

The transmission of the Pahlavi Vīdēvdād in India after 1700 (I): Jāmāsp's visit from Iran and the rise of a new exegetical movement in Surat ¹

by

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Manuscripts of the Avesta either contain only the Avestan text (Sāde manuscripts) or the Avestan text with its Pahlavi translation and commentary. All the known Pahlavi Vīdēvdād (PV) manuscripts were written in India. We can only hope that one day PV manuscripts written in Iran will come to light in Iran in the same way that several Iranian Vīdēvdād Sāde (VS) manuscripts have appeared in the last years. Meanwhile, we have to be content with the Indian PV manuscripts, but to be able to use them critically, we have to study the history of the transmission of these manuscripts.

There are two milestones in the transmission of PV. In the 13th century, no PV manuscript was available in India, but at this time one was brought to India from Sīstān. Māhyār Māhdād brought to India a manuscript written by Ardašīr ī Wahman ī Rōzweh Šāburzēn Šāhmard from a manuscript copied by Homast Wahišť. All later Indian PV manuscripts are supposed to go back to Ardašīr's manuscript. This was copied twice in India. From one of these two copies, from the copy of Rōstām Mīhrābān Marzabān, two other copies were made by Mīhrābān Kayhusrāw, from which all the PV manuscripts in India are descended. According to Westergaard², these are the manuscripts L4 and K1. In the colophon of K1 and the copies of the lost colophon of L4 in E10 and Pt2, it is stated that Māhyār Māhdād was in Sīstān, and a copy of Ardašīr's manuscript was given to him. This happened in the

year 1231 A.D according to the colophon of IM (and not in 1205 as Geldner thought)³.

In India, two copies were made of this manuscript of Ardašīr, according to Anquetil⁴. One is the copy made by Rōstām Mihrābān Marzabān. L4, K1 and all the other manuscripts known by Geldner are descended from it. Fortunately, we know about the existence at the beginning of the 20th century of a manuscript independent of the copy of Rōstām Mihrābān, namely the manuscript IM used by Jāmāsp in his edition of Vīdēvdād. This manuscript was written in Kermān in 1575 A.D., by Marzabān Frēdōn Wahrām Rōstām Bundār. A Zoroastrian Iranian named Siyāwaxš Ormazdyār brought it to India and presented it to Mānakī Sōhrābjī Kāwusjī Ashburner in 1853 A.D., according to a Persian colophon on the last folio. Finally, it was in Jāmāsp's possession in 1907, but we still do not know where it is now. This manuscript contains a colophon at the end of V9 and other colophons at the end of the manuscript, all of them reproduced by Jāmāsp⁵. According to the colophon after book 9, it was copied by Marzabān Frēdōn Wahrām Rōstām Bundār in 944 Y.E. (1575 A.D.) from a copy by Šahryār Ardašīr Ērič Rōstām Ērič that goes back to a copy by Wežan Wahramāšah Wežan, who copied it from the manuscript of Ardašīr. Therefore, it would be very important to locate this manuscript and therefore have a manuscript from a transmission line different from all other known manuscripts.

The second milestone in the history of the transmission of the PV is an event that took place almost 500 years later. It is again Anquetil-Duperron⁶ who informs us about it. Because of a dispute between traditionalists and reformists concerning the use of the *padām*, a priest named Jāmāsp came from Kermān to Surat forty years before Anquetil wrote his travel report, that is, sometime in the 1720s. After resolving the dispute, he decided to check the current version of the PV used in Gujarat. He concluded that it was too long and not very accurate in several passages. In order to

change this regretful situation he taught Avestan and Pahlavi to three Parsi Dasturs: Dārāb⁷ from Surat, Jāmāsp from Nawsarī and a third one from Baruch⁸ and furthermore left in Surat a corrected PV manuscript. After he went back to Iran, his students continued teaching and correcting their PV manuscripts.

This visit from Sīstān and Jāmāsp's teaching activities were a turning point in the history of the PV transmission. As we will show in this paper, all PV manuscripts copied after his visit are no longer simple copies, but the result of a conscious attempt to improve the transmitted text by correcting it according to the directions dictated by Jāmāsp Īrānī. This fact is extremely important, because, with the exception of L4, K1, M13, IM (see above) and, eventually, B1, all known PV manuscripts were copied after this date (as far as we have determined, this is the case of P2, P5, K2, F10, T44, E10, P10, M3 and probably Pt2). We can not rule out that similar tendencies to correct the transmitted text existed before or elsewhere, but in any case not in the same degree as in the 18th and 19th centuries in Gujarat. Therefore, it is essential to know what kind of modifications they introduced in the transmitted text before we can use them to establish a reading or for the edition of the Avestan and/or Pahlavi versions of Vīdēvdād.

1. Jāmāsp's PV manuscript.

Anquetil-Duperron⁹ stated that Jāmāsp left behind, among other manuscripts, a copy of the PV¹⁰. According to the information from Rask on the first page of K2¹¹, which was recorded by Westergaard¹², too, Jāmāsp Īrānī brought with him a PV manuscript from Iran, but it is not clear whether the manuscript he brought to Surat from Iran and the manuscript he left in Surat are the same. Since we do not have a single PV manuscript from Iran, it would be very interesting to find Jāmāsp's manuscript and be able to check if it is really an Iranian PV manuscript or not. Unfortunately, the current whereabouts of this manuscript are also unknown. Nevertheless, at least two

manuscripts can give us important information about the shape of this manuscript and the sort of corrections and modifications that Jāmāsp introduced in the transmitted text. They are the manuscripts P5 and K2.

In fact, on the first page of K2 there is a note written in Danish by Rask himself¹³ according to which this manuscript was copied by Dastur Dārāb from an exemplar brought from Persia by Dastur Jāmāsp Irānī. In fact, it seems very likely that K2 was written by Dastur Dārāb since the handwriting is very similar to the final section of P5 (that is, everything except the *Vīdēvdād*). Consequently, K2 could be a direct copy by Dastur Dārāb of Jāmāsp's manuscript.

Our information about P5 (Suppl.Persan 39 of the Bibliothèque National of Paris) is very scanty. In this manuscript at least two different manuscripts are bound together: the first (from the beginning to fol. 295) is a PV, the second contains copies in another hand of Visparad (Avestan and Pahlavi), Sroš Yašt Hādōxt (Avestan, Pahlavi and Sanskrit), Srōzag (Avestan and Persian). The handwriting of the PV manuscript is quite different from that of K2 and the other parts of the manuscript, but the handwriting of the rest of the manuscript is very similar to that of K2. The PV manuscript has a colophon, according to which the manuscript was copied on the day *Day pad Mithr*, month *Day*, year 1127 Y.E. (1758 A.D.), that is, the same year that Anquetil started working with Dastur Dārāb. On the first page of the PV manuscript Anquetil writes: "Manuscrit de Zoroastre avec la traduction pehlevie mêlée de pahz(end) dépouillées par le Destour Darab des chahrehes ou commentaires superflus qui défigurent celui de Manscherdjii."¹⁴

As Cantera¹⁵ has shown, the manuscripts from Nawsari, written after Jāmāsp's visit, show a clear tendency to restore parts of the Avestan texts or their Pahlavi translation (PT) missing in the old and seriously worn PV manuscripts L4 and K1. P5 and K2

share this tendency, but, in general, their readings usually agree with one another, but are often different from the readings in the manuscripts of Nawsari. We shall analyze the editorial procedures of the manuscript copyists below, but it may be useful to mention some points already here to show the proximity of P5 and K2.

In the manuscripts P5, K2, T44 and E10¹⁶, in particular, we very often find additions to the text transmitted in L4 and K1. These additions are mainly of two types:

1. Avestan text missing in L4 and K1, but present in the Sāde manuscripts is included
2. Missing PT is included.

All the manuscripts contain both these types of additions, but P5 and K2 are much more consistent in adding missing PT. So far, we have found a considerable number of additions to the text of the L4 and K1 family that P5, K2, T44 and E10 have in common. Fourteen of them are Avestan texts:

	P5	K2	T44	E10
V3.41	<i>spaiēiti. yātu.ynam. spaiēiti. ašauuaynam</i>	<i>spaiāta. yātu.ynam</i>	<i>spīāēiti. auuaynam. spaiāēiti. yātuyānam (on the margin)</i>	<i>spaiāēiti. yātuyānam</i>
9.21	<i>pasca. aparam</i>	<i>pasca. aparam</i>	<i>pasca. aparam (on the right margin)</i>	<i>pasca. aparam</i>
V9.46	<i>yaḍa. vā. namatō. tarō. yāra</i>	<i>yaḍa. vā. namatō. tarō. yāra (on the right margin)</i>	<i>yaḍa. vā. namatō. tarō. yāra</i>	<i>yaḍa. vā. namatō. tarō. yāra</i>
V11.9	<i>paranc. mūdi. paranc. kapastis</i>	<i>paranc. mūdi. paranc. kapastis</i>	<i>paranc. mūdi. paranc. kapastis</i>	<i>paranc. mūdiā. paranc. kapastis</i>
V11.1	<i>paršta. ham.raēβam</i>	<i>paršta. ham.raēβam</i>	<i>paršta. ham.raēβam (on the left margin)</i>	<i>paršti. ham.raēβam</i>
2				

V13.8	vōhū.nazagāmc a. daraxtō.hunara nāmca	vōhū.nazagāmc a. darxtō.hunaran gāmc	vōhū.nazagāmc daxtō.hunaran gāmc	vōhū.nazagāmc. daxtō.hunaran gāmc
V13.1 6	3rd. hāu.	3rd. hāu	3rd. hāu	3rd. hāu
V13.2 0	tarō.pīβam. daste.	tarō.pāβam	tarō.pāβam	tarō.pīβim
V13.3 7	vaēmi. vā. apō. vā	vaēmi. vā. apō. vā	vaēmi. vā. auruōa. vā. apō. vā (on the left margin)	vime. vā. uruōa. vā. apō. vā
V14.1	hazaphrāiš. sūniš. nairiā.nāmanō	hazaphrāiš. sūniš. nairiō.nmānō	hazapharāiš. sūniš. nairiō.nāmanō	hazaphrāiš. sūniš. nairiō.nāmanō
V16.1 4	yaē. hē. daxši. ciβram. bauvati	yaē. hē. daxštam. ciβram. bauvati	yaē. hē. daxša. ciβram. bauvati	yaē. hē. daxši. ciβram. bauvati
V18.5 2-57	All the Avestan text in the right place	All the Avestan text in the right place	Includes 18.52- 55	Includes 18.52- 55
V19.2 0	hām.raēβhiāēti (before bauvaē)	hām.raēβhaiāē iti (before bauvaē)	hām.raēβhiāiti (before buvaē)	hām.raβhiāca (before bauvaē)
V19.4 1-44	All the Avestan text in the right place	All the Avestan text in the right place	All the Avestan text in the right place	All the Avestan text, but added at the end of the manuscript

On several occasions they also agree on the addition of a missing PT, for instance the PT of *parane. miūdi. parane. kapastš* in V11.9 or the PT of *tāθrō.cinō.yaθa. tāiūš* in V13.47¹⁷.

On the other hand, P5 and K2 share additions missing in T44 and E10. Most of them are additions of missing PT:

- V11.9 PT of *parane. xtu. parane. xruui.yni. parane. būiōi. parane. + būiōija. parane. kundi. parane. xkundija.*
- V15.8 PT of *ahmaθ.haca. irišiāt.*

- V15.21 PT of *višpam. ā. ahmāi. θrāβam. keranauuāi. yaē. aēte. yōi. spāna. uzjasan;*
- V18.5 PT *mā. dim. mruuiā. āθrauananam. urti. mraoθ. ahurō. mazdā. āi. ašāum. zaraθuštra.*

Only on two occasions do P5 and K2 agree on the addition of an Avestan text that does not appear in T44 and E10: V15.8 *yezi. taē. paiθ. irišiēit* and V17.8 *paiti.karem. paiti.kāraiōiš*.

Conversely, P5 and K2 are the only known PV manuscripts that omit the PT of V18.6 *tem. dim. mruuiā. āθrauananam. urti. mraoθ. ahurō. mazdā. āi. ašāum. zaraθuštra*. In all other PV manuscripts, with the exception of T44 and E10, the Avestan text is omitted, but not the PT.

Other very revealing cases are V13.37g *vaēme. vā. urtiōi. vā. apō. vā*, which is missing in L4, K1 and M3. P5 and K2 have *vaēme. vā* and *apō. vā*, while *urtiōi. vā* is missing. P2 and E10 (and T44 on the left margin) restore the whole text.

P5 and K2 also agree on an extreme tendency to rearrange texts that are out of order in L4 and/or K1 and similar manuscripts. As we will see later, this is a general trend, but in P5 and K2 the number and details of the agreements are very significant. For example, these two manuscripts are the only ones that remedy the disorder in V3.25 to V3.30. They are also the only manuscripts that tend to rearrange the word order of the PT in order to preserve the Avestan word order in the PT, even in the case of the enclitics.

In our opinion there is no doubt about the close relationship between P5 and K2, although it is not easy to establish the exact relationship between the two. It is not very probable that one was copied from the other, because K2 includes the Avestan text and PT of V12, not included in P5, as in the old PV manuscripts. In its turn, K2 cannot be a direct copy of P5, because small additions in the PT present in P5 are sometimes, though not often, not wholly completed in K2, for instance, the PT in V13.47 t¹yk k²mk cygwn

dwc, which appears only in P5, T44 and E10, while in K2 only cygwn dwc is written. There are also small Avestan fragments present in P5 but missing in K2, for instance, V16.8-9 hē. pañca. xšafna. sacānte... yaṭ. hē. pañca. xšafna. sacānte. airime. gātūm. hē. nišhōaēta. vīspam. ā. ahmāt. yaṭ. hē, missing in K2 (L4, K1 and T44), but present in P5 (also in P2, E10 and M3).

