Zoroastrian ritual and exegetical traditions: the case of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna

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Abstract
The manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna contain two consecutive colophons, the second of which relates the story of how their common ancestor manuscript, which combines the Avestan text of the Yasna with its Pahlavi version, was created. It is argued that Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd produced the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript by taking the Avestan text from one manuscript and the Pahlavi text of a manuscript by Farrbay Srōšayār. Furthermore, it is argued that Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd wrote this manuscript both for himself and for Mahayār Farroxzād, who was from the province of Bīšāpuhr. The manuscript of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd was then copied by Māhwindād Narmāhān, who composed the second colophon. This article also discusses the first colophon as it appears in the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna manuscript T54, which differs from other manuscripts of this group as it includes a passage written by a scribe called Kāyūs. It is argued that T54 was produced by Kāyūs, who added this passage to its first colophon. Furthermore, variant readings of these two colophons in two manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna, which also include Kāyūs’s passage, are discussed. Unlike T54, Kāyūs’s passage forms a separate colophon in these two manuscripts. It is suggested the two colophons are corrected according to the mindset of their respective scribes.

Keywords: Iranian Pahlavi Yasna, Colophon, Manuscript, Pahlavi literature, Zoroastrianism

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1. Introduction

The Yasna constitutes the core ritual of the Zoroastrian religion. Composed in an old Iranian language called Avestan, the Yasna attests to different stages of the language known as Old and Young Avestan and probably also Middle Avestan.1 While the Old Avestan texts were presumably composed in the second millennium BCE, the composition of the Younger Avesta belongs to a later stage of the language, starting from the late second or early first millennium BCE onwards. These texts were in all likelihood transmitted in an oral setting until the Sasanian period (224–651 CE) when they were written down in a consciously invented and extremely precise phonetic script reflecting the exact pronunciation of the words. During the Sasanian and early Islamic periods, Zoroastrian priests translated and commented on the Yasna in Pahlavi, the Middle Iranian language of the province of Pars, used by the Zoroastrians well into Islamic times.2 Traditionally, manuscripts that provide the Avestan recitation text of a ritual and the ritual instructions which may be in Pahlavi, New Persian or Gujarati are called sāde “simple”, while manuscripts in which the Avestan text of the Yasna is accompanied by its corresponding Pahlavi translation and commentary are referred to as the Pahlavi Yasna. The codices are also categorized into two groups according to their origin: Indian and Iranian. While the former were produced in India, the latter are manuscripts either produced in Iran or copied in India from a manuscript of Iranian origin.3

The oldest Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts at our disposal, J2 and K5, belong to the Indian branch and were written in 1323 CE.4 The extant manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna (henceforth YIrP) date from around 1780 CE. Their chief representatives are Pt4 and Mf4, but there are also other manuscripts that belong to this group, in particular the hitherto largely neglected manuscripts T54, G14 and T6.5

1 For Middle Avestan see Tremblay (2006: 233–81) and also Hintze (2014a:17–19).
2 While New Persian sources mostly call the language Pahlavi, the term Pārsīg is employed in original sources in Pahlavi/Pārsīg. I chose Pahlavi in the present paper because manuscripts containing the translation-cum-commentary of the Avestan original in this language are traditionally called the Pahlavi manuscripts. For a review on the occurrences of Pahlavi and Pārsīg see Sadeghi (1357/1978: 13–20).
3 For a review see Kellens (1987: 35–44), also Hintze (2007: 2, 22–4) and Skjærvø (2009b: 43–6).
4 Facsimiles of the manuscripts J2 (Ferrer-Losilla 2012) and K5 (Ferrer-Losilla 2015) are available on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. While the manuscript J2 has a Pahlavi colophon, the manuscript K5 has three colophons, i.e. two in Pahlavi and one in Sanskrit. For an English translation of the colophons of J2 and K5 see Unvala (1940: 120–1, 128–30). For a recent English translation of the Sanskrit colophon of K5 see Goldman (2018: 5).
5 Facsimiles of the manuscripts Pt4 (Zeini 2012), G14 and T6 (Andrés-Toledo 2010) are available on the website of the Avestan Digital Archive. Mf4 is published by Jamasp Asa and Navabi (2535/1976). T54 which is kept at the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library “has been beautifully restored at the Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, in 2011 at the expense of the Zoroastrian Trust Funds of Europe” (Hintze 2012: 255). Cantera (2014: 405–6) has provided unique numerical identifiers for each of these manuscripts. They are: 500_J2; 510_K5; 400_Pt4; 410_Mf4; 451_T54; 457_G14; and 420_T6.
The YIrPs of the type Pt4 and Mf4 are marked by two features. One is that they include not only the Pahlavi translation but also the ritual directions typical for the liturgical or sāde manuscripts. This feature was also familiar to the scribes of these manuscripts themselves, since they refer to them as abestāg ī yašt abāg zand nērang “the Avestan Yašt with explanation (= Pahlavi version) [and] ritual directions”. The other special feature of YIrPs of the type Pt4 and Mf4 is a long Introduction in Pahlavi which includes the text of the two colophons under investigation in the present article. While the first, younger colophon belongs to the ancestor manuscript of these copies, the second colophon recounts the story of how the Avestan recitation text was combined with its Pahlavi translation-cum-interpretation in a single manuscript.

In this article, I first explain the position of the colophons in the context of the Introduction (section 2) and discuss the dates of the manuscripts of the YIrP (section 3). Section 4 presents the text of the colophons as attested in Pt4 in transcription and collated for the first time with the four other manuscripts Mf4, T54, G14 and T6. This is followed in section 5 by a summary of scholarly interpretations of the colophons and an overview of suggestions put forward in the present article. The main arguments of this article are developed in section 6 in which I discuss the text of the second colophon and propose a new reconstruction of the genesis of the Pahlavi Yasna. I suggest that Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd produced the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript for himself and Māhayār Farrokhzād. This codex was then copied by Māhwindād Narmāhān. I also suggest that the name of the scribe of the Avestan source of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd’s manuscript is not mentioned while that of his Pahlavi source was Farrbay Srōšayār. Section 7 discusses the name of the province of bīšāpuhr “Bīšāpuhr”, from which Māhayār Farrokhzād came, and the attribute anōšag “immortal”, which precedes the name of Māhwindād Narmāhān. In section 8, I make a critical study of Kāyūs’ texts in the manuscripts T54, G14 and T6 because: 1) according to their colophons, they were either written by a scribe called Kāyūs (T54) or copied from his manuscript (G14, T6); and 2) the first colophon of T54 offers a different filiation from all other collated manuscripts of YIrP. In section 9, I examine the variant readings of geographical locations, personal names, the first-person pronoun preceding Māhwindād Narmāhān, and az ham paččēn paččēn-e in G14 and T6.

6 The text appears at the beginning of the text of Yasna proper. For an example see Pt4 (folio 5v lines 6–7). Developed from the Avestan yašta- “worshipped”, yašt is a Middle Persian cognate of the Avestan yasna- which becomes yasn in Pahlavi. In the Pahlavi literature, yasn and yašt are used indiscriminately (for a review see Hintze 2014b). Cantera (2012: 294) refers to these copies as “combined manuscripts”. However, since manuscripts of this type (i.e. with both Pahlavi translation and ritual directions) are the only representatives of the Yasna with Pahlavi translation from Iran, the term Iranian Pahlavi Yasna is retained here. It should also be noted that the existence of ritual directions is not restricted to the YIrPs; they are also observable in their Indian counterparts, although less frequently. Examples include J2 109r lines 2, 6, 12 and K5 80v lines 5, 8, 13. For a study on the features of the manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna see Cantera (2013: 503–21).

7 The only manuscript that lacks the Introduction is 415_F2 which begins with Yasna 1 (Cantera 2013: 505).
2. Position of the two colophons in the context of the Introduction in the manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna

The long Introduction which precedes the beginning of the text of the Yasna proper extends over several folios (henceforth fol., singular, and fols, plural) in the YIrPs. The first part of the Introduction starts with praises of Ohrmazd, the Amahraspands, the Mazdean religion, the Frawahr of the righteous and of the sacred beings, or Yazds. These are followed by curses of Ahriman and his creatures such as demons, demonesses and sorcerers. The text continues with a short reference to the story of creation according to which the Amahraspands, Yazds and the Mazdean religion were created by Ohrmazd to annihilate Ahriman, the demons, the power of evil and of violence, and also to bring about the resurrection and future body. According to the text, the religion was revealed to Zardušt and was passed down from him to other priests. The first part of the Introduction ends with advice that everyone should talk and even write extensively about the religion.

At precisely this point, which is marked by the injunction to disseminate the religious teachings, the two colophons are placed in the manuscripts. With the exception of T54, the first colophon belongs to a manuscript that was written by Hōšang Syāwaxš.

The text of the first colophon is different in T54 in so far as it includes an insertion at the beginning of the first colophon, stating that Kāyūs Suhrāb copied the manuscript of Hōšang. Kāyūs’s text is also present in G14 (fol. 21r lines 6–12) and T6 (fol. 8v lines 3–9) with two major differences: 1) the name of Kāwūs (= Kāyūs in T54) appears as the third-person singular in G14 and T6; and 2) unlike T54, Kāwūs’s text is placed in a third colophon at the very end of part 2 of the Introduction in G14 and T6, thus forming a separate colophon. In other words, the text of the first colophon in G14 and T6 agrees with that of Pt4 and Mf4. In all five YIrP manuscripts discussed here, the first colophon is immediately followed by the second one, which, as noted above, recounts the story of how the first known bilingual Pahlavi Yasna manuscript was created.

8 The first part of the Introduction appears in Pt4 fols 2v (line 1)–3r (line 21); Mf4 pp. 2 (line 1)–4 (line 6); T54 fols 1v (line 1)–2v (line 12); G14 fols 18v (line 1)–19v (line 3); and T6 fols 5v (line 1)–6v (line 9). Unlike other manuscripts whose folios are numbered by their editors, in the Mf4 published facsimile the pages are numbered by Jamasp Asa and Nawabi 2535/1976. It should be noted that the Introduction is repeated in pp. 13–18 in Mf4. However, the repeated text is not collated in the present article.

