While there are a number of linguistical problems unsolved in the Zoroastrian Book Pahlavi (Here abbreviated as ZBP), researchers tackling ZBP texts have been puzzled with copyists' errors and may make rather tenuous emendations to the manuscripts in order to make them understandable with all their apprehension that they may be fashioning something different from the original. Although it is needless to repeat here that the decipherment of an old text whose extant manuscript(s) is/are comparatively new should require more emendations, the treatment of ZBP texts needs more care to exclude arbitrary interpretations, since they are written in only ten distinctive graphemes which are respectively polyphonic with complexity of the Aramaic logogram orthography and one may be able to interpret a word or passage as he desires it to be, if he replaces only one grapheme of the word or passage with another, or adds one to it, or removes one from it. Further, it is assumed that the immediate adoption of the linguistical information from more reliable materials such as Manichaean Pahlavi texts, which is occasionally done, does not always play a decisive role in the interpretation of ZBP texts, for between them, for instance, can be seen dialectal and diachronic differences.\(^{(1)}\) Therefore, it is prior to anything in linguistical study of ZBP to decipher a text as it is written, namely with fewer emendations, and the problem is how to reconstruct from manuscripts a text as close to the original as possible.

Among ZBP texts available for the present problem the Bundahishn is assumed to be in the best condition: We have two different editions which have been transmitted to us separately in Iran and in India, i.e. the Great Bundahishn (Here abbreviated as GBd.) and the Indian Bundahishn (Here abbreviated as IBd.). Whether GBd. is an enlargement of IBd. or the latter is a abridgment of the former,\(^{(2)}\) it is assumed that they have been differentiated

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from a single original common to both; it is logically possible but may not be the case that a copy of an extant manuscript was brought from Iran to India and vice versa, from which extant manuscripts were copied there, because some passages are understandable only when they are reconstructed complementarily from extant manuscripts of both editions. Therefore, passages common to both editions are assumed to be ones transmitted from a lost original older than any manuscript and to give us more reliable information about ZBP.

The manuscripts used in the present collation as follows:

1. E. T. D. Anklesaria, *The Bundahishn, Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2 from Persia by Dastur Tirandaz ... with an Introduction by Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria*, Bombay 1908. (Abbreviated as A)

2. The Codex DH, *Being a Facsimile of Bondahesh, ... and Parts of Denkard* (Zaban-šenāsī-ye Irānī 3), Tehran. (Abbreviated as D)


The following texts will be referred to, if necessary:


The collation is done in the following system:

(1) The original text is A.

(2) Variants are shown as follows:

(1) The word which has a variant(s) is marked with an asterisk. Variants of Wāw quiescens and Yōḏ as Izāfāt are occasionally disregarded.
(2) The word which is emended or complemented there is marked with a cross.

(3) The words common to GBd. and IBd. are in italics.

(4) The number of pages of the manuscripts are shown at the margins. The |, ||, |||, |, || and } indicate the end of a page of A, T, D, K, R and M respectively.

The system of transliteration is as follows:

(1) D. N. Mackenzie's system is applied in principle. (a)

(2) 'Ālēp, Ḥē, Ḥēt, Āyīn and Șādē in Aramic logograms are transliterated into ', Ḥ, Ḥ, ' and Š respectively.

(3) The underline and overline to note distortions are neglected.

(4) The haplography is neglected.

(5) The gnm'k is spelled gn'k.

(6) The compound graphemes ǔ and ǔ are transliterated to ynd and yt respectively.

TEXT OF PREFACE

(1) *šn'dšn' d'tl Y 'whrmzd Y *l'd'wmn'd, GDH'wmn'd, *hlwsp-'k's Y *d'n'k Y *twb'n'k Y mhst', hwmt' hwlt' hwwl't' PWN mynšn' gwššn' kwnšn', hm'k' yzd'n' mynwkn', yzd'n' gytk'n' PWN nywk yhšn, hwp *mwlw'k, B'YHWNmn *npštn', PWN TWB 'hl nywk', PWN *dstwlh *yzd'n'-dwst', hm'k'-hl't', 'hl dyh-wlcyl'l, krpk'-dwst' Y yzd'n'-šš's Y mynwkn-ḤZYTWN Y ŠPYL'n'-psyn', *dstwl Y dyn' Y *ŠPYL Y m'zdyšn'n', *'nwsk-lbw'n' spnddt't' m'h-wnd't' lwstwn šrdnl +YKYBNYk bwn-dhšnyh.

(2) MN mtn' Y t'cyk'n' 'L Y 'yl'n'-štr', +lwdb'kynyt'n' ZYS'n' dwš-dynyh, *dwš-hwsyhy Y MN kd'n' hw-dyn'yh W MN dyn'-bwl't'l'n' +clmyk *swn 'n'ptn' l'c'n' +Y YḤWWNT YḤWWNYt' MN +yzd'n'-g'syhy Y zwpl', 'pd W +hw-cmyh' MNDWM'n MN +d'n'sn' Y kwngdg'n', +lst-cym +MRY' +MN 'byd'stkyh W A2 d'nšn' Y p'tlm 'wcyt'. || wt-zm'n'nh *l'd | 'LHc Y MN dwtk'

