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*Remarks on the Iranian Xorde Avesta Sāde*

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*manuscripts 6135 (YL2-17) and 6187 (MZK6)*

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*(Notes on the Xorde Avesta VIII)<sup>1</sup>*

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**Abstract**

Until 1854, the date of publication of Westergaard's *Zendavesta*,<sup>2</sup> Europe was unacquainted with the Iranian recension of the *Xorde Avesta*. In his edition Westergaard was able to make use of three Sāde manuscripts for the first time, which he himself acquired during his stay in Persia between 1841 and 1844: 6115 (K36 [= M1]) (IrXA Sāde) from 1724, 6870 (K37 [= M2]) (IrXA Sāde in NP script + *Faroxšī*) from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 3100 (K38 [= M3]) (*Faroxšī*, very close to 3095 [Suppl.persan1191]) from 1814.<sup>3</sup>

Until 1854, the date of publication of Westergaard's *Zendavesta*,<sup>4</sup> Europe was unacquainted with the Iranian recension of the *Xorde Avesta*. In his edition Westergaard was able to make use of three Sāde manuscripts for the first time, which he himself acquired during his stay in Persia between 1841 and 1844: 6115 (K36 [= M1]) (IrXA Sāde) from 1724, 6870 (K37 [= M2]) (IrXA Sāde in NP script + *Faroxšī*) from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 3100 (K38 [= M3])

<sup>1</sup>A fresh examination of the contents of XA mss. and of mss. related to the XA has brought to light a multitude of texts which are part of it. My list of abbreviations counts about 1000 titles. For practical reasons, I refrain in this article from explaining the used abbreviations. Instead, I point to the forthcoming publication of a database with comprehensive information on all known XA mss. Abbreviations often used in the article: IndXA = Indian Xorde Avesta; IrXA = Iranian Xorde Avesta; AV = Ašəm Vohu; YAV = Yaθa Ahu Vairiō; TXA = Tamām Xorde Avesta.

<sup>2</sup>N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians. Vol. I: The Zend texts*. (Copenhagen, 1852–1854), Neu herausgegeben mit einem Essay über Niels Ludvig Westergaard und seine Avesta-Ausgabe von Rüdiger Schmitt. Vol. I: *The Zend texts* (Wiesbaden, 1993).

<sup>3</sup>A description and analysis of of K36, 37, 38 is given in König, G. 'Zu den Kopenhagener Avesta-Handschriften K36, K37, K38', in *Iranica* (Wiesbaden), forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup>N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians. Vol. I: The Zend texts*. (Copenhagen, 1852–1854), Neu herausgegeben mit einem Essay über Niels Ludvig Westergaard und seine Avesta-Ausgabe von Rüdiger Schmitt. Vol. I: *The Zend texts* (Wiesbaden, 1993).

(*Faroxšī*, very close to 3095 [Suppl.persan1191]) from 1814.<sup>5</sup> This material was not much enlarged in the Geldner edition published three decades later. Besides the IrXA Pahl. mss. 7075 (F2) and 7085 (L12) Geldner added the following Sāde manuscripts to the three Westergaard ones: ms. 6095 (MF3) (IrXA Sāde + *Faroxšī*) from 1700 (of which 6090 [MF51] is a copy) and Wilson's mss. 6195 (W1) (IrXA Sāde) from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 6297 (W3) (IrXA Sāde + *Faroxšī*), an Iranian ms. written in India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>6</sup> and finally the fragmentary ms. 6220 (Lb16) (< 1835). Besides these manuscripts used by Westergaard and Geldner, we have knowledge of some other Iranian manuscripts and their contents through the catalogues: the IrXA Sādes 6110 (MF29) from 1704; the IrXA Sāde + *Faroxšī* (?) Katrak90 from 1718; the ms. Katrak165 from 1791; the undated ms. Katrak166 which contents indicate its Iranian origin.<sup>7</sup> Of Iranian origin is probably also 6145 (MF26 = MF1) and the fragments 6291 (Ethé1943) and 6295 (MF40). Quite numerous are the XA Sāde manuscripts written in NP script which were, however, besides K37 never used in editorial work: the *Sammelhandschrift* Katrak96abc (1735+1789); 6855 (MF43) from 1797, written in India with traces of Indian reworking; 6860 (MF75) from 1807; 6865 (IOL CCXXI) in two parts from 1827; Katrak563 and Katrak683, designated as “very old” and “old” by Katrak; 6875 (R25) and 6880 (MF76) of unknown date. Even more numerous are the Iranian *Faroxšī* manuscripts. Some of them were recently described by Andrés-Toledo,<sup>8</sup> among them ms. 3055 (Yazd3973) with colophons pointing to the years 1607 and 1717 CE, and ms. 3060 (ML15286) from 1697 or 1717 CE written by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr. His name appears also in the first colophon of 3080 (MF16 = MF1) which gives a date 1721 CE. The Iranian *Faroxšī* manuscripts, produced until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, include mostly the *Faroxšī* text only, and only very few manuscripts combine these texts with other liturgies (mostly *Nērangs*). The most extensive manuscripts are K38 and (the closely related) Suppl.persan1191, ML15286, MF16.

In general, we can see that the production of Iranian manuscripts other than the *Faroxšī* ones belongs to two strata: firstly the manuscripts of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century which were nearly all written by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr; secondly, the manuscripts from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to A. Cantera and his pupils, over the last ten years more XA materials from Iran have come to light. Two of the most comprehensive IrXA Sāde manuscripts are the IrXA Sāde ms. 6135 (YL2-17) from 1723 and the IrXA Sāde + *Faroxšī* ms. 6187 (MZK6) from 1803. While YL2-17 is valuable because of its age, content, and its scribe Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr, MZK6 is extremely important since it is one of the very few examples of an extensive IrXA Sāde from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that at present can be examined.

<sup>5</sup>A description and analysis of of K36, 37, 38 is given in König, G. ‘Zu den Kopenhagener Avesta-Handschriften K36, K37, K38’, in *Iranica* (Wiesbaden), forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup>In the case of the *Xorde Avesta* I call a manuscript “Iranian” if it fulfils two criteria: a) the contents and their order are those which are typically for mss. produced in Iran; b) the recension of the texts is the typical Iranian one, for example Mayā Yašt instead of Ny 4.

<sup>7</sup>Katrak gives the following information: “List of contents in Gujrati, folios 1–32. The text on folio 33, begins with Gāh Ushahin. The Ms. contains: Gāhs, Nyaeshes, Yashts in general use, Afringans, Bajdharnu. The Prayers Chitrem Buyād, Nāme Khavar and Patit Irani, are in Persian characters”, J. C. Katrak, *Oriental treasures being a condensed tabular descriptive statement of over a thousand manuscripts and of their colophons written in Iranian and Indian languages and lying in private libraries of Parsis in different centres of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1943).

<sup>8</sup>M. Andrés-Toledo, ‘Ceremonies in the Xorde Avesta Manuscripts: the Drōn Frawardī Yašt’, *Estudios Iranianos y Turanios* 2 (2015), pp. 29–41.

