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Disseminating the Mazdayasnian Religion

An Edition of the Avestan Hērbedestān Chapter 5*

ALMUT HINTZE, London

Introduction

The twenty chapters of the Hērbedestān (Hēr.),¹ as well as the ninety-one of the Nērangestān, have come down to the present in two manuscript traditions: the Indian line of HJ and the Iranian line represented by TD. HJ derives its name from that of its scribe and previous owner, Hoshang Jamasp of Poona, who in 1727 CE copied it from a ms. that was brought from Iran to India in 1722 by Jāmāsp Velāyatī.² However, as far as chapter 5 is concerned, the manuscript HJ is incomplete because on fol. 6r l.11 in Hēr. 3.5 the text breaks off after the words *harw tis* but continues in Hēr. 6 with the words *ka ham-xānag*. All mss. descending from HJ share this deficiency.³ As a result, for chapter 5 we are entirely dependent on the single manuscript TD.⁴

The latter, which is now held in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, Mumbai, was brought to India by the Iranian mobed Khodābaxš Farōd Ābadān. In 1876 he passed it on to mobed Tehmuras Dinshaw ANKLESARIA (1842–1903), after whom the ms. is named. TD was written by Gōbedšāh Rūstām Bōndār

* The Pahlavi text has been edited by MARIA MACUCH in this volume.

1 While DARMESTETER, ZA III, pp. 78–91 divides the Hērbedestān into eighteen chapters, both H/E and K/K distinguish twenty.

2 A facsimile edition of HJ was published by SANJANA in 1894. On the impact of Dastur Velāyatī's visit on the Parsis and especially on the transmission of the Vīdēvdād, see A. CANTERA/M. A. ANDRÉS-TOLEDO: "The transmission of the Pahlavi Videvdad in India after 1700 (I): Jāmāsp's visit from Iran and the rise of a new exegetical movement in Surat." In: JCOI 2008, pp. 81–142.

3 One of the mss. descending from HJ is J55, which belongs to the collection of Dastur K M JAMASPASA. We are grateful to him for giving us access to it.

4 KOTWAL/BOYD 1980 (pp. 3, 5) mention three copies of TD: F21 in the Meherji Rana Library, Navsari, and D46 in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, Mumbai, both made by Dastur Erachji in 1882, and one apparently made by mobed Tehmuras for E. W. WEST. SANJANA 1894 (p. 5) refers to a copy made in 1881 and held in the Mulla Firuz Library (at the Cama Oriental Institute). This is probably D46, since the dates may differ slightly when they are converted from one era date to another.

around 1530 CE. The first 103 folios, which have now been separated from the rest of the ms., contain the Iranian Būndahišn and were followed by 112 folios of the Hērbedestān and Nērangestān. That the text of the latter two originally belonged to a separate, independent volume emerges not only from the fact that it is written in a different hand but also, as noted by KOTWAL/BOYD 1980, p. 1f., from the numbering in the corner of the upper left margin, where the folios are counted in Persian from 1 (*yek*) to 112 (*sad-o-duwāzdah*). The Hērbedestān occupies fols. 1r5 to 20r3 and is immediately followed by the Nērangestān on fol. 20r.3.⁵

While chapters 12 to 20 of the Hērbedestān concern various aspects of the study of sacred texts under the guidance of a teacher (*aēθrapaiti-*), the first eleven deal with the conditions under which family members (men, women or children) may leave home (*para-i*) for the purpose of an activity described as *aθauruna-*. In the case of married women or minors, they need to be accompanied (*para-hac*) by a male escort, the relevant circumstances being discussed in chapter 6 with regard to a woman and in chapters 7–11 with respect to a child.

The question as to which member of a household should leave home for *aθauruna-* is raised in the first chapter of the Hērbedestān. The answer is that, regardless of age, the one with the highest esteem for truth should go:

- 1.1 **katāmō¹ nmānabe² aθaurunəm pāraiiāṭ³*
- 1.2 *yō ašāi bərajiqstəmō⁴*
- 1.3 *huuōišto⁵ vā yōišto⁶ *vā⁷*
- 1.4 *yim vā ainim *hadō.gaēθa⁸*
- 1.5 *hazaōšiiā⁹ *sāṅha¹⁰ caiiqn¹¹*

1 *knmō* TD
deest HJ J55 T58

2 *nmānabe* TD
...*hē* HJ J55 T58

3 *pāraiiāṭ* TD
paraiiāṭ HJ T58 J55

4 *bərajiqstəmō* TD
bərajiqstəmāō HJ J55 T58 (ā.s)

5 *huuōišto* TD
huu ... HJ T58 J55

6 *yōišto* TD HJ J55 T58

7 deest TD HJ J55 T58

8 *hapō.gaēθa* TD

... *gaēθa* HJ (gap of 4 cm) J55 (gap of 3 cm) T58 (gap of 4.5 cm)

9 *hazaōšiiā* TD

azaōšiiā HJ J55 T58 (*ao*)

10 *paāṅha* TD HJ J55 T58

11 *caiiqn* TD HJ T58 (ā)

caii. qn J55

5 The ms. is described as TD1 by B. T. ANKLESARIA in T. D. ANKLESARIA 1908, pp. vii–ix and by KOTWAL/BOYD 1980, pp. 1–12, who also offer a facsimile edition of the Hērbedestān and Nērangestān.

- 1.1 Which one⁶ of a household should go away for priestly service?
- 1.2 The one who has the greatest esteem⁷ for truth
- 1.3 – be it the eldest⁸ or the youngest –,
- 1.4 or any other person whom the co-owners⁹
- 1.5 shall select by unanimous vote¹⁰.

Chapter 5 discusses the question as to whether the lord or the lady of the house should leave home for *aṭauruna-*. The unexpected answer is that either may do so, but that the one who is more capable of looking after their domestic affairs and property (*gaēṭā-*) should remain behind. The view that looking after one's possessions takes priority over leaving home for *aṭauruna-* is also expressed both in Vd 13.22, where *aṭauruuan-* 'priest' ranks third below the masters of large (Vd 13.20) and medium-sized households (Vd 13.21) and in chapter 3 of the Hērbedestān, quoted below, p. 183.

- 6 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 433 emends the reading *knmō* to **katāmō*, while K/K 26 edit *kō*. The latter is also the form preferred by H/E 16, although they consider *katāmō* as an alternative.
- 7 On *bərəjiiqstama-* and the root noun *bərəj-* see HINTZE 2007, pp. 50–53.
- 8 On *huuōišta-* 'oldest, eldest, most important', see N. SIMS-WILLIAMS/E. TUCKER: "Avestan *huuōišta-* and its cognates." In: G. SCHWEIGER (ed.): *Indogermanica. Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt. Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien dem verehrten Jubilar dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag.* Tübingen 2005, pp. 587–604, esp. pp. 594–596.
- 9 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1759 convincingly emends the ms. TD *hapō.gaēṭa* to **hadō.gaēṭa*. The compound is also attested in Yt 10.116, where it denotes two persons bound by a contract (*miṭra-*). GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 267 notes that *hadō.gaēṭa-* is "of almost identical formation" with Choresmian *angēṭ*, Parth. *h'mgyh* and Aram. *hngyt* (A. COWLEY: *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1951, no. 43, l. 9 and E. BENVENISTE: "Éléments perses en araméen d'Égypte", in: JA 1954, pp. 297–310, esp. p. 298 fn. 3), all from the possessive adj. **han-gaiṭa-* 'having property in common; partner'. A derivative of the adj. is the fem. abstract substantive **han-gaiṭākā-* which is found in 'yyḏy' in a Chr.Sogd. fragment (N. SIMS-WILLIAMS: *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*, Berlin 1985, pp. 187, 204) and in Sogd. 'nyyḏy' 'association, partnership' (N. SIMS-WILLIAMS/J. HAMILTON: *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX^e–X^e siècle de Touen-houang*, London 1990, p. 70).
- 10 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1796, followed by K/K 28, 29 fn. 8 (but differently H/E 18) emends the ms. TD reading *hazaōšiiā paāṇha* to *huua zaoša uta sāṇha* after the Pahlavi translation. This could be supported by Yt 13.33 *hauuāi kāmāica zaošāica* 'according to their (i.e. the Fravashis') own wish and will'. Alternatively, one could read *hazaōšiiā* and consider it to be either the instr.sg. (agreeing with **sāṇha*) or the nom.pl. of an adj. **hazaōšiiā-* 'unanimous', cf. *hazaōša-* 'of one will'. The thematic verb *caiiṇ*, which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 441 interprets as a 3rd pl. subj.pres., belongs in fact to the root aor. subj. stem *caiiā-* (= Ved. *caya-*) of *ci* 'to pile; select', see KELLENS 1984, p. 353. P. HORN: "Nīrangistān Aw. fragm. 1", in: *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 34 (1897), pp. 582–584, esp. p. 583f. reads *hazaōšiiāpāṇha* and suggests the nom.pl. of a compound consisting of *hazaōšiiā-* and *apah-* 'working together' ("gemeinsam zu werke gehend").

