

Analyzing the Headings in the Zoroastrian Manuscripts F1 and E1: The Beginning Texts¹

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Introduction

This article focuses on the headings of some texts common to the two manuscripts F1 and E1, and studies the history of a text title contained in one of these headings.

F1 and E1 are two exceptionally valuable Zoroastrian manuscripts. F1 was copied in Naosari by Āsdīn Kākā in 1591,² and E1 includes more than one part, the oldest of which (and the one relevant to this work) was also copied in Naosari, by Šāpuhr Hōšang Āsā, in 1601.³ Both of

¹It is a great pleasure for me to publish this article in honor of Maria Subtelny, a wonderful colleague and scholar, who has been an endless source of support and inspiration through the years.

²For information on F1, see Kaykhusroo M. JamaspAsa, "Introduction," in *The Avesta Codex F1 (Niyāyišns and Yašts)*, ed. Kaykhusroo M. JamaspAsa (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1991), ix–xv; and Almut Hintze, "Remarks on the Spelling Conventions in F1," *Avesta Codex F1*, xv–xx.

³For information on E1, see Firoze M. Kotwal and Almut Hintze, "Introduction," in *The Khorda*

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these manuscripts are easily accessible through printed and online editions.⁴

F1 and E1 both include a series of texts, including an Avestan alphabet,⁵ the prayers *Ahuna vairiia* and *Aṣəm vohū*, and a series of texts that belong in the collection of the short liturgies,⁶ including the group of the Avestan *Niyāyišns* (*Ny.*, the praise texts), and the group of the Avestan *Yašts* (*Yt.*, the hymns).⁷ For several of the *Yašts* and most of the other texts common to them, F1 and E1 are among the oldest known manuscripts.⁸

Avesta and Yašt Codex E1: Facsimile Edition, ed. Firoze M. Kotwal and Almut Hintze (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 1–50. Note that this manuscript has the siglum *F4* at the First Dastoor Meherjirana Library in Naosari, where it is preserved. In this study, the siglum *E1* is used for this manuscript, which is more commonly used in scholarship. For the other manuscripts quoted in this work, I use the sigla found in the sources I have consulted, which are the only sigla I know for these manuscripts.

⁴F1 is accessible through its facsimile edition (*Avesta Codex F1*), as is E1 (*Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*), which is also available online (Freie Universität Berlin, www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/iranistik/archiv/projekt-archiv/editionen/e1-facsimiles/index.html [accessed 7 December 2021]). To avoid overloading the references to E1, the rest of the article provides no reference to this online version of the edition of the manuscript.

⁵Of the Avestan alphabet, only the last part is found in F1, as the first folio is missing. The presence of part of the alphabet at the beginning of this manuscript is not acknowledged in the description of its contents by JamaspAsa in *Avesta Codex F1*, x–xii; the alphabet is mentioned, on the other hand, in the list of the manuscript’s texts in the brief description of it found in Karl F. Geldner, ed., *Avesta: The Sacred Book of the Parsis*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1886), iii.

⁶The definition “collection of the short liturgies” follows the one introduced in Jean Kellens, “Considérations sur l’histoire de l’Avesta,” *Journal Asiatique* 286 (1998): 451–519, which refers to texts that are used for minor rituals. Note that the presence of an alphabet in F1 and E1 is in line with the frequent presence of alphabets in manuscripts containing texts of the collection of the short liturgies; see iin1 of Geldner, *Avesta*.

⁷It should be pointed out that the occurrence of the *Niyāyišns* and *Yašts* in F1 and E1 reflects the connection that these two groups of texts have from both the textual and the ritual point of view. From the textual point of view, *Ny.* 1, 2, 3, and 4 have important parallels with *Yt.* 6, 10, 7, and 5 respectively; on the relationship among these texts, see Antonio Panaino, “The *Niyāyišns* Corpus and Its Relationship to the *Yašts*: The Case of *Yašts* 6 and 7,” in “Pre-Islamic Iranian Heritage,” ed. Enrico G. Raffaelli, special issue, *Iranian Studies* 45 (2012): 261–73 (which mainly focuses on the relationship of *Ny.* 1 and 3 with *Yt.* 6 and 7). On the connection between *Niyāyišns* and *Yašts* from the ritual point of view, see Jamsheed K. Choksy and Firoze M. Kotwal, “Praise and Piety: *Niyāyišns* and *Yašts* in the History of Zoroastrian Praxis,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68 (2005): 215–52.

⁸The oldest portion of manuscript known to contain any of the texts common to F1 and E1 (specifically, *Yt.* 1–4, 9, 11, 14, and 16, and *Ny.* 2–5) is the older part of Jm4, which dates to 1352. See Geldner, *Avesta*, v, with information on Jm4 (there, the German scholar also mentions the presence in the manuscript of the *Nērang ī kustīg bastan*, but as he notes, this and other, unspecified texts, as well as *Ny.* 1, are later additions to the manuscript). Based on current knowledge, very few other manuscripts that contain the texts studied here and that can firmly be dated between Jm4 and F1 have survived.