MZK6 will be used to answer two questions: a) to what extent does the Iranian composition of an XA Sāde depend on the scribe and his time or on general conventions? b) to what extent does the quality of an Avestan text of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century correspond to that of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century?

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The ms. 6135 (YL2-17-02233) from the Yegānegi Library Tehran was written in 1723 CE (1072 + 20 Y) by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr.<sup>9</sup> It consists of 142 foll. of 16–17 ll. each. The old part is written in a very pleasant Avestan script, partly in NP, the page has a framed type area. There are some NP writing on the margin. Fol. 45 v seems to be damaged by water. The folios that once contained Yt 11a 3–8 are missing. Fol. 46 r is partly restored, the text supplied by a second hand; on fol. 46 v the text is lost because of this restoration. Fol. 2 r has a note in NP, on fol. 3 r Y 0.1 is written in a very unpleasant script. Then follow some blank folios. On fol. 9 r Y 4.23 is written, again in a very unpleasant script. YL2-17 has the same text sequence as MF29 (see below), but at the end a *Faroxši* is appended.

The colophon is in Pahlavi (foll. 141 r 17–142) and gives at first the date of writing and the name of the scribe.<sup>10</sup> The scribe, Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr, adds some pious formulas which resembles those of the first col. of Ms. B [*Dēnkard*]. As in colophon 1a of the *Dēnkard* ms. B (B 641.5-11) the creed ('stwb'nyh) is designated as that of 'stwb'nyh pē' 'pyck wyhdyn' mzdysn'n 'pl 'št<k>yh <y> 'hlwb' plw'hl zltwšt' y spyt'm'n' l'st' ps'cšnyh 'twr'p't' y mhr'spnd'n<sup>11</sup> (*āstauwānīh pad abēzag weh-dēn ī māzdēsānān abar aštaḡīh ī ahlaw frawahr Zarduxšt ī Spitāmān rāst passāzišnīh ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*) of the Good Religion according to the message of Zardušt and of the right canon of Ādurbād Mahraspand.

Ms. 6187 (MZK6\_XwAlsfī) was written in 1803 CE (1172 Y) and is today part of the collection of the Muze-ye Zartoštiyāne in Kermān. The colophon on fol. 255 r is written in (a faulty) Pahlavi and gives a date Šahrevar/Wahman/1172 Y; the appended NP colophon gives Šahrevar/Wahman of the “old year” 1173. In the Pahlavi colophon the designation “<era of> Yazdegird” is enlarged by the expression *nāfag* (n'pk<sup>12</sup>) *be ō ī Husraw šāhān šāh Ohrmazddān* “the grandson to Husraw (II), king of kings, son of Hormizd (IV)”. The writer is Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Erdašīr Esfandyār Sīstānīg who is known also from some manuscripts belonging to the complex of the *Long Liturgy*. A manuscript closely related to ms. 6187 is the ms. 6190 (RR3) from the Rostami collection. This manuscript is complete in the beginning (Alphabet; AV + YAV; SrB). After Yt 13 it appends about 50 further folios which contain *Nērangs* (such as the *Barsom Cīdan* [fol. 225 v 10]), the ceremony for the dead ones, the *Yašt Gāhān* (on foll. 254 v – 273 r 10, finished with the year number 1298 <Y>), the

<sup>9</sup>The ms. was firstly described by Andrés-Toledo, ‘Ceremonies in the Xorde Avesta Manuscripts’, pp. 33–35.

<sup>10</sup>plcpt pē' ŠRM W š'tyh W l'mšn' npšt HWHm BYN YWM 'rtwhšt' MN BYRA 'mwrđt ŠNT bl 1000 W 70 z AHL MN ŠNT 20 BRA OL y y zdkrt MLKA' n' MLKA y štryd'l'n'. Npšt' pr'c ŠBKWN'e' HWEm L y dyn bwndk lwsthm gwšt'sp y yltšyl.

<sup>11</sup>BYN 'stwb'nyh pē' 'pyck wyhdyn' mzdysn'n 'pl 'št<k>yh <y> 'hlwb' plw'hl zltwšt' y spyt'm'n' l'st' ps'cšnyh 'twr'p't' y mhr'spnd'n' 'prynynyt'lyh OL hlwst'hw y 'st'wmnd W 'hl'dyh k'mk'n y hwmt' mynyt'l'n' y hw'ht' gwpt'l'n' hwwlšt wlcyt'l'n'. gtygyh' pē' spwl k'mk \*hwčšnyh (Text hwč'myh) y 'hlwbyh wlcšnyh OL plškrt ptwst'lyh ptwnd'n'. mynwdyh' 'pyck' lwb'n' prw'hl OL 'pltwm msghyh' W bwlc'wndyh W bwndk' p'td'sn' (W) wndšnyh BYN ZK y 'sl lwšnyh y hmyškswt' pwlhw'lyh y \*wndyn'nd (Text dyn'nyk). MNW ZNE dpl pē' stwlm'n' kyh KRYTW'Nyt' ptš 'stwb'n' 'pygm'n' <W> ZK MNW pcy'n' 'cš YNSBWNx2 BYN pē' pl'lwnyh YHSN'Nyt' hwdyn'nyk.

<sup>12</sup>Probably for npk “grandson”.

Table 1. Overview of the mss. of the IrXA Sāde

IrXA Sāde (without the mss. in NP script)			IrXA Sāde + Faroxšī				Faroxšī (selection)		
6110 (MF29)	1704	Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr	Katrak166 (?) 6095 (MF3) (copy 6105 [MF51])	1700	(“old”) ? Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr	3055 (Yazd3973)	1717	?	
6115 (K36)	1724	Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr	Katrak90 (?) 6135 (YL2-17)	1718 1723	Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr	3060 (ML15286) 3080 (MF16 = MF1)	1717 partly 1721	Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr partly Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr	
6195 (W1)	early 19 <sup>th</sup> century		Katrak165 6187 (MZK6)	1791 1803	Bahrāmjī Jjīdārū Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Erdašīr	3100 (K38)	1814	Hūšang Mehrbāb Bahrām Nūšīrwān	
			6870 (K37) (NP)	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	? Esfandyār Sīstānīg	3095 (Suppl.persan1191)	early 19 <sup>th</sup> century	?	
			6297 (W3)	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	Mobed Bēzan Rustom, Surat				

*Paδuuant Rainīdār* (on foll. 273 r 11 – 275 r), Yt 2.11–12 (on fol. <275 r>, at the end of the ms.), and the *yātu.zī. zaraθuštra.*, i.e., the *Nērang against pestilence* (cf. M66). The *Paδuuant* and the *yātu.zī.* are appended in ms. 6187 after the colophon.