Edition of the Avestan Hēr. 5 and commentary¹¹

- 5.1 *katārō aḍaurunəm* ^{*}*pāraiiāṭ*¹ *nāirika vā nmānō.paitiš vā*
 5.2 *yezica* ^{*}*uuā*² *gaēθā*³ *vīmā* ^{*}*katarasciṭ*³ ^{*}*pāraiiāṭ*¹
 5.3 *nmānō.paitiš* *gaēθā*³ *nāirika* ^{*}*pāraiiāṭ*¹
 5.4 ^{*}*nāirikā*⁴ ^{*}*gaēθā*³ *viš*⁵ *nmānō.paitiš* ^{*}*pāraiiāṭ*¹
 5.5 *nōiṭ* ^{*}*aēuuō*⁶ ^{*}*cina*⁶ *dāitīm* ^{*}*vināθaiiāṭ*⁷

Av. quotation in the Pahl. commentary:

^{*}*nōiṭ*⁸ ^{*}*aēuuō* *cina*⁹ *dāitīm* ^{*}*vināθaiiāṭ*¹⁰

1 <i>paraiiāṭ</i> TD	4 <i>nāirikāi</i> TD	7 <i>vināṭ</i> TD	10 <i>vinānθat</i> TD
2 <i>vā</i> TD	5 <i>gaēθā</i> ³ <i>viš</i> TD	8 <i>deest</i> TD	
3 <i>katār</i> TD	6 <i>auuacinō</i> TD	9 <i>aēuuācina</i> TD	

- 5.1 Which one of the two should go away¹ for priestly service², the wife or the master of the house?
 5.2 If both administer³ the possessions, either should go away.¹
 5.3 (If) the master of the house (administers) the possessions, the wife should go away¹.
 5.4 (If) the wife looks after the possessions³, the master of the house should go away¹.
 5.5 Not even one⁴ will infringe⁵ the law.

1 ^{*}*pāraiiāṭ* ‘he/she should go away’

The ms. TD transmits the form *paraiiāṭ* four times. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 65, 152 adopts this reading, but marks it as an emendation, presumably in order to distinguish it from the form *parāiiāṭ* emended by DARMESTER, *ZA* III, p. 81 in its first and second occurrences in Hēr. 5. By contrast, K/K read *paraiiāṭ* the first and third times, but *pāraiiāṭ* the second and fourth, while H/E 40 suggest *pāraiiāṭ* throughout the chapter.

Since the syntactic function is consistently that of a voluntative subjunctive,¹² it is clear that the form should be the same in all four occurrences. Morphologically a thematic 3sg. subj.pres. of the verb *para-i* ‘to go away’, one would expect ^{*}*parāiiāṭ* (< ^{*}*para-aṣa-a-t*). According to BARTHOLOMAE, *GIRPh* I 1 §268.3b, the first contracted *-ā-* of ^{*}*parāiiāṭ* was shortened, thus producing *paraiiāṭ*, while KELLENS 1984, p. 99 n. 2 suggests that ^{*}*parāiiāṭ* became *pāraiiāṭ* by a secondary

11 The numbers following words in the Av. text refer to the manuscript readings, those following words in the translation refer to the commentary. The sign + before a word indicates a reading with manuscript support, the sign * an emendation without manuscript support.
 12 In the deliberative interrogative clause of the first occurrence the voluntative subjunctive entails a shift of volition from the speaker to the addressee, see E. TICHY: *Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien. Studien zum indogermanischen Verbum, ausgehend von der älteren vedischen Prosa.* Bremen 2006, p. 268f. with fn. 194.

redistribution of the long vowel. The latter form is in fact attested in Hēr. 1.1 by the ms. TD, and without variants in Vd 9.39 and 15.9. On the basis of this and other forms, DE VAAN proposes a rule according to which **a* in an open initial syllable in front of two or more syllables containing *a* or *ə* became *ā*.¹³

2 *aθaurunəm* ‘priestly service’

With the exception of chapter 2, each of the first seven chapters of the Hērbedestān contains one of the six attestations of *aθauruna-*. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 64 posits its meaning as ‘priestly function, priestly service’ (“priesterliche Funktion, Priesterdienst”). In the Pahlavi version it is translated as *āsrōih*. The way in which the Middle Persian commentators understood the term emerges from Hēr. 1.1 and 3.1 in the gloss *hērbedestān kardan*. That this expression refers specifically to the study of the Avesta and the Zand is stated in Dk 6.C27 (SHAKED 1979, p. 154f.), where *hērbedestān ī pad abastāg ud zand* ‘religious education in the Avesta and the Zand’ contrasts with *abārīg-iz frahang ī pad pēšag pēšag* ‘the other instruction in each profession’. K/K 16–18 convincingly conclude that *hērbedestān kardan* implies attendance at schools that provide religious education for all Mazdayasnians, including the laity.

Presumably in the light of this gloss, K/K 27 etc., 87, 88 render the Av. phrase *aθaurunəm para-i* as ‘to go forth (to pursue) religious studies’, but its Middle Persian version *pad āsrōih raftan* ‘to go for priestly work’, while H/E 17 etc. translate the Av. expression as ‘to go forth for Āθrauuanship’, leaving *aθauruna-* untranslated, and the MP ‘to go forth to the (religious) centre for Āsrōship’. The underlying assumption seems to be that family members leave home for a certain period of time in order to study the Mazdayasnian religion at a particular place. The Av. term for the latter activity, however, is *aiβišti-*, the *ti*-abstract derived from the well-attested verb *aiβi-ab* ‘to study’ (*AirWb.* 95, 277f.) and rendered in Pahlavi as *ōšmārišnīh* ‘study’. It is distinct from and contrasts with *aθauruna-* in Hēr. 4:

- 4.1 *cuaat nā āθrauuā aθaurunəm haca* **gaēθābiš*¹ **pāraiiāt*²
- 4.2 *yaat hiš θriš* **γā*³ **ahmāt*⁴ **aiβiiāiti*⁵
- 4.3 *cuaat* **aiβištim*⁶ **pāraiiāt*⁷
- 4.4 *θrixšaparəm haθrākəm* **xšuuas*⁸ *xšafnō āca paraca*
- 4.5 *θrišūm*⁹ *āsnqm xšafnqmca*
- 4.6 *yō baōiō*¹⁰ *aētahmāt parāiti*
- 4.7 *nōit* **pascaēta*¹¹ **anaiβištim*¹² *āstriiantī*

13 DE VAAN 2003, pp. 63, 106, 609. While *pāraiiāt* clearly belongs to *para-i* in Vd 9.39, KEL-LENS 1984, p. 276 n. 4 considers the possibility that it is from ³*par* ‘to pass through, cross’, pres. *pār-aiia-* in Vd 15.9. However, in both contexts the verb is followed by the pres. ind. *parāiti*, which is from *para-i*: Vd. 15.9 *mā ... daxštəm pāraiiāt*, Vd. 15.10 *yezica ... daxštəm parāiti*. Since *para-i* is intransitive, the acc. it governs in Hēr. 5.1 denotes not the object but the goal or purpose, as indicated by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 152 (bottom).