9 For an English translation of the first part of the Introduction see Dhabhar (1923: 114–15).

10 The text of colophons occurs in Pt4 fols 3r (line 21)–3v (line 16); Mf4 pp. 4 (line 6)–5 (line 6); T54 fols 2v (line 12)–3v (line 7); G14 fol. 19v (lines 3–14); and T6 fols 6v (line 10)–7r (line 8). In her important article, as discussed in the present paper, Mazdapour (1375/1996: 79–83) translates the Introduction into New Persian. Interpreting differently from other scholarly works on the colophons (see sections 4 and 5), she considers that more texts from the Introduction belong to the beginning and end of the colophons (Mazdapour 1375/1996: 80–2). However, an investigation into the opening and concluding words of the colophons is beyond the scope of the present paper and I therefore follow the scholarly consensus on this topic here.

11 Under the influence of New Persian, Kāyūs is spelt as kʾwvs /kāwūs/ in G14 and T6.

12 For the text of the colophons and their translation see section 4.
The second part of the Introduction which follows these colophons again starts with prayers and advice. The last lines are a reminder that whoever owns the manuscript should only share it with people who are knowledgeable about religion.13

3. Dates of the manuscripts of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna

Neither of the two colophons provides a date, but the manuscript Pt4 is dated around 1780 CE, according to the family tradition of its previous owner, Dastur Pešotanji Behramji Sanjana (Hintze 2012: 253). The manuscript Mf4, by contrast, attests a date in its third colophon which is unique to this manuscript. This colophon forms no part of the Introduction but is inserted at the end of Yasna 61 on pp. 599–600 of Mf4. Stating that Hôšang Syāwaxš completed his manuscript in AY 864 (1495 CE), it provides the completion date of the ancestor manuscript of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna, but not that of Mf4 itself.14 According to the estimation of Geldner (1896: Prolegomena xxv), Mf4 “appears to be somewhat younger than Pt4, but the difference in age cannot be much” because:

Mf4 omits some more words than does Pt4, e.g. in the Pahlavi to Yasna 68.7.21; 71.8.12. The injury to the Hôshâng Ms.15 which already existed in the year 1780 had therefore advanced still further by the time that Mf4 was copied.

T54 likewise bears no date (Hintze 2012: 255) but G14 gives a date in its colophon following part 2 of the Introduction. It states that Kâwûs completed his manuscript in AY 1149 (1780 CE). While the colophon of Kâwûs in G14 is copied in T6, the latter differs from all other manuscripts in that it has two more colophons, one in New Persian and one in Gujarati. According to the Gujarati colophon, T6 was completed by Sorâbjì Frâmjì Meherji Rânà from the copy of Kâvasjî (=Kâwûs) in AY 1211 (1842 CE).16 It should be noted that the New Persian colophon in T6 (fol. 295v lines 5–7) is peculiar as the completion date, written both in numbers (1211) and in words (one thousand and eleven), shows a discrepancy of 200 years. That the completion date AY 1211 written in numerals in the New Persian colophon is the correct one emerges not only from the fact that it agrees with that of the Gujarati colophon, but also because the date of one thousand and eleven predates the completion date of its stated source, the manuscript of Kâvasjî (= Kâwûs).

13 It is present in fols 3v (line 16)–4v (line 19) of Pt4, pp. 5 (line 7)–8 (line 3) of Mf4, fols 3v (line 8)–5r (line 13) of T54, fols 20r (line 1)–21r (line 6) of G14 and fols 7r (line 9)–8v (line 3) of T6. For an English translation of the second part of the Introduction see Dhabhar (1923: 116–17).
14 For an English translation of the third colophon of Mf4 see Dhabhar (1923: 117–18); see also, Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 41). AY stands for Anno Yazdgird which corresponds to 631 CE.
15 Ms. stands for manuscript.
16 While the New Persian colophon is silent about the source of T6, it is attested in the Gujarati colophon that T6 was copied from the manuscript of Kâvasjî. I would like to thank Kerman Daruwalla, who kindly translated the Gujarati colophon at my request.
4. Text of the colophons in Pt4 and the variant readings in Mf4, T54, G14 and T6

All previous studies of the colophons of the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna have been based exclusively on the manuscripts Pt4 and Mf4. West (1896–1904: 84–5) provides a transcription in Roman letters of the colophon text of Pt4 accompanied by an English translation and a short commentary. Dhabhar (1923) reproduces the Pahlavi text of the Introduction of Mf4 (pp. 90–3) in Pahlavi script and also translates it into English (pp. 114–18). Tavadia (1944: 321–32) gives a detailed study of the colophons, accompanied by a German translation, but omits the original Pahlavi text.17 The only complete edition of the entire Introduction currently available is Mazdapour (1375/1996: 73–83), who transcribes the Pahlavi text based on the edition of Dhabhar and translates it into New Persian. Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 31–42) edit the colophon texts using the manuscripts Pt4 and Mf4 and translate them into English.

In what follows, the text of the colophon in Pt4 is compared for the first time not only with that in Mf4 but also with the text in T54, G14 and T6, whose variant readings are recorded in the footnotes:18

Colophon 1
Pt4 (3r line 21) ... ud ham čim rāy i19 nibišt (3v 1) pad hamuskārišnīh pērōzgar man dēn bandag20 hōšang (2) syāwax šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār21 až22(3) paččēn hērbed mihrābān spendyād mihrābān23 (4) ōy az paččēn hērbed24 māhpanāh25 i26 āzāmdar t27(5) panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg čiyōn28 mard29 nēk (6) abarmāndīg30

17 Tavadia (1944: 321) informs us of D.B. Desai’s study of the colophon of Mf4 in Zartoosti 2. 155ff. Describing it as mit ... mehr gemutmaßen als getreuen Inhaltsangabe “with ... a more conjectural than a faithful summary”, he does not provide a critical study of it. I was also unable to find Desai’s work.
18 Pahlavi words are transcribed according to the system of MacKenzie (1971). As noted in fn. 10, although Mazdapour’s suggestion about the opening and concluding words of the colophons differs from that of other scholars, the focus of the present study is on the core sections of the colophons, in which the names of scribes occur.
19 G14 T6: deest.
20 Mf4 writes hērbed (hylpt) after bandag. For the additional text in T54, see section 8.
21 T6: šahryā (štr’y’).
22 Mf4 T54 G14 T6: ōy az (´L MN).
23 G14 T6: kē ābān spendād kē ābān (MNW `p n’ spyn’d´t (T6: sp’ynd´t) MNW `p n’).
24 T6: deest.
25 Mf4: māhp (m’hp).
26 Mf4: deest.
27 G14 T6: deest.
28 Pt4 Mf4 T54: JSJ, G14 T6: JSJ. Therefore, it can also be read as cāndīn (cndyn’) “many”.
29 T6: mard ī (GBR´ Y).
30 G14: ud abarmāndāgīg (W `plm’ndkyk).
pad dēn ud ruwān abēgumān
u-š kāmag (7) frārōn Ō yazdān wehān

“(3r line 21) . . . and for this reason, (I) wrote [this copy] (3v 1) with the inspiration of the victorious [Yazds], I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang (2) Syāwaxš Šahyār Baxtāfrīd Šahyār, from (3) the copy of Hērbed Mīhrābān Spendyād Mīhrābān [and] (4) that from the copy of Hērbed Māḥpanāh son of Azādmard, the (5) protector, from the region of Kāzerōn like a good (6–7) heir (?), without doubt concerning the religion and the soul, and with an honest desire for the good Yazds.”

Colophon 2
rōstahm ū T5; dād-ohrmazd (8) nōgdruxt
ī az farrox būm ī spāhān az rōddašt (9) rōstāg az warzanag deh abestāg az paččēn (10) ud zand az paččēn-ū anōšag farrbay srōśayār xwēš (11) rāy nibišt ēstād jādag (12) anōšag ruwān māh- ī (13) ayār ī frarroząd ū (14) az ham bīšāpuhr ī awestān (15) az kāzerōn ī rōstāg ī anōšag ī man ī māhwindād ī (16) “narmāhān ī wahrām mihr

31 MF4 T54; ud ū (W ’L).
32 Tavadia (1944: 325) excludes ud ham čim rāy ī nibišt pad hamuskārīnī pērōzgar from his translation of the text of the first colophon. West (1896–1904: 84), translates pad hamuskārīnī pērōzgar as “for similar successful deliberations”. Rendering pad hamuskārīnī as “for similar deliberation”, Dhabhar (1923: 115) leaves pērōzgar untranslated. Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36) separate pērōzgar from the preceding pad hamuskārīnī and translate pad hamuskārīnī pērōzgar man dēn bandag hōšang as “for similar deliberation, I victorious servant of the religion hērbed Hōšang”. In other words, Cantera and de Vaan associate pērōzgar with man dēn bandag hōšang. However, they do not explain how Hōšang could have described himself both with the honorary title pērōzgar and the modest title dēn bandag in the same text. Mazdapour reads pad hamuskārīnī pērōzgar and translates it as “پارس یک خداوند و آرام یک زنده”. While the association of pērōzgar with Hōšang seems problematic, I have followed Mazdapour’s interpretation here.

33 G14 T6: deest.
34 T6: deest.
35 T54 az az (MN MN) in which the first az is crossed out.
36 G14 T6: paččēn.
37 G14 T6: paččēn.
38 G14: jādag ud (j’ tk W).
39 G14 T6: deest.
40 G14 T6: deest.
41 T6: nēšāpuhr (nyš ūwl).
42 T6: xujestān (xwjst’ n’): The reading r is shown by the diacritical dot above ـ. ـ
43 G14: kābul (k ūwl); T6: kābul. In the New Persian version, it is rendered as kābul.
44 G14 T6: rōstāg ī (lwst’ k’ Y).
45 G14 T6: az (MN).
46 G14 T6: deest.
47 G14 T6: rumāhān? (lm’ h’ n’).
48 MF4: deest.
5. Interpretations of the colophons

Eight personal names occur in the colophon text according to the following sequence:

1) Hōšang Syāwaxš Šahryār Baxtāfrīd Šahryār;
2) Mihrābān Spendyād Mihrābān;
3) Māhpanāh Āzādmard;
4) Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd;
5) Farrbay Šrōšayār;
6) Māhayār Farroxxād;
7) Māhwindād Narmāhān Wahrām Mihr; and
8) Abunasr Mardšād.