The two manuscripts are related: previous scholarship has assessed that the *Yašts* in E1 derive mostly from F1, and has hypothesized a derivation of the *Niyāyišns* in E1 from F1. The relationship between the two manuscripts is also indicated by the fact that all of the texts other than the *Yašts* included in both F1 and E1 are the initial texts in these manuscripts,⁹ and by the fact that all the texts common to F1 and E1 follow the same sequence in the two manuscripts.¹⁰

As is common in Zoroastrian manuscripts, most of the texts included in both F1 and E1 are preceded by headings, introductory writings that provide information on the texts, including the titles of the texts, which are words identifying them (the most important parts of the headings).¹¹ The headings of the texts other than the *Yašts* and that are found in both manuscripts are studied in this article. These headings have received little attention in scholarship.¹²

The comparison of the headings of the texts common to F1 and E1 aside from the *Yašts* provides an opportunity to observe the transmission of the headings of these texts from one manuscript to another, and can shed some additional light on the relationship between F1 and E1. Given the antiquity, value, and importance of F1 and E1, the headings of these

⁹In F1, the *Yašts* follow the texts common to E1, whereas in E1, before the *Yašts* are also found additional texts that do not occur in F1.

¹⁰See Enrico G. Raffaelli, “Analyzing the Headings in the Zoroastrian Manuscripts F1 and E1: The *Yašts*” (forthcoming) for references on the relationship between the *Yašts* in F1 and E1. Regarding the relationship between the *Niyāyišns* in the two manuscripts, Geldner, in *Avesta*, xlii, states, “The *Niyāišes* in E1 are probably copied from F1 but are influenced by the Vulgate.” For the extent of the relationship between F1 and E1, see also the notations by Kotwal and Hintze, *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, 1n2. A different origin must be postulated for the introductory Avestan alphabet in F1 and in E1, as in F1, this follows the Iranian way of ordering the letters, and in E1, this follows the Indian way; see Kotwal and Hintze, *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, 9.

¹¹In E1, the introductory Avestan alphabet has no heading, although in the later Pāzand table of contents found in the final portion of this manuscript, the alphabet is given a title, *Harfhā-i Zant*, “The Letters of the *Zand*” (this is on fol. 540v, l. 4; see Kotwal and Hintze, *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, 603). In both F1 and E1, the *Ahuna vairiia* and *Ašəm vohū* prayers have no headings.

¹²JamaspAsa, *Avesta Codex F1*, x, provides a partial transliteration of the headings of the F1 texts, as do Kotwal and Hintze, *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, 10–13, for the headings of the E1 texts (and p. 13 of the latter work also has a translation of the last of these headings). Scholarship has also given little attention to the headings of the texts of the collection of the short liturgies in F1 and E1, and in the tradition generally. The headings of the *Yašts* in F1 and E1 are the topic of my study “Analyzing the Headings.” For a study of the titles of *Yt.* 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, and 19, see Enrico G. Raffaelli, “Day-Name Titles, Content Titles, Mixed Titles: The Different Appellations of the Avestan *Yašts* 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, and 19,” *Studia Iranica* 49 (forthcoming).

texts in these two manuscripts are, among other things, important for the study of the history of the titles of these texts in the manuscript tradition, and in Zoroastrian tradition generally. Minor or significant variants are known for the titles of at least the majority of the texts common to these two manuscripts. Of special interest are some variants of the title of *Ny.* 4, which are variously documented until modern times. These variants present significant differences in the identification of *Ny.* 4's dedicatees (differences not encountered in the titles of the other *Niyāyišns*, which present a consistency in the identification of their dedicatees), and parallel known variants of the title of *Yt.* 5, the text cognate with *Ny.* 4. The possible emergence in the tradition of these significant variants of *Ny.* 4's title, of which their written documentation is the expression, and the relationship of these variants to *Yt.* 5's titles deserve some investigation.

A comparative study of the headings in F1 and E1 of the texts common to these manuscripts (other than the *Yašts*) and notations on *Ny.* 4's titles in these manuscripts and in the tradition are presented below, after the list of the text headings, which is given for reference.

List of Text Headings¹³

Nērang ī kustīg bastan

F1 (1, fol. 2r, l. 12)	E1 (63, fol. 3r, lines 7–8)
<i>nī.raṅg. kuštī. bastan</i> “The <i>Nērang ī kustīg bastan</i> ”	<i>nīrəṅg. kustī. bastan. navīšəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Nērang ī kustīg bastan</i> ”

Srōš Wāz

F1 (3, fol. 4r, l. 5)	E1 (65, fol. 5r, lines 9–10)
<i>nīraṅg. dastašō. navīšəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Nērang ī dast-šōy</i> ”	<i>nīraṅg. dastašō. navīšəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Nērang ī dast-šōy</i> ”

¹³The list includes for reference, in bold, the full Pahlavi titles by which the texts are commonly identified in scholarship; for the *Niyāyišns*, their abbreviation *Ny.* is given, followed by their sequential number. The parenthetical material after the sigla *F1* and *E1* comprises the page numbers of the editions *Avesta Codex F1* and *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, the folio numbers, and the line numbers where the headings are found in the two manuscripts. A transliteration of the headings from the Pāzand, in which they are written, and an English translation (except for the titles of the texts, for which the Pahlavi equivalents are given) are provided. All translations are mine.

