hacāntē šyaoθanāiš* 'who follow their knowledge with actions ...'. Here the speaker acts on his own behalf again. Yet, *hacaitē* is also employed intransitively like the pres. stem *sāra-* in the sense 'be in companionship, alliance or harmony with'. Cf. 46.16c *yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš* 'where piety is in harmony (alliance) with truth'; 34.2b *yehyā urvā ašā hacaitē* 'whose soul is in harmony (alliance) with truth', etc.

Most important of all, however, is that the notions embodied by the intrans. uses of *sar* and *hac* can be expressed simply with the instr., without any use of a verb form. This is proved by the existence of parallel expressions appearing once with a verb, other times without. Thus, 33.3ab *yā ašāunē vahištō x'aētū vā ... airyamnā vā* 'who is very good to a truthful man, be he allied by family or by clan ...' belongs with 46.1c *yā vərəzənā *həhācā* 'the community with which I have associated (been allied)' (intrans. act. perf.). Similarly, 33.13c *frō ... ašā daēnā daxšayā* 'reveal those conceptions allied (in harmony) with truth' belongs with 44.10c *yā (= daēnā) mōi gaēθā ašā frādōi! hacāmnā ...* 'which conception, in alliance with truth, would prosper my creatures'.

Most freq. usage occurs with instr. *ašā* (as above), very often in conjunction with *volū manajhā*. Best attested is the combination *xšaθrəm volū manajhā ašācā* 'the rule in alliance with good thinking and truth', discussed at 30.7. Also common is qualification of words

and deeds by *ašā* and *vohū manayhā*. Cf. 34.15ab *vahištā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaoc-ā tā tū vohū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell the best words and deeds, those allied with good thinking and truth': 33.14c *šyaoθanahyā ašā ... uxδahyācā*: 48.12bc *vohū manayhā ... šyaoθanāiš ašā*: 31.22ab *yaθanā ... manayhā vohū* 'the effort in harmony with good thinking'. Elliptical: 46.9de *yā tōi ašā ... išanti mā tā tōi vohū manayhā* 'They indeed seek after those things of Thine which are allied with truth and those allied with good thinking'. Similarly related are 44.8d *yācā ašā ayhāuš arām vaēdyā* 'and which are to be correctly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth' and 44.15b *yezi ahyā ašā pōi nuṭ xšayehi* 'if Thou hast the mastery to protect this world allied with truth ...'. Also their variant 43.6c *gūēθā ašā* 'creatures allied with truth' (also 44.10c) = 31.1b *ašahyā gūēθā* 'the creatures of truth'.

Here also belong 32.5c *akā šyaoθanəm vacayhā* 'your action is allied with evil word' and 33.6b *ahmūṭ avā manayhā yā ...* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that (sort of) thinking by reason of which ...'. The flg. 3 exx. show a special usage: 49.10c *nəmascū yā ārmaitiš ižācā* 'and reverence with which are allied piety and worship': 51.11b *kā spānā ārmaitiš* 'with whom is virtuous piety allied?': 51.20b *uxδā yāiš ārmaitiš* '(we shall offer) words with which piety is allied'. Thus 46.14c *aṭ hvō kavā vištāspō yāhi* requires the emendation **yā* **ahi* 'It is Kavi V., with whom thou art allied'.

Note Rīgṽ. use of *sacate* is related to employment of *hacaitē*. Cf. I 145.2cd *nā mṣyate prathamāṃ nāparāṃ vaca. asyā krātṽ sacate āprudhyataḥ* 'The unarrogant man does not overlook this one's first word, nor his last. He is in harmony (allied) with this one's will': I 152.1cd *āvātīratam āṃtāni višva. ṛtēna mitrāvaruṇā sacethe* 'Ye have defeated all lies. Ye two are in alliance with truth, Mitra and Varuṇa'. With ellipsis, I 101.11b *vayām indreṇa samyāma vājam* 'In alliance with Indra, may we win the contest': II 27.8c *ṛtēnādityā māhi vo mahitvām* 'Ādityas, your very great greatness is allied with truth': IV 42.4c *ṛtēna putrō adīter ṛtāvā* 'The truthful son of Aditi is allied with truth'; etc., with the last two exx. close to Gāthic use of *ašā*.

The type *ašā huš.haxā* reoccurs in 46.13e *ašā ... huš.haxāim* and 50.6b *urvaθō ašā*. RV. has parallel X 31.1c *tébhīr vayāṃ suśakháyo bhavema*, I 173.9a *ásāma yáthā suśakháya ena* (= *indreṇa*). Dat. in X 91.1d *suśakhā sakhīyaté*.

32.3. *akāṭ manayhō stā ciθram ... drūjascā pairi.matōišcā* 'Ye are the seed (offspring) stemming from evil thinking, deceit and disrespect'.

Antithesis to 33.6a *yā zaotā ašā ərəzuš hvō mainyāuš ā vahištāṭ kayā* 'The priest who is just in harmony with truth is the offspring stemming from the very best spirit'. Related also : 51.10b *hvō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš* 'The one (different from us) is the son of deceit's creator'. Note that the use of *cā* in the phrase *yascā vā maš yazaitē* connects its subject *yas* with the antecedent subject *yūš*. The following abls. *drūjascā pairi.matōišcā* are thus properly coordinated with preceding *akāṭ manajhō*; cf. 31.21 for disc. On the meaning of *pairi.matōiš*, cf. 31.19.

*šyaoməm aipī daibitānā yāiš *ā *srūdūm* (Mss. *asrūdūm*) *būmyā haptaiθē* 'Hateful, too, are your actions, by reason of which ye have become renowned in this seventh part of the earth'. On *šyaoməm*, cf. 29.10 *rāməmā*. *aipī* is the equiv. of Ved. *āpi* 'also, as well', which is employed in exactly the same syntactic function. Cf. AV. XII 1.25 f *ténāsmāṇi āpi sām syja* 'Join us too with that', etc.

daibitānā, metrically **dbi-*, belongs to the root *dvi* 'hate, be inimical', appearing also in the adj. *dvaēθa-* 'inimical' 32.16b below, 48.9b (both times in the fixed formula *āiθiš dvaēθā* 'inimical threat'). Root *dvi* is related to more common root *dviš* 'id.' exactly as the root *θwi* 'dread, arouse dread', appearing in **θwōyahi* 34.11, *upā.θwayeiti* Vyt. 27, *θwayahvant-* 'dreadful' Yt. 13.20, is related to the root *θwiš* 'id.', which occurs in *θvaēšah-* 'dread' Y. 57.18 etc.. Ved. *tvešá-* 'dread-arousing, terrorizing'.

Emendation of *yāiš asrūdūm* to *yāiš *ā *srūdūm* is required in view of the flg. passages : 28.11c *yāiš ā aṅhuš paouruyō bavaṭ*, 32.15a below *anāiš ā vi.nānāsā yā karapō.tā(scā)* 'By reason of these things the class of Kurpuns is disappearing', 34.11c *tāiš ā ... *vidvaēsəm *θwōyahi* 'By reason of these things Thou dost terrorize the enemy'. Related also : 53.6d *anāiš ā ... mərəngəduyē* and 53.8a *anāiš ā ... hāntū*. Similarly. 46.4c *x'āiš šyaothanāiš ahəmūstō* requires the emendation *x'āiš šyaothanāiš *ā *həmūstō* (q.v.). Cf. introd. p. 11.

32.4. *yāaṭ yūštā framimaθā yā mašyā acištā daitō vaxšantē daēvō.zuštā* 'Insofar as ye authorize those (hateful actions), which the worst mortals (then) serve, those agreeable to the gods shall increase'. Intended contrast to 48.3ab *aṭ vaēdānmāi (= ašānmē) vahištā sāsnanəm yəm hudā sāsti ašā ahnrō* 'Yes, for the (truthful man) who accepts this there applies the best of orders which the beneficent Lord orders through truth'. Antitheses are *daēvā framimaθā : hudā sāsti ahnrō*; *mašyā acištā : vaēdānmāi (= ašānmē)*.

The prons. *tā ... yā* resume the previously mentioned *šyaoməm daibi-*

tānā of vs. 3c. *framimāθā* can only be for **framimāθā*, with necessary full-grade restoration of root-syllable: cf. 29.5 *dvaidi* and SI. (1971, 573 ff.). A short-vowel subj. interpretation seems unlikely because of the context here which involves a continual action.

Important is the fact that *yā mašyā acištā dantō ... daēvō.zuštā* cannot be separated from 49.4d *tōi daēvāng dān yā drəgvatō daēnā* 'They have served the gods, which is the conception of a deceitful person'. Furthermore, these passages belong both semantically and morphologically to contrasting 51.5ab *yaθā ašāi hacā gəm *vīclāi* (Mss. *vidāi*) *vāstryō* '... how the pastor shall serve the cow in accord with truth' and 33.3b *vidas θwaxšayhā gavōi* 'or the one serving the cow (= the good vision) with zeal', both related to 29.2b *vāstrā guodāyō θwaxšō* 'cow-caring zeal by a pastor'. The above-cited 51.5ab also notably contrasts with the flg. vs. 51.6bc *aī ahmāi akāi ašyō yā hōi* (= *ahurāi*) *nōiī vīclāiī* 'But worse than bad shall be for the person who shall not serve Him', and it is apparent that Zarathustra intends an opposition throughout the Gāthās of the *drəgvant-* *yā daēvāng vidaiti* and of the *ašāvan-* *yā gəm/gavōi* (or *ahurāi*) *vidaiti*. This last notion is unequivocally stated at 53.2d **dāyhē* (Mss. *dāyhō*) ... *yəm daēuəm ahurō saosyantō dadāi* '... to serve that conception which the Lord granted His savior', with the correct identification of *gəm* = *rajuhūm daēuəm*; cf. Y. 29 introd.

The remaining passages of *vidaiti* also undoubtedly express the notion of 'serve' and are construed with the dative: 32.6c below *θwahmi vā maizdā xšaθrōi ašāicā sūnghō vīcləm* 'Under Thy rule, Wise One, fame is to serve Thee and the truth'; 43.9c *kahmāi vividyē vaši* 'Whom dost thou wish to serve?'; 53.4ab *yā fədrōi vīclāi paiθyaēcā ...* 'she who shall serve father and husband ...'. In 51.18b we should also supply a suppressed *tōi* referring to AhM.: *ašā vərəntē taī xšaθrəm manayhō vañhāuš vidō* 'He chooses the rule of good thinking allied with truth in order to serve (Thee)'.

To the same concept I also ascribe *vidiśā-* 'service', which constantly appears in association with *frārāiti-* 'generosity' at Y. 55.3, 58.4, Vr. 21.3, etc. The function of this dual combination *frārāiti vīdiše* 'generosity and service' is clearly defined at Y. 11.18 *fərə vā rāhi amāšā spantā yasuamcā vahnamcā fərə manayhā fərə vacayhā fərə šyaosθanā ...* 'I have granted to you, virtuous immortals, worship and glory by thought, word and action', where *yasuamcā vahnamcā* are a paraphrase of the usual *vidiśā-*. In this light, I therefore see *vīdiśā-* to be the equiv. of Ved. *vidātha-* (older **vidh-ātha-*) 'service', and explain its formation as **vidh-iśā-*, with the suffix *-iśā-* likewise

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appearing in the Ved. cultic term *man-iṣā-* 'wisdom, devotion'. That Zarathustra also knew *vīdīšā-* is apparent from the denom. part. *vīdīšəmna-* encountered at 51.1b *vidīšəmnaī ižācī* 'to the person serving with milk indeed', where the word similarly occurs in a cultic context.

Surveying the attested forms in Avestan, viz. them. stem *vid-a-*, inf. *vīviduyē* (from **vividvōi*), inf. *vidqm* (type *ūcqm*), *vid-išā-*, I see little choice but to posit an Indoir. root **vidh* 'serve, honor', which also adequately accounts for the Ved. forms: verbal stem *vidh-á-* and deriv. *vid-átha-*. The 2 exx. of *dantō* 32.4 and *dqm* 49.4 are thus best explained as resulting from the false segmentation of the pres. stem **vidati* as **vi-dati* under the influence of *dāyah-* 'care, attention' (= Ved. *dhiāyas-*), which was absorbed into the semantic sphere of Gāthic *vid* 'serve'. This same freeing of *vi-* also accounts for its use in the inf. *vī-vīduyē*, a form which in no way can be built from a redup. stem. For an analogous process in Vedic, cf. the root *rapś* falsely abstracted from an older denom. **virapś(v)a-*, so elegantly explained by Bloomfield (1909, 192 ff.).

Thus we are forced to reject K. Hoffmann's suggestion (1969, 1 ff.) that the Indoir. root **vidh* is derived from *vī dhā* 'distribute'. The use of the part. *vidus* and freq. Ved. *vidhant-* speaks against such a derivation, and the common Ved. opt. *vidhema* can only belong to a them. pres. *vidhāti* of the type *viṣāti* 'enters', *syjāti* 'frees', etc. Cf. SI. 1968b, 324 fn 20.

vayhīdus sīzdyaumā manayhō mazdā ahurahyā xratōis nasyantō ašāačē 'as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and truth'. On the use of the pres. parts., cf. 29.5 *ahvā ... frīdumā*. The idea expressed in lines bc contrasts with 28.5ab *ašā kaḥ θvā darasāni manascā volū vāēdumō gātūncē ahurāi* 'Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord?'. Thus clearly the idea that the man who serves the lord through the ways of good thinking shall approach his god and the truth; but those who serve the damned gods move farther and farther away from the ways of wisdom and truth, since their gods have allied themselves with the ways of deceit. Cf. Add. to 29.7.

32.5. *tā dāhənaotā mašim ... hyaḥ vā akā manayhā yəug daēvəng akascā mainyuš* 'In this way ye have deceived mankind, much as ye have deceived yourselves, the gods, by (such) evil thinking, and the evil spirit (himself)'. Humbach is correct to supply *dāhənaotā* again in the *hyaḥ* clause, but neither he nor anyone else has seen that *akascā*

manys must be a subject parallel to the implicit *yās* of the verbal form. Zarathustra simply states here that the *daēvas* have cheated the man who serves their wonts (cf. 32.3b *yascā vā maš yazaitē*. 32.4a *mašyā acištā dantō*), they have also cheated themselves, and the evil spirit himself, out of the good way of life and immortality through evil thinking, the characteristic quality of deceit. This is thus antithesis to the notion of 34.12-13, which expresses the idea that only by good thinking can a person reach the ultimate good. On the use of *hya* ‘much as’, cf. 34.8b *hya* **aš.aojā nāidyāgham* ‘much as a very strong man (frightens) a weaker person’.

akā šyaothaem vacayhā yā fracinas drəgvantəm xšayō ‘Your action is allied with evil word, by reason of which the Ruler has marked the deceitful person’. Syntax similar to contrasting 33.6b *ahmā avā manayhā yā vərəzvoidyāi mantā vāstryā* ‘In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking, by reason of which he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties’. On this use of the instr. cf. 32.2 above.

fracinas certainly must mean more than ‘discerned’ in this passage. In that AhM. is characterized as all-seeing at 45.4e *noit dūvzaidyāi vīspā.hišas ahurō* ‘The all-seeing Lord is not to be deceived’, etc., it is certain that he is easily able to distinguish the deceitful people from the truthful ones. I therefore prefer to combine *fracinas* here with Ved. *praketā-* ‘sign, mark’, and to understand that Zarathustra intends to say here that AhM. has marked the deceitful for destruction. Same use of *prā cit* also occurs in RV. IX 97.13cd ... *vagnūr ā śyva ājan, pracetāyann arṣati vācam émadm* ‘His voice is heard in this competition. Marking his speech now (with eloquence), he rushes (to victory)’. Here, too, one must note that the use of *vi ci* cannot mean ‘distinguish’ at 46.17d for the reasons stated above pertaining to *fra cit*. Rather, it must have the technical sense ‘judge’, which also appears in *vīcira-* ‘juridically decisive’ 29.4, *vīciθa-* ‘j. decision’ 32.8, etc. Thus I interpret 46.17d *yā vīcinoi dāθamcā adāθamcā* as ‘who has judged both the just and the unjust man’, which again refers to the future lot of the truthful and the deceitful. The ideas *yā fracinas drəgvantəm xšayō* and *yā vīcinoi dāθamcā adāθamcā* thus belong together in my view.

32.6. After addressing the *daēvas* in the first 5 vss., Zarathustra now turns to AhM. with the remaining 11 vss. (voc. *ahurā* or *mazdā* 6-9, 11, 13, 16).

pourū aēnā ānāxštā yāiš srāvahyeiti ‘Shameful are the many sins by

which one attains fame'. I cannot follow Humbach (1959, II 34), who ascribes *ānāxštā* here to *yAv. anāxšti-*, for that word means 'war', not 'violation (of laws)', as he asserts. Cf. Yt. 10.29 *tūm āxštōiš anāxštōišcā miθra *xšayehi daliyunaṃ* 'M., thou dost control the peace and war of the lands', etc. Rather, I take *ānāxštā* as nom. pl. neut. from the past part. *āxšta-* of *ā kas* (cf. Ved. type *a-gdhā-* 'uneaten' from *ghas*), and see the word used in the same meaning as the cognate Ved. *ā khyā* 'to relate'. However, the sense of neg. **an-āxšta-* is 'unrecountable' > 'shameful', and thus can be directly compared with Ved. *a-valyā-* 'untellable' > 'disgraceful' and *yAv. ahaxšta-* 'uncountable' from *ham kas* (not *xšā*).

yezi tāiš aθā has only one possible translation: 'if, in this way, by such (sins)'. The point is, Zarathustra doubts that it is at all possible to attain fame by the execution of many, unspeakable offenses, and the following lines contain the notion, by contrast, that there is only one way for fame (*sānghō* here) to be meaningful in this world.

hātā.marānē vališṭā vōistā manayhā. This must contain the antithesis to the preceding idea of seeking fame through sinning. Consequently, by revision we have **hātaym *arānē vališṭā manayhā* 'in the uplifting of beings with the very best thinking'. The phrase therefore belongs directly with 28.4a *yō urvaṇam *mōng *airē volū dadē haθrā manayhā* 'I who thoroughly bear in mind to uplift myself with good thinking', where further parallels are given. The form *hātā.marāniš* in Yt. 1.8 simply results from the false interpretation of the orig. **hātaym *arānē* as a voc. with *vōistā* (type 33.7a *ā idīm vališṭā*, 33.12a *uš mōi ārašvā ahurā*, etc.) and has no worth with regard to the real meaning of current passage.

θwalmū vō mazdā xšaθrōi ašāicā sānghō vidaym 'fame is to serve Thee and the truth, Wise One, under Thy rule'. On syntax, cf. 28.3 *aṭ vā ašā ufyāni* etc. On the meaning of *vidaym*, cf. *dmto* in 32.4 above. This verse essentially states that there is no fame through sin; only by the utilization of the best thinking can one truly bring fame or merit to god and his sovereignty, and to the values which he represents.

32.7. This verse and the next one continue the motif of sin and offense. Humbach's realization (1957b, 364 ff.) that *srōvi* 'was heard' and *viciθōi* 'in decision' are employed as legalistic terms 'was tried' and 'in juridical decision' (also possibly *x'āvanmō* 'swearing') has been an important contribution to the understanding of these verses. However, he did not follow this lead to its conclusion, for most other words

of vss. 7 and 8 are also used in legal terminology. Viz. *aog* 'assert' is 'accuse'. *jōya-* (orig. **jīya-*) 'concerning one's life' is 'capital'. *sanh* 'declare' is 'decree'. *rixta-* 'what remains' is 'consequence, sentence'. *ah* with gen. is 'be guilty of'.

aēsəm aēnahəm naēcī vīdvā aojōi hādrōyā 'By reason of his correct conduct, a knowing person is never accused of those sins'. The form *aojōi* is 3sg. pres. of *aog* (not 1sg.), corresponding to the Ved. type *śāye* 'lies', *stāve* 'is praised', etc. (cf. SI. 1972a. 62 fn 2). For its technical meaning here, cf. also *apyūhē* in RV. VII 104.14ab *ṛādi vāhām āṇṭadeva āsa. mōgham vā devām apyūhē agne* 'Agni, if I have either been a person of false gods, or if I have wrongly accused (our) gods ...'. Note that the Rigv. verse appears in the context of oath-swearing, closely related to juridical practices.

hādrōyā I take as a mistake for orig. **hādrāyā*, whose vocalism, like that of following *jōyā*, has been influenced by *aojōi* in the course of the recitation of the Gāthās: cf. introd. p. 5ff. for the principle. The form is instr. of a stem *hādrāya-* 'correct conduct', a compd. of *hādra-* (*-ra-* var. of Ved. *sādhu-*) and *āya-*. Its sense comes very close to that of Ved. *sādhuyā*.

yā jōyā sānghaiē 'which (offenses) are decreed to be capital'. *jōyā* replaces an earlier reading *jīyā* and is thus an orthographic var. of *yAv. jīya-*, as A.-W. (1931, 325) recognized. But the word *jīya-* does not refer to *ayayhā* in 32.7 here, as they maintained. Rather, it belongs with *aēnā* in the meaning *aēnā jīyā* 'offenses concerning one's life', i.e. those for which one's life is at stake. Cf. Akkad. *din napīšti* 'a case of life' used in exactly this sense.

sānghaiē 'are decreed': cf. 31.1 *sānghāmahī* for disc. of technical uses of the root *sanh*. *rixta-* 'consequence, sentence' belongs with similarly legalistic use of *raēxnah-* 'legal inheritor' in 32.11 below, which should be consulted.

32.8. *gāuš bagā x'ārəmnō* is difficult. But if we adopt the meaning 'swear' for *x'ārəmnō* (cf. HH. 1957b, 366f.), then *gāuš bagā* can be direct discourse as appears in 32.14c below *gāuš jaidyāi mraoi* '... to say: The cow is to be killed'. Thus *bagā* must agree with *gāuš*, and I see no other possibility than to take it as fem. to common Iran. *bagō* 'divinity, god'. Therefore translate: '... swearing: The cow is goddess'. When later tradition condemns Yima for having eaten the cow, that notion can be reconciled with the current statement by attributing totemistic practices to his religious beliefs. This, in a way, is the framework behind the Vedic cultic worship of Soma. Cf. Addenda.

aēšqmciṭ ā almi θvahinī mazdā viciθōi aipi 'If I, too, am guilty of these (sins), Wise One, lies in Thy judgment'. On *ali* with gen. to express 'be guilty of', cf. 31.13b *yā vā kasāuš aēnaujō* 'or who is guilty of a small offense'. The notion 'if' here in 32.8c, without use of *yezi* or the like, corresponds to common usage of such clauses placed in line-initial position. These are collected at 49.1 *vajuhī ādā gaidi mōi*.

32.9. Motif of the next 3 verses contains a description of those people who have undermined the proper mode of existence and the offenses which they have committed.

duš.sastiš sravā nōrəndaṭ 'The one of evil doctrine has ruined the (true) words'. *duš.sastiš* is most probably *angrō mainyuš*, with Zarathustra's typical reference to the evil spirit by epithets; cf. 31.15 *dragvāitē ... duš.šyaθauāi* for disc. *sravā* requires *volū* or the like owing to the contrast represented by the choice of the particular term *duš.sastiš*.

apō mā ištīm yautā bərəxdəm haitīm vayhēuš manaujō 'He has robbed the esteemed power which belongs to good thinking'. On *apō yautā*, cf. *apayeiti* in 32.11 below. The reading *haitīm* (J₂, Jp₁, K₄) is preferable to *hāitīm*, which shows the effects of normalization after *hātəm*, likewise a form of the part. of *ah*. Thus the phrase *haitīm vayhēuš manaujō* simply is expression of belonging, which can also appear without the pres. part. in the type 28.9c *išō xšaθrəncā savayhəm* 'To mighty ones belong the powers and the mastery', etc. The intention of the line is that the power should really belong to good thinking, not to the evil spirit and deceit. Parallel in 46.16d (*idī*) *yaθrā vayhēuš manaujō ištā xšaθrəm* 'Come to where the sovereignty lies in the power of good thinking'. Note also 43.4e *hyaṭ mōi vayhēuš huzē jimaṭ manaujō* '... if the force (power) of good thinking shall come to me'.

mazdā ašāicā yūšmaihyā gərəzē. On syntax, cf. 28.3. The use of *gərəzē* anticipates *jigərəzaṭ* in vs. 13 below, whereby Zarathustra tries to express the well founded lament of the truthful man (i.e. the ruin of the world by the ways of deceit) in contrast to the selfish lament of the deceitful person (i.e. desire for greater riches).

32.10. *yā acištəm vaēnaujō aogədā gəm ašibyā hvarəcā* 'who has asserted the worst in order to see the cow and the sun with his eyes'. *gəm* 'the cow' is a metaphor for the earth here, as freq. in the RV. In general, the expression *gəm hvarəcā vaēn* 'to see the earth and the sun' means 'to continue to live', parallel to the Ved. idiom *svār dyśé*

'to see the sun(light)', i.e. 'to live on'. Cf. the paraphrase in Y. 9.29 *mā zqm vaēnōi*, *mā gqm vaēnōi*. Cf. Addenda.

yascā dāθōng drəgvatō dadāi. I do not believe this can mean 'who has made the just into deceitful persons', as the translators have taken it. Rather, 'who has turned the deceitful against the just': thus a shortening of *paiti dā* or the like.

32.11. *yōi drəgvantō mazbiš cikōiərəš aṃhīscā aṃhavasā* 'the deceitful lords and ladies who appear in grandeur'. Translation follows RV. I 186.9a *prā mi yād eṣām mahimā cikīre* 'now that they have appeared in their grandeur': plural *daṃsānais* also in I 166.13d *sākāṃ nāro daṃsānair ā cikīre* 'All at once the men have appeared in (all) their wondrousness'. *maz-* can function as a root noun as well as an adj. On *aṃhīscā aṃhavasā*, cf. 29.6 *ahū*.

apayēiti raēxənahō vaēdām 'by stealing the possession (property) of the (true) inheritor'. This description of the deceitful contrasts with the description of the truthful at 44.2de *hvō zi ... irixtəm višpōihyō hūrō mainyū cihūm.biš urvaθō mazdā* 'This person indeed, watching over the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One'.

raēxənah- 'inheritor' (cf. Ved. *surēkya-* 'one of good inheritance'), *irixta-* 'heritage, inheritance' 44.2, *raēxənah-* 'inheritance, legacy' 34.7 all belong to the vocabulary of the legal sector. The difference between pl. *raēxənā* 34.7 employed as an abstr. noun and gen. *raēxənahō* here used as a possessive adj. follows the practice of *rādā* 'solicitude' 28.7 vs. *rādahō* 'of the one offering solicitude' 45.7, 46.17; *aēnā* 'sins, offenses' 32.6 vs. *aēnahqm* 30.8; *rāzarō* 'directive' vs. *rāšūqm* 'of those following the directive', both 34.12. In general, the gen. forms of *-ah-* stems are possessives: *savahō* 'offering salvation' 51.2, *savahqm* 'mighty' 28.9. Consequently, I interpret 50.1a *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avahō* as 'Does my person have control over anyone who possesses help?', with *avahō* a possessive adj. coordinated with *cahyā*.

apayēiti ... vaēdām is clearly 'by stealing the possession', since *apa yam* usually means 'steal'. Cf. Y. 11.5 *yō maqm taṭ draonō zināṭ vā trəfyāṭ vā apa vā *yūsāiti* (Mss. *yūsāiti*) 'who shall sack me of my offering, or who shall rob it, or who shall steal it ...', where the 3 similar verbs *z-yā*, *trp* and *apa yam* appear together. Similar meaning also in above 32.9b *apō mā īstīm yantā* 'he has robbed the power'.

yōi vahīštāṭ ašaonō ... rārəšyqm nuanahō 'who deflected the truthful from the best thinking'. Corresponds to intrans. notion *vahīhūs*

sīždyannā manayhō 'continuing to retreat from good thinking' in 32.4b above.

32.12. *yā rāyhayān sravayhā ... marātānō* 'By reason of that teaching with which they deflected men ...' *marātānō* is acc. pl. with *rāyhayān*, fully parallel to *ašaonō ... rārāšyqm* of the previous vs. Cf. also 30.6c, where the form is also acc. pl. The subject of *rāyhayān* is implicit *drəgvantō*, obvious from *yōi drəgvantō* of the preceding vs.

aēibyō mazdā akā mvaoy 'the Wise One spoke of bad things for them'. *aēibyō* does not seem to be simple indirect obj. with *mrvū*, but rather dat. commodi. Similar syntax in the antithesis 47.5b *ašāunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahīštā* 'Thou hast promised for the truthful man what indeed are the very best things'. Both passages thus refer to the differing fates of the deceitful and the truthful, typified by 30.4bc *apāməm ayhuš acīštō drəgvatqm uī ašāunē vahīštəm manō*, 43.5d *akām akāi vaḡjuhīm ašīm vaḡhaovē*, etc. Cf. also syntax of 33.2ab *yā akəm drəgvātē ... varāšaitī*.

yōi gāns mōrəndən urvāxs.nxtī jyōtūm 'who have ruined by their habit of pleasure the cow's means of living'. *nxtī-* seems best combined with Ved. *nc* 'be accustomed to, in the habit of', for the intention of vss. 11-14 is the condemnation of those people who sacrificed good principles for the sake of wealth and obviously the pleasures deriving from such riches. Cf. also *amaocayhā* 44.15.

*vāiš *grālmā* (Mss. *grālmā*) *ašāī varatā karapā xsāθrəmcā išanqm drujīm* 'because of whom the rich Karpan chose the rule of tyrants and deceit rather than truth'. The interpretation of this line and the next 2 vss. is dependent upon *grālmā* and *grālmō*. I accept Henning's proposal (1944. 139 fn 5) that these forms are related to Sogd. *gr'myγ*. Parth. *gr'mg* 'property, wealth', but I see the necessity of positing a single *-ah-*stem for the Gāthās. We have the acc. neut. *grālmā* in vss. 13 and 14 (so. Henning), and in 12 here, where the word must modify *karapā*. we must emend *grālmā* to **grālmā*, taking the form as nom. sg. of the adj. *grālmah-* 'rich'. The change of **grālmā* to *grālmā* has taken place under the influence of following *varatā* and *karapā*. On principle. cf. introd. p. 5ff.

xsāθrəmcā išanqm drujīm. The placement of *cā* after the first word of a coordinated pair also appears at 33.8c *aməratāscā ... hamrvātās*, 34.6c *yažəmnašcā ... stavas*, 51.14a *dātōihyascā ... vāstrāt. mazdāscā ahurāyhō* (30.9b, 31.4a) is also related to this construction. *īšanqm*, metrically **īšnqm*, is gen. of a sec. deriv. *īš-an-* 'having power', here used perjoratively 'tyrant'.

32.13. *grāhmō hūšasaŋ acištahyā dāmānē manayhō | aḡhāuš maraxiārō ahyā* ‘the destroyers of this world (existence) viewed their wealth in the house of worst thinking (= hell)’. *hūšasaŋ* is hypercorrect orthographic redaction for **hūšaŋ* (disc. at 30.1 *išəntō*), and the form is simply 3pl. imperf. of *hā* ‘view, regard’, i.e. **hi-š-aŋ* (3sg. **hi-šā-i*). Thus related to pres. part. in *višpā.hišas* ‘all-viewing’ 45.4; *-ra-* adj. in 31.13c *cašmāng θwisrā hārō* ‘regarding with clarity of vision’. Note also that it is not accidental that the redup. forms **hūšaŋ jīgərəzaŋ* and *dadaŋ* (vs. 14a) all appear in neighboring lines.

γā iš pāŋ darəsāŋ ašahyā ‘(a lust) which guarded them from the sight of truth’. The rel. pron. *γā* here only makes sense if it refers back to *kāmē*, not to *θvahyā nuθrāuō*, for Zarathustra is stressing the point that the sin of greed has often driven a person from the path of truth. Thus this passage belongs as well (cf. above 32.4bc *raḡhāuš sīzdyamā manayhō* etc.) as intentional antithesis to 28.5ab *ašā kaŋ θvā darəsāu manascā volū raēdāmnō gātūmcā ahurāi* ‘Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord?’. For syntactic parallels, cf. 46.8 *γā im hujyātōiš pāyāt*.

32.14. *ahyā grāhmō ā.hōiθōi nī kāvayasciŋ xratūš dadaŋ | varəcā.hicā fraidivā* ‘Even the Kavis have continually fixed their intentions on capturing and plundering the wealth of this world’. The pron. *ahyā* resumes *aḡhāuš ... ahyā* of the preceding verse. For disc., cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc.

Both *ā.hōiθōi* and *varəcā.hicā* are parallel loc. inf. dependent upon *nī dadaŋ*. The construction is a blend of Rīgv. types V 32.12d *yé tvāyā* (= loc.) *nidadhūhī kāmam indra* ‘they who have fixed their desire upon thee, Indra’ and VI 15.15b *nī tvā dadhīta rōdasī yājadhyaī* ‘May he set thee down in order to worship the two worlds’. *ā.hōiθōi* belongs to *ā hi*, which in the Gāthās has the special sense ‘capture’; cf. 29.1 *ā hišāyā. varəcā.hi* is a redactional change from orig. **varəcahi*, separated in its attested way owing to the freq. occurrence of *hi* in 2nd position in the line or after caesura: cf. 30.3b *šyaəθanōi hi ...*, 31.10a *aŋ hi ...*, 44.18e *yaθā hi ...*. The underlying stem *varəcah-* (so, Bthlm. 1904. 1367) belongs together with *fraorəcinta* ‘they plundered’ in Yt. 17.19 *nōiŋ maqm višpe yazatāŋhō anuəntəm fraorəcinta, āaŋ maqm aēvō zaraθuštrō anuəntəu apayēiti* ‘All the worshipful ones have not plundered me if I was not willing; but Zarathustra alone (was able) to rob me if I was unwilling’. The pairing of *frā vrc* and *apa yam* in this last passage is a variant of *ā hi* and *vrc* in 32.14 here.

fraidivā belongs with Ved. *pradivā pradivas* 'from antiquity, continuously'.

hyaṭ viśāntā drāgvantəm avō hyaṭcā gūuš jaidyāi mraoī 'since they have begun to aid the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*), as well as to say: The cow is to be killed'. Since Ved. *ni viś* means 'ceases, stops', I take *viśāntā* here to be its opposite 'enter upon, begin'. Consequently, both *avō* and *mraoī*, coordinated by *hyaṭcā* (cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyaṭcā*), are inf. dependent upon *viśāntā*. Same syntax in Y. 8.4 *yasea ... imā vacō uōiṭ *viśaite framrūite* 'and who does not undertake to speak out these words ...', N. 19 **viśaite dim fraṣrārayō uōiṭ fraṣrāṣrāyeiti* 'He begins to awaken him, but that one does not awaken'.

The preceding construction *gūuš bagā x'ārəmmō* in vs. 8b suggests that *gūuš jaidyāi mraoī* is of similar structure, and I therefore believe that *mraoī* somehow reposes on an orig. reading inf. **mrūyōi* (= **mrūvōi*). Note vars. *mraoī* (L_{1,2}), *mraomī* (J₂, K₅) show further normalization of the form after *mraomī* 53.5.

yā dūraošəm saocayaṭ avō is difficult, but still seems to be part of the direct quote, i.e. '... to be killed (for him) who has been burning the haoma ...'. *avō* is probably corrupt, and the text probably shows normalization effect of 29.9c *yā hōi dadaṭ zastavaṭ avō*, since the end of each line is similar.

32.15. *avāiš aihī yāng daintī* 'along with those whom they ensnare'. *aihī ... daintī* (for **dāintī*) certainly is the equiv. of Ved. *abhi dāti*, *abhi dāsati* 'ensnares'. Cf. SV. 1.336ac *yō no vanuṣyāmi abhidāti martaḥ*, *kṣidhī yudhā ... tāṃ* 'Destroy with thy weapon that mortal who, acting with hostility, entraps us' and Narten (1963, 56 ff.).

uōiṭ jyātēuš xšayammūg vasō tōi āhyā hairyātē vayhāuš ā dāmānē manayhō 'They shall not be brought to those who rule over life at will in the house of good thinking'. The *jyātēuš xšayammūg vasō* 'those who rule over life at will' can only be the immortal ones, who indeed dwell *vayhāuš dāmānē manayhō*. Therefore it is clear that *uōiṭ ... āhyā hairyātē* is simply *uōiṭ ... *a(i)hī *ā hairyātē* 'they shall not be brought to', with acc. complement (correctly, A.-W. 1913, 385). The point is, neither the Kavis nor the Karpans, nor those they ensnare with their schemes, shall be brought to heaven. Their place is in hell, as appears in vs. 13a above.

32.16. *hūmēm taṭ vahištācīṭ (ahmāi) yā ...* 'This is equal to the best indeed for him who ...'. Clearly refers to last mentioned idea of reaching the seat of the immortal ones.

yā ušuruyē syas cī dahmahyā 'who lies (?) in the ... of the Wondrous One'. *ušuruyē* is opaque to me. I take *syas-* (for **sīyas* or **sayas*) as an adj. from *si* 'lie'.

yehyā mā aiθi.šcī dvaēθā 'whose danger is inimical to me'. From Yt. 10.37 *avi dīs aēu xšayamō aiθin barāiti θwyaṃca* 'Being able to, he shall bring danger and terror upon them', where *aiθi-* appears besides *θwya-*, it seems that the former term means 'threat, danger', rather than 'destruction' or the like (correctly, Humbach, Lommel 1971). Thus I take the combination *aiθiś dvaēθā* here and at 48.9b as 'danger inimical to ...'. Similarly, the related term *āθriś* in 46.8b *nōiḡ ahya mā āθriś šraoθanāiś frōsyāi* 'May the threat (danger) caused by his actions not reach me'. The word *dvaēθa-* is discussed at 32.3 *daibhānā* above.

ayhāyā is contracted from orig. **ā-yhāya(i)yā*, 1sg. opt. of pres. **ā-hāyati* 'captures', from *ā hā*: cf. *ā.hōiθōi* from synonymous *ā hi* in vs. 13a above. Similar contraction in opt. *xšayā* from **xšaya(i)yā* 50.9: the other instances of such contraction are discussed at 28.7 *sravimā*. Cf. also introd. p. 18f.

Yasna 33

This lyric is direct in its approach and its theme concerns how the community of the pious and its leader Zarathustra are to best serve the ways of the Wise Lord in this world. This conduct demands that a person bring on harm to the deceitful but good to the truthful man (2-3). But its basic tenets involve care for and dedication to the good vision of an earthly existence founded upon the lordly values of truth and good thinking, as well as faithful service through worship for the Wise One who created this and offered it as a means a means of salvation to mankind (8). This shall repel the ways of deceit (4), prepare the advent of this true and good rule (5), and reassure and strengthen the enduring immortality and completeness of the Wise Lord (8, 10). Insofar as the followers of truth now realize the necessity of the enactment of these values in their own world, the lord should offer his power and support to his prophet in order to achieve these aims (11-14). Man and god can thus work for each other's mutual benefit.

33.1. *yaθā āiš iθā varəšaitē yā dātā aṃhāuš paouruuehyā ! ratuš šyaoθanā razīštā* 'As in accord with those things which are the laws of the foremost existence, the (final) judgment thus shall bring to realization the most just actions ...'. *āiš* in *yaθā āiš* is coordinated with the flg. *yā dātā aṃhāuš paouruuehyā*, and the correlative *iθā varəšaitē* syntactically belongs with *ratus šyaoθanā razīštā*. What has occurred is that the expected sequences *yā dātā aṃhāuš paouruuehyā* and *iθā varəšaitē* (*ratus* etc.) have been exchanged in order not to break the former, syntactically close unit across the caesura, which would have occurred if the sentence naturally ran **yaθā āiš yā dātā ... iθā varəšaitē ratus* etc. For the principle, cf. 28.1 *vayhāuš xratūm manayhō*. Syntax is thus similar to 45.3cd *yōi im vā uōiṣ iθā maθrəm varəšauti yaθā im mōnāicā vuocacā* 'Those of you who shall not bring to realization (each) precept exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it ...', where *iθā vṛz* and *yaθā* appear in reverse order. On *yā dātā aṃhāuš paouruuehyā*, cf. quote of Y. 55.6 cited at 30.11 (1st para.). I prefer var. *ratus* J₂, H₁.

dragvataēcā hyaṣcā ašaonē 'for the deceitful as well as for the truthful man'. On *cā ... hyaṣcā*, cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyaṣcā*.

*yehyācā *hām.yasaētē* (Mss. *hāmamyāsaitē* etc.) *miθahyā yācā hōi*

ārəzvā 'and for the person whose falsity as well as his honesty are held to be the same (= considered indifferent)'. Klingenschmitt (1972: 84 ff.) has shown that the dominant var. *hāmənīyāsaitē* should be read as **hām.yāsaitē* (cp. *hāmīyāsaitē* Lb₂ etc.) and that the form reposes on *ham yem* employed in the sense 'place as equals' (on a scale). However, owing to the fact that *mīθahyā* and *yācā hōi ārəzvā* form a dual subject (cf. 28.2), I see the necessity of emending to **hām.yasaitē*. This change is simple in view of the vars. *pərəsaitē -āitē -aētē* 31.13, *šaitē -aētē -āitē -aitē* 33.5, 43.3, 46.16, etc., *naēšaṭ naišaṭ* 31.20, etc.: (cf. also Sl. 1971: 583). Cf. also introd. p. 18 f.

33.2. *yā akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti* 'who shall bring about what is bad for the deceitful one'. *drəgvāitē* most likely refers to *angrō mainyuš* (cf. 31.15), since it stands in juxtaposition with flg. *ahurahyā mazdā*. Syntactically the form is dat. commodi: cf. parallels at 32.12b *aēthyō mazdā akā mraoṭ*.

vaṅhāu vā cōiθaitē astīm 'or who shall enlighten his guest in the good'. *cōiθaitē* is aor. subj. of *cit* 'appear: caus. make clear', with *-θ* introduced under the influence of aor. opt. **ciθyāṭ* and pres. **cinuθmi* etc. Cf. aor. subj. *nōiθaṭ* 'shall repel' 46.4 from *nūt* 'throw', with *-θ* similarly after opt. *hāmniθyāṭ* (**ham.niθyāṭ*) 53.9 and pres. *mīθuāiti* Vd. 3.20. On the syntax of *cit* with acc. and loc., cf. 46.9ab *yā mā ... cōiθaṭ ... yaθā θwā zəvištīm uzəmōhi* 'who shall enlighten me in which way to respect Thee, the Strongest One', where *uzəmōhi* is loc. inf. of a stem *uzəmah-*.

The caus. value of the aor. stem follows that of the imperf. *cinus* in 44.6d *taibyō xšaθrəm volū cinus manayhā* 'It has made clear to Thee the rule of good thinking'. Vedic has similar syntax with *cit*, but with dat. in place of loc. Cf. RV. IV 51.3ab *uchāntir adyā citayanta bhojān, rādhodēyāyośasaḥ ...* 'As they shine today, the dawns shall enlighten our benefactors to the granting of solicitude'. In general, the segments *yā akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti ... tōi vārāi rādənti* (*ahurahyā*) belong with 51.8b *hyaṭ akōyā drəgvāitē uštā yā ašəm dādrē* '... that I would do evil to the deceitful one in accordance with the wish of Him who has upheld the truth'.

33.3. *vidqs vā θwaxšaṅhā gavōi* 'or the one continuing to serve the cow (= the good vision) with zeal'. On *vidqs*, cf. 32.4 *dantō*; on the use of the pres. part., cf. 29.5 *ahvā ... frīnəmnā*.

aṭ livō ašahyā aṅhaṭ vaṅhāuścā vāstrē manayhō 'that person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking'. Syntax discussed at

28.10 *aṭ yāng ašāaṭcā* etc. The juxtaposition of *vāstrē* with preceding *gavōi* is intentional, whereby Zarathustra tries to clearly show that the good vision (*gāuš*) depends upon the furtherance of truth and good thinking among men. In general, *vidqs ... gavōi, aṭ hvō ašahyā aṭhaṭ vayhāušcā vāstrē manayhō* is antithesis to 32.4bc *daēvō.zuštā vayhāuš siḏyammā manayhō, mazdā ahurahyā xratāuš nasyantō ašāaṭcā* 'those pleasing to the gods ... continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and from truth'.

33.4. The elements of vss. 4 and 5 are in antithesis to one another, as H.-P. Schmidt has clearly shown (1957, 160 ff.). Specifically *asruštīm* (and *tarəməitīm*) contrasts with *səraošəm, akəm manō* with *xšaθrəm vayhāuš manayhō*. In general, cf. Y. 60.5 *vainiṭ ahmi imāne sraošō asruštīm. āxštīs anāxštīm, rāitīs arəitīm, ārmaitīs tarəməitīm arənxdō vāxš miθaoxtəm vācīm *aša.drujəm* (= gen. pl.) 'In this house may obedience defeat the disobedience of the deceivers of truth, peace their strife, charity their niggardliness, piety their disrespect, the truly spoken word their falsely spoken word'.

airyamanascā nadəntō 'the scorers from the clan' recalls 32.13bc *yaēcā ... jīgərazaṭ kāmē θwahyā maθrānō dūtīm* 'and those who complained in their lust (greed) about the message of Thy prophet'.

gāušcā vāstrāṭ acištəm mantīm 'the worst counsellor from the pasture of the cow'. The worst counsellor is most probably *angrō mainyūs*, since the term *acištō mantūs* here contrasts with *dangrō mantūs* = *ašəm* in 46.17de *yā vīcīnaoṭ ... dangrō mantū ašā mazdā ahurō* 'The Wise Lord who, together with truth, His clever (skillful) counsellor, has judged ...'. The word *mantim-* seems semantically close to Gk. *mantis* 'soothsayer, adviser'. The pasture of the cow here is simply used as a metaphor for the community of the faithful. Cf. remarks at 34.14b *yōi zī gāuš varəzānē azγā* 'who indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow' and 30.10 conclusion.

