

Evolution of the Name(s) Mazda, Ahura.

In the Gathas, Zarathushtra calls the Divine by many different names.¹ But in this chapter, I will limit the discussion to the names he uses most often ~ *mazdā-* and *ahura-*, and combinations of these two, because they are the names most associated with his perception of the Divine.

You may question: Why is the evolution of these names of the Divine important? Why should we care? Well, for at least two reasons (you may well think of additional ones).

1. As Thieme has pointed out, in a religion that has no images of the Divine, the name given to the Divine reveals its nature, its essence.² The evolution of the names of the Divine enables us to see how the perception of the nature of the Divine changed, from Zarathushtra's perception ~ *Wisdom* personified (*mazdā-*), and *Lord* (*ahura-* used in the sense of one who has acquired *lordship* over the qualities that make a being Divine),³ ~ to the perceptions of later texts in which the Divine became an authority figure *Lord Wisdom* (*ahura- mazdā-*), to yet later texts in which the name had become one word (*Hormezd, Ormazd*) which no longer had any intrinsic meaning in the everyday language of that time, and therefore projected no notion of the nature, the essence, of the Divine. Once the meaning of a name is no longer understood in everyday language, anyone can attribute any kinds of (totally different) qualities to the Divine. And the original perception of the Divine is lost.

Parenthetically, for this very reason, I think it is so important to translate Zarathushtra's names of the Divine into the languages we use today. It brings us as close as possible to Zarathushtra's mind-set, his perception of the Divine, and how Its nature fits in with the teachings that are given in Its name.

2. The second reason is that the evolution of the names of the Divine enables us to see the long, long, period of time that elapsed between Zarathushtra's date, and the later texts ~ even before the destruction wrought by Alexander and later the Arab invasion of Iran. A long lapse of time inevitably effects changes in the beliefs and practices of a given religion. One has only to recall the (historical) facts of how Christianity was practiced in the Middle Ages in Europe ~ a period of time from around 500 to 1500 years after the birth of Christ,⁴ ~ to appreciate how very different that form of Christianity was from the original teachings of Christ. So the evidence in this chapter provides a foundation for some of the conclusions reached in a chapter in *Part Four* which discusses loss of knowledge of Zarathushtra's teachings, during Younger Avestan times, through the fall of the Achaemenian Empire and its aftermath.⁵

If you are not interested in the detailed evidence that follows, you may prefer to just read the summary (below) and then skip to the conclusion.

Many scholars are of the opinion (which they express as though it were a fact!) that the Avestan script was invented by the Sasanians. However, there is evidence that a written form of (what is now called) Avestan did exist before the Sasanians, because in addition to the evidence detailed in another chapter,⁶ we have the evidence of the Old Persian *Behistan* inscription of Darius I (the Great) in which he says,

"...this inscription in other ways I made. In addition, it was in *Aryan [ariyā]*, and has been made on leather. ..." Column IV, line 88 - 89.⁷

In the Gathas, in five verses, Zarathushtra refers to his tribe generically as *airyaman-*.⁸ The *Behistan* inscription is hard evidence ~ written contemporaneously (not hundreds of years later). So the

language we now call Avestan probably was called *Aryan* when the language was still known, and the *Behistan* inscription shows that it had a written script. Whether that script was the same as the Avestan script we now have, we do not know.

Obviously, we have no manuscripts today which were made at a time when the Avestan language was in everyday use. All surviving Avestan manuscripts are copies (of many parent copies) made over many centuries ~ the earliest identified parent manuscript being almost 400 years after the Arab invasion of Iran,⁹ when Avestan was no longer understood,¹⁰ by those who copied and recopied the Avestan texts. So the term "Avestan texts" really means such copies of copies of copies (multiple times) made by such copiers.

The manuscripts I rely on are in Geldner. The phrases '*manuscript variations*' and '*no manuscript variations*' when used in this chapter, mean only those variations (in Geldner) which pertain to whether or not the name is shown as two words (*ahura- mazdā-*), or a compound (*ahura.mazda-*), or one word (*ahuramazda-*), or an abbreviation (*ahuram-*). Other manuscript variations (such as spelling, case inflections, word choices etc.) are not included in the terms '*manuscript variations*' and '*no manuscript variations*' in this chapter.

The conclusions in this chapter regarding the evolution of the name(s) presuppose that the worship of a deity named *mazdā-* and *ahura-* and variations of those names, originated with Zarathushtra. As Thieme (Professor Insler's teacher) has pointed out,¹¹ we have no evidence (as distinguished from speculation) that any deity was named *mazdā-* (or *ahura-* associated with *mazdā-*), before Zarathushtra.

To understand the evolution of the name(s), we need to consider some linguistic information, so please bear with me.

According to Kent 1950, both Avestan (GAv. and YAv.) and Old Persian, are two of a number of 'Old Iranian' languages.¹²

Avestan. The oldest known form of the Avestan language is called (today) Gatha Avestan (GAv.) or 'Old Avestan'. It is the language of the Gathas, the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* and a few other texts. It evolved over time into Younger Avestan (YAv.) in which all other (surviving) Avestan texts are written.¹³ These YAv. texts include a few passages in Archaic Younger Avestan, a stage in the evolution of Avestan that is closer to YAv. than it is to GAv. Although there must have been secular writings in Avestan (as the *Behistan* inscription shows, above) no other inscriptions or writings in Avestan ~ secular or religious ~ have survived, other than Zoroastrian texts.

Persian. Old Persian is the oldest known form of the Persian language. It is the language of the Achaemenian inscriptions. Old Persian and Avestan share a common ancestral language, but certain linguists believe that the date of Old Persian is perhaps 500 or so years later than Avestan.¹⁴

Old Persian evolved into what Kent calls Middle Persian (Pahlavi), which consists of Arsacid Pahlavi, Sasanian Pahlavi and other Middle Persian dialects. Middle Persian (Pahlavi in its various dialects) was the language of Iran for approximately 1,200 + years ~ roughly from the time of the Parthian empire (after Alexander) to several centuries after the Arab invasion. From Pahlavi (Middle Persian) the language evolved over time (and various stages) into modern Persian, which Kent calls New Iranian, stating that this language as a whole seems to come from Old Persian and Avestan.¹⁵

In considering the evolution of these names, we need to understand a little bit about compound words.

Compound words.

When two words are frequently used together, they sometimes, over time, evolve into one word. We see many examples of this in the English language ~ *afterglow, underdog, underground, wallflower, bathtub, landfall, overview, suitcase*, ~ the examples are legion. But it is a one way process. Two words may evolve into one. One word does not evolve into two.

Figure I at the end of this chapter, is from the Avestan manuscript J2. It shows that in Avestan, each word is separated from the next by a space, a dot, and another space. The dots are usually at mid-level, which my fonts cannot duplicate. As you can see, depending on the scribe's handwriting, some dots are large, with large spaces before and after, and some dots are barely visible, with much smaller spaces before and after.

In Avestan it often happens that if two (or more) separate words are frequently used together, they sometimes become one compound word,¹⁶ joined together with a dot but with no spaces before or after (the way in English we might use a hyphen). And sometimes, the two words (or the compound word) become one word (without being joined by a dot). For example,

tanū- means 'body'; *mąθra-* means precept, (Wisdom's Word). In YAv. texts, because these words are used together frequently, to express one concept, ~ the Word personified, the 'incarnate Word',¹⁷ ~ they evolved into one compound word *tanu.mąθra-* and then into one word *tanumąθra-*.

To illustrate: In the exact same phrase (in all other respects) the word is a compound in the YAv. *Sirozah* 1.17, and is one word in the YAv. Yy57.1. (This does not mean that *Sirozah* 1.17 was necessarily an earlier text than Yy57.1; the difference may have been the choice of a given scribe).

sraošahe. ašyehe. tax mahe. tanu.mąθrahe. ... Sirozah 1.17 (with **no manuscript variations**).¹⁸

"To the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the **incarnate Word**..." *Sirozah* 1.17, Darmesteter translation.¹⁹

sraošahe. ašyehe. tax mahe. tanumąθrahe. ... Yy57.1, (with some manuscripts showing it as a one word abbreviation).²⁰

"...to Sraosha Obedience the blessed, the mighty, **the incarnate word of reason, whose body is the Mathra**, ..." Yy57.1 Mills translation;²¹

Another illustration: *ahura-* means 'lord'; *ṭkaēšā-* means 'teaching',²² (which Darmesteter translates as 'law' and Mills as 'lore'). In the following examples, the first three are declensions of *āhurya-* which is the name *ahura-* used in a possessive sense as 'belonging to (or typical of) *ahura-*' (Skjaervo 2006), or 'generated by Ahura' (my translation).

āhuiṛiš. ṭkaēšō. Yy57.24,²³ 'the teaching generated by Ahura',

āhuiṛiš. ṭkaēšō. Yy60.3,²⁴

āhuiṛīm. ṭkaēšəm. Afringan Gahanbar § 12,²⁵

ahura.ṭkaēšō. Yy12.1,²⁶ 'the Ahura-teaching',

ahura.ṭkaēšō. Afringan Rapithwin §1,²⁷

ahura.ṭkaēšō. Ushahin Gah § 1.²⁸

And there are many other examples in which two separate words have become a compound word or one word. A few examples (one of which is so lovely, that I cannot resist giving it), are footnoted here.²⁹ And one has only to think of the following words which appear with great frequency throughout the YAv. texts (there are no capital letters in Av. script).

māzdayasni- ~ *mazdā-* 'wisdom' + *yasna-* 'worship/celebrate',
mazdadāta- ~ *mazdā-* 'wisdom' + *dāta-* 'given' or 'established',
ahurađāta- ~ *ahura-* 'lord' + *dāta-* 'given' or 'established'.

Where two words have become a compound word or one word, normally the case/number/gender inflection appears at the end of the word. For example, in the words *māzdayasna-*, *mazdadāta-*, and *ahurađāta-*, the first part of the word (*mazda* or *ahura*) is not inflected (except for scribal errors). And the same rule applies in Old Persian (Achaemenian) inscriptions in which the one word name *auramazdāh-* is inflected only at the end of the word (except for scribal errors).

Compound words are found in both the Gathas, and in YAv. texts.³⁰ But the names of the Divine ~ even *mazdā- ahura-* and *ahura- mazdā-* ~ appear only as separate words in all Avestan texts ~ each separately inflected (except in a few mss. which most likely are scribal errors), detailed below.

Yet in all Old Persian inscriptions, *auramazdāh-* consistently appears as one word indicating, that the Gathas and YAv. texts would have been composed long before the Old Persian inscriptions in order for the two separate words (in Av.) to have become one word (in OP).

Summary.

Here is a summary of how the name(s) of the Divine appear, (shown here in stem form), in Avestan texts, in Old Persian inscriptions, in a Pahlavi stone inscription and texts, and in some Persian texts, so you can see their evolution at a glance. Scribal errors are detailed and discussed later in this chapter.

The more frequently used names are shown first in each of these groups ~ in descending order of frequency.

In the Gathas

mazdā-, about 113 times.
ahura-,
mazdā- ahura-,
ahura- mazdā-, about 13 times
ahuramazdā (1 instance, in 2 mss., probable scribal error)
ahuramazda (same instance, in 1 mss. probable scribal error)
ahuram◦ (1 instance, in 2 mss. ~ a scribal abbreviation)

In the GAv. Yasna Haptanghaiti

mazdā- ahura-,
ahura- mazdā-, about 9 times
ahura-,
mazdā-, 1 time as a compound with another word
ahuramazdā (6 instances in a few mss. probable scribal errors)
ahuram◦ (1 instance in 2 mss. ~ a scribal abbreviation)

In the YAv. Yasnas

ahura- mazdā-, about 118 times
mazdā-, about 15 times
ahura-,
mazdā- ahura-,
ahura.mazdā- (2 instances in 4 mss. probable scribal error)
ahuramazdā- (2 instances in 2 mss. total probable scribal error)

In other YAv. texts

ahura- mazdā-, about 628 times
mazdā-, about 15 times
ahura- and *mazdā- ahura-* (each only 3 times).

In Old Persian inscriptions

about 600 ? BCE ~ 338 BCE

auramazdāh-,

In Middle Persian (Parthian),

about 150 BCE to 224 CE

Aramazd;³¹

In a Middle Persian (Sasanian Pahlavi)

stone inscription about 224 CE

Hormizd

In Middle Persian (Pahlavi)

texts about 800 ~ 900 CE

Auharmazd, *ōrmazd*, *Ohrmazd*, (detailed below).

In Pazand invocations

hōrmazd xʷadāe
hōrmazd i xʷadāe

In New(er) Persian

(after 900 CE)

hormizd.³²

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The Evidence.

The following details show the evidence on which the above summary is based. Footnotes are offered to detail frequency of use, give additional information (linguistic and historical), and answer questions that may arise in your mind.

If you are puzzled about why the manuscripts (in the footnotes) do not add up to the same total in all examples, the explanation is that many mss. do not have the entire corpus of Avestan texts, but only certain parts. In addition, due to deterioration, when manuscripts were re-copied, those parts of the texts that had been lost to deterioration obviously could not be copied.

If you go to <https://czcjournal.org/manuscript.htm>, click on "The Yasnas: Excerpts of Manuscript J2"; and scroll down through the pages of J2, you will see the deterioration ~ holes that are small,

medium, and very large. And you will see other evidence of deterioration which demonstrates some of the difficulties of copying and re-copying these manuscripts.

Finally, to understand the evidence, it may be helpful for you to have a handy reference for the various case forms of these two words (*mazdā-* and *ahura-*) in GAv., YAv., and Old Persian. A short definition of the meaning of each case is footnoted here for your convenience.³³ In both Avestan and Old Persian, the form in which a word ends (its inflection) depends on its case, number and gender. But here I will mention only case, because differences for number and (grammatical) gender are not relevant for the inflected forms of these names.³⁴ The YAv. form is shown here only where it differs from the GAv. form. The GAv. *cā*, and the YAv. *ca*, tacked on to the end of some *mazdā-* words, simply means 'and', and those words have not been included in the following case forms.

Declensions in Gatha Avestan and Younger Avestan.

Sg. *mazdā-* / *mazdāh-*,³⁵

Nom.	<i>mazdā̎</i>		
Acc.	<i>mazdaqm</i>		
Voc.	<i>mazdā</i> GAv.	<i>mazda</i>	YAv.
Dat.	<i>mazdāi</i>		
Gen.	<i>mazdā̎</i>		

Sg. *ahura-*,³⁶

Nom.	<i>ahurō</i>		
Acc.	<i>ahurəm</i>		
Voc.	<i>ahurā</i> GAv.	<i>ahura</i>	YAv.
Dat.	<i>ahurāi</i>		
Gen.	<i>ahurahyā</i> GAv.	<i>ahurahe</i>	YAv.

Declensions in Old Persian.

Sg. *auramazdāh-*³⁷

Nom.	<i>auramazdā</i>
Acc.	<i>auramazdām</i>
Gen.	<i>auramazdāha</i> (with variations) <i>auramazdahā</i> and <i>auramazdāhā</i>

Gen. (1 time only) *aurahyamazdāha* ~ both parts have been inflected ~ which is incorrect (a scribal error). Kent shows no word divider in between the 1st and 2d parts but shows them as two separate words in his transliteration ~ : *Aurahya Mazdāha* : ~ but as one word in his English translation "of Ahuramazda" (p. 149).

The cuneiform symbols for word dividers in Old Persian.

You may question: How can we be sure that in Old Persian, the name appears as one word? Well, in the Old Persian cuneiform script, words are not separated by dots and spaces (as in Avestan). Each cuneiform word consists of many different wedge-shaped lines. And each word is separated from the next word by a cuneiform mark called a word divider (to indicate where one word ends and the next begins). The Old Persian cuneiform script has two kinds of marks for word dividers:

One is < (but slightly wider at the open end); and the other is \ (thicker at the top).³⁸ In some carved inscriptions, this word divider sometimes is written as a deeply carved straight, vertical line with a tiny ball on top.

To make matters more challenging, some cuneiform letters include (as part of the letter) a wedge shaped mark < that is similar to a word divider.

At the end of this chapter I have included the following:

Figure II, is a hand written drawing (by me) of the name *auramazdāha* (gen. sg.) in cuneiform script, based on the cuneiform letters shown in Kent p. 12.

Figure III is a photograph of a drawing by King & Thompson (1907),³⁹ of the Behistan inscription Column I, line 60, which includes the word *auramazdāha* (gen. sg.) in cuneiform script (which in the photograph I have enclosed in a pencilled border, so that you can see it more easily), showing a word divider before and after *auramazdāha*, but with no divider between *aura* and *mazdāha* proving that in Old Persian the name is one word.

Kent transliterates the cuneiform word divider as a colon, with a space before and after the colon (which I show here in **red font**). Here are two examples showing (transliterated) word dividers from the Behistan inscription Column I.

In the 2d example, the word *vašna* is divided between lines 50 and 60, but there is no word divider symbol (:) at the end of line 59. The word divider is before and after the word *vašna* because it is one word (we see the same thing in Avestan mss. in which a words are sometimes split between one line and the next). And of course, you can see that the (transliterated) word dividers appear only before and after *auramazdāha*. There is no word divider between *aura* and *mazdāha*.

adam : dārayavauš : ... (line 1)

"I am Darius", Kent 1950, pp. 116, 119.

... : va (line 59)

šna : auramazdāha : adam : xšāyaθiya : ... (line 60).

"... By the favor of Ahuramazda I became king; ..." Kent 1950 pp. 118, 120.

(or 'by the wish of auramazda I am king...' my translation).

Gatha Avestan Texts.