T3 Y 'plm'yk kd'n W kd'n' *dyn'-bwl't'l'n' 'L I'm W lstk' Y 'LHš'n' dwš-dyn'n' gwmhyt', PWN +plng ZK Y hw-dyn'n' MRY', bl'hm W plššn W krtk' PWN 'hwk', 'ylng dšt HWHd.
COLLATIVE NOTES TO PREFACE

(1) *'s'dšn': D šd'nān.
*ld'wmn'd: D l'd'w'mn'd.
*hlwsp-'k's: D KR'wsp-'k's.
+d'n'k: A, T, D d'n'. Affected by NP.
+twb'n'k: A, T, D twb'n'. Affected by NP.
*mwlw'k: D mwlw'k'.
+npštn': A, T, D npš't'. Affected by NP.
*dstwlyh: D dstwblyh.
*yzd'n'-dwst': D yzd'n'-dwstwbl.
*dstwl: D dstwbl.
*ŠPYL: D wyh.
*'nwšk-lbw'n': T 'nwšk-lbw'n'. D 'nwšk-lbw'ły'n.
+YKYTB'Nyk: A, T, D YKTYBN'. This is assumed to be a corruption of YJÙJ. Since the imperfect 3rd person plural suffix of Aramaic logograms is occasionally written "-N" in the Zoroastrian Book Pahlavi, this YKTYBN is assumed to be equivalent to YKTYBWN. The verb "nibīstan" is spelled YKTYBWNstn' in the Aramaic logogram orthography, so the YKTYBWN represents a phonetic value "nib(i)-". Thus YKTYB'Nyk is 'nibēg, which probably means "a sacred book". G. Ito suggests ZK TYBR'='ān 'nāmag(5) but the usage of 'ān in this passage is grammatically questionable and no other example of TYBR' (=tišlā)= 'nāmag is found. M. Bahar suggests +YKYTB'N=Wg='nīvesag (ketāb?),(6) but 'nīvesag/'nībesag would be spelled YKTYB(W)Nk/ YKTYB(W)N'k.

(2) +lwb'knytn': A, T, D lwb' knyt'. Affected by NP.
*dwš-hw' syh: D dwš-hw'yš.
+cmyk: so T, D. A 'cmy.
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*šwn: D šn W.
+Y: Complemented by the present writer.
+yzd'n'-g'syh: A, T yzd'n-g'syh. D yyzd'n'-g'syh.
+hw-cmyh': A hw-cmkyh. T hw-cmks, D hw'-cmyh.
+d'n'sn': A, T, D d'n's. Affected by NP.
+I'st'-cym: so D. A l'sp-cm. T l'st-cm.
+MPY' ... +wcyt': so T, D. A obscure.
*I'd: T, D I'd I'd.
*dy'n'-'bwlt'l'n: D dy'n'-bwltwl'n'.
+'plng: so D, A, T 'plg.
+hwwhtn': so D. A hwwht. T hmwht'.
*dwš-cylklyh: so A, T, D. Bahar(7) emends to dwš'ylklyh=dušwaragih
(=duš-(x)waragih), but it should be spelled dwš-hwlklyh or
dwš-hwulklyh. Tentatively translating into "a grimace",
I think dwš-cylklyh=duš-cihragih means distortion of
face caused by hardship. Further discussion is needed.
+s'dstn': A, T, D s'dst'. Affected by NP.

TRANSLATION OF PREFACE

(1) Praising the creator Ohrmazd, who is majestic, glorious, omniscient,
mighty, and of good thought, good speech and good deed in his thought, speech
and deed, and all the deities in the spiritual world and in the material world, I
will write the sacred book "Primal Creation", in a fine omen and good fortune,
under the second good star, on the authority of the late(8) Lord Spanyād Mahwin-
dād Rustam, who was a lover of deities, a man of all wisdom, a man of righteous
practice, a lover of virtue, a recognizer of deities, a man of spiritual sight, a
favorite of good men, and an authority of the Religion.

(2) Since Arabs came to Iran and there spread their heresy and evil desire
to keep away the mysteries, which had come from the divine revelation, from
the Kavi Good Religion and from the faithful’s honorable manners. The pro-
found wonderful good meanings of things were gone from astologers’ knowledge
and the right meanings of words from the commonalty’s memory and knowledge.
For the bad times, those from the Kavi noble family and the Kavi faithful
mingled themselves with those infedels’ misdeeds and manners. For the
sake of worldly glory, they considered words, manners, services and actions of

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the Good Religion as faults and errors. Those who came from all places and
wanted to learn these knowledges and mysteries could not make them their
own with all their efforts, troubles and grimaces.

TEXT OF CHAPTER I, PART I

(1) *ZK *zd'-k'syh: nzdst' QDM *bun-dhsnyh 'whrmzd W
*pỹyd'lk'yh Y gn"k-mynwk. 'HL QDM cygwnyh Y gyh'n'-d'm MN
*bun-dhsnyh 'L *ple'm cygwn MN dyn' Y *m'zdsn'n' pyt'k'. 'HL
QDM SBW' +MNW +gyh'n' YHSNNYt' PWN *wc'lsnyh MHyh
W cygwnyh.

