The Gāthās of Zarathushtra

and the Other Old Avestan Texts

by

HELMUT HUMBACH

in collaboration with

Josef Elfenbein and Prods O. Skjærvø

Part I

Introduction – Text and Translation

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Dedicated to Karl Hoffmann
the ingenious scholar
the teacher and friend
who opened the way to this approach to Zarathushtra's work

Preface

In 1981 I decided to prepare a new edition, in English, of my two-volume *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* which appeared in German in 1959. I acquired as collaborator Prods O. Skjærvø, who was at the time at the University of Mainz, and we completed a first draft of vol. I (Introduction, Text and Translation). Further cooperation between us became very difficult when Skjærvø accepted a position as an Editor of the Encyclopaedia Iranica in New York, and our plans for the completion of vol. I in a reasonably short time had to be abandoned.

In the following years, in which I was extremely busy in other scientific fields, I devoted my attention - whenever time allowed - primarily to preparing vol. II (Commentary), supported by a half-time assistant in 1987/88, paid by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. It was a disappointment to have to accept, however, that the completion of the work as a whole was going to take very much longer than I had imagined. It was only possible to resume intensive labour upon it when I secured the collaboration of Josef Elfenbein, a native English speaker, who had in the meantime settled in Mainz and who wishes to continue the Iranian Studies tradition established by me at our University.

Since I did not want to apply for a special grant covering the costs for printing this work, I decided to prepare a camera-ready printout myself, by means of the wordprocesser T^3. In every stage of this work, from generating the numerous sets of characters required, developing special character and printer fonts, and revising standard characters to the the final lay-out and set up, I enjoyed the technically very adroit cooperation of Miss Gabriela Schmidt, without whose personal dedication and advice it would have hardly been possible for me to manage the computer problems involved.

Since the publication of *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, I have been engaged in many different fields of linguistic and philological research, nevertheless, Zaraθuštra's Gāθās

always continued to occupy my mind. It was Karl Hoffmann who had inspired my first critical encounter with these texts in 1950, and the method I have employed was outlined by him at that time. Many details of my work are based upon incidental remarks dropped by him, when he allowed me full access to his opinions in these difficult matters - as, indeed, he has always done with his later students. It is to him that this work is dedicated, as a late thank-offering for his ever-present generosity and friendship.

Mainz, September 1991 Helmut Humbach

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Abbreviations

Y	Yasna
YG	Passages of the Gāθās (including Y 27,13-14 and 54,1)
YH	Old Avestan passages of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti
Yh	Young Avestan additions to the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti
Yy	Young Avestan passages of the rest of the Yasna
arch. YAv.	passages or single words in archaized Young Avestan
PhlT	Pahlavi Translation of the Avesta
SktV	Sanskrit Version of the Pahlavi Translation
gl.	glossed
wr.	written
ms.	manuscript

§	see sections of the Introduction.
→	see commentary of parallel passages for further information
#	refers to parallel passages, used if no further information is to be expected in their commentary

ActAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
ActIr	Acta Iranica, Leiden
ActOr	Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen
AirWb	Ch. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch
BICF	Bulletin of the Iranian Culture Foundation, Tehran
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
EncIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica, London and New York
GrIrPh	Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Strassburg
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden-Köln
KZ	Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, Göttingen

MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, München
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
NGGW	Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen
NTS	Norsk Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Oslo
RevPhil	Revue de Philologie, Paris
RhMus	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society, Oxford
WZKSOA	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens, Wien
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden

Introduction

1. Zaraθuštra and his Religion

1.1. Spitama Zaraθuštra, a member of the Spitama clan, lived in the dawn of the history of the Iranians, a people who constituted one of the two branches of the Indo-Iranian, or Aryan, group of the Indo-Europeans. Zaraθuštra was known in the West at least by the time of Xanthus the Lydian, who lived during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424) and wrote in Greek; he was a specialist in the Magi, the Median priests. In a famous fragment preserved by the Greek author Diogenes Laertius (III Cent. A.D.) Xanthos calls Zaraθuštra *Ζωροάστρης* [*Zōroastrēs*, Lat. *Zoroaster*], reading Greek *ζωρός* [*zōros*] 'pure, unmixed (of wine)', and *ἄστρον* [*astron*] 'star' into his name (§ 6.1.3-4). This kind of popular etymology suggests that in the mind of its inventor Zaraθuštra had connexions with Babylonian astronomy and astrology. This does not at all agree with what we otherwise know about him, especially from his Gāθās, but in the Achaemenian period at least he may have been regarded as the originator of an early calender reform, perhaps of a proto-form of the Old Persian calendar used in the Behistun inscription, or of the Mazdayasnian calendar of the Younger Avesta.[1]

1.2. Zaraθuštra was the founder and prophet of the pre-Islamic religion of an Iran which, as a cultural unit from the Achaemenians onward, covered not only present-day

[1] On the Old Persian calendar see M. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* II, 1982, 144f.: "Down at least to the early years of the reign of Artaxerxes I the Achaemenians used the Babylonian calendar, modifying it simply by replacing the month names with Old Persian ones, as Darius is known (from the Behistun inscription) to have done at the beginning of his reign", but the month names themselves "doubtlessly go back to the pagan period" (ibid. 23). In contrast with the luni-solar Old Persian calendar, the Mazdayasnian calendar of the Younger Avesta is of the pure solar type. H. S. Taqizadeh, *The Old Iranian Calendars Again*, in: *BSOS* 14, 1952, 603-611 (603), puts its introduction in "441 B.C., or at any rate some time in the first decade of the second half of the 5th century B.C." In our opinion it seems unlikely that no explicit Mazdayasnian ecclesiastical calendar (which could also have had a secular function) was in existence before that time.

Iran and Afghanistan, but also large parts of the adjacent territories in present-day Soviet Union and Pakistan, and probably had an extensive influence throughout the entire Achaemenian Empire. Comparison with the Rigveda, the earliest document of Indian literature, shows that Zaraθuštra in his religious teaching developed and reformed many the religious ideas inherited from the Proto-Aryan period; other inherited ideas he rejected completely, replacing them by new concepts. He propagated the worship of a Supreme Being, Ahura Mazdā 'the Wise Ahura/Lord' (Av. *ahura-mazdā-*, OP. *auramazdā(h)-*, MP. *ohrmazd* > NP. *hormazd/hormizd*) who, along with his helpers, the (other) Ahuras, represents what is good in both the material ('corporeal') and the spiritual world. He opposed the Ahuras to the ancient pagan gods, the Daēvas, which he demonized (OInd. *devá-* 'god' as in Lat. *deus/dīuos* 'god', but Av. *daēuua-*, OP. *daiva-*, MP. *dēw*, NP. *dīw* 'demon').

1.3 As divine persons, the Ahuras are personifications of what can be termed Ahurian concepts, i.e. concepts of the Good Principle which are at the same time manifestations of Ahura Mazdā, such as *aṣ̌a-* 'truth', *vohu- manah-* 'good thought', *spəṇta- mainiiu-* 'prosperous spirit', *ārmaiti-* 'right-mindedness', *aṣ̌i-* 'reward', *səraoša-* 'obedience, (recompense for) obedience'. Among them, Aṣ̌a 'truth' is the leading representative of the Good Principle. Truth had played a leading part for a very long time in the theology of the Aryans.[2] Aṣ̌a is closely connected with Ātṛ 'fire' (*ātṛ-*), a mystical name related to Greek *ἦτορ* [*ētor*] 'heart', cf. Ved. *ātmán-* 'breath soul, self', and which had replaced the old inherited Agni (Ved. *agní-*, cf. Lat. *ignis* etc.). As the antagonist of Aṣ̌a n. 'truth', the prophet posed Druj f. 'deceit, lie' (*drug/druj-*), the Evil Principle represented by the Daēvas. Thereby, he raised Druj to a rank which it originally did not have, as can be seen from the fact that the etymologically corresponding OInd. *drúh-* f. 'lie, demon of the lie' is relatively rare in the Veda. Ahura Mazdā and the law-abiding people are given the attribute *aṣ̌auuan-* 'truthful' by the prophet, while the Daēvas and their worshippers, and all other lawless people, are classified by him as *drəguuaṇt-* 'deceitful'. This classification is reversed by the deceitful, who are said to 'call all harmful persons truthful' (§ 11.5.5.1).

[2]The OIr. correspondences of Ved. *ṛtá-* 'truth' are: OAv. *aṣ̌a-* < **árta-*, but *arəta-* in compounds OAv. *dāṣ̌ṇ.arəta-*, arch. YAv. *anarəta-*; cf. Med. *arta-* in proper names. - YAv. *aṣ̌a-* < **árta-*, but °*ərəta-* < **ṛtá-* in compound *astuaṭ.ərəta-* (from OAv. 43,16 *astuuaṭ aṣ̌əm*). - OP. *ṛta/irta-* < **ṛtá-*, borrowed into Elam. *irta-*.

1.4. From the Younger Avesta and the Middle Persian Pahlavi tradition even more than from the Gāθās, we see that in attributing to the Daēvas and their followers the negative characteristics which mirror the positive ones of the Ahuras, Zaraθuštra developed a thoroughly dualistic picture of the world in which, however, the final victory of the Good Principle and the supremacy of Ahura Mazdā are predetermined. Owing to a sin committed by the primeval king Yima, son of Vivahvaṇt, (alluded to in 32,8, also mentioned in Yt 19,35), man lost Paradise, and as we know from Pahlavi sources, the Evil Principle entered the material world in the form of darkness, pol- - lution, infection, sickness, noxious beings, and death, in order to fight against the Good Principle. Since then, the course of the world has been dominated by the struggle between the two principles, a struggle which will not end until evil is exterminated and integrity and immortality are re-established on earth by Ahura Mazdā and the Ahuras, supported by all truthful people. This picture has been generally considered as the very prototype of a dualistic religious world-outlook. Yet, in the Gāθās an immediate antagonist of Ahura Mazdā is lacking; only in the Younger Avesta his part has been taken over by Aŋra Mainyu, the Harmful Spirit (Phl. *ahreman*).

1.5. A basic feature of Zaraθustra's religion is the interdependence between material and bodily welfare, on the one hand, and mental or spiritual welfare, on the other. The prophet concerned himself equally with both, and taught maxims which also governed the social life of the Iranian tribes. Young Avestan texts suggest that he introduced new methods of cattle-breeding, and compelled his followers to accept new hygienic and ecological standards, and established rules for avoiding infection in the human body and pollution of fire, water, air, and earth. Further, he integrated all of these material postulates into a great universal religious concept, and in this respect he is unique among the great founders of religions in history.

2. The Gāθās and the other Old Avestan Texts

2.1. The Gāθās

2.1.1. The only authentic religious and literary heritage left to posterity by Zaraθuštra are his five Gāθās, a collection of seventeen religious hymns.[3] These form

[3]Av. *gāθā-* 'strophic form, hymn of a certain strophic form, group of hymns of the same strophic form', but Ved. *gā́thā-* 'song'.

the nucleus of the Yasna, the great Mazdayasnian liturgy, which constitutes about one third of what has come down to us of the original Avesta.[4] The Yasna liturgy is recited during the Yasna ceremony performed in the fire-temple (NP. *ātaš-kade*). This ceremony consists of two successive preparations and consecrations of the sacrificial drink Haoma (§ 11.2.3). At the end of the first preparation, the Haoma is partaken of by the officiating priest, the Zaotar; after the second, it is libated by him into the well of the temple.[5]

2.1.2. The five Gāθās comprise chapters 28-34, 43-51, and 53, of the Yasna. Each of their seventeen hymns constitutes one Hāiti 'chapter' of the Yasna (Av. *hāiti-*, MP. *hād*, NP. *hā*). Each of the five Gāθās consists of one to seven Hāitis, grouped in the Gāθās on the basis of their five different metres. In the Younger Avesta the second to fifth Gāθās and all the Hāitis are named after their respective opening words; the first Gāθā, the Ahunavaitī Gāθā, is named after the Sacred Formula Yaθā Ahū Vairiyō = YAv. Ahuna Vairiya (27,13), which evidently had been counted as the beginning of the Gāθās in an earlier redaction of the Yasna. Thus, we have the following subdivison of the Gāθā collection:

Y 28-34. Ahunavaitī Gāθā (34,18 *ahunauuaitīm gāθąm, ahunauuaitiiā gāθaiiąc < yaθā ahū vairiiō*), 3 x 4+8/9 syllables:
- 28. Ahiyāsā Hāiti (28,12 *ahiiāsąm hāitīm < ahiiā yāsā*)
- 29. Xšmāvaya.gəuš.urvā Hāiti (29,12 *xšmāuuaiia.gəuš.uruąm hāitīm < xšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā*)
- 30. Aŋ.tā.vaxšyā Hāiti (30,12 *aŋ.tāuuaxšiiąm hāitīm < aŋ tā vaxšiiā*)
- 31. Tā.vō.urvātā Hāiti (31,13 *tā.vō.uruuātąm hāitīm < tā vō uruuātā*)
- 32. Xᵛaētumaitī Hāiti (32,17 *xᵛaētumaiθiiōm hāitīm < aźiiāca xᵛaētuš*)
- 33. Yaθāišiθā Hāiti (33,15 *yaθāišiθąm hāitīm < yaθā āiš iθā*)
- 34. Yā.šyaoθanā Hāiti (34,16 *yā.šiiaoθanąm hāitīm < yā šiiaoθanā*)

[4]Av. *yasna-* 'liturgy', lit. 'worship', cf. Ved. *yajñá-* 'worship, devotion, prayer'.

[5]In an evidently pre-Sasanian procedure at the beginning of the ceremony the function of the Zaotar (Av. *zaotar-*, cf. Ved. *hótṛ-*) was allotted to one of the priests (*āθrauuan-*) who happened to be available. That procedure is still reflected in Vr. 3,1.7 where the seven priests required for the YAv. ceremony are called up and put in their positions: *hāuuanānəm ... ⁺ātrauuaxšəm ... frabərətārəm ... ābərətəm ... āsnatārəm ... raēθβiškarəm ... sraošāuuarəzəm āstāiia ... tūm nō āθraom zaota stē* 'I place the Hāvanān etc., you, O Āθrauuan are to be our Zaotar'. See Humbach, *ZDMG* 130, 1980, 127 on *zaotar-* 'officiating priest', often erroneously equated with *āθrauuan-* 'member of the priestly caste'.

Y 43-46. Uštavaitī Gāθā (46,20 *uštauuaitīm gāθąm, uštauuaitiiā gāθaiiā < uštā ahmāi*), 5 x 4+7 syllables:
- 43. Uštavaitī Hāiti (43,17 *uštauuaitīm hāitīm*)
- 44. Taŋ.θβā.pərəsā Hāiti (44,21 *taŋ.θβā.pərəsąm hāitīm < taŋ θβā pərəsā*)
- 45. Aŋ.fravaxšyā Hāiti (45,12 *aŋ.frauuaxšiiąm hāitīm < aŋ frauuaxšiiā*)
- 46. Kamnamaēzā Hāiti (46,20 *kamnamaēząm hāitīm < *kąm nəmōi ząm*

Y 47-50. Spəṇtā.mainyū Gāθā (50,12 *spəṇtā.mainiiūm gāθąm, spəṇtā.mainiiāuš gāθaiiā < spəṇtā mainiiū*), 4 x 4+7 syllables:
- 47. Spəṇtā.mainyū Hāiti (47,7 *spəṇtā.mainiiūm hāitīm*)
- 48. Yeziδā Hāiti (48,13 *yeziδąm hāitīm < yezī adāiš*)
- 49. Aŋ.māyauuā Hāiti (49,13 *aŋ.māiiauuąm hāitīm < aŋ mā yauuā*)
- 50. Kaŋ.mōi.urvā Hāiti (50,12 *kaŋ.mōi.uruuąm hāitīm < kaŋ mōi uruuā*)

Y 51. Vohu.xšaθrā Gāθā (51,23 *vohū.xšaθrąm gāθąm, vohū.xšaθraiiā gāθaiiā < vohū xšaθrəm*), 3 x 7+7 syllables:
- 51. Vohu.xšaθrā Hāiti (51,23 *vohuxšaθrąm hāitīm*)

Y 53. Vahištōišti Gāθā (53,10 *vahištōištīm gāθąm, vahištōištōiš gāθaiiā < vahištā ištiš*), (4/5 x irregular number of syllables):
- 53. Vahištōišti Hāiti (53,10 *vahištōištīm hāitīm*).

2.1.3. The five Gāθās were themselves made an object of veneration as early as in Young Avestan times: Yy 71,6 *vīspaēca paṇca gāθå aṣaoniš yazamaide* 'and we worship all the five truthful Gāθās' [= 'the Gāθās which consist of magic truths']. However, it is the first four of them only which form a ritual collection in the strict sense of the word; the fifth, the Vahištōišti Gāθā Y 53, which belongs to a different literary genre, seems to be a sort of appendix (§ 12.1.1). As a matter of fact, the extraordinary complexity of both, 28,1 (the first) and 51,22 (the last stanza of the first four Gāθās) suggests that they were meant by the prophet himself as an opening and conclusion of the ritual collection. It is therefore not impossible that the purely formal arrangement of the hymns according to their respective metres (§ 2.1.2) reflects the original order of composition as planned by the prophet himself. Admittedly, the hymns contain very few references to external circumstances, and one seeks thematic, moral or other, progressions in vain, but it is perhaps also no mere coincidence that 28,1 contains the word *paouruuīm* 'first'. Note also that the final stanza of Y 30 (30,11 *hiiaŋ tā uruuātā*

sašaŋ̊ā 'when you master those rules') evidently leads to the opening stanza of Y 31 (31,1 *tā vō uruuātā marəṇtō* 'memorising these rules of Yours'), as does the final stanza of Y 49 (49,12 *kaṯ tōi ašā zbaiieṇtē auuaŋhō* 'what kind of help dost Thou have, through truth, for me who am calling') to the opening stanza of Y 50 (50,1 *kaṯ mōi uruuā išē cahiiā auuaŋhō* 'does my soul command any kind of help').[6]

2.2. Old Avestan, Young Avestan, archaistic Young Avestan

2.2.1. Avestan, the language of the Avesta, is an Old Iranian language. Other Old Iranian languages are Median, the hardly-known language of Median tribes in northwestern Iran, and Old Persian, in southwestern Iran (Pārs), which is reasonably attested in the Achaemenian inscriptions. In contrast to Old Persian, Avestan cannot be attributed definitely to any of the Iranian tribes known to us in history. Both, a Northwest Iranian and an East Iranian location of Avestan have been suggested, but the former has now been long discarded. Many lexical isoglosses such as YAv. *gairi-* 'mountain' = Khw. *γrycyk*, Sogd. *γr-*, Khot. *gara/ggari-*, Bactr. *γειρο [geiro]* (which go with Ved. *giri-*), vs. OP. *kaufa-* 'mountain' = MP.Pth. *kōf*, point to an East Iranian provenience, but it has proved unexpectedly difficult to define the exact position of Avestan on the basis of phonological, morphological, and semantic isoglosses. Avestan pecularities such as *rt* > *ṛ̊* in *maṛ̊tiia-* 'mortal, man' vs. OP. *martiya-*, or *pt* < *ft* in *hapta-* 'seven' vs. OP. *hafta*, stand quite isolated among the Iranian languages (§ 7.3.4). It is true that the preservation of initial voiced stops found in OAv. *baga-* > YAv. *baγa-* 'god' apparently ranges Avestan with West Iranian (OP. *baga-*, MP. *bay*, Pth. *baγ*) and separates it from East Iranian where they have been spirantised (Sogd. *βγ* 'god', cf. Xwar. *βγyk* 'puppet'); but the West Iranian preservation could be just a simple archaism, the East Iranian spirantisation having perhaps taken place only in Middle Iranian times. It is the common innovations which would count here. Further, the language of the Avesta as it has been transmitted is not homogeneous, and probably contains elements not only belonging to different areas, but also to different chronological strata, which complicates the problem (§ 10,4).[7]

[6]Several unconvincing attempts at restoring a supposed original order of the Gāθās different from the traditional order have been made, especially by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, 1948, and by E. Wolff in: H. Lommel, *Gāthās*, 1971, 186-237.

[7]Detailed grammatical descriptions of Avestan phonology and morphology both in their historical and synchronical aspects are found in K. Hoffmann, *Avestan Language*, 1989, and J. Kellens, *Avestique*, 1989. - R. S. P. Beekes, *A Grammar of Gatha Avestan*, 1988, is based upon a phonemic reconstruction of Zaraθuštra's original text, and it leaves out of consideration the complicated phonological problems of the transmitted text. It facilitates the access to the Gāθās for Indo-Europeanists at the expense of depth, and detail.

2.2.2. The language of the Gāθās is more archaic than the language of the main body of the Avesta, and by comparison it exhibits several dialectal peculiarities. The two are usually called Old and Young Avestan (OAv., YAv.). In addition to the Gāθās, the following other texts are in Old Avestan:

(1) YH 35,3-41,7 the original parts of the prose text Yasna Haptaŋhāiti 'Yasna of the seven chapters', which originate from the period of the early Mazdayasnian church.

(2) The Sacred formulas Y 27,13 Yaθā Ahū Vairiyō [= Ahuna Vairiya] and 27,14 Aṣəm Vohū which, with the addition of the more recent 27,15 Yeṅhē Hātąm, precede the Gāθā collection.

(3) The Sacred Formula 54,1 Ā Airyəmā Išiyō [= Airyaman Išiya] which concludes the collection.

2.2.3. The most characteristic phonological feature of Old Avestan is the lengthening of all final vowels, in contrast to Young Avestan practices where they are short (Ved. *práti*, OAv. *paitī*, YAv. *paiti*; Ved. *devá́*, OAv. *spitāmī*, YAv. *daēuui*) except in monosyllables (Ved. *yá́*, OAv.YAv. *yā*; Ved. *hí*, OAv.YAv. *zī*). This Old Avestan lengthening also appears in the numerous YAv. word forms which have intruded into Old Avestan texts in the course of their transmission, such as the gen. ending *-ahē* (YAv. *-ahe*) for correct OAv. *-ahiiā* in 53,1 *zaraθuštrahē spitāmahiiā* (§ 10.6.2).

2.2.4. The lengthening of final vowels is also found in several archaistic Young Avestan passages, e.g. in the Sacred Formula Yeṅhē Hātąm 27,15 in which *yeṅhē* is archaized from YAv. *yeṅhe* < OAv. *yehiiā* (*Ved. yásya*).[8] The same applies to the Young Avestan additions to the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti: Yh 35,1 acc.pl. *amaṣ̌ā spəṇtā* from YAv. nom.pl. *amaṣ̌a spəṇta* for the correct acc.pl. OAv. *amaṣ̌āṇg spəṇtāng*, YAv. *amaṣ̌ą spəṇtą*; 42,1 *yasnahē* for YAv. *yasnahe* < OAv. *yasnahiiā*).[9]

2.2.5. Another typical feature of Old Avestan is the preservation of intervocalic voiced stops which in Young Avestan have developed into fricatives (e.g. OAv. *hudāh-*

[8]Other such arch. YAv. passages are Yy 11,17-19, 12,1-9, 13,1-6(7), 14,1-2, 56,1-5, 58,1-8(9). Cf. also the formula *nəmō vā gāθā aṣ̌aonīš* which introduces the single Gāθās.

[9]The arch. YAv. additions to the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti are Yh 35,1, 41,8, 42,1-6.

> YAv. *huδāh-* 'munificent', OAv. *baga-* > YAv. *baγa-* 'god'). Young Avestan preservation of such stops points to Old Avestan influence: in contrast to the correct YAv. acc.sg. *gąmca huδāŋhəm* 'munificent cow' [= 'flesh offering'] in Yy 4,1, the parallel Yy 6,17 has the syntactically incorrect nom.sg. *gāuš hudâ* which, with its preserved intervocalic *d*, is certainly a quotation from a lost OAv. text.

2.2.6. A dialectological problem beyond that of dialect variation within the Avestan language is offered by the name of the prophet. By common consensus *zaraθuštra-* is to be divided into *zaraθ-* and *uštra-* 'possessing *zaraθ-* camels', but the meaning of *zaraθ-* is still controversial. For biological reasons, one would like to connect it etymologically with Av. *zairi-* 'yellow' ('possessing yellow camels') or with the verbal root Av. *zar* 'to be angry, furious' ('possessing furious camels'). Also Oss. *zärond* 'old' has been adduced ('possessing old camels').[10] All of these etymologies suppose that *zaraθ-uštra* stands for **zaraṯ.uštra*, which is what one actually expects in Young Avestan. If so, the name of the prophet is likely to contain a phonological peculiarity alien to Avestan and originating from some other, unknown, Old Iranian language which might have been the prophet's mother tongue.[11] This would imply that the problem of the homeland of the prophet and that of the localisation of the Avestan language must be separated from one another. Old Avestan, according to this theory, is likely to have been a traditional religious language, a sort of "Medieval Latin", adopted by the prophet for his religious purpose, a very attractive hypothesis.

2.2.7. A critical edition of the Avesta texts available to him at the time was produced in 1852 by N. L. Westergaard. It was largely superseded by K. F. Geldner's edition, published 1886-96 under the title *Avesta, The Sacred Books of the Parsis*, itself based upon a vastly larger number of manuscripts. However, it was confined to only such texts as were still used by the Parsis in their ritual practice. Thus, Geldner's edition included the Vidēvdād, which originally was not a ritual but a canonical text, but

[10]B. Schlerath, *Zarathustra im Avesta*, in: *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten*, 1971, 133-130; M. Mayrhofer, *Zum Namengut des Avesta*, 1977, 43-53; Schlerath, *Noch einmal Zarathustra*, in: *Die Sprache* 23, 1977, 127-135; Mayrhofer, *Zarathustra und kein Ende*, in: *ActAntHung* 25, 1977, 85-90; P. Thieme, *Der Name des Zarathustra*, in: *KZ* 95, 1981, 121-125. None of these contributions accounts for the compositional link between 44,17 *zarəm* (unfortunately itself obscure) and 44,18 *uštrəm* 'camel', which seems to allude to the name of the prophet.

[11]This idea was proposed by K. Hoffmann as early in the 1950s, cf. the citation in Mayrhofer, *Namengut*, 1977, 46. However, *zaraθ°* for *zaraṯ°* would be no singularity if, against our opinion, 29,4 *ciθiṯ* were from **ciṯ-iṯ* (§ 10.5.3).

excluded the Aogemadaēcā, which probably once had been a ritual text, and also the Erbedestān-Nīrangestān, the Pursišnihā, the Haδōxt Nask, the Āfrīn ī Zarduxšt, the Vištāsp Yašt, the Avesta-Pahlavi glossary Frahang ī Ōim, and other small fragments such as those collected by J. Darmester and other scholars in his *Le Zend-Avesta* III (1893).[12]

3. Men and Women in the Gāθās

3.1. Zaraθuštra, his family, and the court circle of Vištāspa

3.1.1. Zaraθuštra mentions his own name fifteen times (28,6, 29,8, 33,14, 43,8.16, 46,13.14.19, 49,12, 50,6, 51,11.12.15, 53,1.3; cf. 54,1). One of the occurrences of his name is in the first person (46,19 *mōi ... zaraθuštrāi* 'for me, Zaraθuštra'), in another, the prophet apostrophizes himself rhetorically (46,14 *zaraθuštrā* 'O Zaraθuštra'). He quotes the following persons among his adherents and relations, or apostrophizes them (§ 13.2.2): his princely promoter Kavi Vištāspa (*vištāspa-* 28,7, 46,16, 51,16, 53,2), Frašaoštra Hvōguva (*fərašaoštra- huuō.guua-* 46,16, 49,8, 51,17, 53,2) and his brother Jāmāspa Hvōguva (*dājāmāspa- huuō.guua-* 46,17, 51,18), two noblemen at Vištāspa's court, his own cousin Maidyōimåŋha Spitama (*maidiiōi.måŋha- spitama-* 51,10), the clan of the Haēcaṯaspa Spitamas (*haēcaṯ.aspa-* 46,15), Zaraθuštri Spitāma, a son of the prophet whose individual name is not mentioned (*zaraθuštri- spitāma-* 53,2), and the prophet's youngest daughter Pourucistā (*pourucistā- haēcaṯ.aspānā- spitāmī* 53,3). Honorable mention is also made of the relations and descendants of Tūra, son of Friya (*tūra- friiāna-* 46,12), perhaps a member of a Turanian family (§ 3.2.2).

3.1.2. Young Avestan texts also record the name of the prophet's father Pourušaspa (*pourušaspa-* Yy 9,13 etc.), of his mother Duγδōvā (*duγδōuuā-* < *°γùuā- < *°γúuā- FrD 4), of Isaṯvāstra, his son by his unnamed first wife (*isaṯ.vāstra-* Yy

[12]Recent editions of Avesta texts: H. Humbach and K. M. JamaspAsa, *Vaēθā Nask*, Wiesbaden 1969. [A collection of fragments.] - K. M. JamaspAsa and H. Humbach, *Pursišnihā*, Wiesbaden 1971. [A Pahlavi text of the Rivayat type with interspersed Avesta fragments.] - K. M. JamaspAsa, *Aogəmadaēcā*, Wien 1982. - H. Humbach and J. Elfenbein, *Erbedestān*, München 1990. - The edition of the *Farhang ī Ōim* by G. Klingenschmitt, Dissertation Erlangen (typewritten ms., no date, but probably in the early 1970s), has never been published.

26,5 etc.), who is likely to be the same as the Zaraθuštri Spitāma of 53,2, and of Hvōvī, a female member of the Hvōguva clan (*huuōuuī-* Yt 13,139, < **huuō-γùuī-* < **huuō-γúuī-*). A more complete picture of the mutual relations of these is only found in the Pahlavi literature, and there it has already a legendary character.[13]

3.1.3. In the legendary tradition laid down in the Dēnkard and in other works of the Pahlavi literature, it is reported that Zaraθuštra's father Pourušaspa was a great-grandson of Haēcaṭaspa, the fifth descendant of Spitama, whose ancestor was Manušciθra, one of the early legendary kings of Iran, and that the prophet's cousin Maidyōimåŋha was a son of Ārāstiya, a brother of Pourušaspa. At the age of fifteen, Zaraθuštra put on the Sacred Girdle and began to devote himself to a religious life. When he was twenty years old he, without the consent of his parents, left the paternal home. In his thirtieth year, the religion was revealed to him by Ahura Mazdā in a conference which took place on the bank of the legendary river Dāitiyā. This conference was the starting point of the history of the Mazdayasnian Religion. Thereafter, the prophet began to preach to people such as Tūr ī Urvāitādēng ī Usixšān who protected him but was not converted, the Karap Vaēdvōišt ī Ahāxtān ī Ohrmazd 'Vaēdvōišt of those not converted to Ohrmazd' who refused to give the prophet the gift he asked of him (§ 13.3.3), and Paršaṭgāv who agreed to praise truth and to reject the Daēvas but who did not agree to profess the Mazdayasnian religion. In the the first ten years of his religion, Zaraθuštra had six conferences with the (other) Ameša Spəṇtas, the first with Vohu Manah, then with Aša Vahišta, Xšaθra Vairiya, Spəṇtā Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt and Amərətatāt. In his fourtieth year he won his first convert, his cousin Maidyōimåŋha, and at the age of forty-two he converted Kavi Vištāspa. With Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa, who are depicted as members of Vištāspa's court, Zaraθuštra practised the rules of next-of-kin marriage recommended in the Younger Avesta (*YAv. xᵛaētu-uadaθa-*); he thus became the father-in-law of Jāmāspa, upon giving him in marriage his youngest daughter by his first wife, and he became the son-in-law of Jāmāspa's brother Frašaoštra, whose daughter Hvōvī he took as his third wife. At the age of seventy-seven the prophet died, murdered by Tūr ī Brātrōkrēš.[14]

3.1.4. In the Gāθās, Kavi Vištāspa (*kauui- vištāspa-*, Phl. *kay wištāsp*), the protector and promoter of the prophet, is depicted as the praiseworthy opponent of the

[13]Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 1898, 10-22.

[14]Conspectus of sources in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 1898, 23 ff. The most relevant texts have been transcribed, translated and discussed by Molé, *Légende de Zoroastre*, 1967.

other Kavis, 'princes', a class of rulers and enemies of Zaraθuštra, who vehemently polemizes against them. The Kavis other than Vištāspa are usually presented in connexion with the Karapans (*karapan-* 32,12-15, 44,20, 46,11, 51,12-14; cf. 48,10; PhlT *karap*, cf. Yy 9,18 *kaoiiąm karafnąmca*), occasionally also with Grəhma (*grəhma-* 32,12-14; PhlT wrongly has *grāmag* 'wealth'), and Usij (*usig/usij-* 44,20, nom.sg. *usiž*, PhlT *usiž* in Av. letters, cf. Phl. *tūr ī urwāitādēng ī usixšān* in § 3.1.3). All of these three seem to denote classes of persons similar to the Kavis. Individual mention is made of two of the opponents: one is called Bōṇdva (*bāṇduua-* 48,1), and the other is given the abusive name Vaēpiya 'pathicus, catamite' (*vaēpiia- kəuuīna-* 51,12).

3.1.5. The meaning 'prince' of Av. *kauui-* diverges from the meaning 'wise man, seer, prophet' attributed to its cognate Ved. *kaví-*. Yet, originally the two must have been closer to one another. That is seen from 44,20 *karapā usiχšcā ... kauuā* 'the Karapan and the Usij, the Kavi' where *usij-* is combined with *kauui-* just as its obscure Vedic counterpart *uśíj-* is with *kaví-* in RV 3,2,4 *uśíjam kavikratuṃ agním* 'Agni, the Uśij, who has the intellect of a Kavi [= who has the gift of prophesy]'.

3.1.6. Apart from the adj. *aŋ̊auuan-* 'truthful', the antonym of which is *drəguuaṇt-* 'deceitful', Zaraθuštra uses the fut.part. *saošiiaṇt-* 'benefactor, strengthener, saviour, redeemer' [lit. 'who sets about benefitting, etc.'] to designate both himself and his adherents as belonging to the party pursuing the work of salvation. But *aŋ̊auuan-* and *saošiiaṇt-* are terms implying moral evaluation rather than being technical terms in the strict sense of the word. Officially the prophet's adherents, as well as those of his early successors, appear to have been referred to as 'the men and women of Zaraθuštra' (54,1 *nərəbiiascā nāiriibiiascā zaraθuštrahē*), and they are likely to have been designated as *zaraθuštri-* 'Zaraθuštrian', a term which, however, is attested in the Gāθās only as a patronymic in the sense of 'descendant of Zaraθuštra' (53,2). In the Younger Avesta we find the term *mazdaiiasna-* 'Mazdayasnian, worshipper of (Ahura) Mazdā', sometimes followed by *zaraθuštri-* 'Zaraθuštrian', and its vriddhi derivation *māzdaiiasni-*, well-attested in the phrase *daēnā- māzdaiiasni-* 'the Mazdayasnian Religion'.[15] In Islamic Iran the adherents of the prophet call themselves *behdīn* 'of good religion' (cf. Yh 37,2 *vaŋᵛhīmcā daēnąm* 'the Good Religion', Yy 22,3 *daēnaiiā vaŋhuiiā māzdaiiasnoiš*, 9,26 *vaŋᵛhīm daēnąm māzdaiiasnīm* 'the Good Mazdayasnian religion', and already YG 53,1 *hōi ... daēnaiiā vaŋhuiiā* 'his good religion') while the

[15]In Pahlavi *mazdēsn* < Av. *mazdaiiasna-*, and *māzdēsn* < Av. *māzdaiiasni-*, are interchangeable.

Muslims call them *gabr* 'heathens'. The medieval emigrants to India, whose modern centre is at Bombay, are called *Pārsī/Pārsi*, lit. 'Persians'. English *Zoroastrian*' and NP. *Zardušti* are both relatively late coinings.

3.2. Aryans, Turanians, Khiyonians

3.2.1. According to the legendary history of the Iranians (YAv. *airiia-* 'Aryan, Iranian') rudimentarily preserved in the Yašts of the Younger Avesta and in the Pahlavi literature, Vištāspa, a member of the Naotara clan (YAv. *naotara-/naotairia-*), was one of the rulers of the Kavi dynasty, generally known as Kayanids (MP. *kayāniyān*), centered in Eastern Iran. The Kayanids appear to have been engaged in perpetual battle with the inhabitants of the steppes to the north, at first the Turanians (YAv. *tūra/tūiriia-*), and later the Khiyonians (YAv. *xiiaona-*): In Yt 9,21f. Kavi Haosravah, 'the bull of the Aryan countries' (*arša airiianąm daxiiunąm*), is recorded as the conqueror of the Turanian scoundrel Fraŋrasyan (*mairīm tūirīm fraŋrasiianəm*), in 9,30 Kavi Vištāspa, Haosravah's last successor, as the vanquisher of the Khiyonian scoundrel Arəjaṭaspa and of the Khiyonian countries (*mairiiehe xiiaonahe arəjaṭ-aspahe ... xiiaoninąm daxiiunąm*).

3.2.2. The passages cited above perhaps indicate that at Vištāspa's time, after his first successes, the Turanian danger had diminished and was replaced by dangers from other quarters. In fact, there is evidence that at least part of the Tūra people were sympathetic to Zaraθuštra, and were finally converted by him. Note particularly 46,11-16 (§ 13.2.2), where in an antithetical progression, from bad to good, the prophet proceeds from abuse of the Karapans and Kavis (46,11) to praise of Kavi Vištāspa and other prominent believers (46,14-16). Between the two extremes he mentions, on a hopeful note, the reputable relatives and descendants of Tūra Friyāna as having a positive attitude towards Zaraθuštra (46,12 *tūrahiiā ... friyānahiiā*, PhlT *ī tūrān ... friyānān*, which in the SktV is rendered by the anachronistic *turuṣkānām* 'Turks'). Cf. also Yt 17,55f. where the Tūra tribe is associated with Vištāspa's Naotaras (*tura ... naotaraca*) who in their turn are associated with the Hvōguvas of Jāmāspa and Frašaoštra in Yt 5,98 (*huuōuuaŋhō ... naotairiiaŋhō*).

4. Ahuras and Amə̄ša Spəṇtas

4.1. In the Gāθās, the term *ahura-* 'lord' is used twice to denote the divine helpers of Ahura Mazdā, both times in the phrase *mazdâscā ahurâŋhō*. In 30,9 in the vocative sense, lit. 'O You (other) Ahuras and (You), the Wise One' [or more freely: O Wise One and You other Ahuras], in 31,4 as subject 'the (other) Ahuras and the Wise One' [or more freely: 'the Wise One and the other Ahuras'].[16] In the Gāθās, some of the Ahuras are expressly described as Ahura Mazdā's children: 44,3 47,2 *ptā aṣahyā* 'father of truth', 31,8 *vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō* 'father of good thought', 47,3 *ahiiā mainiiāuš ... <p>tā* 'father of this (prosperous) spirit', 45,4 *ptarəm vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō aṯ hōi dugədā ... ārmaitiš* 'father of good thought; his daughter (is) right-mindedness'.

4.2. Zaraθuštra's concept of 'Ahura Mazdā and the (other) Ahuras' is obviously a predecessor of the Young Avestan concept of Ahura Mazdā and the Amə̄ša Spəṇtas, 'the Prosperous Immortals' [or: 'the Immortal Prosperous ones']. The Amə̄ša Spəṇtas usually comprise the six highest among the many Yazatas 'divine entities' in the pantheon of the Younger Avesta (§ 5.1.1), viz. (1) Vohu Manah 'Good Thought', (2) Aša Vahišta 'Best Truth', (3) Xšaθra Vairiya 'Power worthy of being chosen, Desirable Power', (4) Spəṇtā Ārmaiti 'Prosperous Right-Mindedness', (5) Haurvatāt 'Integrity', (6) Amərə(ta)tāt 'Immortality'.[17] Along with Ahura Mazdā, who is their leader and who is sometimes expressly listed with them, the six Amə̄ša Spəṇtas represent the patron saints of the seven days of the first week of each month in the calendar of the Younger Avesta.[18] In the same way as the Ahuras of the Gāθās, the Amə̄ša Spəṇtas are

[16] General opinion takes *mazdâscā ahurâŋhō* as a plural of *mazdā- ahura-*, unattested elsewhere. But the *â* of *mazdâscā* is monosyllabic in both occurrences, proving that *mazdâ* here is nom.sg. The phrase *mazdâscā ahurâŋhō* is inverted for **ahurâŋhō mazdâscā*. Its structure, as used in the vocative sense in 30,9, is the same as that of Ved. *índraśca vāyō* 'O Vāyu [voc.] and (You), Indra [nom.]' (§ 15.1.2).

[17] Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride 47 (p. 370 A) gives the following equations: Vohu Manah = *εὔνοια* 'goodwill, favour'; Aša = *ἀλήθεια* 'truth'; Xšaθra Vairiya = *εὐνομία* 'good order'; Spəṇtā Ārmaiti = *σοφία* 'wisdom'; Haurvatāt = *πλοῦτος* 'wealth'; Amərə(ta)tāt = *ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργός* 'the artificer of the pleasures (which are accorded) in recompense for virtue'. The last has been wrongly translated by the classical philogists, e.g. by Babbitt (Loeb's Classical Library) 'Artificer of Pleasure in what is Honourable', and by Froidefont (Belles Letters) 'créateur des douces joies de la vertu'.

[18] The patron saints of the remaining 23 days of the month have the rank of Yazatas only although even such an important divinity as Āṯ 'Fire' is counted among them. Recent discussion in J. Narten, *Amaša Spəṇtas*, 1984, 1ff.

personifications of Ahurian concepts, and thus, they are considered as children of Ahura Mazdā, who is their father and master (Yt 13,83 *pataca frasāstaca*), and as manifestations of him as well (Yt 13,81 *kəhrpasca yā raēϑβaiieiti srīrā amaŋanąm spəṇtanąm* 'and the bodies which Ahura Mazdā enters are the beautiful bodies of the Amәša Spәṇtas'). However, there is a long course of development from the Ahuras up to the Amәša Spәṇtas.

4.3. The two most remarkable differences between Zaraϑuštra's Ahuras and the Amәša Spәṇtas of the Younger Avesta are the following:

(1) Zaraϑuštra's conception of the Ahuras is not systematic, and their number is unspecified. As a general rule the "list" of Ahuras underlying the Gāϑās, which nowhere is explicit, can be shortened, expanded or varied freely, according to poetical requirements (§ 12.1.5). In sharp contrast, the YAv. Amәša Spәṇtas form a fixed system with calendrical relevance.[19]

(2) While in the Gāϑās it is clearly Aša 'Truth' which ranks first after Ahura Mazdā, Vohu Manah takes the first place in the series of the Amәša Spәṇtas of the Younger Avesta. That must certainly be seen in connexion with the development of the legend according to which Vohu Manah, sent out by Ahura Mazdā to bring Zaraϑuštra to their first conference, was the first divine entity to meet the prophet personally (§ 11.2.4).

4.4. A transitional stage between Zaraϑuštra's non-systematic conception of 'Ahura Mazdā and the (other) Ahuras' and the systematic conception of Ahura Mazdā and the six Amәša Spәṇtas of the Younger Avesta, is represented in YH 37,1-5, a passage of the post-Gāϑic Old Avestan prose text Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (§ 2.2.2). Here, the worshipful mention of Ahura Mazdā (along with the Fravašis) is followed by that of a series of Ahurian concepts, or (other) Ahuras, which like the Amәša Spәṇtas are six in number, thus suggesting calendrical relevance, but which formally only partly agree with them:

37,1-3 *yazamaidē ahurəm mazdąm ... təm aṯ āhūiriiā nāmānī yazamaidē ... təm aŋāunąm frauuaŋīš narąmcā nāiriṇąmcā yazamaidē* 'we worship the Wise Ahura ... we worship Him (pronouncing his) Ahurian names ... we worship him (mentioning) the Fravašis of the truthful men and women';

[19]Occasionally Gəuš Tašan/Gəuš Uruuan (last working day of the second week) and Aṯṛ (first working day of the second week) are added to the canonical list, see Narten, *Amәša Spәṇtas*, 1984, 3.

37,4 *aŋəm aṯ vahištəm yazamaidē hiiaṯ sraēštəm hiiaṯ spəṇtəm amaŋəm hiiaṯ raocōŋhuuaṯ* 'we worship best truth which is most splendid, immortal and prosperous, luminous';

37,5 *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšaϑrəm vaŋᵛhīmcā daēnąm vaŋᵛhīmcā fsəratūm vaŋᵛhīmcā ārmaitīm* 'and we worship good thought, good power, good view, good joy, and good right-mindedness'.

On the one hand we here still see the old preeminence of *aŋa-* 'truth', but on the other, the phrase *spәṇta- amaŋa-* 'prosperous and immortal' (of which, strangely enough, the word *amaŋa-* 'immortal' is not found in the Gāϑās), seems to be an innovation which suggests that some development must have taken place since the time of the prophet.

4.5. In addition to its occurrence in YH 37,4 quoted above, the phrase *spәṇta-amaŋa-* also occurs in YH 39,3 *vaŋhūšcā iṯ vaŋᵛhišcā iṯ spәṇtāŋg amaŋāŋg yāuuaēϳiiō yauuaēsuuō yōi vaŋhāuš ā manaŋhō šiieiṇtī yåscā ūitī* 'the good male and good female prosperous and immortal ones, (the males) who are of eternal life and eternal benefit (and who) dwell side by side with good thought, and (the females) who (do) so as well'. In spite of the difference in word order, OAv. *spәṇta- amaŋa-* found here has been taken by scholars as more or less synonymous with the YAv. term *amaŋa- spәṇta-*.[20] Yet, in contrast to YAv., the OAv. phrase is not a specific technical term. That is evident from the fact that in order to re-interprete the OAv. in the sense of the YAv. terminology, the YAv. priests had to reverse its word order, as they actually did in two passages which echo YH 39,3, viz. Yy 4,4 *amaŋaēibiiō spәṇtaēibiiō ... yauuaēϳibiiō yauuaēsubiiō* 'to the Prosperous Immortals who are of eternal life and eternal benefit, and Vr 11,12 *amaŋaēibiio spәṇtaēibiiō ... yōi vaŋhāuš ā manaŋhō šiieiṇtī* 'to the Prosperous Immortals who dwell side by side with good thought'. All this shows that the Young Avestan system of the Amәša Spәṇtas cannot simply be re-projected onto the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, and even less onto the Gāϑās, although this has been common practice.[21]

4.6. As Ahura Mazdā himself, the six Amәša Spәṇtas of the Younger Avesta are always depicted as divine "persons", and it is only their names which show that they originally were personifications of the respective Ahurian concepts. The original state

[20]See the discussion in Narten, *Amәša Spәṇtas*, 1984, 76.

[21]See, e.g., Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, 1930, passim.

itself is still manifest only in the Gāθās. In these it is solely Ahura Mazdā who without exception is presented as a divine "person", whereas in most of their passages it is impossible to distinguish between the use of an Ahurian term such as *aša-* as a common noun denoting the Ahurian concept 'truth', or its personification, the Ahura 'Truth' (§ 12.2.1).

4.7. The Ahurian terms are multivalent, and therefore ambiguous, in several other respects as well: In the divine or spiritual sphere, the Ahurian concepts not only furnished names for the Ahuras, who were simultaneously considered as both, their personifications and their tutelary divinities, but the Ahurian concepts can also be taken as qualities, or aspects, of Ahura Mazdā with whom they are united in a sort of many-in-one relationship; one is simply reminded of the three-in-one relationship of the Christian Holy Trinity, in which Christ and the Holy Ghost are united with God the Father. In the human, or material, sphere the Ahurian terms denote not only the virtues of human beings and, metonymically, virtuous human beings themselves, but they can also be imagined as appearing materialised in the good things of the world, such as sheep, cows, oxen, horses, camels, and other kinds of property. Thus Aša in particular refers, among other things, to the sacrifice fee expected by Zaraθuštra. Besides, the Ahurian terms not only include common antithetical pairs such as spiritual vs. material, divine vs. human, abstract vs. concrete (or personified), immanent vs. transcendent; they also involve a certain amount of macrocosmos-microcosmos speculation, being in effect depicted as cosmic energies which will determine the present and future life of each religiously faithful person, as well as the course of the world. In particular 43,16 *astuuaṯ ašəm* 'corporeal truth' [= 'material truth', lit. 'bony truth'], is expected to be a result of both, the sacrifice in this present life and the renovation of the world at the end of time.

4.8. In consequence of these facts, it is always difficult to decide whether or not to use capital letters when writing Ahurian terms such as *Aša/aša-* 'Truth/truth', *Aši/aši-* 'Reward/reward', etc. For the sake of consistency in the present work preference has been generally given to the use of small letters, and capitals are used solely when we are convinced that the reference of an Ahurian termis unambiguously to Ahura Mazdā himself, or to personified Ahurian entities.

5. Gods, Divinities, Demons

5.1. Baga/Baγa and Yazata

5.1.1. The pantheon of the Younger Avesta comprises a large number of divine entities, or divinities, called Yazatas, the most prominent of which are Ahura Mazdā and the six Amәša Spәnta. Although the word *yazata-* is not attested in the Gāθās, its etymological relationship with Ved. *yajatá-* 'worthy of worship, adorable' proves it to be of Proto-Aryan provenience. However, the particular meaning 'divine entity, divinity' is likely to be an Iranian development. Its earliest occurrence is in YH 41,3 *humāim θβā ižīm yazatəm ašaŋhācim dadəmaidē* 'we elect Thee, the blessing (and) rich divinity, (Thee) who agreest with truth'.

5.1.2. It is obvious that as a generic term *yazata-* has replaced OIr. *baga-* 'lord, god', etymologically related to Ved. *bhága-* 'lord, patron' which is said of gods such as Indra, Agni, Soma and, particularly, Savitṛ. OIr. *baga-* is well attested in the Old Persian inscriptions where Ahura Mazdā is commonly called *maθišta bagānām* 'the greatest among the gods', yet in the Avesta the word occurs only occasionally; YAv. *baγa-* refers to the moon in Yt 7,7 *yazāi māŋhəm ... baγəm raēuuaṇtəm* 'I will worship the moon, the wealthy god' (PhlT *baγ*, but SktV has the etymologizing *vibhaktṛ-* 'dispenser'). There is explicite reference to Ahura Mazdā only in Yy 70,1 *təm baγəm təm ratūm yazamaide yim ahurəm mazdąm* 'we worship that God, that judge, who (is) Ahura Mazdā'. Less clear is the reference in Yy 10,10 *θβā [sc. haomәm] ... baγō tatašaṯ huuapå* 'an artistic god has fashioned you, the Haoma'. Here, the PhlT has *tō ... bay tāšīd hē ī zwābar* 'a beneficent god has fashioned you'. The wording recalls Dēnkard 7,2,11 *ān wis bay tāšīd ī zwābar* 'that village has been fashioned by a beneficent god', revealed by a a miraculous voice to Duγδōvā, Zaraθuštra's mother, on her way to the family of Pourušaspa whom she is to marry. This doubtlessly originates from a lost Avesta passage, and it is evident that *bay* < *baγa-* here denotes 'God, as worshipped by pious people before his true nature as Ahura Mazdā was revealed by the prophet'.[22]

5.1.3. A similar solution is suggested in the only OAv. occurence of *baga-*, in 32,8:6, a passage where Zaraθuštra blames Yima, the legendary primeval king of Iran,

[22]One could say that Duγδōvā was a "natural Mazdayasnian" in the same way as the Roman Emperor Hadrian was considered a "natural Christian" in medieval times.

for having committed a crime by 'swearing (falsely) by God' (*bagā xᵛārəmno*). It is unlikely that in Zaraθuštra's own view Yima actually knew Ahura Mazdā. When Yima worshipped God he, in Zaraθuštra's view, certainly worshipped him under a different name, and even when he sinned against him he still had no clear idea who he really was. Such a conclusion is not really contradicted by the Young Avestan picture drawn in V 2,2. There, admittedly, it is Ahura Mazdā himself who, not incognito at all, converses with Yima: *yimāi ... ahmāi paoiriiō [< *°āi] maşiiānąm apərəse azəm yō ahurō mazdā* 'to Yima (who was) the first mortal with whom I, Ahura Mazdā, held conference'. But that is only a "religious anachronism".

5.1.4. The unnamed Baga worshipped by Yima was most likely Miθra, the god of contract, the pre-eminent god of the Proto-Iranians. It is clear that in principle Miθra was cast out by Zaraθuštra, who would rather have counted him among the Daēvas. Yet, the homonymity of his name with the common noun *miθra-* 'contract', which the god personifies, and the obligations implied, which the prophet certainly did not dispute, made it difficult to reject the god altogether. Manifesting the difficulty, we find in 46,5 *uruuātōiš vā miθrōibiiō vā* 'in accordance with a stipulation, or contracts' the plural of the common noun instead of its singular, apparently in order to avoid recalling the name of the god Miθra. However, as is well known, in the post-Zaraθuštrian period Miθra recovered his former status and was fully integrated into the newly-established pantheon of Mazdayasnian Yazatas. Characteristic of this development are two passages of Yt 10, which occur relatively close to each other. In the one of them, Miθra is qualified as Baga (*baγa-*), in the other, he is counted among the newly-established group of Yazatas:

Yt 10,141 *(miθrō) aojištanąm asti aojištəm [< *°ō] taŋcištanąm asti taŋcištəm [< *°ō] baγanąm asti aš.xraθβastəmō* 'Miθra is the strongest among the the strongest, he is the bravest among the bravest, he is the most intelligent among the Bagas'.

Yt 10,98 *(miθrō) yō aojištō yazatanąm yō taŋcištō yazatanąm* 'Miθra who (is) the strongest among the Yazatas, who (is) the bravest among the Yazatas'.

5.2. Ādityas and Ameşa Spəntas, Varuṇa and Ahura Mazdā

5.2.1. The question whether there is any historical connexion between the Ameşa Spəntas of the Younger Avesta [i.e., in this context, Ahura Mazdā and the six others (§ 4.2)], and the Ādityas, a sub-group of the Devas in the Rigveda, has been frequently

discussed in the past, but in these discussions, the problem of the Gāθic Ahuras has been systematically disregarded.[23] The Ādityas comprise:

(1) Varuṇa, who is intimately connected with truth (*ṛtá-*), and, therefore, watches over oaths;

(2) Mitra, god of contract (cf. Av. Miθra);

(3) Aryaman, god of family relationships and (inter)marriage (cf. Av. *airiiaman-* 'tribe');

(4) an unspecified number of other divinities; thus, e.g., in RV 2,27,1 we have Bhaga 'wealth', Aṃśa 'share, stake' and Dakṣa 'ability', in RV 8,18,3 we have Savitṛ and Bhaga, but in RV 8,52,4 [= Vālakhilya 4,4] it is Indra who is said to be the fourth Āditya.

5.2.2. RV 10,72,7-8 mentions eight sons of Aditi, of which seven were Devas while the eighth, Martāṇḍa, was a mortal. The number seven is also found in RV 8,28,2-4 (*váruṇo mitró aryamā́ ... saptānā́m saptá ṛṣṭáyaḥ* 'the seven have seven spears'), 9,114,3 (*devā́ ādityā́ saptá* 'seven are the Āditya gods'). The number seven-plus-one occurs in two passages of the Yajurveda relating to the birth of the Ādityas: Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3,1,3,3.4 speaks of 'seven Ādityas and Martāṇḍa' (*devā́ ādityā́ ... saptá mārtāṇḍáḥ*) and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 1,6,12 gives their names as Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Indra and Mārtāṇḍa, but in Taittirīya Saṃhitā 6,5,6 we have 'four Ādityas' only (*catvā́ra ādityā́ḥ*).[24]

5.2.3. In this manner we see that the similarity between the YAv. Ameşa Spəntas (including their Gāθic predecessors, the Ahuras) and the Vedic Ādityas rests on two basic equations:

(1) Av. Aşa 'truth/Truth' = Ved. Ṛta 'truth', and

(2) Av. Miθra 'contract/God of contract' = Ved. Mitra 'God of contract'.

However, in all other details the Indian and the Iranian series diverge widely from each other: Note especially that YAv. Aşa Vahišta is an Ameşa Spənta whereas Ved. Ṛta is no Āditya, and that YAv. Miθra is simply a Yazata 'divinity' and does not belong to the Ameşa Spəntas, whereas Ved. Mitra counts among the Ādityas. Thus,

[23] Thus P. Thieme, *Die vedischen Āditya und die zarathustrischen Ameša Spənta*, in: B. Schlerath [ed.] *Zarathustra*, 1970, 208-216.

[24] K. Hoffmann, *Martāṇḍa und Gayōmart*, in: *MSS* 11, 1957, 85-103 [= *Aufsätze* I, 1975, 422-438].

even these two basic equations between the Ādityas and the Amaša Spəṇtas cover only parts of the whole.

5.2.4. It has often been asserted that the prophet's concept of Ahura Mazdā is nothing but a Zaraθuštrian transformation of a Proto-Iranian equivalent of the Rigvedic god Varuṇa.[25] To substantiate this, one has adduced the Young Avestan dvandva compound *miθra ahura* 'Miθra and Ahura (Mazdā)' in the phrase *miθra ahura bərəzaṇta* Yt 10,113.145 (which in Yy 2,11 etc. has been changed into *ahura bərəzaṇta* by later theologians), comparing it with the Rigvedic dvandva *mitrā-váruṇau* 'Mitra and Varuṇa'. The parallel is certainly interesting, but it is basically unsound to equate Zaraθustra's Ahura Mazdā with a single Indo-Aryan god such as Varuṇa, since he clearly embodies the positive features of more than one -in fact a large number of features- of the ancient gods. Among these are also features of the Vedic Indra, in spite of the fact that Indra's Iranian counterpart (YAv. Indara) has fallen among the Daēvas as listed in V 10,9, 19,43. Cf. the following examples.

5.2.5. In 44,4 Zaraθuštra asks Ahura Mazdā the rhetorical question: *kasnā dərətā ząmcā adə nabåscā auuapastōiš* 'who holds the earth down below and the heavens (above) from falling?' The same mythical achievement is attributed not to Varuṇa, but to Indra in RV 2,17,5 *ádhārayat pṛthivím ... ástabhnād ... dyắm avasrásaḥ* 'he held the earth, he supported the heaven (to prevent it) from falling'.

In 41,4 the truthful express the wish *aēšācā θβā əmauuaṇtascā buiiamā* 'may we become vigorous and impetuous through Thee'. The passage offers a key to the understanding of 43,10 where Ahura Mazdā is given exactly the same attributes: *hiiaṯ θβā xšaiiąs aēšəm diiāṯ əmauuaṇtəm* 'if one who exercises power might have made Thee vigorous (and) impetuous'. The Rigvedic correspondences of Av. *aēša-* 'vigorous' and *əmauuaṇt-* 'impetuous' are *eṣá-* and *ámava(n)t-*. Neither of them is found as an attribute of Varuṇa, but *eṣá-* is used of Viṣṇu along with the Maruts (twice), of Rudra (once), and of Bṛhaspati (once), while *ámava(n)t-* is an epithet of the Maruts (twice) and of Div/Dyo (once), and its basic word *áma-* 'impetuosity' is a characteristic feature not only of the Maruts but also of Indra, Soma, and Vṛtra.

The adjective *yazu-* 'young, youthful' is an epithet of Ahura Mazdā in 31,8 where Zaraθuštra meditates on the miracle of God being simultaneously very old and also

[25]Thus, e.g., I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 1959, 44-52 [but see id., *Zoroaster's own Contribution*, in: *JNES* 23, 1964, 367-370]; M. Boyce, *History* I, 1975, 346; II, 1982, 305.

young: *aṯ θβā māṇhī paouruuīm mazdā yazūm stōi* 'I realize (that) Thou, the primal one, O Wise one, art youthful'. Again the corresponding Ved. *yahú-* does not describe Varuṇa but rather Indra and Agni.

It appears, even by means of these few examples, that Varuṇa-hypotheses current should be revised, and probably abandoned; a new interpretation of the essentials of Zaraθuštra's reform must be aimed at. Ahura Mazdā is neither Varuṇa nor any other Rigvedic deity; he is Ahura Mazdā, and Zaraθuštra's concept of God in his power and his moral qualities was a new concept in its own right.

5.3. Av. Ahura : Daēva vs. Ved. Deva : Asura

5.3.1. The meaning 'Lord/lord' attributed to Av. *ahura-* by modern scholarship is ultimately derived from Neriosangh's rendering of OAv. *mazdā ahura-* (for which PhlT *ohrmazd*) by SktV *mahājñānin- svāmin-* 'Lord of Great Knowledge'. It fits all Gāθic occurences including 31,10, where it refers to a human being, the cattle-breeding pastor, who is described as 'truthful lord' (*vāstrīm ... fšuiiaṇtəm ahurəm aṣauuanəm*). In the Younger Avesta the same secular use of *ahura-* is seen in Yt 8,36 *tištrīm ... yim ahura ... +hispō.səṇti* 'Tištriya whom the lords observe', 14,39 *ahurąṇhō ... āhūiriiąṇhō ... haosrauuaṇhanō* 'the lords (and) the dependents of the lords, deserving glory'.

5.3.2. From an etymological point of view the word Av. *ahura-* (cf. Ved. *ásura-*) is likely to be an adjective derivation from Av. *aṇhu-* 'existence, world' (cf. Ved. *ásu-* 'existence, life'). Its basic meaning is, perhaps, 'vital, spirited, spiritual', referring to both rulers and gods. Adjectival use is plainly seen in Yt 8,85 *auruuąṇhō ahurąṇhō daiṇhupataiiō* 'the quick (and) spirited rulers of the land', and in Yt 19,77 *ahurō kauua haosrauua* 'the spirited Kavi Haosravah' for which cf. the same structure of phrase in Yt 5,108 *bərəzaiδiš kauua vištāspō* 'Kavi Vištāspa of high insight'. Note also Yt 14,37 *ahurō +sāstrənąm daiṇhupaitiš* 'the spirited overlord [lit. lord of the land] of the tyrants', a passage which is interesting in that it shows that the adj. *ahura-* is not necessarily restricted to modifying positive concepts; *sāstar-* has a derogatory sense, as seen in 46,1 *daźiiāuš yōi sāstarō drəguuaṇtō* 'the deceitful tyrants of the land', Yy 65,8 *druuå sāsta* 'the deceitful tyrant', etc.

5.3.3. In the Rigveda, a comparatively large number of Devas 'gods' of very different types are qualified as *ásura-*: Agni, Indra, Soma, Savitṛ, Div Pitṛ, Rudra,

Pūṣan, and the Ādityas. Here, *ásura-* is clearly an auspicious epithet, appropriate to characterize any Deva as 'spirited' or 'spiritual'. Note especially RV 8,25,4 where the two Ādityas Mitra and Varuṇa are called *devā́v ásurā* 'the two spiritual Devas', and cf. 7,65,2 where they are designated as *devā́nām ásurā* 'the two spiritual ones among the Devas'. Somewhat ambiguous is RV 10,82,5 *paró devébhir ásuraiḥ*: the parallel 8,25,4 just quoted, suggests translating it 'beyond the spiritual Devas', but it seems rather to mean 'beyond the Devas (and) the Asuras' which would imply that it is an interesting example of the further development described below.

5.3.4. Already in the first nine of the ten books of the Rigveda, which form the older part of the collection, *ásura-*, which originally had an auspicious meaning, slowly begins to acquire a derogatory sense and comes to denote a class of beings of demoniac character, called Asuras, and understood as opponents of the Devas. Thus, Indra and Agni, who previously had been given the epithet *ásura-* (RV 1,174,1, 6,2,5, etc.), themselves begin to be styled as *asurahán-* 'killing the Asuras' (6,22,4 *asuraghnáḥ*, sc. *índrasya*; 8,13,1 *agnáye ... asuraghné*). Beside the older phrase *devā́v ásurā* 'the two spiritual Devas' in 8,25,4, we thus find the typologically younger *ásurā ádevāḥ* 'the ungodly Asuras' in 8,96,3. This points to a process of polarisation of the relations between Devas and Asuras which can, perhaps, also be seen in relation to the extension of the meaning of Ved. *ásu-* 'life' to 'other life, life of the departed' as found in 10,15,1 *ásum yá īyúḥ ... pitáraḥ* 'the (fore)fathers who have gone to the (other) life'. An important further step in this process of polarisation is to be seen in 10,53,4 where Agni at the sacrifice ponders over 'that by which we Devas might be superior to the Asuras' (*tád ... yénā́surāṃ abhí devā́ ásāma*). This passage anticipates the development in the later Vedic period, the period of the Brāhmaṇas [= Vedic prose texts], which abound in stories of the Devas and Asuras vying with each other for priority at the sacrifice and superiority by means of it, contests which as a rule end in favour of the Devas.

5.3.5. On the Iranian side, the reverse polarisation took place. Here, it is the Ahuras who have remained divine beings, whereas the Daēvas have developed into demons. As a result of this, abusing the Daēvas is no longer considered a crime, as it is in the Rigveda where *devaníd-* 'abuser of the Devas' has a bad sense, but it has now turned into a pious behaviour. Already in the Younger Avesta, we see this development in connexion with Zaraϑuštra's ministry: Yt 13,89 speaks of the prophet as of him 'who was the first in the material world to praise truth and abuse [reject] the Daēvas' (*yō paoiriiō stōiš astuuaiϑiiā̊ staot̰ aṣ̌əm nāist daēuuō*). The same practice is

imposed on the pious as a duty to be performed every morning upon waking from sleep: V 18,16 *usəhištata maṣ̌iiāka staota aṣ̌əm +nista +daēuuō* 'do rise, O mortals, do praise truth, do abuse the Daēvas'. For this note also the arch. YAv. formula Yy 11,19-12,1 *staomī aṣ̌əm ... nāismī daēuuō* 'I praise truth, I abuse the Daēvas'.[26] As we can see from the Gāϑās, the short legendary reference to the prophet in Yt 13,89 has a factual background: In 32,4 Zaraϑuštra abuses all the Daēvas (*daēuuā vīspā̊ŋhō*, cf. Ved. *víśve devā́ḥ* 'all the gods') in order to prevent them from participating in the sacrifice and enjoying its benefits. This concept of the sacrifice is not similar to the original Rigvedic concept, but to the later Vedic one found in the Brāhmaṇas. We may conveniently take advantage of this similarity in order to make an attempt at establishing a relative chronology of the Gāϑās and the Rigveda.

5.3.6. Here, it must be emphasised that the process of polarisation of relations between the Ahuras and the Daēvas is already complete in the Gāϑās, whereas, in the Rigveda, the reverse process of polarisation between the Devas and the Asuras, which does not begin before the later parts of the Rigveda, develops as it were before our very eyes, and is not completed until the later Vedic period. Thus, it is not at all likely that the origins of the polarisation are to be sought in the prehistorical, the Proto-Aryan, period. More likely, Zaraϑuštra's reform was the result of interdependent developments, when Irano-Indian contacts still persisted at the dawn of history. With their Ahura-Daēva ideology, the Mazdayasnians, guided by their prophet, deliberately dissociated themselves from the Deva-Asura concept which was being developed, or had been developed in India, and probably also in the adjacent Iranian-speaking countries, during the Brāhmaṇa period. All this suggests a synchrony between the later Vedic period and Zaraϑuštra's reform in Iran.[27] With these premisses, we are entitled to draw the conclusion that if the hymns of the Rigveda originate in 1400-1000 B.C., then roughly 1000-900 B.C. may be considered as the century of Zaraϑuštra. Clearly, the synchrony is conclusive only if it can be proved that the prophet received his religious inspiration from the east; but neither this chronology nor the eastern geographical framework is supported by native tradition, which suggests a much later date and points rather to the west. It is therefore useful in this connexion, to reconsider the available information concerning the prophet's biography.

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[26]The authors of the Sasanian recension of the Yasna did not see that the two clauses *staomī aṣ̌əm ... nāismī daēuuō* belong together. They attributed them to two successive chapters of the Yasna, and inserted the text of the Aṣ̌əm Vohū between them.

[27]For more on this subject, see Humbach, *Methodologische Variationen*, 1974.

6. The Date of Zaraθuštra

6.1. 9001 of the world, 6000 before Plato, 600 before Xerxes

6.1.1. In Bundahišn 1,14-28 a prophecy is retold which establishes a speculative world chronology, perhaps originating from Babylonian ideas otherwise unknown to us. According to this chronology, the duration of the world is conceived as a sort of cosmic year, consisting of 12000 calendar years divided into four periods of 3000 years each. During the first period 'creatures remained in the spiritual state, unthinking, unmoving and intangible' (year 1-3000); the second 'will pass entirely according to the will of Ohrmazd' (year 3001-6000); the third 'will pass in a mixture according to the wills of both Ohrmazd and Ahreman' (year 6001-9000); 'and in a final contest in the fourth and last period it will be possible to render Ahreman powerless, unable to do harm to the creatures' (year 9001-12000).[28] In this chronology, the place of the prophet clearly must lie at the turn of the third to the fourth period. This impliess that the most important event of his life, be it his birth or his revelation at the age of thirty, or the conversion of Vištāspa when Zaraθuštra was fourty-two, was considered to have taken place in the year 9001 of the cosmical year.

6.1.2. Some of the early and somewhat distorted offshoots of an Old Iranian pre-form of the cosmical year speculation retold in the Bundahišn are referred to by Pliny in his Natural History:

'Without doubt magianship arose in Persia with Zoroaster. On this our authorities are agreed, but whether he was the only one of that name, or whether there was also another afterwards, is not clear. Eudoxus [of Cnidus 408/391-355/338 B.C., a disciple of Plato], who wished magianship to be acknowledged as the noblest and most useful of the schools of philosophy, declared that this Zoroaster lived 6000 years before Plato's death [349/348 B.C.], and Aristotle [384-322 B.C.] agrees with him. Hermippus [IIIrd cent B.C.], a most studious writer about every aspect of magianship, and an exponent of two million verses composed by Zoroaster, added summaries too to his rolls, and gave Agonaces as the teacher by whom he said that he had been instructed, assigning

[28]Bdh 1,14 *se hazār sāl dām pad menōgīgīh ēstād, ku būd hēnd amēnīdār ud arawāg ud agiriftār.* - 1,28 *se hazār sāl hamāg ī ohrmazd rawēd, se hazār sāl andar gumēzišn kāmag ī ohrmazd ud ahreman har dō rawēd, ud pad ān ī abdom ardīg gannag menōg akār šāyēd kardan ud az dām petyāragīh abāz dārēd.*

to the man himself a date 5000 years before the Trojan war [which was according to Greek calculations ca. 1200 B.C.].'[29]

These speculations are devoid of historical content, but the case is a little different with the following source.

6.1.3. In the chronological introduction to his work on the life of famous philosophers, the Greek author Diogenes Laertius deals with the date of Zaraθuštra as follows:

'In his book on mathematics the Platonist Hermodorus counts 5000 years from the Magians, the first of whom according to him was Zoroaster the Persian, up to the fall of Troy; but Xanthus the Lydian counts 6000/600 years from Zoroaster to Xerxes's crossing (of the Hellespont) [480 B.C.]'.[30]

Here Hermodorus' date can safely be disregarded; it is of the same nature as those cited above. Yet, Xanthus' opinion is worthy of note: In the manuscripts of Diogenes Laertius the number of years indicated by Xanthus is transmitted both as '6000' or as '600', which poses a problem of textual criticism of some consequence. If '6000' is the correct reading then the statement of Xanthus is as fantastic as that of the Greek philosophers, but if it is '600' then it has an undeniable historical interest. The reading '6000' has been, in fact, accepted by the editors of Diogenes, but the few arguments brought forward in its favour by classical philologists and scholars of ancient history, appear to be mainly intuitive. Thus, the classical philologist H. Herter maintained that the reading '6000' must be kept particularly in this context where, he thought, after the quotation from Hermodorus a large number of years is to be expected. He did not take into account that the Xanthos quotation could be a gloss intruded into the text

[29]Pliny, Natural History 30,2,3-4 [= Bidez-Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II, B 2]: *Sine dubio (magice) illic orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. sed unus hic fuerit an postea et alius non satis constat. Eudoxus, qui inter spaientiae sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam intellegi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit, sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius positis explanavit, praeceptorem a quo institutum diceret tradidit Agonacen, ipsum vero quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.*

[30]Diog.Laert. 1,2 [= Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 765,32 = Bidez-Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II, B1a]. [3]*Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην,* [c]*Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ μαθημάτων* (Zeller p. 18) *φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια, Ξανθὸς δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωρώαστρου ἑξακισχίλια/ἑξήκοντα φησι.*

of Diogenes.[31] Even H. S. Long, the first critical editor of Diogenes, preferred '6000', rejecting '600' as the reading of the codices deteriores.[32] However, he was wrong on this first serious and perhaps most important problem of textual criticism offered by the manuscript tradition of Diogenes Laertius.

6.1.4. Classicists have disregarded the following facts: Only three of the extant codices of Diogenes are of critical value, viz. codex B (Neapolitanus Burbonicus), codex P (Parisinus), and codex F (Laurentianus Florentinus). The passage in question is lost in codex B, and we must rely upon P and F only. In P the number of years is given in words. In F it is given in figures for which reason also the codex S (Seragliensis Constantinopolitanus), a copy of F in which the figures are transposed into words, is of some relevance:[33]

Codices	Hermodoros' number	Xanthos' number
P(arisinus)	πεντακισχίλια '5000'	ἑξακισχίλια '6000'
F(lorentinus)	ε" '5000'	χ '600'
[S(eragliensis)]	πεντακισχίλια '5000'	ἑξήκοντα '600'

6.1.5. This conspectus shows that, in accordance with the accepted rules of textual criticism, though contrary to the editors' practice here, the reading '600' of F[S] is a lectio difficilior and so must be left in the text: Xanthus dates Zaraθustra 600 before Xerxes' crossing, i.e., in 1080 B.C. Since this is a round figure, there is not too much difference between it and the relative chronology resulting from a comparison with the

[31]H. Herter, '*Von Xanthos dem Lyder* ...', in: *RhMus* 108, 1965, 189-212 (203[81]): "Die Zahl von 600 Jahren, die bei Diogenes Laertios gut überliefert ist und von Frid. Schaefer (*Quid Graeci de origine philosophiae a barbaris ducenda existimaverint*, Diss.Leipz. 1877, 33f.), J.Marquart, G.Messina (*Der Ursprung der Magier* ..., Rom 1930, 18ff.) und W.Spoeri, *RevPhil* 31, 1957, 230[93] empfohlen wird, würde ein eher denkbares Datum für Zoroaster ergeben, kann aber schon nach dem Zusammenhang der Stelle, der neben dem Hermodorzitat eine hohe Summe fordert, nicht gehalten werden." - See also Herter in: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyklopaedie*, IX A2, 1976, 1372.

[32]*Diogenes Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, rec. H.S.Long, Oxford 1964.

[33]The statement by G.Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, 1980, 164[34]: "H.S.Long ... also prefers the reading ἑξακισχίλιλια attributing the reading ἑξακόσια to the codices recentiores and therefore not to Neapolitanus (Burbonicus) ... Parisinus .... and Laurentianus" is erroneous.

Vedic development (§ 5.3.6).[34] However, a date four and half centuries later than Xanthus' is suggested by the indigenous Iranian tradition.

6.2. 300 or 258 before Alexander

6.2.1. Masʿūdī (d. 956 A.D.) in his *Book of Indication* writes that 'between Zardušt and Alexander there were about 300 years'[35] while in his *Golden Meadows* he reports that 'the Mazdayasnians count a period of 258 years between their prophet Zarduxšt, son of Isbidamān, and Alexander'.[36] Subsequently also Bīrūnī, who in his *Chronology* (1000 A.D.) makes an attempt at integrating Zaraθuštra's biography into the cosmic year scheme, opts for 258:

'The Persians and Magians think that the duration of the world is 12000 years, corresponding to the number of the signs of the zodiac of the months; and that Zardušt, the founder of their law, thought that of those there had passed, till the time of his appearance, 3000 [correctly 9000!] years. From his appearance till the beginning

[34]In order to corroborate Xanthos' date 1080 B.C., A. S. Shahbazi, *The 'Traditional Date of Zoroaster' explained*, in: *BSOAS* 40, 1977, 25-35, refers to Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, transl. E. Sachau, 1879, 40f.: 'The people of Khwarezm ... dated from the beginning of the colonization of their country, A.980 before Alexander [= 1292 B.C.]. Afterwards they adopted as the epoch of an era the event of the coming of Siyawush ben Kaikaʾus down to Khwarezm, and the rule of Kaikhusru and of his descendants over the country, dating from the time when he immigrated and extended his way over the empire of the Turks. This happened 92 years after the colonization of the country [88 B.A. = 1200 B.C.].' From this Shahbazi argues that "since the epic history separated Siyāvūš from Zoroaster by four generations [= 4 x 30 = 120 years], the Khwarezmian tradition implies that the prophet flourished about [1200 - 120 =] 1080 B.C." Note that '92 years after the colonisation [= 888 B.A. = 1200 B.C.]' has the appearance of being derived from a round date 1200 B.C. found in some Christian source.

[35]Maçoudi, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, trad. B. Carra de Vaux, 1896, 140: 'Zéradoucht (Zoroastre) fils de Bourchasb fils d'Esbiman a dit dans l'Avesta, c'est-à-dire dans le livre qui lui a été révelé, selon eux, que l'empire des Perses serait ébranlé au bout de trois cents ans et que leur religion subsisterait; mais que, à l'expiration de la millième année, leur empire et leur religion seraient ruinés ensemble. Or il s'écoula entre Zoroastre et Alexandre environ trois cents ans.'

[36]Masʿūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, trad. Ch. Pellat, II, 1965, 551, § 1434: 'Les Mazdéens reculent l'origine du monde jusqu'à une limite inconnue; [leur théorie repose] sur l'épuisement de la puissance et des stratagèmes [qu'ils attribuent] a Ahriman, c'est-à-dire au démon. Cependant quelques Mazdéens, acceptant le système des dualistes sur le mélange et la délivrance, prétendent que le monde, en revenant à son point de départ, serait [IV, 107] délivré de tous le maux, de toutes les calamités qui l'accablent. Les Mazdéens comptent entre leur prophete Zoroastre, fils d'Isbitaman, et Alexandre, une periode de 258 ans; entre Alexandre, qu'ils font régner 6 ans, et l'avènement d'Ardéchir, 517 ans; enfin, entre Ardéchir et l'hégire, 564 ans.'

of the Aera Alexandri, they count 258 years. A section of the Persians is of opinion that those past 3000 years which we have mentioned are to be counted from the creation of Gayomarth; because, before that, already 6000 years had elapsed.'[37]

Here Bīrūnī made mistakes both, in his description of the world-year scheme and in confusing the uncommon calculation 'before Alexander's invasion' (B.A.Inv.) which applies here, with the more common 'before the Aera Alexandri' (B.A.) which refers to the Macedonian or Seleucid era beginning in 312 B.C., a mistake which he himself corrected later.[38] The figure 258 itself is certainly correct, however.

6.2.2. Bīrūnī's information clearly derives from Bundahišn 36 (or a source closely related to it), where the legendary biography of Zaraϑuštra is more correctly integrated into the cosmic year scheme by not taking the year 3001 but the year 9001 as the year of Vištāspa's conversion, but where the figure 285 is given only implicitly:

'Then the rule of the millenium came to Capricornus, and Zarduxšt descendant of Spitama came as a prophet from the creator Ohrmazd to King Vištāsp. King Vištāsp reigned 90 years after receiving the religion (altogether 120 years); Vahman, son of Spanddād, reigned 112 years; Humāy, daughter of Vahman, 30 years; Dārāy, son of Cihrāzād, i.e. Vahman, 12 years; Dārāy, son of Dārāy, 14 years, and Alexander, the Roman, 14 years; etc.'[39]

According to this calculation, the conversion of Vištāspa took place in 258 B.A. Inv. [= 588 B.C.]. Since Zaraϑuštra was considered to be 42 years old at that time, his birth date would have been 300 B.A.Inv. [= 630 B.C.], i.e. precisely 450 years after the date of Zaraϑuštra given by Xanthus, a strange coincidence which nobody seems to have noticed up to now.

6.2.3. The date 300 B.A.Inv., implicitly given in the Bundahišn, is explicitly given by Zādspram 25,12 who, however, does not base his 300-year-chronology on the year of Zaraϑuštra's birth, as the Bundahišn implicitly does, but on the year of his revelation, which took place when he was thirty. This results in 660 A.D. as his birthdate:

[37]Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, trsl. Sachau, 17.

[38]258 B.A. corrected into '276 B.A.' by Bīrūnī in his *al-Qanūn al-Masʿūdī*, see H. S. Taqizadeh, *Various Eras and Calendars* [II], in: *BSOS* 10, 1940/42, 107-132 (129f.)

[39]Bdh 36,8-9 *Pas hazārag zwadāyīh ō wahīg mad, ud zarduxšt ī spitāmān pad paygāmbarīh ī az dādār ohrmazd ō wištāsp-šāh mad; wištāsp-šāh az padīraftan ī dēn 90 sāl āgenēn 120 sāl; wahman ī spanddādān 112 sāl; humāy ī wahmanduxt 30 sāl; dārāy ī cihrāzādān ī hast wahman 12 sāl; dārāy ī dārāyān 14 sāl; alaskander ī hrōmāy 14 sāl*, etc.

'In the 10th year [after his revelation] he will convert Mēdyōmāh ... in the 300th year [sc. after his revelation] there will be night during day, and then religion will be disturbed and sovereignty will be shaken'.[40]

Still another version of events is found in Ardā Virāz Nāmag 1,1-5:

'They say that once upon a time the pious Zarduxšt made the religion which he had received current in the world; and until the completion of 300 years the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts. But afterwards the evil spirit ... sent ... the accursed Alexander, the Roman ... to Ērānšahr.'[41]

In this calculation, it is the conversion of Vištāspa which would have taken place in 300 B.A.Inv. [= 630 B.C.], and the prophet would have been born in 672 B.C.

6.2.4. W. B. Henning accepted Biruni's 258 B.A.Inv. as a precise and reliable date, implicitely considering the number 300 B.A.I. to be rounded up from it: "We are thus entitled to hold to the view that the year 588 B.C. is the true date of Zoroaster. The one uncertain point is whether the year from which his adherents counted was the one in which he reached the age of thirty and had his first revelation, or the one he was forty and had his first success, or the one when he was forty-two and converted King Vištāspa. The differences are not of much account. The tradition says that his age at death was seventy-seven. Accordingly, the three possible dates of Zoroaster are: 630-553, 628-531, 618-541."[42]

6.2.5. However, as already pointed out by G. Gnoli[43], Bīrūnī's figure 258, which Henning accepted, can only have been obtained by subtracting 42 years, Zaraϑuštra's age at Vištāspa's conversion, from the 300 B.A.Inv. of his birth. This means that Bīrūnī's calculation is implicitely based upon the same figure 300, on which the

[40]Zsp 24,1-25,12 *kū pad 10 sālag mēdyōmāh hāxtēd ... pad 300 sālag andar ēn šabīh bawēd, pad dēn āšōbēhēd ud zwadāyīh *cōbēhēd* 'that is, at the end of ten years Mēdyōmāh was converted ... in the three-hundredth year, there will be night during day, and then religion will be disturbed and sovereignity will be shaken.'

[41]AVN 1,1-5 *Ēdōn gōwēnd kū ēwbār ahlaw zarduxšt dēn ī padīrift andar gēhān rawāg bē kird. Ud tā bowandagīh ī se sad sāl dēn andar abēzagīh ud mardōm andar abēgumānīh būd hēnd. Ud pas ... ān guzastag alaksandar ī hrōmāyīg ... ō ērānšahr mad.*

[42]W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster*, 1951, 41.

[43]In this connexion, the date 628 plus seven months B.C. [= 629 B.C.], which according to Henning, *Zoroaster* 41, is transmitted as the date of Zaraϑuštra by the Syrian writer Theodore bar Qonī (8th Cent. A.D.), is of no help either, since it too is suspect of secondary derivation from the round date, calculated by some pedantic reckoner.

calculations of the Bundahišn, of Zādspram and of the Ardā Vīrāz Nāmag are explicitely based. The only difference between them is, therefore, that both, the Bundahišn and Bīrūnī start their 300 years' calculation from the date of Zaraθuštra's birth (making his life-span 630-562 B.C.), Zādspram from the date of his revelation at the age of thirty (making his life-span 660-582 B.C.), and the Ardā Vīrāz Nāmag from the date of Vištāspa's conversion (making his life-span 672-594 B.C.). But none of these three possibilities can be taken literally, since like Xanthus' date 600 years before Xerxes' crossing, the date 300 B.A.Inv. is a round number and, therefore, of limited historical value.[44]

6.2.6. Whereas Xanthus' date accounts for the interdependence of early religious development in Iran and in contemporary India, and therefore points to the cradle of the Religion having been in the east, the traditional date suggests that Zaraθuštra was a contemporary of the Median empire, and for this reason, it is favoured by the YAv. tradition which connects the prophet with Ragā. This tradition is discussed further below (§ 9.2), but let us first glance at the other geographical data found in the Avesta.

7. Zaraθuštra's homeland and the country of Vištāspa

7.1. The Seven Climes, Gava and Sīstān

7.1.1. The Avestan language is an East Iranian rather than a West Iranian language but its exact position on the linguistic map of historical Iran cannot be made more precise (§ 2.2.1). It is likely neither to have been Zaraθuštra's mother tongue (§ 2.2.6) nor Vištāspa's, but rather a traditional religious and ritual language which the prophet adopted for sacrificial purposes. Thus, linguistic arguments cannot be of much help in determining the location of the prophet's homeland and the country of his ministry. The only indication of his cosmographical and geographical ideas is found in 32,3 where he polemizes against 'the activities through which you Daēvas have become notorious in (this) seventh (of the seven climes) of the world' (*šiiaomąm ... yāiš*

[44]In this connexion, the date 628 plus seven months B.C. [= 629 B.C.], which according to Henning, *Zoroaster* 41, is transmitted as the date of Zaraθuštra by the Syrian writer Theodore bar Qonī (8th Cent. A.D.), is of no help either, since it too is suspect of secondary derivation from the round date, calculated by some pedantic reckoner.

asrūdūm būmiiå haptaiθē). This is an allusion to Xvaniraθa (Phl. *Xwaniras*), the seventh of the seven mythical climes of the world listed in a stereotyped way in several Young Avestan passages, e.g. in Yt 10,133 *tarō arəzahi sauuahi ... fradaδafšu vīdaδafšu ... vouru.barəšti vouru.jarəšti ... imaţ karšuuarə yaţ xᵛaniraθəm bāmīm* '(Miθra comes flying) across Arəzah and Savah, Fradaδafšu and Vidaδafšu, Vourubarəšti and Vourujarəšti (and) across this (our) clime which (is) the splendid Xvaniraθa'.

7.1.2. In Bundahišn 8,3-5, which is unquestionably taken from a lost Avesta passage, Xvaniras is depicted as the central of the seven climes, i.e. the centre of the world:

'The eastern portion is the clime Arzah, the western portion is the clime Savah, the two portions in the south are the climes Fradafš and Vidafš, the two portions in the north are the climes Vaurubarišn and Vaurujarišn, and that in the midst of them —and as large as them— is Xvaniras. ... Between Arzah and Savah and Xvaniras there is the sea [glossed: because (Xvaniras) is partly surrounded by the Sea Frāxvkard], between Fradafš <and Vidafš> there is a forest, between Vaurubarišn and Vaurujarišn a high mountain rises.'

This picture of mythical geography is not very informative, but it makes it obvious that Xvaniraθa was considered as the clime, or continent, to which Iran belongs, more or less identical with Iran itself.

7.1.3.0. The actual location of Xvaniraθa has been much discussed, and the matter is still open. A late statement, adapted to Sasanian conditions, is to be found in Zādspram 7,10 'the middle (clime) is Xvaniras, of which Pārs is the centre'. Much older is a passage in Yt 10, where the traditional list of the seven mythical climes is joined to a list of seven actual East Iranian lands. Out of these a single land, Gava (*gauua-*), seems to be identified by the author of the passage with the centre of Xvaniraθa:

Yt 10,13-15 *airiiō.šaiianəm ... yahmiia āpō nāuuaiiå ... θβaxšəņte ā iškatəm pourutəmca mourum hārōiium gaomca suxδəm xᵛāiriz<m>əmca auui arəzahi sauuahi auui fradaδafšu vīdaδafšu auui vouru.barəšti vouru.jarəšti auui imaţ karšuuarə yaţ xᵛaniraθəm bāmīm gauuašaiianəm gauuašitīmca baēšaziiąm*

'The land inhabited by the Aryans where navigable rivers rush towards Pouruta and Iškata, (towards) Mouru [Marw], Haraēva [Herat] and Gava, Suxδa [Sogdiana] and Xvāirizma [Khwārezm], towards Arəzah and Savah, towards Fradaδafšu and Vīdaδafšu, towards Vorubarəšti and Vourujarešti, towards this (our) clime, the splendid

Xvaniraϑa, inhabited by Gava people, and to the healthy settlement [= city/capital] (of) Gava.'

7.1.3.1. I. Gershevitch translates *xᵛaniraϑəm ... gauuašaiianəm gauuašitīmca baēšaziiąm* as 'Xvaniraϑa, the land of settled dwelling and healthy village colonization', taking *gauua°* as a common noun supposedly meaning 'settlement'.[45] It is, nevertheless, difficult to disregard, first, the parallelism of *gauua-šaiiana-* and the preceding *airiiō.šaiiana-* 'inhabited by Aryans', and secondly, the homonymy of *gauua-* in both *gauuašaiiana-* and *gauuašiti-* with the preceding geographical name *gauua-* 'Gava'. Both, the parallelism and the homonymy strongly suggest interpreting *gauua-* in all three of its occurrences in Yt 10 as a geographical or ethnic name.

7.1.3.2. In Yt 10,14 Gava is described as adjoining Sogdiana, tallying with V 1,4 where a region called Gāva (*gāuua-*, if correctly transmitted, a vriddhi formation from Gava), is given the attribute 'inhabited by Sogdians' (*gāum yim suγδō.šaiianəm*). The connexion with Sogdiana suggests that Gava/Gāva is identical with what is transmitted by Arrian as *Γάβαι* [*Gabai, Gabae*], a stronghold on the borderland between Sogdiana and the Massagetes.[46] Seen from Arrian's point of view, Gabae was a remote place, but that does not rule out that during the Young Avestan period it played an important part in the religious life of Eastern Iran. However, the mention of Gava in Yt 10 points to the place having been of special significance for the early history of Mithraism rather than of the Mazdayasnian religion.

7.1.4. A different location of Xvaniraϑa is suggested by Bundahišn 8,6 which places the origin of the Kavis, the Mazdayasnian religion, and the birth of the Saošyant (Sōšyans), in Xvaniras (*kayān ud vīrān andar xwaniras dahīhēd ud dēn-iz weh ī māzdēsnān pad xwaniras dahīhēd ... ud sōšyans-iz andar xwaniras zāyēd*). This information is partly derived from V 19,5 according to which the birth of the eschatological Saošyaṇt was expected at the eastern side of Lake Kąsaoya, the Hāmūn-e Hilmand in Sīstān (*zaraϑuštrō ... yahmāi ⁺us.zaiiāiti saošiąs vərəθraja haca apaṯ kąsaoiiāṯ ušastaraṯ haca naēmāṯ ušastaraēibiiō haca naēmaēibiiō*); it is not purely by chance that the following

[45] I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 1959, 80.176.

[46] *Γάβαι*, Arrian, Anabasis 4,14,7 (v.l. *Βάγαι*; Curtius Rufus 8,4,1 has *Gazaba*), is homonymous with *Γάβαι* in Persia, Ptolemy, *Geography* 6,4,7. That seems to have led to some confusion in I. Gershevitch, *Asia Major* N.S. 2, 1951/52, 137-139, cf. W. B. Henning, ibid. 144.

description, although very short, of Lake Kąsaoya and its nine affluents is given in Yt 19,66-67:

zraiiō yaṯ kąsaēm haētumatəm xᵛāstraca huuaspaca fradaϑa<ca> xᵛarənaŋᵛhaitica yā srīra uštauuaitica yā sūra, uruua[δ]ca yā pouru.vāstra ərəzica zarənumaitica

'Lake Kąsaoiia fed by the Haētumant [Hilmand], (and the rivers) Xᵛāstrā [Khāsh], Huvaspā [Khuspās], Fradaϑā [Farāh], Xvarənaŋᵛhaitī [Harrūt], Uštavaitī [Khushk], Urvā rich in pastures, Ərəzi and Zarənumaitī.'[47]

Thus, it is most likely that in the period of the Younger Avesta, Sīstān was considered by the majority of the Mazdayasnians of the east as the very centre of Xᵛaniraϑa, and it is not impossible that this picture is based on a much older tradition.

7.2. Airyana Vaējah

7.2.1. In the Younger Avesta and in the Pahlavi literature, the legendary homeland of the Iranians, and especially that of Yima and Zaraϑuštra, is Airyana Vaējah (*airiiana- vaējah-*, Phl. *ērānwēz*) which is watered by the river Vaŋhvī Dāitiyā (*vaŋᵛhī- dāitiiā-*, Phl. *weh dāitiya*) 'the good (and) lawful one', or: 'the lawful Vaŋhvī, or: 'the good Dāitiyā'. Cf. V 2,20 *yimō ... srūtō airiiene vaējahi vaŋhuiiā dāitiiaiiā* 'Yima, renowned in Airyana Vaējah of the Vaŋhvī Dāitiyā', Yy 9,14 *srūtō airiiene ⁺vaējahi tūm zaraϑuštra* 'Thou, O Zaraϑuštra, who art renowned in Airyana Vaējah'. The meaning of *vaējah-* is open to discussion. Phl. *wēxtan* 'to swing, brandish, throw, pour out' (Bal. *gēj* 'to swing, rush, throw') and Ved. *vij* 'to move with a quick darting mortion, speed, heave (of waves)' suggest that it denotes the bed, or the course, or a cataract of a fast-flowing river, and its adjacent regions.

7.2.2. The list of lands, found in the first chapter of the Vidēvdād, is introduced by Airyana Vaējah (V 1,2-3 *airiianəm vaējō vaŋhuiiā dāitiiaiiā*), thus, giving special attention to this land. After a short and enigmatic description of it (§ 7.2.3-6), the list continues as follows:

(2) 1,4: Gava (*gāuua-*) in Sogdiana = Arrian's Gabai (§ 7.1.3.2)

(3) 1,5: Mouru (*maryu/mouru-*) = Marw

[47] Cf. G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, 1980, 17-32. Note that Bartholomae's reading *⁺uruuaδaca* (mss. J10 and D, cf. K12) is a wrong correction of *uruuaδca* (ms. F1 etc.) which itself is an inexact spelling for **uruuaca*. The region of the river *uruua(δca) yā pouru.vāstra* is the same as *uruuąm pouru.vāstrąm* in V 1,10, see Humbach, *Die awestische Länderliste*, in: *WZKSOA* 4, 1960, 36-46 (36f.)

(4) 1,6: Bāxδī (*bāxδī-* < **bāzδrī-*) = Balkh

(5) 1,7: Nisāya (*nisāiia-*) between Marw and Balkh

(6) 1,8: Haraēva (*haraēuua-*)= Herāt

(7) 1,9: Vaēkərəta[48]

(8) 1,10: Urvā = Valley of an affluent of the Hāmūn-e Hilmand (§ 7.1.4[47])

(9) 1,11: Xnəṇta = Hyrcania[49]

(10) 1,12: Haraxvaitī = Arachosia

(11) 1,13: Haētumaṇt = Valley of the Hilmand

(12) 1,15: Raγā = Ray (§ 9.2)

(13) 1,16: Caxra = Carx in Khorasan, or Carx in Logar in Afghanistan[50]

(14) 1,17: Varəna = Warwālīz in Afghanistan north of the Hindukush'[51]

(15) 1,18: Hapta Həṇdu = Upper course of the Oxus River[52]

(16) 1,19: Upa Aoδaēšu Raŋhayå = Region at the sources of the river Raŋhā.

[48]Vaēkərəta < **vaiiu-kərəta-* 'founded by Vayu' is a typical Iranian name for a city. It has been connected with the name of the Yakṣa Vaikṛtika in the Mahāmāyūrī (vṛddhi formation from Skt. *vikṛta-* 'deformed') and equated with Gandhāra, see Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time*, 1988, 48, but its place in the list does not favour this equation.

[49]V 1,11 *xnəṇtəm yim vəhrkānō.šaiianəm* 'Xnəṇta inhabited by Hyrcanians'. If *xnəṇtəm* is corrupted from **xrəṇtəm*, then cf. the ethnic name *Χρῆνδοι* in Ptolemy 6,9,5 (Hyrcania) and the river name *Χαρίνδας* ib. 6,2,2 (wrongly placed in Media) as suggested by Humbach, *Länderliste*, 1960, 38. The river is evidently the same as the *Hirand*, the river of Gorgān, cf. V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 1937, 29, etc.

[50]Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time*, 1980, 42f.

[51]Vr 1,17 *varənəm yim caθru.gaošəm* 'Varəna of four corners'. Cf. the ethnic name *Οὐάρνοι* Ptolemy 6,11,6 (Bactriana) and the name of the Bactrian city *Ἄορνος* in Arrian, *Anabasis* 3,20,1, see Humbach, *Länderliste*, 1960, 37. Medieval War-wālīz is equated with modern Qunduz by Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, 428. Bactrian *Ἄορνος* must not be confounded with the much better known Indian *Ἄορνος* in Arrian, *Anabasis* 4,28,1ff. etc. Contrary to Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time*, 1980, 48, the latter is hardly identical with the Varəna of the Avesta, but rather with the Indian city from which Skt. *Varṇu-*, name of a Yakṣa in the Mahāmāyūrī, derives.

[52]The identification of *hapta həṇdu* with the upper course of the Oxus river comes from Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. Sachau, 1888, 260: 'As the name *union of the five rivers* [= Panjāb] occurs in this part of the world [= India], we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the above mentioned mountain chains [= north of the Hindukush], for the rivers which flow thence towards the north; after having united near Tirmid and having formed the river of Balkh, they are called the *union of the seven rivers*. The Zoroastrians of Sogdiana have confounded these two things; for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is *Sind*, and its upper couse *Barīdīš*.' See Humbach, *Al-Biruni etc.* in: *BICF* I,2, 1973, 47-52. In connexion with *hapta həṇdu*, the PhlT of V 1,18 quotes the fragment *haca ušastara hinduua auui daoša<s>tarəm hiṇdum* 'from the eastern river to the western river'; cf. Y 57,29 *yaṯciṯ ušastaire hinduuō ... yaṯciṯ daosataire* 'be it at the eastern river or be it at the western river'. It makes no sense to refer the two passages to India.

7.2.3. As can be seen from V 1,2-3, both the nature and geographical location of Airyana Vaējah has been controversial as early as in the Young Avestan period. In V 1,2 the legendary country is depicted as *paoirīm asaŋhąmca šōiθranąmca vahištəm* 'the first (and?) best of the regions and districts', cf. Menōg ī Xrad 44,24 *paydāg kū ohrmazd ērānwēz az abarīgān gyāgān ud rōstagān weh dād* 'it is revealed that Ohrmazd made Erānwēz to be better than the other places and regions', which points to Erānwēz having been considered as a sort of paradise.[53] Yet, this picture is already modified by the mention of the plagues of the country, viz. *ažīmca yim raoiδitəm ziiąmca daēuuō.dātəm* 'the red dragon and the winter produced by the Daēvas'.

7.2.4. The picture becomes even worse in the subsequent paragraph where a detailed description of the winter in Erānwēz is found, which speaks of quite extreme climatic conditions:

V 1,3 *dasa auuaθra mąŋhō zaiiana, duua hąmina, taēciṯ həṇti sarəta āpō sarəta zəmō sarəta uruuaraiiå; aδa zimahe maiδim, aδa zimahe zərəδaēm, aδa ziiåsciṯ pairi.-pataiti, aδa fraēštəm vōiγnaṇąm*

'Ten are there the winter months, two the summer months, and even then [in summer] the waters are freezing, the earth is freezing, the plants are freezing; there is the centre of winter, there is the heart of winter, there winter rushes around, there (occur) most damages caused by storm'.[54]

This description, obviously, is not that of a paradise region but that of one high up in the mountains not far from the eternal ice which feeds the river Vaŋhvī Dāitiyā, the river of Airyana Vaējah.

7.2.5. Airyana Vaējah is located in Western Iran by Bundahišn 29,12-13 *ērānwēz pad kust ī ādurbādagān, zamīg ī *gōbedestān pad rāh az turkestān ō cīnestān pad kust ī abāxtar dūr* 'Erānwēz is in [lit. on the side of] Ādurbādagān, the country of Gōbedestān is on the road from Turkestān to Cīnestān, far in the direction to the north' (where Gōbedestān is the country of Gōbed 'lord of cattle', also called Gōbedšāh, Neriosangh

[53]If *paoirīm ... vahištəm* means 'the first (and) best' as understood by Menōg ī Xrad, then *vahištəm* in the following *bitīm ... vahištəm* 'the second (and) best' etc. must be due to mechanical repetition.

[54]*pairi.pataiti* does not denote a peripeteia (Greek *περιπέτεια* 'sudden change', from Greek *περιπίπτω*), as silently suggested by Bartholomae's rendering 'zu Ende gehen' (AirWb. 820), but rather belongs with Greek *περιπέτομαι* 'fly around', cf. Yt. 19,82 *pairi yāiš hapta karšuuąn apataṯ* 'flow around the seven climes'. - Av. *vōiγna-*, rendered by 'damage caused by storm' (< **vaiiu-γna-*), was obscure even to the PhlT which transcribes *vōiγne* in Avesta script.

Gōpatišāha). Yet, this western location of Erānwēz, which is possibly inspired by Mount Ararat, is certainly due to a late substitution. More reliable is Bdh 11A,7 where Erānwēz is not opposed to Gōbedestān but mentioned as neighbouring it: *dāitiya rōd az ērānwēz bē āyēd pad *gōbedestān bē šawēd* 'the river Dāitiya comes out of Erānwēz and proceeds to Gōbedestān' which points to the Pamir region and recalls the course of the Oxus river. Cf. Dēnkard 9,15,11 which counts Gōbedestān among the Non-Iranian countries (*gōbed andar anērān dehān*).[55]

7.2.6. It goes without saying that the geographical data offered by the tradition are so confused and confusing that it is impossible to draw any conclusion from these referring to the geographical background of Zaraθuštra's life. Yet, apparently there is a possibility of resolving the contradiction between the paradisiacal and the icy aspects of Airyana Vaējah: Perhaps the description in V 1,3 is not of Airyana Vaējah as a whole but only of the source of the river Vaŋhvī Dāitiyā. This could be explained by assuming that V 1,3 originally formed the beginning of a text now lost which contained a description of more than one of the climatic zones through which this river necessarily flowed. Support for such an assumption is found in the Pahlavi translation of V 1,3. There, the Avesta text is first rendered by *dah māh ānōy zamestān dō māh hāmīnīh* 'ten are there the winter months, two the summer months', but then the translator adds the Avesta quotation *ud pas hapta hənti hąmina mąŋhō, paṇca zaiiana* 'and thereafter (it is said): seven are the months of summer, five those of winter'. This could be a fragment from that lost text, and it would be in this very fragment, not in the canonical text of V 1,3, that the climate of the main part of Airyana Vaējah is described. As a matter of fact, in Bundahišn 25,9 the corresponding Phl. *haft māh hāmīn ... panj māh zamestān* 'seven summer months (and) five winter months' is considered as the climatic norm.

7.3. The Khwārezmian hypothesis and the Tejen area

7.3.1. J. Marquart equated Airyana Vaējah with Khwārezm, the country on the lower course of the Oxus river and at its influx into the Aral Sea. To substantiate this, he adduced the name of the Khwārezmian region Tūr (which recalls the OAv. proper name *tūra- frīiāna-* in 46,11) and he referred to the coldness of the country as reported

[55]For details see Humbach, *About Gōpatšāh*, 1985.

by Islamic geographers.[56] Even though these two arguments appear very weak, his Khwārezmian theory was, nonetheless, accepted by most Iranianists of our century, who in consequence, explicitly or implicitly, sought both, Zaraθuštra's homeland and the origin of the Avestan language in that region.[57] However, as we have seen, it is really without any foundation, since all the available evidence suggests that Airyana Vaējah was thought by the authors of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books to be situated on the upper and middle, rather than on the lower course of the river Vaŋhvī Dāitiyā, in a mountainous region, perhaps in a high valley (§ 7.2.3-6). The only scholar who has taken these facts into account was G. Gnoli. According to him, before not only to Cyrus the Great's ascent to the throne of Astyages, but even before the probable supremacy of the Medes over the whole Iranian plateau, including the eastern lands, Airyana Vaējah corresponded to the central-southern part of the eastern Iranian plateau.[58] A slightly different position was taken by us.[59] Some of the arguments put forward by us are here taken up again.

7.3.2. Even a sober scholar, such as W. B. Henning, was prejudiced by Marquart's Khwārezmian theory, but he at least gave it a new turn.[60] He adduced the famous fragment by the Greek geographer Hecataeus (ca. 500 B.C.) according to which at an early period the Khwārezmian dominion was not restricted to the lowlands of historical Chorasmia [Khwārezm] but extended far to the south and included the mountainous regions east of Parthia:

'The region east of the Parthians is inhabited by (the?) Chorasmians who possess both plains and mountains.'[61]

[56]J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 1901, 155: "Der Name des Gaues *Tur* ... verdient ... unsere grösste Aufmerksamkeit. Sollte die Uebereinstimmung desselben mit dem der *Tuirja*, der nomadischen Feinde der Arier im Awestā, nur zufällig sein? Ich glaube nicht; vielmehr sehe ich darin eine Bestätigung für meine schon längst aus einer Reihe anderer Momente gewonnenen Ueberzeugung, dass das vielumstrittene *Airjanəm waejo*, die Heimat des Awestā, identisch ist mit Xwārizm, dem kältesten Lande am Oxus (Istakhrī 304,7) und einem der kältesten Gebiete von Irān (vgl. Ibn al Faqrī 210,1, 229,4), und dass das Gebiet der feindlichen *Tuirja* in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft von Xwārizm gelegen war, was anderen Ortes näher ausgeführt werden soll."

[57]At first F. C. Andreas (orally), quoted by A.Christensen, *ActOr* 4, 1926, 82[1], and É. Benveniste, *L'Ērān-vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens*, in: *BSOS* 7, 1933/35, 265-275. As to Benveniste's arguments see Humbach, *About Gōpatšāh*, 1985, 238.

[58]G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time*, 1980, 159.

[59]Humbach, *A Western Approach to Zarathushtra*, 1984, 15-31.

[60]W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster*, 1951, 42f.

[61]Hecataeus in: F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 1 F 292: *Πάρθων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Χοράσμιοι οἰκοῦσι γῆν, ἔχοντες καὶ πεδία καὶ ὄρεα.*

7.3.3. This Hecataeus fragment was combined by Henning with a long and famous passage in the third book of Herodotus (2nd half Vth cent. B.C.) where we find the following report on the valley of a river called Akēs (Ἄκης):

'There is a plain in Asia encompassed by mountains, and through those mountains there are five passes. The plain formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, and their lands still adjoin it and so do those of the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangeans, and Thamanaeans, but since the Persian conquest it has been the property of the king. From the mountains encircling the plain there flows a great river, the Akēs, which at one time watered the lands of all those peoples, for it is divided into five streams, one running through each of the passes into the surrounding lands. But since they came under Persian rule, these peoples have suffered a deprivation: the king has blocked the passes and put gates across them, so that the water finds no outlet, and the plain has been turned into a lake. The neighbouring peoples who used the water now have no water to use, and are in great distress; for, though during the winter the god rains upon them as upon other men, in summer they are in want for water for their crops of millet and sesame. When no water is given them, they go to Persia with their womenfolk and stand before the doors of the king's place, crying and bawling. The king orders the gate to be opened on the land that is most in need; and when that land has drunk its fill, the gate is shut, and another is opened by the king's order on whichever of the remaining lands has most need of it. And I was told that he exacts great sums of money for opening the gates, in addition to the tribute.'[62]

7.3.4. Following an idea put forward by Marquart, Henning sought to identify the river Akēs with the Tejen and its upper course, the Harī-rūd, which form the north-eastern border of present-day Iran, and he drew the following conclusions: "We can thus be fairly certain that there was a state in eastern Iran which centered around Marv and Herat and co-existed with the Median Empire; which was led by the Khwārezmians and abolished by Cyrus ... . Airyanəm Vaējō was Khwārezm ... [but it] was not merely the Khwārezm of later times, when it comprised only the districts near the lower course of the Oxus, but the Khwārezm of the time of Vištāspa, of which Marv and Herat formed perhaps the most important part." To substantiate these conclusions further, Henning tried to make a case for a close relationship between the Avestan

[62]Hdt 3,117 *Ἔστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλημένον ὄρει πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὄρεος εἰσι πέντε. Τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μέν κοτε Χορασμίων, ἐν οὔροισι ἐὸν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπείτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέος. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ περικλήιοντος ὄρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἐστι Ἄκης ...*

and Khwārezmian languages, by adducing some word equations shared exclusively by Avestan and Khwārezmian, such as Av. *tūiriia-* = Khw. *³fcwr* 'uncle'. But phonetical disaggreements between Avestan and Khwārezmian, not taken into consideration by Henning, disprove any such close relationship. For example Av. *maŋšiia-* 'man' < **martiya-* shows a development of *rt* different from Khw. *mrcy*; Av. *tūiriia-* 'uncle' < **ftūrya-* shows loss of the initial *f* preserved in Khw. *³fcwr*; Av. *hapta* 'seven' < **hafta* shows a development of *ft* different from Khw. *³βd.*[63] Furthermore, Hecataeus and Herodotus in fact tell us no more than that the Akēs area had been under Khwārez- mian rule then, as it has been in modern times; until 1917 the inhabitants of the Tejen district were subjects of the Khan of Khiwa, i.e. ancient Khwārezm.

7.3.5. Although both, the Khwārezmian language and population must be left out of discussion, the non-Khwārezmian components of Henning's theory nevertheless deserve some attention. Almost the only possible Iranian etymological connexion for the name of the river Akēs is with Av. *akā-*, the fem. of *aka-* 'evil, bad', a word which is attested in no other Iranian language than Avestan. If one accepts the etymology, then Akēs < Ir. *akā-* 'the Bad (River)', must have been a name coined by Iranian-speaking people as an ironic, or even desperate, re-naming of Vaŋhvī 'the Good one', which then would be the original name of the Akēs. This is certainly an argument in favour of the geographical frame of Henning's hypothesis, but unfortunately, it is difficult to find traces of the original Iranian language of the Tejen area, which at present is inhabited by speakers of Turkic languages. Obviously, it is mainly this lack of evidence, which has induced K. Hoffmann and J. Narten to follow Henning in conjecturing that Hecataeus' and Herodotus' Chorasmia was the country of the Avesta: "Der Weg des Avesta-Corpus von Marv oder Herat aus dürfte zunächst nach Arachosieen und erst von da aus in die Persis geführt haben."[64] Yet, indeed, matters are more complicated: The problem of Zaraθuštra's biography is a threefold one. Where was the prophet born, whence did he start out for his ministry, and where did he meet Vištāspa? Henning's hypothesis is based on the assumption that Zaraθuštra not only was Khwārezmian-born, but that also Vištāspa's court was situated in Chorasmia. This, however, is in sharp contradiction with the tradition which suggests that their meeting took place somewhere far away from the prophet's place of origin (§ 9.3.1).

[63]See already Humbach, *A Western Approach to Zarathushtra*, 1984, 26; *About Gōpatšāh*, 1985, 330 f.

[64]K. Hoffmann - J. Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus*, 1989, 87.

7.3.6. It is also difficult to reconcile the Khwārezmian theory with the interdependence of the religious development in Iran and Vedic India described above (§ 5.3.6), and there are also many other arguments which speak against it. Among these, it is worth mentioning that the Khwārezmian theory and the traditional date of Zaraθuštra (588 B.C.) are most likely incompatible. The analysis of the geographical names Mozdūrān and Baγbaγū (§ 8) suggests that until Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetae, the eastern frontier of both the declining Median and the rising Persian empire ran a few miles west of the course of the Tejen. Thus, the borderland between the frontier and the Tejen formed the eastern approaches of the Medo-Persian frontier, and there was no room for a mighty empire of Vištāspa. By that time, the Mazdayasnian church seems to have been divided into an eastern branch, which was only loosely organised and which had a number of religious centres such as Gava of Miθraic origin (§ 7.1.3), and a more tightly organised western, Median, branch, the religious capital of which was Ragā (OP. *Ragā-*, YAv. *Raγā-*, Greek *'Ράγαι* [*Rhagai*], Lat. *Rhagae*), modern Ray near Tehran.

8. Mozdūrān and Baγbaγū

8.1. Kūh-e Mozdūrān and Mount Masdōrān

8.1.1. About 90-100 km east of Tūs [Tōs] and Mašhad, and halfway to Sarakhs, which nowadays forms the political border between Iran and Soviet Turkmenistan, the maps show a village named *Mozdūrān*. It is situated on the southwestern slope, and not far from the top (Darband), of a pass which traverses the *Kūh-e Mozdūrān*, a mountain range which runs from north-west to south-east and separates the valley of the lower part of the Kašaf-rūd [or: Āb-e Mašhad] from the Turanian plain; it thus marks the geographical border between Iran and Turan. The pass makes it possible for traffic from Mašhad to Sarakhs to turn north-east, thus, saving the long and difficult detour direction south-east, along the lowest part of the Kašaf-rūd via Ak-Darband to Pul-e Khātun, where the Kašaf-rūd merges with the northwards-flowing Harī-rūd to form the Tejen.

8.1.2. In Ptolemy's *Geography* (ca. 150 A.D.) the present-day village of Mozdūrān is represented by the tribe of the Masdōranians (Gr. *Μασδωρανοί* [*Masdōranoi*], Lat. *Masdorani*, Ptol. 6,17,3), and the Kūh-e Mozdūrān by the mountain range 'Mount Masdōrān' (Gr. *Μασδωρανὸν ὄρος* [*Masdōranon Oros*], Lat. *Masdoranus Mons*, Ptol. 6,5,1) which, in a slightly distorted way, is depicted by Ptolemy as extending from north to south and forming the border between Parthia and Areia (Herāt).[65]

8.1.3. Popular etymology necessarily derives the name of Mozdūrān from NP. *mozdūr* 'hireling' < MP. *mizdwar* < OP. **miždabara-*, which is certainly the reason why the name, which turns out to be a religious name originating from the Old Iranian period, has survived up to now. Ptolemy proves that the MIr. pre-form of *Mozdūrān* could not have been **mizdwarān* but was rather **mazdōrān*, a derivative in *-ān* from **mazdōr* < Av. *mazdā- ahura-* 'Ahura Mazdā'. The order of the two members of Ahura Mazdā's name as found here is typically Old Avestan (§ 11.5.5.0) which implies that already in a relatively early period of the Mazdayasnian religion the Darband of Mozdūrān must have been a strategic defence point for the Iranians in the mountainous regions of Tūs and Mašhad against the nomads of the Turanian plain, in the same way as in much later times it served the Persians as a defence against the Turkmens. The situation prevailing there in the XIXth century is described by two contemporary British travellers, by Alexander Burnes in 1832, in a period of weakness of Persian power, and by Colonel Mac Gregor in 1875, when the Persian power had regained its strength. On the whole, the situation does not seem to have changed much at their time since about 1500 years.

8.2. Burnes' and MacGregor's reports

8.2.1. Since ancient times, the pass of Mozdūrān ("Moozderan") must have been a fortified place, but from Alexander Burnes, returning in 1832 from Central Asia and travelling from Sarakhs (at the border of the Tejen) to Mašhad, we learn that by this time the fort had fallen into disrepair.[66] He had become acquainted with the fact already during his stay at Sarakhs. A horde of Turkmen robbers who were subjects of the Khan of Urgenj (in ancient Khwārezm) had returned from a foray to the high plateau of Mašhad:

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[65]The text, along with German and English translations, of Ptol. 6,17,3 (*Masdōranoi*), but not of 6,5,1 (*Masdōranon Oros*), is given by I. Ronca, *Ptolemaios*, 1971. Both *Masdōranoi* and *Masdōranon Oros* are to be found on his map (Tabula II).

[66]Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara II*, London 1834, 62-70.

"They had made their descent near Meshid [Mašhad] four days previously, about ten in the morning, and rode up to the very walls of the city, driving men and animals before them. Not a soul appeared to arrest their progress; and when they numbered their spoil a few miles from the city, they found 115 human beings, 200 camels, and as many cattle. Since then they had returned without haste, and now skirted Shurukhs [Sarakhs] for refreshment. On the way they had already divided their booty. A fifth was given to the Khan of Orgunjee [Urgenj], and the party had to congratulate themselves at the number of able-bodied men, and the few white-beards, old ones, among their prisoners!"

8.2.2. Burnes' vivid description of the subsequent dangerous journey from Sarakhs to Darband, the mountain pass of Mozdūrān ("Durbund, the frontier post in Persia"), is no less informative:

"The whole of the latter part of the route lay in a deep ravine, where there is eminent danger in travelling from the "Allamans" of the desert. We pushed on with great celerity and greater fear: every instrument of war in requisition, every match was lit, and the slightest sound brought the horsemen to a halt; for we hourly expected to encounter the Toorkmuns. After a night of such anxiety, we beheld with pleasure the lookout towers of Durbund, eleven of which crown the crest of the range, and command its passage. We here found a few irregular soldiers, the first subjects of the "Great King" whom we encountered ..."

"After we had surmounted the pass of Derbund, our caravan alighted in the fields beyond the fort Moozderan, which stands on an isolated spur of table-land, as you descend the pass. The place was once peopled; but the Khan of Orgunje some years since seized its inhabitants en masse, and razed their defences. In repair, it might protect the road into Persia; but a peasant cannot risk his life unless he receives the protection of his king. There is a beautiful fountain of tepid water, which springs up under Moozderan; and makes for itself, and some kindred streams, a channel down the valley, where the fruit trees and gardens of the exiled inhabitants may still be seen. It appeared a charming spot to us after so long a sojourn among desolation. The men on the pass showed us a cave, of which they had many fabulous tales, describing it to be without a termination. It was lately the scene of great slaughter and distress, for the population retired into it when pressed by the Khan of Orgunje; and as they issued like bees from the hive, they were put to death or sent in perpetual exile across the desert."

Such may well have been the state of the region also in the VIth century B.C., before the consolidatian of the border by Cyrus.

8.2.3. The fortifications of Mozdūrān had improved in 1875 when Colonel Mac Gregor explored the way down the Kašaf-rūd [Āb-e Mašhad].[67] In his description of a place called Ordū-gāh, he writes:

"There is a fine view of Mozdūrān and the range of the same name [i.e. the Kūh-e Mozdūrān] ... It is apparently, and I believe actually, quite inaccessible ... except at Mozdūrān itself ..., when the ridge becoming a little more rounded and less precipitous affords room for two or three paths over it. But these, as well as every crest and hollow of the ridge, are defended and blocked by high circular towers. I counted no less than twenty-one of these towers, besides a small fort on the crest of an isolated hill. Altogether it is a very strong position, and must be considered as quite impregnable to the Toorkmuns. If it once fell into their hands, the result would be disastrous for the Persians, as then these jackals would have an impregnable fort as a base, from which to issue and harry the country right up to Mushudd. The Persians however are well aware of this, and keep a pretty strong garrison of irregulars in it". If we are right, these conditions could reflect the state and function of ancient Mazdōrān, after the consolidation of the border by the construction of its first fortification, most likely under Cyrus.

8.2.4. Following his purpose of military exploration, Mac Gregor did not cross the pass of Mozdūrān to reach Sarakhs on the short route, but made the detour down the Kašaf-rūd up to its confluence with the Harī-rūd, which forms the Tejen. At about eight miles east of Ordū-gāh he passed

"a newly built fort called Bughbughoo [modern spelling *Baγbaγū* and *Baqbaqū*], occupied by about thirty wretched creatures, who looked at us passing with the longing look of prisoners afforded a glimpse of the outer world".

Although the fort had been newly built in Mac Gregor's time (no doubt in order to protect the flank of Mozdūrān from Turkmen attacks), Baγbaγū itself, like Mozdūrān, seems to have an ancient history. Today the area is inhabited by a Turkic speaking population, but the name of the village looks Iranian rather than Turkic.

8.2.5. In Khorāsan Persian final *-ān* becomes *-o/u*. Thus Baγbaγū, for which no Turkic etymology is likely, is most probably to be traced to Parthian **baγbaγān* 'God of Gods' < Median **baga bagānām* 'God of Gods', a form of invocation coined after Median OP. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* 'King of Kings'; cf., but with a different word

[67] Mac Gregor, *Narrative*, London 1879, 22f.

order, YAv. *daēuuanąm daēuuō* 'Daēva of the Daēvas', Khot. *gyastānu gyastä* 'God of Gods', and also MP. *šāhān šāh* 'King of Kings'. It seems that, as with Mozdūrān, the place was given its name by Iranians, but the name was transmitted by Turks who did not understand it, thus saving it from Islamisation. Mozdūrān and Baγbaγū quite likely were the two farthest north-eastern frontier posts of the Turanian border of the late Median and the early Persian empire, and they must have been strongholds of the western branch of the Mazdayasnian religion.

9. Drəjā, Ragā and Tōs

9.1. Drəjā

9.1.1. Information on Zaraϑuštra's birthplace in the Avesta is poor. The only mention of it is V 19,4 where the prophet's parental home is said to be situated *drəjiia [drəjaiia, darəjiia] paiti zbarahi nmānahe pourušaspahe* 'at/on the Zbarah (called) Drəjā, (in the area) of the house of (Zaraϑuštra's father) Pourušaspa'. If it is true that the geographical name *drəjiia* goes with *zbarahi*, then it either is by haplology from **drəjiiaiia*, loc.sg. of a stem *drəjiiā-*, or it must be read *drəjaiia*, loc.sg. of a stem *drəjā-*. The loc.sg. *zbarahi* is from a stem *zbarah-* which must refer to something curved (YAv. *zbar* 'to go crooked', Ved. *hvṛ* 'to be crooked or curved, to go crooked'), perhaps 'hill' or 'bend of river' (§ 9.1.2), but neither this etymology nor its cognate Ved. *hváras-* is of help in defining its exact meaning; *hváras-* denotes 'a particular contrivance attached to the Soma-sieve, perhaps the curved rods fixed round the rim'.

9.1.2. For V 19,4 *drəjiia paiti zbarahi*, PhlT has *pad draziya/darziya zbār* which is no less enigmatic. There, *draziya/darziya [wr. dlcyȳ]* is a mere transcription of Av. *drəjiia*, but the noun *zbār* (cf. Ved. *hvārá-* 'serpent'), which in PhlT of Yy 9,29 renders Av. *zbaraϑa-* 'crooked leg' (the Daēvic word for 'leg'), can be a correct rendering of its cognate Av. *zbarah-*. The PhlT is made use of by Zādspram 21 according to whom Zaraϑuštra's conference with the Aməṣ̌a Spəṇta Amərətāt took place *pad draziya [wr. dlcyn] zbār ī āb ī dāitiya* 'on the Draziya *Zbār* of the river Dāitiya', thus placing the prophet's birthplace in the region of the river Dāitiyā. The Bundahišn renders Av. *drəjiia* by *dārāja* written in Avesta script, taking it to be the name of the river itself (e.g. in Bdh 11,8 *dārāja rōd*). As a consequence of this, the obscure *zbār* '*bend'

is replaced by the more obvious *bār* 'river bank' in two Bundahišn passages: Bdh 11A,29 *dārāja rōd pad ērān-wēz kē-š mān ī pourušasp ī pidar ī zarduxšt pad bār būd* 'the river Dārāja, on the bank of which the house of Zarduxšt's father Pourušasp was situated, is in Ērān-wēz'; 17,16 *dārāja rūd-bārān rad cēš mān ī pidar ī zarduxšt pad bār, zarduxšt anōh zād* 'Dārāja is the chief of the river banks since the house of Zarduxšt's father was situated on its bank (and) Zarduxšt was born there'. No hypothesis can be built upon this unsatisfactory, and partly corrupt, information, but later tradition clearly considered Drəjā to be situated in the region of Raγā/Ray.

9.2. Zaraϑuštrian Raγā and Raγā of Three Districts

9.2.1. Our hypothesis regarding the early division of the Mazdayasnian church into a loosely organised eastern branch, and a more tightly organised western branch the religious capital of which was Raγā/Ray, is strengthened by a comparison between the two occurrences of YAv. Rāγā, the one in Yy 19,18 and the other one V 1,16.[68]

9.2.2. In Yy 19,18 the city and country of Raγā 'Ray' is given the epithet *zaraϑuštri-* 'Zaraϑustrian' (*raγa zaraϑustriš*, PhlT *lγ zltwšt*, SktV *raga- zarathuśtrīya-*). It is described as a sort of Mazdayasnian Vatican whose pope, called "Zaraϑuštra", is simultaneously the wordly ruler of the country and its supreme religious authority, in contrast to the worldly rulers of the other (Aryan) countries, who are subject to the religious authority of the "Zaraϑuštra" of Raγā.[69] It is evident that, due to some special connexion with the prophet, Raγā had attained a religious preeminence among the Mazdayasnian countries at a very early date, in the later Median period, if this suggestion is right.

9.2.3. A city or country also named Raγā plays a less respected role in V 1,16, a part of the list of lands found in the first chapter of the Vidēvdād, where it occupies

[68]The identity of Av. Raγā with OP. Ragā has been contested, e.g., by I. Gershevitch, *Zoroaster's own Contribution*, 1964, 36f. who stressed the difference in the abl.sg. forms Av. *rajōiṯ* vs. OP. *rāgāyā*; Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, 1980, 23-26; id., *Ragha la Zoroastriana*, in: *ActIr* 10, 1985, 217-228 [Boyce Volume]; id., *Avestan Geography*, 1989, 43-47.

[69]*kaiia ratauuō? nmāniiō vīsiiō zaṇtumō dāźiiumō zaraϑuštrō puxδō ā̊ŋhąm daźiiunąm yā̊ aniiā̊ rajōiṯ zaraϑuštrōiṯ. caϑru.ratus raγa zaraϑuštriš. kaiia aiŋ́hā̊ ratauuō? nmāniiasca vīsiiasca zaṇtumasca zaraϑuštrō tūiriiō.*

only the twelfth of sixteen places (§ 7.2.2). It is simply called *raγā ϑrizaṇtuš* 'Raγā of three districts', and it is said to suffer from 'the plague of extreme (religious) doubts [heresy]' (*aγəm uparō.vīmanōhīm*). Here, the question is whether the two respective attributes of Raγā, namely *zaraϑuštriš* in Yy 19,18, and *ϑrizaṇtuš* in V 1,16, have a differentiating or a qualifying function. If their function is differentiating, we have to do here with two homonymous cities or countries; but if it is qualifying, we have to do with one and the same city or country which in one place is described in a highly positive, and in another place in a purely negative way. K. Hoffmann pleads for the identity of the two. In his view not only Yy 19,18 (*raγā zaraϑuštriš*), but also V 1,16 (*raγā ϑrizaṇtuš*) is evidence for the great importance in religious matters of Raγā 'Ray'; the disapproving way in which V 1,16 refers to Raγā testifies to an early religious disagreement, a schism between the Mazdayasnians of the east, represented by the majority of the geographical names in the list of lands, and those of the west.[70] If Hoffmann is right, it would be that schism which finally led to the well-known later uncertainty about the geographical background of Zaraϑuštra's life and the early history of the Mazdayasnian religion.

9.2.4. The Pahlavi translator of V 1,16 renders *raγa ϑrizaṇtuš* by *Pk [v.l. Pȳ] se-tōzmag* 'Rāγ/Rāy of three tribes' in which the spelling *lʾk* 'Rāγ' represents the Medo-Parthian, the variant *lʾȳ* 'Rāy' the Persian form of the name. He locates the city or country in Āzerbāijān (*pad ādurbādagān*); this, however, in view of his lack of knowledge of the actual geography of the list of lands in V 1, is irrelevant. More relevant is his reference to an authority who says that Zaraϑuštra was from that place (*zardušt az ān gyāg būd*) which points to *raγa ϑrizaṇtuš* having been considered by that authority as identical with *raγa zaraϑuštriš*. At the same time, it suggests that *Pk* 'Rāγ' refers to the same place or region as *ʾPk*, according to Dēnkard 7,2,9 the name of the district in which the prophet's birthplace, the village of the Spitamas [and the house of Porušaspa (§ 9.1)], was situated (*andar spitāmān deh abar ʾlʾk rōstāg*). If this is true, the enigmatic form *ʾPk* is likely to be a corruption of *Pk*. This *Pk/lʾȳ* itself (cf. Zādspram 14 *Pγ*), of which a gloss in PhlT on V 1,16 also records the alternative spelling *lyȳ* 'Ray', is nothing but *rāγ/rāy* < OIr. **rāga-*, a vriddhi form of OP. *ragā-*, Av. *raγā-*, which continues in Phl. *rāzīg*, NP. *rāzī* 'Ragian, from Ray' (< **rāγcīk*).[71]

[70] K. Hoffmann, *Das Avesta in der Persis*, 1979.

[71] Differently P. Horn, *GrIrPh* I, 2, 1901, 23, who thinks of a compensatory lengthening MP. *rāzīg* < **ragcīk* [or rather **raγcīg*], but he also quotes *sagzī* < *sagcīk*. With regard to the doublet *raγ/rāγ* note also the doublet *gauua/gāuua-* (§ 7.1.3.2).

Both, the basic form and the vriddhi obviously refer to the city and country of Ray, called *raγa zaraϑuštriš* by the western Mazdayasnians but *raγa ϑrizaṇtuš* by the majority of the easterners, and everything points to the district of Ray, as having been considered by the westerners as Zaraϑuštra's homeland, until other regions such as Āzerbāijān were brought into discussion.

9.3. Rāγ/Rāy and Nōdar

9.3.1. In several passages of Pahlavi literature, we find the phrase *rāγ ud nōdar* which, according to Nyberg, is "a proverbial saying using opposites to symbolize either absurdity or comprehensiveness".[72] In this saying, Rāγ 'Ray', Zaraϑuštra's supposed homeland, represents the westernmost, and Nōdar, the country of Vištāspa, a descendant of Nōdar (Av. *Naotara-*), the easternmost region of the geographical horizon for the West Iranian, or Median, version of Zaraϑuštras's legendary biography:

Dēnkard 7,3,39 *fradom az axw ī astōmand andar rāγ ud nōdar* 'the first of terrestrial beings between Rāγ and Nōdar' (said of a Karap);

7,2,51, 7,3,19 *nē ka ēdar har dō ham rasēnd rāγ ud nōdar*, 'not (even) when the two, Rāγ and Nōdar, come together here'.

The latter passage is also found in Zādsparam 16,11, supplied with the commentary 16,12 *ēn dō deh andar ādurbādagān ... zardušt az rāγ und vištāsp az nōdar būd* 'these two districts are in Āzerbāijān, Zardušt was from Rāγ, and Vištāsp from Nōdar'. But the attribution of both of the two districts to Āzerbāijān makes the proverbial saying meaningless, and it is hence absolutely unreliable. Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērān 14, where the foundation of the city of Tōs/Tūs (< **tausa*, vriddhi from the proper-name Av. *tusa-*) in the high valley of the Kašaf-rūd [Āb-e Mašhad] is attributed to Tōs ī Nōδarān (cf. Firdausi's Tōs ī Nōδarān), seems to be somewhat more informative.: *šahrestān ī tōs, tōs ī nōdarān <kird ī> 900 sāl spāhbed būd* 'the capital of Tōs (was built by) Tōs the son of Nōdar who was commander-in-chief for 900 years'. The family relationship between Tōs ī Nōdarān and Kavi Vištāspa possibly points to the country of Vištāspa having sought in that region by the sources of this geographical text.

9.3.2. Using the sources discussed above as a basis, we get the following West Iranian, or Median, version of the prophet's biography: Zaraϑuštra's paternal home

[72] H. S. Nyberg, *Manual of Pahlavi* II, 1974, 164.

was situated at Darəjā Zbarah in the village of the Spitamas (§ 9.1), in the country of Ragā/Ray. At the age of twenty, he left his parents, probably to go to the capital to extend his religious education. After his revelation, which took place at the age of thirty, he started his first great missionary journey. Going eastwards he followed the great caravan route from Ragā until he met Vištāspa. That meeting did not take place in Hecataeus' and Herodotus' Chorasmia, in the area of the Tejen and its upper course, the Harī-rūd, but rather on the banks of the Kašaf-rūd [Āb-e Mašhad], the most important affluent of the Tejen, which has its source to the north-west of Tōs/Tūs and Mašhad.

9.3.3. This would imply that in the Median view neither Sīstān nor any of the other East-Iranian lands mentioned in the Younger Avesta were the cradle of the Mazdayasnian religion; these were rather later accretions made by the joint efforts of the warrior Vištāspa and the prophet Zaraθuštra, who started from the high plateau of Tōs/Tūs and Mašhad, an ideal base for military operations (and missionary expeditions) into the relevant directions. Not only is there a mountain pass leading northwards in the direction of Nisā, the future capital of the Parthian kings, but Tōs/Tūs and Mašhad were also situated not far from the fork of the great caravan route from Raγā/Ray at Dihbād. From there, the road to Herāt, Sīstān and Qandahar turned south-east, while the road to Sarakhs, Marw, Khwārezm, Sughd and Balkh went due east, later turning north-east to cross the mountain pass at Mozdūrān. These two routes could have been the arteries for the carriage of the religion of the prophet to the countries south and north of the Hindukush. Moreover, the plateau was always exposed to nomad raids from the Turanian plain, which very well suits the idea that Vištāspa was originally a petty king (perhaps under Median suzerainty), ruling over a cattle-breeding and agricultural population perpetually engaged in fighting with Turanian and Khionite neighbours who stole their cattle, devastated their fields, plundered their provisions, and enslaved or killed their families.

9.2.4. This West Iranian, or Median, picture is favoured by the traditional date of Zaraθuštra '300 B.A.Inv.' = '300 years before Alexander's invasion' (§ 6.2). Clearly, this date differs by 450 years from Xanthus' date '600 years before Xerxes' crossing' (§ 6.1.3-4) which favours the theory of an East Iranian origin of Zaraθuštra and his religious tradition (§ 5,3), and it is impossible to reconcile the two. Yet, it is possibly Pliny, who unexpectedly helps us out of our dilemma. According to him 'it is not clear whether (Zoroaster) was the only one of that name, or whether there was also another

afterwards'.[73] Nobody hitherto has noticed the fact that such doubts are justified by Yy 19,18 itself. This key passage actually evidences that "Zaraθuštra" was not only the name of the prophet himself but also the title of his West-Iranian, or Median, successors, the Mazdayasnian "popes" residing in Median Ragā. Seen from this point of view, it is quite possible that the traditional date '300 B.A.Inv.' is a Median date which originally referred to some outstanding personality among these "popes", while Xanthus' date would refer to the prophet himself. In this case the location of Zaraθuštra's appearance in Eastern Iran regains confidence and even becomes very likely.

10. Notes on the History of the Text

10.1. The Pahlavi sources on the history of the Avesta

10.1.1. Several passages of the Pahlavi literature touch upon the history of the Holy Scriptures. Among them accounts of a copy of the Avesta written down as early as in the time of Vištāsp and Jāmāsp are of legendary character. What follows thereafter is, however, of increasing historical importance. We are told that already in Achaemenian times written copies of the Avesta existed, but which were destroyed or scattered in the aftermath of Alexander's invasion, and that the remains were later reassembled by the Arsacid ruler Valaxš. Preparatory work for the Sasanian recension, from which our Avesta descends, was undertaken by Ardaxšēr I (224-241), assisted by his chief priest Tansar, and continued by Šābuhr I (241-272). The Sasanian recension was completed by Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, the head-priest of Šābuhr II (309-379). The extant Pahlavi Version seems to have been prepared by order of Xosrau I (531-579).[74]

10.1.2. The indigenous tradition of the history of the Avesta is comprehensively expounded in Dēnkard Book 4. In Dēnkard Book 3, however, additional information is supplied by an abridgment of the history of the Dēnkard itself. As far as the pre-Islamic part of this history is concerned (§ 10.2.1-7), this is really not a history of the Dēnkard, but a history of the underlying Avesta, and there can be no doubt that

[73] Pliny, Natural History 30,2,3 *sed unus hic fuerit an postea et alius non satis constat* (§ 6.1.2[29]).

[74] Geldner, *Awestalitteratur*, 1896, 33f.

the passages in question of Dk 3 are borrowed by its author, Ādurbād ī Emēdān, ultimately from the same source as the passages in question of Dk 4, and that all of them are borrowed in such a way that Dk 4 and Dk 3 complement each other. Only the later part of Dk 3 (§ 10.2.8) refers to the Dēnkard itself. It develops a picture of the later history of this text and of the difficulties of its transmission after the Arab conquest. We see that our Dēnkard tradition depends on one single ancestral manuscript, fortunately preserved in the provinces. It is certain that the Avesta had an analogous history in the early Islamic period (§ 10.7.3).

10.1.3. Since it is very difficult in general to get a clear picture of the source material regarding the history of the Avesta, we give the following conspectus:

Dēnkard 4 (here sections Dk 4A, 4B, 4C, 4D, 4E, 4F, 4G) = Dk 4,23-28 West: West, *Pahlavi Texts* IV, 413ff.; Sanjana IX, 456,5ff., 577,15ff.; Madan, 412,3ff.; Ms Bombay ed. Dresden, [321],11ff.; Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi* I, 1964, 108ff.; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 1955, 7ff., 31ff.

Dēnkard 3 (here sections Dk 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D) = Dk 3,420 de Menasce: de Menasce, *Le troisième livre du Dēnkard*, 1973, 379 f., cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts* IV, 1892, p. XXXff.; Sanjana IX, 450ff., 568ff.; Madan, 405,11ff.; Ms Bombay ed. Dresden [316],9ff.; Nyberg, *Manual* I, 108ff.; M. F. Kanga, *The last chapter of Dēnkart Book III*, in: *ActOr* 30, 1966, 117-127.

Further texts adduced below are:

Dēnkard 5 (Dk 5) = Dk 5,3,4: West, *Pahlavi Texts* V, 1897, 127; Sanjana IX, 47Of., 618; Madan 437,2f.; Ms Bombay ed. Dresden [341],7f.; Nyberg, *Manual* I, 110.

Dēnkard 8 (Dk 8) = Dk 8,1,21: West, *Pahlavi Texts* IV, 9f., Sanjana 8,0,20 (XVa 6, XVb 7); Madan 679,18; Ms Bombay ed. Dresden [528],11.

Ardā virāz Nāmag (AVN) = AVN 1.

10.2. The Pahlavi sources in detail

10.2.1. Vištāsp (possibly confounded with Vištāspa, the father of Darius I):

Dk 4A = Ms. B [320],16-22: *Wištāspšāh ka az karēzār ī abāg arjāsp pardaxt būd ō sar-xwadāyīh abar padīriftan ī dēn frēstag ud nibēgīhā ī az wispdānāgīh-pēsīd māzdēsn dēn pad was ēwēnag abzār ud frahang būdan ī ham-iz kār frahixt-huzwān moγmard abāg frēstīd. Spēdag ud arjāsp ud abārīg ī az bē xwaniras pad dēn pursišnīh o frašōstr āmad hēnd. Spurr-āgāhīhā wisē kard.*

When Vištāsp-šāh had finished the war with Arjāsp, he sent (messages) to the chief rulers regarding the acceptance of the religion, and (he sent) books (taken) from the Mazdayasnian religion, adorned with universal knowledge, (and) in order for the whole matter to serve in a most appropriate way as an organ of instruction, he sent Magian men instructed in the language along with (them). Spēdag and Arjāsp and the others from outside Xvaniras came to Frašōštr to ask questions (of him), and he sent them back with complete information.

Dk 3A = Ms. B [316],10-21: *Hād dēnkard nibēg kardag ast ī az wispdānāgīh-pēsīd dēn māzdēsn paydāgīh. Ud nuxust kardag ī az wehdēn poryōtkēšān waxšwar yašt-frawahr spitamān zarduxšt. Fradom hāwišt pad pursišn ud āšnawišn ī az ham yašt-frawahr wehdēn paydāgīg dānišn <ud> āgāhīh ī abar har dar hangōšīdag rōšnīh ī az bun rōšn. Ud ān bun pursišn wizīr ī dahibed burzāwand kaywištāsp nibēgēnīd, bun ud bun ō ganj ī šaspīgān abēspard. Paccēn passazagīhā wistardan framūd. Ud az ān pas paccēn ō diz ī nibišt frēstīd ud anōh dāštan āgāhīh.*

The book Dēnkard is a composition (taken) from the manifestation of the Mazdayasnian religion, adorned with universal knowledge. It is the first composition (taken) from the chief teachers of the good religion of the prophet Spitamān Zarduxšt of revered Fravahr. By asking questions (of him) and by listening (to his answers), the first pupils of this (Zarduxšt) of revered Fravahr (obtained) manifest knowledge and information of the good religion regarding all subjects, in the same way as splendour (is emanated) from a basic light. The sagacious Kay Vištāsp, the exalted ruler, arranged for a basic (text) of those questions (and answers) to be written down. Then he arranged that all the basic (texts) be laid down in the Royal Treasury. Then he gave the order to disseminate properly (written) copies of it. Thereafter he sent a copy to the National Archives in order to store the information there.

10.2.2. Darius III (most likely a mistake for Darius I):

Dk 4B = Ms. B [321],1-3: *Dārāy ī Dārāyān hamāg abestāg ud zand ciyōn zarduxšt az ohrmazd padīrift nibištag dō paccēn. Ēwag pad ganj ī ša<s>pīgān ēwag pad diz ī nibišt dāštan framūd.*

Dārāy, son of Dārāy, (arranged for) two copies of the entire Avesta and Zand, (just) as Zarduxšt had received them fom Ohrmazd, to be written. One of them he ordered to be kept in the Royal Treasury, the other in the National Archives.

Dk 5 = Ms. B [341],19-21: *Ēd cē Jāmāsp az ān ī zarduxšt hammōg bē guft ud hast ī nibišt jomā abestāg ud zand ī pad gāw pōst[yān]thā ud zarr nibišt ēstād pad ganj ī xwadāyān dāšt. Dahibedān ud dastwarān az-iš būd ī wēš paccēn kard.*

That which Jāmāsp had spoken from the teachings of Zardušt and which someone had written down, both Avesta and Zand -(all that) had been written with gold(en letters) on cowhide and were kept in the Treasury of the Lords, and the rulers and the religious authorities made additional copies therefrom.

10.2.3. Alexander's invasion:

AVN 7-9: *Ud ēn dēn ciyōn hamāg abestāg ud zand abar gāw pōstīhā [ī] wirāstag pad āb ī zarr nibištag andar Staxr ī Pābagān pad diz <ī> nibišt nihād ēstād ... Aleksandar hrōmāyīg ī muzrāyīg mānišn abar āwurd ud bē sōxt ud cand dastwarān ud dādwarān ud hērbedān ud mowbedān ud dēnburdārān ud dānāgān ī ērānšahr rāy bē kušt.*

And that Religion, namely all the Avesta and Zand, which had been written with golden ink on prepared cowhide, and deposited in Staxr ī Pābagān in the National Archives, was taken away and burnt by Alexander the Roman, resident of Egypt, and many religious authorities and judges and hērbeds and mowbeds and upholders of the religion and skilled and wise man were killed.

Dk 3B = Ms. B [316],18-21: *Ud andar wizand ī az mar ī dušxwarr Aleksandar ō ērānšahr ud dēn-xwadāyīh mad ān ī pad diz ī nibišt ō sōzišn. Ān ī <pad> ganj ī šaspīgān ō dast ī hrōmāyān mad u-š ō-iz ywtn'yk [*yōnāyīg] huzwān wizārd pad āgāhīh ī az pēšēnīgān guft.*

During the disturbances which came over Iran and the leadership of the religion from Alexander, the notorious scoundrel, the copy in the Royal Archives was burnt, and the second, the one in the Fortress of Writings, fell into the hands of the Romans and was translated into *Greek, as is said in the tradition left (to us) from (our) ancestors.

Dk 8 = Ms. B [528],11-13: *Ud pas az wišōbišn az mar ī dušxwarr zēšmkun Aleksandar mad u-š būd ī ēdōn abāz nē windād ī pad dastwar dāštan šāyist hē.*

And after destruction had come from the notorious, wicked, (and) wrathful Alexander, (even) so much was not recovered from (the ruins) of what had existed, as would be possible to be kept (in memory) by a religious authority.

10.2.4. Valaxš (one of the Parthian Kings of that name):

Dk 4C = Ms. B [321],3-8: *Walaxš ī Aškānān abestāg <ud> zand ciyōn abēzagīhā andar āmad ēstād hammōg-iz ī az-iš harw cē az wizand ud āšuftgārīh ī Aleksandar ud ēwār ud rōb ī hrōmāyān andar ērān-šahr pargandagīhā abar <mānd> nibištag. †Tā cē huzwān abēspārišnīg pad dastwar mānd ēstād andar šahr ciyōn frāz mad ēstād nigāh dāštan ō šahrīhā ayādgār kardan framūd.*

(Regarding) Avesta and Zand and (regarding) the teaching which is derived therefrom, (namely regarding) all (of it) which, from the disturbances and turmoil (brought about by) Alexander and from the robbery and pillage by the Romans, (some of it) was left in written form (but) dispersed all over Erānšahr, or preserved in oral form by an authority, Valaxš the Aškānian [Arsacid] ordered attention to be given to it in the land, wherever it might come to light, and to make a record of it for (other) lands.

10.2.5. Ardaxšēr I and Tansar:

Dk 3C = Ms. B [316],21-[317],5: *Paywastag ōy bay Ardaxšēr šāhān šāh <ī> Pābagān mad ō abāz ārāstārīh ī ērān xwadāyīh. Ham nibēg az pargandagīh ō ēwag gyāg āwurd ud poryōtkēš ahlaw Tansar ī hērbad būd abar mad ud abāg paydāgīh <ī> az abestāg abāz handāxt <ud> az ān paydāgīh bowandagēnīd[ag]an framūd. Ud hamgōnag kard. Hangōšīdag az brāh <ī> az bun rōšn pad ganj ī ša<s>p<īg>ān dāštan <ud> paccēn passazagīhā frāxwēnīdan framūd āgāhīh.*

Later on Lord Ardaxšēr, King of Kings, son of Pābag, came to restore the leadership of Iran. From its scattered state every book was brought to one place, and the chief teacher, the righteous hērbad Tansar, appeared and with the evidence which he recovered from the Avesta, he ordered the evidence (available at that time) to be completed. And so it was done. In the same way as splendour (emanates) from a basic light, he ordered (the evidence) to be kept in the Royal Treasury, and copies to be disseminated in an appropriate manner, for information.

Dk 4D = Ms. B [321],9-12: *Ōy bay Ardaxšēr šāhān šāh ī Pābagān pad rāst-dastwarīh <ī> Tansar ān-iz hammōg ī pargandag hamāg ō dar xwāst. Tansar abar mad. Ān ī ēwag frāz padīrift ud abārīg az dastwar hišt. Ud ēn-iz framān dād kū: Frāz ō amāh har nigēzišn ān ē bawēd <ī> az dēn māzdēsn cē nūn-iz āgāhīh ud dānišn az-iš frōd nēst.*

Under the lawful authority of Tansar, the Lord Ardaxšēr, King of Kings, son of Pābag, commanded all those scattered teachings (to be brought) to his court. Tansar set to work. One part (of them) he approved (as authoritative), (but) the authority of the other part he disapproved. He issued the following order: All accounts of the Mazdayasnian religion are restricted to us, since (from) now (on) there is neither information nor knowledge (possible) otherwise.

10.2.6. Šābuhr I and Tansar:

Dk 4E = Ms. B [321],3-20: *Šābuhr šāhān šāh ī Ardaxšērān nibēgīhā-z ī az dēn bē abar bizeškīh ud star-jumbišnīh ud candišn ud zamān ud gyāg ud gōhr dahišn bawišn*

*wināhišn ud jadag wihīrīh ud gowāgīh ud abārīg *nērōgīh ud abzār <ī> andar Hindūgān <ud> Hrōm abārīg-iz zamīgīhā pargandag būd abāz ō ham āwurd ud abāg abestāg abāz handāxt. Har ān ī drust paccēn ō [ō] ganj ī ša<s>pīgān dādan framūd ud ēstēnīdan ī hamāg hargestān abar dēn māzdēsn ō uskār kard.*

Šābuhr, King of Kings, son of Ardaxšēr, brought together again also the books taken from other (sources) than the religion, (books) which dealt with medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance creation, becoming, passing away, change in quality, eloquence, and other abilities and skills, (books) which were scattered throughout India, the Roman Empire and other countries. He collocated them again with the Avesta and ordered a fair copy of them all to be deposited in the Royal Treasury. And he took into consideration that all subjects be made to confess the Mazdayasnian religion.

10.2.7. Šābuhr II and Ādurbād Māraspandān:

Dk 4F = Ms. B [321],19-[322],4: *Šābuhr šāhān šāh ī Ohrmazdān hamāg kišwarīgān pad pahikārišn ⸢āb-anāhōg kard ud hamāg gōwišn ō uskār ud wizōyišn āwurd. Pas az bōztan ī Ādurbād pad gōwišn ī passāxt abāg hamāg awešān <ī> *jud-ristagān ⸢wnnkkk ⸢ōšmurd-ān-iz tā jud-ristagān ēn-iz guft kū: Nūn ka-mān dēn pad gētīh bē did kas-iz aγ-dēnīh bē nē hilēm wēš abar tuxšāg tuxšēm. Ud hamgōnag kard.*

Šābuhr, King of Kings, son of Ohrmazd, *invited men from all countries to a ... debate, and he took all testimonies into consideration and into examination (by ordeal). And after Ādurbād (Māraspandān) had been vindicated by his tested statement ... he issued the following declaration: Now that we have seen the Religion upon earth, we shall no longer tolerate false religions and we shall be exceedingly zealous. And thus did he do.

AVN 1,12-16: *Ud pas az ān mardomān ī ērānšahr ēg abāg did āšōb ud pahikār būd ud ciyōn-išān zwadāy ud dahibed ud sardār ud dastwar ī dēn-āgāh nē būd ud pad tis ī yazdān gumān būd hēnd ... tā ān ka zād hufraward anōšag-ruwān Ādurbād Māraspandān kē pad-iš *passāxt ī pad dēn kard rōy <ī> widāxtag abar war rēxt ud cand dādestān ud dādwarīh andar jud-kēšān ud jud-wurrōyišnān be kard.*

After (Alexander's invasion) there (were) turmoil and struggle among the people of Erān, and because they had no sovereign, no ruler or leader nor an authority well versed in the religion, they were doubtful with respect to the divine matters ... until the Saint Ādurbād ī Māraspandān was born, who underwent an ordeal which was performed according to the Religion -molten brass was poured on his breast- and who held several trials and (passed) judgement (on) unbelievers and heretics.

10.2.8. Xosrau I:

Dk 4G = Ms. B [322],4-[323],6: *Im bay Xosraw ī šāhān šāh ī Kawādān ... ēn-iz pad dehān halgēnīh guft kū: rāstīh ī dēn māzdēsn bē dānist. ... Ān ī āgāhān pad judtarīh paykār nēst. Ōgōn wasīhā abestāg ēwāzīg pad abēzag-gōwišnīh nibēg-payrāyišnīg az-madiyān-ayādgārīh ud pāyram-iz ēwēnag āwāzīg andar gōwišn-āgāhēnišn dāšt ēstēd. Pas-iz hamāg zānīg <ī> dānāgīh ī dēn māzdēsn. ... Abardom xwāhišnīhā framāyēm hamist *moγmardān ī wēnāg <ud> ērdar ud huzēmdar ud weh nōg nōg asūdagīhā abestāg ud zand uskārdan ud ayābišn ī az-iš ō dānāgīh <ī> gēhānīgān arzānīgīhā abzūdan.*

Our present Lord, Xosrau, King of Kings, son of Kavād, ... issued the following declaration in an assembly of the provinces: The truth of the Mazdayasnian Religion has been recognised. ... We have no dispute with those of different conviction. For in text and interpretation we ourselves possess so much Avesta both, spoken in genuine pronunciation and arranged in written form (taken) from literary records, and (we possess) also texts in the vulgar idiom: In short, the whole source of wisdom of the Mazdayasnian Religion. ... We hereby most emphatically order the (most) perspicacious, the most noble, the most honourable, best Magian men to undertake zealously an entirely new study of the Avesta and Zand and worthily to increase the knowledge of things by what is acquired by them from it.

10.2.9. Invasion of the Arabs:

Dk 3D = Ms. B [317],5-10: *Ud pas az wizand ud šōbišn ī az Tāzīgān ō-iz dēwān ud ganj ī kišwar mad hufraward Ādurfarrobay ī Frāxwzādān ī hudēnān pēšōbāy būd ān paccēn ī kustagīhā pargandag būd nōg abzār az pargandagīh abāz ō hamīh ud <ō> dēwān ī-š dar āwurd. Andar nigerišn ud handāzišn ī ō wehdēn abestāg ud zand ud poryōtkēšān gōwišn hangōšīdag payrōg ī az brāh abāz kard.*

And after the disturbance and turmoil (which came) from the Arabs upon the archives and treasuries of the country, the Saint Ādurfarrōbay, son of Farroxzād, who was the Pontiff of the pious, brought back into the archive of his office that (former) copy (of the Dēnkard) which was scattered in the provinces, (thus bringing it) from its scattered state back to unification (to be used as) a new instrument. By studying Avesta and Zand and by interpreting them for the pious, and (by studying) the sayings of the chief teachers he, so to speak, restored the brightness (which had been emanated) by that light.

10.3. Oral and Written Traditions

10.3.1. As can be seen from the sources quoted above, the indigenous tradition on the history of the Avesta has always stressed that it is the written transmission that has played the decisive role in the history of the text. Only incidental information regarding the oral transmission is found in those sources. The oral tradition, however, was, in fact, of much greater importance. For it is exactly in the limits concerning this oral tradition that we are able to trace the development of the Avesta text from its original form to the Sasanian recension and beyond.

10.3.2. This view is different from the theory of the history of the Avesta text put forth by F. C. Andreas, a theory which from the beginning of this century has dominated Avesta studies.[75] The activities of Andreas, who unfortunately was supported by the great Indo-Europeanist and Indologist J. Wackernagel, mainly concerned the Gāθās. As it happens, the numerous obvious shortcomings of the grammatical and lexicological picture of the Gāθā language delineated by Ch. Bartholomae, had suggested a new approach, but Andreas' approach was mistaken.

10.3.3. Andreas tried to explain both, the shortcomings and inconsistencies in the use of the highly differentiated Avesta script in our manuscripts, as the result of an unskilled and faulty Sasanian transcription of the legendary Arsacid text (§ 10.2.4) which itself would have been inconsistently and defectively written in an inadequate script of the Aramaeo-Pahlavi type. In consequence, the attention of scholars became focussed on solving the difficult philological problems offered by the transmitted text of the Gāθās by simply assuming corruptions resulting from misspellings and mistranscriptions, and by fancifully restoring what they thought to be an original state of the text. Scholars such as W. B. Henning, G. Morgenstierne, and H. W. Bailey, raised objections to Andreas' theory.[76] Yet, since they not only avoided all polemic and calling things by their proper names, but also avoided dealing with the practical

[75]F. C. Andreas, *Die Entstehung des Awesta- Alphabets und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert*, in: *Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten- Kongresses, Hamburg, September 1902*, Leiden 1904, 99-106.