Pahlavi colophon: plcpt pt' ŠRM W š'tyh W plhwyh <W> l'mšn' pt' nywk' yhšn' W hwp mwlw'k hw'stk<sup>13</sup> dlstk' lwcg'l 'pst'g hwwls<sup>14</sup> (?) lstk yčšnyk<sup>15</sup> d'tw <b>l<sup>16</sup> dyn' bwndk dstwbl yspny'l nwšylwn' (w)'lšyl (w) yspny'l syst'nyk npštwm pr'c \*ŠBKWNštwm<sup>17</sup> pt' d'twl(') 'whrnzd pt' plhwyh pylwc YWM štrwl BYRA whwmn' ŠNT' bl 1000 W 100 hpt't W 2 yzkr't MLKA(y)'n' MLKA' n'pk BRA OL y hwslywby MLKA'n' MLKA 'whrnzd'n' pt' yzd'n' k'mk' YHWWN't'

New Persian colophon: *newēšte šod be-xaṭ-e faqūr-ḥaqūr-kam<t>arīn dastūr Ešfandyār dastūr Nūšrūwān dastūr Ešfandyār dastūr Erdašīr dastūr Ādarbād Sīstānī newēštom, ferāg-ḥeštom fe ašāye ('š'yh) firūzgarē xorname andar rūz-e rāmešn-garē rūz Šāhrūwar o Bahman-māh qadīm sane 1173 fe yazdān o amšašfandān kāme bād*

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In the following the contents of YL2–17 and MZK6 are given in comparison with Rostom Goštāsp's manuscripts MF29, MF3 and K36. While YL2–17 resembles especially MF29,<sup>18</sup> MZK6 is similar to K36. The overview shows that Iranian XA manuscripts not only follow a more or less stable textual sequence (the same is true for Indian manuscripts), but that the manuscripts belong to different types (see below) which do not always have a correspondence in the Indian tradition.

With the edition of Geldner and the Avesta translation made by Wolff on the basis of the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, the following order of *Xorde Avesta* text classes was established:

Introductory prayers – Niyāyišns – Gāhs – Yašts – Sirozes – Āfrīngāns

A comparison of all manuscripts of the XA proper—i.e. of those XA manuscripts that are not unstructured anthologies and that do not belong to the TXA class—that are available at present or at least well described in catalogues (currently: Sāde 12 Ir. / 20 Ind. mss.; PahlTr 3 Ir. / 24 Ind. mss.; NPTr 3 Ir. / 8 Ind. mss.; SkrTr 14 mss.; GujTr 23 mss.) shows that Geldner's order is not arbitrary. With the exception of the two *Sīrōzes* which seem to be intruders from a part of the XA manuscripts that belong to the Iranian Sāde tradition (and to the

<sup>13</sup>The formulas used in the Iranian colophons give after *xūb murwān*: *hu-jastag*, *xūb-jastag*, *xwāstag/anāstag*.

<sup>14</sup>Above the word the ^ diacritic, which points to a reading hwwldy. Both writings are unsatisfying, at least if they are for "Xworde/Xwurdag".

<sup>15</sup>In other colophons, too, the words *rištāg yazīšnūhā* are following the title of the book (of the liturgy), see, e.g., 4040 (Ave1001): *Abestāg Yašt Wispred Jud-dēw-dād abāg nīrang rištāg yazīšnūhā*.

<sup>16</sup>Here we would expect L / man "I".

<sup>17</sup>š'ykpykwnštwm.

<sup>18</sup>Although the oldest known Iranian XA ms. 6095 = MF3(Geldner) (= MF45[Dhabhar], = MF4[Dhabhar 1927]), written by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr, shows some irregularities in the textual order (Ny 1+2 are, e.g., not at the beginning of the ms.), its general architecture is parallel to that of the other IrXA Sāde mss. (Farziyāt – Xšnūman litanies – *Faroxšt*). (The folios 1–17 are unnumbered, fol. 18 is numbered "12"; Dhabhar writes "f. 2 and ff. 4–16 seem to be latterly supplied".) Rostom Goštāsp has enlarged the ms. by the StS (in Pahl.) (part II of the ms.) and by "litanies in the style of the Sīrōzas, with Yazamaide" (Dhabhar) (part III of the ms., a part that has no colophon). For the sequence of *Faroxšt* and StS cf. YL2–17 and ML15286. Unknown is the date of the later addition of *Nērangs* by a second scribe (part IV) (1. NerEvilEyeFever; 2. NerAcceptance; 3. NerEvilEye ["Nērang for removing the malignancy of evil eyes"]; 4. NerFulfilmentWishes; 5. NerOpulence, 6. NerDemonsPeris ["Nērang for removing Daevas, sorcerers and fairies"]) (Concerning the *Nērangs* of part IV Dhabhar says: "these Avesta pieces are selected from the Gāthā"; cf. the *Nērangs* attested in K36 and in some *Faroxšt* mss.)

Table 2. Detailed overview of the contents of Iranian Xorde Avesta Sāde mss

YL2-17	MF29	MF3 (= MF45), part I	K36	MZK6
	1. AvAlph			
1. Fol. 1 is missing. It must have contained AV + the beginning of YAV	2. AV		1. (fol. 1 missing). On folio do/2 (Persian and Latin numbering) the first word is <i>drīgubiiō</i> from the third line of the YAV. It is likely that on the lost folio the AV was written, i.e. the <i>Pērāmōn–Yašt</i> with the sequence AV–YAV.	
2. YAV (end) (fol. 12 r 1)	3. YAV			
	4. BajNanX		2. BajNanX (fol. 2 r 2)	
3. BajGomK (fol. 12 r 2–12 v 4)	5. BajGomK		3. BajGomK (fol. 2 r 7)	
	6.–10. G 1–5 (smaller)			
4. NerŠB (foll. 12 v 4–13 r 1) (only V 18.51–52 is given)				42. NerŠB (fol. 115 r 13)
5. SrB (foll. 13 r 3–14 v 14)	11. SrB		4. SrB (fol. 2 v 9)	1. SrB (incomplete [4 foll. missing], beginning with <i>ahunəm. vairīm. tanūm. pāiti.</i> ) (fol. 5 r)
				2. NerKB (fol. 6 v)
6. NerKB (fol. 14 v 15–15 v 8)	12. NerKB		5. NerKB (fol. 5 v 9)	3. NerNaxC (fol. 7 r 12)
	13. NerNaxC (? “Nērang to remove aside hairs and nails in a pit”)		6. NerNaxC (fol. 6 v 6)	
7. Ny 1 (foll. 15 v 9–20 v 8)	14. Ny 1	15. Ny 1	7. Ny 1 (fol. 7 r 8)	4. Ny 1 (fol. 8 r)
8. Ny 2 (foll. 20 v 9–22 r 15)	15. Ny 2	16. Ny 2	8. Ny 2 (fol. 12 v 4)	5. Ny 2 (fol. 12 [=14] v 1)
9. Ny 3 (foll. 22 r 17–26 v 15)	16. Ny 3	7. Ny 3	9. Ny 3 (fol. 14 v 4)	6. Ny 3 (foll. 14 [= 16] r 13)
10. A 1 (with instruction: <i>pad mān ī wehān ud pad ān-iz ātaxšān</i> ) (foll. 26 v 16–29 v 6)	17. A 1	18. A 1	10. A 1 (fol. 17 r 11)	7. A 1 (foll. 16 [= 18] v 13)
			11. A 3 (fol. 20 r 10)	8. A 3 (foll. 20 [= 22] r 8)
			12. A 2 (fol. 23 v 2)	9. A 2 (foll. 23 [= 25] v 5) (title: “ <i>Āfīngān Panjak</i> ”)
				10. A 4 (foll. 26 [= 28] v 1)