33.5. *yastē vīspā.mazīštəm səraošəm zbaγā* 'I who shall summon the all-greatest obedience for Thee' belongs with 28.5bc *səvištāi səraošəm mazdāi ... mazīštəm vāmōimaidī* 'May we turn the greatest obedience to the most Mighty Lord'. *avayhānē* 'at the stopping (of these things)' has been correctly explained by H.-P. Schmidt (loc. cit.) as cognate with Ved. *avasāna-* 'rest stop, stop'.

apānō darəgō.jyāitīm ā xšaθrəm vayhāuš manayhō. Comparison with 51.1c *taṭ* (= *volhū xšaθrəm*) *nā mīcīṭ varəzānē* 'This (good rule) shall I now bring to realization for us' and YH. 41.2 *volhū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā*

ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yavē ‘Wise Lord, may we obtain Thy good rule forever’ shows that our line should be emended to **apā *uō (nā) *darəgō.jyāiti ā xšaθrəm vaṅhāuš manayhō* ‘I shall obtain for us the long-lived rule of good thinking’. Thus we have the parallels ... *nā* ... *varāšānē* and **apā *uō* (also *apaēmā*), *voḥū xšaθrəm ... vīspāi yavē* and **darəgō.jyāiti xšaθrəm vaṅhāuš manayhō*.

apā (orig. **āpā*) is 1sg. subj. perf. of *āp*: med. part. is unlikely in view of the remarks at 28.3 *uṅžōnyannam*. *uō* is for older *nā*, which was altered after combination *apānō* occurred, since *-ō* is not usual in words of more than 2 syllables. The final *-m* of *darəgō.jyāitim* simply shows influence of surrounding *mazīštəm*, *səraošaṃ*, *xšaθrəm*. For process, cf. introd. p. 51f.

33.6. *γā zaotā ašā arəzuš* ‘the priest who is just in harmony with truth’. On syntax and meaning, cf. 28.1 *mainyōuš ... spəntō ašā* and 32.2.

lvō mainyōuš ā vahištāḥ kayā ‘he is the seed (offspring) stemming from the very best spirit’. This must be the correct translation in view of the antithesis 32.3a *γāš daēvā ... akāḥ manayhō siā ciθraṃ* ‘Ye gods are the seed (offspring) stemming from evil thinking’. Thus *ciθra-* and *kayā-* are related etymologically, with *kayā-* (**kāyā?*) probably belonging with Skt. *kāya-* ‘body’. Consequently, *ciθra-* ‘seed, offspring’ is to be separated from *ciθra-* ‘bright’, for the former word is surely to be segmented as *ci-θra-*.

ahmāḥ avā manayhā γā vərəzveidyāi mantā vāstrγā ‘In consequence of this, he is allied with that (good) thinking, by reason of which he has respected to bring to realization his pastoral duties’. Syntax identical to antithesis 32.5c *akā šyaoθanəm manayhā γā ...* ‘Your action is allied with evil thinking, by reason of which ...’. Both are explained at 32.2. On *mantā*, cf. 31.19. Note that *vāstrγā* is in a way defined by preceding *ašā arəzuš* and *avā (voḥū) manayhā*, thus a paraphrase of *ašahyā ... vaṅhāušcā vāstrē manayhō* in 33.3c above.

tā tōi izyā ahurā: mazdā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā ‘By reason of this very (thinking), Wise Lord, I am eager for Thy sight and Thy counsel’. *tā* refers back to preceding *avā manayhā* and *γā*; it cannot stand for *tā zaōθrā*. The voc. *ahurā mazdā* here is the only time that this figure is split across the caesura and therefore appears suspicious; cf. 28.9. Perhaps final line should be emended to **tā tōi ahurō mazdā: izyā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā*.

33.7. *ā mā idūm vahištā ... ašā voḥū manayhā* ‘Come ye to me — Thou,

Best One, together with truth and good thinking'. Syntax is discussed at 28.3 *yā vā ašā ufyānī*.

x^aaiθyācā ... darāšaṭcā 'personally and boldly'. *x^aaiθyā* is difficult, but it seems best to follow Bthlm.'s derivation (1904, 1862) from **sva-tya-* 'in person, personal', since *x^aaiθyā* would thus correspond to flg. *āviš ... hāntū*. The idea is, if AhM. will become manifest, so too will the gifts necessary for his worship.

yā sruyē parā magaouō 'by reason of which I am to be(come) famed before (every other) adherent'. *parā* is for *parā* by assim. to the following *m-* (cf. freq. *frō.mā* 28.11b, *frō mōi* 33.8a etc.), and thus *magaouō* is abl. sg. (not acc. pl.), as in parallel construction in 30.2c *purā mazō yāñhō* 'before the great retribution'. Cf. also Ved. *purā* with abl. in RV. III 32.14b *stāvai purā pāryād indram āhualī* 'I shall praise Indra before the decisive day', etc. To *magaouō* we must supply *višpāt* or *anyāt*, but these words are often suppressed: cf. 28.3b *yaēibyō (anyaēibyō) xšaθrām*, 28.8c *yaēibyasā (anyaēibyō)*, 30.11c *aipī tāiš (višpāiš)*, etc.

In general, I find ... *yā sruyē parā magaouō* to correspond to the Ved. type represented by RV. V 1.9ab *prā sadyō agne āty eṣi anyān. āvir yāsmai cārutamo babhūtha* 'Agni, thou goest forth at once beyond all the other (worshippers), being manifest to the one to whom thou hast become most dear'. Within the context of the Gāthās, this notion also is found at 44.11de *azām tōi āiš puouruyō fravōividē | višpāng anyāng mainyāuš spasyā dvaēšayhā* 'I have been received by these (faithful) as Thy foremost (follower). Look upon all others with hostility of spirit!'. Both 33.7 here and 44.11 convince me that there were other worshippers of AhM. besides Zarathustra and his circle, and that the figure of AhM. was inherited by Zarathustra, not invented by him. Zarathustra's contribution appears to have been the full development of a moral and ethical system centered around AhM. and the realization that enacting in this world the values AhM. represents was the highest form of worship.

33.8. *frō ... vōizdūm arəθā* 'Take ye heed of the goals'. *vōizdūm* is 2pl. impv. of the perf. of *vid*, not of the aor. The root *vid* 'know' appears only as a perf. in the Gāthās: 1sg. *vaēdā* 28.10, 34.7 etc., 2sg. *vōistā* 28.10, 32.6 etc., 3sg. *vaēdā* 31.2; 3sg. opt. *vidyāt* 48.9; 1sg. subj. *vaēdā* 48.9. Full grade in *vōizdūm* as in *cikōitərəš* 32.11.

yasnaem ... xšmāvatō aī vā ašā staomyā vacā 'worship of your kind as well as words praiseworthy with truth'. Parallels showing juxtaposition of *stu* or *vac* with *yaz* appear in 30.1b *staotācā ahurāi resnyācā*, 34.1a

yā vacaṅhā yā yasnā, 34.6c *yažammascā ... stavas*, 34.12a *kaṅ vā sūitō kaṅ vā yasnahyā*, 50.4a *aṅ vā yazāi stavas*. On *ašā staomyā vacā*. cf. 28.1 *mainyāuš ... spəntahyā ašā*.

dātā vā aməratāscā utayūiti hanrvatās draonā 'Your enduring worshipful offering has been established to be immortality and completeness'. Closest parallel : 34.11a *aṅ tōi ubē hanrvāscā x'arəθāi.ā aməratatāscā* 'Yes, both completeness and immortality are to serve for Thy food (sustenance)'. Both passages express the notion that the immortality and completeness allotted to god by the faith and piety of his believers (cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*) is the highest form of offering which man can make to god. This idea is also contained in 49.5ab *aṅ hvō mazdā ižācā āzūitišcā, yā daēnqm volū sārəštā manayhā* 'Yes, Wise One, that man is both milk and butter (for Thee), who has allied his conception with good thinking'. where *ižācā āzūitišcā* are to be understood in the 2 senses of the milk and butter offering dedicated to god during his worship and the metaphoric level of the strength and prosperity for god which the faith of every true believer represents for him. On the last idea, cf. 29.7 *tām āzūitiš ahurō maθrəm* etc. The form *dātā* is discussed at 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā; utayūiti* at 30.7 *aṅ kəhrpəm utayūitiš* etc.

33.9. *aṅ tōi mazdā tām mainyūm ašaoxšayantā sarəidyayā ... vahištā barətū manayhā* 'Yes, for Thee, Wise One, let a person support with the very best thinking the very spirit of the two companions who increase the truth'. The two companions (?) appear to be *ārmaitiš* 'piety' and *volū xšaθrəm* 'good rule' acc. to 28.3bc *yaēihyō xšaθrəmcā ... varədaiti ārmaitiš* and 34.11bc *vaṅhəns xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṅ ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūti taviši* 'Through the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring forces (for Thee)'.

*x'əθrā *maēθā.mayā* (Mss. *maēθā mayā*) 'though that happiness which consists of change'. Humbach's attempt (1959, II 41) to take *mayā* as instr. of *azəm* cannot be maintained, because only *θvā* (never **θvayā*) is attested for the 2nd person *tvəm*. I therefore read **maēθā.mayā* as a compd. (cf. 29.11 **əhmā.rətoiš*) modifying *x'əθrā*, which is the expected instr. in complementation with trans. *uxšayant-*. Here *maēθā-* belongs with the root *mi* 'alter, change' (Ved. *mināti*) attested in Yt. 19.29 *framitəm aspəhe kəhrpa* 'changed into the form of a horse' (cf. SI. 1971, 575), and *-mayā-* is the equiv. of Ved. *-māya-*, also usually at the end of a compd. Notion thus corresponds to 34.6b *aṅ taṅ mōi daxštəm dātā ahya uṅhəns višpā maēθā* 'Then grant that sign

to me through every change of this world'. The fundamental idea of the first 2 lines of 33.9 is to express the hope that truth shall increase as every way of deceit is defeated in turn.

ayā ārōi hākurānām yayā hacintē urvqñō 'The association of these two has (already) arisen, under whom (all) souls are in harmony'. The plural forms *hacintē urvqñō* preclude direct reference to the dual forms. I therefore understand a suppressed *vispā* with *hacintē urvqñō*, and this subject is immediately obvious from the following **vispās *tōi hujītayō* in flg. 33.10a. Note, however, that 45.2e contains the plural *nōiṭ urvqñō hacaintē* although the vs. deals with the two spirits, but the use of *urvqñō* is well motivated in that passage, since the preceding subjects *manā, sānghā, xratavō* etc. are all plural and thus have regulated the use of *hacaintē*.

33.10. *vispā.stōi hujītayō* should be redivided as **vispās *tōi hujītayō* 'all those whose way of life is good for Thee'. The fem. forms *vispā* and flg. *yā(scā)* require *gaēθā*, as in 49.1b *dušarəθrīš*. False division of words was influenced by freq. appearance of *stōi* elsewhere in the text at 31.18, 34.4, 45.10. etc. For principle, cf. introd. p. 11 f. On *brvaitī*, cf. 28.11 *bavaṭ*.

θvahmī hiš zaosē ābaxšō.hvō 'Give them a share in Thy approval'. Same meaning attested for Ved. med. *ā bhaj*: cf. RV. IV 32.21c *ā no bhajasva rādhasi* 'Grant us a share in thy solicitude'. This meaning and construction is otherwise attested in Ved. only in the active. e.g. V 34.5d *ā devayīm bhajati gōmati vrajē*, VII 27.1d *ā gōmati vrajē bhajā tvāṃ naḥ*, etc. Thus we must conclude that in the impv. voice distinction is occasionally violated. Cf. *ā ... idūm* in 33.7 above, which corresponds to an otherwise actively inflected paradigm. In general, *θvahmī hiš zaosē ābaxšō.hvō* is antithesis to 47.5c *hanarə θvahmāṭ zaosāṭ drəgvā *baxšaitē* (Mss. *-aitī*) 'The deceitful man shall have his share apart from Thy approval'.

volū nxyā manayhā xšaθrā ašcā uštātanūm (J₂, S₁, MΓ₁) 'Grow Thyself, in breath and body, through the rule of good thinking and of truth'. On the fig. *volū manayhā xšaθrā ašcā*, cf. 30.7. The form *uštātanūm* cannot be separated from *astvantəm ... uštānəm* 31.11b, *astvāitē uštānāi* 34.14a, *astvaṭ ... uštānā* 43.16c, and below 33.14a *tanvaseiṭ x'ahyā nštānəm* 'the breath of even his own body'. I therefore take it as an adverbial form 'with respect to body and breath' and explain it as arising by haplology from **uštānatanūm*.

33.11. The use of the nom. forms *yā savištō ahurō mazdāscā ārmaitišcā*

aśamcā with the flg. impvs. *sraotā* and *mərəzđātā* also appears in AitBr. 7.17 (verse) *madhuchandāḥ śṛṇotana řsabho reṇur ařakah. ye keca bhvātarah řthana ...* Humbach (1959, II 42) is probably correct in remarking that the presence of the rel. clause has affected the replacement of expected vocs. by nom. forms in the nouns employed correlatively with the impv. verbs.

aśamcā řrādař. guēθam manascā volū xšaθrām ‘truth which prospers the creatures and good thinking and their rule’. On the disjunctive use of *xšaθrām* referring to preceding *aśam* and *volū manō*, cf. 29.11 *kudā aśam* etc.

ādāi kahyācī ř pitī ‘when any requital comes (occurs)’. Loc. abs. construction: for other exx., cf. 31.19 *vayhān vidātā řmayā*.

33.12. *us mōi cīrəsvā ahurā* ‘Rise up to me, Lord’. For parallels, cf. 29.11 *ař mā mařā*.

ārmaiti řaviřim dasvā ‘Receive force through (our) piety’. Closest parallel: 34.11bc *ārmaitis vaxšt itayūti řaviři* ‘(our) piety has increased these two enduring forces (for Thee)’. Again the notion that the piety of the faithful grants power to god and his rule discussed at 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varadaiti ārmaitis*. Vedic employs med. *dhā* in identical fashion. Cf. RV. II 11.18ab *dhīsvā řavaḥ řūra yēna vřtrām. avābhinat* ‘Receive (from the Soma) that very might with which thou didst break open the obstacle’: V 55.2a *svayāni dadhidhve řaviřim yāthā vidē* ‘As is (well) known, ye have received force by yourselves’: etc.

33.13. *đōiši mōi yā vā ahifřā tū xšaθrahyā* ‘Reveal to me the safeguards of your rule’. Follows naturally from preceding verse: AhM. is to receive all sorts of strength from his adherents, and he is in turn to grant to them his support. *ahifřā* is difficult, but because of the lack of palatalization (i.e. not **aihiřřā*), it must repose upon orig. **āhifřā*, with the common shortening of initial *ā*. Derivation thus appears to be from **ā-bihřra-* (Ved. type *řiřnātha-* ‘perforation’), with the same development of **-hřr-* > *-řr-* appearing in *jařřa-* ‘deep’ = Ved. *gabhřřā-*. The root *har* appears in the sense ‘support’ in the Gāthās in *haranā-* ‘support’ 30.9, *vahiřřā harātū manayhā* ‘let one support with the very best thinking’ in 33.9b above.

ařā đaēnā đaxřayā ‘Reveal the conceptions in harmony with truth’. Belongs with 44.10c *yā* (= *đaēnā*) ... *ařā ... hacāmmā* ‘which conception is in alliance (harmony) with truth’. For disc., cf. 32.2. In general, the intent of the whole line *řřō spautā ārmaiti* (Jp₁) *ařā đaēnā đaxřayā* ‘By reason of my virtuous piety, reveal those conceptions in harmony with

truth' belongs with 43.10ab *aṭ tū mōi dāiš ašəm hyaṭ mā zaozaomī / ārmaiti hacimūō iṭ ārəm* 'Therefore, do thou reveal to me the truth, which I continue to summon. Being in companionship with piety, I have deserved it'. This last passage clearly shows that *ārmaiti* (Jp₁) is the preferable var. in 33.13c here.

33.14. *paurvatātəm manayhascā vayhāuš* 'predominance of good thinking'. The following *šyaoθanahyā ašā yācā uxḍahiyācā* 'as well as (predominance) of the action and the word allied with truth' also depends upon the preceding *paurvatātəm*, which is coordinated with the next phrase through the use of the conjunctions *cā ... yācā*. For disc., cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyatecā manayhō*. The instr. *ašā* modifies both *šyaoθanahyā* and *uxḍahiyācā* acc. to the typical employment appearing in 34.15ab *valištā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā, tā tū volū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell the best words and actions, namely, those allied with good thinking and truth'. Further exx. of this syntactic usage are noted at 32.2.

All the acc. forms *paurvatātəm*, *səraošəm* and *xšaθrāmcā* depend upon a suppressed inf. *stōi*, which has as its natural complement the dat. *ahurāi*. Cf. 34.4ab *aṭ iōi ātrəm ... usōmalū ... stōi rapautē ciθrā.avayhəm* 'We wish Thy fire to be of clear help for Thy supporter', 49.2c *ahunāi stōi ārmaitīm*. etc.

Yasna 34

Verses 1-3 are a solemn promise to the Wise Lord that the faithful shall strengthen his power in this world through the sacred dimension of worship and praise for their lord and by the secular enactment of the spiritual values of truth and good thinking, which he created, amid their fellow men. Moved by this oath, the Wise One is to bring salvation to his allies, which in verse 4 is defined as assistance for those who support his lordly principles and destruction for those who oppose his good rule.

In verses 5-7 we find one of the rare occasions in which Zarathustra asks whether his god really possesses the mastery to accomplish these needs in this world. But these moments of incertitude do not really represent the doubts of the prophet regarding the inherent powers of his lord, for they are clearly intended as a challenge to the Wise One to rally to the cause of good in his proponent's world. The reason for the help of god is then explained in verses 8-9. Opposing the commandments of the Wise Lord and the ways of truth and good thinking, these deceitful adversaries have wrought great danger for the truthful, who have tried to flee from these destroyers of this earthly existence. Nonetheless, the devoted have not lost their faith, for they persevere in their actions founded upon good thinking and in their piety and respect and appreciation for the lord who created the lofty principles of truth and good thinking (10). By such actions, as described in verses 1-3 as well, these faithful have given life and meaning to their god, and they shall continue to strengthen his might in their world. Their god is now a force to be reckoned with on earth (11).

Verses 12-15 then entreat the lord to indicate his desires as to how the truthful may most effectively bring to realization in their world the wondrous powers of truth and good thinking, which shall attain salvation from deceit for all of mankind.

34.1. *yā ... aməratatātəm ašəmcā taibyō dāyhā ... xšaθrəmcā haurvatātā* 'with which ... Thou hast received for Thyself immortality and truth and mastery over completeness'. The 3 terms *aməratatātəm*, *ašəmcā* and *haurvatātō* are in equal coordination as in 31.21ab *haurvatā aməratā-tascā ... ašaḥyācā ... xšaθrahyā*, where they all depend upon the flg. gen. *xšaθrahyā*. Cf. passage for disc.

aēšqm tōi alurā āhmā pourutāmāiš dastē is literally 'Let it be given of these to Thee, Lord, by us in the greatest number'. *pourutāmāiš* is purposely ambiguous, to be construed with the partitive gen. *aēšqm* and with the instr. *āhmā*. K. Hoffmann (1954, 50 fn 6) explains *dastē* as 3sg. pres. of *dā* 'give', but it seems better to interpret the form as a jussive inf. corresponding in function to the impv. *dāmā* in 34.3a below, which is in fact set parallel to a juss. inf. **arōi* (Mss. *ārōi*). With regard to its formation, *dastē* has been built to the pres. tense inf. *dazdyāi* 44.1 on the model of the correspondence existing betw. *sastē* 30.8, 46.12 and *sazdyāi* 30.2, 51.16, both inf. to *sanh* (cf. 30.2).

This verse and the following one are paraphrased at 47.1, which should be consulted for a complete disc.

34.2. The interpretation of this verse follows from the recognition that the instr. forms *manayhā ... šyaothanā ... garōbiš* correspond to the instrs. *šyaothanā ... vacayhā ... yasnā* of the preceding vs. Thus it continues the notion that all the powers of AhM. (*i tōi ... vīspā*) have been granted (*dātā* = 3sg. aor.; cf. 31.2) by the good and faithful behavior of men.

manayhā mainyēuš vayhēuš 'by the thinking stemming from (one's) good spirit'. Syntax corresponds to 34.10a below *vayhēuš manayhō šyaothanā* 'by his action stemming from good thinking', where all the parallel abl. constructions are discussed.

spəntahyācā nərəš šyaothanā yehyā urvā asā hacaitē 'by the action of the virtuous man whose soul is in alliance with truth'. This is an expanded stylistic variant of 33.14c *šyaothamahyā asā* 'action in alliance (harmony) with truth', and corresponds to 47.1b *hacā asāš šyaothanācā vacayhācā* in the paraphrased parallel (cf. remark at the end of vs. 1 above).

pairigaēθē xsmāvatō valmē 'in universal praise of your kind'. *pairigaēθa-* 'around the creatures, universal' is similar to Ved. *pārijman-* 'around the earth, universal'. The form anticipates the lig. *gaēθā vīspā* 'all the creatures' in the next verse.

34.3. This verse concludes the motif of the preceding two. If the powers of AhM. are dependent in this way upon the faithful, then the true adherents must make their proper offering to him.

ārōi zi hudāyghō vīspāiš ... xsmāvasū savō 'Indeed let salvation be granted to the beneficent man by all those of your kind'. Syntax and content follow 51.20a *taš vō nō hazaošāyghō vīspāyghō daidyāi savō* 'All ye (immortals) of like temperament, let that salvation of yours be granted

to us'. Cf. also Ved. parallel RV. I 128.6f *viśvasmā it sukṛte vāram ṛṇvati* cited at 30.3 *huzdāyḥō* etc. Both *ārōi* and *daidyāi* (for **dāidyāi*) are jussive pass. inf.s., and in particular the use of *ārōi* corresponds to the function of the impv. *dāmā* in *tōi nyazdām ... dāmā* of line a. *ārōi* is thus for orig. **arōi*, which has been normalized after the med. perf. *ārōi* 33.9. Similarly, the juss. inf. *ārōi* (from *ar* 'arise') 50.5 reposes on orig. **arōi*, which has been preserved at 28.4 **māng *airē* because the text was falsely redivided as *mām gairē*. On the process of normalization, cf. introd. p. 14ff.

I recognize other juss. inf.s. in the text in *dāvōi* 28.2 (parallel to impv. *ā mōi ... jasatā* 28.3), *āyōi* (= *ā.yōi*) 31.2, *rōiθwān* and *uxšyō* 31.7, *vidam* 32.6, *uziraidyāi* and *azš* 43.14 (with suppressed impv.), *āxsō* 46.2 (parallel impv. *vaēnā*), *ūcam* 48.9, *ārōi* (= **arōi*) 50.5 (parallel impv. *āvīsyā*), *daidyāi* 51.20.

34.4. *aṭ tōi ātrām ... usmali ... stōi rapantē ciθrā.avaṅham aṭ mazdā daihišyantē ... dərəštā.āēnaṅham* 'We wish Thy fire, Wise One, to be of clear help to Thy supporter but of visible harm to Thy enemy'. Belongs with 51.9ac *ṅam xsnuṅam rānōibyā dā θwā āθrā suxrā nazdā ; rāšayējhē drəgvantəm savayō ašavanəm* 'Which satisfaction Thou shalt give to the two factions through Thy bright fire, Wise One. ... (a sign) to destroy the deceitful and to save the truthful man'.

34.5. *kaṭ vō xsāθram kā īstis* 'Have ye the mastery, have ye the power?'. *kā* stands for expected *kaṭ* (Fragewort), and has simply been assimilated by Zarathustra to the following fem. *īstis*. Syntax similar to 48.2c *kaṭ ašavā ... vāṅghaṭ drəgvantəm* 'Shall the truthful conquer the deceitful?', etc.

yaθā vā ahmi 'as I indeed am'. The var. *ahmi* (S₂, O₂, etc.), although attested in fair Mss., is far better than *huhni*. This phrase, to be considered a parenthesis, refers directly to *drigūm yūsmākam* of the immediately flg. *θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūsmākam* 'to protect your needy dependent'. On other such parentheses, cf. 34.8b below *hyaṭ *aš.aojā nāidyāyham*, 43.8b *hyaṭ isōyā*, etc. Cf. also the syntax of 44.15bcd, where line c *hyaṭ hām spādā anocayhā jamaētē* is interposed betw. the syntactically connected lines b and d.

The fig. *θrāyōidyāi drigūm* recalls Yt. 11.3 *sraošō driyūm θrātō.tamō* 'S. who best protects the needy'. Lommel (1968, 127 ff.) has convincingly explained *drigu-* as 'the needy one, dependent'. The usage of *ašā vohū manayhā* with *θrāyōidyāi* anticipates vs. 7c *ašā aθā nā θrāzdūm*, which is the reason why I do not take these instr. forms as comit. instr. with

voc. *mazdā*; cf. next vs. Note also that *ahurō mazdā*, *ašəm* and *vohū manō* are all 3 considered the protectors of Zarathustra in 50.1bcd *kā ... θrātā ... anyō ašā! θwaṭcā mazdā ahurā ... vahištāṭcā manayhō*. Thus it is best to link *ašā* and *vohū manayhā* here in 34.5 as agentive instr. with *θrāyōidyāi*.

34.6. *yezi aθā stā haiθīm mazdā ašā vohū manayhā* 'If ye are truly so — Thou, Wise One, along with truth and good thinking'. Syntax same as 33.7ab *ā mā idūm ... mazdā ... ašā vohū manayhā*. Cf. remarks at 28.3 *yā vā ašā nfyāni* (end) and Zwolanek (1970, 31).

ahyā ayhāuš vīspā maēθā 'through every change of this world (existence)'. For disc., cf. 33.9 *x*āθrā *maēθā.mayā*.

On the fig. *yazəmnaścā ... stavas*, cf. 33.8 *yasnəm ... xsmāvatō* etc.

34.7. *arədra-* 'sincere', translated in light of Sogd. 'rdwk- 'id.', the latter belonging to OP. *ardhumanīš* 'sincere-minded'; cf. Gershevitch (1954, 22 §154). Thus normal alternation of *-ra-* and *-n-* adjs.

vayhāuš vaēdānā manayhō 'through the possession of good thinking'. Antithesis to *vayhāuš əvistī manayhō* 'through the lack of good thinking' in vs. 9b below.

sānghūš raēxənā aspāncī! sādrcī! caxrayō usəurū '... make even immoral decrees and painful legacies disappear'. I take *aspān* with *sānghūš*, *sādrā* with *raēxənā* respectively. Both *sānghūš-* 'decree' and *raēxənah-* 'legacy, inheritance' belong to the legalistic vocabulary; cf. 31.1 *sānghāmāhi* and 32.11 *raēxənah-*. The form *usəurū* is problematic: my translation 'disappear' is based on a tentative association of the word with *aošah-* 'destruction, disappearance' 49.1.

34.8. *tāiš zī nā šyaθauāiš hyemē* (var. *hyainī* J₂) *yaēšū as pairi pourubyo iθvejō* 'Because they frighten us with actions in which there has been danger for many ...'. *hyemē* must be of caus. value, since the acc. *nā* 'us' is parallel to acc. *nāidyūghəm* 'the weaker person' in the Plg. *hyaṭ *aš.aojā nāidyūghəm*, with both phrases resuming motif of *θrāyōidyāi drīgūm* of vs. 5b above. Thus, *hyemē* cannot represent **hayemē*, for the Ved. *bhāyate* is always intrans. (on *hayente* Yt. 17.12-13, cf. Lommel 1927, 161 ln 1). I therefore prefer the var. *hyainī* (J₂), which stands for an orig. reading **hyānti* of the Urtext (cf. *aibi ... daini* for Urtext **dāni* 32.15). This **hyānti* I ascribe to an enlarged root *hyā* 'frighten': cf. the parallel enlargement *brāh* 'frighten' in *biwivāyha* from **bihvāyha* at Yt. 19.48.

hyaṭ as aojā nāidyūghəm cannot be correct, for the intention is

clearly 'They frighten us ... much as the very strong person the weaker man'. I therefore emend *as aojā* to **aš.aojā* 'one of great strength'; cf. *aš.aojah-* Y. 9.8. 57.15; *aš.aojišta-* FrW. 8.2; etc. The change of **aš.aojā* to *as aojā* has been motivated by the surrounding forms *as* (*yaēšzī as. rohū as manō*) in the same vs. Similar mistake at 31.9a *as xratuš* for **aš.xratuš* and 44.19d *asistiš* for **aš.ištiš*: cf. introd. p. 8. The whole phrase *hyaṭ *aš.aojā nāidyāṅham* is a parenthesis: cf. *yaθā vā ahmi* in vs. 5a above.

θvaliyā ... qstā urvātahyā 'because of malice for Thy commandment'. The phrase is obj. gen.: cf. 28.4 *šyaoθananqm asiš*.

yōi nōiṭ ašam mainyautā 'who have not respected (the) truth'. For disc. and parallels. cf. 31.19 *gūstā yō mantā ašau*.

aēihyō dūirē volū as manō 'Good thinking has remained at a distance from these'. Same motif as 32.4b *daēvō.zuštā vaṅhāuš siždyannū manayhō* 'Those pleasing to the gods continue to retreat from good thinking', but viewed from the other point of departure.

34.9. Verses 9 and 10 juxtapose contrasting ideas. The parallel elements are *vidušō : gərəbqm. duš.šyaoθanā : vaṅhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā*.

yōi spəntqm ārmaitim ... duš.šyaoθanā avazazaṭ 'those of evil actions who have abandoned virtuous piety'. Contrasts with flg. 34.10ab *ahyā vaṅhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā vaocaṭ gərəbqm huxratuš spəntqmcā ārmaitim* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety', where *gərəbqm* refers back to the part. *vidvali-* in preceding vs. 9a *ārmaitim θvaliyā ... hərəxδqm vidušō* 'piety esteemed by Thy knowing follower'.

vaṅhāuš əvisti manayhō contrasts with preceding *vaṅhāuš vaēdanā manayhō* in vs. 7a above.

34.10. *ahyā vaṅhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā ... huxratuš* 'through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination ...'. Antithesis to 47.5d *ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāṭ ā šyqs manayhō (drəgvā)* 'dwelling (= living) by his actions stemming from evil thinking, the deceitful man ...'. This last ex. is very important in that it clearly shows that *vaṅhāuš manayhō* in the current vs. must be a parallel ablative. Thus syntax is comparable to 32.3a *akāṭ manayhō stā ciθram* and its antithesis 33.6a (*ərəzuš*) *hvō mainyāuš ā vahistāṭ kayā*. These two sets clearly indicate that in all other instances of similar figures in the Gāthās only an abl. interpretation is the correct one.

These are, listed by type: 46.14e *vayhāuš uxδāiš manayhō* = 47.2b *uxδāiš vayhāuš δānū manayhō* = 51.3b *uxδāiš vayhāuš manayhō*. 34.14b *vayhāuš šyaoθanā manayhō*, 45.5e *vayhāuš mainyēuš šyaoθanāiš*, 47.2c *ārmātōiš ... šyaoθanā*, 48.5b *vayhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*, 50.9b *ašā vayhāuš šyaoθanāiš manayhō* 'with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth'. With both word and action: 44.10d *ārmātōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanāiš*, 45.8c *vayhāuš mainyēuš šyaoθanahyā uxδahiyācā ... ahurəm* 'Lord of the action and word stemming from Thy good spirit', 53.1d *daēnayā vayhuyā uxδā šyaoθanācā*. With thought: 34.2a *manayhā mainyēušcā vayhāuš* 'and through thinking stemming from good understanding'. Related also: 48.11d *kāug ā vayhāuš jimaṭ manayhō cistiš* 'To whom shall come the understanding stemming from good thinking?' and 48.8d *vayhāuš mainyēuš šyaoθanayn javarō* 'incentive for actions stemming from good spirit'.

dqmim vidvā hiθqm ašahyā 'knowing the creator and ally of truth'. This must refer to AhM. acc. to 31.8bc *hyaṭ θwā hām cašmaini grabāu haiθim ašahyā dqmim* 'when I grasped Thee in a vision to be the real creator of truth' and 32.2ab *ahurō ... ašā huš.haxā x'ānūtā* 'the Lord, the good companion of sunlike truth'. Thus Zarathustra seems to say, when a man realizes that AhM. is the creator and ally of truth, he expresses his understanding of this by acting with good thinking, through which AhM. himself did create truth (cf. 31.7), and also with the piety necessary for offering strength to his lord (cf. 28.3).

tācā vispā ... θwalmi mazdā xšaθrōi ā vōyaθrā is difficult, but seems to refer to the remaining powers of AhM. *vōyaθrā* is probably for orig. **vōiθrā*, perhaps related to Lat. *vis*: thus my translation 'powers'.

34.11. *aṭ tōi ubē haurvāscā x'arəθāi.ā amərətātāscā* 'Now, both completeness and immortality are (to serve) for Thy food (sustenance)'. For disc., cf. 33.8 *dātā vā amərətāscā* etc.

vayhāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūiti tavišī 'Through (or, along with) the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring forces (for Thee)'. This statement belongs with intrans. 33.10c *vohū uxšyū manayhā xšaθrā ašācā* 'Grow through the rule of good thinking and truth' and all the other exx. discussed at 28.3bc *yaēihyō xšaθrauncā ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*. On the fig. *vayhāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ*, cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc.

tāiš ā mazdā vidvaēsqm θwōi.ahi. Lommel (1942, 14) has shown that *θwōi.ahi* belongs with *upā.θwayēiti* 'terrorize' Vyt. 27 and is thus to be

restored as **θw̄yahi* (assim. of orig. **θwayahi*). However, the form does not represent a false vocalization, but shows the attempt to normalize the misunderstood **θw̄yahi* acc. to the phrase *θw̄di as* at 31.9a. For process, cf. introd. p. 13. Similarly, I explain *vidvaēšqm* for orig. **vidvaēšam* 'the enemy', influenced by the freq. gen. pl. *aēšqm* appearing in the text. The phrase is therefore: *iāiš ā mazdā *vidvaēšam *θw̄yahi* 'By reason of these things, Wise One, Thou dost terrorize the enemy'.

34.12. *kaṭ tōi rāzarō kaṭ vaši: kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahyā*. The reading *vaši* does not seem correct, for we expect a noun parallel to preceding *rāzarō* and upon which the Ilg. gens. *stūtō* and *yasnahyā* can depend. Cf. Y. 71.1 *kaṭ asti raθwam jrumaraitiš*. Yt. 1.1 *kaṭ asti nuθrahe ... auzavastamam*, etc. I therefore emend to **vasō*, noting that the orig. reading is partly attested in the var. *vasō* (I₂, Ip₁, K₄). Change of **vziš* to *vaši* was motivated by the fact that the form otherwise appears in the Gāthās in conjunction with the root *xšā* (once with root *i* in the empd. *vasō.iti-* 53.9), and its use here in 34.12 'must have seemed odd to the redactors of the text, who substituted the expression *kaṭ vaši* 'what wishest thou?', which must have been a well known phrase to them. Thus translate: 'What is Thy directive? What Thy wish? Is it for praise? Is it for worship?'. Parallels of the fig. *stūt-* ... *yasna-* are given at 33.8 *yasnam* etc.

vā vidāyāṭ ašiš rāšnam 'by reason of which one should distribute the rewards to those who follow Thy directive'. The form *rāšnam* should be ascribed to the adj. *rāzam-* 'following directive(s)', corresponding to the preceding *rāzar/n-* 'directive'. The combination *ašiš rāšnam* recalls above 34.3c *hudāyihō ... savō* 'salvation for the beneficent man', and follows the pattern that most gen. forms of neut. nouns are used possessively in the Gāthās; cf. 32.11 *raēxanah-*.

sišā nā ašā paθō vaṭhāuš x'aētāng manayhō 'Instruct us to the paths of good thinking, easy to travel in alliance with truth'. *ašā* modifies *x'aētāng*, as is obvious from Ilg. 34.13b *yāhū ... ašācīṭ urvāxšaṭ* 'along which one shall proceed in alliance with truth'. According to 51.16b *vaṭhāuš padābīš manayhō*, we should have expected **ašā x'aētāng vaṭhāuš paθō manayhō*, but *x'aētāng* and *paθō* have interchanged places in order to allow the caesura to fall in its usual place. Cf. 44.2e *hāvō mainyū ahūm.bīš urvaθō mazdā*, where *mainyū* and *ahūm.bīš* also have been reversed for exactly the same reason.

34.13. *daēnā saōšyantam yāhū karāiā ašācīṭ urvāxšaṭ* 'to the con-

ceptions of those who shall save, along which Thy extoller shall proceed in alliance with truth ...'. *yāhū* (J₂, S₁) is correct, for the pron. resumes preceding *daēnā*, in turn a paraphrase of *advānəm ... vaγhāuš manayhō* in line a and *paθō vaγhāuš x'aētāug manayhō* in vs. 12c. The conceptions of the saviors (world-healers) are certainly founded upon the enactment of good thinking and truth in this world. Also, I prefer the var. *karātā* (S₁, M₁₂, K₄) to *kərətā*, and I explain it as nom. sg. of a stem *karatar-* 'extoller, commemorator'; cf. 29.8c *carəkərəθrā srāvayeyhē* 'to recite hymns of praise', described as one of the fundamental acts of the true believer. The word thus continues the theme of *kaṭ vā stūtō* in the preceding vs. Finally, *uvāxsaṭ* here and in 44.8 is 3sg. subj. of the s-aor. of *vraγ* 'proceed'. It is difficult to decide whether the form has adopted the expected extended grade of its corresponding indic. or whether we are dealing with a case of the freq. lengthening of *a* to *ā* after *v*. Cf. Addenda.

lyax cəvištā hūdābyō miždəm 'the prize which has been promised to the beneficent'. *cəvištā* is for orig. **cōištā*, just as *cəvišī* 51.15 and *srəvimā* 28.7 stand for orig. **cōišī* and **srōimā* (older **sravōimā*). The lig. *hūdābyō miždəm* responds to *ašīs rāšnəm* in the preceding vs.

34.14. *taṭ (= miždəm) zi ... vairim astvaitē uštānāi dātā* 'For this prize, desirable for both body and breath, has been established (determined) ...'. On *astvaitē uštānāi*, cf. 30.7 *kəhrpəm ... qnuā*. On *dātā*, cf. 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā*.

vaγhāuš šyaοθanā manayhō: yōi zi gəuš vərəzənē azγā '(for those) who, through their action stemming from good thinking, indeed exist in the community of the fertile cow'. The lig. *vaγhāuš šyaοθanā manayhō* belongs within the rel. clause *yōi* etc., but has been preposed before the rel. pron. to avoid breaking this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For disc., cf. 28.1 *vaγhāuš xratīm manayhō*. On the syntax of abl. *vaγhāuš ... manayhō*, cf. *ahγā vaγhāuš manayhō šyaοθanā* in vs. 10 above, where other exx. are discussed. In general, it is important to note that *yōi zi gəuš vərəzənē azγā* is a metaphor for the community of the faithful followers of good thinking and truth. Cf. remarks at 30.10 (end) for treatment of parallel metaphors.

frādō is nom. pl., not gen. sg., of the root noun *frād-*, and agrees with antecedent *yōi zī*.

34.15. *ax mōi vahīštā sravāscā šyaοθanācā vaocā | tā tū vohū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell to me the best words and actions, those allied (in harmony) with good thinking and truth'. Syntax resembles 33.13ab *dōišī mōi vā*

vā *ābifrā tā xšaθrahyā ... and thus suggests that a rel. *yā* has been suppressed before *vahištā*. For employment of the instr. *volū manayhā ašcā*, cf. 32.2, where all parallels are given.

išudam stūtō 'the claim (due) for my praise' is obj. gen.: cf. 28.4 *ašīs šyaοθananqra* 'rewards for our actions', where other exx. are listed. On *fərašām ... dā ahūm* 'Thou shalt heal the world', cf. 30.9.

In general, note that the whole phrase *xsmākā xšaθrā ahurā fərašām haiθyām dā ahūm* 'Through your rule, Lord, Thou shalt truly heal this world in accord with our wish' is antithesis to 46.11ab *xšaθrāis ahūm yūjān karapanō kāvayascā akāis šyaοθanūis ahūm mərəngəidyai mašim* 'During their regimes, the Karpans and Kavis yoked (us) with evil actions in order to destroy the world and mankind'. For disc., cf. 30.9 *aṭcā tōi vaēm hīyāmā* etc.

Yasna 43

This hymn, entirely addressed to Ahura Mazdā, begins with 4 verses requesting the help of the lord to achieve support for truth and good thinking among men; also the compelling understanding arising from a virtuous spirit which is at the basis of the former task. From this point on, as in Y. 47, Zarathustra concentrates his attention on the workings of the virtuous spirit in both god and man. In verses 5-6 he relates his recognition of this quality in his god, in that the Wise One was motivated to create existence, to fix an appropriate reward for a person's behavior (good or bad), and to come to save the fallen world debased by the effects of evil and deceit. Verses 7-15 then recount the prophet's own awakening of his calling to the service of his lord, a realization resulting from his confrontation with the workings of the same virtuous spirit upon himself. The visitations of the virtuous spirit described in this Gāthā belong to Zarathustra's extraordinary vision and have been formulated by him in such dramatic terms for the purpose of depicting the development of his own understanding in terms of real encounters with a force strong enough to motivate him to a new dimension of perception of the characteristics and problems of existence.

Analysis. Quoting a prayer which states that the Wise One indeed has the power to grant any request, Zarathustra immediately sets the theme in the first verse by entreating his god for the might to sustain truth and good thinking in the world of man. In this way he at once identifies his nature with the essence of his god who created these principles, yet stresses that the difference between them lies in the helplessness of man, in the pervasive power of god, to bring these spiritual forces to realization. Verse 2 then continues with the complementary notion: Mankind must also become understanding through the workings of a similar virtuous spirit, because it was through the effects of such a spirit that god himself was moved to create truth and good thinking. Thus this world must possess not only the instruments to attain the highest good but also the inherent understanding and moral quality to drive them to set these instruments into motion in their own existence. The highest good which can be so achieved approaches the state of perfection in which god himself abides (3). God, who holds all powers (current and future), must

therefore intercede for the good of man (4). This is the special purpose in the prophet's designation of his lord as virtuous and brave in the verse, which thus defines him both as the source of the moral principles of truth and good thinking and the power to bring these to fulfillment. Verses 5 and 6 then describe the prophet's understanding of his god's dimensions of virtue. He created the world, for without its creation there would be no possibility to comprehend his goodness. He judges man with fairness. He has come to save the world with his principles of truth and good thinking.

In the following verses Zarathustra describes the awakening of his own understanding, which was evoked through his own personal encounter with the force of this virtuous spirit. Elevated to heightened perception through this spirit, the future prophet realized that he must take sides in the innate struggle between good and evil in this world (7), and that the only possible choice lies in the alliance with truth and in the opposition to deceit (8). That he must serve this cause of truth (9) with knowledge founded upon good thinking (10), which alone shall bring the best existence to pass in the world of man (11). That there must be obedience for the one true god, the Wise Lord (12), for only under his rule of truth and good thinking can this earthly life become meaningful (13).

In the final verses Zarathustra swears his allegiance to the Wise Lord and entreats, by reason of their comradeship and their unity of purpose, for his god's support to bring to realization the things which the prophet has come to understand in his spiritual vision (14). Verses 15 and 16 establish Zarathustra's alliance with the virtuous spirit of god in a solemn oath, and to prove this truth, he quotes the fundamental principles which shall heal this world: One must oppose the forces of evil but submit to the majestic powers of the Wise Lord. Truth and good thinking must grow strong and mature in this world. These highest precepts thus return to the basic motif so eloquently expressed in the very first verse of this Gāthā. The circle is thus complete.

43.1. *uštā ahmāi ... mazdā dāyāt ahurō* 'May the Wise Lord grant wishes to him'. These first 2 lines, framed in impersonal speech which differs from the personal style of *vasami* and *mōi* in lines cd, are a *maqbra*. Here Zarathustra quotes a Segensspruch intended to move AhM. to grant his entreaties expressed in the flg. lines of vs. 1 and in the subsequent vss. 2 and 3.

utayūiti tavišim gaṭ.tōi vasamī ašam dərəidyāi. The traditional text cannot be correct here, since *utayūiti-* is always employed as an adj. in the Gāthās (cf. 30.7) and must therefore agree with *tavišim* here, as in 48.6ab *liā nā utayūitīm dāṭ tavišim* 'she shall grant enduring strength to us'. Constructions involving *vas* 'wish' with an inf. always govern the acc., which necessitates the emendation to **utayūitīm tavišim* in our passage. Cf. 34.4ab *aṭ tōi ātrām ... usāmahi ... stōi rapantē ciθrā.avajhām*, 50.2b *yē hīm almāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ*, etc. Thus translate: 'I wish enduring strength to come in order to uphold the truth'. Direct parallel is given at 46.3.

rāyō ašiš vaḡliūš gaēm manajhō 'the rewards of wealth and a life of good thinking'. These specify the expression in 28.2bc *ahvā astvatascū hyaṭcā manajhō āyaptā* 'the attainments of both existences (worlds) — of the body as well as of the mind'. In 43.13de below these are also described as *darəgəm āyu* 'long life' and *vairya stiš* 'the desirable condition' existing under the rule of AhM.