Although the concrete role of Dastur Dārāb is yet to be established, it is clear that the two manuscripts are situated in the sphere of Dastur Dārāb and somehow related to Jāmāsp Irānī's visit to Surat. For K2 we have Rask's information that K2 is a copy of Jāmāsp's manuscript. Concerning P5, Anquetil's note (see above) that useless parts of the PT had been taken out reminds us of his remark that Jāmāsp thought that the PT was too long. Thus, it seems very likely that P5 and K2 provide us with information about the shape of Jāmāsp's manuscript, and both of them must therefore be checked in order to establish whether they continue a manuscript tradition different from the L4 or K1 family and whether it is an Iranian independent tradition or not.

If Jāmāsp really brought one manuscript from Iran and P5 and K2 were copies of it, then P5 and K2 would contain the only evidence for the Iranian PV transmission line and so be very important manuscripts, indeed. However, as Westergaard¹⁸ already pointed out, K2 also has variants and omissions in common with L4 and K1, which means that it cannot have belonged to a different manuscript family. Geldner¹⁹ seems to have shared this opinion, because he stated that K2 is simply a revision of the Vidēvdād text prepared by Dastur Dārāb at the instigation of Dastur Jāmāsp.

In fact, P5 and K2 share several omissions with L4 and K1. Westergaard²⁰ noticed that in V13.47b the Avestan text +xšāpāiaonō. yaṭa. tāiūš is lacking in L4 and K1 (also missing in P2 and M3) and in P5 and K2 (but present in T44 and E10). Other such omissions are:

- V13.37g *vaēme. vā. urūdi. vā. apō. vā* missing in L4, K1, and M3. P5 and K2 have *vaēme. vā. apō. vā*, but omit *urūdi. vā. P2* and E10 (and T44 on the margin) have the whole text
- V13.48 *airi.šē. haēm. yaṭa. aparanaīūkabe* is missing in all PV manuscripts, with the exception of T44 and E10.
- V18.6 *tem. dim. mruuiā. āvrauanam. uiti. mraoī. ahuro. mazdā. āi. ašāum. zaraṭuštra* is missing in all PV manuscripts, with the exception of T44 and E10 too.

On the other hand, although several displaced texts have been corrected in P5 and K2 (as the well-known displacements in V3.25-32 and 18.7-51), in other passages P5 and K2 show the same displacements as L4 and K1 (e.g. V2.18 ff.).

Consequently, it is clear that the manuscript which Jāmāsp supposedly corrected did not belong to a tradition different from the other Indian PV manuscripts. Among the Indian PV manuscripts, P5 and K2 belong, beyond reasonable doubt, to the family of K1. This is clear from the fact that, despite the tendency to restore omissions, P5 and K2 have several omissions in common with the family of K1:

- V9.9: *kaṭa. gānqa. hañcaīata* appears in L4, T44 and E10, but is missing in all the manuscripts of the K1 family (except P10, where it is completed by a second hand on the margin), as well as in P5 and K2.
- In V18.51 the omission of *upa. sūrām. frašō.karaiīm* and its PT is very interesting. This text appears in L4 and the manuscripts of its family, but it is missing in the family of K1 (K1, M3, P2, P10 [included by a second hand]). In P5 and K2 the PT is omitted and, regarding the Avestan text, only *upa. sūrām* is included, while *frašō.karaiīm* appears on the margin (K2) or above the line (P5).
- V19.24: K1, P2 and M3 (and the available manuscripts of the K1 family except P10, where it is completed by a second hand)

leave out vohu.gaonangam, which is present in L4, T44 and E10, but missing in P5 and K2.

Actually, there is not a single omission in common only with the family of L4, with the exception of Phl. MTA in the gloss of V11.10.

It is also noteworthy V8.34b-c nōif. huškō. +huškuuāi. +sraēšieiti. yezi huškō. huškuuāi. sraēšieintim. xāphāt. The copyist of K1 springs from the first huškuuāi to the second one and omits sraēšieiti. yezi huškō. huškuuāi. This mistake appears in all manuscripts of this family, including P5 and K2, but not in the manuscripts of the L4 family²¹.

Also revealing are variants like the one found in V13.36. Here K1 and the manuscripts of the L4 line have variants for xisemnō (K1, K9 isimmō) with s similar to asmanō (L4, E10 asmanō; T44 asamanō), while the rest of the manuscripts of the K1 line have variants with p: P2, P5 ipimanō; K2 ipsimmō; M3 ipimmō. Although K1 has a variant with s, it is obvious that P5 and K2 represent the same tradition as P2 and M3, descendants of K1²².

Accordingly, it seems obvious that P5 and K2 belong to the family of K1 and cannot be copies of a manuscript brought by Jāmāsp from Kermān to Surat. If Jāmāsp brought a manuscript from Iran we do not have a copy of it. Probably he compared his manuscript with the standard copies in Surat (most of them belonging to the tradition of K1). Thus P5 and K2 are a group of manuscripts from Surat corrected according to the teachings of Jāmāsp Irānī in the sphere of influence of his main disciple, Dastur Dārāb.

2. The modifications of the transmitted Avestan and Pahlavi text in P5 and K2

As mentioned above, Anquetil²³ informs us that, when Jāmāsp examined the current Vidēvdād tradition in Gujārat, he found the

translation to be too long and not very exact. Hence he started to teach Avestan and Pahlavi to three Parsi Dasturs: Dārāb from Surat, Jāmāsp from Newsarī and a third one from Baruch. Anquetil attributes the continuation of this task to Dastur Dārāb²⁴:

“Darab, premier Disciple de Djāmāsp, & Destour Mobed consommé dans le connoissance du Zend & du Pehlvi, voulut corriger la Traduction Pehlevie du *Vendidad* & rectifier quelques endroits du Texte Zend, qui lui paroissoient ou transposés, ou présenter des répétitions inutiles”.

Thus, various “editorial” activities are attributed by Anquetil to Jāmāsp and Dastur Dārāb. Concerning the PT he mentions:

1. Jāmāsp found the PT to be too long, so he presumably tried to shorten it.
2. Both Jāmāsp and Dastur Dārāb found the PT not very accurate, so both tried to correct it.

As far as the Avestan text is concerned, Anquetil attributes modifications of the transmitted text only to Dastur Dārāb, namely:

1. rearrangements of misplaced texts
2. deletions of useless repetitions

2.1. Editorial changes in the Pahlavi translation

As for the PT, compared with the old PV manuscripts, this appears to have been both shortened and corrected in P5 and K2. First of all, both manuscripts tend to leave out the long commentaries and many of the short glosses in the PT. When the glosses or commentaries include Avestan quotations, then these are included in the manuscripts with their PT too, which is always missing in the old PV manuscripts. A good example is the first paragraph of Vidēvdād (V1.1), where a gloss with Avestan

quotations is included. The standard transmitted text is the following:

1.1 |a| gwpt-š²⁷ whrmzd OL²⁵ spyt²m³n¹²⁶
 zltwšt²⁷ |b| L YHBWN-t²⁸ spyt²m³n¹²⁹ zltwšt³⁰
 gyw³k l³mšn¹³¹ dhšn¹³² LA AYK d³t³³
 [YKOYMW-N-yt] ³s³nyh [ZNE³⁴ AYK³⁵
 ANŠWTA³⁶ ZK gyw³k AYK KN³⁷ YLYDWN-yt
 ZY-š³⁸ xKN³⁹ plwlymnd² š⁴⁰ ŠPYL MDMEN-yt⁴¹
 AYK nywktl W⁴² s³n¹tl x⁴³ L YHBWN-t⁴⁴] |c| ME
 HT L LA YHBWN-t HWE-yd⁴⁵ spyt²m³n¹⁴⁵ zltwšt⁴⁶
 gyw³k l³mšn¹ dhšn¹⁴⁷ LA AYK⁴⁸ YHBWN-t
 [YKOYMW-N-yt⁴⁹] ³s³nyh⁵⁰ |d| hlwsp⁵¹ h³w¹⁵²
³st³wmnd⁵³ w¹ y³l³n³wyc⁵⁴ pr²c OZLWN-šnyh⁵⁵
 YHWWN-t⁵⁶ HWE-yd

[|A|⁵⁷ BYN HNA⁵⁸ k²l YKOYMW-N-³t⁵⁹ HWE-yd
 OD-š³n¹⁶⁰ OZLWN-t⁶¹ LA twb²n¹ YHWWN-t⁶²
 HWE-yd ME MN kyšwl OL⁶³ kyšwl BRA⁶⁴ PWN⁶⁵
 plw²n¹⁶⁶ <y> yzd²n¹ OD OZLWN-t⁶⁷ LA twb²n¹
 AYT MNW³ytwn¹ YMRRW-N-yt⁶⁸ y³69 PWN-c ZK
 <y> ŠDYA-³n¹⁷⁰ š³yt OZLWN-t⁷¹ |B| [asō.
 rāmō.dāitūm.⁷¹ nōit. aojō.rāmištām.⁷²] KRA⁷³ 2
 ywk KRA⁷⁴ 2 l³mšn¹ y⁷⁵ gyw³k AYT⁷⁶ MNW ZK
 wyc⁷⁶ l³mšn¹⁷⁷ MN hwysk⁷⁸ y⁷⁸ YMLLWN-yt⁷⁹ |C|
 [paorīm. bitīm.⁸⁰] HNA⁸¹ 2 m¹l AYK plwm k²l
 W⁸² DYNA OL⁸³ ZK⁸⁴ gyw³k blyhny⁸⁵ dtygl⁸⁶ OL
 ZK⁸⁷ gyw³k OD mynwg y⁸⁸ zmyk⁸⁹ hm³k¹ PWN⁹⁰
 ywkltyh⁹¹ BRA YHBWN-t⁹² pyd²l¹k KRA⁹³ ZK
 gyw³k⁹⁴ AYK 2 BRA⁹⁵ YMLLWN-yt⁹⁶ ywk ZK
 PWN bwn dhšn⁹⁷ ywk⁹⁸ ZK PWN⁹⁹ AHL [āat.
 ahe. patīāram.]¹⁰⁰ hm³k¹¹⁰¹ ZK¹⁰² AHL |D|
 gyw³k W¹⁰³ lwsf³k KRA 2 hmkmnyh¹⁰⁴ AYT¹⁰⁵ MNW
 ytwn¹¹⁰⁵ YMLLWN-yt¹⁰⁶ y¹⁰⁷ gyw³k¹ ZK gyw³k
 AYK¹⁰⁸ ANŠWTA¹⁰⁹ ODM LA¹¹⁰ KTLWN-d¹¹¹ W

lwt³k ZK gyw³k AYK ANŠWTA¹¹² ODM
 KTLWN-d¹¹³ [mas¹¹⁴ mā. rauua. šaḍqam.¹¹⁵
 haītm.¹¹⁶] ZNE PWN ZNE plgl² pyt³k hm³k gyw³k
 YMLLWN-yt¹¹⁷ AYT¹¹⁸ MNW h³t³wmnd-c¹¹⁸ lwt
 YMLLWN-yt¹¹⁹]

In P5 and K2 the text runs as follows:

1.1 |a| gwpt-š²⁷ whrmzd spyt²m³n¹²⁶ zltwšt²⁷ |b| L
 YHBWN-t²⁸ spyt²m³n¹²⁹ zltwšt³⁰ gyw³k l³mšn¹ dhšn¹ LA
 AYK d³t [YKOYMW-N-yt] AYK nywktl W⁴² s³n¹tl L
 YHBWN-t⁴⁴] |c| HT ME L LA YHBWN-t HWE-y
 spyt²m³n¹ zltwšt gyw³k l³mšn¹ dhšn¹ LA AYK
 YHBWN-t [YKOYMW-N-yt] |d| hlwsp⁵¹ h³w¹ y
³st³wmnd y³l³n³wyc¹²⁰ pr²c OZLWN-šnyh HWE-y

[[asō. rāmō.dāitūm. nōit. aojō.rāmištām.¹²¹]
 gyw³k l³mšn¹ dhšn¹ LA wyc l³mšn¹ YHWWN-yt
 [paorīm.¹²²] plwm l blyhny¹²³ [bitīm.¹²⁴]
 dtygl¹²⁵ [āat. ahe. patīāram.]¹²⁶ AP-š ZK y
 pyd²l¹k AYK¹²⁷ k²l¹²⁸ LOYN YMLLWN-yt¹²⁹ [
 mas¹³⁰ mā. rauua. šaḍqam. haītm.] ZNE ³p³st³k¹ MNW
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 AYT BYN 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 OD YHWWN-d]

A striking and systematic difference between P5 and K2 is the fact that K2 leaves blanks for the omitted texts, as we can see in this reproduction of the beginning of the commentary of V1.1:

Avestan text. If we compare the PT of V1.1 (quoted above) in the standard version and in P5 and K2, we easily notice that most prepositions of the standard version (where they replace the case forms of the Avestan) have been removed in P5 and K2, since they have no correspondence in Avestan, for example: *gwpt-š* 'whrmzd spyr^mn' *zltwšt'* instead of *gwpt-š* 'whrmzd OL spyr^mn' *zltwšt'*; 'ylⁿwyc instead 'w' 'ylⁿwyc. In the same paragraph, further omissions of words lacking correspondence in Avestan include *būd* in pr^c OZLWN-šnyh YHWWN-1172 HWE-yd, for which P5 and K2 we have pr^c OZLWN-šnyh HWE-yd.