1	<i>gāḍābiš</i> TD	4	<i>hmā</i> TD	7	<i>paraiiaṭ</i> TD	10	<i>baōiō</i> TD
2	<i>paraiiāṭ</i> TD	5	<i>aiβiš. iti</i> TD	8	<i>xšauuaš</i> TD	11	<i>pascaita</i> TD
3	<i>yā</i> TD	6	<i>aiβištəm</i> TD	9	<i>θrišūm</i> TD	12	<i>anaibnštīm</i> TD

- 4.1. How far shall a priest¹⁴ depart from his possessions¹⁵ for priestly service?
 4.2. So (far) that he can return¹⁶ to them from it¹⁷ three times a year¹⁸.
 4.3. How far away shall he go for studying¹⁹?
 4.4. Three nights, altogether six nights there and back.
 4.5. (One should travel) during a third of the days and nights.
 4.6. If one goes farther away than that
 4.7. then²⁰ they do not commit the offence of not studying.

- 14 The nom.sg. *nā* ‘man, person’ occurs here in an enclitic position, as noted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1049, and functions as an attributive substantive like Ved. *nārō viprāḥ* ‘the singers’ (B. DELBRÜCK: *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Strassburg 1893 [repr. Berlin 1967], vol. I, p. 421). As in the Pahlavi version, it may be left untranslated.
- 15 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 477, 479 n. 8 rightly corrects the TD form *gāḍābiš* to **gacḍābiš*.
- 16 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 95 emends the TD form *aiβiš. iti* to **aiβišūiti* which he regards as an inf. from the verb *šauu*: ‘coming towards’ (“herzukommen, heimzukehren”). BENVENISTE 1935, p. 30 accepts BARTHOLOMAE’s restoration, but considers the passage to be too corrupt for the form to be of any use (“un passage bien trop incertain pour rien valoir”). K/K 36f. also accept BARTHOLOMAE’s reading. H/E 34, by contrast, restore **aiβi.šūite* and translate ‘he can visit’ (p. 35). Unfortunately they offer no commentary, but one assumes that they consider the form to be the 3sg.ind.mid. of the root present of the verb *aiβi.šauu-*, which is found only here, although there is a verb *auui-frā-šauu-* ‘to depart for’ (“fortgehen zu”, *AirWb.* 1714f.). While *šauu-* normally forms a thematic present *šauua-*, (KELLENS 1984, pp. 92, 93 n. 3 considers there to be a root present in Y 29.3 *šauuaitē* – assuming it is a 3pl. rather than a 3sg. However, even if the root present is admitted, there is the problem that the root is expected to have a full grade middle instead of the zero grade in H/E’s **aiβi.šūite*. One may therefore consider the alternative possibility that *aiβiš. iti* is a corruption of **aiβiūiti*, the 3sg.ind.pres. of *aiβi-i*, also attested elsewhere (*AirWb.* 149).
- 17 H/E 34 and K/K 36 emend the ms. reading *hmā* to *aētahmāt* ‘from there’. Although the demonstrative pronoun of the second person is semantically more satisfactory, the near-deictic **ahmāt* is closer to the transmitted form. The dem. pronoun would then be used as a substantive (*AirWb.* 4–6) and refer back to *aḍaurunəm*. DARMESTETER, ZA III, p. 80, who disregards the preceding *yā*, interprets *hmā* as ‘par été’, a suggestion rightly rejected by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1842, who notes that the word *hmā* is not translated in the Pahl. version.
- 18 On the basis of the Pahlavi translation *sāl*, BARTHOLOMAE connects the form *yā* of the ms. TD with *yār-* ‘year’. His emendation of a nom./acc. *yārō* (*AirWb.* 95, 1842) is accepted by K/K 36f. In *AirWb.* 1287 with n. 3, however, he cautiously interprets *yā* as the gen.sg. of the same stem but queries the reading. HUMBACH 1961b, p. 110f. identifies *yā* as a corruption of *yā*, the expected gen.sg. (< IIr. **yān-s*) of the heteroclitic noun *yār-* ‘year’, and H/E 34 consequently emend *yā*, cf. HINTZE 2007, p. 125 fn. 41 (where 1971 is to be corrected to 1961).
- 19 H/E 36 followed by K/K 36 emend the transmitted form *aiβištəm* to **aiβištē*, the dat.sg. of *aiβišti-* f. ‘studies’, esp. of the sacred texts of the Mazdayasnian religion, also attested in Y 9.24 quoted below, p. 178. To be preferred, however, is BARTHOLOMAE’s, *AirWb.* 95 emendation of the acc.sg. **aiβištīm*, since it is not only closer to the ms. but also syntactically parallel to *aḍaurunəm* in Hēr. 4.1 and supported by the form **anaibnštīm* ‘non-studying’ in Hēr. 4.7.

Hēr. 4 indicates that going away for *aθauruna-* entails both a greater distance and a longer time away from home than doing the same for *aiβišti-* ‘studying’. This explains the emphasis found in Hēr. 5.2–4 on proper estate management during the period of absence and its priority over leaving home for *aθauruna-*. Since the latter, which corresponds to Ved. *ātharvaṇá-*,²¹ is a thematic derivative denoting that which is carried out by an *aθauruuan-*, more insight into that activity can be gleaned from an investigation of that well-attested noun.

In the Avesta, and as noted by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 65, *aθauruuan-* is a general term for ‘priest’. It thus differs semantically from the eight priestly titles listed, for instance, in Gāh 3.5, which describes a number of distinct ritual functions, such as *zaoatar-* (literally: ‘pouder’). The *aθauruuan-* knows the sacred texts and is on hand in a variety of daily-life situations that require a priest. For instance, Vd 8.14–22 discuss the question whether Mazdayasnians may walk on a path along which the dead body of a person or a dog has been carried. The rule is that they are not allowed to do so until a ‘four-eyed’ dog has been sent down the path, three times if the dog goes willingly, but six or nine times depending on the force applied to make it go. Failing that, an *aθauruuan-* is required to purify the path by walking on it while reciting the Avestan prayers quoted in Vd 8.19–21. Afterwards the Mazdayasnians are free to use it.

That *aθauruuan-* is a general term for ‘priest’ also emerges from the fact that it denotes one of the three social classes alongside that of the ‘warrior’ (*raθaēštar-*) and ‘cattle-breeding herdsman’ (*vāstriia- fšuiiant-*).²² Zarathustra is praised as the prototype of all three (Yt 13.89):

<i>γō paoiriio āθrauna</i>	(Zarathustra,) who (was) the first priest,
<i>γō paoiriio raθaēštā</i>	the first warrior,
<i>γō paoiriio vāstriio fšuiias</i>	the first cattle-breeding herdsman.

The role of Zarathustra as the first *aθauruuan-* is linked to the spreading of the Mazdayasnian religion, as stated in Yt 13.94:

<i>ušta nō zātō āθrauna</i>	Hail to us, (for) the priest
<i>γō spitāmō zaraθuštrō</i>	Spitama Zarathustra has been born!
<i>frā nō yazāite zaoθrābiiō</i>	Zarathustra will worship ²³ for us with libations,
<i>stərətō. barəsmā zaraθuštrō</i>	with strewn sacrificial straw.
<i>iða aṣam vījasāiti</i>	From here then
<i>vaṣṣhi daēna māzdaiiasniš</i>	the good, Mazdā-worshipping religion
<i>vīspāiš auui karšuuṇ yāiš hapta</i>	will spread over all seven regions.

20 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 884 notes that the diphthong *-aē-* of the adv. *pascaēta* is frequently written *-ai-* in the mss. of the Hērbedestān and Nērangestān.

