

Hommage à Chahryar Adle, 1944-2015 163

E. ANONBY

The Keshmi (Qeshmi) dialect of Hormozgan province, Iran:
A first account 165

J. J. FERRER-LOSILLA

Repetitions or omissions? Different versions of *Widēwdād* 22 ... 207

V. GENÇ

From Tabriz to Istanbul: Goods and treasures of *Shāh Ismā‘īl*
looted after the battle of *Chāldirān* 227

W. FLOOR

Hotels in Iran, 1870-1940 277

CHRONIQUES

BULLETIN OF THE SOCIETAS IRANOLOGICA EUROPAEA.
REPORT 2011-2015 317

IN MEMORIAM

Chahryar Adle (1946-2015) 323

Marina Gaillard (1955-2015) 327

Table des matières du volume XLIV 333

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EXTRAIT

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REPETITIONS OR OMISSIONS? DIFFERENT
VERSIONS OF WIDĒWDĀD 22 *

SUMMARY

The present paper analyses two versions that appear in the 22nd chapter of an intercalated text of the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy, the Widēwdād: a longer version in the Iranian manuscripts and a shorter in the Indian ones. It is shown that we stand before two different real versions in the ritual praxis of this ceremony, though it is difficult to evaluate the date in which each version appeared or whether one version could arise from the other after the beginning of the written transmission. Other passages of the Widēwdād containing similar problems are analysed in a brief appendix.

Keywords: Iranian philology; Avestan manuscripts; Zoroastrian written transmission; Zoroastrian liturgies.

RÉSUMÉ

Le présent article analyse un texte, issu du 22^{ème} chapitre d'un texte intercalé de la Liturgie Longue Zoroastrienne, le Widēwdād. Ce texte a été transmis en deux versions : l'une plus longue dans les manuscrits iraniens et une autre plus courte dans les indiens, ce qui reflète deux versions différentes dans la pratique rituelle de cette cérémonie. On montre qu'il est difficile de déterminer la date à laquelle chaque version fut créée et, encore, de savoir si une version pourrait provenir de l'autre après le commencement de la transmission manuscrite. D'autres passages du Widēwdād, posant des problèmes similaires, sont analysés dans un bref appendice final.

Mots clés : philologie iranienne ; manuscrits avestiques ; transmission manuscrite zoroastrienne ; liturgies zoroastriennes.

*

* * *

* The present paper falls in the context of the *Avestan Digital Archive* (ADA) research project (<http://www.avesta-archive.com>) funded by the Spanish *Junta de Castilla y León* and the *Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad*. The signatures of the manuscripts have been taken from the numeric system for Avestan manuscripts created by Alberto Cantera (available at <http://ada.usal.es/img/pdf/Numbers.pdf>), by indicating in brackets Geldner's correspondences, insofar as they exist. The images which have been used in this paper have been published with the permission of the Avestan Digital Archive (©) and are available online at: www.avesta-archive.com

During the last years many Iranian Avestan manuscripts have been brought to light. Although the oldest extant Iranian manuscripts were written down three centuries after the first manuscripts written in India,¹ the Iranian ones are more conservative than the Indian ones in several features. Notwithstanding, the Iranian manuscripts were underrepresented in Geldner's (1896) edition.

Some differences between the Iranian and the Indian Avestan manuscripts have been shown by Cantera.² The most important of these concern the ritual praxis, but there are also differences in the text of the recitative. Thus, Avestan citations taken from the exegetical manuscripts were introduced in the Indian text of the recitative;³ the text of Vīspērād-Sāde 39 §6 adds the text *imq. aēsmašca. baōiđīmca. yazamaide. tauua. āθrō. ahurahe. mazdā. puθra* (taken from Y25 §3) in the Indian-Sāde manuscripts, etc.⁴

A further difference is to be found in the 22nd chapter of the Widēwdād.⁵ We face two versions of a text, which do not belong to the recitative text of the long liturgy *sensu stricto*, but to an intercalated text. Since the Widēwdād is the only text which was not learnt by heart and could directly be read from a manuscript in the liturgy, the different versions could be due to a mistake in the written transmission.

The 22nd *fragard* in the Widēwdād is divided into twenty-six paragraphs according to Geldner's edition.⁶ The first part (V22 §1-18) is arranged in three parallel sequences:

1. V22 §1-5: Ahura Mazda tells Zaraθuštra the story of the creation of the *nmāna- srīra-* (the "nice house"), the counter-creation made by Anra Mainīiu (99999 sickness), and how he calls Maθra Spənta in order to fight this counter-creation, by giving offerings, sacrifices and prayer(s).
2. V22 §8-12: Ahura Mazda asks Nairiia Saṅha to go to Airiiaaman's house and to tell him the same story he has told Zaraθuštra, and to give him the same offerings, sacrifices and prayer(s).

¹ Iranian ms. 4000 was written by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rostom Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnyār in Šarīf Ābād in 1607, while Indian mss. 2000 (K7b) and 2610 (K7a) were written in Anklesar by Rōstam Mihrābān in 1278, and mss. 4600 (L4), 4610 (K1), 500 (J2) and 510 (K5) by Mihrābān Kayxosrō in Nawsārī and Khambāt in 1323 and 1324.

² Cantera 2011, pp. 11, 221-2; Id. 2012, pp. 284-5; Id. 2014, p. 264 ff. These differences are mainly orthographic and palaeographic, but concerning the Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts, further differences appear, e.g., Indian manuscripts begin in Yasna 0 §4, while the Iranian ones do it in Yasna 0 §0 (Cantera 2012, p. 285).

³ See Ferrer-Losilla 2012, pp. 395-415.

⁴ These differences have been recently investigated in depth by Cantera 2014, p. 265ff.

⁵ See Appendix for a similar difference of the text of the recitative in other passages of Widēwdād.

⁶ Geldner 1896, pp. 137-139.