[76]W. B. Henning, *The Disintegration of the Avestic Studies*, in: *TPhS* 1942, 40-56 [= *Selected Papers* II, 1977, 151-162]. G. Morgenstierne, *Orthography and sound- system of the Avesta*, in: *NTS* 12, 1942, 30-82 [= *Irano- Dardica*, 1973, 31-83]. H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, 1943, ²1971.

problems of translation and interpretation of the text, they did not prevent Andreas' last followers, particularly H. Lommel, from continuing to follow his ideas.[77]

10.3.4. Thus, one procedure was replaced by another which was even more fallible. An instructive example for this is the morphological analysis of *gāuš* in 32,8 *ahmākāṇg gāuš bagā xᵛārəmnō* (PhlT *gōšt pad bazišn xᵛarēd* 'eat you meat in pieces') in which the grammatical analysis of *gāuš* 'ox/cow' was considered as problematic. Without any further comment, Bartholomae (1904) took *gāuš* 'ox', unambiguously a nom.sg., as a by-form of the gen.sg. *gāuš*, translating 'he who made our people eat the pieces of flesh' ['der den Unsrigen die Fleischstücke zu essen gab'].[78] Andreas and Wackernagel (1912), who did not question the analysis of the nom.sg. as gen.sg., tried to solve the problem by silently assuming a blunder in the transmission of the text, an assumption first formulated explicitely half a century later by Lommel (1974): "*gāuš* 'Rind' ist der äußeren Form nach Nom.Sg. Es muß aber ... Gen.Sg. sein, obwohl sonst *gāuš* und *gāuš* nicht verwechselt werden (also Textfehler)."[79] Yet, neither the grammar of the passage nor its transmission is faulty; it is the meaning as preconceived by Iranianists which is erroneous. In case *gāuš* in fact is from *gau-* 'ox/cow' (for a possible alternative see § 13.1.2.1, § 13.1.4), it must be nom.sg. and a translation quite different from Bartholomae's must be sought.

10.4. Early dialectal influences on the transmission of the text

10.4.1. In the early 1950s, K. Hoffmann began to occupy himself with laying the ground for establishing a scientific textual history of the Avesta based on a critical evaluation of the details of the transmitted text.[80] An exhaustive and conclusive exposition of the further results achieved by him since that time has recently been published in K. Hoffmann - J. Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus* (1989). Hoffmann was the first to deal systematically with the inconsistencies of the graphical form of the transmitted text of the Avesta, especially of the Gāθās, which do not only confuse beginners but experts as well. In his view, a great part of these inconsistencies has its

[77]The last attempt at propagating Andreas' theory was H. Lommel, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, hrsg. v. B. Schlerath, 1971. See now also Schlerath's article *The Andreas Theory* in: *EncIr* II, 1987, 29-30.

[78]Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1866, cf. ibid. 508.

[79]K. Hoffmann, *Zum Zeicheninventar der Avesta-Schrift*, 1971.

[80]K. Hoffmann, *Altiranisch*, 1958.

root in unconscious modernisations of the original Avesta text by its transmitters. Thus, it is obvious that the umlaut *a* > *e* in OAv. dat.sg. *fšuiieṇtē* < **fšuiiaṇtē* < **fšuiiaṇtōi* (from stem *fšuiiaṇt-* 'cattle-breeder', cf. *fšuiiaṇtaē-cā*, acc.sg. *fšuiiaṇtəm*) follows a phonetic law. It is, however, certain that this law was not valid for the original text of the Gāϑās, which certainly had **fšuyaṇt°* without any exception; the law came into force in the YAv. period only, when the final diphthong of original OAv. **fšuiiaṇtōi* (cf. **fšuiiaṇtaē-cā*) had been monophthongized into its YAv. equivalent **fšuiiaṇtē* > *fšuiientē*, which replaced the correct OAv. form during the transmission of the OAv. text (§ 10.6.2).

10.4.2. In a few instances, Hoffmann succeeded in localising some early modernisations of this type.[81] He believes that Sīstānī or related influence on the Avesta transmission is probable for e.g. the development of dissyllabic initial OIr. *huw* into transmitted monosyllabic x^v as in OAv. $x^v\bar{a}ng$ 'of the sun', $x^v\bar{a}\vartheta ra$- 'comfort'and $x^v\bar{\imath}ti$- 'good mobility' where the Gāϑic metre testifies to an original dissyllable x^v (cf. also YH $x^v\bar{a}stra$- 'of good pastures'). He draws attention to the same development in the Sīstānī river name YAv. $x^v\bar{a}str\bar{a}$- in Yt 19,67 $x^v\bar{a}straca$ *huuaspaca* 'Khāsh and Khuspās' (but where, admittedly, *huw* > x^v is restricted to its position before a long vowel). Arachosian influence is to be seen in the development of internal *hw* > x^v, well attested in YAv. *harax^{v}aitī-* 'Arachosia' (OP. *harauvatī-*) and also found in OAv. *sāx^{v}an-* 'instruction' and *nəmax^{v}aitī-* 'inspiring reverence' (as contrasted with the regular development *hw* > *ŋ^{v}h* in OAv. *aojōŋ^{v}haṇt-* 'strong'). From these two phonetical peculiarities Hoffmann concludes that the transmission of the Avesta from the country of its origin to Persis must have involved Sīstān and Arachosia. Of these two regions it is Arachosia which he thinks deserves special emphasis, since Aram. *hrḥwty* 'Arachosia' is attested many times in the Aramaic inscriptions on the ritual mortars and pestles discovered in the treasury of Persepolis in 1936/38. It is evident that Arachosia is the country of their origin, and it is certainly justified to see a parallel in their appearence in Persepolis and the occurrence of the above-mentioned Arachosian dialectal features in our Persian Avesta tradition.

10.4.3. In the course of the transmission of the Avesta text, internal monosyllabic *y* and *v* developed into dissyllabic *iy* and *uv*, written *ii* and *uu*, respectively: *anya-* 'other' and *harva-* 'whole' of the original text became *aniia-* and *hauruua-* in the

[81]For the following see K. Hoffmann, *Das Avesta in der Persis*, 1979; Hoffmann-Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus*, 1989, 39-43, 48f., 78-81, 86-91.

transmitted text. Hoffmann explains this development as an adaptation of the pronunciation of Old Persian (or, perhaps better, its court pronunciation) for which the parallel development *y* > *iy* and *v* > *uv* in OP. *aniya-* and *haruva-* is characteristic. This suggests that the transfer of the Holy Scriptures to Persia took place in Achaemenian times, after Arachosia had come under Persian influence.

10.4.4. In Hoffmann's view, the transfer must have been arranged by Darius I, -not Darius III as suggested by the Dēnkard (§ 10.2.2)-, who summoned Arachosian priests to Staxr (modern Istakhr) in the vicinity of Persepolis. There, he established the new religious centre of the Persians, an important task of which was to counterbalance the still strong influence of the West Iranian Mazdayasnian tradition represented by the Median Magi. Whereas in the course of time the Arachosian priests merged with the Magi, the Arachosian Avesta tradition maintained its pre-eminence. Avestan became, and remained, the authoritative religious language of the Persians. As a result of this development, to denote a Mazdayasnian, Middle Persian uses neither the genuine Persian nor the Median forms but rather the Avestan form of the term: MP. *mazdēsn* < **mazdayasna-* is borrowed from Av. *mazdaiiasna-*. The genuine form would be MP **mazdēšn* < OP. **mazdayašna-* (cf. NP. *jašn* 'feast < OP. **yašna-*), as contrasted with Med. **mazdayazna-* (> Aram. *mzdyzn*).

10.5. Prefix repetition and sandhi in the Gāϑās

10.5.1. In a number of Gāϑā passages a verbal prefix in tmesis is repeated immediately before the verb:

29,1 *ā ... āhišāiiā*, 31,18 *ā ... ādāṯ*, 33,7 *ā ... āidūm*, 31,13 *ā ... aiiamaitē*, 44.14 *ā ... anāšē*, 46,2 *ā ... auuaēnā*, 49,1 *ā ... arapā*, 28,11 *ā ... bauuaṯ* (?), 43,8 *ā ... dā*, 43,9 *ā ... maniiāi*(?), 48,11 *ā ... jimaṯ*(?)

49,3 *antarā ... antarā.mruiiē*

32,9 *apō ... apaiiantā*

31,13 *aibī ... aibī.vaēnahī*, vs. 32,15 *aibī ... daintī*, 51,9 *aibī ... dāuuōi*.

30,10 *auuā ... auuō.bauuaitī*

48,9 *ərəš ... ərəžūcąm*, vs. 44,1 *ərəš ... vaocā*, 51,5 *ərəš ... cistā*

33,12 *us ... uzārəšuuā*, 46,12 *us ... uzjən*

32,14 *nī ... nī.dadaṯ*, 48,7 *nī ... nī.diiātąm vs.* 44,14 *nī ... mərązdiiāi*

44,13 *nīš ... niš.nāšamā*

48,7 *paitī ... paitī.siiōdūm*, 49,11 *paitī ... paitiieintī* vs. 50,9 *paitī ... aiienī*

34,5 *parā ... parā.vaoxəmā* vs. 46,1 *pairī ... dadaitī*, 51,22 *pairī ... jasāi*

33,8 *frō ... frauuōizdūm*, 33,13 *frō ... fradaxšaiiā*, 46,3 *frō ... frārəntē*, 46,10 *frō ... frafrā*, 49,6 *frō ... fraēsiiā*, 28,11 *frō ... sīšā*, 45,6 *frō ... sāstū*, 46,5 *frō ... mruiiāṯ*

53,5 *mān ... mązdazdūm* vs. 28,4 *māṇ ... dadē*, 31,5 *māṇ ... daidiiāi*

44,9 *yaoš ... yaoždānē*

43,12 *vī ... vīdāiiāṯ*

31,8 *hām ... hāṇgrabəm*, 47,3 *hām ... hāmə.fraštā* vs. 30,4 *hām ... jasaētəm*, 44,15 *hām ... jamaētē*

10.5.2. As can be seen from the above doublets *ā ... ādāṯ* vs. *ā ... dā*, *ā ... āidūm* vs. *āiiāṯ*, *ərəš ... ərəžūcąm* vs. *ərəš ... vaocā*, *paitī ... paitiieintī* vs. *paitī ... aiienī*, *māṇcā mązdazdūm* vs. *mān ... dāidiiāi*, the repetition is inconsistent. Its result is always a hypermetrical verse and it cannot, therefore, have been part of the original text; it must be due to a conscious insertion by a recension. This must have taken place at a time when the repetition of the preverb (as in V 21,6 *frā tē ... frasnaiieni*) had already become a linguistic reality. On the other hand, sandhi forms of the preverbs as in *ərəžūcąm*, *uzārəšuuā*, *uzjən*, *fraēšiiā* (*fra-išiiā*), *yaoždānē*, *hāngrabəm* prove that the Old Avestan sandhi rules were still known to the authors of the insertion, which is the most clear-cut of the changes to Zaraθuštra's original text during its transmission.

10.5.3. In the transmitted text of the Gāθās, the words in principle appear in their pausal forms. The text is thus similar to the Padapāṭha of the Rigveda. However, external sandhi, as in the Rigvedic Saṃhitā, is regular before enclitics, e.g. *yascā* (*yə + cā*), *yąscā* (*yəṇg + cā*), *yastaṯ* (*yə + taṯ*), *kasnā* (*kə + nā*), *aźiiācā* (*ahiiā + cā*). We also find "mixed forms" such as 46,17 *vāstā* (*və + tā*, for **vastā*), 45,3 *yąm mōi* (*yəm + mōi*, for **yą mōi*), 46,14 *yəṇgstū* (*yəṇg + tū*, for **yąstū*), sometimes, perhaps, also in positions other than before enclitics: 32,11 *rārəšiiąn manaŋho* (if for **rārəšiiən m°*), 34,11 *vīduuaēšąm θβōi.ahī* (if for **vīduuaēšəm θβ°*, § 10.5.4). Less clear is 29,4 *ciθīṯ* hardly for **cīṯ-īṯ* (as *zaraθuštra-* for **zaraṯ.uštra-*, § 2.2.6[11]); 34,8 *hiiaṯ as aojå* besides 57,10 *yaθa aojå*; 35,4, 48,1 *adāiš*, according to Narten for **aṯ.āiš*.

10.5.4. In case 34,11 *θβōi.ahī* 'You make tremble' is for **θwayahi* of the original, and **θβaiiehī* of the transmitted text (cf. original **xšayahi* > transmitted *xšaiiehī*), it is by far the oldest instance among the relatively numerous wrong word divisions found in the OAv. texts. Of rather ancient origin are also the wrong divisions of the dat.sg.

**aṣāiia- cā* into 30,1 *aṣā.yecā* and 51,12 *aṣāi.yecā*.[82] An additional sound has been produced in 43,1 *gaṯ.tōi* (for **gatōi*), 51,10 *gaṯ.tē* (for **gatē* < **gatōi*), 44,8 *āgəmaṯ.tā* (for **āgəmatā*); 33,1 *ratūš šiiaoθanā* (for **ratū šiiaoθanā*); 48,12 *aēšəm.mahiiā* (for **aēšəmahiiā*), 53,2 *paitiiāstīm manaŋhō* (for **paitiiāstī manaŋhō*), 40,1 *mīždəm mauuaēθəm* (for *mīždəm* **auuaēθəm*), perhaps also in 44,20 *hīm mīzən* (< *hīm* **īzən*?). Inversely a double sound is simplified in 28,4 *māṇ gairē* (for **māṇg gairē*).

10.6. Young Avestan influence on the transmission of the Old Avestan texts

10.6.1. The textual transmission of the Old Avestan texts was strongly influenced by Young Avestan phonetic developments. Some typical doublets are *haiθīm* 'true' (31,6.8, 46,19) vs. correct OAv. *haiθiiām* (34,15), *ainīm* 'other' (53,5) vs. correct OAv. *aniiām* (34,7, 46,7). The YAv. influence even produced forms which were neither OAv. nor YAv. Thus, in the textual transmission of the Gāθās the original ending *-dvam* of the 2nd pl.med. developed into *-dūm* (45,1 *gūšō.dūm* as **harvam* > YAv. *haurum*), but the real linguistic development would have been *-dvam* > YAv. *-δβəm* as attested in YAv. *rāmōiδβəm*.[83]

10.6.2. In contrast to YAv. *-ō*, the correct OAv. development of Iran. *-ah* is *-ə̄*. This is regularly preserved in monosyllables such as *mā*, *yā* and *vā*, but in polysyllables it is only occasionally preserved as a sort of sandhi form: thus, before sibilant in 43,15 *azā sarədanå*, 44,2 *kāvə̄ sūidiiāi* (with *-ə̄* for nasalised *-ə̨̄*, sandhi for *-əṇg*?), 45,1 *ciθrə̄ zī*, 45,5 *vacə̄ srūidiiāi*; before *xš°* in 44,1 *nəmə̄ xšmāuuatō*, 50,9 *vasə̄ xšaiiā*, 43,1 *vasə̄ xšaiiąs*. In all other polysyllables OAv. *-ə̄* is replaced by the typically YAv. *-ō*. In a similar way, the correct OAv. ending *-ōi* < Iran. *-ai* is often replaced by the typically Yav. *-ē*. Sometimes the OAv. forms are attested within the verse, while the YAv. forms stand at its end. Thus, correct OAv. *vasə̄* 'at will' is found in 50,9 *vasə̄ xšaiiā*, 43,1 *vasə̄ xšaiiąs*, but at the end of the line we have YAv.-influenced *vasō* in 31,19 *xšaiiamnō ... vasō*, 32,15 *xšaiiamnəṇg vasō*. Similarly: 46,2 *gərəzōi tōi*, but 32,9 *yūšmaibiiā gərəzē* 'I complain' (end of line); 43,1 *gaṯ.tōi vasəmī*, but 51,10 *gaṯ.tē* 'to come' (end of line); 46,11, 49,8 *yauuōi vīspāi* and 53,1.7 *yauuōi vīspāi.ā*, but 28,8 *vīspāi yauuē* 'for all the time' (end of line). Thus, also the gen.sg. *zaraθuštrahē* (from YAv.

[82] K. Hoffmann, *Avestisch yecā*, 1975.

[83] K. Hoffmann, *Altiranisch*, 1958, 8.

°*ahe*) stands for correct OAv. °*ahiiā* in 53,1.3 (end of line), and 54,1 (end of colon). Note especially 53,1 *zaraθuštrahē* 'spitāmahiiā (§ 2.2.3).

10.6.3.0. A number of OAv. quotations found in the Younger Avesta have been more or less completely transposed into the YAv. dialect, which perhaps points to the existence of certain strings of tradition which were more "modernised" than the canonic string:

Yy 10,20 *gauue vərəziiātąm* < 48,5 *gauuōi vərəziiātąm*; Yy 15,2 *yeŋhē mē vahištəm* < 51,20 *yehiiā mōi vahištəm*

Yy 19,15 *nōiţ nā manå nōiţ saŋha nōiţ xratauuō naēδa varəna noiţ uxδa naēδa šiiaoθna nōiţ daēnå nōiţ uruuąnō haciņte* < 45,2 *nōiţ nā manå nōiţ sōŋghā nōiţ xratauuō naēdā varanā nōiţ uxδā naēdā šiiaoθanā nōiţ daēnå nōiţ uruuąnō haciņtē*

Yy 71,13 *huuō zī druuå yā druuāitē vahištō* < 46,6 *huuō zī drəguuå yā drəguuāitē vahištō*

Yy 71,25 *gauue aδāiš* < 35,4 *gauuōi adāiš*

Vr 2,5 *yeŋhe šiiaoθnaiš gaēθå aŋa frādəņte* < 43,6 *yehyā šiiaoθanāiš gaēθå aŋā frādəņtē*

Ny 3.10 *stē rapaņtē* +*ciθrauuaŋhąm (v.l. ciθra.auuaŋhąm)* is distorted from 34,4 *stōi rapaņtē ciθrā.auuaŋhəm*

Ny 4,8 *garō nmāne ahurō mazdå jasaţ paoiriiō* < 51,15 *garō dəmāne ahuro mazdå jasaţ pouruiiō*

Yt 9,26 *yā mē varəzānāi vaŋᵛhīm dāţ frasastīm* < 49,7 *yā vərəzənāi vaŋᵛhīm dāţ frasastīm*

Yt 13,154 *daitikanąmca aiδiiunąm yaţ urunō yazamaide aŋaonąm āaţ urunō yazamaide kuδō.zātanąmciţ narąmca nāiriną̄mca yaēšąm vahehīš daēnå vanaņti vā vəŋhən vā vaonarə vā* < 39,2 *daitikanąmca aidiiūnąm hiiaţ urunō yazamaidē aŋaunąm āaţ urunō yazamaidē kudō.zātanąmciţ narąmcā nāiriną̄mcā yaēšąm vahehīš daēnå vanaiņti vā vāŋghən vā vaonarə vā*

A 4,3 *pərəsaca nå ... yā tē ahmāi paršta* < 43,10 *pərəsācā nå yā tōi əhmā paršta*

V 5,62 *təm vå ahūm druuantō šiiaoθnāiš xᵛāiš xᵛā daēna nisirinuiiāţ* < 31,20 *təm vå ahūm drəguuantō šiiaoθanāiš xᵛāiš daēnā naēšaţ*

V 7,52 PhlT gloss *hąm.yā.saiti* < 33,1 +*həmiiāsaitē*

V 8,107 *drujō nmāne haiθiiā [sic!] aŋhən astaiiō* < 49,11 *drujō dəmānē haiθiiā aŋhən astaiiō*

V 19,10 *taţ θwā pərəsā [sic!] arš mē vaoca ahura* < 44,1 *taţ θwa pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*

V 20,8 *yeŋhe varəda vanaēma drujim druje varəda vanaēma yeŋhe xšaθrəm* +*aojaŋhuuaţ maibiiō ahura* < 31,4 *maibiiō xšaθrəm aojōŋhuuāţ yehiiā vərədā vanaēmā drujim*

H 2,1 *kām nəme ząm kuθra nəme aiieni* < 46,1 *kām nəmōi ząm kuθra nəmōi aiienī* (on *kām* see § 10.6.3.2).

10.6.3.1. Yy 11,9 is a magic series of the numbers one to ten, quoted from (or read into) quotations from the Gāθās, mostly transposed into YAv.: (1) *yō nō aēuuō* < 29,8 *yā nā aēuuō*; (2) *aţ tē uiiē* < 34,11 *aţ tōi ubē*; (3) *θrāiiōidiiāi* < 34,5; (4) *tūrahe* < 46,12 *tūrahiiā*; (5) *maņdāidiiāi* < 44,8 *məņdāidiiāi*; (6) *xšuuīdəm* < 29,7; (7-8) *haptāždiiāi* < 32,3 *haptaiθē* + 51,17 *āzdiiāi*; (9) *nauua* < ?; (8) *dasme yōi vā yaēθma* < 28,9 *yōi vā yōiθəmā dasəmē*.

10.6.3.2. Some of the YAv. names of the single Gāθās and Hāitis (§ 2.1.2) show interesting phonetical developments: Y 28 *ahiiāsā-* < 28,1 *ahiiā yāsā*; Y 29 *zšmāuuaiia.-gəuš.uruuā-* < 29,1 *zšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā*; Y 33 *yaθāisiθā-* < 33,1 *yaθā āiš iθā*; Y 46 *kamnamaēzā-* < 46,1 **kąm nəmōi ząm* (but the mss. have *kām nəmōi ząm* with *kām* obviously reimported from YAv. *kamnamaēzā-*); Y 48 *yeziδā-* < 48,1 *yezī adāiš*; Y 49 *aţ.maiiauuā-* < 49,1 *aţ mā yauuā*; Y 53 *vahištōišti-* < 53,1 *vahištā ištiš*.

10.7. Sasanian recension, archetype, subarchetype

10.7.1. The Sasanian recension of the Avesta was not based on a literary but on an oral traditionh. As K. Hoffmann (1971) has shown, the Sasanian Avesta archetype was written in a phonetically highly differentiated script which was specifically invented for the purpose of recording the smallest phonetic details of the oral tradition.[84] The written text thus established was not uniform, a fact in part due to unconscious alterations during the previous transmission of the text, as described above (§ 10.4-6), in part due to compromises between the different text traditions represented by the authors of the recension, and in part also due to conscious influences, based on ideas understood to be "scientific" by their authors (§ 10.5.1-2).

10.7.2. At the latest, by the time of the Sasanian recension, a number of rather strange orthoepic, and in consequence, orthographic rules were imposed on the Avesta

[84] K. Hoffmann, *Zum Zeicheninventar der Avesta-Schrift*, 1971.

texts. Well known examples are *daēnā-* 'view, religious view, religion' (for metrically ascertained **daiianā-* of the original text) and *ārmaiti-* 'right-mindedness' (for metrically ascertained *arəm.maiti-*, transmitted in P 25 where it is used in its etymological meaning). While these are found in both OAv. and YAv. other examples of the same type are confined to OAv. The following are particularly noticeable:

10.7.2.1. Whereas Ir. **yaϑa* (cf. YAv. *yaϑa*) is represented by OAv. *yaϑā*, Ir. **yad* (cf. YAv. *yaṯ*) is unexpectedly replaced by OAv. *hiiaṯ* with phonetically unexplained initial *h*. It is almost certain that this *h* did not belong to the original text but was introduced into it later on. The original *yaṯ* is still preserved in *yaϑənā* < **yaṯ + nā* (31,22, 35,2, 43,10) which was no longer etymologically perspicuous at the time of the replacement. Note also 34,8 *hiiaṯ as aojå* vs. Yy 57,10 *yaϑa aojå* (§ 2.2.7[12], § 10.7.4).

10.7.2.2. The archaistic Yy 58,4 *hə ... həcā* 'he ... and he' (cf. 27,6 *həcā* 'and he') suggests that OAv. originally had the pronominal forms *hə* < **hah* and *həcā* < **ha-ca*, cf. YAv. *hō/hā*, Ved. *sá(ḥ)*, *sá-ca*. However, in the genuine Old Avestan texts *hə* has throughout been replaced by *huuō*, which phonetically corresponds to YAv. *hāu*. The only trace left of *hə* is the pronoun ə in 29,6 *aṯ ə vaocaṯ ahurō* 'then he, the Ahura, speaks' which at an early time was corrupted from **hə* whereby it became obscure to the authors of the replacement (cf. § 10.7.4 on 46,18 *ascīṯ* for **hascīṯ*).

10.7.2.3. 34,13 *cəuuištā* and 51,15 *cəuuišī*, from root *kaēš/ciš* 'to commit, allocate', both show hypermetrical *cəuuiš°* (*cəuuīš°*) for metrical *cōiš°*, inversely formed in analogy to Yav. *yōišta-* < OAv. **yəuuišta-* 'youngest'. The inconsistent sequence 51,15 *cōišt ... cəuuīšī* could be due to a compromise between one tradition which "read" *cōišt ... *cōišī*, and another which preferred **cəuuišt ... cəuuīšī*.

10.7.3. Unfortunately, it is impossible to trace the stemmata of the various manuscript traditions of our Avesta texts back to the Sasanian archetype. All of the extant manuscripts of the Yasna, like those of other texts dealt with in Geldner's edition, originate from one single ancestral manuscript which was written in the XIth century and is called subarchetype by us (Hoffmann: hyparchetypus). This already showed numerous signs of dissolution of the script system of the archetype, such as the inexact "vulgate" spellings *mainiiuš/maniiuš* for **mańiiuš*, or the partial confusion of *š* (< *š*) with *š́* (< *c* before *ii*) and *ṣ́* (< *rt*).

10.7.4. In several cases, the OAv. text of the Sasanian recension is suspect of prior corruption. 29,5 *ə* < **hə* (§ 10.7.2), 51,22 *xᵛāiš nāmənīš* < *xᵛāiš *nāmənī*, 46,5 *xšaiiąs adąs* < *xšaiiąs *adas*, 50,7 *yāiš azāϑā* < *yāiš *zazāϑā*. Some other corruptions of the transmitted text are of a more recent type and can be attributed to the subarchetype: The most obvious of them is the loss of one entire line in 46,15. But on the whole, there are very few words or passages in which the correctness of the transmitted text can be seriously in doubt: 46,18 *ahmāi ascīṯ vahištā* < *ahmāi *hascīṯ vahištā* (cf. Yt 14,20, 19,1 *hasciṯ*) is due to a dissimilatory loss of *h* in the oral transmission of the text. Similar dissimilations are found in 47,3 *tā spəṇtō* < **ptā spəṇtō* (dissimilatory loss of *p*), 31,9 *as ... as.xratuš* < *as ... *aš.xratuš* 'very intellectual' (perseveration of *as*, dissimilation *š-š* > *s-š*, cf. YAv. *aš.xraϑwastəma-* 'most intelligent'). The same is possible in 34,8 *as ... hiiaṯ as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* if *as ... as.aojå* is < *as ... *aš.aojå* 'very strong' (cf. YAv. *aš.aojastəma-* 'most strong') [unless *hiiaṯ as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* is corrupted from **yaϑā aojå nāidiiåŋhəm*]. A similar corruption is found in YAv. *as.vərəϑrająstəma-* 'most victorious' (Yt 10,98), whereas OAv. *asīšti-* < **aš.išti-* (34,4, 44,9) is a real linguistic form. Note also 36,4 *uruuāzištahiiā uruāziiā* by perseveration for **uruāzištahiiā uruuāzaiiā*, 38,5 gen.sg. *darəgō.bāzāuš for *aoš*, 48,4 *uštiš* for acc.pl. **uštīš*. Difficult is 48,1 *ąsašutā*. It is only Y 53 which may have suffered a more serious damage (→ 53,0).

10.8. Yasna manuscripts

10.8.1. The evaluation and grouping of the manuscripts by Geldner in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Avesta is very complicated and unperspicuous.[85] The matter has been elucidated by K. Hoffmann (1984) in his most useful account of the relative position of Yasna the manuscripts.[86] According to him, we have to distinguish four groups of these:

Group 1: The Pahlavi Yasna [= Yasna manuscripts, with the Pahlavi translation added] which falls into three subgroups: (1) the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna, (2) the Indian Pahlavi Yasna, and (3) the (Pahlavi-)Sanskrit Yasna, i.e. a Pahlavi Yasna supplied with Neriosang's Sanskrit version.

Groups 2,3,4 are Sāde manuscripts which contain only the "pure" (*sāde*) text, i.e. the Avesta without the Pahlavi translation and the Sanskrit version:

Groups 2 and 3 comprise the so-called Vendidad Sāde manuscripts. In addition to the Yasna, these include the Vispered and the Vidēvdād (Vendidad).

Group 4 are the so-called Yasna Sāde manuscripts, containing the Yasna only.

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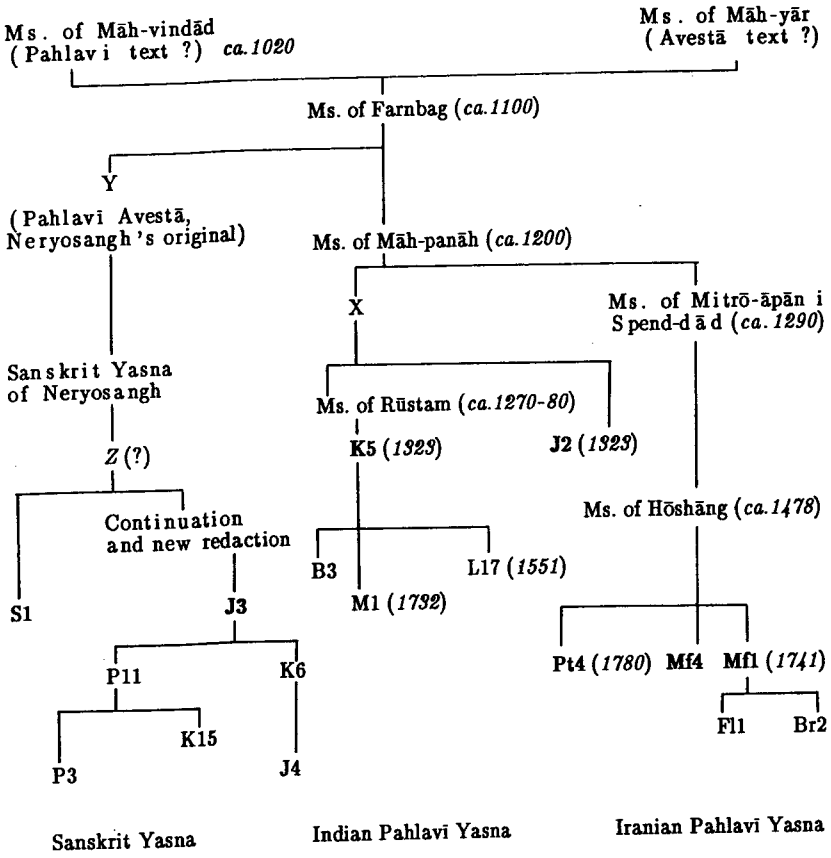
[85]Cf. Geldner, *Awestalitteratur*, 1896, 10-17.

[86]K. Hoffmann, *Zur Handschriftenüberlieferung der Gathas*, 1984.

10.8.2. Geldner was able to establish the stemma only for the first group, the Pahlavi and (Pahlavi-)Sanskrit Yasna.



The other groups are described by Hoffmann as follows:

Group 2: Iranian Vendidād Sāde. This is represented by the important mss. Mf2 (1618), Jpl (1638), K4 (1723), all three of which descend from an ancestral manuscript written ca. 1510.

Group 3: Indian Vendidād Sāde. This group is strongly influenced by the more or less degenerated vulgate pronunciation; it is represented by: (1) the fairly good mss. Br 1 (1748), L2 (1759), K10 (after 1743); - (2) the average mss. Dhl (1764), Ml1 (?), S2 (modern); - (3) the poor mss. L1 (1735?), M2 (1657), O2 (1681), B2 (old), P1 (1714), L3 (?), Bbl (?), L5 (1792), Jm2 (?), Jm3 (?).

Group 4: Indian Yasna Sāde. This derives from an Iranian ancestor related to K4, but it has been strongly influenced by the Indian vulgate pronunciation: (1) C1 (before 1700), K11 (1647), Lb2 (1660); - (2) H1 (old), J6 (1600?), L13 (?), J7 (> H1), Jm1 (> J6), O1(> L13); - (3) incorrect mss. J5 (1700), L20 (modern), P6 (old).

11. A Scientific Approach to the Gāθās

11.1. Internal and external evidence

11.1.1. While the Old Avestan prose of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti only sometimes shows tendencies to stylistic elaboration, the Gāθās and the Sacred Formulas are composed in an extremely poetical and cryptic style. Nowhere do we find Zaraθuštra's theological ideas clearly and systematically expounded in them. On the contrary, the Gāθās mix information regarding the prophet's reform work and the political and social conditions in which his ministry took place, with locutions of an evidently traditional character, and this is done in such a way that it is very difficult to distinguish the two different strata. Besides, the corpus of the Old Avestan texts is so very small that sufficient material for internal comparison is simply not available. All these factors seriously limit the possibilities of linguistic analysis, translation, interpretation and a fortiori a use of the Gāθās as a source for the history of Iranian religion and culture.

11.1.2. In addition to the Old Avestan texts even the sketchiest picture of the prophet Zaraθuštra and his teachings must take into account a large variety of secondary sources. Among these, the classical references, Greek and Latin, though in part of early enough date, are useful only in very few cases, cf. the Xanthus fragment (§ 6.1.3-5). The indigenous religious tradition is represented first in the Younger Avesta which, however, has come down to us only in a very fragmentary state. It is supplemented by the much later, and much more copious, Middle Persian Pahlavi literature which originates from the later Sasanian and the early Islamic periods. Finally, some of the old traditions have found their way into the works of Christian

(Armenian, Syriac) and Islamic (Arabic, New Persian) writers.[87] Obviously, the use of the post-Avestan literature in order to arrive at an adequate evaluation of the content of the Old Avestan texts must be most circumspect, and even the indications contained in the Younger Avesta itself cannot all be regarded without reservation as being valid for the OAv. period.

11.1.3. The linguistic analysis of the Gāθās naturally had to take its start from the Pahlavi translation (PhlT), and Avesta scholars were indeed strongly influenced by it for a long time. The Pahlavi translation originated in the later Sasanian period (§ 10.2.7). Its Sanskrit version (SktV) by the famous late medieval Pārsi scholar Neriosangh is of great value for understanding the Pahlavi, but the Pahlavi itself does not contribute much to the elucidation of the Avesta text of the Gāθās. One example which demonstrates the translator's very vague ideas about the language of the Gāθās and their actual contents is his rendering of *ahūm.biš* 'healing the existence, healer of existence' by PhlT *pad har dō axwān* 'in both existences' (> SktV *bhuvanadvaye 'pi*), where he took *biš-* 'healing' as identical with YAv. *biš* 'twice', with no idea of the correct form and function of the acc.sg. *ahūm*.

11.2. Post-Gāθic developments: Miθra, Haoma, legendary biography

11.2.1.0. When consulting later sources, it must always be borne in mind that already by the time of the Younger Avesta, Zaraθuštra's religion had undergone important modifications, chiefly due, of course, to the natural developments which take place in any religion, and of which the development of the Gāθic concept of the Ahuras into that of the YAv. Ameša Spəṇtas is typical (§ 4). Even ritual prescriptions seem to have been remarkably modified: In 44,4 Zaraθuštra speaks of three ritual times of day (*ušå arəm.piθβā xšapācā* 'dawn, noon and nightfall'), which recall the three times of the Veda, whereas the Younger Avesta has five (*hāuuani-*, *rapiθβina-*, *uzaiieirina-*, *aiβisrūθrima-*, *ušahina-*), the same amount as the number of the Gāθās.

11.2.1.1. In contrast to the unsystematic picture drawn in the Gāθās, the YAv. texts show a systematization e.g. in the case of *uruuan-* 'soul' and *daenā-* 'religious view' as used in connexion with the Last Things. In 46,11 *yāŋg xᵛə uruuā xᵛāēcā*

[87] Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten*, 1920; id., *Fontes*, 1920. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, 1929. Bidez-Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, 1938.

xraodaţ daēnā hiiaţ aibī.gəmən yaθrā cinuuatō pərətuš 'their own soul and their own religious view will recoil from them when they will have reached the place of the account-keeper's bridge', the two concepts are coordinated and belong to one and the same sphere, both denoting the personified manifestations of the soul and the religious view of a deceitful one, which are recorded in the other world and with which he is confronted after his death. Yet, the two belong to two different spheres in 51,13 *tā drəguuatō marədaitī daēnā ərəzaoš haiθīm yehiiā uruua xraodaitī cinuuatō pərətå ākå* 'in such a way the religious view of a deceitful one neglects the reality of (what is) straight; at the account-keeper's bridge his soul will recoil (from him)'. There, only *uruuan-* refers to what is recorded in the other world, while *daēnā-* denotes the religious view [soul] of the deceitful one, manifested both, during his life and on his way to the other world. A similar use is found in 49,11 *aţ ... duždaēnāŋg ... drəguuatō akāiš xᵛarəθāiš paitī uruąnō paitiieiṇtī* 'but (as to) the deceitful of bad religious view: the souls come to meet (them) with foul food'. Contrary to these three passages, where the different uses of *uruuan-* and *daēnā-* are not clearly defined, the Younger Avesta shows a systematization, especially in H 2,9ff., 2,27ff., where *uruuan-* unambiguously denotes the soul of a deceased person on its way to the other world, while *daēnā-* is a sort of mirror-image of him, preserved in the other world.

11.2.2. Sometimes such post-Gāθic modifications may even be echoes of a revival of the religious notions and sacrificial practices of the pagan period. Such seems to be the case with the worship of Miθra, the Aryan god of contract (cf. Ved. *mitrá-*, Mitanni *mi-it-ra*), a personification of the common noun *miθra-* 'contract'.[88] Although this god was clearly discarded by the prophet, he regained his prominent place in the Younger Avesta (§ 5.1.4). Note also the nouns *varəna-* and *ţkaēša-*, which are used antithetically in 49,3 *ahmāi varənāi ... tkaēšāi* 'to this orthodoxy (of ours), (but) to heresy', but synonymously in arch. Yy 12,7 *tā varənācā ţkaēšācā* 'with that belief and doctrine'. The latter might represent a pre-Zaraθuštrian use of the two words.

11.2.3.0. A similar, but even more surprising, revival seems to have taken place with the veneration and ritual consumption of Haoma, the sacrificial intoxicant inherited by the Iranians from the Proto-Aryan period (YAv. *haoma-* = Ved.*sóma-*). The Irano - Indian relationship is most conspicuous in the Young Avestan phrase

[88] Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 1957, 26-42.

haoma- dūraoša- as compared with RV 9,101,3 *durókṣa- sóma-*, giving a hint of the effect attributed to Haoma by contemporaries. The first member of Av. *dūraoša-* was traditionally (and wrongly) derived from *dūra-* 'far', but as is clear from Ved. *durókṣa-*, Av. *dūraoša-* is in fact dissimilated from **duž-aoša-*. Its etymological meaning is thus 'fire-resistant, incombustible' > 'death-resistant', but effectively it means 'immortal, providing immortality'. Cf. YAv. *anaoša-* 'incombustible' > 'immortal', NP. *nōš* 'drink of immortality'.

11.2.3.1. Haoma is worshipped particularly in Yy 9-11, the so-called Hōm Yašt of the Yasna. Preparing, consecrating, consuming and making libations of the Haoma play the dominant role in the Yasna ceremony (§ 2.1.1). Several Young Avestan passages refer to Haoma which is mixed with milk, evidently in order to make it more tolerable: Ny 1,16 etc. *təm yazāi ... +haoma +yō gauua* 'I will worship him with Haoma (mixed) with milk', N 76 *yaŋ haomәm gauuaca ra<ē>ϑβaiiāŋ bazšaiiāaŋca* '(it is the duty of the Raēϑβiškara) to mix the Haoma with milk and to distribute it', Yy 10,13 *yasə tē bāδa haoma zāire gauua iristahe bazšaite* '(he) who partakes of You, O yellow Haoma, mixed with milk'.

11.2.3.2. Unlike in the Younger Avesta, the term *haoma-* does not appear in the Old Avestan texts, but there are two passages in the Gāϑās in which Zaraϑuštra polemizes against its consumption. The first of the two is 48,10 *mūϑrəm ahiia madahiiā yā aŋgraiia karapanō urūpaiieiṇtī* 'the urine of that (demon of) intoxication by which the Karapans harmfully cause [or: suffer] racking pain'. The other of the two Gāϑic Haoma passages is 32,14 *yā dūraošәm saocaiiaŋ auuō*, literally translated '(in order) to assist (the deceitful priest) who inflames the fire-resistant (intoxicant)', a paradox the effective sense of which is 'to assist him who (by a certain improper ritual) spoils the (Haoma) which provides immortality' (§ 11.2.3.4).

11.2.3.3. The improper ritual alluded to in 32,14 is evidently the same as that which is called *saocaiia kar* in H 2,13 *yaŋ tum ainim auuaēnōiš saocaiia kərənauuaŋtəm baosauuasca varaxəδrəscā varōžiṇtəm uruuarō.straiiąsca kərənauuantəm* 'whenever you see someone else performing improper burning and improper *fumigating, *turning improper *turning, and performing improper spreading of plants'. Unfortunately the actual meaning of the phrase *varaxəδrəscā varōžiṇtəm* is unknown, but comparison with the OP. name of the *Sakā Haumavargā* suggests that it refers to a ritual treatment of Haoma which, according to the context, was considered improper.

11.2.3.4. As to the prophet's personal attitude towards Haoma, we do not exactly know whether his polemic is directed against consuming Haoma as such; perhaps he is only against the consumption of a strong type of Haoma in an unmixed form. Thus, the question arises whether *dūraošәm saocaiiaŋ* means 'spoils the Haoma which (really) provides immortality' or 'prepares the Haoma which (allegedly) provides immortality'. The latter would be in line with other ironies found in the same hymn, viz. 32,3 *maš* 'the (alleged) master', 32,11 *aŋᵛhīscā aŋhauuascā* 'the (alleged) ladies and lords'. In this connexion, one must also take into account the silence on Haoma in the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti. On account of this lack of information no explanation can be given for the dominant role played by Haoma in the Yasna ritual. A possible solution is that Zaraϑuštra reformed the Haoma ritual by only allowing the consumption of a very mild form of Haoma, diluted with much milk or water, the partaking of which was without any disagreable consequences[89]. In order to avoid undesired associations, he did not call it by the traditional name *haoma-*, but used poetical circumlocutions such as *təuuīšī utaiiūitī* 'might and stability', comparable to the circumlocution *hauruuātā amərətātā* 'integrity and immortality' for the ritual offerings of waters and plants (§ 14). Note in this connexion 43,2 *vaŋhāuš māiiā manaŋhō* 'the blessings of good thought' which recalls Yy 10,12 *ā tē baēšaza +irīriϑarə vaŋhāuš manaŋhō maiiābiio* 'your healing liquors, O Haoma, are mixed with the blessings of good thought'.

11.2.4.1. The development of the Mazdayasnian religion, of course, had implications for the contemporary interpretation of the Old Avestan texts in the Young Avestan period. The Mazdayasnian priests were evolving a legendary history of the prophet by reading biographical references and allusions into the Gāϑās. Exemplary for this is the set phrase 43,7.9.11.13.15 *spəntəm aṯ ϑβā mazdā māŋhī ahurā hiiaŋ mā vohū pairī.jasaŋ manaŋhā* 'I realise that Thou (art) prosperous, O Wise Ahura, when one attends me with good thought' in which the prophet describes himself as meditating in front of the Fire (→ 43,0). Here, the native tradition, followed by many Western scholars, erroneously considered the instr.sg. *vohū manaŋhā* 'with good thought' to be

[89] In the present day ritual the Zoroastrians use a very mild type of Haoma which contains a very small quantity of ephedrine. It is diluted with water so that the priest who partakes of it takes only a homoeopathic dose, nevertheless, it is considered to open the way to spiritual insight. A less homoeopathic picture, pointing to liver damage, is drawn in Yōišt ī Friyān 1,6 *900 moγmard ... kē-šān and yazišn ī yazdān kard ēstād ka-šān and zwardan ī parāhōm rāy hamāg tan zard būd ēstād* 'nine hundred of those Magians ... who performed so many rites of worship that in their drinking so much Parāhōm their entire bodies became yellow'.

the subject of the sentence. Thus, the PhlT rendered *hiiaŋ mā vohū pairī.jasaŋ manaŋhā* by *ka ō man wahman bē mad* 'when Vohu Manah came to me' (SktV *yat mahyaṃ uttamaṃ samāgacchat manaḥ* [*gl. gvahmanaḥ*]). This erroneous re-interpretation in turn gave rise to the legend of the encounter of Zaraθuštra with Vohu Manah, who was sent to guide him to his first conference with Ahura Mazdā. The legendary event is described in Pahlavi sources, e.g. in the prophesy in Dēnkard 7,3,22 *bē ō ōy wahman rasēd abar axw ī astōmand* [*gl. kū wahman bē ō zardušt rasēd*] 'Vahman will come to him in the material world [i.e., Vahman will come to Zardušt]', and its fulfillment ib. 7,3,51-62 *u-š pad bowandagīh ī sīh sāl ī az zāyišn frāz wahman amahraspand pad aštagīh ī ohrmazd abar mad* 'and at the completion of the thirty years from (Zaraθuštra's) birth, the Amaša Spənta Vahman came as a messenger of Ohrmazd'. The Pahlavi account certainly originates from some Young Avestan source; there is a connexion between the development of the legend and the replacement of the Gāθic priority of Aša among the Ahuras by the Young Avestan priority of Vohu Manah among the Ameša Spəntas (§ 4.3). Cf. the account of this first conference in V 19,10ff. where Ahura Mazda is said to be accompanied by Aša Vahišta, Xšaθra Vairiya and Ārmaiti while Vohu Manah, the messenger, is left unmentioned: *drəjiia paiti +zbarahi ahurāi mazdāi vaŋhauue vohu.maite âŋhānō aṣāi vahištāi xšaθrāi vairiāi spəntaiiāi ārmaitē.*

11.2.4.2. The above account of the first conference in V 19,10ff. is introduced by the Gāθā line *taṯ θβā pərəsā arš mē vaoca ahura* 'this I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura', taken from 44,1-19 *taṯ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*, thereby connecting Y 44 with the very first great religious experience in Zaraθuštra's life. Thus, V 19,10ff. is the earliest ascertainable example of such a biographical re-interpretation of a Gāθā passage. This biographical re-interpretation of Y 44 is, however, completely imaginary. Questions of a similar type are asked by Zaraθuštra also in 31,14-16 *pərəsā* and 51,5 *pərəsąs*. This sets forth that we are dealing with a poetical pattern common in this sort of religious poetry, and several Vedic parallels indicate that this pattern is inherited from the Proto-Aryan period (→ 44,0).

11.3. Iranian and Vedic evidence

11.3.1. For a linguistic surface analysis of the Gāθās and of the other Old Avestan texts, which could serve as starting point for a reliable translation and interpretation,

the information on grammatical, lexicographical, syntactical and phraseological details which can be drawn from the other Old Iranian sources -the Younger Avesta and the Old Persian inscriptions- are rather more useful than the interpretations to be found in the Middle Persian Pahlavi literature, or the Pahlavi Translation in particular. However, even the Younger Avesta and the Old Persian inscriptions differ considerably from the Gāθās in both, the stage of their linguistic development and their style. Thus, their main usefulness lies in the evidence they provide in elucidating the Gāθic vocabulary. As for the Middle Iranian languages other than Pahlavi, (viz. Manichean Middle Persian, Parthian, Khwārezmian, Sogdian, Bactrian, Khotanese), and the New Iranian languages, these can contribute no more than isolated word etymologies.

11.3.2. This means that consulting the large corpus of Old Indian Vedic texts, among which the extremely archaic Rigveda is the most prominent, is absolutely essential for any serious study of the Gāθās; they help us get a picture of what, from both the grammatical and lexicographical point of view, is to be expected in Old Avestan and what is not. Comparison of Zaraθuštra's seventeen Gāθā hymns with the 1028 sacrificial hymns of the Rigveda reveals that the two collections, the Iranian and the Indian, have a single common linguistic and cultural background. Though phonetically somewhat dissimilar from each other, Old Avestan (in its original form) and Vedic had not yet developed very far from their ancestral language, Proto-Aryan, and from the point of view of vocabulary, grammar and syntax they were still very close. Both, the Gāθās and the Rigveda moreover, belonged to the same literary genre, and their historical relationship has left numerous traces in the phraseology and the religious concepts of the Gāθās. Thus, each sheds light on the other, both regarding problems of detail offered by single passages and general problems. It is obvious, however, that in consequence of the sheer difference in the amount of material preserved, the Rigveda offers much more help in understanding the Gāθās than vice versa. All the same, one should never go as far as some scholars do, who treat the Gāθās as nothing more than a sort of appendix to the Rigveda (cf. § 5.2.4-5).

11.4. Surface analysis and textual interpretation

11.4.1. Access to the Gāθās is more difficult than one might imagine from the way in which they are usually treated. Most scholars dealing with the Gāθās have become accustomed to interpreting a passage on the basis of its supposed content, before

analysing it linguistically; they derive their linguistic analysis from their anticipated interpretations. This inverted procedure leads to some very strange and hardly credible conclusions, such as these:

(1) The prophet liked to use peculiar grammatical forms, i.e., forms which in some unexplainable way deviate from the norm known to us from the Gāθās themselves and the other OAv. texts, from the Younger Avesta, and from what results from comparison with the Vedic texts.

(2) He had a predilection for abnormal lexicological practice by using words in unusual and confused meanings.

(3) He had a preference for a confused word order.

(4) The transmitted text is full of corruptions and must be "corrected" (§ 10.3.3).

Such practices would seem to hail from the Daēvas rather than the Ahuras, and conclusions of the type described above are almost always unjustified.

11.4.2. A primary aim of the present work is to disclose the deficiencies of the so-called scientific tradition and to bring the argument back onto firmer ground by applying philological standards of the same kind as those applied for hundreds of years in other philologal disciplines. Thus, any research in the field of the Gāθās should be performed in two steps:

The first step is to ask: "What did the prophet say literally ?". The answer to this question must be derived from a surface analysis of the passage itself, i.e. from an analysis which chiefly is of linguistic nature but which comprises all available parallels, in each case to be traced and cited. Such parallels are those passages of the Gāθās, the other parts of the Avesta, and also the Rigveda, which contain the same words or wordings, or words similar to those of the passage in question. The result of the first step will be a grammatically correct literal translation.

The second step is to ask: "What did the prophet mean by what he said?". This implies an interpretation of the result of the surface analysis by giving a religious, literary and historical explanation of it as far as this is possible.

11.5. Grammaticality, lexical clearness, word-order

11.5.1. It is one of the fundamental rules of philological technique that general conclusions must not be drawn until all the details, even the smallest, have been investigated and cleared up as far as possible. Thus, for example, it is of the greatest

importance for the surface analysis whether *mazdå*, an inflected form of the stem *mazdā-* 'wise' (in *mazdā- ahura-* 'the Wise Ahura') metrically counts as two syllables as it does in the nom.sg., or as three as in the gen.sg. (and, theoretically, in the nom.acc.voc.pl.). This detail, which has been disregarded by generations of Gāθā scholars, quite unexpectedly plays a key role in the correct translation of the two Gāθā passages containing the phrase *mazdåscā ahuråŋhō*, which is of cardinal significance for the early history of the Mazdayasnian religion (§ 4.1[16]).

11.5.2. Another typical grammatical problem is found in 29,2-3 *pərəsaŧ ... paitī.mrauuaŧ*, where the supposed parallelism of the two verbs has induced Gāθā scholars to take *paitī.mrauuaŧ* as an irregular 3rd sg.inj. from the root *mrau/mrū* + *paiti* 'to reply', synonymous with the regular inj. 32,2 *paitī.mraoŧ* 'replies/replied'. The same problem is to be seen in 45,2 *mrauuaŧ* where the prosperous spirit addresses the Evil One saying: 'Neither our thoughts, nor our pronouncements, nor our intellects, nor our choices, nor our statements, nor our actions, nor our religious views, nor our souls agree'. Here again, Gāθā scholars have taken the verb *mrauuaŧ* as an irregular inj.pres. from *mrau/mrū* 'to speak, address', synonymous with the well attested regular inj.pres. *mraoŧ* 'speaks/spoke'. To justify their translation, they then explained *mrauuaŧ* as an irregular by-form of *mraoŧ*, or even as a corruption of it (an explanation which is contradicted by the metre). However, before one is allowed to stamp the transmitted form as irregular or corrupt, one is obliged to ask whether it could not make sense at its face value. As a matter of fact, since *mraoŧ* is the correct 3rd sg.inj., *mrauuaŧ* can only be the 3rd sg.sbj. and must mean 'he shall say, speak, address'. This means that the general opinion of Gāθā scholars, according to which the two passages in question describe mythical events taking place in the playing in a remote past is, plainly, wrong (→ 29,0, 45,0, 45,2:4). It is, however, quite natural that the grammar of Old Avestan does not fully agree with Vedic, but shows individual features of its own. Thus, e.g., there are arguments in favour of the pres. 48,10 *urūpaya-* having the same causative meaning as Ved. *rópaya-* 'to cause racking pain', despite the difference in grade of the root vowel. But because of the lack of sufficient material it is not always possible to make out these individual features in an entirely convincing way.

11.5.3.0. A difficult morpho-syntactic problem is that of the use of the injunctive. What in Old Avestan is an inj.pres. has become a preterite in Young Avestan, but occasionally the preterite function is already to be felt in the Gāθās. This is the case in 31,9 *θβōi as ārmaitiš ... hiiaŧ aźiiāi dadå paθąm* 'Thine was right-mindedness when

Thou didst open paths to her' where the unambiguously preterite *as* 'was' (inexactly transmitted for **āš*) requires preterite meaning also for the unaugmented *dadâ* (= Ved. *ádadāḥ*, *ádadhāḥ*). But in the series 30,3-6 *vīšiiātā ... varatā ... vīšiiātā ... vərənātā* 'they discern, chose, discern, chose' preterite meaning of the inj.pres. *vərənātā* and the inj.aor. *vīšiiātā ... varatā ... vīšiiātā* is more than doubtful. The matter is obscured by the fact that very few augmented verbal forms occur in the OAv. texts, with the exception of *as* all of them are aorists (§ 11.5.3.2).[90]

11.5.3.1. The inj.pres. evidently has an imperfective but the inj.aor. a perfective function in 45,11 *tarə.mąstā yōi īm tarə.mainiiaṇtā* 'he made up his mind to scorn [inj.aor.] (those) who (in turn) scorn Him [inj.pres.]'. A clear distinction between inj.pres. and inj.aor. is also possible in the negative imperative: In 31,17 *mā əuuīduuå aipī dābāuuaiiaṯ* 'let the unknowing one no longer delude (people)' the inj.pres. has an "inhibitive" function ('let no longer'); the inj.aor. has prohibitive function ('do not let succeed') in 31,18 *mā.ciš aṯ və drəguuatō mąθrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā* 'let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to Your formulas and teachings', 48,5 *xšəṇṭąm ... mā xšəṇtā* 'let assume rule ... do not let assume rule'. In the majority of cases, the inj. seems to be used to express a general statement, i.e. a statement which is valid independently of the actual situation and, thereby, extra-temporal: Such a general statement is made by the inj.pres. *gərəždā* in 29,1 *xšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā gərəždā* 'the soul of the cow complains to You (and so it does again and again)' (§ 12.2.2), but the ind.pres. in 46,2 *gərəzōi tōi* '(herewith) I complain to You' refers to the actual situation. An (imaginary) actual situation is also described in 46,1 *pairi x^vaētəuš airiiamnascā dadaitī* 'they keep me away from (their) family and tribe'; in contrast to this, 30,7 *kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāṯ* 'stability grants form' is quite general.

11.5.3.2. All OAv. forms of the ind.aor. [= augmented aor.] have an unambiguously temporal character:

30,3 *asruuātəm* 'the two have become famed', 32,3 *asrūdūm* 'you have become notorious' are historical statements referring to a remote past, but 32,7 *srāuuī* 'one becomes notorious' is general while 2,8 *srāuuī* 'he became notorious' is resultative.

The ind.aor. *auuācī* in 36,6 *yāṯ huuarə auuācī* 'ever since it was named sun' is a historical statement, but the inj.aor. *vācī* in 43,13 *yā θβahmī zšaθrōi vācī* 'which is said to be in Your power' is general.

[90]An attempt at describing the modes of the Old Avestan verb is found in Kellens-Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* II, 1990, 64-80.

The ind.aor. *viiādarəsəm* in 45,8 *nū zīṯ cašmainī viiādarəsəm* 'I have just now seen Him in (my) eye' denotes the immediate past, as opposed to the inj.aor. *srāuuī* in the parallel 45,10 *yə ąnmānī srāuuī* 'who is heard in the wind' which hardly is anything but a general statement.

The ind.aor. in 51,11 *kə ... āfraštā ... acistā* 'who took counsel (and) recognised?' perhaps denotes the immediate past, vs. the inj.aor. in 51,5 *cistā* 'finds' (but also vs. the inj.aor. in 51,12 *nōiṯ ... zšnāuš* 'did not satisfy').

Note also 53,6-7 *nąsaṯ ... anąsaṯ parā* 'disappears ... has disappeared'; 35,7 *amāhmaidī* 'we have realised', but 43,7 *məŋhī* 'I realise' (vs. 43,10 *ārəm* 'I have come' which refers to the immediate past).

11.5.3.3. A resultative function of the inj.aor. is most evident in the passages that refer to the primeval creation such as 37,1 *yə gąmcā aṣəmcā dāṯ apascā dāṯ uruuarâscā $vaŋ^vhīs$ raocåscā dāṯ būmīmcā vīspacā vohū* '(he) who created the cow and truth, who created the waters and the good plants, who created the lights and the earth and all good things'. But in 49,4 *tōi daēuuōŋg dąn* 'those produce Daēvas' and 48,4 *yə dāṯ manō vahiiō aštiascā* 'he who expresses both better and worse thought' it is to be seen that resultative function must not be equated with temporality.

11.5.4.0. The lexicological problem may be exemplified by 50,8 *maṯ vå padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiå pairijasāi* 'I will attend [approach] You with *pada's* proclaimed as those of *īžā*'. Bartholomae's widely accepted translation of this line is: 'I will approach you with those verses which are known as those of pious zeal' ['ich will mit den Versen, die bekannt sind als die des frommen Eifers, vor euch treten'].[91] Bartholomae took *pada-* in the sense of 'verse' comparing Ved. *padá-* 'footstep, footprint' in an alleged secondary meaning 'portion of a verse, quarter or line of a stanza', and *īžā-* in the sense of 'pious zeal', justifying this by a far-fetched etymology.[92] However, this was pure speculation. For once, the Pahlavi translation is more reliable, rendering *pada-* by *pay* 'footstep, footprint', and *īžā-* by *abzōn* 'increase, prosperity'. This rendering of *pada-* finds its justification in the primary meaning of both, Ved. *padá-* and YAv. *paδa-* 'footstep, footprint'; that of *īžā-*, which we translate by 'abundance', is confirmed by the coordination of *īžā-* with *āzūiti-* 'fat' in 49,5, V 9,53 etc. As a matter of fact, *īžā-* (written *ižā-* in V 9,53 and Yt 19.94) is etymologically related to Ved. *iḷā-* 'libation

[91]Bartholomae, *Gatha's*, 1905, 102. Cf. Lommel, *Gathas*, 1971, 169 'mit Versen, welche erhört werden um meines Eifers willen'.

[92]Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1904, 842 (*pada-*), 378 (*īžā-*).

of ghee, libation of four preparations of milk'. OAv. *padāiš ižaiiā* 'with footsteps of abundance' corresponds closely to the Vedic phrase *iḷāyās padé* 'in the footstep [footprint] of libation' found in RV 3,23,4 etc. (cf. also *iḷás padé* 'id.' 3,128,1 etc.). All this proves that the correct translation is: 'I will attend [approach] You with footsteps proclaimed as those of abundance'.

11.5.4.1. The surface problem of 50,8 *padāiš ... ižaiiā* thus having been settled, the question remains what is meant by the evidently poetical expression 'with footsteps proclaimed as those of abundance', and this is a problem of textual interpretation. From the Vedic parallels quoted above we see that *padāiš ... ižaiiā* 'footsteps of abundance' must be a ritual term, and RV 10,70,8 *iḷā devī ghṛtapadī* 'the ghee-footed goddes Iḷā' demonstrates that the term has a mythological background. The myth in question is told at length in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1,8,1,7 where it culminates in *sā ha píbdamānevodéyāya tásyai ha sma ghṛtáṃ padé saṃtiṣṭhate* 'thus stepping forth she came out and ghee collected in her footsteps'. Zaraθuštra's *yā frasrūtā* 'which (are) proclaimed' evidently alludes to this very myth, which must be inherited from the Proto-Aryan period.

11.5.5.0. Since the Gāθās are poems, we must of course expect to find certain deviations from the word order of prose texts. The word order found in the Gāθās, however, is never chaotic or confused, as many translations suggest, but usually follows reasonably well-defined rhythmic and stylistic rules. Thus, for example, the regular order of the two members of the name of Ahura Mazdā is *mazdā- ahura-*. The two members can be separated as in 31,21 etc. *mazdå dadāṯ ahurō* 'the Wise Lord grants' which is of the same rhythmic type as 34,14 *vaŋhāuš šiiaoθanā manaŋhō* 'actions of good thought' (§ 15.14.1-2; →28,9:2). Though well attested in the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti and usual in the Younger Avesta, the reversed word order *ahura- mazdā-*, is possible in the Gāθās only if the two members are separated by a caesura or by other words, as in 51,15 *garō dəmānē ahurō 'mazdå jasaṯ paouruiiō*, or in 51.5 *ahurō xšaθrā mazdå*. As a rule, the word order in the Gāθās is highly regular. Not only is it possible to translate most of the Gāθā stanzas line by line, but also the word order in each single line is of relevance. Gāθā scholars have tended to ignore this simple fact.

11.5.5.1. A perspicuous example of the relevance of word order is 43,15 where Zaraθuštra complains about the deceitful who 'call all harmful (persons) truthful' (*vīspāŋg aŋgrāŋg aṣaonō ādarā*). Here, the modern translator experiences no difficulties

in following the order of words of the original (with the exception, of course, of the position of the verb in English), and he may interpret the sentence as a bold complaint about the deceitful who call themselves and their adherents truthful. That the deceitful do so is quite to be expected. No deceitful person calls himself deceitful or harmful, but always insists on his own and his friends' truthfulness and harmlessness. However, Gāθā scholars have followed a different line of "logical thought". To them, the idea of deceitful persons being called truthful (by themselves or by their followers) at all is unacceptable, and therefore they feel compelled to translate, against the evidence of the word order: 'they call all truthful (persons) harmful'. But in that case Zaraθuštra would certainly have said **vīspāŋg aṣaonō aŋgrāŋg ādarā*.

11.6. Early grammatical re-interpretations

11.6.1. In V 17,7 we find a description of how a Mazdayasnian must dispose of the nail parings of his fingers and toes: First, he should dig a hole for the (two kinds of) nails (*sruuābiia maγəm auua.kanōiš*), and then, he should recite the Gāθā line 33,7 *aṣā vohū manaŋhā yā sruiiē parā magaonō*. This actually means 'with truth and good thought for which I am heard beyond the sacrificers', but in the present context it is quoted for the reason that YAv. *sruuābiia* 'for both kinds of nails' (nom.du. *sruiie*) and *maγəm* 'hole' show a certain outward similarity to OAv. *sruiiē* 'I am heard' and *magaonō* 'donators'. The example shows that the use of Young Avestan quotations to solve the lexical and grammatical problems of the OAv. texts is not without problems of its own.

11.6.2. In both Yy 60,5 *vainīṯ ... aṣa drujəm* 'truth may defeat deceit' and Yt 19,95 *vanāṯ aṣa akąm drujəm* 'truth will defeat evil deceit', the instr.sg./nom.pl. *aṣa* is apparently used in the sense of the nom.sg. *aṣəm*. However, it would be wrong to derive a grammatical rule (such as "instr. = nom.") from the two passages. Actually, they are more or less mechanically coined after 48,1 *aṣā drujəm vāŋghaitī*. There *aṣā* is quite a normal nom.pl. ('if truths may have defeated deceit'), less likely an instr.sg. ('if someone may have defeated deceit with truth'), and it would be wrong to draw any conclusion for its OAv. model from the grammatical function of YAv. *aṣa* as nom.sg..

11.6.3.0. The most remarkable example of such mechanical coinings based upon the grammatical re-interpretation of an Old Avestan word form by the priests of the

Young Avestan period is that of the OAv. instr.sg. *ahū* as a nom.sg., which is attested in a number of YAv. passages. OAv. *ahū* occurs in the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō 27,13 and in 29,6, both times in the sequence *ahū ... ratuš*. From the lexicological point of view both of the two words are somewhat ambiguous: The meaning of the first oscillates between ¹*aŋhu-* 'existence' and ²*aŋhu-* 'lord' (→ 33,1:4), the second between ¹*ratu-* 'judgment' (Bartholomae ³*ratu-*) and ²*ratu-* 'judge'. But the grammatical forms of both are in fact clear-cut and unambiguous; *ahū* is an instr.sg. whereas *ratuš* is a nom.sg.:

27,13 *yaϑā ahū vairiiō aϑā ratuš aṣ̌āṯcīṯ hacā ... dazdā* 'just as (a judgment is) worthy of being chosen [desired] by the world/lord, so the judgment in accordance with truth itself is assigned' (→27,13:4),

29,6 *nōiṯ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aṣ̌āṯcīṯ hacā* 'none (has been) really found by the world/lord, no judgment/judge in accordance with truth itself' (→29,6:5-6).

11.6.3.2. Despite these facts, the Young Avestan priests mistakenly re-interpreted OAv. *ahū ... ratuš* as 'lord and judge', taking *ahū* as a nom.sg. of ²*aŋhu-* 'lord', in modern terminology as a by-form of the correct nom.sg. ²*aŋhuš*. The YAv. passages in question refer to Ahura Mazdā (Yy 19,12, 27,1, Vr 2,4, 11,21), to Zaraϑuštra (Yt 13,91-92.152, Vr 2,4, 16,3, V 2,43), to both of them most likely in the dual dvandva *ahubiia ratubiia* (F 4c), to Urvataṯnara (V 2,43), and to Miϑra (Yt 10,92). The majority of the occurrences is in the acc.sg.:

Yy 19,12 "*yaϑa*" *frā iδa āmraoṯ yaṯ dim ahūmca ratūmca ādadaṯ* 'He recited "*yaϑā*" when they appointed Him to be (their) lord and judge' (→27,13:1);

Yy 27,1 *aētaṯ dim vīspaŋm mazištəm dazdiiāi ahūmca ratūmca yim ahurəm mazdąm* 'thus (we are ready) to appoint Him, the greatest of all, (to be our) lord and judge';

Vr 11,21 *āaṯ iδa dim vīspaŋm mazištəm dadəmahi ahūmca ratūmca yim ahurəm mazdąm* 'herewith we appoint Him, the greatest of all, (to be our) lord and judge';

Apart from these cases, the phrase *ahūmca ratūmca* occurs twice in Vr 2,4 where it is said once of Ahura Mazdā and once of Zaraϑuštra. In Yt 13,92.152 *ahūm ratūmca* (with one *-ca* only) is said of Zaraϑuštra (§ 11.6.3.3), in Yt 10,92 of Miϑra.

11.6.3.3. In three other YAv. passages, the OAv. instr.sg. itself appears to be actually used as nom.sg. The most clear-cut among them is

Yt 13,91-92 *zaraϑuštrō ahu ratušca gaēϑaŋm ... yim isən aməšå spəṇta ahūm ratūmca gaēϑaŋm* 'Zaraϑuštra, the lord and judge of the worldly possessions ... whom the Ameša Spəṇtas desired (to be) the lord and judge of the worldly possessions'.

Here, the phonetic structure of *ahu*, which is typically OAv., shows that the phrase *ahu ratušca* has been mechanically copied from OAv. *ahū ... ratuš*. Less mechanically copied is *aŋhuca ratušca* found in Vr 16,3 *aēšąm zaraϑuštrō aŋhuca ratušca* 'Zaraϑuštra (is) their lord and judge', V 2,43 *kō aēšąm aŋhuca ratušca* 'who (is) their lord and judge?' In these two passages *aŋhuca ratušcā* can be a correct YAv. adaptation of OAv. *ahū ... ratuš*, but possible as well is a dissimilation from the expected *aŋhušca ratušca*, which in both passages is attested as a variant in numerous manuscripts.

11.6.3.4. Bartholomae tried to justify the YAv. re-interpretation of OAv. *ahū* as nom.sg., by explaining it as a unique asigmatic nom.sg. from a stem *ahū-*. In favour of this ad hoc explanation, F. B. J. Kuiper brought forward arguments from the Indo-European point of view.[93] Yet, the problem of *ahū* is not likely to be a problem of Indo-European, but rather one of the history and development of Avestan in its function as the church language of the early Mazdayasnians. Instead of posing hapax forms, it seems more reasonable to explain OAv. *ahū* as what it really is, and consider the irregular nom.sg. YAv. *ahu* > *aŋhu* as an artificial coinage based upon a grammatical re-interpretation which had its origin in the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō, a formula which right from the beginning was obscure to most of the Mazdayasnians, who used to recite it over and over again.

12. The Poetry of the Gāϑās

12.1. The non-didactic character of the Gāϑās

12.1.1. The Gāϑās are often looked upon as didactic poetry, versified sermons or even lessons in dogmatics.[94] Scholars are inclined to take each single utterance of Zaraϑuštra to represent an integral element of an underlying religious system conceived by the prophet. Against this view, we believe that most of the evidence indicates that Zaraϑuštra did not compose the Gāϑās to teach people, but to invoke and glorify Ahura Mazdā in a predominantly psalmodic way, very far from any dogmatic

[93] F. B. J. Kuiper, *The nom.sg. ahū in Avestan*. In: *Sir J. J. Zarthoshti Madressa Centenary Volume*, Bombay 1967, 123-127.

[94] Note the sub-title *Zarathushtra's Verspredigten* of Ch.Bartholomae's translation *Die Gatha's des Awesta*, 1905.

systematizing. It is not purely by chance that the Gāθās form the nucleus of the Yasna liturgy. Of the seventeen Hāitis [= five Gāθās], the first sixteen [= the first four Gāθās] are obviously religious hymns composed exclusively for ritual purposes.[95] Only the last, the Vohuxšaθrā Gāθā/Hāiti Y 53, a rather private song, understood by the Pahlavi tradition to celebrate the marriage of Zaraθuštra's youngest daugther Pourucistā (→53,0), is of a predominantly didactic character (§ 2.1.3).

12.1.2. Of course many passages of the Gāθās are at least indirectly addressed to the public, but as a rule, these are in the form of invocations and glorifications of Ahura Mazdā or of dialogues with him. Apart from Y 53, there are only two passages in which human beings are unambiguously addressed in an explicitly moralising way: 31,20 *drəguuaṇtō* 'O you deceitful' (third last stanza of hymn), 30,11 *maŋiiāŋhō* 'O you mortals' (last stanza); a third is 29,10 *maŋā* if it means the same (second last stanza) (cf. also 32,1.3 *daēuuā* 'O you Daēvas' and 28,5 *xrafstrā* 'O you evil beasts'). To these one can add the ambiguous 31,18 *māciš aṯ̰ vō* and 45,3 *yōi īm vā nōiṯ̰*. In contrast with these, the self-apostrophe of Zaraθuštra in 46,14 and the apostrophes of other human individuals in 46,15-17 *haēcaṯ̰.aspā ... fərašaoštrā ... dāŋāmāspā*, 49,9 *dāŋāmāspā*, 51,19 *maidiiōi.māŋhā*, are of quite a different type: These are simply part of a rhetorical figure used by the prophet for drawing Ahura Mazdā's attention to both, himself and to the pious and open-handed members of his congregation (§ 13.2.2).

12.1.3.0. As for Zaraθustra's actual religious instructions, we may safely assume that he affected a cultivated but perspicuous way of speech, perhaps in the manner of the Buddha's utterances. Thus, we may safely assume that the prophet's followers were belaboured again and again by him with such triplets as *manah-*, *vacah-*, *šiiaoθana-* 'thought, word, action', emphasising that it is the proper worship of Ahura Mazdā and the proper treatment of his priest which are good thought, word, and action par excellence. However, whereas the triplet *manah-*, *vacah-*, *šiiaoθ(a)na-* is well-attested in the Younger Avesta, it is hardly ever found in this basic shape and order in the Gāθās, where it usually appears in an elaborated form, e.g.:

(1) Expanded as in 30,3 *xᵛafənā ... manahicā vacahicā šiiaoθanōi* 'the two (kinds of) dreams, the two (kinds of) thoughts and words, the two (kinds of) actions'.

[95]Differently P. Thieme, *Die Gāthās des Zarathustra und ihr Verhältnis zu den Yašts des Avesta und den Liedern des Rigveda*, in: *ZDMG* 107, 1957, 90-96 [= *Zarathustra*, ed. B. Schlerath, 1970, 208-216].

(2) Expanded and inverted as in 47,1 *spəṇtā mainiiū vahištācā manaŋhā hacā aṣaṯ̰ šiiaoθanācā vacaŋhācā* 'with prosperous spirit and best thought, with action and word in accordance with truth'; 32,5 *akā manaŋhā akascā mainiiuš akā šiiaoθanəm vacaŋhā* 'the evil spirit along with evil thought, as well as the action (inspired) by the evil word'; cf. 36,4 *vohū ... manaŋhā vohū ... aṣā vaŋhuiiā ... cistōiš šiiaoθanāišcā vacāŋtšcā* 'with good thought, with good truth, with the actions and words of good insight'.

(3) Abbreviated and, at the same time, expanded and inverted as in 34,1 *yā šiiaoθanā yā vacaŋhā yācā yasnā* 'through which action, through which word, through which worship'.

(4) Varied as in 44,11 *ārmatōiš uxδāiš šiiaoθanā* 'actions (inspired) by the utterances of right-mindedness', 51,21 *cistī uxδāiš šiiaoθanā* 'with the action (connected) with the statements (inspired) by one's insight'.

(5) Abbreviated and varied as in 34,14 *vaŋhāuš šiiaoθanā manaŋhō* 'actions of good thought', cf. 28,1 *mainiiāuš ... spəṇtahiiā ... šiiaoθanā* 'actions of the prosperous spirit'.

12.1.3.1. As a consequence of this style, it is mostly very difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether a given utterance of the prophet in the Gāθās is simply due to poetical elaboration and licence, or whether it really provides us with substantial information about his teachings. Thus, for example, it is open to discussion what part is played by OAv. *vohu- mainiiu-* 'good spirit' as compared with the well-known *spəṇta- mainiiu-* 'prosperous spirit' on the one hand, and with *vohu-manah-* 'good thought' on the other. Is *vohu- mainiiu-* a well-defined element in the religious system underlying Zaraθuštra's poesy or is it merely a poetical coinage? That the latter is the case is suggested by the fact that *vohu- mainiiu-* 'good spirit' is attested only in its gen.sg. *vaŋhāuš mainiiāuš*. This exclusively appears in passages where the metre permits neither *spəṇtahiiā mainiiāuš* nor *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* (34,2, 45,5, 48,8), suggesting that we have to do here with a poetic expression coined for metrical reasons. Note, however, that the use of the superl. *vahišta- mainiiu-* in 33,6 *mainiiāuš ā vahištāṯ̰* 'from best spirit', must be explained in a different way. It cannot be metri causa, since *vahištāṯ̰* has the same number of syllables as *spāništāṯ̰*; the preference given to it here must have a different reason: It is most likely due to an antithesis to 33,4 *acištəm maṇtūm* 'worst counsel'.

12.1.4. A similar problem arises with the use of *aka- mainiiu-* 'evil spirit', the antonym of *vohu- mainiiu-*, as compared with the better known *aŋra- mainiiu-*

'harmful spirit', in 32,5 *akā manaŋhā ... akascā mainiiuš akā šiiaoθanəm vacaŋhā* 'the evil spirit along with evil thought, as well as the action (inspired) by evil word'. Since all forms of *aka-* have the same number of syllables as those of *aŋgra-*, a metrical explanation for the use of *aka-* cannot be applied here either. Here, the prophet chose *aka- mainiiu-* 'evil spirit' instead of *aŋgra- mainiiu-* 'harmful spirit' because he was expanding (by adding *mainiiu-* 'spirit') the basic series *aka- manah-*, *aka- vacah-*, *aka- šiiaoθana-* 'evil thought, evil word, evil action', which required the epithet *aka-* also for *mainiiu-*. Note in this connexion that *vohu- mainiiu-* and *aka- mainiiu-* also underly 30,2 *tā mainiiū ... xᵛafənā ... manahicā vacahicā šiiaoθanōi hī vahiiō akəmcā* 'these two spirits, the two (kinds of) dreams etc., the better and the evil one', as contrasted with *spəṇta- mainiiu-* and *aŋgra- mainiiu-* which underly its parallel 45,2. *mainiiū ... spaniiå ... yəm aŋgrəm* 'the two spirits, the more prosperous one, the harmful one'.

12.1.5.0. It is particularly in the distribution of the Ahurian terms denoting Ahurian concepts or Ahurian persons [= Ahuras], that we see most clearly what we can and cannot expect from the Gāθās. For this distribution is not so much governed by the function attached to the respective concept or person, as it is adjusted to conform to poetical requirements such as the formal composition of a song, of a single stanza, or even of a single line. A very good example is 46,12 *hiiaṯ us aṣā naptiiaēšū nafšucā tūrahiia uzjən friiānahiiā aojiiaēšū ārmatōiš gaēθå frādō θβaxšaŋhā* 'when he rises with truth among the reputable kindred and descendants of Tūra Friyāna (who was) promoting with zeal the herds of right-mindedness'. Here the phrase *ārmatōiš gaēθå* 'the herds of right-mindedness' does not at all denote a special attachment of the herds to right-mindedness, or of right-mindedness to the herds, as one might conclude, were one to attribute a rigorous dogmatism to the text; it is just a poetical variation of the phrase 31,1 *aṣahiiā gaēθå* 'herds of truth' which is common in the Younger Avesta (Yt 6,1 *aṣahe gaēθå*, 19,12 *gaēθå ... ašahe*, 19,23 *aṣahe haca gaēθābiio*, 19,48 *aṣahe gaēθanąm* etc.). The simple reason for using *ārmatōiš gaēθå* instead of *aṣahiiā gaēθå* is that *aṣa-* has already occurred two lines earlier. Evidently, there being an aversion against using an Ahurian term twice in one and the same stanza (cf. § 8.3.3).

12.1.5.1. For the same, and also for metrical reasons, in the same passage 46,12 the phrase *gaēθå frādō θβaxšaŋhā* 'promoting the herds with zeal' replaces an underlying *gaēθå frādō aṣā* 'promoting the herds with truth'. This is suggested by 43,6 *gaēθå aṣā frādō aṣā* 'promoting the herds with truth' and 44,10 *gaēθå aṣā frādōiṯ hacəmnā frādəṇtē* 'the herds are promoted with truth' and 44,10 *gaēθå aṣā frādōiṯ hacəmnā*

'might promote the herds in agreement with truth' (cf. also 34,14 *aṣā frādō vərəzənā* 'promoting communities with truth'). Still another variant is found in 46,13 *gaēθå vohū frādaṯ manaŋhā* 'promotes the herds with good thought' where *aṣā*, which is already found once in the same stanza, is replaced by *vohū manaŋhā*. It is quite remarkable that *aṣa-* 'truth' can be dispensed with under such circumstances and be replaced not only by another Ahurian term such as *vohu- manah-* 'good thought', but also by a rather ordinary word such as *θβaxšah-* 'zeal' which in this way, so to speak, is promoted to the rank of an Ahurian term.

12.1.6.0. Another type of stylistic variation is seen in the varying combinations of the two nouns *xšaθra-* 'power' and *išti-* 'vigour, quest, command' (→34,5:1):

34,5 *kaṯ vā xšaθrəm kā ištiš* 'what (is) Your power, what (is Your) command?'

48,8 *kā tōi vaŋhəuš ... xšaθrahiiā ištiš* 'what is the command of Thy good power?'

51,2 *dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm* 'I will show the power of my command'

51,18 *tąm cistīm ... ištōiš xᵛarənå ... taṯ xšaθrəm* 'that insight (which consists) in quest for glory, that power'

46,16 *yaθrā vaŋhəuš manaŋhō ištā xšaθrəm* 'where power is in the command of good thought'

44,12 *paitišə ... xšaθrahiiā ərəšuuā xšaθrā θβauuąs asištiš* 'the master of power through (his) lofty power, one such as Thou, very vigorous'.

Here, the syntactical variation makes it impossible to attribute any didactical intention to the combination of words. This should rather be understood as one of Zaraθuštra's numerous poetical devices which serve a magical function.

12.1.6.1. In the above-mentioned combinations of *xšaθra-* with *išti-*, the meaning of *xšaθra-* is constant, and that of *išti-* does not much oscillate between ^{1}*išti-* 'vigour', ^{2}*išti-* 'quest', and ^{3}*išti-* 'command'. The case is quite different with the similar combinations of *aŋhu-* with *pauruiia-* in which both members are semantically ambiguous: The forms of *aŋhu-* can be from ^{1}*aŋhu-* 'existence' or from ^{2}*aŋhu-* 'lord', while *pauruiia-*, which we mainly render by 'primal', can not only mean 'first, primeval, primordial, pristine' (as contrasted with present time), but also 'present' (as contrasted with the Last Things), and perhaps also 'prime, foremost', and in some of the occurrences of the two, more than one rendering seems to be justified:

28,11 *yāiš ā aŋhuš paouruiiō bauuaṯ* '(those eulogies) through which the primal existence came into being' [or, if to be read *b[a]uuaṯ*: 'through which the prime existence will come into being']

33,1 *yā dātā aŋhāuš paouruiiehiiā ... šiiaoθanā* 'the actions which (follow) the orders of the primal lord/existence', cf. 46,15 *tāiš ... šiiaoθanāiš ... yāiš dātāiš paouruitāiš ahurahiiā* 'through those actions which (follow) the primal orders of the Ahura'

30,4 *paouruuīm ... yaθācā aŋhaţ apəmām aŋhuš* 'the primal (stage of one's existence), and how (his) existence will be at last'

48,6 *aŋhāuš ząθōi paouruiiehiiā* 'at the begetting of the primal existence'

43,5 *aŋhāuš ząθōi ... paouruuīm* '(Thee) the primal one, at the begetting of existence'

45,3 *aŋhāuš ahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal (formula) of this existence'

44,2 *aŋhāuš vahištahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal (stage) of best existence'

45,2 *aŋhāuš mainiiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage) of existence'.

These passages, which must have been enigmatic even to the more intelligent among contemporary listeners, are characteristic of Zaraθuštra's esoteric style.

12.2. Deliberate ambiguity and esoterism

12.2.1. The style of the Gāθās is esoteric and cryptic rather than didactic or dogmatic. It is a style designed for conversing with the initiated, and especially with the most initiated one of all, Ahura Mazdā. This style manifests itself particularly in deliberate ambiguity, of which almost every stanza of the Gāθās offers one or more examples. The ambiguity may be semantic or grammatical or both. Characteristic is the multivalent use of the instr.sg. of Ahurian terms, e.g. in 30,7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaţ manaŋhā vohū aşācā* 'and (if) one comes to it with power, good thought and truth'. There, the prophet deliberately leaves the question unanswerd whether the subject is Ahura Mazdā or a human individual, and whether the Ahurian terms *xšaθra-*, *vohumanah-* and *aşa-* are to be considered as denoting Ahurian persons ('comes in company of'), or Ahurian qualities, or the materialised form of these ('comes with'), or human virtues ('comes with', or 'comes on account of, by virtue of, due to'), or even human persons characterised by those virtues (cf. § 4.6).

12.2.2. The most esoteric among the Gāθā poems is Y 29, usually called 'The complaint of the soul of the ox/cow' or the like. There., the foremost problem is the meaning of *gəuš uruuan-* in the very first hemistich of the poem, viz. 29,1 *xšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā gərəždā* 'the soul of the cow complains to You'. Does it refer to the soul of

the primordial bull (cf. S 2,12 †*gaom aēuuō.dātahe urunō* [masc.]) or to that of the primordial cow (cf. Yt 7,0 *gəuš aēuuō.dātaiiā* [fem.]), or does it refer to the soul of the sacrificial animal or, by synecdoche, to any living ox/cow, or even to the whole of the species (cf. S 2,12 †*gaom pouru.sarəδahe urūnō* [masc.], Yt 7,0 *gəuš pouru.sarəδaiiā* [fem.])? There are good arguments in favour of all of these interpretations, especially as the use of the inj.pres. points to *gərəždā* 'complains' being a general statement (§ 11.5.3.1). Thus, it is possible, or even probable, that the multiple ambiguity was deliberately intended by Zaraθustra who believed in a mystical identity of the sacrificial animal with both the primordial specimen and with the species as a whole (→ 29:0).

12.2.3.0. A problem of a similar type is offered by the second hemistich of 29,1 *kahmāi mā θβarōždūm kə mā tašaţ* 'for whom did You [pl.] shape me, who [sg.] fashioned me?' [= 'who shaped and fashioned me, and for whom did he do it?']. On comparison of 51,9, where Ahura Mazdā is addressed as *yə gąm tašō* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow', one would in 29,1 expect the reply to be 'the Wise Ahura shaped and fashioned thee (the cow)'. However, the actual reply in 29,2 is *tašā gəuš* 'the fashioner of the cow (did it)', and in 29,6 it is *θβā ... θβōrəštā tatašā* 'the shaper has fashioned you'. Unlike 51,9, in both 29,2 and 29,6 the context gives the impression that not Ahura Mazdā, but a person other than he, called 'shaper of the cow', or 'fashioner of the cow', is meant. This only makes sense if that entity is considered as one of the Ahuras who are united with Ahura Mazdā in a sort of many-in-one relation (§ 4.7), for which cf. also 31,9 *θβā ā gəuš tašā †as.xratuš* 'Thine (was) the very intellectual fashioner of the cow'.

12.2.3.1. Superficially, the statements in 29,2.6 (cf. in 31,9) and in 51,9, are contradictory, and from a dogmatic point of view not all of them can be simultaneously correct. But on the probable assumption that the Gāθās represent meditations of Zaraθuštra on the mystical identity of the different manifestations of Ahura Mazdā, there is no contradiction between them. There is also no contradiction between the different uses of *aşa-* 'truth' in 29,2 *adā tašā gəuš pərəsaţ aşəm* 'thereupon the fashioner of the cow asks truth', and in 29,3 *ahmāi aşā nōiţ ... paitī.mrauuaţ* 'no(body) will answer him through truth'. In 29,2 the Ahurian term 'truth' is presented as denoting an Ahura, but in 29,3 it is only an Ahurian concept. It is, of course, likely that the prophet not only himself meditated on this mystical identity, but he also wanted the intellectually trained among his adherents to follow in the paths of his meditation

as far as they were capable. Yet, his concrete religious ideas are reflected in the Gāθās only in a highly artificial poetical form, in a style which was hardly suited for teaching ordinary herdsmen and farmers.

13. The Composition of the Hymns

13.1. Set phrases and compositional words

13.1.1. Y 43 is characterized by the set phrase *spəṇtəm aṯ ϑβā mazdā māŋhī ahurā* 'I realise that Thou (art) prosperous, O Wise Ahura' (43,7.9.13.15), that of Y 44 by the set phrase *taṯ ϑβā pərəsa ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā* 'this I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura' (44,1-19). In his treatments of Y 47 and Y 28 (1953-54), W. Lentz has drawn attention to another pattern of formal composition, the use of theme and other "compositional" words. These sometimes recur in each stanza, sometimes in a part of the stanzas of one and the same hymn. In Y 28, the phenomenon is manifested by the recurrence of both *aŝa-* 'truth' and *vohu- manah-* 'good thought' in each stanza, in Y 47 by that of *spəṇta- mainiiu-* 'prosperous spirit'. This does not exclude a tendency towards variation. Thus, *vohu- manah-* is replaced by *vahišta- manah-* 'best thought' in 28,9, *spəṇta- mainiiu-* by *spəništa- mainiiu-* 'most prosperous spirit' in 47,2. A further step towards elaboration is found in 47,3 *ahiiā mainiiəuš ... <p>tā spəṇtō* where *spəṇta-* has been shifted from *mainiiəuš* 'spirit' to *<p>tā* 'father'.

13.1.2.0. More complicated is the distribution of theme words in Y 32. In 32,3.6.-8.9.10.12 a series of inflexional forms and nominal derivations from the root *srau/sru* 'to hear' forms a compositional chain of words, mostly with a bad connotation:

32,3 *yāiš asrūdūm* 'for which you have become notorious'
32,6 *yāiš srāuuahiieitī* 'with which he strives for notoriety'
32,7 *yāiš srāuuī* 'for which one becomes notorious'
32,8 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm srāuuī* 'became notorious for (one instance) of such crimes'
32,9.10 *srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ* 'spoils one's reputation'
32,12 *yā rånhaiiən srauuaŋhā* 'due to the (notorious) speech by which'.

13.1.2.1. In 32,8.10.12.14 the inflexional forms and derivations from *srau/sru* are interwoven with a series of occurrences of *gau-* 'ox/cow', showing a remarkable semantical variation. The word occurs

(1) In 32,8 *yimascīṯ ... gāuš* 'even Yima, the ox', *gāuš* 'ox' is used metaphorically in the sense of 'hero' or 'sacrificial animal', unless it is a verbal form 'he sinned' or 'he promoted' (§ 13.1.4).

(2) In 32,10 *gąmcā huuarəcā* 'the cow and the sun', *gąm* 'cow' does not only denote the animal but at the same time it stands metaphorically for 'dawn'.

(3) In 32,12 *gəuš ... jiiōtūm* 'life of the cow', and in 32,14 *gāuš jaidiiā* 'let the ox be killed', 'cow/ox' denotes the sacrificial animal as mistreated by the deceitful.

13.1.3. In the same way as with Zaraϑuštra's other poetical devices, theme words do not serve any purpose of definition or specification. On the contrary, they are merely a formal artistic means to concentrate the hearer's mind on the manifold meanings of the words used, a formal means by which the poet has an opportunity of demonstrating his skill with words. The technique culminates in the interweaving of the theme words *srau/sru* 'hear', *gau-* 'ox/cow', *mard* 'to crush', and *jiiātu-* 'life/ - livelihood' in 32,8-12:

32,8 *srāuuī ... gāuš* 'became notorious, the ox [hero]'
32,9 *srauuå morəṇdaṯ ... jiiātəuš* 'spoils one's reputation ... of life [the living]'
32,10 *srauuå morəṇdaṯ ... gąm* 'spoils one's reputation, ... cow [dawn]'
32,11 *mōrəṇdən jiiōtūm* 'spoil life'
32,12 *srauuaŋhā ... yōi gəuš mōrəṇdən ... jiiōtūm* 'due to (notorious) speech ... they spoil the life of the cow'.

13.1.4. The repeated use of one and the same word in successive stanzas does not necessarily prove that there is a logical connexion between each of its ocurrences. The repetition can be due to pure association, as is the repetition of the verbal stem *pərəsa-* 'to ask', med. 'to take counsel, converse', in 31,12-16:

31,12 *pərəsaitē* 'takes counsel', 31,13 *pərəsaētē* 'two persons take counsel with one another', 31,14-16 *pərəsā* 'I ask'.

Further instances of the use of words which solely have an outward similarity, called "compositional word play" by us, are:

33,5-6 *aŝāṯ ā ərəzūš paϑō* '(having reached) in accordance with truth the straight paths', *zaotā aŝā ərəzuš* 'an (officiating) priest straightforward in truth'

28,1-3 *paouruuīm* 'first [or: prime (existence)]', *apaouruuīm* 'as never before'.

49,6-8 *fraēšiiā* 'I incite', *fraēštåŋhō* 'most dear (friends)'

50,2-9 *išasōiṯ* 'should try to win', *išō* 'invigoration', *zastāištā* 'sent by one's hands', ... *išaiiå* 'abundance', *išaiiąs* 'enjoying vigour'

50,8-11 *arədra-* 'zestful', *arədaṯ* 'shall further'

A deliberate paradox is the compositional combination of *nąsuuå* 'strayed from' with *nąsaṯ* 'presents' in

51,13-16 *aṣ̌ahiiā nąsuuå paθō ... nąsaṯ vaŋhāuš padəbīš manaŋhō yąm cistīm aṣ̌ā maṇtā* '(the soul of the deceitful one) having strayed from the path of truth ... on the paths of good thought (Kavi Vištāspa) presents (that) insight which the (Ahura) has conceived with truth'.

If the word *gāuš* in 32,8 is not from the noun *gau-* 'ox/cow' (§ 13.1.2.1) but a verbal form, it must be added to the above examples of compositional word play.

13.2. Compositional patterns

13.2.1. Although it is taken for granted that Zaraθustra's message represented a fundamental break in the religious tradition of the Iranians, in his poetry, there is much which bears witness to a continuity with the past. For example, the beginnings of Y 30 and Y 45 exhibit one and the same pattern:

30,1 *aṯ tā vaxšiiā išəṇto yā mazdāθā* 'I shall proclaim (now), O You approaching ones, such (things) which you shall report'

45,1 *aṯ frauuaxšiiā ... yaēcā asnāṯ yaēca dūrat išaθā ... mazdåŋhō.dūm* 'I shall (now) proclaim, O You who approach from near and far, (and) You shall take note of'.

This type of introductory formulas is from an ancient tradition, as is proved by passages such as RV 1,32,1 *índrasya nú vīryáni prá vocam* 'I am proclaiming now the heroic deeds of Indra' (→45,0).

13.2.2. Another firmly established pattern is found in 46,14-17 and 51,11-19, in both of which the rhetorical question 'who is Zaraθuštra's ally?' is followed by an enumeration of the names of prominent faithful persons, which begins in the nom. and then changes into the voc. (§ 3.1.1):

46,14 (Question:) *zaraθuštrā kastē aṣ̌auuā uruuaθō* 'O Zaraθuštra, who (is) Thy truthful ally?' - (Answers:) 14 *kauuā vīštāspō* [nom.], 15 *haēcaṯ.aspā* [voc.pl.], 16 *fərašaoštrā* [voc.], 17 *dāŋāmāspā* [voc.];

51,11 (Question:) *kā uruuaθō spitamāi zaraθuštrāi nā mazdā* 'who (is) the man (who will be) an ally for Spitama Zaraθuštra, O Wise one?' - (Answers:) 16 *kauuā vīstāspō* [nom.]; 17 *fəraŝaoštrō* [nom.], 18 *dāŋāmāspō* [nom.], 19 *maidiiōi.måŋhā* [voc.].

Similar, but without a rhetorical question, are 28,6-8 *zaraθuštrāi* [dat.] ... *vīštāspāi* [dat.] ... *fəraŝaōštrāi* [dat.], and 49,8-9 *fəraŝaoštrāi* [dat.]... *dāŋāmāspā* [voc.]

13.3. The perfection ot the world and the sacrificial fee

13.3.1. Another pattern of clearly traditional character is Zaraθuštra's entreaty for a brilliant existence, to be found in the last stanzas of each of Y 34, 50, 46:

34,15 *fəraŝəm vasnā haiθiiəm dā ahūm* 'make real the existence (which is) brillant in (my) *imagination'

50,11 *arədaṯ ... haiθiiāuuarəštąm hiiaṯ vasnā fəraŝō.təməm* 'he shall further the realisation (of) what is most brilliant in (my) *imagination'

46,19 *yā mōi ... haiθīm ... varəšaitī hiiaṯ vasnā fəraŝō.təməm ... mīždəm hanəṇtē parāhūm ... gauuā azī* 'he who will make real for me what (is) most brilliant in (my) *imagination, (for me) who deserves a prize providing higher existence, ... two fertile cows'.

13.3.2. The three occurrences of *fəraŝa- vasnā* 'brilliant in (my) *imagination' in 34,15, 50,11 and 46,1 recall

30,9 *aṯcā tōi vaēm ɨiiāmā yōi īm fəraŝəm kərənaon ahūm* 'thus may we be those who will make existence brilliant'.

According to the context, reference is here to the perfection, renovation and transfiguration of the world (YAv. *fraṣ̌ō.kərəti-*, lit. 'brilliant making'). However, of the three passages 34,15, 50,11 and 46,1 cited above, only 34,15 and 50,11 fit this picture so that it is possible to interpret them in this way, while 46,19 plainly refers to a 'prize' (*mīžda-*) consisting of two fertile cows (*gauuā azī*), the sacrificial fee deserved (and claimed) by Zaraθuštra. Thus, we see that the prophet equates his remuneration with the perfection of the world, which makes sense if the sacrifice as a whole (including the remuneration for it) is understood as the microcosmic anticipation of the macrocosmic events awaited by the faithful.

13.3.3. In its turn, 46,19 (last stanza) is closely related to 44,18-19 (third and second last stanzas of hymn) where the prize which Zaraθuštra asserts that he deserves (*mīždəm hanānī ... mīždəm hanəṇtē*) consists of ten mares with stallion(s) and a camel (*dasā aspå aršənuuaitīš uštrəmcā*), and where the prophet threatens his patron with punishment both, in this life and after death in case of a refusal. For a correct interpretation, this passage should be compared with the legendary meeting of Zaraθuštra with the Karap Vaēdvōišt (§ 3.1.3) described in Dēnkard 7,4,24: *ēg raft zarduxšt ō ān waēdwōišt ... u-š ō ōy guft kū ... ān az tō ohrmazd xwāhēd: sad tōštar ud kanīg <ud>*

āyōzišn ī cahār asp, ud agar ō ōy dahēh tō rāy ud xwarrah pad ān dāšn, ud agar ō ōy nē dahēh tō dušxwarrah pad ān nē-dāšnīh 'then Zarduxšt went to Vaēdvōišt and said to him: Ohrmazd demands from you a hundred young men and girls and a team of four horses, and if you give them to him, you (will obtain) wealth and fortune for this gift, and if you do not give him (them), a misfortune (will befall you) for this refusal'.

13.3.4. The traditional nature of Zaraθuštra's claim for his sacrificial fee, especially to be seen in 46,19 and 44,18-19, is apparent from a comparison of 44,18 *kaθā ... hanānī dasā aspā aršənuuaitīš* 'shall I deserve ten mares with a stallion?' with the following two Vedic passages:

RV 8,68,17 *ṣáḷ áśvān ... vadhúmataḥ ... sanam* 'six stallions with mares (are what) I deserve' (followed by ib. 18 *vṛ́ṣanvatī* 'mare surrounded by stallions'),

RV 6,27,8 *viṃsatíṃ gā́ vadhúmataḥ ... máhyaṃ saṃrā́ṭ ... dadāti* 'the paramount sovereign gives me twenty bulls and cows'.

To these Vedic passages, which belong to the literary genre of Dānastuti 'praise of open-handedness experienced or expected', add from Pāli the passage from Aṭṭhisena Jāṭaka 403 (Jāṭaka III 355) *dadāmi te brāhmaṇa rohiṇīnaṃ gavaṃ sahassaṃ saha puṅgavena* 'I give you, O Brāhmin, a thousand of reddish cows along with one bull'.[96]

14. The Mystery of the Sacrifice: Integrity and Immortality

14.1. The Gāθās are not only sacrificial hymns composed in praise of Ahura Mazdā, they also are products of, and invitations to, meditation on both the miraculous multiformity ("many-in-one-ness") of Ahura Mazdā's manifestations, and the mystery of the sacrifice. At the sacrifice the principles of Zaraθuštra's morals are applied and realised at the highest possible level, and thus the sacrifice is in itself an representation, at the microcosmic level, of the perfection, renovation and transfiguration of the world. The pious must contribute their share to this by offering a generous fee for the sacrifice (§ 13.3).

[96]H. P. Schmidt, *Associative Technique*, 1974, 325 explains the phrase 46,19 *gauuā azī* 'two fertile cows' as an elliptic dual representing "a metaphor for 'reason' [*xratu-*] and 'insight' [*cisti-*], the two faculties Zarathustra wants to see rise over the world". Similar interpretations are suggested by S.Insler, *Gāthās*, 1975, 73.87. See the criticism by Humbach, *Der metaphorische Gebrauch von av. gau- 'Rind'*, 1982. This criticism is considered unjustified by Schmidt, *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33*, 1985, 56-62, but the facts support it.

14.2. In 44,18 the sacrificial fee, claimed by Zaraθuštra, is equated with the Ahurian concepts, or qualities, of *hauruuatāt-* and *amərətatāt-* 'integrity and immortality' which the prophet himself wishes to enjoy, and which are mystically identified by him with the kind of *hauruuatāt-* and *amərətatāt-* that Ahura Mazdā is offered at the sacrifice: 44,18 *taṯ mīždəm ... hiiaṯ mōi ... apiuuaiti hauruuātā amərətātāt yaθā hī taibiiō dāŋhā* 'that prize which secures for me integrity and immortality, just as Thou takest these for Yourself'.

14.3. In general opinion, Av. *hauruuatāt-* and *amərətatāt-* 'integrity and immortality' denote non-material qualities which Ahura Mazdā shares with those men who have been received into paradise. Accordingly, all Gāθā passages, in which these two qualities are mentioned, are usually taken to refer to the state of man in paradise. Yet, this opinion disregards the fact that in YAv. liturgical texts *hauruuata amərətāta* 'integrity and immortality' represent the liquid and the vegetable part [= water and plants] of the sacrificial oblation (*miiazda-*), a use which recalls Greek *νέκταρ* [*néktar*] and *ἀμβροσία* [*ambrosía*] 'food and drink of the gods', and even more Ved. *amṛ́ta-* 'id.', which can be used as well to denote offerings such as Ghee and Soma. In Yy 3,1 the officiating priest recites: *xᵛarəθəm miiazdəm āiiese yešti hauruuata amərətāta gāuš hudå* 'with reverence I fetch integrity and immortality, and (the flesh of) the munificent cow, (to serve as) repast (and) sacrificial food' (§ 2.2.5), cf. 7,1 *aŋaiia daδąmi xᵛarəθəm miiazdəm hauruuata amərətāta gāuš hudå* 'truthfully I offer integrity and immortality and (the flesh of) the munificent cow'.

14.4. The two passages in question, Yy 3,1 and 7,1, belong to the so-called Srōš Drōn of the Yasna liturgy. Since Phl. *drōn* 'sacrificial share, oblation' comes from the hapax Av. *draonah-*, it is most likely to be a sacrificial term of the same meaning. In connexion with this conclusion, the Srōš Drōn passage Yy 7,1 *daδąmi xᵛarəθəm miiazdəm hauruuata amərətāta* 'I offer integrity and immortality' provides a key to the correct interpretation of 33,8 *dātā və amərətåscā utaiiūitī hauruuatās draonō* 'integrity is offered to You as an oblation, as well as immortality, along with stability'. At the same time the use of *xᵛarəθa-* 'food' reveals the true meaning of 34,11 *aṯ tōi ubē hauruuåscā xᵛarəθāi.ā amərətatåscā* 'integrity and immortality both (serve) Thee as food'.

14.5. In all these Gāθā passages, the underlying idea is that with the help of oblations and prayers offered by the faithful, Ahura Mazdā maintains and increases the

magical power of his own integrity and immortality, as well as all of his other Ahurian qualities. This idea is most clearly expressed in 34,1 *yā yasnā amərətatātəm aṣ̌əmcā taibiiō dāŋhā xšaϑrəmcā hauruuatatō* 'the worship through which Thou takest for Thyself immortality and truth and the power of integrity'. This stanza also provides additional insight into the miraculous and mystical multivalence of the Ahurian qualities. We know that Ahura Mazdā is the creator of the Ahurian concept of truth, and truth is one of his Ahurian aspects, at the same time it is one of the Ahurian persons [= Ahuras] in his entourage. Ahura Mazdā comes with truth to the faithful, i.e. he blesses them with the opted-for truth, and in return these faithful display and offer their truth to Ahura Mazdā in order to secure his power and rule, forever.

15. Appendix: Figures of Speech

For the surface analysis, and interpretation of Gāϑā passages it is useful to take into account the devices of Zaraϑuštra's highly elaborate poetical technique. Here follows a list of figures of speech found in the Gāϑās.

15.1. Figures of coordination

15.1.1. Asyndeta:

43,10 *aēšəm ... āmauuaṇtəm* 'vigorous (and) impetuous', cf. Yy 9,20 *aēšo amauuå ϑrąfəδō* 'vigorous, impetuous (and) satisfied', but YH 41,4 *aēšācā ... āmauuaṇtascā*

43,14 *rafənō frāxšnānəm* 'support (and) foresight'

34,7 *sāŋghūš raēxənå* 'bequests (and) legacies'

53,9 *narəpīš raŋ̌iš* 'obscuration [pl.] (and) darkness [pl.]'

15.1.2. Inverted coordination with *-cā*:

33,8 *amərətâscā ... hauruuatās* means 'integrity and immortality' [= **hauruuatās amərətâscā*], the basic order of the pair as suggested by the YAv. and the majority of the Gāϑā occurrences of the pair (31,6, 31,21, 34,11, 44,17.18, 45,5.10, 47,1), rather than 'immortality and integrity' [= **amərətās hauruâscā*], which in the Gāϑās is found as a poetical exception only (34,1 *amərətatātəmcā ... xšaϑrəmcā hauruuatātō*, 51,7 *amərətātā hauruātā*).

It is questionable, whether it is always necessary, or useful, to restore the underlying basic order in the translation.

The basic order of the phrase 30,9 *mazdâscā ahurâŋhō* (cf. 31,4) is **ahurâŋhō mazdâscā* which means 'O You (other) Ahuras and (Thou who art) the Wise One' (§ 1.2.1). Cf. the parallel syntactical structure in RV 4,47,2 *índraśca vāyo* which is equivalent to ib. 3 *váyav índrasca* 'O Vāyu, and (thou who art) Indra' (cf. RV 1,2,4-6 *índravāyū ... váyav índraśca ... váyav índraśca*). However, restoring the basic order does not do justice to Ahura Mazdā's position as leader of the Ahuras. For this reason, it is preferable to translate the phrase more freely by 'O Wise One and You (other) Ahuras'.

In cases such as 43,4 *taxməmcā spəṇtəm*, literally 'prosperous and brave' but freely 'brave and prosperous', the word order is irrelevant. The same applies to 51,14 *dātōibiiascā vāstrāṯ arəm* literally 'in accordance with (the needs of) pasture and the laws' but freely 'in accordance with the laws and (the needs of) pasture'.

More complicated is 32,5 *akā manaŋhā ... akascā mainiiuš 'akā šiiaoϑanəm vacaŋhā*. Here restoring the basic order results in 'the action (inspired) by the evil word ... and the evil spirit along with evil thought' which is confusing since the two coordinated phrases are separated from each other by the verse boundary. This suggests adopting the freer translation 'the evil spirit along with evil thought, as well as the action (inspired) by the evil word' which follows the surface word order.

Two verbs are invertedly coordinated by *-cā* in two passages, in both of which it is advisable to translate according to the surface order:

53,5 *mōṇcā ī mązdazdūm 'vaēdōdūm daēnābīš* 'note them in your minds and accept with (your) religious views' [unless: 'when(!) you note them in your minds (then) you obtain'

53,7 *rāmąmcā āiš dadātū ... īratū iš duuafšō* 'let one establish peace with them, and let ill come upon them'.

15.1.3. Peculiar uses of *-cā*:

28,3 *yaēibiiō xšaϑrəmcā aγžsaonuuamnəm varədaitī ārmaitiš* 'for (all of) whom right-mindedness (among other things) also increases unfading power'

32,13 *aŋhāuš marəxtārō ahiiā yaēcā ... jīgərəzaṯ* 'the destroyers of this existence, who then complain' (alternatively: § 15.1.5, § 15.16.2)

30,3 *x^{v}afnā ... manahicā vacahicā šiiaoϑanōi* 'the two (kinds of) dreams, (of) thoughts and words, (and of) actions'

34,5 *vīspāiš ... daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš maŋiiāišcā* '(superior) to all evil beasts, Daēvic as well as human' rather than '(superior) to all evil beasts (and) Daēvas and men'.

-cā is pleonastic in 29,6 *fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiāicā* 'for both the cattle-breeder and the herdsman', cf. YAv. *vāstriia- fšuiiaṇt-* 'cattle-breeding herdsman'; 30,1 *staotācā ... yesniiācā* 'both praises and worshipful words', cf. YAv. *staota yesniia* 'worshipful praises'.

Note the zeugma construction in 40,1 *mazdąmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 'assume knowledge and do it abundantly'.

15.1.4. Noun/adjective plus relative construction:

28,2 *ahuuå astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, the corporeal one and (that) which (is) of thought' (with *hiiaṯcā* replacing *ahiiācā yā*)

33,1 *drəguuataēcā hiiaṯcā aŋaonē* 'for the deceitful one and for (him) who (is) truthful' (with *hiiaṯcā* replacing *ahmāicā yā*); ib. *miθahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā* 'one's faults and what (are) his virtues'

43,5 *šiiaoθanā ... yācā uxδā* 'the actions and which (are) the statements'

30,11 *hiiaṯcā ... rašō sauuacā* 'what (is) the harm, as well as the benefits'.

Similarly 45,2 *spaniiå ... yəm aŋgrəm*; 30,5 *yā drəguuå ... spəništō*; 46,5 *yā aŋauuā drəguuaṇtəm*; 33,14 *manaŋhas(cā) vaŋhəuš ... šiiaoθanahiiā aŋā yācā.*

Cf. YH 39,2 *urunō pasukanąm ... daitikanąmcā aidiiūnąm hiiaṯ urunō* 'the souls of the domestic animals and the souls of (those) wild animals that (are) harmless' (with *hiiaṯ* replacing *yaēšąm*).

15.1.5. Noun/adjective plus relative/conjunctional clause:

30,4 *paouruuīm ... yaθācā aŋhaṯ apəməm aŋhuš* 'the primal (stage of one's existence) and how (his) existence will be at last'

30,5 *mainiiuš spəništō ... yaēcā xšnaošon ahurəm* 'the most prosperous spirit and (those) who satisfy the Ahura';

31,9 *vāstriiāṯ ... yā vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ vāstriiō* 'the herdsman, or him who may not be a herdsman'

32,13 *aŋhāuš marəxtārō ahiiā yaēcā mazdā ƒigərəzat* alternatively 'the destroyers of this existence and (those), O Wise One, who complain' (but see alternatively § 15.1.3, § 15.16.2)

33,1 *drəguuataēcā ... yehiiācā həməmiiāsaitē* 'for the deceitful one and (for that one) whose (faults and virtues) are reckoned together

34,5 *šiiaoθanāi ... yaθā vā hahmī* 'for (my) action as well as when I sleep'

44,17 *āskəitīm xšmākąm hiiaṯcā mōi ziiāṯ vāxš aēšō* '(towards) Your attachment, and so that my voice might be vigorous (enough)'

46,2 *mā kamnafšuuā hiiaṯcā kamnānā ahmī* 'on account of the scantiness of my cattle stock, and because I am one of few men (only)'.

15.1.6. Relative nominal clause plus relative verbal clause, or inversely:

31,13 *yā frasā āuuišiiā yā vā mazdā pərəsaētē taiiā* '(that) which (is) an open counsel as well as the secrets about which two (persons) take counsel with one another, O Wise One'

50,10 *aṯ yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šiiaoθanā* 'and (the actions) which I will perform and the actions (performed) by those (all) around.

Cf. 34,12 *kaṯ tōi rāzarə kaṯ vašī* 'what (should) a prayer to Thee (be)? what dost Thou desire?'

15.1.7. Quasi-coordination by means of the suffix *-uuaṇt*:

31,4 *xšaθrəm aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'strong power' recalls 29,10 *aogō ... xšaθrəmcā* 'strength and power'

31,11, 34,14 *astuuaṇt- uštāna-* 'corporeal vitality' recalls 37,3 *ahmākāiš azdəbīšcā uštānāišcā* 'with our bones and vitalities', V 5,9 *asca uštānəmcā* 'bone(s) and vitality'.

Cf. 29,9 *zastauuaṯ auuō* 'help with (his) hands'; 33,12 *hazō āmauuaṯ* 'aggressive superiority'; 44,18 *dasā aspå aršənuuaitīš* 'ten mares with a stallion' [or perhaps: with stallions].

15.1.8. Quasi-coordination by means of the instrumental case (cf. § 15.18):

43,1 *utaiiūitī təuuīšīm* 'might along with stability', cf. 34,11 *utaiiūitī təuuīšī* 'both stability and might'

33,8 *utaiiūitī hauruuatās* 'integrity along with stability.

15.2. Variation in degree of comparison

15.2.1. Positive vs. comparative:

30,3 *vahiiō akəmcā* 'the better and the evil (action)'

45,2 *spaniiå ... aŋgrəm* 'the more prosperous (spirit) ... the harmful one'

34,8 *as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'the strong one hits the weaker one' [unless to be read **aš.aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'the very strong one (treats) the weaker one'].

15.2.2. Positive vs. superlative:

29,3 *ādrəng* ... *aojištō* 'the weak ones ... the strongest one'

30,5 *drəguuå* ... *spəništō* 'the deceitful (spirit) ... the most prosperous one'

31,13 *kasəuš* ... *mazistąm* 'small ... very great'

46,6 *vahištō* ... *friiō* 'best (to the deceitful one) ... a friend'.

Cf. Yt 10,29 *akō vahišťasca* '(at the same time) evil and very good'. Differently: 27,14 *vohū vahištəm* 'the best (of what is) good, the best (possession)'. Note also 53,3 *yezuuī* 'young' in the sense of 'youngest'.

15.2.3. Positive degree plus anaphoric superlative:

48,5 *vaŋhuiiå cištōiš* ... *vahištā* 'of the good insight ... the best one'

51,1 *vohū xšaθrəm* ... *vahištəm* 'the good power ....the best one'.

Vice versa perhaps 45,4 *vahištəm* ... *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'the best one [= best thought] ... of good thought'.

15.3. Repetition of nouns/adjectives

15.3.1. In reciprocal function:

31,17 *vīduuå vīdušē* 'the knowing one to the knowing one'

46,2 *friiō friiāi* 'a friend to a friend'; cf. 44,1 *friiāi* ... *friiā hākurənā* 'to a friend ... friendly followings'; 53,4 *aşaonī aşauuabiiō* 'a truthful woman for truthful persons'; 39,1 *yaēibiiascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiiō aŋhən* '(to us) to whom they belong, and (to us) who may belong to them'; 40,3 *ahmaibiiā.ahmā.rafənaŋhō* '(men) who offer support to us and who enjoy support from us'.

15.3.2. Elative:

43,3 *vaŋhāuš vahiiō* '(what is) better than good [= the very best]', cf. Yy 59,30-31 *vaŋhaoť vaŋhō akāť ašō* (inexact for **vaŋhaoť vaŋhō akāť ašō*)

51,6 *vahiiō vaŋhāuš* ... *akāť ašiiō* '(what is) better than good ... (what is) worse than evil'.

Cf. YH 35,10 *staotā* ... *staotōibiiō* ... *uzδā* ... *uzδōibiiō* ... *yasnā* ... *yasnōibiiō* 'with a praise above (all other) praises, with a statement above (all other) statements, with a worship above (all other) worships'; 36,6 *sraēštąm* ... *kəhrpəm kəhrpąm* ... *barəzištəm barəzəmanąm* 'the most beautiful body among bodies, the most elevated among the elevated things'.

15.3.3. Other repetitions of nouns/adjectives in one and the same stanza:

27,13 *ahū* ... *aŋhāuš* 'existence'

27,14 *uštā* ... *uštā* 'as desired ... as desired', or: 'as desired ... the desired things' as similarly in 43,1 *uštā* ... *uštā* 'as desired ... the desired things'

28,2 *vohū manaŋhā* ... *manaŋhō* 'thought'

30,10 *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* ... *vaŋhāu srauuahī* 'good'

28,8 *vahištəm θβā vahištā* ... *aşā vahištā* 'best'

30,5 *mainiuuå* ... *mainiiuš spəništō* 'spirit'

31,8 *manaŋhā* ... *vaŋhāuš patarəm manaŋhō* 'thought'

32,14 *auuō* ... *auuō* 'to assist'

34,12 *rāzarə* ... *rāšnąm* 'prayer ... prayers'

34,14 *vərəzənē* ... *vərəzənā* 'community ... communities'

43,2 *xᵛāθrōiiā* ... *xᵛāθrəm* 'comfort'

43,5 *akəm akāi* ... *vaŋᵛhīm aşīm vaŋhaouuē* 'evil to the evil one, good reward to the good one'

43,12 *aşī* ... *aşīš* 'reward ... rewards'

44,1 *nəmaŋhō* ... *nəmə* 'reverence'

44,9 *xšaθrahiiā* ... *xšaθrā* 'power'

45,3 *aŋhāuš* ... *aŋhāuš* 'existence'

46,1 *nəmōi* ... *nəmōi* 'to graze'

46,9 *aşā* ... *aşāi* 'truth', but see § 12.1.5.0 on 46,12 where the repetition of *aşa-* is avoided

46,18 *vohū* ... *manaŋhā* ... *manaŋhascā* 'thought'

47,4 *aşaonō* ... *aşāunē* 'truthful'

51,8 *vīdušē* ... *vīdušē* 'knowing'

53,7 *magahiiā* ... *magəm* 'sacrament'.

Cf. YH 36,1 *axtiš* ... *āxtōiiōi* 'pain'.

15.3.4. Paronomasia (word play):

46,10 *aşīm ašāi* 'reward for truth'

54,1 *aşahiiā* ... *aşīm* 'reward of truth'

48,8 *kā tōi aşōiš θβaźiiå* ... *kā θβōi aşā* 'what (is the command) of Thy reward? what (is) Thy (command) through truth?'

51,5 *ərəšuuō* ... *ərəš* 'high-ranking ... plainly'

33,9 *hākurənəm* ... *yaiiå haciņtē uruuąnō* 'the fellowship of those two whose souls agree'. Cf. § 11.1.4 on compositional word play.

15.4. Repetition of verbs

15.4.1. In relative clauses with variation of tense:

29,4 *yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī ... yācā varəšaitē aipī* 'what has been perpetrated all around, and what will be perpetrated in the future'

33,10 *yå zī åŋharə yåscā həṇtī yåscā mazdā buuaiṇtī* '(those) which indeed have existed, and which exist, and which will exist'

45,7 *yōi zī juuā aŋharəcā buuaiṇticā* '(those) who indeed (are) living (now), and have existed, and will exist'

51,22 *yōi åŋharəcā həṇticā* '(those) who both have existed and exist'.

Cf. YH 35,2 *vərəziiamnaną̊mcā vāuuərəzananą̊mcā* 'of both (those that are now) performed and (those that) have been performed'; 39,2 *vanaiṇtī vā vəŋhən vā vaonarə vā* 'prevail, or will prevail, or have prevailed'.

15.4.2. Other cases:

28,7 *dāidī ... dāidī ... dåstū* 'grant'

28,10 *vōistā ... vaēdā* 'know'

29,4 *ciθīṯ ... ciθīṯ* 'notice'

29,10 *dātā ... dāṯ* 'grant/establish'

31,5 *aŋhaṯ ... aŋhaitī* 'be available'

44,19 *dāitī ... dāitē* 'award ... obtain'

46,1 *xšnāuš ... xšnaošāi* 'satisfy'

48,11 *jimaṯ ... jimaṯ* 'arrive/reach'

49,7 *sraotū ... sraotū* 'hear'

51,8 *vaxšiiā ... mruiiāṯ ... mrauuaitī* 'tell/speak'

51,15 *cōišt ... cəuuīšī* 'promise/commit'.

15.5. Repetition by use of (nearly) synonyms

43,5 *aŋhāuš ... dāmōiš uruuaēsē apəmē* 'existence ... at the final turning point of creation', cf. 51,6 *apəmē aŋhəuš uruuaēsē* 'at the final turn of existence'

43,8 *haiθiiō ... aṣāunē* 'true ... truthful'

43,15 *drəguuaṯō ... aŋrəŋg* 'deceitful ... harmful'

46,6 *vahištō ... friiō* 'best ... friend'

49,3 *sarə ... haxmāŋg* 'shelter [association] ... fellowship'

49,9 *sarəm ... yuxtā* 'shelter [association] ... yoking together'

51,19 *ahūm ... gaiiehiiā šiiaoθanāiš* 'existence ... actions of life [the living]'; cf. 27,13 *šiiaoθənaną̊m aŋhāuš*, 31,8 *aŋhāuš šiaoθanaēšū* 'actions of the world [existence]'.

15.6. Change of number and person

15.6.1. Plural vs. singular, 3rd vs. 2nd person:

When addressing Ahura Mazdā, Zaraθuštra often uses plural forms of pronouns as in 28,2 *vå mazdā ahurā* 'You, O Wise Ahura', or of verbs as in 34,14 *taṯ zī mazdā dātā* 'for You grant this, O Wise One'. This plural can be regarded as a pluralis majestatis or as including the other Ahuras, but a similar plural is also found in 53,4 *tām zī vō spərədā niuuarānī* 'for I want to encompass him with your eagerness' where *vō* 'your' refers to Pourucistā only. Note the shift from the plural to the singular in 43,11-12 *hiiaṯ mōi mraotā ... hiiaṯcā mōi mraoš* 'what You tell me ... and when Thou tellest me'. Other changes of number and/or person are found in 34,13 *cəuuīštā ... yehiiā tū daθrəm* 'You accord ... of which Thou (art) the award'; 48,7 *nī aēšəmō nī.diiātą̊m paitī rəməm paitī.siiōdūm* 'let wrath be let down, chop (You) up fury'; 49,7 *sraotū ... gūšahuuā* 'let one hear, ... listen (Thou)'; 29,1 *kahmai mā θβarōždūm kā mā tašaṯ* 'for whom did You shape me? who fashioned me?.

15.6.2. Phrases of the type 'You and Truth':

28,9 *vå ... ahurā mazdā aṣəmcā ... manascā hiiaṯ vahištəm*

32,6 *vō mazdā ... aṣāicā*

32,9 *mazdā aṣāicā yūšmaibiiā*

49,6 *vå mazdā aṣəmcā*

51,2 *vō mazdā ... aṣāi.yecā [< *aṣāiiacā] ... taibiiācā ārmaitē*, cf. 30,1 *ahurāi ... aṣā.yecā [< *aṣāiiacā]*

51,15 *vō ... aṣāicā*, where *mazdā* (or *ahurā*) is avoided, *mazdā-* (and *ahura-*) having already occurred in the same stanza.

In 28,3 *vå aṣā ... manascā vohū ... mazdą̊mcā ahurəm* the usual order is inverted; it is not Ahura Mazdā who is addressed in the voc., but Truth. In 29,8 *nā mazdā aṣāicā* 'to (all of) Us, O Wise one, (to You) and to Truth', the 2nd pl. *vō* 'to You' of the usual address of Ahura Mazdā is turned into the 1st pl. *nā* 'to us'. The sg. of the pronoun is found in 34,3 *tōi ... ahurā ... aṣāicā* 'to Thee, O Ahura, and to Truth'.

15.7. Periphrasis (paraphrase, circumlocution)

29,7 *āzūtōiš mąθrəm ... xšuuīdəmcā* 'the formula concerning fat, and the milk' stands for **āzūitīm xšuuīdəmcā*, i.e. *āzūtōiš maθrəm* is a circumlocution for *āzūitīm*. Cf. V 13,28 *xšuuisca āzuitišca* 'milk and fat'.

34,1 *amərətatātəm ... xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō* 'immortality and the power of integrity' stands for **amərətatātəm hauruuatātəmcā*, cf. 51,7 *amərətātā hauruuātā* 'immortality and integrity'.

53,2 *xšnəm ... vahmāi.ā ... yasnąscā* 'the recognition for laudation, and the (rites of) worship' stands for **vahmāŋg yasnąscā*, cf. YH 35,6 *yasnəmcā vahməmcā* 'worship and laudation'.

31,14 *yå išudō dadəṇtē dāθranąm* 'the invigorations (consisting) of gifts which (people) will obtain' is an elaboration from **yå dāθrā dadəṇtē* 'which gifts (people) will obtain'. Similarly 34,15 *išudəm stūtō* 'invigoration (consisting) of praise' is perhaps elaborated from **stūtəm* 'praise', 43,1 *rāiiō aŋtš* 'rewards (consisting) of wealth' from **raēm* 'wealth'.

15.8. Synecdoche (pars pro toto)

29,5, 44,8 *mə uruuā* and 50,1 *mōi uruuā* 'my soul' can —but need not— be interpreted as by synecdoche standing for 'I'. Accordingly, 29,1.9 *gəuš uruuā* 'soul of the cow' can be taken as standing for 'cow', and 29,5 *mə uruuā gəušcā aziiå* 'my soul and that of the fertile cow' as standing for 'I and the fertile cow' (→ 29,0). Similarly both, 34,13 *daēnå saošiianṭąm* 'the religious views of the benefactors' and 46,3 *saošiianṭąm xratauuō* 'the intellects of the benefactors' are likely to stand for 'the benefactors', 49,5 *daēnąm* '(his) religious view' for 'himself', 46,7, 51,17 *mōi daēnaiiāi* 'to my religious view' for 'to me', 33,13 *daēnå fradaxšaiiā* 'teach (people's) religious views' for 'teach (people)'.

15.9. Metonymy

15.9.1. Particularly in predicate position:

28,9 *yūžəm zəuuištiiåŋhō išō xšaθrəmcā sauuaŋhąm* 'You (are) the swiftest invigorations and the power over the benefits'

34,7 *yōi ... sənghūš raēzənå* alternatively: 'who (are personified) bequests (and) legacies'

34,13 *yehiiā tū daθrəm* 'of which Thou (art) the award'

43,8 *aṣāunē rafənō ẓiiəm aojōŋhuuat* 'I could be a strong support for the truthful one'

46,16 *varədəmąm šaēitī ahurō* alternatively: 'where the Ahura (as personified) prosperity [pl.] dwells'

49,1 *vaŋᵛhī ādā* '(as personified) good apportionment'

49,5 *huuō ... ižācā āzūitiscā* 'he (is) both abundance and fat'

53,9 *tōi narəpīš raẓīš* 'they (are) obscuration [pl.] (and) darkness [pl.]'.

Cf. YH 36,1 *yə ā aztiš ahmāi* 'You who are pain to that one'; 41,3 *tū nə gaiiascā astəntās ẓiiå* 'may You be for us life and osseity ["bone-ness"]'.

15.9.2. In other positions:

28,1 *rafəθrahiiā* 'support/supporter'

28,1 *vaŋhəuš xratūm manaŋhō* '(men or prayers inspired by) the intellect of good thought'

29,2 *hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō θβazšō* 'cow milking zeal together with forage', i.e. 'a zealous cow-milker who provides forage (for the cow)'

32,9 *jiiātəuš ... xratūm* 'the intellect of life/the living'

43,8 *duuaēšå hiiaṭ isōiiā drəguuāitē* 'since I would seek hostilities/enemies to the deceitful one'

43,14 *sarədanå* [acc.pl.f.] 'challenges/challengers'

49,1 *vaŋᵛhī ādā gaidī mōi* 'come to me (as personified) good apportionment'

50,8 *padāiš ... ižaiiå* 'with footsteps of (personified) abundance'

53,4 *daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi* 'to (a woman of) good religious view'.

Cf. YH 38,5 *mātarō ẓitaiiō* 'You mothers, You gains'.

For the metonymical use of the Ahurian terms, and their multivalence, see § 12.2.1.

15.10. Climax (gradation)

The climax 'house - clan - district - land' is quoted entirely in 31,18 *dəmānəm vīsəm vā šōiθrəm vā daẓiiūm vā*, but it is abbreviated in 31,16 *dəmānahiiā ... šōiθrahiiā vā daẓiiəuš vā*, and even more in 46,4 *šōiθrahiiā vā daẓiiəuš vā*.

In its basic form, the climax 'family - community - tribe' is found in 33,4 *xᵛaētəuš ... vərəzənaẋiiācā ... airiiamanascā*, cf. YH 40,4 *xᵛaētūš ... vərəzənā ... haxəmąm* 'families ... communities ... fellowships'.

It is elaborated in

32,1 *xᵛaētuš ... vərəzənəm maṯ airiiamnā* 'the family, the community along with the tribe'

33,3 *xᵛaētū aṯ vā vərəzəniiō airiiamnā vā* 'by family (relationship) or (as) a member of the same community or by (his) tribe'

49,7 *kə airiiamā kə xᵛaētuš dātāiš aŋhaṯ yə vərəzənāi vaŋᵛhīm dāṯ frasastīm* 'which tribe, which family will there be which with (actions following Your) orders may provide good reputation for the community?'

15.11. Negations

15.11.1. Noun/adjective plus antonym:

30,4 *gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā* 'vitality and lack of vitality'

30,11 *xᵛīti(cā) ənəitī* 'conveying good mobility and immobility'

31,12 *vīduuå vā əuuīduuå vā* 'a knowing one or an ignorant one'

45,9 *spəncā aspəncā* 'fortune and misfortune'

46,15 *dāϑəŋg ... adāϑąscā*, 46,17 *dāϑəmcā adāϑəmcā* 'the just and the unjust'

49,4 *fšuiiāsū afšuiiaṇtō* 'breeding no cattle among cattle-breeders'.

Cf. YH 35,2 *iiadacā aniiadacā* 'here and not here [here and elsewhere]'; 35,4 *surunuuatasscā asurunuuatascā zšaiiantascā ⁺azšaiiaṇtascā* 'those who listen as well as those who do not listen, those who exercise power as well as those who do not exercise power'.

15.11.2. Noun plus negated antonym:

30,3 *hudāŋhō ərəš vīšiiātā nōiṯ duždāŋho* 'the munificent discern rightly, (and) not the miserly'

46,8 *hujiiātōiš pāiiāṯ nōiṯ dužjiiātōiš* 'so that they may prevent him from (living) a good life, not from (living) a bad life'

46,17 *yaϑrā və afšmānī səŋghānī nōiṯ anafšmąm* 'where I wish to proclaim your *duties, not (your) *non-duties'

49,4 *nōiṯ huuarštāiš vąs dužuuarštā* 'the bad deeds prevail because of the lack of good deeds (to balance them)'.

Similarly: 31,10 *vāstrīm ... nōiṯ ... auuāstriiō* 'the herdsman, not the non-herdsman'; 31,17 *vīduuå ... mā əuuīduuå* 'the knowing one, not the ignorant one'; 43,12 *nōiṯ asruštā ... səraošō* 'not to be disobeyed, obedience'.

Cf. also 45,11 *yōi īm tarə.mainiiaṇtā aniiəŋg ahmāṯ yə hōi arəm mainiiātā* '(those) who scorn Him, (those) other than that one who behaves right-mindedly towards Him'; YH 35,2 *aibī.jarətārō ... naēnaēstārō* 'eulogists, non-abusers [praisers]'.

Not the privative particle *a/an-* but the negation *nōiṯ* is used in 32,15 *nōiṯ jiiātəuš xšaiiamnəŋg* 'not to be in control of (their) life', 46,6 *nōiṯ nā isəmnō* 'not (as) a man seeking (for help), 47,4 *nōiṯ iϑā aṣaonō* 'those (who are) not really truthful'.

15.11.3. Privative formations:

Sometimes a privative formation assumes the meaning of the antonym of its basic member:

28,10 *asūna-* 'without emptiness' = 'rich'

29,3 *aduuaēša(h)-* 'without hostility' = 'helpful'

29,9 *asūra-* 'not strong' = 'weak'

31,15 *adrūjiianṯ-* 'non-deceiving' = 'honest'

35,2 *naēnaēstar-* 'non-abuser' = 'praiser'

40,3 *aidiiu-* 'harmless' = 'good-natured'.

Cf. also 32,14 *dūraoša-* 'fire-resistant' = 'immortal, providing immortality' (§ 11.2.3.0).

15.12. Ellipsis

15.12.1. Verbs not repeated in coordinated clause:

30,7 *kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dādaṯ ārmaitiš ąnmā [sc. dadāṯ]* 'stability grants form, right-mindedness (grants) breath'

31,9 *ϑβōi as ārmaitiš ϑβə ā [sc. as] gəuš tašā †as.xratuš* 'right-mindedness was Thine, Thine (was) also the very intelligent fashioner of the cow'

32,9 *duš.sastiš srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ huuō jiiātəuš ... xratūm [sc. mōrəṇdaṯ]* 'the blasphemer spoils one's reputation, the fame, he (spoils) the intellect of the living'

32,14 *hiiaṯ vīsəṇtā drəguuaṇtəm auuō hiiāṯcā [sc. vīsəṇtā] ... yə dūraošəm saocaiiaṯ auuō* 'when they take up their positions to assist the deceitful one and when (they take them) to assist (him) who inflames the "fire-resistant" (intoxicant)'

34,15 *mazdā aṯ mōi vahištā ... vaocā tā tū [sc. vaocā] vohū manaŋhā* 'O Wise One, tell me (about) the best (things), (tell me) about them with good thought'

48,10 *yā aŋgraiiā karapanō urūpaiieiṇtī yācā dušəxšaϑrā [sc. urūpaiieiṇtī]* 'with which the Karapans harmfully cause racking pain and with which the bad rulers (do that as well)'.

Cf. 30,11 *hiiaṯ saŝaϑā ... hiiatcā*; 31,11 *hiiaṯ ... dadā ... hiiaṯ*, 31,14 *yā dadəṇtē ... yâscā*; 32,1 *aźiiācā ... yāsaṯ ... ahiiā ... ahiiā*; 48,6 *hā ... hā ... dāṯ*.

15.12.2. Verbs of the main clause not repeated in subordinate clause and vice versa:

31,7 *yastā mantā pouruiiō raocābīš rōiϑβən xᵛāϑrā huuō xraϑβā dąmiš aŝəm [sc. mantā]* 'the primal one who with (that intellect of His) conceived (the formula) "let the comforts intersperse with light" (as) creator He (conceived) truth with (that) intellect'

32,5 *tā dəbənaotā maŝīm hujiiātōiš amərətātascā hiiaṯ vā akas(cā) mainiiuš [sc. dəbənaoṯ]* 'therefore you lure the mortal one away from good life and immortality, because the evil spirit (has lured) you'

32,6 *pourū aēnā ənāxštā yāiš srāuuahiieitī yezī tāis aϑā [sc. srāuuahiieitī]* 'the many crimes against peace with which he strives for notoriety, whether he so (strives) with these (Thou knowest)'

43,14 *hiiaṯ nā friiāi ... isuuā daidiṯ maibiiō [sc. dâ]* 'what a wealthy man would grant to a friend, (grant) me (that)'

46,9 *yā tōi aŝā yā aŝāi gəuš taŝā mraoṯ ... tā tōi [sc. mraoṯ] vohū manaŋhā* '(the words) which the fashioner of the cow (speaks) to Thee with truth, which he speaks to Truth, those (words he speaks) to Thee with good thought'.

48,4 *yə dāṯ manō vahiiō mazdā ašiiascā huuō daēnąm [sc. dāṯ]* 'he who expresses both good and evil thought, O Wise one that one (expresses his) view'.

Add perhaps also 44,2 *kāϑə sūidiiāi yə ī paitišāṯ huuō zī ... irixtəm vīspōibiiō [sc. paitišāṯ]*.

Most complicated is 44,12 *yə ... paitī.ərətē [sc. mainiietē]* 'he who intends (to obstruct)', followed by *huuō ... [sc. paitī.ərətē] mainiietē* 'that one (intends) to obstruct'.

15.12.3. Ellipsis of relative particles:

43,3 *ahiiā aŋhəuš astuuatō manaŋhascā* 'of this corporeal existence and (of that) of thought', but 28,2 *ahuuâ astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, the corporeal one and that of thought'

29,5 *mə uruuā gəušcā aziiâ* 'my soul and (that) of the fertile cow'

51,13 *xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāiš hizuuascā* 'through its own actions and (through those) of (his) tongue'.

15.13. Demonstrative pronouns

15.13.1. In 43,16, the prophet speaks of himself as *huuō zaraϑuštrō* 'this Zaraϑuštra (here)', cf. 28,6 *zaraϑuštrāi* 'to (me), Zaraϑuštra', in order to attract Ahura Mazdā's attention. But *huuō* refers to the fire of Ahura Mazdā in YH 36,2 *huuō nâ ... paitī.jamiiâ* 'mayest Thou come to us', and to Ahura Mazdā himself in 40,2 *huuō nə dāidī* 'grant Thou (yonder) to us'.

15.13.2. In a number of instances, nominalized demonstrative pronouns used in the plural with undefined reference seem to denote the persons present at the sacrifice, or the offerings presented or the rites performed (cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 210f.): 31,2, 33,1, 50,10 *āiš*; 44,7 *tāiš* (cf. 49,5 *tāiścā vīspāiš ϑβahmī xšaϑrōi*); 48,1 *adāiš* (cf. YH 35,4 *adāiš tāiš šiiaoϑanāiš yāiš vahištāiš*); 29,10 43,6 *aēibiiō*; 32,10 *ābiiā*. Less clear are 32,15 53,8 *anāiš* (cf. 53.6).

15.13.3. Demonstrative pronouns in adjectival use sometimes give the impression of having the meaning 'the present' or 'the well known': 29,7 *tēm āzūtōiš mąϑrəm*; 30,8 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm*; 31,1 *tā və uruuātā*; 31,2 *aiiâ ąsaiiâ*; 32,8 *ahmī ϑβahmī vīciϑōi aipī*, unless *ahmī* is a verb; 32,13 45,3 *aŋhəuš ahiiā*; 34,6 43,3 *ahiiā aŋhəuš*; 33,6 *mainiiəuš ... ahmāṯ*; 33,9 *tēm mainiiūm*; 34,10 *tācā ... vōiiaϑrā*; 47,2 *ōiiā cistī*(?); 49,3 *ahmāi varənāi*; 53,7 *ahiiā magahiiā ... magəm tēm*.

15.14. Hyperbaton (discontinuous word order)

15.14.1. In general, Gāϑic word order is very regular (§ 11.5.5). This statement is not refuted by sequences of the type 27,14 *vaŋhəuš dazdā manaŋhō*, where the phrase *vaŋhəuš ... manaŋhō* encloses another word ("enclosing word order"), cf. 28,10 *vaŋhəuščā dāϑəŋg manaŋhō*, 50,9 *vaŋhəuš šiiaoϑanāiš manaŋhō*, 28,6 *vohū gaidī manaŋhā*, 31,10 *vāstrīm aźiiāi fšuiiaṇtəm*, 31,21 *mazdâ dadāṯ ahurō*, 49,8 *mazdā frīnāi ahurā*. Most of these examples form a hemistich of seven syllables of the rhythmical structure xx xx xxx. More than a hemistich is covered by e.g. 30,8 *aēšąm 'kaēnā jimaitī aēnaŋhąm* '(when) the atonement for their crimes will have arrived', 46,2 *vaŋhəuš 'aŝā tištīm manaŋhō* 'vigour of good thought (inspired) by truth', 45,9 *vaŋhəuš aŝā 'haoząϑβāṯ ā manaŋhō* 'in accordance with the good acquaintance of good thought with truth', 34,10 *tācā vīspā ahurā 'ϑβahmī mazdā xšaϑrōi ā vōiiaϑrā* 'and all those

protective means (found) in Thy power, O Ahura, O Wise One'. In both 28,1 *mainiiəuš mazdā paouruuīm 'spəṇtahiiā aṣ̌ā* and 47,4 *ahmāṭ mainiiəuš 'rārəšiieiṇtī drəguuaṇtō 'mazdā spəṇtāṭ nōiṭ iθā aṣ̌āunō*, the noun *mainiiu-* 'spirit' and its adjective *spəṇta-* stand in two different lines.

15.14.2. The numerous ocurrences of *mazdā ... ahurā* or *ahurā ... mazdā* (cf. § 11.5.5.0) partly testify to an appositional style. Thus, *mazdā-* is used anaphorically in 30,5 *yaēcā xšnaošən ahurəm haiθiiāiš šiiaoθanāiš fraorəṭ mazdąm* 'those who devotedly satisfy the Ahura with true actions, (Him), the Wise One', 28,5 *gātūmcā ahurāi səuuištāi səraošəm mazdāi* 'and, (as) a seat for the Ahura, obedience to (Him), the very strong Wise One'. Vice versa *ahura-* stands anaphorically in 27,13 *ratuš ... dazdā mazdāi xšaθrəmcā ahurāi ā* 'the judgment is assigned to the Wise One, and the power (is assigned) to (Him), the Ahura'. See also 37,3:2 on *āhūiriiā nāmənī mazdā.varā* 'the Ahurian names [= names of the Ahura] dear to (Him), the Wise One'.

15.14.3. Among the relatively few examples of a highly artificial discontinuity, the most remarkable of which is 28,1 (→28,1:0), a distinct group is formed by those with "interlaced" word order:

28,4 *yō uruuānəm mən̰<g> gairē vohu dadē haθrā manaŋhā* 'I who together with good thought note in my mind one's soul for commendation'

31,15 *hanarə ... vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō pasəuš vīrāaṭcā adrujiianṭō* 'without injury to the cattle and men of the honest herdsman' (*hanarə ... aēnaŋho, vāstriiehiiā ... pasəuš vīrāaṭcā*)

31,21 *būrōiš ā aṣ̌āźiiācā xᵛāpaiθiiāṭ xšaθrahiiā sarō* 'from his own mighty shelter of truth and power' (*būrōiš ... xᵛāpaiθiiāṭ ... sarō, aṣ̌ahiiā ... xšaθrahiiā*)

32,10 *yō acištəm vaēnaŋ́hē aogədā gąm aṣ̌ibiiā huuarəcā* 'he who declares for the worst in order to see the cow and the sun with his evil eyes' (*acištəm ... aogədā, vaēnaŋ́hē ... gąm*)

46,3 *aŋhəuš darəθrāi frō aṣ̌ahiiā frārəṇtē* 'will rise above existence so that (people) may seize truth' (*aŋhəuš darəθrāi ... aṣ̌ahiiā, frō ... frārəṇtē*), unless: 'will rise above truth to seize existence'

46,17 *hadā vās-tā vahmēŋg səraošā rādaŋhō* 'as well as [lit. therewith] your lauds, in obedience to the bountiful one' (*hadā ... tā, vā ... vahmēŋg*), cf. 50,8 *maṭ vā padāiš ... pairī.jasāi* 'I will attend [approach] You with footsteps'

46,19 *aṣ̌āṭ haiθīm hacā varəšaitī* 'in accordance with truth he will make real' (*aṣ̌āṭ ... hacā, haiθīm ... varəšaitī*)

51,14 *nōiṭ uruuāθā dātōibiiascā karapanō vāstrāṭ arəm* 'the Karapans are no allies in accordance with (Your) orders and (the needs of) pasture' (*uruuāθā ... karapanō, dātōibiiascā ... vāstrāṭ*).

15.15. Chiasmus

28,6 *dā darəgāiiū ... aojōŋhuuaṭ rafənō* '(as) a long-lasting gift strong support'

30,5 *aiiā maiiniuuā varatā yō drəguuā acištā vərəziiō aṣ̌əm mainiiuš spəništō* 'of these two spirits the deceitful one (chooses) to do the worst things, (but) the most prosperous spirit (chooses) truth'

30,7 *kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāṭ ārmaitiš ąnmā* 'stability grants form, right-mindedness (grants) breath'

30,11 *darəgəm drəguuō.dəbiiō rašō sauuaca aṣ̌auuabiiō* 'the long-lasting harm (in store) for the deceitful and the benefits for the truthful'

31,12 *miθahuuacā vā ərəš.vacā vā vīduuā vā əuuīduuā* 'a man of crooked words or one of plain words, a knowing one or an ignorant one'

43,8 *duuaēšā ... drəguuāitē ... aṣ̌āunē rafənō* 'hostilities [enemies] to the deceitful one, support for the truthful one'

46,3 *uxšānō asnąm ... saošiianṭąm xratauuō* 'the bulls of the days, the intellects of the benefactors'

49,3 *aṣ̌əm sūidiiāi ... rāšaiieŋ́hē druzš* 'truth (for people) to enjoy benefit, deceit in order to harm'

51,6 *vahiiō vaŋhəuš ... akāṭ ašiiō* 'better than good, worse than evil', but Yy 59,31 *vaŋhaoṭ vaŋhō ... akāṭ ašō.*

46,6 *yō drəguuāitē vahištō ... yahmāi aṣ̌auuā friiō* 'he who (is) best to the deceitful one ... to whom the truthful one (is) a friend' shows a chiasmus of grammatical cases.

15.16. Shift in position of relative pronouns etc.

15.16.1. Shift to position before the caesura:

33,14 *pauruuatātəm manaŋhascā vaŋhəuš ... 'šiiaoθanahiiā aṣ̌ā yācā* 'the preeminence of (his) good thought and that of the action (performed) with truth'.

15.16.2. Shift to position after the caesura:

28,1 *vaŋhəuš xratūm manaŋhō 'yā xšnəuuīšā gəušcā uruuąnəm* '(the spirit) with which Thou mightest satisfy the intellect of good thought and the soul of the cow'

30,7 *aēšąm tōi ā aŋhaŧ 'yaθā aiiaŋhā ādānāiš paouruiiō* 'so that through their being fettered in iron (existence) it will be Thy prime one'

31,9 *mainiiəuš mazdā ahurā 'hiiaŧ aźiiāi dadā paθąm* 'when in accordance with (Thy) spirit, O Wise Ahura, Thou didst open paths to her'

32,13 *aŋhəuš marəxtārō ahiiā 'yaēcā mazdā ƞgərazaŧ* alternatively: 'and the destroyers of this existence who complain, O Wise One' (differently § 15.1.3, § 15.1.5)

43,8 *haiθiiō duuaēšå 'hiiaŧ isōiiā drəguuāitē* 'since I, a true (person), would seek (as allies for myself) enmities [enemies] to the deceitful one'

44,2 *kāθə sūidiiāi 'yə ī paitišāŧ* 'the one who will restore pleasant conditions so that (we) may enjoy benefit'.

Cf. YH 39,2 *daitikanąm aidiiūnąm hiiaŧ urunō* 'the souls of (those) wild animals that (are) harmless' (for **daitikanąm hiiaŧ aidiiūnąm urunō*)

35,2 *naēnaēstārō yaθənā vohunąm mahī* 'since we are non-scorners [praisers] of the good things' (for **yaθənā naēnaēstārō vohunąm mahī*)

36,6 *barəzištəm barəzəmanąm auuaŧ yāŧ huuarə auuācī* 'ever since that one, most elevated among the elevated (over yonder), was named Sun'.

15.16.2. Shift to the end of the line:

31,14 *hāŋkərətā hiiaŧ* 'when the (entitlements will have been) reckoned together'.

Cf. YH 35,5 *xšaθrəm ahmaŧ hiiaŧ aibī* 'the power which (is) with us'; 40,1 *xrapaitī ahmaŧ hiiaŧ aibī* '(that) which has *form with us'.

15.17. Series of relative pronouns

31,13 *tā* [acc.pl.n.] ... *yā* [nom.sg.f.] ... *yā* [acc.pl.n.] ... *yə* [nom.sg.m.]

31,14 *tā ... yā ... yå ... yåscā ... yaθā tā*

32,5 *tā ... hiiaŧ ... yā*

32,7 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm ... yā ... yāiš ... yaēšąm*

32,10 *huuō ... yə ... yascā ... yascā ... yascā*

32,11 *taēciŧ ... yōi ... yōi*

33,10 *yå ... yåscā ... yåscā ... hīš.*

In 44,20 *daēuuā ... yōi ... aēibiiō ... yāiš ... yācā ... nōiŧ hīm mīzən*, the reference of the relative pronouns is ambiguous.

In 28,11 *āiš ... yāiš ā aŋhuš pouruiiō bauuaŧ* 'with these (eulogies) through which the primal existence came into being', the antecedent *āiš* stands at the beginning, the relative clause *yāiš ā aŋhuš pouriiō bauuaŧ* at the end of the stanza. Cf. 32,16 *taŧ ...*

hiiaŧ aēnaŋhjē drəguuatō əəānū išiiəŋg aŋhaiiā. Of similar appearance is 31,11-12 *yaθrā vaså varənəŋg dāiietē, aθrā ... yaθrā maēθā*. Note also 32,14 *ahiiā ... āhōiθōi ... yə dūraošəm saocaiiaŧ auuō* alternatively: 'into the fetters of that one who inflames the "fire-resistant" help'.

15.18. Attributive use of nouns and prepositional phrases

A syntactic peculiarity of Old Avestan, or at least of Gāθic style, is the extensive attributive (adnominal) use of prepositional phrases and of nouns in oblique cases other than the genitive, e.g. in

29,2 *hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō θβaxšō ... drəguuō.dəbīš aēšəməm* 'cow-milking zeal (together) with forage ... wrath (caused) by the deceitful'

30,3 *mainiiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of one's existence)'; 45,2 *aŋhəuš mainiiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage) of existence'

31,19 *θβā āθrā suxrā ... vaŋhāu vīdātā rąnaiiå* 'at the distribution of the balance (value) by means of Thy red fire (performed) at the good (share to be distributed); 47,6 *āθrā vaŋhāu vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'the distribution (to be performed) by means of (Thy) fire, according to balance at the good (share to be distributed)'

32,5 *akā šiiaoθanəm vacaŋhā* 'the action (inspired) by evil word'; 44,11 *ārmatōiš uxδāiš šiiaoθanā* 'through actions (inspired) by the statements of right-mindedness'; 48,12 *šiiaoθanāiš ašā* 'actions (performed) with truth', 33,14 *šiiaoθanahiiā aşā* 'of the action (performed) with truth'

47,1 *hacā aşāŧ šiiaoθanācā vacaŋhācā* 'with action and word (which are) in accordance with truth'; 47,2 *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhəuš əəānū manaŋhō ārmatōiš zastōibiiā šiiaoθanā* 'the actions of right-mindedness (to be performed) with one's hands, (inspired) by the statementes (voiced) by one's tongue in pursuit of good thought'

34,2 *vahmē ... garōbiš stūtąm* 'at the laudation (performed) with welcomes (consisting) of praises'

31,4 *maibiiō xšaθrəm aojōŋhuuaŧ* 'strong power (meant) for me'

48,8 *tōi aşōiš θbahiiå maibiiō* 'of Thy reward for me'

43,10 *āhmā parštā ... parštəm zī θβā* 'the questions (to be asked) by us ... for a question (asked) by Thee'; 43,11 *xšmā uxδāiš* 'through statements (voiced) by You'

29,11 *əhmā rātōiš yūšmauuatąm* alternatively 'on account of the bestowal (made) by us on those such as You'; 44.10 *maźiiå cistōiš θβā išTiš* 'the vigour of my insight,

(inspired) by Thee'; 46,2 *vaŋhāuš aṣ̌ā īštīm manaŋhō* 'the vigour of good thought, (inspired) by truth'.

See § 15.1.8 on the sociative instrumental as in 33,8 *utaiiūitī hauruuatâs* 'integrity along with fitness'.

Text and Translation

Yasna 27,13-15: Prelude. Three Sacred Formulas

Yasna 27,13: *Yaθā Ahū Vairiiō*

27,13 *yaθā ahū vairiiō # aθā ratuš aŋ̊āŋ̊cīŋ̊ hacā*
vaŋhəuš dazdā manaŋhō # +šiiaoθənanąm aŋhəuš mazdāi
zšaθrəmcā ahurāi.ā # yim drigubiiō dadaŋ̊ vāstārəm

27,13 Just as (a judgment) is worthy of being chosen by the world,
so the judgment, (which) in accordance with truth itself,
(is to be passed) on the actions of good thought of the world,
is assigned to the Wise One,
and the power (is assigned) to (Him), the Ahura, whom (people)
appoint as a shepherd to the poor.

Yasna 27,14: *Aŋ̊əm Vohū*

27,14 *aŋ̊əm vohū vahištəm astī*
uštā astī uštā ahmāi
hiiaŋ̊ aŋ̊āi vahištāi aŋ̊əm

27,14 Truth is the best (part of all that is) good.
As desired (all) the desired (things) are available (as) truth
for (that) which (is) best truth
or: for (him) who (is) Best Truth,
or: for (him) who (represents) best truth.

Yasna 27,15: *Yeŋ́hē Hātąm*

Yeŋ́hē hātąm āat̰ yesnē paitī vaŋhō
mazdå ahurō vaēϑā aṣ̌āt̰ hacā yåŋhąmcā
tąscā tåscā yazamaidē

27,15 [*ab*] Of which male (divine entity) among those who exist,
and of which of the female ones
[*ab*] the Wise Ahura, in accordance with truth knows
(which is) the better (accomplishment of them to be displayed)
at worship,
those male and those female (entities) we worship.

Arch. YAv. Introductory Formulas

28,0 *yānīm manō yānīm vacō yānīm šiiaoϑnəm aṣ̌aonō zaraϑuštrahe*
fərā aməṣ̌ā spəṇtā gāϑå gə̄uruuāin.

28,0 Entreating (is) the thought, entreating the word, entreating the action
of truthful Zaraϑuštra. May the Prosperous Immortals accept the Gāϑās.

28,0, 43,0, 47,0, 51,0, 53,0
nəmō və̄ gāϑå aṣ̌aonīš
Reverence to You, O truthful Gāϑās.

Yasna 28-34: *Ahunauuaitī Gāϑā*

Yasna 28: *Ahiiāsā Hāiti*

28,1 *ahiiā yāsā nəmaŋhā # ustānazastō rafəδrahiiā*
+mainiiə̄uš mazdā paouruuīm # spəṇtahiiā aṣ̌ā vīspə̄ṇg šiiaoϑanā
vaŋhə̄uš xratūm manaŋhō # yā xšnəuuīšā gə̄ušcā uruuānəm

28,1 [*ab*] With hands stretched out (and) in reverence to Him I first entreat
all (those present), O Wise One, for actions of support for the spirit,
prosperous through truth,
(for the spirit) with which Thou mightest satisfy the intellect of good thought
and the soul of the cow.

28,2 *yə̄ vå mazdā ahurā # pairī.jasāi vohū manaŋhā*
maibiiō dāuuōi ahuuå # astuuatascā hiiat̰cā manaŋhō
āiiaptā aṣ̌āt̰ hacā # yāiš +rapəṇtō daidīt̰ xᵛāϑrē

28,2 I, who will attend You with good thought, O Wise Ahura,
(entreating You) to grant me (the boons) of both existences, the corporeal one
and that which (is) of thought,
in accordance with truth, the boons with which one might place (his own)
supporters in comfort.

28,3 *yə̄ vå aṣ̌ā ufiiānī # manascā vohū apaouruuīm*
mazdąmcā ahurəm # yaēibiiō xšaϑrəmcā aγžaonuuamnəm
varədaitī ārmaitiš # ā mōi rafəδrāi zauuə̄ṇg jasatā

28,3 I who will extol You, O Truth, and Good Thought, as never before,
[*bc*] and the Wise Ahura, for (all of) whom right-mindedness (among other
things) also increases unfading power, (I entreat You): come [pl.] to my
calls for support.

28,4 *yə̄ uruuānəm mə̄ṇ<g> gairē # vohū dadē haϑrā manaŋhā*
aṣ̌īšcā +šiiaoϑənanąm # vīduš mazdå ahurahiiā
yauuat̰ isāi tauuācā # auuat̰ xsāi aēšē aṣ̌ahiiā

28,4 I, who together with good thought note in (my) mind a soul for commendation,
as well as rewards for (our) actions, (as) a witness for the Wise Ahura:
as much as will be in my command and as I will be able, I will look out in search of truth.

