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Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina

The *Sūdgar Nask* of  
*Dēnkard* Book 9

Text, Translation and Critical Apparatus

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## Preface

“It is the tyranny of hidden prejudices that makes us deaf to what speaks to us in tradition.”

HANS-GEORG GADAMER

Philology as a textual practice in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century bears a peculiar burden: it has come to be passé for many and, yet, it remains fundamental for a few. The readers of this edition will undoubtedly be in the latter camp. Mindful of our present scholarly moment, this work represents an attempt at demonstrating the central importance of hermeneutics for developing a reflexive philological practice that does more than merely translate old texts ‘accurately’ and hence, establish a ‘reliable’ edition. Rather, I hope this *Text* volume and its companion *Commentary* will allow us to develop more nuanced reading strategies located in the here and now that engage with both the literary exoticism of the text itself while simultaneously addressing the historiographical challenges our readings engender. Put simply, this critical edition attempts to be properly critical, that is, it takes the philological production of a ‘text’ — in this case one written in Zoroastrian Middle Persian or Pahlavi — as a fundamentally hermeneutical enterprise. The *Dēnkard* Book 9 could not be a better candidate for both a restrictive textual hermeneutics and a more expansive cultural hermeneutics of the Zoroastrian tradition more than two decades into the new millennium. Textual study in the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a heady mix of German philosophical hermeneutics, New Criticism, French Structuralism, post-structuralist forms of critical theory, and a general destabilizing of the fixity of textual meaning, be it the move from the privileging of authorial intent to reader-response theories or the tension between readings that privileged a hermeneutics of faith attempting to restore meaning(s) to texts versus a hermeneutics of suspicion that attempts to decode meanings that are often disguised within texts that occlude the economic, social, ideological, and psychological dimensions of their production.

As anyone having followed a famous writer on a book tour can attest, authorial reminiscences on the origins and stimulus for the work can be remarkably fluid, often self-contradictory, and unfailingly complex. The origins of the present work stem from a dissertation written under the supervision of PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University and completed in 2007. Much has happened in our field since then, and, given the long gestation of this project, it seems worth narrating the intervening years. My initial interest was on working on comparative Indo-Iranian

ritual texts, a topic that has seen great progress on the Zoroastrian side by the expansive philological projects and research agendas of JEAN KELLENS, ALMUT HINTZE, and ALBERTO CANTERA. SKJÆRVØ steered me instead to *Dēnkard* Book 9 and the importance of developing more principled readings of the Pahlavi corpus to attempt to excavate the many archaisms he saw in the text. I remained sceptical, and so he gently suggested I read EDWARD WILLIAM WEST's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*<sup>1</sup> and make up my own mind. I was immediately struck by the fact that *Dēnkard* Book 9 was not in fact one text but rather it contained three radically different summaries of lost commentaries on what we now call the 'Old Avesta' produced in a 'Table of Contents' enumerative style.

Given the fact that the *Dēnkard* is our largest extant Pahlavi text at almost 170,000 words, it represents the crowning intellectual achievement of the Zoroastrian theologians of Late Antiquity and the early Islamic era. For me this meant that the 'emic' hermeneutical tradition simply did not hold to a fixity of meaning and that the monologic translations of us philologists attempting to impose a single 'correct' understanding of the *Gādās* was not merely a quixotic intellectual enterprise, it patently flew in the face of how the Zoroastrian tradition understood itself and its own inheritances. I was convinced.

As SKJÆRVØ and I began reading the first of the three commentaries (*nasks*; see below), it became clear that unlike the word-for-word translation of the Old Avestan corpus in the *Pahlavi Yasna*, the *Sūdgar Nask* represented the other end of the literalism-allegoresis spectrum. Every *fragard* (emic divisions of the 'Old Avesta' in *Dēnkard* Book 9; see below) appeared at first glance to have little or nothing to do with the Old Avestan *hāiti* (emic divisions that structurate the written instantiations of the *Yasna* ceremony in our extant manuscripts) it was nominally commenting upon. Instead, it operated using a form of eisegesis that relentlessly read into the 'Old Avesta' the entire socio-theological world of Avestan and Pahlavi literature known to them in the Sasanian (224–651 CE) and early Islamic centuries, while simultaneously evoking the timeless meta-textual world of archaic myth and ritual found in and inherited from the Avestan corpus. Prior scholarship had essentially mined the texts for individual theological phenomena and the common consensus, with which I concur, was that the *Sūdgar Nask* was a *midrash* of sorts.<sup>2</sup> Since the *Sūdgar Nask* purported to be a Pahlavi résumé of a lost Pahlavi translation (Pahl. *nask*) of a (Young) Avestan commentary or tractate (Av. *naska-*) on the Old Avestan corpus, the philological, hermeneutical, and historiographical challenges of the text slowly became apparent and, I might add, continue to prove highly vexing all these years later.

As HANS-GEORG GADAMER's quote above states: "It is the tyranny of hidden prejudices that makes us deaf to what speaks to us in tradition."<sup>3</sup> Initially,

1 WEST 1892.

2 Cf. DE MENASCE 1958, p. 69 and SHAPIRA 1998, p. 10.

3 GADAMER 1989 [2006], p. 272.

SKJÆRVØ and I approached the text from very diametrically opposed hermeneutical positions. He read a text that was deeply conservative with respect to the Avestan source material and ‘traditional’ at every turn. I read a text that was fundamentally radical in its theological claims for its moment, be it late antique or early Islamic. For me, our divergences in reading practices were clearly a by-product of the differences in our technical abilities, intellectual pedigrees, scholarly training, and, ultimately, our hermeneutical sensibilities — despite being teacher and student. The years of reading and re-reading together has, unsurprisingly, made each of us approach the text from the perspective of the other, a ‘fusion of horizons’ as it were, allowing for both of us to be simultaneously vindicated and nuanced, an object example for how hermeneutic communities create consensus.

As we initially worked our way through the text, I was struck by the fluidity of the citations of and allusions to other Pahlavi and Avestan texts, and I began grasping for a more sophisticated critical idiom than simply resorting to the regnant forms of source criticism developed for fully literate traditions with explicit hermeneutical modalities and well-understood interpretive schools and lineages. Pahlavi literature, being at the cusp of the transition from a world of sacral orality to one of fully written scholasticism,<sup>4</sup> demands a theory of textual transmission that is not simply based on the Classical assumption of the loss of grammatical meaning in each successive generation but, rather, one that foregrounds hermeneutical agency — both *theirs* and *ours*. Despite what looks like a ‘rough draft’ at first glance, the literary complexity of the *Sūdgar Nask* — and all texts for that matter — demands that as contemporary hermeneuts — we — develop a hermeneutical — reflexive — philology that can only be truly critical once we grapple with our own historicity, constructedness, and intellectual values.

Fortuitously, a hermeneuticist appeared on the scene to stimulate my philological work. The late YAAKOV ELMAN from Yeshiva University came to our NELC Department to work with SKJÆRVØ as a Starr Fellow in 2002–2003. My conversations with him proved incredibly stimulating and fruitful and he was the one who suggested that I read DANIEL BOYARIN’s, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*.<sup>5</sup> Finally, I had encountered the literary critical idiom of ‘Intertextuality’ in a parallel late antique religious tradition to go along with our philological discoveries that were allowing us to make ever-increasing sense of the *Sūdgar Nask*’s narratological trajectories. What became patently obvious to me was that these commentaries were not unsophisticated or indiscriminate patchworks of salvaged texts simply thrown together. We were, in fact, dealing with ‘deeply troped’ texts — a term I borrow from BOYARIN — whose literary sophistication and theological complexity were obscured by the seemingly free-associative ‘Table of Contents’ style.

4 See ZEINI 2020 for a discussion of scholasticism in Pahlavi literature.

5 BOYARIN 1990.

SKJÆRVØ and I were still deeply troubled by the beginnings of these *fragards*, which began by dilating “about” (*abar*) the *incipit* of the Old Avestan *hāiti* in question and whose link to the Old Avestan base text in question was often tenuous at best. BOYARIN made the point that all interpretations are motivated by some textual phenomena in the base text.<sup>6</sup> This meant determining the ‘hermeneutic trigger’ in the Old Avestan base text that led to the narratological unfolding of the *fragard* in question.<sup>7</sup> At this juncture it became clear that not all the *fragards* operated in the same manner; some (§9.20–22) appeared to be using a ‘folk etymology’ of the Old Avestan *incipit* itself triggering those particular interpretive narratives. Other *fragards* seemed to be eisegetical in another manner by constructing complex interpretive narratives by dilating on some particular theme, line, phrase, or word found also within the *Pahlavi Yasna* version of the Old Avestan base text.

All of the *fragards* in the *Sūdgar Nask* mark topics and transitions in the ‘Table of Contents’ style by *abar* “about X” and then *ud ēn-iz (paydāg) kū* “and this too (is manifest),” implying that all the contents of the putative original were from the Dēn, the theological concept we often translate as “religion, vision, sacred tradition, world view, etc” and which I commonly render here as “Tradition.”<sup>8</sup> Besides the philological difficulties of establishing a critical text from manuscripts that span from the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE to the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as attempting to elegantly translate this highly allusive commentarial genre, the primary challenge of my project has been to attempt

6 A point I have attempted to reiterate in VEVAINA 2018, p. 139.

7 As is often the case in long-standing teacher-student relationships, the ‘origins’ and genealogies of ideas, concepts, and critical idioms fall victim to the vagaries of memory, much like what we experience when we attempt to historicize the various competing and contradictory ‘imagined pasts’ in our texts. PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ and I are simply unable to remember precisely or agree definitively on which of us first used the metaphor of a ‘trigger’ or ‘triggering’ when reading and discussing the Text, and so he suggested I write this note: The term was not used by me in VEVAINA 2007 though I used the collocation “... hermeneutic key to unlocking the exegetical trajectory of this text” (p. 122). The term was first put in print by SKJÆRVØ (2008b, pp. 533–549) in his partial analysis of §9.21, where he uses “(exegetic) trigger” and variations in eight instances (pp. 538, 542, 543, 544, and 546). I first used the metaphor in print in VEVAINA 2010d, pp. 231–243 referring to “(exegetical) trigger” and variations in four instances (p. 232, 234, 239), which was the Conference Proceedings from a talk delivered at the 6<sup>th</sup> European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Vienna on 18–22 September 2007 (4 months after I defended my dissertation). I used the metaphor “(exegetical) trigger” there in five instances, though it bears stating that SKJÆRVØ generously read and commented on my talk, as he has always done. A hermeneutical morass if there ever was one! We can leave it to readers — reader response — to exercise their own personal hermeneutics, to draw their own conclusions, and, in the final analysis, to determine for themselves the intent, efficacy, and value of such an exercise in scholarly self-reflexivity in this particular instance.

8 See VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 111–143 for further details and where I first used the term “sacred tradition” (p. 117 and *passim*). Here I translate *dēn* as “Tradition,” with capitalization following the convention found in SKJÆRVØ 2011.

to decode or make less opaque each of these 23 interpretive narratives based on the assumption that they are all hermeneutically motivated in the Avestan and/or Pahlavi base text. All these *fragards* fundamentally draw upon the corpora of Avestan and Pahlavi literature — both extant and lost — in order to produce radically new forms of allegoresis from millennia-old traditional materials and do so by mobilizing, deploying, and producing varied and complex forms of intertextuality — the warp and weft of traditional intersignifications — that ultimately ‘make Tradition’ — *dēn kard(an)* — so to speak.

A substantial and fundamentally intertextual *Commentary* has been written with this hermeneutical aim in mind in the years after the dissertation was completed in 2007 and will appear as a separate book in the IRANICA Series. Once again, SKJÆRVØ’s encyclopaedic knowledge of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts came into fuller effect when he, in parallel with my writing my *Commentary*, completed transcribing the extant Pahlavi corpus in the years following my completion of the dissertation. He informs me that he began this monumental work in 1991. His generosity in widely sharing his searchable electronic Pahlavi files has served for many of us as a 21<sup>st</sup>-century substitute for the traditional oral erudition of a Zoroastrian priestly authority or a 19<sup>th</sup> century savant for that matter, thus far better mimicking the dynamics of memory retrieval of an oral corpus with electronic word searching than simply scouring the indices of the existing philological editions, as I, and those before me, had done while preparing our paper-based editions. My theory of intertextuality — relentless allusion — as generating and reifying traditional intersignifications — has continually been proven justified as I found more cotexts and intertexts. As a consequence, the *Commentary* has grown inordinately large, hence the splitting of the project into two publications, and, thus, validating the inescapable value and importance of the digital humanities in the production of an early 21<sup>st</sup> century critical edition, even one printed on paper and relatively traditional, as this one has proven to be.

This brings me to the codicological component of the project. *Dēnkard* Book 9 has more manuscripts than any other book of the *Dēnkard* with the earlier translations and editions being largely based on the ‘B’ manuscript copied in Turkābād in ca. 1660 CE (1009 PYE; see below) and housed in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in Mumbai (COI). The codicological value-add of this project is the production of an eclectic edition that includes the ‘DH’ manuscript, the oldest known manuscript of *Dēnkard* Book 9, written in 1577 CE (964 AY) in Kermān and housed in the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute in Mumbai. My philological analysis of the manuscripts confirmed that the ‘K43b’ manuscript written in 1594 CE (943 PYE) in Turkābād, which WEST used is, in fact, a copy of DH (see my STEMMA). None of the prior scholarship on *Dēnkard* Book 9 incorporated DH consistently, and, in addition, I have included readings from all the secondary manuscripts available to me (see my Critical Apparatus). It also needs stating that the emendations in the text have been kept to as bare a minimum as possible, greatly contrasting with prior scholarship on the text. The desire to

foreclose the hermeneutical contingency generated by the great number of textual variants in Pahlavi manuscripts has often led the best of philological minds in Iranian studies to amend far more liberally than I believe is strictly necessary.

The intervening years since the dissertation was completed have also allowed me to return twice to Harvard University in the summers of 2014 and 2015 to work intensively with SKJÆRVØ on a smoother and more readable translation. The infelicities of the translation in the dissertation stand, I hope, in marked contrast with the present work. In translating the *Sūdgar Nask* I have aimed at producing a readable translation in the target language that most closely captures the often-paratactic syntax and enumerative style of the Pahlavi source language, itself seemingly reflecting Avestan syntax, thus strongly implying the lurking presence of ‘lost’ Avestan *Vorlagen*.

As I have argued before, the *Listenwissenschaft* on display in *Dēnkard* Books 8 and 9, is a salient example of an epistemo-hermeneutical complex of memorization, ritual performance, and numerological speculations on the sacred corpus encoded in the phrase *dēn-ōšmurišn*, which I have translated as “Enumerating the Tradition.”<sup>9</sup> It is precisely these orally-derived forms of enumerating traditional material “as made manifest/revealed from the Tradition,” that serve to make the Pahlavi corpus a second-order discourse — a commentary — on the inherited world of archaic myth and ritual found in the archaic Avestan corpus.

Ultimately, it is my fervent hope that this project allows hermeneutics to find its pride of place amongst the panoply of approaches to better understanding the four millennia of Zoroastrian history.<sup>10</sup>

Oxford, August 2021

9 See VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 111–143.

10 See STAUSBERG 2008, pp. 561–600 and STAUSBERG/VEVAINA 2015, pp. 1–18 for broad surveys of the various methods and approaches to the study of Zoroastrianism.

## Acknowledgments

A project with as long a gestation as this one has resulted in many stressful nights but all these intervening years have allowed me to cross paths with so many wonderful and supportive people whom I finally have the privilege and pleasure to thank. First and foremost, this work and my academic career would not be possible without the untiring support I have received from PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ. Over twenty plus years, he has invested countless hours working with me, challenging me, and instilling in me a deep appreciation for the importance of thoughtful philology. His genuine caring for the texts he studies and the students who study with him is nothing short of inspiring. This work is a small token of my enduring gratitude and profound admiration for him.

By a very fortuitous turn of events, YAAKOV ELMAN arrived as a Starr Fellow at Harvard University in the Fall of 2003. Not only did I have the pleasure of discussing with him and observing his extraordinary passion for his research on the burgeoning sub-field of ‘Irano-Talmudica,’ in a very real sense, his presence in 2003–2004 served as a major stimulus for the hermeneutical side of this project. He is sorely missed.

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PHIROZE JAMSHEDJI DRIVER

HOMAI DINSHAW VEVAINA  
DINSHAW COOVERJI VEVAINA

# Introductory Remarks

## Textual Apparatus and Symbols

In the Transcriptions:

- [ ] deletion of a word or letter found in the manuscripts
- ⟨ ⟩ addition in the text or transliteration in the text or footnotes
- { } sequence missing in a particular ms. or mss.
- ∴ punctuation in the mss.
- ⟨∴⟩ added punctuation in the text
- ∴ ∴ punctuation at the end of sections (*fragards*) in the mss.
- + emended, uncertain, variant form(s) in the text

In the Translations:

- \* uncertain or emended meaning
- \*\* very uncertain meaning or context
- ( ) word(s) not expressly represented in the corresponding transcription
- [...] explanatory gloss for readers

## Technicalities for Transcribing and Translating the Texts

For the numbering of the text I have chosen to maintain that of WEST (1892) for the purposes of cross-referencing the older scholarship. In the Critical Apparatus, I have attempted to provide all the relevant manuscript variants (for further details on the various manuscripts cited, see the Introduction).

Due to concessions of space, I do not mark every variant for the conjunction ⟨W⟩ for *ud* “and”; the connective particle ⟨Y⟩ for *ī*; or the otiose stroke ⟨'⟩ in my Critical Apparatus. Also, I have not always distinguished between ⟨P p⟩ and connected ⟨P̄ p̄⟩ (= connected ⟨c⟩).

One innovation from standard practice is that I have rendered the letters ⟨d⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨j⟩, and ⟨y⟩ when written with diacritics as ⟨Ḍ / ḍ⟩, ⟨Ḡ / ḡ⟩, ⟨j̄⟩, and ⟨Ȳ / ȳ / Ÿ⟩ respectively. I have done the same in the case of the verbal ending ⟨-X̄<sub>1</sub>⟩. When the diacritics are not added in the manuscripts, I transcribe and transliterate etymologically according to MACKENZIE (1971 [1986]) with a few notable

exceptions (see below). I have attempted to render the ‘flower’ or ‘three-dot’ punctuations of the manuscripts as faithfully as possible using ⟨:⟩ in the text.

DkM refers to the page and line number of the MADAN (1911) edition. DkS refers to the SANJANA (1922) text volume (vol. xvii) and page number [N.B., there are two page-ranges for his text and translation respectively]. DkT refers to the text of TAFAZZOLI (1966 [2019]) with respective page numbers for both the 1966 unpublished dissertation and the 2019 published re-edition (both in Persian). For the respective translations, I have also provided page ranges for WEST (1892); SANJANA (1922) translation volume (vol. xvii) and page number; two sets of page ranges for TAFAZZOLI (1966 [2019]); and page ranges for the translation of ASHA (2009). I have also supplied readings by ZAEHNER (1955 [1971]); MOLÉ (1959); SHAPIRA (1998); and SKJÆRVØ (2008b) for the relevant *fragards*. Occasionally, I have provided Av. and Pahl. comparanda in the critical apparatus where they prove useful for establishing the readings in the text. For all further details on individual passages, see the *Commentary* in the companion volume.

Avestan is transcribed here according to the now-standard system introduced by KARL HOFFMANN in the 1970s,<sup>12</sup> which, in the main, follows the system of CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE as presented in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (AirWb).<sup>13</sup> The Pahlavi transcriptions follow the transcription system proposed by DAVID NEIL MACKENZIE in the 1960s<sup>14</sup> with minor differences. For example, following the conventions suggested by P. O. SKJÆRVØ in the mid-1990s,<sup>15</sup> I transcribe *mēnōy* “that world” and *gētīy* “this world” instead of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* and I have rendered singular *ox* “lord, existence” but plural *axwān* “(the best of the two) existences” but also *ahū’ih* for the abstract noun. I have maintained the term *fragard* as is found in Persian versus *pargard* as is found in Pāzand and as was recently suggested by SKJÆRVØ.<sup>16</sup>

I have supplied the original texts and translations for all the Av. and Pahl. passages I discuss except for a few passages in neighbouring languages for which I have only provided the translations of others. One of the challenges of working with Zoroastrian literature is the degree to which one believes that words retained the same semantics between Old and Young Avestan and

12 For a description of the Avestan script, see “Avestan Language, i The Avestan Script” in *Encyclopædia Iranica* (HOFFMANN 1988, pp. 47–52; repr. 1992, pp. 864–868; cf. also HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 2004, pp. 39–50).

13 BARTHOLOMAE 1904 [1979].

14 MACKENZIE 1967, pp. 17–29.

15 SKJÆRVØ 1995a, p. 269, fn. 15.

16 SKJÆRVØ (2014 [2018], p. 188, fn. 6) argues: “Note that the spelling ⟨plylt’⟩ strongly indicates that the word was not *fragard*, which should have been spelled ⟨plklt’⟩ but *pargard*, as it is spelled in Pazand (*pargart*)... Reading *pargard* also makes better etymological sense.” Cf. also CANTERA 2009, p. 21 who explains the etymology of Pahl. *fragard* as being from Av. (\**pari-karta-*) “‘what is around a section (*karta*)” (“was um eine Sektion (*karta*) herum ist”; cf. Pahl. *kardag*).

between Avestan and Pahlavi. For example, I translate Av. ⟨*aša-*⟩ as “(Cosmic) Order” but, following the common practice, I translate its Pahlavi equivalent as *ablāyih* “righteousness.”

One other major divergence from usual scholarly practice has been my decision to translate Pahlavi gender inclusively for 3<sup>rd</sup> person sg. and pl. pronouns as “s/he” or “her, him” in all cases other than where it is patently obvious that male protagonists or priests are being referred to despite the fact that the textual worlds we find were, in the main, written by and for male priests.

Finally, I am indebted to PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ for providing me with his continually updated master files for the transcriptions of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, which he has now shared with many of our colleagues. In addition, I have consulted his unpublished translations of the Avestan and Pahlavi corpora where available. Nevertheless, unless marked as such, all translations with their attendant infelicities are mine.

## On the Difficulties of Reading and Interpreting Pahlavi Texts

Despite this work appearing in a specialist series such as IRANICA, what follows here and in the following sections are very brief descriptions of important background issues that might prove useful for orienting non-specialists, readers from other disciplines, and members of the Zoroastrian communities, and, therefore, are primarily written with such a readership in mind.

The Pahlavi script, while originally based on Aramaic,<sup>17</sup> has only 12 distinct letters (11 in most Indian manuscripts), which causes a great deal of homography. Reading an unfamiliar word in Pahlavi — one not found in our limited lexicographical literature<sup>18</sup> — is often a hermeneutic exercise in weighing probabilities in order to correctly read the lexeme in question. To add to the challenge of reading Pahlavi, we find a great number of ‘arameograms’ (also called ‘heterograms,’ ‘logograms,’ or ‘ideograms’ in the older literature) — words written in Aramaic, but pronounced in Middle Persian or Pahlavi. For example, a word in the text will be written ⟨MLKA⟩<sup>19</sup> (Aramaic “king”) but pronounced and transcribed as *šāh* (Pahl. “king”).<sup>20</sup> Based on the statements of the Classical

17 For a survey article on the Aramaic content in Middle Persian, see SKJÆRVØ 1995b, pp. 283–318; see also HENNING 1958, pp. 20–130; NYBERG *et al.* 1988; SHAKED 1993, pp. 75–81; and HALE 2004b, pp. 764–777. For a discussion of the Pahlavi relationship with the Avestan script, see HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, pp. 23–33.

18 For book-length works, see NYBERG 1974 and MACKENZIE 1971 [1986]; cf. also BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004 for Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian, which have proven very useful for triangulating meanings with their Persian reflexes.

19 Capitalizing arameograms in our transliterations is conventional in Iranian studies.

20 See DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, pp. 585–588; cf. also SHAKED 1993, pp. 75–81.

authors and their complete absence in Classical Persian,<sup>21</sup> and the Parsi lists of arameograms with their traditional pronunciations,<sup>22</sup> we can be quite sure that these arameograms were not pronounced but simply used as part of an inherited scribal practice.

In Pahlavi, many verbs are written in Aramaic with Persian phonetic endings. For example, Pahlavi *nibištan* “to write” is written with the arameogram ⟨YKTYBWN-⟩ from the Aram. root *ktb*. The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular present form *nibīsēd* would be written as ⟨YKTYBWN-yt'⟩ with the Aramaic stem and the Pahlavi ending *-ēd* transliterated as ⟨-yt'⟩.<sup>23</sup> In the verbal arameograms, two symbols are often used, commonly transcribed as ⟨-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ and ⟨-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ instead of the usual 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural endings in ⟨-yt'⟩ for *-ēd* and ⟨-d⟩ for *-ēnd*.<sup>24</sup>

Besides the graphical difficulties of reading Pahlavi, in many of the manuscripts — particularly B and MR — it is often difficult to discern the beginning of one word from the end of the previous word, and, in addition, diacritics<sup>25</sup> were used somewhat indiscriminately by the Pahlavi scribes. The conjunction *ud* “and” written ⟨W⟩ as well as the relative pronoun and connective particle *ī* written ⟨Y⟩ in simplex and ⟨ZY°⟩ with an enclitic attached are also written sporadically in some of the manuscripts,<sup>26</sup> often making it difficult to discern the syntax of certain phrases.

21 See WEST 1880, p. xiii.

22 For instance ⟨anhuma⟩ for *ohrmazd*; see ANQUETIL DU PERRON 1771, II, 2, pp. 433–525 for further examples.

23 With an ‘otiose’ stroke inherited from an earlier stage of Middle Persian. For the most detailed — published — grammar of Middle Persian, see DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014; for Middle Persian syntax, see BRUNNER 1977; and cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2009b, pp. 196–278 for a useful survey article on the various features of Western Middle Iranian. I have also availed myself of continuously updated (unpublished) grammars kindly provided to me by P. O. SKJÆRVØ, and which served as the basis for my learning and teaching of Pahlavi.

24 See BARR 1936, pp. 391–403 for further details.

25 We have diacritics (not always used consistently) for four identical letters: ⟨ḏ⟩ = d || ⟨ḡ⟩ = g || ⟨j⟩ = ĵ || and ⟨y⟩ = y [N.B., the latter two appearing to be adoptions from the Arabic script].

26 No comprehensive study of Pahlavi palaeography yet exists, for studies on the development of the Pahlavi script, see SKJÆRVØ 2006 [2012], pp. 366–370 and 2014 [2018], pp. 149–194; CERETI 2008, pp. 175–195; WEBER 2007a, pp. 185–195 and 2007b, pp. 433–442; and REZAKHANI 2016, pp. 69–75.

## The Avestan Corpus and its Dating

The Avestan corpus (Pahl. *abestāg*)<sup>27</sup> falls into two linguistic layers we now call ‘Old Avestan’ and ‘Late(r)’ or ‘Young(er) Avestan.’<sup>28</sup> Old Avestan is grammatically very close to the language of the Ṛg *Veda*,<sup>29</sup> the oldest religious texts of the ancient Indians, while the grammatical structure of Young Avestan differs markedly and is closer to that of Old Persian, the only Old Iranian language that can be dated securely, first attested during the reign of Darius I (r. 522–486 BCE).<sup>30</sup>

Since no part of the Avestan corpus contains references to identifiable historical events, these linguistic comparisons provide the only clues for a relative chronology of individual Avestan texts.<sup>31</sup> Also, since the Avestan texts were an oral corpus, date of composition is a largely nebulous term. Likely, the Old

- 27 The word is not attested in Avestan. The most commonly cited pre-form is CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE’s suggested (*\*upa.stāvaka-*) “praise” (BARTHOLOMAE 1905, p. 108). Cf. Belardi 1979, who suggested (*\*upa-stā-ka-*) “religious knowledge.” Cf. also KELLENS 1987b, p. 239; 1989, p. 35; and 1998, pp. 515–519. See also BAILEY 1958, pp. 522–545. SUNDERMANN (2001, pp. 258–266) suggested instead that it represents OIr. (*\*api-štāka-*) “admonition” and means “the Injunction (of Ohrmazd)” and belongs with Sogd. (*apštāwan*) (*‘pšt’w’nh*) in Sogd. script, (*‘pšt’wn*) in Manichaean script, from OIr. (*\*apištāwan-*). He pointed out that Christian Sogdian *paštāwan* (*‘pšt’wn*) translates Syriac *dytq’* which translates Gk. *διαθήκη* “testament” in the name for the New Testament, suggesting to him that the Zoroastrians may have been responding to the fact that the Jews and Christians had written versions of their revelations; see HINTZE 2014a, p. 2 for further details.
- 28 For general descriptions of the contents of the Avestan corpus, see the older work of GELDNER 1896–1904, pp. 1–54; more recently, see KELLENS 1987a, pp. 35–44; HINTZE 2009a, pp. 1–71 and ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2015, pp. 519–528.
- 29 As BRERETON/JAMISON (2020, p. 12) state: “With due allowance for some differences in their religious focus, these hymns are startlingly like those of the Ṛgveda. The phraseology is often superimposable or rings [sic] changes on the same underlying formulae; the same type of poetic risk-taking, of exploiting the extreme possibilities of the verbal tools at hand, is found in both. Moreover, the apparently ‘personal’ voice of the poet that pervades the Gāthās is found in the hymns of certain Ṛgvedic bards, particularly Vasiṣṭha. Although ritual is muted in the Gāthās, it is clear that a ritual system similar to that of the Ṛgveda is presupposed. This becomes even clearer in the texts of the Younger Avesta, which testify to a cult centered on the offering of a ritual drink called *haoma*, which, as we saw earlier, is etymologically identical to Vedic *soma*, the focus of the most solemn Vedic rituals. There are pervasive similarities between the *haoma* and *soma* rituals, with identical names for the chief priest (*zaotar* = *hotar*) and for various actions and paraphernalia in the ritual. The Younger Avesta also preserves myths and the names of mythical figures that find their exact counterparts in the Ṛgveda. The Avesta and the Ṛgveda thus mirror each other in remarkable ways, and evidence from each has been (and continues to be) invaluable for interpreting difficult problems in the other.” Cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2015, pp. 409–421 for a survey of the shared world between early Iran and India.
- 30 See SKJÆRVØ 2004a, pp. 15–41 and 2015, pp. 409–421 for further details.
- 31 SKJÆRVØ 1999, p. 6; see also KELLENS 1979, pp. 41–54. For the geographical horizons of the Avestan corpus, see GRENET 2005, pp. 29–51 and 2015, pp. 21–30. See also SKJÆRVØ 1995c, pp. 155–175 for a discussion of the challenges of historicizing the texts. Cf. also CANTERA



Avestan texts represent the tradition of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE and the Young Avestan texts that of the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE.<sup>32</sup> Despite the imprecisions in our relative chronologies, it should be borne in mind that the gap between the Avestan and Pahlavi corpora is greater than the gap between the redacting of our text in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE and the present moment.

## The ‘Old Avesta’

The precise constituents of the ‘Old Avesta’ remain much debated since their popularizing by MARTIN HAUG in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> For the purposes of this edition, the ‘Old Avesta’ comprises the 21-word *Yaθā Abū Vairiō* (YAV = *Yasna* 27.13), referred to in Young Avestan as the *Abuna Vairiia*<sup>34</sup>; the five metrical *Gāθās* (Y 28–34, 43–46, 47–50, 51, and 53<sup>35</sup>); the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* (YH = Y 35–41), in an archaic poetic form<sup>36</sup>; and the 24-word *Ā Airiōmā Išiiō* (Y 54.1), often referred to by its Young Avestan form as the *Airiīaman*.<sup>37</sup>

The *Abuna Vairiia* and *Airiīaman* are recited alone numerous times in the Young Avestan corpus and are therefore classified in Western terminology as

2017a, pp. 28–67 for a recent attempt to historicize the development of the Avestan corpus in the Achaemenid period. For the Parthian period, see HINTZE 1998, pp. 147–161.

- 32 On these issues, see GIPPERT 2002, pp. 165–187; SKJÆRVØ 2004a, pp. 15–41 and CANTERA 2004 and see, in particular, the contributions in CANTERA 2012a. Earlier literature includes HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989; HINTZE 1998, pp. 147–161; KELLENS 1998, pp. 451–519; and SKJÆRVØ 1999, pp. 1–64; and see also PANAINO 2012, pp. 70–97 for a discussion of the *status quaestionis*. For work on the history of Avestan studies in the last three decades or so, see STAUSBERG 1998b, pp. 333–343; HULTGÅRD 2000, pp. 73–100; CANTERA 2004, pp. 35–105; and KELLENS 2006a. For the *Yasna*, see most recently CANTERA 2014a and 2016a, pp. 139–185 and see SKJÆRVØ 2012 [2016], pp. 163–183 for a review of CANTERA 2014a. For surveys of the most recent scholarship on Avestan linguistics and philology, see HINTZE 2014a, pp. 1–52 and 2017, pp. 1–126.
- 33 For the role Haug played in the history of Gathic studies, see the brief comments in KELLENS 2006a, pp. 27–38 and see also KELLENS 2003, pp. 213–222. Cf. also HERRENSCHMIDT 1987, pp. 209–237 and 1988, pp. 300–340; RINGER 2011; and MARCHAND 2016, pp. 203–245 for social and intellectual histories that situate him and his discoveries in their 19<sup>th</sup>-century context in Europe and India.
- 34 See AHMADI 2012, pp. 519–540 with literature; see also BENVENISTE 1957, pp. 77–85; INSLER 1975b, pp. 409–421; and CANTERA 2014b, pp. 25–29.
- 35 For the various translations of the *Gāθās*, see MALANDRA, “Gathas. ii. Translations,” EIr.
- 36 See WATKINS 1995, pp. 232–240. The term ‘art prose’ (*Kunstprosa*) was and still is applied to the YH because it does not have a recognizable meter, challenging what we mean by ‘poetry’ or ‘prose,’ since the ‘Old Avesta’ in particular, and the Young Avestan texts in general, do not contain obvious prose texts (like the Vedic *brāhmaṇa* texts for example). For our standard critical edition, see HINTZE 2007a and see also NARTEN 1986.
- 37 See KELLENS 2014, pp. 121–125; see also TREMBLAY 2006, pp. 233–281 for a detailed discussion proposing different stages of Avestan. Cf. also BRUNNER, “Airyaman Išya,” EIr.

‘prayers.’<sup>38</sup> Two other short *mąθras* in an ‘archaizing’ Young Avestan are closely related to the *Gāθās*: the 12-word *Ašəm Vohū* (Y 27.14)<sup>39</sup> and the 15-word *Yejhē Hātəm* (Y 27.15), which are short versions of the first strophe of the second and the last strophe of the fourth *Gāθā*, respectively.

In the main, all these texts are found in *Dēnkard* Book 9 speaking to their transcendent status as the archaic text collection *par excellence* (for a more detailed discussion of the structure found in the three *nasks*, see below).<sup>40</sup>

## The ‘Young Avesta’<sup>41</sup>

The following brief descriptions are largely taken from the survey articles and simply serve to enumerate the most useful book-length bibliographical resources for the respective text (rather than the actual rituals they describe).

The *Yasna* (Y.) “sacrifice,” which is composed of 72 *hāds* “divisions” (from Av. *hāiti*- lit. ‘a cut’), is a heterogeneous collection of liturgical texts recited daily during the ceremony of the preparation and offering of the sacrificial drink, the *haoma* (Pahl. *bōm*). The Old Avestan texts are nested within the 72 *hāitis* of the *Yasna*.<sup>42</sup>

The *Visperad* (*Wisprad*) (Vr) “(prayer to) all the *ratus*” (from Av. *vispe ratauuō*) is a liturgical text composed of twenty-four sections (*kardags*), which serve as a collection of alternative texts to be substituted for texts in the *Yasna*

38 Avestan does not have a word for ‘prayer’ in the usual sense; the emic term *mąθra*- (cognate with Skt. *mantra*-) comes closest. THIEME (1957, p. 69) suggested for the latter: “Sie hat Wirkung, die sich bei früheren Gelegenheiten bewährt hat und die bedingt ist nicht so sehr durch ihren Inhalt als durch ihre Form, die in peinlich korrekter Aufassung gewahrt werden muß.”

39 See AHMADI 2015, pp. 101–116 and see also KELLENS 2020a, pp. 113–121, who suggests, following PIRART 2006b, pp. 108–109, that: “L’*Ašəm Vohū* est bel et bien un *zand*, plus précisément le résumé comprimé à l’extrême du processus rituel que le *Visprad* prête au corpus gāthique. Mais ce *zand* n’a pas un sens oublié. Il reste conçu comme tel et, sous cette forme, exerce pleinement sa signification fonctionnelle” (p. 119). See also LENTZ 1968, pp. 160–169.

40 The scholarly compilation of Old Avestan texts as found in HUMBACH *et al.* 1991 most closely reflects the contents of the three *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9. For a breakdown of the contents of the ‘Old Avesta,’ see Appendix A.

41 See KELLENS 1987a, pp. 35–44; see also HINTZE 2009a, pp. 1–71 and ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2015, pp. 519–528 for further details.

42 For a still-profitable older translation, see DARMESTETER 1892a [1960]. For a recent text and translation, see KELLENS 2006c; 2007a; 2010; and 2011 and REDARD/KELLENS 2013; see now the review of these five volumes in CANTERA 2016a, pp. 139–185; 2014a; and 2016b, pp. 61–76. See also SKJÆRVØ 2007c, pp. 57–84 for a detailed discussion of the composition and mytho-ritual aspects. See also AHMADI 2018, pp. 57–82 for a critical discussion with literature.

when recited in the *Videvdad Sade* ritual.<sup>43</sup> The *Visperad* is the solemn variant (*yašt ī meh*) of the daily Long Liturgy (*yašt ī keh*).

The *Videvdad* (V) “The Law discarding the demons” (Av. \**vī.daēnuō.dāta-*) comprises twenty-two *fragards* (“divisions,” commonly referred to as “chapters”) on how to deal with pollution.<sup>44</sup> The first two explain the origins of pollution, the middle chapters contain diverse rules and regulations, with the exception of *fragard* 19,<sup>45</sup> which describes how *Zaraθuštra* chased the demons and the Evil Spirit back to Hell, the final three describe how *Ahura Mazda* and his divine helpers heal the polluted world.<sup>46</sup>

The *yašts* (Yt) are hymns addressed to the principal Zoroastrian deities which provide us with the most information about the early Zoroastrian pantheon and its attendant mythologies. The *yašts* appear to have originally been based on an octosyllabic verse, sometimes oscillating between four and thirteen syllables, but almost exclusively between seven and nine.<sup>47</sup>

The *Aogəmadaēcā* (Aog), lit. “and we present ourselves as ready,”<sup>48</sup> is a relatively short text on death found in Young Avestan, a Persianized Pahlavi with Pāzand, Sanskrit, and Old Gujarati versions. It is made up of 29 Avestan quotations (30 in the Pahlavi) in mostly octosyllabic verse and is used as a benedictory prayer (Pahl. *āfrīn*) recited after the *Āfrīnagān* ceremony in honour of the soul of the departed just prior to the dawn of the fourth day after death. This text’s contents figure quite prominently in some of the *fragards* of the *Sūdgar Nask*.

The *Hādōxt Nask* (HN), lit. “with utterances” (Av. *hadā-uxta-*), is a fragmentary text that now only has two lengthy *fragards* extant: the first celebrating the *Ašəm Vohū* prayer and the second relating the soul’s destiny after

43 See KELLENS 2006c, 2007a, 2010, and 2011 and CANTERA 2009, pp. 17–26 and, in particular, 2013a, pp. 25–48. As KELLENS (2020a, p. 116) suggests: “Les chapitres du Visprad adjoints aux Gâthâs constituent une sorte de zand consistant à relever les mots essentiels de leur Gâthâ respective.” See also MARTÍNEZ PORRO 2014, pp. 75–93 for a survey of the manuscripts.

44 See BENVENISTE 1970, pp. 37–42 for a discussion of the title. See ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2016 for a critical edition of *fragards* 10–15. See also DARMESTETER 1887 [1998] and 1892b [1960] for older but complete translations.

45 See now REDARD 2021.

46 See SKJÆRVØ 2007a, pp. 105–141.

47 For a survey article on the *yašts* as oral compositions, see SKJÆRVØ 1994a, pp. 199–243; also cf. KELLENS 1975b, pp. 61–66 and HINTZE 1995, pp. 277–286 and 2014b. For a discussion of metrics in Young Avestan and a history of studies, see KELLENS 2006b, pp. 257–289. Cf. CANTERA 2017b, pp. 25–58 for the connections between the *yašts* and the liturgical calendar(s). Cf. PANAINO 2020, pp. 273–300 for a discussion of the Pahlavi translations of the *yašts*. For a listing of the various editions, see ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2015, pp. 521–522; and now add the welcome editions of GOLDMAN 2015; KÖNIG 2016; and MALANDRA 2018 for the *Rašn Yašt* (Yt 12); the *Ardwahišt Yašt* (Yt 3); and the *Frawardīn Yašt* (Yt 13), respectively. I have availed myself of an extensive unpublished edition of Yt 13 by P. O. SKJÆRVØ.

48 Translated as “and we accept” in JAMASP ASA 1982.

death.<sup>49</sup> Like the *Aogəmadaēcā* it also features prominently in some of the *fragards* of the *Sūdgar Nask*.

The *Nērangestān* (N) “Precepts Concerning the Organization of the Ritual.”<sup>50</sup> The first eighteen *fragards* comprise the *Hērbedestān* (H) “precepts concerning the priest’s activity.”<sup>51</sup> The *Xorde Avesta* (XA) “The Little *Avesta*” contains the prayers that are recited by Zoroastrians on everyday occasions as opposed to those recited by priests. The Pahlavi translations of the Avestan texts found in the XA often provide us with alternative translations of other Avestan texts on the same topics and indicate the great diversity of interpretive schools and hermeneutical approaches that exist in our extant texts.<sup>52</sup>

Five *Niyāyišns* (Ny) “Songs” are addressed to the sun (*Xwaršēd Ny*), the deity Miθra (*Mibr Ny*), the moon (*Māh Ny*), the waters (*Ābān Ny*), and the fire (*Ātaxš Ny*), composed of excerpts from the corresponding *yašt*s, the last from *Yasna* 62.<sup>53</sup> The first two are always recited together during the first three *gāhs* (“watches of the day”; see below), the third during the two night-periods, the fourth during the three daylight-periods and the fifth is conducted at the beginning of each of the five periods of the day.

Five *Gāhs* (G) “Times of the Day,” are addressed to the deity presiding over the great divisions of the day: *hānuwana-* “the morning, *i.e.* dawn to noon”; *rapiθβina-* “midday, *i.e.* noon to mid-afternoon”; *uzaiieirina-* “mid-afternoon to sunset”; *aiβisrūθrima-* “the night, from sunset to midnight”; and *ušahina-* “midnight to dawn.”<sup>54</sup> The *gāhs* are enumerated in §9.9.5–10.

Four *Āfrīnagāns* (A) “Blessings” are recited respectively in honour of the dead, at the five epagomenal days which end the year, at the six feasts of seasons, at the beginning or the end of summer.<sup>55</sup> The *Āfrīnagān ī Zardušt* (AZ) is a blessing which was pronounced, according to the tradition, by Zaratūstra upon Vīštāspa.<sup>56</sup>

The *Stāyišn ī Sīrōzag* (S) “The Praise of Thirty Days” enumerates the deities who patronize the thirty days of the month and is found in both Avestan and Pahlavi.<sup>57</sup>

The *Pursišnīhā* (P) is an Avestan and Pahlavi text that contains questions and answers on doctrinal issues and religious matters.<sup>58</sup>

49 For the second *fragard*, see PIRAS 2000.

50 See KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1995, 2003, 2009.

51 See KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK with RUSSELL 1992.

52 See KÖNIG 2015, pp. 131–149 and BUYANER 2016. GÖTZ KÖNIG is currently preparing an extensive project on the XA, which is much awaited.

53 See TARAF 1981; for the most recent descriptions, see CHOKSY/KOTWAL 2005, pp. 215–228 in particular and SKJÆRVØ 2004b, pp. 32–40.

54 See HINTZE 2007b, pp. 29–44 for a survey of their compositional structure.

55 See REDARD 2020, pp. 283–400 for a recent survey.

56 See WESTERGAARD 1852–1854 [1993], pp. 300–301.

57 See RAFFAELLI 2014.

58 See JAMASP ASA/HUMBACH 1971. For Av. fragments, see WESTERGAARD 1852–1854 [1993], pp. 331–334 and CANTERA 2020a, pp. 69–105.

The *Vištāsp Yašt* (*Vyt*) “Hymn to Vištāspa” is an intercalated ritual representing one of the ceremonial variants of the ‘Long Liturgy’<sup>59</sup> with intercalations consisting of 8 *fragards*, which may be called the *Wištāsp Sāst* (“Teachings of Vištāspa”). The text is consecrated to the *Frauuāšis* (“Pre-Souls”).<sup>60</sup>

### *Abestāg ud Zand*

The Pahlavi phrase *abestāg ud zand* (“*Avesta* and *Zand*”), which likely refers to the Avestan corpus and its Pahlavi translations and commentaries, later became Persian *Zand-Avestā*. In early Western scholarship, the term *Zend-Avesta* was then applied, rather misleadingly, to texts written in Avestan.<sup>61</sup> The Zoroastrian priests in Late Antiquity, however, did not distinguish clearly between the ‘Avesta’ in Avestan and its Pahlavi translation.<sup>62</sup> Pahlavi *Zand* is most often connected with Av. {*\*āzaiṅti-*} “interpretation, commentary”<sup>63</sup> found in the compounds *maṭ.āzaiṅti-*, *pouru.āzaiṅti-*, and *āzaiṅtiuuant-*.<sup>64</sup> ALBERTO CANTERA, in his work on the Pahlavi translations of the Avestan corpus, concludes that, whatever the original meaning of *Zand* might have been, some time between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, it acquired the restricted meaning of “Pahlavi translation.”<sup>65</sup>

59 See CANTERA 2014a and 2020c, pp. 195–282 for detailed studies of the various variants of the ‘Long Liturgy’ with references to older literature.

60 See MARTÍNEZ PORRO 2013, pp. 69–80 for further details and a survey of the extant manuscripts. As he states: “Sobre el carácter de *Vištāsp Sāst*, aunque aparece mencionado en el *Dēnkard* como uno de los *Nask* del perdido *Gran Avesta*, tradicionalmente se ha dicho que es un texto muy reciente que reúne y mezcla citas de unos textos avésticos (*Vidēvdād* y *Hadōxt Nask*) o resume otros. Esta definición se basa en el estado de conservación del texto, que muestra muchas deficiencias y una lengua bastante defectuosa. Sin embargo, la realidad es que *Vištāsp Sāst* contiene importantes fragmentos de texto desconocidos en otras partes del Avesta y, a su vez, el panorama lingüístico-textual puede ser el resultado de una transmisión oral y escrita deficiente de una ceremonia que no se celebraba muy a menudo, puesto que se reservaba para unas fechas concretas. Esto último se reflejaría en el escaso número de manuscritos conservados en comparación con el resto de ceremonias de la liturgia larga” (p. 71).

61 SHAKED 1996, p. 641.

62 A point noted in BAILEY 1943 [1971], p. 167 and BOYCE 1968a, p. 35.

63 See GELDNER 1896, p. 2, fn. 6.

64 See BARTHOLOMAE 1904, pp. 1120, 899, and pp. 342–343 respectively. For the most in-depth discussion of this term, see, CANTERA 2004, in particular, pp. 1–13 and ZEINI 2020, pp. 28–39.

65 CANTERA 2004, p. 13. SKJÆRVØ 2008c, p. 2, fn. 4, in his review of CANTERA 2014a, also points to Manichaean Middle Persian and Sogdian *āzend* “parable” as a possible alternative etymology.

## The Primary Pahlavi Texts Cited as Intertexts of the *Sūdgar Nask*<sup>66</sup>

The Pahlavi *Yasna* (PY) is a word-for-word translation following the Avestan version(s) with explanatory glosses and commentaries (for further discussions, see below).<sup>67</sup> While the *Zand* of the ‘Old Avesta’ in the PY is the best known, it should be stated that we do have multiple other such *zands* in various Pahl. texts and collections.

The Pahlavi *Videvdad* (*Vendidad*) (PV), literally, “the law for keeping the demons away,” in Pahlavi also called *Zand ī Jud-dēw-dād*, is a literal translation of the Avestan version with explanatory glosses and commentaries.<sup>68</sup> Despite nominally being a commentary on the ‘Old Avesta,’ we have a number of intertexts shared with the (P)V in the *Sūdgar Nask*.

The *Bundahišn* (Bd) “Creation in the Beginning” is a compilation text which includes a detailed cosmogony and cosmography based on the Zoroastrian scriptures, but which also contains a short history of the legendary Kayanids<sup>69</sup> and the “land of the Iranians” (*ērān-šābr*).<sup>70</sup> The text probably grew through different redactions; we have a “Greater” — Iranian — version, and a “Lesser” — Indian version, but it is difficult to say, even approximately, at what date the first compilation was made. There are however, several references to the conquering

66 For surveys of Pahlavi literature, see WEST 1896–1904 [1974], pp. 75–129; BAILEY 1943 [1971], p. li; TAVADIA 1956; BOYCE 1968a, pp. 32–66; DE MENASCE 1975, pp. 543–556 and 1983, pp. 1166–1195; CERETI 2001; 2009 [2013]; and 2015; MACUCH 2009, pp. 116–190; ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2015, pp. 523–528; and DARYAEE 2018, pp. 103–122. For the other books of the *Dēnkard*, see below.

67 The standard edition remains DHABHAR 1949, but see also MALANDRA/ICHAPORIA with HUMBACH 2010 and 2013. In addition, I have access to an electronic version of the text as prepared by SKJÆRVØ, which I have used extensively and cross-checked with the important manuscripts (J2, K5, and Mf4, Pt4), three of which are on the Avestan Digital Archive (ADA) website (<https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de>) developed by ALBERTO CANTERA and his team. For the colophons of the latter two mss., see CANTERA/DE VAAN 2005, pp. 31–42 and cf. SKJÆRVØ 2012 [2016], p. 180, fn. 12. For the PYH, see ZEINI 2020. For a study of the PY of the ‘Old Avesta,’ see JOSEPHSON 2003a, pp. 7–34 and CANTERA 2006, pp. 35–68. See also SHAKED 1996, pp. 238–256 and 2003, pp. 63–74 and 2004, pp. 333–344.

68 See MOAZAMI 2014. See also ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2009 for a critical edition of PV 10–12 and enlarged in ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2016 with a critical edition covering PV 10–15. For a discussion of the translation techniques of the PV in connection with the PY, see, once again, CANTERA 2006, pp. 35–68.

69 For a discussion of the transmission of the Kayanids, see NÖLDEKE 1930; CHRISTENSEN 1931; and BOYCE 1954, pp. 45–52. More recently, see SKJÆRVØ, “Kayāniān,” EIr.

70 For an older text and translation, see ANKLESARIA 1956; for a critical edition of the text, see PAKZAD 2005; and for a recent translation based on his edition, see now AGOSTINI/THROPE 2020. Note that several scholars translate *ērān-šābr* as the “Iranian land/polity/empire.” I have chosen to maintain the distinction between sg. *ēr* and pl. *ērān* though there are passages that could undoubtedly be translated differently.

Arabs and their misrule, clearly indicating a post-Sasanian date for the final redaction.

*Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (AWN) “The Book of Ardā Wirāz” is a narrative of a visionary journey to Heaven and Hell by Ardā Wirāz (Ardā Wirāf in older publications).<sup>71</sup> It has often been referred to as the ‘Zoroastrian Divina Commedia’ and it has been suggested by earlier scholars that this text, which was translated into Arabic, may have been an influence on Dante.<sup>72</sup>

The *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (DD) “The Judgment according to the Tradition” is a Pahlavi work by Mānuščihr, one of the other four sons of Gušn-Jam (or Juwān-Jam), the High Priest of Pārs and Kermān in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>73</sup> It comprises an introduction and 92<sup>74</sup> questions (Pahl. *pursišn*) asked of Mānuščihr, along with his answers (Pahl. *passox*).

The (*Dādestān ī*) *Mēnōy ī Xrad* (MX) “The Judgment of the ‘Spirit of the Wisdom’” (conventionally cited as *Mēnōy ī Xrad*) is a text of wisdom literature (*andarz*), in which a wise man asks 62 questions to the ‘Spirit of Wisdom,’ who expounds on various aspects of Zoroastrian theology, mythology, and ethics.<sup>75</sup> The text has a number of intertexts with the *Sūdgar Nask*, particularly Chap. 26 with enumerations of the “benefit (*sūd*) of X” in the context of Zoroastrian cosmology and teleologies of history.<sup>76</sup>

In his “Epistles” (*Nāmagihā ī Mānuščihr*), Mānuščihr reproaches his younger brother Zādspram for wanting to simplify the purification ceremonies (*baršnūm*). His third *Epistle* (NM 3.21) provides us with the only date (881 CE) for the two brothers.<sup>77</sup>

The *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (PR) is a text on a variety of religious topics and is named as such because it lacks attribution and is found in manuscripts preceding the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*.<sup>78</sup> Many of the chapters of the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* are very closely paralleled — intertexts and cotexts — with the *Sūdgar Nask*.

The *Šāyist nē Šāyist* (ŠnŠ) and the *Supplementary Texts to the Šāyist nē Šāyist* (Supp.ŠnŠ) are heterogenous texts that, likewise, contain a number of passages that serve as intertexts and cotexts with the *Sūdgar Nask*, just as we find in PR.<sup>79</sup>

71 For editions of the text in French and English respectively, see GIGNOUX 1984 and VAHMAN 1986.

72 See AGOSTINI 2010, pp. 15–23 for further details and literature.

73 For an edition of the first half of the text, see JAAFARI-DEHAGHI 1998.

74 Ninety-four in WEST 1882.

75 Text and English translation in WEST 1871; also ANKLESARIA 1913.

76 I am currently preparing an article on the subject.

77 See the translation in WEST 1882; text in DHABHAR 1912; text and English translation in KANGA 1966, 1967, 1968, 1971, 1974, and 1975.