3. V22 §14-18: Nairiia Saṅha repeats the same words in the presence of Airiiaaman.

Each sequence is separated by the interlude of the various characters: V22 §6-7 with the response of Maθra Spənta and the interpellation to Nairiia Saṅha, V22 §13 with Nairiia Saṅha's acceptance of Ahura Mazda's request, and V22 §19-20 with Airiiaaman's responses to Mazda's praying. The *fragard* ends with the apotropaic texts (V22 §21-26) which also appear at the end of V20 [§9-14] and V21 [§18-23].⁷ The following table shows the correspondences of the three sequences and the repeated texts in each paragraph:⁸

Table 1: The three sequences of V22

	1 st sequence	2 nd sequence	3 rd sequence
Frame	~22 §1 (Ahura Mazda - Zaraθuštra)	~22 §7 (Ahura Mazda - Nairiia Saṅha)	~22 §13 (Nairiia Saṅha - Airiiaaman)
Creation of the <i>nmāna- srīra-</i>		22 §8	22 §14
Counter-creation and plea (<i>bišaziiōiš</i> + recipient)	~22 §2 (plea to Maθra Spənta)	22 §9 (plea to Airiiaaman)	22 §15 (plea to Airiiaaman)
<i>daθāni</i> : horses (+ <i>yazāi</i>), camels (+ <i>yazāi</i>)	22 §3	22 §10	22 §16
<i>daθāni</i> : bovinds (+ <i>yazāi</i>), small cattle (+ <i>yazāi</i>)	22 §4	22 §11	22 §17
<i>afriṇāni</i>	22 §5	22 §12	22 §18
Interlude	22 §6 (response of Maθra Spənta)	[22 §13 (Nairiia Saṅha - Airiiaaman)]	22 §19-20 (response of Airiiaaman)

The texts of V22 §8-12 and V22 §14-18 are exactly the same, since the words which Ahura Mazda spoke to Nairiia Saṅha are repeated by the latter to Airiiaaman. The only difference between these sequences and the first one (V22 §2-5) is the different recipient: V22 §2 is addressed to Maθra Spənta (*āq. maq. tūm. bišaziiōiš. maθrō. spəntō. yō. aš.x'arəṇā*),

⁷ V22 §21 (= V20 §9, V21 §18) *paiti.pəvəne. ašire...*, V22 §22 (= V20 §10, V21 §19) *paiti.pəvəne. višpəm...*, V22 §23 (= V20 §11, V21 §20) *ā.airiimā. išiiō...* [= Y54 §1], V22 §24 (= V20 §12, V21 §21) *janu. ā.airiimā. išiiō...*, V22 §25 (= V20 §13, V21 §22) *yaθā. ahū. vairiio...* [= Y27 §13] and *kəm.nā. mazdā...* [= Y46 §7], and V22 §26 (= V20 §14, V21 §23) *ašəm. vohū...* [= Y27 §14].

⁸ Shaded paragraphs are exactly the same in the three sequences: the lighter colour is for a repetition not included in the first sequence, the darker – for a repetition in all three sequences. The sign ~ is used for indicating a parallel text.

while V22 §9 and V22 §15 are addressed to Airiāman (*āta. ma. tūm. bišaziioš. airiāma. yō. išiiō*).

In the Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts we find two versions: a long version in the Iranian manuscripts and a shorter one in the Indian manuscripts.⁹ The *afrināni* text (V22 §5, 22 §12 and 22 §18, in Geldner's edition), which appears after the last of the offerings (that of the small cattle, *anumaiia-*) in the three aforementioned sequences of the Indian-Sāde manuscripts, as well as in the Iranian ones, it also appears consistently after the offering of horses (V22 §3, 22 §10, 22 §16 —first part—), of camels (V22 §3, 22 §10, 22 §16 -second part-), and of bovids (V22 §4, 22 §11, 22 §17 —first part—) in the Iranian liturgical manuscripts.¹⁰ The following table shows the text of the Sāde manuscripts:¹¹

Table 2: V22, *daθāni*, *yazāi* and *afrināni* texts in the Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts

22 §3, §10, §16	daθāni. tē. aētahe. paiti. hakaṭ. hazarṅrēm. aspanaṃ. auruuatō dərəzi.takanāṃ. yazāi. saōka. vaṅ ^{hi} . mazdaḍāta. ašaōni. <i>uta. tē. azəm.</i> afrināni. srīra. dahma. āfriti. friθa. dahma. āfriti. yā. ūnəm. pərənəm. <i>kərənāōiti. pərənəmciṭ. vīzāraieiti. auuaṅtəmciṭ. baṅdaiieiti.</i> <i>baṅtəmca. drūm. kərənāōiti.</i>
	daθāni. tē. aētahe. paiti. hakaṭ. hazarṅrēm. uštranāṃ. uruuatō. saēni.kaōfanāṃ. yazāi. saōka. vaṅ ^{hi} . mazdaḍāta. ašaōni. <i>uta. tē. azəm.</i> afrināni. srīra. dahma. āfriti. friθa. dahma. āfriti. yā. ūnəm. pərənəm. <i>kərənāōiti. pərənəmciṭ. vīzāraieiti. auuaṅtəmciṭ. baṅdaiieiti.</i> <i>baṅtəmca. drūm. kərənāōiti.</i>
22 §4, §11, §17	daθāni. tē. aētahe. paiti. hakaṭ. hazarṅrēm. gauuāṃ. axšaēnanāṃ. apərətō. tanunāṃ. yazāi. saōka. vaṅ ^{hi} . mazdaḍāta. ašaōni. <i>uta. tē. azəm.</i> afrināni. srīra. dahma. āfriti. friθa. dahma. āfriti. yā. ūnəm. pərənəm. <i>kərənāōiti. pərənəmciṭ. vīzāraieiti. auuaṅtəmciṭ. baṅdaiieiti.</i> <i>baṅtəmca. drūm. kərənāōiti.</i>
	daθāni. tē. aētahe. paiti. hakaṭ. hazarṅrēm. anumaiianāṃ. harətō. vīspō.gaōnanāṃ. yazāi. saōka. vaṅ ^{hi} . mazdaḍāta. ašaōni.

⁹ The oldest copies of the Widēwdād-Sāde we know of are dated from the beginning of the 17th century, both the Indian and the Iranian manuscripts (ms. 4000 copied in 1607, ms. 4210 [B2] in 1626). Furthermore, several Iranian Sāde manuscripts were sent from Iran to India at that time, e.g. the original manuscript of ms. 4020 [Mf2], if ms. 4020 is not the original one (see Cantera 2014, p. 87 ff.), but there is no influence over the Indian ones. Noteworthy is the case of the Iranian manuscript 4070 (K9), which, though copied in India, has the *afrināni* texts like all other Iranian manuscripts. Thus, the Indian and the Iranian Sāde manuscripts reflect two different traditions which, at least for the text of Widēwdād 22, did not influence each other.

¹⁰ Thus, mss. 4000, 4010, 4020 (Mf2), 4025, 4030, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4065, 4070 (K9), 4080, 4090, 4100, 4115, 4150, 4155, 4158, 4160, 4161. According to Geldner's *apparatus*, it appears also in the lost manuscript of Frēdōn Marzbān Jp1.

¹¹ The shaded-cursive texts only appear in the Iranian manuscripts.

