

Helmut Humbach and Klaus Faiss

Zarathushtra and His Antagonists

A Sociolinguistic Study with English
and German Translations of His Gāthās

WIESBADEN 2010
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

Contents

Preface	IX
Select Literature	XI
Abbreviations	XV
A. The sociolinguistic background	1
1. Iranians and Aryans	1
2. Zarathushtra and the Avesta	2
3. Zarathushtra and Zoroaster	4
4. Mazdayasnians and Zarathushtrians	5
5. Zarathushtra the prophet	6
6. The Avesta	6
7. The Gāthās	9
8. Languages	10
9. Scripts	11
10. The Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās and its Sanskrit version	13
11. Yasna 29,7 with Pahlavi translation and its Sanskrit version	14
12. The role of Vedic Sanskrit	15
13. Notes on Pahlavi texts other than the Pahlavi translation	17
14. Contemporary Zoroastrians	19
15. The literary genre of the Gāthās	20
16. Historical and theological problems	22
17. The divine entities and Asha 'Truth/truth'	23
18. The Old Avestan divine entities and the Aməsha Spəntas	28
19. The Avestan calendar and the number of the Aməsha Spəntas	29
20. Aməsha Spəntas and Daēvas	31
21. Further notes on the Aməsha Spəntas and their opponents	32
22. The truthful and the deceitful	36
23. The two spirits	38
24. Haoma, the drug of the Zoroastrians	43
25. Haoma in the Hōm Yasht	44
26. Haoma the death-avertter	48
27. "Grass" and inflaming the Dūraosha	49

28. The drug an excretion?	53
29. Inflaming in the Hadhökht Nask	55
30. Haoma, omōmi, amōmis, and amōmon/amomum	56
31. Manaobago and soothsaying Haoma	57
32. Mozdooano	61
33. The Rabatak inscription	62
34. Kushan coins depicting Iranian deities in Greek garb	64
35. Kushan coins depicting Iranian deities	65
36. Oēsho	67
37. The ordeal, the fire, the molten metal, and the balance	70
Figures:	
Reverses of four Kushan coins with pictures of deities	
1. Ōoromozdo	27
2. Manao-bago	59
3. Mozdooano	63
4. Oēsho	69
B. The Old Avestan texts with English and German translations	73
Yasna 27,13-15. Introduction	73
Yasna 28-34. Ahunavaitī Gāthā	74
Yasna 35-41[42]. Yasna Haptanghāiti	104
Yasna 43-46. Ushtavaitī Gāthā	114
Yasna 47-50. Spəntāmainyush Gāthā	139
Yasna 51. Vohukshathrā Gāthā	152
Yasna 53. Vahishtëishti Gāthā	159
Yasna 54,1. Conclusion	162
C. Notes	164

Preface

Toward the end of my late studies, as a result of the war, in Munich (1946-1951), under the supervision of young Karl Hoffmann (1915-1996) I came into contact with the Gāthās of Zarathushtra ("Zarathustra/Zoroaster"), the core of the Old Iranian *Avesta*. Initially, Hoffmann based his grammatical analysis and interpretation of their content quite naturally on the scholarly tradition codified in Christian Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904) that still continues to have an influence today. However, he began to doubt their reliability more and more, and by 1950 it became clear to him that this tradition required a complete revision. A major role in this was played by the futility of his attempts to apply the results of his research on the morphology and syntax of the Vedic Sanskrit verb to Bartholomae's translations of the texts of the oldest record of the Old Iranian sister language. Hoffmann shied away, it is true, from the necessary revision of the academic tradition, but he did take a benevolent attitude to my decision to devote myself to this task. In this connection, apart from discovering innumerable linguistic and philological problems, I became increasingly interested in an appropriate appreciation of the Gāthās, not just as a document of religious, but also as one of intellectual and social history, an appreciation which presupposes the attempt to ascertain its formal characteristics as a work of an in part very traditional poetry.

With Part A of the present study, it is first intended to make the well-known difficult access to the Gāthās, as the earliest testimony of the Mazdayasnian Religion, easier, however, the main focus lies on what has previously been taken little into account. We take a look at the antagonists, spiritual and material, including also the rivals, of the prophet in his social environment, who were striving, just as he was, for the favor of Ahura Mazdā, and our special interest concerns the later development of Mazdaism in its eastern areas. In Part B we present the text in stanzas, together with revisions of the English translation in *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra* (1991) and of the German one in *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* (1959). Part C has been deliberately kept very concise.

In the long period of the development of this study, I at first just asked my colleague Klaus Faiss for help with the formal arrangement, but in the long term he was unable to resist the interest in the subject matter of the research and, in spite of his numerous other tasks, he made himself deeply familiar with the problems involved. His competent and selfless support ultimately also gave me the strength, despite my advanced age, to contribute my share to the conclusion of the work.

It is one of Hoffmann's numerous merits to have introduced a transliteration system of the Avesta alphabet that allows to correctly and unambiguously reproduce the details of the often varying spellings of the manuscripts. It would have been useful to replace several of his characters by more easily available ones, but we preferred to keep to the

typeface that has become customary in the past decades – with one exception: We have decided to render Avestan *ii* as <iy> or <y>, *uu* as <uv> or <v>, which seems to be more understandable also to the non-initiated than the pure transliteration. In the English translation pluralic *you* is expressed by <yōu>.

Spring 2010

Helmut Humbach

Our sincere thanks go to Dr. Susanne Ziegler, who, with tireless commitment, took care of the computer processing of the text versions that are characterized by numerous, but necessary changes. We thank the Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, for the publication of this book.

Spring 2010

Helmut Humbach
Klaus Faiss

Select Literature

- Andreas, F. C. and J. Wackernagel 1912. Die erste, zweite und fünfte Ghāthā des Zurathushtro (Josno 28, 29, 32). In: *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Phil.-Hist. Kl., 363-385; cf. also „Anmerkungen“ in 1931, 304-329
- Anquetil-Duperron, A.-H. 1771. *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre*. 3 Parts. Paris. Repr. 1984, London – Paris
- Arnaud-Lindet, M.-P. (ed.) 1990. *Orose. Histoires (contre les Païens)*. Part 1. Paris
- Bartholomae, Chr. 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg
- Davary, G. D. and H. Humbach 1974. *Eine weitere aramäoiranische Inschrift der Periode des Asoka aus Afghanistan*. Mainz
- Dēnkard see Madan, D. M., Molé, M.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. 1952. *The Hymns of Zarathustra*. Translated from the French by Mrs. M. Henning. London
- Encyclopedia Britannica Online* 2007
- FGrHist = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, see Jacoby, F.
- Frye, R. N. 1983. *The History of Ancient Iran*. München
- Geldner, K. F. (ed.) 1886, 1889, 1896. *Avesta. The Sacred Books of the Parsis*. 3 Parts. Stuttgart
- Gershevitch, I. 1996. A Helping Hand from Central Asia. In: *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*. Ed. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127, 49-60. Roma
- Göbl, R. 1984. *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*. Wien
- Great Soviet Encyclopedia* 1973 ff. New York – London
- Grenet, F. 1984. Notes sur le panthéon iranien des Kouchans. In: *Studia Iranica* 13, 253-262
- 2005. An Archaeologist's Approach to Avestan Geography. In: Curtis, V. S. and S. Stewart (eds.). *Birth of the Persian Empire*, 29-51. London – New York
- Henning, W. B. 1944. The Murder of the Magi. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 133-144
- 1951. *Zoroaster. Politician or Witch-doctor?* London
- 1971. *A Fragment of a Khwarezmian Dictionary*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie. London
- Hintze, A. 2007. *A Zoroastrian Liturgy. The Worship in Seven Chapters (Yasna 35-41)*. *Iranica* 12. Wiesbaden
- Hoffmann, K. 1967. *Der Injunktiv im Veda. Eine synchronische Funktionsuntersuchung*. Heidelberg
- 1975, 1976, 1992. *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*. 3 Parts. Wiesbaden [= id., *Aufsätze* 1-3]
- 1979. Das Avesta in der Persis. In: Harmatta, J. (ed.). *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, 89-93. Budapest [= id., *Aufsätze* 3, 736-740]
- 1986. Avestisch §. In: Schmitt, R. and P. O. Skjærvø (eds.). *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*. Beiheft 13,

- 163-183. München [= id., *Aufsätze* 3, 837-857]
- Hoffmann, K. and J. Narten 1989. *Der Sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen*. Wiesbaden
- Humbach, H. 1957. Review: J. Wackernagel. *Altindische Grammatik*. II.2. In: *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 78, 298-301
- 1959. *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*. 2 Parts. Heidelberg
- 1966-67. *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*. 2 Parts. Wiesbaden
- 1969. *Die aramäische Inschrift von Taxila*. Mainz
- 1974. Methodologische Variationen zur arischen Religionsgeschichte. In: Mayrhofer, M. et al. (eds.). *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert*, 193-200. Innsbruck
- 1975. Vayu, Śiva und der Spiritus Vivens im ostiranischen Synkretismus. In: Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (ed.). *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*. 1, 397-408. Téhéran – Liège
- 1976. The Aramaic Aśoka Inscription from Taxila. In: *German Scholars on India. Contributions to Indian Studies*. Ed. The Cultural Department of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. 2, 118-130. New Delhi – Bombay
- 1981. Die aramäischen Nymphen von Xanthos. In: *Die Sprache* 27, 30-32
- 1991. *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*. In collaboration with J. Elfenbein and P. O. Skjærvø. 2 Parts. Heidelberg
- 1994. The Tochi Inscriptions. In: Söhnen-Thieme, R. and O. von Hinüber (eds.). *Festschrift für Georg Buddruss. Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 19, 137-156. Reinbek
- 2002. Gāthās. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol. X, Fasc. 3, 320-327. Costa Mesa
- 2003. The Great Surkh Kotal Inscription. In: Cereti, C. G. et al. (eds.). *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli*, 157-166. Wiesbaden
- 2004. Yima/Jamšēd. In: Cereti, C. G. et al. (eds.). *Varia Iranica*, 45-58. Roma
- 2007. The Indian God of Wine, the Iranian Indra, and the Seventh Aməša Spənta. In: Macuch, M. et al. (eds.). *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume. Iranica* 13, 135-142. Wiesbaden
- Humbach, H. and P. Ichaporia 1998. *Zamyād Yasht. Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta*. Wiesbaden
- Humbach, H. and P. O. Skjærvø 1978, 1980, 1983. *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*. 3 Parts. Wiesbaden
- Humbach, H. et al. (= and S. Ziegler in collaboration with K. Faiss) 2002. *Ptolemy. Geography. Book 6. Middle East, Central and North Asia, China*. Part 2. Wiesbaden
- Insler, S. 1975. *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*. Leiden
- Jackson, A. V. 1898. *Zoroaster. The Prophet of Ancient Iran*. New York. Repr. 1965
- Jacoby, F. (ed.) 1923 ff. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (= FGrHist). Berlin. Repr. 1957 ff., Leiden etc.
- Justi, F. 1868. *Der Bundehesh. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt und mit*

- Glossar versehen*. 2 Parts. Leipzig. Repr. 1976, Hildesheim – New York
- Kattunen, K. 1997. *India and the Hellenistic World*. Helsinki
- Kellens, J. 1974. *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta*. Wiesbaden
- 1984. *Le verbe avestique*. Wiesbaden
- 1991. *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien*. Paris
- 1995. *Liste du verbe avestique*. Wiesbaden
- 2000. *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism*. Translated and edited by P. O. Skjaervo. Costa Mesa
- Kellens, J. and E. Pirart 1988, 1990, 1991. *Les textes vieil-avestiques*. 3 Parts. Wiesbaden
- Kent, R. G. 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. 2nd ed. New Haven Conn.
- König, G. 2005. Zur Figur des "Wahrhaftigen Menschen" (*mard ī ahlaw*) in der zoroastrischen Literatur. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 155, 161-188
- Kotwal, F. M. and J. W. Boyd 1991. *A Persian Offering. The Yasna: A Zoroastrian High Liturgy*. Paris
- Lazard, G., Grenet, F., Lambertière, Ch. de 1984. Notes Bactriennes. In: *Studia Iranica* 13, 199-232
- Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford. With a Supplement 1968. Repr. (9th edition) 1968
- MacGregor, C. M. 1879. *Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorassan and on the SW frontier of North Afghanistan in 1875*. London
- MacKenzie, D. N. 1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London etc. Repr. 1986
- Madan, D. M. 1911. *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*. 2 Parts. Bombay
- Mayrhofer, Manfred 1992, 1996. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (= EWAI) 1-2. Heidelberg
- 2006. *Einiges zu den Skythen, ihrer Sprache, ihrem Nachleben*. Wien
- Modi, J. J. 1922. *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*. Bombay
- Molé, M. 1993. *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes Pehlevi*. Paris
- Narten, J. 1986. *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*. Wiesbaden
- Nöldeke, Th. 1879. *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden: aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*. Leyden. Repr. 1973, Graz
- Nyberg, H. S. 1938. *Die Religionen des alten Iran*. Deutsch von H. H. Schaefer. Leipzig. Repr. 1966, Osnabrück
- Rackham, H. (ed.) 1945. *Pliny. Natural History, with an English translation*. Vol. IV. London – Cambridge Mass. Repr. 1968
- Rosenfield, J. M. 1967. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley – Los Angeles
- Schlerath, B. 1968. *Avesta-Wörterbuch. Vorarbeiten*. 2. Wiesbaden
- Schmitt, R. (ed.) 1989. *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Wiesbaden
- 1991. *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian Text*. London

- Sims-Williams, N. 1997. A Bactrian God. In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 60, 336-338
- 2000. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan. 1. Legal and Economic Documents*. Oxford
- (ed.) 2002. *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*. London
- Sims-Williams, N. and J. Cribb 1996. A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great. In: *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, 75-142
- Tanabe, K. 1990. The Kushan Representation of Anemos/Oado and its Relevance to the Central Asian and Far Eastern Wind Gods. In: *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 1, 51-80
- Tremblay, X. 2006. Le pseudo-gāthique. In: *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea*. 1, 233-281. Milano
- Wackernagel, J. 1954. *Altindische Grammatik*. II,2 von A. Debrunner. Göttingen
- Walser, G. 1966. *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Historische Studien über den sogenannten Tributzug an der Apadanatreppe*. Berlin
- Zaehner, R. C. 1955. *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma*. Oxford

Abbreviations

A.	Āfrīnagān(s)	impv.	imperative
abl.	ablative	ind.	indicative
acc.	accusative	inf.	infinitive
act.	active	inj.	injunctive
adj.	adjective	instr.	instrumental
adv.	adverb	Ir.	Iranian
Aog.	Aogəmadaēcā	Khot.	Khotanese
aor.	aorist	Khwar.	Khwarezmian
AV.	Atharvaveda	Lat.	Latin
Av.	Avestan	lit.	literally
Az.	Āfrīn-ī Zartuxsht	loc.	locative
Bactr.	Bactrian	m./masc.	masculine
Bdh.	Bundahishn	Man.	Manichean
dat.	dative	med.	medium
dem.	demonstrative	MIr.	Middle Iranian
Dk.	Dēnkard	ModE.	Modern English
du.	dual	MP.	Middle Persian
E.	Ērbedestān/Hērbedestān	ms./mss.	manuscript(s)
ed., edd., eds.	editor, edited, editors	N.	Nērangestān/Nīrangestān
Engl.	English	n.	note
EWAI	Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen. See Mayrhofer, M.	n./ntr.	neuter
F.	Frahang-ī Oīm	no.	number
f./fem.	feminine	nom.	nominative
FGrHist	Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. See Jacoby, F.	NP.	New Persian
FrW.	Fragment Westergaard	Ny.	Nyāyish(s)
fut.	future	OAv.	Old Avestan
G	Gāh(s)	OBactr.	Old Bactrian
gen.	genitive	obj.	object
Germ.	German	OEngl.	Old English
Goth.	Gothic	OIr.	Old Iranian
Gr.	Greek	OP.	Old Persian
H.	Hadhōkht Nask	opt.	optative
		P.	Pursishnīhā
		pass.	passive
		perf.	perfect

pers.	personal	subj.	subjunctive
Phl.	Pahlavi	s.v.	sub voce
PhIT.	Pahlavi translation	trsl.	translated
pl./plur.	plural	var.	variant
pres.	present	VD.	Vizīrkard ī Dēnīg
pron.	pronoun	Ved.Skt.	Vedic Sanskrit
ptcl.	particle	Vid.	Vidēvdād
ptcpl.	participle	Visp.	Vispered
Pth.	Parthian	v.l.	varia lectio
Russ.	Russian	VN.	Vaethā Nask
RV.	Rigveda	voc.	vocative
S.	Sīrōza(s)	Vyt.	Vishtāsp Yasht
sg./sing.	singular	wr.	written
ŠGV	Shkand Gumānīg Vizār	Y.	Yasna
SK	Surkh Kotal	YAv.	Young Avestan
Skt.	Sanskrit	YH.	Yasna Haptanghāiti
SktV.	Sanskrit version of the PhIT.	Yt.	Yasht(s)
Sogd.	Sogdian	Zsp.	Zādspram

A. The sociolinguistic background

1. Iranians and Aryans

1.1. Spitama Zarathushtra (*zaraθuštra-*) is regarded by his adherents and by most scholars as the prophet of the Mazdayasnian Religion (*daēnā māzdayasniš*), the national religion of pre-Islamic Iran. Historical Iran was not confined to the Islamic Republic of Iran of our time, but it extended far beyond its boundaries, particularly including wide Central Asiatic regions still today speaking Iranian dialects or languages, in particular modern Afghanistan and Tadzhikistan, but also Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan whose national languages nowadays are Turkish idioms.

1.2. Etymologically, Iran (*īrān* < **aryānām*) means '(land) of the Aryans.' Yet in scholarly use the term Aryan, which also occurs in Sanskrit, is synonymous with the term Indo-Iranian, denoting one main branch of the Indo-European peoples and languages. The reconstructed pre-form of the Iranian languages is called Proto-Iranian, that of the Aryan, or Indo-Iranian ones, Proto-Aryan. The term Indo-Aryan denotes the Indian languages of Aryan and, further back, of Indo-European origin, as contrasted with others among which the Dravidian languages spoken in the south of the Indian subcontinent are outstanding.

1.3. In two of his Old Persian inscriptions found in Persepolis, Darius the Great (ruled 522-486 B.C.) presents himself as an 'Aryan of Aryan lineage' (*ariya ariyaciça*),¹ and in the great Behistun/Bisutun inscription, the most famous of the epigraphical documents left behind by him, he also speaks of his own language calling it 'Aryan.'² The Younger Avesta mentions 'the Aryan and the non-Aryan lands/peoples,'³ specifying them in the series *airya-* 'Aryan,' *tūirya-* 'Turanian,' *sairima-* 'Sarmatian,' *sāini-* 'Sainyan,' *dāhi-* 'Dahyan.'⁴ It is, though, doubtful to which extent this ethnographical tradition would be followed by scholars of our time who are inclined to classify at least part of the non-Aryans mentioned there as speakers of what we call Iranian languages.⁵ Especially problematic is the attribution of the Turanians, who count as opponents of the Aryans/Iranians in the heroic tradition from the Young Avestan period onward, but who are given there typically Iranian names. In this connection attention is also drawn to Zarathushtra's mention of the 'praiseworthy relatives and descendants of Tūra son of Friya' in Y. 46,12 which apparently refers to the tribe of Kavi/Prince Vishtāspa, his sponsor, rather than to any other people. The term Aryan is neither found in Zarathushtra's Gāthās nor in the other Old Avestan texts.⁶

¹ Darius DNa 14-15, DSe 13-14, followed by Xerxes XPh 13, see R. G. Kent 1953, 137 f., 141 f., 151.

² Darius DB 4,89, see Kent 1953, 130 ff., much more detailed R. Schmitt 1991, 71.

³ E.g., Yt. 19,56 *airyanam daxyunam* vs. Yt. 19,68 *anairyā daijhuš*, Yt. 18,2 *anairyā daijhwō*.

⁴ Yt. 13,143-144 *airyanam daxyunam*, *tūiryanam daxyunam*, *sairimananam daxyunam*, *sāininam daxyunam*, *dāhinam daxyunam*.

⁵ See R. N. Frye 1983, 59.

⁶ Y. 46,12 *naptiyaēšū nafšucā tūrahya ... friyānahyā aojiyaēšū*.

2. Zarathushtra and the Avesta

2.1. The Old Avestan texts, which form the core of the Yasna, the great ritual of the Avesta, are the most ancient and, at the same time, most holy documents of the Mazdayasnian Religion. According to the later legendary tradition laid down in the Younger Avesta and the religious literature in Pahlavi, the ecclesiastic variant of Middle Persian of the Sasanian period, it was Zarathushtra in person who dethroned the Daēvas (*daēva-*), the old gods inherited by the Iranians from the prehistoric Proto-Aryan, or Indo-Iranian, period, by declaring them to be devils.⁷ Inspired by a series of revelations, he instead would have proclaimed the worship of God under the name Ahura Mazdā 'the Wise Lord,' thus taking the historical step from archaic superstitions toward a spiritualism of high intellectual and ethical level, a step which was taken on the Indian side into quite another direction.

2.2. Neither Zarathushtra's time nor the place of his origin nor the geographical frame of his religious activities are familiar to us. The native tradition puts him in the year 9000 of a world-year of 12000 years, a religious chronology from which the fabulous theories of some Greek and Latin authors are derived and which betrays its Babylonian background. The statements of two historians of quite diverging historical periods, Xanthus the Lydian, who wrote in Greek (toward mid-5th cent. B.C.), and Biruni, the famous Arabian scholar (died about 1050 C.E.), must be taken more seriously, but they differ enormously. Whereas Xanthus, a specialist in matters of the Magians, the priest caste of the Northwest Iranian Medians, placed Zarathushtra in 600 years before Xerxes' expedition against Greece (destruction of the acropolis of Athens 480 B.C.),⁸ Biruni counted with 258 years before Alexander the Great (destruction of Persepolis 330 B.C.), apparently putting the prophet's birth in 300 before Alexander, hence hypercorrectly deducing the legendary 42 years of age of the prophet at his reception by his future sponsor Vishtāspa. The archaic character of the language of Zarathushtra's poetry and a certain parallelity between the general state of development of thought in the Gāthās and in the latest texts of the Indian Rigveda (RV.)⁹ seem to justify Xanthus, but one cannot exclude the possibility that the language of the Gāthās and their style were no more a living phenomenon at the prophet's time but rather a dead religious idiom comparable to medieval Latin.

2.3. About the geographical frame we cannot say much more than that Zarathushtra must have spread his religious ideas in a region where camels were bred (3.3). The Avestan tradition, especially the geographical fragments in Yt. 19,1-8 and Vid. 1,1-20 of the Younger Avesta (H. Humbach and P. Ichaporia 1998, 63-80), points to the

⁷ Av. *daēva-*, OP. *daiva-* 'devil' from Proto-Aryan **daiva-* 'god,' as preserved in Ved.Skt. *devā-* 'god,' which is of Indo-European origin, cf. Lat. *deus* 'god,' *divus* 'divine.'

⁸ Xanthos FGHist 765, F 92. See the detailed study of the subject in H. Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 1, 24-30, where the Greek figure χ of the Istanbul manuscript was correctly read as '600,' but erroneously transcribed into Gr. *hexēkonta* (which would mean '60' instead of correct *hexakosia* '600'). This was without further consequence for the discussion of the date but gave rise to misleading criticism.

⁹ The 10th (and last) Book of the Rigveda was tentatively put by K. Hoffmann (p.c.) in the 10th/9th centuries B.C.

northeastern and eastern regions of historical Iran.¹⁰ Compared to this, very weak is our information about the tradition of the Median Magians who, hardly anybody doubts, were Mazdayasnians as well, though it is not clear whether they adhered to the variant of Mazdaism taught by Zarathushtra. As a matter of fact, it seems that one part of the Magians was completely eliminated at the 'slaughter of the Magi' (Gr. *magophonia*) directed by Darius at the suppression of the revolt of the Magian Gaumāta (Gr. Pseudo-Smerdis) in 522 B.C., whereas the surviving rest was forced into conformity with the eastern tradition.¹¹

2.4. The legendary biography of Zarathushtra as described in the Pahlavi encyclopedia Dēnkard (Dk.) and in several minor Pahlavi texts is hardly of any independent biographical value, but simplified versions of it are most popular among the Parsis, the Indian Zoroastrians, and play a notable role in the picture they are drawing of their

¹⁰ See also the discussion of the geographical information transmitted in the Younger Avesta in Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 1, 30-49. Ibid. 40-44 attention was drawn to the name of the village of Mozdūrān, situated close to the mountain pass from which the much frequented highway from Mashad to Sarakhs opens into the Turkmenian plain, cf. Mount Masdōranon in Ptolemy, Geography 6,5,1 (c. 150 C.E.) (see H. Humbach et al. 2002, 26, 67) and to the name of Baghbaghū on the lower Kashaf-Rūd not far from its mouth into the Tedzhen, described as a lost place by the British traveler C. M. MacGregor 1879. Mozdūrān and Baghbaghū both are religious names of pre-Islamic origin, which survived Islamization simply because their original meaning had been lost early. Mozdūrān < *mazdōrān* < *mazdāhurāna-* < *mazdā-ahura-āna-* is derived, by means of the very common suffix *-ān* < *-āna-*, from the Median or Old Persian equivalent of the name of Ahura Mazdā, which here appears in the inverted sequence of the two members otherwise known from the Old Avestan texts. Baghbaghū (Baybayū) < *bay-bayān* < *baga-bagānām* 'Lord of Lords' is a name of Ahura Mazdā as well, cf. OP. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* 'King of Kings,' as the Old Persian Great Kings styled themselves on their inscriptions, following the Semitic word order (in contrast with which the Sasanian Great Kings have the natural Iranian order *šāhān šāh* which is also reflected in YAv. *daēvanam daēvō* 'Daēva of Daēvas'). Whereas Mozdūrān shows the standard Middle and New Iranian form of the final *-ān*, this, in the case of Baghbaghū, developed into the *-ū* of the dialect of the region, a development which is not at all surprising in view of the isolated situation of the place. In 1991 loc. cit. we connected the etymological analysis of the two place names, each of which is of high historical relevance, with the problem of Zarathushtra's homeland, but they rather mark the northeastern boundary of Cyrus the Great's (ruled 559-530 B.C.) empire. Mozdūrān may be the place from which the Great King started his expedition against the Massagetes in which he was killed in battle.

¹¹ See K. Hoffmann, Aufsätze 3, 1992, 736-744. In Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 1, 45 we followed Hoffmann suggesting that the dispute between eastern and western tradition is mirrored in some enigmatic way by the diverging judgment on the famous Median city of Raghā (OP. *ragā-*, YAv. *rayā-/raji-*, Gr. Rhagai), modern Rey to the south of Tehran, which was an important religious center, as manifest in two Young Avestan passages: In Y. 19,18 Raghā is given the epithet 'Zarathushtrian' (*rayā zaraθuštrīš*) and described as the seat of the highest Zarathushtrian authority (*zaraθuštrō.tama-*) to whose judgment the worldly rulers are subject, but Vid. 1,15 speaks of 'Raghā of three districts' (*rayā 9ri.zaptuš*) notable for (the influence of) Angra Mainyu/Ahremen and extraordinary disbelief. Yet, the identity of the two is doubtful, and the equation with Rey is doubted at all by F. Grenet 2005, 36-38, who locates Raghā in the (much less prominent) region of Rāgh in Badakhshan. A discussion of the difference in quantity of the stem vowels would have been useful; the Badakhshanian Rāgh may originally have been an appellative noun, cf. Sogd. *rʾγ* 'plain, desert.'

prophet and his religion; in Mumbai one may even come across a popular version arranged in the style of comics and meant for teaching children.¹²

2.5. Notwithstanding this lack of substantial and detailed information, Zarathushtra is the best-known figure of the early history of the Iranians, since all these handicaps are outweighed by the preservation of his religious songs, the Old Avestan Gāthās (*gāθā-*). Their redaction in the early Sasanian period is apparently based upon exclusively oral tradition, and it is this tradition owing to which Zarathushtra has survived as a man of flesh and blood until our time, unimpaired by the parallel development of the religious literature, which made of Zarathushtra a legendary figure as early as in the Young Avestan period.¹³

2.6. Yet, even the Young Avestan tradition sometimes provides us with information that carries on a reliable older tradition, completing to a certain extent the information about Zarathushtra we can obtain from his Gāthās. Thus the prophet calls himself a Zaotar (*zaotar-*) in Gāthic Y. 33,6, from which scholars usually conclude that he thereby denotes his vocation. However, from Young Avestan Visp. 3,7 we learn that the term in question denotes that member of the priest class of a community, the Āthravans (*āθravan-*), who is appointed by some unnamed authority to act as officiating priest assisted by six sub-priests at a given ceremony. The number of six may be due to post-Zarathushtrian development, but the conclusion is inevitable that Zarathushtra was an Āthravan who composed Gāthās to be recited in the ritual carried out by himself.¹⁴

2.7. The inflexion of YAv. *āθravan-* 'priest' with its strange alternation between this strong stem and the weak stem *aθaurun-* is unparalleled and obscure, but at least the formal agreement of the weak stem with Ved.Skt. *ātharvan-* 'a priest who has to do with fire and soma' is undeniable and points to *āθravan-/aθaurun-* being the East Iranian pendant of the Median term *magu-* 'Magian.'

3. Zarathushtra and Zoroaster

3.1. Following the Latin form *Zoroaster* of his name, Zarathushtra is also called Zoroaster in English, and similarly in other modern languages; his adherents are named Zoroastrians, his religion Zoroastrianism or Zoroastrism. In contrast with this, when speaking of the prophet we prefer to use the uncorrupted and historically correct form of his name. As for the religion preached by him we follow H. S. Nyberg 1938/1966, using the term 'Zarathushtrism' for its original form, but the term 'Zoroastrianism' for its later development, emphasizing the necessity of not persisting in a static view but of taking the historical development of the religion into consideration.

¹² For the Greek and Roman sources see A. V. Jackson 1898/1965; the Pahlavi texts dealing with the Zarathushtra legend are collected and translated by M. Molé 1993.

¹³ The Pahlavi sources on the history of the Avesta are presented in chronological order in Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 1, 49-55.

¹⁴ The true meaning of Av. *zaotar-* is preserved in Phl. *zōt*, the designation of the officiating priest of the Zoroastrian ritual of our time in which the number of the six sub-priests has been reduced to one, the *rāspīg*.

3.2. Lat. *Zoroaster* is borrowed from Gr. *Zōroastrēs*, which would mean 'to whom the stars are pure/clear,' a forced and fanciful etymological distortion of the true name of Zarathushtra by Greek philosophers.¹⁵ They considered the ancient sage an astronomer and astrologer, which may be due to the fact that they attributed to him the creation of the Mazdayasnian calendar of the Younger Avesta (19.1).

3.3. Actually, Zarathushtra's name is a compound with Av. *uštra-* 'camel' as its second member, approximately of the meaning 'possessing spirited camels.'¹⁶ It is of a similar type as the name of his main sponsor Kavi/Prince Vishtāspa, which is a compound with *aspa-* 'horse,' meaning 'of released horses' (*vīštāspa-* < *višta-aspa-*), both names pertaining to racing. The predilection for proper names in *uštra-* and *aspa-* as well as the numerous Gāthic references to the cow, which partly has a material, partly a mystic notion, points to a society in which breeding camels, horses, cattle, and sheep was the main factor of subsistence.¹⁷ The exchange of goods was performed in this society by bartering, as is most manifest in Y. 44,18 and 46,19 where the sacrificial fee demanded by Zarathushtra is indicated in head of animals.

4. Mazdayasnians and Zarathushtrians

4.1. Apart from the general expression *ašavan-* 'truthful' (22) no specific designation of Zarathushtra's adherents is found in the Gāthās. In the Younger Avesta they call themselves Mazdayasnians (*mazdayasna*), i.e., 'worshippers of (Ahura) Mazdā.' More explicit is *mazdayasna zaraθuštayō* which originally must have meant 'Mazdayasnians of Zarathushtrian observance' with 'Zarathushtrian' denoting a differentia specifica of the genus proximum 'Mazdayasnian,' a differentiation which was blurred further on, 'Zarathushtrian' being reinterpreted as a tautology of 'Mazdayasnian.' The phrase is elaborated in Y. 12,1, the commencement of the 'Profession of Faith' transmitted in archaized Young Avestan dialect (6.5), where the believer says of himself *fravarānē mazdayasnō zaraθuštřiš vīdāēvō ahura.tkaēšō* 'I wish to profess to be a Mazdayasnian of Zarathushtrian observance, opponent of the Daēvas/devils, (and) following the doctrine of the Ahura/Lord.'

4.2. In reference to the beliefs, practices, and social rules of the Mazdayasnians one speaks of 'Mazdayasnism,' a convenient modern simplification of which is 'Mazdaism.' The name of the Mazdayasnian Religion (*daēna māzdayasniš*), which is not attested before the Younger Avesta, is sometimes extended to 'the Good Mazdayasnian Religion' (*vañuhī daēna māzdayasniš*) or 'the Mazdayasnian Religion devoted to the

¹⁵ In its only occurrence listed in H. G. Liddell and R. Scott's Greek-English Lexicon 1940/1968, *zōros* 'pure, clear' is said of unmixed wine but neither of celestial bodies nor of animals.

¹⁶ The formation of *zaraθ-uštra-* is of the same type as that of *haēcaṭ.aspa-*, name of a sub-group of Zarathushtra's relatives mentioned in Y. 46,15 *haēcaṭ.aspā ... spitamāñhō* and Y. 53,3 *pourucistā haēcaṭ.aspānā*. The spelling *zaraθušttra-* instead of expected **zaraṭ.ušttra-* is of orthographic rather than phonetic nature. For the sandhi *θ : ṭ* cf. *ciθiṭ* for *ciṭ iṭ* in Y. 29,4.

¹⁷ See the descending climax *uštra-* 'camel,' *aspa-* 'horse,' *gav-* 'head of cattle, cow,' *pasu-* 'sheep' in Young Avestan Vid. 9,37-38.

Ahura/Lord and following the Zarathushtrian observance' (*daēnā māzdayasniš ahūiriš zaraθuštriš*).¹⁸

5. Zarathushtra the prophet

5.1. The picture of Zarathushtra's decisive role in the religious history as drawn by his earlier legendary biography is summarized in Young Avestan Yt. 13,89 *zaraθuštrō ... yō paōiryō stōiš astvaīθyā staoī ašəm nāist daēvō fraorənata mazdayasnō zaraθuštriš vīdaēvō ahura.ṭkaēšō* 'Zarathushtra who was the first in the osseous/material world who praised truth, abused/rejected the Daēvas/devils, and professed to be a Mazdayasnian of Zarathushtrian observance ...'. This somewhat illogical picture could be understood as reproducing the content of the three Gāthā stanzas Y. 32,3-5, attributing to them an autobiographical character. In these three stanzas, however, Zarathushtra mockingly addresses the Daēvas/devils altogether (32,3 *daēvā vīspāñhō*) with a derogatory parody of a hymn similar to a Vedic hymn to all Devas/gods (*vīśve devāḥ*). They reflect the typical situation of the Mazdayasnian priest at any Mazdayasnian offering: It is his ritual duty to prevent the Daēvas/devils loitering around the sacrifice from getting hold of the sacrificial meal which is prepared for Ahura Mazdā.

5.2. From our point of view, which is admittedly that of outsiders, Zarathushtra was not necessarily the very founder of the Mazdayasnian Religion (cf. 2.3), but he certainly was its most successful propagator. As a matter of fact, the rise of Mazdaism may have been the result of a development of new religious ideas in parts of the Iranian priesthood some of the roots of which can be traced back to the Proto-Aryan period. Yet, of this development Zarathushtra is the only witness whose name and work have come down to us. This would not have been possible without the support offered him by his sponsor Kavi/Prince Vishtāspa, who helped him crown an apparently general trend toward spiritualism developed in certain lines of tradition of the contemporary Iranian priesthood.

6. The Avesta

6.1. The main source of the religion preached by Zarathushtra and of its early development is the Avesta, the Sacred Book of the Zoroastrians. This collection of texts, which must still have been complete in medieval times, has come down to us only fragmentarily, the priestly tradition apparently attaching real significance but to the ritual texts. All our manuscripts are descended from a lost manuscript, or from a bundle of such, of the 9th century (called subarchetype or hyparchetype) the archetype of which was the official manuscript of the Sasanian redaction of the Avesta.¹⁹ The famous

¹⁸ Whereas the names of the Sasanian Great Kings are provided on their inscriptions with the attribute 'Mazdayasnian' (MP. *mazdēsñ*), this does not appear on the inscriptions of their early predecessors, the Achaemenids. It is just the personal name *mazdayasna* on one of the Elamite clay tablets from Persepolis which gives account of the existence of the term in question in ancient Persia.

¹⁹ Cf. the seminal study on the Sasanian archetype of the Avesta by K. Hoffmann and J. Narten 1989. Highly sophisticated considerations on the history of the Avesta text are brought forward by X.

critical edition of most of the preserved Avesta texts published in form of a missal by K. F. Geldner 1886-96 includes:

1. Yasna 'Sacrifice' (Y.), the great liturgy
2. Vispered (Visp.), supplements to the Yasna
3. Vidēvdād (Vid.) 'the Law against the Daēvas,' (wrongly 'Vendidād'), the only completely preserved out of the 21 books ('Nasks') of the Avestan canon extracts of which are transmitted in the Pahlavi Dēnkard
4. Khorde Avesta 'Small Avesta,' containing
 - a. the Niyāyishs (Ny.) and the Gāhs (G.), two groups of prayers for the use of lay people
 - b. the Sīrōzas (S.), two extensive lists of the names of the 30 days of each month of the Zoroastrian calendar (19.1)
 - c. the Āfrīnagāns (A.), a collection of benedictions
 - d. the Yashts (Yt.), texts of the popular religion of the Young Avestan period, mostly of metrical structure. The subjects of the Yashts are far from Zarathushtra's viewpoint but of high relevance for the early history of the Mazdayasnian Religion.

6.1.1. Each of the Yashts is dedicated to a single deity after whom most of them are named. Outstanding are:

- Yasht 5 to Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, the female deity of the rivers (Phl. Ardwīsūr Yasht)
- Yasht 8 to Tishtriya, the star Sirius (Phl. Tishtar Yasht)
- Yasht 9 to Druvāspā, the female guardian of the horses (Phl. Druwāsp Yasht)
- Yasht 10 to Mithra, the guardian of treaties (Phl. Mihr Yasht)
- Yasht 12 to Rashnu, the guardian of straightness and sureness (Phl. Rashn Yasht)
- Yasht 13 to the Fravashis, the female protective spirits of the truthful (Phl. Frawardīn Yasht)
- Yasht 14 to Vərəthraghna, the deity of victoriousness (Phl. Bahrām Yasht)
- Yasht 15 to Vayu, the deity of the wind and the atmosphere (Phl. Rām Yasht)
- Yasht 17 to Ashi, the female deity of reward (Phl. Ard Yasht)
- Yasht 19 to Khwarnah, the Royal Glory (but Phl. Zamyād Yasht)

The Yashts dedicated to Haoma, the deified ritual drink (Phl. Hōm Yasht), and to Sraosha, the deity of hearing/obedience (Phl. Srōsh Yasht), do not make part of the Yasht collection but have been transferred by the Sasanian redaction into the Yasna (Y. 9-11 and Y. 57, resp.) in the respective form available at that time.

6.1.2. Minor texts not found in Geldner's edition are:

1. Nērangestān/Nīrangestān (N.)
2. Ērbedestān/Hērbedestān (E.)
3. Aogāmadaēca (Aog.)
4. Pursishnīhā (P.)
5. Hadhkōht Nask (H.)
6. Āfrīn-ī Zartuksht (Az.)
7. Vishtāsp Yasht (Vyt.), according to X. Tremblay (p.c.) a genuine text of which, however, only the first line of each short section is preserved in the extant manuscripts.
8. Fragment Bartholomae (FrB.), Fragment Darmesteter (FrD.), Fragment Geldner (FrG.), Fragment Westergaard (FrW.).
9. A precious document of late medieval Parsi scholarship is the Avesta glossary Frahang-ī Oīm (F.). – Spurious are Vaethā Nask (VN.) and Vizīrkard ī Dēnīg (VD., not to be confounded with the Pahlavi text of the same name.)

6.2. The language of the Avesta is called Avestan or Avestic. Avestan is clearly an Old Iranian language, but neither a successor nor even a closer relative of it can be made out on the map of the Middle and New Iranian languages and dialects. Seen from the phonological point of view, it looks East Iranian rather than West Iranian (on the agreement of the word-final Bactr. *-o* with Av. *-ō* see 35.1.1), but on the whole its profile is isolated, which may have been the result of a compromise made by the Sasanian redaction between the varying phonetic realization of the holy texts by speakers of different regional origin.

6.3. The Avesta texts are composed in two slightly diverging dialects, Old Avestan and Young Avestan. They differ in a few phonological details part of which cannot be of merely chronological nature, which suggests that Young Avestan is no direct descendant of Old Avestan but, so to speak, a nephew of it. Greater significance than to phonology, though, must be attached to the divergence between the archaic morphology and morpho-syntax of the Old Avestan verb, which are both much closer to those of Vedic Sanskrit than to those of their Young Avestan development. The problem culminates in the analysis and the translation of the forms of the so-called injunctive such as *baraŋ*, a 3rd sing. of root *bar* 'bear': whereas in Young Avestan it is a preterite ('he/she bore'), it is obviously used in extra-temporal meaning in Old Avestan ('he/she bears/bore/will bear'). For the author of the Gāthās this extra-temporality is a most suitable means of referring to actions which at the same time involve multiple realms of reality by expressing himself in a deliberately ambiguous and even mystical way.²⁰ Passages which are traditionally thought to relate to the primal creation may actually refer to one or more events in the present life of a single person and of that of the community as well, preferably to the sacrifice being performed or to be performed by the prophet.

6.4. The Old Avestan texts consist of:

the Gāthās of Zarathushtra (Y. 28-34, 43-51, 53)

the prose text Yasna Haptanghāiti (*haptanghāiti*-) 'Yasna of Seven Chapters' (Y. 35-41), here quoted as YH. 35-41 (7.5)

the two opening stanzas Yathā Ahū Vairiyō (*yaθā ahū vairiyō*) (Y. 27,13) and Ashəm Vohū (*ašəm vohū*) (Y. 27,14)

the concluding stanza Ā Airyāmā Īshiyō (*ā airyāmā īshiyō*) (Y. 54,1)

The three stanzas Y. 27,13.14 and Y. 54,1 and the stanza Yenghē Hātām (*yeŋhē hātām*) (Y. 27,15) as well (6.5) are called prayers by the Zoroastrians, a use of the term 'prayer' which is unfamiliar to us Westerners; in our view the opening stanzas are mantras or meditation formulas whereas in the concluding one people are invited to participate in

²⁰ The Vedic Sanskrit aspect of the injunctive problem was thoroughly studied by K. Hoffmann 1967, but without drawing consequences for the interpretation of the Gāthās. The divergency between the morpho-syntax of the Old Avestan injunctive and that of its Young Avestan nephew is not appropriately taken note of by J. Kellens 1984, 235-249 (in particular 245), who limits himself to discussing the Young Avestan material (except for the prohibitive and the inhibitive function of the injunctive).

the work of salvation undertaken by Zarathushtra's male and female adherents, whatever that might mean.

6.5. The Yenghē Hātām stanza (Y. 27,15) was composed in the Young Avestan dialect, but its text was secondarily archaized by lengthening the final vowels,²¹ a procedure which was also applied to YH. 42, the non-original eighth chapter of the Yasna Haptanghāiti, the 'Yasna of Seven Chapters,' further to Y. 12, the 'Profession of Faith' (4.1), and to some other Young Avestan passages. The result of the procedure we call 'archaized Young Avestan' or 'pseudo-Old Avestan.'

7. The Gāthās

7.1. The songs of the Gāthās are of stanzaic structure. Their meters are syllabic without regard of syllable quantity; occasionally we find verses having an irregular number of syllables with certain phrases or even clauses at least partly borrowed from unknown sources.²² The collection of the Gāthās (*gāθā-*) consists of 17 single songs each of which covers one chapter (Av. *hāiti*-, Phl. *hād*, NP. *hā*) of the Yasna; according to their five respective meters they are arranged in five Gāthās:²³

1. Ahunavaitī Gāthā (*ahunavaitī*-), seven songs, Y. 28-34 (100 stanzas of 3 lines of mostly 7 + 8/9/10 syllables each)

2. Ushtavaitī Gāthā (*uštavaitī*-), four songs, Y. 43-46 (56 stanzas of 5 lines of mostly 4 + 7 syllables each)

3. Spəntāmainyush Gāthā (*spəntāmainyu*-), four songs, Y. 47-50 (41 stanzas of mostly 4 lines of mostly 4 + 7 syllables each)

4. Vohukhshatrā Gāthā (*vohu.xšaθrā*-), one song, Y. 51 (22 stanzas of 3 lines of mostly 7 + 7 syllables each). – Y. 52 does not belong to the Gāthā collection.

5. Vahishtoishish Gāthā (*vahištōišti*-), one song, Y. 53 (9 stanzas of unclear metrical structure)

7.2. The 16 holy songs of the first four Gāthās give an impression of being an integrated whole which either was conceived of as such by their author or established by a later redaction. Yet, among them, Y. 29 and Y. 47 are outstanding, the former by its enigmatic style, the latter by its highly developed compositional technique; it must have been composed after a model which was more modern and whose technique was quite different from the associative one of the other Gāthā songs (17.9).

7.3. While all the sixteen songs of the first four Gāthās are composed for being recited in official ceremonies, the seventeenth, Y. 53, the only song of the fifth Gāthā, is said to be connected with a private event, the marriage of Pouruchistā (*pouru.cistā*-),

²¹ Proto-Aryan **yasya* (Ved.Skt. *yāsyā*) < OAv. *yeŋyā* (with the lengthening of the final vowel typical of Old Avestan) > YAv. *yeŋhe*, but archaized YAv. *yeŋhē* with artificial lengthening of the final *-e*.

²² Thus the half-verse Y. 28,6 *yā daibišvatō dvaēšā taurvayāmā* counts 10 syllables. To restore the number of 9 syllables expected by them, Gāthā scholars are inclined to correct *taurvayāmā* to **taurvāmā*, not regarding the fact that the verbal stem *taurvaya-* (not *taurva-*!) is well-attested in related Young Avestan phrases.

²³ In the scholarly literature the term 'Gāthā' is often misused to denote one single song.

Zarathushtra's youngest daughter. If the Pahlavi translation of Y. 53,4 is right, the bridegroom was Dajāmāspa/Jāmāspa mentioned three times elsewhere in the Gāthās, but, strangely enough, his name is lacking here. This fact suggests that portions of the song, which in several details is also less exactly transmitted than the others, were lost as early as in the subarchetype (6.1) or even earlier.²⁴

7.4. In the Gāthās Zarathushtra's name occurs only twice as that of the speaker ('I/me, Zarathushtra' Y. 43,8, 46,19) and only once as that of the addressed person ('O Zarathushtra' Y. 46,14), but twelve times as that of a third person ('he, Zarathushtra' Y. 28,6, 29,8, 33,14, 43,16, 46,13, 49,12, 50,6, 51,11, 51,12, 51,15, 53,1, 53,3). The overwhelming majority of instances as a third person was recently brought forward as an argument against Zarathushtra's authorship of the Gāthās, which, however, is just an argument of surface philology erroneously intended by its authors to be of critical relevance. Mentioning himself as a third person is but a figure of speech deliberately applied by the speaker, and so is his self-address in Y. 46,14.²⁵ With regard to the expected reward, it may be the natural desire of a worshiper to not only be heard by the deity, but to also be clearly identified by him/her.

7.5. The seven original chapters of the prose text Yasna Haptanghāiti (6.5) consist of invocations and celebrations of the deities; they are pronounced by a group of priests in the 1st person plural present tense of the indicative which, in contrast with the extra-temporal injunctive frequent in the Gāthās (6.3), emphasizes the "here and now." It is tempting to attribute the authorship of these prayers to Zarathushtra himself and his sub-priests, but in this case the divergence between the names of the six most prominent deities attached to Ahura Mazda as listed in YH. 37,4/5 and those mentioned in Y. 47,1 of the Gāthās is in want of explanation (17.10). Be that as it may be, the style of the prose of the Yasna Haptanghāiti is, by nature, much more perspicuous than that of the Gāthās and, therefore, of notable help in analyzing certain details of these.

8. Languages

8.1. Avestan is different from Old Persian, the ancient language of Pārs 'Persis' (Arabized Fārs) attested in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenids, and certainly also from Median, of which only very modest traces have come down to us in non-Median tradition. Old Persian is the pre-form of Middle Persian, which flourished in the Sasanian and early Islamic periods and which is attested by the inscriptions of the

²⁴ See Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 2, 238, 243.

²⁵ The self-addressing rhetorical question in Y. 46,14 *zara9uštrā kastē ašavā urva9ō* 'O Zarathushtra, who is your truthful ally?' is merely a stylistic variant of the reference by the prophet to himself as a third person in Y. 51,11 *kā urva9ō spitamāi zara9uštrāi nā mazdā* 'which gentleman is an ally of Spitama Zarathushtra?' The difference between the two is this: Whereas in Y. 46,14 the expected praise of the prophet's sponsor Vishtāspa (*aṭ hvō kavā vištāspō yāhi*) immediately answers the prophet's own rhetorical question, the train of thought is retarded in Y. 51,11 ff. by the mention of a niggard abused as *vaēpiya*- 'pathic' (51,12). By this retardation the tension is increased and has the listeners wait till Y. 51,16, in which the expected praise of Vishtāspa eventually follows (*taṃ kavā vištāspō magahyā xša9rā naṣaṭ ... yaṃ cistīm*).

Sasanian Great Kings, by a rich secondary Zoroastrian literature, and furthermore by part of the Manichean scriptures discovered in Xinjiang (Sinkiang, Chinese Turkestan). Customarily the inscriptional and Zoroastrian variants of Middle Persian are called Pahlavi, a term which, strictly speaking, denotes the difficult script in which they are written as contrasted with that of the Manichean texts, which are laid down in a variant of the Syrian script (9.4). Rarely used, but less ambiguous, are the terms Inscriptional Pahlavi on the one hand and Zoroastrian or Book Pahlavi on the other hand.

8.2. Well-attested Middle Iranian languages/dialects other than Middle Persian are:

1. Parthian, the official language of the Arsacid rulers whose first residence was established at Nisa near Ashkhabad (South Turkmenistan)
2. Choresmian/Khwarezmian in Chorasmia/Khwarezm (Uzbekistan) at the lowest stretches of the Oxus/Amu Darya and its influx into Lake Aral
3. Sogdian in ancient Sogdiana (Uzbekistan) with the famous cities of Samarkand and Bukhara
4. Bactrian in ancient Bactriana (North Afghanistan between Hindukush and Oxus/Amu Darya) with offshoots to the north of the river in Tadzhikistan
5. Khotanese, the language of the ancient kingdom of Khotan, and the weakly attested Tumshuqese from Tumshuq, both in Xinjiang (Sinkiang, Chinese Turkestan)

From the dialectological point of view, Persian counts as South West Iranian, Parthian (and Median as well) as North West Iranian, the rest as East Iranian.²⁶

9. Scripts

9.1. Most of the Achaemenid cuneiform inscriptions are trilingual, Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite. So is the Darius inscription of Behistun/Bisutun the decipherment of whose Old Persian text opened the door to its Babylonian and Elamite versions and, in further consequence, to the decoding of the monuments of all the other cuneiform scripts. Yet, unlike that of Babylonian and Elamite, the use of Old Persian was confined to monumental epigraphy, the Old Persian script being invented by personal order of Darius for this particular purpose.²⁷ In contrast with this, the language of the imperial chancellery and the administrative language of the Achaemenid Empire was Aramaic, in this special usage commonly called Imperial Aramaic. Some fragments of an Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription officially sent abroad were discovered among the numerous Aramaic documents found in the remains of the Jewish military colony of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. on Elephantine Island, situated at the first cataract of the Nile at the border between Egypt and Nubia.

9.2. Imperial Aramaic is the mother of the national scripts of the Iranians of the Middle Iranian period, among which Middle Persian Pahlavi with its inscriptional and book variants (8.1) is outstanding. Its numerous Aramaic spellings are no borrowings but

²⁶ See the comprehensive description in R. Schmitt 1989. On Herodotus's (until 431 B.C.) Scythians as the speakers of a fourth Old Iranian language most fragmentarily known to us see M. Mayrhofer 2006.

²⁷ Some smaller inscriptions bearing the names of Darius's predecessors Ariaramnes, Arsames, and Cyrus are of later origin.

heterographs which are to be read with their Iranian value. Thus Phl. *MLKA* is written for *šāh* 'king,' Phl. *BBA* for *dar* 'door,' Phl. *LNE* for *amā* 'we,' Phl. *OL* for the preposition *ō* 'to, at.'²⁸ The heterographs themselves are invariable, but they can be enlarged with Iranian complements. The plural of *MLKA* = *šāh* is written *MLKAn* = *šāhān*, the complement *-n* representing the Iranian plural ending *-ān*; the compound *dar-band* 'gate' is written *BBA bnd*, i.e., half-heterographical and half-Iranian.

9.3. *YHWWN* is the heterograph for the Iranian verbal root *bū* 'be,'

YHWWNtn' stands for the infinitive *būdan* 'to be,'

YHWWNyt for the 3rd person sing. *bawēd* 'he is,'

YHWWNd for the 3rd person plur. *bawēnd* 'they are,'

YHWWNt' for the past participle/verbal adjective *būd* 'been.'

The orthography of the endings *-tn'* (< *-tanai*), *-ēt* (< *-ayati*), *-d* simplified for *-ēnd* (< *-ayaṇti*) must have been fixed at a time when OP. *-t*, which was still preserved after vowel, had already developed to *d* after *n*, thus giving account of some trait of Late Old Persian or Early Middle Persian phonology otherwise not accessible to us. It is evident that not all such orthographical rules were introduced at the very same time, but as a whole they represent early predecessors of the respective Middle Persian forms of the Sasanian period.

9.4. In Pahlavi writing the nature of the Middle Persian language is not only disguised by the Aramaic heterographs but also by the polyphony of certain of its characters. Thus in Inscriptional Pahlavi the three characters *w*, *r*, *O* are expressed by one and the same character (similar to our figure 2), in Book Pahlavi even the four *w*, *r*, *O*, *n* are represented by just a vertical stroke (|) which is furthermore used as final stroke of many words (then transliterated as '|'); the true phonological structure of the underlying Middle Persian elements is to be reconstructed from the respective forms in which they appear in the Middle Persian Manichean scriptures. Instead of Phl. *YHWWNtn'*, *YHWWNyt*, *YHWWNd*, *YHWWNt'* these write *bwdn*, *bwyd*, *bwynd*, *bwd*, i.e., *būdan*, *bawēd*, *bawēnd*, *būd*.

9.5. Aramaic heterography is attested in inscriptional Parthian too. The differences between the Middle Persian and the Parthian spellings can be easily made out on the Synoptic Tables in part 2 of the edition of the bilingual inscription of Paikuli which recounts the history of the accession of the Great King Narseh (293 C.E.).²⁹ Some traces of heterography are found in Sogdian, weakly attested is heterographic Khwarezmian, the main source of this language originating from the Islamic period and, therefore, being written in Arabic script. The Bactrian inscriptions and documents are written in the Bactrian variant of the Greek script (31.1, 34.1-2).³⁰ The script of the Khotanese and

²⁸ The Aramaic heterographs are always transliterated with capitals. The rendering of the Aramaic characters ʾĀlep (ʾ), Hē (h), ʿAyin (ʿ) with A, E, O follows the highly sophisticated system of transliteration of Pahlavi introduced by D. N. MacKenzie 1971/1986.

²⁹ See H. Humbach and P. O. Skjærvø 1978, 1980, 1983.

³⁰ Manichean documents are not only available in Middle Persian, but also in Parthian, Sogdian and one in Bactrian.

Tumshuqese documents is Central Asiatic Brāhmī, i.e., the Central Asiatic variant of that Indian script from which the modern Devanāgarī derives.

9.6. To the Indian Emperor Aśoka, who, in the mid of the 3rd century B.C., took possession of what is today Afghanistan south of the Hindukush, we owe several inscriptions apparently written in the style of the previously Seleucid provincial chancellery, inscriptions which at first glance look Aramaic but which actually show a partly wild state of transition from Imperial Aramaic to heterographical Iranian.³¹

9.7. The Avesta script is a highly differentiated phonetic script whose single characters are derived by the authors of the Sasanian archetype from the Pahlavi script with the purpose of most exactly rendering the details of the correct pronunciation of the holy texts. In the 9th century subarchetype of our Avesta manuscripts (6.1), some of the graphical differentiations were abandoned such as that between *š* (< *š*) and *ṣ* (< *hr* < *rt*) which are indiscriminately used also in Geldner's edition, except for the central term *aša-* 'truth' < **arta-*, which is always correctly written with *š*.³²

9.8. The pointed liturgical elocution of the Old Avestan texts not only resulted in the lengthening of all final vowels, which often enough impedes the correct analysis of grammatical endings, but also in the frequent insertion of the parasitic vowel *ə/a* as in OAv. *šyaoθana-* 'action' (more originally *šyaoθana-* in Y. 27,13), which according to its meter in the original text was as disyllabic as YAv. *šyaoθna-*.

10. The Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās and its Sanskrit version

10.1. The majority of the Avesta texts are provided with a word-by-word translation into Pahlavi which in the manuscripts alternates with the Avestan original section by section or, as in the Gāthās, stanza by stanza. The Pahlavi translation, which is supplied with numerous Pahlavi glosses, was produced in the late medieval period. As for the Gāthās, the priestly tradition seems to have already lost reliable information on their details at a much earlier time, in consequence of which their Pahlavi translation as a whole shows a deplorable lack of acquaintance with the fundamental prerequisites of a scholarly approach and it is seldom really useful as it is, for once, in the case of the Gāthic reference to Yima (13.2). In the general picture drawn by its authors the Gāthās, these most holy texts, have become not much more than a rather banal admonition to be a good and pious person in order to get qualified for a happy afterlife.

10.2. A literal version of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās and the other ritual texts into an extremely non-classical Sanskrit was produced by the famous medieval Parsi scholar Neriosangh supported by his less qualified nephew Ormazdyar. Taking into account the incompetence of the Pahlavi translators, one has to even expect less from the Sanskrit version of the Gāthās, but occasionally also this is highly informative. Thus

³¹ See H. Humbach 1969, 1976.

³² For details see K. Hoffmann and J. Narten 1989, but see also 35.2 on *ašaeixšo* with n. 137 on the Bactrian date *mauo ašai.ito gōšti* of the Tochi inscription ITSB.

our rendering of the name of Ahura Mazdā (Phl. Ohrmazd) as 'Wise Lord' is based on Neriosangh's *mahājñānin svāmin* 'Lord of Great Knowledge.'

11. Yasna 29,7 with Pahlavi translation and its Sanskrit version

11.1. To exemplify the nature of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās, we select Avestan Y. 29,7, one stanza of the extremely mystical "complaint of the cow," contrasting it with its Old Avestan text, adding the Pahlavi glosses in square brackets and Neriosangh's Sanskrit version of the whole. The English translations given here as well as elsewhere necessarily diverge from those in our text edition (Part B) inasmuch as they follow as closely as possible the original word order which is partly arranged in the appositional style typical of the Gāthās.

11.2.1. Y. 29,7a Av. *tām āzūtōiš ahurō / māθrēm tašať ašā hazaošō*

'that mantra (acc.) implying the fact the Lord fashioned in harmony with Truth'

PhlT. *ān ī abzōnīg fpad mānsr ohrmazd ō ōy tāšid / kē pad ahlāyih hamdōšišnīh [kū ān mizd ī az mānsr paydāg ō ōy dahēnd kē kār ud kirbag kunēd]*

'the beneficent mantra (acc.) Ohrmazd fashioned for that one who (is) in harmony with Truth [i.e., that reward (acc.) which (is) manifest from the mantra, they(!) grant to that one who performs meritorious work]'³³

SktV. *tat mahattamatvaṃ svāmī mānthrīyaṃ aghaṭayat / puṇyena saha saṃghaṭitāya [kila taṃ prasādaṃ yaṃ avistāvāksambhavaṃ tasmai dadau yena kāryaṃ puṇyaṃca kṛtaṃ āste]*

'by the mantra the Lord has assigned this super-greatness / to that (one who is) connected with Punya (= religious merit) [i.e., He has granted/assigned the favor resulting from the word/text of the Avesta to that one by whom meritorious work has been performed]'

11.2.2. Y. 29,7b Av. *mazdā gavōi xšvīdāmčā / hvō urušaēibyō spəntō sāsnaŋ*

'(the Lord fashioned that mantra) for the cow, and (He,) the Wise One, (fashioned) the milk for the emaciated, He (who is) beneficent by his teaching'

PhlT. *ohrmazd gōspand waxšēnēd [kū-š bē abzāyēnēd] / ō xwardārān [kū pad paymān xwarēd] ī ōy abzōnīg [ohrmazd] hammōxt [pad sēnag-masāy ud bāzā-masāy]*

'Ohrmazd makes the cow grow [i.e., he increases (her)] / for her eaters ["eat moderately"] the Beneficent One [Ohrmazd] taught ["(the side-dish being) as much as a lapful and an armful"]'³⁴

³³ Av. *āzūti-* 'fat, libation of fat' (cf. Ved.Skt. *āhuti-* 'offering of oblations') is apparently equated by the Pahlavi translator to the benediction Phl. *abzūd* '(may be) increased' and, therefore, rendered by him as Phl. *abzōnīg* 'increasing,' which is the customary translation of Av. *spənta-* 'beneficent.' — Phl. *tāšid* 'he fashioned,' variant of ms. Mf4, renders Av. *tašať* 'he fashioned' more correctly than the majority reading *tāšidār* 'fashioner.'

³⁴ Phl. *waxšēnēd* 'increases' wrongly for Av. *xšvīd-* 'milk.' — Scholars are used to taking *hvō urušaēibyō* as one word of the same meaning as PhlT. *xwardārān* 'eaters,' posing an adjective **hvō.uruša-* 'desiring food,' a strange formation of unusual phonetic appearance allegedly derived from root *x'ar* 'eat.' The logical connection of the gloss ('eat moderately') with the following ('as much as a lapful and an armful') is intelligible in Neriosangh's Sanskrit version only. — Phl. *xwardārān* 'eaters' actually stands for the dat.plur. *urušaēibyō* of the hapax adj. *uruša-* 'emaciated, meager' (cf. Skt. *rūkṣā-* 'dry, emaciated, thin, not greasy'). It seems that the Pahlavi translators made use of some isolated old information about the meaning of this word which they, not really understanding it, put in a completely new context.

SktV. *mahājñānī gopaśūn vikāśayati / bhoktr̥bhyo mahattāṃ suśikṣitebhyaḥ [kila yaīḥ sīnaḥ masāe bājāeya masāe kriyājapayañnavidheḥ mahattā āśikṣitā āste]*

'the Wise Lord apportions the sacrificial animals / to the eaters, (defining) the quantity (to be reserved) for the well-instructed ones [i.e., (the words) "as much as a lap (and) as much as an armful" with which the quantity of the remuneration (due) for the performance of the muttering of the (pertinent) prayers has been defined]'³⁵

11.2.3. Y. 29,7c Av. *kastē vohū managhā / yō ī dāyāt āēāvā marātaēibyō*

'whom do you have through good thought / who would make them available to the mortals?'

PhlT. *kē tō ē wahman [kū ēd ī-t ōh ānayēd] / kē pad ān-ī harw dō [abastāg ud zand] dahān dahēd ōšmurdārān [hērbadān]*

'whom do you have, O Wahman, [i.e., one who would bring you hither] / who, by those two [Avesta and commentary], will grant mouth to the recounting ones [the hērbads/teachers]'³⁶

SktV. *kaste uttamamanaḥ / yo dvitayaṃ dadāti mukhena adhyayanakarebhyaḥ [kila yo dvitayaṃ avistāvistārthaca vidyārthibhyo jñāpayati]*

'whom do you have, O Best Thought, / who grants the two to those who, with their mouth, perform religious studies [i.e., he who, for those aspiring to knowledge, teaches the two, (the text of) the Avesta and its commentary]'

12. The role of Vedic Sanskrit

12.1. In our time the role of Neriosangh's Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās has become marginal, although it cannot be doubted that it imparts some, occasionally even precious, insight into the interpretation of the Pahlavi translation in the late medieval period (10.2). Modern philology is, though, focused on elucidating the philological and historical problems of the very small corpus of the Avesta, particularly of that of the Gāthās, by more or less systematically adducing corresponding phenomena found in Vedic Sanskrit texts, especially in the Rigveda, a collection of more than thousand hymns.

12.2. In the above translation of Y. 29,7 a number of lexical questions are resolved by comparison with their etymological equivalents found in Vedic Sanskrit. Comparison may also include wordings such as the syntagma *māθrēm taš* 'fashion a mantra (like a piece of wood)' which agrees with Ved.Skt. *māntram takṣ* of the same meaning, thus showing that we are confronted in the Gāthās with a very archaic mode of expressing abstract ideas. Occasionally, discovering a corresponding Vedic syntagma is even the only means available of analyzing correctly a Gāthā passage as it is the case in Y. 50,8 *padāiš ... īžayā* which does not mean 'with verses of zeal,' as Western scholars thought for a long time, but it is a ritual term with the meaning 'with the footprints of milk-libation' closely related to Ved.Skt. *ilāyās padé* 'in the footprint of milk-libation.' The

³⁵ In Y. 32,9 PhlT. the phrase 'as much as a lapful and an armful' denotes the more or less unlimited quantity of the side-dish allowed to the eaters (13.3).

³⁶ Phl. *har dō* 'those two' erroneously for the verb Av. *dāyāt* 'he would make available.' — Phl. *dahān* 'mouth' by confusion of the verbal prefix/postfix *āēāvā* with Av. *āēāghā*, instr.sing. of *āh-* 'mouth,' which has the same enigmatic initial *āē*. — Phl. *ōšmurdār-* 'recounting' is an extremely uncommon rendering of Av. *mašiya-* 'man,' which is customarily translated as PhlT. *mard* 'man.'

answer to the question what the poet wanted to express must, of course, be left to the reader, but at any rate the Gāthic expression is more metaphoric than the Vedic one. Some more Gāthic-Vedic syntagmatic parallels of this type are inserted in a list of Avestan materials brought together mechanically and without regard to what is intended by B. Schlerath 1968, 149-160. For another type of comparison see the list of Gāthic figures of speech in Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 1, 94-112, to which add Y. 49.4 *ṣṣuyasū afṣuyaṇtō* 'cattle breeders among the non-cattle breeders' which is parallel to RV. 6,9,4 *amṛtam mārtiyeṣu* 'immortal among the mortals' and 7,4,4 *kavīr ākaviṣu* 'a Kavi/seer among (those who are) no Kavis/seers.'

12.3.1. Vedic etymology must be applied cautiously as matters are sometimes more complicated than expected by Gāthā scholars, who, as a rule, show a tendency to repeat old-fashioned Sanskrit etymologies instead of taking into account for comparison the vocabularies of the Middle Iranian languages. See, for example, OAv. *dūta-*, which the authors unanimously render as 'messenger,' relying upon the outward similar Ved.Skt. *dūtā-* 'messenger.' Consequently they translate Y. 32,1 *θβōi dūtāṇhō āṇhāmā* as 'let us be your messengers,' thereby silently attributing the desire to act as apostles of Ahura Mazdā to the participants in the sacrifice, an idea which is quite unfamiliar to the Gāthic world. Yet, the meaning of OAv. *dūtā-* is much more likely to be derived from Phl. *dūd* 'smoke' and *dūdag* 'family,' better: 'household,' the number of the inhabitants of a settlement being usually estimated on the base of the number of smoke-trails produced by them (Prof. Buddruss, p.c.). Thus Y. 32,1 *θβōi dūtāṇhō āṇhāmā* simply means 'let us be your households,' apparently with reference to the smoke-trail of the ritual fire kept burning by them. – As an unexpected result of this short investigation we realize that the notable difference in meaning between OAv. *dūta-* and Ved.Skt. *dūtā-* does not exclude the possibility that the two belong together etymologically: Ved.Skt. *dūtā-* 'messenger' is especially said of Agni 'Fire' in its function as a messenger between men and gods, apparently by his smoke-trail.

12.3.2. Informative is the way in which the meaning of the root noun Av. *sar-* is dealt with by the scholarly tradition. The word is used in the Yasna Haptanghāiti to vary the nouns *haxəman-* 'fellowship' and *vərəzəna-* 'community,' see YH. 35,8 *aṣahyā ... sairi aṣahyā vərəzənē* to which add Vid. 15,17 *aptarə sairi vərəzəne* 'in the *sar-* and in the community.' On account of these passages Chr. Bartholomae 1904, 1563 f. attributed to *sar-* the meaning 'union,' which, however, was no more but a guess. To corroborate this guess he put up the etymological connection of *sar-* with Gr. *kerannymi* 'to mix (wine with water)' and Ved.Skt. *ā-śīrta-* '(milk) poured into (the soma),' thus in reality producing a strange concoction by which he made of *sar-*, according to him a union, a physical mixture of humans. More promising is certainly the etymological and lexical connection of *sar-* with Ved.Skt. *śārman-* 'shelter, protection' which is suggested by the parallelity of YH. 41,6 *upā.jamyāmā tavacā sarəm aṣaxyācā* as 'may we reach your shelter and that of truth' and RV. 6,16,38 *ūpa ... aganma śārma te* 'we placed ourselves under your shelter' (H. Humbach 1957, 300). This solution neither pleased J. Kellens 1974, 390-392 nor J. Narten 1986, 301, n. 48, both of whom did not recognize that a meaning such as 'shelter, enclosure, wall' of *sar-* is also concealed in the noun OAv.

sarə-jan- 'wall-breaker, hero' and in the four passages of the Videvdād in which *sairi* is no nom.du. and does not mean 'corpse' either, as Bartholomae 1904, 1564 suggested, but 'protected area, enclosure, cemetery':

Vid. 3,8 (cf. 3,12) *yaṭ bā paiti fraēštəm sairi nikaṇte spānasca īrista naraēca īrista*
'where very many dead dogs and dead men are buried in an enclosure'

Vid. 7,47 (cf. 7,45) *cuvantəm drājō zruvānəm sairi maṣya īriste zəmə nikaṇte havaṭ.zəmə bavaṇti*

'in how much time do dead men buried in the earth, in an enclosure, become like earth?'

12.4. Applying the Indo-Iranian comparative method is justified in regard to the joint origin of the cultures and languages of the two branches of the Aryans, yet sometimes scholars carry the matter too far. Thus the idea that Zarathushtra opposed the slaughtering of animals in the same way as Hindus do, is not uncommon in scholarly circles,³⁷ and a few years ago even the assertion was made that the Gāthās of Zarathushtra were virtually an eleventh Book of the Rigveda. Such gross exaggerations are not at all helpful as they bring discredit on the method that is much more promising than so many others.

13. Notes on Pahlavi texts other than the Pahlavi translation

13.1. To a great extent, the religious texts of the medieval Pahlavi literature are overburdened with speculations of the Zoroastrian priests of that historical period. Of high relevance for Avesta studies are, nevertheless, two Pahlavi works, the Bundahishn 'Primal Creation' (Bdh.) and the encyclopedia Dēnkard 'Acts of the Religion' (Dk.). – The Bundahishn is of notable help in filling the gaps of our knowledge of the Mazdayasnian conception of the world at least in the Young Avestan period, but its angle of view is quite different from that of the Gāthās, as these are not focused on the creation of the world and its structure, but on morals, on the sacrifice, and on the role that Ahura Mazdā, Zarathushtra, and his sponsors play in it (15). – The Dēnkard is a large collection of information regarding the doctrines, customs, traditions, history, and literature of the Mazdayasnian Religion, but valuable information about the real content of the Gāthās must sometimes be sought in it through a microscope. Thus the subtitles of the 22 chapters of Dk. 9,24-45 (titled "Warshtmānsr Nask") have the reader expect in vain a detailed commentary on the Old Avestan texts, and even substantial references to single passages of these are extremely scarce, whereas the rest consists of accumulations of sermon-like comments.³⁸

13.2. One of the rare exceptions from this negative statement is to be made in the case of the extremely concise and cryptic allusion to the merits and the sin of Yima, the King of Paradise, in Y. 32,8 of the Gāthās. The stanza certainly was roughly, but sufficiently, understood by the prophet's public who were well-acquainted with the myth of Yima,

³⁷ Y. 29, in scholarly literature often referred to as 'The Complaint of the Cow,' just rejects the ritually incorrect slaughtering of the sacrificial animal.

³⁸ The same 22 subtitles are also found in the preceding Dk. 9,1-22 ("Sūdgar Nask") and the subsequent 9,46-67 ("Baga Nask") without any recognizable reference to the respective texts.

of his paradisiacal rule and of his downfall caused by his rebellion against Ahura Mazda which is vividly described in Young Avestan Yt. 19,33-34. Just the details of the Gāthic reference to it imply several philological and linguistic problems which cannot be resolved by us modern people without the help of the Pahlavi translation and the reference to the Gāthic passage transmitted in the Dēnkard. In this connection attention is to be drawn to the name of Yima. Meaning as much as 'twin,' Yima must originally have denoted a hermaphrodite able to procreate offspring without a female partner, but in Zarathushtra's philosophy his twinness is understood as the ambiguousness of his character in which the two primeval spirits, twins themselves, fought with each other as they do in any human being.³⁹

13.3. After some previous attempts abandoned by us in the meantime, we propose to render the first two lines of the stanza in question as follows:⁴⁰

Y. 32,8ab *aēšām aēnaṇḥam vīvaṇhušō srāvī yimascī*
yā mašiyāṇḡ cixšnušō ahmākōṇḡ gāuš bagā x'ārəmnō
 'even Yima, the son of Vivahvan, became notorious for such outrages,
 (even he) who wished to satisfy (us) humans (and) our (animals) (with the injunction): "Meat
 (is just) a part of a (complete) meal"'

Our rendering of the first line follows the communis opinio except for the concluding *yimascī* which we render as 'even Yima,' supposing that it is said in reference to the merits Yima had accumulated before he committed that unspeakable outrage. In contrast, our interpretation of the enigmatic second line is derived from its Pahlavi translation and the reference to it in the Dēnkard. See first the Pahlavi:

Y. 32,8b PhIT. (*jam*) *kē-š ō mardomān cāšīd kū amāgān gōšt pad bazišn x'arēd [āmizag mardomān sēnag mazāy bāzā mazāy]*
 '(Yima) who taught men "eat the meat of our (animals) according to apportionment [the side-dish of men (being as much as) a lapful (or) an armful]"'

Substantially our translation of this second line is not much in discord with the Pahlavi translation. Its author, it is true, renders Av. *cixšnušō* 'who satisfied' with the wrong etymology *cāšīd* 'he taught,' but his rather substantial gloss 'a lapful and an armful' is convincingly explained by him as denoting the unlimited quantity of the side-dish (*āmizag*) allowed to the eaters.⁴¹ Yet even much nearer to the Gāthic original is the difficult Dēnkard passage, which becomes comprehensible through the transformation of the senseless heterographical reading *ANŠWTA-yt* 'be a human' into phonetic *hwšwt'-ēd*, a corruption of **hwšnwtk-yt* (*hušnūdag-ēd*) 'be well-satisfied/satiated':

Dk. 9,32,11 (ed. D. M. Madan 1911, 838,2 ff.)
*ud ān ī wiwanghānān jam / ā-š šnāyēnīd mardom u-š šnāyēnīd gōspand hudāhag / ēdōn pad gōwišn, zarduxšt, ka-š guft ō mardomān kū / "ašmā gōspand *hušnūdag-ēd / kū ašmā pad*

³⁹ Yima is the Young Avestan form of the name of the primeval king, which has crept into the Gāthic text because of its popularity. Its correct Gāthic form is preserved in the noun/adjective *yāma-* 'twin.' Cf. Ved.Skt. *yamá-* 'twin' and name of Yama, the primal man of the Rigveda (17.5).