43.2. *aṭcā almāi višpanqm vahištām* 'Moreover. (I wish) the best of all things for this person'. The phrase is still dependent upon *vasamī* in vs. 1. The pron. *almāi* appears in place of expected *maiḡyō* in order to imitate the form *almāi* in the preceding *maṡra*. Note, however, that Zarathustra also refers to himself in the 3rd person at 49.12ab, with subsequent switch to 1st person forms in the final 2 lines of the vs.

x'āθrōyā nā x'āθrām daiditā stands for orig. **x'āθrōi *yā nā *x'arəθam daiditā* 'by which a man might place the person of good goal in happiness'. Cf. 28.2c *yāiš rapantō daidīṭ x'āθrē* 'by which one might place your supporters in happiness' and 50.5d *yā nā x'āθrē dāyāṭ* 'by which one might place us in happiness'. On orthographic shortening of **x'āθrōi *yā* to *x'āθrōyā*, cf. 53.3d *hūdāuvarəšvā* for **hūdānū *varəšvā*. Cf. also SI. (1965, 17 f.).

**x'arəθa-* is cognate with Ved. *svārtha-* 'of good goal, purpose' (also trisyllabic), and also lies at the basis of *x'ar'θiya-* 'deriving from good purpose' in 28.10c *x'araiṡyā ... sravā*. In related context, cf. 33.8a *jiō mōi vōizdīm arəθā yā volū šyavāi manajhā* 'Take ye heed of my goals (purposes), which I shall enact with good thinking'. Passage here seems to define *x'arəθa-* as a person whose goals are motivated by good thinking. Replacement of orig. **x'arəθam* by *x'āθrām* has taken place under the influence of preceding **x'āθrōi*. On process, cf. introd. p. 8 f. and SI. (ibid.).

θwā ciciθwā spāništā mainyū mazdā 'to be understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit. Wise One'. *ciciθwā* is nom. sg. of a stem *ciciθwan-*, the equiv. of Ved. *cikitvan-* 'understanding': the form is not instr. of a stem *cicitu-*. Cf. 43.7 below.

yā dā ašā vaṅhāuš māyā manayhō 'through which (spirit) Thou didst create the wondrous powers of good thinking allied with truth'. The rel. pron. *yā* does not anticipate *ašā*, but refers back to the preceding instr. *spāništā mainyū*. AhM. does not create the good through truth but by reason of his very virtuous spirit, which is his prime motivating force. Cf. 44.7de *azām tāiš θwā fraxšnē avāmi mazdā | spantā mainyū vispanqm dātāram* 'Through these (questions) I am trying to discern Thee, Wise One. to be the Creator of everything by reason of Thy virtuous spirit'; 51.7ah *yā qm tašō ... spāništā mainyū mazdā* 'Thou, Wise One, who didst fashion the cow by reason of Thy most virtuous spirit': also 45.6bc *yā hūdā yōi hanti spantā mainyū* 'Who is beneficent to those who exist by reason of His virtuous spirit'. Syntax of 43.2cd here thus identical to 31.7b *hvō xraθwā dmiš ašam yā dārayaṭ vahīštam manō* 'Through this intention He created truth, by reason of which (intention) He has (also) upheld the very best thinking', where instr. *yā* likewise refers back to preceding instr. *xraθwā*.

ašā thus belongs with *vaṅhāuš māyā manayhō* in the sense of 'the wondrous powers of good thinking allied with truth'; cf. 32.2. Stylistically identical: 34.11b *vaṅhāuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ* 'the rule of good thinking allied with truth' (similarly, 51.18b), 46.2e *vaṅhāuš ašā īšīm manayhō* 'the power of good thinking allied with truth', 50.9ah *tāiš vā ... paitī ... ayeni ... ašā vaṅhāuš šyaobanāiš manayhō* 'I shall encounter you with action stemming from good thinking allied with truth'.

43.3. *arəzūš savayhō paθō sīsōiṭ* '(who) might instruct us to the straight paths of the Mighty One'. Both the flg. line d *haiθyāng ā.stiš yāng ā.šaeiti ahurō* 'to the true heights where the Lord dwells' and the parallel 33.5c *arəzūš paθō yaēšī ahurō šaeiti* show that *savayhō* must also refer to AhM. Thus the form belongs to *savah-* 'mighty' (= Ved. *śavás-*); cf. designation of AhM. at 33.11a *yā savištō ahurō*. Adj. *savah-* also appears at 28.9c *išō xšaθrəmcā savayham* 'The powers and mastery belong to (you) mighty ones' and 51.2c *vahmāi ... savayhō* 'for the glory of the Mighty One', both referring to AhM. and his companions. Cf. also remarks at 32.11 *raēxənah-*.

haiθyāng ā.stiš 'the true heights'. I analyse the word *ā.sti-* 'height' as

ā-st-i- and thus combine it with Ved. *ā sthā* 'elimb, mount'. Thus morphologically related to the Ved. type *ni-dh-i-* 'treasury', etc. Cf. also *paity-ā-st-i-* 'firm foundation' 53.3.

The word *huzāntu-* 'of good lineage, noble' belongs with Ved. *sujātā-* 'id.' and lies at the basis of *hao-zqθwa-* 'good relationship' 45.9.

43.4. *hyaṭ tā zastā yā m̄ hafṣī avā yā dā ašiš* 'if Thou shalt help me with the very hand with which Thou dost hold those rewards which Thou shalt give'. The form *avā* is intentionally double-valued, both as 2sg. pres. subj. *avā* 'thou shalt help' and as acc. pl. pron. *avā* 'those' corresponding to *yā dā ašiš*. Note that the juxtaposition *zastā ... avā* is meant to recall 29.9c *zastavaṭ avā*.

hyaṭ mōi vaṅhāuš hazē jimaṭ manayhō '(and) if the force of good thinking shall come to me'. This *hyaṭ* clause is parallel to the preceding one and also depends upon *aṭ mānghāi*. The line belongs with 46.2e *āxsō vaṅhāuš ašā ištīm manayhō* 'to see the power of good thinking allied with truth' and 48.6b *dāṭ tavištīm vaṅhāuš manayhō* 'she shall grant the force of good thinking'. Intention is that there is just as great a power in promoting the ways of good thinking and truth as there exists in the ways of evil, under whose control the world now regrettably lies.

43.5. *hyaṭ θivā aṅhāuš zqθōi darasam paourvīm* 'when I saw Thee to be the First One at the creation of the world'. Belongs with 44.3b *kasnā zqθā piā ašahyā paouriyē* 'Which man was the father of truth in the beginning, during the creation?'. Both *zqθōi* and *zqθā* attest to a stem *zqθa-* 'birth, creation' (correct. Bthlm. 1904, 1693).

hyaṭ dā šyaoθanā mīzdavanm yācā uxδā 'when Thou didst determine actions as well as words to have their prizes'. On coordination with *yācā*, cf. 28.2 *astvatasē hyaṭcā*. The whole phrase is discussed at 28.4 *ašišcā šyaoθananam* etc.

43.6. *yahmī ... urvaēsē* must designate a time between *aṅhāuš zqθōi* 'at the creation of the world' and *dāmōiš urvaēsē apāmē* 'at the final turning point of creation'. Thus I take the phrase as 'at this very turning point, time', noting that the flg. *ahmī* is intentionally ambiguous. Zarathustra means, on the one hand, *yahmī ... urvaēsē ... ahmī* 'at which turning point I exist (am)' = 'now', with *ahmī* = Ved. *āsmi*.

jasō mazdā xšaθrā ahmī volū manayhā 'Thou, the Wise One, hast come into the world with the rule of good thinking'. The second value

of *ahmī* (= Ved. *asmin*) resumes *ayhānīs* of the preceding vs. acc. to Zarathustra's characteristic employment of this pron. Thus this passage is a variant of 30.7a *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā volū ašācā* 'But to this world He came with the rule of good thinking and truth', where the use of the pron. forms *ahmāi ahmī* are discussed, as well as the fig. *xšaθrā volū manayhā (ašācā)*. Note that the root *i* is also attested with loc. in the same meaning in RV.: cf. IX 50.2 *ūd irate tisrō vācaḥ yād āvya eṣi sāmavi* 'Three voices arise when thou goest into the sheep back (strainer)', etc.

vehyā švaθarānīs gaēθā ašā frāclauē 'through the actions of which the creatures allied with truth do prosper'. For disc., cf. 44.15 (2nd para.).

aēihyō ratīs sāughaii ārmaitīs θvaliyā xratānīs 'To these does piety announce the judgments of Thy will'. Juxtaposed with preceding *jasō ... xšaθrā* in order to show the dependency of sovereignty upon piety and obedience. Motif is dealt with at 28.3 *xšaθrām ... ārmaitīs*.

43.7. *hyaṭ nā volū pairi.jasaṭ manayhā* 'when he attended me with good thinking'. Implicit subject of *pairi.jasaṭ* is *spantō mainyuš*. This is clear from the development of this hymn. Verse 2 states that the best of all things to befall a man is to become motivated by the virtuous spirit of the lord with which he himself has created all that is wondrous and good. Verse 3 continues, if this occurs, one would reach the highest good, that state of sincerity, nobility and virtue which distinguishes the lord. The preceding verse 6 then states, this is now possible for mankind, since AhM. has come into the current world with his virtuous spirit, offering it to those who comprehend that truth and good thinking will further existence. Zarathustra now explains in verse 7 here how he indeed was moved by the spirit of the lord to realize the true situation. Specifically, the use of *spantam aṭ θvā ... māughī ... hyaṭ mā volū pairi.jasaṭ manayhā* 'Yes, I realized Thee to be virtuous when he attended me with good thinking' is intended to resume the idea *θvā ciciθvā spānistā mainyū* 'to become understanding through Thy most virtuous spirit in vs. 2c above.

kaθā ayarā daxšārā ferasayāi dišā aibi θvāhū gaēθāhū tamišicā. In that the questions of vs. 7 correspond to the answers in vs. 8, viz. *cis ahī* 'Who art thou?' and *zaraθuštrō* '(I am) Zarathustra': *kahyā ahī* 'To which (side) dost thou belong?' and *ašaconē rafānō hīyām* 'I would be a support for the truthful man' (essential answer), it is clear that *kaθā ayarā daxšārā ferasayāi dišā* must also correspond to *hyaṭ ā*

būstīš vasasə.xšaθrahyā dyā of vs. 8d. Consequently, it is first obvious that we must read **daxšār *ā ... dišā* in order to obtain a locution parallel to *ā ... dyā* in the flg. answer.

The resulting **daxšār* (better **daxšārē*) immediately suggests a neut. pl. of a stem *daxšar/n-* of the type *sax^vārē* 29.4 (*sax^var/n-* 'word'), *ayārē* 43.2 above (*ayar/n-* 'day'), whose meaning should be 'revelation' acc. to *daxšayā* 'reveal' 32.13, *daxšaṭ* 'revealed' 43.15 below. Ascribing such meaning 'revelations' to **daxšār(ē)* fits very well within the constant use of *mānghi* 'I realized' throughout this hymn, for if this Gāthā can be described in any characteristic way, it is certainly a 'hymn of revelations'. Cf. the motif *θwā ciciθwā spāništā mainiyū* in vs. 2c and *hyaṭ ... daxšaṭ ušyā ... vahištā* 'when he revealed the best things to be said' in vs. 15bc below.

ā dišā and flg. *ā dyā* (= **diyā*), the only med. forms of *ā dā* in Av., belong best with Ved. med. *dhā* 'undertake, begin', freq. construed with an inf. Cf. RV I 85.9c *dhattā indro nāry āpāṅsi kártave* 'Indra undertakes (begins) to perform his heroic acts', etc. Consequently, the hypersyllabic *fārasayāi* should contain an inf. of some sort, and the only typologically correct one would be **fārasē*, of the Ved. type *-grābhe -rābhe* (State II roots). Positing now a much earlier form of the phrase as **daxšār ā frasai diša*, it can be seen that the usual repetition of preverbs would result in **daxšār ā frasai ā diša*, which I envisage resulting in false **frasayā* owing to the appearance of *frasayā* at 44.13. The subsequent writing *fārasayāi* simply issues from the tendency to write final *-yā* as *-yāi* (cf. SI. 1962, 61 f.); cf. vars. *fārasayā frasayā* even here and note *ušyā ušyāi* in 43.15 below, etc. For the meaning of the inf., the common Gāthic sense 'counsel, advise, explain' of the med. forms of *fāras* seems most favorable to me.

kathā ayarē can only be translated as 'how, this day?', and the flg. *yavaṭ ā* (orig. **yavatā*) ... *staomi* 'while I praise ...' is the appropriate answer. Cf. RV. VIII 86.2a *kathā mūnāṅi vāṅi vimanā ūpa stavat* 'How shall V. praise you now?'. VIII 94.8ab *kād vo adyā mahānāṅi devānām āvo ṛṅṅe* 'Shall I entreat today for the help of the great gods?'. etc., with adverbial expression of time following initial question word. Finally, *taušvicā* appears to be a mistake for **taušucā* (already Bthlm. 1879, 42), or possibly **taušvicā*.

All these considerations thus require the reconstruction *kathā ayarē *daxšārē *ā *fārasē *(ā) dišā aiḅi θwāhū gaēθāhū *taušucā* 'How, this day, wouldst thou undertake to explain these revelations among thy creatures and thine own?'.
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43.8. *hyaṭ isōyā* 'if I were able' is a parenthesis. Cf. *yavaṭ isāi* in flg. vs. 9c and 34.5a *yaθā vā ahmī*. The form *isōyā* is graphically regular for **isōiyā* and thus represents a thematically inflected opt. built to 1sg. subj. *isāi* 28.4, 43.9, 50.11. For disc., cf. 28.7 *srəvinā*.

*hyaṭ ā bhūstīš vasasə.xšaθrahyā dyā / yavaṭ ā (*yavatā) θwā mazdā staomī nfyācā*. The use of *hyaṭ* shows a change to indirect discourse, and therefore the employment of *θwā mazdā* 'Thee, Wise One' is proper, although AhM. cannot be the subject of the repeated *pairi.jasaṭ* (cf. vs. 7 above). The word *bhūstīš* is difficult, but since it must somehow continue the notion of **daxsārə* 'revelations', I translate it as 'endeavors' in light of Ved. *bhūṣ*, freq. 'to endeavor'. Cf. RV. X 42.1b *bhūṣann iva prā bharā stōmam asmai* 'Endeavoring, as it were, to him I shall offer praise', where *bhūṣan* appears with *stōmam* parallel to *bhūstīš ... staomī* in 43.8de here. Also VIII 99.2b *ivē ā bhūṣanti vedhāsah* 'The masters endeavor under thee (= under thy direction)', etc.

Furthermore, since *vasasə.xšaθrahyā* intentionally corresponds to *vasə xšayqs mazdā ... ahurō* of vs. 1b and therefore cannot resume *hōi* of *aṭ hōi aoji* 'Then I said to him' of line a here, we must supply *tōi* to *vasasə.xšaθrahyā*, obvious from the flg. *θwā mazdā*. Thus translate: 'That I would undertake (to explain) the endeavors of (Thee) the One ruling at His will, while I praise and eulogize Thee, Wise One'. This addition of *tōi* modifying *vasasə.xšaθrahyā*, implicit from the flg. voc., is required also in the syntactically parallel lines 45.11de *saošyantō dāng patōiš ... / urvaθō hrātā piā vā mazdā ahurā* 'He is an ally, a brother or a father (of Thee), Wise Lord, the Master of the house who shall save (us)'.

43.9. *ahyā fərasəm kalmāi vividyē vaši* 'To his question: Whom dost thou wish to serve?'. *fərasəm* stands for orig. **fərasqm*, acc. of *fərasā-* 'question', and the flg. *kalmāi* clause is simply the direct question (correct, Bthlm. 1905, 51; Lommel 1971, 98; etc.). Final *-əm* for *-qm* appears in *hīyām* 43.8 (preceding vs.), 50.9, *starəm* 44.3, *xšnām* 48.12, 53.2, etc. For disc. of *kalmāi vividyē*, cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā ... dantō*.

aḍā θwalmāi āθrē 'I said: Thy fire'. Geldner gives only 2 vars. here, viz. *aṭ ā* (K₅) and *aḍā* (J₂). The latter is preferable since we expect a verb of speaking in answer to *ahyā *fərasqm* in the preceding line. *aḍā* thus = *ādā* in YH. 35.8 *kalmāiciṭ ... ādā* 'I have said to everyone', which would have been written **adā* in the orig. text, with usual shortening of initial *ā-*. *aḍā* is therefore a modernization and the var. *aṭ ā* results from a false division to **ad ā*, with automatic change to

pause form *aṭ*. Influence of vs. 8 *aṭ* (2x), vs. 10 *aṭ*, etc. *θvalmāi āθrē* is correct dat. with *vid* 'serve', responding to previous *kalmāi vīviduyē vaši*. Cf. *ādarē* in vs. 15 above.

yavaṭ isāi is again a parenthesis. On *manyāi*, cf. 31.19 *gūstā yē mantā ašəm*. Note the locution *ašahyā ... manyāi* here imitates *mantā ašəm* in the cited passage.

43.10. Continues the preceding discourse without any interruption. Zarathustra is still responding to *spəntō mainyuš*.

ašəm hyaṭ mā zaozəomi 'the truth, which I continue to summon'.

For parallels, cf. 31.4 *yadā ašəm zəvīm*.

ārmaiti hacimnō ī ārəm 'Being in alliance (harmony) with piety, I have deserved it'. For *ārmaiti hacimnō*, cf. 32.2. The meaning of *ārəm* is discussed at 28.10 *dāθa- ... ərəθwa-*.

parštəm zi θwā yaθənā 'for what is counseled (explained) through thy effort'. *yaθənā* is discussed at 31.22.

43.11. *hyaṭ *xšmā uxδāiš didaijhē paourvīm* 'When I was first instructed by your words ...'. Addressed to AhM. now. The reading *xšmā uxδāiš* is best taken as a compd. along with the other exx. listed at 29.11 *əhmā rātōiš*. The form *didaijhē* must be a preterite corresponding to flg. *sas* 'appeared' (on which, cf. 29.1 *aθā mōi sasīā*). It therefore stands for med. perf. **dāidaijhē*, with generalized full grade (cf. Ved. perfs. *śaśaṃse*, *sasraṃsur* from *-aṃs* roots), since a med. 1sg. imperf. requires zero-grade **didahi*. Change in redup. under the influence of *didqs* 'expounded' 49.9. For similar changes, cf. **didyaṭ* 'they saw' 44.10 changed to *dāidyāṭ* under the influence of pres. opt. stem *dāidyā-* from *dā* and *dādarəšatā* 46.7 for orig. **dādarəšati*. On the process, cf. introd. p. 16.

taṭ vərəzəyēidyāi hyaṭ mōi mraotā vahištəm 'to bring to realization that which ye told me is best'. Recalls 47.2ac *ahyā mainyēnš spəntištahyā vahištəm ... vərəzyāṭ* 'One shall bring to realization the best for His most virtuous spirit', where the specific actions are spelled out.

43.12. *hyaṭcā mōi mraoš* 'But, that Thou didst say to me'. AhM. is the subject of *mraoš*, and this change of person is properly motivated. After Zarathustra concludes the last vs. with the idea that, once instructed by the *spəntō mainyuš*, he could not believe mankind would bring about what had been revealed to him, he then continues in the beginning of vs. 12 with the notion that AhM. intervened with words of encourage-

ment, spoken in order to make him, the prophet, persevere in his determination.

ašəm jasō frāxšnuē 'at in mōi mōi asruštā pairyaoržā 'Thou hast come to the truth in thy discernment. Moreover, thou hast not contradicted me in disobedience'. *frāxšnuē* is redactional change for **frāxšnuānē*, loc. of a stem *frāxšnu-* 'discernment' (= Ved. *prajñā-*), showing the effects of normalization after *frāxšnuəm* in vs. 14 and *frāxšnuō* 29.11; the latter clearly in the var. *frāxšnuō* here and *frāxšnuē* in the latter passage. This phrase *ašəm jasō *frāxšnuē* thus properly responds to the wish *θwā ciciθwā spənuštā mainyū* expressed in vs. 2e, and both ideas support one another. The form *asruštā* is loc. of *asrušt-* 'disobedience', on which cf. 33.4; *pairyaoržā* is discussed at 31.19 (4th para.).

parā hyaī mōi ā.jimay sərəošō ašī ... hacimō 'before obedience shall have come to me accompanied by (my) reward'. *jimay* is subj. employed in preterite context: cf. 45.2 *ūm uravay*. Zarathustra is saying that he was to become obedient to AhM, before the reward for such good behavior was to come to him. The next line qualifies that such rewards (both good and bad) are to be dispensed at the final judgment.

yā vi ašiš rənuōthyō savōi dāyāy 'according to which (obedience) one shall distribute the rewards to both factions at the time of salvation'. *savōi* is loc. of a stem *sava-* '(time of) salvation'. Temporal instr. pl. *savāiš* (cf. 30.7 *ayayhā ādāmāiš*) appears in 51.15c *tā (= mizdā) vā volū nanaijhā *ašicē savāiš cəviši* 'These (prizes) have been promised to you by good thinking and truth during the times of salvation' and 48.1d *at tōi savāiš vahum vaxšay ahurā* 'Then one shall increase Thy glory, Lord, during the times of salvation'.

43.13. *təm mōi dātā darəgahyā yaos yəm vā mēcīs dārəšt itē* 'Grant to me that (wish) for long life, to which no one has dared you to accede'. *təm* (= *kāmam*) ... *darəgahyā yaos* is obj. gen. (cf. 28.4 *ašicē šyaoθananam*), and resumes the motif *darəgō.jyātōiš urvādaghā* in vs. 2e above. The form *dārəšt* is 3sg. root aor. of *dəš* 'dare', on which the flg. inf. *itē* depends. Regular syntax in OP. in DB I 53f. *kašcīy naiy adaršuanš cīcīy θustanaiy* 'No one dared to say anything' and in Ved., e.g. AitBr. 4.8.4 *na ha tam dadhyatur ... vaktum* 'They did not dare to say to him ...'. Similar syntax with *dəš* also appears in the Gāthās at 46.7b *hyaī mā drəgvā *dādarəšati aēnaihē* 'if the Deceitful One shall dare to harm me'. Subsequently, *yəm* belongs with the inf. *itē*, where the idiom *kāmam i* clearly means 'to accede to a wish'. Cf. parallel Ved.

expression *kāmam á i* in RV. X 66.14cd *prítá iva jñātáyah kāmam étya, asmé devāso (ā)va dhūnutā vásu* 'Like friendly acquaintances acceding to our wish, cast goods down upon us, ye gods'.

(*kāmam*) *vairyā stōiš yā θvahmī xšaθrōi vāci* '(and the wish) for that desirable condition which is said to exist under Thy rule'. Resumes the theme of *vayhāuš gaēm manayhō* 'life of good thinking' in vs. 1e above. *vairyā* is for orig. **vairyayā*; cf. Lommel (1934, 72) and 28.7 *srəvimā*. Cf. also introd. p. 18.

43.14. Continues the preceding idea, but with a fundamental difference. Whereas vs. 13de represents the direct words of Zarathustra to the *spəntō mainyuš*, Zarathustra now paraphrases his desires directly to AhM. The same stylistic device reappears in the connected vss. 15 and 16 which follow.

maiyyō (dāidi) mazdā tavā rafəno frāxšnənanəm '(Grant) to me, Wise One, Thy fitting (proper) support'. *frāxšnənanəm* is discussed at 29.11 *frāxšnəno*.

hyaθ θvā xšaθrā ašāθ hacū fraštā 'which has been attained through Thy rule (which is) in accord with truth'. In the context of this vs. solely directed to AhM. (cf. *mazdā, tavā, tōi*), it is better to take *fraštā* as 3sg. med. aor. than as 2pl. act. aor. The form is thus medio-pass., on which cf. 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā*. Similar zero grade also in *niš-qsyā* 'reject' 50.2.

uzirəidyāi azə sarədanū sənghahyā maθ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi maθrā marəuti 'Let me arise and drive out the opponents of Thy teaching, (let me) along with all those who heed (remember) Thy precepts'. Textually related to 31.1ab *tā vō urvātā marəntō agnštā vacā sənghāmahī uēihyō yōi ... ašahyā gaēθā vīmarəncaitē* 'Heeding (remembering) these commandments of yours, we teach those words which have gone unheard by those who destroy the creatures of truth'. Both *uzirəidyāi* and *azə* are best taken as juss. inf. For other exx. of this usage, cf. 34.3.

43.15. *daxšaθ nšyā (S₁) *tušnā.maitiš vahištā* '(and) the meditative one revealed the best things to be said' seems to be the best reading and interpretation of the passage: cf. Sl. (1962, 60 ff.). *daxšaθ* resumes theme of **daxšārē* in vs. 7 above, which should be consulted.

uōiθ nā ... ašaonō ādarə. These final 2 lines are certainly the words of *spəntō mainyuš* quoted now by Zarathustra.

43.16. *hvō manyūm zaraθuštrō vərəntē ... yastē cišcā spəništō* 'This Zarathustra does choose that spirit of Thine which indeed is the most

virtuous'. This statement appearing in the final vs. of this Gāthā leaves no doubt that the third party of the hymn is the *spəntō mainiynš*. The fig. *vispāng angrāng* has been carefully chosen in the final line of the preceding vs. so that *spāništō* might contrast with it here.

astivaŋ ašəm etc. and the flg. 2 lines conclude the revelations given by *spəntō mainiynš* to Zarathustra. Vs. 15de began with the statement that one should reject the deceitful. The contrasting thought is now presented in the final 3 lines here, namely, that one should give his total support to truth, good thinking and the Wise Lord. This only makes sense if the statements are taken as words stemming from the spirit of the lord and therefore quoted now by Zarathustra to show that he indeed did become understanding through the very virtuous spirit of AhM. Thus a recapitulation of the themes of vss. 1 and 2.

x'āng darasō (K₅. Pl₄) *xšaθrōi hiyāŋ ōrmaitiš* 'May there be piety under the rule of Him who has the appearance of the sun'. Touches again upon the theme of the relationship betw. sovereignty and piety. Note *jasō ... xšaθrā ... ōrmaitiš* in vs. 6 above, and for parallels, cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... ōrmaitiš*. The Ved. use of *devān swardīśah* (I 44.9d), *mitrāvārunā swardīśā* (V 63.2b), etc. makes it apparent that *x'āng-darasō* is a empd. (so, Bthlm. 1904, 1880), and that it refers to AhM. Note, too, that the Ved. empd. can also repose on an old gen. **svarz-dīś-*, with the same gen. continued in the expression *svār dīśike* (I 66.10b = 69.10b). The var. *darasōi* simply issues from the influence of flg. *xšaθrōi*. Cf. introd. p. 6.

ašim šyaoθanāiš valū daidīŋ manahā 'May He dispense through good thinking (each) reward corresponding to one's actions'. Resumes theme of *hiyāŋ dā mīzdavaŋ yācā uxδā* etc. in vs. 5cd above. Parallels also at 28.4 *ašīšcā šyaoθananqm ... mazdā ahurahyā*.

Yasna 44

This lyric, with its formulaic insistence which is surely intended to reflect the persistence of Zarathustra's own determination, is a wide-ranging inquiry addressed to the Wise Lord, in which the prophet asks questions of diverse nature in order to clarify his own position regarding the issues under investigation. At once establishing his friendship with god, which should compel the lord to answer, Zarathustra asks in verses 1 and 2 how a person, committed to the Wise One and the principles he has created and maintained, may best honor the lord, so that truth and good thinking might also come to this world through such faith and devotion. This at once sets the prophet as an ally of his god and as a person who truly understands in which direction the endeavors of mankind should be forcefully enacted.

In verses 3-7 Zarathustra then inquires after the creator of all the aspects of both the physical and moral worlds. But these questions are essentially rhetorical, for the prophet then admits that he has asked about all these things as a means to define for himself the role of Ahura Mazdā as the creator of everything. Verse 8 then inquires about the future reward for the prophet's dedication to the cause of truth and good thinking, and the following 3 verses puzzle over the problems of the good vision, which itself is a view of this earthly existence controlled by these very forces of truth and good thinking. How might the prophet bring this conception to realization (9)? Will his fellow creatures understand its aims (10)? Will they be pious to the lord who created this (11)?

Zarathustra then turns in verses 12-16 to the immediate problems of attacking the forces of deceit. How can one truly distinguish a deceitful person (12)? How can deceit be rejected (13) and undermined (14) for good? Which side shall eventually win (13), and who shall bring this to pass (16) with the help of the lord?

The next 2 verses ponder the question as to how the prophet may gain a devoted following for his god (17) and also for himself (18). Verse 19 subsequently focuses on reward and punishment, which provides the subtle transition to the final verse wherein the prophet poses the question of whether the gods were ever good, thus implying that they and their followers deserve destruction because they oppose the advent

of truth and good thinking in this world. This furnishes the recapitulation to the theme of the first verse of the Gāthā entreating for the arrival of truth and good thinking.

44.1. *nəmaghō ā yaθā nəmō xšmāvutō* 'how reverence for one of your kind should be from the reverent person'. The use of the postposition *ā* with the abl. in 31.21b *hūrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyāf*, 33.6a *hvō mainyāuš ā vahistāf*, 44.13b below *nīs ahmaf ā nāšāmā*, etc. clearly suggests that *nəmaghō ā* here is 'from a reverent person'. Thus from the adj. *nəmah-* 'offering reverence'. Cf. also 32.11 *raēxəuahi-*. The fig. *nəmō xšmāvutō* is obj. gen. with animate subject appearing in the gen. Cf. parallel type 34.3c *hūdāghō ... savō* 'salvation for the beneficent man'. 34.12h *ašiš rāsuuṃ* 'rewards for those who follow Thy directive'. etc.

salīyāf mavaitē 'should declare to me'. I now see (contra SI. 1972a, 62 fn 4) that *salīyāf* must belong to the aor. of *sauh* 'declare' (correct. HH. 1959, II 53), not *sāh* 'instruct', because the latter root is construed only with an acc. complement. Cf. 28.11b *frō.nū sīsā*, 34.12c *sīsā nā*, 43.3b *yā uā ... sīsūf*, 45.6e *frō.nū sāsūtī*. The syntactic usage here of *frīyāi ... salīyāf mavaitē* therefore necessitates combination with *sauh* which governs the dat. Cf. 30.2c *ahuuāi sazdyāi*, 30.8c *aēihyō sastē*, 43.6d *aēihyō ... sōnghaitī*, 46.17a *yaθrā vō ... sōnghāni*, etc. Similar distinction is usually maintained in Ved., e.g. RV. IV 16.2cd *śāṃsātī ukthām ... cikīrīṣe* contrasting with X 52.1a *śāstāna mā yāthā* 'Instruct me how ...'.

aṭ nō ašā frīyā dazdyāi hākurəuā 'and (how) friendly associations with truth are to be established by us'. This line and the next one still depend upon preceding *salīyāf*. Cf. syntax of 43.4, where both *hyaṭ* clauses are structured in a parallel way. *frīyā ... hākurəuā* is almost the equiv. of the Eng. expression 'friendly relations'.

yaθā uō ā volū jīmaṭ manūghā 'in order that it (= truth) shall come to us together with good thinking'. *ašəm* is the subject of *jīmaṭ*, to which *volū manūghā* is joined as comit. instr. The presence of *volū manū* is usually expressed as subordinate to the presence of AhM, or that of truth. Cf. 28.6a *valū gaidī manūghā* 'Come together with good thinking' (to AhM.). 51.20ab *taṭ vō uō ... dazdyāi savō | ašəm volū manūghā* 'Let that salvation of yours be granted to us: truth accompanied by good thinking'. Notice also the coupling of *ašəm* and *volū manū* in vs. 13de below, which represents the antithesis to the wish expressed here. Cf. also 43.2 (last para.).

44.2. *kaθā aḡhāuš vahīštahyā paourvim* 'Is the beginning of the best existence in such a way (that) ...'. On the use of *kaθā* for **kaṭ aθā*, cf. 29.2 *kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš*. Corresponding to *kaθā* is a suppressed *hṡaṭ* which begins the next line. The use of *aḡhāuš vahīštahyā paourvim* in line a is a deliberate variant of the fig. *aḡhuš paouruyō* discussed at 28.11.

kāθā sūidyāi yā i paitisāṭ '(that) the loving man who shall seek after these things is to be saved?'. Just as *dāθa-* 'just', *hiθa-* 'companion', *urvaθa-* 'ally' correspond to *dāta-* 'law', *hīta-* 'team', *urvata-* 'commandment' (cf. HH. 1952b, 4), *kāθa-* 'loving' also corresponds to *-kātā-* 'love' in *xratu.kāta-* Yt. 13.16. In 47.4cd the antithesis *ašāunē kāθā aḡhaṭ ... akō drəgvāitē* 'shall be loving to the truthful ... bad to the deceitful' is a stylistic alternant of the contrast good-bad appearing in 33.2ab *yā akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti* and flg. 33.3a *yā ašāunē vahīštō*. This supports well the derivation of *kāθa-*. On *paitisāṭ*, cf. 30.1 *išəntō*.

hivō zi ... irixtəm vispōibyō | hārō moinyū ahūm.biš urvaθō mazdā 'For such a person, watching over (= guarding) the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One'. The phrase *irixtəm vispōibyō hārō* is antithesis to 32.11b *apayēiti raēxənaḡhō vāēdəm* 'by stealing the possession of the (true) inheritor' (q.v.). The instr. *mainyū* clearly belongs with flg. *urvaθō* acc. to 31.21c *yā hōi mainyū šyaoθauāišcā urvaθō* 'who is His ally in spirit and actions'. The word has simply been moved to the front of the line because *ahūm.biš* would not fit properly before the caesura. For parallel, cf. 34.12 *sisā nā ašā* etc.

44.3. *kasuā zaθā ptā ašahyā paouruyē* 'Which man was the father of truth in the beginning, during the (time of the) creation?'. *zaθā* is discussed at 43.5. The form is employed as an instr. of time duration, for which other exx. are given at 30.7 *aḡaḡhā ādlāuāiš*.

kasuā x'əng starəmicā dāt advāntəm 'Which man created the course of the sun and of the stars?'. *starəm* (Jm₁, S₂, etc.) is the proper reading. The form is gen. pl. of the type *narəm* (= Ved. *narām*), *θrayəm*, and is expected in view of the yAv. gen. sg. *stārō* (for **starō*). On final *-əm* for *-əm*, cf. 43.9 *fərasəm*.

44.4. *kā vātāi dvəmmaiḡyascō yaogəṭ āsū* 'Who yoked the pairs of swift (coursers) to the wind and to the clouds?'. *āsū* is a distributive dual here, comparable to Yt. 10.136 *auruša aurvauta yūxta *rāšəm* (Mss. *vāšu*) *θauḡasāute* 'When yoked, the pairs of ruddy coursers shall

pull his chariot (cf. K. Hoffmann 1968, 285 fn 11). Note that *dvqmman-* is the equiv. of *yAv. dunman-*. Resonant with *-qm-* is regularly employed to indicate a nasalized resonant. Cf. *uəraqzdvyāi* 44.14, *uəraqšyāi* 45.1, *uəraqš* 45.7, *frvqrmahi* YH. 38.4, *lvqmmahi* YH. 35.5 for **mqm-*, **mqm-*, **frim-*, **hūm-*.

44.5. *kā yā usā arəm.piθwā xšapācā* 'Who is it through whom dawn exists together with noon and night?'. The placement of *cā* only after *xšapā* shows that *usā*, *arəm.piθwā* and *xšapā* cannot be in equal coordination; cf. 31.21 *haurvatō* etc. Therefore *arəm.piθwā xšapācā* must be considered comit. instr. with *usā*, as in the constructions 49.10c *uəmascā yā ārmaitiš īzācā* 'and reverence with which piety and milk are joined' and 51.11b *kā spəntā ārmaitiš* 'With whom is virtuous piety allied?'. Consequently, we can posit stem *arəm.pitu-* (cf. instr. *xraθwā* 31.7 etc.) and stem *xšap-* (cf. gen. *xšapō* Y. 57.31 and Ved. *kšap-*) for the Gāthās.

44.6. *ašəm šyaoθanāiš dāhazaiti ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth'. Recalls 43.16c *astvaš ašəm šiyāi uštānā aəjōnghvaš* 'May truth be embodied and strong with breath'. I translate *dāhazaiti* in light of Ved. *bahū- bahulā-* 'thick, substantial'. Related to our passage is the Ved. antithesis in RV. III 31.19c *drūho vi yāhi bahulā ādeviḥ* 'Pursue the substantial (= important) deceits of the ungodly'.

taihyō xšaθrəm vohū cinas manayhā 'It (piety) has made clear to Thee the rule of good thinking'. This and the preceding line belong with the parallels given at 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varadaiti ārmaitiš*. Both illustrate the mutual dependency between sovereignty and piety. On the fig. *xšaθrəm vohū ... manayhā*, cf. 30.7. The value of *cinas* is discussed at 33.2.

44.7. *kā bəraxδqm tāšt xšaθrā maš ārmaitīm* 'Who fashioned esteemed piety in addition to rule?'. Continues motif of the previous vs.

kā uzəmām cōrəš vyānayā puθrəm piθrē 'Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father?'. *vyānayā* is loc. of a stem *vyānā-* 'attentiveness' discussed at 29.6. Note also the etymologically related *vyqm* appearing in 48.7. Lommel (1971, 115 f.) aptly remarked that the relationship between father and son is a fundamental ex. of the interaction of *xšaθrəm* and *ārmaitiš*.

azəm tāiš θwā fraxšnē (J₃) avāmi mazdā spəntā nainyū vispanqm dātārəm 'Through these (questions) I am helping to discern Thee, Wise

One, to be Creator of everything by reason of Thy virtuous spirit'. This statement furnishes the motivation for all the questions of the preceding vss. The form *fraxšnē*, though attested only in a fair Ms. (cf. also *frašneni* K₄), is the preferable reading, since an inf. dependent upon *avāmi* works well syntactically. Cf. RV. IX 61.22ab *sá pavasva yá ávitha, indram vṛtráya hántave* 'Purify thyself, thou who didst aid Indra to smash the obstacle'; also VIII 37.6a *kṣatráya tvam ávasi ná tvam ávitha* 'Thou dost aid the one to rule, thou hast not helped the other'. This inf. *fra-xšn-ē* (to *frā xšnā*) is thus directly comparable to *pōi* 30.7, 44.15-16. The corresponding Vcd. infs. *parādāi* 'to deliver', *āyāi* 'to drive hither', etc. have full grade, but they have been modeled after the common inf. forms in *-dhiyai*. Correct zero grade is still maintained in Ved. in root-noun inflection: cf. *havir-d-é*, *śuci-p-é*, etc. The common var. *fraxšni* results from the usual confusion of *-i* and *-ē* in the Mss., here particularly in view of the flg. *avāmi*.

On the syntax of *spāntā mainiyū vīspanqm dātārəm*, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc.

44.8. *yācā ašā ayhāuš arəm vaēdyā* 'and which things are to be properly acquired from an existence in harmony with truth'. *vaēdyā* (J₂, K₃) is the better reading to *vaēdyāi* (Pt₄, K₄, etc.), since a gerundive is the correct grammatical form employed with a rel. pron. The var. *vaēdyāi* has been assim. to the common inf. in *-dyāi* (cf. Sl. 1962, 66). *vaēdyā* itself belongs to *vid* 'find, acquire' clearly, for the phrase *ašā ayhāuš ... vaēdyā* is a var. of 53.5c *vaēdō.dīm ... ahūm yā vayhāuš manayhō* 'Acquire an existence of good thinking'; cf. also 28.5 *manascā volū vaēdāmū* etc. On the flg. *ašā ayhāuš*, cf. 32.2.

kā mō urvā volū urvāxšaṭ āgamaṭ.tā 'To what goods shall my soul proceed in the future?'. *āgamaṭ.tā* is loc. of a stem *āgmati-* 'the future, what is to come', built with the suff. *-ati-* and fully parallel to the past part. *yAv. gamata-*, *OP. parāgimata-*, built with *-ata-*. Parallel of 34.13 shows that *volū* represents *mīzdəm*, and both stand for salvation. Both verses are essentially parallel: *ādištiš, volū manayhā, ašā* here correspond to *advānəm vayhāuš manayhō, daēnā saosyantqm, ašā* there. Both therefore stress the common theme: to follow the commandments of the lord, the life of good thinking and the ways of truth will lead one to salvation.

44.9. The theme of *daēnā*- 'vision, conception' dominates the next 3 verses.

kaθā mōi yqm yaos daēnqm dānē 'How shall I give life to that

vision of mine ...?'. *yqm* followed by *yqm* without a corresponding demon. pron. is difficult. Structure of vs. 9 resembles the flg. one, where the sequence *iqm daēnqm yā ... yā* appears correctly, and I would therefore emend to **iqm daēnqm* in vs. 9 here. The idiom *yaošē dā* I take consistently to mean 'to give life to, bring to life'. Duehesne (1970, 206) has also seen the connection between *yaoš* and life.

yqm ... paitišə saliyāi xšaθrahyā ərašvā xšaθrā ... asištis. asištis cannot belong to *ā säh* 'instruct, command', because full grade is necessary in the *-ti-*noun as in the past part. appearing in *mazdō.-frasāsta-* Y. 1.10. It is therefore best explained as a mistake for **aš.īštis* 'one of great power' (cf. *asištis* S₁), expected in view of the expression *ərašvā xšaθrā* 'by reason of his lofty sovereignty (rule)'. Cf. SI. (1971, 575 fn 1) and note similar mistakes gathered at introd. pp. 8, 14. Thus translate: 'which (vision) the master of a kingdom, (being) one of great power, would decree by reason of his lofty sovereignty'. On the translation of *saliyāi*, cf. 31.1 *sənghāmahi*.

hadəmōi ašā volucā šyqs manayhā 'as he dwells in his seat (throne) together with truth and good thinking'. Contrasts with 47.5d *ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāi ā šyqs manayhō* 'as he dwells by actions stemming from his evil thinking'.

44.10. *iqm daēnqm yā hāiqm valihštā ... daidyai* 'Have they seen that vision which is the best for those who exist?'. Here *daēnqm* and *daidyai* are used in etymological interplay (cf. 31.20 *daēnā*), and the latter form altered from orig. **didyai* (cf. 43.11 *dielaijhē*).

The fig. *yā hāiqm valihštā* 'which is best for those who exist' is a type of obj. gen. Other related exx. of this type are 46.10b *dāyāi ayhōuš yā tū vōistā valihštā* '... would grant the things which Thou knowest to be the best for existence'; 51.19c *gayehyā šyaoθanāiš valiyō* 'better for life through its actions'; also 47.2a *ahyā mainyāuš spānistahyā valihštəm* 'the best for His most virtuous spirit'.

yā mōi gaēθā ašā frādōi hacəmnā is intentional contrast to 44.20e below *nōi hīm *īzān ašā vāstrəm frādaijhē*. On *gaēθā ašā*, cf. vs. 15 below.

ārmatōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanā 'through words and action(s) stemming from piety'. On syntax, cf. 34.10 *ahyā vayhōuš manayhō šyaoθanā*.

*maliyā cistōiš *θwā.īštis usān mazdā* 'In consequence of my understanding, they have desired Thy powers, Wise One'. The phrase *maliyā cistōiš* is best interpreted as an abl. in view of the exx. given at

31.21 *būrōiš ā ... x̄āpaiθyāi. cisti-* 'understanding, insight' is very close in meaning to *daēnā-*. Cf. the parallels 48.5ab *huxšaθrā xšāntam ... vañhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš* 'Let those of good rulership rule by actions stemming from good understanding' and 53.1d *daēnayañ vañhuyā uxδā šyaoθanāiš* 'with word and actions stemming from good vision (conception)'. Note also that in 51.21ab *hvō cisti uxδāiš šyaoθanā daēnā* 'He is (virtuous) by reason of his understanding, his words, his action, his conception', *cisti-* and *daēnā-* are juxtaposed as in the current vs. 44.10.

Mss. *θivā īstīš* is best read as a compd. (so, Bthlm. 1904, 797); cf. 29.11 *ālmā rātōiš*. The form *usān* is parallel to **didyañ* and therefore also 3pl. imperf. Zarathustra thus continues the previous motif of *xšaθrām* and *ārmaitīš* with the parallel terms *ārmaitīš* and **θivā.īstīš*, both left in the hands of man. On the relationship between *xšaθrām* and *īstīš*, cf. 28.7 (beginning).

44.11. *yaēibyō mazdā θivōi vašyētē daēnā* '(those) to whom Thy (good) conception is taught'. *vašyētē* is pass. of *vac* and corresponds in usage to Skt. *ucyate* 'is taught' (in technical literature). Thus the passage is related to 31.1ac *vacā sānghāmahī ... aēibyā vahištā yōi zrazdā añhān mazdāi* 'We teach the best words to those who shall remain faithful to the Wise One'.

azām tōi āiš puouruyō fravōividē 'I have been accepted (received) by these as Thy foremost (follower)'. *fravōividē* belongs with the Ved. intens. *prā vevidāma* in RV. VII 24.6b *prā te mahīṇi sumatiṇi vevidāma* 'Let us receive thy great favor (benevolence)'. Cf. also 28.5 *vaēdānuō* (2nd para.).

višpāug auyāug maiuyēuš spasyū dvaēšayhū 'Look upon all others with hostility of spirit'. This line and the preceding one are discussed at 33.7 *yā sruyē parē magaonō*.