21 Ved. *ātharvaṇá-*, fem. *ātharvaṇī-* (which characterizes the plants in AV 11.4.16), is a thematic vṛddhi-derivative with zero grade suffix from IIr. **átharṇan-* (*AiGr.* II 2, 125).

22 On the three social classes see M. BOYCE: *A History of Zoroastrianism*. Vol. I. Leiden 1975 [repr. 1989], p. 5f.

23 On the translation of the *yaz* as ‘to worship’ see HINTZE 2007, pp. 156–162.

That it was the *aθauruuan*'s task to travel the country and spread the religion is indicated in Y 9.24:

<i>haomō təmciṭ yim kərəsānīm</i>	Haoma ousted that Kərəsāni
<i>apa.xšāθrəm nišāḍaiiat</i>	from the position of power,
<i>yō raosta xšāθrō.kāmīia</i>	him who wailed in his desire for power
<i>yō dauuata nōiṭ mē aqəm</i>	and sobbed: "Henceforth
<i>āθrauuā aiβištiš *vərəḍaiie</i>	the priest will not go about in my land
<i>dañhauua carāt</i>	to promote ²⁴ the studies ²⁵ (of the religion)."

The *aθauruuan*- is characterized by the adj. *dūraēfrakāta*- 'desired, welcome far away' in Yt 16.17:

<i>yəm yazata</i>	(Insight), whom the priest, desired far away,
<i>āθrauuā dūraēfrakātō</i>	worshipped,
<i>marəmnəm isəmnō daēnaiiāi</i>	seeking the memorising for the religion,
<i>aməm isəmnō tanuiie</i>	seeking strength for the body.

Y 42.6 both explicitly states that the *aθauruuan*- go abroad to teach the religion to the 'truth-seekers' and celebrates their return home:

<i>aqəmā fərxšaotrəm yazamaidē</i>	We worship the cascading of the waters,
<i>vaiiqmā fərafraoθrəm yazamaidē</i>	we worship the gliding forwards of the birds,
<i>aθaurunqmcā paiṭi.ajqθrəm yazamaidē</i>	we worship the return of the priests
<i>yōi *iieiən dūrāt ašō.īšō daxiiunqəm</i>	who will have gone ²⁶ far away to the truth-seekers of the countries.

These passages suggest that *aθauruuan*- represents a trained priest who goes far away from his own home (*dūrāt* Y 42.6, *dūraēfrakātō* 'desired far away' Yt 16.17),

- 24 While GELDNER, *Avesta* I, p. 45 edits *vərəidiūē*, BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1420 follows the mss. K5 Mf2 etc. in reading *vərəidiūie*, which he interprets as an inf. of the verb *vard* 'to increase, enlarge, augment'. He translates *aiβištiš vərədiūie* as 'studia (sacra) ut augeat'. BENVENISTE 1935, p. 38, who questions BARTHOLOMAE's grammatical analysis, points out the nominal function of **vərəidiūie* and rightly connects the form with the gen.pl. *vərəidinqəm* at the end of Y 9.24. However, he then considers **vərəidiūie* to be a gloss that should be deleted from the text for the sake of an octosyllabic verse line, although he is aware that such an excision renders the acc.pl. *aiβištiš* syntactically isolated. The stem *vərəidi-* is an action noun derived with suffix *-i-* from the zero-grade root *vard*. Vedic offers numerous examples of such *i*-stems. They form datives in *-āye* that function as infinitives, see *AiGr* II 2, 297ff. The expected Av. form with full grade suffix is in fact attested in the readings *vərəidiāiie* J2 and *vərəḍaiie* K6, cf. *vərəziḍaiie* in the Sanskrit Yasna ms. J3.
- 25 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 95, followed by DE VAAN 2003, p. 277, identifies the form *aiβištiš* as the acc.pl. (instead of *aiβištiš*) of *aiβišti-* 'study', of which the acc.sg. **aiβištim* (corrected from *aiβištam*) occurs in Hēr. 4.3 (see above, fn. 19) and its antonym *anaiβištim* in Hēr. 4.7.
- 26 There is a great variety of readings of this form in the mss. On the basis of the Iranian Vendidad Sade (*iieiṇ* Mf2, *iieiṇ* K4), K. HOFFMANN (in KELLENS 1974, p. 13 fn. 1. and in HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 45f.) emends **iieiən*, the 3pl.subj.perf.act. (Proto-Aryan **iiajan*) of the root *i-* 'to go', cf. KELLENS 1984, pp. 400, 402 n. 10 and KÜMMEL 2000, p. 613f.

travels throughout the land (*dajhauua car* Y 9.24) and promotes the study of the religion (*aiβištiš vard* Y 9.24). The model for all *aθauruuans* is Zarathustra, whose priestly office results in the Mazdayasnian religion being spread over all seven regions (Yt 13.94). The terms *dajhāuruuaēsa-* ‘moving inside the country’ and *pairijaθan-* ‘itinerant’, both of which are praised as qualities of a young person (*yuuān-*) together with *xʷaētuuadaθa-* ‘next-of-kin marriage’ in Vr 3.3 and Vyt 17, probably also belong in this context, although they do not occur as epithets of *aθauruuān-*.

The term *aθauruna-* then refers to the activity of an *aθauruuān-* who leaves home for a certain period of time for the dual purpose of instructing others in the Mazdayasnian religion and carrying out various religious and ritual services, as described, for instance, in Vd 8.14–22 summarized above, p. 177. The texts thus support BOYCE’s suggestion that *aθauruuans* act as Zoroastrian missionaries.²⁷ Such a meaning would fit in well with K. HOFFMANN’s explanation of IIr. **athar-yan-* as ‘itinerant priest’, though unfortunately the formation of **athar-* remains unclear.²⁸

- 27 M. BOYCE, “āθrauan.” In: EIr III (1989), pp. 16–17. Misson may also be implied in Y 40.4 *aθā +haxēmam xiiāt yāiš hišcamaidē* ‘may thus be the fellowships with which we shall associate ourselves’, if the passage refers to the situation in which Zarathustra’s followers approach other communities in order to convert them to their religion, see HINTZE 2007, p. 303 with references.
- 28 While it is obvious that both Av. *aθauruuān-* and Ved. *ātharvan-* continue IIr. **athar-yan-* ‘provided with *athar-*’, the identity of **athar-* is subject to debate, see MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 60. K. HOFFMANN *apud* MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 805 derives *athar-* as ‘walk, trail, footpath’ (“Wanderweg”) with suffix **-h₂ar-* from the root *at* ‘to go constantly, walk’ (IIr. **h₂at-*); according to him *athar-* also constitutes the first term of the compound *athar-vī-* ‘pursuing the path’, see SCARLATA 1999, p. 497. By contrast, A. LUBOTSKY (“The Indo-Iranian Substratum”, in: CHR. CARPELAN/A. PARPOLA/P. KOSKIKALLIO [eds.]: *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations. Papers presented at an international symposium (Tväärminne, 8–10 January, 1999)*, Helsinki 2001, pp. 301–317, esp. pp. 303, 310) suggests that IIr. **athar-yan-* was borrowed by Indo-Iranians from the non-Indo-European substratum of the Central Asian urban oasis cultures. Similarly, G.-J. PINAULT (“Une nouvelle connexion entre le substrat indo-iranien et le tocharien commun”, in: *Historische Sprachforschung* 116 [2003], pp. 175–189, esp. p. 183 and [with less detail] “Further links between the Indo-Iranian substratum and the BMAC language”, in: H. HETTRICH/B. TIKKANEN [eds.]: *Themes and Tasks in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan Linguistics*, Delhi 2006, pp. 167–196, esp. pp. 171–175) argues that IIr. **athar-*, which according to him means ‘force supérieure’, and Common Tocharian **etre* (Tochk. A *etre*, A *atār* ‘hero’) were borrowed independently from the non-Indo-European language of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC). According to LUBOTSKY, non-Indo-European origin is indicated by the variation *-ar-/ra-* in Ved. *ātharvan-* vs. Av. *āθrauuān-*. However, the latter, which is confined to the strong cases, could equally be explained by inner-Avestan processes and attributed either to an analogical influence of the gen.sg. *āθrō* ‘of fire’ (HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 2004, pp. 56, 145 and HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 90 fn. 14) or to a phonetic lengthening of the initial *ā-* in the longer forms (DE VAAN 2003, p. 65).