11. AfrinRap (NP characters) (foll. 29 v 8–32 r 3)	18. AfrinRap (NP characters), <i>see also below</i> <i>N° 32</i>	19. AXodayan	<i>for AfrinRap see below N° 35+35</i>	<i>for AfrinRap see below N° 47</i>
12. Ny 5 (foll. 32 r 4–34 v 14)	19. Ny 5	8. Ny 5	13. Ny 5 (fol. 25 v 4)	12. Ny 5 (foll. 32 [= 34] r 13)
13. Yt 1 (foll. 34 v 15–42 r)	20. Yt 1	1. Yt 1	14. Yt 1 (fol. 28 v 7)	14. Yt 1 (fol. 40 [= 42] v 10)
14. Yt 3 (foll. 42 v 1–46 v)	21. Yt 3		15. Yt 3 (fol. 38 r 5)	15. Yt 3 (fol. 49 [= 51] r 6)
15. Yt 11a (foll. 47 r 1–51 v 15)	22. Yt 11a		16. Yt 11a (fol. 43 v 12)	16. Yt 11a (fol. 54 [= 56] v 7)
16. Yt 11 (foll. 51 v 16–55 r 16)	23. Yt 11		17. Yt 11 (fol. 51 v 14)	17. Yt 11 (fol. 63 [= 65] r 4)
			18. Yt 14 (fol. 57 r 9) (sec.man.)	<i>see below N° 44</i>
17. G 1 (foll. 55 r 18–57 r 9)	24. G 1	2. G 1	19. PWI (NP) (fol. 50+24 v 1–7) (sec.man.)	18. G 1 (fol. 68 [= 70] v 12)
18. G 2 (foll. 57 r 10–58 r)	25. G 2	3. G 2	20. G 2 (fol. 50+24 v 8 – fol. 61 v 6) (first fol. sec.man.)	19. G 2 (fol. 71 [= 73] r 12)
19. G 3 (foll. 58 v 1–59 r)	26. G 3	4. G 3	21. G 3 (fol. 61 v 7)	20. G 3 (fol. 75 [= 77] r 4)
20. G 4 (foll. 59 v 1–61 v 3)	27. G 4	5. G 4	22. G 4 (fol. 63 r 9)	21. G 4 (fol. 76 [= 78] v 6)
21. G 5 (foll. 61 v 4–62 r)	28. G 5	6. G 5	23. G 5 (fol. 66 v 1)	22. G 5 (fol. 79 [= 81] v 7)
			24. AnogNavar (fol. 68 r 1)	11. ANogNavar (foll. 29 [= 31] r 6)
		13. S 1	25. S 1 (fol. 71 r 12)	23. S 1 (fol. 81 r 7) (“Sīrōze Yašt”)
		14. S 2	26. S 2 (fol. 77 r 6)	24. S 2 (fol. 85 v 12) (“Sīrōze Yašt”)
		17. NamesHamkaran (Pahl.)		
		21. DronYt		25. DronYt (with Y 17, 26) (foll. 90 v 3)
		22. “itanies in the style of the Sīrōzas” (Geldner; Dhabhar)	27. 30Gods_pad_aiiese_yešti (fol. 101 r 1)	26. 30 Gods_pad_aiiese_yešti (fol. 104 v 12) (title: “Sī-Rūz Qadīme”)
			28. 30 Gods pad yazamaide (= S 2) (fol. 102 r 11)	27. 30 Gods pad yazamaide (= S 2) (fol. 105 v 10)
			29. 12Months_pad_aiiese_yešti (fol. 103 v 3)	28. *12Months_pad_aiiese_yešti (fol. 105 v 10 – ?)

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

YL2-17	MF29	MF3 (= MF45), part I	K36	MZK6
(fol. 107 v 6 -			30. 12Months_pad_yazamaide (fol. 104 r 6)	29. *12Months_pad_yazamaide. <sup>19</sup> (fol. ? - 107 v 5)
			31. 5Gaḡa_pad_aiese_yešti (fol. 104 v 10)	30. 5Gaḡa_pad_aiese_yešti (fol. 107 v 5-108 r 4)
			32. 5Gaḡa_pad_yazamaide (fol. 105 r 10)	31. *5Gaḡa_pad_yazamaide (fol. 108 r 4 - ?) <sup>20</sup>
	31. MayaYt (fol. 89-92)	9. MayaYt	33. MayaYt (fol. 105 v 14)	13. MayaYt (fol. 35 [= 37] v 11)
	32. AfrinRap (2 <sup>nd</sup> half, Pāz.) (fol. 93-98)	11. AfrinRap (2 <sup>nd</sup> half, Pāz.)	34. AfrinRap (2 <sup>nd</sup> half [18-19], NP characters) (fol. 115 r 14-116 v 7)	
		20. AfrinRap (1 <sup>st</sup> half, NP)	35. AfrinRap (1 <sup>st</sup> half [1-17], NP characters) (fol. 117 r 12)	
	33. Col. (fol. 98)		36. Col. (NP) (fol. 120 v 11-15)	
	34. SevenMembersBody (fol. 99)			
	35. Patit* (probably PaIr) (fol. 1-12)		37. PaIr (fol. 121 r)	43. PaIr (116 r 2) (in Pāzand)
				44. Yt 14 <sup>21</sup> (fol. 129 r 8)
			45. Yt 9 <sup>22</sup> (fol. 141 v 10)	
			46. Yt 4 <sup>23</sup> (fol. 148 v 5)	
			47. Hamazor = AfrinRap (Pāz.) (fol. 151 v 2) (Antia 98-102)	

<sup>19</sup>The foll. 106 v - 107 r were unfortunately not photographed; on fol. 107 v 1-4 we find in accusative (= *fe yazemeyde*) S 2.10, 2.9, 2.8, 2.2, 2.5, i.e., the end of 12Months\_pad\_yazamaide.

<sup>20</sup>The folios 108 v + 110 r were unfortunately not photographed.

<sup>21</sup>Yt 14 also in: 7305 (MF28) (1706); 6115 (K36) (1724), sec.man. (retranscription); 6185 (MF31) (late 18<sup>th</sup> c.); 6855 (MF43) (1797); 6870 (K37) (19<sup>th</sup> c.); 6880 (MF76) (no date); 8060 (Ethé1941) (< 1811); 8515 (MinocherJamaspji10) (no date; Kadmi ms.).

<sup>22</sup>Yt 9 also in: 6185 (MF31) (late 18<sup>th</sup> c.); Katrak131 "old" (Katrak); 6870 (K37) (19<sup>th</sup> c.); 6880 (MF76) (no date).

<sup>23</sup>Yt 4 also in: 6855 (MF43) (1797); 6870 (K37) (19<sup>th</sup> c.); R25(6875) (no date); 6880 (MF76) (no date); 8060 (Ethé1941) (< 1811); 8515 (MinocherJamaspji10) (no date; Kadmi ms.).