The Gathas

Zarathushtra utters the names of the Divine in almost every verse of the Gathas. The verses are rare which do not contain one or more forms of these two names. Because of GAv. syntax and translation differences in some verses, the following numbers are approximate, and they are based on the Insler 1975 translation.

mazdā- alone is used about **113 times**. This is the name of the Divine used most frequently by Zarathushtra.⁴⁰ In many verses, it is the only name for the Divine in the entire verse. And indeed, as Professor Thieme says, Zarathushtra's religion (during Avestan times) was called *māzdayasni-* and Thieme asks (when the two are used together), does that not show that the name of Zarathushtra's deity is *mazdā-*, and that *ahura-* is "only a qualifying apposition?"⁴¹

ahura- alone is used about **71 times**. This is his next most frequently used name.⁴² In some verses, it is the only name for the Divine in the entire verse.

And there are many verses in which Zarathushtra uses both *mazdā-* alone, and *ahura-* alone, in the same verse, as two different names of the Divine.⁴³

In some instances, Zarathushtra uses these two names close together (each in the same case), and translators have interpreted his intent as giving the deity one name consisting of two separate words which they have translated as ~ Wise Lord ~ although Thieme has demonstrated that *mazdā-* is a noun (wisdom), not an adjective (wise). In my opinion, even when these two names (*mazdā-* and *ahura-*) appear together, I think Zarathushtra uses them often as two separate names (not as one name) ~ especially in the voc. 'O Wisdom! Lord!'; and in the nom. 'Wisdom (who is) Lord', and the 'Lord (who is) Wisdom',⁴⁴ but this is just my opinion of Zarathushtra's intent. Therefore, I have not based the count on my opinion, but rather on the Insler 1975 translation (which also is an opinion).

mazdā- ahura- as one name, is used about **46 times** in instances in which the two words have the same grammatical value (case) indicating that they probably belong together ~ one name consisting of two words. This two-word name is Zarathushtra's third most frequently used name for the Divine.⁴⁵

In **22** of these verses, these two words are separated by other words (in GAv. syntax, two words that belong together often have other words in between).⁴⁶ Insler 1975 translates them as one name consisting of two words. But not all translators do. So depending on the translation, the **46** (total) would be less; and the number of times the two single names *mazdā-* and *ahura-* are used, would correspondingly increase.

In **24** of these verses, the two words of this one name (*mazdā- ahura-*) are not separated by other words and appear side by side, with **no manuscript variations**.

ahura- mazdā-, is used only **13 times** in instances in which the two words have the same grammatical value (case) and therefore probably belong together. This two-word name is Zarathushtra's least frequently used name for the Divine.

In **8** of the 13 verses, the two words are separated by other words (with **no manuscript variations**).⁴⁷ Insler 1975 translates them as one name "Wise Lord". But not all translators do. So once again, depending on the translation, the **13 times** (total) would be less, and the number of times the two single names *mazdā-* and *ahura-* are used, would correspondingly increase.

In **3** of the 13 verses, the two words are not separated by other words. They appear as *ahurō mazdā* (nom. sg.) with **no mss. differences**. In each instance these two words are separated by the poetic break in the line (ceasura).⁴⁸ Insler 1975 translates them as one name "Wise Lord".

In **2** of the 13 verses, the two words appear as *ahurā mazdā* in **voc. sg.** and are not separated by other words. Insler 1975 (p. 130) and other eminent linguists have expressed the opinion that *mazdā* in these two instances was a later addition. If they are correct, then the name *ahurā mazdā* would be used in the Gathas **11 times**, instead of **13 times**. These two words have been translated as one name, and most mss. show the name as two separate words, (a few mss. ~ probable scribal

errors ~ show the name as one word or a one-word abbreviation (*ahuram*).⁴⁹ Summarizing the (footnoted) evidence for these 2 verses (Y28.9a and Y33.6c),

- In Y28.9a **11 mss.** show the name as two separate words (in the correct GAv. voc. sg. case);
 3 mss. show the name as one word, voc. sg.;
 4 mss. show *ahurō* (nom. sg.) only, which probably is grammatically incorrect, because the nom. sg. case does not seem to fit the context in which the word appears ~ the context requires the voc. sg. case as the 11 correctly copied mss. show; (although these 4 mss. support the idea that *mazdā* was a later addition.
- In Y33.6c **13 mss.** show the name as two separate words (5 mss. in correct the GAv. voc. sg. case; and 8 mss. in which *ahura* is YAv. voc. sg. and *mazdā* is GAv. voc. sg. ~ indicating scribal error, or scribal lack of knowledge);
 2 mss. have the abbreviation *ahuram* .

You may question whether *mazdā- ahura-* and *ahura- mazdā-* simply reflect two styles of saying the same name. True, the difference may indeed be one of style only. Thieme translates the name as "Wisdom the Lord", or "Lord Wisdom".⁵⁰ The translations of Insler 1975, Humbach 1991, and Humbach/Faiss 2010 do not distinguish between these two styles, and translate them both as "Wise Lord" or "Wise Ahura" (using *mazdā-* as an adj. which Thieme thinks is grammatically incorrect).

But even if we assume that *mazdā- ahura-* and *ahura- mazdā-* are just two styles of the same name, the use of these two styles (*mazdā- ahura-* **46 times**, and *ahura- mazdā-* **13 times**) added together total **59 times** ~ still far less frequent than the use of *mazdā-* alone (**113 times**), or *ahura-* alone (**71 times**) in the Gathas.

The Gathic Avestan Ahuna Vairya

mazdā- and *ahura-* are the only names of the Divine in the *Ahuna Vairya* (Y27.13bc) ~ two separate names with **no manuscript variations**.⁵¹ The form of each name is dat. sg. *mazdāi* and *ahurāi* and they appear in the 2d and 3d lines respectively, although opinions differ as to whether *ahurāi* in this verse refers to the Divine, or to man, or both.⁵²

The Gathic Avestan A Airyema Ishyo

This text, Y54.1, consists of one verse in Gathic Avestan. Here, the name of the Divine appears only once, as *ahurō* and *mazdā* (each is nom. sg.). These 2 words could be two separate names (which is what I think), or they could be one name consisting of two separate words (with another word in between) ~ which is the way it is in my count.

"... I ask for the dear reward of truth which the Lord (who is) Wisdom, awards." Y54.1, my translation.

ašahyā. yāsā. ašīm. yaṃ. šyaṃ. ahurō. masatā. mazdā.:

Geldner 1P p. 191. Here, both names are nom. sg.

The Gathic Avestan Yasna Haptanghaiti

Yasna Haptanghaiti, 'the Yasna of the seven chapters'. The GAv. parts of this text comprise YHapt.35.2 through YHapt.41.6, and is in "prose" GAv.⁵³

mazdā- and *ahura-* ~ Zarathushtra's two most used names of the Divine ~ have become the least used names in the GAv. *Yasna Haptanghaiti*.

mazdā- alone as a name is used only **1 time**, a compound with another word, *mazdā.varā* meaning 'O Good-Wisdom'.⁵⁴

ahura- alone as a name is used only about **2 times**.⁵⁵

mazdā- ahura- (in its various case forms) is used about **12 times**.

In **11** instances, the name appears as two separate words in all manuscripts (**no mss. variations**).

In **1** instance (YHapt. 39.4) all manuscripts except one, show the name as two separate words. One manuscript shows this name as a one-word abbreviation *ahuram*.⁵⁶

ahura- mazdā- (in its various case forms) is used about **9 times**.

In **4** instances, the name appears as two separate words in all mss (**no mss. variations**).⁵⁷

In the remaining **5** instances,⁵⁸ ~ all in the voc. sg. ~ (summarizing the footnoted evidence),

72 mss. in total show the name as two words (although sometimes incorrectly showing *ahura* in its YAv. case form; and sometimes incorrectly showing a mix-up of other cases for *ahura-* and *mazdā-*);

10 mss. in total show the name as one word *ahuramazdā*. (In one instance it is misspelled as *ahurahmazdā*);

7 mss. in total abbreviate the name as *ahuram*.

We will discuss later, why these instances of the name being used as one word *ahuramazdā* probably are scribal errors.

Younger Avestan (YAv.) Texts.

These comprise all Avestan texts that are not composed in GAv. and that are in SBE and Geldner ~ specifically, all the Archaic YAv. parts of the Yasnas, the Archaic YAv. parts of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*, and all other YAv. texts. I include here the *Vendidad*, because although it is grammatically flawed, indicating that it was composed long after Avestan times,⁵⁹ it demonstrates the perception of the religious establishment regarding what the name of the Divine had been in Avestan times.

Many YAv. texts frequently include quotations from the Gathas and other YAv. texts. And the YAv. texts are full of repetitions. These quotations and repetitions have been excluded in the count of names. Let us first look at the YAv. Yasnas.

The Younger Avestan Yasnas.

Zarathushtra's most used name(s) for the Divine, are the least used names in the Younger Avestan *Yasnas*. In all these *Yasnas*:

ahura- mazdā- has become a standardized name of the Divine, appearing **118 times**; appearing as two separate words, with **a few mss. variations**,⁶⁰ which probably are scribal errors.

mazdā- ahura- appears approximately **9 times** in the entire YAv. *Yasnas*, with **no manuscript variations**.⁶¹

mazdā- alone appears approx. **15 times**, and

ahura- /āhūrya- alone appear approx. **11 times**.⁶² (I have included *āhūrya-* because it is the name in somewhat possessive flavors ~ 'generated from Ahura' (my translation); or 'belonging to Ahura', or 'typical of Ahura' (Skjaervo 2006). However, there are many instances of *mazdā-* and sometimes *ahura-* being joined with other words, which I have not detailed here (because they not relevant to the evolution of the names of the Divine). Some examples are:

Many times

mazdadāta (wisdom/Wisdom-established),

māzdayasni (wisdom/Wisdom-worship)

Fewer times

ahuraḍāta (lord-established).⁶³

mazda.x šaθra (Wisdom/wisdom-rule).⁶⁴

mazdō.frasāsta ("inculcated by Mazda" Mills' translation).⁶⁵

mazdaox təm (Wisdom-spoken).⁶⁶

However, it is interesting (is it not?) that in these words, so many of these things ~ rule, the Word, even the name of the religion itself ~ are most often given by Wisdom/wisdom ~ not the standardized 'Lord Wisdom' ~ reflecting perhaps ideas that originated with Zarathushtra. The difference is worth thinking about.

Other Younger Avestan Texts.

The names *mazda-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* ~ the most used names in the Gathas ~ are rarely used in other YAv. texts (other than the YAv. *Yasnas* detailed above). And in many of these other YAv. texts these 3 names do not appear at all.

ahura- mazdā- ~ one name consisting of two separate words (in their various case forms) ~ is the standardized form of the name that is almost always used ~ which is probably why modern scholars (with a regrettable lack of accuracy) have adopted the name Ahura Mazda as the name of the deity Zarathushtra worshipped although that is the name Zarathushtra least favors in the Gathas.

The name is shown in the following YAv. texts, as follows, based on all available manuscripts in Geldner.

The *Visperad*,⁶⁷ *ahura- mazdā-* **18 times**, always as two separate words with **no mss. variations**; the other names do not appear.

The *Afringans*,⁶⁸ *ahura- mazdā-* **11 times**, always as two separate words with **no mss. variations**; the other names do not appear.

The *Gahs*,⁶⁹ *ahura- mazdā-* **11 times**, always as two separate words with **no mss. variations**; the other names do not appear.

Sirozah I and II,⁷⁰ *ahura- mazdā-* 18 times, always as two separate words with no mss. variations; the other names do not appear.

All of the Yashts,⁷¹ *ahura- mazdā-* 147 times always as two separate words;

As names: *mazdā-* alone appears about 15 times; *ahura-* alone about 3 times; and the name *mazdā- ahura-* about 3 times ~ all with no mss. variations;

All of the Nyaishes,⁷² *ahura- mazdā-* 25 times, always as two separate words;

As names: *mazdā-* alone does not appear; *ahura-* alone appears 1 time; and *mazdā- ahura-* appears 2 times ~ all with no mss. variations;

Even in the grammatically flawed the Vendidad,⁷³ *ahura- mazdā-* appears 398 times, always as two separate words with no mss. variations; and *mazdā- ahura-* appears 2 times;

As names, *mazdā-* alone, and *ahura-* alone do not appear.

The Avestan parts of the Khordeh Avesta prayers are almost all quotations from other parts of the Avesta as Geldner details, and so have not been included here. The name does not appear in the Avestan parts that are not quotations (as shown in Geldner).

We do not know precisely how long it would have taken for the names most used by Zarathushtra (*mazdā-* and *ahura-*) to have evolved into the two word name least used by him, but consistently and almost always used in the YAv. texts (*ahura- mazdā-*). However many YAv. texts themselves give us a clue. They describe Zarathushtra as an ancient, legendary figure, often said to have existed in the legendary home land of the Avestan people (Airyena Vaejah).⁷⁴

Scribal errors in the Avestan texts.

There is strong evidence that in Avestan manuscripts, when the name appears as a compound word (*ahura.mazda*), or a one word name (*ahuramazda*), or a one word abbreviation (*ahuram*), these instances are scribal errors.

There is no dispute that Avestan texts were copied and re-copied for more than 1,000 years, so it is amazing that they are generally as consistent as they are. But there is also no dispute that multiple errors do indeed exist in surviving Avestan manuscripts, as Geldner's footnotes detail.

And there is no dispute that during the time when the Avestan manuscripts were copied and re-copied for centuries, the mother tongue of the copiers was not Avestan, but Old, Middle, and "New" Persian, when the name of the Divine, as used by the copiests in their own language (Persian), had become one word.

In a vast majority of instances and manuscripts, the name in Avestan is two separate words. The exceptions are few. The following facts support the conclusion that these few instances were scribal errors.

First: The Gathas, the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*, and the Archaic YAv. Yasnas, are linguistically earlier than other Avestan texts. Yet the few instances in which the name appears as one-word or a compound word are almost all in these earlier Avestan texts ~ rarely in a few later (YAv.) texts, and not at all in most later (YAv.) texts which show the name as two words without exception. However the evolution of words goes from two words to one word. Never in the opposite way ~ from one word to two. So the overwhelming majority of YAv. texts in which the name is two separate words,

with **no manuscript variations**, is strong evidence that the few instances of the name appearing as one-word or a compound word in earlier Avestan texts are scribal errors.

Second: It is even more significant that the name is never shown in any manuscript as one word, in any of the following case forms in which the inflections (endings) of *ahura-* and *mazdā-* are different.

The **nom. sg.** *ahurō mazdā* is always written as two words (never as a compound word, or one word, or a one word abbreviation);

The **acc. sg.** *ahurəm mazdqm* is always written as two words (never as a compound word, or one word, or a one word abbreviation);

The **gen. sg.** GAv. *ahurahyā mazdā*, and YAv. *ahurahe mazdā* are always written as two words (never as a compound word, or one word, or a one word abbreviation);

The **dat. sg.** *ahurāi mazdāi* is always written as two words (never as a compound word, or one word, or a one word abbreviation);

Even in the **voc. sg.**, when separated by other words, the manuscripts show the name as two words.

It is only in the voc. case ~ when the name is not separated by other words, that a few manuscripts (in a few instances) show the two word name as a compound or one word. It is easy to understand why.

It is only in the voc. case that the inflection for both words is the same ~ the long *-ā* in GAv. (*ahurā mazdā*), and the short *-a* in YAv. (*ahura mazda*). I think these few manuscript aberrations in the voc. case occurred because copiests during Achaemenian times and later, thought of the name as one word when they spoke their own language (Old Persian *auramazdāh-*; Pahlavi *hormizd/ōhrmazd*; New Persian *hormizd*) ~ a mind-set that would have made it easy to make a mistake in writing the GAv. voc. *ahurā mazdā*, and the YAv. voc. *ahura mazda* as a compound word or as one word. This is especially so, because normally when the name *ahurā mazdā* (voc.) is recited out loud (as in prayers), or chanted (as in rituals), it is impossible to tell from the sound of the recital if it is one word or two. Try it. You can see for yourself that this is so.

But the name is never written as a compound, or as one word, when this two-word name is separated by other words, or when it appears in the other case forms (in which each of these two words in the same case, is differently inflected because they have different stems).

In conclusion, there is abundant, strong, factual, evidence that in Zarathushtra's time, the Divine was called by 2 separate names ~ most often *mazdā-*, less often *ahura-*, and much fewer times as a two-word name *mazdā- ahura-* or *ahura- mazdā-*; and that even in Younger Avestan times, when the Divine was consistently named *ahura- mazdā-* this one name consisted of two separate words.

Old Persian Inscriptions, 600 + ? ~ 338 BCE.

All dates BCE are necessarily approximations ~ even those that are given as 'historical' ~ because all such dates are based on (sometimes conflicting) ancient historians and records. But no useful purpose would be served here by detailing such uncertainties because they do not materially affect the evolution of the name.

The only surviving evidence of the name in Old Persian consists of rock inscriptions, stone inscriptions on buildings, and inscriptions on gold and clay tablets, on bricks, and on enameled

brick. So obviously these inscriptions are originals ~ not copies of copies (as are the Avestan texts). However, although a particular King may have decided what a given inscription would say, the inscriptions themselves were written out by scribes, and carved by carvers, so it is not surprising that they contain some scribal errors, as Kent and Stronach have pointed out.⁷⁵ The Old Persian word which Kent 1950 transliterates as *auramazdāh-* (in its various declensions), he translates into English as *Ahuramazda*. In Old Persian an 'h' before the vowel 'u' may perhaps have been pronounced, but it is not written in the cuneiform script.

In all surviving Old Persian inscriptions, the name is one word *auramazdāh-* (in its various declensions) ~ no exceptions ~ established beyond doubt by the absence of any Old Persian word dividers between *aura-* and *mazdāh*.⁷⁶ The name *ahura-* alone appears 1 time (detailed below), and sometimes the name is abbreviated as an ideogram "AM". Neither the name *mazda-* alone, nor the name in two words (*ahura- mazdāh-* or *mazdāh- ahura-*) appear even once in these inscriptions.