The main scholarly disagreements on the interpretations of the colophons concern 1) the scribe(s) of the colophon text; 2) the name of the creator of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript and the point of transition between the first and the second colophon; and 3) the scribes of the Avestan and Pahlavi sources.
of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. These three questions are discussed in detail below. However, before discussing them, it may be useful to survey the filiations proposed by different scholars summarized as follows:

(i) The model of West (1896–1904: 84–5)57

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MS of Māhayār Farroxbād (Av. text)} \\
\text{MS of Māhwindād Narmāhān (Phl. text)} \\
\text{MS of Farrbay Srōšayār} \\
\text{MS of Māhpānāh Āzādmard (son of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd)} \\
\text{MS of Mihrbān Spendyād} \\
\text{MS of Hōšang Syāwaxš}
\end{array}
\]

(ii) The model of Dhabhar (1923: 115–16)58

In Dhabhar’s view, the names of the scribes of the Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts that were combined in the first Pahlavi Yasna codex are unknown. Furthermore, it is unclear from his translation whether or not the manuscript of Māhpānāh Āzādmard was directly copied from the first copies written by Farrbay Srōšayār and Māhwindād Narmāhān.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{X1 (Av. text)} \\
\text{X2 (Phl. text)} \\
\text{MS of Farrbay Srōšayār} \\
\text{MS of Māhwindād Narmāhān} \\
\text{MS of Māhpānāh Āzādmard (son of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd)} \\
\text{MS of Mihrbān Spendyād} \\
\text{MS of Hōšang Syāwaxš}
\end{array}
\]

57 Although West only translates the text, Geldner (1896) in his Prolegomena, xxxiv, includes a diagram of the genealogical relationships of YIrP manuscripts, which agrees with West’s translation. The above diagram is also based on that of Geldner. However, it should be noted that it is unclear from West’s translation whether or not West thought that Māhpānāh Āzādmard directly copied the manuscript of Farrbay Srōšayār.

58 The diagram is drawn according to the translation of Dhabhar (1923: 115–16) who like West, does not reconstruct the genealogical relationships with a diagram.
(iii) The model of Tavadia (1944: 332)

**Colophon 1** (written by Hōšang Syāwaxš)

- MS of Māhpanāh Āzdāmdard
- MS of Mihrābān Spendyād
- MS of Hōšang Syāwaxš

**Colophon 2** (written by Hōšang Syāwaxš)

- MS of Māhayār Farroxzād (Av. text)
- MS of Farrbay Srōshayār (Phl. text)
- MS of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd
- MS of Māhwindād Narmāhām

(iv) The model of Mazdapour (1375/1996: 80–1)

Mazdapour does not draw a diagram. She cautiously translates the text and states in her introduction that “because of the ambiguity that exists in the writing, borders between the sentences cannot be distinguished clearly, and as a result, one can reach a different semantic conclusion with revisions in these transitional points” (Mazdapour 1375/1996: 72). Therefore, she places asterisks above her suggested transitional points in sections that contain the personal names, hoping that her suggestion may contribute to future research on this subject. Furthermore, Mazdapour, who considers the whole Introduction to be a work of Hōšang, does not discuss the number of colophons in the text. As a result, I have drawn the diagram according to the asterisks that she placed between the sentences.

Following Mf4, Mazdapour (1375/1996: 74–5) edits line 2 az as ūy az:

\[ \text{nibist} \ldots \text{man, dēn bandag, hērbad hošang siyāwaxš šahryār baxt-āfrīd šahryār* ūy az pačēn hērbad mihr-ābān spendyād mihr-ābān, ...} \]

59 According to Tavadiā’s interpretation, the name of the scribe of the Avestan manuscript was Dādag Māhayār Farroxzād (see section 6.4). Moreover, Tavadiā considers two other possibilities regarding the scribe of the Avestan text. The first is the possibility that the name of the scribe of the Avestan text is unattested and the second is that Farrbay Srōshayār can also be taken as the scribe of the Avestan text. The above diagram shows Tavadiā’s main suggestion, which also agrees with his translation (Tavadiā 1944: 325–6).

60 My translation from the New Persian original. بواسطة ابهام که در نگارش هست، مرز جمله‌ها را نمی‌شود بصرایت باز شناخت و در نتیجه، گاهی با جابجایی این مرز‌ها می‌توان به استنباط معنی مهمی نمود.
She also translates the phrase as follows:

“I, the servant of the religion, Hošang son of Siyāwaxš son of Šahryār son of Baxt-āfrīd son of Šahryār wrote <from the manuscript of the one> who from the manuscript of Hēbad Mihr-abān son of Esfendyār son of Mihr-abān <and> . . .”

(Mazdapour: 1375/1996: 80).61

It emerges from the translation that Mazdapour assumes that a manuscript by an unknown scribe intervenes between the copy of Mihrābān and that of Hošang. In the present article, I have followed the straightforward reading of Pt4 in translation. Māhwindād Narmāhām is also considered by Mazdapour as a figure whose name was written on a manuscript (see section 5.1). Moreover, it is unclear from Mazdapour’s translation whether or not the manuscript of Māhpānāh Āzāmdar was directly copied from that of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd.

X1 (Av. text) → MS of Farrbay Srōshayr (Phl. text)

MS of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd

(?)

MS of Māhpānāh Āzāmdar

MS of Mihrābān Spendyād

?

MS of Hošang Syāwaxš

(v) The model of Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 40)

Colophon 1 (written by Hošang Syāwaxš)

MS of Māhpānāh Āzāmdar (son of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd)

MS of Mihrābān Spendyād

MS of Hošang Syāwaxš

61 My translation from Mazdapour’s New Persian translation نوشتن ... من بنده بین، هوشنگ سپاوختی. شهریار خست افرید شهریار «از دستتوی دکه» او از دستتوی هیرات مهرابان استندبای مهرابان گفه» . . .
Colophon 2 (written by Māhwindād Narmāhān)

X1 (Av. text)  X2 (Phl. text)
MS of Māhayār Farroxzād
MS of Māhwindād Narmāhān

(vi) My proposed model
I propose the following filiation and present the justification of it in sections 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 6:

Colophon 1 (written by Hōšang Syāwaxš)

MS of Māhpanāh Āzādmard
MS of Mihrābān Spendyād
MS of Hōšang Syāwaxš

Colophon 2 (written by Māhwindād Narmāhān)

X1 (Av. text)  MS of Farrbay Srōšayār (Phl. text)
MS of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd
MS of Māhwindād Narmāhān

5.1 Scribe(s) of the colophon texts
While there is no question that Hōšang appears as the first person, man dēn bandag hōšang “I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang”, at the beginning of the first colophon, West (1896–1904: 84) cautiously takes the whole Introduction as a production of Hōšang and “as a specimen of fifteenth-century Pahlavi as written in Iran”. Dhabhar (1923: v) and Mazdapour (1375/1996: 72) make the same suggestion. Tavadia (1944: 323–4) ascribes both colophons to Hōšang too, but considers them to have been inserted into the Introduction, which he attributes to the ninth–tenth century at its latest on the basis of the form of its Pahlavi language.62 Geldner (1896: Prolegomena xxv) had already noted that the text bears more than one colophon although he considered the connection between the colophons to be

62 The study of the quality of the language of the Introduction is beyond the scope of the present article. Briefly, Tavadia’s main argument for the lateness of the colophon text is based on New Persian loan words or Persianized forms in the colophon of Hōšang Syāwaxš, which occurs on pp. 599–600 of Mf4 (see section 3).
unclear. Tavadia (1944: 332) was the first to posit two colophons in his diagram. More recently, Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 37), who also recognize two colophons, have convincingly argued that the second colophon belongs to a different scribe.

While it is obvious that the first colophon is by Hōšang, the attribution of both colophons to Hōšang by West, Dhabhar, Tavadia and Mazdapour rests on their interpretations of the first-person pronoun *I* which precedes Māhwīndād:

Pt4 (3v13) anōšag ī man (written heterographically as ۶) māhwīndād ī (14) narmāhān ī wahrām mihr

West (1896–1904: 85) translates *man* as “(of) me” and suggests that the Pahlavi source of the first Pahlavi manuscript was the production “(of) me, the immortal Māhwīndād, son of Narmāhān, son of Wahrām, son of Mihr(-ābān)”.63 However, his translation is problematic because it is based on the hypothetical insertion of “of” in round brackets and the erroneous translation of jādag as “production” as discussed in section 6.4.

Tavadia (1944: 325) leaves *man* untranslated. Dhabhar (1923: 116, fn. 1) takes the Pahlavi sign as a corrupt form or an abbreviation of ruwān.64 It is obvious that Dhabhar’s suggestion is entirely hypothetical since he adduces no justification for, nor parallels of, such an abbreviation or corrupt form.