22 §5,
§12, §18

uta. tē. azəm. afrināni. srīra. dahma. āfriti. friθa. dahma. āfriti. yā. ūnəm. pərənəm. kərənāōiti. pərənəmciṭ. vīzāraieiti. auuaṅtəmciṭ. baṅdaiieiti. baṅtəmca. drūm. kərənāōiti.

The Indian liturgical manuscripts agree with the exegetical ones, i.e., the (Indian) Pahlavi-Widēwdād manuscripts, the latter using abbreviations of the repeated texts. Since Geldner gave mostly priority to the witness of the exegetical manuscripts, the texts of V22 §10-12 and V22 §14-18 appear abbreviated in Geldner's edition (1896, p. 139): V22 §10-12 *daθāni* <OD> *kərənāōiti*, and V22 §14-18 *imaṭ. tē. saṅhaṭ. ahurō. mazdā. ašauua. azəm. yō. ahurō. mazdā. <OD> kərənāōiti*.¹²

The extant manuscripts show then two variants: a shorter one represented by the Indian liturgical and the (Indian) exegetical manuscripts,¹³ and a long one by the Iranian liturgical manuscripts.

The position of the Iranian exegetical manuscripts is not clear. Unfortunately, no Pahlavi-Widēwdād Iranian manuscript is known at this time, however, the Iranian Widēwdād-Sāde manuscript 4000 includes an interlineal Pahlavi translation of the Widēwdād (except for V1, V2 and V12) written by a second hand. Skjærvø has recently compared this translation with the readings attributed to the lost Pahlavi-Widēwdād manuscript IM in Jamasp's edition (1907), the only known (but today lost) Iranian exegetical manuscript of the Widēwdād.¹⁴

As mentioned above, the *afrināni* text, together with its Pahlavi translation, is just reproduced in V22 §5 in the Indian Pahlavi-Widēwdād manuscripts, as it appears, e.g., in ms. 4600:¹⁵

V22 §5 (ms. 4600): 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀¹⁶ a) *uta. tē. azəm. afrināni. srīra. daxma. āfriti. fraθa. daxma. āfriti.* 𐬀𐬀𐬀 'ytwn' ANE LK 'prynnym MN ZK y nywk

¹² About the *afrināni* texts, Geldner 1896, p. 138, mentions that after *ašaōni*, (Iranian) mss. Jp1 and 4020 (Mf2) always add *uta. tē. azəm* till *kərənāōiti* (V22 §5). It must be noted that the correspondences indicated by Geldner in footnotes, i.e., paragraphs 10-12 = §4-6, and §14-18 = §1-6, are miswritten. In fact, paragraphs 10-12 are equivalent to §3-5, and paragraphs 14-18 to §8-12. The same mistake is repeated in TITUS (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm>).

¹³ As aforementioned, the Indian liturgical or Sāde manuscripts agree with the Pahlavi ones, except for not using the abbreviations (marked in the exegetical manuscripts through Phl. <OD> *tā*). The abbreviations of the exegetical manuscripts appear from V22 §10 to V22 §12 (i.e., the text which repeats V22 §3-5) and from V22 §14 to V22 §18 (i.e., the text which repeats V22 §8-V22 §9 and V22 §3-5 [= V22 §10-12]).

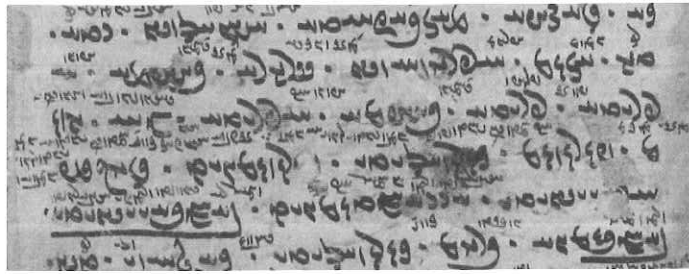
¹⁴ Mss. 4600, 4610 and IM are, according to the colophons, indirect copies of a single manuscript going back to Ardašīr ī Wahman ī Rōzweh Šāhburzēn Šāhmard. Mss. 4600 and 4610 were copied in India by Mihrābān Kayxosrō (in 1323/4), while IM was copied in Kermān by Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrām Rōstām Bundār (in 1575).

¹⁵ The commentaries of the Pahlavi translation have been indicated through "L...1" in transcription and transliteration.

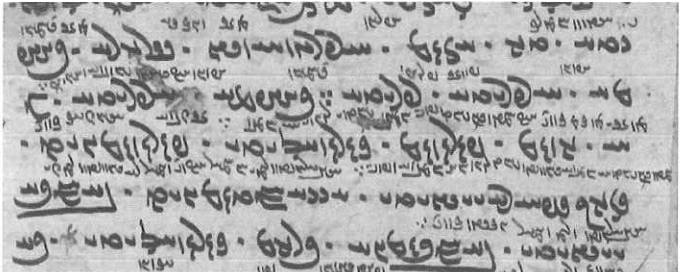
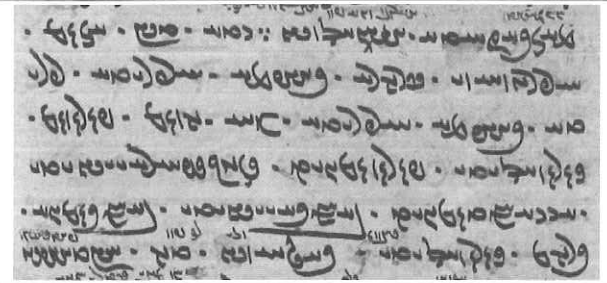
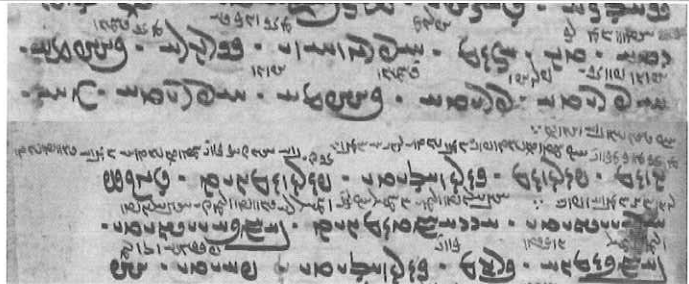
d'hm'n 'pryn' PWN ZK'y y pln'pt y d'hm'n 'pryn' LAYK̄ YHSNNšn' BRA OBYDWNym̄¹⁷ b) yā. unām. pāranām. kārānāōiti. 𐭥𐭥 MNW ZK y km pwl kwnd LAYK̄ AMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ PRG hwmb' ŠNT̄ y LOYN 'y hwmb'l c) pāranāmcit̄. vī,žāēiti. 𐭥𐭥 ZK-c pwl BRA 'šnc'k kwnd LAMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ 'y hwmb' 'y YHWWNyt̄ ŠNT̄ y LOYN HNA hwmb W PRG l d) auuaq̄'dāmcit̄. bandaiieiti. bantāmca. drūm. kārānāōiti. 𐭥𐭥 hdyb'lynyt̄ 'wym'l LAYK̄ OD wym'l LA YHWWNyt̄ OLE-cy hdyb'lynyt̄ l OLE wym'l drwsyt kwnd 𐭥𐭥¹⁸