44.12. *arās mōi vacā ... kē ašavā yāiš pərəsāi drəgvā vā* 'Tell me truly (those principles) by which I shall ask: Who is truthful or who is deceitful?'. *vacā* requires *iā* or *tāug* (= *maθrəug*), which is resumed by the rel. pron. *yāiš*. A phrase **yāiš pərəsāi kē ašavā drəgvā vā* would be better syntax, but *yāiš pərəsāi* and *kē ašavā* have been transposed in the verse line owing to Zarathustra's preference in this hymn to position a rel. pron. after the caesura. Cf. vs. 1b *yaθā nāmā*, 2c *yā i paitīšāi*, 6b *yezi tā ...*, 8b *yā tōi ... ādištīš*, 10b *yā hātəm*, 13c *yōi asrñštōiš*, 15d *yā nū ... didərəzō*, etc. Cf. also 45.8d *yām mazdəm*

ahurəm (for **ahurəm yām mazdām*), 46.5c *rašnā jvąs yā ašavā* (for **yā ašavā rašnā jvąs*), where the position of the rel. has also been switched for the same reason. Note also the use of *azām tāiš ... avāmī* in vs. 7d above which corresponds to the employment of *yāiš pərəsāi* here.

katārām ā angrō vā hvō vā angrō should be emended to **katārā mā angrō* etc., for it is evident that **katārā ... angrō vā hvō vā angrō* is fully parallel to preceding *kā ašavā ... drəgvā vā*, with both sentences belonging to the direct question. Cf. also *yā mā drəgvā* in the next line. A statement now follows in answer, with the regular relation *yā ... hvō*. The Mss. change *katārām ā* results from the influence of 31.17a *katārām ašavā vā*. However, the emendation **katārā* is important for it shows that *-ā* was freq. attested in words of more than 2 syllables in the orig. text. Cf. introd. p. 12.

yā mā drəgvā θwā savā paitī.ərətē cyanghaṭ. I follow Humbach (1959, II 57) in interpreting *cyanghaṭ* as **cī anghaṭ*, the latter form uor. subj. of *anh* 'be or do evil'. **cī*, however, belongs with subsequent *hvō ... angrō mainyetē*, i.e. 'Is that one considered evil?'. *anghaṭ* is part of the preceding line: 'the deceitful one who shall do evil in order to fight against Thy (means of) salvation'. For it is quite clear that the inf. *paitī.ərətē* needs a verbal form to depend upon. Thus *anghaṭ* continues from preceding line as in above 44.2de *irixtām višpōihyō / hārō*, etc.

44.13. *kaθā chujəm niš ahmaṭ ā nāšāmā ! təug ā avā yōi asruštōiš pərənāyhō* 'How shall we repel (reject) deceit away from us and on to those who are full of disobedience?'. Belongs with 50.2d **akəštāng mā nišqsyā* 'Reject those evil ones indeed', where etymologically related *niš-qsyā* appears. Related also: 33.4a *yā θwaṭ mazdā asruštīm akəncā manō yəzāi apā* 'I who, through worship, shall turn away from Thee disobedience and evil thinking'. Cf. also Ved. *nir naś*: RV. X 162.2cd *agnīš tām hrāhmaṇā sahā, niš kravṛādam anīnaśat* 'Agni drove away this flesh-eating demon with a spell'; 3d *tām itō nāśayāmasi* 'we drive him away from here'. Similarly, AV. I 23.2ab *kilāsanj ca palitānj ca, nir itō nāśayā pīṣat* 'Drive away from here the leprous and pale spot, the blotch'.

nōij aśahyā ādivyeintī hacānā. The enigmatic form *ādivyeintī* is to be divided into **ādi *vyeintī*: 3pl. pres. of the root *vī* 'turn one's attention to, pursue'. Cf. *vyeinti* Y. 57.29 and Ved. *vjāntī*, and for disc. of the related roots *vī* and *vjā*, cf. 29.6 *vjānaya*.

**ādī* and *hacānā* are therefore inflected in the dual and are direct cognates of Ved. *ādhi-* 'care' and *sacanā-* 'companionship, company'. Good support for this interpretation from RV.: cf. I 156.5ab *ā yō vivāya sacāthāya ... indrāya* 'Who turned his attention to Indra for companionship'; X 6.2c *ā yō vivāya sakhyā sākhibhyaḥ* 'Who pursued his alliances for his comrades'; I 105.7c *tām mā vyanti ādhyāḥ* 'Cares pursue me now', etc. Thus our line is: '(who) do not pursue truth's care and company'. Combined with flg. line *nāiḥ frasayā vājhōuš cāxnarē manayhō* 'nor (who) delight in the counsel of good thinking', these statements are intended as antithesis to 48.7bc *yōi ā vājhōuš manayhō dīdrayēō.duyē ašā vyqm* 'Ye who seek to attract the attention of good thinking along with (that of) truth'. In this last passage it is clear that *ašā* is employed as a comit. instr. with *vājhōuš manayhō*, since a properly coordinated gen. *ašāhyācā* could not fit metrically. The expression thus stands for ... **vājhōuš manayhō dīdrayēō.duyē ašāhyācā vyqm*. Note also that *nōiḥ frasayā vājhōuš cāxnarē manayhō* is a variant of 49.2d *naēdā vahū ... fraštā manayhā* 'nor has he taken counsel with good thinking', again referring to the deceitful person.

44.14. *kaθā ašāi drūjām dyqm zastayō* 'How might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth?'. On *dyqm*, metrically **dyaqm*, cf. 29.5 *hyaḥ mazdqm* etc.

nī hīm mərəzdyāi θwahyā maθrāiš sānghahyā 'in order to destroy it in accordance with the precepts of Thy teaching'. One of the *maθras* referred to appears at 47.4d *isvāciḥ haq paraoš akō drəgvāitē* 'The master of much should be bad to the deceitful one'.

ōmovaitūm sinqm dāvōi drəgvasū 'in order to create a powerful schism among the deceitful ones'. Contrast to 30.9bc **ā *mōi *(a)stā baranā ašācā hyaḥ *haθrā.manā bvaḥ* 'Appear to me with support and truth so that one shall become of common mind (convinced)'. In the same context as 44.14d, cf. also 30.10a *adā zī avā drūjō bvaitī skandō spayaθrahā* 'For then shall descend the destruction of the prosperity of deceit'.

44.15. *yezī ahyā ašā pōi maḥ xšayehī ... avāiš urvātāiš yā nū mazdā dīdərəzēō* 'If Thou hast the mastery to protect the world allied with truth in accord with those precepts which Thou dost seek to uphold ...'. The phrase *avāiš urvātāiš* modifies the inf. *pōi*. Cf. similar syntax in flg. vs. 16b *θvā pōi sānghā* 'to protect in accord with Thy teaching' and in preceding vs. 14c *mərəzdyāi θwahyā maθrāiš sānghahyā*. Note also

use of instr. in vs. 17de below *būēdyāi ... avā maθrā* 'to endeavor in accord with that precept'.

Equally important is the parallel 46.3ab *kadā ... aṅhāuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā arəntē* 'When shall they arise for the maintenance of the world of truth?', for it clearly shows that *ahyā ašā ... maṭ* in 44.15b must be interpreted as 'of the world allied with truth'. Thus a variant of preceding vs. 8d *yācā ašā aṅhāuš arəm vaēdyā* 'and which are to be properly acquired from existence in alliance (harmony) with truth'. On the use of the instr., cf. 32.2; on *ahyā*, cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc. Note that the fig. *ašā aṅhāuš* or *aṅhāuš ašahyā* is a stylistic alternant of *ašahyā gaēθā* 'creatures of truth' 31.1. In light of this, I also interpret *gaēθā ašā* as 'creatures allied with truth' in 43.6c *yehyā* (= *xšaθrahyā*) *šyuoθanāiš gaēθā ašā frādantē* 'through the actions of which (rule of good thinking) the creatures allied with truth do prosper'. In vs. 10c above, *ašā* is most likely a *šleṣu*: once with *hacāmnā*, once with *gaēθā*. Thus, *yā* (= *daēnā*) *mōi gaēθā ašā frādōiṭ hacāmnā* 'which (conception), in alliance with truth, would prosper my creatures allied with truth'.

hyaṭ hām spādā anaocahā jamaētē 'when the two hosts who share no wonts come together'. *anaocah-* is best translated in view of Ved. *ākas-* 'habit, wont', thus 'sharing no wonts'. Meant to correspond to the usual description of the two spirits, none of whose values are in agreement. Cf. 45.2ce *nōiṭ nā manā ... nōiṭ daēnā nōiṭ urvanō hacaintē* 'Neither our thoughts ... nor our conceptions, nor our souls are in harmony'.

44.16. *θvā pōi sānghā yōi hanti ciθrā mōi dqm* 'in order to protect in accord with Thy teaching (those) pure ones who exist in my house'. On *θvā pōi sānghā*, cf. preceding vs. The inf. *pōi* governs a suppressed *aēšqm* (cf. *ahyā ... pōi* in vs. 15b), immediately resumed by *yōi hanti*. Similar suppression in 45.6b *yā hudā (aēihyō) yōi hanti* 'who is beneficent to those who exist', 51.10b *duzdā (aēihyō) yōi hanti*. The enigmatic *ciθrā mōi dqm* simply modifies *yōi hanti*, i.e. 'the pure ones who exist in my house' (correct on syntax, Gershevitch 1952. 176). Cf. parallel 48.7cd *nā spantō | aṭ hōi dāmqm θvohmī ā dqm ahurā* '... the virtuous man, and his bonds are in Thy house, Lord'. Both belong together in the sense that, by his behavior of truth and good thinking, the truthful man is connected both with the community of the faithful in this world and the seat of god in the other world.

ratūm ciždī aṭ hōi vohū saraošō jantū manayhā 'Promise us a judge,

and let obedience to him come through good thinking'. For parallel, cf. 47.3c *aṭ hōi *vāstrē rāmā dā ārmaitim* 'and Thou didst create tranquility and piety for her (= good vision's) pastor'. Point is, for the rule of good thinking and truth to take place in this world, there must be piety and obedience not only to the Lord who created these enduring and noble values, but also to the worldly representative of god, the prophet who shall bring the true message to mankind and therefore save the world.

44.17. *kaθā ... zarəm carāni hacā xšmaṭ āskaitim xšmākaṃ* 'How shall I, with your accord, impassion your following?'. Belongs with 29.3bc *avaēšqm nōiṭ viduyē yā šavaitē ādrāng arəšvāyhō | hātqm hvō aojištō* 'Of yon beings, that strongest one is not to be found through whom the lofty are to activate the the lowly'. *zarəm carāni* is aor. subj. of an idiom *zarəm kar* (cf. *frō ... caraṭ* 46.4, *antarə.caraiti* 51.1). *zarəm* clearly belongs to the root *zr-* 'anger, be angry', but the combination *zarəm kar* 'to enrage' can easily have developed the sense 'enflame, impassion'.

sarōi būždyāi hairvātā amərətātā | avā mąθrā yā rāθamō ašāṭ hacā 'to endeavor for alliance with completeness and immortality in accord with that precept which adheres to the truth'. *sarōi* governs the instr. *hairvātā amərətātā*, which are coordinated asyndetically. Cf. 49.9b *nōiṭ arəš.vacā sarəm diduṣ drəgvatā* 'The truly-speaking man has not expounded alliance with the deceitful one'. Y. 12.4 *vi daēvāiš ... sarəm mruyē* 'I deny alliance with the gods', etc. The form itself depends upon the inf. *būždyāi* 'to endeavor, strive for', which I have translated in light of *būštīš* 43.8, which should be consulted.

avā mąθrā qualifies the inf. *būždyāi* acc. to the practice described in *pōi ... avāiš urvātāiš* in vs. 15 above. The *mąθra* referred to is probably 31.6c *mazdāi avaṭ xšaθram hyaṭ hōi volū vaxšaṭ manajhā* 'Such is rule for the Wise One that one shall increase it for Him through good thinking'.

44.18. *kaθā ašā taṭ niždam hanāni | dasā aspā aršnavaitiš uštrəmcā* 'How shall I win through truth this prize: ten mares together with stallions and a camel?'. This seems not to be the payment for Zarathustra's priestly services (so, Lommel 1955, 189 ff.), but a metaphor for a group of diverse adherents to the prophet's message. We learn from the subsequent lines that for Zarathustra to develop such a following (cf. also remarks at vs. 16 above) would mean immortality

and completeness for him in this world, just as AhM. acquired these qualities in the other world. The pointed use of *aspā* and *uštrəm* immediately suggests Vištāspa. Jāmāspa and Frašaoštra, and Zarathustra may well have intended to describe their families in this manner. *aršnavaitiš* can designate the plural 'with stallions' as well as the singular 'with a stallion', which is the accepted interpretation of the word.

hyaṭ mōi mazdā apivaitī haurvātā amərətātā yaθā hi taihyō dāyghā '(a prize) which is to inspire completeness and immortality in me, Wise One, much as Thou hast received these two for Thyself'. Syntactically it is clear that *mōi ... apivaitī* is parallel to flg. *taihyō dāyghā*. Thus it is best to take *apivaitī* (orig. *-vaitē?*) as inf. to *api vat* 'inspire', since it has been made evident that this has not yet occurred (cf. *kaθā ... hanāni* in line b).

44.19. *yastaṭ mīzdəm hanautē uōiṭ dāitī | yā iṭ ahmāi arəzuxdā nā dāitē* 'The person who shall not give that prize to the one winning it, namely, to the man who should receive it in accordance with a promise ...'. Clearly the two *yā*-subjects are different, but the 2nd one simply modifies the preceding part, *hanautē*. The phrase *yā iṭ ahmāi nā dāitē* is thus standard use of med. *dā* with pron. in the sense 'to receive for oneself' and parallels preceding vs. 18e *yaθā hi taihyō dāyghā*. Surely the one who wins a prize should receive it. An opt. **dyā* (= **diyā*) would be better than the subj. *dāitē*, but this latter form has been attracted by the preceding subj. *dāitī*.

44.20. *aṭ iṭ pərəsā yōi pišyeintī* (read **pišyeintī*) *aēibyō kəm* 'I ask this (about them) who lie (betray) to those ...'. *pərəsā* requires a 2nd acc. *tāng* referring back to *daēvā* and subsequently resumed by the flg. *yōi*. Cf. double acc. in 31.14a *tā θwā pərəsā* 'I ask Thee about these things' and the formula *taṭ θwā pərəsā* in this hymn. Similar suppression in 43.10c *pərəsācā nā yā ...* 'and counsel us (about those things) which ...'. The reading *pišyeintī* is false for orig. **pišyeintī*; cf. 50.2 (3rd para.) for disc. *aēibyō kəm* cannot be separated from Ved. *yusmābhyaṃ kām* (RV. I 88.3c), *devēbhyaḥ kām* (X 13.4a), etc. and represents orig. *aēibyō *kām*. The attested reading *kəm* results from the influence of *gəm* in the next line. For process, cf. introd. p. 5 ff.

*aēibyō *kām yāiš gəm karapā usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā yācā kavā* 'to those together with whom the Karpan and Kavi have delivered the cow unto fury, and the Kavi as well'. The unexpressed noun agreeing

with *aēibyō ... yāis* is certainly *dahyāus yāi sātārā drəgvantā* 'the deceitful rulers of the land' in 46.1d. This is implicit in the choice of the term *huxšaθrā* in line a of this vs., for it evokes 48.10d *dušaxšaθrā dahiyunəm*, which appears as a qualification of those people associated with the *karapanā* in 48.10. Also one expects the mention of the collaboration between the deceitful rulers and the deceitful priests. On the coordination *karapā usixšcā ... yācā kavā*, cf. 28.2 *astvatascā hyatcā* etc. for disc. This compound subject governs the verb form *dātā*, which stands for orig. 3pl. **datā*. The lengthening of first vowel shows normalization effects of freq. impv. *dātā* elsewhere in the text. Same effect also appears in *mərəždātā* 33.11 for **mərəždatā*. Cf. introd. p. 13f.

qumānē/i urūdāyatā is totally unclear.

nōiṭ hūm mizān ašā vāstrəm frādaijē. I follow Geldner's conjecture (1926, 3 fn 11) of **izān* for **mizān*. This allows establishment of an antithesis with 31.16ab *yō hūdāmuš dəmanahyā xšaθrəm ... ašā *fradaθāi.ā *spərəzatā* 'the blessed one who (shall appear) with eagerness to prosper the rule of the house ... with truth'. Thus translate: 'They have not been eager to prosper her and her pasturage with truth'. Intended, of course, is the notion that the deceitful priests have in no way been willing to accept the good vision or those who belong to its following, since they are still allied with the worship of the old gods. This is essentially the theme of 46.1-4. The form *izān* is thus root aor. of *iz-* 'be eager', contrasting with pres. 1sg. *izvā* 33.6, 49.3. On false doubling of *m*, cf. *aēšəm.mahyā* for **aēšmahyā* 48.12.

Yasna 45

This lyric has two basic themes which are recurrent motifs in the Gāthās. The first concerns good and evil (2), and the choice between the two which has been left to each man's decision (9). The second is dependent upon the first and is involved with the consequences of the selection of the good. Such a preference entails the repulsion of the evil spirit and its followers (1, 11), and the offering of piety and obedience to the Wise One (3, 5, 10-11) manifested through good thinking (6, 9-10) and through good actions (3-5), as well as through reverence and worship of the lord (8, 10). This proper behavior amid men in this world shall move the Wise Lord to reveal his intentions (6) and to offer care and attention to his followers (7). As a result, earthly and heavenly salvation shall be granted to the truthful (5, 7, 9), and the Wise One shall assume his rightful power (5) and attain his fitting immortality and completeness, which grow increasingly stronger through the faith and belief of every follower.

The whole poem is addressed to Zarathustra's adherents, and its purpose is to teach the basic precepts concerning the nature and importance of faith and devotion to the Wise Lord as well as the prophet's penetrating view of the interdependency of the power of god and the actions of those who believe in him. This end is accomplished by a remarkably complex and increasingly dramatic presentation of ideas in the Gāthā, whose message is also sharpened and heightened for those listening through the technique of presenting its disclosures in the form of citations from the direct words of god and his forces.

Verse 1 immediately focuses attention on the evil spirit, the chief adversary. Alluding to the earlier ruin of the world by the false choice of the ways of deceit by the traditional gods (30.6), the verse warns against a second ruin of this earthly existence by a similar wrong choice by mankind, encouraged by the persuasive eloquence of the evil spirit. The reason for the rejection of this force of evil is then explained in the following verse: He opposes in every conceivable fashion the values and methods represented by the virtuous spirit, which is the motivating force of the Wise Lord. Thus there must be, in consequence of this understanding, piety for the Wise Lord if this earthly world is to survive. This is the theme of verse 3, and its conception is formulated in terms of a threat, for those who shall not

obey the precepts of the true god shall be damned at the end of their lives. By implication, there also exists the second threat that choosing the deceitful road of the evil spirit shall also bring on a damnation in life through the forewarned total ruin of existence, precipitating a hell on earth.

Verses 4-7 now change the point of view from the somber and the destructive to the positive and the creative. Yes, there must be piety for the Wise Lord and obedience to his commands, because (4) none but he created truth and good thinking, and even the conception of piety (cf. also 44.7). None but he can offer completeness and immortality to his worshipers (5), insofar as these rewards have been lost to all others (cf. 32.5). None but he possesses in full measure the true essence of this virtuous spirit, which drives him to be beneficent and kind to those who exist (6), by offering solicitude and the means of salvation to mankind. None but he possesses the creative powers to dispose as he wishes (7).

Returning to a brief yet important formulation of verse 5 which states that the Wise One assumes his lordship through the awakening of good spirit in mankind, verses 8-10 describe such acts of good spirit in the complementary notions of the sacred enactment of praise and glory, of propitiation and prayer for god and the profane enactment of good thinking, decisiveness and truth in the world of men. For what the Wise Lord has accomplished by reason of his good spirit (8), man also can accomplish on earth through the application of truth and good thinking (9). This will bring prosperity to mankind, offering a worldly type of salvation (9), and yet will strengthen the power of god himself in its fullness (10), whereby he can offer future salvation to the just.

Verse 11 describes the aforementioned beneficent acts as the most effective means to oppose the forces of deceit and the evil spirit, thus resuming the first theme of this Gāthā, and then concludes with the profound notion that any man who acts in this world with good spirit and with such a virtuous conception of the potential good in his own powers does indeed approach the essence of god.

45.1. (*sraotā*) *nū im vīspā ciθrā zī mazdāyihō.dūm* '(Listen) now to this (precept), all of you! Because it is clear, bear it in mind'. The masc. forms *im* and *ciθrā* require *māθrām*, obvious from 11g. vs. 3c *yōi im vā nōi! iθā māθrām varāšōuti* and hinted at by the use of *duš.sastiš* in line d. The *māθra* follows in the next 2 lines. Consequently, *vīspā* must be voc., construed with the impv. forms *gūšō.dūm* and *sraotā*.

nōiṭ daibitīm dūš.sastiš ahūm mərəšyāṭ 'Let not the one of evil doctrine destroy the world for a second time'. *dūš.sastiš* and the flg. *drəgvā* refer to *angrō mainyuš*, appearing in the next vs. In general, cf. 31.15, where all his epithets are listed. The first ruin of the world (existence) was the wrong choice which the gods previously made (cf. 30.6); the second ruin would be the same false choice in favor of deceit by all of mankind.

akā varauā drəgvā hizvā āvərətō 'the deceitful one turned hither with his tongue and its evil preference'. *āvərətō* is past part. of *ā var* 'turn hither', on which cf. 28.5 *rāurōimaidi*. Note Ved. parallels in RV. I 87.4ab *yūvā gauṣāḥ ... iśānās tāviṣibhīr āvṛtaḥ* 'The youthful and masterly troop (of Maruts) has turned hither with its powers', III 3.5c *vigāhānī tūṛṇiṭ tāviṣibhīr āvṛtam*, etc.

45.2. *yuyā sparayā ūiti mravaṭ yām angrəm* 'of which two, the virtuous (spirit) would have thus said to the evil one'. *mravaṭ* is subj. employed in a preterite context. Its function is to express an action which could have taken place, and it therefore approaches the future value of the subj. which also describes an action not yet begun but envisioned in the mind of the speaker. Cf. also 43.12cd *parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ sərəoṣō* 'before obedience was to come to me'.

45.3. *aṭ fravaṅšyā aḡhəuš ahyā paourvīm yəm mōi ... vaocaṭ ahurō* 'Now I shall speak of the foremost (doctrine) of this existence, which the Lord told to me'. I take *paourvīm yəm* to refer to a suppressed *sastīm*, since the notion of 'foremost doctrine' is intended to contrast with *dūš.sastiš* in preceding vs. Id. Thus *paourvīm* stands in place of orig. **paourvyəm*: replacement has occurred because of the appearance of *paourvīm* in final position of the verse line at 43.5.8,11, 44.2. For this process of normalization, cf. introd. p. 14 ff.

yōi im vā nōiṭ iθā mąθrəm varəšənti yaθā im mənāicā vaocacā ... 'Those of you who shall not bring to realization (each) precept now exactly as I shall conceive and speak of it ...'. This begins a direct quotation of AhM. to Zarathustra referred to above by *yəm mōi ... vaocaṭ ahurō*. The pron. *im* in *im ... mąθrəm* needs not mean 'this precept', but can have temporal force as freq. in Ved. Cf. RV. II 35.2ab *imāṇ sv āsmai hṛdā ā sūtaṣtam, māntraṇ vocema kuvid asya védāt* 'May we now speak well to him the prayer, well fashioned from our heart. Will he take heed of it?': etc. Lines cde of our vs. 45.3 here explain that the 'foremost doctrine' is *ārmaitiš* 'piety' for the lord and his rule,

a view conforming to the remarks made at 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*. In terms of the hymn itself, the precept contained in AhM.'s words has been quoted by Zarathustra as an enforcement to the notion appearing in above vs. 1 : obey only AhM., never *angrō mainyuš*.

45.4. *ayhāuš ahyā vahištəm ašāṭ hacā* 'the best thing of this existence in accord with truth'. The phrase *vahištəm ašāṭ hacā* is a stylistic variant of *vahištəm ašəm*, which appears in 28.8a *ašā vahištā hazaošəm*, YH. 35.5 *ašāicā vahištāi*, YH. 37.4 *ašəm aṭ vahištəm*. This is made evident by the subsequent reference in the vs. to *volhū manō*, *ārmaitiš* and *ahurō*. Similar usage most likely also in 51.22a *yehyā mōi ašāṭ hacā vahištəm yesnē paiti* '(I know) in whose worship there exists for me the best in accordance with truth', again for *ašəm vahištəm*. Cf. also 49.12 *avaṭ yāsqs* etc. for further disc.

mazdā vaēdā yā im dāṭ | ptarēm (K₅, MΓ_{1,2}) *vayhāuš varəzayantō manayhō* 'I know the Wise One who created it to be the Father of effective good thinking'. The var. voc. *mazdā* is impossible since the first 10 vss. of this hymn are addressed to Zarathustra's followers, not to AhM. An acc. *mazdān*, agreeing with flg. *ptarēm*, would be correct syntactically, but the form has been attracted into the nom. case because of the subsequent phrase *yā im dāṭ*. Cf. Lat. type *patronus qui vobis fuit futurus perdidistis* for expected *patronum* (Plautus, *Asinaria* 621).

The acc. *im* seems to me to stand for *ašəm* mentioned in the same line, since 31.8bc *vayhāuš ptarēm manayhō ... haiθim ašahyā dānūm* clearly belongs to the locutions *yā im dāṭ* and *ptarēm vayhāuš ... manayhō* in 45.4 here. Thus *im* is probably for orig. **iṭ*, changed in the course of time to *im* under the influence of *im* (2x) in the preceding vs. Cf. introd. p. 9.

Lines b (2nd part) though e are a *māθra* of the type 28.6, namely, a solemn avowal made on the part of the believer of his faith in his lord.

45.5. *hyaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntō.təmə* 'what the most virtuous one told to me'. The *spəntō.təmə* is certainly *spəntō mainyuš*, for the next phrase *hyaṭ* (= *vacō*) *marətaēibyō vahištəm* 'the word which is the best for men' refers back to 43.15c *daxšaṭ nšyā *tušnā.maitiš vahištā* '(when) the meditative one (= *spəntō mainyuš*) revealed to me the best things to be said'. Note also the juxtaposition *mašyaēšū ... hyaṭ mōi mraoṭā vahištəm* in 43.11d which parallels line b *vacō srūidyāi hyaṭ marətaēibyō vahištəm* here.

yōi mōi ahmāi saraośam dan cayascā 'Those who shall give obedience and regard to this (Lord) of mine ...'. The prons. *mōi* and *ahmāi* must refer to two different people, for the final 3 lines of this vs. are certainly a citation of words of the *spəntō mainyuš* spoken at one time to Zarathustra. They are, in effect, a paraphrase of the spirit's words 43.16d *x'āng.dar-asō xsəθrōi hīyāi ārmaitiš* 'May there be piety under the rule of Him of sunlike appearance (= AhM.)', which stress the point that obedience and regard must be given to AhM. Never do we find mention that these acts of faith are to be paid directly to the *spəntō mainyuš*. Thus the fig. *mōi ahmāi* should be compared with 47.2a *ahyā mainyānš spəntištahyā vahīštəm* 'the best for His virtuous spirit', where the gens. also refer to different base nouns.

vayhəuš mainyənš šyaəθanāiš mazdā ahurō 'The Wise One is Lord through such actions stemming from good thinking'. On the fig. *vayhəuš mainyənš šyaəθanāiš*, cf. 34.10. The line belongs with 47.1d *mazdā xsəθrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'The Wise One in rule is Lord by reason of (our) piety', where the syntax is discussed. Parallels of the context of the present line appear at 47.2.

45.6. *vispanəm mazīštəm* 'the greatest of all' refers to AhM., obvious from line b *yā hūdā yōi hənti* and the use of *mazdā ahurō* at the end of line c. The presentation of the personages in vss. 4-6 follows a specific order of importance: *aśəm*, *volhū manō* and *ārmaitiš* (4), *spəntō mainyuš* (5), *ahurō mazdā* (6).

sraoū mazdā ahurō etc. Starting here and continuing through the whole of the next vs., these lines are also best interpreted as a *maqbra* of the type described in vs. 4 above.

yā hūdā yōi hənti spəntō mainyū 'who is beneficent to those who exist by reason of his virtuous spirit'. For disc. of the use of *spəntō mainyū*, which ends the sentence here, cf. 43.2 *yā dā aśā* etc. 29.7b *hvē mrušaēihyō spəntō sāsnaγā* 'He is virtuous to the needy in accordance with his commandment (instruction)' presents the identical word order. *yā hūdā* etc. is antithesis to 51.10b *tā duzdā yōi hənti* 'thereby malevolent to those who exist', referring to the deceitful.

ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsntū vahīštā 'Let Him instruct (command) me in His best intentions'. In view of the instr. *xraθwā* 31.7, 48.3, 53.3, it seems best to take *xratū ... vahīštā* as a neut. pl. dependent upon *sāsntū*. The root *sāh* governs a double acc.; cf. 44.1 *sahyāt*.

45.7. *yehyā savā išāntī rādayhō* 'whose (means of) salvation they

shall seek, of the One offering solicitude'. Structure of the line resembles 28.1a *ahyā (taṭ) yāsā ... rafəδrahyā*, where first and final words of the line refer to the same entity. Thus *rādayhō* stands as epithet for AhM. and conforms to normal usage of gen. of *-ah*-stems employed in possessive, adj. value.; cf. 32.11 *raēxənah-* and 43.3. Same interpretation of *rādayhō* also necessary in 46.17ac *yaθvā vā ... sənghāni ... vahmāng ... rādayhō* 'where I shall teach to you the glories of Him who offers solicitude', where the word again refers to AhM. (*yā ... mazdā ahurō*). On *išānti*, cf. 30.1 *išəntō*. *rādah-* 'solicitude' is discussed at 28.7 (end).

utāyūtā yā nərəqš sāchrā drəgvatō is difficult, but the use of *nərəqš drəgvatō* shows that it is intended to contrast with the preceding *aməratāiti ašaonō urvā aēsō* 'The soul of the truthful man is to be strong in immortality'. Subsequently, I propose to emend to *utāyūtā *ā nərəqš sāchrā drəgvatō* 'Woes are to befall the deceitful men in an enduring fashion'. Note that the use of the acc. *nərəqš drəgvatō* is parallel to that to *təm* and *im* in 44.19d *kā təm ahyā maēniš ayhaṭ paouruyē* 'Which punishment of his shall first befall him?' and 44.19e *yā im ayhaṭ apēmā* 'which final one shall befall him'. Thus *utāyūtā *ā nərəqš sāchrā drəgvatō* is of the same structure, but with the form of *ah* suppressed in common fashion. On *nərəqš*, cf. 44.4.

tācā xsəθrā mazdā dāmīš ahurō 'These things, too, the Wise Lord created by reason of His rule (over everything)'. This is a final tag sentence to verse. Similar usage in 44.3e (final) *tāciṭ mazdā vasəmi ahyācā vichyē* 'These things indeed, Wise One, and others, too, I wish to know'. Cf. also 46.9e (final) *tā tōi vohū manayhā*.

45.8. *təm nō staotāiš nəmanjō ā.vivarəšō* 'I shall try to turn Him hither to us with praises of reverence'. *ā.vivarəšō* belongs to *ā var* 'turn hither' and consciously refers back to *drəgvā ... āvəratō* in above vs. 1e, the point being, let AhM. come hither, not the evil spirit. For disc. of the root *var* 'turn', cf. 28.5 *vāvōimaidi*. Good support for interpretation also from Ved. parallels. Cf. RV. VII 84.1ab *ā vāṃ rājanāv adhvare vavṛtyām ... nāmobhīḥ* 'May I turn you two, kings, hither to our ceremony with reverence', I 52.1d *ēndraṃ vavṛtyām āvase svyktibhīḥ* 'May I turn Indra hither for help with good songs', etc.

vyādarəsam : vājhōuš mainyōuš šyaəθanahyā uxəahyācā | viduš ašā yəm mazdqm ahurəm 'I have discerned, knowingly with truth, the Wise One to be the Lord of the action and word stemming from good spirit'. On the syntax of *vājhōuš mainyōuš* (abl.) *šyaəθanahyā uxəahyācā*, cf. 34.10. The form *viduš* is adverbial; cf. 28.4 *ašiscā šyaəθananqm* etc.

Note also that the sequence *yām mazdām ahurām* is an inversion of the expected izafe construction **ahurām yām mazdām*, reversed in order to permit the rel. pron. to occupy the position immediately following the caesura. Cf. remarks 44.12.

45.9. *yā nā usān cōraḥ spāncā aspāncā*. Translations of the type 'der uns nach seinem Willen Vorteil und Nachteil schuf' (Lommel 1971. 125) cannot be correct, simply because *kar* never means 'create, etc.'. Also the point is misunderstood: AhM. did not arbitrarily create good and evil for men. Rather, he left it to their choice to select between the two possibilities which were already existent (cf. 30.3 etc.). Therefore it is clear that *usān kar* is an idiom 'to put or leave to one's wish or will', and that the line must mean 'who left to our wish (will) the virtuous and the unvirtuous', namely, '... to our wish (to choose between) the v. and the unv.'. *usān* thus appears to be loc. of a stem *usan-* 'wish'; cf. gen. pl. *usnam* Y. 10.13. Similar syntax in OP. DB IV 35 *pasāva diš Anramazdā manā dastayā akunauš* 'Afterwards AhM. put them into my hand'.

mazdā xsāθrā varāzi nā dyāḥ ahurō 'May the Lord, Wise in His rule, place us in effectiveness'. On the fig. *mazdā xsāθrā*, cf. 47.1 (final para.). Because of the proximity of *varāšantī* in vs. 3 above and of the fig. *vayhāuš varāzayantō manayhō* in vs. 4 above, *varāzi* here certainly is best interpreted as loc. of a root noun *varāz-* 'effectiveness'. The form *dyāḥ* is discussed at 29.5 *dyaidī*.

vayhāuš ašā haozqθwāḥ ā manayhō 'in consequence of the good relationship of good thinking with truth'. Parallels of the syntactic usage of *haozqθwāḥ ā* appear at 31.21 *hūrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyāḥ*. On *haozqθwa-*, cf. 43.3 (2nd para.).

45.10. *tām nā yasnāiš ārmatāiš mimayzō* 'I shall try to glorify Him with prayers of piety'. *mimayzō* belongs with Ved. *mahāvati* 'extols, glorifies', which is employed in similar contexts. Cf. RV. VIII 3.16cd *īndram stāmebhir mahāvanta āyāvahī, priyāmedhāso asvaran* 'Extolling Indra with praises, the A.'s and the P.'s have raised their voices', V 31.4c *brahmnāṇa indram mahāvanto arkāḥ* 'The priests extolling Indra with songs ...', etc. Note that the fig. *yasnāiš ārmatāiš* belongs with *stātāiš nāmayhō* in vs. 8a, and both therefore follow the usual juxtaposition of *yaz* and *stu* listed at 33.8.

hyaḥ hāi ašā volucā cōišṭ manayhā | xsāθrāi hōi haurvātā amərətātā 'What one has promised to Him with truth and good thinking is to

be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule'. Theme of good thinking and truth of men granting strength and life to the lord. Cf. 47.1, where diction is almost the same and where parallels of this motif are discussed.

*ahmāi stōi *dqm* (Mss. *dqm*) *təvišī utayūiti* 'are to be these two enduring powers for Him in His house'. **dqm* certainly should be restored here, since in this parallel clause we expect a loc. parallel to preceding *xšaθrōi*. The reading *dqm* stems from 47.1c *ahmāi dqm haurvātā aməratātā*, owing to the similarity in wording. On this principle, cf. introd. p. 12. Support also from the use of *dāng patōiš* in the next verse referring to AhM.

45.11. *yastā daēvāng aparō mašyascā tarō.mqstā* 'The person who, in this way, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals ...'. The repeated, unseparated usage of *daēvāišcā mašyāišcā* 29.4b, 48.1c and of *daēvāišcā xrafstrāiš mašyāišcā* 34.5c suggests that *aparō* here also modifies *daēvāng* and *mašyascā* rather than preceding *yas-*. Thus I interpret the form as acc. pl. of a root noun *ā-par-* 'guilty', and call attention to the fig. *daēva *āparō* (nom. pl.) at FrG. On meaning, cf. yAv. *pāra-* 'guilt' and the disc. at 49.1 *pafrē*. Orthography *aparō* for **āparō* follows usual pattern of writing initial *ā* in short form.

saošyantō dāng patōiš ... mazdā ahurā requires. gen. pron. *tōi* supplied to *dāng patōiš*. For disc., cf. 43.8 (3rd para.).

Yasna 46

This Gāthā appears to consist of two originally distinct works. The first part, comprising verses 1-11, deals with Zarathustra's search for refuge and support, and the second part, embracing the final 8 verses, treats of subjects following the prophet's acceptance by his patron, the nobleman Vishtaspa. It is exactly the two themes of the search for support and recognition and their subsequent attainment which have motivated the fusion of both independent works into one transmitted hymn.

Part I. In verses 1 and 2 Zarathustra laments to his god that he cannot fulfill the lord's teachings, since he has been rejected by all levels of his society. Moreover, in that the prophet is himself too poor to assemble a following of his own to champion the moral and spiritual values of his god, he is at a double disadvantage and consequently extremely depressed. Thus he must flee, and the Wise One must come to the aid of his prophet in the recognition that Zarathustra is a devoted ally of his god and of the elevated moral principles of truth and good thinking which the Wise Lord upholds. For such heavenly help is needed if these good and virtuous values are to be promoted in the world of man (3). There do exist those who would promote these and who would rally to the cause of good in this world, but they have been prevented from uniting in this true and just purpose by the hindering and destructive forces of deceit (4).

The following verses 5 and 6 are concerned with the principles of hospitality and reception, and are mentioned by Zarathustra in the hope that someone might receive and accept him during his flight. Thus they resume the initial motif which dominates the first verse. Verses 7 and 8 then ask for protection from any threat or danger that might be enacted against the prophet by the deceitful and evil spirit or any mortals who belong to his hateful cause, all of this apparently during Zarathustra's search for a patron. And in verses 9 and 10, by contrast, the prophet asks whether there shall be some sincere person who might aid him to realize the true honor which the Wise Lord merits and to bring to fulfillment what is best for existence, namely, the rule of truth and of good thinking. Thus man shall render his fitting service to god in both the sacred and profane spheres of life.

Verse 11 reaffirms the fact that the Kavis and the Karpans have undermined these true principles of existence and have therefore been damned to hell. Their condemnation in this verse resembles the content of 32.15 (next to last verse) and 44.20 (final verse), and thus clearly indicates that 46.11 is almost certainly the conclusion of one independent lyric.

Part II. This group of verses deals with those people who accepted Zarathustra and his teachings, and also describes the benefits which they obtained or were to obtain from following his precepts. The prophet's supporters were Friyana the Turanian and his offspring, who came to understand the truth and therefore showed their devotion to the Wise Lord through their good thinking (12). Vishtaspa, the prophet's chief patron (14) and his advisors, the brothers Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa of the Haugva family (16-17). The Haecataspa branch of the Spitama family (15). Their piety and devotion to the Lord (16-17) were to quicken the advent of truth and good thinking (13, 16), those values which were to bring prosperity and fame in this world (18-19) as well as in the next one (14, 19).

46.1. *kam namōi zam* 'To what land to flee?'. Syntax follows the Ved. type represented by RV. 1 164.17c *kāṃ svid ardhm parāgāt* 'To what quarter has she fled?'.
pairī x'aētāuš airyamauascā dadaitī 'Thy exclude (me) from my family and from my clan'. *pairī dā* means 'exclude' and functions as antonym to med. *dā* 'accept, receive'. For disc., cf. 31.19.

nōi mā xšnuuš yā varəduā hēcā 'The community with which I have associated has not satisfied me'. The subject of *xšnuuš* is *varəduam*, which has been attracted into the Illg. rel. clause. Similar syntax in 28.7c *dāstū ... yā vā nuθrā srəvimā rādā*, where *nuθram* is obj. of *dās* but has moved into rel. clause. Note also YH. 40.4 *x'aētūš ... varəduā ... ha.xšnu ... yāiš hišcanaidē* 'The families, communities, associations with which we associate'.

The form *hēcā* is not 1sg. pres. subj. of *hac* 'follow' (so, HH. 1959, II 67), nor aor. subj., for we expect a preterite parallel to preceding *xšnuuš*. Therefore I explain *hēcā* as arising by haplology from **hāhēcā* (orig. **hahaca*), 1sg. perf., a form supplying the lacking syllable after the caesura. Such a form is advantageous, because the pattern of med. pres. *hacaitē* 34.2 etc. and med. aor. *haxšāi* 46.10 below contrasting with act. perf. **hahaca* thus fits well with the archaic Ved. type *pādyate āpādi papāda* (*pad* 'fall'), *mrīyāte amṛta mamāra* (*mṛ* 'die'), etc. (cf. SI. 1968b, 324 ln 20).

46.2. *mā kamnašvā hyaṭcā kamnānā ahmī* 'By my condition of having few animals, as well as (that) I am a person with few man'. On *hyaṭcā* 'as well as', cf. 28.2 *astvataścā hyaṭcā*. The combination of *pasu-* and *nar-* here replaces the usual juxtaposition *pasu-: vīra-* (e.g. 31.15c *pasāuš vīraaṭcā*), but it is also encountered at Y. 4.5 *fradaθāi ahe nmānahe pasvartna narartna*. Vd. 13.32 *pasūm ... naram *raēšyāi* (Mss. *raēšyāi*).

gārazāi tōi ā : iṭ vaēnā ahurā 'I lament to Thee. Take notice of it, Lord'. I correct the meter before the caesura by adding a 2nd *ā* after *tōi* (similarly, Kuiper 1964b, 86 fn 4). Cf. introd. p. 18.

āxsō vaṅhāuš ašā istim manayhō 'Let me see the power of good thinking allied with truth'. *āxsō* is jussive inf. to the aor. *xsāi* 28.4 from *ā xsā* 'look upon, see' (= Ved. *á khyā*). The Rígv. hapax *á ... akhyat* (IV 2.18a) also still means 'look upon' (not 'tell, relate' as in later texts). Syntax of *vaṅhāuš ašā istim manayhō*, with *ašā* as comit. instr. with *vaṅhāuš manayhō*, belongs with exx. discussed at 43.2 *ašā vaṅhāuš māyā manayhō*. In general, the import of this line corresponds to 43.4ae *aṭ θvā mānghāi taxmām ... hyaṭ mōi vaṅhāuš hazō jimaṭ manayhō* 'I shall recognize Thee to be brave if the force of good thinking shall come to me'.

46.3. *kodā mazdā yōi uxšānō asnaqm | aṅhāuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā ārantē* 'When, Wise One, shall the bulls of the heavens rise forth for the maintenance of the world of truth?'. Interpretation is dependent upon the parallel 44.15bd *yezī ahya ašō pōi maṭ xšayelū | avāiš urvātāiš yā tū mazdā didarəzō* '(Tell me) if Thou hast the mastery to protect the world allied with truth in accordance with those commandments which Thou indeed dost seek to uphold, Wise One'. For this latter vs. clearly shows that *uxšānō asnaqm* must be AhM. and his forces, as does the freq. use of the root *ar* with gods in Ved. Cf. RV. VII 39.3a *jmayā ātra vásavo ranta devāḥ* 'The good gods shall rise across the earth here', etc. Consequently, *uxšānō asnaqm* surely means 'the bulls of the heavens', with *asnaqm* gen. pl. of *asan-* 'heaven' rather than of *azar/n-* 'day'. The difference in treatment between *asnaqm* here and yAv. gen. sg. *ašnō* also appears in *vasnā* 'according to wish' and OP. *vašnā*, etc. Note, too, the reference to the gods in the RV. as *ukšāyas*: cf. I 105.10ab *amī yé pāncokšāno, mádhve tasthūr mahō divāḥ* 'Yon five bulls who stand in the midst of great heaven', III 7.7cd *ukšāno ajmryā devāḥ* 'the bulls, the unaging gods'. These expressions cannot be a reference to the dawns, which require a feminine attribute as always.

Note also that the sequence here of 46.2e *āxsō vayhāuš ašā ištīm manajhō* and flg. 46.3b *ayhāuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā ārəntē* directly corresponds to 43.1cd **utayūitūm tavišim gaḥ.tōi vasamī ašam dərəidyāi* 'I wish for enduring strength to come in order to uphold the truth'.

vərəzdāiš sānghāiš saošyantəm xratavō 'The intentions of those who shall save are in accord with Thy mature teachings'. *vərəzdāiš sānghāiš* resumes the theme of 44.16b *kā vərəθram.jā θwā pōi sānghā yōi hantī* 'Who shall smash the obstacle (of deceit) in order to protect, in accordance with Thy teaching, those who exist?', where it is made clear that the person to do this belongs to this world (*ratūm ciždī*). Thus it appears certain to me that the *saošyantō* here refer to the community of the faithful, who are referred to metaphorically as *ašahyā važdrəng gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' in the next vs. For further disc., cf. 30.10 *asištā yaojantē* etc. and 48.12. In the first 3 lines of 46.3 here Zarathustra simply says: When will the immortals appear to uphold truth in this world? For the faithful are ready and adhere to the teachings of the lord. The next vs. clarifies the point that AhM. must come with his forces to bring this about, since the truthful men are unable to accomplish this alone. Cf. Addenda to 28.1.

maibyō is certainly 'to me?', for it corresponds to the preceding question word *kaēibyō* 'to whom?'.

θwā sastrā vərənē ahurā 'I choose (only) Thy teachings, Lord' pointedly shows to AhM. that Zarathustra is one of the *saošyantō* in that he follows the precepts of AhM. On reading *sastrā*, cf. introd. p. 5.