28,5 *aṣ̌ā kat̰ ϑβā darəsānī # manascā vohū vaēdəmnō*
gātūmcā ahurāi # +səuuištāi səraošəm mazdāi
anā mąϑrā mazištəm # vāurōimaidī xrafstrā hizuuā

28,5 O Truth, shall I see Thee, I who accept both good thought
and, (as) a seat for the Ahura, obedience to (Him), the very strong Wise One?
Through this formula we would receive the Greatest One, O you evil beasts, with (our) tongue.

28,6 *vohū gaidī manaŋhā # dāidī aṣ̌ā då darəgāiiū*
ərəšuuāiš tū uxδāiš mazdā # zaraϑuštrāi aojōŋhuuat̰ rafənō
ahmaibiiācā ahurā # yā daibišuuatō duuaēšå tauruuaiiāmā

28,6 Come with good thought! Grant with truth as a long-lasting gift,
through (Thy) exalted statements, O Wise One, strong support to (me), Zaraϑuštra,
and to (all of) us, O Ahura, (that support) through which we may overcome the hostilities of the enemy!

28,7 *dāidī aṣ̌ā tąm aṣ̌īm # vaŋhə̄uš āiiaptā manaŋhō*
dāidī tū ārmaitē # vīštāspāi īšəm maibiiācā
dåstū mazdā xšaiiācā # yā və̄ mąϑrā +srəuuīmā +rādå

28,7 Grant, O Truth, this reward: the boons of good thought.
Grant, O Right-Mindedness, vigour to Vištāspa and to me.
Grant (these things), O Wise One, and rule with a formula from which we might hear (of) Your bounties.

28,8 *vahištəm ϑβā vahištā # yə̄m aṣ̌ā vahištā hazaošəm*
ahurəm yāsā vāunuš # narōi fərašaoštrāi maibiiācā
yaēibiiascā īt̰ rå̄ŋhaŋhōi # vīspāi yauuē vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō

28,8 [*ab*] I lovingly entreat Thee, O Best One, the Ahura who (is) in harmony with best truth, (I lovingly entreat Thee) for (what is) the best for the honorable Frašaoštra, and for me,
and for (all) those on whom Thou mayest bestow it for all the time of good thought.

28,9 *anāiš vå nōit̰ ahurā # mazdā aṣ̌əmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā*
manascā hiiat̰ vahištəm # yōi və̄ yōiϑəmā dasəmē stūtąm
yūžə̄m zəuuīštiiå̄ŋhō # īšō xšaϑrəmcā sauuaŋhąm

28,9 May we no longer anger You with these entreaties, O Wise Ahura, nor Truth
or Thought which (is) the Best, (we) who are standing by at the offering of praises to You.
You (are) the swiftest invigorations and the power over benefits.

28,10 *at̰ yə̄ṇg aṣ̌āat̰cā vōistā # vaŋhə̄uščā dāϑə̄ṇg manaŋhō*
ərəϑβə̄ṇg mazdā ahurā # aēibiiō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm
at̰ və̄ xšmaibiiā asūnā # vaēdā x^{v}araiϑiiā vaiṇtiiā srauuå

28,10 (For those) whom Thou knowest (to be) just in accordance with truth and good thought,
(and) worthy, O Wise Ahura, fulfil for them (their) desire with profits.
I know for (all of) You, O rich ones, loving eulogies conducted by an appropriate charioteer.

28,11 *yə̄ āiš aṣ̌əm +nipå̄ŋ́hē # manascā vohū yauuaētāitē*
tuuə̄m mazdā ahurā # frō mā sīšā ϑβahmāt̰ +vaocaŋ́hē
+mainiiə̄uš hacā ϑβā ə̄əå̄ŋhā # yāiš ā aŋhuš pouruiiō bauuat̰

28,11 Thou, who with these (eulogies) preservest (for Thyself) truth and good thought for eternity,
[*bc*] Thou, O Wise Ahura, teach me with Thy mouth, in accordance with Thy spirit, (how) to pronounce (these eulogies) through which the primal existence came into being.

Yasna 29: *Xšmāuuaiia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti*

29,1 *xšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā gərəždā # kahmāi mā θβarōždūm kə mā tašaŋ*
ā mā aēšəmō hazascā # rəmō [ā]hišāiiā dərəšcā təuuišcā
nōiŋ mōi vāstā xšmaŋ aniiō # aθā mōi sąstā vohū vāstriiā

29,1 The soul of the cow complains to You: For whom did You shape me?
Who fashioned me?
Wrath and oppression, fury, spite and violence, hold me fettered.
I have no shepherd other than You. So appear [pl.] to me with good pastoral work.

29,2 *adā tašā gəuš pərəsaŋ # aŋəm kaθā tōi gauuōi ratuš*
hiiaŋ hīm dātā xšaiiaŋtō # hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō θβaxšō
kəm hōi uštā ahurəm # yə +drəguuō.dəbīš aēšəməm vādāiiōiŋ

29,2 Thereupon the fashioner of the cow asks Truth: What (is) the nature of thy judgment for the cow?
When cow-milking zeal, together with forage, takes possession of her, O You ruling ones,
whom do You wish (to be) her Ahura, one who might break through the wrath (caused) by the deceitful?

29,3 *ahmāi aŋā nōiŋ sarəŋā # aduuaēšō gauuōi paitī.mrauuaŋ*
auuaēšąm nōiŋ vīduiiē # yā +šauuaitē ādrēŋg ərəšuāŋhō
hātąm huuō aojištō # yahmāi zauuəŋg jimā kərədušā

29,3 But no deliverer will answer him (the Fashioner) through truth in a way helpful to the cow.
(It is) not (possible) to learn about such things which set the weak free, O You exalted ones.
He (is) the strongest among those who exist, (He) to whom I will come, with (the soul), which has sent out the calls (for support).

29,4 *mazdå saxᵛārə mairištō # yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī ciθiŋ*
daēuuāišcā maŋiiāišcā # yācā varəšaitē aipī ciθiŋ
huuō vīcirō ahurō # aθā nə aŋhaŋ yaθā huuō vasaŋ

29,4 [*ab*] May the Wise One, who best registers outrages, consider (what) has been perpetrated (all) around (here) by Daēvas and mortals,
and he may he consider what will be perpetrated (by them) in future.
He (is) the Ahura with judicial authority. As he may desire, so shall it be for us.

29,5 *aŋ vā ustānāiš ahuuā # zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā*
mə uruuā gəušcā aziiå # hiiaŋ mazdąm duuaidī +fərasåbiiō
nōiŋ ərəžaŋiiōi fraŋiiāitiš # nōiŋ fšuiieŋtē drəguuasū pairī

29,5 We two (are) devoting ourselves to the Ahura, with hands stretched out with fervour, my (Zaraθuštra's) soul and (that) of the fertile cow, while we elect (Him), the Wise One, to (give us) orders.
(For) there is no life prospect for the decently living one, for the cattle-breeder, among the deceitful (all) around (here).

29,6 *aŋ <h>ə vaocaŋ ahurō # mazdå vīduå vafūš viiānaiiā*
nōiŋ aēuuā ahū vistō # naēdā ratuš aŋāŋcīŋ hacā
aŋ zī θβā fšuiiaŋtaēcā # vāstriiāicā θβōrəštā tatašā

29,6 The Wise Ahura, who knows the pronouncements in (His) spirit, speaks:
None (has been) really found by the world, no judgement in accordance with truth itself.
For the shaper has fashioned thee for the cattle-breeder and the herdsman.

29,7 *təm āzūtōiš ahurō # mąθrəm tašaŋ aŋā hazaošō*
mazdå gauuōi xšuuīdəmcā # huuō urušaēibiiō spəŋtō sāsnaiiā
kastē vohū manaŋhā # yə ī dāiiāŋ əəāuuā marətaēibiiō

29,7 The Ahura, who is in harmony with truth, fashioned both, the (well-known) formula concerning fat,
and the milk, for the cow, He, the Wise One, (who) by His teaching (is) prosperous for the emaciated.
Who (is available) to Thee through good thought, (one) who will bring the two (fat and milk from heaven) down to the mortals?

29,8 *aēm mōi idā vistō # yē nə aēuuō sāsnå gūšatā*
zaraθuštrō spitāmō # huuō nā mazdā vašti aṣāicā
carəkərəθrā srāuuaiieŋhē # hiiaṯ hōi hudəmēm diiāi vazəθrahiiā

29,8 [*bc*] This one has been found here by me, (he who is) the only one who listens to Our teachings, Zaraθuštra Spitama.
For (all of) Us, O Wise One, and for Truth, he wishes to sing lauds, so that I may enjoy the beauty of his speech organ.

29,9 *aṯcā gāuš uruuā raostā # yē anaēšəm xšaṇmānē rādəm*
vācəm nəraš asūrahiiā # yēm ā vasəmī išā.xšaθrīm
kadā yauuā huuō aŋhaṯ # yē hōi dadaṯ zastauuaṯ auuō

29,9 And the soul of the cow laments: (I) who (have) to content myself with a caretaker lacking in vigour,
with the voice of a weak man, whom I wish to possess sovereignty through invigoration, (I ask Thee this):
When will that one ever be available who may grant him help with (his) hands?

29,10 *yūžəm aēibiiō ahurā # aogō dātā aṣā xšaθrəmcā*
auuaṯ vohū manaŋhā # yā hušəitiš rāmaṃcā dāṯ
azəmcīṯ ahiiā mazdā # θβaṃ māŋhī paouruuīm vaēdəm

29,10 [*ab*] Grant You, O Ahura, strength through truth to those (present), and that power through good thought, by which one may establish good dwellings and peace.
(For) I myself realised (that) Thou (art) the primal provider of that, O Wise One.

29,11 *kudā aṣəm vohucā # manō xšaθrəmcā aṯ mā maṣā*
yūžəm mazdā frāxšnənē # mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā
ahurā nū nå auuarə # əhmā rātōiš yūšmāuuaṭam

29,11 [*ab*] Where are truth, and good thought, and power? Indeed, recognise me (the soul of the cow) through (the mediation of) the mortal one, You, O Wise One, with foresight, for (this) great offering.
O Ahura, (come) down to us now, to us, in accordance with the munificence of Those such as You.

Yasna 30: *Aṯ tā vaxšiiā Hāiti*

30,1 *aṯ tā vaxšiiā išəṇtō # yā mazdāθā hiiaṯcīṯ vīdušē*
staotācā ahurāi # yesniiācā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō
humaṛdrā aṣā.yecā # yā raocābīš darəsatā uruuāzā

30,1 I shall proclaim (now), O You approaching ones, such (things) which You shall report also to (Him) who (already) knows (them),
(I shall proclaim) both, praises for (Him), the Ahura, and worshipful (words) of good thought,
O You well-learned, and for Truth (I shall proclaim) what delight (is) to be seen through the lights.

30,2 *sraotā +gāuš.āiš vahištā # auuaēnatā sūcā manaŋhā*
āuuarənå vīciθahiiā # narəm narəm xᵛaiiāi tanuiiē
parā mazā yåŋhō # ahmāi nā sazdiiāi baodaṇtō paitī

30,2 Hear with (Your) ears the best (things)! View through the radiance (of the fire), with (Your) thought,
the invitations resulting from the discrimination of each single man, for his own self,
before the great sharing (of good things), expecting (someone) to announce that to us.

30,3 *aṯ tā mainiiū +pauruiiē # yā yəmā xᵛafənā asruuātəm*
manahicā vacahicā # šiiaoθanōi hī vahiiō akəmcā
åscā hudåŋhō # ərəš vīšiiātā nōiṯ duždåŋhō

30,3 These (are) the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of one's existence), twins who have become famed (manifesting themselves as) the two (kinds of) dreams,
the two (kinds of) thoughts and words, (and) the two (kinds of) actions, the better and the evil.
And between these two, the munificent discriminate rightly, (but) not the miserly.

30,4 *aŋcā hiiaŋ tā hēm mainiiū # jasaētəm paouruuīm dazdē*
gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā # yaθācā aŋhaŋ apəməm aŋhuš
acištō drəguuatąm # aŋ aŋšāunē vahištəm manō

30,4 and when these two spirits confront each other (to vie for a person), then (that person) decides (of what nature will be) the primal (stage of his existence):
vitality and lack of vitality, and (on the other hand) of what nature (his) existence will be in the end:
that of the deceitful (will be) the worst, but best thought will (be in store) for the truthful one.

30,5 *aiiâ mainiuâ varatā # yə drəguâ acištā vərəziiō*
aŋəm mainiiuš spəništō # yə xraoždištāŋ asənō vastē
yaēcā xšnaošən ahurəm # haiθiiāiš šiiaoθanāiš fraorəŋ mazdąm

30,5 Of these two spirits, the deceitful one chooses to do the worst (things),
[*bc*] (but) the most prosperous spirit, who is clothed in the hardest diamonds, (chooses) truth, as also (do those) who devotedly satisfy the Ahura with true actions, (Him), the Wise One.

30,6 *aiiâ nōiŋ ərəš vīšiiātā # daēuuācinā hiiaŋ īš ā dəbaomā*
+pərəsm<a>nāŋg upā.jasaŋ # hiiaŋ vərənātā acištəm manō
aŋ aēšəməm hāŋduuārəntā # yā bąnaiiən ahūm marətānō

30,6 The Daēvas do not at all discriminate rightly between these two (spirits). Because delusion
comes over them when they take counsel, so that they choose the worst thought,
therefore they gather with Wrath, with which the mortals sicken existence.

30,7 *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaŋ # manaŋhā vohū aŋšācā*
aŋ kəhrpəm +utaiiūitiš # dadāŋ ārmaitiš ąnmā
aēšąm tōi ā aŋhaŋ # yaθā aiiaŋhā ādānāiš pouruiiō

30,7 (But) if one comes to it (existence) with power, good thought, and truth,
then stability grants form (to one's body), right-mindedness (grants) breath,
so that through their (the Daēvas') being fettered in iron, (existence) will be Thy prime one.

30,8 *aŋcā yadā aēšąm # kaēnā jamaitī aēnaŋhąm*
aŋ mazdā taibiiō xšaθrəm # vohū manaŋhā +vōiuuīdāitī
aēibiiō sastē ahurā # yōi aŋšāi dadən zastaiiō drujəm

30,8 And when the atonement for their (the Daēvas') crimes will have arrived,
one will commit to Thee the power (over it) with good thought, O Wise One,
at (the recompense) announced to those, O Ahura, who will have delivered deceit into the hands of truth.

30,9 *aŋcā tōi vaēm ɨiiāmā # yōi īm fərašəm +kərənaon ahūm*
mazdâscā ahurâŋhō # ā.mōiiastrā.baranā aŋšācā
hiiaŋ haθrā manâ +buuaŋ # yaθrā cistiš aŋhaŋ maēθā

30,9 Thus may we be those who will make existence brilliant,
O Wise One and You (other) Ahuras, with the bringer of changes and with truth,
when (our) thoughts will have become concentrated (on the place) where insight may be present.

30,10 *adā zī auuā drūjō # [auuō.]+buuaitī skəŋdō spaiiaθrahiiā*
aŋ asištā yaojaŋtē # ā hušitōiš vaŋhəuš manaŋhō
mazdâ aŋaɨiiācā # yōi zazəŋtī vaŋhāu srauuahī

30,10 For then damage from being brushed off will descend upon deceit.
The swiftest (steeds) will be yoked (in order to race) as far as the good dwelling of the Good Thought
of the Wise One and of Truth, (those steeds) which will win good fame.

30,11 *hiiaŋ tā uruuātā +saŋaθā # yā mazdâ dadāŋ maŋšiiâŋhō*
xᵛīticā ənəitī # hiiaŋcā darəgəm +drəguō.dəbiiō rašō
sauuacā aŋauuabiiō # aŋ aipī tāiš aŋhaitī uštā

30,11 O you mortals, when you master those rules which the Wise One has established,
and which convey good mobility and immobility, and (when you master) what long-lasting harm (is in store) for the deceitful,
as well as (what) benefits for the truthful, then (the things) desired will in future be available through them.

Yasna 31: *Tā.vā.uruātā Hāiti*

31,1 *tā vō uruuātā marəṇtō # aguštā vacå sāŋghāmahī*
aēibiiō yōi uruuātāiš drūjō # aẋahiiā gaēvå vīmərəṇcaitē
aŧcīŧ aēibiiō vahištā # yōi +zrazdå aŋhən mazdāi

31,1 Memorising these rules of Yours, we pronounce words, (hitherto) unheard (by them),
for those, who by the rules of deceit destroy the herds of truth,
and (which are) very good for those who will be faithful to the Wise One.

31,2 *yezī āiš nōiŧ uruuānē # aduuå aibī.dərəštā vaźiiå*
aŧ vå vīspāŋg āiiōi # yavā ratūm ahurō vaēdā
mazdå aiiå ąsaiiå # yā aẋāŧ hacā juuāmahī

31,2 If the better way to go is not seen by them,
I approach You all, since the Ahura knows a judgment,
mindful of those two (well-known) shares, (the Ahura), through whom we live in accordance with truth.

31,3 *yąm då mainiiū āvrācā # aẋācā cōiš rānōibiiā xšnūtəm*
hiiaŧ uruatəm +cazdōŋhuuadəbiiō # taŧ nə mazdā vīduuanōi vaocā
hizuuā vβahiiā åŋhō # yā juuaṇtō vīspāŋg vāuraiiā

31,3 (Tell us about) the satisfaction which Thou apportionest by means of (Thy) spirit and (Thy) fire, and (which) Thou accordest through truth, according to balance,

(and about) what (is) Thy rule for the responsible ones, tell us about that, so that we may know (it), O Wise One,
(tell us about that) with the tongue of Thy mouth, so that therewith I might receive all the living.

31,4 *yadā aẋəm zəuuīm # aŋhən mazdåscā ahuråŋhō*
aẋicā ārmaitī # vahištā išasā manaŋhā
maibiiō xšavrəm +aojōŋhuuaŧ # yehiiā vərədā vanaēmā drujəm

31,4 [*ab*] When the Wise One, and the (other) Ahuras, will have sent out Truth worthy of invocation, along with Reward and Right-Mindedness, I shall try to win with good thought
the strong power (meant) for me, with increase of which we might defeat deceit.

31,5 *taŧ mōi vīcidiiāi vaocā # hiiaŧ mōi aẋā dātā vahiiō*
vīduiiē vohū manaŋhā # māṇcā daidiiāi yehiiā mā ərəšiš
tācīŧ mazdā ahurā # yā nōiŧ vā aŋhaŧ aŋhaitī vā

31,5 Tell me (about) that better (part), which You have assigned to me through truth, so that (I) may discern (it),
so that (I) may learn with good thought -and note in my mind- (from Him) whose seer (I am),
from that very one, O Wise One, which (things) will not be available, and (which) will be available.

31,6 *ahmāi aŋhaŧ vahištəm # yā mōi vīduuå vaocāŧ haivīm*
mąvrəm yim hauruuatātō # aẋahiiā amərətātascā
mazdāi auuaŧ xšavrəm # hiiaŧ hōi vohū vaxšaŧ manaŋhā

31,6 The best (part) shall belong to Him, the Knowing One, who may pronounce for me the true
formula concerning the integrity and immortality of truth;
to the Wise One (shall belong) that best power which He shall make grow with His good thought.

31,7 *yastā maṇtā pouruiiō # raocābiš rōiθβən xᵛāθrā*
huuō xraθβā dąmiš ašəm # yā dāraiiaṯ vahištəm manō
tā mazdā mainiiū uxšiiō # yə ā nūrəmcīṯ ahurā hāmō

31,7 The Primal One who with that (intellect of His) conceived (the formula):
"Let the comforts (displayed) intersperse with light",
(as) creator He (conceived) truth with (that) intellect. (By means of the spirit) with which one upholds best thought,
by means of that spirit Thou growest, O Wise One, (Thou) who (hast remained) the same to this very day, O Ahura.

31,8 *aṯ θβā ⁺mōŋhī ⁺paouruuīm # mazdā ⁺yazūm stōi manaŋhā*
vaŋhāuš ⁺ptarəm manaŋhō # hiiaṯ θβā həm cašmainī [hən]grabəm
haiθīm ašahiiā dąmīm # aŋhāuš ahurəm šiiaoθanaēšū

31,8 I realise (that) Thou, the Primal One, art youthful, O Wise One, through (Thy) thought,
(Thou) the father of good thought, when I grasp Thee in (my) eye,
(Thee), the true creator of truth, the Ahura (presiding) over the actions of the world.

31,9 *θβōi as ⁺ārmaitiš # θβā ā gāuš tašā ↑as.xratuš*
⁺mainiiəuš mazdā ahurā # hiiaṯ aźiiāi dadā paθąm
vāstriiāṯ vā āitē # yə vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ vāstriiō

31,9 Right-mindedness was Thine, Thine (was) also the very intellectual fashioner of the cow,
O Wise Ahura, when in accordance with (Thy) spirit Thou didst open paths to her (the cow),
so that she could join the herdsman, or (him) who may not be a herdsman.

31,10 *aṯ hī aiiā frauuarətā # vāstrīm aźiiāi fšuiiaṇtəm*
ahurəm ašauuanəm # vaŋhāuš ⁺fšāŋhīm manaŋhō
nōiṯ mazdā auuāstriiō # dauuąscinā humərətōiš bazštā

31,10 Of these two, she (the cow) chose for herself the cattle-breeding herdsman (as) truthful lord, the bondsman of good thought.
The non-herdsman, O Wise One, does not enjoy a good reputation, however much he shouts.

31,11 *hiiaṯ nā mazdā paouruuīm # gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā*
θβā manaŋhā xratūšcā # hiiaṯ astuuaṇtəm dadā uštanəm
hiiaṯ šiiaoθanācā sōŋhąscā # yaθrā varənəŋ vasā dāiietē

31,11 [*ab*] Since Thou, O Wise One, didst fashion for us the primal (stage of our existence), the herds and the religious views, with Thy thought, as well as the intellects, when Thou didst assign corporeal life,
when (Thou didst establish) the actions and proclamations, in which the wisher makes use of (his) preferences: -

31,12 *aθrā vācəm baraitī # miθahuuacā vā ⁺ərəš.vacā vā*
vīduuā vā əuuīduuā vā # ahiiā zərədācā manaŋhācā
ānuš.haxš ⁺ārmaitiš # mainiiū ⁺pərəsaitē yaθrā maēθā

31,12 whether it (be) a man of crooked words or one of plain words, (who) raises there (his) voice,
(whether) a knowing one or an ignorant one, with his heart and thought,
pursuing (this matter), right-mindedness takes counsel with the spirit where (right-mindedness is) present.

31,13 *yā frasā āuuīšiiā # yā vā mazdā ⁺pərəsaētē taiiā*
yə vā kasəuš aēnaŋhō # ā mazištąm [a]hiiamaitē būjəm
tā cašmōŋ θβisrā hārō # aibī aṯā [aibī.]vaēnahī vīspā

31,13 [*ab*] (That) which (is) an open counsel, O Wise One, as well as the secrets about which (two persons) take counsel with one another, and (that one) who, (guilty) of a small injury, shall incure a very great punishment,
perceiving that with the gleam of Thine eye, Thou seest all (things) through truth.

31,14 *tā θβā pərəsā ahurā # yā zī āitī jəŋghaticā*
yā išudō dadəṇtē # dāθranąm hacā ašāunō
yāscā mazdā drəguuō.dəbiiō # yaθā tā aŋhən hāŋkərətā hiiaṯ

31,14 I ask Thee, O Ahura, about the things which are approaching and may come,
[*bc*] (about) the invigorations (consisting) of gifts which (people) will obtain from the truthful one, and which (they will obtain) from the deceitful, O Wise One, (and I ask Thee) in which way they will be available when the (entitlements will have been) reckoned up.

31,15 *pərəsā auuaṯ yā +maēniš # yə̄ drəguuāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī*
duš.šiiaoϑanāi ahurā # yə̄ nōiṯ jiiōtūm hanarə vīnastī
vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō # pasə̄uš vīrāaṯcā adrujiiaṇtō

31,15 That I ask (Thee), what the chastisement (is for him) who delegates power to the deceitful one,
to the evil-doer, O Ahura, (the one) who does not find a livelihood without
injury to cattle and men of the honest herdsman.

31,16 *pərəsā auuaṯ yaϑā huuō # yə̄ hudānuš +dəmānahiiā xšaϑrəm*
šōiϑrahiiā vā daźiiə̄uš vā # aṣ̌ā fradaϑāi aspərəzatā
ϑβāuuąs mazdā ahurā # yadā huuō aŋhaṯ yā.šiiaoϑanascā

31,16 [*ab*] That I ask (Thee), how such a generous person (will be available) who strives to promote, with truth, one's power over house, district and country,
One such as Thou, O Wise Ahura, (and I ask), when he will be available and with what action.

31,17 *katārə̄m aṣ̌auuā vā # drəguuå vā +vərənauuaitē maziiō*
vīduuå vīdušē mraotū # mā əuuīduuå aipī də̄bāuuaiiaṯ
zdī nə̄ mazdā ahurā # vaŋhə̄uš fradaxštā manaŋhō

31,17 Is the truthful one more convincing, or the deceitful one?
Let the knowing one speak to the knowing one. Let the ignorant one no longer delude (people).
Be a teacher of good thought for us, O Wise Ahura.

31,18 *mā.ciš aṯ və̄ drəguuatō # mąϑrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā*
ā-zī dəmānəm vīsəm vā # šōiϑrəm vā daźiiūm vā [ā]dāṯ
dušitācā +marəkaēcā # aϑā īš sāzdūm snaiϑišā

31,18 Let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to Your formulas and teachings.
For he will put house, village, district, and country,
in a bad (state of) dwelling and in ruin. Teach them therefore with (Your) weapon.

31,19 *gūštā yə̄ maṇtā aṣ̌əm # +ahūm.biš vīduuå ahurā*
ərəžuxδāi vacaŋhąm # xšaiiamnō hizuuō vasō
ϑβā āϑrā suxrā mazdā # vaŋhāu vīdātā rąnaiiå

31,19 The healer of existence, the knowing one who conceives truth, O Ahura, has listened (to Your teachings),
he, who at (his) will is in control of (his) tongue with a view to a plain statement of words
at the distribution of the balance (value), (to be performed) by means of Thy red fire, O Wise One, at the good (share to be distributed).

31,20 *yə̄ āiiaṯ aṣ̌auuanəm # diuuamnəm hōi aparəm xšiiō*
darəgə̄m āiiū təmaŋhō # +duš.x^{v}arəϑə̄m auuaētās vacō
tə̄m +vå ahūm drəguuaṇtō # šiiaoϑanāiš x^{v}āiš daēnā naēšaṯ

31,20 He who may approach the truthful one, splendour will be his (reward), (as) contrasted with weeping.
A long life in darkness, foul food, (and) the word "woe":
to that existence (your) religious view will lead you, O you deceitful, on account of your own actions.

31,21 *mazdå dadāṯ ahurō # hauruuatō amərətātascā*
būrōiš ā aṣ̌aźiiācā # x^{v}āpaiϑiiāṯ xšaϑrahiiā sarō
vaŋhə̄uš vazduuarə̄ manaŋhō # yə̄ hōi mainiiū šiiaoϑanāišcā uruuaϑō

31,21 Mindful of integrity and immortality, the Ahura grants
from His own mighty shelter of truth and power
the fat of good thought (to him) who (is) His ally in (his) spirit and actions.

31,22 *ciϑrā ī hudåŋhē # +yaϑənā vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā*
vohū huuō xšaϑrā aṣ̌əm # vacaŋhā šiiaoϑanācā haptī
huuō tōi mazdā ahurā # vāzištō aŋhaitī astiš

31,22 Bright (things are in store) for the munificent one who accepts them with (his) thought.
Through good power he holds truth in word and action.
He shall be Thy most well-provided guest, O Wise Ahura.

Yasna 32: *X^{v}aētumaitī Hāiti*

32,1 *aźiiācā x^{v}aētuš yāsaŋ # ahiiā vərəzənəm maŋ airiiamnā*
ahiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi # ahurahiiā uruuāzəmā mazdå
θβōi dūtåŋhō åŋhāmā # tāŋg dāraiiō yōi vå daibišəŋtī

32,1 [*ab*] The family entreats, the community along with the tribe (do so) in my recital, O you Daēvas, (entreating) for His, the Wise Ahura's favour:
"Let us be Thy households. Thou breakest up (the groupings of) those who hate You."

32,2 *aēibiiō mazdå ahurō # sārəmnō vohū manaŋhā*
xšaθrāŋ hacā paitī.mraoŋ # aŋšā huš.hazā x^{v}ənuuātā
spəŋtąm vō ārmaitīm # vaŋ^{v}hīm varəmaidī hā nə aŋhaŋ

32,2 To them, the Wise Ahura, sheltered by good thought,
a good friend to sun-like truth, answers in accordance with (His) power:
"We choose your prosperous (and) good right-mindedness. Let it be Ours."

32,3 *aŋ yūš daēuuā vīspåŋhō # akāŋ manaŋhō stā civrəm*
yascā vå maš yazaitē # drūjascā pairimatōiščā
šiiaomąm aipī daibitānā # yāiš $^{+}$asrūdūm būmiiå haptaiθē

32,3 But you, O you Daēvas all, are seed (sprung) from evil thought,
[*bc*] and (so is that alleged) master who worships both, you as well as the activities of deceit and contempt, for which you again and again have become notorious in (this) seventh (of the seven climes) of the world:

32,4 *yāŋ yūš tā framīmaθā # yā maŋiiā acištā daŋtō*
vazšəŋtē daēuuō.zuštā # vaŋhāuš siždiiamnā manaŋhō
mazdå ahurahiiā # xratəuš nasiiaŋtō aŋšāaŋcā

32,4 insofar as you order those worst (things), (by) offering which the mortals may grow (as) minions of (you) Daēvas, flinching from good thought (and) straying from the intellect of the Wise Ahura and from truth.

32,5 *tā dəbənaotā maŋšīm # hujiiātōiš amərətātascā*
hiiaŋ vå akā manaŋhā # yəŋg daēuuāŋg akascā mainiiuš
akā šiiaoθanəm vacaŋhā # yā fracinas drəguuaŋtəm xšaiiō

32,5 Therefore you lure the mortal one away from good life and immortality,
because the evil spirit along with evil thought (had lured) you, the Daēvas, (away from them),
(the evil spirit) as well as the action (inspired) by the evil word,
by which a ruler recognises a deceitful person.

32,6 *pourū aēnå ənāxštā # yāiš srāuuahiieitī yezī tāiš avā*
hātā.marānē ahurā # vahištā vōistā manaŋhā
θβahmī və mazdā xšaθrōi # aŋšāicā səŋghō vīdąm

32,6 The many crimes against peace with which (the deceitful one) strives for notoriety: whether he so (strives) with these (crimes)
Thou knowest (about that) through best thought, O Ahura, Thou who rememberest (people's just) deserts.
Let praise be broadcast for You, O Wise One, and for Truth, in (the domain of) Thy power.

32,7 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm # naēcīŋ vīduå aojōi hādrōiiā*
yā jōiiā səŋghaitē # yāiš srāuuī x^{v}aēnā aiiaŋhā
yaēšąm tū ahurā # irixtəm mazdā vaēdištō ahī

32,7 I sincerely declare myself (to be) not at all conscious of any (instance of) such crimes
which are called "by violence", for which one becomes notorious by the (ordeal of) glowing metal,
(and) for which Thou, O Wise Ahura, knowest best the net assets.

32,8 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm # vīuuaŋhušō srāuuī yimascīŋ*
yə maŋiiəŋg cixšnušō # ahmākəŋg gāuš bagā x^{v}ārəmnō
aēšąmcīŋ ā ahmī # θβahmī mazdā vīciθōi aipī

32,8 Even Yima, the son of Vivahvan, became notorious for (one instance of) such crimes,
the ox, who tried to satisfy the mortals, our (people), in swearing by God.
(and) with regard to any such (crimes) I submit to Thy decision, O Wise One.

32,9 *duš.sastiš srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ # huuō jiiātōuš sāŋghanāiš xratūm*
apō mā ištīm [apa]hiaṇtā # bərəzδąm hāitīm vaŋhāuš manaŋhō
tā uzδā +mainiiōuš mahiiā # mazdā aṣāicā yūšmaibiiā gərəzē

32,9 The blasphemer spoils one's reputation. With (his) pronouncements, (he spoils) the intellect of the living.
He robs (people) of the command (which is) esteemed by good thought.
(With) these statements of my spirit I complain to You, O Wise One, and to Truth.

32,10 *huuō mā nā srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ # yə acištəm +vaēnaŋhē aogədā*
gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā # yascā dāvəŋg drəguuatō dadāṯ
yascā vāstrā vīuuāpaṯ # yascā vadarə vōiždaṯ aṣāunē

32,10 That man spoils his reputation, who speaks what is the worst in order to see [*bc*] the cow and the sun with his evil eyes, and who makes the just (into subjects) of the deceitful one, and who plunders the forage stores, and who raises (his) weapon against the truthful one.

32,11 *taēcīṯ mā mōrəṇdən jiiōtūm # yōi +drəguuaṇtō +mazbiš cikōitərəš*
aŋ^{v}hīšcā +aŋhauuascā # apaiieitī raēzənaŋhō vaēdəm
yōi vahištāṯ +aṣaonō # mazdā rārəšiiąn manaŋhō

32,11 Those indeed spoil life, (those) deceitful who boast about (their so-called) great (activities),
(those alleged) ladies and gentlemen, (who bost) of robbing (people) of the disposition of (their) heritage,
(and) who try to rip the truthful away from best thought, O Wise One.

32,12 *yā råŋhaiiən srauuaŋhā # vahištāṯ šiiaoδanāṯ marətānō*
aēibiiō mazdå akā mraoṯ # yōi gəuš mōrəṇdən uruuāxš.uztī jiiōtūm
yāiš +grəhmā aṣāṯ varatā # karapā xšaθrəmcā išanąm drujəm

32,12 Due to (their notorious) speech, by which they make the mortals fall away from the best action,
the Wise One speaks evil (words) to those who spoil the life of the cow by pronouncing (the word) "proceed",
(and) under whose influence the Karapan prefers Grəhma practices and the power of those who approach deceit, to truth.

32,13 *yā xšaθrā +grəhmō hīšasaṯ # acištahiiā dəmānē manaŋhō*
aŋhāuš +marəxtārō ahiiā # yaēcā mazdā jīgərəzaṯ kāmē
θβahiiā mąθrānō +dūtəm # yə īš pāṯ darəsāṯ aṣahiiā

32,13 By that power, the Grəhma gang tries to settle in the house of worst thought, [*bc*] the destroyers of this existence, O Wise One, who then, in (their wicked) desire complain about (the members of) the household of Thy disciple who prevent them from seeing truth.

32,14 *ahiiā +grəhmō ā.hōiθōi # nī kāuuaiiascīṯ xratūš [nī.]dadaṯ*
+varəcā.hīcā fraidiuuā # hiiaṯ vīsāṇtā drəguuaṇtəm auuō
hiiaṯcā gāuš jaidiiāi mraoī # yə dūraošəm saocaiiaṯ auuō

32,14 (As) a Grəhma gang, the Kavis, too, lay (their) intellects into its (truth's) fetters,
as well as their dignities, day by day, when they take up their positions to assist the deceitful one,
and when, with the destructive action (called) "let the ox be killed", (they take them up) to assist (him) who inflames the "fire-proof" (intoxicant).

32,15 *anāiš ā vī.nānāsā # yā +karapō.tāscā kəuuītāscā*
auuāiš aibī yāŋg daiṇtī # nōiṯ jiiātōuš xšaiiamnāŋg vasō
tōi ābiiā bairiiåṇtē # vaŋhāuš ā dəmānē manaŋhō

32,15 Because of such (activities), the group of Karapans and Kavis is lost through (the activities of) those whom they (in their turn) want to harness (so as) not to be at will in control of (their) lives.
Those, (however), will be shifted towards those two (integrity and immortality) into the house of good thought.

32,16 *hamōm taṯ vahištācīṯ # yə ušuruiiē.siiascīṯ dahmahiiā*
xšaiiąs mazdā ahurā # yehiiā mā aiθiścīṯ duuaēδā
hiiaṯ +aēnaŋhē drəguuatō # āəānū išiiāŋg aŋhaiiā

32,16 That (prize is) equal to (what is) the very best, (O Thou) who in a pleasant way (art) the very promotor of the pious one,
having control over any (danger) the fear of which scares me, O Wise Ahura,
(that prize) which, (as opposed) to the crime of the deceitful one (is) manifest following those provided with invigorations.

Yasna 33: *Yaϑāišiϑā Hāiti*

33,1 *⁺yaϑā ⁺āiš iϑā varəšaitē # yā dātā aŋhāuš paouruiiehiiā*
ratū[š] šiiaoϑanā razištā # drəguuataēcā hiiaṯcā aŋāunē
yeiiiācā ⁺hāmiiāsaitē # miϑahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā

33,1 [*ab*] Just as by those (present), so the straightest actions which (follow) the orders of the Primal Lord shall be performed by the judge, both for the deceitful one and for (him) who (is) truthful,
as well as (for that one) whose faults and what (are) his virtues are reckoned together.

33,2 *aṯ yā akəm drəguuāitē # vacaŋhā vā aṯ vā manaŋhā*
zastōibiiā vā varəšaitī # vaŋhāu vā cōiϑaitē astīm
tōi vārāi rādəṇtī # ahurahiiā zaošē mazdå

33,2 He who may work evil for the deceitful one by word or thought
or by (his) hands, or (he who) in the good way may recognise (one as his) guest,
(all) those will heed His will (abiding) in the pleasure of the Wise Ahura.

33,3 *yā aŋāunē vahištō # xᵛaētū vā aṯ vā vərəzənriiō*
airiiamnā vā ahurā # vīdąs vā ϑβaxšaŋhā gauuōi
aṯ huuō aŋahiiā aŋhaṯ # vaŋhāušcā vāstrē manaŋhō

33,3 (That one) who is best to the truthful one by family (relationship) or (as) a member of the (same) community
or by tribe, O Ahura, or (by) caring for the cow with zeal,
that one will be in the pasture of truth and good thought.

33,4 *yā ϑβaṯ mazdā asruštīm # akəmcā manō yazāi apā*
xᵛaētəušcā tarəmaitīm # vərəzənaiiācā nazdištąm drujəm
⁺airiiamnascā nadəṇtō # gəušcā vāstrāṯ acištəm maṇtūm

33,4 I, who by praying will turn disobedience and evil thought away from Thee, O Wise One,
as well as the scorn of the family and the deceit which is neighbour to the community,
and the despisers of the tribe and the worst counsel from the pasture of the cow:

33,5 *yastē vīspā.mazištəm # səraošəm zbaiiā auuaŋhānē*
apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm # ā xšaϑrəm vaŋhəuš manaŋhō
aŋāṯ ā ərəzūš paϑō # yaēšū mazdå ahurō ⁺šaēitī

33,5 I, who, in the resting place, will call for Thy very greatest (recompense for) obedience,
having reached long life and the power of good thought,
(reached) in accordance with truth the straight paths on which the Wise Ahura dwells:

33,6 *yā zaotā aŋā ⁺ərəzuš # huuō mainiiəuš ā vahištāṯ kaiiā*
ahmāṯ auuā manaŋhā # yā vərəziieidiiāi maṇtā vāstriiā
tā tōi ⁺iziiā ahurā # mazdā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā

33,6 [*ab*] I, who (am) an (officiating) priest, straightforward in truth: in accordance with this best spirit (of mine), I am pleased with that thought in which one conceives (the idea of) performing pastoral works.
With that (thought), I beg for Thy sight and consultation, O Wise Ahura.

33,7 *ā mā [ā]idūm vahištā # ā xᵛaiϑiiācā mazdā darəšaṯcā*
aŋā vohū manaŋhā # yā sruiiē parə ⁺magaonō
āuuiš nå aṇtarə hāṇtū # nəmaxᵛaitīš ciϑrå rātaiiō

33,7 Come hither to me, You best ones, (come) hither, O Wise One, in person and boldly,
with truth, (and) with good thought for which I am heard beyond the sacrificers.
Let bright bestowals inspiring reverence be manifest among (all of) us.

33,8 *frō mōi [fra]uuōizdūm arəθā tā # yā vohū šiiauuāi manaŋhā*
yasnəm mazdā xšmāuuatō # aŋ vā aŋā staomiiā vacå
dātā və amərətåscā # utaiiūitī hauruuatās draonō

33,8 Take [pl.] heed (of) these (dutiful) purposes of mine, which I will pursue with good thought,
worship, O Wise One, for One such as You, (and) words full of praise through truth.
Integrity (is) offered to You (as) an oblation, as well as immortality, along with stability.

33,9 *aŋ tōi mazdā təm mainiiūm # +aŋaozšiianţå +sarəidiiaiiå*
x^{v}āθrā maēθā maiiā # vahištā barətū manaŋhā
aiiå +ārōi hākurənəm # yaiiå haciņtē uruuąnō

33,9 [*ab*] Let one with best thought bring Thee, O Wise One, that (well-known) spirit of the two rivals (which are) growing through truth,
(let one bring them) together with comfort coupled with bliss.
The fellowship of these two, whose souls [pl.] agree, has been allotted.

33,10 *vīspå stōi huĵītaiiō # yå zī åŋharə yåscā həŋtī*
yåscā mazdā +buuaiņtī # θβahmī hīš zaošē +ābazšō.huuā
vohū uzšiiā manaŋhā # xšaθrā aŋācā uštā tanūm

33,10 In order for all good gains to be available (to Thee), (namely) those which indeed have existed, and which exist,
and which will exist, O Wise One, receive them into Thy approval.
Grow through good thought, power, and truth as (Thou) desirest, in (Thy) body.

33,11 *yā səuuištō ahurō # mazdåscā ārmaitišcā*
aŋəmcā frādaŋ gaēθəm # manascā vohū xšaθrəmcā
sraotā mōi mərəždātā mōi # ādāi +kahiiācīŋ paitī

33,11 (Thou) who (art) the strongest Ahura and the Wise One, and (You who are) Right-Mindedness
and Truth promoting the herds, as well as Good Thought and Power,
do listen to me! do have mercy on me at any apportionment!

33,12 *us mōi [uz]ārəšuuā ahurā # ārmaitī təuuišīm dasuuā*
spəništā mainiiū mazdā # vaŋhuiiā zauuō ādā
aŋā hazō əmauuaŋ # vohū manaŋhā +fsəratūm

33,12 Rise up to me, O Ahura, take might through right-mindedness,
(and) through the most prosperous spirit, O Wise One, (take) swiftness through good apportionment,
(take) aggressive superiority through truth, (take) joy through good thought.

33,13 *rafəbrāi vourucašānē # dōišī mōi yā və abifrā*
tā xšaθrahiiā ahurā # yā vaŋhāuš aŋiš manaŋhō
frō spəņtā ārmaitē # aŋā daēnå [fra]daxšaiiā

33,13 (Come to us) for support, O far-seeing one. Show me Your peculiarities,
those of (Your) power, O Ahura, which (are) a reward of good thought.
O prosperous Right-Mindedness, teach (our) religious views with truth.

33,14 *aŋ rātąm zaraθuštrō # tanuuascīŋ x^{v}aźiiå uštanəm*
dadāitī pauruuatātəm # manaŋhascā vaŋhāuš mazdāi
šiiaoθanahiiā +aŋā yācā # uzbaźiiācā səraošəm xšaθrəmcā

33,14 [*ab*] As a bestowal Zaraθuštra offers to the Wise One the vitality even of his own body, (and) the pre-eminence of (his) good thought
and that of the action (performed) with truth, as well as (his) obedience to (His) statement, and (his) power.

Yasna 34: *Yā.šiiaoθanā Hāiti*

34,1 *yā šiiaoθanā yā vacaŋhā # yā yasnā amərətatātəm*
aŋəmcā +taibiiō dåŋhā # mazdā xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō
aēšąm tōi ahurā # əhmā pourutəmāiš dastē

34,1 [*ab*] The action, word, (and) worship through which Thou takest for Thyself immortality and truth and the power of integrity, O Wise One,
(a deserved part) of these (actions, words, and worships) is (now being) offered to Thee, O Ahura, by us (who are present) in greatest number.

34,2 *aŋcā ī tōi manaŋhā # +mainiiəušcā +vaŋhəuš vīspā dātā*
spəṇtaŋiiācā nərəš šiiaoδanā # yehiiā uruuā aŋā hacaitē
pairigaēδē zšmāuuatō # vahmē mazdā garōbiš stūtąm

34,2 All (manifestations) of the good spirit (have been) established by Thy thought,
as well as the actions of the prosperous man whose soul agrees with truth, O Wise One,
at the laudation of One such as You, at which one gives one's herds in trust, (and which is performed) with welcomes (consisting) of praises.

34,3 *aŋ tōi miiazdəm ahurā # nəmaŋhā aŋāicā dāmā*
gaēδā vīspā ā zšaδrōi # yā vohū δraoštā manaŋhā
ārōi zī hudāŋhō # vīspāiš mazdā zšmāuuasū sauuō

34,3 As sacrificial food for Thee, O Ahura, and for truth, we place in reverence all (our) herds in (Thy) power, (the herds) which one has nourished with good thought.
Indeed, the benefit of a munificent one has been allotted by all among Those such as You, O Wise One.

34,4 *aŋ tōi ātrəm ahurā # aojōŋhuuaṇtəm aŋā usəmahī*
asīštīm əmauuaṇtəm # stōi rapaṇtē ciδrā.auuaŋhəm
aŋ mazdā daibišiiaṇtē # zastāištāiš dərəštā.aēnaŋhəm

34,4 We desire Thy fire, O Ahura, (which is) strong through truth, very vigorous (and) impetuous, to be a bright help to (Thy) supporter, but, O Wise One, a visible injury to (Thy) enemy by means of (the recompenses) sent by its hands.

34,5 *kaŋ vā zšaδrəm kā +īštiš # šiiaoδanāi mazdā yaδā vā hahmī*
aŋā vohū manaŋhā # δrāiiōidiiāi drigūm yūšmākəm
parā +vā vīspāiš ſparā.ƒvaozəmā # daēuuāišcā zrafstrāiš maŋiiāišcā

34,5 What (is) Your power, what (is Your) command, O Wise One, (which may protect me) for (my) action as well as when I sleep,
protect (me), Your poor dependent, with truth (and) good thought?
We have declared You superior to all evil beasts, Daēvic as well as human.

34,6 *yezī aδā stā haiδīm # mazdā aŋā vohū manaŋhā*
aŋ taŋ mōi dazštəm dātā # ahiiā aŋhāuš vīspā maēδā
yaδā vå yazəmnascā # uruuāidiiå stauuas aiienī paitī

34,6 In case this is the way You really are, O Wise One, with truth (and) good thought,
then make that clear to me on all days of this existence,
so that I may come to meet You again, worshipping and praising (You even) more joyfully.

34,7 *kuδrā tōi arədrā mazdā # yōi vaŋhəuš vaēdənā manaŋhō*
sāŋghūš raēxənå aspəṇciŋ # sādrācīŋ caxraiiō ušəurū
naēcīm tām aniiəm yūšmaŋ # vaēdā aŋā aδā +nå δrāzdūm

34,7 [*ab*] Where (are) those zestful ones, O Wise One, who, knowing the bequests (and) legacies of good thought, turn any misfortune and distress into pleasure?
In truth, I do not in the least know anyone other than You. So do [pl.] protect us.

34,8 *tāiš zī nå šiiaoδanāiš biieṇtē # yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iδiiejō*
hiiaŋ as +aojå nāidiiāŋhəm # δβahiiā mazdā ąstā uruūtahiiā
yōi nōiŋ aŋəm mainiiaṇtā # aēibiiō dūirē vohū as manō

34,8 Indeed, (people) fear us for those actions in which Thou sendest harrassment around the many (deceitful),
-as a strong one hits a weaker one- by the harmfulness of Thy rule, O Wise One.
Thou sendest good thought to (a place) far from those who do not consider truth.

34,9 *yōi spəṇtąm ārmaitīm # δβahiiā mazdā bərəxδąm vīdušō*
duš.šiiaoδanā auuazaŋ # vaŋhəuš əuuistī manaŋhō
aēibiiō maš aŋā siiazdaŋ # yauuaŋ ahmaŋ aurunā zrafstrā

34,9 [*ab*] The evil-doers who, by (their) ignorance of good thought, let go prosperous right-mindedness, esteemed by Thy knowing one, O Wise One,
far from them a master shall chase away truths, as far from us as the fierce beasts (are to be chased).

34,10 *ahiiā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō # šiiaoθanā vaocaŋ gərəbąm huxratuš*
spəṇtąmcā ārmaitīm # dąmīm vīduuå hiθąm aŋahiiā
tācā vīspā ahurā # θβahmī mazdā xšaθrōi ā vōiiaθrā

34,10 One of good intellect speaks (of) grasping the actions of this good thought,
and (of grasping) prosperous right-mindedness, knowing (it), the creative partner of truth,
and (he speaks of) all those protective means (found) in Thy power, O Wise Ahura.

34,11 *aŋ tōi ubē hauruuâscā # xᵛarəθāi.ā amərətatâscā*
vaŋhāuš xšaθrā manaŋhō # aŋā maŋ ārmaitiš vaxšt
utaiitītī təuuišī # tāiš ā mazdā vīduuaēšąm θβōi.ahī

34,11 Integrity and immortality both (serve) Thee as food.
By the power of good thought, right-mindedness along with truth makes grow both, stability and might. With (all) these, Thou makest (our) enemies tremble, O Wise One.

34,12 *kaŋ tōi rāzarə kaŋ vaši # kaŋ vā stūtō kaŋ vā yasnahiiā*
srūidiiāi mazdā frāuuaocā # yā vīdāiiāŋ aŋiš rāšnąm
siš ā nå aŋā paθō # vaŋhāuš xᵛaētāŋg manaŋhō

34,12 What (should) a prayer to Thee (be)? What dost Thou desire?
What (share) of praise, or what (share) of worship?
Proclaim, O Wise One, so that (we) may hear (it), how one will distribute rewards for (our) prayers.
Show us with truth the paths of good thought, easy to travel.

34,13 *təm aduānəm ahurā # yəm mōi mraoš vaŋhāuš manaŋhō*
daēnå saošiiaṇtąm # yā ⁺hū.kərətā aŋācīŋ uruāzšaŋ
hiiaŋ ⁺cəuuištā ⁺hudâbiiō # mižðəm mazdā yehiiā tū daθrəm

34,13 (Show us) that way, O Ahura, which Thou tellest me to be that of good thought,
the well-adorned (way), along which the religious views of the benefactors proceed with truth itself,
towards the prize which You accord to the munificent, O Wise One,
(and) of which Thou (Thyself art) the award.

34,14 *taŋ zī mazdā vairīm # astuuaitē uštānāi dātā*
vaŋhāuš šiiaoθanā manaŋhō # yōi zī gəuš vərəzənē aziiå
xšmākąm hucistīm ahurā # xratāuš aŋā frādō vərəzənā

34,14 You, indeed, O Wise One, grant this desirable (possession) to corporeal life for the action of good thought, as You are in the community of the fertile cow (and You grant) Your good insight, O Ahura, in accordance with the intellect which promotes communities through truth.

34,15 *mazdā aŋ mōi vahištā # srauuâscā šiiaoθanācā vaocā*
tā tū vohū manaŋhā # aŋācā išudəm stūtō
xšmākā xšaθrā ahurā # fərašəm vasnā haiθiiəm då ahūm

34,15 O Wise One, tell me about the best (things), both eulogies and actions,
(tell me about) them with good thought, and (tell me) with truth (about) the invigoration (consisting) of praise.
Through Your power make real the existence (which is) brillant in (my) imagination, O Ahura.

Yasna 35,2 - 41: *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*

Yasna 35

35,2 *humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm iiadacā aniiadacā vərəziiamnanąmcā vāuuərəzananąmcā mahī aibī.jarətārō naēnaēstārō ⁺yaθnā vohunąm mahī*

35,2 We are the eulogists of the well-thought (thoughts), of the well-spoken (words), and of the well-performed (actions) —both, (those that are now) performed and (those) that have been performed here and elsewhere— as we are non-abusers [praisers] of the good (things).

35,3 *taŋ aŋ vairimaidī ahurā mazdā aŋā.srīrā hiiaŋ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā ⁺varəzimācā yā hātąm ⁺šiiaoθnanąm vahištā žiiāŋ ubōibiiā ahubiiā*

35,3 We would decide in favour of that, O Wise Ahura beautiful through truth, that we might conceive, pronounce, and perform them, (namely) the actions that might be the best (among the actions) of those who exist, for both existences.

35,4 *gauuōi adāiš tāiš šiiaoϑanāiš yāiš vahištāiš fraēšiiāmahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi surunuatascā asurunuatascā xšaiiaŋtascā axšaiiaŋtascā*

35,4 Through these, (namely) through the actions that (are) the best, we urge those who listen as well as those who do not listen, those who exercise power as well as those who do not exercise power, to establish peace and (to provide) a pasture for the cow.

35,5 *huxšaϑrō.təmāi +bā +aŋ xšaϑrəm ahmaŋ hiiaŋ aibī dadəmahicā cīšmahicā +huuąnmahicā hiiaŋ mazdāi ahurāi aŋāicā vahištāi*

35,5 As far as we are able, we truly assign [offer], commit and delegate the power which (is) with us to the best ruler who (is) the Wise Ahura, and to Best Truth.

35,6 *yaϑā āŋ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiϑīm aϑā haŋ vohū taŋ əəādū vərəziiōtūcā īŋ ahmāi fracā vātōiiōtū īŋ aēibiiō yōi īŋ aϑā vərəziiąn yaϑā īŋ astī*

35,6 And, just as a man, or a woman, knows (some) true (formula), being so (true), let him apply it for Him (as) a good seed grain, and let him make it known (also) to those (others) who wish to apply it (for Him), just as it (the formula) is (true).

35,7 *ahurahiiā zī aŋ vē mazdå yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm amāhmaidī gəušcā vāstrəm. taŋ aŋ vē vərəziiāmahī fracā vātāiiāmahī yā.tē isāmaidē*

35,7 For we have realised (that) worship and laudation of the Wise Ahura and the pasture of the cow (are) the best for You. This we wish to perform for You and to make it known as much as will be in our command.

35,8 *aŋahiiā āaŋ sairī aŋahiiā vərəzēnē kahmāicīŋ hātąm ƒƒīšąm vahištąm ādā ubōibiiā ahubiiā*

35,8 He has declared the best search for refuge, for anyone among those who exist, (to be) in the shelter of truth (and) in the community of truth, for both existences.

35,9 *imā āŋ uxδā vacå ahurā mazdā aŋəm +manaiiā vahehiiā frauuaocāmā. ϑβąm aŋ aēšąm paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē*

35,9 With a better devotion, O Wise Ahura, we wish to proclaim (as) truth these statements (and) words. We elect Thee (to be to us) their listener [examiner] and teacher [commentator].

35,10 *aŋšāaŋcā hacā vaŋhāušcā manaŋhō vaŋhāušcā xšaϑrāŋ staotā-<ā>iš ϑβāŋ ahurā staotōibiiō aibī uxδā ϑβāŋ uxδōibiiō yasnā ϑβāŋ yasnōibiiō*

35,10 In accordance with truth, good thought and good power, (we elect Thee), O Ahura, through these (words), with a praise above (all other) praises, (we elect Thee) with a statement (above all other) statements, (we elect Thee) with a worship (above all other) worships.

Yasna 36

36,1 *ahiiā ϑβā āϑrō vərəzənā paouruiiē pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā ϑβā ϑβā maiiniiū spəništā yə ā axtiš ahmāi yəm axtōiiōi dåŋhē*

36,1 Primarily we attend Thee, O Wise Ahura, with the community of this fire, (we attend) Thee with Thy most prosperous spirit, which is pain(ful) to the one whom Thou mayest seize for pain(ful treatment).

36,2 *uruuāzištō huuō nå yātāiiā paitī.jamiiå ātarə mazdå ahurahiiā uruuāzištahiiā uruuāz<a>iiā nąmištahiiā nəmaŋhā nå mazištāi yåŋhąm paitī.jamiiå*

36,2 O Fire of the Wise Ahura, mayest Thou, the most delightful one, come to us (to pay attention) to the share, mayest Thou come to us for the greatest of sharings (of good things), with the delight of the most delightful one, with the reverence of the most reverent one.

36,3 *ātarš vōi mazdå ahurahiiā ahī. mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spəništō ahī. hiiaŋ vā tōi nāmanąm vāzištəm ātarə mazdå ahurahiiā tā ϑβā pairijasāmaidē*

36,3 Thou art indeed the Fire of the Wise Ahura. Thou art indeed His most prosperous spirit. (That name) which (is) the most substantial of Thy names, O Fire of the Wise Ahura, with that we attend thee.

36,4 *vohū ϑβā manaŋhā vohū ϑβā aŋā vaŋhuiiå ϑβā cistōiš šiiaoϑanāišcā vacōbišcā pairijasāmaidē*

36,4 We attend Thee with good thought, (we attend) Thee with good truth, (we attend) Thee with the actions and words of good insight.

36,5 *nəmaźiiāmahī išūidiiāmahī ϑβā mazdā ahurā. vīspāiš ϑβā humatāis vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš +huuarəštāiš pairijasāmaidē*

36,5 We reverence (and) invigorate Thee, O Wise Ahura. We attend Thee with all (our) well-thought (thoughts), with all (our) well-spoken (words), with all (our) well-performed (actions).

36,6 *sraēštąm aṯ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpąm āuuaēdaiiamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocå barəzištəm +barəzəmanąm auuaṯ yāṯ +huuarə auuācī*

36,6 These lights (here) we dedicate to Thee (so as to be) the most beautiful body among (Thy) bodies ever since that one, most elevated among the elevated (over yonder), was named Sun.

Yasna 37

37,1 *iθā āṯ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdąm yə gąmcā aŋ̊əmcā dāṯ apascā dāṯ uruarå̊scā vaŋ^{v}hīš raocå̊scā dāṯ būmīmcā vīspācā vohū*

37,1 In this way, we worship the Wise Ahura, who created the cow and truth, (who) created the waters and the good plants, (who) created the lights and the earth and all good (things).

37,2 *ahiiā zšaθrācā mazənācā hauuapaŋhāišcā təm aṯ yasnanąm pauruuatātā yazamaidē yōi gəuš hacā šiieiṇtī*

37,2 Because of his power and greatness and artful works, we worship Him with that pre-eminence (of the rites) of worship of those who dwell in accordance with (the needs of) the cow.

37,3 *təm aṯ āhūiriiā nāmənī mazdā.varā spəṇtō.təmā yazamaidē. təm ahmākāiš +azdəbīšcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē. [təm aŋ̊āunąm frauuaŋ̊īš narąmcā nāirinąmcā yaz°.]*

37,3 Him we worship (pronouncing His) Ahurian names dear to (Him), the Wise One, (and which are) most prosperous. We worship him with our bones and vitalities. We worship Him (mentioning) the Fravaŋ̊is of the truthful men and women.

37,4 *aŋ̊əm aṯ vahištəm yazamaidē hiiaṯ sraēštəm hiiaṯ spəṇtəm amə̊ŋ̊əm hiiaṯ +raocōŋhuuaṯ hiiaṯ vīspā vohū*

37,4 We worship best truth which (is) most beautiful, which (is) prosperous (and) immortal, which (is) full of light, which (encompasses) all good (things).

37,5 *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā zšaθrəm vaŋ^{v}hīmcā daēnąm vaŋ^{v}hīmcā +fšəratūm vaŋ^{v}hīmcā ārmaitīm*

37,5 And we worship good thought and good power and the good Mazdayasnian religion and good joy and good right-mindedness.

Yasna 38

38,1 *imąm āaṯ ząm gənābiš haθrā yazamaidē yā nå baraitī yåscā tōi gənå ahurā mazdā aŋ̊āṯ hacā vairiiå tå yazamaidē*

38,1 We worship this earth together with (its) females, (this earth) which carries us, and (those) females who (are) Thine, O Wise Ahura, (who are) worthy of being chosen in accordance with truth, those we worship.

38,2 *īžå yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiiō vaŋ^{v}hīm ābiš aŋ̊īm vaŋ^{v}hīm išəm vaŋ^{v}hīm āzūitīm vaŋ^{v}hīm frasastīm vaŋ^{v}hīm +parəṇdīm yazamaidē*

38,2 (Female entities such as personified) libation, purification, brillance, (and) right-mindedness: along with these, we worship good reward, good invigoration, good fat-offering, good praise, (and) good providence.

38,3 *apō aṯ yazamaidē +maēkaiiaṇtīšcā +hābuuaiṇtīšcā frauuazaŋhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā +hauuapaŋhā. hupərəθβåscā vå +huuō.γžaθåscā hūšnāθrâscā ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagəmā*

38,3 We worship the waters, tasty and juicy, the Ahurānīs who flow forth owing to the artful work of the Ahura. And we present You (O waters), who provide a good crossing, who are well flowing, and good to swim in, (as support) for both existences.

38,4 *ūitī yā vō vaŋ^{v}hīš ahurō mazdå +nāmąn dadāṯ vaŋhudå hiiaṯ vå dadāṯ tāiš vå yazamaidē tāiš +friąnmahī tāiš nəmaźiiāmahī tāiš išūidiiāmahī*

38,4 Quoting the names which the Wise Ahura, giver of (what is) good, gave You, O Good ones, when he created You, we worship You with them, we appease (You) with them, we revere (You) with them, we invigorate (You) with them.

38,5 *apascā vå azīščā vå mātərąščā vå agəniiå drigudāiiaŋhō vīspō.paitīš +āuuaocāmā vahištå sraēštå. a-uuā və vaŋᵛhīš rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū paitī viiādå paitī.səŋdå mātarō ǰītaiiō*

38,5 We address You (as) the waters, and (as) the fertile (cows), and (as) the mother(-cow)s, who are not to be killed because they nurse the poor (and) provide drink for all beings, best and most beautiful. (Thus we do), You good ones, at the arrivals of Your long-armed munificence, You distributors, You pleasant ones, you mothers, you (personified) gains'.

Yasna 39

39,1. *iθā āŋ yazamaidē gəuš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā. ahmākəŋg āaŋ urunō pasukanąmcā yōi nå ǰŋǰšəŋtī yaēibiiascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiiō ā aŋhən*

39,1 Herewith we worship now the soul of the cow and her fashioner. And (we worship) our own souls and those of the domestic animals which seek refuge with us, (both with us) to whom they (may belong), and (with us) who may belong to them.

39,2 *daitikanąmcā aidiiūnąm hiiaŋ urunō yazamaidē. aŋšāunąm āaŋ urunō yazamaidē kudō.zātanąmcīŋ narąmcā nāiriniąmcā yaēšąm vahehīš daēnå vanainti vā vəŋghən vā +vaonarə vā*

39,2 And we worship the souls of (those) wild animals that (are) harmless. We worship the souls of the truthful men and women wherever they were born, whose better religious views do prevail, or will prevail, or have prevailed.

39,3 *āŋ iθā yazamaidē vaŋhūščā īŋ vaŋᵛhīščā īŋ spəŋtāŋg amə̄šəŋg yauuaēǰiiō yauuaēsuuō yōi vaŋhəuš ā manaŋhō šiieiŋtī yåscā ūitī*

39,3 Herewith we now worship the good male and the good female (entities) who are prosperous and immortal, who are of eternal life and eternal benefit, the males who dwell side by side with good thought, and the females who (do) so as well.

39,4 *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā māŋghācā vaocascā dåscā varəščā yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahī aθā cīšmahī aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē aθā nəmaźiiāmahī aθā išūidiiāmahī θβā mazdā ahurā*

39,4 Just as Thou, O Wise Ahura, didst conceive, and pronounce, and create, and work (all) the good (things), so we offer (and) commit (them) to Thee, so we worship Thee with them, so we revere, so we invigorate Thee (with them), O Wise Ahura.

39,5 *vaŋhəuš xᵛaētəuš xᵛaētātā vaŋhəuš aŋšahiiā θβā pairijasāmaidē vaŋhuiiå +fsəratuuō vaŋhuiiå ārmatōiš*

39,5 We attend Thee with the relations of a good family, of good truth, of good enjoyment, (and) of good right-mindedness.

Yasna 40

40,1 *āhū aŋ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā mazdąmcā būiricā kərəšuuā rāitī tōi xra-paitī ahmaŋ hiiaŋ aibī. hiiaŋ mīždəm [m]auuaēθəm fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā*

40,1 At these apportionments, O Wise Ahura, gain knowledge -and (do it) largely- of (that) which has form with us through Thy munificence. The firm prize which Thou hast presented to (our) religious views, O Wise Ahura:

40,2 *ahiiā huuō nə dāidī ahmāicā ahuiiē manaźiiāicā taŋ ahiiā yā taŋ upā.-jamiiāmā tauuacā haxəmā aŋšaźiiācā vīspāi yauuē.*

40,2 do Thou grant us (a share) of that (prize) for both, this (corporeal) existence and the mental one, (and do grant) that (share) of it through which we might reach that, (namely) Thy fellowship and (that) of truth, for all time.

40,3 *dāidī aŋ nərąš mazdā ahurā aŋšāunō aŋšacinaŋhō aidiiūš vāstriiəŋg darəgāi īžiiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiiā.ahmā.rafənaŋhō*

40,3 Do Thou grant (us), O Wise Ahura, men (who are) truthful, loving truth, good-natured herdsmen, (with a view) to a long-lasting, abundant, (and) permanent fellowship, (men) who offer (support) to us and who enjoy (support) from us.

40,4 *aθā xᵛaētūš aθā vərəzənā aθā +haxəmąm źiiāŋ yāiš hišcamaidē. aθā və utā źiiāmā mazdā ahurā aŋšauuanō ərəšiiā ištəm rāitī*

40,4 Thus may the families be, thus the communities, thus the fellowships which we follow. Thus may we be in Your favour, O Wise Ahura, (we) the truthful (ones), with enthusiastic bestowal of what is desired.

Yasna 41

41,1 *stūtō garō vahmēŋg ahurāi mazdāi aŋ̊āicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ācā āuuaēdaiiamahī*

41,1 Praises, welcomes, (and) laudations we offer, we proclaim [commit] and dedicate to the Wise Ahura and to Best Truth.

41,2 *vohū xšaθrəm tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yauuē. huxšaθrastū nā nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō aŋhuuō hātąm hudāstəmā*

41,2 May we reach Thy good rule, O Wise Ahura, for all time. May a good ruler, man or woman, thus assume rule over us in both existences, O most munificent one among those who exist.

41,3 *humāīm θβā ɨžīm yazatəm aŋ̊aŋhācim dadəmaidē. aθā tū nə gaiiascā astaṇtâscā ɨiâ ubōiiō aŋhuuō hātąm hudāstəmā*

41,3 We elect Thee, the blessed (and) abundant Yazata, (Thee) who agreest with truth. Thus mayest Thou be for us both, life and frame in both existences, O most munificent one among those who exist.

41,4 *hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā θβahmī rafənahī darəgāiiāu aēšācā θβā ōmauuaṇtascā buiiamā rapōiščā tū nə darəgəmcā uštācā hātąm hudāstəmā*

41,4 May we deserve (a prize), and may we win Thy long-lasting support, O Wise Ahura, and may we become vigorous and impetuous through Thee, and mayest Thou support us for a long time and as we desire, O most munificent one among those who exist.

41,5 *θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā. hiiaŋ̊ mīždəm [m]auuaēθəm fradadāθā daēnābiiō mazdā ahurā*

41,5 We declare ourselves Thy praisers and disciples, O Wise Ahura, and we are willing, and we are taking our positions. The firm prize which Thou hast presented to (our) religious views, O Wise Ahura:

41,6 *ahiiā huuō nə dāidī ahmāicā ahuiiē manaɨiiāicā taŋ̊ ahiiā yā taŋ̊ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm aŋ̊aɨiiācā vīspāi yauuē*

41,6 do Thou grant us (a share) of that (prize) for both this (corporeal) existence and the mental one, (do Thou grant) that (share) of it through which we might reach that, (namely) Thy shelter and (that) of truth, for all time.

Yasna 43-46: *Uštauuaitī Gāθā*

Yasna 43: *Uštauuaitī Hāiti*

43,1 *uštā ahmāi # yahmāi uštā kahmāicīŋ̊*
vasō.xšaiiąs # mazdâ dāiiāŋ̊ ahurō
utaiiūitī # təuuīšīm gaŋ̊ tōi vasəmī
aŋ̊əm dərəidiiāi # taŋ̊ mōi dâ ārmaitē
rāiiō aŋ̊tš # vaŋhəuš gaēm manaŋhō

43,1 [*abc*] I wish that, as desired, might(iness) along with stability
should come to him to whomsoever the Wise Ahura,
ruling at (His) will, may grant the (things) desired,
Grant me truth, O Right-Mindedness, so that (I) may seize it,
(with) rewards (consisting) of wealth (and) a life of good thought.

43,2 *aŋ̊cā ahmāi # vīspaną̄m vahištəm*
xᵛāθrōiiā # nā xᵛāθrəm daidītā
θβā ciciθβā # spāništā mainiiū mazdā
⁺yâ dâ aŋ̊ā # vaŋhəuš māiiâ manaŋhō
vīspā aiiārə # darəgō.jiiātōiš uruuādaŋhā

43,2 [*ab*] And may the man in (the domain of) comfort
obtain for himself the best of all (things), (namely) comfort,
-perceptive through Thy most prosperous spirit, O Wise One-
(as well as) the blessings of good thought which Thou grantest
through truth,
on all days, along with the joy of a long life.

43,3 *aŋ huuō vaŋhāuš # vahiiō nā aibī.jəmiiāŋ*
yə nå ərəzūš # sauuaŋhō paθō siščiŋ
ahiiā aŋhāuš # astuuatō manaŋhascā
haiθiiəŋg +ā +stiš # yəŋg +ā.šaēitī ahurō
arədrō θβāuuąs # huzəŋtušə spəŋtō mazdā

43,3 May that man attain (what is) better than good,
(that man) who might show us the straight paths of benefit
of this corporeal existence and (of that) of thought,
the true (paths leading) to the possessions, which an Ahura inhabits,
a zestful one, One such as Thou, well-acquainted (with us, and) prosperous,
O Wise One.

43,4 *aŋ θβā mōŋghāi # taxməmcā spəŋtəm mazdā*
hiiaŋ tā zastā # yā tū hafšī auuå
yå då aŋšiš # drəguuāitē aŋšāunaēcā
θβahiiā garəmā # āθrō aŋšā.aojaŋhō
hiiaŋ mōi vaŋhāuš # hazə jimaŋ manaŋhō

43,4 I shall realise that Thou art brave and prosperous, O Wise One,
when from that hand with which Thou holdest those
rewards which Thou assignest to the deceitful one and to the truthful one
by the heat of Thy fire (which is) strong through truth,
when (from that hand) the superiority of good thought will have come to me.

43,5 *spəŋtəm aŋ θβā # mazdā +mōŋhī ahurā*
hiiaŋ θβā aŋhāuš # zaθōi darəsəm paouruuīm
hiiaŋ då šiiaoθanā # mīždauuąn yācā uxδā
akəm akāi # vaŋ^{v}hīm aŋšīm vaŋhaouuē
θβā hunarā # dāmōiš uruuaēsē apəmē

43,5 I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura,
when I see Thee, the Primal One, (engaged) in the begetting of existence,
while Thou assignest to actions their prize as well as to statements,
(assigning) evil to the evil one, (but) a good reward to the good one,
by Thy skill, at the final turning point of creation.

43,6 *yahmī spəŋtā # θβā maiiniū uruuaēsē jasō*
+mazdå xšaθrā # ahmī vohū manaŋhā
yehiiā šiiaoθanāiš # gaēθå aŋšā frādəŋtē
aēibiiō ratūš # səŋghaitī ārmaitiš
θβahiiā zratəuš # yəm naēciš dābaiieitī

43,6 At (that) turning point to which Thou comest with Thy prosperous spirit,
wise through (Thy) power, there -on account of good thought
by the actions of which the herds are promoted with truth-
Right-mindedness pronounces for those (present) the judgments
of Thy intellect which nobody (can) deceive.

43,7 *spəŋtəm aŋ θβā # mazdā +mōŋhī ahurā*
hiiaŋ mā vohū # pairī.jasaŋ manaŋhā
pərəsaŋcā mā # ciš ahī kahiiā ahī
kaθā +aiiarə # daxšārā fərasaiiāi dīšā
aibī θβāhū # gaēθāhū tanušicā

43,7 I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura,
when one attends me with good thought
and asks me: 'Who art thou? Whose art thou?
Why wouldst thou get a date for consultation, O zealous one,
regarding thy herds and thyself?'

43,8 *aŋ hōi aojī # zaraθuštrō paouruuīm*
haiθiiō duuaēšå # hiiaŋ isōiiā drəguuāitē
aŋ aŋšāunē # rafənō xiiəm +aojōŋhuuaŋ
hiiaŋ +ā +būštiš # vasasə.xšaθrahiiā diiā
yauuaŋ.ā θβā # mazdā +staomī ufiiācā

43,8 Then I say to him: "First: (I am) Zaraθuštra."
"(Secondly:) Since I, a true (person), would seek (as allies for myself),
enemies of the deceitful one,
I could be a strong support for the truthful one
if I might gain the adornments of one who exercises power at (his) will,
according to how much I praise and extol Thee, O Wise One."

43,9 *spəṇtəm aṯ ϑβā # mazdā +māŋhī ahurā*
hiiaṯ mā vohū # pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā
ahiiā fərasəm # kahmāi vīuuīduiiē vaŋī
aṯ ā ϑβahmāi # āϑrē rātąm nəmaŋhō
aŋ̊ahiiā mā # yauuaṯ isāi maniiāi

43,9 I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura,
when one attends me with good thought, (asking):
"For whose sake dost thou wish to know details (about) its (good thoughts) consultation?"
[*de*] (Then I answer:) "For Thy fire I will consider the bestowal of reverence for truth as much as may be in my command."

43,10 *aṯ tū mōi dāiš # aŋ̊əm hiiaṯ mā zaozaomī*
ārmaitī # hacimnō īṯ ārəm
pərəsācā nå # yā tōi əhmā parštā
parštəm zī ϑβā # +yaϑənā taṯ əmauuatąm
hiiaṯ ϑβā xšaiiąs # aēšəm diiāṯ əmauuaṇtəm

43,10 Show me the truth for which I am calling
-in agreement with right-mindedness I have come for it-
and ask us which (are) the questions (to be asked) by us of Thee.
For a question (asked) by Thee is like that of impetuous persons
if one who exercises power might have made Thee vigorous (and) impetuous.

43,11 *spəṇtəm aṯ ϑβā # mazdā +māŋhī ahurā*
hiiaṯ mā vōhū # pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā
hiiaṯ xšmā uzδāiš # dīdaiŋhē paouruuīm
sādrā mōi sąs # maŋ̊iiaēšū +zrazdāitiš
taṯ vərəziieidiiāi # hiiaṯ mōi mraotā vahištəm

43,11 I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura,
when one attends me with good thought.
Since through statements (voiced) by You, I learn (about) the primal (stage of existence)
confidence in mortals appears distressing to me.
Let me do what You tell me (to be) the best.

43,12 *hiiaṯcā mōi mraoš # aŋ̊əm jasō frāxšnənē*
aṯ tū mōi nōiṯ # asruštā pairiiaoŋžā
+uzirəidiiāi # parā hiiaṯ mōi ā.jimaṯ
səraošō aŋ̊ī # mązā.raiiā hacimnō
yā vī aŋ̊iš # rānōibiiō sauuōi [vī]dāiiāṯ

43,12 And when Thou tellest me: "With foresight thou reachest truth",
then Thou givest me orders (which will) not (be) disobeyed.
[*cd*] Let me arise before (Recompense for) Obedience
will have come to me, followed by wealth-granting Reward,
who at the benefaction will distribute the rewards according to (the respective) balances.

43,13 *spəṇtəm aṯ ϑβā # mazdā +māŋhī ahurā*
hiiaṯ mā vohū # pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā
arəϑā vōizdiiāi # kāmahiiā təm mōi dātā
darəgahiiā +yaoš # yəm vå +naēciš dārəšt itē
vairiiå stōiš # yā ϑβahmī xšaϑrōi vācī

43,13 I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura,
when one attends me with good thought,
to take heed of the (dutiful) purposes of (my) desire. This You have imparted to me:
(the desire) for a long life, which nobody obliges You to agree,
(and) for a desirable possession which is said (to be) in Thy power.

43,14 *hiiaṯ nā friiāi # +vaēdəmnō isuuā daidīṯ*
maibiiō mazdā # tauuā rafənō frāxšnənəm
hiiaṯ ϑβā xšaϑrā # aŋ̊āṯ hacā frąštā
+uzirəidiiāi # +azā sarədanå səŋghahiiā
maṯ tāiš vīspāiš # yōi tōi mąϑrå marəṇtī

43,14 What a wealthy man would grant to a friend (when) accepting (him),
(grant) me (that), O Wise One, (namely) Thy support, (and) the foresight
which through Thy power one attains in accordance with truth.
Let me arise to drive away the challengers of (Thy) proclamation
together with all those who memorise Thy formulas.

43,15 *spəṇtəm aṯ ϑβā # mazdā +məŋ́hī ahurā*
hiiaṯ mā vohū # pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā
daxšaṯ ušiiāi # tušnā maitiš vahištā
nōiṯ nā pourūš # drəguuatō ẋiiāṯ cixšnušō
aṯ tōi vīspə̄ṇg # aṇgrə̄ṇg +aṣ̌aonō ādarə̄

43,15 I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura,
when one attends me with good thought.
An appeased desire is best suited to the intelligent one.
A man should not try to satisfy the many deceitful.
For these declare all harmful persons to be truthful.

43,16 *aṯ ahurā # huuō mainiiūm zaraϑuštrō*
vərəṇtē mazdā # yastē ciščā spə̄ṇištō
astuuaṯ aṣ̌əm # ẋiiāṯ uštānā +aojōŋhuuaṯ
x^{v}ə̄ṇg darəsōi # xšaϑrōi ẋiiāṯ ārmaitiš
aṣ̌īm šiiaoϑanāiš # vohū daidīṯ manaŋhā

43,16 [*ab*] O Ahura, this Zaraϑuštra chooses whichever spirit(is) Thy most prosperous one, O Wise One.
May corporeal truth be available, strong with vitality,
in the view of the sun. May there be right-mindedness in one's power.
May one grant reward through actions (inspired) by good thought.

Yasna 44: *Taṯ ϑβā pərəsā Hāiti*

44,1 *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
nəmaŋhō ā # yaϑā nəmə̄ xšmāuuatō
mazdā friiāi # ϑβāuuąs saẋiiāṯ mauuaitē
aṯ nə̄ aṣ̌ā # friiā dazdiiāi hākurənā
yaϑā nə̄ ā # vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā

44,1 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
On account of (my) reverence, how reverence to One such as You (should be),
O Wise One, One such as Thou should announce to one such as me, His friend.
Let friendly fellowships be granted us by truth
so that one may come to us with good thought.

44,2 *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaϑā aŋhə̄uš # vahištahiiā paouruuīm
kāϑə̄ sūidiiāi # yə̄ ī paitišāṯ
huuō zī aṣ̌ā # spəṇtō irixtəm vīspōibiiō
hārō mainiiū # +ahūm.biš uruuaϑō mazdā

44,2 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Of what kind (is) the primal (stage) of best existence?
The One who will restore pleasant conditions so that (we) may enjoy benefit,
[*de*] that One, indeed, prosperous through truth, (is) recording with (His) spirit the net assets for all (people), the healer of existence, the ally, (Thou) O Wise One.

44,3 *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kasnā zą̄ϑā # +ptā aṣ̌ahiiā pouruiiō
kasnā x^{v}ə̄ṇg # +strə̄mcā dāṯ aduuānəm
kə̄ yā mā̊ # uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī ϑβaṯ
tācīṯ mazdā # vasəmī aniiācā vīduiiē

44,3 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Who (is) through (His) begetting the primal father of Truth?
Who assigned the course of the sun and of the stars (its proper place)?
Who (is He) through whom the moon (now) waxes, now wanes?
These (are) the very (things) I wish to know, and other (things), O Wise One.

44,4 *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kasnā dərətā # zą̄mcā adə̄ nabā̊scā
auuapastōiš # kə̄ apō uruuarā̊scā
kə̄ vātāi # duuąnmaibiiascā yaogəṯ āsū
kasnā vaŋhə̄uš # mazdā dąmiš manaŋhō

44,4 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Who holds the earth down below, and the heavens (above)
(to prevent them) from falling, who (holds) the waters and plants?
Who yokes the swift teams to the wind and the clouds?
Who (is) the creator of good thought, O Wise One?

44,5 *taŋ̊ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kə̄ huuāpå # raocåscā dāŋ̊ təmåscā
kə̄ huuāpå # xᵛafnəmcā dāŋ̊ zaēmācā
kə̄ yā ušå # arəm.piθβā xšapācā
yå manaoθrīš # cazdōŋhuuaŋtəm arəθahiiā

44,5 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Which artist created both, light and darkness?
Which artist assigned both, sleep and waking (to their proper time)?
Who (is He) through whom dawn, noon, and nightfall (exist)
which remind a responsible (person) of (his dutiful) purpose?

44,6 *taŋ̊ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
yā frauuazšiiā # yezī tā aθā haiθiiā
ašəm šiiaoθanāiš # dəbązaitī ārmaitiš
taibiiō xšaθrəm # vohū cinas manaŋhā
kaēibiiō azīm # ⁺rāniiō.skərəitīm gąm tašō

44,6 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura,
-in case those (words) which I shall (now) pronounce are true,
as follows:
"By (its) actions right-mindedness consolidates truth;
with good thought it commits the power to Thee"-
(This I ask Thee:) For what people didst Thou fashion
the joy-providing fertile cow?

44,7 *taŋ̊ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kə̄ bərəzdąm tāšt # xšaθrā maŋ̊ ārmaitīm
kə̄ uzəmōm cōrəŋ̊ # viiānaiiā puθrəm piθrē
azəm tāiš θβā # frazšnī auuāmī mazdā
spəŋtā mainiiū # vīspanąm dātārəm

44,7 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Who fashioned esteemed right-mindedness along with power?
Who in (His) spiritedness provides a father with an outstanding son?
With these (questions) I in foresight assist Thee, O Wise One,
with prosperous spirit, (Thee), the creator of all (things).

44,8 *taŋ̊ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
⁺mənḍāidiiāi # yā tōi mazdā ādištiš
yācā vohū # uxδā fraši manaŋhā
yācā aṣ̌ā # aŋhāuš arəm vaēidiiāi
kā mə̄ uruuā # vohū ⁺uruuāxšaŋ̊ āgəmaŋ̊.tā

44,8 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura,
so that (I) may note in (my) mind what (is) Thy advice, O Wise One,
as well as the statements about which I take counsel with good thought
and (those) about which (I take counsel) with truth, with a view to an
appropriate possession of existence:
Along which (road) may my soul proceed to the good (things) to come?

44,9 *taŋ̊ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā mōi yąm # yaoš daēnąm [yaož]dānē
yąm ⁺hudānaoš # paitišə saźiiāŋ̊ xšaθrahiiā
ərəšuuā xšaθrā # θβāuuąs ⁺asištiš mazdā
hadəmōi aṣ̌ā # vohucā šiiąs manaŋhā

44,9 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
[*bc*] How might the Master of Power announce to me the religious view
which I may purify for myself, that of a generous person,
(announce) through His lofty power, One such as Thou, very vigorous,
O Wise One,
dwelling in (His) abode with truth and good thought?

44,10 *taŋ̊ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
tąm daēnąm # yā hātąm vahištā
yā mōi gaēθå # aṣ̌ā frādōiŋ̊ hacēmnā
ārmatōiš # uxδāiš šiiaoθanā ərəš daidiiaŋ̊
maźiiå cistōiš # θβā ⁺išTiš usən mazdā

44,10 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
That religion which (is) the best (among the religions) of those who exist
(and) which, in agreement with truth, might promote my herds:
[*ed*] does the vigour of my insight, (inspired) by Thee, O Wise One, at will
observe plainly (that religion), through the action (inspired) by the
statements of right-mindedness?

44,11 *taŋ̇ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaϑā tāŋg ā # vīϳəmiiāŋ̇ ārmaitiš
yaēibiiō mazdā # ϑβōi vašiietē daēnā
azəm tōi āiš # pouruiiō frauuōiuuīdē
vīspəŋg aniiəŋg # +mainiiəuš spasiiā duuaēšaŋhā

44,11 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
How might right-mindedness extend to those (such as me)
from whom Thy religion wells forth, O Wise One?
I, along with these, am the first to commit myself to Thee.
All others I look upon with an enmity of spirit.

44,12 *taŋ̇ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kā aŋ̇auuā # yāiš pərəsāi drəguuå vā
katārəm ā # aŋgrō vā huuō vā aŋgrō
yə mā drəguuå # ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē
+ciiəŋghaŋ̇ huuō # nōiŋ̇ aiiəm aŋgrō +mainiietē

44,12 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Who (is) truthful? (You) with whom I wish to take counsel,
or the deceitful one?
Which of the two (applies)? (Is) He harmful (with whom I wish to take
counsel), or is that one harmful,
(that) deceitful one who (intends) to obstruct Thy benefits?
Evidently the latter, not the former, harmful, intends (to obstruct them).

44,13 *taŋ̇ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaϑā drujəm # niš ahmaŋ̇ ā [niš.ϳhāšāmā
tāŋg ā auuā # yōi asruštōiš pərənåŋhō
nōiŋ̇ aŋ̇ahiiā # ādīuuiieiŋtī +hacənā
nōiŋ̇ frasaiiā # vaŋhəuš cāznarə manaŋhō

44,13 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
How can we chase deceit out of ourselves,
towards those who (are) full of disobedience,
(who) neither strive for the benevolence of truth
nor are pleased by consultation of good thought.

44,14 *taŋ̇ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaϑā aŋ̇āi # drujəm diiąm zastaiiō
nī hīm mərąždiiāi # ϑβahiiā mąϑrāiš sāŋghahiiā
āmauuaitīm # siŋąm dāuuōi drəguuasū
ā iš duuafšəŋg # mazdā [aϳhāšē ąstąscā

44,14 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
How might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth?
Let (me) sweep it out with the formulas of Thy proclamation.
Bring (Thy) impetuous weapon (down) upon the deceitful,
(and) bring ill and harm over them, O Wise One.

44,15 *taŋ̇ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
yezī ahiiā # aŋ̇ā pōi maŋ̇ zšaiiehī
hiiaŋ̇ həm spādā # anaocaŋhā jamaētē
auuāiš uruuātāiš # yā tū mazdā dīdərəžō
kuϑrā aiiå # kahmāi vananąm dadå

44,15 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura,
in case Thou hast power (to do so) in order to protect me with truth:
When the two warring hosts will confront each other
because of those rules which Thou wishest to establish, O Wise One,
to which side of the two (sides), to whom wilt Thou assign the victory?

44,16 *taŋ̇ ϑβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kā vərəϑrəm.jā # ϑβā pōi sāŋghā yōi həŋtī
ciϑrā mōi dąm # +ahūm.biš ratūm cīždī
aŋ̇ hōi vohū # səraošō jaŋtū manaŋhā
mazdā ahmāi # yahmāi vaši kahmāicīŋ̇

44,16 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Who (is) a resistance-breaker (able) to protect (those) who exist,
by Thy proclamation?
Accord (as) a judgment bright (things to be) in my house,
O Healer of existence.
Let (recompense for) obedience come to him through good thought,
O Wise One, to him, to whomsoever Thou wishest.

44,17 *taŋ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā mazdā # zarəm carānī hacā xšmaŋ
+āskəitīm xšmākąm # hiiaŋcā mōi ziiāŋ vāxš aēšō
sarōi būždiiāi # hauruuātā amərətātā
auuā mąθrā # yə rāθəmō aŋšāŋ hacā

44,17 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
How may I proceed towards my goal in accordance with You, O Wise One,
(towards) Your attachment (to me), and so that my voice might be
vigorous (enough)
to adorn, to (serve as) shelter, both, integrity and immortality
with that formula which (is) dependent on truth.

44,18 *taŋ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā aŋšā # taŋ mīždəm hanānī
dasā aspå # +aršənuuaitīš uštrəmcā
hiiaŋ mōi mazdā # apiuuaitī hauruuātā
amərətātā # yaθā hī +taibiiō dåŋhā

44,18 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Shall I deserve that prize through truth,
(namely) ten mares with a stallion, and a camel,
which secures for me, O Wise One, integrity
(and) immortality, just as Thou takest these for Thyself.

44,19 *taŋ θβā pərəsā # ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
yastaŋ mīždəm # hanəṇtē nōiŋ dāitī
yə iŋ ahmāi # ərəžuxδā nā dāitē
kā təm ahiiā # +maēniš aŋhaŋ +pauruiiē
vīduuå auuąm # yā īm aŋhaŋ apəmā

44,19 This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
He who will not award such a prize to him who deserves it,
to the man who shall obtain it for himself on account of a plain statement:
what chastisement for that will befall him in (his) primal (existence)?
(This I ask Thee) knowing that (chastisement) which will befall him
(as) final.

44,20 *ciθənā mazdā # huzšaθrā daēuuā åŋharə*
aŋ iŋ pərəsā # yōi pišiiciṇtī aēibiiō kąm
yāiš gąm karapā # usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā
yācā kauuā # ąnmənē urūdōiiatā
nōiŋ hīm mīzən # aŋšā vāstrəm frādaiŋhē

44,20 Have there ever been Daēvas of good rule, O Wise One?
But let me ask that (of those) who block pleasure, in accordance
with those (words)
(with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful)
(treatment),
and which the Kavi laments to the wind.
They do not foster her (the cow) to promote (herds in) the pasture
with truth.

Yasna 45: *Aŋ frauuaxšiiā Hāiti*

45,1 *aŋ frauuaxšiiā # nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā*
yaēcā asnāŋ # yaēcā dūrāŋ išaθā
nū īm vīspā # ciθrə zī mazdåŋhō.dūm
nōiŋ daibitīm # duš.sastiš ahūm mərąšiiāŋ
akā varanā # drəguå +hizuuā +āuuarətō

45,1 I shall (now) proclaim (a message), listen now, hear now,
O You who approach from both, near and far.
Now You shall all take note of (existence), for it is bright.
May the blasphemer not destroy existence for a second time,
the deceitful one, by (his) evil choice, invited by (words
voiced by) one's tongue.

45,2 *aŋ frauuaxšiiā # aŋhəuš mainiiū paouruiiē*
yaiiå spaniiå # ūitī mrauuaŋ yəm aŋgrəm
nōiŋ nā manå # nōiŋ səŋghā nōiŋ xratauuō
naēdā varanā # nōiŋ uxδā naēdā šiiaoδanā
nōiŋ daēnå # nōiŋ uruqnō haciŋtē

45,2 I shall (now) proclaim the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage) of one's existence
of whom the more prosperous one shall address the harmful one:
"Neither our thoughts, nor our pronouncements, nor our intellects,
nor our choices, nor our statements, nor our actions,
nor our religious views, nor our souls, agree."

45,3 *aŋ frauuaxšiiā # aŋhāuš ahiiā +paouruūm*
+yąm mōi vīduuå # mazdå vaocaŋ ahurō
yōi īm vā nōiŋ # iθā mąθrəm varəšəŋtī
yaθā īm # mənāicā vaocacā
aēibiiō aŋhəuš # auuōi aŋhaŋ apāməm

45,3 I shall(now) proclaim the primal (formula) of this existence,
which the knowing (one), the Wise Ahura told me (saying):
"(For those) among you who will not apply the formula
in the way in which I shall conceive and pronounce it,
for them 'woe' will be the last (word) of (their) existence."

45,4 *aŋ frauuaxšiiā # aŋhəuš ahiiā vahištəm*
aŋšāŋ hacā # mazdā vaēdā yə īm dāŋ
+ptarəm vaŋhəuš # vərəzaiiaŋtō manaŋhō
aŋ hōi dugədā # hušiiaoδanā ārmaitiš
nōiŋ diβžaidiiāi # vīspā.hišas ahurō

45,4 I shall (now) proclaim the best one of this existence.
In accordance with truth, I know the One who created it,
O Wise One,
(I know) the father of refreshing good thought;
also His daughter is Right-Mindedness of good works.
The all-seeing Ahura is not to be deceived.

45,5 *aŋ frauuaxšiiā # hiiaŋ mōi mraoŋ spəŋtō.təmō*
vacā srūidiiāi # hiiaŋ marətaēibiiō vahištəm
yōi mōi ahmāi # səraošəm dąn caiiascā
upā.jimən # hauruuātā amərətātā
vaŋhəuš +mainiiəuš # šiiaoδanāiš mazdå ahurō

45,5 I shall (now) proclaim (the word) which the Most Prosperous One told me,
the word which is the best to be listened to by mortals.
Whosoever will show me obedience to it here,
(those) will attain integrity and immortality.
The Ahura (will) remember (that) with actions of good spirit.

45,6 *aŋ frauuaxšiiā # vīspaną̊m mazištəm*
stauuas aŋšā # yə hudå yōi həŋtī
spəŋtā mainiiū # sraotū mazdå ahurō
yehiiā vahmē # vohū fraši manaŋhā
ahiiā xratū # frō mā sāstū vahištā

45,6 I shall (now) proclaim the Greatest One of all,
praising with truth (Him) who (is) munificent (towards those) who exist.
Let the Wise Ahura listen with prosperous spirit.
He at whose laudation I take counsel with good thought,
with His intellect let Him teach me the best (things).

45,7 *yehiiā sauuā # išåŋtī rādaŋhō*
yōi zī juuā # åŋharəcā buuaŋticā
amərətāitī # +aŋaonō uruuā aēšō
utaiiūtā # yā nərąš sādrā drəguuatō
tācā xšaθrā # mazdå dąmiš ahurō

45,7 With the benefit of whose (the Wise One's) bounty (the Ahuras) will approach (us),
(the Ahuras) who indeed (are) living (now), and have existed, and will exist;
the soul of (that) Truthful One (is) vigorous in immortality
(and) in stability, which which distresses the deceitful men.
Through that very power the Wise Ahura (is) creative.

45,8 *tām nā staotāiš # nəmaŋhō ā.vīuuarəšō*
nū zīṯ # cašmainī viiādarəsəm
vaŋhāuš mainiiāuš # šiiaoθanahiiā uzèaźiiācā
vīduš aṣ̌ā # yəm mazdąm ahurəm
aṯ hōi vahmāŋg # dəmānē garō nidāmā

45,8 (While) trying to invite Him with the praises of our reverence,
I have just now seen (Him) in (my) eye,
[*d*] Him, the Wise Ahura, (I as) a witness with truth
[*c*] to the action and statement of good spirit.
For Him, we deposit laudations in the house of welcome.

45,9 *tām nā vohū # maṯ manaŋhā cizšnušō*
yə nā usən # cōrəṯ spāŋcā aspāŋcā
mazdå zšaθrā # +varəzī +nå diiāṯ ahurō
pasūš vīrāŋg # ahmākāŋg fradaθāi.ā
vaŋhāuš aṣ̌ā # haoząθβāṯ ā manaŋhō

45,9 (I am) trying to satisfy Him with our good thought,
(Him) who at will produces for us both, fortune and misfortune.
May the Ahura, wise through (His) power, place us in freshness
so as to promote our cattle and men
in accordance with the good acquaintance of good thought with truth.

45,10 *tām nā yasnāiš # ārmatōiš mimaŋžō*
yə ąnmānī # mazdå srāuuī ahurō
hiiaṯ hōi aṣ̌ā # vohucā cōišt manaŋhā
zšaθrōi hōi # hauruuātā amərətātā
ahmāi stōi dąn # təuuišī utaiiūitī

45,10 (I am) trying to present Him with the worship [pl.] of our right-mindedness,
the Ahura who in the wind is heard (as being) the Wise One.
(In the power) which one has committed to Him through truth
and good thought,
[*de*] in His power, (people) place integrity and immortality, might
and stability, to be (available) to Him.

45,11 *yastā daēuuāŋg # aparō maṯiiąscā*
tarā.mąstā # yōi īm +tarə.mainiiaṇtā
aniiāŋg ahmāṯ # yə hōi +arəm mainiiātā
saošiiaṇtō dəŋg # patōiš spəṇtā daēnā
uruuaθō +brātā # +ptā vā mazdā ahurā

45,11 [*ab*] The other one, (Zaraθuštra), who (inspired) by Him
made up his mind to scorn Daēvas and mortals who (in turn)
scorn Him,
those other than that one who behaves right-mindedly
towards Him:
by the prosperous religion of the beneficent landlord
(that other one is treated as) an ally, a brother or a father,
O Wise Ahura.

Yasna 46: *Kamnamaēzā Hāiti*

46,1 *+kąm nəmōi ząm # kuθrā nəmōi aiienī*
pairī xᵛaētəuš # +airiiamnascā dadaitī
nōiṯ mā zšnāuš # yā vərəzənā hācā
naēdā daźiiāuš # yōi sāstārō drəguuaṇtō
kaθā θβā # mazdā zšnaošāi ahurā

46,1 (To) which piece of land shall I (go to) graze (my cattle)?
Where shall I go to graze (them)?
They keep (me) away from (their) family and tribe.
The community which I wish to join does not satisfy me
nor (do) the deceitful tyrants of the land.
How shall I satisfy Thee, O Wise Ahura?

46,2 *vaēdā taŋ yā # ahmī mazdā anaēšō*
mā kamnafšuuā # hiiaŋcā kamnānā ahmī
gərəzōi tōi # ā īŋ [a]huuaēnā ahurā
rafəδrəm caguuå # hiiaŋ frīiō frīiāi daidīŋ
āzsō vaŋhəuš # aṣ̌ā īštīm manaŋhō

46,2 I know wherefore I am lacking in vigour, O Wise One.
(It is) on account of the scantiness of my cattle stock,
and because I am one of few men (only).
I complain to Thee. Look hither, O Ahura,
extending (such) support as a friend would grant a friend.
Look upon the vigour of good thought, (inspired) by truth.

46,3 *kadā mazdā # yōi uzšānō asnąm*
aŋhāuš darəθrāi # frō aṣ̌ahiiā [fr]ārəṇtē
vərəzdāiš səŋghāiš # saošiiaṇtąm zratauuō
kaēibiiō ūθāi # vohū ϊmaŋ manaŋhā
maibiiō θβā # sąstrāi vərənē ahurā

46,3 When, O Wise One, will (those) bulls of the days
rise above existence so that (people) may seize truth
with increased proclamations, (those) intellects of the benefactors?
To which people will one come with good thought to (provide them
with) fat?
(That) I request Thee, O Ahura, to tell me.

46,4 *aŋ tāŋg drəguuå # yāŋg aṣ̌ahiiā važdrāŋg pāŋ*
gå frōrətōiš # šōiθrahiiā vā daẓiiāuš vā
dužazōbå hąs # x̌āiš šiiaoθanāiš ahəmustō
yastəm xšaθrāŋ # mazdā mōiθaŋ jiiātəuš vā
huuō tāŋg frō.gå # paθmāŋg hucistōiš +caraŋ

46,4 But the deceitful one prevents those conveyors of truth,
(those) oxen, from rising above district and land,
being of evil spells, discontented with his own actions.
He who may deprive him of (his) power and livelihood, O Wise One,
may make those (oxen) the leaders of the flight of good insight.

46,5 *yə vā xšaiiąs # adąs drītā aiiaṇtəm*
uruuātōiš vā # huzāṇtuš miθrōibiiō vā
rašnā juuąs # yə aṣ̌auuā drəguuaṇtəm
vīcirō hąs # taŋ frō x^{v}aētauuē mruiiāŋ
uzūiθiiōi īm # mazdā zrūniiāŋ ahurā

46,5 [*ab*] If a (truthful) landowner were to take in (a deceitful person)
who approaches (him), by providing (him with) accomodation, (being)
well-acquainted (with him) in by stipulation, or contracts,-
[*cd*] (if such) a truthful one, living in rectitude (and) having judicial
authority, (were to take in such) a deceitful (person), he should tell
the fact to (his own) family,
to protect that (deceitful person) against bloodshed, O Wise Ahura.

46,6 *aŋ yastām nōiŋ # nā isəmnō āiiāŋ*
drūjō huuō # dāmąn +haēθahiiā gāŋ
huuō zī drəguuå # yə drəguuāitē vahištō
huuō aṣ̌auuā # yahmāi aṣ̌auuā frīiō
hiiaŋ daēnå # paouruiiå då ahurā

46,6 But were such a (deceitful person) not to approach that (landowner)
(as) a man seeking (help),
in (his) search for partnership let him go to the abodes of deceit.
For that one (counts as) deceitful who (is) best to the deceitful one,
that one (counts as) truthful to whom a truthful one (is) a friend,
since Thou didst establish religious views (to be) primal, O Ahura.

46,7 *+kāmnā mazdā # mauuaitē pāiiūm +dadå*
hiiaŋ mā drəguuå # dīdarəšatā +aēnaŋhē
aniiəm θβahmāŋ # āθrascā manaŋhascā
yaiiå šiiaoθanāiš # aṣ̌əm θraoštā ahurā
tąm mōi dąstuuąm # daēnaiiāi frāuuaocā

46,7 (But) whom dost Thou appoint (as) guardian for one such as me, O Wise One,
when the deceitful one tries to seize me in order to injure (me),
(whom dost Thou appoint) other than Thy fire and thought,
with whose [du.] actions one nourishes truth, O Ahura?
Proclaim a message about that to my religious view.

46,8 *yə vā mōi yå # gaēθå dazdē +aēnaŋhē*
nōiṯ ahiiā mā # āθriš šiiaoθanāiš frōsiiāṯ
paitiiaogəṯ tā # ahmāi jasōiṯ duuaēšaŋhā
tanuuəm ā # yā īm hujiiātōiš pāiiāṯ
nōiṯ dužjiiātōiš # kācīṯ mazdā duuaēšaŋhā

46,8 And if someone aims at my herds to injure (them),
may destruction not reach me through his actions.
May these in response come upon him with hostility
onto his body, so that they may prevent him from (living) a good life,
not from (living) a bad life, however these (actions are), O Wise One,
all (of them may come upon him) with hostility.

46,9 *kə huuō yə mā # arədrō cōiθaṯ pouruiiō*
yaθā θβā # zəuuištīm +uzəmōhī
šiiaoθanōi spəṇtəm # ahurəm aŋauuanəm
yā tōi aŋā # yā aŋāi gəuš tašā mraoṯ
išəṇtī mā # tā tōi vohū manaŋhā

46,9 Who (is) that zestful one who may be the first to learn from me
in which way I have realised (that) Thou (art) the swiftest one,
prosperous in action, the truthful Ahura?
(The words) which the fashioner of the cow (speaks) to Thee with truth,
(and) which he speaks to Truth
regarding the one who might invigorate me, those (words he speaks)
to Thee with good thought.

46,10 *yə vā mōi nā # gənā vā mazdā ahurā*
dāiiāṯ aŋhāuš # yā tū vōistā vahištā
aŋīm aŋāi # vohū xšaθrəm manaŋhā
yąscā hazāi # xšmāuuatąm vahmāi.ā
frō tāiš vīspāiš # cinuuatō [fra]frā pərətūm

46,10 (That) man or woman, O Wise Ahura, who
will grant me (those things) which Thou knowest (to be) the best of existence,
reward for truth (and) power through good thought,
[*de*] and (those) whom I shall have spurred on to the laudation of Those
such as You: with all those, I shall cross over the account-keeper's bridge.

46,11 *xšaθrāiš yūjən # karapanō kāuuaiiascā*
akāiš šiiaoθanāiš # ahūm mərəŋgəidiiāi maŋīm
yəŋ x^{v}ə uruuā # x^{v}aēcā xraodaṯ daēnā
hiiaṯ aibī.gəmən # yaθrā cinuuatō pərətuš
yauuōi vispāi # drūjō dəmānāi astaiiō

46,11 Through (their) powers, the Karapans and Kavis yoke
a mortal one together with evil actions in order to destroy
(his) existence.
Their own soul and their own religious view will recoil from them
when they will have reached the place of the account-keeper's bridge,
(and they will remain) for all time guests (attached) to the house of
deceit.

46,12 *hiiaṯ us aŋā # naptiiaēšū nafšucā*
tūrahiiā [uz]jən # friiānahiiā aojiiaēšū
ārmatōiš # gaēθå frādō θβaxšaŋhā
aṯ tš vohū # həm.aibī.mōist manaŋhā
aēibiiō rafəθrāi # mazdå sastē ahurō

46,12 [*ab*] When He rises with truth among the reputable kindred
and descendants of Tūra the son of Friya,
(who was) promoting with zeal the herds of right-mindedness,
then He joins them together with good thought,
He, the Wise Ahura, at the (recompense) announced to them
for their support.

46,13 *yə spitāməm # zaraθuštrəm rādaŋhā*
marətaēšū xšnāuš # huuō nā +frasrūidiiāi +ərəθβō
aṯ hōi mazdå # ahūm dadāṯ ahurō
ahmāi gaēθå # vohū frādaṯ manaŋhā
təm və aŋā # məhmaidī huš.hazāim

46,13 [*ab*] (That man) among mortals who has satisfied Spitama Zaraθuštra
with bounteousness, that man is worthy of being celebrated.
The Wise Ahura grants him existence.
For him, He promotes herds with good thought.
We realise him (to be) a good friend to Your truth.

46,14 *zaraθuštrā # kastē aŋauuā uruuaθō*
mazōi magāi # kā vā +frasrūidiiāi vaštī
aŋ huuō kauuā # vīštāspō yāhī
yēṇgstū mazdā # hadəmōi minaš ahurā
tāṇg zbaiiā # vaŋhāuš uxδāiš manaŋhō

46,14 O Zaraθuštra, who (is) Thy truthful ally
for the great offering? Who wishes to be celebrated?
This Kavi Vištāspa (here) wishes (to be celebrated) at the sharing
(of good things).
(Those) whom Thou fosterest in (Thy) abode, O Wise Ahura,
those I will call with the statements of good thought.

46,15 *haēcaŋ.aspā # vaxšiiā və spitamāŋhō*
hiiaŋ dāθəṇg # vīcaiiaθā adāθąscā
tāiš yūš šiiaoθanāiš # aŋəm xšmaibiiā daduiiē
yāiš dātāiš # paouruiiāiš ahurahiiā
..... # .....

46,15 O Haēcaṭaspas, I shall tell You (now), You Spitamas,
that you shall discriminate between the just and the unjust.
You will obtain truth for yourselves through those actions
which (follow) the primal (orders) of the Ahura.
.....

46,16 *fəraŋaoštrā # aθrā tū arədrāiš idī*
huuō.guuā tāiš # yēṇg usuuahī uštā stōi
yaθrā aŋā # hacaitē ārmaitiš
yaθrā vaŋhāuš # manaŋhō ištā xšaθrəm
yaθrā mazdā # varədəmąm šaēitī ahurō

46,16 O Fraŋaoštra, go to that place with the zestful ones,
with those whom we wish to be as desired, O Hvōguva,
(to that place) where right-mindedness agrees with truth,
where power (is) in command of good thought,
(and) where the Wise Ahura dwells in prosperity; →

46,17 *yaθrā və # afšmānī sāṇghānī*
nōiŋ anafšmąm # dəjāmāspā huuō.guuā
hadā vāstā # vahmēṇg səraošā rādaŋhō
yə vīcinaoŋ # dāθəmcā adāθəmcā
daṇgrā maṇtū # aŋā mazdā ahurō

46,17 where I will proclaim your duties,
not (your) non-duties, O Jāmāspa Hvōguva,
as well as your lauds, in obedience to the Bountiful One
who discriminates between the just one and the unjust one
with (His) prudent counsellor, with truth, the Wise Ahura.

46,18 *yā maibiiā yaoš # ahmāi <h>ascīŋ vahištā*
maźiiā ištōiš # vohū cōišəm manaŋhā
ąstāṇg ahmāi # yā nā ąstāi daidītā
mazdā aŋā # xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmnō
taŋ mōi zratōuš # manaŋhascā vīciθəm

46,18 [*ab*] To him who is useful to me, I for my part promise
through good thought the best (things) in my command,
(but I promise) harm to him who would aim at us to harm us,
O Wise One, (thereby) satisfying Your will by truth.
Such is the discrimination (made) by my intellect and thought.

46,19 *yə mōi aŋāŋ # haiθīm hacā varəšaitī*
zaraθuštrāi # hiiaŋ vasnā fərašō.təməm
ahmāi mīždəm # hanəṇtē parāhūm
manō.vistāiš # maŋ vīspāiš gāuuā azī
tācīŋ mōi sąs # tuuəm mazdā vaēdištō

46,19 He who, in accordance with truth, will make real for me,
for Zaraθuštra, (that) which (is) most brillant in (my) imagination,
for me who deserve(s) a prize providing higher existence,
(namely) along with all (other) imaginable (things) two fertile cows:
through that very (person), Thou appearest to me (to be) the best
provider, O Wise One.

Yasna 47-50 *Spəṇtā.mainiiu Gāθā*

Yasna 47: *Spəṇtā.mainiiu Hāiti*

47,1 *spəṇtā mainiiū # vahištācā manaŋhā*
hacā aŋ̊āṯ # šiiaoθanācā vacaŋhācā
ahmāi dąn # hauruuātā amərətātā
mazdå xšaθrā # ārmaitī ahurō

47,1 With prosperous spirit and best thought,
with action and word in accordance with truth,
(those present) shall offer Him integrity and immortality.
The Ahura (will) remember (that) with power and right-mindedness.

47,2 *ahiiā +mainiiəuš # spəništahiiā vahištəm*
hizuuā uxδāiš # vaŋhəuš əəānū manaŋhō
ārmatōiš # zastōibiiā šiiaoθanā vərəziiaṯ
ōiiā cistī # huuō +ptā aŋ̊ahiiā mazdå

47,2 The best (manifestation) of this most prosperous spirit,
[*bc*] (namely) the actions of right-mindedness (to be performed)
with one's hands,
(inspired) by the statements (voiced) by (his) tongue in pursuit
of good thought, (these) one performs
with the following insight: "He (is) the wise father of truth."

47,3 *ahiiā +mainiiəuš # tuuām ahī <p>tā spəṇtō*
yə ahmāi gąm # +rāniiō.skərəitīm hąṃ.tašaṯ
aṯ hōi vāstrāi # rāmā.då ārmaitīm
hiiaṯ hąm vohū # mazdā həmə.fraštā manaŋhā

47,3 Thou art the prosperous Father of this spirit,
who fashioned for him the joy-providing cow
and also right-mindedness, (thereby) establishing peace for her pasture,
when He took counsel with good thought, O Wise One.

47,4 *ahmāṯ +mainiiəuš # rārəšiieiṇtī drəguaṇtō*
mazdā spəṇtāṯ # nōiṯ iθā +aŋ̊aonō
kasəušcīṯ nā # aŋ̊āunē kāθē aŋhaṯ
isuuācīṯ hąs # paraoš akō drəguāitē

47,4 The deceitful rip away from this spirit,
(which is) prosperous, O Wise One, those (who are) not really truthful.
A man even of little (possession) shall behave pleasantly towards
the truthful one,
(and) even (one) who is master of much (shall behave) badly towards
the deceitful one.

47,5 *tācā spəṇtā # mainiiū mazdā ahurā*
aŋ̊āunē cōiš # yā zī cīcā vahištā
hanarə θβahmāṯ # zaošāṯ drəguå bazšaitī
ahiiā šiiaoθanāiš # akāṯ +ā +šiiąs manaŋhō

47,5 And through this prosperous spirit, O Wise Ahura,
Thou accordest to the truthful one whatever best (things)
the deceitful one must give up, (being) far removed from Thy approval
on account of his actions, since he dwells side by side with evil thought.

47,6 *tā då spəṇtā # mainiiū mazdā ahurā*
āθrā vaŋhāu # vīdāitīm rānōibiiā
ārmatōiš # dəbązaŋhā aŋ̊aźiiācā
hā zī pourūš # išəṇtō vāurāitē

47,6 Through this prosperous spirit, O Wise Ahura, Thou establishest
the distribution (to be performed) by means of (Thy) fire,
according to balance, at the good (share to be distributed),
with regard to the solidity of right-mindedness and truth.
For this (distribution) shall receive the many who approach.

Yasna 48: *Yeziδā Hāiti*

48,1 *yezī adāiš # aṣ̌ā drujəm və̄ṇghaitī*
hiiat̰ ąsašutā # yā daibitānā fraoxtā
amərətāitī # daēuuāiščā maṣ̌iiāiščā
at̰ tōi sauuāiš # vahməm vaxšat̰ ahurā

48,1 If through these (activities) truths may defeat deceit
when those (words) receive their (due) share, which have been
proclaimed again and again
regarding immortality, by Daēvas and mortals,
then someone will make Thy laudation grow with benefits, O Ahura.

48,2 *vaocā mōi yā # tuuə̄m vīduuå ahurā*
parā hiiat̰ mā # yā mə̄ṇg pərəϑā jimaitī
kat̰ aṣ̌auuā # mazdā və̄ṇghat̰ drəguuaṇtəm
hā zī aŋhə̄uš # vaŋᵛhī vistā ākərətiš

48,2 Tell me (those things) which Thou knowest, O Ahura,
before the compensations that (I have) in mind will have reached me.
Will the truthful one defeat the deceitful one, O Wise One?
For such arrangement of existence (is) found (to be) good.

48,3 *at̰ vaēdəmnāi # vahištā sāsnanąm*
yąm hudå # sāstī aṣ̌ā ahurō
spəṇtō vīduuå # yaēcīt̰ gūzrā sə̄ṇghåŋhō
ϑβāuuąs mazdā # vaŋhə̄uš xraϑβā manaŋhō

48,3 The best of teachings (will belong) to him who accepts (it)
(to be the teaching) which the munificent Ahura teaches, with truth,
the Prosperous One who knows even the secret proclamations,
One such as Thou, O Wise One, with the intellect of good thought.

48,4 *yə̄ dāt̰ manō # vahiiō mazdā aš̌iiascā*
huuō daēnąm # š̌iiaoϑanācā vacaŋhācā
ahiiā zaošə̄ṇg # uštiš varənə̄ṇg hacaitē
ϑβahmī ⁺xratāu # apə̄məm nanā aŋhat̰

48,4 He who expresses both, better and worse thought, O Wise One,
that one (expresses his) religious view. With (his) action and word
He follows his pleasures, wishes (and) preferences.
Finally, he will be (recorded) in Thy intellect here and there.

48,5 *huxšaϑrā xšə̄ṇtąm # mā nə̄ ⁺dušəxšaϑrā xšə̄ṇtā*
vaŋhuiiå cistōiš # š̌iiaoϑanāiš ārmaitē
yaoždå maṣ̌iiāi # aipī ząϑəm vahištā
gauuōi vərəziiātąm # tąm nə̄ xᵛarəϑāi fšuiiō

48,5 Let good rulers assume rule, do not let bad rulers assume rule over us!
(Let them assume rule) with the actions of good insight, O Right-Mindedness!
Let the best (insight), which purifies birth also for mankind,
be applied to the cow. Thou breedest her for food for us.

48,6 *hā zī nə̄ hušōiϑəmā # hā nə̄ utaiiūitīm*
dāt̰ təuuīšīm # vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō bərəxδē
at̰ ax́iiāi aṣ̌ā # mazdå uruuarå vaxšat̰
ahurō aŋhə̄uš # ząϑōi paouruiiehiiā

48,6 [*ab*] For the (cow) provides us good dwelling, she (provides us) stability
(and) might(iness), O (Right-Mindedness) esteemed by good thought.
For her, the Wise One shall make the plants grow with truth,
the Ahura, at the begetting of the primal existence.

48,7 *nī aēšəmō [nī.]diiātąm # paitī rəməm [paitī.]siiōdūm*
yōi ā vaŋhə̄uš # manaŋhō dīdraγžō.duiiē
aṣ̌ā viiąm # yehiiā hiϑāuš nā spəṇtō
at̰ hōi dāmąm # ϑβahmī ā dąm ahurā

48,7 Let wrath be laid down! Chop up fury,
(You) who try to attach (Yourselves) to good thought.
Let (him), whose partner is the prosperous man, be protected by truth.
Its abodes (are) in Thy house, O Ahura.

48,8 *kā tōi vaŋhə̄uš # mazdā xšaϑrahiiā īštiš*
kā tōi aṣ̌ōiš # ϑβaźiiā̊ maibiiō ahurā
kā ϑβōi aṣ̌ā # ākā̊ arədrə̄ṇg išiiā
vaŋhə̄uš mainiiə̄uš # +šiiaoϑənanąm jauuarō

48,8 What (is) the command of Thy good power, O Wise One?
What (is that) of Thy reward, of Thy (reward) for me, O Ahura?
What (is) Thy (command) through truth, (Thy command) which,
vigorous in the face of the zestful,
(serves as) an encouragement to (perform) actions of good spirit?

48,9 *kadā vaēdā # yezī cahiiā xšaiiaϑā*
mazdā aṣ̌ā # yehiiā mā āiϑiš duuaēϑā
ərəš mōi [ərəž]ūcąm # vaŋhə̄uš vafuš manaŋhō
vīdiiāṯ saošiiąs # yaϑā hōi aṣ̌iš aŋhaṯ

48,9 When shall I know whether You have control over some (danger),
through truth, O Wise One, the fear of which scares me.
Let the pronouncement of good thought be told me plainly.
May the benefactor know of what kind his reward will be.

48,10 *kadā mazdā # mąnarōiš narō vīsəṇtē*
kadā ajə̄n # mūϑrəm ahiiā +madahiiā
yā aṇgraiiā # karapanō urūpaiieiṇtī
yācā xratū # dušəxšaϑrā daźiiunąm

48,10 When, O Wise One, will (some) honorable persons take up
their positions side by side with the reciter?
When will (someone) kick over the (vessel of) urine of that
(demon of) intoxication
with which the Karapans harmfully cause racking pain,
and with which the bad rulers of the countries (do that as well),
(inspired) by their (bad) intellect.

48,11 *kadā mazdā # aṣ̌ā maṯ ārmaitiš*
jimaṯ xšaϑrā # hušəitiš vāstrauuaitī
kōi +drəguuō.dəbīš # xrūrāiš rāmąm dā̊ṇtē
kə̄ṇg ā vaŋhə̄uš # jimaṯ manaŋhō cistiš

48,11 When, O Wise One, will right-mindedness (arrive) with truth,
arrive with power, provided with good dwelling and pasture?
Which people will establish peace with the blood-stained deceitful
for themselves?
Which people the insight of good thought will reach?

48,12 *aṯ tōi aŋhən # saošiiaṇtō daźiiunąm*
yōi +xšnə̄m vohū # manaŋhā hacā̊ṇtē
šiiaoϑanāiš aṣ̌ā # ϑβahiiā mazdā sə̄ṇghahiiā
tōi zī dātā # hamaēstārō aēšəm.mahiiā

48,12 Those will be the benefactors of the countries,
(those) who will pursue (Thy) recognition with good thought
through actions of Thy proclamation, (performed) with truth,
O Wise One.
For these (benefactors are) appointed (as) the removers of wrath.

Yasna 49: *Aṯ māiiauuā Hāiti*

49,1 *aṯ mā yauuā # bə̄ṇduuō pafrē mazištō*
yə̄ dušərəϑrīš # cixšnušā aṣ̌ā mazdā
vaŋᵛhī ādā # gaidī mōi ā mōi [a]rapā
ahiiā vohū # aošō vīdā manaŋhā

49,1 The chieftain Bə̄ṇdva has stuffed himself with my barley.
(Come to me), O Wise One, (to me) who try to satisfy the ill-herded
(cows) with truth,
Come to me (as personified) good apportionment, (and) support me!
Effect his death with good thought!

49,2 *aṯ ahiiā mā # bāṇduuahiiā mānaiieitī*
ṯkaēšō drəguuå # daibitā aṣāṯ rārəšō
nōiṯ spəṇṭąm dōrəšt # ahmāi stōi ārmaitīm
naēdā vohū # mazdā fraštā manaŋhā

49,2 And (in the entourage) of this Bāṇdva, there abides
a deceitful teacher who rips (people) away from truth again and again.
Neither does he seize prosperous right-mindedness to be his,
nor does he take counsel with good thought, O Wise One.

49,3 *aṯcā ahmāi # varənāi mazdā nidātəm*
aṣəm sūidiiāi # ṯkaēšāi rāšaiieŋhē druxš
tā vaŋhāuš # sarə +iziiā manaŋhō
aṇtarə vīspāṇg # drəguuatō hazmāṇg [aṇtarə.]mruiiē

49,3 [*ab*] And truth has been imparted to this orthodoxy (of ours), O Wise One,
(for people) to enjoy benefit, but deceit (has been imparted) to (his)
heresy in order to harm.
Therefore I beg for the shelter of good thought,
(and) I banish all the deceitful from (our) fellowship.

49,4 *yōi duš.xraθβā # aēšəməm vərədən rāməmcā*
x^{v}āiš hizubīš # fšuiiasū afšuiiaṇtō
yaēšąm # nōiṯ huuarštāiš # vąs dužuuarštā
tōi daēuuāṇg dąn # yā drəguuatō daēnā

49,4 (Those) who, (seduced) by him of bad intellect, increase wrath and fury
with their own tongues, breeding no cattle among cattle-breeders,
(and) whose bad deeds prevail because of the lack of good deeds
(to balance them),
those produce Daēvas, a religious view which is that of the deceitful one.

49,5 *aṯ huuō mazdā # ižācā āzūitīšcā*
yə daēnąm # vohū +sārəštā manaŋhā
ārmatōiš # kascīṯ aṣā huzəṇtuš
tāišcā vīspāiš # θβahmī xšaθrōi ahurā

49,5 But that person, O Wise One, (is) abundance and fat,
who shelters (his) religious view with good thought,
whoever by virtue of right-mindedness, (is) well-acquainted
with truth
and with all those in Thy power, O Ahura.

49,6 *frō vā [fra]ēšiiā # mazdā aṣəmcā mrūitē*
yā vō xratəuš # xšmākahiiā ā.manaŋhā
ərəš vīcidiiāi # yaθā ī srāuuaiiaēmā
tąm daēnąm # yā xšmāuuatō ahurā

49,6 I urge You, O Wise One, and Truth, to tell (us)
which (are) the passions of Your intellect, of Yours,
so that (we) may discern plainly how we might make heard
that religion which is (that) of One such as You, O Ahura.

49,7 *taṯcā vohū # mazdā sraotū manaŋhā*
sraotū aṣā # gūšahuuā tū ahurā
kā airiiamā # kā x^{v}aētuš dātāiš aŋhaṯ
yə vərəzənāi # vaŋ^{v}hīm dāṯ frasastīm

49,7 Let one hear this with good thought, O Wise One!
Let one hear (it) with truth! Listen (to it), O Ahura!
[*cd*] Which tribe, which family will there be, which, with (actions
following Your) orders, will provide a good reputation
for (our) community?

49,8 *fərašaoštrāi # uruuāzištąm aṣahiiā då*
sarəm taṯ θβā # mazdā yāsā ahurā
maibiiācā yąm # vaŋhāu θβahmī ā xšaθrōi
yauuōi vīspāi # fraēštåŋhō åŋhāmā

49,8 [*ab*] To Frašaoštra grant the most delightful shelter
of truth —this I entreat Thee, O Wise Ahura—
and to me, (that shelter) which (is) in Thy good power.
Let (all of) us be (Thy) dearest (friends) for all time!

49,9 *sraotū sāsnå # +ʃšəŋ̊hiiō suiiē taštō*
nōiţ +ərəš.vacå # sarəm didąs drəguuātā
hiiaţ daēnå # vahištē yūjən mīždē
aŋ̊ā.yuztā # yāhī dəjāmāspā

49,9 Let the bondsman, fashioned for benefit, hear the teachings.
The plainly-speaking one does not approve of shelter by the deceitful one,
[*cd*] when (people) yoke (their) views to the best prize, at the (act of) yoking (them) together with truth, at the sharing (of good things), O Jāmāspa.

49,10 *taţcā mazdā # ϑβahmī +ā +dąm +nipåŋ̊hē*
manō vohū # urunascā aŋ̊āunąm
nəmascā yā # ārmaitiš īžācā
mązā.xšaϑrā # vazdaŋhā +auuā.mīrā

49,10 And this Thou preservest (for Thyself) in Thy house, O Wise One,
(this) good thought, and the souls of the truthful,
and the reverence with which (there goes) right-mindedness, and abundance granting power with helpful fatness.

49,11 *aţ dušəxšaϑrəŋg # duš.šiiaoϑənəŋg dužuuacaŋhō*
dužđaēnəŋg # +dužmanaŋhō drəguuatō
akāiš x^{v}arəϑāiš # paitī uruuąnō /paitiʃeiŋtī
drūjō dəmānē # haiϑiiā aŋhən astaiiō

49,11 [*ab*] But the deceitful of bad rule, bad action, bad word,
of bad religious view, (and) bad thought:
the souls come to meet (them) with foul food
(and) they will be welcome guests in the house of deceit.

49,12 *kaţ tōi aŋ̊ā # zbaiieŋtē auuaŋhō*
zaraϑuštrāi # kaţ tōi vohū manaŋhā
yə və staotāiš # mazdā frīnāi ahurā
auuaţ yāsąs # hiiaţ və īštā vahištəm

49,12 What (kind) of help dost Thou have through truth, for (me who am) calling,
for Zaraϑuštra? What (kind of help) dost Thou have through good thought
(for me), who will devote myself to You with praises, O Wise Ahura,
entreating for that which is the best in Your command.

Yasna 50: *Kaţ mōi uruuā Hāiti*

50,1 *kaţ mōi uruuā # išē cahiiā auuaŋhō*
kə mōi pasəuš # kə mə.nā ϑrātā vistō
aniiō aŋ̊āţ # ϑβaţcā mazdā ahurā
azdā zūtā # vahištāaţcā manaŋhō

50,1 Does my soul command any (kind) of help?
Who (has been) found (as) protector of my cattle, who (as) my (protector),
(who) other than Truth and Thou, O Wise Ahura,
—speedily manifest—, and best thought?

50,2 *kaϑā mazdā # +rāniiō.skərəitīm gąm išasōiţ*
yə hīm ahmāi # vāstrauuaitīm stōi usiiāţ
ərəžəjīš aŋ̊ā # pourušū huuarə pišiiasū
ākāstəŋg mā # nišąsiiā dāϑəm dāhuuā

50,2 How, O Wise One, should one try to win the joy-providing cow?
One who would wish her to be his, provided with pasture,
one who lives decently with truth among the many who block the sun(light)?
I shall (now) sit down in front of them. Accept (me, as) the just one.

50,3 *aţcīţ ahmāi # mazdā aŋ̊ā aŋhaitī*
yąm hōi xšaϑrā # vohucā cōišt manaŋhā
yə nā aŋ̊ōiš # aojaŋhā varədaiiaētā
yąm nazdištąm # gaēϑąm drəguuå bazšaitī

50,3 Through truth, O Wise One, (that herd) shall belong to that (man),
(that herd) which one has accorded to him with power and good thought.
(It shall belong to that) man who might increase (it) by the strength of (his) reward,
(that) neighbouring herd (shall belong to him), which the deceitful one must give up.

50,4 *aŋ vå yazāi # stauuas mazdā ahurā*
hadā aŋ̊ā # vahištācā manaŋhā
xšaθrācā yā # išō staŋhaŋ ā paiθi
ākå arədrəŋg # dəmānē garō səraošānē

50,4 I will worship You, praising (You), O Wise Ahura,
along with truth and best thought,
and with the power by which one shall tread on the path of invigoration
in the face of the zestful, I wish to be heard in the house of welcome.

50,5 *ārōi zī xšmā # +mazdå aŋ̊ā ahurā*
hiiaŋ yūšmākāi # mąθrānē vaorāzaθā
aibī.dərəštā # āuuišiiā auuaŋhā
zastāištā # yā nå xᵛāθrē dāiiāŋ

50,5 For (recompenses) have been allotted by You, O Ahura, wise through truth,
-since You take delight (in helping) Your disciple
with visible, manifest help-
(recompenses) to be sent by (Thy) hands (and) which may put us in comfort.

50,6 *yə mąθrā # vācəm mazdā baraitī*
uruuaθō aŋ̊ā # nəmaŋhā zaraθuštrō
dātā xratəuš # hizuuō raiθīm stōi
mahiiā rāzəŋg # vohū sāhiŋ manaŋhā

50,6 The disciple who raises his voice, O Wise One,
(Your) ally through truth, in reverence, (is) Zaraθuštra.
[*cd*] May the giver of intellect instruct (my intellect) with good thought
to serve (my) tongue (as) charioteer of my prayer.

50,7 *aŋ və yaojā # zəuuištiiəŋg auruuatō*
jaiiāiš pərəθūš # vahmahiiā yūšmākahiiā
mazdā aŋ̊ā # ugrəŋg vohū manaŋhā
yāiš azāθā # mahmāi źiiātā +auuaŋhē

50,7 I will yoke for You the swiftest steeds
of Your laudation, broad(-chested) in (their) victories,
strong with good thought, O Wise One, (yoking them together) with truth,
(steeds) with which You shall drive hither. May You be (ready) to help me.

50,8 *maŋ vå padāiš # yā frasrūtā išaiiā*
pairijasāi # mazdā ustānazastō
aŋ vå aŋ̊ā # arədraźiiācā nəmaŋhā
aŋ vå vaŋhəuš # manaŋhō hunarətātā

50,8 [*ab*] With footsteps which (in our tradition are) proclaimed (as those)
of (personified) abundance, I will attend You, O Wise One, with
hands stretched out,
(attend) You with truth and in reverence to the Zestful One,
(attend) You with the skilfulness of (one of) good thought.

50,9 *tāiš vå yasnāiš # paitī stauuas aiienī*
mazdā aŋ̊ā # vaŋhəuš šiiaoθanāiš manaŋhō
yadā aŋ̊ōiš # maźiiå vasā xšaiiā
aŋ +hudānaoš # išaiiąs gərəzdā źiiəm

50,9 With (rites of) worship such as these, I will come to meet You again,
praising (You),
O Wise One, with truth (and) with actions of good thought,
when I may have command, at will, of my reward.
May I thus enjoy vigour, (basking) in the grace of a generous (person).

50,10 *aŋ yā varəšā # yācā pairī āiš šiiaoθanā*
yācā vohū # cašmąm arəjaŋ manaŋhā
raocå xᵛəŋg # asnąm uxšā ačuruš
xšmākāi aŋ̊ā # vahmāi mazdā ahurā

50,10 And (the actions) which I will perform and the actions (performed)
by those (all) around (here),
and (the things) which are worth (having) eyes (to see) through
good thought,
the light of the sun (and) the leading bull of the days,
(all these serve) Your laudation through truth, O Wise Ahura.

50,11 *aŋ və staotā # aojāi mazdā aŋhācā*
yauuaŋ aŋ̊ā # tauuācā isāicā
dātā aŋhāuš # arədaŋ vohū manaŋhā
haiθiiāuuarəštąm # hiiaŋ vasnā fərašō.təməm

50,11 I will declare myself Your praiser, and so I will be, O Wise One,
as much as I will be able, and as will be in my command,
through truth.
The giver of existence shall further, through good thought,
the realisation (of) what is most brillant in (my) imagination.

Yasna 51: *Vohu.xšaϑrā Gāϑā/Hāiti*

51,1 *vohū xšaϑrəm vairīm # bāgəm aibī.bairištəm*
+vīdīšəmnāi īžācīṯ # aṣ̌ā aṇtarə caraitī
šiiaoϑanāiš mazdā vahištəm # taṯ nə̄ nūcīṯ varəšānē

51,1 The desirable good power, (which is) an excellent bringer of wealth
to him who is liberal with abundance whatsoever, is exchanged
between (God and men), with truth.
(The power which is) the best through actions, O Wise One, that
I will provide for us right now.

51,2 *tā və̄ mazdā paouruuīm # ahurā aṣ̌āi.yecā*
taibiiācā ārmaitē # dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaϑrəm
xšmākəm vohū manaŋhā # vahmāi dāidī sauuaŋhō

51,2 [*ab*] Therefore, O Wise One, I will first show the power of my command
to You, O Ahura, and to Truth, and to thee, O Right-Mindedness.
Grant Thou with good thought Your (power) to the laudation of the benefit.

51,3 *ā və̄ +gə̄uš.ā hə̄miiaṇtū # yōi və̄ šiiaoϑanāiš sārəṇtē*
ahurō aṣ̌ā +hizuuā # uxδāiš vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō
yaēšąm tū pouruiiō # mazdā fradaxštā ahī

51,3 Let Your hearing concentrate on those who are sheltered by Your actions,
—(O Thou who art) the Ahura through truth— (as well as) by the statements
of good thought, (voiced) by one's tongue,
(by statements) the primal teacher of which Thou art, O Wise One.

51,4 *kuϑrā ārōiš +ā +fsəratuš # kuϑrā mərəždikā axštaṯ*
kuϑrā yasō.x́iiə̄n aṣ̌əm # kū spəṇtā ārmaitiš
kuϑrā manō vahištəm # kuϑrā ϑβā xšaϑrā mazdā

51,4 Where (will) joy (arise) from a patron, where will it (arise) through
compassion?
Where do they honour truth? Where (is) prosperous right-mindedness?
Where (is) best thought? where (is it) through Thy power, O Wise One?

51,5 *vīspā tā pərəsas yaϑā # aṣ̌āṯ hacā gąm vīdaṯ*
vāstriiō šiiaoϑanāiš ərəšuuō # hąs huxratuš nəmaŋhā
yə̄ dāϑaēibiiō ərəš.ratūm # xšaiiąs aṣ̌iuuå cistā

51,5 (I am) asking about all those (ways) in which in accordance with truth
(the herdsman) does find a cow,
the herdsman, who through (his) actions ranks high (and is) of good intellect
in reverence (to Him)
who, wielding power (and) in possession of rewards, finds a fair judgment
on the just.

51,6 *yə̄ vahiiō vaŋhə̄uš dazdē # yascā hōi vārāi rādaṯ*
ahurō xšaϑrā mazdå # aṯ ahmāi akāṯ aṣ̌iiō
yə̄ hōi nōiṯ vīdāitī # apə̄mē aŋhə̄uš uruuaēsē

51,6 He who decides in favour of (what is) better than good, and
who will heed His will:
the Ahura (will) remember (him) with (His) power. But (what is) worse
than evil (will befall) that one
who will not care for Him, at the final turning point of (his) existence.

51,7 *dāidī mōi yə̄ gąm tašō # apascā uruuaråscā*
amərətātā hauruuātā # spə̄ništā mainiiū mazdā
təuuīšī utaiiūitī # manaŋhā vohū +sə̄ŋ́hē

51,7 (Thou) who didst fashion the cow, the waters and the plants, grant me
immortality and integrity through (Thy) most prosperous spirit, O Wise One,
as well as might and fitness through good thought, at the pronouncement
(of judgment).

51,8 *aŋ zī tōi vazšiiā mazdā # vīdušē zī nā mruiiāŋ*
hiiaŋ akōiiā drəguuāitē # uštā yə ašəm dādrē
huuō zī mąθrā šiiātō # yə vīdušē mrauuaitī

51,8 I shall tell Thee (now), indeed, O Wise One —in this case the man might speak to one who (already) knows—
that in (what is) evil for the deceitful one, those (things are included which are) desired by (that one) who has seized truth.
That disciple (is) happy indeed who may speak to one who (already) knows.

51,9 *yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då # ϑβā āϑrā suxrā mazdā*
aiiaŋhā xšustā aibī # ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi
rāšaiieŋhē drəguuaŋtəm # sauuaiiō aŋauuanəm

51,9 Which satisfaction Thou apportionest by means of Thy red fire, according to balance, O Wise One,
(by the ordeal) with molten metal, make that clear in (our) vital energies.
To harm the deceitful one, Thou dost benefit the truthful one.

51,10 *aŋ yə mā nā marəxšaitē # aniiāϑā ahmāŋ mazdā*
huuō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš # tā duždå yōi həŋtī
maibiiō zbaiiā aŋəm # vaŋhuiiā aŋī gaŋtē

51,10 The man who furthermore tries to destroy me, O Wise One,
that (man is) an (evil) offspring of the creator of deceit, (and) therefore, miserly (towards those) who exist.
(But) I call (for) truth to come to me with a good reward.

51,11 *kə uruuaϑō spitamāi # zaraϑuštrāi nā mazdā*
kə vā aŋā āfraštā # kā spəŋtā ārmaitiš
kə vā vaŋhəuš manaŋhō # acistā magāi ərəšuuō

51,11 Who (is) the man (who is) an ally to Spitama Zaraϑuštra, O Wise One?
Who took counsel with truth? with whom (did) prosperous right-mindedness (take counsel)?
Which high-ranking (person) recognised (him) for the offering of good thought?

51,12 *nōiŋ tā īm zšnāuš ⁺vaēipiiō # kəuuīnō ⁺pərətå ⁺zimō*
zaraϑuštrəm spitāməm # hiiaŋ ahmī urūraost aštō
hiiaŋ hōi īm caratascā # aodərəšcā zōišənū vāzā

51,12 [*ab*] In such a way, the Kaviyan catamite (who resides) at the (well-known) Bridge, did not satisfy him, Spitama Zaraϑuštra, when he (as) messenger stopped there in wintertime,
when the door-sill (as a bed), and cold (as a blanket, served) him as two horrid gifts of "hospitality".

51,13 *tā drəguuatō marədaitī # daēnā ⁺ərəzaoš haiϑīm*
yehiiā uruuą xraodaitī # cinuuatō pərətå ākå
xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāiš hizuuascā # aŋahiiā nąsuuå paϑō

51,13 In such a way, the religious view of the deceitful one neglects the reality of (what is) straight.
At the account-keeper's bridge his soul will recoil (from him), faced (with the fact)
that he had strayed from the path of truth through his own actions and those of (his) tongue.

51,14 *nōiŋ uruuāϑā dātōibiiascā # karapanō vāstrāŋ arəm*
gauuōi ārōiš ā.səŋdā # xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāišcā səŋghāišcā
yə īš səŋghō apəməm # drūjō dəmānē ādāŋ

51,14 The Karapans are not allies in accordance with (Your) orders and (the needs of) pasture,
with their own actions and proclamations, ill-disposed towards the cow of the patron,
a proclamation which, in the end, will put them in the house of deceit.

51,15 *hiiaŋ mīždəm zaraϑuštrō # magauuabiiō cōišt parā*
garō dəmānē ahurō # mazdå jasaŋ paouruiiō
tā və vohū manaŋhā # aŋāicā sauuāiš ⁺cəuuīšt

51,15 (With) the prize which Zaraϑuštra has promised to the sacrificers, the Wise Ahura, the Primal One, comes into the house of welcome.
Through good thought these (offerings) are committed to You, and to Truth, with benefits.

51,16 *tąm kauuā vīštāspō # magahiiā xšaθrā nąsaţ*
vaŋhāuš padəbīš manaŋhō # yąm cistīm aŝā maŋtā
spəŋtō mazdå ahurō # aθā nā sazdiiāi uštā

51,16 Kavi Vištāspa, by (his) power over the offering, presents that (insight)
[*bc*] (proceeding) on the paths of good thought, (that) insight which the prosperous Wise Ahura has conceived with truth. Let (him) thus announce to us the (things) desired.

51,17 *bərəxδąm mōi fərašaoštrō # huuō.guuō daēdōišt kəhrpēm*
daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi # yąm hōi išiiąm dātū
xšaiiąs mazdå ahurō # aŝahiiā āždiiāi gərəzdīm

51,17 Frašaoštra Hvōguva dedicates (his) body esteemed by me
[*bc*] to (my) good religion. Let the Wise Ahura who wields power make it vigorous for him, so that (he) may reach the grace of truth.

51,18 *tąm cistīm dājāmāspō # huuō.guuō ištōiš x^{v}arənå*
aŝā vərəŋtē taţ xšaθrəm # manaŋhō $^{+}$vaŋhāuš vīdō
taţ mōi dāidī ahurā # hiiaţ mazdā rapān tauuā

51,18 Jāmāspa Hvōguva (chooses) that insight, (which consists) in the quest for glory,
with truth he chooses that power (which consists) in the possession of good thought.
Grant me, O Ahura, that (power) which (is) Thine, O Wise One, O supporter.

51,19 *huuō taţ nā maidiiōi.måŋhā # spitamā ahmāi dazdē*
daēnaiiā vaēdəmnō # yā ahūm išasąs aibī
mazdå dātā mraoţ # gaiiehiiā šiiaoθanāiš vahiiō

51,19 That man, O Maidyōimåŋha Spitama, elects for himself that (power),
accepting (it) with (his) religious view, (that man) who, trying to win existence
recites the orders of the Wise One, (elects that power which) through the actions of the living (is) the better one.

51,20 *taţ vā nā hazaošåŋhō # vīspåŋhō daidiiāi sauuō*
aŝəm vohū manaŋhā # uzδā yāiš ārmaitiš
yazəmnåŋhō nəmaŋhā # mazdå rafəδrəm cagədō

51,20 In order that all of You, who are in harmony, grant us that benefit,
(we are worshipping) truth with good thought, (as well as) the statements with which right-mindedness (is associated),
worshipping (them) in reverence to the Wise One who extends support.

51,21 *ārmatōiš nā spəŋtō # huuō cistī uzδāiš šiiaoθanā*
daēnā aŝəm spēnuuaţ # vohū xšaθrəm manaŋhā
mazdå dadāţ ahurō # tām vaŋ^{v}hīm yāsā aŝīm

51,21 In accordance with right-mindedness, (and) through the action (connected) with the statements (inspired) by (his) insight, this prosperous man (Zaraθuštra),
[*bc*] makes truth prosper with (his) religious view. The Wise Ahura grants power through good thought. I entreat Him for a good reward.

51,22 *yehiiā mōi aŝāţ hacā # vahištəm yesnē paitī*
vaēdā mazdå ahurō # yōi åŋharəcā həŋticā
tą yazāi x^{v}āiš nāmənīš # pairicā jasāi vaŋtā

51,22 Whose best (accomplishment) in accordance with truth (will have fallen) to me at worship
(that) the Wise Ahura knows. (The Ahuras) who have existed and do exist (now),
those I will worship with my own people, (pronouncing their) names, and I will attend them with love.

Yasna 53: *Vahištōišti Gāθā/ Hāiti*

53,1 *vahištā ištiš srāuuī # zaraθuštrahē*
spitāmahiiā yezī hōi # dāṯ āiiaptā
aṣāṯ hacā ahurō # mazdå yauuōi vīspāi.ā # huuaŋhəuuīm
yaēcā hōi dabən +sašəṇcā # daēnaiiå vaŋhuiiå # uxδā šiiaoθanācā

53,1 The best vigour will become famed (for being in possession) of Zaraθuštra
[*bc*] Spitama, if the Wise Ahura in accordance with truth
may have granted him (as) boons good existence for all time,
(to him) and to (those) who practise and master the statements and actions
of his good religion.

53,2 *aṯcā hōi scaṇtū manaŋhā # uxδāiš šiiaoθanāišcā*
+xšnəm mazdå vahmāi.ā # fraorəṯ yasnąscā
kauuacā vištāspō # zaraθuštriš spitāmō # fərašaoštrascā
dåŋhō ərəzūš paθō # yąm daēnąm ahurō # saošiiaṇtō dadāṯ

53,2 [*ab*] Let them therefore, (inspired) by his thought, with (their) statements
and actions join the recognition of the Wise One for (His) laudation, and
(His) worship, devotedly,
(let) Kavi Vištaspa, and Spitāma, the son of Zaraθuštra, and Frašaoštra,
(pursue) the straight paths of gift(-giving), a religious view which the Ahura
established (as that) of a benefactor.

53,3 *təmcā tū pourucistā # haēcaṯaspānā*
spitāmī +yezuuī dugədrąm # zaraθuštrahē
vaŋhəuš +paitiiāstī[m] manaŋhō # aṣahiiā mazdåscā # taibiiō dāṯ sarəm
aθā hām.fərašuuā θβā xraθβā # spəništā ārmatōiš # +hudānū +varəšuuā

53,3 And such a (benefactor), O Pourucistā Haēcaṯaspānā,
O Spitāmī, O thou youngest among Zaraθuštra's daughters,
(Zaraθuštra), in obedience to the Good Thought of Truth and the Wise One,
assigns to thee (as) a shelter (for thee).
Thus take counsel with thy intellect. Take shelter with the most prosperous
one, (who is) generous in accordance with right-mindedness.

53,4 *təm zī vā +spərədā +niuuarānī # yā fəδrōi vīdāṯ*
paiθiiaēcā vāstriiaēibiiō # aṯcā +xᵛaētauuē
aṣāunī aṣauuabiiō # manaŋhō vaŋhəuš # xᵛənuuaṯ haŋhuš ⌈mām.bəəduš
mazdå dadāṯ ahurō # daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi # yauuōi vīspāi.ā

53,4 For I want to encompass him with (that) eagerness of yours with which
(a woman) shall care for (her) father
and for (her) husband, for (their) herdsmen, and for (her) family
(as) a truthful woman (cares) for truthful persons. (It is) the sunny harvest
of good thought (which), valuing the bonds of kinship,
the Wise Ahura grants to (women of) good religion for all time.

53,5 *sāxᵛānī vaziiamnābiiō # kaṇinbiiō mraomī*
xšmaibiiācā vadəmnō # māṇcā ī [mąz]dazdūm
vaēdō.dūm daēnābiš # +abiiascā ahūm # yə vaŋhəuš manaŋhō
aṣā və aniiō ainīm # vīuuōṇghatū taṯ zī hōi # hušəmən aŋhaṯ

53,5 I speak instructions for those girls about to be married,
and to (all of) you, conversing (with you). Note them in your minds and
accept with (your) religious views, and in accordance with them, the existence
which (is that) of good thought.
Let each of you try to surpass the other in truth, for this will be fruitful
for him.

53,6 *iθā ī haiθiiā narō # aθā ϳənaiiō*
drūjō hacā rāθəmō # yəmə spašuθā frāidīm
[drūjō] ## āiiesē hōi<-ī>š piθā # tanuuō parā
vaiiū +bərədbiiō duš.xᵛarəθəm # nąsaṯ xᵛāθrəm
drəguuō.dəbiiō dāϳṇṯ arətaēibiiō # anāiš ā manahīm # ahūm mərəṇgəduiiē

53,6 In this respect the (instructions are) true, O men, in that respect (they are
true), O women.
He who (is) dependent on deceit, whom you see to have (dishonest) intentions,
[in accordance with deceit]: I take his defenses away from his body.
(on its way) through the air comfort goes away from those who offer foul food,
from the deceitful oppressors of truth. With them you destroy (your) mental
existence.

53,7 *aṯcā və mīždəm aŋhaṯ # ahiiā magahiiā*
yauuaṯ āžuš +zrazdištō # būnōi +haxtiiå
paracā mraocąs aorācā # yaϑrā mainiiuš drəguuatō # anąsaṯ parā
+vīzaiiaϑā magəm təm # aṯ və vaiiōi aŋhaitī # apəməm vacō

53,7 But for (all of) you, there will be a prize for this sacrament.
The most faithful one will yoke (his) penis at the bottom
of the (female) thighs,
where, slipping back and down, the spirit of the deceitful one has gone away.
(If) you abandon this sacrament, then 'woe' will be your last word.

53,8 *anāiš ā dužuuarəšnaŋhō # dafšniiā hə̄ṇtū*
zaxiiācā vīspåŋhō # xraosəṇtąm upā
huxšaϑrāiš jə̄nərąm xrūnərąmcā # rāmąmcā āiš dadātū # šiieitibiiō vīžibiiō
īratū īš duuafšō huuō # dərəzā +mərəiϑiiaoš mazištō # mošucā astū

53,8 Let the wrong-doers be shattered by those (present),
and let them all, exhausted, howl upwards (to the sky).
Through good rulers, among the killers and injurers of men, let one establish
peace with them for the settling clans,
and let that ill come upon them (which is) the greatest, (coming) with the
bondage of death, and let (it) be soon.

53,9 *dužuuarənāiš vaēšō rāstī # tōi narəpīš +rajīš*
aēšasā də̄jīṯ.arətā # pəṣ̌ō.tanuuō
kū aṣ̌auuā ahurō # yə̄ īš jiiātə̄uš hə̄miϑiiāṯ # vasə̄.itōišcā
taṯ mazdā tauuā xšaϑrəm # yā ərəžəjiiōi dāhī # +drigauuē vahiiō

53,9 Through those of bad preferences poison spreads. They (are personified)
obscuration [pl.] (and) darkness [pl.],
(those) greedy violators of truth, with their bodies forfeit.
Where (is) the truthful Ahura who might deprive them of (their) livelihood
and liberty?
That power (is) Thine, O Wise One, through which Thou mayest grant
the better (part) to the poor person who lives decently.

Yasna 54,1: Conclusion
Ā Airiiə̄mā Išiiō

54,1 *ā airiiə̄mā išiiō rafəδrāi jaṇtū*
nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā zaraϑuštrahē
vaŋhə̄uš rafəδrāi manaŋhō yā daēnā vairīm hanāṯ mīždəm
aṣ̌ahiia yāsā aṣ̌īm yąm išiiąm ahurō masatā mazdå

54,1 Let the tribe, provided with invigoration, come to the support
of the men and women of Zaraϑuštra,
to the support of good thought, a religious view which will
deserve a desirable prize.
I entreat for the invigorating reward of truth which the Wise
Ahura has devised.

The Gāthās of Zarathushtra

and the Other Old Avestan Texts

by

HELMUT HUMBACH

in collaboration with

Josef Elfenbein and Prods O. Skjærvø

Part II

Commentary

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Abbreviations

Y	Yasna
YG	Passages of the Gāθās (including Y 27,13-14 and 54,1)
YH	Old Avestan passages of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti
Yh	Young Avestan additions to the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti
Yy	Young Avestan passages of the rest of the Yasna
arch. YAv.	passages or single words in archaised Young Avestan

Typography

-

§ refers to the sections of the introduction

→ refers to such commentary notes on parallel passages, where further information is to be expected

refers to such commentary notes on parallel passages, where no further information is to be expected

The introductory remarks on the single Hāitis are quoted 28,0, 29,0, etc.

dâṯ [dāṯ], dã̂ṯ [dāaṯ],
anìiəm, ainím [anᵢəm], raiθĩm [raiθiᵢəm],
tanûm [tanūm], tanúuəm [tanúᵤəm],
ùrúuā [ᵤrúᵤā], ùrùuātā/ùruuātā [ᵤrᵤātā], úrùurā/úruuarā [urᵤarā],
barə́tū [< baratū], šiiaoθànā, šiiaoθənanąm [< šiiaoθna°],
daẽ̃nā [< daᵢanā], ãrmaitiš [< arəm- maitiš]

Yasna 27,13-15: Prelude. Three Sacred Formulas

(1) Of the four Sacred Formulas of the Mazdayasnians, namely

Y 27,13, OAv. Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō, YAv. also called Ahuna Vairiya,

Y 27,14, OAv. Aṣəm Vohū, YAv. also called Aṣa Vahišta,

Y 27,15, arch. YAv. Yeŋhē Hātąm, YAv. also called Yeŋhē.hātā,

Y 54,1, OAv. Ā Airyāmā Išiyō, YAv. also called Airyaman Išiya,

the first three form the prelude to the Gāϑās, and the fourth concludes the collection. The four are generally referred to as prayers (as also by H. Humbach, *Weiteres zum Ahuna-Vairya-Gebet*, 1984; →27,13:3) but the term 'prayer' properly applies to the Yeŋhē Hātąm and the Ā Airiiāmā Išiyō only, which are characterised by the verbs *yazamaidē* 'we worship' and *jaṇtū* 'let him come', respectively. In contrast to these, the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō and the Aṣəm Vohū are very cryptic religious formulas, of a pronounced magical character.

(2) Among the three prelude formulas, the language of both, the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō and the Aṣəm Vohū is pure OAv. Both were most probably composed by Zaraϑuštra himself to serve as basic religious formulas. They are mentioned together in the complaint of Aŋra Mainyu in Yt 17,20: *jaiṇti mąm ahuna vairiia auuauuata snaiϑiša yaϑa asma katō.maså, tāpaiieiti mąm aṣa vahišta mąnaiian ahe yaϑa aiiō.xšustəm* 'he smites me with the Ahuna Vairiya, with a weapon as weighty as a stone as big as a house; he burns me with the Aṣa Vahišta, as if (it were) molten metal'. The Yeŋhē Hātąm, which is left unmentioned there, is of much later origin. That is evidenced by its language, which is not OAv. but arch. YAv. (→27,15:2, § 2.2.4). Yet, the whole preluding triple is already listed in Yy 61,1 *ahunəmca vairīm ... aṣəmca vahištəm ... yeŋhē.hātąmca.*

(3) As early as in the YAv. period, the whole triple of prelude formulas 27,13-15 became a subject of theological exegesis. Its results are laid down in Yy 19-21, the three chapters of the so-called Baγān Yašt of the Yasna (from YAv. *baγā-* 'section of the holy texts'). Among these, the exegesis of the Aṣəm Vohū in Yy 20,1-3 (→27,14:1) proves quite useful for understanding the formula, while that of the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō

in Yy 19,12-14 (→27,13:1), and the Yeŋhē Hātąm in Yy 21,1-2 (→ 27,15:1), are too obscure themselves as to provide much help in the interpretation. In all three, the correct translation of the verb *cinasti* is an unsolved problem. There, it partly governs the dat. + acc., as in the OAv. occurrences of root *kaēš/ciš*, but partly the acc. only, a construction which is not attested in OAv.

(4) According to the Baγān Yašt, both, the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō and the Aŋəm Vohū have been proclaimed by Ahura Mazdā to Zaraϑuštra: Yy 19,1 *vacō yaţ mē frāuuaocō* 'the word which Thou didst proclaim to me', 20,1 *frāmraoţ ahurō mazdå* 'Ahura Mazdā proclaimed'. In contrast to this, the authorship of the Yeŋhē Hātąm is attributed not to Ahura Mazdā himself but to the prophet in Baγān Yašt Yy 21,1 *yesnīm vacō aŋaonō zaraϑuštrahe* 'the worshipful word of truthful Zaraϑuštra'. This "mythical" relative chronology possibly reflects a tradition regarding the later origin of the Yeŋhē Hātąm (→n. 2).

(5) The Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō formula is composed in the same metre as the Ahunavaitī Gāϑā (Y 28-34) to which it gave its name; it must have served at an early time, previous to the Sasanian recension, as an introduction to the Gāϑā (§ 2.1.2).

Yasna 27,13: *Yaϑā Ahū Vairiiō*

27,13. 7+9 (*vairiiō*); 7+9 (*šiiaoϑənanąm, mazdãi*); 7+9.

(1) The exegesis of the three lines (a-b-c) of the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō in Yy 19,12-14 of the Baγān Yašt runs as follows:

(1a) Line a: Yy 19,12-13 *"yaϑā" frā iδa āmraoţ yaţ dim ahūmca ratūmca ādadaţ. iϑa dim para.cinasti yim ahurəm mazdąm manas.paoiriiaēibiiō dāmabiiō. yaϑa īm vīspanąm mazištəm cinasti aϑa ahmāi dāmąn cinasti.*

(Ahura Mazdā) recited *yaϑa* when they appointed Him as Lord and Judge. Thereby one commits Him, Ahura Mazdā, to the creatures which are the prime ones of (good) thought. Just as one describes Him (as) the greatest of all (beings) [as in 45,6 *vīspanąm mazištəm*], so one commits the creatures to Him.