However, a different exegetical tradition could be shown by the Pahlavi Translation of ms. 4000 (see Table 3). The Pahlavi version of the *afrināni* text is repeated three times: twice in V22 §3 (first after the horses and then after the camels), and one more time after the small cattle (i.e. in V22 §5), but there is not any translation of it in V22 §4 (after the bovids) nor in the rest of the abbreviated texts of the exegetical manuscripts (V22 §10-12 and V22 §14-18).

Table 3: The interlineal Pahlavi versions of the *afrināni* text in ms. 4000

22 §3 after horses	 <p><a) LK ANE-wm¹⁹ 'plynm MN ZK nywkyh MN ZK dhm'n' 'pryn' PWN ZK pln'p' dhm'n' 'pryn' LAYK̄ YHSNNšn' BRA OBYDWNx₁ l b) MN ZK y MNW km kwnd LAYK̄ AMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ PRG hwmb' ŠNT̄ y LOYN y 'y hwmb'l c) ZK-c BRA 'šn 'šnc'k kwnd LAMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ 'y hwmb</p>
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¹⁶ Sign 𐭥𐭥 has been used for the decorative motifs 𐭥𐭥 and 𐭥𐭥, which separate the Avestan and the Pahlavi texts.
¹⁷ Phl. <OBYDWNym̄> can be read as <OHDWNym̄> *gīrēm* “we (will) accept”.
¹⁸ The transcription and translation of the Pahlavi text of V22 §5 is the following:
 a) *ēdōn az tō āfrīnēm az ān ī nek dahmān āfrīn pad ān ī franāft ī dahmān āfrīn* (kū dārišn bē kunēm l b) *kē ān ī kam purr kund* (kū kā andar sāl nēm xumb sāl ī pēš ēw xumb l c) *ān-iz purr bē āšinjāg kund* (kā andar sāl ēw xumb ē bawēd sāl ī pēš ēd xumb ud nēm l d) *ayārēnēd awēmār* (kū tā wēmār nē bawēd ōy-iz ayārēnēd l ōy wēmār drust kund — a) “Thus, I (will) pray to you, with this good prayer of the virtuous (men), together with this prayer professed by the virtuous (men) i.e. we do this maintenance l; b) which makes full this (which is) few i.e. when (there was) a half pitcher in a year (and), in the present year, (there is) one pitcher l; c) which also makes this full one to overflow i f it were one pitcher in the (previous) year, it will be one and a half in the present year l; d) which helps the non-ill (person) i.e. it also helps this (person) which is even not ill l, it makes the sick healthy”.
¹⁹ Or <HWEwm>.

	<p>+YHWWNyt̄ ŠNT̄ LOYN' +HNYB hwmb W 'n PRG l d) hdyb'lynyt̄ 'wym'l LAYK̄ +OD wym'l LA YHWWNyt̄ OLE-cy hdyb'lynyt̄ l OLE wym'l drwst' kwnd></p>
22 §3 after camels	 <p><a) 'ytwn' ANE LK 'plyn' MN ZK nywkyh MN ZK dhm'n' 'pryn' PWN ZK pln'p' dhm'n' 'pryn' LAYK̄ YHSNNšn' BRA OBYDWNx₁ l b) MNW ZK y MNW km kwnd LAYK̄ AMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ PRG hwmb' ŠNT̄ y LOYN y 'y hwmb'l c) ZK-c BRA 'šnc'k kwnd LAMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ 'y hwmb' YHWWNyt̄ ŠNT̄ LOYN HNYB hwmb W 'n PRG l d) hdyb'lynyt̄ OLE-y 'w'm'l LAYK̄ OD wym'l LA YHWWNyt̄ OLE-cy hdyb'lynyt̄ l OLE wym'l drwst' kwnd></p>
22 §4 after bovids	 <p>No Pahlavi translation (!)</p>
22 §5 after small cattle	 <p><a) 'ytwn' ANE LK 'plynm MN ZK nywkyh MN ZK dhm'n' 'pryn' PWN ZK y pln'p' dhm'n' 'pryn' LAYK̄ YHSNšn' BRA OBYDWNx₁ l b) MN ZK MNW km kwnd LAYK̄ AMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ PRG hwmb' ŠNT̄ y LOYN y 'y hwmb'l c) ZK-c y BRA 'šnc'k kwnd LAMT̄ BYN ŠNT̄ 'y hwmb' YHWWNyt̄ ŠNT̄ LOYN' HNYB hwmb W 'n PRG l d) hdyb'lynyt̄ OLE-y 'w'm'l LAYK̄ OD wym'l LA YHWWNyt̄ OLE-cy hdyb'lynyt̄ l OLE wym'l drwst' kwnd></p>

It seems then than the manuscript IM, source of the interlinear translation of ms. 4000 contained the Avestan text and the Pahlavi translation of the *afrīnāni* text in these three passages in accordance with the Iranian liturgical manuscripts.²⁰ Supporting this hypothesis we can adduce two arguments:

1. The three translations are not identical. Although there are no significant differences between the three texts, some differences do appear: a) the different beginning (<LK ANE-wm 'plynm>, <'ytwn' ANE LK 'plyn'>, <'ytwn' ANE LK 'plynm>); b) the different text in *d* (<hdyb'lynyt' 'wym'l>, <hdyb'lynyt' OLE-y 'w'm'l>, <hdyb'lynyt' OLE-y 'w'm'l>). These differences could be due to a different original text, rather than to the same text copied three times.

2. The third *afrīnāni* text (that of V22 §4) is not translated, although it is exactly the same text.²¹ If the original manuscript would have had just one translation of the *afrīnāni* text and the scribe of the Pahlavi translation of ms. 4000 tried to translate all the *afrīnāni* texts when they first appeared (i.e., V22 §3 [2x], §4 and §5), it is not easy to understand why he has not translated the third *afrīnāni* text (after the bovids).

If the Pahlavi translation of ms. IM is the one we find in ms. 4000, one can assume a different version of the text of V22 for the exegetical tradition also. Notwithstanding, the absence of the *afrīnāni* text in V22 §4 would be strange.