(2) PWN ṢPYL-dyn' *wgywn pyt'k' +'YK 'whrmzd { *b'lystyk
PWN *hΙswp'-k'syh W *wlyh zm'n Y 'kn'lk' BYN lαshnyh *hm'γ
*YΗWWNt'. ZK lαshnyh g's W gyro'k Y 'whrmzd. 'YT' *MNW
A3 *-sl-lαshnyh +YMLLNWyt'. *ZK hΙswp'-k'syh W *wlyh || 'h'mk'
Y 'whrmzd. 'YT' MNW dyn' YMRWWNYt'. hm KR' 2 wc'lsn'
'ywk': ZK Y h'mk' +Y zm'n Y *-kn'lk', cygwn 'whrmzd W g's W
T4 *wlyh | W dyn' zm'n' Y 'whrmzd +YΗWWNt' W 'YT W hm'γ |
+YΗWWNt'.

(3) *hrymn' BYN l'lykyh PWN *HL-d'nsnyh W ztl'-k'mkyh
*zwp'-l'dk +YΗWWNt W 'YT, MNW L' +YΗWWNyt. *P-s
*zt'l'-k'mkyh *κ'm. W ZK l'lykyh gyro'k'. 'YT' +MNW \* *-sl-l'lykyh
*YMRWWNYt'.

(4) *P-s'n' mdy'n' twlykyh +YΗWWNt'. || 'YT MNW w'd
+YMLLNWyt', *MNW-γ gуmycн ptš.

(5) +W KR' 2-ν mnynw Y kn'lk'wмнd Y +-kn'lk'-wмнd. MH |
T5 +b'lystyk \| ZK Y 'sl-lαshnyh +YMLLNWyt', 'YK L' sl'wмнd. W
*zwp'-l'dk ZK Y } *-sl-t'lykyh. W ZK +-kn'l'lyh. PWN wмнd
KR' 2 *kn'lk'wмнd, 'YK-s'n' mdy'n' *twlykyh W 'ywk' *L Y
TWB L' ptwst' *HWHnd. +W TWB *KR' 2-ν mnynw PWN
+NPŞH-t'n' *kn'lk' *HWHd. W TWB hΙswp'-k'syh Y 'whrmzd l'd
KR' *MHyhs BYN *d'nšn' Y 'whrmzd *kn'lk'wмнd +W +-kn'lk-
'wмнd, MH *ZK Y +BYN KR' 2-ν mnynw ptm'n' +YD'YTNYt'
*D hundk' +p'hl's'dh \* Y d'm Y | 'whrmzd PWN тn' Y psyn' *D
*hm'γ-hm'γ-lαshnyh. W ZK 'YT *-kn'lk'yh. d'm Y *hλynm' PWN
A4 ZK zm'n' BR' +'pshyt' 'D Y *'MT' тn' Y psyn' *byt'. || ZK-c 'YT

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*kn‘lkh.

(6) ‘whrmzd PWN hlws-‘k’yhyh +YD‘YTWNst’ ‘YK *gn”k-mynwok
‘YT’, +MH +hnt‘esh’ ‘BYDWNYt’, PWN *‘lik-k’mkhyh *cygwn
gwynyt’ +MN plk’n +‘D plc’n, *PWN +MH W cnd +pz‘l
‘hnt‘mnyt’. } ‘P-s || mnwtkyh ‘d’m Y PWN ZK ‘pz‘l BYN *‘pty’ pr‘c
bhynt’. *3000 ŠNT’ ‘d’m *mnwtkyh YK‘YMWNt’ +HWHd ’YK
R37

T6 *YHWWNt’ *HWHnd *‘-mnyst’l | W *‘-lwb’k W *‘-glpt’.

(7) gn‘k-mynwok +HL-d‘n‘shyh ‘d’ MN *‘YT’yhyh Y ‘whrmzd *n‘k’s
YHWWNt’. ’HL MN ZK *zwpt‘dyk +‘hst’. *L wynn‘d Y dyt’l
Y *lw‘sh’n m‘l. *MT-š HZYTNWt’ +ZK Y +whrmzd lw‘shyh
‘-glpt’l *pr‘c | *plw‘t *zt’l-k’mkhyh +W *‘lysk-gwlwyh ‘d’ *PWN
+mlncynyt’ +tk *QDM *‘krt’. *P-s *HL +HZYTNWn’n’ *lylyh ||
W ‘plw‘shyh Y +plhy MN ZK Y NPŠH, L‘WHL ‘D *tm *dwb‘lst’
+W klnyt’ KBD *SDY’ : ZK ‘d’m Y *mlncynyt’l *nyd‘p *D ‘ltykkyhy.

(8) ‘whrmzd *MT-š ‘d’m Y gn‘k-mynwok *HZYTNWt’, ‘L’
A5 *MDMHNst’ ‘d’m *shmg‘n Y wtuk’Y *wtk || +Y dw‘şyh. *P-s
L’ *buelyt’ *HWHd. ’HL gn‘k-mynwok ‘d’m Y ‘whrmzd | *HZYTNWt’. M96
MDMHNst’ KBD ‘d’m Y +zwpt Y wn, +hm‘lyk-pwyşs‘yk *P-s
*btlyt’ ZK Y ‘whrmzd *d‘-m‘-dhsnyh. ||

