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REMARKS ON THE COLOPHON OF THE AVESTAN MANUSCRIPTS PT4 AND MF4

RÉSUMÉ

L'article présente une nouvelle transcription, translittération et traduction de la partie centrale du colophon pehlevi des manuscrits avestiques Pt4 et Mf4, dans lequel est relatée l'histoire des manuscrits. Ceci nous amène à interpréter la préface différemment de nos prédécesseurs : la réunion du texte avestique et du texte pehlevi dans un même manuscrit doit être datée d'avant 1020, et pas d'une date plus tardive comme il était admis jusqu'à présent.

Mots clés: avestique; pehlevi; manuscrits; colophon.

SUMMARY

This paper provides a transcription, transliteration and translation of the central part of the Pahlavī colophon to the Avestan manuscripts Pt4 and Mf4, in which the history of the manuscripts is recounted. This leads us to interpret the preface differently from our predecessors: the reunion of the Avestan and the Pahlavī texts in one manuscript must be dated before 1020 AD rather than after it, as was hitherto assumed.

Keywords: Avestan; Pahlavī (language); manuscripts; colophon.

I.

The Avestan manuscript class of the Iranian Pahlavī Yasna (IrPY) is one of the most important manuscript classes in which the Avestan text of the Yasna ritual has been preserved. It has not been subject to extensive manuscript copying, nor does it show as much influence of the Vulgate pronunciation as some of the other Avestan manuscript classes do.

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The IrPY is primarily represented by three manuscripts, commonly known since Geldner's Avesta edition (1886-96) as Pt4 (written in 1780), Mf4 (shortly after 1780) and Mf1 (1741). Geldner (p. XXIVff.) has shown that they are all copies of the same ancestral manuscript, which Geldner calls 'Ms. of Hōshāng', and which he dates to approximately 1478 AD. Especially Pt4 and Mf4 stand very close to each other, preserving the layout of a manuscript in which the Avestan Yasna text is interrupted by the Pahlavī translation after every sentence. Mf1 has extracted only the Avestan text of its original, and shows traces of adopting the spelling of a different manuscript class, viz. that of the Iranian Vīdēvdād sāde (IrVS, comprising the mss. Mf2, Jp1 and K4); the IrVS is characterized by the fact that the Avestan is given without Pahlavī translation. This reduces the reliability of Mf1 for the reconstruction of the IrPY manuscript class; since it is furthermore impossible to consult Mf1 in Europe, we shall in the following be concerned with Pt4 and Mf4.

II.

In Geldner's days, Pt4 belonged to the family collection of the Dastūr Dārāb Peshotan Sanjana; hence the abbreviation Pt. Pt4 became available to Geldner only after he had started sending his Yasna edition to press, which is why the text variants of Pt4 have not always been given their due weight in determining the form of the head text. This is in accordance with the information given by Ethé (1930: 1337) about the vicissitudes of Pt4. Ethé tells us that in March 1891, Pt4 was presented as a gift by Peshotan Sanjana to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where a facsimile was made. Both the manuscript and the facsimile were returned to Bombay in June 1893, where Peshotan kept the manuscript; he sent the facsimile back to Oxford in November 1894.

This facsimile was never published, and we have not met any reference to scholars consulting either the manuscript in Bombay or the facsimile in Oxford. During a visit to the Bodleian Library in 1998, de Vaan consulted the facsimile, and on his request a microfilm was made, in order to facilitate future consultation. A copy of this microfilm was made for the Leiden University Library.

The manuscript Mf4 (from the collection of the Mulla Firuz Library in Bombay) came at Geldner's disposal only after he had finished all of the Yasna edition. Therefore, it does not appear in his critical apparatus, but the evidence of Mf4 can now be fully exploited through the facsimile edition by JamaspAsa 1976.

Even though Pt4 and Mf4 offer nearly the same text, the handwriting is different. The letter of Pt4 is smaller and a little less gracious than that of

Mf4; furthermore, Pt4 has 21 lines to the page, whereas Mf4 has 17 lines per page.

III.

Scholars trying to reconstruct the filiation of the Avestan manuscripts have always paid special attention to the Pahlavī introduction to Pt4 and Mf4, in which the preface written by Hōšāng to his manuscript is reproduced. This preface recounts the names of his predecessors and the history of the origin of the Iranian Pahlavī Yasna. As the name of one of the earlier copyists, a certain Māhwindād, seems to correspond with a Māhwindād known to have signed a colophon to the Dēnkard in the year 1020 AD, the importance attached to the preface to Pt4 and Mf4 becomes understandable: the date of 1020 is the earliest known date connected with a surviving Avestan manuscript.