Hōšbām

F1 (6, fol. 7r, l. 10)	E1 (70, fol. 9v, lines 3–4)
<i>hōš.bām. naβtīšahema</i> “I am writing the <i>Hōšbām</i> ”	<i>hōš.bām. nivīsəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Hōšbām</i> ”

Ny. 1

F1 (10, fol. 10v, l. 3)	E1 (74, fol. 13v, lines 3–4)
<i>šarasēt. niīāiš. naβtīšəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Xwaršēd Niyāyišn</i> ”	<i>šarasēt. niīāiš. navīsəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Xwaršēd Niyāyišn</i> ”

Ny. 2

F1 (17, fol. 18r, l. 1)	E1 (84, fol. 23v, l. 15)
<i>mihir. niīāiš. naβtīšahema</i> “I am writing the <i>Mihir Niyāyišn</i> ”	<i>mihir. niīāiš. navīsəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Mihir Niyāyišn</i> ”

Ny. 3

F1 (20, fol. 20v, l. 1)	E1 (87, fol. 26v, lines 14–15)
<i>māh. niīāiš. naβtīšahm</i> “I am writing the <i>Māh Niyāyišn</i> ”	<i>māh. niīāiš. navīsəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Māh Niyāyišn</i> ”

Ny. 4

F1 (23, fol. 23v, l. 3)	E1 (91, fol. 30v, lines 11–12)
<i>arduī.sūr. bānō. naβtīšahema</i> “I am writing the <i>Ardwīsūr Bānūg</i> (<i>Niyāyišn</i>)”	<i>arduīsūr. bānō. niīāiš. nivīsəm</i> “I am writing the <i>Ardwīsūr Bānūg</i> <i>Niyāyišn</i> ”

Ny. 5

F1 (26, fol. 26v, l. 10)	E1 (95, fol. 34v, l. 2)
<i>ātaš. niīāišna. naβtīšahem</i> “I am writing the <i>Ātaxš Niyāyišn</i> ”	<i>ātaš. niīāiš. navīsīm</i> “I am writing the <i>Ātaxš Niyāyišn</i> ”

Nām Stāyišn

F1 (32, fol. 32v, l. 8)	E1 (101, fol. 41r, lines 6–7)
<i>nāma. šatāišni. naβtīšahema</i> “I am writing the <i>Nām Stāyišn</i> ”	<i>bāš. avastā. īn. āfrīn. šunənd’.</i> “After the Avesta, they (should) recite this praise”

Analysis

Comparing the Headings

The structure of the listed text headings and the words they contain present a general agreement, but some of them have noteworthy differences that require analysis.¹⁴

Specifically, in the headings of the first text, the *Nērang ī kustīg bastan* (which means “incantation for binding the *kustīg*”), the word for *nibēsēm* (I am writing) is missing from F1, whereas it is present in E1. The absence of this word in F1 may be due either to an oversight, or to an intentional omission by Āsdīn Kākā, the copyist of this manuscript, who might have considered its presence not essential. Its presence in E1 may be judged as an addition by Šāpuhr Hōšang Āsā, the copyist of the part of this manuscript containing the texts whose headings are studied here, made to make the ending of the heading consistent with the endings of those of the following texts.

In the headings of *Ny.* 4, again one word is absent in F1 but is found in E1: the word for *Niyāyišn* (praise, adoration). Given the consistent presence of this word in the headings of *Ny.* 1–3 and 5 in F1, and its importance in identifying *Ny.* 4 as a praise text, its absence in the heading of this text in F1 can likely be explained as an oversight by Āsdīn Kākā. The word’s presence in E1 should be judged once more as an addition by Šāpuhr Hōšang Āsā, which allowed identification.

More remarkably, in the headings of the last text in common between the two manuscripts, the heading in F1 includes a title, which corresponds to *Nām Stāyišn* (which means “praise of the name [of Ohrmazd]”; this represents Pāzand words found at the beginning of the text), followed by the word for *nibēsēm*. The heading of the text in E1, on the other hand, does not contain a title proper. This heading defines the text as *īn āfrīn* (“this praise”; the text is indeed a text of praise of Ohrmazd). The words *īn āfrīn* are preceded and followed by words indicating when the text should be recited (*bāṭ. avastā. [. . .] xunənd*, “after the Avesta [. . .]

¹⁴Differently, the headings of the *Yāsts* in the two manuscripts present no remarkable difference in structure and contents; see Raffaelli, “Analyzing the Headings.”

they [should] recite”¹⁵). Only an analysis of the *Nām Stāyīšn* in F1 and E1 (that cannot be carried out for this article) may indicate if the text in E1 derives from F1, and allow the formulation of hypotheses on whether the difference in the headings of the text in the two manuscripts is due to the use by Šāpuhr Hōšang Āsā of a manuscript different from F1 as a source, or if this scribe included in the manuscript only a different heading of the text.