Mazdapour (1375/1996: 81) adds the hypothetical <from-a manuscript-that-name>65 and <on itself-held>66 before and after anōšag ī man māhwīndād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr, respectively, as follows:

“*<from a manuscript that held the name of> the immortal <souled>: (of) me, Māhwīndād son of Narmāhān son of Bahrām son of Mihrābān <on itself>, from the same manuscript>*”67

Therefore, in Mazdapour’s interpretation, as in West’s, while Māhwīndād son of Narmāhān appears as the first person, he is not considered to be the scribe of the colophon. Moreover, Mazdapour has kindly informed me that she considers *man* to be a scribal mistake. Mazdapour’s interpretation therefore requires several assumptions. It should be noted that Mazdapour (1375/1996: 75–7, 81–2) includes more sentences from the Introduction into the (second) colophon and associates the verb *nibišt*, which occurs twice in her suggested concluding text, with Hōšang:

63 West, Dhabhar, Tavadia and Mazdapour correct Mihr to Mihrābān. Their correction agrees with the name of the great grandfather of Māhwīndād in his other colophon attested in the manuscript B of the Dēnkard (see section 6.1).
64 Dhabhar (1923: 116, fn. 1) only suggests that the Pahlavi sign ۷ represents ruwān (lvb'n) and therefore, he does not discuss whether it is a corrupt form or an abbreviation of ruwān.
65 از دستنویسی که نام
66 برخوید داشت.
67 My translation from Mazdapour’s New Persian translation >از دستنویسی که نام انشه ۶< >از همان دستنویس ۶>روان >من، ماه ونداد نرم‌مان بهرام مهربان >برخوید داشت >از همان دستنویس *
“anōšag ī man māhwindād ī nar-māhān wahrām mihr az ham pačēn, pačēn-ē az xwāhīš ī pērōzgar abū-nasr mard-sād ī sāhpuru ī az farrox būm ī širāz; ... hāt hāt u kardag kardag, pad abestāg, ... nibišt ... pad daxšag u ayād dāštān ī rōz ī frajam u xwārīh u āsānīh u nēkīh pad wāhišt rāy, ānd hu-wizārīhātar dānāst, nibišt’

"from a manuscript that held the name of> the immortal <souled>: (of) me, Māhwindād son of Narmāhān son of Bahrām son of Mīhrābān <on itself>, from the same manuscript* a copy at the request <and at the order> of the victorious, Abū-nasr son of Mard-sād son of Sāhpuru who <was> from the blessed land of Širāz ... I68 wrote in Avestan with details, sections by sections and chapters by chapters, as it seemingly appears better, <more precise> and superior ... <and> I wrote with as many <explanations> and commentaries as I could for recalling and remembering the last day and (for) happiness and ease <and pleasure> and the goodness of heaven."69

In Mazdapour’s interpretation, Māhwindād Narmāhān was a figure whose name was attested in a manuscript. Mazdapour’s inclusion of more texts from the Introduction into the (second) colophon is an important suggestion, although the detailed discussion of her proposal is beyond the scope of the present article as noted before.70 But this much can be said, that her suggestion makes it even more likely that the occurrences of nibišt in the above text are to be taken as verbs governing the subject “I, Māhwindād Narmāhān”. As stated above, Tavadia (1944: 323–4) showed that the Pahlavi language of the third colophon in Mf4, which was also written by Hōšang, is late. This evidence casts doubt on the suggestions that the entire Introduction including the above section, which according to Tavadia (1944: 323–4), represents the ninth–tenth century Pahlavi at its latest, had also been written by Hōšang.

As a result, following Cantera and de Vaa (2005: 37), I regard the second colophon (and the Introduction) to be a work of Māhwindād Narmāhān, the scribe of the second colophon, while the first one belongs to Hōšang. I should also add that it is certain from Māhwindād’s other (long) colophon in the manuscript B of the Dēnkard, that he lived in the early eleventh century CE,71 a date that agrees with Tavadia’s approximate dating of the Introduction.

68 The first-person pronoun “I” refers to Hōšang.
69 My translation from Mazdapour’s New Persian translation *حوران: من ماه ونداد نرمانه پهرام مهرابان. بی‌پرداز، بنام. دروگر، اینصرا مرتشاد شاهیورا که آم ماه شیرازی را. به باضطراب، هات ها، و خوشنویس. ها که خوشنویس گرند، به اوستا، چنین که خوشتر درست تر و فروش بی‌پرداز نوشتیم. به خاطر و پیوند. روز روزی خوشنویس و نویسنده، و انسانی شاهیون. خوشنویس و نویسنده. به چراگه، به چراگه نوشتیم. نوشت.
70 It should be noted that the manuscripts mark the end of the colophon text by placing punctuation or geometric design after širāz.
71 For the colophon text in the manuscript B of the Dēnkard see section 6.1.
5.2 Name of the creator of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript and the point of transition between the first and second colophon

West (1896–1904: 85) and Dhabhar (1923: 115) consider Farrbay Srōšayār to be the scribe of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. By contrast, Tavadia (1944: 325) and Mazdapour (1375/1996: 81) take Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd as the producer of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36–7) suggest that the first Pahlavi Yasna was a production of Māhayār Farroxsāārt. It should also be noted that the studies of Tavadia and Mazdapour have regrettably not been taken into consideration in the analysis of Cantera and de Vaan. While it is obvious from the text itself that Hōšang, either directly or indirectly, copied Mihrābān’s manuscript which itself was a copy of Māhpanāh’s codex, the relationship between Māhpanāh Āzadmard and Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd is disputed. The name of māhpanāh ī āzādmard is followed in lines 4–7 by ī panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg ... rōstahm ī dād-ohrmazd “the protector from the region of Kāzerōn ... Rōstahm son of Dād-Ohrmaz”. The phrase panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg ... is associated with Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd by West and also by Dhabhar, through the insertion of “son of” after Māhpanāh Āzadmard:

Pt4 (3v4) ... māhpanāh ī āzādmard ī (5) panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg či'yōn mard nēk (6) abarmāndīg pad dēn ud ruvān abēgumān u-š kāmag (7) frārōn ō yazdān wehān rōstahm ī dād-ohrmazd (8) nōgdraxt ī az farrox būm ī spāhān az rōzzašt (9) rōstāg az warzanag deh

“(4) ... Māh-panāh, son of Āzhāt,marṭ, son of (5) the protector of so many72 from the district of Kāzherūn, a beneficent man (6–7) superintending in the religion, without doubt of the soul, and his virtuous desire was for the sacred beings and the good, (who was), Rūstakhm, son of Dāṭ- Aūharmazd, (8–9) a new plant from the happy land of Ispāhān, from the town of Vardshūk73 of the Rūt-dasht district.”

(West 1896–1904: 85)74

“(4) ... Mahpanah Azadmard, (son) of (5–7) the protector of so many (chandīn) from the district of kazherun-

72 West and Dhabhar read či’yōn as čandīn (see fn. 28).
73 For Warzanag and the readings of West, Dhabhar, Tavadia, and Cantera and de Vaan see fn. 55.
74 Different transcription methods have been used by scholars who edited the text of the colophons. In the present article, the transcriptions as they have appeared in their original works are provided for the quoted texts.
a virtuous and distinguished man,
without doubt of the religion and the soul,
and of a virtuous desire for the Yazads and the good
viz., Rustom, Dād-Auharmazd, (8–9) Naodarakht75
of the happy land of Ispahan, and of the town of Varjuk of the Rut-dasht
district.”

(Dhabhar 1923: 115)

Slightly different and with the addition of “(son) of” before Rōstahm son of
Dād-Ohrmazd, Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36) also suggest that Rōstahm was
the grandfather of Māhpanāh Āzāmdard:

“(4) . . . Māhpanāh, son of Āzāmdard,
(5) protector of the region of Kāzerōn
like a good (6–7) heir (?),
without doubt about religion and soul
and with honest desire for the good gods
(son of) Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd, (8–9) Nōgdraxt
from the blessed land of Spāhān, from the town of Warzuk (?) in the
Rūd-Dašt region.”

While “(son) of” in the ad hoc translation of Cantera and de Vaan has no cor-
responding word in the same position of its Pahlavi original, West and Dhabhar
probably interpreted that the second ī (line 4) in māhpanāh ī āzāmdard ī panāh
expresses the possessive relationship between Māhpanāh Āzāmdard and
Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd. Their suggestions regarding the relationships between
and birthplaces of Māhpanāh, Āzāmdard, Rōstahm and Dād-Ohrmazd are sum-
marized as follows:

(i) The model of West and Dhabhar

| Name                     | Birthplace                      |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Māhpanāh                 | Unattested                      |
| Āzāmdard (father of Māhpanāh) | Unattested                      |
| Rōstahm (father of Āzāmdard) | Kāzerōn                        |
| Dād-Ohrmazd (father of Rōstahm) | Spāhān, Rōddašt, Vardshīk/Varjuk (= Warzanag) |

75 While Dhabhar (1923: 115, fn. 5) compares it with the modern New Persian personal
name Nozar < Avestan naōtāra-, he does not provide any explanations for -axt. For
the descriptor nōgdraxt “new tree” see Mazdapour (1375/1996: 75, fn. 24).
(ii) The model of Cantera and de Vaan

| Name                        | Birthplace                      |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Māhpānāh                    | Kāzerōn                         |
| Āzādmard (father of Māhpānāh) | Kāzerōn, Spāhān, Rōddāst, Waržuk (= Warzanag) |
| Rōstahm (father of Āzādmard) | Spāhān, Rōddāst, Waržuk (= Warzanag) |
| Dād-Ohrmazd (father of Rōstahm) | Spāhān, Rōddāst, Waržuk (= Warzanag) |

The theories of West, Dhabhar, and Cantera and de Vaan rely on the assumption that a certain father and son came from two different unrelated places, that is, Kāzerōn (in the province of Bīšāpuhr in Pars) and the town of Warzanag, respectively. Furthermore, their theories fail to explain why it was important to provide the details of the birthplace(s) of figures who had no role in the production of the manuscripts. A more likely interpretation, however, is that the second ī is the relative pronoun and connects Māhpānāh Āzādmard with its descriptors panāh ī az kāzerōn rōstāg. .

Therefore, it seems that there is no relationship between Māhpānāh Āzādmard and Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd. Rather, the latter belongs to the second colophon and is the subject of the verb nibīšt ēstād “had written” in line 11 as discussed below in section 6. Therefore, the present article provides further support for the view put forward by Tavadia and Mazdapour about the producer of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript.

5.3 Producer of the Avestan and Pahlavi sources of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript

The second colophon also informs us that the Avestan and Pahlavi texts of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript were put together from two different manuscripts. According to West (1896–1904: 85), Māhayār Farroxzād and Māhvindād Narmāhan are the respective scribes of the Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts. In Tavadia’s (1944: 325) translation, the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript was produced by combining an Avestan manuscript and a copy of its Pahlavi version written by Māhayār Farroxzād and Farrbay Srōşayār, respectively. Likewise, Mazdapour (1375/1996: 81) takes Farrbay Srōşayār to be the scribe of the Pahlavi manuscript; but unlike Tavadia, she suggests that the name of the scribe of the Avestan manuscript is absent from the colophon. In contrast, Dhabhar (1923: 115) and Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36) suggest that the name(s) of

76 Tavadia (1944: 325) reads māhpānāh ī azādmard ī panāh as māhpānāh ī azādmard ī [māh]panāh “Māhpānāh son of Āzādmard son of [Māh]panāh”. He interprets panāh “protector” as the corrupt form of the personal name Māhpānāh and refers to the common practice among Zoroastrians that the grandsons are named after their grandfathers (Tavadia 1944: 326). However, his reconstruction is also ad hoc and entirely hypothetical and is not supported by any of the manuscript readings. In a similar way, editing azādmard ī panāh as azādmard-panāh, Mazdapour (1375/1996: 75 and 75, fn. 18), takes azādmard-panāh to be a proper name.
the scribe(s) is(are) not attested. The investigation of the present study confirms the suggestions of Mazdapour.