⁴⁰ For more details on Yima see H. Humbach 2004.

⁴¹ Cf. the occurrence of the same phrase but in diverging interpretation in Y. 29,7 PhIT. (11.2.2).

*bazišn xwēš gōšt xwarēd *hušnūdag-ēd / mā āz rāy ud mā arišk rāy apaymān gōšt xwarēd / pad bazišn gōšt sagr bawīšn*

'Jam, son of Vivanghan, satisfied mankind and satisfied the beneficent cattle/animal, / O Zardukhsht, when he said to men: / "be well-satisfied with your animal, / i.e., eat your own meat according to apportionment (= in the quantity apportioned to you). / and be well-satisfied (therewith); do not eat meat immodestly out of greed or out of envy; / with the meat apportioned (to you) you must be satiated"'⁴²

13.4. As a rule, modern Gāthā scholars hesitate to recognize the necessity of doing philological work as exemplified just above, relying upon a scholarly tradition developed in the past 150 years and which was petrified about 100 years ago by Chr. Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904). Similarly most Parsi priests of our time erroneously believe to follow an indigenous tradition of Gāthā interpretation, not being conscious of the influence of the so recent and so questionable European way of thought upon their own thinking. An idea of the pre-19th-century interpretation and/or translation of the Gāthās by a Parsi priest from the city of Surat of the 2nd half of the 18th century is conveyed by A.-H. Anquetil-Duperron 1771/1984.⁴³ As we can notice, the information on the content of the Gāthās obtained by that eminent French explorer is rather nebulous, not only owing to difficulties of communication between the two but also because the contemporary Zoroastrian priests no less than those of our time attached much more significance to the correct recitation of their sacred texts than to their real content and message. After Anquetil-Duperron's heroic achievement, Western Avesta scholarship did not restart before the 1st half of the 19th century, Gāthā scholarship did not follow before its 2nd half, starting out from the Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās rather than from the Pahlavi itself, not being aware of all their severe shortcomings and thus developing a scholarly tradition which was not scholarly in the strict sense of the word. Besides this, the view of the Gāthā scholars of our time is to a large extent focused on isolated details of the linguistic prehistory of the Indo-European languages, and only few of them are inclined to study the sources with the purpose of critically evaluating them in order to throw light on the dark of the history of mankind.

14. Contemporary Zoroastrians

14.1. Smaller coherent groups of Zoroastrians survive in the Islamic Republic of Iran, where they call themselves Behdīns (*behdīn*) 'adherents of the Good Religion,' particularly in Yazd and Kirman, but it is just the community of the 9th-century

⁴² Phl. *bazišn* shows that *bagā-* is not from *baga-* 'lord,' but is the same word as YAv. *bayā-* 'portion.' Av. *x'ārəmnō* is no verb but the gen.sing. of a masculine hapax *x'āraman-* (**x'āraman-*) '(complete) meal' or 'participant in a meal,' derived from OIr. **x'āra-* 'meal' (cf. Ossetic *xor/xwar* 'bread') like OAv. *airyaman-* 'tribe' from *airya-* 'Aryan.'

⁴³ Anquetil-Duperron, vol. 2 (his numbers are given in quotation marks): Y. 28-30 = pp. 160-165 ("28-30"). / Y. 31-34 = pp. 167-178 ("31-34"). / YH. 35-36 = pp. 178-180 ("35-36"). / YH. 37 = p. 101 f. ("5"). / YH. 38-41 = pp. 181-183 ("37-40"). / Y. 43-46 = pp. 187-198 ("42-45"). / Y. 47 = p. 136 f. ("18"). / Y. 48-50 = pp. 200-205 ("46-48"). / Y. 51 = pp. 207-210 ("49"). / Y. 53 = pp. 215-217 ("50").

emigrants to India, the Parsis/Parsees ('Persians') centered in Mumbai (Bombay) and the state of Gujarat, who have been able to entirely keep up the ritual and social traditions of their religion in the new environment. Considerable is the number of believers in the diaspora, mainly in the United States, Canada, and England, but also in Germany.

14.2. The religious ceremonies of the contemporary Parsis are performed by high priests (Dasturs) and priests (Ervads) who, in their fire-temples, worship Ahura Mazdā as being present in the Holy Fire (*ātaxš*), which is sustained there perpetually, a custom for which they are improperly called fire-worshippers in non-scholarly literature. The ceremonies performed by them are classified by J. J. Modi 1922 as follows:

1. Socio-religious ceremonies (A. Birth, B. Marriage, C. Death)
2. Purification ceremonies (including the daily bath)
3. Initiation ceremonies
4. Consecration ceremonies (consecration of the Fire-temples, the Towers of Silence, and the religious requisites)
5. Liturgical ceremonies

Most conspicuous is the exposure of the dead bodies in so-called Towers of Silence to be eaten by vultures. The exposure of the dead is an ancient custom which is still being practiced in Tibet; it must have been introduced by the Zoroastrians in an area such as the Central Asiatic highlands where neither was ground suitable for burial nor wood enough for cremation. In India, the Parsis are still allowed to perform this kind of disposal of the dead, but elsewhere they must renounce it, which many of them feel to be very grievous.

14.3. In the traditional order of the Indian society the Parsis, no less than the Muslims and the Christians, were considered a caste. Officially the caste system is abolished nowadays, but most Parsis continue regarding their religious community as such, i.e., as an endogamous society of members of the same historical origin and connected by practicing the same rituals. Priesthood is inherited. Marriage with non-Parsis is tabooed and punished by the priests with excommunication, an intransigency which is meant to ensure the survival of the religion, but which effects the opposite, predominantly in the diaspora. Religious discussions mainly deal with such and other canonical problems and with details of the ritual. As we heard from an expert, the young priests no longer know the Gāthās by heart, instead, they recite them from a printed text which customarily more or less derives from that of Geldner's edition (6.1).

15. The literary genre of the Gāthās

15.1. The Gāthās were only most fragmentarily comprehensible even to the more intelligent among Zarathushtra's lay contemporaries, and long before the restoration of the Mazdayasnian Religion (Mazdaism) in the Sasanian period also the priestly tradition seems to have lost a reliable knowledge of the contents of these most holy texts, of their poetical style, of their syntactical and morphological rules, and of the lexical meanings of numerous words. It is the magic power of these texts and their recitation which

continues to be relevant to this day. The interpretation of the Gāthās as a religious textbook or a code of laws, or even as a collection of Sermons on the Mountain, is likely to be rather recent, the former two making of them a pendant of the Koran, the latter paralleling them with a scene of the Christian Bible, with which the Parsis became acquainted under British influence. Slightly modifying such views, a great many modern scholars start out from the premise that the Gāthās are a systematic though complicated exposition of the basic tenets of the religion preached by Zarathushtra. Yet neither this nor that tallies with the facts. Just a glance at the statistics of the use of the vocative case in the Gāthās makes evident that these most holy texts are invocations of Ahura Mazdā and philosophical conversations with Him, the initiated one par excellence, whereas human persons are apostrophized only occasionally in a sort of rhetorical digression.

15.2. Often enough it happens that adherents or scholars refer to Gāthā passages quoted by them with the assertion that "the prophet teaches." Without regard to the correctness or incorrectness or fancifulness of the respective translations proposed by those authors, such assertion is basically erroneous. The Gāthās are works of an art the central principle of which is persistent variation, e.g., the lexical and/or syntactical variation of set phrases of the ordinary language, like the set phrase *manah – vacah – šyaoθana* 'thinking/thought – speaking/word – action/deed.' By this kind of technique, which is the exact opposite of producing texts for didactic purposes, Zarathushtra apparently tries to display his poetical skill in order to thereby please Ahura Mazdā and to impress his listeners. In general, the poetical technique of the Gāthās is one essential reason for the difficulties met with in translating and interpreting them. Although the prose text Yasna Haptanghāiti agrees with the Gāthās in respect of phonology, grammar, and the characteristic features of its vocabulary, it offers but minor problems, being of quite uncomplicated intellectual structure.

15.3. The Gāthās are composed to be used for ritual purposes. They are cryptic texts of an archaic kind of spirituality and mysticism, documents of a ritual philosophy full of deliberate ambiguities and metaphorical expressions, behind which the details of their ritual, religious, and historical backgrounds and, together with them, Zarathushtra's place in the development of human thought can be made out only most roughly.

15.4. To a great extent, the picture of the course of the world, which is attested in the Younger Avesta and the Pahlavi literature, certainly underlies the Gāthās as well: When Paradise was lost through the sin of the primeval king Yima so that evil could enter life (13.2-3), the entire world both spiritual and material came to be dominated by the all-embracing opposition between what is good/useful and what is evil/noxious. The course of the world is dominated by the perpetual fight between the two, a fight which will end with the victory of Ahura Mazdā and his deities/divine entities over the Daēvas/devils, and which will result in the salvation of the world and the resurrection of the dead. It is the duty of the pious adherents of the religion to support Ahura Mazdā and his prophet both spiritually and materially by good thinking/thought, good speaking/word, and good action/deed. Yet, there seems to be a basic difference between Zarathushtra, who

denotes himself and his sponsors, present and/or expected, as Saoshyañts '(coming) benefactors/saviors' (*saošyañt-*), and the views of his priestly successors. Whereas the prophet expected the salvation to be achieved in the near future, it was necessarily postponed by his successors again and again. The ultimate result of this was the concept of a world-year of 12000 years in whose year 9000 the appearance of the prophet was set (2.2) with the salvation of the world and the resurrection of the dead under the rule of the eschatological Saoshyañt/Savior expected at the end of the 12th millenary.

15.5. The Gāthic ritual is considered a representation of Zarathushtra's own conception of the course of the world. The ritual symbolizes or, rather, mirrors the cosmic fight of Ahura Mazdā, supported by his deities/divine entities and his truthful followers (*ašavan-*), against the Daēvas/devils and their deceitful adherents (*drəgvañt-*). On the ritual level, Zarathushtra joins this fight by inviting Ahura Mazdā and the other deities/divine entities to the ritual meal offered them by him and by chasing the Daēvic/devilish party in order to prevent them from partaking of it (5.1). Many of Zarathushtra's philosophical reflections explicitly, or subliminally, touch the due remuneration of the priestly poet for his performance (17.6), which is understood by the prophet as a microcosmic analogy of the world's salvation (*frašō.kərəiti-*) by the eschatological Saoshyañt/Savior.⁴⁴

15.6. The center of the Gāthic ritual is the Holy Fire, which by nature has a purifying function but which is also considered to be able to reveal the merits and the sins of human persons present at the rite. It weighs the pros and cons of their thoughts, words, and actions, be it in general or at an individual ordeal such as the sacrifice going on or at the universal ordeal expected to be performed at the salvation of the world (37).

16. Historical and theological problems

16.1. That the Young Avestan texts are of limited help elucidating the Gāthās is no less due to the difference in their respective literary genres than to the chronological distance between them. Beyond this, the changeover from the Old Avestan dialect to its Young Avestan "nephew" (6.3) points to a change in the religious leadership among diverging religious and ritual schools of Mazdaism, which could be a result of the extinction of the Kavyans/Kayanids, that legendary dynasty of Iran's early history whose last ruler is told in the later heroic literature of the Iranians to have been Vishtāspa, Zarathushtra's sponsor. A comparable break must have happened again with the religious tradition changing over from the heirs, or conquerors, of Vishtāspa's realm to the Old Persian Achaemenids and their successors, the Middle Persian Sasanians, a process of which the Pahlavi literature, including the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās, is a late result.

16.2. In principle, Ahura Mazdā is presented in the Gāthās as superior in rank to all other beings. Angra Mainyu/Ahremen 'the Harmful Spirit' is no antagonist at the same level as he came to increasingly be described in the subsequent religious and non-

⁴⁴ The action noun *frašō.kərəiti-* is attested in Young Avestan only, with the underlying verbal phrase *frašəm kar* and similar expressions occurring in the Gāthās.

religious literature, but he is the opponent of Spənta Mainyu 'the Beneficent Spirit.' Yet, as a consequence of the conception of the continuous fight for salvation (15.4), the prophet's picture of Ahura Mazdā is necessarily inconsistent. On the one hand Ahura Mazdā is the universal, all-mighty, and all-knowing judge of the universe, on the other hand he must, like the gods of archaic times, be supported and even fed with the oblation by his worshipers in order to strengthen him and to enable him to win the final and definitive victory over evil; by analogy with a worldly lawsuit he must even be informed by his prophet about false petitioners who try to undeservedly be heard by him.

16.3. Apart from the outstanding position attributed to Ahura Mazdā, Zarathushtra's religion is characterized by a rigid pan-dualism. All beings and even many things of both the material and the spiritual world either belong to the good or to the evil side. The Gāthās are focused on what is good, which also means profitable – profit is no sin –, and must therefore be promoted; evil is primarily represented by the Daēvas/devils, the noxious animals, and furthermore by enemies, opponents, other non-believers, rivals, and bad neighbors. All of them must be eliminated; bad humans ought to be killed or, at least, be deprived of their means and chased away.

17. The divine entities and Asha 'Truth/truth'

17.1. Under the leadership of Ahura Mazdā and the protection by his Fire, the good side is represented by a group of divine entities about which the highly mystical style of the prophet usually gives his hearer no hint as to whether he wishes them to be interpreted, in a given passage, as individual divine persons, a sort of archangels, or as deities united with Ahura Mazdā in a kind of multipersonality, or as divine qualities, as moral concepts or as reciprocal attitudes shown by Ahura Mazdā to his adherents and, in return, shown by them to Ahura Mazdā, attitudes possibly manifested in materialized form as goods exchanged between him and his worshipers. As divine persons these divine entities are twice called Ahuras 'Lords,' viz. in the phrase *mazdāscā ahurāñhō*, which stands for the vocative 'O Wise One and you (other) Ahuras/Lords' in Y. 30,9 and for the nominative 'the Wise One and the (other) Ahuras/Lords' in Y. 31,4.⁴⁵

17.2. In the Gāthās and the Yasna Haptanghāiti, the most prominent among the divine entities is Asha (*aša-*) 'Truth/truth,' which, as can be concluded from its etymological equivalents OP. *arta-* and Ved.Skt. *ṛtā-*, belongs to the prehistoric layer of the religious vocabulary of the Iranians. As early as in the Proto-Aryan period 'truth' must have been a high ethical norm as it continues to be in inherited phrases such as OAv. *ašahyā pa9-*

⁴⁵ In this connection note also the phrase *ahurāñhō ahurahyā* 'the Ladies of the Lord' YH. 38,3. On Aramaic *ḥwrnš* = Av. *ahurāñhō* rendered as Gr. *nymphai* 'nymphs' on the trilingual inscription of Xanthos in Lydia, see H. Humbach 1981. The etymologically related couple *aḥu- aḥhī-* 'patron (and) patroness' is attested in the inverted sequence 'female (and) male' in Y. 32,11 *aḥhīscā aḥhāvāscā* '(those so-called) patronesses and patrons,' where it refers to alleged authorities of the deceitful. – The Young Avestan word for 'god/deity' is *yazata-* (cf. Ved.Skt. *yajata-* 'worthy of worship') whose only Old Avestan occurrence is YH. 41,3 said of Ahura Mazdā.

= Ved.Skt. *ṛtasya path-* 'path of truth.' Yet, Iran and India developed in diverging directions. On the lexical level that is proven by the respective antonyms: while that of Av. *aša-* 'Truth/truth' is *drūj-* 'Deceit/deceit,' that of Ved.Skt. *ṛtā-* 'truth' is *án-ṛta-* 'untruth.'⁴⁶ But of even farther-reaching importance is the development of the personification of the Iranian term of which no trace is found on the Indian side: among the most numerous occurrences of Ved.Skt. *ṛtā-* in the Rigveda no vocative form can be detected.

17.3. In the Gāthic hierarchy of divine entities, Asha 'Truth' holds the prominent position immediately after Ahura Mazdā as is accounted for by its statistical frequency and by the phrases of the type 'you and Truth' addressed to Ahura Mazdā as in Y. 32,6 *vā mazdā ... ašāicā* 'to you, O Wise One, and to Truth,'⁴⁷ cf. YH. 40,2, 41,6 *tavacā ... ašaxyācā* 'of you and Truth', and YH. 41,1 *ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi* 'to Ahura Mazdā and Best Truth,' and, with inversion of the two members of the name of God, YH. 35,5 *mazdāi ahurāi ašāicā vahištāi* 'to Mazdā Ahura and Best Truth.'

17.4. As a common noun, Av. *aša-*, which is rendered as Alētheia 'Truth' (21.3.1) by the Greek author Plutarch (until c. 127 C.E.), basically denotes the truth of a spoken word and the true word itself. The basic meaning is perspicuous in YH. 35,9 *imā at uxδā vacā ... ašam manayā vahehyā fravaocāmā* 'these statements and words we wish to proclaim in good/better recitation as truth.' It is quite evident that truth has magical power. By uttering a true statement one can inspire, or even constrain, a deity to fulfill one's wishes. A good example of this is found in Young Avestan Yt. 5,77 where, in order to give weight to his request addressed to the popular goddess Anāhitā, a legendary hero boasts *tā bā aša tā aršuxδa ... yaṭ mē avavaṭ daēvayasnanam nijaṭbām yaṭa sārām-ā varsanam barāmi* 'these are truths, these are true/straight statements that I have slain as many Daēva-/devil-worshippers as I have hairs on my head.'

17.5. This Young Avestan passage is interesting also insofar as it proves that the form YAv. *aša*, which is customarily singular (instr.voc.), can unexpectedly occur as plural (nom.acc.). The same pluralic value is to be attributed to OAv. *ašā* in Y. 34,9 which is apparently contrasted with the plur. *xrafstrā* 'beasts, noxious animals': *aēibyō maš ašā syazdaṭ yavaṭ ahmaṭ aurunā xrafstrā* 'from these (evil-doers) one shall withhold very much truths as far as the fierce beasts from ourselves.' Of the same type is the plural of the entity *ārmaiti-* 'right-mindedness' in Y. 38,2 *ārmatayō* 'manifestations of right-mindedness,' cf. the plural of *xšaθra-* 'power' in Y. 46,11 *xšaθrāiš* 'means of power.' In the case of *aša-* 'truth' this use of the plural is certainly inherited, see the archaic Ved.Skt. *ṛtā* 'truths' (less archaic Ved.Skt. *ṛtāni*), which occurs, e.g., in the famous rhetorical question put by Yamī to her twin brother Yama, who is requesting her to

⁴⁶ Whereas Ved.Skt. *án-ṛta-* 'untruth' is a noun, YAv. *an-arəta-* is an adjective meaning 'untruthful' in its only occurrence Y. 12,4 where it is an attribute of the Daēvas/devils. – In this connection it is worth mentioning that such an important juridical phrase as OAv. *ašāt hacā*, OP. *artācā* 'in accordance with truth' has no etymological equivalent at all in Vedic Sanskrit. – Ved.Skt. *drūh-*, the etymological equivalent of Av. *drūj-*, plays but a marginal part in the Rigveda.

⁴⁷ See Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 1, 101.

commit incest with him: RV. 10,10,4 *ṛtā vādanto ánṛtaṃ rapema* '(why) should we, while (openly) speaking truths (i.e., virtuous words), whisper untruth (i.e., commit ourselves to obscenity)?'

17.6. In Zarathushtra's mystical poetry, *aša-* may denote welfare in the material and bliss of whatever kind in the mental or spiritual sphere, this earthly life and the other life not being as clearly distinguished from each other as pious laymen and theorizing scholars of our time would expect. It not only denotes a true statement and truthfulness but also refers to a promise divine or human, which will or must be fulfilled to become true; it refers particularly to a sponsor's promise to provide the prophet with the means necessary to enable him to support Ahura Mazdā in his salvatory work. As such, Truth/truth may manifest itself in materialized form as it does in Y. 43,16 *astvaṭ ašam xyāt uštānā aojōnghvaṭ* 'may osseous truth be (available), strong through vitality,' a deliberately ambiguous passage which at one and the same time pertains to salvation and future life and to the remuneration in head of animals (camels, horses, cattle) promised to Zarathushtra by the sponsor of the ceremony in question. In this respect the stanza under discussion is parallel to Y. 46,19 and also to Y. 44,18 where the refusal of this as of any other kind of sacrificial fee is threatened by the prophet with punishment in this and in the other world. It is understood that such refusal would less be a sin toward the prophet than one toward Ahura Mazdā, to whom the prophet is used to entrusting all his property.

17.7. When understanding *aša-* as the common noun 'truth' the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās has *ahrāyih*. This, however, is misleading as *ahrāyih* does not really mean 'truth,' but rather 'truthfulness,' being derived from Phl. *ahraw/ardā* < Av. *ašavan-* 'truthful' and thus being a derivation of second degree from Av. *aša-* 'truth.'⁴⁸ Several times the Pahlavi translator explains *ahrāyih* by the hendiadys *kār ud kirbag* 'meritorious work'; in Neriōsangh's Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi, *ahrāyih* is preferably rendered as *dharma-* 'prescribed conduct,' a well-known term of Hindu ethics, and *puṇya-* 'virtue, merit.' Unfortunately all these renderings offer a very simple interpretation of *aša-* as a single-layered moral concept by which only part of the Gāthic occurrences of the term is covered, whereas its primary meaning, the wide range of its connotations and notions, and its deeper sense as object of meditation in the frame of ritual mysticism are left unrealized there. When understood by him as the deity 'Truth,' the author of the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās renders it simply as *ašawahišt* 'Best Truth.'⁴⁹

17.8. In Gāthic poetry the number of the divine entities is open, which is certainly due to religious and poetical exaltation. To a great extent, the mention or non-mention of single entities and their relative position in a given Gāthic line, or stanza, follow

⁴⁸ *ahraw* [ʔhlwb] borrowed from Av. *ašavan-* with internal short *a* and with typical *hr* for Av. *š* < *rt*. The genuine Middle Persian form is *ardā* (wr. ʔltʔy) < OP. *artāvan-* with internal length.

⁴⁹ *ašawahišt* [ʔshwšt] borrowed from Av. *aša- vahišta-*, unlike *ahrāyih* with the simplified spelling *š* for Av. *š* < *rt*. The genuine Middle Persian form of the term is *ardwahišt* [ʔrtwhšt] as found, e.g., in the Bundahishn.

metrical and other technical requirements rather than considerations of logic. Yet nobody seems to doubt that a group of six of them is much more prominent than the others, being immediately attached to Ahura Mazda:

1. Asha (*aša-*) 'Truth'
2. Vohu Manah (*vohu- manah-*) 'Good Thought'
3. Khshathra (*xšaθra-*) 'Power/Rule'
4. Ārmaiti (*ārmaiti-*) 'Right-mindedness'
5. Haurvatāt (*haurv(at)āt-*) 'Integrity'
6. Amərətātāt (*amərə(ta)tāt-*) 'Immortality'

17.9. According to general opinion those six form a closed group of deities/divine entities in the religious system not only underlying Gāthic poetry but also actually taught by Zarathushtra. This opinion is based upon the similarity (but not identity!) of this group of six with that of the six Young Avestan Aməsha Spəntas (*aməša- spənta-*), the 'Beneficent Immortals' (Phl. Amahraspands, *amahraspandān*), who, preceded by Ahura Mazda, are the name-givers of the seven days of the first week of each month of the Zoroastrian calendar of the Younger Avesta (19.1). Yet, the matter is not unproblematic. For in the Gāthās themselves it is only Y. 47,1, the first stanza of that song of highly developed compositional technique (7.2), in which all six appear. There their names are interweaved with the two elements of the name of Ahura Mazda, thus following a one-plus-six pattern though without regard to their expected subsequence and with their grammatical cases varying: *spəntā mainyū vahištācā managhā* (instr.), *ašāt* (abl.), *haurvātā amərətātā* (acc.), *mazdā* (nom.), *xšaθrā ārmaitī* (instr.), *ahurō* (nom.) 'with Beneficent Spirit and Best Thought, in accordance with Truth, Integrity and Immortality, Wise through Power/Rule (and) Right-mindedness (is) the Ahura/Lord.'

17.10. No prose version of the Gāthic series is still extant. A similar series found in the prose of YH. 37,1-5 follows, it is true, the same one-plus-six pattern, but its last three members differ:

YH. 37,1-5 *yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām ... ašəm ... vahištəm ... spəntəm aməšəm ... vohucā manō ... vohucā xšaθrəm vaŋ'hīmācā daēnəm vaŋ'hīmācā fsəratūm vaŋ'hīmācā ārmaitīm*
'we celebrate Ahura Mazda, Best Truth ... beneficent (and) immortal, Good Thought, Good Power/Rule, Good View/Religion, Good Refection, Good Right-mindedness'

On the other hand this list attracts attention by the sequence *spənta- aməša-* 'beneficent (and) immortal' of *aša-* 'Truth' inasmuch as the same phrase pertains to a whole group in

YH. 39,3 *yazamaidē vaŋhūscā īt vaŋ'hīscā īt spəntāng aməšāng*
'we celebrate the good male and female beneficent and immortal ones.'

The similarity of the attribute *spənta- aməša-* of this group with the Young Avestan group of the 'Beneficent Immortals' (*aməša- spənta-*) forces itself upon the reader, nevertheless the inverted word order definitely forbids to equate the two. We should rather count with differences in terminology cultivated by diverging religious schools.



fig. 1

Ahura Mazda, in Graeco-Bactrian script *Ōromozdo* (see here 35.2, no. 17)
on the reverse of a coin of the Kushan King Huvishka
From R. Göbl 1984, no. 240 (unicum)
Drawing by M. Hahn

18. The Old Avestan divine entities and the Aməsha Spəntas

18.1. In some contrast with the group of the six prominent divine entities of the Gāthās as reconstructed above (17.8), the group of the six Young Avestan Aməsha Spəntas, the Beneficent Immortals, consists of

1. Vohu Manah (*vohu- manah-*) 'Good Thought'
2. Asha Vahishta (*aša- vahišta-*) 'Best Truth'
3. Khshathra Vairiya (*xšaθra- vairiya-*) 'Power/Rule worth choosing'
4. Spəntā Ārmaiti (*spəntā- ārmait-*) 'Beneficent Right-mindedness'
5. Haurvatāt (*haurv(at)āt-*) 'Integrity'
6. Amərətātāt (*amərət(at)āt-*) 'Immortality.'

As we see the picture of the six Young Avestan Aməsha Spəntas shows some notable deviations from that of their Gāthic predecessors. Thus the oscillation between abstract, material, and personal notion characteristic of the Gāthās is in some respect retained only in the case of Haurvatāt and Amərətātāt (21.8). Compared with the Gāthic divine entities whose attributes are optional and variable those of the Aməsha Spəntas are obligatory, in consequence of which one will, in the Younger Avesta, look in vain for oppositions similar to that between the abstract notion *aša-* 'truth' and the name of the deity Asha Vahishta (*aša- vahišta-*) 'Best Truth' as found in the Old Avestan Ashəm Vohū formula Y. 27,14: *uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi ašəm* 'as desired/at will the (things) desired (are available) as truth to (Him who is) Best Truth.'

18.2. In the Young Avestan list Asha Vahishta 'Best Truth,' whose Old Avestan predecessor Asha 'Truth' had originally held the first place of the six, ceded this prominent position to Vohu Manah 'Good Thought.'⁵⁰ This change is most likely the result of an early theological interpretation of the famous Gāthā lines Y. 43,7 etc. *spəntām at 9βā mazdā mōjhi ahurā hyaṭ mā vohū pairi.jasat managhā* 'I realize that you are beneficent, O Mazdā Ahura, when one serves me with/through Good Thought,' which seems to have been reinterpreted at a rather early time as 'I realized that you are beneficent, O Mazdā Ahura, when (the Aməsha Spənta) Vohu Manah came to me,' a reinterpretation which was followed centuries later by the PhlT. *abzōnīg-am ēdōn tō mēnīd hēh ohrmazd ka ō man wahman bē mad* 'when Vohu Manah came to me,'

⁵⁰ Most enigmatic with respect to Vohu Manah's part is the perhaps only fragment preserved of an archaic version of the Zarathushtra legend, which is transmitted in Young Avestan Vid. 19,11 *zaraθuštrō ... drājya paiti zbarahi ahurāi mazdāi vaṇhave vohumaite āghānō, ašāi vahištāi, xšaθrāi vairiyāi, spəntayāi ārmātē* 'Zarathushtra ... on the Drājā hill(?) sitting (to pray) before Ahura Mazdā, the good one who is provided with good things, and (before) Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairiya, and Spəntā Ārmaiti.' Here Asha Vahishta 'Best Truth' gives an impression of still being the most prominent of the archangels, but the situation is already changing: Vohu Manah 'Good Thought' is left unmentioned, his quality of goodness being represented as an attribute of Ahura Mazdā, which possibly means that Vohu Manah had silently left the second place to take over the function of minister of reception, which made of him a mediator between Ahura Mazdā and the prophet and which, in the end, put him at the first place of the Aməsha Spəntas.

transforming Vohu Manah into Ahura Mazdā's *handēman-kar* 'minister of reception' (21.2.1).

18.3. In this most speculative reinterpretation the instr.sg. *vohū managhā* 'with good thought' was taken as the personal subject of the clause, an analysis which is unacceptable from a scholarly point of view but which resulted at a given time in an important step toward amplifying the Zarathushtra legend by a biographical interpretation of the second Gāthā (Ushtavaiti Gāthā Y. 43-46). According to this reinterpretation, the prophet would have reported in Y. 43 to his pious listeners the appearance before his eyes of the deity Vohu Manah. This would have guided him to the legendary conference with Ahura Mazdā, which was understood to be the subject of the subsequent Y. 44. See the references to the legendary event in the Dēnkard made accessible by M. Molé 1993:

Dk. 7,3,60-62 *u-š ō ōy guft wahman kū zarduxšt ī spitāmān be ēd jāmag-ē dah kē barēh ciyōn ōy ō hampursēm kē tō dād hēh ... ēg awešān bē raft hēnd pad abāgih wahman zardušt-iz wahman pēš zarduxšt pas*

'Thereupon Wahman spoke to him thus: "O Zarathushtra of the Spitamas, deposit this vessel which you are carrying, so that we may confer with Him by whom you are produced" ... then they proceeded together, Wahman and Zarathushtra, Wahman first, Zarathushtra following behind him'

Dk. 7,4,29 cf. 57 *ka wahman ō hampursih nīd*

'when Wahman was leading (Zarathushtra) to the conference (with Ahura Mazdā)'

19. The Avestan calendar and the number of the Aməsha Spəntas

19.1. The Mazdayasnian calendar as it is described in the Younger Avesta is a solar calendar of obviously Egyptian origin, which counts 12 months of 30 days each, adding five intercalative days every year. Each month consists of four weeks, the first and second consisting of seven days each, the third and fourth of eight days each. Ahura Mazdā and the six Aməsha Spəntas are the name-givers of the seven days of the first week. In his function as creator (Av. *daδbah-/daθuš-*, Phl. *day*), Ahura Mazdā is the name-giver of the first day of each of the succeeding three weeks as well, the rest of twenty "work" days being named after the 'other Yazatas/deities.' In their Avestan realizations the names of the days stand in the genitive of the name of the respective deity:

First week: 1. Ahura Mazdā (*ahurahe mazdā, ohrmazd*). 2. Vohu Manah 'Good Thought' (*vaṇhōuš managhō, wahman*). 3. Asha Vahishta 'Best Truth' (*ašāhe vahištahe, ardwhišt*). 4. Khshathra Vairiya (*xšaθrahe vairyehe, šahrēwar*). 5. Spəntā Ārmaiti (*spəntayā ārmātōiš, spandarmad*). 6. Haurvatāt (*haurvatātō, hordād*). 7. Amərətātāt (*amərātātō, amurdād*)

Second week: 8. The Creator Ahura Mazdā (*daθušō ahurahe mazdā, day pad ādur*). 9. Ātar 'fire' (*āθrō, ādur*). 10. Āpō Vanghvīsh 'the good waters' (*apām vaṇ'hinām, ābān*). 11. Hvarəkhshaēta 'the sun' (*hvarəxšaētahe, xwar/xwarxšēd*). 12. Māh 'the moon' (*māghō, mäh*). 13. Tishtriya 'Sirius' (*tīstriyehe, tīr*). 14. Gav 'the cow' (*gəuš, gōš*)

Third week: 15. The Creator Ahura Mazdā (*daθušō ahurahe mazdā, day pad mihr*). 16. Mithra 'treaty' (*miθrahe, mihr*). 17. Sraosha 'hearing/obedience' (*sraōšahe, srōš*). 18. Rashnu

'justice' (*rašnaoš, rašn*). 19. Fravashis (pl.) 'the protective spirits' (*fravašīnām, frawardīn*). 20. Vərəθragna 'victory' (*vərəθraynahe, wahrām*). 21. Rāman 'peace' (*rāmanō, rām*). 22. Vāta 'wind' (*vātahe, wād*)

Fourth week: 23. The Creator Ahura Mazda (*daθušō ahurahe mazdā, day pad dīn*). 24. Daēnā 'religion' (*daēnāyā, dēn*). 25. Ashi Vanghvī 'share fortune' (*ašōiš vanhvīyā, ard ahrīswangī*). 26. Arštāt 'rectitude' (*arštato, aštad*). 27. Asmān 'heaven' (*ašnō, asmān*). 28. Zam Hudhāh 'the munificent earth' (*zāmō hudāhō, zamyād*). 29. Manthra Spənta 'the beneficent mantra' (*maθrahe spəntahe, māraspand*). 30. Anaghrā Raocāo 'the endless lights' (*anayranām raocanham, anagrān*)

19.2. As a result of the calendrical implication of the concept of the Aməsha Spəntas, Ahura Mazda is sometimes included in the group of these who, then, count seven as they do in the Young Avestan text Sīrōza 'The 30 Days,' which in its 1,1 speaks of Ahura Mazda as 'the (most) majestic and glorious one of the Aməsha Spəntas' (*ahurahe mazdā raēvatō x'arənanuhatō aməšanām spəntanām*), cf. the Pahlavi title Haft Amahraspand Yasht 'the Yasht of the Seven Amahraspands' of Yt. 2.

19.3. Neither six nor seven but even eight Aməsha Spəntas are expressedly mentioned in Young Avestan Yt. 19,16 (= Yt. 13,83) *yōi hapta hamō.mananaghō, yōi hapta hamō.vacanaghō, yōi hapta hamō.šyaoθnāghō ... yaēšām ptā frasastaca yō daδβā ahurō mazdā* 'the seven who are of the same manner of thinking, of the same manner of speaking, of the same manner of acting, whose father and master is the same, Ahura Mazda, the Creator.' In this passage, which has a great calendrical impact, Ahura Mazda is counted two times: At first he is silently included in the number of the seven days of the first week, thus counting him, without further comment, as Aməsha Spənta, thereupon he is mentioned by name, giving him the attribute *daδβā* 'Creator' which agrees with the name of the eighth day of each month, thus setting a seven-plus-one pattern, which, though it does not make sense, certainly satisfied the religious feelings and desires of the author of the passage.

19.4. The issue was taken seriously in the Pahlavi priestly circles, where the number of the Aməsha Spəntas (Amahraspands) was apparently much disputed:

Bdh. 1,53 *u-š nazdist amahraspandān dād haft bun, pas abārīg; ān-ī haftom xwad ohrmazd ... u-š wahman frāz brēhēnīd ... ud pas ardwahišt ud pas šahrēwar ud pas spandarmad ud pas hordād amurdād*

'(Ohrmazd) first produced the seven fundamental Amahraspands, then the others, the seventh (He created) himself, Ohrmazd. ... He created Wahman, then Ardwhisht, then Shahrēwar, then Spandarmad, then Hordād and Amurdād'

Note furthermore the correspondence between the seven Amahraspands and the seven categories of beings, which is mentioned several times in the Pahlavi literature as it is, e.g., in the first chapter of the Pahlavi text Shkand Gumānīg Vizār:

ŠGV 1,4 *u-š dād ... haft amahraspand ... ud haft gēhīh daxšagān ī hēnd mardom, gōspand, ātaxš, ayōxšust, zamīg, āb, urwar*

'He created the seven Amahraspands ... and the seven (corresponding) worldly categories which are: (Ohrmazd:) men, (Wahman:) animals, (Ardwhisht:) fire, (Shahrēwar:) metal, (Spandarmad:) earth, (Hordād:) water, (Amurdād:) plants'

19.5. In the Pahlavi anthology Zādspram (Zsp.), Vohu Manah is doubled being described as the divine person who introduced Zarathushtra to a conference with the seven Aməsha Spəntas, he himself being one of the prophet's seven interlocutors as well:

Zsp. 21,7-8 *u-š framud wahman be o zarduxšt ku abar raw o hanjaman ī menōgān; and cand wahman pad nō gām be raft. zarduxšt pad navad gām. ud ka navad gām šud būd u-š frāz dīd hanjaman ī haft amahraspandān*

'Wahman ordered Zarathushtra: "Proceed to the assembly of spirits." Zarathushtra advanced in ninety steps as much as Wahman advanced in nine steps, and when he had gone ninety steps, he saw the assembly of the seven Amahraspands'

Further extension of the legendary interpretation of Y. 43,7 etc. (18.2) is seen in the picture drawn in Zsp. 23, whose author speaks of no less than seven conferences attended by Zarathushtra at seven places, each with one of the seven Amahraspands/Aməsha Spəntas.

20. Aməsha Spəntas and Daēvas

20.1. In the Gāthās and, influenced by them, in the majority of the Young Avestan texts, the opponent of *aša-* 'Truth/truth' is *drūj-* 'Deceit/deceit' (17.2). This is also true of Y. 48,1 *yezī ... aša drujəm vānghaitī* 'when one will have overcome deceit by truth' or, rather, 'when truths (= manifestations of Truth) will have overcome Deceit,' a line which is understood as a reference to the eschatological events by PhIT. *ka ahrāyīh ... drūj wānīd* 'when truthfulness has (= will have) overcome deceit.' The Pahlavi translation itself would be nothing out of the common unless its rendering of *aša* 'Truth/truth' as *ahrāyīh* 'truthfulness' was unexpectedly supplemented by the gloss *ašawahišt indar* 'when Ashawahisht (will have overcome) Indar (= YAv. *Indra*). The gloss, which directs attention to the Proto-Aryan or Indo-Iranian prehistory of the religion underlying Zarathushtra's poetry, does not seem to have been adequately taken note of by Gāthā scholars. Indra, the mightiest of the gods of the Proto-Aryan pantheon, who survived as such in the Indian Rīgveda, has become number one of the chief Daēvas/devils, the fallen gods listed in two remarkable Young Avestan passages whose first is

Vid. 10,9-10 *īndrəm, saurum, nāghaiθəm daēum, taurvi zairica*
'Indra, Saurva, the Daēva Nāonghaithya, Taurvi and Zairi.'

20.2. If we rely upon the text of this passage, which has the acc.sing. *nāghaiθəm*, then the number of these Daēvas is five, making of Nāonghaithya one single Daēva in contrast to the Vedic Nāsatyas (*nāsatyā-*), a couple of two divine helpers in time of need (like Greek Castor and Pollux), who always stand in the dual number. Yet, taking into account the etymological relationship and the well-known fact that the grammatical endings found in the Vidēvdād are notoriously doubtful, we suppose that the transmitted *nāghaiθəm* represents an original dual form **nāghaiθe* (< **nāghaiθya* = Ved.Skt. *nāsatyā*). This would result in the number of six Daēvas who might have been set up as a counterpart to the six weekdays of an otherwise unknown Mazdayasnian calendar.

20.3. Angra Mainyu/Ahremen 'the Harmful Spirit' is not expressly mentioned in the above Vid. 10,9-10, but he is duly prefixed to the similar list in

Vid. 19,43 *agrō mainyuš pouru.mahrkō daēvanam daēvō, iṇdrō daēvō, sauru daēvō, nāghaiṣam daēvō, taurvi zairi-ca*
'deadly Angra Mainyu, the Daēva of Daēvas, the Daēva Indra, the Daēva Saurva, the Daēva(?) Nāonghaithya, (the Daēvas) Taurvi and Zairi.'

A completely Zoroastrianized list of six Daēvas led by Angra Mainyu/Ahremen and now including Aka Manah, is transmitted in Pahlavi rendering in

Bdh. 27,4-12 *ahremen ... akōman, indar dēw, sawur dēw, nāhais dēw, taur-iz dēw, zair-iz*

where these six are called the 'chief Daēvas' (Phl. *kamālīgān dēwān*), 'the other ones (being) their collaborators and helpers.' Aka Manah/Akōman 'Evil Thought,' the opponent of typically Zoroastrian Vohu Manah/Wahman 'Good Thought,' has been inserted here before Indra/Indar, who thus, in the same way as his Ahurian opponent Asha Vahishta/Ardwahišt, lost his prominent position (18.2), an insertion which made it furthermore necessary to reduce the two Nāonghaithyas we reconstructed above (20.2) to one single Daēva in order to retain the number of six weekdays.

20.4. Additional Zoroastrianization is seen in the description of the eschatological events in the Bundahishn where an overzealous theologian replaced the Daēva Nāonghaithya/Nāhais with Tarōmaiti/Tarōmad 'Arrogance' (OAv. *tarā.maiti-*, Phl. *tarōmad*, attested as the opponent of Ārmaiti as early as in Gāthie Y. 33,4):

Bdh. 34,27 *pas ohrmazd gannāg mēnōg, ud wahman akōman, ud ardwhišt indar, ud šahrēwar sauru, ud spandarmad tarōmad (ī hast nāhais), ud hordād ud amurdād tairi-z ud zairi-z ... gīrēnd*
'then Ohrmazd will take hold of the Foul Spirit (= Ahremen), and Wahman of Akōman, and Ardwhišt of Indar, and Shahrēwar of Sauru, and Spandarmad of Tarōmad (who is Nāhais), and Hordād and Amurdād of Tairi and Zairi'

20.5. By analogy with the fanciful description of the creation of the seven/eight Aməsha Spəntas by Ahura Mazdā in Bdh. 1,53 (19.4), the corresponding countercreation is described in

Bdh. 1,55 *gannāg mēnōg pad ān padyāragōmanīh az kamālīgān dēwān nazdist akōman frāz kīrrenīd ud pas indar ud pas sauru ud pas nāhais (†ud †pas tarōmad) ud pas tairi-z ud zairi-z ... haftom xwad gannāg mēnōg*
'in opposition to these, the Foul Spirit miscreated Akōman, the first of the archdevils, then Indar, then Sauru, then Nāhais (†then Tarōmad), then Tairi and Zairi ..., and seventh, the Foul Spirit himself.'

21. Further notes on the Aməsha Spəntas and their opponents

21.1. In his famous description of the creation of the Aməsha Spəntas, which has some bearing on their calendarical function, Plutarch says that Ahura Mazdā (Ōromazēs), originating from the purest light (*ek tou katarōtatou phaous*), created six deities (*hex theous epoiēse*), viz. Good Will, Truth, Good Order, Wisdom, Wealth, and the Artificer

of the pleasures rewarding honorable deeds.⁵¹ In the following we contrast Plutarch's Greek renderings of the six names with the description of their respective functions found in the Pahlavi Bundahishn.

21.2.1. Vohu Manah/Wahman 'Good Thought,' Plutarch Eunoia 'Good Will,' is a typically Mazdayasnian creation. The scholastic interpretation of Gāthie Y. 43-44 which made of him the divine minister of reception who would have taken the prophet to the conference with Ahura Mazdā (18.2) is extended to the idea of Vohu Manah acting as conductor of the souls of the dead:

Bdh. 26,12 *wahman xwēškārīh handēmān-kārīh*. 13 *ciyōn gōwēd kū wahman weh ī amāwand ī āštīh dādār*. 14 *u-š wehīh handēmān-kārīh, kū ahrawān ō ān-ī pahlom ahwān wahman barēd ud han-dēmānīh-ī ohrmazd wahman kunēd ... 18 az hamāg yazdān wahman ō dādār nazd*. 19 *u-š gēhīh gōspand ud watar ī spēd xwēš*
'12 Wahman's proper function is acting as minister of reception. 13 One says that good, courageous Wahman (is) the giver of peacefulness. 14 His goodness consists in introduction, i.e., Wahman takes the truthful to Paradise. ... 18 Of all deities Wahman is nearest to the Creator. 19 In the material existence the beneficent animal and the white garment belong to him'

21.2.2. The opponent of Vohu Manah/Wahman is Aka Manah/Akōman 'Evil Thought.' The description of his function is modest:

Bdh. 27,5 *akōman kār ēn kū wattar-mēnišnīh ud anāštīh ō dāmān dādan*
'the work of Akōman is this: to produce evil-thinking and discord among the creatures'

21.3.1. Asha Vahishta/Ardwahišt⁵² 'Best Truth,' Plutarch Alētheia 'Truth':

Bdh. 26,35 *ardwahišt xwēškārīh ēd kū ruwān-ī druwandān andar dōšaxw, dēwān, wēš az wināh ī-šān hast, pādīfrāh nē hilēd kardan, u-šān az-iš abāz dārēd*. 36 *ciyōn gōwēd kū ardwhišt ahrāyīh-ī pahlom-ī amarg-ī abzōnīg*. 37 *cē har kas, ahrāyīh warzišnīh rāy ō garōnmān šawēnd ud pad nekīh arzānīg bawēnd*. ... 41 *ardwahišt pad gēhīh ātaxš xwēš*
'35 Ardwhišt's proper function is this that he will not allow the Dēws to inflict, unto the souls of the wicked beings in the worst existence, punishment greater than is due for the sins which are theirs, and he withholds them. 36 One says: Ardwhišt (is) the best, the deathless and beneficent truthfulness. 37 For, in regard to his practicing truthfulness and through his virtue, everybody becomes worth going to the best existence [= Paradise]. ... 41 In the material existence fire belongs to him'

21.3.2. The opponent of Asha Vahishta/Ardwahišt is Indra/Indar, so to speak the cousin of Rigvedic Indra (20.1):

⁵¹ De Iside et Osiride 47. Plutarch concludes his presentation with the remark 'and he created 24 other gods and placed them in an egg' (*allous de poiēsas tettaras kai eikosi theous eis ōion ethēken*). This evidences that Plutarch does not primarily refer to the creation of the Aməsha Spəntas as such by Ahura Mazdā, but rather to the establishment of the Mazdayasnian calendar of the Younger Avesta each month of which consists of 30 days (19.1). From these he deduced the six days dedicated to the six Aməsha Spəntas, but he forgot to deduce the four dedicated by Ahura Mazdā to himself, which would result in 20 (not 24) other gods.

⁵² On Phl. Ashawahisht/Ardwahišt (wr. *šwhšt/rtwhšt*) see 17.7.

Bdh. 27,6 *indar dēw kār ēn kū mēnišn ī dāmān az frārōnīh kardan ōwōn afsārēd ciyōn snēxr ī xūb afsārd; ēn ō mēnišn ī mardōmān abganēd kū šabīg ud kustī nē abāyēd dāstan* 'the work of the Dēw Indar is this that he freezes the minds of the creatures from practicing righteousness just like much frozen snow; he instills this into the minds of men that they ought to not wear the sacred shirt and the sacred thread-girdle'

21.4.1. Khshathra Vairiya/Shahrēwar 'Power/Rule worth choosing,' Plutarch Eunomia 'Good Order':

Bdh. 26,57 *šahrēwar xwēškārīh pēš ī ohrmazd dād-gōyīh ī driyōšān kardan; hamag sālārīh bun az šahrēwar; hast kē šahrēwar gōwēd kē wizārd šahryārīh pad kāmāg. ... 60 šahrēwar gēhīh ayōxšust xwēš*

'57 Shahrēwar's proper function is the intercession on behalf of the poor with Ohrmazd; the origin of all leadership is from Shahrēwar. There is one who explains Shahrēwar as rulership at will. ... 60 In the material existence metal belongs to him'

21.4.2. The opponent of Khshathra Vairiya/Shahrēwar is Saurva/Sauru/Sawur, the fallen cousin of Vedic Śarva. Śarva's name occurs several times in the Atharva Veda in a rather uncharacteristic way except, perhaps, for AV. 10,2 where he is described as a manifestation of the god Rudra, the father of the Maruts, the gang of the gods of thunderstorm. More informative in regard to the characteristics attributed to him is a fragment of the Greek author Chares of Mytilene, who accompanied Alexander the Great at his expedition to India: 'There is a deity worshiped by the Indians who is called Soroadeios (= Skt. Śarva deva), which is rendered in Greek as *oinopoios* winegrower/winepresser' (*par' Indois timatai daimōn hos kaleitai Soroadeios, hermēneutai de hellēnisti oinopoios*).⁵³ The Chares fragment obviously refers to the god of the wine-growing region situated immediately beyond the eastern border of the Iranian lands where, at their entrance into India (327 B.C.), Alexander and his soldiers celebrated a ten-day wine festival in honor of the god whom they equated with Dionysos, whose common Latin equivalent is Liber Pater as he is also called by the Alexander historian Curtius Rufus (about 200 C.E.). This author delights in describing the solemn and pious feelings of the Macedonian and Indian participants in the festival, but what really must have happened is more appropriately expressed by the Iranian characterization of Saurva as a devil:

Bdh. 27,7 *sauru/sawur dēw kū sālār ī dēwān kār ēn kū duš-pādxšāyīh ud stahm ud adādestānīh ud must-kārīh (kardan)*

'The work of the Dēw Sauru/Sawur, leader (of a gang) of Dēws, is this that (he produces) evil authority, oppression, unlawfulness, and violence'

21.5.1. Spəntā Ārmaiti/Spandarmad 'Beneficent Right-mindedness,' Plutarch Sophia 'Wisdom, Sound Judgment.' Spandarmad belongs to the Proto-Aryan layer of prominent divine entities. In the Younger Avesta her name is used as a metaphorical term for the earth, a use which seems to be artificially derived from Gāthic Y. 47,3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā.dā ārmaitīm* 'establishing peace for her pasture (he fashioned) Right-

⁵³ Chares FGrHist 125, F 17. See the circumstantial treatment of the subject in H. Humbach 2007.

mindedness.' The etymological equivalent of Av. *ārmaiti*- (a clerical spelling for *arəm-maiti*-) is Ved.Skt. *arāmati*- (simplified spelling of *arām-mati*-), which seems to have the same double meaning of moral concept and divine person as the Avestan term has in the Gāthās, where its antonyms are *tarō.maiti*- 'arrogance' and *pairī.maiti*- 'disregard.' Even more appropriate than Plutarch's rendering of *ārmaiti*- as *sophia* would be that as Gr. *sōphrosynē* 'soundness of mind, self-control, temperance' the opposite of which is *hybris* 'hubris, arrogance, insolence' in a conversation of Cyrus the Great with his liegemen recounted by Xenophon (until c. 355 B.C.) in his *Cyropaedia* 8,4,14. Yet the Pahlavi interpretation diverges:

Bdh. 26,78 *spandarmad xwēškārīh parwardārīh ī dāmān ud har xīr ī pad dāmān bawandag bē-kardan. 79 u-š gēhīh dām ī xwēš. 80 ciyōn gōwēd kū spandarmad ī weh ī rād ī bawandag-mēnišnīg ī kāmāg-dōisr ī ohrmazd-dād ī ahraw. 81 ... 82 u-š bawandag-mēnišnīh ēn kū hamag anāgīh ī-š pad-iš kunēd hunsandihā padirēd*

'78 Spandarmad's proper function is the nourishment of the creatures, and the right/appropriate treatment of every substance which is in the creations. 79 In the material existence the earth belongs to her. 80 One says (of her): The good, generous Spandarmad, right-minded, dulcet-eyed, created by Ohrmazd, and truthful. 81 ... 82 Her right-mindedness is such that she calmly takes all harm in a contented mood'

21.5.2. The (male) opponent of (female) Spəntā Ārmaiti/Spandarmad is Nāonghaithya/Nāhais (*nāṅhaiṭya*-), cf. the two Ved.Skt. *Nāsatyas* (*nāsatya*-) (20.2):

Bdh. 27,8 *nāhais dēw kār ēn kū ahunsandīh ō dāmān dahēd; 9 ciyōn gōwēd kū kē cīz ō ān mardomān dahēd kē dād ēn kū šabīg ud kustīg nē abāyēd dāstan ēg-ā-š indar ud sauru ud nāhais šnāyēnīd bawēnd*

'8 The work of the Dēw Nāhais is this: he produces discontent among the creatures. 9 One says (that this refers to that one) who will give something to people according to whose law one must not wear the sacred shirt and girdle so that Indar, Sauru and Nāhais are satisfied'

21.6.1. Haurv(at)āt/Hordād 'Integrity' gives an impression of preferably referring to bodily integrity, yet Plutarch's explanation as Ploutos 'Wealth' apparently points to material welfare, to be enjoyed not only in the present but also in the other world:

Bdh. 26,103 *hordād rad ī sālān ud mähān ud rōzān az ēn kū harwīn rad. u-š gēhīh āb xwēš* 'Hordād is the master of the years, months, and days as she is the master of all these. In the material existence water belongs to him/her'

21.6.2. The opponent of Haurv(at)āt/Hordād is Taurvi/Tauri 'smiter' (*taurvi*-). His name is etymologically very near to Ved.Skt. *tūrvi*- 'overcoming/smiting' (said of soma!):

Bdh. 27,10 *tauri-z dēw ān kē zahr ō urwarān dāmān gōmēzēd. 11 ciyōn gōwēd kū tauri-z tarwēnīdār zairi-z ī zahr-kardār*

'10 The Dēw Tauri is he who urinates poison onto the vegetable creations. 11 One says: Tauri the smiter and Zairi the venom-maker'

21.7. Aməratatāt/Amurdād 'Immortality' is paraphrased by Plutarch with *ho tōn epi tois kalois hēdeōn dēmiourgos* 'the artificer of the pleasures rewarding honorable deeds':

Bdh. 16,113 *amurdād amaragān urwarān rad cē-š gēhīh urwar xwēš*

'Amurdād is the master of the innumerable plants. In the material world the plants belong to him/her'

The opponent of Amərətāt/Amurdād is Zairi from YAv. *zairi-/zāiri-* 'yellow,' attested especially of haoma(!) (25.9) (cf. Ved.Skt. *hāri-* 'yellow,' of soma but also of deities, celestial phenomena, etc.), but here apparently understood as 'pus':

Bdh. 27.11 *zairi-z ī zahr-kardār* '(the Dēw) Zairi the pus-maker'

21.8. Haurvatāt and Amərətāt are mostly juxtaposed as dual Dvandva compounds *haurv(at)ātā amərə(ta)tātā* 'Integrity and Immortality' (dual + dual meaning as much as singular + singular).⁵⁴ In the Young Avestan ritual the couple *haurv(at)ātā amərə(ta)tātā* 'integrity and immortality' has the metaphorical meaning of 'liquid and solid parts of the offering'; in the Gāthās the two, when being offered, are thought to increase the magical power of Ahura Mazdā (and, of course, to obtain an appropriate reward from him). This kind of metaphor dates back to the Indo-European period: Gr. *nectar* 'overcoming death' and *ambrosia* 'immortality' denote drink and food of the gods in Homer's *Odyssey* (c. 8th cent. B.C.).⁵⁵

22. The truthful and the deceitful

22.1. Zarathushtra calls Ahura Mazdā, himself, his sponsors and his adherents *ašavan-* 'truthful'; his rivals and their followers as well he calls *drəgvant-* 'deceitful, liars.' This does not mean that those on the other side called themselves 'deceitful,' as Gāthā scholars seem to hold; it is, on the contrary, quite natural that the others, on their part, count themselves among the truthful, but Zarathushtra and his people among the deceitful. As a matter of fact, the prophet sometimes warns of such confusion of terminology as, e.g., in Y. 43.15 where he demands 'one should not try to satisfy the many deceitful, for these call all the harmful truthful' (*nōiṭ nā pourūš drəgvatō xyāt cixšnušō aṭ tōi vīspāng angrēng ašaonō ādarē*). By Gāthā scholars, who are used to attributing a highly confused word order to the prophet, the passage is usually translated as 'for these call all the truthful harmful,' starting from the unrealistic presupposition that those who are called deceitful by the prophet call themselves deceitful.

22.2. 'The truthful man' (*nar- ašavan-*) of Young Avestan Vid. 3.1 is the 'blessed or holy man,' especially the priest, who is free of sin, which is a necessary precondition of his magical power. More generally, the truthful one is the person who has reached the state of blessedness/bliss in his earthly life in Vid. 5.61 *juvasciṭ nōiṭ buvaṭ ašava məšasciṭ nōiṭ baxšaite vahištahe aṇhəuš* '(such a sinner) will not become truthful/blessed as long as he lives, and he will not enjoy best existence/paradise when he has died.' A different view is expressed by Xerxes (ruled 485-465 B.C.), who, in his

⁵⁴ Though obscured in the course of the tradition, the Dvandva structure certainly underlies the instances of their opponents Taurvi and Zairi as well: YAv. *taurvi zairi* originally were dual forms (< **taurvi zairi*), to which the particle *ca* 'and' was unnecessarily added later on two times.

⁵⁵ *Odyssey* 5.93, Hymn.Cer. 49, Hymn.Ap. 10. Later on 'food and drink' as in Sappho 51. In certain religious rites *ambrosia* denotes a mixture of water, oil, and various fruits, see Antikleides (= Anticleides) FGrHist 140.

Persepolis inscription XPh 51ff., writes *martiya haya ... ahuramazdām yadataiy ... hauv utā jīva šiyāta bavatiy utā mṛta artāvā bavatiy* 'the mortal one who worships Ahura Mazdā, he both becomes happy (*šiyāta-*) while living, and becomes truthful/blessed (*artāvan-*) when he has died.'⁵⁶

22.3. We do not know whether the divergence between the Avestan and the Old Persian passage results from a dissent between religious schools or simply represents the contrast between theological and non-theological views. Yet it is interesting that the multivalence of the Old Iranian term *ašavan-/artāvan-* 'truthful' is a more general phenomenon; it is also reflected in two hybrid Greek adaptations, *Artaioi* and *Artades*, the former tracing back to the earliest layer of Greek historical literature, the latter is coined in analogy to the well-known ethnographical term *nomades* 'nomads,' which characteristically stands as an attribute of the Scythians in the old poetry (Pindar and Aischylos).

22.4. (1) In his entry *Artaia* Stephanus of Byzantium (6th cent. C.E.), famous author of a geographical lexicon entitled *Ethnica*, reproduces information taken from the historian Hellanicus of Lesbos (born c. 500 B.C.) according to whom '*Artaia* is a Persian land where cities were built by Perses, the son of Perseus and Andromeda (as writes) Hellanikos in his first book. Its inhabitants are the *Artaioi*. The Persians call the people of old *Artaioi* in the same way as the Greeks call them heroes.'⁵⁷ The etymological connection of the Persians with Perseus, that hero of Greek mythology, may be passed over, but the second half of the testimony is valuable.

(2) As a matter of fact, Hellanikos's reference to the *Artaioi* is more perspicuous than the outward similar passage in Herodotus 7.61 'in ancient times the Persians called themselves *Artaioi*, and so they were called by their neighbors.'⁵⁸ It is most likely that Herodotus (mid-5th cent. B.C.) quite inexactly borrowed his information from his predecessor Hellanicus, a rare opportunity to make out the literary source of a detail transmitted by the 'father of history.'⁵⁹

22.5. Among the uncommon words listed and explained by the Greek lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (c. 5th cent. C.E.) we find the entry '*Artades*: (thus) the righteous (*dikaioi*) are called by the Magi.'⁶⁰ The rendering of *artad-* with the Greek word for 'righteous' agrees with the customary translation of OIr. *ašavan-/artāvan-* as 'righteous' by the modern Zoroastrians, which, though, is not unproblematic for technical reasons as the underlying term *aša-/arta-* does not match Engl. 'right' (17.7).

22.6. Yet, an appropriate rendering of *ašavan/artāvan-* remains difficult at all. The multivalence of this term developed in the Pahlavi literature is shown by G. König

⁵⁶ Kent 1953, 151 f.

⁵⁷ Steph.Byz. *Artaia*: *Persikē chōra hēn epolise Persēs Perseōs kai Andromedas, Hellanikos en Persikōn prōtēi. Artaious de Persai, hōsper hoi Hellēnes tous palaious anthrōpous hērōas, kalusi.*

⁵⁸ Hdt. 7.61 (*hoi Persai ...*) *ekaleonto de palai ... hypo ... speōn autōn kai perioikōn Artaioi.*

⁵⁹ Note furthermore *Artaios*, the apparently non-original name of the sixth of the Median Kings listed by Ktesias FGrHist 688, F 5.

⁶⁰ Hsch. *Artades: hoi dikaioi hypo magōn.*

2005, who lists the use of the Pahlavi term *mard ī ahlaw* 'the truthful man' in the following number of senses:

1. 'prototype of man,' 'first man,' and 'material correspondence to the highest deity'
2. 'man of the Ohrmazdian creation' (19.4)
3. 'believer' in contrast with *druwand* 'non-believer' (< Av. *dragvañt-* 'deceitful') and in contrast with *anēr* 'non-Aryan' (< Av. *anairya-*)
4. 'needy'
5. 'priest'⁶¹

The Gāthīc picture of the truthful is, of course, less manifold. There the truthful are the pious believers who support the prophet spiritually and, not least, materially; the truthful one par excellence is the prophet.⁶²

The picture drawn of the deceitful in the Gāthās is, in principle, analogous. Notable details are the threatening apostrophe of the participants in the prophet's sacrifice as 'you deceitful' (Y. 31,20) and the hospitality to be given under certain conditions to a person of other religion, possibly a worshiper of Mithra (Y. 46,5-6). Yet it is Zarathushtra's competitors and their sponsors who are the deceitful predominantly (Y. 49,1-2). Among these are not only the worshipers of the Daēvas/devils, but also subjects calling upon Ahura Mazda (Y. 31,12, 44,12), trying to get access to his mantras (Y. 31,18-19) and calling themselves truthful (Y. 43,15).

23. The two spirits

23.1. Zarathushtra's spiritualism is based on an attempt to reduce monotheism and dualism to a common denominator (16.2-3). This necessarily results in a contradiction which makes it difficult to determine the details of the prophet's view of the relation between Ahura Mazda and Spənta Mainyu, the Beneficent Spirit.⁶³ The two are clearly distinguished in

YH. 36,3 *ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahyā ahī, mainyuš vōi ahyā spəništō ahī*
'you are indeed the Fire of Mazda Ahura, you are indeed his Most Beneficent Spirit'

where the abstract character of Spənta Mainyu is expressed by poetically equating him with the fiery energy of Ahura Mazda.⁶⁴

23.2. In the post-Old Avestan literature – including the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās – Spənta Mainyu (and its superlative Spəništa Mainyu) was increasingly understood as

⁶¹ See König's summary on his pp. 164-166.

⁶² To be needy is typical of the priest, see already Y. 34,5 where the prophet calls himself *drigūm yūšmakəm* 'your needy (servant/disciple).'

⁶³ The adj. *spənta-* is a derivation from the noun *spən-* 'fortune,' thus lit. 'Fortunate Spirit,' i.e., 'the spirit who himself is fortunate and who grants fortune to men.' Cf. its comparative *spanyah-* in Y. 45,2 *yayā spanyā* 'the more beneficent one of whom' (cf. Y. 19,9), of fortunate humans in Y. 10,13 (25.5) and Vid. 18,7. The close etymological relationship of *spənta-* with Russ. *svjatoj* 'holy' must be taken into account as well.

⁶⁴ The equation of Ahura Mazda's Spənta Mainyu with his Fire is no religious tenet, see Y. 31,3 *yam dā mainyū āgrācā* 'that which you fix/establish by (your) Spirit and (your) Fire,' where they are distinguished.

being identical with Ahura Mazda. See, e.g., the address to Ahura Mazda in:

Vid. 2,1 *ahura mazda mainyō spəništa dātārə gaēθanəm astvaitinəm ašaum*
'Ahura Mazda, O (you) Most Beneficent Spirit, O truthful creator of the osseous/material possessions/world'

23.3. It is particularly in explicit opposition to Angra Mainyu/Ahremen, the Harmful Spirit, that YAv. Spənta Mainyu is more or less a concept of its own value:

Yt. 19,46 (*x'arəñō ...*) *yahmī paiti parəθāite spəntasca mainyuš aṅrasca ... / adāṭ ašte fraṅharəzayaṭ āsište katarasciṭ; / spəntō mainyuš aštəm fraṅharəzayaṭ vohuca manō ašəmca vahištəm ātrəmca ahurahe mazdā puθrəm; / aṅrō mainyuš aštəm fraṅharəzayaṭ akəmca manō aēšmāmca xruvi.drūm ažiṃca dahākəm spitiyurəmca yimō.kərəntəm*
'(for that Glory ...) about which Spənta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu were in conflict with each other ... / each of the two sent his swiftest messengers (to gain hold of it); as his messengers Spənta Mainyu sent Vohu Manah, Asha Vahishta, and the Fire of Ahura Mazda; / as his messengers Angra Mainyu sent Aka Manah, Aēshma/Fury of bloody weapon, the (monster) Azhi Dahāka, and Spitiyura who is (perpetually) cutting up Yima'

Yt. 15,43 *uva dāma ... yasca daθaṭ spəntō mainyuš yasca daθaṭ aṅrō mainyuš*
'both creations, ... that which Spənta Mainyu created and that which Angra Mainyu created'

Y. 57,17 *sraošō ... yō nōiṭ pascaēta hušx'afa yaṭ mainyū dāman daiḍitəm yasca spəntō mainyuš yasca aṅrō*
'Sraosha (Hearing/Obedience) who (watching over the herds of truth) has never slept since the two spirits, Spənta Mainyu and Angra (Mainyu), created the creatures'

Yt. 13,76 *fravašayō ... yā taḍa ərəθβā hištənta hyaṭ mainyū dāman daiḍitəm yasca spəntō mainyuš yasca aṅrō*
'the Fravashis (protective spirits) who then stood upright when the two spirits, Spənta Mainyu and Angra (Mainyu), created the creatures'

23.4. In the Gāthās, no creative activity of Angra Mainyu (which, of course, would result in mis-creations) is mentioned. It is Ahura Mazda who is called *dātār-* 'creator,' a term which, in regard of the wide scope of meanings of the root *dā-*, not only denotes the creator par excellence but also the giver/bestower and much more. In contrast, Spənta Mainyu is rather considered a prominent divine entity, showing a preference for standing in the instrumental case, which is characteristic of these, e.g.:

Y. 45,6 *spəntā mainyū sraotū mazdā ahurō* 'let the Wise Lord hear it with best thought'
Y. 51,7 *dāidī ... spəništā mainyū* 'grant (me) through most beneficent spirit'

Generally we ascribe adverbial function to the instrumental case, rendering it with the prepositions 'with, through, by, due to,' but in several cases adnominal function must be taken into account in the Gāthās, see, e.g.:

Y. 44,7 *azəm tāiš θβā fraxšnī avāmī mazdā*
spəntā mainyū višpanəm dātārəm
'with these (offerings) I prudently refresh you, O Wise One,
with beneficent spirit, (you,) the creator of all (things)'
or: 'you who, with/through (your) Beneficent Spirit, (are) the creator of all (things)'

23.5. Spənta Mainyu 'Beneficent Spirit' and his opponent Angra Mainyu/Ahremen 'Harmful Spirit' vary in the Gāthās with Vohu Mainyu 'Good Spirit' and Aka Mainyu 'Evil Spirit,' respectively.⁶⁵ By producing this intermediate form between Spənta/Angra Mainyu 'Beneficent/Harmful Spirit' and Vohu/Aka Manah 'Good/Evil Thought' the prophet renounces the terminological clearness customarily expected from him by his adherents and by modern scholarship.⁶⁶ His intent is poetical variation like in Y. 47,1 where the sequence of Spənta Mainyu and the six (later) Aməsha Spəntas (17.8-9) is artistically crossed with the series spirit – thought – word – action:

Y. 47,1 *spəntā mainyū vahištācā managhā*
hacā ašāt šyaoθanācā vacaghācā
ahmāi dan haurvātā amərətātā
mazdā xšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō
 'With Beneficent Spirit and Best Thought,
 with action and word in accordance with Truth
 they shall offer/grant Him/him⁶⁷ Integrity/Nectar and Immortality/Ambrosia.
 Mindful (of them is) the Lord through Power and Right-mindedness.'

23.6. As a common noun *mainyu-* 'spirit' denotes the moral disposition of an individual, as it does, e.g., in Y. 32,9 *tā uxδā mainyēuš mahyā* 'these utterances of my spirit.'⁶⁸ This disposition may stimulate him to act in the good or the bad way, be it in a given situation or be it continuously in his entire life. Thus the climax *mainyu – manah – vacah – šyaoθana* 'spirit – thought – word – action,' an extension of the common series 'thought, word, action,' may be taken as a description of the four stages of realization of a single action by a person and, at the same time, without differentiation as that of the development of one's character.

23.7.1. The above climax is furthermore extended by the addition of *x'afəna-* 'dream' as its second stage at the commencement of Y. 30,3-5, the one of the two classical Gāthā passages on the two Spirits:

Y. 30,3 *aṭ tā mainyū paouruyē yā yāmā x'afənā asruvātəm*
manahicā vacahicā šyaoθanōi hī vahyō akəmcā
āscā hudāṇhō ərəš višyātā nōiṭ duždāṇhō

⁶⁵ For metrical reasons the gen.sg. *spəntahyā mainyēuš* is replaced by *vaghēuš mainyēuš* in Y. 45,5,8, 48,8 (in hemistichs of four syllables). No metrical necessity underlies the replacement of *angra-mainyu-* by *aka-mainyu-* in Y. 32,5 *akā managhā ... akascā mainyū akā šyaoθanəm vacaghā* 'through evil thought the evil spirit and the action (inspired by) evil word (cheated you Daēvas).' Here the attribute *aka-* of *mainyu-* is apparently due to the combination of *mainyu-* with *aka-manah-*, *aka-vacah-*, *aka-šyaoθana-*.

⁶⁶ Note furthermore Y. 30,5 *mainivā ... yā drəgvā* 'the deceitful one of these two spirits' (23.7.3) and Young Avestan Yt. 13,13 *†drujā mainivā* where *drujā* is not from **drujant-* but is corrupted from **draojyā*, nom.sing. of *draojyah-*, the otherwise unattested comparative of *drəgvant-* 'deceitful.' The corruption took place owing to the inadvertence of a scribe who was thinking of *driṇj-* 'deceit.'

⁶⁷ Deliberately ambiguous: 'offer Him (= Ahura Mazda)' or 'grant him (= him who is present = me).'

⁶⁸ Cf. Ved.Skt. *manyū-* 'spirit, mind, mood, high spirit, ardor, zeal, passion.'

'These are the two spirits, the twins⁶⁹ who at the beginning⁷⁰ came to be heard of as both (kinds of) dreams
 and thoughts and words, as both (kinds of) actions, the better and the evil one,
 and between these two the munificent discriminate rightly, not so the misers.'⁷¹

23.7.2. In the next stanza the moral disposition of a person is understood as being governed by that one of the two spirits who will have gotten control of him:

Y. 30,4 *aṭcā hyaṭ tā hām mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē*
gaēmācā aṭcāyāimcā yaθācā aṭcā apāməm aṭhuš
acištō drəgvātəm aṭcā ašāunē vahištəm manō
 'When these two spirits meet (to fight over a person, then this) determines (his) first
 existence/life,
 vitality or lack of it, and how (his) existence will be at last.
 That of the deceitful (will be) most evil, but best thought will be in store for the truthful
 one.'⁷²

23.7.3. In the subsequent stanza the moral disposition of the person in question is described as the result of a choice between the two spirits:

Y. 30,5 *ayā mainivā varatā yā drəgvā acištā vərəzyō*
ašəm mainyūš spəništō yā xraoždīštāng asənō vastē
yaēcā xšnaošan ahurəm haiθyāiš šyaoθanāiš fraorəṭ mazdəm
 'The deceitful one of these two spirits chooses to do what is worst,

⁶⁹ *yāmā* 'the twins' (PhIT. *ān ī jomāy*) has a double sense inasmuch as it alludes to Yima 'the twin' the correct Old Avestan form of whose name would be *yāma-* 'twin' (13.2).

⁷⁰ The attributive loc.sing. *paouruyē* 'in the first (existence/life)' does not necessarily denote the primal existence of the world but may refer to the present life of a human individual too as contrasted with his last existence which will be in paradise or in hell. Cf. particularly Y. 44,19 *pouruyē ... apāmā* '(punishment) in (his) first existence ... at last.' In Y. 30,3-5 the past is excluded by the present tense of the verbal form *dazdē* in Y. 30,4.

⁷¹ Y. 30,3ab PhIT. *ēdōn ān ī har dō mēnōg [ohrmazd ud gannāg] / ā-šān fradom ān ī jomāy xwad[ih] srūd [kū-šān wināh ud kirbag xwad bē guft]*
mēnišn ud gōwišn / ud kunišn ān ī har dō kē weh ud kē-z wad [ek ān ī weh mēnīd ud guft ud kard ud ēwak ān wad]

'Thus both spirits [Ohrmazd and the foul one] / (in the) beginning declared their twinned selfhood [i.e., they themselves made known their sin and merit],
 thought, word, and action, the two, the better and the evil one [one (of them) thought, spoke, and did what is good, (the other) one, what is bad].'