All Old Persian inscriptions are from the Achaemenian period, and it is interesting that the name is used with greater frequency in the inscriptions of Darius I (the Great); somewhat less often in the inscriptions of his son Xerxes I; and only a few times in the inscriptions of remaining Achaemenian kings. The name occurs as follows.

Gold tablet of ariyāramna,⁷⁷ (Greek Ariaramnes) about 600 + BCE ?

We have no evidence of the dates of *ariyāramna's* reign. It may have been around 600 + BCE because the Behistan inscription identifies him as a great-grandfather of Darius I (the Great). Darius I began his reign around 521 BCE. And *ariyāramna* was a great uncle of Cyrus II (the Great) who ruled for about 30 years (from about 559 ~ 529 BCE).⁷⁸ So *ariyāramna* ruled three generations before Darius I, and two generations before Cyrus II.

A gold tablet purportedly made at *ariyāramna's* direction was found in Hamadan (Ekbatana) in Media.⁷⁹ We do not know how or why it was in Media, (which was not part of the Achaemenian kingdom during *ariyāramna's* reign), and *ariyāramna* identifies himself in the inscription as king of *pārsā*. Cyrus the Great made Media a part of the Achaemenian Empire, so the tablet may have been brought to Media from *pārsā*.

Kent notes that this gold tablet, (as well as the gold tablet inscription of *ariyāramna's* son *aršāma*, (Gk. Arsames discussed below), may actually have been made long after the time of *ariyāramna* and *aršāma*, because Kent says that the orthography points to approximately the time of Artaxerses II,⁸⁰ (who ruled around 405 - 359 BCE).

I think these two gold tablets of *ariyāramna* and *aršāma*, were indeed made in later Achaemenian times, because in them, both these kings also identify themselves as "King of Kings", whereas each of them ruled only in Parsa. It was not until the time of Cyrus II (the Great) that an Achaemenian king was indeed a King of Kings because of the many other countries that he ruled over (each of which previously had its own king). And even Cyrus the Great did not call himself King of Kings. In the few fragmentary inscriptions of his that have survived in Pasargadae,

Cyrus the Great only called himself 'King' (: *x šāyaθiya* :) and 'Great King (: *x šāyaθiya : vazraka* :).⁸¹

The first time the title 'King of Kings' (: *x šāyaθiya* : *x šāyaθiyānām* :) appears in an Old Persian rock inscription, is in the *Behistan* inscription of Darius I.⁸²

ariyāramna's gold tablet in Kent's transliteration of the Old Persian inscription contains the name, *auramazdā* (nom. sg.) 2 times, and *auramazdāha* (gen. sg.) 1 time.

There are no instances in which the name appears as two separate words. The full inscription is footnoted in case you are curious.⁸³

Gold tablet of aršāma (Gk. *Arsames*) about 570 BCE (?).

We have no direct evidence of *aršāma's* date. The *Behistan* inscription identifies him as a grandfather of Darius I (the Great), and inscriptions of Darius I (DSf) and his son Xerxes I (XPf), state that *aršāma* was alive when Darius I became king. We do not know how long *aršāma* ruled, but if indeed, this tablet was made when he was king, it would have been made before 559 BCE because *aršāma's* kingdom was taken over by Cyrus II (the Great) who started his rule in about 559 BCE;⁸⁴ *aršāma's* tablet also was found in Hamadan (although he never ruled in Media), and Kent says that like his father's gold tablet, *aršāma's* also may have been made later, at about the time of Artaxerxes II, for the same reasons given by Kent (discussed above). And *aršāma's* tablet also calls him King of Kings, which does not accord with the facts (as discussed above).

aršāma's gold tablet in Kent's transliteration of the Old Persian inscription contains the name, *auramazdā* (nom. sg.) 2 times, and *auramazdāha* (gen. sg.) 1 time.

There are no instances in which the name appears as two separate words. The full inscription is footnoted for those who are curious.⁸⁵

Cyrus II (Kūruš) (the Great), about 559 - 529 BCE.⁸⁶

It has been said that Cyrus the Great made no inscriptions which mention the name *auramazdāh-* which may perhaps be true, although we cannot know for certain, because there is no dispute that the destruction of buildings (and therefore the inscriptions on them) at Cyrus's palace complex at Pasargadae, was massive.⁸⁷ So we have no way of knowing what inscriptions Cyrus may or may not have made at Pasargadae. Only three fragmentary trilingual inscriptions remain (in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian), which Kent identifies as CMa, b, and c (the CM stands for Cyrus Murghab ~ Pasargadae was built on a plain called Dasht-i Murghab, which means 'the Plain of the Water-bird.').⁸⁸

The name *auramazdāh-* does not appear in the Old Persian parts of any inscription. But it appears in one of the tri-lingual inscriptions (CMb) in a non-Persian part of the inscription. However, according to scholars, the authorship of CMb is uncertain.⁸⁹

Darius I (the Great), (*Dārayavauš*)⁹⁰ about 521 - 486 BCE.

Darius I (the Great), was prolific in his use of inscriptions, in all of which the name appears as the full name *auramazdāh-* (in various declensions); in a few instances as an abbreviation (an ideogram)

AM. All case inflections appear only at the end of the word in the inscriptions of Darius the Great. There are no instances in which the name appears as two separate words, as it does in Avestan texts.

*The Behistan*⁹¹ rock inscription. In the Old Persian text of this trilingual inscription the name *auramazdāh-* (in various declensions) appears **75 times**, and always as one word (in its various case forms).⁹² The Behistan inscription probably was started within the first few years of the reign of Darius the Great (in about 522 - 521 BCE., after he had put down a majority of the rebellions which confronted him when he attempted to seize rulership of the Achaemenian Empire created by Cyrus the Great), and it probably was completed within the next few years when all rebellions had been crushed.

In other inscriptions of Darius the Great the name appears as:

aura- **1 time**;

auramazdāh- **36 times** (as one word in all instances); and

45 times as a one-word abbreviation (an ideogram) which Kent transliterates as AM.⁹³

*Inscriptions of Xerxes I, (x šayāršā), about 486 - 465 BCE.*⁹⁴

Xerxes I was the son of Darius I (the Great). His mother was a daughter of Cyrus II (the Great). Xerxes I ruled for roughly 21 years. In all Old Persian inscriptions of Xerxes I, the name appears as one word *auramazdāh-* **44 times** (in its various declensions) with no word divider between *aura* and *mazdāh-*.⁹⁵

Inscriptions of other Achaemenian kings, between about 465 - 338 BCE.

In all these inscriptions, the name appears much less frequently ~ always as one word spelled out in full *auramazdāh-* a total of **10 times**; and as an ideogram AM- a total of **8 times**.⁹⁶

Artaxerxes I (462 - 425 BCE) the son of Xerxes I, ruled for roughly 40 years. The name appears in one of his inscriptions at Persepolis (A1Pa), on a fragment of marble block.

Darius II (424 - 405 BCE) the son of Artaxerxes I, ruled for roughly 19 years. The name appears in his inscriptions in Susa (D2Sa, D2Sb) on columns.

Artaxerxes II (405 - 359 BCE) the son of Darius II, ruled for roughly 46 years. The name appears in some of his inscriptions in Susa (A2S) and Hamadan (A2H) ~ sometimes with Anahita and Mithra (whose names appear here for the first time in all the royal Achaemenian inscriptions). A2Sa, A2Sd, and A2Ha are on columns. A2Sc is on a stone tablet. And A2Hc is on a gold tablet.

Artaxerxes III (350 - 338 BCE) the son of Artaxerxes II, ruled for roughly 21 years. The name appears in one of his inscriptions on a wall at Persepolis (A3Pa), with Mithra.

The name does not appear on inscriptions (if any) of the last two Achaemenian kings ~ Arces who ruled for approx. 2 years (338 - 336 BCE), and Darius III who ruled for approx. 5 years (336 - 331 BCE).

To summarize: During the entire Achaemenian period in which the name appears in Old Persian inscriptions (a period of approximately 190 years, extending from approx. 521 to 331 BCE;⁹⁷ or

approx. 270 + years if we include the inscriptions of *ariyarāmna* and *aršāma*), the name appears always as one word.

You may object that Avestan and Old Persian are separate languages, and it would not be reasonable to speak of an evolution of the name from Avestan to Old Persian. But indeed, Avestan and Old Persian descended from a common ancestral language, although some linguists have concluded that Old Persian is approximately 500 years later than the Avestan language. And we know from the Avesta and Pahlavi texts (and even the Ashem Vohu in Old Soghdian, discovered in 1976),⁹⁸ that the teachings of Zarathushtra had spread over time throughout various parts of that widespread ancient region. Therefore, the name of the deity, and how He was called over time, would have been reflected in both Avestan and Old Persian, (as well as various other ancient languages of the region).

Middle Persian Inscription and Texts.

Sasanian inscription at Naqsh-i Rostam, about 224 CE.

Naqsh-i Rostam is the burial site of the Achaemenian kings. About 500 years after the fall of the Achaemenian empire, the first Sasanian king, Ardashir I who reigned from about 224 ~ 241 CE, had a rock relief made at Naqsh-i Rostam (wishing perhaps to have his authority to rule seen in the reflected glory of the Achaemenian kings). This relief shows Ardashir I receiving the ring of authority to rule from a deity in human form, (and on horseback! ~ the Sasanians having long since forgotten Zarathushtra's mind-set that there are no images of the Divine). The king and the deity are both identified with trilingual inscriptions carved on their respective horses, in Pahlavi, Parthian and Greek. The Pahlavi and Parthian versions identifying the deity say,

"The image (is) this of **Hormizd**, the god." (Schmidt translation, he does not give a transliteration).⁹⁹

In other Sasanian inscriptions, various kings describe themselves as 'Mazda-worshipping', but the deity Itself is not called *mazdā*- in Sasanian inscriptions. And we get some idea of how far removed their idea of 'mazda-worship' was from Zarathushtra's thought, when we consider that in these inscriptions, the kings called themselves, and their predecessor kings, "gods", and descendants of "gods".¹⁰⁰ Schmidt does not give the Pahlavi word he translates as "god", which (in fairness to the Sasanians) could make a difference.¹⁰¹

Pazand invocations.

Pazand is essentially Middle Persian (Pahlavi) written in what today is called the Avestan script. The following Pazand words appear as names of the Divine (YAv. *ahura- mazda*-), in invocations at the beginnings of all the YAv. Nyaises, and sometimes at the start of various sections in a Nyais.

hōrməzd, and *hōrməzd i x'adāe*.¹⁰²

And in the Pazand version of the text *Mainyo-i-Khard* as translated (and transliterated) by E. W. West, the name of the Divine is shown as **Hōrmezd**.¹⁰³

Middle Persian and later Persian texts.

Kent states that the 'Middle Persian' (Pahlavi) of Zoroastrian texts includes both the Pahlavi of the Sasanians and the Parthians (Arsacid).¹⁰⁴ The name appears always in one word, but is spelled somewhat differently in English translations.

Kent in his lexicon transliterates the name in Pahlavi as *ōhrmazd*, and he states the "New Persian" version is *hormizd*.¹⁰⁵ He does not mention the rock inscription of Ardashir I (above) in which the name is *hormizd* in both Parthian and Sasanian Pahlavi (according to Schmidt).

In the Pahlavi *Dinkard* Book 6, Professor Shaul Shaked transliterates the name as *ohrmazd*.

In all the Pahlavi texts compiled in *Sacred Books of the East*, as translated by E. W. West, the name is written (in English) as *Aûharmazd*. In some of these texts, West places in italics certain letters in the name (such as the ones in red italics here *Aûharmazd*) indicating that in such texts, the letters in italics do not appear in the Pahlavi text, which may have been an abbreviation. But the name is always shown by West as one word - without exception.¹⁰⁶

In (later) Persian texts, West shows the name as *Hōrmazd*,¹⁰⁷ and also *Ormazd*.¹⁰⁸

Conclusions.

The following Table shows, at a glance, the evolution of the name(s) from the Gathas through the Old Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenians. The corpus of the Younger Avestan texts is many times greater than that of all Old Avestan texts combined, so this difference in volume has to be considered when looking at the total numbers of times a given name is used. Probable scribal errors (previously detailed) are excluded here. Abbreviations in Old Persian are also excluded. Any minor calculation mistakes of mine would not materially affect what these totals represent.

name(s)	Old Avestan Gathas	Old Avestan YHapt. & Misc.	All Younger Avestan texts	Old Persian
<i>mazdā-</i>	113	2	30	0
<i>ahura-</i>	71	3	20	1
<i>mazdā- ahura-</i>	46 (or less)	12	14	0
<i>ahura- mazdā-</i>	13 (or less)	9	741	0
<i>auramazdāh-</i>				174

Of course the process of changing from the oldest (known) stage of a language (GAv.), to the latest stage (Younger Avestan), to a later related language (having a common ancestral language Old Persian) would have occurred gradually. And the number of years in a given stage would be influenced by various factors, such as how isolated the area was in which the language was spoken, and the extent of travel, trade, migrations, invasions, etc. Such details for Avestan times are largely unknown.

In thinking about how much time elapsed from the Gathas through the later texts, based on the evolution of the names used for the Divine, I ask that you bear in mind the following facts ~ all of which have been detailed above.

The Pahlavi (Middle Persian) language consisted of a number of dialects, in one of which the name *Hormizd* remained unchanged for more than 1,000 years ~ appearing in a Pahlavi stone inscription of about 224 CE and continuing unchanged through certain New Persian texts starting about 900 CE, and onwards. And the Pahlavi name *Ohrmazd/Ormazd* continued unchanged for an even longer period of perhaps 2,000 years or more down to the Gujerati language in India as spoken amongst certain Zoroastrians at least through the 1950s (when I was a child growing up in India).

This unchanged use of *Hormizd* and *Ohrmazd/Ormazd* for these long periods of time occurred when Zoroastrians were in contact with diverse groups of other peoples (which normally would accelerate language changes). However, after 650 CE they were in survival mode (which may have decelerated change, because they clung tenaciously to aspects of the religion that were well known to them, such as the name of the Divine). Based on the above 1,000 to 2,000 years lapse of time during which the name was unchanged, it would be reasonable to conclude that Zarathushtra's most used name for the Divine ~ *mazdā-* ~ would have remained unchanged for a somewhat comparable length of time (before the advent of later YAv. texts), which is consistent with the archeological evidence regarding his date.¹⁰⁹

Let us now look at how perceptions of the Divine changed over time, based on how Its name(s) evolved.

In *the Gathas*, we see Zarathushtra's mind-set, in which the nature of the Divine is 'Wisdom' (*mazdā-*) which to him is the complete (*haurvatāt-*) attainment of the true (correct, wholly good) order of existence (*aša- vahišta-*), its comprehension good thinking a state of enlightenment (*vohu- manah-*), its beneficial embodiment (personification) in thought, word and action *spənta- ārmaiti-*, its good rule (*vohu- xšaθra-*), a wholly beneficial way of being (*spənta- mainyu-*). And he uses *ahura-* 'Lord' in the sense of one who had acquired lordship over these qualities that are personified 'Wisdom' (*mazdā-*).¹¹⁰

In the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*, *ahura-* 'Lord' alone is rarely used, and there is no instance in which it is used in the sense of one who has acquired lordship over the qualities that make a being divine. And the Divine no longer is called *mazdā-* 'Wisdom (personified)' as a single name.

The *Yasna Haptanghaiti* still expresses some lovely ideas that are very close to the Gathas ('O Lord Wisdom beautiful through truth [*ahurā mazdā aša.srīrā ...YHapt. 35.3*]), and that Wisdom is intrinsically good (*mazdā.varā*).¹¹¹ And the meaning of the double name (*mazdā- ahura-*) was still understood in their everyday (GAv.) language, so wisdom, as the nature of the Divine was still understood. But in this text, the Divine has become an authority figure. He is most often called by the name *mazdā- ahura-* 'Wisdom the Lord'. In addition, some new religious elements had entered the mindset of the composer(s) of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*. It expresses the idea of linking 'earth' and 'women' which appears in the later (syncretized) Avestan texts.¹¹² There is no such linkage in the Gathas.¹¹³

It would have taken a long, long period of time for the two names of the Divine most used by Zarathushtra to have fallen into disuse, and for other religious ideas (not found in the Gathas) to have entered into this text.

In *Younger Avestan Texts* the name least used by Zarathushtra *ahura- mazdā-* 'Lord Wisdom' has become the standardized name for the Divine, an authority figure ~ although the nature of the 'Lord Wisdom' was still mostly benign in YAv. texts which were composed during YAv. times, (which excludes the *Vendidad*).¹¹⁴ Many YAv. texts also contain some lovely things that are close to the Gathas, but large parts of these texts are devoted to the worship of other deities (whose natures were like human beings made large ~ a mix of 'good' and 'bad' qualities), deities whose religions had become syncretized with Zarathushtra's teachings, although in many YAv. texts, *ahura- mazdā-* 'Lord Wisdom' is given a pre-eminent position over other deities (indicating how popular Zarathushtra's original teachings must have been, even after the syncretization). An exception is the Indo-Iranian deity *Mithra* (whose name means 'Contract') who in some YAv. texts is shown as Ahura Mazda's equal ~ an *ahura-* 'lord', along with *ahura- mazdā-*. *Mithra's* nature in the YAv. texts was a mix of 'good' and 'bad', kind and cruel, peaceful and violent, supportive and vengeful ~ depending on whether one lied to the Contract (*Mithra*). So the worship of *Mithra* had an ethical basis ~ one did not lie to the Contract (without being tortured and killed by *Mithra*). But the very foundation of Zarathushtra's re-thinking of the nature of the Divine ~ as a being who is wholly good, not a mix of 'good' and 'bad' qualities ~ was lost by the time of the YAv. texts, as was Zarathushtra's worship of *Wisdom* alone ("... this Zarathushtra chooses only Thy teachings ..."Y43.16). These changes, in both the name and the worship of other deities, could not have occurred in less than several centuries after the Gathas, which is consistent with the fact that the YAv. texts describe Zarathushtra as a legendary figure of great antiquity, who lived in the original homeland Airyena Vaejah.¹¹⁵

But the standardized name in YAv. texts still consisted of two separate words.