Geldner only discusses the preface to Pt4, which he has probably consulted in Oxford between March 1891 and June 1893. He does not express himself about the preface to Mf4 – he merely states about the Avestan and Pahlavī of the Yasna texts that "in general, however, Pt4, surpasses its sister manuscript in correctness." In his discussion of the Avestan literature (1896-1904, in reality written in 1895 just like the Prolegomena to his Avesta edition), Geldner does not provide extra information. He states that Pt4 is more correct and therefore probably somewhat older than Mf4, and claims that the preface to Pt4 reproduces that of its original, as we have seen above. This last remark may give a reader the impression that the preface to Pt4 is different from that of Mf4, an understandable but wrong impression, as we shall see below. In his discussion of the Pahlavī Yasna, West (1896-1904: 84-85) quotes an extract from the Pahlavī preface to Pt4 (p. 3) together with an English translation of the text, which contains the part in which the names of Hōšāng and his precursors are enumerated.

The next important step was taken by Dhabhar in 1923, who reproduced (p. 90-92) and translated into English the whole of the colophon to Mf4. At one point of the text, the two translations differ in their interpretation of the Pahlavī (see below), but in 1949: 7, Dhabhar sides with West. It is clear that West (Pt4) and Dhabhar (Mf4) had the same Pahlavī text in front of them.

Another important observation made by Dhabhar was the presence of a second colophon in the middle of the Yasna text of Mf4, which had apparently escaped previous scholars. On pages 599-600, after the text of Yasna 61, there appears a short Pahlavi text of thirteen lines, in which Hōšāng himself states the date of his completion of the manuscript, being the day Vād of the month Amurdād of the year 864 of the Yazdagird era (= AD

1495). Dhabhar translates this text in full. The date of 1495 serves to correct the date of 1478 AD which was used as an approximate date for Hōšāng's original because Hōšāng has signed other manuscripts in that year, cf. Geldner 1886-96: XXV^a. Surprisingly, this second colophon which we find in Mf4 is absent from Pt4. This shows that Pt4 and Mf4 may not be copies of (entirely) the same model.

Dhabhar repeats his observations on Mf4 in his discussion of the manuscripts used for his edition of the Pahlavī Yasna in 1949 (p. 7f.), where he also states to have used a ms. T54 of Navsari, which represents an Indian copy of Pt4.

IV.

The two manuscripts Pt4 and Mf4 are thus in an unequal state of investigation, due to circumstances. Whereas Geldner stressed the importance of Pt4 and kept silent about Mf4 simply because Pt4 was the first of the two which he received, Dhabhar in his publications is more elaborate about Mf4 because that is the original manuscript present in the Bombay library, while of Pt4 he knew only a later copy. In Europe, Mf4 has been readily available since the publication of the facsimile in 1976, while the presence of a copy of Pt4 fell into oblivion until Kellens drew attention to it (1998: 461).

Geldner's insistence on Pt4 and his statement that some of the details of the preface to that ms. are unclear, led Kellens to suggest that a re-examination of the colophon of Pt4 could be worthwhile. With the aid of the microfilm made in Oxford, this is what we have done. Before presenting the results, we can already give away that the Pahlavi prefaces of Mf4 and Pt4 agree on nearly every word. No new information is added by Pt4 which was not already available in Mf4. The first and the last part of the preface consist of stereotype formulae of praise of Ohrmazd, curses towards Ahriman and his companions, and praise of the Mazdayasnian religion and the Avesta. The translation of these parts can be found in Dhabhar 1923: 114-117. In this paper, we will provide a transcription, transliteration and translation of the central part of the Pahlavi preface in Pt4-Mf4, in which the history of the manuscript(s) is recounted. Our translation differs in some important aspects from the previous ones; we will discuss these points and their consequences in sections VI and VII. In section VIII, a transliteration, transcription and translation of the second colophon in Mf4 will be given.

V.