12. NamSt (Pahl.)  
 10. CiBu
48. NamSt (Pāz.) (fol. 159 v 5)  
 49. CiBu (Pāz.) (foll. 161 r 4) (title: *ciθβəm. buiiat.*) (Antia 161)  
 50. AfrinZ (Av. + PazTr) (fol. 163 v 12), without Y 35.2  
 51. NamX (Pə ɲama xāβarə) (Pāz.) (foll. 167 r 14) (Antia 212)  
 52. SpAkanare (Pāz.) (fol. 170 v 1)  
 53. NemajAoi (Pāz.) (foll. 171 v 7) (= “Nmāj Dāḏārə Ohrmazd” [Antia 206])  
 54. PaNamDadarOhrmazd (Pāz.) (foll. 173 r 9) (= Be Nām-e Yazd [Antia 207ff.])
38. XšnumanDron (fol. 129 v 1–130 r 7)  
 39. HauruutatAməratat with yazamaide (fol. 130 r 8–130 v)
32. \*Drōn with S 1.6 (see the following text)  
 33. \*Drōn. The foll. 108 v – 109 r were not photographed; on fol. 109 v 1ff. we find S 2.6, Y 2.17 (*aiiana. ...., asniia. ...., māhiia. ...., yāiriia. ...., sarəda. ....*) + *vīspəmca* (see Y 16.1–2)  
 34. XšnumanWahram (FrW 5.1 + S 1.30 3x) (fol. 109 v 14)  
 35. XšnumanWahram (*fē yazemeyde*) (FrW 5.2 + S 2.30 3x) (fol. 109 v 14)
40. BajDronSeDanag (fol. 131 r 1–10)  
 41. DronHaftAmšasfand (Gen.) (fol. 131 r 11–132 v 7)  
 42. DronHaftAmšasfand (Acc.) (fol. 132 v 8–134 v 4)  
 43. DronDinManṣr (134 v 5–135 r 8)  
 44a+b. DronWedardegan (in gen. and acc.) (fol. 136 r 8–137 r 4)
36. DronHaftAmšasfand (in Gen.) (fol. 111 v 7)  
 37. DronHaftAmšasfand (*fē yazemeyde*, in Acc.) (fol. 111 v 7)  
 38. DronWedardegan = XšnumanDronBamCaharom (Gen.) (fol. 113 v 13)

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

YL2-17	MF29	MF3 (= MF45), part I	K36	MZK6
				39. DronWedardegan = XšnumanDronBamCaharom (fe yazemeyde, in Acc.) (fol. 114 r 6)
			45. XšnumanRam (Gen.) (fol. 137 r 5-15)	40. XšnumanRam (S 1.1+21) (title Darūn-e n'ywh?) (Gen.) (fol. 114 v 4)
			46. XšnumanRam (Acc.) (fol. 137 v 1-138 r 4)	41. XšnumanRam (S 2.1+21) (fe yazemeyde, in Acc.) (fol. 114 v 14)
			47. DronRap (Gen.) (fol. 138 r 5-138 r 9)	
			48. DronRap (Acc.) (fol. 138 r 10-138 v 4)	
			49. DronNN (Gen.) (foll. 138 v 5-139 v 4)	
			50. DronNN (Acc.) (foll. 139 v 5-140 v 13)	
			51. DronMizadGosfand (Gen.) (foll. 140 v 13-142 v 11)	
			52. DronMizadGosfand (Acc.) (foll. 142 v 12-145)	
			53. NerDronHamkaran (NP) (fol. 146 r 1-10)	
	23. DronHomIzad		54. DronHomIzad (Gen.) (fol. 146 r 11-14)	
			55. DronHomIzad (Acc.) (fol. 146 r 15-146 v)	
			56. S 1 (147-154 miss.; only S 1.29+30 on fol. 155 r)	
			57. S 2 (fol. 155 v 1-162 v 5)	
			58. NerBarsomC (NP, Av.) (foll. 162 v 7-163 v 13)	
			59. NerBarsomS <sup>~</sup> (NP, Av.) (foll. 163 v 13- 164 r 4)	
			60. NerHomC (NP) (fol. 164 r 5-10)	
			61. NerUrwaremC (NP, Av.) (fol. 164 r 10- 164 v 1)	
			62. NerĠamG (Av., NP) (foll. 164 v 2-165 r 10)	
			63. NerZohrGereftan (Av., NP) (Av., NP) (fol. 165 r 11-165 v 15)	

22. DronYtFar (Y 3–8) (foll. 62 v –76 v)  
23. Yt 13 (foll. 77 r – 116 r)  
24. StS (Pahl.) (foll. 116 v – 141 r 15)  
25. Col. (foll. 141 r 17–142)    30. Col. (fol. 88)
24. DronYtFar (Y 3–8)  
25. Yt 13
64. NerFarahomG (165 v 16–167 r 10)  
65. Nerang\* (title lost), begins with: *naxost rīg*  
*ŷe pād̄yāw kardan* (NP) (fol. 167 r 12–167 v 4)
85. DronYtFar, introduction (Pāz.) (foll. 215 r 5)  
86. Yt 13 (fol. 215 v 13)  
87. StS (Pāz.) (foll. 179 r 5–255 v 12) (Antia pp. 243–272)  
88. Col. Pahl. + Np. (foll. 255 v 13–256 r)  
89. PaywandRayenidarih (Pāz.), cf. Antia’s *Nekāh az Raweš-e Īrān* (foll. 256 v 1)  
90. Yt 2.11–12;<sup>24</sup> cf. M66 *Ner Pestilence Herds* (? “Nērang against pestilence”) (foll. 4 r 11–5 r 11) (quotation Yt 2.11–12)
- 

<sup>24</sup>Yt 2 also in: IrXA 7305 (MF28) (1706; Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr); MF31 (Sāde + Faroxšī, late 18<sup>th</sup> c.).

Table 3. Sequence of text classes in the Iranian and Indian Xorde Avesta

Iranian	Intr. Prayers	Ny (1-3 + 5)	A (1, 3, 2; in the 19 <sup>th</sup> c. also A 4)	G (only Sāde 19 <sup>th</sup> century)	Yt (1, 3, 11, 11a; PahlXA: 1, 11a)	(rarely: A)	G (only Sāde)	Litanies (only Sāde)	<i>Dōn</i> (only Sāde) / some: <i>Faroxšī</i>
Indian	Intr. Prayers	Ny (mss. with translation: 1, 3, 5, some mss. add Ny 4; Sāde and later tradition: 1-5)	-	G (some mss., in particular the younger PahlXA)	Yt (1, 3, 11, 11a, 20, 21; older PahlXA: Yt 1, 11, 11a; SkrXA: Yt 1)	A (1, 3, AArdFr; partly A 2, 4 and others)	G (only some Sāde)	Litanies (only older Sāde); <i>Nērang</i> s, <i>Namaskars</i>	-