⁷² Y. 30,4a PhIT. *ēdōn-iz ān ī har dō mēnōg [ohrmazd ud gannāg] ō ham mad hēnd ō ān ī ōy ī fradom dahišn [kū har dō mēnōg ō gayōmard mad hēnd]*
 'Thus the two spirits met at His first creation [i.e., they went to Gayōmard (= to the first human(like) being)].'

The Pahlavi translator desperately mistranslates *paourvīm dazdē* as *fradom dahišn* 'first/primeval creation.' Relying on him modern Gāthā scholars analyzed *dazdē* 'he takes, appropriates, produces for himself,' the otherwise well-attested 3.sg.pres.med. of root *dā*, as a quite irregularly formed 3.du.perf.med. of the same root, giving it the meaning 'the two created,' which would require a 3.du.aor.act.

(but) the most beneficent spirit clad in the hardest stones (chooses) truth
and so (do) those who with true/real actions devotedly will satisfy Ahura Mazda.⁷³

23.8.1. The other one of the two classical passages dealing with the two spirits in the Gāthās is the stanza

Y. 45.2 *aṭ fravaxšyā aṇhəuš mainyū pouruyē*
yayā spanyā ūtī mravaṭ yim angrēm
nōit nā manā nōit sənghā nōit xratavō
naēdā varanā nōit uxδā naēdā šyaoθanā
nōit daēnā nōit uruṇānō hacaiṇtē

'I wish to proclaim the two spirits (active) in the first (period) of (one's) existence/life
the more beneficent of whom will/shall address the harmful one as follows:

"Neither our thoughts nor our sentences nor our intellects

nor our choices/preferences nor our statements nor our actions

nor our view-souls/views nor our breath-souls/breaths are in harmony."⁷⁴

Confusing the 3.sg.subj. *mravaṭ* with the 3.sg.inj. *mraoṭ*, the Pahlavi translation uncritically adopted by Western scholarship puts the words of Spənta Mainyu in the remote past. Yet *mravaṭ* certainly means 'he shall/will speak' or, in the given context, better 'he shall/will address,' thus opening the request to ban Angra Mainyu and, with him, all of his adherents. The request has a double sense: On the microcosmic level it refers to daily life, calling up the community and its members to break up any contact with the Harmful Spirit and his beings, who manifest themselves as the prophet's priestly opponent and his adherents; but on the macrocosmic level it calls up manhood to support Ahura Mazda in his cosmic struggle for the decisive salvation of the world or it even predicts the salvation itself (15.5).

23.8.2. In the same way as later on in the Pahlavi translation, the message of the Gāthic stanza had been transferred to the past and reported to be pronounced by Ahura Mazda as early as in its Young Avestan quotation

Y. 19.15 *vahištō ahurō mazdā ahunəm vairīm frāmraoṭ ... aṇtarəca ... druvanṭəm āmrūta*
aya aṇtarəuxti: nōit nā manā ... hacaiṇtē

'Best Ahura Mazda recited the Ahuna Vairiya (formula) and banned the Deceitful (Spirit)
with the following ban: "Neither our thoughts ... are in harmony."

Yet the quotation is worth mentioning also insofar as the opposition between the Beneficent and the Harmful Spirit is replaced here by that between Ahura Mazda and the Harmful Spirit, here called Deceitful (Spirit) as in Y. 30.5.

⁷³ Y. 30.5a PhlT. *az dowān mēnōgān ā-š dōšid kē druwand ān ī wattar warzišn [ahreman ān ī wattar warzišn kāmāg būd]*

'That one of the two spirits who (is) deceitful liked to do (what is) the worst [Ahreman's desire was doing (what is) worst].'

⁷⁴ Y. 45.2ab PhlT. *ēdōn frāz gōwom andar axwān mēnōgīgih fradom [gāsānīgih] / kē pad awēšan abzōnīgih ā-š ēdōn guft ō ōy gannāg ...*

'Thus I proclaim, in the world/existence, the first spirits [Gāthic]. / The Beneficent one of these spoke to the Foul (= Harmful) one (as follows) ...'

24. Haoma, the drug of the Zoroastrians

24.1. The plant called haoma (*haoma-*) in Avestan and hōm in Pahlavi is a pharmaceutical herb whose relevant component is ephedrine. Haoma is one of the about 40 or more species of the ephedra family, an alcaloidic group of low, straggling or climbing shrubs. Ephedra plants are found in the moderate and subtropical regions of Europe, Asia, and North and South America.⁷⁵ About 25 species of the plant grow in the steppes, deserts, and mountainous regions of the (former) Soviet Union, i.e., mainly in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. Ephedrine, which is particularly obtained from Asiatic variants of ephedra, has been in use in Chinese medicine for more than 5000 years. It stimulates the central nervous system; in sufficient doses it also constricts the small blood vessels, elevates blood pressure and accelerates heart rate; it relaxes the bronchioles and dilates the pupils of the eyes. Among its many therapeutic applications is also that as an antidote against poisons that depress the central nervous system.⁷⁶ Nothing is said in the encyclopedias about intoxication effected by consuming haoma as reported in the Avestan and post-Avestan sources.

24.2. Since old, the juice extracted from the twigs of the haoma plant has been ritually used, preferably after being mixed with milk to make it well-tolerated in men and, by analogy, in the gods to whom it was offered.⁷⁷ Resemblance of the Iranian haoma ritual to the soma ritual of Vedic India evidences that it is inherited from the Proto-Aryan period, the terms Av. *haoma-* and Ved.Skt. *sóma-* themselves deriving from Proto-Aryan **sauma-*, their reconstructed joint ancestor.⁷⁸ The ritual developed in somewhat different ways in the two branches of Aryans, but the pictures drawn of haoma/soma in the respective religious literatures resemble each other also insofar as they may refer to the plant, or to its juice and the drink prepared from it, or to the deity governing the whole, or to all three at one and the same time. Yet it is only the Iranian side on which the old tradition has been kept alive. In the cultural development of post-Vedic India, soma lost its cultural relevance and the soma ritual was abandoned early, at least in the mainstream of the tradition.

24.3. The haoma twigs that are used in the modern Zoroastrian ritual as cultivated by the Parsis in Mumbai are brought from the mountainous region of Quetta in Baluchistan (Pakistan) close to the Afghan border. They contain just a very small quantity of ephedrine,⁷⁹ in consequence of which the ritual drink which is prepared from these twigs is a rather homeopathic dilution. Though its consumption is said by the Parsi priests we consulted to induce exhilaration of mind, to intensify mental concentration, and to widen the way to spiritual insight, it cannot be denied that the haoma plants of

⁷⁵ See Encyclopedia Britannica Online 2007, s.v. Ephedra.

⁷⁶ See Great Soviet Encyclopedia 1973 ff., s.v. Ephedra.

⁷⁷ Ny. 1.16 *haomō yō gava*, Y. 10.12 *haomō gaoma*, Y. 10.13 (*haomahe*) *gava iristahe* 'haoma mixed with milk.'

⁷⁸ Av. *haoma-* vs. Ved.Skt. *sóma-* as Av. *hapta* vs. Ved.Skt. *saptá* 'seven.'

⁷⁹ According to the analysis by the Pharmacological Institute of the University of Mainz.

past times must have been of a much higher pharmacological efficacy than those available to the Parsis nowadays.

24.4. At the Yasna, the great ritual ceremony of the Zoroastrians of our time, the haoma twigs are pounded and diluted with water and milk and some pieces of pomegranate twigs are added to perfume the solution,⁸⁰ thus producing the haoma drink called Parāhōm (Av. *para.haoma*-), a technical term which is not consistently applied by scholars who mostly replace it with the general designation haoma. During the Yasna ceremony of today, which was apparently established in connection with the Mazdayasnian reform of the Sasanian period, two subsequent preparations of Parāhōm take place. The first of these, the Paragnā, which is of prefatory nature, is concluded with the partaking of the Parāhōm by the officiating priest during the recitation of the Hōm Yasht (Y. 9-11). The second preparation, which is the object of the main ceremony, starts with the Fravarānē, the 'Profession of Faith' (Y. 12), and ends with the libation of the Parāhōm into the well of the fire-temple. This is the outward description of the procedure as customarily given by the Zoroastrian priests.⁸¹ It seems to be useful to add that the real purpose of the first preparation is to make the priest fit for performing the main ceremony, including the recitation of the Gāthās. It is the product of the second preparation only, the Parāhōm of the main ceremony, which serves as an offering for Ahura Mazda and the other deities.

25. Haoma in the Hōm Yasht

25.1. Most of our information about the haoma of remote times is set down in the Hōm Yasht, a text composed in Young Avestan dialect and dedicated to the deity Haoma. The Hōm Yasht (Y. 9-11) must originally have been part of the collection of the Yashts each of which deals with one single deity (6.1.1), whence it was transferred to the Yasna by the Sasanian redaction of the Avesta. The Yasht is a document of a popular religiosity of very archaic appearance and of a partly epic style quite different from that of the Gāthās and the other Old and Young Avestan texts of the Yasna.

25.2. Information on Haoma/haoma provided by the Hōm Yasht is disguised in a language of poetical and religious exaltation on which an enthusiastic Parsi scholar of the first half of the 20th century remarked that the religious and spiritual properties of the plant are described there "in a rich poetical style, and in a tone overflowing with heartfelt admiration and praise."⁸² See, e.g.,

Y. 9,26 *paurvanīm aiβiyāñhanəm stəhrpaēsəñhəm mainyu.tāštəm*

⁸⁰ In Y. 10,4 haoma is said to be fragrant/odoriferous. The addition of twigs of the pomegranate (Av. *hađanaēpatā*-), which is mentioned but in a later layer of the Yasna, seems to be required for substituting the flavor the haoma plant lost by the transport to distant places. See, e.g., Y. 22,2 *imā zaoθrā haomavaitiś gaomavaitiś hađanaēpatavaitiś* 'these libations containing haoma, milk, and pomegranate.'

⁸¹ See F. M. Kotwal and J. W. Boyd 1991. The authors seem to take it for granted that their readers are already well-acquainted with the subject of their work into which they try to introduce them.

⁸² Modi 1922, 304.

'(Haoma/haoma wears) a knotted belt adorned with stars and fashioned by a spiritual being.'

The attributes of the haoma plant mentioned here especially refer to those twigs with which the bundles of budding haoma were tied together for transport, being understood as the girdle of the deity Haoma, most likely a characteristic of an iconography otherwise lost.

25.3. Haoma is said to originate from the mountains whence it extended to the plains by its seed dispersed by birds:

Y. 10,3 *staomi garayō bərəzantō yaθra ... urūruđiša*

'I praise the high mountains where you grew up'

Y. 10,4 *staomi zəmo yaθra raodahe hubaoiđiš aurvō carānəm; uta mazdā huruθma haoma raose gara paiti uta frādaēša višpaθa*

'I praise the region of the earth where you grow, good-smelling (and) effective; may you, the good growth of Mazdā, O Haoma, grow up on the mountain (cf. next) and spread on the path of the birds'

Y. 10,10-12 *θβā ... bayō nidaθaṭ huvāpā haraiθyō paiti bərəzaiiā; / āaṭ θβā aθra spənta fradaxša mərəya vižvañca viḅarən avi iškata upāiri.saēna ... avi spita.gaona gairi; / āaṭ āhva paurvatāhva pouru.sarəđō viraodahe*

'a skillful god had laid you down on Mount Haraiti (≈ Elburz); / therefrom birds taught by the Beneficent (Spirit) dispersed you in different directions: to the Ishkata Upāiri.saēna (≈ Hindukush), ... to the mountains covered with white (snow), / and on these mountain chains you grow up in numerous kinds'⁸³

Y. 10,17 *višpe haoma upa.staomi yaṭciṭ bərəšnušva gairinām yaṭciṭ jaṭnušva raonām yaṭciṭ aṇahva dərətāñhō jaininām upa.darəzāhu*

'I praise all the haomas, whether on the heights of the mountains, whether in the depths of the slopes, whether kept in the sealed straits of women'⁸⁴

25.4. The use of the haoma preparation as a curative (*baēšaza*-) is frequently mentioned:

Y. 10,9 *dazdi mē baēšazanām yābyō ahī baēšazađā*

'grant me of the curatives through which you are the giver of curatives'

Haoma's curatives are of miraculous power:

Y. 10,12 *ā tē baēšaza irīr-iθarə vañhəuš manəñhō mayābiiō*

'your curatives are mixed with the miracles of Good Thought'⁸⁵

The administration of haoma is referred to in

⁸³ Elsewhere *pouru.sarəda*- is well-attested in the meaning 'of many kinds' (PhlT. *pur-sardag*, SktV. *puru-jāti*- with Skt. *jāti*- 'position assigned by birth, rank, caste, family, race, lineage'). The attribute seems to subsume all the species of the ephedra family (24.1) under the term haoma.

⁸⁴ The third member of the enumeration was apparently considered obscene by the tradition and, therefore, left out in the Pahlavi translation, in consequence of which it is missing in Neriosangh's Sanskrit version as well.

⁸⁵ Further occurrences Y. 9,16 *haomō ... baēšazyō*, Y. 10,7 *haomahe baēšazyēhe*, Y. 10,8 *haomō ... baēšazađā*.

Y. 9,16 *vaṇhuš haomō huḍātō haomō arš.dātō vaṇhuš dātō baēšazyō ... yaθa x'arəṇte vahištō urunaēca pāθmainyōtāmō*
 'healthy (is) haoma (if being) well-administered, properly administered, in healthy (dilution) administered, most healthy for the one partaking (of it) and most providing a good flight for (his) soul.'

25.5. The boons granted by Haoma/haoma are of material or/and of immaterial and spiritual quality:

Y. 10,13 *pourunarəm tūm kərənūši spainyaghəm cistivastarəm yasə.tē bāda haoma zāire gauua iristahe baxšaite*
 'you make that one more rich in men, more fortunate, and more endowed with insight, (that one) who partakes of you (being) mixed with milk, O yellow Haoma'

25.6. No clear distinction is made between psychoactive and intoxicative effects of haoma. A milder form of effect seems to be expressed in the occurrences of *masti-* 'exhilaration' which, though, is not only granted by Haoma but by other Young Avestan deities as well:

Y. 9,22 Haoma grants (the students) abundance and exhilaration (*spānō mastīmca*)
 Yt. 5,86 Anāhitā is asked by the priests for exhilaration and abundance (*mastīm ... spānāmca*)
 Yt. 10,33 Mithra grants exhilaration, abundance, and knowledge (*mastīm spānō vaēdīmca*)
 Y. 62,4 Fire grants exhilaration, abundance, and a ready tongue (*mastīm spānō xšviθrəm hizvəm*)

25.7. A higher degree of pharmacological effect is certainly referred to in the instances of the etymologically related *maḍa-*, which clearly point to the meanings 'intoxicative' and 'intoxication,' both potentially personified:

Y. 9,17 *nī tē zāire maḍəm mruyē nī aməm nī vərəθraynəm*
 'I call down, O yellow (Haoma), your intoxication, your impetuosity, and your victoriousness'
 Y. 10,8 *vispe zī anye maḍāṇhō aēšma hacinṭe xruvidrūvō, āaṭ hō yō haomahe maḍō aša<he> hacaite uruvāsmana*
 'indeed, all the other intoxications are followed by fury of horrible club, but the intoxication of haoma is followed by the grace of truth'⁸⁶
 Y. 10,13 *nəmō haomāi yaṭ kərənaoiti driyaoš havaṭ.masō manō yaθa raēuuastəmaheciṭ*
 'reverence to Haoma who makes the mind of the poor one as wide as that of even the wealthiest one'

25.8. Liver disease as a consequence of excessive partaking of haoma is described in pious interpretation and with fanciful exaggeration by a Pahlavi author in

Yōišṭ ī Friyān 1,6 *900 moymard ... kē-šān and yazišn ī yazdān kard ēstād ka-šān and xwardan ī parāhōm rāy hamāg tan zard būd ēstād*

⁸⁶ The corruption of *ašahe hacaite* to *aša hacaite* seems to be influenced by Y. 34,2, 46,16 *aša hacaite*, cf. also Young Avestan Yt. 17,5 *yaṭ vispe anye maḍāṇhō aēšma hacinṭe xruvidrūvō, āaṭ hō yō haomahe maḍō aša hacaite x'aē.paiθe* 'but the intoxication of haoma is followed by one's own truth.'

'nine hundred Magians ... performed so many rites of worship that by their drinking so much parāhōm their entire bodies became yellow.'

In the Hōm Yasht itself, the paralyzation suffered by Frangrasyan, the legendary opponent of the Aryans/Iranians, is referred to in order to present the outcome of heavy misuse of haoma:

Y. 11,7 *mā 9βā haomō baṇdayāt yaθa mairīm baṇdayāt yim tūirīm fraṅrasyānəm*
 'do not let Haoma/haoma bind you as he bound the Turanian scoundrel Frangrasyan'

25.9. Some of the attributes of haoma described, or alluded to, in the Hōm Yasht are of botanical relevance. It is common knowledge that the attribute *zairi-/zāiri-* 'yellow,' which relates to the blossoms of the plant and to its juice too, etymologically equates Ved.Skt. *hāri-* 'yellow' frequently applied to soma (21.7), thus suggesting that more or less the same plant is meant in the ancient sources of both Iranians and Indians. Botanical variants unknown to us must be taken into account (25.2), as it seems to be unavoidable in regard of the obvious opposition between *bərəzaṇt-* 'high' and *frāšmi-frādaṭ.gaēθa-* 'low (and) furthering the herds' in

Y. 10,21 *haoməm zāirīm bərəzaṇtəm ... haoməm frāšmīm frādaṭ.gaēθəm ... haoməm dūraošəm*
 'the yellow high(-climbing) haoma, the low, (straggling) haoma furthering the herds, the death-averting haoma.'⁸⁷

Yet, unlike the first three attributes of haoma listed here, the attribute *dūraoša-* 'death-averting' (Phl. *dūrōš*) does not denote a botanical variant but emphasizes on the curative efficacy of the product of the plant and, at the same time, on the part it will play in the salvation of the world which, on the microcosmic level, is anticipated and symbolized by the Yasna ritual.

25.10. In the Bundahishn, where Phl. *dūrōš* [*dwl*²*wš*, i.e., *dūr-ōš*] occurs but occasionally, the eschatological aspect of the term is apparently represented by the mythical concept of the White Hōm (*hōm ī spēd*):

Bdh. 16,5 *hōm ī spēd ī bēšaz ī awinast rust ēstēd andar cašmag ī ardwišūr; / har kē xwarēd ahōš bawēd; / u-š gōkaran draxt xwānēnd; / ciyōn gōwēd kū hōm ī dūrōš ud pad frašgird anōšagih az-iš wirāyēnd; / urwarān rad hast*
 'the white, healing, undefiled hōm has grown in the source (of the mythical stream) Ardwišūr; / whoever eats (from) it will become deathless; / they call it the Gōkaran tree;⁸⁸ / one says (that it is) the death-averting hōm, and at the salvation (of the world) they (will) prepare immortality with it; / it is the chief of the plants'
 Bdh. 24,1 *hōm ī spēd kē gōkaran draxt xwānēnd / ī andar zrēh ī frāxwgard, pad ān ī zofr war, rust ēstēd / pad frašgird kardārīh andar abāyēd / cē-š anōšagih az-iš wirāyēnd*
 'the White Hōm which they call the Gōkaran tree / which has grown in the Frākhwgard

⁸⁷ The attribute *frāšmi-* cannot be separated from the element *frāšmō* of YAv. *frāšmō.dāiti-* 'sunset,' lit. 'laying low' rather than 'putting in the dark' (since dark haoma is mentioned nowhere). As a matter of fact, unless the further attribute *frādaṭ.gaēθa-* 'promoting the herds' is simply selected to repeat the initial syllable *frā*, it may refer to variants whose twigs are easily accessible to small animals.

⁸⁸ On YAv. *gaokarāna-* (*gao-karāna-*), Phl. *gōkaran* see 31.6.

Sea, in the deep flood, / is requisite for the performance of (the ritual for) the salvation (of the world), / as they will prepare immortality from it'

Bdh. 34,23 *ud yazišn ī pad rist wirāyīšnīh sōšyāns abāg ayyārān kunēd / ud gāw ī haḍayaš pad ān yazišn kušēnd / az pīh ī ān gāw ud hōm ī spēd anōš wirāyēnd / ud ō harwisp mardōm dahēnd / ud harwisp mardōm ahōš bawēnd*

'and Sōshyāns, the (eschatological) savior, with his associates, will perform the sacrifice for the restoration of the dead / and they will slay the ox Hadhayānsh for that sacrifice / (and) out of the fat of that ox and the white hōm they will prepare the beverage of immortality / and give it to all men / and all men will become immortal'

26. Haoma the death-avorter

26.1. Answering Zarathushtra's question about his identity, personified Haoma introduces himself to the prophet at the commencement of the Hōm Yasht:

Y. 9,2 *azəm ahmi zaraḡuštra haomō ašava dūraoša*
'I am, O Zarathushtra, the truthful Haoma Dūraosha'

thus assigning to himself the quality of being *dūraoša*-. This term is traditionally understood as a compound of Av. *dūra*- 'far off' (Phl. *dūr*) and *aoša*- '*combustion > destruction > death' (Phl. *ōš*) resulting in 'keeping death afar, death-avorter, death-dispeller,' for which see the gloss in

Y. 9,2 PhlT. *dūrōših-aš ēd kū ōš az ruwān ī mardōmān dūr dārēd ... anōših pad hōm bawēd*
'Haoma's Dūrōsh-ness refers to his/its keeping death afar from the mortals ... deathlessness/immortality (*anōših*) is (caused) by Hōm.'

This explanation is taken up by Neriōsangh, who, in his Sanskrit version, renders Phl. *dūr-ōš* as *dūra-mṛtyu*- 'with/by whom death is afar' from Skt. *dūra*- 'far' and *mṛtyu*- 'death.' Yet the dissection of Av. *dūraoša*- into *dūra-aoša*- neither agrees with the trisyllabic structure of the compound unambiguously attested in its only Gāthic occurrence *dūraošaem* in Y. 32,14 nor with its spelling which otherwise ought to be tetrasyllabic **dūra.aoša*-.

26.2. The outward appearance of Av. *dūraoša*-, and its meaning too, resemble that of Ved.Skt. *dur-ōsa*- (< **duž-auša*-) 'of difficult combustion/destruction,' a compound of *duh* 'bad' and *ōsa*- 'combustion.' The literal meaning of the Vedic compound, which is attested as attribute not only of soma but also of fresh/unseasoned wood, is 'resisting combustion,' a precondition from which a meaning such as 'providing deathlessness' may easily have developed.⁸⁹

26.3. However, no less than the traditional explanation as 'keeping death afar, death-avorter,' the etymological relation of Av. *dūr-aoša*- with Ved.Skt. *dur-ōsa*- presents

⁸⁹ In an ambivalent sense Ved.Skt. *dur-ōsa*- is attested in the complaint RV. 8,1,13 *vānāni nā prajahitāni ... durōśāso amanmahi* 'we have realized to be like fresh/green/unseasoned wood abandoned,' but it is turned into the positive in connection with soma in RV. 9,101,3 *tām durōśam ... sōmaṁ ... hinvanti ādribhiḥ* 'they drive this fresh/green soma through the pounding stones,' where *durōśa*- refers to the fresh soma twigs as containing a high amount of juice.

difficulties. As the phonologically correct equivalent of the Vedic compound one expects Av. **duž-aoša*-, which by dissimilation might have developed to **dur-aoša*-,⁹⁰ with the lengthening **dur > dūr* remaining unexplained, hardly being due to the known instability of the quantity of the Avestan vowels in the textual tradition. In the end, the problem of the etymology and early history of *dūraoša*- can only be resolved by assuming a secondary, i.e., phonetically irregular adaption of the prefix *duš/duž/dur* 'bad' to Av. *dūra*- > MP. *dūr* 'far,' which unexpectedly clarifies both the traditional and the etymological meaning of *dūraoša*-.

26.4. At first glance this secondary adaption appears to be the result of popular etymology, yet it is rather of scholastic nature. Even in its dissimilatory variant Av. **dur*, the basically negative sense of Av. *duž* 'bad' became intolerable in view of the highly auspicious meaning gradually developed by **duž-aoša*-, which has eventually become a term of healing and salvation. As early as in its Young Avestan instances the compound developed that semantic affinity to the adjective YAv. *an-aoša*- '*incombustible > immortal' which is manifest in the equation of its derivation Phl. *dūrōših* with the corresponding *anōših* in Y. 9,2 PhlT. (26.1).⁹¹

26.5. The basic meaning 'fresh/unseasoned, resisting combustion' attested in Ved.Skt. *dur-ōsa*- (26.2) also gleams through the occurrence of Av. *dūraoša*- in the Gāthic pun Y. 32,14c *yē dūraošaem saocayaṭ avō* 'he who inflames the fire-resisting/death-averting help/refreshment.' From the obvious etymological relationship between the two we infer that the original Gāthā text showed the historically correct **dur-aošaem* < **duž-aošaem* with the short vowel *u*. As a matter of fact, the re-modeling of this form into attested *dūr-aošaem* presupposes the development of OIr.Av. *dūra*- 'far' into Mlr. *dūr*. Hence we conclude that the original short *u* of the Gāthā text was replaced with the long *ū* of our manuscript tradition as late as in the Middle Iranian period, most likely by the authors of the Sasanian redaction of the Avesta (25.1).

27. "Grass" and inflaming the Dūraosha

27.1. The half-line Y. 32,14c *yē dūraošaem saocayaṭ avō* just mentioned definitely pertains to the ritual use of haoma but apparently in a disapproving sense: In our view this does not mean that the prophet blamed his opponents for partaking of haoma, as held by H. S. Nyberg 1938/1966, 188-191, who concluded from this passage (and from Y. 48,10, for which see 28) that the haoma ritual inherited from the Proto-Aryan period was rejected and banished by Zarathushtra but restored later on by his Young Avestan successors. Against Nyberg one should bear in mind that any religious tradition is strongly linked with the ritual practices followed by its adherents, an experience which

⁹⁰ The development *duž > dur*, regular before vowels in Sanskrit, is irregular in Iranian. A dissimilation resembling that in Av. **duž-aoša*- > **dur-aoša*- is found in Pth. *dur-cihr* 'of bad appearance, ugly' (vs. MP. *duš-cihr* < Av. *duš-ciḡra*-).

⁹¹ In Young Avestan Yt. 10,125 *anaoša*- is said of the divine horses of god Mithra. Note that Phl. *an-ōš* not only means 'immortal' but also 'elixir, antidote,' whence NP. *nūš* 'the water of life or immortality' and, furthermore, *nūšīdan* 'to drink.' Nowadays the imperative *nūš* is used in the sense of 'cheers, prosit.'

does not favor the idea of such a far-reaching break in the development of Zarathushtra's Mazdaism. Haoma certainly played an important part among the drugs available to the ancient Iranians, at least to those of the east. As a consequence it is hardly thinkable that the prophet would not have availed himself of it, be it as a curative, or for inspiration when composing the Gāthās, or for concentration when reciting them at the performance of his Yasna ceremony. On closer inspection the polemics uttered by the prophet are, therefore, much more likely to be directed against a disagreeable preparation from the plant.

27.2. We suppose that Y. 32,14c *yā dūraoṣəm saocayaṭ avō* 'he who inflames the fire-resisting/death-averting help' is a metaphor for mixing the haoma juice not with milk as would be ritually in order, but with the blood of the sacrificial animal. As a matter of fact a comparable but horrible preparation is reported by Plutarch (21.1) in his description of the juice pressed out in a mortar from a plant named *omōmi* and mixed with the blood of a wolf to serve as an offering for Ahreman:

Plut. De Iside et Osiride 369D-370C *Mithrēn Persai ton mesitēn onomazousin, edidaxe de tōi men euktaia thysein kai charistēria, tōi de apotropaia kai skythrōpa. Poian gar tina koptontes omōmi kaloumenēn en holmōi, ton haidēn anakalountai kai ton skoton, eita mixantes haimati lykou sphagentos eis topon anhēlion ekphērousi kai rhiptousi* 'Mithras, whom the Persians call *mesitēs* 'mediator,' taught them to offer the one (= Oromazēs) votive and thanks-giving, but the other one (= Areimanios) apotropaic and sinister offerings. Pounding a herb called *omōmi* in a mortar, they invoke Hades and Darkness and then, after having mixed it with the blood of a slain wolf, they take it out to a sunless spot and throw it away'

Omōmi, the name of the plant reported by Plutarch, is taken by us as a designation of the haoma plant, MP. *hōm*, Early MP. **hōmē/hōmi*, which in Greek is correctly rendered as *ōmi*.⁹² The prefixed *om-* is likely to come from the demonstrative pronoun OIr. *ima-* originally used in a specific ritual situation mutatis mutandis comparable to that in Young Avestan *imā haoma* 'these haomas (which are offered you)' Y. 4,1 etc.⁹³ In this case *om-ōmi* is slightly incorrect for **am-ōmi*, see below 30 on the plant name *amōmon/amomum/amōmis*.

27.3. In the text preceding the clause *yā dūraoṣəm saocayaṭ avō* (Y. 32,14c) the prophet distastefully utters the nominal forms *grāhmā* (32,12c), *grāhmō* (13a), *grāhmō* (14a), which apparently bear upon the same ritual. Unfortunately the respective contexts make it difficult to relate the grammatical forms of *grāhmō* to a common denominator and, therefore, to ascertain their exact syntactical value. The indigenous tradition equates Av. *grāhmō* with Phl. *grāmag* 'wealth' (wr. *gl'mk'/dl'mk'*), an equation which was accepted without further comment by W. B. Henning 1944, 139, n. 5, but which presupposes a quite unlikely phonetic development and which, therefore, is most suspect of being one

⁹² Early MP. **hōmē/hōmi*, the pre-form of MP. *hōm*, is the general case of the singular which derives from the gen.sing. OP. *haumahya* (Y Av. *haomahe*).

⁹³ Cf. Bactr. *amo* 'this.'

more of the most numerous erroneous etymologies produced by the Pahlavi scholars on the basis of outward similarity.⁹⁴

27.4. More promising is the solution of the semantic and morphological problems of *grāhmō* proposed by F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel 1912, 383-384, who suggested two different nouns, viz. *grāhman-* neutr. 'Opferfraß' ('act of devouring the oblation') and *grāhma-* masc. 'Opferfresser' ('devourer of the oblation'),⁹⁵ obviously deriving them from the Indo-European root *gras* 'devour, graze' as preserved in Ved.Skt. *gras* 'eat/graze' (said of horses and cattle), cf. Lat. *grāmen* '(leaf of) grass' < **grasmen*, Gr. *graō* 'gnaw, eat' and *grastis* 'fodder, forage'.⁹⁶ In both etymological and morphological respect this analysis is certainly correct, although the meanings attributed by the two scholars to *grāhmō* are somewhat queer. The fact not realized is that OAv. *grāhman-* < Proto-Iranian **grahman-* < Proto-Aryan **grasman-* < Proto-Indo-European **grasmen-* exactly equates Lat. *grāmen* in its outward form, slight differences in meaning being possible. The Sanskrit and Greek relatives point to Av. *grāhman-* 'grass, fodder'.⁹⁷

27.5. In a certain sense *grāhmō* 'grass' seems to foreshadow Engl. *grass*, which in the sense of 'hashish' was adopted in 1943 as one of the numerous English slang words for 'hashish' < Arabic *ḥašīš* 'dry herb, powdered leaves of hemp/cannabis sativa.' In regard of YAv. *baṇḥa-*, NP. *baṅg* 'hashish' (cf. Skt. *bhaṅgā-*) the comparison of *grāhman-* 'grass' with Engl. "grass" has just heuristic quality, but the explanation of *grāhmō* as the name of one of the drugs available at the time and ritually used by some opponents of Zarathushtra is plausible:

Y. 32,12c *yāiš grāhmā aṣāṭ varatā karapā xšaθrāmā īšanəm drujəm*

⁹⁴ *grāhmō* > *gramō* (not *grāmō*) as *āhmā* > *amā* 'we.' — Y. 32,12 PhlT. *grāmag* is glossed with Phl. *xwāstag* 'property, wealth,' in Y. 32,13-14 PhlT. with *pārag* 'gift, offering, bribe,' cf. furthermore Neriosangh's Skt. *lañcā* 'present, bribe' glossed with *lakṣmī* 'wealth.' Derived from Phl. *grāmag* 'wealth' are Phl. *grāmīg* 'treasured, dear' along with NP. *garāmī/girāmī* 'precious, excellent, dear, beloved, revered,' *girāmīdan* 'to honor, respect,' and *girāmīš* 'power, dignity,' which show the same development of meaning as Skt. *guru-* 'heavy > venerable.' Further relations are Sogd. *γr'm'k* [*grāme*] 'wealth, possession,' Khwar. *γr'm* [*grām*] 'weight,' *γr'myk* [*grāmik*] '(heavy) load' (with the verb *γr'my-* 'to weigh'), Ossetic *æryom* 'bundle, pack, burden,' Baluchi *grām* 'burden' (listed in a different connection by W. B. Henning 1971, 20 f.). Most of them point to etymological relationship with Av. *garu-* 'heavy' (= Ved.Skt. *guru-*), but none can be traced back to *grahmō/grāhmō*.

⁹⁵ Cf. the morphologically parallel couple Ved.Skt. *brāhmaṇ-* n. 'holy text' : *brāhmā-* adj. 'holy, sacred.' Disregarding Andreas and Wackernagel's suggestion, Henning, loc.cit. tried to resolve the morphological side of the problem of *grāhmā* – *grāhmō* – *grāhmō* by posing two alternating synonymous stems, *grāhma-* and *grāhmah-*, thus unspokenly counting with a strange heteroclitc inflexion invented ad hoc.

⁹⁶ M. Mayrhofer, EWAI s.v. *GRAS*.

⁹⁷ Strange in this respect is *grāmag* (*gl'mk'*) in Bdh. 17,20-21 *hōm ī hūd bijagān urvarān rad; grāmag ī daštīg abijagān urvarān rad* 'the pressed *hōm* is the chief of the medicinal plants, the *grāmag* of the plain is the chief of non-medicinal plants.' The reading *grāmag* transmitted here could be incorrect for *grāhmag* (*gl'mhk'*), but the Indian Bundahishn (ms. Copenhagen p. 58,12) has *gl'mn'/dl'mn'*, which F. Justi 1868/1976 equated with NP. *darmana* 'wormwood.'

'those because of whom the Karapan/lie-priest prefers to truth "grass" (*grāhman-*) and the power/rule of those who have sided with deceit'⁹⁸

If the subsequent *grāhmō* is correctly transmitted then it cannot come from the neuter stem *grāhman-* [*grahman-*] but must be attributed to a masculine *grāhma-* [*grāhma-*], a Vriddhi derivation from *grāhman-*, denoting the person addicted to "grass" or, in the present context, the gang of those addicted to it:

Y. 32,13ab *yā xšaθrā grāhmō hīsaṣaṭ aciṣtahyā dāmānē managhō*
aṅhōuš maraxtārō ahyā yaēcā mazdā jīgərəzaṭ kāmē

'by that power/rule the "grass" gang strives to settle in the house of worst thought,⁹⁹
(those?) destroyers of this existence/world, O Wise One, who, then, complain very much'¹⁰⁰

27.6. The form *grāhmō* is repeated in the sequence *ahyā grāhmō ā.hōiθōi* of the subsequent stanza Y. 32,14 in whose transmitted form we miss a plausible reference of the pronoun *ahyā* 'of this/that.' Since the Gāthās as a general tendency avoid repetitions of the type *grāhmō ... grāhmō*, we assume that at least the second occurrence of this form (i.e., the third instance of *grāhmō*) is corrupt. In our view the phrase *ahyā grāhmō ā.hōiθōi* is to be corrected to *ahyā *grāhmāng ā.hōiθōi* 'in the fetter of that grass,' in which the restored **grāhmāng* is the regular OAv. gen.sg. of *grāhman-* ntr. "grass":¹⁰¹

Y. 32,14ab *ahyā †grāhmō (= grāhmāng) ā.hōiθōi nī kāvayasciṭ xratūš [nī.]dadaṭ*
varēcā.hicā fraidivā hyaṭ viṣəntā drəgvaṇtəm avō

'particularly the Kavis/princes lay their intellects into the fetter of that "grass,"
and their authorities, when getting ready day by day to assist the deceitful one'

The corruption *grāhmāng > †grāhmō*¹⁰² may be due to inattentive perseveration of the form *grāhmō* of the preceding stanza by the scribe of the subarchetype (6.1), but it may

⁹⁸ Y. 32,12c PhlT. *awēšan grāmag az ahlāyih dōšagdar kē karb hēnd [kū-šan xwāstag weh sahēd kū kār ud kīrbag] ud xwadāyih xwāhēnd pad drōzišn [pad abārōnīh]*
'wealth is dearer than truth to those who are Karapans/lie-priests [i.e., property seems to them better than meritorious deeds], and they desire power/rule through deceit [(i.e.), through sin].'

⁹⁹ To avoid further complication we do not discuss here the strong possibility that the thematic 3.sing. *hīsaṣaṭ* 'he strives to settle' (read disyllabic *hīsaṭ*) is corrupted from the athematic 3.plur. **hīsaṭ* 'they observe' (cf. the athematic pres.ptcpl. OAv. *viṣpā.hīsaṭ-* which seems to mean 'all-observing'). This would fit well with the pluralic subject *aṅhōuš maraxtārō ahyā* 'destroyers of this existence/world' which otherwise presents difficulties.

¹⁰⁰ Y. 32,13ab PhlT. *kē xwadāyih pad grāmag xwāhēd [kū pādixšāyih pad pārag xwāhēd] / ā-š ān ī watar andar daman pad mēnišn [kū pad ēd mēnišn xwāhēd kū ēk sad bē dahom dō sad abāz stānom] / axwān murnjēnidār hēnd [kū gāh ī ānōh bē tabāhēnēnd] / kē pad ān ī ōy [ān-iz ī ohrmazd] zanišn ud garzišn kāmāg [kū pad ān pādixšāyih ī-š hast ā-šan ān abāyēd ka mardom ēwak abāg did ōh kōxšēnd]*
'If one strives for power/rule by wealth [i.e., he strives for sovereignty by bribe] / he, then, in the house which is worse, by thinking [i.e., he strives (for it) by thinking: "I give one hundred and take back two hundred"]; / (such people) are destroyers of this existence/world [i.e., they ruin yonder place], (those) whose desire is to hit his [Ohrmazd's (creation)] and (to produce?) complaint [i.e., by the sovereignty he enjoys, one of the people necessarily struggles with the other].'

¹⁰¹ Cf. OAv. *cašmāng* gen.sing. of *cašman-* 'eye.'

¹⁰² Y. 32,14ab PhlT. *ōy kē pad grāmag-masāy bē pad ān ī kayagān xrad bē dahēd [kē pādixšāyih pad pārag dahēd pad xrad ī awešan bawēd, kē pad tis ī yazdān kōr ud karr] / ... ud ka-z padirēnd ān-ī*

also be influenced by the corresponding Young Avestan form **grāhmō* possibly imported from Young Avestan texts dealing with the same subject and lost meanwhile.¹⁰³

27.7. As a whole, the stanza Y. 32,14 seems to be more poorly transmitted than the rest of the Gāthās (except Y. 53). It is mainly the verb *†mraoī* in Y. 32,14c, surely a form of root *mrū* 'speak, say,' which is definitely corrupt. It either must be corrected to the 3.sing.aor.pass. *mrāvī* '(the order) is recited.' or, less likely, to the 3.sing.ind.pres. *mraoitī* 'he/one says/orders':

Y. 32,14bc ... *hyaṭ viṣəntā drəgvaṇtəm avō*ci**
*hyaṭcā gāuš jaidyāi †mraoī (mrāvī) yā dūraoṣəm saocayaṭ avō*¹⁰⁴

'when they get ready to help/refresh the deceitful one
and when the order is recited (by them) "have the bull slaughtered which inflames the fire-resisting/death-averting help/refreshment"'¹⁰⁵

If we take the stanza in its literal sense then Zarathushtra would polemize against opponents who partake of "grass" and, more or less at the same time, offer the gods a preparation of haoma abhorrent to humans, which is somewhat problematic. A possible solution of the problem would be that the prophet condensed the diverging characteristics of two groups of opponents into one complaint, thus availing himself of poetical license, but Y. 48,10, the other Gāthic passage referring to intoxicatives, is of no help to decide on that.

28. The drug an excretion?

28.1. No less than Y. 32,14, the stanza Y. 48,10 was adduced by Nyberg (27.1) as proof of his theory of the banishment of haoma by Zarathushtra previously accepted by ourselves. As a matter of fact the text does not yield what was expected from it by that great scholar, see

Y. 48,10bc *kadā a<z>ān mūθrəm ahyā madahyā*
yā aṅgrayā karapanō urūpayeiṭī

druwandān ayyārih [ā-z pad xrad ī awešan bawēnd]

'that one who, for an amount of wealth/payment bestows greatness on the intellect of the Kavis/princes [(that one) who bestows authority (on them) for a bribe, that one will depend on the intellect of those who, with regard to the case of the deities, are blind and deaf] / ... and when they accept the help of the deceitful [then they will (depend) on their intellect].'

¹⁰³ A well-known example of YAv. -ō for OAv. -əng is *daēvō* for *daēvəng* in archaized Young Avestan Y. 12,1 *nāismī daēvō* 'I abuse/reject the Daēvas.' As for the import of Young Avestan forms into the Gāthās see also 13.2, n. 39 on the name of Yima for correct OAv. *yāma-*.

¹⁰⁴ The repetition *avō ... avō* is as suspect as the repetition *grāhmō ... grāhmō*; yet, the correction to *avō*ci** ... *avō* is not favored by the apparent meaning 'woe' of *avōi* in Y. 45,3.

¹⁰⁵ Y. 32,14c PhlT. *ud ka-z ān-ī gāw zanišn guft kē-š andar ān ī dūrōš guft ān ī ayyārih [ā-z pad xrad ī awešan bawēnd kē ...]*

'and when one has announced the slaughtering of the cow, (that one) who has announced it in regard of the help of the dūrōsh, [then they(?) will depend on the intellect of those who ...].'

'when will they dispose of¹⁰⁶ the *mūθra*- of that intoxicative¹⁰⁷
from which the Karapans/lie-priests badly suffer racking pain/eruption.'

28.2. At first glance Nyberg's theory seems to be favored by comparison

(1) of the noun Av. *mūθra*- with Ved.Skt. *mūtra*- 'urine,' with the Avestan word taken as a metaphor for the yellow haoma juice,

(2) of the verb *urūpayeintī* 'they suffer racking pain/eruption' which recalls Ved.Skt. *rópayati* 'causes racking pain' said of unmixed soma.¹⁰⁸

However,

(1) in spite of the formal equivalence to its Vedic relative, Av. *mūθra*- does not mean 'urine' but is, according to its Young Avestan occurrences, a more general term for excretions, including excrements,¹⁰⁹

(2) racking pain/eruption is, of course, an effect not only of partaking of unmixed haoma but may refer to an arbitrary number of drugs unmixed and mixed as well.

28.3. The question is whether the real meaning of the phrase *mūθrām ahyā madahyā* is simply 'the filth of (= which is) that drug'¹¹⁰ or 'the excretion of that intoxicative plant.' If the former is right, the message of the phrase is unspecific, but if the latter is right then it yields some information on the production of the drug from the juice, oil, or latex, of the respective plant. One might think of opium, its comparison with human excrements being justified by the method of its preparation from the plant.¹¹¹ However, opium itself has been known since old as a remedy against digestion troubles, which seems to forbid taking it into account in the present context unless one thinks of the non-boiled latex of the poppy which, as an experienced person told us, must be boiled before being partaken of in order to avoid it adhering to the gastric wall and, thereby, causing heavy stomach pain – a rather unlikely way of consuming that drug.

¹⁰⁶ The phrase *ac̥zān mūθrām* is rendered as PhlT. *stānēnd muhrišn* 'they (will) take off the *muhrišn*' in which the meaning of *muhrišn* is open to discussion. For the rest, the Pahlavi translation, which is based upon the misreading of Av. *madahyā* as *magahyā*, is absolutely useless. Phl. *stānēnd muhrišn* recurs two times in Dk. 9,39,15 (ed. Madan 1911, 858,4 ff.), a hopelessly corrupt text whose correct original may have been a more valuable interpretation of the Gāthā stanza.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. YAv. *maḍa*- 'intoxication' (25.7).

¹⁰⁸ The etymological meaning of root *rup/raop* seems to be 'break.' Cf. Lat. *rumpere* 'to break,' *ē-rumpere* 'to break out, erupt,' but also Khwar. *rwby*-, NP. *rūbūdan/rūbāy*- 'to take/rob (from),' see Mayrhofer, EWAI s.v. *ROP*. Note that Germ. *brechen* 'to break' can also be used in the sense of 'to vomit' (more formally: *(sich) erbrechen*).

¹⁰⁹ The noun *mūθra*- is transmitted in a Young Avestan series of dead and infective materials which are to be collected from the soil before tilling it again and which may drop from a rotting dead body drawn out from water to put it on dry ground: Vid. 6,7,29 *astāmca varasāmca spāmamca mūθramca vaṇhutātāmca* 'bones, hair, refuse/vomiting(?), excretions/excrements, bloody things.' PhlT. *ast ud wars ud wʾdʾy ud muhrišn ud xōn-tazišnih*. The obscure Phl. *wʾdʾy* stands for Av. *spāma(n)*-, which is likely to come from root *spā* 'throw away, get rid of.'

¹¹⁰ Simplified to 'this filth of drink' by J. Duchesne-Guillemin 1952.

¹¹¹ The unripe seed capsules of the poppy are incised to obtain their milky sap which, within several hours, changes into a red-brown heavy-scented latex. This is formed to globules, which nowadays are preferably smoked but which may be eaten as an analgesic and a narcotic as well.

29. Inflaming in the Hadhōkht Nask

29.1. According to the famous fragment of the Young Avestan Hadhōkht Nask, section 2,13, the breath-soul (*uruvan*- masc.) of a deceased truthful man, obviously a priest, after having passed the Accountant's Bridge (*cinvatō pārātu*-), arrives at Paradise. There he is welcomed by his view-soul (*daēnā*- fem.), the personified manifestation of his religious view, which includes the thoughts, words, and actions/deeds accumulated by him during his lifetime and stored for him in the other world. Appearing in the shape of a maiden of 15 years, the view-soul recalls the religious merits deserved by the deceased person: Whenever he became aware of some layman arranging for a private rite he used to join him to perform the Yasna ceremony.

29.2. Some elements lost in the transmitted text of the Hadhōkht Nask (H.) are preserved as a sort of quotations by the compiler of the Avestan Vishtāsp Yasht (Vyt.). Among them is the phrase *varənaṇḥam vahišta* Vyt. 37 'with the best of choice things,'¹¹² which we restore in pointed brackets in H. 2,13. There the author speaks of that layman as inflaming his fire with matter of highest quality, apparently such as the sandalwood in modern Zoroastrian rites, in order to produce scent:

H. 2,13 *yaṭ tūm ainīm avaēnōiš <varənaṇḥam vahišta> saocayaca kərənavaṇtəm baoi<diš>ca* (mss. *baosavasca*, *baosayāca*, *baoišyaca*) *varaxədrāšca varōžintəm urvarō.strāmca* (var. *urvarō.strayāšca*) *kərənavaṇtəm / āaṭ tūm nišhiđōiš gāḡāšca srāvayō apasca vaṇhīšca yazəmnō ātrəmca ahurahe mazdā narəmca ašavanəm kuxšnuvānō asnāaṭca <jasəntəm dūrāaṭca>*

'whenever you noticed/observed someone else <with the best of choice things> performing the blazing up (of the fire) and (its producing) scent, and winding bundles/wreaths/garlands, and performing the spreading of the plants, then you (= the deceased priest) were used to sitting down (for prayer), reciting the Gāthās, sacrificing to the good waters and the fire of Ahura Mazdā and satisfying the truthful man <coming> from near <or far off>'

29.3. The first member of the phrase *saocaya kar* 'to inflame/blaze up' is the instr.sg. of a verbal noun *saocayā*- 'act of) inflaming' used as a predicative adverb of the type Ved.Skt. *gūhā kṛ* 'to conceal'.¹¹³ Hence it is clear that the verbal stem *saocaya*- 'inflame,' which in Y. 32,14 occurs in a heterodox context (27.2), is found here in a standard Mazdayasnian meaning, but the phrase *varaxədrāšca varōžintəm* is less standard-like. It was connected by K. Hoffmann with Ved.Skt. *vṛktā*- 'bent, turned' in the compound *vṛktā-barhiṣ*- 'one who has put the sacrificial grass around (the fire)',¹¹⁴ and with the name of the Scythian tribe of the Saka Haumavarga (OP. *Sakā*

¹¹² As to *varənah*- 'choice thing/good' cf. Vid. 18,64 *θrišūm spəntayā āmatōiš varənā apayasaite paiti.diti* 'he takes off the choice things of Beneficent Right-mindedness (= the earth, 19.4) to one third by (just) having a look at them'; Vyt. 50 *spəntəm āmaitīm us aiṇhā varənō barāhi* '(as for) Beneficent Right-mindedness: you will bring out (from her) her choice good.'

¹¹³ K. Hoffmann, Aufsätze 2, 1976, 341, but Hoffmann himself, ibid. 611, n. 6 puts **saociya* without dealing with the context.

¹¹⁴ Hoffmann loc.cit. did not discuss the fact that the sequence of the two Avestan actions *varaxədrāšca varōžintəm* and *urvarō.strām ca kərənavaṇtəm* diverges from the otherwise corresponding Vedic one which has the inverse order, see, e.g., RV. 1,142,5.

haumavargā, Gr. *Sakai Amyrgioi*), which, then, would mean 'those who put haoma twigs around (the fire).' Yet, taking into account that the name of that renowned group hardly refers to such ritual particularity, we prefer to explain the compound *haumavarga-* as 'wearing bundles/wreaths/garlands of haoma twigs,' comparing its hitherto unexplained second member *varga-* with its exact phonetic equivalent Skt. *varga-* 'a division, set, class' (<*bundle'). Unfortunately the remains of the figure of the throne-bearer on the south tomb of Persepolis labeled OP. *saka haumavarga* (A?P 14) are too unspecific as to corroborate this conclusion. At any rate, though, the combination of the uncommon phrase *varaxəδrāśca varōžintəm* with the name of the Saka tribe as such points to Central Asia, quite far from Persis/Fārs, the center of Zoroastrian orthodoxy in the historical period.

30. Haoma, omōmi, amōmis, and amōmon/amomum

30.1. Plutarch's *omōmi* (**am-ōmi*?) interpreted by us as a designation of haoma (27.2 with n. 93) shows a close similarity to Gr. *amōmis* (Lat. *amomis*), more commonly Gr. *amōmon* (Lat. *amomum*), which denotes various plants of vague definition all of which are said to serve as medicaments and/or as spices. A chaotic mixture of information on the *amomum*, apparently subsuming quite different plants, possibly also of mysterious nature, under the same name, is offered by Pliny the Elder (until 79 C.E.) in his *Naturalis Historia*:

Plin. (ed. and trsl. H. Rackham) 12,48-49¹¹⁵ *Amomi uva in usu est <ex> Indica vite labrusca, <aut> ut alii existimavere, frutice tortuoso, palmi altitudine, carpiturque cum radice, manipulatim leniter componitur, protinus fragile. ... / ... nascitur et in Armeniae parte quae vocatur Otene et in Media et in Ponto. ... Est et quae vocatur amomis, minus venosa atque durior ac minus odorata, quo apparet aut aliud esse aut colligi immaturum.*

'The clustered amomum is much in use; it is obtained from the Indian wild vine, or as other people have supposed from a twisted shrub a hand high, and it is plucked with its root and then gently pressed together into bundles, as it is liable to break at once. ... / ... It grows in the part of Armenia called Otene, and also in Media and in Pontus. ... There is also another substance called amomis, which is not so full of veins and is harder and has less scent, showing that it is either a different plant or amomum that has been gathered unripe.'

30.2. In the Loeb edition just quoted H. Rackham suggests that the names of Armenia (Otene), Media, and Pontus do not really denote regions of origin of the amomum but rather regions which were crossed by the land route on which the plant or its product was transported from India to the West.¹¹⁶ Yet in this specific context India can hardly mean the Indian subcontinent, and particularly its south rich in spices, but it rather refers to the mountainous Irano-Indian borderlands.¹¹⁷ This conclusion is supported by

¹¹⁵ Rackham, vol. IV (1945/1968), 34.

¹¹⁶ For rich further evidence see K. Kattunen 1997, 152-154, who, though, is focused on the Indian subcontinent strictly speaking (where, however, no vine grows) and, therefore, did not come across Orosius.

¹¹⁷ Pliny's 'Indian wild vine' also points to that formerly wine-growing region (21.4.2).

information provided by the Christian author Orosius (until c. 420 C.E.), who, in his description of the virtually same route in the inverse direction from West to East, unambiguously places the origin of the amomum on a Central Asiatic mountain massif or mountain range of the name Memarmali situated in a region where we expect the origin of haoma:

Orosius *Historiae* (ed. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet 1990) 1.2,41 *a fonte Tigridis usque ad Charrae ciuitatem inter Massagetas et Parthos mons Ariobarzanes*; 42 *a Charris ciuitate usque ad oppidum Cathippi inter Hyrcanos et Bactrianos mons Memarmali, ubi amomum nascitur; a quo proximum iugum mons Parthau dicitur*; 43 *ab oppido Cathippi usque ad uicum Safrim inter Dahas Sacaraucae et Parthienas mons Oscobares, ubi Ganges fluius oritur*

'41 from the source of the Tigris up to the city of Charrae between the (Scythian) Massagetes and the Parthians Mount Ariobarzanes (≈ Elburz) (extends); 42 from the city of Charrae up to the town of Cathippi between the Hyrcanians and the Bactrians Mount Memarmali (extends), where amomum grows; the elevation next to it is called Mount Parthau; 43 from the town of Cathippi to the village of Safrim between the (Scythian) Dahae, Sacaraucae, and Parthyenae, Mount Oscobares (extends), where the river Ganges has its source'

The selection of geographical names displayed by Orosius or, rather, by the geographical map underlying his description, looks somewhat adventurous,¹¹⁸ but it is not necessary to go into details; it will suffice to draw attention to the strong resemblance which Orosius's *Memarmali* (**Meh-marmali* 'Great(er) Marmali') bears to *Mārmal*, the modern name of the mountain range to the south of Balkh and Mazar-e Sharif in Afghanistan. The identity of the two names is beyond doubt, and we suppose that the attribute 'great(er)' in the name of Memarmali summarizes the entire mountainous area from the Oxus/Amu Darya over the Marmāl southward up to the heart of the Hindukush, Av. Upāirisaēna (Phl. Apārsēn, Skt. Pārāsika), which in Y. 10,11 is mentioned as one of the regions where haoma grows (25.3).

31. Manaobago and soothsaying Haoma

31.1. Fragmentary though highly valuable information on the development of the Mazdayasnian Religion in eastern Iran, geographically far from the center of Zoroastrian orthodoxy in Persis, and chronologically before the reform of the Mazdayasnian church under Shapur and his high priest Kirdir, can be derived from the pictorial representations of deities of a syncretistic pantheon on the reverses of the famous coins issued by the Kushan Kings Kanishka (recently called the Great), Huvishka, and (less manifold) Vāsudeva, who are sometimes subsumed under the term 'the Great Kushans' (c. 130-232 C.E.).¹¹⁹ Originating from far-off regions of Central Asia the Kushans, the most renowned group of the so-called Indo-Scythians, had

¹¹⁸ *Charrae* may be the same as the Mesopotamian *Carrae* (*Karrhai*) mentioned numerous times in antic literature. *Cathippi* cf. *Catippa* on the Tabula Peutingeriana XI 3 top, *Saphri* cf. *Saphani* ib. 3/4 top. The name of Mount *Oscobares* is of Iranian origin ('of high crests').

¹¹⁹ In scholarly literature the names of the Kushan Kings are customarily given in their Indian forms as above. The respective Bactrian spellings are *Kanēško*, *Ooēško*, *Bazodēo*.

extended their rule over Bactria (North Afghanistan), the Hindukush, and the Indus valley into the heart of North India with its capital Patna (Skt. Pāṭaliputra, Ptolemy Pali(m)bothra). Kanishka's first coins show inscriptions in Greek, changing over very soon to the Middle Iranian language of Bactriana and its capital Bactra (8.2). As nearly all the other Bactrian texts preserved, these inscriptions are written in Bactrian script, a regional variant of the Greek alphabet, thus giving evidence of the continuity of the Hellenistic tradition in the formerly Achaemenid satrapy.¹²⁰

31.2. The deities depicted on the reverses of these coins are provided with their respective names, thus offering an extraordinary opportunity to enlarge our knowledge of the religious history of their time. Excellent photographic reproductions of the coins were published by the art historian J. M. Rosenfield 1967 and, finally, in 1984, in a gigantic edition by the numismatist R. Göbl, a brilliant explorer of technical and iconographical details who, however, had but limited access to the philological treatment of the historical problems involved.¹²¹

31.3. In connection with the discussion on Haoma/haoma (30) we draw attention to the Kushan god named *Manaobago* and pictured on several coins of Kanishka and Huvishka (Göbl nos. 59, 151, enlarged on pl. 160), here depicted on fig. 2, p. 59. Of all the deities on the Kushan coins this is one of the most difficult to relate to religious and literary sources, as Rosenfield 79 states who gives the following description of its pictorial representation:

"Male seated en face, but head in profile to r. Wears 'Macedonian helmet' ... with tripartite crest ornament. Lunar crescent attached to the shoulders. Has four arms upper l. holds sceptre or insigne, lower l. cakra with hub and 12 gems, upper r. circlet or torque, lower r. diadem. Sits upon heavily cushioned throne with lion's feet. Wears tunic, belt, and knee boots."

Cf. Göbl 41 who adds that *Manaobago*'s seat ("sofa") lacks a backrest, a particularity which is of high relevance: The god, sitting upright in the moonlight in obviously high concentration, has put himself into a trance, an interpretation of his pictorial representation which is corroborated by the analysis of his name.

¹²⁰ An additional character is *h*, transliterated *š* (sh), see 34.2 with n. 129.

¹²¹ The era of the Great Kushans lasted about one century. Its end is marked by the start of the Kushano-Sasanian era in the year 232 (or 233) C.E. This date, which seems to be generally accepted and which has become fundamental for the pre-Islamic history of Central Asia, was established in H. Humbach 1966-67, I, 14-18. It is difficult to digest the explanations by which Göbl 1984, 56 ff. tries to fix the year 232 (previously he had operated with 225) as that of the accession of Kanishka (the Great), thus putting it about hundred years later and taking it as almost simultaneous with that of the Sasanian Great King Shāpūr I. In the whirlwind of verbosity roused by Göbl but one information seems to be worth closer inspection: In the gold coinage of Vima Kadphisēs (*ooēmo kadfisēs*), usually understood as a predecessor of Kanishka the Great, we find not only the customary gold coins, which follow the standard of the Roman denarius, but also double denarii, an innovation which, according to Göbl 58, was not thinkable before the year 215 C.E. in which the Roman emperor Caracalla introduced that standard. Discussing here the resulting historical problems in detail would be carrying things too far, but we wish to point out that the transition from the coinage of Vima Kadphisēs to that of Kanishka is not at all as smooth as taken for granted by Göbl.



fig. 2

The Bactrian god *Manao-bago* 'Lord of Thought' apparently an attribute of soothsaying Haoma (see here 31.3-6) depicted as a four-armed deity wearing a Macedonian helmet on the reverse of a coin of the Kushan King Kanishka
Inscription in Graeco-Bactrian script
From R. Göbl 1984, no. 59/1
Drawing by R. Göbl in H. Humbach 1974, 195

31.4. Nobody has ever doubted *bago* meaning 'lord,' *manao*, though, was mysterious for a long time. Rosenfield 79 f. (with no. 45 on his p. 291) discusses a possible link with the name of the deity *Mao* 'Moon' depicted on Kushan coins as well or with the Aməsha Spənta Vohu Manah 'Good Thought,' but this is just guesswork. Manaobago doubtless means 'Lord of Thought' from OIr. **manahah bagah* or, in Avestan terms, **manahhō bayō*, see H. Humbach 1974, 193-196. Although such a syntagma is neither attested in the Avesta nor in the later Zoroastrian literature it must be of Proto-Aryan origin as we inferred from its parallel Ved.Skt. *mānasas pāti*- 'lord of thought,' an epithet of Soma (RV. 9,11,8 and 9,28,1)¹²² which points to Manaobago being a name of Haoma in his function as the god of divination and soothsaying (35.2).

31.5. The hallucinogenic efficiency of the haoma plant and the divinatory gift stimulated by its consumption is praised in a Yasna section outside the Hōm Yasht:

Y. 57,20 *huvacā pāpō.vacā pairi.gā.vacā paiṣimnō vīspō.paēsīm mastīm yam pouru.āzaintīm maṣraheca paurvatātəm*
'(Haoma is) of good/auspicious statements, (he is) of bad/non-auspicious statements, (he is) avoiding statements, he disposes of the exhilaration producing pictures of all kinds (and) abounding in perception, and (he disposes) of the pre-eminence of the mantra/sacred word'

The section was completely misunderstood by the Pahlavi translator, who, followed by modern scholarship, rendered *pāpa*- 'bad' (= Ved.Skt. *pāpā*- 'bad!') as Phl. *pānāgīh* 'protection,' and *pairi.gā* 'going/stepping around' (from root *gā* 'go/step') as Phl. *abar pad hangām* understood as 'at the right time.'¹²³

31.6. Although the instances of Manaobago on the Kushan coins are the only pictorial representations of Haoma (and Soma) that have come down to us, they most likely go along with an iconographical pattern inherited from the Proto-Aryan time. Starting out from the moon horns attached to the shoulders of the god, which originally simply symbolized nighttime, either branch of the Aryans followed its own mystical line of thought. Post-Vedic India, which had abandoned the soma ritual, understood Soma/soma as a name of the moon, regarding it as the receptacle of the *amṛta*-, the drink of immortality of the gods. The Iranians developed the concept of the plant YAv. *gaokərəna*- (Phl. *gōkaran*) 'having bull/cow horns,' just shortly mentioned in the Avesta with the Bundahishn equating it to the mythical White Hōm, which plays an important part in Mazdayasnian eschatology (25.10).¹²⁴

¹²² A further instance of *mānasas pāti*- is RV. 10,164,1, the first stanza of a hymn whose recitation is understood by the tradition as chasing bad dreams.

¹²³ Y. 57,20 PhlT. *xūb gōwišn [kū ān ī frārōn gōwēd] <ān> ī pānāg gōwišn [kū ān gōwēd ā-š pānāgīh az-iš] ud abar pad hangām gōwišn [ī ān gāh gōwēd ī ōh abāyēd guftan]*
'speaking (what is) good [i.e., he speaks that which (is) honest], (speaking) that which is the speech of a protector [i.e., he speaks that from which protection results], and speaking at the (right) time [i.e., one speaks at the time it is fitting to speak].'

¹²⁴ Av. *kərəna*- 'horn' exactly corresponds with Germanic *horn* < **kṛnom*, cf. Lat. *cornū* (originally dual of hypothetical *cornum* < **kṛnom*). Of different origin must be Av. *sarah*- and Ved.Skt. *śiras*- 'head,' and Ved.Skt. *śṛiga*- 'horn' as well.

32. Mozdooano

32.1. The Kushan coins depicting a god named Mozdooano (Göbl no. 61) allow us to throw a further glance into heterodox traditions of the Iranian religion. His picture is described by Rosenfield 82 f. as follows:

"Extremely rare. Equestrian male facing r., riding a two-headed horse! All examples have this unusual and thus far unexplained iconographical feature. Deity is bearded; wears forward-pointing hat similar to Phrygian cap (see also [Rosenfield's] fig. 58 [Musicians in Scythian costume]), diadem; hair is in small Parthian bun at the back of neck; scarf over arm; carries long staff with single ring near top. Foot is covered with heavy boot or cloth, and points downward."

Somewhat differently Göbl 42 f.:

"Reiterfigur eines bärtigen Mannes auf doppelköpfigem Pferd nach rechts: langes Gewand (Mantel?); plumpe Stiefel; Diadem mit Bändern; (dieses) über Kappe ähnlich der Krone 2 des Kanishka I. [= Kanishka (the Great)]; in der Rechten Dreizack mit Bändern haltend, die Linke offenbar an den Zügeln; der Reiter trägt ein Wehrgehänge, (dieses) aber rechts, daran Schwert (eher als Köcher?)"

Neither Rosenfield nor Göbl noticed that Mozdooano has the appearance of a warlike Central Asiatic ruler. He may have been the god of the royal family of the Kushans.

32.2. The object at the top of Mozdooano's staff, according to Rosenfield a ring [or, rather, the lower half of a ring!], is more plausibly interpreted by Göbl 42 f. as a trident with ribbons attached. Accepting Göbl's interpretation, N. Sims-Williams 1996, 85 and J. Cribb ib. 108 f. conclude that Shiva must be involved, a conclusion which lacks terminological clarity. They think of that god whose Bactrian name always is Oēsho but who is depicted on the Kushan coins with the characteristics of Indian Shiva, which in our opinion means that Shiva is the Indian interpretation of the Iranian god, and not the other way round (36).¹²⁵

32.3. Linking the two-headedness of Mozdooano's horse with the "ambivalence of Shiva" [i.e., Oēsho/Shiva!], Sims-Williams loc. cit.¹²⁶ and 1997 transfers the meaning 'the generous/gracious one' of Shiva's name (*śiva*-) to Mozdooano, the Scythian warrior, deriving his name from OIr. **miždawan*-,¹²⁷ thus virtually making of the Bactrian name a sort of loan translation of its supposed Indian model. In regard of the two-headedness of the horse of the god we prefer to explain the name of Mozdooano as coming from **mazda-vana*- 'winner of wisdom' which stands for **mazdā-vana*- in like

¹²⁵ Göbl does not seem to be sure about the correct designation of King Vāsudevas weapon as depicted on his coins no. 504 ff. (partly enlarged on pl. 159), calling it a lance in the survey on his p. II (after pl. 178 of the photographic documentation). By his drawing "Lanze – Dreizack" on his p. VI he apparently tries to demonstrate that the picture of the royal trident had gradually developed from that of a lance with ribbons. Further explanation is wanting.

¹²⁶ To underline this interpretation Sims-Williams also quotes F. Grenet (p.c.), who "suggests that, if Mozdooano is to be linked with Kushan Shiva then the two-headedness of the horse could be a reference to the dual nature, good and evil, of Shiva."

¹²⁷ As preserved in Khot. *māde*, *māḍāna*- 'generous/gracious.'

manner as the term *mazda-yasna*- 'worshiper of Mazdā' for **mazdā-yasna*-. In the same way as in Old Norse iconography the eight legs of Odin's horse denote its own swiftness and, thereby, that of Odin as well, the two heads of Mozdooano's horse certainly symbolize the wisdom of the animal and, even more, that of its rider.

33. The Rabatak inscription

33.1. The Bactrian inscription of Kanishka (the Great) (31.1) discovered in Rabatak (Baghlān, North Afghanistan), published and dealt with by Sims-Williams (in: 1996), offers a list of two goddesses and five gods, obviously the seven most prominent deities worshiped by the Great King and his entourage.

1. Lady Nana (*ia amso nana*), attested on numerous coins as *nana šao* 'Queen Nana.' According to Rosenfield 85 of Mesopotamian origin: "In tablets found in the Temple of Marduk at Babylon, Nana was described as 'Lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses, directress of mankind, mistress of the spirits of heaven, possessor of sovereign power, the light of heaven and earth, daughter of the Moon God, ruler of weapons, arbitress of battles, goddess of love; the power over princes and over the scepter of kings.'"

2. Lady Omma (*ia amso omma*) appears only on one coin as *ommo* (Göbl no. 310). There she is facing the god Oēsho/Shiva for which reason she is usually equated with Skt. Umā, the wife of Shiva, an equation which does not necessarily have etymological quality, Omma/Ommo possibly being a nursery word.

3. Aoromazdo (*aoromazdo*) diverges from the coin inscription *ōromazdo*, here p. 27, fig. 1.

4. Mozdooano (*mozdooano*), on three coins (32), here p. 63, fig. 3.

5. Sroshardo (*srošardo*), cf. YAv. *sraoša ašiya*- 'the deity of hearing/obedience followed by reward.' No coins. Cf. Man.Sogd. *srwšʔrt βγγ*. The attribute Av. *ašiya*- > *ard* 'followed by reward' is reinterpreted as *ašavan*- > *ahrāy* 'truthful' in Man.MP. *srōš ahrāy*. Less clear Man.Pth. *srōšāw* for which one would expect **srōšardāw*. No coins.

6. Narasao (*narasao*) < YAv. *nairyō.səṇha*-, the messenger of Ahura Mazdā (Vid. 19,34 *nairyō.səṇhō aštō mazdā ahurahe*, PhlT. *nyrywksng*). Cf. Man.MP. *nrysh*, Man.Pth. *nrysf*, Man.Sogd. *nryšnx βγγ*. No coins.

7. Miirō (*miirō*), cf. YAv. *miṇra*-, Phl. *mihr*. Numerous coins.

33.2. The Rabatak inscription predominantly looks Mazdayasnian, but in many respects it disagrees with what was canonized as the Mazdayasnian Religion by the Sasanian restoration of the Religion about one century later. The order 'female – male' of the genders, which is quite uncommon in Zoroastrian Mazdaism, recalls the Gāthic couple *aṇ'hīscā aṇhāvascā* 'patronesses and patrons' which in Y. 32,11 seems to denote deceitful authorities, be they human or be they devilish. The problem culminates in the name of Mozdooano, which in our view contains *mazdā*- 'wisdom' but which stands for a god other than Ahura Mazdā.

33.3. Mozdooano, that Scythian warrior, gives an impression of being a rare survivor of a branch of Mazdaism otherwise unknown to us, i.e., of the spiritual movement following the concept of Wisdom. Originally he may have been a Scythian rival of Ahura Mazdā, in the end, though, he was integrated into the pantheon of the Rabatak inscription at the second place after all-Iranian Ahura Mazdā, thus suffering a fate



fig. 3

The Bactrian god *Mozdooano* 'Winner of Wisdom' in the outfit of a warlike Kushan King riding a two-headed horse (see here 32) on the reverse of a coin of the Kushan King Kanishka
Inscription in Graeco-Bactrian script
From R. Göbl 1984, no. 61/3
Drawing by M. Hahn

comparable to that of the Parthian nobility, who, at the accession of the Sasanian dynasty, had to cede their precedence over the Persians and to content themselves with the place after these in the official order of rank.

34. Kushan coins depicting Iranian deities in Greek garb

34.1. From the point of view of the political, cultural, and religious history of eastern Iran and its Indian borderlands the names of the deities depicted on the reverses of the gold coins of the Great Kushans deserve the attention of those interested in the history of Mazdaism, particularly in that of the heterodox and even heathen elements of its tradition. After having discussed above the gods Manaobago (31) and Mozdooano (32) in detail, we take the opportunity to add a complete survey of the pertinent material. It falls into two groups, a very small number of Greek and a great bulk of inscriptions in Bactrian written in the (Graeco-)Bactrian alphabet.¹²⁸

34.2. The Greek group covers what has been preserved of the first coin emission of Kanishka (the Great). On its obverses the pieces are inscribed with the name and the title of the king in the form *kanēškou basileus basileōn* 'of Kanishka, King of Kings.' To render the name of the King (Skt. *kaniṣka*) as exactly as possible the Greek alphabet was enlarged by the (Graeco-)Bactrian character *p*.¹²⁹ – The Greek text of the obverses is syntactically incorrect insofar as it connects the gen. *kanēškou* (nom. **kanēškēs*) with the nominative of its apposition *basileus*, thus mechanically combining two diverging patterns found on coins of his predecessors.¹³⁰

34.3. On the reverses of the Greek group the following deities are depicted with their names:

1. (*h*)*Ēphaistos* 'Hephaest,' the name of the Greek god of fire, and especially of the smithly fire, metonymically stands for fire itself in Greek poetry, which was a good precondition for using it as a translation of Bactr. *aθšo* 'Fire.' Gr. *pyr* 'Fire' was less appropriate because of its neuter gender.

2. (*h*)*Ēlios* 'Helios, Sun,' Gr. for Bactr. *miiro* (etc.).

3. *Salēnē* (for correct Gr. *sēlēnē*) fem. 'Moon' vs. Bactr. *mao* masc. 'Moon.'

4. *Nanaia* fem., Graecized from the name of the deity *nana* (33.1) after the same model as Herodotus's Scythian (Zeus) *Papaios* from **papas* (cf. Gr. *pappas* 'grandfather').

5. *Anemos* 'Wind,' cf. the appellative noun Gr. *anemos* 'wind,' personified in order to serve as a Greek equivalent of Bactr. *oado* 'wind' or, rather, of Bactr. *oēšo* 'wind, atmosphere' (36).¹³¹

¹²⁸ Documentation of the coins in Rosenfield 1967 and Göbl 1984 (31.2).

¹²⁹ The character *p*, originating from Greek *ρ* [*hr*], denotes the Avestan aspirated *r*. It is traditionally pronounced like Av. *š* [*š*], but its original value was [*hr*] as it is rendered in Pahlavi borrowings from Avestan. See K. Hoffmann 1986 and below on *Ašaeišō* (35.2).

¹³⁰ Cf. on the one hand the Greek genitive in (*h*)*ermaiou* 'of (King) Hermaios' and *kadfizou* 'of (King) Kadphisēs,' on the other hand the Greek nominative in *basileus ooēmo kadfisēs* 'King Vima Kadphisēs' (Humbach 1966-67, I, 39 f.).

¹³¹ On *Anemos* (not yet in Göbl) see K. Tanabe 1990, who prefers to equate *Anemos* with *Oado*.

35. Kushan coins depicting Iranian deities

35.1.1. The Bactrian version of the obverses of Kanishka's coins reads *šaonano šao kanēški košano* 'King of Kings Kanishka the Kushan.' The word-final *-o* of *šaonano* and *košano* is silent as it is in the majority of the Bactrian names and words. It traces back to the old nom.sing. ending *-ō*, which the Old Iranian predecessor of our (Middle Iranian) Bactrian dialect must have had in common with Avestan.¹³² After its reduction to *-a*, which may have been maintained in measured speech, it disappeared completely as a sound in common language, surviving just as a general graphical marker of word ends of any provenience.¹³³ The final *-i* of *kanēški* [*kanēšk-i*] is the relative particle [*-i*] (MP. *-i*, NP. *-a* < OIr. *yad*, Av. *yaθ*) which connects nouns with following attributes, cf. *kanēški namobargo* 'famous Kanishka' in Surkh Kotal (H. Humbach 2003, 159). On the coins of Kanishka's successor Huvishka the relative particle *-i* disappears as well, first being phonetically replaced by *-e* [*ə*] and, then, graphically by the general *-o* [*Ø*]: *ooēški košano* > *ooēške košano* > *ooēško košano* (Göbl plate 10).