78 For an edition of the text, see WILLIAMS 1990.

79 For editions of the texts, see TAVADIA 1930 and KOTWAL 1969 respectively.

The *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram* (WZ) “The Anthology of Zādspram,” deals with a variety of different topics which appear to reflect Zoroastrian cosmology.<sup>80</sup> The three main parts seem to be divided according to cosmogony, the Zoroastrian period of history, and eschatology, respectively. Zādspram, the High Priest of Sīrjān, Iran in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE, was one of the four sons of Gušn-Jam (or Juwān-Jam as mentioned above), a famous priest in his own right. His brothers were Zurwāndād, Ašwahišt, and Mānuščihr, the last being the author of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* and three *Epistles* (see above). Several chapters in the WZ, especially Chap. 28, have important doctrinal materials for the study of the *Sūdgar Nask*.

The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (ZWY) is an apocalyptic text which purports to quote from the *S[t]ūdgar Nask*.<sup>81</sup> Chapter 1 recounts Ohrmazd’s revelation to Zardušt and describes a tree with four branches: gold, silver, steel, and “mixed” iron, symbolizing the four periods to come after the millennium of Zardušt. This chapter is very similar to that found in §9.8.1–7 (the commentary on *Yasna* 31.1–22).<sup>82</sup> See below for further details.

80 For editions of the text, see ANKLESARIA 1964 and GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993. See also GROPP 1991, pp. 79–85 for a study of Zādspram’s interpretation of the *Abunwar* (Y 27.13). SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 188, fn. 11 has recently argued that the title should be read as *čīdag* “gleaning.” instead. He suggests: “The text should most probably be called *Čīdagihā ī Zādspram* ‘Gleanings of Zādspram,’ not *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram* ‘selections [sic] of Zādspram.’ In TD4a (p. 480), the final stroke of the preceding *nibištāg* is separated from the final (-k) and closer to the (c-) (typical of Gōbedšāh’s sometimes careless writing): (npštk’cytkyh’), but K35 (f. 233v) has what is probably the correct spelling (npštk’ cytkyh’). The form *čīdag* is found in Dk9.1.2: *abar hād ud pargard ī nask nask... ud čīdag ī aziš* ‘about the *hāds* and *pargards* of the individual *nasks*... and gleanings from them’...”

81 For an edition of the text, see CERETI 1995.

82 See VEVAINA 2011, pp. 237–269.





# Introduction

## Textual Introduction

“Through this text other texts speak.”

– GEOFFREY H. HARTMAN<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the history of textual scholarship on Zoroastrianism, two complementary and often-competing methodologies have been applied to the study of the *Gādās* and their language, Old Avestan: the ‘Traditional’ and ‘Comparative.’<sup>2</sup> Broadly speaking, the ‘Traditional’ approach has focused on studying the ‘Avesta’ and the Avestan language and corpus through the lens of the much later Sasanian (224–651 CE) and post-Sasanian (*i.e.*, the early Islamic period) Zoroastrian tradition as found in the extant Pahlavi texts, many of which are translations of Avestan texts or purport to be translations of ‘lost’ Avestan texts. In contrast, the primarily linguistic and philological ‘Comparative’ approach compares Avestan morphology, syntax, and semantics with the closely related Vedic texts of Ancient India.

While the merits of these two time-honoured approaches are many, a significant line of inquiry has often been occluded by both the more biographically-oriented Traditional school and the more ritually-oriented Comparative school: How did Sasanian- and early Islamic-era Zoroastrian hermeneuts interpret their own sacred texts and religious traditions? What are the interpretive principles used by these traditional hermeneuts in their commentaries on the ‘Old Avesta?’ How do we adequately excavate, catalogue, and articulate them? How do late antique Zoroastrian theologies in turn inform and condition their hermeneutics?

To fill these lacunae in our understanding of the Zoroastrian hermeneutical tradition(s), I chose to study the *Sūdgar Nask* of the ninth book of the *Dēnkard*, a 9<sup>th</sup>-century CE Pahlavi commentary purportedly based on the earlier Pahlavi translations and commentaries (*Zand*) of ‘lost’ Young Avestan tractates (*nasks*) commenting in turn on the ‘Old Avesta.’ It is a text that has provided us

1 HARTMAN 1986, p. 12.

2 This contrast in method was already discussed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by, amongst others, DARMESTETER 1887 [1998], pp. xxv–xxix. For a history of these competing methodologies, see DE JONG 1997, pp. 39–75 and CANTERA 2004, pp. 44–65; see also KELLENS 2003, pp. 213–222 and STAUSBERG/VEVAINA 2015, pp. 1–18. For a problematizing of this binary, see VEVAINA 2018, pp. 121–147.

with many fruitful answers and raised new questions that need further study. *Dēnkard* Book 9 is a threefold Pahlavi enumerative commentary on the ‘Old Avesta,’ based on our extant *Pahlavi Yasna* in sections or a parallel *Zand* or *Zands*. It thus presents us with an unparalleled opportunity to study three radically different hermeneutical treatments of how they understood the core of texts that we now call the ‘Old Avesta.’ Despite being so well suited for just such an interpretive project, due to the lack of a critical edition, *Dēnkard* Book 9 has remained largely absent from academic discourse on Zoroastrian hermeneutics.<sup>3</sup>

Traditionally, Iranists have primarily read Pahlavi hermeneutical texts such as *Dēnkard* Book 9 in two ways:

1. As ancient Iranian inheritance, and thus, able to offer us solutions to unresolved philological and interpretive problems found in Old Avestan.<sup>4</sup>
2. Or they have suggested that the creation of these heterogeneous and seemingly chaotic texts was a response to genuine interpretive difficulty due to the great passage of time — at least two millennia — between the composition of the Old Avestan originals and their Pahlavi translations and commentaries.

Both these approaches are diachronically focused and accord little or no interpretive agency to the Zoroastrian hermeneuts who produced, transmitted, and, crucially, made meaning of their most sacred texts.<sup>5</sup> I will argue here and in the accompanying *Commentary* that the hermeneutical narratives of the *Sūdgar Nask* of *Dēnkard* Book 9 are clearly value-laden, ideologically motivated discourses, whose literary structures have remained opaque after a century of scholarship on Zoroastrianism precisely because we have not developed theories of reading that grapple with the panoply of tradition-constituted forms of allegoresis<sup>6</sup> — expansion

3 It is curiously absent from the entry, “Exegesis. i. in Zoroastrianism” in the *Encyclopædia Iranica* (KREYENBROEK 1999, pp. 113–116). Furthermore, despite several *fragards* with apocalyptic and eschatological content not found elsewhere, *Dēnkard* Book 9 receives only a single reference in the otherwise thorough survey of Zoroastrian Apocalypticism in HULTGÅRD 1998, pp. 39–83.

4 Due to their brevity (17 hymns of the *Gāḍās* as opposed to the 1,028 of the *R̥g Veda*) and their grammatical and contextual difficulties, the *Gāḍās* have been a source of frustration for Iranists. Some of the grammatical difficulties of the *Gāḍās* include: (1) the absence of pronouns (personal and demonstrative) that would allow us to make definite assignments of crucial concepts to the poet or to the god, to the human or the divine sphere, (2) the ellipsis of nouns and verbs, leaving adjectives with ambiguous references and sentences without subjects or verbs or both; and (3) the lack of antecedents of relative pronouns (SKJÆRVØ unpublished: [§0.6]). In addition to these morpho-syntactic difficulties, the divergence between Vedic and Avestan semantics is also a formidable hermeneutical challenge.

5 For a detailed study of citations of anonymous authorities in Pahlavi, see now CANTERA 2020b, pp. 31–64.

6 See ZHANG 2005 for a cross-cultural study of allegoresis focusing on the Jewish and Christian interpretations of the *Song of Songs* and traditional Chinese commentaries on the Confucian *Book of Poetry*.

of meaning — found in our texts. I believe this is largely due to two factors in our sociology of knowledge. The first is the all-too-common philological conceit that we understand the texts better than the producers and redactors of the texts themselves, precisely because they had centuries of grammatical loss and we have a philological ‘eye in the sky’ through our understanding of historical linguistics and comparative philology grounded in root-etymological analysis. The second is that value judgments about literary aesthetics in Pahlavi literature cause us to view the corpus in negative terms, especially when compared with the highly sophisticated grammatical sciences of Greece or India or the systematic theologies found in Judaism, Christianity or Islam.

In addition, *Dēnkard* Book 9 exhibits all the diagnostic features commonly recognized as characteristic of oral modes of transmission: ring compositions (the structuring of narrative and formulaic elements in chiasmic patterns),<sup>7</sup> the use of symbolic numbers to organize heterogeneous data,<sup>8</sup> recurrent phrases and distinctive syntax,<sup>9</sup> as well as the use of formulaic language.<sup>10</sup> Judging an orally composed corpus by the written standards of other late antique/Islamicate scholastic communities is not only counterproductive, but fundamentally obscures the dynamics between literary, interpretive, and transmission histories of the text in question. In addition, such aesthetic judgments tend to devalue the power of the authoritative knowledge being *embodied* in the priestly teacher who chooses whom to teach and, hence, who will represent the next generation of authoritative power.<sup>11</sup>

The oral dimension of the transmission of the sacred texts and the importance of memorizing the *Gādās* is also reflected within the Pahlavi textual tradition itself. The fourth virtue mentioned in the Pahlavi treatise *Abar Panj Xēm ī Āsrōnān* (“About The Five Characteristics of Priests,” PT 30.5) is as follows: “... fourth, sacrifice to the gods with true words, memorizing [lit. ‘softening’] of the *nasks*, sacrificing according to the ritual” (... *čahārom yazišn ī*

7 For example, the three ring compositions in the commentaries of the *Airiāman* (Y 54.1), where the beginning and end of the ‘Old Avesta’ symbolically represent cosmogony and eschatology, see VEVAINA 2005 [2009], pp. 215–223. For a survey of scholarship on the phenomenon of *Ringkomposition* in the *Gādās*, see KELLENS 2007b, pp. 420–423.

8 For example, the distribution of the 21 *nasks* of the Sasanian-era Tradition (*dēn* = *Avesta* + *Zand*) in three textual ‘genres’ or ‘taxonomies,’ as discussed in VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 111–143.

9 For example, the ubiquity of verbal nouns ending in *°išn(īh)* instead of finite verbs and the common use of abstract nouns ending in *°īh* (see below for further details).

10 This list of features has been borrowed from ELMAN/GERSHONI 2000, p. 6. In recent work in Jewish studies, orality is viewed as an ideologically charged strategy of transmission that continued to be the authoritative mode of transmission of esoteric knowledge well into the medieval period, for which see ELMAN/GERSHONI 2000, p. 13; see also JAFFEE 1999, pp. 3–32 and SHAKED 2015a, pp. 43–62.

11 For the breakdown of this system in the early Islamic period, see KREYENBROEK 1987, pp. 195–210 and 1989, pp. 211–234.

*yazdān rāst-wāzagihā narm-naskihā pad nērang yaštan*).<sup>12</sup> The Pahlavi text *Husrāw ī Kawādān ud Rēdag-ēw* 9 (“Husrāw, son of Kawād and a Page,” PT 4) has a short enumeration of the Avestan texts that needed memorization and the oral nature of the priestly internalizing of the knowledge from the *Zand*: “I memorized the *Yasna*, the *Hādōxt* (*Nask*) and the *Bagān Yasn* and the *Videvdad* in the manner of a *hērbēd* [*i.e.*, a teaching priest], and I have heard the *Zand* passage by passage [lit. ‘place by place’]” (*u-m yašt ud hādōxt* ⟨*ud*⟩ + *bagān-yasn*<sup>13</sup> *ud* *jud-dēw-dād hērbēdihā narm* ⟨*kard*⟩ *gyāg gyāg zand niyōxšīd ēstād*).<sup>14</sup> According to the Pahlavi *Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (PR) 17b1, the memorization of the *Gāḍās* is a prerequisite for the next world: “... for no one among humankind will be righteous and worthy of/bound for the ‘House of the Song’ who has not memorized the *Gāḍās*, O righteous Zardušt...” (*čē nē kas az mardōmān ahlaw ud garōdmānīg nē bawēd kē-š gāhān nē narm kard ahlaw zardu(x)št*).<sup>15</sup>

This project thus has a twofold purpose: it is a critical edition of the *Sūdgar Nask* of *Dēnkard* Book 9 with a text, translation, and apparatus, as well as a separate volume with an extensive intertextual commentary, thus representing a first attempt at developing a broader theory of Zoroastrian reading (or of reading Zoroastrian texts) by attempting to glean the ‘reading’ — interpretive — practices of the Zoroastrian hermeneuts producing knowledge in the Pahlavi corpus. A body of texts which, as far as we can tell, represents the first writing of orally-derived Zoroastrian theologies, most likely in the late Sasanian period. In terms of Zoroastrian textual traditions and practices, the Pahlavi corpus represents the crucial intellectual and theological pivot between an ancient oral society reflected in the extant Avestan texts (*ca.* 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE) and the increasingly literate Islamic era in the Iranian world from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards. As I have argued elsewhere, the Pahlavi corpus, straddling the Arab — Islamic — conquest of Iran, is not the earliest or largest body of Zoroastrian literature, nonetheless, it is the first one where we find theological discourse gaining a consistently reflective dimension.<sup>16</sup> It is here that we see Zoroastrian communities engage with the question of objectified ‘religion,’ the emic term *dēn* which I translate as ‘Tradition.’ The historiographical, philological, and

12 Cf. BAILEY 1943 [1971], pp. 158–159. For a discussion of *narm kardan* “to soften,” see SKJÆRVØ 2012, pp. 27–30 who suggests that the action “would serve to ‘soften’ the matter being mastered” in the memorizing by heart process (p. 28). He has also suggested that it might metaphorically mean something akin to ‘tenderizing meat’ (p.c. SKJÆRVØ) [N.B., transcribed as *warm* in older publications].

13 MK ⟨ORHYn ysn⟩ for ⟨\*ORHYAn ysn⟩ according to AZARNOUCHE 2013a, p. 80.

14 After AZARNOUCHE 2013a, p. 44; see her useful commentary on pp. 80–83. A similar list is enumerated by ‘Ali al-Mas’udī (d. *ca.* 960 CE), for which, see HOYLAND 2018, p. 88, fn. 322, where the similarity is noted): “These titles are garbled in the manuscripts (the editor settles on: *ashtād, jitrashbt, bānyast, hādūkht*).”

15 Cf. WILLIAMS 1990, I, pp. 90–91 and II, p. 32.

16 See VEVAINA 2015a, pp. 211–234.

hermeneutical challenges we face are due to the fact that Pahlavi literature was produced precisely in a transition period when the Zoroastrian priesthood were engaging with their own historiographical, philological, and hermeneutical challenges generated by the immense gap of two millennia of oral transmission between the original meanings of the highly elliptical and multivalent ritual texts of the ‘Old Avesta,’<sup>17</sup> and the changing multi-confessional world of Late Antiquity in the Sasanian era, *and* the painful process of ever-increasing minoritization in the early Islamic era.<sup>18</sup>

What they produced theologically in *Dēnkard* Book 9 are equally terse and allusive commentaries that mobilize highly complex forms of citation, allusion, and intertextuality from the inherited Avestan world of myth and ritual in order to engage with and react to the profound changes occurring in the relationship

- 17 HANNS-PETER SCHMIDT, explicating and expanding on INSLER 1975a, enumerated five primary challenges for better understanding the *Gāθās*: “(1) Much of the grammar, the vocabulary and the syntax of the Gathas is unique in relationship to the language of the later Avesta. This due (a) to chronological reasons, (b) to the fact that the type of poetry the Gathas represent is different from that in the later Avesta, and possibly (c) dialectical differences. (2) The hymns are laden with ambiguities resulting from (a) the merger of many grammatical endings and (b) from the compact and often elliptical style. (3) The higher question of the content, frequently expressed in metaphoric and allegorical terms, is even more problematic. The problem of metaphor and allegory played only a negligible role in most of the earlier Western translations, including that of HUMBACH [= HUMBACH 1959 – YSDV]. (3) The literary isolation of the text within the ancient period has excluded the possibility of fixing a true position to the prophet’s theology within the preceding developments of Iranian religion. All attempts in this direction depend on comparison with evidence gathered mainly from (a) the later Avesta, (b) Old Persian, (c) the Veda, (d) Greek sources, all of which pose problems of their own which render the task of reconstruction methodically intractable. (5) There exist no early analytical commentaries of the Zoroastrian tradition which could present in detail the meaning of the prophet’s message... (6) The mechanical arrangement of the Gathas according to meter has effaced all certain chances of even following the prophet’s intellectual evolution within his own fragmentary work (SCHMIDT 1979, pp. 83–84). He adds the important point that “none of the Western translations is completely free from the influence of the Pahlavi translation, be it only through the mediation of earlier scholars” (p. 84). See now also KELLENS 2020b, pp. 51–59, where we find a brief survey of these grammatical difficulties alongside short discussions on transmission processes, lexical opacity (which he estimates at 30% on p. 55), textual sub-units, the relationship between the words of the performed text and its accompanying ritual, etc. For OAv. syntax, see WEST 2011.
- 18 The socio-religious interactions between elite Muslims and minoritized Zoroastrians have received more attention of late. For the Zoroastrian side, see CHOKSY 1997; DARYAEI 1998; 2012; and 2015 and STAUSBERG 1997, pp. 116–140 and 2012, pp. 171–193; REZANIA 2017, pp. 336–362; TERRIBILI 2017, pp. 396–418; and now VEVAINA 2021. For the Muslim side, see MORONY 1976, pp. 41–59; 1984 [2005]; and 1990, pp. 135–150; BULLIET 1979, pp. 30–51 and 1990, pp. 135–150; FRIEDMANN 2003; KHANBAGHI 2009, pp. 201–212; LEVY-RUBIN 2011; CRONE 2012; SAVANT 2013; SAHNER 2019, pp. 61–83 and 2021, pp. 1–27; and HURVITZ *et al.* 2020.

between theology,<sup>19</sup> religious praxis, national identity, and imperial politics in Iranian society. Since method conditions reading, it is the rhetorical, didactic, and moralizing dimensions of the texts as late antique and Islamic-era social documents that the philologists interested in the Avestan originals often ignore or find hard to appreciate, just as the ‘thick interpretations’ in the text — the traditional intersignifications drawing upon the inherited mytho-ritual and mytho-epic world of the Avestan corpus — are largely alien to scholars of Late Antiquity and Islam, who are often uninterested or uninitiated in the philological approach to studying the early origins of Zoroastrianism (often in concert with Vedic studies). As readers determine how texts are read and, more importantly, how they are socially contextualized, these liminal texts have very much remained the exclusive province of Iranists.

At this juncture, I want to emphasize that the corpus of Pahlavi hermeneutical literature is not merely a textual hermeneutics of the Zoroastrian scriptural record of the ancient Avestan corpus, but rather, I believe we must understand it as a project of a much broader and more ambitious cultural hermeneutics that sought to historicize the timeless mythic past of the Zoroastrian world within then contemporary temporal frameworks that explained the new socio-religious realities as simply temporary triumphs of Evil within the divine plan of Ohrmazd. As I and others before me have argued, virtually all the knowledge and textual production of pre-modern Zoroastrianism appears to have been produced by the male Zoroastrian priesthood who understood the Tradition (*dēn*, the term generally translated as “religion, sacred tradition, religious vision, worldview”) as both an independent and objective cosmological and social reality utilizing forms of rationality that were themselves tradition-constituted. How they negotiated and resolved the tensions between the diachronic constraints of their inherited repertoire of myth, ritual, and symbolism with their synchronic socio-economic and religio-political concerns through these tradition-constituted forms of rhetoric, textual logic, and interpretive thought led ultimately to the production of new and revitalized forms of intersignification and, hence, new forms of meaning-making and, hence, theology. This epistemo-hermeneutical project ‘finds’ its diachronic support in the inherited world of myth and ritual of the Avestan texts while being literally embodied in the orally-derived discursive structures maintained by the male, hereditary priesthood which was facing the synchronic existential threat of the loss of state sponsorship under the later Sasanians and the ever-increasing apostasy of Zoroastrian communities to the religion of their Islamic overlords.<sup>20</sup> The point in time when the diachronic

19 On the role and presence of theology in early Iran, see HULTGÅRD 2004, pp. 75–91 and the response in AHN 2004, pp. 93–103. Cf. also STAUSBERG 2002, pp. 91–111 and VEVAINA 2015a, pp. 211–234.

20 For an overview of the conversion processes and narratives in the early Islamic period in the Middle East, see the Introduction in HURVITZ *et al.* 2020, pp. 1–30 and see, in

pressures of a seemingly stable ‘tradition’ meet the synchronic exigencies of a social crisis is precisely the moment in which protean hermeneutic action occurs.

## A Brief History of the *Dēnkard*

The 9<sup>th</sup> century CE witnessed a lively intellectual and religious climate in the post-Sasanian Iranian world, in which interfaith rivalries manifested themselves in theological disputes and debates.<sup>21</sup> Not coincidentally, the most voluminous expositions of Zoroastrianism were compiled and redacted during that period. The largest<sup>22</sup> of these texts is the *Dēnkard* (“Works of the Tradition”) a vast — by Zoroastrian standards — 170,000-word compilation of traditional information on the doctrines, customs, traditions, history, and literature of Sasanian and post-Sasanian Zoroastrianism. Of the original nine books, only Books 3 (with its beginning lost) to 9 now survive.<sup>23</sup>

The compilation of the *Dēnkard* is ascribed to Ādurfarnbay,<sup>24</sup> son of Farrozzād, who was a leading high priest of the Zoroastrians in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century CE and is referred to in the *Dēnkard* as the leader of the *web-dēnān*, “those of the Good Tradition [*i.e.*, Zoroastrians].”<sup>25</sup> Sayings ascribed to Ādurfarnbay were frequently cited by later writers as authoritative,<sup>26</sup> but he is perhaps best known

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particular, Zoroastrian conversion narratives on pp. 88–93; pp. 109–113; and pp. 131–135. See also CHOKSY 1997.

- 21 See FRYE 1975; BOYCE 1979 [2001]; MORONY 1984 [2005]; GUTAS 1998; DE JONG 2003b, pp. 16–26; SAHNER 2019, pp. 61–83; and now VEVAINA 2021.
- 22 WEST 1896–1904 [1974], pp. 91, 98 estimated that the extant text of the *Dēnkard* contains approximately 169,000 words, of which Book 9 contains about 28,000 words. The *Sūdgar Nask* is approximately 6,600 words by my count and is 31 pages in the MADAN 1911 edition.
- 23 For the *Dēnkard*, see WEST 1896–1904 [1974], p. 91; TAVADIA 1956, pp. 45–73; DE MENASCE 1958; CERETI 2001, pp. 41–78; and REZANIA 2017, pp. 336–362.
- 24 The transcriptions of Zoroastrian names vary considerably, and ‘Ādurfarnbay’ is also known as ‘Ādurfarrōbay.’
- 25 Mānuščihr, the Zoroastrian high priest of Kermān in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century CE, extolled Ādurfarnbay as the “blessed [lit. ‘of good Pre-soul’]... the (most) superior leader of the Zoroastrians” (*hu-fraward... abardar hu-dēnān pēšōbāy*) in DD 87.8; see VEVAINA 2021 for further details.
- 26 Mardānfarrox son of Ohrmazddād refers to him several times and freely excerpts sections from the *Dēnkard* in his own apologetic work, the *Škand-gumānīg Wizār* (DE MENASCE 1945). Mānuščihr, in his *Epistles* (NM 1.10.8), also relied on Ādurfarnbay’s pronouncements and reputation to legitimate his own views: *čiyōn ān-iz ī abar 3 mowbedān mowbed ī frāztar ī-šān nām ādur ī farnbay ud windād ud ādur-bōzēd kē jud jud wirāst-dēn kišwar-dastwar ud āwām-frazānag būd hēnd*. “As (it is said) about the three foremost *mowbedān mowbeds*, namely Ādurfarnbay and Windād and Ādurbōzēd, who each individually restored the Tradition (*dēn*), they were ‘the authorities of the land’ and ‘the learned of (their) age’” (after SKJÆRVØ unpublished).



in Zoroastrian literature for his supposed religious debate with Abāliš,<sup>27</sup> a Zoroastrian apostate (Pahl. *zandīg*), in the presence of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph ‘Abd-Allāh al-Ma’mūn (d. AH 421 / 1030 CE).<sup>28</sup> He also wrote an *Ēwēn Nāmag* (“Book of Manners”; Dk 3.142), of which *Dēnkard* Book 4 is believed to be a condensed version, and a collection of sayings (Pahl. *wāzag*) is also ascribed to him.<sup>29</sup>

According to the Pahlavi tradition in *Dēnkard* Book 3, Ādurfarnbay’s work was partially destroyed, but was reconstructed and completed by the high priest, Ādurbād, son of Ēmēd, who restored the partially destroyed work which had been transmitted to Ādurfarnbay’s son Zardu(x)št. Ādurbād is also believed to have titled the final version “The *Dēnkard* of One Thousand Chapters” (*dēnkard 1,000 darag*) as narrated in *Dēnkard* 3.420.1–9 (B 316, 9 || DH 251v, 5 || DkM 405, 11):

*abar dēnkard*<sup>30</sup> *nibēg az nigēz*<sup>31</sup> *ī weh-dēn*.

About the Book of *Dēnkard* from the Exposition of the Good Tradition.

(2) *hād dēnkard nibēg kardag ast ī az wisp-dānāgīh-pēsīd*<sup>32</sup> *dēn mazdēs n paydāgīh*.

That is, the written *Dēnkard* is a portion of what is revealed from the Mazdean Tradition, which is adorned with the knowledge of all things.

(3) *ud naxust kardag ī az weh-dēn pōryōtkēšān ī waxšwar yašt-frawahr spitāmān zardušt fradom hāwišt pad pūrsišn ud āšnawišn ī az im*<sup>33</sup> *yašt-frawahr weh-dēn paydāgīg dānišn āgāhīh ī abar har dar hangōšīdag rōšnīh ī az bun rōšn*.

And firstly, there are extracts which (come) from the Good Tradition of the Teachers of Old, the first disciples of Zardušt of the Spitāmas, the prophet [lit. ‘one who brought the Word’], the one whose Pre-Soul is worthy of sacrifice [i.e., Zardušt], containing the knowledge (*dānišn*) and awareness (*āgāhīh*) of all issues as revealed in the Good Tradition and obtained by Zardušt by asking and listening to this one whose Pre-Soul is worthy of sacrifice [i.e., Ohrmazd], like light which (comes) from the original Light.

(4) *ud ān bun pūrsišn ud wizīr*<sup>34</sup> *dahībed burzāwend kay-wištāsp*<sup>35</sup> *nibēgēnīdan bun ud bun ō ganj ī šasabīgān abespārdan ud pačēn passazagīhā wistardan framūdan. ud az ān pas pačēn ō diz ī nibišt frēstīd ud ānōh-iz dāstan āgāhīh*.

27 His name is perhaps a deformed Pahlavi rendering of an Arabic name such as Abū ‘Alī or Abū/Abā Layt or ‘Abdallāh or perhaps it might conceivably be derived from Yaballāhā in Syriac with the various arguments summarized in TAFAZZOLI 1982 [2011], p. 58. See, in particular, DE JONG 2016, pp. 230–231; VAN ESS 2019, pp. 218–219; SAHNER 2019, p. 71; and VEVAINA 2021 for the broader historical context of these inter-faith debates between errant Dualists and the ‘Abbāsīd political elite.

28 For a translation, see SKJÆRVØ 2011, pp. 243–247.

29 TAFAZZOLI 1983c, p. 478.

30 B, DkM ⟨dyn' npyk dyn' krt'⟩.

31 DH ⟨nkyck'⟩.

32 DH ⟨pysyt'⟩ || B ⟨p'syt'⟩.

33 DH, B ⟨'m⟩ = ⟨yym⟩.

34 DH || B ⟨wcy l Y⟩.

35 DH ⟨wkywšt'sp'⟩.

(4) And the exalted ruler Kay Wištāsp [= Av. Kauui Vīštāspa] commanded that those original questions and decisions be set down in writing from beginning to end (*bun ud bun*), that they be consigned to the ‘Gubernatorial Treasury’ (*ganj ī šasabīgān*), and that copies be distributed appropriately. From then on, copies were sent to the ‘Fortress of Books’ (*diz ī nibišt*) and the knowledge (*āgāhīb*) was kept there as well.

(5) *ud andar wizend ī az mar ī duš-xwarrāh alaskandar ō ērān-šahr ud dēn ud xwadāyīb mad<sup>36</sup> ān ī pad diz ī nibišt ō sōzišn ud ān ī pad ganj ī šasabīgān<sup>37</sup> ō +dast<sup>38</sup> ī hrōmāyān<sup>39</sup> madan u-š ō-z yōdnāyīg<sup>40</sup> uzwān wizārdan pad āgāhīb ī az pēšēnīgān<sup>41</sup> paywastag.*

And during the disasters which came to the land of the Iranians (*ērān-šahr*) and the Tradition (*dēn*) and the Sovereignty (*xwadāyīb*) from the miserable villain Alexander, that (copy) in the ‘Fortress of Books’ was burned and the one in the ‘Gubernatorial Treasury’ fell into the hands of the Romans; and it was also translated into the Greek (*yōdnāyīg*) language from the knowledge that was transmitted from the ‘ancients’ [lit. ‘(our) predecessors’].

(6) *ud ōy bay ardaxšahr šāhān šāh ī pābagān mad<sup>42</sup> ō abāz ārāstārīb ī ērān xwadāyīb im<sup>43</sup> nibēg az pargandagīb ō ēk gyāg<sup>44</sup> āwurd ud pōryōtkēš ablaw tansar [or: tōsar] ī hērbedān<sup>45</sup> hērbed būd abar madan ud abāg paydāgīb ī<sup>46</sup> az abestāg abāz handāxtan<sup>47</sup> ud az ān paydāgīb bowandagēnīdan<sup>48</sup> framūd ud ham-gōnag<sup>49</sup> kard. ud<sup>50</sup> hangōšīdag brāh ī<sup>51</sup> az bun rōšn pad ganj ī +šasabīgān<sup>52</sup> dāštan ud pačēn passazagībā frāxēnīdan framūdan āgāhīb.*

And that lord, Ardaxšahr, the king of kings, son of Pābag came to restore the sovereignty of the Iranians; this book (*nibēg*) was brought back from (its) scattering to one place, the righteous Tansar [or: Tōsar], one of the Teachers of Old who was the Chief Instructor (*hērbedān herbed*) came upon it; and the king ordered him to compare [lit. ‘re-examine’] the book with the revelation from the *Avesta* and to complete it from that revelation; and it was done likewise. He commanded that it be kept in the ‘Gubernatorial Treasury’ like it was a (piece of)

36 DH ⟨mt′⟩ || B ⟨mtn′⟩.

37 B ⟨šspyk′n⟩ with smudged writing above || DH ⟨špyk′n⟩.

38 DH, B ⟨GDE⟩ presumably for ⟨YDE⟩.

39 B ⟨hlwm′d′n′⟩ || DH ⟨hlwm′dyn′⟩.

40 DH ⟨ywtn′dyk⟩ || B ⟨ywtn′yk⟩.

41 DH ⟨pyšyndk′n ptwstk′⟩ || B ⟨pyšynyk gwpt′ stk′⟩.

42 DH ⟨mt′⟩ || B ⟨mtn′⟩.

43 DH, B ⟨m⟩.

44 DH ⟨gyw′k⟩ || B ⟨g′n′k⟩.

45 DH || not in B.

46 DH || not in B.

47 DH ⟨hnd′htn′ W MN⟩ || B ⟨hnd′ht′ MN⟩.

48 DH ⟨bwndkynytn′⟩ || B ⟨bwndkynytkn′⟩.

49 DH ⟨W hmgwnk′⟩ || B ⟨wymgwnk′⟩.

50 DH || not in B.

51 DH || not in B.

52 DH ⟨špyk′n⟩ || B ⟨šp′n′⟩.

brilliance which (came) from the original Light and a copy of the knowledge to be suitably distributed far and wide.

(7) *ud pas az wizend ud wišōbišn ī<sup>53</sup> az tāzīgān ō-iz dīwān ud<sup>54</sup> ganj ī kišwar mad<sup>55</sup> hu-fraward ādurfarnbay<sup>56</sup> ī farrozzādān ī hu-dēnān pēšōbay būd ān pačēn ī kustagīhā pargandag būd nōg-abzār az pargandagīh abāz ō hamīh ud<sup>57</sup> dīwān ī-š dar āwurd andar nigerišn ud handāzišn ī ō wehdēn abestāg ud zand ud pōryōtkēšān gōwišn hangōšīdag payrōg ī az ān brāh abāz kard<sup>58</sup>.*

And then, after the harm and destruction which the Arabs (*tāzīgān*) brought upon the ‘Archive’ (*dīwān*) and the ‘National Treasury’ (*ganj ī kišwar*) as well, the blessed Ādurfarnbay, son of Farrozzād — who was the leader of those of the Good Tradition — reassembled, with renewed strength, those dispersed copies in the ‘Archive’ of the court (*dar*); by inspecting and comparing them with the *Avesta* and *Zand* of the Good Tradition and the words of the Teachers of Old, he then restored it, as it were, to a glimmer from that brilliance.

(8) *pad škeft a-ram ud wizend ī<sup>59</sup> ō zardu(x)št<sup>60</sup> ī ādurfarnbayān ī hu-dēnān pēšōbāy būd jāst ān-iz dīwān ō wišōbišn ud ān nibēg ō<sup>61</sup> wisistagīh ud pargandagīh ud aziš ō-z kahwanīh ⟨W stkyh<sup>62</sup>⟩ ud pūdagīh madan<sup>63</sup>.*

By the horrible turmoil and harm that befell Zardušt, son of Ādurfarnbay, who was the leader of those of the Good Tradition, that ‘Archive’ was destroyed as well, and that book (*nibēg*) was torn up and scattered and damaged, fell into disuse, ... and began deteriorating.

(9) *ud az ān pas an ādurbād ī ēmēdān ī hu-dēnan pēšōbāy az yazdān +nixwārišn<sup>64</sup> ud dēn mazdēsn ayārihišnīh nōg-abzār pad xwāyišn ud wizōyišn<sup>65</sup> ud ranj ī wēš im<sup>66</sup> nibišt čē az ān wisāndag ud zruftag ud sūdāg ud xāk-āmēg dīwān abāz windīd ud ēd<sup>67</sup> čē az abāz kardagīh<sup>68</sup> ud burdagīh ud triftagīh abāz āwurd az-iš wizīd ⟨mtk' myn'⟩ ī hampursagīg xrad ayārih pad abāz handāxtārīh ī ō pōryōtkēšān ī pēšānīgān gōwišn ud kardag ud abestāg paydāgīh ud abzōn ī az wehdēn dānāgīh ⟨ud⟩ daragīhā padīš ārāst ud ristagēnīd bām-ēw<sup>69</sup> ī az +payrōg<sup>70</sup>*

53 DH || not in B.

54 Not in DH.

55 DH ⟨mt'⟩ || B ⟨mtn'⟩.

56 DH ⟨'twrplnbg⟩ || B ⟨'twr'Y 'twr' plnbg⟩.

57 DH || not in B.

58 DH ⟨krt'⟩ || B ⟨p krt'⟩.

59 DH || not in B.

60 DH ⟨zltwšt'⟩ || B ⟨zltwhšt'⟩.

61 DH ⟨OL⟩ || not in B.

62 DH adds ⟨Y⟩ || not in B.

63 B ⟨mtn'⟩ || DH ⟨mt'⟩.

64 DH, B ⟨yzd'n' swb'lšn'⟩ for ⟨yzd'n nswb'lšn'⟩.

65 DH ⟨wcyšn'⟩ || B ⟨wcyšn'⟩.

66 DH, B ⟨'m⟩.

67 DH ⟨HNA ME MN LAWHL⟩ sequence is repeated.

68 DH, B ⟨OBYDNtkyh⟩.

69 B ⟨b'm-1 Y⟩ || DH ⟨b'myk Y⟩.

70 DH ⟨pylk'⟩ || B ⟨ptylk'⟩.

*ī ān brāh ī az rōšnīh ī<sup>71</sup> bun rōšn ud hammistīhā kard pad wehdēn nimūdārīh ēn ī nāmēnīd pad stūrīh mānāgīh<sup>72</sup> ān wazurg bun<sup>73</sup> dēnkard 1,000 darag.*

And since then, I, Ādurbād, son of Ēmēd, leader of those of the Good Tradition, hastened by the gods, and with the assistance of the Mazdean Tradition, with renewed strength, turned to seeking out and examining, at great pains, this writing that had been recovered from that scattered and soiled ‘Archive,’ now in many pieces, some illegible, which had been restored, then carried off and stolen and once again brought back. I made selections from it with the aid of my inquiring wisdom to guide me, again in comparison with what the Teachers of Old of the ‘ancients’ had said and done and what was manifest in the *Avesta* and enlarged from the knowledge of the Good Tradition. I arranged it in subjects and chapters, as a spark which (comes) from the glimmer of that brilliance which (is, in turn,) from the light of the original light; and guided by the Good Tradition, I redacted (*hammistīhā kard*) this, which was named as a proxy (*stūr*), as it were, of that great original (*bun*) — the *Dēnkard* of a thousand chapters.”<sup>74</sup>

Ādurbād’s life can be approximately dated to the late 9<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. He is mentioned in the *Bundahišn* (35a.8), as a contemporary of Zādspram, the brother of Mānuščihr, who was known to be alive in 881 CE, when his third *Epistle* was written,<sup>75</sup> and ‘Ali al-Mas’udī (896–956 CE) names a Mawbad Isfandiyār b. Ādharbād b. +nmayd killed in Baghdad by the ‘Abbāsid Caliph al-Rāḍī in 325 AH / 936–937 CE.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the fact that the *Dēnkard* is not a systematic treatment of 9<sup>th</sup>- and 10<sup>th</sup>-century CE Zoroastrianism,<sup>77</sup> its books are, to a large extent, thematically grouped. Book 3 is primarily philosophical and apologetic, often contrasting the Tradition (*dēn*) with other contemporary religions.<sup>78</sup> Book 4 includes the history of the transmission of the *Avesta* (*abestāg*), counsels and questions on religious subjects, and their answers.<sup>79</sup> Book 5 purports to give Ādurfarnbay’s answers to two non-Zoroastrians — a Jew or a Muslim named Yākob ī Xālidān and a Christian (*tarsāg*) named Bōxt-Mārē — regarding Zoroastrian beliefs and

71 DH || not in B.

72 DH ⟨m’n’kyh⟩ || B ⟨m’n’k Y⟩.

73 DH ⟨twšn<sup>+</sup>⟩.

74 Cf. SKJÆRVØ 2011, pp. 39–40; cf. also DE MENASCE 1973, pp. 379–380; cf. also the transcription in BAILEY 1943 [1971], pp. 217–218. See JOSEPHSON 2012, pp. 541–552 for a discussion of the *Sitz im Leben* of *Dēnkard* Book 3 and clues to the transmission history of its 200+ folios.

75 WEST 1896–1904 [1974], p. 91.

76 According to TAFAZZOLI 1983a, p. 477, the last name is likely to have been a copyist’s error for ⟨’ymyd<sup>+</sup>⟩ so Isfandiyār was probably Ādurbād’s son; also suggested in DE BLOIS 1996, p. 43; see also VAN BLADEL 2017b, pp. 190–210, in particular, p. 195. For the Zoroastrians of Baghdad, see DE JONG 2016, pp. 223–238.

77 A point made in REZANIA 2017, pp. 336–362.

78 French translation in DE MENASCE 1973.

79 See the recent Persian edition of REZAI 2014.

rituals.<sup>80</sup> Book 6 is devoted to wisdom literature (Pahl. *andarz*).<sup>81</sup> Book 7 to the life and legend of Zardušt [= Av. Zarduštra].<sup>82</sup> Book 8 enumerates the 21 *nasks* of the Tradition (*dēn*).<sup>83</sup> It suggests that the 21 words of the *Ahuna Vairiia* ‘prayer’ (Y 27.13) are an encapsulation of the 21 *nasks* which are themselves seen as an encapsulation of the entire ‘Tradition.’ Finally, Book 9 contains the three Pahlavi résumés of three of the seven Gathic (*gāhānīg*) *nasks* (see below).

As MICHAEL STAUSBERG has so perceptively pointed out, the 21 *nasks* or “divisions” of the Tradition catalogued in *Dēnkard* Book 8 are an attempt at classifying the *entire* religious tradition — the *dēn* — and *not* specifically the Avestan corpus as is so commonly claimed. STAUSBERG suggests that any attempt at comparing the extant Avestan corpus with the contents of *Dēnkard* Book 8 in Pahlavi is rather futile and that the attempt itself demonstrates the tendency of Iranists to equate the contents of *Dēnkard* Book 8 with the entire ‘original’ pre-Islamic textual tradition in Avestan (see below for further details).<sup>84</sup>

## The Emic Explanations of the 21 *nasks* of the ‘Tradition’ (*dēn*)

We find a lengthy description of the 21 *nasks* of the Tradition in their original Avestan and their Pahlavi versions in Dk 8.1.1–24 (B [526–528] || DkM 677–680), which is worth quoting in full:

*spās ohrmazd ud niyāyišn dēn mazdēsñ ī ŋud-dēw ohrmazd-dādestān.*  
Service to Ohrmazd and reverence to the Mazdean Tradition, the Law of  
Ohrmazd discarding the demons!

(2)<sup>85</sup> *haštom abar hangirdīgih ī ān ī andar naskihā ī dēn mazdēsñ ŋud ŋud ēdar ayād.*<sup>86</sup>

80 See the French edition of AMOUZGAR/TAFAZZOLI 2000.

81 See the edition of SHAKED 1979.

82 See the posthumous French edition of MOLÉ 1967 published by DE MENASCE.

83 See VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 111–143, for a discussion of the taxonomic structure of the 21 *nasks* and see MACUCH 2007, pp. 151–164, for a discussion of the legal (*dādīg*) *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 8.

84 STAUSBERG 1998a, pp. 257–277, see, in particular, pp. 264–266. For instance, we find this conflation of *dēn* and *abestāg* in the writings of TAVADIA 1956, p. 36: “Die Quelle, *dēn* oder *apastāk*, war ursprünglich nur in einer alten, toten Sprache, der Awestasprache, vorhanden”; cited in ZEINI 2020, p. 28. For a detailed survey of the historiographical problems associated with the notion of the ‘Great Avesta,’ see PANAINO 2012, pp. 70–97.

85 Cf. the trans. of Dk 8.1.2–3 in SHAKED 1969, p. 192, fn. 46: “The Eighth [book]; a summary of that which occurs in the *nasks* of the Mazdean religion. A memory of each one separately is [found] here. That which is found within the binding of this book concerning the categories of the Good Religion, was written for the knowledge of the many and was communicated from the *Zand*, which is the religion. It was written as an authority for teaching knowledge to this mass of people, by the word of religion itself.”

86 Cf. CANTERA 2004, p. 16, who takes *ēdar ayād* as the beginning of Dk 8.1.3 in his translation.

(2) The eighth (book of the *Dēnkard*); regarding the encapsulation of that which is within the *nasks* of the Mazdean Tradition, here individually recorded.

(3) *ān ī andar šadurwān ī ēn nāmag abar ošmurišn ī weh-dēn ō āgāhīb ī wasān nibišt ud niwēyēnīdan az zand ān ī dēn pad āgāhībīšnīh ī ō ēd pāyram dastwar pad xwad ēwāz ī dēn nibištān.*

(3) That which is within the binding of this book about the ‘Enumeration of the Good Tradition’ is written for the awareness of the masses and to announce from the *Zand* — the Tradition — through awareness, which for this common priest is in itself a writing of the voice (*ēwāz*) of the Tradition.

(4) *bē pēš az ān nibištān ēwēn abar ošmurišn ī dēn ī mazdēsñ +bazišn<sup>87</sup> u-š +bazišn bahr ud bahr brīnag nimūdan ī ošmurišn kē ka hangirdīgtar pad-iš +bazišn hangirdīg pad bahr ī-š +bazišn ud wistarišnīgtar pad brīnag ī bahr.*

(4) But, before that writing, the custom (*ēwēn*) regarding the divisions of the ‘Enumeration of the Mazdean Tradition’ and the parts of its divisions and sections of its parts; the showing of the enumeration which, when it is more encapsulated in its divisions, it is encapsulated in the parts of its divisions, and it is more exhaustive in the sections of the parts.

(5) *+ošmurišn<sup>88</sup> ī dēn mazdēsñ bazišn<sup>89</sup> 3 gāhān ī ast abartar mēnōy-dānišnīh mēnōy-kārīh. ud dād ī ast azērtar gētīy-dānišnīh ud gētīy-kārīh. ud hādagmānsrīg ī ast azērtar āgāhīb ud kār ī abar ān ī mayān ēd 2.*

The divisions of the ‘Enumeration of the Mazdean Tradition’ are three: the *Gādhās*, which are the higher knowledge and activity in *that* world (*mēnōy*); the Law, which is the lower knowledge and activity in *this* world (*gētīy*); and the *Hādagmānsrīg* [lit. ‘with *mādras*’], which is the lower awareness and activity of what is between these two.<sup>90</sup>

(6) *ud čim ī sē-+bazišnīh<sup>91</sup> ī dēn-+ošmurišn<sup>92</sup> nigēz ast ī wisp dānišn (ud) kār ud ēwēnag ī ham dēn-dānišn ud kunišn ēd ī sē ī nibišt.*

(6) And the reason for the tripartite division of the ‘Enumeration of the Tradition’ is the exposition of all knowledge and work and custom which in the (self-)same knowledge and action according to the Tradition are these three which have been written.

(7) *ōh-iz ahunwar ī dēn-ošmurišn<sup>93</sup> bun sē gāh. ān ī fradom gāhānīgīh. ud ān ī didīgar hādagmānsrīgīh. ān ī sidīgar dādīg abartar ud mahist.*

(7) Thus too, the *Ahunwar*, which is the basis of the ‘Enumeration of the Tradition,’ (has) three ‘times’ [*i.e.*, akin to verse-lines (*gāh*)]: the first is the Gathic; the second is the *Hādagmānsrīg*; and the third is the Legal — superior and the best.

87 B (bwcšn) and following.

88 B (MYTN-šn') for (MNYTN-šn') as opposed to the phonetic spellings earlier.

89 B (bcšn').

90 Dk 8.1.5 differently in VEVAINA 2010a, p. 120; cf. also MOLÉ 1963, p. 62–63; and CANTERA 2004, p. 14.

91 B (bwcšnyh).

92 B (MYTN-šn').

93 B (MYTN-šn').

(8)<sup>94</sup> *aziš hād<sup>95</sup> hēnd bazišn (ī) bahr 21 ī xwānīhēnd nask.*

(8) And from it [i.e., the *Abunwar*] there are 21 parts of its division, which are called ‘nasks.’

(9) *7 gāhānīg čē ō gāhān kard ēstēd u-šān nām ān ī gāhānīg hād nērang ī ast stōd-yast ud sūdgar<sup>96</sup> ud wāršt mānsr ud bag ud waštāg ud +hādōxt<sup>97</sup> ud ān ī +ō<sup>98</sup> gāhānīg kard ēstēd spand.*

(9) Seven are Gathic because they are composed for the *Gādhās*; and their names are Gathic, that is, the ritual formulae which are: the *Stōd Yašt*, the *Sūdgar*, the *Wāršt mānsr*, the *Bag*, the *Waštāg*, the *Hādōxt*, and that which is made to be Gathic: (namely) the *Spand*.<sup>99</sup>

(10) *ud haft hādāgmānsrīg nām dāmdād (ud) nādar ud pāzag +ratušwinaiti<sup>100</sup> ud +brīh<sup>101</sup> ud kaškaysraw ud wištāsp-sāst.*

(10) And the seven Hādāgmānsrīg names are: the *Dāmdād*, the *Nādar*, the *Pāzag*, the *+Ratušwinaiti*, the *+Brīh*, the *Kaškaysraw*, and the *Wištāsp-sāst*.<sup>102</sup>

(11) *haft dādīg čē ō dādīg kard ēstēd u-šān nām ān ī dādīg +nigādom<sup>103</sup> ud [+duzd-rīd] duzd-sar-ōzad huspāram ud sagādom ud wī-dēw-dād<sup>104</sup>. ud ān ī ō dād(īg) pad jud šnūmanīh kard ēstēd čīhr-dād +ba(γ)ān-yast<sup>105</sup>.*

(11) Seven are Legal because they are composed for the Legal; and their names are Legal: the *Nigādom*, the [*\*Duzd-rīd*] *Duzd-sar-ōzad*, the *Huspāram*, the *Sagādom*, the *Wīdēwdād*; and those which are composed for separate propitiations: the *Čīhrdād* (and) the *\*Bayān Yast*.<sup>106</sup>

(12) *ud padīsārag sūdgar<sup>107</sup> [·] ud wāršt mānsr (ud) bag (ud) dāmdād ud nādar ud pāzag ud ratuštaiti ud brīh<sup>108</sup> ud kaškaysraw ud wištāsp-sāst ud waštāg ud*

94 Cf. CANTERA 2004, p. 124: *u-š ēd hēnd bazišn bahr wīst ud ēk ī xwānīhēnd nask* “und dies sind die 21 *bazišn bahr*, die Nask genannt werden.” Cf. NM 1.4.17 (K 212r || T 421 || T60 153r-v): “Thus it was such that Weh-Šābuhr in the council of Husrōy of Immortal Soul, the King of Kings, the son of Kawād, the 21 divisions (of the *nasks*) were thus shown” (*ōwōn būd čiyōn ān ī web-šābuhr pad hanjāman ī anōšag-ruwān husrōy ī šabān šah ī kawādān 21-ān bazišnīhā ōwōn nimūd*); cf. BAILEY 1943 [1971], pp. 173–174, who translates *nimūd* as “make known” or “publish.”

95 B (HWE) for *hād contra* CANTERA (HNA) for *ēd*.

96 B (swtkl).

97 B (h'tht).

98 B (ZK).

99 Cf. CANTERA 2004, p. 14 for various readings of these Gathic names.

100 B (ltšwn 'yty).

101 B (bl'h) = (blyš) as found in Pz. (*barəš*).

102 Cf. CANTERA 2004, pp. 14–15 for various readings of these Hādāgmānsrīg names.

103 B (nyk nyk'twm).

104 B (wykŠDYAd't).

105 B (b'nyst').

106 Cf. CANTERA 2004, p. 15 for various readings of these Legal names. Cf. also MACUCH 2007, p. 153 for a discussion of this passage on the legal *nasks*.

107 B (swtkl).

108 B (blyh).

*čibr-dād ud spand* ⟨ud⟩ *bagān-yast*<sup>109</sup> [∴] *ud nigādom +duzd-sar-ōzad*<sup>110</sup> *ud huspāram ud sagādom* ⟨ud⟩ *jud-dēw-dād* ⟨ud⟩ *hādōxt ud stōd-yast*.

(12) And the sequence [i.e., as enumerated in *Dēnkard* Book 8] is: the *Sūdgar*, the *Wārštmānsr*, the *Bag*, the *Dāmdād*, the *Nādar*, the *Pāzag*, the *Ratuštaiti*, the \**Brīh*, the *Kaškaysraw*, the *Wištāsp-sāst*, the *Waštag*, the *Čibrdād*, the *Spand*, the *Bagān-yast*, the *Nigādom*, the \**Duzd-sar-ōzad*, the *Huspāram*, the *Sagādom*, the *Juddēwdād*, the *Hādōxt*, and the *Stōd Yašt*.<sup>111</sup>

(13) *andar har sē har sē ast andar gāhānīg hādagmānsrīg ud dādīg. ud andar hādagmānsrīg gāhānīg ud dādīg ud andar dādīg [ud andar dādīg]*<sup>112</sup> *gāhānīg* ⟨ud⟩ *hādagmānsrīg*.

All three are in all three. In the Gathic are the *Hādagmānsrīg* and the Legal. In the *Hādagmānsrīg* are the Gathic and the Legal. And in the Legal are the Gathic and the *Hādagmānsrīg*.

(14) *jud jud ān ī xwad mādayānīhā ud mādagwarīhā [ud] mehmānīg. ud ān ī did +bahrīh*<sup>113</sup> *andar āwurd mehmānīg. u-š čim andar mēnōy ud gētīy ud andar gētīy ud mēnōy ud andar ān ī mayānag ī har dō har dō +ast*<sup>114</sup>.

Each one (of the three textual divisions) is essentially and principally hosted in itself; and the second division that is introduced is (likewise) hosted within it. And its meaning is in *that* world (*mēnōy*) and in *this* world (*gētīy*), and in *this* world (*gētīy*) and in *that* world (*mēnōy*), and that which is between the two is (in) both.<sup>115</sup>

(15) *ud paywastan ī frāz ō abdom ī hādagmānsr(īg) +waštag*<sup>116</sup> *bahr az gāhān čiyōn nibišt [ī] pad paywand ī ō abdom hādagmānsrīg wištāsp-sāst*.

And the connecting of the last of the *Hādagmānsr(īg)* to the \**Waštag* part from the *Gāḍās* is because it is written in connection to the last of the *Hādagmānsrīg*, (namely) the *Wištāsp-sāst*.

(16) *hādōxt ud yašt pad paywand ī ō abdom +dādīg*<sup>117</sup> *+wī-dēw-dād čim ud dahišn ī gētīy dād mayānag hādagmānsrīg ō mēnōy gāhān čē mēnōy-iz kē ox bun ud gētīy čimīg ud wihānīg ud bahr +niwištēd*<sup>118</sup> *čimīg ō čim [ud] wihānīg ō ox bahr ō bun*.

The reason for the *Hādōxt* (*Nask*) and the (*Stōd*) *Yašt* being in connection to the last Legal (*nask*), the *Videvdad*; and the ‘making of the creation in *this* world’ [= *Dāmdād Nask*] being between the *Hādagmānsrīg* (division) and the *Gāḍās* in

109 B ⟨bk’nyst⟩.

110 B ⟨GNBASlwt’⟩ for *duzd-srōd*.

111 Cf. K27 (7a.1–7): *stūdgar ud warštmānsr bay ud dāmdād ud nādar ud pāčen ud ratuštaiti brīh ud kaškaysraw ud wištāsp-+sāst* ⟨wšt’sp s’yt’⟩ *waštag* ⟨wđ’tg⟩ *ud čibr-dād ud spand ud bagān-yast ud nigādom ud duzd-sar-ōzad ud huspārom ud sagādom ud jud-dēw-dād ud hādōxt ud stōd-yast* (MIRZA 1992, p. 11).