The system of transliteration follows MacKenzie 1971. In the footnotes we will give the *variae lectiones*, so that it will be possible to reconstruct the individual texts of Pt4 and Mf4 from the synopsis. For easy reference, we have numbered the lines of the transliteration; the original layout of the manuscript pages is not regarded, but we have indicated the page breaks in Pt4 and Mf4 between square brackets.

Transliteration:

[Mf4 page 4, line 6, Pt4 page 2, line 21]

- APš pyt'k W hmwcm l'd [y] npšt [Pt4 3.1] PWN hm'wsk'lšnyh pylwcgl L dyn' *bndk 2 'ylpt 3 hwš'ng syd'whš štr'd'l <y> 4 bht'plyt štr'dl *OLE MN 5 pcyn' 'ylpt' 6 mtr''p'n spyn'td't 7 mtr''p'n *OLE MN 8 pcyn' 'ylpt' 9 m'hpn'h 10 y 11 'c'tmlt' y pn'h y MN k'clwn' lwtst'k cygwn 12 GBRA nywk' 13 'plm'ndyk PWN dyn' W lwb'n' 'pygwm'n APš k'mk pl'lwn' 14 OL 15
- yzd'n ŠPYL-'n' lwst'm y d't 'whrmzd nwkdlht y MN plhw' bwm y sp'h'n ¹⁶ MN lwt dšt' lwst'k MN wlcwk MTA 'pyst'k MN pcyn'-1 W znd MN pcyn'-1 'nwšk *plnbg ¹⁷ slwš 'dyb'l NPŠE l'd npšt [Mf4 5.1] YKOYMWN-'t y'tk 'nwšk lwb'n' m'h 'dyb'l y plhw z't MN hm byš'cw'l 'wst'n MN k'clwn' lwst'k 'nwšk y L m'hwnd't' y nlm'h'n' y ¹⁸ w'hl'm mtr' MN hm pcyn'
- pcyn'-1 MN hw'dšn' y pylwckl 'bwnsl mltš't y š'pwhl y MN plhw bwm y šyl'c
- ² Mf4, Pt4 bwndk.
- 3 Absent from Pt4.
- Absent from both mss., but supplemented on the basis of the second colophon in Mf4 (see section VIII below).
- OLE is a restoration: Mf4 OL MN, Pt4 only MN.
- 6 Mf4; Pt4 'ylpt.
- Both mss. spell spyn'td't, which is awkward. It may be restored to *spyn<tw>d't, or, as Philip Huyse suggests to us, to *spyn<t'>d't.
- Mf4, Pt4 OL MN.
- Mf4; Pt4 'ylpt.
- Mf4 m'hp.
- Absent from Mf4.
- 12 Mf4, Pt4.
- 13 Pt4; Mf4 nywk.
- Mf4; Pt4 pl'lwn.
- 15 Mf4 W OL.
- Mf4 sp'h'n; Pt4 sp'h'n; D sph'n'.
- Mf4, Pt4 plnbwg.
- Pt4; absent from Mf4.

Transcription:

- 1 u-š paydāg ud hammōzam (?) rāy nibišt pad hamuskārišnīh pērōzgar man dēn bandag hērbad höšāng šyāwaxš šahryār <ī>baxtāfrīd šahryār ōy az paččēn hērbad mihrābān spanddād mihrābān ōy az paččēn hērbad māhpanāh ī āzādmard ī panāh ī az kāzerön röstāg čīyōn mard nēk abarmāndīg pad dēn ud ruwān abēgumān u-š kāmag frārōn ō
- 5 yazdān wehān rōstahm ī dād ohrmazd nōgdraxt ī az farrox būm ī
- 6 spāhān az rūd (?) dašt rõstāg az waržuk (?) deh
- 7 abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn-ē anōšag farnbay srōšayār xwēš rāy nibišt
- 8 ēstād jādag anōšag ruwān māhayār ī farrox zād az ham bēšāzwār awestām 19
- 9 az kāzerōn rōstāg anōšag ī man māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wahrām mihr az ham paččēn
- paččēn-ē az xwāyišn ī pērōzgar abunasr mardšāh ī šābuhr ī az farrox būm ī šīrāz

Translation:

.....(?) ²⁰ and for similar deliberation, I, victorious servant of the religion, hērbad Hōšāng Šyāwaxš Šahryār, son of Baxtāfrīd Šahryār, wrote it from the copy of hērbad Mihrābān Spanddād Mihrābān (and) that from the copy of hērbad Māhpanāh, son of Āzādmard, protector of the region of Kāzerōn like a good heir (?) ²¹, without doubt about religion and soul and with an honest desire for the good gods, (son) of Rōstahm, son of Dād-Ohrmazd Nōgdraxt from the blessed land of Spāhān, from the town of Waržuk (?) in the Rūd-Dašt (?) ²² region.