It is also interesting to compare the two versions of V2.1b. The standard one is:

kamāi. ¹⁷³ x *fradaēsaiō.* ¹⁷⁴ *dačāqm.* ¹⁷⁵ *yqm.* ¹⁷⁶
ahūrim. ¹⁷⁷ *zarabuštrim.* ¹⁷⁸
^{2.179} ^{3w} ¹⁸⁰ *MNW* ¹⁸¹ *pr^c* ¹⁸² *mmwt* *ZNE* *dyn'* ¹⁸³
^{whrmzd} ¹⁸⁴ ^w ¹⁸⁵ *zltwšt'* ¹⁸⁶

In P5 and K2 the PT runs as follows:

MNW pr^c mmwt dyn' y whrmzd zltwšt'

As in the previous example, the prepositions are missing, as well as the agent *ā-t* and the demonstrative *ēn*, all without correspondence in Avestan.

Another example of this is the trend to omit also postpositions like *rāy*, e. g. V2.4c in the standard version:

ADYN ¹⁸⁷ *ZK* ¹⁸⁸ *y* ¹⁸⁹ *L* ¹⁹⁰ *MKB* *LWN* ¹⁹¹ *gyh* ³ⁿ ¹⁹²
¹⁹³ *šf* ¹⁹⁴ *dšn'* ¹⁹⁵ *]* ¹⁹⁶ *srđ* ¹⁹⁷ *yh* ¹⁹⁸
¹⁹⁹ *[plm* ²⁰⁰ *n'* ²⁰¹ *YHBWN-tn]* ²⁰² *PWN* ²⁰³ *nk* ²⁰⁴ *š* ²⁰⁵ *d* ²⁰⁶ *šnyh* ¹⁹⁸
²⁰⁷ *[p* ²⁰⁸ *nyh* ²⁰⁹ *ktm* ²¹⁰ *]*

but in P5 and K2:

ADYN' ZK L MKBL WN-x₂ gyhⁿ 'šf^yšn

Probably this inclination to remove every word without a correspondence in Avestan text reflects not only the trend to shorten the PT, but also the attempt to fit the PT as well as possible to the Avestan text in order to produce a more "accurate" PT, which was Jāmāsp's second aim.

Comparable to this trend is the total adaptation of the word order of the PT in P5 and K2 to the Avestan word order. Even in the standard transmitted text, the word order of the PT reflects the word order of the Avestan text, but in P5 and K2 this tendency is more extreme. For example, in V13.4 the standard PT does not preserve the word order of the Avestan text exactly, but adapts it to fit the Pahlavi syntax:

yō. ²⁰¹ *janat.* *spānem.* *siždram.* ²⁰² *uruuāsam.* ²⁰³
 The standard PT is:
MNW ²⁰⁴ *KLBA* ²⁰⁵ *MHYTWN-yf* ²⁰⁶ *y* ²⁰⁷ *x* *syd* ²⁰⁸

In P5 and K2 we find:

MNW MHYTWN-yf ZK KLBA sydyk

The same trend is reflected in the preservation of the Avestan word order even in the case of the enclitics, as we have already seen before in the PT *HT ME* for *yeidi.zi*. (V1.1) instead of the standard PT *ME HT*. The case is similar in V4.1:

aēsānci. ²⁰⁹ *iθra.* ²¹⁰ *vā.* *asn.* ²¹¹ *iθra.* ²¹² *vā.* *xšafne.* ²¹³
maēvānahc. ²¹⁴ *x'vāi.* ²¹⁵ *paiti.garuuaiticite* ²¹⁶

The standard PT is:

OLE-š ²¹⁷ *cygn* ²¹⁸ *BYN* ²¹⁹ *YWM* ²²⁰ *ywp* ²²¹ *TME* ²²²
BYN ²²³ *L YLYA* ²²⁴ *myhn'* ²²⁵ *PWN* ²²⁶ *NPŠE-yh* ²²⁷ *QDM*
OHDWN-yf ²²⁸

but in P5 and K2:

OLE-š^h-c BYN ywp YWM BYN ywp LYLYA
špA²²³ NPSŠE-yh QDM OHDWN-x₁

Jāmāsp's attempt to make the PT more accurate was not limited to matching the word order and the number of words of the PT with the Avestan original. In fact, in P5 and K2 we note a reflection about the correction of the transmitted PT. Consequently, the transmitted PT was changed in several passages, such as V2.1:

⁺ *kamāi²²⁴ paoritiō²²⁵ mašīānām²²⁶ xaparasaqha²²⁷*
tūm²²⁸ yō²²⁹ ahurō. mazdā.

The standard PT is:

OL²³⁰ MNW/ plwm MN ANŠWTA-^h hmpwrskyh²³¹
HWE-yd²³² LK MNW²³³ whmzgd HWE-yd²³⁴
[AYK-t hmpwrskyh²³⁵ y²³⁶ PWN dyn' plwm²³⁷
LWTE MNW²³⁸ kt²³⁹]

In P5:

MNW/ plwm ANŠWTA-^h hmpwrskyh LK MNW
whmzgd AYK LWTE LK pwrskyh PWN dyn'
MNW kt' MN plwm

In K2:

MNW/ plwm ANŠWTA-^h hmpwrskyh LK MNW
whmzgd MNW LWTE LK pwrskyh MNW kt'

There is a slightly different understanding of the Avestan text in P5 and K2. The standard PT correctly translates *xaparasaqha* as a verb, while Jāmāsp and Dastur Dārāb translate it as a substantive. Obviously they have taken the PT *hampursagih* from the gloss and we can seriously ask ourselves if they had skills enough to form new Pahlavi sentences. In fact, when we find a different PT in P5 and K2, mostly it is taken from the glosses or a mixture of the standard PT and the glosses. It is very interesting

that, as we will see later, the majority of the differences between P5 and K2 are found precisely in cases where the standard PT has been altered.

Sometimes we have noted differences between the standard PT and that in P5 and K2 in the choice of words, as in V11.10, where, instead of the standard PT MN ^hl³y^h py^hkyh for Av. aša-ciθra, P5 and K2 have MN ^hl³y^h twm^k. This obviously reflects a different understanding of and an exegetical debate about Avestan ciθra in this compound.

To conclude this survey of the modifications of the PT, we must mention that on some occasions P5 and K2 include certain glosses missing in the standard PT that probably go back to the teachings of Jāmāsp, as in the PT of V4.1 *yō. naire. namaghanc. nōi. namō. paiti.baraiti*. The standard PT is:

MNW xOL²⁴⁰ GBRA y²⁴¹ nyhšn³wmd²⁴²
[MNDOM²⁴³ p³y^h YHBWN-m²⁴⁴]²š LA nyhšn²⁴⁵
LAWHL²⁴⁶ YBLWN-d²⁴⁷ [AYK-š LA
YHBWN-y^h²⁴⁸]

P5 and K2 have:

MNW²⁴⁹ GBRA xnyhšn³wmd²⁵⁰ ZK LA nyhšn²⁵¹
QDM YBLWN-d²⁵² [AYK LA YHBWN-t' MNW
twb^h HT OL YMRWWN-y^m²⁵³]

Here the two manuscripts add the gloss *MNW twb^h HT OL YMRWWN-y^m*, but omit half of the PT.

2.2. Editorial changes in the Avestan text

As we have seen, the modifications of the transmitted Avestan text attributed by Anquetil to Dastur Dārāb are, on the one hand, the deletion of unnecessary repetitions and, on the other hand, the rearrangements of displaced texts.

As far as the first is concerned, P5 and K2 do not show a greater tendency to abbreviate repetitions than the old manuscripts L4 and K1. In fact, they have fewer abbreviations of repetitions than the old manuscripts.

For instance, in V13.25, L4, K1, T44, E10 and M3 abbreviate *tarō, piðβam. daste. yim*, repeated from V13.20 to 13.27, but not P5 and K2.

A larger omission in the standard PV manuscripts appears in V8.19-20. Here the Avestan texts of the Ahunavairiia (Y27.13), of the *kam.nā* (Y46.7) and of the *kā. varəθram* (Y44.16) are shortened, but are complete in the Sāde manuscripts and in P5 and K2 (but not in F10, T44 and E10²⁵⁴).

As for the rearrangement of the Avestan text, we have to differentiate between two procedures: 1. the rearrangement of Avestan texts misplaced in the course of the written transmission, often because some folios were in the wrong order in an earlier copy; 2. different divisions of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts with respect to the standard PV manuscripts.

Regarding the first type, it is clear that, when the scribes noticed that a displacement existed, they would restore the correct order. This is the case with the displacement of one folio in V3.25-32²⁵⁵. At the end of V3.25c the PT stops and a part of V3.29 follows. After V3.32d the missing part of V3.25c appears and continues with V3.26 up to the missing part of V3.29. Obviously a folio was misplaced. All manuscripts have this displacement except P5 and K2, where the original order has been restored. In V18 two folios are misplaced. The folio containing V18.7-11 is placed after V18.51 and the folio with V18.12-16 after V18.44²⁵⁶. Only in P5, K2, T44 and E10 the original order has been restored. The restoration of the original order in these passages is certainly the result of the teachings of Jāmāsp, at least that of V18. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in other instances the

displacements were not recognized, either by Jāmāsp or by Dārāb, and the arrangement of L4 and K1 was maintained (e.g. V2.18ff., see above).

When Rask bought the manuscript K1, folios 201 and 203 were misplaced, so that the sequence of the folios was 199-201-200-203-202-204²⁵⁷. The consequence was in great disorder in V9.16-24²⁵⁸. This disorder was reproduced in all the manuscripts stemming from M13, so it must be at least so old as 1594 A.D. Since P5 and K2 stem probably from M13, they should show the same disorder. Nevertheless, in P5 and K2 the text appears in the right sequence.

It is a further peculiarity of P5 and K2 that they often divide the Avestan text and its PT differently from the standard PV manuscripts. Interestingly, although both manuscripts share the same tendency, they differ in the concrete divisions. For instance, in V13.37 the standard division is the following:

/a/ āat. *mraot.*²⁵⁹ ahurō. mazdā. auua.²⁶⁰ hē.²⁶¹
 baraitiē.²⁶² tāštem.²⁶³ dāuru.²⁶⁴ + upa. + tam.²⁶⁵
 manaοθrīm.²⁶⁶ | *AP-š*²⁶⁷ *gwp* *whrmzd* *AYK* *BR*
^{3w}₂₆₈ *OIE*²⁶⁹ ^{3y}₂₇₀ *YBLWN-x*²⁷¹ | *ZK* ^{3y}₂₇₂ | *tšy*²⁷³
^d₂₇₄ *QDM* *PWN*²⁷⁵ *m*²⁷⁶ *s*²⁷⁶ | *b* | *stamanam.*²⁷⁷ hē.
 + aōāt.²⁷⁸ niāzaitiē.²⁷⁹ ^x₂₈₀ *išū.masō.*
 xraoždūuahe.²⁸¹ biš. aētauuatō.²⁸² varəduuahe.²⁸³
 || ^{3st}₂₈₄ *mk*²⁸⁴ *OIE*²⁸⁵ *ʔd* *BR*²⁸⁶ ^{3y}₂₈₇ ^x₂₈₇ *pywcynd*²⁸⁸
 [*m*²⁸⁹ | *štk*²⁹⁰ *ms*²⁹¹ *AMT*²⁹¹ *šht*²⁹¹ *W* *2* *ZK*²⁹² ^y₂₉₃ *nd*
AMT *nlt*²⁹⁴ | *c* | + aētahmātciē.²⁹⁵ *nidarəzaitiē.*²⁹⁶ ||
*MN*²⁹⁷ *ZK* [*3st*²⁹⁸ *mk*²⁹⁸ <y> *ZK* [^x *uuəēibiā.*²⁹⁹
^x *naēmaēibiā.*³⁰⁰ | *BR*³⁰⁰ | *ASLWN-x*³⁰¹ | *d* |
*frā.himciē.*³⁰¹ *nidarəzaitiē.*³⁰² || *pr*³⁰² *c* [*AHL*³⁰³
*ZK*³⁰⁴ | *ym*³⁰⁵ *ZK-c*³⁰⁶ [*m*³⁰⁷ *s*³⁰⁷ <y> *ZK* |
^x *uuəēibiā.*³⁰⁸ ^x *naēmaēibiā.*³⁰⁹ | *BR*³⁰⁹ | *ASLWN-*
^x₁ | *e* | *yezi.*³¹⁰ *nōif.*³¹¹ *spā.* *ahām.baodəmnō.*³¹²
*maēye.*³¹³ *vā.*³¹⁴ *cāiti.* *vā.* + *vaēme.*³¹⁵ *vā.* *urtiōi.*³¹⁶
^{vā.}³¹⁷ *apō.* *vā.*³¹⁸ *nāuuaiā.*³¹⁹ *paiðiāite.*³²⁰ || *HT*

LA [AYK³²¹ LA BRA ASLWN-d³²²] KLBA y³²³
 ʔwǝd³²⁴ PWN³²⁵ myznyǝdy³²⁶ c^h 327 ywp wym
 ʔwp³²⁸ lw^t ʔwp³²⁹ OL³³⁰ MYA³³¹ y³³² n³ yw^t ʔ³³³
 NPLWN-y^t ʔ³³⁴ /f/ + aṃaṭ.haca.³³⁵ irišiāṭ.³³⁶ || MN
 ZK BRA ʔšy^t³³⁷

In K2 the Avestan text is not interrupted by the PT until aṃaṭ.haca. + irišiāṭ. In P5 the first division of the Avestan text appears after frā.himciṭ. nidarezaitan. The second division comes after yezi. nōiṭ. spā. ... nāunaitā. paiṭiāite, as in the standard manuscripts. Also the third division agrees with the standard version.