There are, in fact, arguments for assuming that the interlinear translation of ms. 4000 could just be an attempt for completing the translation of the texts missing in the original exegetical manuscript. Thus, although the Pahlavi text is basically the same as that of mss. 4600 and 4610's family, the Pahlavi translation of Av. *pərənəm* (Phl. *purr*) is systematically omitted in the three texts of ms. 4000:

Av.	<i>yā. ūnəm. pərənəm. kərənaōiti.</i>
Phl. ms. 4600 (and the rest)	<MNW ZK y km pwl kwnd>
Phl. ms. 4000 (omits <i>purr</i>)	<MN ZK y MNW km ⁺ kwnd> <MNW ZK y MNW km kwnd> <MN ZK MNW km kwnd>

²⁰ The two variants mentioned by Jamasp (1907, p. 668) for ms. IM agree with the forms found in the aforementioned three translations of ms. 4000: ms. IM <pln'p'> vs. ms. 4600 <pln'pt> [and rest of PV mss.], ms. IM <OBYDWNx_i> vs. ms. 4600 <OBYDWNym> [rest PV <-m, -ym>]. Further differences found in the Pahlavi translation of ms. 4000 are, however, not consigned in Jamasp's *apparatus*.

²¹ N.B.: this third *afrīnāni* text, that of V22 §4, is noted through three dots (∴) separating the previous *aṣāōne* of the *uta. tē. azəm*, while this separation is only noted through one dot in the other parallels.

The latter situation can be an argument supporting that the text of the Pahlavi translation of ms. 4000 was copied from one single translation. That is to say, the Pahlavi translation of V22 §5 would have been secondarily copied in those sequences having the same text in ms. 4000 (V22 §3 after *horses* and V22 §3 after *camels*). Therefore, the position of the Iranian exegetical manuscripts is not completely clear.

But it remains the fact that two different versions of the text of the recitative of V22 were current in the ritual praxis at least from the 17th century on, one in India and another in Iran.

Firstly, we can exclude that the texts of the (Indian) exegetical and the Indian liturgical manuscripts were abbreviated. In fact, when there are repeated texts, the common practice of the exegetical manuscripts is to reproduce the first sequence and abbreviate the rest (through abbreviation marks, e.g., Phl. <MN ... OD ...> *az ... tā ...* “from ... to ...” which include the first [and sometimes the last] words of the abbreviated sequence), but here we find exactly the contrary: the text appears only at the end, without any abbreviation mark in the former examined occurrences.

Secondly, we can also exclude a mistake in the transmission. On one hand, the same “mistake” is repeated nine times in the Indian manuscripts. On the other, two types of manuscripts, the Indian liturgical and the (Indian) exegetical ones, share the same version, but it is hardly likely that a mistake in the exegetical manuscripts would have influenced the Indian liturgical ones or viceversa. In fact, the Pahlavi-Widēwdād tradition, less influenced by the ritual praxis, shows important mistakes in the transmission of the text that do not appear in the Indian Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts and neither in the Iranian ones, e.g., big omissions due to the loss of a folio in the original or the absence of the *fragard* 12 of the Widēwdād.²²

Thus, we can conclude that the Iranian and Indian liturgical manuscripts show two different versions of this text. The question is whether there were two old versions, or one of these versions could have emerged from the other, either in India or in Iran.

The Iranian liturgical tradition, though attested later, could show the original situation. According to CANTERA (2014: 267) the parallel text in the three sequences (*daθāni* + *yazāi* + *afrīnāni*) of the Iranian manuscripts is probably the original one, since the repetition of the *yazāi* sentence (*yazāi. saōka. vaṇ^vhi. mazdadāta. aṣāōni* “I will sacrifice [to you], oh good Utility, created by Mazdā [and] right”) appears both in the Iranian and in the Indian manuscripts, but that of the *afrīnāni* sentence is only omitted in the Indian ones. However, the *daθāni* and the *yazāi* sentences are coordi-

²² Cantera & Andrés-Toledo 2008; Cantera 2010; Id. 2011, pp. 204-205; Andrés-Toledo 2012.

nated in parataxis, whereas the *afrināni* sentence is clearly separated from the previous *daθāni* and *yazāi* through the nexus, the explicit subject and the introduction of the indirect object (omitted in the *yazāi* sentence): *uta. tē. azəm. afrināni* “Then I will pray to you ...”. Thus, the separation of the *afrināni* text from the two previous sequences could be an argument against the three parallel sequences (*daθāni* + *yazāi* + *afrināni*).

In fact, we cannot exclude completely either the possibility that the Iranian manuscripts show an Iranian innovation. All Iranian liturgical manuscripts of the Widēwdād go probably back to a single manuscript.²³ Precisely in Widēwdād 22 we find an additional proof for their common origin. The repetition in V22 §17 of the following text:

daθāni. tē. aētahe. paiti. hakaṭ. hazanram. gauuqm. axšaēnanqm. apərətō. tanunqm. yazāi. saōka. vaṅ^vhi. mazdadāta. ašaōni. uta. tē. azəm. afrināni. srīra. dahma. āfriti. friθa. dahma. āfriti. yā. ūnəm. pərənəm. kərənaōiti. pərənəmciṭ. vīxžāraieiti. auuaṅtəmciṭ. baṅdaieiti. baṅtəmca. drūm. kərənaōiti.

is common to all Iranian manuscripts. This repetition has been later on indicated by a circle in mss. 4000 and 4040 (not in the rest: mss. 4010, 4020 [295v], 4025, 4050 and 4055). But there is no trace of this mistake in the Indian manuscripts.²⁴ Therefore, the extended version goes back to a single manuscript that could have innovated.

Nevertheless, since the *afrināni* text is repeated nine times, it can be excluded that we face a simple mistake in the transmission. We have also mentioned the possibility that the Iranian exegetical manuscript IM included as well the repetitions of the *afrināni* section. Therefore, we stand before two different real versions in the ritual praxis of the Widēwdād. Unfortunately, we are not able to evaluate at what time did appear each version. It is impossible to know whether there were two different versions already before the beginning of the written transmission, or whether one arose from the other during the written transmission.²⁵ In the case of the Widēwdād, changes after the beginning of the written transmission are less likely than in the Yasna or in the Wisperad, but they cannot be excluded completely. In either case, this variation in V22 shows once again that the transmission of the Avestan recitatives of the long liturgy is more fluid than it has been traditionally assumed.

²³ Cantera 2012, p. 294; Id. 2014, p. 55.