46.4. *ašahyā važdrəng ... gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' is a metaphor for the faithful, those who do the labor of truth in this world. Cf. preceding vs. and 30.10 (final para.), where similar metaphors are mentioned.

dužazōbā haš 'being difficult to challenge'. Kuiper's recent attempt (1973, 194 ff.) to explain *dužazōbā* as the normal development of an underlying **dužzuvāh* cannot be accepted, since the contraction of the sequence **-zuvā-* results in *-zvā-* in Avestan and never in **-zbā-*. Cf. the enlargement of *hizū-* 'tongue' as **hizū-ā-* resulting in *hizvā-* (not **hizbā-*) and note Benveniste's appropriate remarks (1954b, 30 f.) Therefore *dužazōbā* must contain an orig. cluster **-zuvā-* > **-zbā-*. Secondly, a svarabhakti vowel never appears between two sibilants in Avestan: cf. Gāth. *duš.sasti-* *duš.šyaοθana-*, *yAv. duš.sayha-* *duž-zuotar-*. Therefore *-a-* in this word must represent orig. *-a-* or *-ā-*. Since only *-ā-* is possible, we are back to Bthlm.'s *duž.āzbā-*. The use of

āzbā- is in no way astonishing, as K. would have us believe, when compared with Ved. *āhū-*, but parallels the difference between Ved. *hūtā-*, *-havītu-* and Av. *-zbāta-*, *zbātar-*. For the meaning, however, I connect the word with the Ved. use of *ā hū* in the sense 'challenge': cf. RV. I 32.6a b *ayaddhēva durmāda ā hi jhivē mahāvīrām ...* 'As if he had no (real) combatant, in his severe folly he challenged the great hero'. The attribution of *duzāzōhā hqs* 'being difficult to challenge' to *angrō mainyuš* thus explains why the evil spirit has been able to prevent the truthful from arising up to now.

x'āiš šyaosθanāiš ahāmustō must be emended to *x'āiš šyaosθanāiš *ā *hāmustō* acc. to the remarks at 32.3 *yāiš asrūdūm*. The resulting **hāmustō* should represent a concept related to 'difficult to challenge', and I thus ascribe to it the meaning 'contentious, belligerent'. Consequently, I derive the form from **ham-us-tata-*, which syncopated to *hāmusta-*; for meaning cf. etymologically related Lat. *contendere*.

yastām xšaθrāi ... mōiθai 'who(ever) shall expel him from rule'. *mōiθai* is aor. subj. of *mit* 'throw'; on *-θ-* for *-t-*, cf. 33.2 *vayhāu vā cōiθaitē*.

*hvō tāng *frō *gā* (Mss. *frō.gā* etc.) *paθmāng lucistōiš caraī* 'he shall free these oxen for the flight of good understanding'. *frō.gā* cannot mean 'Vorstieren' (HH.) or 'voranschreitend' (Bthlm.), since the combining form of *gao-* is *-gu-* at the end of a compd. (cf. OP. *θataguš* like Ved. *saptāgu-*) and since *fra-* cannot be employed in place of *parō* in compds. (cf. *parō.darās-* 'cock' like Ved. *puro-yūdh-* etc.). Furthermore, we expect from the context that the person who shall expel the deceitful one shall therefore free the draft oxen which the evil spirit has kept suppressed. Consequently, the sequence *frō.gā ... caraī* must be separated into **frō *gā ... caraī* and the combination *frō caraī* compared with Ved. *prā kṛ* 'reveal, free'. Cf. RV. IX 15.7ac *etām mṛjanti mārjyam, pracakrāṇām mahīr iṣah* 'They cleanse this (Soma) that must be cleansed, freeing its great powers'; VIII 3.5a *prā cakre sāhasā sāhah* 'Forcefully he revealed (loosed) his force', etc. In our passage *lucisti-* 'good understanding' is probably a stylistic variant for *vayuhī daēnā* 'the good conception'.

46.5. *yā vā xšayqs adqs dritā ayantām* 'Whoever verily is master of a house should respectfully receive the person coming (to him)'. *adqs* is a redactional change from orig. **ā *dqs*, and thus allows the correspondance of *ā ... dritā* with Ved. med. *ā dṛ* 'respect, honor (a guest)', as Thieme (1938, 152 fn 2) correctly explained. Cf. ŚBr. 2.3.3.8

yáthā haivāsmiṃ lokē ná saṃyátam ādriyáte 'as in this world one does not receive his rival (as a guest) ...'. The problematic gen. *dqs*, however, simply belongs with preceding *xšayqs*, i.e. *xšayqs ... dqs* 'the master of a house', for this expression is the equiv. of *dāng patōiš* 45.11. Cf. introd. p. 16 f.

rašnā jvqs yā ašavā dragvantəm / vīcirō haqs ... 'Which (= if a) truthful person, living by this directive, discerns him to be deceitful ...'. *rašnā* (orig. **rašnā*; cf. *rāzarē rāšnqm* 34.12) *jvqs* belongs within the rel. clause but has been fronted in favor of Zarathustra's practice to place a rel. pron. in the metrical position following the caesura. Cf. 44.12.

This verse has been misunderstood in that there are really two ideas present, which have not been properly brought to light. The first is that a house-lord should welcome any person coming to his house to whom he is obligated in consequence of any sort of formal agreement. This is the prime directive (**rašnā jvqs*), and its lack of fulfillment is condemned in the following verse. The second point is that, if he recognizes his guest to be a deceitful person, he must announce this fact to his family, lest this deceitful person bring any harm upon them by trying to seduce them into the ways of deceit.

46.6. *aṭ yastām nōiṭ nā isəmnō āyāṭ*. This must represent a contrast to the preceding line vs. 5a. since most terms correspond, save the neg. *nōiṭ*, viz. *yā*: *yas*, *xšayqs*: *nā isəmnō*, *ayantəm*: *āyāṭ*. Thus the line clearly requires *ā drītā* again and stands for an underlying **aṭ yastām nōiṭ nā isəmnō ā.drītā yā ahmāi āyaṭ* 'But which able man (= rich enough) would not receive him who shall come to him ...'. For similar compact diction. cf. 31.9 for parallels. Note that *āyāṭ* is for orig. **āyaṭ*: it transmitted vocalism has been influenced by *gāṭ* in the next line in identical metrical position. For process, cf. introd. p. 5 ff.

drūjō hvō dāmqm haēθahyā gāṭ 'such a person shall go to the bonds of deceit's captivity'. In view of the Rīgv. expression *ānytasya sētu-* 'the net (trap) of untruth' appearing in VII 65.3a *tā bhūripāśāv ānytasya sētū* 'the two thick-fettered nets of untruth' and X 67.4b *gūhā tiṣṭhantīr ānytasya sētau* 'remaining hidden in the trap of untruth', it is clear that *drūjō ... haēθahyā* belongs to the same sphere of ideas. Consequently, it is preferable to interpret *dāmqm* as 'bonds', corresponding to Ved. *dāman-* 'id.'. Similar meaning for *dāmqm* (orig. **dāmqm*) in 48.7d *aṭ hōi dāmqm θvalmī ā dqm ahurā* 'Yes, his bonds are in Thy house, Lord'. For meaning of *haēθa-*, cf. 29.1 *ā ... hišāyā*.

46.7. **kām.vā* (Mss. *kāmuā*) *mazdā mavaitē pāyūm dadā : hyaṭ mā dragvā *dādarāšati* (Mss. *didarāšatā*) *aēnaijhē* 'Whom indeed hast Thou appointed as guardian for me, Wise One, if the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*) shall dare to harm me?'. Belongs closest with 50.1b *kā mā.nā θrātā vistō* 'Who has been found to be my protector?'.
 In view of *yā vā*, which begins vss. 5, 8 and 10, it is most probable that the reading *kāmuā* has replaced an orig. **kām.vā*. Motivation for the change stems from similarity of *kāmuānā* in vs. 2 above and the above-cited parallel 50.1b *kā mā.nā* (Mss. *kāmuānā kāmuā* etc.). For process, cf. introd. p. 9f. *dragvā* again (cf. above vs. 4) is certainly *angrō mainyuš*: cf. 31.15.

The accepted reading *didarāšatā* cannot be correct, for syntax demands either a subj. or opt. in *hyaṭ*-clauses of future-possible value, as appears in the current passage. Cf. 29.8c *hyaṭ lōi budantām *dyā* 'if he might receive for himself sweetness', 43.4be *hyaṭ tā zastā ... avā*, *hyaṭ mōi ... huṣṣ junaṭ* 'if Thou shalt help with the very hand ... if the force shall come to me', 43.8b *hyaṭ isōyā* 'if I were able', etc. If we note the fact that in the RV. the root *dhṛs* 'dare' is fundamentally attested as a perf. tantum — indic. *dadharṣa*, subj. *dadhārṣat(i)* etc. — then the attested reading *didarāšatā* can be combined with the Ved. verbal forms by emending to **dādarāšati*, likewise yielding a proper perf. subj. Here the switch in the vowels must be ascribed to the work of the redactors, who tried to normalize an unusual form following the pattern of the desid. attested in *didarāzō* 44.15 and *didrayzō.duyē* 48.7, which sounded similar. Note also that the form *dīdaijhiē* 43.11 has been emended to **dādaijhiē*. Syntax of *dṛs* with inf. in the fig. **dādarāšati aēnaijhē* thus the same as in 43.13d *yām vā uaēcis dārašt itē* 'to which no one has dared you to accede' (q.v.).

yayā śyaoθanāiš ašam θraoštā ahurā 'through the actions of which two one has nourished the truth'. Normal syntax of instr. with impersonal verb of the type 48.1a *ašā drujim vānyhaii* 'one shall defeat deceit with truth', etc. Statement is deliberate stylistic variant of 34.3b *gāθā vispā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraoštā manajhā* 'all the creatures under Thy rule whom one has nourished with good thinking' and 43.6c *yehyā śyaoθanāiš gāθā ašā frādantē* 'through the actions of which (rule) the creatures allied with truth do prosper'.

tqm mōi dastvam daēnayāi frāvaocā 'Proclaim this wondrous state to me for the sake of the (good) conception'. Translation follows 53.4ed *manajhā vayhāuš x'ānvaṭ hayhuš ... mazdā dadāṭ ahurō daēnayāi vayhuyāi* 'The Wise Lord shall grant (to her) the sunlike gain of good

thinking for the sake of the good conception'. Final line here resumes the motif of vs. 3: Zarathustra says that if AhM. will guarantee his protection through his fire and good thinking, then Zarathustra shall find the courage to bring the notion of the good vision throughout the world.

46.8. *yā vā mōi yā gaēθā dazdē aēnaihē* 'who indeed takes it upon himself to harm those who are my creatures'. Belongs with 31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drūjō aśahyā gaēθā vimərəncaitē* 'who, by reason of the commandments of deceit, destroy the creatures of truth'.

āθriš śyaoθanāiš 'the danger (threat) (caused) by his actions'. Content belongs with 34.8a *tāiš zī nā śyaoθanāiš *byāinti yaēsī as pairi pourubyo iθyejō* 'Because they frighten us with such actions in which there has been danger for many ...'. Use of instr. in *āθriš śyaoθanāiš* is similar to 29.2c *dragvō.dabiš aēsāməm* 'fury (caused) by the deceitful'. 48.11c *dragvō.dabiš xrūrāiš *rəməm* 'cruelty (caused) by the violent deceitful ones', etc. *āθri-* is of identical meaning to *āīθi-*, on which cf. 32.16.

paityaogəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ dvaēsəyhā. Because of *gaṭ.tōi* 43.1, *gaṭ.tē* 51.10 and *āgəmat.tā* 44.8 for orig. **gatōi *-tē *āgmatā*, it is clear that *paityaogəṭ tā* should be read as **paityaogəṭ.tā* and that the form should originally contain only one *-t-*. This allows interpretation as an instr. with flg. *dvaēsəyhā*, whereby the word most probably stands for **paityaoxtā*. We thus have the flg. **paityaoxtā dvaēsəyhā* 'responding enmity, hostility'. The orthography *paityaogəṭ tā* somehow represents the attempt to normalize after *yaogəṭ (*yuoxt)* 44.4, although the reason for the doubling of *-t-* in all these instances remains unclear. Note, however, that the yAv. occurrence of *paityaogəṭ.tbaēsəhya-* Y. 16.8. Yt. 8.51 is falsely modeled after the Gāthic attestation; cf. 32.6 *hātā.marānē*.

Therefore translate: 'May it (= the danger, threat) come back to him with responding enmity'. *paiti* in **paityaoxtā* is also meant to govern *jasōiṭ*. For parallel concept, cf. I 147.4 *yō no agne ... marcāyati dvayēna | māntro gurūḥ pūnar astu sō asmā, ānu mṛkṣīṣṭa tanvāni duruktāiḥ* 'Agni, let the heavy spell return to that man who tries to destroy us with falsehood. Let him efface his own person with such evil words'. In general, cf. disc. in Bergaigne (1883. 190 ff.).

tanvām ā '(coming) up to his body (person)'. The use of *ā* with the acc. to signify 'up to, as far as' also occurs in *ā nūrāmcīṭ* in 31.7c *yā ā nūrāmcīṭ alurā hāmō* 'Thou who, up to now indeed, hast been the same, Lord'.

yā im hujyāiōzš pāyāi '(his person) which could guard him from the good way of life'. *pāyāi* is opt. employed in a preterite context: cf. 29.5 *hyai mazdqm dyaidi* etc. Since it is the evil person of the deceitful man which hinders him from following the good way of life, namely, the way of truth, it is also clear that in 32.13c *yā is pāi darasāi asahyā*, the rel. pron. should refer back to *kāma-* 'the lust' (of the deceitful) and not to *maθrau-* 'the prophet'. It is hard to believe that Zarathustra would ever keep any man from the knowledge of truth. Thus we have: 32.13bc *yaēcā mazdā jigərəzai ; kāmē θvaliyā maθrauō dātium yā is pāi darasāi asahyā* 'Also those who, in their lust (for riches), Wise One, complained about the message of Thy prophet, a lust which guarded them from the sight of truth'.

46.9. *yā mā ... cōiθai ... yaθā θwā zəvištīm uzdmōhi* 'who shall enlighten me in which way to respect Thee, the Most Mighty One'. For disc., cf. 33.2 *vayhāu vā cōiθaitē astiū*. The loc. inf. *uzdmōhi* (stem *uzama-*) belongs with *uzama-* 'respectful' 44.7. Passage appears to belong with 44.1bc *manayhō ā yaθā namō xšmāvatō ... saliyāi mavaitē* 'One should declare to me how reverence for your kind should be from 'the reverent person'.

yā tōi asā 'which things of Thine are in harmony with truth' and *tā tōi volū manayhā* 'those things of Thine in harmony with good 'thinking' are discussed at 32.2. The phrase *tā tōi volū manayhā* appears as an independent tag, which explains why the demon. pron. is employed in place of the parallel rel. *yā* of the preceding statement. For this practice, cf. 45.7 *tācā xšaθrā* etc. Note also the independent tag *kāciḡ mazdā dvaēsayhā* at the end of the preceding vs.

46.10. *dāyāi aghēuš yā tū vōistā vahistā* '... would grant to me those things which Thou knowest to be best for existence (this world)'. *aghēuš ... vahistā* is a type of obj. gen.: parallels of this fig. are listed at 44.10 *yā hātqm vahistā*.

ašəm ašāi volū xšaθrəm manayhā 'truth for the truth (and) the rule in alliance with good thinking'. The reading *ašəm* (J₇) is preferable to *ašim* (J₂), since the fig. *ašəm ašāi* is a var. of the type 43.5d *akām akāi* and since it is natural that *ašəm* and *volū manō* be coupled here in customary fashion. The var. *ašim* stems from 43.16e *ašim šyaoθanāiš volū daidiḡ manayhā*, which closely resembles the wording of *ašəm ašāi volū xšaθrəm manayhā*. For process, cf. introd. p. 11 ff. What Zarathustra means by 'who would grant truth for the truth' is that a

person should act with truth in response to his knowledge of the truthful doctrine presented by the prophet.

cinvatō pərətūm 'the Bridge of the Judge'. I follow Bthlm. (1904, 596) in taking *cinvant-* as pres. part. of *ci* 'decide, discern', since the usage is thus parallel to that of *saošyant-* 'savior'.

46.11. Antithesis to the preceding verse: the truthful will successfully cross the Bridge into Paradise, but the Karpans and Kavis have already been turned away from there and damned to Hell.

xšaθrāiš 'during their regimes' is instr. of temporal extent; cf. 30.7 *ayaṅhā ādānāiš*.

ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašim 'in order to destroy this world and mankind'. This is a variant of 30.6c *yā* (= *aēšəmā*) *baṇayən ahūm marətānō* 'with which fury they (= the gods) have afflicted this world and mankind'. The parallel reveals that *mašim* cannot thus be the obj. of *yūjən*, to which the simplest addition is *nā* 'us'. This is essentially a lament of the truthful; others who followed the ways of the Karpans etc. seemingly saw no oppression in their ways. In general, the opening 2 lines *xšaθrāiš yūjən karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaοθanāiš ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašim* function as antithesis to 34.15c *xšmākā xšaθrā aluurā fərəsəm vasnā haiθyəm dā ahūm*. For disc., cf. 30.9 *aṭcā tōi vaēm hiyāmā* etc.

yəng x'ə urvā x'aēcā xruodaṭ daēnā 'whom their own soul and own conception did vex'. *xruodaṭ* must be a 3pl. preterite parallel to preceding *yūjən* and 11g. *aibi.gəmən*. Both *x'ə urvā* and *x'aēcā daēnā* are the coordinated subjects of the verb form, but the use of the 3pl. is correct insofar as it is employed distributively. Cf. 44.20cd *yāiš gəm karapā usixscā aēšəmāi dātā* (orig. **datā*) *yācā kavā* 'together with whom the Karpan and Usig have delivered the cow unto fury, and the Kavi as well', where a 3pl. verb form also occurs with a compound subject, probably also intended distributively. The sense is that the soul and conception of all the Karpans and Kavis vexed them when they appeared at the Bridge of the Judge. *xruodaṭ* is therefore a form comparable to *paiti.mravaṭ* 29.3 and *syazdaṭ* 34.9. Cf. also corresponding subj. *xraudaiti* in the parallel 51.13b *yehyā urvā xraudaiti cinvatō pərətā* 'whose soul shall vex him at the Bridge of the Judge'.

*yavōi višpāi drūjō *dəmānē* (Mss. *dəmānāi*) *astayō* 'to be guests forever in the House of Deceit'. The reading *dəmānāi* should be restored to **dəmānē* in view of 32.13a *acištahyā dāmānē manayhō*, 49.11d *drūjō dāmānē haiθyā ayhən astayō*, etc. Vocalism of **dəmānē* was influenced

by the preceding *vispāi*. Similarly, *vāstrāi* 47.3 reposes on orig. **vāstrē*, whose vocalism was altered under the effects of preceding *ahmāi*. On process, cf. introd. p. 5f. Note that this final line contrasts with 31.22c *hvō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aṅhaitī astiš* 'He shall be Thy most welcome guest, Wise Lord', said of the truthful man.

46.12. *hyaṭ us ašā naptyaēšū naṣṣucā tūrahvā jān* 'Since Thou, truth, didst arise among the children and grandchildren of the Turanian ...'. *ašā* in this vs. and at the conclusion of the next is best taken as a voc. In terms of the structure of the hymn, Zarathustra first turns to the immortals with his affirmations and then to his followers to repeat his points; cf. introd. to Y. 31. Consequently, *us ... jān* is best explained as 2sg. aor.

āmatōiš gaēθā frādō θwaxšayhā 'of the one prospering his creatures with the zeal of piety'. Piety is mentioned in this context addressed to truth, since it corresponds to the repeated notion that the piety of the faithful gives strength to AhM. and his powers (cf. 28.3). In particular, the current passage belongs with 44.6c *ašam šyaoθanāiš dābqzaitī ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth'. Latter statement supports interpretation of *ašā* as voc.

aṭ iš volū hēm.aibi.mōist manayhā ... ahurō 'Therefore did the Lord unite them with good thinking'. For disc., cf. 32.2. Intended as contrast to preceding vs. 11ab *yūjān (nā) karapanō kāvayascā akāiš šyaoθanāiš*. The form *hēm.aibi.mōist* is aor. to *mit* 'throw'; on meaning, cf. Lat. *committo*.

aēihvā rafəθrāi ... sastē 'in order to announce Himself to them for (their) support'. On the inf. *sastē*, cf. 30.2 *sazdyāi*. Note that *volū manayhā* and *rafəθrāi* in these final lines correspond to above 46.2de *rafəθrām cagvā ... āxsā vaiyhāuš ašā ištīm manayhō* 'offering the (fitting) support ... Let me see the power of good thinking allied with truth'. Zarathustra implies thereby that the advent of good thinking among men is a major means of support for them against the hostilities of the world.

46.13. *yā spitāməm zaraθuštrəm rādayhā marətaēšū xšnāuš* 'who among men did satisfy Zarathustra Sp. with solicitude ...'. Intended as contrast to the opening of hymn vs. 1cd *nāiṭ mā xšnāuš yā varəzənā *hāhēcā / naēdā dahyāuš yōi sāsārā dragvantō*.

tām vā ašā māhmaidī huš.haxāim 'we respected him among you as the good friend of truth'. On *māhmaidī*, cf. 31.19 *gūštā yā mantā ašam*.

The fig. *ašā ... huš.haxāim* occurs at 32.2b (*ahurō*) *ašā huš.haxā* and 50.6b *urvaθō ašā*. Syntactically *tām vā* 'him among you' is parallel to preceding *yā ... marataēšū*, and the use of the pron. *vā* shows return of discourse to direction of Zarathustra's followers, anticipating the parallel employment in flg. vs. 15a *vaxšyā vā*, vs. 17a *yathrā vā ... sānghāni*.

46.14. *zaraθuštrā kastē ašavā urvaθō mazōi magāi* 'Zarathustra, which truthful man is thy ally for the great task?'. Continues the idea of the last verse: the man who is the friend of the lord's values is also the ally of the truthful man of this world, and is therefore ready to assist in the overthrow of deceit.

*aḷ hvō kavā vištāspō *yā *alī* (Mss. *yāhi*) 'Yes, it is Kavi V., with whom thou art allied'. According to the remarks at 32.2, it is certain that *yāhi* should be emended to **yā *alī*. On vowel contractions, cf. introd. p. 18.

yāngstū mazdā hadəmōi etc. These words seem to me to be meaningful only if they stem from Kavi Vištāspa himself. They thus appear to be a citation of the Kavi's words employed by Zarathustra to show that V. is truly an ally of both AhM. and Zarathustra. He is in possession of good thinking and therefore ready for the great task.

vayhāuš uxδāiš manayhū 'with words stemming from good thinking'; cf. 34.10 for disc. and parallels.

46.15. *dadyē* need not be a short-vowel subj. (so, HH. 1959, II 72), but can be false orthography for **dādyē* as in *dāidyāi* 31.5, 51.20. The final missing line of the verse has been supplied according to 28.11c *yāiš ā ayhūš paouruyō bavaḷ*.

46.16. *aradrāiš idi ... tāiš yāug usvalū uštā stōi* 'Come thou hither with those sincere ones whom we wish to be in His favor'. According to 33.2c *tōi vārāi rādanti ahurahyā zaošē mazdā* 'They shall bring success to His wish and be in the approval of the Wise Lord', it seems most likely that *uštā* here is a parallel loc., thus from *ušti-* 'wish'; cf. *uštīš* 48.4. The sense of *uštā* in fact approaches that of *zaošē*, since both terms often occur side by side. Cf. 48.4c *ahyā zaošāng uštīš varānāng hacaitē* 'He follows his pleasures, desires, preferences'; Vd. 2.11 *hvqm anu uštūm zaošāmca*. Both *ušti-* and *zaoša-*, however, already have acquired the secondary meaning 'approval, favor', clearly seen in 33.10b *θvalmī hīs zaošē ābaxšō.hvā* 'Give them a share in Thy

approval'. Note also *urvāzəman-* 'joy, happiness' employed as 'grace' at 32.1b (*yāsaŋ*) ... *ahuraŋyā urvāzəmə māzdā* 'entreated for the grace of the Wise Lord'.

yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš / *yaθrā vaŋhəuš manayhō ištā xšaθrəm* 'where piety is harmony with truth, where sovereignty lies in the power of good thinking'. These two lines succinctly summarize two of the major themes of the Gāthās: (1) the piety of the faithful grants strength to the Lord, as it should be (*ašā*); (2) the only true power in the world must be regulated by good thinking. For disc., cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm* ... *varədaiti ārmaitiš* and 47.1.

yaθrā māzdā varədaməm šaēiti ahurō 'where the Wise Lord dwells in maturity'. *varədaməm* is loc. of *varədaman-* 'maturity'; cf. similar loc. *anašməm* in the flg. vs. On *-məm* for **-məm*, cf. 29.10 *rāməmā*. Note that the sequence in these last 3 lines of *ašā ... vaŋhəuš manayhō ... šaēiti ahurō* corresponds to the diction of 44.9e *hadəmōi ašā volucā šyəs manayhā* and 33.5bc *ā xšaθrəm vaŋhəuš manayhō* / *ašā ā ərəzūš paθō yaēšū māzdā ahurō šaēiti* 'the rule of good thinking and the paths, straight in accord with truth, wherein the Wise Lord dwells'.

46.17. *yaθrā vā ašmāni sənghāni nāi anašməm ... vahmāng* 'where I shall teach to you in verse — not in non-verse — the glories ...'. The use of the neut. pl. forms *dāməm* 46.6 = *dāməm* 48.7, *mīzdavəm* 43.5, *rāməm* 29.10, *šyaoəm* 32.3, all without final *-i-*, makes it highly unlikely that *ašmāni* and *anašməm* are to be interpreted as neut. pl. forms here. Rather, both are loc. sg., with the optional use of *-i* appearing in the doublets *cašməm* 50.10 and *cašmaini* 31.8, 45.8, both 'in (a) vision', and in the Ved. by-forms *udān uđāni* 'in the water', etc. Consequently, *sāx'āni* in 53.5a *sāx'āni ... kainibyō nraomī* also cannot be neut. pl., but should be divided into **sāx'āni *i* (better **sax'ani *i*): 'I say these words to the girls'. The pron. *i* has simply moved into its normal position of second place in its clause.

With regard to the orthography *ašmāni* in place of expected **ašmaini*, the form simply shows the effects of flg. *sənghāni*; cf. introd. p. 7 for process. I follow Nyberg (1938, 239) with regard to the meanings 'verse' and 'non-verse'. Zarathustra is understandably proud of his poetic craft.

hadā vāstā I take as a mistake for orig. **hadā.vastā* 'in total inspiration', loc. of a stem *hadā.vasti-* from *vat* 'inspire'. This root belongs to the central vocabulary of IndoIran. poetic art. Cf. RV. X 25.1ab *bhadraṃ no āpi vātaya, māno dākṣam utā kratim* 'Favorably inspire

our thinking, skill and determination' and Y. 9.25 **apivatahi *pouru.-vacqm arəzuxdaiqm* 'Thou art the inspirer of many truly spoken words'. A derivation from *vat* thus seems in place where Zarathustra is extolling his own abilities as poet. Cf. also *apivaitī* 44.18.

rādayhō | yā vīcīnaoꝥ dāθamcā adāθamcā | daŋgrā mantū ašā mazdā alurō '(the praises) of Him who offers solicitude, the Wise Lord, who, together with his clever adviser, truth, has judged both the just and the unjust man'. The gen. *rādayhō*, as always, refers to AhM. and in this instance is clearly resumed by *yā ... mazdā alurō*; cf. 45.7 (1st para.) and 32.11 *raēxənah-*.

yā vīcīnaoꝥ dāθamcā adāθamcā echoes above vs. 15b *hyaꝥ dāθəng vīcayathā adāθəscā* 'how ye shall distinguish the just and the unjust men'. But it is difficult to believe that the same meaning can apply to AhM. (and truth), who is all-seeing and undeceivable acc. to 45.4e *nōiꝥ divəaidyāi vīspā.hišas alurō*. Rather, I think that *vi ci* is employed in 46.17 here in its technical sense 'to judge juridically' (cf. 32.7), whereby Zarathustra wishes to indicate that AhM., together with truth, possesses the power to definitively judge a person for salvation or damnation at the end. For disc., cf. 32.5 *fracīmas. daŋgrā mantū* as an epithet of *ašəm* contrasts with 33.4c *acištəm mantūm* as an epithet of *angrō mainyuš*.

46.18. *mazdā ašā xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmniō* 'thus satisfying your wish with truth, Wise One'. The wish of AhM. which is satisfied refers to the previously mentioned notions of the first 3 lines, that Zarathustra will give his best to the truthful followers but bring on evil to the evil opponents. The passage is thus a variant of 33.2 *yā akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti, vaŋhāu vā cōiθaitē astīm, tōi vārāi rādənti ahurahyā* 'Who shall bring about evil for the deceitful one or who shall enlighten his guests in the good, (all) these shall bring success to the wish of the Lord'. On *xšnaošəmniō*, cf. 28.3 *aγzōnvanməm*.

46.19. *manə.vistāiš maꝥ vīspāiš gāvā azi* 'a fertile cow and steer, along with all my possessions'. *manə.vistāiš* is for orig. **manā *vistāiš*. with accented pron. form **manā* in first position of the line; cf. **mānā* 29.9, **mā.nā* 50.1. The initial *vi-* of *vistāiš* has caused the change of **manā* to *manə*, as in *səvištō* 33.11, *əvistī* 34.9, etc. from **savištō*, **avistī*. The fig. *gāvā azi* 'two fertile cows' is elliptical dual for 'a fertile cow and a steer'; cf. Nyberg (1938, 197). These, however, are the good vision and Zarathustra as its keeper. Note that the

supporters of the faith are called *aśahyā važdrāng gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' in vs. 4 above. The combination of *gāvā azī* and **manā *vistāiš vīspāiš* is intended to correspond to the typical juxtaposition 43.1e *rāyō aśiš vaŋhāiš gaēm manayhō* 'the rewards of wealth and life of good thinking', also referred to as the attainments of the spiritual and material worlds in 28.2bc.

tācī mōi sqs tvām mazdā vaēdištō 'Even these things, it has seemed to me, Thou dost best know, Wise One'. Typical use of independent tag at the conclusion of the final line of vs., with tag beginning with a demon. pron.; cf. *tā tōi volū manayhā* in vs. 9e above.

Yasna 47

With the very first words of this brief Gāthā, Zarathustra draws immediate attention to the virtuous spirit, which fully dominates the content and the tone of this poem describing the workings of this spiritual force of good and truth in both man and god. Beginning his presentation in impersonal and compact language, precisely calculated to reflect these disclosures as the very words of his lord, the prophet discusses in the first 2 verses how the participation of man in the life and meaningfulness of god depends upon this very spirit. In that this force of good and virtue provokes man to act with truth and good thinking in every sphere of his activity, it promotes the highest principles of god in this earthly existence and therefore enforces the dignity and significance of the almighty's being. This indeed is the ultimate form of reverence and honor, because god created these moral and good qualities by reason of this very same virtuous spirit of his, and in man's enactment of these godly principles a second generation of good, which is the nature of god, arises in the world of man.

These elevated thoughts form the foundation of man's involvement with the virtuous spirit, and in the final 4 verses the prophet turns directly to the Wise Lord to affirm his understanding of his god's own involvement with this spiritual essence. The Wise One sired this force of good and virtue, and motivated by its effects upon him, he created the rule of truth and good thinking to offer to man as a means of salvation in his own existence (3). Moreover, he acknowledged and aided his rightful prophet who, once aroused by good thinking, realized that mankind's only hope is in the perseverance of its own virtuous spirit both to further this god-given cause of truth and good and to oppose the force of deceit in this world (3-4). Verses 5 and 6 then speak of how, similarly moved by his virtuous spirit to act with total justice, the Wise Lord shall save the truthful but damn the deceitful at the time of judgment on earth and in heaven. By turning to these events yet to occur, Zarathustra thus rightfully concludes this embracing portrait of his lord's eternal essence of good and virtue, which has compelled him to act justly and benevolently in the past, in the present world, and in the future.

47.1. Unlike the remaining vss. 3-6 which contain the voc. *mazdā* (*ahurā*), vss. 1 and 2 are framed in impersonal language and therefore appear to be *mqθras* containing the fundamental teachings about the virtuous spirit.

spəntā mainyū vahistācā manayhā | hacā ašāṣ šyaοθanācā vacayhācā | ahmāi dəm haurvātā amərətātā 'Through a virtuous spirit and the best thinking, through both the action and the word befitting truth, they shall grant completeness and immortality to Him'. These lines are a succinct paraphrase of 34.1-2, which relate that AhM. has received immortality and completeness (as well as truth) through the correct word and action of the truthful men, including their worship of him. Specifically, 34.2a *manayhā mainyāuš vaṇhāuš* corresponds to *spəntā mainyū vahistācā manayhā* here in 47.1. and 34.2b *spəntahyācā nərəš šyaοθanā yehyā uvā ašā hacaiē* corresponds to *hacā ašāṣ šyaοθanācā vacayhācā* in the current vs. The parallelism betw. these passages thus supports the impersonal subject of *dəm*, for it is men (the faithful) who guarantee immortality to god. The values which god represents are the motivating forces for men to reach this realization. However, it is only their actions and beliefs which are the effective principles in creating meaning and substance (immortality and completeness) to god's existence. Note, too, the impersonal subjects in the following cited parallels.

Besides the theme of piety granting power to the Lord (cf. 28.3), these passages thus represent the complementary theme that the good thinking of men strengthens god and the values he stands for, and grants life to him by their realization on earth. Most clearly related is 45.10cde *hyaṣ hāi ašā cāišṣ manayhā | xšaθrāi hāi haurvātā amərətātā | ahmāi stāi *dəm tavišī utayūiti* 'What one has promised to Him with truth and good thinking is to be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule, is to be these two enduring powers for Him in His house'. Related also is the *mqθra* 31.6c *mazdāi avaṣ xšaθrəm hyaṣ hāi vahū vaxšaṣ manayhā* 'Rule for the Wise One is (only) so great as one shall increase it for Him through good thinking' and 45.5e *vaṇhāuš mainyāuš šyaοθanāiš mazdā ahurā* cited immediately below. The same notion is also at the basis of 33.14be ... *paurvatātəm manayhācā vaṇhāuš mazdāi šyaοθanahyā ašā uxδahyācā* '... (so that there be) for the Wise One predominance of good thinking, as well as predominance of both the action and the word in harmony with truth'.

mazdā xšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō 'The Wise One in rule is Lord through piety'. This expresses the complementary notion to the preceding idea;

cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaīti ārmaitiš* for parallels. Syntax follows vs. 2d below *hvō ptā ašahyā mazdā* 'The Wise One is the Father of truth', 51.21a *ārmaitōiš nā spəntō* 'Virtuous is the man of piety'. Especially important is the parallel 45.5e *vayhōuš mainyōuš šyaοθanāiš mazdā ahurō* 'The Wise One is Lord through actions stemming from (our) good spirit'. Syntax is similar and the line likewise stands as an independent sentence at the conclusion of a vs. Both lines thus support each other. Syntax should really have been **ahurō ārmaitī xšaθrā mazdā*, but appears in attested form since **ahurō ārmaitī* could not fit before the caesura. Cf. here disc. at 44.2 *hvō zī ... irixtəm* and 50.1 *azdā zūtā*.

The fig. *mazdā xšaθrā* reoccurs at 45.7e *tācā xšaθrā mazdā dəmīš ahurō* 'These things, too, did the Lord, Wise in His rule, create', 45.9c *mazdā xšaθrā varəzī nā dyāṭ ahurō* 'May the Lord, Wise in His rule, place us in effectiveness', 51.6b *ahurō xšaθrā mazdā*. Cf. also 31.21c *mainyū šyaοθanāišcā urvaθō* 'an ally in spirit and actions', 51.5b *šyaοθanāiš ərašvō* 'lofty in his actions', with a similar use of the instr., which admittedly can be translated in these instances as 'by reason of ...'.

47.2. *ahyā mainyōuš spəništahyā vahištəm* 'the best for His most virtuous spirit'. Type of obj. gen.: cf. 44.10 *yā hātqni vahištā* for parallels. I believe that it makes more sense to interpret *ahyā* as anaphoric to preceding *mazdā ... ahurō* than as appositive to *mainyōuš*, as in the flg. vs. The opening of vs. 3 *ahyā mainyōuš* is a conscious imitation of the style of the preceding *mąθra*, but employed syntactically quite differently by Zarathustra. The same rhetorical technique is used by Zarathustra in the *mąθra* 43.1ab and in its paraphrase 43.2a, which should be consulted.

varəz-yāṭ (Jp₁) is the preferred reading, with a subj. verb. form parallel to preceding *dqm*. The var. *varəz-yaṭ* has been influenced by flg. *-tašaṭ* (vs. 3) and *ayhuṭ* (vs. 4) appearing in identical metrical position at the end of the verse line. For process, cf. introd. p. 7f.

ōyā cisti 'according to the single understanding'. *ōyā* (read **ōiyā*) is for **ōivā*, the equiv. of yAv. *aēvā*. Cf. also yAv. *ōyumi* = **ōivəm* (cf. Bthlm. 1895, 156 §268.24). Cf. Addenda.

47.3. *ahyā mainyōuš ... yā ahmāi gqm vānyō.skəvəitiui hām.tašaṭ* '... of the spirit who fashioned the joy-bringing cow (= the good vision) for this world'. The rel. *yā* must refer back to *ahyā mainyōuš*, since it is

spəntō mainyuš. not AhM., who fashioned the cow acc. to 31.9a *θwā as gāuš tašā* 'Thine (= AhM.) was the fashioner of the cow' and acc. to inferences of 29.2 and 6. Syntax thus follows 43.6e *θwalyā xratāuš yəm naēciš dābaveiti* '... of Thy will which no one is able to deceive'. Moreover, 51.7ab *dāidi mōi yā gəm tašō ... spānistā mainyū* 'Grant to me ... Thou who didst fashion the cow by reason of (through) Thy most virtuous spirit. Wise One' shows that if AhM. was the subject of the verb in the 2nd line of 47.3 here, the text should have run *tvām ahī tā spəntō yā ... gəm ... *hām.tašō*. Thus 44.6e *kaēihyō azīm rānyō.skəraētīm gəm tašō* 'For whom didst Thou fashion the joy-bringing fertile cow?' surely requires an instr. *spəntā mainyū* to be supplied.

On *ahmāi* 'for this world', cf. 30.7a *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā volhī ašācā* 'But to this world He came with the rule of good thinking and truth', where it is suggested that that line and 47.3b here are variants of one another, with *gəm* clearly the equiv. of *xšaθram volhī manayhā ašācā*.

*aṭ hōi *vāstrē* (Mss. *vāstrāi*) *rāniā dā ārmaitīm | hyaṭ hām volhū mazdā fraštā manayhā* 'And Thou didst create tranquility and piety for her pastor when he came to terms with good thinking'. When Zarathustra speaks of himself in 45.6cd *sraotū mazdā ahurō yehyā vahmē volhū frašī manayhā* 'May the Wise Lord listen, in whose glory I have taken counsel with good thinking', it is evident that he is also the intended subject of *volhū ... fraštā manayhā* here in 47.3. Thus I see the necessity of emending *vāstrāi* to **vāstrē* 'for her pastor', dat. of *vāstar-*, which again is a metaphor for Zarathustra. The juxtaposition of *gāuš* and *vāstar-* then fits well with the pattern 29.1 *gāuš ... vāstā*, 29.2 *gavōi ... vāstrā*, 31.9 *gāuš ... vāstryāṭ*, Vyt. 41 *gave ... vāstryanta*, etc. The idea is, it is as important for there to be peace and piety on earth for the lord's prophet as for god himself, if the true way is to be brought to fulfillment. Cf. 44.16cd *ratūm ciždī aṭ hōi volhū sərəošō jautū manayhā* 'Promise us as judge and let obedience to him come through good thinking', where further comments are given regarding this question. The reading *vāstrāi* has been influenced by preceding *ahmāi*, a mistake comparable to 46.11e *yavōi višpāi drūjō dāmānāi ...* for orig. **dāmānē*, similarly altered to *dāmānāi* under the effect of preceding *višpāi*. Cf. introd. p. 6.

I have translated *hām ... fraštā* as 'came to terms with' in light of Ved. *sām praś* 'id., reach an agreement with'. Cf. RV. IV 18.2d *yūdhvāi tvena sām tvena pṛchai* 'I shall fight with one person, I shall

reach an agreement with another', etc. Cf. also 53.3d *aθā hām.fārašvā θivā xraθivā* 'Therefore, come to terms with thy will'. The same meaning may also be at the basis of all the Gāthic instances of med. *fras* with instr.

47.4. *kasāušcīṭ nā* etc. These last 2 lines are most probably a *maθra*, discernible by the change in discourse style from the personal (cf. voc. *mazdā* in line b) to the impersonal. Furthermore, when 51.8b *hyaṭ akōyā drəgvāitē uštā yā ašam dādrē* '... that I would do evil to the deceitful one in accord with the wish of Him who upholds the truth' expresses the same content as the final line of 47.4 here as the wish of AhM., it is almost certain that this behavior is a precept and must be considered to represent the word of god. The exact formulation alluded to in 51.8b thus appears in these lines of 47.4.

kasāušcīṭ nā ašāunē kāθō aṭhaṭ 'even a man of little worth shall be loving to the truthful person'. *kāθō* (Mf_{1,2}, K₄, etc.) is the correct reading because we expect a nom. form parallel to the flg. *akō*. Cf. 33.3a *ašāunē vahištō* and 44.2 for the meaning of *kāθō*.

isvāciṭ hq̄s paraoš akō drəgvāitē 'even the master of much worth shall be evil to the deceitful person'. Belongs with 33.2ab *aṭ yā akam drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti* 'Who shall bring about what is evil for the deceitful one' and above-cited 51.8b *hyaṭ akōyā drəgvāitē*.

Syntax of lines cd follows the type discussed at 29.3 *avaēšqm nōiṭ* etc., since it is clear that the reciprocal of each statement should also apply. Zarathustra intends to say that a man, be he rich or poor, should be good to his truthful ally and bad to his deceitful opponent.

47.5. *ašāunē cōiš yā zi cīcā vahištā* 'Thou hast promised for the truthful person what indeed are the very best things'. Antithesis to 32.12b *aēibyō* (= *drəgvō.dəhyō*) *mazdā akā mraoṭ* 'The Wise One spoke of bad things for these (deceitful ones)'. Both show use of dat. commodi.

*hanarə θvahunāṭ zaošāṭ drəgvā *baxšaitē* (Mss. *baxšaiti*) 'The deceitful one shall have his share apart from Thy approval'. Contrasts with 33.10b *θvahuni hiš* (= **vispās *tōi hujitayō*) *zaošē ābaxšō.hvā* 'Give these (whose way of life is good for Thee) a share in Thy approval' = 'accept them into Thy grace'. Syntax of *hanarə* with abl. follows RV. VIII 97.3d *sauutār dheti tāuṭ tātaḥ* 'Get him away from here', V 2.4a *kṣētrād apašyam sauutāš carantam* 'I saw him as he was wandering far off from this field', etc.

Med. **baxšaiti ē* is syntactically a better reading and should be restored in the passage. The text here in 47.5 has been normalized after 50.3d, where the fig. *dragvā baxšaitī* likewise appears in the same metrical position at the end of the verse line. In this latter passage as well, the reading *baxšaitī* appears in place of orig. **baxšaitē*, which has been altered under the effects of *ayhaitī* in 50.3a and *baraitī* 50.6a, both appearing at the end of the verse line. For disc., cf. introd. p. 7f.

ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāy ā šyus manayhō 'since he dwells (= lives) by his actions stemming from evil thinking'. Antithesis to 34.10a *ahyā vāyhāuš manayhō šyaoθanā ... luxratuš* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination ...'. Cf. latter vs. for syntax.

47.6. *ārmatōiš dābqzayhā ašahyācā* 'by reason of the solidarity of piety and truth'. Stylistic variant of 44.6c *ašam šyaoθanāiš dābqzaitī ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth', which explains the intention of the phrase in 47.6 here. Namely, AhM. shall make a forceful appearance when he believes that both piety and truth have grown strong enough on earth to rally the devoted to the true cause.

hā zī pourūš išantō vāurāitē 'For it shall convert the many who are seeking (to know)'. On *išantō*, cf. 30.1; on *vāurāitē*, cf. 28.5 *vāurōimaidī*.

Yasna 48

This lyric deals with basic questions and reaffirmations that concern the beginnings of the foremost existence on earth. Shall the truthful finally defeat the deceitful (2)? For, if this shall come to pass, the glory of the Wise One shall increase (1) and His best precepts can then reign in this world (3). The choice of good or evil governs a person's behavior and his ultimate fate (4). Good understanding motivates good rulership (5). The realization of the good vision brings moral sustenance, peace and prosperity (5-6). Therefore one must end the fury and cruelty of deceit (7). Does the good rule of the Lord really possess the necessary power (8) to control the threat of the deceitful (9)? Shall all the destructive forms of deceit ever end (10-11), so that there can be peace and piety, truth and good thinking in this world (11)? Only those who are moved by truth and good thinking can bring this about (12). Since it is exactly these last two values which are the foundations of the foremost existence, these two terms dominate this hymn. Truth appears in verses 1, 6-9, 11-12; good thinking in verses 3, 5-7, 9, 11-12, and this last concept is paraphrased by good understanding in verse 5 and by good spirit in verse 8.

Analysis. Like the beginning of Y. 31, this Gāthā is composed of a complex interchange of address to both the heavenly forces and the earthly adherents of the prophet. First turning to the Wise Lord in verses 1 and 2. Zarathustra tempts his god into answering the question of whether the forces of deceit shall ever be vanquished with the promise that the lord's glory and fame shall grow mightily if this comes to pass. God, like man, can be aroused by an appeal to his pride, apparently. Yet, in the following verse the prophet assumes a more serious justification for his question: If the forces of truth prevail, then they shall institute on earth the only good form of existence, the rule of truth and good thinking. This formulation furnishes the proper transition for Zarathustra to turn to his followers in the beginning of verse 3 and to intone to them that this good existence shall only arise if mankind is obedient to the commandments of the one true god. Because, by his innate wisdom and benevolence, God has created the way to save the world and has revealed it to his people, but it is only by their adherence to these lordly principles and by their enactment of the highest moral values contained in these

words of god that this state of happiness might come to pass. The choice lies with man therefore, and thus the prophet returns to the Wise One in the conclusion of verse 4 to affirm that the person who does choose the truthful way and remains steadfast in his decision is of the same nature of the god who created this. The two are indeed unified in their common purpose. Verse 4 continues this motif in its reassertion that each man has the freedom to make the proper or incorrect choice, but that their subsequent fates shall depend upon their allegiance to the cause of good or the cause of evil.