3 *vīmā* ‘administering’, **gaēθā.viš* ‘pursuing the possessions’

The question posed in Hēr. 5.1 as to whether the lord or the lady of the house should go away for *aθauruna-* is answered in Hēr. 5.2–4 in three ways, each of which refers to a different scenario: if both (**uua*)²⁹ are equally suited to looking after the property (*gaēθā-*), either may go (5.2), if the husband (*nmānō.paiti-*) is more capable, then the wife (*nāirikā-*) should go (5.3), but if the wife is more qualified, then the husband should go (5.4):

5.2 *yezica* **uua* *gaēθā vīmā* **katarasci*³⁰ **pāraiiāt*

5.3 *nmānō.paiti*š *gaēθā nāirika* **pāraiiāt*

5.4 **nāirika* **gaēθā.viš* *nmānō.paiti*š **pāraiiāt*

In each of the scenarios the crucial expression is what the Pahlavi version renders as *ō gēhān bandagīh* ‘(suited) for service of the possessions’. In Avestan, however, the wording differs slightly in each of the three phrases:

5.2 *gaēθā vīmā*

5.3 *gaēθā*

5.4 **gaēθā.viš*

DARMESTER, *ZA* III, p. 81 fn. 22 suggests that *vīmā* is the dual of an adj. *vīma-* that belongs with the verb *mā* ‘to measure’. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1450 with n. 1 also considers the form to be a dual, and tentatively suggests that it is the possibly truncated nom.dual of a root noun **vī-mā(y)-* ‘taking care of’ (“ausrichtend, besorgend”), attested only here. KELLENS 1974, p. 242, who quotes the entire Av. chapter with its Pahl. version but does not translate, refers favourably to BARTHOLOMAE’s view of *vīmā* but notes that the word is missing in Hēr. 5.3 and that the transmitted form is *viš* in Hēr. 5.4. He considers BARTHOLOMAE’s meaning ‘besorgend’ to be unjustified, the Pahlavi translation incomprehensible, and therefore that both *vīmā* and *viš* are desperately corrupt.

Nevertheless, however, it is worth exploring the possible connection of *vīmā* with the verb *vī-mā* further. For while *mā* ‘to measure’ in combination with *vī* is not found elsewhere in Avestan, in Vedic the verb *vī-mā* is well documented. The latter means not only ‘to measure, mete out, pass over, traverse’ but also ‘to ordain, fix, set right, arrange, make ready, prepare’, as, for instance, in RV 10.110.11 *vy āmimīta yajñām* ‘he arranged the sacrifice’. The latter group of meanings fits the context of Hēr. 5 well, since *vīmā-* clearly describes the activity of managing the domestic affairs on the part of the lord or lady of the house.

29 The form *vā* transmitted by TD is a common corruption for **uua* (see HINTZE 1994, p. 295) and rightly emended by H/E 40 and K/K 38. The Pahl. translation renders it as *bar dōnīn*, on which see MACUCH in this volume, pp. 256–259.

30 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 433, 1450 rightly corrects transmitted *katār* to **katarasci*. The restoration is virtually certain as the indefinite pronoun answers to the interrogative nom.sg. *katārō* in Hēr. 5.1. The shortening of the long *-ā-* is regular in the open antepenultimate syllable of a form with enclitic *-čā* or *-ci*, see DE VAAN 2003, pp. 109, 155.

The objection could be raised that while root nouns in composition with preverbs usually function as action nouns, *vīmā* is obviously of the agent variety.³¹ The inherited IIr. way of turning root nouns with preverbs into agent nouns is by means of the suffix *-tar*.³² However, there are instances of the combination that functions as an agent noun in both Vedic³³ and Avestan. The latter includes *vī-mad-* ‘doctor’ (literally: ‘measuring carefully’) in Vd 7.38 and 40,³⁴ *aiβi.zū-* ‘who presses on, hurries towards’ and *vī.zū-* ‘who presses on in different directions’, both referring to dogs in Vd 5.32,³⁵ the priestly title *ābərət-* ‘bringing’,³⁶ *fra-spā-* ‘throwing forth’ and *ni-spā-* ‘throwing down’, both in Yt 15.45,³⁷ and *upa-uuāz-* ‘adducing, providing’ in A 3.4.³⁸ The fact that all these instances come from later texts may imply that the use of prepositional root noun compounds as agent nouns became productive during the Younger Avestan period. It therefore appears justified to assume that Hēr. 5.2 *vīmā* functions as an agent noun. It would then be the nom.dual of the root noun *vī-mā-*, as suggested by BARTHOLOMAE, while in Hēr. 5.3 the expression is elliptical.

In view of the parallel construction of the three scenarios in Hēr. 5.2–4, one would also anticipate the same wording in Hēr. 5.4. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1450 n. 2 therefore regards the transmitted *viš* as a corruption of the nom.sg. of *vī-mā-*. However, instead of the **vī.miš* which he suggests, **vīmā* (< **vī-mā-h*) is to be expected, and it is difficult to explain how the latter could have changed to *viš*, especially as **vīmā* would have had the same word ending as the preceding *gaēθā*.

If one operates with the ms. reading *gaēθā viš*, one could adduce the Ved. root *viš* ‘to work for, serve, be active’, but Iranian cognates of IIr. **uaiš* are uncertain.³⁹ More promising perhaps is the possibility that it represents the root noun of the

31 See *AiGr* II 2, pp. 15–19; SCARLATA 1999, pp. 734–736. The compound’s function as an agent noun could have been the reason why BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1450 n. 1 regarded the form as possibly truncated. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1936, p. 61 translates it as ‘organisateur’.

32 *AiGr* II 2, p. 5 and II 1, p. 189.

33 See SCARLATA 1999, pp. 739–740.

34 On Av. *vī-mad-* see A. HINTZE: “Die avestische Wurzel *mad* ‘zumessen’.” In: B. FORSSMAN/R. PLATH (eds.): *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1997 in Erlangen*. Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 163–175, esp. pp. 163–168.

35 KELLENS 1974, pp. 106, 326 shows that *zū-*, the second member of the compound, corresponds to Ved. *jū* ‘to hasten, press on’. The latter occurs in composition with the preverb *āpi* in *apījū-*, which likewise functions as an agent noun, see SCARLATA 1999, p. 168f.

36 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 329 derives *ābərət-* from **āp-bərət-* ‘bringing water’, but KELLENS 1974, p. 136f. suggests that it is a prepositional compound **ā-bərət-*, which is functionally parallel to another priestly role, *frābərətār-*, an agent noun with suffix *-tar-*.

37 *AirWb.* 1086, 1003, KELLENS 1974, p. 236. A further agent noun could be *fra-spāt-*, the name of a plant that induces abortion in Vd 15.14, see KELLENS 1974, p. 265.

38 KELLENS 1974, p. 279.

39 MAYRHOFER, *EWAla* II, p. 586; R. E. EMMERICK/P. O. SKJÆRVØ: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese*. Vol. 2. Wien 1987, p. 109f.

verb *vī* ‘to pursue’. In Vedic the root noun forms the second part of compounds, e.g. *deva-vī-* ‘turned towards, gratifying the gods’, *athar-vī-* ‘pursuing the path’ (meaning uncertain, see above, fn. 28) and *padma-vī-* ‘pursuing the track’. R. SCHMITT has identified the same compositional type in the OP adj. *manauviš* ‘impetuous’ < **manah-ūi-š* (literally: ‘turned towards, pursuing passion’).⁴⁰

The uncompounded root noun *vī-* occurs in RV 1.143.6. As in the compounds listed above, it is of the agent variety and governs a genitive denoting the object⁴¹ (RV 1.143.6):

kuvīn no agnir ucāthasya vīr āsad Will Agni be fond of our hymn?