But the greatest modification of the Avestan text lies in the addition of all the Avestan quotations included in the Pahlavi glosses and commentaries. As already mentioned, most of the Pahlavi glosses and all the commentaries were taken out of P5 and K2, but the Avestan quotations are included, but only Avestan quotations that refer to other Avestan passages (extant or lost). Avestan words that are used as termini technici or technical expressions are not included. This is why expressions like dāitiō. pairiša or viṣasti.drājō frārāṇni.drājō, repeated several times in the Pahlavi commentary of V5.4, for example, are not included either in P5 or in K2.

Not only the Avestan texts from the Pahlavi glosses were added, but also Avestan texts available in the Sāde manuscripts (including K2, P5, E10 and T44, see above), but missing in the PY manuscripts probably because of transmission problems. The common additions of Avestan texts of P5, K2 and E10, T44 were already listed above. The following ones are exclusive of P5 and K2:

- > V15.8 yezi. taṭ. paiti. irišiēiti
- > V17.8 pairi.karam. pairi.karāiṭōš

It is also interesting the addition in P5 and K2 of texts missing in the family of K1, but available in the family of L4. In V7.41c the

Avestan text višō. višpaitīm. bišaziāṭ. maḍemem. staoram. arajō and the PT of nmānāhe. nmānō.paitīm. bišaziāṭ. nitemem. staoram. arajō are omitted in the manuscripts of the family of K1 (K1, M3 and P10 [though added on the margin]), but appear in P5 and K2 (and in P2 as well). The fact that not only the Avestan text but also the PT is added and agrees with the PT of the manuscripts of the family of L4 point out to a direct comparison of P5 and K2 with at least one manuscript of the L4 family. That is not very surprising if we take into account the fact, for example, that Jāmāsp from Nawsari was participating at Jāmāsp's teaching and probably had at hand a manuscript from this family.

It is also very interesting to notice that the Avestan texts were not only completed, but sometimes also corrected, when the Avestan text was corrupted in the written transmission. For instance, in V9.21 both L4 and K1 show yezi. strī³³⁸. aṃhaṭ. pasca. hē. pourum. paiti.hiṅcōiš.³³⁹ instead of the correct text yezi. strī. aṃhaṭ. pairiša. hē. pourum. paiti.hiṅcōiš. pasca. aparām, which appears in the Sādes and is confirmed by the PT: HT-c NKB AYT pYk OLE pyš QDM šncyh AHL ps. In K2 the omission pasca. aparām is completed, as it happens often. Consequently, the PT is changed for better corresponding the Avestan text in HT NKB AYT AHL AHL OL LOYN' QDM šncyh / AHL ps. But in P5 the Avestan text is modified according to the Sādes and the PT in: yezi. strī. aṃhaṭ. paitiš. hē. pourum. paiti.hiṅcōiš. pasca. aparām.

When new Avestan citations were included and a PT was not available, a new PT was invented for them. An example of this systematic practice has already been shown above in the reproduction of V1.1 in the standard version and in P5 and K2. It is interesting only to note that, although K2 includes every Avestan quotation, some of them are missing in P5, frequently the last of several. Their PTs in P5 and K2 are identical, only with some minor differences. Consequently, we can assume that they go back to the teachings of Jāmāsp.

To sum up, it is clear that, in general, P5 and K2 show the tendencies which Anquetil attributes to the editorial activity of Jāmāsp Irānī and Dastur Dārāb, with the exception of abbreviations of repetitions. According to Anquetil's information and our scrutiny of the two manuscripts, we can state that an intensive revision of the transmitted text took place indeed. The main alterations of the transmitted text affected the PT, which was drastically shortened by the deletion of most of the glosses and all the long commentaries. Moreover, an extreme adaptation of the PT to the Avestan text took place: most of the words without equivalents in the Avestan text were omitted (prepositions, postpositions, etc.); the Avestan word order was maintained in the PT, even in the rare cases where the Pahlavi translators of the standard PT felt the need to change it. Finally, the PT was quite often changed, mostly by shortening the standard PT and combining it with the following gloss.

As far as the Avestan text is concerned, the interventions of Jāmāsp Irānī and Dastur Dārāb were limited, on the one hand, to the inclusion of Avestan texts missing in the transmitted version of the PV manuscripts, but present in the Sāde manuscripts, and, on the other hand, to the inclusion in the Avestan text of the Avestan quotations in the Pahlavi glosses. After the Avestan quotations were added, a PT was provided for them, as well.

3. Jāmāsp's teachings and the appearance of "didactic" manuscripts.

Despite the scanty information about Jāmāsp Irānī's teaching activities and their continuation by Dastur Dārāb in Surat, the comparison of P5 and K2 sheds light on the processes of his teaching and the students' learning. Above, we have discussed the similarities between the two manuscripts and shown that they probably reflect the main interests of Jāmāsp's teaching. Summing up what we have already said, we can identify the following main points of Jāmāsp's editorial teaching:

In the Pahlavi translation:

1. elimination of unnecessary glosses (in fact, most of them).
2. adjustment of the PT to the Avestan text, mainly by preserving the Avestan word order even in extreme cases (where the standard PT shows the usual Pahlavi word order) and by eliminating every word without an equivalent in the Avestan text (mainly prepositions, but also subject/agent markers, etc.).
3. incorporation of a PT for every Avestan text without PT in the standard PT, either by creating a new PT, since the old one was probably lost during the written transmission of the PV manuscripts, or by including also a new PT for the Avestan quotations included in the Pahlavi glosses and commentaries.

In the Avestan text:

1. inclusion of the Avestan texts missing in the transmitted version of the PV manuscripts, but available in the Sāde manuscripts.
2. insertion of the Avestan quotations from the Pahlavi glosses and commentaries.

These modifications were not made once and for all, however. The process not only implied that Jāmāsp made a corrected copy from a PV manuscript and that Jāmāsp's copy was further copied in Gujārat. According to Anquetil's information, Jāmāsp's activity was continued by Dastur Dārāb in Surat, and it seems very likely, as we have already mentioned, that in Surat (and in other cities in Gujārat) a philological and exegetical analysis of and debate over *Vidēvdād* arose as a result of Jāmāsp's visit, similar to the process that took place in the Sassanian period. This time, however, it was much more limited, chiefly to the inclusion of the Avestan texts they considered missing and the correction of the PT and, only very seldom, to exegetical questions. The inclusion of the Avestan text of V12 and the creation of a new PT for it was surely a consequence of this new exegetical process.

Since some changes introduced in the transmitted text of the PV manuscripts are shared as well by K2 and P5 as by other manuscripts of Gujarat (like E10, T44, F10 and, although less frequently, by P2 and M3), it is likely that Jāmāsp's visit originated in Gujarat an exegetical and editorial debate about the transmitted text of PV. But a closer comparison will reveal that there is a remarkable number of differences between K2 and P5 that let us see that the process was not altogether uniform and consistent. Hence, it is clear that there was an initial and central process, namely Jāmāsp Irānī's teachings and that this process was continued in Surat by Dastur Dārāb in his teaching activities as well as in the editorial work. In other places others continued the work and even in Surat other schools existed, as we will see in the second part of this paper.

Direct evidence of the existence of this new exegetical process is, beside V12 and its PT, the fact that certain Avestan words whose PT is not attested in the standard PT, because their meaning was still unknown in Sassanian times, usually show a blank in K2, while in P5 they are usually translated. This translation is hardly to be attributed directly to Jāmāsp, because, if that were the case probably all manuscripts of this kind would have the translation, but the translation is not the same in all manuscripts. The case of V11.9 illustrates this. As we have already seen, the PT of *parane. mūdi. parane. kapastūš* is missing in the standard PT. In K2 only *parane* is translated and blanks are left for *mūdi* and *kapastūš*. But in P5 the PT *pwlynm mwdt pwlynm kpyc* appears. Phl. *mwdt /mūd/* is a transcription of Av. *mūdi*. The PT of T44 and E10 differs: *pwlynm mwk*³⁴⁰ *klr'1 pwlynm ks-dywwk*³⁴¹. The PT *mwk klr'1* "destroyer" appears in Y9.32 for Av. *maoḁanō.kairiāi* and in Y11.6 for Av. *mūrakāca*. Phl. *ks-dywwk* is probably to be interpreted as *keh-dāwōk* "little leech". This variation clearly indicates that this PT does not go back to Jāmāsp Irānī.

A striking difference between P5 and K2, which allows us a glimpse at this teaching and editorial activity, is the use of blanks. We have already mentioned that K2 uses them systematically every time it omits a gloss or a long commentary, while P5 uses blanks only rarely. The only large blank in P5 comparable to the blanks in K2 is used for the omission of the long commentary in V3.14. Small blanks appear sometimes in P5 for the omission of glosses, but by far not as often as in K2. One example is V11.1, where the gloss [AYK OD [airime.]³⁴² LA YHWN^{2,343}] is omitted:

The same omission and blank are found in K2, but in K2 the use of blanks for the omission of glosses is general, while in P5 it is rare.

In principle, the use of blanks is curious. If Jāmāsp was convinced that the glosses were to be taken out, then it is not easy to imagine that he left a blank in order to complete the missing texts later. One possibility is that it was not Jāmāsp who made use of blanks, but his student Dastur Dārāb. Then the question arises why blanks are not present in P5 and also in the other manuscripts of this tradition, among which only the manuscript F10 from Nawsarī makes a somewhat similar use of the blanks.

In our opinion, it seems more likely that the introduction of blanks is a direct consequence of Jāmāsp's teachings. Probably Jāmāsp read aloud before his disciples an in his opinion correct version of a PV manuscript and pointed out every difference between his version and the standard version they found in their manuscripts³⁴⁴. In this context the introduction of blanks most likely had a clear practical reason: the blanks were useful to locate

pwtlymm bws'sp MNW dglwɣ [AYK p'wɔn' gwšh'n']
pwtlymm mwt pwtlymm kpyc pwtlymm p'lyk k'mk
MNW hnd ZK-ɣ 'š'...

Another example of the same procedure is V13.35. This time the PT was transmitted (L4, T44, E10 *ʔawr*, K1, M3 *ʔw* probably instead of *ʔwd*), but the copyist-editor seems not to have been sure about how to correct the transmitted PT (in his original probably *ʔw*) and left a blank instead:

This procedure is very common in K2 in the PT of V12. Since there is no tradition of PT of this book, there are a lot of words which the copyist-editor of K2 was not able to translate and for which he left a blank.

In P5 examples of this type are very rare and not quite certain. One possible case of such a blank might be V11.6. The standard PT of *gauuc. aōāiš. tāiš. šīaōbnāiš. yāiš. vahšštāiš. 'fraēšīāmahf* (= Y 35.4) is:

ZK *y*³⁷² *gwspond'n' dhšn' [MYA W w'st'³⁷³] ZK*³⁷⁴
OLE-š'n' 'kwnš'n' 375 [p'ʔst' 376] OLE-š'n' 377
[ANŠWTA-ʔn 378] p'ʔhwm 379 plm'ššn' [AYK-š'n'
*gwspond'n' l'd p'ʔhwm k'ʔ ZNE kr' YHWWN-yt'*³⁸⁰
AYK p'ʔst-f³⁸¹ BRA OBYDWN-x₁ AP-š' MYA W
w'st'³⁸² YHBWN-d]

K2 has the PT of the two first words only, *ān gōspandān*, and a blank for the rest. In P5 the PT is:

Here there is a blank at the end of the PT filled in afterwards by a second hand with the last word of the gloss in the standard PT.

This passage is very interesting as an example that K2 uses blanks not only when the copyist does not know the PT, but also when he is not sure about the accuracy of the transmitted PT. Such cases are not infrequent in K2.

Another similar example is the PT of the quotation of Y38.3 *apō. aɣ. yazamaide. +maēkaiiañtšcā. hābuuañtšcā.* in V11.5. In the Pahlavi-Yasna the PT of the second part of the passage is reproduced in Pāzend:

MYA *y'wɔn' YDBHWN-m* [*maēkaiiañt'] [pšng y*
PWN 'wɔw| QDM YKOYMWN-yt' mznɣdy']
*hāčbuuañt'] [gɣ'ɔn' tčšn'] ZK-c [*frauuāz] [y*
*w'ɣnyk]**

In the standard PT the words *+maēkaiiañtšcā. hābuuañtšcā* are not translated:

MYA *y'wɔn' YDBHWN-m*³⁸³ [MNW [*x'x' ai.*³⁸⁴
*āca.*³⁸⁵] *šM'*³⁸⁶]

In K2, as expected, there is a blank for them, but this time also in P5, again filled by a second hand:

۱۱۱۸۳
 ۱۱۱۸۳
 ۱۱۱۸۳

Blanks do not appear in the older manuscripts and consequently it seems clear that this procedure was introduced by Jāmāsp, at least for marking the omission of transmitted texts. However, blanks for an unknown PT are characteristic specifically of K2 and probably an innovation of Dastur Dārāb's and his circle. This agrees with our view that the principal function of the blanks is to mark for a future copyist that the portions of the text omitted have been taken out deliberately and have to be left out when future copies from other manuscripts are made.