112 Haplography.

113 B ⟨b’hlyk’⟩.

114 B ⟨W’st’⟩.

115 After VEVAINA 2010a, p. 122.

116 B ⟨wšt⟩ = ⟨yzdt⟩.

117 B ⟨d’r’yk ŠDYAd’t⟩ presumably for ⟨d’tyk’ wykŠDYAd’t⟩.

118 B ⟨nwšyhyt’⟩ || cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 1434: نوشتن “to write, preserve, to spare.”



*that* world is because *that* world likewise, which is the beginning/basis of existence; and *this* world has reason and cause; and a part is \*preserved/written; reasonable for (a) reason; the cause of existence; the part at the beginning.

(17) *ud frazām ī dād ī ast hīm*<sup>119</sup> *abāz ō gāhān ī ast bun paywastan ud nimūnag ast ī abar fradom mēnōyīgīh gāhānīgīh abēzag rāyēnišnīh būd ud abdom-iz ān bawēd ud gētīy ud čiyōn az mēnōy niwennīhist ud frōd āmad abāz ō mēnōy* (ī) *paywastagīh*.

(17) And the end of the Law, which is the \*Hōm (*Yašt*), connected back to the *Gādhās* which are the beginning, it was an example of the pure arrangement of the Gathic (division) regarding the first state of existence in *that* world; and that which likewise exists at last — *this* world; and since it was begun from *that* world and came down (to *this* world), it is connected back to *that* world.

(18) *ud čim ī 21-bahrīh ī 3 +bazišn*<sup>120</sup> *ī dēn-ōšmurišn andar wizīdag ī [andar wizīdag ī] az kard paydāg ōh-iz 3 gāh ī ahunwar ī dēn-ōšmurišn bun ast 21 mārīg*.

(18) And the reason for the division into 21 parts of the 3 divisions of the ‘Enumeration of the Tradition’ is within the selections which it is made from; it is manifest thus as well in the 3 *gāhs* of the *Ahunwar*, which is the basis of the ‘Enumeration of the Tradition,’ (namely its) 21 words.

(19) *čiyōn ahunwar ī dēn-ōšmurišn bun 3 gāhīh ī 3 +bazišnīh*<sup>121</sup> *ī dēn-ōšmurišn [ud] nimūnag ōwōn 21-mārīgīh ī 3 21-bahrīh ī ēn 3 +bazišn nimāyēd čiyōn paydāg kū brēhēnīd ōy ī wisp-āgāh dādār az har mārīg-ēw sraw ī ēw*.

Since the 3 *gāhs* of the *Ahunwar*, which are the foundation of the ‘Enumeration of the Tradition,’ are an example of the 3 divisions of the ‘Enumeration of the Tradition,’ and thus it shows that these 3 divisions are the 3 parts of what are the 21 words, as it is evident that the omniscient Creator (himself) fashioned one utterance [*i.e.*, a *nask*] from each single word.<sup>122</sup>

(20)<sup>123</sup> *abār* *brīnag ī bahr čiyōn hād ud fragard ī andar*<sup>124</sup> *naskīhā az dēn gugāyīh* (ud) *āgāhīh az yašt-frawahr zarduxšt čāšišn andar ērān-šahr hazār būd āšnāg*.

(20) (Regarding) the sections of the parts such as the *hāds* and *fragards* which are within the *nasks*; from the testimony (and) awareness of the Tradition, from the teachings of Zardušt, to whose Pre-Soul one sacrifices, it is known that there were a thousand (chapters) within the land of the Iranians (*ērān-šahr*).

(21) *ud pas az wišōbišn* (ī) *az marg ī duš-xwarrah xešm-kard alaksandar mad u-š būd ī ēdōn abāz nē windād ī pad dastwar dāštan šāyist hē*.

(21) And after the chaos that came from the death of that one of bad fortune (*duš-xwarrah*), produced by ‘Wrath,’ Alexander, thus there was not so much recovered as would be possible to consider authoritative (*pad dastwar dāštan*).

119 B (hīm) in Pz. perhaps for hūm = Pahl. hōm [N.B., perhaps Yazdi Persian].

120 B (bwcšn) and following.

121 B (bwcšnyh).

122 After VEVAINA 2010a, p. 120.

123 For Dk 8.1.20–21, cf. CANTERA 2004, p. 117.

124 B (BYN) || omitted in CANTERA 2004, p. 117.

(22) *ud ān ī hu-fraward ādurbād ī mahrspandān padiš passāxt kardan ud bōxtan āšnāg tā-z +nūn<sup>125</sup> andar mādayān ī ērān-šahr ud pad čāšišn ud pašn dāšt estēd.*

(22) And it is well known that the blessed [lit. ‘of good Pre-Soul’] Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand, underwent the ordeal for it [*i.e.*, to decide which was legitimate] and came out unharmed. And until now, in the chronicles of the land of the Iranians (*ērān-šahr*), it has been preserved in teaching(s) and agreement(s)<sup>126</sup>.

(23) *pas az nibištān ī jud jud nask kū pad čē abērtar abar gōwēd abar [ud] nask nask [ud] ošmurībēd u-š ān ī andar hād hād fragard fragard ō ayābišn rasēd čē andar ēn mādayān (ī) +a-niškan(n)ēn<sup>127</sup> abāyišnīg dard<sup>128</sup> +društāg-ēw wizārībēd.*

(23) After the writing of each separate *nask*, that is, as to what it speaks about more particularly, (namely) about how each *nask* is enumerated, and one comprehends that which is within the various *hāds* and *fragards*; for within these \*\*indestructible (and) fitting chronicles any pain (and) difficulty is explained.

(24) *bē fradom nask ud nask kū abar čē gōwēd nibištān ēwēn ēdar nibēsihēd sāmān ī ayābišn nē abdih xwadih passazag.*

(24) But first the individual *nasks*, so that it may be written about that which one says is the custom to write; the extent of what can be obtained, not wonders, (but is simply) fitting in itself.<sup>129</sup>

## The Hermeneutics of Transmission

Before I discuss the names of the three *nasks* and the structure of *Dēnkard* Book 9 in subsequent sections, a brief survey of passages that narrate the transmission of the cluster of terms — *dēn*, *abestāg*, *zand*, *nask*, *hād*, *fragard* — which constitute sacred knowledge and scriptures, according to the Pahlavi sources, is in order. I will also provide a select number of sources from neighbouring traditions and corpora to better contextualize certain recurring tropes that appear to reflect the quite profound social and historiographical challenges surrounding the multi-generational transfer of Zoroastrian sacred knowledge and textuality culminating in the writing down of the Avestan corpus in the Sasanian and early Islamic periods, as we see above.<sup>130</sup> Finally, I will also briefly cite some of the

125 B (KO).

126 CANTERA: “Übereinkunft.”

127 B (‘nškn’yn’) || cf. MPth. (nyškn-) for *niškan-* “destroy” [lit. ‘dig out’] in DURKIN-MEISTERERST 2004, p 254.

128 B (dlt dlwšt’-1).

129 Cf. WEST 1892, pp. 9–10 and SANJANA 1916, pp. 6–7 and pp. 7–8.

130 For sacred knowledge transfer in the Zoroastrian context, see FARRIDNEJAD 2017, pp. 133–158, where he usefully suggests a tripartite typology for understanding knowledge transfer and religious succession: “Die religiöse Sukzession im Zoroastrismus kann daher unter drei verschiedenen Begriffsbedeutungen untersucht werden, die sich rein strukturell im Rahmen einer eng miteinander verknüpften Dichotomie von Personal- und Lehrkontinuität definieren: (1) Personalkontinuität (sichtbare und

most salient views in recent scholarship on the vexed issues surrounding textual transmission of the Avestan textual corpus, particularly as it intersects and engages with our Pahlavi sources.<sup>131</sup>

The history of the Zoroastrian ‘scriptures’ is told in a number of Pahlavi texts with a somewhat different emphasis being placed depending on the rhetorical aims of the text and/or author in question, leading HAROLD W. BAILEY to de-claim: “It is clear that no single account of the transmission of the texts had been uniformly adopted by the ninth century A.D.”<sup>132</sup> It must be stated at the outset that all our Pahlavi sources prove highly challenging to historicize or corroborate in any satisfactory way with the eyewitness accounts found in the neighbouring traditions or from close philological analysis of the extant Avestan and Pahlavi texts, whose manuscripts are medieval and early modern.<sup>133</sup> Rather than attempt a reconstruction of Zoroastrian textual transmission or posit a theory or a model of Zoroastrian textuality — both projects being fundamental desiderata — I will merely attempt to provide a hermeneutics of the most salient sources and tropes — both pre-modern and scholarly — that have come to constitute the

- 
- biologische Sukzession); (2) Lehrkontinuität (Sukzession durch eine Lehrer-Schüler-Folge im Rahmen des Priesteramtes sowie durch Kontinuität der textuellen inhaltlichen Überlieferung); (3) durch die Personalkontinuität begründete Lehrkontinuität” (p. 134).
- 131 While it is far beyond the scope of this study, for the *status quaestionis* on the various philological and linguistic findings in Avestan studies on the transmission of Zoroastrian sacred texts, see HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989; SKJÆRVØ 1994a, pp. 199–243 and KELLENS 1998, pp. 451–519; and the numerous engagements with their arguments in the enlightening articles in CANTERA 2012a, in particular, note his important findings on oral-written ‘contaminations’ in the transmission of the *Videvdad*). See also the review of that edited work in TUCKER 2015, pp. 211–224, who raises the important point about what hermeneutic consequences a new critical edition of the Avestan texts would have for all the other existing text editions based on GELDNER 1895. In the decade since that substantial publication a number of further works have appeared; in particular, see several of the entries for CANTERA from 2013–2021 in the Bibliography. See also KÖNIG 2015, pp. 131–149 and AHMADI 2018, pp. 57–82 for illuminating discussions of the *yašts* and *Yasna* respectively.
- 132 BAILEY 1943 [1971], p. 162. Cf. KELLENS, “Avesta i. Survey of the history and contents of the book,” in EIr. Cf also GELDNER 1896–1904, pp. 32–39; NYBERG 1938, pp. 415–429 and 1958, pp. 1–63; BAILEY 1943 [1971], pp. 147–176; WIDENGREN 1968, pp. 36–53; SHAKI 1981, pp. 114–125; HUMBACH *et al.* 1991, pp. 50–55; and CANTERA 2004, in particular, pp. 106–163 which contain the most detailed surveys of these sources to date. Cf. also GUTAS 1998, pp. 34–40 (and see below) and VAN BLADEL 2017b, pp. 190–210 from the Arabic side.
- 133 For instance, our earliest Pahlavi colophon — for the *Dēnkard* — is dated to 1020 CE in Baghdad (see below) and our earliest dated Avestan manuscript (K7) is 1278 CE in Anklesar, India, whereas our last manuscript is from 1869 CE (R49<sub>2</sub>). For a social history of the copying of these Pahlavi texts in the medieval period, see the valuable study of KÖNIG 2014, pp. 43–73 and cf. also the substantial transmission survey in CANTERA 2014a, pp. 93–186.

bulk of our present views, kaleidoscopic as they inevitably are.<sup>134</sup> This survey is decidedly not intended to supplant the detailed philological studies on these vexed transmission issues nor does it attempt to provide a complete catalogue of sources cited therein. Nevertheless, in the case of the Pahlavi passages cited, I have retranslated the texts using the available manuscripts which has led to different readings from prior scholarship, particularly in the case of the passages from the *Dēnkard* where earlier work often relied on the edition of DHANJISHAH MEHERJIBHAI MADAN (DkM).

The first aetiological narrative worth citing for the present study comes from *Dēnkard* Book 8, in the opening chapter of the work in Dk 8.1.20–24, cited above. Here we find it claimed that the destruction wrought by Alexander<sup>135</sup> had a devastating effect on the transmission of the Tradition (*dēn*), of which we have merely an encapsulation or summary (*hangirdīgih*) in *Dēnkard* Book 8 (see Dk 8.1.2 above). The narrative appears to indicate a bottleneck of sorts and our narrative plainly states that what was recovered was essentially what a single priest (*dastwar*) could preserve, or as E. W. WEST suggested: “Probably meaning not more than a high-priest could retain in his memory.”<sup>136</sup> We find a similar trope of survival and memory retrieval through the efforts of a single individual in the *Abdih ud Sahīgih ī Sīstān* 15 (“The Wonders and Worthiness of Sīstān” = PT 3) where, in the wake of the accursed Alexander’s violence, one *nask* survives in Sīstān due to the memory of a child (*aburnāyīg-ēw*).<sup>137</sup>

We also have the deleterious effects of Alexander’s reign narrated in the *Bundahišn* (33.19) (DH 221v || TD1 91v || TD2 109r/214), a text which itself claims to be “Awareness of/from the *Zand*” (*zand-āgāhīh*):

*pas andar xwadāyih ī dārāy*<sup>138</sup> *ī dārāyān iskāndar*<sup>139</sup> *kēsar az hrōm dwārist ō ērān-šahr āmad. dārāy*<sup>140</sup> *šāh ōzad hamāg dūdag ī xwadāyān +mowmardān*<sup>141</sup> *ud*

134 For discussions of the meta-hermeneutic approaches of scholars to apprehending and modelling early Zoroastrianism, see DE JONG 1997, pp. 39–72; the response in KEL-LENS 2003, pp. 213–222; 2006a; and 2009, pp. 261–269; and STAUSBERG/VEVAINA 2015, pp. 1–18. See SKJÆRVØ (forthcoming a) for a survey of western scholarship with regard to Zoroaster / Zardūštra and his teachings and the problematic use of ‘authorial intent’ as a hermeneutical lens for understanding the *Gāthās* and the other Avestan texts.

135 For Alexander in the Iranian context and in early Iranian sources, see GIGNOUX 2007, pp. 87–97; DARYAEE 2007, pp. 89–97; SHAYEGAN 2011, in particular, pp. 295–297; WIESEHÖFER 2011, pp. 113–132; and NABEL 2018, pp. 197–232.

136 WEST 1892, p. 10, fn. 1.

137 See BAILEY 1943 [1971], p. 161 for further details.

138 TD1 ⟨d’l’y Y d’l’n⟩ || TD2 ⟨d’l’y Y d’l’y’n⟩ || DH ⟨g’l’y Y d’l’y’n⟩.

139 TD1 ⟨y’sk’nđl⟩ || DH, TD2 ⟨’lkynsnl⟩.

140 TD1 ⟨d’l’n Y MLKA⟩.

141 TD1 ⟨mđwwđ mlt’n⟩ || DH ⟨mgwwđmlt’n⟩ || TD2 ⟨mgwwđ⟩ and ⟨mlt’n⟩ || [N.B., mss. resemble *mēnōy*].

*paydāgān ērān-šahr abesihēnīd*<sup>142</sup> *was-marag ātaxš afsārd dēn ī mazdēsnañ zand stad*<sup>143</sup> *ō hrōm āmad abestāg*<sup>144</sup> *sōxt ud ērān-šahr pad 90 \*kadag-xwadāy*<sup>145</sup> *baxt*. “Then, during the rule of Dārāy, son of Dārāy, Caesar Alexander invaded from Rome and came to the land of the Iranians. He killed King Dārāy, all the family of the lords and the priests and the notables of the land of the Iranians were destroyed; he extinguished innumerable fires; he took the Mazdean Tradition (and) the *Zand* and sent them to Rome; he burned the *Avesta*; and divided the land of the Iranians among ninety petty lords.”<sup>146</sup>

Here we find the nationalistic claim, which we will encounter again, that Zoroastrian wisdom and learning were stolen by Alexander and taken to Rome, and so this text and others like it imply that much of Roman/Byzantine cultural and scientific achievements are, in fact, underlyingly Iranian all along. Concomitantly, the texts inform us about the grave and deleterious socio-religious effects these foreign interventions triggered within the chain of sacred knowledge stretching back all the way to Zardušt’s era. This trope of foreign-imposed violence and subsequent cultural appropriation is one that we will also see recur later.

Perhaps the most detailed emic narrative of this process can be found in *Dēnkard* 4.21–34 (B [512, 16] || DkM 411, 17), which underlies the brief narrative provided at the beginning of this section. This oft-cited text in Dk 4 contains an extended trans-historical narrative of the transmission of the Zoroastrian sacred corpus,<sup>147</sup> providing us with a complex transmission chain of sacred wisdom stretching back to antiquity and culminating in the contentious hermeneutical politics of the Sasanian period:

*wištāsp šāh ka az kārēzār ī abāg arzāsp pardaxt būd ō sar-xwadāyān abar padīruftan ī dēn frēstag ud nibēgihā ī az wišp-dānāgih-pēsīd mazdēsñ dēn pad was ēwēnag abzār ud frahang ud būd ī ham-iz kār ī frahaxt*<sup>148</sup> *uzwān mowmard abāg frēstīd \*spīdag*<sup>149</sup> (22) *ud arzrāsp ud abārīg ī az bē xwanīrah pad dēn-pursišnīh ō frašōstar āmad hēnd spur-āgāhīhā wisēy kard*.

142 TD1 (‘p’shynyt’) || DH, TD2 (‘p’shynyt’).

143 TD2 (YNSBWN-đ).

144 DH, TD1 (‘pyst’k’) || TD2 (‘pst’k’).

145 Mss. (kltk hwt’d).

146 Cf. the text of PAKZAD 2005, pp. 366 and the translation in AGOSTINI/THROPE 2020, p. 173.

147 SAMRA AZARNOUCHE has persuasively argued for *Dēnkard* Book 4 being a “mythe de la transmission des Écritures” embedded in the heart of an extended theological speculation on the heptad of the Amahrspands and on the principles underlying their succession in a Neoplatonic sense: “C’est sur ce principe même que ce texte se distingue des autres récits cosmogoniques normatifs puisqu’il est influencé par le néoplatonisme: Ohrmazd représente l’unité indivisible, Wahman est la première création et les cinq autres Ameša Spenta (Ašawahišt, Šahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordād, Amurdād) représentent les émanations des Intellects. Ainsi l’auteur emploie le principe néoplatonicien pour rationaliser la domination d’Ohrmazd et l’existence des six entités divines” (AZARNOUCHE 2015, p. 241).

148 B (pl’hht’).

149 B (spyt’ KON) presumably for (\*spyt[’]k’ W).

“King Wištāsp [= Av. Vīštāspa-<sup>150</sup>], when he was done with the battle with Arzāsp [= Av. Arəjaṭ.aspa-<sup>151</sup>], sent to the principal rulers (*sar-xwadāyān*) (of the lands) the messengers (*frēstag*) and various writings — which (were) from the Mazdean Tradition, adorned with the knowledge of all things, with many kinds of tools and learning — regarding the acceptance of the Tradition. A priest ‘whose tongue was skilled’ also accompanied them for said work. He sent along Spidag [= Av. Spiti-<sup>152</sup>] (22) and Arzrāsp [= Av. Ərəzrāspa-<sup>153</sup>], and others from outside Xwanīrah [= Av. Xʿaniraṣa-] in order to inquire about the Tradition; they came to Frašōštar [= Av. Fərašaoštra- / Frašaoštra-<sup>154</sup>], who despatched them having made them fully aware of it.

(23) <sup>+</sup>*dārāy*<sup>155</sup> ⟨ī⟩ <sup>+</sup>*dārāyān hamāg abestāg zand čiyōn zarduxšt az ohrmazd padīrift*<sup>156</sup> *nibištāg 2 pačēn ek pad ganj ī +ša(sa)bigān*<sup>157</sup> *ek pad diz ī nibišt dāštan* [w] *framūd*.

(23) Dārāy, son of Dārāy [presumably a mythologized Darius III, r. 336–330 BCE], committed to writing the entire *Avesta* and *Zand* just as Zardušt received it from Ohrmazd; he commanded two copies (*pačēn*) to be made, one to be kept in the

- 150 For Wištāsp, see SKJÆRVØ, “KAYĀNIĀN ix. Kauui Vištāspa, Kay Wištāsp, Kay Beštāsb/Goštāsb” and Shahbazi, “Goštāsp,” EIr.
- 151 Cf. MAYRHOFER 1979 p. 20, §22, who etymologizes his name as “Pferde erlangend” or “(the one who) acquires horses.” First identified as an opponent of Vīštāspa and later as a ⟨*xiiāona*⟩ “hun,” for which, see CHOKSY 2012, pp. 93–98. See also PAYNE 2016a, pp. 4–41, in particular, pp. 27–31 for a discussion of the mytho-historiography of ‘Turan’ in the eastern Iranian milieu and the place of the *xyōn* in the historical conflicts between the Sasanians, the Huns, and the Turks.
- 152 Cf. MAYRHOFER 1979 pp. 77–78, §292, who etymologizes his name as perhaps a shortened \**Spitii-aspā-* “mit weissen Rossen” or “(the one) having white horses”; he is mentioned as the son of Uspānu in Yt 13.121 (see next note).
- 153 Cf. MAYRHOFER 1979 pp. 38–39, §16, who etymologizes his name as “Mit schnellen Rossen” or “(the one) having fast horses” and identifies him with Ved. Ṛjraśva-; he is mentioned as the other son of Uspānu in Yt 13.121.
- 154 See MAYRHOFER 1979 p. 40, §126, who etymologizes his name as “Der ausgezeichnete Kamele besitzt” or “(the one) having excellent camels”; he is identified as the brother of Jāmāspa in the tradition. Cf. also the Text of §9.21.24 where we find: “Spityōš, the son of Spānsnāyōš, and Arzrāspīy, the son of Spānsnāyōš — who ran in search of wisdom and went over to Frašōštar of the Hwōwids” (*spityōš ī spānsnāyōš ud arzrāspīy ī spānsnāyōš kē tazīd hēnd pad xrad-xwāyīšnīh ud raft hēnd abar frašōštar ī hwōwān*). Cf. also Bd 29.2 where they are the *rads* of the climes of Fradadafš and Wīdadafš respectively, and, hence, outside of Xwanīrah. See TAFAZZOLI, “CLIME,” EIr for further details.
- 155 B (dyl’y dyl’y’n).
- 156 B (ptylptn’).
- 157 B (špyk’n) for *šabīgān* perhaps “nightquarters” as suggested by SHAKED (1994, p. 100, fn. 3); I follow BAILEY (1943 [1971], pp. 155 and 230–231) who cites the other forms in Pahl., namely, ⟨špyk’n⟩ attested twice [DkM 405, 19, 406, 1] and Armenian parallels [N.B., he came to prefer reading the form as *šāhikān* in BAILEY 1971, pp. xlii–xliii]. MARKWART (1931, p. 108) gives the forms *šapikān* or *šīčikān* but NYBERG (1974, p. 186) prefers the form *šēčikān* instead. For a discussion of this form, see SHAKI 1981, p. 115, fn. 2 and cf. also HINTZE 1998, p. 147, fn. 2 and CANTERA 2004, p. 108, fn. 12 for brief discussions of this form with earlier literature, but with no strong convictions.

‘Gubernatorial Treasury’ (*ganj ī +šasabīgān*) and one in the ‘Fortress of Writing’ (*diz ī nibišt*).

(24) *walaxš ī aškānān abestāg (ud) zand čiyōn abēzagihā andar āmad ēstād hammōg-iz ī aziš har čē az wizend ud āsuft-kārih ī alaksandar ud ēwār ud rōb ī hrōmāyān andar ērān-šahr pargandagihā abar nibištāg tā čē uzwān-abespārišnīg pad dastwar mānd ēstād andar šahr čiyōn frāz mad ēstād nigāb-dāstan ō šahrīhā [y] ayādgar kardan framūd.*

(24) The Arsacid Walaxš [= Vologases I or III<sup>158</sup>] ordered a memorandum (*ayādgar*) to be made and sent to the various lands/provinces (*šahrīhā*) with orders for the safe-keeping of the *Avesta* and *Zand*, as it had come down in a pure form (*abēzagihā*), as well as the teachings from it, to the extent that each had escaped the harm and chaos caused by Alexander and the pillage and robbery of the Romans (*hrōmāyān*), having been dispersed (*pargandagihā*) throughout the land of the Iranians (*ērān-šahr*) in writing (*nibištāg*), yet remained authoritative (*pad dastwar*) in the oral transmission (*uzwān-abespārišnīg*).

(25) *ōy bay ardaxšahr<sup>159</sup> šāhān šāh ī pābagān pad rāst-dastwarīh (ī) tansar ān-iz hammōg ī pargandag [w] hamāg ō dar xwāst tansar abarmad ān ī ēk frāz padirift<sup>160</sup> ud abāriḡ az dastwar(īh) hišt<sup>161</sup>. ud ēn-iz framān dād kū frāz ō amā har nigēzišn (ī) anīy bawēd az dēn mazdēsn čē nūn-iz āgāhīh ud dānišn aziš frōd nēst.*

(25) His majesty, king of kings, Ardaxšahr, son of Pābag [= Ardašir I, r. 226–241 CE], guided by the right authority of Tansar [alt. Tōsar],<sup>162</sup> asked that all those scattered teachings (*hammōg ī pargandag*) be brought to the court. Tansar ordered (them): some he accepted, and others he left out from authority. And he issued the following order: “As far as we are concerned, any exposition (*nigēzišn*) that differs from the Mazdean Tradition, (but) which now still (provides) awareness and knowledge from it, is not inferior (to it).”

(26) *šābuhr ī šāhān šāh ī ardaxšahrān nibēgihā-iz ī az dēn bē abar biziškīh ud star-gōwišnīh ud čandišn ud zamān gyāg gōhr jahišn bawišn wināhišn +jadag-wihīrih<sup>163</sup> ud gōwāgīh ud abāriḡ kīrrōgīh ud abzār (ī) andar +hindūgān<sup>164</sup> hrōm abāriḡ-iz zamīgihā pargandag būd abāz ō ham āwurd ud abāg abestāg abāz handaxt har ān ī drīst pačēn ō<sup>165</sup> ganj ī +ša(sa)bīgān<sup>166</sup> dād framūd ud ēstēnīdan ī hamāg a-ristān abar dēn mazdēsn ō uskār grift.*

(26) Šābuhr, king of kings, son of Ardaxšahr [= Shapur I, r. 241–272 CE], also brought back together the writings from the Tradition about medicine (*biziškīh*);

158 Vologases I (r. 54–78 CE) according to DARMESTETER 1893 [1960], p. xxiii versus Vologases III (r. 148–191 CE) according to GELDNER 1896, p. 34; as noted in KELLENS 1998, p. 485, fn. 59.

159 B (‘rtwhšt’l).

160 B (ptylptn’).

161 B (ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>).

162 For Tansar, see BOYCE 1968b.

163 B (ytkw hylyh) presumably for (ytk(‘) whylyh).

164 B (hndwk’n’).

165 B (OL) at end of line and (OL) repeated on the next so emendation to (OL OLE) is likely unwarranted.

166 B (špyk’n’).

what the stars say (*star-gōwišnīh*) and (their) movements (*čandišn*); time (*zamān*) and place (*gyāg*); nature (*gōhr*) and accident (*jahišn*); becoming (*baWišn*) and decay (*winābišn*); transformation (*\*jadag-wibīrih*) and logic (*gōwāgīh*); and the many other crafts and tools which were scattered amongst the Indians, Rome, and other lands as well. He compared/collated (*abāz handāxt*<sup>167</sup>) (them) with the *Avesta* and ordered any sound copy (*drīst pačēn*) be given to the ‘Gubernatorial Treasury’ (*ganj ī \*šasabīgān*). And he put up for debate (*uskār grift*) the installing [*i.e.*, to priestly office<sup>168</sup>] of all those that were not contaminated (*a-rīstān*) regarding the Mazdean Tradition.

(27) *šābuhr šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān hamāg kišwarīgān pad pahikārišn ābān ābōg kardan hamāg gōwišn ō uskār ud wizōyišn āwurd. pas az bōxtan ī ādur-bād pad gōwišn ī passāxt abāg hamāg awēšān jud-+sardagān<sup>169</sup> ud +nask-ōšmurdārān-iz<sup>170</sup> ī jud-rīstāgān ēn-iz guft kū nūn ka-mān dēn pad stī<sup>171</sup> bē did kas-iz ag-dēnīh bē nē hišt<sup>172</sup> wēš abar tuxšāg tuxšēm ham-gōnag kard.*

(27) Šābuhr, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd [= Shapur II, r. 309–379 CE], brought everything that was said [*i.e.*, in the Tradition] up for debate and examination (among) all the denizens of the (seven) climes (*kišwarīgān*) in the controversy (*pahikārišn*) [lit. ‘quarrel’] (regarding the) ‘the muddying of the waters’ (*ābān ābōg kardan*<sup>173</sup>). After Ādurbād’s [*i.e.*, the son of Mahrspand] acquittal through the verdict (*gōwišn*) of the ordeal,<sup>174</sup> he said this too (in dispute) both with all those sectarians and enumerators of the *nasks* who were schismatics [lit. ‘of different ways’]. He said this too: ‘Now, when we have seen the Tradition (thrive) in existence (*stī*), even the one who refuses to leave the evil *dēn*, we shall work on him/her diligently.’ He did accordingly.<sup>175</sup>

167 For a discussion of this term, see SHAKI 1981, pp. 121–122 who, following WEST and MOLÉ, translates as “compare with, collate.” Cf. also SAADAT 2014, pp. 137–148.

168 See CANTERA 2004, p. 109, fn. 25 with literature for a discussion of this line. He suggests that *ēstēnīdan* in the *Zand* (VrS 3.5) renders Av. *āstāiia-*, which he translates as “ins Amt setzen” (“to put into office”), which I follow here and in §9.12.26–27.

169 B ⟨ywdt’ slytk’n’⟩ || conceivably a miswritten attempt at ⟨\*ywdt’ lystk’n’⟩ for *\*jud-rīstāgān* “schismatics” [lit. ‘of different ways’] as we see in the next line.

170 B ⟨WWnsk’ wšmwlt’ n-c’Y⟩.

171 B ⟨sty⟩ but perhaps intended as ⟨gytdy⟩ for *gētīy* as read by prior translators.

172 B ⟨ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || read as *hilē* in CANTERA 2004, p. 110.

173 The translation here follows SKJÆRVØ (2012, p. 23). Cf. also CANTERA 2004, p. 110, fn. 26 for the scholarly opinions on these forms, including Irō (1970, p. 21), who first read *Ābān ābōg \*kerd* and suggested “all the people of the land made Ābān defiled.”

174 See MACUCH 1987, pp. 319–322 for further details on his ordeal. We find him being enumerated as a key figure in the chain of sacred transmission in the penitential sections of the *Xorde Avesta* in *Patit ī Pašēmānīh* I.13.1: *pad patit hēm az wināh pad ān dēn dastwar ēstēm kē ohrmazd ō zarduxšt čāšt ud zarduxšt ō wištāsp pad paywand (ō) ādurbād (ī) mahrspandān mad pad-iš passāxt kard (ud) bōxt*. “I do penance for the sins; I stand by the authority of the Tradition which Ohrmazd taught to Zardušt and Zardušt to Wištāsp; by succession (*paywand*) (it) came (down to) Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand, on its behalf he underwent the ordeal and was saved” (after BUYANER 2016, p. 77).

175 Cf. *Xwad Patit* 12.1 in the XA where we find this chain of sacred learning and transmission, an *Isnād* of sorts, culminating in Ādurbād’s ordeal (*passāxt*): *ud pad ēn dēn ēstēm abē-gumānīh pad-iš wurrōyēm ēdōn čiyōn ohrmazd ō zarduxšt čāšt ud*



(28) *im bay husrōy šāhān šāh kawādān čiyōn-iš ablomōyīh ud sāstārīh spurrahmēstārīhā wānīd*<sup>176</sup> *pad paydāgīh az dēn andar har ablomōyīh (ī) 4 pēšag āgāhīh ud uskārīšn ī gōkānīg wasihā bē abzūd*<sup>177</sup>. *ēn-iz pad (y'w'lswyh*<sup>178</sup>) *guft kū rāstīh ī dēn mazdēs'n bē dānist ošyārān pad uskārīšn oštīgīhā tuwān bē pad gētīy dīd ud abartar abzōnīg ud +pēš-rad*<sup>179</sup> *būd mādayān nē pad uskār bē pad abēzagīh menišn gōwišn ud kunišn ud web-mēnōy-wāzišnīh mānsrīg abēzagīhā-ēzišnīh ī yazdān šāyēd.*

(28) The present majesty (*im bay*<sup>180</sup>), Husrōy, king of kings, son of Kawād [= Husraw I, r. 531–578 CE<sup>181</sup>], when he had overcome heresy (*ablomōyīh*) and false doctrines (*sāstārīh*) by fully opposing them, as was manifest in the Tradition, he greatly increased the awareness of and detailed examination (*uskārīšn ī gōkānīg*) within every heresy of the four branches [*i.e.*, of society, namely: the priests, soldiers, farmers, and artisans<sup>182</sup>]. And he (?) also said: “Those endowed with intelligence can know firmly the truth (*rāstīh*) of the Mazdean Tradition by examination (*pad uskārīšn*). But it is not principally by examination that it is seen in *this* world but through being superior (and) through making things increase

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*zarduxšt ō frašōštar ud jāmāsp čāst ādur-bād ī mahrspandān pad-iš passāxt kard (ud) bōxt (ud) pōryōtkēšān (ī) rāst ud dastwarān pad paywand abar āwurd ō amā mad ud amā-z pad-iš wurrōyēm* “And I stand by this Tradition, therein I believe without doubt, just as Ohrmazd taught Zardušt and Zardušt taught Frašōštar and Jāmāsp [*i.e.*, identified as brothers in our sources], on its behalf Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand underwent the ordeal (and) was saved (and) transmitted by succession (*paywand*) by the true ‘Teachers of Old’ and the (priestly) authorities to us and we too believe in it” (after BUYANER 2016, p. 185).

176 B (w'nytn').

177 B (p'zwt'n').

178 B (y'w'lswyh) = (y'zd'n 'lsnyh) for \**yazdān ārasnīh* “concerning the theosophic means” in IRŌ 1970, pp. 21 but read as \**yazdān-xratīh* by BAILEY 1943 [1971], pp. 219; SHAKI 1981, p. 117 read \**gēhān banjamanīh* suggesting that the “MS has the defective ideogram 'LKYNYh [Sum. *ukkin*]” (p. 117, fn. 18) and translated as “assemblies of the realm” (p. 120); AZARNOUCHE/RAMBLE (2020, p. 347) read \**gēhān-ārasnīh* “rassemblement général (?)” [N.B., not reflected in the trans. in SKJÆRVØ 2011, p. 42].

179 B (pyšlt') = (pshlt') for *pas-xrad* perhaps.

180 See HINTZE 1998, p. 148, fn. 6 and CANTERA 2004, p. 106 for literature suggesting that this reference implies that the *Vorlage* of the extant Dk 4 narrative was composed during his reign, as first suggested in BARTHOLOMÆ 1920, p. 9, fn. 2. See, more recently, AZARNOUCHE 2015, pp. 235–248 who, likewise, translates as “sa présente majesté” (p. 242).

181 For his reign, see JULLIEN 2015. According to GUTAS (1998, p. 35), Husraw I's borrowing of Greek cultural elements is attested by other, non-Zoroastrian texts such as his *Kārnāmag*, preserved in Arabic in the *Tajārib al-umam* (“Experiences of Nations”) by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Miskawayh (d. AH 421 / 1030 CE), himself from a Zoroastrian (Majūsi) family from Rayy according to Yāqūt. For a discussion of Greek influences in Sasanian Iran, see AGOSTINI 2016, pp. 13–23 and the extensive study of BENFEY 2020.

182 This description is commonly historicized as referencing the political backlash to the Mazdakites, for which, see CANTERA 2004, p. 113 and AZARNOUCHE 2015, p. 242. For a discussion of the Mazdakite phenomenon in the context of Sasanian historiography, see DE BLOIS 2012, pp. 13–24 and 2015, pp. 141–154 and REZAKHANI 2014, pp. 55–70.

and through a foremost sage; but, it is only possible through purity of thought, speech, and action and by sacrificing to the gods while uttering well, in pure fashion, the ‘Sacred Word’ (*mānsrīg*) as it was spoken in *that* world.

(29) *u-mān ohrmazd mowbed ān*<sup>183</sup> *xwānd xwānēm kē mēnōy-wēnišnīh andar amā paydāgīhist u-mān frāx-čārīh mēnōy-wēnišnīh gētīy handāzag-nimāyišnīhā-z har 2 ēwēnag spurīg az-išān xwāst xwāhēm.*

(29) And we shall be able to call ‘priest (*mowbed*) of Ohrmazd’ those whose ability to see in *that* world, has been manifested among us; and, by it being shown to us, too, that there are broad means (*frāx-čārīh*) to see *that* world as well as the guiding of the judgments in *this* world, we shall be able to request from them [*i.e.*, the gods] both kinds (of sight) in full [*i.e.*, physical and metaphysical].<sup>184</sup>

(30) *abāg-iz ān ī ābīh ābādīh-kardārīh ī yazdān*<sup>185</sup> *+wāspuhragānīhā abar ērān rāy ērān-šahr pad hammōg ī az dēn mazdēs frāz raft ī pēšenīgān hangad-dānāgīh āmēzišnīh ī ō-z hām-xwanīrah*

(30) Also, with the way that the gods provide ‘irrigation and cultivation,’ especially for the Iranians; the land of the Iranians has progressed by teachings from the Mazdean Tradition, which is the accumulated learning (*hangad-dānāgīh*) from the ‘Ancients’ (*pēšenīgān*), which even now has permeated all of Xwanīrah.

(31) *ān ī āgāhān pad juttarīh pahikār nēst ōwōn wasihā abestāg ēwāzīg pad abēzag-gōwišnīh nibēg payrāyišnīg az mādayān ayādgarīh ud pāyram-iz*<sup>186</sup> *ēwēnag an-ābīg andar gōwišn āgāhēnišn dāšt ēstēd.*

(31) There is no dispute among those aware of these things with regard to differences of opinion; so greatly has the *Avesta* been kept oral (*ēwāzīg*) in pure speech (*pad abēzag-gōwišnīh*<sup>187</sup>), adorned with writing (*nibēg*), from tales in chronicles (*az mādayān ayādgarīh*), and, even in the manner of the common people, it has been ‘distilled’ (*an-ābīg*), for making people aware of what it says.

(32) *pas-iz hamāg xānīg*<sup>188</sup> *dānāgīh ī dēn mazdēs ēd-iz rāy ī-mān šnāxt ēstēd kū ka hamāg +warōmand*<sup>189</sup> *ud uskārīšnīh ī bēgānag az dēn mazdēs (33) gēhān ō ēd gyāg rasēnd pad nōgānagīhīšnīh*<sup>190</sup> *ud uskārīšnīh bēgānag az dēn mazdēs and dānišn ayāstan (ud) paydāgēnīdan ō sūd ud nihādkarīh ī gētīyān āwurd nē šāyēnd. čand andar ōšmurišn ī rad-ēw pad wēš wizōyišnīh ud wēš uskārd.*

(32) Even then, the entire ‘wellspring’ (*xānīg*) of (human) knowledge is in the Mazdean Tradition for this reason too, which we have come to know: ‘If all is in doubt (*warōmand*) and under examination — (ideas/people) foreign to the

183 B (ZKY) at end of line and (ZK) repeated on the next line.

184 For a survey of the tropes of metaphysical sight and narratives of visions of the next world, see AGOSTINI 2014, pp. 47–73 with literature. Cf. also the insightful analysis in AZARNOUCHE/RAMBLE 2020, pp. 331–395.

185 B (yzd’n’ s̄pwhlk’nyh’).

186 B (p’t lm-c).

187 For this trope and the ‘Avesta’ as a *langue* of sorts [my term], see VAN BLADEL 2017b, pp. 190–210.

188 B (h’nyk) and (xq) superscripted [N.B., not marked in SHAKI].

189 B (wyl’wmnd).

190 B (nwk’nkyhšnyh).

Mazdean Tradition in the world — (33) they reach this place; in order to consider anew and examine (those propositions) foreign to the Mazdean Tradition, they (still) cannot bring knowledge acquisition and manifestation for the benefit (*sūd*) and establishment of denizens of *this* world as (would be the case) through the enumeration of a sage (*rad*) through (his) renewed seeking and increased examination.

(34) *ud agar abartom-xwāyīšnīhā framāyēm hamist +mowmardān*<sup>191</sup> *ī wēnāg-xīrtar ud hu-xēmtar ud weh nōg nōg a-sūdagīhā abestāg ud zand uskārdan ud ayābišn ī az-iš ō dānāgīh gēhānīgān arzānīgīhā abzūdan.*

(34) And, if in (our) supreme desire, we command that all priests of clear sight and of good character and (who are) good should examine the *Avesta* and *Zand* ever anew without (personal) profit/benefit (*a-sūdagīhā*) and, in a worthy manner, enriching the knowledge of the denizens of the world with the attainments (of knowledge) which come from them [*i.e.*, the *Avesta* and *Zand*].<sup>192</sup>

This rich and highly evocative narrative has typically been read as part of our scholarly attempts to historicize the fragmentary survival of the extant Avestan and Pahlavi corpora, for which, see below. It has not been lost on Iranists that the metaphysics of the *abestāg* — the emic ‘Avesta’ — as described above is not a unitary and unchanging ‘text,’ but rather a dynamic and ever-evolving theological and hermeneutical project whose contours in time and space have largely defied our — often positivistic — attempts at historicism and, I might add, text fixation. This is all the more challenging since the vast bulk of Pahlavi texts repeatedly claim that all these forms of sacred knowledge ultimately descend from Ohrmazd’s revelation to Zardušt.<sup>193</sup>

As part of his detailed study of the Pahlavi grammatical tradition as it pertains to the translation of the Avestan corpus, ALBERTO CANTERA summarized this narrative, suggesting the following sequence for how the indigenous tradition understood the ‘Avesta’:

1. The Pre-Alexandrine ‘Avesta’:

- Wištāsp distributes the *written* [my emphasis] Avestan texts.
- Dārāy (III) deposited two copies in two different archives.

191 B (mgwgGBD’N Y).

192 Numbering following WEST 1892, pp. 412–417; cf. CANTERA 2004, pp. 106–113 for a partial translation and discussion of this text (in particular, see p. 107, fn. 3 for prior literature; [N.B., his text is based on DkM]). Cf. more recently the partial translation in SKJÆRVØ 2011, pp. 40–43; [N.B., my text and translation are based on his work but depart from his in several places (“at my peril,” as he so informs me)]. See also SHAKI 1981, pp. 114–125.

193 A point reiterated in TREMBLAY 2012, pp. 113–114. See STAUSBERG 1998a, pp. 267–270 for a survey of texts that suggest Zardušt’s authorship of the ‘Avesta’ [N.B., H 2.10 which he cites is heavily emended by KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1992, pp. 32–33 and does not appear, to my eyes, to state what they suggest]. Cf. also WILLIAMS, “Zoroaster iv. In the Pahlavi Books,” EIr.

## 2. The Arsacid ‘Avesta’:

- Walaxš endeavors to collect and preserve the scattered ‘Avesta’ destroyed by Alexander.

## 3. The Sasanian ‘Avesta’:

- The creation of a ‘Canon’ by Tansar under the aegis of Ardashīr I.
- The collection of foreign scientific texts, comparison with the ‘Avesta’ and the storage of copies in an archive under Šābuhr I.
- Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand, influenced the creation of the ‘canon’ under Šābuhr II through his ordeal of fire.
- A new impulse for the study of the ‘Avesta’ and its Pahlavi translation under Husraw I.<sup>194</sup>

As CANTERA persuasively argues and it is worth reiterating here, this highly evocative narrative had a profound impact on the hermeneutical and historiographical assumptions of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars working on Avestan and Pahlavi<sup>195</sup> despite the fact that our extant Avestan materials do not conform to any common-sense notion of a ‘Book,’ even in the most charitable of senses.

JEAN KELLENS, in describing the Avestan critical editions of NILS LUDWIG WESTERGAARD (1852–1854) and KARL FRIEDRICH GELDNER (1895), notes that:

“Elles reproduisent un Avesta de convention (G3: «Awesta im engern/begrenzten Sinne») qui ne peut être considéré comme un livre au sens strict. C’est un «Schriftenkomplex», certes caractérisé par son unité et sa particularité linguistiques, mais transmis par des manuscrits dont aucun n’en contient l’ensemble. Chaque manuscrit livre tout ou partie d’un de deux ensembles textuels à l’exclusion de l’autre. Le premier peut être défini comme le récitatif de la liturgie longue (Yasna-Visprad-Videvdat), le second comme le recueil des liturgies brèves (Xorda Avesta-Yašts).”<sup>196</sup>

As has often been suggested, the notion of a ‘sacred book’ appears very much to be a product of the Islamic era and the need to conform to the Islamic social taxonomy of being “People of the Book” (Arab. *ahl al-kitāb*). With a solitary reference in the Qur’ān (22:17), the question of whether the Zoroastrians (*al-majūs*) were to be included among the ‘People of the Book’ was long debated by Muslim theologians and jurists (for Islamic accounts of Zoroastrian scripturality, see below).<sup>197</sup> So, for example, al-Shāfi‘ī (d. AH 204 820 CE) in his *Kitāb*

194 Paraphrased from the German of CANTERA 2004, p. 113; he also provides a detailed and valuable intertextual survey of our extant evidence for these stages (pp. 113–135).

195 See CANTERA 2004, pp. 124–135 for further details.

196 KELLENS 1998, p. 453.

197 See FRIEDMANN 2003, pp. 54–86 for a survey of the classifications of unbelievers in early Islamic sources and see, in particular (pp. 72–76) on the liminal status of the Zoroastrians who functionally had the status of being *ahl al-dhimma* but were not *ahl al-kitāb* and, in many accounts, had no book at all or had ‘forgotten’ it. He notes:

*ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* stated: “The Zoroastrians are People of a Book other than the *Tawrāt* [i.e., the Torah] and the *Injīl* [i.e., the Gospels]. They forgot their book and corrupted it. (Nevertheless,) the Messenger of God allowed to take *jizya* from them” (*wa al-majūs ahlu kitābin ḡhayri al-tawrāt wa al-injīl wa qad nasū kitābahum wa baddalūhu fa-adhina rasūl Allāh fī akhdh al-jizya minhum*); we also have the statement by the Ḥanafī jurist al-Jaṣṣāṣ who declared: “The Zoroastrians do not believe in anything found in the books revealed to God’s prophets; they rather read the book of Zarādusht who was a self-styled prophet and a liar” (*fa-inna al-majūs lā yantahilūna shay’an min kutub Allāh al-munazzala ‘alā anbiyā’ihi wa innamā yaqra’ūna kitāb Zarādusht wa kāna mutanabbiyan kadhdhāban*).<sup>198</sup>

As part of his critique of our flawed and naïve reliance on these emic and pre-modern narratives, JEAN KELLENS has, in turn, summarized KARL F. GELDNER’s position regarding a schema of three distinct ‘Avestas’:

1. The Pre-Alexandrine ‘Avesta,’ of which only the *Gāḏās* — which are the work of Zaratustra himself — and a few *yašts* remain in their original versions.
2. The Sasanian ‘Avesta’ described by the *Dēnkard*, a new corpus essentially representing the work of the diascevests gathered by Ardashīr around the high priest Tansar. Their work consisted in reconciling the original core of texts to equally original, but reworked texts also composed in Avestan by themselves, such that the texts reviewed and the new texts are inextricably intertwined. This image of the ‘Avesta’ is undoubtedly inspired by the acute sense of a chaotic grammar and a canonical organization.
3. The ‘Avesta’ that GELDNER edited, which can be defined as the “books of the Parsis,” and which represents the surviving debris of the Sasanian ‘Avesta.’<sup>199</sup>

A century after GELDNER, as part of his survey of the scholarly views on the origins of the Avestan script, KARL HOFFMANN (with JOHANNA NARTEN) briefly enumerated the positions of his predecessors, noting that while they lacked a precise consensus, they generally located its invention to the Sasanian period (224–651 CE).<sup>200</sup> Like others before him, HOFFMANN motivated the creation of

“Surprisingly enough, most jurists seem to have been totally unaware of the existence of sacred Zoroastrian literature” (p. 76, fn. 116).

198 FRIEDMANN 2003, pp. 75–76 and see also his brief discussion of other prominent Islamic jurists on the status of *al-majūs*.

199 Paraphrased from the French of KELLENS 2012, p. 49; he goes on to note the scepticism of BAILEY 1943 [1971] regarding the existence of an earlier written ‘Avesta’ prior to the middle of the 6th century CE. He also points to the fact that BAILEY’s views largely prefigure the conclusions of KARL HOFFMANN on palaeographical grounds, though the latter attributed the first written version of the hitherto orally-transmitted Avestan corpus to the reign of Šābuhr II in the 4th century CE, thus partially remaining consonant with the testimony of the *Dēnkard* (pp. 51–52 and see below).

200 See the chronological listing of dates provided by earlier scholars in HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 34. HINTZE 1998, p. 152, fn. 32 notes that in an earlier publication

the Avestan script with an argument based on the competitive religious landscape of the Sasanian era:

“Der Wunsch, heilige Bücher wie Juden, Christen und Manichäer zu besitzen und lesen zu können, kann unabhängig von äußeren Gegebenheiten jederzeit innerhalb der zoroastrischen Kirche aufgekommen sein. Doch spricht vonseiten der schriftgeschichtlichen Entwicklung des Pahlavi-Alphabets kaum etwas Entscheidendes dagegen, daß die Avesta-Schrift in der religiös bewegten Regierungszeit von Šāhpuhr II. (309–379) geschaffen wurde, wie mehrere Forscher bereits angenommen haben.”<sup>201</sup>

In his review of HOFFMANN/NARTEN (1989), PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ added an important point to his discussion of their paleographic work defending a relatively early creation of the Pahlavi script in the Sasanian era:

“A tradition of religious writing in Persis might help explain the fact that the orthography of Sasanian inscriptions, both Parthian and Persian, is extremely regular and apparently reflects a well-established standard. If the Pahlavi Avesta was being copied in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the scribes must have used a script similar to that of the Pahlavi Psalter, rather than that of the inscriptions, which was likely to have been used for monumental purposes. This makes it easier to understand why the inventor(s) of the Avestan alphabet used not only the current version of the Pahlavi alphabet, but also the more archaic form. When the Avestan text of the Avesta was written down it was probably inserted into the already existent Pahlavi texts, witness the fact pointed out by H. [= HOFFMANN - YSDV] that all the oldest manuscripts (except K7b) are those with the Pahlavi version, not those with the Avestan text only (p. 16).”<sup>202</sup>

SKJÆRVØ suggests that the *Zand* may well have been produced in writing *before* the Avestan script was invented and, as counter-intuitive as that might seem to those of us conditioned to think in terms of exegesis in a written context, it would represent a major hermeneutical project in *early* Sasanian times. In the inscriptions of Kerdīr at Naqš-e Rostam and Sar Mašhad, SKJÆRVØ restored the word *nask* (KNRm 53 || KSM 29): ⟨W ZK [ˈw]gwn cygwn [PWN n]sky nmˈdty AYK A[N]ŠWT[A...]⟩ for *ud ān* ⟨ōw⟩ōn čiyōn ⟨pad n⟩ask *nimāyēd kē mardōm* “And in the same way as it is revealed [in the *n*]ask that [when] people...”<sup>203</sup>

HOFFMANN had assumed a pre-Sasanian — Parthian — origin of the written ‘Avesta’: “Es ist mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit anzunehmen, dass das Avesta bereits während der Arsakiden-Zeit und zwar im Pahlavi-Alphabet aufgezeichnet wurde” (HOFFMANN 1958, p. 11; repr. 1975, p. 66).

201 HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 34.

202 SKJÆRVØ 1991, p. 107.

203 SKJÆRVØ 1983 [1985], p. 276. He suggested that the *nask* in question might be *Videvdad* 19.28–30 and justifies the early date on orthographic grounds as well. SKJÆRVØ’s reading of this fragmentary section has been cautiously accepted, *viz.* KELLENS (1998, p. 485, fn. 61): “L’attestation du mot *nask* dans les inscriptions de Kirder (restitution de Skjaervø, 1983 [1985], 290) constitue peut-être le plus ancien témoignage de l’existence de l’Avestasas [= Sasanian ‘Avesta’ – YSDV], mais n’implique pas sa mise par écrit.” Cf.

In conjunction with this tantalizing possibility that would complexify our hermeneutical assumptions for how these two corpora were produced and transmitted in Late Antiquity, KELLENS has argued focusing on the other half of our scriptural hendiadys — the *Zend-Avesta* so to speak — by problematizing the very notion of the ‘Avesta’ (*abestāg*) as a ‘book.’ In 1998, he suggested a way of reconciling our etic theories and findings with the emic narratives of the Pahlavi sources:

“Il est tentant aussi de faire des diverses relations moyen-perses sur l’histoire de l’Avesta une interprétation paisible qui consisterait à considérer comme légendaire tout ce qui précède l’intervention de Vologèse et comme historique en gros tout ce qui suit (c’est la position défendue par Gignoux, 1992, 279 sq.). La constitution du canon sassanide ne serait pas une restauration, mais une codification de tous les textes avestiques connus par le clergé mazdéen aux trois premiers siècles de l’ère commune. La fiction de la destruction de l’Avesta par Alexandre viserait à attribuer au livre une haute et vénérable antiquité tout en expliquant l’absence de textes écrits avant l’intervention des premiers souverains sassanides, et il est clair qu’elle ne pouvait fonctionner si des textes écrits n’avaient pas existé après cette intervention. Dans cette perspective, la mise par écrit au temps d’Ardasir (226–241) mérite crédit et elle ne peut être conçue que sous une forme de type araméen. Nous ne pouvons que répéter à satiété ce que nous savons depuis plus de cinquante ans: l’Avesta araméomorphe est possible du point de vue historique, mais vain du point de vue philologique, car il n’a laissé aucune trace et n’a exercé aucune influence sur la version phonétique, clairement collectée de la tradition orale.”<sup>204</sup>

He goes on to suggest:

“La description du *Dēnkard* témoigne à coup sûr du fait qu’un canon sassanide, rassemblant tous les textes avestiques connus et peut-être préparé sous les Arsacides, a bien existé, même si son exacte composition est inconnaisable. Mais sa mise par écrit est une réalité incertaine et nous devons admettre que cette collection de textes n’est pas l’ancêtre direct de celle qu’ont reconstituée Anquetil, Westergaard et Geldner. L’invention de l’alphabet avestique pourrait avoir été une entreprise visant à préserver et à répandre parmi les communautés mazdéennes dispersées, sous une forme phonétique puissamment explicite, les textes liturgiques utilitaires qui forment les deux parties de l’Avesta<sup>aus</sup> [= ‘Avesta Ausgabe’ – YSDV]. Ceci est une variante radicale de l’hypothèse de la sélectivité des copies.”<sup>205</sup>

In 2012, with regard to the *Yasna* as the heart of the Avestan corpus, KELLENS stated his evolving position as follows:

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though the more sceptical discussion in CANTERA 2004, pp. 150–154. SKJÆRVØ, in a forthcoming book on Kerdīr’s inscriptions provides measurements and epigraphic support for his reading and also notes that there are very few Middle Persian words ending in *-sk* or *-sag* (Inscr. ⟨-sky⟩; Pahl. ⟨-sk’⟩), and even fewer that might fit the context of Kerdīr’s narrative (SKJÆRVØ forthcoming b).