Regarding the spellings of the headings’ words, it appears necessary to point out only that the spellings of the majority of the words common to the headings in F1 and E1, while similar, are not identical. Similar to the traits outlined above, this highlights a lack of total dependence on F1 by Šāpuhr Hōšang Āsā.¹⁶

Investigating the Titles of *Ny. 4*

It is impossible to identify fully where and when the major variants of *Ny. 4*’s title emerged, and their relationship with the variants of *Yt. 5*’s title. Nevertheless, the documentation available allows the presentation of some relevant, plausible hypotheses.¹⁷

Based on the information available, the earliest certain documented variant of *Ny. 4*’s title is one that assigns the text to the Āp, a group of

¹⁵Cf. also the title of the *Nām Stāyīšn* in the table of contents in E1, on fol. 540v, l. 13. *Duāi bāaṭ az Zanṭ* (“Prayer (to Recite) after the *Zand*”) (see Kotwal and Hintze, *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, 603). The phrases “after the Avesta” and “after the *Zand*,” while referring to the recitation of the *Nām Stāyīšn* after collections of sacred texts, should be interpreted as meaning that the text is to be recited specifically after the *Niyāyīšns* and *Yašts*. An explicit reference to this type of recitation is recognizable in the heading of a second occurrence of the *Nām Stāyīšn* in F1, which is found after the end of the last *Yašt* (see JamaspAsa, *Avesta Codex F1*, 274, fol. 274v, l. 13, to fol. 275r, lines 1–2). See also JamaspAsa, *Avesta Codex F1*, xii, and Kotwal and Hintze, *Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex E1*, 13.

¹⁶A similarity but lack of identicalness in the spellings of the headings in the two manuscripts is also observed in the headings of the *Yašts*; see Raffaelli, “Analyzing the Headings.”

¹⁷My analysis regarding the variants of *Ny. 4*’s title is based on the most extensive investigation that I have been able to carry out of Pahlavi and Pāzand texts, on an investigation of readily accessible New Persian sources, on an analysis of catalogues of major collections of Zoroastrian manuscripts, and on an analysis of select manuscripts. I consider the set of sources I have consulted as the main ones for my investigation. In these sources, I have looked for the earliest reliably datable attestations of the sequences corresponding to titles of *Ny. 4* and the other *Niyāyīšns*, which is the material presently available as a basis for the analysis of the emergence of the major variants of *Ny. 4*’s title. My notations on the variants of *Yt. 5*’s title are based on the research I have done for my article “Day-Name Titles.”

water entities giving their name to a day (the tenth) of the Zoroastrian calendar (day-name entities) of Avestan background. These are actually not mentioned in the core text of *Ny. 4*, although they are mentioned in its framing formulae (plus, *āp-*, as a common noun meaning “river” or “water,” occurs repeatedly in the text).¹⁸ This type of title is first documented as the equivalent of *Ābān Niyāyišn* (*ābān* being the plural of *āb*, “water,” the translation of Av. *āp-*) in the older portion of manuscript Jm4, dating to 1352.¹⁹

Differently, the variant of *Ny. 4*’s title found in F1 and E1 includes a theonym corresponding to *Ardwīsūr Bānūg* (Lady Ardwīsūr). This theonym is a Pahlavi appellation of the Avestan Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā, the actual protagonist of *Ny. 4*, a river deity sharing with the *Āp* a watery nature. This type of title is found in the New Persian *Revayat* of Šāpuhr Bharuchi, a text plausibly dating to between 1558 and 1597,²⁰ where is found the title *Ardvisur bānu Nyāyesh*.²¹ This *Revayat* might be the earliest text containing this type of title, but F1 is, in any case, the first manuscript known to contain it.

Finally, the other significant variant of *Ny. 4*’s title includes the names of both the *Āp* and Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā. This type of title of *Ny. 4* is first found in the New Persian text *Iṭhoter Revayat* (1773), as *Ābān Ardvisur Niyāyesh*.²² This variant is also known from manuscripts. Its first manuscript documentation cannot be identified; all that can be said is that the known attestations of it are modern. One attestation, corresponding to *Ābān Ardwīsūr Niyāyišn*, is documented in the modern manuscript W5.²³

¹⁸For the mention of the *Āp* in the framing formulae of *Ny. 4*, see §§ 1 and 10. *Āp-* as a common noun occurs in *Ny. 4* in the singular with the meaning “river” in the introductory and concluding formulae (§§ 1 and 10) and in the core text (§ 6), and in the plural with the meaning “waters” in the core text (for example, § 4).

¹⁹Geldner, *Avesta*, v.

²⁰See Bamanji N. Dhabhar, trans., *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazdyar Framarz and Others: Their Version with Introduction and Notes* (Bombay: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1932), lxiii–lxiv; and Shahpurshah H. Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History* (Bombay: self-published, 1920), 343.

²¹For the passage, see Manockji R. Unvala, ed., *Dārāb Hormazyār’s Rivāyat*, vol. 1 (Bombay: British India Press, 1922), 325, l. 19; and Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, 304.

²²See § 4 of chap. 5 of the text, for which see Mario Vitalone, ed. and trans., *The Persian Revāyat “Iṭhoter”*: *Zoroastrian Rituals in the Eighteenth Century* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 1996), reference on pp. 54 and 151.