G. KLINGENSCHMITT has retrieved an example of the Avestan cognate of Ved. *vī-* in Vd 13.8 *yaθa vθhrkō *viiōi tūite* ‘as a wolf is able to pursue’.⁴² In contrast to the Vedic simplex, *vī-* functions here as an action noun ‘pursuing’. If Hēr. 5.4 offers a further attestation, then *viš* (i.e. *vīš*) is the nom.sg. and, since it governs the acc.pl. *gaēθā*, has verbal force. As in Vd 13.8 it would be an action noun. The transmitted words could then be left virtually unaltered (Hēr. 5.4):

*nāirikāi gaēθā *viš nmānō.paitiš *pāriiāt*

If looking after the possessions (is) for the women, the master of the house should go away.

However, the nominatives **uua* and *nmānō.paitiš* of the two preceding sentences in Hēr. 5.2 and 3 rather suggest that *nāirikāi* is corrupted from the nom. **nāirika*, an emendation already proposed by BARTHOLOMAE.⁴³ The nom.sg. **nāirika* would then be the subject of **gaēθā.viš* ‘looking after the possessions’, and the latter the nom.sg. of a root noun compound functioning as an agent noun and governing the first, inflected term in the acc.pl. of the fem. substantive *gaēθā-* ‘living being; possessions’, cf. Y 46.12 +*gaēθā.frādō* ‘(of Right-mindedness) who promotes the living beings’.⁴⁴

40 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, pp. 307, 510; R. SCHMITT: “Altpersisch *m-n-u-vi-i-š* = *manauviš*.” In: G. CARDONA/N.H. ZIDE (eds.): *Festschrift for Henry Hoeningwald On the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Tübingen 1987, pp. 363–366.

41 On the Vedic compounds and their attestations see SCARLATA 1999, pp. 496–501; on the simplex see SCHINDLER 1972, p. 45.

42 G. KLINGENSCHMITT: “Die Pahlavi-Version des Avesta.” In: W. VOIGT (ed.): *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*. Teil 3. Wiesbaden 1969 (ZDMG, Supplementa I), pp. 993–997, esp. p. 996, cf. KELLENS 1974, p. 96f.

43 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb*. 1066 with n. 4 and 1450.

44 See KELLENS 1974, p. 192f. and J. KELLENS/E. PIRART: *Les textes vieil-avestiques*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden 1990, p. 236. Other Av. root noun compounds with the first term in the accusative include *šiiioθnəm.vərəz-* ‘who performs an action’ in Vd 13.23 (KELLENS 1974, p. 69), *ašəm.stut-* ‘who praises truth’ in Hēr. 1.1, the proper name *abūm.stut-* ‘who praises life’ in Yt 13.97 (KELLENS 1974, p. 124f.), *daēum.jan-* ‘who slays the demon’ in Vd 19.40 (KELLENS 1974, p. 154, *AirWb*. 662) and *rauuazdā-* ‘providing freedom’ in Vd 18.6 (KELLENS 1974, p. 218). On Vedic root noun compounds with the first term in the accusative, see SCARLATA 1999, p. 743.

The compound **gaēθā.vī-* ‘looking after the possessions’ is then semantically equivalent to the expression *gaēθanəm aspərənō auu-* ‘to take care for the integrity of the possessions’ in Hēr. 3.1 and 3.2, translated in Pahlavi as *gēhānīgān uspurīgānīh (uspurīgīh) ayārēnēd* and glossed as *kū xwāstag-sālārīh kunād* (on which see MACUCH in this volume, pp. 259ff.):

- 3.1 *katārəm *āθrauuā aθaurunəm vā *pāraiiāt*
*gaēθanəm vā aspərənō *auuāt*
 3.2 *gaēθanəm aspərənō auuōiēt*

Which of the two (applies): Should a priest go away for priestly service or should he take care for⁴⁵ the integrity⁴⁶ of the possessions?
 He may care for the integrity of the possessions.

The verb *vī* is also syntactically parallel to *av* ‘to help’ in the two consecutive Vedic stanzas⁴⁷

RV 5.46.7a
devānām pātñīr usātīr avantu nah prāvantu nas tujāye vājasātaye |
 Let the wives of the gods assist us willingly, let them help us to procreate, for the winning of the prize!

RV 5.46.8a
utā gnā vyantu devāpatñīr indrāny āgnāyy aśvīnī rāt |
ā rōdasī varuṇānī śṛṇotu vyantu devīr yā rtūr jānīnām ||

And let the noblewomen, the wives of the gods, approach: the wife of Indra, of Agni, of the Aśvin, the queen!
 Let Rodasī listen, (and) the wife of Varuṇa! Let the goddesses approach at the time of the women!

4 *nōiēt *aēuuō *cina* ‘not even one’

The ms. TD has the reading *auuacinō* in Hēr. 5.5, but *aēuuacina* in the Av. quotation that forms part of the Pahlavi commentary on that line. BARTHOLOMAE,

- 45 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 162 queries the reading *auuāt* of the ms. and KELLENS 1984, 102 rightly emends it to a subjunctive **auuāt*. The form is syntactically parallel to **pāraiiāt*. Emendation of the latter form from transmitted *pāraiiāt* TD, *paraiiāt* HJ is supported by the subjunctive mood in the deliberative questions of Hēr. 4 and 5 **pāraiiāt* (TD *paraiiāt*), see above, fn. 12.
- 46 The translation of *aspərənō* is after BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 218. SZEMERÉNYI 1959, p. 73 fn. 1, suggests that the “late Avestan word is the Middle Iranian (Sogdian?) form of **us-pṛna-* ‘full, complete’” and BAILEY 1979, p. 43, explains Av. *aspərənō* as ‘completeness’ with *as-* < **us-*. By contrast, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 193f. fn.7, analyses the noun as Ir. **ac-ur-na-s-*, derived with suffix *-nas-* (an *s*-extension of the suffix *-na-*) from a heteroclitic stem meaning ‘provided with a point’ and denoting a brooch or, more generally, a small object made of iron.
- 47 Cf. W.P. SCHMID: “Die Wurzel *vī-* im R̥gveda.” In: *Mélanges d’indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*. Paris 1968, pp. 613–624, esp. p. 622. On RV 5.46.7–8 see also HINTZE 2007, p. 206.

AirWb. 169, 24 offers no analysis of either form apart from noting that there is no Pahlavi translation of Hēr. 5.5. H/E 52f. emend both occurrences to *auuacinō.mazō* ‘of inferior size’,⁴⁸ which is a hapax legomenon in Vd 5.60, but render it as ‘to the slightest extent’. K/K 40f. with fn. 66 likewise read *auuacinō* in both passages but postulate a compound *auuacinō.dāitīm*, which would mean ‘less than legal’. According to BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 170, the first term of the compound *auuacinō.mazō* is the adj. **auacina-* ‘inferior’, a cognate of Ved. *avācīna-* ‘turned downwards’. Both have the suffix *-īna-* and are derivatives from an IIr. stem continued in Ved. *āvāñc-* ‘turned downwards’.⁴⁹ However, apart from the fact that H/E’s assumption that *auuacinō* is shortened from *auuacinō.mazō* has no manuscript support, it is difficult to accommodate the meaning ‘inferior’ in the context of Hēr. 5.5. For, if *auuacinō.dāitīm* is a compound, as K/K propose, its meaning as a possessive adj. is ‘whose law is inferior’. It would then be an acc. object governed by the verb **vināḍaiiāt* and Hēr. 5.5 *nōit auuacinō.dāitīm vināḍaiiāt* would mean ‘one does not hurt the one whose law is inferior’ or ‘what has an inferior law’. If, on the other hand, *auuacinō dāitīm* are two independent words, the resulting translation ‘as an inferior one does not infringe the law’ makes no better sense.