204 KELLENS 1998, p. 485.

205 KELLENS 1998, p. 487.

“La collectanée du Yasna, qui répond au souci de constituer un rite solennel *standard*, est une entreprise ancienne, qui appartient pleinement à l’histoire de la composition en avestique. Et c’est aussi, pour cette époque, le seul corpus textuel engagé dans le processus de fixation. Tout le reste, tous les textes dont nous avons pu recueillir un échantillonnage, comme les hymnes individuels aux dieux, les exégèses et les stipulations prescriptives, tous les textes aussi dont nous n’avons même pas idée et qui n’ont pu manquer d’exister, tout cela n’avait pas encore vocation d’être rassemblé et codifié. En d’autres termes, le Yasna, avec ses ancêtres et ses variantes, a existé bien avant l’idée d’Avesta, qui ne se réalise que dans la collection de l’Avesta sassanide, virtuelle pour nous, et dont on peut douter à satiété.”<sup>206</sup>

In 1998, he had likewise expressed great scepticism about our casual use of etic (my term) concepts such as ‘book’ and ‘corpus’ while discussing the early origins of the Avestan texts:

“Il est clair que l’idée convenue de ‘livres sacrés des grandes religions’ a joué ici un rôle psychologique néfaste. Le rassemblement des textes avestiques en corpus est une réalité sassanide et, pour autant que nous le sachions, il n’y a pas d’Avesta à proprement parler avant cette opération. Sur ce qui a précédé, nous ne pouvons faire en principe qu’une seule constatation. La spécificité linguistique du corpus que nous connaissons témoigne du fait qu’à une certaine époque, un certain nombre de peuples iraniens ont confié le monopole de l’usage religieux à un dialecte particulier et que ce dialecte a effectivement produit des textes religieux durant un certain laps de temps.”<sup>207</sup>

The scepticism that KELLENS and his contemporaries like SKJÆRVØ, CANTERA and others have expressed regarding the existence of a conventional sense of the ‘Book’ from remote antiquity finds many followers in Zoroastrian studies, including myself.

As SAMRA AZARNOUCHE has presciently argued, the aetiological dimensions of this Dk 4 narrative do not merely retroject and hence reify a sacred ‘Book’ back into the pre-Islamic past, but they also symbolically narrate the hermeneutical interventions under the aegis of the ‘seven’ Iranian monarchs<sup>208</sup> from remote antiquity to the Sasanian era:

“Comme d’autres mythes étiologiques, le ‘mythe de la transmission des Écritures’ aurait eu pour fonction de faire admettre aux zoroastriens du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle que la forme livresque de l’Avesta est aussi authentique et légitime que sa forme orale et mnémonique, puisqu’elle est originelle et qu’elle a été transmise par l’intermédiaire des sept plus éminents monarques de l’Iran.”<sup>209</sup>

206 KELLENS 2012, p. 58.

207 KELLENS 1998, p. 490.

208 Namely, (1) Wištāsp [Avestan legendary]; (2) Dārāy [Achaemenid]; (3) Walaxš [Parthian]; (4) Ardaxšahr I [Sasanian]; (5) Šābuhr I [Sasanian]; (6) Šābuhr II [Sasanian]; and (7) Husraw I [Sasanian].

209 AZARNOUCHE 2015, p. 242.



Paradoxically, the very inclusion of a numerologically significant structure to this narrative defending the written nature of the Zoroastrian sacred ‘scriptures’ *qua* scriptures argues, persuasively in my mind, for the oral character of this retelling.<sup>210</sup> It is precisely these characteristic features of oral compositions that are so marked in all three *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9.

These ‘highly troped’ narratives of foreign intervention, cultural appropriation and subsequent loss, and, ultimately, triumphant reconstitution can also be found in non-Zoroastrian corpora which, given their polemical bent, must be read with due caution and sensitivity to the rhetorical aims of their respective authors.<sup>211</sup> We have, as can be expected, a number of contradictory accounts of the Persians or Magians and the transmission of their sacred learning, be it cross-generationally, presumably in an oral medium, or in writing. For example, Pliny (23/4–79 CE), in his *Natural History* (30.1), quoting Hermippus of Smyrna, tells us that the latter “has recorded that Zoroaster composed two million lines of verse,” a claim repeated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE by Isidore of Seville (d. 636 CE) in his *Etymologies* (8.9) [= Rabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856 CE), in *On the Universe* (15.4)], who ascribes this knowledge to Aristotle.<sup>212</sup> While it is beyond the scope of this project to catalogue all these accounts related to Zoroastrian knowledge and learning, it is worth quoting a few sources that complexify our analysis, and, as it were, muddy the waters.

We find in *Kephalaia* 7.31–33 in Coptic:

“... Zarades (did not) write books. Rather, hi[s disciples a]fter him, they remembered; they [... ..] that they read today [... ..].”<sup>213</sup>

210 See HINTZE 1998, pp. 147–161 for a discussion of this text in the broader context of the transmission of the Avestan corpus, where she suggests that the narrative preserves all the classic features of oral transmission histories as argued for in the historiographical works of JAN VANSINA (pp. 157–158). Cf. also DE JONG 1997, pp. 68–75 for a brief discussion of the evolution of priestly specialization in an oral tradition. See also SKJÆRVØ 2012, pp. 3–48, in particular, pp. 17–25 and AZARNOUCHE 2013b, pp. 163–194 for the most detailed studies to date that address the issue of the transmission and pedagogy of the sacred corpus in its oral matrix. See also the recent work of SCHOELER 2020, pp. 500–532 which further examines pre-Islamic orality using the ethnographic work of VANSINA 1985.

211 For a brief survey of the foreign accounts of the Zoroastrian scriptures, see HINTZE 1998, pp. 149–150. See also the lengthy study by NAU 1927, pp. 149–199. For the Classical sources on Zoroastrianism and the Persians, see FOX/PEMBERTON 1929, pp. 149–199; and for pseudepigrapha, see BIDEZ/CUMONT 1938 [1973]. For an up-to-date version of the former, see VASUNIA 2007. The most detailed and analytical study of foreign (Classical) descriptions and accounts of Zoroastrianism is the still-unsurpassed work of DE JONG 1997. A similar work on Islamic sources is a major desideratum; for one such trope, see now VEVAINA 2021.

212 VASUNIA 2007, p. 70 and p. 80.

213 After GARDNER 1995, p. 13; cf. also TREMBLAY 2012, p. 113.

From this intriguing, though perhaps entirely spurious, etic description of Zoroastrian textuality and sacred learning by a rival religious community in the Sasanian era, XAVIER TREMBLAY drew the conclusion that:

“Si le texte est correctement restitué (ce qui semble probable), il dit très exactement que l’Avesta n’était pas écrit, mais que des commentaires, probablement en moyen-perse, existaient.”<sup>214</sup>

With regard to the Pahl. *zands*, this accords well with the palaeographic argument of SKJÆRVØ, but remains a rather tantalizing piece of evidence in need of further support. Besides this well-known passage, we have incontrovertible evidence that the Manichaeans were well aware of both the Zoroastrian *nasks* and the five *Gādhās*, as we find them enumerated in the Manichaean Parthian *Gyān wifrās* (“Sermon on the Soul”) [M838 = M419 + M3824], which JASON BEDUHN suggests is likely a 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE text.<sup>215</sup> The hymn states that in the (unnamed) *nask* (pd nsk) in question one finds the five *Gādhās*, with each being homologized to one of the five “sons of Ohrmizd” ⟨w(hrm)yzd (bg)[z’dg’n]⟩ (§21), who constituted the natural elements: the air (frwrđyn) is “called ⟨xrwšt bwyd⟩ in the *nask* the *Ahunauuitī Gādhā* ⟨’whnwyt g’h⟩” (§32); the wind ⟨w’d⟩ is “called in the *nask* the <sup>+</sup>*Uštāuuitī Gādhā* ⟨’wyš(t)[wyt g’h]⟩” (§46); the light ⟨rwšn⟩ is “called in the *nask* the [<sup>+</sup>*Spəntā.maniiu Gādhā*]”; the water ⟨’b⟩ is “called in the *nask* the <sup>+</sup>*Vohuxšādrā Gādhā* ⟨[whwxš](tr) g’h⟩” (§65); and the fire ⟨’dwr⟩ is “called in the *nask* the [<sup>+</sup>*Vahištoišti Gādhā*].”<sup>216</sup> I would venture to suggest that any of the *gābhānīg nasks* might be good candidates for this reference as they would contain the five *Gādhās*, as we find in all three *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9.

In WERNER SUNDERMANN’S view however, the references to the *Gādhās* do not presuppose that Mani composed the work in an Iranian milieu, but he might well have known about the Zoroastrian sacred texts in his youth in Mesopotamia.<sup>217</sup> We also have another Manichaean Parthian fragment [M4525] that appears to contain a dialogue between Mani and a Sasanian monarch, whom SUNDERMANN believed might refer to Wāhrām I (r. 271–274 CE), and which appears to contain the word for *nask* as well: ⟨’ymy(c) š’h ’w (’)m(’h) pydr w’xt kw ’ym (n)sq ...⟩ “The king also said this to our father: “This *nask* ...”<sup>218</sup> I have recently argued that this might well be the *Waršt mānsr Nask* in which we find a polemic against Mani and explicit references to his death at the hands of the ‘Landlord’ (*dahibed*).<sup>219</sup>

214 TREMBLAY 2012, p. 113.

215 BEDUHN 2020.

216 See SUNDERMANN 1997a, pp. 58–65 and pp. 76–79; BEDUHN 2020; and now VEVAINA 2022a, pp. 313–315.

217 SUNDERMANN 1997a, p. 10.

218 SUNDERMANN 1981, p. 72 and see fn. 1.

219 See VEVAINA 2022a, pp. 291–322 for an examination of the competitive hermeneutics between Zoroastrians and Manichaeans in Late Antiquity.

In addition to these Manichaean references, we have Christian sources that also add to our evidence for the *nasks* in the Sasanian period. In the Syriac martyrological literature we find the following polemical exchange between a Magus and a Christian proselyte set in the year 446 CE in the reign of Yazdgird II (r. 438–457 CE) in the *Martyrdom of Pethiōn, Ādur-Hormizd and Anāhīd* (MPAA) a text likely composed in the late 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century CE:

“Ādur-Frazgard [*i.e.*, the Magus] said to him: ‘Who has ever acted as foolishly as you, O man destroying yourself? What have you seen and found with the Christians that all this Christianity became so dear to you that you suffer every pain for its sake and do not reject it? Do not take reproach and persist in your desire to destroy yourself, because there is no one else who does you more harm than you yourself. For I see that Satan smote you and led you astray, and you are not even aware of the (imminent) end of your life. Touch (the ground?), O apostate (*āhermāhog*) [= Pahl. *ablomōγ*], and the darkness of Satan, who has ensnared you through his adherents, the Christians, will be dispelled from your heart. I am very grieved about you, and it saddens me that you are going to waste<sup>220</sup> that *Avesta* (*abistāg*) that you have learned.’ The victorious Ādur-Hormizd answered and said to him: ‘I am amazed by you, who belong to the doctrine of Satan, but are boldly calling the upright faith of the fear of God a doctrine of Satan. I know, however, that Satan, your deceiver, does not allow you to hear the living and life-giving word of Christ, the true king.’ Ādur-Frazgard said to him: ‘Cease from your hateful blasphemies, O hater of your own life! Say one *nask* (*nesek*<sup>221</sup> *had*) from the *Avesta* and at once you will belong to the lot of Ohrmazd, and Satan will leave you.’ Ādur-Hormizd said to him: ‘Do not call God Satan, because it is said in our book: ‘Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, and put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter!’ [Isaiah 5:20]. Are not you going to bring thus woe upon yourself, as you are calling the light of the glory of God Satan?’<sup>222</sup>

As was noted by Syriacists since THEODOR NÖLDEKE,<sup>223</sup> this text is replete with Middle Persian religious *termini technici* such as the opposition between *gtyh* and *bbšt* (= MP *gētīy* ~ *wabišt*, “this world” ~ “paradise” [lit. ‘the best (existence)’], p. 576, line 16); *snwmn* (= MP *šnūman* “propitiation,” p. 579, line 2); *kwtwdwiyh* (= MP *xwēdōdah* “next-of-kin marriage,” p. 578, line 9); and *šwqr*, *fršwqr*, *zrwqr*, and *zrwn* (= MP Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, Zurwān, *i.e.*, Zurwān as the Fourfold God [*i.e.*, the Gk. *tetraprósōpos* in the Byzantine anathemas], p. 577, lines 6–7 and 11–12).<sup>224</sup>

220 Or “to bring to nought, to lose, to destroy” (p.c. SERGEY MINOV).

221 Cf. CIANCAGLINI 2008, p. 217.

222 Text: BEDJAN 1891, pp. 579–580; trans. SERGEY MINOV. I am most grateful to him for translating and discussing this passage with me.

223 NÖLDEKE 1893, pp. 34–38.

224 After ASMUSSEN 1983b, p. 430. Cf. also ZAEHNER 1955 [1971], pp. 440–441; CIANCAGLINI 2008, in particular, p. 41 and HERMAN 2019, pp. 134–145, in particular, p. 140 for further religious terms. See also BRUNS 2014, pp. 47–65; MINOV 2014, pp. 149–201 and 2021, pp. 142–253; and PAYNE 2015 and 2016b, pp. 239–260 for studies of polemics and acculturation in the Sasanian context.

RICHARD PAYNE argues for the significance of this text and its rich knowledge of Zoroastrian praxis:

“The *Martyrdom of Pethion* includes the most sophisticated polemics against Zoroastrianism known in East Syrian literature. Its hagiographer was the only East Syrian author who routinely deployed Iranian terminology, most often religious in nature. The appearance of terms such as *ablamōg* (heretic), *šnūman* (invocation), *nask* (a section of the Avesta), and even *Avesta* itself suggests his familiarity with Zoroastrian discourse and practice. His use of the phrase ‘as is clear from the Avesta,’ a standard opening for an argument in Zoroastrian exegetical scholarship, indicates that he was acquainted with the dialectics and debates of the Good Religion’s scholars. As we will see, the work repeatedly evokes the environment of the Zoroastrian school for the study of the Avesta and the Yasna, the *hērbedestān*. In addition to religious language, the author used political terms that rarely occurred in Syriac, such as *marz* (frontier) and *dabigān* (local landowner). He evidently knew Middle Persian, and the milieu in which he worked was bilingual. On account of its author’s knowledge of both Christian and Iranian cultures, the *Martyrdom of Pethion* offers rare insight into the world of the Christian diaspora in the Iranian highlands, communities distinct from the indigenous population and the ruling classes in language, origins, religion, and social organization.”<sup>225</sup>

As part of his discussion of the mention of the term *nask* in Mandaean literature, CHARLES HÄBERL has recently noted that this Syriac *neseḳ* (= Pahl. *nask*) to which Ādur-Frazgard refers expressly confers its spiritual benefits once spoken, though such an account does not preclude the possibility of recitation from a written model or source. He makes a nuanced point in his evaluation of this source when he states:

“In fact, the author of this account infers the existence of such models by paralleling the Avesta with his own written scripture, suggesting that Christians within the Sasanian Empire of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century conceived of the Avesta as the ‘Zoroastrian Bible’, of which the *nasks* composed discrete portions, albeit not necessarily those familiar today.”<sup>226</sup>

In Yaḥyā Sām bar Sarwān’s *The Books of Kings and the Explanations of This World* found within the *Genzā Rabbā* (“Great Treasure” or “Great Library”) we have four sections — a Targum, a King List, a Chronicle, and an Apocalypse — composed in different periods and locations but which share striking correspondances with the *Bundahišn* (“Primal Creation”) and the *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg* (“Memorial of Jāmāsp”). As HÄBERL has argued, the Apocalypse portion is historicized by its presumptive author in the 71-year reign of unnamed “Arab kings,” whom he argues ought to be identified with the Lakhmid ruler al-Mundhir III b. Mā’ al-Samā’ and his descendants, who ruled for 71 years

225 PAYNE 2015, p. 63.

226 HÄBERL 2022, p. 170.

(531–602 CE) after Husraw I (r. 531–579 CE) recognized him as king in al-Ḥīrah (modern day Iraq). The final Sasanian ruler mentioned is Kawād II Šērōē (r. 25 February–6 September 628 CE), suggesting a plausible *terminus post quem* for its final redaction,<sup>227</sup> though our earliest manuscript dates to 28 June 1561 CE. In the “Lament on the Reign of the Arab Kings” — with striking parallels with *AJ*. 16 and *ZWY* 4 — we find it stated:

Now then, after Persian kings there are Arab kings, and they last 71 years.  
 In the years of those Arab<sup>228</sup> kings,  
 the world becomes a sham.  
 The earth’s horses and its camels,  
 free men, manservants,  
 maidservants, children male and female  
 free women and men,  
 have neither tranquillity nor rest.

...

And the son beats his father,  
 and expels him from home during his lifetime,  
 and the mother expels her daughter at the wrong time,  
 and the judgment of one day,  
 she demands from her on the [same] day.

And the Magi (*magušāyā*) and the scribes (*sāprā*) under oaths,  
 they pervert the *Nask* (*nasqā*) and the Book scribe,<sup>229</sup>  
 and thieves go forth at night,  
 they cut off roads, and extract property.<sup>230</sup>

HÄBERL has prudently raised the question of which community’s books we are encountering here: “Is this a Zoroastrian book, perhaps the Avesta as a whole, in which case the Magi and the scribes have befuddled their own scriptures, or is it the Book of some other tradition, such as the Jewish Sifra?”<sup>231</sup> He goes on to historicize this reference intertextually with the Zoroastrian traditional narratives of the transmission of the ‘Avesta’ by noting that “the author’s account of the perversion of the Zoroastrian sacred texts is entirely consonant with the proposed time frame of 531–602 CE,” when our *Dēnkard* Book 4 concludes with the efforts of Husraw I to assure textual and hermeneutical orthopraxis. HÄBERL concludes with an important historiographical point which Zoroastrianists will undoubtedly find of great interest: “The Mandaean text therefore

227 He notes the parallel with MACUCH (1993, pp. 9–10), who similarly dates the *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān* (“Book of a Thousand Judgements”) to after the 26th year of the reign of Husraw II (590 CE and 591–628 CE), the last Sasanian ruler named in that text.

228 The word “Arab” (*arbāyi*) interferes with the standard meter, and does not appear when this line is repeated later.

229 The mss. have both variants: *sāprā* “scribe” (3x) and *seprā* “book” (2x).

230 Trans. HÄBERL 2022, pp. 81–82.

231 HÄBERL 2022, p. 170.

inadvertently corroborates the concern of the Zoroastrian texts for the transmission and interpretation of the Avesta during the 6<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>232</sup>

To return to some of our other Christian sources on Zoroastrian Persian religious praxis as it pertains to sacred texts and scriptural performance, we also possess accounts from a relatively early period in the Sasanian era. St. Basil of Caesarea (*ca.* 330–379 CE) who, in a letter (No. 258) to bishop Epiphanius of Constantia in 377 CE, provides us with an account of the ‘Magusaeans’<sup>233</sup> there:

“The nation of the Magusaeans (which you deigned to mention to us in another letter) is scattered among us in great numbers throughout nearly the whole country, having been introduced among us formerly as colonists from Babylon. They follow their own peculiar customs and do not mix with other men; it is entirely impossible to reason with them, in so far as they have been taken captive by the Devil according to his will. There are no books among them, nor teachers of doctrines; they are brought up in an unreasoning manner (*alogō ethei*), the son receiving the impiety from the father. Besides these things, which are seen by all, they reject animal sacrifice as defilement, slaughtering animals according to their need through the hands of others; they are mad after illegal marriages; they consider fire as a god, and other such things. As to their descent from Abraham, none of the Magi up to now has told us that myth, but they declare that the founder of their race is a certain Zarnuas. Therefore, I am able to write nothing more about them to your Honour.”<sup>234</sup>

As ALBERT DE JONG notes, the lack of books and religious teachers of religion “points not only to the fact that Zoroastrianism had remained a purely oral tradition in a relatively advanced stage of its development, but also stresses the fact that the primary responsibility for religious education is placed in the sphere of the family.”<sup>235</sup>

From the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the Sasanian era, we have Agathias, who, in his *Historiarum Libri Quinque* (“The Histories” II.25.2–3) testifies, based on *basilikā apomnēmoneúmata* (IV.30.3), to the deleterious effects that the foreign dominations of the Iranian world were having on his Persian contemporaries. In his description of their fire worship — a Classical trope of Oriental exoticism — he states:

“I imagine they took over this practice from the Chaldaeans or some other people, since it is something of an anomaly. Such a procedure would of course be very much in keeping with the composite nature of their religion which is a most varied blend of ideas derived from a multiplicity of different peoples. And this state of affairs too is what I should have expected.

232 HÄBERL 2022, p. 171.

233 See DE JONG 1997, pp. 404–413 for a discussion of the ‘Magusaeans’ (and see, in particular, p. 405 for a discussion of the older literature).

234 Trans. WAY 1955 [2008], p. 221.

235 DE JONG 1997, p. 409.

(3) Indeed I know of no other society which has been subjected to such a bewildering variety of transformations or which through its submission to an endless succession of foreign dominations has failed so signally to achieve any degree of continuity. Small wonder then that it still bears the stamp of many different forms and conventions.”<sup>236</sup>

Despite the evocative nature of Agathias’ critique of the Persians, the indirect nature of Agathias’ knowledge from the Sasanians must be borne in mind. He received his information via Sergius, an intermediary, who was in the Persian realm (IV.30.2–4):

“I have kept my promise and given a complete chronological record of the reigns of the kings of Persia. It is, I think, a true and accurate one since it is based on Persian sources. (3) Sergius the interpreter managed in fact during a stay in Persia to prevail upon the keepers of the royal archives to grant him access to the relevant literature. He did so, as it happens, in response to frequent requests from me. Fortunately, when he stated that his sole purpose was to preserve even among our nation the memory of what they, the Persians, knew and cherished, they immediately obliged, thinking that it would enhance the prestige of their kings if the Romans too were to learn what kind of men they were together with their numbers and the order and manner in which the succession has been maintained. (4) What Sergius did then was to take the names and dates and principal events and put them into good Greek, a task for which he was peculiarly well-fitted being much and away the best translator of his day, so much so that his talents had won him the admiration of Chosroes himself and made him the acknowledged master of his subject in both Empires. After having made what must have been an extremely accurate translation he was as good as his word and most obligingly brought me all his material, urging me to fulfil the purpose for which it had been entrusted to him. And that is exactly what I have done.”<sup>237</sup>

The fact that Sergius’ account was based on his stay in the Persian realm vouchsafed the accuracy of his documentation and reportage for Agathias, and the reference to the “keepers of the royal archive” might accord well with institutions such as the *diz ī nibišt* or the *ganj ī šasabīgān* that we have encountered in the somewhat legendary Pahlavi sources.

To continue with Christian sources in the last third of the Sasanian Empire, we find a polemic against the group recitation of the Magians<sup>238</sup> somewhat akin to the account of Basil. In the Syriac *Vita* of the patriarch Mār Abba (540–552 CE) we find it stated:

236 Trans. FRENDO 1975, p. 59.

237 Trans. FRENDO 1975, pp. 133–134. See the discussion in HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2018, pp. 14–21 on these putative *Royal Annals*. For further details on Agathias, his putative religious leanings and their potential influence on his historiography, see CAMERON 1969–1970, pp. 67–183 and 1970 and KALDELLIS 1999, pp. 206–252, in particular, pp. 246–248.

238 See CIANCAGLINI 2008, p. 201.

“Là se réunissaient les mages de tout le pays des Perses pour apprendre le murmure des sornettes de Zoroastre, fils de Spitāmān – des gens qui sont ennemis de toute vérité. Ils circulent en bandes et en troupes, en marchant derrière leur maître; et ils font du bavardage tout en s’excitant dans les sornettes de leur erreur, bourdonnant et bégayant, grinçant des dents comme des sangliers.”<sup>239</sup>

With regard to this “murmur” (Syr. *mlḥšyn*), TREMBLAY stated quite unequivocally “ne saurait se référer qu’au sacrifice récité sans cesse, et les groupes de maîtres et d’élèves au fait qu’il n’y avait d’enseignement qu’oral.”<sup>240</sup>

To turn from the Syriac sources to those in Arabic, such claims regarding the composite nature of Persian – Zoroastrian – learning and religion can also be found relatively early in the Islamic era, that is, within a century or so after the fall of the Sasanians. In fact, we can read our Dk 4 narrative intertextually, as it were, with two Arabic texts cited by DIMITRI GUTAS on the translation of Sasanian learning into Arabic.<sup>241</sup> He cites from *Kitāb al-Mawālīd* (“The Book of Nativities”), an Arabic translation of a putative Pahl. work from around 750 CE purporting to contain a 5-part astrological work by Zoroaster:

“From *The Book of Nativities*, ascribed to Zoroaster. This is a book which Māhānkard translated.

He [*i.e.*, Sa’īd ibn-Khurāsān-khurreh] who translated the astronomical books of Zoroaster in the days of Abū Muslim [al-Ḥurāsānī, AH 129–137 / 746–755 CE] the possessor of rule.

(2) He [*i.e.*, Māhānkard] said: ‘I translated this book from among the books of Zoroaster ... and I did not come across any ... containing the philosophical sciences.... For when Alexander conquered the kingdom of Dārā [*i.e.*, Darius III, r. 336–330 BCE] the King, he had them all translated into the Greek language. Then he burnt the original copies which were kept in the treasure-houses of Dārā, and killed everyone whom he thought might be keeping away any of them. Except that some books were saved through the protection of those who safeguarded them. And he who could escaped from Alexander by running away to the islands of the sea and the mountain tops. Then when they returned to their homes after the death of Alexander they put into writing those parts that they had memorized. What they wrote down from memory was fragmentary. Much of it had passed away and little had remained.

So Māhānkard translated what still survived by his time — when the rule of the Persians fell to the Arabs. And the translations which he made from these was from the language in the Avestan script (*dīn-dabīre*) to the language of [New] Persian *darī*.

239 Trans. JULLIEN 2015, pp. 24–25; for a discussion of the “murmure” (“murmur”) in Zoroastrianism, with extensive literature, see p. 17, fn. 107.

240 TREMBLAY 2012, p. 115.

241 On this phenomenon, see GUTAS 1998, in particular, pp. 28–60; VAN BLADEL 2004, pp. 151–172; 2009, in particular, pp. 23–63; and 2017b, pp. 190–210; ZAKERI 2007a and 2007b, pp. 1199–1206; HOYLAND 2018; and HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2018, pp. 26–58.



Then later Saʿīd ibn Khurāsān-khurreh translated them into the Arabic language in order that this science should not fall into desuetude and its outlines [*i.e.*, traces] should not be wiped away....

Māhānkard translated it for Māhūyeh ibn Māhānāhīd the Marzban.... When Sunbād the Ispahbud saw that the language of the Persians had lost its usage and the language of the Arabs had outstripped other languages ... he wished that this mystery [*i.e.*, of astronomy] should be exposed in the Arabic language in order that its knowledge may be rendered more easy ... and these two [?] books used to be handled by the treasure-keepers and read in the *dīn-nāmeḥ* [‘Book of Religion’].<sup>242</sup>

GUTAS also cites from *Kitāb al-nḥmṭʿn fī l-mawālīd* (“The Book of Nahmuṭān on the Nativities”)<sup>243</sup> by Abū-Sahl al-Faḍl ibn-Nawbaḥt (*fl. ca.* 770–809 CE), the son of the astrologer of Caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–775 CE), which based on the ‘cramped’ Arabic style, appears to be translated from a Pahlavi source parallel to our *Dēnkard* narrative:

(2) Alexander, king of the Greeks, set out from a city of the Byzantines called Macedonia to invade Persia.... He killed the king Dārā the son of Dārā, occupied his kingdom... and destroyed the different kinds of knowledge inscribed on the stones and the wood of various buildings by razing them to the ground, burning them, and scattering whatever was kept together in them.

(3) He had, however, copies made of whatever was collected in the archives and treasuries of Iṣṭaḥr [*i.e.*, Persepolis] and translated into Byzantine [Greek] and Coptic. After he was finished with copying whatever he needed from that [material], he burned what was written in Persian [in a regular hand] and in the [ornate and formal] hand called *al-kaṣṭaḡ*. He took whatever he needed of the sciences of astronomy, medicine, and the [astrological] properties [of the heavenly bodies]. These books, along with the rest of the sciences, property, treasures, and learned men that he came upon, he sent to Egypt.

(4) In the confines of India and China, however, there survived some things [of these books] which the kings of Persia had copied and preserved there when charged to do so by their prophet Zoroaster and Jāmāsb [= Pahl. Jāmāsp] the learned....

(5) After that, learning was obliterated in ‘Irāq....

(6) Then Ardašīr ibn Bābak the Sasanian sent to India and China for the books which were there and also to Byzantium. He had copies made of whatever had reached there and traced the few remains that survived in ‘Irāq. He collected those that were dispersed and brought together those that had been separated.

242 Trans. lightly reformatted from GUTAS 1998, pp. 37–38. Māhānkard is quoted in Arabic translation by Saʿīd ibn Ḥurāsānḥwarrah in the introduction to his translation of the *Book of Nativities* of Pseudo-Zoroaster. We are told that Māhānkard translated the book in the days of Abu-Muslim (d. 755 CE) from *dēn-dibīrīh* into Darī Persian. Later it was translated into Arabic by Saʿīd ibn Ḥurāsānḥwarrah (VAN BLADEL 2009, p. 34, fn. 47).

243 For an ingenious attempt at etymologizing this name in terms of Pahl., see VAN BLADEL 2012, p. 42, fn. 2.

(7) After him, his son Sābūr did the same until all these books had been copied in Persian in the way in which they had been [compiled by] Hermes the Babylonian who ruled over Egypt, Dorotheus the Syrian [of Sidon], Qaydarūs the Greek from the city of Athens which is famed for its science, Ptolemy the Alexandrian, and Farmāsb the Indian. They commented upon them and taught them to the people in the same way in which they had learned from all those books which originated in Babylon.

(8) After Ardašīr and Sābūr, Kisrā Anūšīrwān [= Husraw I, r. 531–578 CE] collected these books, put them together [*i.e.*, in their proper order], and based his acts on them on account of his desire for knowledge and love for it.<sup>244</sup>

In his discussion of Persian national history in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. AH 350 / 961 CE or AH 360 / 971 CE), one of the most informed scholars on the pre-Islamic Iranian past<sup>245</sup> appears to corroborate this loss and scattering trope:

“Now as regards the Magians they admit that the books of theirs in which is incorporated their religion were destroyed by Alexander when he slew Dara son of Dara, — that more than two-thirds of them have perished the remnants being less than a third, — that their religious law was comprised in what has disappeared.”<sup>246</sup>

Ḥamza adds a further variable for our historiographical difficulties by telling us:

“Their [*i.e.*, the Persians’] chronologies are all confused, rather than accurate, because they have been transmitted for 150 years from one language into another and from one script, in which the number signs are equivocal, into another language, in which the ‘knotted’ number signs are also equivocal.”<sup>247</sup>

Ḥamza, quoting Abū Ma’shar Ja’far ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhī (787–886 CE), the astrologer, explains the problematic chronologies of the Persians as a direct result of foreign rule, much like the *topos* of Agathias before him:

“And they also say that the rule left them many times from the beginning of time until its transfer to the Arabs, when foreign people ruled them; and that, because of this, the years of the chronologies of their ancient kings are diverse. The first time was in the time of Fīwarāsb, the second time in the time of Afrāsyāb. The

244 Trans. lightly formatted from the original in GUTAS 1998, pp. 39–40. Cf. also PINGREE 1968, pp. 9–10.

245 For a detailed discussion of Ḥamza’s sources for the history of the Sasanians, see RUBIN 2008, pp. 52–93, who suggested that Ḥamza largely based his summary of the Persian kings in the *Kitāb siyar mulūk al-Furs* “translated/transmitted by” (*min naql*) Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and a similarly titled work of Muḥammad b. al-Jahm al-Barmakī rather than the more Zoroastrian views of pre-Islamic history “corrected by” (*min iṣlāb*) Bahrām b. Mardān Shāh, the Zoroastrian priestly authority (‘Mawbad of Kūrat Sābūr’ of Fārs) in his *Kitāb ta’rikh mulūk banī Sāsān*. Cf. also HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2018, pp. 59–130 for further details on the Arabic translations of the *Khwadāynāmag*.

246 Trans. NARIMAN apud INOSTRANZEV 1918, pp. 193–194 and cited in STAUSBERG 1998b, p. 265, fn. 20.

247 Trans. HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2018, pp. 59–60.

third time in the time of Alexander, and the fourth at the transfer of the rule to the Arabs.”<sup>248</sup>

That being said, Ḥamza, does tantalizingly mention a ‘sacred book’ for the Persians when quoting Abū Ma’shar’s views on the chronographic differences between the Greeks, the Jews, and the Persians:

“... and the Persians quote from the book which Zaradusht produced, namely the *Avesta* (*abastā*), which is the book of their religion, that from the era of Kayūmarth [= Pahl. Gayōmard], the father of mankind, till the year of the rule of Yazdijird was 4,182 years 10 months and 19 days.”<sup>249</sup>

We also have a fascinating anecdote concerning lost and rediscovered written materials in Iṣfahān narrated by al-Bīrūnī (AH 362–440 / 973–1048 CE) in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*:

“It is related that Tahmūrath, on receiving the warning of the Deluge — 231 years before the Deluge — ordered his people to select a place of good air and soil in his realm. Now they did not find a place that answered better to this description than Ispahān. Thereupon, he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity, and to be buried in a part of that place, least exposed to obnoxious influences. In favour of the report we may state in our time in Jay, the city of Ispahān, there have been discovered hills, which, on being excavated, disclosed houses, filled with many loads of that tree-bark [*i. e.*, birch-bark] with which arrows and shields are covered, and which is called *Tūz*, bearing inscriptions, of which no one was able to say what they are, and what they mean.”<sup>250</sup>

These notions of foreign elements and social crises shaping our extant texts is not limited to the indigenous hermeneuts, their neighbours and eyewitnesses, but can also be found in our scholarly — etic — historiographies. FRANÇOIS NAU, in a long and detailed article on the transmission histories of the Avestan texts written almost a century ago, summarized the views of the savants of his day. He quotes JAMES DARMESTER with his own comments as follows:

“L’Avesta actuel est un recueil factice de fragments juxtaposés de manière arbitraire et sans ordre réel à l’époque sassanide (2).” “Si on essaie de lire l’Avesta, on s’aperçoit immédiatement que la lecture en est impossible : pas un chapitre ne forme une unité; pas un morceau ne se suit d’un bout à l’autre. Comme l’a vu M. Darmesteter, notre Avesta est un ensemble de fragments que le hasard a conservés et que des rédacteurs dénués d’art et de pensée ont mis côte à côte sans système (3).” “La transcription s’est faite sous l’influence du parler des transcrip-teurs... Il n’y a pas eu une transcription fixée une fois pour toutes ; il y a eu des traditions diverses, des revisions, des corrections et le tout sans système... le flottement entre deux lectures traduit une différence dans le dialecte des transcrip-teurs. Les deux lectures du texte de l’Avesta doivent donc provenir de deux régions différentes de

248 Trans. PINGREE 1968, Appendix I, p. 129.

249 Trans. PINGREE 1968, Appendix I, p. 130.

250 Trans. PINGREE 1968, p. 6.

l'Iran (4)“... “Des manuscrits d'époque relativement très basse, tous issus d'un même archétype, et dont les deux plus anciens se trouvent avoir été écrits par un même copiste reproduisant un même original.”<sup>251</sup>

Such dismissive scholarly opinions have undoubtedly evolved and been refined in the last century, as we can see in the writings of KARL HOFFMANN, who, as part of his explanation for the origins of the Avestan script — and following GELDNER and BAILEY — unequivocally suggests that social factors connected with orality and pedagogy motivated the creation of the highly precise phonetic Avestan script and also played a large role in determining the characteristic — chaotic (my term) — features of the ‘Sasanian Archetype’:

“Nun wird oft vermutet, daß das Avesta schon früher, und zwar bereits in arsakidischer Zeit, aufgezeichnet war. Eine solche Aufzeichnung hätte nur in einer Schrift erfolgt sein können, die in Zeichenbestand und Schreibsystem etwa dem Pahlavik oder Pārsik entspricht. Damit wäre ihr praktischer Wert aber schwer beeinträchtigt gewesen. Sie hätte eigentlich nur als Gedächtnisstütze dienen können, die zwar die Aufeinanderfolge der Wörter, Sätze und Abschnitte von bereits auswendig gelernten Texten sicherte, die es aber nicht erlaubte, unbekannte Texte auch nur halbwegs richtig zu lesen. Mag es auch solche Niederschriften gegeben haben, sie spielen jedenfalls keine entscheidende Rolle in der Avesta-Überlieferung, die mündlich erfolgte. Nur die Existenz einer mündlichen Tradition bildet nämlich die Voraussetzung dafür, daß überhaupt eine Spezialschrift für das Avestische geschaffen werden konnte. Das reichhaltige Zeicheninventar der Avesta-Schrift ist offensichtlich dazu bestimmt, jede Lautnuance festzuhalten. Doch nicht die Sprache der Textverfasser, sondern nur die dem Schrifterfinder bekannte traditionelle Rezitationsweise der Avesta-Texte konnte die Grundlage für die phonetische Festsetzung der Zeichenwerte sein. Das Zeicheninventar gibt also die Laute der ‘Sasanidischen Aussprache’ des Avestischen wieder. Allerdings ist dabei wohl eine Einschränkung zu machen. Der Schrifterfinder war offensichtlich ein Gelehrter von hohem Rang, zumindest ein ausgezeichnete Phonetiker. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß er einer Schule angehörte, in der die korrekte Avesta-Rezitation mit besonderer Genauigkeit gepflegt wurde. Daher ist es möglich, daß er phonetische Feinheiten in seinem Schreibsystem bewahrte, die schon zu seiner Zeit von der großen Masse der zoroastrischen Priester aufgegeben waren. So kann hinter der Schrifterfindung auch eine pädagogische Absicht stehen, nämlich die richtige Avesta-Aussprache, so wie sie in dieser Gelehrtenschule noch bekannt war, zu lehren.

Die Schaffung einer Spezialschrift für das Avestische hat eine notwendige Folge, wenn das Ganze nicht nur eine zwecklose Spielerei sein sollte: die Aufzeichnung des Avesta. Es gibt keinen plausiblen Grund, warum der Erfinder einer Schrift, die nur zur Aufzeichnung bestimmter Texte/geschaffen war, diese Texte nicht auch aufgeschrieben haben sollte. Der Schrifterfinder wußte diese Texte entweder selbst auswendig oder konnte Gewährleute zuziehen. Auch wenn das Avesta zur Sasanidenzeit noch den vierfachen Umfang des heute erhaltenen gehabt hat,

dürfte diese Niederschrift, auch bei sorgfältigster Arbeitsweise, nicht mehr als ein Jahr beansprucht haben.

Eine Erstaufzeichnung des Avesta in Avesta-Schrift muß es jedenfalls gegeben haben. Da sie wie die Schrifterfindung in der Sasanidenzeit erfolgte, und da auf sie letzten Endes die gesamte handschriftliche Avesta-Überlieferung zurückgeht, darf sie Sasanidischer Archetypus genannt werden.”<sup>252</sup>

JEAN KELLENS has, in his characteristically self-reflexive manner, acknowledged the profound influences such views have had on his prior conceptions of the transmission and canonization of the Avestan corpus:

“La persistance obstinée des préjugés traditionnels. En 1998, je n’étais pas encore entièrement immunisé contre l’idée que les oppositions doctrinales que l’on croit observer dans l’Avesta trahissent la controverse, voire la crise religieuse. C’est donc à des controverses ou à des crises que j’ai attribué les remaniements successifs de la canonisation : conflits religieux entre les rois achéménides et les mages, diffusion contestée du culte d’Anāhitā sous Artaxerxès II, réaction hostile à la dignité sacrificielle des dieux autres qu’Ahura Mazdā. Je me suis ainsi pourvu d’une série de points de repère historiques qui ont toutes les chances d’être illusoire.”<sup>253</sup>

Despite his fulsome praise of HOFFMANN’s general philological findings, ALBERTO CANTERA as part of his analysis and critique of HOFFMANN’s model of transmission, argues that,

“D’une part, on doit réviser quelques aspects de son modèle théorique de la transmission avestique, en particulier le rôle attribué à l’archétype sassanide. La séparation de l’histoire de l’Avesta rituel du Grand Avesta nous dépouille de l’argument historique pour une reconstruction des cérémonies telles qu’elles furent fixées dans l’archétype sassanide. Puisque nos manuscrits dérivent d’une tradition indépendante de celle du Grand Avesta, il nous manque l’argument historique pour l’existence d’une première copie écrite sassanide de la liturgie longue (et aussi des liturgies brèves) avec les caractéristiques que Hoffmann attribue à cet original.”<sup>254</sup>

CANTERA goes on to suggest:

“Si on met de côté les hyparchétypes et aussi l’archétype sassanide, le résultat est une vision beaucoup plus ouverte de la transmission, dans laquelle les différentes variantes de la liturgie longue et les différentes classes des manuscrits peuvent avoir été mises par écrit plusieurs fois et à des époques différentes. L’élément uniformisateur de la transmission écrite est justement la pratique rituelle qui a

252 HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, pp. 34–35.

253 KELLENS 2012, p. 54.

254 CANTERA 2014a, pp. 325–326. Cf. also CANTERA 2014a, p. 323 where he critiques HOFFMANN’s methodological predilection for ascribing potential performance variations to dialect variations instead: “Hoffmann a fait, pourtant, un usage très limité des possibles oscillations dans la récitation antérieure à l’archétype sassanide. Souvent, quand il trouve des évolutions différentes du même groupe, il les attribue à des variations dialectales, plutôt qu’à des variantes produites lors de la récitation.”

assuré une certaine cohérence de la transmission écrite, en même temps que la transmission écrite l'a aidée à préserver cette uniformité rituelle.

Hoffmann a introduit dans l'histoire de la transmission une série de jalons décisifs (l'archétype sassanide, les hyparchétypes) qui nous fournissent des étapes claires dans l'histoire des textes avestiques. Ainsi la tâche de l'éditeur se laisse définir avec clarté. Malheureusement, il semble que la plupart de ces jalons sont illusoire. L'archétype et les hyparchétypes se dissipent et l'histoire de la transmission avestique perd ainsi ses contours clairs. Par conséquent, la tâche de l'éditeur doit aussi être redéfinie.

En outre, Hoffmann n'a eu qu'à peine accès aux manuscrits. Cela a conditionné aussi ses résultats. Il a surtout travaillé sur la base de l'édition de Geldner complétée par quelques facsimilés de manuscrits. Les caractéristiques de l'apparat critique de Geldner l'ont empêché d'avoir une vision claire des variantes des manuscrits et de leur distribution. Par conséquent, les variantes et leurs distributions temporelles et géographiques n'ont pas été suffisamment analysées, sauf quelques observations générales. Sous la désignation 'Vulgate,' on a caché une réalité trop complexe pour être circonscrite à une désignation générale aussi mal définie. La récitation a continué à changer après l'époque sassanide et des différences locales se sont produites. Les manuscrits sont restés perméables à la récitation et reflètent ces différences locales."<sup>255</sup>

CANTERA's methodological intervention significantly complexifies our view of the transmission processes at play and, crucially, he has demonstrated the inherently dialectical relationship between the copying of written manuscripts and multiple oral performances that have produced the hybrid literary and codicological forms we now have. I would add further complexity to his argument by suggesting that a great number of our variations and 'mistakes' in transmission are undoubtedly self-reflexive products of hermeneutical processes deployed by the Zoroastrian priests in Sasanian and post-Sasanian times to manage just this textual contingency in a rapidly evolving social milieu.

Loss from political instability and grammatical imprecision and graphic contingency due to complex oral-written transmission chains and hence, 'signal loss,' animate all the hermeneutical and historiographical endeavours in the study of the 'Sasanian Archetype' specifically and, for the writing of early Zoroastrianism, more generally for us 'moderns,' just as they did for the 'ancients.' In the late 1990s MICHAEL STAUSBERG had already suggested that the putative 'loss' of the vast bulk of the 'Avesta,' as described in *Dēnkard* Book 8,<sup>256</sup> and found credible by the scholarly *communis opinio* was largely misleading. In order to do so, he cited the oft-repeated opinion of "one representative voice" of these views, namely JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN:

255 CANTERA 2014a, p. 328. Cf. also CANTERA 2012b, pp. 439–475 for a convincing argument for a new Avestan critical edition.

256 A reduction from 345,000 words as estimated by WEST for the putative contents as described by Dk 8 to merely 83,000 words in the extant Av. corpus (TREMBLAY 2012, p. 102).

“We do not have the complete Avesta today, as it still existed in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the original or a Pahlavi version was summarized in the *Dēnkard*. It originally comprised 21 books or Nasks, of which only one has been preserved in its entirety [*i.e.*, the *Videvdad* in both Av. and Pahl. versions – *YSDV*]... It is estimated that three-fourths of the Avesta has been lost.”<sup>257</sup>

In attempting to account for this catastrophic loss, HOFFMANN suggested:

“Der Verlust von etwa drei Vierteln der Avesta-Texte, über deren Bestand im 9. Jahrhundert das *Dinkard* noch ausführlich berichtet, ist wohl nur so erklärbar, dass eben mit dem Verlust einer Handschrift auch der betreffende Avesta-Text unwiederbringlich verloren war. Vielleicht hat die Pahlavi-Renaissance des 9. Jahrhunderts das Interesse am Avestischen selbst zurücktreten lassen und damit die Textverluste gefördert.”<sup>258</sup>

With regard to the common view of this enormous textual loss as witnessed by *Dēnkard* Book 8, STAUSBERG argues, persuasively in my mind, that:

“If the Avesta was a canonical writing, that is, a well-defined closed body of texts bearing absolute authority, then this enormous loss of texts would be a very strange thing to happen indeed. However, I think that Duchesne-Guillemin proceeds on a mistaken assumption. According to the Belgian scholar, the *Dēnkard* contains a summary of the complete Avesta. Duchesne-Guillemin is here alluding to the eighth book of the *Dēnkard* which is in fact a summary, but not of the Avesta; rather it is a summary of the ‘mazda-worshipping religion’ (*dēn ī māzdēsn*) or the ‘religious tradition’ (*ōšmurišn ī dēn*)... Thus contrary to the assumption of nearly all the scholars, the text does not claim to contain a summary of the Avesta, but of the religious tradition in its entirety... It is therefore futile to compare the description of the religious tradition in *Dēnkard* Book VIII with the corpus of the extant Avestan texts. Nevertheless, the very fact that this comparison has been made is revealing. It shows the tendency to identify the Avesta with the religious tradition. This tendency is the result of an unconscious application of a Jewish, Christian, or Muslim concept of ‘canonical scripture’ to Zoroastrian materials.”<sup>259</sup>

It is to this very Tradition and its “enumeration” (*dēn-ōšmurišn*) that we turn in the following sections. As I have argued previously:

“I should also state that an analysis of this complex epistemo-hermeneutical project of classifying and schematizing the twenty-one *nasks* of the *dēn* undertaken by these interpreters is valuable for the study of Zoroastrianism not simply for what it says about how Zoroastrians in Late Antiquity understood their ancient

257 DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1973, p. 22.

258 HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989, p. 17, fn. 12 and cited in KELLENS 1998, pp. 475–476 who observes: “Le désintérêt pour l’aveistique non rituel serait donc l’effet paradoxal de la Renaissance pehlevie. Ainsi, du moins, l’hypothèse de la sélectivité est-elle adaptée à la datation des ‘Stammhandschriften’ et peut-on comprendre que seuls les textes liturgiques de l’Avestasas [= Avesta sasanide - *YSDV*] ont été préservés, alors que les livres pehlevis ont survécu” (p. 476).

259 STAUSBERG 1998a, pp. 265–266.

inherited literature but also for the opportunity it provides us to study a cluster of hermeneutic practices that strongly argues for a Zoroastrian theory of knowledge. This Zoroastrian theory of knowledge manifests itself in numerological speculations that homologize the sacred corpus with the cosmos, textual taxonomies based on this sacred corpus similarly equate scripture with ritual praxis, and forms of social criticism based on idealized — inherited — social roles are, in turn, equated with these taxonomies of scripture.”<sup>260</sup>

In order to excavate these theories of knowledge or native epistemologies drawn from the meta-textual world of traditional intersignification manifested in hermeneutical praxis, I will catalogue the implicit hermeneutical techniques and interpretive *topoi* that I find in the text which, I believe, operationalize these theories of knowledge. While it is simply one text among an intertextual web of Avestan and Pahlavi texts, it serves a crucial and central function as it provides us with the closest Zoroastrian literary form to the better-known hermeneutical works in genres such as *midrash* or *tafsīr* in the Jewish and Islamic traditions respectively.

### The Names of the 3 *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9

The literal meanings of the three *nasks* do not provide any definitive information about their contents or style. The first of the three Pahlavi summaries of putative Young Avestan commentaries on the ‘Old Avesta,’ the *Sūdgar Nask* appears to mean “the benefit-making *nask*.”<sup>261</sup> Perhaps the earliest Pahlavi attestation of this word is ⟨swtyklyhy⟩ for *sūd(ī)garīh* in the Middle Persian Psalter [Psalm 122 canon, 128 canon, 129.2], rendering Syriac *kušāpā* and *takšēptā* “supplication.”<sup>262</sup> We also have forms such as *sūd-xwāstār* “the seeker of benefit,” which render Av. *sənuīšta-* used in an eschatological context for the final Revitalizer of the world — *Sōšāns*.<sup>263</sup> Many of the *fragards* (sections) of the *Sūdgar Nask* — the most allegorically expansive of the three commentaries — focus on mythoepic teleologies leading up to the eschatological events in §9.23 commenting on the *Ā Airiīōmā Išiiō / Airiīaman* (Y 54.1). The *Mēnōy ī Xrad* Chap. 26 has an enumeration of the

260 VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 116–117.

261 In Dk 8.1.12, the *Sūdgar* is listed as the first of the *gāhānīg nasks* (texts connected with the *Gāθās*), and its contents and style are briefly described in Dk 8.2.2–4. The *nasks* are listed in the same order in the *revāyats* of Bahman Punjya in Persian (DHABHAR 1932 [1999], p. 1), but in the Pahlavi *Wizīrkard ī Dēnīg* and the Persian *revāyats* of Kāma Bohra, Narimān Hōšang, and Dastur Barzoi, it is listed second, with the *Stōt Yašt* (Av. *Staota Yesniia*) being listed first (DHABHAR 1932 [1999], pp. 1–2). See VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 111–143 for further details.

262 See ANDREAS/BARR 1933, p. 54.

263 In the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (1.1) and the Persian *revāyats* (DHABHAR 1932 [1999], pp. 2–3) it is called *Stūdgar* or *Istūdgar* “the praise-maker” by popular etymology (CERETI 1995, p. 171). WEST 1892, p. 11, who first made this suggestion, translated it as “causing benefit, or acting beneficially.”



*dramatis personae* involved in this teleological process, many of whom can be found in the text, and it discusses their “benefit” (*sūd*) for helping to engender the world as it must be in a deterministic sense. This cosmography suggests to me that the name of the *nask* alludes to this ultimately eschatological complex.<sup>264</sup>

The second of the three commentaries in *Dēnkard* Book 9, the *Waršt̄mānsr Nask* appears to mean “the *nask* about wrought *māθra*(s).” Compare for instance Y 45.3: *māθrām varəšənti* “(those who) shall work a *māθra*”; also compare Y 3.4: *gādanəmca sraoθrəm huuaršt̄ā māθrā* “and the recitation of the *Gāθās*, the well-wrought *māθras*.”<sup>265</sup> The *Waršt̄mānsr Nask* has the closest reading of the *Pahlavi Yasna* and is the version that most closely approximates a textual commentary.<sup>266</sup>

The third and last commentary in *Dēnkard* Book 9, the *Bag Nask* has the most perplexing title, which appears to mean “the *nask* of the lords.” While the form in the manuscripts is *bag* written ⟨bk'⟩ it is quite possibly conflated with the form *bay* written ⟨bg'⟩ which may be from Av. *bayā-* “part, piece,”<sup>267</sup> which we find in the following refrains in Y 19–21 (*Bayān Yašt* = Y 19.21a; Y 20.5a; and Y 21.5a respectively):

*bayəm ahunabe vairiiebe yazamaide*  
*bayəm ašabe vahištabe yazamaide*  
*bayəm yejhe.hātəm hufraiištəm ašaonīm yazamaide*  
 We offer up in sacrifice the section (called) *Ahuna Vairiia*.  
 We offer up in sacrifice the section (called) *Ašəm Vohū*.  
 We offer up in sacrifice the well-sacrificed, orderly section (called) *Yejhe Hātəm*.<sup>268</sup>

It would then conceivably mean “the *nask* of the part(s)” and might allude to its connections with Y 19–21, three Young Avestan commentaries on the *Ahuna Vairiia* (Y 27.13), the *Ašəm Vohū* (Y 27.14), and the *Yejhē Hātəm* (Y 27.15) respectively, found at the beginning of the ‘Old Avesta’ in the exegetical manuscripts (for a discussion of the differences with the liturgical mss. see below). These three commentaries represent the only surviving Avestan analogue to a

264 See VEVAINA 2005 [2009], pp. 215–223 and 2015b, pp. 169–190 for discussions of the eschatological teleologies found in Dk 9. I am currently preparing an article on this cosmographical notion of *sūd*.