²³See Geldner, *Avesta*, xiii, with information on the manuscript. Note that in the title *Āb Ardwīsūr*

The three variants of *Yt. 5*'s title that parallel these three variants of *Ny. 4*'s title are first known from manuscripts. The variant including the name of the *Āp* is the oldest one known for *Yt. 5*, and is known for the first time in F1. The variant with the name of *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā* is known from a much later date, as it is first found in manuscripts from not earlier than the end of the 1700s. Similarly documented much later is the type of title that contains the names of the *Āp* and of *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā* together, as this is first known from a manuscript dating to 1864.²⁴

Studying the emergence of the variants of *Ny. 4*'s title discussed above and their relationship to the corresponding types of the title of *Yt. 5* requires an investigation of the other *Niyāyišns*' titles.

The older part of Jm4 contains the first certain documentation of a title of not only *Ny. 4*, but also other *Niyāyišns*—that is, *Ny. 2, 3, and 5*—which titles include the word *niyāyišn* and the name of the dedicatees of these texts (respectively *Miθra*, *Māh*, and *Ātar*).²⁵ Nevertheless, the investigation of the *Niyāyišns*' titles can be carried out on sources dating to earlier than 1352, the date that this older part of Jm4 was copied.

In passages of Iranian Pahlavi texts that can be dated to the Sasanian period or that have Sasanian background and can be dated to the early Islamic times (the Sasanian to early Islamic times being the time frame to which most of the Zoroastrian Pahlavi literature dates) are found sequences that have correspondences to known titles of some *Niyāyišns*. These sequences in these passages include names of the texts' protagonists, immediately followed by *niyāyišn*, or immediately preceded by *niyāyišn* and *ezafe*. These sequences should be seen as identifying the ritual performance that these texts accompany, and in them, *niyāyišn*

Niyāyišn, occurring in the 1800 manuscript D—as mentioned in Bamanji N. Dhabhar, ed., *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* (Bombay: Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties, 1927), 295—*āb* does not represent a theonym, but rather means “river” and thus identifies the original nature of *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*; for information on the manuscript, see pp. 31–32 of the same text.

²⁴For more specific information on the attestations of the types of the title of *Yt. 5*, see Raffaelli, “Day-Name Titles.”

²⁵These titles are documented in the manuscript respectively as the equivalents of *Mihr Niyāyišn*, *Māh Niyāyišn*, and *Ātaxš Niyāyišn*; see Geldner, *Avesta*, v.

can be translated as “adoration.” The sequences in question correspond to documented titles of *Ny*: 1,²⁶ 3,²⁷ and 5.²⁸ It is reasonable to suppose

²⁶A passage in chap. 10 of the *Pursišnīhā*, a Pahlavi text with Avestan quotations, contains *niyāyišn* <𐬀> *Xwaršēd*. This text dates to after the Sasanian times; see Maria Macuch, “The Pahlavi Literature,” in *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran: Companion Volume 1 to A History of Persian Literature*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 116–96, reference on pp. 148–49; for the passage, see Kaikhusroo M. JamaspAsa and Helmut Humbach, ed. and trans., *Pursišnīhā*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1971), 20–21, where, though, the sequence is interpreted as a title of *Ny*: 1 (here and in the following notes, the sign <𐬀> indicates restorations compared with the quoted editions). In the collection of thirty questions transmitted together with the *Revayat of Ādurfarrbay* and *Revayat of Farrbaysrōš*, a series of texts probably dating to the eleventh century (see Carlo G. Cereti, *La letteratura pahlavi: Introduzione ai testi con riferimenti alla storia degli studi e alla tradizione manoscritta* [Milan: Mimesis, 2001], 152–55), in 11.2 also occurs *niyāyišn* <𐬀> *Xwaršēd*, whereas in 24.1 occurs *Xwaršēd niyāyišn*; for the passages, see vol. 1 of Behramgore T. Anklesaria, ed. and trans., *The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Āturfarnbag and Farnbag-Srōš*, 2 vols. (Bombay: Peshotan K. Anklesaria, 1969), respectively pp. 90 and 153, and pp. 93 and 156; and vol. 2 of the same text, respectively pp. 133 and 137, where the sequences in question are indeed interpreted as referring to a ritual performance. Finally, *niyāyišn ī Xwaršēd* is found in § 4 of the *Handarz ī dastwarān ō weh-dēnān*, a text whose date is uncertain; for the passage, see Jamaspi M. Jamasp-Asana, ed., *Pahlavi Texts*, vol. 2 (Bombay: printed at the Fort Printing Press, 1913), 121; Kaikhusru J. JamaspAsa, “Andarz-ī dastobarān val vēh-dīnān,” in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume: Papers on Irānian Subjects*, ed. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (Bombay: printed at the Fort Printing Press, 1914), 84–88, reference on p. 84; and S. ‘Oryān, ed. and trans., *Motūn-e pahlavī: Tarjome, āvā-nevešt* (Tehran: n.p., 1992), 158. In “Andarz-ī dastobarān val vēh-dīnān,” though, the sequence is interpreted as a title of the text, and it can be soundly assumed that this interpretation is also provided in *Motūn-e pahlavī*. In all of these passages, these sequences are the object or subject of forms of the verb *kardan*, *kun-* (to do, to make, to perform). For another occurrence of a sequence with correspondence to a title of *Ny*: 1 in a Pahlavi text dating to early Islamic times, see n28.