In *Old Persian Achaemenian Inscriptions*, the two word name of the YAv. texts (*ahura- mazdā-*) had become a one word name (*auramazdāh-*) with no exceptions ~ although some English translators of Achaemenian inscriptions have homogenized this name into the better known *Ahura Mazda* of the YAv. texts. Doing so, however, is not an accurate rendition of the Old Persian cuneiform word which has no word divider between *aura* and *mazdāh-*.

You may recall the discussion at the start of this chapter about how two separate words that frequently are used together, often become a compound word and then one word.

The Achaemenian Inscriptions give us an historical date. The earliest (uncontested) inscription in which the name *auramazdāh-* appears (in Old Persian) is the *Behistan* Inscription of Darius the Great (around 522 BCE).

And we now know (based on archeological evidence) that Zarathushtra could not have lived much earlier than around 2000 BCE; and probably not much later than approx. 1700 BCE.¹¹⁶

If we subtract 522 BCE from his estimated time period of 2000 to 1700 BCE, we can see that a period of roughly 1,400 to 1,200 years more or less elapsed from the Gathas through the first known appearance of *auramazdāh-* in Old Persian.

The Achaemenians' perception of the Divine, (in their inscriptions) was intended to reinforce the authority of the King to rule, or to celebrate the his strength and victories. So it is not surprising that the *auramazdāh-* of these inscriptions is an all-powerful, authority figure, who gives kingdoms and takes them away. But in the early Achaemenian inscriptions we still see some echoes of the Gathas. Darius the Great mentions only one deity by name ~ *auramazdāh-*. The other deities of his society are not named but are mentioned just a couple of times in his Behistan inscription ~ lumped together as "... and the other gods ...".¹¹⁷

And we see echoes of Gatha ideas in the *Behistan* inscription in which the King's perception of *auramazdāh-* was One who prized and rewarded truth and righteous living, denounced falsehood and wrongdoing; required both the powerful and those without power to delight in truth, be just, and do no wrong,¹¹⁸ (all echoes of Zarathushtra's path of truth *aša-*, and its attendant good rule *vohu- x šaθra-*). And we even see an echo of the Gatha idea of the Divine being a 'friend' ("...May Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee..." Kent translation).¹¹⁹

The perceptions of the Divine in the *Behistan* inscription, and the kind of conduct the Divine requires of rulers and the ruled ~ above all truth and doing what is right ~ have pervaded Zoroastrian beliefs throughout the history of the religion (at least as a well established *ideal*, although sometimes not followed in deed) ~ even after the Arab invasion of Iran, when Zoroastrians were persecuted almost to extinction. But life is full of ironies. Today Zoroastrians world wide no longer are persecuted (except in Iran). Yet I sometimes wonder: Is truth and doing what is good and right ~ for its own sake ~ still the highest priority in the behavior of Zoroastrians today ~ not just in words, but in practice?

Middle Persian texts and later. By this time, the name had become *Aūharmazd*, *Hormizd*, *Ohrmazd*, *Ormazd*, and its meaning was no longer understood in the everyday language of Pahlavi times. So the name was no longer a means of understanding the nature, the essence, of the Divine. The history of Pahlavi times before the Arab invasion, has been written mostly by the enemies of the Pahlavis, but even a surviving stone inscription,¹²⁰ as well as surviving texts (written after the Arab invasion) show that much of Zarathushtra's teachings were no longer understood.

And yet ... and yet ... even after the widespread destruction of knowledge following Alexander and the Arab invasion,¹²¹ we still see the miracle of some beautiful strands of Zarathushtra's thought preserved in certain Pahlavi texts ~ by at least a few schools of Pahlavi thought.¹²²

Which brings us down to the present time. Few Zoroastrians today refer to the Divine as *Wisdom*. Most prefer the YAv. appellation *ahura- mazdā-* ~ the meaning of which is the subject of widespread speculation and disagreement amongst Zoroastrians today. So the name of the Divine which Zarathushtra used to express his perception of Its nature, its essence, is not generally remembered.

And yet ... and yet ... as the Avestan language continues to be de-coded, today we are seeing a revival of interest in Zarathushtra's Gathas. Will that revival re-capture his mind-set regarding the path of truth ~ all that is true, kind, loving, generous, beneficial, good, right (*aša- vahišta-*)? The personification of that path is the nature of the Divine (*aša- vahišta-*), which is *Wisdom personified (mazdā-)*.

* * * * *

¹ See *Part One: The Nature of the Divine*.

² Discussed in *Part One: The Nature of the Divine*.

³ See *Part One: The Nature of the Divine*.

⁴ The Middle Ages is a period of time in Europe from about 500 CE to about 1500 CE, Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, (1988).

⁵ *Part Four: Loss of Knowledge Before & After Alexander*.

⁶ Detailed in *Overview: The Avestan Script: Its Pronunciation & Genesis*.

⁷ Kent 1950, pp. 130, 132. The Behistan inscription was a secular inscription, not a religious chant. Therefore, by the time of Darius the Great, the *ariya-* language could not have become unknown, or used only for religious chants (as was the situation by Sasanian times). So one has to wonder: The Behistan inscription was already written in 3 languages on the face of the rock ~ Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian. Why then would Darius the Great say that he had also caused it to be written in *Aryan [ariyā]* on leather? The only answer I can think of is that in ancient times ~ even among the ancient Greeks (who were Indo-Europeans), Zarathushtra was renowned for his intelligence and for the things he discovered or knew ~ so much so that he was considered a magician by the ancient Greeks! I therefore speculate that amongst the Iranian tribes who descended from the Arya (who also were Indo-Europeans), Zarathushtra's language *Aryan [ariyā]* may have been a language of the learned ~ the way Latin was a language of the learned in Europe during the Middle Ages and even down to the Renaissance.

⁸ Kent 1950 says in his Lexicon, that Old Persian *ariya-* is Av. *airya-*, Skt. *ārya-*. In the Gathas, Zarathushtra uses the word *airyaman-* (in its various declensions) as a generic word for 'tribe' or 'clan', as the following quotations show.

"At my insistence, ye gods [*daēva-*], the family, the community, together with the clan [*airyamnā*], entreated for the grace of Him, the Wise Lord, (saying): 'Let us be Thy messengers, ...!' Y32.1; Insler 1975.

"The person who is very good to a truthful man, be he allied by family, or a member of his community, or allied by clan [*airyamanā*], Lord, or be he someone who continues to serve the cow with zeal, such a person shall be on the pasture of truth and good thinking." Y33.3; Insler 1975. The "cow" is an allegory for the beneficial in mortal existence.

"Wise One, (it is) I who, through worship, shall turn away disobedience [*asruštim* 'non-listening'] and bad thinking from Thee, and opposition from the family, and the nearest deceit of the community, and scorners from the clan [*airyamanascā*] ..." Y33.4; Insler 1975. In Zarathushtra's thought we worship the Divine with each thought, word and action that embodies the true (correct, good) order of existence.

"And let a person listen to that with good thinking, Wise One. Let him listen with truth. Do Thou, Lord, (also) give ear (to this). Which clan [*airyamā*], which family shall abide by Thy laws, thus being one which shall give good fame to the (whole) community?" Y49.7; Insler 1975.

⁹ Dastur Mirza 1974 shows that of surviving *Yasna* manuscripts which are annotated in Pahlavi, the earliest copier whose time period is known, was a person called Mahvindad Nareman who lived in approximately 1020 CE, And that the earliest copier of the *Yasnas* without Pahlavi annotations was a person who called himself Mahyar Farrokhzad, but his date is unknown. (pp. 325 - 326).

Humbach 1991 (citing Geldner) shows roughly the same information (Vol. 1, p. 66).

Geldner's introduction (*Prolegomena*) discusses in great detail, the various surviving mss., their descent (from their earliest known copier) and the locations (in Geldner's time) of their most recent copies. Dastur Mirza 1974 touches on some of this information (pp. 321 - 325).

¹⁰ My opinion that the Avestan language was no longer understood after the Arab invasion of Iran is based on evidence detailed in *Part Five: Overview of Languages & Texts*.

¹¹ Thieme, *Reflections on the Vocabulary of Zarathuštra's Gathas*, appearing in *Proceedings of the First Gatha Colloquium*, 1993, (WZO 1998), p. 201. See also *Part One: The Nature of the Divine*; and *Part Four: Zarathushtra, Originator or Reformer*.

¹² Kent 1950 identifies the "Old Iranian languages" as Old Persian, Avestan, and some others which are less known, including (but not limited to) Median, Carduchi (which Kent says is "presumably the linguistic ancestor of modern Kurdish"), Parthian, Soghdian, Scythian, and others, § 2, p. 6.

Kent states that it is "noticeable but not decisive" that GAv. agrees rather with Median, than with Old Persian. Kent 1950, § 3 II, p. 6. Kent also gives certain Old Persian words which he says shows Median "peculiarities", ~ words we also see in Gathic Avestan. Here are a few examples.

OP *vištāspa* (personal name),

OP *x šāyadīya* (GAv. *x šāya* 'ruler'),

OP *vispa* (GAv. *vīspa* 'all'),

OP *paru* (GAv. *pouru* 'many'),

OP *asan* (GAv. *asan* 'stone').

We do not have undisputed evidence of the geographic area in which Avestan was spoken in ancient times, although the most recent linguistic evidence points to an area to the east or north east of present day Iran (see *Part Four: Zarathushtra's Date & Place*). I think that the predominance which was attained by Persian ~ Old Persian and Middle Persian (Pahlavi) ~ throughout ancient Iran ~ was due to the fact that (1) Old Persian was the mother tongue of the Achaemenians (Kent 1950 § 1, p. 6.), who created an empire that stretched across many disparate regions in that area, and (2) Middle Persian (Pahlavi) was the mother tongue of the Parthian and Sasanian Empires, ~ each of which was a large empire (although not as large as the Achaemenian Empire).

However as Kent notes, Aramaic was the international language of southwestern Asia from the middle of the 8th century BCE (including the Achaemenian Empire), and speakers of Aramaic were in charge of all archives for some centuries thereafter (§ 12, p. 9).

¹³ A few linguists think that what we call Younger Avestan was actually just another dialect that existed at the same time as what we call Gathic Avestan (or Old Avestan), but I do not find this opinion persuasive, because the YAv. texts describe Zarathushtra as a figure of great, almost legendary, antiquity.

¹⁴ Discussed in a ft. in *Part One: The Nature of the Divine*.

¹⁵ Kent 1950 § 4. I ~ V, pp. 6 -7. He states that there were a number of Middle Iranian dialects which appeared from about 300 BCE. to about 900 CE ~ a period of about 1,200 years; that they are generally called Pahlavi which is derived from the Old Persian word *parθava* 'Parthian'; and that the later Zoroastrian texts were written in both Arsacid (Parthian) Pahlavi and Sasanian Pahlavi (increasing the challenge of translating them accurately).

According to Kent:

Arsacid Pahlavi was the official language of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia, which ruled from about 250 BCE to 226 CE. It is sometimes called Northwest Pahlavi, and also Caldaeo-Pahlavi or Parthian, and may have developed from a dialect which was almost identical with that of Media.

Sasanian Pahlavi (also called Southwest Pahlavi) was the official language of the Sasanian dynasty, and continued in use after the Arab invasion of Iran, well beyond 900 CE. It developed from Old Persian.

Needless to say, both Old Persian and Median were Old Iranian languages, and therefore related. And Avestan is related to both Old Persian and Median. Kent 1950, § 3. II - III, p. 6. The foregoing makes one appreciate, that to accurately translate the Gathas, from scratch, one would have to know not only Vedic Skt. but also Old Persian, Median, and other ancient Indo-European languages, to the extent that such knowledge has survived (or has been reconstructed).

¹⁶ *Part Six: Yasna 44.16* contains a more detailed discussion of compound words in Avestan.

¹⁷ The notion of the 'incarnate word' fits well with Zarathushtra's teachings, in which the attributes of the Divine, are His teachings (*mąθra-*) ~ the path to the Divine ~ and they are also the reward for taking that path ~ the path personified. So one who is *tanu.mąθrā* is one who personifies the teachings of the Divine (which are His Divine attributes). See in *Part Two: A Question of Reward and the Path*, and *The Puzzle of the Most-Good, Vahishta*.

In the same way, but from a different perspective, in *Vendidad* Ch. 19, § 14, the soul (or self) of the Lord Wisdom is called the 'beneficial Word',

fravašiš mana ahurahe mazdā ... yejhe urva mąθrō spəntō ∴ Geldner 3P p. 125,

'...the fravashi of me, of the Lord Wisdom ... whose soul (is the) beneficial word.' My translation.

The beneficial Word [*mąθra- spənta-*] is the path of the true (correct) order of existence (*aša-*) and its component parts ~ its good comprehension, its beneficial embodiment, its good rule, its complete attainment, the beneficial way of being (the amesha spenta) ~ which is the existence of the Divine. The *Vendidad* is (in my view) a collection of disparate texts (discussed in *Part Five: The Vendidad, An Overview*).

¹⁸ Geldner 2P p. 261.

¹⁹ SBE 23, p. 9. The word 'sraosha' means 'listening to/implementing', so one who listens to, and implements the path of the attributes of the Divine (the Word), personifies these attributes (incarnate ~ which is why sraosha is so often called the Word Incarnate). See *Part Two: A Question of Reward and the Path*, for an explanation of this idea, and also for other examples of the use of *tanū.mąθra-*.

²⁰ Geldner 1P p. 196. Geldner's footnote 3 to Y57.1 shows the following mss. variations (which I have transliterated).

tanumąθrahe J2.6. K5. H1. Jm1. L13;

tanu. m. Pt4. Mf1.2. Jp1. K4. J7. L2.

²¹ SBE 31, p. 297.

²² Taraporewala, in his commentary on Y49.2, explains that Bartholomae derives the word *ikaēša-* from *kaēš-*, one meaning of which is 'to teach'. (Tarap. 1951 p. 698). While (as in English) one word can have more than one meaning, I think in the context of *ahura.ikaēša-* an accurate translation (in fluent English) would be 'the teachings of the Lord'. To translate *ikaēša-* as 'law' or 'commandment' would not be consistent with a teaching that is founded on the freedom to choose ~ at least in Zarathushtra's time ~ although many

centuries later, Zoroastrianism did indeed become an authoritarian religion. In the Gathas, *ṭkaēša-* is used twice ~ both times in connection with an evil teaching (Y49.2, 3).

²³ Geldner 1P p. 201. Geldner shows **no mss. variations**.

²⁴ Geldner 1P p. 210, Geldner shows **no mss. variations**.

²⁵ Geldner 2P p. 275, Geldner shows **no mss. variations**.

²⁶ Geldner 1P p. 59, showing **no mss. variations** for the compound word; but 1 mss. has *ahurahe* with no mention of *ṭkaēšō*.

²⁷ Geldner 2P p. 275, with **no mss. variations**.

²⁸ Geldner 2P p. 58, with **no mss. variations**. See also the following examples, in each of which Geldner has **no mss. variations**.

ahura.ṭkaēšō *Aban Yasht* Yt. 5.1, Geldner 2P p. 82.

ahura.ṭkaēšō *Farvardin Yasht* Yt. 13.89, Geldner 2P p. 187.

ahurō.ṭkaēšām *Farvardin Yasht* Yt. 13.90 (2x), Geldner 2P p. 187.

²⁹ Here are some examples (one of which is quite lovely) that I cannot resist giving you. Unless otherwise stated, Geldner shows **no mss. variations**.

In *Younger Avestan*

arš.vacō 'honest-word' (as in 'right, true, just' word) *Ardibehesht Yasht* Yt. 3.2 Geldner 2Pt. p. 73.

aša- means 'truth'; *ciθra-* means 'seed' and also 'bright' [as in full of light]; (see Insler's 1975 commentary under Y33.6, p. 214). These two words evolved into,

ašaciθra literally 'truth-seed' (or 'seed of truth', 'offspring of truth'), and when we consider that 'light/fire/glory are material metaphors for *aša-* throughout the Avestan texts, and that *ciθra-* also means 'bright', we have the added double entendre 'seed/light of truth'. How cool is that?

Yy19.2, *ašaciθra* Geldner 1P p. 74, and its ft. 7 shows,

ašaciθra J2, 3, 6, K5, S1,

aša ciθra K4, Pt4, H1.

Yy22.3 *ašaciθra*, Geldner 1P p. 83, and its ft. 9 shows

ašaciθra K5, J6, L13, Mf2, J3, S1, H1 in Par. 22;

aša ciθra J2, 3, Pt4, S1;

aš ciθra K4 [a scribal error].

Hormuzd Yasht Yt. 1.7 *ašaciθra*, Geldner 2P p. 61 no mss. variations.

Farvardin Yasht Yt. 13.88 *ašaciθra*, Geldner 2P p. 187 no mss. variations.

mazda.x šaθra literally 'wisdom rule'

Yy27.6 *mazda.x šaθra* Geldner 1P p. 96 and its ft. 3 shows

mazda.x šaθra [compound word] J2, 3, 6, 7, Mf1, 2, H1,

mazdax šaθra [one word] C1, M2, L1,

mazdāx šaθra L13 [one word but clearly a scribal error because the first part is inflected, and that too differently from the second part ~ *mazdā* being the form for nom./ gen. sg., and *x šaθra* being the form for voc./instr. sg.].