(1b) Line b: Yy 19,13 *yaϑa mazdå hujītīš "vaŋhāuš" iδa ϑritīm ţkaēšəm ādrənjaiieiti. "dazda manaŋhō" para īm iδa manaŋhe cinasti yaϑa fradaxštārəm manaŋhe. manaŋhō aētauuaitiia īm kāraiieiti. "šiiaoϑənanąm" iδa ahūm kāraiieiti.*

To (describe) the good gains of Mazdā, one attaches the third statement to (the word) *vaŋhāuš*. (By reciting) *dazdā manaŋhō*, one commits Him to thought as a teacher of thought. To such an extent(?) one refers to Him (as being one) of thought. (The word) *šiiaoϑənanąm* refers to existence.

(1c) Line c: Yy 19,14 *yaţ dim dāmabiiō cinasti "mazda" iϑa təm yaţ ahmāi dāmąn. xšaϑrəm ahurāi cinasti "taţ mazda tauua xšaϑrəm". drigubiiō vāstārəm cinasti yaϑa uruuaϑəm spitamāi. paṇca ţkaēša.*

When one commits Him to the creatures (by reciting) *mazda* [= 34,15 *mazdā aţ mōi vahištā*?], one therewith (commits) Him (to them) just as (one commits) the creatures to Him. One commits the power to the Ahura (by reciting) *taţ mazdā tauua xšaϑrəm* [53,9]. One appoints a shepherd to the poor just as (one should) appoint an ally to Spitama. - (These are) five statements [references].

(2) Pahlavi Translation (Dhabhar, *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, 1927, 1) and Sanskrit Version (Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis* I, 1906, 2):

(2a) Line a: *yaϑā ahū vairiiō aϑā ratuš aŋāţcīţ hacā.*

PhlT: *Ciyōn axw kāmag [(kū) ciyōn ohrmazd kāmag] ēdōn radīhā [(kū) ēdōn frārōnīhā] az ahlāyīh [(kū) kār ud kirbag] cegām-iz-ēw [(kū) kār ud kirbag ēdōn frārōnīhā kardan ciyōn ohrmazd kāmag].*

As it is the desire of the lord [i.e. as it is the desire of Ohrmazd], so it is decent [so it is honest] in accordance with any truthfulness [meritorious work] whatever [to perform meritorious work, as is the desire of Ohrmazd].

SktV: *yathā svāminaḥ kāmaḥ [kila yathā ahuramajdābhiḷāṣaḥ] evaṃ ādeśaḥ puṇyāt yasmāt kasmāccit [kila yat kiṃcit kāryaṃ puṇyaṃ tasya tathā ādeśaḥ kartuṃ yathā ahurmajdasya rocate nānyathā kiṃ viśiṣtāt puṇyāt].*

(2b) Line b: *vaŋhāuš dazdā manaŋhō šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhāuš mazdāi.*

PhlT: *ī-š wahman dāšn [kū ān mizd pādāšn <ī> wahman dahēd ā-iz ōy ōh dahēd; hast kē ēdōn gōwēd: ay ī-š ō wahman dāšn] kē andar axwān kunišn ī ohrmazd [kū ān kunēd ī ohrmazd abāyēd; hast kē ēdōn gōwēd: ay ī-š pad wahman dāšn kū ān ī mizd pādāšn ī wahman bē dahēnd ā-iz ō dahēnd; ay ādurbād ī zarduxštān guft kū kē ān ī wahman dāšn ka andar axwān kunišngar andar dānēnd].*

The gift of Wahman [i.e. one grants him that prize and recompense which Wahman grants; there is (a commentator) who says: his recompense for Wahman], which is the action of Ohrmazd (performed) in the world [i.e. he does that which is fitting for Ohrmazd; there is a commentator who says: the gift by Wahman, i.e. they grant him the reward (consisting of) the prize of Wahman; Ādurbād ī Zarduxštān said: from the recompense of Wahman they know quite well who in the world is the performer of the recompense of Wahman].

SktV: *uttamasya *dāti manasaḥ karmaṇāṃ antarbhuvane ahurmajdasya [kila taṃ puṇyaprasādaṃ uttamaṃ manaḥ, uttamaṃ manaḥ iti gvahmanah amaśāspanto, dadāti tebhyo ye *saṃti aṃtastasmin karmaṇi svāmitve ca yat ahurmajdasya rocate]*.

(2c) Line c: *xšaϑrəmcā ahurāi.ā yim drigubiiō dadaṯ vāstārəm.*

PhlT: *xwadāyīh ō ohrmazd [kū-š xwadāyīh ī ēdōn pad sūd ī ohrmazd dāšt bawēd] kē ō driyōšān dahēd wastarg [kū-šān jādaggōwīh kunēd]*.

The sovereignty (is) for Ohrmazd [i.e. his sovereignty is maintained by the profit of Ohrmazd] who provides clothing for the poor [i.e., who acts as intercessor for them].

SktV: *rājyaṃ ca ahurmajdasya tasya [kila tena ahurmajdaḥ svatanoḥ rājā kṛto bhavati] yaḥ durbalebhyo dadāti pālanām [kila durbalānāṃ sāhāyyaṃ pālanaṃ ca karoti]*.

(3a-i) Selected modern translations:

(3a) Ch. Bartholomae, *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, 1906, 126:

Wie der beste Oberherr, so der (beste) Richter ist er (nämlich Zarathushtra) gemäß dem heiligen Recht, / der des guten Sinnes Lebenswerke dem Mazdāh zubringt / und (so) die Obergewalt dem Ahura, er (Zarathushtra), den sie den Armen als Hirten bestellt haben.

Most of the subsequent translations are based upon Bartholomae's; those by Benveniste, Gershevitch, Hinz, Boyce, Insler are representative:

(3b) E. Benveniste, *La prière Ahuna Vairya*, in: *IIJ* 1, 1957, 77-85 (84):

Il est tant l'ahū désirable que le ratu selon arta. / Il donne les actes de Bon Esprit de son existence à Mazdāh / et (son) pouvoir (est) pour Ahura; lui (Zarathustra) qu'ils ont établi pasteur pour les humbles.

(3c) I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, 1959, 329 n.:

As the (*or* an) *ahu* is to be chosen (in accordance with Truth, to be the doer of the actions of Good Mind), so the (*or* a) *ratu* (is to be chosen) in accordance with Truth, (to be) the doer of the actions of Good Mind, and Ahura Mazdāh's power over the world (is to be chosen) [because he, Mazdāh, is the one]) whom they have given as shepherd to the poor.

(3d) W. Hinz, *Zum Ahuna-Vairya-Gebet*, in: *IIJ* 4, 1960, 154-159 (159):

Wie er ersehnter Meister ist, so ist er auch Richtender, und das kraft göttlichen Rechts. / Ein Tuender der Taten Guten Sinnes für den Allweisen / wird die Herrschaft dem Herrn verschaffen, Ihn aber den Armen als Hirten.

(3e) M. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* I, 1975, 260 f.:

He (Ahura Mazdā) is as much the desired Master (*ahu-*) as the Judge (*ratu-*) according to Aša. / (He is) the doer of the acts of good intention, of life. / To Mazdā Ahura (is) the kingdom, whom they have established as pastor for the poor.

(3f) S. Insler, *The Ahuna Vairya Prayer*, in: *ActIr* 4 [*Monumentum Nyberg* I], 1975, 409-421 (419):

Just as the Lord in accord with truth must be chosen, so also the judgement in accord with truth. / In consequence of (this) good thinking, institute ye the rule of actions stemming from an existence of good thinking for the (sake of the) Wise One / and for the lord, whom they established as pastor for the needy-dependents.

(3g) H. Humbach, *Das Ahuna-Vairya-Gebet*, in: *MSS* 11, 1957, 67-84 (83), proposed the following translation of the formula, which is based upon a critical review of the morphology and the semantics of *ahū* (§ 11.6.3):

Weil sie durch ihren Besitz an Lebenskraft [*ahū*] begehrenswert ist, deshalb wird der Wahrhaftigkeit gemäß die gebührende Zuteilung [*ratuš*] / der aus dem guten Gedanken entspringenden Bewirkungen der Lebenskraft dem Mazda dargebracht / und die Machtverfügung ihm, dem Ahura, den man den Armen als Hirten bestimmt.

(3h) J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Exégèse de l'Ahuna Vairya*, in: *IIJ* 2, 1958, 66-71 (70 f.), followed the same line but presented a much smoother and more readable version:

De même qu'Il est à choisir par le monde, ainsi le jugement, selon la justice elle-même / des actes du monde a-t-il été donné, de la part de la Bonne Pensée, à Mazdā, / et le pouvoir à Ahura, qu'ils ont donné pour pasteur aux humbles.

(3i) The most recent attempt is by J. Kellens and E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* I, 1988, 101, who use their own terminology:

Harmonieux comme un (maître est harmonieusement) digne de choix par l'existence (rituelle) / le modèle des actes de l'existence de la divine Pensée et leur emprise sont attribués au Maître Mazdā, dont (cette emprise) fera un pâtre pour les nécessiteux.

(4) As pointed out by Humbach, *Weiteres zum Ahuna-Vairya-Gebet*, in: *ActIr* 23 [Duchesne-Guillemin Volume] 1984, 225-241, Duchesne-Guillemin's translation is entirely acceptable, except for two small points:

First, the adj. *vairiiō* 'à choisir' [= 'worthy of being chosen'] in the phrase *ahū vairiiō* 'à choisir par le monde' [= 'worthy of being chosen by the world'] is nom.sg., not dat.sg., which suggests that it refers to the nom.sg. *ratuš* 'jugement' [= 'judgment']

rather than to the dat.sg. *mazdāi* 'à Mazdā' [= 'to the Wise one']. In consequence, Duchesne-Guillemin's rendering of *yaϑā ahū vairiiō* by 'de même qu'il, Mazdā, est à choisir' [= 'just as he, Mazdā, is worthy of being chosen'] should be replaced by 'de même qu'il, le jugement, est à choisir' [= 'just as it, the judgment, is worthy of being chosen'].

Second, as can be seen from the parallels listed below (n. 11), *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō* 'de la part de la Bonne Pensée' [= 'of good thought'] is less likely to be governed by *ratuš* than by *šiiaoϑənanąm*. If this is correct, then *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhāuš* probably means 'the actions of good thought of the world [of existence]'.

(5-18) Analytical Details:

(5) Line a: *yaϑā ahū vairiiō aϑā ratuš aṣāṯcīṯ hacā* 'just as (a judgment is) worthy of being chosen by the world, so the judgment, (which) in accordance with truth itself, ...', →29,2:2 *kaϑā tōi gauuōi ratuš* 'what (is) the nature of [lit. how (is)] thy judgment for the cow?', 29,6:5-6 *nōiṯ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aṣāṯcīṯ hacā* 'none has been really found by the world, no judgment in accordance with truth itself'.

(6) The instr. *ahū* in *ahū vairiiō* 'worthy of being chosen by the world' is paralleled by the same form in 29,6:6 *ahū vistō* 'found by the world'. For the construction of the part.nec. *vairiia-* 'worthy of being chosen' with instr., cf. RV 1,1,2 *ṛ́ṣibhir ī́ḍiyaḥ* 'worthy of being worshipped by the sages', 7,22,7 *nṛ́bhir háviyaḥ* 'worthy of being invoked by the heroes' (Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 396 f.). However, as early as in Yy 19,12 (→n.1), the instr.sg. *ahū* was re-interpreted as nom.sg. (§ 11.6.3).

(7) The phrase *aϑā ratuš* 'so the judgment ...' along with its parallels 29,2:2 *kaϑā ... ratuš* 'what (is) the nature of [lit. how (is)] thy judgment?', and 29,6:6 *naēdā ratuš* 'there (is) no judgment', cannot be separated from the YAv. legal formula *aϑa ratuš* 'so (is) the judgment' in Yt 19,12.90 in which the description of the perfection and renovation of the world concludes with *nāšātaēca mairiiō aϑa ratuš* 'and the scoundrel will be annihilated: so (is) the judgment'. As this text is quite independent of the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō, it is of major importance for the correct understanding of the latter. Further evidence for the meaning of *aϑā ratuš* is provided by Ved. *táthā ṛ́túḥ* 'so (is) the regulation' in RV 1,162,19 *ékas tváṣṭur áśvasya viśastā́ dvā́ yantā́ra bhavatas táthā ṛ́túḥ* '(at the horse sacrifice) one is the dissector of the horse of Tvaṣṭṛ́, two are those who hold it: so is the regulation' (→29,1:2).

(8) Taken separately, line a: *yaϑā ahū vairiiō aϑā ratuš aṣāṯcīṯ hacā* could be understood as an independent juridical formula: 'Just as (a judgment is) worthy of being chosen by the world, so (is) the judgment (which is) in accordance with truth itself'. However, in the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō, the line actually is exended by adding the verb *dazdā* 'is assigned' along with a number of further complements. Thereby, the main clause *aϑā ratuš aṣāṯcīṯ hacā* is generated into a complicated construction which constitutes the rest of the stanza: 'Just as (a judgment is) worthy of being chosen by the world, thus the judgment (which is) in accordance with truth itself ... is assigned'.

(9) In the parallel passage 29,2:2 *kaϑā ... ratuš* 'what (is) the nature of Thy judgment' [lit. 'how (is) Thy judgment?'], *kaϑā* 'of what nature, how' is a predicative adverb. In the same way *aϑā* 'thus, so' in the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō qualifies the subject *ratuš* (lit. 'being so the judgment is assigned') rather than the verb *dazdā* ('so the judgment is assigned').

(10) If we are right in assuming that the Yaϑa Ahū Vairiyō is generated from the legal formula *aϑā ratuš aṣāṯcīṯ hacā* reproduced in its first line (→above, n. 8), then the enlargements consist of four syntactical elements (a-d):

a: A genitive qualifying the subject *ratuš*: *ratuš ... vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhāuš* 'the judgment (which is to be passed) on the actions of good thought of the world' (→below, ns. 11-12).

b: The finite verb *dazdā*: *aϑā ratuš ... dazdā* 'so the judgment is assigned' (→ below, n. 13).

c: The additional subject *xšaϑrəm*: *ratuš ... xšaϑrəmcā* 'judgment and power' (→ below, n. 15).

d: Two dative objects governed by the finite verb: *dazdā mazdāi ... ahurāi.ā* 'is assigned to the Wise One (and) to (Him) the Ahura' (below, → n. 17).

(11) *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō šiiaoϑənanąm* 'actions of good thought', # 50,9:2 *vaŋhāuš šiiaoϑanāiš manaŋhō* 'id.', 43,6:2 *vohū manaŋhā yehiiā šiiaoϑanāiš* 'on account of good thought by the actions of which', 34,10:1 *vaŋhāuš šiiaoϑanā manaŋhō* 'with the action of good thought'. Note the correct OAv. spelling *šiiaoϑəna-* of the gen.pl. *šiiaoϑənanąm* (Geldner *šiiaoϑananąm*), which is well attested in the Yaϑā Ahū Vairiyō and, influenced by this, in the further OAv. occurrences of the gen.pl. (28,4, 35,3, 48,8). For the other forms of the word, the vulgate spelling *šiiaoϑana-* prevails in the manuscripts.

(12) *šiiaoϑənanąm aŋhāuš* 'actions of the world [existence]', # 31,8:5 *aŋhāuš ... šiiaoϑanaēšū* '(presiding) over the actions of the world [existence]', 51,19:5 *gaiiehiiā šiiaoϑanāiš* 'actions of the living'.

(13) *ratuš ... dazdā mazdāi xšaϑrəmcā ahurāi.ā* 'the judgment is assigned to the Wise One and the power (is assigned) to (Him) the Ahura'. The coordination *ratuš* ...

xšaϑrəmcā may be reflected in the compund YAv. *ratu.xšaϑra-*; # Vr.11,1 *ahurāi mazdāi ... yaṯ huxšaϑrāi ... yaṯ ratu.xšaϑrāi* 'to Ahura Mazdā who (is) a good ruler, who has the power over the judgment' [or: 'who has judgment and power', or: 'who has the power of a judge'], but do note as well the occurrence of *ratu.xšaϑra-* as epithet of *gāϑå* ('the Gāϑās which rule over the five times of day') and *nāirikā-* 'a woman who is under the supervision of a tutor'.

(14) *dazdā ... xšaϑrəm ... ahurāi.ā* 'the power is assigned to the Ahura', # 33,14:2 *dadāitī ... mazdāi ... xšaϑrəm* 'he offers (his) power to the Wise One', →35,5:3 *huxšaϑrō.təmāi xšaϑrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā xᵛąnmahicā hiiaṯ mazdāi ahurāi* 'we assign [offer], commit and delegate the power to the best ruler who (is) the Wise Ahura'.

(15) *xšaϑrəmcā* 'and the power' is evidently coordinate with *ratuš* 'judgment' preceding it (→n. 13) and has therefore to be nom.sg., not acc.sg. Hence follows that *dazdā* cannot be a 2nd pl.act. but must be a 3rd sg.mid. with passive meaning.

(16) *dazdā* '(the power) is assigned, placed at His disposal' from the root *dā* < **dhā*, not **dastā* 'is given, offered, granted' from the root *dā* < **dā*. Thus, *dazdā ... xšaϑrəm(cā) ahurāi.ā* 'the power is assigned' agrees with RV 6,67,5 *vām ... kṣatrám devâso ádadhuḥ* 'the gods assigned power to you two', 1,160,5 *no ... kṣatrám ... dhāsatho* 'assign [du.] power to us'. However, there is no longer clear distinction between *dhā* and *dā* in the OAv. texts. In passages such as 33,14:2 (→n. 14), the rendering of *dā xšaϑrəm* by 'to offer power' (instead of 'to assign power') is required by the respective contexts; →29,10:3 *aogō dātā ... xšaϑrəmcā* 'grant [pl.] strength and power'.

(17) *ahurāi.ā* in *mazdāi ... ahurāi.ā*, replaces the anaphoric pronoun *ahmāi* 'to him'. Similarly: 28,5:6 *ahurāi ... mazdāi*, 29,5:8 *ahurāi.ā ... mazdąm* (§ 15.14.2).

(18) *ahurāi.ā yim drigubiiō dadaṯ vāstārəm* 'to the Ahura, whom people appoint as a shepherd to the poor', # 29,1:8 *nōiṯ mōi vāstā xšmaṯ aniiō* 'I have no shepherd other than You'.

Yasna 27,14: *Aṣəm Vohū*

(1) Exegesis of the three sections of the Aṣəm Vohū in Yy 20,1-3 of the Baγān Yašt:

(1a) Section a: Yy 20,1 *frāmraoṯ ahurō mazdå: "aṣəm vohū vahištəm astī." para ahmāi vohū vahištəm cinasti yaϑa xᵛaētauuē xᵛaētātəm. "vohu vahištəm asti." aϑa ṯkaēšəm kāraiieiti.*

Ahura Mazdā proclaimed: *aṣəm vohū vahištəm astī.* (By reciting that) one ascribes to it (truth) the best of what is good, just as (one ascribes) family relations to a family. *vohū vahistəm astī.* Thereby one makes one statement.

(1b) Section b: Yy 20,2 *"uštā astī uštā ahmāi." uštatāitiia vīspəm aṣauuanəm vīspāi aṣaone para.cinasti yaϑa.nā stāitiia [= *yaϑana as<ti?>tāitiia] vīspəm aṣauuanəm vīspāi aṣaone para.cinasti.*

In the Ušta-ness *uštā astī uštā ahmāi* one commits every truthful one to every truthful one in the same way as in the *Asti-ness one commits every truthful one to every truthful one.

(1c) Section c: Yy 20,3 *"yaṯ aṣāi vahištāi aṣəm" para.cinasti vīspə[m].maϑrəm vīspə[m].maϑrāi yaϑa aṣāi xšaϑrəm cinasti yaϑaca zbaiieṇte aṣaone aṣəm cinasti yaϑaca xšmāuuōiia aṣəm cinasti yaṯ saošiiantibiiō. ϑrāiiō ṯkaēša.*

(By reciting) *yaṯ aṣāi vahištāi aṣəm*, one ascribes truth which encompasses all formulas, to Best Truth who encompasses all formulas, just as one ascribes power to truth, and just as one ascribes truth to the righteous one who calls (for support), and just as one ascribes truth to you, the Saošyaṇts. — (These are) three statements.

(2) Pahlavi Translation (Dhabhar, *Zand i Khūrtak Avistāk*, 1929, 1), and Sanskrit Version (Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings* I, 1906, 1):

(2a) Section a: *aṣəm vohū vahištəm astī*

PhlT: *ahlāyīh ābādīh ī pahlom ast*

Truthfulness is the foremost boon.

SktV: *puṇyaṃ saṃṛddhiḥ utkṛṣṭatarā [atyuttamā] asti.*

(2b) Section b: *uštā astī uštā ahmāi*

PhlT: *nēwak ast [ahlāyīh] nēwak ōy*

[Righteousness] is a virtue; Virtuous (is) he

SktV: *śobhanaṃ asti [... puṇyaṃ ...] śobhanaḥ asau*

(2c) Section c: *hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi aṣəm*

PhlT: *kē ahlāyēnīdār ān ī pahlom ahlāyīh*

(he) who practises truthfulness (with regard to) foremost truthfulness'

SktV: *yaḥ puṇyapracārayitā ataḥparaḥ puṇyaḥ*

(3a-f) Selected modern translations

(3a) Ch. Bartholomae in: F. Wolff, *Avesta*, 1910, 66:

Aṣa [Recht] ist das beste Gut; nach Wunsch wird es, nach Wunsch uns zuteil, das Aṣa [Recht auf das Paradies] für das beste Aṣa [Rechtschaffenheit].

(3b) F. C. Andreas in: H. Lommel, *Die Yäšt's des Awesta*, 1927, 9[4]:

Die Wahrheit ist das Gute, (ja) das Beste; Verlangen ist (verwirklicht), Verlangen nach dem, was die beste Wahrheit ist, o Wahrheit.

(3c) H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* I, 1959, 30[39]:

Die Wahrhaftigkeit ist das beste Gut. Nach Wunsch eignet [nach Wunsch] ihr, der besten Wahrhaftigkeit die Wahrhaftigkeit.

(3d) I. Gershevitch, Review of Humbach, *Gathas*, in: *BSOAS* 25, 1962, 367-370 (369b):

Good Aša ('Truth') is what-is-best. In accordance with (its) wish, in accordance with (his) wish, Aša belongs (lit. is) to him who is best towards Aša.

(3e) W. Lentz, *Ashem Vohu*, in: *Pratidānam* [*Kuiper Volume*], 1968, 160-169 (167):

Die Wahrheit (ist das) Gut(e). Sie ist das höchste Gut(e). Sie ist im Wollen (und zwar) im Wollen (von Wahrheit mit dem Ziel) auf das, was Wahrheit (als) das höchste Gut(e ist).

(3f) M. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* I, 1975, 262:

Aša (is) good, it is best. According to wish it is, according to wish it shall be for us. Aša belongs to Aša Vahišta.

Instead of the relative particle *hiiaṯ*, which is being the first word of the third section, Boyce conjectures **hiiāṯ*. This form, unknown elsewhere, she takes in the sense of *xiiāṯ* 'may it be' and attributes it to the second section. This is contrary to the tradition laid down in the YAv. Baγān Yašt (→n. 1) and in the Pahlavi Yasna.

(4-11) Analytical Details:

(4) Past interpretations of the Ašəm Vohū have needlessly been complicated by scholars, obviously due to their preconceived opinions about the meaning of the formula, strengthened by philologically inadequate assumptions such as taking *ahmāi* in the sense of *ahmaibiiā* 'to us', or in the sense of *ahiiā* 'of him/it'. In our opinion, *ahmāi* is the well-known regular dat.sg. of the dem.pron. *a-* 'this', which means 'to/for him/it' (# 47,3:2). The phrase *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi* stands for **ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣəm vahištəm* 'to/for it which (is) best truth' or 'to/for him who (is) Best Truth' by relative attraction, cf. the syntactically parallel *xšmāuuōiia ... yaṯ saošiianṭibiiō* 'to you, the benefactors' in the exegesis of the passage in Yy 20,3 (→n. 1).

(5) The same construction as in *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi* is found in 35,5:7 *huxšaθrō.təmāi ... hiiaṯ mazdāi ahurāi* 'to the best ruler who (is) the Wise Ahura', and

in 31,22:2 *hudåŋhē yaθənā vaēdəmnāi* manaŋhā 'to the munificent one who accepts (them) with (his) thought' where *yaθə-nā vaēdəmnāi* (for **hiiaṯ-nā vaēdəmnāi*) is for **ahmāi yō vaēdəmnō*.

There are three more OAv. examples of this construction, in all of which the antecedent dem.pron. has been suppressed:

28,2:5 *ahuuå astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, of the corporeal one and of that (which is) of thought', where *hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* is for **axiiācā yā manaŋhō* 'and of that (existence) which (is) of thought'.

30,1:4-5 *yā mazdāθā hiiaṯcīṯ vīdušē* '(such things) which You shall report also (to Him) who (already) knows (them)', where *hiiaṯcīṯ vīdušē* is for **ahmāicīṯ yā vīduuå* 'also to Him who knows (them)'.

33,1:7 *drəguuataēcā hiiaṯcā aṣāune* 'for the deceitful one and for (him) who (is) truthful', where *hiiaṯcā aṣāunē* is for **ahmāicā yā aṣauuā* 'and for him who (is) truthful'.

Somewhat different is 35,2:3 *naēnaēstārō yaθənā vohunąm mahī* 'as we are non-abusers [praisers] of the good (things)'.

The construction has been described by Caland, *Zur Syntax der Pronomina des Avesta*, 1891, 23f. who, however, did not know all of the OAv. examples.

(6) In Yy 20,2 the section *uštā astī uštā ahmāi* is described as *uštatāt-* 'Ušta-ness', i.e. a benediction containing the auspicious word *ušta* which usually is rendered as 'happiness' by the Parsis. There are two other YAv. occurrences of the term:

Yt 8,29 *uštatātəm nimrauuaite tištriiō ... ušta mē ahura mazda ušta āpō uruuaråsca ušta daēne māzdaiiasne ušta ā.bauuaṯ daiŋhauuō* 'Tištriya will pronounce for himself [mid.] the following Ušta-ness: Happiness has arisen for me, O Ahura Mazdā, happiness, O waters and plants, happiness, O Mazdayasnian religion, happiness has arisen, O lands!'.

Yy 71,16 [= H 2,2] where the phrase *uštatātəm nimraomnō* 'pronouncing for himself [mid.] the (following) Ušta-ness' introduces the quotation of the opening words of the Uštavaitī Gāθā, 43,1 *uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāicīṯ* (→n. 8).

(7) *uštā*, which occurs twice in both, the Ašəm Vohū and in 43,1, is ambiguous in form. It can be from *ušta-* 'desired, wished for' (*uštā* 'desired things') as well as from *ušti-* 'desire, wish' (loc.sg. *uštā*, used adverbially 'as desired'). Wherever *uštā* is in opposition to *sādrəm* 'misfortune' (Yt 8,23-29 *sādrəm mē ... ušta mē*, Yt 10,137-138 *ušta ahmāi naire ... sādrəm ahmāi naire*) it is most probably from *ušta-* 'desired'. Yet, the alternative, *uštā* from *ušti-* 'desire, wish', is suggested in the etymological play of words 46,16:2 *tāng yāŋg usuuahī uštā stōi* 'those whom [acc.] we wish to be as desired'

[i.e. both 'as desired by them' and 'as desired by us'], not 'those to whom [dat.] we wish the things desired (by them) to be available'.

(8) Both, *uštā* 'desired things' from *ušta-* and *uštā* 'at will' from *ušti-* are combined with each other in 43,1:1 *uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāicīṯ vasā.xšaiiąs mazdå dāiiāṯ ahurō utaiiūitī təuuīšīm gaṯ.tōi vasəmī* 'I wish that, as desired, to him to whomsoever the (things) desired the Wise Ahura ruling at will may grant, should might(iness) along with stability come'. Here the two occurrences of *uštā*, together with *vasā.xšaiiąs* 'ruling at will' and *vasəmī* 'I wish', make up part of a complex figura etymologica which consists of four different derivations from one and the same root *vas/us* 'to wish'. This serves both, to embellish the text and to increase its auspicious character. A similar combination of two occurrences of *uštā*, used in two different interpretations, may, but need not necessarily, be found in the Ušta-ness of the Aṣəm Vohū: In *uštā astī uštā ahmāi*, the first *uštā* certainly means 'as desired' (as in 43,1), while for the second both, on the one hand *uštā* 'things desired' (as in 43,1) and on the other hand *uštā* 'as desired' are possible (→n. 10). The ambiguity seems to be intended by the inventor of the formula, who, as we see it, was Zaraθuštra himself.

(9) The Aṣəm Vohū consists of twelve words, arranged in a rhythmic and alliterative pattern. Its form brought it within reach of even simple people, who were unable to memorise the more difficult texts, and secured it a prominent place among the four Sacred Formulas. The text is ambiguous, however, and permits a number of alternative translations. The following, and perhaps still more, seem to be possible:

Section a: 'truth is the best (of what is) good', or: 'truth is the best property [estate]', or: 'good truth is (what is) the best'; but not: 'truth is good (and) best'.

Section b: 'as desired the (things) desired are available for it/him', or: 'as desired (truth) is available, as desired (it is available) for it/him'.

Section c: '(the things desired are available as) truth for it which (is) best truth' [or: 'for him who (is) Best Truth', or: 'for him who (represents) best truth']; or: 'truth (is available) for it which is best truth' [or: 'for him who (is) Best Truth', or: 'for him who (represents) best truth'].

(10) Each of these alternative translations is open to further discussion. In case we, for example, render *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi aṣəm* by 'truth is (available) for him who (represents) best truth', then *aṣāi vahištāi* 'best truth' could metonymically denote human persons who are adherents of truth, and *aṣəm* 'truth' could be taken in the sense of 'realisation of what is due or desired' (§ 4.7).

(11) The alternative translations quoted above (n. 9) differ notably from each other. Whilst they all seem to be equally "correct", they are at the same time very

enigmatic and cryptic. This suggests that the mystery of the Aṣəm Vohū is due to both, the interdependence of its ambiguous and cryptic poetical form and the magical effect it aims at, an effect which it seeks to achieve through the repetition and variation of the four crucial words *aṣa-* (*aṣəm ... aṣāi ... aṣəm*), *vohu-* (*vohū vahištəm ... vahištāi*), *astī* (*astī ... astī*), *uštā* (*uštā ... uštā*). Thus, it is an invitation to the more intelligent among the faithful to reflect and, on a higher level, to meditate on the formula. The prophet wanted to evoke their imaginations so that they might ponder on the multitude of possible interpretations, each of which could form the starting point of a chain of meditations on the numerous relations between the four significant words of the formula. In this way, he stimulated them to find the key to the mystical background of their religion. In this respect the Aṣəm Vohū, although it is not metrical, and much shorter than any Gāθā stanza, is representative of Zaraθuštra's poetical technique and of the style of the Gāθās as a whole.

27,15: *Yeŋhē Hātąm*

(1) The exegesis of the Yeŋhē Hātąm in the Baγān Yašt runs:

Yy 21,1-2 *"yeŋhe" iδa mazdå yasnəm cinasti yaθa dāta ahurahe. "hātąm" yasnəm cinasti yaθa haδbīš jiγīšąm. "yåŋhąm" iδa aṣaoninąm ārmaiti.paoiriianąm yasnəm para.cinasti yaθa vahməm amaṣaēibiiō. θrāiiō ɣkaēša.*

(By reciting) *yeŋhē* one describes the worship of Mazdā as (something following) the Ahura's orders. (By reciting) *hātąm* one describes the worship as a search for refuge (undertaken) by those who exist. (By reciting) *yåŋhąm* one describes the worship of truthful women (who are) the prime ones of right-mindedness as a laudation (offered) to the immortal ones. — (These are) three statements.

(2) Pahlavi Translation (Dhabhar, *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad*, 1927, 38, Yy 5,6) and Sanskrit Version (Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings* II, 1910, 14, Yy 4,26):

PhlT: *kē az hastān ēdōn pad yazišn abar weh [kū yazišn ān weh ī ohrmazd ī zwadāy rāy kunēnd] ohrmazd āgāh az ahlāyīh abāgīh cegāmizēw [(kū) cegāmizēw kār ud kirbag ud mizd ud pādāšn āgāh dahēd] hanjamanīgān narān ud mādagān yazēm [(kū) amahraspandān]*.

(That one) among the existing ones who thus for the worship (of Ohrmazd) is better [i.e., that worship is good which (people) perform for Ohrmazd], Ohrmazd knows (that one) in accordance with whatsoever rightmindedness [i.e. He makes

manifest any meritorious work and prize and reward]. I worship the members of the congregation, males and females [i.e. the Amə̊ša Spəṇtas].

SktV (in Yy 4,26): *ye vartamānebhyaḥ evaṃ ijisniyā upari uttame/uttamā mahājñāninaḥ svāminaḥ [kila ijisniḥ hormijdasyārthe pracurāḥ kurvantī] vettari puṇyāt [yat kiṃcit puṇyaprasādanaṃ hormijdaḥ vetti] samavāyikān tān tāśca ārādhaye [narastryākṛtīn amiṣāspiṃtān]*.

(3) Most of the Yeŋhē Hātąm is in arch. YAv.: for instance, the gen.sg. *yeŋhē* 'whose', instead of OAv. *yehiiā*, is archaized from YAv. *yeŋhe* by the lengthening of its final vowel (§ 2.2.4). Yet, the comparative *vaŋhō* 'better' is incorrect even for YAv., being a sort of vulgate form for correct YAv. *vaŋ́hō* (< OAv. *vaxiiō*) as found in Yt 17,20, and the voiceless *ϑ* in *vaēϑā* 'he knows' (< OAv. *vaēdā*) is a dialectal variant of YAv. *δ* in *vaēδa* as attested in Vr 16,3.

(4) The meaning of *paitī* + loc. in the phrase *yesnē paitī* is not quite clear. As most of the examples listed in AirWb. 822-826 point to a local or temporal meaning, Henning's translation of *yesnē paitī by* 'for worship' (perhaps influenced by PhlT *pad yazišn*) (→n. 6) is not quite convincing. We have, therefore, rendered *yesnē paitī* by 'at worship', but 'in recompense for the worship' seems equally possible. The same problem reappears in 33,11:3 *ādāi kahiiāciṯ paitī* 'at any apportionment' and 40,1:1 *āhū aṯ paitī adāhū* 'at these apportionments'.

(5) There can be little doubt that the Yeŋhē Hātąm was derived from 51,22:2 *yehiiā mōi aš̰āṯ hacā vahištəm yesnē paitī vaēdā mazdå ahurō yōi å̊ŋharəcā həṇticā tą yazāi* 'whose best (accomplishment) in accordance with truth (will have fallen) to me at worship (that) the Wise Ahura knows. (Those) who have existed and do exist (now), those I will worship'. Yet, the Yeŋhē Hātąm is more easy to understand than its highly ambiguous Gāϑic model.

(6) For the translation offered here cf. W. B. Henning's translation in M. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism* I, 1957, 262:

Of whose of-the-beings [masc.] and of whom [fem.pl.] / therefore Ahura Mazdā knows the better for worship according to righteousness, / those (male beings) and those (female ones) we shall worship.' Henning's translation is paraphrased by Boyce loc.cit. as follows: "The intention evidently is to offer veneration to all those divinities who belong to the *spəṇta* creation and whose worship is therefore proper for Zoroastrians." In addition, it is important to note that these divinities or divine entities (*aš̰a-* 'truth' etc.) are identified in the formula with that better part [or: accomplishment, attitude] which is displayed by believers at worship, and to which the

Wise Ahura is his own witness. This kind of identification is a crucial principle in Gāϑic mysticism, to be taken into account everywhere in the Gāϑās; its application is evident even in the post-Gāϑic Yeŋhē Hātąm.

Yasna 28-34: *Ahunauuaitī Gāϑā*

Yasna 28: *Ahiiāsā Hāiti*

28,0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) There is perhaps a causal relation between the occurrence of *paouruuīm* 'first' [or: 'primal'] in 28,1 [→ 1:1] and the traditional order of the Gāϑās. Either, Y 28 was composed by Zaraϑuštra to form the beginning of the entire collection, or the occurrence of *paouruuīm* was used in some early redaction of the Gāϑās as a pretext for placing it there (§ 2.1.3). The problem will never be definitively solved, but there is an important argument in favour of the former solution: The complicated and ambiguous syntactical structure of 28,1 displays an even greater degree of stiltedness and mannered expression than is to be found anywhere in the rest of the Gāϑās except, perhaps, for 51,22. Admittedly, our aesthetic sense is a poor guide in these matters. Yet, it is still possible that the exceptional great degree of complexity was meant as an embellishment for the opening stanza, or even as a kind of poetic program.

(2) Some of the compositional elements of Y 28 are dealt with by W. Lentz, *Yasna 28*, 1955. Lentz discusses the remarkable way in which one of the two names of Ahura Mazdā, *ahura-*, or *mazdā-*, or both occur, along with *aṣ̌a-* 'truth' and *vohu- manah-* 'good thought', in each of the eleven stanzas of the hymn (§ 13.1.1). The mention of Zaraϑuštra, Vištāspa and Frašaoštra in 28,6-8 recalls the mention of names in 46,14-17, 49,8-9, and 51,11,16-19, and represents a traditional pattern (§ 13.2.2).

28,1. (*yāsâ*); 7+9 (*paouruu̯īm, šiiaoϑànā*); 7+9 (*xšnáuuīšā, ùrúuānəm*).

(1) This stanza is highly ambiguous. Beside the translation given in part 1, reproduced below as alternative A, at least three other translations, below referred to as alternatives B,C,D, are conceivable:

Alternative A: With hands stretched out (and) in reverence to Him I first entreat all (those present), O Wise One, for actions of support for the spirit, prosperous through truth, (for the spirit) with whom Thou ...

Alternative B: With hands stretched out (and) in reverence to Him I first entreat all (adherents) of the spirit prosperous through truth, O Wise One, for actions of support, (of support) through which Thou ...

Alternative C: With hands stretched out (and) in reverence to Him, the support(er), I first entreat all (those present), O Wise One, for actions of the spirit prosperous through truth, (of the spirit) through which Thou ...

Alternative D: With hands stretched out (and) in reverence to Him, the support(er), I entreat all (those present), O Wise One, for the prime (existence) of the spirit prosperous through truth, (I entreat for it) with the action on account of which Thou ...

(2) The syntacticul structure of the stanza recalls that of 32,1:1 *aϰiiācā ... yāsaṯ ... ahurahiiā uruuāzəmā mazdå* 'entreats for His, the Wise Ahura's favour' where *ahiiā* anticipates the name of Ahura Mazdā, a stylistic device which is meant to raise a certain tension in the audience. Accordingly, *ahiiā* in *ahiiā yāsā nəmaŋhā ... mainiiəuš ... spəṇtahiiā vīspəŋg šiiaoϑanā* at first glance appears to anticipate *spəṇtahiiā mainiiəuš* 'of the prosperous spirit': 'in [instr.] reverence for Him (the spirit) I entreat all (those present) for the actions of the spirit prosperous through truth'. But the stanza, which in this respect, too, is ambiguous, is even more efficient if we take *ahiiā* to refer to Ahura Mazdā, as it does in 32,1. In that case, the use of *ahiiā* in *ahiiā ... nəmaŋhā ... mazdā* 'in reverence for that one (who art Thou), O Wise One' is to be compared with the use of *huuō* in the sense of 'Thou' in 36,2 *huuō nå paitī.jamiiå* 'mayest Thou come to us'. Cf. also *asya* in RV 2,15,1 *prá ghā nv àsya maható mahắni satyắ satyásya karaṇāni vocam ... máde áhim índro jaghāna* 'I proclaim now his, the great and true ones great and true deeds: ... in (a state of) intoxication Indra slew the dragon'.

(3) *ahiiā ... nəmaŋhā* 'in [instr.] reverence to Him', # 43,9:4 *nəmaŋhō aṣ̌ahiiā* 'of reverence to truth', 44,1:3 *nəmə̄ xšmāuuatō* 'reverence to one such as You', 51,20:3 *nəmaŋhā mazdå* 'in reverence to the Wise One', 50,8:7 *arədraϰiiā(cā) nəmaŋhā* 'in reverence to the zestful one'. Ved. *námas-* is not found with an objective gen.

(4) *yāsā* 'I entreat' (always *yāsâ*) is likely to govern a double acc.; # st. 8:1 *vahištəm ϑβā ... yāsā* 'I entreat Thee for (what is) the best', 49,8:1 *taṯ ϑβā yāsā* '(for) this I entreat Thee', 51,21:3 *tām vaŋᵛhīm yāsā aṣ̌īm* 'I entreat Him for a good reward'. But onely one acc. is found in 54,1:6 *aṣ̌ahiiā yāsā aṣ̌īm* 'I entreat for the reward of truth', 32,1:1 *ahiiā ... yāsaṯ ... uruuāzəmā* 'entreats for His favour', 49,12:2 *auuaṯ yāsąs* 'entreating for that'. *yāsa-* is an incohative present of the root *yā* 'to entreat' from which also st. 9:3 *yāna-* 'entreaty, favour (entreated for)' is derived.

(5) *nəmaŋhā ustānazastō* 'with hands stretched out (and) in reverence', # 29,5:1 *ustānāiš ahuuā zastāiš* 'with hands stretched out with fervour', 50,8:5 *ustānazastō ... nəmaŋhā*, RV 6,16,46 etc. *uttānáhasto námasā.*

(6) The abstract meaning 'support' of *rafəδra-* is certain in the six further OAv. instances of the word (28,3, 33,13, 46,2.12, 51.20, 54,1). In contrast to these, alternatives C,D,E presuppose a metonymical use of *rafəδra-* in the sense of 'supporter' (§ 15.9.2). Such metonymical use of abstract nouns is better attested in predicate use as in 43,8:2 *rafənō ϊiiəm* 'I could be a support' (§ 15.9.1). For the nouns in *-ϑra*, # 28,9:6 *yūžəm ... xšaϑrəm* 'You (are) the power', 34,13:7 *tū daϑrəm* 'Thou (art) the award'.

(7) *rafəδrahiiā mainiiəuš ... spəṇtahiiā* 'of the support of the prosperous spirit' (alternative A), # 54,1:3 *vaŋhəuš rafəδrāi manaŋhō* 'to the support of good thought'.

(8) *mainiiəuš ... speṇtahiiā ... šiiaoϑanā* 'actions of the prosperous spirit' (alternative C), # 45,5:3 *vaŋhəuš mainiiəuš šiiaoϑanāiš* 'actions of the good spirit', 34,10:1 *vaŋhəuš manaŋhō šiiaoϑanā* 'actions of good thought' (§ 12.1.4).

(9) The adj. *mazdā-* 'wise' is an agent root noun from the verb *maz-dā* found in 30,1:4 *yā mazdāϑā* '(such things) which You shall report' [act.], and 45,1:8 *īm ... mazdåŋhō.dūm* 'You shall take note of it' [mid.]. Similarly: st. 4:3 *māṇ<g> ... dadē* 'I note in my mind'. The basic meaning of the verb is 'to commit to memory' (mid. 'to commit to one's own memory'), that of the agent noun is 'who makes mental notes, who is mindful'; →31,2:7 *mazdå aiiå ąsaiiå* 'the Ahura (who is) mindful of those two shares'. For the formation of *mazdā-* 'wise', cf. 31,1:7 *zrazdā-* 'faithful' and 48,5:3 *yaoždā-* 'purifying'. The corresponding action noun is 40,1:3 *mazdā-* f. 'knowledge'.

(10) *paouruuīm* is an adv. 'first' in alternatives A,B,C, but in alternative D it is taken as a nominalized nom.sg.n., meaning 'prime (existence)' for which cf. *mainiiəuš ... paouruuīm* 'the prime (existence) of the spirit' with 44,2:2 *aŋhəuš vahištahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal (stage) of best existence', 45,3:2 *aŋhəuš ahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal one of this existence'. The meaning of *pauruiia-* is multivalent (§ 12.1.6.1). In our translation, preference has been given to a consistent rendering by 'primal, prime', as far as possible.

(11) *mainiiəuš ... spəṇtahiiā aṣā* 'of the spirit, prosperous through truth', # 44,2:6 *aṣā spəṇtō ... mazdå* 'prosperous through truth, the Wise One'.

(12) Unless the acc.pl. *vīspāṇg* 'all' means 'all (beings)' or 'all (those present) (alternatives A,C,D), it lacks a specification, e.g. by a pronoun as in 31,2:5 *vå vīspāṇg* 'You all, all of You', 34,3:5 *vīspāiš ... xšmāuuasū* 'all among those such as You'. This suggests taking together *mainiiəuš ... spəṇtahiiā ... vīspāṇg* 'all (adherents) of the prosperous spirit' (alternative B).

(13) In Humbach, *Gathas*, 1959, *mainiiəuš ... spəṇtahiiā aṣā vīspāṇg šiiaoϑanā* was understood as 'of the spirit prosperous through all-promoting truth', considering *šiiaoϑana-* as an adjectival agent noun 'promoting'. For this cf. Ved. *cyautná-* adj. 'promoting' in RV.10,50,4 *nṛ́ṃś cyautnáḥ* 'promoting men' vs. *cyautná-* n. 'enterprise, action' in nom.pl. *cyautnā́* and *cyautnáni.* The comparison results in a less complicated syntactical construction, but it is far-fetched and therefore not very likely.

(14) *vaŋhəuš xratūm manaŋhō* 'intellect of good thought' refers to the prayers of men or, by metonymy, to the praying men themselves (§ 4.7, § 15.9.3). Different is 48,3:3 *sāstī ahurō ... vaṇhəuš xraϑβā manaŋhō* 'the Ahura teaches with the intellect of good thought' where the intellect of good thought is depicted as a divine quality.

(15) *vaŋhəuš xratum manaŋhō yā xšnəuuīšā* 'with which Thou mightest satisfy the intellect of good thought' shows a shift of the rel.pron. from the beginning of the line to the position after the caesura (§ 15.16.2).

(16) *xšnəuuīšā* 'Thou mightest satisfy' is 2nd sg.opt.pres.mid. of the root *xšnau/-xšnu.* Traditionally, this is rendered by 'to satisfy', but this rendering is not always felicitous. The corresponding act. *xšnuiiå* is more or less synonymous with *surunuiiå* in Yy 68,9 *surunuiiå nō yasnəm ... xšnuiiå nō yasnəm* and in Yt 10,32 *suruniiå nō ... yasnahe xšnuiiå nō ... yasnahe* 'mayest Thou hear our worship, mayest Thou listen to our worship'. The two passages recall the double meaning 'to satisfy' and 'to hear' of OP. *ā-xšnu.* No difference in meaning between the act. *xšnuiiå* and the med. *xšnəuuīšā* is traceable; →46,1:9 *xšnāuš ... xšnaošāi.*

(17) *xšnəuuīšā gəuš(cā) uruuānəm* 'Thou mightest satisfy [listen to] the soul of the cow' certainly has sthe same background as 29,1:1 *xšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā gərəždā* 'the soul of the cow complains to You'. On *gəuš uruuan-* 'soul of the cow' →29,0:1-2.

28,2. 7+9 (*°jasāi*); 7+8 (*ahúuå);* 7+9 (*x^{v}āϑrē*)

(1) Each of the three sts. 2-4 begins with the rel.pron. *yā.* In st. 2 this is the antecedent of *maibiiō* 'to me', in st. 3 of *mōi* 'to me', and in st. 4 of the subject 'I', incorporated in the verb *xsāi* 'I will look out'.

(2) *yā vå ... pairī.jasāi vohū manaŋhā* 'I who will attend You with good thought', # 51,22:6 *tą yazāi ... pairicā jasāi vaṇtā* 'those I will worship and I will attend them with love'. (More parallels in 36,1.3.4.5 and 39,5.) The basic meaning of *pairī-gam* as that of a verb of motion is still apparent in 50,8:4 *maṭ vå padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiå pairī.jasāi* 'with footsteps which are proclaimed as those of abundance I will attend

[approach] You'. As contrasted with the mid. in the above passages, the act. is found in 43,7:1 *hiiaṯ mā vohū pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā* 'when one attends me with good thought'.

(3) *maibiiō dāuuōi ... āiiaptā aṣāṯ hacā* 'to grant me the boons in accordance with truth', →53,1:4 *yezī hōi dāṯ aiiaptā aṣāṯ hacā ahurō* 'if the Ahura may have granted him (Zaraθuštra) the boons in accordance with truth'.

(4) *ahuuå astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, of the corporeal one and of that (which is) of thought', # 43,3:4 *ahiiā aŋhāuš astuuatō manaŋhascā* 'of this corporeal existence and of (that) of thought', 40,2:2 *ahmāicā ahuiiē manaẋiiāicā* 'for both this (corporeal) existence and the mental one', 53,5:8 *ahūm yā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'existence which (is) of good thought', 53,6:11 *manahīm ahūm* 'mental existence'.

(5) *hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* is for **ahiiācā yā manaŋhō* 'and of that which (is) of thought', →27,4:4-5 *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi* 'for it which (is) best truth'.

(6) *yāiš rapəṇtō daidīṯ xᵛāθrē* 'through which one might put (his own) supporters in comfort', # 50,5:6 *yā nå xᵛāθrē dāiiāṯ* 'which may put us in comfort'.

(7) *rapaṇt-* 'supporter' is opposed to *daibišiiaṇt-* in 34,4:3 *rapaṇtē ... daibišiiaṇtē* 'to the supporter ... to the enemy'; →st. 6:5 *rafənō ... duuaēšå* 'support ... hostilities'.

(8) *daidīṯ* 'one might place' is a 3rd sg.opt.pres.; →29,4:3 *ciθīṯ*.

28,3. 7+9 (*ufiiānī, apaouruuīm*); 7+9 (*mazdąm*); 7+9 (*ārmaitiš*).

(1) *vå aṣā ... manascā vohū ... mazdąmcā ahurəm* 'You, O Truth, and Good Thought, and the Wise Ahura' (§ 15.6.2); →30,10:5 *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō mazdå aṣaẋiiācā*.

(2) *ufiiāni* 'I will extol', # Yy 17,18 *frauuaṣaiiō staomi zbaiiemi ufiiemi* 'I praise, I call, I extol the Fravaṣis'.

(3) *ufiiāni ... apaouruuīm* 'I will extol as never before', # RV 8,66,11 *vayáṃ ghā te ápūrvyā ... bráhmāṇi ... purūtámāsaḥ ... prá bharāmasi* 'we, (being) present in very great number, offer thee unprecedented prayers', 6,32,1 *ápūrvyā purutámāni ... vácāṁsi* 'unprecedented most numerous words', 10,23,6 *stómam ... ápūrvyam purutámam* 'an unprecedented most abundant (song of) praise'. The privative formation *apaouruuīm* 'as never before' stands in compositional nexus with its basic word *paouruuīm* 'first, prime, primal' in st. 1. We call this relation "compositional word play". It consists of a purely formal association of the two antonyms (§ 13.1.4).

(4) The nominal phrase *xšaθrəmcā aγžaonuuamnəm* 'also unfading power' ought to be coordinated by its *-cā* with a noun or nominal phrase; but this has been left unexpressed, i.e. *xšaθrəmcā* has the sense of 'X and power' or '(among other things) also power' (§ 15.1.3).

(5) *xšaθrəm ... varədaitī* 'increases power', # RV 1,54,8 *vardháyanti ... kṣatrám* 'they increase the power'.

(6) *ā mōi ... zauuāŋg jasatā* 'come [pl.] to my calls', # RV 8,85,1 *á me hávam ... gáchatam* 'come [du.] to my call', 8,35,13 *jaritúr gachatho hávam* 'You [du.] come to the call of the singer. 29,3:10-12 *yahmāi zauuāŋg jimā kərədušā* is difficult.

28,4. 7+9 (*ùrúuąnəm*), 7+9 (*šiiaoθànanąm, mazdå̃*); 7+8/9 (*isåi, tauuåcā, xsåi/xsåi*).

(1) *uruuānəm* 'one's soul' [or: '(my) soul'] is in compositional nexus with st. 1:17 *gəušcā uruuąnəm* 'soul of the cow'. Note that *uruuan-* does not only mean 'soul' in the sense of 'psyche, self' or 'immortal part of a human individuual or an animal', but also 'psychological process', →45,2:5 *nōiṯ nā ... uruuąnō hacaiṇtē* 'our [du.] souls [pl.] do not agree'.

(2) *māṇ gairē* with irregular final *ṇ* hardly stands for *māŋgairē* (v.l.) which could be the loc.sg. of an unattested **māŋgara* = Skt. *maṅgala-* 'luck, bliss, prayer, benediction'. Much more likely is *māṇ<g> gairē* (§ 10.5.4) where *gairē* is the dat.sg. of *gar-* 'commendation, welcome' (= Ved. *gír-* 'song of praise, welcome').

(3) *mān<g> ... dadē* 'I note in (my) mind' [pres.], or: 'I have noted in (my) mind, I keep in mind' [perf.]. If the restoration is correct then *māṇ<g>* is the same as 48,2:3 *māŋg* 'in mind'. Cf. the post-original sandhi form *mąz-* in # 53,5:4-5 *māṇcā ī mązdazdūm* 'note them in (your) mind'. This suggests taking *māṇ<g>* in *māṇ<g> ... dadē* [mid.] as synonymous with *mǎn* in the verb *mǎṇ-dā* 'to note in one's mind' [mid.] (→ 53,5:4 *māṇcā ī mązdazdūm*, # 31,5:2 *māṇcā daidiiāi*, 44,8:1 *məṇdāidiiāi* 'to note in my mind'), and with *maz* in the verb *maz-dā* 'to make known, give notice of' [act.] (30,1:4 *yā mazdāθā*, 'which You shall report'). From the latter come the root nouns *mazdā-* adj. 'wise, mindful' (→st. 1:9) and *mazdā-* f. 'knowledge' (→40,1:3).

(4) *uruuānəm māṇ<g> gairē vohū dadē haθrā manaŋhā* is one of the relatively rare Gāθic examples of discontinuous word order (hyperbaton) which, here, is developed into an interlaced word order *māṇ<g> ... dadē* and *vohū ... haθrā manaŋhā* (§ 15.14.3).

(5) *uruuąnəm məṇ<g> gairē ... dadē* 'I note in (my) mind one's soul for commendation [welcome]'. The PhlT is possibly correct in rendering *gairē* by *garōdmān* < OAv. *garō dəmāna-* 'house of welcome, paradise'. The entrance into paradise seems to be preceded by a judgment at which Zaraθuštra, supported by good thought, plays the part of a witness for Ahura Mazdā. However, 34,2:3-4 *yehiiā uruuā aṣā hacaitē ... vahmē garōbīš stūtąm* 'whose soul agrees with truth at the laudation

(which is performed) with welcomes [commendations] (consisting) of praises' simply refers to the ritual.

(6) *vohū ... haϑrā manaŋhā* 'together with good thought' is the only OAv. occurrence of *haϑrā* + instr.; *haϑrā* is used adverbially in 30,9:6 *hiiaṯ haϑrā manå buuaṯ* 'when thoughts will have become concentrated (at the place)'.

(7) As a rule, the conjunction *-cā* 'and' coordinates homogeneous members only. Therefore, in *uruuānəm māṇ<g> ... dadē aŝiščā šiiaoϑnanąm vīduš* it cannot connect the verb *māṇ<g> ... dadē* 'I note in (my) mind' with the noun *vīduš* 'witness', but it must connect the two nouns *uruuānəm ... aŝiscā* 'soul and rewards'.

(8) *aŝiščā šiiaoϑnanąm* 'rewards for (our) actions' refers particularly to the sacrificial salary; cf. E 18,5 where the remuneration of a Daēvayasna or Tanupərəϑa teacher is discussed: *nōit hē aŝi<š> šiiaoϑnanąm vərəziiōiṯ* '(the disciple) should not practise for him (what in the Gāϑās are called) the rewards for one's actions' (PhlT *mā ōy tarsagāhīh az ān kunišn warzād*). But *aŝīs šiiaoϑnanąm* could also mean 'rewards consisting of actions' and, thus, serve as a paraphrase for '(dutiful) actions'; →34,12:4 *aŝīš rāšnąm* 'rewards for the prayers' [or perhaps: 'rewards consisting of prayers' (cf. § 15.7).

(9) As contrasted with the perf.ptc. *vīduuah-* 'knowing' which shows verbal government (44,19 *vīduuå auuąm*), the etymologically related *vīduš* governs the gen. We render it by 'witness'. Thus, *vīduš mazdå ahurahiiā* means 'witness for the Wise Ahura' rather than 'witness to the Wise Ahura', but 45,8:3 *vaŋhāuš mainiiəuš šiiaoϑanahiiā uxδaϫiiācā vīduš* stands for 'witness to the action and statement of good spirit'.

(10) *yauuaṯ isāi tauuācā* 'as much as will be in my command [lit. as much as I shall have command] and as I will be able', # 50,11:2 *yauuaṯ ... tauuācā isāicā* 'id.', 43,9:6 *yauuaṯ isāi maniiāi* 'I shall consider as much as will be in my command', RV 3,18,3 *yåvad íše* 'as much as is in my command'; →35,7:2 *yā.tā isāmaidē* 'as much as will be in our command'.

(11) The compositional nexus between *xsāi aēšē aŝahiiā* and the following st. 5:1 *aŝā kaṯ ϑβā darəsānī* 'O Truth, shall I see thee?' suggests translating 'I will look out in search of truth'; # 46,2:6 *auuaēnā ... āxsō* 'look hither, look upon'. However, *xsā* means 'to teach' rather than 'to see, to look out' in Yy 65,9 *vācō ... yą hē caxse aēϑra.paitiš* 'the words which his teacher has taught (him)', and ibid. *xsāta vāca ... yazāite* 'he will worship with the word which he was taught'.

(12) *aēšē aŝahiiā* 'in search of truth', cf. *aŝō.īš-* 'seeking truth' in Yh 42,6 *aϑaurunąm ... yōi ... aŝō.īšō daϫiiunąm* 'the Āϑravans who (are) seeking the truth of the countries'; # RV 5,41,5 *rāyá éṣe* 'in search of wealth'. Here *aēšē* is the regular loc.sg. of *aēša-* 'search'; # Yy 68,13 *razištahe paϑō aēšəmca vaēδəmca* 'the search and the discovery of the straightest path'.

28,5. 7+8 (*darəsånī*); 6/7+8 (*ahurāi/ahurāi, mazdāi*); 7+9 (*hizúuā*).

(1) *aŝā kaṯ ϑβā darəsānī* 'O Truth, shall I see thee?', # 32,13:7 *yā īš pāṯ darəsāṯ aŝahiiā* 'which prevents them from seeing truth', Yy 60,12 *aŝa vahišta aŝa sraēšta darəsāma ϑβā pairi ϑβā jamiiama* 'O best Truth, O most beautiful Truth, we wish to see thee, we would attend thee'.

(2) *vaēdəmna-* 'accepting, recognising, taking possession of', 48,3:1 *vaēdəmna- ... vīduuah-* 'accepting ... knowing', 31,22:3 *vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā* 'accepting with (his) thought', 43,14:2 *vaēdəmnō* 'accepting (him)', 53,5:4-6 *māṇcā ī mązdazdūm vaēdō.dūm* 'note them in (your) mind and accept them'.

(3) *manascā vohū vaēdəmnō* 'accepting [taking possession of] good thought', # 34,9:4 *vaŋhāuš əuuistī manaŋhō* 'by ignorance [lack] of good thought'; furthermore 34,7:2 *vaŋhāuš vaēdənā manaŋhō sāŋghūš* 'knowing the bequests of good thought' [or: by knowledge or by possession of good thought'], 51,18:3 *manaŋhō vaŋhāuš vīdō* 'of the possession of good thought'.

(4) *vaēdəmnō gātūm ... ahurāi* 'accepting (as) a seat for the Ahura', # V 2,8 *nōiṯ hīm gāt<a>uō viṇdən* 'they did not find seats [room]'. As contrasted with Av. *gātu-* 'place, seat, throne', Ved. *gātú-* means 'way': RV 2,21,5 *yaj̃ñéna gātúm ... vividrire* 'through the sacrifice they have found a way'. As to the construction of *vaēdəmnō* with the dat. *ahurāi*, cf. RV 1,96,4 *vidád gātúṃ tánayāya* 'he found a way for (his) offspring', 10,14,2 *yamó no gātúm prathamó viveda* 'Yama was the first to find a way for us', 10,104,8 *devébhyo gātúm mánuṣe ca vindaḥ* 'Thou didst find a way for both gods and men'.

(5) Here and in 30,1:6, the metre favours reading *ahurāi* with a dissyllabic ending. Thus also: 31,15:3 *duš.šiiaoϑanāi*(?), 33,2:4 *vārāi* (but 51,6 *vārāi*), 51,11:2 *spitamāi*.

(6) *səraošəm mazdāi* 'obedience to the Wise One', # 33,14:2 *dadāitī ... mazdāi ... səraošəm* 'offers obedience to the Wise One'. *mazdāi* 'to the Wise One' replaces the anaphoric pronoun *ahmāi* referring back to *ahurāi* 'to the Ahura'; →27,13:17 *mazdāi ... ahurāi* (§ 15.4.2).

(7) Our translation is based on the assumption that the formula (*mąϑra-*) in question is an invitation addressed to Ahura Mazdā (alternative A). The formula then consists of the preceding lines a-b *aŝā kaṯ ϑβā darəsānī ... mazdāi*. If so, then *mazištəm*

'greatest' refers to Ahura Mazdā (# 45,6:1 *vīspaŋąm mazištəm* 'the greatest of all'), while *xrafstrā* 'evil beasts' must be taken as an apostrophe of a type similar to 30,11:1 *maŝiiāŋhō* 'O you mortals' and 32,1:3 *daēuuā* 'O you Daēvas'. This would be well matched with the combination of the three words in 34,5:5-6 *daēuuāiščā xrafstrāiš maŝiiāiščā* 'evil beasts, Daēvas as well as mortals'. Tentatively, one also could take together *səraošəm ... mazištəm* 'greatest obedience' (# 33,5:1 *vīspā.mazištəm səraošəm* 'very greatest obedience'). If so, one must translate *səraošəm ... anā mąθrā mazištəm vāurōimaidī xrafstrā hizuuā* as 'obedience (which is) greatest (by reciting) the following formula: "may we keep off the evil beasts"' (alternative B, →n. 8).

(8) *mazistəm vāurōimaidī* 'we would receive the greatest one', # 31,3:5 *uruuatəm ... yā juuaŋtō vīspāŋg vāuraiiā* 'the rule with which I might receive all the living', 47,6:6 *hā zī pourūš išəŋtō vāurāitē* 'for this shall receive the many who approach'. The verb *vāura-* [mid.] must be from one of the roots *var/vṛ*, not from ^{2}*var* 'to choose'. In order to account for a possible etymological connection of *vāura-* with MP. *wāwar-* 'to believe' (< '*accept'), the translation 'to receive' (< '*turn towards oneself') has been preferred. A meaning such as 'to sort into classes, to classify (into good and bad), to single out (the good or the bad)' would fit 31,3 and 47,6, but not the present passage, in which either *mazištəm* 'the greatest one' or *xrafstrā* 'evil beasts' is the object of *vāuraiiā*. Inversely, an etymological connexion with BSogd. *w'wry* 'harm, damage, destruction' or with Ved. *vavráya-* 'to keep off' (RV 8,40,2 *nahí vāṃ vavráyāmahe athéndram íd yajāmahe* 'we do not keep you two, Indra and Agni, off, but we worship Indra') would fit the present passage (*vāurōimaidī xrafstrā* 'may we destroy [keep off] the evil beasts'), but hardly 31,3 or 47,6.

(9) *vāurōimaidī ... hizuuā* 'we would receive with (our) tongue', # 31,3:6 *taṯ nā ... vaocā hizuuā θβahiiā åŋhō yā juuaŋtō vīspāŋg vāuraiiā* 'tell us about that with the tongue of Thy mouth, so that therewith I might receive all the living.'

28,6. 7+9 (*dåidī, dā̊, darəgåiiū*); 7+9; 7+10 (*dàibišuuatō*).

(1) *vohū gaidī manaŋhā* 'come with good thought', # 44,1:8 *yaθā nā ā vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'so that one may come to us with good thought', 46,3:7 *kaēibiiō ... vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'to which (people) will one come with good thought?'.

(2) *dā̊h-* 'gift', →53,2:5 *dåŋhō ərəzūš paθō* 'the straight paths of gift(-giving)'.

(3) The chiastic *dāidī ... då darəgāiiū ... aojōŋhuuaṯ rafənō* 'grant strong support (as) a long-lasting gift' is a poetical extension from **darəgāiiū rafənō*, # 41,4:1 *θβahmī rafənāhī darəgāiiāu* 'in Thy long-lasting support'.

(4) *darəgāiiu-* 'long-lasting' [or: 'providing long life'], →31,20:5 *darəgām āiiū təmaŋhō* 'long life in darkness', # 43,13:3 *darəgahiiā yaoš* 'of long life'.

(5) *aojōŋhuuaṯ rafənō ... duuaēšå* 'strong support ... hostilities', # 43,8:2 *duuaēšå ... rafənō ... aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'enemies [lit. hostilities] ... strong support', 34,4:3 *rapaṇtē ... daibišiiaṇtē* 'to the supporter ... to the enemy'.

(6) *ahmaibiiācā* 'and (to all) of us', # 53,5:2 *xšmaibiiācā* 'and to (all of) You'.

(7) *yā daibišuuatō duuaēšå tauruuaiiāmā* 'through which we may overcome the hostilities of the enemy', # Yy 9,18 *yaθa tauruuaiieni vīspaŋąm ţbišuuatąm ţbaēšå* 'so that I may overcome the hostilities of all enemies', RV 9,111,1 *víśvā dvéṣāṃsi tarati* 'he overcomes all hostilities', etc. Many attempts have been made at correcting the line by reducing the ten syllables of the second hemistich to nine. The most recent is by Kellens-Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* I, 1988, 106 who conjecture **tauruuaēmā*. However, the irregular number of syllables could be due to the fact that the line represents a traditional formula.

28,7. 7+8 (*dåidī*); 7+9 (*dåidī, ā̃rmaitē, vīštā̃spāi*); 7+9 (*dåstū*)

(1) *dāidī vīštāspāi īšəm maibiiācā* 'grant vigour to Vīštāspa and to me', # RV 9,97,25 *sá naḥ sahásrā bṛhatír íṣo dāḥ* 'grant us one thousand exalted invigorants', 6,60,13 *dātárāv iṣáṃ rayīṇåm* 'giver of invigorants and wealth', 8,46,2 *dātáram iṣáṃ ... dātáraṃ rayīṇåm* 'giver of invigorants, giver of wealth'.

(2) The above Ved. parallels prove that *īš-* 'vigour, invigorant, invigoration, refreshment' is etymologically the same as Ved. *íṣ-* f. 'id.'; →st. 9:5-7 *zəuuīštiiåŋhō īšō* 'the swiftest invigorations', 29,9:3 *anaēšəm ... īšā.xšaθrīm* 'lacking in vigour ... powerful through invigoration' (# Yy 65,8 *īša* 'with full force'), 50,4:1 *īšō ... ā paiθī* 'on the path of invigoration'; # 50,9:3 *īšaiiaṇt-* 'enjoying vigour', or: 'offering vigour', or perhaps also: desiring vigour'.

(3) In *dåstū mazdā xšaiiācā* 'grant, O Wise One, and rule', the conjunction *-cā* coordinates the two imvs. *då* 'grant' and *xšaiiā* 'rule'. A translation 'grant, O Wise One and ruler', with an alleged voc. *xšaiiā* 'O ruler' (→32,5:4 *xšaiiō*), cannot be correct, since two or more vocatives denoting one and the same person are never coordinated with each other by *-cā* (Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 105).

(4) *yā vā mąθrā srəuuīmā rādå*, i.e. **tā mąθrā yā vā srəuuīmā rādå* 'with a formula from which we might hear of Your bounties'.

(5) *vā ... srəuuīmā rādå* 'we might hear of Your bounties', →46,17:4 *səraošā rādaŋhō* 'in obedience to the bountiful one' [or: 'in obedience to the bounty'], →45,7:4

on ^{1}*rādah-* 'bounty' (cf. Ved. *rádhas-* 'favour, kindness, bounty') and ^{2}*rādah-* adj. 'bountiful'.

28,8. 7+9; 7+9 (*fəraša.ōštrāi*); 7+9.

(1) *ϑβā ... yāsā ... narōi fərašaoštrāi maibiiācā ... vīspāi yauuē vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'I entreat Thee, for the honorable Frašaoštra and for me, for all the time of good thought', # 49,8:1 *fərašaoštrāi ... dā ... taṯ ϑβā yāsā ... maibiiācā ... yauuōi vīspāi fraēštāŋhō āŋhāmā* 'grant to Frašaoštra, this I entreat Thee, and to me, for all time'.

(2) *vīspāi yauuē vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'for all the time of good thought', or: 'for the whole life-time (of the people) of good thought' (§ 4.7); # Vr 18,2 *vīspāiiūmca uštatātəm* 'state of being as desired for all time', sim. P 37.

(3) *vīspāi yauuē* with secondary *-ē* < *-ōi*, as also in 40,2:4, in contrast to the original *-ōi* found in 46,11, 49,8 *yauuōi vīspāi*, 53,1.4 *yauuōi vīspāi.ā* (§ 10.6.2).

28,9. 7+10 (*zaranaēmā*); 7+9 (*dasəmē, stūtąm*); 7+9 (*zəuuīštiiāŋhō, sauuaŋhąm*).

(1) *vā ... ahurā mazdā ašəmcā ... manascā hiiaṯ vahištəm* (§ 15.6.2).

(2) Contrary to YAv., in the Gāϑās the word order *ahura- mazdā-* occurs only if the two members are separated from each other by a caesura as in the present passage, or by one or more words as in 33,2:5 *ahurahiiā zaošē mazdå* (§ 11.5.5.0). The regular Gāϑic word order is thus *mazdā- ahura-* as in st. 2 *yə vå mazdā ahurā*, st. 3 *mazdąmcā ahurəm*, st. 4 *mazdå ahurahiiā*, st. 10 *ərəϑβāŋ mazdā ahurā*, st. 11 *tuuəm mazdā ahurā* (all examples before caesura). In the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, we find both *mazdā- ahura-* and *ahura- mazdā-*.

(3) *anāiš vå nōiṯ ... yānāiš zaranaēmā* 'may we no longer anger You with these entreaties', # RV 2,33,4 *mā́ tvā ... cukrudhāma námobhih* 'let us not anger thee through (our) reverence [pl.]'. Here, the meaning 'entreaty' of *yāna-* is suggested not only by the parallel Ved. *námobhih* but also by both, the compositional nexus with *yāsā* 'I entreat' in sts. 1 and 8 (→st. 1:4) and by the use of the adj. *yāniia-* in the introductory formula 28,0 *yānīm manō yānīm vacō yānīm šiiaoϑanəm aŋhaonō zaraϑuštrahe* 'entreating is the thought, entreating is the word, entreating is the action of truthful Zaraϑuštra'. As distinguished from this, YAv. offers numerous occurrences of *yāna-* in the meaning 'favour (entreated for)'.

(4) *zaranaēmā* from pres. *zarəna-* 'to anger', cf. the pass. *zaraniia-* < **zarəniia-* 'to become angry' in Yt 10,47 *miϑrəm ... zaranimnəm*.

(5) *zəuuīštiia-* 'swiftest, quickest', # 46,9:3 *zəuuīštīm ... ahurəm aŋhauuanəm* 'the swiftest one, the truthful Ahura', →50,7:1 *zəuuīštiiāŋg auruuatō* 'the swiftest steeds'. The nom.pl. *zəuuīštiiåŋhō* can be masc. or fem. (# 32,3:1 *daēuuā vīspåŋhō* 'you Daēvas all' [m.]; Yt 17,10 *vaŋtåŋhō ... mainiiåŋhō* 'the housewives' [f.]). Thus, it can be taken as a nominalized nom.pl.m. 'You (are) the swiftest ones' or as an attributive nom.pl.f. with *išō* 'You (are) the swiftest invigorations'. The caesura favours the former solution, the latter, however, offers a chiastic balance between *zəuuīštiiåŋhō išō* 'the swiftest invigorations' and *xšaϑrəmcā sauuaŋhąm* 'the power over benefits'.

(6) *yūžəm ... išō xšaϑrəmcā* 'You (are) invigorations and power', # 49,5:1 *huuō ... ižācā āzūitišcā* 'he (is) abundance and fat', Yt 5,22 *yaϑa azəm upəməm xšaϑrəm bauuāni* 'that I may become the supreme power' (§ 15.9.1).

(7) *išō ... xšaϑrəmcā* 'invigorations and power', # 29,9:6 *išā.xšaϑriia-* 'powerful through invigoration', 34,5:2 *xšaϑrəm ... ištiš* 'power, command'; →st.7:2 *iš-* 'vigour, invigoration'.

(8) *sauuah-* 'benefit, welfare' is etymologically the same as Ved. *śávas-* 'strength, power, superiority'. The Ved. word, however, denotes brute force, while Av. *sauuah-*, like all other Av. derivations from the root *sau/sū*, form part of Zaraϑuštra's terminology of judgment, redemption and salvation.

28,10. 7+8 (*dāϑəŋg*); 7+9; 7+10 (*xᵛaraiϑiiā, vaiṇtiiā*).

(1) *dāϑa-* 'just' is to *dāta-* 'law, order' as *uruuåϑa-* 'ally' is to *uruuåta-* 'rule, regulation', and as *hiϑa-* 'partner' is to *hita-* 'team' is valid.

(2) *yəŋg aŋhāaṯcā vōistā vaŋhāuščā dāϑəŋg manaŋhō* '(those) whom Thou knowest (to be) just in accordance with truth and good thought' [or: '(those) whom Thou, in accordance with truth and good thought, knowest (to be) just'] (§ 15.15.3); # 45,4 *aŋhāṯ hacā vaēdā* 'in accordance with truth I know', 27,15:3 *mazdå ahurō vaēϑā aŋhāṯ hacā* 'the Wise Ahura knows in accordance with truth'.

(3) *ərəϑβa-* '*worthy' (PhlT *frārōn* 'righteous, honest'), # 46,13:2 *frasrūidiiāi ərəϑβō* '*worthy of being celebrated'. Perhaps to be connected with Ved. *ṛtú-* 'regulation' to which, however, the Av. correspondence is *ratu-*.

(4) *aēibiiō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm* 'fulfil for them (their) desire with profits', # RV 1,16,9 *imám náḥ kámam ā́ pṛ́ṇa góbhir áśvaiḥ* 'fulfil this desire with cows (and) horses'.

(5) *və xšmaibiiā ... vaēdā ... srauuå* could mean 'I know for You Your (own) eulogies' [= 'the eulogies (established) by Yourselves']. Yet, *və xšmaibiiā* is rather an emphatic duplication, as is perhaps also 29,11:8 *nå auuarə əhmā* '(come) down to us, to us'; → 48,8:2 *tōi aṣ̌ōiš vβahiiā* 'of Thy reward, of Thy (reward)', # 49,6:3 *və xšmākahiiā*.

(6) *a-sūna-* 'without emptiness' > 'rich, abundant' (§ 15.11.3) from **sūna-* = Ved. *śū́na-* n. 'emptiness, lack, want, absence'. If *asūnā* goes with *srauuå* 'eulogies', then it is nom.pl. Yet, its position between *xšmaibiiā* and the caesura rather suggests a voc.pl. referring to the Ahuras. Note the compositional nexus between *pərənā* 'fulfill' and *asūnā* 'O You rich ones'.

(7) *xᵛaraiθiia-* 'conducted by an appropriate charioteer', is a compound of *xᵛa-* 'own, appropriate, good' and *raiθiia/raiθiia-* 'charioteer', cf. Ved. *ráthia/ráthya-*. The metaphorical use in *xᵛaraiθiiā ... srauuå* 'eulogies conducted by an appropriate charioteer' recalls that of *raiθiia-* in 50,6:4-6 *hizuuō raiθīm stōi mahiiā rāzāng ... sāhīṯ* 'may he instruct (my intellect) with good thought to serve (my) tongue (as) charioteer of my prayer'.

(8) *vaiṇtiia-* 'full of love, loving' is derived from 51,22 *vaṇta-* 'love' in the same way as *yesniia-* 'worshipful, worthy of being worshipped' from *yasna-*, and YAv. *vahmiia-* 'praising, worthy of being praised' from *vahma-* 'laudation, praise'.

(9) The meaning 'word, formula, text' of Phl. *sraw* suggests that the meaning of its predecessor Av. *srauuah-* agrees only partially with that of its Ved. correspondence *śrávas-* 'glory, fame, renown, laud, praise'.

28,11. 7+9 (*nipå̄ŋhē*); 7+9 (*túuəm*); 7+9 (*bauuaṯ/*búuaṯ*).

(1) *āiš* simultaneously, refers to the preceding *srauuå* 'eulogies' and is the antecedent of *yāiš*. A similar construction is perhaps found in 31,11-12:1 *yaθrā ... aθrā ... yaθrā maēθā* (§ 15.17).

(2) As distinguished from the act. *nipāhi* (in Yt 10,78 *daiŋhāuuō nipāhi* 'Thou protectest the countries'), the mid. *nipå̄ŋhē* has the indirect reflexive meaning 'Thou preservest (for Thyself)'.

(3) *aṣ̌əm nipå̄ŋhē manascā vohū* 'Thou preservest (for Thyself) truth and good thought', # 49,10:1-2 *vβahmī ā dąm nipå̄ŋhē manō vohū urunascā aṣ̌aoṇąm nəmascā* 'in Thy house Thou preservest (for Thyself) good thought and the souls of the truthful, and reverence'. The prayers and the ritual offerings by men are collected and stored by Ahura Mazdā to be preserved until judgment. That is to be seen in Yt 10,32 *paiti nō*

zaoθrå vīsaŋᵛha ... hąm hīš cimāne baraŋuha nī hīš dasuua garōnmāne 'approach (O Miθra) our libations, collect them to store them up, deposit them for Thyself in paradise' (→45,8:4).

(4) *frō mā sīšā ... vaocaŋ̌hē yāiš* 'teach me (how) to pronounce (those eulogies) through which', # 45,6:5 *frō mā sāstū vahištā* 'let Him teach me the best (things)' along with 34,15 *mazdā aṯ̣ mōi vahištā srauuåsca šiiaoθanācā vaocā* 'O Wise One, tell me about the best things, both eulogies and actions'.

(5) In *yāiš ā ... bauuaṯ̣*, *ā* may be a verbal prefix belonging to *bauuaṯ̣*, cf. Ved. *á-bhū* 'to be produced, to begin to exist, to appear'. In a great number of occurrences, however, *ā* simply serves to emphasise a preceding pronoun or particle: 29,9 *yəm ā*, 30,6 *īš ā*(?), 30,7 *tōi ā*, 31,7 *yə ā*, 31,9 *vβə ā*, 32,8 *aēšąmcīṯ̣ ā*, 34,11 *tāiš ā*, 36,1 *yə ā*, 39,1 *tōi ā ... aēibiiō ā*, 43,8 *hiiaṯ̣ ā*(?), 43,9 *aṯ̣ ā*(?), 44,12 *katārəm ā*, 49,6 *xšmākahiiā ā*.

(6) *bauuaṯ̣* 'came [comes] into being' is, possibly, inexact for **buuaṯ̣* 'will come into being', in which case *aŋhuš paouruiiō* would be 'prime existence' rather than 'primal existence'.

(7) *aŋhuš pouruiiō* 'primal existence', →33.1:4 *yā datā aŋhəuš paouruiiehiiā ... šiiaoθanā* 'the actions which (follow) the orders of the primal lord' (§ 12.1.6.1).

(8) The clause *yāiš ā aŋhuš pouruiiō bauuaṯ̣* '(the eulogies) through which the primal existence came into being' is used in Yt 1,26 *yāiš ā aŋhuš paouruiiō bauuaṯ̣ yaθācā aŋhaṯ̣ apəməm aŋhuš* in the sense of 'how the primal existence came into being and how existence will be in the end'. There, OAv. *yāiš* 'through which' was erroneously taken by the YAv. author as synonymous with *yaθā* 'how'.

Yasna 29: *Xšmāuuaiia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti*

29.0. Preliminary Remarks:

(1) Y 29 is the most esoteric of all the Gāθā hymns. Its basic problem is the lack of precision in the meaning of the phrase *gəuš uruuan-*. In Bdh 4A,11 ff. this is understood as 'soul of the uniquely-created ox/cow' (*gōšurun ciyōn ruwān ī gāw ēw-dād*), and Bdh 4,20 has in the first place the female animal in mind (*pēm bē šud* 'the milk dried up'), which tallies with st. 5 *uruuā gəuš ... aziiå* 'the soul of the fertile cow'. Yet, in the Gāθās *gəuš uruan-* is a mystic concept which has more than one aspect (§ 12.2.2-3). In the human sphere *uruuan-* 'soul', originally perhaps 'breath', can describe

a single psychological or mental process, or even the manifestation of such a process (→ 45,2:5), and a similar interpretation for the *uruuan-* of the complaining animal is clearly suggested elsewhere, particularly in 28,1:14-17 *vaŋhāuš xratūm manaŋhō ... gāušcā uruuānəm* 'the intellect of good thought and the soul of the cow' where the people of good intellect and the cow are considered to be present at the sacrifice. In the same way as *mōi uruuā* 'my soul' in 50,1:1-2 stands by synecdoche for 'I', also *gāuš uruuā* 'soul of the cow' can be understood as standing by synecdoche for 'cow', thus referring to any living specimen of the bovine species (§ 15.8). In addition to all these possibilities, *gāuš uruuan-* can as well denote the soul of the sacrificial animal just slaughtered, as evident from P 33 *para tē gao-spəṇta gao-huδå baoδasca uruuānəmcā fraēšiiāmahi* 'we send forth, O prosperous munificent cow, thy consciousness and soul'. Although all of these aspects of *gāuš uruuan-* are mutually contradictory in a material sense, they do not exclude each other in the mystic world of thought. As already pointed out in § 12.2.2, in Zaraθuštra's view the sacrificial animal was mystically identical with both, the primordial specimen and the species as a whole.

(2) At first sight, the antithesis *gāuš uruuā ... gāuš tašā* 'soul of the cow ... fashioner of the cow' found in st. 1-2 (# 39,1 *yazamaidē gāuš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā* 'we worship the soul of the cow and her fashioner'), seems to be in favour of the interpretation of *gāuš uruuan-* as 'soul of the primeval cow'. However, *gāuš tašan-* is a mystical concept as well. In Y 29 *gāuš tašan-* is used more or less synonymously with *θβōrəštar-* 'shaper' (§ 12.2.3). The fact that *θβōrəštar-* itself is related to Ved. *tváṣṭṛ-* 'shaper', the name of a creative deity, recalls RV 1,162 where in st. 19 the sacrificial horse is called *tváṣṭur áṣva-* 'horse of Tvaṣṭṛ': *ékas tváṣṭur áśvasya viśastā́ dvā́ yantā́rā bhavatas tathā ṛtúḥ* 'there is one who is the dissecter of the horse of Tvaṣṭṛ, there are two who hold it; thus is the regulation' (→27,13:7 on Ved. *táthā ṛtúḥ* = Av. *aθā ratuš*). Cf. the allusion to the myth of Tvaṣṭṛ found in RV 1,84,14-15 *áśvasya śíraḥ párvateṣv ápaśritam ... gór amanvata nā́ma tváṣṭur apīcyàm* 'the head of the horse was hidden in the mountains, they remembered the secret names of Tvaṣṭṛ's cow'. In this connexion, attention is drawn to the fact that Y 29 has sacrificial implications also according to the Pahlavi tradition: 29,1 *rəmō* 'fury' is rendered by PhlT *rēškun* 'wounding', glossed *kū- m apaymān kušēd* 'slaughters me immoderately'.

29,1. 7+9 (*ùrúuā, θβarə̀žδūm*); 7+10; 7+10 (*vāstríiā*).

(1) *xšmaibiiā gāuš uzruuā gərəždā* 'the soul of the cow complains to You', →28,1:17 *xšnəuuišā gāuš(cā) uruuąnəm* 'Thou mightest satisfy ... the soul of the cow'. The complaint of the animal expressed in the present passage is timeless ("extratemporal") insofar as it has always been so since the loss of paradise, and it will always be so until the renovation of the world, independent of time and place. This is, possibly, the reason for the use of the inj. *gərəždā*, as contrasted with that of the ind. *gərəzōi/gərəzē* in the prophet's complaints in 32,9:8 *yūšmaibiiā gərəzē* 'I complain to You' and 46,2:3 *gərəzōi tōi* 'I complain to Thee', which are confined to here and now (§ 11.5.3.2).

(2) The sex of *gāuš* in *gāuš uruuan-* 'soul of the cow', appears to be specified in st. 5:5 *mā uruuā gāušcā aziiā̊* 'my (Zaraθuštra's) soul and (that) of the fertile cow', but → st. 3:12 on instr.sg.m. *kərədušā.*

(3) *kahmāi mā θβarōždūm kā mā tašaṯ* 'for whom did You shape me? who fashioned me?' [= 'who is the shaper who fashioned me and for whom did he do it?'], # st. 2:1 *tašā gāuš* 'fashioner of the cow', st. 6:7 *θβā fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiāicā θβōrəštā tatašā* 'the shaper has fashioned thee for both the cattle-breeder and the pastor', 44,6:5 *kaēibiiō azīm ... gąm tašō* 'for what people didst Thou fashion the fertile cow?', 51,7:1 *yā gąm tašō* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow', 47,3:3 *yā ahmāi gąm ... hām.taṣaṯ* (he) who fashioned for him the cow' (§ 12.2.3.0), RV 4,34,9 *yé ... dhenúṃ tatakṣúr ṛ̣bhávo yé áśvā* 'the Ṛ̣bhus who have fashioned the cow and the team of horses'.

(4) *θβarōždūm ... tašaṯ* 'You shaped ... he fashioned' (§ 15.6.1) is a poetical elaboration of 29,6:7 *θβōrəštā tatašā* 'the shaper has fashioned', which is of ancient origin; # RV 1,52,7 *tváṣṭā ... tatákṣa vájram* 'the shaper has fashioned the club'. In our passage, *θβarəs* 'to cut, shape' and *taš* 'to chip, chisel, fashion' appear to be used synonymously, obscuring the fact that *θβarəs* and *taš* denote two virtually successive processes; # V 5,2 *upa tąm vanąm aēiti ... auui dim janaiti auui dim θβərəsaiti auui dim tāšti* 'he goes to that tree, he hews it down, he cuts it, he chops it up'.

(5) *ā mā aēšəmō āhišāiiā* 'wrath holds me fettered', # RV 10,28,10 *suparṇáḥ ... nakhám ā́ siṣāya* 'the eagle has entangled his claw'; cf. 32,13:2 *āhōiθa-* 'fetter(s)'.

(6) *aēšəmō ... rəmō* 'wrath (and) fury', # 48,7:1 *aēšəmō ... rəməm*; →49,4:2 *aēsəməm ... rāməmcā.*

(7) *dərəš* is either nom.sg. of **dərəš-* 'boldness' or of *dərəz-* 'fetter, bond', # 53,8:8 *dərəzā mərəiθiiaoš* 'with the bondage of death'. The meaning 'boldness' is suggested by the abstract character of the other members of the series beginning with *aēšəmō*, but the verb *ā ... āhišāiiā* 'hold fettered' points rather to 'fetter'.

(8) *nōiṯ mōi vāstā xšmaṯ aniiō* 'I have no shepherd other than You', →50,1:3 *kā mōi pasāuš kā mā.nā θrātā vistō aniiō aṣāṯ θβaṯcā* 'who (has been) found (as) protector of my cattle, who (as) my (protector, who) other than Truth and Thou', 34,7:5 *naēcīm tām aniiām yūšmaṯ vaēdā* 'I do not know someone other than You'; # 27,13:18 *ahurāi.ā*

yim drigubiiō dadaṯ vāstārəm 'to the Ahura whom people appoint (as) a shepherd to the poor'.

(9) The 2nd pl.imv. *sąstā* is taken as an *s*-aor. from the root *sand* 'to appear, to please', cf. Ved. *áchānta* from *chand*. The sg. is found in 46,19:6 *sąs* 'Thou appearest', 43,11:4 *sąs* 'appears', cf. Ved. *áchān*. A root aor. from the root *sąh* 'to announce, pronounce, order' is possible as well; # 44,1:4 *saźiiāṯ* 'he should announce'.

(10) *aϑā mōi sąstā vohū vāstriiā* 'so appear [pl.] to me [or: so please me] with good pastoral work [instr.sg.]' (root *sand*), or: 'thus announce to me good pastural works [acc.pl.]' (root *sąh*). Note that *vāstriiā* is acc.pl. in 33,6:8 *vərəziieidiiāi ... vāstriiā* 'to perform pastoral works'.

29,2. 7+9; 7+9 (*dātā*); 7+9.

(1) *tašā gəuš pərəsaṯ aṣəm* 'the fashioner of the cow asks truth', # 46,9:4-6 *yā aṣāi gəuš tašā mraoṯ* '(the words) which the fashioner of the cow speaks to truth'; →st. 1:3-4 *kə mā tašaṯ*.

(2) *kaϑā tōi ... ratuš* 'what (is) the nature of thy judgment?' [lit. 'how (is) thy judgment?'], →27,13:5 *aϑā ratuš* 'so (is) the judgment' (→29,0:2); # st. 6:6 *naēdā ratuš* 'there (is) no judgment [judge]'. The coordination *ratuš ... xšaϑrəmcā* 'judgment and power' in 27,13:13 suggests the attribution of *ratuš* to ¹*ratu-* 'judgment'. This is valid also for the present passage, whereas in st. 6:6 both, ¹*ratu-* 'judgment' and ²*ratu-* 'judge' are possible. The boundary between the two is very fluid; cf. *tōi ratuš* 'thy (truth's) judgment' with YAv. *aṣahe ratuš* 'tutor of truth' as far as this means 'tutor appointed by truth'.

(3) *gaodāiiah-* 'cow-milking', or: 'cow-fostering'. Thus also Ved. *gódhāyas-*, an epithet of the Vala enclosure in RV 10,67,7 *gódhāyasaṃ ví ... adardaḥ* 'thou didst split open the cow-milking [cow-fostering] (Vala)'.

(4) *hadā vāstrā* 'together with forage', from *vāstra-* 'pasture, forage' rather than from *vāstar-* 'shepherd' which would result in 'cow-milking zeal (practised) by a shepherd'; # arch. Yy 58,4 *hadā aṣācā vāstrācā* 'along with truth and forage'.

(5) *hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō ϑβaxšō* 'cow-milking zeal together with forage' is opposed to *drəguuō.dəbīš aēšəmam* 'wrath (caused) by the deceitful', with attributive use of both, the prep. phrase *hadā vāstrā* and the instr. *drəguuō.dəbīš* (§ 15.18).

(6) *hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō ϑβaxšō* is metonymically used for 'a zealous cow-milker who provides forage for the cow' (§ 15.9.2); # Vr 2,11 *vāstrəm bərətəm gauue huδāŋhe*

... gaodāiiūm narəm aṣauuanəm 'the truthful cow-milker who brings forage for the munificent cow'.

(7) *hiiaṯ hīm dātā ... gaodāiiō ϑβaxšō* 'when cow-milking zeal takes possession of her'. Thus, if *dātā* 'takes possession of, takes hold of, obtains, seizes, decides on/for, elects' is 3rd sg.mid. as in 44,20:7 *yāiš gąm karapā usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā* 'by which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful treatment)'. For the meaning of the mid., →44,19:3 *ahmāi ... dāitē* 'shall obtain for himself'; # st. 5:9 *mazdąm duuaidī* 'we elect the Wise One'.

(8) *vādāiiōiṯ* 'might break through', cf. YAv. *vaδa-* 'wedge'. Wrath is considered as encircling the cow and, thus, preventing her from free movement.

29,3. 7+9; 7+9 (*auuaēšą̄m, vīdùìiē*); 7+9 (*hātą̄m*)

(1) *ahmāi ... nōiṯ ... paitī.mrauuaṯ* [subj.] 'he will not answer him (the fashioner of the cow)', but 32,2:1 *aēibiiō ... paitī.mraoṯ* [inj.] 'he answers them'; # 45,2:3 *mrauuaṯ* 'he shall address'. Wrong analysis of the verbal form was decisive in the erroneous interpretation of the hymn by previous scholars (§ 11.5.2).

(2) *ahmāi aṣā nōiṯ sarəjā paitī.mrauuaṯ* 'no deliverer will answer him through truth' is the response to st. 2 *pərəsaṯ aṣəm* 'asks Truth'. Hence it is evident that the Ahurian person *aṣa-* 'Truth' and the Ahurian quality *aṣa-* 'truth', both of which are aspects of the Ahurian concept *aṣa-*, are interchangeble (§ 12.2.3.1).

(3) *sarəjan-* 'deliverer' [lit. 'breaker of shelters or enclosures'] is a compound from *sar-* 'shelter, enclosure' (→35,8:1-2) and *jan-* 'striking, beating, killing'. It is of the same type as YAv. *vərəϑrajan-* 'breaker of resistance' > 'victorious'. The ending °*ā* of the nom.sg. *sarəjā* differs from the °*å* of the corresponding YAv. *vərəϑrajå* but agrees with the °*ā* of OAv. *jā* in 44,16:1 *vərəϑrəm(.)jā*, nom.sg. of *vərəϑrəm(.)jan-*. It would be possible to render *sarəjan-* simply by 'warrior, hero', but in the present context an allusion to a myth similar to the Vedic myths of Vala and Vṛtra is implied.

(4) In *aduuaēšō* 'helpful, dear' [lit. 'without hostility'], the privative prefix effects a complete inversion of the meaning of the basic word (§ 15.11.3). In both, 28,6:5 *rafənō... duuaēšå* and 43,8:2 *duuaēšå ... rafənō*, the antonym of *duuaēšah-* is *rafənah-* 'support'.

(5) *aduuaešō gauuōi* 'helpful to the cow' [nom.sg.m. from *aduuaēša-*], or: 'in a way helpful to the cow' [nom.acc.sg.n. from *aduuaēšah-*]. For *aduuaēša-*, cf. YAv. *aṯbaēša-* (Yt 11,2 *nəmō vohu aδauuīm aṯbaēšəm* 'the good, unfailing and dear reverence') and

Ved. *adveṣá-* (RV 9,68,10 = 10,45,12 *adveṣé dyāvāpṛthiví* 'heaven and earth, the dear'), in which case *aduuaēšō gauuōi* goes with *sarəjā* 'a deliverer helpful to the cow'. Yet, if one decides for the alternative *aduuaēšah-*, then *aduuaēšō* must be taken as being used adverbially as is Ved. *adveṣáḥ* 'in a helpful way' in RV 5,87,8 *adveṣó no maruto gātúm étana śrotā hávaṃ jaritúḥ* 'take the way to us in a helpful way, you Maruts, listen to the call of the singer'.

(6) *auuaēšąm ... yā* 'about [gen.] such (things) which'. As a rule, the dem.pron. *auua-* is followed by the rel.pron. *ya-* (or by the rel.adv. *yaϑā*) in the Gāϑās. This must be the case here, and *yā* must be a nom.acc.pl.n.

(7) In *auuaēšąm ... vīduiiē* 'to learn about such (things)', *auuaēšąm* is a partitive gen. governed by *vīduiiē* 'to know, learn'; # Yt 17,54 *åŋhąm zaoϑranąm viŋdita* 'may he partake of these libations'.

(8) *auuaēšąm ... yā šauuaitē* 'about such things which set free' [lit. 'which set in motion', hardly: 'which afflict']. The transmitted *ṣauuaitē* is inexact for $^{+}$*šauuaitē* < **šiiauuaitē* 'moves, sets in motion' (§ 10.7.3). The nom.pl.n. as subject requires the sg. of the verb of the predicate verb. Slightly different in meaning is *šiiauua-* in 33,8:2 *arəϑā tā yā ... šiiauuāi* 'the (dutiful) purposes which I wish to pursue' [= 'the duties which I wish to accomplish'].

(9) *ādra-* (comp. *nāidiiah-*) = Ved. *ādhrá-* 'poor, destitute, weak'. Here, *ādrāŋg* 'the weak' is not opposed to *ərəšuuåŋhō* 'You exalted ones' but to *aojištō* 'the strongest one'; # 34,8:4-6 *hiiaṯ as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'as a strong one hits a weaker one'.

(10) *yahmāi ... jimā kərədušā* 'He to whom I shall come with *kərəduš*', # 46,3:7 *kaēibiiō ...vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'to which people will one come with good thought?', which suggests taking *kərədušā* as an instr.sg. (→n. 12)

(11) *zauuāŋg*, acc.pl. of *zauua-* 'call', ought to mean a call for support, as it does in 28,3:6 *ā mōi rafəδrāi zauuāŋg jasatā* 'come [pl.] to my calls for support'. Cf. Ved. *hávam*, acc.sg. of *háva-* 'call', in its innumerous occurrences, e.g. RV 8,35,13 *jaritúr gacchato hávam* 'come [du.] to the call of the singer'. However, it is difficult to believe that it is Ahura Mazdā who sends out calls (for support), all the more as from a syntactical point of view *yahmāi zauuāŋg jimā* is not likely to be the same as **yehiiā zauuāŋg jimā* 'to whose calls (for support) I shall come'. It is, therefore, most likely that in the present passage the acc.pl. *zauuāŋg* 'calls' is not governed by *jimā* 'I will come', but by another verb, which must be hidden in the obscure *kərədušā*.

(12) We render *yahmāi zauuāŋg jimā kərədušā* by '(He) to whom I will come along with (the soul of the cow), who has *sent out the calls (for support)', assuming that *kərədušā* is the instr.sg.m. of an unreduplicated part.perf.act. *kərəduuah-* 'having *sent out' from an otherhwise unknown root *kard/kṛd*. The one who has sent out the calls must be *gāuš uruuan-*, the soul of the cow, in which *uruuan-* is masc. Yet, *kərədušā* could as well be a nom.sg. of a hapax *kərədu-šan-* 'earning deficient things (only), small-wage earner', said by the prophet of himself ('I, the small-wage earner'), cf. Ved. *kṛdhú-* 'shortened, mutilated, small, deficient'.

29,4. 7+9 (*mazdå*); 7+9 (*maṣ́iiāiš*); 7+10.

(1) *sax^{v}ārə*, nom.acc.pl. of a hapax *sax^{v}ar-* n., is usually connected with Phl. *saxwan* 'word, speech' (cf. also gen.sg. Yt 13,133 *say^{v}hasca paiti husāstaiiå?*), but Hoffmann-Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus*, 1989, 79 prefer the etymological connexion with Ved. *śákman-* 'power, capacity, action'. At any rate, in the present context *sax^{v}ārə* has a negative sense, and our translation 'outrages' seems to fit all requirements. However, even 'words' would be a possible object of *varəz* 'to work, perform, practise, apply'; # Yy 55,6 *staota yesniia ... marəmna vərəzimna $^{+}$sizšəmna sācaiiamna* 'the Staota Yesniya which are memorised, practised, studied (and) taught', Yt 10,20 *aγaŋąm mąϑraŋąm yå vərəziieiti auui.miϑriš* 'the evil formulas which the opponent of Miϑra applies'.

(2) *sax^{v}ārə mairištō* 'who best registers outrages' shows verbal government of the superl., → 51,1:2 *vohū xšaϑrəm ... bāgəm aibī.bairištəm* 'the good power, an excellent bringer of wealth'.

(3) *ciϑīṯ* was understood by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 586, as a fusion of the two particles *-cīṯ* and *īṯ* (§ 2.2.6[11], § 10.7.2). Yet, in our translation it is taken as 3rd sg.opt. root aor. from the root *kaēϑ/ciϑ* 'to perceive, recognise, learn'; # 46,9:1 *cōiϑaṯ* 'he will recognise' etc. (→n. 4). For the ending *-īṯ*, cf. 28,2:7 *daidīṯ* 'he might put' (also 43,14.16, 46,2), 50,6:6 *sāhīṯ* 'may he instruct'. Against this solution, J. Kellens, *The verbe avestique*, 1984, 353.354[8], points out that *ciϑīṯ* does not fit with the original ablaut system ("un monstre") according to which one would expect **cōiϑīṯ* or **ciϑiiāṯ*. Yet, such a theoretical picture does not necessarily represent the actual state of things in Zaraϑuštra's language. On the other hand, the morphological difficulty seen by Kellens could be avoided by regarding *pairī.ciϑ* and *aipī.ciϑ* as adverbs of a similar type as 46,8:3 *paitiiaogəṯ* 'answered in response' (< **paiti-aok*). Thus, *yā zī vāuuarəzōi pairī.ciϑīṯ yācā varəšaitē aipī.ciϑīṯ* could mean '(those outrages) which have been perpetrated, visibly (all) around (here), and (those) which will be perpetrated, visibly in addition'.

(4) The meaning of *kaēϑ/ciϑ* is close to that of *vaēd/vid* in Yt 1,26 *vaēϑāca taṯca kaēϑica [*taṯ cikaēϑaca]* 'I know it and I am conscious of it', V 18,67 *vīδβå cikiϑβå ... vīϑušīm auui [*aipi?] ciciϑušīm* 'he, knowing and being conscious of it, her, knowing and also(?) being conscious of it'. Etymologically, the root *kaēϑ/ciϑ* is closely related to the root Ved. *cit*, of similar meaning. This suggests comparing the whole passage with RV 1,25,11 *áto víśvāni ádbhutā cikitvắṁ abhí paśyati kr̥tắni yắca kártvā* 'from there he observes all actions both performed and to be performed, perceiving them unerringly'. → 46,9:1 *huuō ... yā mā cōiϑaṯ ... yaϑā* 'he who will learn from me in which way', 33,2:3 *cōiϑaitē astīm* 'he will recognise (as his) guest', 51,5:7 *ərəš.ratūm cistā* 'finds a fair judgment', 51,11:5 *acistā magāi* 'recognised for the offering'.

(5) *pairī* '(all) around (here)', # st. 5:10 *drəguuasū pairī* 'among the deceitful (all) around (here)', 50,10:1 *aṯ yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šiiaoϑanā* 'and (the actions) which I will perform and the actions performed by these (all) around (here)'. There is no distinct evidence for *pairī* meaning 'in the past, previously'. Less questionable is *aipī* meaning 'henceforth, in the future'; # 30,11:7 *aṯ aipī tāiš aŋhaitī uštā* 'then the (things) desired will henceforth be available through them'. Both, *pairī* and *aipī* are also found in Yt 10,144 *miϑrəm aiβi.daźiiūm ... aṇtarə.daźiiūm ... ā.daźiiūm ... upairi.daźiiūm ... aδairi.daźiiūm ... pairi.daźiiūm ... aipi.daźiiūm yazamaide* 'we worship Miϑra facing the country, between the countries, inside the country, above the country, below the country, round the country, behind the country' (thus Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 1959, 146f.)

(6) *daēuuāiščā maṣiiāiščā* 'by Daēvas and mortals' also in 48,1:7; →34,5:6 *vīspāiš ... daēuuāiščā xrafstrāiš maṣiiāiščā* '(superior) to all evil beasts, Daēvic as well as human'.

(7) *huuō vīcirō ahurō* 'He (is) the Ahura with judicial authority', # 46,5:9 *vīcirō hąs* 'having judicial authority'.

(8) *aϑā nā aŋhaṯ yaϑā huuō vasaṯ* 'as he may desire so shall it be for us', # Yy 71,16 *yaϑa vaši aṣāum iδa [v.l. aδa] aŋhō* 'as thou desirest [ind.], O truthful one, so shalt thou be', RV 8,28,4 *yáthā váśanti devás táthéd asat* 'just as the gods may desire so shall it be'.

29,5. 7+9 (*ahùuā*); 7+9/10 (*ùrúuā, mazdą̄m, dùuaidī/dúuaidī*); 7+9 (*ərəžɣiiōi*).

(1) *ustānāiš ahuuā zastāiš* 'with hands stretched out with fervour [energy]', # 28,1:5 *nəmaŋhā ustānazastō* 'with hands stretched out in [instr.] reverence'. *ahuuā* is

taken as an instr.sg. of OAv. *ahuuā-*, YAv. *aŋᵛhā-* 'vital energy, fervour'; →51,9:2-3 *aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi* 'to make that visible in the vital energies'; # Yy 62,10 *vərəzuuaṯca manō vərəzuuatica aŋᵛha* 'fresh thought and fresh energy' [# 32,12:3). 'Energy' is the same as 'thread of life' in Yt 8,54 *aŋhuuąm auua.hisiδiiāṯ* 'would cut off the energy', V 18,19 *aŋhuuąm auua.dərənąn saδaiieiti* 'appears to cut off the energy'. In V 5,21 *yō huuąm aŋhuuąm yaoždāite* 'who will purify his own vital energy', *aŋhuuā-* corresponds to *daēnā-* in the parallel V 10,18.19 *yō huuąm daēnąm yaoždāite* 'who will purify his own religious view' (→48,5:6).

(2) *vā ... frīnəmnā* 'we two (are) devoting ourselves', with pres.part. instead of ind.pres.; # 51,5:2 *pərəsąs* 'I (am) asking', 51,20:2 *yazəmnåŋhō* 'we (are) worshipping'; similarly perf. in 48,2:1 *yā tuuām vīduuå* '(the things) which Thou knowest' [lit. which Thou (art) knowing], 44,19:7 *vīduuå* '(I) know'. To express other grammatical functions, the copula is required. That is the case in 50,9:5-6 *išaiiąs ... źiiəm* 'may I be (one) enjoying vigour', and it could be so in *ustānāiš ahuuā zastāiš frīnəmnā* if *ahuuā ... frīnəmnā* would mean 'we two were devoting ourselves', with *ahuuā* 'we were' being inexactly transmitted for **āhuuā*, 1st du.impf. of *ah* 'to be'. However, this is not the case. Since the stanza describes what is actually happening (in Zaraϑuštra's imagination), no impf. is expected.

(3) *ustānāiš ... zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā* 'we are devoting ourselves to the Ahura with hands stretched out', # 49,12:1 *yā vā staotāiš ... frīnāi* '(I) who will devote myself to You with praises'. The meaning of the med. of the root *frai/frī* is certainly different from that of the act. in 38,4:2 *tāiš vå yazamaidē ... friiąnmahi* 'with these (names) we worship and appease You'.

(4) *mā uruuā gəušcā aziiå* 'my (Zaraϑuštra's) soul and that of the fertile cow', # 50,1:2 *mōi uruuā* 'my (Zaraϑuštra's) soul' [= 'I, Zaraϑuštra']. If one takes *mā uruuā gəušcā aziiå* as a synecdoche for 'I, (Zaraϑuštra), and the fertile cow' (§ 15.8), then both, the cow and the prophet are depicted as stretching out their hands. An interesting parallel to this is found in Yt 10,85-86 *yeŋhe vāzš gərəzānahe us auua raocå ašnaoiti ... yaṯciṯ nəmaŋha vācim baraiti yaṯ gaoščiṯ yā varəta azimna bāδa ustānazastō zbaiieiti auuaiŋhe* 'the complaining one whose voice reaches up to those yonder lights, be it that (a man) raises his voice in reverence, be it that (it is the voice of) a cow which, being led away in captivity, calls indeed for help with hands stretched out' (→ 50,6:1-2 *vācəm baraitī ... nəmaŋhā*, # V 18,12 *para gąm azōiṯ varəṭąm* 'he would lead away a captured cow').

(5) The phrase *uruuā gāuš ... aziiå* 'the soul of the fertile cow' is, perhaps, a specification of the female gender of *gau-* 'ox/cow' in st. 1 *gāuš uruuā* (→ 29,0:1). For

gəuš ... aziiå 'of the fertile cow' (cf. J. Narten, *Der Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*, 1986, 232-234), the PhlT has *gāw az*. In the SktV, *gāw az* is rendered by *gośca ajīnāmnyāḥ* 'of a cow called *ajī*', glossed *ajīnāmnī trivarṣikī gauḥ* 'a three year-old cow called *ajī*'.

(6) *mazdąm* '(Him), the Wise One' replaces the anaphorical pronoun *tām/hīm* referring back to *ahurāi.ā*. Similarly: 27,13:17 *mazdāi ... ahurāi.ā* (§ 15.14.2).

(7) *duuaidī* 'we elect' [mid.], →st. 2:7 *dātā* 'takes possession of'.

(8) *hiiaṯ mazdąm duuaidī fərasåbiiō* 'while we elect the Wise One to (give us) orders'. Geldner's reading *fərasābiiō* from *fərasā-* 'consultation' ('while we elect the Wise One for consultations') is suggested at first glance by 43,7:4 *kaϑā aiiarə ... fərasaiiāi dīšā* 'why wouldst thou get a date for consultation?'. However, beside *fərasā-* 'consultation', there also is evidence for a stem *fəra-sāh-* 'order' (dat.pl. *fərasåbiiō*) as proposed by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1002 and etymologically connected by him with Ved. *praśíṣ-* 'order, direction, precept'. The stem *fəra-sāh-* is hidden in the adj. YAv. *afrasāhuuaŋt/afrasāŋᵛhaŋt-* 'unlimited, unrestricted, unimpaired': Yy 52,1 *aŝīm ... āfrasåŋhaitīm* 'unlimited reward', Yy 62,6 *dāiiå mē ... yā mē aŋhaṯ afrasåŋhå ... vahištəm ahūm aŝaonąm raocaŋhəm vīspō.xᵛāϑrəm* 'mayest thou grant me the best existence of the truthful ones, bright and with all comfort, so that it will be unlimited for me', P 37 *anaγraca raocå afrasaŋhąnca xᵛāϑra* 'endless lights and unlimited comforts'. The nom.acc.pl.n. *afrasaŋhąn*, a morphological rarity, was mistaken for a gen.pl. of **afrasāh-* in G 3,6 *afrasaŋhąmca xᵛāϑrəm* 'comfort of the unlimited'.

(9) *nōiṯ ərəžəjiiōi frajiiāitiš* 'there is no life prospect for the decently-living one'. These words, which were misunderstood as expressing a desire ('may there be no *frajiiāti-*'), rather give a reason for Zaraϑuštra's placing himself along with the cow under the protection of Ahura Mazdā. If this is correct, then *frajiiāti-* belongs with *hujiiāti-* 'good life', *dužjiiāti-* 'bad life', and it means 'survival, life prospect'. Comparison of *frajjiiāti-* with YAv. *afrajiiamna-* 'unexhaustible', which would result in 'destruction, extinction', is to be rejected.

(10) *ərəžəjiiōi ... drəguuasū pairī* 'for the decently living one among the deceitful ones (all) around (here)', # 50,2:5 *ərəžəjīš ... pourušū huuarə pišiiasū* 'one who lives honestly among the many who *block sun(light)', where *pourušū* 'the many' refers to the deceitful'; →st. 4:5 *pairī* '(all) around (here)'.

29,6. 7+9 (*mazdå*); 7+9; 7+9 (*vāstríiāi*).

(1) In light of the injs. st. 1 *gərəždā* 'complains', st. 2 *pərəsaṯ* 'asks', st. 9 *raostā* 'laments' (§ 11.5.3.1), an augmented ind. *aṯ ə.vaocaṯ* < **əuuaocaṯ* 'he spoke' is unlikely.

(2) It would be tempting to read *at ə* as one word *aṯ.ə* 'from yonder' (= Ved. *atás* 'from that place or time). Yet, *aṯ ə* is opposed to st. 4 *aṯ vā*. There, *vā* is a pers.pron. 'we two', which suggests taking *ə* as a pronoun as well. It is most likely an early corruption of **hā*, a form which has survived in arch. YAv. passages only, while in the Gāϑā transmission it has been replaced by *huuō* (§ 10.7.2); # 46,18:2 *ascīṯ* > **hascīṯ*.

(3) *vafūš* is nom.acc.pl. of *vafuš-* 'pronouncement' which is one of the many OAv. words for 'word, utterance, formula, announcement, instruction etc.' most of which are interchangeable. Unquestionably it is etymologically related to the pres. *ufiia-* 'to extol, praise'. Less distinct is the relation to Ved. *vápus-* 'form, beautiful form, beauty'. Comparison of *vīduuå vafūš* 'knowing the pronouncements' with RV 2,3,7 *vidúṣṭarā ... vapúṣṭarā* 'the two more knowing and more beautiful' (Schlerath, *Vorarbeiten* II, 1968, 150) is of no help. One should rather compare *vaocaṯ ... vīduuå vafūš* '(the Ahura), who knows the pronouncements, speaks' with 48,9:3 *ərəš mōi ... ūcąm vaŋhāuš vafuš manaŋhō, vīdiiāṯ saošiiąs* 'let the pronouncement of good thought be told me plainly; may the benefactor know'.

(4) *viiānaiiā* 'in (His) spirit(edness)', is either loc.sg. of *viiāna-* n. 'life, soul, ghost, spirit' (> MP. *gyān*, NP. *jān*), or instr.sg. of *viiānaiiā-* f. 'desire for life' etc. # 44,7:6 *kə uzəmām cōrəṯ viiānaiiā puϑrəm piϑrē* 'who in (His) spiritedness provides a father with an outstanding son?'. Stem or *viiāna-* n. (> MP. *gyān* 'soul, ghost', NP. *jān* 'soul, spirit, life'). *viiāna-* n. seems to be hidden in the corrupt Yt 10,64 *miϑrəm ... yahmi viiāne [*viiānəm] daēnaiiāi ... maza<ṯ> amauua<ṯ> niδātəm* 'Miϑra in whom the spirit of the religion, large and impetuous, has been laid down'. (→48,7:7 *viiąm.*)

(5) *nōiṯ aēuuā ... vistō* 'none (has been) really found'. Different is Ved. *néd evá* in RV 10,51,4 *néd evá mā yunájann átra devāḥ* 'so that the gods cannot yoke me to it'.

(6) *nōiṯ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aŝāṯcīṯ hacā* 'none (has been) really found by the world, no judgment [judge] in accordance with truth itself', →27,13:5-8 *yaϑā ahū vairiiō aϑā ratuš aŝāṯcīṯ hacā* 'just as (a judgment) is worthy of being chosen by the world, so the judgment in accordance with truth itself ... '. In the present passage, *ratuš* can be from both, ¹*ratu-* 'judgment' (for which →st. 2:2 *kaϑā tōi gauuōi ratuš*) and ²*ratuš* 'judge' (for which cf. *vistō ... ratuš* with st.8 *vistō ... zaraϑuštrō* 'Zaraϑuštra has been found').

(7) *ϑβā fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiāicā ϑβōrəštā tatašā* 'the shaper has fashioned thee for both the cattle-breeder and the herdsman' answers the question st. 1:3 *kahmāi mā ϑβarōždūm kə mā tašaṯ* 'for whom did You shape me, who fashioned me?' (§ 12.2.3).

(8) *fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiāicā* 'for both the cattle-breeder and the herdsman' is a poetical elaboration of the common *vāstriia- fšuiiaṇt-* 'cattle-breeding herdsman'. The

same type of pleonastic *-cā* is found in # 30,1:7 *staotācā ... yesniiācā* 'both praises and worshipful (words)' (§ 15.1.3).

29,7. 7+9; 7+9 (*mazdå, ùrušaēibiiō*); 7+9.

(1) *āzūiti-* 'fat, butter' = Ved. *ā́huti-* 'offering of oblations with fire to the deities'.

(2) *tām āzūtōiš ... mąθrəm* 'that (well-known) formula concerning fat' [= 'that (well-known) conception of fat'] is a poetical extension of *āzūti-* 'fat'. Thus, *āzūtōiš ... mąθrəm ... xšuuīdəmcā* 'the formula concerning fat, and the milk' is materially the same as 'milk and fat' in V 13,28 *xšuuisca āzūitišca*, Yy 16,8 *xšuuīδa āzuiti* [nom.acc.-du.], Yy 68,2 *xšuuīδaeca āzūtaiiaēca* [dat.sg.] (§ 15.7).

(3) *āzūtōiš ... mąθrəm tašaṯ* 'he fashioned the formula concerning fat', # RV 7,7,6 *eté ... mántraṃ yé ... átakṣan* 'these (poets) who fashioned the formula', 1.67,4 *hṛdā́ ... taṣṭā́n mántrān* 'the formulas fashioned by one's heart'. Fashioning the formula concerning fat [= conceiving the concept of fat] is considered identical with producing fat itself or, at least, ordering to produce it; →31,6:6 *yə̄ mōi viduuå vaocāṯ haiθīm mąθrəm yim hauruuatātō aṣahiiā amərətātascā* 'the knowing one who will pronounce for me the true formula concerning the integrity and immortality of truth'.

(4) *ùruša-* = Ved. *rūkṣá-* 'emaciated, thin'.

(5) *dāiiāṯ* in *yə̄ ī dāiiāṯ əəāuuā* '(he) who may bring them down' can hardly be separated from *dāiiāṯ* 'will put, assign, grant' (43,1, 46,10, 50,5), and *vīdāiiāṯ* 'will distribute' (34,12, 43,12). Kellens, *Verbe*, 1984, 358.359[15] takes *dāiiāṯ* 'he may bring' as an opt., synonymous with *diiāṯ* 'might bring' (cf. Yy 62,4 *dāiiå* = 57,26 *daiiå* 'mayest Thou grant'). But that does not account for the 3rd sg.ind.pres.med. *dāiietē* in 31,11:4 *yaθrā varənāŋg vaså dāiietē* 'where the wisher makes use of (his good or bad) preferences'. This definitely points to a pres. *dāiia-* from which *dāiiāṯ* is the 3rd sg.sbj. Historically, *dāiia-* must be a causative (cf. Skt. *dhāpayati*), semantically, it is synonymous with the primitive verb: 50,5:6 *xᵛāθrē dāiiāṯ* 'may put in comfort' (< 'may cause to put in comfort'), # 28,2 *daidīṯ xᵛāθrē* 'might put in comfort'.

(6) *əəāuuā* = *auuā*, # 32,16:7 *əəānū* = YAv. *anu*, 35,6:4 *əəādu-* = YAv. *āδu-*.

29,8. 7+9; 7+9; 7+8/9/10 (*dìiå̄i/dìiā̃i/díiå̄i/díiā̃i*).

(1) *aēm mōi idā vistō ... zaraθuštrō* 'this one has been found here by me', →st. 6:6 *nōiṯ ... vistō ... ratuš* 'no judgment [judge] has been found'.

(2) *idā* = Ved. *ihá* 'here' or Ved. *idá* 'now'.

(3) *yə̄ nə̄ aēuuō sāsnå gūšatā* 'the only one who listens to our teachings', # 31,18:1 *mā.ciš aṯ və̄ draguuatō mąθrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā* 'let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to Your formulas and teachings'. In corrupted form the passage is borrowed into Yt 13,86 *gaiiehe marəθnō ... yō paoiriiō ahurāi mazdāi manasca gūšta sāsnåsca* 'Gayomard who was the first to listen to Ahura Mazdā's thought and teachings'.

(4) *nə̄ mazdā ... aṣāicā* 'for Us, O Wise One, and for Truth' is an artificial transposition into the 1st pers. of the well-attested figure of speech of the type 32,6:4 *və̄ mazdā ... aṣāicā* 'for You, O Wise One, and for Truth' (§ 15.6.2).

(5) *carəkərəθra-* 'laud, reminiscence' from *²kar* 'to make mention of, recall, remember', cf. pres. *carəkar/carəkṛ-* in Yy 58,4 *carəkərəmahī*.

(6) *srāuuaiieŋhē* 'to sing' is an inf. from the caus.pres. *srāuuaiia-* 'to cause to be heard'. For its meaning cf. MP. *srūdan/srāy-* 'to sing, recite'.

(7) *hiiaṯ ... diiāi* 'so that I may enjoy' [lit. 'I may perceive'] is taken as 1st sg.sbj. of a pres. *diia-* or *diiā-* from root *dai/dī* = Ved. *dhī* 'look at, perceive'. This, admittedly, forms the reduplicated pres. in 44,10:2 *daēnąm ... ərəš daidiiaṯ* 'does it observe plainly that religion'; cf. YAv. pres.part. *dīδ(a)iiat-* = Ved. *dídhiat-*.

(8) *hu-dəma-* 'beautiful structure, beauty' from root *dam* 'to construct', just as Ved. *su-mná-* n. 'benevolence' from root *man* 'to think'. YAv. *humna-* in the obscure FrW 9,2 *humnəm baraēta rāiti* could come from both, OAv. **humna-* and *hudəma-*.

(9) *hiiaṯ hōi hudəməm diiāi vaxəδrahiiā* is usually compared with RV 2,21,6 *dhehi ... svādmā́naṃ vācáḥ* 'assign sweetness of speech', but there is little similarity between the two passages; *vaxəδra-* means 'organ of speech' rather than 'speech', cf. Skt. *vaktra-* 'mouth'.

29,9. 7+9 (*ùrúuā*); 7+9 (*īšā.xšaθrī̃m*); 7+9.

(1) *yə̄ anaēšəm xšąnmānē rādəm* '(I) who (have) to content myself with a caretaker lacking in vigour'. Thus, if *rādəm* is from *rāda-* m. 'caretaker', cf. YAv. *rāδa-* in Yy 9,23 †*haiθīm rāδəmca*. An inf. instead of a finite verb in the rel. clause is also found in 44,12:3-4 *yə̄ ... paitī.ərətē* 'who (intends) to obstruct'. However, as pointed out by K. Hoffmann, *rādəm* could also be a verbal form; →33,2:4 *tōi ... vārāi rādəṇtī* 'those will heed (His) will'.

(2) *anaēšəm ... rādəm ... vācəm* 'a caretaker lacking in vigour, (namely) the voice', # 44,17:6 *hiiaṯcā mōi xiiāṯ vāxš aēšō* 'and that my voice might be vigorous (enough)', P 25 *aēšō vāxš* 'vigorous voice'.

(3) *anaēša-* 'lacking in vigour' is opposed to *īšā.xšaϑriia-* 'powerful through invigoration'. Both, *aēša-* 'vigorous' (→ 43,10:3) and *īš-* 'vigour, invigorant, invigoration, refreshment' (→28,7:2), belong to one and the same root *aēš/iš* 'to invigorate, stimulate'; # 46,2:1 *anaēšō ... īštīm* 'lacking in vigour ... vigour'; →46,9:5 *yā aṣāi gəuš tašā mraoṯ išəṇtī mā* '(the words) which the fashioner of the cow speaks to truth regarding the one who might invigorate me'.

(4) *xšąnmānē* 'to content oneself' is inf. from root *xšam* = Ved. *kṣam* 'to endure, be patient'.

(5) As compared with Bartholomae's reading *yə mā*, which is influenced by *yə anaēšəm* at the beginning of the preceding line, Geldner's reading *yəm ā* is the lectio difficilior. The *ā* could be a preverb of *vasəmī*, cf. Ved *ā-vaś* 'to long for someone's presence, to wish someone to be present'; it also could be the particle *ā* which emphasises pronouns (→ 28,11:6). In this case cf. Ved. *vaś* 'to wish someone to be something' as in RV 1,129,4 *índram úśmasi ... sákhāyam* 'we wish Indra (to be) our friend'.

(6) The first member of the bahuvrihi compound *īšā.xšaϑriia-* 'possessing sovereignty through invigoration' is *īšā*, the instr.sg. of *īš-* 'vigour' (→28,7:2 *vīštāspāi īšəm maibiiācā*); the second member is *xšaϑriia-* n. 'sovereignty' = Ved. *kṣatríya-*. Cf. YAv. *isə.xšaϑriia-* 'in command of sovereignty', # RV 4,12,3 *íśe ... kṣatrỳasya* 'he is in command of sovereignty'.

(7) *kadā yauuā* 'when ever', # P 17 *nōiṯ yauua* 'never'.

(8) *kadā yauuā huuō aŋhaṯ* 'when will that one ever be available?' (direct question), # 31,16:5 *yadā huuō aŋhaṯ* 'when that one will be available' (indirect question).

(9) *zastauuaṯ auuō* 'help with (his) hands' (§ 15.1.7).

29,10. 7+9 (*dâtā*); 7+8/9 (*dât/dā̃ṯ*); 7+8/9 (*paouruuīm, ϑβą́m/ϑβą̃m*).

(1) *aēibiiō* 'to those', i.e. to those present at the ceremony (§ 15.13.2).

(2) *aogō dātā* 'grant [pl.] strength' has *dātā* from the root *dā* < **dā* 'to give, grant', cf. YAv. *aogazdastəma-* 'most granting strength', Ved. *ojodā-* 'granting strength'. Unlike this, *dātā ... xšaϑrəm(cā)* 'grant power' [lit. 'assign power'] presupposes *dātā* from the root *dā* < **dhā* 'to put, assign, establish'; →27,13:16 on *dazdā ... xšaϑrəm* and RV 1,67,5 *kṣatrám devâso ádadhuḥ*. Thus, we see that as early as in OAv., *dā* < **dā* and *dā* < **dhā* at least partly fell together lexically and in phraseology.

(3) *aogō dātā xšaϑrəmcā* 'grant strength and power', # 31,4:7 *xšaϑrəm aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'strong power' (§ 15.1.7, quasi-coordination by the suffix *-uuaṇt*), Yt 13,12 *aogarə ...*

xšaϑrəm 'strength and power', RV 10,180,3 *kṣatrám ... ójaḥ* 'power and strength', Yt 10,109 *uγrəm xšaϑrəm* 'strong power'.

(4) *xšaϑrəm ... auuaṯ ... yā ... dāṯ* 'that power by which one may establish', →st. 3:6 *auuaēšąm ... yā*; # 53,9:7 *xšaϑrəm yā ... dāhī* 'the power through which Thou mayest grant'

(5) *xšaϑrəm ... hušəitīš rāmąmcā* 'power, good dwellings and peace [pl.]', # 48,11:1 *ārmaitiš ... xšaϑrā hušəitiš vāstrauuaitī ... rāmąm* 'right-mindedness provided with good dwelling and pasture, peace [pl.]'.

(6) *rāmąm(cā) dāṯ* 'one may establish peace', # 53,8:5 *rāmąm ... dadātū* 'let one establish peace', 47,3:4 *rāmā.då* 'establishing peace', 35,4:3 *rāmā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi* 'to establish peace and (to provide) a pasture', 48,11:1-2 *rāmąm dą̊ṇtē* 'they will establish peace for themselves'.

(7) *ahiiā* either refers to *xšaϑrəm* ('of that power') or to the entire preceding sentence ('of that kind of things').

(8) *azəmcīṯ ahiiā ... ϑβąm māŋ̊hī paouruuīm vaēdəm* 'I myself have realised (that) Thou (art) the primal provider of that', →46,19:6 *tācīṯ mōi sąs tuuəm ... vaēdištō* 'through that very (person) Thou appearest to me (to be) the best provider' [or: 'Thou appearest to me to know best all that [pl.]', or: 'Thou appearest to me to me (to be) the best provider of those (things)'].

29,11. 7+9; 7+10 (*paitī.zānátā*); 7+9 (*yūšmauuatą̃m*).

(1) *aṯ mā ... paitī.zānatā* 'recognise [pl.] me', # Yy 57,14 *ϑrąfəδō ... paiti.zaṇtō* 'fed (and) recognised' (of Sraoša and the truthful man), Yt 8,43 *yaštō xšnūtō frīδō paiti.zaṇtō* 'worshipped, satisfied, pleased, recognised' (of Tištriya), 15,36 *friia friδa paiti.zaṇta* 'befriended, pleased, recognised' (of Hutaosā); RV 7,54,1 *práti jānīhy asmán* 'recognise us' points to *mā* in *aṯ mā* being the pers.pron.; →49,1:2 *aṯ mā yauuā* 'with my barley' [or: 'with the barley'].

(2) *maṣā* is without doubt from *maṣa-* = Ved. *márta-* 'mortal' (vs. OAv. *marəta-* = Ved. *martá-* 'mortal'). It is either instr.sg. 'together with the mortal one' [or: 'through the mortal one'], or voc.pl. 'O mortals'.

(3) If *maṣā* is instr.sg., then *aṯ mā maṣā ... paitizānatā* means 'recognise [pl.] me (the soul of the cow) through (the mediation of) mortal (Zaraϑuštra)'. In case, however, *maṣā* is voc.pl., then: 'recognise me, O you mortals'. As the passage is part of the concluding stanza, the voc.pl. would recall the moralising apostrophe *maṣiiāŋ̊hō* 'O you mortals' in 30,11, the concluding stanza of Y 30 (§ 12.1.2). In that case *yūžəm mazdā*

frāxšnənē would have to be a parenthesis, meaning something like 'You, O Wise One, know about' (or similar) which, however, does not tally with what we know about *frāxšnəna-*.

(4) *frāxšnənē* 'with [loc.] foresight', from *frāxšnəna-* 'foresight'; # 43,12:1, *aṣəm jasō frāxšnənē* 'with foresight thou attainest truth', → 43,14:4 *rafənō frāxšnənəm* 'support (and) foresight' [or: 'foreseeing support'].

(5) *mazōi magāi.ā* 'for the great offering', # 46,14:2 *uruuaϑō mazōi magāi* 'ally for the great offering'; →30,2:6-7 *parā mazā yåŋhō* 'before the great sharing (of good things)'. Cf. also Ved. *máhimagha-* 'offering great donations' in RV 1,122,7f., where the question is about the gifts of hundreds of cows: *stuṣe sá vām ... rātír ... asyá stuṣe máhimaghasya rā́dhaḥ* 'this bestowal on you two is being praised, the bounty of the offerer of great offerings is being praised'. The RV passage is part of a Dānastuti, of a 'praise of gifts', i.e. of a praise of the liberality of the institutors of sacrifices who pay the priests and singers.

(6) Whereas Ved. *maghá-* 'offering' is ntr., OAv. *maga-* is masc. The two are, nevertheless, etymologically related, as is also seen from their derivations Ved. *maghávan-* 'donor, offerer, institutor of a sacrifice' = OAv. *magauuan-* 'sacrificer'; → 51,15:1 on *magauuan-* as synonymous with *hudāh-* 'munificent'. In 53,7:2 *mīždəm ahiiā magahiiā ... magəm təm*, where we render *maga-* by 'sacrament', the marriage ceremony seems to be referred to.

(7) *nå auuarə* '(come) down to us', cf. YAv. *auuarə* 'downwards' (= Ved. *avár*). This is used as the first member of the proper name YAv. *auuarə.gu-*. For this, the meaning 'come-down-to-the-cow' is suggested by the Gāϑā passage to which it possibly alludes, but cf. also Ved. *avó-deva-* 'bringing down the gods'.

(8) The last hemistich seems to be deliberately ambiguous. *āhmā* is either acc. ('us') or instr. ('by us'), from the pers.pron. *vaēm* 'we'. Taken as acc., it duplicates and emphasizes the preceding encl. *nå* 'us': *ahurā nū nå auuarə āhmā rātōiš yūšmauuaṭąm* 'O Ahura, (come) down to us (now), to us, in accordance with the munificence of those such as You' (→28,10:5 *vā xšmaibiiā* 'for You'). In this case, *rātōiš yūšmauuaṭąm* shows the same kind of subjective gen. of the pers. pron. as 40,1:4 *rāitī tōi* 'through Your munificence'. However, if *āhmā* is instr., then *āhmā rātōiš yūšmauuaṭąm* means 'on account of the bestowal (made) by us on those such as You'; →44,10:5 *ϑβā išti̯š* 'vigour (inspired) by Thee', # 46,2:7 *aṣā išti̯m* 'vigour (inspired) by truth' (§ 15.18). The last solution is suggested by Ved. (VS) *asmád-rāta-* 'bestowed by us'. Here, it is of secondary importance whether in OAv. one poses phrases such as *āhmā rāti-*, or compounds such as *āhmā.rāti-*. A phrase is suggested by 43,10:2 *yā tōi āhmā parštā parštəm zī ϑβā*

'(and ask us) which (are) the questions (to be asked) by us of Thee, for a question (asked) by Thee'.

(9) *rāti-* 'gift, bestowal, munificence' = Ved. *rātí-* 'id.'; →33,7:8 *ciϑrå rātaiiō* 'bright bestowals', 40,1:4 *rāitī tōi* 'by Thy munificence'.

Yasna 30: *Aṯ.tā.vaxšiiā Hāiti*

30.0. Preliminary Remarks:

(1) To a large extent, sts. 30,1-4 are parallel with 45,1-3. In both passages, it is Ahura Mazdā and the other Ahuras who are invited to listen to their glorification and to participate in the sacrifice (§ 9.2.1). In st. 9 *mazdåsca ahurå̊ŋhō*, all of them are addressed more explicitly. The human participants in the sacrifice are addressed in moralising form in st. 11 *maṣ̌iiå̊ŋhō* 'O you mortals' (§ 12.1.2).

(2) Sts. 2-6 describe the choice between what is good and what is bad, made by both, spiritual beings and mortals, and resulting from their respective ability or inability to discriminate rightly between the two principles. The result of the discrimination may be right, as it is in the case of Ahura Mazdā and truthful men, but it also can be impaired by delusion (due for example to intoxication) as in the case of the Daēvas and their adherents.

(3) Cosmogonical ideas are involved and alluded to, but they are much less clearly expressed than it is generally thought. Most erroneous is the current rendering of the first half of st. 4 *aṯcā hiiaṯ tā həm mainiiū jasaētəm paouruuīm dazdē gaēmcā aṋiiātīmcā* by 'and when those two spirits came together first, they created life and non-life'. It is derived from PhlT *ēdōn-iz ān ī har dō mēnōg ō ham mad ō ān ī ōy ī fradom dahišn* 'and thus, the two spirits went together to the first creation' [*gl. har dō mēnōy ō gayōmard mad hēnd* 'the two spirits went to Gayōmard'], where PhlT *fradom dahišn* 'first creation' is an evident mistranslation of OAv. *paouruuīm dazdē*.

30,1. 7/8+9 (*mazdǻϑā/mazdā̃ϑā*); 6/7+9 (*ahurǻi/ā̃i, yesníiācā*); 7+9(*ùruuāzā*).

(1) *aṯ tā vaxšiiā išəṇtō* 'I shall proclaim (now), O You approaching ones, such (things)', # 45,1:3 *aṯ frauuaxšiiā ... yaēcā asnāṯ yaēcā dūrāṯ išaϑā* 'I shall (now) proclaim (a message), O You who approach from both near and far'.

(2) The parallel 45,1:3 *yaē(cā) ... išaϑā* 'O You who approach' shows that *išəṇtō* is a voc.pl. For *išа-* < *īša-* 'to approach' (→45,1:5), # 47,6:7 *pourūš išəṇtō* 'the many who approach'.

(3) *vaxšiiā ... vīdušē* 'I shall proclaim (for Him) who (already) knows', # 51,8:1-3 *aṯ zī tōi vaxšiiā ... vīdušē* 'I shall tell Thee (who art one) who (already) knows'.

(4) *yā mazdāϑā ... vīdušē ... ahurāi* '(such things) which You shall report to Him who (already) knows (them), to the Ahura'. *mazdāϑā* is the 2nd pl.sbj.aor.act. of the verb *mazdā-* 'to report, give motice of', a verb of the same type as YAv. *zrazdā-* 'to believe', *yaoždā-* 'to purify' (→28,1:9). The meaning 'to report, give notice of' is restricted to the act.; the mid. *mazdåŋhō.dūm* in the parallel 45,1:8 has the meaning 'take note of'; →28,4:3 *māṇ<g> ... dadē.*

(5) *hiiaṯcīṯ vīdušē* 'also to Him who already knows' is short for **ahmāicīṯ hiiaṯ vīdušē* < **ahmāicīṯ yə vīduuå̊*; → 27,14:4-5 *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi* 'for it which (is) best truth'. *hiiaṯcīṯ vīdušē* anticipates the following *ahurāi* 'to the Ahura', # *ahurō ... vīduuå̊* 'the Ahura who knows' (29,6, 45,3, 48,3-4).

(6) *ahurāi* perhaps with occasional *-ā̃i* for *usual -å̊i*; →28,5:4.

(7) *staotācā ... yesniiācā* 'both praises ... and worshipful (words/rites)', →34,6:4 *yazəmnascā ... stauuas* 'worshipping and praising'. The double *-cā* in *staotācā yesniiācā* is pleonastic like that in 29,6:8 *fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiāicā* 'for both the cattle-breeder and the pastor' (§ 15.1.3). Cf. YAv. *staota yesniia*, name of a certain part of the Yasna described by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1589, as follows: "Die Texte sind in der Yasna-sammlung enthalten. Sie umfassen 33 Stücke. Welche, steht nicht ganz fest. Sicher jedenfalls die (fünf) Gāϑās, den Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, Y 14, 15, 54, 56, 58." — # FrW 1,1 *staotəm vacō yesnīm ... mruiiå̊ nərəbiiasca nāiribiiasca* 'for the men and women thou shouldst recite the praising (and) worshipful word'; # Yy 55,6 *staota yesniia ... yā dātā aŋhāuš paouruiiehiiā* (→33,1:5).

(8) *humaẓdra-* 'well-learned' is a compound with YAv. *maẓdra-* 'wise, intelligent, learned (said of priests)' [< **manz-dhH-ro*] which is closely related to Ved. *medhirá-* 'wise, intelligent' (said of Varuṇa, Indra, Agni etc.) [< **maz-dhH-ro-*]. Cf also Ved. *sumedhá-* 'wise, intelligent' (acc.sg. *sumedhā́m* > *sumedhásam*); →40,1:3 *mazdā-* f. 'knowledge'.

(9) Both, *aṣā.yecā* and 51,2:1 *aṣāi.yecā* have been explained by K. Hoffmann, *Avest. yecā*, 1975, as slight corruptions from **ašāiiecā* < **aṣāiia-cā*, a dat.sg. of the type of Ved. *devā́ya* and 36,2:1 *yātāiiā*. This is seen most convincingly in 51,2, where *vā ... ahurā aṣāi.yecā* represents a well-known stylistic pattern (§ 15.6.2) whereas in the present passage, the combination *ahurāi ... aṣā.yecā* is less typical. From these two,

33,14:4 *aṣāi yācā*, also adduced by Hoffmann, ought to be discarded. It is rather to be read *aṣā yāca* with instr. sg. *aṣā* plus rel.pron.

(10) *darəsatā uruuāzā* 'delight (is) to be seen', cf. Ved. *darśatá-* 'visible' said, e.g. of Agni. The 2nd pl.sbj.aor. 'You shall see' with secondary ending (in parallel with the primary ending in *mazdāϑā*) is possible as well.

(11) *uruuāzā-* 'delight' [= 'things which afford delight and which are going to be distributed'], →32,1:5 *uruuāzəman-* 'delight, favour'.

(12) *yā raocəbīš darəsatā uruuāzā* 'what delight (is) to be seen through the lights'. This refers to the Sacred Fire (cf. YAv. *āṯr- uruuāzišta-* 'the most delighting fire', → 31,22:5) which in 36,2:4-5 is invited to come 'to the greatest of sharings' (*mazištāi yå̊ŋhaṃ*) 'with the delight of the most delightful one' (*uruuāzištahiia uruāz<a>iiā*); # 31,7:3 *raocəbīš rōiϑβən xᵛāϑrā* 'let the comforts intersperse with lights'.

30,2. 7+9; 8+9 (*āuuarə́nå̊, tanúiiē*); 7+10 (*yå̃ŋhō*).

(1) *sraotā gəuš.āiš vahistā* 'hear with (Your) ears the best (things)', # 45,1:1 *nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā* 'listen [pl.] now, hear now'.

(2) *sūcā manaŋhā* 'through the radiance with (Your) thought' [= 'with (Your) thought illuminated by the radiance (of the Sacred Fire)']. *sūcā* = Ved. *śucá*, instr.sg. of *śúc-* 'ray, radiance, brightness', # RV 3,4,1 *śucā-śucā* 'with every ray' (said of Agni). The Av. correspondent of Ved. *śúci-* 'radiant' is not **sūci-* (loc.sg. **sūcā*), but *suxra-*.

(3) *āuuarənå̊* 'invitations, preferences', →45,1:14 *āuuarətō* 'invited, preferred'. The metre suggests the trisyllabic reading *āuuarə̀nå̊*, but, being provided with a prefix, this would be an unusual formation. The form to be expected is tetrasyllabic *āuuarə́nå̊* from a formation in *-anā-*, the line evidently having one syllable too many. *āuuarənå̊ vīciϑa-hiiā* seems to mean 'the invitations resulting from the discrimination'.

(4) *narəm narəm* 'each single man' is an iterativ compound of the same type as V 5,10 *nmāne nmāne vīsi vīsi* 'in each single house, in each single village'. At first glance, it seems to be governed by the verb *auuaēnatā*: 'view the invitations resulting from the discrimination, (view) each single man'. Yet, the assumption of verbal government by the noun *vīciϑa-* 'discrimination' (→46,18:5) makes more sense: 'invitations resulting from the discrimination of [acc.] each single man'.

(5) *xᵛaxiiāi tanuiiē* 'for his own self, individually', but note the reflexive use of *svá- tanú-* in RV 5,4,6 *váyaḥ kṛṇvānás tanúve svā́yai* 'providing vigour for himself'.

(6) *parā mazā yå̊ŋhō* is either temporal 'before the great sharing (of good things)' or local 'before [in face of] the great share'; →46,14:3 *yāhī* 'at the sharing (of good things)' [or: 'at the share']. The temporal meaning of Av. *parā* (= Ved. *purá* 'before') is better attested than the spacial meaning. For *yāh-* 'share, sharing', →36,2:2-3 where *yāh-* stands in close textual connexion with *uruuāz<a>iiā*, from *uruuāzā-* 'delight' the nom.sg. of which here precedes in st. 1.

(7) *mazā yå̊ŋhō* 'the great sharing [share]', →36,2:2-3 *mazištāi yå̊ŋhąm* 'for the greatest of sharings [shares]'; # 29,11:5 *mazōi magāi.ā* 'for the great offering' which points to *yāh-* being of similar meaning as *maga-*. Both are combined in 46,14:2-3 *mazōi magāi ... yāhī* 'for the great offering ... at the sharing (of good things)'.

(8) The inf. *sazdiiāi* comes from the root *sąh* 'to announce, pronounce' or from the root *sand* 'to appear'. We prefer *sąh*, which is used as a juridical term in 43,6 *ratūš sāŋ̣ghaitī* 'pronounces the judgments'.

(9) As in all of its other occurrences, *ahmāi* in *ahmāi nā sazdiiāi* is the dat.sg. of the dem.pron. *a-*; →27,14:4. Here, it refers to the preceding *mazā yå̊ŋhō* 'the great sharing [share]'. In the infinitive construction, the dat. [here: *ahmāi*] can replace the acc. [here: *tām*] of the finite verb construction: RV 6,1,1 *víśvasmai sáhase sáhadhyai* 'in order to overcome any force [dat.]', but 6,66,9 *sáhāṃsi ... sáhante* 'they overcome the forces [acc.]'; 10,14,12 *dṛśáye sûryāya* 'to see the sun [dat.]', but 9,91,6 *sûryaṃ dṛśáye* 'to see the sun [acc.]'. Correspondingly *ahmāi nā sazdiiāi* can mean '(expecting someone) to announce that [*ahmāi* dat.] to us [*nā* dat.]', but 51,16:5 *aθā nā sazdiiāi uštā* 'let (him) thus announce to us [*nā* dat.] the (things) desired [*uštā* acc.]'.

(11) *baodaṇtō paitī* 'expecting (someone)' [perhaps = 'expecting Ahura Mazdā who manifests himself in the Sacred Fire']; # RV 7,9,4 *práti gávaḥ samidhānám budhanta* 'the cows were expecting the inflamed one', 3,5,1 *práty agnír uṣásaś cékitānó 'bodhi* 'Agni resplendent in the dawn was expected', 7,80,1 *práti stómebhir uṣásam ... abudhran* 'they expected dawn with praises'.

30,3. 7+9 (*asrúuātəm*); 8+8 (*šiiaoθànōi*); 7+9 (*å̃scā, hudå̃ŋhō, vīšiiātā, duždå̃ŋhō*).

(1) *tā mainiiū pauruiiē* 'these (are) the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of one's existence)', # 45,2:1 *aŋhāuš mainiiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage) of one's existence' (§ 12.1.6.1). In both of these passages, *pauruiiē*, the loc.sg. of *paouruiia-*, is used attributively (§ 15.18). Adverbial use is found in # 36,1:1 *θβā ... pauruiiē pairi.jasāmaidē* 'primarily we attend Thee' [unless: 'we attend Thee in the primal (stage of our existence)'].

(2) *yā ... asruuātəm* 'the two (spirits) who have become famed' shows the ind.aor. *asruuātəm* as contrasted with the preceding inj.aor. *vīšiiātā* 'they discern'; # 32,3:5 *asrūdūm* 'you (Daēvas) have become notorious'.

(3) *yā yəmā ... asruuātəm* 'the twins [nom.du.] who have become famed', cf. the PhlT which renders *yəmā* by *jomā* 'twin'. Yet, *yəmā* could also be the instr.sg. of the correct OAv. form of the name of Yima: 'who became famed through Yima'. In this case, Yima must be understood as "the twin" in whom good and evil was mixed.

(4) *yā yəmā x^vafənā asruuātəm* 'the twins who have become famed (manifesting themselves as) the two (kinds of) dreams'. Translations such as 'have been revealed by a vision' do not account for the literal meaning of *asruuātəm* 'they have been heard'. Visions are usually seen, not heard. Here, *x^vafəna-* 'dream' is one of the extensions of the series *manah-, vacah-, šiiaoθana-* 'thought, word, action' common in the Gāθās (§ 12.13.0). *x^vafənā* is nom.du. 'the two (kinds of) dreams', i.e. there are both, good dreams and evil dreams, in the same way as there are both, good thoughts and evil thoughts, etc. Cf. Geldner, *Rigveda*, ad RV 7,86,6: "auch im Schlaf tut, bzw. träumt man Sünde".

(5) *x^vafənā ... manahicā vacahicā šiiaoθanōi hī vahiiō akəmcā* 'the two kinds of dreams, thoughts and words, the two kinds of actions, the better and the evil one' is a series of four duals. The passage recalls RV 7,104,12 *sác cā́sac ca vácasī paspṛdhāte táyor yát satyáṃ yatarád ṛ́jīyaḥ tád ít sómo 'vati hánty ā́sat* 'both kinds of words, the true and the false, fight with each other; (and) of the two that which is the true and straighter one [pos. + comp.]: Soma supports it, he smites the untrue one'.

(6) *vahiiō akəmcā* 'the (better) and the evil one' [pos. + comp.] corresponds to 45,2:2 *spaniå yim aŋ̣gram* 'the more prosperous one (shall address) the harmful one' [comp. + pos.] (§ 15.2.1).

(7) The gen.loc.du. *å̃(scā)* 'between these' of the dem.pron. *a-* is a by-form of st. 6 *aiiå*. It is formed like the Ved. pron. forms *avóḥ* from *avá-*, and *enoḥ* from *ena-*.

(8) *hudå̃ŋhō nōiṯ duždå̃ŋhō* 'the munificent, not the miserly' (§ 16.11.2) from *hudāh-* 'of good gifts, munificent' and *duždāh-* 'of bad gifts, miserly'; →41,2:5 *hātąm hudāstəma-* 'most munificent among those who exist'.

30,4. 7+8 (*paouruuīm*); 7+10 (*gaēmcā*); 7+9 (*drəguuatą̃m*).

(1) *hiiaṯ tā hām mainiiū jasaētəm* 'when these two spirits confront each other', # 44,15:4 *hiiaṯ hām spādā anaocaŋhā jamaētē* 'when the two warring hosts will confront

each other'. In the present passage, Zaraθuštra refers to the struggle between the spirits for supremacy in the consciousness of a single human individual.

(2) In analogy to st.3:1 *pauruiiē* 'in the primal (stage of one's existence)', we interpret *paouruuīm* 'primal' as *paouruuīm (aŋhāuš)* 'the primal (stage of one's existence)'; →44,2:2 *aŋhāuš vahištahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal (stage) of best existence' etc. (§ 12.1.6.1).

(3) *paouruuīm ... yaθācā aŋhaţ apāməm aŋhuš* 'the (nature of the) primal (stage of his existence) and of what nature [lit. how] (his) existence will be in the end', # 43,5:1-5 *hiiaţ θβā aŋhāuš ząθōi darəsəm paouruuīm ... dāmōiš uruuaēsē apāmē* 'when I see Thee, the primal one, (engaged) in the begetting of existence ... at the final turning point of creation'; →45,3:9 on *paouruiia-* vs. *apāma-*.

(4) *paouruuīm dazdē* 'one decides (of what nature will be) the primal (stage of his existence)': *dazdē* is 3rd sg.pres.mid. as in 51,6:2 *yā vahiiō vaŋhāuš dazdē* 'he who decides in favour of [elects] (what is) better than good'; # 51,19:1 *taţ (xšaθrəm) ... ahmāi dazdē* 'obtains [elects] for himself that (power)', 46,8:1 *yā vā mōi yå gaēθå dazdē aēnaŋhē* 'he who aims at my herds to injure them' [= 'he who plans to injure my herds']. The mid. of *dā* always has an indirect reflexive meaning; →29,2:7 *hiiaţ hīm dātā ... gaodāiiō θβaxšō* 'when cow-milking zeal takes possession of her', 29,5:9-10 *hiiaţ mazdąm duuaidī fərasåbiiō* 'while we elect the Wise One to (give us) orders', etc.

(5) For three reasons the traditional analysis of *dazdē* as a 3rd du.perf.mid. 'the two created' (→st. 0:3) is impossible. First, the correct form of the 3rd du.would be **dadāitē* (# Yy 13,4 *iθā mainiiū mamanāitē iθā vaocātarā iθā vāuuərəzātarā* 'thus the two spirits have thought, thus they have spoken, thus they have done'). Second, a perfect would be inappropriate here. Third, the meaning of the mid. would be indirect-reflexive 'they have taken possession of, elected, adopted, decided in favour of' (→n. 4). Cf. RV 1,185,2 *gárbham ... dadhāte* 'the two have conceived [not: created] the fruit of the body', 7,70,3 *yáni sthānāni ... dadhāthe* 'the places which you two have taken [not: created]'. Contrary to these, to express 'creation' the act. of *dā* would be expected: # Yt 15,43 *uua dąma ... yasca daθaţ spəṇtō mainiiuš yasca daθaţ aŋrō mainiiuš* 'both creations (namely) that which the prosperous spirit created and that which the destructive spirit created'; Yy 57,17 *pascaēta ... yaţ mainiiū dāmąn daiδītəm* 'since the time that the two spirits have been creating creatures', where the opt.pf. has the sense of a past iterative [!] (see K. Hoffmann, *Präteritaler Optativ*, 1975, 611).

(6) *paouruuīm (sc. aŋhāuš) ... gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā* 'the primal (stage of one's existence), vitality and lack of vitality' (§ 15.12.1). Note that *gaiia-* 'life' can be used as a synonym of *aŋhu-* 'existence [world]' (→ 51,6:7).

30,5. 7+8 (*varàtā*); 7+9 (*asånō*); 7+9 (*šiiaoθànāiš, fraōrəţ, mazdąm*).

(1) *mainiuuå yā drəguuå* 'of these two spirits the deceitful (spirit)', # Yt 13,13 *drujå mainiuuå* 'the more deceitful one of the two spirits' where *drujå* < **drujiiå* is a comparative of *drəguuaṇt-* 'deceitful' (but why not **draojå* < **draojiiå*?).

(2) *aiiå mainiuuå varatā yā drəguuå acištā vərəziiō, aşəm mainiiuš spəništō* 'of these two spirits the deceitful one (chooses) to do the worst (things), (but) the most prosperous spirit (chooses) truth' show a chiastic structure (§ 15.15). Here, truth is not opposed to deceit but to evil actions. For the inf. *vərəziiō* 'to do', →32,14:6 *auuō* 'to assist'.

(3) *mainiiuš spəništō yā xraoždištāŋg asənō vastē* 'the most prosperous spirit who is clothed (in) the hardest stones'. The prosperous spirit of the Gāθās is clothed in a mail coat consisting of lapis lazuli diamonds, which seems to be identified with heaven; # Yt 13,2-3 *asmanəm ... yim mazdå vaste vaŋhanəm* 'the heaven in which Mazdā is clothed as a garment'.

(4) *asənō* 'stones' [not: 'heavens'], cf . YAv. *asāno* in V 19,4 *asānō zasta dražimnō* 'holding stones in his hand'.

(5) *xšnaošən ahurəm* 'they satisfy the Ahura' [act.], # 46,1:9 *kaθā θβā ... xšnaošāi ahurā* 'how shall I satisfy Thee, O Ahura' [mid.], →28,1:16 *xšnəuuīšā* 'Thou mightest satisfy'. *xšnaošən* is either sbj. from the *s*-aor. *xšnaoš-* (# 46,1:9 *nōiţ mā xšnāuš* 'does not satisfy me') or inj. from the pres. *xšnaoša-* (# 46,18:6 *xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmnō* 'satisfying Your will').

(6) *haiθiiāiš šiiaoθanāiš* 'with true actions', # RV 10,111,1 *índraṃ satyaír érayāmā kŗtébhiḥ* 'let us inspire Indra with true actions'. OAv. *haiθiia- šiiaoθana-* 'true action' is formed after *haiθiia- mąθra-* 'true formula' just as Ved. *satyá- kŗtá-* after *satyá- mántra-* .

(7) *fraorəţ* 'devotedly' also in 53,2:4 *scaṇtū xšnəm ... fraorəţ yasnąscā* 'let them join the recognition and the worship, devotedly'. Cf. the Yav. formula Yt 10,9 *fraorəţ fraxšni aoi manō zrazdātōiţ aŋhuiiaţ haca* 'devotedly, foreseeingly, (his) thought (turned) towards (the divinity), in accordance with (his) believing heart'. There, *aoi manō* is an "open bahuvrihi" of the same meaning as the bahuvrihi Skt. *abhi-manas-* 'having the mind directed towards, longing for' (→49,1:8 *vaŋᵛhī ādā* which possibly means 'of good apportionment'). The adv. *fraorəţ* recalls the noun YAv. *fraorəiti-*, the name of the Fravarānē formula Yy 12,1ff. which begins *frauuarānē mazdaiiasnō zaraθuštriš vīdaēuuō ahura.ţkaēšō* 'I will declare myself a worshipper of Mazdā ... professing (his) the Ahura's doctrine' (→37,4:2).

30,6. 7+9 (*dəbaomā*); 7+9; 7+9 (*marətānō*).

(1) *dəbaomā* is from a stem *dəbaoman-* 'delusion', not **ā.dəbaoman-* which, with its prefix, would be an unusual formation. Read *hiiaṯ̰ īš ā dəbaomā* with the ptcl. *ā* (→ 28,11:5 *yāiš ā*).

(2) The inj.pres. *vərənātā* in *hiiaṯ̰ vərənātā acištəm manō* 'so that they choose the worst thought' stands in contrast with the inj.aor. in the preceding *varatā* 'he chooses' and *vīšiiātā* 'they discriminate'. No difference in function can be made out between them. The inj.aor. of *var* 'to choose' is also found in 32,2:4 *spəṇtąm vā ārmaitīm ... varəmaidī* 'we choose Your prosperous right-mindedness'.