D3 (9) ‘DYN’ ‘whrmzd || LWTH-c *MH‘-dwynk’ +YD‘YTWNstn’ Y
‘d’m Y plc’n Y kl ‘Y ptyly’ Y gn‘k-mynwok +‘tyh QDM d‘š’t,
gupt’ *YK gn‘k-mynwok QDM ‘L ‘d’m Y L hdby‘lyh *YBLWN W
st‘dsn’ +YHBWN ‘D PWN ZK *p‘td‘sn’ | ‘-mlg W *‘-zlm‘n’,
*‘-swahn W +‘-pwhšn’ *YHWWNyd. *P-s cym ZNH ‘YK ḤT
‘’ltyk L’ slynyd BNPŠH L’ *-k’l W ‘L-m‘n’ KR’ *2-‘n’ swt‘-
’pk‘lyh, *P-s *d‘lst’ gn‘k-mynwok ’YK ‘L’ YBLWnm ‘D *d‘m–c
Y LK hdby‘lyh W L YHBWNm *st‘dsn’. BR’ LK W d‘m– Y
LK’ *mlncynm ‘D ‘hm‘y-hm‘y-łwbsnyh. BR’ *h‘cym hlwp‘ Y
‘d‘m Y

T7 LK ‘L ‘-dustyh Y | LK W *dustyh Y *L. *P-s we‘l‘sn’ ZNH *‘BK-š
PWN *HN’ d‘š’t | ‘YK ‘whrmzd BYN +‘-cl’k’ +‘YT. ḤN’ ‘d‘m Y
‘tyh | *LYN’ *YHSNNyt’ +W L’ ‘ptylyt’ +P-s PWN *styk–c
K176

A6 QDM. *‘YBLWNynd. *P-s gupt’ ‘whrmzd || ’YK L’ *hlws-‘krt’l
*HWHyd, gn,k-mynwok, *‘YK-t L ‘L’ twb’n’ *mlncynyt’n’. *P-t ‘d‘m–c
Y L || ‘ytun’ L’ twb’n’ ‘krt’n’ ’YK L‘WHL L Y *hwyšyh Y L L’
R39
*YHMWTWNd.

(10) ‘HL ‘whrmzd PWN *hlws-‘k’yhyh YD‘YTWNst’ ‘YK ḤT’ M99

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COLLATIVE NOTES TO CHAPTER I, PART I

(1) *ZK znd-*k'syh: K, R, M PWN ŠM d't'l whrmzd zndy k'sy. J MN znd-*k's Y. Various emendations and interpretations to the first word ZK are proposed: Among them,
Nyberg(8) emends to LZNH = 'im and assumes that the spelling ZK is misused for the word 'im. Zaehner(10) emends MN in the Indian Bundahism (strictly in J) to ZNH = 'ën. Ito, not emending the spelling, assumes that the word 'ān is misused in the meaning of 'ēn(11). None of them is satisfactory to me. The ZK = 'ān here does not function as a demonstrative pronoun denoting a distant object but as an adjective meaning "the widely known", as Zaehner assumes correctly. The MN in J is assumed to be a partitive preposition meaning "(some) of". It is not necessary any more to discuss that the title of the book is Bun-dahïsth and that Zand-agâthih is not a proper noun.(12) Though further discussion will be needed on formation of MP Tatpurusha compounds and the suffix -ih, I assume that Zand-agâthih means literally "what is known from the Zand". And though I, following the tradition, translate tentatively Zand to the Commentary, it is assumed it means here a collective of canonical texts, while dēn means an individual text. The y or Y in K, R, M, J is a remnant of an oblique ending, which is frequently found in IBd.

*bwn-dhysnh: A, T, D bwn-dh'tyh. K, M bwn-dhysnyh. R bwn-dhsnyh. & & & is a corruption of &. Cf. m'zdyt' = m'zdsn'. There are other examples of the s representing š. e. g. YKTYBWNstn' = 'nibištan.

See (6) +MH +hnd'csn'.

*płc'm: K płc'm tn' Y psyn'.
*pytd'lkhyh: K pytd'lk.
*bwn-dhėnyh: K bwn-dhėnyh. R bwn-dhėny. *m'zdsn'n': R mzdysn'n'. M m'zdsn'n'.
*wc'lšnyh: D wc'lšny.

(2) *'wgwn: K 'wgw.
+'YK: T Y. K, R, M 'YK.
*b'lystyk: K b'lystn'.

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*hlwsp-'k'syh: D hlwsp-'k'kyyh.
*whyh: K, R ŠPYLyh.
*hm'y: K hmky. R h'mk.
*YḤWWNt': K bwt.
*MNW: R omits.
*'-sl-lwšnyh: K ' -sl-lwšn'.
*ZK: K W.
YMLLLWNyt': K, R YMRRWNyt.
*whyhy: K ŠPYlyh.
'h.mk' Y... '+h.mk' Y: A, T, D, K, M omit. R hm'y 'whrmzd 'YT
MNW dyn' YMRRNd dyn hn KR' 2 wc'lšn 'ywk ZK Y h'mk Y. In this passage I tentatively follow Zaehner, but emend to 'ast 'ke
dên 'gowêd, which is in more usual order, with
regard to R and P.
*'-kn'lk': K, R '-kn'lk'wmnd.
*wyhyh: D, K whyy. R wyhs.
YḤWWNt'... YḤWWNyt': so K, R, M, A, T YḤWWNt' ḤWHd.
D YḤWWNt' ḤWHNd.