Since none of these proposals lead to a satisfactory meaning, it is worth exploring the reading *aēuuacina* in the Av. quotation found in the Pahlavi commentary since, apart from the missing *nōit*, it appears to be more correct (cf. also **vināḍaiiāt* below). The first part of the word could be either the adverb *aēuua* ‘thus’ (Ved. *evā*) or a form of the numeral *aēuua-* ‘one’; *-cina* would then be the emphasizing postpositive particle which, like its Ved. cognate *caná*, occurs preferentially in negative clauses, and means ‘not even, indeed’, emphasizing the preceding word.⁵⁰

If *aēuua* is the adverb ‘thus’ and negated by the preceding *nōit* then the translation of the sentence would be ‘not even in this way does one infringe the law’. Such a translation suggests that it is considered extraordinary (‘not even’) for a

48 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 169f. posits the meaning of *auuacinō.mazab-* as ‘of inferior pledge value’ (“was (noch) geringeren Pfandwert hat”). In so doing, he follows K. F. GELDERNER (*Studien zum Avesta*, Strassburg 1882, I, p. 95f.), who interprets the second term as ²*mazab-* ‘pledge’ (“Draufgeld, Pfand; Pfandwert”, *AirWb.* 1157), an alleged cognate of the Ved. verb *māmbate* ‘to give, bestow’. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1936, p. 157 accepts this explanation by translating the compound as ‘qui a une plus petite valeur de gage’. However, BARTHOLOMAE’s stem ²*mazab-* is scarcely probable as it should be **māzab-*, cf. *māzā.raiii-* ‘bestowing richness’ (*EWAia* II, p. 286). Rather, the second term of *auuacinō.mazab-* should probably be ¹*mazab-* ‘size’, cf. the comments by JAMASPASA/HUMBACH 1971, I, p. 29f. note a on *tanu.mazab-* ‘having the size of the body’ in Purs. 17 (18).

49 WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* II 2, pp. 430, 435; MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 133. E. SCHWYZER (in: IF 49 [1931], p. 4 fn. 1 [= *KISchr.*, p. 375 fn. 1]) proposes analysing the Av. word as **a-ucina-* ‘having no word’, but this is unlikely.

50 MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* I, p. 528; WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER), *AiGr.* III, pp. 562, 570f.; B. DELBRÜCK: *Altindische Syntax*, Halle an der Saale 1888 [repr. Darmstadt 1976], p. 544. On the use of Ved. *caná*, which also functions as an indefinite particle after the interrogative pronoun, see especially J. S. KLEIN: *Toward a discourse grammar of the Rīgveda*. Heidelberg 1985, I, pp. 285–292.

household or wife to leave home for *aθauruna-*, but that as long as they do so under the circumstances outlined in Hēr. 5 neither of them are breaking the law. However, the function of ‘not even’ is unclear. Moreover, elsewhere *aēuuua* ‘thus’ is not found in combination with *cina*.

It is therefore more likely that *aēuuua* is a form of the numeral *aēuuua-* ‘one’. There is a precedent for its occurrence with the negation and the adverb *cina* (*AirWb.* 23 bottom) not only in Ved. *ná ... ékaś cana* (RV 7.104.3, see below) but also in Avestan, Hēr. 16.1:

*nōiṭ̄ ōim *cina vācim *aiβiiās* He studied⁵¹ not even⁵² one word.

In contrast to Hēr. 16.1, however, in Hēr. 5.5 a substantive has to be assumed if *aēuuua-* ‘one’ is to function as an adjective. One possibility is that *aēuuua* is the nom.sg.f. and refers to an implied *nāirikā-* (Hēr. 5.5):

*nōiṭ̄ *aēuuua *cina dāitīm *vīnāθaiiāṭ̄* Not even one (woman) will infringe the law.

The sentence would then mean that no woman would break the law if she left home under the circumstances described in Hēr. 5. The implication is that generally women were not allowed to leave home for longer periods of time. However, the omission of the substantive characterized by the numeral is unusual in view of the fact that it is neither omitted in Hēr. 16.1, quoted above, nor in Purs. 22 (23) *nōiṭ̄ ... θraiiq̄m.cina gāmanq̄m* ‘not ... even three steps’.⁵³

Another possibility is that the form *aēuuua* is a corruption of the nom.sg.m. **aēuuō* and is used as a substantive. Such a use is found in Vedic, e.g. in RV 7.104.3:

*indrāsomā duṣkṛto vavré antár anārambhaṇé tāmāsi prá vidhyatam |
yāthā nátaḥ púnar ékaś canódáyat tād vām astu sáhase manyumác chávaḥ ||*

Indra and Soma, pierce the evil-doers and hurl them into the pit, the bottomless darkness, so that not a single one will come up from there again. Let this furious rage of yours overpower them.⁵⁴

While in RV 7.104.3 *ná ... ékaś cana* pertains to the ‘evildoers’ (*duṣkṛtaḥ*) of pāda a, in Hēr. 5.5 **aēuuō* could refer back to both *nāirika* and *nmānō.paitiṣ* in

51 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 278 corrects transmitted *aiβiiāṣ* TD, *aiβiiāṣ* HJ to **aiβiiās*. The form is the 3sg.ipf. of *aiβi-ab* ‘to study’. On the ipf. of *ab* ‘to be’, see HINTZE 1994, p. 340 with references.

52 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 595 n. 2 rightly notes that the transmitted form *cinam* is probably due to influence from the surrounding words and corrects **cina*. He interprets **cina* in Hēr. 16.1 as the indefinite pronoun. The only other occurrence mentioned by him in this entry is *cina-* in Yt 10.84 *duuācina*, which, however, GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 230f. interprets as ‘who longs for the milk’. According to him, *-cina* (i.e. **-cinā*) is the nom.sg.f. of the thematic derivative of *cinab-* ‘desire’. If such was the case one would have to assume that *-cina* is shortened from **-cinayha*, cf. the thematic adj. *tamayha-* ‘dark’ (= Ved. *tamasá-*) and the neuter substantives *haosrauuayha-* ‘good reputation’ and *haomanayha-* ‘well-mindedness’, cf. HINTZE 1994, p. 290.

53 JAMASPASA/HUMBACH 1971, I, p. 36f.

54 W. DONIGER O’FLAHERTY: *The Rig Veda. An Anthology*. London 1981, p. 293.

Hēr. 5.1–4 in the same way that the nom.sg.m. interrogative adj. *katārō* ‘which of the two’ in Hēr. 5.1 refers to either:

Hēr. 5.5
*nōiṭ *aēuuō *cina dāitīm *vīnāḍaiiāt* Not even one will infringe the law.⁵⁵

5 **vīnāḍaiiāt* ‘he will infringe’

The ms. TD transmits *vīnāt* in Hēr. 5.5 and *vīnāḍat* in the Av. quotation in the Pahlavi gloss. While BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1448 records both forms as inexplicable, H/E 42, followed by K/K 40f. with fn. 65, emend it to **vīnāḍaiiāt* and translate ‘detracts’. This form, which appears to be the most likely restoration of the text, is the 3sg. subj. of the present stem *vīnāḍaiia-* which is also attested in the phrase *pąstō.fraḍaḡhəm hē kaməṛəḍəm vīnāḍaiiən* in Vd 3.20 and 9.49:

Vd 3.20

āat yaṭ hanō vā zaururō vā
pairištā.xšudrō vā bauuāt
aojīštəmca dim pascaēta mazdaiiasna
taṅcištəmca vaēḍiūtəməmca
*upa maitīm *barəzajhən*
pąstō.fraḍaḡhəm hē kaməṛəḍəm vīnāḍaiiən
aš.xəṛətəmaēibiiō spəntō.mainiiauanəm dāmanəm kəṛəfš.xəṛəm
kəṛəfš paiti nisrinuiāt
vaiiəm kabrkāšəm