(3) *daēuuā ... aēšəməm hāṇduuārəṇtā* 'the Daēvas gather (to consort) with wrath', # V 7,53 *kuua daēuua haṇduuarəṇti* 'where do the Daēvas gather?', 3,7 *yaṯ̰ arəzūrahe grīuuaiia ... yaṯ̰ ahmiia daēuua haṇduuarəṇti* 'at the Neck of Arəzūra where the Daēvas gather'.

(4) In *aēšəməm ... yā bąnaiiən ahūm marətānō* 'wrath with which the mortals sicken existence [the world]', *aēšəma-* stands for the ritual of the Daēva-worshippers.

(5) *bąnaiiən ahūm* 'they sicken existence' is the opposite of *ahūm.biš-* 'healer of existence' (31,19, 44,2.16). *aŋhu-* 'existence, world' is partly synonymous with *gaiia-* 'life' (→st. 4:6).

(6) *yā bąnaiiən ahūm marətānō* is rendered 'with which mortals sicken existence'. Yet, if it would mean 'they sicken the existence of the mortal one', as most scholars assume, it could be an allusion to Gayōmard, the primeval man, YAv. *gaiia- marətan-* [lit. 'mortal life']. However, in YAv. the gen.sg. of *marətan-* is not *marətānō* but *marəθnō* (Yt 13,87 etc. *gaiiehe marəθnō* 'of Gayōmard'). Unless the OAv. differs very much from the YAv. paradigm, OAv. *marətānō* is, therefore, more likely to be a nom.pl. in the present passage, and an acc.pl. in 32,12:2 *råŋhaiiən ... vahištāṯ̰ šiiaoθanāṯ̰ marətānō* 'they make the mortals fall away from the best action'.

30,7. 7+8; 7,8/9 (*dadāṯ̰/dadāṯ̰, ārmaitiš*); 7+11 (*aēšąm*).

(1) *ahmāi* 'to it/him' either refers to the preceding *ahūm* 'existence' or to Zaraθuštra; # 43,16:*1 huuō zaraθuštrō* (§ 15.13.1). At the end of the stanza, it/he is called *tōi ... pouruiiō* 'Thy prime one'.

(2) In *ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṯ̰* 'but if one comes to it/him with power' [= 'if one brings power to it/him'], *-cā* introduces a conditional clause, the main clause of which is introduced by *aṯ̰*.

(3) In *kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš ... ārmaitiš ąnmā* the two acc.sgs. *kəhrpəm* and *ąnmā* are chiastically opposed to each other. This suggests that *ąnman-* has a meaning either parallel or opposed to *kəhrp-*. As *kəhrp-* '(bodily) form, body' is etymologically related to Lat. *corpus* 'body', *ąnman-* is likely to belong to Lat. *animus* 'mood' and *anima* 'breath, respiration wind, soul, conscience, self' (cf. the rhyme word Ved. *ātmán-* 'breath, self'). In the present passage *ąnman-* is rendered by 'breath', but 'wind' is suggested in both, 44,20:10 *yācā kauuā ąnmānē urūdōiiatā* 'and (the words) which the Kavi laments to the wind' and 45,10:2 *yā ąnmānī mazdå srāuuī ahurō* 'the Ahura who in the wind is heard (as being) the Wise One'.

(4) *ādāna-* 'fettering' (cf. Ved. *ādhā́na-* 'bridle' [RV], *ādā́na-* 'binding, fettering' [AV]), or: 'apportionment' (cf. *ādā-* 'apportionment', Ved. *ādhā́na-* 'putting near, placing' [Br]). Less close are Skt. [1]*ādāna-* 'taking, seizing', [2]*ādāna-* 'crushing'.

(5) *aēšąm tōi ā aŋhaṯ̰ yaθā aiiaŋhā ādānāiš pouruiiō* 'so that through their (the Daēvas') being fettered in [instr.] iron (existence) will be Thy prime one'. Or: 'so that through their apportionments [= those of power, good thought, truth, etc.] with the (ordeal with molten) metal it/he will be Thy prime one'.

(6) The conj. *yaθā* is shifted from the beginning of the first hemistich to the beginning of the second (§ 15.16.2).

30,8. 7+9 (*aēšą̃m, kaēnå̃, aēnaŋhą̃m*); 7+9; 7+10.

(1) *yadā ... jamaitī* 'when it will have arrived', # 31,4:2 *yadā ... aŋhən* 'when they will have sent out'.

(2) *yadā ... kaēnā jamaitī* 'when the atonement will have arrived' [or: 'when one will have arrived with the atonement' = 'when one has brought the atonement'], # 48,2:2-3 *parā hiiaṯ̰ mā yā māŋg pərəθā jimaitī* 'before the compensations that (I have) in mind will have reached me'. Here, just as *pərəθā* in 48,2, *kaēnā-* seems to denote the atonement (for a crime or an injury), consisting particularly of cattle and slaves, cf. the etymologically related Greek *poinḗ* (Lat. *poena*) 'blood-money, fine, penalty' and Slav. *cěna* 'price'. In its YAv. occurrences, *kaēnā-* has the meaning of 'revenge (for someone)', cf. NP. *kēn* 'hatred, revenge': Yt 15,28 *yaṯ̰ kaēna nijasāni azəm brāθrō* 'that I can come down (upon ...) in [inst.] revenge for my brother', Yt 9,18 *janāṯ̰ təm kauua haosrauua ... puθrō kaēna siiāuuaršānāi* 'let Kavi Haosrava, the son, kill him in revenge (for his father) Siyāvaršan'.

(3) *aēšąm ... aēnaŋhąm* 'for their (the Daēvas') crimes', or: 'for those (well-known) crimes'; # 32,8:1 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm* 'for (one instance) of such crimes'.

(4) A subjunctive being required, Geldner's reading *vōiuuīdāitī* [sbj.] seems to be correct. The variant *vōiuuīdaitī* preferred by Bartholomae may be due to "perseveration" of the ending of the preceding *jamaitī*.

(5) *taibiiō xšaϑrəm vohū manaŋhā vōiuuīdāitī* 'one will commit to Thee the power (over it) with good thought', →44,6:4 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm vohū cinas manaŋhā* 'right-mindedness) commits the power to Thee through good thought', 27,13:16 *dazdā ... xšaϑrəm ... ahurāi.ā* 'the power is assigned to the Ahura'; # 44,11 *azəm tōi āiš pouruiiō frauuōiuuidē* 'I along with these commit myself [mid.] to Thee'.

(6) *sastē* is the loc.sg. of *sasta-* 'announced, pronounced', p.p.p. of root *sąh* 'to announce, pronounce', cf. Ved. *śasté* in RV 4,20,10 *śasté asmín ta ukthé* 'at this statement recited for Thee'. Less likely is *sasta-* 'appeared' from the root *sand* 'to appear', cf. Khot. *sasta-* in Z 2,96 *cū balysä sarvañi sastä* 'since the Buddha has appeared all-knowing to Thee'. For *aēibiiō sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced to those', # 46,12:5 *aēibiiō rafəδrāi ... sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced to them for (their) support'. For similar uses of the loc., # 43,12:12 *sauuōi* 'at the benefaction', 46,14:3 *yāhī* 'at the sharing (of good things)', 31,19:5 and 47,6:3 *vaŋhāu* 'at the good (share to be distributed)'.

(7) *yōi aṣ̌āi dadən zastaiiō drujəm* 'those who will have delivered deceit into the hands of truth', # 44,14:1 *kaϑā aṣ̌āi drujəm diiąm zastaiiō* 'how might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth'.

30,9. 7+9 (*vaẽm, kərənaōn*); 7+9 (*mazdå̊scā, ā.mōiiàstrā*); 7+8 (*búuaṯ*).

(1) *fəraša-* 'brilliant' = YAv. *fraša-* which is said of the creatures of the good creation in Yt 19,10 *dāmąn daϑaṯ ahurō mazdå̊ pouruca vohuca pouruca srīraca pouruca abdaca pouruca frašaca pouruca bāmiiaca* 'Ahura Mazdā created the creatures many and good, many and beautiful, many and wonderful, many and brilliant, many and bright', cf. the PN. *fərašaoštra-* 'having brilliant camels', and MP. *frašmurw* 'peacock'. YAv. *fraša-* is also said of places in V 1,20 *asåsca šōiϑråsca srīråsca gufråsca bərəxδåsca fraš̊åsca bāmiiåsca* 'lands and regions, beautiful, deep, esteemed, brilliant and bright'. OP. *fraša-* is used to describe the brilliance of both, the creation of Ahura Mazdā and the buildings constructed by Darius: DNb 1f. *auramazdā haya adadā ima frašam* 'Ahuramazdā who created this brilliant (work)' [or: 'who made this (work) to be brilliant'], DSa 4f. *tya a[kunavam visa] hya frašam ϑadayātaiy* 'what I have done, may it seem brilliant to everyone'. From all these passages, one infers that

OAv. *fəraša-* as well refers, in particular, to material qualities; →34,15:2 *fəraš̊əm vasnā* '(which is) brilliant in one's *imagination'.

(2) *yōi īm fəraš̊əm kərənaon ahūm* '(those) who will make existence brilliant'. This not only refers to the renovation, perfection and salvation of the world (cf. YAv. *fraš̊ō.kərəiti-*), but also to its microcosmic anticipation, the sacrifice; # Yy 55,6 *staota yesniia ... frašəm vasnā ahūm daϑāna* 'the Staota Yesniya [pl.] which get [med.] the existence (which is) brilliant in (our) *imagination'. The other YAv. occurrences of *fraša-* refer exclusively to macrocosmic eschatological events: Yt 19,11 *yaṯ kərənauuąn frašəm ahūm* 'when they will make existence brilliant', Yt 19,89 *saošiianṭąm vərəϑrājanəm ... yaṯ kərənauuāṯ frašəm ahūm* 'the victorious one among the saviours [benefactors], when he will make existence brilliant', Yt 13,17 *fraš̊ō.carəϑrąm saošiianṭąm* 'of the saviours [benefactors], who make existence brilliant', Aog 69 *ā aŋhāuš fraš̊ō.carəϑrāṯ* 'until (the appearance of) him who will make existence brilliant' [= 'until the renovator of existence'].

(3) *mazdå̊scā ahurå̊ŋhō* [nom. + voc.] 'O Wise One and (You other) Ahuras', lit. 'O You (other) Ahuras [voc.] and (Thou), the Wise One' [nom.] (§ 4.1[16], § 15.1.2); # 31,4:4 *mazdå̊scā ahurå̊ŋhō* [nom. + nom.].

(4) As suggested by the metre, *ā.mōiiastrā* 'changes, turn of events' stands for **ā.mōistrā*. The misspelling is likely to have originated from a wrong word division **ā.mōi.strā*, influenced by 28,3 *ā mōi rafəδrāi*. The noun **ā.mōistra-* derives from root *maēϑ/miϑ* = Ved. *mith* 'to unite, couple, alternate, meet (as friend or foe)'. It can hardly be separated from the verb *āmiϑnāiti* in the corrupted Aog 53 *aiiarə āmiϑnāiti ... fra<t>aire aiiąn bauuaiti huba<xə>δrō ... aδa apaire aiią dužāϑrəm* 'the day changes: during the former part of the day, one is fortunate, but during the latter part of the day, there is discomfort'.

(5) Although the etymology of *ā.mōiiastrā* 'bringer of changes, bringer of turns of events' is perspicuous, and an etymological nexus with the following *maēϑā* is evident, the actual meaning of both of them remains obscure. *ā.mōiiastrā.barana-* is possibly a poetical name for a ritual implement such as Vr 10,2 *tašta- zaoϑrō.barəna-* 'the cup in which libations are offered' (PhlT *tašt ī zōhrbarān*).

(6) *hiiaṯ haϑrā manå buuaṯ* 'when (our) thoughts become concentrated', # RV 7,100,1 *prá yáḥ satråca mánasā yájāte* 'he who worships with concentrated thought', 8,2,37 *yájadhvainam ... índram satråca mánasā* 'worship [pl.] that Indra with concentrated thought'.

(7) *hiiaṯ haϑrā manå buuaṯ yaϑrā cistiš aŋhaṯ maēϑā* 'when (our) thoughts are concentrated (at the place) where insight will be present [or: may be doubtful]', →

31,12:1 *ārmaitiš ... yaϑrā maēϑā* 'right-mindedness ... where it is present [or: where matters are undecided'], 33,9:4-5 *xᵛāϑrā maēϑā maiiā* 'with the comfort coupled with bliss'. The literal meaning of the adj. *maēϑa-*, from the root *maēϑ/miϑ*, seems to be 'alternating, facing, coupled with, met with'. Cf. the noun *maēϑa-* n. 'periodical alternation' > 'day'; →34,6:3 *ahiiā aŋhāuš vīspā maēϑā* 'on all days of this existence'. YAv. *maēϑana-* 'house' < 'meeting place'?

30,10. 7+9 (*búuaitī*); 7+9; 7+9 (*mazdå̊*).

(1) The only possible etymological connexion of *spaiiaϑra-* to be found in Av. itself is with YAv. *spaiieiti* 'throws off, clears off (a sin)'; # V 3,41 *spaiieiti zī ... daēna māzdaiiasniš ... tā šiiaoϑna yā cica vərəziieiti* 'for the Mazdayasnian religion clears off whichever (evil) actions one commits'. Yet, assuming a meaning such as 'act of clearing off' for *spaiiaϑra-* admittedly results in a complicated construction: *adā zī auuā drūjō auuō.bauuaitī skəṇdō spaiiaϑrahiiā* 'for then damage from being cleared off will descend upon deceit'. Thus, Bartholomae's etymological connexion of *spaiiaϑra-* with Ved. *śváyati* 'increases, prospers', or with Skt. *sphāyate* 'id.', cannot be ruled out: 'damage will descend upon the prosperity of deceit'.

(2) In *auuā drūjō auuō.buuaitī* 'will descend upon deceit', *drūjō* is a local gen.; → 46,3:3 *aŋhāuš ... frō ... frārəṇtē* 'will rise over existence'.

(3) *asištā* is inexactly transmitted for **āsištā*, cf. YAv. *āsišta-* = Ved. *áśiṣṭha-* 'swiftest'. The sentence *aṯ asištā yaojaṇtē* 'the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked' is a metaphorical expression for the chanting of a song of praise; →50,7:1 *aṯ və yaojā zəuuištiiāŋg auruuatō* 'I will yoke for You the swiftest steeds', # 44,4:3 *yaogəṯ āsū* 'yokes the swift teams' which refers to meteorological phenomena.

(4) *ā hušitōiš vaŋhəuš manaŋhō* '(in order to race) as far as the good dwelling of the good thought' [or: 'side by side with good thought provided with good dwelling']; # 48,11:1 *ārmaitiš ... hušəitiš vāstrauuaitī* 'right-mindedness provided with good dwelling and pasture'.

(5) *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō mazdå̊ aṣaϫiiācā* 'of the good thought of the Wise One and of Truth' [or more simply: 'of Good Thought, of the Wise One, and of Truth']. There is the same problem of hierarchy in 53,3:3 *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō aṣahiiā mazdå̊scā* 'of the good thought of Truth and the Wise One' [or: 'of Good thought, of Truth, and of the Wise One']. A similar order of Ahurian names is found in 28,3:1 *vå aṣā ... manascā vohū ... mazdąmcā ahurəm* 'You, O Truth, and Good Thought, and the Wise Ahura'.

(6) *zazəṇtī* 'they will win' cannot be separated from 34,9:3 *auuā.zazaṯ* 'they let go' and YAv. *zazāmi* 'I let out (water)'. Its original meaning is 'they will leave behind, they will be ahead (of their competitors)'.

(7) *yōi zazəṇtī vaŋhāu srauuahī* 'they who will win good fame' [lit. 'who at (the winning-post where) good fame (is expected), will be ahead (of their competitors)']; # 41,4:1 *hanaēmācā zaēmācā ... ϑβahmī rafənahī darəgāiiāu* 'may we deserve (a prize) and may we win Thy life-long support'. Both, material and immaterial winnings are referred to in A 1,11 *zazə buiie vaŋhāuca mižde vaŋhāuca srauuahe [*°i]* 'to become a winner of a good prize and of good fame' [lit. 'to become one who at the good prize and at the good fame is ahead (of his competitors)'].

30,11. 7+9 (*ùruuātā, mazdå̊, dadå̊ṯ, maṣiiå̊ŋhō*), 7+9 (*xᵛītică*); 7+9.

(1) *hiiaṯ tā uruuātā* ⁺*sašaϑā [mss. sašaϑā] ... maṣiiå̊ŋhō* 'when you master those rules, O you mortals', # 53,1:7-8 *yaēcā ... dabən* ⁺*sašəncā [mss. saškəṇcā] ... uxδā šiiaoϑanācā* 'and (to those) who *practise and master the statements and actions', Yy 19,10 *uxδəm ...* ⁺*sašąs dadrānō* 'mastering (and) retaining the statement'.

(2) *xᵛītică ānəitī* are either bahuvrihis which go with *uruuātā* ('rules which convey good mobility and immobility'), or they are determinative compounds ('along with mobility and immobility'). For the latter cf. the same structure in 31,4:5 *aṣicā ārmaitī* 'along with reward and rightmindedness' which has inverted *-cā* as well (§ 15.1.2).

(3) *xᵛīti- < húv-iti-*, cf. Ved. *suv-ití-* n. 'prosperous course, ease', adj. 'easy of access, prosperous'; # Yt 10,68 *xᵛīte paϑō rāδaiti* 'paves the paths for good travel'.

(4) *rašō sauuacā* 'harm and benefits', # 49,3:2 *sūidiiāi ... rāšaiieŋhē* 'to enjoy benefit ... to harm', 51,9:5 *rāšaiieŋhē ... sauuaiiō* 'to harm ... Thou dost benefit'.

(5) *darəgəm ... rašō* 'long-lasting harm', →31,20:5 *darəgəm āiiū təmaŋhō* 'long life in darkness'.

(6) *sauua(cā)* is nom.pl. of *sauua-* n. 'benefit, benefaction', cf. *sauuah-* n. 'benefit'. The phrase *sauuacā aṣauuabiiō* 'benefits (in store) for the truthful ones' is correctly understood in Vr 13,1 *sauua aṣauuabiiō yazamaide* 'we worship the benefits (in store) for the truthful ones'. # 44,12:3 *ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē* 'to obstruct Thy benefits', 48,1 51,15 *sauuāiš* 'with benefits'; →43,12:12 *sauuōi* 'at the benefaction', 45,7:3 *yehiiā sauuā išåṇtī rādaŋhō* 'with the benefit of whose bounty (the Ahuras) will approach'.

(7) *aipī* 'also, henceforth, in the future', →29,4:5.

(8) *tāiš* 'through them, through those (rules)'.

(9) *aŋhaitī uštā* 'the (things) desired will be available', or: '(one) will be as desired'; →27,14:7-8 *uštā astī* etc.; # 46,16:2 *uštā stōi* 'to be as desired'.

Yasna 31: *Tā vā uruuātā Hāiti*

31,0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) The main subject of Y 31 is the power of the magic formula, a precious possession preserved carefully by priestly schools and priestly families as their secret. Cf. Yt 4,8 *aētəm mąθrəm mā fradazšaiiyō aniiāţ piθre vā puθrāi brāθre vā haδō.zātāi āθravanāi vā θrāyaone* 'do not intimate this formula to anyone, except Thy father or Thy son or Thy brother-german or a θrāyavan(?) Āθrauuan', P 6 *vəhrkāi hizvąm daδāiti yō azrazdāi mąθrəm cašte* 'he who teaches a magic formula to the deceitful one supplies a tongue to the wolf'.

(2) The term *drəgvant-* 'deceitful' evidently does not only denote persons of different belief, but also those followers of the prophet who do not correctly fulfill the duties required by his religion. In consequence, it does not have to be regarded as illogical, if on the one hand Zaraθuštra tries to protect his secret knowledge from the deceitful one, and on the other hand he allows people apostrophized by him as *drəguuaņtō* 'deceitful' to participate in the sacrificial ceremony performed by him.

31,1. 7+9 (*ùruuātā*); 7+9 (*ùruuātāiš*); 7+9 (*zrazdā̃, mazdā̃i*).

(1) *tā ... uruuātā* 'these rules' as in 30,11 immediately preceding (§ 2.1.3).

(2) *tā vā uruuātā marəņtō* 'memorising these rules of Yours', # 43,14:8 *yōi tōi mąθrå marəņtī* '(those) who memorise Thy formulas'.

(3) *aguštā vacå* 'words unheard', i.e. 'words (hitherto) unheard (by them)', or: 'words not listened to', or even: 'words not to be listened to (by them)'. The last of these three possibilities is suggested by comparison with st. 18 *mā.ciš aţ vā drəguuatō mąθrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā* 'let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to Your formulas and teachings'.

(4) *yōi ... aşahiia gaēθå vīmərəņcaitē* 'those who destroy the herds of truth', cf. YAv. *aşahe gaēθå*, e.g. in Yt 19,50 *mahrkāi aşahe gaēθanąm* 'to destroy the herds of truth'; →46,12:3 *ārmatōiš gaēθå frādō* 'promoting the herds of right-mindedness'.

(5) *yōi ... vīmərəņcaitē ... yōi zrazdå aŋhən* 'those who destroy ... those who will be faithful'. with transition from the ind. to the subj.

(6) *aţcīţ aēibiiō vahištā* 'but (which are) very good for those', →33,3:1 *aşāunē vahištō* 'best to [= very familiar with] the truthful one'.

(7) *zrazdā-* 'faithful', →28,1:9 *mazdā-*.

31.2. 7+8 (*ùrúuānē/úrùuānē*); 7+9 (*āíiōi*); 7+9 (*mazdå̃, júuāmahī*).

(1) *āiš* 'by these (faithful ones), by those (present)', or: 'through these (rules)'; → 33,1:1 *yaθā āiš* (just) as by those (present)' (§ 15.13.2).

(2) *uruuānē* < **uruuănōi* is generally considered as an inf. of the same type as st. 3 *vīduuanōi* 'to know'. If so, then the unetymological *ā* for *a* is likely to be due to the influence of the the preceding *uruuātā ... uruuātāiš* 'rules', which themselves show *ā* for the etymologically correct *a* found in st. 3 *uruuatəm* as well (cf. Ved. *vratá-* 'law, ordinance, rule'). *uruuānē* can be traced back to **ŗvanai* (¹*ar* 'to move', ²*ar* 'accord'), **hŗvanai* (cf. Ved. *sŗ* 'to run, flow, glide, go'), *hruvanai* (cf. Ved. *sru* 'to flow, stream'), or *vŗvanai* (¹*var* 'to cover'), but it can hardly be derived from ²*var* 'to choose', which would most probably result in **vauruuanōi/vauruuānē*. In connexion with *aduuå* 'way', *uruuānē* < **ŗvanai* 'to move towards, to reach, to attain to', ¹*ar* is most likely. There is possibly an etymological nexus between *uruuānē* and *ratūm*. The syntax would be less complicated if *uruuānē* were a loc.sg. of a stem **uruuāna-*.

(3) *uruuānē aduuå ... vaíiiå* 'the better way to go' [= 'a way of life which is more comfortable and more profitable'], or: 'the way to attain to better (things)'.

(4) *aibī.dərəštā* is either 3rd sg.inj.aor.med. of *aibī-darəs* 'to see, to catch sight of' (*aduuå aibī.dərəštā* 'the way is seen'), or nom.acc.pl.n. of the p.p.p. *aibī.dərəšta-* (*aibī.dərəštā vaíiiå* 'the better things caught sight of'), hardly loc.sg. of a hapax *aibī.dərəšti-* (*aduuå aibī.dərəštā* 'the way (is) within sight').

(5) *vå vīspāņg āiiōi yaθā ... ahurō vaēdā* 'I approach You all, since the Ahura knows'. Here, *vå vīspāņg* 'You all' refers to the Ahuras; # 34,3:5 *vīspāiš mazdā xšmāuuasū* 'by all among those such as You, O Wise One', 28,1:12 *vīspāņg*. The Ahuras represent the Ahurian qualities of Ahura Mazdā. Thus, the whole group can be mystically identified with its leader.

(6) *ratūm ahurō vaēdā* 'the Ahura knows a judgment [judge]', # 29,6:6 *nōiţ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aşāţcīţ hacā* 'none has been really found by the world, no judgment [judge] in accordance with truth itself'.

(7) *mazdå aiiå ąsaiiå* 'mindful of those two (well-known) shares' with etymological rendering of *mazdā-* by 'being mindful' (→28,1:9). [Less likely: *ratūm ... aiiå ąsaiiå* 'a judgment (to be passed) on those two shares'.] A similar use of *mazdā-* in the sense of 'mindful' is possible in st. 21:1 *mazdå ... hauruuatō amərətātascā* 'mindful of integrity and immortality', 46,16:5 *yaϑrā mazdå varədəmąm šaēitī ahurō* alternatively: 'where, mindful of prosperity, the Ahura dwells'. But *mazdā-* means 'remembering, making mental notes' in 45,5:3 *vaŋhāuš mainiiāuš šiiaoϑanāiš mazdå ahurō* 'the Ahura (will) remember (him) with actions of good spirit', 47,1:4 *mazdå xšaϑrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'the Ahura (will) remember (that) with (His) power (and) right-mindedness ', 51,6:4 *ahurō xšaϑrā mazdå* 'the Ahura (will) remember (him) with (His) power'.

31,3. 7+9 (*då*); 7+9 (*ùrùuatəm*); 7+9 (*hizúuā, júuaṇtō*).

(1) *yąm då ... cōiš ... xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest (and) accordest [committest]', →35,5:3 *xšaϑrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā* 'we assign [offer], and commit, and delegate the power'. A poetical inversion of the order of the two verbs is seen in 34,13:5 *hiiaṯ cəuuīštā ... mīždəm ... yehiiā tū daϑrəm* 'the prize which You accord [commit] (and) of which Thou art the award', 45,10:6 *cōišt ... dąn* 'he has committed ... they place'; →29,1:4 on *ϑβarōždūm ... tašaṯ*.

(2) OAv. *rāna-* is three times attested in the instr.dat.abl.du. *rānōibiiā* (here and in 47,6, 51,9), once in the gen.du. *rąnaiiå* (st. 19), and once in the dat.abl.pl. *rānōibiiō* (43,12). The du. obviously denotes a pair of things while the pl. has a distributive function, denoting a number of pairs of the same things. The word cannot be separated from YAv. *rāna-* du. 'thigh', but it cannot have exactly the same meaning. The PhlT renders all of the five instances by *ō pahikardārān* 'to the fighters [or: opponents]' which, with regard to the prevailing du., must be understood as referring to both sides, the good and the evil. PhlT *pahikardārān* recalls *pahikār* 'fight, opposition', used as PhlT of YAv. *rāna-* 'pugnacious' in both, Yt 14,25 *būzahe ... rānahe* 'of a pugnacious he-goat' and V 7,52 *nōiṯ ahmi paiti naire duua mainiiu rāna auua.stånhaṯ* 'concerning that man, the two spirits do not become pugnacious' [= 'they do not enter into a fight']. Yet, YAv. *rāna-* cannot be connected with our *rāna-*; rendering e.g. 43,12:10 *yā vī aŝīš rānōibiiō sauuōi vīdāiiāṯ* by '(Aŝi) who at the benefaction will distribute the rewards to the *fighters/opponents [pl.]' (PhlT *bē rāst ō pahikardārān sūd dahēd* 'rightly grants profit to the fighters/opponents') would be nonsensical. *rāna-* rather belongs to Ved. *ráṇa-* 'pleasure, fight as an object of pleasure'.

More help in understanding OAv. *rāna-* is afforded by the PhlT gloss *bōxt ud ēraxt paydāg kunēd* 'makes manifest the saved and the damned' (in 31,19, 43,12, 47,6, 51,9). This suggests that the OAv. du. *rāna-* 'thighs' is used metaphorically to mean 'scales, balance' [lit. '(the two thighs = hands of the) balance, the two scale-pans']. In all their occurrences, the instr.dat.abl.du. *rānōibiiā* and the distributive abl.dat.pl. *rānōibiiō* are used not in their dat. but in their abl. functions 'according to balance(s)'. In 31,19:2 *rąnaiiå*, the meaning of *rāna-* extends to '(equivalent of) the balance, balance (value)'.

(3) *yąm då ... rānōibiiā xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest according to balance', → 47,6:1 *då ... vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'Thou establishest the distribution according to balance', 51,9:1 *yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest according to balance', 31,19:3-4 *vīdātā rąnaiiå* 'at the distribution of the balance (value)', 43,12:13 *yā vī aŝīš rānōibiiō sauuōi vīdāiiāṯ* 'who at the benefaction will distribute the rewards according to (the respective) balances'.

(4) *yąm då maiiniiū āϑrācā ... xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest by means of (Thy) spirit and (Thy) fire', # 31,19:3-4 *ϑβā āϑrā suxrā mazdā* 'by means of Thy red fire, O Wise One', 47,6:1 *tā då ... mainiiū ... āϑrā* 'through this spirit Thou establishest, by means of (Thy) fire', 51,9:1 *yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då ϑβā āϑrā suxrā* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest, according to balance, by means of Thy red fire'.

(5) *taṯ nā ... vaocā hizuuā ϑβahiiā åŋhō yā jiuaṇtō vīspāŋg vāuraiiā* 'tell us about that with the tongue of Thy mouth, so that therewith I might receive all the living', → 28,5:8 *mazištəm vāurōimaidī ... hizuuā* 'we would receive the greatest one with (our) tongue', # 47,6:6 *hā zī pourūš išəṇtō vāurāitē* 'for this shall receive the the many who approach'.

(6) *cazdōŋhuuaṇt-* '*responsible', →44,5:6.

31,4. 7+9 (*zəuuīm, mazdåscā*); 7+8/9 (*išàsā/išàsā̃*); 7+9.

(1) *zəuuīm* from *zaoiia-* = Ved. *hávia-* 'to be invoked, to be called (for help)'; *aŝəm zəuuīm* 'truth worthy of being invoked' [or: 'truth (sent out in order) to be invoked'], # Yt 13,23 *frauuaŝaiiō ... zaoiiå ... pəŝanāhū* 'to be invoked [called] (for help) in the battles'.

(2) *yadā ... aŋhən*, # 30,8:1 *yadā ... jimaitī* 'when it will have arrived'; *aŋhən* is either 3rd sg.sbj.pres. of *¹ah* 'to be' ('when they will be present') or 3rd pl.sbj.aor. of

^{2}*ah* 'to cast, shoot, send' ('when they will have emitted, sent out'). The syntax is difficult with ^{1}*ah* but straightforward with ^{2}*ah*. For the latter possibility, →34,8:2-3 *as pairī pourubiiō iθiiejō* 'Thou sendest harrassment around the many (deceitful)', 34,8:8 *aēibiiō dūirē vohū as manō* 'Thou sendest good thought to (a place) far away from them'.

(3) If one decides in favour of ^{2}*ah*, then the idea must be that Ahura Mazdā and the other Ahuras send out one member of their own circle to be invoked by mortals. Seen from this point of view, ^{2}*ah* results in a syntactically reasonable translation. It is, however, strange that ^{2}*ah* should mean 'send out' (< 'shoot') here, but 'hit, befall' in 44,19:4-5 *kā tām ahiiā maēniš aŋhaṯ* 'what chastisement for that will befall him?'. For the meaning 'to cast, shoot, send' one would expect the pres. *ahiia-* (> YAv. *aiŋha-*), and only for the meaning 'to hit, befall' does the aor. *ah-* seem appropriate. But that evidently does not match the facts. For a similar problem found with three occurrences of the 3rd sg.inj.aor. *as*, →34,8:1.

(4) *mazdå̊scā ahurå̊ŋhō* [nom. + nom.] 'the Wise One and the (other) Ahuras' [lit. 'the (other) Ahuras and the Wise One'], → 30,9:3 *mazdå̊scā ahurå̊ŋhō* [nom. + voc.] which has the function of a voc. (§ 4.1[16], § 15.1.2).

(5) *aṣ̌icā ārmaitī* 'along with reward and right-mindedness' shows the same inverted use of the particle *-cā* as found in the preceding *mazdå̊scā ahurå̊ŋhō* (§ 8.1.2). It is of no importance whether *aṣ̌icā ārmaitī* is associated by its instr. with *mazdå̊scā ahurå̊ŋhō* who send out, or with *aṣ̌əm* which is sent out by them. # 30,11:2 *uruuātā ... xᵛīticā ənəitī* alternatively: 'rules ... along with good mobility and immobility'.

(6) *išàsā ... xšaθrəm* 'I shall try to win power', # 50,2:4 *kaθā ... gąm išasōiṯ yā hīm ahmāi ... stōi usiiāṯ* 'how should one try to win a cow, one who would wish her to be his', 51,19 *yā ahūm išasąs aibī mazdå̊ dātā mraoṯ* 'who trying to win existence recites the orders of the Wise One'. The meaning of the pres. *išàsa-* (dissyllabic reading certain in 50,2, 51,19) does not seem to be much different from that of *isa-* 'to desire, wish for, request', but it is difficult to establish an etymological connexion between the two (→50,2:4). Phonetically possible is *išàsa-* [*išsa-*] < **iždˀsa-*, root *aēžd/iždˀ* (cf. Ved. *īḍ* 'to implore, request, ask for'). A similar problem is found with 32,13:3 *hīšàsaṯ*.

(7) *išasā ... maibiiō xšaθrəm* 'I shall try to win [act.] the power (meant) for me', # 48,8:2 *tōi aṣ̌ōiš θβaxiiå̊ maibiiō* 'of Thy reward, of Thy (reward) for me' (§ 15.18). *xšaθrəm aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'strong power', # 29,10:3 *aogō ... xšaθrəmcā* 'strength and power' (§ 15.1.7).

(8) *vanaēmā drujəm* 'we might defeat deceit', →48,1:3 *yezī adāiš ašā drujəm vāŋ̣haitī* 'when through these (activities) truths may defeat deceit'; # Yy 9,17 *vasō.xšaθrō ... ṯbaēsō.tauruuå̊ drujəm.vanō* 'ruling at will ... overcoming hostility and defeating deceit'.

(9) Parts of the stanza are used in V 20,8 *yeŋ̇he varəda vanaēma drujim druje varəda vanaēma yeŋ̇he xšaθrəm aojoŋhuuaṯ maibiiō ahura.*

31,5. 7+8/9 (*dā́tā/dā̃tā*); 7+9 (*vīdùiiē*); 7+9.

(1) *taṯ mōi vīcidiiāi vaocā* 'tell me (about), so that (I) may discern (it)', # 49,6:3 *frō vå̊ fraēšiiā ... mrūitē ... ərəš vīcidiiāi* 'I urge You to tell (us) so that (we) may discern plainly'.

(2) *vīduiiē ... māŋ̣cā daidiiāi* 'to learn and to note in (my) mind', # 44,8:1 *məŋ̣dāidiiāi* 'to note in (my) mind', 53,5:4 *məŋ̣cā ī mązdazdūm vaēdō.dūm* 'note them in (Your) mind and accept'.

(3) *ərəši-* = Ved. *ṛ̥ṣi-* 'seer, inspired poet, sage', →40,4:4 on *ərəšiia-* '*enthusiastic'.

(4) *yehiiā mā ərəšiš tācīṯ* 'from [instr.] that very one whose seer (I am)' [= 'from You, Ahura Mazdā'].

31,6. 7+8/9 (*vaocā́ṯ/vaocā̃ṯ*); 7+8; 7+9 (*mazdā̃i*).

(1) *ahmāi ... vahištəm* anticipates *mazdāi ... xšaθrəm*, # 51,1:1-5 *vohū xšaθrəm ... vahištəm* 'the good power ... the best'.

(2) *ahmāi aŋhaṯ ... xšaθrəm* 'to Him the power shall belong' [= 'the power is assigned and committed to Ahura Mazdā'], →27,13:14 *dazdā ... xšaθrəm(cā) ahurāi.ā* 'the power is assigned to the Ahura', 35,5:3-5 *huxšaθrōtəmāi bā aṯ xšaθrəm dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā* 'we assign [offer], commit, and delegate, the power to the best ruler'.

(3) *yā mōi vīduuå̊ vaocāṯ ... mąθrəm* '(to Him), the knowing one, who will pronounce for me the formula' refers to Ahura Mazdā; # 45,3:3 *aŋhāuš ahiiā paouruuīm yąm mōi vīduuå̊ mazdå̊ vaocaṯ ahurō ... mąθrəm* 'the primal one of this existence, the formula which the Wise Ahura, the knowing one, told me'. In both passages, *vīduuå̊* 'the knowing one' means 'he who knows (the formulas)', but note also Yt 12,1 *paiti mē vīδβå̊ mrūiδi* 'answer me, since Thou knowest'.

(4) *yā mōi ... vaocāṯ ... mąθrəm* 'he who will pronounce for me the formula', # RV 1,74,1 *mántraṃ vocema agnáye* 'for Agni we would pronounce a formula'.

(5) *haiθīm mąθrəm* 'the true formula', # RV 1,152,2 *satyó mántraḥ*; →30,5:6 *haiθiāiš šiiaoθanāiš* 'with true actions', 35,6:2 *haiθīm (mąθrəm) ... haṯ ... yaθā īṯ astū.*

(6) *yə̄ mōi ... vaocāṯ haiθīm mąθrəm yim hauruuatātō (etc.)* 'he who will pronounce for me the true formula concerning integrity' is a paraphrase for 'he who will grant me integrity'; →29,7:3 *tə̄m āzūtōiš ... mąθrəm tašaṯ* 'he fashioned that (well- -known) formula concerning fat' (§ 15.7).

(7) *xšaθrəm hiiaṯ hōi vohū vaxšaṯ manaŋhā* 'the power which he shall make grow with His good thought', # 48,6:2 *aṣ̌ā mazdå uruuarå vaxšaṯ* 'the Wise One shall make the plants grow with truth', 34,11:2 *vaŋhāuš xšaθrā manaŋhō aṣ̌ā maṯ ārmaitiš vaxšt utaiiūitī təuuīšī* 'through the power of good thought right-mindedness along with truth makes both stability and might(iness) grow', 32,4:5 *maṣ̌iiā ... vaxšəṇtē daēuuō.zuštā* 'the mortals may grow [mid.] (as) minions of the Daēvas'. The aor. *vaxšaṯ* originally did not belong to Bartholomae's ^{1}*vaxš/uxš* 'to grow', but to his ^{2}*vaxš/uxš* 'to spray, sprinkle', as is to be seen from *xšaθrəm hiiaṯ hōi vohū vaxšaṯ manaŋhā* when comparing it with RV 1,157,2 *ghṛténa no mádhunā kṣatrám ukṣatam* 'sprinkle our power with ghee and honey'. On the other hand, the compositional nexus between *vaxšaṯ* 'shall make grow' and st. 7 *uxšiiā* 'grow Thou', suggests that to a certain extent ^{1}*vaxš/uxš* and ^{2}*vaxš/uxš* have merged here.

31,7. 7+8 (*x^{v}āθrā*); 7+9; 7+10.

(1) *tā* hardly refers to the preceding instr.sg. *vohū manaŋhā*. It rather anticipates the instr.sg. *xraθβā* 'with (His) intellect' or the acc.pl. *x^{v}āθrā* 'comforts'.

(2) The instr.pl. *raocābīš* 'with lights' is also found in 30,1:12 *yā raocābīš darəsatā uruuāzā* 'what delight is to be seen through the lights'. There, it refers to the light of the Sacred Fire. *x^{v}āθrā* 'comfort', nom.acc.pl. or instr.sg., also in 33,9:5 *x^{v}āθrā maēθā maiiā* 'comfort(s) coupled with bliss' or: 'together with comfort coupled with bliss'.

(3) *raocābīš ... x^{v}āθrā* 'with lights ... comfort(s)', # P 37 *vahištəm ahūm anaγraca raocå afrasaŋhąnca x^{v}āθra* 'best existence, endless lights , unlimited comfort(s)' (→ 29,5:10 on *afrasaŋhąn*). The basic meaning of *x^{v}āθra-* 'comfort' is, perhaps, 'space, free space, freedom'.

(4) *rōiθβən*, from pres. *raēθβa-* 'to mix' [intr.], is usually understood as an inf. of a very peculiar formation: *raocābīš rōiθβən x^{v}āθrā* 'let the comforts intersperse with lights'. Cf. the construction of *raēθβa-* [intr.] with instr. in V 7,50 *aēša pąsnu raēθβāṯ* 'that (tomb) will mix with dust' [= 'it will go up in dust'], cf. the caus. *raēθβaiia-* in N 76 *haomə̄m gauua raēθβaiiāṯ* 'he shall mix the Haoma with milk'. Yet, *rōiθβən* could easily be a 3rd pl.inj. as well. In this case, *raocābīš rōiθβən x^{v}āθrā* would not be a command but a statement 'the comforts intersperse with lights', representing a "true formula" conceived by Ahura Mazdā and fulfilled at the very moment of its being pronounced by him. Admittedly, the use of the pl. *rōiθβən* would go against the general rule according to which the nom.pl.n. *x^{v}āθrā* should have its verb in the sg., but *x^{v}āθrā* perhaps does not mean 'all the comforts together' but 'each single comfort'.

(5) In *huuō xraθβā dąmiš aṣ̌əm (sc. maṇtā)* '(as) creator He (conceived) truth with (His) intellect', the verb *maṇtā* 'conceived' is supplied from the preceding line (§ 15.12.2); # st. 19:2 *maṇtā aṣ̌əm* 'he conceives truth' (§ 8.12.2). With regard to *aṣ̌ahiiā dąmīm* 'creator of truth' in the following st. 8, verbal government of *dąmi-* (taking together *dąmiš aṣ̌əm* as 'creating truth, creator of truth') is not very likely; →45,7:5 *tācā xšaθrā mazdå dąmiš ahurō* 'through that very power the Wise Ahura is creative'.

(6) *tā ... mainiiū uxšiiō* 'by means of that spirit Thou growest', # 33,10:5-6 *vohū uxšiiā manaŋhā* 'grow through good thought'. The intr. meaning of *uxšiia-* is plain from 44,3:2 *må uxšiieitī* 'the moon waxes'.

(7) *pouruiiō ... uxšiiō yə̄ ā nūrəmcīṯ hāmō* '(being) the primal one, Thou growest, (Thou) who (hast remained) the same to this very day' describes the miraculous qualities of Ahura Mazdā.

31,8. 7+8 (*paouruuīm*); 7+8; 7+8 (*šiiaoθànaēšū*).

(1) In this stanza, the description of Ahura Mazdā's miraculousness is continued: *aṯ θβā māŋhī paouruuīm ... yazūm stōi ... vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō* 'I realise (that) Thou, the primal one, art youthful, (Thou), the father of good thought', # 43,5:1 *spə̄ntəm aṯ θβā ... māŋhī hiiaṯ θβā aŋhāuš ząθōi darəsəm paouruuīm* 'I realise (that) Thou art prosperous, when I see Thee, the primal one, (engaged) in the begetting of existence' (→43,0), 45,4:2 *ptarəm vaŋhāuš varəzaiiaṇtō manaŋhō* 'the father of refreshing good thought', 47,2:8 *ptā aṣ̌ahiiā* 'father of truth', 47,3:1 *ahiiā mainiiāuš ... tā spə̄ṇtō* 'the prosperous father of that spirit', 44,3:1 *ptā aṣ̌ahiiā paouruiiō* 'the primal father of truth'.

(2) *māŋhī ... manaŋhā* 'I realise with my thought', or: *yazūm stōi manaŋhā* 'to be youthful through (Thy) thought'. The latter makes more sense, but the former is suggested by 33,6:7 *auuā manaŋhā yā ... maṇtā* 'with that thought with which one conceives (the idea)'.

(3) *haiθīm aṣahiiā dąmīm* 'the true creator of truth', # 44,4:4 *vaŋhəuš ... dąmiš manaŋhō* 'the creator of good thought', 34,10:2 *ārmaitīm dąmīm ... hiθąm aṣahiiā* 'right-mindedness, the creative partner of truth', 51,10:2 *dāmōiš drūjō hunuš* '(evil) offspring of the creator of deceit'. In contrast to these, *dāmi-* does not mean 'creator, creative' but 'creation' in 43,5:5 *dāmōiš uruuāēsē apəmē* 'at the final turning point of creation'.

(4) *hiiaṯ θβā həm cašmainī hāṇgrabəm* 'when I grasp Thee in my eye', # 45,8:2 *nū zīṯ cašmainī viiādarəsəm* 'I have just now seen (Him) in (my) eye'.

(5) *aŋhəuš ahurəm šiiaoθanaēšū* 'the Ahura (presiding) over the actions of the world', # 27,13:12 *šiiaoθənanąm aŋhəuš* 'actions of the world'. Or else: 'when I grasp Thee with (my) eye, (Thee), the Ahura of the world, in (the sight of Thy) actions'.

31,9. 7+8/9 (*θβôi ās, ãrmaitiš, tašā ās*); 7+8/9 (*dadå/dadå̃, paθąm*); 7+8 (*vāstríiāṯ, ãitē, vāstríiō*).

(1) *θβôi ... θβā* 'Thy [f.] ... Thy [m.]', # 46,11:4 $x^{v}ə$ ... $x^{v}aēcā$ 'his/its own' [m.] ... his/its own [f.]. Monosyllabic *θβôi* 'Thy' is also found in 48,8:3. Dissyllabic *θβõi* (*θβõi ás*) would be the loc.sg. of the pers.pron. *tuuəm* 'Thou' (Ved. *tváyi*).

(2) *as* is inexactly transmitted for *ās* 'was' from [1]*ah*. The short *a* could be due to the influence of 34,8:1 *as* 'Thou shootest, sendest' from [2]*ah*.

(3) If *as xratuš* is correctly transmitted, then *θβā ā gəuš tašā as xratuš* means 'Thine, (acting as) fashioner of the cow, was intellect'. But we follow Kellens-Pirart, 1988, who take *as xratuš* as corrupted from **aš.xratuš* 'very intellectual', cf. YAv. *aš.xraθβastəma-* 'by far most intellectual'. The corruption was caused by perseveration of the preceding *as* and it was supported by dissimilatory tendencies in the oral transmission, the hemistich originally having shown a sequence of four *š* (*gəuš tašā* **aš.xratuš*) (§10.7.4). Unlike this, the similar dissimilation in *as-īšti-* < **aš-išti-* 'very vigorous' (34,4:2 *asīštīm*, 44,9:3 *asīštiš*) had already taken place in in the original OAv. language.

(4) Bartholomae's reading *mainiiəuš* is the lectio difficilior against Geldner's *mainiiuš*, which is due to perseveration of the ending of the preceding *xratuš*.

(5) *aẋiiāi* 'to her' refers to right-mindedness or, rather, to the cow of the fashioner.

(6) In *dadå paθąm*, 'Thou didst open [offer] paths to her', *paθąm* is taken as gen. pl. of *paṇtā/paθ-* 'way, path' in partitive use; # RV. 8,71,13 *agnír iṣáṁ ... dadātu* 'let Agni grant invigorations'; →32,8:1 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm* 'for (one instance) of such crimes', 34,1:6 *aēšąm tōi ... dastē* '(a deserved part) of these is (now) being offered to Thee'.

(7) *vāstriiāṯ vā āitē yə vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ vāstriiō* 'so that (she) could join [lit. go to the side of] the herdsman or him who may not be a herdsman' (§ 15.1.5), # st. 10:2 *vāstrīm ... auuāstriiō* 'herdsman ... non-herdsman (§ 15.11.2).

31,10. 7+8 (*vāstrĩm)*; 7+8 (*fšāŋ̊hĩm*); 7+9 (*auuāstríiō*).

(1) *fšāŋ̊hiia-* '*bondsman', # 49,9:1 *fšāŋ̊hiiō suiiē taštō* 'the *bondsman fashioned for benefit'. The word is perhaps to be connected with YAv. *fšah-* 'fetters' (instr.pl. *V* 5,41 *fšābīš*).

(2) *vāstrīm ... auuāstriiō* 'herdsman ... non-herdsman', →st. 9:7.

(3) *dauuąs* 'shouting', # Yy 9,18 *haēnaiiåsca ... dauuąiθiiå patąiθiiå* 'of the army which is shouting and rushing'. Cf. YAv. *dau/du* 'to speak daēvic' which, however, is always in the mid. Or should one connect *dauuaṇt-* with Skt. *dhāvati* 'runs'?

(4) *nōiṯ ... humərətōiš baxštā* 'does not enjoy a good reputation'. The mid. of the root *bag* (*baxš*) means 'get a part of, have a part in', →33,10:4 *θβahmī hīš zaošē ābaxšo.huuā* 'receive them into Thy approval'. For the act., →47,5:2-4 *baxšaitī* 'must give up' [or: 'gives away'].

31,11. 7+9 (*paouruuĩm, daẽnåscā*); 7+9 (*dadå*); 7+9 (*šiiaoθànā, varànāṇg*).

(1) Our translation is based upon the assumption that the stanza consists of a causal clause, introduced by *hiiaṯ nā ... tašō* 'since Thou didst fashion for us', lacking a main clause, and thus ending with an anacoluthon. This assumption could be avoided when taking *hiiaṯ nā ... paouruuīm gaēθåscā tašō daēnåscā* as the main clause: 'that which (represents) for us the primal (stage of our existence): the herds Thou didst fashion and the religious views'.

(2) *hiiaṯ nā ... paouruuīm (sc. aŋhəuš) gaēθåscā tašō daēnåscā* 'since (that which represents) the primal (stage of our existence), the herds Thou didst fashion for us and the religious views'. Thus, if *paouruuīm* means the same as in 30,4:4 *paouruuīm dazdē* 'decides (of what nature will be) the primal (stage of his existence)'. Possible as well is *hiiaṯ nā ... paouruuīm ... tašō* 'since Thou didst fashion for us that which is basic, the herds and the religious views'; # 46,6:7 *hiiaṯ daēnå paouruiiå då* 'as Thou didst establish the religious views (to be) primal [basic]' (§ 12.1.6.1).

(3) *astuuaṇtəm dadå uštānəm* 'Thou didst assign corporeal life [vitality]', # 34,14:2

astuuaitē uštānāi dātā 'You grant to corporeal life'. The phrase *astuuaṇt uštāna-* 'corporeal life' is elaborated from *ast-* 'bone/body' plus *uštāna-* 'vitality/life' (37,3:3 *azdəbīščā uštānāišcā* 'with (our) bones and vitalities', V 19,7 *astaca uštanəmca*, V. 5,9 +*asca uštānəmca*, § 15.1.7). It is further elaborated into 43,16:5 *astuuaṯ aŝəm ... uštānā aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'corporeal truth, strong with vitality'; # 41,3:4 *nə gaiiascā astəṇtâscā ẋiiâ* 'mayest Thou be for us both life and frame [bone(ness)]'.

(4) *šiiaoϑanācā səŋghąscā yaϑrā varənəŋg vasâ dāiietē* 'the actions and proclamations in which the wisher makes use of (his good and bad) preferences' [or: 'in which one makes use of (his) wishes and preferences', or: 'in which one's wishes decide (his) preferences']. *vasâ* is either nom.sg. of an agent noun ²*vasah-* m.f. 'wishing, wisher', or nom.acc.pl. of the action noun ¹*vasah-* n. 'wish'.

(5) The med. *dāiietē* 'takes, adopts, makes use of' is to the act. **dāiieitī* (→29,7:5 subj. *dāiiāṯ*) as the med. *dazdē* 'takes possession of, decides on/for' (→30,4:5) to the act. *dadāitī*.

31,12. 7+9; 7+9; 7+9 (*ā̃rmaitiš*).

(1) *aϑrā* 'there' refers to the preceding *šiiaoϑanācā səŋghąscā yaϑrā* 'the actions and announcements where'. It is questionable whether it is simultaneously the antecedent of *yaϑrā* in *yaϑrā maēϑā*, which follows at the end of the stanza. As to this, # 30,9:6-7 *haϑrā ... yaϑrā cistiš aŋhaṯ maēϑā* 'concentrated (at the place) where insight will be present'. A similar construction is found in 28,11:1-2 *srauuâ ... āiš ... yāiš* (§ 15.17).

(2) *vācəm baraitī ... ahiiā zərədācā manaŋhācā* 'raises his voice with his heart and thought', # 50,6:1-2 *vācəm ... baraitī ... nəmaŋhā* 'raises his voice in reverence', RV 1,61,2 *hṛdâ mánasā* 'with heart and thought'. A strange parallel is RV 10,177,1 *pataṃgám ... hṛdâ paśyanti mánasā* 'they see the bird with (their) heart and thought' in connexion with its st. 2 *pataṃgó vâcam mánasā bibharti* 'the bird raises(?) its voice with thought' (but Geldner: 'der Vogel trägt im Geiste die Rede').

(3) *ānuš.haxš* 'pursuing (this matter)', cf. Ved. *ánuṣak* 'in continuous order, uninterrupted, one after another'.

(4) *pərəsaitē yaϑrā maēϑā* '(right-mindedness) takes counsel where she (is) present' [unless: 'takes counsel in case (matters are) undecided']. For *maēϑa-* 'present' [or: 'undecided', doubtful'], →30,9:7 *yaϑrā cistiš aŋhaṯ maēϑā* 'where insight will be present' [unless: 'where insight may be doubtful'].

31,13. 7+9 (*āuuīšiiā*); 7+9; 7+9.

(1) *tā* [acc.pl.n.] is the antecedent of the three rel.prons. *yā* '(that) which (is an open counsel)' [nom.sg.f.], *yā* '(the secrets about) which' [acc.pl.n.], and *yā* '(that one) who' [nom.sg.m.] (§ 15.7).

(2) *yā frasā āuuīšiiā yā vā pərəsaētē taiiā* 'that which (is) an open counsel, as well as the secrets about which (two persons) take counsel' (§ 15.1.4). *frasā* is from *fərasā-* f. 'consultation, counsel', cf. instr.sg. 44,13:4 *frasaiiā*.

(3) *pərəsaētē* 3rd du.pres.mid. 'two persons take counsel (with each other)'. Note the reciprocal sense of the du.mid. as contrasted with the sg.mid. *pərəsaitē* 'takes counsel (with someone)' preceding in st. 12, and with the sg.act. *pərəsā* 'I ask' following in st. 14. No logical connexion can be discovered between these three occurrences of *pərəsa-*. Their successive use in contexts quite different from each other is evidently due to a purely associative compositional technique (§ 13.1.4).

(4) The hapax *būj-* certainly means 'punishment, atonement'. Phl. *bōxtan* 'to save, redeem' seems to be less close to it than Ved. *bhuj* in RV 6,51,7 *mā́ va éno anyákṛtam bhujema* 'let us not atone for a sin committed against you by somebody else'.

(5) *tā cašmāŋng ϑβisrā hārō aibī aŝā aibī.vaēnahī vīspā* 'perceiving that with the gleam of Thine eye, Thou seest all (things) through truth' shows verbal government of the adj. *hāra-* 'perceiving with one's eyes, recording with one's intellect'; →44,2:7 *irixtəm vīspōibiiō hārō mainiiū* 'recording with (His) spirit the net assets for all people'.

31,14. 7+9 (*ā̃itī*); 7+9 (*dāϑranā̃m*); 7+9.

(1) *tā ϑβā pərəsā* 'I ask Thee about those (things)', # 51,5:1 *vīspā tā pərəsąs yaϑā* '(I am) asking about all those (ways) in which', 44,1 *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā* 'this I ask Thee' (→ 44,0:1-2).

(2) *išud-* 'invigoration' is to *īš-* 'vigour, invigoration' as Ved. *pṛkṣúdh-* 'refreshment' is to *pṛ́kṣ-* 'freshness, refreshment'. The morpheme *-ud-* (Ved. *-udh-*) comes from the root *vad/ud* = Ved. *vadh* 'to lead'. Etymologically *išud-* thus means 'supply of vigour/invigorations', but actually it is more or less synonymous with *īš-*; # 36,5:1 *išūidiia-* 'to invigorate', Yy 69,4 *frrīō ... išudō ... rātaiiō*.

(3) *yâ išudō dadəṇtē ... hacā aŝāunō* 'the invigorations which (people) will obtain [mid.] from the truthful one'.

(4) *yå išudō dadəṇtē dāϑraṇąm* 'the invigorations (consisting) of gifts which (people) will obtain' is a paraphrase of **yā dāϑrā dadəṇtē* 'the gifts which (people) will obtain' (§ 15.7); # N 84 *dāϑrəm daδāiti ... dāϑrahe dāiti* 'offers a gift ... by offering the gift'; 34,15:1 *išudəm stūtō* 'the invigoration (consisting) of praise' shows the same structure.

(5) *dāϑra-* = Ved. *dātrá-* 'gift', cf. *daϑra-* in 34,13:7 *yehiiā tū daϑrəm* 'of which Thou (art) the award'.

(6) *hāṇkərətā* 'reckoned up, added together' is either nom.sg.f [nom.pl.n.] of the p.p.p. *hāṇkərəta-* from *haṇ-kar* 'to add together, reckon up, calculate', or it is loc.sg. of the corresponding action noun *hāṇkərəiti-* = YAv. *haṇkərəiti-*, which does not make much difference for the translation. YAv. *haṇkərəiti-* is used as a technical term in Yy 71,1 *gāϑaṇąm haṇkərəitiš* 'complete recitation of the Gāϑās'. Therefore, *həṇkərətā hiiaṯ* (§ 15.16.3) either means 'when (the entitlements will have been) reckoned up', or: 'when the (recitation will be) concluded'.

31,15. 7+9; 7+8/9 (*duš.šiiaoϑànāi/°ãi*); 7+9 (*vāstriiehiiā*).

(1) *yā maēniš yə* 'what the chastisement (is for him) who', →44,19:4 *kā tām ahiiā maēniš aŋhaṯ* 'what chastisement for that will befall him?', also for *maēni-* 'chastisement' = Ved. *mení-* 'wrath, vengeance, punishment'.

(2) *yə drəguuāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī* 'who delegates power to the deceitful one', # 35,5:3-5 *xšaϑrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā ... mazdāi ahurāi* 'we assign [offer], commit, and delegate, the power to the Wise Ahura'.

(3) The ending *-āi* of *duš.šiiaoϑànāi* is possibly dissyllabic, →28,5:5 on *ahurāi/ahurãi*.

(4) *hanarə ... vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō pasəuš vīrāaṯcā adrujiianṭō* is a stylistic elaboration from **hanarə aēnaŋhō pasəuš vīrāaṯcā vāstriiehiiā adrujiianṭō* 'without injury to [abl.] cattle and men of the honest herdsman' (§ 15.14.3).

(5) *pasəuš vīrāaṯcā* 'to cattle and men' [sg.], # 45,9:6 *pasūš vīrəṇg* [pl.], YAv. *pasu vīra* [du.]. Here *pasu-* means 'cattle' in general, but in other passages it is contrasted with *uxšan-* 'bull' or *gau-* 'ox/cow' and refers in particular to small cattle; →46,2:2 on *kamnafšuua-* 'scantiness of cattle-stock'.

(6) *adrujiianṭ-* 'non-deceiving' > 'honest'. In the same way as in Ved. *adrúh-* 'without deceit' so here too, the privative prefix effects a complete inversion of the meaning of the basic word (§ 15.11.3).

31,16. 7+9 (*dəmānahiiā*; 7+9; 7+9(*yā.šiiaoϑànascā*).

(1) *hudānu-* 'generous, bounteous' = Ved. *sudánu-* 'id.' (said of gods). *huuō yə hudānuš ... ϑβāuuąs* 'that generous person, one such as Thou' refers especially to Ahura Mazdā. # Yt 1,15 *hudānuš ... hudānuštəma* among the names of Ahura Mazdā, while in other passages *hudānu-* seems to be said of generous men (44,9, 50,9, 53,3).

(2) The climax *dəmānahiiā ... šōiϑrahiiā vā daxiiəuš vā* 'house, district, country' is incomplete. The complete version is found in st. 18 *dəmānəm vīsəm vā šōiϑrəm vā daxiiūm vā* 'the house, the village, the district or/and the country' (§ 15.10).

(3) *xšaϑrəm ... fradaϑāi* 'to promote the power', # 45,9:6 *pasūš vīrəṇg ahmākəṇg fradaϑāi.ā* 'to further our cattle and men'.

(5) *yadā huuō aŋhaṯ* 'when he will be available', # 29,9:8 *kadā yauuā huuō aŋhaṯ* 'when will that one ever be available?'

31,17. 7+8/9 (*vərənùuaitē/⁺vərənauuaitē*); 7+9 (*dəbāuuaiiaṯ*); 7+9.

(1) Geldner's reading *vərənuuaitē* recalls Ved. *vṛṇváte*, 3rd pl.pres.mid. of the root ¹*var* 'to cover, conceal, obstruct', # RV 1,5,4 *yásya ... ná vṛṇváte hárī samátsu śátravaḥ* 'whose horses the enemies cannot stop in battles', cf. *vṛṇvaté* found in constructio ad sensum after *nákiḥ* 'nobody' in RV 8,45,21 *nákir yáṃ vṛṇvaté yudhí* 'whom nobody can stop in battle', 7,32,16 *nákiṣ ṭvā góṣu vṛṇvate* 'nobody can stop Thee in (the battle for) the cows'. In our passage no such plur. is conceivable. It is therefore preferable to decide in favour of the variant ⁺*vərənauuaitē*. This could be the corresponding 3rd sg. sbj.pres.mid. 'he will obstruct, stop' which would be suggestive in the rhetorical question *katārəm aŝauuā vā drəguuå vā vərənauuaitē maziiō* 'will the truthful one or the deceitful one obstruct that which is greater?'. A similar idea would be expressed in 44,12:1-3 *kə aŝauuā yāiš pərəsāi drəguuå vā ... yə mā drəguuå ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē* 'who (is) truthful? You with whom I wish to take counsel or the deceitful one? ... the deceitful one who (intends) to obstruct Thy benefits.' However, the context does not favour such an interpretation (→n. 2).

(2) We render *vərənauuaitē* by 'is convincing', comparing OP. pres. *vṛnava-*, originally 'to convince', but used in impersonal construction in the sense of 'to believe', e.g. in DB 4,42 *taya manā kṛtam vṛnavatām ϑuvām* 'what I have done shall convince Thee' > 'Thou shalt believe what I have done'. The impersonal construction found with OP. *vṛnava-* 'to believe' later on developed into the personal construction of MP.

**wurrawistan* > *wurrōyistan* 'to believe'. It is, however, difficult to make out whether OAv. *vərənauuaitē maziiō* displays the original meaning 'convinces more', or the developed one 'believes in what is greater'. In our opinion, the context points to the former, but most scholars prefer the latter. Note, at any rate, that *maziiah-*, taken in the sense of 'what is greater', is not a moral but a material quality: Yy 65,13-14 *imaṯ mē āpō dāiiata ... yaṯca ahmāṯ asti maziiō ... vaŋhō ... sraiiō ... parō.arəjastarəm taṯ nō dāiiata* 'grant me that, O waters, and grant (all of) us that which is greater and better and more beautiful and more costly than it'.

(3) In *vīduuå vīdušē mraotū* 'let the knowing one speak to the knowing one', *vīduuah-* 'knowing' can be taken in the sense of 'knowing each other'; # 46,2:5 *friiō friiāi* 'a friend to a friend' (§ 15.3.1); →34,9:2 *θβahiiā ... vīdušō* 'of Thy knowing one' [= 'of Thy acquaintance'?]. But note also 51,8:3 *vīdušē zī nā mruiiāṯ* 'for the man (Zaraθuštra) should like to speak to one who (already) knows', # RV 2,30,2 *prá táṃ jánitrī vidúṣa uvāca* '(Indra's) mother predicted that (person) to (him), the knowing one [= who already knew him]', Yt 12,1 *paiti mē vīδβå mrūiδi* 'answer me, Thou who knowest'.

(4) *mā āuuīduuå aipī dābāuuaiiaṯ* 'let the ignorant one no longer delude (people)'. The meaning of *mā* + inj.pres. is inhibitive 'let no longer do, stop doing', while *mā* + inj.aor. has the prohibitive meaning 'do not let succeed in doing' (§ 11.5.3.1). A good example for the latter is st. 18 *mā.ciš ... gūštā* 'let nobody listen'; →48,5:1 *mā ... xšāṇtā* 'let they not assume rule'.

(5) *mā ... aipī* 'no longer', →30,4:5 *aipī* 'henceforth'.

(6) *vaŋhāuš fradaxštā manaŋhō* 'teacher of good thought', → 51,3:4-5 *uxδāiš vaŋhāuš manaŋhō yaēšąm tū pouruiiō mazdā fradaxštā ahī* 'by the statements of good thought, the first teacher of which Thou art', 35,9:6 *θβąm aṯ aēšąm paitiiāstārəm fradaxštārəm dadəmaidē* 'we elect Thee (as) their listener [examiner] and teacher [commentator]', Yy 19,13 *para īm iδa manaŋhe cinasti yaθa fradaxštārəm manaŋhe* 'he commits Him to thought as a teacher for thought' (→27,13:1).

31,18. 7+8; 7+8 (*dā̃ṯ*); 7+8.

(1) *mā.ciš aṯ və drəguuatō mąθrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā* 'let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to Your formulas and teachings', # 29,8:3 *yə nā aēuuō sāsnå gūšatā zaraθuštrō* 'Zaraθuštra, the only one who listens to our teachings'. The passage is ambiguous. Possible as well is *mā.ciš aṯ vā ... gūštā* 'let none of You (O Ahuras) listen to the formulas and teachings of the deceitful one' which would require a partitive function of the enclitic pers.pron. as found in Yt 13,50 *kahe nō ... nąma* 'the name of which one among us'. As to a similar problem →45,3:4 *yōi īm vā nōiṯ iθā mąθrəm varəšəṇtī*.

(2) *aθā īš sāzdūm snaiθišā* 'teach [pl.] them therefore with (Your) weapon'. The verb *sāzdūm* is 2nd pl.imv.pres.mid. of *sāh* 'to teach'. *sāsnåscā ... sāzdūm* 'teachings ... teach', # 48,3:2 *vahištā sāsnanąm yąm hudå sāstī ... ahurō* 'the best of teachings, (that teaching) which the munificent Ahura teaches'.

(3) In *īš sāzdūm* 'teach them', the pl. *īš* 'them (the deceitful)' stands ad sensum for the sg. *īm* 'him (the adherent of the deceitful one)'.

31,19. 7+8; 7+8 (*vacaŋhą̃m, hizúuō*); 7+8.

(1) *gūštā yā mantā aṣ̌əm ahūm.biš vīduuå* 'the healer of existence, the knowing one who conceives truth has listened (to them)'. Not: 'do listen [pl.] to the healer of existence, the knowing one'. The root *gaoš/guš* is always used in the mid.; # 29,8:3 *yə nā aēuuō sāsnå gūšatā zaraθuštrō spitāmo* 'the only one who listens to Our teachings, Zaraθuštra Spitama'.

(2) *yā maṇtā aṣ̌əm* 'he who conceives truth', st. 7:5 *xraθβā ... aṣ̌əm (sc. maṇtā)* 'conceived truth with (His) intellect', 34,8 *yōi nōiṯ aṣ̌əm mainiiantā* 'those who do not consider truth'.

(3) *θβā āθrā suxrā ... vīdātā rąnaiiå* 'at the distribution of the balance (value) by means of Thy red fire', →st. 3:2-4 *yąm då maiiniiū āθrācā ... rānōibiiā xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest by means of (Thy) spirit and fire, according to balance'.

(4) *θβā āθrā ... vaŋhāu vīdātā rąnaiiå* 'at the distribution of the balance (value) by means of Thy fire, (to be performed) at the good (share to be distributed)' shows attributive use of both, instr. and loc. (§ 15.18); # 47,6:2 *āθrā vaŋhāu vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'the distribution (to be performed) by means of Thy fire, according to balance, at the good (share to be distributed)'.

(5) *vaŋhāu* 'at the good (share to be distributed)' also in 47,6:2-3; →30,8:6 *aēibiiō sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced to those'; cf. *sauuōi* 'at the benefaction' in the parallel 43,12:12 *yā vī aṣ̌iš rānōibiiō sauuōi vīdāiiāṯ* 'who at the benefaction will distribute the rewards according to (the respective) balances'. Differently: 33,2:2 *vaŋhāu* 'in the good way' [or: 'in (his) property or estate'].

31,20. 8+8 (*ā̃iiaŋ, dìúuàmnəm = *dìiumnəm, xšíiō*); 7+8; 7+8 (*šiiaoϑànāiš, daẽnā*).

(1) *yə̄ ā̃iiaŋ aŋ̊auuanəm* 'he who [if one] may approach a truthful one', # 46,5:4 *yə̄ ... drītā aiiaṇtəm* 'he who [if one] were to take in (someone) who approaches him', 46,6:1 *aŋ yastəm nōiŋ nā isəmnō āiiāŋ* 'but he who [but if such one] were not to approach him as a man seeking (for help)'. In the present passage, *ā̃iiaŋ* < *ā-aiiaŋ* 'will approach' is used in the sense of 'will join, go over to (the truthful one)'.

(2) *diuuamnəm* 'splendour', obviously disfigured from **diiumnəm*, is here opposed to *təmaŋhō* 'darkness'; # RV 1,54,10-11 *támaḥ ... dyumnám* 'darkness, splendour'.

(3) *diiumnəm ... aparəm xšiiō* 'splendour, as contrasted with weeping' [or: 'splendour, far from weeping']. Here, *xšiiō* is taken as abl.sg. from *xšī-* 'weeping, lamentation' (PhlT *šēwan* 'crying'), similar in meaning to the following *auuaētās vacō* 'the word "woe"'. Cf. gen.sg. *xšaiiasca* for **xšiiasca* in Yy 71,17 *təmaŋhō ... xšaiiasca amaiiauuaiāscā* 'darkness, weeping and distress'; F 5 *xšim* < **xšiiam* F 5, Khw. *(°)xy-* 'to cry'; →32,5:4 *xšaiiō*.

(4) Here, *apara-* means 'contrasted with, far from', but in 45,11:2 *yastā daēuuāŋ̣g aparō maŋ̊iiąscā tarə̄.mąstā* it seems to mean 'the second one, the lower-ranking one'; cf. also Yy 9,2 *aoi mąm ... stūiδi yaϑa mąm aparaciŋ saošiiaṇtō stauuąn* 'praise me so that also the other Saošyaṇts [benefactors] may praise me'.

(5) *darəgəm āiiū təmaŋhō* 'long life in darkness' [or: 'long duration of darkness'], → 43,13:3 *darəgahiiā yaoš* 'of long life', 28,6:3-4 *darəgāiiu-* 'long lasting' [or: 'providing long life'], 30,11:4 *darəgəm drəguuō.dəbiiō rašō* 'the long-lasting harm (in store) for the deceitful'.

(6) *duš.x^{v}arəϑəm ... vå ... daēnā naēšaŋ* '(your) religious view will lead you to foul food', →49,11:1 *dužδaēnāŋ̣g dužmanaŋhō ... drəguuato akāiš x^{v}arəϑāiš paitī uruuąnō paitiieiṇtī* 'the deceitful of bad views (and) bad thoughts: the souls come to meet (them) with foul food'.

(7) *auuaētās vacō* 'the word "woe"', stem *auuaētāt-*, lit. 'woe-ness'; → 45,3:8 *aēibiiō aŋhāuš auuōi aŋhaŋ apāməm* 'for them "woe" will be the last (word) of (their) existence'.

(8) *vå ... šiiaoϑanāiš x^{v}āiš daenā naēšaŋ* 'your religious view will lead you on account of (your/its) own actions', # 51,13:4 *uruuā ... x^{v}āiš šiiaoϑanāiš hizuuascā aŋ̊ahiiā nąsuuå paϑō* 'the soul, (faced with the fact) that he/it had strayed from the path of truth through his/its own actions and those of (his) tongue', 51,14:6 *x^{v}āiš šiiaoϑanāišcā səŋghāišcā* 'with their own actions and proclamations', 46,4:6 *x^{v}āiš šiiaoϑanāiš ahəmustō* 'discontented with his own actions'.

31,21. 7+8 (*mazdå, dadāŋ̣*); 7+8 (*x^{v}āpaiϑiiāŋ̣*); 7+9 (*šiiaoϑànāišcā, ùruuaϑō*).

(1) *mazdå dadāŋ̣ ahurō* '(being mindful) the Ahura grants', # 51,21:2 *vohū xšaϑrəm manaŋhā mazdå dadāŋ̣ ahurō* 'the Wise Ahura grants power through good thought', 53,4:7 *manaŋhō vaŋhāuš x^{v}ənuaŋ̣ haŋhuš ... mazdå dadāŋ̣ ahurō* 'the Wise Ahura grants the sunny harvest of good thought'. In the present passage, *mazdå* is taken in its etymological sense 'mindful of': *mazdå ... hauruuatō amərətātascā* '(being) mindful of integrity and immortality'; →31,2:7 *ahurō ... mazdå aiiå ąsaiiå* 'the Ahura, mindful of those two shares'. Otherwise one must take together *hauruuatō amərətātascā ... aŋ̊aźiiācā ... xšaϑrahiiā sarō* 'from His shelter of integrity and immortality, of truth and power'. This would be rather clumsy, but cf. 44,17:7 *sarōi būždiiāi hauruuātā amərətātā* 'to adorn, to serve as shelter, both integrity and immortality'.

(2) Note the discontinuous word order (hyperbaton) in *būrōiš ā ... xvāpaiϑiiaŋ̣ ... sarō* 'from his own rich shelter' interlaced with *aŋ̊aźiiācā ... xšaϑrahiiā sarō* '(shelter) of truth and power' (§ 15.14.3).

(3) *aŋ̊aźiiā(cā) ... sarō* 'from (His) shelter of truth', →35,8:1-2 *aŋ̊ahiiā ... sairī* 'in the shelter of truth', 41,6:1-2 *tauuacā sarəm aŋ̊aźiiacā* 'Thy shelter and that of truth'.

31,22. 7+9 (*hudā̃ŋhē, yaϑànā);* 7+8 (*šiiaoϑànācā*); 7+8.

(1) *ciϑrā ī hudā̃ŋhē* 'bright (things are in store) for the munificent one', or, if *ī* refers to st. 1 *uruuātā* 'rules': 'clear (are) the (rules) to the munificent one'.

(2) *hudā̃ŋhē yaϑənā vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā* 'for the munificent one who accepts (them) with (his) thought' shows the same type of rel. construction as 27,14:5 *ahmāi hiiaŋ aŋ̊āi vahištāi* 'to it which is best truth'. The same use of *yaϑənā* is found in arch. Yy 12,4 *vī zī anā sarəm mruiiē +yaϑənā drəguuātā rąxšiiaṇtā* 'I break off the shelter by [the association with] him who is a harmful deceitful'. For *yaϑənā* < *yaŋ̣-nā*, →35,2:3.

(3) *vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā* 'he who accepts (them) with (his) thought', →28,5:2 *vaēdəmna-* 'accepting, recognising'; # 51,19:2 *daēnaiiā vaēdəmnō* 'accepting [recognising] (it) with his religious view', 53,5:6 *vaēdō.dūm daēnābīš* 'accept [recognise] (them) with your religious views'.

(4) *aŋ̊əm ... haptī* 'holds to truth, observes truth', # RV. 5,12,2 *ṛtáṃ sapāmy aruṣásya vṛ́ṣṇaḥ* 'I observe the truth of (Agni) the reddish bull'.

(5) *huuō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aŋhaitī astiš* 'he will be Thy most well-provided

guest, O Wise Ahura', # Yy 70,4 *buiiama ahurahe mazdå friia vāzišta astaiiō* 'may we become Ahura Mazdā's dear (and) most well-provided guests', 13,2 *friiehe vāzištahe astōiš ratūm āmruiiē ātrəm ahurahe mazdå* 'as the tutor of the dear (and) most well-provided guest, I address the fire of Ahura Mazdā'. Cf. the series of epithets of Ātr̥ in Yy 17,11 *ātrəm bərəzisauuaŋhəm, ātrəm vohu.friiānəm, ātrəm uruuāzištəm, ātrəm vāzištəm, ātrəm spāništəm*; # 36,3:1 *hiiaṯ tōi nāmanąm vāzištəm* 'the most substantial of Thy names'.

(6) *vāzišta-* 'most well-provided, most hospitably treated, most substantial' is etymologically related to the hapax *vāza-* 'gift of hospitality' found in 51,12:8 *zōišənū vāzā* 'horrid gifts of "hospitality"', # RV 8,74,1 *átithiṃ vājayáṇtaḥ purupriyám* 'treating hospitably (Agni) the guest dear to many (people)'.

Yasna 32: *X^{v}aētumaitī Hāiti*

32,0. Preliminary remarks.

Like Y 28, Y 32 opens with the pronoun *ahiiā* 'His'. Here, however, a much more heightened tension than in Y 28 results, — which of the spiritual beings is about to be addressed in the hymn? Before the tension is released by the mention of Ahura Mazdā, the Daēvas are called upon, in order to give them the impression that it is them who are invited by Zaraθuštra and his community to participate in the sacrifice and to accept the offerings displayed. But this is pure mockery, developed into a derogatory parody of a hymn addressed by Daēva worshippers to the *daēuua vīspåŋhō* 'the Daēvas all', which, to a certain extent, correspond to the *víśve devấḥ* of the Rigveda. The purpose of the parody is to reject the Daēvas by abusing them, a practice which is well-attested in the Younger Avesta, e.g. in Yt 13,89 *zaraθuštrō ... yō paoiriiō stōiš astuuaiθiiå staoṯ aŋ̊əm nāist daēuuō* 'Zaraθuštra was the first in the material world to praise truth and abuse [reject] the Daēvas' (§ 5.3.5). For further remarks on the composition of this hymn see the Introduction (§ 13.1.2-3).

32,1. 7+9; 8+9 (*ùrùuāzəmā, mazdå̃*); 7+9 (*dàibišəṇtī*).

(1) In *aχiiācā ... yāsaṯ* 'entreats for His (favour)', the pron. *aχiiā(cā)* 'His' anticipates *ahurahiiā uruāzəmā mazdå* 'His, the Wise Ahura's favour'; →28,1:2 *ahiiā yāsā nəmaŋhā ... mainiiāuš ... spəṇtahiiā ... šiiaoθanā* 'in reverence to Him I entreat (all those present) for actions of the prosperous spirit', where *ahiiā* most likely refers to Ahura Mazdā. On the government of *yāsa-*, →28,1:4 *yāsā* 'I entreat'.

(2) The series *x^{v}aētuš ... vərəzənəm maṯ airiiamnā* 'the family, the community with the tribe' is a variation of the climax *x^{v}aētu- vərəzəna- airiiaman-*; →33,4:1 *x^{v}aētəuš ... vərəzənaχiiācā ... airiiamnascā* (§ 15.10).

(3) *daēuuā* 'O you Daēvas' is voc. as is *mazdā* 'O Wise one' in the parallel 28,1 (§ 12.1.2). The Daēvas are also addressed in st. 3 *yūš daēuuā vīspåŋhō* 'O you Daēvas all', st. 5 *vå ... yəŋg daēuuāŋg* 'you, the Daēvas'.

(4) *mahmī manōi* 'in my *recital': *mana-* is a technical term in N 33 *kaθa zaota gāθå srāuuaiiāiti? naēmō.vacastašti maδim<a>iia vaca zaraθuštri mana* 'how should the priest recite the Gāθās? In hemistichs, with medium voice, with Zaraθuštrian recital'. *mana-* is perhaps inexact for **māna-* 'measure', from the root *mā* 'to measure', different from *manā-* = Ved. *manā́-* 'devotion' in 35,9:4 *manaiiā vahehiiā*.

(5) *uruuāzəmā* literally means 'delight' (cf. MP. *urwāhmanīh* 'delight'), here, however, it is used in the sense of 'things which afford delight', and therefore translated as 'favour'; # 30,1:11-12 *uruuāzā* 'delight'.

(6) *θβōi dūtåŋhō åŋhāmā* 'let us be Thy households', →st. 13:6 *jīgərəzaṯ ... θβahiiā mąθrānō dūtəm yə̄ īš pāṯ darəsāṯ aŋ̊ahiiā* 'they complain about the household of Thy disciple'. OAv. *dūta-* has been connected with Ved. *dūtá-* 'messenger', erroneously comparing *fraēšta-* in 49,8:3 *fraēštåŋhō åŋhāmā*, attributing to this the meaning 'messenger' as well. However, Ir. *dūta-* (< **dhūta-*, cf. Ved. *dhūmá-*) means 'smoke, hearth-place, household, family', cf. MP. *dūd* 'smoke', *dūdag* 'family'. In traditional societies, the families of a village are counted by the number of hearths.

(7) *åŋhāmā* 'let us be', also in 49,8:3-4, has the appearance of a sbj.perf. emphatically used in the sense of a sbj.pres.; # 44,20:1 *åŋharā*.

(8) The places around the fire altar should be reserved for the families of the truthful who, sitting or standing there, keep the deceitful distant, by whom they are surrounded and who try to hinder the Ahuras from partaking in the sacrifice.

(9) *dāraiiō* is hardly from the pres. *dāraiia-* of the root *¹dar* 'to hold fast, keep' [but not 'to keep off'!]; it seems to be incorrect for **daraiiō* 'Thou breakest up', pres. *daraiia-* of the root *dar* 'to break up, split, disperse', cf. Ved. *daraya-* in RV 1,62,4 *valám ... darayaḥ* 'thou breakest up the enclosure', 10,99,11 *vrajáṃ ... darayat* 'he breaks up the cow-shed'. The sentence *tāŋg dāraiiō yōi vå daibišəṇti* 'Thou breakest up (the circle of) those who hate you' recalls particularly RV 1,53,4 *dásyuṃ darayántaḥ ... yutádveṣasaḥ* 'dispersing the barbarians, keeping off hostility'.

32,2. 7+8 (*mazdå̊*); 7+9 (*xᵛāənuuātā*); 7+9 (*ā̃rmaitīm*).

(1) *aēibiiō* 'to them' refers to st. 1 *xᵛaētuš ... vərəzənəm maṯ airiiamnā* 'the family, the community along with the tribe'. *aēibiiō ... paitī.mraoṯ* 'to them he answers', # 29,3:1 *ahmāi ... nōiṯ paitī.mrauuaṯ* 'he will not answer him'.

(2) *sārəmnō vohū manaŋhā* 'sheltered by [associated with] good thought' [or: 'sheltering Himself with good thought'], # 49,5:2 *yā daēnąm vohū sārəštā manaŋhā* 'he who shelters [associates] (his) religious view with good thought'; → 51,3:2 *yōi vā šiiaoϑanāiš sārəṇtē* 'those who are sheltered by [shelter or associate themselves with] Your actions'. The mid. of the pres. *sara-* has the reciprocal meaning of 'to be in mutual shelter with' > 'to be associated with', that of the aor. *sarəš-*, 'to enter into mutual shelter with' > 'to associate oneself with'. Yet, the meaning 'associate' only fits the construction with the instr., not that with the gen. Cf. 49,4:2 *sarəm ... drəguuātā* 'shelter by [association with] the deceitful one', but 49,8:2 'shelter of truth'; → 35,8:1 *aṣahiiā sairī* 'in the shelter of truth'.

(3) *ašā huš.haxā* 'a good friend to [instr.] truth', # 46,13:4 *vā aṣā ... huš.haxāim* 'a good friend to Your truth'.

(4) *spāṇṭąm vā ārmaitīm vaŋuhīm varəmaidī hā nā aŋhaṯ* 'we choose your prosperous (and) good right-mindedness, let it be Ours'. A similar formula is uttered by the truthful one in Yy 12,2 *spəṇṭąm ārmaitīm vaŋuhīm vərənē hā mōi astū* 'I choose the prosperous and good right-mindedness, let it be mine'. Cf. Ved. *ā-vṛ* in RV 1,114,4 *sumatím id vayám asyá vṛṇīmahe* 'we long for his benevolence'.

32,3. 7+8; 7+8; 7+9/10 (*dàibitānā, būmìiå̊/būmíiå̊*).

(1) *yūš daēuuā vīspå̊ŋhō ... yascā vå̊ maš yazaitē* 'you, O you Daēvas all, and the (alleged) master who worships you'. Cf. Ved. *víśve devā́ḥ* 'all gods'; st. 0.

(2) *maš* 'a great one, master, chieftain' is nom.sg. of *maz-* 'great'. It is used as ironically as its instr.pl. *mazbīš* in st. 11:2-4 *yōi drəguuaṇtō mazbīš cikōitərəš aŋᵛhīšcā aŋhauuascā* 'the deceitful ones who boast of (their so-called) great (activities), (those alleged) ladies and gentlemen', but not ironical is 34,9:5-7 *aēibiiō maš aṣā siiazdaṯ* 'far from those a master shall chase away truths'; →49,1:5 *mazišta-* 'chieftain, elder'.

(3) *daibitānā* 'again and again, repeatedly', # 48,1:5 *yā daibitānā fraoxtā* '(the words) that have been proclaimed again and again'; → 49,2:3 *daibitā* from which *daibitānā* is formed by addition of the particle *-nā*.

(4) *yāiš asrūdūm* 'for which you have become notorious, for which you got (ill) fame', # st. 6:2 *yāiš srauuahiieitī* 'with which he strives for notoriety', st. 7:6 *yāiš srāuuī xᵛaēnā aiiaŋhā* 'for which one becomes notorious' [or: 'for which one is heard (at court)'], st. 8:3 *srāuuī yimascīṯ* 'even Yima became notorious' [or: 'Yima was heard (at court)'] (§ 13.1.2-3).

(5) *asrūdūm* 2nd pl.ind.aor.mid. 'you have become notorious', with augment as 30,3:2 *asruuātəm* 3rd du.ind.aor.mid. 'the two became famed' (§ 11.5.3.2).

(6) *būmiiå̊ haptaiϑē* 'in the seventh (of the seven climes) of the world' [= 'in Xvaniraϑa'] (§ 7.1.1).

32,4. 7+9 (*maṣ́iiā*); 7+8; 7+8 (*mazdå̃*).

(1) The entire stanza consists of a subordinate clause introduced by *yāṯ ... framīmaϑā* 'insofar as you order'. The rendering of *yāṯ* by 'insofar as' is hypothetical. Differently 36,6:7 *yāṯ huuarə auuācī* 'ever since it was named Sun' [= 'since it was created by Ahura Mazdā'].

(2) If its second *a* is correctly transmitted, namely as short, then *framīmaϑā* is either an ind. of a them.pres. *framīma-* ('you order'), or it is a sbj. of an athem.pres. *framīmā-* ('you wish to order').

(3) *tā ... yā maṣ́iiā acištā daṇtō vaxšəṇtē daēuuō.zuštā* 'those worst (things by) offering which mortals may grow (as) minions of (you) Daēvas' [or: 'the mortals shall increase for themselves conditions agreeable to the Daēvas']. The verb *vaxšəṇtē* is 3rd pl.sbj.aor.mid. of the root *vaxš/uxš* 'to grow'; →31,6:7 *xšaϑrəm hiiaṯ hōi vohū vaxšaṯ manaŋhā* 'the power which he shall make grow with his good thought'.

(4) In case *daēuuō.zušta-* refers to persons here, it means 'minions of the Daēvas'; if it refers to things or conditions or rites, it means 'agreeable to the Daēvas'. Cf. Ved. *devájuṣta-* 'agreeable to the Devas' (said of Agni, *havyá-* 'oblation', *barhís-* 'sacrificial grass, bed, layer', *vácas-* 'word', *gír-* 'song of welcome'), # RV 10,125,5 *ahám ... idáṃ vadāmi júṣṭaṃ devébhir utá mā́nuṣebhiḥ* 'I recite this song, which is (considered) agreeable by Devas and men'.

(5) *vaŋhāuš sīždiiamnā manaŋhō* 'flinching from good thought', →34,9:7-9 *aēibiiō maš aṣā siiazdaṯ* 'from those a master shall chase away truths'.

(6) *ahurahiiā xratāuš nasiiaṇtō aṣāaṯcā* 'straying from the intellect of the Ahura and from truth', # 51,13:6 *aṣahiiā nąsuuå̊ paϑō* 'having strayed from the path of truth'.

32,5. 7+8 (*dábənaotā, maṣ̌ĩm*); 7+8; 7+9 (*šiiaoϑànəm*).

(1) *tā* 'therefore' is taken as antecedent of *hiiaṯ* 'because'; perhaps it is, simultaneously, antecedent of *yā* (§ 15.17).

(2) *hiiaṯ vå ... akas(cā) mainiiuš [sc. dəbənaoṯ]* 'because the evil spirit (has lured) you' (§ 15.12.2). In *akascā mainiiuš akā šiiaoϑanəm vacaŋhā* 'the evil spirit as well as the action (inspired) by evil word', *akascā mainiiuš* and *šiiaoϑanəm* are coordinated by inverted *-cā* (§ 15.1.2). *akā ... vacaŋhā* is an attribute of *šiiaoϑanəm* (§ 15.18).

(3) *fracinas* 'recognises' is taken as 2nd/3rd sg.inj.pres. from the root *kaēϑ/ciϑ* (→ 29,4:3 *ciϑīṯ* 'might notice'), but possible as well is the root *kaeš/ciš* (→44,6:4 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm ... cinas* 'commits the power to Thee').

(4) *yā fracinas drəguuaŋtəm xšaiiō* 'by which a ruler recognises a deceitful one'. Thus, if *xšaiiō* (PhlT *pādixšāyīh*) is nom.sg. of *xšaiia-* 'ruler' as seems to be attested in Yt 13,18 *hō aŋhāiti zazuštəmō xšaiiō* 'he will be the most winning ruler' (unless YAv. *xšaiiō* is a pres.part. < OAv. *xšaiiąs*). To be discarded is F 5 *xšaiia/xšiia* 'king' (PhlT *šāh*) which is evidently derived from the misinterpretation of the imv.pres. 28,7:3 *xšaiiā* 'rule' as *šāh* 'king' found in its PhlT. The form *xšaiiō* < **xšaiiah* could also be an inf. from the pres. *xšaiia-* 'to rule', cf. 30,5 *vərəziiō*. Moreover, it could be from a stem **xšaiia(h)-*, etymologically related to *xšī-* 'weeping' (→ 31,20:3, cf. MP. *šēwan* < **xšaya-wana-* 'weeping').

32,6. 7+10; 8+8; 7+8 (*vīdą̃m*).

(1) *ənāxštā* 'against peace' is perhaps the loc.sg. of the *i*-stem *ənāxšti-* = YAv. *anāxšti-* 'peacelessness, anarchy', used adverbially. Yet, the syntactical structure is much smoother if one takes it as nom.acc.pl.n. of an *a*-stem *ənāxšta-* = YAv. *anāxšta-* 'peaceless, anarchical'; # Yt 3,8.11 *anāxšta apa.duuarata ... anāxšta jaiṇti* 'run away, O peaceless (conditions) ... he smites peaceless (conditions)'; # 43,12:2 *nōiṯ asruštā* 'not disobeyed'.

(2) *yezī tāiš aϑā [sc. srāuuahiieitī]* 'whether he so (strives) with them' (§ 15.12.2). In *srāuuahiieitī* 'strives for notoriety', *srāuu°* is inexact for **srauu°*, cf. Ved. *śravasyáti* 'strives for fame'. Influenced by *srāuuī* in sts. 7 and 8?

(3) *yezī ... vōistā* 'Thou knowest whether', # 48,9:1 *vaēdā yezī* 'I know whether'.

(4) In *vā mazdā ... aṣ̌āicā səṇghō vīdąm* 'let praise be broadcast for You, O Wise One, and for Truth' (§ 15.6.2), *vīdą̃m* is an inf. of the same type as 34,10:1 *gərəbąm*, 'to grasp' from the root *grab/gṛb*. For the usage of this type of infinitives in imperative function, # 48,9:3 *ərəš ... ərəžūcąm* 'let be told plainly' from the root *vac* + *ərəš* (# 44,1-19 *ərəš mōi vaocā* 'tell me plainly'); →48,7:8 *viiąm* alternatively: 'let (him) be protected' from the root *viiā* 'to cover, wrap, envelop'

32,7. 7+9 (*aēšą̃m, aēnaŋhą̃m*); 7+8/9 (*jōiiā̃/jōiiā, xᵛaēnā/xᵛaēnā*); 7+9 (*yaēšą̃m, ìrixtəm*).

(1) *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm ... yā ... yāiš ... yaēšąm* 'of such crimes which ... for which ... for which' (§ 15.17).

(2) *naēcīṯ vīduuå aojōi* 'I declare myself (to be) not at all conscious of any (instance of) such crimes', →50,11:1 *vā staotā aojāi* 'I will declare myself Your praiser'.

(3) *hādrōiiā* 'sincerely' stands for **hādrōi.ā*, loc. sg. of a hapax *hādra-*, →43,2:2 *xᵛāϑrōiiā* 'in (the domain of) comfort'. For the meaning of *hādra-*, cf. Ved. *sādhú-* 'straight, right, well-disposed', for that of its loc.sg. *hādrōiiā*, cf. Ved. *sādhuyā́* 'in a straight course, rightly, duly'. The superl. of *hādra-* is YAv. *hāiδišta-* 'straightest, most just', epithet of Rašnu, cf. Ved. *sā́dhiṣṭha-* 'straightest (path), most effective (sacrifice)', superl. of *sādhú-*.

(4) *aēnaŋhąm ... yā jōiiā səṇghaitē* 'crimes which are called "by violence"', # V 18,1 *āϑrauua saŋhaite* 'calls himself priest (but is not)'.

(5) Under the influence of the preceding *hādrōiiā*, *jōiiā̃* seems to be slightly disfigured < **jiiā̃*, instr.sg. of the root-noun *jiiā-* 'violence, force, suppression', cf. Ved. *jiā́-* in *paramajiā́-* 'holding supreme power'.

(6) *yāiš srāuuī* 'for which one becomes notorious', or: 'for which one is heard (at court)' in which case *srāuuī* is a juridicial term; # st. 8:2 *srāuuī*; → 53,1:1 *vahistā īštiš srāuuī* 'the best vigour [command] will become famed', or: 'the best quest will have been heard [answered]'.

(7) *xᵛaēnā aiiaŋhā* 'by the (ordeal of) glowing metal', # Yt 13,2 *asmanəm ... aiiaŋhō kəhrpa xᵛaēnahe* 'the heaven ... with the appearance of glowing metal'.

(8) *yaēšąm ... irixtəm* 'the net assets for which (crimes)' with gen. of crime, but → 44,2:8 *irixtəm vīspōibiiō hārō mainiiū* 'recording with (His) spirit the net assets for all (people)' [unless: 'recording with (His) spirit (the balance) left from all (activities)']; *irixta-* is a nominalized p.p.p. of the root *raēk/ric* 'to leave'.

(9) *irixtəm vaēdištō ahī* 'Thou knowest best the net assets', →51,1:2 *bāgəm aibī.bairištəm* 'the excellent bringer of wealth'.

32,8. 7+9 (*aēšąm, aēnaŋhąm*); 7+9 (*maŋšiiāŋŋ*); 7+9 (*aēšąmcīt̰*).

(1) Grammatically, the gen.pl. *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm* 'of (one instance of) such crimes' is a partitive gen. replacing the agent instr. **tā aēnaŋhā* 'for (such a) crime'; # 30,8:3 *yadā aēšąm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaŋhąm* 'when the atonement for their crimes [or: for those well-known crimes] will have arrived'.

(2) *vīuuaŋhušō srāuuī yimascīt̰* 'even Yima, the son of Vivahvan became notorious'; # 30,3:3 *mainiiū ... yā yəmā asruuātəm* (alternatively:) 'the two spirits which became famed through Yima'. The patronymic is the same in Yt 19,35 *yimat̰ haca vīuuaŋhušāt̰*, but it is different in Yt 13,130 *yimahe vīuuaŋhanahe* (cf. V 2,3.9.22) and in Ved. *vaivasvatá- yamá-*.

(3) *yimascīt̰* 'even Yima (though he had been the king of paradise)', or: 'particularly Yima (who was the prototype of a sinner)'.

(4) Taking *gāuš* in its usual meaning 'piece of cattle, ox/cow' (here: 'ox'), the phrase *yā maŋšiiāŋŋ cixšnušō ahmākāŋŋ gāuš* offers a well-sounding chiasm 'he who tried to satisfy (→45,9.1) the mortals, our (people, he) the ox' [= 'he, the ox, who tried to satisfy the mortals, our (people)']. Then *ahmākāŋŋ* is in apposition to *maŋšiiāŋŋ*, and *gāuš* in apposition to *yā* (§ 15,15). However, *gāuš* could be a verbal form as well, viz. a 3rd sg.*s*-aor. of the root *gau/gu-* 'to be missing, to commit a sin' or of the root *gau/gu* 'to promote' (cf. 46,1 *xšnāuš* from *xšnau/xšnu* 'to satisfy'). In this case, the compositional nexus between *gāuš* on the one hand, and st. 10 *gąm*, st. 12 *gāuš*, st. 14 *gāuš* 'ox' on the other hand would be by compositional word play (§ 13.1.4).

(5) If *gāuš* is from *gau-* 'ox/cow', it has to be nom.sg. and it can be taken as being synonymous with *uxšan-* 'bull'; # 46,4:1 *tāŋŋ ... gā* 'those oxen', which continues the preceding *uxšānō asnąm* 'bulls of the days'. If so, *gāuš* might be a metaphor for 'hero' in the present passage. Not impossible is also 'sacrificial animal', in ehich case, however, it would refer to a sort of tragic self-sacrifice by Yima, who was punished by Ahura Mazdā and became a victim of the demons (# Yt 19,46 *spitiiurəm(ca) yimō.kərəṇtem* 'the demon Spitiyura who dissected Yima'.

(6) *bagā x^vārəmnō* 'swearing by God', taking *bagā* as instr.sg. of *baga-* = YAv. *baγa-* 'god' (§ 5.1.2-4), and *x^vāra-* as a hapax pres. 'to swear' (cf. Engl. *to swear*).

(7) *aēšąmcīt̰ ā ahmī ϑβahmī ... vīciϑōi aipī* 'with regard to any (such) (crimes) I submit to Thy decision' [lit. 'I am in Thy discrimination']. Here, *ahmī* is taken as the verb 'I am', but it could as well be the loc.sg. of the dem.pron. *a/ta-*, going with *ϑβahmī*: '(and) with regard to (that) very (instance) of such (crimes), (he was) in that (well- known) decision of Thine'.

(8) *vīciϑa-* 'discrimination, decision', # 30,2:3 *āuuarənå vīciϑahiiā* 'the invitations (resulting) from the discrimination'; →46,18:8 *tat̰ mōi ... vīciϑəm* 'this (is) my discrimination'.

32,9. 7+8; 7+9; 7+10.

(1) *duš.sastiš* 'blasphemer' [lit. 'person of bad announcement'], cf. Ved. *duḥśáṃsa-* in RV 1,94,9 *vadhaír duḥśáṃsāñ ápa dūḍhyo jahi ... áthā yajñáya gṛṇaté sugáṃ kṛdhy ágne* 'O Agni, chase off the blasphemers with thy weapon, thus provide easy access to the worship for the singer'; →45,1:10 *nōit̰ daibitīm dūš.sastis ahūm mərąšiiāt̰* 'may the blasphemer not destroy existence for a second time'.

(2) *huuō jiiātəuš ... xratūm [sc. mōrəṇdat̰]* 'he (spoils) the intellect of the living' (§ 15.12.1). As distinguished from its two occurrences sts. 11-12, *jiiātu-* 'life' seems to be used metonymically here in the sense of 'the living' (§ 15.9.2).

(3) The hapax *sāŋŋhana-* most probably is synonymous with *sāŋŋha-* 'announcement, pronouncement'.

(4) *apō mā ištīm apaiiaṇtā* 'he robs people of the command', → st. 11:5 *apaiieitī raēxənaŋhō vaēdəm* 'by robbing people of the disposition of (their) heritage'. For *išti-* 'command, vigour, quest', →34,5:1 *kat̰ vā xšaϑrəm kā ištiš* 'what (is) Your power, what (is Your) command'.

(5) *ištīm ... bərəxδąm hāitīm* 'command (which is) esteemed'; # H 2,14 where the religious view of the deceased person speaks to his soul: *āat̰ mąm friϑąm haitīm friϑō.tarąm srīrąm haitīm srīrō.tarąm bərəxδąm haitīm bərəxδō.tarąm frataire gātuuō åŋhanąm fratarō.taire gātuuō nišāδaiiōiš* 'then thou wouldst have made me, (who was) sitting in an advanced place, sit down in an (even) more advanced place, (so that I), a pleased one, would be (even) more pleased, (so that I), a decorated one (would be even) more decorated, (so that I), an esteemed one, (would be even) more esteemed'.

(6) *ištīm ... bərəxδąm hāitīm vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'command which is esteemed by good thought', # 48,6:1 *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō bərəxδē* 'O (right-mindedness who art) esteemed by good thought'; → 34,9:1 *ārmaitīm ϑβahiiā ... bərəxδąm vīdušō* 'right-mindedness (which is) esteemed by Thy knowing one'. The adj. *bərəxδa-* 'esteemed' is etymologically related to the root noun *bərəg/bərəj-* 'esteem' in Yh 35,1 *bərəjā vaŋhāuš aṣahē bərəjā vaŋhuiiå daēnaiiå māzdaiiasnōiš* 'with esteem for good truth etc.'

(7) *mazdā aṣāicā yūšmaibiiā* is an elaboration from *vā mazdā aṣaicā* 'to You, O Wise One, and to Truth' (§ 15.6.2).

(8) *tā uxδā ... yūšmaibiiā gərəzē* '(with) these statements I complain to You', # 29,1:1 *xšmaibiiā gəuš uruuā gəraždā* 'the soul of the cow complains to You', Yt 10,85 *driγuš ... yeŋ́he vāxš gərəzānahe us auua raocå aŋ̊naoiti* 'the poor one whose lamenting voice reaches up to those (heavenly) lights'.

32,10. 7+9; 7+9 (*húuarəcā, dadā̊t̰*); 7+9.

(1) *yā ... yascā ... yascā ... yascā* (§ 15.17).

(2) *yā acištəm ... aogədā* 'he who speaks (what is) the worst', # Yt 13,90 *zaraϑuštrō ... yō paoiriiō ... vācim aoxta vīdōiium ... vācim framraoṯ vīdōiium* 'who was the first to proclaim the formula against the Daēvas, to recite the formula against the Daēvas'. Or: 'he who declares himself for the worst',

(3) The rel. clause *yā acištəm vaēnaŋ́hē aogədā gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā* shows interlaced word order: *acištəm* is governed by *aogədā*, *gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā* by *vaēnaŋ́hē* (§ 15.14.3).

(4) *vaēnaŋ́hē ... gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā* 'in order to see the cow and the sun with his evil eyes', # Yy 9,29 *mā ząm vaēnōiṯ ašibiiā mā gąm vaēnōiṯ ašibiia* 'may (the deceitful one) not see the earth with his evil eyes, may he not see the cow with his evil eyes'. No less than the truthful one, the deceitful one endeavours to see the cow and the sun; # RV 7,104,24 *mā́ té dṛśan sū́ryam uccárantam* 'let them not see the rising sun'. *gąm ... huuarə* also in 50,2:3 *gąm ... išasōiṯ ... pourušū huuarə pišiiasū* 'should try to win the cow ... among the many who *block the sun(light)'.

(5) *yascā dāϑāŋg drəguuatō dadāṯ* 'and he who makes the just (into subjects) of the deceitful one' [= 'who helps to enslave the truthful'].

(6) *vāstrā vīuuāpaṯ* 'plunders the forage stores', or: 'scatters the forage-ricks'. The YAv. occurrences of the corresponding noun *vīuuāpa-* suggest the meaning 'to plunder': arch. Yy 12,2 *us gəuš stuiiē tāiiāaṯcā hazaŋhaṯcā us mazdaiiasnanąm vīsąm ziiānaiiaēcā vīuuāpaṯcā* 'I renounce theft of cattle and oppression, I renounce damaging and plundering the Mazdayasnian villages' (cf. 12,3 *ziiānīm ... vīuuāpəm*). A similar series of injuries, among them *vīuuāpa-*, underlies the list of forbidden libations in P 21 *tāiiåsca hazahīšca vīuuāpåsca vīuuaråsca draojinō.bərətåsca zaoϑrå* 'libations procured through theft, oppression, plundering, robbing, or which are brought by a liar'.

(7) *yascā vadarə vōižḍaṯ* 'and he who raises (his) weapon', cf. YAv. *vōižḍaiiaṇt-* in Yy 9,31 *aiβi.vōižḍaiiaṇtahe kamərəδəm* 'who erects his evil head'; Ved. *vīḍú-* 'strong, firm, hard', *vīḍáyati* 'makes strong, fastens'.

32,11. 7+9; 7+9 (*aŋ́ϑhīšcā*); 7+8/9 (*rārəšiiąn/rārəšiiąn*).

(1) *taēcīṯ ... yōi ... yōi* (§ 15.17).

(2) *drəguuaṇtō mazbīš* 'the deceitful (who boast) of [instr.] (their so-called) great (activities)' anticipates *aŋ́ϑhīšcā aŋhauuascā apaiieitī* 'the (alleged) ladies and gentlemen (who boast) of robbing'. *mazbīš* 'with (so-called) great (activities)' is as ironical as *maš* 'master' in st. 3:1 *yascā vå maš yazaitē* 'and the (alleged) master who worships you'.

(3) *aŋhu-* 'lord', →33,1:4 *yā dātā aŋhāuš paouruiiehiiā ... šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions which (follow) the orders of the primal lord'.

(4) *aŋ́ϑhīšcā aŋhauuascā* 'the (alleged) ladies and gentlemen' and *cikōitarəš* 'they boast' [lit. 'they are conspicuous'] are both ironical as well. For a possible irony of a similar type, →st. 14:12 on *dūraošəm saocaiiaṯ* 'inflames the (so-called) fire-proof (Haoma)'.

(5) *apaiieitī raēxənaŋhō vaēdəm* '(they boast) of [instr.] robbing (people) of [acc.] the disposition of (their) heritage', # st. 9:4 *apō mā ištīm apaiianṭā* 'robs (people) of the command'. For the verbal government of *apaiieiti-* 'act of robbing', →51,18:2 *ištōiš xᵛarənå* 'quest for glory'.

(6) *drəguuaṇtō ... yōi vahištāṯ aŋ̊aonō ... rārəšiiąn manaŋhō* 'the deceitful who try to rip the truthful away from best thought', # 47,4:1 *ahmāṯ mainiiəuš rārəšiieiṇtī drəguuaṇtō ... spəṇtāṯ nōiṯ iϑā aŋ̊aonō* 'the deceitful rip away from this prosperous spirit those (who are) not really truthful', 49,2:5 *ṯkaēšō drəguuå ... aŋ̊āṯ rārəšō* 'a deceitful teacher who rips (people) away from truth', Yt 11,6 *daēuuō ... daēuuaiiāzō ... iϑa rārəšiiaṇtō*.

(7) *rārəšiiąn m°* 'they try to rip away' [sbj.] is perhaps in sandhi for **rārəšiiən m°* 'they rip away' [inj.] (§ 10.5.3).

32,12. 7+8 (*šiiaoϑànāṯ*); 7+9; (*ùrùuāxš.uxtī*); 7+10/11 (*varàtā, karàpā, īšànąm/īšánąm*).

(1) *råŋhaiiən* 'they make fall away', from a stem *råŋhaiia-*, which seems to be the caus. of 53,9:1 *rāstī*. Cf. Ved. *sras* 'to fall', perhaps also YAv. *raŋha-* 'name of a disease, perhaps epilepsy'.

(2) *marətānō* here evidently is acc.pl. from stem *marətan/marəϑn-*; →30,6:6 *yā bąnaiiən ahūm marətānō* 'with which the mortals sicken existence'.

(3) *uruuāxš.uxti-* '(act of) pronouncing (the word) *uruuāxš* [proceed]', cf. Ved. *námaukti-* '(act of) pronouncing (the word) *namaḥ* [reverence]'. *uruuāxš* is 2nd sg. *s*-aor. of the root *uruuag/uruuaj* = Ved. *vraj* 'proceed', used in the imv. sense as 28,7:3 *dā* 'grant', 43,10 *dāiš* 'show'. The aor. *uruuāxš-* is attested in 34,13:4 *daēnā ... uruuāxšaṯ ... mīždəm* 'the religious views proceed towards the prize' [3rd pl.inj.], 44,8:4-5 *mā uruuā vohū uruuāxšaṯ āgəmaṯ.tā* 'my soul will proceed to the good (rewards) to come' [3rd sg.sbj.]. Rendering *uruuāxš-* by 'to enjoy' would, however, make more sense, particularly in Yy 62,10 $^{+}$*uruuāxš.aŋhuua gaiia jïγaēša* 'mayest thou live a life proceeding towards [*enjoying?] energy'. As a matter of fact, in 44,8 *uruuāxšaṯ* is rendered by PhlT *urwāhmanīh* 'joy', but this is evidently due to the confusion of Av. *uruuāx°* with Phl. *uruuāh°* (< OP. *uruuāϑ°* = Av. *uruuāz°*). Note also the proper name YAv. *uruuāxšaiia-* (> Sogd. *ryw'xš*).

(4) *grāhma-*, perhaps etymologically related to Ved. *gras* 'to eat, devour', denotes members of a group of enemies of Zaraϑuštra which are of the same type as the Kavis and Karapans: st. 12 *grāhmā ... karapā*, st. 13 *grāhmō ... aŋhāuš marəxtārō ahiiā*, st. 14 *grāhmō ... kāuuaiascīṯ* (§ 3.1.4). The two occurrences of *grāhmō* in the subsequent sts. 13-14 point to a collective noun *grāhma-* m. 'Grāhma gang, voracious gang'. Upon this assumption *grāhmā* of the present stanza ought to be either an instr.sg.m. ('along with the Grāhma gang') or a nom.pl.m. ('the Grāhma gangs'), but neither of these two possibilities yields a satisfactory translation. For this reason, we take *grāhmā* here as a nom.acc.pl. of a corresponding ^{2}*grāhma-* n. 'Grāhma practice, voracious practice'. It is less satisfactory to consider *grāhmā* the acc.sg. of a stem **grāhman-*. In that case *grāhmō* in sts. 13-14 would not be nom.sg. but an inexactly transmitted gen.abl.sg. **grāhmą*, modernised < OAv. gen.abl.sg. **grāhmāṇg* (cf. arch. Yy 12,1 *nāismī daēuuō*, for acc.pl. **daēuuą*, modernised < OAv. **daēuuāṇg*). This solution would help to avoid syntactical difficulties in st. 14 (*ahiiā grāhmō* > *ahiiā* **grāhmāṇg*) but hardly in st. 13.

(5) *grāhmā ... xšaϑrəmcā īšáną̊m drujəm* 'Grāhma practices and the power of those who approach [activate] deceit'. We take *īšanąm* as gen.pl. of a desiderative adj. ^{1}*īša-* 'approaching' [also possible: ^{2}*īša-* 'setting in motion, activating, invigorating'] which is to the pres. *īša-* (→45,3:1) as the adj. *cixšnuša-* 'trying to satisfy' is to the pres. *cixšnuša-* 'to try to satisfy' (→45,9:1). If this is true, the second hemistich has two syllables too many. One could save one syllable by reading *xšaϑrəmcā īšanąm drujəm* 'and deceit who has sought the power', with *īšanąm* inexactly transmitted for **īšānąm*, acc.sg.f. of *īšāna-* 'having sought (for oneself)', part.perf.med. of *aēš/iš* 'to seek' (cf. perf.act. YAv. *iiaēša*). Yet, in this case one would rather expect the word order **drujəmcā xšaϑrəm īšanąm*.

32,13. 7+9/10 (*hīšàsaṯ/hīšásaṯ*); 7+9; 7+8/9 (*pấṯ/pā̃ṯ*)

(1) *yā xšaϑrā* 'by that power' [lit. 'by which power'] refers to the preceding *xšaϑrəm* 'power'. For the relative connexion, →51,17:2.

(2) *grāhmō*, nom.sg. of *grāhma-* m. 'Grāhma gang', hardly gen.sg. of a stem *grāhman-* (→st. 12:5).

(3) *hīšàsaṯ* 'tries to settle' is taken as 3rd sg.inj. of a des.pres. *hišsa-* 'wishes to sit down' (= Skt. *sitsati*) from root *had* 'to sit'. The same morphological structure seems to be found in *išàsa-* 'to try to win' (→31,4:6). However, the forms of *had* are always prefixed by *ni* 'down' in Iranian, cf. YAv. pres. *niš.hiδaiti* 'sits down', caus. *nišāδaiieiti* etc. For this reason, a trisyllabic reading *hīšásaṯ* (with one syllable too many) cannot be entirely ruled out. This could represent the earliest example of the passive formation in *-asa-* of the type Khw. *xšs-* < **karšasa-* 'to be dragged'. In that case, *hīšásaṯ* would mean 'is seen, spotted', a pass. from the pres. *hišā/hiš-* in 45,4:5 *vīspā.hišas*, nom.sg. of the pres.part. *vīspā.hišat-* 'all-seeing'.

(4) The couple *grāhmā ... karapā* 'Grāhma practices ... the Karapan' of st. 12 is continued by st. 13 *grāhmō ... aŋhāuš marəxtārō ahiiā* 'the Grāhma gang ... the destroyers of this existence', st. 14 *grāhmō ... kāuuaiias(cīṯ)* 'the Grāhma gang ... the Kavis', and st. 15 *karapō.tåscā kəuuīitåscā* 'the group of the Karapans and Kavis' (# 46,11:2 *karapanō kāuuaiiascā ... ahūm mərəṇgəidiiāi* 'the Karapans and the Kavis, to destroy existence'). In each of these three passages, we find a problem of congruence in number between subject and predicate. In the present st. 13, the sg. *grāhmō* 'Grāhma gang' is followed by the sg. of the verb *hīšasaṯ* but by the pl. of the apposition *marəxtārō* 'the destroyers'. In st. 14, the sg. *grāhmō* is followed by the pl. of the apposition *kāuuaiiascīṯ* 'the Kavis too' and by the pl. of the verb *nī.dadaṯ*. In st. 15, the double sg. *karapō.tåscā kəuuītåscā* is preceded by the sg. of the verb *vī.nənāsā* but followed by the pl. of the verb *daiṇtī*.

(5) *aŋhəuš marəxtārō ahiiā yaēcā ... jïgərəzaṯ* 'the destroyers of this existence who then complain' (§ 15.1.3), or: 'and the destroyers of this existence who complain' (§ 15.16.2), or simply: 'the destroyers of this existence and (those) who complain' (§ 15.1.5); →46,11:3 *ahūm mərəṇgəidiiāi* 'to destroy existence'.

(6) *dūta-* 'household', →st 1:6 *ϑβōi dūtåŋhō åŋhāmā* 'let us be Thy households'. As in st. 1 so also in the present context, *dūta-* refers to the congregation actually assembled before, or around, the fire.

(7) *darəsāṯ aṣahiiā* 'from seeing truth' [lit. 'from the sight of truth'], # 28,5:1 *aṣā kaṯ ϑβā darəsānī* 'O truth, shall I see Thee?'.

32,14. 7+9; 7+9; 7+9.

(1) *ahiiā* is taken as referring to the preceding *aŝahiiā*, but it could also be the antecedent of *yā*, in which case *ahiiā ... ahōiϑōi ... yā dūraošəm saocaiiaŋ auuō* would mean 'into the fetters of that one who inflames the (so-called) fire-proof help'; # st. 16:2 *taŋ ... hiiaŋ ... aŋhaiiā* 'that which (is) manifest' (§ 15.17). Yet, if *grāhmō* would be the gen.sg. of a stem *grāhman-* 'voracity' (< **grāhmą* < **grāhmāŋg*, →st. 12:5), then *ahiiā grāhmō ā.hōiϑōi nī ... xratūš nīdadaŋ* would mean 'they lay their intellects into the fetter of that Grāhma gang'.

(2) *ā.hōiϑōi* is loc.sg. of *ā.hōiϑa-* 'fetter(s)', # 29,1:5 *āhišāiiā* 'holds fettered'. For the loc. governed by *nī-dā* in *ā.hōiϑōi ... xratūš nī.dadaŋ* 'they lay their intellects into its fetters', →45,8:4 *vahmāŋg dəmānē garō nidāmā* 'we deposit laudations in the house of welcome'; # Yt 17,6 *yeŋhe nmāne ... pāδa nidaϑaite* 'upon/in whose house she sets her feet', RV 1,146,2 *urvyáḥ padó ní dadhāti sánau* 'he sets his feet upon the back of the wide (earth)'.

(3) *varəcah-* 'dignity, radiance', cf. Phl. *warz* 'miracle, miraculous power', NP. *warj* 'dignity', Ved. *várcas-* 'dignity of a Brāhmin, illuminating power of fire and sun'. YAv. *varəcahuuaŋt-* 'dignified, brilliant' is said of the star Tištriya, of the moon, of the Xvarənah, of the Kavis, of excellent men, and of the Sacred Formulas. YAv. *aš.varəcah-* 'of high dignity' is attested exclusively of Kavis.

(4) The expected nom.acc.pl. of *varəcah-* is *varəcå*. Accordingly, Geldner reads *varəcå hīcā*. In that case *xratūš ... varəcå* are asyndetically coordinated with each other, while *hīcā* must be taken as the instr.sg. of a hapax *hīc-* < **hic-* 'act of pouring' (but Ved. *síc-* f. 'brim'!). Bartholomae prefers reading *varəcā.hīcā* (for **varəcāhīcā*), taking this as an isolated example of a nom.acc.pl.n. of a type similar to Ved. *várcāṃsi* (for **varcāsi*).

(5) If *hīcā* is the instr.sg. of *hīc-* 'pouring', it goes with *fraidiuuā*, instr.sg. of an adj. *fradiu-* (= Ved. *pradív-* 'existing from olden times, ancient'). Otherwise *fraidiuuā* is an adv. 'day by day' (cf. Ved. loc.sg. *pradívi* 'at all times, always, ever').

(6) *hiiaŋ vīsāŋtā drəguuaŋtəm auuō* 'when they take up their positions [they agree] to assist the deceitful one'. The same construction is found in N 19 *vīsaiti dim fraγrāraiiō* 'agrees to wake him'. If this is correct, then *auuō*, acc.sg. of *auuah-* 'help, assistance', is used as inf. of the pres. *auua-* (44,7:9 *auuāmī* 'I assist'), # 30,5:2 *vəraziiō* 'to do'. Yet, →n. 1 on *dūraošəm ... auuō* alternatively: 'the fire-proof help'.

(7) *vīsāŋtā* 'they take up their positions' refers to the participants of the Haoma ritual of the Daēva worshippers, while *vīsaŋtē* in 48,10:2 *kadā ... mąnarōiš narō vīsaŋtē*

'when (will) honorable persons take up their positions side by side with the reciter?' refers to their Mazdayasnian opponents. The pres. *vīsa-* 'to take up one's position, to agree' is a technical term of the YAv. Haoma ritual in Vr 3,1, where each of the seven subaltern priests, after being called up by the Zaotar, replies *azəm vīsāi* 'I shall take up my position, I agree' (§ 2.1.1[5]).

(8) The two coordinate clauses *hiiaŋ vīsaŋtā drəguuaŋtəm auuō* 'when they take up their positions to assist the deceitful one' and *hiiaŋcā [sc. vīsaŋtā] gāuš jaidiiāi mraoī yā dūraošəm saocaiiaŋ auuō* 'and when (they do so) to assist the one who inflames the "fire-proof" (Haoma)' seem to have a parallel structure. For the suppletion of the verb *vīsaŋtā* in the *hiiaŋcā* clause, cf. the similar construction in 48,10:6 *yā aŋgraiiā karapanō urūpaiieiŋtī yācā xratū dušəxšaϑrā daɨiiunąm [sc. urūpaiieintī]* '(of that intoxicant) with which the Karapans harmfully cause racking pain, and with which the bad rulers of the countries (do that as well) with their (bad) intellect'. Accordingly, the rel. clause *yā dūraošəm saocaiiaŋ* represents an obj. parallel to *drəguuaŋtəm*, i.e. it denotes activities of the deceitful one.

(9) *gāuš jaidiiāi* 'let the ox be killed' [hardly: 'let the ox/bull kill', in which *gau-* 'ox/bull' could be a metaphor for Haoma]; cf. YAv. *gaojan-* 'killing cattle', epithet of the winter in V 7,27 *zəmō daēuuō.dātahe gaojanō* 'of the cattle-killing winter created by the Daēvas'. *gāuš jaidiiāi* most probably is a ritual formula, or the beginning of a ritual text, which is recited by the deceitful priest at the opening of the ceremony of slaughtering the animal, performed in a way which was considered as cruel by Zaraϑuštra (→29,0:2 on PhlT *kū-m apaymān kušēd* 'slaughters me immoderately').

(10) *mraoī* 'with the destructive action' is taken as instr.sg. of the stem *mraoī-* 'destructive action, destruction, enfeeblement', derived from a root *²mrau/mrū* 'to destroy, enfeeble', attested in Yt 11,15 *āxštīm hąm.vaiŋtīm yazamaide ⁺pərətasca mr(a)uuaiiåsca [J 10 mraoiiåsca] hamaēstāra* 'we worship peace and superiority, the opponents of war and destruction' [PhlT *aštīh amāwandīh, wt³n³h ud nkyl³y*]. Another trace of the root *²mrū/mrau* is the adj. *mrūra-* in V 2,22 *staxrō mrūrō ziiå* 'winter, severe and destructive'. Less clear are F 11 *mruta-* and N 62 *mruāca wyštk kardag hē*. Cf. also the proper name OP. *Gaubruva <g-u-b-ru-v>* 'bull-killer'. *mraoī* cannot be for **mrāuuī*, 3rd sg.aor pass of *mrau/mrū* 'to speak, recite', since the aor. of this root is supplemented by the root *vac* 'to speak, say' (43,13 *vācī*, 36,6 *auuācī*, Ved. *avāci*).

(11) *dūraoša-* 'fireproof, providing immortality', dissimilated < **dužaoša-*, lit. 'fire-resistant, resisting death' (cf. 49,1:9 *aoša-* 'death'), epithet of YAv. Haoma, corresponds to Ved. *duróṣa-*, epithet of Soma (§ 11.2.3). There can be no doubt that in the present passage OAv. *dūraoša-* refers to Haoma.

12) The consumption of Haoma could cause stomach ache, →48,10:4-5 *mūϑrəm ahiiā madahiiā yā aŋgraiiā karapanō urūpaiieiŋtī* 'the urine of that (demon of) intoxication by which the Karapans cause [or: suffer] racking pain'. This suggests that the contradictory *yā dūraošəm saocaiiaŋ* is ironic: '(to assist him) who inflames the (so-called) fire-proof (Haoma)'. At the same time, it alludes to the sinful ritual action called *saocaiia kar/kŗ* in H 2,13 (§ 11.2.3.2-3), which possibly refers to spoiling the Haoma Dūraoša by mixing it with the blood of the sacrificial animal'. Zaraϑuštra's attitude towards Haoma is open to discussion; perhaps it was not Haoma as such which was disapproved of by the prophet but only its improper and excessive ritual and non-ritual use (§ 11.2.3.2).

32,15. 7+9 (*karàpō.tåscā*); 7+8; 7+8 (*bairiiå̃ŋtē, dəmānē*).

(1) Note the transition from the sg. *yā karapō.tåscā kəuuītåscā vī.nānāsā* 'the group of Karapans and Kavis is lost' to the pl. constructed ad sensum *aibī ... daiŋtī* 'they want to harness', both of them referring to the same subject *karapō.tåscā kəuuītåscā* (→st. 13:4); # 44,20 *karapā usixšcā ... dātā* 'the Karapan and the Usij seize [sg.]', 33,8:5 *dātā vā amərətåscā ... hauruuatās* 'integrity (is) offered [sg.] to You as well as immortality'.

(2) *auuāiš aibī yāŋg daiŋtī* 'they (in their turn) want to harness', cf. Ved. *abhí-dhā* 'to harness (horses)'. Or is *aibī* used as postp. governing *auuāiš*? A similar problem is found in 51,9:2 *aiiaŋhā xšustā aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi.*

(3) *nōiŋ* does not only negate *xšaiiamnāŋg*, but the whole phrase *jiiātəuš xšaiiamnāŋg vasō* '(so as) not to be in control of their life at will'. Different is *axšaiiamna-* in Yy 8,5 *xšaiiamnəm aŋauuanəm dāiiata axšaiiamnəm druuaŋtəm* 'cause You the truthful one to be in control (of himself), the deceitful one not to be in control (of himself)'. Cf. the use of *nōiŋ* in 46,6:1 *nōiŋ nā isəmnō* 'not as a man seeking (for help)', 49,4:3 *nōiŋ huuarštāiš* 'because of the lack [lit. non-existence] of good deeds', 43,12:3 *nōiŋ asruštā* 'not disobeyed', 47,4:2 *nōiŋ iϑā aŋāunō* 'those not really truthful' (§ 15.11.2).

(4) *ābiiā* instr.dat.abl.du. 'by [or: towards] those two (integrity and immortality)' (§ 15.13.3); hardly 'away from those two (groups)'.

(5) *ābiiā bairiiå̃ŋtē vaŋhāuš ā dəmānē manaŋhō* 'they will be shifted by those two into the house of good thought'. This passage has been made use of in V 3,29 *tē ābiia bairiieiŋte [v.l. ābiiō bairiiete] yaēšąm dim frāiiō vohunąm* in the sense of 'these (meals) will be brought to those whose good (activities) prevail'.

32,16. 7+10/11 (*ušurúiiē, siiascīŋ/siiascīŋ*); 7+8; 7+8 (*išiiāŋg*).

(1) *hamām ... vahištācīŋ* 'equal to (what is) the very best', cf. Ved. *samá-* with instr. in e.g. RV 6,48,19 *samó devāíḥ* 'equal to the gods'.

(2) *taŋ* in *hamām taŋ* 'that (prize) is equal' is the antecedent of *hiiaŋ ... aŋhaiiā* 'which (is) manifest' (§ 15.17).

(3) *ušuruuiiē* 'in a *pleasant way' is loc.sg. of a hapax *ušuruiia-*, a derivation from *ušuru-* '*pleasant' in 34,7:4 *yōi ... aspāncīŋ sādrācīŋ caxraiiō ušəurū* 'those who turn any misfortune and distress into *pleasure', thus deriving *ušuru-* from the root *vah/uš* 'to shine'. A derivation from the root *aoš/uš* 'to burn, vanish, destroy' would also be possible (→st. 14:11 *dūraoša-*, 49,1:9 *aoša-* 'death'). It would result in the opposite rendering (*ušuru-* '*vanishing', *ušuruiia-* '*destruction').

(4) *siiascīŋ* 'the very *promoter', perhaps to be read $^{+}$*saiiascīŋ* and to be connected with Ved. *śiśayá-* 'promoter' [lit. 'sharpener'] which, however, is an ad hoc formation. *siias* could as well be the nom.sg. of an athematic participle of the type *vīspō.hišas*, or also the gen.sg. of *sī-* 'lying, laid low', in which case *ušuruiiē.sī-* would mean 'laid low in *destruction').

(5) *xšaiiąs ... yehiiā mā aiϑīšcīŋ duuaēϑā* 'having control over any (danger) the fear of which scares me', # 48,9:2 *yezī cahiiā xšaiiaϑā ... yehiiā mā āiϑiš duuaēϑā* 'whether You have control over some (danger) the fear of which scares me', Yt 10,37 *auui dīš ... āiϑīm barāiti ϑβiiąmcā* 'brings them fear and trembling'.

(6) *išiia-* 'vigorous, provided with invigorations, carrying invigorations' is derived from *īš-* 'vigour, invigoration'; →48,8:6 *ākå arədrāŋg išiiā* 'vigorous in the face of the zestful ones'; # 54,1:1 *airiiāmā išiiō* 'the vigorous tribe, the tribe provided with invigorations'. This suggests that *išiiāŋg* refers to the participants in the sacrifice, which in st. 1 are listed as *x^{v}aētu- vərəžāna-*, *airiiaman-* 'family, community, and tribe'.

(7) *əəānū išiiāŋg* 'following those provided with invigorations', with *əəānū* for **anū* = YAv. *anu* + acc. 'after, following, according to the wish of' (→29,7:6 *əəāuuā*). A construction of *əəānū* with gen.abl. is found in 47,2:3 *vaŋhāuš əəānu manaŋhō* 'in pursuit of good thought'.

(8) *aŋhaiiā* 'manifest' is inexact for **åŋhaiiā* = Ved. *āsayá* 'before one's eyes'. It is less likely a verbal form; YAv. *aŋhaiieiti* 'throws' in Yt 10,20 is inexactly transmitted for *aiŋhiieiti*, correctly preserved in the subsequent Yt 10,21.

(9) *hiiaŋ ... əəānū išiiāŋg aŋhaiiā* 'that (which is) manifest following those provided with invigorations' refers to the sacrificial fee expected by Zaraϑuštra.

Yasna 33: *Yaϑāišiϑā Hāiti*

33.0. Preliminary remarks:

Sts. 1-3 describe the proper attitude of the truthful towards both, the deceitful and the truthful stranger. The statement in st. 3, concerning the question who can be considered a friend of truth and therefore be welcomed as a guest, throws some light on the social conditions of Zaraϑuštra's time. Next to blood-relationship with families in the same community and tribe, friendly relations can also be based on the spiritual bond that ties together the adherents of Zarathustra's pastoral religion. Note, however, the somewhat different arguments in 46,5-6. In sts. 7-12 Ahura Mazdā is invited to join the sacrifice in order to refresh himself with the offerings and, thereby, to restore and increase his miraculous power.

33,1. 8+9; 7+9 (*šiiaoϑànā*); 7+9 (*ārəzúuā*).

(1) The dem.pron. *āiš* in *yaϑā āiš* 'just as by those (present)' [or: 'just as through these (rites)'] (§ 15.13.2) has the same position, at the beginning of the hymn, as *adāiš* in 48,1:2 *yezī adāiš* 'if through these (activities)' [or: 'if through those (present)']. Or is *āiš* a verbal form 'just as Thou didst inspire (them)'? For this, →50,10:3 *yācā pairī āiš šiiaoϑanā*.

(2) *yaϑā ... iϑā* 'just as, so', # 45,3:5 *iϑā ... yaϑā* 'in the way in which'.

(3) The mid. in *varəšaitē ... šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions shall be performed' is contrasted with the act. in st. 2 *akəm ... varəšaitī* 'he may work evil'.

(4) *aŋhu- pauruiia-* in *yā dātā aŋhəuš paouruiiehiiā ... šiiaoϑanā* is ambiguous (§ 12.1.6.1): 'the actions which (follow) the orders of the primal Lord', or: 'which (follow) the orders of the primal existence'. 28,11:7 *aŋhuš pouruiiō* points to 'primal existence', but 'primal Lord' is suggested by comparison with 46,15:3 *tāiš ... šiiaoϑanāiš ... yāiš dātāiš paouruiiāiš ahurahiiā* 'through those actions which (follow) the primal orders of the Ahura'; # 32,11:3-4 *aŋᵛhīšcā aŋhauuascā* 'the (alleged) ladies and gentlemen'.

(5) In the quotation Yy 55,6 *staota yesniia ... yā dātā aŋhəuš paouruiiehiiā*, the phrase *yā dātā aŋhəuš paouruiiehiiā* 'those which (follow) the orders of the primal lord' refers to the Staota Yesniya of the Yasna (→30,1:7). This use is correct if not only the texts of the Staota Yesniya themselves are understood, but also the ritual actions accompanying their recitation. It is true that OP. *dāta-* means simply 'law' (XPh 49 *dātā ... tayā Auramazdā* 'the law of Ahura Mazdā', DB 1,23 *manā dātā* 'with my law'), but in the Gāϑās *dāta-* encompasses all the rites established by Ahura Mazdā, and more generally, all the patterns of lawful behaviour prescribed by him: 51,19:4 *mazdā dātā mraoṯ* 'recites the orders of the Wise One', Yy 21,1 *dāta ahurahe* (→27,15:1), F 4e *aṣahe dātāiš*, Yy 2,13 *dātəm zaraϑuštri* 'the Zaraϑuštrian law', P 56 *dāta ... zaraϑuštrahe* 'the laws of Zaraϑuštra'. Miϑraic texts are referred to in Yt 10,84 *miϑrəm ... hauuāiš dātāiš ... zbaiieiti auuaiŋhe* 'calls Miϑra for help with (Miϑra's) own lawful (texts)'. *dātāiš* refers to non-ritual actions and seems to allude to the sacrificial fee in 49,7:3 *kā airiiamā kā xᵛaētuš dātāiš aŋhaṯ vərəzənāi vaŋᵛhīm dāṯ frasastīm* 'which tribe, which family will there be which, with (actions following Thy) orders, may provide a good reputation for the community?'

(6) *ratūš šiiaoϑanā* seems to be incorrectly transmitted for **ratū šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions (shall be performed) by the judge' (§ 10.5.4). The variant *ratuš šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions (shall be performed) as judgment' would make sense as well, but as a lectio facilior it should be discarded.

(7) *hiiaṯcā aṣāunē* is short for **ahmācā yā aṣauuā* 'for him who (is) truthful', → 27,14:5-6 *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi* 'to it which (is) best truth'.

(8) *yehiiā həmiiāsaitē miϑahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā* 'as well as (for that one) whose faults and what (are) his virtues are reckoned together' (§ 15.4.1), # 48,4:1 *yā dāṯ manō vahiiō ašiiascā* 'he who expresses both, better and worse thought'. *həmiiāsaitē* 'is reckoned together' is quoted as *hąm.yā.saiti* in V 7,52 PhlT.

33,2. 7+9; 7+8; 6/7+9 (*vārə́i/vārə̃i, mazdə̃*).

(1) *aṯ yə akəm ... zastōibiiā vā varəšaitī* 'he he who may work evil by (his) hands', # Aog 27 *zastāeibiia ↑varəza ... huuarəštəm šiiaoϑnəm*, 51,8:4 *hiiaṯ akōiiā drəguuāitē uštā yə aṣəm dādrē* 'that in (what is) evil for the deceitful one, those (things are included which are) desired by (that one) who has seized truth'.

(2) The loc.sg. *vaŋhāu*, 'in the good way' [or: 'in his property or estate'] is in contrast to the acc.sg. *akəm* '(what is) evil'; # 47,4:5 *kāϑē ... akō* 'pleasantly ... bad(ly)', 44,19:6 *pouruiiē ... apəmā* 'in the primal (existence) ... final'. In 31,19:5 and 47,6:2-3, the loc.sg. *vaŋhāu* seems to mean 'at the good (share to be distributed)'.

(3) In *cōiϑaitē astīm* '(he who) will recognise (one as his) guest', the mid. of the root *kaēϑ/ciϑ* 'to recognise' (→29,4:4 *ciϑiṯ*) is used in the sense of 'to acknowledge'; → 51,11:5 *acistā magāi* 'recognised (him) for the offering'.

(4) *tōi vārāi rādəṇtī* 'those will heed (His) will', # 51,6:3 *yā vahiiō vaŋhāuš dazdē yascā hōi vārāi rādaṯ* 'he who decides in favour of (what is) better than good, and who will heed his will'. Yet, *rādəṇtī* could also be a loc.sg. of the pres.part., going with *zaošē*, which would result in a clearer sequence of words: *tōi vārāi rādəṇtī ahurahiiā zaošē mazdå* '(all) those (abide) in the pleasure of the Wise Ahura which complies with (their) will'.

(5) For the possibilty of a dissyllabic reading of the ending *-āi* of *vārāi*, → 28,5:5 *ahurāi*.

(6) *ahurahiiā zaošē mazdå* '(abiding) in the pleasure of the Wise Ahura', # Yt 8,35 *zaošāi ahurahe mazdå* 'for the pleasure of Ahura Mazdā'.

33,3. 7+8; 7+8; 7+8.

(1) *yə aṣ̌āunē vahištō* 'he who is best to [= very familiar with] the truthful one'. Note that *vahišta-* is used synonymously with *friia-* in 46,6:5 *huuō zī drəguuå yə drəguuāitē vahištō huuō aṣ̌auuā yahmāi aṣ̌auuā friiō* 'that one (counts as) deceitful, who (appears) best to [= very familiar with] the deceitful one, that one (counts as) truthful to whom the truthful (is) a friend'; # 31,1:6 *aguštā vacå ... aṯcīṯ aēibiiō vahištā* 'words unheard ... but very good for those'.

(2) *vīdąs ... ϑβaxšaŋhā gauuōi* 'caring for the cow with zeal', # 51,6:5 *yə hōi nōiṯ vīdāitī* 'he who will not care for Him', 53,4:3 *spərədā ... yā fəδrōi vīdāṯ* 'with the eagerness with which (a woman) shall care for (her) father'.

33,4. 7+9; 7+10; 7+9.

(1) *xᵛaētəuščā ... vərəzənaẋiiācā ... airiiamnascā* 'family ... community ... tribe' shows the basic form of the climax which is elaborated in st. 3 *xᵛaētū vā aṯ vā vərəzəniiō airiiamnā vā* (§ 15.10).

(2) *gəuščā vāstrāṯ acištəm maṇtūm* 'and the worst counsel(lor) from the pasture of the cow' corresponds to st. 3 *vaŋhāuščā vāstrē manaŋhō* 'on the pasture of good thought'.

33,5. 7+9 (*zbaiiā̃/zᶜbaiiå̃*); 7+8; 7+9.

(1) In those passages in which *səraoša-*, lit. 'hearing, listening', is an attribute of Ahura Mazdā (→43,12:4, 44,16:3), the meaning is not simply 'obedience' but rather

'(recompense for) obedience'. Thus, *vīspā.mazištəm səraošəm* means 'very greatest (recompense for) obedience'. The compound with *vīspa-* as its first member recalls Khot. *biśśä-hvāṣṭä* 'very highest', *biśśä-hastamä* 'very best'.

(2) *tē ... səraošəm zbaiiā* 'I will call for Thy (recompense for) obedience' [unless: 'I will call out (my) obedience to Thee'] corresponds to st. 4 *ϑβaṯ ... asruštīm ... yazāi apā* 'I will turn disobedience away from Thee'; # 43,12:4 *asruštā ... səraošō* '(orders) not to be disobeyed ... (recompense for) obedience'.

(3) Here and in 46,14, 51,10, *zbaiiā* is to be read *zbaiiå̃* 'I will call' or *zᶜbaiiå* 'I call'. Reading *zᶜbaiiå* is at first glance suggested by 49,12 where tetrasyllabic *zᶜbaiieṇtē* would fit the metre. (Less clear is 46,4:5 *dužazōbå* 'of bad incantations', for **duž-zᶜbå* or **duž-āzbå*.) Yet, *zᶜbaiia-* < **zúuaiia-* is difficult to explain, since Ved. has no trace of a **huváya-* beside *hváya-*.

(4) *auuaŋhānē* 'in the resting-place' is taken as loc.sg. from a hapax *auuaŋhāna-* = Ved. *avasā́na-* 'unharnessing, resting-place'. Yet, *səraošəm zbaiiā auuaŋhānē* also recalls Yt 10,83 *miϑrəm ... zbaiieiti auuaiŋhe* 'calls Miϑra for help'. A play on words?

(5) *apānō ... xšaϑrəm vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'having reached the power [dominion] of good thought', →41,2:1-2 *vohū xšaϑrəm tōi ... apaēmā* 'may we reach Thy good rule [dominion]'; # RV 1,24,6 *nahí te kṣatráṃ ná sáho ná manyúṃ vayaś canāmí patáyanta āpúḥ* 'for not even those flying birds have ever reached Thy power, neither Thy force, nor Thy ardour'.

(6) The ptcl. *ā* in *apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm ā xšaϑrəm vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* seems to have a coordinating function 'having reached long life and the power'.

(7) *apānō ... ašāṯ ā* recalls YAv. *aṣ̌āṯ.apanōtəma-* in Yy 26,2 *frauuaṣ̌īm auuąm yąm ahurahe mazdå mazistąmca ... aṣ̌āṯ.apanōtəmąmca* 'that yonder Fravaši of Ahura Mazdā, that greatest (Fravaši) which has best reached (sc. the boons) in accordance with truth'. However, *aṣ̌āṯ ā* 'in accordance with truth' (# st. 6 *mainiiəuš ā vahištāṯ* 'in accordance with best spirit') could as well be an attribute of *ərəzūš paϑō*. Thus, *aṣ̌āṯ ā ərəzūš paϑō* could mean 'having reached, in accordance with truth, the straight paths', or alternatively: 'having reached the paths (which are) straight in acccordance with truth'. Also possible would be: 'the straight paths (starting) from truth', with postp. *ā* (# 51,4:1) vs. prep. *ā* in 43,3:6 *paϑō ... ā stīš* 'the paths (leading) to the possessions'.

(8) *ərəzūš paϑō* 'straight paths', →43,3:3 *ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paϑō* 'the straight paths of benefit', # 53,2:5 *dāŋhō ərəzūš paϑō* 'the straight paths of gift(-giving)', RV 10,85,23 *ṛjávaḥ santu pánthāḥ* 'let the paths be straight', Yt 10,3 *razištəm paṇtąm* 'straightest path', Yy 68,13 *razištahe paϑō aēšəmca vaēδəmca* 'search and discovery of the straightest path'.

(9) *paϑō yaēšū mazdå ahurō šaēitī* 'the paths on which the Wise Ahura dwells', # 43,3:7 *paϑō ... yəṇg ā.šaēitī ahurō* 'the paths which an Ahura inhabits', 46,16:5 *yaϑrā varədəmąm šaēitī ahurō* alternatively: 'where the Wise Ahura dwells in prosperity'.

(10) Although the stanza can be interpreted as referring to eschatological events, the context (sts. 4 and 6) shows that it can easily be taken as part of a poetical description of the sacrifice, perhaps with special reference to its conclusion.

33,6. 7+9 (*kaiiå*); 7+9 (*vāstríiā*); 7+9 (*+iziiå*).

(1) Sts. 4-6 each begin with the rel.pron. *yā*. This recalls 28,2-4, from which, however, these stanzas differ in as much as sts. 4-5 consist of one subordinate clause each, and the main clause is found in st. 6 only.

(2) *zaotar-* does not mean 'priest' in the sense of YAv. *āϑrauuan-* 'member of a priestly family, ordained priest' but in the sense of 'officiating priest, head-priest at an actual sacrifice' (§ 2.1.4[5]).

(3) *zaotā aṣ̌ā ərəzuš* 'an (officiating) priest straightforward in truth' (with *ərəzuš* as lectio difficilior for Geldner's *ərəzūš*) shows a compositional nexus with *aṣ̌āṯ ā ərəzūš paϑō* 'in accordance with truth ... straight paths' in the preceding line (st. 5:7). However, the respective meanings of the two forms of *ərəzu-* are quite different from one another. Thus, the compositional nexus is based on a purely superficial pun, a "compositional word play" (§ 13.1.4).

(4) For the use of *ərəzu-* 'straight' in the sense of 'straightforward, upright', as an attribute of men and especially of the prophet himself, cf. the many occurrences of the voc.sg. YAv. *ərəzuuō* 'O straightforward one' which always refers to Zaraϑuštra; # RV 2,27,9 *ṛjáve mártyāya* 'to the straightforward mortal'.

(5) *mainiiəuš ā vahištāṯ kaiiā ahmāṯ* 'in accordance with this best spirit (of mine) I am pleased'. Yet, *ahmāṯ* seems to mean 'henceforth' in Ny 4,8 *yā ahmāṯ staota yesniia srāuuaiieni* 'along with whom I will henceforth chant the Staota Yesniya'.

(6) *kaiiā ... auuā manaŋhā* 'I am pleased with that thought', # RV 5,3,10 *sáhasā cakānáḥ* 'pleased with (his own) force'.

(7) *auuā manaŋhā yā ... maṇtā* 'with that thought in [instr.] which one conceives (the idea)', # Aog 25 *maniia manaŋha* 'consider with (thy) thought'; →31,8:2 *māŋ̊hī ... manaŋhā* 'I realise with (my) thought'.

(8) *vərəziieidiiāi ... vāstriiā* 'to perform pastoral works', # Vr 15,1 *vərəziiātąmca iδa vohu vāstriia* 'let good pastural works be performed here'.

(9) *tā tōi iziiā ... darštōišcā həm.parštōišcā* 'with that (thought) I beg for Thy sight and consultation', # 49,3:4 *tā vaŋhāuš sarə iziiā manaŋhō* 'therefore I beg for the shelter of good thought'.

33,7. 7+9; 7+8; 7+9.

(1) In *ā mā āidūm ... ā* 'come hither to me, (come) hither', the second *ā* repeats the first, and thus intensifies the verb.

(2) *xᵛaiϑiiā* looks like a nom.pl. of a hapax *xᵛaiϑiia-*, but its coordination with the adv. *darəšaṯ* points to an adverbial function. If *xᵛaiϑiiā* is derived from *xᵛa-* 'own', as OP. *anušiya-* < **anuϑya-* 'follower' is derived from *ánu*, and Ved. *nítya-* 'own' from *ní*, then it means 'personally'. Nevertheless, 'resounding' from a root *xᵛan* = Ved. *svan* is possible as well.

(3) *darəšaṯ* = Ved. *dhṛṣát* 'boldly', cf. *dhṛṣád-varṇa-* 'of bold nature' (Agni), *dhṛṣadvín-* 'bold' (Maruts), *dhṛṣán-manas-* 'bold-minded' (of Indra).

(4) The instr.sg. *yā* 'for which' grammatically refers to *vohū manaŋhā* 'with good thought', but ad sensum it includes the entire preceding invitation.

(5) *sruiiē* is 1st sg.pres.pass. 'I am heard'. If it would be an inf. (*sruiiē*: *srūidiiāi* as *suiiē*: *sūidiiāi*), the structure of the stanza would be quite different. In the quotation V 17.7, *sruuiē* is connected with YAv. *sruuābiia* 'with the fingernails' (§ 11.6.1).

(6) Line c is quoted in P 35 and it is paraphrased there by *tå āuuiš yå rātaiiō aṇtarə amə̄šə̄sca spəṇtā saošiiaṇtasca frārāitīšca vīdīšå̄sca aṇtarə xᵛādaēnå aṣ̌aonīš* 'let those bestowals be manifest (which are exchanged) between the Ameša Spəṇtas and the Saošyaṇts, and (let also be manifest) the charities and distributions (which are exchanged) between the truthful followers of the right religion'. # 51,1:4 *aṇtarə.caraitī* 'is exchanged between (God and men)'.

(7) In *nəmaxᵛaitiš ... rātaiiō*, the adj. *nəmaxᵛaṇt-* is ambiguous: 'bestowals granted by the Ahuras and inspiring reverence for them' (# RV 1,185,3 *dātrám áditer ... námasvat* 'Aditi's gift, inspiring reverence'), or: 'bestowals offered by men and carrying reverence for the Ahuras'.

(8) *ciϑrå rātaiiō* 'bright bestowals', cf. Ved. *citrárāti-* 'granting bright gifts'.

(9) Beside the action noun ¹*rāti-* 'munificence, bestowal, gift' (29,11:9, 40,1:4) there exists an agent noun ²*rāti-* 'bountiful' in Yt 10,45 *yeŋ̊he ašta rātaiiō vīspāhu paiti barəzāhu ... spasō aŋ̊haire miϑrahe* '(Miϑra) whose bountiful messengers sit on every height as watchers of contract'.

33,8. 7+8/9 (*šiiauuå̃i/šiiauuã̃i*); 7+9 (*staomíiā*); 7+9.

(1) *frō mōi frauuōizdūm arəθā tā* 'take You heed of those (dutiful) purposes of mine', # 43,13:1 *arəθā vōizdiiāi kāmahiiā* 'to take heed of the (dutiful) purposes of my desire', 44,5:7 *ušå arām.piθβā xšapācā yå manaoθrīs ... arəθahiiā* 'dawn, noon and nightfall, which remind one of (his dutiful) purpose'.

(2) *arəθā tā yā ... šiiauuāi* 'these (dutiful) purposes which I will pursue' [= 'the duties which I wish to accomplish'], →29,3:8 *yā šauuaitē ādrāŋg* '(things) which set the weak free'; # RV 1,165,10 *yáni cyávam* 'what I undertake'.

(3) *arəθā ... yasnəm* '(dutiful) purposes ... worship', # Yy 65,9 *yezi anarəθe yazāite* 'if he will perform worship undutifully'.

(4) *dātā və amərətåscā utaiiūitī hauruuatās* 'integrity is offered to You, as well as immortality along with stability' (§ 15.1.2, § 15.18), # Yy 7,1 *daδąmi x^varəθəm miiazdəm hauruuata amərətāta gāuš hudå* 'as sacrificial repast and food I offer integrity [water], immortality [plants], and the munificent cow [flesh]'; →34,1:2-3 *yā yasnā amərətatātəm aŋəmcā taibiiō dåŋhā xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō* 'through which worship Thou takest for Thyself immortality and truth and the power of integrity', 34,11:1 *aţ tōi ubē hauruuåscā x^varəθāi.ā amərətatåscā* 'integrity and immortality both (serve) Thee (as) food' (§ 14.3-5).

(5) *dātā* '(is) offered' is nom.sg.f. of the p.p.p. *dāta-*. For this reason it goes grammatically either with *amərətås(cā)* or with *hauruuatās*, but ad sensum both of them are referred to. Similarly: 32,15:1 *vī.nānāsā yā karapō.tåscā kəuuītåscā* 'the group of the Karapans and Kavis is lost'; 44,20:8 *karapā usixšcā ... dātā* 'the Karapan and the Usij seize [sg.]'.

(6) *dātā vā ... draonō* '(is) offered to You (as) an oblation', # Yy 11,5 *draonō ... yaţ mē daθaţ ahurō mazdå* 'the oblation which Ahura Mazdā assigned to me (Haoma)'.

33,9. 7+9/10 (*aŋaōxšiianţå/aŋaōxšaiianţå, sarəidiiaiiå*); 7+9 (*x^vāθrā, barətū*); 7+8 (*ùrúuąnō, hākurənā*).

(1) *təm mainiiūm ... sarəidiiaiiå* 'that (well-known) spirit of the two rivals', # 29,7:2 *təm āzūtōiš mąθrəm* 'that (well-known) formula concerning fat'.

(2) Geldner's reading *aŋaōxšaiianţå* 'making truth grow' recalls RV 6,17,4 *té tvā mádāḥ ... pītå ukşaiianta* 'when having been partaken of, these intoxicants make thee grow'. However, the metre favours reading *aŋaōxšiianţå* 'growing through truth' which fits with the use of the pres. *uxšiia-* in st. 10 *vohū uxšiiā manaŋhā aŋācā* 'grow through good thought and truth'.

(3) *sarəidiia-* 'rival, challenger' is evidently the same as YAv. *sarəδiia-* in the obscure FrW 9,1 *mazdaoxtəm vacō sarəδiiō vāxš mąθrō spəņtō* 'the word pronounced by Ahura Mazdā, the challenging voice, the prosperous formula'; cf. the hapax Ved. *śárdhiya-* in RV 1,119,5 *ráthaṃ vāṇī yematur asya śárdhiyam* 'the two voices drove the chariot which rivalled that (beauty of yours)'. It is most likely derived from the root Ved. *śṛdh* 'to challenge, show up'; cf. 43,14:7 *sarədanā-* 'challenger', perhaps also BSogd. *srδ-* in *srδm'n* 'content' (if < **asarδa-māna/manah-*). Less likely is *sarəidiia-* from YAv. *sarəδa-* 'species' (Ved. *śárdha-* 'host, troop'), or from YAv. *sarəδ(a)-* 'year'.

(4) Because of its non-feminine gender, the gen.du.m.n. *aŋaoxšiianţå sarədiiaiiå* 'of the two rivals growing through truth' can hardly refer to the preceding *amərətåscā ... hauruuatās* 'integrity and immortality'; it rather denotes a pair of self-evident things, perhaps the sun and the moon. Note in this connexion that the original meaning of the noun *maēθa-* n. 'day' is 'periodical alternation, alternation between day and night' (→ 34,6:3 *ahiiā aŋhāuš vīspā maēθā* 'all days of this existence'). Yet, in the present passage *maēθā* is rather from the adj. *maēθa-* 'present' [unless: 'undecided, doubtful'] (→ 30,9:7).

(5) *maiiā* is taken as instr.sg. of *măiiā-* 'bliss, blessing'. *x^vāθrā maēθā maiiā* 'together with comfort coupled with bliss', →43,2:4 *x^vāθrəm ... vaŋhāuš māiiå manaŋhō* 'comfort ... the blessings of good thought'. But *maiiā* could also be the instr.sg. of the pron.pers. *ahám* 'I (= Ved. *máyā* 'with me'): 'along with the comfort present with me [facing me]'. *x^vāθrā* also could be a nom.acc.pl. as in 31,7:2 *raocəbīš rōiθβən x^vāθrā* 'let the comforts intersperse with lights'. At any rate, *x^vāθrā maēθa maiiā* refers to the sacrificial offerings.

(6) *hākurəna-* '*fellowship' (# 44,1:6-7 *friiā ... hākurənā* 'friendly fellowships') is derived, with suffix *-na*, from **hāxvar-* < **sākvar-* 'following'. Note the play on words *hākurənəm ... haciņtē uruuąnō* in which the etymological connexion of *hāk°* with *haciņtē* seems to be etymologically correct whereas that of *°urənəm* with *uruuąnō* is a sort of popular etymology (§ 15.3.4).

(7) *yaiiå haciņtē uruuąnō* 'whose [du.] souls [pl.] agree'. Since *uruuąnō* is plur. it cannot simply mean 'the souls (of the two)' but must mean 'the (many manifestations of the) souls (of the two)'; →45,2:5 *nōiţ nā manå ... nōiţ uruuąnō haciņtē* 'neither our [du.] thoughts [pl.] ... nor souls [pl.] agree'.

33,10. 7+8; 7+9; 7+9 (*tanūm*).

(1) It is unlikely that *huǰīti-* could have the same meaning as *huǰiiāti-* 'good life' in 46,8:4 *yā īm huǰiiātōiš pāiiāṯ nōiṯ dužǰiiātōiš* 'so that they may prevent him from (living) a good life, not from (living) a bad life'. In *huǰītaiiō* 'good gains [vitalisations]', the noun ^{1}*ǰīti-* 'gaining, gain, victory' has merged with ^{2}*ǰīti-* 'vitalisation, vitality'; → 38,5:8 *mātarō ǰītaiiō* 'O you mothers, O you gains [vitalisations]'. *huǰītaiiō* refers to the sacrificial gifts offered Ahura Mazdā by the worshippers as in Yy 13,4 *pairī vā ... daδąmi ... vīspå huǰītaiiō* 'I deliver to You all good gains'; # Yy 19,13 *yaθa mazdå huǰītiš* 'to (describe) the good gains of the Wise One'(→27,13:1).

(2) Taken separately, the sequence *vīspå stōi huǰītaiiō* would mean 'let all good gains be (available)', cf. the same construction in Vr 3,7 *tūm nō āϑraom zaota-stē* 'let thee, O Āϑravan, be our Zaotar'. But actually, the sequence constitutes a complement governed by *ābaxšō.huuā* 'in order for all good gains [vitalisations] to be available (for Thee)'. Here, *huǰītaiiō* [nom.pl.] can be understood as a pendent nominative (→38,2:4 *īžå yaoštaiiō* etc.), but in Yy 13,4 (→n. 1) it is used as acc.pl.