(3) *'hrmn': D hrmn.
*ΗŁ-d'nl'nyh: R 'ΗŁ-d'nyh.
*zepl-p'dk: K zwp'dy.
+YḤWWNt'... +YḤWWNyt': so K, R, M, A, T, D YḤWWNt'.
*P-ś: K W ZK.
*zt'l-k mkyh: K zt'l'yh.
*h'm: K 'hm.
+MNW: so K, R, M, A, T, D MN.
*'-sl-t'lykyh: K '-sly-t'lyk. M '-sl-t'lyk. Cf. (1) *ZK znd-'k'syh.
*P-ś'n': R 'MT-ś'n'.
*YMRRWNyt': R YNRRNd.

(4) *YḤWWNt': so D, A, T YḤWWNyt'. K, M bwt. R byt'.
YMLLLWNyt': A, T, D omit. K, R, M YMRRNd. There are some other examples of GBd. YMLLWNyt'=IBd. YML-
LWNd, e. g. (5) *YMLLWNyt'
*MNW: R MNW K'N.

(5) *W KR'... +'-kn'lk'wmnd: A, T KR' 2-'n mnwg kn'lk'wmndyh Y '-kn'-

R (=K) ... kn’lk’wmnd W ’-kn’lk’wmnd. 

M KR’ 2 QDM ‘D kn’lk’wmnd W ’-kn’lk’wmnd. Since padis is a postposition or adverb and in D KR’ 2-'n='har 2-ăn is preceeded by W=’ud, Zaehner’s emendation is questionable. As seen in K, a-kanārag-

ömand ud (or i) kanāragömand qualifies mēnōg. There are some other examples of 

GBd. Y=IBd. W, e. g. (4) +p’ths’dyn *Y d’m. In the following passage, it is explained both Spirits are infinite and finite at the same time. If the interpretative phrases, which are not seen in IBd. are omitted, the meaning may be much more obvious: Both Spirits exist in infinite expansion, except on the borders between them where they are spatially limited.


Since this is paralleled with *zwpl-p’dk, both of them should be in the same grammatical form.

*YMLLWNyt’: K YMRRNd.

*zwpl-p’dk: D zwpl-p’dyk. K zwp’d.

*-sl-t’lkhyth: T ’-sl-t’lkhyth. K ’-sly-t’lyk.

+-kn’lkhyth: so T, A, D ’-kn’lyh.

*kn’lk’wmnd’d: T kn’lk’wmnd.

*twhykyh: K twhyk.

*’L *Y: K LWTTh.

*HWHnd: K YK’YMWNyt.

+W: so K.


*2-’n: K 2.

+NPŠH-tn’#: so T, D, K A NPŠT’-tn’.

*kn’lk’ *HWHd: K kn’lk’wmnd ḤWHd. Since kanāragömand is spelled kn’lk’wmnd and K has ḤWHd.


"NHyh: K MND'M. R 2MD'M.
*d'sn': K YHBWNs'n'.
*kn'l'k'mnd: R kn'l'wmnd.
W *-kn'l'k'wmnd: so K, R. This paragraph deals with infiniteness and finiteness and explains both of the Spirits and their belongings are both infinite and finite: It refers to the attributes of the Spirits, namely the highest and the deep-lying, first, and then to the Spirits themselves, and finally here to the creation. Although naturally there is no passage referring to the infiniteness of the creation of the Evil Spirit, the passage dealing with the creation of Ohrmazd is presumed to refer to its infiniteness and finiteness. Therefore the phrase in question is added here. This interpretation may be supported by the existence of the following passage: 'ân-iz 'ast kanâ-ragih="That is also finiteness". The creation of Ohrmazd is finite because it undergoes the catastrophe on the Last Day, but will be infinite after the resurrection.

*ZK: K ZNH.
+BYN: so K.
+YD'YTNY': A, T, D YD'YTNT. K YD'YTWNd. Cf. (4) YML-LWNyt', (7) HZYWNt'.
*D: K W TWB. R TWB.
*p'ths'dyh: so T, K. A, D p'ths'd. R p't'hş'yh.
*Y: K W.
*D: .. *'kn'l'kyh: M YHWVNyt ZK Y-e 'MT 'D hm'ỹ-hm'ỹ-lwbšnyh' *'kn'l'kwmd.
*hm'ỹ-hm'ỹ-lwbšnyh: K hm'ỹ-hm'ỹy-lwbšnyh.
*'kn'l'kyh: K, R *'kn'l'kwmd.
*'hlymn': T 'hlmn', K 'hlmn.
+psyht': so R. A, D, K 'psyhyn. T 'psyh'n. |\$\$\$\$ may be the corruption of |\$\$\$\$. Zaehner emends to abēšihēnīd, but it is unnecessary.
*'MT': K MNW.
*byt': T, D YHWWNyt'. K YHWWNyt.
+kn'lkh: A, T, D kn'lk'wmndyh. K -kn'lkyh. This is assumed to be parallel with -kn'lkyh above.
(6) +YD'YTWNst': so T, A, D YD'YTWNst'. K YD'YTWNst.
*gn''k-mynw: K 'hlmn.
+HN hnd'cšn: A, D QDM hnd'cyc'. T QDM hnd'cym'. K, R, M MH hnd'cyc. [H] [E] [U] [E] is assumed to be a corruption of [H] [E] [U] [E]. Cf. (1) *bwn-dhysnyh. Since this passage is followed by two interrogative sentences and corresponds to IBd. 'če handāzed, it may be an interrogative sentence.
*cygwn: K BYN. IBd. BYN is assumed to have resulted from the corruption cygwn→ -c BYN' = -iz 'ander.
+MN plk'n: +D plc'm: A, T, D, QDM plk'n QDM plc'm. K 'D plc'm MH plc'm Cf. Zachner.
+'pz'l: so K. A, D 'pz'l'n'. T 'pz'l'n.
+hnc'mnyt: K hnc'mnyt. R hnc'mnyt. M hnc'mnyt.
*'p'yt: K 'p'st. R p'dst.
*3000: T 3·1000
+d'm *mynwkyk: A PWN d'm mynwkyk. T, D d'm PWN mynwkyk. K BYN mynwk. K BYN is assumed to have resulted from the corruption $ \text{BYN} \rightarrow $ $ \text{zwp'ya} \rightarrow $ $ \text{zwp'yak} $. This should have been emended to d'm PWN mynwkyk?