6. Text of the second colophon

In this section, the translation of the verb nibišt ėståd, the role of the Pahlavi sign ā in abestāg az paččēn- ā and zand az paččēn- ā and the meanings of xwēš rāy and jādag are investigated.

6.1 Active or passive translation of the verb nibišt ėståd

Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36), translate the verb nibišt ėståd as passive:

“The Abestāg has been written from one copy and the Zand from one (other) copy for the possession of the immortal Farnbay,77 son of Srōšayār, as a production (?) of the immortal Māhayār, son of Farrozxād, from the same salubrious district from the region of Kāzerōn.”

This interpretation is problematic because it fails to take into account that it was common in both Pahlavi and New Persian to omit the direct object, in the present context presumably ēnpāččē n/nibēg “this copy”, in active sentences governed by the verb nibištan “to write”. According to the interpretation presented here, and also according to Cantera and de Vaan, Māhwindād Narmāḥān was the scribe of the second colophon. He has another colophon attested in the manuscript B of the Dēnkard in which he uses a comparable active sentence with the verb nibišt ėståd, and here the form is to be interpreted in the active sense, with ellipsis of the direct object:

DkM78 (946 line 18) . . . nibišt ėståd man māhwindād ī (19) narmāḥān ī wahrām mihrābān rōz ī dēn māh ūr pērōzgar ī (20) sāl 369 ī pas az sāl man ī ḵy bay (21) yazdgird šāhān šāh ī šahryārān stūrmānāg? xwēši ī xwēšīh (22) rāy . . .

“(18–19) . . . I, Māhwindād son of Narmāḥān son of Wahrām Mihrābān, had written [this copy] on the day of Dēn, the month of the victorious Tīr of (20) the year 369 after the year of his majesty (21–22) Yazdgird, King of Kings, son of Šahryār, like a guardian?, for my own possession . . .”79

Other examples include the beginning of the first colophon of YIrPs nibišt pad hamuskārīšnīh pērōzgar man dēn bandag hōšang syāwax šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār and the third Pahlavi colophon of Hōšang, which appears in Mf4:

77 With the development of rn > rr, farrbay is preferred over farnbay and farnbag in the present paper.
78 DkM stands for Dēnkard, Madan’s edition.
79 My translation.
Mf4 (599 line 9) ... man dēn bandag
hōšang syawwaxš šahryār ī (10) baxtafrīd šahryār
ī wahrām ī husraw šāhag (11) anōšagruwān
nibišt ud frāz hišt xwēš ī (12) xwēš rāy
ud frazandān xwēš rāy ...

“(9) ... I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang Syawwaxš Šahryār son of (10) Baxtafrīd Šahryār, son of Wahrām son of Husraw-Šāhag (11) Anōšagruwān wrote80 and published [this copy] for my (12) own possession, and for (that) of my offspring ...”81

This feature is also found in the colophon of J2 written down in AY 692 (1323 CE):

J2 (383v line 3) wahman māh frawrdīn rāz sāl ī 692 (4) yazdgirdīg
man dēn bandag hērbed zāt mihrābān (5) ī kayhusraw mihrābān
ī spendyār mihrābān marzbān (6) hērbed nibišt
pad yazdān kāmag bād
(7) wahīzag kē man dēn bandag be būm hindūgān mad ham
andar (8) sāl 692 yazdgirdīg
man dēn bandag hērbed zād (9) mihrābān ī kayhusraw ī mihrābān
ī spendyād ī mihrābān ī (10) marzbān hērbed nibišt
az bahr āhilag sangan
ud āhil ī wahm(an) (11) bahrām kambayūg nibišt ...

“(3) On the day Wahman, month Frawardīn, year 692 (4) of Yazdgird, I, the servant of the religion, Hērbed-born Mihrābān (5) son of Kayhusraw Mihrābān
son of Spendyār Mihrābān Marzbān (6) Hērbed wrote [this copy].
May it be according to the will of Yazds.
(7) It was in the movable month that, I, the servant of the religion, came to the land of Indians.
In (8) the year 692 of Yazdgird,
I, the servant of the religion Hērbed-born (9) Mihrābān son of Kayhusraw son of Mihrābān
son of Spendyād son of Mihrābān son of (10) Marzbān Hērbed wrote [this manuscript],
for the sake of Čāhil Sangan
and Čāhil son of Wahm(an) (11) Bahrām of Cambay. I wrote. ...”82

80 Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 41) translate the simple past nibišt as “have written”.
81 The translation is after Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 41). For the translation of xwēš rāy see section 6.3.
82 The translation is after Unvala (1940: 121). He translates the simple past nibišt (line 6), the plural yazdān (line 6), the simple past mad ham (line 7) and nibišt (line 10) as “have written”, the singular “god”, “have come” and “have written”, respectively.
As for the New Persian colophons, in the following text from the Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat (Unvala 1922), written by Hōšang Syāvaxš Šahryār, the verb *nevēstam* (نوشتم) "I wrote" occurs four times in lines 7, 8, 12 and 15, and governs the direct object, *in* (= Pahlavi ēn) "this", only once in line 12:

DHR,84 II (p. 368 line 7) nevēstam man din bande hušang i syāvaxš o šharyār i baxt-āfrīd i bahram i xosraw sāh i

83 The transcription of consonants and vowels of the New Persian texts is according to their developments in Modern Standard New Persian. For a review see Abolghassemi (1375/1996: 18); Windfuhr and Perry (2009: 425–6).

84 DHR stands for Dārāb Hormazyār Rivāyat.

85 My translation. According to the colophon, Hōšang Syāvaxš completed the copy in 747 Pārsī (AY 767), which shows a difference of 97 years from the completion date of Mf4 in AY 864. However, in DHR, II 371 (line 7), there is another colophon of Hōšang Syāvaxš according to which he completed a Pāzand text in AY 847.
(4) neveštam parāj hešt aj paččin i jāmāsp i šahryār i baxtāfrīd . . . az xiš-yam
(5) piruzgartarān hirbedān din-parvartārān din-āgāhān neveštam . . .

“(3) . . . I, the servant of the religion, Hušang Sīvaxš Šahryār Vahrām Xosrawšāh Nōšerobān wrote in Avestan.
(4) I wrote, published [it] from the copy of Jāmāsp Šahryār Baxtāfrīd . . .
From my own expenses,
(5) I wrote for the more victorious Hirbeds, the religion-propagators [and] the religion-wise [men] . . .”

On this basis, it is justified to take nibišt ēstād in the second colophon of the Introduction to the Iranian Pahlavi Yasna as a verb implying an object rather than expressing it explicitly.

6.2 Pahlavi sign  at lines 9–10) abestāg az paččen-e ud zand az paččen-i “the Avesta from a copy and the Zand from the copy of”

Regarding the Pahlavi signs at after abestāg az paččen and zand az paččen, each can be taken as either the ezāfa i “of” or the indefinite article -ē. West (1986–1904: 84–5), Dhabhar (1923: 115) and Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36) opt for the latter possibility and translate the phrase as “Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy”. With the interpretation of the Pahlavi sign as indefinite, Dhabhar (1923: 115) and Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 36) assume that the respective names of the scribes of the two separate Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts are not mentioned. In contrast, West (1896–1904: 85) suggests that abestāg az paččen-e “the Avesta from one copy” and zand az paččen-e “the Zand from another copy” were the productions of Māhāyār Farroxfād and of Māhwindād Nārmāhān Vahrām Mīhr(abān), respectively:

“the Avesta from one copy, and the Zand from another copy, (which were) the production of the glorified Māhāyār, son of Farukhzād, from the same salubrious place of the district of Kāzherūn, (and of) me, the immortal Māh-vindāt son of Nārmāhān, son of Vāhrām, son of Mītr(ā)pān.”

Although West translates the Pahlavi sign at as the indefinite article rather than the ezāfa i “of”, he hypothetically associates the manuscripts with their

86 My translation.
87 Cantera and de Vaan’s (2005: 36) exact translation is “The Abestāg . . . from one copy and the Zand from one (other) copy”.
88 Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 37) write that West “concludes that Franbag, son of Šrōsāyār, had copied the manuscript from one Avestan and one Zand copy, both produced by Māhāyār son of Farrōkhzhād”. However, their suggestion is incorrect, because Cantera and de Vaan do not take into consideration the fact that West also adds “(and of)” in brackets before “me, the immortal Māh-vindāt son of Nārmāhān” (line 13). Later in the same article, they write that West assumed Māhāyār Farrokhzhād and Māhwindād Nārmāhān Wahrām Mīhr(abān) to be the scribes of the Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts, respectively (Cantera and de Vaan 2005: 39).
suggested scribes by adding “which were” in round brackets. Later, Dhabhar (1949: 7) sides with West by stating in the Introduction to his Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad that “Farnbag wrote his MS from two separate copies: 1) the Avesta text from the MS of Mahyar Farrukhzad; and 2) the Pahlavi text from the MS of Mahvindad Naremahãn Behram Meheravan”.

A different interpretation is put forward by Tavadia (1944: 325), who reads the Pahlavi sign ā as the ezāfa ā “of”:

“Rōstaxm ā Dātōhrmazd had written the Apastāk from the copy of the [blessed Dātak ā Māhayār ā Farnōx’zāt …] and the Zand from the copy of the blessed Farnbay ā Srōshayār for himself.”

Tavadia (1944: 330) suggests that a scribe might have forgotten to write dādag anōšag ruwān māhayār farrozād after abestāg az pačćēn ā. Therefore, he added the name of the scribe in the margin. Later, according to Tavadia, the second scribe misplaced it after nibišt ēstād.

However, from the syntactic point of view, the reading of the Pahlavi sign ā as the ezāfa ā after abestāg az pačćēn is problematic because in a nominal construction, the ezāfa ā must be directly followed by the noun or adjective which it connects to the preceding noun. In our text, the name of Māhayār Farnrozād, in whom Tavadia (with West) sees the scribe of the Avestan manuscript, appears several words after abestāg az pačćēn. Tavadia therefore tries to explain the irregular position of Māhayār Farnrozād with the entirely hypothetical and unlikely suggestion summarized above.