In fact, it is evident that the exegetical debate and the process of teaching was not only oral, but was based also in the use of "didactic" manuscripts. In fact, the existence of some differences between P5 and K2 can be explained only if we take a written manuscript as a starting point. A clear example is the PT of V2.6:

āat. hē. zaiia. frabarām. azām. yō. ahurō. mazdā

The standard PT is:

ADYN' OL OLE zyy pr^c YBLWN-x³⁹² L MNW
 whrmzd HWE-m

The PT of K2 that we reproduce shows some differences:

۱۱۱۸۳
 ۱۱۱۸۳
 ۱۱۱۸۳

First of all it is remarkable that we find here a different division of the Avestan and Pahlavi text than in the standard version. Thus we notice a different PT of *āat*, besides the usual omission of the prepositions.

These variations from the standard version are all shared by P5, so it is obvious that the two PTs go back to a similar tradition of modification of the transmitted text. In this manuscript the PT is:

AP-š 'w' ZK zywndyh pr^c YBLWN-x2 L MNW whrmzd
 HWE-m

But there is a striking difference: the PT of *zaiia*. In K2 it is the usual *zyd /zay/*, but in P5 ZK *zywndyh*. In our opinion, ZK is a misreading of *zō* *zyd* and then the copyist had to find a translation for *zaiia* and he added the wrong *zywndyh /zīndih/*. Consequently the copyist-editor of P5 must have been copying from a manuscript similar to K2.

The copyist-editor of K2 was also working with a manuscript, as passages similar to V1.3 show. In V1.3 P5 as well as K2 shorten the gloss to *vōiryne*, the PT of Av. *vōiryānanam*. The gloss in the standard PT runs as follows:

ADYN' ³⁸⁸ [AMT ³⁸⁹] zms^t n' ³⁹⁰ BRA ³⁹¹ p^y t' ³⁹²
 IAYK ³⁹³ OZLWN-y^r] ADYN' ³⁹⁴ pl^hys^t ' ³⁹⁵ r

vōryne³⁹⁶] [AYK³⁹⁷·s³⁹⁷ ptyd³⁹⁸zmk³⁹⁸ zmsf³⁹⁹n³⁹⁹ hm⁴⁰⁰k⁴⁰⁰
 LWTE BRA⁴⁰¹ OZLWN-yt⁴⁰¹ AYT⁴⁰² MNW⁴⁰² ytwn⁴⁰²
 YMLLWN-yt⁴⁰³ y⁴⁰⁴ LOYT⁴⁰³ MNDOM-yh⁴⁰⁵ pts⁴⁰⁵
 BYN YATWN-yt⁴⁰⁴]

When the winter falls [it comes], then there are a lot of [vōryne] [that is, with the misfortune of the winter, every thing goes away. There is (a commentator) who says that there is nothing where it can not get in.]

A short version of this gloss appears in P5: AYK LOYT MNDOM yh² "that is, there is nothing". In K2 the gloss is AYK LOYN y MNDOM yh² "that is, before the things". Here LOYN is without doubt a misreading of LOYT and understandable just as a misreading of a written version. Since this gloss is a new creation of the Dārāb's school, it is clear that the diffusion of the Jāmāsp's teachings was also based in the use of "didactic" manuscripts.

Nevertheless, most of the differences between K2 and P5 cannot be interpreted as misreadings in one or another manuscript, but reflect real differences of opinion. These differences may reveal that Jāmāsp's teachings were not always identical for all students and sometimes he changed his mind or, more probably, that the instruction and the task of correcting and completing the transmitted manuscripts persisted beyond Jāmāsp's visit and Dastur Dārāb's activity. In fact, despite P5 and K2 both being manuscripts in Dārāb's sphere, the two manuscripts show differences that are not only to be explained by the different type of manuscripts they are (K2 a didactic manuscript; P5 a "normal" manuscript), but show a different reflection on the text and to some extent a different method.

Besides the unlikely use of blanks, the following (already mentioned) are more or less consistent, though small, differences between the two manuscripts:

1. The PTs missing in the standard version and appearing as a blank in K2 are often completed in P5 (e.g. V11.9c-d), that is, P5 is more systematic in completing missing PT.
2. K2 is more systematic than P5 in including all Avestan quotations from the glosses.

3. K2 includes V12 and its PT. The first impression would be that K2 is later, but as we know, at the time of Anquetil's visit, Dastur Dārāb was already an old man and therefore, if Dastur Dārāb was really the copyist of K2, it is not very likely that K2 is much older than P5. Perhaps it is more a difference in method than chronology.

A non-consistent, but systematic, discrepancy is the fact that, when P5 and K2 have a different division of the Avestan and Pahlavi text than the standard transmitted text, they never agree on the division. This means that the possibility of different divisions is common to the practice of both manuscripts, but its concrete application is different.

On the other hand, the PT often differs between the two manuscripts. A very common difference concerns the use of prepositions. As we have already observed, prepositions are often omitted in P5 and K2 in order to reach the same number of words in the Avestan text and the Pahlavi version. This tendency is common in both manuscripts, but in P5 it is more systematic than in K2, although there are cases in which the situation is the opposite one.

We often find differences in the lexical choices. In V5.11 Av. *tristabe* is translated in the standard PT as *lyst*. The PT of P5 is similar, namely *lysk*, but K2 has *wlth* instead. In V11.10 Av. *vohu* appears in the standard PT as *p²tyh*. The same translation is found in K2, while in P5 the PT is *wyh*. The case of V14.3 is similar: for Av. *haḍānāpatraia* the standard PT has a transliteration *hdnp²d*, but P5 has *hwšk* "dry". Fluctuation between causative and non-

causative verbs is also frequent, for instance: V5.8e P5 wcyt :: K2 wcynt; V5.9f P5 lsynvt :: K2 YHMTWN-yt, etc.

To sum up, Jāmāsp's visit was the beginning of a new exegetical process whose principal aim was to produce truthful manuscripts by correcting the standard PV manuscripts common in Gujarat at that time. Most corrections of the transmitted text can probably be traced back directly to Jāmāsp's activity, but the principal consequence of Jāmāsp's visit was in our opinion the rise of a new exegetical movement that continued this task of correcting manuscripts. The main consequences of Jāmāsp's teaching were the modification of the Avestan text, on the one hand, by adding the Avestan texts extant in the Sāde manuscripts, but missing in the standard PV manuscripts, and by adding most of the Avestan quotations included in the Pahlavi glosses in the PV manuscripts. On the other hand, the PT was modified by taking out all the long Pahlavi commentaries and most of the glosses. Other glosses were not left out, but only reformulated in a new and shorter way. Moreover, the word order and the number of words in the PT were modified to fit the Avestan text perfectly. Finally, this new exegetical movement changed some traditional translations, added new short glosses, etc.

The teaching task started by Jāmāsp frānī was continued in Surat by Dastur Dārāb and also in other cities (as we will see in the second part of this paper). The principal aim was to create as many new copies of the old manuscripts as possible, but corrected according to the criteria established by Jāmāsp. Beside the teaching activity, the most important tool for this purpose was the creation of a new type of "didactic" manuscripts intended to serve as a guide for the modification of other standard PV manuscripts. The most specific feature of these manuscripts is the use of blanks for marking fragments of the PT to be deleted, when making copies of older manuscripts. A further consequence of this exegetical movement was not only to copy new manuscripts

according to the new criteria, but also the correction of available manuscripts. That is the main source for the appearance of a great number of second- and third-hand corrections in a great number of the PV manuscripts.

4. P5, P2 and P10: Anquetil's manuscripts in Paris

A well-known piece of the history of the Avestan studies is the adventures of Anquetil in Surat in obtaining Avestan manuscripts from his teachers Dastur Dārāb and Kaus. He arrived in Surat on March 1st, 1758. Three months later (that is, June 1758) he obtained from them a first copy of the *Vidēvdād*, namely a PV manuscript, which Dastur Dārāb and Kaus must have copied for him for 100 rupees. According to the information of Anquetil⁴⁰⁶ himself, this first manuscript that he got from Dastur Dārāb and Kaus was P5 and the date of the colophon (Day pad Mihr, month Day, year 1127 Y.E.) fits this scenario.

Later he obtained a second manuscript from the chief of the opponent faction of Dastur Dārāb, namely Mancherji. At the end of November 1758, he got a second PV manuscript from Mancherji by means of M. Taillefer. He mentioned that in Mancherji's opinion this was the "most authentic and most accurate copy made in Surat"⁴⁰⁷. Anquetil compared the two manuscripts carefully ("lettre par lettre", he says) and concluded that P5 was "tronqué et altéré". In February 1759 he confronted Kaus with this information showing him the manuscript of Mancherji. The next day Dastur Dārāb came and brought a third manuscript "parfaitement semblable à celui de Mancherji"⁴⁰⁸. He ensured that all PV manuscripts were similar to this third manuscript. In the first one only the PT was corrected, while in the Avestan text there were only a few transpositions and changes of some letters. He promised a new manuscript of this type and, in addition, a Sāde manuscript.

In this account Anquetil's use of three different Pahlavi manuscripts is mentioned (a fourth was promised by Dastur Dārāb). In the description of the manuscripts he brought to Paris, however, only two PV manuscripts are recorded:

1. Number 2 from Anquetil is a PV mixed with Pāzand. In his description Anquetil states: "Collationné sur l'Exemplaire de Bikh, Destour Mobed de Surate, & exactement semblable a tous les Vendidads du Guzarate". It has 488 pages.⁴⁰⁹
2. Number 5 from Anquetil is without doubt P5 (Suppl.Pwers. 39)⁴¹⁰.

Regarding number 2 of Anquetil, the colophon reproduced by Anquetil⁴¹¹ coincides with the colophon of P2, which proves that this second manuscript is P2 (Suppl.Pers. 26). The problem arises when it becomes clear that Anquetil brought to Paris not two, but three PV manuscripts.

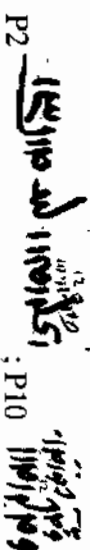

In principle, the solution seems easy, since Anquetil mentions three PV manuscripts in his travel report (Dārāb's shortened manuscript, Mancherji's manuscript and Dārāb's second, unshortened manuscript) and he brought to Paris three Pahlavi manuscripts. Since P5 is certainly Dārāb's first manuscript and P2 Dārāb's second manuscript, P10 (Suppl.Pers. 25) must be Mancherji's manuscript. Nevertheless, an analysis of the annotations by Anquetil's hand shows that he has used and collated at least a fourth PV manuscript.

In all three PV manuscripts in Paris we discover annotations by a second hand in a finer ink that are to be attributed to Anquetil. We find four different annotations:



1. Fragard divisions
2. small numbers about some words
3. division lines, sometimes with the indication "Page + number".
4. Avestan and Pahlavi quotations

Annotations 3 and 4 are certainly the result of the collation of several manuscripts. As for number 2 we are still not definite about their function. The most frequent Pahlavi annotations are to be found in the first pages of P2. All of them are the result of a collation by Anquetil of P2 with P10:



➤ V1.1A

P2  ; P10 

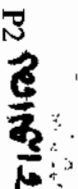

➤ V1.1B

P2  ; P10 

➤ V1.1B

P2  ; P10 

➤ V1.1B

P2  ; P10 

Annotations in P10 stemming from P2 are very rare, but we find at least two:

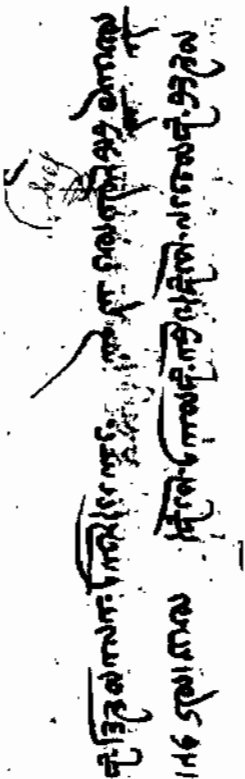
➤ in V1.7c the PT of *ayemca vīmanōhim* is *gumānih*. After this we find *krtñ' mlwm'n* in some manuscripts (P2 *krt mlwm'n*; F10 *krtñ' ANŠWTA-ñ'*; E10 *krtñ' mlwm'n*). In P10 it appears above the line in Anquetil's hand *krt' mlwm'n*.

➤ in V1.20a P10 leaves out *gutrāšca baraxōšca* (also K3b, P5, K2, M3 [on the margin]), but it is present in P2, K3a, F10, T44,

E10, L4a and in the Sāde manuscripts. In P10 and in P5 it is written by Anquetil, probably copied from P2.

There is no annotation which could not stem from one of these three manuscripts.

But we reach a different conclusion when we analyze the data of the division lines Anquetil added in his manuscripts. Thus, in P2 and P10 Anquetil marks the beginning of a new folio in another manuscript with a big X and the indication "Page + number" as we can see in the figure:



The change of page is marked in several ways (with two parallel lines, with two X or even with one X), but always without indication of page number.

Since the indications of P2 and P10 agree completely⁴¹², we can be sure that both manuscripts were collated with a third one. Unfortunately the pagination reflected in these marks does not agree with the pagination of P5, so we must conclude that Anquetil used and collated a fourth, unknown, manuscript.

The divisions give us some indications about the type of manuscript it was. For instance, it is clear that it was not a manuscript of the sort of P5 and K2, as it is shown by the fact that the beginning of page 24 is marked in the middle of the long commentary of V3.14, exactly between AMT-š and nsy in 3.14L. Consequently, Anquetil collated at least four different manuscripts. P2 and P10 were compared to each other and to a third unknown

one, while P5 was also collated, but the annotations by Anquetil's hand are indistinct and it is not possible to determine the manuscript they stem from, since they could stem from either P2 or P10 or even a third one. These manuscripts were not versions corrected according to the new exegetical movement in Surat, but more or less standard PV manuscripts. With the available data it is not possible today to decide if Mancherji's manuscript was P10 or the unknown manuscript X which was collated with P2 and P10, or even none of them. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that P5 as well as P10 contain at the beginning of the manuscript the same index of fragards, not found in P2. Could that mean that they were the first two manuscripts he had and afterwards he no longer needed such an index? For the time being this question must go unanswered.