²⁴ However, ms. 4070 (K9) does not have this repetition mistake. Note that ms. 4070, though being a careful copy of ms. 4020 made in India in the 18th century, introduced some changes in the text influenced by the Indian manuscripts, e.g., the three citations of the Pahlavi translation at the end of V1 §1, which are absent in all the rest of the Iranian Sāde manuscripts, vid. Ferrer-Losilla 2012, p. 396.

²⁵ For other passages offering similar problems, see Appendix.

APPENDIX

Alberto Cantera has indicated to me several passages of Widēwdād which show a problem similar to the one I have exposed concerning V22, viz. the repetition of a text in the liturgical Iranian manuscripts and its absence in the Indian ones (including the exegetical): a) V5 §28-32, b) V13 §32-33, c) V16 §15 and d) V18 §55. I will briefly deal with them in the present appendix.

1. The case of V5 §28-32

The passages of V5 §28, §29, §30, §31 and §32 repeat the sentence *axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti* “[she] reaches [X] with disease, decay and defilement” in all the liturgical Iranian manuscripts every time when Ahura Mazda mentions the subject *aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš*, but this repetition does not appear in the Indian liturgical manuscripts (nor in the exegetical ones), as we see in the following table:²⁶

Table 4: V5 §28-32 in the Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts

5 §28	āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā. yezi. aṅhaṭ. āθrauua. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. aēuuaṅdasō. frāšnaōiti. dasəməm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti. āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. raθaēštā. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. dasəməm. frāšnaōiti. nāuməm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti. āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. vāstriiō. fšuiṣ. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. nāuməm. frāšnaōiti. aštəməm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti.
5 §29	āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. pasuš.hauruuō. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. aštəməm. frāšnaōiti. haptaθəm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti. āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. viš.hauruuō. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. haptaθəm. frāšnaōiti. xštūm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti.
5 §30	āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. vohunazgō. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. xštūm. frāšnaōiti. puxdəm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti. āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. taurunō. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. puxdəm. frāšnaōiti. tūirīm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti.
5 §31	āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. sukurənō. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. tūirīm. frāšnaōiti. θritīm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti. āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. jažuš. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. θritīm. frāšnaōiti. bitīm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti.
5 §32	āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. aiβizuš. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. bitīm. frāšnaōiti. paōirīm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti. āaṭ. yezi. aṅhaṭ. spā. vīzuš. frā.zī. duuṣaiti. spitama. zaraθuštra. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. <i>axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.</i> yezi. paōirīm. frāšnaōiti. paōirīm. paiti.raēθpaiieiti.

²⁶ The shaded-cursive texts only appear in the Iranian manuscripts.

The sentence *axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti* has been taken from the end of the previous paragraph (V5 §27),²⁷ in which Zoroāstra asked to Ahura Mazda: *cuuā. aṅtarə. nərəš. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti* “How many among these men reached the Druj Nasu with disease, decay and defilement?”, concerning the contamination of people sitting or lying together or are when a human or an animal dies.

There are two versions, the longer Iranian and the shorter Indian, just like in V22. In this case, on the contrary, it seems to me that the Iranian one is the weaker candidate for being the original, if we consider syntactical arguments. The sentence *aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti* does not show any explicit direct object in the repetitions, but had shown it when it appeared in the first time (DO in V5 §27 *cuuā. aṅtarə. nərəš*). But we could assume an elipsis of the direct object. Furthermore, the subject *aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš* is the subject of a main verb (*duuqsaiti*) and the omitted subject in the following hypotactical sentences (*yezi ... frāšnaōiti ... yezi ... paiti.raēθpaiiēiti*). Thus, if one wants to take the Iranian version not as secondary, these repetitions must be syntactically considered as paratactical sentences with an omitted subject (easily to assume) and an omitted object (more debatable). All in all, the Iranian version makes perfect sense semantically, emphasizing on the disease, decay and defilement of the Druj. Since the syntactical arguments are not so strong that they ascertain one or other version as primary or secondary, the editorial decision remains open.

2. The case of V13 §32-33

The text of V13 §31,²⁸ which describes the frame of the punishment for each time a dog attacks the cattle or hurts a man, is repeated twice in V13 §32 (after the first and the second punishments) and twice again in V13 §33 (after the third and the fourth punishments) in the Iranian liturgical manuscripts, but this repetition does not appear in the Indian liturgical manuscripts nor in the exegetical ones and it is not edited by Geldner (1896). V13 §34 has this text both in the Indian and in the Iranian manuscripts after the fifth punishment. The following table shows the text of the liturgical manuscripts:²⁹

²⁷ V5 §27: *dātarə. gaēthanqm. astuuaitinqm. ašāum. yō. narō. hāmō.gatauuō. nīpaiđiēiṅte. hqm. vā. paiti. stāriš. hqm. vā. paiti. barəziš. paitica.hē. anīia. duua. vā. nare. aṅhan. paṅca. vā. paṅcā.satəm. vā. satəm. vā. hqm. nāirinqm. āq. aēšqm. narqm. aēuuō. iriθiīāt. cuuā. aṅtarə. nərəš. aēša. druxš. yā. nasuš. axtica. pauuitica. āhitica. frāšnaōiti.*

²⁸ V13 §31: *aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən. frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən. yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. bauuāt. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt. para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.* After the two *nidarəzaiiən*, the Indian liturgical manuscripts add the text *vaēibiia. naēmaēibiia* taken from the Pahlavi exegetical tradition (not mentioned by Geldner 1896, p. 93). Notice that this gloss does not appear in the repeated section of V13 §34 in any liturgical manuscript. The exegetical manuscripts omit *bauuāt* and Geldner (1896, p. 93) edits accordingly.

²⁹ The shaded-cursive texts only appear in the Iranian manuscripts.