Table 4. General overview of contents of Iranian Xorde Avesta Sāde mss

Section		YL2-17	MF29	K36	MZK6	MF16; K38
I	Intr. prayers Ny 1-3 A and AfrinRap Ny 5 Yt 1, 3, 11, 11a G 1-5	•	•	•	•	
II	Sīrōze and litanies in the style of the Sīrōze			•	•	•
III	Mayā Yašt prayers (as NamSt, CiBu etc.) PaIr		• (• MF3)	•	•	•
IV	Drōn texts Faroxšī	•		•	•	•
V	Nērangs			•	•?	•

Table 5. Attestations of the Nām Stāyišn in Iranian Xorde Avesta mss

MF3 (Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr)	1700	Pahl.
MF28 (Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr)	1706	NP
MF16 (Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr)	1721	Pahl.
M50	1723	NP (Pārsī)
MF40.I	?	Pahl.
R18	1800	NP
Katrak139 (closely related to R18)	early 19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	NP (?)
W1	early 19 <sup>th</sup> c.	?

oldest Indian manuscripts) but that became lost in the later Indian Sāde tradition (since the 18<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>25</sup> Geldner’s order is in accordance with the order of the manuscripts, in particular with the Indian ones (see the position of the *Āfrīnagān*):

This general order is reflected in the Iranian Sāde manuscripts. As we can see in our table, the manuscripts of this group comprise five sections:

It is only section I that was a regular part of any Iranian manuscripts except in the Faroxšī ones. In reverse to XA manuscripts that consist of the Farziyāt plus one or more other liturgical section, the Faroxšī class integrates only texts from section II, III, V (most important are the mss. MF16<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Āsadīn Kākā’s PahlXA T12 from the year 1552 CE, the oldest XA ms. with an Iranian translation (older are only the SkrXA mss. K1 [= J9] and H2; the GujXA U63 is from 1555 CE), comprises the two well-known *Sīrōzes*. It seems that T12 was the source for the spread of these two texts in later Indian Pahlavi mss. (while the later Sanskrit and Gujarati mss. did not adopt the Sīrōze), see G. König, ‘Notizen zum Xorde Avesta VI: Das Avesta-Pahlavi Ms. T12 des Āsadīn Kākā betrachtet im Rahmen der historischen Veränderungen des Xorde Avesta’, forthcoming.

<sup>26</sup>The ms. 3080 (MF16) consists of two parts. Part I was written in 1090 Y by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr, the starting liturgy, a *Yasna with Nērang* (Geldner’s “Mfī”) (foll. 1–145; 18 ll.), is dedicated to the memory of Rostom’s son Bahrām. The following liturgies, among them a *Faroxšī*, comprise texts that belong to those sections of Iranian XA mss. that follow the Farziyāt section: 2. Yt 13 (foll. 146–173); 3. XšnumanXordadFr (fol. 173) (heading: Drōn Hordad Nōk-rōzē); 4. S (foll. 173–174; abbreviated) (heading: nk-gāh rōz rōz); 5. XšnumanGatha (foll. 174–175) (heading: nk-gāh panjag); 6. NamSt (Pahl.) (foll. 175–176); 7. StDen (Pahl.) (foll. 176–177); 8. StMahrāspand (Pahl.) (foll. 176–177); 9. StSroš (Pahl.) (foll. 176–177); 10. NamX (NP) (foll. 177–178); 11. CiBu (NP) (foll. 178–179); 12. XšnumanDronRap (Av.) (fol. 179, abbr.); 13. XšnumanDronDenMar (NP) (fol. 179); 14. DronHk (NP) (fol. 179); 15. NerDronSegane (Av.; ritual instructions in Pahl.) (foll. 179–180); 16. XšnumanDronBamCaharom (NP) (fol. 180); 17. DronMGosfand (NP) (fol.

and K38<sup>27</sup>). It is also section I that is constitutive for all classes of XA manuscripts with translation and for the Indian XA in general. If we leave aside the TXA manuscripts (this class is attested only in India) which can include in its later parts the *Xšnuman* liturgies, the Indian XA was restructured as follows:

- a) The *Drōn* and the *Faroxšt* became part of a separate manuscript transmission;
- b) from the *Sīrōze* litanies only the litany *Sīrōze Yašt* (known as *Sīrōze 1+2*) was adopted in some mss.;
- c) the *Mayā Yašt* appears in the formation “Niyāyišn 4” and became part of the text class “Niyāyišn”;
- d) although PaIr is not totally absent in Indian mss. (it is part of some *Sāde* mss.), Indian mss. include often three other *Patits*: PaAd, PaRo, PaXw. These *Patits* occur often together with the two *Āšīrvāds* (Pāzand and Sanskrit). The Indian mss. include many other smaller texts/liturgies (mostly Pāzand or Pāzand with Avestan quotations) that are unknown in Iran: *Āfīns*, *Nērangs* (charms), smaller prayers.

It is striking that MZK6 comprises all five sections. Thus, the impression arises that MZK6 is an attempt to create a comprehensive Iranian XA.

\*

A remarkable point in MZK6 is its extensive use of Pāzand (Avestan script used for non-Avestan texts). The probably oldest attestation of Pāzand in Iranian manuscripts is ms. T30, the original ms. of the so-called *Rewāyat* of Kāma Bohra (= Kāma Asa Khambayeti) from the year 896 Y (1527 CE). While its second part is written in New Persian, its first part, the first 99 folios, has a Pāzand notation. Pāzand was used in T30 because of its purpose; written by Šahriyār Erdašīr Eraj Rostom Eraj in conversation (*hamporsagī*) with Gīw,<sup>28</sup> it was sent to the Indian community. We have no indication that also MZK6 was written for the Parsis. Instances of the use of Pāzand in Iran in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century are extremely rare. One example is the StS on foll. 57 v – 110 r in the *Faroxšt* ms. ML1 5286<sup>29</sup> of Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr from the year 1716/1717

180); 18. *XšnumanDronHaftAmšasfand* (Av.) (fol. 181); 19. *XšnumanDronRah* (Av.) (fol. 181); 20. *DronYt* (= *Bāj Dhamu*) (Av., abbr., with ritual instructions in Pahl.) (foll. 181–183). Two colophons from the years 1185 and 1195 Y show that the ms. was enlarged by a second scribe, Behmard Dastūr Rustom Dastūr Ġāmāsp: 21. *Vr* (Av., abbr., with ritual instructions in Pahl.) (foll. 1–44; 21 ll.); 22. *S 2* (Av.; incomplete) (foll. 45–48); 23. *NerĠašnNouzudi* (“*Nērang-e Ġašn-e Nouzūdi/Nonābar and Darūn-e Nonābar*” = description of the ceremonial preparatory to the *Mīno-Nāvar Yasna*) (Av., NP) (foll. 49–54); 24. *DescriptionBaršnum* (with plan on the margin) (NP) (fol. 54, incomplete). On fol. 55 a fragment of V 2, written by another hand, is appended.