One fact we know for sure. Anquetil used not three, but four manuscripts. The first one which Dastur Dārāb gave to him was a manuscript that reflected the exegetical reformist movement in Surat, but not so the other three. When Dastur Dārāb chose this manuscript for Anquetil's instruction he was not trying to cheat him. On the contrary, he handed to him the manuscript he considered had the right version, a manuscript free from the errors that affected other manuscripts in Surat as he had learnt from his teacher Jāmāsp Irānī.

Actually, Anquetil himself changed his mind regarding this first manuscript. In his travel report it is clear that after collating Mancherji's manuscript he felt himself cheated, since Dastur Dārāb's manuscript was "shortened and changed". But when he presented this manuscript to Bibliothèque National he wrote that this manuscript was "stripped of every addition and unnecessary commentaries". He was also convinced by the new, reformist exegetical and editorial trend.

References

- 1 This paper is a partial result of our Vidēvdād Project, whose final aim is to produce a new edition, translation and commentary of the complete Avestan text of Vidēvdād and its Pahlavi version. Within the framework of this project we are trying to gather as many Vidēvdād manuscripts as possible and to make them accessible to specialists. Since we are dealing with a great amount of manuscripts, facsimiles are an expensive and not very practical solution. Therefore, we have created a webpage, www.vidēvdād.com, in whose private area specialists can see every passage of Vidēvdād in all manuscripts available to us. In this paper we present only general, but fundamental, thoughts about the transmission of the Pahlavi Vidēvdād (PV) manuscripts that we have reached through our work with this new research tool.
- 2 We thank P.O. Skjaerwø for suggestions and for correcting our English original.
- 3 This paper was possible with the funds from a research project granted by the Spanish Ministry for Education and Science (HUM2005-03530/FILO).
- 4 Westergaard, N. L., *Zendavesta, or The religious books of the Zoroastrians*. Berling brothers, Copenhagen. 1852, p.4, no.1.
- 5 The colophon of IM says:
*m³hy³ m³mt³ hy³pt³ MN hndwk³n³ MN^x wck šir³ MNW PWN kn³ik³
 y MYA symd MNW PWN dymyk wyhw³ KRYTWN-d ŠNT QDM
 600 PWN³ yzdk³ MILKA-³n MILKA...*
- 6 Mahyār Mahdād, Herbed from India, from the city of Uceg, which is near the river Sind, which they call Wehrōd in the Religion, was in the year 600 of Yazdagird, King of kings (...).
- 7 Anquetil-Duperron, A. H., *Zend-Avesta*. Paris. 1771, volume 1, p.323; volume 2, p.4.
- 8 Jamasp, H., *Vendidad. Avesta with the Pahlavi translation and commentary and glossarial index*. Government Central Book Depot, Bombay. 1907, p.xxiv ff.
- 9 *Op. Cit.*, Anquetil - Duperron, A.H., volume p.326 ff.
- 10 The identification of this Dārāb, student of Jāmāsp's and Anquetil's teacher years later, is not clear. He has commonly been identified with Dārāb Sohrāb (Westergaard, *op. cit.*, p.6) (Urvala, J. M. (1940), Collection of colophons of manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some libraries of Europe. The Trustees of the funds and properties of the Parsi Punchayet, Bombay. p.13), but Tehmuraz Dinshahji Anklesaria introduced some confusion with a letter accompanying the manuscript Suppl. Pers. 1079, which he donated to the Bibliothèque Nationale. This is a VS manuscript written by Dastur Dārāb Pāhlan in 1104 A.Y., and Anklesaria stated in his letter that this was Anquetil's teacher. Menant, M. D., (1913), "Observations sur deux manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale (I)", *Journal Asiatique* 11.1, pp.107-118 and (1913) "Observations sur deux manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale (II)", *Journal Asiatique* 11.1, pp.619-632, made it definitively clear that Anquetil's teacher was Dastur Dārāb Sohrāb Bahman Frāmroz, who copied K9, among other manuscripts.
- 11 *Op. Cit.*, Anquetil-Duperron, A. H., volume 1, p.326 ff.: "Djamasp crut encore devoir examiner le *Vendidad*, qui avoit cours dans le Guzarate. Il en trouva la Traduction Pehlvie trop longue & peu exacte en plusieurs endroits. L'ignorance étoit le vice dominant des Parses de l'Inde. Pour y remédier, le Destour du Kirman forma quelques Disciples, Darab à Surate, Djamasp à Naucari, un troisieme à Barotch, auxquels il apprit le Zend & le Pehlvi. Quelque tems après, las des contradictions qu'il avoit à essayer, il retourna dans le Kirman."
- 12 *Ibid.*, volume 1, p.326.
- 13 "Les Livres que ce Destour a laissés dans l'Inde, sont une Copie exacte du *Vendidad Zend & Pehlvi*, le *Feroüeschhi*, la traduction du *Vadjeguerud* & le *Nerenguestan*."
- 14 "Vendidad med pehlevi Oversættelse afskrevet af Destur Darāb efter et gammelt Exemplar bragt fra Persien af Destur Jamasp Irāni".
- 15 *Op. Cit.*, Westergaard, N.L., p.5.

- 13 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 14 We are very grateful to Francis Richard for helping us read this passage.
- 15 Cantera, A., "The Pahlavi Vidēvdād manuscripts of the Meherji Rana Library (Nawsari, India)", in Hinojo Andrés, G. & Fernández Corte, J. C. (eds.), *Munus Quaestum Meritis. Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer*. Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca. 2007, pp.131-140.
- 16 Very close to Geldner's P2.
- 17 Note that K2 translates only the last two words: *gygwn' dwc*.
- 18 *Op. Cit.*, Westergaard, N.L., pp.5-6.
- 19 Geldner, K. F. (1886), *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis*. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. Prolegomena xvi.
- 20 *Op. Cit.*, Westergaard, N.L., p.6.
- 21 Surprisingly, F10 includes includes the missing text on the margin.
- 22 Obviously P2 and M3 as well as P5 and K2 are copied from a manuscript with P and continue the same tradition. It is a pity that Geldner did not record the *varia lectio* of either M13 or B1. If M13 or B1 had a *p*-variant, then we would know whether M13 or B1 represents the common origin of our four manuscripts.
- 23 *Op. Cit.*, S. Anquetil-Duperron, A. H., volume 1, p.326.
- 24 *Ibid.*, volume 1, p.326.
- 25 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3a, M3 + OL +
- 26 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, M3, L4a; P2 spyt'mⁿ; E10 spyt'm
- 27 K3b, M3, L4a; K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10 zhwš't
- 28 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, E10, M3, L4a; F10 d³t
- 29 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 spyt'mⁿ
- 30 M3, L4a; K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10 zhwš't; T44 zhwš't
- 31 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 w³mš'n
- 32 K3a; K3b, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a dššnyh; P2 wdhšnyh
- 33 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a YHBWN-t

- 34 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, M3; T44, E10, L4a ZNE gyw³k
- 35 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3a, M3 + AYYK +
- 36 K3b, K3a, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2, F10 ANŠWTA gyw³k
- 37 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; E10 ³w'
- 38 K3a, M3; K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a ³š
- 39 K3b, K3a, F10, M3, E10, L4a ³w'; P2, T44 OL
- 40 K3b, P2, T44, E10, L4a; K3a, M3 ZY-š; F10 OD ³š
- 41 K3b, K3a, E10, M3, L4a; P2, F10 MDMEN-yt gyw³k; T44 š³tyh hwlm MDMEN-yt gyw³k
- 42 K3b, K3a, E10, M3, L4a; P2, F10, T44 + W +
- 43 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3 ³y; E10, L4a ³w'
- 44 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a < ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~ >
- 45 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 spyt'mⁿ
- 46 K3b, M3; K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a zhwš't
- 47 F10, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, E10, M3 dššnyh; P2 wdhš'n
- 48 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a + LA AYYK +
- 49 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3b, M3 YOYMWN-yt
- 50 K3b, K3a, F10, E10, M3, L4a; P2 ³šnyy; T44 ³šnyh
- 51 P2, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, F10, E10, M3 hwst'
- 52 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, M3, L4a; F10, E10 + y +
- 53 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; E10 ³st' mnd
- 54 K3a, F10; K3b 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀; P2, T44, E10 ³yl³n' wyc; M3 yl³nwyyc
- 55 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 OZLWN-šnyy
- 56 P2, F10, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, E10, M3 bwt
- 57 K3b, K3a; P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a, AYYK BYN
- 58 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a ³n'
- 59 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3a, M3 YKOYMWN-yt
- 60 K3b, P2, M3, L4a; K3a ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~ 𐬀𐬀; F10 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~ 𐬀𐬀; T44 OD-š³n OD-š³n'

- 61 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, M3, L4a; T44 OZLWN'-m'
 62 P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3b AYT MNW YHWWN'-t; K3a, M3
 YHWWN'-yt
 63 P2, F10, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, E10, M3 'w'
 64 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 BA
 65 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 ^{PWNA}
 66 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a plhm'
 67 P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3b ^{١١٣١} ; K3a, M3 KTLWN'-m'
 68 F10, E10, L4a; K3b YMILLWN'-yt; K3a YMRW'-'yt; P2, T44
 YMRWN'-yt; M3 YMILLWN'-yt
 69 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a | 'y |
 70 K3b, K3a, E10, M3; P2, T44, L4a ŠDYA-'n'
 71 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3; T44 rāmō.dāitī; L4a rāmō.dāitīm
 72 K3a, P2, T44; K3b, L4a u.aojō.rāmišāq, M3 u.jō.rāmišāq^m; E10
 aojō.rāmišāq
 73 P2, F10, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, E10, M3 k'j
 74 F10, T44, E10, M3; K3b k'j; K3a k'i; P2 W KRA; L4a | KRA |
 75 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 | W |
 76 K3b, K3a, E10, M3; P2 wyck; F10, T44 wycy; L4a ZK
 77 K3a, L4a; K3b, P2, E10, M3 l'mšn'y
 78 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 NPŠE k'iyy
 79 K3b, M3; K3a YMILLWN'-yt; P2 YKOYMWVN'-yt; F10, E10, L4a
 YMRWN'-yt; T44 YMRWN'-yt
 80 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10; P2, M3 baīm; L4a baīm
 81 P2, K3b, F10, E10, M3, L4a; K3a, T44 'n'
 82 P2, F10, T44; K3b, K3a, E10, M3, L4a | W |
 83 P2, K3b, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a | OL ZK |
 84 E10, L4a; K3b, P2, F10, T44, M3 | ZK |
 85 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a blyhnyy'


- 86 K3b, E10, M3, L4a; K3a, P2, T44 W dūyēl
 87 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a | ZK |
 88 K3b, K3a, T44, M3; P2, F10, E10, L4a | y |
 89 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a zmyk
 90 K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a | PWN |
 91 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, E10, L4a; F10, M3 ywkltyh
 92 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3b ^{١٢١١٣}
 93 L4a; K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3 k'j; T44 KRA k'j
 94 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; E10 LA YHWWN'-t
 95 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 | BRA |
 96 K3b, E10, M3; K3a, P2, F10, L4a YMRWN'-yt; T44 YMRWN'-yt
 97 K3b, K3a, T44, E10, M3; P2 ^{١٢١٣١١}; F10 ^{١٢١٣١١}; L4a ^{١٢١٣١١}
 98 K3b, K3a, F10, E10, M3, L4a; P2, T44 W 'ywk
 99 P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3b, K3a y; M3 | PWN |
 100 K3b, K3a, P2, E10, L4a; F10 y'rwā PWN ZK OL p'yd'lk; T44 in the
 margin y'rwā PWN ZK OL ZK p'yd'lk
 101 P2, K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a | hm'k |
 102 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, M3, L4a; P2, E10 | y |
 103 F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3b, K3a, P2, M3 | W |
 104 K3a, F10; K3b, T44, E10, M3, L4a hmkn'yh; P2 Whmkn'yh
 105 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3b ^{١٢١٣١١}
 106 K3b, M3; K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a YMRWN'-yt
 107 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3b W 2
 108 P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; K3b, K3a, M3 | AYK |
 109 K3b, K3a, E10, M3; P2, F10, T44, L4a mltwm
 110 K3b in the right margin, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3a ^{LA}
 111 P2, T44, E10, L4a; K3b in the right margin, K3a, F10, M3 KTLWN'-t
 112 K3b in the right margin, K3a, M3, L4a; P2, T44, E10, F10 mltwm