35.1.2. Unlike the word-final *-o* of *košano* that of the royal title *šao* [*šāw*] 'king' is not the final marker but stands for [*w*] as it does in the name of Kanishka's second successor Vāsudeva, Bactr. *bazodēo* [*βāzuḍēw*]. The OIr. pre-form of *šao* is **xšāvā* (stem *xšāvan-*) as contrasted with the well-known MP. *šāh* (< OP. *xšāyaθiya-*) in the Sasanian title *šāhān šāh*. – The Bactrian form *šao* [*šāw*] is hidden in *Shāba* (*šāba*), transmitted by the Arab historian Tabari as the name of a Turkish high king¹³⁴, which, though, is rather the title of one of his Iranian vassals.¹³⁵ *Šāba* comes from Bactr. *šao bago* [*šāw βaγ*] 'king (and) lord.' The Bactrian title is unattested in this form indeed, however it is found in the strangely inverted sequence *i bago šao* in all three versions of the Great Surkh Kotal inscription (SK 4),¹³⁶ possibly due to a correction in the handwritten original misunderstood by the carvers.

35.2. The collection of the names of the Iranian deities is non-uniform. The first item is typical of the mixture of chronological and dialect variants and of the intrusion of disfigured forms of names:

1. *Ašaeišō* 'Best Truth' (Göbl no. 342, 2x) is graphically simplified for **aša(h)e-*oa*ixšo*, itself a phonetic disfiguration of *aša(h)e-wa(h)išt*, a compound contracted from the syntagma YAv. *aša- vahišta-* in its gen.sg. form *ašahe vahištahe*, which especially denoted the 2nd month and 3rd day of each month in the Mazdayasnian calendar and was generalized as *casus rectus* in the Middle Iranian period. Whereas the genitive ending *-ahe* of the first member of the Avestan syntagma is preserved on the coins in its Avestan form, it became *-ē* in Man.MP. *ʔrdy-whyšt* [*ardē-wahišt*]. This gives an impression of it having become a free variant of Phl. *ʔrt-whšt* [*ard-*

¹³² Reconstructed OBactr. *-ō* is an isogloss of Av. *-ō* (< *-ah* vs. OP. *-ā^h*), cf. Bactr. *bago* [*βaγ*] 'lord' with YAv. *bayō* [*bayō*], the initials disagreeing.

¹³³ Generalized Bactr. *-o* traces back to *-ām* in the gen.plur. *šaonano* < *šaonānām* 'of the kings.' An earlier pronunciation of *šāhān šāh*, the Middle Persian equivalent of Bactr. *šaonano šao*, reflects in its Sanskrit borrowing *śāhānu śāhi* in Gupta Inscriptions no. 1, line 23.

¹³⁴ Th. Nöldeke 1879/1973, 269.

¹³⁵ The name of *Shāba*'s son Barmūdha looks Iranian rather than Turkish.

¹³⁶ *i šao bago kanēški namobargo* 'the Lord King Kanishka the famous/pious,' see Humbach 2003, 159.

wahišt], yet the calendaric function of the genitive survives in the month name NP. *urdībehišt*. – Another interesting aspect of *Ašae-ixšo* is that the phonetic difference between Av. *š* [š] and *š* [hr], clearly observed in the Sasanian archetype of the Avesta (6.1), was blurred in common language as early as about a hundred and fifty or two hundred years before.¹³⁷

2. *Ardoxšo* [ard-uxš] fem. 'Good Reward' depicted as Tychē/Fortuna. cf. Av. *ašiš vaṇuhi* 'Good Reward.' Phl. *ard* 'Reward,' *ahriš-wang* 'Good Reward.' From these, one either expects **ard-ox* [ardux] with erroneous adoption of the final -šo of the outwardly similar *ašaeixšo*, or **ardiš-ox* with the Old Persian nom.sing. **artiš* preserved in its first member, wherefrom *arduxš* by metathesis.

3. *A9šo* [ā9š] 'Fire' from the nom.sing. OAv. **ātərəš* [ātṛš] (> YAv. *ātərš*),¹³⁸ less likely from the gen.sg. Av. *ā9rō* 'of Fire.'¹³⁹ – Variant *a9ošo* [ā9əš] (Göbl no. 208).

4. *Farro* [farr] 'Royal Glory,' cf. Av. *xvarənah-*, OP. *farnah-* (in proper names), NP. *farr* 'id.'

5. *Iamšo* [yamš] (Göbl no. 232A on pl. 171, 1x), short for **iamo-šēdo* [yamšēd], NP. *Jamšid*, name of the King of Paradise of the Iranians (< OP. **yama-xšaēta-*, cf. Av. *yima-xšaēta-*, Phl. *jamšēd*). Bactr. *iamšo*, also attested as a proper name, is explained by F. Grenet 1984, 253-258 as short (graphical or phonetic?) for **yamo šao* 'King Yama,' equating the Iranian name with that of the Indian/Kafirian god *Imrō* < Skt. *yama rājā*, an explanation which is not favored by the innumerable occurrences of the full spelling *šao* in the name of Queen Nana (*nana šao*).

6. *Lrooaspō* [lruwāsp] masc., cf. Av. *druvāspā-*, the female guardian of the horses.

7. *Manaobago* [mana(h)o-βay] 'Lord of Thought,' in Avestan terms **manahō bayō* (31.4). The genitive ending -ō of the first member of the Old Iranian syntagma is preserved as internal -o- in the Middle Iranian compound.

8. *Mao* 'Moon' [māh], cf. Av. *māh-*, Phl. *māh-*. – Variant *maoo* (Göbl no. 149).

9. *Miuro* 'Sun' [mi(h)ir], cf. Av. *mi9ra-*, Phl. *mihr*, Sanskrit borrowing *mihira-* in the name of the astronomer Varāhamihira. *Miuro* also in Rabatak (33.1). Numerous variants among which *meiro*, *mioro*, *miuro* for which cf. the varying forms *borzo-miuuro*, *borzo-miuro*, and *borzo-miuro* of the proper name Burzmihr in Surkh Kotal (SK 4).

10. *Mozdoano* 'Winner of Wisdom' (32, 33.3).

11. *Nana* and *nana šao* [nana šaw] 'Queen Nana,' differently *ia amso nana* in Rabatak (33.1), cf. Sogd. *nny* and *nn-δβ²mbn* 'Lady Nana.'

12. *Oanindo* [wanind] fem. 'victorious/Victory,' depicted as Nikē/Victoria, cf. Av. *vanaiṇti uparatāt-* 'Victorious Superiority.'

13. *Oado* [wāδ] 'Wind,' cf. Av. *vāta-*, Phl. *wād* 'wind.' Bactr. *oado* is attested only on copper coins, which suggests that he is not as highly respected as *oēšo* 'Wind.' – Note the artificial connection of the gen.sg. *vayaoš* of Av. *vayu-* 'wind' with the nom.sg. *vātō* of Av. *vāta-* 'wind' in Vid. 19,16 *vayaoš uparō.kairyehe vātō taxmō mazdaδātō* where the redactor apparently tried to make a difference between the movement of air in the atmosphere and that on the earth.

14. *Oaxšo* [waxš] 'the River god,' cf. Khwar. *waxš* 'the angel who is in charge of the water and especially of the river Oxus.' The proper name *wxšwprtbg* [waxšu-purt-bag] 'Lord-of-the-River-fords' is transmitted on one of the Aramaeo-Iranian inscriptions found in the valley of Laghmān far off from the Oxus (G. D. Davary and H. Humbach 1974, 12).

¹³⁷ Note in this connection also the Bactrian date *mauo ašai<sh>to gōšti* 'month Ashai<sh>to (day) Gōшти' in the Tochi inscription ITSB (Humbach 1994, 142 f.).

¹³⁸ Cf. OAv. *aodərəš* nom.sg. of *aodar-* 'frost,' the antonym of 'fire,' in Y. 51,12.

¹³⁹ For possible *a9šo* < *ā9rō* cf. Bactr. *xšono* 'year' borrowed from Gr. *chronos* 'time.'

15. *Oēšo* [wēš], cf. Av. *vayu-* 'wind/atmosphere,' equated with Shiva (36).

16. *Ommo* fem. pictured together with *Oēšo/Shiva* on Göbl no. 310 (1x), equated with Skt. *Umā*, the wife of Shiva; the spelling *omma* in Rabatak continues the Old Iranian feminine ending -ā (33.1).

17. *Öromozdo* [ohrmuzd] (Göbl no. 240, only 2x, see here p. 27, fig. 1), diverging from *aoromazdo* [a(h)urmazd] in Rabatak (33.1). A third variant of the Bactrian name of Ahura Mazdā weakly attested on the coins is the dissected couple *ōrom* and *ozdo*, the former in Göbl no. 333, the latter in no. 334, replaced by *oxšo* in no. 335. All of them are accompanied by the picture of an indefinable male figure.¹⁴⁰

18. *Orlagno* 'Victoriousness,' cf. YAv. *vərə9ra9na-* neutr./masc. '(deity of) breaking resistance/breakthrough,' a derivation from YAv. *vərə9rajan-* adj. 'breaking resistance, victorious.' Possible variant *ošlagno*, the Bactrian letter *p* [r] being provided with a slight hook at its left upper corner on several specimens.

19. *Rišto* [rišt] fem. (Göbl no. 288 1x), on two specimens (Göbl no. 332) written with a dwarfed -o turned upward like a flourish and, therefore, erroneously read *rišti*.¹⁴¹ The deity is described by Rosenfield 96 f. as wearing "a crested helmet, a body armor, and a long chiton, holding in her left hand a spear; in her right hand a shield"; Göbl 1984, 45 convincingly thinks of Pallas Athene/Minerva. F. Grenet 1984 connects the name with that of the Avestan deity *arštāt-* 'straightness/sureness/preciseness' whose name is simplified in Y. 57,33 to *aršti-* homonymous with the appellative noun *aršti-* 'lance.' Yet, *aršt°* is from *ṛšt°* which cannot become *rišt°* in Iranian. The outward appearance of *rišto* rather points to *rišta-* (Av. *irišta-*, Ved.Skt. *riṣṭá-*) whose meaning 'damaged, injured' is understandably no appropriate name of a deity, for which reason we think it possible that *rišto* on the model of the coin inscriptions was corrupted from **a-rišto* 'the undamaged/unhurt one' (Av. *a-irišta-*), possibly in the sense of 'virgin.'

20. *Šaorēoro* [šahrēwər] 'Desirable Rule/Power,' from the gen.sg. Av. *xša9rahe vairyehe*; cf. Phl. *štrywar* [šahrēwar] along with Man.MP.Pth. *šhrywr* and the month name NP. *šahrīwar* /šahrīr. – Variant *šahrēoar* (Göbl no. 381 1x).

21. *Teiro* [tīr], cf. Phl. *tīr* 'mercury' and Av. *tīra-* (in the proper name *tīrō.naka9βa-*).¹⁴²

36. Oēšo

36.1. The obverses of the coins of Vima Kadphisēs, who is generally considered the predecessor of Kanishka (the Great),¹⁴³ show a portrait of the king encircled by a Greek inscription of varying length, the longest of which runs *basileus basileōn sōtēr megas ooēmo kadphisēs* 'King of Kings Vima Kadphisēs, the Great Savior,' their reverses, however, follow a pattern different from those on the coins of Kanishka and his

¹⁴⁰ The figure of *Örom/Ozdo* is described by Rosenfield 101 as "a type of bearded male with high cylindrical cap; staff in left hand, right hand in the gesture of *varada-mudrā*. Cap is similar to those worn by Indra in Gandhāran sculpture." Differently Göbl 46 "mit hohem pilzartigen Hut (wie Modius)," apparently thinking of Sarapis.

¹⁴¹ Similarly, the half-cursive version B of the Surkh Kotal inscription SK 4 ends with a flourish turned downward, thus suggesting the erroneous reading *borzomioro kirdi* 'made by Burzmihr' instead of intended correct *kirdo*.

¹⁴² On the reverses of Huvishka's coins one finds furthermore the Egyptian Sarapis (*sarapo*) and the Greek Herakles (*ērakilo*), who is depicted with a club.

¹⁴³ On the problematic nature of the relative chronology see 31.2, n. 121.

successors, by molding the translation of the Bactrian text into a somewhat debased Sanskrit written in Kharoshthi script which runs *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-logeśvarasa maheśvarasa tradarasa vimasa kaṭphiśasa* 'of the Great King, King of Kings, the Lord of the World, the Great Lord (and) Savior Vima Kadphisēs' (see Göbl plate 1). The Sanskrit inscription encircles a variety of pictures of a god whose name is missing but whose iconographical characteristics clearly point to Indian Shiva (32.2-3). The same god is depicted on the reverses of numerous coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, and exclusively on those of Vāsudeva (31.1); on all of these he is given the Bactrian name *Oēšo* (*oēšo*), to whom the Indian god Shiva was equated.¹⁴⁴

36.2. The name of *oēšo* [*wēš*] comes from Av. *vayuš*, the nom.sg. of Av. *vayu-* 'wind' (OP. **vāyu-*, Phl. *wāy*). The unexpected preservation of the Old Iranian nominative ending *-š* is certainly due to *oēšo* being short for the compound **oēš-pargaro* [*wēš-pargar*] which was contracted from the syntagma Av. *vayuš uparō.kairyō* 'wind active in the upper region.' The syntagma survives in Man.Sogd. *wēšparkar* (*wyšprkr*), a god of three faces (*ōry ryth*), who in a Buddhist text is duplicated with Mahādeva (*mγ²tyβ*), i.e., with Shiva, see H. Humbach 1975.

36.3. The concept of Iranian Vayu/Vāyu is of Proto-Aryan origin. In some of its Rigvedic occurrences Skt. *vāyū-* 'wind' is presented as a Deva/god closely connected with Indra, a fact which has us expect him to have been demonized in orthodox Mazdaism. As a matter of fact, the Daēvish/devilish character of Vayu is clearly expressed in two Young Avestan passages where he is described as a demon of death:

Aog. 77-81 *pairiθβō bavaiti paṇtā ... hāu dit aēvō apairiθβō yō vayaoš anamarždikahe*
'avoidable is the way ..., but the only (way) which is unavoidable is that of pitiless Vayu'
Vid. 5.8 *astō.vīdōtuš dim baṇdayeiti vayō (*vayuš¹⁴⁵) dim bastem nayeiti*
'dissolution binds him, Vayu leads him off in bonds'

That Vayu's function described here is that of a Daēva/devil definitely results from a similar passage in Vid. 19.29 where almost the same function is attributed to a Daēva named Vīzarəsha 'dragging away': *vīzarəšo daēvō nāma ... uruvānəm bastəm vādayeiti druvaṭam* 'the Daēva Vīzarəsha carries him off in bonds.' Yet especially relevant in regard of the conventional view is the negative context of the Gāthic occurrence of *vayu-* in Y. 53.6 *vayū bərəd(ə)byō duš.x'arəθəm*. These three words are usually translated by the western scholars as 'for those crying woe (there shall be) bad food,' nonetheless they rather mean 'with the wind (away with him) to those offering foul food (= to hell).'¹⁴⁶

36.4. In contrast with these negative occurrences a most positive picture of Vayu is drawn in the very popular Yt. 15 where he is celebrated as a heavily armed warrior

¹⁴⁴ In contrast with the syncretistic *Oēšo/Śiva*, the gods *Bizago* (*Viśākha*), *Boudo/Boddo* (*Buddha*), *Maasēno* (*Mahāsena*), *Sakamano* (< *Śākyamuni*), *Skando Komaro* (*Skanda Kumāra*) depicted on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are purely Indian gods.

¹⁴⁵ *vayō* for **vayuš* is due to the mistake of a copyist influenced by the subsequent *vayō* 'birds.'

¹⁴⁶ Therewith they follow – most times unknowingly – Phl. *hōšišn* 'withering, decay' by which the Pahlavi translation renders both *vāyū* 'with the wind' and *vayōi* 'woe' in the subsequent Y. 53.7.



fig. 4

The Bactrian god *Oēšo* [*Wēsh*] 'Wind/Atmosphere'
equated with the Indian god Shiva (see here 36)
on the reverse of a coin of the Kushan King

From R. Göbl 1984, no. 535/2

Drawing by M. Hahn

Inscription in Graeco-Bactrian script with the typical Bactrian character *p = š*
Note the faint mint marks Gr. *A* and Skt. *Hi* (or *Phi*?) left undiscussed by Göbl

worshiped by all the heroes of the legendary history of the Iranians – a rather unveiled relic of the literature of Iran's pagan period. Nevertheless, this positive picture is modified in the Yasht by several allusions to an ambivalent character of the god:

Yt. 15,3 *yaθa azəm nījanāmi agrahe mainyōuš dāmanam naēciš avaṭ yaṭ spəntahe*
'(a worshiper prays:) let me smite (any) of the creatures of the Harmful Spirit but none of the Beneficent one'

Yt. 15,43-44 *uva dāma vayemi ... uva dāma vanāmi yasca daθaṭ spəntō mainyōuš yasca daθaṭ agrahe mainyōuš*

'I chase (and) overcome all creatures, those whom the Beneficent Spirit created and those whom the Harmful Spirit created'

Cf. furthermore Y. 25,5 *vaēm ašavanəm yazamaidē ... aētaṭ tē vayō yazamaidē yaṭ tē spəntō.mainyaom* 'we celebrate truthful Vayu, ... we celebrate that of your traits, O Vayu, which derives from the Beneficent Spirit,' a passage which implies that Vayu has harmful characteristics as well.

36.5. Whereas Indra was absolutely demonized in Mazdayasnian Iran (20), the less orthodox Zoroastrian tradition attributed to Vayu an ambivalent nature, a concept which is most manifestly systemized in the Pahlavi couple *wāy ī weh ... wāy ī wattar* 'the Good Wind (and) the Bad Wind'¹⁴⁷ and which is also mirrored in the fact that Yt. 15, though being dedicated to Vayu, was given the name of Rām Yasht by the Avesta tradition, assigning it to the deity Rām (Av. *rāman-*, Phl. *rām* 'peace').

36.6. While the rendering of the God of Wind, be it Vayu/Wēsh or Oado/Wād, as Gr. Anemos 'Wind' (34.3) is a more or less forced attempt to Hellenize that Iranian god of Proto-Aryan descent, his equation with the Indian Shiva depicted in Greek style on the Kushan coins is a highly impressive manifestation of the Irano-Indian Hellenism coupled with a strong non-Mazdayasnian tendency and obviously being a consequence of the expansion of the Kushan rule into India proper.

37. The ordeal, the fire, the molten metal, and the balance

37.1. The OAv. noun *rāna-*, which four times occurs in the dual number and once in the plural, is a central term of Zarathushtra's doctrine of remuneration and punishment both in this and the other life, but its meaning is controversial. From PhlT. *pahikār-dārān* 'fighters' (Phl. *pahikār* 'struggle/battle/dispute') Gāthā scholarship derived the meaning 'the two religious parties (fighting against each other),' which hardly can be correct since *rāna-* in all its occurrences stands in an auspicious context.

1. In Y. 31,3 and 51,9 *rāna-* appears in the textual vicinity of *xšnūt-* 'satisfaction,' a term similar to 'reward' for which cf. Young Avestan Y. 60,2 *ašonam xšnūtascā ašayascā vyādaibišcā paiti.zantayascā* 'the satisfactions of, rewards for, distributions for, and recognitions of the truthful.'

¹⁴⁷ See the masterly edition, translation, and discussion of the pertinent passages by R. C. Zaehner 1955, 83 ff.

2. In Y. 31,19, 47,6, and 51,6 we find the noun *vidāiti-* 'distribution' whose favorable meaning emerges from the verb *vidāyāt* 43,12.

3. In Y. 31,19 and 47,6 we find the loc.sg. *vaṇhāu* 'in the good way/on the good side' which possibly refers to the credit balance. This also applies to 43,12 *savōi*, the loc.sg. of *sava-*, which we render as 'at the benefaction/salvation' but for which PhlT. has *sūd* 'profit,' cf. NP. *sāw* 'tribute.'

37.2. As was pointed out as early as in Humbach, Gathas 1959, 2 (ad 31,3), OAv. *rāna-* must be the same word as YAv. *rāna-* 'thigh/leg,' yet no acceptable solution of the actual meaning of the word in the Gāthic context could be offered before Humbach, Gāthās 1991, 2 (ad 31,3) according to which *rāna-* denotes the balance, i.e., the two legs of the scales of the balance. In daily language *rāna-* must have been used as a term of trading, in the Gāthic vocabulary, however, it is said of the weighing of the pros and cons in legal proceedings held in this world by a high-ranking priest, in the other world, though, by Ahura Mazdā himself.

37.3. In Y. 31,3, 31,19, 47,6, 51,9, *rāna-* stands in the textual vicinity of *ātar-* 'fire.' The glosses recorded by the otherwise helpless Pahlavi translator unanimously say *bōxt ud ēraxt paydāg dahēd* 'it makes manifest the saved/redeemed and the condemned/damned,' which is certainly right: Zarathushtra speaks of the fire-ordeal which is performed by applying molten metal (Y. 51,9 *ayaṇhā xšustā*) or 'glowing metal' (Y. 32,7 *x'aēnā ayaṇhā*).¹⁴⁸

37.4. Attested are the dual forms *rānōibyā* (instr.dat.abl.du. in Y. 31,3, 47,6, 51,9) and *rānayā* (gen.du. in 31,19), furthermore the plural *rānōibyō* (dat.abl.pl. in 43,12), which draws attention to the possibly distributive use of the dual ('arbitrary number of pairs of scales/balances'):

Y. 31,3 *yaṃ dā mainyū āθrācā ašācā cōiš rānōibyā xšnūtəm*

'(tell us) the satisfaction which you fix by (your) spirit and (your) fire and which you assign through truth with the balance'

Y. 31,19 *θβā āθrā suxrā ... vaṇhāu vidātā rānayā*

'at the distribution (of the result) of the balance, (to be performed) in the good (case) by your red fire'

Y. 43,12 *ašī ... yā vī ašīš rānōibyō savōi vidāyāt*

'along with (the deity) Reward who, in the favorable (case), will distribute the rewards with the balance'

Y. 47,6 *tā dā spəntā mainyū mazdā ahurā*

āθrā vaṇhāu vidāitīm rānōibyā

āmatōiš dābazaṇhā ašaxyācā

'through this beneficent spirit, O Wise Lord,

(and) through the fire you fix, in the good (case), the distribution with the balance according to the extent/weight of right-mindedness and truth'

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Young Avestan Yt. 13,2 *asmanəm yō hištaite ayaṇhō kəhrpa x'aēnahe* 'the heaven which appears in the shape of glowing metal.'

Y. 51,9 *yam xšnūtəm rānōibyā dā 9βā ā9rā suxrā mazdā*

ayanhā xšustā aibī ahvāhū daxštəm dāvōi

rāšayejhē drəgvantəm savayō ašavanəm

'which satisfaction you fix with the balance, by your red fire, O Wise One

(and) by the molten metal – to attach a sign (of that) to the minds:

to harm the deceitful one you benefit/save the truthful one'

In the above translations we render the polysemous forms *rānōibyā* (instr.dat.abl.du.) and *rānōibyō* (dat.abl.pl.) as instrumentals ('with'). In all these instances one can also operate with the dative ('to/for'), which, however, makes it necessary to take the word 'balance' in the abstract sense of '(result of the) balance,' i.e., 'result of (the weighing by) the balance,' a solution which is incontestable in Y. 31,19 *raṇayā* (gen.du.).

37.5. Among the few passages of the Gāthās which deal with facts (real or imaginative as is the Yima legend, 13.2-3) the *rāna*- complex is outstanding as it represents, for once, five complicated poetical variations of evidently one single piece of text known to the public, the variations diverging so much and being so nebulous that it is impossible to exactly restore the underlying text or the underlying idea, not to speak of their ambiguity in regard of worldly and other-world matters. Beyond this, the *rāna*- complex gives us an insight, though a short and faint one, into the social life, the trading practices, and the legal procedures of Zarathushtra's time.

B. The Old Avestan texts with English and German translations

Yasna 27,13-15. Introduction

Yathā Ahū Vairiyō (= Ahuna Vairya), Ashəm Vohū, Yenghē Hātām

27,13. *ya9ā ahū vairiyō a9ā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā*
vanhōuš dazdā mananḥō šyao9ananam anḥōuš mazdāi
xša9ramcā ahurāi.ā yim drigubyō dadaṭ vāstāram

27,13. Since (He is) the patron worth choosing therefore the judgment (to be passed) in accordance with truth itself on the actions of good thought of the world is committed to the Wise One, and the power (is committed to Him,) the Lord, whom (people) commend to the poor as a shepherd.

27,13. Weil (Er) der wählenswerte Schutzherr (ist,) deshalb wird das in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein selbst (zu fällende) Urteil über die Handlungen des guten Gedankens der Welt dem Weisen anvertraut und die Macht (wird Ihm anvertraut,) dem Herrn, den (die Leute) den Armen als Hirten empfehlen.

27,14. *ašəm vohū vahištəm astī*
uštā astī uštā ahmāi
hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi ašəm

27,14. Truth is the best/highest good/possession.
 As desired/at will the (things) desired are (available)
 (as) truth to Him who (is) Best Truth.

27,14. Das Wahrsein ist das beste/höchste Gut.
 Nach Wunsch/Belieben stehen die gewünschten (Dinge) ihm,
 dem Besten Wahrsein, (als) Wahrsein (zur Verfügung).

[27,15. *yejhē hātām āaṭ yesnē paitī vanhō*
mazdā ahurō vaē9ā ašāt hacā yāṇhamcā
taścā tāscā yazamaidē]

[27,15. The male one among the existing whose very good (recompense) for the sacrifice the Wise Lord knows in accordance with truth, and the female ones as well, those male ones and those female ones we celebrate.]

[27,15. Den (männlichen) unter den Seienden, dessen sehr gute (Gegenleistung) für das Opfer

der Weise Herr in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein kennt, und ebenso die (weiblichen,) diese (Männer) und diese (Frauen) feiern wir.]

Yasna 28-34. Ahunavaitī Gāthā

Yasna 28

28,1. *ahyā yāsā nəmanhā ustānazastō rafəδrahyā
mainyāuš mazdā paourvīm spəntahyā ašā vīspəng šyaoθanā
vaṇhəuš xratūm manahō yā xšnəvīšā gəušcā uruṇəm*

28,1. With hands outstretched in reverence for Him, the supporter, I first request of all (participants,) O Wise One, actions of the spirit beneficent through truth, by whom you may satisfy the intellect of good thought and the soul of the cow.

28,1. Mit in Verehrung für Ihn, den Unterstützer, ausgestreckten Händen bitte ich zuerst, o Weiser, (Euch) alle um Handlungen des durch Wahrsein segensreichen Geistes, durch den Du den Intellekt des guten Gedankens und die Seele der Kuh zufrieden stellen mögest.

28,2. *yā vā mazdā ahurā pairī.jasāi vohū manahā
maibyōi dāvōi ahuvā astvatascā hyaṭcā manahō
āyaptā ašāt hacā yāiš rapantō daidī xʷāθrē*

28,2. (Grant me) who wish to serve you with good thought, O Wise Lord, grant me, in accordance with truth, the boons of both existences, the osseous/material one and that of thought, (the boons) by which one should put (his) supporters in comfort.

28,2. (Gewährt mir,) der ich Euch, o Weiser Herr, mit gutem Gedanken aufwarten will, gewährt mir in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein die Gnadengaben beider Existenzen, der knochenhaften/materiellen und der des Gedankens, (die Gnadengaben,) mit denen einer (seine) Unterstützer in Labsal versetzen sollte.

28,3. *yā vā ašā ufyānī manascā vohū apaourvīm
mazdām cā ahurəm yaēibyō xšaθrəmcā aγžō.nvamnəm
varədaīti ārmaitiš ā mōi rafəδrāi zavəng jasatā*

28,3. (To me) who wish to extol, in a new way, you, O Truth, and Good Thought, and the Wise Lord, for (all of) whom Right-mindedness also increases unfading Power, come to me on my calls for support.

28,3. (Zu mir,) der ich Euch auf neue Weise preisen will, Euch, o Wahrsein, und den Guten Gedanken und den Weisen Herrn, denen (allen) die Rechtgesinntheit unvergängliche Macht mehrt, kommt zu mir auf meine Rufe um Unterstützung.

28,4. *yā uruṇəm mən-g gairē vohū dadē haθrā manahā
ašīscā šyaoθananəm vīduš mazdā ahurahyā
yavaṭ isāi tavācā avaṭ xsāi aēšē ašahyā*

28,4. (I) who, with good thought, impress on my mind (one's) soul in order to welcome (it/him)

as well as the (adequate) rewards for (his/my) actions, being a witness for the Wise Lord

I will look out in search of truth as much as I can and am able to.

28,4. (Ich,) der ich mit gutem Gedanken (jemand's) Seele meinem Gedächtnis einpräge, um (sie/ihn) zu bewillkommen, und desgleichen die (angemessenen) Belohnungen für (seine/meine) Handlungen, ich will als Zeuge des Weisen Herrn Ausschau halten auf der Suche nach dem Wahrsein, sosehr ich kann und vermag.

28,5. *ašā kaṭ θβā darəsānī manascā vohū vaēdəmnō
gātūmcā ahurāi səvīštāi səraošəm mazdāi
anā məθrā mazištəm vaurōimaidī xrafstrā hizuvā*

28,5. O Truth, will I see you, I who possess good thought and, (as) a throne for the Lord, obedience to (Him,) the very strong Wise One, (obedience) which is the greatest by (reciting) this mantra: "We would test the noxious ones with the tongue."

28,5. O Wahrsein, werde ich Dich erblicken, ich, der ich guten Gedanken besitze und, (als) Thron für den Herrn, Gehorsam gegenüber (Ihm,) dem sehr starken Weisen, (Gehorsam,) der der größte ist durch (die Rezitation) dieses Mantras: „Wir möchten die Schädlinge mit der Zunge testen.“

28,6. *vohū gaidī manahā daidī ašā dā darəgāyū
ərəšvāiš tū uxδāiš mazdā zaraθuštāi aojōṇhvaṭ rafənō
ahmaibyācā ahurā yā daibišvatō dvaēšā taurvayāmā*

28,6. Come with good thought, grant through truth a lifelong gift by your sublime statements, O Wise One, (to be) a strong support for (me,) Zarathushtra,

and for (all of) us, O Lord, whereby we may overcome the hostilities of the enemy.

28,6. Komm mit gutem Gedanken, gewähre durch Wahrsein lebenslange Gabe durch Deine erhabenen Aussagen, o Weiser, (als) starke Unterstützung für (mich,) den Zarathushtra, und für uns (alle,) o Herr, dank derer wir die Feindschaften des Feindes überwinden mögen.

28,7. *daidī ašā tām ašīm vaṇhəuš āyaptā manahō
daidī tū ārmaitē vīštāspāi īšəm maibyācā
dāstū mazdā xšayācā yā vā məθrā srəvīmā rādā*

28,7. Grant that reward, O Truth, the boons of good thought,
grant, O Right-mindedness, vigor to Vishtāspa and to me,
grant, O Wise One, and rule by the mantra through which we may hear your orders.

28,7. Gewähre diese Belohnung, o Wahrsein, die Gnadengaben des guten Gedankens,
gewähre, o Rechtgesinntheit, dem Vishtāspa und mir Frische,
gewähre, o Weiser, und herrsche durch das Mantra, durch das wir Eure Anordnungen
vernehmen mögen.

28,8. *vahištəm θβā vahištā yēm ašā vahištā hazaošəm*
ahurəm yāsā vāunuš narōi fərašaoštrāi maibyācā
yaēibyascā it rānhañhōi vīspāi yavē vañhəuš manəñhō

28,8. I lovingly request from you, O Best One, from the Lord, who is in harmony with
best truth,

that which is the best for gentle Frashaoshtra, and for myself,
and for (all) those on whom you will bestow it for all time/ever in good thought.

28,8. Dich, o Bester, den Herrn, der mit dem besten Wahrsein im Einklang ist,
bitte ich liebevoll um das Beste für den edlen Frashaoshtra und für mich
und für (alle) diejenigen, denen Du es schenken wirst für alle Zeit/immer in gutem
Gedanken.

28,9. *anāiš vā nōit ahurā mazdā ašəmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā*
manascā hyaṭ vahištəm yōi vā yōiθəmə dasəmə stūtəm
yūžəm zəvištiyāñhō īšō xšaθrəmcā savəñham

28,9. May we not anger you, O Wise Lord, by these presentations, (you) and Truth,
and Best Thought, we who are facing you at the offering of praises.
You (are) the fastest invigorations and (you have) the power over the welfare/salvation.

28,9. Mögen wir Euch mit diesen Darbietungen nicht erzürnen, (Euch) und das
Wahrsein
und den Besten Gedanken, wir, die wir Euch zugewandt sind bei der Darbringung der
Preislieder.

Ihr (seid) die schnellsten Erfrischungen und (Ihr habt) die Macht über das Wohl/Heil.

28,10. *aṭ yəñg ašāatcā vōistā vañhəušcā dāθəñg manəñhō*
əraθβəñg mazdā ahurā aēibyō pərañā āpanāiš kāməm
aṭ vā xšmaibyā asūnā vaēdā xʾaraiθyā vaiñtiyā sravā

28,10. Fulfill thus with gains the desire of those whom you know by virtue of truth
and good thought to be just (and) honest, O Wise Lord.
(In return for this) I know for you rich, well-controlled, loving eulogies.

28,10. So erfülle mit Gewinnen den Wunsch derer, die Du kraft Wahrseins
und guten Gedankens als gerecht kennst (und) als rechtschaffen, o Weiser Herr.
Euch weiß ich (dafür) reiche, gut gelenkte, liebevolle Lobreden.

28,11. *yā aiš ašəm nipāñhē manascā vohū yavaētāitē*

tuvəm mazdā ahurā frō mā sīšā θbahmāt vaocāñhē
mainyēuš hacā θβā əəñhā yāiš ā añhuš paouruyō bavaṭ

28,11. You who, with these, store for yourself truth and good thought to (all) eternity.
O Wise Lord, teach me with your mouth in accordance with your spirit to recite
(those eulogies) through which the first/foremost existence came/will come into being.

28,11. Du, der Du Dir mit diesen das Wahrsein und den guten Gedanken für (alle)
Ewigkeit aufbewahrst,
o Weiser Herr, lehre mich mit Deinem Mund, (sie) in Übereinstimmung mit Deinem
Geist zu rezitieren,
(diese Lobreden,) durch die die erste/vorzügliche Existenz entstanden ist/entstehen
wird.

Yasna 29

29,1. *xšmaibyā gəuš uruvā gərəždā kahmāi mā θbarōždūm kə mā tašaṭ*
ā mā aešəmə hazascā rəmō āhišāyā dərəščā təviščā
nōit mōi vāstā xšmaṭ anyō aθā mōi səstā vohū vāstriyā

29,1. The soul of the cow complains to you: "For whom did you shape me? Who
fashioned me?

Fury and oppression, immobilization, fetters and brutality keep me tied.
I have no shepherd other than you. Thus appear to me with good pastoral works."

29,1. Euch klagt die Seele der Kuh: „Für wen habt Ihr mich gestaltet? Wer hat mich
gebildet?

Raserei und Unterdrückung, Stillstand, Bande und Brutalität halten mich gefesselt.
Ich habe keinen anderen Hirten als Euch. So erscheint mir mit gutem Hirtenwerk.“

29,2. *adā tašā gəuš pərəsaṭ ašəm kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš*
hyaṭ hīm dātā xšayəntō hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θβaxšō
kām hōi uštā ahurəm yə drəgvō.dəbiš aēšəməm vādāyōit

29,2. Thereupon the fashioner of the cow asks Truth: "What about your judgment on the
cow,

(implying) that cattle-milking zeal of one capable of would take (care of) her by
(providing) forage?

Whom do you wish to be her lord, (one) who might break through (the wall of) fury
(practiced) by the deceitful?"

29,2. Darauf fragt der Bildner der Kuh das Wahrsein: „Wie steht es mit Deinem Urteil
über die Kuh,

(bedeutend,) dass Kuh melkender Eifer eines dazu Befähigten sich ihrer durch
(Beschaffung von) Futter annehme?

Wen wünscht Ihr ihr als Herrn, (einen,) der (den Wall) der durch die Lügner
(betriebeben) Raserei durchbrechen könnte?“

29,3. *ahmāi ašā nōit sarəjā advaēšō gavōi paiti.mravaṭ*
avaēšəm nōit vīduyē yā šavaitē ādrəñg ərašvāñhō

hātām hvō aojīštō yahmāi zavāṅg jimā kərədušā

29,3. No wall-breaking (hero) well-disposed toward the cow will answer him through truth.

One does not wish to take note of (the things) that move stir the low-ranking. O you high-ranking.

That one is the strongest among the existing to whom I want to get together with the (plaintiff) who uttered the cries (for support).

29,3. Ihm wird kein der Kuh gewogener Wälle brechender (Held) durch Wahrsein antworten.

Nicht will man von den (Dingen) Kenntnis nehmen, welche die Niederen bewegen, Ihr Hohen.

Jener ist der Stärkste unter den Seienden, an den ich gelangen will zusammen mit dem (Kläger,) der die (Hilfe)rufe ausgestoßen hat.

29,4. *mazdā sax'ārē mairīštō yā zī vāvərəzōi pairī.ciθīt*
daēvāišcā mašiyāišcā yācā varəšaitē aipī.ciθīt
hvō vīcīrō ahurō aθā nā aṇhaṭ yaθā hvō vasaṭ

29,4. The Wise One precisely remembers the acts of violence which have been perpetrated all around

by Daēvas/devils and (bad) mortals, and those (He will remember) as well which will be perpetrated (by them) in the future.

He is the competent Lord. As He desires so it may happen to us.

29,4. Der Weise erinnert sich genau der Untaten, die von Daēvas/Teufeln und (bösen) Sterblichen

ringsum begangen worden sind, und (ebenso derjenigen,) die (von ihnen) in Zukunft begangen werden.

Er ist der maßgebliche Herr. Wie Er will, so geschehe uns.

29,5. *aṭ vā ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā*
mā uruvā gəušcā azyā hyaṭ mazdām duvaidī fərasābyō
nōiṭ əražajiyōi frajyāitiš nōiṭ fšuyəntē drəgvasū pairī

29,5. We two are thus devoting ourselves to the Lord with hands stretched out fervently, my soul and that of the fertile cow, choosing/asking (Him,) the Wise One, to (give us) instructions:

(There is) no life prospect for the one living decently, (there is) none for the cattle breeder among the deceitful all around.

29,5. So widmen wir zwei uns mit inbrünstig ausgestreckten Händen dem Herrn, meine Seele und die der fruchtbaren Kuh, da wir (Ihn,) den Weisen, wählen/bitten, (uns) Unterweisungen (zu erteilen).

(Es gibt) keine Lebensmöglichkeit für den Rechtlebenden, keine (gibt es) für den Viehzüchter unter den Lügner ringsum.

29,6. *aṭ ā vaocaṭ ahurō mazdā vīdvā vafūš vyānaya*

nōiṭ aēvā ahū vīstō naēdā ratuš ašātcīṭ hacā
aṭ zī θβā fšuyəntācā vāstriyāicā θβōrəštā tatašā

29,6. Thereupon the Wise Lord, who knows the texts through His vitality, speaks:

"No (judgment) has been found indeed by the Patron, no judgment in accordance with truth itself (is suitable).

For the shaper has fashioned you for the cattle-breeding herdsman."

29,6. Darauf spricht der Weise Herr, der die Texte durch Seine Vitalität kennt:

„Kein (Urteil) ist fürwahr vom Schutzherrn gefunden, kein Urteil im Einklang mit dem Wahrsein selbst (ist angebracht),

denn der Gestalter hat dich für den Vieh züchtenden Hirten gebildet.“

29,7. *tām āzūtōiš ahurō maθrəṃ tašaṭ ašā hazaošō*
mazdā gavōi xšvīdəmcā hvō urušaēibyō spəntō sāsna yā
kastē vohū manəḥhā yā ī dāyāṭ āāvā marətaēibyō

29,7. "In harmony with truth, the Wise Lord fashioned for the cow that (well-known) concept/mantra of fat and the milk, being beneficent to the emaciated by His teaching.

Whom do you have through good thought who would make the two available to the mortals?"

29,7. „Im Einklang mit dem Wahrsein bildete der Weise Herr der Kuh

diesen (wohl bekannten) Begriff/Mantra vom Fett und die Milch, den Ausgeehrten segensreich durch Seine Lehre.

Wen hast du durch guten Gedanken, der sie beide den Sterblichen zur Verfügung stellen würde?"

29,8. *āēm mōi idā vīstō yā nā aēvō sāsna gūšatā*
zaraθuštrō spitāmō hvō nā mazdā vaštī ašāicā
carəkarəθrā srāvayeyjē hyaṭ hōi hudəməṃ <di>dyāi vaxəδrahyā

29,8. "This Zarathushtra Spitama here I have found, the only one who listens to Our teachings. He wishes to sing lauds for Us, O Wise One, and for Truth to let me perceive the beauty of his speech organ."

29,8. „Diesen Zarathushtra Spitama hier, der als einziger unseren Lehren lauscht, habe ich gefunden. Er will Uns, o Weiser, und dem Wahrsein Loblieder singen, damit ich die Schönheit seines Sprechorgans wahrnehmen möge.“

29,9. *aṭcā gəuš uruvā raostā yā anaēšəṃ xšənmānē rādəṃ*
vācəṃ nərəš asūrahyā yām ā vasəmi īšā.xšaθrīm
kadā yavā hvō aṇhaṭ yā hōi dadaṭ zastavaṭ avō

29,9. But the soul of the cow laments: "(Woe is me) who must content myself with a vigorless caretaker,

with the voice of the weak man whom I wish to be powerful through invigoration.

When will that one ever be who lends him hand and help?"

29,9. Aber die Seele der Kuh jammert: „(Wehe mir,) die ich mich mit einem kraftlosen Fürsorger zufrieden geben muss, mit der Stimme des schwachen Mannes, von dem ich wünsche, dass er durch Erfrischung machtvoll sei.

Wann wird der jemals sein, der ihm eine helfende Hand leiht?“

29,10. *yūžəm aēibyō ahurā aogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmcā*
avaṭ vohū manəḥhā yā hušəitiš rāmaṃcā dāt
azəmcīṭ ahyā mazdā θβam mōjhi paourvīm vaēdəm

29,10. O Lord, grant those (present) strength through truth and that power through good thought by which one can establish comfortable dwellings and peaceful conditions!

I for my part realize that you, O Wise One, are its first/foremost provider.

29,10. O Herr, gewährt den (Anwesenden) Kraft durch Wahrsein und jene Macht durch guten Gedanken, durch die man angenehme Wohnstätten und friedliche Zustände herstellen kann.

Ich für meinen Teil erkenne Dich, o Weiser, als ihren ersten/vorzüglichen Besorger.

29,11. *kudā ašəm vohucā manō xšaθrəmcā aṭ mā mašā*
yūžəm mazdā frāxšnənē mazōi magāi.ā paiti.zānatā
ahurā nū nā avarē əhmā rātōiš yūsmavaṭəm

29,11. Where are Truth, Good Thought and Power? Accept (us two) prudently, O Wise One, (us two,) the mortal one (and his ward,) for the great contribution. O Lord, (come) down to us now on account of the presents (offered) by us to those such as you.

29,11. Wo sind Wahrsein, Guter Gedanke und Macht? Nehmt (uns beide,) den Sterblichen (und seinen Schutzbefohlenen) in Umsicht für die große Spende an, o Weiser.

O Herr, nun (komm) herab zu uns dank der durch uns (vollzogenen) Beschenkung derer so wie Ihr.

Yasna 30

30,1. *aṭ tā vaxšyā išəntō yā mazdāθā hyaṭcīṭ vīdušē*
staotācā ahurāi yesniyācā vaṇhəuš manəḥhō
humazdrā ašā ycaēcā yā raocəbiš darəsata urvāzā

30,1. Such (things) I wish to proclaim, O you who are approaching, that are noteworthy even to Him, the Knowing/Initiated One, praises for (Him,) the Lord, and sacrificial (words) of good thought, and (for those) attentive with truth (I wish to proclaim) the grace visible through the lights.

30,1. Solche (Dinge) will ich verkünden, o Ihr, die Ihr Euch nähert, die sogar Ihm, dem Wissenden/Initiierten, bemerkenswert sind, Preislieder und zum Opfer gehörende (Worte) des guten Gedankens (Ihm,) dem Herrn,

und den durch Wahrsein Aufmerksamen (will ich verkünden) die durch die Lichter sichtbare Gnade.

30,2. *sraotā gəušāiš vahištā avaēnatā sūcā manəḥhā*
avarənā vicīθahya narəm narəm x ašyāi tamuyē
parā mazā yāḥhō ahmāi nē sazdyāi baodantō paiti

30,2. Hear the best with your ears, view, with thought (enlightened) by the flame, the preferences/cooptations (resulting) from the discrimination, (viewing) one man after the other for his own body/individually before the great apportionment, waiting for Him to pronounce for us (his sentences).

30,2. Vernehmt mit Euren/euren Ohren das Beste, beobachtet mit durch die Flamme (erleuchtetem) Gedanken die aus der Unterscheidung (folgenden) Vorlieben/Zuwahlen (und beobachtet) einen Mann um den anderen für seine eigene Person vor der großen Zuteilung, darauf wartend, dass Er uns (seine Urteile) verkünde.

30,3. *aṭ tā mainyū paouruyē yā yāmā xʼafənā asruvātəm*
manahicā vacahicā šyaoθanōi hī vahyō akəmcā
āscā hudāḥhō ərəš vīšyātā nōiṭ duždāḥhō

30,3. These are the two spirits, the twins who, at the beginning (of the existence/life,) came to be heard of as both kinds of dreams, thoughts and words, as both kinds of actions, the very good and the evil one, and between these two the munificent ones discriminate rightly, not so the misers.

30,3. Dies sind die beiden Geister, die Zwillinge, die sich bei Beginn (der Existenz/Leben) vernehmen ließen als beiderlei Träume, Gedanken und Worte, als beiderlei Handlungen, die sehr gute und die schlechte, und zwischen diesen beiden unterscheiden die Freigebigen richtig, nicht aber die Geizhalse.

30,4. *aṭcā hyaṭ tā hām mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē*
gaēmcā aṭyāitīmā yaθācā aṇhaṭ apəməm aṇhuš
acištō drəgvatəm aṭ ašāunē vahištəm manō

30,4. When these two spirits meet (to fight for a person, then this) determines (his) first (existence/life,) vitality or lack of it, and how his existence/life will be at last. That of the deceitful (will be) very bad, but best thought (will be in store) for the truthful one.

30,4. Wenn diese beiden Geister aufeinander stoßen (in der Absicht, um einen Menschen zu kämpfen, dann) bestimmt (dieser seine) erste (Existenz/Leben,) Vitalität oder Mangel daran, und wie seine Existenz/Leben zuletzt sein wird. Sehr schlecht (wird die) der Lügner (sein,) doch dem Wahrhaften wird der beste Gedanke (zuteil werden).

30,5. *ayā mainivā varatā yā drəgvā acištā vərəzyō*

*ašəm mainyuš spāništō yə xraoždīštāng asānō vastē
yaēcā xšnaošan ahurəm haiθyāiš šyaoθanāiš fraorəṭ mazdām*

30.5. The deceitful one of these two spirits chooses to do what is worst.
(but) the most beneficent spirit, clad in the hardest stones, (chooses) truth,
as (do those) who devotedly satisfy the Wise Lord with real/realizing actions.

30.5. Der lügenhafte dieser beiden Geister wählt das schlechteste Tun,
(aber) das Wahrsein (wählt) der in die härtesten Steine gekleidete sehr segensreiche
Geist,
wie (das diejenigen tun,) die den Weisen Herrn hingabevoll mit wirklichen/
verwirklichenden Handlungen zufrieden stellen.

*30.6. ayā nōiṭ əraš vīšyātā daēvācinā hyaṭ iš ā dābaomā
pərəsəm nōng upā.jasaṭ hyaṭ vərənātā acištəm manō
aṭ aēšəməm hōndvārəntā yā bānayən ahūm marētānō*

30.6. Particularly the Daēvas/devils do not rightly discriminate between these two
(spirits). Since delusion
comes over them while they hold counsel so that they choose worst thought,
therefore they gather at fury, by which the mortals sicken the existence/world.

30.6. Insbesondere die Daēvas/Teufel unterscheiden nicht richtig zwischen diesen
beiden (Geistern). Weil sie Betörung
überkommt, während sie sich beraten, so dass sie den schlechtesten Gedanken wählen,
deshalb finden sie sich bei der Raserei ein, mit der die Sterblichen die Existenz/Welt
krank machen.

*30.7. ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaṭ manəḥhā vohū ašacā
aṭ kəhrpəm utayūitiš dadāt ārmaitiš ʾnmā
aēšəm tōi ā aḥaṭ yaθā ayaḥhā ādānāiš paouruyō*

30.7. (But when) one comes to this (existence/world) with power, good thought, and
truth,
then youthfulness grants bodily form, (and) right-mindedness (grants) breath/life,
so that through their allotment by the (ordeal with glowing) metal, this
(existence/world) will be your first/foremost one.

30.7. Kommt man (jedoch) zu dieser (Existenz/Welt) mit Macht, gutem Gedanken und
Wahrsein,
dann verleiht Jugendlichkeit körperliche Gestalt (und) Rechtgesinntheit (verleiht)
Atem/Leben,
so dass infolge von deren Zuteilung durch das (Ordal mit glühendem) Metall diese
(Existenz/Welt) Deine erste/vorzügliche sein wird.

*30.8. aṭcā yadā aēšəm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaḥham
aṭ mazdā taibyō xšaθrəm vohū manəḥhā vōivīdāiti
aēibyō sastē ahurā yōi ašai dadən zastayō drujəm*

30.8. And when the penalty for those outrages has arrived,

then, O Wise One, one will, with good thought, commit to you the power (over it)
at the (judgment) pronounced to those who have delivered deceit into the hands of truth.

30.8. Und wenn die Entschädigung für jene Frevel eingetroffen ist,
dann wird man Dir, o Weiser, mit gutem Gedanken die Macht (darüber) übertragen
bei dem denjenigen verkündeten (Urteil,) o Herr, die die Lüge dem Wahrsein in die
Hände gegeben haben.

*30.9. aṭcā tōi vaēm xyāmā yōi im fərašəm kərənaon ahūm
mazdāscā ahurāḥhō ā.mōyastrā.baranā ašacā
hyaṭ haθrā manā buvaṭ yaθrā cistiš aḥaṭ maēθā*

30.9. May we thus be those who make the existence/world perfect,
O Wise One and you (other) Lords/Ahuras, by the bringer-of-turns and through truth,
with (our) thoughts concentrated on where insight is a partner.

30.9. So mögen wir diejenigen sein, die die Existenz/Welt vollkommen machen,
o Weiser und Ihr (anderen) Herren/Ahuras, durch den Wendebringer und durch
Wahrsein,
indem sich (unsere) Gedanken darauf konzentrieren, wo Einsicht Partnerin ist.

*30.10. adā zī avā drūjō [avō.]buvaitī skəndō spayaθrahyā
aṭ asištā yaojanṭē ā hušitōiš vaḥhəuš manəḥhō
mazdā ašaxyācā yōi zazəntī vaḥhəu sravahī*

30.10. For then the breakdown of deceit will come about by clearing it off,
and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked (to drive) up to the comfortable dwelling of the
good thought
of the Wise One and of truth, (steeds) which, at the good fame/winning post, will let
(the others) behind at the good prize of victory.

30.10. Denn dann wird der Zusammenbruch der Lüge durch deren Tilgung stattfinden,
und die schnellsten (Rösser) werden angeschirrt werden, um bis zur bequemen
Wohnung des guten Gedankens
des Weisen und des Wahrseins (zu fahren, Rösser,) die beim guten Ruhm/am Ziel (die
anderen) hinter sich lassen.

*30.11. hyaṭ tā urvātā sašəaθā yā mazdā dadāt mašiyāḥhō
x'itica ānəitī hyaṭcā darəgəm drəgvō.dəbyō rašō
savacā ašavabyō aṭ aipī tāiš aḥhaitī uštā*

30.11. If you master/heed the commandments that the Wise One issues, O mortals,
(implying) freedom of movement and lack of it, the long-lasting/endless harm (in store)
for the deceitful
and the benefits for the truthful, then the (things) desired will be (available) through
them, indeed.

30.11. Wenn ihr die Gebote beherrscht/beachtet, die der Weise erlässt, o Sterbliche,
die Bewegungsfreiheit und Mangel an ihr (bedeuten,) das lange/endlose Leid, das den
Lügnern (bestimmt ist,)

und die Wohltaten für die Wahrhaften, dann werden durch sie ja auch die erwünschten (Dinge verfügbar) sein.

Yasna 31

31,1. *ta vā urvātā marəntō agustā vacā sənghamahi
aēibyō yōi urvātāiš drūjō ašahyā gaēθā vīmərəncaitē
atcīt aēibyō vahištā yōi zrazdā aṇhən mazdāi*

31,1. Reciting these commandments of yours, we pronounce unheard words to those who by the commandments of deceit ruin the herds of truth, (words which are,) however, very good/profitable to those who are faithful to the Wise One.

31,1. Indem wir diese Eure Gebote rezitieren, verkünden wir ungehörte Worte denen, die nach den Geboten der Lüge die Herden des Wahrseins zugrunde richten, (Worte, die) aber denjenigen sehr gut/vorteilhaft (sind,) die dem Weisen vertrauen.

31,2. *yezī āiš nōiṭ urvānē advā aibī.dərəštā vaxýā
aṭ vā vīspəng āiyōi yaθā ratūm ahurō vaēdā
mazdā ayā asayā yā ašat hacā juvāmahi*

31,2. If there is no way through them to attain to the higher goods (already) seen, then I approach all of you since the Wise Lord knows the judgment on those two lots, (the judgment) through which we can live in accordance with truth.

31,2. Wenn es durch sie keinen Weg gibt, die (bereits) erblickten höheren Güter zu erreichen, dann wende ich mich an Euch alle, da der Weise Herr das Urteil über jene beiden Anteile weiß, (das Urteil,) durch das wir in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein leben können.

31,3. *yam dā mainyū āθrācā ašacā cōiš rānōibyā xšnūtəm
hyaṭ urvatəm cazdōṇhavadōbyō taṭ nā mazdā vīdvanōi vaocā
hizvā θbahyā āṇhō yā juvanṭō vīspəng vaurayā*

31,3. (Tell us) which satisfaction you fix by (your) spirit and (your) fire and which you assign through truth in accordance with the balance as (your) commandment in favor of the conscientious, tell us that to let us know (it,) O Wise One, by the tongue of your mouth so as to let me test thereby all the living.

31,3. (Sag uns,) welche Zufriedenstellung Du durch (Deinen) Geist und (Dein) Feuer festsetzt und durch Wahrsein mit der Waage zuweist als (Dein) Gebot zugunsten der Gewissenhaften, das sage uns, damit wir (es) wissen, o Weiser, mit der Zunge Deines Mundes, um mich alle Lebenden mit ihm testen zu lassen.

31,4. *yadā ašəm zəvīm aṇhən mazdāscā ahurāṇhō
ašicā armaitī vahištā išasā manahā*

maibyō xšaθrəm aojōṇhvaṭ yehyā vərədā vanaēmā drujəm

31,4. When the Wise One and the (other) Lords/Ahuras are present (as) Truth worth calling for along with Reward and Right-mindedness, (then) I will catch sight by Best Thought of the strong Power (meant) for me, through the increase of which we may overcome deceit.

31,4. Wenn der Weise und die (anderen) Herren/Ahuras (als) das der Anrufung werthe Wahrsein zur Stelle sind, zusammen mit Belohnung und Rechtgesinntheit, (dann) werde ich durch besten Gedanken die mir (bestimmte) starke Macht zu Gesicht bekommen, durch deren Mehrung wir die Lüge besiegen mögen.

31,5. *taṭ mōi vīcidyāi vaocā hyaṭ mōi ašā dātā vahyō
vīduyē vohū manahā mənca daidyāi yehyā mā ərašiš
tācīt mazdā ahurā yā nōiṭ vā aṇhaṭ aṇhaitī vā*

31,5. Tell me the higher good which you have assigned to me through truth to let me discern (it,) (and) to learn through good thought (from that one) whose seer (I am,) and to impress on my mind which (things) will not be (available) and (which) will be (available to me,) O Wise Lord.

31,5. Nenne mir das höhere Gut, das Ihr durch Wahrsein für mich bestimmt habt, damit ich (es) erkenne (und) durch guten Gedanken (von dem,) dessen Seher (ich bin,) erfahre und mir einpräge, welche (Dinge mir) nicht (verfügbar) und welche (mir verfügbar) sein werden, o Weiser Herr.

31,6. *ahmāi aṇhaṭ vahištəm yē mōi vīdvā vaocāt haiθīm
maθrəm yim haurvatātō ašahyā amərətātascā
mazdāi avaṭ xšaθrəm hyaṭ hōi vohū vaxšaṭ manahā*

31,6. The best (power) shall be to Him, the Knowing/Initiated One, who tells me the true/effective mantra implying integrity and immortality of truth, that power (shall be) to the Wise One which He shall make grow through good thought.

31,6. Die beste (Macht) gehöre Ihm, dem Wissenden/Initiierten, der mir das wahre/wirksame Mantra von der Unverletzlichkeit und Unsterblichkeit des Wahrseins sagen wird, dem Weisen (gehöre) jene Macht, die Er durch guten Gedanken mehren soll/wird.

31,7. *yastā maṇtā paouruyō raocābiš rōiθβən xʼāθrā
hvō xraθβā dāmiš ašəm yā dārayaṭ vahištəm manō
tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō yē ā nūrəmcīt ahurā hāmō*

31,7. The Primal One, who conceived these comforts flooded with lights,
(is,) by his intellect, the establisher of truth. (Through that spirit) by which one holds on
to best thought.

through that spirit you are growing, O Wise One, who (are) the same even now, O Lord!

31,7. Der Uranfängliche, der diese mit Lichtern durchflutete Labsale erdachte,
(ist) durch seinen Intellekt der Begründer des Wahrseins. (Durch den Geist,) mit dem
einer den besten Gedanken festhält,
durch den Geist wächst Du, o Weiser, der Du auch jetzt noch derselbe (bist,) o Herr.

31,8. *aṭ 9βā mājīhī paourvīm mazdā yazūm stōi managhā
vaṇhōuš ptarēm managhō hyaṭ 9βā hām cašmainī [hōn]grabəm
haiθīm ašahyā damīm aṇhōuš ahurəm šyaoθanaēšū*

31,8. I realize that you, the Primal One, are youthful through (your) thought,
(you,) the father of good thought, when I grasp you with my eye
at (your) actions, the true establisher of truth, the Lord of the existence/world.

31,8. Ich erkenne, dass Du, der Uranfängliche, jugendlich bist durch (Deinen)
Gedanken,
(Du,) der Vater des guten Gedankens, wenn ich Dich mit dem Auge erfasse
bei (Deinen) Handlungen, den wahren Begründer des Wahrseins, den Herrn der
Existenz/Welt.

31,9. *9βōi as ārmaitiš 9βā ā gōuš tašā a<š>.xratuš
mainyōuš mazdā ahurā hyaṭ axyāi dadā paθam
vāstriyāt vā āitē yē vā nōit aṇhaṭ vāstriyō*

31,9. Right-mindedness was with you, yours (was) also the highly intelligent fashioner
of the cow,
O Wise Lord, when you, by virtue of (your) spirit, opened ways for her
to take side with the herdsman or with (that one) who will be no herdsman.

31,9. Rechtgesinntheit war bei Dir, Dein (war) auch der hochintelligente Bildner der
Kuh,
o Weiser Herr, als Du ihr kraft (Deines) Geistes Wege freigabst,
sich dem Hirten anzuschließen oder (dem,) der kein Hirte sein wird.

31,10. *aṭ hī ayā fravarētā vāstrīm axyāi fšuyantəm
ahurəm ašavanəm vaṇhōuš fšōjīhīm managhō
nōit mazdā avāstriyō davāscinā humərətōiš baxštā*

31,10. Of these two she, (the cow,) prefers the cattle-breeding herdsman
(to be) her truthful lord, the companion of good thought.
The non-herdsman does not enjoy a good reputation, however much he twaddles, O
Wise One.

31,10. Von diesen beiden zieht die sie, (die Kuh,) den Vieh züchtenden Hirten vor
(als) wahrhaften Herrn, den Gefährten des guten Gedankens.
Der Nichthirte genießt keinen guten Ruf, wie sehr er auch schwätzt, o Weiser.

31,11. *hyaṭ nā mazdā paourvīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā
9βā managhā xratūscā hyaṭ astvaṇtəm dadā uštanəm
hyaṭ šyaoθanācā sānghāscā yaθrā varənāng vasā dāyetē*

31,11. Since you fashion what (is) fundamental to us, O Wise One, the herds and the
views,

through your thought, and the intellects, since you grant osseous vitality,
since (you determine the ritual) actions and pronouncements at which one takes his
choices (and forms) his wishes –

31,11. Da Du durch deinen Gedanken bildest, was für uns grundlegend (ist,) o Weiser,
die Herden und die Anschauungen und die Intellekte, da Du die knochenhafte
Lebenskraft verleihst,
da (Du) die (rituellen) Handlungen und Verkündungen (bestimmst,) bei denen man
seine Wahlen trifft (und) seine Wünsche (formt) –

31,12. *aθrā vācəm baraitī miθahvacā vā ərəš.vacā vā
vīdvā vā əvīdvā vā ahyā zərādācā managhācā
ānuš.haxš ārmaitiš mainyū pərəsāitē yaθrā maēθā*

31,12. (Whether it is a man) of false speech or one of straight speech who raises there
his voice,
a knowing/initiated one or an ignorant, with his heart and thought,
following up (this question) Right-mindedness shall hold counsel with the spirit where
she (is) a partner.

31,12. (Ob) dort (ein Mann) von falschem oder einer von rechtem Wort seine Stimme
erhebt,
ein Wissender/Initiiierter oder ein Unwissender, mit seinem Herzen und Gedanken,
(dieser Frage) nachgehend soll sich die Rechtgesinntheit mit dem Geist beraten, wo sie
Partnerin (ist).

31,13. *yā frasā āvīšiyā yā vā mazdā pərəsāitē tayā
yā vā kasōuš aēnaghō ā mazištəm [a]jyamaite būjam
tā cašmāng 9βisrā hārō aibī ašā [aibī.]vaēnahī vīspā*

31,13. (That) which is open conversation or on what two (people) converse secretly, O
Wise One,
or when one for (just) a small sin incurs a very great atonement,
retaining that with the ray of your eye you overlook all (things) through truth.

31,13. Was offenes Gespräch ist und was zwei (Personen) insgeheim miteinander
besprechen, o Weiser,
oder wenn einer für eine (nur) geringe Sünde sehr große Sühne auf sich zieht,
das mit dem Strahl Deines Auges erfassend überblickst Du durch Wahrsein alle
(Dinge).

31,14. *tā 9βā pərəsā ahurā yā zī āitī jānghaticā
yā išudō dadəntē dāθranəm hacā ašanonō*

yāscā mazdā drəgvō.dəbyō yaθā tā aṇhən hāṇkərətā hyaṭ

31,14. About those (things) I ask you, O Lord, which are approaching and will arrive, about the compensations (consisting) of gifts which (the pious) will obtain from the truthful one

and which, O Wise One, from the deceitful, (and) of what kind they will be when (the items) are reckoned up.

31,14. Nach den (Dingen) frage ich Dich, o Herr, die im Kommen sind und eintreffen werden,

nach den aus Gaben (bestehenden) Vergütungen, welche (die Frommen) vom Wahrhaften erhalten werden,

und welche, o Weiser, von den Lügner, (und) von welcher Art sie sein werden, wenn (die Posten) zusammengerechnet sind.

31,15. *pərəsā avaṭ yā maēniš yə drəgvāitē xšaθrəm hunāitī*
duš.šyaoθanāi ahurā yə nōit jyōtūm hanarə vīnastī
vāstriyehyā aēnaṇhō pasəuš vīrāatcā adrūjyaptō

31,15. That I ask, which punishment (will befall) that one who transfers power to the deceitful one,

to the evil-doer, O Lord, who does not find a livelihood without outrage against cattle and men of the non-deceiving/sincere herdsman.

31,15. Das frage ich, welche Strafe den (treffen wird,) der dem Lügner Macht überträgt, dem Übeltäter, o Herr, der seinen Lebensunterhalt nicht findet ohne Frevel an Vieh und Mann des nicht lügenden/ehrlichen Hirten.

31,16. *pərəsā avaṭ yaθā hvō yə hudānuš dəmanahyā xšaθrəm*
šoiθrahyā vā daxyəuš vā ašā fradaθāi aspərəzatā
θβāvəš mazdā ahurā yadā hvō aṇhaṭ yā.šyaoθanascā

31,16. That I ask, in which way that generous person (will be available) who strives to further through truth the power over house, county/district, and land, the one such as you, O Wise Lord, (and) when he will be (available) and with which action.

31,16. Das frage ich, auf welche Weise jener Großzügige (verfügbar sein wird,) der die Macht über Haus, Gau und Land durch Wahrsein zu fördern strebt, der so wie Du, o Weiser Herr, (und) wann er (verfügbar) sein wird und mit welcher Handlung.

31,17. *katārēm ašavā vā drəgvā vā vərənəvaitē mazyō*
vīdvā vīdušē mraotū mā əvīdvā aipī dəbāvayaṭ
zdī nē mazdā ahurā vaṇhəuš fradaxštā manəṇhō

31,17. What about? Will the truthful one convince (you) more or the deceitful one? Let the knowing/initiated one speak to the knowing/initiated one; do not let the ignorant continue deceiving (people).

Be a teacher of good thought to us, O Wise Lord.

31,17. Wie verhält es sich? Wird der Wahrhafte (Dich) mehr überzeugen oder der Lügner?

Lass den Wissenden/Initiierten zum Wissenden/Initiierten sprechen; lass nicht den Nichtwissenden weiterhin (die Leute) täuschen.

Sei uns ein Lehrer des guten Gedankens, o Weiser Herr.

31,18. *mā.ciš aṭ vā drəgvatō māθrascā gūštā sāsnāscā*
ā-zī dəmānəm vīšəm vā šoiθrəm vā daxyūm vā [ā]dāt
dušitacā marəkaēcā aθā iš sāzdūm snaiθišā

31,18. Let no (adherent) of the deceitful one listen to your mantras and teachings, for he wants to put the house, the village, the county/district, and the land in non-habitability and destruction. Teach therefore those (deceitful) with (your) weapon.

31,18. Lass keinen (Anhänger) des Lügners Euren Mantras und Lehren lauschen, denn er will Haus, Dorf, Gau und Land in Unbewohnbarkeit und Zerstörung versetzen. Deshalb belehrt diese (Lügner) mit (Eurer) Waffe.

31,19. *gūštā yə mantā ašəm ahūm.biš vīdvā ahurā*
ərəžuxδāi vacaṇham xšayamnō hizuvō vasō
θβā āθrā suxrā mazdā vaṇhāu vīdātā rānayā

31,19. The healer of the existence/world listens (to your mantras,) the knowing/initiated one who thinks truth, O Lord, being at will in control of his tongue for the true statement among the words at the distribution (of the result) of the balance, in the good (case performed) with your red fire, O Wise One.

31,19. (Euren Mantras) lauscht der wissende/initiierte Lebensheiler/Weltheiler, der Wahrsein denkt, o Herr, der für die ehrliche Aussage unter den Worten nach Belieben seiner Zunge Herr ist bei der Verteilung (des Ergebnisses) der Waage, im guten (Fall vollzogen) durch Dein rotes Feuer, o Weiser.

31,20. *yə āyaṭ ašavanəm divamnəm hōi aparəm xšiyō*
darəgəm āyū təmaṇhō duš.x'arəθəm avaētās vacō
tām vā ahūm drəgvantō šyaoθanāiš x'āiš daēnā naēšaṭ

31,20. He who approaches a/the truthful one – splendor (will be) his instead of wailing. Long/endsless duration of darkness, foul food, and the word "woe": to such an existence (your) view/view-soul will lead you, O you deceitful, on account of your/its own actions.

31,20. Wer zu einem Wahrhaften kommt – Glanz (wird) ihm (zuteil werden) anstelle von Jammer.

Lange/endlose Dauer der Finsternis, üble Speise und das Wort „Wehe“:

Zu solcher Existenz wird euch, o Lügner, (eure) Anschauung/Schauseele auf Grund eurer/ihrer eigenen Handlungen führen.

31.21. *mazdā dadāt ahurō haurvatō amərətātascā*
buōiš ā ašasyaca xāpəθyaf xsaθrahyā saro
vañhəuš vazdvarē manəñhō yē hōi mainyū šyaoθanāišcā urvaθō

31.21. From His own rich shelter/treasure of integrity and immortality, of truth and power, the Wise Lord grants the cream of good thought (to that one) who (is) His ally in spirit and actions.

31.21. Von Seinem eigenen, reichen Schutzschild/Schatz an Integrität und Unsterblichkeit, an Wahrsein und Macht gewährt der Weise Herr das Fett des guten Gedankens (demjenigen,) der in Geist und Handlungen Sein Bundesgenosse (ist).

31.22. *ciθrā ī hudāñhē yaθənā vaēdəmnāi manəñhā*
vohū hvō xšaθrā ašəm vacaṇhā šyaoθanācā hapti
hvō tōi mazdā ahurā vāzištō aṇhaiti astiš

31.22. Bright (gifts) are (in store) for the munificent one who (already) possesses them in his thought.

Through good power/rule he cultivates truth in word and action.
 Let him be your best-provided guest, O Wise Lord.

31.22. Glanzvolle (Gaben) sind dem Freigebigen (bestimmt,) der sie in seinem Gedanken (bereits) besitzt.

Durch gute Macht/Herrschaft pflegt er das Wahrsein in Wort und Handlung.
 Lass ihn Deinen bestversorgten Gast sein, o Weiser Herr.

Yasna 32

32.1. *axyācā x'aētūš yasaṭ ahyā vərəzənəm maṭ airyamnā*
ahyā daēvā mahmī manōi ahurahyā urvəzəmə mazdā
θβōi dūtāñhō āñhāmā təng dārayō yōi vā daibišənti

32.1. His (grace) the family requests, His (grace) the community (requests) along with the tribe
 in my presentation, O Daēvas/devils, (requesting His,) the Wise Lord's, grace (by proclaiming):

“Let us be your households. You split open (the wall of) those who are hostile to you.”

32.1. Um Seine (Gnade) bittet die Familie, um Seine (Gnade bittet) die Gemeinde samt dem Stamm

in meinem Vortrag, o Daēvas/Teufel, (um Seine,) des Weisen Herrn Gnade (bitten sie mit den Worten):

„Lass uns Deine Hausgemeinschaften sein. Du sprengst (den Wall) derer, die Euch anfeinden.“

32.2. *aēibyō mazdā ahurō sārəmnō vohū manəñhā*

xšaθrāt hacā paiti.mraoṭ ašā huš.haxā x'ənvātā
spəntəm vā ārmaitim vañ'him varəmaidī hā nē aṇhaṭ

32.2. To them, the Wise Lord, allied with good thought, replies in accordance with His power, (being) a good friend of sunny truth:
 “We choose your beneficent, good right-mindedness. Let it be ours.”

32.2. Ihnen antwortet der Weise Herr mit dem guten Gedanken verbündet, kraft Seiner Macht ein guter Freund des sonnenhaften Wahrseins:
 „Wir wählen eure segensreiche, gute Rechtgesinntheit. Sie soll uns gehören.“

32.3. *aṭ yūš daēvā vīspāñhō akāṭ manəñhō stā ciθrəm*
yascā vā maš yazaitē drūjascā pairimatōišcā
šyaoṃam aipī daibitānā yāiš asrūdum būmyā haptaiθē

32.3. But you Daēvas/devils altogether are seeds from bad thought, and (so is he) who much celebrates you and the actions of deceit and disregard (as well) for which you again and again became notorious in (this) seventh part of the Earth, –

32.3. Aber ihr Daēvas/Teufel alle seid Samen vom schlechten Gedanken, und (das ist auch derjenige,) der euch sehr feiert und (ebenso) die Handlungen von Lüge und Missachtung,
 durch die ihr immer wieder auf (diesem) Siebentel der Erde berüchtigt wurdet, –

32.4. *yāṭ yūš tā framīmaθā yā mašiyā acištā daṇtō*
vaxšəntē daēvō.zuštā vañhəuš siždyamnā manəñhō
mazdā ahurahyā xratəuš nasyaṇtō ašaaṭcā

32.4. since you order those very bad (thoughts, words, actions) by whose production the mortals
 shall be promoted (to be) favorites of (you) Daēvas/devils, flinching from good thought (and) straying away from the intellect of the Wise Lord and from truth.

32.4. insofern als ihr jene sehr schlechten (Gedanken, Worte und Werke) anordnet, für deren Hervorbringung die Sterblichen
 (zu) Lieblingen von (euch) Daēvas/Teufeln befördert werden, scheuend vor dem gutem Gedanken
 (und) abkommend vom Intellekt des Weisen Herrn und vom Wahrsein.

32.5. *tā dəbənaōtā mašim hujiātōiš amərətātascā*
hyaṭ vā akā manəñhā yəng daēvəng akascā mainyūš
akā šyaoθanəm vacaṇhā yā fracinas drəgvaṇtəm xšayō

32.5. Therefore you cheat the mortal one out of good life and immortality, since through evil thought the evil spirit and the action (inspired) by evil word (cheated) you Daēvas/devils (out of them,) for which wailing expects the deceitful one.

32.5. Deshalb betrügt ihr den Sterblichen um Wohllleben und Unsterblichkeit, weil der schlechte Geist durch schlechten Gedanken und die durch schlechtes Wort

(inspirierte) Handlung euch Daēvas/Teufel (darum betrogen haben,) wofür Jammer den Lügner erwartet.