Mention of the good evokes the supplication to the Wise One in the beginning of verse 5 for rulers on earth who govern in accordance with the cause of good and in the understanding of why this is necessary. And the verse concludes with an exhortation to the followers of the prophet to unite their efforts in the achievement of this rule founded upon truth and good thinking. Verses 6 and 7 follow with the explanation for such determination. The good rule shall bring peace and a force whose strength derives from good thinking, not from fury or violence or terror, which are the methods of the rule founded upon deceit and evil. Thus those who attend the advent of the best possible earthly existence must oppose those forces of deceit through their own endeavors in the ways of truth and good thinking. Verse 7 then ends this motif with a declaration to the Wise One, as previously appears in the conclusion of verse 3, that such men are truly the allies of god on earth.

The remainder of the hymn is directed to the Wise Lord, and therein Zarathustra first enquires in verses 8 and 9 whether the Wise One truly has the power to bring about the end of the forces of deceit (motif of verse 7) and what rewards he has in mind for those who cooperate in this undertaking. Verses 10 and 11 then juxtapose in antithetical fashion further questions concerning the end of the various manifestations of evil and the advent of peace and tranquility in a world founded upon truth and good thinking (understanding). The final verse is again an affirmation, as in the conclusion of verses 3 and 7, that the end of the forces of deceit shall occur through the efforts of those men who are akin to the spirit of the Wise One himself in that they follow his teachings concerning truth and good thinking by actions motivated by those very principles. The direct mention of the end of fury thus links the conclusion of this hymn with its beginning, which poses the unanswered question of whether truth shall ever defeat deceit and its proponents.

48.1. *yezi adāiš* (read **ād *āiš*) *ašā drujim vānyhaiti* 'If, during the times after this, one shall defeat deceit by truth ...'. Syntax with impersonal subject and instr. also appears in related 49.4c *yaēšqm nōi! hvarštāiš vqš dužvarštā* 'whose evil effects one has not (yet) defeated with good effects', referring to the deceitful as well.

yezi adāiš stands for orig. *yezi *ād *āiš*, where **ād* is a sandhi var. of *ā! āa!* (cf. *yAv. ā dim* from **ād im*), and *āiš* is the usual instr. of temporal extent; cf. 30.7 *ayaṅhā ādānāiš*. The expression **ād *āiš* 'during the times after this' thus corresponds to the instr. *savāiš* 'during the times of salvation' appearing in the final line. With regard to orthography, **ād *āiš* has simply been altered redactionally under the generalizing influence of the prons. *anāiš avāiš*; cf. introd. p. 17. Cf. also RV. I 148.4abc *purūṇi dasmó ni riṇāti jāmbhair, ād rocate vāna ā vibhāvā | ād asya vāto ānu vāti śociḥ* 'The wondrous one crushes many (logs) with his jaws. After this he shines brilliantly amid the wood. After this the wind fans his flame'; V 65.4ab *mitrā anḥós cid ād urī, kṣáyāya gātūṇ vanate* 'After this Mitra shall win freedom from even anxiety and (gain) a way to peace'; etc.

hya! qsašutā yā daibitānū fraoxtā | amərətātē (Jp₁) *daēvāišcā maš-yāišcā*. *hya! qsašutā* is difficult, but it seems clear that *hya!* can only refer back to **ād* in the sense 'after this present time which ...'. If we accept Humbach's proposal (1959, II 76) that *qs-* is somehow related to the root *anḥ* 'do, be evil', then *qsašutā* can be considered the loc. of an orig. stem. **qs-šuti-* 'the working of evil' (cf. *aiwi-šūiti-* 'approach' N. 4), with the usual Gāthic meaning of *š(y)n* 'act. enact'. For meaning, cf. also Ved. *hāsta-cyuti-* 'working of the hands' in RV. VII 1.1ab *agnim nāraḥ ... arānyor, hāstacyuti janayanta praśastām* 'The priests have begotten famed Agni from the two fire-sticks, through the working of their hands'. This interpretation thus ascribes to *hya! qsašutā* the meaning '(the present time) which is under the working of evil', a sense which fits well with the general tone of the verse expressing the impression that deceit indeed has the upper hand at the moment.

In view of 32.3c *šyaomqm aipi daibitānā* 'Hateful, too, are your actions', referring to those of the gods, the fig. *yā daibitānū fraoxtā* can only sensibly resume the preceding *drujim*, since the instr. complement *daēvāiš* clearly marks this passage to be related to the former one. Metrical positioning of *yezi *ād *āiš* and *hya! qsašutā* thus follows the pattern of 29.3ab, 29.4ab and 29.8ab, where the opening of each first 2 lines before the caesura forms a syntactic unit. The dat. *amərətātē* (Jp₁) is the preferable reading, for a dat. of goal offers more sense

with *fraxtiā*. Cf. 46.7e *iqm mōi duxivqm daēnayāi frāvaacā* 'Proclaim this wondrous state to me for the sake of the (good) conception'.

48.2. *parā hyaṣ mā yā māng pərəθā jinaiti*. The peculiar *yā māng* is for orig. **yārnāng*, gen. of *yāman-* 'course' = Ved. *yāman-*, and *pərəθā-* corresponds to Ved. *pārā-* 'far shore, end'. Thus the expression **yārnāng pərəθā* means 'the end of the course', and is a euphemism for death. Cf. comparable Ved. combination *ādhyvanahī pārām* RV. V 54.10d. etc. Separation to *yā māng* has taken place under the influence of *yā* in the first line. On principle, cf. introd. p. 10. Thus translate: '... before the end of the course will come to (reach) me'. Zarathustra obviously wants the answers to these important questions before he dies.

hā zi aṅhāuš vaṅuhī vistā ākaraitis 'This indeed is known as the good form of existence'. For disc., cf. 28.11 *yāis ā aṅhāuš* etc.

48.3. *aṣ vaēdərnuāi vahistā sāsnanqm . yqm hudā sāsti ašā ahurō* 'Yes, for the person who accepts, there applies the best of commands which the Lord, beneficent through truth, commands'. *hudā* and *ašā* belong together syntactically in view of 45.6bc *yā hudā ... spəntā mainyū*. For parallels, cf. 28.1 *mainyāuš ... spəntahyā ašā*. The best of commands (instructions) alluded to in this verse is clearly the *mąθra* 45.5cde, which is described in 45.5b as *vacē srūidyāi hyaṣ marətaēihyō vahistəm* 'the word which is to be heard as the best for men'. The *mąθra*, of course, states that those who shall give obedience and regard to AhM, shall reach immortality and completeness. The prime directive of the faithful is certainly to give piety to the lord (cf. 28.3).

gūrā sānghāhō 'profound teachings' is a stylistic variant of 46.3c *vərəzdāis sānghāis* 'mature teachings'. The verse thus contains the notion that the faithful must follow both the instructions and the teachings of the lord, the same idea pregnant in 31.1ac *tā vā urvātā marəntō ... vacā sānghāmahī ... aēihyā vahistā yōi zrazdā aṅhən mazdāi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach the words (which are) best for those who shall be faithful to the Wise One'. In 48.3 here *sāsnanqm ... sānghāhō* are equiv. to *urvātā ... sānghāmahī* in 31.1, which is an excellent support for the interpretation of *urvāta-* as 'commandment'; cf. 30.11.

48.4. *yā dāṣ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā* must contain two separate subjects, otherwise the concluding phrase *apəməm nanā aṅhaṣ* 'the end

shall be different' is senseless. Thus the opening line stands for **yā dāi manō vahyō mazdā yascā ašyō* 'Who has set his mind on the good, Wise One, and who on the bad ...'. On suppression of the rel. pron., cf. 31.9.

θvalmī xratā 'when Thy will shall be done' is loc. abs. Cf. 31.19 *vajhāu vidātā rṇayā* for parallels. Cf. Addenda.

48.5. *huxšaθrā xšāntqm ... vajhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš ārmaitī*. 'Let those of good sovereignty rule ... with actions stemming from good understanding and with piety'. The reading *ārmaitī* (Jp₁; also J₂) is far preferable to *ārmaitē*, for this allows an instr. parallel to *vajhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*. In this way we achieve a statement comparable to 47.2bc ... *uxdāiš vajhāuš dānū manajhō, ārmatōiš ... šyaoθanā vərəzyāi* 'One shall bring to realization (the best) with words stemming from good thinking and action(s) stemming from piety'. This conforms to the theme, repeatedly stressed in the Gāthās, that rulership (cf. *huxšaθrā xšāntqm* here) depends both upon proper attitude and proper piety. For disc., cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaitī ārmaitiš* and 47.1-2. On the syntax of *vajhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*, cf. 34.10.

*yaozdā mašyā *aipī.zqθəm vahīštā gavōi vərəzyātqm* 'Men, let the best vitalization for the cow be brought to realization on earth'. In that the cow is a metaphor for the good vision (*vajuhī daēnā*), this line belongs closest with 44.9b *kaθā mōi *tqm yaoš daēnqm dānē* 'How shall I bring to life that vision of mine?'. Consequently, *yaozdā ... vahīštā* seems best taken as 'the best vitalization', with *yaozdā* following the normal root-noun inflection. The flg. *mašyā* is clearly a voc. for vss. 5, 6 and 7 (apart from 7d) form a triad addressed to Zarathustra's followers: note *nō* in vss. 5 and 6, *yōi dīdrayzō.duyē* in vs. 7. As for the difficult **aipī.zqθəm*, I interpret it as an adv. 'on earth' (with suffix *-θəm*); cf. Ved. *api-sarvarā-* 'bordering on night'. Cf. Addenda.

tqm nō x'arəθāi fšnyō 'in order to breed her for our sustenance (food)'. Expresses complementary idea to 34.11a *aī tōi nhē haurvāscā x'arəθāi.ā amərətātāscā* 'Now, both completeness and immortality are for Thy sustenance (food)'. Namely, piety and good thinking among men give meaning and life to the lord (notion in 34.11bc), and in return his view of the only truthful way of existence gives them strength to persevere in their determination to bring this to realization.

48.6. *hā zī nō huxšōiθamā* 'For she (= the good vision) shall bring peace to us'. For disc., cf. 50.2 *yō hīm almāi* etc.

hā nō utayūitīm dāi tavišīm vajhāuš manajhō bərəxδqm 'She shall

grant to us the enduring and esteemed strength of good thinking'. Antithesis to 32.9 b *apō mā īstim yantā bərəxδqm haitim vañhāuš manayhō* 'He has robbed the esteemed power (which truly) belongs to good thinking', said of *anгрō mainyuš (duš.sastiš)*. This latter passage supports the orig. reading *bərəxδqm* (J₂, K₄), which has been altered generally to *bərəxδē* under the influence of 51.7c *təvišī mayūitī manayhā volūn sənijhē*. A fem. voc. is totally out of place here, in that the voc. *mašyā* is continued from the preceding vs. Cf. also 46.16d (*idī*) *yaθrā vañhāuš manayhō īštā xšaθrəm* '(Come hither) where the rule lies in the power of good thinking'.

aṭ aliyāi ašā mazdā urvarā vaṅšaṭ 'the Wise One shall increase the plants for her through truth'. Sense acc. to Vr. 12.4 ... *dāmqm ... ya dathaṭ ahurō mazdā ašava θraošta vohu manayha vaṅšt aša, yā hātqm mazištaca valištaca sraēštaca* '... the creatures whom truthful AhM. created, nourished with good thinking and increased through truth, who are the greatest, best and most splendid of those who exist'. *urvarā* 'the plants' is thus a metaphor for the faithful, upon whom the good vision can graze in her guise as cow. The idea is, the greater number of truthful there are who can support the good vision, the stronger this true vision can become in this world. On the metaphor, cf. the description of the truthful at 33.3c *aṭ hvō ašahyā aṭhaṭ vañhāušcā vāstrē manayhō*. Similarly, 51.7a *yō gqm tašō apascā urvarāscā* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow and the waters and the plants' is to be understood also on a metaphoric level, where *gqm* is again the good vision and the waters and plants are the faithful who shall offer their strength and devotion to keep it alive and prosperous.

ahurō aṭhāuš zaθōi paouruyehyā '(who) shall be Lord at the birth of the foremost existence'. *ahurō* requires *aṭhaṭ*, for acc. to 28.11c *yāiš ā aṭhūš paouruyō havaṭ (= *buvat)* 'by means of which the foremost existence shall come about here', this belongs to the future time. Cf. also above vs. 1a *yezī *ād *āiš ašā drujim vāñghaitī*, which also indicates that the true realization of the good vision has not as yet taken place on earth. Also cf. preceding vs.

48.7. *nī aēšəmō dyātqm paiti rəməm syōdūm* 'Let fury be stopped! Cut away (= put an end to) cruelty!'. Intended to contrast with the description of the deceitful at 49.4a *yōi duš.xraθwā aēšəməm varədān *rəməmcā* (Mss. *rāməmcā*) 'who, with ill will, have increased fury and cruelty'.

nī aēšəmō dyātqm 'let fury be stopped' clearly belongs with Ved.

nī dhā 'stop' in RV. I 171.1d *nī héla dhattá* 'stop your anger'. Thus the form *nī ... dyātqm* is false for *nī ... *dātqm*, 3sg. med. aor. impv., and the orthography with false -y- has been assimilated from flg. *syōdūm* (orig. **syadvam*) and *vərəzyātqm* in preceding vs. 5d (same metrical position). For process, cf. introd. p. 7.

yōi ā vāyhāuš manayhā didrayžō.duyē ašā vyaqm 'ye who wish to attract the attention of good thinking along with (that of) truth'. Belongs with 44.1de *aṭ nō ašā fr̥yā dazdyāi hākuranā yaθā nō ā volū jimaṭ manayhā* '(One should declare how) friendly associations with truth are to be established by us, in order that it come to us together with good thinking'. *ašā* is thus comit. instr. with *vāyhāuš manayhā ... vyaqm*, since a parallel gen. *ašalyācā* would not metrically fit in the passage. Syntax is like 51.20ab *daidyāi ... ašam volū manayhā* 'Let truth be granted along with good thinking'. *vyaqm* is acc. sg. of a root noun *vyā-* 'attention'; cf. 29.6 *vyānayā*.

aṭ hāi dāmqm θvalmi ā dqm ahurā 'and his (= virtuous man's) bonds are in Thy house, Lord'. For disc., cf. 46.6 *dr̥ijō hvō dāmqm* etc. and 44.16 *θvā pōi sānghā* etc.

48.8. *kā θvōi (īstīš) ašā ākā arədrəng īšyā* 'Which (reward) of Thine is to be sent by truth to those who are certainly sincere?'. The difficult *ākā* appears to me to be used consistently as an adverb 'certainly, surely'. The fig. *ākā arədrəng* (here and at 50.4d) refers to the community of the truthful, and the reward in question is the promise of a future life acc. to 46.19c *ahuvāi miždəm hanəutē parāhūm* 'for the person winning the reward of a future existence'.

vāyhāuš mainyēuš šyaοθananqm javarō 'as an incentive for actions stemming from good spirit'. *šyaοθananqm javarō* is obj. gen. of the type 28.4 *ašīscā šyaοθananqm* 'rewards for (our) actions', and the preceding *vāyhāuš mainyēuš* must be construed as an abl.; cf. 34.10. This sort of behavior in the truthful is contrasted with the opposing behavior of the deceitful at 47.5d *šyaοθanāiš akāṭ ā ... manayhā* 'actions stemming from evil thinking'.

For *javarō* I have chosen 'incentive' because Zurathustra makes it quite evident here that others need some promise of reward in order to stimulate their good actions. Cf. 44.17bc *kaθā mazdā zarəm carāni hacā xšmaṭ āskəitīm xšmākqm* 'How, Wise One, shall I, with your accord, impassion your following?'. Zurathustra himself does not deny this stimulus: cf. 43.12cd *uz irəidyāi parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ | sərəošō aši ... hacimūō* '... for me to arise before obedience was to come to me in the

company of a reward'. Therefore I find good sense in interpreting *javarō* as 'incentive'. Suffix *-ara-* appears as nom. ag. in Ved. *tāsara-* 'shuttle', *āḍāmbara-* 'drum', etc.

48.9. *arāš mōi ūcam vañhāuš vafūš manañhō* 'Let the solemn words of good thinking be told to me'. Belongs with 29.6a *vaocaṭ ahurō mazdā vidvā vafūš vyānaya* 'The Wise Lord, the Knowing One, spoke these solemn words by reason of His attentiveness'. On the jussive inf., cf. 34.3 *ārōi zī hudāñhō* etc.

48.10. *kadā ... mñarōiš narō višantē* 'When shall men desist from murder?'. *višantē* here seems to be the equiv. of Ved. *nī višate* 'ceases, desists': preceding *narō* may be responsible for the absence of *nī*. However, the same feature also appears in the flg. vs. 11c *kōi dragvō.dahiš xrūrāiš *rāmam dāntī* 'Which ones shall stop the cruelty (caused) by the deceitful?', where **rāmam dāntī* clearly resumes the notion of vs. 7a *nī aēšamō *dātum* 'let fury be stopped'. We thus have another example of the syntactic feature, first mentioned by Wackernagel (1928. 177), of the continuation of the force of a previously mentioned preverb without its direct repetition. For numerous exx., including Hittite, cf. Watkins (1966. 115f.). Different and important in these Gāthic passages, however, is the fact that the suppressed preverb can also apply to verbal forms which are derived from a different root, besides forms of the root with which the preverb was first employed. But this situation is also found in the RV. in the following instances: I 37.7 *nī vo yāmāya māmūšo, dadhrū ugrāya manyāve j jihīta pārvato girīḥ* 'Mankind cowers at your drive, at your mighty pride. (Even) the mountain peak bends down'. Here *jihīta* stands for *nī jihīta*; cf. VIII 7.34ac *girāyaš cin nī jihate, pārvatāš cin nī yemire*. Also VI 8.3ah *vy āstabhñād rōdasi mitrō ādbhuto, utarvāvad akṛnoj jyōtišā tāmah* 'Wondrous M. propped apart the two worlds; he drove away the intervening darkness with light'. Here *akṛnot* stands for *vy akṛnot*; cf. I 91.22d *tvām jyōtišā vi tāmo vavartha*.

kadā ajān mūθrām ahyā madahyā 'When shall they fear the folly of that intoxicating drink ...?'. In view of *višantē* and flg. *urūpayeintī*, the form *ajān* must also be 3pl. I therefore take it as 3pl. pres. subj. of a root *aj* 'fear', cognate with Gk. *ákhomai*, Goth. *agis* 'fear', etc. As for *mūθra-*, two things stand in the way of interpreting this word as 'urine': (1) the word means excrement in yAv. and (2) *maēsman-* is the usual word for urine in the Avesta. Thus I attribute the word to the root

mū 'be deluded, foolish' appearing in *mūra-* 'dumb' (= Ved. *mūrā-* 'foolish'), Ved. *kāma-mūta-* 'deluded by love', etc., and posit therefore the meaning 'folly' for *mūθra-*.

yā angrayā karapanō urūpayeintī yācā xratū dušəxšaθrā dalīyumaṃ 'because of which (intox. drink) the Karpans as well as the evil rulers of the lands torture our intentions in an evil way'. *karapanō ... yācā dušəxšaθrā dalīyumaṃ* form a coordinated subject with *urūpayeintī*; cf. 28.3 *astvatasē hyateā* etc. for disc. of coordination.

The word *angrayā* is best taken with Bthlm. (1904, 131) as an adverb 'in an evil way'; cf. Ved. adverbs *āsuyā* 'in a fast way', *dlīṣṣuyā* 'in a bold fashion', etc. Stylistically *angrayā* partly belongs with *karapanō* as an equiv. of the flg. compd. *dušəxšaθrā*, but also points to a suppressed *vahištā* modifying *xratū*. As in 45.6e *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāsītī vahištā*, *xratū* seems to be acc. pl. neut. rather than instr. sg. The implicit intentions are those of the faithful to arise and drive out deceit. Cf. 46.3c *vərəzdāiš sənghāiš suošyantaṃ xratavō* and the theme of the defeat of deceit spoken of in vss. 1-2, 11-22 of the current hymn.

48.11. *kadā ... ašā maṭ ārmaitiš jimaṭ xšaθrā hušəitīš vāstravaitī* 'When shall piety come along with truth, bringing peace and pasturage throughout the dominion?'. The combination of *ašam* and *ārmaitiš* also occurs at 44.10cd *yā (= daēnā) mōi gaēθā usā frādōiṭ hacēnmā / ārmatōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanā ...* 'which (vision), in alliance with truth, would prosper my creatures through words and actions stemming from piety' and 46.16c *yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš* 'where piety is in alliance with truth'. Note also 47.6c *ārmatōiš dəbəzayhū ašahiyācā*, where the concept is discussed in detail. In general, however, note that 48.11ab is a variation of 34.11bc *vayhōuš xšaθrā manayhō ašā maṭ ārmaitiš vaxšt utayūitī təvīšī* 'Through the rule of good thinking allied with truth, (our) piety has increased these two enduring powers (for Thee)'. On *hušəitīš vāstravaitī*, cf. 50.2 *yā hūm alunāi* etc.

kōi drəgvō.dəbīš xrūrāiš rāmaṃ dāntī (Jp₁). In view of 29.2c *yā drəgvō.dəbīš aēsəməm vādāyōiṭ*, it is clear that our passage should be emended to *drəgvō.dəbīš xrūrāiš *rəməm* 'the fury (caused) by the violent deceitful persons'. Obviously the figures are conscious variations of one another, particularly in view of the juxtaposition of *aēsəmō* and *rəmō* in 29.1b *ā mā aēsəmō ... rəmō hušəyā*. The form *rāmaṃ* has penetrated into this passage under the influence of 29.10b *yā hušəitīš rāmaṃcā dāi*, since the text at 48.11bc also has *hušəitīš* and *dāntī* as

surrounding forms. On the principle, cf. introd. p. 11 ff. and note also the same mistake in 49.4a *yōi duš.xraθwā aēšəməm varədan rāməmā*, where the last word also falsely stands in place of orig. **rāməm*.

The verbal form *dāntī* (Jp₁) is the preferable reading; var. *dāntē* stems from the influence of *visəntē* in vs. 10 and *hacāntē* in vs. 12 above, appearing in exact metrical position. For parallels, cf. introd. p. 8. As mentioned in the preceding vs., *dāntī* is abbreviated for *nī dāntī*, with the force of the preverb continued from vs. 7a *nī aēšəmō *dāntm* 'let fury be stopped'. The word *aēšəmō* in that passage also supports the emendation to **rāməm* here.

kāug ā vaḡhāuš jīmaṭ manayhā cistiš 'To which men shall come the understanding stemming from good thinking?'. Variation of 43.4e *hyaṭ mōi vaḡhāuš haž jīmaṭ manayhō* and 46.3d *kaēihyō ūθāi volū jīmaṭ manayhō* 'To whom shall one come with good thinking for the sake of help?'.
 48.12. *aṭ tōi aḡhən saošyantō dahyumatm | yōi xšnām volū manayhā hacāntē | šyaəθanāiš ašā θwahyā mazdā səughahyā* 'Yes, those men shall be the saviors of the lands, who shall follow the knowledge of Thy teaching with actions in harmony with good thinking and with truth, Wise One'. Both *volū manayhā* and *ašā* modify *šyaəθanāiš* as in 34.15ab *aṭ mōi volūštā sraṇscā šyaəθanācā vaocā, tā tū valū manayhā ašācā* 'Yes, tell me the best words and actions, those in harmony (allied) with good thinking and truth'. In general, syntax and content follow preceding 48.4bc *hvō daēnqm šyaəθanācā vacayhācā ... hacāntē* 'he follows his conception in action and word', which shows that *xšnām* must describe a concept close to that of *daēnqm*. Thus I follow Humbach (1959, I 31) in explaining *xšnām* for orig. **xšnqm* (cf. *hγām* 43.8 for **hγqm*), namely 'knowledge'. Sense is also clear in the related variant 53.2ab *aṭcā ... scanū manayhō uxδāiš šyaəθanāišcā xšnām* 'Moreover, let them accompany their knowledge with words and actions in harmony with such (good) thinking'.

This last passage shows that the knowledge can only be that of the true doctrine, and therefore *θwahyā səughahyā* must depend upon *xšnām*. Zarathustra is saying here that it is not enough to know the correct teaching but one must also bring it to realization. Same idea also appears in 34.10ab *ahyā vaḡhāuš manayhō šyaəθanā vaocaṭ gərəbqm luxratuš spəntqmā ārmaitim* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his

understanding and his virtuous piety', where 'understanding' (*garəbun*) must also refer to the Lord's teachings. Note also 44.11bc *kaθā tāng ā vijāmyāṭ armaitiš, yaēibyō mazdā θwōi vašyetē daēnā* 'How shall piety come to those to whom Thy conception is taught, Wise One?'

Our verse thus defines the role of the savior (*saošyant-*), and the relationship between his function and AhM.'s teachings also appears in 46.3c *vərəzdāiš sānghāiš saošyantqm xratavō* 'The intentions of those who shall save are in agreement with Thy mature teachings'. In 49.9a *sraotū sāsna fšānghyō suyē taštō* 'let the cultivator (of good thinking), being one fashioned to save, listen to Thy commands (instructions)', one also sees the same connection between the lord's teachings and the action of the savior. Cf. Addenda.

Yasna 49

The texture of this Gāthā is created by an antiphonal contrast of the differences between the truthful and the deceitful men. In verse 1 Zarathustra laments to the Wise Lord that, although he has tried throughout his life to bring fulfillment through truth to his fellow men who have been assaulted by the forces of deceit, he has been falsely judged to be a great spoiler, apparently a heretic bent on undermining the traditional social and religious establishment. Consequently, he pleads for the Wise One's intercession and help to put an end to this wrong and damaging opinion. Then, in contrast, he focuses on the deceitful persons in the following verse, on the prophet's hateful opponents who have spread this false judgment, to reveal that they are the true spoilers of this existence. Why? Because they reject the lordly principles of truth and good thinking and the piety and respect for the true god who has offered these values as salvation to mankind. Verse 3 then concludes the first exposition with the affirmation that Zarathustra knows in his depths that truth shall eventually become victorious because it is founded upon the good, and that deceit will be destroyed for it is based on falsity, not only with regard to the ill fame of the prophet but also in its total deceptiveness.

Verse 4 begins the second cycle of contrasts by defining the characteristics of the followers of deceit. Motivated by ill will, the deceitful serve the old gods by bringing fury and hatred upon the followers of truth and good thinking and by increasing the debasement of the world. But, verse 5 stresses, the man who has realized that a better world can exist and who has therefore acted only with good thinking, such a man advances the power of the god of truth and his principles on earth, while he reveals himself to be of the same essence as the Wise One who created these lofty values. Verse 6 then continues the preceding theme of the behavior of the truthful man by asking the Wise One and truth to reveal their intentions concerning the correct conception for their adherents, whereby Zarathustra implies that the Wise One should augment his own views if the prophet's description of the true followers in verse 5 has not been embracing enough.

Verses 7-9 form an interlude. Zarathustra first asks whether there is some group already known which, in its faithfulness and devotion

to the commandments of the Wise One, shall bring glory to the whole of society by advancing the ways of Ahura Mazda. This is essentially a rhetorical question in that the following verse entreats for truth's alliance for Frashaoshtra and the prophet. For, by the mention of this nobleman's name alongside of his own, Zarathustra thus intends that he has marked the Haugva family to be most devoted to the true cause in this world and therefore fit for the proper help to bring this to pass. Similarly, by intoning the precept in the following verse to Frashaoshtra's brother Jamaspa, the prophet again signals his faith in this family's ability to aid the way of truth in this world.

The precept itself, which contains the message that the truthful man, in denying all connections with the ways of the evil spirit and in allying himself with the ways of truth, shall be saved at the time of the final judgment, thus forms the transition to the last set of contrasts in verses 10 and 11 concerning the future of the truthful and the deceitful. As usual, these state the truthful shall be saved and that the deceitful shall be damned, and they oppose the good thinking, truthfulness, piety and reverence of the truthful man to the deceitful person's evil rule, evil actions and words, evil conceptions and thoughts.

The final verse ends with an oath of Zarathustra, swearing to worship and honor the lofty forces of the Wise One if all will intercede to help bring the rule of truth and good thinking to pass on earth.

49.1. *aṭ mā yavā bāndvō pafrē mazistō | yē dušəraθriš cixšnušā ašā mazdā*. Syntactically this sequence cannot be separated from the type 28.2ab *yē ... pairi.jasāi ... | maibyō dāvōi*, 28.3ac *yē ... ufyāni ... ā mōi ... jasatā*, 28.4ac *yē ... *niōng *airē ... dadē ... | yavaṭ isāi*, 33.5ab *yas ... zbayā ... *apā*, and 49.12cd below *yē ... frīnāi ... avat yāsqṣ*, where forms of the 1st person range through the whole formulation. Thus *pafrē* must be 1sg. med. perf. and fully parallel to 11g. *cixšnušā*, while *mā yavā* equally demands the translation 'throughout my lifetime'. On the latter, cf. 29.9c *kadā yavā hvō ayhaṭ* 'When, during my lifetime, shall that person appear?', with the usual placement of a temporal adverb in 2nd position in its clause. Cf. type 30.7c *yaθā ayayhā ādānāiš paouruṣō* 'just as He shall be the First during the requitals with the iron'. 43.7d *kaθā ayaṣō* 'How, this day ...?', etc.

For *pafrē*, I follow Lommel (1971, 172), who ascribed the form to *par* 'condemn', although he considered it to be 3sg. perf. Gershevitch's attempt (1959, 245 ff.) to define the meaning of *par* as 'engage, make liable; be engaged, obliged, owe' seems too heavily based on the

Mid. Ir. cognates. If we begin with a fundamental meaning 'to judge as guilty', then we can derive all the senses which this root develops. (1) be guilty: Av. *pāra-* 'guilt', **āpar-* 'guilty' 45.11, Sogd. *'prt̄k* 'guilty', etc. (2) condemn: *pafrē* here, *pāšō.tanū-* 'whose person is condemned' 53.9, etc. (3) be guilty for, owe: Arm. *partk* 'debt, guilty', Sogd. *p'r(h)* 'debt', *pwrc* 'debt'. etc. This last meaning I see arising out of the basic one through usage with an inner acc. specifying the debt one must discharge because of his guilt. From this employment as well, we can derive the meaning 'atone, repay', since the discharge of the guilt or indebtedness is atonement.

With regard to the difficult *hāndvō*, Geldner's proposal (1926, 12) of 'defiler' (Verpester) seems workable, but the word cannot refer to *angrō mainyuš* according to his interpretation, for it clearly must be a term applied to Zarathustra in this passage. As I see the matter, vs. 1 stands in antithesis to vs. 2, following Zarathustra's typical method of composition. Zarathustra complains that he has been falsely judged to be a terrible afflictor of the folk, even though he has tried to protect the helpless from the real hazard. In the flg. vs. he tells who the true afflictor is and why he is so. Compare, in the same context, 44.12, where Zarathustra raises the question of whether he (the truthful one) or the deceitful person is to be considered evil.

Thus translate: 'Throughout my lifetime I have been condemned as the greatest defiler, I who try to satisfy the poorly protected (creatures) with truth, Wise One'. *dušarəθrīš* requires *gaēθā* (correct, Hinz 1961, 234); the same word is also suppressed in 33.10a **vīspās* **tōi hujītayō*. In view of *haratar-* 'guardian' Y. 57.15 etc., *nišharatar-* 'id.' Yt. 10.54, 80, etc. we should emend to **dušarəθrīš*. Cf. *nišajharəθrī-* Vyt. 14 and the type *θrātar-*: *θrāθrī-* etc. Since the form was not recognizable to the redactors, it was not remade into **duš.hərəθrīš*, as in the instances of *huš.haxā* 32.2, *huš.haxāim* 46.13. But notice that *hušānəm* 'of good gain' remains at 53.5 instead of normalization to **huš.hānəm*.

vayuhī ādā gaidī mōi 'If retribution is good, come to me'. In that the proper instr. *vayhuyā ādā* appears at 33.12b, *vayuhī ādā* can only be nom. or voc. here. Voc. *mazdā* in preceding line favors nom. interpretation, and the syntactic value of 'if' of the figure follows normal use of such phrases placed at the head of the line. Cf. 32.8c *aēšqmciš ā ahmī* 'If I am guilty of these things', 46.5c *rašnā jvqs yā ašavā* ... 'If a truthful person living in accordance with this directive ...', 53.4c *ašāunī ašavabyā* 'If she is truthful to the truthful', 53.7d *ivīzayaθā magām tām* 'If ye abandon this task'.

49.2. *aṭ ahyā mā bāndvaliyā mānayeitī ũkaēšō drāgvā* 'The deceitful professor of this (condemnation) resembles the defiler'. On the construction of *mānayeitī* with gen., cf. Gershevitch (1952, 177).

daibitā ašāṭ rārašō 'deflecting (others) from the truth by himself'. *daibitā* is best taken with Bthlm. (1904, 761) as the equiv. of Ved. *dvitā*. Its meaning, however, appears to be 'by oneself', since it exchanges with *tmānā* 'id.' in the RV. Cf. IX 102.1c *višvā pari priyā bhuvad ādha dvitā* 'He shall protect by himself indeed all his own (creatures)' and III 3.10d *āgne višvā paribhūr asi tmānū* 'Agni, thou dost protect all these worlds by thyself'; similarly, IX 94.2a *dvitā vyūrṇvām amṭasya dhāma* 'opening by himself the creations for immortality' and I 69.10a *tmānā vāhanto diro vy ṛṇvan* 'conveying (him), they have opened the doors by themselves'; etc.

nōiṭ spantqm dōrāšt alunāi stōi ārmaitim | naēdā volū ... fruštā manayhā 'Neither has he supported virtuous piety in order that it be his, nor has he taken counsel with good thinking'. The rejection of piety (or obedience) and good thinking by the deceitful occurs also at 44.13ce *tāng ā ... ṽōi asruštōiš pārānāghō | nōiṭ frasayā vayhānš cāxnarē manayhō* '... to those who are full of disobedience ... They delight not in the counsel of good thinking'. On their importance for AhM's rule, cf. the *māθra* 45.5cde and the disc. at 47.1-2.

49.3. *aṭcā almnāi varānāi ... nidātəm | ašəm sūidyāi ũkaēšāi rāšayejhē druxš* 'However, it has been fated for this world that the truth is to be saved for its (good) preference, that deceit is to be destroyed for its (false) profession'. The phrases *varānāi ... ašəm sūidyāi* and *ũkaēšō rāšayejhē druxš* clearly stand in distinct parallelism to one another. Intrusion of *varānāi* into the 1st line is thus the same feature as occurs in 50.3ab *aṭcēṭ almnāi ... ašā ayhātī | ṽqm hōi xšaθrā volmcā cōišṭ manayhā*, where *ašā* cannot but belong with flg. *xšaθrā volmcā ... manayhā*. Consequently, *almnāi* and *nidātəm* are connected syntactically in the sense 'it is fated for this world'. On the value of *almnāi*, cf. 30.7 *almnāicā xšaθrā* etc. The word *nidātəm* is the equiv. of Ved. *hitā* 'fated, determined', e.g. RV. X 59.4c *dyūbhīr hitō jarimā sū no astu* 'Let fated old age come well to us in the course of the days', etc.

With regard to the syntax in general, both *ašəm sūidyāi* and *rāšayejhē druxš* are in apposition to *nidātəm* in exactly the same type of construction encountered in RV. I 165.9ab *ānuttam ā te maghavan nākir mī, nā tvāvāṃ asti devātā vidānah* 'It is conceded to thee, liberal one, that no one at all like thee is known to exist among the gods'.

izyā ... antarā vispāng drəgvatō haxmāng mruyē 'I am eager ... to ban all the deceitful ones from our company'. In view of 44.20e *nōi ... *izān ... frādaijē* 'They have not been eager to prosper ...', with inf. dependent upon *iz*, *mruyē* is also best taken as inf. here at 49.3. Cf. also Śak. (M. Williams) 122a *vyapadeśam āvilayitum kim ihase, janam imam ca pātayitum* 'Why art thou eager to muddy the royal name and to destroy this man?', etc. Last line of 49.3 here belongs thematically with 33.4ab *yazāi arā ... vərəzānahivācā nazdištum drujm* 'Through worship I shall drive away (out) the nearest deceit of the community'.

49.4. *yōi duš.xraθwā aēšamam varədan *rəmamcā* (Mss. *rāmamcā*) 'Those who, with ill will, have increased fury and cruelty (for the cow) ...'. Final *rāmamcā* should be emended to **rəmamcā*; for disc. cf. 48.11 *kōi drəgvō.dəhīs* etc. Supply *gavōi*, clear from 29.1b (lament of the cow) *ā mā aēšamō ... rəmō hisāyā* and the pointed use of *fšuyasū ašuyantō* in the flg. line. On the latter fig., cf. 50.2 *pourušū hvarā pišyasū*.

x'āis hizubīs 'with their own tongues'. Particular stress is laid on this phrase, since Zarathustra concentrates his efforts in this hymn on the false and the true doctrines. Cf. *ikaēšō drəgvā* (vs. 2), *mrūtē, srāvayaēmā* (vs. 6), *sraotū* (vs. 7), *sraotū sāsnā, arəš.vacā, didqs* (vs. 9). Cf. also 45.1d *duš.sastiš ... akā varanā drəgvā hizvā āvarātā* 'The deceitful one of evil doctrine turned hither with his tongue and its evil preference'.

yaēsqm nōi hvarštāis vqs duzvarštā 'whose evil effects one has not (yet) defeated with good effects'. Belongs with 48.1a *yezi ... ašā drujm vānyhaiti* 'if one shall defeat deceit with truth', where syntax is discussed.

tōi daēvōng dqn yā drəgvatō daēnā 'They have served the gods, which is the conception of a deceitful person'. Related to 32.4ab *yā mašyā acištā dantō vaxšantē daēvō.zuštā*, which should be consulted. *yā drəgvatō daēnā* is antithesis to vs. 6d below *tqm daēnqm yā xšmāvatō ahurā*.

49.5. *aī hvō mazdā izācā āzūitišcā* 'But that person is both milk and butter (for Thee), Wise One ...'. For disc., cf. 29.7 *tām āzūtōiš* etc. The implied sense 'strength and prosperity' of *izācā āzūitiš* is intended to contrast with *aēšamam *rəmamcā* 'fury and cruelty' in the preceding verse.

yā daēnqm volū sārəštā manahā 'who has allied his conception with

good thinking'. Syntax is discussed at 32.2. The juxtaposition of *volū manayhā* with *ārmatōiš* in the next line, meant to characterize the proper behavior of the truthful man, is intended contrast to the description of the deceitful person in vs. 2cd above as *nōiṣ spautqm dōrašt ... ārnaitīm, naēdā volū ... fraštā manayhā*.

ārmatōiš kascīṣ ašā luzāntuṣ 'Any person of piety is of the (same) good lineage with truth'. Gen *ārmatōiš* depends on *kascīṣ*. Similar usage is found at 47.4c *kasāušcīṣ uā* 'a man of even little worth', 51.11c *kā vā vayhāuṣ manayhō* 'which person of good thinking', 51.21a *ārmatōiš nā spantō* 'Virtuous is the man of piety'. The fig. *ašā luzāntuṣ* is a stylistic variant of 46.13e *ašā ... hmš.haxāim* 'good companion with truth', etc.

49.6. *frō vā iṣyā mazdā ašamcā* 'I do urge you — Thee, Wise One, and the truth'. On syntax, cf. 28.3 *yā vā ašā nfyāni* etc.

nrūitē yā vā xratōuš xsmākahyā ā.manayhā 'to tell (us) what the intentions of your will are ...'. Belongs with 45.6e *ahyā xratū frō.mā sāstū vahištā* 'Let Him command (instruct) me in His best intentions'.

49.7. *kā x'aētūṣ dātāiš ayhaṣ* 'Which family shall abide by (Thy) laws?'. For disc., cf. 30.11 *aṣ aipī tāiš ayhaitī*.

yā vərəzānāi vayuhūm dāṣ frasastim 'which shall give good fame to the (whole) community'. *vərəzānāi* requires *viṣpāi*, as *viṣpā* is also needed in 34.14c *xsmākqm lucistim ... xratōuš ašā frādō vərəzānā* 'as they further the good understanding of your will with truth throughout the (whole) community'.

49.8. *urvāzištqm ašahyā dā sarāim* 'Do grant that most happy alliance of truth'. Expresses complementary notion to *yā daēuqm volū sārāštā manayhā* 'who has allied his conception with good thinking' (vs. 5). Both *ašam* and *volū manō* appear together in this same context at 44.1de *aṣ uō ašā fryā dazdyāi hākurāuā / yaθā uō ā volū jimaṣ manayhā* '... and (how) friendly associations with truth are to be established by us, so that it shall come to us together with good thinking'.

49.9. *sraotū sāsnā fšānghyō snyē taštō* 'Let the cultivator (of good thinking), being fashioned to save, listen to these commands (instructions)'. *fšānghyō* requires *vayhāuṣ manayhō* acc. to 31.10b *vayhāuṣ fšānghim manayhō*. On the relationship between the *saošyant-* and AhM.'s commands, cf. 48.12. The flg. 3 lines, up to *dājāmāspā*, are a direct citation of AhM.'s *sāsnā*. Cf. Y. 45 for characteristic usage.

nōiṭ arāš.vacā sarām didqs drəgvatā 'The true-speaking man has never professed alliance with the deceitful one (= the evil spirit)'. *sarām drəgvatā* is purposeful contrast to preceding *ašahyā sarām*, and therefore *drəgvatā* clearly stands for *angrā mainyuš*. Passage related to Y. 12.4 *vi daēvčāis ayāiš ... sarām mruyē* 'I deny alliance with the evil gods'. Note also that this line resumes the theme of vs. 3d *antarē vīspāng drəgvatō haχmāng mruyē*.

hyaṭ daēnā vaJištē yūjān miždē ašā yuxtā yāhi 'since those yoked with truth have yoked their conceptions on the best prize when the retribution comes'. *ašā yuxtā* 'those yoked with truth' is a metaphor for the truthful. For parallels, cf. 30.10 *asīstā yaojantē ā hušitāiš* etc. *yāhi* is best taken as loc. abs.: for parallels, cf. 31.19 *vaḡhān vidātā rənaγā*.

dājāmāspā is difficult, but in context it can only be a voc. standing outside of the preceding citation. When the preceding vs. contains *fərašaoštrāi*, it may be presumed that Zarathustra had composed this lyric for use in that prince's court. Thus the employment of voc. *dājāmāspā* here may simply indicate that Zarathustra had directed these words especially to Jāmāspa, since he recognized in him the potential of a *saošyant-*. Cf. line a *sraatū sāsna fšānghyō snyē taštō*.

49.10. *taṭcā* belongs with the flg. *manō volū*, since each term in this sequence is connected to the others by *cā*. On coordination, cf. 31.21 *haurvatō amərətātascā* etc.

nəmascā yā ārmaitiš ižācā 'and reverence with which are allied piety and milk'. Both *ārmaitiš* and *ižācā* are comit. instrs. linked with *nəmas-* by the rel. pron. *yā*. Syntax is discussed at 32.2 (end). Note that *ārmaitiš ižācā* 'piety and milk' is employed metaphorically for 'piety and strength (resulting from this piety)', with the same symbolic usage seen in vs. 5a above *aṭ hvō ... ižācā āzūitišcā*. Thus another instance of the theme of the interdependency of god's power and the piety and respect which men allot to it. Cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varadaiti ārmaitiš*.

avāmirā is unclear. However, if one is willing to admit with Lommel (1935a, 145) a confusion of *-v-* and *-n-* at some stage of the earlier written version of the text, then an emendation to **anāmīrā* might be possible. This would be the equiv. of a Ved. form **an-ā-mīrā-* 'inalterable', *-rā-* adj. to *ā mī* 'alter, change'. Cf. RV. I 113.2d *dyāvā vāṛṇaṇi carata āmināné* 'Day and night follow one another, altering their color', I 96.5a *náktašāsā vāṛṇam āmémyāne*, etc. Thus *vazdahā *anāmīrā* would mean 'with an inalterable permanence', with *vazdah-*

a noun corresponding to *vazdvar/n-* in 31.21bc *sarō vaṅhāuš vazdvarō manayhō* 'the permanence of good thinking's alliance'.

49.11. *dušaxšaθrāng duššyaoθanōng dužvacayhō duždaēnōng dužmanayhō* as a description of the deceitful here (*drəgvātō*) contrasts with the characterization of the virtuous and pious man (*ārmātōiš nā spəntō*) at 51.21ab as *spəntō hvō cistī uxδāiš šyaoθanāiš daēnā* 'virtuous by reason of his understanding, his words, his actions and his conception'.

paitī urvqñō yantō ... ayhan 'they shall be ..., as their souls continue to encounter (them) ...'. The reading *yantō* (J₂, K₅ originally) is preferable, since a pres. part. can be used alongside of a subj. form more easily than an indic. *yeinti*. On the syntax, cf. 28.5a *kaṭ θwā darəsānī ... vaēcləmūō*, 34.6c *yaθā vā yazəmuascā ... stavas ayeñi paitī*, etc. For the value of the pres. part., cf. 29.5 *ahvā ... frīnəmnā* etc.