- 113 K3b, P2, T44, E10, L4a; K3a, F10, M3 KTLWN-t
 114 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 masā
 115 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a, E10 šδgam
 116 K3b, K3a, E10, M3, L4a; P2 *haiδim*; F10 *heδim*; T44 *haiδim* (T44 in the left margin: mhyst W pl^hw hyl^hwmnd lwt AYT)
 117 K3b, K3a, F10, E10, M3; P2, T44, L4a YMRWN-yt^h
 118 K3b, L4a; K3a, T44, E10, M3 hyl^hwmnd-c; P2 y^hwr^hwmnd-c; F10 hyl^hwmnd-c
 119 K3b, M3; K3a YMRWN-yt; P2 YMRWN-t; F10, T44 YMRWN-yt; E10 YMLLWN-y^h; L4a - AYT MNW hyl^hwmnd-c lwt YMLLWN-yt -
 120 P5 yl^hnwy
 121 K2 u.jō.rāmīšqam, P5 u.jō.rāmīšqam
 122 P5 *paorim*
 123 K2 dtykl
 124 K2 *bitim*
 125 P5 - dtygl -
 126 P5 dtygl
 127 P5 - AYK -
 128 P5 ZK
 129 V1.1 finishes here in P5. The last Avestan quotation and its PT is omitted in this manuscript. This kind of omissions are usual in P5. The case is similar, for instance, in V1.15, where the Avestan quotation *vaeδaghō, noj, uzoiš* is included in K2, though with the usual deletion marks, but is missing in P5.
 130 F10, E10, M3; P2, T44 - y -
 131 F10, E10, M3; P2, T44 zmyk
 132 P2, F10, E10, M3; T44 - ODM -
 133 T44, E10; P2 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~; F10 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~; M3 sm^h
 134 P2, F10, T44; E10 zmyk AYT; M3 zmy
 135 P2, T44, E10, M3; F10 sec. manu above the line AYK
 136 M3; P2, F10, T44 - ODM -; E10 ODM PWN
 137 E10; P2 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~; T44 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~; F10 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~; M3 sm^h
 138 P2, F10, E10, M3; T44 l^hd
 139 F10, T44, E10; P2 lwš^h; M3 lwšnky
 140 P2, F10, E10, M3; T44 W ZK
 141 M3; F10, T44, E10; P2 dwb^hlynd
 142 P2, T44, E10, M3; F10 - dlwc ... dwb^hlynd -
 143 F10; P2 glyst^h; T44, E10, M3 glstk
 144 F10; P2, T44, E10, M3 - dwb^hlynd -
 145 P2 W dlwc; F10, M3 dlwcyh; T44 dlwcy
 146 P2, F10, T44, M3; E10 - 2 -
 147 P2, T44, E10, M3 hmkv^h; F10 hmkyh
 148 P2, F10, E10, M3; T44 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~
 149 F10, E10, M3; P2 W NKB-yh; T44 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀~~
 150 F10, T44, E10, M3; P2 y AYT-k
 151 P2, F10, T44, M3; E10 wn^hsk^hly
 152 M3; P2, F10, E10 YMRWN-yt; T44 YMRWN-yt^h, and OBYDWN-nd above the line
 153 P2, M3; F10 ZKL and sec. manu -yh; T44, E10 ZKL-yh
 154 F10, T44, E10, M3; P2 W NKB-yh
 155 M3; P2, F10, T44 YMRWN-yt; E10 YMRWN-yt^h YMRWN-yt
 156 P2, M3; F10, T44 in the left margin, E10 - w -
 157 F10, T44 in the left margin, E10, M3; P2 W NKB
 158 K2 - BYN -
 159 P5; K2 hmdwb^hlynd
 160 K2, P5 ~~𐬀𐬀𐬀~~
 161 P5; K2 dyw^h

- 162 It is omitted in L4a.
- 163 F10, K3b, K3a, P2 hwlmkyh³; T44, E10, M3 in the left margin: hwlmyh²
- 164 K3b, F10, T44, E10, M3 in the left margin; K3a YHWWN-yt
- 165 K3b, K3a, F10, E10, M3 in the left margin; P2, T44 AYK
- 166 K3b in the left margin, P2, T44, E10, K3a, M3 in the left margin
-| lmk |;- F10 lmkyh
- 167 K3b, K3a, F10, M3 in the left margin; P2, T44 mlwmm²n¹; E10 gwspnd²n¹
- 168 K3a, T44; K3b, P2, F10, E10, M3 in the left margin -| W -|
- 169 K3b, K3a, M3 in the left margin; P2, F10, T44, E10 -| lmk -|
- 170 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44; E10 mlwmm²n¹; M3 in the left margin: gwspnd²n¹ mlwmm²n¹
- 171 K3a, P2, T44, E10, M3 in the left margin; K3b mlwmm²n¹ drwst¹; F10 w drwstyh
- 172 F10, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, E10, M3 bwt; K2 -| YHWWN-t -|
- 173 K3b, K3b, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, L4 kahmāf, L4a kāpnāf, E4 kahamāi
- 174 K3b, F10, E10, M3 fradaśiō; K3a fradaśi²ō; P2, T44, L4a fradaśiō; L1, T46, P1, L2 fradaśiō; L5 fradaśiō; E4 fradaesam
- 175 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, M3, L4a; F10, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5 daenqnt, E4 dinqm
- 176 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, F10, E10, M3, L4a. T46, L2, L5, E4; L1, P1 yqam
- 177 L4a; K3b āhurīm. K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3. T46, L5 āhurīm, P2 āhurīm; L1, L2, E4 āhurīm; P1 āhurīm
- 178 K3b, F10, T44, L4a. L1, T46, P1, L2; K3a, P2, E10, M3 zaraḅṣīram. L5 zaraḅṣīratīm, E4 zaḅṣīaram
- 179 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; M3²-m
- 180 K3b, T44, E10, L4a u; K3a ZK^w; P2 W; F10 OL ur; M3³ w OLE
- 181 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; M3 -| MNW -|

- 182 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a; M3 pl²c
- 183 K3b, K3a, T44, E10, L4a; P2, F10, M3 -| y -|
- 184 K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; K3b -|³whrmzd |;- E10³whrmzd²yh
- 185 K3a, T44, L4a; K3b, P2, F10, E10, M3 -| W -|
- 186 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3; E10 zlhšt²yh; L4a zlhšt
- 187 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; E10 ANE
- 188 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; E10 -| ZK -|
- 189 T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, P2 -| y |;- F10 E MN; E10, M3 above the line MN
- 190 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, M3; E10 LK
- 191 K3a; K3b, M3 MKBLWN-x₂; P2, L4a MKBLWN-t²; F10 MKBLWN-y²m; T44 MKBLWN-t²m; E10 MKBLWN-m
- 192 P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3b gyh²n¹; K3a gy²n¹
- 193 K3a, P2, T44, M3, L4a; K3b LA; F10³w¹d; E10³w¹d
- 194 E10, M3; K3b, K3a sl²dšn²; P2 sl²dšnyh; F10 (sl²dšny; T44 (sl²dšny; L4a sl²dšn²)^h
- 195 K3b, K3a, T44, M3, L4a; P2 plwšn²y; F10 W plwšn²; E10¹a²AVK W plwšn²
- 196 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, L4a; P2, M3 srd²ly; E10 W srd²lyh
- 197 K3b, K3a, F10, M3; P2 W plm²n²yh; T44, L4a W plm²n²yh; E10²AVK W plm²n²
- 198 K3b, F10, T44, E10; K3a, L4a nk³s d¹šn; P2 ZK nk³s d¹šn²; M3 nk³s d¹šn y
- 199 K3b, K3a, F10, L4a; P2, T44 p²n²kyh; E10²AVK W p²n²kyh; M3 p²n²kyh
- 200 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a -| krtm¹ -|
- 201 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, E10, M3. L2, L5, (G); L1, T46, P1. K9 yō
- 202 K1, K2, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, (G); L4 siždram, P2, T44. L5. K9 siždaram. E10 sižadrim, E4 sižāaram

- 203 L4, K2, T44, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4. K9, (G); K1, M3 *uruisaram*; P2 *uruisram*; L5 *uruisaram*
- 204 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, M3, (Jmp); E10 AMT
- 205 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, E10, M3, (Jmp); K2 MHYTWN-yt
- 206 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, E10, M3, (Jmp); K2 ZK KLBA
- 207 L4, K1, M3, (Jmp); P2, K2, T44, E10 + y +
- 208 L4 syd'k y, T44 **سیدک**; K1 **سیدک**; P2, M3 **سیدک**, (Jmp) syd'k; K2 **سیدک**; E10 **سیدک**
- 209 T44. T46, L2, E4; L4, P2 *aēšāmcī*; F10 *ašāmcī*; E10. L1, P1 *aēšāmcī*; M3 *aēšāmcī*; L5 *aēšāmcī*; K9 *aēšāmcā*
- 210 L4, P2, F10, T44, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4. K9, E10 *aδra*; L5 *iδara*
- 211 M3 in the left margin. K9, P2, T44. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4 *asna*; F10, E10. L5 *asna*
- 212 L4, P2, T44, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4. K9, F10 *aδra*; M3 in the left margin *δra*; L5 *aδara*
- 213 P2. L1, P1, L2, E4. K9, L4, T44. T46 *xšāhne*; F10 *xšān*; E10 *xšāhna*; M3 *xšāhne*; L5 *xšāhna*
- 214 P2, F10; L4 *maēðanah*; T44 *maēðmanah*; E10. E4 *maēðmanah*; M3 *maēðmanah*; L1, P1 *maēðmanah*; T46 *maēðmanah*; L2 *maēðmanah*; L5 *maēðmanah*; K9 *maēðmanah*
- 215 P2 x'ā; F10, T44. T46 *xā*; E10. L2, E4 *xāi*; M3 *xāš*; L1, P1, L5 *xāš*
- 216 L4 *pairi.gaururahiēt*; P2, E10 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; F10 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; T44 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; M3 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; L1, T46, P1 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; L2 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; L5 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*; E4 *pairi.gūruuahiēt*
- 217 L4, T44, E10 *cygwn mtn*; F10 *c mtn*; M3 *c mtn*
- 218 L4, F10, T44, E10; M3 + BYN +
- 219 L4, F10, E10; T44 + TME +; M3 T^{ME}
- 220 L4, T44, E10; F10, M3 šp
- 221 L4, T44, E10, M3; F10 PŠE-yh
- 222 L4, T44, E10; F10, M3 OHDWN-x1
- 223 P5; K2 šp
- 224 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44. L1, P1, L2 *kahmāi*; T46 *kah'āi*; L5, E4 *kahamāi*
- 225 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a. L2, L5; L1, P1 *paōriiō*; T46 *paōriiō*; E4 *paōriiō*
- 226 K3b, P2, F10, T44, M3, L4a; K3a, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4 *mašānānām*
- 227 K3b, F10 *aparasa*; K3a, P2, T44, L4a. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4 *aparasa*; E10 *aparasa*; M3 *aparasa*; L5 *aparasa*
- 228 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, L4a. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4; K3b, M3 *nī*
- 229 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a. L2, L5, E4; L1, T46, P1 *yō*
- 230 K3b, P2, T44, E10, L4a; K3a, F10 + OL +; M3 ^{OL}
- 231 P2, F10, T44, L4a; K3b, K3a, M3 + *hmpwrsyt* +; E10 *hmpwrsyt* *kt*
- 232 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a HWE-^{3k}
- 233 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, E10, M3, L4a; F10 MN
- 234 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 HWE-yyd
- 235 K3b, P2, F10, E10, M3; K3a **yasna**; T44, L4a *hmpwrsyh*
- 236 T44; K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a + y +
- 237 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3b *pwlwrm*
- 238 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 AYMT
- 239 K3b, K3a, P2, T44, E10, M3, L4a; F10 *kt*
- 240 L4, P2, T44, E10 OLE; F10, M3 ^{w'}
- 241 L4, F10, T44, E10, M3; P2 + y +
- 242 L4, P2 *nhš'wmmnd*; F10 *nyhyšn'wmmnd*; T44, E10 *nhšyšn'mnd*; M3 *nyhyšn'wmmnd* *surely*, this is *niyāyšn-ōmand*, see Yasna PT
- 243 L4, P2, F10, T44, M3; E10 MNDOM-1
- 244 L4, P2, T44, E10; F10, M3 d'tn'
- 245 L4 *nyhyšn*; P2, T44 *nhšyšn*; F10, M3 *nyhyšn*; E10 YHBWN-t MNW

- nyhyšn¹
- 246 L4, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3. L4 is partially supplied by L4a.
- 247 P2; F10 b/w/d; T44, E10, M3, L4a b/d
- 248 T44; P2, F10, M3, L4a YHBWN-yt; E10 OBYDWN-yt
- 249 K2; P5 AYK
- 250 K2, P5 nyd³yšn¹wmnd
- 251 K2 nyhšn¹; P5 nyd³yšn¹
- 252 P5; K2 
- 253 K2 AYK³-m mynyr MNW LAWHL LA YHBWN-m
- 254 For the close relationship between P5 and K2 it is interesting to note that, in this passage, and only in this passage, both of them have many Persian glosses accompanying the PT of the *Ahunaavaitia*.
- 255 *Op. Cit.*, Geldner, K. F., Prolegomena ix.
- 256 *Ibid.*, Prolegomena ix.
- 257 S. Barr, K. & Ipscher, H. (1941), *The Avesta Codices. K3a, K3b and K1. Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis.* Copenhagen. p.11.
- 258 A more detailed view of this disorder is given in the second part of this work.
- 259 L4, K1, P2, K2, M3 . L2, L5, E4, (G); T44, E10 + *mraoç. ahurō. mazdā* |; L1, T46, P1 *mraoç. K9* [tā] + *mraoç. ahurō* |
- 260 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, E10, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4 . K9, (G); K9 *auuaša*
- 261 L4, P2, K2, T44, E10 . L2, L5, E4 . K9, (G); K1, M3 *he*; L1, T46 + *hē* |; P1 *hā*
- 262 L4, K1, P2, K2, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4 . K9, (G); T44, E10 *bairiñr. L5 bariñr*
- 263 P2, K2, E10 . T46, L2, E4 . K9, L4, K1, M3, (G) + *tāštm. ... aētahmācīç. nidarzaññ |; T44* [tā] + *tāštm. ... aētahmācīç. nidarzaññ |; L1, P1 taštm; L5 taštm*