32.6. *pouru aēnā ānāxštā yāiš srāvahyeitī yezī tāiš a9ā
hata.maranē ahurā vahišta vōistā managhā
9βahmī vā mazdā xša9rōi ašāicā sēnghō vīdām*

32.6. The many peace-breaking outrages with which (the deceitful one) strives for fame – whether (he does so) with them,
you, O Lord, who record merits (and demerits,) know through best thought.
Let laud for you and for Truth, O Wise One, be spread in your power/dominion.

32.6. Die vielen den Frieden brechenden Frevel, mit denen (der Lügner) nach Ruhm strebt – ob (er) das mit ihnen (tut,)
weißt Du durch den besten Gedanken, o Herr, der Du Dir Verdienste (und Fehler) merkst.
In Deinem Machtbereich werde Lob für Euch, o Weiser, und für das Wahrsein verbreitet.

32.7. *aēšām aēnaḡham naēcīṭ vīdvā a9jōi hādrōyā
yā <a>jōyā sēnghaitē yāiš srāvi x^aaēnā ayaḡhā
yaēšām tū ahurā irixtām mazdā vaēdištō ahī*

32.7. I explicitly declare to not be conscious of any of such outrages which are called irremissible, for/of which one becomes notorious (by the ordeal) with glowing metal
(and) of which you know the outcome best, O Wise Lord.

32.7. Ich erkläre ausdrücklich, mir keines von solchen Freveln bewusst zu sein, die als untilgbar bezeichnet werden, derentwegen man (durch das Ordal) mit glühendem Metall berüchtigt wird
(und) deren Ergebnis Du bestens kennst, o Weiser Herr.

32.8. *aēšām aēnaḡham vīvaḡhušō srāvi yimascīṭ
yā mašiyāḡ cixšnušō ahmākāḡ gāuš bagā x^aārāmnō
aēšāmcīṭ ā ahmī 9βahmī mazdā vīci9ōi aipī*

32.8. Even Yima, the son of Vivahvan, is notorious for (one) of such outrages, – (even he) who tried to satisfy (us) humans (and) our (animals with the injunction):
“Meat (is just) a part of a (complete) meal” –
for (that one) of those (outrages) being (subject) to that (well-known) decision of yours, O Wise One.

32.8. Sogar Yima, der Sohn des Vivahvan, ist wegen (eines) von solchen Freveln berüchtigt,
– (sogar er,) der (uns) Menschen (und) unsere (Tiere) zufrieden zu stellen suchte (mit der Anordnung): „Fleisch (ist lediglich) Teil einer (vollständigen) Mahlzeit“ –
wegen (dieses einen) unter jenen (Freveln) dieser Deiner (wohl bekannten) Entscheidung (unterworfen,) o Weiser.

32.9. *duš.sastiš sravā mōrāḡdaṭ hvō jyātōuš sēnghanāiš xratūm
apō mā ištīm [apa]yaṇtā bərxδām hāitīm vaḡhōuš managhō
tā uxδā mainyōuš mahyā mazdā ašāicā yūšmaibyā 9arəzē*

32.9. The blasphemer spoils (our) eulogies, by his proclamations he (spoils) the intellect of the world/living.

He robs (people of their) command, the ward of good thought.
With this statement of my spirit I complain to you, O Wise One, and to Truth.

32.9. Der Lästere verdirbt (unsere) Lobreden, durch seine Verkündungen (verdirbt) er den Intellekt der Welt/Lebenden.

Er raubt (den Menschen ihre) Verfügungsgewalt, den Schützling des guten Gedankens.
Mit dieser Aussage meines Geistes klage ich Euch, o Weiser, und dem Wahrsein.

32.10. *hvō mā nā sravā mōrāḡdaṭ yā acištām vaēnaḡhē a9gādā
ḡam ašibyā huvarēcā yascā dā9āḡ drəḡvatō dadāṭ
yascā vāstrā vīvāpaṭ yascā vadarē vōiždaṭ ašāunē*

32.10. That man spoils (our) eulogies who professes what is the worst in order to catch sight of the cow and the sun with his goggle-eyes, and who makes the just subject to the deceitful one,
and who grazes down the pastures, and who brandishes his weapon against the truthful one.

32.10. Jener Mann verdirbt (unsere) Lobreden, der sich zum Schlechtesten bekennt, um die Kuh und die Sonne
mit seinen Glotzaugen zu erblicken, und der die Gerechten vom Lügner abhängig macht und der die Weidegründe abgrast und der seine Waffe gegen den Wahrhaften schwingt.

32.11. *taēcīṭ mā mōrāḡdān jyōtūm yōi drəḡvaṇtō maz<ə>bīš cikōitərəš
aḡ^vhišcā aḡhavasā apayeitī raēxənaḡhō vaēdām
yōi vahištāṭ ašāonō mazdā rārəšyān managhō*

32.11. Particularly those spoil (our) life/livelihood, the deceitful who show off with “great (achievements,)”
with robbing (people of) the disposal of their inheritance, (those) “patronesses and patrons,”
who keep off the truthful from best thought, O Wise One.

32.11. Besonders diejenigen Lügner verderben (unser) Leben/Lebensunterhalt, die sich mit „großen (Leistungen)“ hervortun,
mit dem Raub der Verfügung über das Erbteil, (diese) „Patroninnen und Patrone“, welche die Wahrhaften vom besten Gedanken fernhalten, o Weiser.

32.12. *yā rāḡhayən sravaḡhā vahištāṭ šyao9anāt marətānō
aēibyō mazdā akā mraoṭ yōi 9āuš urvāxš uxtī mōrāḡdān jyōtūm
yāiš grāhmā ašāṭ varatā karapā xša9rāmcā išāḡam drujām*

32.12. For the (abusive) speech by which they divert the mortals from the best action,

the Wise One speaks bad (words) to those who spoil the life of the cow by saying
“move on!”

(and) on whose account the Karapan/lie-priest prefers “grass” to truth as well as the
power rule of those who have sought chosen deceit.

32,12. Für die (Schmäh)rede, durch die sie die Sterblichen von der besten Handlung
abbringen,
spricht der Weise schlimme (Worte) zu denen, die mit dem Wort „wandle!“ das Leben
der Kuh verderben
(und) derentwegen der Karapan/Lügenpriester dem Wahrsein das „Gras“ vorzieht und
(ebenso) die Macht/Herrschaft derer, die sich die Lüge ausgesucht haben.

32,13. *yā xšaθrā grāhmō hīśasaṭ acištahyā dāmānē manahō*
aṇhōuš maraxtārō ahyā yaēcā mazdā jīgərəzaṭ kāmē
θbahyā māθrānō dūtām yā iś pāt darəsāt ašahyā

32,13. By that power/rule the “grass” gang strives to settle in the house of worst
thought,
(those) destroyers of this existence/world, O Wise One, who then complain very much
about the household of your poet who prevents them from seeing truth.

32,13. Durch diese Macht/Herrschaft strebt die „Grasbande“ danach, sich im Haus des
schlechtesten Gedankens niederzulassen,
(diese) Zerstörer dieser Existenz/Welt, o Weiser, die sich dann sehr beklagen
über die Hausgemeinschaft Deines Dichters, der sie am Erblicken des Wahrseins
hindert.

32,14. *ahyā fgrāhmō (= grām<əng>) ā.hōiθōi nī kāvayasciṭ xratuš [nī.]dadaṭ*
varēcā.hicā fraidivā hyaṭ viśəntā drəgvantām avō
hyaṭcā gāuš jaidyāi mr<āv>ī yā dūraošəm saocayaṭ avō

32,14. Particularly the Kavis/princes lay their intellects into the fetter of that “grass,”
and their authorities, when getting ready day by day to assist the deceitful one
while (the order) is recited “have the bull slaughtered” who inflames the fire-
resisting/death-averting help/refreshment.

32,14. Insbesondere die Kavis/Fürsten legen ihren Intellekt und ihre Würde
in die Fessel dieses „Grases“, indem sie sich Tag für Tag anschicken, dem Lügner zu
assistieren,
während (der Befehl) rezitiert wird „der Stier werde geschlachtet“, der die schwer
verbrennbare/Tod abwehrende Hilfe/Erfrischung entflammt.

32,15. *anāiš ā vī.nānāsā yā karapō.tāscā kəvītāscā*
avāiš aibī yəng daiṇtī nōiṭ jyātōuš xšayamnəng vasō
tōi ābyā bairyāntē vaṇhōuš ā dāmānē manahō

32,15. Owing to such (actions) the gang of the Karapans/lie-priests and that of the
Kavis/princes is doomed to ruin,

(being doomed) by those whom (those gangsters) want to put on reins in order to rob
them of the control at will of their lives.
(Yet) these will be cared for by those two, (integrity/nectar and immortality/ambrosia.)
in the house of good thought.

32,15. Wegen solcher (Handlungen) ist die Bande der Karapans/Lügenpriester und die
der Kavis/Fürsten dem Untergang geweiht,
(und zwar gerade) durch diejenigen, denen (diese Banditen) das Geschirr anlegen
wollen, um sie der freien Verfügung über ihr Leben zu berauben.
(Doch) diese werden von jenen beiden, (Unverletzlichkeit/Nektar und
Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia,) im Haus des guten Gedankens gepflegt werden.

32,16. *hamām taṭ vahištāciṭ yā ušuruyē siyasciṭ dahmahyā*
xšayəs mazdā ahurā yehyā mā aiθiścīṭ dvaēθā
hyaṭ aēnaijhe drəgvatō əānū išiyəng aṇhayā

32,16. That equals what really is the best, (O you) who in favor of the believer lying
there
exercises power (over that one) whose terror (is) frightening me, O Wise Lord –
(that equals what really is the best), which, in contrast to the outrage of the deceitful
one, (is) in sight following behind the invigorating.

32,16. Das ist dem wirklich Besten gleich, (o Du,) der Du zu Gunsten des
daniederliegenden Gläubigen
Macht ausübst (über den,) dessen Terror mir Furcht einflößt, o Weiser Herr –
(das ist dem wirklich Besten gleich,) was im Gegensatz zum Frevel des Lügners hinter
den Erfrischern sichtbar (ist).

Yasna 33

33,1. *yaθā āiš iθā varəšaitē yā dātā aṇhōuš paouruyehyā*
ratū[š] šyaoθanā razištā drəgvataēcā hyaṭcā ašāunē
yehyācā hām.[m]yāsaitē miθahyā yācā hōi ārəzvā

33,1. As (it is provided) by them so the laws of the first/fundamental existence shall be
applied
by the judge, the most straight/just actions toward the deceitful one and toward him who
is truthful
as well as toward that one whose (manifestations of) crookedness are offset against
those of his straightness.

33,1. Wie es durch sie (vorgesehen ist,) so sollen die Gesetze der ersten/grundlegenden
Existenz vom Richter angewandt werden,
die geradesten/gerechtesten Handlungen gegenüber dem Lügner und gegenüber dem,
der wahrhaft ist,
ebenso wie gegenüber demjenigen, dessen (Bekundungen von) Falschheit und
Geradheit gegeneinander aufgerechnet werden.

33,2. *aṭ yā akəm drəgvāitē vacaṇhā vā aṭ vā manahā*

zastōibyā vā varəšaitī vaṇhāu vā cōiθaitē astīm
tōi vārāi rādəntī ahurahyā zaošē mazdā

33,2. He who does evil to the deceitful one by his word, or by his thought,
 or by (his) hands, or (the who) receives the guest well in a friendly manner,
 (all) these submit to (His) will (thus abiding) in the favor of the Wise Lord.

33,2. Wer dem Lügner Übles tut, mit Wort oder Gedanken
 oder mit (seinen) Händen, oder (wer) den Gast gut/freundlich aufnimmt,
 sie (alle) fügen sich (Seinem) Willen (und verweilen so) in der Gunst des Weisen Herrn.

33,3. *yā ašāunē vahištō xʼaētū vā aṭ vā vərəzənyō*
airyamnā vā ahurā vīdās vā θaxšəṇhā gavōi
aṭ hvō ašahyā aṇhaṭ vaṇhəuščā vāstrē manəṇhō

33,3. He who is very good/dear to the truthful one, by family, or by being a member of
 the community,
 or by tribe, O Lord, or by zealously caring for the cow,
 that one shall/will be on the pasture of truth and good thought.

33,3. Wer dem Wahrhaften sehr gut/lieb ist durch Familie oder als Gemeindemitglied
 oder durch Stammes(zugehörigkeit), o Herr, oder dadurch, dass er mit Eifer für die Kuh
 sorgt,
 der soll/wird sich auf der Weide des Wahrseins und des guten Gedankens befinden.

33,4. *yā θbaṭ mazdā asruštīm akəmcā manō yazāi apā*
xʼaētəuščā tarō.maitīm vərəzənaxyācā nazdištəm drujəm
airyamnnascā nadəntō gəuščā vāstrāṭ acištəm mantīm

33,4. I who wish to keep off from you by sacrificing, O Wise One, disobedience and
 bad thought,
 and the arrogance of the family, and the deceit neighboring the community,
 and the blasphemers in the tribe, and, from the pasture of the cow, the very bad
 counselor –

33,4. Ich, der ich als Opfernder von Dir, o Weiser, den Ungehorsam und den schlechten
 Gedanken fernhalten will
 und die Überheblichkeit der Familie und die der Gemeinde benachbarte Lüge
 und die Schmäher im Stamm und von der Weide der Kuh den sehr schlechten
 Ratgeber –

33,5. *yastē vīspā.mazištəm sərəoṣəm zbayā avaṇhānē*
apānō darəgō.jyāitīm ā xšaθrəm vaṇhəuščā manəṇhō
ašāṭ ā ərazuš paθō yaēšū mazdā ahurō šaēitī

33,5. I who, at the resting place, will call for your very greatest hearing
 when I have attained the power/dominion of good thought granting long life,
 the paths straight by virtue of truth, whereon the Wise Lord abides –

33,5. Ich, der ich am Ruheplatz nach Deiner allergrößten Erhörung rufen werde,

wenn ich den langes Leben gewährenden Machtbereich des guten Gedankens erreicht
 habe,

die kraft Wahrseins geraden Pfade, auf denen der Weise Herr wohnt –

33,6. *yā zaota aša ərazuš hvō mainyōuš ā vahištəṭ kayā*
ahmāṭ avā manəṇhā yā vərəzeydyāi manā vāstriyā
tā tōi izyāi ahurā mazdā darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā

33,6. Being the officiating priest (of the present sacrifice) straightforward through truth,
 I wish, by virtue of best spirit,
 to enjoy henceforth that thought with which one thinks of performing pastoral works.
 With that (thought) I wish to enjoy your sight and your counsel, O Wise Lord.

33,6. Ich, der durch Wahrsein geradlinige leitende Priester (dieses Opfers,) will mich
 kraft des besten Geistes
 von nun an jenes Gedankens erfreuen, durch den man gedenkt Hirtenwerke zu
 verrichten.

Mit diesem (Gedanken) will ich Deines Anblicks und Deiner Beratung teilhaftig
 werden, o Weiser Herr.

33,7. *ā mā [ā]jīdūm vahištā ā xʼaiθyācā mazdā darəšaṭcā*
ašā vohū manəṇhā yā sruyē parō magaonō
āviš nā aṇtarə hēntū nəmaxʼaitiš ciθrā rātayō

33,7. Come hither to me, O you Best Ones, hither in person and boldly, O Wise One,
 (inspired) by truth (and) good thought through which I am hearable beyond the
 contributors.

Let bright gifts of (mutual) reverence be manifest between us.

33,7. Kommt hierher zu mir, o Ihr Besten, hierher in Person und kühnlich, o Weiser,
 (inspiriert) durch Wahrsein (und) durch den guten Gedanken, durch den ich über die
 Spender hinaus hörbar bin.

Lasst glänzende Gaben der (gegenseitigen) Verehrung zwischen uns sichtbar sein.

33,8. *frō mā [fra]vōizdūm arəθā tā yā vohū šyāvāi manəṇhā*
yasnəm mazdā xšmāvatō aṭ vā ašā staomyā vacā
dātā vō amərətāscā utayūitī haurvatās draonō

33,8. Pay heed to these (my) dutiful (performances) which I want to start with good
 thought:

the sacrifice to one such as you, O Wise One, and words praising (you) through truth.
 Immortality/ambrosia and integrity/nectar are offered you along with youthfulness as
 oblation.

33,8. Beachtet diese (meine) pflichtgemäßen (Leistungen,) die ich mit gutem Gedanken
 in Gang setzen will:
 das Opfer für einen so wie Ihr, o Weiser, und die (Euch) durch Wahrsein lobpreisenden
 Worte.

Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia und Integrität/Nektar samt Jugendlichkeit sind Euch als
Opfergabe dargebracht.

33,9. *aṭ tōi mazdā tīm mainyūm ašaōxšayantā saraidvayā
xšaθrā macθā maya vahista barotū manajha
ayā ārōi hākurənəm yayā haciṇtē uruṇāō*

33,9. Let thus one, O Wise One, through the comfort (arranged) facing me
bring you with best thought that spirit of the two braves emitting truth.
The partnership of these two whose souls are in harmony is assured.

33,9. So soll man durch das mir gegenüber (angerichtete) Labsal Dir, o Weiser, den
Geist

der zwei Wahrsein ausströmenden Kühnen mit bestem Gedanken darbringen.
Die Partnerschaft dieser zwei, deren Seelen in Einklang sind, ist zugesichert.

33,10. *vīspā stōi hujītayō yā zī āgharā yāscā hāntī
yāscā mazdā buvaiṇtī θbahmī hiš zaošē ābaxšō.hvā
vohū uxšyā manajhā xšaθrā ašācā uštā tanūm*

33,10. In order for all the good gains to be (available to you, those) which have existed,
and which exist,
and which will exist (at the same time,) receive them in your favor.
Grow through good thought, power, and truth at will (and) continuously.

33,10. Damit (Dir) alle die guten Gewinne (zur Verfügung) stehen, (die,) die gewesen
sind und die sind
und die (zugleich) sein werden, nimm sie in Deine Gunst auf.
Wachse durch guten Gedanken, Macht und Wahrsein nach Belieben (und) in einem fort.

33,11. *yā səvištō ahurō mazdāscā ārmaitīscā
ašəmcā frādaṭ.gāēθəm manascā vohū xšaθrəmcā
sraotā mōi mərəždātā mōi ādāi kahyācīt paītī*

33,11. (O you) who (are) the strongest Lord and the Wise One, and (you who are)
Right-mindedness and Truth furthering the herds, and Good Thought and Power,
listen to me, have mercy on me in return for any presentation.

33,11. (O Du,) der Du der stärkste Herr (bist) und der Weise, (und Ihr,) die
Rechtgesinntheit
und das die Herden fördernde Wahrsein und der gute Gedanke und die Macht,
hört mir zu, erbarmt Euch meiner in Vergeltung für jegliche Darbietung.

33,12. *us mōi [uz]ārəšvā ahurā ārmaitī tēvišīm dasvā
spəništā mainyū mazdā vanhuyā zavō ādā
ašā hazō əmavaṭ vohū manajhā fsəratūm*

33,12. Set out to me, O Lord, take bodily strength through right-mindedness
(and) through most beneficent spirit, O Wise One, (take) swiftness through good
presentation/apportionment,

impetuous superiority through truth, (and) refectation through good thought.

33,12. Mach Dich auf zu mir, o Herr, nimm Körperkraft durch Rechtgesinntheit
(und) durch segensreichsten Geist, o Weiser. (nimm) Flinkheit durch gute
Darbietung Zuteilung.

ungestüme Überlegenheit durch Wahrsein (und) Erquickung durch guten Gedanken.

33,13. *rafəδrāi vourucašānē dōiṣī mōi yā vā abifrā
tā xšaθrahyā ahurā yā vanhəuṣ ašiš manajhō
frō spəntā ārmaitē ašā daēnā fradaxšayā*

33,13. (Come) to support (me,) O Far-/Wide-Seeing One, show me your peculiarities,
those of (your) power, O Lord, which are a reward of good thought.
O Beneficent Right-mindedness, instruct the views/view-souls through truth.

33,13. (Komm) zu (meiner) Unterstützung, o Fern-/Weitblickender, zeige mir Eure
Eigenheiten,
die (Eurer) Macht, o Herr, die Belohnung des guten Gedankens sind.
O Segensreiche Rechtgesinntheit, belehre die Anschauungen/Schauseelen durch
Wahrsein.

33,14. *aṭ rātaṃ zaraθuštrō tanuvascīt xʰaxya uštānəm
dadāitī paurvatātəm manajhascā vanhəuṣ mazdāi
šyaoθanahyā ašā yācā uxδaxya cā səraošəm xšaθrəmcā*

33,14. Zarathushtra offers as a gift to the Wise One the vitality
even of his own body (and) the excellence of (his) good thought
as well as that of (his) action (inspired) by truth and (his) obedience to the (divine)
statement, and (his own) power.

33,14. Als Gabe bietet Zarathushtra dem Weisen die Lebenskraft
sogar seines eigenen Leibes dar (und) die Vortrefflichkeit (seines) guten Gedankens
wie auch die (seiner) durch Wahrsein (inspirierten) Handlung und (seinen) Gehorsam
gegenüber der (göttlichen) Aussage sowie (seine eigene) Macht.

Yasna 34

34,1. *yā šyaoθanā yā vacaṇhā yā yasnā aməratatātəm
ašəmcā taibyō dāṇhā xšaθrəmcā haurvatātō
aēšəm tōi ahurā əhmā pourutəmāiš dastē*

34,1. The action, the word, and the sacrifice through which you take for yourself
immortality/ambrosia and truth, and the power of integrity/nectar,
(a due part) of these is offered you, O Lord, by us (who have turned up) in a very great
number.

34,1. Die Handlung, das Wort und das Opfer, durch die Du Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia
und Wahrsein zu Dir nimmst und die Macht der Integrität/Nektar,
(ein gehöriger Anteil) an diesen wird Dir, o Herr, von uns dargeboten, (die wir) in sehr
großer Zahl (erschieden sind).

34,2. *aṭcā ī tōi manaḥhā mainyōušcā vaṇhōuš vīspā dātā
spəntaxīyācā nərəš šyaoθanā yehyā uruvā ašā hacaitē
pairigaēθē xšmāvatō valmē mazdā garōbiš stūtām*

34,2. All the (manifestations) of the good spirit are created established by your thought, and (so are) the actions of the beneficent man whose soul is in harmony with truth at the laudation of one such as you (performed) by conveying the herds (over to you) with welcomings (consisting) of praises, O Wise One.

34,2. Alle (Bekundungen) des guten Geistes sind von Deinem Gedanken geschaffen/ eingesetzt und (ebenso) die Handlungen des segensreichen Mannes, dessen Seele in Einklang mit dem Wahrsein ist bei der (Dir unsere) Herden übereignenden Lobpreisung eines so wie Ihr mit aus Preisliedern (bestehenden) Bewillkommungen, o Weiser.

34,3. *aṭ tōi myazdəm ahurā nəmanḥā ašāicā dāmā
gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraoštā manahhā
ārōi zī hudāḥhō vīspāiš mazdā xšmāvasū savō*

34,3. In reverence we place, as a sacrificial repast for you, O Lord, and for Truth all (our) herds in (your/your) power, (herds) which you have nourished with good thought.

For the benefit/salvation of the munificent one has been assured (us) by all among those such as you, O Wise One.

34,3. In Verehrung legen wir Dir, o Herr, und dem Wahrsein als Opferspeise alle (unsere) Herden in (Deine/Eure) Macht, (Herden,) die Ihr durch guten Gedanken aufgezogen habt.

Denn das Wohl/Heil des Freigebigen ist (uns) durch alle unter denen so wie Ihr zugesichert worden, o Weiser.

34,4. *aṭ tōi ātrēm ahurā aojōḥvəntəm ašā usəmahī
aš.īštīm əmavəntəm stōi rapəntē ciθrā.avanḥəm
aṭ mazdā daibišyāntē zastāištaiš dərəštā.əənəḥhəm*

34,4. We desire your fire strong through truth, O Lord, of much command (and) impetuous, to be of bright help to (your) supporter, but, by the arrows (sent) by its hands, of visible injury to (your) enemy, O Wise One.

34,4. Wir wünschen, o Herr, von Deinem durch Wahrsein starken, sehr machtvollen (und) ungestümen Feuer, dass es von glänzender Hilfe für (Deinen) Unterstützer sei, doch durch die von seiner Hand (gesandten) Pfeile, o Weiser, von sichtbarem Schaden für (Deinen) Feind.

34,5. *kaṭ vā xšaθrəm kā īštiš šyaoθanāi yaθā vā hahmī
ašā vohū manahhā θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākəm
parā vā vīspāiš [parā.]vaoxəmā daēvāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiyāišcā*

34,5. Which power, which command do you have (at my) work or when I sleep,

to protect (me,) your needy (servant/disciple,) by truth (and) good thought? We declare you to be superior to all Daēvas/devils, noxious animals, and (bad) mortals.

34,5. Welche Macht habt Ihr, welche Verfügungsgewalt. (mich.) Euren armen (Diener Schüler)

(bei meinem) Werk oder wenn ich schlafe durch Wahrsein (und) guten Gedanken zu beschützen?

Wir erklären Euch als überlegen allen Daēvas/Teufeln, schädlichen Tieren und (bösen) Sterblichen.

34,6. *yezī aθā stā haiθīm mazdā ašā vohū manahhā
aṭ taṭ mōi daxštəm dātā ahyā aṇhōuš vīspā maēθā
yaθā vā yazəmnascā urvāidyā stavas ayenī paitī*

34,6. If you are really like this, O Wise One, through truth and good thought, then make that clear to me throughout all vicissitudes of this (osseous/material) existence, in order for me to step up to you again, sacrificing to you and praising you (even) more joyfully.

34,6. Wenn Ihr wirklich so seid, o Weiser, durch Wahrsein und guten Gedanken, dann macht mir das klar durch alle Wechselfälle dieser (knochenhaften/materiellen) Existenz, damit ich (noch) freudiger Euch opfernd und Euch preisend wieder vor Euch trete.

34,7. *kuθrā tōi arədrā mazdā yōi vaṇhōuš vaēdānā manahhō
səṇghūš raēxənā aspəncīṭ sādrcīṭ caxrayō ušəurū
naēcīm tām anyām yūšmaṭ vaēdā ašā aθā nā θrāzdūm*

34,7. Where (are) those efficient ones, O Wise One, who by knowledge of the bequests and legacies of good thought turn any misfortune and any grief into favorable (conditions)? Through truth I do not know at all the one other than you. So protect us.

34,7. Wo (sind) jene Tüchtigen, o Weiser, welche in Kenntnis der Vermächtnisse und Hinterlassenschaften des guten Gedankens jegliches Unglück und jegliches Leid in günstige (Bedingungen) wenden?

Durch Wahrsein kenne ich keineswegs den, der anders ist als Ihr. So beschützt uns.

34,8. *tāiš zī nā šyaoθanāiš bəyēntē yaēšū as pairī pourubyō iθyejō
hyaṭ aš.aojā nāidyāḥhəm θbahyā mazdā aštā urvātahyā
yōi nōiṭ ašəm mainyāntā aēibyō dūirē vohū as manō*

34,8. The (deceitful) fear us indeed on account of those actions at which you send danger over their great number, as (you,) the very strong one, (treat) the weaker one by the harmful effect of your commandment, O Wise One.

You send good thought (to a place) far off from those who do not think truth.

34,8. Die (Lügner) fürchten uns ja auf Grund der Taten, bei denen Du Verderben über ihre große Zahl sendest,
wie (Du.) der sehr Starke, den Schwächeren (behandelst) durch die schädliche Wirkung Deines Gebotes, o Weiser.

Die nicht Wahrscheinlichen, fern von denen (hin) sendest Du den guten Gedanken.

34,9. *yōi spəntam ārmaitīm 9bahyā mazdā bərəxδam vīdušō*
duš.šyao9anā avazazaṭ vaṇhəuš əvisti manəḡhō
aēibyō maš aša syazdaṭ yavaṭ ahmaṭ aurunā xrafstrā

34,9. From the evil-doers, who, by ignorance/lack of good thought, let loose/abandon beneficent right-mindedness, the ward of your knowing/initiated one, O Wise One, from these (evil-doers) one shall withhold very much truths as far as the fierce beasts from ourselves.

34,9. Von den Übeltätern, welche aus Unkenntnis/in Ermangelung des guten Gedankens die segensreiche Rechtgesinntheit loslassen/aufgeben, den Schützling Deines Wissenden/Initiierten, o Weiser, von diesen (Übeltätern) soll man gar sehr Wahrheiten fern halten, ebenso weit wie von uns die wilden Bestien.

34,10. *ahyā vaṇhəuš manəḡhō šyao9anā vaocaṭ gərəbām huxratuš*
spəntamcā ārmaitīm dāmīm vīdvā hi9am ašahyā
tācā vīspā ahurā 9bahmī mazdā xša9rōi.ā vōya9rā

34,10. The intelligent one speaks of grasping the actions of this good thought and (of grasping) beneficent right-mindedness, knowing her (to be) the creative partner of truth, and (he speaks) of all those pleasures (available) in your power/dominion, O Wise Lord.

34,10. Der Intelligente spricht von der Ergreifung der Handlungen dieses guten Gedankens und (von der Ergreifung) der segensreichen Rechtgesinntheit, die er (als) schöpferische Partnerin des Wahrseins kennt, und (er spricht) von all jenen in Deinem Machtbereich (verfügbaren) Genüssen, o Weiser Herr.

34,11. *aṭ tōi ubē haurvāscā x'arə9ai.ā amərətātāscā*
vaṇhəuš xša9rā manəḡhō aša maṭ ārmaitiṣ vaxšt
utayūiti tāviši tāiš ā mazdā vīdvāešam 9βōi ahī

34,11. Both integrity/nectar and immortality/ambrosia (serve) you for food. By the power of good thought, right-mindedness along with truth makes youthfulness and bodily strength grow. By (all) these you are for the good of those resisting the enemies, O Wise One.

34,11. Beide, Integrität/Nektar und Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia (dienen) Dir als Speise. Durch die Macht des guten Gedankens lässt Rechtgesinntheit zusammen mit Wahrsein

Jugendlichkeit und Körperkraft wachsen. Mit (all) diesen dienst Du dem Wohl derer, die den Feinden widerstehen, o Weiser.

34,12. *kaṭ tōi rāzarā kaṭ vaši kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahyā*
srūdyai mazda fravaocā yā vidayāt ašis rāšnam
sīšā nā aša pa9ō vaṇhəuš x'aētəṇḡ manəḡhō

34,12. What is your direction, what do you wish, what of praise and what of sacrifice? Proclaim in order for it to be heard, O Wise One, through whom one will distribute the rewards for (complying with) the directions. Show us through truth the paths of good thought easy to pass.

34,12. Was ist Deine Anordnung, was willst Du, was an Lobpreis und was an Opfer? Verkünde, damit man es höre, o Weiser, durch wen man die Belohnungen für (die Erfüllung) der Anordnungen verteilen wird. Weise uns durch Wahrsein die leicht begehbbaren Pfade des guten Gedankens.

34,13. *tām advānəm ahurā yām mōi mraoṣ vaṇhəuš manəḡhō*
daēnā saošyantaṭ yā hū.kərətā ašaṭcīṭ urvāxšaṭ
hyaṭ cəvištā hudābyō mīzdəm mazdā yehyā tū da9rəm

34,13. (Show us) that well-cleared way, O Lord, of which you tell me that it is that of good thought, on which the views/view-souls of the benefactors/saviors owing to truth itself proceed toward the prize that you promised to the munificent ones, O Wise One, (and) of which you (are) the grant (in person).

34,13. (Weise uns) den wohl geebneten Weg, o Herr, den Du mir als den des guten Gedankens nennst, auf dem die Anschauungen/Schauseelen der Wohltäter/Retter vom Wahrsein selbst aus auf den Preis zugehen, den Ihr den Freigebigen versprochen habt, o Weiser, (und) dessen (personifizierte) Gewährung Du (bist).

34,14. *taṭ zī mazdā vairīm astvaitē uštānāi dātā*
vaṇhəuš šyao9anā manəḡhō yōi zī gəuš vərəzənē azyā
xšmākam hucistīm ahurā xratəuš aša frādō vərəzənā

34,14. For you, O Wise One, grant this desirable (prize) to the osseous/material life by/for the action of good thought; (you) who (abide) at the enclosure of the fertile cow, O Lord, (you grant) your good insight owing to the intellect which furthers (such) enclosures through truth.

34,14. Denn Ihr, o Weiser, gewährt diesen begehrenswerten (Preis) dem knochenhaften/materiellen Leben durch/für die Handlung des guten Gedankens; (Ihr,) die (Ihr) am Gehege der fruchtbaren Kuh (weilt.)

o Herr, (Ihr gewährt) Eure gute Einsicht auf Grund des Intellekts, der (solche) Gehege durch Wahrsein fördert.

34,15. *mazdā aṭ mōi vahištā sravāscā šyaoθanācā vaocā*
tā tū vohu mananḥa ašācā īsudom stūtō
xšmākā xšaθrā ahurā fərašəm vasnā haiθyēm dā ahum

34,15. O Wise One, tell me the best eulogies and actions, (tell me) them through good thought, and (tell me) through truth the compensation for the praise.

Through your power, O Lord, make real the world perfect in value.

34,15. O Weiser, nenne mir die besten Lobreden und Handlungen, (nenne mir) sie durch guten Gedanken, und (nenne mir) durch Wahrsein die Vergütung für den Lobpreis.

Durch Eure Macht, o Herr, verwirkliche die an Wert vollkommene Welt.

Yasna 35-41[42]. Yasna Haptanghāiti

Yasna 35

[35,1. *ahurəm mazdām ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide. aməšā spəntā huxšaθrā*
huδāṇhō yazamaide. vīspām ašaonō stīm yazamaide mainyāvīm gaēiθyāmca bərəjā
vaṇhəuš ašahe bərəjā vaṇhuyā daēnayā māzdayasnōiš.]

[35,1. We celebrate the Wise Lord, the truthful judge of truth. We celebrate the (six) Beneficent Immortals/Aməsha Spəntas, the munificent good rulers. We celebrate all the spiritual and material possession of the truthful one by preservation/observance of good truth (and) by preservation/observance of the Good Mazdayasnian Religion.]

[35,1. Wir feiern den Weisen Herrn, den wahrhaften Richter des Wahrseins. Wir feiern die (sechs) Segensreichen Unsterblichen/Aməsha Spəntas, die freigebigen guten Herrscher. Wir feiern allen geistigen und materiellen Besitz des Wahrhaften durch Einhaltung/Bewahrung des guten Wahrseins (und) durch Einhaltung/Bewahrung der Guten Mazdayasnischen Religion.]

35,2. *humatanam hūxtanam huvarstanam iyadacā aniyadacā vərəzjamnanamcā*
vāvərəzanamcā mahī aibī.jarətarō naēnaēstārō yaθənā vohunam mahī.

35,2. We are eulogists of the well-thought (thoughts,) of the well-spoken (words and) of the well-performed (actions) that are being performed and that have been performed here and elsewhere as we are non-revilers/eulogists of the good (things).

35,2. Wir sind Lobredner der gut gedachten (Gedanken,) der gut gesprochenen (Worte und) der gut vollbrachten (Handlungen,) die hier und anderswo vollbracht werden und vollbracht worden sind, wie wir Nicht-Schmäher/Lobredner der guten (Dinge) sind.

35,3. *taṭ aṭ vərəmaidī ahurā mazdā ašā.srīrā hyaṭ ī mainimaidicā vaocōimācā*
varəzimacā yā hāṭam šyaoθananam vahištā xyāt ubōibyā ahubyā.

35,3. We make up our minds, O Wise Lord majestic through truth, to think of, and to speak of, and to perform the actions that would be the best of the existing for both existences.

35,3. Wir entschließen uns, o Weiser Herr durch Wahrsein majestätisch, zu denjenigen Handlungen, die für beiderlei Existenzen die besten der Seienden sein dürften, zu denken, von ihnen zu sprechen und sie auszuführen.

35,4. *gavōi adāiš tāiš šyaoθanāiš yāiš vahištāiš fraēšyāmahī rāmācā vāstramcā dazdyāi*
surunvatascā asurunvatascā xšayantascā axšayantascā.

35,4. By them, by these best actions, we impel the listening and the non-listening ones, the ruling and the non-ruling ones (to establish) peace for the cow and to provide (her) with pasture.

35,4. Durch sie, durch diese besten Handlungen, treiben wir die Hörenden und die Nichthörenden, die Herrschenden und die Nichtherrschenden dazu an, der Kuh Frieden (zu gewähren) und (ihr) Weide zu verschaffen.

35,5. *huxšaθrō.təmāi bā.aṭ xšaθram ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibī dadəmahicā cīsmahicā hvānmahicā*
hyaṭ mazdāi ahurāi ašāicā vahištāi.

35,5. We offer the power that (is) with us to the best ruler, we entrust it to Him, we transfer it to Him, the Wise Lord, and to Best Truth.

35,5. Dem besten Herrscher bringen wir die Macht dar, die bei uns (liegt,) wir vertrauen sie Ihm an, wir übertragen sie Ihm, dem Weisen Herrn, und dem Besten Wahrsein.

35,6. *yaθā aṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiθīm, aθā haṭ vohū taṭ əādū vərəzyōtūcā īt*
ahmāi fracā vātōyōtū īt aēibyō yōi īt aθā vərəzyan yaθā īt astī.

35,6. In the form in which a man – or a woman – knows a true/effective (mantra, in that very form) this is a good seed grain, (and) he/she shall practice it for Him and pass it on to those who are willing to practice it (in the form) in which it is (true/effective).

35,6. In der Form, in welcher ein Mann – oder eine Frau – ein wahres/wirksames (Mantra) kennt, (in ebendieser Form) ist dieses ein gutes Samenkorn, (und) er/sie soll es Ihm gegenüber anwenden und an diejenigen weitergeben, die es (in der Form) anwenden wollen, in welcher es (wahr/wirksam) ist.

35,7. *ahurahyā zī aṭ vā mazdā yasnəmca vahməmca vahištəm aməhmaidī gəušcā*
vāstrəm, taṭ aṭ vā vərəzyāmahī fracā vātōyāmahī yā.tā isāmaidē.

35,7. For we have realized that the sacrifice to the Wise Lord and (his) laudation are (what is) most pleasant for you, and the pasture of the cow (as well). We wish to practice it toward you and to pass it on (to others) to the extent that we are able to.

35,7. Denn wir haben das Opfer für den Weisen Herrn und (seine) Lobpreisung als (das) für Euch Erfreulichste erkannt und (ebenso) die Weide der Kuh. Wir wollen es Euch gegenüber anwenden und es (an andere) weitergeben in dem Maß, in dem wir dazu in der Lage sind.

35,8. *aṣahyā āaṭ sairī aṣahyā vərəzānē kahmāicīṭ hātaṃ jijiṣaṃ vahiṣtaṃ ādā ubōibyā ahubyā.*

35,8. He has declared that the search for refuge for both existences is best (possible) for anyone among the existing in the shelter of truth, in the enclosure custody of truth.

35,8. Er hat erklärt, dass jedem der Seienden die Suche nach Zuflucht für beiderlei Existenzen am besten (möglich) sei im Schutzwall des Wahrseins, im Gehege/Obhut des Wahrseins.

35,9/10. *imā āṭ uxδā vacā ahurā mazdā aṣəm manayā vahehyā fravaocāmā, θβam aṭ aēṣam paitiyāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē // aṣāaṭcā hacā vaṇhəuṣcā manəṇhō vaṇhəuṣcā xšaθrāt staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotaēibyō aibī uxδā θβāt uxδōibyō yasnā θβāt yasnōibyō.*

35,9/10. With best presentation, O Wise Lord, we proclaim these statements and words (to be) truth. We accept you to be (to us) their listener and elucidator // in accordance with truth, good thought, and good power, O Lord, now with a praise beyond praises, now with a statement beyond statements, now with a sacrifice beyond sacrifices.

35,9/10. In bester Vortragsweise, o Weiser Herr, verkünden wir diese Aussagen und Worte (als) Wahrsein/Wahrheit. Wir nehmen Dich als ihren Anhörer und Erhellender an // in Übereinstimmung mit Wahrsein, gutem Gedanken und guter Macht, o Herr, jetzt mit Lobpreisungen über Lobpreisungen hinaus, jetzt mit einer Aussage über Aussagen hinaus, jetzt mit einem Opfer über Opfer hinaus.

Yasna 36

36,1. *ahyā θβā āθrō vərəzānā paouruyē pairijasāmaidē mazdā ahurā θβā θβā mainyū spəništā yā ā axtiš ahmāi yām axtōyōi dāṇhē.*

36,1. First we serve you, O Wise Lord, with the custody of this fire, (we serve) you (inspired) by your most beneficent spirit, which (is) pain/burn to that one on whom you resolve to (inflict) pain/burn.

36,1. An erster Stelle warten wir Dir auf, o Weiser Herr, mit der Hege dieses Feuers, Dir (warten wir auf, inspiriert) durch Deinen segensreichsten Geist, der Schmerz/Verbrennung (bedeutet) für denjenigen, dem Schmerz/Verbrennung (zuzufügen) Du Dich entschließt.

36,2. *urvāzištō hvō nā yātāyā paitī.jamyā ātarə mazdā ahurahyā urvāzištahyā urvāz(a)yā nāmištahyā nəmaṇhā nā mazištāi yāṇham paitī.jamyā.*

36,2. May you, the most graceful one, come to us for (your) share, O Fire of the Wise Lord, may you come to us for the greatest of apportionments with the grace of the most graceful one (and) with the reverence of the best (returner of) reverence.

36,2. Mögest Du, der Gnädigste, zu uns zu (Deinem) Gewinnanteil kommen, o Feuer des Weisen Herrn, mögest Du zu uns zur größten der Zuteilungen kommen mit der Gnade des Gnädigsten (und) mit der Verehrung des besten (Erwiderers der) Verehrung.

36,3. *ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahyā ahī, mainyūš vōi ahyā spəništō ahī. hyaṭ vā tōi nāmanam vāzištəm ātarə mazdā ahurahyā tā θβā pairijasāmaidē.*

36,3. You are indeed the Fire of the Wise Lord, you are indeed His most beneficent spirit. We serve you by (calling) that of your names which (denotes) the best-provided (guest,) O Fire of the Wise Lord.

36,3. Du bist in der Tat das Feuer des Weisen Herrn, Du bist in der Tat Sein segensreichster Geist. Wir warten Dir auf mit (Nennung) desjenigen Deiner Namen, welcher den bestversorgten (Gast bezeichnet,) o Feuer des Weisen Herrn.

36,4/5. *vohū θβā manəṇhā vohū θβā aṣā vaṇhuyā θβā cistōiš šyaoθanāišcā vacābiṣcā pairijasāmaidē, // nəmaxyāmahī išūidyāmahī θβā mazdā ahurā, vīspāiš θβā humatāiš vīspāiš hūxtāiš vīspāiš huvarəštāiš pairijasāmaidē.*

36,4/5. We serve you with good thought, you with good truth, you with the actions and words of good insight, // we revere (and) invigorate you, O Wise Lord, we serve you with all (our) well-thought (thoughts,) with all (our) well-spoken (words,) with all (our) well-performed (actions).

36,4/5. Wir warten Dir auf mit gutem Gedanken, Dir mit gutem Wahrsein, Dir mit den Handlungen und Worten der guten Einsicht, // wir verehren (und) erfrischen Dich, o Weiser Herr, wir warten Dir auf mit all (unseren) gut gedachten (Gedanken,) mit all (unseren) gut gesprochenen (Worten,) mit all (unseren) gut vollbrachten (Handlungen).

36,6. *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āvaēdayamahī mazdā ahurā imā raocā barəzištəm barəzəmanam avaṭ yāṭ huvarə avācī.*

36,6. These lights here we dedicate to you, O Wise Lord, (as) the most majestic form of forms, since yonder most elevated of elevations was given the name (of) "Sun."

36,6. Diese Lichter hier weihen wir Dir, o Weiser Herr, (als) die majestätischste Gestalt der Gestalten, seit jener höchsten der Erhöhungen der Name „Sonne“ gegeben wurde.

Yasna 37

37,1. *iθā āṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām yā gamcā aṣəmcā dāt apascā dāt urvarā vaṇ'hīš raocāscā dāt būmīmcā vīspācā vohū.*

37,1. Herewith we celebrate the Wise Lord, who created the cow and truth, (who) created the waters, (who) created the good/useful plants and the lights and the earth and all good (things).

37,1. Hiermit feiern wir den Weisen Herrn, der die Kuh und das Wahrsein schuf, (der) die Wasser schuf, (der) die guten/nützlichen Pflanzen und die Lichter schuf und die Erde und alle guten (Dinge).

37,2. *ahyā xšaθrācā mazənācā havapaṇhāišcā tām aṭ yasnənam paurvatātā yazamaidē yōi gəuṣ hacā šyeiṇtī.*

37,2. In regard of His power, His greatness, and His works of art we celebrate Him by the excellence of sacrifices (of those) who dwell/settle in accordance with (the needs of) the cow.

37,2. Im Hinblick auf Seine Macht, Seine Größe und Seine künstlerischen Leistungen feiern wir Ihn mit der Vortrefflichkeit der Opfer (derer,) die in Übereinstimmung mit (den Bedürfnissen) der Kuh wohnen/siedeln.

37,3. *tām at āhūiryā nāmānī mazdā.varā spəntō.tāmā yazamaidē, tām ahmākāiš azdābišcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē, [tām ašaunam fravašiš narāmcā nāirināmcā yazamaidē].*

37,3. Him we celebrate (calling) the Ahurian names dear to (Him,) the Wise One, and most beneficent, Him we celebrate with our bones and vital forces, [Him we celebrate (calling) the Fravashis/Protective Spirits of the truthful men and women].

37,3. Ihn feiern wir die ahurischen, höchst segensreichen Namen (nennend,) die (Ihm,) dem Weisen, teuer (sind,) Ihn feiern wir mit unseren Knochen und Lebenskräften, [Ihn feiern wir die Fravashis/Schutzgeister der wahrhaften Männer und Frauen (nennend)].

37,4/5. *ašəm at vahištəm yazamaidē hyaṭ sraēštəm hyaṭ spəntəm aməšəm hyaṭ raocōṇhvaṭ hyaṭ vīspā vohū, // vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšaθrəm vaṇhīmā daēnəm vaṇhīmācā fsəratūm vaṇhīmācā ārmaitīm.*

37,4/5. We celebrate best truth, which is most majestic, beneficent (and) immortal, full of light (and) encompassing all good (things,) // and we celebrate good thought, good power/rule, good view/religion, good refection, and good right-mindedness.

37,4/5. Wir feiern das beste Wahrsein, höchst majestätisch, segensreich (und) unsterblich, lichtvoll (und) alle guten (Dinge) umfassend, // und wir feiern den guten Gedanken, die gute Macht/Herrschaft, die gute Anschauung/Religion, die gute Erquickung und die gute Rechtgesinntheit.

Yasna 38

38,1. *iməm āaṭ zəm gənābīš haθrā yazamaidē yā nā baraitī yāscā tōi gənā ahurā mazdā ašāṭ hacā vairyā tā yazamaidē.*

38,1. We celebrate this earth which bears us, along with (its) women, and (we celebrate) your women, worth choosing in accordance with truth, those we celebrate, O Wise Lord.

38,1. Wir feiern diese Erde, die uns trägt, samt (ihren) Frauen, und (wir feiern) Deine in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein wählenswerten Frauen, diese feiern wir, o Weiser Herr.

38,2. *ižā yaoštayō fəraštayō ārmatayō – vaṇhīm ābīš ašīm vaṇhīm išəm vaṇhīm āzūitīm vaṇhīm frasastīm vaṇhīm pārəndīm/parəndīm yazamaidē.*

38,2. (As for) cream-offerings, purifications, perfections, manifestations of right-mindedness – along with these we celebrate good reward, good refreshment, good fat-libation, good reputation, (and) good abundance.

38,2. (Was) Sahnegaben, Läuterungen, Vervollkommnungen, Äußerungen von Rechtgesinntheit (betrifft) – zusammen mit diesen feiern wir die gute Belohnung, die gute Erfrischung, die gute Fettspende, die gute Rühmung (und) die gute Fülle.

38,3. *apō at yazamaidē maēkayaṇtišcā hābvaiṇtišcā fravazaṇhō ahurānīš ahurahyā havapaṇhā, hupəṇθβāscā vā hvō.γzaθāscā hūšnāθrāscā ubōibyā ahubyā cagəmə.*

38,3. We celebrate the waters tasty and sweet, ladies/nymphs flowing along (as) works of art of the (Wise) Lord, and (we celebrate) you, (the waters) easy to cross, easy to navigate and offering good bathing places, (that) present for both existences.

38,3. Wir feiern die wohlschmeckenden, süßen Wasser, Herrinnen/Nymphen, die dahinfließen als Kunstwerke des (Weisen) Herrn, und (wir feiern) Euch, (die) leicht durchquerbaren, leicht befahrbaren und gute Badeplätze bietenden (Wasser als) Geschenk für beide Existenzen.

38,4. *ūitī yā vā vaṇhīš ahurō mazdā nāmam dadāt vaṇhudā hyaṭ vā dadāt tāiš vā yazamaidē tāiš friyānmahī tāiš nəmaxyāmahī tāiš išūidyāmahī.*

38,4. By the above names, which the Wise Lord, the giver of the good (things,) gives you, when he releases you, O good ones, with these we celebrate you, by these we appease you, with these we revere you, with these we invigorate you.

38,4. Mit den obigen Namen, die der Weise Herr, der Geber der guten (Dinge,) euch gibt, wenn er euch freigibt, o Gute, mit diesen feiern wir euch, mit diesen besänftigen wir euch, mit diesen verehren wir euch, mit diesen erfrischen wir euch.

38,5. *apascā vā azišcā vā mātarāscā vā agənyā drigudāyaṇhō vīspō.pəitiš āvaocāmā vahištā sraēštā, avā vā vaṇhīš rātōiš darəgō.bāzauš nāšū patī vyādā patī.səndā mātarō jītayō.*

38,5. We address you as waters, you as fertile cows, you as mother cows, not to be killed, nursing the poor (and) providing drink for all, O you best (and) most majestic ones, and so we do, O you good ones, at the arrivals of your long-armed munificence, O you distributors, O you pleasing ones, O you mothers, O you gains.

38,5. Wir sprechen euch an als Wasser, euch als fruchtbare Kühe, euch als Mutterkühe, nicht zu schlachtend, die Armen nährend (und) alle tränkend, o Ihr Besten (und) Majestätischsten, und das tun wir, o Ihr Guten, bei den Ankünften Eurer langarmigen Großzügigkeit, o Ihr Verteilerinnen, o Ihr Erfreuerinnen, o Ihr Mütter, o Ihr Gewinne.

Yasna 39

39,1/2. *iθā at yazamaidē gəuš uruṇəmcā tašanəmcā, ahmākəṇ āaṭ urunō pasukanəmcā yōi nā jijišəntī yaēibyascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibyō ā aṇhən, // daitikanəmcā aidyūnəm hyaṭ urunō yazamaidē, ašaonəm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē kudō.zātanəmcīt narāmcā nāirinəmcā yaēšəm vahehiš daēnā vanaiṇtī vā vəṇghən vā vaonarə vā.*

39,1/2. Herewith we celebrate the soul of the cow and (her) fashioner. Then we celebrate the souls of our (people) and those of (our) domestic animals, who seek refuge with us for whom they shall be there and (with us) who shall be there for them,

and we celebrate the souls of the harmless wild animals. Then we celebrate the souls of the truthful wherever they were born, of the men and women whose better views prevail or will prevail or have prevailed (over their worse views).

39,1/2. Hiermit feiern wir der Seele der Kuh und (ihren) Bildner. Dann feiern wir die Seelen der Unserigen und die (unserer) Haustiere, die Zuflucht suchen bei uns, für die sie da sein sollen und (bei uns,) die (wir) für sie da sein sollen, // und wir feiern die Seelen der unschädlichen wilden Tiere. Dann feiern wir die Seelen der Wahrhaften, wo auch immer sie geboren wurden, der Männer und Frauen, deren bessere Anschauungen (ihre schlechteren) überwiegen oder überwiegen werden oder überwogen haben.

39,3. *āt iθā yazamaidē vaṇhūšcā īt vaṇ^vhīšcā īt spəntāng aməšəng yavaējiyō yavaēsuvō yōi vaṇhūš ā managhō šyeiṇtī yāscā ūitī.*

39,3. Herewith we then celebrate the good male and the good female Beneficent Immortals of eternal life and eternal benefit/salvation, (the male ones) who dwell/settle on the side of good thought and the female ones as well.

39,3. Hiermit feiern wir die guten männlichen und die guten weiblichen Segensreichen Unsterblichen von ewigem Leben und ewigem Wohl/Heil, (die männlichen,) die auf der Seite des guten Gedankens wohnen/siedeln, und ebenso die weiblichen.

39,4. *yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mānghācā vaocascā dāscā varəscā yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahī aθā cīsmahī aθā θβā āiš yazamaidē aθā nəmaxyāmahī aθā išūidyāmahī θβā mazdā ahurā.*

39,4. Just as you, O Wise Lord, conceive, pronounce, produce, and effect the good (things,) so we offer (them) to you, so we entrust (them) to you, so we celebrate you with them, so we revere you (with them,) so we requite you (for them,) O Wise Lord.

39,4. So wie Du, o Weiser Herr, die guten (Dinge) ersonnen, ausgesprochen, hervorgebracht und bewirkt hast, so bringen wir (sie) Dir dar, so vertrauen wir (sie) Dir an, so feiern wir Dich mit ihnen, so verehren wir Dich (mit ihnen,) so vergelten wir (sie) Dir, o Weiser Herr.

39,5. *vaṇhūš x^vaētūš x^vaētātā vaṇhūš ašahyā θβā pairijasāmaidē vaṇhuyā^ā fsəratuvō vaṇhuyā^ā āmatōiš.*

39,5. We serve you with the nature of a good family, of good truth, of good refection, (and) of good right-mindedness.

39,5. Wir warten Dir auf mit der Eigenart guter Familie, guten Wahrseins, guter Erquickung (und) guter Rechtgesinntheit.

Yasna 40

40,1/2. *āhū aṭ paitī adāhū mazdā ahurā mazdāmca būiricā kərəšvā rāitī tōi xrapaitī ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibi. hyaṭ miždəm [m]javaēθəm fradadāθā daēnābyō mazdā ahurā // ahyā*

hvō nā dāidī ahmāicā ahuyē manaxyāicā taṭ ahyā yā taṭ upā.jamyamā tavacā haxəmə ašaxyācā vīspāi yavē.

40,1/2. (In return) for these presentations/apportionments. O Wise Lord, take notice of and enrich yourself with what resounds with us (inspired) by your munificence.

(As for) the incontestable prize which you promise to the views/view-souls, O Wise Lord, // grant us (a share) of it for this (osseous/material) existence and for that of thought, (grant us) that (share) of it through which we may reach your fellowship and that of truth for all time.

40,1/2. (In Erwiderung) dieser Darbietungen/Zuteilungen, o Weiser Herr, nimm Kenntnis, und tu es reichlich, von dem, was (inspiriert) durch Deine Großzügigkeit bei uns erklingt. (Was) den unanfechtbaren Preis (betrifft,) den Du den Anschauungen/Schauseelen versprichst, o Weiser Herr, // gewähre uns (einen Anteil) an ihm für diese (knochenhafte/materielle) Existenz und für die des Gedankens, (gewähre uns) jenen (Anteil) daran, durch den wir für alle Zeit in Deine Genossenschaft und die des Wahrseins gelangen mögen.

40,3/4. *dāidī aṭ nərəš mazdā ahurā ašāunō ašacinaghō aidyūš vāstriyāng darəgāi īzyāi bəzvaitē haxmainē ahmaibyā.ahmā.rafənanhō. // aθā x^vaētūš aθā vərəzənā aθā haxəməm xyāt yāiš hišcamaidē. aθā vā utā xyāmā mazdā ahurā ašavanō ərəšyā īštəm rāitī.*

40,3/4. Assign (to us,) O Wise Lord, truthful men loving truth, good-natured herdsmen for a permanent fellowship rich in cream and strong in number (of dependents,) offering support to us and enjoying support from us. // So the families may be, so the communities, (and) so the fellowships with which we associate. So may we (being) truthful abide in your favor, O Wise Lord, by an enthusiastic offering of what is desired.

40,3/4. Weise (uns,) o Weiser Herr, wahrhafte, das Wahrsein liebende Männer zu, gutartige Hirten, zu dauerhafter, sahnereicher Genossenschaft stark an Zahl (der Abhängigen,) die uns Unterstützung bietet und von uns Unterstützung genießt. // So mögen die Familien sein, so die Gemeinden (und) so die Genossenschaften, an die wir uns anschließen. So mögen wir uns (als) Wahrhafte in Eurer Gunst befinden, o Weiser Herr, durch enthusiastische Darbringung des Erwünschten.

Yasna 41

41,1/2. *stūtō garō vahmāng ahurāi mazdāi ašāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīsmahicā ācā āvaēdayamahī. // vohū xšaθrəmi tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yavē. huxšaθrastū nō nā vā nāitī vā xšaētā ubōyō aṇhvō hātəm hudāstəmə.*

41,1/2. We offer, entrust, and dedicate praises, welcomes (and) laudations to the Wise Lord and to Best Truth. // May we attain your good power/rule for all time, O Wise Lord. May a good ruler, man or woman, accede to power/rule over us in both existences, O Most Munificent One among the existing.

41,1/2. Wir bringen dem Weisen Herrn und dem Besten Wahrsein Preislieder, Willkommensworte (und) Lobpreisungen dar, vertrauen sie ihnen an und widmen sie

ihnen. // Mögen wir Deine gute Macht/Herrschaft für alle Zeit erreichen, o Weiser Herr. Möge ein guter Herrscher, Mann oder Frau, die Macht/Herrschaft über uns in beiden Existenzen antreten, o Freigebigster unter den Seienden.

41,3/4. *humaīm 9βā īzīm yazatəm aṣaṇhacīm dadōmaidē. aḥa tū nō gayascā astōntāscā xyā ubōyō aṇhvō hātəm hudāstēmā. // hanaēmācā zaēmācā mazdā ahurā 9βahmī rafənahī darəgāyāu. aēšācā 9βā əmavaṇtascā buyamā, rapōišcā tū nō darəgəmcā uštācā hātəm hudāstēmā.*

41,3/4. We accept you, (O Lord,) the miraculous (and) creamy Yazata/deity, who is in harmony with truth. May you thus be for us life and osseousness in both existences, O Most Munificent One among the existing. // May we win and let (the others) behind under your long-lasting/lifelong support, O Wise Lord, and may we become vigorous and impetuous through you, and may you support us permanently and as desired, O Most Munificent One among the existing.

41,3/4. Wir nehmen Dich an, (o Herr,) den wunderkräftigen (und) sahnereichen Yazata/Gottheit, der mit dem Wahrsein im Einklang steht. So mögest Du uns in beiden Existenzen Leben und Knochenhaftigkeit sein, o Freigebigster unter den Seienden. // Mögen wir gewinnen und (die anderen) hinter uns lassen unter Deiner lang dauernden/lebenslangen Unterstützung, o Weiser Herr, und mögen wir durch Dich kraftvoll und ungestüm werden und mögest Du uns unterstützen, dauerhaft und wie gewünscht, o Freigebigster unter den Seienden.

41,5/6. *9βōi staotarascā mǝ9ranascā ahurā mazdā aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā. hyaṭ mīzdəm [m]avaē9əm fradadā9ā daēnābyō mazdā ahura, // ahyā hvō nō dāidī ahmāicā ahuyē manaxyaicā taṭ ahyā yā taṭ upā.jamyāmā tavacā sarəm aṣaxyaicā vīspāi yavē.*

41,5/6. We declare ourselves your praisers and poets, O Wise Lord, and we are willing (to be so) and we get ready (to be so). (As for) the incontestable prize which you promise to the views/view-souls, O Wise Lord, // grant us (a share) of it for this (osseous/material) existence and for that of thought, (grant us) that (share) of it through which we may reach your shelter and that of truth for all time.

41,5/6. Wir erklären uns zu Deinen Lobpreisern und Denkern/Dichtern, o Weiser Herr, und wir wollen (es sein) und wir machen uns (dazu) bereit. Was den unanfechtbaren Preis (angeht,) den Ihr den Anschauungen/Schauseelen verspricht, o Weiser Herr, // gewähre uns (einen Anteil) an ihm für diese (knochenhafte/materielle) Existenz und für die des Gedankens, (gewähre uns) jenen (Anteil) daran, durch den wir für alle Zeit Deine Hut und die des Wahrseins erlangen mögen.

[Yasna 42]

[42,1/2. *yazamaidē vā aməša spəntā yasnahe haptanḥātōiš haṇdātā, apamcā xā yazamaidē, apamcā pərətūš yazamaidē, pa9amcā vīcaranā yazamaidē, pa9amcā haṇjamanā yazamaidē, // gairīšcā afštacinō yazamaidē, vairīšcā aβəzdānāḥō*

yazamaidē, aspənācā yəvinō yazamaidē, pāyū[š]cā 9βōrəštārā yazamaidē, mazdāmcā zara9uštəmcā yazamaidē.]

[42,1/2. We celebrate you, O Beneficent Immortals/Aməsha Spəntas, (by reciting) the collection of the Yasna Haptanḥāiti, and we celebrate the fountains of the waters, and we celebrate the crossings of the waters/streams, and we celebrate the bifurcations of the paths, and we celebrate the junctions of the paths, // and we celebrate the mountains with their watercourses, and we celebrate the water-collecting lakes, and we celebrate the fertile grain fields, and we celebrate the protector and the shaper, and we celebrate the Wise (Lord) and Zarathushtra.]

[42,1/2. Wir feiern Euch, o Segensreiche Unsterbliche/Aməsha Spəntas, (durch die Rezitation) der Sammlung des Yasna Haptanḥāiti, und wir feiern die Quellen der Wasser, und wir feiern die Übergänge der Wasser/Flüsse, und wir feiern die Gabelungen der Wege, und wir feiern die Kreuzungen der Wege, // und wir feiern die Berge mit ihren Wasserläufen, und wir feiern die das Wasser sammelnden Seen, und wir feiern die fruchtbaren Kornfelder, und wir feiern den Beschützer und den Bildner, und wir feiern den Weisen (Herrn) und Zarathushtra.]

[42,3/4. *zāmcā asmanəmcā yazamaidē, vātəmcā daršīm mazdadātəm yazamaidē, taērəmcā harai9yā bərəzō yazamaidē, būmīmcā vīspācā vohū yazamaidē, // manō vohū urunascā aṣaonəm yazamaidē, vāsīmcā yam paṇcāsadvaram yazamaidē, xarəmcā yim aṣavanəm yazamaidē yō hištaitē maidim zrayanḥō vourukaṣahē, zrayō vourukaṣəm yazamaidē.]*

[42,3/4. And we celebrate earth and heaven, and we celebrate the fierce wind created by the Wise (Lord,) and we celebrate the peak of high (Mount) Haraiti/Elburz, and we celebrate the earthly world and all good (things,) // and we celebrate good thought and the souls of the truthful, and we celebrate (the fish) Vāsī of fifty ... (?) ..., and we celebrate the truthful Khara, who stands in the midst of Sea Vourukasha/Aral Sea. We celebrate Sea Vourukasha.]

[42,3/4. Und wir feiern die Erde und den Himmel, und wir feiern den heftigen vom Weisen (Herrn) geschaffenen Wind, und wir feiern den Gipfel des hohen (Bergs) Haraiti Elburz, und wir feiern die Erdenwelt und alle guten (Dinge,) // und wir feiern den guten Gedanken und die Seelen der Wahrhaften, und wir feiern (den Fisch) Vāsī von fünfzig ... (?) ..., und wir feiern den wahrhaften Khara, der in der Mitte des Sees Vourukasha/Aralsees steht. Wir feiern den See Vourukasha.]

[42,5/6. *haoməmcā zāirīm bərəzanṭəm yazamaidē, haoməm frāšmīm frādaṭ.gaē9əm yazamaidē, haoməm dūraošaṇ yazamaidē, // apamcā fəraxšaostərəm yazamaidē, vayamcā fərafrao9ərəm yazamaidē, a9aurunəm paiti.ajə9ərəm yazamaidē yōi iyeyam dūrāt aṣō.īšō daxyunəm, vīspāscā aməša spəntā yazamaidē.]*

[42,5/6. And we celebrate the yellow high/climbing Haoma (bərəzanṭ,) and we celebrate the low/straggling Haoma (frāšmi) which furthers the herds, and we celebrate the death-averting Haoma (dūraoša,) // and we celebrate the surging forward of the waters, and we

celebrate the flight of the birds, and we celebrate the return of the priests who have gone far away, seeking the truth of the lands, and we celebrate all the (six) Beneficent Immortals (Aməsha Spəntas).]

[42.5-6. Und wir feiern den gelben hohen hoch wachsenden Haoma (*barəzant*) und wir feiern den die Herden fördernden am Boden wuchernden Haoma (*frāšmi*.) und wir feiern den Tod abwehrenden Haoma (*dūraoša*.) // und wir feiern das Wogen des Wassers, und wir feiern den Flug der Vögel, und wir feiern die Rückkehr der Priester, die auf der Suche nach dem Wahrsein der Länder in die Ferne gezogen sind, und wir feiern alle (sechs) Segensreichen Unsterblichen (Aməsha Spəntas).]

Yasna 43-46. Ushtavaitī Gāthā

Yasna 43

43,1. *uštā ahmāi yāhmāi uštā kahmāicīf*
vasə.xšayās mazdā dāyāt ahurō
utayūitī tavišim gaṭ.tōi vasəmī
ašəm dərəidyāi taṭ mōi dā ārmaitē
rāyō ašiš vaṇhəuš gaēm manəḥō

43,1. I wish bodily strength along with youthfulness to come as desired to whomsoever the Wise Lord ruling at will would accord (the things) desired. I wish to take possession of truth, grant it to me, O Right-mindedness, (grant me) rewards (consisting) of wealth and a life in good thought.

43,1. Ich wünsche, dass Körperkraft samt Jugendlichkeit einem jeden nach Wunsch zuteil werde, dem (die) gewünschten (Dinge) der Weise Herr nach Seinem Belieben herrschend bewilligen sollte. Das Wahrsein will ich in Besitz bringen, gewähre es mir, o Rechtgesinntheit, (gewähre mir) Belohnungen (bestehend) aus Reichtum und ein Leben in gutem Gedanken.

43,2. *aṭcā ahmāi vīspanam vahištəm*
xʷāθrōyā nā xʷāθrəm daidītā
θβā ciciθβā spāništā mainyū mazdā
yā dā ašā vaṇhəuš māyā manəḥō
vīspā ayārō darəgō.jyātōiš urvādanhā

43,2. The best of all (things) the man would like to obtain for himself, comfort in the (domain of) comfort, through your most beneficent spirit, O Wise One, being conscious of the miracles of good thought which you grant through truth all days along with the enthusiasm of a long-lived one.

43,2. Das beste von allen (Dingen) möchte der Mann sich erwerben, Labsal im (Reich der) Labsal,

o Weiser, durch Deinen segensreichsten Geist sich bewusst der Wunder des guten Gedankens, die Du durch Wahrsein gewährst alle Tage zusammen mit dem Enthusiasmus eines Langlebigen.

43,3. *aṭ hyō vaṇhəuš vahyo na aibī.jamyāt*
yā nā ərazūš savaṇhō paθō sīšōit
ahyā aṇhəuš astvatō manəḥascā
haiθyāng ā stiš yāng ā.šāēitī ahurō
arədrō θβāvās huzəntuša spəntō mazdā

43,3. May that man attain what is better than good who should show us the straight paths of benefit/salvation of this osseous/material existence and (of that) of thought, the real (paths leading) toward the properties, (the paths) at which the Lord dwells, the efficient one, the one such as you, noble (and) beneficent, O Wise One.

43,3. Möge derjenige Mann erreichen, was besser ist als gut, der uns die geraden Pfade des Wohls/Heils dieser knochenhaften/materiellen Existenz und (derjenigen) des Gedankens weisen sollte, die wirklichen, mit Besitztum ausgestatteten (Pfade,) an denen der Herr wohnt, der tüchtige, der so wie Du, edel (und) segensreich, o Weiser.

43,4. *aṭ θβā mānḡhāi taxməmcā spəntəm mazdā*
hyaṭ tā zastā yā tū hafši avā
yā dā ašiš drəgvāitē ašāunaēcā
θbahyā garəmə āθrō ašā.aojanhō
hyaṭ mōi vaṇhəuš hazə jimaṭ manəḥō

43,4. I will realize that you are firm and beneficent, O Wise One, when from that hand in which you hold those requitals which you assign to the deceitful one and to the truthful one by the heat of your fire strong through truth, when (from that hand) the superiority of good thought has come to me.

43,4. Ich werde Dich als standfest und segensreich erkennen, o Weiser, wenn aus der Hand, in der Du jene Vergeltungen hältst, die Du dem Lügner und dem Wahrhaften zuweist mit der Hitze Deines durch Wahrsein kraftvollen Feuers, wenn mir (aus dieser Hand) die Überlegenheit des guten Gedankens zuteil geworden ist.

43,5. *spəntəm aṭ θβā mazdā mājhi ahurā*
hyaṭ θβā aṇhəuš zaθōi darəsəm paourvīm
hyaṭ dā šyaoθanā mīždavān yācā uxδā
akām akāi vaṇhəuš ašīm vaṇhaovē
θβā hunarā dāmōiš urvāēsē apāmē

43,5. I realize that you are beneficent, O Wise Lord, when I perceive you, the Primal One, (engaged) in the procreation of the existence/life,

(and) when you make the actions have their prize as well as the statements, (assigning) evil to the evil one (but) a good requital/reward to the good one by your skill, at the final turn (of the course) of the world.

43,5. Ich erkenne Dich als segensreich, o Weiser Herr,

wenn ich Dich, den Uranfänglichen, (bei) der Zeugung der Existenz/Lebens erblicke, (und) wenn Du die Handlungen mit ihrem Preis versehen lässt und die Aussagen, Schlechtes dem Schlechten (zuweisend, aber) gute Vergeltung/Belohnung dem Guten durch Dein Können bei der letzten Wende (des Laufs) der Welt.

43,6. *yahmī spəntā 9βā mainyū urvaēsē jasō*
mazdā xšaθrā ahmī vohū manəhā
yehyā šyaoθanāiš gaēθā ašā frādəntē
aēibyō ratūš sənghaitī ārmaitīš
9βahyā xratəuš yām naēciš dābayeiti

43,6. At that turn at/to which you come with your beneficent spirit, (being) wise through power, at that (turn) right-mindedness, (inspired) by good thought by whose actions the herds are furthered in truth, pronounces to those (in question) the judgments of your intellect, which no one deceives.

43,6. An/bei dieser Wende, bei/zu der Du mit Deinem segensreichen Geist kommst, weise durch Macht, an/bei dieser (Wende) verkündet die Rechtgesinntheit (inspiriert) durch guten Gedanken, durch dessen Handlungen die Herden an Wahrsein gefördert werden, den (Betreffenden) die Urteile Deines Intellekts, den niemand täuscht.

43,7. *spəntəm aṭ 9βā mazdā mājhi ahurā*
hyaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manəhā
pərəsaṭcā mā ciš ahī kahyā ahī
kaθā ayarā daxšārā fərasayāi dišā
aibī 9βāhū gaēθāhū tanušicā

43,7. I realize that you are beneficent, O Wise Lord, when one serves me with good thought and asks me: "Who are you? To whom do you belong? Why, O expert, would you get a date for consultation about your herds and yourself?"

43,7. Ich erkenne Dich als segensreich, o Weiser Herr, wenn mir jemand mit gutem Gedanken aufwartet und mich fragt: „Wer bist du? Wem gehörst du an? Warum, o Kenner, möchtest du einen Termin erhalten zur Beratung über deine Herden und dich selbst?“

43,8. *aṭ hōi aoji zaraθuštrō paourvīm*
haiθyō dvaēšā hyaṭ isōyā drəgvāitē

aṭ ašāunē rafənō xyām aojiōghvaṭ
hyaṭ ā būštīš vasasə.xšaθrahyā dyā
yavaṭ.ā 9βā mazdā staomī ufyācā

43,8. Yet I say to him: "Firstly, (I am) Zarathushtra." (Secondly:)

"Since, (being) an honest person, I would seek for myself (people of) hostility toward the deceitful one,

I would be a strong support for the truthful one, if I could gain the adornments of one ruling at will through the extent to which I praise and extol you, O Wise One."

43,8. Ich aber sage zu ihm: „Zum Ersten, (Ich bin) Zarathushtra.“ (Zum Zweiten:) „Da ich mir (als) Aufrichtiger (Leute von) Feindschaft gegenüber dem Lügner suchen möchte, dürfte ich dem Wahrhaften eine kraftvolle Stütze sein, falls ich mir die Auszeichnungen eines nach Belieben Herrschenden verschaffen könnte durch das Ausmaß, in dem ich Dich lobpreise und rühme, o Weiser.“

43,9. *spəntəm aṭ 9βā mazdā mājhi ahurā*
hyaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manəhā
ahyā fərasəm kahmāi vīviduyē vaši
aṭ ā 9βahmāi āθrē rātam nəmanhō
ašahyā mā yavaṭ isāi manyāi

43,9. I realize that you are beneficent, O Wise Lord, when one serves me with good thought. To his question "To whom do you want to pay honor?" (I reply): "To your fire I will think the gift of reverence for truth as much/long as I can."

43,9. Ich erkenne Dich als segensreich, o Weiser Herr, wenn mir jemand mit gutem Gedanken aufwartet. Auf seine Frage „Wem willst du Ehre erweisen?“ (antworte ich:) „Deinem Feuer will ich die Gabe der Verehrung des Wahrseins denken, so sehr/solange ich kann.“

43,10. *aṭ tū mōi dāiš ašəm hyaṭ mā zaozaomī*
ārmaitī hacimnō īt āram
pərəsācā nā yā tōi əhmā parštā
parštəm zī 9βā yaθanā taṭ əmavataṭam
hyaṭ 9βā xšayəs aēšəm dyāt əmavantaṭam

43,10. Thus show me the truth for which I am calling – in harmony with right-mindedness I have deserved it – and ask us about the questions (to be asked) of you by us. For by you the question was asked about the matter of the impetuous ones, (implying) that a ruling one should make you vigorous (and) impetuous.

43,10. So zeige mir das Wahrsein, nach dem ich rufe,
– im Einklang mit Rechtgesinntheit habe ich es verdient –
und frage uns, welches die von uns an Dich (zu stellenden) Fragen sind.
Von Dir wurde ja die Frage nach der Sache der Ungestümen gestellt.
(des Inhalts,) dass ein Herrschender Dich kraftvoll (und) ungestüm machen sollte.