(3) *yå zī åŋharə* 'those which have existed etc.' [= 'the eternal ones'] denotes the integrity and immortality represented by the offerings.

(4) The mid. *ābaxšō.huuā* in *ϑβahmī hīš zaošē ābaxšō.huuā* 'receive them into Thy approval' contrasts with the act. *baxšaitī* in 47,5:4 alternatively: *yā zī cīcā vahištā hanarə ϑβahmāṯ zaošāṯ drəguuå baxšaitī* 'whatever best (things) the deceitful gives away to (a person) far removed from Thy approval'. As to the indirect reflexive meaning of the mid. of *bag/baj* (*baxš*), →31,10:4 *nōiṯ ... humərətōiš baxštā* 'does not enjoy a good reputation'.

(5) *vohū uxšiiā manaŋhā* 'grow through good thought', → 31,7:6-7 *tā mazdā mainiiū uxšiiō* 'by means of that spirit Thou growest, O Wise One'.

(6) *uxšiiā ... uštā tanūm* 'grow as Thou desirest, in (Thy) body'. Thus, if *tanūm* 'body' is an acc. of dimension as found in Yt 19,79, A 3,4 *aṣəm aṣauuastəma-* 'most truthful with regard to truth', Yt 5,3 *auuauuaitī masō* 'so long' [lit. 'so great in length']. Grammatically possible is also *uštā tanūm* 'in (Thy) desire for [acc.] bodily form', with verbal government of *usti-*; cf. the verbal government of *išti-* 'quest' in 51,18:2 *ištōiš x^{v}arənå* 'of quest for glory'.

(7) The metre suggests reading *tanūm* from a stem *tanu-*, not *tanūm* < *tanúuəm* from a stem *tanū-* (*tanúuəm* is transmitted in 46,8). A nom.sg. **tanuš* besides **tanūš* (Ved. *tanúḥ*) is indirectly attested by the loc.sg. 43,7:6 *tanuši*. This is formed from the nom.sg. *tanuš* as if its stem were *tanuš-* n.; →40,4:2 *x^{v}aētūš* 'families'.

33,11. 7+9 (*mazdåscā, ãrmaitišcā*), 7+8. 7+8 (*ādãi*).

(1) The rel. clause *yə səuuištō ahurō mazdåscā* '(Thou) who (art) the strongest Ahura and the Wise one' replaces a voc. The names of the other Ahuras are coordinated by *-cā*; they must therefore stand in the nom. (Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 105f.)

(2) *ādãi* is loc.sg. of the root noun *ādā-* f. 'apportionment, allocation', # st. 12:2 *vaŋhuiiā ... ādā* 'through good apportionment', 49,1:8 *vaŋ^{v}hī ādā* 'good apportionment'. *vaŋ^{v}hī- ādā-* is coordinated with *vaŋ^{v}hī- aṣi-* 'good reward' in Yy 52,3 *vaŋ^{v}hīšca aδå vaŋ^{v}hīšca aṣaiiō*, 68,21 *vaŋ^{v}hīm ... ādąm vaŋ^{v}hīm aṣīm*, Vr 4,1 *vaŋ^{v}hīmca ādąm vaŋ^{v}hīmca aṣīm vaŋ^{v}hīmca cistīm*. The verb *ā-dā* refers to housing in 51,14 *drūjō dəmānē ādāṯ* 'will put in the house of deceit'; →46,6:2 *adąs* in *yə vā xšaiiąs adąs drītā aiiaŋtəm*, perhaps corrupted from **adas* 'putting (him) up, providing (him) with accommodation'.

(3) *ādāi kahiiācīṯ paitī* 'at any apportionment', # 40,1:1 *āhū aṯ paitī adāhū* 'at these apportionments'. *paitī* could, however, also mean 'in recompense for'; →27,15:5 *yesnē paitī* 'at worship'. *kahiiācīṯ* is loc.sg.f. of *kascīṯ* (but why not **kaxiiācīṯ*?).

33,12. 7+9 (*ãrmaitī*); 7+8 (*ādã*); 7+8 *(fsəratūm)*.

(1) *təuuīšīm dasuuā* 'take might, put on might (like a garment)', # RV 1,35,4 *ásthād ráthaṃ savitā ... táviṣīm dádhānaḥ* 'Savitṛ mounted the chariot having put on might'. Similarly: *dasuuā ... hazō* 'take superiority', # RV 1,57,6 *víśvam ... dadhiṣe ... sáhaḥ* 'Thou hast assumed all superiority' (R. Schmitt in Schlerath, *Vorarbeiten* II, 1968, 154). Cf. the mid. in *dasuuā ... zauuō* 'take swiftness' with the act. in Yt 16,7 *yaṯ hē daϑaṯ ... pāδauue zāuuuarə* 'so that she granted swiftness to his feet'; →30,4:4-5 *paouruuīm dazdē* 'one decides (of what nature will be) the primal (stage of his existence)', # 43,2:1 *ahmāi vīspaŋąm vahištəm ... daidītā* 'may he obtain for himself the best of all (things)'.

(2) *vaŋhuiiā ... ādā* 'through good apportionment', →st. 11:2-3.

(3) *hazō āmauuaṯ* 'aggressive superiority' [= 'superiority and aggressiveness'] (§ 15.1.7).

(4) *fsəratū-* 'enjoyment, joy', →37,5:1 *vaŋ^{v}hīš fsəratuuō* 'good enjoyments', where the word is used in personification; # 51,4:3 *kuϑrā ... fsəratuš ... āxštaṯ* 'where will joy arise?'

33,13. 7+8; 7+8; 7+8 (*ā̃rmaitē, daē̃nå̃*).

(1) *vourucašāni-* 'far-seeing', cf. Ved. *urucákṣas-* 'id.'; of a similar meaning is 45,4:5 *vīspā.hišas* 'all-seeing'.

(2) Unless *abifrā* is corrupted from a verbal form *a<i>bi-frā* (# 46,10:6 *frō ... fra-frā̃* 'I shall cross over'), it must be the nom.pl. of the noun *abifra-* 'characteristic, peculiarity'. This is hidden in the "complexive compound" YAv. *aštā.bifra-* < **ašta-abifra-* n. 'a unit of eight characteristics': V 13,44 *sūnahe aēuuahe aštā.bifrəm* 'the one dog has (a unit of) eight characteristics'.

(3) *daēnå fradaxšaiiā* 'teach (the) religious views' can be understood as 'teach (people's) religious views', i.e. by synecdoche 'teach people' (§ 15.8); # Yy 12,5 *zaraϑuštrəm aδaxšaiiaētā* 'he taught Zaraϑuštra'. Yet, possible is as well: 'teach (people) (Your) religious views', with the same construction as found in Yt 4,9 *mąϑrəm mā fradaxšaiiō* 'do not teach the formula'.

33,14. 7+9 (*tanúuascīt̰;* 7+9 *(mazdā̃i*); 7+9 (*šiiaoϑànahiiā*).

(1) *rātąm ... tanuuascīt̰ xᵛaźiiå uštanəm dadāitī ... mazdāi* 'as a bestowal he offers to the Wise One the vitality even of his own body'. A similar wording is found in Yy 11,18 *fərā və rāhī .... tanuuascīt̰ xᵛaźiiå uštanəm* 'I bestow upon You the vitality even of my own body'.

(2) *dadāitī ... mazdāi ... səraošəm xšaϑrəmcā* 'offers (his) obedience and power to the Wise One', →28,5:6 *səraošəm mazdāi* 'obedience to the Wise One', 27,14:14-16 *dazdā ... xšaϑrəm ahurāi ā* 'the power is assigned to the Ahura'.

(3) *pauruuatātəm manaŋhas(cā) vaŋhāuš* 'the pre-eminence of good thought', # 37,2:1 *yasnaną pauruuatātā* 'with the pre-eminence (of the rites) of worship'.

(4) *pauruuatātəm manaŋhascā vaŋhāuš šiiaoϑanahiiā aṣ̌ā yācā* 'the pre-eminence of good thought and that of the action (performed) with truth'. The complicated phrase shows a shift of the rel.pron. from the beginning of the line to the position before the caesura (§ 15.16.1).

(5) Geldner's reading *šiioaϑanahiiā aṣ̌āi yācā* (not < **aṣ̌āiia- cā*, →30,1:9) must be replaced by *šiiaoϑanahiiā aṣ̌ā yācā* '(and that pre-eminence) which (is that) of the action (performed) with truth' [or: 'of the action (inspired) by truth']; # 48,12:4 *šiiaoϑanāiš aṣ̌ā vβahiiā ... sāŋghahiiā* 'with actions of Thy proclamation, (performed) with truth' [or: 'inspired by truth'] (§ 15.18).

Yasna 34: *Yā.šiiaoϑanā Hāiti*

34,0. Preliminary remarks.

Many of the characteristics of Ahura Mazdā which are depicted in this hymn are comparable to those of Indra in the Rigveda (§ 5.2.4). In st. 4 the Holy Fire is equated with the power offered by Ahura Mazdā to his supporters in order to help them in their fight against their enemies. In st. 8, *šiiaoϑanā* 'actions' is used to describe the heroic deeds with which Ahura Mazdā makes trouble for the deceitful by shooting it to them like an arrow from a bow, or catapulting it to them like a stone with a sling, to frighten them. In st. 10 Ahura Mazdā is expected to attend the sacrifice to refresh himself with the offerings, to restore his magic power of integrity and immortality, and to enjoy the pious behaviour of his worshippers displayed in their hymns and rituals.

34,1. 7+8 (*šiiaoϑànā*); 7+9 (*dā̊ŋhā*); 7+8 (*aēšą̃m*).

(1) The basic series *manah- vacah- šiiaoϑana-* 'thought, word, action' is here varied into *šiiaoϑana- vacah- yasna-* 'action, word, worship' (§ 12.1.3.0).

(2) In *amərətatātəm aṣ̌əmcā ... xšaϑrəmcā hauruuatātō* 'immortality and truth and the power of integrity', the well-attested couple *hauruuatāt- amərətatāt-* 'integrity and immortality' is inverted (as in 51,7:3 *amərətātā hauruuātā*) and at the same time enlarged by adding *aṣ̌a-* 'truth'. Furthermore, *hauruuatāt-* 'integrity' itself is elaborated into *xšaϑrəm hauruuatātō* 'power of integrity' (§ 15,7). At the sacrifice, *hauruuatāt-* and *amərətatāt-* are represented by the ritual offerings of waters and plants; → st. 11:1 *aṭ̰ tōi ubē hauruuåscā xᵛarəϑāi.ā amərətātåscā* 'integrity and immortality both serve Thee (as) food', 33,8:4-6 *dātā və amərətåscā ... hauruuatās draonō* 'immortality (is) offered to You (as) oblation, and integrity' (§ 14).

(3) *yā yasnā amərətatātəm ... taibiiō dā̊ŋhā xšaϑrəmcā hauruuatātō* 'the worship through which Thou takest [obtainest] for Thyself immortality and the power of integrity', # 44,18:4 *hauruuātā amərətātā yaϑā hī taibiiō dā̊ŋhā* 'integrity and immortality just as Thou takest them for Thyself'; # RV 3,38,5 *kṣatráṃ rājānā pradívo dadhāthe* 'since ancient times you two kings have been in possession of the power'.

(4) *aṣ̌əm ... taibiiō dā̊ŋhā* 'Thou takest [obtainest] for Thyself truth', # 46,15:2 *aṣ̌əm xšmaibiiā daduiiē* 'You will obtain truth for yourselves'. For the meaning of mid. *dā̊ŋhā*, →44,19:2-3 on act. *dāitī* 'will award' vs. mid. *ahmāi ... dāitē* 'will obtain for

himself'. For the corresponding pres. *dadā-*, →33,12:1 *təuuīšīm dasuuā* 'take might'.

(5) *āhmā pourutəmāiš* 'by us (who are) present in greatest number' [thus rather than: 'by us, (Thy) most assiduous (frequenters)'], # RV 8,66,11 *vayáṃ ghā te ápūrvyā ... bráhmāṇi ... purūtámāsaḥ ... prá bharāmasi* 'we who are present in greatest number, offer Thee unprecedented prayers' (→28,3:3).

(6) *aēšąm [sc. šiiaoϑananąm, vacaŋhąm, yasnanąm]* is a partitive gen. functioning as subject of the passive verb: *aēšąm tōi ... dastē* '(a deserved part) of these is (now being) offered to Thee'. For the corresponding active construction, →31,9:6 *hiiaṯ aẋiiāi dadå paϑąm* 'when Thou didst open paths [gen.] to her'.

(7) There is an opposition between the extra-temporal inj.aor. *dåŋhā* 'Thou takest' and the temporal ind.pres. *dastē* 'is (now being) offered'.

34,2. 7+9; 7+9 (*šiiaoϑànā, ùrúuā); 7+9 (garòbiš, stūtąm*).

(1) *aṯcā ī tōi manaŋhā mainiiəuš(cā) vaŋhəuš vīspā dātā* is ambiguous; 'either all (manifestations) of good spirit (have been) established by Thy thought', or: 'all (manifestations) of good spirit (are) offered to Thee with thought'.

(2) *spəṇtahiiācā nərəš šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions of the prosperous man (Zaraϑuštra)', # 51,21:1 *nā spəṇtō*.

(3) *yehiiā uruuā aṣā hacaitē* 'whose soul agrees with truth', # 44,10:4 *tąm daēnąm yā mōi gaēϑå aṣā frādōiṯ hacəmnā* 'that view which, in agreement with truth, could promote my herds', 46,16:3 *yaϑrā aṣā hacaitē ārmaitiš* 'where right-mindedness agrees with truth', RV 1,152,1 *ṛténa mitrāvaruṇā sacethe* 'you both agree with truth, O Mitra and Varuṇa'.

(4) *pairigaēϑē ... vahmē* 'at the laudation at which one gives one's herds in trust', # Yy 58,6 *pairī pasūš pairī vīrāŋ spəṇtāi maniiauuē dadəmahī* 'we give (our) cattle and men in trust to the prosperous spirit'. Or: 'at the laudation at which one does the round of the herds', in which case *pairigaēϑa-* would be a compound of the same type as YAv. *pairi.daẋiiu-* '(Miϑra) who does the round of the country'. For both possibilities, # Aog 81b *dušxratūm apairi.gaēϑąm asrāuuaiiaṯ.gāϑąm* 'the person of bad intellect who neither gives (his) herds in trust [or: who neither does make the round of the herds] nor does he chant the Gāϑās'.

(5) *vahmē ... garōbiš stūtąm* 'at the laudation (which is performed) with welcomes (consisting) of praises' is a poetical elaboration from the basic series 41,1:1 *stūtō garō vahmāŋ* 'praises, welcomes, laudations' (§ 15.18).

34,3. 7+8/9 (*dåmā/dãmā*); 7+8; 7+9 (*hudåŋhō*).

(1) *aṯ tōi ... dāmā gaēϑå vīspå ā xšaϑrōi* 'we place all (our) herds in Thy power', # 45,10:5 *xšaϑrōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā ahmāi stōi dąn* 'in His power (people) place integrity and immortality to be available to Him'.

(2) *gaēϑå ... yå vohū ϑraoštā manaŋhā* 'the herds which one has nourished with good thought', # 46,7:4 *yaiiå šiiaoϑanāiš aṣəm ϑraoštā* 'by the actions of both of which one nourishes truth'. The verb *ϑraoštā*, *s*-aor. from the root *ϑrau/ϑru*, is not 2nd pl.act. but 3rd sg.med., # Vr 12,4 *dāmąn ... yą daϑaṯ ahurō mazdå ... ϑraošta vohu manaŋha vaxšt aṣa* 'the creatures which Ahura Mazdā created, which he nourishes with good thought (and) makes grow with truth', Yy 1,1 *yō nō daδa yō tataša yō tuϑruiiē* 'who has created, fashioned, nourished us'. In contrast to this, , YAv. *ϑraošti-* 'dawning' in *ϑraošta xšafnō ϑritiiaiiå* 'at the dawning of the third night' (Yt 5,62, H 2,7) comes from **fra-ušti-*.

(3) *ārōi zī ... vīspāiš ... xšmāuuasū sauuō* 'for benefit has been allotted by all among those such as You', # 50,5:1 *ārōi zī xšmā ... zastāištā* 'for (recompenses) to be sent by (Your) hands have been allotted by You'.

(4) *hudåŋhō*, from *hudāh-* 'munificent' (→41,2:5), is either gen.sg. ('of a munificent one') or voc.pl. ('O You munificent ones').

(5) *vīspāiš ... xšmauuasū* 'by all among those such as You', →28,1:12 *vīspāŋg* 'all (of You)'.

34,4. 7+9 (*usəmahī*); 7+9; 6+9 (*dàibišiianṭē, zastãištāiš*).

(1) *aṯ tōi ātrəm ... aojōŋhuuaṇtəm aṣā* 'Thy fire (which is) strong through truth', # 43,4:2 *ϑβahiiā ... āϑrō aṣā.aojaŋhō* 'id.'.

(2) *ātrəm ... asīštīm* 'fire (which is) very vigorous', →44,9:3 *ərəšuuā xšaϑrā ... asīštiš* 'through (his) lofty power, very vigorous'. The compound *asīšti-* is dissimilated from **aš.īšti-* (→st. 5:1 *īšti-* 'command, vigour'); →31,9:3 †*as xratuš*, corrupted from **aš.xratuš* 'very intellectual' (§ 10.7.4).

(3) *rapaṇtē ... daibišiianṭē* 'to the supporter ... to the enemy', →28,6:5 *rafənō ... duuaēšå* 'support ... hostilities'.

(4) *stōi rapaṇtē ciϑrā.auuaŋhəm* 'to be a bright help to (Thy) supporter' is used in Ny 3,10 *naręm pourutātəm ... stē rapaṭąm ciϑrauuaŋhąm [v.l. ciϑra.au° etc.]* where *stē* is superfluous: 'plenty of men (who are) supporters conveying bright help'.

(5) *civrā.auuaŋhəm ... dərəštā.aēnaŋhəm* 'of bright help ... of visible injury', # 50,5:4 *aibī.dərəštā āuuīšiiā auuaŋhā* 'with visible, manifest help', RV 7,20,1 *jágmir ... ávobhis trātā́ na índra énaso maháścit* 'visiting (us) with his help, Indra is a protector against even great injury to us'.

(6) *zastāištāiš* 'by means of (the recompenses) sent by its hands', →50,5:1 *ārōi zī xšmā ... zastāištā* 'for (recompenses to be) sent by (Your) hands have been allotted by You'. In the present passage, *zastāišta-* refers to the flames and sparks of the fire, in 50,5 more generally to any missiles of Ahura Mazdā.

34,5. 7+9 (*šiiaoϑànāi*); 7+8; 7+9 (*maŋ́iiāišcā*).

(1) In Av. *īšti-* three homonymous words have merged:

[1]*īšti-* 'vigour' (cf. Ved. [1]*iṣṭí-* 'impulse, acceleration'), →46,2:1 *anaēšō ... īštīm* 'lacking in vigour ... vigour';

[2]*īšti-* 'quest, desire' (cf. Ved. [2]*iṣṭí-* 'seeking, desire'), →51,18:2 *ištōiš xᵛarənå* 'quest for [acc.] glory';

[3]*īšti-* 'command, ability', from the root *aēs/is* (Ved. "*īś*"), certain in P 11 *yezi nōiţ ište nōiţ aŋauuanəm ainištiš āstāraiieiti* 'if he is not able then (his) inability does not make the truthful one guilty'); →46,16:4 *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō īštā* 'in command of good thought', 49,12:3 *vā ištā* 'in Your command'; # RV 2,28,7 *te iṣṭáu* 'on thy command'. Note in the present hymn the compositional nexus between st. 5 *īšti-* 'command' (root *aēs/is*), st. 4 *asīšti-* 'most vigorous' (root [1]*aēš/iš*), and st. 4 *zastāišta-* 'sent by (its) hands' (root [2]*aēš/iš*) (§ 12.1.6.0).

(2) *kaţ vā xšaϑrəm kā īštiš* 'what (is) Your power, what (is Your) command' shows a free combination of *xšaϑra-* and *īšti-* as is also found in 48,8:1 *kā tōi vaŋhāuš ... xšaϑrahiiā īštiš* 'what (is) the command of Thy good power', 51,2:2 *mōi ištōiš xšaϑrəm* 'the power of my command' etc. (§ 12.1.6.0).

(3) *šiiaoϑanāi yaϑā vā hahmī ... ϑrāiiōidiiāi* 'to protect (me) for (my) action(s) as well as when I sleep'. Here, the subordinate clause *yaϑā vā hahmī* replaces a dat. parallel to *šiiaoϑanāi* (§ 15.1.5). For *yaϑā vā*, # Aog 17 *yaϑa vā ərəzatō.paiϑi yaϑa vā zaraniiō.paiϑi yaϑa vā kāciţ gaonaŋəm* '(clothes) either such as silver adorned, or such as gold adorned, or such as (adorned) with any of the colours whatever'.

(4) *ϑrāiiōidiiāi drigūm yūšmākəm* 'to protect (me), Your poor dependent', # st. 7:6 *aϑā nå ϑrāzdūm* 'so do [pl.] protect us'. Cf. YAv. *ϑrāiiō.driγu-* 'protecting the poor', epithet of *marždika-* 'compassion'.

(5) *parə ... vīspāiš ... daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš maŋ́iiāišcā* 'superior to all evil beasts, Daēvic as well as human', # RV. 6,48,19 *paró hí mártyair ási sámo devaíḥ* 'Thou art superior to mortals, equal to the gods', 10,82,5 *paró devébhir ásurair yád ásti* 'that which is beyond the Devas, the Asuras' (§ 5.3.3). The passage has been used in Yy 19,2 *para asməm para āpəm para ząm para gąm ..... para daēuuāišca xrafstrāiš maŋ́iiāišcā* 'before heaven etc.'

(6) The phrase *daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš maŋ́iiāišcā* 'evil beasts, Daēvic as well as human' is of the same structure as Yt 13,89 *daēuuāaţca haotāţ maŋ́iiāaţca* 'from the brood, Daēvic as well as human'; # 29,4:6, 48,1:7 *daēuuāišcā maŋ́iiāišcā* 'by Daēvas and mortals'. The OAv. use of *xrafstra-* (# 28,5:7, § 12.1.2) is in contrast to the YAv. use, where *xrafstra-* is applied to small noxious animals only.

34,6. 7+9; 7+8; 7+9 (*ùruuāidiiå̄*).

(1) *yezī aϑā stā haiϑīm* 'in case this (what I have just said) is the way You really are', # 44,6:2 *yezī tā aϑā haiϑiiā* 'in case those (words) are true, as follows'. Of a different type is 32,6:2 *yezī tāiš aϑā* 'whether he so (does) with them' where *aϑā* replaces the repeated verb (§ 15.12.2).

(2) *daxšta-* is nearly synonymous with *civra-*: # V 16,14 *nāirikaiiå̄ civrauuaitiiå̄ daxštauuaitiiå̄ vohunauuaitiiå̄ ... yaţ hē civra daxštəm bauuaiti yaţ hē daxšta civrəm bauuaiti* 'of a woman who has the sign (of the menses), who has the symptom (of the menses), who has the issue of blood (of the menses) ... when from the sign there is a symptom, when from the symptom there is a sign'. In the same way as *civra-*, no doubt, *daxšta-* can be both, a noun and an adj. In the present passage an adj. is required: *aţ taţ mōi daxštəm dātā* 'then make that clear to me', # 51,9:2-3 *aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi* 'make that clear in (our) vital energies' [or: 'attach a sign (of that) to (our) vital energies'].

(3) *ahiiā aŋhəuš vīspā maēϑā* 'on all days of this existence' (→45,3:1 *aŋhāuš ahiiā* 'of this existence'), # 43,2:5 *vīspā aiiārə* 'all days'. For *maēϑa-* meaning 'day', cf. Man.Sogd. *myδ* 'day' (³*xšp*³ *myδ* 'during night and day'), Khw. *myϑ* 'day' (³*wsp-mycyk* 'daily'). For the etymological meaning 'periodical alternation, alternation (of night and day)' of *maēϑa-*, cf. Sistani *meh* 'period of twelve hours, a term used in the distribution of water from watercourses and canals' (G. Morgenstierne, *ActOr* 20, 1948, 291); → 30,9:7 on *maēϑa-* adj. 'alternating, facing, coupled with, present' [unless: 'undecided, doubtful'].

(4) *yaϑā vå yazəmnascā uruuāidiiå stauuas aiienī paitī* 'so that I may come to meet You again, worshipping and praising (You even) more joyfully', # 50,9:1 *tāiš vå yasnāiš paitī stauuas aiienī* 'with (rites of) worship such as these I will come to meet You again, praising (You)'. For *yaz* 'to worship' combined with *stau/stu* 'to praise', → 30,1:7 *staotācā ... yesniiācā* 'praises and worshipful (words)'.

34,7. 7+9 (*vaēdə́nā*); 7+9 (*ušəúrū*); 7+9.

(1) In *kuϑrā tōi arədrā* 'where are Thy zestful ones?' the rendering of *arədra-* by 'zestful' is a guess. The word can be segmented into *arə-dra-* or into *arəd-ra-*. The compositional nexus between 50,8:6 *arədrā* and 50,11 *arədaŋ* 'shall further' suggests 'furtherer, promoter', but it could be due to compositional word play (§ 13.1.4). The YAv. use of the word rather points to 'fit, active': Yt 10,65 *yō āsunąm āsuš yō arədranąm arədrō yō taxmanąm taxmō yō viiāxananąm viiāxanō* '(Miϑra) who is the swift among the swift, the zestful [fit] among the zestful [fit], the brave among the brave, the champion among the champions', Yt 13,32 *arədrå taxmå aojaŋᵛhaitīš* '(the Fravašis who are) zestful [fit], brave, strong'. Similar combinations are found in Yt 13,75.

(2) *vaēdəna-* can be a noun 'knowledge, possession' (cf. Ved. *védana-* 'possession'), or an agent adj. 'knowing, possessing' (cf. Skt. *vedana-* 'finding, procuring, making known'). If it is a noun, *vaŋhāuš vaēdənā manaŋhō* means 'through knowledge [possession] of good thought' (# 51,18:3 *vaŋᵛhīš/vaŋhāuš manaŋhō vīdō*), giving a parallel with st. 9:4 *vaŋhāuš əuuistī manaŋhō* 'by ignorance [lack] of good thought'. In this case, *sāŋghūš raēxənå* 'bequests and legacies' must be taken metonymically as '(personified) bequests and legacies' in the sense of 'executors of wills'; # 53,9:2 *tōi narəpīš raŋīš* 'they are (personified) obscuration [pl.] and darkness [pl.]' (§ 15.9.1). Yet, the style of the Gāϑās does not favour such exact parallels. Therefore, we take *vaēdəna-* as an agent adj. 'knowing [possessing]' which governs the acc.obj. *sāŋghūš raēxənå* 'bequests and legacies'.

(3) *sāŋghūš* is nom.acc.pl. of a hapax *sāŋghuš-* (→40,4:2 *xᵛaētūš*). This etymologically means 'announcement' but its actual meaning is 'bequest'.

(4) If *ušuru-* means '*pleasant' (→32,16:3 *ušuruiiē* 'in a *pleasant way'), then *yōi ... aspāncīŋ sādrācīŋ caxraiiō ušəurū* means 'who turn any misfortune and distress into *pleasure', but if *ušuru-* means '*vanishing', then: 'who make any misfortune and distress vanish'. In both cases *caxri-* governs a double acc.

(5) *naēcīm tām aniiəm yūšmaŋ vaēda aϑā nå ϑrāzdūm* 'I do not know anyone other than You (who might protect me), so do (You) protect us', →50,1:3 *kə̄ mā.nā ϑrātā vistō aniiō aŋ̊āŋ̊ ϑβaŋ̊cā* 'who (has been) found as my protector, (who) other than Truth and Thou?'. Less likely: 'I do not in the least know the one (who is) other than You' [= 'I do not in the least acknowledge Aŋra Mainyu'].

(6) *aϑā nå ϑrāzdūm* 'so do [pl.] protect us', # st. 5:4 *ϑrāiiōidiiāi driγūm yūšmākəm* 'to protect (me) Your poor dependent'.

34,8. 7/8+10 (*šiiaoϑànāiš, bìieṇtē/bíieṇtē, ìϑìiejō*); 7+9 (*ùrùuātahiiā*); 7+9.

(1) In 31,9:2 *as* stands for **āš* 'it was', from the root *¹ah* 'to be', but in *as ... iϑiiejō ... as aojå nāidiåŋhəm ... vohū as manō* of the present stanza, *as* is rather 2nd/3rd sg. inj.aor. from the root *²ah* 'to cast, shoot, send'. It is, however, strange that here *as* undoubtedly means 'to send' in both, *as ... iϑiiejō* 'Thou sendest harrassment' and *vohū as manō* 'Thou sendest good thought', but 'to hit' in *as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'a strong one hits a weaker one' (→n. 5). Yet, both meanings of the aor. of *²ah* are also attested elsewhere in the Gāϑās: 'to send' we have in 31,4:2 *yadā aŋ̊əm zəuuīm aŋhən* 'when They will have sent out truth worthy of invocation', but 'to hit' we have in 44,19:5 *kā tām ahiiā maēniš aŋhaŋ* 'what chastisement for that will befall [hit] him?'.

(2) *as ... iϑiiejō* 'Thou sendest harrassment'. Etymologically, Av. *iϑiiejah-* (> Phl. *sēj* 'danger, trouble') belongs to Ved. *tyájas-* 'danger, trouble, difficulty'. In connexion with the use of *iϑiiejō* as object of the verb *as* 'Thou sendest', it is remarkable that Ved. *tyájas-* is also used in the sense of 'missile, weapon': RV 8,47,7 *ná táṃ tigmáṃ caná tyájo ná drāsad abhí táṃ gurú* 'neither a sharp nor a heavy weapon will hit him', 10,144,6 *índraḥ ... dhārayāte máhi tyájaḥ* 'Indra shall hold a big weapon'.

(3) *as pairī pourubiiō iϑiiejō* 'Thou sendest harrassment around the many (deceitful)', cf. Ved. *pary-as* 'to throw, cast, place around' [AV]. In our passage, *pairī pourubiiō* 'around the many' is contrasted with *aēibiiō dūirē* 'far away from them'. For *pourubiiō* 'the many (deceitful)', →50,2:5 *ərəžəjīš aŋ̊ā pourušū huuarə pišiiasū* 'living decently with truth among the many who *block the sun(light)'.

(4) *hiiaŋ as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'as a strong one hits a weaker one' (§ 15.2.1) has an interesting parallel in Yy 57,10 *aŋca hē ... kamərəδəm jaγnuuå paiti xᵛaŋhaiieiti yaϑa aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'and having stroked his head he smashes (him), as a strong one (treats) a weaker one'. Here, one must take into consideration the possibility that the YAv. reading *yaϑa aojå* is closer to Zaraϑuštra's original than the OAv. *hiiaŋ as aojå*.

This implies that *hiiaṯ as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* (< **yaṯ as aojå nāidiiåŋhəm*, § 10.7.2.1) could be corrupted from **yaϑā aojå nāidiiåŋhəmone* 'as a strong one (treats) a weaker one' (§ 10.7.4). Another possibility is that the hemistich is corrupted from *hiiaṯ *aš.-aojå nāidiiåŋhəm* 'as a very strong one (treats) a weaker one', for which cf. YAv. *aš.aojah-* 'very strong'.

(5) Beside the well-known noun [1]*aojah-* n. 'strength', an adj. [2]*aojah-* 'strong' is attested in Yt 10,140 *miϑrəm ... aojaŋhəm taxməm raϑaēštąm* 'Miϑra, the strong (and) brave warrior' (# 45,7:4 [1]*rādah-* 'bounty' vs. [2]*rādah-* 'bounteous').

(6) *nāidiiah-* 'weaker' is the comp. of *ādra-* 'weak', →29,3:9 *ādrāŋg ... aojištō* 'the weak, the strongest one'.

(7) *ϑβahiiā ... ąstā uruuātahiiā* 'by the harmfulness of Thy rule'. At first glance, it is amazing that *ąsta-* 'harm, harmfulness, malice' (cf. *aŋgra-* 'harmful'), in principle a quality of the Daēvas, is ascribed to Ahura Mazdā here, but cf. 43,5:4 *akəm akāi* '(assigning) evil to the evil one', 46,18:4 *cōišəm ... ąstāŋg ahmāi* 'I promise harm [pl.] for that one'; →44,14:6 *duuafšāŋg ... ąstascā* 'ill [pl.] and harm [pl.]'.

(8) *aēibiiō dūirē vohū as manō* 'Thou sendest good thought (to a place) far from them', # RV. 1,114,4 *āré asmád daívyam hélo asyatu* 'let him send the divine anger to (a place) far away from us'. A similar construction is in 47,5:4 *hanarə ϑβahmāṯ zaošāṯ ... baxšaitī* alternatively 'gives away (to a person) far removed from Thy approval'.

(9) *vohū as manō* 'Thou sendest good thought', # 31,4:2 *aŋhən* 'they will have sent out truth'.

34,9. 7+9 (*ā̃rmaitīm*); 7+8 (*duš.šiiaoϑànā*); 7+9.

(1) *ārmaitīm ϑβahiiā ... bərəxδąm vīdušō* 'right-mindedness (which is) esteemed by [gen.] Thy knowing one', # 44,7:2 *bərəxδąm ... ārmaitīm* 'esteemed right-mindedness', 48,6:1 *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō bərəxδē* 'O (right-mindedness), esteemed by good thought', 32,9:6 *išTīm ... bərəxδąm hāitīm vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'command (which is) esteemed by good thought', 51,17:1 *bərəxδąm mōi ... kəhrpām* '(his) body esteemed by me'.

(2) *ϑβahiiā bərəxδąm vīdušō* 'esteemed by Thy knowing one', →31,17:3 *vīduuå vīdušē mraotū* 'let the knowing one speak to the knowing one'.

(3) *auuazazaṯ* 'they abandon, they let go', vs. st. 10 *gərəbąm* 'to grasp'; # V 5,17 *āpəm zazāmi ... zraiiaŋhaṯ haca vourukašāṯ* 'I let out the water from Lake Vourukaša', cf. Ved. *jáhāti* from root *hā* 'to desert, abandon, relinquish'; →30,10:6-7 *zazəntī* 'they will win'.

(4) *vaŋhāuš əuuistī manaŋhō* 'by ignorance [lack] of good thought', →st. 7:2 *vaŋhāuš vaēdənā manaŋhō* alternatively 'by knowledge [possession] of good thought'.

(5) *maš* 'a great one, master, chieftain' is the nom.sg.m. of *maz-* 'great, mighty'. Here, it is used in a positive sense, but ironically in 32,3:1 *yascā vå maš yazaitē* 'and the (alleged) master who worships You'; →49,1:5 *mazištō* 'elder, chieftain'.

(6) *ašā* is opposed to *xrafstrā* 'beasts'. For this reason it has to be a nom.pl. 'truths' rather than instr.sg. The pl. is here used in the concrete meaning 'manifestations or realisations of truth' (§ 4.7). On the pl. of *aša-*, →48,1:3 *yezī adāiš ašā drujəm vəŋghaitī* 'if through these (activities) truths may defeat deceit'; # 38,2:4 *ārmataiiō*.

(7) *aēibiiō maš ašā siiazdaṯ* 'far from them, a master shall chase away truths', # RV 1,79,12 *rákṣāṃsi sedhati* 'chases away the evil beings'.

(8) *siiazdaṯ ... ahmaṯ aurunā xrafstrā* 'he shall chase away from us the fierce beasts', # RV 1,105,11 *sedhanti pathó vṛ́kam* 'they chase the wolf off from the path'. Ved. *sedhanti* is ind. of the pres. *sedha*, but OAv. *siiazdaṯ* is sbj.aor. of the pres. *sīždiia-*. In the act., the meaning must be trans. 'to chase away': Yt 19,84 *imąm daēnąm āstaota dušmainiiūm sīždiiō* '(Vištāspa) vowed himself to this religion, chasing away the bad-spirited one', RV 6,47,29 *ápa sedha śátrūn* 'chase away the enemies', 10,98,12 *ápa rákṣāṃsi sedha* 'chase away the evil beings'. The intr. meaning 'to flinch' is evidently restricted to the mid.; # 32,4:5 *vaŋhāuš sīždiiamnā manaŋhō* 'flinching from good thought'.

(9) *siiazdaṯ ... aurunā xrafstrā* 'he shall chase away the fierce beasts', cf. *auruna-* 'fierce' vs. *sižra-* 'shy' of animals in Yt 8,36 *aurunaca gairišācō sižraca rauuascarātō* 'the fierce (beasts) living in the mountains, and the shy ones roaming through the plains'. A similar meaning of *auruna-* is found in Yt 14,23 *maēšahe ... aurunahe* 'of an aggressive ram'. In most of its occurrences, the meaning of the etymologically related Ved. *aruṇá-* has approached *aruṣá-* 'red'. Thus, RV 1,105,18 *aruṇáḥ ... vṛ́kaḥ*, originally 'the fierce wolf', is understood as 'the reddish wolf'.

34,10. 7+9/10 (*šiiaoϑànā, gərəbám/gərəbą̃m*); 7+9 (*ā̃rmaitīm*); 7+9 (*vòiiaϑrā*).

(1) *ahiiā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō šiiaoϑanā gərəbąm* 'to grasp the actions of this good thought' (→27,13:11) is opposed to st. 9 *spəntąm ārmaitīm auuazazaṯ* 'they abandon prosperous right-mindedness'. For the inf. in *-ąm*, →32,6:4 *vīdąm*.

(2) *ārmaitīm dąmīm ... hiϑąm aŋahiiā* 'right-mindedness, the creative partner of truth', →31,8:1 *vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō ... haiϑīm aŋahiiā dąmīm* 'the father of good

thought, the true creator of truth', # Vr 19,2 *dąmīm ... yąm ārmaitīm spəṇtąm* 'the creative one who (is) prosperous right-mindedness'.

(3) *hiθąm ... vōiiaθrā* 'partner ... protective means', →48,7:6-9 *aṣ̌ā viiąm yehiiā hiθāuš nā spəṇtō* 'let (him) whose partner is the prosperous man be protected by truth'.

(4) *tācā vīspā ... θβahmī ... xšaθrōi ā vōiiaθrā* 'all those protective means (found) in Thy power', # 49,5:4 *tāišcā vīspāiš θβahmī xšaθrōi* 'and with all those in Thy power' (§ 15.18).

34,11. 7+8; 7+8; 7+9/10 (*θβôi.ahī/θβôi.ahī*).

(1) *aṯ tōi ubē hauruuåscā xᵛarəθāi.ā amərətatåscā* 'both, integrity and immortality (serve) Thee as food', → st. 1 *yā yasnā amərətatātəm aṣ̌əmcā taibiiō dåŋhā xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō* 'the worship through which Thou takest for Thyself immortality and truth and the power of integrity'; →33,8:4-6 *dātā vā amərətåscā ... hauruuatās draonō* 'integrity is offered to You (as) an oblation as well as immortality' (§ 14.3-5).

(2) *aṣ̌ā maṯ ārmaitiš vaxšt utaiiūitī təuuīšī* 'right-mindedness along with truth makes both, stability and might(iness) grow', # 48,6:2 *aẋiiāi aṣ̌ā mazdå uruuarå vaxšaṯ* 'for her the Wise One shall make the plants grow with truth'; →31,6:7 *xšaθrəm hiiaṯ hōi vohū vaxšaṯ manaŋhā* 'the power which he shall make grow with His good thought'; *aṣ̌ā maṯ ārmaitiš* also in 48,11; # 44,7:3 *xšaθrā maṯ ārmaitīm.*

(3) *tāiš* 'with (all) these' is masc. or neutr., not fem. as are the majority of refreshments and Ahurian qualities mentioned previously.

(4) If *vīduuaēšąm θβōi.ahī* stands for **vīduuaēšəm θβiiehī/θβaiiehī* 'Thou makest (our) enemies tremble' (# Yt 10,37 *āiθīm ... θβiiąmca* 'fear and trembling'), it must have been wrongly restored at an early time from a sandhi text (§ 10.5.4). However, the meaning 'enemy' of **vīduuaēša-* is hypothetical. YAv. *viṯbaēšah-* means 'resisting enmity' (= Ved. *vidveṣas-*), cf. YAv. *viduuaēštuua-* which is one of the names of Ahura Mazdā. Ved. *vidveṣa-* [AV] means 'hatred, contempt, aversion'.

34,12. 7+9; 7+9 (*rāšnąm*); 7+8 (*xᵛaẽtəŋg*).

(1) *rāzar/rāšn-* is a sacrificial term such as 'prayer' in Yt 13,157 *staomāca rāzarəca barəṇtu daθušō ahurāi mazdāi* 'let them offer praises and prayers to the creator

Ahura Mazdā'. In the Gāθās, the sacrificial meaning of the word is certain in 50,6:5 *raiθīm stōi mahiiā rāzəŋg* 'to serve (as) charioteer of my prayer'. Cf. the hapax Ved. *rājáṅ-* in RV 10,49,4 where Indra says *ahám bhuvaṃ yájamānasya rājáni*, which, however, according to Geldner should mean 'ich trat für die Herrschaft des Opferers ein' ['I stood for the rule of the sacrificer'].

(2) *srūidiiāi ... frāuuaocā* 'proclaim, so that (we) may hear (it)', # 45,5:1 *frauuaxšiiā ... vacā srūidiiāi* 'I shall (now) proclaim the word to be listened to'.

(3) *yā vīdāiiāṯ aṣ̌īš* 'how [instr.sg.] one will distribute the rewards', or (with reference to Aṣ̌i): 'who [nom.sg.f.] will distribute the rewards'; # 43,12:10 *aṣ̌ī ... yā vī aṣ̌īš ... vīdāiiāṯ* 'along with (personified) reward who [nom.sg.f.] will distribute the rewards'.

(4) *aṣ̌īš rāšnąm* 'rewards for (our) prayers', →28,4:8 *aṣ̌išcā šiiaoθananąm* 'rewards for (our) actions' [or: 'rewards (consisting) of actions']; # st. 15:1 *išudəm stūtō.*

(5) *sīšā nå ... paθō vaŋhāuš xᵛaētəŋg manaŋhō* 'show us the paths of good thought, easy to travel', →43,3:3 *yā nå ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paθō sīšōiṯ* 'who might show us the straight paths of benefit', 53,2:5 *dåŋhō ərəzūš paθō* 'the straight paths of gift(-giving)'; # 51,16:4 *vaŋhāuš padəbīš manaŋhō* 'on the paths of good thought'.

(6) *paθō ... xᵛaētəŋg* 'the paths easy to travel', # RV 4,55,4 *pánthām ... suvitáṃ gātúm* 'the path, the way easy to travel'.

34,13. 7+8; 7+9 (*daẽnå, saošiianṭąm, ùrùuāxšaṯ*); 7+9 (*cəùuištā, hudå̃biiō*).

(1) *təm aduuānəm* 'that way' specifies the preceding *paθō* 'paths'. It is still governed by the verb *sīšā* 'show' of the preceding stanza.

(2) *daēnå saošiianṭąm* 'the religious views of the benefactors' can be understood as a synecdoche for 'the benefactors', # 46,3:2 *saošiianṭąm xratauuō* 'the intellects of the benefactors' (§ 15.8).

(3) *təm aduuānəm ... yā* ⁺*hūkərətā* 'that well-adorned way along which', # RV 1,35,11 *pánthāḥ ... súkṛtāḥ* 'well-adorned paths'.

(4) *təm aduuānəm ... daēnå saošiianṭąm yā ... uruuāxšaṯ ... mīždəm* 'that way along which the religious views of the benefactors proceed [3rd pl.inj.aor.] towards the prize', # 44,8:4-5 *kā mā uruuā vohū uruuāxšaṯ āgəmaṯ.tā* 'along which (road) may my soul proceed [3rd sg.sbj.aor.] towards the good (things) to come'.

(5) *hiiaṯ cəuuištā hudå̃biiō mīždəm* 'towards the prize which You accord [commit] to the munificent ones', # 51,15:1 *hiiaṯ mīždəm zaraθuštrō magauuabiiō cōišt parā*

'(with) the prize which Zaraθuštra has promised to the sacrificers'. In *cəuuištā* 'You accord', the monosyllabic *cəuuiš-* is an inverse spelling for *cōiš-*, derived from a pattern such as YAv. *yōišta-* < OAv. **yəuuišta-* 'youngest' (= Ved. *yáviṣṭha-*). The same phenomenon is found with *cəuuīšī* in the difficult 51,15:6 *tā vā vohū manaŋhā aṣāicā sauuāiš cəuuīšī* (§ 10.7.2).

(6) *hiiaṯ cəuuištā ... mīždəm ... yehiiā tū daθrəm* 'towards the prize which You accord and of which Thou (art) the award', →31,3:1 *yąm dā̊ mainiiū āθrācā aṣācā cōiš ... xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest by (Thy) spirit and (Thy) fire, and which Thou accordest through truth'; # 44,19:1 *yastaṯ mīždəm hanəṇtē nōiṯ dāitī* 'he who will not award such a prize to him who deserves it'.

(7) *yehiiā tū daθrəm* 'of which Thou (art) the (personified) award', →28,9:6 *yūžəm ... xšaθrəm* 'You (are) the power' (§ 15.9.1). The short *a* in *daθra-* 'award' is perhaps inexact for long *ā*, cf. 31,14:5 *dāθra-* 'gift' (= Ved. *dātrá-*).

34,14. 7+8/9 (*vairī̃m, dā̊tā/dā̃tā*); 7+8 (*šiiaoθànā*); 8+9.

(1) *taṯ ... vairīm* 'this desirable (possession)' refers to the preceding *mīždəm* 'prize'; →54,1:5 *vairīm hanāṯ mīždəm* 'will deserve a desirable prize'. At the same time, it anticipates *xšmākąm hucistīm* 'Your good insight'.

(2) *gəuš vərəzənē aziiā̊* 'in the community of the fertile cow', # 35,8:3 *aṣahiiā vərəzənē* 'in the community of truth', 36,1:1 *ahiiā ... āθrō vərəzənā* 'with the community of this fire'.

(3) *xratəuš aṣā frādō vərəzənā* 'in accordance with the intellect which promotes the communities with truth', →44,20:13 *aṣā vāstrəm frādaiŋhē* 'to promote pasture with truth'; # 46,12:3 *tūrahiiā ... ārmatōiš gaēθā̊ frādō θβaxšaŋhā* 'of Tūra (who was) promoting with zeal the herds of right-mindedness'.

34,15. 7+8 (*šiiaoθànācā*); 7+8; 7+9 (*dā̊*).

(1) In case *išudəm stūtō* means 'invigoration (consisting) of praise', it is a paraphrase of *stūtəm* 'praise'; # 31,14:4 *išudō dāθraną̊m* 'invigorations (consisting) of gifts' which is a paraphrase of *dāθrā* 'gifts' (§ 15.7). However, the phrase is ambiguous insofar as *išudəm stūtō* can also mean 'invigoration (in recompense) of the praise' (# st. 12:4 *aṣīš rāšną̊m* 'rewards for our prayers') which would allude to the sacrificial fee, an allusion to be expected in the final stanza of the hymn (§ 13.8.7).

(2) *fərašəm vasnā* 'brilliant in one's *imagination'. The rendering of *vasnā* by 'in one's *imagination' fits all of its occurrences, but it is a pure guess. *vasnā* cannot be from the root *vas/us* 'to wish', from which one would expect **vašnā* (as OP. *vašnā* 'by the will/favour'). V 16,4 *pauruuō.vasna šiiaoθna* 'intentionally' [lit. 'by an action previously intended'], which has been compared, seems to be corrupt; cf. the reading *pauruuō.vašta šiiaoθna* found in Vyt 26, 40. Etymological connexion of *vasnā* with Ved. *vasná-* 'price, value' ('brillant through its value') would be tempting from several points of view.

(3) *fərašəm vasnā haiθiiəm dā̊ ahūm* 'make real the existence (which is) brilliant in (my) *imagination', # Yt 19,19 *yōi frašəm vasna ahūm daθən* '(the Ameša Spəṇtas) who will grant the existence (which is) brilliant in (our) *imagination', 19,11 *daθaite †frašəm vasna aŋhuš* 'the existence (which is) brilliant in (our) *imagination is granted', Yy 55,6 *staota yesniia ... frašəm vasna ahūm daθāna* 'the Staota Yesniya which get the existence (which is) brilliant in (our) *imagination'.

(4) For a similar reference to the perfection, renovation and transfiguration of the world, →30,9:1-2 *yōi īm fərašəm kərənāun ahūm* '(those) who will make existence brilliant'. Closer to the present passage are, however, 46,19:2 *yā mōi aṣāṯ haiθīm hacā vərəšaitī hiiaṯ vasnā fərašō.təməm ... gauuā azī* 'he who, in accordance with truth, will make real for me what (is) most brilliant in (my) *imagination, (viz.) two fertile cows', 50,11:4 *haiθiiā.vərəštąm hiiaṯ vasnā fərašō.təməm* 'realisation of what (is) most brillant in (my) *imagination'. Both of them are in a final stanza, and refer to Zaraθuštra's sacrificial fee (§ 13.3).

Yasna 35-41: *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*

35,2. - (1) *iiadacā aniiadacā* recalls Yy 57,33 *iδaṯca ainiδaṯca* 'here and not here' [= 'here and elsewhere'] (§ 15.11.1). This suggests reading *iiadacā an-iiadacā* rather than *iiadacā anɨiadacā* (*anɨiadā* from *anɨia-* 'other') as preferred by Narten 87-88[33].

(2) *naē-naēstārō* 'non-abusers [= praisers]' (but Narten 91f. 'nicht sind wir Tadler') varies the preceding *aibī.jarətārō* 'welcomers' with which it is more or less synonymous (§ 15.5, § 15.11.3); # Yt 13,89 *zaraθuštrō ... staoṯ aṣəm nāist daēuuō* 'Zaraθuštra (who) praised truth (and) abused [= rejected] the Daēvas', →32,0 (§ 5.3.5).

(3) We follow Narten 92-94 in reading *yaθə-nā* < *hiiaṯ-nā* instead of Geldner's *yaθa-nā* (§ 10.7.2), but we are in doubt about her analysis of the phrase *naēnaēstārō yaθə-nā vohunąm* as a relative construction replacing **naēnaēstārō aēšąm yā vohū*, similar to 31,22:2 *hudāŋhē yaθənā vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā* 'for the munificent one who accepts (them) with (his) thought' (→ 27,14:5 *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi*). In our opinion, the *hiiaṯ* disguised in *yaθənā* of the present passage is not the rel. particle but the conjunction *hiiaṯ*, shifted from the first to the second position (§ 16.16.2): *naēnaēstārō yaθənā vohunąm mahī* stands for **yaθənā naēnaēstārō vohunąm mahī* 'as we are non-abusers of the good (things)'.

35,3. - (1) We cannot follow Narten 96[34] in reading *varəmaidī* 'we have decided [chosen]' instead of Geldner's *vairimaidī* 'we would decide [chose]'. The variant *varəmaidī* is most probably influenced by the same form in 32,3, while *vairimaidī*, a correct 1st pl.opt., is not attested elsewhere.

(2) Reading the phrase *aṣā srīrā* as a compound *aṣā.srīrā* 'O (Thou who art) beautiful through truth', with instr.sg. as first member, eliminates the difficulties discussed by Narten 95f.

(3) *mainimadicā vaocōimācā vərəzimācā* 'we might conceive, pronounce and perform', # 39,4:1 *māŋghācā vaocascā dåscā varəšcā* 'Thou didst conceive, pronounce, establish and work; →45,3:4 *yōi īm vā nōiṯ iθā mąθrəm varəšəṇtī yaθā īm mənāicā vaocacā* 'those among you who will not apply the formula in the way in which I shall conceive and pronounce it'.

(4) *yā hātąm šiiaoθananąm vahištā ɨiiāṯ* 'the actions that might be the best (among the actions) of those who exist' [or: 'the best among the existing (actions)']; →

44,10:3 *tąm daēnąm yā hātąm vahištā* 'that religion which (is) the best (among the religions) of those who exist'.

(5) *vahištā ... ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'the best (actions) ... for both existences', →35,8:7 *jɨjišąm vahištąm ... ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'the best search for refuge for both existences'.

35,4. - (1) *gauuōi adāiš* is modernised > YAv. *gauue aδāiš* in the quotations Yy 71,25, Vr 22,1, V 11,6.

(2) The dem.pron. *adāiš* refers back to *šiiaoθananąm vahištā* 'the best of actions', and it also anticipates *tāiš šiiaoθanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* 'through the actions that (are) the best'. Narten 104f. considers *adāiš* a sandhi form for *aṯ āiš* (§ 10.5.3), # 48,1:2 *yezī adāiš* 'if through these (activities)' [or: 'if with those (present)'].

(3) *gauuōi ... rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi* 'to establish peace and (to provide) a pasture for the cow', →29,10:6 *yā hušaitīš rāmąmcā dāṯ* 'by which one may establish peace'; # 47,3:4 *aṯ hōi vāstrāi rāmā.då* 'establishing peace for her pasture', cf. YAv. *rāman- xᵛāstra-* 'peace provided with good pasture'.

(4) *fraēšiiāmahī ... dazdiiāi* 'we urge (them) to establish', # 49,6:2 *frō vå fraēšiiā ... mrūitē* 'I urge You to tell (us)'.

35,5. - (1) The stanza is used in A 3,6 +*huxšaθrō.təmāiciṯ aṯ xšaθrəm cīšiiāṯ yaṯ ahurāi mazdāi* ... [quotation of 35,5] ... *dātō hē miiazdō ratufriš* '(the priest) should commit the power to the best ruler, Ahura Mazdā; the due sacrificial food has been offered to him'.

(2) *huxšaθrō.təmāi bā aṯ xšaθrəm ... dadəmahi(cā) ... hiiaṯ mazdāi ahurāi* 'we assign [offer] the power to the best ruler who (is) the Wise Ahura', →27,13:16 *dazdā ... xšaθrəm ... ahurāi.ā* 'the power is assigned to the Ahura'.

(3) *xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā* 'we assign [offer] and commit the power', → 31,3:1 *då ... cōiš* 'Thou apportionest [assignest] (and) accordest [committest]'; # 39,4:2 *vohū ... aθā tōi dadəmahī aθā cīšmahī aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē* 'thus we offer Thee the good (things), thus we commit (them to Thee), thus we worship Thee with them', 41,1:2 *stūtō ... ahurāi mazdāi dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ācā āuuaēdaiiamahī* 'we offer, and we proclaim, and we dedicate praises to the Wise Ahura'.

(4) *xšaθrəm ... cīšmahi(cā)* 'we commit the power', # 44,6:4 *taibiiō xšaθrəm vohū cinas manaŋhā* 'through good thought (right-mindedness) commits the power to Thee', 45,10:4-5 *hiiaṯ hōi aṣā vohucā cōišt manaŋhā xšaθrōi* 'in the power which one has committed to Him through truth and good thought', Yy 19,14 *xšaθrəm ahurāi cinasti* 'commits the power to the Ahura' (→27,13:1). For mid. *cīšmaide* Vr 12,2.4, →41,3:3.

(5) *xšaϑrəm ... huuaŋnmahi(cā)* 'we delegate the power', # 31,15:2 *yə drəguuāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī* 'who delegates power to the deceitful one'.

(6) *xšaϑrəm ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī* stands, with a shift of the rel.pron., for **xšaϑrəm hiiaṯ ahmaṯ aibī* 'the power which (is) with us' (§ 15.16); # 40,1:5 *xrapaitī ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī* 'that which has form with us'. The phrase *ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī* recalls RV 1,139,8 *asmád abhí* = 5,33,3 *abhí asmád* 'as far as we are concerned' [Geldner: 'von uns aus', Narten 272 'soweit es an uns liegt']. Narten 108[89] calls it 'eine Art Bescheidenheitsausdruck', but that does not seem to fit the actual situation, in which the sacrificers delegate their own power to Ahura Mazdā. The postp. *aibī* + abl. is also found in 35,10:2 *staotā(iš) staotōibiiō aibī* 'with a praise above (all other) praises'.

(7) *huxšaϑrō.təmāi ... hiiaṯ mazdāi ahurāi* 'to the best ruler, who (is) the Wise Ahura', →27,14:5 *ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣ̌āi vahištāi* 'to (it) which (is) best truth'.

35,6. - (1) *nā vā nāirī vā* 'man or woman' also in 41,2:4, → 54,1:2 *nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā zaraϑuštrahē*, # Yt 11,4 *nā vā nāiri vā*. 46,10:1 has *nā gənā vā*.

(2) Narten 112-117 did not clearly see that this section is characterised by a magical play of words, for which an appropriate rendering is difficult to find: *yaϑā ... haiϑīm* 'just as ... true', *aϑā haṯ* 'being (true) so', *yaϑā īṯ astī* 'just as it is (true)'.

(3) *haiϑīm (sc. maŋϑrəm)* '(some) true (formula)', # 31,6:5 *haiϑīm maŋϑrəm* 'the true formula'; *vərəziiōtūcā īṯ (sc. haiϑīm) ahmāi* 'let him apply the (true formula) for Him', # 45,3:4 *yōi īm vā nōiṯ iϑā maŋϑrəm varəšəṇtī* '(for those) among you who will not apply the formula' [or: (for those) who will not apply the formula for You'].

(4) *əəādū* 'grain, seed grain', cf. Sogd. $^{32}\delta wk$ 'grain' (Emmerick, *TPS* 1966, 1ff.); → 29,7:6 *əəāuuā*. Differently Narten 111-114.

(5) *vərəziiōtūcā īṯ ahmāi* 'let him apply it for Him'. The translation 'let him apply it for himself' (cf. Narten 117[20]) would require the mid.; →51,1:6 *taṯ nā nūcīṯ varəšānē* 'that I will provide for us right now'.

(6) *yaϑā īṯ astī* 'just as it is (true)' seems to be a paraphrase for *haiϑiia-* 'true'. Thus, *yōi īṯ aϑā vərəziiąn yaϑā īṯ astī* '(to those others) who wish to apply it just as it is (true)' perhaps actually means 'those who wish to make it real'; # 46,19:1 *yə ... haiϑīm ... varəšaitī* 'he who will make real'.

35,7. - (1) *yasnəmcā vahməmcā* 'worship and laudation', →53,2:4 *xšnəm mazdå vahmāi.ā ... yasnąscā* 'the recognition of the Wise One for (His) laudation, and (His) worship [pl.]'; cf. the pair YAv. *yasniia- vahmiia-* 'worthy of worship (and) worthy of glorification', e.g. in Yy 1,19 *yazataēibiiō -... yōi həṇti yasniiāca vahmiiāca aṣ̌āṯ haca*

yaṯ vahištāṯ 'the Yazatas who are worthy of worship and worthy of glorification in accordance with best truth'. Narten 118[26] also quotes Man.MP. *yasn ud wahm.*

(2) *yā.tā isāmaidē* 'as much as will be in our command', →28,4:10 *yauuaṯ isāi* 'as much as will be in my command'. According to G. Klingenschmitt apud Narten 119-120, *yā.tā* is abl.gen.sg. of a hapax *yāṇt-* < **yā-aṇt-* <**ya-Hant-* 'as much/long as' (~ *yauuaṇt-*, Ved. *yávant-*). Cf. the corresponding nom.acc.sg.n. *yāṯ* in 32,4:1, 36,6:6.

35,8. - (1) The verb *sar* is usually rendered 'to associate oneself with', the noun *sar-* by 'association'. The current etymology, accepted by Narten 301, involves a connexion of the verb with Ved. *śrīṇáti* 'mixes, mingles, cooks', and of the noun with Ved. *āśír-* 'mixing, mixture' (especially of the milk which is mixed with the Soma juice to purify it). Both of these, however, are kitchen terms, whereas *sar-* has a sociological dimension. *sar-*, which we render by 'shelter' (YAv. also 'enclosure'), is actually related to Ved. *śárman-* 'shelter, protection, refuge, safety' ("wofür sich aber keine Stütze findet" as Narten 301[48] says): *aṣ̌ahiiā ... sairī* 'in the shelter of truth', # RV 2,2,12 *syāma tē ... śármaṇi* 'may we be under Thy protection', 1,4,6 *syā́méd índrasya śármaṇi* 'may we be under Indra's protection'; 31,21:3 *būrōiš ā aṣ̌aϫiiācā xᵛāpaiϑiiāṯ xšaϑrahiiā sarō* 'from His own mighty shelter of truth and power', 49,8:2 *aṣ̌ahiiā ... sarəm* 'shelter of truth', 49,3:3 *vaŋhāuš sarə ... manaŋhō* 'shelter of good thought'; →41,6:1-2 *tauuacā sarəm aṣ̌aϫiiācā* 'Thy shelter and that of truth'. The rendering of *sar-* by 'association' is justified in its reflexive or reciprocal use found in the instr. construction only: 49,9:2 *sarəm ... drəguuātā* 'shelter by [association with] the deceitful one', →32,2:2 *sārəmnō vohū manaŋhā* 'sheltered by [associated with] good thought', or: 'sheltering [associating] himself with good thought'.

(2) *aṣ̌ahiiā sairī aṣ̌ahiiā vərəzānē* 'in the shelter of truth (and) in the community of truth' recalls V 15,17 *yezi taṯ frajasāṯ aṇtarə sairi varəzāne* 'if that happens in the enclosure (and) in the community'. The meaning 'enclosure' of *sar-* suggested here is not only corroborated by 29,3:3 *sarəjan-* 'deliverer' [lit. 'breaker of shelters or enclosures'], but also by V 3,8.12 *sairi nikante spānasca irista maṣ̌iiaca irista* 'dead dogs and dead men buried in an enclosure', 7,45.47 *sairi maṣ̌iia iriste zəmē niδāite* 'dead men laid down upon the earth in an enclosure'.

(3) *aṣ̌ahiiā vərəzānē* 'in the community of truth', →34,14:2 *gəuš vərəzānē aziiå* 'in the community of the fertile cow', # 36,1:1 *ahiiā ... āϑrō vərəzānā.*

(4) *ǰīǰišā-* 'endeavour to win, search for refuge' = Ved. *jigīṣá-* 'endeavour to win, desire of obtaining' (cf. Narten 120-124).

(5) *aṣahiiā sairī ... kahmāicīṯ hātąm jīŋišąm vahištąm ādā* 'He has declared the best search for refuge, for anyone among those who exist, (to be) in the shelter of truth', # RV 1,186,4 *námasā jigīṣáṫ* 'in reverence (and) and with an endeavour to win'; →39,1:2 *yōi nå jīŋišəṇtī* '(the animals) which seek refuge with us'; Yy 21,1-2 *hātąm yasnəm cinasti yaϑa haδbīš jīŋišąm* '(the word) *hātąm* (in the Yeŋhē Hātąm formula) describes worship as a search for refuge (undertaken) by those who exist' (→ 27,15:1). (Differently Narten 124: 'mit dem Wort *hātąm* "von denen, die es gibt" bestimmt man (den Spruch) als (ihre) Verehrung, so wie als Wunsch nach Gewinn mit Hilfe derjenigen, die es gibt'.)

(6) *ādā* 'He has declared', cf. pl. *ādarə* 43,15:7 (cf. Narten 125-127).

(7) *vahištąm jīŋišąm ... ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'the best search for refuge for both existences', # 35,3:3.

35,9. - (1) *imā ... vacå* 'these (preceding) words', # RV 4,38,10 *imā́ vácāṃsi* found at the end of hymn (Narten 127f.).

(2) *imā āṯ uxδā vacå ... frauuaocāmā* 'we wish to proclaim these statements (and) words' [= 'these words (which are) statements'], # Yt 11,4-6 *yasca ... imaṯ uxδəm vacō frauuaocāṯ ... imaṯ uxδəm vacō framruiiå* 'and he who will pronounce this word (which is) a statement, ... mayest Thou pronounce this word (which is) a statement'. More YAv. occurrences of the hendiadys *uxδa- vacah-* are listed in AirWb. 381. That these are not simply borrowed from the present passage, as Narten 127 wants, is to be seen in YAv. *uxδō.vacah-* 'advocate' (PhlT Gl in Vr 3,3: *jādaggōw*): F 3f *uxδašna mašiiō vaŋhå yaϑa daŋrō uxδō.vacå* 'a man who knows (how to interpret) the statements (of the law) is better than he who is (only) clever in quoting them'.

(3) The true meaning of *uxδā vacå* is furthermore elucidated by the apposition *aṣəm* '(namely) truth', or: '(as) truth'. (Erroneously Narten 40 'wir wollen diese Worte als feierliche Sprüche an [!] die Wahrheit verkünden', as if *aṣəm* were a dat.)

(4) *manaiiā vahehiiā* 'with better devotion', if *manaiiā* is an instr.sg. of a hapax *manā-* = Ved. *manā́-* 'devotion, zeal, eagerness'; →32,1:4 *mahmī manōi.*

(5) *aēšąm (sc. vacaŋhąm) paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā* '(as) their listener and teacher'. The etymological meaning of *paitiiāstar-* is 'receiver' (Narten 129-133 'Empfänger', from *paiti-ā-dā*), but the actual Av. meaning is 'listener, hearer, examiner'; →53,3:2 *vaŋhāuš paitiiāstī[m] manaŋhō* 'in obedience to good thought'.

(6) *fradaxštar-* 'teacher' (here in the sense of 'commentator'); →31,17:6 *vaŋhāuš fradaxštā manaŋhō* 'teacher of good thought', # 51,3:4-5 *uxδāiš ... yaēšąm tū pouruiiō ... fradaxštā ahī* 'by the statements the first teacher of which Thou art'.

35,10. - (1) Narten 133-36 convincingly explains *staotāiš* as **staotā āiš*, but she does not realise that in this case, *āiš* most likely continues the preceding *aēšąm* which itself refers to *imā uxδā vacå.*

(2) *staotā(iš) ... staotōibiiō aibī* 'praises above (all other) praises' (§ 15.3.2), # 35,5:6 *ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī.*

36,1. - (1) *ahiiā ... āϑrō vərəzānā* 'with the community of this fire', →35,8:3 *aṣahiiā vərəzānē* 'in the community of truth', 34,14:2 *gāuš vərəzānē aziiå* 'in the community of the fertile cow'.

(2) *paouruiiē* 'at first, primarily' [or: 'in the primal (stage of our existence)'], # 30,3:1 *mainiiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of one's existence'), 44,19:6 *kā təm ahiiā maēniš aŋhaṯ pauruiiē* 'what chastisement will befall him in (his) primal (existence)?' (§ 12.1.6.1).

(3) *yə ā axtiš ahmāi yəm axtōiiōi dåŋhe* 'which (is) pain(ful) to him whom Thou mayest seize for pain(ful treatment)', not: 'whom Thou wilt deliver to painful treatment by somebody else' as Narten's rendering suggests ('den du für das Übel bestimmst'). Ahura Mazdā himself does injury to the culprit with the help of his fire. For this use of the mid. of *dā*, →46,8:1 *yə vā mōi yå gaēϑå dazdē aēnaŋhē* 'he who aims at my herds to injure them'; # 46,18:6 *ąstāŋg ahmāi yə nå ąstāi daidītā* 'harm [pl.] for him who would aim at us in order to harm (us)'.

(4) In *yə ā axtiš* 'which (is) pain(ful)', *axti-* 'pain' is used metonymically (§ 15.9).

36,2. - (1) *yātāiiā* is dat.sg. of *yāta-* 'share' (→30,1:9 *aṣā.yecā* < **aṣāiia-cā*). The meaning 'share' of *yāta-* is made certain by A 3,11, V 19,29 *yātəm gaēϑanąm* 'share of property' (cf. N 42, F 4f), MP. *jādag* 'share, portion'. For the meaning 'sacrificial share', cf. Sogd. *y'tk* 'meat'. (Differently Narten 149-156: *yāta-* 'Bitte'.)

(2) From the climax *yātāiiā ... mazištāi yåŋhąm*, it is evident that *yāh-* is, to a certain degree, synonymous with *yāta-* 'share'. In this connexion, cf. also YAv. *yāskərət-* (superl. *yāskərəstəma-*) 'cutting off the shares' (said of the Fravaṣis and the Sacred Formulas) where *°kərət-* means 'cutting' as it also does in YAv. *nasūm.kərət-* 'cutting dead bodies'. Yet, *yāh-* perhaps not only means 'share' itself but also 'distribution of shares, sharing (of good things)': →30,2:6-7 *parā mazə yåŋhō* either 'before the great share' (local), or: 'before the great sharing (of good things)' (temporal); 46,14:3 *yāhī* 'at the sharing (of good things)' [or: at the share']. (Differently Narten 149-156: *yāh-* 'Bitte'.)

(3) The textual nexus of *yāh-* 'share, sharing' with *uruuāzā-* 'delight' found in the present passage recalls the similar nexus in 30,1-2 *yā raocābīš darəsatā uruuāzā ... parā mazā yå̊ŋhō* 'what delight (is) to be seen through the lights ... before the great sharing (of good things)'.

(4) *uruuāz<a>iiā* in *uruuāzištahiiā uruuāz<a>iiā* 'with the delight of the most delightful one' is no doubt the instr.sg. of *uruuāzā-* 'delight'. The corruption of the original **uruuāzaiia* into the transmitted †*uruuāziiā* is due to perseveration of the preceding *uruuāzištahiiā* (§ 10.7.4). (Differently Narten 147[48], who follows Insler in posing a stem *uruuāzi-* with an instr. in *-iiā* as in classical Skt., taking 30,1 *uruuāzā* as loc.sg.)

(5) *uruuāzišta-* 'most delightful' is one of the five kinds of fire enumerated in Yy 17,11: *bərəzisauuah-*, *vohu.friiāna-*, *uruuāzišta-*, *vāzišta-* (→st. 3:1), *spəništa-*.

36,3. - (1) *vāzišta-* 'most substantial', →31,22:5 *vāzištō astiš* 'most well-provided guest', # st. 2:5.

36,5. - (1) *nəmaźiiāmahī išūidiiāmahī* 'we reverence (and) invigorate Thee' recurs in 38,4 and 39,4. The pres. *išūidiiā-* 'to invigorate' is a denominative from 31,14:2 *išud-* 'invigoration'.

36,6. - (1) *sraēštąm aṯ tōi kəhrpām kəhrpąm* 'the most beautiful body among Thy bodies', # RV 1,113,1 *idáṃ śréṣṭaṃ jyótiṣām jyótiḥ* 'this (light here on earth), the most beautiful light among lights' (of Uṣas), 10,170,3 (of Sūrya); cf. Narten 164.

(2) *sraēštąm aṯ tōi kəhrpām kəhrpąm āuuaēdaiiamahī imå̊ raocå̊* 'these lights here we dedicate to Thee (so as to be) the most beautiful body among (Thy) bodies'. Thus, if *āuuaēdaiiamahī* has the same technical meaning here as in 41,1:2 *stūtō garō vahmāṇg ahurāi mazdāi dadəmahicā cišmahicā ācā āuuaēdaiiamahī* 'praises, welcomes (and) laudations we offer, proclaim [commit] and dedicate to the Wise Ahura' (# 35,5:3). Otherwise: 'we make known these lights (to be) the most beautiful among (Thy) bodies'. (Cf. Narten 163f.) As a matter of fact, the basic meaning 'to make known, show, display' of *āuuaēdaiia-* cannot be clearly separated from its technical meaning 'to dedicate'; # RV 10,151,1 *śraddhåm ... vácasā vedayāmasi* 'with (our) speech we display (our) faithfulness'.

(3) *imā raocå̊* 'these lights (here)' refers to the Sacred Fire. On the one hand, fire is considered as a manifestation of Ahura Mazdā's body, on the other hand, it is dedicated to Him. This is contradictory in the logic but not in the mystical point of

view. Differently Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 1959, 293: "By *imā raocå̊* 'these lights (here on earth)' daylight is meant ... In the mind of the author ... *imā raocå̊* is identical with *barəzištəm ... auuaṯ ... huuarə*, daylight being, as it were, the sun on earth"; yet, therewith the problem of the meaning of *yāṯ* remains unresolved.

(4) *barəzištəm barəzəmanąm auuaṯ ... huuarə* 'that most elevated among the elevated (over yonder), the sun', # Vr 19,2 *huuarə barəzištəm barəzimanąm* , F 4b *auuaṯ huuarə* 'that sun (over there)'. A similar figure of speech is RV 4,25,4 *nára náryāya nṛ́tamāya nṝṇ̊ám* 'to the manly man, to the manliest among men' (cf. Narten 165).

(5) Instead of Geldner's reading *barəzištəm barəzimanąm* the expected *barəzištəm barəzəmanąm* is well attested in the variants to the present passage (mss. K5, J2, etc.) The inexplicable variant *barəzimanąm* is no doubt corrupted by perseveration of the preceding *barəzištəm* (§ 10.7.4). The corrupt *barəzimanąm* has also crept into the textual transmission of Vr 19,2 where Geldner gives no variant. OAv. *barəzəman-* lit. 'elevation, elevated thing' is etymologically the same as YAv. *barəsman-* 'sacrificial twigs' < 'sacrificial grass, layer', cf. Ved. *barhís-* 'sacrificial twigs' = Av. *barəziš-* 'bed, layer, cushion'.

(6) Unless one reckons with the conjunction *yāṯ* 'ever since' shifted from its initial position to a position within the subordinate clause (§ 15.16.2), a plausible translation of this section is impossible. Thus, *barəzištəm barəzəmanąm auuaṯ yāṯ huuarə auuācī* must be understood in the sense of **yāṯ barəzištəm barəzəmanąm auuaṯ huuarə auuācī* 'ever since that most elevated among the elevated (over yonder) was named Sun' (similarly Narten 164-167).

(7) *yāṯ huuarə auuācī* 'ever since it was named Sun' [= 'since it was created by Ahura Mazdā by pronouncing the word *huuarə*']. For *yāṯ* 'since', →35,7:2 *yā.tā*. Differently: 32,4:1 *yāṯ yūš tā framīmaδā* 'in so far as You order'.

37,1. - (1) *yā gąmcā aṣ̌əmcā dāṯ apascā dāṯ uruuarå̊scā vaŋᵛhīš raocå̊scā dāṯ* 'he who created the cow and truth, (who) created the waters and the good plants, (who) created the lights', # 44,4:2 *kā (sc. dərətā) apō uruuarå̊scā* 'who (holds) the waters and plants?', 44,5:2 *kā huuāpå̊ raocå̊scā dāṯ təmå̊scā* 'which artist created both light and darkness?'; →51,7:1 *yā gąm tašō apascā uruuarå̊scā* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow, the waters and the plants'; # Yt 13,88 *gąmca aṣ̌əmca*, Yy 58,4 *gəušcā ⁺aṣ̌aŋhācā*.

37,2. (1) *yasnanąm pauruuatātā* 'with the pre-eminence of worship(s)', # 33,14:3 *dadāitī pauruuatātəm manaŋhascā vaŋhāuš* 'offers the pre-eminence of good thought'.

(2) *yōi gəuš hacā šiieintī* 'those who dwell in accordance with (the needs of) the cow' [= 'who live in accordance with the requirements of cattle-breeding']; # arch. Yy 12,3 *fərā maniiaēibiiō rāŋhē vasā.yāitīm vasā.šəitīm yāiš upairī āiia zəmā gaobīš šiieiṇtī* 'I wish to provide roaming and dwelling at will for the house-mates along with the cattle with which [instr.] they dwell on this earth'. (Narten 175f. erroneously: 'die [instr. for nom.] über diese Erde hin mit den Rindern leben'.)

37,3. - (1) *tām aṯ āhūiriiā nāmānī ... yazamaidē* 'we worship Him (pronouncing His) Ahurian names', # Yt 13,79 *nāmāni āpō yazamaidē* 'we worship the waters (pronouncing their) names'; →51,22:7 *tą yazāi xᵛāiš nāmānīš* 'those I will worship with my own people, (pronouncing their) names'.

(2) *āhūiriiā nāmānī mazdā.varā* 'the Ahurian names dear to (Him), the Wise One' [= 'the names of the Ahura, dear to (Him) the Wise One', 'the names of the Wise Ahura which are dear to Him']. Differently Narten 176-178, who suggests 'the names of the Ahuras [pl.], (which are) dear to the Wise One'. However, the figure of speech is similar to that in Yy 12,1 *mazdaiiasnō ... ahura.ṯkaēšō* 'worshipper of Mazdā, professing (His), the Ahura's doctrine' [= 'worshipper of Ahura Mazdā, professing His doctrine']. Cf. also YAv. *āhūiriia- ṯkaēša-* 'the Ahurian doctrine' which is certainly not the doctrine of the Ahuras in general, but that of Ahura Mazdā himself; # 27,13:17 *mazdāi ... ahurāi*, 29,5:8 *ahurāi.ā ... mazdąm* (§ 15.14.2).

(3) *azdəbīšcā uštānāišcā* 'with (our) bones and vitalities', # Yy 55,1 *vīspå gaēθåsca tanuuasca azdəbīšca uštānąsca kəhrpasca təuuīšīšca* 'all (our) herds, bodies, bones, vitalities, figures and mights' etc., Yt 13,129 *astuuå ... uštanauuå* 'corporeal (and) vital' (→44,2:4); →31,11:3 *astuuaṇt- uštāna-* 'corporeal life'.

37,5. - (1) *fsəratū-* f. 'enjoyment, joy', cf. Ved. *psáras-* 'enjoyment, delight'. *fsəratū-* seems to be due to a feminine personification of a masc. **fsəratu-*, formed from the root *fšar/fsṛ* (cf. Khot. *ṣṣar* 'to exhilarate') in the same way as *xratu-* 'intellect' from the root *²kar* 'to remember'. # 33,12:1-4 *dasuuā ... fsəratūm* 'take joy', 51,4:2-3 *kuθrā ... fsəratus ... axštaṯ* 'where will joy arise'. The suffix *-tū* recalls Greek *-tṻs* in *daitṻs* 'meal', *edētṻs* 'food',

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38,2. - (1) *īžā-* 'abundance, milk-libation' is used metaphorically as the name of a mythical person of female sex in 50,8:3 *padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiå* 'with footsteps which (in our tradition) are proclaimed as those of (personified) abundance' (§ 11.5.4).

(2) *yaošti-* < **yaožd-ti-* 'purification, conservation' comes from *yaoždā* 'to purify, conserve, make durable', cf. the root noun *yaoždā-* in 48,5 *yaoždå ... ząθəm* 'purifying birth'. In the same way *fərašti-* 'brillance' < **fražd-ti-* from *fraždā* 'to make brillant', attested in Yt 12,1 *kaṯ mąθrahe spəṇtahe arš.dātəm kaṯ fraždātəm* 'what of the holy formula is plainly established, what is brillantly established?' The nouns *yaošti-* and *fərašti-* are likely to be pre-forms of YAv. *yaoxšti-* and *fraxšti-*. For the respective meanings, cf. Yt 8,8 *vāta ... yaox<š>tiuuaṇtō* 'fresh winds', Yt 10,65 *fraxšti.då ... āzuiti.då* 'granting brillance (and) granting fat'. (A complicated discussion in Narten 197-203.)

(3) The series of words *īžå yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiiō* 'abundances, purifications, brillances [illuminations], right-mindednesses' recalls 49,10:4 *nəmascā yā ārmaitīšcā īžācā* 'the reverence with which right-mindedness and abundance (are associated)'. In our translation we follow Narten 194-197 according to whom the series effectively means 'women [female entities] such as (personified) abundance, purification, strengthening and right-mindedness'. However, the pl. *ārmataiiō* could as well mean 'manifestations of right-mindedness'; → 33,9:7 *uruuąnō* 'souls' [i.e. 'manifestations of souls'], 34,9:6 *aṣā* 'truths' [i.e. 'manifestations or realisations of truth'].

(4) *īžå yaoštaiiō* etc., all of which are clearly nom., are most likely to be pendent nominatives; # 33,10:2 *vīspå stōi hujītaiiō*. (Differently Narten 195f.)

38,3. - (1) *maēkaiiaṇtīšcā hābuuaṇtīšcā* 'tasty and juicy'. The reading *maēkaiiaṇt-* is Narten's who, comparing Lat. *mīcāre* 'to twinkle, sparkle, glitter', suggests the meaning 'glittering, blinking' (cf. also MP. *²mēzišn* 'blinking, twinkling'). We prefer 'tasty', cf. MP. *¹mēzīdan* > NP. *mazīdan* 'to taste, suck, sip'.

(2) *hābuuaṇt-* 'juicy' belongs with Ved. *sabar* in *sabar-dúh/dúghā-* 'yielding juice or sap or nectar'. It could be a derivative in *-uuaṇt-* from a hapax root noun *hab-*, but the parallel pres.part. *maēkaiiaṇt-* speaks in favour of Narten 211f. who refers it to a pres. stem *hābuua-*.

(3) *frauuazaŋhō ahurānīš ahurahiiā hauuapaŋhā* 'the Ahurānīs [Ladies] who flow forth owing to the artful work of the Ahura [Lord]' is an elaboration of the phrase **ahurānīš ahurahiiā*, the predecessor of YAv. *ahurānī- ahurahe* in # Yy 68,9 *ahurāne ahurahe* 'O Ahurānī of the Ahura'. (Differently Narten 212-218.) The nom.acc.pl. *ahurānīš* is preserved in. Aram. *²hwrnyš* = Greek *nýmphai* 'nymphs' in the trilingual inscription of Xanthos. (See Humbach, *Die aramäischen Nymphen*, 1981, 30-32).

(4) *vå ... cagəmā ... ubōibiiā ahubiiā* 'we present you (as support) for both existences': *cagəmā* is taken as the 1st pl. of an unredup. perf.act. *cag-*, attested in the

perf.part. *caguuå* 'extending' (46,2:4 *rafəδrəm caguuå* 'extending support'). If so, this perf. has pres. meaning in the same way as *vaēdā* 'I know'. Accordingly, *cagəmā* 'we extend' is to *caguuå* 'extending' as Ved. *vidmá* 'we know' is to OAv. *vīduuå* 'knowing'. The gen.sg. *cagədō* in 51,20:4 *mazdå rafəδrəm cagədō* 'of the Wise One who extends support' is perhaps from a stem *cagə-dā-*.

38,4. - (1) *ūitī yā və ... nāmąn dadāṯ ... tāiš vå yazamaidē* 'quoting the names which He gave you, we worship you with them', # 51,22:7 *tą yazāi xᵛāiš nāmānīš* if understood as 'those I will worship with their names'.

(2) *friiąnmahī* 'we appease you' [act.], but →29,5:3 *frīnəmnā* 'devoting ourselves' [mid.].

38,5. - (1) *azī-* 'fertile' (→29,5:5) and *agəniiā-* 'not to be killed', are technical terms of cattle-breeding, discussed by Narten 232-241.

(2) *vīspō.paitīš* is inexactly transmitted for correct **vīspō.pəitīš* (cf. PhlT in Av. letters *vīspōpit*), from *vīspō.pīti-* 'providing drink for all beings' (cf. Narten 241).

(3) *auuā* recalls YAv. *auua* 'but' which in V 6,43 introduces an adversative phrase with ellipsis of the verb. However, in the present passage *auuā* rather stands for *ā vā* 'so we do' in which the verbal prefix *ā* replaces a repetition of the entire verb *āuuaocāmā*. (Differently Narten 233-234 *auuā* 'I wish to further', cf. 44,7 *auuāmī*, with an unmotivated transition from the pl. *āuuaocāmā* into the sg. *auuā*.)

(4) *rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš* 'of (Your) long-armed munificence'. As gen.sg. of the bahuvrihi *darəgō.bāzu-* 'with long arms, long-armed' one expects **darəgō.bāzaoš*, while *darəgō.bāzāuš*, here transmitted without variant, would be the correct nom.sg. (# Yt 17,22 *hukərətō ... darəγō.bāzāuš* 'well-built (and) with long arms'.) For this reason, Narten 242f. operates with a nom.sg., even if no convincing translation is possible. The ending *-āuš* for correct *-aoš* is rather due to corruption. A similar problem is found with 48,4:3 *uštiš* [acc.pl.] for expected **uštīš*.

(5) *nāšū* is the loc.pl. of *nās-* 'arrival, attainment' (cf. Narten 247). For the length of the vowel cf., particularly, the compounds *ahu.nās(a)-*, *aša.nās(a)-*, *vahišta.nās(a)-* 'attaining existence, truth (and) the best (things)' in V 18,6.

(6) Narten is probably right in dividing Geldner's reading *nāšū paitī.viiādå paitī.sāṇdå* into *nāšū paitī* 'at the arrivals' and *viiādå paitī.səṇdå* 'pleasant distributors'. As to *paitī.səṇda-* 'pleasant, well-disposed', →51,14:5 *ā.səṇda-* 'ill-disposed'.

(7) In the present passage, we have the agent noun *¹viiādā-* 'distributor', but an action noun *²viiādā-* 'distribution, bestowal' is found in Yy 60,2 *xšnūtasca aŝaiiasca viiādaibišca paiti.zaṇtaiiasca* 'satisfactions, rewards, distributions, recognitions' (cf. also P 39).

(8) In *jīti-* f. 'gain, vitalisation', both *¹jīti-* 'act of gaining, gain, victory' (= Ved. *jíti-* 'id.') and *²jīti-* 'vitalisation, vitality' have merged. (Differently Narten 44 *jīti-* 'lebendig'.) That is manifest in Az 1 *āfrīnāmī tauua nara daŋhu.paiti vohu.jīti us.jīti darəγəm.jīti* 'I wish Thee, O lord of the land, gain of good things, complete victory, long-lasting vitality'. There, *vohu.jīti-* 'gain of good things' (cf. Ved. *vasujít-* 'gaining wealth') and *us.jīti-* 'complete victory' (cf. Ved. *újjiti-* 'id.') no doubt belong with *¹jīti-*, but *darəγəm.jīti-* 'long life' belongs with *²jīti-* (cf. A 1,12 *darəγəm juua* 'live long', 1,8 *darəγō.jītīm uštānahe* 'long-lasting vitality of life'); →33,10:1 *vīspå stōi hujītaiiō* 'in order for all good gains [vitalisations] to be available (to Thee). *¹jīti-* 'gain' is unambiguously found in Yy 62,4 *dāiiå mē ātarš āsu.xᵛāθrəm āsu.θrāitīm āsu.jītīm pouru.jītīm* 'mayest Thou grant me prompt comfort, prompt protection, prompt gain, much gain'.

(9) *jītaiō* is used metonymically in the sense of '(personified) gains [vitalizations]' (§ 15.9.2).

39,1. - (1) *ahmākāṇg ... urunō pasukanąmcā* 'our own souls and (those) of the domestic animals', but 45,9:5 *pasūš vīrāṇg ahmākāṇg* 'our cattle and men'.

(2) *pasukanąm(cā) yōi nå jījišəṇtī* 'of the domestic animals which seek refuge with us', # V 15,13 *hanąm ... jījišaŋᵛha pərəsaŋᵛha* 'resort to an old woman and consult her', 15,14 *jījišāitī pərəsāiti* 'she may resort to her and consult her'. The desiderative pres. *jījiša-* 'to seek refuge, to resort to' corresponds to Ved. *jigīṣa-* 'to try to win' in RV 10,4,3 *jigīṣase paśúr ivāsṛṣṭaḥ* 'You try to win (pasture) like an animal set free', cf. Ved. *jigīṣú-* 'trying to win' (cf. Narten 120-124); →35,8:5 *vahištąm jījišąm* 'the best search for refuge'.

(3) *yaēibiiascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiiō ā aŋhən* '(those which seek refuge with us) to whom they may belong and who may belong to them' (cf. Narten 252). A similar expression of reciprocity is found in 40,3:3 *ahmaibiiā.ahmā.rafənaŋhō* (§ 15.3.1).

39,2. - (1) *urunō pasukanąmcā ... daitikanąmcā aidiiūnąm hiiaṯ urunō* 'the souls of the domestic animals, and the souls of those wild animals that are harmless' (*aidiiu-* 'harmless', →40,3:1). The second half stands for **daitikanąmcā hiiaṯ aidiiūnąm urunō*; it shows a shifting of *hiiaṯ* which here clearly modifies *aidiiunąm* (§ 15.16.2). The rel. particle *hiiaṯ* replaces dissyllabic forms of the assimilated rel.pron. only (→27,14:5

ahmāi hiiaṯ aṣāi vahištāi). In the present passage, it does not, therefore, replace monosyllabic *yāṇg* (**yāṇg urunō*, assimilated < **yōi uruuānō*) but rather dissyllabic *yaēšąm* (**daitikanąm yaēšąm aidiiunąm*, assimilated < **daitikanąm yōi aidiiauuō*).

(2) The section is quoted in Yt 13,154 *daitikanąmca aiδiiunąm yaṯ urunō* etc., and it is used in Yt 13,74 *urunō yazamaide, pasukanąm yazamaide, daitikanąm yazamaide* (cf. Narten 252-254).

(3) *kudō.zātanąmcīṯ* (Yt 13,154 *kuδō.zātanąmciṯ*) 'wherever they were born' or, more exactly: 'also of those who were born anywhere' (cf. Narten 255-256).

(4) Instead of *yaēšąm vahehīš daēnå vanaiṇtī vā vāṇghən vā vaonarə vā* 'whose better views do prevail, or will prevail, or have prevailed' (§ 15.4.1), the quotation Yt 13,154-155 has *vanaṇtī vā vəŋhən vā vaonarə vā ... vanəṇtąm vaŋhəṇtąm ↑vaonāšąm.*

39,3. - (1) *yōi vaŋhāuš ā manaŋhō šiieiṇtī* '(those) who dwell by the side of good thought', # 47,5:6 *akāṯ ā šiiąs manaŋhō* 'since he dwells by the side of evil thought', → 37,2:2 *yōi gəuš hacā šiieiṇtī* '(those) who dwell in accordance with (the needs of) the cow'.

39,4. - (1) *yaϑā tū ī māṇghācā vaocascā dåscā varəšcā yā vohū* 'just as Thou didst conceive, and pronounce, and create, and work (all) the good (things)', # 35,3:3 *hiiaṯ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā ... vahištā* 'that we may conceive, pronounce, and perform the best (actions)'.

(2) *aϑā tōi dadəmahī aϑā cīšmahī* 'so we offer (them) to Thee, so we commit [assign] (them to Thee)', →35,5:3-5 *xšaϑrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā* 'we assign [offer] commit and delegate the power'; # arch. Yy 12,1 *ahurāi mazdāi ... vīspā vohū cinahmī* 'I commit all good (things) to Ahura Mazdā'.

39,5. - (1) *vaŋhāuš xᵛaētəuš xᵛaētātā* 'with the relations of a good family', Yy 20,1 *parā ahmāi vohū vahištəm cinastī yaϑa xᵛaētauue xᵛaētātəm* 'one ascribes to it (truth) the best (of what is) good, just as one (ascribes) family relations to a family' (→ 27,14:1). (Differently Narten 265f.)

(2) *vaŋhāuš xᵛaētəuš ... vaŋhāuš aṣahiiā ... vaŋhuiiå fsəratuuō vaŋhuiiå ārmatōiš* forms a series of four possessive genitives. (Differently Narten 265.)

40,1. - (1) *āhū ... paitī adāhū* 'at [or: in recompense for] these apportionments', → 33,11:2-3 *ādāi kahiiācīṯ paitī* 'at any apportionment', 27,15:4 *yesnē paitī* 'at worship'.

(2) *mazdąm kərəšuuā* 'gain knowledge (of)' is rightly compared by Narten 271 with RV 10,44,4 *ójaḥ kṛsva* 'assume strength', 8,46,24 *akṛta śrávaḥ* 'he acquired renown', 1,10,7, 8,64,1 *kṛṇuṣvá rā́daḥ* 'assume favour, make favour to be Thine, become favourable'. Yet, Narten's translation 'erweise Deine Weisheit' neither accounts for the meaning of the root *kar/kṛ* nor for its mid. form. A similar structure is found in 33,12:1 *təuuīšīm dasuuā* 'take might, put on might'.

(3) Narten 270f. rightly concludes from Ved. parallels (→n. 1) that *mazdąm* is not an inf. (in imv. function), but the regular acc.sg. of *mazdā-* f. 'wisdom, knowledge' (→ 28,1:9 *mazdā-* 'wise', 30,1:8 *humązdra-* 'well-learned', cf. also Ved. *sumedhā́-* 'wise, intelligent'). Thus, we do not have to coordinate *mazdąmcā ... kərəšuuā* but *mazdąmcā būiricā*. In this case, however, the two coordinated members *mazdąm* and *būirī* are not homogeneous: *mazdąm* is a noun whereas *būirī* is an adj., acc.sg.n. or acc.pl.n. of *būiri-* 'much, abundant'. Narten tries to solve the puzzle by supposing a nominalized *būiri-* n. 'abundance' ['Fülle'] but such a formation seems to be unparalleled. It is more likely that *būirī* is an adv. 'much, abundantly, often' as Ved. *bhū́ri* is at times. We are obviously concerned with a zeugma (# 44,4:1) in which the one verb *kərəšuuā* is used in two different constructions: *mazdąmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 'gain knowledge and (do it) largely'. The zeugma is the result of an elaboration, using pleonastic *-cā*, from **mazdąm būirī kərəšuuā* 'assume knowledge largely' (§ 15.1.3); # RV 8,23,21 *bhū́ri póṣaṃ sá dhatte* 'he obtains prosperity largely'.

(4) *rāiti-* here means 'munificence' (# Yy 60,5 *vainīṯ ahmī nmānē ... rāitiš arāitīm* 'in that house munificence may overcome miserliness'), but 'bestowal' in 33,7:8 *civrå rātaiiō* 'bright bestowals'.

(5) *rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī* stands, with a shift of the rel.pron., for *hiiaṯ ... xrapaitī ahmaṯ aibī* 'that which has *form with us' (§ 15.16.3); →35,5:3 *xšaϑrəm ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī* 'the power which (is) with us'.

(6) The translation '*has form' of *xrapaitī* is based upon a possible etymological connexion with *kərəp/kəhrp-* 'form, body'. Cf. Narten 274, who adduces Ved. *kalp* 'to be adapted to, to be in accordance with' ('soll sich gestalten'). Other possible connexions are with Khw. *karb-* 'to moan, mumble', or Khw. *xarb* 'to go (into the water)' for which cf. "Skt." *kharbati* 'moves' (Dhātup.).

(7) *mīždəm mauuaēϑəm* 'the firm prize' (also in 41,5) stands for *mīždəm *auuaēϑəm*. The unoriginal *m* of *[m]auuaēϑēm* is of the same type as that in 48,12 *aēšəm.mahiiā* for **aēšəmahiiā* from *aēšəma-* 'wrath'; # 44,20:12 (alternatively:) *hīm [mɲzən*, 53,3:2 *paitiiāstī[m] manaŋhō* (§ 10.5.4). For the translation 'firm' of **auuaēϑa-*, cf. Ved. *ávithura-* 'not staggering, firm', but **auuaēϑa-* < *auua-iϑa-* from

auua-ai/i 'to come down, to attain' would be possible as well. (Narten 274-276 believes in Bartholomae's conjecture **mauuaiϑīm*, deriving this from a hypothetical hapax **mauuaiϑiia-* 'appropriate to people such as me'.).

40,2. - (1) *huuō nā dāidī* 'do Thou grant us', # 28,1:2 (§ 15.13.1).

(2) *ahmāicā ahuiiē manaźiiāicā* 'for both this (corporeal) existence and the mental one', # 28,2:4 *ahuuå astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, the corporeal one and that of thought'.

(3) *yā taṯ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā haxāmā aṣaźiiācā* 'through which we might reach that, (namely) Thy fellowship and (that) of truth', # 41,6:1 *yā taṯ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm aṣaźiiācā* 'through which we might reach that, (namely) Thy shelter and (that) of truth'; 49,3:6 *sarā ... haxməŋg* 'shelter, fellowship'; →35,8:1-2 *aṣahiiā sairī* 'in the shelter of truth'.

(4) *vīspāi yauuē* 'for all time', →28,8:3.

40,3. - (1) *aidiiu-*, cf. Ved. *ádyu-* 'innocuous, harmless' in RV 7,34,12 *ádyuṃ kṛṇota śáṃsaṃ ninitsóḥ* 'make [pl.] innocuous the curse of the calumniator'. In 39,2:1 *aidiiu-* means 'harmless' of animals, but in the present passage, it has the exclusively positive meaning 'good-natured' (§ 15.11.3). (Differently Narten 281.)

(2) *īžiia-* 'abundant', →41,3:2-3 *humāim ϑβā īžīm yazatəm* 'Thee, the blessed (and) abundant Yazata'.

(3) The end of the section, which was read *ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafənaŋhō* by Geldner, makes more sense if one supposes a compound *ahmaibiiā.ahmā.rafənaŋhō*, shortened from **ahmaibiiā.rafənaŋhō ahmā.rafənaŋhō* '(those) who offer support to us (and) enjoy support from [instr.] us'. Cf. the similar expression of reciprocity in 39,1:3 *yaēibiiascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibiiō ā aŋhən* 'both to us, to whom they may belong, and (to us), who may belong to them (§ 15.3.1). (Differently Narten 269.)

40,4. - (1) Narten 281-285 separates *xᵛaētūš* 'families' from thje subsequent *vərəzānā ... haxəmąm* 'communities (and) fellowships', appends it to the preceding section, and takes it as a blunder for a nom.sg. **xᵛaētuš* 'family'. However, *aϑā xᵛaētūš aϑā vərəzānā aϑā haxəmąm źiiāṯ* 'thus may the families be, thus the communities, thus the fellowships' is a clear and unelaborated example of a climax closely related to the climax *xᵛaētu- vərəzāna- airiiaman-* (§ 15.10), in which *xᵛaētūš* must be a nom.pl.

(2) *xᵛaētūš* 'families' is the nom.pl. of a stem *xᵛaētuš-* n., a metaplasm of the well-attested *xᵛaetu-* m. (For the plur. in *-ūš*, cf. 34,7:3 *sāŋghūš.*) The metaplasm

xᵛaētuš- is based on a re-interpretation of the nom.sg.m. *xᵛaētuš* as nom.sg.n. Cf. 43,7:6 *tanuši(cā)*, loc.sg. from *tanuš-*, a metaplasm of *tanu-* 'body' (in 33,10:7 *tanûm*), which itself is a metaplasm of *tanū-* 'body' (in 46,8 *tanúuām*). The nom.pl.n. *xᵛaētūš* instead of the nom.pl.m. **xᵛaētauuō* 'families' is syntactically required by the parallel with the nom.pl.n. in *vərəzānā ... haxəmąm* 'communities ... fellowships', which according to rule requires the 3rd sg. *źiiāṯ* of the predicate verb, an agreement which would be disrupted by a nom.pl.m.

(3) *vā utā* contains the loc.sg. of a hapax *ūiti-* 'help, favour' (= Ved. *ūtí-*), rather than the particle *utā* 'and, also, too' with which Narten 284f. operates, and which is attested in 35,6 *yaϑā āṯ utā nā vā nāirī vā* only. Narten translates *aϑā vā utā źiiāmā* by 'und möchten wir so die euren sein' for which, in contrast to what precedes, one would have expected the emphatic pronoun *vaēm* 'we' (**aϑā vā utā vaēm źiiāmā* 'thus also we ourselves may be Yours'). If we are right, RV 1,57,5 *táva smasi* 'we are thine' [not **te smasi*] and other (non-)parallels adduced by Narten must be discarded.

(4) For *ərəšiia-* cf. the proper name YAv. *arəšiia-*. PhlT *rāst* 'right' connects *ərəšiia-* with the adv. *ərəš* 'straight' (< **ərəz-s*). This would make good sense, but it is just a popular etymology. Narten 284[51] derives *ərəšiia-* from 31,5:3 *ərəši-* 'enthusiast', takes *ərəšiiā* as a nom.pl. and renders *aṣauuanō ərəšiiā* by 'als Wahrhafte, Gottbegeisterte'. However, in this case *ərəšiia-* would be actually synonymous with *ərəši-*, which seems very unlikely. For this reason, *ərəšiiā* is considered here as an instr.sg.f., to be taken with *rāitī* ('with enthusiastic bestowal'). Or to be read **ərəšiiā* < **ṛcyā* (cf. Ved. *ṛc-* 'verse')?

(5) In *ištəm rāitī* 'with bestowal of (what is) desired', the action noun *rāiti-* has verbal government; →51,18:2 *ištōiš xᵛarənå* 'quest for glory'.

41,1. - (1) *stūtō garō vahməŋg* 'praises, welcomes, (and) laudations', cf. the elaboration in 34,2:5 *vahmē ... garōbiš stūtąm* 'at the laudation (which is performed) with welcomes (consisting) of praises'.

(2) *stūtō ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ācā āuuaēdaiiamahī* 'we offer, and we proclaim [commit], and we dedicate praises', # 35,5:2-6 *xšaϑrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā* 'we assign [offer], and we commit, and we delegate the power'; →36,6:2 *āuuaēdaiiamahī* 'we dedicate' [or: 'we make known'], # Yy 4,1-2 *ima humatāca hūxtāca huuarštāca ... pairica dadəmahī āca vaēδaiiamahī ... āaṯ dīš āuuaēδaiiamahī ahurāica mazdāi* 'these (our) well-thought (thoughts) etc. we offer and dedicate; thus, we dedicate them to Ahura Mazdā'.

41,2. - (1) *vohū xšaϑrəm tōi ... apaēmā* 'may we reach Thy good rule [dominion]', →33,5:5 *apānō ... xšaϑrəm vaŋhəuš manaŋhō* 'having reached the power [dominion] of good thought'. Why not **vohū tōi xšaϑrəm apaēmā*?

(2) *apaēmā* by haplology < **apaiiaēma*. (Differently Kellens, *Le verbe avestique*, 1984, 365[1]).

(3) *huxšaϑrastū nə ... xšaētā* 'may a good ruler thus assume rule over us', →48,5:1 *huxšaϑrā xšəṇtąm* 'let good rulers assume rule (over us)'.

(4) *nā vā nāirī vā* 'man or woman', →35,6:1.

(5) *hudāstəma-* 'most munificent' is superl. of *hudāh-* 'munificent', lit. 'of good gifts' (= Ved. *sudā́s-*); → 30,3:8 *hudåŋhō nōiṯ duždåŋhō* 'the munificent, not the miserly'. Narten 285-287 derives *hudāh-* from an unattested **sudhā́s-* 'of good works, beneficent'. However, *dā* < *dhā* neither means 'to work' nor 'to do'. If *hudāh-* actually has a connotation such as 'beneficent', this must be due to internal development of the meaning in Av.

(6) *hātąm hudāstəmā* 'O most munificent one among those who exist', # Yt 13,152 *zaraϑuštrəm ... hātąm hudāstəməm* 'Zaraϑuštra, the most munificent among those who exist', which describes the prophet as both a very good sacrificer to Ahura Mazdā and a very good provider of gifts for men; →45,6:2 *yə hudå yōi həṇtī*.

41,3. - (1) *humă̊iia-* adj. 'blessing, blessed, blissful' (of persons and of things), cf. *mă̊iiā-* subst. 'blessing, bliss'; → 43,2:4 *vaŋhəuš māiiå manaŋhō* 'blessings of good thought', # Vr 9,1-2 *haomanąm ... auua baēšaza hacimnanąm yā humāiiehe aṣaonō yā humāiiehe pairi.jaϑnō* 'of the Haomas which belong with the (medical) remedies of the blessed truthful one, (and with those) of the blessed travelling priest'. Cf. also the proper name YAv. *humă̊iiā-*, and MP. *humāy* 'a bird of good omen, eagle'.

(2) *īžiia-* 'abundant', from *īžā-* 'abundance' (→50,8:2-4).

(3) *humāim ϑβā īžīm yazatəm ... dadəmaidē* 'we elect Thee, the blessed, abundant Yazata', # Vr 12,2-4 *humaiia upaŋhå cīšmaide ahunahe vairiiehe ... hāuuanaiiåsca ... aršuxδanąmca vacaŋhąm ... srauuaŋhąmca zaraϑuštrinąm huuarštanąmca šiiaoϑnanąm barəsmanąmca ... haomanąmca ... staotanąmca yesniianąm daēnaiiåsca māzdaiiasnōiš mąϑβanąmca vaxəδβanąmca varštuuanąmca aϑa zī nə humāiiōtara aŋhən* '(taking them as) blessed, we take care of the *application(s) of the Ahuna Vairiya, of the mortar, of the plainly-spoken words etc.; thus, indeed, they will be for us even more blessed'; 12,4 *humaiia aēta dāmąn dadəmaide humaiia cīšmaide humaiia mainiiāmaide yą daϑaṯ ahurō mazdå ... aϑa zī nə humāiiōtaraca īžiiōtaraca å̊ŋhāma yāiš spəṇtahe mainiiəuš dāmąn yaṯ hīš humaiiaca īžiiāca cinaϑāmaide* '(taking them as) blessed, we elect those

creations which Ahura Mazdā created, (taking them as) blessed, we take care (of them), (taking them as) blessed, we consider (them as) blessed; thus, indeed, we will be more blessed and abundant through the creations of the prosperous spirit, when we recognise (that) they (are) blessed and abundant'; 12,5 *humaiia nō buiiata hāuuana* 'become blessed to us, O mortars'. Note the mid. *dadəmaide ... cīšmaide* 'we elect (and) we take care of' as contrasted with the act. in 35,5:3 *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā* 'we offer [assign] and commit'.

(4) *nə gaiiiascā astəntåscā ẋiiå* 'mayest Thou be for us life and frame ["bone-ness"]' (§ 15.9.1), →31,11:3 *astuuaṇt- uštana-* 'corporeal life'.

41,4. - (1) *hanaēmācā zaēmācā ... ϑβahmī rafənahī darəgāiiāu* 'may we deserve (a prize) and may we win Thy long-lasting support', → 30,10:7 *yōi zazəṇtī vaŋhāu srauuahī* 'who will win good fame', # 28,6:3 *då darəgāiiū ... aojōŋhuuaṯ rafənō* 'strong support (as) a long-lasting gift' [or: '(as) a gift providing long life'].

(2) *aēšācā āmauuaaṇtascā buiiamā* 'may we become vigorous and impetuous', # 43,10:4 *hiiaṯ ϑβā xšaiiąs aēšəm diiāṯ āmauuaṇtəm* 'if one who exercises power might have made Thee vigorous and impetuous'.

(3) *darəgəmcā uštācā* 'for a long time and as we desire', # A 1,12 *darəγəm juua ušta juua* 'live long (and) live at will'.

41,5. - (1) *ϑβōi staotarascā mąϑranascšā ... aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* 'we declare ourselves Thy praisers etc.', # 50,11:1 *aṯ və staotā aojāi mazdā aŋhācā* 'I declare myself Thy praiser, and so I will be'. The Avesta-Pahlavi Text Aogəmadaēcā begins with the quotation *aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā*. For the rest of the section, →40,1.

41,6. - (1) *yā taṯ upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm aṣaẋiiācā* 'through which we might reach that, (namely) Thy shelter and that of truth', →40,2:3 *yā taṯ upa.jamiiāmā tauuacā haxəmā aṣaẋiiācā* 'through which we may reach that, (namely) Thy fellowship and that of truth'.

(2) *tauuacā sarəm aṣaẋiiācā* '(reach) Thy shelter and that of truth', →35,8:1-2 *aṣahiiā ... sairī* 'in the shelter of truth'.

Yasna 43-45: *Uštauuaitī Gāθā*

Yasna 43: *Uštauuaitī Hāiti*

43,0. Preliminary remarks.

In Y 43, which is introduced by an "Uštā-ness" (*Uštatāt*, →27,14:6), Zaraθuštra presents himself as meditating in front of the Sacred Fire. The structure of the hymn is characterised by the set phrase *spəntəm aṯ̰ θwā mazdā māŋhī ahurā* 'I realise that Thou art prosperous, O Wise Ahura', which occurs in sts. 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15. (§ 13.1.1). With this, one may compare the famous Varuṇa passage RV 7,88,2 *ádhā nv àsya saṃdṛ́śaṃ jaganvā́n agnér ánīkam váruṇasya maṃsi* where *asya* anticipates *agnér*: 'now that I have come into the range of its (the fire's) sight, I recognise the countenance of the fire as Varuṇa's.' The comparison suggests that in Y 43 the prophet is describing the pictures which his internal eye perceives at the sacrifice, and that he is thus allowing us to witness his meeting with Ahura Mazdā. The first occurrence of the set phrase in st. 5 is followed by the subordinate clause *hiiaṯ̰ θβā aŋhāuš zaθōi darəsəm paouruuīm ... dāmōiš uruuaēsē apāmē* 'when I see Thee, the primal one, (engaged) in the begetting of existence ... at the final turning point of creation'. This is closely related to 31,8:1 *aṯ̰ θβā māŋhī paouruuīm mazdā yazūm stōi manaŋhā vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō* 'I realise (that) Thou, the primal one, art youthful, O Wise One, through (Thy) thought, (Thou), the father of good thought'. Both, st. 5 and 31,8 describe the two contradictory aspects of Ahura Mazdā as simultaneously being very old and youthful. In sts. 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 the set phrase is enlarged by the line *hiiaṯ̰ mā vohū pairī.jasaṯ̰ manaŋhā* 'when one attends me with good thought'. As early as in the YAv. period, this gave rise to the re-interpretation of the hymn as describing the legendary encounter of Zaraθuštra with Vohu Manah who was sent to guide him to his first conference with Ahura Mazdā, described in Pahlavi literature (§ 11.2.4.0).

43,1. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*dāiiāṯ̰*); 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitē*); 4+7 (*gaē̃m*).

(1) The Uštatāt *uštā ... uštā ... vasə̄.xšaiiąs ... vasəmī* 'as desired ... the (things) desired ... ruling at will ... I wish' is related to both, 27,14:6-8 *uštā astī uštā ahmāi* 'as

desired the (things) desired are (available) to it' and 46,16:2 *yāŋg usuuahī uštā stōi* '(those) whom we wish to be as desired'. The first *uštā* ('as desired') of the present passage is likely to be the loc.sg. of the action noun *ušti-* 'wish, will', the second *uštā* ('things desired') is the nom.acc.pl. of the p.p.p. *ušta-* 'desired'.

(2) *ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāicīṯ̰ ... mazdå dāiiāṯ̰ ahurō* 'to him to whomsoever the Wise Ahura may grant the (things) desired', # 44,16:4 *ahmāi yahmāi vašī kahmāicīṯ̰* 'to him to whomsoever Thou wishest'.

(3) *dāiiāṯ̰* 'may grant' [sbj.], hardly 'might grant' [opt.], →29,7:5 *yə̄ ī dāiiāṯ̰ āəāuuā* 'who may bring them down'.

(4) *utaiiūitī təuuīšīm* 'might(iness) along with stability' (§ 15.18) is a poetical variation of the dual dvandva 34,11 *utaiiūitī təuuīšī* 'both, stability and might'.

(5) *aŋ̰əm dərəidiiāi* 'to seize truth', # 46,3:4 *darəθrāi ... aŋ̰ahiiā* 'to seize truth', 49,2:6 *dōrəšt ... ārmaitīm* 'seizes right-mindedness', 51,8:6 *aŋ̰əm dādrē* 'has seized truth'.

(6) *rāiiō aŋ̰īš* 'rewards (consisting) of wealth' [or: 'shares of wealth'] is a paraphrase of the acc.sg. *raēm* 'wealth' (§ 15.7).

(7) *vaŋhāuš gaēm manaŋhō* 'life of good thought', → 53,5:8 *ahūm yə̄ vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'existence which (is that) of good thought'.

43,2. 4+7 (*vīspaną̄m*); 4+7 (*xᵛāθrōiiā, xᵛāθrəm*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*ùrùuādaŋhā*).

(1) *ahmāi vīspaną̄m vahištəm ... xᵛāθrəm daidītā* 'may he obtain for himself the best of all (things), (namely) comfort', # 51,19:1 *ahmāi dazdē ... vahiiō* 'he obtains [elects] for himself that (power which is) the better one'.

(2) *xᵛāθrōiiā* < *xᵛāθrōi.ā* 'in (the domain of) comfort', understood as a sort of paradise on earth or in heaven. The same ending is found in 32,7:3 *hādrōiiā* 'sincerely', 51,8:4 *akōiiā* 'in (what is) evil'.

(3) *yå då aŋ̰ā*, # st. 4 *yå då aŋ̰īš*.

(4) *vaŋhāuš māiiå manaŋhō* 'the blessings of good thought', # Yy 10,12 *ā tē baēšaza irīraθarə vaŋhāuš manaŋhō maiiābiiō* 'Thy (Haoma's) remedies are linked with the blessings of good thought'; →41,3:1-3 *humā̆iia-* 'blessing, blessed' (of persons and things), 33,9:5 *xᵛāθrā maēθā maiiā* if this means 'together with comfort coupled with bliss'. Etymologically *māiiā-* 'blessing, bliss' seems to belong to Ved. *māyá-* 'wisdom, art, illusion, trick', but cf. also Sogd. *myʾkcyk* 'happy' which rather belongs to YAv. *maiiah-* 'lust' (cf. Ved. *máyas-* 'enjoyment, pleasure, delight').

(5) *vīspā aiiārə* 'on all days', # Yy 19,17 *vīspaiia.irina-* (< **vīspaiieirina-*) 'referring to all days', RV 1,52,11 *áhāni víśvā*, 1,130,2 *áhā víśvā* 'on all days'; → 34,6:3 *ahiiā aŋhāuš vīspā maēθā* 'on all days of this existence'.

43,3. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *vaŋhāuš vahiiō* '(what is) better than good' continues st. 2 *vīspaŋąm vahištəm* 'the best of all (things)'; →51,6:1 *vahiiō vaŋhāuš* (§ 15.3.2).

(2) *huuō nā* refers to a human person, but *θβāuuąs* 'one such as Thou' refers to Ahura Mazdā. Different is RV 2,20,1 etc. *tvávato nṛ́n* 'of a man such as thou (Indra)'.

(3) *yā nå ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paθō sīšōiţ* 'who might show us the straight paths of benefit', →34,12:5 *sīšā nå ... paθō vaŋhāuš xvaētāŋg manaŋhō* 'show us with truth the paths of good thought, easy to travel', 33,5:8 *ərəzūš paθō* 'straight paths', 53,2:5 *dåŋhō ərəzūš paθō* 'the straight paths of gift(-giving)'.

(4) *ahiiā aŋhāuš astuuatō manaŋhascā* 'of this corporeal existence and of (that) of thought', → 28,2:4 *ahuuå astuuatascā hiiaţcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, of the corporeal one and (that) which (is) of thought'.

(5) Since *haiθiiāŋg* is masc., it has to go with *paθō* m. 'paths' but not with *stīš* f. 'possessions'; →st. 13:5 *vairiiå stōiš* 'of a desirable possession'.

(6) *paθō ... haiθiiāŋg ā stīš* 'the true paths (leading) to the possessions' shows the prep. *ā* with acc., as distinguished from the postp. *ā* with abl. in 33,5:7 *aşāţ ā ərəzūš paθō* alternatively: 'the straight paths (starting) from truth'.

(7) *ərəzūš ... paθō ... yāŋg ā.šaēitī ahurō* 'the straight paths which an Ahura inhabits', # 33,5:9 *ərəzūš paθō yaēšū mazdå ahurō šaēitī* 'the straight paths on which the Wise Ahura dwells'.

(8) *arədra-* 'zestful' is compositionally linked with st. 4 *taxma-* 'brave'; # Yt 10,65 *āsuš ... arədrō ... taxmō ... vyāxanō* (→34,7:1).

43,4. 4+7; 4+6; 4+7 (*dă*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *hiiaţ ... hiiaţ* 'when ... when'. The second *hiiaţ* is pleonastic, repeating the first. Different is *hiiaţ ... hiiaţ* in 51,12:9.

(2) *θβahiiā ... āθrō aşā.aojaŋhō* 'of Thy fire (which is) strong through truth', # 34,4:1 *tōi ātrəm ... aojōŋhuuaŋtəm aşā* 'id.'

(3) *hiiaţ mōi vaŋhāuš hazā jimaţ manaŋhō* 'when the superiority of good thought will have come to me', # 29,3:10-12 *yahmāi ... jimā* '(he) to whom I will come'; → 44,1:8 *yaθā nā ā vohū jimaţ manaŋhā* 'so that one may come to us with good thought', 48,2:2 *parā hiiaţ ma ... pərəθā jimaitī* 'before the compensations will have reached me'..

43,5. 4+7; 4+7 (*paouruuīm*); 4+7 (*šiiaoθànā*); 4+7; 4+7; (*ùrùuaēsē*).

(1) *spəŋtəm aţ θβā ... māŋhī ... hiiaţ θβā ... darəsəm paouruuīm* 'I realise (that) Thou (art) prosperous, when I see Thee, the primal one', # 31,8:1 *aţ θβā māŋhī paouruuīm ... yazūm stōi* 'I realise (that) Thou, the primal one, art youthful' (→st. 0).

(2) *hiiaţ θβā aŋhāuš ząθōi darəsəm paouruuīm* 'when I see Thee, the primal one, (engaged) in the begetting of existence', →45,3:2 *aŋhāuš ahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal one of this existence'; # 48,6:3 *aŋhāuš ząθōi paouruiiehiiā* 'at the begetting of the primal existence' (§ 12.1.6.1); →30,4:2 *paouruuīm* 'primal (stage of his existence)'.

(3) *šiiaoθanā ... yācā uxδā* 'the actions and which (are) the statements' (§ 15.1.4).

(4) *akəm akāi vaŋ^{v}hīm aşīm vaŋhaouuē* 'evil to the evil one, (but) a good reward to the good one' (§ 15.3.3). Ahura Mazdā is the agent of the misfortune of the deceitful one, # 34,8:7 *θβahiiā mazdā ąstā uruuātahiiā* 'by the harmfulness of Thy rule'.

(5) *dāmōiš uruuaēsē apəmē* 'at the final turning point of creation', # 51,6:7 *apəmē aŋhāuš uruuaēsē* 'at the final turning point of (his) existence', Yy 71,15 H 1,15 *ustəme uruuaēse gaiiehe* 'id.' (with *gaiia-* as synonymous with *aŋhu-*). The noun *uruuaēsa-* 'turn, turning point' is a technical term within the field of horse-racing: Vyt 29 *aspa ... aparaţ haca uruuaēsāţ fratarəm uruuaēsəm nāšəmna* 'the horses which, (coming) from the back turn, reach the front turn'; →45,3:9 on *pauruiia-* vs. *apəma-*.

43,6. 4+7 (*ùruuaēsē*); 4+7 (*mazdă*); 4+7 (*šiiaoθànāiš*); 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš*); 4+7.

(1) *mazdå* is the lectio difficilior for Geldner's *mazdā*. As to *mazdå xšaθrā* 'wise through (Thy) power', # 45,9:4 *mazdå xšaθrā ... ahurō* 'the Ahura, wise through (his) power'. Also possible is 'O (Thou who art) wise through (Thy) power', →50,5:2 *mazdå aşā ahurā* 'O Ahura (who art) wise through truth'; # 51,3:3 *ahurō aşā* 'O (Thou who art) the Ahura through truth'.

(2) *vohū manaŋhā yehiiā šiiaoθanāiš* 'on account of good thought by the actions of which', # 50,9:2 *vaŋhāuš šiiaoθanāiš manaŋhō* 'with actions of good thought'; →

27,13:11 *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō šiiaoϑənaŋm*. If so, then *aēibiiō* in *aēibiiō ratūš sāŋghaitī ārmaitiš* must mean 'for those present, for those in question, for people' (§ 15.13.2).

(3) *gaēϑå aṣ̌ā frādəṇtē* 'the herds are promoted with truth', →44,10:4 *yā mōi gaēϑå aṣ̌ā frādōiṯ hacāmnā* '(that religious view) which in agreement with truth might promote my herds'.

(4) *ratūš ... ϑβahiiā xratāuš yəm naēciš dābiieitī* 'the judgments of Thy intellect which nobody (can) deceive', # Yt 12,1 *aδaoiiō ahi aδaoiiō.xratuš aδaoiiō vīspō.vīδβå* 'Thou art undeceivable, of undeceivable intellect, undeceivable (and) all-knowing', P 26 *aδaoiiamnəm aδaoiiamnāṯ xrataoṯ* 'undeceivable on account of (his) undeceivable intellect', Ved. *ádbhutakratu-* 'whose intellect is undeceivable'; 45,4:5 *nōiṯ diβžaidiiāi vīspā.hišas ahurō* 'the all-seeing Ahura (is) not to be deceived'.

43,7. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+8/9 (*daxšårā/daxšā̃rā*); 4+7.

(1) *hiiaṯ mā vohū pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā* 'when one attends me with good thought', # 28,2:2 *yā vå ... pairī.jasāi vohū manaŋhā* 'I who will attend You with good thought'. No reason for the difference in diathesis is recognisable, but the act. is also found in RV 9,98,7 *yó devā́n víśvān ... pári mádena sahá gáchati* '(Soma) who attends all gods with the intoxicant'; # Yy 60,12 *darəsāma ϑβā pairi ϑβā jamiiama* 'we wish to see Thee, we should like to attend Thee'; Yt 17,26 *pairi.tacaṯ pairi.jasaṯ aṣ̌iš vaŋᵛhi* '?',

(2) *ciš ahī kahiiā ahī* 'who art thou, whose art thou?', cf. Mahābhārata 13, app. 3,203 post. *ko'si kasyāsi* 'id.'; Yy 9,1 *ā dim pərəsaṯ zaraϑuštrō kō narə ahī* 'Zaraϑuštra asked him: who art thou, O honorable one?' In contrast to the Skt. passage, where *kasya asi* means 'whose descendant art thou?', the meaning of OAv. *kahiiā ahī* is 'whose partisan art thou?' For this, # Yy 10,16 *aṣ̌aonō ahmi druuatō nōiṯ ahmi* 'I am (a partisan) of the truthful one, I am no (partisan) of the deceitful one'.

(3) *aiiarə* [sg.] 'day, date' is the lectio difficilior for Geldner's *aiiārə* [pl.] 'days', which is influenced by st.2 *aiiārə*.

(4) *dīšā* 'thou wouldst get', 2nd sg.opt.aor.mid. of *dā* with the typical indirect refl. meaning of the mid. Note that *kaϑā aiiarə ... fərasaiiāi dīšā* 'why wouldst thou get a day for consultation' [= 'why wouldst thou get an appointment'] shows the same construction as 29,5:8 *mazdaŋm duuaidī fərasåbiiō* 'we elect the Wise One to (give us) orders'; # st. 8:6 *ā diiā*.

(5) The hapax *daxšāra-* is a derivation from, or a compound with, YAv. *daxša-* = Ved. *dákṣa-* 'ability, energy' (P 21 **dažaṯ zī maŋm auuauuata daxša* 'for he burns me with so much energy [not: branding!]'), # st.15:1 *daxšaṯ* 'suits'. For its formation cf. perhaps Ved. *karmārá-* 'smith' < *karma-āra-*, which suggests a rendering such as 'expert' or 'zealous'. The comparison, however, unfortunately results in a dissyllabic reading of the internal *ā* (**daxšā̃ra-*), in which case the hemistich is having two syllables too many.

(6) It would be tempting to consider *aibī ϑβāhū gaēϑāhū tanušicā* 'regarding thy herds and thyself' as graphically corrupted from *aibī ϑβāhū gaēϑāhū *tanušucā* 'regarding (thy) herds and (thy) bodies [subjects]'; # Yy 55,1, 58,2 *gaēϑåscā tanuuascā*, 65,7 *gaēϑanaŋm ... tanunaŋm* 'herds and bodies [subjects]' (less clear Yt 6,1 *aṣ̌ahe gaēϑå ... aṣ̌ahe tanuiie*). Yet, the loc.sg. *tanuši(cā)* 'regarding thyself' comes from a stem *tanuš-*, a by-stem of *tanu-* 'body, self' (acc.sg. 33,10:11 *tanúm*) which itself is a by-stem of *tanū-* (acc.sg. 46,8 *tanúuəm*); →40,4:2 *xᵛaētūš* 'families'.

43,8. 4+7 (*paouruuī̃m*); 4+7; 4+7 (*xiiā̃m/xiiəm*); 4+7 (*diiā*); 4+7.

(1) *haiϑiia-* 'true (person)' is used to avoid repetition of *aṣ̌auuan-* 'truthful' in the same stanza (§ 15.3.3); # 53,6:2 *haiϑiiā narō* alternatively: 'true men'.

(2) Here, *duuaēšå* 'hostilities' is used metonymically in the sense of 'enemies' (§ 15.9.2), similarly *rafənō* 'support' in the sense of 'supporter' (§ 15.9.1). For *duuaēšå ... drəguuāitē ... aṣ̌āunē rafənō ... aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'hostilities to the deceitful one ... a strong support for the truthful one', # 28,6:5 *aojōŋhuuaṯ rafənō ... daibišuuatō duuaēšå* 'strong support ... hostilities of the enemy'.

(3) *isōiiā* 'I would seek (as allies for myself)' is 3rd sg.opt.mid. of the pres. *isa-* 'to seek'. The mid. is indirect refl.; →46,6:2 *isəmnō* 'seeking (help)'.

(4) *būšti-* 'adornment', # 44,17:8 *būždiiāi* 'to adorn', from the root *būš* = Ved. *bhūṣ* 'to adorn'.

(5) *vasasə.xšaϑra-* 'exercising power at will, ruling at will', cf. YAv. *vasō.xšaϑra-* 'id.'.

(6) *ā ... diiā* 'I might gain', # st.7:4 *dīšā* 'Thou wouldst get'.

(7) *yauuaṯ.ā* (*yauuaṯ ā*) is an incorrect spelling for **yauuatā*, influenced by the preceding *hiiaṯ ā* where *ā* is a verbal prefix (§ 10.5.4). *yauuaṯ.ā* 'according to how much' [lit. 'according to the extent with which'] cannot simply be equated with *yauuaṯ* 'as much'. Admittedly, we render Yt 15,40 *yauuata gaiia jūauua* by 'as long as we two live', but its literal meaning is 'with a life as long as we two live with'.

(8) *ϑβā ... staomī ufiiācā* 'I praise and extol Thee', # Yy 17,18 *frauuaṣ̌aiiō staomi*

zbaiiemi ufiiemi 'I praise and call and extol the Fravašis', Yt 13,50 *kō nō stauuāṯ kō yazāite kō ufiiāṯ* etc. 'who will praise, who worship, who extol us?'.

43,9. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*vīuuīdùiiē*); 4+7; 4+7 (*isâi, mainiiâi*).

(1) *ahiiā* 'its' possibly refers to the preceding *vohū manaŋhā*. If so, then *ahiiā fərasəm* 'its (good thought's) consultation' recalls 44,13:4 *frasaiiā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'by the consultation of good thought'.

(2) If *fərasəm* really is a noun 'consultation', then it must be from a cons.stem *fəras-* or an *a*-stem *fərasa-*, hardly from the *ā*-stem *frasā-* found in 44,13:4 *frasaiiā* and 31,13:2 *frasā*. Yet, *fərasəm* could as well be a 1st sg.act. 'I ask' of the root aor. from the root *pars/fras*; # V 3,27 *āfrasāne daiŋhubiiō* 'I wish to take counsel with the countries'.

(3) *vīuuīduiiē vašī* 'Thou wishest to know details', # 44,3:3 *tācīṯ ... vasəmī vīduiiē* 'these (are) the very things I wish to know'. The parallel suggests deriving the inf. *vīuuīduiiē* from *vaēdā* 'knows' (with pref. *vī* 'knows exactly, knows details about', cf. Ved. *vi-vid* 'to know exactly, to discern'), not from YAv. *vīuuaēδa* 'has found' in Yt 13,99 *yō ... aŝāi rauuō ⁺iiaēša yō ... aŝāi rauuō vīuuaēδa* 'who has sought room to move for truth (and) who has found room to move for truth'.

(4) *rātąm nəmaŋhō aŝahiiā ... mainiiāi* 'I will consider the bestowal of reverence for truth' (28,1:3) is an elaboration of **aŝəm mainiiāi* 'I will consider truth'; # 34,8 *yōi nōiṯ aŝəm mainiianṭā* 'those who do not consider truth'.

(6) *yauuaṯ isâi* 'as much as will be in my command', →28,4:10 *yauuaṯ isâi tauuâcā* 'as much as will be in my command and as I will be able'.

43,10. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitī, ā̃rəm*); 4+6; 4+8 (*yaθ̀nā, əmauuatā̃m*); 4+7 (*dìiāṯ*).

(1) If *ā̃rəm* 'I have come' contains the augment *a*, it denotes the immediate past; # 45,8:2 *nū zīṯ viiādarəsəm* 'I have just now seen (Him) in (my) eye' (§ 11.5.3.0).

(2) *yā tōi əhmā parštā* 'which (are) the questions to be asked by us of Thee' [or: 'which (are) the questions of Thine (to be) discussed with us'] is opposed to *parštəm ... θβā* 'a question (asked) by Thee'. For the construction with the attributive instr., → st.11:1 *xšmā uxδāiš* 'through statements (voiced) by You' (§ 15.18). The variant *əhmāi*, which is found in less good manuscripts only, has crept into the quotation A 4,3 *pərəsāca nâ aŝāum zaraθuštra yā tē ahmāi/ahmi paršta* 'and ask us, O truthful Zaraθuštra etc.', in which the original sense of the line has undergone a transformation.

(3) *yaθənā* < **hiiaṯ-nā* 'like as', →35,2:3 (§ 15.18).

(4) *aēšəm ... əmauuaṇtəm* 'vigorous (and) impetuous', # 41,4:2 *aēšācā θβā əmauuaṇtascā buiiamā* 'may we become vigorous and impetuous through Thee', 45,7:6 *amərətāitī aŝaonō uruuā aēšō* 'the soul of (that) truthful one (is) vigorous in immortality', Yy 9,20 *yaθa aēšō amauuâ θrąfəδō fraxštāne* 'so that I may present myself vigorous, impetuous, and well-fed' (§ 5.2.5); → 29,9:3 *anaēša-* 'lacking in vigour'.

43,11. 4+7; 4+7; 4+6 (*paouruuī̃m*); 4+7 (*maŝ́iiaēšū*); 4+7.

(1) *xšmā uxδāiš* 'through statements (voiced) by You', →47,2:2 *hizuuā uxδāiš* '(inspired) by statements (voiced) by the tongue', # st. 10:2 (§ 15.18).

(2) *dīdaiŋhē* is 1st sg.ind.pres.mid. of the root *dąh*. The mid. means 'to learn about, to be taught' rather than 'to teach'. The meaning 'to teach' is likely to be restricted to the act.; # 49,9 *didąs* 'teaches, approves of'.

(3) *paouruuīm* 'the primal (stage of existence)' (→30,4:2), or: 'the primal [prime] (existence)' (→28,11:7), or: 'the primal (Ahura)' (→st. 5:2), or: 'the primal (formula)' (→45,3:2). (§ 12.1.6.1.)

(4) *sąs* 'appears' (= Ved. *áchān*), # 46,19:6 *sąs* 'Thou appearest'; →29,1:9 *sąstā* 'appear [pl.]'.

(5) The 2nd pl. *mōi mraotā* 'You tell me' is varied in the following stanza by the corresponding 2nd sg. *mōi mraoš* 'Thou tellest me' (§ 15.6.1).

43,12. 4+7; 4+7 (*pairíiaoγžā*); 4+7 (*uzirə́idiiāi*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *aŝəm jasō frāxšnənē* 'with [loc.] foresight thou reachest truth', # 29,11:4 *aṯ mā ... fraxsnənē .. paitī.zānatā* 'recognise me with foresight', →st. 14:4 *rafənō frāxšnənəm* 'support (and) foresight'.

(2) *asrušta* is either the nom.acc.pl. of *asrušta-* 'disobeyed' or the loc.sg. of *asruš-ti-* 'disobedience', used adverbially in the sense of 'being disobeyed'. For the latter use, cf. Ved. *ádbhutā* 'without being deceived', which is not nom.acc.pl. of *adbhuta-* but

loc.sg. of *ádbhuti-* (Humbach, *Kratylos* 32, 1987, 51); # 32,6:1 *aēnå ānāxštā* 'crimes against peace'.

(3) *nōiṯ asruštā* 'not disobeyed, without being disobeyed' shows a use of *nōiṯ* similar to that in 32,15:3 *nōiṯ jiiātəuš xšaiiamnāŋg vasō* 'so as not to be at will in control of (their) lives'.

(4) *nōiṯ asruštā ... səraošō* 'not disobeyed ... (recompense for) obedience' (§ 15.11.2); # Yy 60,5 *vainīṯ ... sraošō asruštīm* 'obedience may overcome disobedience', 10,16 *sraošahe ahmi asruštōiš nōiṯ ahmi* 'I am (a partisan) of obedience, I am no (partisan) of disobedience'. In the present passage, however, just as in 33,4-5 *asruštīm ... səraošəm, səraoša-* means '(recompense) for obedience' rather than 'obedience' itself (# 44,16:3).

(5) *pairiiaoγžā* 'Thou givest orders', from root *aog/aoj* 'to speak' with pref. *pairī*, found here only. Or should one read **asruštā pairī aoγžā* with *pairī* as postp.?

(6) *parā hiiaṯ mōi ā.jimaṯ səraošō* 'before (recompense for) obedience will have come to me', →48,2:2 *parā hiiaṯ mā ... pərəθā jimaitī* 'before the compensations will have reached me'.

(7) *mōi ā.jimaṯ səraošō*, # 44,16:3 *hōi ... səraošō jaṇtū* 'let (recompense for) obedience come to him'.

(8) *mązā.raii-* 'granting wealth', cf. Ved. *maṃhayádrayi-* 'id.'; also OAv. *mązā.-xšaθra-* in 49,10:5 *īžācā mązā.xšaθra-* 'and abundance, granting power'.

(9) *səraošō aŝī mązā.raiiā hacimnō* '(recompense for) obedience followed by wealth-granting reward'. This phrase is used in two YAv. passages, in both of which the instr.sg. *aŝī* 'with reward' has been replaced by the gen.sg. *aŝahe* 'of truth': Yy 27,6 *vaŋhuš sraošō yō aŝahe hacaite mąza.raiia hāca iδa yōiθβā astu* 'good is obedience which is followed by wealth-granting truth, and let it be present here'; Vr 12,1 *hā vaŋhuš sraošō aŝiiō yō aŝahe hacaite mąza.raiia hāca iδa yōiθβā astu* 'that one (is) the good rewarding obedience which is followed by wealth-granting truth, and let it be present here'.

(10) *yā vī aŝīš ... vīdāiiāṯ* '(personified reward) who will distribute the rewards', # 34,12:3 *yā vīdāiiāṯ aŝīš rāšnąm* 'how one will distribute the rewards'.

(11) As compared with Bartholomae's *rānōibiiā*, Geldner's reading *rānōibiiō* (instr.dat.abl.pl.) is the lectio difficilior. The reading *rānōibiiā* (instr.dat.abl.du.) is correct in 31,3:2, 47,6:2, 51,9:1 only. If the du. *rānōibiiā* means 'according to balance' (→31,3:2), then the pl. must be distributive 'according to (the respective) balances'.

(12) *sauuōi* 'at the benefaction' (temporal), or: 'at the benefit (displayed)' (local), is the loc.sg. of *sauua-* n. 'benefaction, benefit'; →30,11:5 *rašō sauuacā* 'harm and benefits'. For similar uses of the loc.sg., →30,8:6 *aēibiiō sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced to them'.

(13) *yā vī aŝīš rānōibiiō sauuōi vīdāiiāṯ* '(personified reward) who at the benefaction will distribute the rewards according to (the respective) balances', # 31,19:3-5 *vaŋhāu vīdātā rąnaiiå* 'at the distribution of the balance (value), (performed) at the good (share to be distributed)', 47,6:3 *vaŋhāu vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'distribution (to be performed) according to balance at the good (share to be distributed)'.

43,13. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7(*dåtā*); 4+7; 4+7 (*vairiiå*).

(1) *arəθā vōizdiiāi kāmahiiā* 'to take heed of the (dutiful) purposes of (my) desire', → 33,8:1 *frō mōi frauuōizdūm arəθā* 'take [pl.] heed of my (dutiful) purposes'.

(2) *kāmahiiā ... yəm vå naēciš dōrašt itē* 'of the desire which nobody obliges You to agree', # RV 10,29,5 *yé asya kámam ... gmán* 'who agreed his desire', 10,66,14 *kámam étya* 'having agreed (our) desire'.

(3) *darəgahiiā yaoš* 'for long life', →31,20:5 *darəgəm āiiū təmaŋhō* 'long life in darkness' [or: 'long duration of darkness'], 30,11:4 *hiiaṯcā darəgəm drəguuō.dəbiiō rašō* 'what long-lasting harm (is in store) for the deceitful'.

(4) *vairiiå*, by haplology < **vairiiaiiå*, is a regular gen.sg.f. of *vairiia-* 'desirable, worthy of being desired'; # 48,5:4 *maŝiiāi* < **maŝiiaiiāi*.

(5) In contrast to Ved. *stí-* m. 'dependent, vassal' (attested twice in the acc.pl. *stín* only), Av. *sti-* 'household, possession' usually is fem. (→st. 3:5); # Yy 35,1 *vīspąm aŝaonō stīm* 'the whole household of the truthful one', 58,4 *aŝaonascā aŝāuuairiiåscā stōiš* 'of the household of the truthful man and the truthful woman'. The only YAv. occurrence of the masc. is G 3,7 *haiθiiāuuarəzəm aŝauuanəm aŝahe ratūm yazamaide haiθiiāuuarəzəm aŝauuanəm aŝaonō stīm yazamaide* 'we worship the dutifully acting truthful tutor of truth, we worship the dutifully acting truthful household of the truthful one'. There the irregular masc. *haiθiiāuuarəzəm ... stīm* (instead of the expected fem. **haiθiiāuuarəzīm*, cf. gen.pl. *haiθiiāuuarəzinąm* in Vr 11,14) is due to perseveration of the preceding *haiθiiāuuarəzəm ... ratūm*.

43,14. 4+7 (*fríiāi*); 4+7; 4+7; (*frąštā*); 4+8 (*uzirəidiiāi, azə́, sarədanå*); 4+7.

(1) *hiiaṯ nā friiāi ... daidīṯ ... rafənō* 'what a man would grant to a friend, (namely) support', # 46,2:5 *rafəδrəm ... hiiaṯ friiō friiāi daidīṯ* '(such) support as a friend would

grant a friend', 44,1:6 *aṯ nə ... friiā dazdiiāi hākurənā* 'let friendly fellowships be granted us'.

(2) *vaēdəmna-* 'accepting (him)', →28,5:2-3 *manascā vohū vaēdəmnō* 'accepting good thought'. Cf. also the situation described in 46,5-6.

(3) *maibiiō (sc. dā)* 'grant (me)' (§ 15.13.2).

(4) *rafənō frāxšnənəm* 'support (and) foresight' (§ 15.1.1). Thus, if *frāxšnəna-* is a noun here as it is in st.12:1. Otherwise: 'foreseeing support' with *frāxšnəna-* as adj.

(5) *frąštā* < *fra-ąstā* 3rd sg.inj.aor.med. 'one attains, reaches' from *fra-ąs/nas*. Possible is also 2nd sg.inj.aor.act. 'Thou reachest'. Note also YAv. *frąšti-* 'act of reaching' in Yt 11,5 *nōiṯ frąšticina frāšnuiiāṯ*.

(6) *azə* is taken as an inf. 'to drive away', from root *az* 'to drive, propel', pres. *aza-*. As in 44,2 *kāϑə s°* the final *-ə* is preserved before initial *s* (§ 10.6.2). Yet, instead of the acc.sg. *azə* < **azah* from a hypothetical stem *azah-* one would rather expect a dat.sg. *azōi/azē* from a root noun *az-*, cf. Ved. *nirāje* 'to drive out'.

(7) The pl. of the fem. action noun *sarədanā-* 'challenge' (→33,9:3 *sarəidiia-* 'rival, challenger') is metonymically used in the sense of a corresponding masc. agent noun 'challengers' (§ 15.9), cf. Ved. *pṛ́tanā-* f. 'battle, contest, strive', pl. 'hostile army, enemies'.

(8) *yōi tōi mąϑrå marəṇtī* '(those) who memorise Thy formulas', # 31,1:2 *tā və uruuātā marəṇtō* 'memorising these Your rules'. By V 3,33 *mąϑrəm ... mairiiāṯ* 'may he memorise the formula', and Yt 4,4 *mąϑrəm ... marå* 'memorising the formula', it is evident that *mąϑrå* is acc.pl.m. As the result of a dissimilation < **manϑranh hmar°* it stands for the expected *mąϑrāṇg* (see K. Hoffmann, *MSS* 6, 1955, 35[1], = *Aufsätze* II, 1976, 378[1]).

43,15. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *daxšaṯ* 'suits, is suited for, fits', # RV 7,32,9 *mā́ sredhata somino dákṣatā mahé* 'do not fail, O partakers of Soma, be fit for the great one (Indra)'; → st. 7:5 *daxšāra-*.

(2) *ušiia-* '*intelligent' from YAv. *uši* 'intelligence'? Or *+ušiia-* < **ucya-*?

(3) *tušnā* '*appeased', cf. YAv. *tušni-* in F 18 *tušniš* (PhlT *tušt* 'silent', cf. Skt. *tuṣṭa-* 'satisfied, pleased'); # RV 10,27,16 *gárbham mātā́ ... tuṣáyantī* 'the mother nursing the child'). Unlike *tušnā* in *tušnā maitiš* of the present passage, *tušni-* in YAv. *tušni-šāδ-* 'sitting silently' (Yt 13,29) must come from *tūšnī-*; it perhaps stands for **tušnį-šāδ-*; cf. Ved. *tūṣnī́m* in RV 2,43,3 *tūṣnī́m ā́sīnaḥ* 'sitting silently'.

(4) *maitiš* is nom.sg. of *maiti-* = Ved. *matí-* 'devotion, intention, wish, desire'.

(5) *tušnā maitiš* '*appeased desire' has been used to form the YAv. proper name *tušnāmaitī-* (as if fem. of an adj. **tušnāmaṇt-*), attested in the gen.sg. Yt 13,139 *tušnāmaitiiå*. The YAv. proper name is not necessarily of help in making out the original sense of OAv. *tūšnā maitiš*, of which it is perhaps a late re-interpretation.

(6) *pourūš drəguuatō* 'the many deceitful', →50,2:5 *pourušū huuarə pišiiasū* 'among the many who *block sun(light)'.

(7) *vīspāṇg aŋgrāṇg aŝaonō ādarə* 'they declare all harmful persons to be truthful' (# 44,12:1), not inversely 'they declare all truthful persons to be harmful' (§ 11.5.5.1). *ādarə* is the pl. of 35,8:6 *ādā* 'has declared'; →44,20:1 *åŋharə*.

43,16. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*xᵛāṇg, ãrmaitiš*); 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš*).

(1) *huuō zaraϑuštrō* 'this Zaraϑuštra, I (who am) Zaraϑuštra' (§ 15.1.3.1).

(2) *mainiiūm ... yastē cišcā spāništō* 'whichever spirit (is) Thy most prosperous one' is an elaboration from **mainiiūm spəṇtəm/spāništəm* '(most) prosperous spirit'.

(3) *yas(tē) cišcā* 'whichever', # Yy 9,28 *yō cišca ahmi nmāne ... aēnaŋhå asti maŝiiō* 'whichever injurious mortal lives in this house'.

(4) *astuuaṯ aŝəm* 'corporeal truth', cf. YAv. *astuuaṯ.ərəta-* 'providing material truth', mythical name of the eschatological Saošyaṇt in Yt 13,129 (→44,2:4).

(5) *astuuaṯ aŝəm ... uštānā aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'corporeal truth, strong with vitality' is an elaboration from 31,11:3 *astuuaṇt- uštāna-* 'corporeal life [vitality]'.

(6) *xᵛāṇg darəsōi* 'in view of the sun', # 32,13:7 *yā īš pāṯ darəsāṯ aŝahiiā* 'which prevents them from seeing truth'. Less likely is a compound *xᵛāṇg.darəsōi* 'in the sun-like (power)', taking *xᵛāṇg.darəsa-* as a bahuvrihi with gen.sg. as first member, synonymous with YAv. *huuarə.darəsa-* 'sun-like' (said of Yima).

Yasna 44: *Taṯ ϑβā.pərəsā Hāiti*

44,0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) All stanzas of this hymn but the final st. 20 are introduced by the set phrase *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā* 'this I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura' (§

13.1.1). As early as in V 19,10 ff. it was, therefore, understood as an account of the first of the prophet's legendary conferences with Ahura Mazdā in detail described in the Pahlavi literature (§ 11.2.4). Yet, questions of the same kind are also found elsewhere in the Gāϑās, viz. in

51,5:1 *vīspā tā pərəsąs yaϑā aṣ̌āṯ hacā gąm vīdaṯ*

(I am) asking about all those (ways) in which in accordance with truth (the herdsman) does find a cow.

In 31,14-16 we do even find a series of three successive questions asked by Zaraϑuštra of Ahura Mazdā:

31,14 *tā ϑβā pərəsā ahurā yā zī āitī jəŋghaticā ...*

I ask Thee about those (things) which are approaching and shall come

31,15 *pərəsā auuaṯ yā maēniš yə drəgvāitē xšaϑrəm hunāiti ...*

That I ask (Thee), what the chastisement (is for him) who delegates power to the deceitful one

31,16 *pərəsā auuaṯ yaϑā huuō yə hudānuš ... xšaϑrəm ... fradaϑāi aspərəzatā*

That I ask (Thee), how such a generous (person will be available) who endeavours to promote the power.

(2) These passages make it clear that we are here merely concerned with a poetical device. Several interesting parallels are to be found in the Rigveda, especially in the riddle song RV 1,164, of which st. 34 is of particular interest:

pṛchā́mi tvā páram ántam pṛthivyā́ḥ
pṛchā́mi yátra bhúvanasya nā́bhiḥ
pṛchā́mi tvā vṛ́ṣṇo áśvasya rétaḥ
pṛchā́mi vācáḥ paramā́ṃ vyòma
I ask thee about the extreme end of the earth,
I ask thee where is the navel of the world,
I ask thee about the semen of the stallion,
I ask thee about the quintessence of speech.

(3) In the subsequent stanza RV 1,164,35, these questions are answered in a typically brahmanical way by *iyáṃ védiḥ páro ántaḥ pṛthivyā́ḥ* 'this altar is the extreme end of the world', and it seems that for the Gaϑā passages quoted above a similar kind of ritual thought cannot be denied. This is also true for Y 44, in sts. 18-19 of which the prophet passes over from questions regarding the creation of the world and its mysteries to the problem of an appropriate sacrificial fee, a frequent element in Zaraϑuštra's poetry (§ 13.3).

44,1. 4+7 (*pərəsā́*); 4+7; 4+7; (*fríiāi*); 4+7 (*fríiā*); 4+7.

(1) *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā* 'this I ask Thee', →st. 0:2.

(2) *ərəš mōi vaocā* 'tell me plainly', # 48,9:3 *ərəš mōi ... ərəžūcąm* 'let be told me plainly'; 31,19, 44,19 *ərəžuxδa-* 'plain statement' refers to utterances by men.

(3) *nəmə xšmāuuatō* 'reverence to one such as You' (→ 28,1:3). The same preservation of the original OAv. *-ə* of *nəmə* is found in arch. Yy 58,1 *taṯ ... hiiaṯ nəmə huciϑrəm*, 58,2 *taṯ nə nəmə nipātū* (§ 10.6.2). Unless the preservation of *-ā* is due to the following *xš°*, it could be due to the frequent ritual use of the word. Yet, note the arch. YAv. introductory formula 28,0 *nəmō vā gāϑå aṣ̌aoniš*.

(4) *ϑβāuuąs saxiiāṯ mauuaitē* 'one such as Thou should announce to one such as me', # st. 9:1 *kaϑā mōi ... saxiiāṯ ... ϑβāuuąs* 'how might one such as Thou announce to me?'

(5) *friiāi ... friiā* 'friend ... friendly' (§ 15.3.1).

(6) *aṯ nā ... friiā dazdiiāi hākurənā* 'let friendly fellowships be granted us', # 43,14:1 *hiiaṯ nā friiāi ... daidīṯ ... rafənō* 'what a man might grant a friend, (namely) support', 46,2:5 *rafəδrəm ... hiiaṯ friiō friiāi daidīṯ* '(such) support as a friend would grant a friend'.

(7) *hākurənā* 'fellowships' [or by metonymy: 'followers' (§ 15.9.2)], →33,9:6 *hākūrənəm ... haciṇtē* 'fellowship ... (souls) are in agreement'.

(8) *yaϑā nā ā vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'so that one may come to us with good thought', # 46,3:7-8 *kaēibiiō ūϑāi vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'to which people will one come with good thought to (provide them with) fat', →28,6:1 *vohū gaidī manaŋhā* 'come with good thought', 43,4:3 *hiiaṯ mōi vaŋhāuš hazā jimaṯ manaŋhō* 'when the superiority of good thought will have come to me'.

44,2. 4+7; 4+7 (*paouruuīm*); 4+7 (*paitīšāṯ*); 4+7; 4+7 (*ùrùuaϑō*).

(1) *aŋhu- vahišta-* 'best existence', cf. YAv. *vahišta- aŋhu-* which is used in the sense of 'paradisiacal after-life, paradise', an interpretation which does not necessarily apply to this OAv. passage, which refers rather to a paradise on earth.

(2) *aŋhāuš vahištahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal (stage) of best existence' [or: 'the prime of best existence'], # 45,3:2 *aŋhāuš ahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal (formula) of this existence' (§ 12.1.6.1).

(3) *kāϑə s°* is taken as a sandhi form of **kāϑəŋg s°*, acc.pl. of *kāϑa-* m. 'pleasure' (→ 47,4:4-5 *kāϑē ... akō* 'pleasantly, evil'). In the same way as in the arch. YAv. acc.pl.

amәšə̄ spәṇtə̄, the final -ə̄ seems to have been substituted here for its nasalised variant -ə̨̄, for which no special Av. letter has been transmitted. OAv. -ə̄ > original -ə̨̄ is preserved here before *s°*, as similarly OAv. -ə̄ in 43,14:6 *azə̄ s°* (§ 10.6.2).

(4) *kāϑə̄ sūidiiāi yə̄ ī paitišāṯ* 'the one who will restore [reactivate] pleasant conditions so that (we) may enjoy benefit'. The verb *paitišāṯ* is used in connexion with the activities of the eschatological Saošyant [benefactor] described in Yt 13,129 *saošiiąs vərәϑraja nąma astuuaṯ.ərətasca nąma auuaϑa saošiiąs yaϑa vīspәm ahūm astuuaṇtәm sāuuaiiāṯ, auuaϑa astuuaṯ.ərətō yaϑa astuuå hą uštanauuå astuuaṯ +aiϑiiejahim paitišāṯ* '(as concerns) the Saošyant called "Victor" and called "Provider of Corporeal Truth": (he will be) a Saošyaṇt [benefactor], in so far as he will benefit all corporeal existence, (he will be) a provider of corporeal truth, in so far as he will restore [reactivate] corporeal safety [= freedom from bodily harm]'.

(5) *sūidiiāi ... yə̄ ī paitišāṯ* 'the one who will restore [reactivate] so that (we) may enjoy benefit', # 45,7:3 *yehiiā sauuā išåṇtī rādayhō* alternatively: 'the benefactions of whose bounty (those) will activate [set in motion]'. In the same way as the simplex *išа-* (→45,1:4-5), its compound *paitiša-* includes both ¹*išа-* 'to approach' (desiderative of *ai/i* 'to go') and ²*išа-* 'to activate, set in motion' (formed like a desiderative of *aēš/iš*). The meaning 'to approach' of *paitiša-* is likely in Yy 57,13 *paitišata mazdaiiasna sraošahe aṣiiehe yasnәm* 'approach, O Mazdayasnians, the worship of Sraoša Aṣiya', 60,6 *amәšå spәṇta sraošāδa aṣiiāδa paitišąn vaŋhūš yasnąsca vahmąsca* 'in accordance with Sraoša Aṣiya the Amәša Spәṇtas shall approach the good worship [pl.] and laudations'. But a meaning similar to 'to reactivate' must be assumed in the series of technical terms of recitation in P 12 *kәmciṯ aŋhāuš astuuatō ... marәṇtәm vərәziṇtәm sixšәṇtәm sācaiiaṇtәm paitišәṇtәm* which JamaspAsa renders by 'who recounts, practises, learns, teaches, realises'. Here, we certainly have to reckon with a form from *aēš/iš*, as is to be seen from the p.p.mid. *paitišāna-* in Yy 55,6 *staota yesniia ... marәmna vərәzimna +sixšәmna sācaiiamna dadrāna paitišāna paitišmarәmna framarәmna frāiiazәmna.*

(6) *aṣ̌ā spәṇtō ... mazdå* 'prosperous through truth, the Wise One', # 28,1:11 *mainiiāuš ... spәṇtahiiā aṣ̌ā* 'of the spirit prosperous through truth'.

(7) Unless we read *irixtәm [sc. paitišāṯ]* 'will reactivate the net assets' (§ 15.12.2), we must take together *irixtәm ... hārō* '(is) recording the net assets'. In this case *irixtәm* is governed by the adj. *hāra-* 'perceiving with one's eyes, recording in one's memory'; # 31,13:5 *tā cašmāṇg vβisrā hārō* 'perceiving that with the gleam of Thine eye'. A verbal government of the same type is found with the adj. *sādra-* 'distressing' in 45,7:7 *yā nərąš sādrā drəguuatō* '(the things) which (are) distressing [= which distress] the deceitful men'. The similarity, in formation and syntactical use, of *hāra-* with *sādra-* suggests a segmentation *hā-ra-* from a root *hā* (→ 45,4:5 *vīspō.hišas* 'all-seeing'). *hārō* also recalls YAv. *hišārō* in Yy 57,17 *hišārō aṣ̌ahe gaēϑå* 'watching over the flocks of truth', but this could be nom.sg.m. in YAv. -*ō* < -*ąs* of a pres.part. *hišāraṇt-* from the root *har* 'to watch'.

(8) *irixtәm vīspōibiiō hārō mainiiū* 'recording with (His) spirit the net assets for all (people)' [or: 'recording with (His) spirit (the balance) left from all (activities by subtracting the evil deeds from the good deeds')]; # 32,7:8 *yaēšąm tū ... irixtәm ... vaēdištō ahī* 'for which (crimes) Thou knowest best the net assets'.

44,3. 4+7 (*pouruiiō*); 4+7; 4+7 (*xᵛāŋg, strə̃mcā*); 4+6/7 (*må̃/må̃*); 4+7 (*vīdùiiē*).

(1) *ptā aṣ̌ahiiā pouruiiō* 'the primal father of truth', →47,2:8 *huuō ptā aṣ̌ahiiā mazdå* 'he is the wise father of truth', 31,8:1 *paouruuīm ... vaŋhāuš ptarәm manaŋhō* 'the primal one, the father of good thought'.

(2) *må uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī vβaṯ* 'the moon (now) waxes, now wanes', # Yt 7,2 *kaṯ må uxšiieiti kaṯ må nərəfsaiti paṇca.dasa må uxšiieiti paṇca.dasa må nərəfsaiti* 'how long does the moon wax, how long does it wane? Fifteen (days) it waxes, fifteen (days) it wanes'; # 31,7:6 *uxšiiō* 'Thou growest'; →53,9:2 *narəpīš rajīš* 'obscuration [pl.] and darkness [pl.]'.