- 264 P2, K2 . L1, T46, P1 . K9, E10 [tā] + *dauru. ... aētahmācīç. nidarzaññ |; L2, E4 dauru. L5 dā.uru*
- 265 T46, L2 . K9, P2, K2. E4 *upa.tam; L1 pa.tam; P1 upa.tam; L5 patam*
- 266 L5, E4; P2 *manōštram; K2 manōštrīm; L1 manō.štram; T46 manōštram. P1 manaōštram. K9 manaōštrīm*
- 267 P2, K2, (Jmp); L4, K1, T44, E10, M3 + AP-š... ASLWN-x₁ |
- 268 (Jmp); P2 OLE
- 269 (Jmp); P2^w
- 270 P2, (Jmp); K2 HNA
- 271 P2, (Jmp); K2 blt
- 272 (Jmp); P2, K2 + y |
- 273 (Jmp); P2 t³šyt¹; K2 t³šyt¹
- 274 (Jmp); P2, K2 + d¹ |
- 275 P2, (Jmp); K2 ZK
- 276 P2, (Jmp) mlygh; K2 mynšn¹k
- 277 P2, K2. T46, L2, E4 . K9, L1, P1 *stamanam; L5 sata.manam*
- 278 K2. L2, L5; P2. L1, T46, P1, E4 *adāç*
- 279 K2. L1, T46, L2, E4; L5 + *niāzaiññ |; P2 . P1 niāzaiññ; K9 aōžaiññ*
- 280 P2, K2 . L1, T46, P1 *asti.masō; L2, E4 . K9 ašti.masō; L5 niāzaiññastamasō*
- 281 P2, K2. L2; L1, P1 *xraōžduuahç; T46 xrožduuahç; L5 xaraōžduuahç; E4 xraožduuahç; K9 xraōžduuahç*
- 282 P2, K2. K9, L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4 *aetauatō*
- 283 K2. L1, P1, L2 . K9, P2 *viriduuhç; T46 varaduuhç; L5 varōduuhç; E4 varōduuahç*
- 284 (Jmp); P2³st³mk; K2 st³mk
- 285 P2, K2, (Jmp)^w
- 286 P2, (Jmp); K2³ BRA

- 327 L4, T44, M3; P2 ³ywp c³h; K2 ³ywp c³h; E10 W c³h
- 328 L4, K1, P2, T44, E10, M3; K2 † ³ywp lwr †
- 329 L4, K1, P2, K2, E10, M3; T44 W ³ywp
- 330 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, M3; E10 OLE
- 331 L4, K1, P2, K2, E10, M3; T44 ^{MYA}
- 332 L4; K1, P2, E10, M3 † y †; K2 ³ywp; T44 ^Y
- 333 T44, E10; L4, K1, M3 hw³pt³k; P2 ³ywp ³ly³; K2 ³ly³
- 334 L4, K1, K2, T44, E10, M3; P2 ³ywp NPLWN-yt
- 335 E10. L1, P1; P2, M3 *apāt. hacx*; K2, T44. T46, L2. K9, (G) *ahmat. hacx*; L5, E4 *ahmat. hacx*
- 336 E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5. K9, K1, P2, K2, M3 *iršīāg*; T44 *irašīāg*; E4 *airšīāg*; (G) *iršīāg*
- 337 L4, P2, K2, T44, E10; M3 ~~YHWN-yt~~
- 338 L4 *staire*
- 339 L4 *hincōiš*; K1 *ha cōiš*
- 340 T44, E10; P5 *mwdt*
- 341 E10; P5 *kpyc*; T44 *ks-dywk*
- 342 L4, T44, E10, (Jmp); K1, M3 *airmc*; P2 *airāmi*
- 343 L4, K1, P2, T44, (Jmp); E10 YHWWN-yt; M3 ~~YHWN-yt~~
- 344 We cannot know if the students were at the same time copying a new manuscript with the corrections of Jāmāsp or if they had learned them by heart and then copied new manuscripts after the teaching was finished.
- 345 Only thus we can understand why Dastur Dārāb took out the superfluous texts, as Anquetil informs us in the first page of the manuscript, from a manuscript that in fact was copied by Dārāb Framrōz according to the colophon.
- 346 Note that in the PT of *parane. xrtū. parane. xruuī. yni. parane. būiḥi. parane. būiḥija. parane. kuṇdi. parane. xkuṇdija. parane. būšīāsta. yā. zairina* only two *purdenam* and two blanks appear. Nevertheless,

- in P5 the complete Avestan text is translated. It is interesting to note that two manuscripts from Nawsarī (T44 and E10) that usually complete the PT as well, in this passage include the PT of 11.9d, but not of 11.9c. Perhaps Jāmāsp called his disciples' attention to 11.9d, but not to 11.9c and the completing of 11.9c is the result of the skills of each disciple.
- 347 L4, K1, P2, K2, T44, E10, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, E4, (G); P5 after YKOYMWN^{NI} *xruu*; L5 *xarū*; K9 *xrtī*
- 348 L4, K1, P2, P5, K2, T44, E10, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5. K9, (G); E4 *parana*
- 349 L4, M3. P1 *xruuī. yne*; P2 *xruuayne*; P5, (G) *xruuī. nī*; K2 *xruuī. ynū*; T44 *xrtūuī. yne*; E10 *xrtū. yna*; L1 *xruuī. yane*; T46 *xruuī. ynū*; L2, E4 *xrtū. ynū*; L5 *xarū. ganū*; K9 *xrtū. ynu*
- 350 L4, E10. L1, T46, L2, E4, (G); P2, M3. L5 *būiḥc*; P5, T44 *būiḥa*; K2 *būiḥc*; P1 *būiḥ*; K9 *būiḥi*
- 351 L4, E10; P2 *būiḥcīzā*; P5 *būiḥāzā*; K2, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, (G) *būiḥīzā*; T44 *būiḥāzā*; L5 *buuaiḥcīzī*; E4 *būiḥōzē*; K9 *būiḥīzā*
- 352 L1, T46, P1, L2, E4, (G); L4, P2 *kundī*; P5, K2, E10, M3 *kunde*; T44 *kunda*; L5 *kunde*; K9 *gundan*
- 353 L4, T44, E10 *kundija*; P2, K2, M3 *kundižā*; P5 *kundašzā*; L1, P1, L2, E4, (G) *kundižā*; T46 *yāzairine. parane. būšāsta. parane. kuṇdižā*; L5 *kundaizā*; K9 *guṇdižā*
- 354 L4, P5, K2, T44, E10, M3. L1, P1, L2, L5, E4. K9, (G); P2 † *parane* †; T46 † *parane. būšīāsta. yā. zairina* †
- 355 K2, T44. L1, P1, L2, L5, E4; L4, K1, P2, P5 *būšīāzā*; E10 *būšīāstī*; M3 *buušīāzā*; K9 *bišīāzā*; (G) *būšīāzā*
- 356 L4, K1, P2, P5, K2, E10. L5, E4, (G); L1, P1, L2. K9 *yā*
- 357 K9, (G); K1, P5, K2 *zairenī*; P2 *zaerenī*; T44 *yāzaraene*; E10. P1, L2 *zairine*; M3 *yāzairenī*; L4a *zairine*; L1 *zairane*; L5 *zaranē*; E4 *zarana*
- 358 L4, K1, P2, P5, K2, T44, E10, M3. L1, T46, L2, L5. K9, (G); P1, E4 *parane. parane*

- 359 L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4; K1, P5, K2, T44, M3 *būšīqāsta*; P2, L4a *būšīqāscā*; E10 *būšīqāstī*; K9 *būšīqāsta* (G) *būšīqāsta*
- 360 K1, P2, P5, K2, E10, L4a. L5, E4, (G); T44 *yāzairīene*; M3. L1, T46, P1, L2. K9 *yā*
- 361 L2, E4, (G); K1, M3 *darəgauua*; P2 *dʾraguuu*; P5 *dragauua*; K2 *darəgō.gauua*; T44 *darəyō.guuu*; E10 *darəgōyōgauua*; L4a *dragōyauua*; L1, P1 *dragō.gauua*; T46 *drəyō.gauua*; L5 *darəgō.guuu*; K9 *dʾragō.gauua*
- 362 P5 after *draguuua*, K2, T44, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5. K9, (G); L4, K1, P2, M3 — *parone. miūdi. parone. kapastīs* —; E4 *pairīne*
- 363 P5, K2. L1, T46, P1, L2, (G); T44, E10 *miūda*; L5 *miūde*; E4 *muaidī*; K9 *miūdi*
- 364 P5, K2, T44, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5. K9, (G); E4 *parana*
- 365 P5. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4, (G); E10 *kapastīs*; T44 *kapastīs*; K2 *kapstīs*
- 366 L4, K1, P2, P5 after *kapastīs*; K2, E10, M3. L1, T46, P1, L5, E4. K9, (G); T44. L2 — *parone. pairīkām* —
- 367 K1. L1, T46, P1. K9, (G); L4 *pairīkām*; P2, E10, M3. E4 *parakām*; P5, K2. L5 *pairīkām*
- 368 L4, K1, P2, P5, K2, T44, E10, M3. T46, L5, (G); L1, P1, L2. K9 *yā*
- 369 L4, K1, P2, P5, K2, T44, E10, M3. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5. K9, (G); E4 *yāhā*
- 370 L4, K2. L1, T46, P1, L2. K9, (G); K1 *ādrām*; P2, P5, T44, E10, M3. L5, E4 *āfaram*
- 371 P2, P5, K2, E10. L1, T46, P1, L2, L5, E4. K9, L4, T44, M3, (G) *uruuaraqm*; K1 *zīdā*
- 372 L4, K1, M3; P2, T44, E10 — | y —
- 373 L4, K1, P2, T44, E10, M3 *wstl*
- 374 K1, P2, T44, E10, M3; L4 ZK y
- 375 L4, P2 **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣**, T44 **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣**, M3 **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣**, E10 **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣**
- 376 L4, K1, P2, M3; T44 p^hst; E10 p^hst y BRA OBYDWN-X₁

- 377 L4, K1, T44, P2, M3, (Jmp); E10 OLE
- 378 L4, T44, E10; K1, P2, M3 ANŠWTA
- 379 L4, P2, M3; T44, E10 — | p^hhw m —
- 380 L4, T44, E10; P2, M3 YHWWN-t
- 381 L4, T44, E10, M3; P2 **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣**
- 382 L4, K1, T44, P2, M3; E10 w¹stl
- 383 P2, M3; L4, E10 ycm; T44 ycw m
- 384 P2, M3 *x'ur*; T44 *x'au*¹⁰⁰; E10 *x'aur* (Jmp) *x'ai* In L4 the Pazand text reads *x'au* above.
- 385 L4, P2, M3; T44 *āca*¹⁰⁰; E10 *tāca*; (Jmp) *ā ca*
- 386 L4, K1, P2, E10, M3, (Jmp); T44 *šm*¹⁰⁰
- 387 K3b, E10, M3; K3a YBLWN-t; P2 YBLWN-t¹; F10 YBLWN-ym; T44 YBLWN-t¹; L4a YBLWN-t¹
- 388 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 AYK-š *pyd'ik zmyst'n'* ADYN'
- 389 K3b, K3a, F10, M3, L4a; P2, E10 MNW; T44 MNW MN
- 390 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 *zmyst'n'*
- 391 K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; K3b W BRA
- 392 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a; T44 *pyd't*
- 393 K3b, K3a, E10, M3; P2, T44, L4a AYK BRA; F10 **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣** and AYK BRA above the line
- 394 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10, M3; L4a AYT
- 395 K3b, K3a, M3; P2, F10, T44, L4a plhst; E10 plhyst
- 396 T44; K3b, K3a, P2, F10, E10, M3, L4a *vōyme*
- 397 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, L4a; E10, M3 AYK
- 398 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, L4a; P2 *pyd'ik*; E10, M3 *pydyd'ik*
- 399 K3b, K3a, E10, L4a; P2 *zms't'n'*; F10, T44 *zmyst'n'*; M3 *zms't'n'*
- 400 P2, F10, T44, L4a; K3b, E10 hm³y; K3a ³w hm³k

- 401 L4a; K3b, K3a, E10 BYRH; F10 BR^A; T44 BRA BYRH; M3
BR^YRH
- 402 K3b, K3a, E10; P2, T44, M3, L4a AYT; F10³st
- 403 K3b; K3a YMR^RWN-yt'; P2, F10, T44, L4a YMR^RWN-yt; E10
YML^WN-yt'; M3 YN^LW^N-yt'
- 404 K3b, K3a, P2, F10, T44, E10; M3³; L4a -t³y -
- 405 K3b, K3a, F10, T44, E10, M3, L4a; P2 BYN ptš
- 406 *Op. Cit.*, S. Anquetil-Duperron, A. H.
- 407 *Ibid.*
- 408 *Ibid.*, volume 1, p.318.
- 409 *Ibid.*, volume 2, p.4.
- 410 *Ibid.*, volume 2, p.7.
- 411 *Ibid.*, volume 2, p.5.
- 412 In the beginning pages of both manuscripts we have found the
following division marks:
- | | |
|---------|--|
| Page 6 | 1.15a ³ n X p ³ hlwm |
| Page 7 | 1.18a ³ whrmzd X HWE-m |
| Page 9 | 2.3d d ³ t ³ X HWE-m |
| Page 11 | 2.17b ³ thš-c X swhl |
| Page 12 | 2.19c LA twb ³ n' X pr ³ c |

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