<sup>27</sup>3100 (K38) (= M3 in Westergaard), which is very close to Suppl.persan1191 (a ms. from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), was written about ten years after MZK6 (1814 [1183 Y]) in Yazd by Ebn Dastūr Hūšang Dastūr Mehrbāb ebn Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Nūšīrvān. As MZK6 it comprises Yt 14 and Yt 9, the *Faroxšt* and the typical *Xšnuman* litanies. It ends (as K36) with *Nērangs*: 1. Yt 14.1–53 (foll. 1–12); 2. Yt 9.0–3 (1 leaf); 3. *DronYt* (Y 4.2–8.9 [with the *Xšnuman* for the Frauuašis], including Y 26 + 67) (foll. 14–34); 4. Yt 13 (foll. 34–99); 5. S 1+2 (in one text) (foll. 100–103); 6. 12Months\_pad\_aiese\_yešti; 7. 12Months\_pad\_yazamaide (12 months on foll. 103–212); 8. 5Gaḏa\_pad\_aiese\_yešti (“*Pang Gāh*”) (foll. 105–106); 9. 5Gaḏa\_pad\_yazamaide (both 5Gaḏa texts on foll. 106 v 5 – 110 r 7); 10. G 1 (foll. 106–109); 11. *DronHaftAmšasfand* (foll. 110–114); 12. *NerAfzuniCarpayan* (foll. 114–115) (includes FrW 9); 13. *Nērang* against sick eyes (Y 32.15) (foll. 115 v); 14. *Nērang* against sickness of animals (Y 32.8–9) (foll. 116 r); 15. *Nērang* for good eyes (= Y 32.11) (fol. 116 v); 16. *NerSorxi* (fol. 117 r); 17. *NerNewClothes* (= FrW 1) (fol. 117 r); 18. *NerKawak* (= FrW 4) (foll. 117–118); 19. Col. (NP) (fol. 118 v).

<sup>28</sup>For this see B.N. Dhabhar, *Descriptive Catalogue of all manuscripts in the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Nawsari* (Bombay, 1923), pp. 118–120.

<sup>29</sup>On this ms. see Andrés–Toledo 2015, p. 33.

CE; another example can be found in Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr's MF<sub>3</sub>, in which the second half of AfrinRap (part I of the ms.) is in Pāzand, while the first half is in NP (StS [part II of the ms.] is given in Pahlavi in MF<sub>3</sub>). But in general, Iranian manuscripts produced for use in Iran prefer New Persian or Pahlavi, see, for instance, the Iranian XA transmission of the NamSt:

While the use of Pāzand is the common practice of the Parsis for adapting texts from Iran (Pāzand being the only alphabet both Zoroastrian communities were acquainted with) or to compose new liturgical texts, the liturgical use of Pāzand in Iran is a break with convention. It seems that it was provoked not by a practical, but by an aesthetic, consideration: that all texts of a liturgical manuscript should appear in *dēn dibīrīh*.<sup>30</sup>

\*

Among the non-Avestan texts included in MZK6, the NamSt is a text widely attested. The reason for the numerous attestations of the NamSt is its connection to the daily prayer obligations described in Dk 3.81 (ms. B from 1659), which chapter gives the text of the NamSt completely (B 59.10–60.12) (the liturgical frame, however, is missing). Unfortunately, neither MF<sub>3</sub> nor MF<sub>28</sub> or MF<sub>16</sub> are available by photo. However, MF<sub>3</sub> was used by Dhabhar (as “MF<sub>4</sub>”), so that we have at least its readings in the apparatus.<sup>31</sup> For the Iranian tradition of the NamSt our best attestations besides MZK6 are:

- a) the text of the NamSt given in Dk 3.81 (Ms. B)
- b) the Pāzand version in the Kāme Bohre Ms. (T<sub>30</sub>).

Among the manuscripts used by Dhabhar, the Iranian Pahlavi tradition is reflected also in 7183 (U<sub>1</sub>) and in 9170 (E = J58). Dhabhar's information on a ms. “MF<sub>3</sub>” is very short.<sup>32</sup> It is, in fact, the ms. 6295 (MF<sub>40</sub>)<sup>33</sup> which consists of three parts: I) NamSt (Pahl.); II) StS (Pahl.); III) (an incomplete) XA (upto Ny 1).

IndXA manuscripts include the NamSt more frequently than Iranian manuscripts. The oldest attestations of the text are the two Pāzand versions given at the beginning and end of 6550 (F<sub>1</sub>)<sup>34</sup> which are more or less identical with each other and close to the text given in Antia's *Pāzand Texts*.<sup>35</sup> Dhabhar used five later Indian manuscripts: 7125 (MR = T<sub>10</sub>) (1844 CE); 7180 (A = T<sub>11</sub>) (after 1844 CE); 7183–5 (U<sub>1</sub>–3) of unknown date. Two questions arise concerning the Pāzand version of the NamSt in MZK6:

- 1) Is the Pāzand used by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān different from the Pāzand used in Indian manuscripts?
- 2) What is the relation of the NamSt in MZK6 to the Iranian and Indian transmission in general?

<sup>30</sup>The expression *dēn-dibīrīh*, known from Arabic sources (see A. Tafāzzolī, ‘Dabīre, Dabīrī’, in *Encyclopedia Iranica* VI (1993), pp. 540–541), seems to be attested only once in Pahlavi sources, see ŠĒ 4: *pad dēn-dibīrīh pad taxtagīhā* <▷> *zanēn kand*, which seem to refer to cuneiform script.

<sup>31</sup>E. B. N. Dhabhar, *Zand-i Khūrnak Avistāk* (Bombay, 1927), pp. 288–290.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>33</sup>S. A. Brelvi and B. N. Dhabhar, *Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic, Hindustani, Persian and Turkish MSS and Descriptive Catalogue of the Avesta, Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian Mss. In the Mulla Firoz Library* (Bombay, 1917), p. 23 [No. 30], and B. N. Dhabhar, *Descriptive Catalogue of some manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism and pertaining to the different collections in the Mulla Feroze Library* (Bombay, 1923), pp. 32f.

<sup>34</sup>K. M. Jamaspa, *The Avesta Codex F<sub>1</sub> (Niyāyīshs and Yašt)* (Wiesbaden, 1991).

<sup>35</sup>E. K. Antia, *Pāzand Texts, Collected and Collated* (Mumbai, 1909).