265 See CANTERA 2004, p. 14. In the Persian *revāyats* it is called *Wahišta-mānsar* “the best *māθra*” by popular etymology (DHABHAR 1932 [1999], p. 3).

266 For a study of the commentary on (P)Y 28–30 of the *Ahunauvaitī Gāθā*, see now PESCHL 2022 [N.B., I have hitherto not had the opportunity to read his recently published book].

267 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 922. DARMESTETER 1892, I, p. 165, fn. 17 preferred translating it as “divine prayer.” It is rendered in the *Pahlavi Yasna* as *baxtarīh* “distributorship/distribution.” For further details on the form *bayām*, see SKJÆRVØ 1988, p. 400 and KREYENBROEK 2008, pp. 81–94.

268 After SKJÆRVØ (unpublished); cf. also KELLENS 2010, pp. 51, 57–58, 68, who translates ⟨*bayəm*⟩ as “la version-analysée.”

body of commentarial literature akin to the Brāhmaṇa commentarial tradition on the Vedas from India.

As is so typical for the orally-mediated world of Zoroastrian textuality, the names of all three of the summaries of the Pahlavi *nasks* found in *Dēnkard* Book 9 have or suggest variant forms in Pahlavi and Persian: *sūdgar* ~ *stūdgar* and *waršt mānsr* ~ *wabišt mānsr* and, finally, *bag* ~ *bay* and we would be wise to consider the possibility that the hermeneutical project we find reflected in *Dēnkard* Book 8, for example, might well have been just one of many.

### The Structure of *Dēnkard* Book 9

These three *nasks* — the *Sūdgar*, *Waršt mānsr*, and the *Bag* — contain 22, 23, and 22 *fragards*<sup>269</sup> (sections) respectively. Each *fragard* is typically indexed with the first word(s) / incipits of the traditional divisions of the ‘Old Avesta.’ These lemmata serve as structural divisions within the text and mark the beginning of each *fragard*. The divisions include: the three sacred *māθras* — the *Yaθā Abū Vairiō* or *Abuna Vairiā* (Y 27.13); the *Aṣəm Vohū* (Y 27.14); and the *Yeḡhē Hātəm* (Y 27.15); the first words of each of the 17 traditional divisions of the 5 *Gāθās* and the *Yasna Haptaḡhāiti* — the *Abunauaitī Gāθā* (Y 28–34); the *Yasna Haptaḡhāiti* (Y 35–41); the *Uštaunaitī Gāθā* (Y 43–46); the *Spəntāmāniū Gāθā* (Y 47–50); the *Vohuxšaθrā Gāθā* (Y 51); and the *Vabištōišti Gāθā* (Y 53); the final *fragard* of *Dēnkard* Book 9 begins with the second word of the *Ā Airiūmā Išūō / Airiāman* (Y 54.1), which is the last strophe of the text collection we refer to — in an etic sense — as the ‘Old Avesta.’<sup>270</sup>

In addition to the traditional divisions of the ‘Old Avesta,’ the *Waršt mānsr Nask* begins with an extra *fragard* about the birth, life, and spiritual calling of

269 CANTERA 2009, p. 21 explains the etymology and its related function as follows: “Andere Bezeichnungen der Abschnitte in anderen Texten wie *kardag / karde*, die Sektionen der *Yašt*, oder *brīnag*, die Sektionen der *dādig*-Texte, bedeuten etymologisch ‘Schnitt, Abschnitt’ o.ä. Anders bei *fragard*. Etymologisch ist *fragard* von *\*pari-karta* abzuleiten, dessen Bedeutung ‘was um eine Sektion (*karta*) herum ist’ war. Ein *fragard* ist also keine selbständige Sektion, sondern ein Abschnitt, der um einen andern Abschnitt oder Sektion erscheint. Es handelt sich dann m. E. um eine technische Bezeichnung für Teile eines Textes, die nicht für sich rezitiert werden, sondern immer andere Texte — nämlich die verschiedenen Einteilungen der altavestischen Texte — begleiten. Alle Texte, die aus *fragards* bestehen, waren als Rezitationseinschübe zwischen den altavestischen Texten gedacht. Dazu gehören nicht nur *Vīdēvdād*, sondern auch die avestischen Versionen des *Sūdgar*, *Waršt mānsr* und *Bay Nask*, die auch in *fragards* geteilt sind, und bei denen die Abhängigkeit eines jeden *fragard* von einem altavestischen Text in der Beschreibung des Dk 9 deutlich ans Licht tritt.”

270 Cf. CANTERA 2016b, p. 68 for a helpful Table showing the arrangement of the Old Avestan texts in our different rituals (*Yasna*, *Wisperad*, *Dō-Hōmāst* [after *Nērangestān*], and *Dō-Hōmāst* [after K7b]).

Zardušt (Dk 9.24.1–21 = DkM 818, 21 – 822, 8). The *Bag Nask* concludes with an extra section called “About a Selection which is from all the *Hāitis*” (*abar wizīdag ī az hamāg hād*) on the eventual triumph of the Tradition (Dk 9.69.1–60 = DkM 936, 10 – 946, 7). This selection quotes some of the Old Avestan texts as proof texts, including the *Yasna Haptañhāiti*, and it also includes a passage from the *Bayān Yašt* (Y 19–21).<sup>271</sup>

*Dēnkard* Book 9 comprises 166 pages<sup>272</sup> in the MADAN (1911) edition (DkM pp. 787–953): 31 pages for the *Sūdgar Nask* (DkM 787, 1–818, 20); 53 pages for the *Waršt mānsr Nask* (DkM 818, 21–873, 6); and 82 pages for the *Bag Nask* (DkM 873, 7–953, 23; see APPENDIX C).

### *Dēnkard* Book 9 and the Divisions of the ‘Old Avesta’: *Fragards* and *Hāitis*

In the manuscripts, the *Yasna* is divided into 72 *hāitis* “sections” (*Yasna* 1–72), of which *Yasna* 28–34, 43–51, and 53 contain the five *Gāḍās*. In Western scholarship historically the terms *gāḍā-* and *hāiti-* have been commonly conflated with the term *gāḍā-* often having been used for both the 5 Old Avestan *Gāḍās* as poems and their individual Gathic *hāitis*, which is at complete variance with Young Avestan usage. In fact, as JEAN KELLENS points out, one and the same scholar may refer to both the “5 *Gāḍās*” and the “17 *Gāḍās*.”<sup>273</sup> KELLENS, following HELMUT HUMBACH,<sup>274</sup> therefore suggests that we should maintain the traditional Zoroastrian terminology and “call a *Gāḍā* a *Gāḍā* and a *hāiti* a *hāiti*.”<sup>275</sup> ALBERTO CANTERA summarises the scholarly debates about which were the primary textual units comprising the Gathic compositions:

271 The extra *fragards* for the *Waršt mānsr* and *Bag* notwithstanding, CANTERA (2009, p. 25) suggests that the number of *fragards* – 22 – in each of the three *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9 along with the 22 *fragards* of the *Videvdad* were intercalated between Young Avestan texts in the various intercalated rituals and that the “kleine *Yasna*” – the YH – was understood as a single ritual unit which is proved by the lack of intercalations within its recitation; the latter point is reiterated in CANTERA 2012c, p. 220; see also CANTERA 2013b, pp. 85–138.

272 MADAN 1911 typically has 23 lines per page.

273 KELLENS 2000, p. 80.

274 HUMBACH 1959, p. 46.

275 KELLENS 2000, pp. 82–83. KELLENS (2007b, p. 416) adds a hermeneutical layer to this terminological conflation: “L’utilisation impropre et généralisée de *Gāthā* pour désigner la *Hāiti* feint de nier toute contestation possible, puisque les deux termes seraient interchangeables. On a aussi voulu restaurer l’ordre de composition des *Hāitis* en fonction d’une biographie présumée de Zarduštra, une démarche en porte-à-faux avec l’argument fondateur, puisque, en niant tout rapport conceptuel entre les *Hāitis* d’une même *Gāthā*, elle prétend en découvrir entre des *Hāitis* éparses.”

1. the textual unit is the *hāiti*, which roughly corresponds to the Vedic hymns, and the *Gāḍās* are collections of different *hāitis* arranged according to their meters, but not representing the original ordering.
2. the textual unit is the *Gāḍā*, and the *hāitis* are later divisions, introduced in the arrangement of the *Gāḍā* for the long liturgy. This would imply a clear difference with the Vedic hymns, at least concerning the length.

He goes on to state:

“That the *hāitis* are the actual textual units of the Old Avesta has recently been demonstrated in different ways. But it has been also recognized that MOLÉ’s [(1963) – YSDV] arguments about the inner unity of the *Gāḍās* are compelling. Each *Gāḍā* is thus also a textual unit of its own, not just an accidental collection of compositions organized according to their meters. So in the latest discussions, the real existence of the *hāiti* as a textual unit in its own right is unanimously admitted, but without excluding further larger units.”<sup>276</sup>

In my dissertation from 2007, I had argued that excluding the three *maḍras* and the *Airiīaman*, the *Gāḍās* comprise 17 *hāitis* and the *Yasna Haptaḥhāiti*, as its name implies, comprises 7 *hāitis*, which altogether make up 24 *hāitis*, which is the extent of the Old Avestan text collection or ‘Old Avesta.’<sup>277</sup> I believe that ALBERTO CANTERA has a more compelling case regarding the numerological relationship between the core of the *Staota Yesniia* — the ‘Old Avesta’ — and the three *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9. He suggests:

“Moreover, while the exegetic *Nasks* (books) of the ‘Great Avesta’ (*Sūdgar*, *Warštmānsar* and *Bayān Nask*) introduce an exegetic intercalation after the four prayers (*Ahuna Vairiia*, *Aṣəm Vohū*, *Yeḥhē Hātəm* and *Ariiiman* [sic] *Išiiia*) and after each *hāiti* of the *Gāḍā*, there is only one exegetical intercalation after the complete *YH*, and none after each of its *hāitis*. The origin of such intercalations can be a ritual similar to the actual *Vidēvdād* ceremony, in which exegetical texts were intercalated within the recitation of the *Staota Yesniia*. Through these intercalations the core of the *Staota Yesniia* becomes divided into 22 sections. This number of *fragards* agrees with the number of *fragards* of *Vidēvdād*. Hence it seems likely that a *Vidēvdād* ceremony with 22 intercalations instead of 10 was possible, and that the exegetical *Nasks* reproduce a similar scheme. The 22 sections are the 17 *hāitis* of the 5 *Gāḍā* + the 4 prayers (*Ahuna Vairiia*, *Aṣəm Vohū*, *Yeḥhē Hātəm* and *Ariiiman Išiiia*) + the undivided *YH*. These 22 sections appearing in the exegetic *Nask* of the 9<sup>th</sup> book of the *Dēnkard* and in *Vidēvdād* are the exact correspondence of the *Ahuna Vairiia* + its 21 words. In this symbolic arrangement the *YH* counts as just one unit and not as seven, whereas in the *Gāḍās* each *hāiti* counts as one unit.”<sup>278</sup>

276 CANTERA 2012c, pp. 217–218.

277 As found in HUMBACH *et al.* 1991 and KELLENS 2000, p. 80 for instance.

278 CANTERA 2012c, pp. 220–221.

Just like the *Yašts*, the *Videvdad* and some other Avestan texts are divided into *fragards* rather than *hāitis*. Similarly, in the *Dēnkard*, the three great *maḍras*, the 5 *Gāḍās*, the *Yasna Haptaḥhāiti*, and the *Ā Airiiōmā Išiiō* are divided into sections referred to as *fragards* not *hāitis* despite themselves being interpretations of the *hāitis* of the ‘Old Avesta.’ The difference between the division of the ‘Old Avesta’ into *hāitis* and the division of the Pahlavi commentaries into *fragards* in Dk 9 is more than terminological. For example, in the Avestan divisions, the *Yasna Haptaḥhāiti* constitutes 7 of the 24 *hāitis* of the ‘Old Avesta,’ whereas in Dk 9, the entire *Yasna Haptaḥhāiti*, referred to as “the *Yasna*” (Pahl. *Yasn* or *Yašt*), comprises just one *fragard*.<sup>279</sup> Clearly, the division of the ‘Old Avesta’ as reflected in the *fragards* of the three *nasks* in Dk 9 differs from that of the Young Avestan *Yasna*. This fact seems to imply two traditional and, perhaps, competing approaches to how the Old Avestan texts were ordered and lends credence to the argument of CANTERA.<sup>280</sup>

Scholarly debate about the arrangement of the *Gāḍās* began with MARTIN HAUG in the 1870s and has continued unabated to the present day. The extant order of the ‘Old Avesta’ was called into question repeatedly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century most notably by JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, who, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, endeavored to reconstruct the historical chronology of their composition.<sup>281</sup> The traditional structure was defended by MARIJAN MOLÉ against DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN in the early 1960s.<sup>282</sup> MOLÉ pointed to the fact that *Yasna* 42 and *Yasna* 52, which are Young Avestan interpolations in the sequence of the Old Avestan texts, are not included in the *fragards* of Dk 9. The fact that the traditional arrangement of the ‘Old Avesta’ as presented by Dk 9 virtually matches our modern linguistic criteria for which *hāitis* are in the more archaic dialect we call ‘Old Avestan’ strongly argues for a conservative ritual and textual awareness on the part of the Zoroastrian priests. Since then, most Gathic scholars have felt compelled to address this issue, and yet, MOLÉ’s defense of the tradition

279 The YH is reduced to one *fragard* in the *Sūdgar Nask*, spelled ⟨yysn'⟩ presumably for *yasn* and cf. N 2.3 where the mss. also have ⟨yysn'-c⟩ rendered as ⟨'sn'c⟩ in KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1995, p. 30, fn. 52. The YH is also treated as a totality in the *Nērangestān* (18.3), and, as noted in CANTERA 2012c, p. 220, we find the expression: *ēs̄n ī kardag mayān* in N 47.40. Cf. also ZEINI 2020, p. 7 where he describes the lack of a formal title in the PY manuscripts: “With the exception of the manuscript T6, a title is only attested in Pahlavi at the start of the text in manuscripts of the IrPY: *yasn ī haft hād* ‘The ritual in seven chapters’ (Pt4 F2 E7) [fn. 6: These MSS have ⟨yst'⟩ for *yasn* ] or *yašt ī haft hād bun* ‘The beginning of the ritual in seven chapters’ (Mf4 R413).” For a concordance between the three *nasks* of Dk 9 and the ‘Old Avesta,’ see Appendix B.

280 For the most detailed and up-to-date analysis of the relationship of the texts and rituals that comprise the ‘Long Liturgy’ of the *Yasna*, see CANTERA 2014a.

281 See DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1948 for his *Gāḍā* translation based on his revised compositional order. For a critique of such approaches, see MOLÉ 1963, pp. 176–180.

282 MOLÉ published an article (1960) and a counter-response (1961) to DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN’s hostile response to his work in the journal *Numen* and in his book (MOLÉ 1963, pp. 142–143 and pp. 176–189). For a survey of scholarship on this issue, see KELLENS 2007b, pp. 415–438.

using *Dēnkard* Book 9<sup>283</sup> was rarely cited in the scholarly debates, no doubt due to the fact that he died prematurely having challenged all the current scholarly orthodoxies of his time.<sup>284</sup> Increasingly, most scholars now accept the view that the structure of the ‘Old Avesta’ as we have it today, is most likely an early one.<sup>285</sup>

ALBERTO CANTERA, following KELLENS,<sup>286</sup> points out that the *Ahuna Vairiia* and the *Airiīaman* bookend the texts that were seen as a special group and he cites the closing of the latter in Y 54.2:

*airiīamanəm iṣīm yazamaide*  
*amauuantəm vərəθrājanəm viṭbaēšəḥəm*  
*mazištəm ašabe srauuəḥəm*  
*gāḍā spəntā ratuxšədrā ašaonīš yazamaide*  
*staota yesniia yazamaide*  
*yā dātā aḥbəuš paoruiiəhiā*

We offer up in sacrifice the *Airiīōmā Išiiō*, the forceful, obstruction-smashing, discarding hostilities, the greatest among the famous words of Order.

We offer up in sacrifice the Orderly life-giving *Gāḍās*, whose command is according to the Models (*ratu*s).

283 In the first chapter of the *Visperad* (VrS 1.4–8), the list of dedications to the ‘Old Avesta’ matches precisely the sequence of texts in our extant *Yasna*. Compare KELLENS’ statement: “l’Avesta ancien de l’auteur des premiers chapitres du Visprad est très exactement celui de la Vulgate...” (KELLENS 1996, p. 98). In *fragard* 10 of the *Videvdad*, Zaratuštra asks Ahura Mazdā how to ward off *nasu* [*i.e.*, the corpse demon]. Ahura Mazdā’s answer is that he must recite certain verses of the *Gāḍās* twice, thrice, and four times (V 10.2) When Zaratuštra asks which those verses are, Ahura Mazdā quotes them one by one (HINTZE 2002b, p. 33). The verses to be recited twice are: Y 28.1, 35.2, 39.4, 41.3, 41.5, 47.1, 51.1, 53.1 (V 10.4); thrice: Y 27.14, 33.11, 35.5, 53.9 (V 10.8); and those to be recited four times: Y 27.13, 34.15, 54.1 (V 10.12). The fact that the sequence in which the stanzas are referred to coincides with our extant *Yasna*, and the fact that it is in accordance with the liturgical instructions given in the manuscripts, and that it is performed as such in the contemporary ritual, ALMUT HINTZE draws the conclusion that: “the composer(s) of this Videvdād passage had the text of the *Yasna* in mind, and that such a text was apparently the same as that which is recited today. Quoting passages from the Older Avesta in this order is only understandable if, by the time this chapter was composed, the order of the *Yasna* liturgy as we know it today was already in existence. Therefore, we can conclude that the arrangement of the Old Avestan parts of the *Yasna* at the time of the Videvdād must have been the same as that in our extant *Yasna*” (HINTZE 2002b, pp. 33–34). The list of verses to receive multiple recitations is also found in the *Nērangestān*, *fragard* 1, chaps. 16–17 (KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1995, p. 99).

284 KELLENS (2007b, p. 417) makes this very point: “D’une part, les arguments de Molé en faveur de l’unité organique des Gāthās sont contraignants et n’ont jamais été réfutés, ni même discutés, par les partisans de l’unité hâtique.” For MOLÉ’s life and work, see GIGNOUX, “MOLÉ, MARIJAN,” EIr. See now AZARNOUCHE 2022.

285 Cf. KELLENS/PIRART 1988, pp. 57–59 and also KELLENS 2000, pp. 80–83. Others such as HUMBACH, while generally subscribing to this view, are more cautious regarding the thematic unity of individual *Gāḍās*, for which see HUMBACH *et al.* 1991, I, p. 5. For an overview of these scholarly debates, see AHMADI 2018, pp. 57–82 and see now SKJÆRVØ forthcoming a.

286 KELLENS 1996.

We offer up in sacrifice the *Staota Yesniia* ‘which you all established (as the models of) the first state of Existence (*abu*)’ [= Y 33.1a]

(After VEVAÏNA 2005 [2009], p. 216 following SKJÆRVØ unpublished; cf. KELLENS 2011, pp. 53–54; cf. also CANTERA 2013a, p. 26)

And the *Visperad* ceremony (VrS 29.2 = VrS 24.1):

*auuaṭ miždəm yazamaide*  
*auuaṭ dasuuarə yazamaide*  
*auuaṭ baēšazəm yazamaide*  
*auuaṭ fradaðəm yazamaide*  
*auuaṭ varədaðəm yazamaide*  
*auuaṭ vərəðraγnəm yazamaide*  
*yaṭ asti aṅtarəca abune airiiamana*  
*framəvəiti humatanəmca būxtanəmca huuarštanəmca*  
*paitištātəe dušmatanəmca dužūxtanəmca dužuuarštanəmca*  
*uzuuarəzāi māuuōiia*  
*miðō.matanəmca miðōxtanəmca miðōuuarštanəmca*

We offer up in sacrifice that fee.

We offer up in sacrifice that talent.

We offer up in sacrifice that healing.

We offer up in sacrifice that furthering.

We offer up in sacrifice that increasing.

We offer up in sacrifice that obstruction-smashing strength,

which (is) between the *Ahuna* (*Vairiia*) and the *Airiiaman*

through the recitation of well-thought (thoughts), well-spoken (words), and well-performed (acts)

for the opposing of ill-thought (thoughts), ill-spoken (words), and ill-performed (acts)

for me for the undoing

of wrongly-thought (thoughts), wrongly-spoken (words), and wrongly-performed (acts).

(After SKJÆRVØ unpublished; cf. KELLENS 2011, pp. 54–55; cf. also CANTERA 2013a, p. 26)

Despite the fact that *Dēnkard* Book 9 begins with the *Ahuna Vairiia* and ends with the *Airiiaman*, it does, however, exhibit a few notable differences from the standard divisions in the Western philological editions. For example, the first *Gāḍā*, the *Ahunauuaitī Gāḍā*, begins with Y 28.1, *Abiiā.yāsā.nəmaṅhā*,<sup>287</sup> whereas, in Dk 9, it begins with the *Yānīm.manō*, which is numbered Y 28.0 in the Western editions and now regarded as an archaizing Young Avestan formula.<sup>288</sup> The same division is, however, described by the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE priest Zādspram in his *Wizīdagīhā* “Selections” (WZ 28.3):

287 The mss. refer to *Yasna* 28 as *Abiiāsā Hāiti*.

288 HUMBACH *et al.* 1991, p. 116.

*pas baxšīhist ō wīst ud ēk čiyōn ahunwar wīst ud ēk mārīg ud gāhān wīst ud ēk ī ast ahunwar ablayīh-stāyīšnīh ud yazdān-kardārīh az yānimmanō tā ō ērman ī āgenēn wīst ud ēk naskān wīst ud ēk.*

Then it [*i.e.*, the *dēn*] is apportioned into 21, like the 21 words of the *Ahunwar* and the 21 *Gāḍās*, which are: the *Ahunwar*, the ‘Praise of Righteousness’ [= *Ašəm Vohū*], and the ‘Activity of the Gods’ [= *Yejbē Hātəm*]; from the *Yānim.manō* up to the *Ērman* [= *Airiīaman*] which (all) together (are) 21 — the *nasks* are 21.

(After VEVAINA 2005 [2009], p. 221, fn. 13; cf. also the translations of GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, p. 93 and WEST 1892, pp. 404–405)

It is worth pointing out that the three sacred *mąθras* plus the 17 *hāitis* of the *Gāḍās* (with the *Yānim.manō* serving as the beginning of Y 28), and the *Ā Airiīōmā Išiiō* total 21 divisions of the Tradition (*dēn*). E. W. WEST, for his part, suggested that either the *Yasna Haptañhāiti* (counted as a single item and referred to as *Ēsn* or *Yesn* in the *Sūdgar Nask*) or the *Ā Airiīōmā Išiiō* must be excluded in order to meet the count of 21.<sup>289</sup> CANTERA proposes a solution to this numerological conundrum by suggesting that the 22 *fragards* of the three *nasks* described in Dk 9 and likely the 22 *fragards* of the *Videvdad* reflect a division of the *Staota Yesniia* in 22 sections which he explains as being the *Ahuna Vairiia* plus 21:

“This division of the *Staota Yesniia* in the *Ahuna Vairiia* + 21 is the result of the same taxonomical analysis of the whole revelation in the organization of the Avesta as 21 *Nask* based on the 21 words of the *Ahuna Vairiia*. Although we do not have direct evidence of it, we should take into consideration the possibility of the existence of intercalation ceremonies based on these divisions. The exegetical *Nasks* of the *Dēnkard* are in fact synopses of lost Avestan exegetical texts that could be recited in a ceremony intercalated between the *Staota Yesniia*.”<sup>290</sup>

CANTERA goes on to argue:

“Although there is not always a direct connection between every Old Avestan passage and the intercalated texts, the distribution of the intercalated texts between the *Staota Yesniia* is not merely arbitrary. Likely that the *Videvdād* had an independent existence prior to its use in its ceremony, there are no clear connections among all the sections of the *Videvdād* and the Old Avestan texts they accompany. But obviously, a conscious attempt was made to establish clear links between the intercalations and the corresponding Old Avestan texts.”<sup>291</sup>

He then suggests that:

“The division of the *Videvdād* and of the exegetical *nasks* described in Dk9 is an indirect indication of the possibility of a ceremony with intercalated texts on the basis of a division of the *Staota Yesniia* in 22 sections. It seems that, despite the constraints imposed by a *yasna* centered on the almost identical recitation of the core of the *Staota Yesniia*, an extension of the *Ahuna Vairiia*, the ritual variety

289 WEST 1892, pp. 402–403, fn. 5.

290 CANTERA 2013a, pp. 39–40.

291 CANTERA 2013a, p. 41.



was at the time of the arrangement of the different *yasna* ceremonies greater than attested in our manuscripts. And the ritual variety attested in the manuscripts is greater than Geldner's edition allows us to perceive."<sup>292</sup>

It seems reasonable to suggest that the structuration of the core of the *Staota Yesniia* / 'Old Avesta' that we find here in *Dēnkard* Book 9 represents that of the hermeneutical school(s) and, as such, is not identical to that which we find in the liturgical manuscripts. I will leave it to others to argue for the anteriority of either arrangement *vis-à-vis* its counterpart for its pre-history. Where I will allow myself a speculation is in suggesting that the non-trivial differences between our liturgical and exegetical manuscripts are the textual products of older priestly specializations whose Islamic-era instantiations were discussed by PHILIP G. KREYENBROEK in his seminal article on the priestly economies in the writings of Mānuščihr, the high priest of Kermān in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century CE and the brother of Zādspram quoted earlier.

Mānuščihr informs us about the socio-economic and pedagogical challenges faced by the Zoroastrian priesthood in the challenging early centuries under Islamic rule and he provides us invaluable insight into the priestly economy of his era. In discussing the competitive landscape of fee-based performance of rituals in a shrinking marketplace, Mānuščihr also provides us with a glimpse of the performance of the *nasks* in *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 65.1–5 (66.1–5) (DF<sup>293</sup> 91b || K35 178r || MR 299 || T60 102a || TD4a 339):

*65om pursišn pāsox*<sup>294</sup>. *ān ī pursēd kū mard-ēw*<sup>295</sup> *ī ēr ī hu-dēn kē-š hamāg-dēn-ēw bē wurrōyēd*<sup>296</sup> *framūd u-s*<sup>297</sup> *hērbed-ēw*<sup>298</sup> *kē-š +jud-dēw-dād*<sup>299</sup> *ud*  
*nīrangestān*<sup>300</sup> *š fragard (ī) abestāg pad zand*<sup>301</sup> *narm*<sup>302</sup> *ast ud pad mowmardīh*<sup>303</sup>

292 CANTERA 2013a, pp. 45–46.

293 N.B., DF has Pz. glosses above and below each word but, for the sake of space, I do not mark them except where useful for resolving unclear forms in the other mss.

294 K35a || not in others.

295 K35a (GBRA-1 Y 'yl Y) || T60 (GBRA-1 Y 'yl) || DF (GBRA-1) and (yl W) on the next line || TD4a (GBRA-1 W 'yl' Y) || WEST translates: "a man of wealth" || KREYENBROEK: "a gentleman."

296 Repeated in ANKLESARIA.

297 Not in DF.

298 DF (HNA) for *ēd* and presumably for *ēw*.

299 TD4a (hrdt'y't') perhaps a misspelling of (\*hrdt' yšt') for \*hordad yašt || K35a (ywyyt'd't') || T60 (ywyyt'd't') || DF (drst' d't') and (دست داد) superscripted and (دهید درست) subscripted in Pz. || translated by WEST as "correct law," seemingly following DF || I (tentatively) follow KREYENBROEK 1989, p. 206, fn. 94 who reads (jwyyt d't') for \*jud-dēw-dād [N.B., he suggests (erroneously) that all the mss. have this form].

300 TD4a (nylngst'n) || T60 (nylngst'n) || K35a (nylng'yt'n).

301 K35a (znnd).

302 DF (OLE).

303 TD4a (mgw'Y) and (GBRAyh) on the next line || DF (mgwgGB Ayh) and (mgwgGBRAyh) in the left margin.

*hamē*<sup>304</sup> {*rawēd*. (2) *u-š bē awiš šawēd ud gōwēd kū*<sup>305</sup> *hamāg-dēn*<sup>306</sup> *pad 350*  
*čiyōn-išān pēš-dāšn*<sup>307</sup> *hamē*} *dād bē* *ō*<sup>308</sup> *man framāy*<sup>309</sup> *tā man bē* *+rāyēnam*<sup>310</sup>.  
 (3) *ud az*<sup>311</sup> *hāwištān*<sup>312</sup> *mard-ēw kē-š abestāg 5 nask narm u-š zand čiš-iz nē*  
*narm*<sup>313</sup> *ēg-iš bē awiš gōwēd bē ō ān mard*<sup>314</sup> *kē*<sup>315</sup> *hamāg-dēn*<sup>316</sup> *kāmēd framūd*  
*kū man pad*<sup>317</sup> *ēn dāšn* *2*<sup>318</sup> *hamāg-dēn [i] pad zōhr*<sup>319</sup> *pad +būm*<sup>320</sup> *(i) pārs tō rāy*  
*bē rāyēnēm* (4) *bē ō*<sup>321</sup> *man*<sup>322</sup> *framāy čē man pad dast ī xwad čand nask*<sup>323</sup> *bē*  
*tuwān ast yaštan ud ōy*<sup>324</sup> *rāy abāz abāyēd framūdan*<sup>325</sup> *čē*<sup>326</sup> *pad zōdag*<sup>327</sup> *ī xwad*  
*ēč nask yašt nē tuwān xwad nē yazēd*<sup>328</sup> *ud ōy ō pariwār*<sup>329</sup> *ī hamāg-dēn [i]*<sup>330</sup>  
*nē abāyēd +šud*<sup>331</sup>. (5) *ka-š bahr-ēw*<sup>332</sup> *ud nīrmad-ēw andar ast ka*<sup>333</sup> *man abāz*

- 304 Sequence omitted in TD4a [N.B., due to a jump omission from *hamē* to the next *hamē* ]  
 || DF (ʔ-š hm'y).  
 305 TD4a (AMT).  
 306 DF (hmk).  
 307 DF (Y).  
 308 DF (OLE).  
 309 DF, T60, TD4a (plm'y d OĎ) || K35a (plm'dyn'd OĎ).  
 310 Mss. (ldynm).  
 311 TD4a (MNV).  
 312 DF (h'wšt'n') || K35a, T60, TD4a (h'wwšt'n(')).  
 313 DF (OLE).  
 314 K35a (GBRA-Y) || TD4a (BRA).  
 315 TD4a (MN).  
 316 TD4a (Y).  
 317 T60 (PWN PWN).  
 318 TD4a (2 MN) || DF (Y).  
 319 T60, TD4a (zwhl) || DF (zwhl) || K35a (ʔz'l).  
 320 Mss. (bwn).  
 321 DF (OLE).  
 322 K35a, T60, ANKLESARIA (L) || TD4a (LK).  
 323 DF (W nsk).  
 324 DF, T60 (OLE l'd) || K35a (W LM l'd) || TD4a (OLE LA).  
 325 TD4a || K35a, T60, DF (plmwt').  
 326 Not in K35a.  
 327 DF (zwtyh).  
 328 DF, K35a, T60 (ycyt') || TD4a (yzyt').  
 329 K35a, TD4a (plyw'l) || T60 (plywsl) || DF (pwl t'l) || ANKLESARIA emends to (\*plmwt'l)  
 for \**framūdār*.  
 330 TD4a || not in K35a, T60.  
 331 TD4a (OZLWN-yt).  
 332 DF, T60, TD4a (b'hl-1) || K35a (b'hl-2) or possibly (-3).  
 333 Not in K35a.

*stānam kē<sup>334</sup> xwad<sup>335</sup> hamē yazam<sup>336</sup> web kū<sup>337</sup> ōy<sup>338</sup> kē [kū<sup>339</sup>] frāz +padīrēd<sup>340</sup>  
ud abāz framāyēd<sup>341</sup> u-š xwad nē tuwān yaštān...*

The 65<sup>th</sup> question (and) answer — is that which you all ask: An Iranian man (*mard ī ēr*) of the Good Tradition undertakes to order a *hamāg-dēn*,<sup>342</sup> and a *hērbed* who has the *\*Jud-dēw-dād* and five *fragards* of the *Nērangestān* memorized by heart — the *Avesta* with the *Zand* — goes out to do the work of a *mōwmard*. (2) And he [*i.e.*, the *hērbed*] goes to him [*i.e.*, the patron] and says: ‘Commission a *hamāg-dēn* from me for 350 (*dirhams*), just as they gave the gift in the past, so that I may arrange it.’ (3) A man of the *hāwišts* [lit. ‘disciples’] who has five *nasks* of the *Avesta* memorized (*narm*), but he has nothing of the *Zand* memorized at all, then says to him — to that man who wishes to order the *hamāg-dēn* — ‘For this gift I shall arrange two *hamāg-dēn* ceremonies which are (accompanied) with *zōhr* in the *\*land of Pārs* for you. (4) Commission (it) from me, for I am capable of performing a number of *nasks* by my own hand, and he has to delegate it, and he is unable to perform a single *nask* as a *zōd* in his own right, and he does not perform it himself and it is unfitting for him [*i.e.*, presumably not being in a full state of purity] to go into the enclosure for the *hamāg-dēn*. (5) If there is a share and a profit in it, if I take it, (it is) better than him who accepts and delegates (it), but cannot officiate himself...’<sup>343</sup>

As KREYENBROEK has discussed extensively, here we see that while the *hērbed* has a number of Avestan texts memorized with their *Zand*, he is unable to perform the longer liturgical texts later in his career and is consequently “unable to perform a single *nask* as a *zōd* in his own right” (*pad zōdag ī xwad ēč nask yašt nē tuwān*). This explanation implicitly exemplifies his ivory tower scholasticism and concomitant loss of practical ritual ability, which he presumably possessed

334 K35a, T60, TD4a || DF (AMT) || ANKLESARIA emends to (ME).

335 Mss. (hwt') [N.B., all others as (BNPŠE)].

336 K35a (YZBWHN-t').

337 DF (MNW).

338 DF, TD4a (OL).

339 TD4a || not in DF, K35a, T60.

340 Mss. (MKBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>).

341 DF (plm'dynd).

342 CANTERA (2014a, p. 218) notes that while this ritual is frequently mentioned in the Pahlavi texts, its precise sense is not clear. Citing PR 9.14 he suggests that “le texte récite dans un *hamāg-dēn* est le plus long de toutes les cérémonies” (fn. 241). Modern usage has, however, an even more expansive definition for the term. WEST (1882, p. 146, fn. 2) cited the opinion of his Parsi priestly counterpart in explaining the term: “The words *hamāk dīnō*, translated ‘all the religious rites’ both here and elsewhere, are a technical term which (as I am informed by Dastūr Peshotanji Behramji, the high priest of the Parsis in Bombay) is applied to ‘those obligatory religious rites and festivals that every Parsi is bound to observe by performing certain ceremonies, in his or her name, with the assistance of priests engaged for this purpose. These rites and festivals include the Rapithvan, the Gâhâmbârs, the Fravardigân, the monthly festivals, &c’.”

343 Cf. KREYENBROEK 1989, pp. 195–196; cf. also ANKLESARIA 1958, p. 128; cf. also WEST 1882, pp. 201–202.

earlier in life when he, in turn, was a *hāwišt*.<sup>344</sup> In contrast, in this particular example, the *hāwišt* is practically able to perform these rituals and is the one “who has memorized five *nasks* of the *Avesta*, but he has nothing of the *Zand* memorized at all” (*kē-š abestāg 5 nask narm u-š zand čiš-iz nē narm*). While it would be naïve to assume that the situation being described here in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE in the Islamic era would necessarily have been in any way identical to that of the pre-Islamic period, geographical differentiations aside, such examples of priestly specializations, nonetheless, accord well with the fact that we have different liturgical and exegetical structurations of the *Staota Yesniia* as we find in our extant manuscripts between the *Sade* and Pahlavi types.

Mānuščīhr attempts to strike an even-handed tone with regard to these internecine priestly conflicts and he provides us with both valuable information about these debates but also the relative socio-economic weighting of these textual-performative specializations and, hence, their sociological and theological value. In DD 46.4 (47.4) (D7 255 || DF 71r || K35a 163r || T60 80a || TD4a 302) we find him being asked to weigh in on how to properly remunerate those who have five Avestan *nasks* memorized and can perform them, but know no *Zand* versus those who have thirty *fragards*<sup>345</sup> memorized with their *Zand*:

*ud awēšān kē-šān abestāg wēš narm*<sup>346</sup> *ayāb*<sup>347</sup> *ōy*<sup>348</sup> *kē*<sup>349</sup> *zand* ⟨*ud*⟩ *šāyist nē*<sup>350</sup> *šāyist*<sup>351</sup> *web dānēd ud*<sup>352</sup> *kehīb*<sup>353</sup> *ud mehīb ī pad ēn dar*<sup>354</sup> *čiyōn-imān*<sup>355</sup> *pursīd*

344 See, for example, DD 44.3 (K35a 161v || T60 77b || TD4a 298) where we find it stated: *ud hērbedān hāwištān būd hēnd pad hammōxtan ī az xwēš hērbed hāwišt-iz \*hammōxt dānišn hērbed bawēnd abāg hammōxtār andar ēk tan bawēd hērbedih ud hāwištih* “And *hērbeds* have been *hāwišts* in (that they) learn from their own *hērbed*; the *hāwišt*(s) too who have learned (from his) knowledge will (in turn) become *hērbeds* with (their own) students; the status of a *hērbed* and that of a *hāwišt* (are combined) in one person” (Cf. KREYENBROEK 1989, pp. 201–202; cf. also ANKLESARIA 1958, p. 88; cf. also WEST 1882, p. 152).

345 WEST (1882, pp. 155–156, fn. 6) astutely observed: “it may be noted that the thirty *fragards*, subsequently mentioned, are the exact number contained in the *Vendidād* and *Vistāsp Yast* taken together, the learning of which by heart ... is a very serious task, comparable with the learning of the whole Greek text of the four Gospels.”

346 D7, DF, K35a ⟨OLE⟩.

347 DF ⟨'ywp⟩ = ⟨'ywyt⟩.

348 K35a ⟨W LE⟩.

349 Not in TD4a.

350 D7 ⟨WLA⟩.

351 Not in TD4a.

352 Not in D7, DF, T60.

353 K35a ⟨wyhyh⟩.

354 K35a ⟨BRA⟩.

355 DF ⟨OL⟩.

*ēg-imān andar rōšn framāyēd kardan<sup>356</sup> čē ka<sup>357</sup> pad ēn dar ī<sup>358</sup> kehīb ud mehīb nimāyēd ēg-is<sup>359</sup> mehīb<sup>360</sup> sūdīb bowandagīhā<sup>361</sup> ast.*

“Please enlighten us, as we have asked, as to the inferiority and superiority with regard to this matter: (the relative merits of) those who have memorized more *Avesta*, or to the one who knows better the *Zand* and what is licit or illicit (*šāyist nē šāyist*); for if you were to show us the inferiority and superiority with regard to this matter, then it has entirely greater benefit (*sūdīb*).”<sup>362</sup>

For our purposes, perhaps the ‘greater benefit’ (*mehīb sūdīb*) that Mānuščihr brought to these evidently contentious and, therefore, socially deleterious debates, was not merely his social diplomacy but also the fact that he explicates the relative merits of these different priestly competencies in DD 46.6–7 (47.6–7) (D7 255 || DF 71r || K35a 163v || T60 80b || TD4a 302):

*bē<sup>363</sup> ān<sup>364</sup> kē-š 5 nask<sup>365</sup> abestāg narm<sup>366</sup> ud ān-iz kē 30<sup>367</sup> fragard pad zand narm<sup>368</sup> jud jud brēh ud mar dānistan<sup>369</sup> har ēk brēh ī<sup>370</sup> pad zand pad 7 brēh ī jud az zand ō<sup>371</sup> mar kard handōšēnīd abāyēd. u-š aziš<sup>372</sup> paydāgīhēd<sup>373</sup> kū kē abzār ud kē kam.*

“But as to the one who has five *nasks* of the *Avesta* memorized and even the one who has thirty *fragards* memorized with *Zand*, one must know the number of sections (*brēh*) of each one of them, and one must reckon that every section with *Zand* is equal to seven sections without *Zand*, and one ought to account for them (as such); (7) and from that it will be evident who has skill and who has less.”<sup>374</sup>

KREYENBROEK, like WEST<sup>375</sup> before him, makes an important observation when discussing the 7:1 ratio of valuing sections of Avestan *Sade* versus Avestan *cum* Pahlavi, when he suggests that:

356 D7 (krt' W).

357 DF (ME MNW ZNE BBA).

358 T60 (W) || not in DF, K35a.

359 DF (ADYN').

360 K35a (msyn) || DF (ms).

361 K35a (Wbndkyh').

362 Cf. KREYENBROEK 1989, p. 198; cf. also ANKLESARIA 1958, p. 94; cf. also WEST 1882, p. 156.

363 TD4a (PWN).

364 DF (ZK Y).

365 D7 (W).

366 D7 (OLE).

367 D7, DF, K35a, T60, TD4a (30) [N.B., KREYENBROEK: “thirty or forty”].

368 K35a (lm).

369 TD4a (Y).

370 Not in K35a and (PWN) superscripted.

371 Not in D7.

372 Not in D7.

373 K35a (pyt) and ('kyht') || D7 (pyt'k yhyt').

374 Cf. KREYENBROEK 1989, p. 199 [N.B., numbered there as §46.6]; cf. also ANKLESARIA 1958, p. 94; cf. also WEST 1882, p. 157.

375 Cf. WEST 1882, p. 157, fn. 1: “The reason for this difference is that it is only necessary to learn the words of the Avesta, without understanding them, whereas a knowledge of the Zand, or

“an equation which, to judge by what survives of the Zand, can hardly have been based on considerations of length alone and suggests that the study of the Zand, unlike that of the Avestan liturgy, entailed more than learning texts by rote, and may have included such disciplines as exegesis and other branches of religious learning.”<sup>376</sup>

It is precisely this complex of deep traditional learning in the *Zand* beyond simply grammatical translation of the Avestan source texts that speaks to the highly sophisticated erudition of pre-modern Zoroastrian scholastics and is precisely what we as a field of study have failed to fully appreciate. This cluster of techniques — namely, allegoreses, traditional intersignifications, numerological speculations, meta-ritual analyses, intertextual proof texting, homologizing myth, ritual and cosmology, etc. — which we find on display in the ‘thick’ interpretations of every *fragard* of *Dēnkard* Book 9, ultimately constitute what we could credibly call ‘Zoroastrian thought.’ Hitherto, the primary reason for our collective inadequacy in better appreciating these hermeneutical techniques and modalities must, in some measure, be traced back to the vexed question of how to precisely *translate* our text in the first place and what we believe its relationship may or may not be to its putative Avestan *Vorlagen*.

## The Language and Style of *Dēnkard* 9 and the Question of ‘Lost’ Avestan

The language and transmission of the *Dēnkard* in general has been a source of great frustration for Iranists over the years. My predecessor here at Oxford, R. C. ZAEHNER’s less than salutary comments best capture the frustrations embedded in the discourse found in older scholarship:

“Our Pahlavī sources, it must be confessed, are irritatingly obscure. They are written in an ambiguous and rebarbative script which has tried the patience of Orientalists for more than a century. In addition, the *Dēnkard*, that great corpus of Zoroastrian theology and potentially by far the most important of our extant sources, is undoubtedly the most corrupt text in any Iranian language of any period. Added to this, it is written in an abbreviated ‘note’ style compared with which the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle is plain sailing. There is no punctuation: and if there is, it is all too frequently misplaced. The existing translations seem to bear little relation to the maddening original, and we are left therefore to cope with the thing as best we can, alone.”<sup>377</sup>

ZAEHNER’s ascerbic comments evocatively capture the challenging style of *Dēnkard* Book 9 in particular. Our text is extremely terse and reads like a “Table

commentary, implies understanding both texts as well as knowing the Avesta by heart.”

376 KREYENBROEK 1989, p. 190.

377 ZAEHNER 1955 [1971], p. 6.

of Contents<sup>378</sup> or résumé of the putative Avestan *nask* which it is purportedly summarizing. It is worth pointing out that texts like the PR, the ŠnŠ., and the Supp.ŠnŠ have brief allusions to the contents of the *Stūdgar Nask* [N.B., the same form is found in all three texts] which are not strictly found in our text. Also, the *fragards* vary greatly in length from Y 27.14 at merely 14 words and shorter *fragards* like Y 29 at 110 words as opposed to Y 51 at 1,068 words.<sup>379</sup>

Other than the initial Old Avestan lemmata for each *fragard* and the use of the phrases *abar* “about ...” (with 78 attestations indexing various allusions, *topoi*, myths, intertexts, etc.) and *ud ēn-iz kū* “and this too...” (with 51 attestations dilating on themes or transitioning to new hermeneutical *topoi*) the language of the *Sūdgar Nask* is characterized by a great number of verbal nouns in <sup>o</sup>*išn(ih)* instead of finite verbs and nominal sentences.<sup>380</sup> Dk 9, like the other Pahlavi texts, also exhibits a great number of abstract nouns in <sup>o</sup>*ih*. In addition, we also find a great deal of the raising of verbs (or lowering of other elements), which violates the Subject – Object – Verb syntax of unmarked word order of sentences in Pahlavi. This suggests that, at least in parts, our text is likely reflecting the more free-word order of underlying Avestan *Vorlagen*.<sup>381</sup>

While not in the *Sūdgar Nask*, we do have one extant example of a ‘lost’ Avestan text, a fragment, that serves as a *Vorlage* to *Dēnkard* Book 9 first identified and translated by FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL in 1863.<sup>382</sup> The *Waršt̄mānsr Nask* commentary in Dk 9.46.1–4 (B [675] || DH 301v || DkM 872) on the *Airiūaman* is the only section of Dk 9 whose Avestan original appears to have survived in *Fragment Westergaard* 4.1–3.<sup>383</sup> For ease of comparison I provide them both here:

*airiūamanəm te išīm mazištəm mraomi spitama vīspanəm əṛəzuuō srauuəḥbəm təm zī vīspanəm srauuəḥbəm uparō.kairim fradaḏəm yim airiūamanəm išīm təm +arānti<sup>384</sup> saosiiantō*

378 WEST 1892, p. xlvi.

379 N.B., all numbers were calculated excluding their Y 27.14 refrains at the ends of each *fragard*.

380 For nominal sentences in Middle and Early New Persian, see JOSEPHSON 2003b, pp. 79–94.

381 Unfortunately, in the last fifteen years we have had no recent grammatical studies of the Zand, prompting DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2014, p. 21) to state: “Die Studien von JOSEPHSON 1997 und CANTERA 2004 sowie SHAKED 1996 lassen einiges vom Wert dieser Texte erkennen, aber das Fehlen einer neueren Bearbeitung dieses schwierigen Materials macht eine durchgehende Berücksichtigung noch unmöglich.”

382 SPIEGEL 1863, p. 253; cf. also SPIEGEL 1868, p. 701.

383 FrW is found in: K12 (*Xorde Avesta*, 1801 CE), K15a–b (Codex with the *Sanskrit Yasna* and the *Niyāyišns*), K19 (Codex of the *Xorde Avesta*), L11, P13, and M3, for which, see WESTERGAARD 1852–1854 [1993], p. 332. See also KELLENS 1974, p. 206 and VEVAINA 2005 [2009], p. 217 and p. 221, fn. 14.

384 WESTERGAARD and MOLÉ (*arānti*) || cf. KELLENS 1974, p. 206 on FrW 4.1: *təm zī vīspanəm srauuəḥbəm uparō.kairim fradaḏəm airiūamanəm išīm təm marānti saosiiantō* “J’ai établi l’action supérieure sur toutes les paroles de l’airiūamno išiiō, que les saosiiants devront mémoriser” with his form *marānti* coming from BARTHOLOMAE,

I tell you, O Spitama, that the *Airiūaman Išīia* is the greatest, O upright one [*i.e.*, *Zaraṣuštra*], of all words. For I brought it forth among all words as of superior work, the *Airiūaman Išīia*. The Revitalizers shall impel it.

*ērmān-xwāyīšnīh* <sup>385</sup> *tō mahist* <sup>386</sup> *gōwam spitāmān az harwistīn srawān abēzag pad hāwand abestāgīh ēn web čē-m ān az harwistīn srawān abar-kārdar frāz dād.* (2) *kē ērmān-xwāyīšnīh awēšān ē ošmurēnd kē sūdōmand* <sup>387</sup> *hēnd.*

I say to you, O Spitāmān, that the ‘Seeking Ērmān’ is the greatest, among all words, O pure one, <sup>388</sup> as is the same in the *Avesta*, this is better, for I produced it so that its work should be above all words. (2) Those who shall enumerate the ‘Seeking Ērmān,’ (are) those who will bring benefit (*sūdōmand*) [*i.e.*, the *Saošiiants*].

(2) *abe +framruiti* <sup>389</sup> *spitama xšaiieni hauuanəm dāmanəm azəm yō ahurō mazdā naēciš xšaiiāt duždaēnō anrō mainiiuš zaraṣuštra x<sup>o</sup>aēšu* <sup>390</sup> *dāmōhu spitama*

When it is said forth, O Spitama, I shall rule over my own creations, I, Ahura Mazda. Not at all shall the one of evil *daēnā* rule, the Evil Spirit, O *Zaraṣuštra*, among his own creations, O Spitama.

*ud pad ān ī ōy frāz-ōšmurišnīh spitāmān pāduxšāy* <sup>391</sup> *{bawēm* <sup>392</sup> *andar ān ī xwēš dām man kē ohrmazd ham ud nē pad čiš pāduxšāy}* *bawēd.* (3) *ān ī duj-dēn ganāg-mēnōy* <sup>393</sup> *zardu(x)št andar ān ī xwēš dām spitāmān*

And by enumerating it, O Spitāmān, I shall become ruler in my own Creation, I, Ohrmazd, and he [*i.e.*, the Foul Spirit] shall not be ruler of anything, (3) the one whose *dēn* is bad, the Foul Spirit, O *Zardušt*. Among his own creations, O Spitāmān,

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who has (\**marānti*) in line with the Pahl. *ē ošmurēnd* in Dk 9.46.2. BARTHOLOMAE’S reading was first proposed in GELDNER 1884, p. 15, fn. 1 and translated as “hersagen”); for the 19th century history of scholarship on FrW 4, see HAAS 1908, p. 184. Variants include: M3 <*təma.raontō*> || K19, P13 <*təm.arāiti*> || K12, 15b, L11 <*təm.arāiti*> || K15 <*təm.arāntā*> with omission of the following 3 words. It appears that an original (\**təm + arānti*) gave rise to a re-segmented (<*təm + marānti*>) and was analysed as such by the Pahlavi interpreters; (<*arānti*>) is unambiguously found later in FrW 4.3 and would be the *lectio difficilior*, lending support to the Avestan reading whereas the Pahl. has incorporated this form into the hermeneutical complex of “Enumerating the Tradition” (*dēn-ōšmurišn*), for which, see VEVAINA 2010a, pp. 111–143.

385 DH || B, MOLÉ (OLE).

386 B, DH (mhsyt’).

387 DH B <swt’wmnd HWE’-d̂> || B <swt’wmndd MNW HWE’-d̂> || MOLÉ (MNW).

388 Pahl. *abēzag* ‘pure’ renders OAv. *ərəzu-* in the PV, for which, see MALANDRA/ICHAPO-RIA 2013, p. 100.

389 Mss., WESTERGAARD and MOLÉ (<*framraomi*>) || GELDNER (1884, p. 15, fn. 2) suggests <*framərətō*> loc. sing. of <*framərati-*> and translates as: “Durch Aufsagen desselben.”

390 Mss. (<*x<sup>o</sup>aīs*>) || emended by WESTERGAARD.

391 Not in B and discussed in HAAS 1908, pp. 184–185.

392 DH <YHWWN-ym>.

393 B, DH (gn’gmynwd̂) [N.B., reading following MOLÉ *contra* VEVAINA 2005 [2009], p. 217 which read <dwyšmynwd̂>].



(3) *zəmərgūzō bauuāt̄ ayrō mainiiuš zəmərgūzō bauuānti daēuua us irista paiti arānti vī.zuuāhu paiti tanuš*<sup>394</sup> *astuuā gaiiō dāraiiānti*<sup>395</sup>

The Evil Spirit will hide in the earth. The *daēuua*s will hide in the earth. They [*i.e.*, the Revitalizers] will raise the dead again. In return for bodies no longer alive(?), they shall have life with bones.

(3) *zamīg-nigān bawēd*<sup>396</sup> *ganāg-mēnōy*<sup>397</sup> *andar zamīg nigān kē dēw hēnd kū-šan kālbod bē škībēd*. (4) *ud ul rist*<sup>398</sup> *pad ān ārāyihēd pad ayārīh ī ōy*<sup>399</sup> *bē zīndagīh ō tan abāz dahēnd ud tanōmand gyān*<sup>400</sup> *dārēnd kū pas*<sup>401</sup> *nē mīrēnd*.

He [*i.e.*, the Foul Spirit] will be buried in the earth, he whose spirit is bad; the demons (will also be) buried in the earth, that is, their bodily forms will be broken.

(4) And the corpse(s) shall be raised (and) be redressed by it [*i.e.*, the *Ērmān*]; with its help, they [*i.e.*, the Revitalizers] shall give life back to the bodies and they will have (their) souls embodied, that is, thereafter, they will not die.<sup>402</sup>

The faithfulness of the *Dēnkard* Book 9 *fragard* to the Avestan fragment is remarkable but, that being said, we do find a subtle hermeneutic intervention in the Pahlavi version with its explicit acknowledgment of the Avestan *Vorlage* with the phrase: “as is the same in the *Avesta*” (*pad hāwand abestāgīh*). We also find the ubiquitous use of the verbal noun, as mentioned above, in *frāz-ōšmurišnīh* in lieu of a finite verb as we see in the Avestan. Nevertheless, we do find Av. *paiti arānti* “they will raise again” rendered in the Pahl. as *pad ān ārāyihēd* “be redressed by it” which appears to me to be an assonance-based reading, as is commonly found in the *Zand*.