Table 5: The repetitions of V13 §31 in the Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts

13§32	paōirīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. paōirīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. dašinəm. hē. gaōšəm. upa.θβərəsaiiən. <i>aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən. frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən. yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. bauuāt. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt. para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.</i>
	bitīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. bitīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. hōiium. hē. gaōšəm. upa.θβərəsaiiən. <i>aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən. frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən. yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. bauuāt. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt. para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.</i>
13§33	θritīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. θritīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. dašinəm. hē. paiđiiqm. upa.kərəṅtaiiən. <i>aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən. frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən. yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. bauuāt. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt. para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.</i>
	tūirīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. tūirīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. haōiiqm. hē. paiđiiqm. upa.kərəṅtaiiən. <i>aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən. frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən. yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. bauuāt. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt. para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.</i>
13§34	puxdəm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. puxdəm. narəm. raēšiiāt. duməmcīṅ. hē. upa.θβərəsaiiən. <i>aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən. frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən. yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. bauuāt. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt. para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.</i>

We stand, once again, before two different versions in the ritual praxis of the Widēwdād, being the Iranian longer than the Indian one. There is no exegetical manuscript (including the Pahlavi translation of ms. 4000) that has a repeated Pahlavi translation.³⁰

³⁰ The text of the exegetical manuscripts is (with minor variants) the following: **V13 §31.** *aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən.* <MN ZK 'st'mk ZK *vaēibiia. naēmaēibiia.* BRA 'y ASLWNd> *frā.hīmcīṅ. nidarəzaiiən.* <pr'c AHL ZK hym ZK-c mlg ZK *vaēibiia. naēmaēibiia* BRA 'y ASLWNd> *yezi. nōiṅ. spā. auuacā. vā. adāitiīō.xratuš. pasūm. vā. narəm. vā. raēšiiāt.* <HT LA AYK LA BRA ASLWNx₁ KLBA 'gwpt'l MN 'd'tyh' 'ltyh p'h 'ywp GBRA lyšyt> *para. hē. irišiṅtō. raēšəm. cikaiiat. baōdō.varštahe. ciθaiia.* <BRA ZK Y 'w' ME lyš twcyt PWN bwtkwłšt twcšnyh> **V13 §32.** *paōirīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. paōirīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. dašinəm. hē. gaōšəm. upa.θβərəsaiiən.* <AMT pltwm p'h MHYTWNyt 'ywp AWLA GBRA lyšyt' dšn' gwš 'w' QDM 'yb PSKWNd> *bitīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. bitīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. hōiium. hē. gaōšəm. upa.θβərəsaiiən.* <AMT dtygl p'h MHYTWNyt 'ywp dtygl GRBRA lyšyt hwy gwš 'w' QDM 'yb PSKWNd> **V13 §33.** *θritīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. θritīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. dašinəm. hē. paiđiiqm. upa.kərəṅtaiiən.* <AMT stygl p'h MHYTWNyt 'ywp stygl GBRA lyšyt' dšn' p'dy 'w' QDM 'yb klynnd> *tūirīm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. tūirīm. narəm. raēšiiāt. haōiiqm. hē. paiđiiqm. upa.kərəṅtaiiən.* <AMT tswm p'h MHYTWNyt 'ywp tswm GBRA lyšyt' wy p'dy 'w' QDM 'yb klynnd> **V13 §34.** *puxdəm. pasūm. auuaxnāt. puxdəm. narəm. raēšiiāt. duməmcīṅ. hē. upa.θβərəsaiiən.* <AMT pncwm p'h MHYTWNyt 'ywp pncwm GBRA lyšyt dwm-c Y 'w' QDM 'yb PSKWNd> *aētahmāciṅ. nidarəzaiiən.* <OD> *ciθaiia.* <+ Pahlavi comment>. The Avestan citation *vaēibiia. naēmaēibiia* does not appear in the Pahlavi translation of ms. 4000.

3. The case of V16 §15

The text of V16 §16 from *yim. aṅtarə* till *ahurō. mazdā* is repeated thrice after the first question to Ahura Mazda about the punishment for each time a man has sexual intercourse with a woman having her period. We can observe the text of the liturgical manuscripts in the following table:³¹

Table 6: The repetitions of a section of V16 §16 in V16 §15

16 §14	dātarə. yō. nāirikaiiā. ciθrauuaitiā. daxštāuuaitiā. vohunauuaitiā. pauruuō. vasna. šīiaōθna. tanūm. iriθiāy. yaṭ. hē. ciθra. daxštəm. bauuaiti. yaṭ. hē. daxšta. ciθrəm. bauuaiti. kā. hē. asti. ciθa.
16 §15	āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā. paōirīiāi. upaēta. paōirīiāi. nišasta. <i>yim. aṅtarə. vastrəm. frajasāt. yim. aṅtarə. āhitəm. rānəm. frajasāt. afranharəzāt. pairi. xšudrāt. kā. hē. asti. ciθa. āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā.</i> θrisatəm. upāzanānəm. upāzōiṭ. aspahē. aštraia. θrisatəm. sraōšō. caranaiia. bitīiāi. upaēta. bitīiāi. nišasta. <i>yim. aṅtarə. vastrəm. frajasāt. yim. aṅtarə. āhitəm. rānəm. frajasāt. afranharəzāt. pairi. xšudrāt. kā. hē. asti. ciθa. āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā.</i> pañcāsātəm. upāzanānəm. upāzōiṭ. aspahē. aštraia. pañcāsātəm. sraōšō. caranaiia.
16 §16	θritīiāi. upaēta. θritīiāi. nišasta. <i>yim. aṅtarə. vastrəm. frajasāt. yim. aṅtarə. āhitəm. rānəm. frajasāt. afranharəzāt. pairi. xšudrāt. kā. hē. asti. ciθa. āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā.</i> haptāitīm. upāzanānəm. upāzōiṭ. aspahē. aštraia. haptāitīm. sraōšō. caranaiia. tūiriāi. upaēta. tūiriāi. nišasta. <i>yim. aṅtarə. vastrəm. frajasāt. yim. aṅtarə. āhitəm. rānəm. frajasāt. afranharəzāt. pairi. xšudrāt. kā. hē. asti. ciθa. āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā.</i> nauuaitīm. upāzanānəm. upāzōiṭ. aspahē. aštraia. nauuaitīm. sraōšō. caranaiia.

In this case, we are probably facing a transmission mistake in both traditions. For the Iranian one, it appears an anacoluthie or a speech-disruption, since Ahura Mazda is interrupted before finishing his answers, through the repetition of the question about the punishment (*kā. hē. asti. ciθa*) and the introduction of the speaker by the narrator (*āaṭ. mraōṭ. ahurō. mazdā*). The same is true for the Indian liturgical manuscripts, though after the fourth situation only (§16). Furthermore, the text of V16 §16 from *yim. aṅtarə* till *afranharəzāt. pairi. xšudrāt* describes a condition (viz. that the semen is not discharged) which affects every previous situation in paragraph 15; so it should be expected to appear in the first question and not in the last one. In fact, paragraph 16 does not appear in the exegetical manuscripts.³² Geldner (1896, p. 100) indicates that it is uncertain whether the paragraph 16 is a later addition or a gloss.³³ The question, I think, remains open.

³¹ The shaded-cursive texts only appear in the Iranian manuscripts.