*HWHd: so K.
*YHWWNt': K bwt.
*'-mnyt'l: K -mnyt'l. There are many examples of GBd. -myn- =IBd. -mn-.
*'-lwb'k: K -lww'k.

(7) +'HL-d'nsnyh: so T, A, D 'HL-d'nsny. K 'HL-d'ns.
*YT'yh: K 'YT.
*'-k's: K L'-k's.

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The phonetical distinction among 'MT, MNW, and 'YK is presumed to have been lost.

+ZK Y+whrmzd: so K, A, D whrmzd whrmzd ZK. T whrmzd ZK.

The preceding 'HL is interpreted as a preposition tentatively. But no other usage of the preposition 'HL, to my knowledge, is found. Ib'd. HZYTWNt seems more acceptable morphologically, but the word order is very unusual here. Further discussion is needed.


*HZYTWNt: T HZYTWNy. K dyt.
+L': so T, A, D L'Y.

+D: T w.

*hltykklyh: so T, K 'ldwmd. A, D 'ltyklyh.

(8)
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*wtk: K SLY'.
*P-š: T omits.
*bwlcty: *HWHd: K bwlcnsyk MDMHNst.
*gn'k-mynwk ... *whrmzd: M d'm Y 'whrmzd gn'k-mynwk.
*HZYTWNst': K dyt.
zwpl ... hm'yyk-pwrsšnyk: A, D zwpl Y wn hm'k- pwrsšnyk. T (=A, D) ... -wrsšyh. K whš d'm Y pwrsšnyk.
*bwlcty: K, M bwlcšnyk. MDMHNst W bwlcyt. R bwlcšnych MDMHst' bwlcyt'.
*d'm-dhšnych: D dhšnych. K d'm-YHJWBNsn.
*DYN': M 'DYNT.
(9 ) *MH'-dwykn': K MH'-yn'k.
+YD'YTWNstn': A, D YD'YTWNst'. T YD'YTNstn'. K YD'YTWNst.
*YBLWN: M YBLWNd.
*YK: R omits.
+YJBNW: so D. A, T YJBNWnt'. K 'BYDWN. R YD'YTWNstn'. M 'BYDWNrd.
*p'td'sn': K p'td'yšn.
*'-zlm'n: K 'zlm'n. M Y zlm'n.
*'-swššn: K 'swššn.
*'-pwhšš: K 'pwyšn. M 'pyšn.
*P-š: R 'P.
*dl'dst: R dl'yty'.
*YHWWNydr: K YHWWNytr.
*-k'l: T 'k'l. D 'k'lk.
*2'-n': D 2.
*L ... *st'dsn': K BR' L 'ZLWNm wyš hdb'lyh 'D d'm Y LK L'
'BYDWNm st'dšn Y PWN d'm Y LK L' 'BYDWBm
W PWN MND'M nywk LWTH LK hm-d'tst'n L'
YHWWNm. R BR' L' 'ZLWNm hdb'lyh .... (=K).
*d'm-c: T d'm Y.
*mlnywnm: K mlnywnm.
*hm'y-hm'y-lwbšnyh: K hm'y-hm'y-lwbšn'.
*h'cym: T h'c'm.

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Both Zaehner’s emendation and Nyberg’s are questionable. I think GBd. ptstc is a corruption of a phonetic representation of PWN styck (=‘pad stēzag or pad stēza (in NP corruption)), since the verb ‘abar ‘burdan may be intransitive as NP bardan is and this passage literally means “He rose (or wanted to rise) in strife.” One may notice a very unusual compound grapheme in its conjugational ending in A and D, which I presume to be a past optative ending.

*YBLWNynd: T YBLWNnd. K YBLWNt. See above.

*hlwsp'krt'l *HWHyd: K hlwsp-'k's HWHyt W hlwsp-krt'l.

*YK-t: R 'YK.

+L': so T, D, K, M, R. A l’d.


+'P-t: so K, M, R, A, T, D 'P-s.

*krtn: R mlncynyn ’P-t d’m Y L ’ytkn L’ twb’n’ krtn’.

*hwyšyh: K NPŠHyh.

*YHMTWNd: K YHMTWNyt.