³⁰ Compound words in the Gathas are shown in Beekes 1988 pp. 104 - 109. For a discussion of compound words in other Avestan texts, see *Part Six: Yasna 44.6*.

³¹ Vasunia 2007, p. 206.

³² Kent 1950, p. 164, in his lexicon identifies *hormizd* as 'NPers.' (i.e. New Persian). He defines "New Iranian as "the Iranian languages from about 900 A.D. onward;" p. 7.

³³ The following definitions are, of necessity, basic.

The nominative case (nom.) is used when a word is the subject of the verb

(e.g. 'he praises truth'; *he* is the subject of the verb, and is in the nom. case).

The nom. case is also used for both the subject and the object of the verb 'to be'

(e.g. He *is* truth; both 'He' and 'truth' would be nom.)

The accusative case (acc.) is used when a word is the direct object of any verb other than 'to be'

(e.g. 'he praises *truth*'; *truth* is the direct object of the verb, and is in the acc. case).

The vocative case (voc.) is used to call someone (e.g. 'O Wisdom' or 'O Lord').

The dative case (dat.) is used for an indirect object (e.g. 'to/for Wisdom' or 'to/for (the) Lord')

The genitive case (gen.) is used to show possession (e.g. 'of Wisdom', or 'of the Lord').

There are other cases, in Avestan, but neither Skjervo nor Jackson show them for *ahura-* or *mazdā-*.

All case inflections (endings) are different for *ahura-* (an *a-* stem word), and for *mazdā-* or *mazdāh-* (an *ā-* or *āh-* stem word), except for the following.

In the *voc. sg.* the inflection is the same for both words ~ in GAv. *ahurā* and *mazdā* (long final *ā*), and in YAv. *ahura* and *mazda* (short final *a*)

In the *dat. sg.* the inflection is the same for both words *ahurāi* and *mazdāi* in both GAv. and YAv., And *mazdā* is the case form for both *nom. sg.* and *gen. sg.* (in GAv. and YAv.).

For a discussion of stems, cases and their inflections, see *Part Five: Avestan, A Language of Inflection*.

³⁴ See *Part Two: The Puzzle of the Singular and the Plural*, for a discussion of how, and to what end, Zarathushtra uses both the *sg.* and the *pl.* in referring to the Divine, but not with regard to the names *ahurā* and *mazdā*.

³⁵ Skjaervo shows the stem as *mazdā-*, Jackson (1892) as *mazdāh-*. These GAv. case forms (declensions) for *mazdā-* are based on Skjaervo's 2006 *Old Avestan Glossary*. And these YAv. declensions for *mazdāh-* are based on Jackson 1892 § 356, p. 102.

³⁶ These GAv. case forms (declensions) for *ahura-* are based on Skjaervo 2006. And these YAv. declensions for *ahura-* are based on Jackson (1892) declensions for *a-* stem nouns (the example he gives is *yasna-*) §§ 236 - 239, pp. 69 - 71.

³⁷ Kent 1950, pp. 104 - 105, 203. Kent notes that in Old Persian inscriptions the name *auramazdāh-* sometimes appears as an ideogram (an abbreviation) AM, which he says stands for *nom. sg.* (§ 42, p. 18). This ideogram in other case forms has various inflections tacked on to it, as shown in the footnotes below, detailing the name in the Old Persian inscriptions.

³⁸ Kent 1950 §§ 18, 44, pp. 12, 19.

³⁹ King & Thompson 1907, *The Sculptures & Inscriptions of Darius the Great, on the rock of Behistun in Persia* (undated University of Michigan Reprint).

⁴⁰ *mazdā-* alone, as a name of the Divine, is used a total of about 113 times in the Gathas.

Barring human error (to which I am prone), *mazdā-* alone (in its various case forms) as a name of the Divine, appears in each of the following verses of the Gathas, (in some of which, *ahura-* alone also appears in the Insler 1975 translation). I have omitted Y45.9c, Y45.10b, Y50.5a and Y51.6b, Y51.19 in which *mazdā-* may

not (or with double entendre may) be used as a name in the Insler 1975 translation (e.g. "Let wisdom [*mazdā*] come in the company of truth across the earth ..." Y50.5a; "... Him the Lord, wise [*mazdā*] in His rule ..." Y51.6b. I would translate this "... the Lord, (who is) Wisdom [*mazdā*] in His rule ..." Y51.6b, but in this analysis I rely only on the Insler 1975 translation). Finally, in Y28.5b (last word), Insler 1975 has 'Lord' and the Av. text has *mazdāi* only:

Y28.5b. *gātūmcā ahurāi savištāi sərəošəm mazdāi*;

Insler 1975 "... and the way to the Lord? ... the greatest obedience to the most powerful Lord..."). Similarly, in Y32.12b and Y44.9d Insler 1975 has 'Wise Lord' whereas the Av. text has *mazdā-* only.

I have followed the Av. text in each such instance in arriving at my count.

mazdā. (voc. sg.) in Y28.1b, 6b; Y29.8b, 10c, 11b; Y30.8b; Y31.3b, 7c, 8a, 10c, 11a, 13a, 14c, 19c; Y32.6c, 9c, 13b; Y33.4a, 7a, 8b, 9a, 10b, 12b; Y34.1b, 2c, 3c, 4c, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8b, 11c, 12b, 13c, 14a, 15a; Y43.2c, 3e, 4a, 6b, 8e, 14b, 16b; Y44.1c, 2e, 3e, 4e, 7d, 9d, 10e, 11c, 15d, 16e, 17b, 20a; Y46.2a, 3a, 4d, 7a, 8e, 18d, 19e; Y47.3d, 4b; Y48.2c, 3d, 4a, 8a, 9b, 10a, 11a, 12c; Y49.1b, 3a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 10a; Y50.2a, 6a, 8b, 9b, 11a; Y51.1c, 3c, 4d, 7b, 8a, 9a, 10a, 11a; Y53.9d.

mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in Y29.4a; Y30.11a; Y32.12b; Y45.4b, 5e; Y47.1d, 2d; Y48.6c.

mazdā̎scā. (nom. sg. with *-cā* 'and' tacked on) in Y30.9b; Y31.4a; Y33.11a.

mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in Y29.5b; Y45.8d.

mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in Y30.10c; Y51.20c; Y53.2b.

mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in Y28.5b; Y31.1c, 6c; Y33.14b.

⁴¹ Thieme, *Reflections on the Vocabulary of Zarathushtra's Gathas*, in *Proceedings of the First Gatha Colloquium*, 1993 (WZO, 1998), p. 202.

⁴² Barring inadvertent error on my part, the name *ahura-* alone appears a total of about 71 times in the Gathas in each of the following verses, (in some of which, *mazdā-* alone also appears, in the Insler 1975 translation). I have excluded *ahura-* in Y31.10b, (because it is ambiguous as to whether it refers to the Divine or man).

ahurā. (voc. sg.) in Y28.6c; Y29.10a, 11c; Y30.8c; Y31.7c, 14a, 15b, 19a; Y32.6b; Y33.3b, 12a, 13b; Y34.1c, 3a, 4a, 13a, 14c, 15c; Y43.16a; Y44.1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 11a, 12a, 13a, 14a, 15a, 16a, 17a, 18a, 19a; Y46.2c, 3e, 6e, 7d; Y48.1d, 2a, 7d, 8b; Y49.5d, 6d, 7b; Y50.5a.

ahurō. (nom. sg.) in Y29.4c; Y33.11a; Y43.3d; Y45.4e, 5e, 9c, 10b; Y47.1d; Y48.3b, 6d; Y51.3b, 6b; Y53.2d, 9c.

ahurəm. (acc. sg.) in Y28.8b; Y31.8c; Y45.8d; Y46.9c.

ahurahyā. (gen. sg.) in Y46.15d.

ahurāi. (dat. sg.) in Y28.5b; Y29.5a.

⁴³ Based on the Insler 1975 translation, in many verses the two names *mazdā-* alone and *ahura-* alone appear in the same verse as two separate names *Wise One*, and *Lord*. All such verses have been included in the itemizations above under *mazdā-* alone and *ahura-* alone. Geldner's footnotes to these names show **no mss. variations**.

Here is an example that shows how the two names are used alone, as two separate names in the same verse.

Y46.7 "Whom hast Thou appointed as guardian for me, *Wise One*, if the deceitful one shall dare to harm me? Whom other than Thy fire and Thy (good) thinking, through whose actions one has nourished the truth, *Lord*? ..." Insler 1975 p. 83,

- a. *kəmnā. mazdā. mavaitē. pāyūm. dadā.*
 b. ...
 c. ...
 d. *yaṯ. šyaoθanāiš. ašəm. θraoštā. ahurā.*
 e. ... Geldner 1P p. 161.

In other instances, where the two names are separated by fewer words, or appear one after the other, some linguists think that the syntax requires a translation in which the two names are used as two separate names; others may disagree. But in any event, only a few of the above itemized verses fall into this second category.

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Professor Martin Schwarz for this insight into the translation of the name as the 'Lord (who is) Wisdom'.

⁴⁵ The name *mazdā- ahura-*. A total of about 46 instances in the Gathas. No mss. variations. Because of Gathic Avestan syntax, the two words (although one name) are sometimes separated by other word(s), and sometimes not. But in either event Geldner shows no mss. variations.

Not separated by other words, about 24 verses,

- mazdā. ahurā.* (voc. sg.) in Y28.2a, 10b, 11b; Y31.5c, 16c, 17c, 22c; Y32.16b; Y45.11e; Y46. 10a; Y47.5a, 6a; Y50.1c, 4a, 10d;
mazdā. ahurō. (nom. sg.) in Y32.2a; Y33.5c; Y45.6c, Y46.17e; Y51.16c, 17c, 22b;
mazdāmcā. ahurəm. (acc. sg.) in Y28.3b.
mazdā. ahurahyā. (gen. sg.) in Y28.4b; Y32.4c.

Separated by other words, about 22 verses,

- mazdā. ... ahurā.* (voc. sg.) in Y43.5a, 7a, 9a, 11a, 13a, 15a; Y46.1e, 5e, 14d; Y49.8b, 12c; Y51.2a.
mazdā. ... ahurō. (nom. sg.) in Y31.21a; Y43.1b; Y45.3b, 7e; Y46.12e, 13c, 16e; Y51.21c; Y53.4d.

⁴⁶ Here are a few examples in each case form, which show how the one name *mazdā- ahura-* is separated by other words.

- voc. sg. *spəntəm. aṯ. θwā. / mazdā. mānghī. ahurā.* Y43.5a, 7a, 9a, 11a, 13a, 15a;
 nom. sg. *mazdā. dadāṯ. ahurō.* / Y31.21a,
 nom. sg. *mazdā. vaocaṯ. ahurō.* / Y45.3b,
 nom. sg. *aṯ. hōi. mazdā. / ahūm dadāṯ ahurō.* Y46.13c;

⁴⁷ The name *ahura- mazdā-*. In the following 8 Gatha verses the two words *ahura-* and *mazdā-* are separated by one or more other words. Insler 1975 translates the two words as one name 'Wise Lord', some other translators do not. In the following tabulation, where a verse citation is followed by two letters, (e.g. ab), the letters are line designations and mean that *ahura-* appears in one line, and *mazdā-* in the other. The caesura breaks shown here are from Insler 1975.

1. (nom. sg.) in Y29.7ab *təm. āzūtōiš. ahurō. / maθrəm tašaṯ ašā hazaošō
mazdā. gavōi. x švīdāmcā.*
2. (nom. sg.) in Y31.2bc *aṯ. vā. vīspəng. āyōi. / yaθā. ratūm. ahurō. vaēdā.
mazdā. ayā. qsayā. / yā. ašāṯ. hacā. jvāmahī.*
3. (acc. sg.) in Y30.5c *yaēcā. x šnaošən. ahurəm. / haiθyāiš. šyaoθanāiš. frāōrēt. mazdqm.*
4. (gen. sg.) in Y32.1b *ahyā. daēvā. mahmī. / ahurahyā. urvāzəmə. mazdā.*
5. (gen. sg.) in Y33.2c *tōi. vārāi. rādəntī. / ahurahyā. zaošē. mazdā.*
6. (voc. sg.) in Y32.7c *yaēšqm. tū. ahurā. / irix təm. mazdā. vaēdištō. ahī.*
7. (voc. sg.) in Y34.10c *tācā. vīspā. ahurā. / θwāhmī. mazdā. x šaθrōi. ā. vōyaθrā.*

8. (voc. sg.) in Y51.18c *taṭ. mōi dāidī. ahurā. / hyaṭ. mazdā. rapān. tavā.*

⁴⁸ In the following 3 Gatha verses, the two words *ahurō mazdā* (in nom. sg.) appear together ~ **not separated by other words** ~ **with no mss. variations**. Insler translates each instance as one name 'Wise Lord'.

1. (nom. sg.) in Y29.6a *aṭ. ā. vaocaṭ. ahurō. / mazdā. vīdvā. vafūš. vyānaya.*

2. (nom. sg.) in Y51.15b *garō. dāmānē. ahurō. / mazdā. jasat. paouruyō.*

3. (nom. sg.) in Y53.1c *ašāṭ. hacā. ahurō. / mazdā. yavōi. vīspāi.ā. / hvaṅhəvīm.*

⁴⁹ Vocative: *ahurā mazdā* **not separated by other words** with **manuscript variations** (showing **scribal errors**).

1. In Y28.9a *anāiš. vā. nōiṭ. ahurā. / mazdā. ašəmcā. yānāiš. zaranaēmā.*

ahurā. mazdā. in 11 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)

ahuramazdā. in 2 mss. (*ahura* correctly not inflected; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)

ahuramazda. in 1 ms. (*ahura* correctly not inflected; *mazda* = **YAv. voc., a scribal error**);

ahurō in 4 ms. (= nom. sg. which **does not fit the grammatical context, a scribal error**).

2. In Y33.6c *tā. tōi. izyā ahurā. / mazdā. darštōišcā. hēm.parštōišca.*

ahurā. mazdā. in 5 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)

ahura. mazdā. in 8 mss. (*ahura* = **YAv. voc. a scribal error**; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.);

ahuram in 2 mss.

Scribal errors are discussed in the main part of this chapter.

⁵⁰ Thieme, *Reflections on the Vocabulary of Zarathushtra's Gathas*, appearing in *Proceedings of the First Gatha Colloquium*, 1993, (WZO 1998), p. 201.

⁵¹ Geldner 1P p. 97.

⁵² See *Part One: The Manthra of Choices, Ahuna Vairya*; and *Part Three: The Ahuna Vairya (Yatha Ahu Vairyo), An Analysis*.

⁵³ The remaining sections YHapt. 35.1, and YHapt. 42.1 - 6 are in archaic YAv. And in Geldner, YHapt. 41.7 and 8 are just instruction for reciting prayers.

⁵⁴ YHapt. 37.3 has the compound word *mazdā.varā*. Skjaervo 2006 shows the stem *vara-* as an adj. 'good', from Old Indic *vará*, and cites this section YHapt. 37.3 as an instance of its use. If this is so, then *mazdā.varā*. (voc. sg.) would be 'O Good~Wisdom'.

⁵⁵ The name *ahura-* alone appears about **2 times** in the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*.

ahurā (voc. sg.) in YHapt.35.10, and

ahurahyā (gen. sg.) in YHapt.38.3.

The word *ahuranīš* appears in Y38.3, but translators are not in agreement that it is used here as a name of the Divine.

⁵⁶ The name *mazdā- ahura-* appears about **12 times** in the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*.

No manuscript variations. In the following **11** instances, Geldner show this one name as two separate words.

mazdāi. ahurāi. (dat. sg.) in YHapt.35.5.

mazdā. ahurā. (voc. sg.) in YHapt.36.1, 36.5; 40.1, 40.3, 40.4; 41.2, 41.4, 41.5 (in this last section the name appears 2 x ~ once as *mazdā ahurā* shown here, and once as *ahurā mazdā* shown in a ft. below);

mazdā. ahurahyā. (gen. sg.) in YHapt.36.2, 36.3.

Manuscript variations. In 1 instance in YHapt. 39.4 (the name appears 2 x ~ once as *mazdā ahurā* and once as *ahurā mazdā* shown in a ft. below).

mazdā ahurā (correct GAv. voc.) as two separate words in all mss. except 1;
ahuram in 1 ms.

⁵⁷ *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 9 times in the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*.

No mss. variations. In the following 4 instances, Geldner show this one name as two separate words.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in YHapt.38.4.
ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in YHapt.37.1.
ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in YHapt.41.1.
ahurahyā. ... mazdā. (gen. sg.) in YHapt.35.7

⁵⁸ **Manuscript variations** in the remaining 5 instances of this GAv. text, - all voc., with scribal errors;

A total of 72 mss. show the name as two words.

A total of 10 mss. show the name as one word, and

A total of 7 mss. show the name as a one word abbreviation.

In YHapt.35.3; two words in 17 mss.; one word in 5 mss. (all from Geldner; Skjaervo 2006 shows the name as a compound in YHapt.35.3, but does not cite any ms. reference).

ahurā. mazdā. in 2 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)
ahura. mazdā. in 14 mss. (voc. *ahura* = YAv. scribal error; voc. *mazdā* = GAv.)
ahurō. mazdā. in 1 mss. (nom. sg. does not fit grammatical context, scribal error)
ahuramazdā. in 4 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)
ahurahmazdā. in 1 mss. (*ahurah* = incorrect; scribal error; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)

In YHapt.35.9; two words in 16 mss.; one word abbreviation in 3 mss. (all from Geldner; Skjaervo 2006 shows the name as a compound in YHapt.35.9 but does not cite any ms. reference).

ahurā. mazdā. in 4 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)
ahurā. mazdā in 1 mss. (*ahurā* = GAv. voc.; *mazdā* = incorrect nom./gen. neither fits with voc. *ahurā* or the context, scribal error)
ahura. mazdā. in 11 mss. (voc. *ahura* = YAv., scribal error; voc. *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)
ahuram in 3 mss.