(3) *tācīṯ ... vasəmī ... vīduiiē* 'these (are) the very things I wish to know', # 43,9:3 *vīuuīduiiē vašī* 'Thou wishest to know details'.

44,4. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*úrùuaråscā*); 4+7 (*vā̃tāi*); 4+7.

(1) *kasnā dərətā ząmcā adə nabåscā auuapastōiš* 'who holds the earth down below, and the heavens (above to prevent them) from falling?' is a zeugma construction in which one verb is used in two different constructions (# 40,1:3 *mazdąmcā būiricā kərəšuuā* 'gain knowledge of and do it largely'). To express almost the same idea two different verbs are used in RV 2,17,5 *ádhārayat pr̥thivím ... ástabhnāt ... dyám avasrásaḥ.* 'he held the earth, he supported the heaven (to prevent it) from falling'.

(2) *kə apō uruuaråscā* 'who (holds) the waters and plants?', # 51,7:2 *yə gąm tašō apascā uruuaråscā* '(Thou) who didst fashion the cow, the waters and the plants'; →

37,1:1 *yə gąmcā aŝəmcā dāt̰ apascā dāt̰ uruuarâscā vaŋᵛhīš* 'He who created the cow and truth, (who) created the waters and the good plants'.

(3) *yaogət̰ āsū* 'yokes the swift teams'. Here, the acc.du.m. *āsū* 'the two swift ones, the two (steeds), the team' is used as a distributive dual in the sense of a plural 'teams of two horses each'. Cf. the distributive gen.du. *bāzuuå* 'of the two arms of each of a number of persons' in Yt 10,23 *aēšąm bāzuuå aojō* 'the strength of their [pl.] arms [du.]'. The pl. is used in 30,10:3 *asištā yaojaṇtē* 'the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked', 50,7:1 *yaojā zəuuīštiiāŋg auruuatō* 'I will yoke the swiftest steeds', but note the du. in RV 3,35,4 *yunajmi hárī ... āśú* 'I yoke the two swift steeds'.

(4) *vaŋhāuš ... dąmiš manaŋhō* 'the creator of good thought', →31,8:3 *vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō ... haiθīm aŝahiiā dąmīm* 'the father of good thought, the true creator of truth'.

44,5. 4+7; 4+7 (*húuāpå*); 4+7 (*húuapå*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *huuāpah-* 'artist' = YAv. *huuapah-* 'artistic, skilled' (said of Ahura Mazdā), Ved. *suápas-* 'id.' (said of Tvaṣṭṛ, the Ṛbhus etc.).

(2) *kā ... raocåscā dāt̰ təmåscā* 'who created both, light [pl.] and darkness [pl.]?', # 37,1:1 *yə ... raocåscā dāt̰* '(He) who created lights', H 2,15.33 *anaγraēšuua raocōhuua ... anaγraēšuua təmōhuua* 'in endless light [pl.], in endless darkness [pl.]', Yt 10,50 *nōit̰ xšapa nōit̰ təmå* 'neither night [sg.] nor darkness [pl.]'.

(3) *arəm.piθβā-* 'noon', cf. the adj. YAv. *rapiθβina-* adj. 'noon(time)' in Yy 9,11 *ā rapiθβinəm zruānəm* 'at noontime'.

(4) In the present context, *xšapan-* means 'nightfall' rather than 'night'. Thus also in Yt 14,20 *axšafni xšafnīm isəmnō asūiri sūirīm isəmnō* 'at nightfall seeking his night meal, at dawn seeking his morning meal' where *axšafni ... asūiri* stand for **ā xšafni ... *ā sūiri*. It is remarkable that here not the five ritual times of day of the Younger Avesta are mentioned but only three ritual times (§ 11.2.1).

(5) In *yå manaoθrīš cazdōŋhuuaṇtəm* 'which remind a *responsible (person)', the action noun *manaoθrī-* f. 'reminder, reminding' (homonymous with YAv. *manaoθrī-* 'neck') shows verbal government. Cf. *dāθrī-* f. 'giver' in Yt 5,19 *arəduuī ... dāθriš āiiaptəm* 'Arədvī, granting a boon'.

(6) *cazdōŋhuuaṇt-* '*responsible' (# 31,3:6 *hiiat̰ uruuatəm cazdōŋhuuadəbiiō* 'the rule for the *responsible') seems to refer to the priest and the truthful lord of the house, who dutifully have to perform the daily rites.

(7) *arəθa-* '(dutiful) purpose' is a term for the dutiful performance of the rites; # 33,8:3 *arəθā ... yasnəm* 'the (dutiful) purposes ... the worship', Yy 65,9 *yezi anarəθe yazāite* 'if he will perform worship undutifully'.

44,6. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*šiiaoθànāiš, dəbązaitī, ā̃rmaitiš*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) Here, the conjunction *yezī* 'if' does not mean 'whether' (# 48,9 *vaēdā yezī* 'I know whether') but 'in case', introducing the conditional clause *yā frauuaxšiiā yezī tā ... haiθiiā* 'in case those (words) which I shall (now) pronounce are true' (# st. 15:1 *yezī ... xšaiiehī*). The conditional clause is followed by a formula expressing two magical truths. By uttering this formula, the prophet inspires Ahura Mazdā to answer the direct question which is asked of Him in the last line only.

(2) *yezī tā aθā haiθiiā* 'in case those (words) are true, as follows', # 34,6:1 *yezī aθā stā haiθīm* 'in case this is the way You really are'.

(3) First magical truth: *aŝəm šiiaoθanāiš dəbązaitī ārmaitiš* 'by (its) actions right-mindedness consolidates truth', →47,6:4-5 *ārmatōiš dəbązaŋhā aŝaźiiācā* 'with regard to the solidity of right-mindedness and truth'. Not clear is the etymological relation between OAv. *dəbązaitī* and YAv. *bązaiti*, attested in V 13,9 *nōit hē aniiō uruua haom uruuānəm paiti.irista bązaiti* 'no other soul does encourage [support] his own soul at his passing away'. Cf. Ved. [Br] *baṃhati* 'grows, increases', *baṃhayati* 'causes to grow, increase'; → 47,6:5 on OAv. *dəbązah-*, YAv. *bązah-*, Ved. *báṃhiṣṭha*.

(4) Second magical truth: *taibiiō xšaθrəm vohū cinas manaŋhā* 'with good thought, (right-mindedness) commits the power to Thee', # 45,10:4-5 *hiiat̰ hōi aŝā vohucā cōišt manaŋhā xšaθrōi* 'in the power which one has committed to Him through truth and good thought'; →35,5:2-5 *huxšaθrō.təmāi bā at̰ xšaθrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā hiiat̰ mazdāi ahurāi* 'we assign [offer], commit and delegate the power to the best ruler, who (is) the Wise Ahura'.

(5) The direct question of the stanza, found in its last line, is *kaēibiiō azīm rāniiō.skərəitīm gąm tašō* 'for what people didst Thou fashion the joy-providing fertile cow?', # 47,3:3 *yā ahmāi gąm rāniiō.skərəitīm hām.tašat̰* 'who fashioned for him the joy-providing cow?', 50,2:1 *kaθā ... rāniiō.kərəitīm gąm išasōit̰* 'how should one try to win the joy-providing cow'.

(6) *raniiō.skərəitī-* 'joy-providing' is the fem. of **rāniiō.skərət-* < *rāniias-kṛt-*, lit. 'providing (what is) more joyful', cf. Ved. *raṇa-kṛt-* 'causing joy, causing the pleasure of fight' (of Indra).

44,7. 4+7; 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitīm*); 4+7 (*uzəmām*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) Note the contrast between the inj.pres. *tāšt* 'fashioned' in this st., and the inj.aor. *tašō* 'Thou didst fashion' in st. 6.

(2) *bərəxδąm ... ārmaitīm* 'esteemed right-mindedness', →34,9:1 *ārmaitīm vβahiiā ... bərəxδąm vīdušō* 'right-mindedness (which is) esteemed by Thy knowing one'.

(3) *xšaϑrā maṯ ārmaitīm* 'right-mindedness along with power', # 34,11, 48,11 *aṣ̌ā maṯ ārmaitiš* 'right-mindedness along with truth'.

(4) *uzəma-* 'outstanding, eminent' is < **uz-zəma-* 'elevated', formed like YAv. *aδairi.zəma-* 'living below the earth', *upairi.zəma-* 'living on the earth'. Cf. OP. *uzma-* 'elevated place' in DB 2,76 etc. *uzmayā-patiy akunavam* 'I fastened him to an elevated place [= cross or pole]'. Different is 46,9:3 *uzāmōhī*.

(5) *uzəməm ... puϑrəm* 'an outstanding son', cf. the PN YAv. *usmānara-* 'commanding outstanding men'.

(6) *kā ... cōrəṯ viiānaiiā puϑrəm piϑrē* 'who in (His) spiritedness provides a father with a ... son?' [lit. 'makes a son for a father']. *viiānaiiā* denotes an attribute of Ahura Mazdā in 29,6:4 *vīduuå vafūš viiānaiiā* 'knowing the pronouncements in (His) spirit'.

(7) *tāiš* 'with these (questions or rites)', or: 'with those (present)' (§ 8.13.2).

(8) *fraxšnī* 'in foresight', # Yt 10,9 *fraorəṯ fraxšni auui manō* (→30,5:7).

(9) *vβā ... auuāmī* 'I assist Thee', # 32,14:6 *auuō* 'to assist'.

44,8. 4+7; 3+7 (*məṇdā́idiiāi*); 4+7; 4+7 (*vaēdíiāi*); 4+7 (*ùrúuā, ùrùuāxšaṯ*).

(1) *məṇdāidiiāi* 'so that (I) may note in (my) mind' (quoted in Yy 11,9 *maṇdāidiiāi*), # 31,5:2 *māṇcā daidiiāi* 'id.', 53,5:4 *māṇcā ī dazdūm* 'note them in (your) minds'.

(2) *yācā vohū uxδā fraš̄ī manaŋhā* 'the statements about which I take counsel with good thought ', → 47,3:5 *hiiaṯ hām vohū hāmə.fraštā manaŋhā* 'when he took counsel with good thought'.

(3) *aŋhāuš arām vaēidiiāi* 'with a view to an appropriate possession [knowledge] of existence, or: 'appropriate to the knowledge [possession] of existence'; # 53,5:6-8 *vaēdō.dūm ... ahūm yā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'accept the existence which (is) of good thought'; →51,14:3 *arām*.

(4) In *mōi uruuā ... uruuāxšaṯ* 'my soul may proceed', *mōi uruuā* can be taken as standing by synecdoche for 'I' (§ 15.8). Here and in the quotation Yy 70,5 we follow Bartholomae in reading *uruuāxšaṯ* as in # 34,13:4 *daēnå saošiianṭąm uruuāxšaṯ* 'the religious views of the benefactors proceed'. Yet, as compared with 34,14 *uruuāxšaṯ*, Geldner's reading *uruuāšaṯ* has the appearance of a lectio difficilor and could, therefore, be the correct reading. But what could its meaning be? Corrupt is *uruuašaiti* (F1 *uruuašiti*) in Yt 4,4 *kuϑa aṣ̌aonąm paϑa uruuašaiti kuϑa druuatąm* 'how does one proceed on the path of the truthful, how on that of the deceitful?'.

(5) *kā mə uruuā vohū uruuāxšaṯ āgəmaṯ.tā* 'along which (road) may my soul proceed [3rd sg.sbj.] towards the good (rewards) to come', →34,13:4 *tām aduuānəm ... daēnå saošiianṭąm yā ... uruuāxšaṯ ... mīždəm* 'that way along which the religious views of the benefactors proceed [3rd pl.inj.] towards the prize'. The quotation in Yy 70,5 is followed by *ā vohū* +*uruuāxšaṯ āgəmaṯ.tā* 'along this (road) one will proceed to the good (recompenses) to come'.

(6) *vohū ... āgəmaṯ.tā* 'the good (rewards) to arrive' is in effect the same as *mīždəm* in the parallel 34,13:4. *āgəmat.ṯā* (for **āgəmatā*, § 10.5.4) could be the instr.sg. of an aor.pt. *ā-gəmaṇt-* 'arriving', but more likely it is the nom.acc.pl.n. of an *a*-stem *āgəmata-*. This seems to mean 'arriving, (expected) to arrive', cf. YAv. *niγəmata-* 'coming down' in P 20 *snaiϑiš asne niγmatəm paiti.vaēnōiṯ* '(one) who should see a weapon coming down [not: having come down] near himself'.

44,9. 4+7; 4+7 (*daē̃nąm, dā̃nē*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*hadəmōi, šìiąs*).

(1) *kaϑā mōi ... saźiiāṯ ... vβāuuąs* 'how might one such as Thou announce to me?', # st. 1:4 *vβāuuąs saźiiāṯ mauuaitē* 'one such as Thou should announce to one such as me'.

(2) *yąm yaoš daēnąm yaoždānē* '(announce) the religious view which I may purify for myself' seems to refer to the prophet's winning of the religious view [= patronage] of a generous person. Yet, in V 10,18-19 the mid. of *yaoždā-* is used reflexively of the purification of Zaraϑuštra's own religious view: *hā yaoždå ... yā daēnā māzdaiiasniš yō huuąm daēnąm yaožδāite humatāišca hūxtāišca huuarštāišca ... daēnąm ... yaoždaiϑīša, aϑa zī aiŋhå asti yaoždāitiš kahmāiciṯ aŋhāuš astuuatō hauuaiiå ... daēnaiiå yō huuąm daēnąm yaoždāite humatāišca huxtāisca huuarštāišca* 'the Mazdayasnian religion purifies him who may purify his own religious view with good thoughts, with good words and with good deeds ... mayest thou purify thy religious view. For anyone in the corporeal world, the purification of his own religious view is (accomplished) when he may purify his own religious view ... '; # V 5,21 *yō huuąm aŋhuuąm yaoždāite* (→ 48,5:7).

(3) *asīšti-* 'very vigorous' (dissimilated < **aš-išti-*), →34,4:2 *ātrəm ... asīštim* 'most vigorous fire'. Here, *ərəšuuā xšaϑrā ... asīštiš* 'through (his) lofty power ... very vigorous' shows the typical free combination of *xšaϑra-* 'power' with *išti-* 'vigour, command'; # 34,5:1 *kaṯ̰ və xšaϑrəm kā išti̊š* 'what (is) Your power, what (is) Your command?' (§ 12.1.6.0).

(4) The textual combination of *hudānaoš* 'of a generous person' with *asīštiš* 'very vigorous' recalls # 50,9:6 *hudānaoš išaiiąs gərəzdā* 'enjoying vigour (basking) in the grace of a generous person'.

(5) *hadəmōi* is loc.sg. of *hadəma-* 'abode', cf. Ved. *sadmán-* 'seat, abode, dwelling, house, place'; # 46,14:4 *yāṇgstū ... hadəmōi minaš* '(those) whom Thou *fosterest in (Thy) abode'.

(6) *hadəmōi aṣ̌ā vohucā šiiąs manaŋhā* 'dwelling in (His) abode with truth and good thought', →47,5:6 *akāṯ̰ ā šiiąs manaŋhō* 'dwelling side by side with good thought'.

44,10. 4+7; 4+7(*daẽnąm, hātą̃m*); 4+7; 4+7 (*ā̃rmatōiš, šiiaoϑànā, daidìiaṯ̰*).

(1) The question raised in this stanza is a sentential question without an introductory interrogative adverb or particle. The verb of its main clause is *daidiiaṯ̰* 'does it observe?'

(2) The etymological word play *tąm daēnąm ... ərəš daidiiaṯ̰* can be simply rendered 'does it view plainly that religious view (of some generous person)?' or, more complex, 'does it observe plainly that religion?' [= 'does it act according to that religion?']. The pres. *daidiia-* < **dəidiia-* < **didya-* is thematic, cf. athematic Ved. *dīdhe-* in RV 10,34,5 *ādídhie.*

(3) *tąm daēnąm yā hātąm vahištā* 'that religion which is the best (among the religions) of those who exist', # 35,3:4 *yā hātąm šiiaoϑananąm vahištā ẋiiāṯ̰* 'the actions that might be the best (among the actions) of those who exist'. But note also the re-interpretation in Yt 13,91 *daēnaiiāi yaṯ̰ haitinąm vahištaiiāi* 'the religion which is the best among the (religions) which exist'.

(4) *yā mōi gaēϑå aṣ̌ā frādōiṯ̰ hacəmnā* '(that view) which, in agreement with truth, might promote my herds', →st. 20:13 *aṣ̌ā vāstrəm frādaiŋhē* 'to promote (herds in) the pasture with truth'; # 43,6:3 *gaēϑå aṣ̌ā frādəṇtē* 'the herds are promoted with truth', 34,2:3 *yehiiā uruuā aṣ̌ā hacaitē* 'whose soul agrees with truth'.

(5) *ārmatōiš uxδāiš šiiaoϑanā* 'through the action (inspired) by the statements of right-mindedness'; more complicated is 47,2:4 *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhəuš əəānū manaŋhō* '(inspired) by the statements (voiced) by one's tongue in pursuit of good thought' (§ 15.18).

(6) *maẋiiå cistōiš ϑβā išti̊š* 'the vigour of my insight, (inspired) by Thee', # 46,2:7 *vaŋhəuš aṣ̌ā išti̊m manaŋhō* 'the vigour of good thought, (inspired) by truth'; →29,11:8 on *əhmā rātōiš yūsmauuatąm* (§ 15.18).

(7) *usən* 'at will, at liberty', →45,9:2.

44,11. 4+7; 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš*); 4+7 (*daẽnā*); 4+7 (*pourùiiō*); 4+7 (*spasiiā́*).

(1) *yaēibiiō ... ϑβōi vašiietē daēnā* 'those from whom Thy religion wells forth' refers to the pious participants in the sacrifice. For *vašiietē* 'wells forth, wells out, issues' cf. Ved. *vacyáte* 'issues forth' in RV 1,142,4 *iyám hí tvā matír mámăchā ... vacyáte* 'this prayer of mine issues forth to Thee', 3,39,1 *índram matír hṛ́dā ắ vacyámānăcha jigāti* 'issuing from the heart the prayer goes forth to Indra', 10,47,7 *índraṃ stómāś caranti ... mánasā vacyámānāḥ* 'issuing forth with thought the praises go to Indra'.

(2) *azəm tōi ... frauuōiuuīdē* 'I commit myself to Thee', with the mid. expressing reflexivity vs. the act. in 30,8:5 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm ... vōiuuīdāitī* 'one will commit the power to Thee'. In contrast to the present passage, no specific meaning of the mid. of *fra-vaēd/vid* is recognisable in 33,8:1 *frō mōi frauuōizdūm arəϑā tā* 'take [pl.] heed of those (dutiful) purposes of mine'.

(3) From the point of view of textual criticism, it is difficult to decide between Geldner's reading *pouruiiō* 'the first [prime] one' and Bartholomae's *pouruiiē* 'at first, primarily, in the primal (stage of existence)' (→36,1:2). Yet, *pouruiiō* seems to make more sense.

(4) *spasiiā* is either 1st sg.ind. 'I look upon' or 2nd sg.imv. 'look upon'.

44,12. 4+7; 4+7 (*pərəsā̃i*), 4+7; 4+7; 4+8 (*cíiəṇghaṯ̰*).

(1) This stanza deals with the problems originating in the fact that deceitful people and even the harmful spirit call themselves truthful, whereas Ahura Mazdā and the truthful people are abused by them as being deceitful and harmful; # 43,15:7 *aṯ̰ tōi vīspəṇg aṇgrəṇg aṣ̌aonō ādarə* 'for these declare all harmful persons to be truthful'.

(2) *kə aṣ̌auuā yāiš pərəsāi drəguuå vā* 'who is truthful? (You) with whom I wish to take counsel, or the deceitful one?', # 31,17:1 *katārəm aṣ̌auuā vā drəguuå vā vərənauuaitē maziiō* 'is the truthful one more convincing, or the deceitful one?'

(3) *yā mā drəguuå ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē* 'the deceitful one who (intends) to obstruct Thy benefits', # 30,11:6 *sauuacā aṣauuabiiō* 'and the benfits (in store) for the truthful', 45,7:1 *yehiiā sauuā išåṇtī rādaŋhō* 'with the benefit of whose bounty (those) will approach', [or: 'the benefits of whose bounty those will activate' etc.].

(4) Lines d-e seem to be elaborated from an underlying **yā mā dṛəguuå ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē maiiiietē* 'the deceitful one who intends to obstruct Thy benefits', # Yt 8,39 *aŋrō maiiiuš ... mamnūš stāraṃ ... paitī.ərətāe* 'Aŋra Mainiiu, intending to obstruct the stars'. In the elaborated form, the two members of the underlying phrase *paitī.ərətē maiiiietē* 'intends to obstruct' are artficially dissociated from each other into *paitī.ərətē [sc. maiiiietē]* '(intends) to obstruct' and *maiiiietē [sc. paitī.ərətē]* 'intends (to obstruct)'. As a result of this, the inf. *paitī.ərətē* has the function of a finite verb in a subordinate clause; # 29,9:1 *yā anaēšəm xšaṇmānē rādəm* '(I) who (have) to content myself with a caretaker lacking in vigour'.

(5) *ciiāŋghaṯ* '*evidently' is obscure. The mss. show many variants. Kellens-Pirart read *ciiāŋᵛhiṯ*.

(6) *aŋrō maiiiietē* 'he, harmful, intends (to obstruct them)', hardly 'he thinks (of himself) to be harmful' as RV 8,4,12 *svayáṃcit sá manyate dáśurir jánaḥ* 'he thinks of himself to be a pious man'.

44,13. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) Line b is used in Yy 61,5 *kaϑa drujəm nīš ahmaṯ ā nīš.nāšāma? nīš.nāšāma saošiiaṇtō drujəm. kaϑa nīš.nāšāma? yaϑa hīm janāma ... vīspāiš haca karšuuąn yāiš hapta* 'How can we chase deceit out of ourselves? We can chase it out (by acting as) benefactors. How can we chase it out? By casting it out from all of the seven climes.' # Yt 19,12 *nīš taṯ paiti druxš nāšāite yaδāṯ aiβiciṯ jaγmaṯ* 'deceit will be chased out (of the world) to that place from which it had come'.

(2) *ādīuuiieiṇtī* 'they *strive after', cf. perhaps the YAv. pres. *duiia-* (< *dīuuiia-*?) in the poorly transmitted Yt 1,29 *+apaša +vå +zamarə +ana +duiie* 'I chase you back into the earth'.

(3) *hacānā* is from a hapax stem *hacāna-* which is either a noun 'benevolence' or an adj. 'benevolent'. The latter is suggested by the adj. Ved. *sacaná-* 'kindly disposed, ready to help'.

(4) *frasaiiā vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō* 'consultation of good thought', → 43,9:1 *ahiiā fərasām* 'its consultation'.

44,14. 4+7; 4+7 (*dìiąm/dìiąm*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *kaϑā aṣāi druγəm diiąm zastaiiō* 'how might I deliver deceit into the hands of truth'?, # 30,8:7 *yōi aṣāi dadən zastaiiō drujim* 'those who will have delivered deceit into the hands of truth'.

(2) *nī hīm mərąždiiāi* 'to sweep it out, to wash it off', # Yt 16,1 *nimarəzišta- [mss. nam°]* 'best sweeping out, best washing off' (of Raziштā Cistā).

(3) *ϑβahiiā mąϑrāiš səŋghahiiā* 'with the formulas of Thy proclamation', # 48,12:4 *šiiaoϑanāiš aṣā ϑβahiiā ... səŋghahiiā* 'with actions of Thy proclamation, (performed) with truth'.

(4) For *sinąm* a meaning such as 'weapon' is suggested by its epithet *āmauuaitīm* 'impetuous'. Perhaps it is derived from the root Ved. *śā/śi* 'to whet, sharpen'; # RV 1,54,4 *śitắm ... aśánim*,'the sharpened (tip of a) missile'.

(5) *ā īš duuafšāŋg ... anāšē ąstąscā* 'to bring ill [pl.] and harm [pl.] over them', # 53,8:7 *īratū īš duuafšō huuō dərəzā mərəiϑiiaoš maziштō* 'let that ill come upon them (which is) the greatest, (coming) with the bondage of death'.

(6) *duuafšāŋg ... ąstąscā* 'ill and harm', # Vyt 44 *ąsta auuaspaiiama vā *duuafša [mss. dauuōsa/duuaōiš] vā* 'let us throw off harmfulness [malice] and ill', N 41 *gāϑå asrāuuaiiō ąsta vā tarō.maiti vā* 'not reciting the Gāϑās out of malice or scorn'; → 34,8:7 *ϑβahiiā mazdā ąstā uruuātahiiā* 'by the harmfulness of Thy rule'.

44.15. 4+7; 4+7, 4+7 (*ùrùuātāiš*); 4+7 (*dadå*).

(1) The structure of this stanza is similar to that of st. 6. Here as well as in st. 6:1 *yezī tā aϑā haiϑiiā* 'in case those (words) are true', *yezī* introduces a conditional clause: *yezī ahiiā ... xšaiiehī* 'in case Thou hast power (to do so)' [= 'in case Thou art able to tell me']. The question of the stanza itself follows in its last line only (*kuϑrā aiiå kahmāi vananąm dadå*).

(2) *aṣā pōi maṯ* 'to protect me with (the) truth (of Thy answer)', # st. 16 *ϑβā pōi səŋghā yōi haṇtī* 'to protect (those) who exist, by Thy proclamation'.

(3) *maṯ* in *aṣā ... maṯ* is either the postp. *maṯ* 'along with', or it is the abl.sg. of *azəm* 'I'. If it is the postp., then *aṣā ... maṯ* 'along with truth' (# 34,11, 48,11 *aṣā maṯ*) shows the same type of discontinuous word order as 46,19:1 *aṣāṯ ... hacā* 'in accordance with truth' (§ 15.14.3). If on the other hand *maṯ* is abl.sg., then cf. *pōi maṯ* 'to protect me' (< 'to keep away (evil) from me') with Ved. *pā* 'to protect', governing an abl. in

RV 1,134,5 *tváṃ víśvasmād bhúvanāt pāsi dhármaṇā* 'with (thy) law thou protectest all mankind'.

(4) *hiiaŋ hām spādā ... jamaētē* 'when the two hosts will confront each other', # 30,4:1 *hiiaŋ tā hām mainiiū jasaētəm* 'when these two spirits confront each other', Yt 14,43 *yaŋ spāδa haŋjasånte.*

44,16. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*dą̊m*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) In line b, the two elements *vərəθrəm* and *jā* can be read either with disjunctive spelling, as a phrase *vərəθrəm jā* 'breaking resistance', or with conjunctive spelling, as a compound *vərəθrəm.jā* 'resistance-breaker'. For the disjunctive spelling *vərəθrəm jā* (stem *vərəθrəm jan-*), # V 19,40 *daēum janəm spəŋjaγrīm* 'smiting the Daēva Spəŋjaγri (→45,9:3), but also 53,6:9 *bərədbiiō duš.xᵛarəθām* 'to those offering foul food'. For the conjunctive spelling *vərəθrəm.jā* (stem *vərəθrəm.jan-*), cf. 29,3:3 *sarəjan-* 'deliverer' [lit. 'breaker of shelters or enclosures'], YAv. *vərəθrajan-* 'victorious'. Note OAv. nom.sg. *sarəjā*, YAv. nom.sg. *vərəθrajå/vərəθraja*, arch. YAv. *vərəθrajā* in Yy 58,4.

(2) Unless line c has one syllable too many, *dą̊m* is monosyllabic and can hardly be the acc.sg. of a root noun *dā-* 'granting' (acc.sg. **dą̊m*); it has to be a case form from *dam-* 'house' (Monna, *Gathas*, 1978, 55). One could e.g. imagine a nom.acc.pl.n. *ciθrā dą̊m* 'bright houses' (→st. 20:3 *kąm*), but the parallels 48,7:11, 49,10:1 *θβahmī ā dąm* 'in Thy house' rather point to a loc.sg. *mōi dąm* 'in my house'. Thus: *ciθrā mōi dąm ... ratūm cīždī* 'accord to me as a judgment bright things (to be) in my house'. The three words *ciθra-*, *dam-* and *ratu-* are also found in Vr 14,2 but in a different combination: *xᵛahmi dąm xᵛahmi ciθre xᵛahmi zaoše xᵛahmi xšaθre xᵛahmi rat[a]uuō xᵛahmi *aiiapte [mss. °təm]* 'in his own house, in his own seed, in his own pleasure, in his own power, in (the field of) his own judgment, in his own share'.

(3) *hōi ... səraošō jaŋtū* 'let (recompense for) obedience come to him', →43,12:4-7 *parā hiiaŋ mōi ā.jimaŋ səraošō* 'before (recompense for) obedience will (have) come to me'.

(4) *ahmāi yahmāi vaši kahmāicīŋ* 'to him to whomsoever Thou wishest', # 43,1:2 *ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāicīŋ ... mazdå dāiiāŋ ahurō* 'to him to whomsoever the Wise Ahura may grant the (things) desired'.

44,17. 4+7; 4+8 (*carå̄nī*); 4+7 (*āskəitīm*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) In our opinion, there is a textual nexus between *zarəm* of this and *uštrəm* of the following stanza, alluding to Zaraθuštra's own name. If so, then the internal *a* of *zara-* must be genuine, and an etymological connexion with Sogd. *z'ry* 'pity, mercy, compassion', which would otherwise be appropriate, must be excluded. More likely, *zara-* means 'goal, objective', cf. Ved. *háryati* 'desires, longs for', as suggested already by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1670 (§ 2.2.6).

(2) *kaθā ... carānī* 'how may I proceed (towards)?', 1st sg.sbj. of the pres. YAv. *caraiti* 'goes etc.'. Hardly: 'how may I effect [provide]?', 1st sg.sbj. of the aor. *cōrəŋ* 'makes/made', for which the context most likely would require the mid. **carānē* 'how can I provide for myself?'.

(3) *carå̄nī* (as 28,3 *ufiiå̄nī*) is in contrast to st. 18 *hanå̄nī*, 46,17 *səŋghå̄nī*.

(4) *āskəiti-* < **ā-sk-ti-* 'attachment, devotedness, affection', # V 5,34 *ā dim ā.hiš.haxti yauuaēca yauuaētātaēca* 'clings to him for ever and ever'.

(5) *āskəitīm xšmākąm hiiaŋcā mōi xiiāŋ vāxš aēšō* 'Your attachment, and so that my voice might be vigorous (enough)' (§ 15.1.5).

(6) *vāxš aēšō* 'voice (might be) vigorous', →29,9:2-3 *anaēšəm ... rādəm vācim nərəš asūrahiiā* 'a caretaker lacking in vigour, (namely) the voice of the weak man'; # P 25 *aēšō vāxš* 'vigorous voice'.

(7) *sarōi būždiiāi hauruuātā amərətātā* 'to adorn, to (serve as) shelter, both, integrity and immortality', # 31,21:1 *hauruuatō amərətātascā ... aŋaxiiācā ... xšaθrahiiā sarō* alternatively: 'shelter of integrity and immortality, truth and power'.

(8) *būždiiāi* 'to adorn', →43,8:4 *būšti-* 'adornment'.

(9) *auuā mąθrā yā rāθəmō aŋāŋ hacā* 'through that formula which (is) *dependent on truth', # 53,6:3 *drūjō hacā rāθəmō* 'he who (is) *dependent on deceit'. The translation '*dependent' of *rāθəma-* is a guess. Even less clear is *rāθəma-* in Yy 8,3 *mazdaiiasnō aojanō aŋahe rāθma jīštaiiamnō* 'pretending to be a Mazdayasnian (but) *hating (those who are) *dependent on truth'.

44,18. 4+7; 4+7; (*hanå̄nī*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*då̊ŋhā*).

(1) *taŋ mīždəm hanānī* 'shall I deserve that prize?', →st. 19:1 *taŋ mīždəm hanəntē* 'to him who deserves that prize'; # 54,1:5 *vairīm hanāŋ mīždəm* 'will deserve a desirable prize'.

(2) *dasā aspå aršənuuaitīš* 'ten mares with a stallion'. Thus rather than 'with stallions', # Pali *gavaṃ sahassaṃ saha puṃgavena* 'a thousand cows with a bull' (§ 13.3.4), V 19,33 *maēši vəhrkauuaiti* 'an ewe attacked by a wolf', RV 8,68,18 *vṛ́ṣanvatī* 'a mare with a stallion' (§ 15.1.7).

(3) *apiuuaitī* '*secures', perhaps < **ā-pīuuaiti* 'holds on to', cf. YAv. *apiuuaiti* 'seizes' in Yt 10,27 *auuarəθå hīš apiuuaiti baēuuarə γənąnå nisirinaoiti* 'he seizes them, defenceless, he deals out ten thousand blows'. The similarity of *a-piuuaitī* with V 9,2.47.52 *api-uuatāite* 'will be acquainted with', Yy 9,25 *a(i)pi-uuatahe* 'thou art acquainted with' is only apparent. In these YAv. passages, the incorrect spelling *api°* for correct *aipi°* is likely to be influenced by the Gāθic word.

(4) *hauruuātā amərətātā yaθā hī taibiiō dåŋhā* 'integrity (and) immortality just as Thou takest [obtainest] them for Thyself', # 34,1:3 *yā yasnā amərətatātəm ... taibiiō dåŋhā ... xšaθrəmcā hauruuatātō* 'the worship through which Thou takest [obtainest] for Thyself immortality and the power of integrity'.

(5) *taibiiō dåŋhā* 'Thou takest [obtainest] for Thyself', →st. 19:3 *ahmāi ... dāitē* 'he shall obtain (it) for himself'.

44,19. 4+7; 4+7(*dā̃itī*); 4+7 (*dā̃itē*); 4+7 (*paouruiiē*); 4+7.

(1) *yastaṯ mīždəm hanāṇtē nōiṯ dāitī* 'he who will not award such a prize to him who deserves it', # 46,19:4-5 *ahmāi mīždəm hanəṇtē parāhūm* 'for him who deserves the prize of higher existence', 34,13:6 *mīždəm ... yehiia tū daθrəm* 'the prize of which Thou (art) the award'.

(2) Note the opposition *dā̃itī* [act.] 'will give, will award' vs. *ahmāi ... dā̃itē* [mid.] 'shall obtain for himself'.

(3) *ahmāi ... dā̃itē* 'shall obtain for himself', →st. 18:5 *taibiiō dåŋhā* 'Thou takest [obtainest] for Thyself', 51,19:1 *ahmāi dazdē* 'obtains [elects] for himself', 46,15:2 *xšmaibiiā daduiiē* 'you will obtain for yourselves', 43,2:1 *ahmāi ... daidītā* 'may he obtain for himself'; # 51,1:6 *taṯ nā ... varəšānē* 'that I will provide for us'.

(4) *kā ... maēniš* 'what chastisement?', # 31,15:1 *yā maēniš* 'which chastisement'; cf. Ved. *mení-* 'wrath, vengeance, punishment', considered a missile like a thunderbolt' in RV 10,27,11 *mením práti tám mucāte* 'will cast his wrath upon him'.

(5) The acc. objects *tām* 'him' and *īm* 'him' prove that *aŋhaṯ* is a transitive verb. It cannot, therefore, come from [1]*ah* 'to be', but must be the 3rd sg.sbj.aor. of [2]*ah* 'to throw, shoot, send out, emit' (→34,8:1 *as* 'Thou sendest', # 31,4:3 *aŋhən* 'they will have sent out') the pres. of which is YAv. *aiŋhiieiti* = Ved. *asyati*.

(6) *aŋhaṯ pauruiiē ... aŋhaṯ apāmā* 'will befall him in (his) primal (existence) ... will befall him (as) final' with loc. vs. nom.; # 33,2:1 *akəm ... vaŋhāu* 'evil ... in the good way', 47,4:5 *kāθē ... akō* 'pleasantly ... evil'; →30,3:1 *mainiiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of existence)', 45,3:9 on *pauruiia- ... apāma-*.

(7) *vīduuå* 'I (am) knowing, I know', →29,5:2 *frīnəmnā* 'we two (are) devoting ourselves'.

44,20. 4+7; 4+7/8 (*kąm/kąm*); 4+7 (*karàpā, dåtā*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *ciθənā mazdā huxšaθrā daēuuā åŋharə* 'have there (ever) been Daēvas of good rule?' [or: 'are the Daēvas perhaps good rulers?'], # 35,5:1 *huxšaθrō.təmāi ... hiiaṯ mazdāi ahurāi* 'to the best ruler, the Wise Ahura', RV 1,19,3-5 *yé ... sukṣatrā́saḥ ... devā́saḥ* 'the Devas who (are) good rulers'. Here, the perf. *åŋharə* is perhaps used emphatically in the sense of a pres., →32,1:7 *åŋhāmā* 'let us be', 43,15:7 *ādarə* 'they declare'.

(2) *pišiia-* 'to face, to oppose, to block' [or: 'to see, to observe, to look at'] seems to be derived from the same root *paēš/pīš* as OP. *paišiyā*, MP. *pēš* 'before'; →50,2:5 *ərəžəjīš ... pourušū huuarə pišiiasū* 'one who lives decently among the many who *block sun(light)'. Accordingly, YAv. *apišman-* (why not **apaēšman-*?) has to mean 'out of sight, secret, separate': Yt 10,105 *nōiṯ imaṯ vispəm dužuuarštəm ... miθrō vaēnaiti apišma* 'Miθra does not see all that ill-doing, being out of sight', V 13,47 *apišma.x^{v}arō yaθa tāiiuš ... apišma.x^{v}arō yaθa disuš* '(the dog is) eating secretly like the thief, eating secretly like the hamster' (cf. Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 1959, 255). Quite a different possibility would be to take *pišiia-* as a fut. of the root *pai/pī* 'to blaspheme' (= Ved. *pī* 'to abuse, defy'). In this case, the part. *pišiiaṇt-* (< **pī-šiia-ṇt-*) would rank morphologically with YAv. *būšiiaṇt-* 'existing in the future' from *bau/bū*, and etymologically with Ved. *pīyant-* 'abusing, defying' in RV 10,68,6 *valásaya pīyataḥ* 'of the defying Vala enclosure'.

(3) In spite of the difference in vowel quantity, Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 470 equates OAv. *kąm* < **kām* with Ved. *kám*, a particle often found attached to a dat. case and generally placed at the end of a pāda, e.g. in RV 10,13,4 *devébhyaḥ kám*. We take *kąm* as nom.acc.pl. of a root noun *kam-* n. 'pleasure' (# st. 6:2 *dąm* alternatively: 'houses'). Thus: *aṯ īṯ pərəsā yōi pišiieintī aēibiiō kąm yāiš ... yācā* 'but let me ask it (of those) who *block pleasure, (seduced) by those (words) with which ... and which'.

(4) If we alternatively take *kąm* as particle and *aṯ īṯ pərəsā* as a parenthesis ('—I only ask that—'), then *daēuuā* ought to be the antecedent of *yōi pišiieiṇtī aēibiiō kąm*.

In this case, an acc.obj. of *pišiieiṇtī* is missing: *civənā mazdā huxšaϑrā daēuuā åŋharə —aṯ̨ īṯ̨ pərəsā— yōi pišiieiṇtī aēibiiō kaṃ* 'have the Daēvas ever been of good rule —I only ask that— (the Daēvas) who *block ... '.

(5) In our translation, *aṯ̨ īṯ̨ pərəsā* governs *yōi pišiieiṇtī aēibiiō kaṃ* 'but let me ask that (of those) who *block pleasure, in accordance with those (words)', the dem.pron. *aēibiiō* is taken as the antecedent of the two rel. pronouns *yāiš ... yācā* 'those (words) by which ... and which'.

(6) The coordination *yāiš ... karapā usixšcā ... yācā kauuā* '(the words) with which the Karapan and the Usij ... and which the Kavi' is suggested by 46,11:2 *karapanō kāuuaiiascā* 'the Karapans and the Kavis', 32,15:1 *yā karapō.tåscā kəuuītåscā* 'the group of Karapans and Kavis' (# 51,14:2), Yy 9,18 *daēuuanąm maŝiiānąmcā yāϑβąm pairikanąmca sāϑrąm kaoiiąm karafnąmca* 'of Daēvas and mortals, of sorcerers, witches and Sātars, of Kavis and Karapans'. The combination *usixš ... kauuā* has an interesting parallel in RV 3,2,4 *uśíjaṃ kavíkratum agnim* 'Agni, the Uśij who has the intellect of a Kavi' (§ 3.1.4.1).

(7) *yāiš gąm karapā usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā* '(the words) with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful treatment)', →29,2:7 *hiiaṯ̨ hīm dātā ... gaodāiiō vβaxšō* 'when cow-milking zeal takes possession of her', 46,8:1 *yə vā mōi yå gaēϑå dazdē aēnaŋhē* 'he who aims at my herds to injure them'. Here, *gąm* 'cow' stands in compositional nexus with st. 18 *dasā aspå ... uštrəmcā* 'ten mares and a camel'; cf. the climax A 3,7-10 *maēšinąm ... gauuąm ... aspanąm ... uštranąm* 'of ewes, cows, mares, she-camels', V 7,42 *kaϑβa ... gauua ... aspa ... uštra* 'she-ass, cow, mare, she-camel'.

(8) *karapā usixšcā ... dātā* 'the Karapan and the Usij seize', with sg. of the verb, # 32,15:1 *vī.nānāsā yā karapōtåscā kəuuītåscā* 'the group of Karapans and Kavis is lost'.

(9) *ąnmānē*, his original reading, was corrected by Geldner himself into *ąnmānī* (*Avesta* III 141). However, *ąnmānē* is the lectio difficilior; *ąnmānī* may have been influenced by 45,10:2 *yə ąnmānī srāuuī* 'who is heard in the wind'. For *ąnman-* 'breath, wind', →30,7:3 *kəhrpām ... ąnmā* '(bodily) form ... breath'.

(10) *yācā kauuā ąnmānē urūdōiiatā* '(the words) which the Kavi laments to the wind'. Thus, if *urūdōiia-* is from the root *raod/rud* 'to lament' (# 29,9 *raostā* 'laments'). Cf. the proper name YAv. *urūδaiiaṇt-* in Yt 13,141 *kaniiå urūδaiiaṇtō aŝaoniiå* 'of the truthful daughter of Urūδayaṇt'.

(11) *hīm* in *nōiṯ̨ hīm mīzən* probably refers to *gąm* 'cow', as it does in 29,2 *hiiaṯ̨ hīm dātā* 'when one takes possession of her'.

(12) If *mīzən* 'they *foster' has a nasalized *ī* (< **mįzən*), it might belong with *minaš* in 46,14:5 *yāŋgstū hadəmōi minaš* 'those whom Thou *fosterest in (Thy) abode'.

Yet, *nōiṯ̨ hīm mīzən* also can be read *nōiṯ̨ hīm [mĵ̌zən* 'they do not desire' (§ 10.5.4), comparing **īzən* with 33,6, 49,3 *iziiā* 'I beg' (Geldner *iziiāi*), Ved. *īhate* 'desires', as S. Insler, *Gāthās*, 1975, 253 has it.

(13) *aŝā vāstrəm frādaiŋhē* 'to promote (herds in) the pasture with truth', # st. 10:4 *yā mōi gaēϑå aŝā frādōiṯ̨ hacāmnā* 'which in agreement with truth might promote my herds', 43,6:3 *gaēϑå aŝā frādəṇtē* 'the herds are promoted with truth', # 34,14:3 *xratəuš āŝā frādō vərəzənā* 'in accordance with the intellect which promotes communities with truth'; →46,12:3 *tūrahiiā ārmatōiš gaēϑå frādō vβaxšaŋhā* 'of Tūra (who was) promoting the herds with zeal'.

Yasna 45: *Aṯ̨ Frauuaxšiiā Hāiti*

45,0. Preliminary remarks.

(1) Y 45 pictures the epoch-consciousness of Zaraϑuštra and his followers with particular distinctness. The invitation of Yima (into the circle of the gods?) once, long ago, meant the beginning of the tragic events which led to the loss of Paradise. To please mankind Yima sinned against God (→32,8). Thus, he became the instrument for the penetration of darkness and deceit into the world of light and truth, with which the second world epoch began, characterised by the mixing of light and darkness, good and evil. This second epoch is considered by the prophet as nearing completion, and with a most active attention to the care of the Sacred Fire, the cult of which was revived and reformed by him, the truthful ones help to drive darkness out of the world. The Sacred Fire, considered as a fire of ordeal, grants them the chance of distinguishing truth from deceit, and thus of setting the stage for the final annihilation of the latter.

(2) Sts. 1-3 run parallel to 30,1-4. The hymn ends with *mazdā ahurā*, the only direct address to Ahura Mazdā found in it. Its sts. 1-6 begin with the set phrase *aṯ̨ frauuaxšiiā* 'I shall (now) proclaim'. Corresponding to this is Ved. *prá vocam* 'I proclaim' with which three Vedic hymns of praise are introduced:

1,32,1 *índrasya nú vīryàṇi prá vocam*
I proclaim now the heroic deeds of Indra

1,154,1 *víṣṇor nú kaṃ vīryàṇi prá vocam*
I proclaim now the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu

2,15,1 *prá ghā nv àsya maható mahâni*
satyấ satyásya kāraṇāni vocam
I proclaim now the great and true deeds
of him, the great and true one.

45,1. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7(*dàibitī̃m*); 4+7; 4+7 (*varànā, hizùuā*).

(1) *aŋ̇ frauuaxšiiā nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā* 'I shall (now) proclaim (a message), listen [pl.] now, hear now', # 30,1:1 *aŋ̇ tā vaxšiiā* 'I shall proclaim (now) such (things)', followed by 30,2:1 *sraotā gəuš.āiš vahištā* 'hear with Your ears the best (things)'; 49,7:1 *taŋ̇cā vohū mazdā sraotū manaŋhā ... gūšahuuā tū ahurā* 'let one hear this with good thought, O Wise One, listen (to it) O Ahura'.

(2) *aŋ̇ frauuaxšiiā ... yaēcā asnāŋ̇ yaēcā dūrāŋ̇ išaϑā* 'I shall (now) proclaim, O You who approach from both near and far', # 30,1:1-2 *aŋ̇ tā vaxšiiā išəṇtō* 'I shall proclaim (now), O You approaching ones'.

(3) *yaēcā asnāŋ̇ yaēcā dūrāŋ̇ išaϑā* 'O You who approach from both near and far' refers to the Ahuras; # st. 7:2 *išåṇtī yōi zī juuā åŋharəcā buuaiṇticā* '(those) will approach (us), who indeed exist and have existed and will exist' (but →n. 5), RV 4,20,1 *á na índro dūrâd á na āsâd ... ávase yāsat* 'Indra shall come to us for help from far, from near'.

(4) The pres. *iša-* includes both, [1]*iša-* < *īša-* 'to approach' (desiderative from *ai/i* 'to go') and [2]*iša-* < *īša-* 'to set in motion, activate, invigorate' (formed like a desiderative from *aēš/iš* 'to set in motion'); →44,2:4-5 *yə̄ ī paitišāŋ̇* 'he who will restore [reactivate]'. The mid. of [1]*īša-* is disguised in YAv. *raϑōišəmna-* (< *raϑō-išəmna-* or **raϑōi-išəmna-*) 'riding in a chariot (like a Daēva)', where *išəmna-* = Ved. *iṣamāṇa-* 'flying away, escaping'.

(5) In the present stanza, the combination of *išaϑā* with the local adverbs *asnāŋ̇ ... dūrāŋ̇* 'from both near and far' suggests that we are concerned with [1]*iša-* 'to approach'; # Yt 5,68 *spāδəm ... dūrāŋ̇ aiianṭəm* 'the army approaching from afar', Vyt 59 *narəm aŝauuanəm ... asnāaŋ̇ca jasəṇtəm dūrāaŋ̇ca* 'the truthful man coming from near or from far'. [1]*iša-* 'to approach' is also in 47,6:6 *pourūš išəṇtō* 'the many who approach', but [2]*iša-* is preferable in 46,9:5 *yā aŝāi gəuš tašā mraoŋ̇ išəṇtī mā* '(the things) of which the fashioner of the cow speaks to truth regarding the one who might invigorate me'. Both renderings are possible in st. 7:2 *yehiiā sauuā išåṇtī* 'with whose benefit (those) shall approach' (→n. 3), or: 'whose benefits (those) will activate'.

(6) *vīspā* 'You ... all' is a form of address of the Ahuras which corresponds to that of the Daēvas in 32,3:1 *yūš daēuuā vīspåŋhō* 'you Daēvas all'.

(7) *nū īm vīspā ciϑrā zī mazdåŋhō.dūm* 'now You shall all take note of it, for it is bright' refers to existence illuminated by the Sacred Fire; # 30,2:2 *auuaēnatā sūcā manaŋhā* 'view through the radiance with (Your) thought'. *ciϑrā* has preserved its final -ā before *z*° (§ 10.6.2).

(8) *mazdåŋhō.dūm* 'You shall take note of', # 30,1:4 *yā mazdāϑā hiiaŋ̇cīŋ̇ vīdušē ... ahurāi* '(those things) which You shall report also to (Him) who (already) knows (them), to the Ahura'. Both passages allude to the Ahura's attribute *mazdā-* 'wise' [lit. 'mindful, remembering'], →28,1:9.

(9) *daibitīm* = YAv. *bitīm*, OP. *duvitiyam* 'for a second time'. Not to be taken as an attribute of *ahūm* 'existence', which is usually qualified by *pauruiia-* 'primal' and *apəma-* 'last, final'; # st. 3:2-9 *aŋhəuš ahiiā paouruuīm ... aŋhəuš ... apəməm* 'the primal (formula) of this existence ... the last (word) of (their) existence'.

(10) The sentence *nōiŋ̇ daibitīm duš.sastiš ahūm mərəšiiāŋ̇* 'may the blasphemer not destroy existence for a second time' alludes to Yima, the first destroyer of the world. Note that the second of the two OAv. occurrences of *duš.sastiš* 'blasphemer' is found in 32,9:1, immediately after the mention of the crimes committed by Yima, which suggests that Yima is considered the *duš.sastiš* par excellence.

(11) *nōiŋ̇ ... ahūm mərəšiiāŋ̇* 'may he not destroy existence', →46,11:3 *ahūm mərəŋgəidiiāi* 'to destroy existence'.

(12) The overwhelming majority of manuscripts, followed by Geldner and Kellens-Pirart, read *drəguuå hizuuå*. Although this is incomprehensible, there can be hardly any doubt that it was the reading of the subarchetype. For this reason, Bartholomae's reading *drəguuå hizuuā*, found in the mss. K4 and C1 only (§ 10.8.2, Groups 1-2), has barely any more critical value than a conjecture. Nevertheless, it is most likely to be the reading of the original text. The incomprehensible *drəguuå hizuuå* seems to be corrupted from *drəguuå hizuuā* by perseveration of °*uuå*.

(13) *drəguuå hizuuā āuuarətō* 'the deceitful one, invited by one's tongue' recalls 28,5:8 *mazištəm vāurōimaidī ... hizuuā* 'with (our) tongue we would receive the greatest one', but the similarity seems to be of only superficial nature: *vāura-* is from one of the roots *var/vṛ* while *āuuarəta-* is from [2]*var* (→ 28,5:8).

(14) *āuuarəta-* 'invited, preferred' is the p.p.p. of *ā-var* 'to invite, prefer' from root [2]*var* 'to choose'. Its nominalized form is YAv. *auuarəta-* 'object of preference, object of value'. Compositionally, *āuuarətō* 'invited' corresponds to 30,2:3 *āuuarənå* 'invitations, preferences'; # st. 8:1 *ā.vīuuarəšō* 'trying to invite'.

45,2. 4+7 (*pauruiiē*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*varànā, šiiaoϑànā*); 4+7 (*daẽnå, ùrúuąnō*).

(1) *aŋhāuš maiiniiū pauruiiē* 'the two spirits (present) in the primal stage of (one's) existence', # 30,3:1 *tā maiiniiū pauruiiē* 'these (are) the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage of existence)'.

(2) *spaniiå ... yəm aŋgrəm* 'the more prosperous one ... the harmful one', # 30,3:6 *vahiiō akəmcā* 'the better and the evil action' (§ 15.2.1).

(3) *mrauuaṯ* 'he shall address' is to be distinguished from *mraoṯ* 'he addresses, he addressed' (§ 11.5.2); →29,3:1 *paitī.mrauuaṯ* 'will answer'.

(4) Lines c-d-e are quoted in Yy 19,15 where they are preceded by the words *aṇtarəca druuaṇtəm āmrūta aiia aṇtarə.uxti* 'and he banished the deceitful one with the following ban'; # 49,3:5 *aṇtarā vīspąŋg drəguuatō haxmāŋg aṇtarā.mruiiē* 'I banish all the deceitful from (our) fellowship'.

(5) *nōiṯ nā manå ... nōiṯ uruuąnō haciṇtē* 'neither our [du.] thoughts [pl.] ... nor our souls [pl.] agree', # 33,9:7 *yaiiå haciṇtē uruuąnō* 'whose [du.] souls [pl.] agree'. The plur. used in *manå* 'thoughts', *sāŋghā* 'pronouncements', *uxδā* 'statements', *šiiaoϑanā* 'actions', evidently has distributive function; it denotes the many thoughts etc. of each of the two. Less clear is the use of the plur. in *xratauuō* 'intellects', *varanā* 'choices', *daēnå* 'views', *uruuąnō* 'souls', but it must, no doubt, be explained in an analogous way, i.e. as 'manifestations [pl.] of our [du.] intellects, choices, views, (and) souls'. Whereas in other occurrences these words seem to denote immaterial parts of the human body, here (and in 33,9:7) even *daēnā-* 'view' and *uruuan-* 'soul' must be taken as referring to psychological processes which can be repeated ad libitum.

45,3. 4+7 (*paouruuĩm*); 4+7; 4+7; 3+7 (*mənǻicā vaocãcā/mənã́icā vaocácā*); 4+7.

(1) *aŋhāuš ahiiā* 'of this existence' as in st. 4; # 32,13:5 *aŋhāuš marəxtārō ahiiā* 'destroyers of this existence', 34,6:3 *ahiiā aŋhāuš vīspā maēϑā* 'on all days of this existence'; →43,3:4 *ahiiā aŋhāuš astuuatō manaŋhascā* 'of this corporeal existence and of that of thought'.

(2) In case *aŋhāuš ahiiā paouruuīm* 'the primal one of this existence' anticipates *mąϑrəm* ('the primal formula of this existence'), then *yōi ... vaocacā* are the words of Ahura Mazdā addressed to Zaraϑuštra (alternative A, cf. n. 9). Yet, if *aŋhāuš ahiiā paouruuīm* anticipates *mazdå ahurō* then *yōi ... vaocacā* are words of Zaraϑuštra addressed to the human participants in the sacrifice (alternative B). Note that *aŋhāuš* and *paouruuīm* are combined in a different manner in 43,5:2 *hiiaṯ ϑβā aŋhāuš ząϑōi darəsəm paouruuīm* 'when I see Thee, the primal one, (engaged) in the begetting of existence' (§ 12.1.6.1).

(3) *yąm mōi* is taken as inexactly transmitted for **yą mōi*, sandhi for **yām mōi* (# 46,16:5 *varədəmąm šaēitī*, § 10.5.3) in which *yąm/*yām* is the antecedent of *īm ... mąϑrəm* 'it, ... the formula'. Hence: *yąm mōi vīduuå mazdå vaocaṯ ahurō* '(the formula) which the Wise Ahura told me'; # 31,6:3 *ahmāi ... yā mōi vīduuå vaocāṯ haiϑīm mąϑrəm ... mazdāi* 'to Him, the knowing one, the Wise One, who may pronounce for me the true formula'.

(4) *yōi īm vā nōiṯ ... mąϑrəm varəšəṇtī* either means '(for those) among you who will not apply the formula' with *vā* as partitive gen. referring to mortals (said by Ahura Mazdā, alternative A), or: '(for those) who will not apply it for You' with *vā* as dat. referring to Ahura Mazdā and the Ahuras (said by Zaraϑuštra, alternative B). A similar problem is found in 31,18:1 *mā ciš aṯ vā drəguuatō mąϑrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā* 'let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to Your formulas and teachings', or: 'let no one of You listen to the formulas and teachings of the deceitful one'.

(5) *yōi īm vā nōiṯ iϑā mąϑrəm varəšəṇtī yaϑā īm mānāicā vaocacā* '(for those) among you who will not apply the formula [or: for those who will not apply the formula for You] in the way in which I shall conceive and pronounce it', # 35,3:3 *mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā yā hātąm šiiaoϑananąm vahištā xiiāṯ* 'we may conceive, pronounce and perform the actions etc.', 39,4:1 *yaϑā tū ī ahurā māŋghācā vaocascā dåscā vaəšcā yā vohū* 'just as Thou didst conceive and pronounce and establish and work the good (things)'.

(6) *iϑā ... yaϑā*, # 33,1:2 *yaϑā ... iϑā*.

(7) *mānāicā vaocacā* 'I shall conceive and pronounce', cf. the preceding *vaocaṯ ... mąϑrəm* 'told me the formula'.

(8) *aēibiiō aŋhāuš auuōi aŋhaṯ apāməm* 'for them "woe" will be the last (word) of (their) existence', # 31,20:7 *auuaētās vacō* 'the word "woe"', 53,7:10 *aṯ vā vaiiōi aŋhaṯ apāməm vacō* 'then "woe" will be Your last word'. Cf. YAv. *āuuōiia* 'woe', antonym of *ušta* in H 2,34.

(9) *apāməm* 'the last (word)' is contrasted with *paouruuīm* 'primal (formula)'; # 30,4:3 *paouruuīm ... yaϑācā aŋhaṯ apāməm aŋhuš* 'the primal (stage of one's existence) and of what nature (his) existence will be at last', 43,5:2-5 *paouruuīm ... dāmōiš uruuaēsē apāmē* 'the primal one ... at the final turning point of creation', 44,19:6 *yā hīm maēniš aŋhaṯ paouruiiē ... apāmā* 'what chastisement will befall him in (his) primal (existence), (as) final' (§ 12.1.6.1).

45,4. 4+7; 4+7 (*dāṯ̰*); 4+7 (*pàtarəm*); 4+7 (*hušiiaoϑànā, ā̃rmaitiš*).

(1) *aŋhāuš ahiiā vahištəm* 'the best one of this existence' is ambiguous. It either refers to Ahura Mazdā, or it is continued by *īm* 'him/it (good thought)', which itself anticipates *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō* 'of good thought' (→48,5:7).

(2) *yə̄ īm dāṯ̰* 'the one who created it (good thought)' is a paraphrase of *ptarəm vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō* 'the father of good thought'; →31,8:1 *vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō.*

(3) *varəzaiia-* 'to be fresh, to refresh' is a denominative from *varəz-* 'refreshment, freshness' (st. 9:5), cf. the corresponding Ved. *ūrjáya-* 'to be fresh, to refresh' from Ved. *ū́rj-* 'freshness, refreshment'. A less perspicuous occurrence of *varəzaiiaṇt-* is in V 14,11, where the enumeration of the tools required by a farmer (*vāstriia- fšuiiaṇt-*) and made available to the priests by him (*nərəbiiō aŋ̊auuabiiō*), ends with the obscure *kaŋ̇strəm paitiš.hərəzəm* +*varəzaiiaṇtəm hakərəṯ̰ ərəzatəm hakərəṯ̰ zaranim.* Here, the PhlT derives *kaŋ̇stra-* from *kandan* 'to dig' (glossed *bēl* 'spade') and renders +*varəzaiiaṇtəm* by *kunēnd* 'they make' (as if it were *vərəziṇti*). None of this is useful. Etymologically *kaŋ̇stra-* rather belongs with Ved. *kaṃsá-* 'a vessel made of metal, drinking vessel'. If so, then *kaŋ̇stra- paitiš.hərəz(a)- varəzaiiaṇt-* could mean a watering can (cf. NP. *warzkun* 'a jug of water') made of silver and gold, or used for measuring silver and gold. A connexion with Phl. *warzīdan* 'to work, till' must be discarded.

(4) *aṯ̰ hōi dugədā ... ārmaitiš* 'and His daughter is right-mindedness', # Yt 17,2 *aŋ̊īm ... duγdarəm ahurahe mazdå xᵛaŋharəm aməŋ̊aŋ̇əm spəṇtaŋ̇əm* 'Aŋ̊i, the daughter of Ahura Mazdā, the sister of the Amə̄ŋ̊a Spə̄ṇtas'.

(5) *nōiṯ̰ diβžaidiiāi vīspā.hišas ahurō* 'the all-seing Ahura is not to be deceived', → 43,6:4 *ϑβahiiā xratāuš yəm naēciš dābaiieitī* 'of Thy intellect which nobody (can) deceive'. *vīspā.hišat-* is rendered 'all-seeing' after PhlT *harwisp nigerīdār*; →44,2:7 *hāra-* 'perceiving, recording'.

45,5. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*dą̄n*); 4+7; 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš*).

(1) *frauuaxšiiā ... vacā srūidiiāi* 'I shall (now) proclaim the word to be listened to', # 34,12:2 *srūidiiāi ... frāuuaocā* 'proclaim so that (we) may hear (it)'. *vacā s°* shows preservation of the original OAv. ending -ā before *s°* (§ 10.6.2).

(2) *mōi ahmāi* 'to me here' (emphatically), # 46,19:3 *mōi ... zaraϑuštrāi ... ahmāi*, Ved. *tásmai te* 'dir da' (Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 212).

(3) *vaŋhāuš mainiiəuš šiiaoϑanāiš mazdå ahurō* 'the Ahura (will) remember (that) with actions of good spirit' [lit. 'he (will be) remembering that'] is an isolated sentence

of the same type as the last line of st. 4. Here, *mazdå* has the same function of a predicative noun as it has in the isolated sentence 47,1:4 *mazdå xšaϑrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'the Ahura reminds (them) with power and right-mindedness'; →31,2:7 *ahurō ... mazdå aiiå ą̊saiiå* 'the Ahura, mindful of those two (well-known) shares'.

45,6. 4+7 (*vīspaną̄m*); 4+7 (*hudā̃*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *vīspaną̇m mazištəm* 'the greatest one of all', # 28,5:7 *mazištəm*, Yy 19,12 *yaϑā īm vīspaną̇m mazištəm cinasti* 'just as one describes Him as the greatest of all (beings)' (→ 27,13:1), Vr 11,21 *āaṯ̰ iδa dim vīspaną̇m mazištəm* +*daδəmahi ahūmca ratūmca yim ahurəm mazdą̇m* 'thus we appoint Him, the greatest of all who (is) Ahura Mazdā, (to be) the lord and judge'.

(2) *yə̄ hudå yōi həṇtī* 'he who (is) munificent (towards those) who exist', # 51,10:3 *duždå yōi həṇtī* 'miserly (towards those) who exist'. Not impossible is also 'who (is) the munificent one (among those) who exist', cf. *hātąm hudāstəma-* 'the most munificent one among the existing' in 41,2:5 of Ahura Mazdā, in Yt 13,152 of Zaraϑuštra.

(3) *vohū frašī manaŋhā* 'I take counsel with good thought', →47,3:5 *hām vohū hāmə.fraštā manaŋhā* 'took counsel with good thought'.

(4) *ahiiā xratū* 'with His intellect', →47,5:5.

(5) *frō mā sāstū* 'let him teach me', →28,11:4 *frō mā sīšā* 'teach me'.

45,7. 4+7 (*išā̃ṇtī*); 4+7 (*júuā, búuanticā*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*mazdā̃*).

(1) In *yehiiā sauuā išā̊ṇtī rādaŋhō*, the verb *išā̊ṇtī* is semantically ambiguous, →st. 1:4-5 *išaϑā*, 44,2:4-5 *paitišāṯ̰*). Alternative A is ¹*išā̊ṇtī* 'they will approach', translating 'with the benefit of whose bounty (those) will approach' [or: 'with whose benefit (those) bounteous will approach']. Alternative B is ²*išā̊ṇtī* 'they will set in motion, activate, invigorate', translating 'the benefits of whose bounty (those) will activate' [or: 'whose benefits the bounteous will activate']). Alternative A is favoured by the compositional nexus with st. 1:3-5 *yaēcā asnāṯ̰ yaēcā dūrāṯ̰ išaϑā* 'O You who approach from both near and far'. On the other, hand alternative B is suggested by comparison with 44,2:4 *kāϑā sūidiiāi yə̄ ī paitišāṯ̰* 'he who will restore [reactivate] pleasant conditions so that (we) may enjoy benefit', and by the contrast with 44,12:3 *yə̄ mā drəguuå ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē* 'the deceitful one who (intends) to obstruct Thy benefits'.

(2) *sauua-* n. mainly denotes benefits assigned by Ahura Mazdā to men; →30,11:5 *hiiaṯcā darəgəm drəguuō.dəbiiō rašō sauuacā aṣauuabiiō* 'what long-lasting harm (is in store) for the deceitful and the benefits for the truthful'. Unlike this, benefits offered by men to Ahura Mazdā seem to be meant in 48,1:8 *aṯ tōi sauuāiš vahməm vaxšaṯ* 'then he will make Thy laudation grow with benefits' (# 51,15:6 *sauuāiš*).

(3) *yehiiā* most probably continues *yehiiā ... ahiiā* of the the preceding st. 6; simultaneously it anticipates *aṣaonō*. If so, then *yehiiā sauuā* 'whose benefits' refers to the benefits assigned to men by truthful Ahura Mazdā (# Yy 11,4 *ahurō mazdå aṣauua*) and brought to them by the Ahuras. On the other hand, if *yehiiā* is not taken as continuing the preceding *yehiiā ... ahiiā*, then *aṣaonō uruuā* could also refer to the soul of the truthful man whose benefits [= offerings] are set in motion by the Ahuras and for which he is promised immortality. In this case, we have to reckon with an etymological play on words *išåṇtī ... aēšō* 'he whose soul they will activate [invigorate] (will be) vigorous'.

(4) *rādaŋhō* '(of whose) bounty' with [1]*rādah-* n. 'bounty', or: 'the bounteous ones' with [2]*rādah-* adj. 'bounteous, bountiful' (cf. Ved. [1]*ápas-* n. 'work, action', [2]*apás-* adj. 'active', 34,8:4 on [1]*aojah-* 'strength', [2]*aojah-* 'strong'); → 46,17:4 *səraošā rādaŋhō* 'in [instr.] obedience to the bountiful one'.

(5) In contrast to st. 6 *yōi hāṇtī* 'those who exist', said of mortals, the series *yōi zī juuā åŋharəcā buuaiṇticā* 'who indeed (are) living, and have existed, and will exist' found here refers to the Ahuras; →51,22:1-3 *yōi åŋharəcā həṇticā* 'who have existed and do exist (now)'. Yet, 27,15 *yēŋhē håtąm* 'of which male (being) among those who exist' refers to the divine entities as well.

(6) *aēša-* 'vigorous' is said of Ahura Mazdā in 43,10:4 *hiiaṯ ϑβā ... aēšəm diiāṯ āmauuaṇtəm* 'if one might have made Thee vigorous (and) impetuous', but of men in 41,4:2 *aēšācā ϑβā āmauuaṇtascā buiiamā* 'may we become vigorous and impetuous through Thee'.

(7) In *utaiiūtā yā nərąš sādrā drəguuatō* 'in stability which distresses the deceitful men', the acc.pl. *nərąš* is verbally governed by the adj. *sādra-* 'distressing'. The verbal government of *sādra-* is of the same type as that in *hāra-* 'perceiving, recording' (→ 44,2:7).

(8) The line *utaiiūtā yā nərąš sādrā drəguuatō* 'in stability which distresses the deceitful men' is used in Vr 18,2 *vīspāiiūmca uštatātəm yazamaide yā narš sādrā druuatō* 'we worship the perpetual comfort which (implies) the distress of the deceitful man'. There, OAv. *utaiiūiti-* has been replaced by YAv. *uštatāt-*, and the OAv. acc.pl.*nərąš* by the YAv. gen.sg. *narš*.

(9) We take the last line *tācā xšaϑrā mazdå dąmiš ahurō* as a separate sentence ('through that very power the Wise Ahura is creative'), cf. the last lines of sts. 4, 5, 8. Yet, *tācā* could also determine the preceding *yā nərąš sādrā drəguuatō* ('through which ... through that very power'). Verbal government of *dāmi-* 'creator, creative' must be taken into consideration as well ('the things which distress the deceitful men: also those very things the Wise Ahura creates'), but such verbal government is unlikely in 31,7:5 *huuō xraϑβā dąmiš aṣəm [sc. maṇtā]* '(as) creator he (conceived) truth with (that) intellect'..

45,8. 4+7; 3/4+7 (*nū̊/nū̃, zīṯ, viiādarəsəm*); 4+7(*šiiaoϑànahiiā*); 4+7 (*mazdą̃m*); 4+7 (*nidåmā*).

(1) *təm ... staotāiš ... ā.vīuuarəšō* '(while) trying to invite Him with praises' stands in compositional link with st. 1:13-14 *āuuarətō* 'invited' (*ā-*[2]*var* 'to invite'), but note also RV 8,26,13 *yajñébhir ávṛtaḥ* 'covered with worship [pl.]' (*ā-*[1]*var* 'to cover'). For the formation of *āvīuuarəšō* '(I am) trying to invite', → st. 9:1 *cixšnušō*.

(2) In *nū zīṯ cašmainī viiādarəsəm* 'I have just now seen (Him) in (my) eye', the augmented aor. of *vī-darəs* is clearly used to denote the immediate past (§ 11.5.3.2); # 31,8:4 *hiiaṯ ϑβā həm cašmainī hāŋgrabəm* 'when I grasp Thee in my eye'.

(3) *šiiaoϑanahiiā uxδaxtiiācā vīduš aṣā* '(as) a witness with truth to the action and statement', → 28,4:9 *vīduš mazdå ahurahiiā* 'witness for the Wise Ahura'. Cf. the proper name YAv. *vīduš.aṣa-*, derived from the present passage.

(4) *aṯ hōi vahmāŋg dəmānē garō nidāmā* 'for Him we deposit laudations in the house of welcome', →28,11:3 on Yt 10,32 *nī hīš [sc. zaoϑrå] dasuua garōnmāne* 'deposit (the libations) for Thyself in the house of welcome'; →32,14:2 *ahiiā ... āhōiϑōi nī ... xratūš nī.dadaṯ* 'they lay their intellects into its fetters'.

45,9. 4+7; 4+6 (*spə́ṇcā aspə́ṇcā*); 4+7 (*dìiāṯ*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *cixšnušō* '(I am) trying to satisfy', # 32,8:4 *yə maṣiiāŋg cixšnušō* 'who tried to satisfy the mortals'. As in st. 8:1 *ā.vīuuarəšō* '(I am) trying to invite' and in st. 10:1 *mimaŋžō* '(I am) trying to present', *cixšnušō* here is the nom.sg.m. of a desiderative adj. in *-a*, comparable to the Ved. formations in *-u* such as Ved. *didṛkṣú-* 'trying to inspect'. The corresponding pres. stem *cixšnuša-* 'to try to satisfy' is found in 49,1:7 *cixšnušā* 'I try to satisfy'. Cf. also 32,12:6 *īša-* 'approaching' [or: 'invigorating'].

(2) *usān* 'at will, at liberty', # 44,10:7 *daidiiaṯ ... usān* 'observes at will', Vyt 42 *hauua uruua ... usən †frāiiaṇtō tarō pəšūm ... yim cinuuatō* 'his own soul will pass at will over the book-keeper's passage'. For phonological reasons, the gen.pl. *usnąm* of unknown meaning in Yy 10,13 *yaṯ usnąm aēiti vaēδiia* must be discarded: the gen.pl. of *usan-* would be **ušnąm* while *usnąm* must represent **uznąm*.

(3) *spəṇcā aspəṇcā* 'prosperity and misfortune', # 34,7:4 *aspəṇcīṯ sādrācīṯ* 'any misfortune and distress'. The adj. *spəṇta-* 'prosperous' is derived from the root noun *spən-* 'prosperity, fortune' as Lat. *honestus* 'honest' from *honōs* 'honour'; → 51,21:1 *spəṇta- ... spənuuaṯ*. The noun *spən-* is also disguised in YAv. *spəŋjaγri-* 'spattering prosperity', understood by the Mazdayasnians as 'destroying prosperity by spattering water', name of a Daēva in V 19,40 *ātrəm vāzištəm ... daēum janəm spəŋjaγrīm* 'the Vāzišta fire which smites the Daēva Spəŋjaγri' (→44,16:1), cf. Ved. *jághri-* in RV 1,162,15 *mókhā bhrājanty abhí vikta jághriḥ* 'do not let the red-hot pot boil over spattering'. A diminutive of *spəŋjaγri-* 'spattering prosperity' is *spiŋjauruška-*, name of a Daēva-worshipper in Yt 9,31.

(4) *mazdå xšaϑrā* 'wise through (His) power', # 43,6:1 *mazdå xšaϑrā* 'wise through (Thy) power'.

(5) *varəzī* is loc.sg. of *varəz-* 'freshness', cf. Ved. *úrj-* 'freshness, refreshment'; → st. 4:3 *vaŋhāuš varəzaiiaṇtō manaŋhō* 'of refreshing good thought'. Cf. YAv. loc.sg. *varəzi* in P 34 *bərəzaṯ varəzi haomanaŋhəm* 'high cheerfulness in freshness', and acc.sg. *varəzəm* in Yy 71,17 *varəzəmca haomanaŋhəmca yazamaide* 'we worship freshness and cheerfulness'. Whether the adj. YAv. *vərəzuuaṇt-* 'fresh, energetic' with its compound form *vərəzi-* (in *vərəzi.cašman-*, *vərəzi.dōiϑra-*, *vərəzi.saoka-*, *vərəzi.sauuah-*, *vərəziiaŋhuua-*) belongs here, is left open to discussion by laryngealists. The same applies to YAv. *əuuərəzika-*, an attribute of the Druj.

(6) *pasūš vīrəŋg ahmākəŋg fradaϑāi.ā* 'so as to promote our cattle and men', # Yy 4,5 *fradaϑāi ... pasuuąmca narąmca* 'to promote cattle and men', 31,15:5 *pasəuš vīrāaṯcā* 'cattle and men', 31,16:3 *xšaϑrəm ... fradaϑāi.ā* 'to promote the power'.

(7) *vaŋhāuš aṣā haoząϑβāṯ ā manaŋhō* 'in accordance with the good acquaintance [lit. well-acquaintedness] of good thought with truth', → 49,5:3 *aṣā huzəṇtuš* 'well-acquainted with truth'.

45,10. 4+7 (*ā̃rmatōiš*); 4+7; 4+7; 3+7; 4+7 (*dą́n*).

(1) If *mimaγža-* 'trying to present' (→ st. 9:1) is etymologically related to *maga-* 'gift, offering', it must be a recent formation from a root *mag* (for **mimγža-*).

Otherwise it would come from a root *mang/manj* which in Ved. *maṃh* 'to give' would have merged with *mąz* (→ 43,12:8 *mązā.raii-*), in which case the relationship between OAv. *mimaγžō* and *maga-* 'offering' would be of secondary nature. Cf. the secondary paronomasia of Ved. *maṃh* 'to give' with *maghá-* 'gift' in RV 1,11,3 *stotṛ́bhyo máṃhate maghám* 'grants the singers a gift', 9,1,10 *maghå ca maṃhate* 'grants gifts'.

(2) *ąnman-* n. 'breath, wind', perhaps also 'soul, self', → 30,7:3 *kəhrpəm ... ąnmā* 'bodily form ... breath'. *ąnmənī* is nom.pl. or loc.sg. The parallel st. 8. *cašmainī* 'in the eye' suggests loc.sg. 'in the wind' [or: 'in one's inner ear']. For the wind considered as Ahura Mazdā's breath, cf. RV 7,87,2 *ātmå te vátaḥ* 'the wind (is) thy breath'.

(3) While the augmented aor. st. 8:2 *nūzīṯ ... viiādarəsəm* 'I have just now seen' has actual reference, the unaugmented *srāuuī* 'is heard' is a general statement (§ 11.5.3.2), but cf. also *srāuuī* in 32,8:2 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm vīuuaŋhušō srāuuī yimascīṯ* 'even Yima, the son of Vivahvan, became notorious for (one instance of) such crimes'.

(4) *hiiaṯ hōi aṣā vohucā cōišt manaŋhā* '(in the power) which one has committed to Him through truth and good thought', →44,6:4 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm vohu cinas manaŋhā* 'with good thought (right-mindedness) commits the power to Thee'; # 50,3:1 *yąm hōi xšaϑrā vohucā cōišt manaŋhā* '(the neighbouring herd) which one has accorded [promised] to him with power and good thought'.

(5) *xšaϑrōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā ahmāi stōi dą́n* 'in His power (people) place integrity and immortality to be available to Him', # 47,1:3 *ahmāi dą́n hauruuātā amərətātā* 'they shall offer Him integrity and immortality', 34,3:1 *aṯ tōi ... dāmā gaēϑå vīspå ā xšaϑrōi* 'we place all (our) herds in Thy power'.

(6) *cōišt ... dąn* 'has committed ... they place', → 31,3:1 *då ... cōiš* 'Thou apportionest ... (and) accordest [committest]', # 34,13:6-7 *hiiaṯ cəuuištā hudåbiiō mīždəm ... yehiiā tū daϑrəm* 'the prize which You accord [commit] to the munificent ones and of which Thou (art) the award'.

45,11. 4+7 (*maṣ́iiąscā*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 [or rather 3+8] (*daē̃nā*); 4+7 (*ùrùuaϑō*).

(1) *tā* '(along) with him, (inspired) by Him' continues the preceding *ahmāi* 'to Him', which refers to Ahura Mazdā.

(2) *apara-* 'the second one' means Zaraϑuštra in his function as lower-ranking partner of Ahura Mazdā; → 31,20:2 *diuuamnəm ... aparəm xšiiō* 'splendour as contrasted with [far from] weeping'.

(3) Note the opposition between the aor. *tarə.mąstā* 'made up his mind to scorn' and the pres. *tarə.mainiiaṇtā* 'they scorn' (§ 11.5.3.1).

(4) In *yōi īm tarə.mainiiaṇtā* '(the Daēvas) who scorn him/Him', the pron. *īm* is ambiguous. It could refer to *apara-* 'the other one (Zaraθuštra)', but it mainly continues *tā* and thus refers to Ahura Mazdā; # Yt 10,139 *yō mazdąm tarō.maniietē* 'he who scorns the Wise One'.

(5) *tarə.mainiiaṇtā ... arəm mainiiatā* 'they scorn ... he behaves right-mindedly', # Yy 60,5 *vainīţ ahmi nmāne ... rāitiš arāitīm ārmaitiš tarō.maitīm* 'may munificence overcome miserliness in this house, may right-mindedness overcome scorn'.

Yasna 46: *Kamnamaēzā Hāiti*

46,0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) At the opening of Y 46 Zaraθuštra complains about the small size of his herd, which, as a sign of his poverty, should displease Ahura Mazdā. He also complains about the small number of people who follow him about the district where he travels as a wandering priest. As he says, he too often finds difficulty in obtaining permission for his cattle to graze, or for himself to hold a sacrifice. But these complaints certainly have no connexion with the actual situation in which the prophet finds himself. It is rather to be understood as a memory of former times, or as merely exhibiting a contrast, conventionally set up. The real situation comes to the fore only in the second half of the hymn, when Zaraθuštra pictures himself as guest of Kavi Vištāspa, famous for his generosity. He shows himself as one who can demand a proper fee in order to increase his herd, proudly conscious of his magic power, and as one who can call down dire punishment upon anyone who might refuse him. In the opening words, we hear the prophet's intentions, and an artistically crafted climax in the last stanza concludes the hymn.

(2) The compositional elements of Y 46 show similarities to other hymns in the Gāθā collection. For example, one may compare Zaraθuštra's complaint in sts. 1-3 with that in 50,1-2. One may also compare the list of the sacrificers in sts. 14-17, which ends with an apostrophe, with the list given in 51,11.16-19 (§ 13.2.2); or the demand for a sacrificial fee in st. 19 with a similar demand in 44,18-19 (§ 13.3.4) couched in similar terms. Finally, the prophet's demand for the realisation of 'what is most brillant in one's imagination' in the closing st. 19 corresponds with the demands of the closing sts. 34,15 and 50,11 (§ 13.3.1-2).

46,1. 4+7; 4+7 ; 3+6/7 (*hācā/hācā̃*); 4+7; 3+7 (*xšnaošāi*).

(1) For expected **kąm nəmōi ząm*, all manuscripts have *kām nəmōi ząm*, evidently under the influence of YAv. *kamnamaēzā-*, the name of Y 46, itself a popular etymological re-interpretation ('having little urine').

(2) *kąm ... ząm* 'to which piece of land'. *zam-* means 'earth' as in 44,4 etc., or 'piece of land' as in V 6,1, 14,13, 19,26. Here, only 'piece of land' is possible.

(3) *kąm nəmōi ząm ... aiienī* 'to which piece of land shall I go to graze?', or: 'to which piece of land on the pasture shall I go?'. *nəmōi* is either dat.sg. of a root noun *nam-* used in inf. function, or it is loc.sg. of an *a*-stem *nəma-* 'grassland, pasture'. The latter seems to be attested in Yt 14,61 *gauue amәm gauue nəmәm* '(we desire) impetuosity for the cow, pasture land for the cow' (→48,5:9, but Yy 10,20 has *gauue nəmō gauue nəmō* 'reverence for the cow'); # RV 3,39,6 *náme góḥ* which could mean 'in the pasture of the cow'. Cf. Greek *nomós* 'pasture' as e.g. in Odyssey 6,511 *nomón híppōn* 'pasture of horses', and *némein/némesthai* 'to pasture' in expressions such as Herodotus 8,137 *híppous némōn ... boûs* '(a shepherd) pasturing horses and cattle', Iliad 15,631 *bousín ... haì ... némontai* 'the cows who pasture', Odyssey 2,167 *nemómesth' Ithakḗn* 'we inhabit Ithaka'.

(4) *x^{v}aētəuš airiiamnascā ... vərəzənā* is a poetical variation of the climax *x^{v}aētu-vərəzəna- airiiaman-* 'family - community - tribe' (§ 15.10). At the same time, the verb *pairī ... dadaitī* 'they keep (me) away' [= 'they do not admit me'] is varied by *nōiţ mā xšnāuš* 'does not satisfy me'.

(5) *nōiţ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzənā hācā* 'the community which [instr.] I wish to join does not satisfy me' refers not to the community of Zaraθuštra's birth, but to a community which he, as he says, would like to join; # 51,12:1 *nōiţ tā īm xšnāuš vaēipiiō kəuuīnō ... zaraθuštrəm spitāmәm* 'in such a way the Kavian catamite did not satisfy him, Zaraθuštra Spitama'.

(6) *yā vərəzənā hācā* 'the community which [instr.] I wish to join', # 40,4:1-2 *x^{v}aētūš ... vərəzənā ... haxəmąm ... yāiš hišcamaidē* 'the families, the communities, the fellowships which [instr.] we follow'. Unless *hācā* is corrupt, it is 1st sg.sbj. of the athematic stem *hak-/sc-* 'to follow', cf. the 3rd pl.imv. *scaṇtū* 'let them join [pursue]' in 53,2:2. Both are considered root aorists by Kellens, *Verbe*, 1984, 354. Homonymous is arch. YAv. *hācā* < *hā-cā* in Yy 58,4 *hācā nā* 'and this man' etc. (§ 10.7.2.)

(7) *daźiiəuš yōi sāstārō drəguuaṇtō* 'the deceitful tyrants of the country', perhaps with pl. for sg. The sg. is found in Yt 13,18 etc. *sāsta daiŋhāuš* 'tyrant of the country', Yy 65,8 *druuå sāsta* 'deceitful tyrant'.

(8) The first hemistich of line e *kaϑā ϑβā* has three syllables only. Thus also st. 2c *gərəzōi tōi*, st. 3e *maibiiō ϑβā*, st. 5b *uruuātōiš vā*, st. 6b *drūjō huuō*, st. 9b *yaϑā ϑβā*, st. 15d *yāiš dātāiš*, st. 17a *yaϑrā və*.

(9) The difference in diathesis between the act. *nōiṯ mā xšnāuš* 'does not satisfy me' and the mid. *kaϑā ϑβā xšnaošāi* 'how shall I satisfy Thee' is remarkable, but no difference in meaning can be discovered. The act. is also found in 30,5:5 *xšnaošən ahurəm* 'they satisfy the Ahura', the mid. in st. 18:7 *xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmnō* 'satisfying Your will'; →28,1:16 *xšnəuuīšā* 'Thou mightest satisfy'.

46,2. 4+7; 4+7; 3+7; 4+7 (*fríiō*, *fríiāi*); 4+7.

(1) Note the opposition *anaēšō ... īštīm* 'lacking in vigour ... vigour'; → 29,9:3 *anaēšəm ... īšā.xšaϑrīm* 'lacking in vigour ... powerful through vigour'; # 34,5:1 *īšti-* 'vigour, command'.

(2) The "complexive compound" *kamnafšuua-* n. 'scantiness of cattle stock' [more exactly: 'scantiness in the stock of small cattle'] is a derivative from a bahuvrihi **kamnafšu-* 'having few cattle'. The line *mā kamnafšuuā hiiaṯcā kamnānā ahmī* 'on account of the smallness of my cattle stock and because I am one who has few men' (§ 15.1.5) is an elaboration from **hiiaṯ kamnafšuš kamnānācā ahmī* 'because I am one having few cattle and few men'. The difference in compound vowel between *kamnafšuua-* and *kamnā-nar-* is historically correct.

(3) *gərəzōi tōi* 'I complain to Thee', →29,1:1 *xšmaibiiā ... gərəždā* 'complains to You'.

(4) *rafəδrəm caguuå* 'extending support', # 51,20:4 *mazdå rafəδrəm cagədō* 'of the Wise One who extends support'; → 38,3:4 *vå ... ubōibiiā ahubiiā cagəmā* 'we present you (as support), for both existences'.

(5) *rafəδrəm ... hiiaṯ friiō friiāi daidīṯ* 'extending (such) support as a friend would grant a friend', →44,1:5-6 *friiāi ... friiā dazdiiāi hākurənā* 'to a friend ... let friendly fellowships be granted'; # 31,17:3 *vīduuå vīdušē* 'the knowing one to the knowing one' (§ 15.3.1).

(6) *ā ... auuaēnā ... āxsō* 'look hither ... look upon', → 28,4:11 *xsāi ... darəsānī* 'I will look out ... shall I see?'.

(7) *vaŋhāuš aṣā īštīm manaŋhō* 'the vigour of good thought, (inspired) by truth', → 44,10:6 *maźiiå cistōiš ϑβā īštiš* 'the vigour of my insight, (inspired) by Thee' (§ 15.18).

46,3. 4+7 (*asnąm*); 4+7 (*frārəṇtē*); 4+7 (*saošiiaṇtąm*); 4+7; 3+7.

(1) *uxšānō asnąm* 'the bulls of the days' is contrasted with st. 2:2 *mā kamnafšuuā* 'on account of the scantiness of my cattle stock' (# 50,2:2 *pasəuš ... gąm* 'small cattle ... cow'). In this respect, it is a poetical expression for 'bulls followed by herds of cows', but simultaneously it is both, a metaphor for 'dawning' (# 50,10:5 *raocå xᵛāŋ asnąm uxšā* 'the light of the sun, the bull of the days') and an anticipated chiastic apposition to *saošiiaṇtąm xratauuō*.

(2) *saošiiaṇtąm xratauuō* 'the intellects of the benefactors' itself is by synecdoche for *saošiiaṇtō* 'benefactors'; # 34,13:2 *daēnå saošiiaṇtąm* 'the religious views of the benefactors' (§ 15.8). The whole is an allusion to the patrons, who are expected to contribute to an improvement of Zaraϑuštra's material conditions by granting him a prize consisting of cattle.

(3) *aŋhāuš ... frārəṇtē* 'will rise above existence', # st. 4:4 *frōrətōiš šōiϑrahiiā vā daźiiāuš vā* 'from rising above district and country'. For the local gen., # 30,10:2 *auuā drūjō annō.bauuaitī* 'will descend upon deceit', 48,10:1 *kadā ... mąnarōiš narō vīsəṇtē* 'when will honourable persons take up their positions side by side with the reciter?', 49,2:1 *ahiiā mā bāṇduuahiiā* '(in the entourage) of this Bāṇdva', V 13,49 *yaṯ mē aēšąmciṯ nmānanąmca caratō* 'when they come near to such houses', Yy 71,16 *vahištahe aŋhāuš ... jasō* 'going into best existence'.

(4) *darəϑrāi ... aṣahiiā* 'to seize truth', → 43,1:5 *aṣəm dərəidiiāi* 'id.'; Zaraϑuštra expects to seize truth by obtaining it from his benefactors; # st. 4 *aṣahiiā važdrəŋ* 'conveyors of truth'. The truth brought by his benefactors contributes to the *frašō.kərəiti-* 'renovation, perfection and salvation of the world'; cf. the action noun *frašō.carətar-* in Yt 13,17*frašō.carəϑrąm saošiiaṇtąm* 'the saviours (< benefactors) who make existence brillant' (→30,9:2).

(5) The translation of line b 'will rise above existence so that (people) may seize truth' is based on a comparison of the parallels adduced in ns. 2-3. This results in a discontinuous word order (§ 15.14.3). A continuous word order would result in 'will rise above truth so that (people) may seize existence'.

(6) *vərəzdāiš sāŋghāiš* 'with increased proclamations', # RV 5,41,9 *várdhān naḥ śáṃsam* 'he shall increase our invocation', 9,61,23 *vardha no gíraḥ* 'increase our songs of welcome'.

(7) *kaēibiiō ... vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'to which people ... will one come with good thought?', → 28,6:1 *vohū gaidī manaŋhā* 'come with good thought', 44,1:8 *yaϑā nā ā vohū jimaṯ manaŋhā* 'so that one may come to us with good thought', 43,4:3 *hiiaṯ mōi*

vaŋhāuš hazā jimaṯ manaŋhō 'when the superiority of good thought will have come to me', 29,3:10-12 *yahmai zauuāŋg jimā kərədušā* 'to whom I will come etc.'

(8) *ūϑāi* 'to (provide them with) fat', cf. YAv. *ūϑa-* 'fat, fat offering'.

(9) *sąstrāi* 'to tell, proclaim, announce', # Yt 10,137 *saŋhəmciṯ anu sastrāi* 'to speak according to what has been said'.

46,4. 4+7 (*pāṯ*); 4+7 (*frōrətōiš*); 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš, dužázδbå/dužàzδbå*); 4+7; 4+7 (*frō.gå*).

(1) *tāŋg ... gå* 'those oxen' continues st. 3 *uxšānō asnąm* 'bulls of the days'. In a similar way, Ved. *gó-* m. 'ox' is varied by *ukṣán-* 'bull' in the Uṣas hymn RV 6,64,3-5 *váhanti sīm aruṇáso rúśanto gávaḥ ... sá vaha yókṣábhir ávātā ... váram vahasi* 'reddish oxen convey her (Uṣas); ... drive hither, thou (O Uṣas) who, unsurpassed by thy bulls, conveyest boons'.

(2) *aṣahiiā važdrāŋg* 'conveyors of truth', # RV 6,64,3 *váhanti sīm* 'convey her', (→ n. 1).

(3) *tāŋg ... pāṯ gå frōrətōiš* (< **fra-ərətōiš*) 'prevents those oxen from rising', # FrW 10,41 *ušaŋhąm para frārətōiṯ* 'before the rise of dawn [pl.]'.

(4) *frōrətōiš šōiϑrahiiā vā daźiiāuš vā* 'from rising above district and country', → st. 3:3 *aŋhāuš ... frārəŋtē* 'will rise above existence'. The climax 31,18 *nmāna-, vīs-, šōiϑra-, daźiiu-* 'house, village, district, country' is abbreviated here (§ 15.10). In the present context *daźiiu-*, alludes to the phrase *saošiiaŋtō daźiiunąm* 'the benefactors of the countries' in 48,12:1.

(5) *dužázδbå* < **duž-āzbāh* 'of evil spells' from *ā-zbā* 'to invoke', v. Kellens, *Noms-racines*, 1974, 236ff. Monna, *Gathas*, 1978, 68, pleads for *dužàzδbå* < **duž-zuᶜāh* (→ 33,5:3 *zbaiiā*).

(6) *xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāiš* 'with his own actions', → 31,20:8 *šiiaoϑanāiš xᵛāiš* 'id.', 51,13:4 *xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāiš hizuuascā* 'through his/its own actions and those of (his) tongue'.

(7) *yastām xšaϑrāṯ ... mōiϑaṯ jiiātāuš vā* 'he who may deprive him of (his) power and livelihood', # 53,9:5 *yā īš jiiātāuš hāmiϑiiāṯ vasə.itōišcā* 'he who might deprive them of (their) livelihood and liberty'.

(8) *frō.gå* is acc.pl. of a hapax *frō.gau/gu-* 'leading bull, leader' (cf. Greek *prés-bys* 'old'). The corresponding Ved. **puro-gú-* has split into two new paradigms, *puro-gå-* and *puro-gavá-* (from which a new fem. *puro-gaví-*). Less likely is *frō.gå*, nom.sg. (for metrical reasons not *frō.gå̄* acc.pl.) from a hapax *fro.gā-* 'going before (others), going at the head' (root *gā* 'to go').

(9) In *paϑmāŋg hucistōiš* 'of the flight of good insight', *paϑmāŋg* is abl.sg. of *paϑman-* n. 'flight' = Ved. *pátman-* 'flight (of fire and wind)'. # Yt 16,1 *razištąm cistąm hupāϑmainiiąm huuaiβitacinąm* 'the straightest insight (which is) of good flight (and) good flow'.

(10) If Bartholomae's reading *caraṯ* (for Geldner's *carāṯ*) is correct, it is not the inj. of the pres. YAv. *caraiti* 'he moves', but rather the sbj. of the aor. OAv. *cōraṯ* 'makes, made'.

46,5. 4+7; 3+7 (*ùrùuātōiš*); 4+7 (*jùuąs*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *yā vā xšaiiąs* 'a landowner who, if a (land)owner'; *xšaiiąs* lit. 'one who exercises power'.

(2) *adąs* 'taking in, putting up, providing accomodation for' is taken as a participle of the root aor. of *ā-dā* 'to put, place'; # 51,14:8 *drūjō dəmānē ādāṯ* 'will put (them) in the house of deceit', → 33,11:2 *ādā-* 'allocation'. *xšaiiąs adąs* (with thematic *adąs* for expected athematic **adas*) is perhaps corrupted by perseveration from **xsaiiąs adas*. Or is *adąs d°* sandhi for **adāŋg* < **ā dāŋg* with *dāŋg* abl.sg. of *dam-* 'house'?

(3) In *drītā ... aṣauuā ... drəguuaŋtəm* '(if) a truthful one were to take in a deceitful one' the root *dar* is used in an amical sense, but st. 7:2 *hiiaṯ mā drəguuå dīdarəšatā* 'when the deceitful one tries to seize me' is inimical.

(4) *aiiaŋtəm ... drəguuaŋtəm* 'a deceitful one who approaches (him)', # st. 6:1-2 *yastəm nōiṯ nā isəmnō āiiāṯ;* →31,20:1 *yə āiiaṯ aṣauuanəm* 'he who may approach the truthful one' where *ā-ai/i* is used in the sense of 'joins, goes over to'.

(5) *huzāŋtuš* 'well-acquainted (with him), → 49,5:3 *aṣā huzāŋtuš* 'well-acquainted with truth'.

(6) OAv. *uruuāiti-* can hardly be separated from YAv. *uruuaiti-* which seems to mean 'enunciation, oral agreement, stipulation': Yt 10,33 *ϑβā yāsāmahi ... uruuaiti dātanąm srauuaŋhąm* 'we ask Thee by enunciation of the formulas established (by law)' [Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 1959, 89 'by virtue of the of the stipulation of the given promises'], Yt 11,14 *sraošəm ... yō āxštišca uruuaitišca* 'Sraoša who (is) both peace and agreement'. Add A 3,8 *a-uuacō.uruuaiti-* 'not qualified to make an oral agreement', parallel to A 3,7 *aiiasniia-* 'not admitted to worship', and A 3,9 *<a>garəmō.varah-* 'not admitted to fire ordeal'. Cf. the gloss *vacō.uruuaiti* in V 7,52 PhlT.

(7) The pl. *miθrōibiiō* 'contracts' is used instead of the sg. **miθrāṯ*, evidently in order to avoid pronouncing the name of the god Miθra, homonymous with the sg. of the common noun (§ 11.2.2). Nevertheless, the situation described in the stanza recalls Yt 10,2 *miθrəm mā janiiå spitama mā yim druuataṯ pərəsåŋhe mā yim xᵛādaēnāṯ aŝaonaṯ* 'never break a contract, O Spitama, whether thou hast concluded it with a deceitful one or with a truthful follower of the right religion'.

(8) *rašnā* 'in rectitude, straight, honestly' is instr.sg. of YAv. *rašnā-* f. 'rectitude, honesty' rather than of a hapax *razan-*; # Yt 12,1 *pərəse vβąm rašn<a>iia uxδahe* 'I ask Thee with the plainness of my statement'.

(9) *vīcirō hąs* 'having judicial authority', # 29,4:7 *huuō vīcirō ahurō* 'He (is) the Ahura with judicial authority'.

(10) In the light of its context, *xrūniia-* 'bloodshed' recalls Ved. *mitra-krú-* 'violator of contract (by bloodshed)'; → 53,8:4 *xrūnar-* 'injurer of men', # 48,11:2 *xrūra-* 'blood-stained'.

46,6. 4+7 (*āiiāṯ*); 3+7 (*gā̃ṯ*); 4+7; 4+7(*fríiō*); 4+7 (*daē̃nå, paouruiiå, då*.

(1) In *aṯ yastəm nōiṯ nā isəmnō āiiāṯ* 'but were (such one) not to approach that (landowner as) a man seeking (help)', the negation *nōiṯ* does not negate the finite verb *āiiāṯ*, but rather the participle *isəmnō*; → 32,15:3 *nōiṯ ... xšaiiamnāŋg* 'not to be in control' (§ 15.11.2).

(2) The mid. *isəmnō* emphasizes the indirect refl. meaning 'seeking for himself'. Cf. the opposition of act. vs. mid. in V 13,19 *yō naēcim isaiti hunaranąm tanuiie isaite vrāvrəm* 'he who does not seek for arts (but) seeks for protection for his own body'; # 43,8:3 *isōiiā* 'I would seek (for myself)', Yt 14,20 *axšafni xšafnīm isəmnō asūiri sūirīm isəmnō* 'in the evening seeking his evening meal, in the morning seeking his morning meal', Yt 16,17 *marə[m]nəm isəmnō daēnaiiāi aməm isəmnō tanuiiē* 'seeking remembrance for his religious view, seeking impetuousness for his body'. Similarly, the mid. is used in RV 4,18,10 *vatsám ... svayáṃ gātúṃ tanvà ichámānam* 'the calf which, on its own, is seeking a way for itself' as contrasted with the act. in 1,80,6 *sákhibhyo gātúm ichati* 'seeks a way for his friends'. Yet, note the act. *isōiṯ* in Yy 71,13 (→ n. 6).

(3) *drūjō ... dāmąn* 'abodes of deceit' or 'creatures of deceit'? The same problem occurs in 48,7:10 *aṯ hōi dāmąm vβahmī ā dąm* 'its (truth's) abodes [or: creatures] (are) in Thy house'. YAv. *dāmąn* always means 'creatures, creations', while Ved. *dhā́man-* means 'abode', especially in the phrase *dhā́mann ṛtásya* RV 1,43,9 etc.

(4) *haēθahiiā* recalls 34,10:3 *hiθąm* f. and 48,7:9 *hiθāuš* m. '*partner', from the root *hāi/hi* 'to fasten, tie'. Unless it is a gen.sg. of a hapax *haēθa-* 'gang', it must be from a stem *haēθahiiă-*, a derivation from a noun **haēθah-* n. 'partnership' (type Ved. *pā́thas-* 'dwelling-place' from the root *pā* 'to protect'). In this case, *haēθahiiā* could either come from an adj. *haēθahiia-* 'referring to partnership' (type *manahiia-* 'referring to thought'), or from a noun *haēθahiiā-* 'search for partnership' (type *auuahiiā-* 'willingness to help').

(5) *vahista-* and *friia-* are used synonymously in *huuō zī drəguuå yə drəguuaitē vahištō huuō aŝauuā yahmāi aŝauuā friiō* 'that one (counts as) deceitful who (is) best to [= very familiar with] the deceitful one, that one (counts as) truthful to whom the truthful one (is) a friend'; # 33,3:1 *yə aŝāunē vahištō* 'he who (is) best to [= very familiar with] the truthful one'.

(6) Lines c-d are quoted in Yy 71,13 in the half-modernised form *huuō zī druuå yə druuāite vahištō huuō aŝauua yahmāi aŝauua friiō*. The quotation is preceded by *huuō aŝauua zaraθuštrō uruuaθəm θrātārəm isōiṯ, aŝauuanəm tē aŝaonaṯ āfiieiδiiāi mraomi uruuaθəm uruuaθāṯ, taṯ zī vaŋhō* 'the truthful Zaraθuštra would seek [act.] an ally as protector (saying): I tell thee that the truthful one is found at the side of the truthful one, the ally (is found) at the side of the ally; this indeed (is) the better (thing)'.

(7) *hiiaṯ daēnå paouruiiå då* 'since Thou didst establish the religious views (to be) primal', # 31,11:2 *hiiaṯ nə ... paouruuīm gaēθåscā tašō daēnåscā* 'since Thou didst fashion for us (that which represents) the primal (stage of our existence) [or: (what is) basic], the herds and the religious views'.

46,7. 4+7 (*dadă*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*šiiaoθànāiš*); 4+7 (*daē̃naiiāi*).

(1) *kāmnā mauuaitē pāiiūm dadå* 'whom dost Thou appoint (as) guardian for one such as me?', →50,1:3 *kā mōi pasāuš kā mā.nā θrātā vistō* 'who (has been) found (as) protector of my cattle, who (as) my protector?'. The syllable *nā* in *kāmnā* is not the nom.sg. of *nar-* 'man' but the same particle *-nā* as in 44,3 *kasnā* 'who'.

(2) *hiiaṯ mā drəguuå dīdarəšatā aēnaŋhē* 'when the deceitful one tries to seize me in order to injure (me)', # st. 5:3 *drītā* 'where to take in'; →st. 8:1 *yə vā mōi yå gaēθå dazdē aēnaŋhē*.

(3) *aniiəm vβahmāṯ āθrascā manaŋhascā* '(whom) other than Thy fire and thought', # 50,1:3 *θrātā ... aniiō aŝāṯ vβaṯcā* 'a protector other than truth and Thou'; →31,3:4 *mainiiū āθrācā* 'by (Thy) spirit and (Thy) fire'.

(4) *aṣ̌əm ϑraoštā* 'nourishes truth', → 34,3:2 *gaēϑå ... yå vohū ϑraoštā manaŋhā* 'the herds which one has nourished with good thought'.

(5) *dąstuuā-* 'message, information' is nominalized from **dąstuua-* 'to be taught, to be learned about', part.nec. of the root *dąh/dah* 'to teach, learn'; *tąm ... dąstuuąm* 'this message' = 'a message on that'.

(6) *mōi ... daēnaiiāi frāuuaocā* 'proclaim to my religious view' is by synecdoche for 'proclaim to me'; # 50,1:2 *mōi uruuā* 'my soul, I' (§ 15.8).

46,8. 4+7; 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš, frō̃siiāṯ*); 4+7 (*paitiiaogəṯ*); 4+7 (*tanúuəm*); 4+7.

(1) *yə vā mōi yå gaēϑå dazdē aēnaŋhē* 'he who [if someone] aims at my herds to injure (them)', →st. 7:2; # st. 18:6 *yə nå ąstāi daidītā* 'him who would aim at us in order to harm (us)', 36,1:3 *yəm axtōiiōi dåŋhē* '(him) whom Thou mayest seize for pain(ful treatment)', 44,20:7 *yāiš gąm karapā usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā* '(the words) with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful treatment)'.

(2) If *āϑri-* '*destruction' is derived from *ātr̥-* 'fire', its primary meaning is 'burning'. Cf. OP. *āçi-* in the name of month *āçiyādiya-* (Elam. *haššiiatiiaš*) unless this is by haplology from **āçiya-yādiya-*.

(3) *paitiiaogəṯ* 'in response, answered' (< **pati-aok*), derived from *paiti-aog/aoj* 'to reply, answer', is an adverb of the same type *as* YAv. *ašiš.hāgəṯ* 'in agreement with reward' (< **aṣ̌i-šhāk*); # Yt 8,51 *paitiiaogəṯ.ṯbaēšaxiiāi* 'for answering enmity'. Cf. perhaps 29,4:3 *pairī.ciϑ*.

(4) *hujiiātōiš ... nōiṯ dužjiiātōiš* from (living) 'a good life, not from (living) a bad life', # st. 17:1 *afšmānī ... nōiṯ anafšmąm* (§ 15.11.2).

46,9. 4+7; 3+7 (*zəuuištī̃m, uzə̀móhī*); 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànōi*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *yə mā cōiϑaṯ* 'he who may learn from me', with *mā* as instr. of the pers. pron. *azəm* 'I' (but Ved. has *máyā*, perhaps also OAv. *maiiā* in 33,9:5 *xᵛāϑrā maēϑa maiiā*). Yet, *mā* could as well be the particle *mā* (= Ved. *sma*).

(2) *cōiϑaṯ* is 3rd sg.aor.act. of the root *kaēϑ/ciϑ* 'to perceive, recognise, learn' (→ 29,4:3-4 *ciϑiṯ*). *cōiϑaṯ ... yaϑā* 'he will learn ... in which way' [act.], vs. 33,2:3 *cōiϑaitē astīm* 'will recognise (as his) guest' [mid.].

(3) *yaϑā ϑβā zəuuištīm uzəmōhī* 'in which way I have realised (that) Thou (art) the swiftest one'. *uzəmōhī* recalls 44,7:4 *uzəma-* 'outstanding, eminent' but the similarity

is only superficial. *uzəmōhī* is the 1st sg. *s*-aor.mid. of *uz-mā* 'to estimate, realise' (> MP. *uzmūdan* 'to prove, test, try').

(4) The line *yā tōi aṣ̌ā ... mraoṯ* is ambiguous: '(the words) which he speaks to Thee, with truth' [or: 'to thee, O Truth'], or: '(the things) of which he speaks to Thee, with truth [or: to thee, O Truth]', or: '(the things) of which he speaks to Thy truth [or: 'with Thy truth]', or: 'the truth with which he speaks to Thee'. It obviously has the same mystical background as 29,1-3. Note especially 29,2 *tašā gəuš pərəsaṯ aṣ̌əm* 'the fashioner of the cow asks Truth' along with 29,3 *ahmāi aṣ̌ā nōiṯ ... paitī.mrauuaṯ* 'no(body) will answer him through truth' (§ 12.2.3.1).

(5) *yā aṣ̌āi ... mraoṯ išəṇtī mā* '(the words) which he speaks to truth regarding the one who might invigorate me' [or: 'who might approach me']. *išəṇtī* is taken as loc.sg. of the pres.pt. *išaṇt-*; → 45,1:5 on pres. *iša-*, i.e. ^{1}*iša-* 'to approach' and ^{2}*iša-* 'to set in motion, activate, invigorate'. In the present passage, ^{2}*iša-* is suggested by comparison with 29,9:3 *anaēšəm ... išā.xšaϑrīm* 'lacking in vigour ... powerful through vigour'. The loc. in *yā ... mraoṯ išəṇtī* '(the words) which he speaks regarding him who etc.' is of the same type as that in 48,1:6 *yā ... fraoxtā amərətāitī* '(the words) which (have been proclaimed) regarding immortality'.

(6) *yā tōi aṣ̌ā ... mraoṯ ... tā tōi vohū manaŋhā [sc. mraoṯ]* '(the words) which he speaks to Thee with truth, those (words he speaks) to Thee with good thought' (§ 15.12.2).

46,10. 4+7 (*gənā*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*haxšái, xšmāuuatą̃m*); 4+7 (*frā̃*).

(1) *nā gənā vā* 'man or woman', →35,6:1 *nā vā nāirī vā* 'id.'

(2) *yə vā mōi ... dāiiāṯ aŋhəuš ... vahištā* 'he who will grant me the best (things) of existence', →st. 13:3 *aṯ hōi ... ahūm dadāṯ* 'grants him existence'.

(3) *dāiiāṯ ... aṣ̌īm aṣ̌āi* 'will grant reward for truth', or: 'to truth' [= 'to the truthful one']; # 43,4 *yå då aṣ̌īš drəguuāitē aṣ̌āunaēcā* 'the rewards which Thou assignest to the deceitful one and the truthful one'.

(4) *aṣ̌īm aṣ̌āi* 'reward for truth' shows the same word-play as 54,1:6 *aṣ̌ahiiā yāsā aṣ̌īm* 'I entreat for reward of truth' (§ 15.3.4).

(5) *yąscā haxšāi xšmāuuatąm vahmāi.ā* 'and (those) whom I shall have spurred on to the laudation of those such as You', # Yy 8,7 *haxšaiia ... fratəmą ... aiŋhå daēnaiiå anumataiiaēcā anuxtaiiaēca anuuuarštaiiaēca* 'I would spur on the authorities ... to follow this religion with thoughts, word, and actions'.

(6) *frō ... cinuuatō frafrā pərətūm* 'I shall cross over the account-keeper's bridge', →st. 11:4 *yaϑrā cinuuatō pərətuš* 'at the place of the account-keeper's bridge'; # Yy 71,16 *frapāraiiåŋhe uruuānəm tarō cinuuatō pərətūm vahištahe aŋhəuš ... jasō* 'when going into [gen.] best existence thou wilt make thy own soul pass over the account-keeper's bridge'.

46,11. 4+7 (*karàpanō*); 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš, mərəṇgəìdiiāi, maṣ̃īm*); 4+7 (*ùrúuā, daẽnā*), 4+7 (*aibī.gəmən*); 4+7.

(1) *yūjən ... akāiš šiiaoϑanāiš ... maṣ̃īm* 'yoke a mortal one together with evil actions', # 49,9:4 *aṣ̃ā yuxtā* 'at the (ceremony of) yoking (them) together with truth', st. 12:4 *aṭ̨ īš vohū həm.aibī.mōist manaŋhā* 'he joins them together with good thought'.

(2) *karapanō kāuuaiiascā* 'the Karapans and Kavis' (→44,20:6) corresponds to 51,12-14 *vaēipiiō kəuuīnō ... karapanō* 'the Kavian catamite ... the Karapans' (51,14:2).

(3) *ahūm mərəṇgəidiiāi* 'to destroy (his) existence', # 32,13:5 *aŋhəuš marəxtārō ahiiā* 'destroyers of this existence', 45,1:11 *nōiṭ̨ ... ahūm mərąšiiāṭ̨* 'may he not destroy existence', 53,6:12 *manahīm ahūm mərəṇgəduiiē* 'You destroy (Your) mental existence', YAv. *ahū.mərə(ṇ)k/c-* 'destroying existence'.

(4) *yəŋg xᵛə uruuā xᵛaēcā xraodaṭ̨ daēnā hiiaṭ̨ aibī.gəmən yaϑrā cinuuatō pərətuš* 'their own soul and their own religious view will recoil from them when they will have reached the place of the account-keeper's bridge' (§ 11.2.1.1). The same type of relative connexion is found in the parallel 51,13:2-3 *yehiiā uruuā xraodaitī cinuuatō pərətå* 'his soul will recoil at at the account-keeper's bridge'.

(5) *xᵛə ... xᵛaēcā* 'their own', → 31,9:1 *ϑβōi ... ϑβə* 'Thy'.

(6) *drūjō dəmānāi astaiiō* 'guests (attached) to the house of deceit', # 49,11:2 *drūjō dəmānē ... astaiiō* 'guests in the house of deceit'; 51,14:7 *drūjō dəmānē ādāṭ̨* 'will put them in the house of deceit'.

46,12. 4+7 (*naptíiaēšū*); 4+8 (*fríiānahiiā, aojíiaēšū*); 4+7 (*ãrmatōiš*); 4+7.

(1) *naptiia-* 'kindred', cf. the "complexive compound" YAv. *nauua.naptiia-* n. 'the kinsmen of the nine degrees of kinship of a family' (rather than 'the ninth generation' as in Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1045). Cf. perhaps Chin. 九族親 *jiǔ zúqīn* 'les parentes des neuf dégrés' (rendered by Sogd. *xwtmt* 'relatives') in the Chinese original of the Sogdian Sūtra, *Taishō* 2881, p. 1381a,21f.; P. Pelliot, *Le Sūtra des causes et des effets* II, Paris 1926, 54, n. 56.

(2) *tūrahiiā ... gaēϑå frādō ϑβaxšaŋhā* 'of Tūra (who was) promoting the herds with zeal', # st. 13 *gaēϑå vohū frādaṭ̨ manaŋhā* 'promotes herds with good thought', 34,14:3 *xratəuš aṣ̃ā frādō vərəzənā* 'on account of the intellect which promotes communities with truth' (§ 12.1.5.1).

(3) *ārmatōiš gaēϑå frādō* 'promoting the herds of right-mindedness', →31,1:4 *yōi ... aṣ̃ahiiā gaēϑå vīmərəṇcaitē* 'those who destroy the herds of truth'. For reasons of composition of the stanza, the common *aṣ̃ahiiā gaēϑå* 'herds of truth' has been replaced by *ārmatōiš gaēϑå* 'herds of right-mindedness' (§ 12.1.5.0).

(4) *aṭ̨ īš vohū həm.aibī.mōist manaŋhā* 'then he joins them together with good thought', →st. 11:1 *yūjən ... akāiš šiiaoϑanāiš* 'yoke (him) together with evil actions'.

(5) *aēibiiō rafəδrāi ... sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced to them for their support', →30,8:6 *aēibiiō sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced to those'.

46,13. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*huš.haxãim*).

(1) *yə spitāməm zaraϑuštrəm rādaŋhā ... xšnāuš* 'he who has satisfied Spitama Zaraϑuštra with bounteousness', # st. 1:5 *nōiṭ̨ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzənā hācā* the community which I wish to join does not satisfy me', 51,12:1 *nōiṭ̨ tā īm xšnāuš vaēipiiō kəuuīnō ... zaraϑuštrəm spitāməm* 'in such a way the Kavian catamite did not satisfy him, Spitama Zaraϑuštra'.

(2) *frasrūidiiāi ərəϑβō* 'worthy of being celebrated', →28,10:3 *ərəϑβa-*.

(3) *ahūm dadāṭ̨* 'grants existence', # 50,11:3 *dātā aŋhəuš* 'the giver of existence', st. 10:2 *mōi ... dāiiāṭ̨ aŋhəuš ... vahištā.*

(4) *aṣ̃ā ... huš.haxāim* 'a good friend to [instr.] Your truth', # 32,2:3 *aṣ̃ā huš.haxā.*

46,14. 4+7 (*ùrùuaϑō*); 4+7; 4+7 (*vīštãspō, yãhī*); 4+7 (*hadəmōi*); 3/4+7 (*zbaiiå/zbaiiã/zᶜbaiiå*).

(1) *zaraϑuštrā kastē aṣ̃auuā uruuaϑō mazōi magāi* 'O Zaraϑuštra, who (is) Thy truthful ally for the great offering?', # 51,11:1 *kə uruuaϑō spitamāi zaraϑuštrāi ... kə vā vaŋhəuš manaŋhō magāi acistā* 'who (is) an ally to Spitama Zaraϑuštra, who recognised (him) for the offering of good thought?'.

(2) *mazōi magāi* 'for the great offering', → 29,11:5 *aṯ mā ... mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā* 'recognise [pl.] me for the great offering', 51,11:1 *acistā magāi* 'recognised (him) for the offering'.

(3) *yāhī* 'at the sharing (of good things)' [or: 'at the share'], # 49,9:4-5 *aŝā yuxtā yāhī* 'at the (ceremony of) yoking (them) together with truth, at the sharing (of good things)'; → 30,2:6-7 *parā mazā yå̊ŋhō* 'before the great sharing (of good things)', 36,2:2-3 *mazištāi yå̊ŋhąm* 'for the greatest of sharings (of good things)', Yt 11,3 *arš.uxδō vāxš yāhi vərəθrająstəmō* 'the plainly spoken word (which is most) successful at the sharing (of good things)', Yt 13,41 *zaraθuštrō ... kahmāiciṯ yå̊ŋhąm jasō* 'Zaraθuštra when going to any sharing'. As to the use of the loc. *yāhī*, →30,8:6 *sastē* 'at the (recompense) announced'.

(4) *yāŋgstū hadəmōi minaš* '(those) whom Thou *fosterest in (Thy) abode', → 44,9:5 *hadəmōi aŝā vohucā šiiąs manaŋhā* 'dwelling in (His) abode with truth and good thought'.

(5) *minaš* 'Thou *fosterest', perhaps < **minaz-s*; → 44,20:15 *mīzən* 'they *foster'.

46,15. 4+7; 4+7; 4+6/7 (*šiiaoθànāiš, dádùiiē/dādùiiē*); 3+7 (*dåtāiš*).

(1) *hiiaṯ dāθāŋg vīcaiiaθā adāθąscā* 'that you shall discriminate between the just and the unjust', # st. 17:5 *yā vīcinaoṯ dāθəmcā adāθəmcā* 'he who discriminates between the just one and the unjust one', st. 18:7 *taṯ mōi xratāuš manaŋhascā vīciθəm* 'that (is) the discrimination (made) by my intellect and thought'.

(2) *tāiš yūš šiiaoθanāiš aŝəm xšmaibiiā daduiiē* 'through those actions you will obtain truth for yourselves', → 34,1:4 *yā šiiaoθanā ... aŝəm ... taibiiō dåŋhā* 'the action through which Thou takest truth for Thyself'.

(3) *tāiš ... šiiaoθanāiš ... yāiš dātāiš paouruiiāiš ahurahiiā* 'through those actions which (follow) the primal orders of the Ahura', → 33,1:4 *yā dātā aŋhāuš paouruiiehiiā ... šiiaoθanā* 'the actions which (follow) the orders of the primal Lord'. The second half of the passage has been borrowed into Yt 14,5 *vərəθraγnəm ahuraδātəm yazamaide yaiš dātāiš paoiriiāiš ahurahe haoma-iiō gauua barəsmanaca* 'we worship Verəθraγna created by the Ahura, (worshipping him) with the (rites which follow the) primal laws of the Ahura, with Haoma which (is mixed) with milk, and with Barəsman'. From that YAv. passage, the YAv. reading *paoiriiāiš* (for correct OAv. *paouruiiāiš*) preferred by Kellens-Pirart, seems to have crept into the majority of the Gāθa manuscripts.

(4) The last line of the stanza was lost as early as in the subarchetype.

46,16. 4+7 (*fəraŝaōštrā*); 4+7 (*huuō.gúuā*); 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš*); 4+7; 4+7 (*mazdå*).

(1) *aθrā ... idī yaθrā* 'go to that place where' [= 'come here'].

(2) *yāŋg usuuahī uštā stōi* 'whom we wish to be as desired' [= 'as desired by them', or: 'as desired by us']; →43,1:1 *uštā ... uštā ... vasā.xšaiiąs ... vasəmī* 'as desired, the (things) desired, ruling at will, I wish'; # 30,11:9 *aŋhaitī uštā* 'the (things) desired will be (available)' [or: 'one will be as desired'].

(3) *yaθrā aŝā hacaitē ārmaitiš* 'where right-mindedness agrees with truth', # 34,2:2 *yehiiā uruuā aŝā hacaitē* 'whose soul agrees with truth'.

(4) *yaθrā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō īštā xšaθrəm* 'where power (is) in command of good thought', # 49,12:3 *hiiaṯ vā īštā vahištəm* 'that which (is) the best in Your command'; →34,5:1 *kaṯ vā xšaθrəm kā īštiš* 'what (is) Your power ... command' (§ 12.1.6.0).

(5) *varəδəmąm*, from *varəδəman-* n. 'growth, increase, prosperity', has the appearance of a nom.acc.pl. of the same type as st. 17:1 *anafšmąm* from *anafšman-* 'non-duty'. In that case, *varəδəmąm* is either used metonymically of Ahura Mazdā ('where as personified prosperity [pl.] the Wise Ahura dwells') (§ 15.9.1), or it is governed by *mazdå* in its original sense of 'mindful' ('mindful of prosperity [pl.]') as *aipī.ząθəm* is governed by *yaoždå* in 48:5:4-5 *yaoždå maŝiiāi aipī ząθəm* 'purifying birth for mankind as well'. Yet, →31,2:7 *mazdå aiiå ąsaiiå* where *mazdå* possibly governs an objective gen. ('mindful of those two shares') which suggests explaining *varəδəmąm š°* (inexactly transmitted for **varəδəmą š°*) as a sandhi for abl.gen.sg. **varəδəmāŋg š°* ('mindful of increase'). Unlike these possibilities, *varəδəmąm šaēitī* is taken, in our translation, as sandhi for a loc.sg. **varəδəməm šaēitī* ('dwells prosperity'); → 45,3:3 *yąm mōi*. Cf. the construction of *šai/ši* 'dwell' with loc. in 33,5:9 *paθō yaēšū mazdå ahurō šaēitī* 'the paths on which the Wise Ahura dwells', 44,9:5 *hadəmōi ... šiiąs* 'dwelling in (His) abode'.

46,17. 3+7 (*səŋghā̃nī*); 4+7 (*dəjāmā̃spā, huuō.gúuā*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *afšmānī ... nōiṯ anafšmąm* 'duties, not non-duties' is a figure of speech of the same type as st. 8:4 *hujiiātōiš ... nōiṯ dužjiiātōiš* 'from (living) a good life, not from (living) a bad life' (§ 15.11.2). OAv. *afšman-* 'duty, bond' cannot be separated from YAv. *afsman-* 'bond'. See V 13,46.48 where the dog (*spā*), the male slave (*vaēsō*), and the female slave (*jahika*) are said to be *zairimiiafsma θriiafsma* 'bound to the house with three bonds'. From 'bond' also the liturgical meaning of YAv. *afsman-* 'line of verse of the Gāθās' derives.

(2) *hadā vāstā* is sandhi for *hadā və tā* (§ 10.5.3). *hadā* is dissociated from *tā* by the enclitic *vā*; # 50,8:1 *maṯ vå padāiš* 'with footsteps (I will approach) You'. For *hadā* + instr., # 29,2:4 *hadā vāstrā* 'together with forage', 50,4 *hadā aṣ̌ā vahištācā manaŋhā* 'in agreement with truth and best thought', arch. Yy 58,4 *hadā aṣ̌ācā vāstrācā* 'with truth and forage'.

(3) *hadā ... tā* is rendered 'as well as' [lit. 'therewith']. Also possible is *hadā ... tā ... səraošā* 'in agreement with this (present) obedience of yours', or also: *hadā ... tā ... yā vīcinaoṯ mazdå ahurō* 'in agreement with that one who discriminates, (namely with) the Wise Ahura' (§ 15.14).

(4) *səraošā rādaŋhō* 'in [instr.] obedience to the bountiful one', # 28,7:5 *yā vā mąθrā srəuuīmā rādå* 'the formula with which we may hear of Your bounties'. On [2]*rādah-* 'bountiful, bounteous' besides [1]*rādah-* 'bounty, bounteousness', → 45,7:4.

(5) *yə vīcinaoṯ dāθəmcā adāθəmcā* 'he who discriminates between the just one and the unjust one', →st. 15:1 *hiiaṯ dāθəŋg vīcaiiaθā adāθąscā.*

(6) *daŋgrā maṇtū* 'with (his) prudent counsel', # RV 1,42,5 *dasra mantumaḥ* 'O prudent one (who art) rich in counsels'.

46,18. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *yaoš* 'of use, useful' (= Ved. *yóḥ* 'welfare') forms the first part of the verb *yaož-dā* 'to purify, conserve, make durable' (→48,5:3 *yaoždā-* 'purifying', also 38,2:2 *yaošti-* 'purification, conservation'). The indecl. word, which is of the same structure as OAv. *māŋg* (→ 48,2:3), is likely to be a petrified form of OAv. *yaoš*, the gen.sg. of *āiiu-* 'duration, life-time, age'.

(2) *ahmai ... vahistā ... cōišəm* 'to him I promise [accord] the best things', # 47,5:1 *aṣ̌āunē cōiš* 'Thou accordest to the truthful one whatever best (things) etc.'

(3) *ascīṯ* rendered 'I for my part', without doubt emphasizes the pron. 'I', already expressed in the verb *cōišəm* 'I promise [accord]'. Yet, for phonological reasons *as-cīṯ* cannot be traced back to **az-cīṯ* (with **az* besides *azəm* as *tū* besides *tuuəm*). It is more likely corrupted from **has-cīṯ* 'this very person'; # 45,5:2 *mōi ahmāi* 'to me here', st. 19:3 *mōi ... zaraθuštrāi ... ahmāi.* YAv. *hasciṯ* is found in Yt 14,20 *hasciṯ vā nōiṯ vā* 'he or nobody', 13,69 *tå hasciṯ *upa.zbaiieiti*, 19,1 *hā hama pāirisāite ... hāmō hasciṯ pāirisāite.* The corruption is due to dissimilatory loss of *h* in the sequence *ahmāi *hascīṯ vahištā* (§ 10.7.4).

(4) *vahištā maxiiå ištōiš* 'the best (things) in my command', # 51,2:3 *mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm* 'the power of my command'.

(5) *ąstāŋg ahmāi* 'harm [pl.] to him', →34,8:7 *θβahiiā ... ąstā uruvātahiiā* 'by the harmfulness of Thy rule', 44,14:4-5 *duuafš̌āŋg ąstąscā* 'ill [pl.] and harm [pl.]'.

(6) *yā nå ąstāi daidītā* 'he who would aim at us to harm us', → st. 8:1 *yā vā mōi yå gaēθå dazdē aēnaŋhē* 'if one [he who] aims at my herds in order to injure them'.

(7) *xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmnō* 'satisfying Your will', →st. 1:9 *xšnāuš ... xšnaošāi.*

(8) *taṯ mōi xratəuš ... vīciθəm* 'such (is) the discrimination (made) by my intellect', # st. 15:1 *vīcaiiaθā*, st. 17:5 *vīcinaoṯ* →30,2:3 *āuuarənå vīciθahiiā narəm narəm* 'the invitations resulting from the discrimination of each single man'.

46,19. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*parə̃hūm*); 4+7; 4+7 (*túuəm*).

(1) *yā ... aṣ̌āṯ haiθīm hacā varəšaitī* 'he who will make real in accordance with truth' shows a discontinuous word order for **aṣ̌āṯ hacā haiθīm varəšaitī*; # 44,15:3 *aṣ̌ā ... maṯ* (§ 15.14.3).

(2) *haiθīm ... varəšaitī ... hiiaṯ vasnā fəraš̌ō.təməm* 'will make real what (is) most brillant in (my) *imagination', # 50,11:4 *haiθiiāuuaraštąm hiiaṯ vasnā fəraš̌ō.təməm* 'the realisation of what is most brillant in (my) *imagination', → 34,15:2-4 *fəraš̌əm vasnā haiθiiəm då ahūm* 'make real the existence which (is) brillant in (my) *imagination'. Cf. YAv. *haiθiiāuuarəz-* 'fulfilling ones duty', epithet of the truthful.

(3) *mōi ... zaraθuštrāi ... ahmāi* 'for me (who am) Zaraθuštra, ... for me (here)', → st. 18:2 *<h>ascīṯ*, # 45,5:2 *mōi ahmāi* 'to me here'.

(4) *ahmāi mīždəm hanəṇtē* 'for me who deserve(s) a prize', # 44,18:1 *taṯ mīždəm hanānī* 'shall I deserve that prize?', 44,19:1 *mīždəm hanəṇtē* 'to him who deserves the prize'.

(5) *mīždəm parāhūm ... gauua azī* 'a prize providing higher existence, namely two fertile cows', # RV 1,140,8 *ásum páram janáyan* 'procreating higher existence'.

(6) *tācīṯ mōi sąs tuuəm ... vaēdištō* 'through that very (person) Thou appearest to me (to be) the best provider', or (in case of inexact correlation between *yə* and *tācīṯ*): 'Thou appearest to me to know these very (things) best', or still better: 'Thou appearest to me (to be) the best provider of these very (things)'. For the latter possibility, # 29,10:8 *azəmcīṯ ahiiā ... θβąm māŋhī paouruuīm vaēdəm* 'I myself have realised (that) Thou (art) the primal provider of that'. In this latter case, *vaēdišta-* shows verbal government (→ 51,1:2 *bāgəm aibī.bairištəm* 'an excellent bringer of wealth') as Ved. *védiṣṭha-* 'best provider' does in RV 8,2,24 *yó védiṣṭho ... áśvāvantaṃ jaritṛ́bhyaḥ vā́jaṃ stotṛ́bhyo gómantam* 'he who (is) the best provider of a prize consisting of horses and cattle for the singers and praisers'.

Yasna 47-50: *Spəṇtā.mainiiū Gāθā*

Yasna 47: *Spəṇtā.mainiiū Hāiti*

47,0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) The topic of Y 47 is *spāṇta- mainiiu-* 'the prosperous spirit'. See st. 1 *spāṇtā mainiiū vahištācā manaŋhā*, st. 2 *ahiiā mainiiəuš spāṇištahiiā vahištəm*, st. 3 *ahiiā mainiiəuš tuuəm ahī tā spəṇtō*, st. 4 *ahmāṯ mainiiəuš rārəšiieiṇtī drəguuāṇtō*, st. 5. *tācā spəṇtā mainiiū mazdā ahurā*, st. 6 *tā dā spəṇtā mainiiū mazdā ahurā* (§ 13.1.1).

(2) Apart from *ahura- mazdā-* and *spəṇta- mainiiu-*, st. 1 contains the names of all of the six divine entities which form the group of Ameša Spəntas in the Younger Avesta, and it is the only Gāθic stanza which mentions them all. It is possible that the YAv. series originated from this stanza, establishing the well-known canonical order by omitting Spənta Mainyu. This must have required much theological debate.

(3) An interesting reference to the social conditions of a priest in Zaraθuštra's time is hidden in st. 4 *kasəušcīṯ nā aṣāunē kāθē aŋhaṯ akō drəguuāitē* 'a man even of little (possession) shall behave pleasantly towards the truthful one, (and) even one who (is) master of much (shall behave) badly towards the deceitful one'. The meaning of this line is clearly seen in V 18,34-37: *yaṯ nā kasuuiką̊mcina yå̊ŋhuiianą̊m auuarətaną̊m naire aṣaone jasta aṣaiia vaŋhuiia nōiṯ daδāiti ... yaṯ nā kasuuiką̊mciṯ yå̊ŋhuiianą̊m auuarətaną̊m naire aṣaone ajasta aṣaiia vaŋhuiia daδāiti* '(it is a sin) when a man of even few valuable objects as his share, does not give the truthful man what has been requested by him with good entitlement, (and that is the remedy for it) when a man of even few valuable objects as his share, yet gives the truthful man what has not been requested by him with good entitlement'. Both, the OAv. and the YAv. passage refer to the sacrificial fee. It is the priest who is the truthful one par excellence.

47,1. 4+7; 4+7 (*šiiaoθànācā*); 4+7 (*dą̊n*); 4+7 (*mazdå, ãrmaitī*).

(1) *hacā aṣāṯ šiiaoθanācā vacaŋhācā* 'with action and word in accordance with truth' shows attributive use of the prepositional phrase *hacā aṣāṯ* (§ 15:18); # st. 2:3 *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhəuš əəānū manaŋhō*, where in a similar way the instr. *hizuuā* is an attribute to *vaŋhəuš əəānū manaŋhō*.

(2) *ahmāi* 'to him' (→ 27,14:4-5) anticipates *ahurō*, # RV 2,15,1 *asya ... índraḥ* (→ 45,0:2).

(3) *ahmāi dą̊n hauruuātā amərətātā* '(those present) shall offer him integrity and immortality', → 34,11:1 *aṯ tōi ubē hauruuåscā xᵛarəθāi.ā amərətatåscā* 'integrity and immortality both (serve) Thee as food', # 45,10:5 *xšaθrōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā ahmāi stōi dą̊n* 'in his power people place integrity and immortality to be available to Him' (§ 14).

(4) The sg. *mazdå* cannot be the subject of the 3rd pl. *dą̊n*. Line d must, therefore, be an independent sentence without a verb: *mazdå xšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'the Ahura (will) remember (that) with power (and) right-mindedness' [lit. 'the Ahura (will be) remembering (that)']; # 45,5:3 *vaŋhəuš mainiiəuš šiiaoθanāiš mazdå ahurō* ' the Ahura (will) remember (that) with actions of good spirit', 51,6:4 *ahurō xšaθrā mazdå* 'the Ahura (will) remember (him) through (His) power'; → 31,2:7 *ahurō ... mazdå aiiå ą̊saiiå* 'the Ahura, mindful of those (well-known) two shares'.

(5) *mazdå xšaθrā* also in 43,6, 45,9.

47,2. 4+7; 4+7 (*hizùuā*); 4+7 (*ãrmatōiš, šiiaoθànā*); 4+7 (*mazdå*).

(1) *vahištəm ... vərəziiaṯ* 'the best (manifestation) one performs'. This translation is based on the assumption that the subject of *vərəziiaṯ* is 'one', but the stanza is ambiguous. One could also take together *vahistəm ... vərəziiaṯ ... huuō ptā aṣahiia mazdå* 'He, the wise father of truth, works (what is) the best' (→n. 7); # 39,4:1 *yaθā tū ī ... varəš(cā) ... yā vohū* 'as Thou didst work (all) the good (things)', also Yt 15,44 *vohū vərəziiāmi* 'I work good (things)', said of Vayu.

(2) *hizuuā uxδāiš* '(inspired) by statements (voiced) by (his) tongue' (also in 51,3:4) shows the same attributive use of the instr. as the following *zastōibiiā šiiaoθanā* 'actions (performed) with (one's) hands'; # 43,11:1 *xšmā uxδāiš* 'through statements (voiced) by You' (§ 15.18). The variant *hizuuå uxδāiš*, preferred by Kellens-Pirart, is due to corruption: In the oral transmission, the final *-ā* of *hizuuā* has been assimilated to the initial *u-* of *uxδāiš*. Not clear is YAv. *hizuxδa-* 'eloquent'.

(3) *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhəuš əəānū manaŋhō* '(inspired) by statements (voiced) by (his) tongue in pursuit of good thought' shows the same attributive use of the prepositional phrase as st. 1:1 *hacā aṣāṯ šiiaoθanācā vacaŋhācā*; # 51,3:4 *hizuuā uxδāiš*

vaŋhāuš manaŋhō 'by statements of good thought (voiced) by the tongue' (§ 15.18). *āəānū* = YAv. *anu*, →32,16:6.

(4) The couple *uxδāiš ... šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions (inspired) by the statements' is developed into *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhāuš āəānū manaŋhō ārmatōiš zastōibiiā šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions of right-mindedness (to be performed) with one's hands, (inspired) by the statements (voiced) by (his) tongue in pursuit of good thought' (§ 15.18). Less complicated is 44,10:5 *ārmatōiš uxδāiš šiiaoϑanā* 'through the action (inspired) by the statements of right-mindedness'.

(5) *zastōibiiā šiiaoϑanā* 'actions (to be performed) with one's hands', # 48,12:4 *šiiaoϑanāiš aŝā ϑβahiiā ... sāŋghahiiā* 'through the actions of Thy proclamation, (performed) with truth'.

(6) The construction of *zastōibiiā šiiaoϑanā vərəziiaţ* 'performs the actions (to be performed) with (one's) hands', where *zastōibiiā* is an attribute of *šiiaoϑanā* (§ 15.18), is different from that in 33,2 *akəm ... zastōibiiā ... varəšaitī* 'he may work evil with (his) hands', where *zastōibiiā* is adverbially connected with *varəšaitī* (§ 15.18).

(7) *vərəziiaţ ōiiā cistī huuō ptā aŝahiiā mazdå* 'one performs with the following insight: He (is) the wise father of truth' (# 28,5:7 *anā mąϑrā* 'with the preceding [or: following] formula'). Yet, if *huuō ptā aŝahiiā mazdå* is the subject of *vərəziiaţ*, then: 'with this (well-known) insight (of His) He, the wise father of truth, works' (→n. 1).

(8) *ptā aŝahiiā* 'the father of truth', →31,8:1 *vaŋhāuš ptarəm manaŋhō* 'the father of good thought', 44,3:1 *ptā aŝahiiā paouruiiō* 'the primal father of truth', 45,4:2-3 *ptarəm vaŋhāuš vərəzaiianţō manaŋhō* 'the father of the refreshing good thought', st. 3 *ahiiā maiiniiāuš ... <p>tā* 'the father of this (prosperous) spirit'.

47,3. 4+7 (*túuəm*); 4+7; 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitīm*); 4+7.

(1) The corruption of **ptā spəntō* into †*tā spəntō* is due to dissimilation in the oral tradition (§ 10.7.4).

(2) *ahmāi* 'for him' [= 'for the people of prosperous spirit'], → 27,14:4-5.

(3) *yə ahmāi gąm rāniiō.skərəitīm hām.tašaţ* 'who fashioned for him the joy-providing cow', →44,6:5 *kaēibiiō azīm rāniiō.skərəitīm gąm tašō* 'for what people didst Thou fashion the joy-providing fertile cow?', 29,1:3 *kə mā tašaţ* 'who fashioned me?'

(4) *aţ hōi vāstrāi rāmā.då* 'establishing peace for her pasture', →35,4:3 *gauuōi ... rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi* 'to establish peace and (to provide) a pasture for the cow'; # 48,11:1.

(5) *hām vohū ... hāmə.fraštā manaŋhā* 'took counsel with good thought', # 44,8:2 *vohū ... fraši manaŋhā*, 'I take counsel with good thought', 45,6:3 *vohū fraši manaŋhā* 'id.', 49,2:7 *naēdā vohū ... fraštā manaŋhā* 'nor does he take counsel with good thought', 51,11:4 *aŝā āfraštā* 'took counsel with truth', 53,3:5 *hām.fərašuuā ϑβā xraϑβā* 'take counsel with Thy intellect'.

47,4. 4+7 (*rārəšiieiṇtī*); 4+6/7 (*aŝaónō/aŝaōnō*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *ahmāţ mainiiəuš rārəšiieiṇtī drəguuaṇtō ... spəṇtāţ nōiţ iϑā aŝaonō* 'the deceitful rip away from this prosperous spirit those (who are) not really truthful', → 32,11:6 *drəguuaṇtō ... yōi vahištāţ aŝaonō ... rārəšiiąn manaŋhō* 'the deceitful who try to rip the truthful away from best thought'.

(2) *nōiţ iϑā aŝaonō* 'those (who are) not really truthful', # RV 7,94,5 *itthá víprāsaḥ* '(those who are) really seers'; → 32,15:3 *nōiţ ... xšaiiamnāṇg* 'those who are not in control' (§ 15.11.2). *ašaonō* is possibly tetrasyllabic (Kellens-Pirart $^{+}$*aŝ̃aunō*); cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik* III, 1930, 278 on Ved. *maghónaḥ*.

(3) *kasəušcīţ nā* 'a man even of little (possession)', # V 18,34 *nā kasuuikąmcina yåŋhuiianąm auuarətanąm* (→st. 0:3).

(4) *kāϑē* 'pleasantly, as desired' [lit. 'at pleasure, in the way desired'], is loc.sg. of *kāϑa-* 'pleasure, pleasant condition', a derivative from *the* root *kā* 'to be pleased (with), enjoy', pres. *kaiia-*; # 44,2:3 *kāϑā* 'pleasant conditions'. The loc.sg. *kāϑē* is used adverbially here, cf. B.Sogd. *kʾϑy* ("*kʾδy*") 'very' < 'as desired'.

(5) *kāϑē ... akō* 'pleasantly ... evil', # 44,19:6 *pauruiiē ... apəmā* 'in the primal (stage of existence) ... final', 33,2:1 *akəm ... vaŋhāu* 'evil ... in the good way'.

47,5. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš*).

(1) *aŝāunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā* 'Thou accordest to the truthful one whatever best (things)', # 46,18:2 *ahmāi <h>ascīţ vahištā cōišəm* 'I for my part promise [accord] to him the best (things)', arch. Yy 12,1 *ahurāi mazdāi ... vīspā vohū cinahmī* 'I commit all good (things) to Ahura Mazdā.

(2) *baxšaitī* is ambiguous as to its form: it is either sbj. 'he must give up' from the *s*-aor. *baxš-* (→ 31,10:4 med. *baxštā* 'enjoys'), or ind. 'he gives away, gives up, abandons' from the pres. *baxša-* (→ 33,10:4 *ābaxšō.huuā* 'receive'). This formal ambiguity,

which perhaps is deliberate, results in the possibility of two alternative translations quite different from each other.

(3) Alternative A with *baxšaitī* taken as sbj.aor.: *aŋ̊āunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā hanarə ϑβahmāṯ zaošāṯ drəguuå baxšaitī* 'Thou accordest to the truthful one whatever best (things) the deceitful one must give up, (being) far removed from Thy approval'; # 50,3:1-2 *yąm hōi ... cōišt ... yąm nazdištąm gaēϑąm drəguuå baxšaitī* 'the neighbouring herd which one has accorded [promised] to him (and) which the deceitful one must give up'.

(4) Alternative B with *baxšaitī* taken as ind.pres.: *yā ... hanarə ϑβahmāṯ zaošāṯ drəguuå baxšaitī* 'whichever best (things) the deceitful one gives away (to a person) far removed from Thy approval'; # 33,10:4 *ϑβahmī hīš zaošē ābaxšō.huuā* 'receive them into Thy approval', 34,8:8 *aēibiiō dūirē vohū as manō* 'Thou sendest good thought to a place far away from them'.

(5) In *ahiiā šiiaoϑanāiš* 'on account of his actions', *ahiiā* 'his' stands at the beginning of the line as in 45,6:4 *ahiiā xratū* 'with His intellect'.

(6) *akāṯ ā šiiąs manaŋhō* 'since he dwells side by side with evil thought', →39,3:1 *yōi vaŋhāuš ā manaŋhō šiieiṇtī* 'who dwell side by side with good thought'. A different construction is found in 44,9:5 *hadəmōi aŋ̊ā vohucā šiiąs manaŋhā* 'dwelling in (His) abode with truth and good thought'.

47,6. 4+7 (*dā̃*); 4+6; 4+7 (*ā̃rmatōiš, dàbązaŋhā*); 4+7 (*vāurā̃itē*).

(1) *tā dā̃ spəṇtā mainiiū ... āϑrā ... vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'through this prosperous spirit Thou establishest the distribution (to be performed) by means of (Thy) fire, according to balance' (§ 15.18), # 31,3:3-4 *yąm dā̃ mainiiū āϑrācā aŋ̊ācā cōiš rānōibiiā xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest by means of (Thy) spirit and (Thy) fire, and (which) Thou accordest through truth, according to balance'.

(2) *āϑrā vaŋhāu vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'distribution (to be performed) by means of (Thy) fire, according to balance, at the good (share to be distributed)'. This shows attributive use (1) of the instr. *āϑrā* 'by means of (Thy) fire'; (2) of the loc. *vaŋhāu* 'at the good (share to be distributed)'; (3) of the abl. *rānōibiiā* 'according to balance' (§ 15.18). Partly this use is also found in the parallel 31,19:4-5 *ϑβā āϑrā ... vaŋhāu vīdātā raṇaiiå* 'at the distribution of the balance (value), (to be performed) by means of (Thy) fire at the good (share to be distributed)'.

(3) *vaŋhāu vīdāitīm rānōibiiā* 'distribution (to be performed) according to balance at the good (share etc.)', → 31,3:3 *rānōibiiā*; # 43,12:13 *yā vī aŋ̊īs rānōibiiō sauuōi vīdāiiāṯ* '(personified reward) who at the benefaction will distribute the rewards according to the (respective) balances'.

(4) *dəbązah-* 'solidity', cf. B.Sogd. *δβ³nz* 'wide, thick' (Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, 1959, § 110), from which Man.Sogd. *δβ³nzq³wyy* 'thickness' (ibid. § 999), cf. Sarikoli *diwez* 'thick', Bal. *baz(z)* 'thick'. All of these come from **dwanz-*, but their meaning is close to YAv. *bązah-* 'height, depth' in Yy 19,7 *astica īm zå auuaiti bązō yauuaiti fraϑasciṯ* 'this earth, indeed, is as deep as broad', cf. Ved. *báṃhiṣṭha-* 'most compact' (but in Mbh. 'most deep'), superl. of *bahú-* 'much'; → 44,6:3 on *dəbązaitī* and YAv. *bązaiti*.

(5) *ārmatōiš dəbązaŋhā aŋ̊aŧiiācā* 'with regard to the solidity of right-mindedness and truth', →44,6:3 *aŋ̊əm ... dəbązaitī ārmaitiš* 'right-mindedness consolidates truth'.

(6) *išaṇt-* 'approaching', → 45,1:5. *pourūš išəṇtō vāurāitē* 'shall receive the many who approach', # 31,3:6 *jvuaṇtō vīspəṇg vāuraiiā* 'I might receive all the living'; → 28,5:8 *mazištəm vāurōimaidī* 'we would receive the greatest one'.

Yasna 48: *Yeziδā Hāiti*

48,0. Preliminary remarks:

In sts. 1-2 Zaraϑuštra equates the victory of truth over deceit, which will lead to the opening of the last world-epoch, with the moment in which all the deceitful will have ceded their property to the truthful as a penance for their wicked deeds. This macrocosmic event will take place when the rulers, up to then deceitful, will have abandoned their inherited religious customs, and will have accepted the prophet's religion by both, mandating him to perform sacrifices and deciding for a conscientious care of the cow, whether voluntarily or compelled by someone such as Kavi Vištāspa. The payment of the sacrificial fee, which the sacrificers hope will atone for their sins, is considered a microcosmic equivalent of those macrocosmic events.

48,1. 4+7; 5/4+7 (*ąsašutā/*ąsaš(t).tā, dàibitānā, fraõxtā*); 4+7 (*maŋ̊iiāišcā*), 4+7.

(1) Here, the standard rendering of *yezī* by 'if', in contrast to that of *hiiaṯ* by 'when', is not fully satisfactory; →53,1:2 *yezī*.

(2) *adāiš* 'through these (activities)', → 35,4:2 *adāiš tāiš šiiaoϑanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* 'through these, (namely) through the actions that (are) the best'. Or: 'along with those (present)', # 33,1:1 *yaϑā āiš* 'just as by those present' which, as well as *adāiš*, stands at the beginning of hymn (§ 15.13.1). Or does *adāiš* anticipate *sauuāiš* 'benefits'?

(3) *yezī ... aṣā drujəm vāŋghaitī* 'if truths [nom.pl.] may defeat deceit' [or: 'if one may defeat deceit by truth']. The plur. of *aṣa-* is attested in both, OAv. and YAv. In 34,9:6, *aṣā* 'truths' is opposed to *xrafstrā* 'evil beasts'. In Yt 5,77, *aṣa* 'truths' is used synonymously with *aršuxδa* 'plain statements': *tā bā aṣa tā aršuxδa ... yaṯ mē auuauuaṯ daēuuaiiasnaṇąm nijaϑəm yaϑa sārəm-a varsanąm barāmi* 'these are truths, these are plain statements, that I have killed as many Daēva-worshippers as I have hairs on my head'. Cf. Ved. *ṛtá-* used in the pl. in RV 1,179,2 *sākám devébhir ávadann ṛtáni* 'with the gods they spoke truths'; 1,161,9, 10,1,4 *ṛtá vadantaḥ* (vs. 10,61,10 *ṛtáṃ vadantaḥ*); 1,67,8 *ṛtá sápantaḥ* (vs. 1,68,4 *ṛtám sápantaḥ*). Another OAv. example of the pl. use of one of the most important Ahurian terms is 38,2:3 *ārmataiiō* 'right-mindednesses' [rendered 'women such as (personified) right-mindedness']. YAv. texts re-interpret *aṣā* as nom.sg.: Yy 60,5 *vainīṯ ... aṣa drujəm* 'truth might defeat deceit', Yt 19,95 *vanāṯ aṣa akąm drujim* 'truth will defeat evil deceit' (§ 11.6.2).

(4) *hiiaṯ ąsašutā* is freely rendered by 'when they receive their (due) share', taking *ąsašutā* as inexactly transmitted for $^{+}$*ąsa-šūtā* (§ 10.7.3), loc.sg. of a hapax *ąsa-šūiti-* f. 'setting in motion [apportionment] of the (due) share', a compound of the same type as *haoma.hūiti-* 'pressing of Haoma'. Yet, in this case, the hemistich has one syllable too many. It would have the normal number of syllables if *ąsašutā* were corrupted from **ąsaš.tā*, i.e. **ąsaš tā* or **ąsaš<t> tā*, with **ąsaš/ąsašt* as 3rd sg.inj. of a reduplicated pres. *ąsas-* from the root *ąs/nas*, meaning '(the words) receive their share' (§ 10.5.4).

(5) *tā ... yā daibitānā fraoxtā* 'those (words) which have been proclaimed again and again', → 32,3:3-4 *šiiaomąm aipī daibitānā yāiš asrūdūm* 'also the activities for which you (Daēvas) again and again have become notorious'.

(6) *yā ... fraoxtā amərətāitī* '(the words) which have been proclaimed regarding immortality', →46,9:5 *yā ... mraoṯ išəṇtī mā* '(the words) which he speaks regarding the one who might invigorate me'.

(7) *fraoxtā ... daēuuāišcā maṣiiāišcā* either 'proclaimed by Daēvas and mortals', → 34,5:6 *daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš maṣiiāišcā*; # 29,4:6 *yā ... vāuuərəzōi ... daēuuāišcā maṣiiāišcā* 'what has been perpetrated by Daēvas and mortals' (§ 15.18).

(8) *aṯ tōi sauuāiš vahməm vaxšaṯ* 'then someone will make Thy laudation grow with benefits' shows the same construction as st. 6:2 *aṯ aϊiiāi aṣā mazdå uruuarå vaxšaṯ* 'for her the Wise One shall make the plants grow with truth'. As to *sauua-*

'benefit', →45,7:1. The instr.pl. *sauuāiš* also occurs in the obscure 51,15:7 *tā vā vohū manaŋhā aṣāicā sauuāiš cəuuīšī* 'with good thought these (offerings) are committed to You, and to Truth, with benefits'.

48,2. 4+7; 4+7 (*túuəm*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *yā tuuəm vīduuå* '(those things) which Thou knowest' [lit. 'which Thou (art) knowing'], →29,5:2 *frīnəmnā*.

(2) *parā hiiaṯ mā ... pərəϑā jimaitī* 'before the compensations will have reached me', →43,12:6 *parā hiiaṯ mōi ā.jimaṯ səraošō* 'before (recompense for) obedience will have come to me', # st. 11:4 *kāŋ ā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō jimaṯ cistiš* 'which people will the insight of good thought reach?'.

(3) *yā māŋ pərəϑā* 'the compensations that (I have) in mind', → 28,4:2-3 on *māṇ<g> g° ... dadē* 'I note in my mind'. The adv. *māŋ* 'in mind' is a petrified gen.sg. of a root noun *man-* 'mind'. Its sandhi form *mąz-* serves as a verbal prefix in the compound verb *mąz-dā-* < *māŋ* + *dā* 'to give notice of', attested in the post-original 53,5:4 *māṇcā ī mązdazdūm* 'note [pl.mid.] them in your mind'. *yā māŋ*, read as one word *yā.māŋ* , gen.sg. of a hapax *yāman-* = Ved. *yáman-* 'course' (said also with reference to the rites), is possible as well.

(4) *pərəϑa-* n. 'compensation, forfeit', cf. YAv. *tanu.pərəϑa-* 'of forfeited body' [lit. 'whose body serves as forfeit']. The meaning of *pərəϑā* is similar to that of *kaēnā* in 30,8:2 *aṯcā yadā aēšąm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaŋhąm* 'and when the atonement for their (the Daēva's crimes) will have arrived.

(5) The question *kaṯ aṣauuā mazdā vāŋghaṯ drəguuaṇtəm* 'will the truthful one defeat the deceitful one, O Wise One?' is simplified in the quotation Yt 1,28 *kaṯ aṣauua mazda vanaṯ druuaṇtəm, aṣauua vanaṯ drujim, aṣauua vanaṯ druuaṇtəm*, where the difficult inj.aor. *vāŋghaṯ* is replaced by the inj.pres. *vanaṯ*.

(6) *hā zī aŋhāuš vaŋ^{v}hī vistā ākərətiš* 'for such arrangement of existence (is) found (to be) good'; also possible would be: 'for this (is) found (to be) the good arrangement of existence'; →49,4:5 *yā drəguuatō daēnā* 'a religious view which (is that) of the deceitful one'.

(7) *ākərəiti-* 'arrangement, establishment, act of giving rise to', cf. Ved. *ā-kṛ* 'to bring near, to bring towards'; # RV 10,23,6 *yád á paśúṃ ná gopáḥ karāmahe* 'when we try to bring (Indra) to ourselves [mid.] as a herdsman his sheep'. Yet, Ved. *ákṛti-* means 'constituent part' in RV 10,85,5 *sámānām mása ákṛtiḥ* 'the moon is the constituent part of the years',

48,3. 4+7 (*sāsnanąm*); 4+7 (*hudā̃*); 4+7, 4+7.

(1) Here *vaēdəmna-* 'accepting, recognising, taking possession of' (→28,5:2-3) is in contrast with *vīduuah-* 'knowing'.

(2) *sāsnanąm ... sāstī* 'teachings ... teaches', → 31,18:2 *sāsnå ... sāzdūm* 'teachings ... teach'.

(3) *vaŋhāuš xraϑβā manaŋhō* 'with the intellect of good thought', # 28,1:14 *vaŋhāuš xratūm manaŋhō.*

48,4. 4+7(*dāṯ*); 4+7 (*daẽnąm, šiiaoϑànācā*); 4+7 (*varənāṇg*); 4+7.

(1) *yə dāṯ manō vahiiō ašiiascā* '(he) who expresses both better and worse thought', # 33,1:8 *yehiiācā həmiiāsaitē miϑahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā* 'as well as (for that one) whose faults and what (are) his virtues are reckoned together', 49,4:3 *yaēšąm nōiṯ huuarəštāis vąs dužuuarəštā* 'whose bad deeds prevail because of the lack of good deeds (to balance them)'.

(2) *huuō daēnąm [sc. dāṯ]* 'that one (expresses his) religious view' (§ 15.12.2), # *tōi daēuuāṇg dąn* 'those produce [or: establish] Daēvas'.

(3) *ahiiā zaošāṇg uštiš varənāṇg hacaitē* 'his wish follows (his) pleasures (and) preferences' (with *uštiš* as a correct nom.sg.); alternatively: 'he follows (his) pleasures, wishes and preferences' (with *uštiš* acc.pl. inexactly transmitted for **uštīš*, →38,5:4 on gen.sg. *darəgō.bāzāuš*). The acc.pl.is suggested by the word order and by V 2,11 *huuąm anu uštīm zaošəmca* 'according to their own wish and pleasure'. # 31,11:4 *yaϑrā varənāṇg vaså dāiietē* 'where the wisher makes use of (his) preferences', or: 'where one makes use of (his) wishes and preferences'.

(4) *nanā aŋhaṯ* 'will be (recorded) here and there', # RV 10,67,10 *nánā sántaḥ* 'being [staying] here and there'.