(10) *hlwsp’k’syh: T hlwsp’k’s.

*zm’n’: R m’n’.

*k’lyc’l: R k’lc’l.

*BYDWNm: K YHBWNm.

*PWN: R omits.


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*kwhššn'-gwmycšnyh: T kš'n-gwmycšn' Y. Zaehner's interpretation of the passage here is questionable as well as Nyberg's, since the following hamęthu is not an adjective but an adverb. The object of kardan is koxššn-gumęzišńth, which is a compound noun meaning "the mixup (caused by) battle".

*nšstn': K wyd'p'nytn'. R h'e'nyth'.
*gwmycšn': K gwmycšnyh.
+P-š: K MN-š.
+BYDWN +D: so K, A, T, D 'BYDWNt'. R 'BYDWNd.
+k'lyc'l: M k'lc'l.
*ZNH *pšn': K gwmycšnyh. M gwmycšn.
*LMYTWNm: D LMYPWNm.
9000: T 9-1000.
*YD'YTWNm: T YD'YTWNm.
+BYDWNt: A, T, D 'BYDWN'. K 'BYDWNt'. R krtm'. M 'BYDWNt'.
+k'lhyt: A, T, D 'k'lnnyt'. K '-k'l 'YT. This is assumed to be transitive.
+*-wyn'k-plc'myh: K '-wyn'k'-plc'nyk.
+hm-d'ıst'n': so T, D, K. A k'm'-d'ıst'n'.
+Y: so K.
*hm-kwhššn': K hm-kwhššn. R hm-kwhššn Y MNW.
+k'lyc'l: M k'lc'l.
*BYDWNym: T, D, K 'BYDWNm.
(11) *ZNH-c: K ZNH-MH.
*hlwsp'-k'syh: T hlwsp'-k'syh. M hlwsp'-k'syh.
*y: T omits.
*ZNH: D omits.
9000: T 9-1000.
*3000 *ŚNT: R omits.
*hm'k: K hm'y.

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*gn'k-mynwk: K, M gn'k-mynwk.
*nmw't: K, M omit.
*’k’lyh: T ’-k’lyh.
+Y: so T, K, M, A, D, R omit.
+W: so K, R, M.
*pshn’t: D omits. K, M ’wsynyt”n’. R ’wsyn’tn’.
*ŠDY’n: D omits. K ŠDY”-’n’.
*HZYTWNt: K, R, M BR’ HZYTWNt.
+W *-bwd: K, R omits.
+YHWWNt: T YHWWNyt.
+W: so R, K, M omit.
+tm: K, R, M t’l-twrm.
+’wpst’t: K, M NPLWNst. R NPLWNst.
+wgn: T, M ’wgwn.
+YMLLNWnt’t: K, R, M pyt’k.
*YK: T ’YK-š.
+YHWWNt: so T, D, A YHWWNyt’. K, R, M YHWWNt.
Nyberg is correct. Zaehner’s emendation and interpretation are acceptable.
+gn’k’-mynwk: K, M gn’k-mynwk. T, D, R gn’k-mynwk.
+MN: D omits.
+bym: R bymy. M bymy PWN dyn’.
+b’h1l: K bhl. R b’hly.
+YHWWNt’t: T, K, R YHWWNt. M YHWWNyt.
+šnwk: K, M z’nwk. R zmnk.
+’wpst’t: K NPLWNst’. R, M NPLWNst.
+W: so K, R, M.
+’-k’l: K, R, M stlt W (=stlt’ ?)
+’-k’lyh: T ’-k’lyh.

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*d'm'n: T d'm'n'. K d'm.

+Y: so T, R, M. A, D, K omit.

+'n'kyh: so K, R, M.

*krtn': K, M krt. R krtn'.

*3000: T 1000.


*SKBHWNst': K YK'YMWN't. R, M omit.

TRANSLATION(13) OF CHAPTER I, PART I

(1) That revelation of the Commentary is first about Ohrmazd's primial creation and the Evil Spirit's aggression, then about the nature of the world creation from the primal creation to the end, as revealed in the Mazdayasnian Religion, then about the things the world has, with an interpretation of what and how (they are).

(2) In the Good Religion it is thus revealed that Ohrmazd, who is the highest in omniscience and goodness, was ever in the light for infinite time. That light is Ohrmazd's room and place. There are some who call it the infinite light. Those omniscience and goodness are the same as Ohrmazd. There are some who call it the Religion. Both are educts from one; that is the same as the infinite light, as Ohrmazd, his room, his goodness and Ohrmazd's time were and are and ever will be.

(3) Ahreman, who is deep-lying in afterthought and with the will to smite, was in the darkness. He was and is, but will not be. The will to smite is the same as him. And that darkness is his place. There are some who call it the infinite darkness.

(4) And between them was the void. There are some who call it the wind, where is the mixture (of good and evil).

(5) And both are spirits which are (both) finite and infinite, because there are some who call the highest what is in the infinite light, that is it is endless, and there are some who call the deep-lying what is in the infinite darkness. And that is infiniteness. And both are finite on the borders, where between them is the void and they are not connected with each other. Further, both of the Spirits are infinite in themselves. Further, because of Ohrmazd's omniscience, whatsoever is within Ohrmazd's knowledge is (both) finite and infinite, for He knows the treaty that exists between the two Spirits until the
creation of Ohrmazd becomes completely dominant in the posterior body for ever; that is infiniteness. The creation of Ahreman will be destroyed by that time when the posterior body comes about; that is also finiteness.