49.12. *kaṭ tōi ašā zbayentē avayhō zaraθuštrāi* 'What (sort of) help by truth hast Thou for Zarathustra who calls?'. *avayhō* is partitive gen. dependent upon *kaṭ*; cf. 34.12a *kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahyā*. However, in *tōi ašā ... avayhō* and in the flg. *kaṭ tōi vohū manayhā*, the instrs. modify *avayhō*, but this last word belongs with *tōi*. Syntax is thus similar to 46.9de *yā tōi ašā, tā tōi vohū manayhā* 'which things of Thine are in harmony with truth ... those things of Thine in harmony with good thinking'.

avaṭ yāsqs hyaṭ vā ištā vahištəm 'while continuing to entreat for the best which exists in your power'. *hyaṭ vā ištā vahištəm* is metonymy for * ... *vā ištīm vahištəm = vohū (vahištəm) xšaθrəm*. Similarly, 45.4ab *vahištəm ašāṭ hacā = ašəm vahištəm*; also at 51.22a.

Yasna 50

This lyric is essentially a hymn of praise to honor the Wise Lord as the creator of truth and good thinking, those instruments of the good which alone can benefit the advancement of the human condition on earth. Zarathustra sets the tone of this Gāthā at once in the first verse by asking if there is any other means of protection for him and his following in this world of deceit apart from the help of the Wise Lord and his truth and good thinking. The following verse 2 then explains, by means of its questions, that it is only through the rule of truth and good thinking that peace might come to the world and only through the efforts of the man who tries to live honestly according to its principles, despite the deceit and betrayal occurring around him. For such a devoted and heroic undertaking on the part of the truthful man, verse 3 continues, shall win ever increasing support for the Wise Lord and his lofty values, which otherwise would go to strengthen the forces of deceit.

Verse 4 now continues this motif by promising to worship and obey the Wise Lord with his own enduring values through which a good and virtuous rule, analogous to that of the Lord's own, might come to pass in this world. And the next verse entreats for wisdom and truth to arise among men on earth in order for them to comprehend that happiness in their own existence must be built upon these very qualities which the Wise Lord has created and sustained in his own world.

In verses 6-9 Zarathustra now expresses his fundamental alliance with these forces of the Wise Lord. First avowing his commitment to truth, the prophet asks for the lord's direction to be given to him through his own grasp of good thinking. The reason is then stated in verse 8: The prophet shall lead those others who are similarly devoted to the ways of truth and good thinking to further the cause of these high principles on earth. The next 2 verses explain that this shall come to pass through the sacred and profane dimensions of bringing honor to the Wise One by means of words and acts of truth and good thinking in both the holy and secular spheres of activity.

The final verses 10 and 11 focus of Ahura Mazda's creative powers. Zarathustra first mentions that the visible accomplishments of the Wise Lord, such as the sun and the moon, are reason enough to merit praise for the Wise Lord's fundamental creative character. But,

as Zarathustra implies, these are to serve as signs to mark the Wise One's more subtle creation of the moral values of truth and good thinking, for which a true and understanding man like the prophet shall eternally swear his devotion and respect to the lord. Such allegiance must compel the Wise One to aid in establishing these very qualities in the world of man and thereby to elevate the life of man through truth and good thinking.

50.1. *kaṭ mōi urvā isē cahyā avayhō* 'Does my person have control over anyone who can offer help?'. It is best to interpret *avayhō* as belonging to a possessive adj. *avah-*. For disc., cf. 32.11 *raēxanah-*.

kā mā.nā θrātō vistō | anyō ašāṭ θwaṭcā mazdā alurā | ... vahištāṭcā manayhō 'Who has been found to be my protector other than truth and Thee, Wise Lord, and the best thinking?'. Variant of 34.5ab *kaṭ vō xšaθrām ... mazdā ... ašā volū manayhā θrāyōidyāi drigūm* 'Have ye the mastery, Wise One, to protect your needy dependent with truth and good thinking?', where *alurō mazdā*, *ašām* and *volū manō* are all three associated with the protection of Zarathustra (same root *θrā*).

aždā zūtā 'when the call really occurs' is loc. abs. For parallels, cf. 31.19 *vayhāu vidātā rquayā*. The phrase *aždā zūtā* has been fronted before the caesura, since *vahištāṭcā manayhō* cannot metrically fit in this position. For disc., cf. 44.2 *hvō zī ... irixtām* etc.

50.2. *kaθā ... gaṃ iśasōiṭ* 'How should one seek the cow?' belongs with 31.4bc *vahištā iśasā manayhā maihyō xšaθrām* 'With the very best thinking I shall seek for myself their rule'. This answers the current question: one should seek for the cow (the good vision) with good thinking. Both *iśasōiṭ* and *iśasā* in the parallel are for **iśōiṭ* and **iśā*; cf. 30.1 *iśantō*.

yā hūm alimāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāṭ 'the one who might wish her who brings pasturage to be his'. Syntax follows 49.2c *nōiṭ spautqm dōrašt alimāi stōi arnaitīm* 'He has not supported virtuous piety in order that it be his'. The association of the cow and pasturage is twofold in the Gāthās. On the one hand, the faithful must offer their piety and acceptance (expressed as *vāstrām*) in order to prosper the good vision; on the other hand, the good vision brings peace and freedom to the truthful. Thus *vāstravant-* has the same connotation as the later yAv. term *vouru.gaoyūti-* 'bringing broad pastures, bringing peace' (cp. Ved. *pythūkyiti-* etc.), and also appears in this usage in 48.11ab

kadā ... ārmaitīš jimaḥ xšaθrā hušəitīš vāstravaitī 'When shall piety come, bringing peace and pasturage (= freedom) throughout the dominion?'. Similarly, 48.6a says of the cow: *hā zī nā hušəiθamā* 'she will bring peace to us'. Thus equiv. to 29.10b *yā hušəitīš rāmqmcā dāf*.

arəžəjīš ašā pəurušū hvarə pišyasū (H₁, J₆, etc.) 'as he lives honestly by truth among the many who lie in secret'. On *arəžəjīš ašā*, cf. 28.1 *mainyəuš ... spəmahyā ašā*.

pəurušū hvarə pišyasū cannot mean 'among the many seeing the sun' for two reasons. (1) The root 'to see' in Iranian is only *spas*, never **pas*; cf. *spasayā* 44.11. *spašuθā* 53.6. (2) *hvarə* is monosyllabic here, whereas *hvar/n-* 'sun' is always disyllabic in the Gāthās. Solution offered by 29.5c *uōi arəžəjyōi ... drəgvasū pairī*, for *arəžəjīš* must contrast with *pišyasū* in 50.2 here exactly as it does with *drəgvasū* in 29.5c. With inversion of the truthful and deceitful, cf. also 49.4b *fšuyasū afšuyantō*. Note also 43.15d *pəurūš drəgvatō* 'the many deceitful'.

I therefore associate the part. *pišyant-* with Ved. *pišuna-* 'liar, betrayer'. Cf. RV. VII 104.20c *śiśite śakrāḥ pišunebhyo vadhām* 'The able one sharpens his weapon for the liars'. Same meaning also valid in 44.20b, where it refers to the gods: *yōi pišyeintī* (read **pišyeintī*) *aēihyō kəm* 'who lie to (betray) those (deceitful rulers) ...'. Intended is the deception, betrayal of men by the gods expressed in 32.5a. As for the orthography, *pišyeintī* for **pišyeintī* in 44.20 shows the influence of the form *šyeintī* YH. 37.2, 39.3, which contains the most common sequence of these sounds. The initial *piš-* in turn has penetrated into the var. *pišyasū* etc. of *pišyasū* here at 50.2, but an examination of the variant readings in the current passage shows the *piš-* is the correct form of the initial. On these processes, cf. introd. p. 13 ff.

hvarə therefore belongs best with Ved. *sasvār* 'secretly'. Cf. RV. VII 60.10ab *sasvās cid dhi sāmytis tvesy əṣām, apicyēna sāhasū sāhante* 'Their violent attack comes secretly: they overpower with hidden force'.

ākāstāng mā nišqsyā dāθəm dāhvā. This must contain a contrasting statement, as in the previous line, about the truthful and the deceitful. The phrase *dāθəm dāhvā* permits the translation 'Receive (accept) the just man' acc. to 33.12a *ārmaitī tavišim dasvā* 'Receive power through our piety' and RV. VII 31.12ab *īndram ... satrā rājānam dadhire* 'They have completely accepted Indra as their king', etc. The preceding phrase should therefore mean 'Reject the deceitful'

or the like. Recalling 44.13b *kaθā drujəm niš ahmaṭ ā nāsāmā* 'How shall we drive away (repel) deceit away from us?', it is clear that *tāng nišqsyā* must belong to the same type of locution. Thus the form should be segmented as *niš-qsyā*, and both forms are to be derived from *niš na(n)s*: pres. *qs-ya-*, s-aor. *nāš-*.

Furthermore, the reading *ākās* is doubtful, since we should expect **ākās(tāng)* in view of *ākā* 48.8, 50.4, 51.13. I therefore suggest emending to **akqstāng* 'these evil ones' = *pisyantō*, which then would serve as a fitting contrast to *dāθām*. The orig. reading apparently has been disturbed by the appearance of *ākā* in flg. vs. 4. On the process, cf. introd. p. 9. Thus translate: 'Reject these evil ones indeed, but accept the just man'. Equiv. to the theme of destroy the deceitful, save the truthful, and the type represented by the contrast 47.5e *hanarā θwalmāṭ zaosāṭ drəgvā *baxšaitē* 'The deceitful person shall have his share apart from Thy approval' and 33.10b *θwalmi hiš zaosē ābaxšō.hivā* 'Give these (whose way of life is good for Thee) a share in Thy approval'.

50.3. *aṭciṭ alhmāi ... ašā aṭhaiti | yqm hōi xšaθrā volucā cōišṭ manajhā* 'For she indeed shall be for that person, she whom one has promised to him during the rule of truth and good thinking'. The instr. *ašā* cannot be separated from the flg. *xšaθrā volucā ... manajhā*, for this stands for the normal type 30.7a *xšaθrā ... manajhā volū ašēcā*, where all the parallels are given. Intrusion of *ašā* into the 1st line thus identical to feature in 49.3ab *varənāi ... | ašəm sūidyāi ſkaēšāi rāšayejhē druxš*. Cf. also 48.12bc *volū manajhā ... | šyaoθanāiš ašā*, where both *volū manajhā* and *ašā* modify *šyaoθanāiš*.

These lines contain the important repeated idea that the cow, i.e. the good vision, will best prosper during the advent of AhM.'s rule of truth and good thinking on earth. The choice of *ašā ... xšaθrā volucā manajhā* is intended to contrast with *pourušū hvarā pisyasū* of the preceding vs.

*yqm uo=dīstqm gaēθqm drəgvā *baxšaitē* (Mss. *baxšaiti*) 'his nearest fellow creature whom the deceitful one (= evil spirit) shall (otherwise) appropriate'. *drəgvā* in context here must be usual epithet of *angrō mainyus*: cf. 31.15. *baxšaiti* here, as in 47.5, is definitely a replacement of orig. **baxšaitē*, since the current passage is clearly meant to convey the same meaning seen in Ved. med. *bhaj* in RV. I 20.8bc *ābhajanta snkṛtyāyā, bhāgāṃ devēṣu yajñiyam* 'By reason of their skillfulness they received as their share a worshipful portion among

the gods': the point being, if a man does not choose to ally himself with AhM., then the evil spirit most certainly shall take him as his rightful share, much as he would take the offerings which his followers present to him. The change of **baxšaitē* to *baxšaitī* has been effected by the influence of *aṅhaiti* in line a of this verse and by *baraiti* in vs. 6a, both of which appear in identical metrical position in the line. Subsequent introduction of *baxšaiti* into 47.5 results from the attempt to normalize the text. On both processes, cf. introd. p. 8. 12. Note that both 47.5bc and 50.3bd are textually related: 47.5bc *ašāunē cōiš yā zī cicā vahištā ... drəgvā baxšaitī* and 50.3bd *ašā ... xšaθrā vohucā cōiši manayhā ... drəgvā baxšaiti*; the similar ending *drəgvā baxšaiti* in each passage was the grounds for normalization.

50.4. *aṅ vā yezāi ... ahurā | hadā ašā vahištācā manayhā : xšaθrācā vā ...* 'I shall always worship you, Lord, with truth and the very best thinking and with their rule through which ...'. The instrs. *ašā* and *vahištācā manayhā xšaθrācā* are not to be taken comitatively with the voc. *mazdā ahurā*. For if this were the case, then we would expect acc. forms parallel to the acc. pron. *vā*, as appears in 28.3ab *vā vā ašā ufyānī manasecā vohū ... mazdācā ahurām*. Syntax thus similar to 50.9ab below *tāiš vā yasnāiš paiti ... ayeni | mazdā ašā vayhāuš šyaōθanāiš manayhō* 'I shall encounter you with worship, Wise One, and with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth', which is paraphrase of the current statement. It is also important to note that *xšaθrā* must refer back to preceding *ašā* and *vahištācā manayhā* in consequence of the fig. *ašā ... xšaθrā vohucā manayhā* appearing in the preceding vs. The disjunctive use of *xšaθrām* with preceding *ašām* and *vohū manō* is discussed at 29.11 *kudā ašām* etc.

ākā arədrāng dānānē garō sərəošānē 'I shall obey (you) the truly sincere ones existing in the House of Song'. *sərəošānē* is best translated as 'I shall obey' in light of RV. I 68.9b *śrāṣan yé asya śāsam turāsaḥ* 'The swift ones who shall obey his order'. Thus the juxtaposition *xšaθrā ... sərəošānē* recalls 33.5ab *sərəošām zbayā ... *apā ... xšaθrām*, 33.14c *sərəošām xšaθrāncā*, which is, in all cases, a stylistic variant of the usual fig. *xšaθrām ... ārmaitiš*. For disc., cf. 28.3 *xšaθrām ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*.

50.5. *ārāi zī xsmā mazdā ašā ahurā* 'Indeed let wisdom arise (come) in the company of truth across the earth, Lord'. Translation follows RV. VII 39.3a *jmayā āira vāsavo ranta devāḥ* 'The good gods shall

come (arise) here across the earth'. *ārāi* is thus for jussive inf. **arāi*, which also appears as **airē* 28.4; its use here in impv. function follows employment of related *uzirāidyāi* in 43.14d *uzirāidyāi azē sarādanā sēnghahyā* 'Let me arise and drive out the opponents of Thy teaching'. For juss. inf.s., cf. 34.3 *ārāi zī hudāyhō* etc. Interpretation of *ārōi* as perf. form is excluded since it is clear from the remainder of the verse that AhM. is not yet on hand. Related: 33.12a *uz mōi ārašvā ahurā*; also cf. 29.11a *aṭ *maqṃ ašā*.

xšmā is the equiv. of yAv. *zāmā* = Ved. *jṃā*. On function of the instr., cf. 30.7 *ayayhā ādānāiš*.

Note that *mazdā* is employed appellatively here, a use also found in 53.3c *ašahyā mazdāscā taibyō dāṭ sarəm* 'He shall grant to thee the alliance of truth and of wisdom'. The coupling of *ašəm* with *mazdā* in 53.3c thus seems to show that *ašā* is also comitative in *ārōi ... mazdā ašā* here. Support also comes from the above-cited parallel 43.14de, since the inf. there is also connected with a comit. instr.: *uzirāidyāi ... maṭ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi maθrā marantī*. Cf. also the type represented by 44.1e *yaθā nā ā volū jimaṭ manayhā* 'so that it (= truth) shall come to us along with good thinking'.

aibī.darāštā āvišyā avayhā 'Reveal Thyself with visible help'. I take *āvišyā* as impv. to a denom. *āvišyati* from *āviš* 'manifest' (cf. SI. 1965, 17 ln 3). The sequence *hyaṭ vaorāzaθā ... āvišyā* 'If ye shall be pleased ... (then) reveal Thyself' thus follows 46.12abd *hyaṭ us ... jān ... aṭ iš hām.aibī.mōiš* 'Since thou didst arise ... therefore did He unite them'. etc. 29.2b *hyaṭ him dātā ... hadā ... θwaxšō* 'If ye placed her ... always (let there be) zeal' also belongs here.

50.6. *urvaθō ašā nəmayhā zaraθuštrō* 'reverent Zarathustra is an ally with (= of) truth'. The fig. *urvaθō ašā* belongs with 32.2b *ašā hūš.huxā* 'good companion of truth'; acc. in 46.13e *ašā ... hūš.haxāim*. The form *nəmayhā* is best taken as nom. sg. of *nəmayhan* = 'reverent' (so, Bthlm. 1904, 1068) because of preceding *maθrā* from *maθran-* 'prophet'.

xratāuš hizvō raiθim stōi 'to be the charioteer of (my) will and tongue'. *xratāuš* and *hizvō* are coordinated asyndetically: this combination is the equiv. of *manayhasca ... hizvasca* in P. 28 *manayhasca hunaiti hizvasca *hūxti zastayasca *hvaršti*. Cf. also RV. X 53.11b *apīcyēna māuasotā jilivāyā* 'with secret mind and (secret) tongue'. Here Zarathustra is simply saying that AhM. should tell him what he is to think and to say. Note similar juxtaposition in RV. VI 9.6d *kiṃ svīd*

vakṣyāmi kim u nū manīṣye 'What indeed shall I say now, and what shall I think?'

dātā ... mahīcā rāzāng vohū sāhiṣ manajhā 'May the Creator instruct (command) through good thinking (the course) of my direction'. The use of *raiθim* 'charioteer' in the preceding line and of *zaviṣtyāng aurvatō* 'swiftest steeds', *azāθā* 'shall drive, race' in the next verse shows that the language of these lines has been borrowed from the terminology of horse-racing. Consequently, I supply *yānuānəm* to *sāhiṣ*; cf. **yāmāng* 48.2.

50.7. *aṣ vā yuōjā zaviṣtyāng aurvatō* 'Yes, I shall yoke for you the swiftest steeds'. Metaphor for the community of the faithful; cf. 30.10 (final para.).

aśā ugrāng vohū nuuajhā 'strong with both truth and good thinking'. Corresponds to the repeated notion that truth and good thinking strengthen the adherents of AhM. Cf. 33.11a *aśmca frādaṣ gaēθam* 'truth which prospers the creatures', 34.3b *gaēθā viṣpā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraoštā nuuajhā* 'all the creatures under Thy rule whom one has nourished with good thinking', etc.

yāiṣ azāθā malimāi hīyātā avajhē 'with which ye shall drive (race), would ye be ready for my help'. In general, this vs. is a variation of 30.10, which should be consulted.

50.8. *maṣ vā pedāiṣ yā frasrūnā iṣayā pairijasāi* 'I shall serve you with the famed foot-prints of the milk(-offering)'. This is essentially a metaphor for worship, which is directly expressed in the next vs. as *tāiṣ vā yasnāiṣ paiti ... ayeni* 'I shall encounter you with such worship' in line a.

aṣ vā (pairijasāi) vajhāuṣ manajhō hūmarātātā 'and (I shall serve) you with the skillfulness of good thinking'. Stylistic variant of 28.2a *yā vā mazdā ahurā pairi.jasāi vohū manajhā* 'I who shall serve you with good thinking ...'. Corresponds to *vajhāuṣ šyaοθanāiṣ manajhō* in flg. vs. 9b.

50.9. *tāiṣ vā yasnāiṣ paiti stavas ayeni* belongs with the Ved. type RV. I 171.1a *prāti va enā nāmasāhām emi*.

aśā vajhāuṣ šyaοθanāiṣ manajhō 'with actions stemming from good thinking allied with truth'. For disc., cf. 43.2 *yā dā aśā* etc.

yadā aśōiṣ mahīyā vasā xšayā 'when I could rule at will over my reward'. *xšayā* is 1sg. opt. corresponding to flg. *hīyām*. The form has

been contracted in the oral transmission from *xšaya(i)yā (cf. SI. 1965, 21). For other exx., cf. 28.7 *srəvīmā* and introd. p. 18 f.

aṭ hudānaoš išayqs gərəzdā hīyām 'then I would be in the footing of the blessed one (= truth)'. I take *išayqs* as denom. part. to *iš-* 'power'; the force of the word is clearly intended to resume the notion of *xšayā* in the preceding line. Thus an instance of the typical juxtaposition of *xšəθrəm* and *ištis*; cf. 28.7 *dāidī ... vištāspāi* etc. For *gərəzdā*, I follow Bthlm. (1904, 524) in interpreting the form as loc. to a stem *gərəzdi-* belonging to the root *gṛd* 'gradi'. The sense of the word seems to me to be more 'step, stride', like Lat. *gradus*, than 'Inbesitznehmen', as he understood it. In general, 50.9d here is thematically related to the type 33.5bc **apā ... ašāṭ ā ərazūš paθō* 'I shall attain the paths straight in accord with truth'.

hudānaoš thus clearly requires *ašahyā*, apparent also from parallel 51.17bc ... *hōi išyqm dātū ... ahurō ašahyā āždyāi gərəzdīm* 'Let the Lord grant power to him, for him to attain the footing of truth'. The word *išyqm* in this latter passage also supports interpretation of current form *išayqs*. To my mind, *ašahyā pantā* 'the path of truth' describes the object, *ašahyā gərəzdīs* 'the stride of truth' the process, by which one proceeds in the proper way. Both correspond to verbal usage seen in 34.13bc *ašācī urvāxšaṭ hyaṭ cəvištā huddbyō miždam* '(along which) one shall proceed in alliance with truth to the prize which has been promised to the beneficent'.

50.10. *aṭ yā varəšā yācā pairi āiš šyaθanā* 'Yes, those things which Thou hast brought to realization and those which Thou hast reached by Thy action ...'. From the structure of the line it is clear that *pairi āiš* is a verbal form parallel to preceding *varəšā*. Thus both are 2sg. forms, and *pairi āiš* is the equiv. of Ved. *pāri eti* 'reach, attain'. Cf. TS. 7.5.8.3 *tāsāṃ rājanauaivā rājyaṃ pary ait* 'With the rājana (sāman) he attained sovereignty over them'; RV. I 123.8d *ékaikā krátum pári yanti sadýah* 'One by one they attain to his intention in a single day'; etc.

cašmaqṃ is for **cašmaqṃ* (cf. 29.10 *rāmqincā*) and is loc.; thus equiv. to *cašmaini* 31.8. 45.8.

asnqm uxšā aēurus 'the bright(?) bull of the heavens'. Probably the moon in contrast to preceding *raocā xšng* 'the lights of the sun'. On *asnqm*, cf. 46.3 *uxšānō asnqm*.

Yasna 51

In the beginning of this Gāthā Zarathustra describes the clearest picture of his vision of the rule of good thinking and of truth, which is the realization on earth of those eternal values which characterize the very nature of the Wise Lord himself (2). This is the good rule which must be chosen for the progress of the world, and which shall achieve the highest good and the most fortunate existence on earth (1) by the promotion of protection, mercy and piety, founded upon and working together with the noble principles of truth and good thinking (4). Through mankind's determination to achieve this exalted state, through its proper choice between the acceptance of good or evil (5), it shall further the wish of the Wise One and grant to him strength so that he may save those who shall follow in the true ways of their lord and damn those who reject his means of salvation (6).

Once having described the nature of the rule of truth and good thinking, Zarathustra next concentrates in verses 8-15 on defining the character of the truthful man who strives to bring this rule to realization and on the character of his deceitful opponents who impede its advent. As usual, we find their contrasting outlooks and behavior, and the repeated mention of the differing fates which await each. This section serves as a prelude to verses 16-19, in which the prophet praises his supporters Vishtaspa, Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa, and the Madyoimaha branch of his own family. By their understanding and their piety, by their respect and their promotion of the values of the Wise Lord, they have indeed proved themselves to be devoted and faithful representatives of those who further the cause of the true and good rule on earth.

Verse 20 then implores for the advent of the rule of truth and good thinking on earth, and offers in return the promise of worship and reverence for the Wise Lord who first created these if this shall occur. The Gāthā finally ends with two citations of holy prayers, undoubtedly intended to reflect words stemming from the Wise One himself. The first defines the complementary nature of the virtuous man and of the virtuous rule of truth and good thinking, and describes how the good rule can come to pass only by the awakening of piety and understanding and by the enactment of good word, deed and conception in mankind. The second similarly affirms that the best truth shall

come to pass by the worship of the Wise One by those very qualities of truth and good thinking, which the lord created, as well as by piety and wisdom. These prayers thus return to the theme of verse 1, in which Zarathustra states that he shall bring the good rule to pass. These last verses indeed define the only correct and true way for this to happen.

51.1. *bāgəm aibi.bairištəm* 'which best brings good fortune'. Cf. RV. II 7.7cd ... *ipa māsy ā bhara, daddhi bhāgəm tanvō yēna māmāhaḥ* ' mete out, bring hither and grant that good fortune by which thou shalt elevate our persons'.

vidīšənuāi ižāciḥ 'for the person serving it with milk'. Sense here is purposely ambiguous. On the one hand, *ižāciḥ* is to be taken literally as 'with a milk-offering', thus comparable to the Ved. type RV. VIII 96.8d *śuśmaṇi ta euā haviṣā vidhema* 'May we serve thy strength with this oblation', in which case *ižāciḥ* is the same as *yasnā*; cf. 50.8. On the other hand, *ižāciḥ* is employed metaphorically in the sense 'with strength' (cf. 29.7 *təm āzūtōiš* etc.), whereby Zarathustra again refers to the interdependency of AhM.'s rule and the piety and devotion which the faithful grant to it. On this latter point, cf. 28.3 *xšaθrəm ... varədaiti ārmaitiš*.

vidīšənuāi belongs to a denom. **vidīšati* built to *vidīšā-* 'service'. For disc., cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc.

ašā antarə.caraiti ... valīštəm 'In alliance with truth it shall encompass the best (for us)'. Here *ašā* is clearly comit. instr. with implied subject *xšaθrəm*, for in this hymn AhM.'s rule is called *xšaθrəm xsmākəm volū manajhā* in the flg. vs. 2bc. and thus the usage here in vs. 1 is meant to be the same as 30.7a *xšaθrā ... manajhā volū ašācā* 'the rule in alliance with good thinking and truth'. Cf. latter passage for disc.

antarə.caraiti I take as aor. subj. to *antar kar* 'internalize, encompass'. Functions as antonym to Ved. *īdhak kṛ* 'put to the side, reject'.

taḥ (= xšaθrəm) nō nūciḥ varəšanē 'This very rule shall I now indeed bring to realization for us'. Belongs with 33.5b **apā *uō (*nō) *darəgō.jyāiti ā xšaθrəm vajhāuš manajhō* 'I shall attain for us the long-lived rule of good thinking'.

51.2. *tā vā mazdā paourvīm ahurā *ašāyācā* (Mss. *ašā, ašāi yecā*) 'These things first belonged to you — to Thee, Wise Lord, and to truth'. The pron. *tā* refers back to *volū xšaθrəm, bāgəm* and *valīštəm*.

As in 30.1bc *vayhāuš manayhō ... ašā yecā*, **ašāyācā* is required: cf. passage for disc. The point Zarathustra is making here is that men can duplicate the good rule of god by proper behavior.

taibyācā ārmaitē dōišā mōi ištōiš 'But to thee, piety, I shall reveal these in consequence of my power'. This follows as a natural statement to the preceding line. In addressing piety, Zarathustra is saying that through the piety of the faithful and their trust in the prophet, the values which naturally belong to god can now also belong to man. Thus resumes the theme of *vidišammāi ižācī* in the previous vs. The passage also belongs with 44.10e *malīyā cistōiš *θwā.īštīš usōn mazdā* 'In consequence of my insight, they have desired Thy powers, Wise One', but with emphasis reversed. Namely, 'In consequence of my power, they desire the insights of the Lord'.

xšaθrām xšmākam volū manayhā cannot be broken syntactically in view of all the exx. discussed at 30.7 *xšaθrā ... volū manayhā ašācā*.

valmāi dāidī savayhō 'Grant it for the glory of the Mighty One'. *ārmaitīš* is implicit subject of *dāidī*, because it is only the piety of the truthful which will bring the rule of good thinking and truth to pass on earth.

51.3. *yōi vā šyaoθanāiš sārāntē* 'Those who are allied with you by their actions'. For disc., cf. 32.2.

ahurō ašā hizvā uxδāiš vayhāuš manayhō '(Thou art) Lord by reason of Thy tongue (which is) in harmony with truth and by reason of Thy words stemming from good thinking'. The fig. *ašā hizvā* belongs with the type 33.14c *šyaoθanahyā ašā ... uxδalīyācā* 'of the action and word in harmony with truth' (cf. 32.2.), and the type *uxδāiš vayhāuš manayhō* (abl.) is discussed at 34.10. Essentially the appearance here of *ašām* and *volū manō* is to be understood to be in parallel, as is the case in 34.15ab *aī mōi valīštā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā, tā tū volū manayhā ašācā* 'Tell to me the best words and actions: those in harmony with good thinking and with truth'.

51.4. *kuθrō ārōiš ā fsaratus* 'Where shall there be protection instead of injury?'. Use of abl. in *ārōiš ā* is similar to the construction in 32.12c *ašāī varatā karapā ... drujīm* 'the Karpan chose deceit instead of truth'. Cf. also RV. I 63.7d *aṅhó rājan vāriṅaḥ pūrōve kaḥ* 'King, for Puru didst thou bring about freedom in place of anxiety'. Theme of injury is resumed in 51.14b below *gavōi ārōiš ā sāndō*.

This verse is important insofar as the elements mentioned, viz.

fsaratūš 'protection' (equiv. to Ved. *śárman-*), *mərəždikā* 'mercy', *ārmaitiš* 'piety', *ašəm* 'truth' and *manō vahīštəm* 'best thinking', are intended to define the foundation of the best existence.

51.5. *vīspā tā pərəsqš yaθā ašāt hacā gəm *vidāṭ* (Mss. *vidaṭ*) / *vāstryō šyaathanāiš ərašvō* 'Through all this I am asking how the pastor, lofty by reason of his actions, shall serve the cow (= the good vision)'. This question is answered to a large measure in 34.10ab *ahyā vaṅhūuš manayhā šyaathanā vaocaṭ gərəbqm luxratuš spəntqmčā ārmaitīm* 'Through his action stemming from good thinking, the man of good determination has expressed his understanding and his virtuous piety'. The answer is also paraphrased in 51.21ab below *ārmatōiš nā spəntō livō cistī uxδāiš šyaathanāiš daēnā* 'Virtuous is the man of piety by reason of his understanding, his words and action, his vision', where each term has a correspondence in 34.10ab. Cp. *ārmatōiš nā spəntō* : *spəntqmčā ārmaitīm*; *cistī* : *gərəbqm*; *uxδāiš šyaathanāiš* : *vaṅhūuš manayhā šyaathanā*; *daēnā* : *luxratuš*.

Close syntactic parallel 31.14ac *θwā pərəsā ... yaθā tā ayhan* 'I ask Thee ... how they shall occur' etc. shows clearly that a subj. is the correct mood in a future-value *yaθā*-clause. Cf. also 29.4c *aθā nā ayhaṭ yaθā livō vasaṭ*, 30.4b *yaθācā ayhaṭ apəməm ayhuš*, etc. Consequently, the reading *vidaṭ* must be emended to **vidāṭ*; cf. especially the antithesis *yā hōi nōiṭ vidāiti* in the flg. vs. and *vidāṭ* 53.4. Orig. **vidāṭ* has been changed to *vidaṭ* under the influence of *axštāṭ* (vs. 4) and *rādaṭ* (vs. 6), which appear in identical metrical position in the line. Cf. *vərəzyāṭ* 47.2, for which most Mss. offer *vərəzyaṭ* under the effects of *həm.tašaṭ* (47.3) and *ayhaṭ* (47.4) in similar metrical position. Cf. also introd. p. 8.

huš luxratuš nəmayhā 'being a reverent man of good determination'. The use of *luxratuš* here with preceding *gəm* recalls 28.1c *vaṅhūuš xratūm manayhō yā xšnəvišā gəušcā urvanəm* 'through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow'. Cited passage also shows interdependency of man's good thinking and the good vision discussed above.

yā dāθaēihyō əraš ratūm ... cistā 'who has correctly understood the (proper) judgment for the just people'. *əraš cistā* paraphrases *luxratuš* and thus corresponds to *cistī* in 51.21a below; cf. 1st para. above.

51.6. *yā vahyō vaṅhūuš dazdē yascā hōi vārāi rādaṭ* / *ahurō xšaθrā mazdā* The one who accepts what is better than good and shall bring

success to His wish, (that one) the Lord, Wise in His rule, (shall accept)'. Belongs with 33.10ab **vispās *tōi hujitayō ... θwahmi hiš zaasē ābaxšā.hvā* 'All those whose way of life is good for Thee ... give them a share in Thy approval'. *vahyō vāyhāuš* very well may be a paraphrase for *ašam vahištam*, thus anticipating 51.10c below *maibyō zhayā ašam vāyhuyā aši gaṭ.tē* 'I summon the truth to me, to come with my good reward'.

ahurō xšaθrā mazdā is short for **ahurō tāni xšaθrā mazdā dāiē*, with usual suppression of demon. pron. and freq. omission of parallel verb form. Cf. e.g. 43.14ab *hyaṭ nā fryāi ... daidiṭ. maibyō (dāidi) ... tavā rafānō*; 48.4a *yā dāṭ manō vahyō ... ašyascā (dāṭ)*; etc. Furthermore, 47.1d *mazdā xšaθrā*, 45.7c *iācā xšaθrā mazdā dūniš ahurā*, 45.9c *mazdā xšaθrā ... ahurō*, all of which show that *xšaθrā mazdā* here in 51.6 cannot be separated syntactically.

aṭ ahmāi akāṭ ašyō yā hōi nōiṭ vīdāiti 'But worse than bad shall he for the one who shall not serve Him'. Antithesis to preceding *yaθā ašāṭ hacā gqm *vidāṭ vāstryō*. *akāṭ ašyō* is probably paraphrase for *acištahyā dāmānəm manūhō*.

The differing final fates of the truthful and deceitful described here have closest parallel in 47.5bc *ašāumē cōiš yā zi cicā vahištā, hanarā θwahmāṭ zaosāṭ drāgvā *haxšaitē* 'Thou hast promised to the truthful man what are the very best things, (hut) the deceitful one shall have his fate apart from Thy approval'.

51.7. *yā gqm tašō apascā urvarāscā ... spāništā mainyū mazdā* 'Wise One. Thou who didst fashion the cow as well as the waters and the plants by reason of Thy most virtuous spirit'. For disc. of *spāništā mainyū*, cf. 43.2 *yā dā ašā* etc. The use of *gqm apascā urvarāscā* has to be understood on two levels. (1) The elements of the physical creation, whereby *gqm* = *zqm* 'earth'; cf. 32.10. Thus similar to the juxtaposition of *zqm ... apā urvarāscā* in 44.4hc. (2) The metaphoric level in which *gqm* = *vāyuhūm daēnqm* 'the good vision', as frequently, and *apascā urvarāscā* are intended to refer to the pious and the faithful followers of the good vision. In this second sense, use of *spāništā mainyū* is just as appropriate, for it is through the awakening of the virtuous spirit in man that the enactment of the rule of good thinking and truth has become possible on earth. Y. 43 is essentially the recounting of this awakening in Zarathustra himself. Cf. also 48.6ac *hā (= gāuš) zi nā hušōiθamā ... aṭ ahīyāi ašā mazdā urvarā vaxšaṭ* 'For she shall bring peace to us. And the Wise One, together with truth,

shall increase the plants for her', with identical metaphoric use of *gāuš* and *urvarā*. Cf. Addenda.

dāidi mōi ... aməratātā haurvatā ... taviši utayūiti manajhā vohū sənjuhē 'Grant to me immortality and completeness, those two enduring forces to be praised with good thinking'. Zarathustra's personal need for immortality and completeness — the development of a faithful following of his own — cf. 44.18. I follow Lommel (1935a, 157) in taking *sənjuhē* as fem. du., thus equiv. to Ved. *śamsye*. The phrase *manajhā vohū sənjuhē* can thus be compared to 33.8b *ašā staomyā vacā* 'words praiseworthy with truth'.

51.8. *hyaṭ akōyā* (= **akōiyā*) *drəgvāitē uštā yā ašəm dādrē* 'that I would do evil to the deceitful one in accordance with the wish (of Him) who has upheld the truth'. Belongs with 33.2 *aṭ yā akəm drəgvāitē ... varəšaiti ... tōi vārāi rādanti* 'Who shall bring about what is bad for the deceitful one, (t)he(y) shall bring success to His wish' and the *maqθra* 47.4d *isvāciṭ haš paraoš akō drəgvāitē* 'Even the master of much worth shall be evil to the deceitful one'. *drəgvāitē*, contrasting with *yā ašəm dādrē* = AhM., clearly refers to *angrō mainyuš*, as in all the other cited parallels. For this usage, cf. 31.15.

akōyā (= **akōiyā*) is 1sg. opt. of a denom. **akati* 'does evil, acts with evil' (cf. SI. 1965, 20). On orthography, cf. *isōyā* for **isōiyā* 43.8.

yā ašəm dādrē is a variation on 31.7b *hvō xraθwā dumiš ašəm yā dārayaṭ vahištəm inanō* 'He created truth in accord with this intention, by which He has (also) upheld the very best thinking'. The intent of the last passage is that AhM. both created and upholds truth and good thinking.

51.9. *ahvāhū daxštəm* 'a sign among living beings'. *ahvā-* 'living being' corresponds to *almi-* 'existence, world', as does *gaēθā-* 'creature' to *gaya-* 'life'.

rāšayejhē drəgvantəm savayō ašavanəm 'to destroy the deceitful and to save the truthful' corresponds to 49.3b *ašəm sūidyāi ... rāšayejhē druxš* 'the truth is to be saved and deceit is to be destroyed'.

51.10. *aṭ yā nā nā* (K₄) *marəxsaitē anyāθā *ahmaṭ* (Mss. *almāṭ*) 'Yes, the person indeed who shall try to destroy us is other than (one of) us'. The reading *mānā* (i.e. *nā nā*) of K₄ is lectio difficilior and should be adopted; the var. *-nā* stems from the influence of 32.10a *hvō inā nā sravā mōrandaṭ*. On encl. pron. after particles, cf. 46.8a, 10a *yā vā mōi*,

etc. The plural *nā* is in fact preferable in view of the use of *gaēθā* in the parallel 31.1b *yōi ... aśahyā gaēθā vimarancaitē* 'who destroy the creatures of truth'. Zarathustra is not only referring to himself here in 51.10 but also to all of the other truthful followers. Consequently, **ahmaṭ* should be emended in place of attested *ahmāṭ* which simply shows the effects of generalization after *ahmāṭ* 33.6, 45.11, 47.4. Note particularly the similarity between *anyāθā ahmāṭ* and 45.11c *anyāng ahmāṭ*. Cf. also introd. p. 11f.

hvō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš 'He is a son stemming from deceit's creator'. Belongs with 32.3ab *yūš ... akāṭ manayhō stā ciθram. yascā vā maš yazaitē* 'Ye are the seed (offspring) stemming from evil thinking, also the one who worships you muchly'. Both are antithesis to 33.6a *yō zaotā ašā arəzuš hvō mainyāuš ā vališiōṭ kayā*.

iā dūzdā yōi hantī 'and thereby malevolent to those who exist' contrasts with 45.6bc *yō hudā yōi hantī spəntā mainyū* 'who is beneficent to those who exist by reason of His virtuous spirit'. The reason such a person is malevolent is because he is obliged to follow the commandments of deceit which urge the destruction of the creatures of truth. Cf. above-cited parallel 31.1b *yōi urvātāiš drūjō aśahyā gaēθā vimarancaitē*.

51.11. *kā spəntā ārmaitiš* 'With whom is virtuous piety allied?'. Cf. 32.2.

kā vā vayhəuš manayhō acistā magāi arəšvō 'Which man of good thinking has shown himself to be lofty (enough) for the task?'. The gen. *vayhəuš manayhō* belongs with *kā*, as in 51.21a below *ārmātōiš nā* 'the man of piety'. Cf. also 47.4c *kasəušciṭ nā* and 49.5c *ārmātōiš kasciṭ* 'any person of piety'.

The usage *acistā magāi arəšvō* 'has shown himself to lofty for the task' should be compared with the Ved. type represented by RV. X 74.6cd *āceti prāsahas pātis tīviṣmān, yād im uśmāsi kārtave kārat iāt* 'The overpowering one (Indra) has shown himself to be a mighty lord: whatever we wish him to do, that he does'. *acistā* (for orig. **ācistā*) is exactly medio-passive like *āceti*; for other exx., cf. 31.2 *aibi.dərəštā. magāi arəšvā* belongs with 29.11b *frāxsuənō mazōi magāi.ā* 'fit for the great task'; cf. latter passage for general disc. For further disc., cf. 51.16 below.

51.12. *pəratā zəmō* 'at Earth-Bridge'. I take this as a place name. *pəratā* (Jp₁, J₂, K₄, etc.) is the correct reading; cf. *pəratā* in next

vs. and *xratā* 48.4. Var. *pəratā* shows preservation of vocalism of surrounding *kəvinā ... zəmə*. On principle, cf. introd. p. 5.

hyaṭ alimī urūraast aštō is an abbrev. for **hyaṭ tēm alimī urūraast yē aštā* 'when he rejected (rebuffed) him who had arrived at that place'. For parallels, cf. 31.9 *vāstryāṭ vā āitē* etc.

*hyaṭ hāi *i* (Mss. *im*) *caratascā aadərəšcā zāišənū vāzā* 'although his two draft animals were trembling from wandering and from the cold'. I emend *im* to **i*, agreeing with *zāišənū vāzā*. Reading *im* stems from effects of *im* in line a; cf. introd. p. 9.

51.13. *tā drəgvatō marədaitī daēnā ərəzaoš *haiṭyqm* (Mss. *haiṭim*) 'By reason of this, the conception of the deceitful person misses the true one of the honest man'. There must be a basic opposition in this line between *drəgvatā daēnā* and *ərəzaoš haiṭim*. Consequently, I emend *haiṭim* to **haiṭyqm* (sc. *daēuyqm*), which has been eliminated in favor of freq. *haiṭim* elsewhere in the text of the Gāthās. For process, cf. introd. p. 14f.

x'āiš šyaəθanāiš hizvascā ašahyā nqsvā paθō 'having disappeared from the path of truth by reason of his actions and (the words) of his tongue'. Contrasts with 33.5 *yastē ... səraašəm zbayā ... *apā *nā (*uō) ... ašāṭ ā ərəzūš paθō* 'I who shall summon obedience for Thee, I shall attain for us those paths straight in accord with truth'. Zarathustra is here stressing the point that by one's individual actions and beliefs, he either reaches or misses the path of truth. The proper actions, of course, are founded upon obedience and piety, as told in 44.6c *ašəm šyaəθanāiš dəbažaitī ārmaitiš* 'Through its actions, piety gives substance to the truth'.

Notice the juxtaposition of *daēnā* and *šyaəθanā* in 51.13 here also appears in the thematically related 31.20c *tēm vā ahūm drəgvantō šyaəθanāiš x'āiš daēnā naēšaṭ* 'To such a (terrible) existence shall your conception, together with its (corresponding) actions, lead you, ye deceitful ones'.

51.14. *uōṭ urvaθā dātōihyascā karapanō vāstrāṭ arəm* (Jp₁, J₂, K_{5.4}, etc.) 'The Karpans are not our allies, being at a distance from our laws and from the pasture'. *dātōihyascā ... vāstrāṭ* is a pseudo-dual (cf. 32.12 last para.), and the abl. is governed by *arəm* 'at a distance from'. This last form is related to Ved. *ārē* 'at a distance from' and is therefore originally **ārəm*. Note that Ved. has both acc. *dūrām* and loc. *dūrē* 'at a distance, far from', and thus acc. **ārām*, besides loc. *ārē*, is

fully expected. Orig. **ārām* has been eliminated by redaction in favor of more common *arām* according to the freq. process.

The pasture here is that of truth and good thinking, mentioned in 33.3bc *vidqs vā θvaxšayhā gavōi. aṭ hvō ašahyā ayhaṭ vaḡhāušcā vāstrē manayhō* 'Who continues to serve the cow with zeal, he shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking'. Therefore the expression *dātōihyasā ... vāstrāṭ *ārām* 'at a distance from the laws and the pasture' is merely a paraphrase of *ašahyā usvā paθō* 'having disappeared from the path of truth' in preceding vs. 51.13c. Note also that *vāstrāṭ* correctly anticipates use of *gavōi* in flg. line here. Idea of line corresponds to 44.20ce ... *gəm karapā usixšcā aēšamāi dātā* (= **datā*), *nōiṭ hini *izān ašā vāstrām frādaijē* 'The Karpan and Usig have delivered the cow unto fury. They have not been eager to prosper her and her pasturage with truth'. Simply, the traditional priests are the enemies of the good vision and its proponents.

gavōi ārōiš ā sāndā 'Theirs is a pleasure from (bringing) injury to the cow'. Belongs in the context of 44.20b cited in last para.

ā sāndā is preferable reading since *ā*, following *ārōiš*, conforms to standard employment of *ā* after ablatives in the Gāthās. Cf. 31.21b *hūrōiš ā ... x'āpaiθyāṭ*, 33.6a *maiuyāuš ā vahistāṭ*, etc. Resulting *sāndā-* and yAv. *-sāndah-* belong with *sand* 'appear, please' (= Ved. *chaudh*). Note that *vahrō.sāndah-* Yt. 10.25 is merely the equiv. of Ved. *gīr-vaḡas-* 'having pleasure in songs'.

51.15. *hyaṭ mīzdām ... | tā vā volū manayhā ašāicā savāiš cāvīši*. The form *tā* is surely a mistake for *taṭ*, which resumes preceding *hyaṭ mīzdām*. Attested reading *tā vā* shows effects of generalization after 51.2a above *tā vā mazdā ...* Similarly, *ašāicā* is false for *ašācā* (so attested in inferior K_{11} , M_{11}), and conforms to the tendency of the Mss. to constantly write the form *ašācā* as *ašāicā*. Cf. vars. to 30.7a, 30.9b, 33.10c. Orig. source for mistake seems to stem from 30.7a *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manayhā volū ašācā*, where var. *ašāicā* shows effects of preceding *ahmāicā*. Cf. introd. pp. 9, 12f.