In my opinion, the historiographical significance of this fragment is inversely proportional to its size. It confirms that there were, in fact, Avestan originals for some portions of the three *nasks* in *Dēnkard* Book 9 and, which survived in *written* form indicating that they were known to our late antique and early Islamic-era hermeneuts. Perhaps the marked aspect of the Pahlavi version consciously referencing its Avestan genealogy may indicate that such written survivals were not all that common but this is merely a surmise on my part. Our surviving Avestan fragments have received recent studies and point to the larger world of ‘lost’ Avestan that we find being enumerated in its Pahlavi survivals

394 Mss. ⟨*tanuš*⟩ || emended by WESTERGAARD.

395 Mss. || M3, WESTERGAARD ⟨*dāriieite*⟩ || K15 ⟨*dāraiiāiti*⟩ || MOLÉ ⟨*dārayeite*⟩.

396 DH ⟨YHWWN-yt⟩ and adds بید || B ⟨YHWWN-yt⟩.

397 DH ⟨gn’gmyndw⟩ || B ⟨gn’gmyndwy⟩ [N.B., see note above].

398 B ⟨lyst⟩ || DH ⟨l’st⟩.

399 B ⟨W⟩.

400 DH ⟨g’n⟩ || B ⟨y’n⟩ but oddly written.

401 DH || not in B.

402 For further details and a slightly different text and translation, see VEVAINA 2005 [2009], pp. 217–218 [N.B., in an oversight, ms. B was not included in that publication but its copy J5 was used instead; see also my response to the scepticism of BREMMER 2002 about the ancient origins of the Resurrection of the dead in Avestan (pp. 219–220)]. Cf. also WEST 1892, p. 302 and MOLÉ 1963, pp. 144–145.

in texts like the three *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 9.<sup>403</sup> We would be well served by further philological work on this corner of Avestan-Pahlavi studies.

Perhaps the most striking stylistic feature of *Dēnkard* Books 8 and 9 is the closing of each *fragard* with the first four words of the Pahlavi version of the *Aṣəm Vohū* (Y 27.14): *ablāyīh ābādīh pahlom ast* (“Righteousness is the Best Prosperity”). The four words of this prayer are scrambled and appear in different permutations in the *fragards* of Books 8 and 9 [See appendix D for those of the *Sūdgar Nask*]. So, for example, in the following examples, we find the verb *ast* “to be” in all four positions:

<i>Fragard</i> 1 (§9.2.21)	<i>ablāyīh ābādīh pahlom ast</i>
<i>Fragard</i> 6 (§9.7.12)	<i>ābādīh ast pahlom ablāyīh</i>
<i>Fragard</i> 12 (§9.13.10)	<i>ast pahlom ābādīh ablāyīh</i>
<i>Fragard</i> 19 (§9.20.10)	<i>pahlom ablāyīh ast ābādīh</i>

To my knowledge, besides *Dēnkard* Book 8, which similarly deals with the contents of the sacred corpus, the Tradition (*dēn*), no other text in Pahlavi alters the syntax and structure of a sacred prayer or formula in such a quasi-magical manner. E. W. WEST provided a detailed numerological and probabilistic analysis of these variations and suggested:

“It is here used to conclude the account of each of the twenty-one Nasks, and twice over at the end of the last one, so that it occurs twenty-two times in this eighth Book. In the ninth Book it concludes the account of each *fargard* of the Nasks detailed, and is written twice at the end of the second Nask, and twice at the end of the Book; so that it occurs in three series of 22, 24, and 24 repetitions respectively, in the ninth book. As the formula which is thus repeated, consists of four words, it is capable of  $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 = 24$  permutations in the order of its words; and it appears as if the author intended that each of the four series of repetitions of the formula, contained in the two Books, should give all these permutations successively; and, with the exception of a few deviations (chiefly in the first two series, and probably due to the errors of copyists), he has maintained this fanciful peculiarity throughout.”<sup>404</sup>

While this is (numerological) speculation on my part, the number ‘24’ is, I would argue, symbolic of the 24 words of the *Airiīaman Ērmān* (Y 54.1) which represent the culmination of the teleology of Zoroastrian ritual in the Old Avestan texts which themselves are isomorphic with the end of time as we see in Zādspram’s rationale for the 57 years of the resurrection (*rist-āxēz*) in WZ 28.7 (TD4a 545/269r):

403 For the most recent studies of the Avestan fragments, see REDARD 2016, pp. 187–206 and CANTERA 2020a, pp. 69–105.

404 WEST 1892, pp. 11–12, fn. 5.

*ēryaman*<sup>405</sup> ⟨ud⟩ *ašwahišt*<sup>406</sup> *ham-nāf*<sup>407</sup> *abar sar ī gāhān*<sup>408</sup> *ān ī 50 7 sāl ī sōšāns*  
*ān-iz*<sup>409</sup> *rāy ēryaman az ahlāyīh-stāyišn(ih) ī pad sar ī ēryaman-yazišnīh hammis*  
*57*<sup>410</sup> *māriḡ*<sup>411</sup> *čiyōn ēryaman 24 ahlāyīh-stāyišnīh 12* ⟨ud⟩ *ēryaman-yazišnīh 21*  
*hammis 57.*

Ēryaman and Ašwahišt are of the same family (*ham-nāf*) at the end of the *Gādhās*; the 57 years of Sōšāns (are) as well; and for that reason, the *Ēryaman* (and) the ‘Praise of Righteousness’ [= *Ašəm Vohū* in Y 27.14] which is at the head of the ‘Sacrifice to Ēryaman’ [= Y 54.2], are all together 57 words, since the 24 words of the *Ēryaman*, the 12 words of the ‘Praise of Righteousness,’ and the 21 words of the ‘Sacrifice to Ēryaman’ (are) all together 57.<sup>412</sup>

I would submit that having the four words of the *Ašəm Vohū* in ‘24’ permutations at the ends of *fragards* in both *Dēnkard* Books 8 and 9 is precisely a coded symbolic reference to the homologies established in Pahlavi literature between ritual and eschatological teleologies, as argued by MOLÉ in the late 1950s and early 1960s and, more recently, by GERNOT WINDFUHR.<sup>413</sup>

Thus, the narratological unfolding of each *fragard* interpreting its Old Avestan base text culminates with all 24 iterations of this ‘scrambled’ text — a hermeneutical totality — that indexes and numerologically alludes to the end point of the performance of the sacred texts from the *Abunwar* to the *Ēr(ya)mān*. The Pahlavi texts homologize these most sacred of texts with the broader progression of Zoroastrian cosmology culminating in the eschatological events to come, which were, in their hermeneutics, encoded in the 24 words of the *Airūiaman Ēr(ya)mān* in Y 54.1, which not coincidentally, is the final *fragard* of the text.

405 TD4a ⟨’lymn’ Y⟩.

406 TD4a ⟨’šwšt’ and ⟨hšt’ Y⟩ superscripted and ⟨W⟩ on the next line.

407 TD4a ⟨hmn’p’ Y⟩ = ⟨hmnw’c’⟩.

408 TD4a ⟨g’s’n’ Y⟩.

409 TD4a ⟨ZK-c Y⟩.

410 TD4a ⟨50 4 4 3 50 4 3⟩.

411 TD4a ⟨m’lyk’n⟩.

412 Cf. GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, p. 94 who read *ham-nāf* “même famille” whom I follow here; cf. also WEST 1892, p. 405 who read *ham-wāz* “accompanying sayings” and followed in VEVAINA 2005 [2009], p. 219. For a reference to *Ēr(ya)mān* being a collaborator of Ašwahišt, see Dk 3.157 (DE MENASCE 1973, p. 161) though he is not in the list of collaborators in Bd 3 (VEVAINA 2005 [2009], p. 222, fn. 28). See now also the wide-ranging study of PANAINO (2018, pp. 7–50) that argues persuasively for a number of hermeneutical schemas beyond Zadspram’s that deploy, in kind, the 57 years of the Resurrection, thus providing us with a significantly richer view of the hermeneutical diversity found in our late antique texts and demonstrating how the same source materials can be put to different hermeneutical and rhetorical uses and aims. Cf. also PIRART 2018, pp. 225–229 for a discussion of the same sources (e.g., Bd 33.35, 34.7; Dk 3.160, 3.177, 3.407; Dk 7.10.1, 7.10.7; WZ 28.7 [see above], 34.46–48; and their numerological claims.

413 See his “Livres premiers” in MOLÉ 1963 and WINDFUHR 2001, pp. 563–571, who suggests that the 24 words may numerically symbolize the 24 *hāitis* that precede it: the 17 Gathic and the 7 of the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* (p. 566). For the teleology of the *Yasna*, see PANAINO 2017, pp. 72–84.

# Scholarship on Pahlavi Hermeneutics and *Dēnkard* Book 9

## Scholarly Opinions on the *Pahlavi Yasna*

As stated earlier, since the pioneering studies of the Pahlavi translations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>1</sup> the Pahlavi texts have often been marginalized by Iranists working on Avestan (see below).<sup>2</sup> The *Zand* of the ‘Old Avesta’ does, however, play an important role for our understanding of *Dēnkard* Book 9, but several interpretive challenges are worth noting.<sup>3</sup> The main difficulties associated with the Pahlavi translation of the *Gādās* are, in the main, twofold. Firstly, the greatly simplified morphology of Pahlavi compared to its Old Iranian ancestors makes it incapable of rendering precisely the highly differentiated inflectional system of Old Avestan. Secondly, the Pahlavi translation renders the Old Avestan text word-for-word, maintaining the Avestan word order,<sup>4</sup> which differs from its own and makes the syntax notoriously difficult to parse.

- 1 See, for example, SPIEGEL 1868; MILLS 1887 [2000]; 1889, pp. 65–70; 1892; and 1894 and DHALLA 1908, UNVALA 1924; and DHABHAR 1927. See also DHABHAR 1949 and 1963 from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, which have proven foundational in our research up to the present.
- 2 Notable exceptions to this marginalization are SHAKED 1996, pp. 641–656 and 2004, pp. 333–344, who had a more balanced view regarding the utility of the Pahlavi translations for the study of the Zoroastrian textual tradition; JOSEPHSON 1997; 1999, pp. 147–178; and 2005, pp. 357–374; and CANTERA 1999, pp. 173–204; 2004; and 2006, pp. 35–68, who have extensively studied and published on the translation techniques found in the *Pahlavi Yasna* and the *Pahlavi Videvdad*. For a comprehensive history of Avestan studies as it intersects with the Pahlavi translations, see CANTERA 2004, pp. 35–105, and, most recently, ZEINI 2020, pp. 28–39, which anticipates and elaborates on much of what is said in this section.
- 3 The primary scholarly resources are the text and translations of MILLS 1894; the commonly cited text (in Pahlavi script) of DHABHAR 1949; the linguistic and philological studies of CANTERA 1999; 2004; and 2006 (see note above), and JOSEPHSON 1997 and 2003a, pp. 7–34. We now have the text (in transcription) of MALANDRA/ICHAPORIA/HUMBACH 2010 and MALANDRA/ICHAPORIA 2013 as well. None of them can properly be called critical editions. ALMUT HINTZE and her Team at SOAS are currently working on this project.
- 4 For Gathic syntax, see WILKINS SMITH 1929 and, more recently, WEST 2011. For Avestan more generally with OAv. examples, see the survey article of SKJÆRVØ 2009a, pp. 43–195, in particular, pp. 94–166.

The evident lack of extensive grammatical sciences in Iran in the Sasanian era and the seemingly ‘impressionistic’ understanding of Avestan grammatical structures by Pahlavi exegetes are undoubtedly some of the major causes for their use of ‘creative philology’ in rendering the *Gādās* into Pahlavi.<sup>5</sup> It has often been suggested that ‘word-for-word’ translations, that is, formal equivalence,<sup>6</sup> place more importance on reproducing the qualities of the source language, in this case the sacred language of Avestan (and the poetic syntax of the *Gādās*), while sacrificing readability in the target language, in this case Pahlavi.<sup>7</sup> The result of this linguistic adaptation has generally been described by Avestan scholars in negative terms. MARTIN HAUG, one of the first scholars (with FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL) to recognize that the language of the *Gādās* was more archaic than the rest of the extant Avestan corpus, and so suggested that they alone contained Zaratustra’s ‘original’ teachings. He stated quite unequivocally in 1907:

“The Pahlavi versions of the Avesta throw but little light upon the obscure passages in the original text, which are generally rendered by a slavishly literal translation, or even transliteration, with some faint attempt at explanation, more or less unfortunate in its result.”<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the last century, HAUG’s Oxford-based American contemporary, LAWRENCE H. MILLS, was particularly critical of his contemporaries and their fetishizing of etymology as an index for adjudicating the competencies of the traditional hermeneuts:

“But in the Gātha [in original - YSDV] commentaries, context often gives us no aid at all. Accuracy may be wholly wanting in one place, where the most valu-

5 See KLINGENSCHMITT 1968 and NYBERG *et al.* 1988 for studies of the *Frabang ī Ōīm* and the *Frabang ī Pahlawīg* respectively.

6 The *Septuagint* and *Targum Onqelos* are two better known examples of this type of liturgically-based translation (COHEN 1989, p. 211). To quote SHAPIRA (1998, pp. xxxi–xxxii): “... indeed, the Jewish Targum is the best parallel to the Zoroastrian Zand. The most important common notion about both Jewish Targumim and Zoroastrian Zands is that both were originally supposed to be, on the one hand, strictly oral and literal, and, on the other hand, they were fluid, non-fixed, open to re-working.” He goes on to contrast them by citing two features not found in the Jewish Targumim: “First, they use quotations in names of different sages, like ‘NN said that ...’, but NN said that’, or ‘but some say’, found in Jewish writings in other genres of commentary literature, namely in the Mishnah and Gemara, but not in the Targum; second, the Zands frequently possess, in addition to the word-by-word translation and midrashic material, also more than one set of glosses.”

7 Translations based on dynamic equivalence which operate on ‘sense-for-sense’ or ‘meaning-for-meaning’ attempt to foster readability in the target language.

8 HAUG 1907 [2005], p. 338. His views were especially influential in India in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In his public lectures in Bombay and Pune, he forcefully argued that the prophet Zaratustra taught a pure, ethical monotheism and a philosophical dualism and that there was scant evidence for a ritualistic reading of the *Gādās*, and that Zaratustra’s ethical teachings were corrupted by later generations (BOYCE 1979 [2001], pp. 202–203). His views are still widely held by Parsis today both in India and in the diaspora. See also HERRENSCHMIDT 1987, pp. 209–237 and 1988, pp. 300–340; RINGER 2011; and MARCHAND 2016, pp. 203–245.

able results await us at the next word. As a consequence many of us (unconsciously) clubbed together to keep up our appearances while we ignored or (unintentionally) misrepresented the whole subject. And one of the least critical remarks that we have ever made was that the translations of the Gāthas depend upon a crude application of ‘etymology,’ without any report of the actual sense.”<sup>9</sup>

MILLS was somewhat more sanguine about the quality of the Pahlavi translations in his general approach to the subject:

“The remark of one writer to the effect that this Pahlavi text [*i.e.*, Y 27.13 – YSDV] is *verdorben* I cannot admit, as it is not any more in that condition than most of these traditional expositions. It would not be critical to expect perfection in it, ignoring the obvious fact that, like its fellows, it must have been rewritten repeatedly in the course of many centuries of its existence; I find myself, on the contrary, fairly grateful that we have such texts as lie before us. Not a single word here fails to report a correct root-idea, while the failures as to grammatical form are only up to a fair average of what may be expected; and every one of these errors is, when detected, of value to put us well upon our guard against a confidence which might be otherwise too unreserved.”<sup>10</sup>

In closing his article defending the native semantic system of the Pahlavi interpreters, MILLS inverts the regnant disciplinary priorities of his philological peers:

“So the translations are often richest for research where they are the worst as mere renderings. What we need the most is not even their vast body of correct root-etymology, so dear to a beginner: the thing for a true constructor is the seeming heap-rubbish out of which glints here and there the gold of discoveries.”<sup>11</sup>

Ninety years later, no less of a giant of Avestan studies, HELMUT HUMBACH, who published four translations of the *Gāthās*,<sup>12</sup> maintained a similar position to HAUG:

“...the Pahlavi translation of the Gāthās being full of misinterpretations of grammatical forms and of erroneous etymologies of Gāthic words.”<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, countering the views of HAUG and HUMBACH, we have SHAUL SHAKED who has stated:

“One thing is clear; the Zand of the *Gāthās* is not an inept translation of a text, done by people who had little knowledge of its language. Most of the translations occurring in the Zand are perfectly correct, or at least as acceptable philologically as our own. But the Zand aims not merely at literally rendering the text ... It not only fulfills the purpose of clarifying the meaning of the scriptures, but provides also the didactic function of transmitting the values and central conceptions of

9 MILLS 1900, p. 287.

10 MILLS 1910, pp. 61–62.

11 MILLS 1900, p. 294.

12 HUMBACH 1959; HUMBACH *et al.* 1991; HUMBACH/ICHAPORIA 1998; and HUMBACH/FAISS 2010.

13 HUMBACH 1996, p. 260.

the Zoroastrian religion as they were perceived at the time when the *Zand* was composed or got its final redaction.”<sup>14</sup>

Likewise, PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ has suggested a rationale for the state of the Pahlavi translations based on his work on the dynamics of the oral transmission of Iranian sacred literature:

“It is evident that the Pahlavi translations neither reflect Avestan syntax faithfully nor do they always render the word meanings correctly. One way to account for these differences is to assume that respect for the holy texts delayed the process of adding commentaries and translations, so that by the time it started, the texts were no longer completely intelligible.”<sup>15</sup>

He goes on to contradict the more negative assessments of prior scholars regarding the Pahlavi translations and their fidelity to the Avestan source texts:

“It is sometimes assumed that the Pahlavi version of the *Avesta* was made and added to the Avestan text in the Sasanian period (thus BOYCE 1968, p. 34), which would account for the lack of comprehension on the part of the translator, especially of the *Gādās*. The Pahlavi translations are relatively faithful to the originals, however, and since the Avestan and the Middle Persian languages were too dissimilar for mutual, or even one-way, comprehension, we must conclude that the Pahlavi version is based on a long tradition of having contemporary versions of the holy texts accompanied by commentaries.”<sup>16</sup>

The last two decades have seen a renewed interest in the linguistic dimensions of the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna*, especially in the works of JUDITH JOSEPHSON and ALBERTO CANTERA and his students. Among the latter’s many penetrating discoveries, the following points need to be mentioned in the context of the present study. CANTERA argues that the language of the *Zand* represents an early stage of Pahlavi, which is comparable with the corpora of the Manichean texts, Inscriptional Middle Persian, and the Pahlavi Psalter.<sup>17</sup> He uses the term “Frühpahlavi” (‘Early Pahlavi’) to designate a stage antedating Book Pahlavi characterized by the preservation of almost all persons of the subjunctive mood<sup>18</sup> and the distinction between the direct and the oblique case of the 1<sup>st</sup> sg. pronoun,<sup>19</sup> the nouns

14 SHAKED 1996, pp. 649–650.

15 SKJÆRVØ 1999, p. 12.

16 SKJÆRVØ 1999, p. 13, fn. 23.

17 CANTERA 1999, p. 202.

18 CANTERA 1999, pp. 177–193. He argues that in Book Pahlavi only the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. remain. However, forms such as the 1<sup>st</sup> sg. subj. *šud būd hān* are also attested (SKJÆRVØ, unpublished); see also the review of CANTERA 2004 in SKJÆRVØ 2008c, pp. 1–20.

19 The independent personal pronouns have only one form, except the 1<sup>st</sup> sg., which in early Book Pahlavi had a separate direct form, but in later Pahlavi only one: ⟨ANE⟩ for *an* (direct) ~ ⟨L⟩ for *man* (oblique) with the oblique being generalized in NP. The direct case is used as grammatical subject, as direct object, and in address (vocative), while the oblique case is used in a variety of other functions: agent, indirect object, and after prepositions and the *ī*.

of relationship,<sup>20</sup> and in the plural of all nouns.<sup>21</sup> The importance of CANTERA's work becomes evident when we attempt to evaluate the various arguments put forth in Zoroastrian studies regarding the (pre)history of the *Zand* and the interplay between orality and writing in the Zoroastrian commentarial tradition. SHAKED stated his position as follows:

“It is notoriously difficult to decide whether there was a written Avesta in the Sasanian period, or whether it was first written as a codex only with the advent of Islam. I should like here merely to state my conviction that during the Sasanian period we have to do essentially with an oral «scripture», despite the contradiction in terms that this combination seems to imply.”<sup>22</sup>

SHAKED went on to add:

“In the Sasanian period, I would argue, the Avesta was a holy text but it was not, to all practical purposes, a written book, even though it may have existed in writing.”<sup>23</sup>

More recently he had argued:

“No explicit prohibition to write down the Pahlavi commentaries in book form is known to us, but orality was certainly the rule concerning the transmission of the *zand* during the Sasanian period, just as it was with regard to the Avesta. In this sense the split between the two corpora of texts did not affect their mode of transmission. Orality may have been simply a reflection of conservatism. At one point, perhaps in the sixth century CE, a decision was taken to commit the Avesta to writing, and this decision may have applied at the same time also to the traditional exegesis of the scriptures. We have no information as to who took that decision. It may be surmised that this was the result of a decline in priestly schools, where the scriptures were memorized, and a fear that the contents of these oral scriptures would be lost. The decision, which heralded a break with a long tradition, may not have been easy to take. For the Avestan text, it required the invention of a new script, a task that was accomplished by adding a large number of symbols to those existing in Pahlavi in order to indicate the vowels, short and long, as well as distinctive symbols for several consonants. The existing

20 *pid* (direct) “father” versus *pidar* (oblique).

21 CANTERA 1999, pp. 194–202. For example, *mard* (direct, sg.) : *mard* (direct, pl.) versus *mard* (oblique, sg.) : *mardān* (oblique, pl.). It is worth noting that the diagnostic features and methodology that CANTERA used were largely based on SKJÆRVØ's earlier work on case in Inscriptional Middle Persian, Parthian and the Pahlavi Psalter (SKJÆRVØ 1983, pp. 47–62 and 151–181). Unlike the epigraphic material which can be assigned absolute dates, the vast bulk of Book Pahlavi can only be dated using a relative chronology, and thus the assigning of the terms ‘early’ and ‘late’ to texts within the Pahlavi corpus will likely remain somewhat subjective, especially when the dynamics of orality are factored into our analyses. That being said, CANTERA's arguments for the relatively early stage of Pahlavi, presumably in the late Parthian or early Sasanian era, seems very credible to my eyes.

22 SHAKED 1996, p. 643.

23 SHAKED 1996, p. 644.



Pahlavi script relied on the priests and scribes knowing how to pronounce the words simply by keeping in memory the shapes of the words.”<sup>24</sup>

MARY BOYCE, on the other hand, took a different position:

“It is also generally thought that the longest of the commentaries, which were developed by generations of scholiasts and were written continued to the ninth or even tenth centuries, were based on a written text; and their length indicates that this text was set down in the Sasanian period, very possibly at the same time as the Avesta.”<sup>25</sup>

Countering SHAKED’s claim regarding a long period of oral transmission of the *Zand*, BOYCE stated:

“For this to be so one would have to suppose that even the longest commentaries had been fully memorized down to that time. In itself such a possibility could not be dismissed, since the trained memories of those who not rely on written records can be phenomenal; but the likelihood of several hundred years separating the writing down of the Avesta from that of its exegesis is really too remote to be seriously considered.”<sup>26</sup>

It is worth pointing out that BOYCE herself cites a passage from the *Dēnkard* (Dk 5.24.13b || B [359] || DH 264r || DkM 460, 7–8) in order to stress the importance of the oral tradition:

“As late as the 9<sup>th</sup> century it was explicitly stated: *zīndag gōwišnīg saxwan az ān ī pad +nibišt*<sup>27</sup> *mādagwardar hangārdan čimīg* ... ‘it is reasonable to consider the living spoken word more important than the written.’”<sup>28</sup>

GERT KLINGENSCHMITT, too, based on his linguistic studies of the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna*, argued against a complete rupture between the period when the Pahlavi versions of Avestan material were created and the period when the final redactions were put in place. KLINGENSCHMITT cites the many ‘correct’ words and interpretations, which he ascribes to a living tradition and cites the archaic spellings of certain Pahlavi words as proof that the manuscripts display an early stage of Pahlavi.<sup>29</sup> While his claim is not controversial today, it is an

24 SHAKED 2015a, p. 49.

25 BOYCE 1996, p. 14.

26 BOYCE 1996, p. 14.

27 B (NPŠE).

28 BOYCE 1968a, p. 35; see also VEVAINA 2012, p. 473.

29 KLINGENSCHMITT 1978, pp. 93–107. He cites the following words as evidence [N.B., for consistency, I have cited them according to the transliteration convention of MACKENZIE 1971]: ⟨yzt’⟩ for *yazd* “god” || ⟨whšt’⟩ for *wabišt* “best” || ⟨h’wšt’⟩ for *hāwišt* “student” || ⟨gytyd’⟩ or ⟨gytyk’⟩ for *gētīg* “the material world” || ⟨’pwln’d’⟩ for *aburnāy* “child” || ⟨lpytpyn’⟩ for *rapihwin* “the afternoon gāh” || ⟨slyšwtk’⟩ for *srišwadag* “one-third” || ⟨ptyd’lk’⟩ for *petyārag* “adversary” || ⟨hptw(k)lng’⟩ for *haftōring* “the Great Bear” [N.B., found in astrological usages] (p. 95); cf. also JOSEPHSON 1997, p. 11, fn. 7.

important factor in reading Pahlavi texts, both for traditional interpreters as well as for contemporary scholars.

PHILIP KREYENBROEK, arguing from the perspective of an oralist and linguistic field worker, views the *Zand* as reflecting an oral tradition at a time when the source language (Avestan) was no longer controlled by the priests:

“To an oralist the Pahlavi Zand is a mine of information, illustrating the way in which an oral tradition, with its evident limitations, coped with the need to produce and memorise the translation of a large work in a language that was no more than half-understood.”<sup>30</sup>

ARASH ZEINI, the latest scholar to engage with the *Zand* in a sustained and thoughtful way, concludes his recent book by arguing for the importance of viewing these texts as the scholastic projects they undoubtedly represent:

“From a scholastic vantage point, scripture and its exegesis depend on one another, each informing the other’s development. The exegetes’ engagement with the *Avesta* certainly contributed to its present arrangement, determining the order of the texts, repetitions and cross-references. And at times exegesis became incorporated into the scripture (Y 19–21). The Pahlavi translations of the *Avesta* do not stand alone and are deeply intertwined with other MP texts in a meaningful way.”<sup>31</sup>

It is precisely the dimension of meaning-making which has been so marginalized in Iranian philology, and which has proven to be such a source of disciplinary frustration for ZEINI and myself in our very complementary projects.

## Hermeneutic Tropes and Interpretive Tendencies in the *Pahlavi Yasna*

More relevant for our purposes, are the studies devoted to the hermeneutic character of the *Zand*. SHAKED and JOSEPHSON both identify a general tendency in the translations and exegetical glosses to highlight and elaborate upon the eschatological dimensions of the texts.<sup>32</sup> JOSEPHSON points out that certain themes are developed in the Pahlavi version of the *Gāḏās* that are simply not found in the Avestan original. The most frequent is the eschatological concept of *tan ī pasēn* (“the Final Body”), which does not translate any word in the original, but, according to JOSEPHSON, occurs 31 times in the extant Pahlavi version.<sup>33</sup> She also points out an evolution in the conception of the high god (Av. Ahura Mazdā; Pahl. Ohrmazd) and his relationship to humans who sacrifice to him: the idea of reciprocity in sacrifice — gift-exchange between the human and

30 KREYENBROEK 1996, p. 225.

31 ZEINI 2020, p. 300.

32 SHAKED 1996, p. 648.

33 JOSEPHSON 2003a, pp. 30–31.

divine realms — a key component in the ‘Old Avesta.’<sup>34</sup> JOSEPHSON argues that in the Pahlavi version Ohrmazd is no longer in need of such forms of worship to increase his strength.<sup>35</sup> With such examples, she draws an important conclusion for the internal history of the *Zand* of the *Gāḏās*:

“The long lapse of time between the creation of the Phl. version and the post-Sasanian period has also left its mark. The text itself appears to have been little changed over the centuries but the commentary is in all probability a good deal later than the translation itself.”<sup>36</sup>

JOSEPHSON goes on to suggest that the rationale for these accretions was to make the text relevant for contemporary people without changing the wording of the old version.<sup>37</sup> This raises a relevant question: to what extent did lay people have access to the *Gāḏās* and their *Zand* at the time in question? The question of public accessibility to the *Zand* is explicitly addressed in ZWY 2.1–4 (DH 231r || K20 130r || K20b 20v || K43a 262v):

*pad*<sup>38</sup> *zand* *ī*<sup>39</sup> *wahuman yasn*<sup>40</sup> *ud hordad yasn ud aštād*<sup>41</sup> *yasn paydāg kū*<sup>42</sup> *+ēw*<sup>43</sup> *bār*<sup>44</sup> *gizistag mazdak*<sup>45</sup> *ī bāmdādān ī dēn-petyārag ō paydāgīh*<sup>46</sup> *āmad*<sup>47</sup> *u-šān petyārag pad dēn* *ī*<sup>48</sup> *yazdān kard*<sup>49</sup>. (2) *ud ān anōšag-ruwān*<sup>50</sup> *husrōy*<sup>51</sup> *(ī kawādān) (husrōy ī) +māhwīndādān*<sup>52</sup> *ud šāhpur*<sup>53</sup> *ī dād-ohrmazd ī*

34 See HINTZE 2002a and 2004, pp. 27–45 and SKJÆRVØ 2008a, pp. 493–520.

35 JOSEPHSON 2003a, p. 32.

36 JOSEPHSON 2003a, p. 33. Her argument is perhaps in need of further nuance since PY 1, for instance, stresses “fee” *mizd* and “recompense” *pādāšn* and is in line with the more archaic conceptions in Old Avestan.

37 JOSEPHSON 2003a, p. 33.

38 K20b (PW).

39 Not in K20.

40 K20b (yšn' hwrđt yšt') at the end of the ms.

41 DH (št't' 'št't') with the first form malformed and subsequently corrected || K43a (hwrt' 'št').

42 K20 (OĎ).

43 DH, , K20, K43a (HNA) for *ēd* commonly conflated with (HD) for *ēw*.

44 K43a (b'l MNW).

45 DH (mzd̄k Y b'md̄t'n) || K43a (mzđyk Y n'mđ't W gnđ) || K20 (mzyđkY) and (b'mđ't'n) on the next line.

46 K20, K43a (pyt'kyh) || DH (pyt'k).

47 DH, K43a (YATWN-t(')) || K20 (YATWN-yt).

48 K43a || not in DH, K20.

49 DH (krt' W) || K20 (krtn') || K43a (krtn') and (krtn') on the next line.

50 K20b (nšklwb'n).

51 DH (hwslwy) || K43a (hwslwwy).

52 DH (m'hwd̄t'n) presumably for (m'hwnd̄t'n) || K43a (m'hđ't'n) || K20 (m'h) and (đ't'n 'W).

53 DH (š'hṗwl-Y) || K43a (š'hṗwl Y) || K20 (š'ṗwl) || CANTERA (2004, p. 218, fn. 148) suggests: “Die Möglichkeit einer Lesung *wešābubr* wird durch die Erwähnung Wešābuhrs im Konzil gegen Mazdak im Brief Manuščihrs (1.4.17) wahrscheinlich gemacht.”

<sup>54</sup>{*ādurbādagān dastwarān*<sup>55</sup> *ud ādur-farnbay*<sup>56</sup> *ī a-drō ud* *ādur-bād*<sup>57</sup> *(ī) ādur-mihr ud baxtāfrīd ō pēš* <sup>58</sup>*xwāst*. (3) *u-š*<sup>59</sup> *paymān aziš xwāst*<sup>60</sup> *kū ēn* <sup>61</sup>*yasnihā* *pad nihān ma dārēd*<sup>62</sup> *bē pad paywand*<sup>63</sup> *ī ašmā zand*<sup>64</sup> *ma čāšēd*. (4) *awēšān andar husrōy paymān kard*.

“It is manifest from the *Zand* of the *Wahuman Yasn*, the *Hordād Yasn*, and the *Aštād Yasn* that once the accursed Mazdak, son of Bāmdād, the Adversary of the Tradition, appeared, and they [*i.e.*, his followers] brought adversity to the Tradition of the gods.

(2) Husrōy of immortal soul [= Husraw II, r. 531–579 CE], son of Kawād, summoned to his presence <sup>65</sup>\*Husrōy, the son of <sup>66</sup>\*Māhwindād, Šābuhr, son of Dād-ohrmazd of the priestly authorities (*dastwarān*) of Azerbaijan (*ādurbādagān*), Ādurfarnbay the deceitless, Ādurbād, son of Ādurmihr, and Baxtāfrīd. (3) He requested from them an agreement (*paymān*), (saying): ‘Do not keep these *Yasnas* secret, but do not teach the *Zand* outside your (priestly) lineage (*paywand*).’ (4) They made the agreement with Husrōy.”<sup>65</sup>

We find a similar sentiment echoed in the medieval Zoroastrian Persian corpus as well. For example, we find in the Persian *Sad-dar Našr* (99.1–4):

اینکه موبدان و دستوران و ردان و هیربدان را نشاید که همه کسی را پهلوی آموزند (۲) که زرتشت از هورمزد پرسید که پهلوی آموختن مر کسان را شاید (۳) هورمزد به افزونی جواب داد که هر که از نسل تو باشد موبد و دستور و هیربدی که خردمند باشد (۴) دیگر هیچ کس را نشاید جز از اینکه گفته ام اگر دیگران را آموزد او را عظیم گناه باشد اگر بسیار کار کرده کرده باشد فرجام او را بدزوخ بود

“The 99<sup>th</sup> chapter is this: It is not proper for *mowbeds* and *dastūrs* and *rads* and *hērbeds* to teach Pahlavi to everyone. (2) For Zartošt asked Hormazd: ‘To whom is it proper to teach Pahlavi?’ (3) Hormazd in (his) bounteous nature replied: ‘Everyone who is of your seed: a *mowbed* and a *dastūr* and a *hērbed* who is wise. (4) It is not proper to teach other people other than those that I have said; if one teaches it to others, it is a great sin for him; if he has done many good works, in the end he will (still) be in Hell.”<sup>66</sup>

54 Sequence omitted in K43a due to a jump omission.

55 K20 || DH ⟨đstwb|⟩.

56 DH ⟨'twrplnb'y⟩ || K20 ⟨'twrplb'y⟩.

57 DH ⟨'twr⟩ and ⟨p't' 'twr mtr'⟩ || K43a ⟨'twrp't' wrmtr'⟩.

58 K20 ⟨WBOYHWN-st⟩ || DH ⟨BOOYHN-st⟩ || K43a ⟨BOYHWWN-yt⟩.

59 K20 ⟨W AṖ-š⟩.

60 DH ⟨BOYHN-st⟩ || K20, K43a ⟨hw'st⟩.

61 K20 ⟨ysnyh'⟩ || DH ⟨ysn' yh'⟩ = ⟨ysn' š'⟩ perhaps for <sup>67</sup>\**yasn* ⟨ī⟩ *šā* “*Yasna* of the king(s)” || K43a ⟨kyšyh'⟩ with three dots over the ⟨š'⟩ so perhaps for *kay-šā*.

62 K20 ⟨YHŠWN-yt⟩ || DH ⟨DHSWN-yt'⟩ || K43a ⟨DHDYWN-yt⟩.

63 DH, K20 ⟨ptwnd⟩ || K43a ⟨ptwđ⟩ || CANTERA reads *paymān*.

64 DH, K43a || smudged or miswritten in K20.

65 Cf. REZANIA 2012, pp. 486–487; cf. also CANTERA 2004, p. 218; and CERETI 1995, pp. 133–134 and p. 150.

66 DHABHAR 1909, p. 67; cf. WEST 1885, p. 360.

SHAKED, for his part, suggests that lay people were discouraged from studying the scriptures on their own and that guidance was rather sought from priests at the priestly school(s) (*hērbedestān*).<sup>67</sup>

Turning from questions of social access to more philological matters of translation, our understanding of the glossing system of the Pahlavi translations *as hermeneutical processes* is, unfortunately, still rather nascent, but certain aspects have been elucidated. JUDITH JOSEPHSON describes the native semantic system as follows:

“In summary the basic system of word for word equivalences between Avestan and Pahlavi was complemented by analysis of the context in which they occurred. The results of the analysis could override the word for word correspondences and lead to the usage of a different word than the usual. Finally there was the religious aspect in which the contemporary theological interpretation could also influence the choice of a word in the Pahlavi version.”<sup>68</sup>

In her work on the translation techniques specifically in the Pahlavi version of the *Gādās*, JOSEPHSON discusses certain key words that do *not* appear in the *Gādās*, but instead act “as a kind of guided interpretation of the text” and serve to represent the values and interpretive priorities of the Zoroastrian priesthood:

“The most frequent of these words are *hāwišt* ‘disciple’ and *hērbedestān* ‘priestly school’ and even, occasionally *mowbed mowbedān* ‘high priest’. They reveal a hierarchy which leads from Ohrmazd to Zarathuštra, to the *mowbed mowbedān*, and from him down to the sacrificer, the *hērbed* and *hāwišt*. They emphasize the teaching function of the priests and the importance of training disciples and running the religious schools, *hērbedestān*.”<sup>69</sup>

JOSEPHSON concludes her article on the semantics of the Pahlavi translations of the *Avesta* by stating:

“The detailed study of how a cluster of phonetically and semantically similar words in Avestan was rendered in Pahlavi shows that the priestly translators must have applied a traditional form of semantic analysis in establishing a vocabulary in Pahlavi which would most closely reflect the original. Some of their choices of equivalent words were inexact or incorrect but they were based on the information available to them in their day and were neither random nor automatic.”<sup>70</sup>

In the following discussions, we shall see how these principles play themselves out in regard to Zoroastrian hermeneutical texts and the various interpretive techniques mobilized by the Zoroastrian interpreters of the *Sūdgar Nask*.

67 SHAKED 1996, p. 642. See also REZANIA 2012, pp. 479–494, in particular, pp. 486–491.

68 JOSEPHSON 1999, pp. 174–175.

69 JOSEPHSON 2003a, p. 17.

70 JOSEPHSON 1999, p. 177.

Editions, Translations and Studies of *Dēnkard* Book 9

No critical edition of *Dēnkard* Book 9 and all its published manuscripts exists. The most commonly cited translation is from 1892 by EDWARD WILLIAM WEST in the *Sacred Books of the East* series.<sup>71</sup> As ground-breaking as that work was for its time, our philological and editorial practices are far more refined today, and our cultural assumptions regarding ancient texts and the interpretive cultures they reflect are more sophisticated than a century ago. Despite our advances, the footnotes of WEST in his *Sacred Books of the East* volumes are often master classes in hermeneutical philology with great sensitivity to the issues animating the social interests of his priestly counterparts and living adherents of Zoroastrianism. Unfortunately, the lack of a critical edition of *Dēnkard* Book 9 has been a major obstacle to work on the theological importance of the text, which I hope the present work will help to redress.

There are two complete text editions of the *Dēnkard*. DASTUR PESHOTUN BEHRAMJEE SANJANA and his son, DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, published *The Dīnkard* in 19 volumes from 1874 to 1928. The first eight volumes were published from 1874 to 1897. A year after the father's death, vol. IX, which had been prepared by him, was revised and published by his son, who continued to publish the rest of the text in nine further volumes (1907–1928).<sup>72</sup> The SANJANA father and son duo used manuscript 'B' for their edition (see below).

In 1911, DHANJISHAH MEHERJIBHAI MADAN published *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dīnkard*, Part I (Books 3–5) and Part II (Books 6–9) which is essentially a typeset of manuscript 'B.' Due to a dispute between MADAN and the younger SANJANA, the edition of MADAN lacks the 43 folios that were in the latter's possession.<sup>73</sup> MADAN filled the lacunae using 'DH' and four copies of the missing folios made by Dastur Eruchji Meherji Rana (in the Mulla Feroz Library, Mumbai), Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, Ervad Edulji Kersaspji Antia, and Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp. MADAN compared the latter three copies with Meherji Rana's copy to ensure accuracy<sup>74</sup> and he described his editorial role as follows:

"The part which was assigned to me in the publication of this work was not that of an editor. My instructions were most scrupulously to publish a copy, and an exact copy of the ms. B. I have therefore not amended even patent mistakes in the manuscript wherever they occurred."<sup>75</sup>

71 The traditional numbering of the divisions (*fragards*) and sub-divisions of *Dēnkard* Books 8 and 9 is based on WEST 1892.

72 Dk Book 9 occupies vols. XVII–XIX.

73 MADAN 1911, pp. vi–vii.

74 MADAN 1911, pp. vii–viii.

75 MADAN 1911, p. ix. Despite this statement, MADAN parsed the text and separated each discrete word in the published typeface and since his edition has been conventionally treated as the text of the *Dēnkard*, his editorial decisions have been naturalized by later

In 1966, MARK J. DRESDEN published a facsimile of manuscript ‘B’ with the addition of the text of the missing folios of ‘B’ from ‘MR.’<sup>76</sup> It is worth reiterating that while the editions listed above are text editions, they are not strictly critical editions, since they do not provide a critical apparatus nor discuss in detail the relative values and relationships of the manuscripts.

In addition to these complete text editions of the extant *Dēnkard*, several critical editions and translations of individual books of the *Dēnkard* have been published. In 1881 and 1886, LOUIS CHARLES CASARTELLI translated sections of Book 3.<sup>77</sup> EDWARD WILLIAM WEST included the beginning of Book 5 and all of Book 7 in his translations in the *Sacred Books of the East (SBE)* 47 in 1897 and his translations of Books 8–9 in the *SBE* 37 in 1892. In 1963, MARIJAN MOLÉ translated several sections of *Dēnkard* Book 9 in his *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l’iran ancien: Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne*. MOLÉ’s text and translation of sections of Book 5 and all of Book 7 were published posthumously as *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi* in 1967 by JEAN DE MENASCE. A complete translation (without text) of Book 3 was published by DE MENASCE himself in 1973. SHAUL SHAKED published an edition of Book 6 in 1979. An edition of Book 4, based on the text of MADAN (1911), has now been published in Persian by MARYAM REZAI in 2014. An edition of Book 5 by JALEH AMOUZGAR and AHMAD TAFAZZOLI was published in 2000.<sup>78</sup> TAFAZZOLI’s 1966 dissertation from the University of Tehran, *Taṣṭiḥ va tarjome-ye Sutkar nask va Varšt-mānsar nask az Dinkard-e 9 va sanješ-e in do nask bā matnhā-ye avestā’i bā vāže-nāme pahlavi-fārsi*,<sup>79</sup> remained unpublished till 2018 when it was reprinted by JALEH AMOUZGAR (YEGĀNEH).<sup>80</sup> In addition, texts related to *Dēnkard* Book 9 were discussed in HAROLD W. BAILEY’s *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-century Books* from 1943 [1971].<sup>81</sup> R. C. ZAEHNER’s *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma* from 1955 also has a number of passages from *Dēnkard* Book 9.<sup>82</sup>

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scholarship. For an example of the problematics of relying on MADAN 1911, see VEVAINA 2011, pp. 237–269, in particular pp. 249–252.

76 DRESDEN 1966.

77 English translation in CASARTELLI 1889.

78 For surveys of the literature and bibliography of the Pahlavi corpus, see WEST 1896–1904 [1974], pp. 75–129; BOYCE 1968a, pp. 32–66; DE MENASCE 1975, pp. 543–556; DE MENASCE 1983, pp. 1166–1195; and the book-length treatment of CERETI 2001. See more recently, the substantial survey of MACUCH 2009, pp. 116–190; CERETI 2015; ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2015, pp. 519–528; and most recently, DARYAEE 2018, pp. 103–121.

79 TAFAZZOLI’s dissertation in Persian, based on MADAN 1911, contains an Introduction, a handwritten Pahlavi Text, a word-for-word rendering — a Transcription of sorts — of the Pahlavi into Persian, a Persian translation of the *Sūdgar* and *Varšt-mānsr Nasks*, and a Glossary. The *Bag Nask*, no doubt due to its size, was left out.

80 TAFAZZOLI 2019 [N.B., there are some new typos not found in the original dissertation and noted in my Apparatus].

81 In particular, see Part V. in BAILEY 1943 [1971], pp. 149–176.

82 ZAEHNER 1955 [1971], p. 460 cites the following passages from *Dēnkard* Book 9 that are relevant for this edition: DkM 802, 18; 803, 17; 804, 20; 817, 17.

The only synthetic study of the contents of the *Dēnkard* is that of JEAN DE MENASCE, *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne: Le Dēnkart* from 1958.<sup>83</sup> The unpublished dissertation of DAN SHAPIRA, written under SHAUL SHAKED at The Hebrew University, *Studies in Zoroastrian Exegesis: Zand* was submitted in 1998 and contains many valuable discussions of various sections of *Dēnkard* Books 8 and 9, as well as a host of other Pahlavi texts.<sup>84</sup> Since the completion of my dissertation in 2007, articles by PALLAN ICHAPORIA<sup>85</sup> and PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ<sup>86</sup> have appeared, as well as a complete translation of the *Sūdgar Nask* by RAHAM ASHA in 2009, all of which I have profitably consulted.<sup>87</sup>

## Contextualizing the Scholarship on *Dēnkard* Book 9

As mentioned earlier, no detailed study of *Dēnkard* Book 9 exists nor do we have a book-length study of Zoroastrian hermeneutics as mentioned earlier. Rather, the scholarly attitudes taken towards the three *nasks* illustrate the values and priorities of us Iranists. Remarks on the text in the 19<sup>th</sup> century focused on style, but also on the contents, and several pertinent observations were made. EDWARD WILLIAM WEST, its first translator, characterized the style of Book 9 (and 8) of the *Dēnkard* as follows:

“The eighth and ninth books also contain very few of those involved sentences, with long parenthetical clauses, which, owing to the habitual absence or misplacement of stops, are very perplexing to a translator. The chief difficulties of the text arise from its synoptical character, and the consequent want of connection between its sentences; there being often too little context to define the meaning of a doubtful word.”<sup>88</sup>

WEST described the first of the three *nasks* as follows:

“The purpose of the *Sūdgar* was apparently (as its name imports) to extract useful instruction from the text, and to illustrate it with legends and remarks.”<sup>89</sup>

83 For *Dēnkard* Book 9 in particular, see chap. 3; see also WEST 1896–1904 [1974], p. 98 and the chapter on the *Dēnkard* in TAVADIA 1956, pp. 45–73, which anticipates much of DE MENASCE 1958. It should be noted that the focus of both TAVADIA and DE MENASCE was largely on the earlier apologetic books, notably Book 3.

84 SHAPIRA (1998, Appendices, pp. 9–227) translates the following sections of Books 8 and 9 that are relevant: Dk 8.1–4; §9.6, 9.8, 9.10, 9.12, 9.15–16, 9.21; Dk 9.30–32, 9.35, 9.37–38, 9.44, 9.57, 9.60, and 9.66.

85 ICHAPORIA 2006, pp. 519–541.

86 SKJÆRVØ 2008b, pp. 533–549.

87 ASHA 2009.

88 WEST 1892, p. xlvi.

89 WEST 1892, pp. 172–173, fn. 4.



He suggested that the chief aim of the *Waršt mānsr Nask* was to quote and cite texts from the *Gāthās* and from other lost Avestan sources.<sup>90</sup> WEST described the *Bag Nask* as follows:

“It is an analytic commentary upon the Gāthas and the texts associated with them in the two preceding *Nasks*, devoting a separate *fargard* to each *hâ*, and selecting very short phrases, or portions (Av. *bagha*), for explanation and comment; so short that it is usually difficult to identify them in their Pahlavi disguise.”<sup>91</sup>

JAMES DARMESTETER, on the other hand, described the *Sūdgar* as a purely systematic editorial work, implying that it was a form of salvage philology:

“le Sûtkar contient nombre de légendes héroïques et mythologiques qui probablement ont été groupées autour des Gāthas par le dernier éditeur de l’Avesta, pour un objet purement systématique.”<sup>92</sup>

D. P. SANJANA, who completed the first complete translation of *Dēnkard 9*, begun by his father, P. B. SANJANA, described the first *nask* as follows:

“The *Sūdgar Nask*, the first *Nask* treated in Book IX., was devoted to elucidating important points from the Avesta text of the various *hās* [= Pahl. *hād(s)*, Av. *hāiti-* — *YSDV*] of the *Gāthās* with suggestive remarks and allusions to the history and legend prevailing in ancient Irān.”<sup>93</sup>

D. P. SANJANA viewed the function of the *Waršt mānsr Nask* to be as follows:

“The chief object of this *Nask* was to bring home to us the great truths embodied in the Gāthic hymns in their application to facts.”<sup>94</sup>

And, following WEST, he described the *Bag Nask* as follows:

“The *Baga Nask*, the third *Nask* summarized in Book IX., and the fourth in the Gāthic division, contains an analytical commentary upon the *Gāthās* devoting a separate *fargard* for each *hâ*. For every principle propounded in the different chapters of this *Nask* some reason is given in the elaborate phraseology so common to the writers of the *Dīnkard*.”<sup>95</sup>

Almost thirty years later, JEAN DE MENASCE described Dk 9 in the following terms:

“... et le livre IX qui est une suite de méditations, à des degrés de profondeur différents selon les trois *Nasks* Gāthiques qu’il résume, sur le texte traditionnellement commenté des *Gāthās*.”<sup>96</sup>

Later still, DE MENASCE stated:

90 WEST 1892, p. 226, fn. 1.

91 WEST 1892, p. 303, fn. 1.

92 DARMESTETER 1893 [1960], III, pp. ciii–civ.

93 SANJANA 1928, vol. XIX, p. xii.

94 SANJANA 1928, vol. XIX, p. xii.

95 SANJANA 1928, vol. XIX, p. xii.

96 DE MENASCE 1958, p. 56.

“Since Book IX of the Dēnkard gives so much space to the ‘summary’ of these *Nasks*, the translations probably formed the basis of teaching during a period (Sasanian and post-Sasanian) when Avestan was little known outside the clergy, but Pahlavi was still a living language.”<sup>97</sup>

DE MENASCE described the first ten *fragards* of the *Sūdgar Nask* as being: “... a collection of various pericopes linked only by their connection with Gathic wisdom,”<sup>98</sup> but he also observed that the second half of the *Sūdgar Nask* is in a different style, with the interpretive narrative being interspersed with quotations from the *yašts*, which were translated very literally into Pahlavi and employing a variety of mythoeptic characters and contexts. He found the *Bag Nask*, in particular, to be an extremely important specimen of Zoroastrian analogical philosophy:

“Il ne le serait pas moins de la saisir dans son moment mystique, mais les textes font défaut bien que le résumé du Bak Nask donné par le IXe livre du Dēnkard permette de soupçonner son existence.”<sup>99</sup>

He also felt it worthy of further study for a better understanding of Zoroastrian theology more generally:

“...the *Bag*, which is a spiritual commentary on the Gāthās, interprets each verse by recourse to analogy. Great emphasis is placed on the relation between disciple and teacher, so as to link the former across generations with Zoroaster himself.”<sup>100</sup>

Comparing the style and interpretive priorities of the three *nasks*, DE MENASCE stated as follows:

“Tandis que le *Sūt* et le *Varštmanšr* brodent autour de leur texte des évocations mythiques ou historiques qui rappelleraient assez le genre *midraš*, le *Bag* est une espèce de méditation toute proche du texte dont chaque terme est, si l’on peut dire, pressé afin de lui faire rendre tout son suc.”<sup>101</sup>

MARIJAN MOLÉ, who studied in Paris with JEAN DE MENASCE amongst others, was primarily interested in demonstrating the internal unity and ritual structure of the *Gādās*. He briefly described the *nasks* as follows:

“Les chapitres des trois *nask* commentent chacun le texte correspondant des Gāthā. Le rapport est assez vague pour le *Sūtkar* (mais il existe tout de même) tandis que le *Varštmanšr* offre une véritable paraphrase du texte avestique ; le *Bak*, le plus détaillé des trois, s’applique à dégager le sens spirituel du texte sacré et à fonder sur lui une règle de conduit.”<sup>102</sup>

97 DE MENASCE 1983, p. 1175.

98 DE MENASCE 1983, p. 1175.

99 DE MENASCE 1969, p. 110.

100 DE MENASCE 1983, p. 1175.

101 DE MENASCE 1958, p. 69.

102 MOLÉ 1963, p. 143; he added in a footnote (fn. 2), regarding the *Bag*: “C’est un tafsīr ‘irfānī avant la lettre.”

AHMAD TAFAZZOLI, who studied in London with WALTER BRUNO HENNING for an M.A., also spent a few months working with JEAN DE MENASCE in Paris, after which he returned to Tehran and completed his dissertation on the *Sūdgar Nask* and *Warštmānsr Nask* under ŠADEQ KIĀ in 1966. TAFAZZOLI, following WEST and TAVADIA, etymologized the name as part of his discussion of the function of the *Sūdgar Nask* as follows:

شاید بتوان واژه سوتکر را از ریشه "سو" به معنی "نجات دادن" گرفت و سوتکر را "نجات دهنده" معنی کرد. همین ریشه را در واژه سوشیانس نیز می یابیم.

با بررسی سوتکر نسک بدین نتیجه می توان رسید که مطالب این نسک به طور کلی بر دو نوع است:

۱. دستورهای دینی و مطالب اخلاقی مربوط به کارهای نیک و بد و برشمردن نتایج آنها.

۲. افسانه های دینی و اساطیر.

"Perhaps the word *sūtkar* is derived from the root 'sū' meaning 'to save' and *sūtkar* means 'saviour.' We find the same root in the word *Sōšyāns*.