(6) Ohrmazd in His omniscience knew that the Evil Spirit existed and was plotting against the upper (world) in envious desire to mingle (with it) from the beginning to the end and with what and how many instruments he would accomplish (his designs). And spiritually He fashioned forth the creation which is necessary as those instruments. For 3000 years the creation remained so spiritual that it was without thought, without movement, without hold.

(7) The Evil Spirit, because being (only) of afterthought (by nature), was unaware of the existence of Ohrmazd. Then he rose up from the depths; he came to the border where the lights were visible. When he saw the light of Ohrmazd intangible, he rushed forth. Because of his will to smite and his envious nature, he made an assault against the upper to destroy it. And after seeing it far more valiant and victorious than his own, he ran back to the murk and hewed many demons (from his darkness): That creation of a destroyer which is fitting for doing battle.

(8) When Ohrmazd saw the creation of the Evil Spirit, the creatures, dreadful, putrid, bad and evil, did not please Him. And He did not pay homage to them. Then the Evil Spirit saw the creation of Ohrmazd; the creatures, very profound, triumphant and ever-responded, pleased him, and he paid homage to Ohrmazd's creatures.

(9) Then Ohrmazd, although knowing how the final affairs of the creation would be, offered peace towards the Evil Spirit and said, "O Evil Spirit, bring aid to my creation. Give it praise so that in reward thou mayst be immortal, ageless, uncorrupting and undecaying. And the reason is this that if thou dost not provoke a battle, thou thyself wilt not be powerless and that to both of us there will be promotions of benefit." And the Evil Spirit howled to him, "I will not bring aid to thy creation nor give it praise, but I will destroy thee and thy creation for ever. I will lead thy creatures to hatred to thee and to love for me." And the interpretation thereof is this that he thought that Ohrmazd was so helpless that he offered peace. He did not accept (His offer) but undertook even a strife. And Ohrmazd said to him, "Thou canst not be omnipotent, Evil Spirit, as thou canst not destroy me nor canst do unto me as it may not return to my possession".

(10) Ohrmazd in His omniscience knew that if He did not fix a time for battle...
against him, then he could do unto His creation as he undertook a strife and
the mixup (caused) by battle would be everlasting and that he could settle in
the mixup of the creation and make it his possession as today in the mixup
(among) people there are many who act wrong more than right, that is they
always act of the will of the Evil Spirit more (than of the will of Ohrmazd).
And Ohrmazd said to the Evil Spirit, “Fix a time so that by this agreement
we may postpone the battle for 9000 years.” Because He knew that by fixing
the time He would render the Evil Spirit powerless. Then the Evil Spirit,
becuase being sightless to the end, agreed on that treaty, as if two men in
duelling fixed a time, saying, “Let us do battle until night on such and such a
day.”

(11) Ohrmazd in His omniscience knew this too that (for the first) 3000 years
of these 9000 years the will of Ohrmazd would go on thoroughly, (for the next)
3000 years in the mixup the will of both Ohrmazd and Ahreman would go on,
and that in the last battle He could make the Evil Spirit powerless and the
aggression would be removed from the creation.

(12) Then Ohrmazd recited the Ahunawar prayer, that is, He uttered the
twenty-one words (beginning with) Yadisableh vairyo. And He showed to the
Evil Spirit the end in His very victory, the powerlessness of the Evil Spirit, the
destruction of the demons, the resurrection, the posterior body and the eternal
unsaultedness of the creation. When the Evil Spirit saw his own powerlessness
and the destruction of all the demons, he was stupefied and senseless and fell back
into the murk. Thus is it said in the Religion, “When He had recited one
third, the Evil Spirit shrank with fear. When He had recited two thirds, the
Evil Spirit fell on knees. When He had recited the whole, he became powerless.”
The Evil Spirit, because being powerless to harm the creation of Ohrmazd, lay
stupefied for 3000 years.

Notes

(1) e.g. M. J. Dresden, Middle Iranian (Current Trends in Linguistics. vol. 6) 1970 The
(2) This problem posed by E. W. West (Pahlavi Texts, Pt. 1 (The Sacred Books of the East,
vol. 5) Oxford 1880 p. xxxii ff.) has not yet been responded to.
(5) G. Ito ‘ブンダヒシュン書の序・序章と etymologica Bundahismica について’ (Bulletin
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(7) op. cit. p. 387.
(8) E. W. West, op. cit. p. xxxiv.
(9) In the following passage I owe too much to say to H. S. Nyberg in his *Hilfsbuch des Pahlavi, i*, Uppsala, 1928, *Hilfsbuch des Pahlavi, ii*, Glossar, Uppsala, 1931 and 'Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdeennes' (JA. vol. ccxiv (1929). His emendations and interpretations are quoted as "Neyberg" without further reference.
(10) R. C. Zaehner's work on the first chapter of the Bundahishn in his *Zurvan* (Oxford 1955) is a comprehensive study with many fruitful suggestions. His emendations and interpretations are quoted as "Zaehner" without further reference.
(13) This translation owes too much to Zaehner's work mentioned above to refer to every debt of mine.