43,11. *spəntəm aṭ 9βā mazdā mājīhī ahurā*
hyaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ managhā
hyaṭ xsmā uxδāiš dīdaijē paourvīm
sādrā mōi sas mašiyaēšū zrazdāitiš
taṭ vərəzeyidyāi hyaṭ mōi mraotā vahištəm

43,11. I realize that you are beneficent, O Wise Lord,
when one serves me with good thought.
When, through statements by you, I learn what is primal/fundamental,
(then) faith in mortals proves to me to cause distress.
Let me carry out what you tell me is the best.

43,11. Ich erkenne Dich als segensreich, o Weiser Herr,
wenn man mir mit gutem Gedanken aufwartet.
Wenn ich durch Aussagen von Euch das Uranfängliche/Grundlegende lerne,
(dann) erweist sich mir das Vertrauen auf die Menschen als Unheil bringend.
Lass mich ausführen, was Ihr mir als das Beste nennt.

43,12. *hyaṭcā mōi mraoš ašəm jasō frāxšnənē*
aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairiyaoyžā
uzirəidyāi parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ
səraošō ašī maza.rayā hacimnō
yā vī ašīš rānōibyō savōi vīdayāṭ

43,12. And when you say to me: "in prudence you reach truth,"
then you speak to me not without being obeyed (by me).
Let me arise (already) before hearing/obedience has reached me,
in company with wealth-granting Reward,
who, in the favorable (case,) will distribute the rewards with the balance.

43,12. Und wenn Du zu mir sagst: „zum Wahrsein gelangst du in Umsicht“,
dann sprichst Du zu mir, nicht ohne dass ich (Dir) gehorsam wäre.
Lass mich aufstehen, (schon) bevor mir Erhörung/Gehorsam zuteil geworden ist,
begleitet von Reichtum gewährender Belohnung,
welche im vorteilhaften (Fall) die Belohnungen mit der Waage verteilen wird.

43,13. *spəntəm aṭ 9βā mazdā mājīhī ahurā*
hyaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ managhā
arəθā vōizdyāi kāmahyā tām mōi datā
darəgahyā yaoš yām vā naēcīš dārəšt itē
vairiyā stōiš yā 9βahmī xšaθrōi vācī

43,13. I realize that you are beneficent, O Wise Lord,
when one serves me with good thought.
Pay heed to the objects of my longing. This you have imparted to me,
(the longing) for a long life, which nobody can oblige you to comply with.
(and) for a desirable property, which is said (to be) in your power.

43,13. Ich erkenne Dich als segensreich, o Weiser Herr,
wenn man mir mit gutem Gedanken aufwartet.
Achtet auf die Ziele meiner Sehnsucht. Diese habt Ihr mir vermittelt,
(die Sehnsucht) nach langem Leben, die zu erfüllen Euch niemand zwingen kann,
(und) die nach wünschenswertem Besitz, von dem es heißt, er (liege) in Deiner Macht.

43,14. *hyaṭ nā friyāi vāēdāmnō isvā daidīt*
maibyō mazdā tavā rafənō frāxšnənəm
hyaṭ 9βā xšaθrā ašāt hacā fraštā
uzirəidyāi azē sarədanā sōnghahyā
maṭ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi mazaθrā marəntī

43,14. What a man who is propertied (and) has command would grant a friend,
(grant) me, O Wise One, your prudent support,
which one, through your power, obtains in accordance with truth.
Let me arise to chase the defiers of (your) sentence
(supported) by all those who recite your mantras.

43,14. Was ein begüterter (und) befähigter Mann einem Freund gewähren würde,
(gewähre) mir Deine umsichtige Unterstützung, O Weiser,
die einer durch Deine Macht in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein erwirbt.
Lass mich aufstehen, um die Verächter (Deiner) Verkündung zu verjagen,
(unterstützt) von all denen, die Deine Mantras rezitieren.

43,15. *spəntəm aṭ 9βā mazdā mājīhī ahurā*
hyaṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ managhā
daxšaṭ ušyāi tušnā maitiš vahištā
nōiṭ nā pourūš drəgvatō xyāt cixšnušō
aṭ tōi vīspāng aṅgrəng ašaonō ādarē

43,15. I realize that you are beneficent, O Wise Lord,
when one serves me with good thought.
An appeased mind suits best the sensitive one.
The/a man should not try to satisfy the many deceitful.
These call all the harmful persons "truthful."

43,15. Ich erkenne Dich als segensreich, o Weiser Herr,
wenn man mir mit gutem Gedanken aufwartet.
Ein besänftigtes Gemüt taugt dem Verständigen am besten.
Nicht suche der/ein Mann die vielen Lügner zufrieden zu stellen.
Diese bezeichnen all die Bösen als „wahrhaft“.

43,16. *aṭ ahurā hvō mainyūm zaraθuštrō*
vərəntē mazdā yastē ciścā spəništō
astvaṭ ašəm xyāt uštānā aojōnghvaṭ
xʷəng.darəsōi xšaθrōi xyāt armaitiš
ašm syaoθanaiš vohu daidī manahša

43,16. O Lord, this Zarathushtra chooses any (manifestation) of the spirit that (is) your most beneficent one, O Wise One. May osseous/material truth be (available,) strong through vitality, may right-mindedness abide in the sunlit dominion, may she/it grant, through good thought, reward by/for actions.

43,16. O Herr, dieser Zarathushtra wählt jegliche (Äußerung) des Geistes, der Dein segensreichster (ist,) o Weiser. Knochenhaftes/materielles Wahrsein sei (verfügbar,) stark durch Lebenskraft, Rechtgesinntheit möge im sonnigen Machtbereich verweilen, durch guten Gedanken gewähre sie Belohnung durch/für Handlungen.

Yasna 44

44,1. *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
nəmanhō ā yaθā nəmā xšməvatō
mazdā friyāi θβāvəsa xšyāt mavaitē
aṭ nā ašā friyā dazdyāi hākurənā
yaθā nā ā vohū jimaṭ manahša

44,1. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord: How the reverence/greeting of one such as you (will be shown) in return of (my) reverence/greeting, one such as you may tell a friend such as me, O Wise One. We want, indeed, to learn from our friend (and) partner how He/one will come to us with good thought.

44,1. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr: Welcherart die Verehrung/Gruß eines wie Ihr in Erwiderung (meiner) Verehrung/Gruß (sein wird,) möge der so wie Du dem Freund so wie mir kundtun, o Weiser. Durch Wahrsein wollen wir ja von unserem Freund (und) Partner erfahren, wie Er/man zu uns mit gutem Gedanken kommen wird.

44,2. *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā aṇhəuš vahištahyā paourvīm
kāθā sūidyāi yā ī paitišāt
hvō zī ašā spəntō irixtəm vīspōibyō
hārō mainyū ahūm.biš urvaθō mazdā

44,2. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord: What about the foundation of the best existence?

For the one who, to (our) benefit/salvation, will restore the (conditions) wished for, (being) beneficent through truth retains by his spirit the outcome of all (thoughts, words, and actions,) the healer of the existence world (and) ally. (that are you.) O Wise One.

44,2. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr: Wie beschaffen ist die Grundlage der besten Existenz? Denn derjenige, der zu (unserem) Wohl/Vorteil die erwünschten (Verhältnisse) wiederherstellen wird, (der) segensreich durch Wahrsein das Ergebnis von allen (Gedanken, Worten und Handlungen) mit seinem Geist festhält, der Lebensheiler/Weltheiler (und) Bundesgenosse, (der bist Du,) o Weiser.

44,3. *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kasnā zaθā ptā ašahyā pouruyō
kasnā xʷəng strəmcā dāt advānəm
kā yā mā uxšyeitī nərəfsaitī θβaṭ
tāciṭ mazdā vasəmi anyācā vīduyē

44,3. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord: Who, by procreation, (is) the primal father of truth? Who fixed the course of the sun and the stars? Who (is he) through whom the moon waxes (now) and wanes later? These very things and others I wish to know, O Wise One.

44,3. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr: Wer (ist) durch Zeugung der uranfängliche Vater des Wahrseins? Wer legte den Weg der Sonne und der Sterne fest? Wer (ist es,) durch den der Mond (jetzt) zunimmt und später abnimmt? Gerade diese Dinge und andere begehre ich zu wissen, o Weiser.

44,4. *taṭ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kasnā dərətā zəmcā adō nabāscā
avapastōiš kā apō urvarāscā
kā vātāi dvəmaibyascā yaogəṭ āsū
kasnā vaṇhəuš mazdā dāmiš manahhō

44,4. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord: Who upholds the earth below and (prevents) the skies from falling, who (upholds) the waters and the plants? Who yokes the swift (teams) to the wind and to the clouds? Who is the founder of good thought, O Wise One?

44,4. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr: Wer hält die Erde unten und (bewahrt) das Himmelszelt vor dem Absturz, wer (erhält) die Wasser und die Pflanzen? Wer spannt dem Wind und den Wolken die schnellen (Gespanne) an?

Wer ist der Gründer des guten Gedankens, o Weiser?

44,5. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kā huvāpā raocāscā dāt tāmāscā
kā huvāpā x afināmcā dāt zaēmācā
kā yā ušā arēm.pi9βā xšapācā
yā manao9rīš cazdōnghvaṇtəm arə9ahyā

44,5. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
 Which artist created/produces both light and darkness?
 Which artist created/produces both sleep and waking?
 Who (is he) through whom dawn, noon, and nightfall (succeed one another),
 reminding the conscientious one of his duty?

44,5. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
 Welcher Künstler schuf/schafft sowohl Licht als auch Finsternis?
 Welcher Künstler schuf/schafft sowohl Schlaf als auch Wachsein?
 Wer (ist es,) durch den Morgenröte, Mittagszeit und Abenddämmerung (einander
 folgen,)
 die den Gewissenhaften an seine Pflicht erinnern?

44,6. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
yā fravaxšyā yezī tā a9ā hai9yā
ašəm šyao9anāiš dəbāzaitī ārmaitiš
taibyō xša9rəm vohū cinas managhā
kaēibyō azīm rānyō.skəraitīm gam tašō

44,6. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord,
 if (the words) which I am about to pronounce are really true:
 “By (her) actions, right-mindedness consolidates truth;
 through good thought she assigns the power to you.”
 (Tell me:) For which (people) did you fashion the joy-giving fertile cow?

44,6. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr,
 wenn (die Worte,) die ich nun ausspreche, wirklich wahr sind:
 „Durch (ihre) Handlungen festigt die Rechtgesinntheit das Wahrsein;
 durch guten Gedanken weist sie Dir die Macht zu.“
 (Sag mir:) Für welche (Leute) hast Du die Freude bereitende fruchtbare Kuh gebildet?

44,7. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kā bərəxδam tāšt xša9rā maṭ ārmaitīm
kā uzamām cōrəṭ vyānayā pu9rəm pi9rē
azəm tāiš 9βā fraxšnī avāmī mazdā
spəntā mainyū vīspanam dātārəm

44,7. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
 Who, by his power, fashioned esteemed right-mindedness?
 Who gets a son excellent in vitality for a father?

With these (offerings) I prudently refresh you, O Wise One,
 (you who,) by beneficent spirit, (are) the creator of all (things).

44,7. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
 Wer bildete durch seine Macht die geschätzte Rechtgesinntheit?
 Wer verschafft einem Vater einen durch Vitalität herausragenden Sohn?
 Umsichtig labe ich Dich mit diesen (Opfergaben,) o Weiser,
 (Dich, der Du) durch segensreichen Geist der Schöpfer aller (Dinge bist).

44,8. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
məndāidyāi yā tōi mazdā ādištiš
yācā vohū uxδā frašī managhā
yācā ašā aṇhəuš arəm vaēidiyāi
kā mā uruvā vohū urvāxšaṭ āgəma[t.]tā

44,8. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord,
 in order for me to note in my mind, O Wise One, your instruction
 and the statements on which I held counsel with good thought
 and on which (I did so) with truth, with a view to a proper knowledge of (the means of)
 existence:

On which (way) shall my soul proceed toward the goods (already) arrived?

44,8. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr,
 damit ich mir, o Weiser, Deine Anweisung einpräge
 und die Aussagen, über die ich mich mit dem guten Gedanken beraten habe
 und (ebenso) mit dem Wahrsein im Hinblick auf angemessene Kenntnis der
 Existenz(mittel):

Auf welchem (Weg) soll meine Seele auf die (bereits) eingetroffenen Güter zugehen?

44,9. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
ka9ā mōi yam yaoš daēnam [yaož]dānē
yam hudānaos paitišə saxyāt xša9rahyā
ərəšvā xša9rā 9βāvəš aš.īštiš mazdā
hadəmōi ašā vohucā šyās managhā

44,9. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
 How would the Lord of Power announce to me which view/view-soul
 – that of a generous (person) – I can purify for my welfare,
 the one such as you, O Wise One, of much command by his high power,
 dwelling at (his) residence along with truth and good thought?

44,9. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
 Wie würde mir der Herr der Macht die Anschauung/Schausee
 – die eines Großzügigen – verkünden, die ich mir zum Heil gewinnen kann,
 der so wie Du, o Weiser, von großer Verfügungsgewalt durch seine hohe Macht,
 der mit Wahrsein und gutem Gedanken an (seinem) Wohnsitz wohnt?

44,10. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*

*taṃ daēnaṃ yā hātāṃ vahištā
yā mōi gaēθā aša frādōiṭ hacāmnā
āmatōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanā əraš daidyat
maṣyā cistōiš θβā īstīš usn mazdā*

44,10. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
Does the vigor of my insight (inspired) by you, O Wise One,
discern properly that view/religion which is the best of those who exist
and which could further my herds in harmony with truth –
(and does it discern) at will actions (inspired) by statements of right-mindedness?

44,10. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Erkennt die durch Dich (inspirierte) Kraft meiner Einsicht, o Weiser,
die Anschauung/Religion richtig, welche die beste der Seienden ist
und welche im Einklang mit dem Wahrsein meine Herden fördern könnte –
(und erkennt sie) wunschgemäß die durch die Aussagen der Rechtgesinntheit
(inspirierten) Handlungen?

*44,11. taṭ θβā pərəsā əraš mōi vaocā ahurā
kaθā tāng ā vījāmyāt ārmaitiš
yaēibyō mazdā θβōi vašyetē daēnā
azām tōi āiš pouruyō fravōivide
vīspāng anyāng mainyēuš spasyā dvaēšaṇhā*

44,11. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
How could right-mindedness spread over those
to whom your view/religion is proclaimed, O Wise One?
By these (offerings) I present myself to you (as being) your foremost one.
Look upon all others with the hostility of (your) spirit.

44,11. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wie könnte sich Rechtgesinntheit über die verbreiten,
denen Deine Anschauung/Religion verkündet wird, o Weiser?
Mit diesen (Darbietungen) zeige ich mich Dir (als) Dein Erster.
Alle anderen betrachte Du mit der Feindschaft (Deines) Geistes.

*44,12. taṭ θβā pərəsā əraš mōi vaocā ahurā
kə ašavā yāiš pərəsāi drəgvā vā
katārām ā angrō vā hvō vā angrō
yē mā drəgvā θβā savā paitī.əratē
ciyāṇ^hhiṭ hvō nōiṭ ayām angrō mainyetē*

44,12. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
Who is truthful? (Those/You) with whom I wish to hold counsel, or the deceitful one?
Which of the two (applies)? (Is the truthful one) harmful or is that one harmful
who, being deceitful, (intends) to stop your benefactions?
Evidently, (it is) that (deceitful) one, not this (truthful) one, (who) harmfully intends (to
stop them).

44,12. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wer ist wahrhaft? (Diejenigen/Ihr,) mit denen ich mich beraten will, oder der Lügner?
Was von beiden (trifft zu)? (Ist der Wahrhafte) böse oder ist jener böse,
der als Lügner (darauf ausgeht.) Deine Wohltaten aufzuhalten?
Offensichtlich geht doch jener (Lügner,) nicht dieser (Wahrhafte,) böselich darauf aus
(sie aufzuhalten).

*44,13. taṭ θβā pərəsā əraš mōi vaocā ahurā
kaθā drujām nīš ahmat ā [nīš.]nāšāmā
tāng ā avā yōi asruštōiš pərənāṇhō
nōiṭ ašahyā ādīvyeiṇtī hacānā
nōiṭ frasayā vaṇhəuš cāxnarā manāṇhō*

44,13. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
How can we remove deceit from our midst,
away/down toward those who, full of disobedience,
neither strive for the attachment of truth
nor take pleasure in the consultation of good thought?

44,13. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wie können wir die Lüge aus unserer Mitte entfernen,
fort/hinab zu denen, die des Ungehorsams voll
weder nach der Zuneigung des Wahrseins streben
noch sich der Beratung des guten Gedankens erfreuen?

*44,14. taṭ θβā pərəsā əraš mōi vaocā ahurā
kaθā ašāi drujām diyaṃ zastayō
nī hīm mərəždyāi θβahyā māθrāiš sāṇghahyā
āmavaitīm sinām dāvōi drəgvasū
ā īš dvaššāng mazdā [a]nāšē aštascā*

44,14. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
How could I deliver deceit into the hands of truth,
to wipe it down by the mantras of your sentence,
to let an impetuous weapon come down upon the deceitful
to bring ill and harm over them, O Wise One?

44,14. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wie könnte ich die Lüge dem Wahrsein in die Hände liefern,
damit es sie hinunterfege mit den Mantras Deines Urteilsspruchs,
damit es seine ungestüme Waffe auf die Lügner herablenke,
um Not und Übel über sie zu bringen, o Weiser?

*44,15. taṭ θβā pərəsā əraš mōi vaocā ahurā
yezi ahyā aša pōi mat xšayehī
hyaṭ hām spādā anaocaṇhā jamaētē
avāiš urvātāiš yā tū mazdā dīdərəžō
kuθrā ayā kahmāi vananām dadā*

44,15. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord,
if you are able to do so in order to protect me through truth:
When the two warring hosts meet
on the orders which you wish to be enforced,
to which side of the two, to whom will you grant victory, O Wise One?

44,15. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr,
falls Du es kannst, um mich durch Wahrsein zu beschützen:
Wenn die beiden gegnerischen Heere aufeinander stoßen
nach den Geboten, die Du durchzusetzen wünschst,
welcher Seite von den beiden, wem wirst Du den Sieg verleihen, O Weiser?

44,16. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kā vərəθrəm.jā 9βā pōi sənghā yōi hən̄tī
ciθrā mōi dām ahūm.biš ratūm cīzdī
aṭ hōi vohū sərəošō jaṇtū manəhā
mazdā ahmāi yahmāi vaši kahmāicī

44,16. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
Who (is) the victorious (hero able) to protect, by your sentence, those who exist?
Direct a judge (to put down) bright things in my house, O healer of the existence/world,
(and) let, through good thought, hearing/obedience come to him,
to that one to whomsoever you wish, O Wise One.

44,16. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, O Herr:
Wer (ist) der sieghafte (Held, der fähig wäre,) durch Deinen Urteilsspruch die Seienden
zu beschützen?
Weise einen Richter an, glänzende Dinge in meinem Haus (niederzulegen,) o
Lebensheiler/Weltheiler,
(und) lass ihm durch guten Gedanken Erhöhung/Gehorsam zukommen,
demjenigen, dem auch immer Du willst, o Weiser.

44,17. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā mazdā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ
āskaitīm xšmākam hyaṭcā mōi xyāt vāxš aēšō
sarōi būzdyāi haurvātā amərətātā
avā maθrā yō rāθəmō aṣāt hacā

44,17. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
How can I achieve enthusiasm in accordance with you, O Wise One,
(achieve) your attachment and that my voice be vigorous (enough)
to secure (for myself) integrity and immortality for shelter
through that mantra which operates in accordance with truth?

44,17. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wie kann ich in Übereinstimmung mit Euch Begeisterung wecken, o Weiser,
Eure Zuneigung (wecken) und (erreichen,) dass meine Stimme kraftvoll (genug) sei,
(mir) Unverletzlichkeit und Unsterblichkeit als Schutzschild zu sichern

durch dasjenige Mantra, das in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein wirkt.

44,18. *aṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
kaθā aṣā taṭ mīždam hanānī
dasā aspā aršon>vaitī uštrəmca
hyaṭ mōi mazdā api(n>vaitī haurvātā
amərətātā yaθā hī taibyō dāghā

44,18. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
What about? Will I, through truth, win that prize,
– ten mares led by a stallion, and one camel –,
(the prize,) O Wise One, that makes available to me integrity/nectar
and immortality/ambrosia as you take them for yourself?

44,18. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wie? Werde ich durch Wahrsein diesen Preis verdienen,
– zehn Stuten geführt von einem Hengst und ein Kamel –,
(den Preis,) o Weiser, der mir Unverletzlichkeit/Nektar
und Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia verfügbar macht, wie Du sie für Dich selbst nimmst?

44,19. *taṭ 9βā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*
yastaṭ mīždam hanəntē nōiṭ dāitī
yō īt ahmāi ərəžuxdā nā dāitē
kā tām ahyā maēniš aṇhaṭ pouruyē
vīdvā avam yā īm aṇhaṭ apēmā

44,19. This I ask you, tell me truly, O Lord:
He who does not give that prize to the winner,
to the man who has secured it for himself by a true statement,
what punishment will befall that (refuser) in (his) first (existence)?
The (punishment) that will befall him (for that) at last I (myself) know.

44,19. Das frage ich Dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Herr:
Wer diesen Preis dem Gewinner nicht gibt,
dem Mann, der sich ihn durch eine ehrliche Aussage erworben hat,
welche Strafe wird diesen (Verweigerer) in (seiner) ersten (Existenz) treffen?
Jene (Strafe), die ihn (deswegen) zuletzt treffen wird, weiß ich (selbst).

44,20. *ciθanā mazdā huxšaθrā daēvā āgharā*
aṭ īt pərəsā yōi pišyeiṇtī aēibyō kam
yāiš gam karapā usixšcā aēšamāi dātā
yācā kavā ʾnmānē urūdōyātā
nōiṭ hīm [m]jazān aṣā vāstrəm frādaijhe

44,20. O Wise One, have there (ever) been good-ruling Daēvas/devils?
But this I ask (those) who, to please them, pay attention to those (words)
by which the Karapan/lie-priest and the Usij take (hold of) the cow for furious treatment
and which the Kavi/prince pours forth to the wind.

They do not drive the (cow to the pasture) to further this with truth.

44,20. O Weiser, hat es (jemals) gut herrschende Daēvas/Teufel gegeben?
Das frage ich aber (diejenigen,) die ihnen zuliebe auf jene (Worte) achten,
mit denen der Karapan Lügenpriester und der Usij die Kuh zu rasender Misshandlung
(in Besitz) nehmen

und die der Kavi/Fürst dem Wind vorjammert.

Nicht treiben sie die (Kuh auf die Weide,) um diese durch Wahrsein zu fördern.

Yasna 45

45,1. *aṭ fravaxšyā nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā*
yaēcā asnāt yaēcā dūrāt išaθā
nū im vīspā ciθrē zī mazdāñhō.dūm
nōiṭ daibitīm duš.sastiš ahūm mərəšyāt
akā varanā drəgvā hizvā āvarətō

45,1. I will proclaim, listen now, hear now,
O you who are approaching from near and far.
Take all note now of the existence/world, for it is bright.
May the blasphemer not destroy it for a second time,
through evil choice, the deceitful one, invited/coopted by the tongue.

45,1. Verkünden will ich, nun hört, nun vernehmt,
o Ihr, die Ihr Euch von nah und fern nähert,
Nun nehmt alle die Existenz/Welt wahr, denn sie ist glanzvoll.
Möge der Lästler sie nicht zum zweiten Mal zerstören,
durch üble Wahl, der Lügner, von der Zunge eingeladen/hinzugewählt.

45,2. *aṭ fravaxšyā aṇhəuš mainyū pouruyē*
yayā spanyā ūtī mravaṭ yim angrām
nōiṭ nā manā nōiṭ sənghā nōiṭ xratavō
naēdā varanā nōiṭ uxδā naēdā šyaoθanā
nōiṭ daēnā nōiṭ uruvānō hacaiṇtē

45,2. I will proclaim the two spirits (active) in the first (period) of (one's) existence/life,
the more beneficent one of whom shall address the harmful one as follows:
"Neither our thoughts nor our sentences nor our intellects
nor our choices/preferences nor our statements nor our actions
nor our views nor our souls are in harmony."

45,2. Verkünden will ich die beiden Geister (aktiv) in der ersten (Periode) der
Existenz/Leben (einer Person),
von denen der segensreichere den bösen folgendermaßen ansprechen soll:
„Weder unsere Gedanken noch unsere Urteilssprüche noch unsere Intellekte
noch unsere Wahlen/Vorlieben noch unsere Aussagen noch unsere Handlungen
noch unsere Anschauungen noch unsere Seelen sind in Einklang.“

45,3. *aṭ fravaxšyā aṇhəuš ahyā pourvīm*

y«a» mōi vīdvā mazdā vaocaṭ ahurō
yōi im vā nōiṭ iθā mərəθrəm varəšəntī
yaθā im mānāicā vaocacā
aēibyō aṇhəuš avōi aṇhaṭ apōmām

45,3. I will proclaim the first/primal (mantra) of this existence/world,
(the mantra) which the Wise Lord, the Knowing/Initiated One, tells me.
To those who do not practice your mantra
in the way I think and pronounce it,
"woe" will be the last (word) of (their) existence/life.

45,3. Verkünden will ich das erste/uranfängliche (Mantra) dieser Existenz/Welt,
(das Mantra,) das mir der Weise Herr, der Wissende/Initiierte sagt.
Für diejenigen, die Euer Mantra nicht so anwenden,
wie ich es denke und ausspreche,
wird „Wehe“ das letzte (Wort ihrer) Existenz/Leben sein.

45,4. *aṭ fravaxšyā aṇhəuš ahyā vahištām*
ašāt hacā mazdā vaēdā yē im dāt
ptarēm vaṇhəuš varəzayantō manəṇhō
aṭ hōi dugādā hušyaoθanā ārmaitiš
nōiṭ diβžaidiyāi vīspā.hišas ahurō

45,4. I will proclaim the best (thought) of this existence/world.
In accordance with truth I know (that one) who created it, O Wise One,
(I know you,) the father of juicy good thought,
but His daughter (is) right-mindedness of good actions.
The all-recording Lord is undecivable.

45,4. Verkünden will ich den besten (Gedanken) dieser Existenz/Welt.
In Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein kenne ich (den,) der ihn schuf, o Weiser,
(ich kenne Dich,) den Vater des saftvollen guten Gedankens,
doch Seine Tochter (ist) die Rechtgesinntheit von guten Handlungen.
Der alles im Gedächtnis bewahrende Herr ist nicht zu täuschen.

45,5. *aṭ fravaxšyā hyaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntō.təmō*
vacē srūidyāi hyaṭ marətaēibyō vahištām
yōi mōi ahmāi sərəošəm dan cayascā
upā.jimən haurvātā amərətātā
vaṇhəuš mainyəuš šyaoθanāiš mazdā ahurō

45,5. I will proclaim (the word) which the Most Beneficent One told me,
the word which, for the mortals, is the best to listen to.
"(All those) who show me obedience to it
will attain integrity and immortality."
By actions of good spirit the Lord (proves to be) mindful (of them).

45,5. Verkünden will ich (das Wort,) das mir der Segensreichste sagte,

das Wort, das zu vernehmen für die Sterblichen das beste ist.
 „(Alle diejenigen,) die mir Gehorsam ihm gegenüber zeigen,
 werden Unverletzlichkeit und Unsterblichkeit erlangen.“
 Durch Handlungen des guten Geistes (erweist sich) der Herr als (ihrer) eingedenk.

45,6. *aṭ fravaxšyā vīspanam mazištəm*
stavas ašā yā hudā yōi hāntī
spəntā mainyū sraotū mazdā ahurō
yehyā vahmē vohū frašī managhā
ahyā xratū frō mā sāstū vahištā

45,6. I will proclaim the Greatest One of all,
 praising through truth (Him) who (is) munificent toward the existing.
 Let the Wise Lord, at whose laudation
 I hold counsel with good thought, listen (to it) by beneficent spirit.
 Let Him teach me the best (things) through His intellect.

45,6. Verkünden will ich den Größten von allen,
 mit Wahrsein (Ihn) preisend, der gegenüber den Seienden freigebig (ist).
 Lasst (es) den Weisen Herrn, bei dessen Lob
 ich mich mit dem guten Gedanken berate, durch segensreichen Geist vernehmen.
 Lasst Ihn durch Seinen Intellekt mich die besten (Dinge) lehren.

45,7. *yehyā savā išāntī rādanhō*
yōi zī juvā āgharēcā buvaiṇticā
aməratāitī ašaonō uruvā aēšō
utayūtā yā nərəš sādṛā drəgvatō
tācā xšaθrā mazdā dāmiš ahurō

45,7. The benefits of whose care/order (those) will put into effect
 who are living (now) and have existed and will exist (at the same time) –
 the soul of (that) truthful one (is/will be) vigorous in immortality
 (and) in youthfulness. The griefs (concerning) the men of the deceitful one
 and those (benefits) the Wise Lord established by (His) power.

45,7. Die Vorteile von dessen Fürsorge/Anordnung werden (diejenigen) in Kraft setzen,
 die (jetzt) leben und gewesen sind und (zugleich) sein werden –
 (dieses) Wahrhaften Seele ist/wird sein kraftvoll in Unsterblichkeit
 (und) in Jugendlichkeit. Die die Mannen des Lügners (treffenden) Kummernisse
 und diese (Vorteile) setzte der Weise Herr durch (Seine) Macht fest.

45,8. *təm nā staotāiš nəmanhō ā.vīvarəšō*
nū zīt cašmainī viyādarəsəm
vaṇhəuš mainyəuš šyaoθanahyā uxδax'yācā
vīduš ašā yīm mazdām ahurəm
aṭ hōi vahmāng dāmānē garō nidāmā

45,8. Trying to invite Him to us by praises of reverence

I have caught sight (of Him) in (my) eye just now,
 (of Him,) the Wise Lord, (myself) being an expert through truth
 on the action and statement of good spirit.
 Thus we lay down for Him laudations in the house of welcome.

45,8. Bemüht, Ihn mit Preisliedern der Verehrung zu uns einzuladen,
 habe ich (Ihn) soeben in (meinem) Auge erblickt,
 (Ihn,) den Weisen Herrn, (ich,) durch Wahrsein kundig
 der Handlung und der Aussage des guten Geistes.
 So legen wir Ihm Lobpreisungen im Haus des Willkommens nieder.

45,9. *təm nā vohū maṭ managhā cixšnušō*
yā nā usən cōrəṭ spəncā aspəncā
mazdā xšaθrā varəzī nā dyāt ahurō
pasuš vīrəng ahmākəng fradaθai.ā
vaṇhəuš ašā haozəθβāt ā managhō

45,9. Him I try to satisfy by our good thought,
 (Him) who at will produces for us fortune and misfortune.
 May the Lord, wise through His power, place us in juice
 to further ours, cattle and men,
 on account of the nobility of good thought (attached) to truth.

45,9. Ihn mit unserem guten Gedanken zufrieden zu stellen, bin ich bemüht,
 (Ihn,) der uns nach Belieben Heil und Unheil schafft.
 Weise durch Seine Macht möge uns der Herr in Saft und Kraft versetzen,
 um die Unseren zu fördern, Vieh und Mann,
 auf Grund des Adels des mit dem Wahrsein (verbundenen) guten Gedankens.

45,10. *təm nā yasnāiš āmatōiš mimayžō*
yā anmənī mazdā srāvī ahurō
hyaṭ hōi ašā vohucā cōišṭ managhā
xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā aməratātā
ahmāi stōi dan tavišī utayūitī

45,10. Him I try to present with sacrifices of our right-mindedness,
 (Him,) the Wise Lord, who is heard in the wind.
 In the power, which one entrusts to Him by truth and good thought,
 the (truthful) shall place integrity/nectar and immortality/ambrosia,
 bodily strength (and) youthfulness, to belong to Him.

45,10. Ihn mit den Opfern unserer Rechtgesinntheit zu beschenken, bin ich bemüht,
 (Ihn,) den Weisen Herrn, den man im Wind hört.
 In die Macht, die man Ihm durch Wahrsein und guten Gedanken anvertraut,
 sollen die (Wahrhaften) Integrität/Nektar und Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia,
 Körperkraft (und) Jugendfrische legen, Ihm zum Besitz.

45,11. *yastā daēvəng aparō mašiyascā*

tarā.mastā yōi īm tarā.mainyaṇtā
anyāṇg ahmāt yā hōi arām mainyātā
saošyaṇtō dāng patōiš spəntā daēnā
uruvaθō brātā ptā vā mazdā ahurā

45,11. The adherent who, (inspired) by Him, has raised his mind above Daēvas/devils and (evil) mortals, who fancy themselves to be above Him, those other than that one who is right-minded toward Him – by the beneficent view of the landlord, the benefactor/savior, (he should be cared for like an) ally, a brother, or (even his) father, O Wise Lord.

45,11. Der Anhänger, der von Ihm (inspiriert,) sich über Daēvas/Teufel und (böse) Sterbliche gedanklich erhoben hat, die sich über Ihn erhaben dünken, die verschieden sind von demjenigen, der Ihm rechtgesinnt ist – von der segensreichen Anschauung des Hausherrn, des Wohltäters/Retters, (sollte der umsorgt werden) wie ein Verbündeter, Bruder oder (gar sein) Vater, o Weiser Herr.

Yasna 46

46,1. *kām nəmōi zām kuθrā nəmōi ayenī*
pairī x'aētəuš airyamnascā dadaiī
nōiṭ mā xšnāuš yā vərəzənā hēcā(nē)
naēdā daxyəuš yōi sātārō drəgvaṇtō
kaθā θβā xšnaošaī mazdā ahurā

46,1. Which piece of land shall I pasture, where shall I go to pasture? They keep me off from family and tribe; neither does the community that I wish to join satisfy me nor do so the deceitful tyrants of the land. How shall I satisfy you, O Wise Lord?

46,1. Welches Stück Land soll ich beweiden, wohin soll ich gehen, um zu weiden? Sie halten mich fern von Familie und Stamm; weder die Gemeinde, der ich mich anschließen will, stellt mich zufrieden noch die lügenhaften Gewalthaber des Landes. Wie soll ich Dich zufrieden stellen, o Weiser Herr?

46,2. *vaēdā taṭ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō*
mā kamnašvā hyaṭcā kamnānā ahmī
gərəzōi tōi ā iṭ [a]vaēnā ahurā
rafədrām cagvā hyaṭ friyō friyāi daidīṭ
āxsō vaṇhəuš aša ištīm managhō

46,2. I know why I am vigorless, O Wise One: (It is) because of my small livestock and because I (only) have few men. I complain to you, look hither, O Lord,

extending (such) support as a friend would grant to a friend, look at the vigor of good thought (inspired) by truth.

46,2. Ich weiß, warum ich kraftlos bin, o Weiser: (Es ist) wegen meines geringen Viehbestands und weil ich (nur) wenige Männer habe. Ich klage Dir, schau hierher, o Herr, (solche) Unterstützung bietend, wie sie ein Freund einem Freund gewähren würde, betrachte die durch Wahrsein (inspirierte) Kraft des guten Gedankens.

46,3. *kadā mazdā yōi uxšānō asnaṃ*
aṇhəuš darəθrāi frō ašahyā [fr]ārəntē
vərəzdāiš səṇghāiš saošyaṇtām xratavō
kaēibyō ūθāi vohū jimaṭ managhā
maibyō θβā sastrāi vərənē ahurā

46,3. When, O Wise One, will the bulls of the days/rosy dawn rise over the existence/world in order (for people) to take hold of truth (rising) with increased/strict sentences, (those) intellects of the benefactors/saviors? To which (people) will one come with good thought (to provide them) with fat? I choose/ask you to tell me (that,) O Lord.

46,3. Wann, o Weiser, werden die Stiere der Tage/Morgenröten über der Existenz/Welt aufgehen, damit (man) das Wahrsein in Besitz bringe, (aufgehend) mit vermehrten/nachhaltigen Urteilsprüchen, (diese) Intellekte der Wohltäter/Retter? Zu welchen (Leuten) wird man mit gutem Gedanken kommen, um (sie) mit Fett (zu versorgen)? Ich wähle/bitte Dich, mir (das) zu sagen, o Herr.

46,4. *aṭ tāng drəgvā yāṇg ašahyā važdrəṇg pāt*
gā frərətōiš šōiθrahyā vā daxyəuš vā
dužazōbā ḥas x'aīš šyaoθanāiš ahəmustō
yastəm xšaθrāt mazdā mōiθaṭ jyātəuš vā
hvō tāng frō.gā paθmāng hucistōiš caraṭ

46,4. Yet the deceitful one prevents those drivers/conveyers of truth, (those) oxen/bulls, from rising over county/district and land, being of bad invocation (and) unpleasant by his actions. He who deprives him of his power and livelihood, O Wise One, will render those (oxen/bulls) the herd leaders of the flight of the good insight.

46,4. Doch der Lügner hält diese Fahrer/Überbringer des Wahrseins, (diese) Rinder/Bullen, vom Aufgehen über Gau und Land ab, von übler Anrufung (und) unerfreulich durch seine Handlungen. Wer ihn seiner Macht und seines Lebensunterhalts beraubt, o Weiser, der wird diese (Rinder/Bullen) zu Herdenführern des Flugs der guten Einsicht machen.

46,5. *yā vā xšayaš adas drītā ayaṇtəm*

*urvātōiš vā huzāntuš miθrōibyō vā
rašnā juvas yā ašavā dragvañtəm
vīcīrō has taṭ frō x'aētavē mruyāt
uzuiθyoī im mazdā srunyaṭ ahurā*

46,5. A master who would put up at his home one approaching (him to seek refuge,
– (the newcomer is) a nobleman (changing over) from (his) confession and bonds –
a truthful one living lawfully (thus putting up) a deceitful person,
being competent he may tell that (his) family
in order to save the (newcomer) from bloodshed, O Wise Lord.

46,5. Ein Eigentümer, der einen (Zuflucht suchenden) Ankömmling in seinem Haus
aufnehmen möchte,
– (der Ankömmling ist) ein Vornehmer, der sich von (seinem) Bekenntnis und seinen
Bindungen (lossagt) –
als gesetzmäßig lebender Wahrhafter (so) einen Lügner (aufnehmend)
möge er als dazu Befugter das (seiner) Familie sagen,
um den (Ankömmling) vor Blutvergießen zu bewahren, o Weiser Herr.

*46,6. aṭ yastəm nōiṭ nā isəmnō āiyāt
drūjō hvō dāman haēθahyā gāt
hvō zī drəgvā yā drəgvāitē vahištō
hvō ašavā yahmāi ašavā friyō
hyaṭ daēnā paouruyā dā ahurā*

46,6. Yet that man who should not approach him to seek (refuge),
in his search for partnership he shall betake himself to the places of deceit.
That one indeed (counts as) deceitful who is very good/dear to the deceitful one,
that one (counts as) truthful to whom the truthful one is a friend,
as you established the views/religions (to be) fundamental, O Lord.

46,6. Der Mann aber, der nicht als (Zuflucht) Suchender zu ihm kommen sollte,
der soll sich auf seiner Suche nach Partnerschaft zu den Stätten der Lüge begeben.
Der nämlich (gilt als) Lügner, der dem Lügner sehr gut/lieb ist,
der (gilt als) wahrhaft, dem der Wahrhafte Freund ist,
da Du die Anschauungen/Religionen (als) grundlegend eingerichtet hast, o Herr.

*46,7. kəmnā mazdā mavaitē pāyūm dadā
hyaṭ mā drəgvā dīdarəšatā aēnañhē
anyēm θbahmāt āθrascā manañhascā
yayā šyaoθanāiš ašəm θraoštā ahurā
taṃ mōi dastvam daēnayāi fravaocā*

46,7. Yet whom do you assign as a guardian to one such as me, O Wise One,
when a deceitful person tries to get hold of me in order to outrage (me),
whom other than your fire and your thought,
by whose actions you nourish truth, O Lord?
Proclaim (the solution of) this riddle to my view/view-soul.

46,7. Wen aber bestimmst Du einem so wie mir als Behüter, o Weiser,
wenn ein Lügner mich festzuhalten sucht, um (an mir) zu freveln,
wen anders als Dein Feuer und Deinen Gedanken,
durch deren Handlungen Ihr das Wahrsein nährt, o Herr?
Verkünde meiner Anschauung/Schauseele (die Lösung) dieses Rätsels.

*46,8. yā vā mōi yā gaēθā dazdē aēnañhē
nōiṭ ahyā mā āθriš šyaoθanāiš frōsyāt
paitiyaogəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ dvaēšəṇhā
tanuvəm ā yā im hujyātōiš pāyāt
nōiṭ dužjyātōiš kaciṭ mazdā dvaēšəṇhā*

46,8. If one intends to outrage my herds,
then may no damage reach me through his actions.
May these come back to him, with hostility
(hitting) his body, and may they keep him off from a good life,
not from a bad life, all with hostility, O Wise One.

46,8. Wenn einer plant an meinen Herden zu freveln,
dann möge mich durch seine Handlungen kein Schaden erreichen.
Mögen diese mit Feindschaft auf ihn zurückfallen
(und) seinen Leib (treffen,) und mögen sie ihn vom guten Leben fern halten,
nicht vom schlechten Leben, alle mit Feindschaft, o Weiser.

*46,9. kə hvō yā mā arədrō cōiθaṭ pouruyō
yaθā θβā zəvištīm uzəmōhī
šyaoθanōi spəntəm ahurəm ašavanəm
yā tōi ašā yā ašāi gəuš tašā mraoṭ
išəntī mā tā tōi vohū manañhā*

46,9. Who (is) that efficient person who will be the first one to take note of
how I realized that you are the swiftest one,
the truthful Lord beneficent in action?
(The words) which the fashioner of the cow (speaks) to you through truth (and) which
he speaks to truth
about the one invigorating me, those (he speaks) to you with good thought.

46,9. Wer (ist) der Tüchtige, der als Erster zur Kenntnis nehmen wird,
wie ich Dich als den Schnellsten ermessen habe,
als den im Handeln segensreichen, wahrhaften Herrn?
(Die Worte,) die der Bildner der Kuh zu Dir durch Wahrsein (und) die er zum Wahrsein
spricht
über den mich Kräftigenden, die (spricht er) zu Dir mit gutem Gedanken.

*46,10. yā vā mōi nā gənā vā mazdā ahurā
dāyāt aṇhəuš yā tū vōistā vahištā
ašim ašāi vohū xšaθrəm manañhā
yaścā haxšāi xšmāvaṭəm vahmāi.ā*

frō tāiš vīspāiš cinvatō [fra]frā pərətūm

46,10. That man – or that woman –, O Wise Lord, who would grant to me (the things) which you know to be the best of the existence/world: reward for truth (and) power through good thought, and (all those) whom I succeed in impelling to (take part in) the laudation of those such as you, with all these I will cross over the accountant's bridge.

46,10. Der Mann – oder die Frau –, o Weiser Herr, der mir (die Dinge) gewähren sollte, die Du als die besten der Existenz/Welt kennst: Belohnung für Wahrsein (und) Macht durch guten Gedanken, und (alle), die zur (Teilnahme an der) Lobpreisung derer so wie Ihr anzuspornen mir gelingt, mit all denen werde ich die Brücke des Rechnungsführers überschreiten.

46,11. *xšaθrāiš yūjān karapanō kāvayascā
akāiš šyaoθanāiš ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašīm
yōng x'ə uruvā x'aēcā xraodaŋ daēnā
hyaŋ aibi.gəman yaθrā cinvatō pərətūš
yavōi vīspāi drūjō dāmānāi astayō*

46,11. By (their means of) power the Karapans/lie-priests and the Kavis/princes yoke the mortal one to bad actions in order to ruin (his) existence. Their own breath-soul and their own view-soul will make them shudder/tremble, when they arrive at the accountant's bridge, guests to the house of deceit for all time.

46,11. Durch (ihre) Macht(mittel) spannen die Karapans/Lügenpriester und Kavis/Fürsten den Sterblichen an schlechte Handlungen, um (seine) Existenz zu zerstören. Ihre eigene Atemseele und ihre eigene Schauseele wird sie erschauern/erzittern lassen, wenn sie an der Brücke des Rechnungsführers angekommen sind, für alle Zeit Gäste dem Haus der Lüge.

46,12. *hyaŋ us ašā naptiyaēšū nafšucā
tūrahyā [uz]jān friyānahyā aojiyaēšū
āmatōiš gaēθā frādō θaxšaŋhā
aŋ iš vohū hām.aibi.mōist manahhā
aēibyō rafəðrāi mazdā sastē ahurō*

46,12. When He, with truth, rises at the praiseworthy relatives and descendants of Tūra, son of Friya, who furthered the herds of right-mindedness with zeal, then the Wise Lord puts them together with good thought at (the reward) promised to support them.

46,12. Wenn Er sich mit Wahrsein bei den rühmenswerten

Verwandten und Nachkommen des Tūra, Sohns des Friya, erhebt, der die Herden der Rechtgesinntheit mit Eifer förderte, dann spannt sie der Weise Herr durch guten Gedanken an die zu (ihrer) Unterstützung versprochene (Belohnung).

46,13. *yā spitāməm zaraθuštrem rādaŋhā
marətaēšū xšnāuš hvō nā frasnūdyāi ərəθβō
aŋ hōi mazdā ahūm dadāt ahurō
ahmāi gaēθā vohū fradaŋ manahhā
təm vā ašā məhmaidī huš.haxāim*

46,13. That man among the mortals who satisfies Spitama Zarathushtra by (his) order/care is worth praising. The Wise Lord grants him existence, (and) He furthers his herds by good thought. We recognize him (to be) your good friend by truth.

46,13. Der Mann unter den Sterblichen, der den Spitama Zarathushtra durch (seine) Anordnung/Fürsorge zufrieden stellt, der Mann ist es wert, gerühmt zu werden.

Der Weise Herr gewährt ihm Existenz, (und) Er fördert seine Herden durch guten Gedanken. Wir erkennen ihn (als) Euren durch Wahrsein guten Freund.

46,14. *zaraθuštā kastē ašavā urvaθō
mazōi magāi kə vā frasnūdyāi vaštī
aŋ hvō kavā vīštāspō yāhī
yōngstū mazdā hadəmōi minas> ahurā
təng zbayā vaŋhəuš uxδāiš manahhō*

46,14. O Zarathushtra, who is your truthful ally for the great contribution? Who wishes to be praised? This Kavi/Prince Vishtāspa (wishes that) at the apportionment (of shares). Those whom you gather at (your) residence, O Wise Lord, those I wish to call by statements of good thought.

46,14. O Zarathushtra, wer ist dein wahrhafter Verbündeter für die große Spende? Wer will gerühmt werden? (Das will) dieser Kavi/Fürst Vishtāspa bei der Zuteilung (der Anteile). Die Du an (Deinem) Wohnsitz versammelst, o Weiser Herr, die will ich mit Aussagen des guten Gedankens rufen.

46,15. *haēcaŋ.aspā vaxšyā vā spitamāŋhō
hyaŋ dāθəng vīcayaθā adāθascā
tāiš yūš šyaoθanāiš ašəm xšmaibyā daduyē
yāiš datāiš paouruyāiš ahurahyā*

<The last line of the stanza was lost as early as in the subarchetype.>

46,15. O you Haēchataspa Spitamas, I will tell you now
that you shall discriminate between the just and the unjust.
You will secure truth for yourselves through those actions
which (follow) the primal laws of the Lord.

‘.....’

46,15. O ihr Haēchataspa Spitamas, ich will euch jetzt sagen,
dass ihr zwischen den Gerechten und den Ungerechten unterscheiden sollt.
Das Wahrsein werdet ihr euch durch diejenigen Handlungen sichern,
welche den uranfänglichen Gesetzen des Herrn (folgen).

‘.....’

46,16. *fərašaoštrā aθrā tū arədrāiš idī*
hvō.guvā tāiš yəng usvahī uštā stōi
yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš
yaθrā vaŋhəuš manəhō īštā xšaθrəm
yaθrā mazdā varədaməm šaēitī ahurō

46,16. O Frashaoshtira Hvōguva, come hither with the efficient ones,
whom we desire to be as desired (by themselves),
(come hither) where right-mindedness is in harmony with truth,
where the power is at command of good thought
(and) where the Wise Lord resides in prosperity –

46,16. O Frashaoshtira Hvōguva, komm hierher mit den Tüchtigen,
denen wir wünschen, dass es ihnen nach (ihrem) Wunsch ergehe,
(komm hierher,) wo Rechtgesinntheit im Einklang mit Wahrsein ist,
wo die Macht in der Befehlsgewalt des guten Gedankens ist
(und) wo der Weise Herr in Wohlstand wohnt –

46,17. *yaθrā vā afšmānī sənghānī*
nōit anafšmām dəjāmāspā hvō.guvā
hadā vəstā vahmāng səraošā rādanhō
yā vīcinaot dəθəmcā adāθəmcā
danrā manṭū ašā mazdā ahurō

46,17. (Come hither) where I will proclaim your accomplishments,
– no non-accomplishments, O Jāmāspa Hvōguva, –
(and,) therewith, laudations (ordered) by this your obedience to the advice (of that one)
who discriminates between the just one and the unjust one
through truth, His prudent counselor, (He,) the Wise Lord.

46,17. (Komm hierher,) wo ich eure Leistungen verkünden will,
– keine Versäumnisse, o Jāmāspa Hvōguva, –
(und) damit Lobpreisungen (angeordnet) durch diesen euren Gehorsam gegenüber dem
Rat (dessen),
der zwischen dem Gerechten und dem Ungerechten unterscheidet
durch Wahrsein, Seinen klugen Ratgeber, (Er,) der Weise Herr.

46,18. *yā maibyā yaoš ahmāi ascīt vahištā*
maxyā īštōiš vohū cōišəm manəhā
astəng ahmāi yā nā astāi daiditā
mazdā ašā xšmākom vārom xšnaošəmno
taṭ mōi xratəuš manəhascā viciθəm

46,18. To that one who is pure(-hearted) toward me, I for my part assign
through good thought the best (things I have) at my command,
(but) harm to that one who should intend to harm us,
O Wise One, satisfying your will by truth.
Such is the decision of my intellect and my thought.

46,18. Demjenigen, der mir gegenüber reinen (Herzens) ist, dem spreche ich meinerseits
durch guten Gedanken die besten (Dinge) in meiner Verfügungsgewalt zu,
(doch) Böses dem, der planen sollte, uns Böses zu tun,
O Weiser, indem ich Euren Wunsch durch Wahrsein befriedige.
Das ist die Entscheidung meines Intellekts und meines Gedankens.

46,19. *yā mōi ašāt haiθīm hacā varəšaitī*
zaraθuštrāi hyaṭ vasnā fərašō.təməm
ahmāi mīzdəm hanəntē parāhūm
manə.vistāiš maṭ vīspāiš gāvā azī
tācīt mōi šas tuvəm mazdā vāēdištō

46,19. (He) who, in accordance with truth, makes real to me,
to Zarathushtra, that which is most perfect in value,
to me who win a prize implying higher existence,
– two fertile cows along with all imaginable (things,) –
through that very (person) you appear to me (to be) the best provider, O Wise One.

46,19. (Derjenige,) der mir, dem Zarathushtra, in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein
verwirklichen wird, was an Wert am vollkommensten ist,
mir, der einen Preis gewinnt, der höhere Existenz bedeutet,
– zwei fruchtbare Kühe zusammen mit allen erdenklichen (Dingen,) –
durch ebenden scheinst Du mir der beste Besorger (zu sein,) o Weiser.

Yasna 47-50. Spəntāmainyush Gāthā

Yasna 47

47,1. *spəntā mainyū vahištācā manəhā*
hacā ašāt šyaoθanācā vacanācā
ahmāi dan haurvātā aməratātā
mazdā xšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō

47,1. With beneficent spirit and best thought,
with action and word in accordance with truth,
the (truthful) shall/will offer Him integrity/nectar and immortality/ambrosia.

The Lord (proves to be) mindful (of them) through power (and) right-mindedness.

47,1. Mit segensreichem Geist und bestem Gedanken,
mit Handlung und Wort in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein
sollen wollen Ihm (die Wahrhaften) Unverletzlichkeit Nektar und
Unsterblichkeit/Ambrosia darbringen.

Durch Macht (und) Rechtgesinntheit (erweist sich) der Herr (als ihrer) eingedenk.

47,2. *ahyā mainyēuš spāništahyā vahištām*
hizvā uxδaiš vaṇhəuš əəānū manəṇhō
āmatōiš zastōibyā šyaoθanā vərəzyaṭ
ōyā cistī hvō ptā ašahyā mazdā

47,2. The best (manifestation) of this most beneficent spirit,
the actions of right-mindedness (performed) with one's hands
(and inspired) by statements (spoken) by the tongue in pursuit of good thought
one performs with this insight: "He, the Wise One, (is) the father of truth."

47,2. Die beste (Äußerung) dieses höchst segensreichen Geistes,
die Handlungen der Rechtgesinntheit (vollbracht) mit den Händen
(und inspiriert) durch mit der Zunge in Verfolgung des guten Gedankens
(gesprochenen) Aussagen
vollbringt man mit dieser Einsicht: „Er, der Weise, (ist) der Vater des Wahrseins.“

47,3. *ahyā mainyēuš tuvām ahī p̄tā spəntō*
yē ahmāi gam rānyō.skərəitīm hām.tašaṭ
aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā.dā ārmaitīm
hyaṭ hām vohū mazdā [hāmə.]fraštā manəṇhā

47,3. You are the beneficent father of this spirit,
who fashioned for it the joy-giving cow
and, establishing peace for her pasture, right-mindedness,
when he held counsel with good thought, O Wise One.

47,3. Du bist der segensreiche Vater dieses Geistes,
der ihm die Freude bereitende Kuh bildete
und, ihrer Weide Frieden stiftend, die Rechtgesinntheit,
als er sich mit dem guten Gedanken beriet, o Weiser.

47,4. *ahmāt mainyēuš rārəšyeiṇtī drəgvəntō*
mazdā spəntāt nōiṭ iθā ašaonō
kasəušcīṭ nā ašaunē kāθē aṇhaṭ
isvācīṭ haṣ paraoš akō drəgvāitē

47,4. From this beneficent spirit the deceitful keep off
those not really truthful, O Wise One.
A man of even little (means) shall behave kindly toward the truthful one,
an owner even of much (shall be) evil to the deceitful one.

47,4. Von diesem segensreichen Geist halten die Lügner

die nicht wirklich Wahrhaften fern, o Weiser.
Ein Mann selbst von geringen (Mitteln) soll sich dem Wahrhaften gegenüber freundlich
verhalten,
ein Besitzer sogar von Vielem (soll) schlecht zum Lügner (sein).

47,5. *tācā spəntā mainyū mazdā ahurā*
ašaunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā
hanarə θbahmāt zaošāt drəgvā baxšaitī
ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāt ā šyās manəṇhō

47,5. And through this beneficent spirit, O Wise Lord,
you assign to the truthful one whatsoever best (things)
the deceitful one, being far from your favor, must cede
on account of his actions, dwelling on the side of evil thought.

47,5. Und durch diesen segensreichen Geist, o Weiser Herr,
weist Du dem Wahrhaften welche besten (Dinge) auch immer zu,
Deiner Gunst fern, der Lügner abtreten muss
auf Grund seiner Handlungen, auf der Seite des üblen Gedankens wohnend.

47,6. *tā dā spəntā mainyū mazdā ahurā*
ā9rā vaṇhāu vidāitīm rānōibyā
āmatōiš dəbazaṇhā ašaxyācā
hā zī pourūš išəntō vaurāitē

47,6. Through this beneficent spirit, O Wise Lord, (and) by means of the fire
you fix, in the good (case,) the distribution with the balance
according to the weight of right-mindedness and truth.
This will indeed test the many approaching.

47,6. Durch diesen segensreichen Geist, o Weiser Herr, (und) vermittelt des Feuers
setzt Du im guten (Fall) die Verteilung mit der Waage fest
nach dem Gewicht der Rechtgesinntheit und des Wahrseins.
Diese soll ja die vielen Herbeistrebenden testen.

Yasna 48

48,1. *yezī adāiš aša drujəm vəṇghaitī*
hyaṭ ašaš[u]tā yā daibitānā fraoxta
amərətāitī daēvāišcā mašiyāišcā
aṭ tōi savāiš vahməm vaxšaṭ ahurā

48,1. When truths have overcome deceit by these (rites),
so that is refuted what (was) proclaimed again and again
on immortality by Daēvas/devils and (bad) mortals,
then one will increase your laudation by benefits, O Lord.

48,1. Wenn die Wahrheiten die Lüge durch diese (Riten) besiegt haben,
so dass widerlegt ist, was immer wieder verkündet (wurde)
über die Unsterblichkeit von Daēvas/Teufeln und (bösen) Sterblichen,

dann wird man Dein Lob durch Gewinne mehren, o Herr.

48,2. *vaocā mōi yā tuvām vīdvā ahurā*
parā hyaṭ mā yā māng pārəθā jīmaitī
kaṭ ašava mazda vāngḥaṭ drəgvantōm
hā zī aṇhəuš vaṇ hī vistā ākərəitīš

48,2. Tell me what you know (about,) O Lord,
 (still) before the penalty (I have) in mind has reached me.
 Will the truthful one overcome the deceitful one, O Wise One?
 For this (penalty is) recognized as the good formation of the existence/world.

48,2. Sage mir, was Du (darüber) weißt, o Herr,
 (noch) bevor mich die Sühnezahlung, die (ich) im Sinn (habe,) erreicht hat:
 Wird der Wahrhafte den Lügner besiegen, o Weiser?
 Denn diese (Sühnezahlung ist) als die gute Gestaltung der Existenz/Welt erkannt.

48,3. *aṭ vaēdəmnāi vahištā sāsnaṇam*
yam hudā sāstī ašā ahurō
spəntō vīdvā yaēcīṭ gūzrā səngḥāṇhō
θβāvəš mazdā vaṇhəuš xraθβā manəḥō

48,3. The best of teachings (is meant) for the propertied one,
 (the teaching) which the munificent Lord teaches through truth,
 the beneficent one who, by the intellect of good thought,
 knows even the secret sentences, the one such as you, O Wise One.

48,3. Die beste der Lehren (gilt) dem Begüterten,
 (die Lehre,) die der freigebige Herr durch Wahrsein lehrt,
 der Segensreiche, der durch den Intellekt des guten Gedankens
 sogar die geheimen Urteilsprüche kennt, der so wie Du, o Weiser.

48,4. *yā dāt manō vahyō mazdā ašyascā*
hvō daēnaṇm šyaoθanācā vacaṇhācā
ahyā zaošəṇg uštiš varənəṇg hacaitē
θβahmī xratāu apəməm nanā aṇhaṭ

48,4. He who conceives both better/good and worse/bad thought, O Wise One,
 that one (expresses his) religious view (also) by action and word.
 He follows his moods, wishes, and choices/preferences,
 (and,) at the end, he will be (recorded) in your intellect at different places.

48,4. Wer sowohl besseren/guten als auch schlechteren/schlechten Gedanken fasst, o
 Weiser,
 der (drückt seine) Anschauung (auch) durch Handlung und Wort (aus).
 Er folgt seinen Launen, Wünschen und Wahlen/Vorlieben
 (und) wird am Ende in Deinem Intellekt an verschiedenen Stellen (vermerkt) sein.

48,5. *huxšaθrā xšəntam mā nā dušəxšaθrā xšəntā*
vaṇhuyā cistōiš šyaoθanāiš ārmaitē

yaoždā ... mašiyāi aipī zaθəm vahištā
gavōi vərəzyātəm tam nā xʼarəθāi fšuyō

48,5. Let good rulers assume rule – do not let bad rulers assume rule over us –
 with actions of the good insight. O Right-mindedness.
 Let the best (insight,) which purifies birth also for womankind,
 be practiced for the cow. Her you breed (to serve) us for food.

48,5. Lass gute Herrscher die Macht/Herrschaft übernehmen – lass nicht schlechte
 Herrscher die Macht/Herrschaft über uns übernehmen –
 mit Handlungen der guten Einsicht, o Rechtgesinntheit.
 Lass die beste (Einsicht,) die auch dem Menschenweib die Geburt reinigt,
 an der Kuh geübt werden. Sie züchtest Du uns zur Nahrung.

48,6. *hā zī nā hušōiθəmā hā nā utayūitīm*
dāt təvīšīm vaṇhəuš manəḥō bərxəde
aṭ ašyāi ašā mazdā urvarā vaxšaṭ
ahurō aṇhəuš zaθōi paouruyehyā

48,6. For she (grants) us comfortable dwelling, she grants us youthfulness
 and bodily strength, O (Right-mindedness, you) ward of good thought.
 Let therefore the Wise One make the plants grow for her through truth,
 the Lord, at the procreation of the fundamental/foremost existence.

48,6. Denn sie (verschafft) uns gutes Wohnen, sie verleiht uns Jugendlichkeit
 und Körperkraft, o (Rechtgesinntheit, du) Pflegling des guten Gedankens.
 Der Weise soll ihr deshalb die Pflanzen durch Wahrsein wachsen lassen,
 der Herr, bei der Zeugung der grundlegenden/vorzüglichen Existenz.

48,7. *hī aēšəmə [nī.]dyātəm paitī rəməm [paitī.]siyōdūm*
yōi ā vaṇhəuš manəḥō didrayžō.duyē
ašā vyam yehyā hiθāuš nā spəntō
aṭ hōi dāmam θβahmī ā dām ahurā

48,7. Let fury be tied down, attack standstill,
 you who wish to attach yourselves to good thought.
 Let the one whose partner is the beneficent/holy man be covered with truth.
 (Let) his places (be) in your house, O Lord.

48,7. Die Raserei werde angebunden, greift den Stillstand an,
 Ihr, die Ihr Euch am guten Gedanken zu befestigen sucht.
 Mit Wahrsein werde der umhüllt, dessen Partner der segensreiche/heilige Mann ist.
 Seine Stätten (seien) in Deinem Haus, o Herr.

48,8. *kā tōi vaṇhəuš mazdā xšaθrahyā īstiš*
kā tōi ašōiš θβahyā maibyō ahurā
kā θβōi ašā ākā arədrəṇg išiyā
vaṇhəuš mainyāuš šyaoθananam javarō

48,8. What (is) the command of your good power, O Wise One,

what (is) that of your reward for me, O Lord,
 what (is) yours through truth, invigorating in presence of the efficient ones,
 (serving as) compensation for the actions of good spirit?

48,8. Was (ist) die Verfügung über Deine gute Macht, o Weiser,
 was (ist) die über Deine Belohnung für mich, o Herr,
 was (ist) die Deine durch Wahrsein, erfrischend in Gegenwart der Tüchtigen,
 (als) Ausgleich der Handlungen guten Geistes?

48,9. *kadā vaēdā yezī cahyā xšayaθā*
mazdā ašā yehyā mā āiθiš dvaēθā
ərəš mōi [ərəž]ūcam vañhəuš vafuš manahō
vīdyāt saošyas yaθā hōi ašiš aṇhaṭ

48,9. When will I know whether you have power/control over someone,
 O Wise One, through truth, whose terror (is) frightening me?
 Let the text of good thought be told me truly.
 The benefactor/savior should know of what kind his reward will be.

48,9. Wann werde ich wissen, ob Ihr über jemanden Macht/Kontrolle habt,
 o Weiser, durch Wahrsein, dessen Terror mir Furcht einflößt?
 Ehrlich sage man mir den Text des guten Gedankens.
 Der Wohltäter/Retter sollte wissen, welcherart seine Belohnung sein wird.

48,10. *kadā mazdā manarōiš narō vīsəntē*
kadā a<z>ān mūθrəm ahyā madahyā
yā aṇgrayā karapanō urūpayeiṇtī
yācā xratū dušəxšaθrā daxyunam

48,10. When, O Wise One, will the men of a believer get ready?
 When will one dispose of the excretion of that intoxicating plant
 by which the Karapans/lie-priests heavily suffer from nausea
 and the bad rulers of the lands as well, (guided) by their intellect?

48,10. Wann, o Weiser, werden die Männer eines Gläubigen sich anschicken?
 Wann wird einer die Ausscheidung jener berauschenden Pflanze entsorgen,
 von der die Karapans/Lügenpriester an schwerer Übelkeit leiden
 und desgleichen die von ihrem Intellekt (geleiteten) schlechten Herrscher der Länder?

48,11. *kadā mazdā ašā maṭ ārmaitiš*
jimaṭ xšaθrā hušəitiš vāstravaitī
kōi drəgvō.dəbiš xrūrāiš rāmaṃ dāntē
kāng ā vañhəuš jimaṭ manahō cistiš

48,11. When, O Wise One, will right-mindedness arrive together with truth,
 through power provided with comfortable dwelling and pasture?
 Which (people) will get peace (unimpaired) by the ferocious deceitful?
 Which (people) the insight of good thought will reach?

48,11. Wann, o Weiser, wird Rechtgesinntheit zusammen mit Wahrsein eintreffen,

durch Macht mit guter Wohnung und mit Weide versehen?
 Welche (Leute) werden sich Ruhe (unbeeinträchtigt) von den grausamen Lügern
 verschaffen?

Welche (Leute) wird die Einsicht des guten Gedankens erreichen?

48,12. *aṭ tōi aṇhən saošyaṇtō daxyunam*
yōi xšnəm vohū manahā hacāntē
šyaoθanāiš ašā θbahyā mazdā sənghahyā
tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō aēšəm.mahyā

48,12. That will be the benefactors/saviors of the lands
 who with good thought (and) with actions (inspired) by truth
 will join the recognition of your sentence, O Wise One.
 For these are destined eliminators of fury.

48,12. Das werden die erwarteten Wohltäter/Retter der Länder sein,
 die mit gutem Gedanken (und) mit von Wahrsein (inspirierten) Handlungen
 sich der Anerkennung Deines Urteils anschließen werden, o Weiser.
 Sie sind ja die geschaffenen Beseitiger der Raserei.

Yasna 49

49,1. *aṭ mā yavā bāndvō pafrē mazištō*
yā duš<ha>rəθriš cixšnušā ašā mazdā
vañ^vhī ādā gaidī mōi ā mōi [a]rapā
ahyā vohū aošō vīdā manahā

49,1. Did chieftain Bəndva ever accumulate (religious merit)?
 (Come to me) who try to satisfy the badly herded (cows) through truth, O Wise One,
 – good (is/be) the presentation/apportionment – come to me (and) support me.
 Find, through good thought, (a way to) his extermination.

49,1. Hat Häuptling Bəndva jemals (religiöse Verdienste) angesammelt?
 (Komm zu mir,) der ich die schlecht gehüteten (Kühe) durch Wahrsein zufrieden stellen
 will, o Weiser,
 – gut (ist/sei) die Darbietung/Zuteilung – komm zu mir (und) unterstütze mich.
 Finde mit gutem Gedanken (einen Weg zu) seiner Vernichtung.

49,2. *aṭ ahyā mā bāndvahyā mānayeitī*
ṭkaēšō drəgvā daibitā ašāt rārəšō
nōit spəntam dōrəšt ahmāi stōi ārmaitīm
naēdā vohū mazdā fraštā manahā

49,2. A deceitful misteacher/heretic is staying (in the house) of this Bəndva
 keeping (him) off from truth again and again.
 Neither does he grasp beneficent right-mindedness to be his
 nor does he hold counsel with good thought either, O Wise One.

49,2. (Im Haus) dieses Bəndva hält sich ein lügenhafter Falschlehrer/Häretiker auf,
 der (ihn) immer wieder vom Wahrsein fernhält.

Weder ergreift er die segensreiche Rechtgesinntheit, damit sie sein sei,
noch auch berät er sich mit dem guten Gedanken, o Weiser.

49.3. *aṭcā ahmāi varənāi mazdā nidātəm*
ašəm snidyai tkaosai rašayenhe druxs
tā vaṇhəuš sarə izeyā manəḡhō
antarə vīspəṇḡ drəḡvatō haxməṇḡ [antarə.]mruyē

49.3. Truth is implanted in this (our) choice, O Wise One,
to benefit/save (us, but) deceit (is implanted) in misteaching/heresy to harm (us).
Through this (truth) I strive for the shelter of good thought.
I banish all the deceitful from (our) fellowship.

49.3. Dieser (unserer) Wahl, o Weiser, ist zu (unserem) Wohl/Heil
das Wahrsein eingepflanzt, der Falschlehre/Häresie (aber ist) die Lüge (eingepflanzt),
um (uns) zu schädigen.
Durch dieses (Wahrsein) strebe ich nach dem Schutzschirm des guten Gedankens.
Ich verbanne alle Lügner aus (unserer) Genossenschaft.

49.4. *yōi duš.xraθβā aēšəməm varədən rāməmcā*
xʷāiš hizubīš fšuyasū afšuyəntō
yaēšəm nōiṭ huvarəštāiš vəs dužvarəštā
tōi daēvəṇḡ dan yā drəḡvatō daēnā

49.4. (Those) who (influenced) by the person of bad intellect increase fury and
immobilization
by their tongues, (being) non-cattle breeders among the cattle breeders,
(those) whose bad deeds overweigh because of their lack of good deeds,
those install Daēvas/devils by the view/religion of the deceitful one.

49.4. (Diejenigen,) die (beeinflusst) durch die Person von schlechtem Intellekt Raserei
und Stillstand mehren
mit ihren Zungen, Nicht-Viehzüchter unter den Viehzüchtern,
(die,) deren schlechte Handlungen auf Grund des Mangels an guten Handlungen den
Ausschlag geben,
die setzen durch die Anschauung/Religion des Lügners Daēvas/Teufel ein.

49.5. *aṭ hvō mazdā īžācā āzūtišcā*
yə daēnəm vohū sārəštā manəḡhā
āmatōiš kasciṭ ašā huzəntuš
tāišcā vīspāiš θβahmī xšaθrōi ahurā

49.5. But that one, O Wise One, is cream-offering and fat-libation
who allies his view/view-soul with good thought,
anybody who out of right-mindedness (is) a nobleman (attached) to truth
and with all those in your power/dominion, O Lord.

49.5. Aber der, o Weiser, ist Sahnegabe und Fettspende,
der seine Anschauung/Schauseele mit dem gutem Gedanken verbündet,

ein jeder, der aus Rechtgesinntheit ein Edelmann (ist, verbunden) mit dem Wahrsein
und mit all denen in Deinem Machtbereich, o Herr.

49.6. *frō vā [fra]ēšyā mazdā ašəmca mrūtē*
yā vō xratōuš xsmākahyā ā.manəḡhā
ərəš vīcityāi yaθā ī srāvayaēmā
taṃ daēnəm yā xšmāvatō ahurā

49.6. I urge you, O Wise One, (you) and Truth, to tell (me)
what (the concerns) of your intellect are to let (me) discern truly
with the energy of your (adherent) how we might make heard
the view/religion of one such as you, O Lord.

49.6. Ich dränge Euch, o Weiser, (Dich) und das Wahrsein, (mir) zu sagen,
was (die Anliegen) Eures Intellekts sind, um (mich) mit dem Impetus
Eures (Anhängers) richtig wahrnehmen zu lassen, wie wir die Anschauung/Religion
eines so wie Ihr zu Gehör bringen könnten, o Herr.

49.7. *taṭcā vohū mazdā sraotū manəḡhā*
sraotū ašā gūšahvā tū ahurā
kā airyamā kā xʷaētūš dātāiš aḡhaṭ
yə vərəzənāi vaṇʰhīm dāt frastāim

49.7. Let one hear this through good thought, O Wise One,
let one hear (it) through truth, listen, O Lord:
Which tribe, which family will it be who, by (execution) of the laws,
will procure a good reputation for the community?

49.7. Das soll man mit gutem Gedanken vernehmen, o Weiser,
man soll (es) mit Wahrsein vernehmen, höre zu, o Herr:
Welcher Stamm, welche Familie wird es sein, die durch (Erfüllung) der Gesetze
der Gemeinde einen guten Ruf verschafft?

49.8. *fərašaoštrāi urvāzištəm ašahyā dā*
sarəm taṭ θβā mazdā yāsā ahurā
maibyācā yəm vaṇhāu θβahmī ā xšaθrōi
yavōi vīspāi fraēštāṇhō āḡhāmā

49.8. Grant Frashaoshtra the most graceful/delightful shelter
of truth, this I request from you, O Wise Lord,
and (grant it also) to me, (the shelter) in your good power/dominion.
Let us be dearest friends for all time.

49.8. Gewähre Frashaoshtra den gnädigsten/wonnigsten Schirm
des Wahrseins, darum bitte ich Dich, o Weiser Herr,
und (gewähre ihn auch) mir, (den Schirm) in Deinem guten Machtbereich.
Lass uns für alle Zeit die besten Freunde sein.

49.9. *sraotū sāsñā fšəḡhiyō suyē taštō*
nōiṭ ərəš.vacā sarəm didas drəḡvātā

hyaṭ daēnā vahištē yūjān mīždē
ašā.yuxtā yāhī dājāmāspā

49,9. Let the companion fashioned (to enjoy) benefit/salvation hear the teachings.
 The (man) of straight word does not approve of alliance with the deceitful one.
 when (the truthful) yoke their views to the best prize
 in yoking (themselves) to truth, at the apportionment (of shares,) O Jāmāspa.

49,9. Vernehmen soll die Lehren der Gefährte, der zum (Genuss von) Wohl/Heil
 gebildet ist.

Nicht billigt der (Mann) von ehrlichem Wort das Bündnis mit dem Lügner,
 wenn (die Wahrhaften) ihre Anschauungen an den besten Preis anspannen
 bei der Anspannung (ihrer selbst) an das Wahrsein, bei der Zuteilung (der Anteile,) o
 Jāmāspa.

49,10. *taṭcā mazdā 9βahmī ā dam nipājhe*
manō vohū urunascā ašāunam
nəmascā yā ārmaitiš īžācā
mazā.xša9rā vazdaṇhā avē.mīrā

49,10. This, O Wise One, you preserve for yourself in your house:
 good thought and the souls of the truthful,
 and the reverence with which right-mindedness (goes) and cream-offering
 granting power through refreshing fattiness.

49,10. Das, o Weiser, bewahrst Du Dir in Deinem Haus:
 den guten Gedanken und die Seelen der Wahrhaften
 und die Verehrung, mit der Rechtgesinntheit (einhergeht) und Sahnespende,
 Macht verleihend durch erfrischende Fettigkeit.