In contrast, Mazdapour (1375/1996: 75) takes the sign ā after abestāg az pačćēn as the indefinite article -ē and the second one after zand az pačćēn as the ezāfa -ā. Her proposal is convincing because the word order of the Pahlavi text is then correct, straightforward and requires no insertion of hypothetical words in brackets to make the translation meaningful. Moreover, it is supported by the discussion set out in section 6.3. Therefore, associating the second ā with Farrbay Srōshayār, I read the phrase as abestāg az pačćēn-ē ud zand az pačćēn-ā anōšag farrbay srōshāyār “the Avesta from a copy and the Zand from the copy of the immortal Farrbay Srōshāyār”.

6.3 Meaning of xwēš rāy (lines 10–11)
Both West (1896–1904: 85) and Dhabhar (1923: 115) considered Farrbay son of Srōshayār to be the scribe of the first bilingual Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. This is indicated by the way they translate lines 9–11:

abestāg az pačćēn- ā ud zand az pačćēn- ā anōšag farrbay srōshayār xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād

89 My translation from Tavadia’s German translation Rōstaxm ā Dātōhrmazd … das Apostal aus der Abschrift des [seligen Dātak ā Māhayār ā Farnōx’zāt …] und den Zand aus der Abschrift des Seligen Farrbay ā Srōshāyār für sich geschrieben hatte.
90 Tavadia reads jādag as the personal name dādag (see section 6.4).
91 For a review on the ezāfa constructions see Perry and Sadeghi (1999: 127–8).
92 For the Pahlavi sign ā after abestāg az pačćēn and zand az pačćēn see section 6.2.
“The immortal Farnbag, son of Srōshyār, had written a copy for himself-the Avesta from one copy, and the Zand from another copy,” (West 1896–1904: 85).

“The immortal Farnbag Sroshyar had himself written a copy- the Avesta from one copy and the Zand from another copy-” (Dhabhar 1923: 115).

While West renders xwēš ráy as “for himself”, Dhabhar translates it as “himself”, thus leaving ráy untranslated. Like West, Tavadia (1944: 325) and Mazdapour (1375/1996: 81) translate xwēš ráy as “für sich” (for himself) and “برای خویش” (for himself), respectively. But unlike West (and Dhabhar), they associate the expression with Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd (line 7) whom they regard as the creator of the first known bilingual Avestan-Pahlavi manuscript. Their respective translations run as follows:

“Rōstaxm ī Dāōhrmazd . . . had written the Apastāk from the copy of . . . and the Zand from the copy of . . . for himself.”

“Rostahm <son> of Dād-Ohrmazd . . . had written the Avesta from a copy . . . and the Zand from the copy of . . . for himself.”

A possible objection to the translation of xwēš ráy as “for himself” could arise from the view put forward by Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 38), according to whom “the expression xwēš ráy usually serves to indicate the addressee or patron of the copy” in the texts. They accordingly translate anōšag farrbay srōśayār xwēš ráy as “for the possession of the immortal Farrbay son of Srōśayār”. Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 38) further support this interpretation with reference to the formula xwēšīh ī xwēš ráy “for his own possession” which is common in the colophons. They provide three examples:

MS K1 colophon 2: _METHOD_ en paččēn nibišt xwēšīh ī xwēš ráy abestāg ud zand . . .

“and I have written this copy for my own possession, Avesta and Zand’

MS M 51a nibišt xwēš ī xwēš ráy

“I have written for my own possession”

DkM 950.2 xwēšīh ī xwēš ráy ud frazandān ī xwēš ráy

“for his own possession and for the possession of his offspring.”

In translating xwēš as “possession”, Cantera and de Vaan confuse the meaning of the reflexive pronoun xwēš “self” with that of xwēšīh “possession”

93 My translation from Tavadia’s German translation Rōstaxm ī Dāōhrmazd . . . das Apestāk aus der Abschrift des . . . und den Zand aus der Abschrift des . . . für sich geschrieben hatte.

94 My translation from Mazdapour’s New Persian translation رستم حسر داده‌موزد . . . اوسنا را . . . برای خویش نوشته بود. از دستوری و زند را از دستوس . . . برای خویش نوشته بود.
in their first and second examples. With regard to the third example, quoted above, they claim that “one also finds the formula with a noun (here: frazandān) preceding xwēš”. As a result, they postulate the new meaning “for the possession of” for xwēš rāy. However, rather than postulating such a new meaning, it is more likely that xwēšī hī has been omitted after ud owing to the ellipsis in their third example:

DkM 950.2 xwēšī hī xwēš rāy ud frazandānī xwēš rāy
“for his own possession and for (the possession of) his offspring.”

Therefore, with West, Tavadia and Mazdapour, it is preferable to translate xwēš rāy “for himself” in abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn- ānōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād.

Two candidates can be considered for the subject of the verb nibišt ēstād, and for the person to whom the reflexive pronoun xwēš refers. One possibility is Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd, the other is Farrbay Srōšayār in the sentence:

Pt4 (3v7) . . . rōstahmī dād-ohrmazd (8) nōgdraxt
ī az farrox būmī spāhān az rōddašt (9) rōstāg az warzanag deh
abestāg az paččēn-ē (10) ud zand az paččēn- ānōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš (11) rāy nibišt ēstād

The following arguments speak in favour of the interpretation that Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd is the subject of the verb:

1) As argued in section 5.2, the suggestion of West, Dhabhar, and Cantera and de Vaan that Rōstahm was the grandfather of Māhpanāh is unlikely. Unless Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd is the subject of the verb, he has no function in the sentence.

2) The sentence starting with Rōstahm Dad-Ohrmazd follows the correct SOV96 syntax of Pahlavi. It means that Rōstahm Dad-Ohrmazd had written [a copy] for himself, the Avesta from one copy (abestāg az paččēn-ē) and (ud) the Zand from the copy of the immortal Farrbay Srōšayār (zand az paččēn- ānōšag farrbay srōšayār). The translation should therefore be as follows:

“Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt from the blessed land of Spāhān, from the Rōd-Dašt region, from the town of Warzanag, had written [a copy] for himself, the Avesta from a copy and the Zand from the copy of the immortal Farrbay Srōšayār.”

6.4 Meaning of jādag (line 11)
After zand az paččēn- ānōšag farrbay srōšayār xwēš rāy nibišt ēstād, the text continues as follows:

95 For the meanings of xwēšī and xwēš see Nyberg (1974: 223).
96 Subject, object, verb.
The reading and translation of ḫa-da-gi (jādag) is debated among scholars. West (1896–1904: 84–5) reads it as dātk and interprets the word as meaning “production”. Tavadia (1944: 329–30) also eventually resolves to read the word as dādag, but interprets it as the personal name “Dātak [i] Māhayār ī Farroξ’zāt”. The possibly related Pahlavi word dādagīh (or jādagīh) occurs in IrBd. 35A.897 ud man farrbay ī xwānēnd dādagīh ī ašawahišt “and I Farrbay whom they call Dādagīh son of Ašawahišt”; but its interpretation as a personal name has been refuted by Mackenzie (1989: 548), who prefers the reading jādagīh and sees in it an honorary epithet meaning “apportionment”.

As rightly noted by Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 38), dādag is an otherwise unknown word. The interpretation j’tk /jādag/ is therefore to be preferred. The reading jādag is also supported by T54 (fol. 3v line 2), G14 (fol. 19v line 11) and T6 (fol. 7r line 5), which place a dot beneath the Pahlavi sign ingleton.98 This interpretation was already adopted by Dhabhar (1923: 115, fn. 6) and Mazdapour (1375/1996: 75, 82) who posit the meaning “for the sake of, for the preserving of the memory of”.99 Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 38) also transliterate j’tk but translate it as “production”. Although West, and Cantera and de Vaan both translate the Pahlavi word as “production”, their respective contextual interpretations differ. While West considers the Avestan source of the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript to have been produced by Māhayār Farroξzād, according to Cantera and de Vaan, Māhayār Farroξzād produced the first combined Avestan-Pahlavi Yasna manuscript.

While West, Dhabhar, Mazdapour, and Cantera and de Vaan do not examine the word in greater detail, Tavadia (1944: 329–30), who first considers but then rejects the reading jādag,100 provides a detailed study of it. He notes that the corresponding Pahlavi jādagīh ī man and the Zoroastrian New Persian man jāda rā and jāda i man rā mean “for me, for my share”, and this especially in association with the prayers of penitence after death. For example, the variant jādagīh occurs in the third colophon of Mf4, written by Hōšang:

Mf4 (p. 599 line 12) har kē (13) xwānād
ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn az-iš (14) kunād
jādagīh ī man nibištār pad patet bawēd

“(12) Everyone who reads [it],
or teaches [it] or makes a copy of it,
(14) for me, the writer, will be in repentance.”101

97 IrBd. stands for the Iranian Bundahišn. The text is after Anklesaria (1956: 304–5).
98 T54 also puts the final stroke after ḫa-da-gi.
99 Mazdapour’s (1375/1996: 81) New Persian translation is دار جهت که.
100 Tavadia (1944: 329) associates it with the Avestan yāta- “share”.
101 The text is after Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 41).
By translating jādag as “for, the share of”, the sequence of jādag anōšag ruvān māhayār i farrozwād makes sense. The reason is that anōšag ruvān, the descriptor of māhayār i farrozwād, could entail that the scribe wrote the manuscript “for (the penitence of) the immortal souled (= deceased)” Māhayār Farrozwād.102 Therefore, the first Pahlavi Yasna manuscript was written for its creator, Rōstahn Dād-Ohrrmazd, and Māhayār Farrozwād. It should be noted that a particular manuscript could have been written for more than one person, for example, the Indian Pahlavi manuscripts J2 and K5 written by Mihrābān Kayhusraw.103

7. The reading of ṣahānu as bīšāpuhr and the honorary title anōšag preceding man māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr

7.1 az ham bīšāpuhr awestān az kāzerōn rōstāg “from the same Bīšāpuhr province, from the region of Kāzerōn” (lines 12–13)

Reading bīšāpuhr awestān (ิน)104 as bēšāzvārānīstān, West (1896–1904: 84–5) translates the expression as “the salubrious place”, later followed by Dhabhar (1923: 115–16). While Cantera and de Vaan (2005: 37, fn. 23) indicate that the form byš’cw’l is unknown elsewhere, they accept West’s suggestion and follow his reading of ṣahānu as “the salubrious district” (Cantera and de Vaan 2005: 36–7). It should be noted that in contrast to what West suggests, ṣahānu is separated from bīšāpuhr in the manuscripts.