The Abestāg has been written from one copy and the Zand from one (other) copy for the possession of the immortal Farnbay, son of Srōšayār, as a production (?) of the immortal Māhayār, son of Farrox-

The expression <APs pyt-k W hmwcm l'd> is difficult. Dhabhar 1923: 114 translates 'It is for this reason that'.

The translation of *mard abarmāndāg* as 'heir' was suggested to us by Philip Huyse. It is based on the meaning 'inheritance' of *abarmānd*.

The town might be identified as present-day Barzūk, situated ± 120 km. to the north of Işfahān, near Kāšān (cf. Adamec 1976: 94). Rūd-Dašt may be identified as the Dašt-i Lūt desert, although in the present-day definition of the Dašt-i Lūt, Barzūk is situated too far to the west. Also, Barzūk seems located too far from Işfahān to be reckoned as part of the 'blessed land of Spāhān.'

We assume that 'wst'n is a variant form for usual 'wst'm (Man.MP 'wyst'm) awestām 'district'. For the vacillation between final -ān and -ām, cf. 'pst'n abestān beside 'pst'm abestām 'refuge, support'.

zād, from the same salubrious ²³ district from the region of Kāzerōn. I, the immortal Māhwindād, son of Narmāhān, son of Wahrām Mihr, from the same copy/from a compiled copy [made] one copy at the request of the victorious Abu-Nasr Mard-Šāh, son of Šābuhr, from the blessed land of Šīrāz.

VI.

It has always been clear that in our passage have merged two originally different colophons, cf. Geldner 1886-96: Prol. XXVa. The clearest indication is the fact that there are two persons speaking in the first person singular, the first one being Hōšāng Syāwaxš Šahryār ī Baxtāfrīd Šahryār at the very beginning, the second one Māhwindād, son of Narmāhān, son of Wahrām Mihr, at the end of the passage. The exact place of the caesura between these two parts has not been established yet. One might argue that the second colophon begins with the mentioning of anošag ī man māhwindād in line 9, but in that case, the use of ham in ham paččēn 'the same copy' is inexplicable. It seems more likely that the second colophon begins with abestāg az paččēn-ē ud zand az paččēn-ē in line 7: at this point, there is a clear break in the way the chronology builds up. Whereas the first six lines show the usual regressive chronology from the last copyist to his predecessors, the part which follows takes the opposite direction: it starts with the oldest event (the merger of an Avestan and a Zand copy into one manuscript) and mentions the scribe Māhwindād who is producing the colophon at the end.

The interpretation of the first part of the colophon is clear: it is probably a faithful copy of the original autograph of Hōšāng written in 1495. West (1896-1904: 85) deduces the date of ca. 1280 AD for Mihrābān Spanddād Mihrābān from the knowledge that he was the grandfather of the Mihrābān who wrote de Indian Pahlavī Yasnas J2 and K5 in 1323. The filiation of manuscripts must thus be, from old to young: Māhpanāh \rightarrow Mihrābān (ca. 1280 AD) \rightarrow Hōšāng (1495 AD).

The second part of our passage is disputed, and it is here that we propose a different interpretation of the text. West translates $xw\bar{e}\check{s}$ $r\bar{a}y$ as 'for himself', and accordingly concludes that Farnbag, son of Srōšayār, had copied the manuscript from one Avestan and one Zand copy, both produced by Māhayār, son of Farroxzād: "The immortal Farnbag, son of Srōsh-

The form byś'cw'l is translated as 'salubrious' by West and Dhabhar, but the form is unknown elsewhere. The translation 'salubrious' connects the word with byš'z 'to heal' etc.

yār, had written a copy for himself – the Awesta from one copy, and the Zand from another copy, (which were) the production of the glorified Māhyār, son of Farukhzāt". Dhabhar (p. 115), for his part, assumes that Farnbag wrote the manuscript "for the sake of the immortal-souled Mahyar Farokhzad", which would imply that the author of the Avestan and Zand copies remains unknown.