By examining the *Sūtkar Nask*, it can be concluded that the content of this *nask* is of two types:

1. Religious rules and moral content related to good and bad deeds and enumerating their results.
2. Religious fables and myths."<sup>103</sup>

He adds a source-critical component to his description of the *nask* as he states at the end of the dissertation that:

سوتکر نسک یکی از نسکهای گاهانی، ولی چنان که پیش از این یاد شد، گاهانی در این مورد بدین معنی نیست که مطالب سوتکر از گاهان گرفته شده است. نوع مطالب این نسک از نوع مطالب گاهان نمی تواند باشد. اصل سوتکر نسک، نه اوستا و نه زند آن، در دست نیست، اما با بررسی این نسک در دینکرد، می توان تکه هایی از ترجمه متنهاى اوستایی را در آن یافت. بنابراین، شاید بتوان به این نتیجه رسید که سوتکر نسک مجموعه ای بوده از قسمتهای گوناگون اوستا یا زند که به مناسبت موضوع با یکدیگر تلفیق شده است

"The *Sūtkar Nask* is one of the *gāhānī(g)*, but as mentioned before, sometimes it does not mean that the story of the *Sūtkar* is taken from the *Gādhās*. The type of contents of this *nask* cannot be the type of contents of the *Gādhās*. The original *Sūtkar Nask*, neither the Avestan nor Zand, is available, but by examining this *nask* in *Dīnkard*, one can find fragments of translations of Avestan texts in it. Therefore, it may be concluded that the *Sūtkar Nask* was a collection of different parts of the *Avesta* or *Zand* that were combined according to the subject."<sup>104</sup>

TAFAZZOLI provides a tripartite diagnostic for identifying the putative Avestan Vorlagen:

سوتکر نسک را می توان از نظر ارتباط آن با متنهای اوستایی به سه بخش تقسیم کرد:

۱. تکه هایی که برابر آنها را در متنهای اوستایی موجود می توان یافت؛

۲. بخشهایی که دارای خصوصیات زندهای اوستایی است و ما برابر آنها را در دست نداریم، ولی نظایر آنها را می توانیم در متنهای اوستایی بیابیم؛

۳. بخشهایی که متنهای اوستایی یا زند آنها یا همانند آنها را در دست نداریم، ولی از نظر خصوصیات سبکی می توانیم یقین کنیم که این بخشها از متنهای اوستایی گرفته شده که اینک اصل آنها را در دست نیست.

103 TAFAZZOLI 1966, [2019], p. 14.

104 TAFAZZOLI 1966, [2019], p. 327.

“The *Sūtkar Nask* can be divided into three parts in terms of its relationship with Avestan texts:

1. Excerpts whose equivalents can be found in the Avestan texts;
2. Parts that have the characteristics of living Avestan but we do not have equivalents to them, but similar ones can be found in the Avestan texts;
3. Parts that we do not have Avestan or *Zand* texts or the like, but in terms of style, we can be sure that these parts are taken from Avestan texts and their origin is (simply) not available to us now.”<sup>105</sup>

In the late 1990s, DAN SHAPIRA contrasted the first two *nasks* as follows in his dissertation:

“The *Zand* of the Warštmāns<sup>a</sup>r Nask is, to speak, a philological one, while the S[t]ūdgar Nask is of a rather associative and *midrashic* character.”<sup>106</sup>

In a later article, SHAPIRA compared the putative redactional treatments of the *Sūdgar Nask* and the *Warštmānsr Nask* as follows:

“As in other cases [N.B., §9.6 as compared to §9.29 – YSDV], it is the Warštmāns<sup>a</sup>r version (Dk 9.32) rather than that of the (just quoted) S[t]ūdgar Nask (Dk 9.9) that preserves the older material, while that of the S[t]ūdgar Nask underwent serious censorship; the reason for this censorship was that being originally of mythological character, the S[t]ūdgar Nask was entitled to be more popular, thus opening the way to introducing newer — and not unfrequently heterodoxal — material.”<sup>107</sup>

PHILIPPE GIGNOUX, in his general survey of the *Dēnkard* with a special focus on Book 5, also devoted a section to Dk 9, where he argued that the heterogeneous contents, the *mélange* of genres, and the mention of multiple redactors all suggested to him that the extant materials we possess are the products of an orally-derived salvage process of the priests of the early Islamic centuries:

“Il semble donc, compte tenu de la grande diversité des genres et de la mention d’auteurs variés, que le Dēnkard doit être considéré comme l’assemblage artificiel de morceaux d’ouvrages perdus, sur lesquels s’est aussi exercée la réflexion des derniers docteurs mazdéens vivant au début de l’Hégire, selon une méthode de conservation propre à la tradition orale qui a été si longue en Iran et telle que l’a mise récemment en évidence P. O. Skjærvø.”<sup>108</sup>

Despite the present contribution to this field of research, I believe ALBERTO CANTERA’s closing statement in his groundbreaking book on the Pahlavi translations of the Avestan texts from 2004 is still worth quoting with regard to the state of the field:

“Es ist auf solcher Grundlage zu erhoffen, daß etwa die bisher so dunklen Bücher 8 und 9 des *Dēnkard* besser verständlich werden.”<sup>109</sup>

105 TAFAZZOLI 1966, [2019], p. 327.

106 SHAPIRA 1998, p. 10.

107 SHAPIRA 2006, p. 423.

108 GIGNOUX 2001, pp. 29–38.

109 CANTERA 2004, p. 347.

## The Manuscripts and Colophons of *Dēnkard* Book 9

There are more extant manuscripts of *Dēnkard* Book 9 than of any other surviving book of the *Dēnkard*. There are 15 manuscripts known to me and 12 of them cover the *Sūdgar Nask*. Six manuscripts are currently published, though no earlier publication cites them all.<sup>1</sup> There are two old manuscripts, ‘B’ and ‘DH,’ from which all the other known manuscripts are either direct copies or copies of copies [see the Stemma in Appendix M]. Regrettably, I have been unable to return to Mumbai and Navsari to recheck my readings of the unpublished manuscripts. and, due to time constraints during my archival visits in 2008 and 2010, I was unable to transcribe the colophons, resulting in rather uneven information for the lesser-known tertiary manuscripts.

### Manuscript B [D13]

Our only originally complete manuscript; ‘B’ contains parts of the seven extant books of the *Dēnkard*. It is currently located in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in Mumbai, India (Cama Ms. #55; now called ‘D13’). Its original signature was ‘FB,’ and DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA gave it the signature ‘DM’ and started using it in vol. x of his edition.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the codex is given in four colophons, I–IV. E.W. WEST partially translated Colophon I,<sup>3</sup> and SANJANA reproduced the four colophons with translations in vol. XIX of his edition.<sup>4</sup> According to HENRIK S. NYBERG:

“The colophons are couched in a rather awkward, prolix and muddled Pahlavi, and the old colophons have suffered from the negligence of the copyists.”<sup>5</sup>

- 1 The only other unpublished manuscripts known to me are the University of Cambridge mss. Add. # 328–329, which contains the conclusion of the *Dēnkard* and its colophon was published in UNVALA 1940, pp. 153–158; and M58 in the Munich Library, described in BARTHOLOMAE 1915, pp. 209–211.
- 2 NYBERG 1964, p. xiv; DRESDEN 1966, p. 12.
- 3 WEST 1892, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.
- 4 SANJANA 1928, vol. XIX, pp. 95–108 and pp. 67–74.
- 5 Cf. NYBERG 1964, p. xvi, fn. 1.

COLOPHON I belonged to a manuscript copied in Baghdad in 369 PYE (= 1020 CE) by Māhwindād, son of Narmāhān, son of Wahrām, son of Mihrābān<sup>6</sup> (COL. I). According to COL. II, this copy was in turn copied in 835 PYE (1486 CE) by Šahr(a)yār-Irdēšīr, son of Ēriḡ, son of Rōstahm, son of Ēriḡ, (son?) of Kawād Ērānšā, supposedly a descendant of the Sasanian king Kawād (*kawād ērān-šā*).<sup>7</sup> The next copy (COL. III in DkM and DkS; but not in DRESDEN, for which, see below) was made at Turkābād,<sup>8</sup> Iran, by Wahrām Mahwindād Rōstahm Anōšag-ruwān Rōstahm in 1038 AY (1669 CE) from a copy from Māhwindād Wahrām Irdašīr from 1009 PYE (1660 CE) also made at Turkābād.<sup>9</sup> WEST suggests that it was brought from Iran to Surat, India, in 1783 by Mullā Bahman, son of Mullā Bahrām, a Zoroastrian priest from Yazd.<sup>10</sup> This copy was lent to Dastur Kāvusji Rustamji of Surat and eventually returned with approximately 70 folios missing.<sup>11</sup>

Manuscript ‘B’ was the basis for the editions of SANJANA/SANJANA (1874–1928) and MADAN (1911). The original manuscript contained 392 folios, 322 of which were extant in WEST’s day (of the 70 missing folios, 14 were recovered before 1875, 50 were known to be in other hands, and six were missing; according to WEST, copies of all but the missing six were found).<sup>12</sup> According to MADAN, the 14 loose folios were in the possession of the Mulla Feroze Library along with the bound portion of the manuscript. Of the 50 folios in other hands, MADAN

- 6 NYBERG 1964, p. xiv. This appears to be the oldest extant colophon in Pahlavi literature. It is also partially found in K43a beginning at fol. 260r, 13 (BOYCE 1968a, p. 65); see below.
- 7 NYBERG 1964, p. xiv; though more likely an honorific linking back to the glories of the Sasanian era.
- 8 A Zoroastrian village north of the plain of Yazd. Two of the most sacred fires from pre-Islamic times, the Ādur Farnbay and Ādur Anāhīd-Ardašīr, which burn to this day, were taken to nearby Sharifābād sometime after the 11th century CE, when a high priest (*dastūr dastūrān*) moved to Turkābād (CHOKSY 1997, p. 99). BOYCE (1979 [2001], pp. 163–164) suggested that it was probably in the late 13th or early 14<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of the Mongol Il-Khans. The priests who retreated to Turkābād and Sharifābād took with them the texts that had been handed down by their families, and these survived the widespread destruction of the Mongol era (BOYCE 1979 [2001], pp. 165–166). A *revāyat* (“letter”) from Turkābād by Bahman Asfandyār is one of the extant Persian *revāyats* (DHABHAR 1932 [1999], pp. 592–594).
- 9 According to Colophon III, which NYBERG (1964, p. xiv) describes as being “... the third and last colophon at the end of the MS” was written by Māhwindād son of Wahrām Irdašīr; *contra* DRESDEN (1966) who mentions four colophons. In vol. XIX of his edition, SANJANA provides the four colophons (SANJANA 1928, Text, pp. 95–108; Translation, pp. 67–74 [N.B., AMOUZGAR/TAFAZZOLI (2000, p. 18) ascribe this ms. to 1009 AY = 1695 CE, but this must be a typographical error for 1659 CE].
- 10 WEST 1896–1904 [1974], p. 91 and see WEST 1892, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii for further details.
- 11 WEST 1896–1904 [1974], p. 91. WEST 1892, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii states that in 1875 it belonged to Dastur Sohrabji Rustamji, the high priest of the Kadmis, and through the help of Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minochihri, he collated Dk Book 9. WEST goes on to wistfully confess: “that it has taken as much as sixteen years to find opportunities for translating and publishing rather more than one-fourth of its contents, will not surprise any one [sic] who is acquainted with the nature of the work that had to be done” (p. xxxvii).
- 12 WEST 1896–1904 [1974], p. 91.

states that seven were in the library of the DASTUR DR. HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI<sup>13</sup> of Pune, India, where he was able to consult them.<sup>14</sup> D. D. SANJANA had the remaining 43 folios, which he and his father acquired from MARTIN HAUG. Today, the known folios cover almost the entirety of the *Bag Nask* (Folios 587, 1 to 640, 16; see appendix E).

### Colophon B, I.1–10

Here I have retranslated the first COL. of B (I.1–10<sup>15</sup>) and I have provided the readings from the other mss. known to me (B 640, 17 || K43a 260r, 13<sup>16</sup> || J5 507, 13 || D10a 724, 12 || DkM 946, 8 || DkS vol. XIX, p. 95):

*frazāft pad wazurg urwāhm ud purr-drōd im an-hangōšīdag ud an-arz (ud) a-ham-tāg dēnkard nibēg nēmag ī abdom tā gyāg kū-mān ayāft (ud) awiškand pad asūrestān andar farrox<sup>17</sup> (ud) ābād ud hu-bōy ud hu-niyāg ud hu-padēx xwarrāhōmand ablišwang bagdād az pačēn-ēw kē<sup>18</sup> andar dīwān andar ast. čiyōn hu-frawahrān hu-dēnān pēšōbāyān ī az dūdāg ī hu-fraward ādurbād ī mahrspandān ī az 5 ud 6 āwādāg abāz az abēzag dēn ast frahangān frahang ī harwist-pēsīd dānāgīh wizārd hu-dēnān pēšōbāyān ī pas pas abāz hāmwar andar xwānišn nigerišn dāšt ud wirāyišn gyāg gyāg pad dast-nibēg-išān padiš kard ud nibišt estād.*

Completed in great joy and full health, the last half of this *Dēnkard* manuscript which is without likeness and invaluable and without peer, upto the place where we acquired (and) \*preserved in Iraq (*asūrestān*) within the glorious, thriving, fragrant, pleasant, prosperous, glorious, *ablišwang* Baghdād from a copy which is in the Archive (*dīwān*). Just as those blessed ones [lit. ‘of good Pre-souls’], the leaders of those of the Good Tradition, being from the family of the blessed Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand, being from five or six generations earlier, interpreted from the pure Tradition, that is, the learning of (all) learning (and) the all-adorned knowledge; (after that), the leaders of those of the Good Tradition successively and continually maintained its recitation (and) inspection and restored various places in their manuscript and it had been written down.

(2) *man māhwindād ī narmāhān ī wabrām mihrabān rōz dēn ī māh tīr pērōzgar ī sāl 369 ī pas az sāl 20 ī ōy bay yazdgird šāhān šāh ī šahriyārān stūr-mānāg xwēšīh xwēš rāy kē nibišt frāz hišt andar āstawānīh pad abēzag web-dēn ī mazdēsnañ \*wābar-aštaḡīh<sup>19</sup> ī ablatw-frawahr zardušt ī spitāmān rāst-passāzišnīh ī ādurbād*

13 Like several of the other priests, his name is sometimes cited as Hoshang Jamasp without the *-ji* honorific.

14 MADAN 1911, p. vi.

15 The numbering follows SANJANA (1928, vol. XIX, pp. 95–100) [N.B., he has §3 twice, which I have listed as (§3a) and (§3b)]. Cf. also WEST 1892, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv for §1–4.

16 Begins at §3b.

17 For *farrox-ābād*?

18 B (MNW BYN dyw’ñ BYN AYT’) || D10a (MNW BYN dyn’ AYT’) || DkM (MNW BYN dyw’ñ dyn’ AYT’).

19 B (‘pl’).

*ī mahrspandān wābar-aštagīh ablaw āfrīn-guftārīh ī ō harwīst ox ī astōmand  
ahlāyīh-kāmagān ī* (3a) *hu-mad-menīdārān hūxt-guftārān ud hu-waršt-  
warzīdārān gētīyihā pad spurr-kāmag hu-čašmīh ī ahlāyīh-warzihā ō frašgird-  
paywastārīh paywandēnānd*<sup>20</sup> *ud menōyihā*<sup>21</sup> *abēzag ruwān frawahr ō abartom  
meh-gābīh ud burzāwandīh ud bowandag pāddāšn-wīndīšnīh ī andar ān ī asar  
rōšnīh ī hamēšag-sūd ī purr-xwārīh ī wīndēnānd.*

(2) I, Māhwīndād, son of Narmāhān, son of Wahrām, son of Mihrābān, like a guardian, who for the sake of having it as his own, wrote it and released it [*i.e.*, the manuscript] on the day Dēn, of the month Tīr, of the year 369 after the 20<sup>th</sup> year of lord Yazdgird, king of kings [= 1020 CE], of the lineage of kings (*šahriyārān*), professing belief in the pure Good Tradition of the Mazdeans and (the fact) that Spitāmān Zardušt of Righteous Pre-Soul (was) its true messenger; (and) the correct arranging [lit. ‘fitting together’ of the *dēn*] by Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand, (also being) a true messenger (and) Righteous, who spoke blessings to the entire material existence, to those whose wish is Righteousness, who (3a) are thinkers of good thoughts, speakers of good words, and performers of good actions, who, in this world, by fully wishing benevolence, by performing Righteousness cause linkages to be made linked (all the way) to the Renovation; and, in *that* world, cause their pure souls (and) Pre-Souls to attain the uppermost greater station [in the beyond, *i.e.*, their assigned place] and to obtain exaltedness and a complete reward in the Endless Lights of perpetual benefit (*hamēšag-sūd*)<sup>22</sup>, full of comfort.

(3b) *nāmčīstīgīhā*<sup>23</sup> *ō awēšān hu-frawardān ayriyā*<sup>24</sup> *frazānagān ādur-farnbay  
farroxzādān ādurbād ī ēmēdān kē-šān ēn arz dēn-kard nibēg ēdōn frazānagīhā  
ud abēzag ox-wēnišnīhā andar* <sup>+</sup>*farrox*<sup>25</sup> *zandīh drayāb ī* [K43a 260r 13] *web-dēn  
ōwōn hu-mīhr(īhā)*<sup>26</sup> *ud web-*<sup>+</sup>*nām*<sup>27</sup> *ud dēn purr-dōšāramīhā ud meh-sūdīhā  
wizārdan*<sup>28</sup> *amā pasēnīgān rāy* ∴

20 B (ptwnd'n'nd).

21 B (mđnwd) and (yh') on the next line.

22 Cf. *hamē-sūd* “eternally beneficial/profitable” rendering OAv. ⟨*yauuaēsuuō*⟩ “eternal benefit” in PY. 39.3.

23 B (n'mčštyk) and (yh') on the next line.

24 B ('kly).

25 B (plhwzndyhdlyd'p') (in [641], 17) though cf. the conjectural reading of SKJÆRVØ (2012b, p. 24, fn. 64): “No obvious reading of the [sic] this word comes to mind. \**purrr-huzandīh* ‘replete with good *zands*’ would be good from the point of view of the meaning, but quite uncertain; ⟨zwh'⟩ could be ‘deep, depth’ and the word a compound \**frāy-zohā* ‘of great depth’ (?).” Cf. also B col. ii ([645], 5) where the greater spacing and an extra diacritic show ⟨plhwzndyhdlyd'p'⟩ for *farrox zandīh drayāb* “ocean of glorious Zands.” Another possibility would be to suggest a putative sequence ⟨pl'hwzryhdlyd'p'⟩ for \**frāx \*zrēh drayāb* “the wide sea — the ocean” with ⟨zryh⟩ for ⟨zlyh⟩ and the unexpected/incorrect form being glossed as *drayāb* and note the common دریاى فراخ in Persian literature (p.c. PARSA DANESHMAND). Regardless of the precise reading, note the metaphor of the Tradition (*dēn*) as an ocean, for which, see the discussion and examples in SKJÆRVØ 2012b, pp. 23–25.

26 K43a (hwmtr'yh').

27 B (wyhy'm) for (wyhšM).

28 B (wc'lt'n') || K43a (wc'lt').



(3b) In particular, due to those with good Pre-souls, those who are the preeminently learned: Ādurfarnbay, son of Farroxzād and Ādurbād, son of Ēmēd, by whom this valuable *Dēnkard* manuscript was explained in such a learned manner and seeing with their pure mind (*ox*) into the ocean of the \*glorious *Zands* of the Good Tradition, with such kindness and having good names, and by loving the Tradition fully, so as to provide greater benefit (*meh-sūdībā*) for us, (their) successors.

(4) <sup>29</sup> *\*nibān* an *kē ablāyīh-ārzōgīhā stūr-mānāg ēn nibēg awiškand ud ān-iz ī<sup>30</sup> kē xwānēd<sup>31</sup> ud kār aziš kunēd<sup>32</sup> padīš āstawān abē-guman ud ān kē aziš pačēn stānēd<sup>33</sup> pad frārōnīh dārēd paywandānd<sup>34</sup> passazagīhā awiš* :

(4) \*Secretly, I who, out of the desire for Righteousness, like a guardian, have preserved this manuscript, and the one, too, who may read it and makes use of it, believes in it without doubt; and the one who makes [lit. 'takes'] a copy from it and keeps it with honesty; they [*i.e.*, future readers] shall (then) connect (the following) to it appropriately:

(5) *ō harwišp kār paymānīgīh* <sup>35</sup> *ō paymānīgīh* (*paymān*-)*rāyēnīdārīh* :: *ō paymān-rāyēnīdārīh xūb-frazāmīh* :: *ō xūb-frazāmīh drōdīgīh* :: *ud* *ō drōdīgīh rāmišnīgīh* :: *ud* *ō rāmišnīgīh šādmānīh* :: *ud* *ō šādmānīh urwāhmenīh* :: *ud* *ō urwāhmenīh wahuman-menišnīh* :: *ud* *ō wahuman-menišnīh arwand-dil(īh)*<sup>36</sup> :: *ud* *ō arwand-dil(īh)*<sup>37</sup> *a-tarsiš* :: *ud* *ō a-tarsiš payrāstagišnīh* :: *ud* *ō payrāstagišnīh drīst-rawišnīh-tanīh*<sup>38</sup> :: *ud* *ō drīst-rawišn(īh)-tanīh*<sup>39</sup> *kārīg-abzārīh* :: *ud* *ō kārīg-abzārīh tuxšāgīh* :: *ud* *ō tuxšāgīh hu-dahišnīh* :: *ud* *ō hu-dahišnīh nēw-brēhīh* :: *ud* *ō nēw-brēhīh hangad-xīrīh* :: *ud* *ō hangad-xīrīh spurr-babrīh* :: *ud* *ō spurr-babrīh abē-niyāzīh* :: *ud* *ō abē-niyāzīh a-bēšīh* :: *ud* *ō a-bēšīh spāsdārīh* :: *ud* *ō spāsdārīh abzōnīgīh* :: *ud* *ō abzōnīgīh farrox-winnārīšnīh*<sup>40</sup> :: *ud* *ō farrox-winnārīšnīh*<sup>41</sup> *rawāg-paywandīh* :: *ud* *ō rawāg-paywandīh jāwēdānīgīh*<sup>42</sup> :: *ud* *ō jāwēdānīgīh*<sup>43</sup> [*paywandīh*]<sup>44</sup> *kāmag hu-čašmīh*<sup>45</sup> :: *ud* *ō kāmag hu-čašmīh*<sup>46</sup>

29 B (nyh'n ANE' MNW) alt. (W yzd'n) || K43a (nyh'n OL ANE' MNW) || cf. col. B, II, 7 below which also has (OL).

30 Not in K43a.

31 B (KRYTN-yt') = (KRYTN-yt W) || K43a (KRYTN-yt W).

32 B, K43a (OBYDWN-X<sub>1</sub>).

33 B (ĎNSBWN-X<sub>1</sub>) || K43a (YNSBWN-X<sub>1</sub>) at end of line and (W) on the following line.

34 B (ptwnd'nd) || K43a (ptwndyn'nd).

35 B (OL) || K43a (W OL) and following.

36 B (lwnd LBBME) || K43a (lwnd LBBMEyh) with the (E) smudged.

37 B (lwnd LBBME) || K43a (lwnd LBBMEyh).

38 B (lwbšnyhtn'yh) || K43a (lwbšntn'yh).

39 B, K43a (lwbšntn'yh).

40 B (plhwwyn'lšnyh) || K43a (plhwyn'lsnyh).

41 B (pl'hwyn'lsnyh) || K43a (plhw wyn'lsnyh).

42 K43a (y'wyt'nykyh) || B (y'wytykyh).

43 K43a (y'wyt'nykyh) || B (y'wytykyh).

44 K43a (ptwndyh) on fol. 261r, 6 is right above (ptwndyh) on line 7, perhaps suggesting that the intrusive form in both B and K43a might have originated from a scribal dittography.

45 B (hwčšmyh) || K43a (hwč'myh).

46 B (hwčšmyh) || K43a (hwč'myh).

*xwābarih* :: *ud* *ō* *xwābarih*<sup>47</sup> *burzišnīgih* :: *ud* *ō* *burzišnīgih* *āzād-čihrih* :: *ud* *ō* *āzād-čihrih* *sūdōmand-kunišnih* :: *ud* *ō* *sūdōmand-kunišnih* *rawāg-framānih* :: *ud* *ō* *rawāg-framānih* *tuwānīgih* :: *ud* *ō* *tuwānīgih* *ābādih* :: *ud* *ō* *ābādih*<sup>48</sup> *rādih* :: *ud* *ō* *rādih* *wizīdār-dahišnih* :: *ud* *ō* *wizīdār-dahišnih* *wehān-dōstih* :: *ud* *ō* *wehān-dōstih* *ablāyih-pandih* :: *ud* *ō* *ablāyih-pandih* *hu-menišnih* :: *ud* *ō* *hu-menišnih* *rāst-gōwišnih* :: *ud* *ō* *rāst-gōwišnih* *wābarīgānih*<sup>49</sup> :: *ud* *ō* *wābarīgānih*<sup>50</sup> *kirbag-warzīdārīh* :: *ud* *ō* *kirbag-warzīdārīh* *ruwān-dōstih*<sup>51</sup> :: *ud* *ō* *ruwān-dōstih* *kam-wināhīh* :: *ud* *ō* *kam-wināhīh* *farrox-gētiyih* :: *ud* *ō* *farrox-gētiyih* *ablaw-ruwānih* :: *ud* *ō* *ablaw-ruwānih* *garōdmānīgih* :: *ud* *ō* *garōdmānīgih* *wazurg-gāhīh*<sup>52</sup> *ī ast abāyēdān pahlomtom ud emēdīgān mahisttom.*

(5) to every action (is connected) due measure;

to due measure (is connected) application \*of the measure;

to application of the measure (is connected) a good conclusion;

to a good conclusion (is connected) being in a state of well-being;

and to being in a state of well-being (is connected) a state of peace;

and to being in a state of peace (is connected) a state of happiness;

and to being in a state of happiness (is connected) a state of joyfulness;

and to being in a state of joyfulness (is connected) thinking with 'Good Thought(s)' [= Wahuman];

and to thinking 'Good Thought(s)' (is connected) having a valiant heart;

and to having a valiant heart (is connected) a lack of fear;

and to a lack of fear (is connected) being in an equanimous state;

and to being in an equanimous state (is connected) health of (one's) body;

and to health of (one's) body (is connected) having efficient tools;

and to having efficient tools (is connected) diligence;

and to diligence (is connected) good giving;

and to good giving (is connected) bravely (facing) destiny;

and to bravely (facing) destiny (is connected) accumulated wealth;

and to accumulated wealth (is connected) having a full share;

and to having a full share (is connected) a lack of want;

and to a lack of want (is connected) a lack of harm;

and to a lack of harm (is connected) gratitude;

and to gratitude (is connected) growth;

and to growth (is connected) the ordering of the fortunate;

and to the ordering of the fortunate (is connected) the propagation of (one's) lineage;

and to the propagation of (one's) lineage (is connected) eternity;

and to eternity (is connected) being benevolent at will;

and to being benevolent at will (is connected) beneficence;

and to beneficence (is connected) being praiseworthy;

and to being praiseworthy (is connected) noble nature;

47 B ⟨hw'plyh⟩ spelled ⟨y'gwplyh⟩.

48 B ⟨'tyh⟩ with ⟨'p⟩ superscripted.

49 K43a || B ⟨'plyk'nyh⟩ with the initial ⟨w⟩ missing.

50 K43a || B ⟨'plyk'nyh⟩ with the initial ⟨w⟩ missing.

51 K43a ⟨lwb'n styh⟩ with ⟨dw⟩ superscripted.

52 K43a ⟨LBA-g'syh⟩ || B is very smudged here || SANJANA 1928, vol. XIX, p. 99 also has ⟨LBA-g'syh⟩.

and to noble nature (is connected) beneficial activity;  
 and to beneficial activity (is connected) having ones commands obeyed;  
 and to having ones commands obeyed (is connected) power;  
 and to power (is connected) prosperity;  
 and to prosperity (is connected) generosity;  
 and to generosity (is connected) discriminate giving  
 and to discriminate giving (is connected) being a friend to the Good Ones;  
 and to being a friend to the Good Ones (is connected) being on the path of Righteousness;  
 and to being on the path of Righteousness (is connected) good thinking;  
 and to good thinking (is connected) speaking the truth;  
 and to speaking the truth (is connected) trustworthiness;  
 and to trustworthiness (is connected) the performing of good deeds;  
 and to the performing of good deeds (is connected) love of (one's) soul;  
 and to love of (one's) soul (is connected) committing fewer sins;  
 and to committing fewer sins (is connected) being fortunate in this world;  
 and to being fortunate in this world (is connected) having a Righteous soul;  
 and to having a Righteous soul (is connected) being Paradise-bound;  
 and to being Paradise-bound (is connected) having a great station [*i.e.*, in Paradise],  
 which is the best of what one needs and the greatest of what one hopes for.

(6) *pad yazdān nērōg ud ayārīh*<sup>53</sup> *dādār-ohrmazd*<sup>54</sup> *handāxt(ārīh)*<sup>55</sup> *bē rasād*.

(6) Through the strength of the gods and the aid of the Creator Ohrmazd may the (divine) plan come forth!

(7) *namāz zardušt ī spitamān ī ablaw-frawahr aštag ī*<sup>56</sup> *ohrmazd* ∴<sup>57</sup>

(7) Homage to Spitāmān Zardušt, of Righteous Pre-soul, messenger of Ohrmazd!

(8) *ud ān kē ēn nibēg pačēn aziš kardan ayāb xwānd(an) rāy pad bahr xwāhēd  
 juđ az +graw(ag)ān-ēw*<sup>58</sup> *ī zarr kē arz ud mādag*<sup>59</sup> *barwēd ēnyā nē dahēd andar-  
 išān agar kē +andar*<sup>60</sup> *čē zamanag ī purr*<sup>-61</sup> *petyārag madan zēn(h)ār andak kē  
 abē-ranj-uzēnag ud rōzgar ī purr ō dast-išān rasēd pad abāz dādan nē kāmēnd* ∴

(8) And the one who requests this manuscript as his share [*i.e.*, of the heritage?] in order to make a copy of it or to read it, (but then) does not give it (away or to somebody else to read?) except for a pledge of gold of high purity and monetary value (or) if (there is?) among them(?) (those) who do not wish to give it back because (of alleging that it is) a time full of villains (and) adversaries (with) little

53 B ⟨hdyb'lyh⟩ || K43a ⟨hdyb'lyh W⟩.

54 B, K43a ⟨d't'l'whrmzd⟩ as one word.

55 B ⟨hnd'ht'⟩ || K43a ⟨hnd'ht'lyh⟩.

56 K43a ⟨'štk' Y⟩ at the end of line with ⟨'štk' Y⟩ repeated at the beginning of the next line.

57 B ⟨∴ W Z ∴⟩ and an empty line on p. 644, 1. It appears to be the beginning of the next phrase on the next line: ⟨W ZK MNW⟩ || K43a ⟨∴ W ZK MNW⟩.

58 K43a ⟨g'lwbn'⟩ || cf. Pers. گروند “pledge, wager,” for which, see STEINGASS 1892, p. 1085; cf. also MACUCH 1993, pp. 100–101.

59 B, K43a ⟨NKĎ⟩.

60 B, K43a ⟨ĎYN'⟩.

61 B ⟨pwlml pytdy'lk'⟩ with ⟨hm⟩ scratched out but perhaps for *purrr-mar* “full of miscreants” || K43a ⟨pwlpytyd'lk'⟩ as one word.

protection, (those are the kind of people) who obtain it without trouble (and) expense, and (while having) a full daily income(?).

(9)<sup>62</sup> *ud ka ō dast (ī) kas ī čiyōn azabar-nibišt rasēd abāz nē dabēd ayāb nām ī man kē nibištār ham u-š awesturēd ayāb abganēd ēg-iš nē ahlawdād aziš<sup>63</sup> pad mēnōyān pad činwad puhl ud +isadwāstarān<sup>64</sup> hanjaman hamēmāl bawam :*

(9) And if it comes into the hands of a person as written above (and) he does not give it back or if he erases my name — (I) who am the writer — or throws it away, then he does not get the charity from it among those in *that* world at the Činwad Bridge and the Assembly of Isadwāstar, (and) I will be a plaintiff.

(10) *ud čand abīy<sup>65</sup> xwadāy ī dēnīg<sup>66</sup> bē rasād<sup>67</sup> dēn-burdārān az dēn nēkiš rasād :<sup>68</sup> pērōz bawād xwarrah ī abēzag<sup>69</sup> web-dēn<sup>70</sup> ī mazdēsnañ [·]<sup>71</sup> ī gumān-wizār :*

(10) No sooner shall come a ruler according to [or: ‘upholding’] the Tradition, (than) the goodness from the Tradition shall come to the ones who bear the Tradition. Victory to the Fortune of the pure Good Tradition of the Mazdeans, which dispels doubt!

Colophon B, II.1–10<sup>72</sup> (B 644, 11 || J5 511, 7 || D10a 731, 7 || A40a 46<sup>73</sup> || DkM 949, 19 || DkS xix, p. 101):

62 We appear to have a similar formula including erasure of one’s name and being a plaintiff in the final court of appeal in *that* world also being used in an early colophon of an illuminated liturgical *Videvdad* sade manuscript [ADA 4062; containing two deer, two birds, and a plant] dated to 1022 AY (1653 CE) and copied by Marzbān, son of Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn that has recently been discovered by SALOUMEH GHOLAMI in a Zoroastrian house belonging to Mehrabān Poulādī [the Vice President of the Council of Iranian Mobeds] in the Priests’ Quarter (*mahalle-ye dastūrān*) in Yazd in February 2016. The colophon reads: (29) *ēn dēftar ī jud-dēw-dād (ī) wafg* [for Arab./Pers. *waqf*] *bē-frōšēd ayāb har* (30) *kē* [(AMT) N.B., just as we find in J5] *bē-xarēd ayāb nām ī man kē nibištār hom az-iš* (31) *awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gētiy tan dusraw u-š* (32) *pad mēnōy ruwān druwand bawād u-š hamēmāl ham pad* (33) *dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd* “If someone would sell this donated *Videvdad* or buy or erase my name — I who am the scribe — so that he would throw it away, may he have an ill-famed body in *this* world, and an ashamed soul in *that* world, and I would be said plaintiff in (the presence of) the (divine) Judge, the Creator, Ohrmazd” (after GHOLAMI/POULADI 2019, pp. 19–20).

63 K43a (hčš) written vertically in the left margin.

64 B (stw’stl’n) || K43a (stw’st).

65 B, K43a (KZD).

66 B (dyn’yk) || K43a (dyn’ yd).

67 B (YHMTWN-’t dyn’o) || K43a (YHMTWN-’t W dyn’o).

68 Not in K43a.

69 B (’pyck’) || omitted in K43a.

70 B, K43a (wdhdyn’).

71 Omitted in K43a.

72 The numbering follows SANJANA (1928, vol. XIX, text pp. 101–103; trans. pp. 70–72).

73 N.B., no page numbers on ms. The number provided here is based on my personal digital scan made at the M.F. Cama Institute with their kind permission; [N.B., (š) is rendered as (yh) in A40a and I transliterate as (š) where B has (š)].

*frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn andar rōz ī obrmazd az māh spandarmad sāl ī 800 3 panj pas az sāl ī 20 ō bay yazdgird šāhān šāh ī šabriyārān nibišt ham. man dēn-bandag<sup>74</sup> šabriyār irdēšūr ī ēriy ī rōstahm ī ēriy ī kawād ērān-šāh<sup>75</sup> nibišt ham.* Completed in prosperity and happiness and peace. I wrote it on the day Ohrmazd, of the month Spandarmad, of the year 835 after the 20<sup>th</sup> year of lord Yazdgird, king of kings [= 1486 CE], of the lineage of kings. I, the servant of the Tradition, Šabriyār Irdēšūr, son of Ēriy, son of Rōstahm, son of Ēriy, son of Kawād Ērān-šāh wrote it.

(2) *frāz hišt xwēšīh xwēš rāy ud fraزندān ī xwēš rāy kē tā 150 sālān pad ablāyīh kār framāyēm.*

(2) I released it for my own kin and for my own children who we order to use it in Righteousness for 150 years.

(3) *ud pas az 150 sālān ō fraزندān ī fraزند hu-sraw dēn-burdār abespāram andar +āstāwānīh<sup>76</sup> pad abēzag weh-dēn mazdēsān ud abar-aštāgīh ī ablaw-frawahr zardušt ī spitāmān rāst passāzišnīh ī ādur-bād ī mahrspandān wāz-guftārīh ī ō harwisp ox ī astōmand ī ablāyīh-kāmagān hu-mad-menīdārān ī hūxt-guftārān ī hu-waršt-warzīdārān.*

(3) And after 150 years, I consign it with (strong) belief to the children of (their) children, the Bearers of the Tradition of good name, in the pure Good Tradition of the Mazdeans and the superior mission of Zardušt Spitāmān of Righteous Pre-Soul; (and) the one who passed the true Ordeal: Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand; those who spoke the ‘Word’ to the entire material existence of all who desire Righteousness: the thinkers of good thought, the speakers of good speech, the doers of good deeds.

(4) *gētīyīhā pad spurr-kāmag-hanjāmīh ī ablāyīh-warzīhā ō frašgird paywastārīh paywandānd.*

(4) They shall connect (them) in *this* world by connections to the Renovation by fulfilling their wishes fully by working on Righteousness.

(5) *ud mēnōyīhā abēzag ruwān frawahr ō abardom meh-gāhīh ud burzāwandīh ud bowandag- ud bowandag-pāddāšn-windišnīh<sup>77</sup> ī andar ān ī a-sar-rōšnīh ī hamēšag-sūd ī purr-xwārīh windēnānd.*

(5) And in *that* world, (their) pure souls and Pre-souls shall obtain the foremost great position, exaltedness, acquiring the complete recompense which is in the endless lights of perpetual benefit (*hamēšag-sūd*) and being full of comfort.

(6) *nāmčīštīgīhā ō awēšan hu-frawardīgān agrīy<sup>78</sup> frazanagān ādur-farnbay farroxzādān ādur-bād ī ēmēdān kē-šān ēn anarz dēn-kard nibēg ēdōn frazanagīhā ud abēzag ox-wēnišnīhā andar +farrox zandīh drayāb ī weh-dēn*

74 B, J5, A40a (bnnđk) || [N.B., the form with an extra vertical stroke is also found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> col. of IM copied by the same scribe, see ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2016, p. 27].

75 Mss. (‘yl’nš’).

76 B (‘st’wb’nyh) but resembling (‘pyt’wb’nyh) || J5 (‘st’wb’nyh) || A40a (‘pyt’wb’nyh).

77 B (bwndk Wp’td’šn’ wndšnyh) || J5 (bwndk Wp’td’šn’ wwhdšnyh) || A40a (bwndk p’t’ d’šnyh wwndšnyh).

78 B, A40a (‘klg’) || J5 (akly) at end of line and repeated on next line.

*ōwōn hu-mihrihā ud weh-+nām<sup>79</sup> ud dēn purr-dōšāramihā ud meh-sūdihā wizarđ amā pasēnigan rāy.*

(6) It is particularly due to those having good Pre-souls, those who are the preeminently learned: Ādurfarnbay, son of Farrozzād and Ādurbād, son of Ēmēd, by whom this invaluable *Dēnkard* manuscript was interpreted in such a learned manner and viewed with a pure mind in the ocean of the \*glorious *Zands* of the Good Tradition, in such a kindly manner and having good names, and by loving the Tradition fully, and so as to provide greater benefit (*meh-sūdihā*) for us successors.

(7) \**nihān<sup>80</sup> ō an kē ablāyih-ārzōgihā stūr-mānāg ēn nibēg awiškand ud ān-iz kē xwānēd<sup>81</sup> kār aziš kunēd<sup>82</sup> padiš āstawān abē-gumān<sup>83</sup> ān kē aziš pačēn stānēd pad frārōnih dārēd paywandānānd passazagihā awiš<sup>84</sup>.*

(7) \*Secretly, I who, out of the desire for Righteousness, like a guardian, have preserved this manuscript, and the one, too, who may read it and makes use of it, believes in it without doubt; and the one who makes [lit. ‘takes’] a copy from it and keeps it with honesty; they [*i.e.*, future readers] shall (then) connect to it appropriately.

(8)<sup>85</sup> *ēn daftar pačēn az daftar ī marzbān ī spandyād<sup>86</sup> marzbān mihr-ābān spandyād mihr-ābān ī marzbān ī dāšn-ayār<sup>87</sup> ī rōzweh ī šāhmardān<sup>88</sup> ī +šādān* ⟨knš’h<sup>89</sup> kard ham.

(8) I made a copy of this book from the book of Marzbān, son of Spandyād, son of Marzbān, son of Mihrābān, son of Spandyād, son of Mihrābān, son of Marzbān, son of Dāšn(a)yār (son of?) Rōzweh, son of Šāhmard, son of \*Šādānag \*Šāh(?).

79 B, A40a ⟨wđhđ’m) presumably for ⟨wyh-šM) || J5 ⟨wyhy’m).

80 Mss. ⟨nyh’n’ OL ANE’ MNW’) || alt. ⟨W yzd’n’ OL ANE’ MNW’).

81 B ⟨KRYTN-yt’) but smudged || J5 ⟨KRYTWN-yt’) and خواند subscripted indicating to be read as *xwānd* presumably due to the ambiguity in B || A40a ⟨KRYTN-yt’).

82 B ⟨OBYĐWN-X<sub>1</sub>) || J5 ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>) || A40a unclear due to a worm hole.

83 Smudged in B.

84 Smudged in B.

85 Cf. UNVALA 1940, pp. 154–156 with notes for §8–12 on the later copy of the Cambridge ms. Add. 328. 329. (p. 15) with an interlinear Pz. in Pers. letters [N.B., see selected forms below which clearly suggest that these names were opaque].

86 B ⟨spndy’yt’) || J5, A40a ⟨spndy’yt’).

87 Following the reading of *dahišn-ayār* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> col. of 4668 by ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2016, p. 43.

88 A40a ⟨š’m) at end of line and ⟨š’hmlt’n’) on the next line.

89 Mss. || Pz. gloss كنه.

(9) *man ēn daftar az dastwar ī wēzan<sup>90</sup> ī +yazd-ayār<sup>91</sup> (ī) wēzan<sup>92</sup> kard ham ud az ham-pursagih +gōr<sup>93</sup> (ī) spandyād<sup>94</sup> (ud) +gōr<sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup>(ī māh-ayār) kard ham kē-šān paywand pad ērih ud wehīh bē ō sōšāns pērōzgar paywandihēd.*

(9) I have made this book from (that of) the high priest Wēzan, son of Yazd(a)yār, son of Wēzan and from consultation with the \*family of Spandyād (and the family of Māh(a)yār), whose offspring shall be connected to the victorious Sōšāns in being Iranian (*pad ērih*) and in goodness!

(10) *ahlaw ud garōdmanīg bād +go(h)r<sup>97</sup> (ī) spandyād<sup>98</sup> (ud) +gor<sup>99</sup> (ī) māh-ayār kē-š<sup>100</sup> ēn dēn-+bandag<sup>101</sup> šahriyār ayār<sup>102</sup> kard u-š abzār dād tā ēn daftar +drīst<sup>103</sup> kard.*

(10) May the \*family of Spandyād and the \*family of Māh(a)yār be righteous and denizens of Paradise who helped Šahr(a)yār, this servant of the Tradition and provided him the tools/means [*i.e.*, the loan of the copy] until the book was completed.

(11) *u-m aziš paywand pad ērih ud wehīh bē ō sōšāns pērōzgar paywandihēd ēdōn bawād čiyōn-imān āfrīnēnīd pērōz bād.*

(11) And my offspring shall be linked to the victorious Sōšāns in being Iranian (*pad ērih*) and in goodness. May it be as we blessed (it)! May it be victorious!

(12) *xwarrah ī abēzag weh-dēn ī mazdēsnañ. hamēšag purr-pačēn purr-xwānīšn bād har kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš tuwān bawād zīyistan.*

(12) The Fortune of the pure Good Tradition of the Mazdeans! May it always be fully copied (and) may it be fully read (by) every person according to one's own desire so long as one may live!

## Codex DH

This codex formerly belonged to BEHRAMGORE T. ANKLESARIA and is presently in the collection of DASTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPI housed in the M.F. Cama

- 90 Mss. (wycn) || Pz. ۳۳.  
 91 B (jzdt'hdyb'l) but smudged.  
 92 B, J5 (wycn) || Pz. ۳۳.  
 93 Mss. (ḡwr') || Pz. ۳۳ *passim*. Cf. UNVALA 1940, p. 155, fn. 4 who suggests that the name is Gīv, son of Isfandiyār Ispandiyār, who is mentioned in the *revāyats* of 885 AY and 896 AY, citing HODIVALA 1920, p. 295 and p. 308.  
 94 Mss. (spndy'yt').  
 95 Mss. (ḡwr').  
 96 See §10 below.  
 97 Mss. (ḡwr').  
 98 B, A40a (spndy'yt') || J5 (spndy'yt').  
 99 Mss. (ḡwr').  
 100 J5 (AMT-š) [N.B., as is its custom of writing (AMT) for (MNW)].  
 101 B (bmnđk) corrected to *bandag* || J5 (bnndk) || A40a (bnndk).  
 102 Mss. (hdyb'lykrt').  
 103 Mss. (drwsyt').

Athornan Institute, Mumbai.<sup>104</sup> It contains parts of Books 3, 5, and 9 of the *Dēnkard*, as well as the *Bundahišn* and the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. The entire codex was published by PESHOTAN K. ANKLESARIA in the *Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān* in 1971.

According to the lengthy colophon, the codex was copied in Kermān, Iran, in 946 AY (1577 CE)<sup>105</sup> by Marzbān Frēdōn,<sup>106</sup> the grandson of Wahrom, the brother

- 104 A seal impressed on some of the folios indicates that at some time it must have belonged to Manockjee Sorabjee Ashburner (ANKLESARIA 1971, p. 5). Ashburner died on July 14, 1891, at the age of 63 according to his obituary in *Parsee Prakash* (vol. 3, 1900, p. 379). He worked for the *Bombay Samachar*, apparently in printing Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee's journals *Jagat Mitra* and *Jagat Premi* between 1851 and 1856. These journals were significant because they were the first illustrated journals printed in Gujarati and circulated for the first time images of ancient Iran to a Bombay audience. *Parsee Prakash* says that in 1853 he published a serialized set of articles about the problems of deciphering the Pahlavi inscription at Naqš-e Rostam, which were printed in the *Bombay Samachar* under the pen-name "Behdin." From 1854, he was Joint Secretary of the Mulla Feroze Madressa and from 1855, he was secretary of the Rah-e-Rastnuma-e Zarthoshtiyān (an organization founded to oppose the reformist Rahnūmae Mazdayasnān Sabha). His manuscripts are now found in the COI, the FDML, and Columbia University. The progenitor of the family, Kavasji Manekji Ashburner, was born in 1778/9. In 1798, he came into the employ of Luke Ashburner, an Alderman of Bombay and editor of the *Bombay Courier*, who had been granted the revenues of a village called Bhandup from the East India Company. Ashburner apparently received a contract to supply the rum for the Company army, which he produced there. In 1806, Luke Ashburner entrusted the administration of the distillery to Kavasji, and in 1817, Luke Ashburner sold all his interests in Bhandup and Bombay to Kavasji for 5 lakh rupees before returning to England. It seems that Kavasji Manekji took the name Ashburner and passed it on to his descendants. Kavasji Manekji's son Sohrabji Kavasji Ashburner continued to work in the rum distillery until his retirement in 1848 [p.c. DANIEL J. SHEFFIELD, to whom I am most grateful for the information above]. According to URSULA SIMS-WILLIAMS, Manockjee Sorabjee received other manuscripts (IM, BK) from Siyavaksh b. Urmazdyar b. Siyavaksh Rustam Urmazdyar known as Sarfahkar Kirmani in around 1853. Siyavaksh Urmazdyar was an Iranian poet and writer — *nom de plume* Azari — who lived in Bombay in the mid-19th century. For further details, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, pp. 188–190.
- 105 The dating of 946 AY is calculated as 1577 CE by CERETI (1995, p. 4) and 1597 CE by AMOUZGAR/TAFAZZOLI (2000, p. 18); cf. also CERETI 1995, p. 5, fn. 7. KÖNIG (2014, p. 51 and p. 55) provides 946 + 20 AY = 1597; FERRER-LOSILLA (2017, p. 379) provides both dates, but see the discussion of K43b below for why the earlier date — that of CERETI — is to be preferred. Two different dating systems were used by Zoroastrians in Islamic times, one that began with Yazdgird's coronation (AY) commencing twenty years prior to the fall of the Sasanians, and the other, the Post-Yazdgird Era (PYE) or the 'Era of the Magians' as al-Bīrūnī referred to it, commencing with the death of Yazdgird. Both eras are found in early Zoroastrian colophons, the former primarily in Indian manuscripts and the latter in some early Iranian colophons including the old colophon of B for the *Dēnkard* and some colophons of mss. written in Cambay, India by Mihrābān Kayxusrō in the 14th century CE (GELDNER 1895, 'Prolegomena,' p. iii).
- 106 See KÖNIG 2014, pp. 54–55 for a brief *vita*. Marzbān Frēdōn copied K35 of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* which Nils Ludwig Westergaard purchased in Kermān in 1843 and



of Gōbedšāh,<sup>107</sup> from a manuscript copied by Ardašīr Wahrāmšāh, the original of which was copied by Spendyād, a grandson of Zādspram.<sup>108</sup> It is incomplete, lacking the last 8 *fragards* of the *Bag Nask* (see appendix F). *Dēnkard* Book 9 begins after a blank of 4 lines on fol. 268v, and breaks off on fol. 320v, 21 at the end of Chapter 60. MADAN, who used ‘DH’ when it was still in the library of HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI in Pune, described it as “a very precious manuscript.”<sup>109</sup>

I first examined it on January 27, 2010 when I was granted access to the collection by the Trustees due to the kind intercession of the late PESHOTAN DASTUR HORMAZDYAR MIRZA and ERVAD RAMIYAR KARANJIA. I was subsequently granted permission to digitally photograph the manuscript; the damage done since it was published by ANKLESARIA (1971) is quite substantial despite being safely stored in a Godrej cupboard. Prior to my arrival, it appears the collection had not been accessed in some forty years. It has recently been digitized again by ALMUT HINTZE and her team at SOAS.

Colophon DH, I.1–7 (230r, 13):

(1) *frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud rāmišn andar rōz ī day māh hordad*<sup>110</sup> *sāl bar*<sup>111</sup> 946  
*pas az wazurg*<sup>112</sup> *yazdgird šāhān šāh.*

(1) “Completed in prosperity, happiness, and peace on the day Day of the month Hordad of the year 946<sup>113</sup> after the great king of kings, Yazdgird [*i.e.*, 1577 CE].

(2) *man dēn-bandag*<sup>114</sup> *marzbān frēdōn wāhrom rōdstam bun-yār šāh-mardān dēn-ayār nibīštam az pačēn* ⟨ī⟩ *irdašīr*<sup>115</sup> *wahrām-šād rōstem wahrām-šā*<sup>116</sup> *ō az*

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IM, an Iranian PV which, along with DH were given to Manockjee Sorabjee Kavusjee Ashburner in 1853 [see fn. above] and is now sadly lost (CANTERA 2014a, p. 96, fn. 76). See also SKJÆRVØ 2014, p. 10 on a copy of IM in the Tehran University Library no. 11236 [N.B., here: TU1].

107 The scribe of the TD1 ms. of the *Bundabišn* (see ANKLESARIA 1970). For the most extensive discussion of Marzbān Frēdōn’s family and their critical role in the transmission of Pahlavi literature in Safavid times, see KÖNIG 2014, pp. 43–73, in particular p. 54 and CANTERA 2014a, pp. 93–96, and, see in particular, the genealogical chart of his family on p. 95.

108 ANKLESARIA (1971, p. 6) noted: “If this Zādsparam was in fact the author of the Pahlavi *Zarduxšt-nāmag* and other works, who lived two and a half centuries after Yazdgerd, this MS claims its descent from an original which was at least 650 years older than itself.”

109 MADAN 1911, p. viii.

110 DH ⟨hrdt’⟩.

111 DH ⟨bl⟩.

112 DH ⟨LB’A⟩.

113 Copied two years after he copied the col. of IM in 944 AY (ANDRÉS-TOLEDO 2016, p. 26).

114 DH ⟨bwndk’⟩.

115 DH ⟨yldšyyl⟩.

116 DH ⟨šš’⟩ || cf. §7 below with ⟨MLKA⟩.

*pačēn anōšag-ruwān hērbed-zād spandyād mazdēn-xwāst ī zādspram. kē-šān ruwān ahlaw garōdmanīg bawād. ēdōn bawād.*

(2) I, a servant of the Tradition, Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rōdstam Bunyār Šāhmardān Dēn(a)yār wrote from the copy of Irdašīr Wahrāmšāh Rōstem Wahrāmšāh; from the copy of Spandyād son of Mazdēnxwāst, son of Zādspram, of immortal soul (and) born of a *hērbed*; may their Righteous souls be Garōdmān-bound! May it be so!

(3) *nibištām frāz hišt tā 150 sāl pad ērih wehīh weh-dēnih kār framāyēd tā pas az 150 sāl ō fraزندān ī āsnīdag dēn-burdār<sup>117</sup> abesparād u-š pad gētīy čiyōn tan kāmag u-š pad mēnōy čiyōn ruwān kāmag kē xwānād ud ayāb hammōzād.*

(3) I wrote and released it to last for 150 years. May it be put to use to (promote) Iranianness, goodness, and belonging to the Good Tradition, so that after 150 years it may still be entrusted to children who are intelligent and bear the Tradition! May it be for the one who may read it or learn/teach from it in *this* world according to the wishes of his/her body and in *that* world according to the wishes of his/her soul.

(4) *u-š čiyōn pačēn aziš kard ayāb kunād man rāy kē xwāyīšnīg ham az xwānīdārān kē padīš xwābar ud hu-wīr bawēnd pad petitiḡih-ēw pas az widerd arzānīg dārēnd.*

(4) And when someone has made a copy from it or shall make one, let one consider me — who am asking of the readers that they be beneficent and generous — worthy of having confessed my sins (and having them forgiven) after my passing.

(5) *man kē nibištām az xwēših xwēš rāy fraزندān xwēš rāy nibištām tā sāl 150 sālān čiyōn pad pēš guftam.*

(5) I, who wrote it myself, I wrote it for my own kin (and) for my own children to last 150 years, just as I said earlier.