²⁷A passage of § 5 of chap. 22 of the *Nērangestān* includes *Māh niyāyišn*. The *Nērangestān* contains both Avestan and Pahlavi textual portions. An investigation of its chronology cannot be carried out here, but two different assessments on the final date of the text, as being after or in the late Sasanian times, are respectively in Firoze M. Kotwal and Philip G. Kreyenbroek, ed. and trans., *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, with contributions by James R. Russell, 4 vols. (Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 1992–2009), 3:17–18; and Alberto Cantera, *Studien zur Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 235. For the passage, see Kotwal and Kreyenbroek, *Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, 2:124–25, where the sequence, though, is interpreted as a title of *Ny*: 3. In the *Nērangestān* passage, again this sequence is the subject of a form of *kardan*, *kun-*.

²⁸First, two identical passages must be mentioned. One passage is §§ 72–73 in the *Wāzag ē-čand ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*, in each of which paragraphs is found *ātaxš niyāyišn*. The *Wāzag ē-čand ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān* is attributed to the high priest Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, who was active in the fourth century, but the accuracy of this attribution is uncertain. See Macuch, “Pahlavi Literature,” 163–64. For the passage, see Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, 152; Robert C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi: A Compendium of Zoroastrian Beliefs* (London: Allen & Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1956), 116; and ‘Oryān, *Motūn-e pahlavī*, 183. In the latter two studies, though, *ātaxš niyāyišn* is interpreted as a text title. The other passage is § 45 in the *Čīdag handarz ī pōryōtkēšān*, where *ātaxš niyāyišn* occurs twice. The redaction of the text is presumably from the first centuries after the end of the Sasanian period. On its composition, see Mansour Shaki, “Čīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 5, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New

that in Sasanian or early Islamic times, these sequences were used to identify not only the ritual performances that *Ny.* 1, 3, and 5 accompany, but also these texts themselves.

Some other useful information is found in passages of the *Wizīrkard ī dēnīg*, a text of multifarious contents, possibly compiled in Iran, some of whose chapters are of the same period as the majority of the Pahlavi literature, and some may certainly be later than this period but in any event earlier than the documentation of the *Niyāyišns*' titles in Jm4.²⁹ Within this broad chronological range fall the passages of the text that are of interest here. Some of these passages again contain sequences equivalent to documented titles of two *Niyāyišns*, *Ny.* 1 and 5, referring to the performance of the rituals accompanied by these two texts. Like some of the Pahlavi passages discussed above, these passages contain

York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 1992), 559–60, reference on p. 559. For the passage, see Maneck F. Kanga, ed. and trans., *Čitak handarž ī pōryōtkēšān: A Pahlavi Text* (Bombay: self-published, 1960), 9, 17, and 27, where the sequence is interpreted as referring to a ritual performance; see also 'Oryān, *Motūn-e pahlavī*, 91, where, though, this is translated as a text title. Furthermore, *ātaxš niyāyišn* is found twice in § 1 in one of the supplementary chapters of the *Šāyist nē šāyist*, chap. 20. The date of this chapter is uncertain. It might date from the Sasanian period to after the ninth century. See the assessment in Firoze M. Kotwal, ed. and trans., *The Supplementary Texts to the Šāyest nā-šāyest* (Copenhagen: Munsgaard, 1969), 5; for this passage, see Kotwal, *Supplementary Texts*, 80–81, where the sequence in question is interpreted, though, as a title of *Ny.* 5. The sequence *ātaxš niyāyišn* is also found twice in § 301 in book 6 of the *Dēnkard*. This is a Pahlavi encyclopedia whose final version likely dates to the tenth century. For the date of the text, see Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," 131; for the passage, see Shaul Shaked, ed. and trans., *The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI) by Aturpāt-i Ēmētān* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 114–15, where the sequence is actually interpreted as identifying a ritual performance. Another occurrence of *ātaxš niyāyišn* is in the *Handarz ī dastwarān ō weh-dēnān*, § 3. See Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, 121; JamaspAsa, "Andarz-ī dastobarān," 84; and 'Oryān, *Motūn-e pahlavī*, 158. In the latter two studies, though, *ātaxš niyāyišn* is interpreted as a title of *Ny.* 5. Finally, in § 2 in chap. 17a of the *Pahlavi Revayat Accompanying the Dādestān ī dēnīg*, the more complex sequence *Xwaršēd ud Ātaxš ī Wāhrām Niyāyišn* occurs. The *Pahlavi Revayat Accompanying the Dādestān ī dēnīg* probably dates to the tenth century, as assessed by Macuch in "Pahlavi Literature," 144. For the passage, see Alan V. Williams, ed. and trans., *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1990), 1:88–89 and 2:32, where, though, the sequence is interpreted as comprising titles of *Ny.* 1 and 5; see also the commentary to the passage in Williams, *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, 2:153. Once more, in these passages these sequences are the object or subject of forms of *kardan*, *kun-*.