And when he (i.e. a man who has carried a dead body on his own) becomes old
 or frail
 or his seed has dried up,
 then the Mazda-worshippers may forcefully,
 in the most energetic and knowledgeable way,
 hit him over the head⁵⁶ with a bat,⁵⁷

- 55 Alternatively, as M. DE VAAN suggests to me, one might consider a conditional construction with ellipsis of the verb **pārauiāt*: ‘(If) not even one (goes away), (then) one breaks the law’.
- 56 BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 950 interprets *barəzajhəm*, edited by GELDNER, *Avesta* III, p. 18, as the gen.pl. of *barəzah-* ‘height, mountain’. K. HOFFMANN apud HUMBACH 1961a, p. 103 fn. 1 identifies the form as the 3pl. (with *-əm* instead of *-ən* before *p-*) of the verb *barəzajha-* (cf. Ved. *barhaya-*), a denominative present from *barəzah-* (KELLENS 1984, p. 131). KELLENS, 1984, p. 259 interprets *barəzajhən* as a subjunctive, but in *Liste du verbe avestique*. Wiesbaden 1995, p. 38 with fn. 1, he emends it to **barəzajhən*, the 3pl. opt. of the same present stem. Cf. HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 2004, p. 193 for 3pl. opt.pres. forms from other verbs.
- 57 GELDNER, *Avesta* III, p. 18 edits a compound *upa.maitīm*, which is attested in Vd 5.53–56 (*AirWb.* 391: absol.: “es ist zu warten”) while BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 391, 1112f. reads two words *upa maitīm* in Vd 3.20 and interprets the latter as the acc.sg. of a masculine stem *maiti-* ‘promontory’. More convincing, however, is the suggestion of K. HOFFMANN apud HUMBACH 1961a, p. 103 fn. 1, that *maitīm* corresponds to Ved. *matyā-*,

they shall crush his head to the size of dust.⁵⁸

One may consign his body

to the most voracious of the carrion scavenging creatures of the Bounteous Spirit,
the vultures.

A variant of the sentence occurs in Vd 18.10 *γαθα γατ̄ hē p̄astō.fradayhəm kamərəδəm kərənuiiāt*, where the verb *kərənu-* is substituted for *vīnāθaiia-*.⁵⁹ In both varieties of the formula the verb is combined with the direct accusative object *kamərəδəm* ‘(daēvic) head’ and a predicative acc. denoting the result of the action: ‘to make/crush the head into having the size of dust’.

BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1038 interprets *vīnāθaiiən* in Vd 3.20 and 9.49 as the iterative present *vīnāθaiia-* of a verb of unknown etymology *vī-nāθ* ‘to maltreat’ (“schinden”). KELLENS compares Av. *vīnāθaiia-* with OP *vīnāθaiia-*.⁶⁰ He suggests that both continue an Iranian root **nāth*, but notes that such a root has no cognates outside Iranian. Alternatively, he considers the possibility that Vd 3.20 contains a Persism for **vīnāsaiiən*, but in later publications favours a phonetic explanation of *-θ-* instead of *-s-*. According to Jamison, Av. *vīnāθaiia-* could be a Western dialect form transferred into Eastern Iranian and corresponding both formally and semantically to Ved. *nāsāya-* ‘to make disappear, destroy’, and Lat. *nocēre* ‘to harm’.⁶¹ Since the meaning fits the contexts of both the Vīdēvdād and the Hērbedestān passages and in view of the lack of a viable alternative explanation, it appears that *vīnāθaiia-* is best taken as the Av. equivalent of Ved. *nāsāya-*. Hēr. 5.5 could thus indicate that Av. *-θ-* instead of *-s-* is not confined to a single form of the Vīdēvdād (*vīnāθaiiən* in Vd 3.20 and 9.49), but constitutes a phonetic feature of the causative stem *vīnāθaiia-*.⁶²

matīya-, which denotes a tool that was used to break up and flatten a clod or lump of earth, a ‘club’ (“Schollenknüppel”); cf. MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, p. 297 with references.

58 K. HOFFMANN apud HUMBACH 1961a, p. 103 fn. 1 recognizes that *p̄asta-* is not ‘the scalp’ that BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 904 suggests, but a noun related to *p̄astnu-* ‘dust’ (*AirWb.* 904), Ved. *pāmsú-* m. ‘dust’, see MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II, p. 114f.

59 The form *kərənuiiāt*, which BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 452 erroneously attributes to *kart* ‘to cut’, is 3sg.opt.pres. of *kar* ‘to do’, see KELLENS 1984, pp. 170, 171 n. 7.

60 On OP *vīnāθaiia-* see R. SCHMITT: *Epigraphisch-exegetische Noten zu Dareios’ Bīsutūn-Inschriften*. Wien 1990, p. 47.

61 J. KELLENS: “Un prétendu présent radical.” In: MSS 34 (1976), pp. 59–71, esp. p. 66f. The form *vīnāθaiiən* is 3pl.opt. of the causative present; see KELLENS 1984, pp. 143, 146 n. 20, where he considers a phonetic explanation for *θ* instead of *s*; S. JAMISON: *Function and Form in the -āya-Formations of the Rigveda and Atharva Veda*. Göttingen 1983, p. 141f. with fn. 76.

62 Alternation between *-θ-* and *-s-* occasionally occurs in the manuscripts. For instance, in Yt 13.93 and 17.18 the mss. F1 E1 etc. have the form *uruuāθən*, but J10 and others *uruuāsən* (the form edited by GELDNER, *Avesta* II, pp. 188 and 234), see on this form KELLENS, *Verbe av.*, p. 112f. with n. 4 and on Av. *-θ-* instead of *-s-* HINTZE 1994, p. 96 with fn. 9 and p. 124 fn. 169 with references.

Conclusion

The use of *aṭauruuan-* in the Avesta suggests that the activity of *aṭauruna-*, for which Mazdā-worshippers (male and female, young and old) leave home, is connected with the dissemination of their religion, although those involved in *aṭauruna-* were perhaps not necessarily also *aṭauruuanans*. People who leave home for *aṭauruna-* are likely to have been educated in the Mazdayasnian religion (*aiβišti-* Hēr. 4.3), its sacred texts and certain rituals. That both men and women experienced such education is stated repeatedly in the Avesta, e.g. in Y 26.7⁶³:

Y 26.7

ida iristanąm uruuąnō yazamaide
ya ašaonąm frauuašaiiō višpanąm
ahmiia nmāne nabānazdištanąm para.iristanąm
aēθrapaitinąm aēθriianąm narąm nāirinąm
ida ašaonąm ašaoninąm frauuašaiiō yazamaide

Here we worship the souls of the departed,
 the choices⁶⁴ of all truthful persons;
 in this house (we worship the choices) of the closest relatives who have passed
 away,
 of the teachers, of male and female students;
 here we worship the choices of truthful men and women.

What is clear from the Hērbedestān is that any member of a household (*nmāna-*) could engage in the activity of *aṭauruna-*. Possibly every household was obliged to send away at least one member for that purpose within a given period of time. The person chosen was the one ‘who had the greatest esteem for truth’ (*γō ašāi bərəjiiąstəmō* Hēr. 1.2, above, p. 172f.), on the one hand, and was less needed for running the household, on the other. The *aṭauruuanans* went only so far away that they could return home three times a year (Hēr 4.2, above, p. 175f.). There, while away from home, they would teach the religion and its texts ‘to the truth-seekers’ (*ašō.īšō*, Y 42.6, above, p. 178f.) and perform rituals. They thus contributed towards the growth of new communities, who in turn would then have been obliged to send out some of their own members for *aṭauruna-*. The resulting domino-effect could provide a model that would account for the spread of the Mazdayasnian religion throughout the lands inhabited by Iranians.

63 Other passages include Y 26.8, 68.12.

64 On the translation of *frauuaši-* and its use in Younger Avestan, see HINTZE 2007, pp. 173–175.

Abbreviated References

- AiGr.* see WACKERNAGEL (/DEBRUNNER).
- AirWb.* see BARTHOLOMAE 1904.
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