We think that the expression $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ $nibi\bar{s}t$ $\bar{e}st\bar{a}d$ has not been properly interpreted. Cantera has found that the expression $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ usually serves to indicate the addressee or patron of the copy. The usual wording is $xw\bar{e}s\bar{s}t\bar{h}$ \bar{i} $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ 'for his own possession', for example in K1, colophon 2 u-m $\bar{e}n$ pac $\bar{c}en$ $nibi\bar{s}t$ $xw\bar{e}s\bar{s}t\bar{h}$ \bar{i} $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ $abast\bar{a}g$ ud zand 'and I have written this copy for my own possession, Avesta and Zand'; and in M 51a (Unvala 1940: 60-61), f. 49r: $nibi\bar{s}t$ $xw\bar{e}s$ $\bar{c}ih$ > \bar{i} $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ 'I have written for my own possession'. But one also finds the formula with a noun (here: $frazand\bar{a}n$) preceding $xw\bar{e}s$, e.g. in the second colophon of the Dēnkard, DkM 950.2 $xw\bar{e}s\bar{i}h$ $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ ud $frazand\bar{a}n$ \bar{i} $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$... 'for his own possession and for the possession of his offspring'. Hence, the formulation $an\bar{o}sag$ farnbay $sr\bar{o}say\bar{a}r$ $xw\bar{e}s$ $r\bar{a}y$ in Pt4 and Mf4 probably means 'for the possession of the immortal Farnbag son of Srōsayār'.

The next problem is the role of Māhayār son of Farroxzād, the interpretation of which depends on the word 1940. West and Geldner read d'tk 'production' in the text. Dhabhar 1923: 115 reads j'tk 'for the sake of', but in 1949 (p. 7), he sides with Geldner and West. Since a word dātag is unknown, it is more likely to represent jādag, but a translation 'portion, share, case' does not seem to make sense. Although we have not found any comparable uses of jādag in other texts, we will therefore retain West's translation as 'production'. We interpret this in the following way, viz. that it was Māhayār, son of Farroxzād, who combined the Avestan and Zand manuscripts for use by Farnbag, son of Srōšayār.

We must also determine to which copy the expression $ham\ paččen$ refers, which Māhwindād claims to have used. No other Pahlavī colophon offers a parallel for this expression; the usual way to state that one manuscript has been copied from another is to define the original one in an exact way. Some examples are: K1 coloph. 1 fol. 338v: $az\ dast\ nibeg\ \bar{\imath}$ 'from the handwriting of...', K1 colof. 3 u-m en $paččen\ az\ dast\ nibeg\ \bar{\imath}$ 'and I have written this copy from the handwriting of ...'; K9 $az\ paččen\ \bar{\imath}$ daftar $\bar{\imath}$ yašt abāg wisprad abāg juddēwdād 'from the copy of the book of prayer with Vispered, with Videvdad' (Unvala 1940: 133).

Unless one understands it as 'part (of an inheritance)', according to a suggestion made to us by Philip Huyse.

For ham paččēn, we can offer two different interpretations which are in agreement with our view of the preceding lines in the text.

- (1) It may be translated straightforwardly as 'the same copy'. The fact that this expression is not otherwise found in colophons may be ascribed to the order of copyists, which in our passage is the opposite of the usual one (see above). Since the usual order proceeds backwards from the most recent copy to its predecessors, there is no need for the anaphor 'the same copy' in those colophons; whereas in our text, this anaphor follows logically from the order of mentioning of the manuscripts. Admittedly, it is not completely certain whether 'the same copy' refers to the source copies of the Avestan and the Zand which were used by Māhayār, or to the copy of Māhayār himself. But the latter option seems more likely to us, since the former one would imply that both Māhayār and Māhwindād had independently proceeded to merging Avestan and Zand texts into one copy.
- (2) We might read hampaččěn as one word meaning 'a compiled copy', which would refer to the union of the Avestan and the Zand in one copy. This would have been the manuscript produced by Māhayār. Therefore, the reference would ultimately be to the same manuscript, whether we read ham paččěn 'the same copy' or hampaččěn 'a compiled copy'.

A final problem which the text offers is the absence of a finite verb form in the last sentence. We have added [made] in the translation.

VII.