²⁹The context of the text's production and chronology requires a specific analysis that cannot be carried out here. For some notations and information, see Daniel J. Sheffield, "The *Wizirgerd ī Dēnīg* and the Evil Spirit: Questions of Authenticity in Post-Classical Zoroastrianism," in "Iranian and Zoroastrian Studies in Honor of Prods Oktor Skjærvø," ed. Carol Altman Bromberg, Nicholas Sims-Williams, and Ursula Sims-Williams, special issue, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 19 (2009): 181–89, reference on pp. 181–83, with notes on pp. 196–97.

sequences including the word *niyāyišn*, to be interpreted as “adoration,” immediately followed by the *ezafe* and the name of the protagonists of these two texts (in *Ny. 1*, Huuar).³⁰ Other passages of the *Wizīrkard ī dēnīg* attest titles of *Ny. 5*, in forms corresponding to documented titles of this text, with *niyāyišn* and the name of the text’s dedicatee.³¹ These passages show that by the time the *Wizīrkard ī dēnīg* was compiled, sequences including *niyāyišn* and the name of Ātar were used to identify not only the ritual accompanied by *Ny. 5*, but also *Ny. 5* itself. Similarly, it appears certain that by the time of the compilation of the text, sequences containing *niyāyišn* and the name of Huuar did not only identify the ritual accompanied by *Ny. 1*, but also *Ny. 1* itself.

Altogether, the evidence of the Pahlavi sources discussed above indicates a continuity in the titling of the *Niyāyišns*, beginning from Sasanian or early Islamic times, and, in any case, from before the documentation of titles of *Niyāyišns* in Jm4, dating to 1352. In fact, *Ny. 1*, *3*, and *5* likely bore titles that included the word *niyāyišn* and, what is of concern for the present study, their protagonists’ name in the Sasanian or early Islamic periods. Likely, the other two *Niyāyišns*, *Ny. 2* and *4*, also bore titles with this structure in the Sasanian or early Islamic periods. There is furthermore direct or indirect evidence that *Ny. 1* and *5* bore titles containing *niyāyišn* and the name of their protagonists before 1352. It is natural to assume that before then, *Ny. 2*, *3*, and *4* also bore titles with this structure.

Going beyond the documentation available, one may reasonably suppose that titles of the *Niyāyišns* that included the names of their protagonists were used for these texts since their origins, as they reflected their contents.

³⁰In the sixty-ninth chapter of the *Wizīrkard ī dēnīg* occurs *niyāyisn* <𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀> *Xwaršēd*. This sequence is the object of *framuštan*, *framōš-* (to forget). The ninety-sixth chapter contains the sequence *ātaxš niyāyišn*, and the thirty-sixth chapter includes the sequence *niyāyišn* <𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀> *Ātaxš* <𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀> *Wahrām*. These sequences are the object of forms of *kardan*, *kun-*. For the passages, see Peshotan B. Sanjana, *Vajarkard dīnī* (Bombay: n.p., 1848), pp. 132, l. 12; 168, l. 16, where, though, the erroneous *krtn'* for *krtn'*, the spelling of *kardan* (to perform), is found; and 75, l. 2.

³¹The thirteenth chapter of the text contains *Ātaxš Niyāyišn*, and the seventy-third includes *Niyāyišn* <𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀> *Ātaxš ī Wahrām ud Ādarān* (“the *Niyāyišn* of the *Ātaxš Wahrām* and *Ādarān*”). These sequences are objects of forms of the verb *xwandan*, *xwān-* (meaning “to call,” although in the passages in question it is to be interpreted as “to recite”). For the text of the passages, see Sanjana, *Vajarkard dīnī*, pp. 60, lines 1–2; and 133, lines 12–13.

Of the variants of the *Ny.* 4 title studied here, the one including the name of Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā, the text’s protagonist, could therefore have been used in the tradition much earlier than its earliest known attestations, since it reasonably derives from a type of title assigned to the text at its origin. In any event, this type of title of the text likely existed as early as the Sasanian or early Islamic times, and in all likelihood before 1352. Regarding the relationship between this variant of *Ny.* 4’s title and the same variant of *Yt.* 5’s title, considering that the attestation of this type of title is later for *Yt.* 5 than for *Ny.* 4, one may propose that the introduction of this type of title for *Yt.* 5 was encouraged by the existence of this variant of *Ny.* 4’s title.³²

The variant of the *Ny.* 4 title that includes the name of the Āp was with all plausibility assigned to the text in a tradition different from the one titling it after Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā. It might have been assigned to the text either at its origin or subsequently. The titling of *Ny.* 4 after the Āp is appropriate for the text given the connection in nature between these entities and Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā, and also given the occurrence of the noun *āp-* in *Ny.* 4. Nevertheless, these traits are in my opinion not sufficient to justify the existence of the type of *Ny.* 4 title that includes the name of the Āp instead of that of its actual protagonist, Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā. For this title variant, one might recognize one or more concurrent rationales. This type of title might have been assigned to *Ny.* 4, from its origin or starting from a certain point, to uniformize the type of title of this text to those of the other four *Niyāyišns*, which are titled after day-name entities (the dedicatees of *Ny.* 1, 2, 3, and 5 are the dedicatees respectively of the days 11, 16, 12, and 9). Furthermore, possibly *Ny.* 4 was recited, since an early phase of the tradition, during the day named after the Āp, given their close connection with Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā.³³ This possible recitation might have been an incentive

³²On the introduction of this type of title for *Yt.* 5, see also Raffaelli, “Day-Name Titles.”