Tavadia (1944: 325) translates ṣahānu as Gau Vēhsāpuhr (the district of Vēhsāpuhr) and considers the Pahlavi spelling ցահ as a late or corrupt form of Vēhsāpuhr (Tavadia 1944: 338). This form actually occurs in the Šahrestānātī ī Īrānsahr,105 although it seems to be incorrect (Sundermann 1986: 294). While the corresponding (correct) spelling byš(‘) pwhr occurs on bullae, a seal and an inscription in Pahlavi, the variant byš’pwhr agrees with the Pahlavi spelling of the colophon.106 Therefore, Tavadia’s reading is well supported. Mazdapour (1375/1996: 81) also renders ṣahānu as “the province of Bīsābur”.

With Tavadia and Mazdapour, I am inclined to suggest that bīšāpuhr awestān is the correct reading. This suggestion is corroborated by three recently discovered Sasanian clay bullae of (a) Zoroastrian priest(s) from (the province of) Bīšāpuhr (byšpwhly), (the region of) Kāzerōn, which shows that Kāzerōn was a region in the administrative division of Bīšāpuhr (Ghasemi et al. 1396/2017: 94, 99). It should be noted that writers of the early Islamic period also state that Kāzerōn belonged to the administration of Bīšāpuhr (Ghasemi et al. 1396/2017: 101).

The anaphor ham, preceding bīšāpuhr, could hypothetically be interpreted in different ways:

102 For a review on the development of the meaning of anōšag ruvān in the post-Islamic period see Brunner (1985: 98–9).
103 For an edition of the Pahlavi colophons in J2 and K5 see Unvala (1940: 121, 129–31).
104 G14 (19v12): T6 (7r6): 103 For an edition see Daryaee (2002: 15, 50, 79).
105 For an edition see Daryaee (2002: 15, 50, 79).
106 For a review on Bīsāpur and its spellings see Keall (1989).
1) Māhayār Farrokhzād came from the same province whose name was in the mind of the scribe of the second colophon, Māhwindād Narmāhān, that is, his own unattested province.

2) As suggested by Tavadia (1944: 339), Mahayār Farrokhzād could have been the brother of the famous Zoroastrian high priest of the ninth-century Adurfārōbīa Farrokhzādān. Assuming everybody knew Adurfārōbīa Farrokhzādān, ham bīšāpuhr could mean that Mahayār Farrokhzād came from the same province as that of his brother.

3) The anaphor ham could have been a late insertion by Hōšang. According to this interpretation, ham refers back to Kāzerūn, the region of Māhpanāh Āzāmdār, which had already been mentioned in the first colophon.

7.2 anōšag ī man māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr “I, the immortal Māhwindād son of Narmāhān son of Wahrām Mihr” (lines 13–14)

The honorary title anōšag “immortal”, occurs before man māhwindād “I, Māhwindād”, the scribe of the second colophon. However, in his colophon in the manuscript B of the Dēnkard, as mentioned in section 6.1, he simply refers to himself as man māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihrābān. Therefore, the honorary title might have been inserted later by another scribe. This possibility is supported by the fact that scribes usually described themselves with modest titles such as dēn bandag “the servant of the religion”.

8. Text of the first colophon in T54 and the colophon of Kāyūs

In T54, the beginning of the first colophon runs as follows:

T54 (2v line 12) ... ud ham čim rāy ī nībīṣt pad (13) hamuskārišnīh pērōzgar man dēn bandag kāyūs (3r 1) pus dastwar suhrāb
pus dastwar rōstam (2) pus dastwar mānōg
pus dastwar mihrānōs pus (3) dastwar kā-y-kawād
pus dastwārān dastwar ī (4) māhayār rānān
andar bilād ī hindūgān107 sākon ī kasabag ī nōg sārīg
(5) az paččēn hērbed hōšang syāwaxš šahryār (6) baxtāfrīd šahryār ... 

“(2v line 12) and for this reason, (I) wrote [this copy] with (13) the inspiration of the victorious [Yazds], I, the servant of the religion, Kāyūs (31r line 1) son of the priest Suhrāb,
son of the priest Rōstam, (2) son of the priest Mānōg,
son of the priest Mīhrānōs son of (3) the priest Kāy-Kawād,
son of the priest of priests (4) Māhayār Rānān
in the lands of Indians, resident of the town of Nōg Sārīg [=Nawsārī]

107 The words andar bilād ī hindūgān are written above the line.
The additional text in T54, which is absent from all other manuscripts, is inserted between man dēn bandag “I the servant of the religion” and (hērbed) hōšang. The text in T54 continues as in the other manuscripts with the minor variations as collated in section 4. The following table summarizes the difference between the text of the first colophon in T54 and Pt4 (3r21–3v3). Phrases that are identical in T54 and Pt4 are set in bold characters:

| T54                                           | Pt4                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1- ud ham čim rāy ī nibišt pad hamuskārišnīh   | 1- ud ham čim rāy ī nibišt pad hamuskārišnīh |
| 2- pērōzgar man dēn bandag                    | 2-pērōzgar man dēn bandag                    |
| kāyūs pus dastwar suhrāb                     | -                                             |
| pus dastwar rōstom pus dastwar mānōg          | -                                             |
| pus dastwar mihrānōš pus dastwar kay-kawād    | -                                             |
| pus dastwarān dastwar ī māhayār rānān         | -                                             |
| andar bilād ī hindūgān sākon ī kasabāg ī     | -                                             |
| nōg sārīg                                     | -                                             |
| az paĉchen hērbed                            | -                                             |
| 3-hōšang syāwaxš šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār    | 3-hōšang syāwaxš šahryār baxtāfrīd šahryār    |
| ōy 4-az paĉchen hērbed mihrābān spendyād mihrābān . . . | 4-az paĉchen hērbed mihrābān spendyād mihrābān . . . |

In T54, the first-person pronoun man “I” is associated with Kāyūs rather than with Hōšang. Dhabhar (1949: 6) had stated that Kāyūs “has incorporated his name in the long colophon given at the beginning by the original writer Hoshang Siyavakhsh”. That the additional text in T54 (Kāyūs’s text) has been inserted into the original colophon of Hōšang by Kāyūs is indicated by the Arabic loan words bilād “lands”, sākon “resident” and kasabāg “town” in Kayūs’s text (fol. 3r line 4). Elsewhere in the two colophons, the Pahlavi words rōstāg “region”, deh “town” and būm “land” are used to refer to geographical locations and there is only one Arabic personal name, Abunasr.

108 The word hērbed is placed in brackets since apart from T54, it only occurs in Mf4.
109 In ergative constructions, the verb agrees with its direct object (or grammatical subject). Therefore, the verbal form does not reflect the person and number of the agent in sentences. For an English review of the ergative construction in Pahlavi see Skjærvø (2009a: 227–29). For a comprehensive study on the ergative construction and its development in Old and Middle Iranian languages see Jügel (2015).
In G14, the story of the compilation of Kāyūs’s (= Kāwūs in G14 and T6) manuscript is also given with three major differences:

1) Kāwūs’s text appears as a separate colophon at the end of the second part of the Introduction, as noted in section 2.
2) The completion date of Kāwūs’s manuscript, AY 1149 (1780 CE), is provided in the colophon.
3) Kāwūs appears as the third person:

G14 (21r line 6) ud ēn daftar fradom andar hindūgān
    dastwar kāwūs (7) pus dastwar suhrāb
    pus dastwar rōstam pus dastwar mānak
    (8) pus mihrnōš az pušt ī māhayār rānān
        andar kasabak ī nōg sārīg
    (9) andar rōz hordād ud māh ī farrox frawardīn
        sāl abar 114- (10) 9 yazdgirdīg sāhān sāh ī ohrmaidān nibišt ēstād
        az (11) abar ō ōy nibēsēd xub frazām kāmag handsāh bawād
        pad (12) yazdān ayārīh

“(6) And this manuscript first [was written] in India. The priest Kāwūs (7) son of the priest Suhrāb son of the priest Rōstam son of the priest Mānak (8–10) son of Mihrnōš a descendant of Māhayār Rānān had written [it] in the town of Nōg Sārīg on the day Hordād and the blessed month Frawardīn, the year 1149 of Yazdgird, King of Kings, a descendant of Ohrmaid. From [it] (11) [who] writes for him, may he be of good fortune [and] successful through (12) the assistance of the Yazds.”