In YHapt.38.1 two words in 12 mss.; one word abbrev. in 5 mss. (all from Geldner; Skjaervo 2006 shows the name as a compound in YHapt.38.1 but does not cite any ms. reference).

ahurā. mazdā. in 2 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)
ahura. mazdā. in 10 mss. (voc. *ahura* = YAv. scribal error; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)
ahuramazdā. in 5 mss. (voc. *ahura* correctly not inflected; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)

In YHapt.39.4 as two words in 17 mss.; as one word abbrev. in 2 mss. (all from Geldner; Skjaervo 2006 shows the name as a compound in YHapt.39.4 but does not cite any ms. reference).

ahurā. mazdā. in 2 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)
ahura. mazdā. in 15 mss. (voc.: *ahura* = YAv. scribal error; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)
ahuram in 2 mss.

In YHapt.41.5 as two words in 10 mss.; as one word abbrev. in 2 mss.

ahurā. mazdā. in 3 mss. (correct GAv. voc.)
ahura. mazdā. in 7 mss. (voc. *ahura* = YAv. scribal error; *mazdā* = correct GAv. voc.)
ahuram in 2 mss.

In all these 5 sections, Geldner shows as his choice (in the main part of his text) the voc. sg. *ahurā mazdā* as two words, identifying the various mss. forms in footnotes. But in his "Additions and Corrections First Part",

he seems to have changed his choice. Referring to the above 5 sections, he says "Y35.3, 9; 38.1; 39.4; 41.5; ... read *ahuramazdā*." He cites no additional mss. and gives no explanation or reason for his change of mind. However, as you can see, a great majority of the mss. have the name as two words in the voc. sg. in these sections. And Humbach (1991) and Humbach/Faiss 2010 have chosen the correct GAv. voc. sg. forms ~ as two separate words *ahurā mazdā* ~ in these sections of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*. Insler has not translated the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*.

⁵⁹ Discussed in *Part Three: The Absence of Damnation & Hell In Other Avestan Texts*, and in *Part Four: The Vendidad, An Overview*.

⁶⁰ *ahura- mazdā-*. In the YAv. *Yasnas* a total of about 118 times. Included here are all *Yasnas* in Archaic YAv. and those parts of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* that are in Archaic YAv. (the rest of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* is in GAv. and is excluded here). Repetitions are omitted here (which in any event Geldner often does not show, but abbreviates). SBE and Geldner references are too numerous to give here.

Yasnas in Archaic YAv. approx. 12 times; No mss. variations.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in Yy12.5, 7.

ahurēm. mazdqm (acc. sg.) in Yy13.1, YHapt.35.1.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in Yy12.1.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in Yy13.1; Yy56.1; Yy58.4, 6, 7.

Mss. variations in Archaic YAv. Yy58.3 *ahurā. mazdā.* (voc. sg.). The mix of YAv. and GAv. inflections represents some scribal errors, and in some instances possibly a transition phase to YAv. from an older form of the language.

ahurā. mazdā. in 2 mss. (GAv. voc.)

ahura. mazda in 2 mss. (YAv. voc.)

ahura. mazdā. in 1 ms. (*ahura* = YAv. voc; *mazdā* = GAv. voc.)

ahurā. mazdā̎ in 2 mss. (*ahurā* = GAv. voc; *mazdā̎* = nom./gen. one incorrect with voc. *ahurā*).

ahuramazdā. in 2 mss (*ahura* correctly not inflected; *mazdā* = GAv. voc.)

ahura alone in 5 mss. (YAv. voc.)

ahurahe. in 1 ms. (YAv. gen. sg. probably incorrect case).

Geldner shows his choice of the voc. sg. *ahurā mazdā.* in Yy58.3 as two words in the main part of his work. But in his "Additions and Corrections First Part", he says "...Y... 58.3 read *ahuramazdā*." He cites no additional mss. and gives no explanation or reason for why he changed his mind. However, as you can see, a majority of the mss. (7) have the name as two words in this section, whereas the one word name *ahuramazdā* is supported by only 2 mss.

Mss. variations in Archaic YAv. Yy13.5 a mixed bag (and this same verse also has *mazdā. ahurā.* 2x as two separate words detailed below).

ahurō. mazdā̎. in 1 ms. (nom. sg. in GAv. and YAv.)

◦*a. mazda* in 2 mss. (*ahura* abbreviated; *mazda* = YAv. voc.)

ahura.mazdā. in 2 mss. (*ahura* not inflected; *mazdā* = GAv. voc.)

ahuramazdā. in 2 mss. (*ahura* not inflected; *mazdā* = GAv. voc.)

ahurā alone in 1 ms. (GAv. voc.)

mazdā̎ alone in 2mss. (nom./gen. sg. in GAv. and YAv.)

Yasnas in YAv. the name *ahura- mazdā-* approx. 106 times. No mss. variations.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in Yy11.4, 5; Yy19.3, 6, 7, 15; Yy20.1; Yy57.24; Yy65.9; Yy71.10, 14, 15.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in Yy2.2, 11, 16; Yy6.1, 10, 15, Yy16.4, 5, 6; Yy19.1, 12; Yy25.4, Yy27.1, Yy57.4, Yy70.1, Yy71.2, 4, 24.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in Yy1.1, 2, 4, 11 (2 x), 12; Yy2.4, 12; Yy3.1, 2, 6, 13 (2 x), 14, 21; Yy4.2, 7, 9, 16 (2 x), 17, 23; Yy6.3, 11, 18; Yy7.1, 2, 6, 14, 21; Yy8.1; Yy15.3 (2 x); Yy16.3, 4; Yy17.11 (2 x); Yy19.4, 14; Yy20.3; Yy22.1, 3, 4 (2 x), 22, 23; Yy23.2; Yy24.3, 4, 8; Yy25.7 (2 x); Yy26.2; Yy27.2; Yy62.1, 2, 4, 6; Yy66.1 (2 x); Yy70.2 (2 x), 4; Yy71.23.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in Yy24.1; Yy68.22.

ahurāica. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in Yy4.2, Yy24.4.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in Yy16.10.

No ms. variations. In Yy11.12 *ahura.mazda* (voc. sg. compound word).

Manuscript variations about 5 times.

In Yy8.5 *ahura.mazda* (compound word voc. sg.),

ahura.mazda. in 1 ms. (correct YAv. voc. sg.)

ahuramazda. in 1 ms. (correct YAv. voc. sg.)

Geldner shows only these 2 mss. for this word in Yy8.5.

In Yy7.24 compound word (mixed cases, with scribal errors in GAv. (in this YAv. section).

ahura.mazdā. in 3 mss. (*mazdā* = GAv. voc. scribal error);

ahuramazdā. in 3 mss. (*mazdā* = GAv. voc. sg. scribal error)

ahurā. mazdā̎. in 1 ms. (mixed cases, *ahurā* = GAv. voc.; *mazdā̎* = nom/gen. sg. in YAv. and GAv. scribal error)

ahurahe. mazdā̎. in 1 ms. (gen. sg. YAv.)

mazda alone in 1 mss. (YAv. voc.)

Geldner shows only the above 9 mss. for this word in Yy7.24.

In Yy19.1 (2 x) ~ *ahurəm. mazdqm.* (acc. sg. two words); no mss. variations and

~ *ahura.mazda.* (voc. sg. compound word); no mss. variations.

In Yy60.11 **āhūire* and *mazda* (with no words in between these two in Geldner.

**āhūire. mazda.* in 12 mss. (with *āhūire.* variously spelled).

ahura. mazda. in 1 mss. (YAv. voc. sg.)

ahuramazda. in 1 mss. (YAv. voc. sg.)

* Skjaervo, in his *Old Avestan Glossary* says that the GAv. stem *āhūrya-* is an adj. which means 'belonging to ahura'. As such it would be a possessive form of the name, so I have included it in the count.

⁶¹ *mazdā- ahura-* total of about 9 times in the YAv. Yasnas.

Yasnas in Archaic YAv. approx. 5 times. No mss. variations.

mazdā̎. ahurō. (nom. sg.) in Yy27.15 (Yenghe Haatam in full); Yy4.26 (also the Yenghe Haatam in full);

mazdā. ahurā. (voc. sg.) in Yy13.5, and Yy58.8 (Fshusho Manthra);

mazdāi. ahurāi. (dat. sg.) in Yy12.9;

Yasnas in YAv. approx. 4 times No mss. variations

mazdā̎. ahurō (nom. sg.) in Yy15.2; Yy21.3.

mazdā̎. ahurahe. (gen. sg.) in Yy62.7 2x.

⁶² *mazdā-* alone as a name, is used a total of 15 times in the YAv. Yasnas.

ahura- alone as a name, is used a total of 2 times in the YAv. Yasnas.

āhūrya- (as a name in possessive form), is used a total of 9 times in the YAv. Yasnas.

I have used Mills' translation in SBE Vol. 31, to give the case where the same word form is used for two different cases. Details follow:

Yasnas in Archaic YAv. approx. 3 times.

mazdqmcā (acc. sg.) in YHapt.42.2.

mazdāscā (nom. sg.) in Yy12.5, 6, (the two word name *ahurō mazdā* also appears in Yy12.5, which has been included in a ft. above).

ahura- alone does not appear in the Archaic YAv. Yasnas.

Yasnas in YAv.

The name *mazdā-* appears approx. 12 times.

mazdā (nom. sg.) in Yy9.26; Yy 10.4; Yy 19.13, 20; Yy 21.3. 4; Yy 71.25.

mazdā (gen. sg.) in Yy 21.1; Yy57.2, 16, 30.

mazda (voc. sg.) in Yy 19.14.

The name *ahura-* appears 2 times.

ahurāi (dat. sg.) in Yy 19.14.

ahurahe (gen. sg.) in Yy 21.1; Yy 68.1; Yy 68.3 (4 x).

As a name in possessive form *āhūrya-* is used a total of 9 times

āhūriš in Yy 8.7; Yy 11.14; Yy 57.24 (2 x); Yy 60.2; Yy 60.3.

āhūiri in Yy 10.1.

āhūiranqm in Yy 26.3.

āhūirehe in Yy 57.1.

⁶³ *ahuraḍāta-* (in its various case forms) for example, in the YAv. Yasnas in Yy 1.6; Yy 2.5; Yy 3.8; Yy 4.11; Yy7.8; Yy59.28. SBE Vol. 31, pp. 197 - 309; Geldner, 1P pp. 8 - 208. But it also appears in other YAv. texts.

⁶⁴ *mazda.x šaθra* appears, for example, in Yy27.6, Geldner 1P p. 96.

⁶⁵ *mazdō.frasāsta* appears, for example, in the YAv. Yasnas in Yy1.10; Yy2.10; Yy 3.12; Yy 4.15; Yy 6.9; Yy 7.12; Yy 71.7; SBE Vol. 31, pp. 198 - 328; Geldner 1P pp. 9 - 233. But the form of the first part *mazdō* puzzles me. It is not identified as a case form of *mazdā-* (or *mazdah-*) in Jackson 1892 (p. 102). Geldner shows only 1 ms. with *mazdā̄*. All other mss. have *mazdō*. Normally, the first part of a compound word is not inflected.

⁶⁶ *mazdaox tām* appears, for example, in Yy19.16;

SBE 31, p. 264; Geldner 1P p. 78.

⁶⁷ The *Visperad*.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in the *Visperad*.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 18 times; SBE 31, pp. 338 - 363; Geldner 2P pp. 3 - 30.

No mss. variations.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in §§ 5.3 and 21.2.

ahurō. mazdā̄. (nom. sg.) in §§ 2.3; 8.1; 11.19; 12.4.

ahurām. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in §§ 2.4; 11.21; 13.1; 14.1; 18.1; 19.1 (2x); 23.1.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in §§ 11.1; 12.1.

ahurāica. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in § 11.6.

ahurahe. mazdā̄. (gen. sg.) in § 11.6.

⁶⁸ The *Afringans*.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in the *Afringans*.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 11 times.

Afringan i Dahman, the name does not appear. Geldner 2Pt. pp. 268 - 269. Mills does not show this text in SBE 31.

Afringan Gahanbar, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 2 times.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in § 6.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 14.

Afringan Gatha, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 3 times. No mss. variations.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in §§ 1, 3.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 1.

Afringan Rapithvin, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 6 times.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in § 4.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 2 (2 x)

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 4.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 6 and 8.

⁶⁹ The *Gahs*.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 11 times.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in the *Gahs*.

Havan Gah, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 3 times.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 3.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 1 and 9.

Rapithvin Gah, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 3 times.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 1, 2 and 9 (§10 in Geldner).

Uzirin Gah, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 1 times.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 1.

Aiwisruthrem Gah, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 2 times.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 1 and 5.

Ushahin Gah, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 2 times.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 5.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 1.

⁷⁰ *Sirozah 1 and 2*, no mss. variations.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in the *Sirozahs*.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 18 times.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in Sir. 1 §§ 1, 7, 8, 9 (3 x), 15 and 23.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in Sir. 2 §§ 1, 8, 15 and 23.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in Sir. 2 §§ 7 and 9 (5 x).

⁷¹ **The Yashts.** Repetitions and quotations from other parts of the YAv. texts (which Geldner often shows abbreviated in any event) are omitted here.

The titles of Yashts are in Pahlavi, but the Yashts themselves are in YAv.

All of the *Yashts* start with an Avestan introductory invocation which includes the words *x šnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā̎.* which Darmesteter translates as 'May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced.' The numbers are approximate because (being human) I may have missed an instance or two.

Hormezd Yasht, Yt. 1. No mss. variations.

The name *mazdā- ahura-* does not appear in this Yasht.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **12 times**.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in §§ 1 and 5.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in §§ 3, 7 and 9.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 1.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in §§ 22 and 31 (4 x) and intro.

The name *mazdā-* appears about **1 time** ~ § 12 (identifying one of His names).

mazdā̎. (correct nom. sg. *mazdā̎ nqma ahmi*)

'I am by name Wisdom ...', my translation.

"My name is Mazdau ..." Darmesteter translation.

The name *ahura-* appears about **1 time** ~ § 12 (identifying one of His names).

ahura. (incorrect voc. sg. *ahura nqma ahmi*)

'I am by name, Lord ...' my translation.

"My name is Ahura (the Lord) ..." Darmesteter's transl.)

In the last two instances (both in § 12) the context requires that *mazdā-* and *ahura-* should both be in the same case ~ nom (*mazdā̎* and *ahurō*). But *mazdā̎* is nom. sg. and *ahura* is voc. sg. (in YAv.). And there are no mss. (in Geldner) which show any inflection variations for either name, probably indicating a long-standing scribal error in one of the names that was copied and re-copied over time, by scribes who were not fluent in Avestan.

Haft Ameshaspand Yasht, Yt.2. No mss. variations.

§§ 1 - 10 are repetitions (omitted here) of parts of the Sirozah (in which the name *ahura- mazdā-* appears).

The names occurring in various prayers (which Geldner abbreviates in any event) are omitted here.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears **1 time**.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Ardibehesht Yasht, Yt.3. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **4 times**.

ahura. mazda. (voc. case) in § 2.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in § 1.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 4.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The name *mazdā-* alone appears about **3 times**.

mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in § 3.3 (3 x).

The name *ahura-* alone appears about **1 time**.

ahurahe. (gen. sg.) in § 3.3

The name *mazdā- ahura-* does not appear in this Yasht.

Khordad (Awerdad) Yasht Yt. 4, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 3 times.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in §§ 1 and 4.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Aban (Ardui Sur Bano) Yasht, Yt. 5, no mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 7 times.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in §§ 1, 6, 17, 85, 89, and 120.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The name *mazdā-* alone appears about 2 times.

mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in §§ 7, 89.

The names *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* as names do not appear in this Yasht.

Khorshed Yasht, Yt. 6. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 2 times.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 4.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Mah Yasht Yt. 7. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 2 times.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in § 1.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Tir (Tishtar) Yasht, Yt. 8. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 14 times.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in §§ 23 and 57.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in §§ 1, 7, 25, 38, 44, 45, and 58.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in §§ 50 and 52.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in § 10.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in § 35 and in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Gosh (Drvasp) Yasht, Yt. 9. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 1 time.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The name *mazdā-* alone appears about 5 times.

mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in §§ 9 (2 x), and 10 (3 x).

The names *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Mihir Yasht Yt. 10. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 17 times.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in §§ 74 and 121.

ahurō. mazdā̎. (nom. sg.) in § 1, 50, 82, 89, 90, 92, 103, 122, 123, 137 and 138.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 1.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in §§ 54, 89.

ahurahe. mazdā̎. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The name *mazdā- ahura-* appears about **1 times**.

mazdā. ahurahe (gen. sg.) in § 3.

The name *mazdā-* alone appears about **2 times**.

mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 103.

mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 139

The name *ahura-* alone appears about **2 times**.

ahura. (nom. du. with Mithra) in §§ 113, 145.

And there are many repetitions of sections which contain the name, but which Geldner abbreviates without showing the name in his abbreviations.

Srosh Yasht Hadhokht, Yt. 11. **No mss. variations.**

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **4 times**.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 14 and 15.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 9.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The name *mazdā-* alone appears in **1** instance.

mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 11.

As names, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht. §§ 10 - 13 is a repetition of certain §§ of Yy57, Geldner 2 Pt. ft. 1, p. 160.