49,11. *aṭ dušəxša9rəṇṅ duš.šyao9anəṇṅ dužvacanḥō*
duždaēnəṇṅ dužmananḥō drəgvātō
akāiš xʼarə9aiš paitī uruvānō [paiti]yeiṇtī
drūjō dəmānē hai9yā aṇhən astayō

49,11. But the deceitful, (persons) of bad rule, bad actions,
 bad words, bad views, (and) bad thoughts,
 the souls (of the dead) come to meet with foul food.
 They will be right guests in the house of deceit.

49,11. Aber den Lügner, (Leuten) von schlechter Herrschaft, schlechten Handlungen,
 schlechten Worten, schlechten Anschauungen (und) schlechten Gedanken,
 kommen die Seelen (der Verstorbenen) mit verdorbenen Speisen entgegen.
 Im Haus der Lüge werden sie die richtigen Gäste sein.

49,12. *kaṭ tōi ašā zbayəntē avanḥō*
zara9uštṛai kaṭ tōi vohū mananḥā
yē vā staotāiš mazdā frīnāi ahurā
avaṭ yāsas hyaṭ vā ištā vahištəm

49,12. What of help do you have through truth for (me) who am calling,
 for Zarathushtra, what do you have through good thought
 (for me) who will devote myself to you by praises, O Wise Lord,
 requesting that which is the best at your command.

49,12. Was an Hilfe hast Du durch Wahrsein für (mich,) der ich rufe,
 für Zarathushtra, was hast Du durch guten Gedanken
 (für mich,) der ich mich Euch durch Preislieder widme, o Weiser Herr,
 um das bittend, was in Eurer Verfügungsgewalt das Beste ist.

Yasna 50

50,1. *kaṭ mōi uruvā isē cahyā avanḥō*
kā mōi pasəuš kā mā.nā 9rātā vīstō
anyō ašāt 9βaṭcā mazdā ahurā
azdā zūtā vahištāaṭcā mananḥō

50,1. Does my soul command anybody's help?
 Who is found to be the protector of my cattle, who (to be that) of myself,
 who other than Truth and you, O Wise Lord,
 and Best Thought turning up speedily (when called for help)?

50,1. Verfügt meine Seele über irgendjemand's Hilfe?
 Wer findet sich als der Beschützer meines Viehs, wer (als der) meiner selbst,
 wer anders als das Wahrsein und Du, o Weiser Herr,
 und der Beste Gedanke, schnell zur Stelle (wenn zu Hilfe gerufen)?

50,2. *ka9ā mazdā rānyō.skəraitīm gam išasōiṭ*
yē hīm ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāt
əražəjīs ašā pouruṣū huvarā pišyasū
ākāstəṇ mā nišasyā dā9əm dāhvā

50,2. How, O Wise One, could one catch sight of the joy-giving cow,
 one who would wish her to be his, provided with pasture,
 one who lives decently through truth among the many who enjoy the sun.
 Facing these I will sit down (for prayer). Accept the just one.

50,2. Wie, o Weiser, könnte einer die Freude spendende Kuh zu Gesicht bekommen,
 einer, der sie mit Weide versehen sich zum Besitz wünschte,
 ein durch Wahrsein Rechtlebender inmitten der Vielen, die die Sonne genießen?
 Vor ihren Augen werde ich mich (zum Gebet) niedersetzen. Nimm den Gerechten an.

50,3. *aṭcīt ahmāi mazdā ašā aṇhaitī*
yaṃ hōi xša9rā vohucā cōišṭ mananḥā
yē nā ašōiš aojanḥā varədayaētā
yaṃ nazdištəm gaē9am drəgvā baxšaitī

50,3. To that (man) indeed (that herd) shall belong through truth, O Wise One,
 which one has assigned to him by power and good thought,
 (to that) man who would increase it for himself by the strength of reward,

(that) neighborly herd which the deceitful one must cede.

50,3. Dem (Mann) soll fürwahr durch Wahrsein (jene Herde) gehören, o Weiser, die ihm einer durch Macht und guten Gedanken zugewiesen hat.
(dem) Mann, der sie für sich selbst durch die Kraft der Belohnung mehren möchte, (jene) nachbarliche Herde, die der Lügner abtreten muss.

50,4. *aṭ vā yazāi stavas mazdā ahurā*
hadā aṣā vahištācā managhā
xšaθrācā yā īšō stāghaṭ ā paiθi
ākā aradrāng dāmānē garō səraošānē

50,4. I will sacrifice to you, praising (you,) O Wise Lord, along with truth and best thought, and with the power with which (one truthful) puts refreshments on the path toward the efficient ones I wish to be heard in the house of welcome.

50,4. (Euch) lobpreisend will ich Euch opfern, o Weiser Herr, gemeinsam mit Wahrsein und bestem Gedanken, und mit der Macht, mit der (ein Wahrhafter) Labungen stellt auf den Pfad zu den Erfolgreichen, will ich im Haus des Willkommens gehört werden.

50,5. *ārōi zī xšmā mazdā aṣā ahurā*
hyaṭ yūšmākāi mąθrānē vaorāzaθā
aibī.dəraštā āvīšiyā avaghā
zastāištā yā nā x'āθrē dāyāt

50,5. Assured are by you indeed, O Lord Wise through truth, – since you indulge in visible, manifest help for your poet – (arrows) sent by (your) hand(s), which shall put us in comfort.

50,5. Zugesichert sind ja von Euch, o durch Wahrsein weiser Herr, – da Ihr Euch in sichtbarer, offenkundiger Hilfeleistung für Euren Dichter gefällt – (Pfeile) gesandt von (Eurer) Hand, die uns in Labsal versetzen sollen.

50,6. *yā mąθrā vācəm mazdā baraiti*
urvaθō aṣā nəmanhā zaraθuštō
dātā xratəuš hizvō raiθīm stōi
mahyā rāzāng vohū sāhīt managhā

50,6. The poet who raises his voice, O Wise One, allied with truth, in reverence, (is) Zarathushtra. May the giver of intellect teach (my) tongue through good thought to be the charioteer of my direction/prayer.

50,6. Der Dichter, der seine Stimme erhebt, o Weiser, in Verehrung mit Wahrsein verbündet, (ist) Zarathushtra. Möge der Geber des Intellekts (meine) Zunge durch guten Gedanken

lehren, der Wagenlenker meines Gebots/Gebets zu sein.

50,7. *aṭ vā yaojā zəvīštiyāng aurvatō*
jayāiš pəraθūš vahmahyā yūšmākahyā
mazdā aṣā ugrāng vohu managhā
yāiš <za>zaθā mahmāi xyātā avaghē

50,7. I will yoke for you the swiftest steeds of your laudation, broad(-chested) through victories (and) strong through good thought, O Wise One, (yoking them) through truth. With these you will let (the others) behind. May you be (ready) to help me.

50,7. Ich will für Euch die schnellsten Rösser Eures Lobpreises einspannen, durch Siege breit(brüstig) (und) durch guten Gedanken stark, (sie) durch Wahrsein (anspannend,) o Weiser. Mit diesen werdet Ihr (die Anderen) hinter Euch lassen. Möget Ihr (bereit) sein, mir zu helfen.

50,8. *maṭ vā padāiš yā frasrūtā īzayā*
pairijasāi mazdā ustānazastō
aṭ vā aṣā arədraxyācā nəmanhā
aṭ vā vaṭhəuš managhō hunarətātā

50,8. With the (legendary) footprints of (personified) cream-offering I wish to serve you, with hands outstretched, O Wise One, (serve) you with truth (and) with the reverence of an efficient one, (serve) you with the skillfulness of good thought.

50,8. Mit den (legendären) Fußstapfen der (personifizierten) Sahnespende will ich Euch aufwarten mit ausgestreckten Händen, o Weiser, Euch (aufwarten) mit Wahrsein (und) in Verehrung eines Tüchtigen, Euch (aufwarten) mit der Kunstfertigkeit des guten Gedankens.

50,9. *tāiš vā yasnāiš paiti stavas ayenī*
mazdā aṣā vaṭhəuš šyaoθanāiš managhō
yadā aṣōiš māxyā vasō xšaiyā
aṭ hudānaoš īsayas gərəzdā xyəm

50,9. With sacrifices such as these, I will approach you again, praising (you,) O Wise One, with truth (and) with actions of good thought, when I am in command at will of my reward/remuneration. May I thus abide, enjoying invigoration, in the grace of a generous (person).

50,9. Mit Opfern wie diesen werde ich (Euch) preisend wieder vor Euch treten, o Weiser, mit Wahrsein (und) mit Handlungen des guten Gedankens, wenn ich frei über meine Belohnung/Vergütung verfügen kann. So möge ich, Erfrischung genießend, in der Gunst eines Großzügigen verweilen.

50,10. *aṭ yā varəšā yācā pairi āiš šyaoθanā*
yācā vohū cašmām arəjaṭ managhā

*raocā xʷōng asnaṃ uxšā aēuruš
xšmākāi ašā vahmāi mazdā ahurā*

50,10. The actions that I will perform and those (performed) by those all around
as well as (the things) worth seeing through good thought,
the lights of the sun, the leading bull of the days,
(all that serves) for your laudation through truth, O Wise Lord.

50,10. Die Handlungen, die ich durchführen werde, und die von all denen ringsum
(durchgeführten) Handlungen
ebenso wie (die Dinge,) die durch guten Gedanken die Blicke wert sind,
die Lichter der Sonne, der Leitstier der Tage,
(all das dient) Eurem Lobpreis durch Wahrsein, o Weiser Herr.

*50,11. aṭ vā staotā aojāi mazdā aṇhacā
yavaṭ ašā tavācā isāicā
dātā aṇhōuš arədaṭ vohū manahā
haiṇyāvarəštəm hyaṭ vasnā fərašō.təməm*

50,11. I wish to declare myself your eulogist, O Wise One, and I am willing to be so,
as much as I can and am able to through truth.
Let the creator/giver of the existence/world make effective through good thought
the realization of what is most perfect in value.

50,11. Zu Eurem Lobsänger will ich mich erklären, o Weiser, und ich will es sein,
sosehr ich durch Wahrsein kann und vermag.
Der Schöpfer/Geber der Existenz/Welt möge durch guten Gedanken
die Verwirklichung dessen, was an Wert am vollkommensten ist, erfolgreich machen.

Yasna 51. Vohukshathrā Gāthā

*51,1. vohū xšaṇrəm vairīm bāgəm aibī.bairištəm
vīdišəmnāi ižācī ašā aṇtarə.caraiī
šyaoṇanāiš mazdā vahištəm taṭ nē nūcī varəšanē*

51,1. The good power/rule worth choosing, which excellently brings good fortune
to the person liberal particularly with cream-offering, alternates between (you and us)
through truth,
being best through actions, O Wise One. This I wish to effect for us just now.

51,1. Die gute wählenswerte Macht/Herrschaft, die dem insbesondere mit Sahnespende
Freigebigen
in hervorragender Weise Glück bringt, wechselt durch Wahrsein zwischen (Euch und
uns)
als durch Handlungen beste, o Weiser. Sie will ich uns gerade jetzt erwirken.

*51,2. tā vā mazdā paourvīm ahurā ašāi.yecā
taibyācā ārmaitē dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaṇrəm
xšmākəm vohū manahā vahmāi dāidī savanhō*

51,2. Thereby I wish to first show you, O Lord, and Truth,
and you, O Right-mindedness, the power of my command.
Grant your (own power) through good thought to the laudation of the welfare/salvation.

51,2. Damit will ich zuerst Euch, o Herr, und dem Wahrsein
und Dir, o Rechtgesinntheit, die Macht meiner Verfügungsgewalt zeigen.
Gewähre durch guten Gedanken Eure (eigene Macht) der Lobpreisung des Wohls/Heils.

*51,3. ā vā gəuš.ā həmyaṇtū yōi vā šyaoṇanāiš sārəntē
ahurō ašā hīzvā uxδāiš vanhōuš manahō
yaēšəm tū pouruyō mazdā fradaxštā ahī*

51,3. Let your ears turn up (with those) who are allied with you by (their) actions,
– (O you,) the Lord through truth –, (and) by statements of good thought (spoken) by
the tongue,
(statements) whose first teacher you are, O Wise One.

51,3. Lasst Eure Ohren sich bei denen einfinden, die durch (ihre) Handlungen mit Euch
verbündet sind
– (o Du,) der Herr durch Wahrsein – (und) durch von der Zunge (gesprochene)
Aussagen des guten Gedankens,
(Aussagen,) deren erster Lehrer Du bist, o Weiser.

*51,4. kuṇrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš kuṇrā mərəždikā axštəṭ
kuṇrā yasō.xyən ašəm kū spəntā ārmaitiš
kuṇrā manō vahištəm kuṇrā 9βā xšaṇrā mazdā*

51,4. Where will refection, where will compassion turn up instead of greed,
where do (people) dignify truth, where (is) beneficent right-mindedness,
where (is) best thought, where, through your power, O Wise One?

51,4. Wo wird sich Erquickung, wo wird sich Mitleid anstatt Habgier einstellen,
wo würdigen (die Leute) das Wahrsein, wo (ist) die segensreiche Rechtgesinntheit,
wo (ist) der beste Gedanke, wo durch Deine Macht, o Weiser?

*51,5. vīspā tā pərəsas yaṇā ašāṭ hacā gəm vīdaṭ
vāstriyō šyaoṇanāiš ərəšvō ḥas huxratuš nəmanhā
yā dāṇaēibyō ərəš ratūm xšayəs ašivā cistā*

51,5. I am asking (you) about all those (circumstances) under which, in accordance with
truth,
the herdsman finds the cow, high-ranking through his actions (and) being of good
intellect, in reverence (for the one)
who, ruling (and) disposing of requitals, conceives a straight judgment on the just.

51,5. Ich frage (Dich) nach all den (Umständen,) unter denen der Hirte dem Wahrsein
gemäß die Kuh findet,
hochrangig durch seine Handlungen (und) von gutem Intellekt, in Verehrung
(für den,) der als Herrscher über Vergeltungen verfügend sich ein richtiges Urteil über
die Gerechten bildet.

51,6. *yā vahyō vañhōuš dazdē yascā hōi vārāi rādaṭ*
ahurō xšaθrā mazdā aṭ ahmāi akāṭ ašyō
yā hōi nōiṭ vīdāitī apēmē aṭhōuš urvāēsē

51,6. (Of him) who accepts what is better than good and who submits to His will,
 the Lord, through His power, (is) mindful. But what is worse than evil (is in store) for
 that one
 who did not fulfill (his duties) toward Him, at the final turn of the existence/world.

51,6. (Dessen,) der das Bessere als das Gute annimmt und sich Seinem Willen
 unterwirft,
 (ist) der Herr durch seine Macht eingedenk. Aber dem (steht) das Schlechtere als das
 Schlechte
 an der letzten Wende der Existenz/Welt (bevor,) der Ihm gegenüber (seine Pflichten)
 nicht erfüllt hat.

51,7. *dāidī mōi yā gam tašō apascā urvarāscā*
aməratātā haurvātā spāništā mainyū mazdā
təvišī utayūitī manahā vohū sājhē

51,7. You who fashioned the cow, the waters, and the plants, grant me,
 O Wise One, immortality and integrity through most beneficent spirit,
 bodily strength and youthfulness through good thought at the pronouncement (of your
 sentence).

51,7. Der Du die Kuh gebildet hast, die Wasser und die Pflanzen, gewähre mir,
 o Weiser, Unsterblichkeit und Unverletzlichkeit durch segensreichsten Geist,
 Körperkraft und Jugendlichkeit durch guten Gedanken bei der Verkündung (Deines
 Urteilsspruchs).

51,8. *aṭ zī tōi vaxšyā mazdā vīdušē zī nā mruyāt*
hyaṭ akōyā drəgvāitē uštā yā ašəm dādrē
hvō zī maθrā šyātō yā vīdušē mravaiṭ

51,8. I will tell you (now,) O Wise One, – for to a knowing/initiated one the man would
 like to speak, –
 that what is evil for the deceitful one (implies things) desired (by the one) who holds on
 to truth.

That poet is happy indeed who can speak to a knowing/initiated one.

51,8. Ich will Dir (jetzt) sagen, o Weiser, – denn zu einem Wissenden/Initiierten möchte
 der Mann sprechen –,
 dass Übel für den Lügner Erwünschtes (für denjenigen bedeutet,) der das Wahrsein
 festhält.

Der Dichter ist ja froh, der zu einem Wissenden/Initiierten sprechen kann.

51,9. *yaṃ xšnūtəm rānōibyā dā θβā āθrā suxrā mazdā*
ayaṇhā xšustā aibī ahvāhū daxštəm dāvōi
rāšayējhē drəgvaṇtəm savayō ašavanəm

51,9. Which satisfaction you fix with the balance by your red fire, O Wise One,
 (and) by the molten metal – to attach a sign (of that) to the minds:
 to harm the deceitful one you benefit/save the truthful one.

51,9. Welche Genugtuung Du durch Dein rotes Feuer mit der Waage festsetzt, o Weiser,
 (und) durch das flüssige Metall, – um ein Zeichen (davon) an den Gemütern zu
 befestigen:
 um dem Lügner Leid zuzufügen, begünstigst/rettest Du den Wahrhaften.

51,10. *aṭ yā mā nā marəxšaitē anyāθā ahmāt mazdā*
hvō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš tā duždā yōi hāntī
maibyō zbayā ašəm vañhuyā ašī gaṭ.tē

51,10. The man who otherwise tries to ruin me, O Wise One,
 that (man) is a bastard of the founder of deceit, thereby (being) of bad gifts for the
 existing.

I call truth to come to me with a good reward.

51,10. Der Mann, der mich sonst noch zu vernichten sucht, o Weiser,
 der (Mann) ist ein Bastard des Gründers der Lüge (und) dadurch von üblen Gaben für
 die Seienden.

Ich rufe das Wahrsein, damit es mit guter Belohnung zu mir komme.

51,11. *kā urvaθō spitamāi zaraθuštrāi nā mazdā*
kā vā ašā āfraštā kā spəntā armaitiš
kā vā vañhōuš manahō acistā magāi ərašvō

51,11. Which man is an ally of Spitama Zarathushtra, O Wise One?
 Who held counsel with good thought, with whom (did) beneficent right-mindedness
 (hold counsel)?

Which high-ranking (personality) received (him) for the contribution of good thought?

51,11. Welcher Mann ist ein Verbündeter des Spitama Zarathushtra, o Weiser?
 Wer hat sich mit dem Wahrsein beraten, mit wem (beriet sich) die segensreiche
 Rechtgesinntheit?

Welche hochrangige (Persönlichkeit) hat (ihn) zur Spende des guten Gedankens
 aufgenommen?

51,12. *nōiṭ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiyō kəvinō pəratā zimō*
zaraθuštrəm spitāməm hyaṭ ahmī urūraost aštō
hyaṭ hōi īm caratascā aodərəscā zōišənū vāzā

51,12. It was not in such a way (that) Kavyan sodomite treated him,
 Zarathushtra Spitama, in wintertime at the bridge, when (that/his) lackey stopped (him)
 there,
 so that (lying on the) threshold and (suffering) cold along with horrible board (was) his
 (only choice).

51,12. Nicht auf solche Weise behandelte (jener) Kavische Sodomit ihn,

den Zarathushtra Spitama, zur Winterzeit an der Brücke, als (ihn dieser/sein) Lakai dort anhielt,
so dass ihm (nichts anderes übrig blieb als ein Lager auf der) Eingangsschwelle und Kälte samt Schauer erregender Kost.

51,13. *tā drəgvatō marədaitī daēnā ərəzaoš haiθīm*
yehyā uruvā xraodaitī cinvatō pərətā ākā
x'āiš šyaoθanāiš hizuvascā ašahyā nəsṽ paθō

51,13. For such (behavior) the view/view-soul of the deceitful one will miss the reality of the straight (path).

His breath-soul will shudder/tremble at/on the accountant's bridge, realizing that he has strayed from the path of truth by his own actions and those of (his) tongue.

51,13. Wegen solchen (Verhaltens) wird die Anschauung/Schauseele des Lügners die Realität des geraden (Wegs) verfehlen.

Seine Atemseele wird an/auf der Brücke des Rechnungsführers erschauern/erzittern in der Einsicht,
dass er durch seine eigenen Handlungen und die (seiner) Zunge vom Pfad des Wahrseins abgekommen ist.

51,14. *nōiṭ urvāθā dātōibyascā karapanō vāstrāt arēm*
gavōi ārōiš āsəndā x'āiš šyaoθanāiš sənghāišcā
yā īš sənghō apəməm drūjō dāmānē ādāt

51,14. The Karapans/lie-priests (are) no allies with respect to the laws and (the needs of) the pasture,
out of greed being unpleasant toward the cow by their actions and sentences,
which kind of sentence will, at the end, put them in the house of deceit.

51,14. Die Karapans/Lügenpriester (sind) keine Verbündeten im Hinblick auf die Gesetze und (die Notwendigkeiten) der Weide,
aus Geiz der Kuh unerfreulich durch ihre Handlungen und Urteilssprüche,
welcherart Urteilsspruch sie am Ende ins Haus der Lüge versetzen wird.

51,15. *hyaṭ mīždəm zaraθuštō magavabyō cōišṭ parā*
garō dāmānē ahurō mazdā jasaṭ pouruyō
tā vō vohū managhā ašāicā savāiš cəvišī

51,15. (With) the prize that Zarathushtra promised to the contributors the primeval Wise Lord comes in/into the house of welcome.
With regard to that (prize) I entrust myself to you and Truth with good thought by benefits.

51,15. (Mit) dem Preis, den Zarathushtra den Spendern versprochen hat, kommt der uranfängliche Weise Herr in das Haus des Willkommens.
Im Hinblick auf diesen (Preis) vertraue ich mich Euch und dem Wahrsein mit gutem Gedanken durch Vorteile an.

51,16. *ṭam kavā vištāspō magahyā xšaθrā nəsṽ*

vaṇhəuš padəbīš managhō yam cistīm ašā maṇtā
spəntō mazdā ahurō aθā nā sazdyāi uštā

51,16. By the patronage over the contribution, Kavi/Prince Vishtāspa conveys, on the paths of good thought, that insight which the beneficent Wise Lord conceived through truth. Thus let (Him/him) pronounce the (sentences) desired by us.

51,16. Durch die Schirmherrschaft über die Spende vermittelt Kavi/Fürst Vishtāspa auf den Pfaden des guten Gedankens die Einsicht, die durch Wahrsein erdacht hat der segensreiche Weise Herr. So lasst (Ihn/ihn) die uns erwünschten (Urteile) verkünden.

51,17. *bərəxδam mōi fərašaoštō hvō.guvō daēdōišṭ kəhrpām*
daēnayāi vaṇhuyāi yam hōi išiyam dātū
xšayās mazdā ahurō ašahyā āzdyāi gərəzdīm

51,17. Frashaoshtra Hvōguva dedicates his figure/personality esteemed by me to the good view/religion. Let the Wise Lord, in His power, make it vigorous for him to let him reach the grace of truth.

51,17. Frashaoshtra Hvōguva widmet seine von mir geschätzte Gestalt/Persönlichkeit der guten Anschauung/Religion. Kraftvoll soll sie ihm der Weise Herr in seiner Macht machen, um ihn die Gnade des Wahrseins erlangen zu lassen.

51,18. *ṭam cistīm dājamāspō hvō.guvō ištōiš x'arəṇā*
ašā vərəntē taṭ xšaθrəm managhō vaṇhəuš vīdō
taṭ mōi dāidī ahurā hyaṭ mazdā rapən tavā

51,18. This insight Jāmāspa Hvōguva chooses through truth out of his quest for glory, this power (he chooses) out of knowledge/possession of good thought. Grant me that (power,) O Lord, which is yours, O Wise One, O Supporter.

51,18. Aus seinem Streben nach Ruhmesglanz wählt Jāmāspa Hvōguva durch Wahrsein diese Einsicht, diese Macht (wählt er) aus Kenntnis/Besitz des guten Gedankens. Diese (Macht) gewähre mir, o Herr, welche die Deine ist, o Weiser, o Unterstützer.

51,19. *hvō taṭ nā maidyōi.māghā spitamā ahmāi dazdē*
daēnayā vaēdəmnō yā ahūm išasas aibī
mazdā dātā mraoṭ gayehyā šyaoθanāiš vahyō

51,19. That man, O Maidyōimāgha Spitama, secures for himself this (power,) (already) possessing (it) in his view/view-soul, who catching sight of (means of) existence

recites the laws of the Wise One, – (that power) which, through the actions of the world, is the better one.

51,19. Derjenige Mann sichert sich diese (Macht,) o Maidyōimāgha Spitama, (sie) in seiner Anschauung/Schauseele (bereits) besitzend, der Existenz(mittel) zu Gesicht bekommend

die Gesetze des Weisen rezitiert, – (diese Macht,) die durch die Handlungen der Welt die bessere ist.

51,20. *taṭ vā nā hazaošāñhō vīspāñhō daidyāi savō*
ašam vohu managhā uxδā yāiš āmatōiš
yazəmnāñhō nəmanhā mazdā rafədrəm cagədō

51,20. In order for all of you to grant us in harmony that benefit/salvation (we celebrate) truth with good thought, (reciting) the statements with which right-mindedness (goes,) we celebrate (them) in reverence, requesting the support of the Wise One.

51,20. Damit Ihr alle im Einklang uns dieses Euer Wohl/Heil gewährt, (feiern wir) das Wahrsein mit gutem Gedanken (und rezitieren) die Aussagen, mit denen Rechtgesinntheit (einhergeht,) wir feiern (sie) in Verehrung, die Unterstützung des Weisen erbittend.

51,21. *āmatōiš nā spəntō hvō cistī uxδāiš šyaoθanā*
daēnā ašəm spənvaṭ vohu xšaθrəm managhā
mazdā dadāt ahurō tēm vañ^vhīm yāsā ašīm

51,21. The beneficent man (depends) on right-mindedness. For (his) insight, statements, actions, (and) view/religion, that Wise Lord accords beneficial truth (and) power through good thought. From Him I request a good reward.

51,21. Der segensreiche Mann (hängt ab) von der Rechtgesinntheit. Für (seine) Einsicht, Aussagen, Handlungen (und) Anschauung/Religion gewährt jener Weise Herr segensvolles Wahrsein (und) Macht durch guten Gedanken. Von Ihm erbitte ich gute Belohnung.

51,22. *yehyā mōi ašāt hacā vahištəm yesnē paītī*
vaēdā mazdā ahurō yōi āñharəcā hənticā
tə yazāi x^vāiš nāmənī[š] pairicā jasāi vañtā

51,22. Whose best (recompense) is, in accordance with truth, (due) to me for the sacrifice, the Wise Lord knows. Those who have existed and, (at the same time,) exist (those) I will celebrate with my (faculties, calling their) names, and will serve them with love.

51,22. Wessen beste (Gegenleistung) mir in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein für das Opfer (zusteht,) weiß der Weise Herr. Die gewesen sind und (gleichzeitig) sind, (die) will ich mit meinen (Fähigkeiten, ihre) Namen (nennend,) feiern und ihnen mit Zuneigung aufwarten.

Yasna 53. Vahishtëishti Gāthā

53,1. *vahištā ištīš srāvī zaraθuštrahē*
spitāmahyā yezī hōi dāt āyaptā
ašat hacā ahurō mazdā yavōi vīspātā huvaghvīm
yaēcā hōi dabən sašəncā daēnayā vañhuyā uxδā šyaoθanācā

53,1. The excellent command of Zarathushtra Spitama is famous, because the Wise Lord, in accordance with truth, accorded to him boons (and) good existence for all his life, (to him) and (to those) who observe and master the statements and actions of his good view/religion.

53,1. Die hervorragende Verfügungsgewalt des Zarathushtra Spitama wird gerühmt, weil ihm der Weise Herr in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wahrsein Gnadengaben gewährte (und) gute Existenz für sein ganzes Leben, (ihm) und (denjenigen,) welche die Aussagen und Handlungen Seiner guten Anschauung/Religion beobachten und beherrschen.

53,2. *aṭcā hōi scapṭū managhā uxδāiš šyaoθanāišcā*
xšnəm mazdā vahmāi.ā fraorəṭ yasnaścā
kavacā vištāspō zaraθuštriš spitāmō fərašoštascā
dāñhō ərəzūš paθō yəm daēnam ahurō saošyantō dadāt

53,2. Let thus Kavi/Prince Vishtāspa, (that) adherent of Spitama Zarathushtra, and Frashaoshtra, with thought, statements, and actions devotedly announce the recognition of the Wise One for His laudation and the sacrifices (to Him,) (thus following) the straight paths of contribution, the view/religion that the Lord established (to be that) of a benefactor/savior.

53,2. Mit Gedanken, Aussagen und Handlungen sollen so Kavi/Fürst Vishtāspa, (dieser) Anhänger des Zarathushtra Spitama, und Frashaoshtra hingabevoll die Anerkennung des Weisen zu Seinem Lob und die Opfer (für Ihn) ankündigen, (so) den geraden Pfaden der Spende (folgend,) der Anschauung/Religion, die der Herr (als die) eines Wohltäters/Retters eingesetzt hat.

«A reference to Jāmāspa, Frashaoshtra's brother, according to tradition the bridegroom of Zarathushtra's daughter Pouruchistā, apparently got lost between stanzas 2 and 3.»

53,3. *tāmcā tū pourucistā haēcat.aspānā*
spitāmī yezivī dugədrəm zaraθuštrahē
vañhəuš paitiyāstī[m] managhō ašahyā mazdāscā taibyō dāt sarəm
aθā hēm.fərašvā θβā xraθβā spōništā āmatōiš hudānūm vərəšvā

53,3. And this (Jāmāspa,) O Pouruchistā, you descendant of Haēchataspa, O Spitāmī, you youngest among Zarathushtra's daughters,

(your father) assigns to you, in obedience to good thought, truth, and the Wise (Lord,) as a shield.

Thus have counsel with your intellect, O most blessed one, out of right-mindedness accept the generous one.

53,3. Und diesen (Jāmāspa,) o Pouruchistā, du Spross des Haēchataspa, o Spitāmī, du jüngste unter den Töchtern Zarathushtras, bestimmt dir (dein Vater) im Gehorsam gegenüber dem guten Gedanken, dem Wahrsein und dem Weisen (Herrn) als Schutzschild.

So berate dich mit deinem Intellekt, o sehr Gesegnete, nimm den aus Rechtgesinntheit Großzügigen an.

53,4. *tām zī vā spərədā nivarānī yā fədrōi vīdāt*
paīθyaēcā vāstriyaēibyō aṭcā x'aētavē
ašāunī ašavabyō manahō vaṇhəuš x'ənvaṭ haṇhuš mēn.bān.duš
mazdā dadāt ahurō daēnayāi vaṇhuyāi yavōi vīspāi.ā

53,4. Him indeed I wish to cover with the eagerness with which (a woman) cares for her father

and for her husband, for the herdsmen and for (her) household, (as) a truthful (woman) does for the truthful. Minding family ties the Wise Lord grants a sunny harvest of good thought to the good view/religion for all time.

53,4. Ihn will ich nämlich mit Eifer umhüllen, mit dem (eine Frau) für ihren Vater sorgt und für ihren Gatten, für die Hirten und für (ihren) Hausstand, (als) wahrhafte (Frau) für die Wahrhaften. Auf Familienbande achtend gewährt der Weise Herr

der guten Anschauung/Religion eine sonnenhafte Ernte des guten Gedankens für alle Zeit.

53,5. *sāx'ənī vazyamnābyō kainibyō mraomī*
xšmaibyācā vadəmnō mēncā ī [māz]dazdūm
vaēdō.dūm daēnābīš a.i.biyastā ahūm yā vaṇhəuš manahō
ašā vā anyō ainīm vīvəṇghatū taṭ zī hōi hušənəm aṇhaṭ

53,5. Words of admonition I speak to the marriageable maidens and to you, (O young men,) in my speech: When you have impressed them on your minds,

(then) you possess, concentrated (on it) with (your) views/view-souls, the existence/world of good thought.

Let each of you try to surpass the other in truth for this will be fruitful to him.

53,5. Worte der Ermahnung spreche ich zu den heiratsfähigen Mädchen und zu euch, (o junge Männer,) in meiner Rede: Wenn ihr sie eurem Gedächtnis eingeprägt habt, (dann) besitzt ihr, mit (euren) Anschauungen/Schauseelen (darauf) konzentriert, die Existenz/Welt des guten Gedankens.

An Wahrsein soll jeder von euch den anderen zu übertreffen suchen, denn dies wird für ihn ertragreich sein.

53,6. *iθā ī haiθyā narō aθā jənayō*
drūjō haca rāθmō yōmā spašən.uθa frāidīm
[drūjō] // āyesē hōi[s] piθā tanuvō parā
vayū bərədubyo duš.x'arəθəm nasaṭ x'āθrəm
drəgvō.dəbyō dājiṭ.arətaēibyō anāiš ā manahīm ahūm mərəṇgəduyē

53,6. In this way (my words are) true, O men, in the same way (for you,) O women. (He) who operates in accordance with deceit (and) whom you see prosper – I take the fat off from his body.

With the wind (away with him) to those offering (him) foul food. Comfort fades away from (those) deceitful oppressors of truth. Through these you ruin (your) mental existence.

53,6. In dieser Weise (sind meine Worte) wahr, o Männer, und ebenso (für euch,) o Frauen.

(Derjenige,) der in Übereinstimmung mit der Lüge wirkt (und) den ihr gedeihen seht – ich hole das Fett von seinem Leib.

Mit dem Wind (fort mit ihm) zu den Anbietern übler Speise. Labsal entschwindet (diesen) lügenhaften Unterdrückern des Wahrseins. Mit ihnen richtet ihr (eure) gedankliche Existenz zugrunde.

53,7. *aṭcā vā mīždəm aṇhaṭ ahyā magahyā*
yavaṭ āžuš zrazdišto būnōi haxtiyā
paracā mraocəs aorācā yaθrā mainyuš drəgvatō anasaṭ parā
[i]vīzayaθā magəm tām aṭ vā vayōi aṇhaitī apəməm vacō

53,7. But there will be recompense to you for this contribution/dedication as long as the penis moves to and fro most confidently in the bottom of the thighs, where (his) spirit has faded away from the deceitful one.

If you give up this contribution/dedication then "woe" will be your last word.

53,7. Aber euch wird Belohnung für diese Spende/Hingabe zuteil werden, solange der Penis sich sehr zuversichtlich im Grunde der Schenkel hin und her bewegt, wo dem Lügner (der) Geist verschwunden ist. Gebt ihr diese Spende/Hingabe auf, dann wird „Wehe“ euer letztes Wort sein.

53,8. *anāiš ā dužvarəšnaḥō dāfšniyā həntū*
zaṭiyācā vīspāḥō xraosəntəm upā
huxšaθrāiš jənəṇəm xrunəṇmā rāmamcā āiš dadātū šyeitibiyō vīžibyō
īratū īš dvašō hvō dərəzā mərəiθyaoš mazištō mošucā astū

53,8. Let those of bad omen be subject to torture by these (truthful) and let them all howl up laughably (being ill-treated) by the good rulers among the man-slaying and man-injuring (warriors).

Let one make peace (unimpaired) by them for the settling communities,
and let that ill come over them which, by the fetter of death, is the greatest one, and let
that be soon.

53,8. Lasst die von schlechtem Omen der Tortur durch diese (Wahrhaften) unterworfen
sein

und lasst sie alle in lächerlicher Weise aufheulen,
(misshandelt) von den guten Herrschern unter den Männer tötenden und Männer
verletzenden (Kriegern).

Durch diese soll man den sesshaften Gemeinden Frieden (unbeeinträchtigt) von ihnen
schaffen,

und durch die Fessel des Todes soll die größte Not über sie kommen, und bald soll das
sein.

53,9. *dužvarənāiš vaēšō rāstī tōi narəpīš rajīš*

aēšasā dājīṭ.arəta pašō.tanuvō

kū ašavā ahurō yā īš jyātəuš hāmiḡyāt vasā.itōišcā

taṭ mazdā tavā xšaḡrəm yā əražəjyōi dāhī drigaovē vahyō

53,9. By/over the disbelieving venom flows; they (mean) waning (and) darkness,
greedy violators of truth of forfeited bodies.

Where is the truthful Lord who would deprive them of their livelihood and their
freedom of movement?

It is your power, O Wise One, through which you will grant what is better to the poor
person living decently.

53,9. Durch/über die Falschgläubigen fließt Gift; sie (bedeuten) Verfall (und) Dunkel,
habgierige Schänder des Wahrseins von verwirkten Leibern.

Wo ist der wahrhafte Herr, der sie ihres Lebensunterhalts und ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit
berauben würde?

Deine Macht ist es, o Weiser, durch die Du dem recht lebenden Armen das Bessere
gewähren wirst.

Yasna 54,1. Conclusion

Ā Airyōmā īshiyō (= Airyaman īshiya)

54,1. *ā airyōmā īshiyō rafəḡrāi jaṇtū nərəbyascā nāiribyascā zaraḡuṣtrahe*

vaṇhəuš rafəḡrāi manəḡhō yā daēnā vairīm hanāt mīždəm

ašahyā yāsā ašīm yam īshiyam ahurō masatā mazdā

54,1. Let the tribe provided with invigorations come to the support of the men and
women of Zarathushtra,
to the support of good thought by the view/religion by which one will win a desirable
prize.

I request the invigorating reward of truth, which (to accord) the Wise Lord will be
delighted.

54,1. Lasst den Stamm mit Erfrischungen versehen den Männern und Frauen

Zarathushtras zur Unterstützung kommen,

zur Unterstützung des guten Gedankens durch die Anschauung/Religion, durch die einer
einen begehrenswerten Preis verdienen wird.

Ich bitte um die erfrischende Belohnung des Wahrseins, an dessen (Gewährung) sich
der Weise Herr erfreuen wird.

C. Notes

These notes mainly consist of additions to those in H. Humbach, *Gāthās* 1991, Part 2, to which we refer the reader.

General Remarks

1. In the text established and in the discussion of its readings square brackets [] indicate deletions, pointed brackets < > restorations. The respective authors are denoted by the following sigla:

B = Christian Bartholomae 1904

G = Karl Friedrich Geldner 1886, 1889, 1896

HF = Helmut Humbach and Klaus Faiss in the present work

HH = Helmut Humbach 1991

KH = Karl Hoffmann 1975, 1976, 1992

KP = Jean Kellens and Eric Pirart 1988, 1990, 1991

SI = Stanley Insler 1975

NH stands for readings and translations of the Yasna Haptanghāiti by Johanna Narten 1986 rendered into English and expanded by Almut Hintze 2007.

Cf. "Select Literature."

The numbers pertain to the chapters of the Yasna in Part B.

2. Heavy corruptions are to be found in: 29,8 *dyāi* (G) read <di>*dyāi* (HF); 32,7 *yā jōyā* (G) read *yā* <a>*jōyā* (HF); 32,14 *ahyā grāhmō* (G) read *ahyā grāhm*<ā>*ng* (HF); *ibid.* *mraoī* (G) read *mr*<ā>*v*ī (HF); 36,2 *urvāzištahyā urvāziyā* read *urvāzištahyā urvāz*<a>*yā* (HH); 43,2 *ṛβā cīcīṛβā* (G) read *ṛβā cīcīṛβ*<ā> (HF); 43,14 *azā* (B, *azēm* G) read *az*<ē> (HF); 44,18 *apivaitī* read *api*<n>*vaitī* (HF); 46,1 *hēcā naēdā* read *hēcā*<nē> *naēdā* (HF); 46,14 *mināš* read *mina*<s> (HF); 47,3 *tā* read <p>*tā* (HF); 48,1 *ašāšutā* read *ašāš*[u]*tā* (HF); 48,10 *ajān* read *a*<z>*ān* (HF); 50,7 *azāṛā* read <z>*azāṛā* (HF); 51,22 *nāmānīš* read *nāmānī*[š] (HF); 53,4 *bāēduš* read *bā*<n>*duš* (HF); 53,6 *spašuṛā* read *spaš*<n>*uṛā* and more in 53.

3. Parasitic consonants: 33,1 *ratū[š]* *šyaoṛanā* (HH); *ibid.* *hām*.[m]*yāsaitē* (HF); 40,1=41,5 *mīždām* [m]*javaēṛām* (HH); 43,1 *ga[t.t]ōi* (B); 44,8 *āgəma[t.t]ā* (B); 44,20 *hīm* [m]*azān* (HF); 48,12 *aēšəm*.[m]*ahyā* (B); 51,10 *ga[t.t]tē* (B); 53,3 *paitiyāstī*[m] *manahō* (HH). – Reduction of geminates: 28,4 *mān*<g> *gairē*.

4. By-forms of nouns preferred for metrical reasons: 32,12 *išanām* for expected gen.pl. *išānanām*; 34,11 *vidvaēšām* for expected gen.pl. *vidvaēšāṇām*; 43,13 *vairiyā* (*stōiš*) for expected gen.sg.f. *vairiyayā* (*stōiš*); 48,5 (*yaoždā*) *mašiyāi* for expected dat.sg. (*yaoždā*) *mašiyayāi*.

5. Side-stems of nouns: 40,4 *x'aētūš* nom.acc.pl. of *x'aētūš-* n., replacing the nom.pl. of *x'aētu-* f.; 43,7 *tanuši(-cā)* loc.sg. of *tanuš-*, replacing the loc.sg. of *tanū-* f. – Note also 50,6 *hizvō* nom.acc.sg. of *hizvah-* n. 'tongue' beside *hizū-/hizvā-* f.

6. Whereas the noun *yasna-* can always be rendered as 'sacrifice,' the verb *yaz* as 'to sacrifice' poses difficulties not only for syntactic reasons, wherefore we have decided to favor 'to celebrate' with the exception of 33,4 *yazāi apā* 'to keep off by sacrificing,' 34,6 *vā yazōmnascā ... stavas* 'sacrificing to you and praising you,' 50,4 *aṭ vā yazāi stavas* 'I will sacrifice to you praising (you).'

7. Sometimes *mazdā* cannot be rendered as part of Ahura Mazda's name but must probably be understood as predicative complement of *ahura-* 'Lord': 43,6 *jasō mazdā xšaṛā*; 45,5 *vaṇhəuš mainyəuš šyaoṛanāiš mazdā ahurō*; 45,7 *tācā xšaṛā mazdā dāmiš ahurō*; 45,9 *mazdā xšaṛā varəzī nā dyāt ahurō*; 47,1 *mazdā xšaṛā ārmaitī ahurō*; 51,6 *ahurō xšaṛā mazdā*. At least in some of these instances it makes sense to translate *mazdā* as 'mindful (of).'

Yasna 27,13-15

27,13. (1) In the mystical language of the Gāthās (and in its Young Avestan reinterpretations) the noun *aṇhu-* m. is attested in two diverging meanings, viz. ¹*aṇhu-* 'world/existence/life' (cf. Ved.Skt. *ásu-* 'life') and ²*aṇhu-* 'patron.' It is possible that the two are of the same origin – the noun *ahura-* 'lord' might derive from either –, but in practice the translator has to decide for the one or for the other. In his 1991 translation of Y. 27,13 and its parallel 29,6 Humbach decided for ¹*aṇhu-* 'world,' virtually extending its meaning to 'public/mankind,' which enabled him to translate both stanzas in a grammatically correct way:

Y. 27,13 *yaṛā ahū vairiyō aṛā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā*

'just as it is worth choosing by the world so (is) the judgment in accordance with truth itself'

or, in connection with the subsequent line,

Y. 27,13 *yaṛā ahū vairiyō aṛā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā*

vaṇhəuš dazdā manahō šyaoṛanāṇam aṇhəuš mazdāi

'just as He/it is worth choosing by the world so the judgment (to be passed) in accordance with truth itself

on the actions of the good thought of the world is committed to the Wise One.'

Accordingly,

Y. 29,6 *nōit aēvā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā*

'no (judgment) has been found by the world, no judgment in accordance with truth itself.'

(2) Yet, this procedure was not very convincing as its rather unspecific result disagreed too much with the Young Avestan reinterpretations of the two occurrences in question which understand the instr.sg. *ahū* as equivalent to the nom.sg. (correctly *aṇhuš*), coordinating it with the nom.sg. *ratuš* and translating the two as 'patron (and) judge' in reference to Zarathushtra and/or Ahura Mazda. Most instructive in this respect is

Yt. 13,91 *ahu ratuška gaēṛanām*

'(Zarathushtra,) patron and judge of the worldly possessions/world'

with the instr.sg. *ahu* used as nom.sg. Less typical is

Vid. 2,43 *aēšām aṇhuca/aṇhuška ratuška ... urvataṭ.narō ... tūmca yō zaraṇuštō*

'their patron and judge (is) Urvatatnara and you, Zarathushtra'

where the reading *aṇhuca* (G) could be the result of phonetic dissimilation in the ritual pronunciation. See furthermore

Y. 27,1 *ahūmca ratūmca yim ahuram mazdā* 'Ahura Mazdā, patron and judge'

Y. 19,12 *yaṭ dim ahūmca ratūmca ādadaṭ*

'when they appointed him, (Zarathushtra, as) patron and judge'

Visp. 2,4 *ahuram mazdām ... mainyayā stōiš ahūmca ratūm ca ... zaraθuštrām spitāməm ... gaēθyayā stōiš ahūmca ratūmca*

'Ahura Mazdā, the patron and judge of the spiritual world/existence, Zarathushtra, the patron and judge of the material world/existence.'

(3) The noun *ratu-* m. can mean 'judge' and 'judgment,' but in contrast with the above reinterpretations as 'judge' the context of 27,13 makes 'judgment' unavoidable. The meaning 'judge' is moreover disproved by Young Avestan Yt. 19,12.90 where the description of the final renovation of the world is concluded with the sequence *aṇā ratuš* 'so/such is the judgment' (with the Old Avestan spelling *aṇā* for YAv. *aṇa* in all manuscripts), thus showing that *aṇā ratuš* (*aṇātcīt hacā*) 'thus (is) the judgment (in accordance with truth itself' is a legal formula which is expanded to a complicated syntactic structure in 27,13.

(4) As for *ahū*, however, we admit now that the reinterpretation of the instr.sg. *ahū* as nom.sg. may have taken place as early as in the (ungrammatical) syntagma *ahū vairiyō* 'patron worth choosing' of the present stanza:

Y. 27,13 *yaṇā ahū vairiyō aṇā ratuš aṇātcīt hacā*

vaṇhōuš dazdā managhō šyaoθananam aṇhōuš mazdāi

'Since (He is) the patron worth choosing therefore the judgment (to be passed) in accordance with truth itself

on the actions of good thought of the world is committed to the Wise One.'

(5) We suppose that the ungrammatical use of the instr.sg. as nom.sg. in the set *ahū ... ratuš* is due to a mechanical reinterpretation of Y. 29,6 where *ahū* can easily be taken in its original function as instr.sg.:

Y. 29,6 *aṭ ā vaocaṭ ahurō mazdā ...*

nōiṭ aēvā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aṇātcīt hacā

aṭ zī θβā fšuyantaēcā vāstriyāicā θβōrāštā tatašā

'Thereupon the Wise Lord ... speaks:

No (judgment) has been found indeed by the Patron, no judgment in accordance with truth itself (is suitable).

For the shaper has fashioned you for the cattle-breeding herdsman.'

If we are right, the reinterpretation of the instr.sg. as nom.sg. in the Old Avestan Y. 27,13 gives evidence of an early tendency of the ritual language to develop an independent life, a tendency of which the Young Avestan texts offer a number of plain examples. Even Old Avestan was no virgin language at the time of Zarathushtra.

27,14. (1) Whereas *vohū vahištām* 'the best/highest good/possession' refers to truth as a moral quality, the subsequent *aṣāi vahištāi* denotes the divinity Asha Vahishta 'Best Truth' who is in possession at will of that moral quality (A.18.1). With its magical play of auspicious words the *Ashem Vohū* formula is a sacrificial spell or, in Sanskrit terms, a mantra. – (2) By ease attraction the relative construction *ahmāi hyaṭ aṣāi vahištāi* stands for *ahmāi hyaṭ aṣām vahištām* 'to him who (is) Best Truth.' In such relative constructions the rel.ptcl. *hyaṭ* regularly replaces the disyllabic forms of the rel.pron. *ya-*. Cf. disyllabic *ahmāi* in *ahmāi ... hyaṭ aṣāi vahištāi* vs. monosyllabic *tām* in Y. 45,8 *tām ... yim mazdām ahurām* 'Him, the Wise Lord.'

27,15. The Yenghē Hātām is a mantra in Young Avestan whose language was artificially archaized by lengthening the final short vowels (A.6.5). Its text is quite artlessly derived from that of Y. 51,22 or from a lost passage of a similar type.

Yasna 28

28,1. (1) *ahyā* 'his/of this/of that' anticipates *mainyōuš* 'of the spirit,' thus raising the tension of the listeners in a way similar to that in Y. 32,1 *ahyā ... ahurahyā ... mazdā*, but for the rest the syntactic structure is ambiguous as it happens to be in numerous Gāthā stanzas. – (2) *paourvīm* is either adv. ('I first request') or acc.sg.n. ('I request the prime of the spirit'). – (3) The acc.pl.m. *vīspāng* means 'all (divinities),' cf. Y. 31,2 *vā vīspāng* 'all of you,' or it is qualified by the attribute *mainyōuš ... spāntahyā* 'all (beings) of the beneficent spirit.' – (4) *šyaoθanā* can be acc.pl. ('I request) actions (of the spirit),' or it is instr.sg. ('I request) by the action.' – (5) The antecedent of the instr.sg. *yā* 'by/through which' is the gen.sg. *ahyā ... mainyōuš* 'of that spirit by which' or the instr.sg. *šyaoθanā* 'by the action on account of which.' – (6) *rafəδra-*, elsewhere found as an abstract noun 'support,' seems to stand metonymically as agent noun 'supporter,' cf. the same suffix in the agent noun *važdra-* 'driver' (vs. the consonant stem Ved.Skt. *vódhar-*). – (7) *vaṇhōuš xratūm managhō ... gəuščā uruṇəm* 'the intellect of good thought and the soul of the cow' can be taken metonymically for 'the man/myself and the cow,' the cow either being the sacrificial animal or the animal(s) promised to the prophet as sacrificial fee, see Y. 29,5 *mā uruvā gəuščā azyā* 'my soul and (that) of the fertile cow.'

28,2. (1) *ahuvā astvatascā hyaṭcā managhō āyaptā* 'the blessings of both existences, the osseous one and that of thought,' i.e., 'bodily and mental/spiritual welfare.' – (2) The relative construction *hyaṭcā managhō* 'and of that of good thought' stands for *ahyācā yā managhō*. – (3) *aṣāṭ hacā* 'in accordance with truth' does not mean 'on account of (my) piety,' but 'justly,' here 'in agreement with the promise given me.'

28,3. (1) *vā aṣā ... manascā vohū ... mazdāmca ahurām* 'you, O Truth, and Good Thought, and the Wise One' is an extended variation of the figure *vā mazdā aṣāmca* 'you, O Wise One, and Truth.' – (2) *apaourvīm* adv. 'in a new way' is a traditional expression emphasizing the originality of the poet (cf. Ved.Skt. *āpūrvīya-* 'unprecedented' of ritual songs). The compositional nexus of *apaourvīm* with 28,1 *paourvīm* seems to be superficial. – (3) The superfluous *-cā* 'and' in *yaēibyō xšaθramcā* '(those) for whom (right-mindedness increases) power' may be mechanically borrowed

from a set of the type *ašəm vohucā manō xšaθrəmcā* attested in Y. 29,11 and undoubtedly repeated many times in the ritual and religious literature of the time.

28,4. Read *mān(g) gairē* (HH) for simplified *mān gairē* (G). the character *n* being restricted to internal position: cf. the adv. *māng* in Y. 48,2 *yā māng porəθa* 'the penalty (I have) in mind.'

28,5. (1) In our translation *mazištəm* 'greatest' is taken as attribute of *səraošəm* 'hearing/obedience' (cf. Y. 33,5 *vīspə.mazištəm səraošəm*). Yet 'greatest' could also be understood as an attribute of Ahura Mazda (cf. Young Avestan Y. 19,12), which, however, would increase the difficulties with the hemistich *vāurōimaidī xrafstrā hizuvā*. – (2) It is quite difficult to find an appropriate rendering of *vāurōimaidī* that would apply to the two further instances of the verbal stem *vāura-* as well (Y. 31,3 *vāurayā*, 47,6 *vāurāitē*). The etymological connection with Phl. *wāwar*, NP. *bāwar* 'belief/confidence,' might suggest 'to believe' (not 'to cause to believe'!), but comparison of all three instances of *vāura-* rather results in 'to test' (cf. YAv. *varah-* 'ordeal'). – (3) It must be left open to discussion whether the ntr. *xrafstrā* 'noxious beings' is acc.pl. or voc.pl., although it hardly refers here to noxious animals such as snakes and insects as *xrafstra-* does in the Young Avestan Vidēvdād. In the present situation the un auspicious word could be one of the few apostrophes of laymen found in the Gāthās who, at this stage of the development of the song, may be called *xrafstrā* in the sense of 'sinners' in order to stimulate their openhandedness.

28,6. On the second hemistich which comprises ten syllables see A.n. 22.

28,11. (1) *aṇhuš paouruyō* means 'first existence' or 'foremost existence.' In our view the phrase is deliberately ambiguous, referring to the songs by which Ahura Mazda created the world and which the prophet wants to learn from him in order to restore by them the first existence or, with SI, to establish the foremost existence. – (2) In agreement with the customs of the scribes of our manuscripts the transmitted *bavaṭ* (*bauuṭ*) 'was' could easily stand for *buvaṭ* (*buuṭ*) 'will be,' for which reason further discussion on what is meant by the verb is rather useless. We just note that *bavaṭ* is translated as a preterit by PhlT. *kē andar axwān fradom būd* '(that) which was the first in the world.' – (3) We think that the prophet, on the macrocosmic level, recalls both creation and salvation of the world whereas on the microcosmic level he alludes to the salutary and beneficial effects of the sacrifice he is performing.

Yasna 29

29,1. (1) Modern authors follow the PhlT. setting the scene of the song in the mythical past, which, however, is contradicted by the verbal form *paītī.mravaṭ* 'he will answer,' not to speak of the train of thought of the song in which the deceitful are blamed for slaughtering the sacrificial animal in a ritually incorrect and even cruel way (A.n. 37). The animal is to be put under the prophet's protection, be it to increase the priest's wealth and influence, or be it to be correctly sacrificed by him. – (2) The term *gəuṣ uruvan-* 'soul of the cow' fluctuates between metonymical use as 'the cow/sacrificial animal' and literal meaning 'the soul of the cow/sacrificial animal,' which, as we

suppose, wants to unite with Ahura Mazda. – (3) One of the technical tricks with which the poet effects the obviously enigmatic character of this song is the use of the plur. *xšmaibyā* 'to you,' which can be taken as the polite form of addressing Ahura Mazda in his further divine functions as shaper (*θβorəštār-*) and fashioner (*tašan-*) of the cow, and, at the same time, as an address to his divine functions personified as divine persons.

29,2. (1) *kaθā tōi ... ratuš* 'what about your judgment,' lit. 'of which kind (is) your judgment,' see 27,13 on *aθā ratuš* 'so/such (is) the judgment' and cf. Y. 29,6 *naēdā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā* 'no judgment in accordance with truth.' – (2) *hīm dātā* is 3.sg.med. 'takes (care of) her' (not 'establishes for her'!); the acc.sg.f. *hīm* (not dat.sg.!) takes up *gavōi*. – (3) *vāstrā* is instr.sg. of *vāstra-* 'forage' rather than of *vāstar-* 'shepherd.'

29,3. *sarəjan-* 'wall-breaking' is a warlike term of the same type as Y. 44,16 *vərəθrəm.jan-* 'victorious' (lit. 'breaking resistance') with which it agrees in forming the nom.sg. in *-jā* (for expected *-jā*).

29,4. *ciθiṭ* = *ciṭ-iṭ*, not 3.sg.opt.aor. of root *ciθ* as held by HH.

29,5. *ahvā* in *ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš* is no verb ('we two were') but instr.sg. of the noun *ahvā-* 'energy, fervor' (YAv. *aṇhvā-*, PhlT. *axwih*). Its instrumental ending *-ā* is as monosyllabic as that of the instr.sg. *daēnā* in, e.g., Y. 45,11 *dāng patōiš spəntā daēnā* 'by the beneficent view of the landlord.'

29,6. (1) *nōiṭ ... ahū vistō naēdā ratuš* 'no (judgment is) found by the Patron, no judgment (is suitable)' with *ahū* correctly as instr.sg. and with *ratuš* as 'judgment,' see on 27,13 where, according to us, *ahū* is used as an ungrammatical nom.sg. – (2) Note that *ašātciṭ hacā* 'in accordance with truth itself' emphasizes not the truthfulness of an (erroneously) presupposed judge (*ratuš*) but the absolute correctness and authoritativeness of the expected judgment (*ratuš*). – (3) We think that with *ahū* 'by the patron' Ahura Mazda in an artificially exalted style speaks of himself: 'by the patron' = 'by myself.' – (4) The phrase *ṣṣuyantaēcā vāstriyāicā* 'for the cattle-breeding herdsman,' lit. 'for the cattle breeder and the herdsman,' is elaborated from the common set *vāstriya- ṣṣuyant-* by artificial dissociation and inversion of the two members and by addition of *-cā* to each of them, for which cf. 30,1 *staotācā ... yesniyācā*. – (5) *θβā ... θβorəštā tatašā* 'the shaper has fashioned you' can be understood as an enigmatic expression for 'I myself have fashioned you.'

29,8. (1) A list of the figures of speech of the type 'You and Truth' is given in HH 1, 101; these mainly occur with the 2nd person in the acc.pl. 'you and Truth' (as in Y. 49,6 *vā ... mazdā ašəmca*) and in the dat.pl. 'to you and Truth' (as in Y. 32,6 *vā mazdā ... ašāicā*), i.e., in passages where the plur. 'you' can be interpreted as the well-known polite variant of the sing. *tōi* 'to you' (as in Y. 34,3 *tōi ... ahurā ... ašāicā*). Not enough attention was paid to the variant of the figure with the 1st person plur. 'to us, O Wise One, and to Truth' (*nā mazdā ... ašāicā*) found in the present stanza. In regard of what we said above about *ahū* in 29,6, the conclusion must be that Ahura Mazda with this variant of the figure of speech in question solemnly addresses himself ('to Us').

Thereby, no less than by the partial transformation of Ahura Mazdā's functions as shaper (Y. 29,6 *βōrəštar-*) and fashioner (Y. 29,2 *tašan-*) into individual divine persons (cf. 29,1), the prophet deliberately encoded and mystified his song on the complaint of the cow. (2) We repeat that *hudāma-* does not mean 'sweetness' but rather 'shapeliness/beauty' and that *vaxōra-* does not mean 'voice' but 'speech organ/mouth' (cf. Skt. *vaktra-* 'mouth'). [Add the obscure FrW. 9,2 *humnəm rāiti barāēta* whose YAv. *humna-* continues OAv. *hudāma-*.] – (3) Read <di>dyāi (<di>diāi) 'I may perceive' for the unexplained verbal form *dyāi/diyāi* (*diāi*) which is the result of haplology or haplography in the subarchetype (A.6.1).

29,9. (1) The difficult syntax of *yā ... xšānmānē* '(woe is me) who must content myself' seems to indicate the despair of the cow. – (2) We leave open whether *rādām* is a noun or a verb.

29,11. (1) *mašā* is instr.sg., or nom.acc.du., or nom.voc.pl. of *maša-* 'mortal/man' (< *mārta-*), a doublet of its synonym *marəta-* (< *martā-*) attested in Y. 29,7, 45,5, 46,13 and the exact equivalent of Ved.Skt. *mārta-* 'id.' – (2) Comparison of *aṭ mā* in *aṭ mā mašā*, which certainly triggers off a new sentence, with the same in Y. 49,1 *aṭ mā yavā bəṇdvō pafrē mazištō*, suggests that *mā* is not the pers.pron. *mā* 'me' but the ptcl. *mā*. – (3) The only possible acc.obj. of the 2.pl.impv. *paītī.zānatā* 'accept' is, therefore, *mašā* 'the two mortals,' a conclusion which compels us to count with an elliptic dual 'the mortal and his companion,' i.e., 'myself, the prophet, and the cow' (cf. the elliptic dual Ved.Skt. *mitrā* 'the two Mitras' = 'Mitra and Varuṇa'). – (4) The use of the elliptic dual 'the two mortals' for 'the mortal one and the cow' looks adventurous, though in principle it is not different from the picture drawn in Y. 29,5 where both the (soul of the) prophet and (that of) the cow are described as devoting themselves with hands stretched out to Ahura Mazdā. – (5) In the present context the elliptic dual *mašā* alludes to the twofold sacrifice offered Ahura Mazdā by the prophet, i.e., the metaphorical sacrifice of his own person and the bloody sacrifice of the animal. This twofoldness is expressed in other form in Y. 28,1 *vaṇhəuš xratūm manəḥō ... gəušcā uruṇəm* 'the intellect of good thought and the soul of the cow.'

Yasna 30

30,1. (1) *išəptō* 'O you approaching ones' addresses Ahura Mazdā (including or not the other divinities), see Y. 45,1 *yaēcā asnāt yaēcā dūrāt išaṇā*. – (2) *mazdāṇa-* 'noteworthy' alludes to the name of Mazdā, thus underlining that it is He, the knowing one, who is addressed. – (3) *hyaṭcīt vīdušē = ahmāicīt yā vīdvā* 'to Him, the knowing one.' – (4) *staotācā ... yesniyācā* 'praises and sacrificial (words)' is an elaboration of the term *staotā yesniyā* 'praises accompanying the sacrifice,' which is preserved only in its Young Avestan form *staota yesniya*. – (5) Hesitatingly we read *yāēcā* for *yecā* against KH 2, 646-654, who prefers deriving *ašā yecā* from *ašāya-ca* as he does more convincingly in Y. 51,2 *vā ... ahurā ašāi.yecā*. – (6) In *huməzdrā ašā yāēcā* 'and (for those) who (are) attentive through truth' the rel.pron. *ya-* is shifted to the end of the relative construction as it is in Y. 33,14 *šyaoṇanahyā ašā yācā*, cf. also *hyaṭ* in YH.

35,5, 40,1 *ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibī*, and the rel.adv. *yāt* 'since' in YH 36,6 *barəzištəm barəzəmanəm ... yāt huvarə avācī*.

30,3. (1) Line b *manahicā vacahicā šyaoṇanōi hī vahyō akəmcā* 'both thoughts and both words, both actions, the very good and the evil one' has a relevant caesura which separates it into two hemistichs of 8 + 8 syllables. Except for this detail, the line is correctly rendered by PhIT. *menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn ān ī harw dō kē weh ud kē-iz wattar*. – (2) In contrast to this the modern translators persistently cling to 'the better and the evil in (!) thought/thinking, in word/speaking, and in deed/action,' counting with a manner of expression which is nowhere else found in the Avesta. Unawares they thereby follow Neriosangh's SktV. (A.10) *manasica vacasica karmaṇica tat dvitayam*, in which the Avestan nom.du. in *-ī (-i-cā)* is helplessly rendered as a loc.sg. in *-i*. – (3) Once more we draw attention to RV. 7,104,12 *sác cāsacca vácasī pasprdhāte taylor yāt sátyam* 'both words, the true one and the false one, fight with each other; the true one of whose two ..., ' which shows a notable similarity to Y. 30,3 along with *ayā nōiṭ əraš višyātā* following in Y. 30,6.

30,5. (1) The expression *mainyu- drəgvant-* 'the deceitful spirit,' which underlies *ayā mainivā ... yā drəgvā* 'the deceitful one of these two (spirits),' is a more or less poetical variant of *aṇgra- mainyu-* 'Ahriman/harmful spirit.' This is attested in Y. 45,2 and alluded to in Y. 44,12, whereas Y. 32,5 has *aka- mainyu-* 'evil spirit.' – (2) *haiṇyāiš šyaoṇanāiš* 'with real/realizing actions' does not simply mean 'with pious actions,' but has the same juridical (and magic) component as Y. 50,11 *haiṇyāvarəštā-* 'realization.'

30,6. *marətanō* is nom.pl. of *marətan-* 'man/human' like in Y. 32,12 (it is not to be confounded with the gen.sg. *marəṇnō* well-attested in Young Avestan!).

30,7. (1) *ahmāi* either refers back to *aṇhuš* 'world/existence' or it is strongly deictic 'this one/the present one,' be it the prophet be it his sponsor. – (2) *aēšəm ... ayaṇhā ādānāiš* 'through their allotments (by the ordeal) with glowing metal': thus if the meaning of *ādāna-* is similar to that of *ādā-* 'apportionment,' otherwise *ādāna-* is to be connected with Ved.Skt. *ādāna-* 'binding/fettering.'

30,8. Here *kaēnā* apparently means 'penalty (in head of cattle).' *yadā ... kaēnā jimaītī* '(when) the penalty has arrived' (nom.sg.) or '(when) one has arrived with the penalty' (instr.sg.).

30,9. The meaning of *maēṇa-*, a derivation of root *miṇ* 'gather' (see 46,14 on *mina(s)*) is problematic. Here and in Y. 31,12 *yaṇrā maēṇā* we translate *maēṇa-* as 'partner,' but this neither works in Y. 33,9 *maēṇā mayā* 'facing me' nor in Y. 34,6 *ahyā aṇhəuš vīspā maēṇā* 'throughout all vicissitudes of this existence.'

30,10. (1) *asištā* (*yaojanṭē*) is incorrect for *āsištā* (*yaojanṭē*) 'the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked,' metaphorically for 'the most beautiful songs will be struck up,' cf. Y. 44,4 *yaogaṭ āsū* 'yokes the swift (steeds).' The picture is borrowed from chariot-racing. – (2) *zazəntī vaṇhāu sravahī* 'they will let (the others behind) at the good fame' = 'they will be the first at the prize promised to the winner' = 'they will win the prize,' cf. YH. 41,4 *zaēmā-cā*, Y. 50,7 <z>*azəṇā*.

30,11. (1) For *saškaθā* (G) read *saššaθā* (KH), cf. 53,1 on *saššaθā*. – (2) With the voc.pl. *mašiyāñhō* ‘O mortals’ the human participants are apostrophized in the final stanza to remind them of their obligation. The prophet seems to suggest to the public that he is quoting words spoken by Ahura Mazdā.

Yasna 31

31,1. *aguštā vacā* may mean ‘unheard words’ = ‘words not yet heard’ or ‘words not to be heard.’ The former follows the general opinion, yet the latter agrees with stanza 18 *mā.ciš aṭ vā drəgvatō maθraścā gūštā sāsnāścā* ‘let no (adherent) of the deceitful one hear your mantras and teachings,’ for which cf. Young Avestan Yt. 4,9 *aētəm maθrəm mā fradaxšayō anyāṭ piθrē vā puθrāi* ‘do not teach this mantra anybody but (your) father or (your) son.’

31,2. The reading *urvānē* ‘to attain’ seems to be inexact for *urvanē* with short internal *a* whose lengthening may be due to perseveration of the preceding *urvātā* Y. 31,1. If initial *urv* is equivalent to internal *əurv*, it could come from *rv* (root *ar*).

31,3. (1) On *rānōibyā* ‘balance’ and the ordeal see A.37. – (2) Read *cazdōnghvadəbyō* (HF) for hybrid *cazdōnghvadəbyō* (G) which is influenced by the variant spelling *cazdōnghv°* attested in *cazdōnghvəntəm* Y. 44,5.

31,4. *yadā ašəm zəvīm aṭhən mazdāścā ahurāñhō* ‘when the Wise One and the other Lords will be present as truth (= in the form of material truth) worth calling for.’ Not ‘when truth is to be called for and (when) the Wise One and the other Lords (are to be called for).’

31,7. (1) If *damiš* is the nom.sg. of the noun *dami-* ‘builder/establisher’ (of which *dāmim* in Y. 31,8 is the acc.sg.), then it dominates the acc. *ašəm* in verbal government, yet it is possible as well that *damiš* is the 3.sg.inj. *s*-aor. of the underlying verbal root *dam* ‘build/establish.’ The same problem is found in Y. 45,7. – (2) See also 31,13 on *hāra-*.

31,9. (1) In *as ārmaitiš* there is no doubt about *as* being incorrect for *ās* ‘was,’ a rare opportunity to ensure the past sense of a verbal action in the Gāthās. – (2) However, the subsequent *as xratuš* (= *as.xratuš*) is likely to be wrong for *aš.xratuš* ‘of high intelligence’ (KP), cf. the superlative YAv. *aš.xraθbastəma-*. Similarly *aš.isti-* in Y. 34,4, 44,9, less likely *aš.aojah-* in Y. 34,8.

31,11. (1) *yaθrā varənōng vasā dāyetē* ‘at which one takes his choices (and forms) his wishes’ (‘takes,’ not ‘expresses,’ in regard of the medium voice of the verb!) or ‘at which the wishes form their choices.’ – (2) The stem *dāya-* may have originally been the causative stem of root *dā* (vs. Ved.Skt. *dhāpaya-*).

31,12. On deceitful persons calling upon Ahura Mazdā see A.22.6.

31,13. In *tā ... hārō* ‘retaining that’ (lit. ‘these things’) the adj. *hārō* dominates the acc.pl.n. *tā* in verbal government, cf. Y. 44,2 *irixtəm ... hārō* ‘retaining the outcome.’

31,17. (1) For *varənvaitē* (G) read *varənəvaitē* (HH), cf. OP. *vṛnavatām* ‘shall convince.’ The development of OIr. *vṛnava-* ‘to convince’ to Phl. *wurrōyistan* < *wurrawistan* ‘to believe’ < ‘to have been convinced’ is noteworthy. – (2) With a rhetorical question Ahura Mazdā is put on his guard against the prophet’s deceitful rival who must be stopped trying to exercise influence on the deity by performing his own program.

31,18. In *mā.ciš aṭ vā drəgvatō* ‘let no (adherent) of the deceitful one’ the enclitic pron. *vā* is not a partitive genitive ‘(anyone) of you’ but an attribute of *maθraścā ... sāsnāścā* ‘your mantras and teachings.’ These are a secret knowledge of which the prophet’s rival must not gain possession (A.22.6). See also 31,1 on *aguštā vacā*.

31,19. (1) *gūštā* is 3.sg.aor.med. as it is in the preceding stanza (not 2.pl.impv.act. of the verb which is always used in the medium!). – (2) By *ahūm.biš* ‘the healer of the existence/world’ the prophet refers to himself. – (3) On *raṇayā* ‘(result) of the balance’ and the ordeal see A.37.

31,20. (1) If *āyaṭ* represents *ā-ayaṭ* (3.sg.subj.), then the hemistich has eight syllables instead of seven. – (2) The stanza is deliberately ambiguous. At first glance it seems that the prophet speaks of a convert coming over to the truthful from his community (cf. Y. 46,5 *ayaṭəm*, 46,6 *āiyāṭ*), who will be awarded for his conversion with paradisiacal splendor (*dīvamnəm*) and, thus, will escape the hellish punishment to be expected by the deceitful. Yet, at the same time, the stanza can be interpreted as pertaining to a priest who approaches a truthful person hoping to be well-received by him and to be entrusted with performing sacrifices; see Young Avestan Vyt. 59 *narəmca ašavanəm kuxšnuvānō asnāaṭca jasəntəm dūrāaṭca* ‘satisfying the truthful man who comes from near or far.’ On the basis of this alternative interpretation the paradisiacal splendor promised to him stands as a poetical exaggeration (hyperbole) for the comfortable life expected by him in the house of his host (cf. the similar exaggerations in Y. 34,15, 44,18). More than the former, the latter interpretation is suggested by the apostrophe of the participants in the sacrifice as ‘(you) deceitful,’ by which the prophet, close to the end of the song, reminds his still hesitating hearers of the promised remuneration (A.22.6).

31,22. For *yaθanā* (G) read *yaθənā* (SI). This is not to be connected with Skt. *yatna-* ‘effort,’ as SI proposes, but it consists of *yaθə-nā* where *yaθə* is a sandhi form of the rel.pron./rel.ptcl. *hyaṭ* (YAv. *yaṭ*, Skt. *yád*) followed by the enclitic ptcl. *-nā* (as in *ciθə-nā* Y. 44,20). Whereas the original initial *y* is preserved in *yaθə-nā* (on which see also 35,2, 43,10), the basic form *yaṭ* is replaced by the strange spelling *hyaṭ* in all its other Old Avestan instances.

Yasna 32

32,1. (1) The Daēvas are besieging the sacrifice, trying to get hold of the offering. The prophet mockingly addresses them, assuring them in the end that his own people (family, community, and tribe) are expecting the arrival of Ahura Mazdā. – (2) The hemistich *ahyā daēvā mahmī manōi* has eight instead of seven syllables, which, however, is no reason for shortening *manōi* to enigmatic *mnōi*. For the correct reading

manōi cf. Young Avestan N. 33 *zaota gā9ā frasrāvayōit ... zara9uštri mana* 'the officiating priest should recite the Gāthās in Zarathushtrian presentation,' as pointed out by Humbach as early as in 1959. – (3) On *dūta*- 'household' see A.12.3.1. – (4) *dārayō* is an erroneous spelling for *darayō* 'you split open' from root *dar* 'split' (cf. Ved.Skt. *daraya*- 'id.'), the error being due to confusion with the current *dāraya*- 'hold on to/uphold' (but not 'hold off' as the form is usually translated here by the scholarly tradition).

32,2. *sārəmnō vohū manəḡhā* 'allied with good thought,' cf. Y. 49,5 *daēnəm vohū sārəštā manəḡhā* 'allies his view/view-soul with good thought' and note (in addition to A.12.3.2) that the noun *sar*- with genitive means 'shelter (of)' (as in YH. 35,8, Y. 49,8), with instrumental 'alliance (with)' (as in Y. 49,9) < 'mutual shelter(ing).'

32,3. After having informed his public about Ahura Mazdā's positive reply in the preceding stanza, the prophet abuses the Daēvas in order to chase them and to open the way to the offering for Ahura Mazdā (A.5.1).

32,4. *acištā daṇtō* 'producing (not doing!) the worst (thoughts, words, actions).'

32,5. In coordination with *akascā mainyuš* the phrase *akā šyao9anəm vacəḡhā* 'the action (inspired) by evil word' is a clear instance of adnominal use of the instrumental case.

32,6. Read *pourū aēnā* 'the many outrages' (G) against *pouru aēnā* (mss.). The scribe of the subarchetype had erroneously started writing *pouruuaēnā* 'the person of many outrages' and stopped too late.