Therefore, the completion date in the third colophon of the manuscript G14 must refer to that of the original manuscript of Kāyūs rather than to that of G14. As a result, G14 is an undated copy since it cannot be a production of Kāyūs in 1780 CE. The following pieces of evidence corroborate that T54 is as old as Pt4 and Mf4 and suggest that, completed in 1780 CE by Kāyūs, T54 was probably the direct or indirect source of G14:

1) Although the name and colophon of Kāwūs are absent from Pt4, according to the family tradition of its owner, the manuscript was written by Dastur Kāvasji Sohrābji Mihirji-rānā (Geldner 1896: Prolegomena xiii).
2) According to Dhabhar’s (1949: 6) observation, T54 is very close to Pt4. My preliminary comparison of the Pahlavi version of the manuscripts also confirms that in cases of significant variant orders between Pt4-Mf4 on the one hand, and G14-T6 on the other hand, T54 agrees with Pt4-Mf4. For example, the order of the Avestan original x‘arananj’ hastomō zātanqm huwarā darasō mašiānqam and the Pahlavi version of huwarā darasō mašiānqam, occurring in Yasna 9.4, varies between the manuscripts Pt4-Mf4-T54 and G14-T6:
| Pt4, Mf4, T54<sup>110</sup> | G14, T6<sup>111</sup> |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| (Y 9.4Av.)<sup>112</sup> ... yāţ hē puṭrō us. zāiata yō yimō xšaētō huuqĪbō | (Y 9.4Av.) ... yāţ hē puṭrō us. zāiata yō yimō xšaētō huuqĪbō |
| (Y 9.4Phl.)<sup>114</sup> ka az o'y pus ul zād kē jam ī šēd ī huramag | (1) x̱arēṇajʰastmō̱ zātaŋm  |
| (Y 9.4Av.) (1) x̱arēṇajʰastmō̱ zātaŋm (2) huuar. darōsō mašţīaŋm | (Y 9.4Phl.) kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādan būd xwēškārtom |
| (Y 9.4Phl.) kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādan būd xwēškārtom | |
| (3) ud<sup>115</sup> xwaršēd nigerištontom az mardōmān būd hučashtōm | kē xwarrahōmandtom az zādan būd xwēškārtom |
| hād xwarrah ast<sup>7</sup><sup>116</sup> xwēškārīh | hād xwarrah ast xwēškārīh |
| ud ast ī pad tan ī mard | ud ast ī pad tan ī mard |
| ud ān ī pad tan ī jam hamdaḏestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh | ud<sup>120</sup> ān ān ī pad tan ī jam hamdaḏestān būd hēnd kū xwēškārīh |
| rōšn guft | rōšn guft |
| hād xwarrah ēd ast ī pad tan mard | hād xwarrah ēd ast ī ī mard xwarrahōmand dārēd xwēškārīh |
| xwēškārīh<sup>117</sup> ān rawāq kunēd | ān rawāq kunēd |
| - | - |
| - | - |
| - ... | - ... |

110 Pt4 (fol. 55r lines 12–21); Mf4 (p. 148 lines 15–17; p. 149 lines 1–8); T54 (fol. 99v lines 12–13; fol. 100r lines 1–10). While the Avestan text is after Geldner (1886–1896: I, 39–40), the variant readings of the Avestan original between the manuscripts are not collated. The Pahlavi text is according to that of Pt4 and the variant reading of Mf4 and T54 are provided in the footnotes. Texts whose orders are different between the two groups of manuscripts are highlighted in bold.

111 G14 (fol. 53v lines 7–14; fol. 54r line 1); T6 (fol. 44v lines 11–13; fol. 45r lines 1–6). Whereas the Avestan text is after Geldner (1886–1896: I, 39–40), the variant readings of the Avestan original between G14 and T6 are not collated. The Pahlavi text is according to that of G14 and the variant readings of T6 are provided in the footnotes.

112 Y 9.4Av. stands for Yasna, section 9, stanza 4, Avestan original.

113 The dash means that the corresponding highlighted text in the opposite column is not placed in the same position. The numbers (1), (2) and (3) show the corresponding texts whose orders are different.

114 Y 9.4Phl. stands for Yasna, section 9, stanza 4, Pahlavi version.

115 T54: deest.

116 T54: deest.

117 Mf4: ud mard.

118 T54: ud xwēškārīh.

119 T6: ka.

120 T6: deest.
Another example of such different orders between the manuscripts is observed in Y 9.11 (data not shown).

3) The quality of the text of the colophons in T54 exceeds that of its related copies of the Kāyūs family, that is, G14 and T6, as discussed in the following section.

9. Variant readings of the geographical locations, personal names and the first-person pronoun man “I” preceding māhwindād in G14 and T6

As far as the geographical origin of scribes is concerned, according to Pt4, Mf4 and T54 they come from the central and western parts of Iran:

Hērbed Māhpānāh Āzādmand: kāzerōn rōstāg “the region of Kāzerōn”
Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd: būm ī spāhān, rōddašt rōstāg, warzanag deh “the land of Spāhān, the Rōd-Dašt region, the town of Warzanag”
Māhāyār Farrōkhzhād: bīsāpuhr awestān kāzerōn rōstāg “the province of Bīsāpuhr, the region of Kāzerōn”
Abu-Nasr Mardṣād: būm ī šīrāz “the land of Šīrāz”.

In G14 (19v line 12), kʿclwn “Kāzerōn” is spelled as kʿp̣uhl “Kabul?”:

az ham bīsāpuhr awestān az kābul? Rōstāg
(Māhāyār Farroxzād came) from the same Bīsāpuhr province, from the region of Kābul?

However, while it is obvious that Bīsāpuhr and Kābul are geographically unrelated, the expected spelling of Kabul is kʿp̣wl. With the reading of G14, it might be possible to associate kābul with the following anōšag ī man māhwindād “I the immortal Māwindād”, the scribe of the second colophon. This suggestion is also unlikely because Māhwindād has another colophon in the manuscript B of the Dēnkard in which he states that he copied the Dēnkard from a copy that he had found in Baghdad.121 It stands to reason then that he came from somewhere in Mesopotamia or environs west of the Iranian plateau.

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

Hērbed Māhpānāh Āzādmand: T6 (fol. 6v line 13) گهرا “Kāzerōn” (in the New Persian version کابل “Kabul”).

Māhayār Farrōkhzhād: T6 (fol. 7r line 6) ham nēšāpur xujestān 122 (وژه شجستان). Moreover, T6 (7r line 6) writes گهرا?

121 For a review on Māhwindād’s colophon in the Dēnkard see de Jong (2016: 232).
122 The reading x in xujestān is expressed by one diacritic dot above ش. Three diacritical dots are placed above ش to indicate š.
Likewise, "is translated in the interlinear New Persian version as ham nēšāpur xujestān az kābul (هم نیشابور خوجستان از کابل) “from Nēšāpur Xujestān from Kābul”, both of which, nēšāpur and xujestān, are located in Khorasan.123

Like G14, the text of T6 seems to be subject to re-interpretation according to the scribe’s mindset. The reason for this is that in fol. 6v line 13, the word in the Pahlavi version is spelled apparently as kʾclwn’/kāzerōn/, while in the New Persian version لَوْبَآ کابل is given. Furthermore, كابل “Kabul?” in fol. 7r line 6 is probably the corrected variant of the original. In G14 (fol. 19v lines 5–6), T6 (fol. 6v line 12), the name of the famous scribe mihrābān spendyād mihrābān (= mihrābān spendyār mihrābān in J2) is also replaced by kē ābān spendād kē ābān “who is Ābān Spendāt who is Ābān”:

Pt4 (3v 1) … man dēn bandag hōšang (2) syāwaxš šahryār baxterfrīd šahryār
az (3) paččēn hērbed mihrābān spendyād mihrābān (G14 T6: kē ābān spendād kē ābān)

“(1) I, the servant of the religion, Hōšang (2) Syāwaxš Šahryār Baxterfrīd Šahryār, [wrote this copy] from (3) the copy of hērbed Mihrābān Spendyād Mihrāban (G14 T6: who is Ābān Spendād who is Ābān).”

In addition, as collated above, G14-T6 write narmāhān and abunasr as rumāhān? and ābān? respectively, and tend to omit the relative pronouns.

As regards the Pahlavi sign ( = man), it precedes māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr in Pt4, Mf4 and T54. By contrast, in G14 (fol. 19v line 13) and T6 (fol. 7r line 6), it appears as گ which can be transliterated either heterographically as MN (= az “from”) or eteographically as mn (= man “I”). The corresponding interlinear New Persian translation از “from” in T6 agrees with the former reading. Pt4 (3v14) az ham paččēn paččēn-ē az also appears as az paččēn az in G14-T6. The following table compares the concluding words in Pt4 with those in G14-T6:

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123 For خوجستان، حجمان according to Dehkhoda’s Loghatnāma, see Dehkhoda (1319–1334/1931–1955: vol.VI, 9539); for نیشابور see Dehkhoda (1931–1955/1319–1334): vol. XV, 22952–22953).

124 T6 (7r8) interprets the word as ābān? in its interlinear New Persian version.
As shown above, the colophons in G14 and T6 have several corrections elsewhere. Furthermore, man ... narmāhan ... az ham paċċēn paċċēn-ē az rather than az ... rumāhan ... az paċċēn az is present in their related manuscript T54, whose quality is superior to that of G14 and T6. Therefore, it is possible that the scribes of G14 and T6 corrected the spelling of 𒄠 to 𒄟 which frequently occurs in the colophons, and omitted (ham) paċċēn-ē as it was thought to be erroneously repeated.

10. Conclusions

As regards the filiation of the second colophon, I have argued that Māhwindād Narmāhān copied the Pahlavi manuscript of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd. The latter was the one who had combined a manuscript containing the Avestan text of the Yasna with another manuscript containing the Pahlavi version of the Yasna for himself and for the deceased Māhayār Farrozxād. I have also suggested that Farrbay Šrōşāyār was the scribe of the manuscript that was the source of the Pahlavi version of Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd’s manuscript. Moreover, the second colophon shows that Rōstahm Dād-Ohrmazd, the scribe of the first known Pahlavi Yasna manuscript, was from Spāhān. Reading the debated 𒄡 as bīšāpuhr awestān, I propose that Māhayār Farrozxād came from “the province of Bīšāpuhr”.

For the different filiation of the first colophon in T54, I have suggested in the present article that Kāyūs added his late text to the first colophon in which he described himself as the copyist of the manuscript of Hōsang. Moreover, among T54, G14 and T6 associating themselves with Kāyūs, the quality of the first is superior and closer to that of Pt4 and Mf4. Although the completion date of T54 is unattested in the manuscript, I have proposed that this date may be

125 Alternatively, with reading 𒄡 which precedes māhwindād, as mn /man/, a translation could be “I, the immortal Māhwindād Rumāhān son of Wahrām Mihr [wrote] from the copy at the request of the victorious Ābānnasr Mardṣād son of Šāpuhr from the blessed land of Šīrāz”.

alternatively, with reading 𒄡 which precedes māhwindād, as mn /man/, a translation could be “I, the immortal Māhwindād Rumāhān son of Wahrām Mihr [wrote] from the copy at the request of the victorious Ābānnasr Mardṣād son of Šāpuhr from the blessed land of Šīrāz”. 

125
found in G14. The reason for this is that the Pahlavi colophon of G14, which is placed after the Introduction, declares that Kāwūs (= Kāyūs in T54) completed his copy in AV 1149 (1780 CE). However, Kāwūs must be considered as a historical figure in G14, since his name occurs in the third person in the colophon of this manuscript; also the quality of T54, in whose first colophon Kāyūs speaks, is closer to that of Pt4 which is traditionally considered to be written by Kāyūs.

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