Rashn Yasht, Yt. 12. **No mss. variations.**

The name *ahura- mazdā-* about **6 times**.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in § 1.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 2, 3 and 4.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 3.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

As names, *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Farvardin Yasht, Yt. 13. **No mss. variations.**

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **10 times**.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in § 146.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 1, 20 and 148.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in §§ 87, 157.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 78, 80, 146 and in the intro.

The name *mazdā- ahura-* appears about **1 times**.

mazdā. ahurahe. (gen. sg.) in § 146.

The name *mazdā-* alone appears about **1 times**.

mazdā. (nom. sg.) in § 3.

As a name *ahura-* alone does not appear in this Yasht.

Bahram (Bahiram) Yasht, Yt. 14. **No mss. variations.**

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **36 times**.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.) in §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 34, 42, and 49,

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 26,

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 34 and 42.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The numerous times that the name is used in the voc., nom., and acc. cases, is explained by the fact that this Yasht repeatedly includes the following (purported) question and answer:

" Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda, [*pərəsaṭ. zaraθuštrō. ahurəm. mazdqm.* acc. sg.] "Oh Ahura Mazda! [*ahura mazda* voc. sg.]... ' ...

Then Ahura Mazda answered [*āaṭ. mraoṭ. ahurō. mazdā.* nom. sg.] ...".

Geldner has abbreviated many of these repeated sections without showing the name.

As names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Ram Yasht, Yt. 15. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 11 times.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 2, 4, 13, 17, 25, 29, 33, 37, and 41.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in § 44.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

As names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Din Yasht, Yt. 16, the name *ahurahe. mazdā.* (gen. sg.) appears only 1 time (in the introductory invocation *x šnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.*) No mss. variations.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Ashi Yasht, Yt. 17. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 5 times.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 16 and 60.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in § 18.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 2 and in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Ashtad Yasht, Yt. 18. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 2 times.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in § 1.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in the intro.

The names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Yasht.

Zamyad Yasht, Yt. 19. No mss. variations.

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about 7 times.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 10, 16, 58, and 61.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 10, 82 and in the intro.

The name *mazdā- ahura-* about 1 time.

mazdā. ahurahe. (gen. sg.) in § 19.

As names *mazdā-* alone, and *ahura-* alone, do not appear in this Yasht.

Hom Yasht, Yt. 20, *ahura- mazdā-* 1 time, no mss. variations; and

Vanant Yasht, Yt. 21, *ahura- mazdā-* 1 time, no mss. variations.

In each of these Yashts, the name appears only in the introductory invocation *x šnaoθra. ahurahe. mazdā.* (gen. sg.).

Darmesteter includes translations of some *Yasht Fragments*, including the *Afrin Paighambar Zartusht*, and the *Vishtasp Yasht*. But Geldner does not include these texts in his *Avesta*, so I cannot tell how the Avestan of Ahura Mazda was written in these texts.

⁷² Geldner 2P pp. 37 - 51, SBE Vol. 23 pp. 349 - 361. The names occurring in various prayers repeated in the Nyaishes (which Geldner abbreviates in any event) are omitted here.

Khorshed Nyaish, Ny. 1. *No mss. variations.*

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **8 times**.

ahura. mazda. (voc. sg.), in § 1.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in § 7.

ahurəm. mazdqm. (acc. sg.) in §§ 1 and 14.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 2, 5 and 19.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in § 5.

The name *ahura-* alone appears about **1 time**.

ahura. (nom. du.) in § 7 (with Mithra).

As names *mazdā-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-*, do not appear in this Nyaish.

§ 18 is a quotation from Yy68.10 (Geldner 2P p. 42 ft. 2), and has been omitted here.

Mihir Nyaish, Ny. 2.

Geldner's ft. 1, p. 43 states that §§ 1 - 9 of this Mihir Nyaish are the same as §§ 1 - 9 of the Khorshed Nyaish Ny. 1 (above). The remaining sections do not contain the names in any form.

Mah Nyaish, Ny. 3. *No mss. variations.*

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **3 times**.

ahurāi. mazdāi. (dat. sg.) in §§ 1 and 3.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 2.

As names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Nyaish.

Aban (Ardui Sur Bano) Nyaish, Ny. 4. *No mss. variations.*

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **4 times**.

ahurō. mazdā. (nom. sg.) in §§ 2, 7 and 8.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in § 1.

As names *mazdā-* alone, *ahura-* alone, and *mazdā- ahura-* do not appear in this Nyaish.

Atash Nyaish, Ny. 5. *No mss. variations.*

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **10 times**.

ahurahe. mazdā. (gen. sg.) in §§ 1, 2, 4, 5 (2 x), 6 (3 x) and 17 (2 x).

The name *mazdā- ahura* appears about **2 times**.

mazdā. ahurahe. (gen. sg.) in §§ 4, and 7.

As names *mazdā-* alone, and *ahura-* alone, do not appear in this Nyaish.

§§ 1 - 3 of this Nyaish are quotations of Gatha verses Y33.12 - 14, (Geldner's ft. 1, p. 50).

§§ 7 - 17 are quotations of YAv. Yy62.1 - 10, (Geldner ibid.);

§ 18 = YHapt. 34.4, (Geldner 2P p. 51 ft. 1).

⁷³ in the Vendidad, the names *mazdā-* alone, and *ahura-* alone, do not appear. In this entire text:

The name *ahura- mazdā-* appears about **398 times**.

ahurō. mazdā. 347 x (nom. sg.)

ahura. mazda 15 x (voc. sg.)

ahurəm. mazdqm 9 x (acc. sg.)

ahurāi. mazdāi 3 x (dat. sg.)

ahurahe. mazdā 22 x (gen. sg.)

The name *mazdā- ahura-* appears **2** time.

mazdā. ahurahe. 2 x (gen. sg.)

The *Vendidad* consists of 22 chapters, and approx. 915 sections, which is too much to individually detail. So I show the names it uses in totals. The last couple of sections in each chapter are recitations of prayers which I have omitted in this analysis. The *Vendidad* also contains many repetitions, some of which Geldner has abbreviated, so I have omitted all such abbreviated repetitions in this analysis.

⁷⁴ Detailed in *Part Four: Zarathushtra's Date & Place*.

⁷⁵ Kent 1950 § 47, pp. 20 - 21; And Stronach mentions "simple scribal errors that occur in each of the extant versions of the Old Persian text of the CMA" (which he notes are not mentioned by Kent), and which he cautions may have indicated an early, more or less experimental stage of writing Old Persian, Stronach (1978) pp. 63, 102 - 103, and ft. 131. And see my footnoted discussion on XPc herein.

⁷⁶ King & Thompson 1907 give drawings of the actual cuneiform letters in the Behistan inscription from which we can see the name *auramazdāh-* (in its various case forms) in cuneiform script. The cuneiform name shows no word dividers between *aura* and *mazdā*.

⁷⁷ *ariyāramna* in Old Persian ~ so transliterated by Kent 1950 p. 116. The Old Persian name *ariyāramna* means roughly 'one who brings peace to the Aryas'. Kent in his English translation uses the Greek version of the name, "Ariaramnes", probably because that is more familiar to scholars.

⁷⁸ See Table of the Achaemenian Dynasty in *Part Four: The Achaemenians*.

⁷⁹ Kent 1950 § 18 p. 12; p. 107; p. 116.

⁸⁰ Kent 1950 p. 12.

⁸¹ Kent 1950 p. 116, inscriptions at Pasargadae, CMA, and CMb.

⁸² Kent 1950 pp. 116, translated at 119.

⁸³ Here is Kent's English translation. Words in square brackets are from Kent's transliteration of the Old Persian cuneiform script, except that Kent starts proper names with a capital letter in his transliteration. Kent uses a colon to transliterate a word divider.

"§ 1. Lines 1 - 4. Ariaramnes the Great King [*ariyāramna* : *x šāyaθiya* : *vazraka* :], King of Kings [*x šāyaθiya* : *x šāyaθiyānām* :], King in Persia [*x šāyaθiya* : *pārsā* :], son of Teispes the King, [*cišpaiš* : *x šāyaθiyāhya* : *puca* :] grandson of Achaemenes [*hax āmanišahyā* : *napā* :].

§ 2. Lines 4 - 9. Saith Ariaramnes the King: This country Persia which I hold, which is possessed of good horses, of good men, upon me the Great God Ahuramazda [*baga* : *vazraka* : *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.)] bestowed (it). By the favor of Ahuramazda [: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.)] I am king in this country.

§ 3. Lines 9 - 11. Saith Ariaramnes the King: May Ahuramazda [: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.)] bear me aid." Kent 1950 p. 116.

⁸⁴ An inscription of Darius I at Susa (DSf) states "... my father Hystaspes [*vištāspa*] and Arsames [*aršāma*] my grandfather ~ these both were living when Ahuramazda made me king in this earth." Kent 1950 p. 144. An inscription of Xerxes I in Persepolis (XPf) states "... My father was Darius; Darius's father was Hystaspes by name; Hystaspes's father was Arsames by name. Both Hystaspes and Arsames were both living, at that time ..." Kent 1950 p. 150. Even if we assume that *aršāma* came to the throne of Parsa at a young age (say 20 years), his reign could not have lasted more than about 15 years, in light of the fact that Cyrus II (the Great)

deposed *aršāma*, and ruled for roughly 30 years, with about 9 more years intervening before Darius I (the Great) established his reign.

⁸⁵ Here is Kent's text and English translation. Words in square brackets are from Kent's transliteration of the Old Persian script, except that I have not used initial capital letters for proper names. Kent uses a colon : to transliterate a word divider.

"§1. Lines 1 - 4. Arsames [*aršāma*], the Great King, King of Kings, King (in) Persia, son (of) Ariaramnes [*ariyāramna*] the King, an Achaemenian.

§2. Lines 5 - 14. Saith Arsames the King: Ahuramazda great god, the greatest of gods [: *auramazdā* : *baga* : *vazraka* : *hya* : *maθišta* : *bagānām* :], made me king. He bestowed on me the land Persia, with good people, with good horses. By the favor of Ahuramazda [: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.)] I hold this land. Me may Ahuramazda [: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.)] protect, and my royal house, and this land which I hold may he protect." Kent 1950 p. 116.

⁸⁶ The names and dates of the Achaemenian kings from Cyrus II (the Great) onwards, shown here, are from Kent 1950, p. 158.

⁸⁷ One has only to look at the photographs of Pasargadae in Stronach's wonderful 1978 book *Pasargadae*, to see how great had been the destruction and deterioration of Pasargadae, how very little remained, and how very difficult must have been the task of excavating, collecting together fragments, and reconstructing this ancient site. We are deeply indebted to the many generations of scholars who took pains to do so, even though subsequent archeological discoveries may have made some of their earlier conclusions inaccurate.

⁸⁸ Stronach 1978 *Pasargadae*, p. 8. Kent 1950 identifies the 3 surviving inscriptions which he calls 'Cyrus Murghab' (CMA, b, and c) as follows.

CMA is a trilingual inscription in Old Persian (2 lines), Elamite (1 line) and Akkadian (1 line). The Old Persian version says,

"*adam* : *kūruš* : *x šāyaθiya* : *hax āmanišiya*"
 "I am Cyrus the King, an Achaemenian". Kent 1950 p. 116.

It existed in five or more copies in Pasargadae, but only two now remain. Kent 1950 pp. 12, 107, 116; Stronach 1978 *Pasargadae*, (discussions of CMA), pp. 47 - 48; 63 - 65; 88 - 89; 101 - 103. Stronach has wonderful Plates and Figures which show the surviving CMA inscriptions. He surmises that the same inscription was also cut over the figure of a man with large wings (one half curving up and the other half down) in Gate R, as shown in the drawings of Sir Robert Kerr in 1821 (Stronach Plate 43a) and C. Texier in 1840 (Stronach Plate 43b). Stronach's Plates 44 shows the Winged Figure as it existed when Stronach's work was published 1978, and also in an earlier 1928 photograph Plate 45 by which times, the upper part of the relief with the inscription on it had disappeared.

CMB consists of a number of small fragments of a trilingual inscription, in Old Persian (6 lines), Elamite (4 lines), and Akkadian (4 lines) which stood above certain doorways of the palace (p. 106). The Old Persian inscription is incomplete and says (numbers indicate the lines, notice *Kabūjiya* at the end of line 1 has no word divider after it, indicating that it continues on to line 2, so the entire word is (gen. sg.) : *Kabūjiyahyā* :)

1. *Kuruš* : *x šāyaθiya* : *vazraka* : *Kabūjiya*
2. *hyā* : *x šāyaθiyahyā* : *puca* : *Hax āmanišiya* :
3. *θātiy* : *yaθā* [illegible]
4. [illegible] *akutā* [illegible] (p. 116).

Lines 5 and 6 no longer exist. Kent 1950 translates CMB as follows:

"Cyrus the Great King, son of Cambyses the King, an Achaemenian.

He says: When made ." (p. 116).

CMc consists of copies of a trilingual inscription, each language having 1 line, on the folds of the king's garments in three doorways of the palace. The Old Persian text is now completely illegible. But Kent transliterates and translates it as follows (presumably from other sources reflecting a time when the Old Persian inscription was still legible?).

"*Kuruš : x šāyaθiya : vazraka : Hax āmanišiya :*

Cyrus the Great King, an Achaemenian." Kent (1950) pp. 107, 116.

Whether this inscription was inscribed by Cyrus, or by his successor Darius I, is debated by scholars. If its age is 510 BCE as some scholars contend, it would be the work of Darius I who married Cyrus's daughter, and (some scholars contend) wished to be seen as Cyrus's legitimate successor, and therefore may have exerted himself to honor Cyrus by adding some finishing touches at Pasargadae.

⁸⁹ In the trilingual inscription CMB the Old Persian text is fragmentary and incomplete. What remains of it does not mention the name *auramazdāh-*. However, Kent 1950 notes that a non-Persian part of this inscription mentions the sculptured figure in the doorway below, with a prayer to *auramazdāh-* for protection. (Kent's Lexicon under *auramazdāh-* shows that the Elamite form is *u-ra-mas-da*, and the Akkadian form is *ú-ra-ma-az-da*, and *ú-ri-mi-iz-da*, and *a-hu-ru-ma-az-da* [each of them one word!] Kent 1950 pp. 164 - 165. Did Cyrus place this inscription (with its prayer to *auramazdāh-*) on the doorway of his palace above a sculptured figure of himself? Did Darius do so for his predecessor? We do not know. Stronach (1978) mentions that based on the Akkadian version of CMB "it is evident that Darius placed an inscription on something," and alerts us to the possibility that the author of this inscription is uncertain (Stronach 1978, *Pasargadae*, pp. 97 - 100. Unfortunately neither Kent nor Stronach gives a translation of the non-Persian part of this inscription which contains the prayer to *auramazdāh-*.

Some scholars state (as a fact) that Darius the Great caused the Old Persian cuneiform script to be invented. But this conclusion is purely speculative. It is supported only by theories and suppositions, not by any direct evidence. As Kent 1950 states, "It is uncertain ... when this Old Persian system of writing was invented." p. 12. And he explores various theories.

⁹⁰ Kent 1950 p. 189.

⁹¹ Kent 1950 states that 'Behistan' is a much used but not recorded spelling, which is part way between the Old Persian name for this mountain *bagastāna* 'place of the gods', and the medieval Arab geographers who called this mountain *behistūn*. Kent 1950 p. 108. I would prefer to call this inscription by the original name *bagastāna*, but no one would know what I was talking about. So I settle for Kent's Behistan.

⁹² A total of 75 times, always as one word, *auramazdāh-* in the Behistan inscription of Darius the Great in the following Columns and lines. Kent 1950 pp. 116 ~ 120. The name is one word ~ it does not have an Old Persian cuneiform word divider symbol (which Kent shows as a colon :) between the two parts of the name (*aura* and *mazdāh-*). The word dividers appear before and after the entire name.

Kent states that his text is based essentially on King & Thompson's examination and edition, supplemented by the examinations of the original by Jackson and Cameron (p. 118, ft. to DB I). Kent notes that Cameron was successful in removing some limestone encrustations that had covered many of the engraved characters, thus establishing the original text in a number of passages that had previously been unreadable or incorrectly reconstructed.

Because the rock surface has deteriorated in places, Kent shows all reconstructions in italics. Some of the inscriptions are tri-lingual, and he says that the Old Persian reconstructions can be informed by the

companion text in other languages. I include all reconstructions here (although I do not show them in italics), but because of them, the totals are approximations.

A hyphen in between two line numbers (e.g. 24-25) means that the word starts at the end of a line and continues on to the next line based on the cuneiform word dividers.

Column I. **18 times.**

: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) lines 12, 22, 60.

: *auramazdāmaiy* : (nom. sg. combined with *-maiy* GAv. *mōi*, YAv. *mē*, 1p pronoun gen. sg. masc., lines 24-25, 25, 55, 87, 94.

: *auramazdām* : (acc. sg.) lines 54-55.

: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) lines 11-12, 14, 18-19, 26, 60, 68, 70, 88, 94-95.

Column II. **19 times.**

: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) lines 3, 25, 35, 40, 45-46, 54-55, 60, 68, 86-87, 97.

: *auramazdāmaiy* : (nom. sg. combined with *-maiy*) lines 24, 34, 39-40, 45, 54, 60, 68, 86, 96.

Column III. **14 times.**

: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) lines 6-7, 17, 38, 45, 62, 67, 87-88.

: *auramazdāmaiy* : (nom. sg. with *maiy*) lines 6, 16-17, 37, 44-45, 61-62, 66-67, 87.

Column IV. **16 times.**

: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) lines 35, 55, 62, 74, 76, 79-80.

: *auramazdātaiy* : (nom. sg. combined with another *-taiy*) line 78.

: *auramazdātay* : (nom. sg. combined with *-tay*) line 58.