48,5. 5+7; 5+6 (*vaŋhuiiā, šiiaoϑànāiš, ãrmaitē*); 5+7 [7+5?] (*yaožd̃å, maṣ̌iiāi*); 5+6.

(1) *huxšaϑrā xšəṇtąm* 'let good rulers assume rule', →41,2:3 *huxšaϑrastū nə ... xšaētā* 'a good ruler may assume rule over us'. The aor. *xšā-* has the perfective meaning 'to assume rule, accede to the throne' as contrasted with the imperfective meaning 'to rule' of the pres. *xšaiia-*. This rule is corroborated by the corresponding negative sentence *mā nə dušəxšaϑrā xšəṇtā* 'let not bad rulers assume rule over us' in which, according to a well-known rule, *mā* + inj.aor. has the prohibitive meaning 'do not let succeed in doing'; →31,17:4 on the inhibitive function of *mā* + inj.pres. in *mā ... aipī dəbāuuaiiaṯ* 'let (him) no longer delude (people)' (§ 11.5.3.0).

(2) In YAv., the phrase *vaŋᵛhī- cisti-* 'the good insight' is practically synonymous with the term *vaŋᵛhī- daēnā-* 'the good religion'.

(3) *yaožd̃å* is the nom.sg.m.f. of *yaožd̃ā-* 'purifying', a root noun from the verb *yaož-dā* 'to purify, to make resistent' (→ 46,18:1), cf. the root nouns *zrazdā-* 'faithful' from *zraz-dā* 'to believe', and *mazdā-* 'wise, mindful, remembering' from *maz-dā* 'to take note of' [mid.] (→ 28,1:9). For the verbal government *yaožd̃å ... ząϑəm* 'purifying progeny', → 46,16:5 *mazd̃å varədəmąm* alternatively: 'mindful of [acc.] increase [pl.]'.

(4) Geldner's reading *yaožd̃å maṣ̌iiāi* (in which *maṣ̌iiāi* is parallel to *gauuōi*) is less well attested than the variant *yaožd̃å maṣ̌iiå̃*, but in this the *-å̃* of *maṣ̌iiå̃* is suspect of being due to perseveration. (In the quotation V 5,21, 10,18 Geldner gives *maṣ̌iiāi* without variants.) *maṣ̌iiāi* can be a dat.sg. of both, *maṣ̌iia-* 'man' and **maṣ̌iiā-* 'woman', the latter by haplology for **maṣ̌iiaiiāi*; →43,13:4 *vairiiå̃* for **vairiiaiiå̃*.

(5) *yaožd̃å ... aipī ząϑəm* 'which purifies (among other things) also birth', # V 21,6 *frā tē ząϑəm ... frasnaiieni* 'I will wash clean Thy birth' (→st. 6:2). The Ved. evidence shows that the adv. *aipī* 'also, too' can stand in front of or after the noun to which it refers: In RV 10,19,4-5 *yó gopǻ ápi* 'he who (is) also a shepherd' is echoed by *ápi gopā́ḥ* 'also a shepherd'. The reading of *aipī ząϑəm* as one word *aipī.ząϑəm* '*progeny' is not supported by the meaning 'after-born' of Ved. *apijá-*.

(6) *yaožd̃å maṣ̌iiāi aipī ząϑəm vahištā* 'the best (insight) which purifies birth also for mankind', # Yy 65,2 [= Yt 5,2] *yā vīspaṇąm hāirišiṇąm ząϑāi garəβą yaožd̃aδāiti yā vīspå hāirišīš huzāmitō daδāiti* '(Anāhitā) who purifies the womb(s) of all females for birth, who makes all females bring forth well'.

(7) *vahištā* 'the best one' continues *vaŋhuiiå cistōiš* 'of the good insight' for which it substitutes in a sort of climax; # 51,1:5 *vohū xšaϑrəm ... vahištəm* 'the good power ... the best one', perhaps also 45,5:1 *vahištəm ... vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* (§ 8.2.3). This view is supported by V 5,21, where the quotation *yaožd̃å maṣ̌iiāi aipī ząϑəm vahištā* 'the best (insight) which purifies also birth for mankind' is followed by *hā yaožd̃å ... yā daēna māzdaiiasniš yō huuąm daēnąm yaožd̃āite humatāišca hūxtāišca huuarštāišca* 'this (our) Mazdayasnian religion (is) purifying (him) who purifies his own religious view with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds'; cf. the similar passage V 5,21 where we find *hā yaožd̃å yā daēnā māzdaiiasniš ... yō huuąm aŋᵛhąm yaožd̃āite* 'who purifies his own vital energy' (→29,5:1, 44,9:2).

(8) *vahištā gauuōi vərəziiātąm* 'let the best (insight) be applied to the cow', # Vr 15,1 *vərəziiātąmca iδa vohu vāstriia* 'and let good pastural works be performed here'.

(9) The last line is quoted in Yt 14,61 *gauue amәm gauue nәmәm gauue uxδәm gauue vərәθrәm gauue xᵛarәθәm gauue vastrәm gauue vərәziiātąm tąm nā xᵛarәθāi fšuiiō*. There, *vərәziiātąm* is used as if it were an acc.sg. of a noun **vərәziiātā-* 'activity': 'for the cow (we desire) impetuosness and pasture land (→ 46,1:3 *nәmōi*), statement and resistance, food and clothing [!], *activity ...'.

(10) *tąm ... fšuiiō* 'Thou breedest her'. The pres. *fšuiia-* is also attested in the common term *vāstriia- fšuiiaṇt-* 'cattle-breeding herdsman', or perhaps: 'cattle-milking herdsman' as suggested by YAv. *fšutā-* 'cheese' (V 7,77 *paiiō fšuta* 'milk and cheese'). The acc.obj. *tąm* proves that *fšuiia-* is transitive. This forbids rendering *fšuiia-* by 'to wish for cattle', deriving it from *pasu/fšu-* 'cattle' as Ved. *aśvāyáti* 'he wishes for horses' from *áśva-* 'horse'.

48,6. 6+6 (*hušōiθèmā*); 4/5+7 (*dāṯ/dāṯ*); 5+7 (*mazdā*); 5+6 (*paouruíiehiiā*).

(1) Judged by the Ved. evidence, *bərəxδē* is not nom.sg. but voc.sg. of *bərəxδā-*, fem. of *bərəxδa-* 'esteemed' (# Yt 8,29 voc.sg. *daēne māzdaiiasne*). As distinguished from Vedic (Ved. *aśve* voc.sg. of *áśvā-*), in Avestan the voc.sg.f. in *-e* of stems in *-ā* is facultative (# 53,3 voc.sg. *porucistā haēcaṯ.aspānā spitāmī*). In the present passage, the voc. *bərəxδē* continues the voc. *ārmaitē* 'O right-mindedness' of st. 5. As to *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō bərəxδē* 'O (right-mindedness who art) esteemed by [gen.] good thought', →34,9:1 *ārmaitīm θβahiiā ... bərəxδąm vīdušō* 'right-mindedness (which is) esteemed by Thy knowing one'; # 32,9:6 *īštīm ... bərəxδąm hāitīm vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'command which is esteemed by good thought'.

(2) *aṯ aχiiāi ašā uruuarå vaxšaṯ ... ząθōi* 'for her he shall make the plants grow with truth at the begetting (of existence)'. Here, *vaxšaṯ* unambiguously means 'shall make grow', not 'shall sprinkle' (→ 31,6:7 *xšaθrәm ... vaxšaṯ*); # st. 1:8 *aṯ tōi sauuāis vahmәm vaxšaṯ* 'someone will make Thy laudation grow with benefits'. Cf. the combinations of *ząθa-* 'begetting, birth' with *vaxšaθa-* 'growth' and with *vaxš/uxš* 'to grow' in Yt 13,93 *yehe ząθaēca vaxš<aθ>aēca ... uxšin āpō uruuaråsca* 'at whose birth and during whose growth the water (swelled) and the plants grew', V 21,6 *frātē ząθәmca vaxšaθәmca ... frasnaiieni* 'I will wash clean thy birth and growth' (→st. 5:4).

(3) *aŋhāuš ząθōi paouruiiehiiā* 'at the begetting of the primal existence', # 43,5:2 *hiiaṯ θβā aŋhāuš ząθōi darәsәm paouruuīm* 'when I see Thee, the primal one, (engaged) in the begetting of existence' (§ 12.1.6.1).

48,7. 5/6+6 (*dìiātąm/díiātąm*); 4+7 (*dīdraγžō.dùìiē*); 4+7 (*víiąm/vìiąm*); 4+7.

(1) *aēšәmō ... rәmәm* 'wrath, fury', # 29,1:6 *aēšәmō ... rәmō* 'wrath (and) fury'; → 49,4:2 *aēšәmәm ... rāmәmcā*.

(2) *nī ... nī.diiātąm* 'let (wrath) be laid down', pass. of *ni-dā* 'to lay down', cf. YAv. *niδā-snaiθiš-* in Yy 12,9 *daēnąm māzdaiiasnīm fraspāiiaoxәδrąm niδāsnaiθišәm* 'the Mazdayasnian religion which causes the ropes (of the chariots) to be taken off (and) the weapons to be laid down'. Av. *yaoxәδra-* means 'rope (of chariot)', # RV 5,33,2 *hárīnām ... yóktram aśreḥ* 'Thou didst put the rope on the horses'; for *ni-dā* 'to lay down', # RV 1,171,1 *ní hélo dhattá ví mucadhvam áśvān* 'lay down your [mid.] anger, unharness the horses'. Less likely is *nī ... nī.diiātąm* 'let (wrath) be tied up', mid. of *ni-dā* = Ved. *ni-dā*, pres. *ni-dyati* 'to tie up', in the RV attested by *nidātṛ-* 'one who ties up (a calf)' and *nidāna-* 'band, rope, halter'.

(3) *rәma-* 'fury' < **rabhma-*, cf. Ved. *rábhas-* 'violence, impetuosity'.

(4) *paitī ... paitī.siiōdūm* 'chop up', from root *sā* = Ved. *chā*, pres. *chyati* 'to cut'.

(5) *yōi ā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō dīdraγžō.duiie* 'You who try to attach Yourselves [mid.] to the good thought (of Your adherents)', or: 'You who try to attach (someone or something) to Your [mid.] good thought'. For the construction of *drang/dranj* with *ā* + abl., # V 9,14 *ā.drәṇjaiiōiš ... pauruua.naēmāṯ* 'mayest Thou attach (the vessel) at the frontside'.

(6) *vìiąm* 'protection' (Monna 76 *víiąm*) is the acc.sg. of a root noun *viiā-*, lit. 'covering', from root *viiā-* 'to cover, wrap, envelop' (= Ved. *vyā*, pres. *vyayati*). Cf. YAv. *viiā-* f. 'womb, hiding-place': Yt 13,11 *vīδāraēm ... barәθrišuua puθrā paiti.-vərətā apara.iriθәṇtō ⁺ā ⁺dātāṯ vīδātaoṯ, viiāhuua uruuaṯ.caēm astica gaonaca drәββaca uruθβąsca paiδiiåsca frauuaxšåsca* 'in pregnant women I maintain the conceived children, not dying, till the fixed (time of) delivery; in (their) wombs I put together bones and hair etc.'; Yt 8,9 *āaṯ tå āpō frašāuuaieiti satauuaēsō ... viiāhuua yaṯ jasaiti* 'when (the star) Satavaēsa goes into his hiding-places it makes those waters flow forward '.

(7) *viiąm ... hiθāuš* 'protection ... partner' recalls 34,10:3 *hiθąm ... vòiiaθrā* 'partner ... protective means' in which *vōiiaθra-* must as well come from the root *viiā* 'to cover, wrap, envelop'. The same applies to *viiānā-* 'heart, soul' [lit. 'what is innermost'] > MP. *gyān* 'soul, spirit, ghost', NP. *jān* 'soul, spirit, life' (→ 29,6:4 *viiānaiiā*).

(8) In our translation the acc.sg. *viiąm* 'protection' is taken as an inf. in the sense of a pass. imv.: *ašā viiąm yehiiā hiθāuš nā spәṇtō* 'let (him) whose partner is the prosperous man be protected by truth'; # st. 9:3 *ūcąm* 'let be told', →32,6:6 *vīdąm* 'let

be broadcast'. Possible is as well: 'You who try to attach to Your [mid.] good thought the (idea of) protecting with truth (him) whose partner (is) the prosperous man'.

(9) *hiθāuš* is taken as nom.sg. of *hiθu-* m. 'partner'. (Bartholomae reads *hiθaoš* gen.sg.) Cf. *hiθā-* f. in 34,10:3 *hiθąm aṣahiiā* 'the (female) partner of truth'.

(10) *hōi dāmąm* 'its (truth's) abodes' [or: 'its (truth's) creatures']; → 46,6:3 *drūjō ... dāmąn* 'abodes [or: creatures] of deceit'.

(11) *θβāhmī ā dąm* 'in Thy house', # 49,10:1 *θβahmī ā dąm nipāŋhē*, Vr 14,2 *xᵛahmi dąm* 'in one's own house'; → 44,16:2 *mōi dąm* 'in my house'.

48,8. 4+7; 4+7, 4+7 (*ākå, išiiā*); 4+7 (*šiiaoθənanąm*)

(1) *kā tōi vaŋhāuš ... xšaθrahiiā īštiš* 'what is the command of Thy good power?', → 34,5:2 *kaṯ vā xšaθrəm kā īštiš* 'what (is) Your power ... command?' (§ 12.1.6.0).

(2) *kā tōi aṣōiš θβaźiiå maibiiō* 'what (is that) of Thy reward, of Thy (reward) for me?', → 49,6:4 *yā vā xratāuš xšmākahiiā ā.manaŋhā* 'which (are) the passions of Your intellect, of Yours' (# 28,10:5 *vā xšmaibiiā* 'for You'); 31,4:7 *maibiio xšaθrəm* 'power (meant) for me' (§ 15.18).

(3) Note the play of words on *aṣa-* 'truth' and *aṣi-* 'reward' in *kā tōi aṣōiš θβaźiiå ... kā tōi aṣā*, →54,1:6 *aṣahiiā ... ašīm* (§ 15.3.4).

(4) *ākå* is an adv. 'faced, facing, manifestly, visibly' in N 63 *akå hazaŋha anākåsə taiiuš* 'if manifestly (he is) a robber, if secretly (he is) a thief'; it possibly originates from a compound *āk-āh-* 'having one's face turned towards', cf. perhaps also Ved. *āké* 'near'. As in N 63, *ākå* is likely to be a predicate adv. also in 51,13:4 *cinuuatō pərətå ākå ... aṣahiiā nąsuuå paθō* 'at the account-keeper's bridge, faced (with the fact) that he has strayed from the path of truth'. In its further occurrences, *ākå* seems to be a prep. with acc. A local meaning of the prep. is most obvious in Yy 60,11 *yaθa nō vahištō aŋhuš ākåscōiṯ āhūire ... jasəṇtąm* 'so that the best life (may be) ours when we go towards the Ahurian (spaces)'.

(5) *ākå arədrāŋg* 'in the face of the zestful', # 50,4:3 *ākå arədrāŋg dəmānē garō səraošānē* 'in the face of the zestful I wish to be heard in the house of welcome'; # 50,2:6 *ākās-tāŋg* 'facing them'.

(6) *ākå arədrāŋg išiiā* 'vigorous [or: provided with invigorations] in the face of the zestful', # 50,4:3 *išō ... ā paiθī ... ākå arədrāŋg* 'on the path of invigoration, in the face of the zestful'. On *išiia-* from *iš-* 'vigour, invigoration', →32,16:6.

(7) *jauuarō* '*encouragement', probably from the root *gau/jau* 'to increase'.

48,9. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *vaēdā ... yezī* 'I know whether', # 32,6:3 *yezī ... vōistā* 'Thou knowest whether', RV 10,129,7 *veda yádi*.

(2) *yezī cahiiā xšaiiaθā ... yehiiā.mā āiθiš duuaēθā* 'whether You have control over some (danger) the fear of which scares me', # 32,16:5 *xšaiiąs ... yehiiā mā aiθīšcīṯ duuaēθā* 'having control (over some danger) the fear of which scares me'.

(3) *əraš mōi ... ərəžūcąm ... vafuš ... vīdiiāṯ* 'let the pronouncement be told me plainly, may he know', → 44,1:2 *ərəš mōi vaocā* 'tell me plainly', # 29,6:3 *vaocaṯ ... vīduuå vafūš* 'He who knows the pronouncements, speaks'. *ūcąm* 'let be told', # st. 7:8 *viiąm* 'let be protected'; → 32,6:4 *vīdąm* 'let be broadcast'.

48,10. 4+7 (*mąnàrōiš*); 4+7; 4+7 (*karàpanō, ùrūpaiieiṇtī*); 4+7 (*daźiiunąm*).

(1) *mąnàrōiš* is a gen. of local sphere (→ 46,3:3) from *mąnàri-* < **māmri-* 'memoriser, reciter'.

(2) *kadā mąnarōiš narō vīsəṇtē* 'when will (some) honorable persons [ind.] take up their positions side by side with the reciter', → 32,14:8 *hiiaṯ vīsəṇtā drəguuaṇtəm auuō* 'when they take up their positions to assist the deceitful one'. Both passages refer to the Haoma ritual of Zaraθuštra's opponents (§ 11.2.3).

(3) *ajən* < **ā-jən* '(someone) will [inj.] kick over': supposing that the liquid is kept in a vessel.

(4) *mūθra-* = Ved. *mūtra-* 'urine'; *mūθrəm ahiiā madahiiā yā* 'the urine of that (well-known demon of) intoxication with which ...', or: 'the urine of [= which is] that (kind of) intoxicant with which ...'. The strong yellow Haoma referred to in the present passage, which is of the same type as the Vedic Soma, is equated to the urine of the demon of the intoxicant; →32,14:12 *yā dūraošəm saocaiiaṯ* (§ 11.2.3).

(5) *urūpaiieiṇtī* 'they cause (people) to suffer racking pain', or: 'they suffer racking pain. Cf. Ved. *rup* 'to suffer violent or racking pain (in the abdomen)', pres. *rúpyati*, caus. *ropayati*. The combination *madahiiā ... urūpaiieiṇtī* recalls the similar sequence *amīmadaḥ ... arūrupaḥ* [Paippalāda *aropayo ... amādayaḥ*] in AV 4,6,3 *viṣa ... nā́mīmado nā́rūrupa utā́smā abhavaḥ pitúḥ* 'O poison, Thou didst not intoxicate (him), Thou didst not cause racking pain (to him), Thou didst even become a drink for him'. This perhaps points to *urūpaiieiṇtī* having the same causative meaning 'to cause racking pain' as Ved. *ropayati*.

(6) In *yā ... urūpaiieiṇtī yācā [sc. urūpaiieiṇtī]*, the rel.pron. *hiiaŋ* is in the same way repeated as the conj. *hiiaŋ* in the related passage 32,14:8 *hiiaŋ vīsəṇtā drəguuaṇtəm auuō hiiaŋcā [sc. vīsəṇtā] ... auuō.*

48,11. 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš*); 4+7; 4+7 (*dā̃ṇtē*); 4+7.

(1) *ārmaitiš ... xšaϑrā hušəitiš vāstrauuaitī ... rāmąm* '(right-mindedness) ... with power, provided with good dwelling and pasture ... peace [pl.]', # 30,10:4 *hušitōiš vaŋhəuš manaŋhō* 'good dwelling of good thought' [or: 'good thought provided with good dwelling']; → 47,3:4 *hōi vastrāi rāmā.dā* 'establishing peace for her pasture', # 29,10:5 *xšaϑrəmcā auuaŋ yā hušəitiš rāmąmcā dāŋ* 'and that power by which one may establish good dwelling places and peace [pl.]'.

(2) *kōi drəguuō.dəbīš xrūrāiš rāmąm dāṇtē* 'which people will establish for themselves [mid.], peace with the bloodstained deceitful?', → 53,8:5 *rāmąmcā āiš dadātu* 'and let one establish peace with them'.

(3) *xrūra-* 'blood-stained', →46,5:10 *xrūniia-* 'bloodshed'.

(4) *kəŋg ā ... jimaŋ cistiš* 'which people insight will reach', # st. 2:2 *parā hiiaŋ mā ... pərəϑā jimaitī* 'before the compensations will have reached me'.

48,12. 4+7 (*daxiiunā̃m*); 4+7 (*xšnə̄m, hacā̃ṇtē*); 4+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš*); 4+7 (*aēšəm.-mahiiā*).

(1) *saošiiaṇtō daxiiunąm* 'the benefactors of the countries' is opposed to st. 10 *dušə.xšaϑrā daxiiunąm* 'bad rulers of the countries'. After *saošiiaṇtō*, the gen.pl. *daxiiunąm* may be taken as an objective gen.; # V 4,2 PhlT gloss *daiŋhauue ... suiiamnahe* 'to the country enjoying benefit'.

(2) In both, the present passage and 53,2:3 the reading *xšnəm* is as well attested as the reading *xšnūm* preferred by Geldner and Bartholomae. A root noun *xšnu-* or *xšnū-* 'satisfaction' from the root *xšnau/xšnu* 'to satisfy' would be very strange, all the more as from that root we have the well-known and regularly formed *xšnūt-* 'satisfaction', (31,3, 51,9, Yy 60,2), but a monosyllabic *xšnə̄m* < **xšnam* 'recognition' from the root *zan/xšnā* 'to recognise' is just as puzzling.

(3) *yōi xšnəm vohū manaŋhā hacā̃ṇtē* 'those who will pursue (Thy) recognition with good thought, # 53,2:2-4 *aŋcā hōi scaṇtū manaŋhā ... xšnəm mazdā vahmāi.ā ... yasnąscā* 'let them therefore, (inspired) by his thought, pursue the recognition of the Wise One for (His) laudation, and (His) worship [pl.]'.

(4) *šiiaoϑanāiš aŋ̊ā ϑβahiiā mazdā səŋghahiiā* 'through actions of Thy proclamation, (performed) with truth', # 44,14:3 *ϑβahiiā mąϑrāiš səŋghahiiā* 'with the formulas of Thy proclamation', 33,14:4 *šiiaoϑanahiiā aŋ̊ā* 'of the action (performed) with truth' (§ 15.18).

Yasna 49: *Aŋ.māiiauuā Hāiti*

49.0. Preliminary remarks.

The opening stanza of Y 49 mentions the name of one of Zaraϑuštra's opponents, Bā̊ṇdva, called by him a *mazišta-* 'chieftain, elder'. In his own tribe, Bā̊ṇdva seems to have a social position similar to the position which Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa, mentioned in sts. 8-9, have in Kavi Vištāspa's tribe. In connexion with the hospitality which Bā̊ṇdva grants a deceitful teacher, the prophet calls people up to chase the deceitful out of society, and to put themselves under the protection of good thought and truth. For the truthful, there is in store a reward in the paradise of Ahura Mazdā, while the deceitful can only expect punishment in hell.

49,1. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*ādā̊*); 4+7.

(1) *yauuā* 'with barley' [or: 'with beer'], instr.sg. of *yauua-* 'barley' (= Ved. *yáva-*); hardly: 'with longevity', instr.sg. of *āiiu/yau-* 'duration, life-time, age'.

(2) *mā* in *aŋ mā yauua* is either the instr.sg. of the poss.pron. *ma-* ('with my barley/beer'), or it is the emphasizing particle *mā* = Ved. *sma* ('with barley/beer'), but in 29,11:2 *aŋ mā, mā* is most probably the acc.sg. 'me' of the pers.pron. A similar problem is found in st. 2:2 *aŋ ahiiā mā.*

(3) *yauuā ... pafrē* 'he has stuffed himself with my barley' [or: 'he has stuffed himself with the barley (of which he has robbed me, or other people)']. Or also: 'he has filled himself with beer (so that he is drunk)', # RV 2,14,11 *tám ūrdaraṃ ná pṛṇatā yávenéndraṃ sómebhiḥ* 'fill this Indra with Soma drinks in the same way as a granary with a barley crop'. The possible alternative 'he has filled himself with longevity [= 'he

does and does not die'] is not favoured by the meaning 'of full age' of the YAv. compound *pərənāiiu-*.

(4) *pafrē* 'has stuffed [filled] himself', cf. YAv. *pafre* in P 17 *aṣaiiąm p<a>fre* 'has fulfilled for himself [mid.] work of righteousness'. The instr. governed by *pafrē* perhaps means 'with (all) the barley [or: beer] in question', as contrasted with the partitive gen. found in V 7,48 *gāuš uruϑβarə hąm.pāfrāiti* 'who fills his stomach (with a portion) of meat'.

(5) *mazištō* 'chieftain, elder', cf. Aramaeo-Iran. *mzyšty'* *'NSN* 'the aged people, elders' [= Greek *tõn presbytérōn*], translating MInd. *vuḍhanām* 'of the aged people', on the Greek-Aramaic bilingual inscription from Qandahar. The term is perhaps used ironically; cf. *maš*, nom.sg. of *maz-* 'great', in 32,3:1 ironically '(alleged) master', but in 34,9:5 non-ironically 'master'.

(6) *dušərəϑrīš* is acc.pl. of *dušərəϑrī-*, fem. of an unattested *dušərətar-* < **duš-hərətar-* of unclear meaning. The translation 'ill-herded' is based on the etymological connexion with YAv. *harətar-* 'guard, warder', *harəϑra-* 'custody'; nevertheless, the weak form *hərə°* of the root remains unexplained. Cf. the attempt by F. B. J. Kuiper, *Av. dušərəϑrīš*, in: *BSOAS* 42, 1979, 265-267.

(7) *cixšnušā* 'I try to satisfy', →45,9:1 *cixšnušō* '(I am) trying to satisfy'.

(8) *vaŋᵛhī ādā* 'good apportionment', →33,11:2-3 *ādā-* 'apportionment, allocation'. The form is nom.sg. or voc.sg. In case it is nom.sg., it is said of Ahura Mazdā, either by metonymy, expecting Him 'to come (as a personified) good apportionment' (§ 15.6.1), or as an "open bahuvrihi" '(Thy) apportionment (being) good' [= '(Thou, being) of good apportionment']. A most instructive example of an "open bahuvrihi" is YAv. *raēuuaṯ ciϑrəm* (Yt 5,64 *kainīnō ... raēuuaṯ ciϑrəm āzātaiiå* 'of a girl, her descent rich, a noble one'), which is equivalent to the bahuvrihi compound *raēuuasciϑra-* (H 2,9 *kainīnō ... āzātaiiå raēuuasciϑraiiå* 'of a girl, a noble one of rich descent'). Cf. also Yt 10,9 *auui manō* '(his) thought (turned) toward (the deity)' (→30,5:7).

(9) *ahiiā ... aošō vīdā* 'effect his death', # V 19,46 *kuua hē aošō viṇdāma* 'how can we effect his (Zaraϑuštra's) death', RV 7,18,18 *bhedásya ... vinda rándhim* 'effect the subjugation of Bheda' [but Geldner: 'finde du des Bheda schwache Stelle'].

49,2. 4+7; 4+7 (*dàibitā, rārə́šō*); 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitīm*); 4+7.

(1) *mā ... mānaiieitī* means either 'abides, dwells' (cf. MP. ²*mān-* 'to live, dwell'), or: 'lies in wait for me' (cf. MP. ¹*māndan* 'to stay, remain', OP. *mām amānaya* 'waited for me'), or: 'resembles' (cf. MP. ³*mān-* 'to resemble', YAv. *mąnaiiən ahe*, e.g. in Yt 17,20 *tāpaiieiti mąm ... mąnaiiən ahe yaϑa aiiaoxšustəm* 'makes me hot, similar in the way in which molten metal heats'). Thus alternative A: *ahiiā mā bāṇduuahiiā mānaiieitī ṯkaēšo drəguuå* '(in the entourage) of this Bəndva abides a deceitful teacher'; alternative B: 'The deceitful teacher of this Bəndva expects me [= lies in wait for me]'. Alternative C: '(his deceitful teacher) resembles this Bāndva'.

(2) In alternatives A and C, *mā* is a particle, in alternative B it is the pers. pron. (# st. 1:2). In alternative A, *ahiiā ... bāṇduuahiiā* is a local gen. '(in the entourage) of this Bāndva'; →46,3:3 *aŋhāuš ... frārəṇtē* 'they will rise above existence'.

(3) *ṯkaēšō drəguuå* 'a deceitful teacher', but in st. 3 *ṯkaēša-* beyond any doubt means 'false doctrine, heresy'.

(4) *daibitā* 'again and again' = Ved. *dvitá*; →32,3:2 *daibitānā*.

(5) *aṣāṯ rārəšō* 'who rips (people) away from truth', →32,11:6 *yōi vahištāṯ aṣaonō mazdā rārəšiiąn manaŋhō* '(the deceitful) who try to rip the truthful away from best thought'.

(6) *dōrəšt ... ārmaitīm* 'seizes right-mindedness', →43,1:5 *aṣəm dərəidiiāi* 'to seize truth'; # P 25 †*ārmaite darəϑrəm* 'act of seizing right-mindedness', Vr 2,5 *spəṇtąm ārmaitīm darətəm* '(him) who seizes prosperous right-mindedness'.

(7) *vohū fraštā manaŋhā* 'he takes counsel with good thought', →47,3:5 *hām vohū hāmə.fraštā manaŋhā* 'he took counsel with good thought'.

49,3. 4+7; 4+7; 3+7; 4+7.

(1) Here, *ahmāi varənāi* 'this belief, this orthodoxy of ours' is opposed to *ṯkaēšāi* 'false doctrine, heresy'. Unlike this, in Yy 12,7, both, *varəna-* 'belief' and *ṯkaēša-* 'doctrine' refer to the good Mazdayasnian religion: *yā.varanō ... zaraϑuštrō ... tā varənācā ṯkaēšācā mazdaiiasnō ahmī* 'of which belief Zaraϑuštra (was), through that belief and doctrine I am a Mazdayasnian' (§ 11.2.1).

(2) *aṣəm sūidiiāi ... rāšaiieŋhē druxš* 'truth (for people) to enjoy benefit, deceit in order to harm', # 30,11:5 *darəgəm drəguuō.dəbiiō rašō sauuacā aṣauuabiiō* 'what long-lasting harm (is in store) for the deceitful, as well as (what) benefits for the truthful', 51,9:5 *rāšaiieŋhē drəguuaṇtəm sauuaiiō aṣauuanəm* 'to harm the deceitful one Thou dost benefit the truthful one'.

(3) In *vaŋhāuš sarə ... manaŋhō* 'shelter of good thought', *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* is a poetical variation of *aṣahiiā* found in st. 8 *aṣahiiā ... sarəm* 'shelter of truth'; →35,8:1 *aṣahiiā ... sairī* 'in the shelter of truth'.

(4) *tā vaŋhāuš sarā iziiā manaŋhō* 'therefore I beg for [gen.] the shelter of good thought'; cf. the same construction in 33,6:9 *tā tōi iziiā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā* 'with that (thought) I beg for [gen.] Thy sight and consultation'.

(5) *aṇtarā vīspāṇg drəguuatō ... mruiiē* 'I banish all the deceitful', # Yy 19,15 *aṇtarəca druuaṇtəm āmrūta aiia aṇtarə.uxti nōiṯ nā manå ... haciṇtē* 'and he banished the deceitful one with the following ban: Neither our thoughts ... [quotation from 45,2] ... agree'; →45,2:3-4.

(6) *haxmāṇg* 'from (our) fellowship', abl.sg. of *haxman-* 'fellowship', varies the preceding *sarā*, gen.sg. of *sar-* 'shelter'. Cf. the use of *haxəman-* in 40,2:3 *yā ... upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā haxəmā aṣaxiiācā* 'through which we might reach Thy fellowship and that of truth', parallel to the use of *sar-* in 41,6:1 *yā ... upā.jamiiāmā tauuacā sarəm aṣahiiācā* 'through which we might reach Thy shelter and that of truth'.

49,4. 4+7 (*aēšəməm*); 4+7; 3+8 (*yaēšąm, húuarəštāiš*); 4+7 (*dąn, daẽnā*).

(1) *duš.xraϑβā* is instr.sg. of *duš.xratu-* 'of bad intellect' [or rather: 'who makes bad use of his intellect'], the antonym of *huxratu-* 'of good intellect'.

(2) *aēšəməm ... rāməmcā* recalls 29,1:6 *aēšəmō ... rəmō*, 48,7:1 *aēšəmō ... rəməm* 'wrath ... fury', which suggest taking *rāməm* as incorrectly transmitted for *rəməm*. But note also Ved. *srā́ma-* 'lameness, sickness, disease (especially of animals)'.

(3) *yaēšąm nōiṯ huuarəštāiš vąs dužuuarəštā* 'whose bad deeds prevail because of the lack of good deeds (to balance them)', →48,4:1 *yə dāṯ manō vahiiō ašiiascā* 'he who expresses both, better and worse thought'. On the use of *nōiṯ* → 32,15:3 *nōiṯ ... xšaiiamnāṇg* 'not (to be) in control' (§ 15.11.2). In our translation, *nōiṯ* and *huuarəštāiš* are taken together ('because of the lack of good deeds'). That requires putting the caesura after the third syllable (3+8 instead of 4+7). Otherwise: 'whose (balance) does not rule out the bad deeds through good deeds'.

(4) *tōi daēuuāṇg dąn* 'those produce Daēvas' [= 'those increase the number of the Daēvas such as *aka- manah-*']. Otherwise: 'those establish the Daēvas'.

(5) *yā drəguuatō daēnā* 'a religious view which (is) that of the deceitful one', # 53,2:6 *yąm daēnąm ahurō saošiiaṇtō dadāṯ* 'a religious view which the Ahura established (as) that of a benefactor', 54,1:4 *yā daēnā vairīm hanāṯ mīždəm* 'a religious view which will deserve a desirable prize'. For *yā* going with *daēnā* cf. the similar use of *hā* in 48,2:6 *hā zī aŋhāuš vaŋᵛhī vistā ākərəitiš* 'for such an arrangement of existence (is) found (to be) good.

49,5. 4+7; 4+7(*daẽnąm*); 4+7 (*ãrmatōiš*); 4+7.

(1) *huuō ... ižācā āzūitišcā* 'he (is personified) abundance [milk-libation] and fat [fat-offering]'; # V 9,53.55.57 *ižāca āzūitišca ... dasuuarəca baēšazəmca ... fradaϑəmca varədaϑəmca ... yauuanąmca vāstranąmca uruϑəm* 'abundance and fat ... health and healing ... promotion and increase ... growing of crops and grass'. For the metonymical use of *ižācā āzūitišcā*, →28,9:6 *yūžəm zəuuīštiiāŋhō īšō* 'You (are) the swiftest invigorations' (§ 15.9.1).

(2) *yə daēnąm vohū sārəštā manaŋhā* 'he who shelters [associates] his religious view with good thought', →32,2:2 *sārəmnō vohū manaŋhā* 'sheltering [associating] Himself with good thought' [or: 'sheltered by good thought'], 51,3:2 *yōi və šiiaoϑanāiš sārəṇte* '(those) who are sheltered by [associated with] Your actions'.

(3) *aṣā huzəṇtuš* 'well-acquainted with truth', # 45,9:7 *aṣā haoząϑβāṯ ā* 'on account of the good acquaintance with truth', 46,5:5 *huzəṇtuš* 'well-acquainted (with him)'. The translation 'well-acquainted' is a compromise between two possible derivations, one from the root *zan* 'to beget, give birth to' (*huzəṇtu-* 'of noble birth', cf. YAv. *zaṇtu-* 'district' < 'clan'), the other from the root *zan/xšnā* 'to know' (*huzəṇtu-* 'of good knowledge'). Yav. *huzaṇtu-* in the obscure Yt 13,134 *huzaṇtāuš paiti aparaiiå viiarəϑaiiå vahištahe aŋhāuš* is of no help.

(4) *aṣā ... tāišcā vīspāiš ϑβahmī xšaϑrōi* 'with truth and with all those in Thy power' refers to the whole group of the Ahuras; # 34,10:4 *dąmīm vīduuå ... tācā vīspā ... ϑβahmī ... xšaϑrōi ā vōiiaϑrā* 'knowing the creative one and all those protective means (found) in Thy power'.

49,6. 4+7 (*[fraj]ēšiiå*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*daẽnąm*).

(1) *frō vå fraēšiiā ... mrūitē* 'I urge You to tell (us)', # 35,4:4 *fraēšiiāmahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi* 'we urge (them) to establish peace and (to provide) a pasture'.

(2) *vå ... mazdā aṣəmcā* 'You, O Wise One, and Truth' (§ 15.6.2).

(3) *mrūitē ... ərəš vīcidiiāi* '(I urge You) to tell (us) so that (we) may discern plainly', # 31,5:6 *taṯ mōi vīcidiiāi vaocā* 'tell me (about) that so that (I) may discern (it)'.

(4) *yā və xratəuš xšmākahiiā ā.manaŋhā* 'which (are) the passions of Your intellect, of Yours'. The same emphatical duplication of the pron. is found in 48,8:2 *kā tōi aṣōiš*

ϑβaẋiiå maibiiō 'what (is the command) of Thy reward, of Thy (reward) for me'; → 28,10:5 *vā xšmaibiiā* 'for You'. Possible as well is: 'which are (the concerns) of Your intellect so that (I) may discern plainly, with the passion of (one of) Your (adherents)'.

(5) *ā.manaŋhā* is taken as one word, viz. nom.pl. or instr.sg. of *ā.manaŋha-* n. 'passion'; # Yt 10,70-71 *vərəϑraγnō ... upa.haxtō ā.manaŋhā* 'Vərəϑraγna, beset by passion', Yt 14,12 *uštrahe ... yō aršnąm ... mazištəm aojō ā.baraiti mazištəmca ā.manaŋhəm* 'of the he-camel, which among male animals shows the greatest strength and greatest passion'. Yet, instead of *xšmākahiiā ā.manaŋhā*, a division *xšmākahiiā ā manaŋhā* 'with the thought of one of Your (adherents)', with the ptcl. *ā*, is possible as well.

49,7. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*dā̃ṯ*).

(1) *sraotū ... gūšahuuā* 'let one hear, listen' (§ 15.6.1), →45,1:1 *nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā* 'listen now, hear now'.

(2) *airiiamā ... xᵛaētuš ... vərəzānāi* 'tribe ... family ... to the community' is a variation of the climax *xᵛaētu-*, *vərəzāna-*, *airiiaman-* (§ 15.10).

(3) *dātāiš* 'with (actions following Your) orders' [= 'with lawful actions'], →46,15:3 *tāiš ... šiiaoϑanāiš ... yāiš dātāiš paouruiiāiš ahurahiiā* 'through those actions which (follow) the primal orders of the Ahura'; # 33,1:4-5 *yā dātā aŋhəuš paouruiiehiiā ... šiiaoϑanā* 'the actions which (follow) the orders of the primal Lord'.

(4) *yā vərəzānāi vaŋᵛhīm dāṯ frasastīm* 'which may provide a good reputation for (our) community', # Yt 9,26 *hutaosąm ... yā mē varəzānāi vaŋᵛhīm dāṯ frasastīm* 'Hutaosā, who may provide a good reputation for my community'.

49,8. 4+7 (*fərašaōštrāi, ùrùuāzištąm, dā̊*); 4+7 (*yāsā̊*); 4+7; 4+7 (*fraẽštå̊ŋhō*).

(1) *fərašaoštrāi ... dā̊ ... taṯ ϑβā ... yāsā ... maibiiācā ... yauuōi vīspāi* 'grant to Frašaoštra, this I entreat Thee, and to me, for all time', # 28,8:1 *vahištəm ϑβā ... yāsā ... fərašaoštrāi maibiiācā ... vīspāi yauuē* 'I entreat Thee for (what is) the best for Frašaoštra and for me, for all time'; →28,1:4 on the different constructions of *yāsā* 'I entreat'.

(2) *aŋ̊ahiiā ... sarəm* 'shelter of truth', →35,8:1 *aŋ̊ahiiā ... sairī* 'in the shelter of truth'; # st. 4:3.

(3) *fraēštå̊ŋhō å̊ŋhāmā* 'let (all of) us be (Thy) dearest (friends)' [not: 'let (all of) us be (Thy) messengers'], → 32,1:6 *ϑβōi dūtå̊ŋhō å̊ŋhāmā* 'let us be Thy households' [not: 'let us be Thy messengers']; # RV 6,26,8 *vayáṃ te ... indra ... sákhāyaḥ syāma ... préṣṭhāḥ* 'O Indra, may we be thy dearest friends'. *fraẽšta-* < **frayišta-* is superl. of *friia-* 'dear, friend' (as Ved. *préṣṭha-*, read **práyiṣṭha-*, superl. of *priyá-*). The compositional nexus between *fraēštå̊ŋhō* and st. 6 *fraēšiiā* 'I urge' (from *fra-aēš/iš*) would rather suggest *fraēšta-* < **fra-išta-* 'one who is sent out, messenger' (cf. MP. *frēstag* 'apostle, angel', Ved. *préṣita-* 'incited'), but this seems to be a compositional word play, not due to etymological relationship but to phonetic similarity only (§ 13.1.4). A connexion of *fraēštå̊ŋhō* with YAv. *fraēšta-* 'most', superl. of *pouru-* 'much', makes no sense.

(4) *å̊ŋhāmā* 'let us be', →32,1:7.

49,9. 4+7 (*fšāŋ̊hiiō*); 4+7; 4+7 (*daẽnå̊*); 4+7 (*yā̃hī, dəjāmā̃spō*).

(1) *fšāŋ̊hiiō suiiē taštō* 'the *bondsman (→ 31,10:1) fashioned for benefit' [= 'fashioned for both, to provide and enjoy benefit'], # st. 3:2 *sūidiiāi* 'to enjoy benefit'.

(2) *sarəm ... drəguuātā* 'shelter by [association with] the deceitful one', # Yy 12,4 *vī zī anā sarəm mruiiē* ⁺*yaϑənā drəguuātā* ⁺*rąxšiiaṇtā* 'I renounce the sheltering by [= association with] him, the harmful deceitful'. *sar-* with instr. also in Yt.11,4 *aṣ̌a.sara manaŋha aṣ̌a.sara vacaŋha aṣ̌a.sara šiiaoϑna* 'with thought, word, action sheltered by [= associated with] truth'.

(3) *didąs* 'teaches, approves of' [act.], # 43,11:2 *dīdaiŋ̊hē* 'I learn' [mid.].

(4) *hiiaṯ daēnå̊ vahištē yūjən mīždē aṣ̌ā yuxtā* 'when (people) yoke (their) religious views [= themselves] to [loc.] the best prize at the (ceremony/act of) yoking (them) together with truth', →46,11:1 *yūjən ... akāiš šiiaoϑanāiš ... maṣ̌īm* 'they yoke a mortal one together with evil actions'. The parallel between *aṣ̌ā yuxtā* and the preceding *sarəm drəguuātā* suggests taking *yuxtā* as loc.sg. of the action noun *yuxti-* 'yoking' rather than as nom.pl. of the p.p.p. *yuxta-* 'yoked'. It can be left open whether one should postulate a phrase *aṣ̌ā yuxti-* '(ceremony of) yoking together with truth', or a case compound *aṣ̌ā.yuxti-* with instr.sg. as first member. Cf. the corresponding stem compound Ved. *ṛtá-yukti-* in RV 10,61,10 *ṛtám vádanta ṛtáyuktim agman* 'speaking truth they came to the (ceremony/act of) yoking (themselves) together with truth' (§ 15.18).

(5) *yāhī* 'at the sharing (of good things)', or: 'at the share'; →46,14:3.

49,10. 4+7 (*dám, nipå̊ŋhē*); 4+7 (*ùrúnascā, aṣ̌āunq̊̃m*); 4+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš̌*); 4+7 (*°īrå̊*).

(1) *ϑβahmī ā dąm* 'in Thy house', →48,7:11 *aṯ hōi dāmąn ϑβahmī ā dąm ahurā* 'its (truth's) abodes [or: creatures] are in Thy house', 44,16:2 *mōi dąm* 'in my house'.

(2) *nipå̊ŋhē manō vohū urunascā aṣ̌āunąm* 'in Thy house Thou preservest (for Thyself) good thought and the souls of the truthful', →28,11:3 *aṣ̌əm nipå̊ŋhē manascā vohū* 'Thou preservest (for Thyself) truth and good thought', also on the indirect-reflexive meaning of the mid.

(3) *urunascā aṣ̌āunąm* 'souls of the truthful' can denote both, the souls of the deceased and the manifestations of the souls of the living (→ 45,2:5) which are preserved by Ahura Mazdā until judgment (→28,11:3).

(4) *nəmascā yā ārmaitiš ïžācā* 'and the reverence with which (there goes) right-mindedness and abundance', # 38,2:3 *ïžå̊ yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiiō* '(women such as personified) abundance, purification, brillance and right-mindedness'.

(5) *ïžācā mązā.xšaϑrā* 'abundance, granting power', →43,12:8 *aṣ̌ī mązā.raiiā* 'with wealth-granting reward'.

(6) *auuā.mīrā [v.l. auuāmīrā]*, hypothetically rendered by '*helpful', gives the impression that it serves as an attribute here, either of the nom.sg.f. *ïžā* 'abundance' or of the instr.sg.n. *vazdaŋhā* 'with fatness'. It could be a compound with the noun *auuah-* 'help' ('*helpful') or with the prep. *auuā* 'downwards' as its first member, but then *mīrā* remains obscure. No better result is achieved by dividing *auuām-īrā*, taking *auuām* as a dem.pron. ('that one'), and *īrā* as a form of the pres. *īra-* 'to come' (# 53,8 *īratū* 'let come'), or of the noun *īrā-* f. 'attack' (Yt 10,14 *sāstārō ... paoiriš̌ īrå̊ rāzaiiẹnte* 'the tyrants organize many attacks'), or of the noun *īra-* n. 'id.' (Yt 13,26 *+afrō.uruuisuuaṯ kərənauuaiṇti īrəm yahmiia jasəṇti* 'they make the *attack to which they go irresistible').

49,11. 4+7 (*duš.šiiaoϑànəŋ*); 4+7(*duždaẽ̄nəŋ*); 4+7 (*ùrúuąnō*); 4+7 (*dəmānē*).

(1) *duždaēnāŋ drəguuatō akāiš xᵛarəϑāiš paitī uruuąnō paitiieiṇtī* 'the souls come to meet the deceitful of bad religious view with foul food [pl.]', # 31,20:6-7 *duš.xᵛarəϑām auuaētās vacō* 'foul food (and) the word "woe"', # 53,6:9 *bərədbiiō duš.xᵛarəϑām* 'from those who offer foul food'.

(2) *drūjō dəmānē ... astaiiō* 'guests in the house of deceit', # 46,11:6 *drūjō dəmānāi astaiiō* 'guests (attached) to the house of deceit', 51,14:7 *drūjō dəmānē ādāṯ* 'will put (them) in the house of deceit'.

49,12. 4+6/7 (*zbaiieṇtē/zᶜbaiieṇtē*); 4+7; 4+7 (*frīnåi*); 4+7.

(1) *vā staotāiš ... frīnāi* 'I will devote myself to You with praises', →29,5:3 *ustānāiš ... zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā* '(we two are) devoting ourselves to the Ahura with hands stretched out'.

(2) *auuaṯ yāsąs* 'entreating for that', →28,1:4 *yāsā*.

(3) *vā ïštā* 'in Your command', # 46,16:4 *yaϑrā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō ïštā xšaϑrəm* 'where power (is) in command of good thought'; →34,5:1 *kaṯ vā xšaϑrəm kā ïštiš* 'what (is) Your power, what (is Your) command?' (§ 12.1.6.0).

Yasna 50: *Kaṯ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti*

50.0. Preliminary remarks:

This hymn, more than any of the others in the Gāϑā collection, shows how close the dependence of Zaraϑuštra's poetry is on the poetic techniques of his Proto-Aryan models, so abundantly attested in the Rigveda, and how much his style has been influenced by them. Striking examples are the metaphorical expressions denoting the praise song, borrowed from the Proto-Aryan terminology of chariot-racing in st. 6 *hizuuō raiϑīm stōi mahiiā rāzəng ... sāhīṯ* 'may he instruct (my intellect) to serve (my) tongue (as) charioteer of my prayer', and in st. 7 *aṯ vā yaojā zəuuīštiiəng auruuatō ... vahmąhiia yūšmākahiiā* 'I will yoke for You the swiftest steeds of Your laudation'. Even more typical is st. 8 *maṯ vå̊ padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiå̊ pairijasāi* 'I will approach You with footsteps which (in our tradition are) proclaimed (as those) of (personified) abundance'. Here, *padāiš ... īžaiiå̊* is closely related to the ritual term Ved. *iḷāyās padá-* 'footstep/footprint of (personified) abundance [milk-libation]' (§ 11.5.4), which has a Proto-Aryan mythological background (§ 11.5.4).

50,1. 4+7 (*ùrúuā*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *kaṯ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaŋhō* 'does my soul command any help' seems to continue 49,12 *kaṯ tōi ... zbaiieṇtē auuaŋhō zaraϑuštrāi* 'what kind of help dost Thou have for (me) who am calling, for Zaraϑuštra' (§ 2.1.3).

(2) *mōi uruuā* 'my soul' can be taken as standing by synecdoche for 'I', # 29,5:4 *mə uruuā gəuščā aziiå* 'my soul and (that) of the fertile cow'; →29,0:1 *gəuš uruuan-* 'soul of the cow', 46,7:6 *mōi daēnaiiāi* 'to my religious view' (§ 15.8).

(3) *kə̄ mōi pasəuš kə̄ mā.nā ϑrātā vistō aniiō aŝāṯ ϑβaṯcā* 'who (has been) found (as) protector of my small cattle, who (as) my protector, (who) other than truth and Thou?'; # Mahābhārata 1,223,9 *na nas trātā vidyate 'gne tvad anyaḥ* 'no protector is found for us other than thou, O Agni'. Similar passages in the Gāϑās are 46,7:1-3 *kəmnā ... mauuaitē pāiiūm dadå ... aniiəm ϑβahmāṯ āϑrascā manaŋhascā* 'whom dost Thou appoint (as) guardian for one such as me?', 34,7:5-6 *naēcīm təm aniiəm yūšmaṯ vaēdā aϑā nå ϑrāzdūm* 'I do not in the least know him (who is) other than You, so do [pl.] protect us', 29,1:8 *nōiṯ mōi vāstā xšmaṯ aniiō* 'I have no shepherd other than You'.

(4) *mā.nā* = YAv. *mana* 'of me, my', gen.sg. of *azəm* 'I'.

(5) *azdā* 'manifest(ly)', cf. Ved. *addhá* 'manifestly, certainly, truly'. Note also OP. *azdā* > MP. *azd* 'known', but Khw. *ʾzdʾk* 'knowing', *nzdʾk* 'ignorant'. Neither RV 3,54,5, 10,129,6 *kó addhá veda* 'who knows certainly, who is certain of?' (# 10,111,7 *nákir addhá nú veda*) nor RV 1,52,13 *satyám addhá nákir anyás tvâvān* '(it is) evidently true (that) nobody else is such a one as thou' have anything to do with the present passage.

(6) *zūtā* 'speedily' is either loc.sg. of a **zūti-* 'speed' or nom.du.pl.m. of *zūta-* 'speedy, fast' (> MP. *zūd*), cf. Ved. *jūtí-* 'speed', *jūtá-* 'set in motion' (# RV 4,17,12 *vâto ná jūtáḥ ... abhraíḥ* 'like the wind impelled by the clouds').

50,2. 4+7 (*išàsōiṯ*); 4+7; 4+8 (*húuarə̄*); 4+7 (*dåhuuā*).

(1) *rāniiō.skərəitīm gąm* 'the joy-providing cow', →44,6:5-6.

(2) *gąm* 'cow' represents the large animals desired as a prize, as contrasted with st. 1 *pasəuš* 'cattle', which here denotes smaller cattle such as sheep and goats, already in Zaraϑuštra's possession; # 46,2:2 *mā kamnafšuuā ... uxšānō* 'on account of the scantiness of my stock of (small) cattle ... the bulls'.

(3) *gąm ... huuarə̄* 'cow ... sun(light)', # 32,10:4 *gąm ... huuarəcā* 'the cow and the sun', st. 10:5 *raocå xᵛə̄ŋg asnąm uxšā* 'the light of the sun (and) the bull of the days'.

(4) Note the compositional nexus between *išasōiṯ* 'should try to win' (from the root *aēžd/ižd*, →31,4:6 *išasā*) and st. 4 *īšō* 'of vigour', st. 5 *zastāištā* '(recompenses) to be sent by (Your) hands', st. 8 *īžaiiå* 'of abundance', st. 9 *išaiiąs* 'enjoying vigour'. This nexus is not based on etymological relationship, but it is due to a compositional word play based on phonetic similarity and semantic affinity (§ 13.1.4).

(5) *ərəžəjīš aŝā pourušū huuarə̄ pišiiasū* 'one who lives decently among the many who *block the sun(light)', # 29,5:10 *ərəžəjiiōi ... drəguuasū pairī* 'for the decently living among the deceitful (all) around'; →44,20:2-5 *yōi pišiieiṇtī ... kąm* 'who *block pleasure'; # 43,15:6 *pourūš drəguuatō* 'the many deceitful', 34,8:4 *yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iϑiiejō* '(the actions) in which Thou sendest harrassment around the many (deceitful)'.

(6) *ākās-tə̄ŋg* 'facing them, in the face of them', # st. 4:3 *ākå arədrə̄ŋg* 'in the face of the zestful', →48,8:4-5.

(7) *nišąsiiā* 'I shall (now) *sit down (for prayer)', is taken as 1st sg.fut. of *ni-had* 'to sit down', but the infixed nasal remains unexplained. Another possibility would be taking *nišąsiiā* as inexactly transmitted for **nišą-siiā* < **nišiią siiā*, sandhi for **nišiiə̄ŋg siiā*. A stem *nišiia-* could mean 'turned downwards' (cf. YAv. *paitiša-* < **paitīšiia-*); *siiā* could come from the pres. *siia-* 'to cut' (# 48,7:4 *paitī rəməm paitī.siiōdūm* 'chop up fury').

(8) *dāϑəm dāhuuā* 'accept [mid.] (me as) the just one'; # 44,18:5 *taibiiō dåŋhā* 'Thou takest for Thyself', 44,19:3 *ahmāi ... dāitē* 'he shall obtain for himself'.'

50,3. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7, 4+7.

(1) *yąm hōi xšaϑrā vohucā cōišt manaŋhā* '(the neighbouring herd) which one has accorded [promised] to him with power and good thought', # 45,10:4 *hiiaṯ hōi aŝā vohucā cōišt manaŋhā* '(in the power) which one has committed to Him through truth and good thought'.

(2) *yąm nazdištąm gaēϑąm drəguuå baxšaitī* 'the neighbouring herd which the deceitful one gives up' (taking *baxšaitī* as ind. of the pres. *baxša-*) [or: 'must give up' (taking *baxšaitī* as sbj. of the aor. *baxš-*)], →47,5:2-4 *aŝāunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā ... drəguuå baxšaitī* 'Thou accordest to the truthful one whatever best (things) the deceitful one gives away [or: must give up]'.

50,4. 4+7 (*yazåi*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*dəmānē, səraošånē*).

(1) *īšō ... ā paiϑī* 'on the path of invigoration', →53,2:5 *dåŋhō ərəzūš paϑō* 'straight paths of gift(-giving)'. On *īš-* 'vigour, invigoration', → 28,9:6-7 *zəuuīštiiåŋhō īšō* 'swiftest invigorations'; # 28,7:2 *dāidī ... īšəm.*

(2) *īšōståŋhaṯ ā paiϑī* 'may tread on the path of invigoration'. Less probable is 'one may place invigorations on the path'; the *s*-aor. *ståŋh-* (or the pres. *ståŋha-*) of

the root *stā* seems to be intr.: N 42 **paiti šē hō pərətō.tanunąm stāŋhaiti* 'he will enter (the circle) of those of forfeited body', V 7,52 *nōiṯ zī ahmi paiti +naire duua maiiiu rəna auua.stāŋhaṯ* 'concerning that man the two spirits do not become pugnacious' [= 'they do not enter into a fight'].

(3) *išō ... ākå arədrāŋg* 'of invigoration, in the face of the zestful', →48,8:4-6 *ākå arədrāŋg išiiā* 'vigorous in the face of the zestful'; # st. 2:6 *ākās-tāŋg* 'facing them'.

(4) *səraošānē* is rendered 'I wish to be heard', but 'I will be obedient' is suggested by Ved. *śróṣamāna-* 'listening'.

50,5. 4+7 (*mazdå*); 4+7 (*mąvŋrānē*); 4+7 (*auuīšiiā*); 4+7 (*zastáištā, x^{v}āvŋrē, dāiiāṯ*).

(1) *ārōi zī xšmā ... zastāištā* 'for (recompenses) to be sent by (Your) hands have been allotted by You', # 34,3:3 *ārōi zī ... vīspāiš ... xšmauuasū sauuō* 'for benefit has been allotted by all among those such as You'.

(2) *mazdå aṣā ahurā* 'O Ahura (who art) wise through truth', # 43,6:1 *mazdå xšaŋrā* 'wise through (Thy) power'; →51,3:3 *ahurō aṣā* 'O (Thou who art) the Ahura through truth'. Geldner's reading *mazdā aṣā* is a lectio facilior, influenced by st. 7 *mazdā aṣā* 'O Wise One, (yoking them together) with truth'.

(3) *vaorāzaŋā ... auuaŋhā* 'You take delight (in helping Your disciple) with help', # N 84 *yeŋhe dāŋrahe dāiti nōiṯ hauuō uruua vå.rāza* 'he whose own soul does not take delight in giving a gift'.

(4) *aibī.dərəštā āuuīšiiā auuaŋhā* 'with visible, manifest help', # Yt 13,146 *tå nō ... ŋrāiieṇte aiβi.dərəštāiš auuābiš* 'they protect us with visible help [pl.]'. Similar wording in 34,4:5 *ciŋrā.auuaŋhəm ... dərəštā.aēnaŋhəm* 'of bright help ... of visible injury'.

(5) The compound *zastāištā* '(recompenses to be) sent by (Your) hands' [lit. '(missiles) discharged by (one's) hand(s)'] shows instr.sg. for instr.du. in its first member. Its second member is *išta-* = Ved. *iṣitá-* 'set in motion, discharged', cf. Ved. *hastacyutá-* 'set in motion by one's hands'; # 34,4:6 *zastāištāiš dərəštā.aēnaŋhəm* 'of visible injury by means of (the recompenses) sent by its hands' (said of fire). As to the supplementation of 'recompenses', note that in the present passage *zastāištā* is the subject of *ārōi* 'have been allotted', in the same way as *aṣi-* 'reward' is the subject of *āraē-cā* in arch. Yy 56,3 *aṣōiš ... yā nə āraēcā ərənauuataēcā* 'of the reward which has been allotted and which will fall to us'. Furthermore, # Yy 52,3 *yaŋa nō ... aṣaiiō ərənauuaṇte* 'so that the rewards will fall to us', Yy 9,3 *kā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui* 'which reward fell to him'.

(6) *yā nå x^{v}āvŋrē dāiiāṯ* 'which may put us in comfort', # 28,2:6 *yāiš rapaṇtō daidīṯ x^{v}āvŋrē* '(boons) through which one might put (his own) supporters in comfort'. On the form *dāiiāṯ* 'will put', →29,7:5.

50,6. 4+7(*mąvŋrā*); 4+7 (*ùruuaŋō*); 4+7 (*hizúuō, raiŋīm*); 4+7.

(1) *vācəm baraitī* 'raises his voice', # 31,12:2 *vācəm baraitī ...ahiiā zərədācā manaŋhā* 'raises his voice with (his) heart and thought'.

(2) *vācəm ... baraitī nəmaŋhā* 'raises his voice in reverence', # Yt 10,85 *yaṯciṯ nəmaŋha vācim baraiti yaṯ gaošciṯ* 'be it that (it is a man who) raises his voice with reverence, be it that (it is the voice) of a cow' (→29,5:4)'. Or is *nəmaŋhā* the nom.sg. of a stem *nəmaŋhan-* 'reverent', formed from *nəmah-* 'reverence' (→51,5:5 *nəmaŋhā*) in the same way as YAv. *hazaŋhan-* 'oppressor, robber' from *hazah-* 'oppression'?

(3) If line c has the normal number of syllables, we must read *hizúuō*, gen.sg. of *hizū-* 'tongue'. Yet, as is seen from our translation, this results in a somewhat complicated construction. If we therefore agree that the line has one syllable too few, we could read *hizùuō*, acc.sg. of the stem *hizuuah-* ('instruct my tongue'), attested in V 18,55 *hizuuasca piuuasca* 'tongue and fat', Yy 65,9 *hito.hizuuå* 'whose tongue is paralysed' (stem *hitō.hizuuah-*).

(4) *raiŋīm* is the acc.sg. of trisyllabic *raiŋiia-* 'charioteer', cf. Ved. *ráthia/ráthya-* 'belonging to the chariot', Khot. *rathya-* 'charioteer', MP. *rahīg* 'child, page, boy' (< **raŋyaka-*), but also ManMP. *rhy* 'wagon, chariot' (< **raŋya-*). Less likely is *raiŋīm* from a stem *raiŋī-* = Ved. *rathí-* 'charioteer' (nom.sg. *rathíḥ*, acc.sg. *rathíam*). Dissyllabic *raiŋia-* is disguised in 28,10:7 *x^{v}araiŋia-* (→n. 5).

(5) *raiŋīm ... mahiiā rāzəŋg* 'a charioteer of my prayer', →28,10:7 *x^{v}araiŋiiā ... srauuå* 'eulogies conducted by an appropriate charioteer', 34,12:1 *rāzarə ... rāšnąm* 'prayer(s)'.

(6) *sāhīṯ* 'may he instruct', →29,4:3 *ciŋīṯ*.

50,7. 4+7 (*yaojå, zəuuīštiiəŋg*); 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*azåŋā*).

(1) *aṯ və yaojā zəuuīštiiəŋg auruuatō* 'I will yoke for You the swiftest steeds', # 30,10:3 *asištā yaojaṇtē* 'the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked which will win good fame', 44,4:3 *yaogəṯ āsū* 'yokes the swift teams'; RV 1,82,1 *úpo ṣú śṛṇuhí gíro ... yójā nv ìndra*

te hárī 'listen well now to our songs of welcome, I will yoke the steeds for thee, O Indra'.

(2) *auruuatō ... ugrāṇg* 'steeds, strong', # RV 7,56,23 *ugráḥ ... árvā* 'strong (and) swift'.

(3) *jaiia-* = Ved. *jayá-* 'victory, winning'.

(4) *yāiš azāϑā* 'with which You shall drive hither': If *azāϑā* is from the root *az* 'to drive', the supplementation 'drive (Your chariot) hither' is required; in intr. meaning, the mid. would be required. Yet, it is not impossible that *azāϑa* is corrupted from **zazāϑā* 'You shall be ahead (of Your competitors)' (§ 10,7.4); → 30,10:6-7 *aṯ asištā yaojaṇtē ... yōi zazaṇtī vaŋhāu srauuahī* 'the swiftest steeds will be yoked, which will win good fame'.

50,8. 4+7; 4+7 (*pairijasâi*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *maṯ vå padāiš ... pairijasāi* 'with footsteps I will attend [→n. 4] You', cf. the position of the enclitic in 46,17:2 *hadā vəs-tā*.

(2) *pada-* 'footstep, footprint' = YAv. *paδa-* 'id.', Ved. *padá-* 'id.'; *īžā-* 'abundance, milk-libation' = Ved. *íḷā-* 'milk-libation'. A derivative from *īžā-* is the adj. *īžiia-* 'abundant' in 41,3:2 *humāīm ϑβā īžīm yazatəm dadəmaidē* 'we elect Thee, the blessed (and) abundant Yazata', 40,3:2 *darəgāi īžiiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē* '(with a view) to a long-lasting, abundant (and) permanent fellowship'.

(3) *padāiš ... īžaiiå* 'with the footsteps of (personified) abundance', cf. the ritual term Ved. *íḷāyās padé* 'in the footprint of Iḷā'; →st. 0:1 (§ 11.5.4).

(4) *vå padāiš ... īžaiiå pairijasāi* 'I will attend [or: approach, circumambulate] You with footsteps of abundance', # Yt 19,94 *hō vīspəm ahūm astuuaṇtəm īžaiiå vaēnāṯ dōiϑrābiiā* '(The Saošyant Astvaṭərəta) will look at the entire corporeal existence with the eyes of abundance'. The parallelism of *padāiš .. pairī.jasāi* with *vaēnāṯ dōiϑrābiiā* proves that in the present passage *pairijasāi* is a verb of motion (→28,2:2).

(5) *ustānazastō ... nəmaŋhā* 'with hands stretched out, (and) in [instr.] reverence', →28,1:5 *nəmaŋhā ustānazastō*.

(6) *arədra-* 'zestful', →34,7:1 *kuϑrā tōi arədrā* 'where (are) Thy zestful?'. The compositional nexus of *arədra-* with st. 11:3 *arədaṯ* 'let Him further' is perhaps due to compositional word play based on phonetic similarity (§ 13.1.4).

(7) *arədraźiiācā nəmaŋhā* is ambiguous: 'in reverence to the zestful one' referring to Ahura Mazdā (→43,3:7 *arədrō ϑβāuuąs*, 28,1:3 *ahiiā ... nəmaŋhā*), or: 'with the reverence of a zestful one' referring to the prophet (# 46,9 *huuō arədrō*).

50,9. 4+7; 4+7; 4+7 (*xšaiiā̃/xšáiiā*); 4+7 (*ɣiiəm/ɣiiə̃m*).

(1) *tāiš vå yasnāiš paitī stauuas aiienī* 'with (rites of) worship such as these I will come to meet You again, praising (You)', → 34,6:4 *yaϑā vå yazəmnascā uruuāidiiå stauuas aiienī paitī* 'so that I may come to meet You again, worshipping and praising (You even) more joyfully'.

(2) *vaŋhāuš šiiaoϑanāiš manaŋhō* 'with actions of good thought', → 27,13:11 *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō šiiaoϑənaṇąm*.

(3) *išaiiąs* 'enjoying or offering vigour' (= Ved. *iṣáyati*), or: 'desiring vigour' (= Ved. *iṣayáti*)', from *īš-* 'vigour, invigoration' (= Ved. *iṣ-*); →28,7:2, 28,9:6-7.

(4) *gərəzdi-* 'grace, benevolence', but Skt. *gṛddhi-*, Pāli *giddhi-* 'greed'.

(5) *išaiiąs ... ɣiiəm* 'may I enjoy vigour' [lit. may I be one enjoying vigour'], → 29,5:2 *vā ... frīnəmnā* 'we two (are) devoting ourselves'.

(6) *hudānaoš išaiiąs gərəzdā ɣiiəm* 'may I enjoy vigour (basking) in the grace of a generous person', # 51,17:4 *išiiąm ... aṣahiiā āžduiāi gərəzdīm* 'vigorous, to reach the grace of truth', RV 9,84,3 *devánāṃ sumná iṣáyan* 'enjoying vigour in the benevolence of the gods', 10,91,1 *iṣáyann iḷás padé* 'enjoying vigour in the footstep of milk-libation'; →44,9:4 *hudānaoš ... asištiš* 'of a generous person ... very vigorous'.

50,10. 4+7 (*varəšâ, šiiaoϑànā*); 4+7; 4+7 (*xᵛāṇg, asnąm*); 4+7.

(1) *aṯ yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šiiaoϑanā* '(the actions) which I will perform and the actions (performed) by those (all) around (here)' is a figure of speech similar to 31,13:2 *yā frasā āuuīšiiā yā vā pərəsaētē taiiā* '(that) which (is) open counsel, as well as the secrets about which (two persons) take counsel' (§ 15.1.6).

(2) *pairī* '(all) around', →29,4:5 *yā zī vauuərəzōi pairī* 'what has been perpetrated (all) around (here)'.

(3) *pairī āiš šiiaoϑanā* 'actions (performed) by those (all) around (here)' [= 'actions performed by the human and divine participants in the ceremony'] (§ 15.13.2). Yet, *āiš* could be a verbal form as well: either a simplex *āiš* 'Thou didst inspire' from the root *aēš/iš* 'to set in motion', # 33,1:1 *yaϑā āiš* alternatively: 'just as Thou didst inspire them', or a compound *pairī.āiš* 'Thou didst select' from the root *aēš/iš* 'to seek' (cf. YAv. *hupairīšta-* 'well selected').

(4) *yā ... cašmąm arəjaṯ* '(the things) which are worth (having) eyes (to see)', [or: 'which are worth seeing'], cf. Ved. *arh* + acc. in RV 7,18,22 *árhan ... dánam* 'being worth of the gift, deserve the gift'.

(5) *raocå xᵛəŋg asnąm uxšā* 'the light [pl.] of the sun (and) the bull of the days', → st. 2:3 *gąm ... huuarə* 'cow, sun', 46,3:1 *uxšānō asnąm* 'bulls of the days' identified with the benefactors.

(6) *uxšā aēuruš* '*leading bull'. For *aēuru-*, cf. Ved. *éru-* of unknown meaning, but obviously with reference to sexual matters, in the corrupt AV 6,22,3 *éjāti gláhā kanyèva tunnaíruṃ tundānå pátyeva jāyǻ*, rendered by Whitney 'the *gláhā* shall bestir itself, like a girl that is thrust, thrusting the *éru* like a wife with her husband'.

50,11. 4+7 (*aojåi aŋhåcā*); 4+6 (*tauuåcā, isåicā*); 4+7; 4+7.

(1) *aṯ və staotā aojāi ... aŋhācā* 'I will declare myself Your praiser, and so I will be', # 41,5:1 *ϑβōi staotarascā mąϑranascā ... aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā* 'we declare ourselves Thy praisers and disciples and we are willing, and we take our positions', 32,7:2 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm naēcīṯ vīduuå aojōi* 'I declare myself (to be) not at all conscious of any (instance of) such crimes'.

(2) *yauuaṯ ... tauuåcā isåicā* 'as much as I will be able and as will be in my command' seems to have only 6 syllables in the second hemistich, →28,4:10 *yauuaṯ isåi tauuåcā* 'as much as I will be able and as will be in my command'.

(3) *dātā aŋhəuš arədaṯ* 'the giver of existence shall further', →46,13:3 *ahūm dadāṯ* 'grants existence'. With regard to *arədaṯ* 'shall further', → st. 8:6 and 34,7:1 on *arədra-* 'zestful'.

(4) *haiϑiiāuuarəštąm hiiaṯ vasnā fərašō.təməm* 'the realisation (of) what is most brilliant in (my) *imagination' [lit. 'the act of making real what is brillant in (my) *imagination'], # 46,19:2 *yə ... haiϑīm ... varəšaitī ... hiiaṯ vasnā fərašō.təməm* 'he who will make real what (is) most brilliant in (my) *imagination'; →34,15:2-4 on *fərašəm vasnā haiϑiiəm då ahūm* 'make real the existence (which is) brillant in (my) *imagination'.

Yasna 51: *Vohuxšaϑrā Gāϑā/Hāiti*

51,0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) The main theme of Y 51 is Xšaϑra (*xšaϑra-*) 'power'. Xšaϑra, which as an attribute not only of both, the heavenly and the worldly ruler, but also of the priest and all the faithful, is continually exchanged between heaven and earth, a gift given in both directions. Xšaϑra is the magical power with which the priest induces the favour of the divinity, and it is the heavenly power which enables the divinity to fulfil the desires of the priest, uttered by him also on behalf of his patron. Xšaϑra is the power which makes it possible for the earthly ruler to foster suitable circumstances for the worship in which his own power and that of the faithful is transferred by the priest to Ahura Mazdā and bestowed on him.

(2) Central to the hymn is the praise of Zaraϑuštra's patron Kavi Vištāspa and the most important members of his entourage, Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa, to whom Maidyōimåŋha is added, according to tradition a cousin of the prophet and his first adherent (§ 3.1.1). The traditional form of such a hymn is most clearly seen in the four stanzas 46,14-17, but in Y 51 it is expanded to nine stanzas (§ 13.2.2): In 46,14, the rhetorical question *zaraϑuštrā kastē aṣauuā uruuaϑō mazōi magāi* 'O Zaraϑuštra, who (is) Thy truthful ally for the great offering?' is immediately answered by *aṯ huuō kauuā vīštāspō* 'this Kavi Vištāspa'. In 51,11, we find a similar question *kə uruuaϑō spitamāi zaraϑuštrāi nā mazdā* 'who (is) the man (who is) an ally to Spitama Zaraϑuštra, O Wise One?', but here the answer is postponed to st. 16. In the place where one expects to hear the praise of Vištāspa, one is suddenly confronted with abuse directed at the 'Kavian catamite', a Kavi whose behaviour is the opposite of that of Kavi Vištāspa, a diversion which increases the tension in the audience, and allows Kavi Vištāspa to appear in a still brighter light.

(3) Just as 28,1, which opens the Gāϑās, st. 22, which concludes not only the hymn itself but also the ritual part of the Gāϑā collection (§ 2.1.3), is particularly ambiguous; this seems to have been intended by the prophet (§ 2.1.3). As a result of this ambiguity, the stanza was interpreted in different ways as early as in the YAv. period (→st. 22:1-4).

51,1. 7+7 (*vairīm*); 7+7; 7+7 (*varəšānē*).

(1) *vohū xšaθrəm vairīm* 'the desirable good power, the good power worthy of being chosen', cf. YAv. *xšaθra- vairiia-*, name of one of the Amәša Spәnтas.

(2) *bāgəm aibī.bairištəm vīdīšəmnāi* 'an excellent bringer of wealth to him who is liberal' shows verbal government of the superl.; # 29,4:2 *saxᵛārā nairištō* 'he who best registers outrages', 32,7:9 *irixtəm ... vaēdištō* 'for which Thou knowest best the net assets', 46,19:7 alternatively: *tācīṯ ... vaēdištō* 'the best provider of those very (things)'.

(3) *vīdīšəmna-* 'liberal' [or possibly: 'circumspect, considerate'], cf. YAv. *vīdīšā-* 'liberality' [or: 'circumspection, consideration'] in arch. Yy 58,4 *hadā aṣācā vāstrācā* +*frārāiticā vīdīšaiiācā ainiticā* 'with truth, pasture, generosity, liberality and harmlessness',

(4) *aṇtarə caraitī* 'is exchanged between (God and men)' [lit. 'moves between (them)'], cf. Ved. *antáḥ ... carasi* in RV 10,4,2 *dūtó devānām asi mártyānām antár mahāṃś carasi rocanéna* 'Thou (O Agni) art the messenger of gods and men, great with Thy light Thou movest between (them)'; # P 35 *frārāitīšca vīdīšāsca aṇtarə xᵛādaēnāiš aṣaonīš* 'charities and distributions (which are exchanged) between the truthful followers of the right religion' (→33,7:6), Vr 21,3 *frarāiti vīdīše yazamaide yaṯ asti aṇtarə xᵛādaēnāiš aṣaonīš* etc.

(5) *vahištəm* '(the power which is) the best one' continues *vohū xšaθrəm* for which it substitutes in a sort of climax; # 48,5:7 *vaŋhuiiā cistōiš ... vahištā* 'of the good insight ... the best one' (§ 15.2.3); 31,6:2 *ahmāi ... vahistəm ... mazdāi .... xšaθrəm.*

(6) *taṯ nā nūcīṯ varəšānē* 'that I will provide for us just now'. The pronoun *nā* emphasizes the indirect-reflexive meaning of the mid.; # 44,18:5 *taibiiō dāŋhā* 'Thou takest for Thyself', 44,19:3 *ahmāi dāitē* 'shall obtain for himself'; →33,1:3 *varəšaitē ... šiiaoθanā* 'the actions shall be performed' [mid.] as contrasted with 33,2 *akəm ... varəšaitī* [act.] 'may work evil'.

51,2. 7+7 (*paouruuīm*); 7+7 (*ā̃rmaitē*); 7+7 (*dā̃idī*).

(1) *vā mazdā ... aṣāi.yecā taibiiācā ārmaitē* 'to You, O Wise One, and to Truth, and to Thee, O Right-Mindedness' (§ 15.6.2), with *aṣāi.yecā* < **aṣāiiacā*; →30,1:9 *aṣā.yecā* (§ 10.5.4).

(2) *mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm* 'the power of my command', # 46,18:4 *vahištā maxiiā ištōiš* 'the best things in my command', 34,5:2 *xšaθrəm ... īštiš* 'power ... command' (§ 12.1.6.0).

51,3. 7+7 (*šiiaoθànāiš*); 7+7 [5+4+5?] (*hizùuā*); 7+7 (*yaēšą̃m, pouruíiō*).

(1) *ā vā gāuš.ā hāmiiaṇtū* 'let Your hearing concentrate on (those)', # RV 7,40,1 *ó [< á u] śruṣṭír vidathyà sám etu* 'let the solemn hearing concentrate at this place'.

(2) *yōi vā šiiaoθanāiš sārəṇtē* 'those who are sheltered by [associated with] Your actions', or: 'those who shelter [associate] themselves with Your actions' [= 'those who participate in the ritual activities established and prescribed by You']; → 32,2:2 *sārəmnō vohū manaŋhā* 'sheltered by [associated with] good thought'.

(3) *ahurō aṣā* 'O (Thou who art) the Ahura through truth', # 43,6:1 *mazdå xšaθrā* 'wise through (Thy) power', → 50,5:2 *mazdå aṣā ahurā* 'O Ahura (who art) wise through truth'.

(4) *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'by the statements of good thought (voiced) by one's tongue', → 47,2:2 on the reading *hizuuā* for Geldner's *hizuuå*; →47,2:2-4 on the construction *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhāuš āəānū manaŋhō* '(inspired) by statements (voiced) by one's tongue in pursuit of good thought' (§ 15.18).

(5) *yaēšąm tū pouruiiō fradaxštā ahī* '(by the statements) the first teacher of which Thou art', →31,17:6 *zdī nā ... vaŋhāuš fradaxštā manaŋhō* 'be a teacher of good thought for us'; # 35,9:5-6 *θβąm aṯ aēšąm [sc. vacaŋhąm] paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē* 'we elect Thee as their listener [examiner] and teacher [commentator]'.

51,4. 7+7 (*fsàratuš*); 7+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš*); 7+7.

(1) *ārōiš ā ... axštaṯ* 'will arise from a *patron', with postp. *ā* as in 33,5:7 *aṣāṯ ā ərəzūš paθō* alternatively 'the straight paths (starting) from truth'. The obscure noun *āri-* is taken as denoting a truthful person, # st. 14:4 *gauuōi ārōiš ā.sәṇdā* 'ill-disposed towards the cow of the *patron'. Admittedly, the formation of *āri-* rather recalls that of action nouns such as YAv. *āzi-* f. 'greed' and Ved. *āji-* f. 'running-match, combat'.

(2) *kuθrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš ... axštaṯ* 'where will joy arise from a *patron?', # V 9,53 *para nū ahmāṯ haca asaŋhaṯca šōiθrāaṯca axštaṯ ... ižāca āzūitišca* 'then abundance and fat will withdraw from that abode and that district', 9,57 *pascaēta ahmāi asaŋhaēca šōiθraēcā paiti.jasātō ižāca āzūitišca* 'thereafter abundance and fat will come back to that abode and district'.

(3) *fsəratuš ... mərəždikā ... aṣəm ... ārmaitiš ... manō vahištəm ... θβā xšaθrā* 'joy through compassion, truth, right-mindedness, best thought through Thy power'. A similar series of Ahurian qualities including *fsəratū-* (→37,5:1) is found in 37,4-5 *aṣəm aṯ vahištəm ... vohucā manō ... vohucā xšaθrəm vaŋᵛhīmcā daēnąm vaŋᵛhīmcā fsəratūm*

vaŋᵛhīmcā ārmaitīm; →33,12:4 *dasuuā ... vohū manaŋhā fsəratūm* 'take joy through good thought'.

(4) *mərəždikā* 'compassion' is instr.sg. rather than nom.pl. The half-personified use in the present passage recalls the same in YAv.passages such as S 2,4 *marždikəm vrāiiō.driγūm yazamaide* 'we worship compassion which protects the poor'.

(5) The pres. *yasō.xiia-* in *yasō.xiiān* 'they honour, glorify' is a denom. from **yasah-* = Ved. *yáśas-* 'honour, glory'.

51,5. 7+7 [5+9?]; 7+7 [5+9?] (*vāstriiō, šiiaoθànāiš*); 7+7.

(1) *vīspā tā pərəsąs yaθā ... gąm vīdaṯ* 'I (am) asking about all those (ways) in which he does find a cow', # 31,14:1 *tā θβā pərəsā yā ... yå ... yaθā* 'I ask Thee about those (things) which, about which ... (and) about how'; →44,0:1.

(2) *pərəsąs* 'I am asking' with pres.part. instead of finite verb, →29,5:2 *frīnəmnā* 'we (are) devoting ourselves'.

(3) *gąm vīdaṯ* 'finds a cow', cf. YAv. PN. *vīdaṯ.gu-* (not **viṇdaṯ.gu-*!); # RV 2,19,3 etc. *vidád gáḥ* 'found the cows'.

(4) The textual nexus of *ərəšuuō* 'high-ranking' with *ərəš* 'plain' is not due to etymological relationship but to word-play (§ 13.1.4).

(5) *nəmaŋhā* 'in [instr.] reverence' (instr.sg. of *nəmah-*), or: 'a reverent one' (nom.sg. of *nəmaŋhan-*); →50,6:2.

(6) The reference of *yā* is ambiguous: *nəmaŋhā yā* 'in reverence (for Him) who' [or: 'a reverent one who'], or: *pərəsąs ... yā* 'I (am) asking (Him) who', or: *pərəsąs ... yaθā ... yā* 'I (am) asking about (the ways) in which ... (and about Him) who'.

(7) *ratūm* can be from both, ¹*ratu-* 'judgment' and ²*ratu-* 'judge'; → 29,6:2 *vistō ... naēdā ratuš* 'no judgment [judge] has been found', 31,2:2 *ratūm ahurō vaēdā* 'the Ahura knows a judgment [judge]'. It is not evident whether *ərəš* and *ratūm* form a nominal compound (*ərəš.ratūm cistā* 'finds a fair judgment [judge]') or whether *ərəš* belongs to the verb *cistā* (*ərəš ratūm cistā* 'in a fair way he finds a judgment').

(8) *cistā* 'finds, recognises', 3rd sg.aor.mid. of the root *kaēθ/ciθ*. In two YAv. passages, *kaēθ/ciθ* is used synonymously with *vaēd/vid* (→29,4:4 *ciθīṯ*). For this reason it is possible that in the present passage *cistā* is used to vary the preceding *vīdaṯ* 'finds'. Yet, *cistā* is not act. but mid., and it therefore is likely to have a reflexive meaning: *dāθaēibiiō ... ərəš.ratūm ... cistā* 'finds (with Himself) a fair judgment on the just', or: 'recognises (as his guest) a fair judge for the just'. For the latter possibility, → st. 11:5 *acistā magāi* 'recognised (him as a guest) for the great offering'.

51,6. 7+7; 7+7 (*mazdå*); 7+7 (*vīdāitī, ùrùuaēsē*).

(1) *vahiiō vaŋhāuš ... akāṯ ašiiō* '(what is) better than good ... (what is) worse than evil'. The chiastic structure of the figure of speech (positive plus comparative, § 15.15) contrasts with that in Yy 59,30-31 *vaŋhaoṯ vaŋhō ... akāṯ ašō*, which tallies with that in 43,3:1 *vaŋhāuš vahiiō* (§ 15.3.2).

(2) *yā vahiiō vaŋhāuš dazdē* 'he who decides in favour of [elects] (what is) better than good', # st. 19:1 *taṯ ... ahmāi dazdē ... vahiiō* 'obtains [elects] for himself that (power which is) the better one'; →30,4:4 *paouruuīm dazdē* 'decides (of what nature will be) the primal (stage of his existence)'.

(3) *yascā hōi vārāi rādaṯ* 'and he who will heed His will', →33,2:4 *tōi vārāi rādəṇtī* 'those will heed (His) will'.

(4) The two rel. clauses *yā ... dazdē* and *yascā ...rādaṯ* replace two acc. objects governed by *mazdā-*. For this reason, *mazdā-* 'wise' must here be rendered by its etymological meaning 'mindful of, remembering' (→31,2:7).

(5) *ahurō xšaθrā mazdå* 'the Ahura (will) remember (him) with (his) power', → 47,1:4 *mazdå xšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō* 'the Ahura (will) remember (that) with (his) power (and) right-mindedness'.

(6) *yā hōi nōiṯ vīdāitī* 'who will not care for Him', # 33,3:2 *vīdąs ... gauuōi* 'caring for the cow', 53,4:4 *spərədā ... yā fəδrōi vīdāṯ paiθiiaēcā* 'with the eagerness with which (a woman) shall care for her father and her husband'.

(7) *apāmē aŋhāuš uruuaēsē* 'at the final turning point of (his) existence', →43,5:5 *dāmōiš uruuaēsē apāmē* 'at the final turning point of creation', # Yy 71,15 etc. *ustəme uruuaēsē gaiiehe* 'id'.

51,7. 7+7 (*úruuaråscā*); 7+7; 7+7.

(1) *yā gąm tašō* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow', # 29,1:3 *kā mā tašaṯ* 'who fashioned me'.

(2) *yā gąm tašō apascā uruuaråscā* 'Thou who didst fashion the cow, the waters, and the plants', # 44,4:2 *kā apō uruuarâscā* 'who (holds) the waters and the plants?'; → 37,1:1 *yā gąmcā aṣəmcā dāṯ apascā dāṯ uruuarâscā vaŋᵛhīš* 'he who created the cow and truth, (who) created the waters and the good plants'.

(3) The word order *amərətātā hauruuātā* is a poetical inversion of *hauruuātā amərətātā* (44,17 etc.). The latter, which recalls Greek *néktar* and *ambrosia*, is common in YAv. (→34,1:2).

51,8. 7+7; 7+7; 7+7 (*mąθrā̃*).

(1) *aṯ zī tōi vaxšiiā* 'I shall tell Thee (now)', # 30,1:1-4 *aṯ tā vaxšiiā išəṇtō ... staotā(cā) ahurāi* 'I shall proclaim (now), O You approaching ones, praises for (Him), the Ahura', RV 1,129,3 *túbhyaṃ ... tád vocam* 'I tell thee that'. The combination *vaxšiiā ... vīdušē* 'proclaim for one who (already) knows' is also found in 30,1:3.

(2) The series *vaxšiiā ... mruiiāṯ ... mrauuaitī* 'I shall tell (now) ... one might speak ... can speak', proves that the the roots *vac/uc* and *mrau/mrū* are suppletive.

(3) *vīdušē zī nā mruiiāṯ ... yə̄ vīdušē mrauuaitī* 'in this case the man might speak to one who (already) knows ... (the man) who can speak to one who (already) knows', # 31,17:3 *vīduuå vīdušē mraotū* 'let the knowing one speak to the knowing one'.

(4) *akōiiā* < **akōi.ā* 'in (what is) evil' rather than < **akaiiā*, nom.sg. of a hapax *akaiiā-* 'desire for evil'; →43,2:2 x^{v}*āθrōiiā* < *x^{v}*āθrōi.ā* 'in (the domain of) comfort'. If so, then *uštā* is nom.pl. of *ušta-* 'desired' rather than loc.sg. of *ušti-* 'wish'.

(5) *akōiiā drəguuāitē* 'in (what is) evil for the deceitful one', # 33,2:1 *yə̄ akəm drəguuāitē ... varəšaitī* '(he) who may work evil for the deceitful one'.

(6) *aŋšəm dādrē* 'has seized truth', → 43,1:5 *aŋšəm dərəidiiāi* 'to seize truth'.

51,9. 7+7 (*dā̃*), 7+7 [5+5+4?], 7+7.

(1) *yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då θβā āθrā suxrā* '(make clear) which satisfaction Thou apportionest by means of Thy red fire, according to balance', # 31,3:2-4 *yąm då maiiniiū āθrācā aŋšācā cōiš rānōibiiā xšnūtəm* 'the satisfaction which Thou apportionest by means of (Thy) spirit and (Thy) fire, and which Thou accordest through truth, according to balance'.

(2) *aibī* is a postp. following *aiianhā xšustā*, or a verbal prefix preceding *dāuuōi*. Thus either: *ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi* 'make (that) clear in the vital energies', or: *aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi* 'attach a sign (of that) to the vital energies' (→34,6:2 on *daxšta-* adj. 'visible, clear', subst. 'sign'). A similar problem is seen in 32,15:2 *auuāiš aibī yə̄ŋg daiṇtī* 'through those whom they (in their turn) want to harness'.

(3) *ahuuā-* 'vital energy, fervour' also in 29,5:1 *ustānāiš ahuuā zastāiš* 'with hands stretched out with fervour'.

(4) *rāšaiieŋhē drəguuaṇtəm* 'to harm the deceitful one', # Yt 10,21 *yaṯciṯ tanūm apaiieiti aṯciṯ dim nōit rāšaiieṇte* 'even if he attains somebody (with his spear) he does not injure him'.

(5) *rāšaiieŋhē drəguuaṇtəm sauuaiiō aŋšauuanəm* 'to harm the deceitful one Thou dost benefit the truthful one', # 30,11:5 *drəguuō.dəbiiō rašō sauuacā aŋšauuabiiō* 'harm (in store) for the deceitful and benefits (in store) for the truthful', 49,3:2 *aŋšəm sūidiiāi ... rāšaiieŋhē druxš* 'truth (for people) to enjoy benefit, deceit (in order) to harm'.

51,10. 7+7; 7+7 (*duždā̃*); 7+7 (*x́baiiā́, vaŋhuiiā*).

(1) *yə̄ mā nā marəxšaitē* 'the man who tries to destroy me', # Yt 19,41 *mərəxšāno gaēθå astuuaitīš aŋšahe* 'trying to destroy the corporeal possessions of truth'.

(2) *dāmōiš drūjō hunuš* 'an (evil) offspring of the creator [creation] of deceit', # 31,8:3 *haiθīm aŋšahiiā dąmīm* 'the true creator of truth'.

(3) *duždå yōi hə̄ṇtī* 'miserly (towards those) who exist', →45,6:2 *yə̄ hudå yōi hə̄ṇtī* 'he who (is) munificent (towards those) who exist'.

51,11. 6/7+7 (*ùruuaθō, spitamâi/spitamā̂i*); 7+7 (*ā̃rmaitiš*); 7+7.

(1) *kā uruuaθō spitamāi ... nā ... kə̄ ... acistā magāi* 'who (is) the man (who is) an ally to Spitama? who recognised (him) for the offering?', # 46,14:1 *zaraθuštrā kastē aŋšauuā uruuaθō mazōi magāi* 'O Zaraθuštra, who (is) Thy truthful ally for the great offering?'.

(2) *spitamâi/spitamā̂i*, →28,5:4, 30,1:5 *ahurāi*.

(3) *uruuaθō spitamāi* 'an ally to Spitama', # Yy 19,14 *drigubiiō vāstārəm cinasti yaθa uruuaθəm spitamāi* 'one appoints a shepherd to the poor, just as one (should appoint) an ally to Spitama' (→27,13:1).

(4) *aŋšā āfraštā* 'took counsel with truth', → 47,3:5 *hām vohū ... hāmə.fraštā manaŋhā* 'he took counsel with good thought'. If the *ā-* of *āfraštā* is not simply the augment *a-* but includes the preverb *ā-* too, then # V 3,27 *āfrasāne daŋhubiiō* if 'I shall take counsel with the countries'.

(5) *acistā* 'recognised (him, Zaraθuštra)', # 33,2:3 *cōiθaitē astīm* 'may recognise (one) as (his) guest'. Cf. the inj. *cistā* in st. 5:7-8 *yə̄ dāθaēibiiō ərəš.ratūm ... cistā* 'he who finds a fair judgment on the just' [or: 'he who recognises (as his guest) a fair judge for the just'].

(6) *acistā magāi* 'recognised (him) for the offering', # 29,11:5-6 *aṯ mā ... mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā* 'recognise [pl.] me for the great offering'.

51,12. 7+7 (*vaēpiiō*); 7+7 (*ùrūraost*); 7+7 (*zōišànū*).

(1) *nōiṯ tā īm xšnāuš ... spitāməm zaraϑuštrəm* 'in such a way he did not satisfy him, Spitama Zaraϑuštra', # 46,1:5 *nōiṯ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzānā hācā* 'the community which I wish to join does not satisfy me', 46,13:1 *yə̄ spitāməm zaraϑuštrəm rādayhā xšnāuš* 'he who has satisfied Spitama Zaraϑuštra with bounteousness'.

(2) *vaēipiia-* 'catamite, pathic' [lit. 'who suffers pederasty'], # V 1,11 *šiiaoϑna yā +narō.vaēipiia* 'pederasty', V 8,26f. *+vifiieite vifiieitica* 'he who suffers and he who commits pederasty' [corrupted from **vifiiete vaēpaiieitica*?]. *vaēipiiō kəuuīnō* 'the Kavian catamite' is said abusively of a Kavi, whose real name must have been well-known to Zaraϑuštra's publicand thus it was left unmentioned by him.

(3) *pərətå̄*, loc.sg. of *pərətu-* 'bridge, pass, passage', seems to denote a place which was likewise well-known to Zaraϑuštra's public. [Or does *pərətå̄* mean 'at his passing through, as he passed through'?]. The dissyllabic gen.sg. *zimō* is from *ziiam/zim-* 'winter'; Geldner's monosyllabic reading *zəmō*, from *zam/z(ə)m-* 'earth', would be contrary to the metre. Translators habitually take *pərətå̄ zimō/zəmō* together and consider it a place name (e.g. Insler, *Gāthās*, 1975, 105 'Earth-bridge'). Since we doubt this, we translate the two words separately. In our opinion, *zimō* is a gen. of time; # V 7,27 *zəmō* [**zimō*] *daēuuō.dātahe* 'in the winter created by the Daēvas'.

(4) As compared with Geldner's *pərətō*, the reading *pərətå̄* 'at the bridge, pass, passage' is the lectio difficilior, better attested in its second occurrence in st. 13 *cinuuatō pərətå̄* 'at the account-keeper's bridge'. The lectio facilior *pərətō* is influenced by YAv. *pərətō* 'forfeited, damned' in *pərətō.tanu-* 'of forfeited body'. Or should we accept *pərətō* as the correct reading ('the damned Kavian catamite')? In that case the textual nexus between *pərətō* 'damned' and st. 13 *cinuuatō pərətå̄* would have the nature of a compositional word play (§ 13.1.4). Cf. V 5,4 *xraodaṯ.uruua paṣ̌ō.tanuš* 'of recoiling soul (and) forfeited body', where *paṣ̌ō.tanu-* 'of forfeited body' alludes to *cinuuatō pərətu-* 'account-keeper's bridge'; # st. 13 *yehiiā uruuā xraodaitī cinuuatō pərətå̄ ākå̄* 'at the account-keeper's bridge his soul will recoil faced (with the fact)', Vyt 42 *tarō paṣ̌ūm ... yim cinuuatō* 'over the account-keeper's bridge'.

(4) *hiiaṯ ahmī urūraost* 'when he (Zaraϑuštra) stopped there (at the catamite's)'. Or, if *urūraost* is a pluperf. of the root *raod/rud* 'to obstruct, stop, withhold' (perf. Ved. *rurodha*): 'when he the catamite) stopped/detained him (Zaraϑuštra) there'. Or else: 'when (Zaraϑuštra) had climbed up to him', with *urūraost* from the root *raod/rud* 'to climb up, grow' (perf. Ved. *ruroha*), in which case *pərətu-* ought to mean 'high-passage, mountain pass'.

(5) *aštō* is from YAv. *ašta-* 'messenger'. If it refers to Zaraϑuštra, then *hiiaṯ ahmī urūraost aštō* most likely means 'he had stopped there [or: with him] (as) messenger'; but if *aštō* refers to the 'Kavian catamite', it is used abusively in the sense of 'servant, slave'.

(6) *caratas(cā)* is taken as nom.sg. of a hapax *carata-* 'door-sill, door-stone' (cf. NP. *card* 'sill'). If this is correct, then *aodərəš(cā)* must be a nom.sg. as well. For *aodar-* 'frost', cf. instr.sg. *aodra* in E 15, Ved. *ūdhan-* in RV 5,34,3 *ghraṃsé ... ūdhani* 'in the heat of the sun ... in the cool (shade)'. The formation of the nom.sg. is the same as that of the nom.sg. **ātṛš* 'fire', stem *ātṛ-*.

(7) *zōišənū*, most probably an attribute of *vāzā*, seems to be used here in the trans. sense 'causing to shiver, horrid', but YAv. *zōišnu-* has an intr. sense in its only occurrence V 7,70 *tanuiie zōišnuiie* 'body shivering (with fever)'.

(8) *zōišənū vāzā* 'two horrid gifts of "hospitality"' with *vāzā* nom.du. of *vāza-*, cf. Ved. *vā́ja-* 'prize, reward, food'. For the reference of the word to hospitality, cf. the superl. *vāzišta-* in 31,22:5-6 *vāzištō ... astiš* 'the most well-provided guest'.

(9) *hiiaṯ ... hiiaṯ* also in # 43,4:1 where, unlike here, the second *hiiaṯ* is pleonastic.

51,13. 7+7 (*daē̃nā*); 7+7 (*ùrúuā*) 7/+7 (*šiiaoϑànāiš, hizúuascā*).

(1) *marədaitī* 'misses, neglects' = Ved. *márdhati.*

(2) *yehiiā uruuā xraodaitī* 'his [lit. whose] soul will recoil' shows the same relative connexion as the closely related 46,11:4 *yə̄ṇg xᵛə̄ uruuā xᵛaēcā xraodaṯ daēnā* 'from them [lit. from whom] their own soul and their own religious view will recoil'; # st. 51,17:2 *yąm hōi išiiąm dātū* 'let him make it vigorous for him'.

(3) *cinuuatō pərətå̄* 'at the account-keeper's bridge', # 46,11:4 *hiiaṯ aibī.gəmən yaϑrā cinuuatō pərətuš* 'when they will have reached the place of the account-keeper's bridge'.

(4) *uruuā ... ākå̄ ... aṣ̌ahiiā nąsuuå̄ paϑō* 'the soul, faced (with the fact) that he/it had strayed from the path of truth', →48,8:4 *ākå̄*.

(5) *uruuā ... xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāiš hizuuascā* 'the soul, through his/its own actions and (those) of (his) tongue', # st. 14:6 *karapanō ... xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāišcā sə̄ṇghāišcā* 'the Karapans with their own actions and proclamations'; →31,20:8 *vå̄ ... šiiaoϑanāiš xᵛāiš daēnā naēšaṯ* '(your) religious view will lead you on account of your/its own actions'.

(6) *aṣ̌ahiiā nąsuuå̄ paϑō* 'having strayed from the path of truth', # 32,4:6 *ahurahiiā xratəuš nasiiąntō aṣ̌āaṯcā* 'straying from the intellect of the Ahura and from truth'.

(7) *aṣ̌ahiiā ... paϑō* 'from the path of truth', # Yt 10,86 *aṣ̌ahe paiti paṇtąm*, RV 10,31,2 *ṛtásya pathā́*; st. 16:4 *vaŋhāuš padəbīš manaŋhō* 'on the paths of good thought', →53,2:5 *dāŋhō ərəzūš paϑō* 'straight paths of gift(-giving)'.

51,14. 7+7 (*ùruuāϑā, karàpanō*); 7+7 (*šiiaoϑànāišcā*); 7+7 (*dəmānē, ādā̃ṯ*).

(1) *nōiṯ uruuāϑā ... karapanō* 'the Karapans are not allies' answers the question st. 11 *kā uruuaϑō* 'who (is) an ally?'.

(2) *karapanō* 'the Karapans' continues st. 12:2 *vaēipiiō kəuuīnō* 'the Kavian catamite'. Both taken together correspond to 46,11:2 *karapanō kāuuaiiascā* 'the Karapans and the Kavis'.

(3) *dātōibiiascā ... vāstrāṯ arəm* 'in accordance with the (divine) orders and the (needs of) pasture', with inverted *-cā* (§ 15.1.2). *arəm* also in 44,8:2 *yācā aŋhāuš arəm vaēdiiāi* 'with a view to an appropriate possession [knowledge] of existence'.

(4) *gauuōi ārōiš ā.sə̄ṇdā* 'ill-disposed towards the cow of the *patron', →st. 4:1 *ārōiš ā* where *ā* is a postp. Hardly to be connected with RV 10,27,8 *gávaḥ ... aryáḥ* 'the cows of the patron'.

(5) *ā.sə̄ṇda-* < **a-sə̄ṇda-* 'ill-disposed, unpleasant', cf. *paitī.sə̄ṇda-* 'pleasant' (→ 38,5:6) and Ved. *chandá-* 'pleasing'.

(6) *xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāišcā sānghāišcā* 'with their own actions and proclamations' refers to the behaviour of the deceitful; →st. 13:5 *xᵛāiš šiiaoϑanāiš hizuuascā* 'through his/its own actions and (those) of (his) tongue'. The following *yā ... sə̄ṇghō* either summarises the bad behaviour referred to by *šiiaoϑanāišcā sānghāišcā*, or it refers to the disastrous judgment pronounced upon it.

(7) *drūjō dəmānē ādāṯ* 'will put (them) in the house of deceit' corresponds to 46,11:6 *drūjō dəmānāi astaiiō* 'guests (attached) to the house of deceit'; # 49,11:2 *drūjō dəmānē ... astaiiō* 'guests in the house of deceit'.

51,15. 7+7; 7+7 (*dəmānē, mazdå̄, pouruíiiō*); 7+7/8 (*cəùuīšī/cəuuīšī*).

(1) *hiiaṯ mīždəm zaraϑuštrō magauuabiiō cōišt parā* '(with) the prize which Zaraϑuštra has promised to the sacrificers', # 53,7:1 *mīždəm ... ahiiā magahiiā* 'prize for this sacrament [offering]' (→29,11:6 *maga-*). Synonymy of *magauuan-* with *hudāh-* is suggested by comparison of the present passage with 34,13:5-6 *hiiaṯ cəuuīštā hudåbiiō mīždəm* 'the prize which You accord [commit] to the munificent'.

(2) The meaning of the compound *cōišt parā*, rendered by 'has promised', does not seem to be too different from that of its simplex aor. *cōišt* 'has committed, accorded, promised, ascribed' (47,5, 50,3 *cōišt*; 45,10 *cōiš*). Cf. the pres. YAv. *para.cinasti* as compared with its simplex pres. *cinasti* in Yy 20,3 *yaṯ aṣ̌āi vahištāi aṣ̌əm para.cinasti vīspəm.mąϑrəm vīspəm.mąϑrāi yaϑa aṣ̌āi xšaϑrəm cinasti* '(by reciting) *hiiaṯ aṣ̌āi vahištāi aṣ̌əm*, one ascribes truth which encompasses all formulas to truth which encompasses all formulas, just as one ascribes power to truth' (→27,14:11).

(3) If it is the Ahura's coming itself which is considered as the prize for the sacrificers, then *hiiaṯ mīždəm ... cōišt parā garō dəmānē ahurō ... jasaṯ* means 'the prize which Z. has promised (is:) the Ahura comes into the house of welcome'. Unlike this, we supply the dem.pron. *tā* 'with that' in line b: '(with) that prize which Zaraϑuštra has promised, the Ahura comes into the house of welcome' [= 'the Ahura brings (that prize) into the house of welcome'].

(4) *ahurō mazdå ... pouruiiō* 'the Wise Ahura, the primal one' is in contrast with st. 14 *apāməm* 'in the end, finally'.

(5) *vā ... aṣ̌āicā* 'to You, and to Truth' (§ 15.6.2). With regard to the other occurrences of this figure of speech, one would expect **vā mazdā aṣ̌āicā* 'to You O Wise One, and to Truth' (# 32,6:4 *vā mazdā ... aṣ̌āicā*), but the expected *mazdā* is omitted after *mazdå* already occurring in line b.

(6) The metre suggests taking *cəuuīšī* as an inverse spelling for **cōišī*, # 34,13:5 *cəuuištā* < **cōištā* (§ 10.7.2). If **cōišī* is a 3rd aor.pass. of the root *kaēš/ciš* (cf. J. Narten, *Avestisch ciš*, 1975, 82), *tā ... cəuuīšī* must be an independent sentence of the same type as 32,9:8 *tā uxδā mainiiəuš mahiiā mazdā aṣ̌āicā yūšmaibiiā gərəzē* '(with) these statements of my spirit I complain to You, O Wise One, and to Truth'. In this case, *tā vā vohū manaŋhā aṣ̌āicā sauuāiš cəuuīšī* must mean 'with good thought these (offerings) are committed to You, and to Truth, with benefits.' This, however, does not make much sense; hence it is perhaps preferable to take *cəuuīšī/*cōišī* as a loc.sg. of a verbal noun. In this case *hiiaṯ* can be taken as antecedent of *tā* : 'the Wise Ahura, the primal one, comes into the house of welcome, with that (prize), at the act of committing (oneself) to You, and to Truth, with benefits' (→48,1:8 *sauuāiš* 'with benefits').

51,16. 7+7 (*vištā̃spō*); 7+7; 7+7 (*mazdå̄*).

(1) *tąm kauuā vištāspō ... nąsaṯ* 'Kavi Vištāspa presents that (insight)' corresponds to 46,14:3 *aṯ huuō kauuā vištāspō yāhī* 'this Kavi Vištāspa (wishes to be celebrated) at the sharing (of good things)'.

(2) According to Kellens, *Verbe*, 1984, 355, ^{1}*nąsaṯ* 'presents' is corrupted from **nasaṯ* 'will reach'; the corruption would have taken place under the influence of st. 13 *nąsuuå* 'having strayed from' (< **nansvāh*, root ^{2}*nas*). However, no such conjecture is required. The meaning 'presents' [or: 'offers'] of our ^{1}*nąsaṯ* is close to the meaning 'to bring, carry' found with the *s*-aor. *nāš-* of the root ^{1}*ąs/nas* (Yy 70,4 *vācim nāšīma* 'we would rise our voice') and with the root *nāš* derived from it (44,13 *nīš ... niš.nāšāmā*, 44,14 *ā ... anāšē*). Our ^{1}*nąsaṯ* 'presents' (< **nānsat*, root ^{1}*nas*) is a sort of antonym of its homograph 53,6:10 ^{2}*nąsaṯ* 'disappears, removes' (< **nansat*, root ^{2}*nas*).

(3) In the present passage, ^{1}*nąsaṯ* 'presents' (from ^{1}*ąs/nas*) shows a compositional nexus, based on etymological relationship, with st. 17 *āždiiāi* 'to reach' (from ^{1}*ąs/nas*: *aṣahiiā āždiiāi gərəzdīm* 'to reach the grace of truth'). But there is also a compositional nexus with st. 13 *nąsuuå* 'having strayed from' (from its antonym root ^{2}*nas*: *aṣahiiā nąsuuå paθō* 'having strayed from the path of truth'). The latter is a compositional word play, based on external similarity only (§ 13.1.4).

(4) *vaŋhāuš padəbīš manaŋhō* 'on the paths of good thought', # st. 13:7 *aṣahiiā ... paθō* 'from the path of truth', 34,12:5 *paθō vaŋhāuš x^{v}aētəṇg manaŋhō* 'the paths of good thought easy to travel'; → 53,2:5 *dāŋhō ərəzūš paθō* 'the straight paths of gift(-giving)'.

(5) *aθā nā sazdiiāi uštā* 'let him thus announce to us the (things) desired', → 30,2:9-10 *ahmāi nā sazdiiāi* '(expecting someone) to announce that (*ahmāi*) to us (*nā*)', where the direct obj. of *sazdiiāi* stands in the dat.

51,17. 7+7 (*fərašaōštrō, huuō.gúuō*); 7+7 (*daẽnaiiāi, vaŋhuíiāi, išíiąm, dåtū*); 7+7 (*mazdå̄*).

(1) *bərəxδąm mōi ... kəhrpəm* '(his) body esteemed by [gen.] me', → 34,9:1 *ārmaitīm θβahiiā ... bərəxδąm vīdušō* 'right-mindedness (which is) esteemed by [gen.] Thy knowing one'. The pers.pron. *mōi* belongs to both, *bərəxδąm* 'esteemed' and *daēnaiiai vaŋhuiiāi* 'to (my) good religion'. For the latter, # 53,1:6 *hōi ... daēnaiiå vaŋhuiiå* 'of his (Zaraθuštra's) good religion'.

(2) The use of the imv. in a subordinate clause is uncommon, cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 365. For this reason, the rel.pron. *yąm* in *yąm hōi išiiąm dātū* must be taken as relative connexion introducing a main clause: 'let the Wise Ahura make it (his body) vigorous for him'; →st. 13:2 *yehiiā uruuā xraodaitī* 'his soul will recoil'; 32,13:1 *yā xšaθrā* 'through that power'.

(3) *išiiąm ... aṣahiiā āždiiāi gərəzdīm* 'vigorous ... to reach the grace of truth', # 50,9:6 *hudānaoš išaiiąs gərəzdā źiiəm* 'may I enjoy vigour, (basking) in the grace of a generous person'.

(4) *išíia-* 'vigorous, provided with invigoration', from *iš-* 'vigour, invigoration' (→ 32,16:6).

51,18. 7+7 (*dəjāmãspō, huuō.gúuō*), 7+7; 7+7 (*dåidī*).

(1) *tąm cistīm ... taṯ xšaθrəm* 'that insight ... that power' continue the combination of *xšaθra- and cisti-* already found in st. 16 *tąm ... magahiiā xšaθrā ... yąm cistīm* 'by the power over the offering ... that insight which'.

(2) In *ištōiš x^{v}arənå* 'of quest for glory', *išti-* is ^{2}*isti-* from the root *aēš/iš* 'to seek, desire' and it belongs etymologically with Ved. ^{2}*iṣṭí-* 'seeking, desire' (→34,5:1). As to the verbal government, # 32,11:5 *apaiieitī raēxənaŋhō vaēdəm* 'for robbing people of the disposition of their heritage', 40,4:5 *ištəm rāitī* 'by the bestowal of (what is) desired', 33,10:6 *uštā tanūm* perhaps 'in desire for bodily form', RV 6,70,4 *sumnám iṣṭáye* 'to quest for benevolence'. Nominal government of *išti-* 'quest' is found in Yy 60,4 *ištāe vaŋhaŋhąm* 'to quest for [unless: to have command of] the better (things)'.

(3) *manaŋhō vaŋhāuš vīdō* 'of the possession [knowledge] of good thought', # 34,9:4 *vaŋhāuš əuuistī manaŋhō* 'by lack [ignorance] of good thought'; →34,7:2 *vaŋhāuš vaēdənā manaŋhō*. Admittedly, Geldner's reading *manáŋhō vaŋ^{v}hīš vīdō* 'the good possessions [knowledge(s)] of thought' has the appearance of a lectio difficilior.

(4) *taṯ xšaθrəm ... taṯ ... hiiaṯ mazdā ... tauuā* 'that power, that which (is) Thine, O Wise One', # 53,9:6 *taṯ mazdā tauuā xšaθrəm* 'that power (is) Thine, O Wise One'.

51,19. 7+7; 7+7 (*daẽnaiiå, išàsąs*); 6+7 (*mazdå̄, šiiaoθànāiš*).

(1) *taṯ [sc. xšaθrəm] ... ahmāi dazdē* (# 43,2:1 *ahmāi ... x^{v}āθrəm daidītā*) 'elects for himself that (power)' in which case *dazdē* varies st. 18 *vərəṇtē taṯ xšaθrəm* 'chooses that power'; # st. 6:2 *vahiiō vaŋhāuš dazdē* 'decides for [elects] (what is) better than good'. As well possible is 'obtains for himself that power'.

(2) *daēnaiiā vaēdəmnō* 'accepting [recognising] (it) with (his) religious view', → 53,5:6 *vaēdō.dūm daēnābīš* 'accept [recognise] with (your) religious views'.

(3) *ahūm išasąs aibī* 'trying to win existence', →31,4:6 *išasā ... xšaθrəm* 'I shall try to win power', 50,2:4 *gąm išasōiṯ* 'should try to win a cow'.

(4) *mazdå dātā* 'the orders of the Wise One', # 46,15:3 *tāiš ... šiiaoϑanāiš ... yāiš dātāiš paouruiiāiš ahurahiiā* 'through those actions which (follow) the primal orders of the Ahura'.

(5) *gaiiehiiā šiiaoϑanāiš* 'through the actions of the living [of the world, of life]', # 27,13:12 *šiiaoϑananąm aŋhāuš* 'of the actions of the world [of existence]', 31,8:5 *aŋhāuš ... šiiaoϑanaēšū* '(presiding) over the actions of the world [of existence]'.

51,20. 7+7; 7+7 (*ãrmaitiš*); 7+7 (*mazdå̃*).

(1) *taṯ ... sauuō* 'that benefit', as st. 18 *tąm cistīm ... taṯ xšaϑrəm*, st. 19 *taṯ ... vahiiō*.

(2) *yazəmnå̊ŋhō* '(we are) worshipping', → 29,5:2 *frīnəmnā* '(we are) devoting ourselves'.

(3) *nəmaŋhā mazdå* 'in [instr.] reverence to the Wise One', → 28,1:3 *ahiiā ... nəmaŋhā* 'in reverence to him'.

(4) *mazdå rafəδrəm cagədō* 'to [gen.] the Wise One who extends support', # 46,2:4 *rafəδrəm caguuå* 'extending support'; → 38,3:4 *cagəmā* 'we present', also on *cagədō* which possibly is the gen.sg. of a root-noun *cagə-dā-*.

51,21. 7+7 (*ãrmatōiš, šiiaoϑànā*); 7+7 (*daẽnā*); 7+7 (*mazdå̃, dadå̊ṯ, yāså̊*).

(1) *nā spəṇtō huuō* 'this prosperous man', # 34,2:2 *spəṇtaϫiiācā nərəš*.

(2) *spānuuaṯ* is taken as 3rd sg. of a pres. *spānuua-* 'to make prosper' ('this prosperous man makes prosper truth'). Quite a different translation of the stanza would result from taking it as nom.sg.n. of an adj. *spənuuaṇt-* 'prospering' ('that Wise Ahura grants prospering truth'). The hemistich *daēnā aṣəm spānuuaṯ* recalls the difficult H 1,4 *ahunō vairiiō ... amaheca vərəϑraγnaheca urunaca daēnaca spanuuaṇti*.

(2) *mazdå dadå̊ṯ ahurō* as also in 31,21:1, 53,4:7.

(3) *tām vaŋᵛhīm yāsā aṣīm* 'I entreat Him for a good reward', # 49,8:1 *taṯ ϑβā ... yāsā* 'for this I entreat Thee', 28,1:4 *yāsā*.

51,22. 7+7; 7+7 (*mazdå̃*); 7+7 (*yazå̃i, nāmå̃niš, jaså̃i*).

(1) The stanza is deliberately ambiguous. Our translation is referred to as alternative A. Assumption of an inexact correlation between *yehiiā* 'whose' [sg.] und *tą* 'those' [pl.] (# 46,19:6 *yə ... tā*) results in the following alternative B:

Him [= all those] whose best (accomplishment) the Wise Ahura
in accordance with truth
knows (to be displayed) at worship: (among the divine entities)
who both have existed and exist
I will worship (all) those ...

(2) The above alternative B served as a model for the arch. YAv. Yeŋhē Hātąm formula Y 27,15. There, *yehiiā ... yōi å̊ŋharəcā həṇticā* (§ 15.4.1) was replaced by *yeŋhē hātąm* and interpreted as 'of which male (divine entity) among those who exist' (→ 45,7:5 *yōi həṇtī*):

yeŋhē hātąm āaṯ yesnē paitī vaŋhō
mazdå̊ ahurō vaēϑā yå̊ŋhąmcā
tąscā tå̊scā yazamaidē
Of which male (divine entity) among those who exist,
and of which of the female ones
the Wise Ahura in accordance with truth knows (which is)
the better (accomplishment of them to be displayed) at worship',
those male and those female (divine entities) we worship.

(3) Assumption of an attractio inversa *azəm yehiiā > yehiiā mōi* results in the alternative C as follows:

[*ab*] I whose best (accomplishment) the Wise Ahura knows
in accordance with truth [# 45,4 *aṣāṯ hacā ... vaēdā*]
(to be displayed) at worship: (those) who both have existed and exist,
those I will worship ...

(4) The above alternative C with its attractio inversa **azəm yehiiā > yehiia mōi* 'I whose', is imitated by the corresponding **vaēm yaēšąm > yaēšąm nō* 'we whose' found in the use made of the stanza in Vr 13,6

yaēšąm nō ahurō mazdå̊ aṣauua
yesne paiti vaŋhō vaēδa
aēšąm zaraϑuštrō aŋhu(š)ca ratušca
We whose better (accomplishment) the truthful Wise Ahura
knows (to be displayed) at worship,
our lord and judge (is) Zaraϑuštra.

(5) In their turn, the first two sections of Vr 16,3 have furthermore been borrowed into Yt 13,148:

vīspanąmca ā̊ŋhąm aṣ̌aonąm aṣ̌aoninąmca iδa yazamaide frauuaṣ̌īm
yaēšąm nō ahurō mazdā̊ aṣ̌auua yesne paiti vaŋhō vaēδa

we also worship the Fravaṣ̌i(s) of all those truthful men and women, we, whose better (accomplishment) the truthful Wise Ahura knows (to be displayed) at the worship.

Or, with *nō* understood as an ethical dat.:

we also worship the Fravaṣ̌i(s) of all those truthful men and women whose better (accomplishment) ...

(6) *tą yazāi ... pairicā jasāi vaṇtā* 'those I will worship and I will attend them with love', # 28,2:2 *vā̊ ... pairi.jasāi vohū manaŋhā* 'I will attend You with good thought'; Yy 70,1 *tą yazāi təm pairi.jasāi vaṇta yą aməṣ̌ə̄ spəṇtə̄* 'I will worship those who (are) the Aməṣ̌a Spəṇtas and I will approach them with love'.

(7) *tą yazāi x^{v}āiš nāmə̄nīš* is usually understood as 'those I will worship with their names', # 38,4:1 *yā və̄ ... nāmąn dadāṯ ... tāiš vā yazamaidē* 'the names which He gave You, we worship You with them'. To substantiate this, Narten, *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*, 1986, 178 quotes RV 1,181,4 *nā́mabhiḥ svaíḥ* 'with their names', but this is of limited use only: the complete text of this passage runs *ihéha jātā́ sám avāvaśītām arepásā tanvā̀ nā́mabhiḥ svaiḥ* 'although born in different places the (two) unblemishful (Aśvins) agreed in body and name'. OAv. *nāmə̄nīš* is understood as a nom/acc.pl. in its YAv. borrowings Yt 1,11.16 *imā̊ nāmə̄nīs drəṇjaiiō framrauua*, 1,15 *tā̊sca imā̊ nāmə̄nīš*, 1,19 *imā̊ nāmə̄nīš*. Thus, it is evident that the form *nāmənīš* was ascribed the same function as the acc.pl. *nāmə̄ni* found in Yt. 4,2 *nāmə̄ni aməṣ̌anąm spəṇtanąm ... zbaiiōiṯ*, 4,7 *nāmə̄ni aēšąm drujinąm*. Though this fact must not be unduly exaggerated, it suggests taking OAv. *nāmə̄nīš* as acc.pl. as well, and translating *tą yazāi x^{v}āiš nāmənīš* by 'those I will worship with my own people, (pronouncing their) names'. In this case, the construction is the same as in 37,3:1 *tə̄m aṯ āhuiriiā nāmə̄nī ... yazamaidē* 'him we worship (pronouncing his) Ahurian names', Yt 13,79 *nāmə̄ni āpō yazamaide* 'we worship the waters (pronouncing their) names'. The question as to whether *x^{v}āiš nāmə̄nīš* is a real linguistic form or is merely corrupted by perseveration from **x^{v}āiš nāmə̄nī* must be left open. The corruption would have taken place at an early date, before the composition of Yt 1, into which the OAv. form was borrowed. But note also Yy 71,6 *vīspāca dāma mazdaδāta aṣ̌aonīš yazamaide ... aṣ̌aoni aṣ̌auuabiiō y<esniiāca v>ahmiiāca aṣ̌auuabiiō* 'we worship all the truthful creatures created by (Ahura) Mazdā, the truthful (which have been created) for the truthful, (and which) for the truthful (are) worthy of worship and laudation'. Here, *aṣ̌aonīš* is used as acc.pl.n. of *aṣ̌auuan-*, synonymously with *aṣ̌aoni* which itself originates from re-interpretation of the nom.sg.f. *aṣ̌āunī* in 53,4:5 *aṣ̌āunī aṣ̌auuabiiō*. Cf. also P 35 *aṇtarə x^{v}ādaēnāiš aṣ̌aonīš* (→st. 1:4).

Yasna 53. *Vahištōišti Gāϑā/Hāiti*

53.0. Preliminary remarks:

(1) In stark contrast to all the other 16 Gāϑa hymns, this seventeenth and last hymn of the collection has a clearly didactic character, and the mystery of the sacrifice which is typical and traditional in the other Gāϑās assumes a much less prominent place. Prominence is given, on the other hand, to instruction in the female virtues, directed at Pourucistā, the youngest of Zaraϑuštra's daughters, and through her at the generality of nubile virgins (cf. Dēnkard 9,45). By common consense, this hymn is a wedding song, composed and chanted by the prophet upon the occasion of Pourucistā's wedding to Jāmāspa Hvōguva. This understanding is entirely dependent on the PhlT of st. 4 *aṣāunī aṣauuabiiō* 'a truthful women to truthful persons', which runs *ahlaw* [*gl. pourucist*] *ō ōy ahlaw* [*gl. jāmāsp*] 'truthful [Pourucistā] to truthful [Jāmāspa]'. If the glosses are right, Y 53 is the only hymn in the collection which bears on an actual event in the life of the prophet. It's actually being a wedding song is suggested by the instruction in sexual matters given in st. 7. Yet, it is very strange that, whereas the names of Kavi Vištāspa and Frašaoštra are mentioned in the hymn, there is no mention of the bridegroom Jāmāspa. Is this circumstance due to a magical taboo?

(2) Y 53 has clearly suffered more in transmission than all the other Gāϑā hymns. Problematical are st. 1:7 *dabən*, st. 3:2 *paitiiāstīm*, st. 3:7-9 *hudānuuarəšuuā*, st. 4:6 *māṃ.bāəduš*, st. 6:1 number of lines, st.6:4 *spašuϑā*, st. 6:6 repetition of *drūjō*, st. 6:6 *hōiš*.

53,1. 7+5, 7+4/5 (*dāṯ/dā̃ṯ*); 7+7+5 (*mazdå, húuaŋhəuuīm*), 7/8+7+5 (*dàbən/dábən, daēnaiiå, vaŋhuíiā, šiiaoϑànācā*).

(1) *vahištā īštiš srāuuī zaraϑuštrahē* 'the best vigour [command] will become famed (for being in possession) of Zaraϑuštra' (# 32,7:6, 32,8:2 *srāuuī*), or: 'the best quest of Zaraϑuštra will have been heard [answered]'; →34,5:1 on [1]*išti-* 'vigour', [2]*īšti-* 'quest, desire', [3]*išti-* 'command'; # Vr 23,1 *vahištąm īštīm yazamaide yąm aṣahe vahištahe* 'we worship the best quest for [or: the best vigour/command of] best truth'.

(2) *yezī* usually means 'if', but 'when, since' cannot be fully ruled out, cf. Ved. *yádi*, usually 'if' but sometimes also 'when, after' (Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, 1888, 586); # 48,1:1 *yezī ... hiiaṯ*.

(3) *dāṯ* 'grants, has granted' [inj.], or: *dā̃ṯ* 'may grant, may have granted' [sbj.]. The sbj. is favoured by the metre.

(4) *yezī hōi dāṯ āiiaptā aṣāṯ hacā* 'if He, in accordance with truth, may have granted him (as) boons', # 28,2:3 *maibiiō dāuuōi ... āiiaptā aṣāṯ hacā* 'to grant me in accordance with truth the boons'. In both passages, an attributive use of the prepositional phrase is possible, rendering *āiiaptā aṣāṯ hacā* by 'the boons (emerging) from truth' (§ 15.18).

(5) *yaēcā* is ambiguous: *hōi ... yaēcā* 'grants to him and to (those) who', or: *ahurō ... yaēcā* 'the Ahura grants, and (so do those) who'.

(6) *hōi ... daēnaiiå vaŋhuiiå* 'of his good religion', →51,17:1 *mōi ... daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi* 'to my good religion'.

(7) Besides Geldner's reading *dabən*, here rendered by 'they *practise', we find the Yasna Sāde variant *dəbən* (H1, Jm 6.7 etc.) which has the appearance of a lectio difficilior. It points to *dabən/dəbən* < **dban* < **dwan* which could stand for **duwan* of the original text, and it disproves the idea that *dabən* etc. would be graphically corrupted from **dadən ... uxδā šiiaoϑənācā* 'they *produce statements and actions'.

(8) *sašəṇ(cā) ... uxδā šiiaoϑanācā* 'they master the statements and actions', 30,11 *hiiaṯ tā uruuātā sašaϑā* 'when you master those rules'. The manuscripts have *saškəṇcā*, writing *šk* instead of *š* which is correct in the perf. only: A 3,4 *saškuštəma aṣahe bərəjō* 'having mastered best the (rites of) esteem of truth'.

53,2. 8+5 (*šiiaoϑànāišcā*); 7+5 (*xšnå̄m, mazdå̃, fraoráṯ*); 7+7+5 (*vīštā̃spō, fərašaōštrascā*); 7+7+5 (*då̃ŋhō, daēnąm*).

(1) *hōi ... manaŋhā* '(inspired) by his thought' seems to continue st. 1 *hōi ... daēnaiiå* and, thus, refers to Zaraϑuštra. Alternatively, *hōi ... manaŋhā* could also mean 'with their thought(s)', in which case it would be the only OAv. occurrence of *hōi* used with reference to a plural.

(2) *aṯcā hōi scaṇtū manaŋhā ... xšnəm ... yasnąscā* 'let them therefore, (inspired) by his thought, join [pursue] the recognition and worship(s)', →48,12:3 *yōi xšnəm vohū*

manaŋhā hacå̊ṇtē '(those) who will join (Thy) recognition with good thought'; 46,1:6 *yā vərəzānā hācā* 'the community which I wish to join'.

(3) *xšnām mazdå̊ vahmāi.ā* 'the recognition for (his) laudation', # 29,11:2-5 *aṯ̰ mā ... mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā* 'recognise [pl.] me for (the) great offering'.

(4) *xšnām mazdå̊ vahmāi.ā ... yasnąscā* 'the recognition of the Wise One for (his) laudation, and (his) worship(s)' is a paraphrase for 'laudations and worship(s)'; # 35,7:1 *ahurahiiā ... mazdå̊ yasnəmcā vahməmcā* 'the worship and the laudation of the Wise Ahura' (§ 15.7). On *fraorəṯ̰* 'devotedly', →30,5:7.

(5) *dåŋhō ərəzūš paϑō* 'the straight paths of gift(-giving)', # 43,3:3 *ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paϑō* 'the straight paths of benefit', 34,12:5 *paϑō vaŋhāuš xᵛaētāṇg manaŋhō* 'the paths of good thought easy to travel', 51,16:4 *vaŋhāuš padəbīš manaŋhō* 'on the paths of good thought', 51,13:7 *aṣ̌ahiiā ... paϑō* 'from the path of truth', 50,4:1 *išō ā paiϑī* 'on the path of invigoration'. On *dāh-* 'gift', # 28,6:3 *då̊ darəgāiiū* 'long-lasting gift', 30,3:8 *hudāh-* 'munificent', *duždāh-* 'miserly'; →41,2:5 *hudāstəma-* 'most munificent'.

(6) *yąm daēnąm ahurō saošiiaṇtō dadāṯ̰* 'a religious view which the Ahura established (as that) of a benefactor', # 49,4:5 *yā drəguuatō daēnā* 'a religious view which (is that) of the deceitful one', 54,1:4 *yā daēnā vairīm hanāṯ̰ mīždəm* 'a religious view which will deserve a desirable prize'.

53,3. 7+5; 8+5 (*dugədrą̊̃m*); 9+7+5 (*paitíiāstī[m], mazdå̃scā, dåṯ̰*); 8+7+4/5 [or: 8+3+8/9?] (*å̃rmatōiš, hudānùuarə̀šuuā/hudānú varə̀šuuā*).

(1) *təmcā* either refers to *ahurō* (a possibility which seems to be excluded by st. 4 *təm zī*) or to *saošiiaṇtō*. In the latter case, it must be rendered by 'and such a (benefactor)', referring to the unnamed bridegroom.

(2) *vaŋhāuš paitiiāstī[m] manaŋhō* 'in obedience to good thought'. The meaning 'obedience, listening' of *paitiiāsti-* f. is corroborated by *hwptysty* 'good obedience' which in the Aramaeo-Iranian Taxila Inscription renders MInd. *susruṣā-* 'obedience' (misunderstood as 'good obedience'). The transmitted *paitiiāstīm manaŋhō* is wrong for **paitiiāstī manaŋhō* (§ 10.5.4); # N 22 *sraoϑra nā gāϑanąm ratufriš paiti.astica yasnahe* 'one acts dutifully by chanting the Gāϑās and listening to the Yasna' (PhlT glossed *gōš dārēd*), Yt 15,1 *paiti.astica gāuš vacahiieheca* 'listening to the cow and to the (human) speaker (*vacahiia-*)', V 22,13 *ahe vacō paitiiesti *para.āiṯ̰* 'in obedience to that word he left', Vr 15,2 *yasnahe ... haptaŋhātōiš frauuākaēca paitiiāstaiiaēca* '(let

silence be) for the recitation of theYasna Haptaŋhāiti and for listening to it'; →35,9:5 *paitiiāstar-* 'listener, examiner'.

(3) *vaŋhāuš ... manaŋhō aṣ̌ahiiā mazdåscā* 'of the good thought of Truth and of the Wise One' [or: 'of Good Thought, of the Wise One, and of Truth']; →30.10:5 *vaŋhāuš manaŋhō mazdå̊ aṣ̌aṫiiācā* 'of the good thought of the Wise One and of Truth' etc.

(4) *təm ... taibiiō dāṯ̰ sarəm* 'such a one he assigns to thee (as) a shelter (for thee)'. *təm* cannot go with *sarəm* which is clearly fem.; # 49,8:2 *aṣ̌ahiiā då̊ sarəm ... yąm vaŋhāu ϑβahmī ā xšaϑrōi* 'grant the shelter of truth, which (is) in Thy good power'.

(5) *hąm fərašuuā ϑβā xraϑβā* 'take counsel with thy intellect', →47,3:5 *hąm vohū ... hąmə.fraštā manaŋhā* 'took counsel with good thought'.

(6) If *spāništā* 'most prosperous' refers to a human being (# 51,21:1 *nā spəṇtō*), then it is either voc.sg.f. referring to Pourucistā, or it is instr.sg.m. referring to the unnamed bridegroom. But it could also be an attribute of *xraϑβā*, cf. the YAv. proper name *spəṇtō.xratu-* 'of prosperous intellect'.

(7) The reading *hudānuuarəšuuā*, transmitted by the best manuscripts and accepted by Geldner, is suspect of being corrupt. A number of minor manuscripts, and a few major ones, point to *hudānū varəšuuā*, but the question remains whether this is the reading of the subarchetype, or a more or less reasonable conjecture by scholars who noticed that there was something wrong with the text.

(8) The imv.aor. *varəšuuā* is formally ambiguous: from ²*var* 'to choose' (< **varšva* 'choose' + acc.), or from ¹*var* 'to cover, shelter, safeguard' (< **vṛšva* 'shelter thyself, take shelter' + instr.), or also from *varəz* 'to work' ('provide for thyself' + acc.).

(9) With some hesitation, *hudānū* is taken by us as nom.pl.n. 'generous (activities)'. Yet, if we follow the evidence of the other occurrences, in which Av. *hudānu-* 'generous' (like Ved. *sudánu-*) always refers to divine beings or human persons, *hudānū* ought to be an instr.sg.m., referring to Ahura Mazdā or to the unnamed bridegroom ('take shelter with the generous one'). Such an idea is suggested by the textual proximity of the preceding *sar-* 'shelter', cf. also st. 4:2 *niuuarānī* 'I will encompass'.

53,4. 5+4+5 (*niuuarånī, fəδrōi, vīdå̃ṯ̰*); 7+5 [3+4+5] (*vāstríiaēibiiō*); 5+5+8 (*xᵛənuuaṯ̰*); 7+7+5 (*mazdå̃, dadåṯ̰, daēnaiiāi, vaŋhuíiāi*).

(1) *təm* here certainly refers to the unnamed bridegroom. *vā* in *vā spərədā* is pl. 'with your zeal', perhaps for sg. 'thy zeal' referring to Pourucistā (§ 15.6.1), or it is simply an ethical dat.

(2) *niuuarānī* 'I want to encompass', but YAv. *ni-var* 'to conceal, shut up' has a bad sense in V 8,69 *aδairi haxəm niuuōiriiete* '(the Druj) is shut up under the sole of the foot)'; cf. also Ved. *nívṛta-* 'held back, withheld'.

(3) *spərədā ... yā fəδrōi vīdāṯ paiϑiiaēcā* 'with (that) eagerness with which (a woman) shall care for (her) father and for (her) husband'. But *yā* also could be nom.sg.f. '(a woman) who will care for her father'. Another possibility: *yā ... daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi* 'with which (religious view) ... to (that) religious view'.

(4) The series *fəδrōi ... paiϑiiaēcā vāstriiaēibiiō aṯcā x^{v}aētauuē* 'father, husband, herdsmen, family' is uninformative about the position of the *vāstriia-* 'herdsman' in the social order. Is *x^{v}aētauuē* 'family' [in the sense of 'those at home'] an antonym to *vāstriiaēibiiō* 'herdsmen' [in the sense of 'those who do work in the pasture'], or does it summarise father, husband, and herdsmen?

(5) *aṣāunī aṣauuabiiō* '(as) a truthful woman (does care) for truthful persons' is made use of in Yy 71,6 *vīspāca dāma mazdaδāta aṣaonīš yazamaide ... aṣaoni aṣauuabiiō*, where *aṣaoni* (for OAv. *aṣāunī* nom.sg.f.) is re-interpreted as acc.pl.n. (→ 51,22:7 *nāmānīš*).

(6) †*mām.bəəduš* is taken as corrupted from **mān.bāṇduš*, nom.sg. of a compound **mān.bəṇdu-* 'valuing the bonds of kinship'. Its first member is the verbal root *man* 'to think' (cf. *fra-man* in YAv. *framən.nara-* and *framən.narō.vīra-*, both of unknown meaning). The second member *bəəduš* < **bāṇduš* is from stem **bāṇdu-* 'bond of kinship' (cf. Ved. *bándhu-* 'relation(s), kinship').

(7) *mazdå dadāṯ ahurō* 'the Wise Ahura grants' [inj., not sbj.] also in 31,21:1, 51,21:2.

(8) *daēnaiiāi vaŋhuiiāi* 'to the good religion', perhaps metonymically for 'to (women of) good religion' (§ 15.9).

53,5. 7+5; 5+5; 6+5+6 (*daẽnābīš*); 7+7+5.

(1) *vaziiamnābiiō kainibiiō* 'to the girls about to be married', lit. 'girls being carried (to their marriage festivities)', cf. Ved. *vahyá-* 'sedan chair, litter', YAv. *vaziia-* 'load'.

(2) *xšmaibiiācā* 'and to (all of) you', # 28,6:6 *ahmaibiiācā* 'and to (all of) us'.

(3) *vadəmnō* 'conversing (with you)', cf. Ved. *vádati* 'to speak, say, tell' the mid. of which is attested in reciprocal sense only (# RV 10,88,17 *vádete* 'the two speak with

each other'). Less likely is 'leading the bride'. The YAv. pres. of the root *vad* 'to lead' (Ved. *vadh*) is not *vada-* but *vādaiia-*: V 4,44 *upa vā nāirikąm vāδaiiaēta* 'one should give (him) a wife'.

(4) *māṇcā ī mązdazdūm vaēdō.dūm ... ahūm* 'note them in your minds and accept [recognise] existence', # 31,5:2 *vīduiiē ... māṇcā daidiiāi* 'to learn and to note in (my) mind'; →28,4:3 *māṇ<g> ... dadē* 'I note in my mind'. The two verbs are coordinated by inverted *-cā*; # st. 8:6 *rāmąmcā āiš dadātū ... īratū īš duuafšō* (§ 15.1.2).

(5) The post-original *mąz-* in *mązdazdūm* does not agree with the original *māṇ(cā)* preceding it; →44,8:1 *məṇdaidiiāi* 'to note in my mind' (§ 10.5.1). Unless corrupt, it is a sandhiform of 48,2:2 *māṇg* 'in mind' (→28,4:2-3).

(6) *vaēdō.dūm daēnābīš* 'accept [recognise] with (your) religious views', # 51,19:2 *daēnaiiā vaēdəmnō* 'accepting [recognising] with (his) religious view', 31,22:3 *vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā* 'accepting [recognising] with (his) thought'.

(7) *daēnābīš abiiascā* 'with your religious views [instr.] and in accordance with them [abl.]'.

(8) *ahūm yā vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'existence which (is that) of good thought', # 43,1:7 *vaŋhāuš gaēm manaŋhō* 'life of good thought'; → 28,2:4 *ahuuå astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō* 'of both existences, of the corporeal one and of (that) which (is) of thought'.

53,6. 7+5; 6+6/7 (*rāϑəmō, frādīm/frādīm*); 9/7+5 (*[drūjō]?, hōiš, tanúuō*); 7+5 (*x^{v}āϑrəm*); 7+5+4 (*mərəṇgədùiiē*).

(1) This stanza is divided into five lines instead of four by the manuscripts of the Pahlavi-Yasna (cf. Šāyast-nē-šāyast 13, 44, 51), a strange irregularity disregarded by Geldner in his edition. Some portion of the text has probably been lost, so that the five lines of the transmitted text of the stanza possibly represent the remains of two consecutive stanzas of four lines each.

(2) In *iϑā ī haiϑiiā* 'in this respect they (are) true', *ī* is taken as a pron. referring back to st. 5 *sāx^{v}ənī* 'instructions'. In this case *iϑā ... aϑā* means 'in this respect ... in that respect', probably referring to the fact that not everything is relevant in the same way for both sexes. But *ī* also could be a particle, in which case the nom.pl. *haiϑiiā* 'true' would go with *narō*, and *haiϑiia-* would be synonymous with *aṣauuan-* 'truthful' (→43,8:1 *haiϑiiō ... drəguuāitē ... ašāunē*): 'like this (are) the true men, like that (are) the (true) women', as opposed to the following *drujō hacā rāϑəmō* which is a variation for *drəguuaṇt-* 'deceitful'.

(3) If *haiθiiā* 'true' refers to Zaraθuštra's instructions (*sāx^{v}ənī*), then *drūjō hacā rāθəmō* 'he who (is) *dependent on deceit' must have some reference to the instructions of the deceitful one; →44,17:9 *auuā mąθrā yə rāθəmō aŋ̊āt̰ hacā* 'through that formula which (is) *dependent on truth' (§ 15.18).

(4) If *spašuθā* means 'you see', it is likely to be corrupted from **spašnuθā*; # Yt 11,5 *auui auua.spašnaot̰ (†spašnōit̰)* 'could catch sight of' (§ 10.7.4). Less likely is *spašuθā* < **spaš uθā* , which could contain *spaš*, nom.sg. of *spas-* 'spy' (Yt 10,45), and *uθā*, instr.sg. or nom.acc.pl. of *ūθa/uθa-* 'fat' (→46,3:8).

(5) *frāidīm*, rendered by 'having (dishonest) intentions', is understood as *frā̃i-dī̃m* from a root adj. *frā̃idī-* = *fra-ā-dī-* 'intending, caring for, desirous' (cf. Ved. *ādhī-* f. 'eagerness, longing, care'). Another possibility is *frāidī̃m* from a part.nec. *frāidiia-* 'to be promoted, protégé' (root *frād* 'to promote').

(6) If *hō̃iš* is contracted, or corrupted, from **hōi īš* (# 51,12 *hōi īm*), then *hōi* must be the second word of line c. Accordingly., the second *drūjō* must either be deleted as being due to erroneous repetition, or it must be shifted to the end of line b (§ 10,7.4).

(7) *piθā* 'defenses' is from *piθa-* 'protection, defense'; # Yt 10,84 *duuācina piθe hacimna* 'two persons associated under (mutual) protection [= associated by treaty]'. Differently Gershevitch, *Miθra*, 1959, 230f., but cf. also Ved. *gopīthá-* 'protection', loc.sg. *gopīthé* in e.g. RV 10,77,7 *devā́nām ápi gopīthé astu* 'let him be under the protection of the gods'.

(8) *vaiiū* obviously is instr.sg. of *vaiiu-* 'air, atmosphere'; *vaiiū ... nąsat̰ x^{v}āθrəm* '(on its way) through the air comfort goes away', # V 5,8 *astō.vīδōtuš dim baṇdaiieiti vaiiō dim bastəm naiieiti* 'Astō.vīδōtu fetters him, Vayu leads him away fettered' (taking *vaiiō* as a voc.sg. of *vaiiu-*, standing for the nom.sg. *vaiiuš*).

(9) *bərədbiiō duš.x^{v}arəθəm* 'from those who offer foul food', # Vr 2,11 *vāstrəm bərətəm gauue ... narəm aŋ̊auuanəm* 'the truthful man who brings forage for the cow'. In both passages, *bərət-* 'bringing, offering' is an uncompounded agent noun, as possibly also *jan-* in 44,16:1 *vərəθrəm jā* 'breaking resistance' (unless to be read *vərəθrəm.jā* 'resistance-breaker'). *x^{v}arəθa-* 'food, meal' is obj. of *bar* 'to carry, offer' also in V 3,29 *x^{v}arəθā bairiieṇte*, H 2,18.36 *x^{v}arəθanąm hē †barətąm.*

(10) ^{2}*nąsat̰* 'disappears, removes', →st. 7:8 *anąsat̰ parā*. Homograph of ^{1}*nąsat̰* 'presents', →51,16:2-3.

(11) *manahīm ahūm* 'mental existence', # st. 5:8 *ahūm yə vaŋhāuš manaŋhō* 'existence which (is) of good thought'; →28,2:4.

(12) *manahīm ahūm mərəṇgəduiiē* 'you destroy (your) mental existence', →46,11:3 *ahūm mərəngəidiiāi* 'to destroy (one's) existence'.

53,7. 7+5; 7+5 (*haxtíiâ*); 8+7+5; 7+7+5.

(1) *mīždəm ... ahiiā magahiiā* 'a prize for this sacrament [offering]', # 51,15:1 *hiiat̰ mīždəm zaraθuštrō magauuabiiō cōišt parā* '(with) the prize which Zaraθuštra has promised to the sacrificers'. In its other occurrences, *maga-* refers to the sacrificial ceremony and to the payment for it by its sponsors (29,11:6, 46,14, 51,11), but in the present passage, it rather denotes the marriage ceremony as an act involving mutual vows and as a sacrament of mutual dedication, which will be rewarded by sexual potence and progeny.

(2) *āžuš* (stem *āžuš-*) seems to mean 'penis'. SktV renders it by *lobha-* 'cupidity' (as if *āžuš* from YAv. *āzi-*. MP. *āz* 'greed, lust'), but PhlT has *ā-zūzag* 'ā-hedgehog' (*ka-š ā-zūzag rawēd pad bun ī haxt* 'when the ā-hedgehog proceeds into the bottom of her thighs'). This is based upon an adventurous etymological combination with MP. *zūzag* 'hedgehog' (cf. NP. *žūže* which is phonetically closer to *āžuš*), wrongly referring the Gāθā passage to unlawful sexual intercourse. In Pahlavi literature, the 'hedgehog' is a rather fanciful instrument of torture, thought to be used in hell to punish unfaithful women:

Dēnkard 9,17,5 *ud abar pādifrāh ī zan kē tan pad zanīh ō mard ī ahlaw dād u-š abāz rawēd [mss. āyēd] ciyōn ka-š zūzag bāstān pad haxt andar šawēh ud be āyēd ud brīd rāhīh ī-š az ān ī pahlom ahwān*

And about the punishment of a woman who has given herself in marriage to a righteous man and (then) leaves him: as when a hedgehog should be constantly going in and coming out by her thighs; and about the cutting off of her way from the best existence.

AVN 70,1-2 *u-m dīd ruwānān ī zanān ... ud zūzag hōmānāg ī āhanēn abāg xār az-iš rust ēstād pad tan andar burd ud abāz hišt ēstād*

I also saw the souls of women ..., and something like a hedgehog which had iron spines growing from it, was introduced into (their) bodies and dropped out.

(3) *yauuat̰* at first glance appears to be the well-known conjunction 'as much, as long, as often' (28,4, 34,9, 43,9, 50,11). However, if *āžuš* means 'penis' then *yauuat̰* most probably is a verbal form from the root *yau/yu* 'to yoke, to make use of'. If correctly transmitted, then it is sbj.pres. 'will yoke, will make use of' (cf. ind.pres. Ved. [AV] *yauti* 'yokes'). But it perhaps is inexactly transmitted for inj.pres. **yúuat̰* 'yokes, makes use of' (cf. pres. Ved. [RV] *yuváti* 'yokes'). The p.p.p. of *yau/yu* is YAv. *yūta-* in V 5,55 *pasca θrixšaparāt̰ yūtō gātuš yūtō x^{v}arəθa yūtō vastra* 'after a period of three days the bed (is) usable, the food (is) usable, and the clothing (is) usable (again)'.

(4) *yauuaṯ āžuš zrazdištō būnōi haxtiiå* 'the most faithful one will yoke (his) penis to the bottom of the (female) thighs' evidently describes the successful activity of the faithful one, the penis possibly compared with the pole of a chariot, the female thighs with a team of horses yoked to it. As contrasted with this, the following *parācā mraocąs aorācā yaϑrā mainiiuš drəguuatō anąsaṯ parā* 'where slipping back and down etc.' blames the impotence of the deceitful one. Here, *mraocąs* does not go with *zrazdištō* but with *mainiiuš drəguuatō* (ns. 5-7). That implies that *parācā mraocąs aorācā yaϑrā* must be understood in the sense of **yaϑrā paracā mraocąs aorācā*; the rel.adv. *yaϑrā* has been shifted from the beginning of the line to the position after the caesura (§ 15.16.2).

(5) For *paracā mraocąs aorācā* 'slipping back and down', PhlT has *parrōn-iz mrōzēnēd ud ōrōn-iz* '*moves back and forth'. In the present context, this does not make much sense, as was also seen by the author of the PhlT gloss which shows an inversion of the two directions: *kū-š hamēw pad tan andar rawēd bē āyēd* 'the (*ā*-hedgehog) continually enters the body and leaves (it)'; # F 3a *+aorāca parāca tarasca* = PhlT *ōrōn ud parrōn ud tarist* 'towards, and away, and across'. But wherever the meaning of YAv. *aora* is unambiguous, it means 'downwards'.

(6) As to the meaning of *mraok/mruc*, cf. Ved. *nimrúc-* f. 'setting' in RV 10,151,5 *sûryasya nimrúci* 'at the setting of the sun', pres. *nimróca-* in AV 2,32,1 *udyánn ādityáḥ ... nimrócan* 'the sun, rising (and) setting', also *ápa ... mlukta-* 'retired, hidden'.

(7) The ind.aor. *anąsaṯ parā* 'has gone away' is resultative whereas the inj.aor. st. 6:10 *nąsaṯ* 'disappears' makes a general statement.

(8) *vīzaiiaϑā magəm tām* 'if you abandon this sacrament [offering]' is a conditional clause without an introductory conjunction.

(9) *aṯ və vaiiōi aŋhaṯ apāməm vacō* 'then "woe" will be your last word', →45,3:8 *aēibiiō aŋhəuš auuōi aŋhaṯ apāməm* 'for them "woe" will be the last (word) of (their) existence'. *vaiiōi* 'woe', →st. 8:3.

53,8. 7+5 (*dafšniiā*), 7+5 (*zaϊiiācā*), 10+7+5 (*jəənərąm, xrūnərąm, šlieitibiiō, vīžlbiiō*), 7+7+5.

(1) The pron. *anāiš ā* perhaps means 'by those (present)' (§ 15.13.2), but it also could continue st. 6 *anāiš ā* 'with those (deceitful ones)', or it could anticipate the following *huxšaϑrāiš* 'good rulers'.

(2) Both, *dafšniia-* '*shattered' and *zahiia-* 'exhausted' seem to denote the condition of men under cruel torture. *dafšniia-* is perhaps to be connected with the root *damb/dab* = Ved. *dambh/dabh* 'to smash to pieces, dash, shatter', but note also Ved. *viśvá-psniya-* 'having all forms'. For *zahiia-* 'exhausted', cf. Ved. *jásamāna-* 'exhausted, starving'.

(3) *xraosəṇtąm upā* 'let them howl upwards' is in compositional nexus with st. 7:9 *vaiiōi* 'woe'; # V 13.8 *xraosiiō.taraca nō ahmāṯ voiiō.taraca huuō uruua parāiti parō.asnāi aŋᵛhe* 'his soul will go to the other life, howling louder and lamenting louder than a (wolf)', 13,9 *nōiṯ hē aniiō uruua haom uruuānəm paiti irista bązaiti xraosiiāca voiiaca aŋᵛhe* 'no other soul will encourage his own soul at his passing away to (the other) life, howling and lamenting'.

(4) *jəənərąm* is the gen.pl. of *jə<ṇ>-nar-* [or: *jən.nar-*] 'killer of men', cf. the proper name YAv. *jaṇnara-*; *xrūnərąm* is the gen.pl. of *xrū-nar-* 'injurer of men', # 46,5:10 *xrūniia-* 'bloodshed', Ved. *mitra-krú-* 'violator of contract (by bloodshed)'.

(5) *rāmąmcā āiš dadātū* 'let one establish peace with them', # 48,11:2 *kōi drəguuō.dəbiš xrūrāiš rāmąm dåṇtē* 'which people will establish for themselves [mid.] peace with the blood-stained deceitful?'; →29,10:6 *rāmąmcā dāṯ* 'one may establish peace'.

(6) The two clauses *rāmąmcā āiš dadātū ... īratū īš duuafšō* are coordinated by inverted *-cā*, # st. 5:4 (§ 15.1.2).

(7) *īratū īš duuafšō huuō* 'let that ill come upon them', # 44,14:5 *ā īš duuafšāŋg ... anāšē ąstąscā* 'to bring ill [pl.] and harm [pl.] to them'.

(8) *dərəzā mərəiϑiiaoš* 'with the bondage of death', # 29,1:7 on *dərəš*, alternatively 'fetter'.

53,9. 7+5 (*dužuuarənāiš*); 6+5 (*pəšō.tanúuō*); 7+7+5; 7+7+5 (*ərəžəϊiiōi, dā̃hī*).

(1) If *rāstī* is from a root *rah*, it either means '*spreads, flows' (cf. Ved. *rasá* 'moisture, humidity')', or 'falls' (→ 32,12:1 *rå̄ŋhaiiən* 'they make fall away'). The construction with instr. disproves any connexion with the obscure *rāϑəma-* '*descendant' in 44,17:9 *rāϑəmō aṣāṯ hacā*, st. 6:3 *drūjō hacā rāϑəmō*, Yy 8,3 *aṣahe rāϑma*.

(2) *tōi narəpīš rəϊīš* 'they (are personified) obscuration [pl.] and darkness [pl.]'. Here, *rəϊīš* is the lectio difficilior for Geldner's *arəϊīš*, where *arə°* for *ra°* is due to perseveration. The two nouns are nom.pl.n. in *-īš*, from stems in *-iš* (*narəpiš-, rəϊiš-*) used metonymically of persons (§ 15.9.1); # 34,7:2-3 *səŋghūš raēxənå̄* alternatively: '(personified) bequests and legacies'. For *narəpiš-* n. 'obscuration', # 44,3:2 *må̄ ... nərəfsaitī* 'the moon wanes'; for *rəϊiš-* n. 'darkness', cf. Ved. *rájas-* 'clouds, gloom,

dimness, darkness', Greek *érebos* 'darkness' and Gothic *riqiz* 'darkness'. The phrase *narəpīš raŋ̇š* stands poetically for *təmah-* 'darkness', # V 3,35 *təmō āca vaēšō āca acištəm āca ahūm ā* 'towards darkness, towards poison, towards worst existence'.

(3) *aēšasa-* 'greedy' is to *aēša-* 'vigorous' as the proper noun Ved. *turváśa-* to the proper noun Ved. *turvá-*.

(4) *aēšasā dāŋ̇ṯ.arətā pəṣ̌ō.tanuuō* 'greedy violators of truth, of forfeited bodies', # V 5,4 *išarə.štāitiia mē vīspō aŋhuš astuuå ↑išasəm ɲiṯ.aṣ̌əm xraodaṯ.uruua pəṣ̌ō.tanuš* 'very soon all my corporeal world would be greedy, violating truth, of recoiling soul, of forfeited body'.

(5) *yə̄ īš ɲiiātəuš hāmiθiiāṯ vasā.itōišcā* 'he who might deprive them of (their) livelihood and liberty', # 46,4:7 *yastəm xšaθrāṯ ... mōiθaṯ ɲiiātəuš vā* 'he who may deprive him of his power and livelihood'.

(6) *taṯ ... tauuā xšaθrəm* 'that power (is) Thine', # 51,18:4 *taṯ mōi dāidī ... hiiaṯ ... tauuā* 'grant me that (power) which is Thine'.

(7) *xšaθrəm yā ... dāhī* 'the power through which Thou mayest grant', # 29,10:4 *xšaθrəm ... auuaṯ ... yā ... dāṯ* 'that power through which one may establish'.

Yasna 54,1. Conclusion: *A.airiiāmā.išiiō*

(1) *išiia-* 'vigorous, provided with invigoration', →32,16:6, 48,8:6.

(2) *nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā zaraθuštrahē* 'to the men and women of Zaraθuštra', → 35,6:1 *nā vā nāirī vā*, # FrW 1,1 *nərəbiiasca nāiribiiasca.*

(3) *vaŋhəuš rafəδrāi manaŋhō* 'for the support of good thought', # 28,1:7 *rafəδrahiiā maiiniiəuš ... spəṇtahiiā* 'of the support of the prosperous spirit'.

(4) *yā daēnā* 'which religious view, a religious view which' [= 'a religious view which is manifested by the afore-said activities'], # 53,2:6 *scaṇtū ... dåŋhō ərəzūš paθō ... yąm daēnąm ahurō saošiianṭō dadāṯ* 'let them pursue the straight paths of gift (-giving), a religious view which the Ahura established (as) that of a benefactor', 49,4:5 *tōi daēuuəŋ dąn yā drəguuatō daēnā* 'they produce Daēvas, a religious view which (is that) of the deceitful one'.

(5) *vairīm hanāṯ mīždəm* 'will deserve a desirable prize', # 44,18:1 *taṯ mīždəm hanānī* 'shall I deserve that prize?'; 34,14:1 *taṯ ... vairīm* 'this desirable (possession)' which continues 34,13 *mīždəm.*

(6) *aṣ̌ahiiā ... aṣ̌īm* 'reward of truth', # 46,10:4 *aṣ̌īm aṣ̌āi* 'reward for truth', 48,8:4 *aṣ̌ī ... aṣ̌ā* (§ 15.3.4).