³³On the practice of reciting a *Niyāyišn* on its dedicatee’s day, one reference is in a passage from the 1527 *Revayat* of Kāmā Bohrā that refers to the use of *Ny.* 2 on the day named after its dedicatee, Miθra, day 16. For this passage, see Unvala, *Dārāb Hormazyār’s Rivāyat*, 286, l. 4; and Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, 279. See also the brief notation on this practice in contemporary Zoroastrianism in Choksy and Kotwal, “Praise and Piety,” 245.

for titling the text after the Āp. Another incentive could have been that of creating a uniformity with the variant of the *Yt. 5* title that includes the name of these entities. It cannot firmly be hypothesized that this possible incentive existed for *Ny. 4* at its origin: it can be reconstructed that this type of title of *Yt. 5* existed in the section of the Sasanian collection of Zoroastrian sacred writings named *Bayān Yašt Nask*, but it cannot be determined whether this type of title was assigned to *Yt. 5* earlier than the Sasanian times.³⁴

The variant of the *Ny. 4* title that includes the names of both the Āp and Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā must be seen as subsequent to the emergence of the theonym that includes the names of both the Āp and Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā to identify the same entity. The earliest firmly datable documentation of this theonym is found in the already quoted *Revayat* of Šāpuhr Bharuchi, although it might have existed earlier.³⁵ Most plausibly, the tradition that introduced this type of title of *Ny. 4* was different from the traditions using the two other types of the title of the text analyzed above. This tradition could have considered the type of title of *Ny. 4* that includes a double theonym as adequate to reflect the contents of the text, because according to this tradition, this theonym identified the protagonist of the text. Also, by including the names of

³⁴For more information, see Raffaelli, “Day-Name Titles.”

³⁵For information on the documentation of this theonym, see Raffaelli, “Day-Name Titles,” which quotes the occurrence of this theonym in the Pahlavi version of *Ny. 4* itself, for which a dating to the ninth to tenth centuries or earlier is mentioned. Nevertheless, the apparent absence of this theonym from Pahlavi sources dating before and during the ninth to tenth centuries suggests caution in accepting this dating, a caution also necessary in light of the highly stratified nature of the Pahlavi translations of the Avestan texts (for a forceful highlighting of which, see Prods O. Skjærvø, review of *Studien zur Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta*, by Alberto Cantera, *Kratylos* 53 (2008): 1–20, reference on pp. 16–17). According to Maneckji N. Dhalla, ed. and trans., *The Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanies: Avestan Text with Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Persian and Gujarati Versions, Edited Together with Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 112, the equivalent of *Ābān Ardwišūr* is found in the Pāzand introductory formula of *Ny. 4* (§ 0), whose chronology is unknown. It should be pointed out that F1, which might be earlier than the *Revayat* of Šāpuhr Bharuchi, titles *Ny. 4* after Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā and *Yt. 5* after the Āp. The presence in this manuscript of two distinct titles for these two cognate texts might stem from the consideration of the names of Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā and of the Āp as identifying one and the same divine entity, although F1 might simply preserve previous distinct titles of *Ny. 4* and *Yt. 5*; see also Raffaelli, “Day-Name Titles.”

the *Āp* and of *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*, this variant of the title of *Ny. 4* could be seen as being appropriate for the text for the reasons that underlie the existence of each of the other two title variants. Possibly, the type of title of *Ny. 4* including a double theonym had an influence on the introduction of the same type of title of *Yt. 5*, which would be in line with the later known documentation of this type of title for that text.³⁶

Conclusion

Based on the comparative analysis of the headings, one can conclude that while Šāpuhr Hōšang Āsā generally followed F1 in writing the headings of the texts studied here, he also had some independence from it.

The study of the *Ny. 4* titles outlines a perspective according to which F1 and E1 contain early samples of a variant of the *Ny. 4* title, the one containing the name of *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*, which derives from a type of title that likely existed in Sasanian or early Islamic times, and in any case existed before 1352, to which dates the documentation of titles of *Niyāyišns* in the manuscript Jm4. Indeed, this variant of the *Ny. 4* title might derive from a type of title assigned to the text at its origin. In all likelihood, in a tradition different from that represented in F1 and E1, *Ny. 4* was assigned, at its origin or starting from a certain point, a type of title including the name of the *Āp*, which would have been concurrent with that which included the name of *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*. Most likely another tradition, starting from a certain point, could have used a type of title including the names of both the *Āp* and *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*, concurrent with the other two types of title. Altogether, the variants of *Ny. 4*'s title studied here reflect a flexibility by the Zoroastrian tradition in identifying this text through titles that are diversely appropriate for it. These titles had an interplay with variants of the title of *Yt. 5*, a text with extensive parallels to *Ny. 4*.

³⁶This observation is in contrast with what is noted in Raffaelli, "Day-Name Titles," which affirms that supposing such an influence is farfetched. Sources consulted for the present study suggest that the variant of the *Ny. 4* title that includes a double theonym was more popular than I knew when I wrote that article.

Further research on the headings of the texts in F1 and E1 studied here and of the other texts in these and other Zoroastrian manuscripts can reveal additional aspects of interest on the history of these textual portions of the manuscripts, their relationship to the texts they introduce, and other topics of philological and historico-religious relevance.