: *auramazdāmaiy* : (nom. sg. combined with *maiy*) line 60.

: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) lines 4, 6, 41, 44, 46, 52, 60.

Column V. **8 times.**

: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) lines 15-16.

: *auramazdāšām* : lines 31-32 (nom. sg. combined with another word).

: *auramazdām* : (acc. sg.) lines 16, 18-19, 32, 34.

: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) lines 16-17, 32-33.

⁹³ Kent 1950 pp. 108 - 114, describes where and on what, each of the other inscriptions of Darius the Great appears.

DN: Inscriptions of Darius I at his burial site in Naqsh i Rostam.

DS: Inscriptions of Darius I made at Susa as follows: DSa on now broken clay tablets; DSd, DSi, and DSj on columns; DSe and DSf on fragments of tablets; DSk and DSl on baked clay brick; DSm on enameled bricks; DSn on the garment of a statue; DSo, DSp, DSs and DSt on marble plaques.

DZ (Darius Suez) inscriptions on a granite stele.

DE (Darius Elvend) an inscription cut into the face of Mt. Elvend (not far from Hamadan, and southwest of it).

Kent shows the inscriptions themselves as follows (pp. 136 - 147):

In the Persepolis inscriptions (called by scholars DPa through DPi):

1 time : *aurā* : (instr. sg.) DPe line 24.

9 times, always as one word, *auramazdāh-* in DPd and DPe, as follows.

: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) DPd lines 1, 7, 13, 15-16, 23.

: *auramazdām* : (acc. sg.) DPd line 22.

: *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) DPd lines 4, 9; DPe lines 6-7;

A total of **36 times** ~ always as one word, *auramazdāh-* ~ in the following miscellaneous inscriptions.

- : *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) DNa lines 1, 31, 51-52, 55; DNb lines 1, 46, 49; DSe line 1; DSf lines 1, 8, 14, 57; DSP line 1; DSS lines 1, 6-7; DSt lines 1, 7-8; DZc line 1; and DE line 1.
 - : *auramazdāmaiy* : (nom. sg. + *maiy*) DNa line 50; DSf line 19.
 - : *auramazdām* : (acc. sg.) DNa line 54; DSf lines 15-16, 18.
 - : *auramazdāha* : (gen. sg.) DNa lines 16, 35, 49, 56-57; DNb lines 6, 47-48; DSe lines 15, 35, 42; DSf lines 12, 21; DSI lines 2-3.
- Kent 1950 pp. 137 - 147.

A total of **16** one-word ideograms (abbreviations) in the following Susa inscriptions.

- : *AM* : (nom. sg.) in DSe line 50; DSI line 3; DSj lines 4, 6; DSk line 4; DSn line 2.
- : *AMmaiy* : (nom. sg. + *maiy*) in DSk line 5; DSm line 3.
- : *AMm* : (acc. sg.) in DSk line 4.
- : *AMha* : (gen. sg.) in DSa line 4; DSd line 3 (entirely reconstructed); DSI line 4; DSk line 4; DSo line 3.
- : *AMhā* : (gen. sg.) in DSj lines 3, 5; DSm line 5.

⁹⁴ The inscriptions of Xerxes I, identified by Kent 1950 pp. 147 - 153 are as follows.

XP inscriptions are those found in Persepolis. Inscriptions XPa to XPe and XPJ, are found on various parts of the buildings; XPf and XPh are on stone tablets; XPg is in fragments of colored enamel bricks; XPi is on a door knob of artificial lapis lazuli.

XS inscriptions are those found in Susa. XSa is on a column; XSc is on a fragment of a marble tablet.

XE is an inscription on the face of Mt. Elvend.

XV (Xerxes Van) is an inscription which Kent describes as being in a rectangular niche high on the precipitous rocky wall of the castle.

In the inscriptions of Xerxes I, the name is always inflected only at the end, with one exception (shown below).

⁹⁵ Inscriptions of Xerxes I, Kent 1950 pp. 147 - 153.

A total of **44 times**, always as one word, in the inscriptions of Xerxes I, as follows.

- : *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) in XPa lines 1, 20; XPb lines 1, 27-28; XPc lines 1, 12, 15; PXd line 1; XPf lines 1, 45, 48; XPg line 12; XPh lines 1, 32, 49-50, 52, 57, 60; XE line 1; XV lines 1, 25.
- : *auramazdāmaiy* : (nom. sg.+ *maiy*) in XPh line 45.
- : *auramazdām* : (acc. sg.) in XPf lines 21-22, 29; XPh lines 40, 50, 53, 59; XSc line 4.
- : *auramazdāha* : *(gen. sg.) in XPb lines 26-27; XPd line 16; XPg lines 3, 8; XSa line 1; XV line 19.
- : *auramazdahā* : *(gen. sg.) in XPf line 34, 43; XPh line 14, 33, 37, 44.
- : *auramazdāhā* : *(gen. sg.) in XPa lines 12, 16-17.

"... : *vasnā* : *Aurahya Mazdāha* : ..." *(gen. sg.) XPc, line 10 (Kent shows no word divider between *aurahya* and *mazdāha* but separates them anyway (p.149). In the absence of a word divider, we have to conclude that in the cuneiform script the word appears as one word, but with the first part incorrectly inflected due to a scribal error.

* In his lexicon (under *auramazdāh-*) Kent shows **all three forms for the gen. sg.** (p. 165), although elsewhere he states that the *-āha* inflection is the correct gen. sg. inflection for *-dah-* stems, § 185 IV, p. 64.

⁹⁶ Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes I, II, and III (A1, 2 and 3); Kent 1950 pp. 153 - 156.

A total of **10 times**, always as one word, *auramazdāh-* in the following inscriptions.

: *auramazdā* : (nom. sg.) in A1Pa lines 1, 22; A2Sc line 7; A2Hc lines 1, 18, 19; A3Pa lines 1, 24.

: *auramazdahā* : (different form of gen. sg.) in A1Pa lines 18-19.

: *auramazdāhā* : (different form of gen. sg.) in A2Hc line 16.

A total of **8** one-word ideograms (abbreviations) in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II and Darius II.

A2Sa is a tri-lingual inscription, and line 4 is almost totally illegible. Kent notes (p. 154) that the reconstructions in A2Sa line 4 have been done based on the Akk. version (and have been included here).

: *AM* : (nom. sg.) in D2Sa line 3; A2Sa line 4 (2 x); A2Sd line 3; A2Ha lines 5, 6.

: *AMha* : (gen. sg.) in D2Sb line 4.

: *AMhā* : (different form of gen. sg.) in A2Sd line 3.

⁹⁷ This period 521 to 331 BCE, represents the reigns of Achaemenian kings from Darius I (the Great) through Artaxerxes III who was defeated by Alexander. However the inscriptions themselves are not dated. Only the Behistan inscription has an estimated date of the first two or so years of the reign of Darius the Great.

⁹⁸ Professor Gershevitch commented that the Ashem Vohu had been discovered written in a form of the Old Soghdian language in 1976, in his essay *Approaches to Zarathushtra's Gathas*, pp. 19 - 20 in *Proceedings of the First Gatha Conference 1993* (WZO 1998).

⁹⁹ Schmidt 1970, *Persepolis III*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁰ Schmidt 1970 *Persepolis III*, pp. 122 - 123.

¹⁰¹ Depending on what Pahlavi word was used in this Sasanian inscription, its intended meaning (in Sasanian times) may not have been 'god'. If the Pahlavi word which Schmidt translates as 'god' is an *izad* word, the meaning (perhaps) may have been 'a person worthy of celebration'. The Pahlavi *izad* is related to Avestan *yazata-*.

In Avestan, *yaz-* words (and *yazata-*) have routinely been translated by eminent linguists as having just one ritual-oriented meaning ~ 'worship/sacrifice' ~ generating verbs and nouns including the act of worship/sacrifice, and also a person worthy of worship/sacrifice, etc. But in Avestan texts *yaz-* words are used in many contexts which cannot mean ritual-oriented 'worship/sacrifice', but rather reflect a reverence which is a celebration. And (to my delight!) by 2010 Humbach/Faiss added the flavor 'celebrate' in their translation of some of *yaz-* words. The Pahlavi word *izad* may also have had the flavor of meaning ~ 'one who is celebrated', or 'one who is worthy of celebration'. But we do not know for sure.

In *Part Two: The Puzzle of Worship*, footnote 4 shows the different flavors of meaning ~ at the same time, and also over time, ~ even for the English word 'worship' some of which are totally unrelated to the religious worship of a deity.

¹⁰² For example, Geldner shows *hōrməzd* in Pazand invocations in the following Avestan texts:

Khorshed Nyaish.

... *hōrməzd i rayōmañd i x'arahemañd ... hōrməzd i x'adāe* ... (before § 1).

... *hōrməzd* ... in the Pazand words between §§ 16 and 17.

Geldner 2P pp. 37, 42. **No mss. variations.**

Mihir Nyaish.

... *hōrməzd i x'adāe* ... (before § 1)

... *hōrməzd* ... in the Pazand words before §§ 16.

Geldner 2P pp. 43, 44. **No mss. variations.**

Mah Nyaish.

... *hōrməzd i x'adāe* ... in the Pazand words at the end of § 8.

Geldner 2P p. 46. No mss. variations.

Aban Nyaish.

... *hōrməzd* ... in the Pazand words before § 10.

Geldner 2P p. 49. No mss. variations.

Atash Nyaish.

Geldner abbreviates the Pazand invocation, and the name *hōrməzd* is not shown in his abbreviated version. Geldner 2P p. 50.

¹⁰³ West, E. W. 1871, *The Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard*.

¹⁰⁴ Kent 1950 § 4 III, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Kent 1950 p. 164.

¹⁰⁶ In West's translation, the Pahlavi texts which show the name as *Aûharmazd* include the following:

SBE Vol. 5, *Bundahish*; excerpts from *Selections of Zad-sparam*; *Bahman Yasht (Zand-i Vohuman Yasno)*; *Shayast La-Shayast*; *Pahlavi Fragments* (which West shows as an Appendix to *Shayast La-Shayast*, but notes that they is not a portion thereof);

SBE Vol. 18, *Dadistan-i Dinik*; *The Epistles of Manuskihar*;

SBE Vol. 24, *Dina-i Mainog-i Khirad*; *Sikand-Gumanik Vijar*;

SBE Vol. 37, *Dinkard Books 8 and 9*; excerpts from *Dinkard Books 3 and 4*; excerpts from *Selections of Zad-sparam*; excerpts from *Din-Vijirgard* (which West describes as A Rivayat in Pahlavi writing, but in language more Persian than Pahlavi, p. 438, ft. 1).

SBE Vol. 47, *Dinkard Books 7 and 5*; and excerpts from *Selections of Zad-sparam*.

¹⁰⁷ In the Persian text *Sad Dar*, *SBE 24*, pp. 255 et seq.

¹⁰⁸ E. W. West's excerpts from certain Persian Rivayats, see for example, '*Ormazd*' in *SBE Vol. 37*, § 23, p. 437.

¹⁰⁹ Detailed in *Part Four: Zarathushtra's Time & Date*.

¹¹⁰ Detailed in *Part One: The Nature of the Divine*.

¹¹¹ The *Yasna Haptanghaiti* perceives Wisdom as intrinsically good (*mazdā.varā*) in *YHapt. 37.3*. Some other beautiful examples from the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* which are very close to the Gathas are quoted in *Part One: Truth*.

¹¹² *YHapt. 38.1*, "We celebrate [*yazamaidē*] this earth which bears us, along with (its) women ... in accordance with truth ..." Humbach/Faiss 2010 translation, p. 108. Here we see flavors of both the later texts and the Gathas in that the linking of the earth and women has the flavor of later texts, but the tacked on "in accordance with truth" is so typical of the Gathas (and the Ahuna Vairya, believed to have been composed by Zarathushtra) ~ showing that the celebration [*yazamaidē*] is one what accords with the true (correct, wholly good) order of existence.

There are other sections of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* in which the composer celebrates [*yazamaidē*] various natural things, that have the flavor of later YAv. texts (especially the YAv. *Farvardin Yasht*); but although such ideas are not specifically mentioned in the Gathas, I do not think they are inconsistent with the Gathas (see *Part Two: A Question of Immanence*). There are some other sections of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* which (in current translations) may be deemed contrary to the Gathas and more in tune with the syncretized religion of the

YAv. texts. I think some (but perhaps not all) of these may be susceptible to different (less interpretive) translations that accord with the Gathas.

¹¹³ The differences between the Gathas and the later texts in linking material metaphors (including mortals), and the Divine and Its qualities (amesha spenta), are detailed in two Tables in *Part Two: A Question of Immanence*.

¹¹⁴ The *Vendidad* was composed in grammatically corrupt Avestan, requiring the conclusion that it was composed long after Avestan times, because the priests who composed this text were no longer fluent in Avestan, discussed in *Part Five: The Vendidad, An Overview*.

¹¹⁵ Linguists may be able to hazard guesses regarding the period of time during which Old Avestan transitioned into Younger Avestan, based on various rules of linguistics. I do not have that knowledge.

¹¹⁶ Detailed in *Part Four: Zarathushtra's Date & Place*.

¹¹⁷ Behistan Inscription, Column IV, lines 61, 63;

¹¹⁸ The following are parts of two quotations from inscriptions of Darius the Great, translated by Insler in his essay *Love of Truth In Ancient Iran*, which appears in *Part One*.

In the Behistan inscription, Darius the Great says

"... Know that I did this by favor of *Ahura Mazda* [*auramazdāh-*] who bore me assistance because I was not aggressive, because I was not a follower of deceit, because I was not a doer of wrong ~ neither I nor my family. I conducted myself as befits the truth. Neither to the weaker nor to the powerful did I do wrong ... Thou who shalt be king hereafter, do not be a friend to the follower of deceit nor to the doer of wrong. Punish them well." Insler translation.

And in another part of this inscription Darius the Great says

"By the grace of *Ahura Mazda* [*auramazdāh-*] I delight in what is right; I do not delight in what is false. It is not my desire that the weak should be mistreated by the mighty, nor that the mighty be treated wrongly by the weak. What is right and truthful is my desire." Insler translation

The idea of the king punishing wrongdoers (and unfortunately any freedom loving nation that rebelled against him!) is a secular notion, a means of maintaining the King's control and what he thought to be good social order. The Gathas do not address such secular control and do not extrapolate the notion of punishment on to the Divine (detailed in *Part Two: Asha & The Checkmate Solution*; and *Part Three: Adverse Consequences, Not Punishment*).

¹¹⁹ Behistan Inscription, Column IV, lines 56, 74, Kent 1950 pp. 129, 132.

¹²⁰ A stone inscription made by a power hungry and quite horrible high priest, Kirdir, brags about persecuting people of other religions (although many Pahlavi high priests and kings did not do so).

¹²¹ Discussed in *Part Four: Shahin Bekhradnia, Loss of Knowledge After the Arab Invasion*.

¹²² Some examples are given in *Part One: Does The Devil Exist?*; and in *Part Two: Asha & The Checkmate Solution; Light, Glory, Fire; A Question of Immanence; The Puzzle of Creation*; and other chapters throughout this book.

Ashem Vohu

Handwritten text in Avestan and Pahlavi script, read from right to left. The text is organized into three lines, with the first three words of each line underlined in blue. A red arrow points to the first word of the first line. The text includes various characters and symbols, including a vertical line on the left side.

Y 27. 14
(1st line)

Y 27. 14
(2d line)

Y 27. 14
(3d line)

Figure 1. From manuscript J2, showing the dots separating each word (read from R to L). The words underlined in blue are in Avestan. The rest is in Pahlavi.

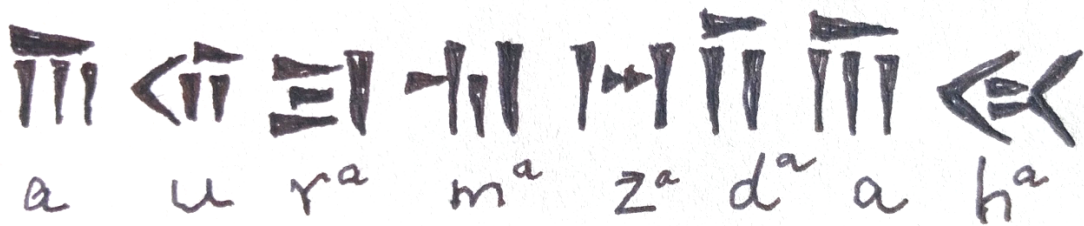


Figure 2. My drawing of the name auramazdaha (gen.) reconstructed from Kent's letters, p. 12.

THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF GAUMĀTA.

Col. I.

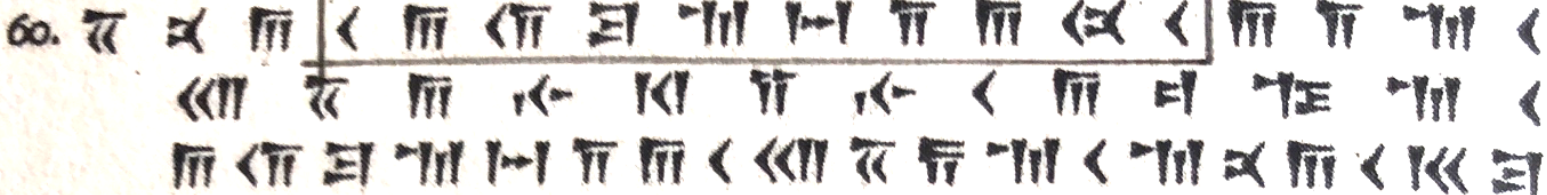


Figure 3. King & Thompson (1907), p. 13. Their drawing of the Behistan inscription Column I Line 60. auramazdaha (gen.) is shown with a word divider before and after the name.