We have thus acquired a different view of the predecessors of Pt4 and Mf4. Whereas West (1894-1904: 85) and Geldner (1896-1904: 14) assumed that it was Farnbag who combined an Avestan copy written by Māhayār and a Zand copy by Māhwindād, we have concluded that the authors of the separate Avestan and Zand manuscripts remain unmentioned, that it was Māhayār son of Farroxzād who combined the Avestan and Zand in one manuscript, and also that Māhwindād, the first author for whom we have a fixed date, is the most recent one of the second part of the colophon. Hence, we have to assume that the union in one manuscript of the Avestan and of the Zand took place before ca. 1020, and not after that date, as is usually assumed.

The filiation which we adopt is the following:

X1 abastāg + X2 zand

Māhayār, son of Farroxzād

Māhwindād, son of Narmāhān, son of Wahrām Mihr (ca. 1020)

Māhpanāh, son of Āzādmard

Mihrābān Spanddād Mihrābān (ca.1280)

Hōšāng Syāwaxš Šahryār, son of Baxtāfrīd Šahryār (1495)

It is conceivable that the mentioning of Kāzerōn prompted the union of both colophons into one at one of the stages of the copying chain of Pt4-Mf4, but the evidence does not suffice to say whether the manuscript copied by Māhwindād was the parent manuscript of the chain of manuscripts initiated by Māhpanāh. In other words, it remains uncertain whether Pt4 and Mf4 go back *directly* to the conscious merger of an Avestan text with its Zand.

VIII.

We now provide the text of the second colophon, which only appears in Mf4, on pp. 599-600. A first full translation was given by Dhabhar 1923: 117-118; our English translation builds on it, but is not identical.

Transliteration:

yšť znd tm'm šwt <u>B</u>YN pl'hwyk W pylwcyk <u>B</u>YN YWM y w't y hwd'hk BYRH 'mwrdt pylwcgl ŠNT y 8 100 60 ALBA AHL MN y<u>z</u>dkrt MLKA'n MLKA L dyn' bwndk ²⁵ hwš'ng syd' whš štr'dl ²⁶ y bht'plyt štr'd'l y w'hl'm y hwslw š'hk 'nwšk'lwb'n npšt' W pr'c' Š<u>B</u>KWN NPŠE y NPŠE l'd W pr<u>z</u>nd'n ²⁷ NPŠE l'd

A mistake for bndk.

A mistake for štr'd'l.

Restored for pznrd'n.

KRA MNW KLYTWN't 'ywp hmwc't 'ywp pcyn' APš OBYDWN't y'tkyh y L npšt'l PWN ptt YHWWNyt OD š'n 'wbš 'plyn' krt'ltl bym LA 'hlwb'd't MNWš ŠM y L APš 'wstlyt AMTš 'wstlyt APš hmym'l HWEm PWN d'twbl y d't'l y 'whrmzd

Transcription:

yašt zand tamām šud andar farrox<īh> ud pērōz<īh> ²⁸ andar rōz ī wād ī hudāhag māh amurdād pērōzgar sāl ī 864 pas az yazdagard šāhān šāh man dēn bandag hōšāng syāwaxš šahryār ī baxtāfrīd šahryār ī wahrām ī husraw-šāhag anōšag-ruwān nibišt ud frāz hišt xwēš ī xwēš rāy ud frazandān xwēš rāy

har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb paččēn u-š kunād jādagīh ī man nibištār pad patet bawēd tā šān awiš āfrīn kardārdar bēm nē ahlaw-dād kē-š nām ī man u-š awestarēd ka-š awestarēd u-š hamēmāl ham pad dādwar ī dādār ī ohrmazd

Translation:

'The Zand yašt is completed ²⁹ in prosperity and victory on the day of the beneficent Wād of the month of the victorious Amurdād of the year 864 after Yazdagird, King of Kings. I, servant of the religion, Hōšāng Syāwaxš Šahryār, son of Baxtāfrīd Šahryār, son of Wahrām, son of Xosraw-Šāhag Anöšag-Ruwān, have written and published it for my own possession and for the possession of my offspring.

Everyone who reads it or teaches it or makes a copy of it, will be in *patet* for the sake of me, the writer, so that I may perform blessing to them. No(t worthy of) charity (is) he who stains my name, when he stains (it) I shall be his adversary before the judge, the creator Ohrmazd.'

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The ms. writes farroxig and perozig.

The expression *tamām šud* is not, of course, correct Pahlavī, but New Persian, cf. *tamām šodan* 'to be finished, to be completed'.

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