Table 6. Text critical overview of the Nām Stāyišn in the Xorde Avesta mss

IrPahl (Dk 3, Ms. B; MF3 + MF4o)	IrPāz (T3o)	IndPahl	IndPāz (F1)	MZK6
§1 nām-stāyišn ī ōy xwadīh (hwtyh) xwadāy ī mahist dānāg dādār	nām. stāiiəšn. ō. xúδā. xúδāhist. dō.nā. dādāri.	nām-stāyišn ōy ohrmazd xwadāyīh xwadāy mahist ud tuwānāg <sup>36</sup> ud dānāg ud dādār	nām. šatāisni. ōi. hōrməzda. xadaš. xadai. mihəšt. u. dānā. u. dādār. (F1) / xadai. mihəsta. u. tauuānā. u. dānā. u. dādār. (Antia)	pə. nāma. stāiiəšn. aōi. x <sup>v</sup> aδā. x <sup>v</sup> aδāi. mihistu. dānāh. dādārə.
§2 kē āfrīd pad xwēš  ātaxš ud āb	kiš. āprīt. uš. dāt. pa. xīši.  ātaš. u. āβ.	kē āfrīd buland gēti  āb ud ātaxš	kēāfrīt. av. nət. u. pa. xəš. (cf. F1 b, Antia)  āβ. u. ātaš.	kiš. āfrīt. dāt. pə. xīša. (cf. T3o) ātaš. āβ.
§3 kīrrōgīh dād pad razmīg āyōzišn	kar. u. δāt. pa. razəm. yōzəšni. ōi.	kīrrōgīh dād pad razmīg āyōzišn	mādan. dāt. paraxm. aṅəzəsnī.	garaōii. δāt. pa. razm. yōzəšni.
§4 pahlom axwān yašt-frawahr frahangān frahang  - (MF3, MF4o hamāg-nēkih?)	pašum. axān. yašt. frauuahri. pahrəṅgān. u. pahrəṅg. māθar. spənt.	pahlom axwān ahlaw frawahr frahangān frahang mānsrspan <sup>37</sup>  hamā-nēkih.	pahulom. xānān. ašō. fravara. frahəṅgān. frahəṅg. māθra. spəntahe.  add: hma. nīiake.	pašām. axān. pə. frauuahri. frāṅgān. frāṅg māθraspənd. add: hma. nīiake.
§5 6 zōrān ī gyān kunišn gōwišn menišn ud wīr ud oš ud xrad	guuəšnu. mənəšn. vīru. huš. xarad	6 zōrān <sup>38</sup> ī gyān menišn fradom gōwišn dudīgar ud kunišn sidigar ay wīr cahārom ōš panjom ud xrad šašom.	šaš. zōr. nikunim./bakunəm. manašni. gavasni. kunasni. vīr. hōš. u. xīrt.	šəš. zaōrəṅan. kunəšnu. mənəšni. vīru. aōš. u. x <sup>v</sup> art.

<sup>36</sup>Only D. MR, A, U1 add on the margin.

<sup>37</sup>MF4o om.; MF3 (NP) m'srhsfnd (?).

<sup>38</sup>MR, U2, U3 zwl; D zwhl.



§6	weh-kunišnih pad cēh-widarg tuwān-sāmānihā	vah.-kunašn. - tuuān. sāmāhā.	weh-warzšnih. pad cēh-widarg {kū cinwad puhl} tuwānāgih be dād <sup>39</sup> (?) sāmān {kū xwāheš <I> tō kunam ud ān ēn tō}	bihi. varzasniš. pa. ciš. aṇdarg. tuānəm.	vah. kunašne. bi. cīnuuaṭ. pur. tubān. sumānihā.
§7	bōzēd wisp dām	bōjīt. vīspa. dāmān.	bōzēd {kū pēš tars} <sup>40</sup> wisp dām. <sup>41</sup>	burazīt. / varazaṭ. / barazīt. F1 vīspa. šatāi.	bōjīt. vīspa. dāmān. aṣāōān.

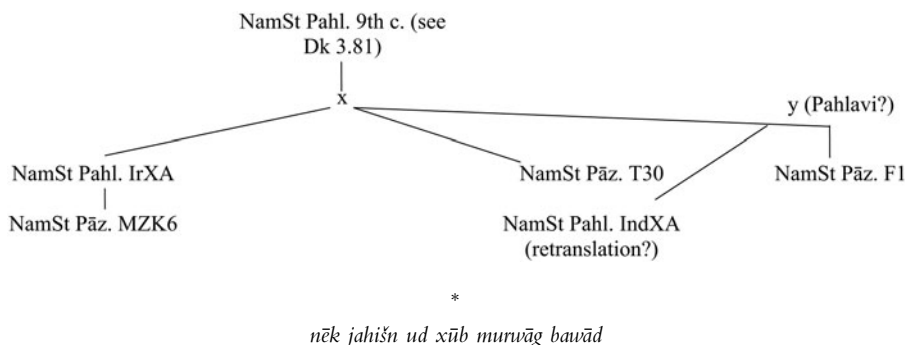
<sup>39</sup>YHBWN.

<sup>40</sup>Not MR, A, U<sub>2</sub>, U<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>41</sup>D om. *wisp dām*.

Regarding (1): Besides the fact, that the Pāzand used in Indian manuscripts is always difficult to read because of its numerous examples of wrong punctuation, its confusing vocalism, and the mis-readings of Pahlavi words, there are at least two particular conventions in the Indian Pāzand transcription of Pahlavi: Pahl. -yh → Pāz. -š and Pahl. u-š (APš) → Pāz. *azaš.* / *ajaš.* Both conventions are absent in the NamSt MZK6, and they are also absent in T30. In general, we can observe that the Pāzand in MZK6 (and in T30) shows far less orthographic unsteadiness than the Indian manuscripts. Regarding (2): The comparison of the NamSt text given in MZK6 with the Iranian and Indian transmission (Pahlavi and Pāzand) proves its affiliation to the Iranian branch. It is known that Dhabhar created a hybrid “Pahlavi Xorde Avesta”. He not only put together Pahlavi translations and texts that were never part of one and the same tradition, but his critical text is an arbitrary mixture of Iranian and Indian readings. As long as important Iranian manuscripts are hidden from our view, we have to work with the critical apparatus of Dhabhar’s edition and use it as a tool for restoring the Iranian text. When we do this, we see that the Pahlavi text of the NamSt transmitted in the IrXA agrees more or less completely with that of Dēnkard 3.81. Since we know that the Pāzand text of the NamSt in T30 was written in Iran, we can expect its closeness to that in ms. B or MF3. For the Indian side, we have, as mentioned above, the two Pāzand attestations of the NamSt in F1 from 1591 and the Pahlavi attestations (which are all late):

The comparison of the readings shows that the Indian tradition of the NamSt – F1, IndPahlXA, later Pāzand manuscripts—and the Iranian tradition, Dk 3, IrPahlXA, T30—form two branches of transmission. MZK6 clearly belongs to the Iranian branch. Because of the attestation of *māθraspənd.* in §4 in T30, an Indian contamination of MZK6 can be excluded.<sup>42</sup> If Dk 3.81 *frahangān frahang* should not be a mistake for original *\*frahangān frahang mahraspand\**, §4 points to a common text of the NamSt which is younger than that of Dk 3 and the common point of the Iranian and Indian Branch (“x”). Within the Iranian branch it seems likely that the text of MZK6 is a transcription of an Iranian Pahlavi version:



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<sup>42</sup>Whether an Indian contamination of MZK6 can be excluded in general is doubtful. In Yt 14.47 the text runs according to the Indian version without the initial phrase *pərəsaq. zaraθuštrō. ahurəm. mazdqm. ahura. mazda. maiiüiō. spəništa. dātarə. gaēθanəm. astuuaitinəm. ašāum.* The missing text of the Iranian version is given secundo manum in NP script on the margin.