³² Thus mss. 4600, 4711, 4715, 4670 (added by *secunda manu*), 4660 (added by *secunda manu*). It appears in 4700 and 4713 but with an incomplete Pahlavi translation.

³³ A small Pahlavi comment appears between V16 §15 and V16 §17: <ḅ ZNE AMT b'1 pltwm krt 'ḅ MN 'ytwn' HWEyḅ> (ms. 4600) *ē ēn ka bār fradom kard ē az ēdōn hē* "That is to say, when this is done for the first time, so be it", which does not provide any argument for considering V16 §16 a gloss or a later addition. The same

In any case, we face two different liturgical traditions that, after the "first" composition of these texts, have tried to incorporate the important feature in the analyzed passage concerning the non-discharge of the semen, in order to distinguish it from the next passage, V16 §17, where it is described the punishment for the man who has sexual intercourse with a woman having her period, but discharging his semen on her (*xšudrā. auui. franharəzaiti*).

4. The case of V18 §55

The passage of V18 §55 has two versions in the liturgical manuscripts of the Widēwdād: once again, a long version appears in the Iranian manuscripts and a shorter one in the Indian ones. Iranian manuscripts have (see the shaded-cursive text in Table 4) the text of V18 §35 (= V18 §41, = V18 §47), the text which closes the different sections about the males of the Druj at the end of this paragraph:

Table 7: The repetitions of V18 §35 in the Widēwdād-Sāde manuscripts

V18 §34 + 35	V18 §40 + 41	V18 §46 + 47	V18 §54-55
āaṭ. hē. hā. paiti.dauuata. yā. daēuui. druxš. sraōša. ašīia. huraōda. hō. bā. mē. aētaēšəm. aršnəm. paōirīiō. yaṭ. nā. kasuuiqamcina. yāḡhuiianəm. auuarətanəm. naire. ašaōne. jasta. ašaiia. vaḡhuiia. nōiṭ. daḡāiti.	āaṭ. hē. hā. paiti.dauuata. yā. daēuui. druxš. sraōša. ašīia. huraōda. hō. bā. mē. aētaēšəm. aršnəm. bitīiō. yaṭ. nā. pauruua. frabda. frabdō.drajō. framaēzaiti.	āaṭ. hē. hā. paiti.dauuata. yā. daēuui. druxš. sraōša. ašīia. huraōda. hō. bā. mē. aētaēšəm. aršnəm. θritīiō. yaṭ. nā. x'aptō. xšudrā. frāraōdaiicite.	āaṭ. hē. hā. paiti.dauuata. yā. daēuui. druxš. sraōša. ašīia. huraōda. hō. bā. mē. aētaēšəm. aršnəm. tūiriō. yaṭ. nā. jahika. pasca. pañcadasīm. sarəḡəm. frapataiti. anaiβīiāsta. vā. anabdātō. vā. pasca. tūiriīm. gāmō.bərətīm. išarə. pascaēta. vaēm. yōi. daēuua. hakaṭ. vaēm. auua.miuuāmahī. hīzuuasca. piuuasca. ³⁴
hō. məm. auuaθa. vərənūiti. yaθa. aniiāsciṭ. aršānō. auui. xšudrā. xšaθrišuuā. ḡm.vərənuuaiṇti.	hō. məm. auuaθa. vərənūiti. yaθa. aniiāsciṭ. aršānō. auui. xšudrā. xšaθrišuuā. ḡm.vərənuuaiṇti.	hō. məm. auuaθa. vərənūiti. yaθa. aniiāsciṭ. aršānō. auui. xšudrā. xšaθrišuuā. ḡm.vərənuuaiṇti.	<i>hō. məm. auuaθa.</i> <i>vərənūiti. yaθa.</i> <i>aniiāsciṭ. aršānō.</i> <i>auui. xšudrā.</i> <i>xšaθrišuuā.</i> <i>ḡm.vərənuuaiṇti.</i>

comment appears in the Pahlavi translation of ms. 4000 before V16 §16: <ḅ ZNE AMT b'1 AW'LA OBYDWNx1 'ḅ MN 'ytwn' HWEyḅ>.

³⁴ Both Iranian and Indian liturgical manuscripts add the text: *xšaiamna. pascaēta. mərəvəntē. gaēθā. astuuaitīš. ašahē. yaθa. zaṇda. yātumənta. mərəvənta. gaēθā. astuuaitīš. ašahē*, which is probably a quotation from the Pahlavi manuscripts (Geldner [1896: 110]). Shaded *astuuaitīš* (not edited by Geldner) appears in all liturgical Iranian manuscripts and in the following liturgical Indian: 4210, 4230 (deleted), 4240, 4410, 4400, 4500. It does not appear in the exegetical manuscripts nor in the following Indian liturgical: 4200, 4420, 4510, 4515.

The Druj closes her speech about her first, second and third males with the following comparison: "This [male] mates with me like the other males mate also with the females through their semen". In the case of the fourth of the males this comparison does not appear in the Indian liturgical manuscripts. It could be alleged that it is just an omission and that the Iranian manuscripts have the original version, but the conditions of paragraph 54-55 are, however, different to the previous ones by two reasons: 1) semantically, this "male" can be a man or a woman (*hō ... aršnqm. tūiriō. yaṭ. nā. jahika*), so the repetition of the comparison with other males which mate with females has no sense at the end of paragraph 55; and 2) syntactically, there is a change of subject in V18.54-55: in 18.54 the Druj speaks in 1.p.sg.; by contrast, in 18.55 they are the *daēuua* who speak in the 1.p.pl. (*vaēm. yōi. daēuua*). Therefore, the pronoun of the repeated comparison (*mqm*) does not agree either in number or in gender.

If the case is such, it seems very probable that the Iranian manuscripts show here an innovation.

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- 4070 Geldner's K9. Iranian Widēwdād-Sāde. Kongelige Bibliothek, Cod. Iran. 9. Microfilmed copy. Available at the Avestan Digital Archive
- 4080 Ketāb-xāne-ye Melli (Tehran) 05-06211 (KM2). To date unpublished images are available on the Avestan Digital Archive.
- 4090 Yeganegi Library in Tehran (YL1). Being indexed on the Avestan Digital Archive by Céline Redard.
- 4100 Majles Library 15283 (ML15283). Being indexed on the Avestan Digital Archive by Farzaneh Goshtasb.
- 4115 Ketāb-xāne-ye Melli (Tehran) 5-06210 (KM1). To date unpublished images are available on the Avestan Digital Archive.
- 4150 Ketāb-xāne-ye Melli (Tehran) 5-06212 (KM3). To date unpublished images are available on the Avestan Digital Archive.
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