Thus the emended line should be **taṭ vā volū manayhā ašācā savāiš cāvīši* 'This (prize) has been promised to you during the times of salvation by reason of your good thinking and truth'. Support for emendation and interpretation seen from 34.13bc *ašāciṭ urvāxšaṭ hyaṭ cāvīštā hudābyō mīzdām* 'One shall proceed in alliance with truth to the prize which has promised to the beneficent'. In 51.15 here Zarathustra intends to contrast the proper behavior of the faithful,

founded upon truth and good thinking (the principles of the good vision), with the evil behavior of the deceitful described in preceding vss. 13 and 14. Also, the repeated theme that the ways of deceit will lead one to hell, but the ways of truth and good thinking will lead to heaven.

In terms of syntax, the use of the instr. *voḥū manajhā ašācā* 'by reason of your good thinking and truth' is intended to imitate instr. employment in preceding vs. 13e *x'āiš šyaoθanāiš hizvascā ašahyā uqsvā paθō* 'having disappeared from the path of truth by reason of their own actions (and words) of their tongue'. The instr. *savāiš* is thus instr. of temporal duration; other exx. are listed at 30.7 *ayajhā ādānāiš*. The time of salvation belongs to the future, as stated in 48.1. Related also: 45.10cd *hyaṭ hōi ašā voḥucā cōišṭ manajhā, xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā amərətātā* 'Whatever one has promised to Him with truth and good thinking is to be completeness and immortality for Him under His rule'. Both passages belong together in the sense that the enactment of truth and good thinking by men in this world give strength to god, whereby he can offer them salvation in the next world.

51.16. *xšaθrā ... vajhāuš padābīš manajhō* 'through his rulership (following) along the paths of good thinking'. These words belong together syntactically, since they are a paraphrase of usual 46.10c *voḥū xšaθrəm manajhā*, etc. Note also above 51.2bc *xšaθrəm xšmākəm voḥū manajhā*, where *xšaθrəm* also appears in the preceding line.

tqm ... magahyā ... yqm cistīm ašā mantā 'this understanding of (our) task, which he respected in harmony with truth'. This phrase and the preceding *vajhāuš padābīš manajhō* thus correspond to above 51.11c *kō vā vajhāuš manajhō acistā magāi ərəšvō* 'Which man of good thinking has shown himself to be lofty (enough) for the (great) task?'. Namely, by his rule founded upon good thinking (cf. 48.5ab *huxšaθrā xšāntā ... vajhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš*), Kavi V. has indeed proved himself worthy. Note that the fig. *ašā mantā* is a variant of 31.19a *yō mantā ašəm* 'who respected the truth', where *mantā* etc. is discussed.

spəntō mazdā ahurō : aθā nō sazdyāi uštā 'The Wise Lord is virtuous. Therefore wish ye for Him to announce Himself to us'. These words can only be a citation of Kavi V.'s own words, which are quoted by Zarathustra to show that his protector truly understands the proper principles. Cf. comparable words of Jāmāspa in 51.18 below. On *sazdyāi*, cf. 30.2 *ahmāi nō sazdyāi* etc.

51.17. *bərəxδqm ... fərašaostirō ... daēdōišṭ kəlirpəm daēnayāi vaj-*

huyāi 'F. has displayed the esteemed form (of piety) for the sake of the good vision'. *bəraχδqm kəhrpām* requires *ārmatōiš*. Cf. 44.7b *kā bəraχδqm tāšt ... ārmaitūm* and 30.7b *aṭ kəhrpām ... dadāṭ ārmaitiš*.

γqm hōi išyqm dātū. *γqm* is not possible as object of impv. *dātū*. I therefore emend to **yāṭ* (= Ved. *yātī*) *hōi išyqm dātū* 'In consequence of which, let (the Lord) grant power to him'. Passage thus corresponds to 28.7b *dāidi tū ... vištāspāi išəm maihyācā* 'Grant power to V. and to me'. **yāṭ* has been replaced by *γqm* under the influence of *γqm* occurring in the identical metrical position in the preceding vs. and also by the force of neighboring *išyqm*. For processes. cf. introduction, p. 8ff. On the use of the abl. cf. 33.6b *ahmāṭ avā manayhā yā ...* 'In consequence of this, he is allied with that sort of thinking by which ...', etc. Note also that *yāaṭ* appears in 32.4a *yāaṭ yūštā *framimāθā* 'Insofar as ye authorize those things ...'.

51.18. *taqm cistūm ... ištōiš* 'this understanding of His power'. *ištōiš* clearly refers to the power of AhM. The preceding vs. touches upon the theme of piety, so necessary to grant strength to AhM. and his powers, and the current one raises the complementary theme of good thinking and truth, which also increase the power of the lord. For disc., cf. 47.1-2. The word *ištōiš* thus stands here in its normal juxtaposition with flg. *xšaθrəm*; cf. 28.7 (beginning).

asā vərəniē taṭ xšaθrəm manayhō vayhōuš vidō 'One chooses that rule of good thinking allied with truth to serve (Him)'. This and the following line represent a direct quotation of Jāmāspa's words; cf. vs. 16 above. On *asā ... taṭ xšaθrəm manayhō vayhōuš*, cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā* etc. On *vidō*, cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc.

As above 51.17b ... *hōi išyqm dātū* corresponds to 28.7b *dāidi ... vištāspāi išəm maihyācā*. 51.18c here *taṭ mōi dāidi ahurā hyaṭ mazdā rapān tavā* corresponds to 28.6ab *dāidi ... zaraθuštrāi aojōnghvaṭ rafānō*. I take *rapān* as nom.-acc. sg. of pres. part. of *rap*; cf. *yasō.šyān* 51.4 above, *spāncā aspāncā* 45.9.

hvō taṭ nā ... ahmāi dazdē daēnayā vaēdāmnō 'Acquiring it by his (good) conception that man assumes for himself this rule ...'. Complementary idea to 46.15c *tāiš yūš šyaoθanāiš ašəm xšmaihyā dadhyē* 'Through such actions ye shall assume (acquire) the truth for yourselves'. Thus common theme: truth is realized by proper thoughts and actions. Note that in vs.16 it was said that Kavi V. reached the proper understanding through good thinking.

yā ahūm išasqs aibi 'who continues to seek for existence (to be in

accord with that) ...'. Phrase requires usual addition of *stāi* and *tā*. On *išasqs* for orig. **išqs*, cf. 30.1 *išəntō*.

mazdā dātā mraaŋ gayehyā šyaοθanāiš vahyō 'what the Wise Creator said is better for life through its actions'. Phrase *gayehyā vahyō* is obj. gen. of special sort; cf. 44.10 *yā hātqm vahistā*. The word *vahyā* is probably employed here as a paraphrase of *volū xšaθrəm*, and this is the equiv. of *ašəm volū manajhā* appearing in flg. 51.20b.

51.20. *taŋ vō nā hazaošāŋhō višpāŋhō daidyāi savā | ašəm volū manajhā* 'All ye (immortals) of the same temperament, let your salvation be granted to us : truth allied with good thinking!'. *daidyāi* is jussive inf. as in parallel 34.3c **arōi* (Mss. *ārāi*) *zi hudāŋhō višpāiš mazdā xšmāvasū savō* 'Indeed let salvation be granted to the beneficent, Wise One, by all those of your kind!'. This passage also shows that *hužaošāŋhā višpāŋhō* is best taken as a voc. here. That the salvation entreated for currently is the temporal and worldly salvation, namely, the freedom from deceit and its forces spoken of in vss. 4, 10 and 14, *ašəm volū manajhā* must therefore stand in apposition to *savō*. Zarathustra is thus entreating for the rule of truth and good thinking on earth here and now (cf. above 51.1c *taŋ nā nūciŋ varəšānē*), not the future salvation of heaven promised to the faithful in vs. 15 above.

uxdā yāiš ārmaitiš requires *frābarāmahū* or the like. On syntax of *uxdā yāiš ārmaitiš*. cf. 32.2 (end).

51.21. Switch to impersonal discourse in these last 2 verses indicates that they are *naθras*. Cf. 47.1, 31.20.

ārmatōiš nā spəutō hvō cisti uxdāiš šyaοθanā daēnā 'Virtuous is the man of piety. He is so by reason of his understanding, his words, his action, his conception'. On the flg. *ārmatōiš nā spəutā*, cf. 51.11 above. Because of 48.4bc *hvō daēnqm šyaοθanāiš vacayhācā ... hacaitē*, it is not possible to separate *daēnā* from the preceding members of the series here. Also, the following words *ašəm spənuvaŋ* are clearly intended to be parallel to opening *ārmatōiš nā spəutō*, both thus nominal sentences. Cf. also 53.1ab *vahistā ištis srāvi zaraθuštrahē | spitāmahyā yezi ...*, in which opening phrase extends into second line, etc.

51.22. *yōi ājharəcā hənticā* 'who have existed and still exist' is simply a paraphrase for 'those who are immortal'. On *pairicā jasāi vantā* 'and I shall serve them with love', cf. 28.2 *yō vā ... pairī.jasāi* etc. and 28.8 *yāsā vāmuš*.

Yasna 53

Most probably a wedding sermon, this Gāthā offers words of advice to those in the following of Zarathustra who wish to serve the Wise Lord and his values and principles. Not only must a truthful person understand and teach the importance of the Wise One's conception of a world ruled by truth and good thinking (1), but he must relentlessly strive in his dedication to the important task to achieve this good way of existence (7). This he must accomplish by prayer and piety for the Lord, and equally by the realization of words and actions which befit this view of a better mode of existence (2). He must remain steadfast in his determination and steadfast in his faith (3, 7), and serve both his lord and his associates with virtue, piety, truth and good thinking (3-5). Only by such fitting behavior can each person reach his own basis of truth, good thinking and wisdom (3-4) which, when added to that of his wife or fellow man, shall benefit the total advancement of the public good (5). If, on the other hand, one follows the ways of deceit, he damns not only himself with regard to the future life, but he also damns the whole of existence (6).

53.1. *yezi hōi (= zaraθuštrāi) dāi āyaptā ašāi hacā ahurō* 'if the Lord shall grant to him those attainments in accord with truth'. Belongs with 28.2bc *maihyō dāvōi ... āyaptā ašāi hacā*.

yaēcā hōi dabāu saškāncā daēnayā vaṅhuyā uxδā šyaoθanācā 'and (to those) who have accepted(?) and taught those words and actions stemming from His good conception'. *dabāu* (metrically **dbān*) is completely enigmatic. The form *saškān*, however, redup. aor. to *sac*, corresponds in sense to the caus. stem *sācaya-* 'teach' attested in Y. 55.6 *yā dātā aṅhāuš paouruvehyā ... *sixšāmua sūcayamna dadrāna* 'the laws of the foremost existence, which are to be learned and taught and upheld', clearly a related passage. Cf. also Vyt. 52, etc. Note also the avowel in 31.1ac *tā vā urvātā marəntō ... vacā sānghāmahī ... aēihyō vahištā yōi zrazdā aṅhāu mazdāi* 'Heeding these commandments of yours, we do teach the words which are the best for those who shall be faithful to the Wise One'. On the syntax of *daēnayā vaṅhuyā šyaoθanācā*, cf. 34.10.

53.2. *aṭcā hōi scautū manayhō uxδāiš šyaοθanāišcā xšnēu ... fraoraṭ* 'Moreover, let them continually accompany their knowledge with words and actions in harmony with such (good) thinking'. Belongs with 48.12bc *yōi xšnēm volū manayhā hacāntē šyaοθonāiš ašō θwahyā mazdā sānghohyō*, where both passages are fully discussed. Latter passage shows that *manayhā* also requires *volū* here, and that *xšnēm* (for **xšnuqm*) pointedly refers back to *sasḱən* in the preceding vs. Again the theme of knowledge without action is of useless value. Cf. Hitop. I, 16 (ed. Schl.) *durbhagābharaṇaprāyo jūānaṇi bhāraḱ kriyāṇi vinā* 'Knowledge without action is a burden, like a mass of ornaments on an ugly woman'. On *fraoraṭ*, cf. 30.5.

**dōyhē* (Mss. *dāyhō*) *ərəzūš paθō yqm daēnuqm ohurō saosyantō dadāṭ* 'in order to serve the straight paths (of truth) (with that) conception which the Lord granted to His savior'. I emend *dāyhō* to **dāyhē* since dat. inf. is expected. Orig. form changed under the influence of surrounding *vištōspō*, *spitāmō*, *paθō*, *ahurō*, *saosyantō*; for principle, cf. introd. p. 5f. The phrase beginning *yqm daēnuqm* etc. is asyndetically connected with *ərəzūš paθō*, since it is unlikely to separate 53.2d here from 51.5ab *yaθā ašāṭ hacā gqm *vidāṭ vāstryō* 'how the pastor shall serve the cow in accord with truth'. Since *gqm* = *vayuhim daēnuqm*, 51.5ab is the equiv. of saying **yaθā ašāṭ hacā daēnuqm vidāṭ*, as in the present line, where *ərəzūš paθō* requires the addition of *ašahyā*, the constant complement of this figure. On the meaning of **dāyhē*, cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc. In general, cf. 33.4-6, which belong in the context of this verse.

53.3. *tāmcā.tū pourucistā*. In light of the remarks at 28.7 *dāstū mazdā xšayācā*, this sequence cannot be segmented into *tāu cā tū ...*, since *tū* must occur in second position of the line, even taking preference over enclitic forms of pronouns. Cf. e.g. 43.10a *aṭ tū mōi dāiš*, YH. 41.3 *oθā tū.nē gayascā*, etc. Because *tū* normally appears in association with an impv. form and a voc., e.g. 28.7bc *dāidi tū ārmaitē ... dāstū mazdā*, 49.7b *gūšahvā tū ahurā*, etc.. I therefore believe that *tāmcō.tū pourucistā* is of exactly the same structure. Thus *tāmcā* is most likely 2sg. impv. and I therefore relate the word to *taxmā* 'brave', *taucīsta-* 'bravest', etc. We thus have orig. **tāncā*, which must mean 'be brave, persevere'. Change of **tāncā* to *tāmcā* follows tendency to replace rare words by common elements. Cf. e.g. *hōntū* 33.7 with var. *hām tū* and introd. p. 13f.

vayhāuš paityāstim manayhō 'firm foundation of good thinking'.

The word *paityāsi-* is to be analyzed as *paity-ā-si-i-* and is very close to *paity-ā-si-* 'id.' (= Ved. *pratiṣṭhā-*); cf. 43.3 *ā-si-i-* for disc. Note also YH. 35.9 ... *aēšqm paityāstārəmcā frada.xstārəmcā* 'both founder (supporter) and revealer of these (words)', where *paityāstārəm* is syncopated from **paityāstātāram*. Cf. common type *amaratāt-* from *amaratātāt-* etc.

ašahyā mazdāscā taihyō dāi sarəm 'He shall grant to thee the alliance of truth and wisdom'. *ašahyō* cannot belong to preceding *vayhāuš manayhō* because of the position of *cā* after *mazdāsc-*; cf. 31.21. Thus both *ašahyā* and *mazdāscā* depend upon *sarəm*, and the passage belongs therefore with 49.8ab *fərəšaoštrāi urvāzistqm ašahyā dā sarəm* 'To F. grant that most happy alliance of truth'. Notice also the coupling of *ašəm* and *mazdā* in 50.5a **arōi zī xsmā mazdā ašā ahurā* 'Lord, indeed let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth', where *mazdā* is likewise employed appellatively.

spāništā ārmatoiš hudānvarəšvā (= **hudānū varəšvā*) 'Bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed (acts) of piety' requires *šyaobanā*. Cf. 47.2c *ārmatoiš ... šyaobanā varəzyāt* 'One shall bring to realization (the best) through his (every) act of piety'. Thus a stylistic variant of the fig. *spāntā ārmaitiš* appearing 32.2c *spautqm vā ārmaitim varəmaidī*, etc. Note also that *spāništā ... varəšvā* functions as antithesis to 30.5a ... *varatū yā drəgvā acistā varəzvō* 'the deceitful one chose to bring to realization the very worst things'.

53.4. *tām zī vā sparādā nivarāni*. The pron. *vā* here cannot stand for *tōi*, as Humbach proposes (1959, II 95), for the syntax of *tām ... vā* here belongs to the type 45.3c *yōi im vā nōi ... varəšanti* 'those among you who shall not ...' and especially 46.13e *tām vā ašā māhmaidī huš.haxāim* 'We respected him among you as the good companion of truth'. Furthermore, the use of flg. *yā ... vidāi* and *ašāuni* strongly suggests the emendation of *tām* to **tqm*, thus correctly anticipating the later fem. forms. Change to *tām* occurred from influence of false *tām* in opening of preceding vs. and also from influence of above-mentioned parallel 46.13e *tām vā*. For process, cf. introd. p. 9.

The difficult *nivarāni* must somehow anticipate the employment of flg. *paityāecā* 'husband' and *varəzammābyō* 'women being married' as well as **vadāmnā* in the next vs., for there is every reason to believe that this Gāthā was composed as a marriage sermon. Consequently, I connect *nivarāni* with Gk. *aeirō* 'join, couple' and interpret its meaning as 'I shall join (in marriage)'; on semantics, cf. Lat. *coniugium*

'marriage'. The remaining *spərədā* may thus be loc. of a stem *spərədi-* 'marriage', the condition being originally viewed as one of 'opposedness', much as Ved. *mithunā-* 'couple', orig. 'opposition' (cf. SI. 1973, 163 ff.). Thus the phrase is **tqm vō zi spərədā nivarāni* 'I shall join her among you in marriage ...'.

yā fədrōi vidāi paiθyaēcā etc. 'who shall serve father and husband ...'. Cf. 32.4 *yā mašyā acištā* etc.

53.5. **sāx'ēni *i* (Mss. *sāx'ēni*) *vazvammābyō kainibyō inraomī* 'I tell these words to (these) girls who are being married'. For disc. of *sāx'ēni*, cf. 46.17 *yaθrā vō ašmāni*. Note also use of *iθā i* in vs. 6a below.

*xšmaibyēcā *vadānuā* (Mss. *vadānuō*) 'and to you, ye bridegrooms'. Reading *vadānuō* cannot be correct, since a voc. is needed in conjunction with the flg. impv. forms *dazdūm* and *vaēdō.dūm*. Emendation to orig. **vadānuā* is necessary, a form altered in the course of time under the influence of preceding *vazvammābyō kainibyō*. On process, cf. introd. p. 6.

vaēdō.dūm ... abyascā (orig. **ābyascā*) *ahūm yā vayhāus manayhō* 'Acquire for yourselves and your women an existence of good thinking'. For parallels, cf. 28.5 *manascā vohū vaēdānuō* etc.

53.6. *āyesē hōis piθā tanvō parā* should be emended to *āyesē *hōi* (= *drūjō*) **spiθā tanvō parā* 'I am taking these prosperous conditions away from his person'. The phrase thus belongs with 30.10a *adā zi avā drūjō bvaitī skandō spayaθrahyā* 'For then shall descend the destruction of deceit's prosperity'. For disc., cf. latter passage.

vayū.bərəduhyō duš.x'arəθāin 'foul food shall be for them crying woe'. I follow interpretation of Bthlm. (1904, 1359), who aptly compared 31.20b *duš.x'arəθāin avāētās vacō* 'foul food and the word woe', where the fate of the deceitful is described in both the same ways. Note also flg. 53.7d *at vō vayōi ayhaitī apāməm vacō* 'then the word woe shall be for you at the end'. The idiom *vācim bar* 'raise one's voice' appears in 31.12, 50.6.

53.7. *aicā vō niždəm ayhaš ahyā magahyā* 'On the other hand, there shall be a prize for you for the following task' and *ivīzayaθā magām tām* 'if ye abandon this task' are discussed at 29.11 *maga-*.

būnōi haxtayā (for **haxtiyā*; cf. var. *haxtyā*) is loc. abs. 'while your legs are on the ground' = 'while ye are still alive'. Other exx. of construction appear at 31.19 *vayhān vidātā rquayā*.

yaθrā mainyuš dragvatō anqsaŋ parā 'where the spirit of the deceitful one (= *angrō mainyuš*) shall finally disappear'. The use of the preceding part. in *paracā mraocqš aorācā* 'sinking away and below' shows that flg. *anqsaŋ* cannot be a preterite. The form thus stands for orig. **ānqsā*, which has been leveled after *nqsaŋ* in preceding vs. in identical metrical position. On process, cf. introd. p. 8. Orthography otherwise reveals common practice of writing initial *ā* as *a*.

53.8. *dafšnyā hñutū zahyācā višpāṅhō* 'Let them all be trickable and risible'. Translation follows RV. VIII 45.23ab *mā tvā mūrā aviṅyāvo, mōpahāsvāna ā dabhan* 'Though desiring help, let not the fools, let not the mocking ones deceive thee', where *has* (= Av. *zah*) and *dabh* occur side by side. Zarathustra focuses attention in opposite direction: the evil normally mock and deceive the truthful, but let them now be mocked and tricked themselves. Cf. also AV. VI 30.2h *yēnābhilišyāṃ pīruṣaṃ kṛṇōṣi* 'with which thou makest a man risible'.

huxšaθrāiš jñnarqm xrūnarqmā rāmqmā āiš dadātū šyeitibyō vižibyō 'But in alliance with those who have good mastery over the men-killing, men-violating ones, let a person create tranquility for the peacefully dwelling tribes (settlements)'. Intended as contrast to above 53.6d *anāiš ā manahim ahūm mərəngəduyē* 'In alliance with them (= the deceitful ones) ye are going to destroy the spiritual life'.

rāmqmā dadātū 'But let one create tranquility', with adversative *cā* (cf. 30.7 *ahmāicā ... jasaŋ*), begins the new sentence, but *huxšaθrāiš jñnarqm xrūnarqmā* has been fronted so as not to break this syntactically close unit across the caesura. For parallel exx., cf. 28.1 *vajhāuš xrātūm manahō* etc. Moreover, the gens. *jñnarqm* and *xrūnarqm* are governed by preceding *huxšaθrāiš* acc. to normal practice of *xšaθrəm* with gen. complement. Cf. 31.21ab *haurvatō aməratātascā ... ašahyācā ... xšaθra-*, etc. Finally, note that the flg. *rāmqm ... dadātū šyeitibyō* is a stylistic variant of 29.10b *yā hušaitiš rāmqmā dāŋ*.

53.9. On *narəpiš rajiš* 'decline and darkness', I follow Humbach. Stylistically the phrase resumes the theme of above vs. 7c *paracā mraocqš aorācā*. In general, the description of the deceitful as decline and darkness is intended to contrast with the description of AhM. as *x'āng.darəs-* 'having the appearance of the sun' 43.16, and in terms of this hymn, with the phrase *manahō vajhāuš x'ānuvaŋ hajhūš* 'the sunlike gain of good thinking' in above 53.4c.

ADDENDA

28.1 *xratūm*. The function and rôle of *xratuš* in the Gāthās have been studied in detail by H.-P. Schmidt in his recent Inaugural Lecture, 'Zarathustra's Religion and his Pastoral Imagery' (6 Juni 1975, Universitaire Pers Leiden; cf. also Schmidt, 'Associative Technique and Symmetrical Structure in the Composition of Yasna 47' in *Neue Methodologie in der Iranistik*, Wiesbaden 1974, pp. 306-330). Schmidt, who shares many of my views concerning the metaphoric identification of the cow as the good vision (*vajuhī daēnā*), ascribes to *xratuš* the meaning 'reason, intellect' (p. 7) and sees it to be the male or stimulating counterpart to *daēnā* 'vision' (pp. 7, 11), namely, that intellectual quality which triggers one's insight (*daēnā*) or cognition (*cistiš*). His findings are based upon a close association of these two terms in the text, either in their unmasked forms (31.11 *daēnāscā* *xratūšcā*), or in the usual metaphoric substitution of cow for the latter concept (28.1 *xratūm* . . . *gāušeā urvqnam*; 31.9 *gāuš tašā* . . . *xratuš*; 34.14 *gāuš vərəzēnē* . . . *xratāuš*; etc.), which he then goes on to explain in his typical careful and thorough way. A further proof for the interdependency is recognized by Schmidt in the metaphoric use of *uxšānō* 'bulls' in 46.3, which is employed, in his opinion, in apposition to *saošyantqm xratavō* in the same verse (p. 8), and which attests thus to its close connection with *daēnā*, since both terms are referred to by parallel metaphors. Both metaphors are further collapsed in the elliptic dual *gāvā azī* at 46.19, representing *daēnā* and *xratuš* (p. 9) in his view.

Apart from the metaphoric representation of *xratuš* by *uxšan-* or *gao-*, I wholly agree with S.'s disclosure of the interrelationship between *xratuš* and *daēnā*, but I still am convinced that the former term signifies 'will, determination, intention' far more than a truly intellectual capacity. It is true that Zarathustra, in his higher understanding, is preoccupied with intellectual qualities and that concepts such as *mazdā*, *vohū manō*, *daēnā* and (*hu*)*cistiš* therefore dominate his poetry, but it is equally true that the Gāthās also bear the undeniable mark of the prophet's unswerving determination and insistence in revealing and realizing his message founded upon this higher understanding. When he says at 28.4c *yavaṭ isāi tavācā avat xsāi aēšē ašahyā* 'as long as I shall be able and be strong, so long shall I search in quest of truth',

is this not a sign of his dedication and determination? And not similarly so 50.11ah *aṭ 𐬀 staotā aojāi mazdā aṣhācā yavaṭ ašā tavācā isāicā* 'Yes, I shall swear to be your praiser, Wise One, and I shall be it, as long as I shall have strength and be able, o truth'? Thus, when 28.1c states (*yāsā*) *vcaṣhāuš xratūm manayhō yā xšnəvīšā gəušcā urvqam* '(I entreat for that) through which Thou mayest satisfy the determination of (my) good thinking and the soul of the cow', does not this use of *xratuš* presage the declaration of Zarathustra's determination stated in flg. 28.4c?

It is true that *xratuš* and *daēnā* are in complementation in this first verse of the Gāthās, but the terms are in a different relationship from that explained by Schmidt. Zarathustra's conception has given him insight into the possibility of a perfect world, but he also requires the determination to bring this to realization, and this determination stems from his good thinking. Will and mind must work in concert, the very idea seen in 46.18e *taṭ mōi xratəuš manayhascā vicithəm* 'This is the decision of my will and my mind', which represents an avowal of the type discussed in 28.4c and 50.11ah above. Likewise, does not 31.12b *zradācā manayhācā* express an equal cooperation between will and mind? Similarly instructive is 53.3d *aθā hām. fərəšvā θwā xraθwā spənīštā ārmatōiš *hudānū *varəšvā* 'Therefore, come to terms with thy will, and bring to realization the most virtuous and blessed acts of piety', since this line is preceded by the opening line a **tāncā tū pourucistā* 'Do thou persevere, Pourucistā', wherein Zarathustra's daughter is expressly admonished to continue in her determination.

A very important aspect of the argument overlooked by Schmidt is the employment of *xratuš* with respect to Ahura Mazda. When we find a statement such as 43.6de *aēihyō ratūš sāughaini ārmaitiš θwahyā xratəuš yəm naēciš dāhayeiti* 'To them does piety announce the judgments of Thy will, which (or, Thou whom) no one is able to deceive', it appears to me that we are dealing with the question of the will of god, not with his ultimate reason. Let us recall that 29.4c *hvō vicirō ahurō aθā nā aṣhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ* 'He is the decisive Lord: So shall it be for us, as He shall wish it' makes the point clear that the prophet views Ahura Mazda as a totally free god who disposes as he wishes, and in view of this, AhM. has the right to command and act as his will moves him. Thus he can create truth according to his will because he wished to make the creatures happy (cf. 31.7b *hvō xraθwā dqmīš ašəm*), or he can impose a differing fate

upon the truthful and deceitful person according to his will, seen in 48.4d *θwahmī xratā apāmam nanā aḡhaṭ* 'When Thy will be done, the end shall be different (for each)'. Ahura Mazda may act with wisdom, but above all, as supreme god, he acts and commands with his inherent independence of will, as we see from 45.3. This explains why *xratuš* is found in juxtaposition with *sāstū* at 45.6, with *sāstī* at 48.3, and with *sāhūt* at 50.6, forms which attest to the authority of AhM.'s will. I would stress the concept of the command of god in these verses more than I have in the translation. Here, too, cf. 49.6ab and the remarks concerning *urvata-* at 30.11 (2nd part).

Likewise, when 33.2 relates that the persons who shall act against the deceitful and shall further the good, *tōi vārāi rādanti ahurahyā zaošē mazdā* 'these shall bring success to His desire and be in the approval of the Wise Lord', we again encounter a situation where the will of Ahura Mazda is the decisive value at play (cf. the precept given at 47.4). And this belongs with 32.4 which tells that the mortals who serve the very worst ordinances of the old gods disappear from the will of the Wise Lord and from truth (note *frā mā* replaces *sāh* in employment with *xratuš*). This is certainly not what is wished by them. On the other hand, 34.14 stresses the reverse, namely, that those who act with good thinking further the will of Ahura Mazda with truth: for this behavior is based upon precepts of their god (cf. 47.1-2).

In view of the preceding discussion, I am led to defend my interpretation of 46.3c *vərəzdāiš sāughāiš saošyantqm xratavō* 'The intentions (determination) of the those who shall save are in accord with Thy mature teachings', because this statement is merely a reaffirmation that the community of the faithful is indeed determined to overthrow the deceitful if the heavenly forces shall assist in removing the restraints of the evil spirit and his powers. I also remain firm in seeing a contrast in 46.3 and 4 between *uxšānō asuqm* 'the bulls of the heavens' and *ašahyā važdrāug gā* 'the draft oxen of truth' to signify Ahura Mazda and his forces on the one hand and the community of the truthful on the other. This juxtaposition is merely a metaphoric representation of the oft stressed cooperation required between god and his faithful, which is characteristic of the Gāthās. Another important point to stress is this fact: Although Zarathustra employs *gao-* as a metaphor for *vajuhī daēnā*, these two terms never appear in the same verse. This immediately speaks against the possibility of taking *uxšānō asuqm* and *saošyantqm xratavō* to be in apposition in 46.3, as Schmidt asserts.

In conclusion, one further remark. If *xratuš* plays the important

intellectual role which Schmidt ascribes to it, then it is difficult to explain why the concept, in some personified form or other, does not actively appear in Y. 29 along with Ahura Mazda, *ašəm*, *vohū manō*, *gāuš tašā* (= *spəntō mainyuš*) and *gāuš urvā* (= *daēnā*). The obvious answer is that *xratuš* is not purely intellectual in the sense of the other conceptual terms. Yet let us remember, as noted above, the strongest statement concerning AhM. in Y. 29 emanating from the cow and Zarathustra is that AhM. is decisive and that the future shall be as he shall will it to be. Here we see clearly that the will of god, as that of man, stands in a domain apart from his intellectual capacities, and that, to a large extent, the latter values are under the control of the former. Thus, it seems to me, when 28.1 here juxtaposes the will or determination of Zarathustra with the soul of the cow, when 29.5 speaks of *mā urvā gāušcā azyā*, etc., the elliptic dual *gāvā aži* in 46.19 again designates Zarathustra and the cow, as I have already interpreted this expression. The intention is that both the determination of the prophet and his view of the world can offer spiritual strength to a believer in this world, as he awaits the prize of salvation in his future life.

29.7. I believe *tām āzūtōiš ... maθrəm tašaṭ ... xšvīdameā* stands for underlying **tām āzūtōiš ... maθrəm tašaṭ ... xšvīdascā*, with attraction of the last word into the acc. Cf. the type 32.4c *mazdā ahurahyā xratōuš nasyantō ašāaṭcā*, which appears to me to represent **... ašahyācā*, with similar attraction of the final term to the last inflected form of the figure.

29.11. The emendation of *aṭ mā mašā* to *uṭ *maqm *ašā* is supported by the fact that the only place in the Gāthās where the full acc. *θwqm* appears is in the preceding verse. The uniqueness of both pron. forms here in Y. 29 thus strengthens the argument.

30.3. *yā yāmā x'afānā asrvātəm*. This passage has been recently studied by Humbach, 'Methodologische Variationen zur arischen Religionsgeschichte', in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae* (Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert), Innsbruck 1974, pp. 193-200. Humbach finds a direct connection between this passage and Y. 32.8 *vivaṇhušō srāvī yimasciṭ* etc., attested by the coupling of *yāmā*, *yimasciṭ* and the root *sru*, and he interprets both in light of the later Persian versions of the myths concerning Jam(šed). In the current passage, H. points to the tale

in the Pahlavi Rivāyat which relates that Yima slept with both a Parīg and his sister Jamag, and that from the former coupling lower forms of life were born, from the latter the favorable prototype of marriage between relations was established as a social norm. Thus the good and the bad issuing from these two sorts of unions, a motif arising from the core of underlying mythology, are played against the good and the bad represented by the two primordial spirits in 30.3, which brings H. to translate (p. 200) the passage as 'welche durch Yima als die beiden Arten von (Bei)Schlaf bekannt worden sind'. In Y. 32.8, H. finds reference to the fall of Yima recounted in Šāh-nameh 4.64, wherein it is told that he committed the crime of considering himself a god and demanding of men that they pay divine respect to him. Combining the form *gāuš* in 32.8 with Mid. Ir. root *gu* 'sin, be remiss', Humbach then translates the line *yā mašyāng cixšmšō alimākōng gāuš bagā x'ārənuō* as 'der im Bestreben, die Menschen zufriedenzustellen (= ihnen gefällig zu sein), die Unseren, sich versündigte, indem er mit Gott rechtete' (p. 199).

First, it should be said that H. places too great an emphasis upon the appearance of *sru* in both passages. If 30.3 and 32.8 are in a special relationship because of *sru*, this can only derive from the fact that this root is the common Indoir. term to relate some mythological event or to tell some fact of widespread hearsay. The RīgV. usage makes this point clear. Cf. RV. 1V 42.5c *tvāṇi vṛtrāṇi śṣuviṣe juḡhauvāt*; V 32.12ab *evā hi tvām ṣtuthā yātāyantam, maghā viprebhyo dādatanī śṣuomi*; X 48.8d *prāhām mahé vṛtrahātya aśuśravi*; etc. I therefore see Zarathustra's employment of *sru* in 30.3 here to conform exactly to this practice: He is pointing out the well known attributes of the good and the evil spirits, which belong to the common stock of folk knowledge. Secondly, the syntactic characteristic found in vs. 1a *aṭ tā vaḥṣyā ... yā mazdāθā*, in vs. 5a *aṭ māniva ... yā drəgvā*, whereby the form immediately following the rel. is an appositive to the pronoun, makes it highly probably that vs. 3a *aṭ tā mainyū ... yā yāmā* is of exactly the same structure. The form *yāmā* is best taken as a dual form. Thirdly, when the RV. refers to night and dawn, for example, as twins (*yamān*), it is not because there is any association of these two complementary aspects of time with Yama and Yamī, but because night and dawn form the two halves of the day, the time unit which pervades the continuum of existence. And similarly so, when Zarathustra calls the two spirits twins in the current passage, it is only because they represent the complementary aspects of good and evil

which also permeate all of the continuum of existence. There is no more nor less than these two in the polarity of things, and in this light, it seems best to me to remain with my explanation of *x'afənuā *ā* to signify '(to be) in rivalry'.

As regards 32.8, H. himself (cf. commentary ad loc.) made it highly likely that *srāvī* was employed in a legal sense in the passage in view of the other legal employments of the neighboring terms. But even if we accept the 'mythological' use of *srāvī* in the passage, certain points in H.'s interpretation remain unclear. If Yima committed the crime of considering himself a god 'to please our men', why were not these men of ours condemned along with him? And was it not really to please himself? Finally, H. stretches the meaning of *x'ārənuō* 'swearing' to 'rechtete', an exaggeration of what appears to me to be a legitimate possibility. Also, if the passage really meant what H. has suggested, then should we not expect to find a simple statement of the type *... *bagō (-ō) x'ārənuō* 'swearing himself to be a god' (Ved. type RV. 11 23.12ab ... *yō ... śāsām ugrō mānyamāno jighāṃsati*)?

Despite these criticisms of 32.8, Humbach as disclosed two important points. (1) That the passage has nothing to do with the later legend of Yima's fall by eating meat. (2) that *gāuš* may belong with *gu* 'sin'. With regard to the latter possibility, can we not consider *gāuš* a *šleša*, and in the first instance take *mašyāng almuākāng* as object to it, and in the second, take *gāuš bagā* as I have suggested? Thus, *yō mašyāng cixšnušō almuākāng gāuš bagā x'ārənuō* 'who, wishing to satisfy (himself?), sinned against our men (by) swearing that the cow was goddess'.

manahicā vacahicā šyaoθanōi. On the series thought, word and deed, cf. Schlerath, 'Gedanke, Wort und Werk im Veda und im Avesta' in *Antiqu. Indogerm.*, pp. 201-221.

32.8. *vīvaṅhušō srāvī yimasci* etc. Cf. Add. to 30.3 above. — —

32.10. *yō acištəm vaēnəjḥē uogədā gəm ašihyā hvarəcā*. See now H.-P. Schmidt, op cit., 14f. and Gershevitch, 'Die Sonne das Beste' in *Mithraic Studies*, Manchester 1975, pp. 68-89.

34.13. *urvāxša*. When *urvāxša* is clearly 3sg. subj. in 44.8e *kā mā urvā volū urvāxša āgəma*.tā 'To what goods shall my self proceed in the future?', then the same value must be recognized in 34.13 here.

The context is likewise future, for the prize has not as yet been reached, and it is not possible to ascribe a future or present value to *urvāxšaṭ* even if it is interpreted as 3pl. aor. inj. Therefore, *daēnā saosyantam* cannot be the subject of the verb (so, Schmidt, op. cit., 11, reposing on Humbach), only **karatā*, as I propose.

47.3. Bthlm. 1879, 53, proposed *aēvā* in place of *ōyā*, showing that he understood the latter form. Why he abandoned this idea later is not clear at all.

48.4. *yā dāṭ manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā ... apōmēm nauā aṅhaṭ*. Schmidt, op. cit., 4, translates 'He who makes his thinking (now) very good, o Wisdom, and (now) very bad ... he shall be set apart in the end', essentially following Bthlm. But the final phrase cannot be right since it is difficult to separate *nauā* from Ved. *nānā*, which clearly means 'separately, differently'. Cf. RV. III 55.11ab *nānā cakrāte yamyā vāpīṃṣi, tāyor anyād rocate kṣṣām aṅyāt* 'The twin sisters (= day and night) have adopted their forms differently: the one form of them is luminous, the other is black'; X 67.10d *nānā sānto bibhrato jyōtir āsā* 'Although being different, they bear light in their mouth'; etc. Thus I abide by my translation 'The end shall be different' and see the necessity of recognizing two subjects in the first line, with a suppressed second *yā*, to which the different end can refer. In support of this idea, notice 51.6 *yā vahyō vaṅhāuš dazdē ... aṭ ahmāi akāṭ ašyō yā ... apōmē aṅhāuš urvaēsē*, a stylistic variant, where there are expressly two different subjects woven around the contrast of *vahyō* and *ašyō*.

48.5. *yaozdā mašyā *aipī.zəθəm* (or *aipī zəθəm*) *vahištā gavōi varəzvātəm*. Schmidt, op. cit., 2, translates 'Best perfection (or: purification) at (her) birth shall be applied by man to the cow'. Leaving aside the question of the meaning of *yaozdā* and the difficult *aipī(.)zəθəm*, the interpretation of instr. *mašyā* does not appear to be correct for two reasons. (1) The precesura position of *mašyā* conforms to the placement of most such vocs. in the Gāthās: Cf. 32.3a *daēvā vispāyḥō*, 45.2a *vispā*, 51.20a *hazaosāyḥō*. (2) Agent instr. normally precedes the noun to which it belongs: Cf. 29.2bc *vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō ... drəgvō.dəbiš aēsəmēm*; 31.9c *θwā āθrā ... vidātā*; 33.8b *ašā staomyā vacā*: etc. More important, however, is the feature that the change in address from AhM. to the adherents in lines cd here mirrors the reverse change in preceding vs. 3. Thus a voc. *mašyā* seems preferable to me.

48.12. On *saošyant-*, cf. also Schmidt, op. cit., 8 and Kellens, 'SAOŠ-IIAŃT-', *Studia Iranica* 3, pp. 187-209.

51.7. *apascā urvarāscā*. Schmidt, op. cit., 4, takes the waters and the plants to represent the good thoughts, words and deeds of man, since this expression is used next to *gām* in this verse. More generally, I prefer man, in the sense of the community of the truthful, since man's belief in the good vision is needed to continue its existence. Note that when 33.3c says that the man who shall serve the cow with zeal shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking, the idea is that such a person's dedication shall sustain truth and good thinking on earth. Just as the strength of god is dependent upon the faith and piety of the believers (cf. 28.3), so also the true believer is the food and nourishment (waters and plants) for god's good conception to prosper.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations of authors' names are found in the References, those of texts in the Index Locorum).

abl.	= ablative	Lat.	= Latin
abs.	= absolute	loc.	= locative
abstr.	= abstract	masc.	= masculine
acc.	= accusative: according	med.	= medial
act.	= active	metr.	= metric(ally)
adj.	= adjective	MidIr.	= Middle Iranian
adv.	= adverb	MidPers.	= Middle Persian
AhM.	= Ahura Mazdā	Ms.	= manuscript
Akkad.	= Akkadian	neg.	= negative
aor.	= aorist	neut.	= neuter
assim.	= assimilation	nom.	= nominative
athem.	= athematic	nom. ag.	= nomen agentis
Av.	= Avestan	obj.	= object(ive)
caus.	= causative	OP.	= Old Persian
compd.	= compound	opt.	= optative
comit.	= comitative	orig.	= original
dat.	= dative	para.	= paragraph
denom.	= denominative	part.	= participle
deriv.	= derivative	Parth.	= Parthian
desid.	= desiderative	pass.	= passive
disc.	= discussion	perf.	= perfect
dissim.	= dissimilation	pl.	= plural
du.	= dual	pres.	= present
equiv.	= equivalent	pret.	= preterite
ex(x).	= example(s)	pron.	= pronoun
fem.	= feminine	redup.	= reduplicated
fig.	= figure	rel.	= relative
flg.	= following	Rigv.	= Rigvedic
freq.	= frequent(ly)	sec.	= secondary
Gāth.	= Gāthic	sg.	= singular
gen.	= genitive	sigm.	= sigmatic
Gk.	= Greek	Sogd.	= Sogdian
imperf.	= imperfect	subj.	= subjunctive
impv.	= imperative	surrnd.	= surrounding
indic.	= indicative	them.	= thematic
Indoir.	= IndoIranian	trans.	= transitive
inf.	= infinitive	var.	= variant
instr.	= instrumental	Ved.	= Vedic
intens.	= intensive	voc.	= vocative
intrans.	= intransitive	vs.	= verse
introd.	= introduction	yAv.	= young Avestan
juss.	= jussive	:	= denotes caesura
		/ or .	= denotes end of metrical line

COMPLETE GLOSSARY TO THE GĀTHĀS

Verbal forms, with the exception of past parts., are arranged under a separate root lemma, in the order pres.-imperf., aor., perf., fut., caus., desid., intens., pass., forms with preverbs in the similar sequence, parts. and infs. Active forms precede medial ones, and the ordering of moods follows the sequence indic., opt., impv., subj.

Nouns and adjectives are grouped together, whenever possible, under the first attested form of the sequence nom., acc., instr., etc., the usual presentation. Note that the nom.-acc. neut. follows similar masc. forms and that the fem. forms are listed at the end.

Pronouns are grouped under the nom. form of the paradigm.
As usual, * denotes an emendation.

- aēnaḡhō 31.13, 15.
 aēnā 32.6.
 aēnaḡhām 32.7-8.
 aēnaḡhām (adj.) 30.8.
 aēnaḡhē, cf. ī.
 aēvō 29.8.
 aēvā (instr.) 29.6.
 ōyā (f. instr.) 47.2.
 aēvuruš 50.10.
 aēšasā 53.9.
 aēšē 28.4.
 aēšō 44.17; 45.7.
 aēšōm 43.10.
 aēšōmō 29.1; 48.7.
 aēšōmām 29.2; 30.6; 49.4.
 aēšōmāi 44.20.
 aēšōm.mahyā 48.12.
- a o g
 aojī 43.8.
 aojōi (3sg.) 32.7.
 aogādā 32.10.
 aojāi 50.11.
 paīryaoyžā 43.12.
 aogō 29.10.
 aojaḡhā 50.3.
 aojōḡhvantām 34.4.
 aojōḡhvaḡ 28.6; 31.4; 43.8.16.
 aojā 34.8; cf. *aš.aojā.
 aojīstō 29.3.
 aojyaēšū 46.12.
 aodarāš 51.12.
 aorā 53.7; cf. mruć.
 aošō 49.1.
- a k
 akōyā (opt.) 51.8.
 akō 47.4.
- akas- 32.5.
 akām (neut.) 30.3; 33.2,4.
 akōm (neut.) 43.5.
 akā 32.5; 45.1.
 akāi 43.5.
 akāḡ 32.3; 47.5; 51.6.
 *akqš- 50.2.
 akā (neut. pl.) 32.12.
 akāiš 46.11; 49.11.
- aguštā 31.1.
 ayzōnvamnam 28.3.
 axštāḡ, cf. stā.
 acištō 30.4.
 acištōm 33.4.
 acištōm (neut.) 30.6; 32.10.
 acištahyā 32.13.
 acištā (masc.) 32.4.
 acištā (neut.) 30.5.
- a j
 ajōn 48.10.
 ajyāitīm 30.4.
 *atō 29.6.
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Alphabetical order follows Bartholomae, except that I place *ōi* after *aē* since they derive from the same source. I treat *āi* and *āu*, when real, as if **āy* and **āv*. Non-metrical *ə* is not counted alphabetically.

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