32,7. (1) *hādrōyā* 'explicitly/straight' either is loc.sg. (= *hādrōi.ā*) of a noun *hādra*- 'straight' (similar to Ved.Skt. *sādhū*- 'id.') or an adverb of the same type as Ved.Skt. *sādhuyā* 'rightly/duly.' – (2) For *yā jōyā* (G), whose hemistich has one syllable too few, read *yā a)jōyā* (HF). The spelling *ōyā* for expected *ayā* or *iyā* may be due to perseveration of the preceding *hādrōyā*. The reconstructed *a-jōya*- seems to mean 'imperishable' in the sense of 'irremissible/unforgivable,' cf. YAv. *ajyamna*-/*ajyamna*- 'imperishable' said of *haurvatāt*- and *amərətāt*- 'nectar and ambrosia.'

32,8. On Yima and the very short allusion to his crime see A.13.2-3.

32,10. The clause *yā acištəm vaēnaḡhē aogadā ḡam* 'who professes what is the worst in order to see the cow' shows an interlaced word order ('who ... worst ... to see ... professes ... the cow'), which would be impossible unless the clause was unmistakable.

32,11. For *aḡhuvīšcā aḡhuvascā* (G) read *aḡhīšcā aḡhavascā* (HH) 'patronesses and patrons' and see A.33.2 on the order female – male of the genders.

32,12-14. Read *grāhm°* (B) for *gərāhm°* (G) and see A.27.2-7, 29.3.

32,12. (1) In our view *urvāxš* is 2.sg.impv./inj. *s*-aor. from root *urvaj/vraj* 'move/proceed' (Ved.Skt. *vraj*); the form of the imperative agrees with that of the injunctive as it does in the case of *dā* from root *dā*. – (2) The gen.pl. *išanəm* 'of those who have sought for themselves' is a haplological by-form of the expected gen.pl. *išānanəm* of

išāna- ptcpl.perf.med. of root *iš*. Similarly YAv. *raonəm* for **raonanəm* from *raona*- (not *ravan*-!) 'slope/rock face' (> Phl. *rōn* 'direction/side,' *bērōn* 'outside').

32,13. Instead of the 3.sg. *hišasaṭ* the nom.pl. *marəxtārō* 'destroyers' would require the 3 pl. of the verb. It is not impossible that *hišasaṭ* is corrupted from an athematic 3 pl. *hišaṭ* (cf. the athematic pres.ptcpl. *hišaṭ*- in Y. 45,4 *vīspā.hišas*), or that inhomogeneous elements taken from other texts were joined together by the author.

32,14. (1) Read *ahyā grāhm(ə)ḡ* (HF) for *ahyā grāhmō* (G). – (2) Read *mr(ə)vī* (HF) for *mraoi* (G). The scribe of the subarchetype inattentively started writing the most common verb *mraoṭ* 'speaks/spoke,' but he became aware of his mistake after *mrao* and tried to correct the word as far as still possible. – (3) *saocayaṭ* 'inflames' see A.29.

32,15. *tōi ābyā bairyāntē* 'they will be brought to those two,' or better 'they will be cared for by those two,' with *bairyāntē* short for *hubərətā bairyāntē*, lit. 'they will be treated/kept (as) well-treated/-kept ones.' Cf. Young Avestan expressions such as Yt. 13,18 *yō nā hiš hubərətā barāt* 'the man who treats/keeps them (= the Fravashis) well.'

32,16. *aḡhayā* is incorrect for *āḡhayā* 'in sight,' cf. Ved.Skt. *āsaya* 'before one's eyes/immediately.'

Yasna 33

33,1. (1) For *ratūš šyao9anā* (G) read *ratū[š] šyao9anā* (HH) with parasitic *š*-sound. (In the pronunciation of the later tradition *š/š/š* were no longer phonetically distinguished.) – (2) The underlying instr.sg. *ratū* 'by the judge' is the otherwise missing agent of the verb *varəšaitē* 'shall be applied.' – (3) In principle the parasitic *š* of *ratū[š]* is not much different from the parasitic *m* in the subsequent *hām.[m]yāsaitē* (HF) 'taken together/offset (against)' as we read with the less (!) relevant manuscripts for the graphically irregular *hāməmyāsaitē* (G).

33,3. *vīḡas ... 9βaxšəḡhā gavōi* 'zealously caring for the cow' is specifically said of the wandering priest who may come from another sub-tribe or, even, from another tribe.

33,5. In *darəḡō.jyāitīm ... xša9rəm* the ending *-īm* (acc.sg.m.f.) stands for expected *-ī* (acc.sg.n.) in a way similar to *marždikəm 9rāyō.driyūm* 'compassion protecting the poor' in Young Avestan S. 2,4. There the acc.sg.m.f. *9rāyō.driyūm* replaces the acc.sg.n. *9rāyō.driyū* which would be expected in view of the ntr. (!) *marždikəm* 'compassion' (cf. Ved.Skt. *mṛḡdikā*- n. 'id.').

33,6. We repeat that *zaotar*- does not mean 'member of the priest class' but 'officiating priest.'

33,7. With *nā aṭtarə* 'between us' the prophet speaks of mutual reverence, i.e., of the reverence paid by himself to Ahura Mazdā and, in return, paid to him by Ahura Mazdā, his intimate friend. See 44,1 on *nəmah*-.

33,8. (1) *yasnəm ... staomyā vacā*, see 30,1 on *staotācā ... yesniyācā*. – (2) YAv. *draonah*- denotes the share of the sacrificial animal reserved for the deity (in Young Avestan Y. 11,4 for Haoma), being here equated with 'integrity and immortality,' i.e.,

the liquid and solid parts of the offering as a whole. In Pahlavi the meaning of *drōn* < Av. *draonah-* is narrowed to 'sacrificial bread,' which is also its meaning in the modern ritual.

33,9. (1) The grammatical gender of the gen.du. *ašaōxšayantā sarāidyayā* 'of the two braves' is masculine-neuter, but the phrase undoubtedly refers to the feminine couple *aməratāscā haurvatās* in the preceding stanza. – (2) *yayā ... uruvānō* 'whose souls,' lit. 'the souls of the two of which' with the gen.du. *yayā* in contrast with the nom.pl. *uruvānō* 'the souls.'

33,10. (1) *hujītayō* 'good gains/winnings,' cf. YH. 38,5 *jītayō* 'gains/winnings' and YAv. *darəyō.jīti-* 'long-lasting gain/winning.' – (2) Taking *tanūm* as a by-form of the acc.sg. *tanuvām* of *tanū-* 'body' poses syntactic difficulties wherefore we explain *tanūm* as adv. 'continuously,' cf. Phl. *tanīdan* 'to stretch,' Ved.Skt. *tān-* f. 'continuation, posterity.'

33,11. *ādāi kahyācīt paitī* 'in return for any presentation,' cf. Y. 51,22 *yesnē paitī*.

33,12. Note the medium voice of *dasvā* 'take' (not 'grant!'). Ahura Mazda is invited to restore himself at the sacrifice.

33,13. *abifrā* 'peculiarities' after the compound YAv. *aštā.bifrām* (= *ašta-abifrām*) 'sum of eight characteristics.'

33,14. Read *ašā yācā* (HH) for *ašāi yācā* (G) and see 30,1 on the shift of the relative pronoun to the end of the relative construction, cf. also 35,5.

Yasna 34

34,1. (1) Note the medium voice of *dāghā* 'you take' (not 'you grant!'). The sacrificial offering, poetically described as *haurvatāt-* and *aməratatāt-* to be taken by Ahura Mazda, shall strengthen his power of integrity and immortality. Cf. Y. 34,11 where the two are described as the divine food of Ahura Mazda. – (2) Note the opposition between the inj.aor. *dāghā* and the ind.pres. *dastē*. Whereas the aorist expresses the generality of the information, the indicative present, which is rare in the Gāthās but better attested in the prose of the Yasna Haptanghāiti, preferably denotes the "here and now."

34,4. (1) Read *aš.īštīm* (HH) 'of much command/most able' for *asīštīm* (G), which shows the same dissimilation *š-š > s-š* as *asīštiš* transmitted in Y. 44,9 for *aš.īštiš*, see 31,9 on *aš.xratuš*. – (2) *zastāišā* '(arrows) sent by one's hands' with instr.sg. instead of instr.du. of the first member in contrast with just the stem in Ved.Skt. *hastā-cyuta-* 'moved with one's hands.'

34,5. (1) Read *vā hahmī* (G) vs. *vā haxmī* (B). – (2) From *drigu-* 'poor/needy' said of himself by the prophet (cf. A.22.6) comes Phl. *daryōš* 'poor' and NP. *darweš* 'poor/dervish.' – (3) *daēvāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiyāišcā* possibly better 'noxious beings, both Daēvas and mortals' as similarly KP.

34,6. *vīspā maēθā* 'all vicissitudes,' cf. Khwar. *°wsp-mycyk* 'daily/everyday' from *myθ* m. 'day' and see 30,9 on *maēθa-*.

34,7. *sānghūš* is nom.acc.pl. of the hapax *sānghuš-* n. 'bequest.'

34,8. (1) For *biyeptē/byeptē* (*biieptē*) (G) read *bāyeptē* (HF) 'they fear' after Ved.Skt. *bháyante* 'id.' The correction admittedly results in a hemistich of eight instead of seven syllables. – (2) In our view the prophet draws an archaic picture of Ahura Mazda as an archer in this stanza: The two instances of *as* in line a (*as ... iθyejō*) and line c (*vohū as manō*) are taken by us as the 2./3. sg.aor. of root *²ah* 'shoot/hit.' Yet, that is not unproblematic inasmuch as it is only the present tense of that root which means 'shoot' (as YAv. *aiḡhya-*), whereas its aorist is attested but in the meaning 'hit' (as in the 3.sg.subj.aor. *aḡhaṭ* Y. 44,19). – (3) *as* in line b is highly suspect of being corrupt. We restore *hyaṭ aš.aojā nāidyāḡham* 'as the very strong one (treats) the weaker one.' As a matter of fact, the existence of a stem *aš.aojah-* 'very strong' is ascertained by its degrees of comparison YAv. *aš.aojastara-* and *aš.aojastama-*. The subject is complicated by the Young Avestan quotation Y. 57,10 *yaθa aojā nāidyāḡham* 'as strength (nom.pl.!) (treats) the weaker one,' according to which *hyaṭ as* would be a corruption of *yaθā*.

34,9. On the plur. *ašā* 'truths/manifestations of truth' see A.20.1.

34,11. *vīdvaēšam* is a by-form of unattested *vīdvaēšam*, the gen.pl. of *vī-dvaēšah-* 'resisting enmity/enemies,' cf. YAv. *vī-tbaēšah-*, Ved.Skt. *vi-dveṣas-* 'id.'

34,13. (1) Read *hū.karētā* 'well-built/cleared' (B) for *hū.karētā* 'well-renowned' (G) which, though, has the appearance of a lectio difficilior (cf. Ved.Skt. *sukīrti-* 'good praise'). – (2) For *civištā* (G), whose *ci°* is due to post-Sasanian development, read *cavištā* (B). – (3) *cavištā*, which must be the reading of the Sasanian archetype (A.6.1), could be a pseudo-archaic spelling for correct *cōišā*, whose inventor might erroneously have followed the proportion YAv. *yōišā-*: OAv. **yāvišta-* 'youngest' (Ved.Skt. *yāviṣṭha-*). The problem recurs in Y. 51,15 *mīždām ... magavabyō cōišā parā ... cavišī-*. – (4) For *hudābyō* (G) read *hudābyō* (B).

34,14. *gāuš vərəzānē azyā* 'at the enclosure of the fertile cow,' i.e., at the cowshed which is expected to be opened by the deity/deities in order to let the priest be remunerated for his performance (as unveiledly expressed in Y. 46,19). Cf. Ved.Skt. *vrajā-* which in RV. 3,30,10 *vrajō goḥ* 'enclosure of the cow' is said of the cow-concealing demon/cave Vala.

34,15. By enthusiastically equating the remuneration expected with the perfection of the world the prophet apparently follows the conventions of the ritual literature of his time.

Yasna 35

[35,1. *bəraj-* 'care for/foster,' cf. the consonant stem Goth. *baúrgs* 'castle/town,' OEngl. *burg/burh* 'fortress' (ModE. *borough*), *beorgan* 'to protect.' Derivation *bəraxōa-* m.f. 'ward' in Y. 32,9, 34,9, 48,6, but adj. 'cared for/esteemed' in Y. 44,7, 51,17.]

35,2. Read *yaθanā* (NH) for *yaθanā* (G), see 31,22.

35,3. Read *varəmaidī*, *varəzimacā* (NH) for *vairimaidī*, *vərəzimācā* (G).

35,4. *adāiš* = *aṭ āiš* (NH), but why not **aθāiš* like *ciθīt* = *ciṭ-īt*?

35,5. (1) *xšaθrəm ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibī* ‘the power which (is) with us’ (not ‘as far as we are concerned,’ as rendered by NH). The priests transfer all their means to Ahura Mazdā. – (2) *ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibī*, cf. YH. 40,1 *xrapaitī ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibī* ‘what resounds with us’ with shift of the relative pronoun from the head of the clause to a position behind. cf. Y. 33,14 *šyaoθanahyā aṣā yācā*.

35,6. (1) *vaēdā haiθīm* ‘knows a true/effective (mantra),’ cf. Y. 31,6 *haiθīm maθrəm*. – (2) *vohū taṭ āādū* ‘this is a good seed grain,’ cf. YAv. *ādu-* and Sogd. *ʾδwk* ‘grain, crop.’ – (3) *āādū* is an unexplained spelling for *ādū* like Y. 29,7 *āāvā* for *avā* and Y. 28,11 *āāṇhā* for *āṇhā*. NH interpret *taṭ āādū* differently as *tatā ād ū* ‘therefore now,’ which does not make much sense. – (4) *vəṛəzyōtūcā īt ahmāi* ‘shall practice it for Him’ (but not ‘for himself,’ as NH think, which would require the medium voice of the verb). The person who knows a true/effective mantra shall practice it for Ahura Mazdā and make it known (by disseminating it) to those who agree to practice it (for Him) in its correct form.

35,7. *vā ... vahištəm* ‘most pleasant to you,’ i.e., ‘to Ahura Mazdā’ (not to the human participants in the ceremony as NH propose).

35,8. (1) *aṣahyā ... sairī aṣahyā vərəzānē* ‘in the shelter of(!) truth, in the enclosure/custody of(!) truth’ (not ‘in union with truth, in the community of truth’ as NH translate), see 34,14 on *gəuš vərəzānē* ‘at the enclosure of the cow,’ furthermore A.12.3.2 on *sar-* ‘shelter/shield,’ but also 32,2 on *sārəmna-* ‘allied.’ – (2) As for its form, *jījīšā-* f. ‘search for gain’ is close to Ved.Skt. *jigīṣā-* ‘desire of obtaining/conquering,’ for its meaning cf. Young Avestan Y. 21,1-2 *hātəm yasnam cinasti yaθa haḍbīš jījīšam* ‘he explains the sacrifice of the existing/living as (being) the search for gain (shown) by(!) the existing/living.’ See 39,1 on *jījīšəntī*. – (3) *ādā* ‘He (= Ahura Mazdā) has declared/declares (that)’ (3.sg.perf.), for which NH prefer ‘I now tell (that)’ (1.sg.perf. “in ingressive function”) counting with a single human speaker in contrast to the many instances of the 1.pl. in the Yasna Haptanghāiti.

35,9. (1) *fravaocāmā* governs two accusatives, firstly the obj. *uxdā vacā* ‘statements and words,’ secondly its complement *aṣəm* ‘(to be) truth.’ In our view the passage is highly relevant inasmuch as ‘truth’ is used here in its basic meaning as denoting the truth of a spoken word. – (2) Read *manayā* (NH) for *manyā* (G). NH follow B in disregarding the natural word order by taking *aṣəm* as the object of the subsequent *manayā vahehyā* ‘with better concentration on truth’ (cf. Ved.Skt. *manā-* ‘devotion/envy’). – (3) *paitiyāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā* ‘listener and elucidator’ describes Ahura Mazdā as a teacher listening to his students saying their lessons and correcting them. In their most extensive discussion on *paitiyāstar-*, NH do not take notice of Aramaeo-Iranian *hwptysty* ‘good obedience’ (a somewhat distorted rendering of Skt. *susruṣa* ‘obedience’) on the Aramaeo-Iranian Ashoka Inscription of Taxila (Humbach 1969, 1976); see also 53,3 on *paitiyāsti-* ‘obedience.’

35,10. The classical couple *staota yasna-* ‘praise and sacrifice’ (see 30,1 on *staotācā ... yesniyācā*) is extended here by adding *uxdā-*. This we render throughout as ‘statement,’ without insisting on semantic details.

Yasna 36

36,1. (1) *ahyā ... āθrō vərəzānā* ‘by/with the custody of this fire’ (see 34,14 on *gəuš vərəzānē azyā*), differently NH ‘together with the community of this fire.’ – (2) *axti-* ‘pain’ is the Daēvīc equivalent of Ved.Skt. *akti-* ‘ointment pigment’ (from root *anj* ‘smear with/anoint’). It apparently denotes an injury to or a disease of the skin, in the present context certainly ‘burn.’ For a diverging interpretation see NH, who connect the verbal noun *axti-* with the adj. *aka-* ‘bad.’

36,2. (1) *yātāyā* dat.sg. of *yāta-*, which NH render as ‘request’ (‘for the sake of request’), though it must have the same meaning as Phl. *jādag* ‘share/portion.’ There is an apparent etymological connection of *yāta-* with *yāh-* following at the end of the section, which suggests that *yāh-* is the whole, of which *yāta-* is an individual portion. We therefore render *yāh-* as ‘apportionment’ against NH’s ‘appeal.’ – (2) Rendering *urvāzišta* as ‘most inspiring joy’ would make more sense than ‘most joyful’ (NH), but we prefer ‘most graceful’ as being more appropriate to the situation. Accordingly *urvāzā* ‘grace’ in Y. 30,1 and *urvāzəmə* ‘id.’ in Y. 32,1. – (3) Read *urvāzəyā* (HH) for *urvāziyā* (G followed by NH), an error which is due to perseveration of the preceding *urvāzištō*. – (4) From the salutation *nəmasə.tē ātarš* ‘reverence to you, O Fire’ in Young Avestan Ny. 5,4 we conclude that Fire when blazing up was addressed with its (unattested) OAv. equivalent *nəmasə.tōi*. If this is right then *nəmištahyā nəmanhā* ‘with the reverence of the most reverent one’ expresses the reverence shown (in return) by Fire to the person who inflamed it. The same peculiar use of *nəmah-* is found in Y. 44,1 *yaθā nəmə xšməvatō*.

36,6. (1) Read *barəzəmanəm* (HH) for *barəzimanəm* (G), whose *barəzi°* is due to perseveration of the preceding *barəzištəm*. – (2) The regular position of *yāt* ‘since the time’ (NH ‘since ever’) would be before *barəzištəm barəzəmanəm*; its position behind is due to poetical elaboration (see 30,1 on *yācācā* and 33,14 on *yācā*). – (3) ‘since it was given the name Sun,’ i.e., ‘since it was created (by you) pronouncing the mantra “Sun.”’

Yasna 37

37,1-5 see A.17.10.

37,3. (1) In *təm aṭ āhūiryā nāmānī ... yazamaidē* ‘Him we celebrate, (calling His) Ahurian names’ the verb *yazamaidē* governs the two complements *təm* ‘Him’ and *nāmānī* ‘names’ (cf. Ved.Skt. *nāmānī*), a construction which gives an impression of being quite strained and artificial but which also underlies Y. 51,22 *tə yazāi xāiš nāmānī[š]* ‘those I wish to celebrate, calling (their) names.’ – (2) The Old Avestan set *nāmānī ... yazamaidē* has been borrowed into Young Avestan Yt. 13,79 *nāmānī āpō ..., nāmānī urvarā ..., nāmānī aṣāunəm ... fravaṣayō yazamaide* ‘we celebrate the waters, the plants, the Fravashis of the truthful, (calling their) names.’

37,5. *fsəratū-* ‘(personified) refection’ is feminized from **fsəratu-* m., a derivation from the root *fsar* (cf. Ved.Skt. *psāras-* ‘feast/enjoyment’) of the same type as *xratu-* ‘intellect’ from root *²kar*.

Yasna 38

38,2. The reading *parəndīm* (NH) for *pārəndīm* (G) goes with Ved.Skt. *pūramdhi-* but disagrees with Phl. *pārand* left undiscussed by NH. Note that the development *ar > ār* is also found in YAv. *vārəṇjan- vārəṇj-* 'falcon' (vs. NP. *guriṇj < var-*), originally 'striking lambs.' Central Asiatic falcons are reported to pick out the eyes of lambs; the inherited compound is misunderstood in RV. 2,14,4 where the god Indra is alleged to have slain the (demon) 'lamb' (*yá ūraṇam jaghána*).

38,3. (1) *apō ... ahurānīš* 'the waters, the Ladies/nymphs,' cf. Aramaic *ḥwrnyš* = Gr. *nymphai* 'nymphs' on the trilingual inscription of Xanthos (A.n. 45). – (2) In *apō ... ahurānīš ahurahyā havapaṇhā* 'the waters, the Ladies, works of art of the Lord' the expected acc.pl.n. *havapaṇhā* (from *havapaṇha-* n. 'work of art') is feminized to *havapaṇhā* in its function as apposition of the name of the female deities. NH insist on the isolated reading *havapaṇhā* of ms. K5, which they take as instrumental singular, thus being forced to dissect the set phrase *ahurānīš ahurahyā* well-attested also in its Young Avestan form (*āpō*) *ahurānīš ahurahe* in Y. 68,10 etc. – (3) In connection with bathing and so on, the ambiguous *ubōibyā ahubyā* 'for both existences' means 'for body and soul' rather than 'for this and the other life.'

38,5. (1) Transmitted *vīspō.paitīš* 'providing drink for all' is inexact for *vīspō.pəitiš* (HF), cf. Ved.Skt. *pīti-* 'drink, draught.' For the epenthesis of *-i-* cf. *hušəitiš* from stem *hušiti-* in Y. 29,10. – (2) *jīti-* not 'living' but 'gain/winning,' cf. *hujīti-* 'good gain/winning' in Y. 33,10 and Ved.Skt. *jīti-* 'gaining/victory.'

Yasna 39

39,1. (1) *ahmākəṇḡ ... urunō* 'we celebrate our souls,' i.e., 'the souls of our dependents' rather than 'our own souls,' see A.13.3 on Y. 32,8 *ahmākəṇḡ* 'our (animals).' – (2) *yōi nā jijišəṇti* 'which desire to win us over,' i.e., 'which desire to win our partnership,' cf. Young Avestan Vid. 15,13-14 *hanəm jijišaṇuha ... hanəm jijišaite* 'try to win over an old woman ... she wins over an old woman' and see 35,8 on *jijišā-* 'desire for winning/gain.' NH try to solve the problem of the varying meanings of *jijišā-/jijišā-* by discussions on the root level.

39,3 see A.17.10.

Yasna 40-41

40,1. (1) *adāhū* with shortened initial from *ādā-* 'presentation/apportionment.' – (2) The verbless clause YH. 35,5 *ahmaṭ hyaṭ aibi* 'which (is) with us' is completed here by the verb *xrapaitī* 'resounds,' cf. Lat. *crepit*, which denotes various acoustic phenomena, furthermore Ved.Skt. *kṛp* 'to lament' and Khwar. *karb* 'to mumble.' NH prefer 'to take shape,' connecting the verb *xrapaitī* with the noun *kərap-* 'body/shape' (cf. Lat. *corpus*). – (3) For *mīzdəm mavaēθəm* (G) read *mīzdəm [m]avaēθəm* 'the incontestable(?) prize' (also YH. 41,5). It is the parasitic *m* which inspired the erroneous etymological connection of *[m]avaēθəm* with the pron.adj. *mavaṇt-* 'one such as me' by the innocent PhlT., which has *manīgān* 'those such as me' for both. – (4) To justify this the scholarly

tradition chose the variant *mavaiθəm* (B), a corrupt reading which is inconsistent with the phonetic rules of Avestan and which is just due to the inadvertence of its scribe who, influenced by PhlT. *manīgān*, erroneously started writing *mavaitē* (the dat.sg. of *mavaṇt-*), but then desperately tried to correct *mavai-* to the extent to which it was still possible. – (5) Relying on the useless PhlT. *manīgān* 'those such as me,' B attributed the corrupt reading *mavaiθəm* to a hapax stem *mavaiθya-* '(prize) allocated to someone like me,' a solution which NH try to justify by further disimproving *mavaiθəm* to *mavaiθəim*.

40,4. (1) With the plur. *haxəmaṇ* (from *haxəman-* n. 'fellowship') the series *x'aētūš ... vərəzəṇā ... haxəmaṇ* 'families, communities, fellowships' shows a lexical variation of the well-known triad *x'aētu-* f., *vərəzəṇa-* n., *airyaṇ-* n. 'family, community, tribe.' – (2) Contrary to the syntactic variation prevailing in Gāthic poetry (as in Y. 46,1 *x'aētūš* abl., *airyamnascā* gen., *vərəzəṇā* instr.) we must count with formal and syntactic parallelism of the three members of the series in this prose passage. That means that, like *haxəmaṇ* and *vərəzəṇā*, *x'aētūš* must be nom.acc.pl.n. It is formed from *x'aētuš-* n., a side-stem of the common *x'aētu-* f. 'family.' – (3) NH equate *x'aētūš* to the nom.sg. *x'aētuš* 'family' (stem *x'aētu-* f., attested as lectio facilior), thus necessarily dissecting the series. – (4) *utā* (NH 'also') is incorrect for *ūtā* loc.sg. of *ūiti-* 'help/favor' (cf. Ved.Skt. *ūtí-* 'id.').

41,5. On *mīzdəm [m]avaēθəm* see 40,1.

Yasna 43

43,1. *uštā ... uštā*, cf. Y. 27,14.

43,2. (1) *x'aθrōyā* is loc.sg. of *x'aθra-* 'comfort/paradise' (= *x'aθrōi.ā*) or instr.sg. of *x'aθrōyā-* 'desire for comfort/paradise' (= *x'aθrayā*). At least outwardly similar is Y. 32,7 *hādrōyā* 'explicitly.' – (2) Note the medium voice of *daiditā* 'would like to obtain' (not 'to give/place'). – (3) Read *θβā ciciθβā* (HF) for *θβā ciciθβā* (G), whose erroneous *θβā* is the result of perseveration of the preceding pers.pron. *θβā*. – (4) *ciciθβā* is the regular nom.sg. of the perf.ptcpl. *ciciθβah-* 'conscious/attentive,' well attested in Young Avestan Vid. 18,68 (cf. Ved.Skt. *cikivās-*). It is not necessary to invent a stem *cikitu-* or to adduce the hapax Ved.Skt. *cikivān-* 'attentive.'

43,3. Read *ā stīš* (B) '(paths leading) toward the possessions' for *āstīš* (G). Not impossible is *ā.stīš* from a compound *ā.sti-* 'provided with possessions.'

43,6. Read *mazdā xšaθrā* (HH) for *mazdā xšaθrā* (G) '(being) wise through power' or '(being) mindful (of us) through power.'

43,7. (1) Read *ayarē* 'day/date' for *ayārē* 'days/dates' (G) which may be influenced by the same form preceding in Y. 43,2. Enigmatic is the relation of the element *-ār-* of the variant *ayārē* to the unambiguously transmitted *daxšārā* which is suspect itself, its hemistich having one syllable too many. – (2) The loc.sg. *tanuši-(cā)* '(about) yourself' is hardly a corruption of the loc.pl. *tanušu-cā* nor of the loc.sg. *tanuvi-cā* either, but it is rather formed from a side-stem *tanuš-* n.

43,8. The stanza is a fragmentary description of the prophet's self-introduction starting with *zaraθuštrō* 'I am Zarathushtra,' see A.7.4.

43,9. The inf. *vīviduyē* is to the perf. YAv. *vivāēda* 'he found/provided' as the inf. *viduyē* 'to know' is to the pres.perf. *vaxda* 'he knows,' the dat.obj. *kahmai* 'to whom,' though, more convincingly points to root *vid* 'pay honor' (cf. Ved.Skt. *vidh* 'id.').

43,10. (1) The prophet demands Ahura Mazda to allow him to ask questions – a magic word-play. – (2) *āhmā parštā* 'questions (to be) asked by us' recalls Ved.Skt. *asmād-rāta-* 'given by us,' however, the subsequent *parštām ... θβā* proves that it is no compound. – (3) Read *yaθanā* (SI) for *yaθanā* (G), see 31,22.

43,12. On *rānōibyō* 'with the balance' and the ordeal see A.37.

43,13. *vairiyā* is a haplological by-form of the unattested gen.sg.f. *vairiyayā* from *vairiya-* 'worth choosing/desirable.'

43,14. (1) By calling himself His friend (*friya-*) (cf. Y. 44,1) the prophet obliges Ahura Mazda to grant him support. – (2) For *azē* (B), *azēm* (G) read *azē* (HF) 'to chase,' cf. Ved.Skt. *ajé* 'to drive,' inf. of root *aj* (in *nir-ajé*). The scribe of the subarchetype erroneously started writing *azēm* 'I,' having become aware of his mistake he stopped after *azē* which later on was "restored" to *azēm* by the scribes of the less relevant manuscripts.

43,15. (1) *aṭ tōi vīspāng angrēng ašaonō ādarē* 'they call all the harmful (persons) truthful,' not 'they call all the truthful (persons) harmful' as the scholarly tradition holds against the word order. It is quite natural that those who are called deceitful by the prophet call themselves truthful, not deceitful. – (2) On deceitful persons calling upon Ahura Mazda see A.22.6.

43,16. *astvaṭ ašām* 'osseous truth' alludes to the remuneration in head of animals expected by the prophet.

Yasna 44

44.1. (1) The main subject of the first stanza is the reverential greeting of Ahura Mazda and the gifts offered Him by His friend, the prophet, who hopes for return and acknowledgment. Such reciprocal relation between god and man is also expressed in Y. 33,7 *āviš nā aptarā hāntū nōmaxaitiš ciθrā rātayō* 'let bright gifts of (mutual) reverence be manifest among us' and in Y. 51,2 *dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrām / xšmākām vohū managhā vahmāi dāidī savaghō* 'I want to show the power of my command, grant your (power) through good thought.' See also 36,2 on *naṃištahyā nāmanhā* 'with the reverence of the most reverent one.' Note in this connection Young Avestan Vid. 4,1 *yō naire nāmanhāntē nōiṭ nāmō paiti.baraiti* 'he who does not return reverence to a man who shows reverence toward (him).' – (2) In our interpretation the gen.sg. *xšmāvatō* in *nāmō xšmāvatō* is not objective ('reverence for one such as you') but subjective ('reverence of one such as you,' i.e., 'shown by one such as you'). – (3) In the present passage it seems to be inevitable to attribute the inf. *dazdyāi* to root *dah* 'learn,' in contrast with YH. 35,4 where the same form doubtless is from root *dā*

'establish/provide.' – (4) *hākuranā* is instr.sg. of *hākuranā-* n., which we translate as 'partnership' in Y. 33,9, whereas here it stands metonymically for 'partner.'

44.2. (1) *kāθā s°* '(conditions) wished for' is taken by us as a sandhi form of the acc.pl. *kāθang s.* Note, however, the variant *kāθe* and see 47.4 on *kāθe* (G. v.l. *kāθā*). – (2) In *irixtām vīspōibyō hārō* 'retaining the outcome of all things' the adj. *hāra-* 'retaining' governs the acc.sg.n. *irixtām* in the same way as it governs the acc.pl.n. *tā* in Y. 31,13. Cf. also the verbal government of *sādra-* 'grieving,' a formation with the same suffix, in Y. 45,7 *yā nərəš sādrā drəgvātō* 'the sorrows (concerning) the men of the deceitful one.'

44.5. The prophet speaks of but three ritual times, a rule which was replaced with that of the five ritual times by the Zoroastrian tradition in the Young Avestan period at the latest. See below "Conclusion."

44.6. In lines cd the prophet recites a true mantra (cf. Y. 31,6 *haiθya- maθra-*), thereby urging Ahura Mazda to answer the question for whom He fashioned the cow.

44.8. (1) The variant *urvāšaṭ* (G) is unexplained, but *urvāxšaṭ* (B) 'he shall/will proceed' (3.sg.subj.aor.) is suspect of being influenced by Y. 34,13 *urvāxšaṭ* 'they proceed' (3.pl.inj.aor.). – (2) Read *āgama[t.tā]*, with parasitic *t*, instr.sg. or nom.pl. of *āgāmata-* 'arriving,' a formation like YAv. *niyāmata-* 'coming down.'

44.9. (1) Read *aš. ištīš* 'of much command/very able' (HH) for *asīštīš* (G), see 34,4 on *aš. ištīm*. – (2) The combination of *aš. ištī-* with *xšaθra-* recalls Y. 34,5 *kaṭ vā xšaθrām kā ištīš*.

44.10. *āmatōiš uxδaiš šyaoθanā* 'actions (inspired) by statements of right-mindedness' and *maxyā cistōiš θβā ištīš* 'vigor of (my) insight inspired by you' are typical instances of the frequent adnominal use of the instrumental case in the Gāthās but not ascertained in Ved.Skt.

44.11. (1) *pouruyō* (G) 'the foremost one' or *paouruyē* (B) 'at first/preferably(?)' – (2) On deceitful persons calling upon Ahura Mazda see A.22.6. – (3) *spasyā* 'look upon' (impv.) or 'I look upon' (1.sg.).

44.12. (1) There are antagonists of the prophet by whom Ahura Mazda is considered the deceitful one (par excellence) whereas the harmful/deceitful spirit (see Y. 30,5) is called by them the truthful one (par excellence). To provoke these antagonists, the prophet asks Ahura Mazda the rhetorical question whether He, Ahura Mazda, would be the truthful one (par excellence) or the Deceitful/Harmful Spirit who tries to stop Ahura Mazda's benefactions. – (2) The instr.pl. *yāiš* '(those) with whom' is used as a polite form in reference to Ahura Mazda, who often enough is addressed in the plural. – (3) A further essential key to the analysis of the stanza is the comparison of the phrase *θβā savā paiti.ərātē* '(intends) to stop your benefactions' with Young Avestan Yt. 8,39 *anrō mainyuš ... mamnuš stāram ... paiti.ərātē* 'the Harmful Spirit intending to stop the stars.' (Note OAv. *paiti.ərātē* from stem *paiti.ərāt-* vs. YAv. *paiti.ərātē* from stem *paiti.ərāti-*). – (4) The stanza, which is hardly a masterpiece of Gāthic poetry, ends with the strange phrase *anrō mainyetē* 'harmfully intends (to stop them),' thereby clearly

pointing to Angra Mainyu, the Harmful Spirit. – (5) For *ciyaṇhaṭ* (G) read *ciyāṇ^hhiṭ* (KP) restored from various readings but nevertheless enigmatic. – (6) For syntactic reasons the caesura of line e has its correct place after *hvō*, i.e., *ciyāṇ^hhiṭ* (or whatever one wants to read) counts three syllables.

44,16. Taken as adjectival noun ('giving') or as infinitive ('to give'), *dām* ought to be disyllabic, in which case line c would be irregular. If *dām* is monosyllabic as suggested by the meter, it is likely to be the loc.sg. of *dam-* 'house' as is *dām* in Y. 48,7, 49,10. It is, however, possible that this archaic form (vs. contemporary *dāmānē*) was used in cases other than the locative as well.

44,17. (1) *zaram*, tentatively rendered by us as 'enthusiasm/spiritedness,' alludes to Zarathushtra's name in combination with *uštṛam* 'camel' of the following stanza (A.3.3). – (2) *carānī* either is 1.sg.subj.aor. of root *kar* 'make' or ind.pres. of root *car* 'walk along.'

44,18. (1) For *apivaitī* (G) read *apīn^vvaitī* (HF). The form which is a verb (more correctly *ā-p^o*) belongs to Ved.Skt. *pīnvati* 'causes to swell.' – (2) Expecting 'ten mares along with a stallion and one camel, which make available to me integrity and immortality' is an excessive poetical exaggeration/hyperbole (see 31,20 on *divamnəm* 'splendor'); in Y. 44,20 this is reduced to the sing. *gām* 'cow/piece of cattle/sacrificial animal.'

44,20. (1) For the loc.sg. *ānmānī* (B), which seems to be correct in Y. 45,10, we read the dat.sg. *ānmānē* (G). – (2) *pišyeiṇtī* 'participate (in the rites),' cf. Y. 50,2 *purušū huvarē pišyasū* 'the many who enjoy(?) the sun.' – (3) For *hīm mīzān* (G), which is strongly influenced by *mīzdam* 'prize' preceding in Y. 44,18-19, read *hīm [m]azān* (HF) with parasitic *m* instead of *hīm azān* 'they drive her.' – (4) Elsewhere the phrase *gām az* is attested in the sense of 'to drive/lead the cow away,' see Yt. 10,86 *gāuš ... varəta azimna* 'the cow being driven/led away captive,' Vid. 5,37 *gām varətam azaite/i* 'drives/leads the cow (away) captive.' That is hardly meant in the present passage where *nōiṭ hīm [m]azān* 'they do not drive her' in connection with the subsequent *vastrəm* 'pasture' simply has the meaning 'they are no cattle drivers.'

Yasna 45

45,1. (1) *fravaxšyā* 'I will proclaim,' note, however, that the Gāthās are traditionally recited in a medium voice. The situation is not at all comparable with the 'Sermon on the Mountain' of the New Testament (Matth. 5-7) (A.15.1). Here as well as in Y. 30,1 *aṭ tā vaxšyā išəntō* the prophet does not address the human participants, but he tries to attract the attention of Ahura Mazda and the other divinities. That definitely results from comparison of the invitation *nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā* 'listen now, hear now' with Y. 49,7 *sraotū ašā gūšahvā tū ahurā* 'let one hear through truth, listen, O Lord.' – (2) Read *āvarəto* (NH) 'invited/coopted' for *āvarəto* (G), cf. 45,8 on *ā.vīvarəšō* 'trying to invite' and note the etymological connection with Y. 30,2 *āvarəna* 'cooptations/preferences.' – (3) The prophet alludes to Yima's sin.

45,2. The subj. *mravat* 'he shall speak' evidences that the prophet does not describe an event that took place in the remote past, on the contrary, he recalls a fundamental law to be applied in the present time and in the future (A.23.8.1).

45,3. (1) For *yā mōi* (G) read *yā^v mōi* (HF) with *yā^v* as the misshapen result of a sandhi variant of *yām* which anticipates *īm ... māθrəm*. – (2) The pers.pron. *vā* is not governed by *yōi* ('those of you'), which would not fit with the enclitic character of *vā*, but it belongs to *māθrəm* ('your mantra'). It is Ahura Mazda whom the prophet addresses here too.

45,4. (1) *īm* 'him' (not *īt* 'it') anticipates *vaṇhəuš ... managhō* taken as a male divine person. – (2) For *patarəm* (G) read *ptarəm* (SI).

45,5. (1) *mōi ahmāi səraošəm* '(those who show) me obedience to it' or, with strongly deictic *ahmāi*, 'to me, the present one.' – (2) Here *mazdā* cannot be understood as part of the name of Ahura Mazda. Functioning as a predicative complement of *ahurō* it must be rendered with its lexical meaning 'mindful of.'

45,7. (1) It is not clear whether the truthful one in question is Ahura Mazda or the sacrificer or the sponsor of the sacrifice. The verb *išəntī* either means 'they will put in action' (cf. Y. 46,9 *išəntī < iš^o*) or 'they will approach' (cf. Y. 45,1 *iša.9ā < iš^o*), possibly in the sense of 'they will have approached (the sacrifice, having been invited to participate in it)'. – (2) *savā* is acc.pl.n. ('whose benefits those will put into effect'), which is suggested by the opposition to *sādrā* 'sorrows,' or it is instr.sg. ('with whose benefit those will approach'). The stanza may be deliberately ambiguous, *sava-* denoting the gifts of immortal Ahura Mazda brought to the humans by his divinities or the offerings made by humans to be recompensed with immortality. – (3) The nom.pl.n. *sādrā* 'sorrows/distress' governs the acc.pl. *nəraš*, cf. Y. 44,2 *irixtəm ... hārō* 'retaining the outcome.' – (4) As in Y. 31,7, *damiš* may be the 3.sg.inj. *s-aor.* of root *dam* 'build/establish' or the nom.sg. of *dami-* 'builder/establisher.'

45,8. (1) *ā.vīvarəšō* is nom.sg.m. of the desiderative adjective *ā.vīvarəša-* 'trying to invite' (cf. 45,1 on *āvarəto* 'invited/coopted') which is used here like a participle. Understood as a finite verb it would be the 2.sg.inj.pres., a strange overlap which points to divergent accentuation. – (2) *cašmainī* may be nom.acc.du. '(His) eyes' or loc.sg. 'in (my) eye.' In regard of the possible parallelism with the loc.sg. *ānmānī* in Y. 45,10 we decide for the locative.

45,9. (1) Contrary to the preceding *ā.vīvarəšō* the desiderative adjectives *cixšnušō* 'trying to satisfy' in this and *mimaγžō* 'trying to present' in the next stanza are used like forms of the 1.sg. of the finite verb. It seems that the triad is clumsily borrowed from an original in which *ā.vīvarəšō*, *cixšnušō*, *mimaγžō* formed a set. – (2) *mazdā* 'wise' here possibly 'mindful (of).' – (3) For *varəzənyā* (G) read *varəzī nā* (B).

45,11. In this stanza the prophet refers the fut.ptcpl. *saošyant-* 'coming/expected savior/benefactor' to himself. Later on this word preferably denotes the eschatological savior, see Young Avestan Yt. 13,129 *avaθa saošyas yaθa vīspəm ahūm astvaṇtəm sāvayāt*

'therefore (he is) the savior because he will save all the osseous world/material existence.'

Yasna 46

46,1. (1) This sequence of pictures, which apparently follows a pattern current in the ritual literature of the time, describes a young priest's typical journey through life up to his reception by his decisive sponsor, in the prophet's case up to his reception by Kavi Vishtāspa. – (2) For transmitted *hacā naēdā* (G), with one syllable too few, read *hācā(nē) naēdā*, thus restoring the expected medium voice of the verb *hac* 'to join/follow.' The corruption is due to a kind of haplology/haplography in the sub-archetype. – (3) Av. *zam-* means 'earth' or 'piece of land,' never 'land/country' as supposed by those who try to detect here a parallel to Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina. – (4) *pairī x'aētēuš airyamnasā dadaitī* 'they keep me off from family and tribe,' i.e., 'people do not admit me to their families and tribes' (not 'my people thrust me out from (my) family and tribe'). – (5) We cannot make out the difference in meaning which certainly existed between act. *xšnāuš* and med. *xšnaošāi*.

46,3. The clouds of the rosy dawn are compared by the prophet with the herd of cattle hoped for by him as remuneration for the sacrifice he would like to perform for a sponsor still unknown to him.

46,4. Seen from the global point of view the deceitful one is Aṅgra Mainyu 'the harmful spirit,' but from the point of view of the imaginative actual situation he is the prophet's deceitful rival who, by means of his spells, tries to exercise influence on Ahura Mazdā in order to gain possession of the remuneration for the sacrifice.

46,5. (1) Under certain conditions even a deceitful person (here a person of other belief) can be accepted and put up in the house of a truthful landlord. As results from the subsequent stanza, one of the conditions of that is that he is seeking refuge (*isəmnō*). – (2) *hu-zāntu-* 'of good provenience/noble' is a compound with YAv. *zāntu-*, which has the terminological meaning 'tribe' (as OAv. *šōiθra-*) but which doubtless also meant 'offspring' (cf. Ved.Skt. *jantū-* 'offspring'). – (3) Line b apparently indicates the origin and the social rank of the newcomer, which must be taken into account by the person putting him up. Avoiding the necessity of correcting the nom. *huzāntuš* to the acc. *huzāntūm* to make it agree with the preceding acc. *ayaṇtəm* we put the line in dashes, supposing that it is a somewhat clumsy literal quotation from a legal text referred to by the prophet. – (4) *miθrōibyō* 'from his bonds' with abl.pl. for abl.sg. to avoid confusion with the name of Mithra, the Proto-Aryan god of treaty who was left unmentioned by the prophet but was acknowledged as a deity in the Younger Avesta.

46,6. (1) *drūjō ... dāman ... gāt* 'he shall betake himself to the places of deceit' or 'he shall mount the creatures of deceit' (cf. Phl. *gādan* 'copulate with' from root *gā* 'step/mount'). – (2) *vahištō* 'best' is used here as a term of social relations.

46,7. For the 3.sg. *dadāt* (G) read the 2.sg. *dadā* (HH).

46,9. *išəntī* is from *iša-* 'to invigorate' (< *iša-*) rather than from *iša-* 'to approach' (< *iša*). The phrase *mraoṭ išəntī mā* 'speaks about the one invigorating me' recalls Y. 29,7-9.

46,11. The destiny of the soul described by *yəng vō uruvā x accā xraodāt daēna* 'their own breath-soul and their own view-soul will make them tremble/shudder' differs from the description in Y. 51,13 *drəgvatō ... daēnā ... yehyā uruvā xraodaitī* 'the view-soul of the deceitful one whose breath-soul will tremble/shudder.'

46,12. The exact difference in degree of relationship between *naptiya-* and *napāt-* (PhlT. *nāf ud naft*) is not clear. The compound YAv. *navanaptiya-* n. '(the whole of) nine generations' may be derived from *napāt-* and from *naptiya-* as well.

46,13. Cf. the rhetorical questions in Y. 51,11.

46,14. (1) Cf. the mention of Kavi Vishtāspa in Y. 51,16. – (2) The spelling *yəngstū* is the result of a compromise between the pausa form *yəng tū* and the expected sandhi form *yas-tū*. – (3) For unexplained *minaš* (G) read *mina(s)* (HF) 'you gather,' 2.sg.inj. pres. of root *miθ*, cf. YAv. *maēθana-* 'house/home.'

46,16. *varədaməm* š° is taken by us as a sandhi variant of *varədamən* š°, loc.sg. of *varədaman-* n. 'prosperity.' Otherwise *varədaməm* would be the regular nom.acc.pl. of *varədaman-* as object of *mazdā* which in this case would be used in its original meaning 'taking note of,' cf. Y. 47,1.

46,17. We take *afšman-* n. as 'accomplishment,' derived from *apah-* 'work/action/sacrificial act' (thus after Ved.Skt. *āpas-*). A special development of the meaning of the word is seen in the technical term YAv. *afšman-* 'line/verse of the Gāthās.'

Yasna 47

47,1. (1) This song, which is outstanding by its highly developed compositional technique (A.7.2, 7.5), deals with all those six divine entities/deities who are the name patrons of the six weekdays of the first week of each month in the Mazdayasnian calendar, in the Younger Avesta called Aməsha Spəntas. – (2) The sequence *spəntā mainyū vahištācā manahā hacā ašāt šyaoθanācā vacaḥhācā* 'beneficent spirit, best thought, word and action in accordance with truth' is a poetical elaboration of the series 'spirit – thought – word – action' as found in Y. 30,3, which itself is an expansion of the classical 'thought – word – action' (*manah-, vacah-, šyaoθana-*). – (3) The reference of the dat.sg. *ahmāi* is deliberately ambiguous: If it points to Him, Ahura Mazdā, then the pious are called up to offer Him "nectar and ambrosia" (i.e., liquid and solid offerings), but if *ahmāi* points 'to the present (speaker),' i.e., to the prophet, then the divine entities/deities are requested to promote the prophet, be this in its basic material meaning be it metaphorically in that of happiness of mind. In our translation we choose *ahmāi* 'to Him,' taking this as anticipating Ahura Mazdā's name, whose nom.sg. follows in the next line. – (4) *mazdā* as a predicative complement of *ahurō* 'Lord' is rendered by us as 'mindful (of).'

47,2. (1) For *patā* 'father' (G) read *ptā* (B). – (2) The sequence *hvō ptā ašahyā mazdā* 'He, the father of Truth, the Wise One' could be taken as the subject of *vərəzyaŋ* 'performs,' yet in regard of what precedes it is preferable to take it as a sentence 'He, the Wise One, (is) the father of Truth.' – (3) The "genealogy" of the divine beings is continued in the next stanza with *ahyā mainyāus tuvām ahī pta spəntō*.

47,3. For *tā spəntō* 'beneficent father' (G) read *p̄tā spəntō* (HH), the loss of *p* in the tradition being caused by dissimilation *pt-sp-t > t-sp-t* in the subarchetype.

47,4. *kā9ē* (v.l. *kā9ā*) lit. 'at will' after Sogd. *kōdy* 'very,' cf. 44,2 on *kā9ā* (v.l. *kā9ē*).

47,5. *hanarə 9bahmāt zaošāt drəgvā baxšaitī* 'which the deceitful one must cede being far from your favor' or 'which he wants to cede to (a place/person) far from your favor.'

47,6. On *rānōibyā* 'with the balance' and the ordeal see A.37.

Yasna 48

48,1. (1) *adāiš < aŋ āiš* (NH) as in YH. 35,4 *adāiš tāiš šyao9anāiš yāiš vahištāiš*. – (2) *ašā* is nom.pl. 'truths,' i.e., 'manifestations of truth' as in Y. 34,9 (A.20.1), notwithstanding its apparent reuse as nom.sg. in Young Avestan Y. 60,5 *vainīt aša drujəm* and Yt. 19,95 *vanāt aša akam drujim*. – (3) For *asašutā* (G), whose internal *u* is redundant, we read *asaš[utā] = asaštā* (HF), possibly also *asaš tā* or *asašt tā*. We translate '(so that is) refuted,' tentatively attributing *asaštā* to a reduplicated present *asaštī* 'hits' from root *as/nas* 'reach/attain.'

48,4. *dāt* 'conceives,' lit. 'produces.'

48,5. (1) Read *yaoždā ... mašiyāi* (G) against *yaoždā mašiyā* (B), whose *mašiyā* is due to perseveration of the ending *-ā* of the preceding *yaoždā*. – (2) The reading with the dat.sg. *mašiyāi* 'to mankind' is supported by the parallel dat.sg. *gavōi* 'for the cow.' Yet, the parallelity with *gavōi* suggests at the same time that *mašiyāi* is not the regular dat.sg.m. It must be understood as a by-form of the unattested dat.sg.f. *mašiyayāi* 'to womankind.'

48,6. *bərəxōē* is voc.sg.f. of *bərəxōa-* 'ward,' continuing the voc.sg. *ārmaitē* of the preceding stanza.

48,7. *nī ... dyātəm* 'let be tied down' or, after YAv. *nīdā.snai9iš-* 'laying down the weapons,' 'let be let down.'

48,8. (1) *ākā arədrəng* 'in the presence of the efficient ones' vs. 'toward the efficient ones' in Y. 50,4. – (2) *javarō* we translate tentatively as 'compensation,' the masculine gender pointing to an agent rather than to an action noun. For its etymology cf. Young Avestan Yt. 10,16 *gūnaōiti* 'increases,' Yt. 8,36 *xratu.gūt-* 'increasing the intellect.'

48,10. (1) For enigmatic *ajən* (G) read *a<9ən* 'they carry off/dispose of' (HF) from root *az* (cf. Ved.Skt. *aj* 'to drive/chase/throw'). The reading *ajən* of the relevant manuscripts is suspect of being a hypercorrect form, the reading *azən* just being found in the less relevant manuscripts. Whereas the verb has a negative sense here, it is indifferent, or even positive, in Y. 44,20 *nōit hīm [m]azən*. – (2) *mū9rəm* 'excretion' see A.28.

48,12. Here and in Y. 53,2 read *xšnām* (HH) for *xšnūm* (G) which, as compared with the regular *xšnūt-*, would be a quite abnormal formation.

Yasna 49

49,1. (1) *mā* in *aŋ mā* is the ptcl. *mā* as in Y. 29,11 *aŋ mā*. – (2) The meaning 'ever' of *yavā* (instr.sg. of *āyu-* 'lifetime/life span') can be expected only after a negation or in a question. – (3) *bāndvō* looks like a contemptuous disfiguration of the name of a ruler who refused to receive the prophet. His full name might have been of the same epic type as the prophet's own name or that of Vishtāspa etc. – (4) *mazištō* 'chieftain/very great man' or 'elderman/old man' may be said contemptuously as well. At any rate cf. Aramaeo-Iranian *mazšty* 'nšn 'old people' on the Aramaeo-Iranian Ashoka inscription of Taxila (Humbach 1969, 1976). – (5) *pafrē*, lit. 'he has fulfilled (for himself),' i.e., in the present passage 'did he (ever) accumulate (religious merit),' quite unexpectedly results from Young Avestan P. 17(18) *tanu.mazō aētəm ašayəm pafrē yō nōit yava mi9ō mamne nōit mi9ō vavaca nōit mi9ō vāvarəza* '(that one) has accumulated religious merit as much as to the value of one body, (that one) who never thought wrong, spoke wrong, did wrong.' – (6) For *dušə9rīš* (G) read *duš<ha>9rīš* 'badly herded' (HF), acc.pl. of *duš<ha>9rī-*, fem. of *duš<ha>9ra-* 'having bad herding,' which we take as attribute of (a herd of) cows. The feminine in *-ī* is, however, unusual in such compounds. – (7) We take the nom.sg. *vaŋhī ādā* as a parenthetical reference of the same type as the nom.sg. *raēvaŋ ci9rəm* found in Young Avestan Yt. 5,64 *kainīnō raēvaŋ ci9rəm āzātayā* 'of a girl, illustrious (is her) descent, of a noble one.'

49,2. In analogy to *aŋ mā* in the preceding stanza we take *mā* in *ahyā mā* as the ptcl. *mā*. Hence *mānayeitī* cannot mean 'enrages (me)' and must belong to Phl. *mān-* 'to resemble' (NP. *mānistān*) or, as we prefer, to Phl. *mān-* 'to dwell/stay.'

49,4. (1) Line c does not make sense unless one counts with two caesuras (3-4-4) instead of the regular structure (4-7). – (2) *daēvəng dan* 'they produce/install Daēvas.'

49,5. *daēnəm vohū sārəštā managhā* 'allies his view/view-soul with good thought,' see 32,2 on *sārəmnō* 'allied.'

49,7. *sraotū ... gūšahvā* 'let one hear ... listen' vs. Y. 45,1 *nū gūšō.dūm nū sraotā* 'listen now, hear now.'

49,8. (1) The noun *sar-* with the gen. *ašahyā* ('shelter of truth') is followed in the next stanza by the same with the instr. *drəgvātā* ('alliance with the deceitful one'); see 32,2 on *sārəmnō*. – (2) Trisyllabic *fraēšta-* could mean 'envoy' (< *fra-išta-*, cf. NP. *firīšta* < *fraištaka-*), nonetheless we prefer 'very good friend' (< *frayīšta-*, superlative of *friya-* 'friend,' cf. Ved.Skt. *prēṣtha-* 'id.').

49,9. (1) act. *diḍas* 'approves of' or 'teaches' vs. med. *dīdaijē* 'I learn' in Y. 43,11. – (2) *ašā.yuxtā* is loc.sg. of *ašā.yuxti-* 'the (action of) yoking to truth,' a compound with case form as first member vs. stem in the hapax Ved. Skt. *ṛtā-yukti-*, a metaphor for 'sacrifice' or 'recompense for the sacrifice.' – (3) Note the parallelity of the loc.sg. *ašā.yuxtā* with *mīždē* 'at the prize' and *yāhī* 'at the apportionment.'

49,10. *avā.mīrā*, which is tentatively rendered by us as 'refreshing,' looks like an attribute of *vazdahā* 'fattiness.' Its first member may be *avah-* 'help' or the prefix *ava-*.

Yasna 50

50,1. *zuta* 'speedily/quickly' belongs to MP. NP. *zud* 'id.,' not to YAv. *zbata-* 'called upon.'

50,2. (1) If we read *huvarā* 'sun' then the hemistich has one syllable too many. – (2) *pourušū huvarā pišyasū* 'among the many who enjoy the sun' sounds very epic; we would rather expect '(those) who avoid/revile the sun.' Comparing Y. 44,20 *yōi pišyeiptī aēibyō kam* is of no help, itself being in want of convincing explanation. – (3) *akās-tāng* 'in their presence' vs. stanza 4 *ākā arədrəng* 'in the presence of the efficient.' – (4) *nišasyā* 'I will sit down' (more correctly *niš.hasyā* < *ni-hasyā*) 1.sg.fut. from root *ni-šad*. The form with its unexpected nasal infix recalls Ved.Skt. *ā-sandī-* 'seat/throne' treated by Mayrhofer, EWAI s.v. and corroborates its etymological connection with the further Indo-European material listed there. – (5) *dāhvā* 'take/accept' (not 'give').

50,4. We take *səraošanē* as 1.sg.subj. 'I wish to be heard' of the present stem *səraoša-* (root *sruš*), cf. Ved.Skt. *śrōsamāṇa-* which, though, is rendered as 'obedient.'

50,6. (1) Unlike trisyllabic *hizuvō*, the gen.sg. of *hizū-* 'tongue' (Y. 31,19, cf. 51,13), disyllabic *hizvō* is the nom.acc.sg. of the side-stem *hizvah-* 'tongue' governed by *sāhīt* 'may he teach.' This side-stem is attested in Young Avestan Vid. 18,55 *hizvasca pivasca* 'tongue and bacon' and in the compound *hitō.hizvah-* 'whose tongue is paralyzed' (YAv. nom.sg. *hitō.hizvā* Y. 65,9). – (2) Trisyllabic *raiθīm* (*raiθiyəm*) is acc.sg. of *raiθi-* 'charioteer,' cf. Ved.Skt. *rathī-* 'id.,' Phl. *rahig* 'child, page.'

50,7. (1) Harnessing horses for a chariot race is a metaphor for intoning a song of praise. – (2) *azāθā* (G) is an ordinary corruption of *azāθā* (HF), see 30,10 on *zazəptī* 'they will let (the others) behind' = 'they will be the first.'

50,8. *arədraxyā-cā nəmaṇhā* 'with the reverence of an (or: for the?) efficient one.'

50,10. *pairī* 'all around' as in Y. 29,4.

50,11. *haiθyāvarəštəm hyaṭ vasnā fərašō.təməm* 'realization of what is most perfect in value' shows nominalization of a set such as Y. 46,19 *haiθīm ... varəšaitī ... hyaṭ vasnā fərašō.təməm* 'makes real what is most perfect in value.'

Yasna 51

51,1. *aṇtarə.caraitī* 'alternates (= is exchanged) between (you and us),' see Y. 33,7 *āviš nā aṇtarə həptū*, 44,1 *nəmaṇhō ... yaθā nəmā xšmāvatō*. The exchange of reverence/salutation and presents between man and god are described in stanza 2.

51,2. *ašāi.yecā* incorrectly transmitted for *ašāya-ca* with short final vowel (KH 2, 646-654); see also 30,1 on *ašā yecā* which we read differently as *ašā yaēcā*.

51,3. (1) *vā ... sārəptē* 'they are allied with you' (see 32,2 on *sārəmnō* 'allied') or better, but more freely, 'who identify with your actions.' – (2) Line b clearly has 5-4-5 instead of regularly 7-7 syllables.

51,4. (1) *ari-* is tentatively rendered by us as 'greed,' although we do not exclude the possibility that it has a positive meaning such as 'zeal.' It seems to be derived from root *ar*, following the same pattern as YAv. *baoidi-* 'smell' from root *bud* 'smell,' *āzi-* 'lust' from root *az* 'drive' (cf. Ved.Skt. *ājī-* 'running-match' from root *aj*). – (2) *mərəždikā* is nom.pl. of *mərəždika-* n., see 33,5 on YAv. *θrāyō.driyūm*. – (3) The pres. *yasō.xya-* 'to dignify' is derived from *yasah-* 'dignity' (cf. Ved.Skt. *yāśas-* 'id.') as *nəmaxya-* 'to revere' from *nəmah-* 'reverence.'

51,6. (1) *dazdē* 3.sg.pres.med. 'accepts/chooses' (not 'appoints'). – (2) As predicative complement *mazdā* is translated by us as 'mindful (of).'

51,8. If *akōyā* is loc.sg. of *aka-* 'evil' (= *akōi.ā*), then *uštā* is nom.pl.n. of *ušta-* 'things desired,' but if it is the nom.sg. of *akōyā-* 'desire for doing evil', then *uštā* is loc.sg. of *ušti-* 'at will,' cf. Y. 27,14 for the double meaning of *uštā* in the Ashem Vohu formula and see 32,7 on the formal ambiguity of *hədrōyā* too.

51,9. On *rānōibyā* 'balance' and the ordeal see A.37.

51,11. The prophet speaks of himself in the 3rd person (A.n. 25).

51,12. (1) The prophet interrupts the praise of Kavi Vishtāspa (cf. Y. 46,14) by abusing another Kavi, who refused hospitality to him. That Kavi is called by him *vaēpiyō kəvinō* 'Kavyan passive sodomite,' apparently the worst term of abuse available to the prophet. Cf. Young Avestan Vid. 8,32 *aršaca viptō aršaca vaēpayō* 'the man who suffers sodomy and the man who practices sodomy.' – (2) Read *pəratā* (HH) 'at the bridge' for *pəratō* (G) which would mean 'forfeited,' and read *zimō* 'of the/in winter' (KP) for *zəmō* (G) which would mean 'of the earth/piece of land.' In Y. 51,13, the second occurrence of *pəratā*, most manuscripts return to the correct reading. – (3) *ašta-* m. 'lackey' (YAv. 'messenger/errand boy,' apparently < 'slave,' lit. 'driven away') is the verbal adj. of root *az* 'drive.' It is most likely that the person insulted as lackey by the prophet was that Kavi himself. – (4) *hyaṭ ahmī urūraost* 'when he stopped (him) there,' yet not impossible also 'where he stopped (him),' for which cf. YAv. *yaṭ ahmya* 'where' as in Vid. 3,7 *yaṭ arəzūrahe grīvaya yaṭ ahmya daēva haṇdvarənti* 'on the Neck of Arəzūra where the Daēvas gather.' – (5) *caratas-cā* is nom.sg. of *carata-* 'threshold' (cf. NP. *card* 'sill'). In its form the subsequent nom.sg. *aodərəš-cā* 'frost' follows the corresponding, but unattested OAv. nom.sg. *ātərəš* of its antonym *ātr-* 'fire' (> YAv. *atarš*).

51,13. (1) The picture of the relation between *daēnā-* 'view-soul' and *uruvan-* 'breath-soul' as drawn here is different from that in Y. 46,11. – (2) *ərazaoš haiθīm* possibly means 'the goal of the straight way.'

51,14. The reading *ārōiš āsəndā* (G) is preferable to *ārōiš ā səndā* (B) which is influenced by Y. 51,4 *ārōiš ā fəratuš* where *ā* is postposition of *ārōiš*. In the present

passage *ā* makes part of *āsāndā*, inexact for *asāndā* from *a-sānda-* 'unpleasant,' an antonym of YH. 38,5 *paiti.sānda-* 'pleasant' (Phl. *passand* 'id.').

51,15. (1) If the prize will be paid in the other world, then *hyaṭ mīzdām ... magavabyō cōišt parā* is to be translated as 'the prize which he predicted to the contributors.' In the technical language of the Gāthās, however, *mīzda-* particularly pertains to the remuneration of the priest. Thus, possibly, 'the prize which he imposed on them before.' – (2) It seems that *jasat* means as much as *jasat (tā mīzdā)* 'comes (with that prize).' In this case *tā* 'with that' is likely to be omitted in line b to avoid its repetition by the unavoidable *tā* in line c, as a whole, though, neither the construction nor the sense of the stanza is clear. – (3) The mention of Ahura Mazda as a 3rd person (*ahurō mazdā*) in line b and his address by the set phrase *vā ... ašāicā* 'to you and Truth' do not harmonize. The stanza gives an impression of being composed of elements taken from sources unknown to us. – (4) For *civīši* (G) read *cāvīši* (B). In the hemistich, which has one syllable too many, *cāvīši* is suspect of standing for *cōišt* (from root *ciš*) in the same way as *cāvīštā* might stand for *cōištā* in Y. 34,13. The duplicity of *cōišt* and *cāvīši* in the present stanza is, nevertheless, strange. It could be due to a compromise between the diverging views of two groups of members of the committee of the Sasanian redaction (cf. A.6.1).

51,16. Note the word-play by which the verb *ṇasat* in *ṇasat vaṇhōuš padābiš manahō* 'conveys on the paths of good thought' is contrasted with the verb *ṇasvā* in Y. 51,13 *ašahyā ṇasvā paṇō* 'having strayed off from the path of truth.' Whereas the perf.ptcpl. *ṇasvā* < *na-ns-* is from root *nas* 'get off/go astray,' the pres. *ṇasat* < *nā-ns-* belongs to root *as/nas* 'reach' (cf. Lat. *nancisci*), although in the present passage its meaning is rather 'bring/convey' similar to that of the related Gr. *enenkein* 'bear/bring.'

51,18. *x'arəṇā* 'glorious deeds' is the only Avestan occurrence of *x'arənah-* 'glory' in the plural.

51,21. Since the stanza is not well-structured it is difficult to decide whether the dem.pron. *hvō* is intended to refer to the beneficent man (*nā spəntō*), be it the prophet himself be it some other person (cf. Y. 51,19 *hvō ... nā*), or even to Ahura Mazda.

51,22. (1) *x'āiš nāmānīš* is rendered by PhlT. as *pad ān ī xwēš nām* 'by their own names' (SktV. *nijair nāmabhiḥ*). This was taken seriously by modern scholarship, see Narten 1986, 178 equating the phrase to RV. 1,181,4 *nāmabhiḥ svāiḥ* '(agreeing) in their names.' That makes sense on condition that *nāmānīš* would be a slight graphical corruption of *nāmābīš*, but the matter is somewhat more complicated as is proven by the Young Avestan borrowings of the form *nāmānīš* in

Yt. 1,11,16 *imā nāmānīš drəṇjayō framrava vīspāiš ayaṇca xšafnasca* 'pronounce these names all days and all nights in a low tone,' 1,15 *tāsca imā nāmānīš*, 1,19 *imā nāmānīš vīsənte*

Yt. 4,2 *nāmānīš aməšanəm spəntanəm ... zbayōiṭ* 'he should call the names of the Amasha Spəntas.'

(2) These Young Avestan borrowings evidence that OAv. *nāmānīš* was interpreted by the authors of the respective passages as nom.acc.pl. of *nāman-* 'name,' an interpretation which certainly applies to their Gāthic original as well. That shows that *nāmānīš* is syntactically equivalent to *nāmānī* attested in YH. 37,3. – (3) For transmitted *x'āiš nāmānīš* (G) we read *x'āiš nāmānī[s]* (HF), taking the transmitted *nāmānīš* as a very old corruption of *nāmānī* caused by perseveration of the final *-š* of the preceding *x'āiš*. – (4) It is not purely by chance that this corruption took place in the last line of the original Gāthā collection to which particular attention must have been paid before the inclusion of Y. 53. – (5) The corruption was favored by Young Avestan forms such as the nom.acc.pl.n. *vīspāiš* in Yt. 1,11,16 *vīspāiš ayaṇca xšafnasca* 'all days and nights' and Yt. 10,64 *vīspāiš aoi karšvan yāiš hapta* 'over all the seven climes,' cf. also the nom.acc.pl.n. *ašaonīš* in Y. 71,10 *vīspe ... dāman ašaonīš yāiš dadāṇā* 'all the truthful creatures that you have produced.' – (6) As the instr.pl. *x'āiš* 'with one's own' cannot go with the nom.acc.pl. *nāmānī[s]*, it must be explained separately. We render it as 'with my (faculties),' i.e., 'as much as I can.' As a matter of fact, the four words *ta yazāi x'āiš nāmānī[s]* 'these I will celebrate with my (faculties by calling their) names' express in highly compressed form what more circumstantially, and in inverse order, is said in YH. 37,3 *təm aṭ ahūiryā nāmānī ... yazamaidē, tēm ahmākāiš azdābīscā uštānāīscā yazamaidē* 'Him we celebrate with our bones and vital forces (by calling His) Ahurian names.'

Yasna 53

53,1. (1) *yezī* 'if' in the sense of 'because/since' is unusual. – (2) The verb *dabən* tentatively translated by us as 'they observe' is unexplained. The correction to *daḍəṇ* 'they produce' suggesting itself would be plausible from the graphical point of view, but the manuscript variants do not favor it. – (3) For *saškəṇ(cā)* (G) read *sašəṇca* (KH), see 30,11 on *sašəṇca*.

53,2. (1) On *xšnām* (HH) for *xšnūm* (G) see 48,12. – (2) In spite of the strong outward resemblance of *xšnām* s^o to Y. 48,12 *xšnām ... hacāntē*, the active verb *scantū* cannot be attributed to root *hac* 'follow/agree' whose forms are always in the medium (see 46,1 on *hēcā(nē)*). For this reason we render *scantū* as 'let them announce,' connecting it with the archaic Lat. *insece* 'relate/declare' (and its Greek relatives) and thus posing a root ²*hac* 'announce.' – (3) According to general opinion, the sequence *kavacā vīštāspō zaraḍuštīš spitāmō fərašaoštrascā* speaks of three persons: firstly, Kavi Vishtāspa, secondly, Zarathushtri Spitāma, the eldest son of Spitama Zarathushtra (called Isatvastra in the Young Avestan tradition), thirdly, Frashaoshtra (mentioned also in Y. 28,8, 46,16, 49,8, 51,17). – (4) Differently, KP think of just two persons, explaining *zaraḍuštīš spitāmō* as the patronymic of Kavi Vishtāspa, thereby shifting the prince to a son of the prophet. We follow them insofar as we take the supposed filiation in the sense of 'adherent of Zarathushtra Spitama.' – (5) One must, nonetheless, raise the question to which extent the social order based on the three classes (priests, warriors, herdsmen), well attested in the Younger Avesta, was neutralized in the prophet's early community, at least as far as the ritual sphere is concerned. It seems that, when speaking of the cattle

breeder/cattle-breeding herdsman (Y. 29,5, 29,6, 31,10), the prophet includes himself in this third class.

53,3. (1) For *paitiyāstīm managhō* read *paitiyāstī[m]* *m*^o with parasitic *m*. – (2) *paitiyāsti-* ‘obedience’, see 35,9 on *paitiyāstar-* ‘listener.’ – (3) If *spāništā* is instr.sg. then it goes with *xratū* (‘most beneficent intellect’), if it is voc.sg. then it refers to Pouruchistā (‘O most beneficent/blessed one’). The former solution recalls the proper name YAv. *spāntō.xratu-*, the latter is recommended by the (incongruent) juxtaposition of *spāništā* with *āmatōiš*, which could deliberately allude to the common *spāntā āmaiti-* ‘beneficent right-mindedness.’ – (4) We read *hudānām varəšvā* for *hudānvarəšvā* (G). It seems to us that *hudān*^o ‘munificent’ anticipates the following *tām* Y. 53,4 which points to the bridegroom. Admittedly, *hudānvō varəšvā* would be more plausible from the paleographic point of view. – (5) Even if correctly restored the verbal form *varəšvā* remains ambiguous. Whereas we think of root *var* ‘choose,’ KP prefer root *varz* ‘work,’ in which case, however, the medium form of the verb ought to be taken into consideration.

53,4. (1) The herdsmen living on the fields are distinguished from the family members living in the settlement. – (2) Unexplained *mām bāduš* (G) we correct to *mā(n).bā(n)duš* ‘minding family ties’ (HF), cf. Ved.Skt. *bāndhu-* ‘kinship/kinsman/relation.’

53,5. (1) The ind.pres. *mraomī* ‘I speak’ apparently underlines the “here and now,” but it is hardly believable that the phrase *vazyamnābyō kainibyō* denotes girls going to be married (in a sort of mass marriage); it rather pertains to the marriageable maiden in general. As a matter of fact, the pres.ptcpl. *vazyamna-* does not necessarily have the same meaning as Ved.Skt. *uhyāmāna-* ‘being run/transported,’ with which it is customarily equated. – (2) The interpretation of *xšmaibyācā* as ‘and to you, (O young men)’ is justified by its opposition to *narō ... jānayō* ‘men (and) women’ in the next stanza. – (3) *vadāmnō* ‘speaking/in my speech’ (not ‘bride’s male attendant’!), cf. Ved.Skt. *vad* ‘say/speak,’ of which, though, no medium forms occur. – (4) The moral instruction of the young people given here is followed by that of the adults (married of course) in the next stanza.

53,6. (1) In this stanza, which has five lines, i.e., one line more than the others of this song, the second occurrence of *drūjō* either is a horrible blunder itself, or it is the remnant of a lost stanza. – (2) For *hōiš piṭā* read *hōi[š] piṭā* (HH) or *hōi <s>piṭā*. – (3) For *spašuṭā* (G) read *spaš(n)uṭā* (HH). – (4) *vayū* ‘with the wind (away with him),’ see A.36.3.

53,7. (1) *āžu-* ‘penis’, see Gershevitch 1996. – (2) Read *haxtiyā* (SI) for *haxtayā* (G). – (3) The repetition of *parā* in *paracā mraocā aorācā ... parā* is strange.

53,8. Better than simple ‘peace with them’ the rendering of *rāmamcā āiš* as ‘peace (unimpaired) by them’ more precisely describes the situation hoped for.

53,9. (1) Read *narəpiš rajiš* (G) for *narəpiš arəjīš* (B) where the vocalism of *arəjīš* is likely to be the result of perseveration of that of *narəpiš*. – (2) Both *narəpiš* and *rajiš* are

nom.pl. of neuter stems in *-iš*, the former from *narəpiš-* n. ‘waning’ (cf. Y. 44,3 *mā uxšyeitī narəfsaitī 9βaṭ*), the latter from *rajiš-* ‘darkness,’ which is close to Ved.Skt. *rājas-* ‘mist/clouds/darkness,’ but in regard of its formation even closer to Goth. *riqvis* ‘darkness.’

Conclusion: The number of four of the Gāthās of the original collection consisting of Y. 28-34, 44-46, 47-50, 51 was independent of the number of the ritual times of the day. As we learn from Y. 44,5, these counted just three: dawn, noon, and nightfall. It may have been in the early Sasanian period that the number of the ritual times was extended to the well-known five, which later on was adopted by the Muslims. In priestly minds the idea of equating the number of the five Gāthās (A.7.1) to that of the ritual times (Phl. *gāh* < OP. *gā9u-*) must have come up in that epoch, in consequence of which a fifth Gāthā was needed. The only Old Avestan text available to bridge this gap, though poorly preserved as early as in that era, must have been Y. 53, a text which does not seem to have been in exclusively ritual use. This remarkable process has provided us with a trait of contemporary Mazdayasnian life and religiosity quite different from what religious and scholarly tradition usually derives from the four Gāthās of the original collection.