(6) *aēuuō paṅtā yō ašahe vīspe aniaēšām apaṅnam<sup>118</sup> ēk-ēw ast rāh ī ahlāyīh harwisp awēšān<sup>+</sup> ahlāyīh.<sup>119</sup>*

(6) ‘One is the path of Order; all the others are non-paths’ [YAv. ~ Y 72.11]. ‘There is one path of Righteousness; all those are Righteousness.’

(7) *andar kirmān šahr<sup>+</sup> kē-š<sup>120</sup> pad dēnīg padīšxwārgar gōwēnd hērbed irdašīr wahrām-šāh rōstahm wāhrom-šāh frazāmēnīd u-š jāmāspān wištāsp-sāst ud nask andar nibišt.*

(7) In the city of Kermān, \*which in the Tradition [*i.e.*, in Pahlavi] they call ‘*padīšxwārgar*,’<sup>121</sup> the *hērbed* Irdašīr Wahrāmšāh Rōstahm Wāhromšāh completed it. He wrote in it the *Jāmāspān*, the *Wištāsp-sāst*, and a *nask*.”

117 DH (°bwd°l).

118 DH (apaṅ) at end of line and (naṅ) on the next line || cf. (apaṅtaṅ) and (apaṅtaṅ) in other colophons.

119 DH (°hl°yh) evidently an error for the expected *a-rāh* “non-path.”

120 DH (AMT-š) with *ka-š* and presumably as (\*MNW-š) for *kē-š* as commonly found in the later mss. and cols.

121 This toponym (OP Pātišūvari-; Elam. Pātišmarriš), is often associated with the east of Māzandarān (cf. BRUNNER, “IRAN v. PEOPLES OF IRAN (2), Pre-Islamic,” EIr who

## Colophon DH, II.1–5 (241 v, 9)

(1) *man dēn-bandag*<sup>122</sup> *marzbān frēdōn wahrām nibištām az pačēn hērbed ardašīr*<sup>123</sup> *wahrām-šāh rōstahm wahrām-šād nibišt andar būm šahr kirmān.*

(1) “I, servant of the Tradition, Marzbān Frēdōn Wahrām wrote it from a copy of the *hērbed* Ardašīr Wahrāmšāh Rōstahm Wahrāmšād, who had written it in the country in the city of Kermān.

(2) *man ham andar šahr kirmān nibištōm xūb frazām bawād ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād.*

(2) I too wrote it in the city of Kermān. Thus may it be! Even more thus may it be!

(3) *pērōz bawād xwarrah ī abēzag web-dēn ī mazdēs-nān.*

(3) Victory to the pure Fortune of the Good Tradition of the Mazdeans.

(4) *pad yazdān (ud) amahrspandān kāmāg bawād.*

(4) May it be according to the wish of the gods and Amahrspands.

(5) *ašəm vohī vahištəm astī ablāyih ābādīh pablom ast*<sup>124</sup>.

(5) ‘Order is the best good (reward/possession) there is’ [in Av. = Y 27.14].<sup>125</sup> ‘Righteousness is the best prosperity there is.’”

## Codex K43b

This codex, used by WEST, who did not have access to DH,<sup>126</sup> was brought from Iran to Denmark in 1843 CE by NILS LUDWIG WESTERGAARD and is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.<sup>127</sup> WEST explains: “This manuscript supplies several short passages in the *Dīnkard*, which are omitted by B, especially in the first

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notes (with references): “The ancient name Pātišuvāri- need not have been exclusive to one region, or else the name for the Alborz might have been reapplied within Persia by the newly arrived Iranians. The mobility of this mountain name may even be more ancient than the Persian migration, if it was also used in the east...”. PV 1.17b (Bh11 13v || F10 9v || MR/L4 7r(8r) || M3 12v || T44 11v), describing the fourteenth of the lands created by Ohrmazd (Av. *varəna čašru-gaoša*, “having four ears”) states: *warn ī 4-gōš padīšxwārgar* (kyl gyl kylm) *ast kē kirmān gōwēd...* “the four-cornered Waren – Padišxwārgar \*Dēlam – one says Kirmān” (cf. JAMASP 1907, p. 17 [N.B., §:1.18 in his numbering]; MOAZAMI 2014, pp. 39–41; cf. also CERETI 2020, p. 141, who suggests that the form is perhaps for \**dēlam*).

122 DH (bndk).

123 DH (‘ldšyl).

124 DH (‘st’).

125 With (vohī) for (vohū) as in the Yazdi Persian dialect.

126 Besides the B ms., K43b was the only other ms. at WEST’s disposal and it ends at *fragard* 8 of the *Warštmānsr Nask*. As a result of the missing folios of B, WEST was forced to leave portions of *fragards* 10 and 11 untranslated (WEST 1892, pp. 260–264).

127 The ‘Codices Hafnienses’ acquired by RASMUS KRISTIAN RASK (1787–1832) in India and NIELS LUDWIG WESTERGAARD (1815–1878) in Iran, were all originally stored in the

portion of the text described above. It has also afforded much assistance in the translation of Dk IX, Chaps. I, I–XXXI, 17.<sup>128</sup>

From my work on the manuscripts, it appears certain that K43b is a copy of DH<sup>129</sup> and is therefore also independent of B (see below). It was published by ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN in the *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis*, in 1936 [1979].

The *Dēnkard* portions of the codex are divided into two parts, fols. 177–261 (K43a)<sup>130</sup> and fols. 262–303 (K43b).<sup>131</sup> *Dēnkard* Book 9 is found in K43b from fol. 21r to fol. 42v, 3, where it ends.<sup>132</sup> K43b, being incomplete, comprises only the *Sūdgar Nask* and the first third of the *Waršt mānsr Nask* (see appendix G).

Codex K43 has three colophons dated 936 PYE = 1587 CE; 938 PYE = 1589 CE; and 943 PYE = 1594 CE.<sup>133</sup> According to CARLO G. CERETI, these dates demonstrate that the copyist of K43 completed the *Bundahišn* in 1587 CE, the *Mēnōy ī Xrad* in 1589 CE, and the pages containing the *Dēnkard* in 1594 CE.<sup>134</sup> CERETI'S dating of DH to 1577 CE, rather than AMOUZGAR/TAFAZZOLI (2000) and KÖNIG (2014) who date it to 1597 CE, accords well with my readings of these manuscripts and would make DH older than K43b, if the latter was in fact from 1594 CE.

## Manuscript J5

This manuscript in the private collection of DASTUR DR. KAIKHUSROO M. JAMASP ASA was published in the *Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches Series* by the Asia Institute of the Pahlavi University in Shiraz in JAMASP ASA/NAWABI with TAVOUSI/FARAVASHI (1976e).

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University of Copenhagen Library but later transferred to the Royal Library. For a list of the Copenhagen mss., see ASMUSSEN, “Codices Hafnienses,” EIR.

128 WEST 1892, p. xxxviii.

129 Cf. also DE MENASCE 1958, p. 6, where a similar assertion is made. WEST (1896–1904, p. 91) states that “the text has evidently descended from the copy of 1020.” This is due to the fact that the final part of the colophon belonging to the 1020 CE ms. is appended to the K43a codex (see above); cf. also BOYCE 1968a, p. 65.

130 It contains a fragment of the *Iranian Bundahišn*, the *Mēnōy ī Xrad*, sections of Books 3 and 6 of the *Dēnkard*, and the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*.

131 It contains the last two chapters of Book 3, Book 5, and most of Book 9 of the *Dēnkard*, a fragment of a work on the *Paragnā* ceremony (for the ritual, see CANTERA 2020a, pp. 69–105), and a fragment of the *Srōš Yašt*.

132 This corresponds to Dk 3.1.17 in WEST 1892.

133 This third colophon, after Dk 3.285, is followed by the final part of a long colophon which is a copy of the 1020 CE manuscript of the *Dēnkard* beginning at ms. B Col. I, §3b = B [641], 17.

134 CERETI 1995, p. 5. WEST (1896–1904 [1974], p. 91) notes however, that K43a and K43b are in different hands, which means that the colophons of K43a cannot be used to securely date K43b. Nonetheless, I have provided K43a in my Stemma in Appendix M.

The manuscript has 516 pages and contains Books 5–9 of the *Dēnkard*, with Book 9 going from p. 349, line 14 to p. 507, line 11.<sup>135</sup> It is clearly a copy of B and must have been made before B was dispersed. It contains five colophons, all in Pahlavi; the first four of which are found in SANJANA (1928). According to the fifth colophon (p. 516, 1), it was completed in 1234 AY (1865 CE) by Ervad Jamshedji Sohrabji Kukadaru<sup>136</sup> from an older copy made by Eruchji Sohrabji Meherji Rana for K. R. Cama in 1231 AY (1862 CE). Despite being one of the later manuscripts, J5 is the only virtually complete manuscript of *Dēnkard* Book 9 (see appendix H) though its use of the  $\bar{i}$  particle is quite erratic *vis-à-vis* the other manuscripts and we find ⟨AMT⟩ for *ka* “if, when” used for the expected ⟨MNW⟩ for *kē* “who, which,” quite consistently just as we find in other manuscripts and colophons as well.

### Codex D10a

This codex belongs to the Mulla Feroze Library, housed in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai. It was published in the *Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches Series* by the Asia Institute of the Pahlavi University in Shiraz in JAMASP ASA/NAWABI (1976b–c).<sup>137</sup>

D10a contains 744 pages on Books 4–9 of the *Dēnkard*. Book 9 goes from p. 587, line 1 to p. 739. It begins with the end of *fragard* 10 and the beginning of

135 JAMASP ASA/NAWABI with TAVOUSI/FARAVASHI 1976e, Introduction [no pp. #s].

136 Ervad Jamshedji Sohrabji Kukadaru (1831–1900) was an important figure in 19th century Parsi spirituality and still renowned for astrology, prophecies, miracles, and for possessing spiritual abilities. See STAUSBERG/KARANJIA 2008 [2012], pp. 500–501 and cf. also WADIA 2003, pp. n.a.) for further details about his life and miracles from a Parsi spiritualist perspective. While his life is deserving of a detailed scholarly study, for the present work it is worth noting the social milieu in which Kukadaru engaged with the *Dēnkard* in particular. He was the primary teacher at the Seth Jijibhai Dadabhai Zand Avesta Madressa in Bombay and in a letter, dated September 28, 1872, he complained to the Bombay Parsi Punchayet (BPP) that he had already advertised his plan to publish an edition and translation of the *Dēnkard* in five volumes over four years but that this plan had been subverted by the Trustees’ decision to entrust this monumental project to P. D. Sanjana (1829–1898). In doing so, they had damaged his prospects of raising Rs. 7,000 for the project. The Trustees rejected his request along with his request to act as a collaborator of Sanjana (DESAI, 1977, p. 67). WADIA (2003, no pp.) provides several examples of his miraculous abilities with the following two being most relevant here: “Once a mobed refused to Kukadaru Saheb to pray the Vendidad. ‘I am feeling drowsy.’ Yet, he was made to sit and recite the Vendidad. That mobed started feeling drowsy. He saw a vision and thereafter the ceremony was performed well. Kukadaru had seen Shah Kaikhushru... Dasturji Kukadaru during his lifetime, had also made some accurate predictions. He had predicted the exact date, day and hour of Dasturji Peshotan Sanjana’s passing away.” I am most grateful to MARIANO ERRICHELLO for bringing this work to my attention.

137 Cf. DHABHAR 1923a, p. 10.

*fragard* 11 of the *Sūdgar Nask* on p. 587, line 11. It then restarts at the beginning of the third *fragard* of the *Bag Nask* (see appendix I).

The first two colophons (found in B) cover pp. 724, 12 to 734, 12 and the final two colophons in Pahlavi (p. 742, 4 to 743, 9) and Persian (pp. 743, 11 to 744, 9) state that it was written by Dastur Eruchji Meherji Rana and completed in 1237 AY (1868 CE; p. 742, 8) from a copy in the possession of Dastur Kaikobad Dastur Rustam Dastur Noshirwān and written by his father Dastur Rustam Dastur Noshirwān Dastur Sohrab Dastur Rustam Dastur Maneck Dastur Mehernosh Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar (the elder Meherji Rana). The dating of the D10a colophons in both Persian and Pahlavi are problematic. In the Persian COL. (p. 744, 5 and see below), Eruchji Meherji Rana says he copied the manuscript that Rustamji Noshervanji Sohrabji Meherji Rana had copied in چهار و هفت و دوصد و دوهزار و یک هزار which is surely an error. We find a different reading in his earlier Pahlavi COL. (p. 740, 3 and see below), where he has ⟨yk' 1000 W yk' 100 4 3 4⟩ which JAMASP ASA/NAWABI (1976b, Introduction) read as 1111 AY (1742 CE), likely following the older catalogues.<sup>138</sup> The date of 1111 AY (1742 CE) would be prior to Rustamji being born in 1152 AY (1783 CE) and the date of 1211 AY (1842 CE) would be after his death in 1206 AY (1837 CE), at the age of 54.<sup>139</sup> Since it is written on European paper (Smith & Moeynier-Fiume) and its contents exactly reproduce that of B, it is undoubtedly a direct copy of that manuscript after it was dispersed.

138 Cf. DHABHAR 1923a, pp. 9–10 but note his ‘Errata and Corrigenda’ (p. 120).

139 The dates also do not match the claim made in WEST (1892, p. xxxvi) about the date of the arrival of the original ‘B’ manuscript to India: “Regarding this manuscript B, written in 1659, it appears from Mullâ Fîrûz’s *Avigêh Dîn* (Bombay, 1830) that Mullâ Bahman, son of Mullâ Behrâm, a Parsi priest of Yazd, brought this manuscript of the *Dînkard* from Irân to Surat in 1783 [= 1152 AY - YSDV], and, having shown it to Aspandîârji Ratanji-shâh, he lent it to Kâusji Rustamji, then Dastûr of Surat, and allowed him to have it copied. Mullâ Bahman had great difficulty in obtaining the return of his manuscript, and when it was returned many folios were missing. It was after this loss of folios that Aspandîârji had several copies transcribed from the defective manuscript, to be sent to various persons, and all these copies were therefore equally defective.” West’s explanation for the date of arrival and the narrative of the missing folios of the original ‘B’ ms. is also corroborated in the Gujarati colophon of the *Dēnkard* Book 3 ms. now in the COI written in 1254 AY (1885 CE) by Eruchji and copied from the Iranian manuscript of the *Dēnkard* brought to Surat by (Mulla) Bahman b. Bahrâm in 1152 AY (1783 CE). DHABHAR (1923a, p. 170) observes that both the dates are incorrect as Rustamji died in 1206 AY (= 1837 CE) and that in both mss. ‘7’ ought to be read as ‘70.’ I am most grateful to DANIEL J. SHEFFIELD (p.c.) for discussing this with me and bringing DHABHAR’s ‘Errata and Corrigenda’ to my attention. He suggests that we should read the Pahlavi col. as ⟨1000 100 (4 + 3 = 7) 3⟩ for \*1173 AY (ca. 1804 CE), and for the following Persian col. stating سال هفت ایزدکردی و دو صد و سی و هفت ایزدکردی, i.e., 1237 AY, we assume an error and instead read it as \*1173 AY (ca. 1804 CE) as well, thus rationalizing the two colophons and the lifespans of the copyists in question. See also Appendix M.

## Final Pahlavi Colophon D10a (p. 742, 4):

*abar zarduxštiyān<sup>140</sup> ī hu-mad menīdārān ud hūxt guftārān ud hu-waršt warzīdārān ud nēk dēn-dāvān paydāg barwād kē ēn kurāsag<sup>141</sup> ī dēn-kard andar rōz ī hordad ud māh ī day dādār ud sāl abar ī 1000 200 ud 30 ud 4 3 az šābān šāh ī yazdgird šabryār andar šahr mumbay \*nibist<sup>142</sup> ēstam ēn daftar rāy az xwāstārīh ī kār-wizārān ī daftar-xānag wahišt-bahr ī mollā-pērōz dastwar ī kāyus nibištām kē ēn daftar andar daftar-xānag hamēšag \*mānēnd<sup>143</sup> ud hamāg kasān az nibištān ud xwāndan bahr ī ayāft barwēnd ud nibištār (ī) ēn daftar ī dēn-kard man dēn ī bandag<sup>144</sup> hērbēd ēraj pus ī dastwar ī sohrāb pus ī dastwar ī kāyus laqab<sup>145</sup> ī dastwar ī mihrijī-rānā māndag (ī) nosārī<sup>146</sup> yazdān bē kāmag barwād ud ēn daftar rāy az daftar ud kitāb ī dastwar kay-kobād pus ī dastwar rostahm pus ī dastwar nōšīrwān kē nibištāg az dast ī pidarīh<sup>147</sup> dastwar rostahm pus ī dastwar nōšīrwān pad sāl 1000 ud 100 4 3 3 yazdgirdīh baw yazdān bē kāmag bād ud ēdōn-tar-iz barwād.*

“It should be clear to the Zoroastrians, good thinkers and good speakers and good laborers and good tradents that I have written this codex (*kurāsag*) of the *Dēnkard*, on the day of Hordad and the month of Day the Creator and in the year of 1237 after the king of kings, Yazdgird [*i.e.*, 1868 CE], the lord, in the city of Mumbai. I wrote this book (*daftar*) per request of the \*agent of the Mulla Feroze Library, Dastur Kāyus, whose lot is Paradise, so that (the folios of) this book will remain in the library forever and all people will benefit from writing and reading it. And I, a servant of the Tradition, Hērbēd Eruch, son of Dastur Sohrāb, son of Dastur Kāyus, nicknamed the ‘Dastur Mehrji Rana,’ a resident in Navsari, am the scribe of this book. It shall be by the desire of God [pl.]; and this book (is written) from the book (*daftar*) and volume (*kitāb*) of Dastur Kaykobād, son of Dastur Rustam, son of Dastur Nōšīrwān, which was written by the hand of the father of Dastur Rustam, son of Dastur Nōšīrwān, in the year of \*1173 after Yazdgird [*i.e.*, 1803 CE]. It shall be by the will of God and even more thus may it be!”

## Persian Colophon D10a (p. 743, 11):

بر زرتشتیان ایزد پرست مخفی نماند که این کتاب دین کرد پنج دفتر در جلد دوم بحسب الحکم صاحبان مباشران و کارگذاران کتاب خانه بهشتی روان دستور<ر> ملا فیروز و بحکم منشی کارگذاران کتابخانه مذکور ارباب فضیلت پناه و دانش دستگاه خورشید جی رستم جی کاماجی نقل کرده که در کتابخانه مرحوم ملا فیروز قائم بماند و دیگران از خواند و نوشت بهره یاب شوند و این کتاب را از کتاب دستور کیقباد جی رستم جی الملقب دستور مهرجی رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری نقل کردم که آن کتاب بید پدرش دستور رستم جی نوشیروان جی و در سال یکهزار و دو صد و هفت و چهار

140 D10a ⟨zltwhšty'n'Ď⟩.

141 D10a ⟨kwl'sk⟩ || cf. Arab. كراسمة “a booklet of bound papyrus sheets” [N.B., a term from the early ‘Abbāsīd period].

142 D10a ⟨YKTYBWN-st-m⟩ but ⟨npšt-m⟩ later.

143 D10a ⟨KTLWNNĎ⟩ but perhaps for ⟨KTLWN-yt'⟩.

144 D10a ⟨bnndk⟩.

145 D10a ⟨lkb⟩ from Arab. لقب “honorific, title.”

146 D10a ⟨nws'lyh⟩ with a Pers. diacritic over the initial ⟨n-⟩.

147 D10a ⟨pytlyh⟩.

یزدکردی نوشته بود ازان کتاب حقیر کثیر التقصیر هیرید ایرج بن دستور سهراب جی بن دستور کاوس جی الملقب دستور مهرجی رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری بروز خورداد و بمه دی دادار در سال هزار و دو صد و سی و هفت ایزدکردی در شهر ممیی نقل کردم ایزدان بکام باد.

“It should not be hidden from the God-serving Zoroastrians that this book (*kitāb*) of *Dīnkard*, consisting of five books (*daftar*) in the second volume, by order of owners, advisors, and agents of the library of the heavenly soul, Dastur Mulla Feroze, and by order of the secretary of the agent of the mentioned library, the master of virtue and knowledge, Khurshedji Rustamji Camaji, has been copied and that it should be kept in the library of the late Mulla Feroze so that others benefit from reading and writing it. And I copied this book from the book of Dastur Kaikobadji Rustamji, nicknamed ‘Dastur Mehrji Rana,’ a resident of the borough of Navsari, which was written by his father, the Dastur Rustamji Noshirvanji, in the year of 1237 [N.B., an error for \*1173 AY] of Yazdgird. I, yours faithfully [lit. ‘the despicable with all faults’], the *hērbed* Eruch, b. Dastur Sohrabji, b. Dastur Kavusji, nicknamed the ‘Dastur Mehrji Rana,’ a resident of the borough of Navsari, copied (this) from that book in the city of Mumbai (ممیی) on the day of Xordād and the month of Day the Creator, of the year of 1237 of the Yazdgird era [= 1868 CE]. It shall be by the desire of God [pl.]”<sup>148</sup>

## Manuscript MR (24, II)

This manuscript is a modern copy of B and was made in 1867 CE by Dastur Eruchji Meherji Rana and is now in the Meherji Rana Library in Navsari, India. It was published in DRESDEN (1966, pp. 49–145) to fill in the lacunae in B.<sup>149</sup> It is one of the most recent manuscripts that can be dated and essentially covers just the *Sūdgar Nask* (see appendix J). One peculiar feature of Dastur Eruchji’s handwriting is the fact that the letters have almost no line-depth, which increases the ambiguity of the already ambiguous Pahlavi script and, in addition, it is difficult to distinguish between ⟨yh⟩ and ⟨š⟩ in most instances. I examined the manuscript in a visit to Navsari in September of 2010 and have confirmed and improved a few readings that are ambiguous in the highly reduced edition of DRESDEN (1966); for example, see the text of §9.7.8.

### Persian Colophon MR I ([145]):

از کتاب دین کرد پهلوی چند جوز پراکنده شده بودند آنها از کتابخانه دستورمعظم کیتباد جی مرحوم دستور رستم جی الملقب بمهرجی رانا ساکن نوساری یافت شدند آنها شش جوز بودند و هر یک از جای جُدا جُدا بوده اند. جوز اول از ورق نود و هفت تا صد و دو. و جوز دوم از ورق سیصد و پنج تا سیصد و دوازده. و جوز سوم از ورق سیصد و سی و دو تا سیصد و سی و نه. و جوز چهارم از ورق سیصد و پنجاه و هفت تا سیصد و شصت و دو. و جوز پنجم از ورق سیصد و هفتاد و سه

148 Trans. after DANESHMAND. I would like to express my gratitude to PARSA DANESHMAND for reading and discussing this colophon with me and for kindly doing so for the following Persian cols. as well.

149 Date given as 1893 CE in DRESDEN 1966, p. 15.



تا سیصد و هفتاد و هشت. و جوز ششم از ورق سیصد و هشتاد تا سیصد و هشتاد و هشت. این جوزها بید حقیر آمدند آنها را نقل کردم کاتب الحروف بنده دین زرتشتی هیربد ایرج دستور سهراب جی بن دستوران دستور کاوس جی الملقب بمهرجی رانا ساکن نوساری بروز رشن راست بماه مبارک آبان در سال هزار و دو صد و سی و شش از شاه یزدکرد شهریار. A few parts of the Pahlavi book of *Dīnkard* had been scattered. They have been found in the library of the great Dastur Kayqobadji, the late Dastur Rustamji, nicknamed Meherji Rana, a resident of Navsari. There were six components in separate places: The first part from the page 97 to 102, and the second part from the page 305 to 312, and the third part from the page 332 to 339, and the fourth part from the page 357 to 362, and the fifth part from the page 373 to 378, and the sixth part from the page 380 to 388. I received these parts [lit. ‘These parts reached the hand of this despicable man’] and copied them. (I), a servant of the Zoroastrian religion (*dīm*), the Hērbed Iraj, the Dastur Sohrab, son of the Dastur of Dasturs, Kavusji, nicknamed Meherji Rana, a resident of Navsari, (am) the scribe of these letters, on the day of Rašn Rāst, of the blessed month Ābān, of the year 1236 after the king Yazdgird, the lord.”<sup>150</sup>

### Persian Colophon MR II ([193]):

تمت الخیر بروز مبارک مینو رام و ماه فرخنده آدر سال هزار و دو صد و سی و شش از شهنشاه یزکرد کاتب و مالک هیربد ایرج دستور سهراب جی بن دستور کاوس جی الملقب بمهرجی رانا ایزدان بکام باد این جوزها که از کتاب دین کرد کم شده بودند از کتابخانه دستور کیقباد جی مرحوم دستور رستم جی الملقب بمهرجی رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری یافتند آنها را از اصل جوزها نقل کردم.

It is well done on the blessed day of Rām, of the blessed month Āzar, of the year 1236, after the king of kings, Yazdgird, (by) the scribe and the owner, the Hērbed Iraj, the Dastur Sohrabji, son of the Dastur Kavusji, nicknamed Meherji Rana. It shall be by the desire of God [pl.]. These components that were missing from the book of *Dīnkard*, were found in the library of the Dastur Kayqobad, the late Dastur Rustamji, nicknamed Meherji Rana, a resident of the town of Navsari. I copied them from the original components.<sup>151</sup>

## Manuscript R50

This manuscript contains “six missing folios of the Dinkard,” and is currently housed in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai [Cama Catalogue #5414]. Written on blue paper having a crest with a unicorn and a lion; 38.5 cm x 25 cm; [N.B., pp. 1–140 in pencil in English in the top right and left corners were added by me with the permission of the Staff at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute on July 4, 2008]; 17 lines/page; pp. 18–21, 46–49, 72–73, 92–93, 112–113 are blank (between folios); p. 115 (r.)–116 (v.) is loose; DDT powder residue covers the ms.

Folio I: pp. 1–17

Folio II: pp. 22–45

150 Trans. after DANESHMAND.

151 Trans. after DANESHMAND.

Folio III: pp. 50–71

Folio IV: pp. 74–91

Folio V: pp. 94–111

Folio VI: pp. 114–140

§9.12.15–32 = pp. 114, 1 (*fragard YH*) Begins where J5 and the other mss. end ...  
*pahlom yazišn ī ān ī āsrō ...*

§9.13.1 = 116, 9 *dwāzdahom fragard uštait*

§9.14.1 = 117, 8 *sēzdahom fragard tat-spāy-pers*

§9.15.1 = 118, 5 *čahārdahom fragard at-frawaxšay*

§9.16.1 = 119, 7 *panjdahom fragard kamnamēz*

§9.17.1 = 122, 4 *šānzdahom fragard spēmed*

§9.18.1 = 123, 5 *haftdahom fragard yezī*

§9.19.1 = 123, 15 *haštadahom fragard at-mayaṣw*

§9.20.1 = 125, 8 *nōzdahom fragard kadmōruw*

§9.21.1 = 127, 5 *wistom fragard wohu-xšahr*

Ms. ends (Dk 9.24.13): *ud az duš-mad ud duš-huwaxt duš-waršt pabrēz ud abar-iz yazdān wēnāgihā* “And protection from bad thoughts, words, and deeds and about using one’s ability to see the gods.”

## Manuscript D12

A manuscript in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute [Catalogue # 3728] containing *Dēnkard* Books 4–9 [pp. 1–612]. It contains a stamp of the Mulla Feroze Library and was copied by Dastur Eruchji Sorabji Meherjirana in 1234 AY (1865 CE), *i.e.*, in the same year as J5, for the Mulla Feroze Library at the request of K. R. Cama from a copy owned by the latter. The flower-dividers are in black ink with a red flower around it. It has occasional Persian glosses and a Persian colophon on pp. 611–612. §9.12.1 = 486, 13–490, 2 where the *fragard* (YH, *Sūdgar*) breaks off (as in J5).<sup>152</sup>

## Manuscript 323b

This manuscript, containing *Dēnkard* Books 4–9, is housed in the COI [Catalogue # 5703]; pp. 309–705 are in Gujarati and English [from p. 438 onward in English]; the final page (p. 705) has the number ‘194’ in blue ink on top right corner, which may have been a sticker of some sort (a square outline remains); 19 lines/page; Four colophons (I–IV in SANJANA 1928) are found on pp. 697–705.

Colophon I: pp. 697, 11–700, 16.

152 Cf. DHABHAR 1923a, p. 11.

Colophon II: pp. 700, 17–702, 9 followed by تمام شد کتاب دین کرد on line 10.<sup>153</sup>

Colophon III: pp. 702, 11–704, 3.

Colophon IV: pp. 704, 6–705, 3 (end of ms.).

§9.12.1 = pp. 629, 19–631, 19 where the *fragard* (YH, *Sūdgar*) ends at §9.12.15 (J5).

## Manuscript R49<sub>2</sub>

This manuscript, containing *Dēnkard* Books 4–9, is housed in the COI [Cama Catalogue # 5413]. It has 627 pages with the page numbers written in Persian in black ink on top of the page in the middle; corresponding Gujarati numbers are given on top outside corners in pencil; 14 lines/page. Five colophons (I–IV in SANJANA 1928) are found on pp. 612–627 and it is dated to 1238 AY (1869 CE), *i.e.*, a year after D10a.

Colophon I: pp. 612, 8–617, 12.

Colophon II: pp. 617, 14–620, 11 followed by تمام شد کتاب دین کرد in Pers.

Colophon III: pp. 621, 1–623, 9.

Colophon IV: 623, 11–625, 1.

Colophon V: pp. 625, 3–627, 11 (end of ms.).

§9.12.1 = p. 500, 8 (red ink) and p. 500, 9 (black ink)–503, 14 where the *fragard* (YH, *Sūdgar*) breaks off at §9.12.15 (as in J5).

## Manuscript F20

This manuscript housed in the First Meherjirana Library, Navsari, begins with *Dēnkard* Book 4.

*yāzdahom fragard ēsn* — p. 126, 14 to p. 131, 1 where it breaks off like all the other copies of B. The *Sūdgar Nask* begins in MR (pp. 1–193) on p. 137, 12 and ends on p. 189, 9 (followed by the *Waršt mānsr Nask*).

## Manuscript A40a

This manuscript, containing *Dēnkard* Books 3–9 in two volumes, is currently housed in the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute in Andheri, Mumbai. It was mislabelled with the second half of the *Dēnkard* found in A40a and the first half in A40b. I first examined it on January 27, 2010 and was granted permission to photograph it. It contains two sealing stamps that read:

153 As is the same practice in J5 p. 513, 5 || D10a p. 734, 14 || and R49<sub>2</sub> p. 620, 11.

این کتاب ملک الفقیر دستوران دستور و وخشوران وخشور جمشید بن دستور برزو ابن دستوران دستور کاوس بن رستم  
ابن جمشید بن بهرام المغفور سنه ۵۱۲۱ یردجردی

“This book (is) the property of the lowly *dastūr* of *dastūrs*, the prophet of prophets! Jamšēd, son of Dastūr Borzū son of the *dastūr* of *dastūrs* Kāus, the son of Rostam, the son of Jamšēd, the son of Bahrām, the blessed [*i.e.*, ‘deceased’] in the Yazdgird year 1215 [= 1846 CE].”

الفقیر دستوران دستور جمشید ابن برزو ابن کاوس

“The lowly *dastūr* of *dastūrs* Jamšēd, son of Borzū son of Kāus.”

Still other manuscripts are believed to exist in private collections both in Europe and in India. Our knowledge of mss. in Iran is improving due to the efforts of S. GHOLAMI (Frankfurt), K. MAZDAPŪR (Tehran), A. CANTERA (Berlin) and their teams, who have helped locate and digitize more than 85 manuscripts in the last decade or so.<sup>154</sup>

## Evaluation of the Manuscripts

On the basis of my philological work on the originals and facsimiles of the manuscripts, I have concluded that there are two basic manuscript types, both of which go back to a common original, presumably the Baghdad manuscript from 1020 CE or one of its copies. The Iranian mss. DH and K43b pattern together, with K43b undoubtedly being a copy of DH. The Indian mss. J5, D10a and MR (and R50, R323<sub>b</sub>, A40a, etc.) all pattern together and are clearly copies of B (also from Iran). D10a was made after the loss of the 70 folios and closely follows B as in DRESDEN (1966). Manuscripts DH, J5, D10a, R49<sub>2</sub>, and R50 were apparently unknown to DRESDEN, who does not mention them, and so does not include them in his Concordances (he also omits parts of K43b).<sup>155</sup>

Below I provide a few salient examples of manuscript variants in the text of the *Sūdgar Nask*. For a STEMMATA of the manuscripts, see appendix M.

### DH Patterns with K43b and MR Patterns with J5

§9.1.2 — DH, K43b ⟨'wšmlšn'⟩ ≠ MR, J5 ⟨'wšmwłšn'⟩ for *ōšmurišn* “enumerating, recalling, reciting.”

154 See MAZDAPŪR 2008–2009, pp. 3–19 [in Persian]; and 2012, pp. 165–172 [in English] and, more recently, GHOLAMI/POULADI 2019, pp. 3–59. For the state of the discovery efforts, see the website of the Corpus Avesticum Berolinense (CAB) created and administered by A. CANTERA: <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/iranistik/forschung/CAB/projektbeschreibung/index.html>.

155 DRESDEN 1966, pp. 21–45.

- §9.2.17 — DH, K43b ⟨zltwšt'⟩ ≠ MR, J5 ⟨zltwhšt'⟩ || DH and K43b consistently use the form *zardušt*<sup>156</sup> MR and J5 consistently use the form *zarduxšt*.
- §9.4.1 — DH, K43b (50 ŠNT') for *panjāh sāl* “50 year(s)” ≠ MR, J5 (70 ŠNT') for *haftād sāl* “70 year(s).”
- §9.7.3 — DH, K43b have a divider ≠ no divider in MR, J5.
- §9.7.5 — DH, K43b ⟨m'nd⟩ for *mānd* “dwelling” [cf. MMP ⟨m'nd⟩] ≠ MR, J5 ⟨m'n⟩ for *mān* “dwelling.”
- §9.9.3 — DH, K43b ⟨st'yšnyh⟩ for *stāyišnīh* “praise” ≠ MR, J5 ⟨st'yšn' Y⟩ for *stāyišn ī* [N.B., such variants are perhaps aural errors in the copying process].
- §9.9.10 — DH, K43b ⟨hlwst'⟩ for *harwīst* “all” ≠ MR, J5 ⟨hlwsp'⟩ for *harwisp* “all.”<sup>157</sup>
- §9.9.10 — DH, K43b ⟨hwm'nšnyh⟩ for *hu-mānišnīh* “of good dwelling” [N.B., the preferred/expected form] ≠ MR, J5 ⟨hwmynšnyh⟩ for *hu-menišnīh* “having good thought.”
- §9.10.2 — DH, K43b ⟨wn's⟩ for *wināh* “bad” ≠ MR, J5 ⟨wn'syh⟩ for *wināhīh* “badness.”
- §9.10.2 — DH, K43b ⟨LBA krpk'⟩ for *wuzurg kirbag* “great good deeds” ≠ MR, J5 ⟨krpk' LBA⟩ for *kirbag wuzurg*
- §9.11.4 — DH, K43b ⟨'wlwl'n⟩ for *urwarān* “plants” ≠ MR, J5 ⟨'wlwl'm⟩ for *urwarām* [N.B., perhaps the Gujarati pronunciation].
- §9.11.12 — DH, K43b ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ *burdan* [Inf.] “to carry” ≠ B, D10a, J5 ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ [2<sup>nd</sup> sg. pres.] *barē* “you carry.”
- §9.16.3 — DH, K43b ⟨W⟩ for *ud* ≠ MR, J5 ⟨Y⟩ for *ī* [N.B., the conjunction *ud* would be expected].
- §9.16.19 — DH, K43b ⟨shyk⟩ for *sahīg* “right” [N.B., the preferred/expected form] ≠ MR, J5 ⟨gyh'n⟩ for *gēhān* “world of the living.”
- §9.21.2 — DH, K43b ⟨YKOYMWN-'t⟩ for *ēstād* [3<sup>rd</sup> sg. subj.] ≠ MR, J5 ⟨YKO-YMWN-yt⟩ for *ēstēd* [3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres.] || [N.B., the subj. form is to be preferred here].
- §9.22.1 — DH, K43b ⟨hšm KRA LYLYA 'ḏwk'⟩ for *xēšm har šab ēk* ≠ MR, J5 ⟨KRA LYLYA hšm 'ywk'⟩ for *har šab xēšm ēk*

156 N.B., this distribution is *contra* to what CERETI (1995, p. 5) found regarding the mss. of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* where the form ⟨zltwhšt⟩ is used by DH and K43b, whereas ⟨zltwšt⟩ is used by K20 and K20b.

157 For a discussion of these forms, see KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 202, fn. 37 who reads ⟨hlwst'⟩ from an older form (OP) \**harṣa-* \**yīsa-* and ⟨hlwsp'⟩ from an older \**harṣa-* \**yīspa-*, the former with an unetymological ⟨-t⟩ (“unorganischen *t*”) which he groups with Pahl. ⟨KHDE⟩ for *hamist* (Pz. *xāmast*) “together (with)” ~ MMP ⟨hmys⟩ and also Pahl. ⟨'lm's⟩ for *almāst* “steel” ~ MMP ⟨'rm's⟩ from Gk. *ἀδάμας*, which clearly has no final dental element. While agreeing with KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 202, fn. 36 regarding its high frequency, including in the mss. of the *Yasna*, ZEINI (2020, p. 212) suggests that the forms here with ⟨-t⟩ might simply be produced by a scribal tendency of ⟨-p⟩ being connected with the following otiose stroke ⟨'⟩ instead.

## K43b is a Direct Copy of DH

- §9.3.1–2 — K43b skips this short *fragard* entirely and begins with the next one. The omission is due to the fact that §9.3.1 begins at the end of fol. 21v in K43b. §9.4.1 in K43b then begins on fol. 22r, line 1. It is found in DH, and if DH had been a copy of K43b it would also not have the *fragard*.
- §9.13.7 — MR, J5 ⟨gyh'n⟩ ≠ DH ⟨yzd'n⟩ with ⟨gyh'n⟩ written above it || K43b ⟨gyh'n yzd'n⟩
- §9.13.3 — K43b ⟨pyt'k⟩ for *paydāg* (cf. the beginning of §9.13.4). In DH the beginning of §9.13.3 and §9.13.4 are right above each other in fols. 274r, 4–5, which suggests that the scribe of K43b was copying from DH and evidently copied the *paydāg* in §9.13.3 from §9.13.4, then realized his mistake and crossed it out.
- §9.14.3 — DH has ⟨MNW MNW⟩ with the first ⟨MNW⟩ being the last word on fol. 274v, 2 and the second ⟨MNW⟩ at the beginning of line 3 || K43b ⟨MNW MNW⟩ in the middle of fol. 27v, 18, which further suggests it is a direct copy of DH.

## Divergences in J5

- §9.2.5 — DH, K43b, MR ⟨YCBEN-yt'⟩ from *kāmistan* “to want, desire” ≠ J5 ⟨YTYBWN-yt'⟩ for *nišastan* “to sit” or *nišāstan* “to set.”
- §9.6.4 — DH, K43b, MR have *ābādīh pahlom ablāyīh ast* ≠ J5 has *ābādīh pahlom ast ablāyīh* [N.B., this is the only time a manuscript differs from the others in the word order of the Pahl. version of the *Ašəm Vohū* found as a refrain at the end of each *fragard*<sup>158</sup>].
- §9.10.2 — DH, K43b, and MR ⟨hwyš'nyt'lyh⟩ for *xwēšēnīdārīh* “the fact of making something one’s own” ≠ J5 ⟨hwyš'nyt'lyh⟩ for *xwēšānīdārīh*
- §9.11.5 — DH, K43b, and MR ⟨'cplnpšt'⟩ for *azabar-nibišt* “written above” ≠ J5 ⟨'cplnšt'⟩
- §9.13.9 — DH, K43b, and MR ⟨YHBWN-t⟩ with the arameogram of *dād* ≠ J5 ⟨d't'⟩ with the phonetic spelling of *dād*
- §9.18.3 — DH, K43b, and MR ⟨MNW⟩ for *kē* “who, which” ≠ J5 ⟨AMT⟩ for *ka* “when, if, since.” [N.B., this is a very common feature of J5 and some of our colophons (e.g., ADA 4062, §30), suggesting the two vowels had fallen together].

## Certain Sequences are Skipped in Particular Manuscripts

- §9.11.3 — MR, J5 skip the sequence: *ō ān mān kū-šān pabrēz ī ātaxš kardan pad-dād*

158 Cf. MALANDRA/ICHAPORIA 2013, pp. 261–262. See the quote of WEST (1892, pp. 11–12, fn. 5) above.

- §9.11.12 — B, J5, and D10a omit the sequence: *menōy hād abzār-it-ēw ī čiyōn ān daham kē pad ān harwist ox ī astōmand*
- §9.19.3 — MR omits the sequence: *tan ī sejōmand ablāyīh stāyēš ud pad ul-nibēmišnīh ka bē xufse ablāyīh*. Instead it has: *tanōmand pad frāz bawīšnīh* || J5 also omits the sequence and has: *tan* as the last word of p. 370, 14 and: *hēnd sejōmand pad frāz bawīšnīh* at the beginning of p. 371, 1.
- §9.20.8 — J5 omits the sequence (found in the other mss.) *duš-hammōzišnīh <ī> ōy ī druwand andar bun ī dōšox ud pad a-frazandīh bē*
- §9.22.5 — J5 omits the sequence (found in the other mss.) *ī-š abar haft būm dāšt pad-iš menišn xwālēn kard ∴ u-š ō xwadāyīh ī* and resumes with: *asmān gāh ...* essentially jumping from *xwadāyīh* to the next *xwadāyīh*

### The Importance of DH for Establishing the Text of *Dēnkard* Book 9

Besides being the oldest extant manuscript for *Dēnkard* Book 9, DH has, for the most part, the best readings, and my use of it, I believe, is a major step forward from prior text critical scholarship on *Dēnkard* Book 9. For example, WEST only had access to K43b and, as a result, his translation is problematic, particularly in sections where DH deviates from B and K43b does not follow DH exactly. MARIJAN MOLÉ, as was customary a half century ago, used MADAN (1911) for his scholarship from the late 1950s and early 1960s. While his knowledge of Pahlavi was excellent, his texts and translations were not always based strictly on MADAN (1911) nor on the best manuscript readings, and so cannot be regarded as definitive. AHMAD TAFAZZOLI also did not have access to DH when he wrote his dissertation in the mid-1960s and based himself on MADAN (1911).<sup>159</sup> Most of the subsequent published scholarship on *Dēnkard* Book 9 has, likewise, been based on MADAN (1911), including the texts and translations of SHAPIRA (1998) and the translation of ASHA (2009).

# Textual Approaches to *Dēnkard* Book 9

## The *Sūdgar Nask* and Source Criticism

“Nothing is absolutely dead:  
every meaning will have its homecoming festival.”  
– MIKHAIL M. BAKHTIN<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of a critical edition of *Dēnkard* Book 9, the tendency among the few scholars who have discussed this text has been to mine it for specific words or mythical or theological points, rather than study its hermeneutical modes and contexts; the notable exception being SHAPIRA (1998). My study demonstrates that, in this text, we are dealing with cohesive interpretive approaches to the ‘Old Avesta’ and that certain hermeneutical narratives appear to flow from one *fragard* to another. Besides an intratextual analysis, a source-critical approach has to be employed since *Dēnkard* 9 contains quotations of mythoepic material from no longer extant Avestan texts, as well as from the *yašts*.<sup>2</sup> As E. W. WEST and J.-P. DE MENASCE have suggested, identifying the precise origin of these quotations can prove to be rather difficult. Based on his extensive knowledge of these texts, WEST stated:

“It is abundantly evident, to the practised translator, that Avesta phrases often underlie the Pahlavi passages which seem to be quoted at length from the original *Nasks*, especially in Dk IX.”<sup>3</sup>

My work on the text leads me to agree with their surmise. That being said, the source-critical challenges faced by WEST in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century still exist today despite more than a century of scholarly work on Avestan and Pahlavi literature. I believe this is due to one of the most underappreciated aspects of our study of Zoroastrian textuality in Avestan and Pahlavi since the days of WEST. While we have made enormous progress on studying our Avestan and Pahlavi texts and their accompanying ritual and historical contexts, we have not had any major discoveries of ‘new texts’ since the publication of the *Sacred Books of the East* as

1 BAKHTIN 1986, p. 170.

2 DE MENASCE (1983, p. 1175) tentatively identified several passages in the *Sūdgar Nask*: §9.11.11–12; §9.12.1, §9.12.3, §9.12.5, §9.12.27, and §9.12.31; §9.19.3–5; §9.20.4–9; §9.21.2–7, §9.21.10, §9.21.18–24; and §9.22.10–13.

3 WEST 1892, p. xli.



we have had with Bactrian or documentary Middle Persian. Given that our textual horizons are not significantly wider than in the 19<sup>th</sup> century we need a set of text-critical and hermeneutical criteria for identifying the literary markers in our text that may signal different sources. To attempt to meet this formidable challenge, I have used a set of diagnostic features from literary criticism of the Bible as an informal heuristic device to help me to identify such shifts; these include: 1) changes in literary style; 2) shifts in vocabulary; 3) breaks in continuity of thought and syntax; 4) the presence of secondary, connecting statements; 5) changes in theological viewpoint; 6) duplication or repetition of words and phrases; 7) clearly defined and isolatable literary sub-units; and 8) chronological, factual, or other narratological inconsistencies.<sup>4</sup> These diagnostic criteria have allowed me to better discern the relationship between intertextual allusions and hermeneutical reworkings in many of the more obscure passages of the text and I acknowledge them in my hermeneutical summaries of the narratology of each *fragard* in my *Commentary*.

Undoubtedly, the three most useful scholarly tools available to me (and others in our field) have been the AVESTAN DIGITAL ARCHIVE (ADA)<sup>5</sup> and the unpublished transcribed files of the Avestan and Pahlavi corpora prepared by PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ. While I had access to the transcribed Avestan files of SKJÆRVØ which I helped him partially proofread in 1999, neither of the other two resources were available to me when my dissertation was written between 2004–2007. The ADA has allowed me to cross-check the Avestan files of SKJÆRVØ with a number of Avestan manuscripts and it has allowed me to provide readers with a more granular approach to both the Avestan and Pahlavi texts cited in the *Commentary*, as I have been able to supply a limited apparatus for almost all the Avestan texts cited, which do not yet have recent critical editions.

The Pahlavi files of SKJÆRVØ have allowed me to find cotexts, formulae, and other passages that then allow me to better demonstrate to readers the ubiquitous quality of the intertextuality we find in the text specifically and Pahlavi literature more generally. I have reexamined the manuscripts cited by SKJÆRVØ with the scans and facsimiles available to me, and, in many instances, I have deviated from the readings provided by him. One major difference between SKJÆRVØ's files and the present work is the fact that he provides graphic transliterations in his footnotes whereas I provide quasi-etymological transcriptions, as per MACKENZIE (1971), in my apparatus.

Perhaps the most acute source-critical challenge we encounter in the study of Pahlavi texts is attempting to articulate a theory of textuality that adequately addresses these intertextual allusions and shared content across the Avestan and Pahlavi corpora. A glance at the INDEX LOCORUM of the accompanying work will reveal this thoroughgoing intertextuality.

4 Cf. HAYES/HOLLADAY 1987, p. 77.

5 <https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/>.

1) As stated earlier, we find the *Stūdgar Nask* explicitly cited as an authoritative source three times in Pahlavi literature: in ŠnŠ 10.8 on the ritual slaughter of animals (§9.18.2); in Supp.ŠnŠ 12.32 for the cure for sneezing, *viz.* the recitation of the *Ahunwar* (§9.19.6); and in ZWY 1.1 on the chronotope of the ‘4 Ages’ (§9.8.1–6).

The references in ŠnŠ 10.8 and in §9.18.2 — in the *fragard* commenting on the *Yeziḏā Hāiti* (Y 48.1–12) — both share the condemnation of unlawfully slaughtering (*a-dādīhā kušt-*) animals, but the ŠnŠ adds information regarding retributive justice that we do not find in our enumerative ‘Table of Contents’ Text.

The references in Supp.ŠnŠ 12.32 and in §9.19.6 — in the *fragard* commenting on the *Aṭ.māiiauuā Hāiti* (Y 49.1–12) — once again both share a discussion of what leads to a “short life” (*gišnag-zīyišnīh*, a Pahl. translation of Av. *mərəzujīti-*) and the remedy being the recitation of the *Ahunwar* (Y 27.13) and the *Ahlāyīh* (Y 27.14). Supp.ŠnŠ 12.32 states explicitly: “It says in the *Stūdgar (Nask)*: ‘What causes sneezing, *i.e.*, what good does it do?’” (*pad stūdgar gōwēd kū cē šnōšag ārāyēd kū pad cē kār āyēd*). While our text discusses a number of pious actions to be performed in order to live a long and religiously enjoined life, we have no reference to sneezing, yawning, or sighing as discussed in the *Supp. ŠnŠ.*, suggesting that the latter text was referring to a putative fuller *S(t)ūdgar Nask* of which our *Text* is merely the summary.

Finally, the third set of references is found between ZWY 1.1 and §9.8.1–6 — in the *fragard* commenting on the *Tā.vā.uruuātā Hāiti* (Y 31.1–22) — on the chronotope of the ‘Four Ages’ where one finds the ZWY stating: “As is manifest in the *Stūdgar*” (*čiyōn az stūdgar paydāg*). While sharing the metallurgical sequence with our *Text*, the chronotope of the ‘Four Ages,’<sup>6</sup> in ZWY 1.8–11 has different mythical and historical *dramatis personae*:

Dk 9.8.1–3	ZWY 1.1–11
Gold: Ohrmazd to Zardušt	Gold: Ohrmazd to Zardušt to Wištāsp
Silver: Zardušt to Wištāsp	Silver: Ardaxšir ī kay-šāh
Steel: Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand	Steel: Husraw, son of Kawād
Mixed Iron: Heretics and other bad ones	Mixed Iron: ‘Parted-hair’ demons

The ZWY chronotope adds another image of a tree (*draxt-ēw*) with four branches (*čahār azg*) which we do not find in our *Text*. ANDERS HULTGÅRD has argued that the omission of this mythic material of the ZWY (*Bahman Yašt*) in §9.8 testifies to the priorities of the redactor of the *Dēnkard* version. While I find his arguments to be historiographically problematic, they are worth quoting in full since they were repeated in the entry “Bahman Yašt” in *Encyclopædia Iranica* by WERNER SUNDERMANN. We find it suggested by HULTGÅRD:

6 Cf. also ZWY 3.21–29, which provides a chronotope of seven ages instead of the four that we encounter here. See CERETI 1995 for further details.

“The very brief summary which then is given contains no mention of the myths introducing the corresponding material in Bahman Yasht (sections 1 and 3). These mythical introductions have simply been omitted by the redactor of the Dēnkard version. In comparison with Bahman Yašt the summary in Dēnkard IX, 8 reveals more redactional reworking. The description of the three first periods in the Dēnkard version have been put in the retrospective and the fourth and last is presented as contemporary with the author. This is clearly secondary in relation to Bahman Yašt where the periods of the dream-vision are described as lying in the future, with exception of the first, Zarathustra’s own time. Furthermore we are not told that the different periods are symbolized by a tree with four branches as in Bahman Yašt.”<sup>7</sup>

HULTGÅRD then adds in the next paragraph: “We may assume then, that the Sūtkar nask as claimed by the compiler of Bahman yasht also contained the mythical introduction ... which precedes the vision of the ages.”<sup>8</sup> WERNER SUNDERMANN, in turn, repeats HULTGÅRD’s position almost verbatim:

“Hultgård, while stressing the originality of the Iranian imagery, concludes that the author of the Book of Daniel took over an Iranian concept of successive world empires, which had been passed on by the Seleucids, together with a Zoroastrian picture of four world era. Weight is lent to this opinion by the fact that the presentation of the four ages in the Sūdgar nask (...) gives the impression of having been revised and updated rather than conceived in the Sasanian period.”<sup>9</sup>

As I have argued elsewhere, the historiographical problems that I see with HULTGÅRD’s analysis and SUNDERMANN’s supporting claims are twofold.<sup>10</sup> My first critique is generated by HULTGÅRD’s presumption that the narrative in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* precedes that of the *Dēnkard*. He seems to suggest that the lack of the mention of Zardušt’s desire for immortality, the mention of the tree, and his dream vision in the Dk 9 chronotope are a result of editorial priorities. What HULTGÅRD does not explain is the fact that ZWY 1.1 explicitly acknowledges its source as being the *Stūdgar*, a Pahlavi translation of a putative ‘lost’ Avestan *nask*, and thus representing an ‘ancient’ source of Zoroastrian wisdom and lore.

The second issue I have with HULTGÅRD’s, and by extension SUNDERMANN’s, claims is the rather odd historiographical assumption, that the voice used in the ZWY is somehow more original since it implies that the dream-events of the last three periods are still to occur in the future whereas the narrative in the *Dēnkard* somehow “reveals more redactional reworking” due to having “been put in the retrospective and the fourth and last [period] is presented as contemporary with the author.” As I have suggested in the past, the apocalyptic phenomenon we find in the ZWY passage is a classic example of an *ex eventu* prophecy: the presentation of events that have already taken place in the guise

7 HULTGÅRD 1992, pp. 18–19.

8 HULTGÅRD 1992, p. 19.

9 SUNDERMANN, “Bahman Yašt,” EIr.

10 See VEVAINA 2011, pp. 247–249.

of a future prophecy.<sup>11</sup> Occam's razor would suggest that we simply view these two texts as both drawing upon the 'lost' Avestan-Pahlavi *S(t)ūdgar Nask* and which, in turn, deploy slightly different forms of apocalyptic rhetoric<sup>12</sup> and, likewise, fill the chronotope of the 'Four Ages' with variant periodizations, thus historicizing the texts based on their broader rhetorical aims and genres, apocalyptic versus hermeneutic, respectively.

The literary and hermeneutic agency of tradents to draw upon their traditional textual and cultural resources and repertoires is precisely what has often been occluded in our philological approaches to the study of Zoroastrian texts and history. Ironically, the paucity of surviving materials often leads us to historicize our extant texts using developmental schemas and periodizations that are impossible to verify or, for that matter, falsify, and which inevitably cause us to underappreciate the socio-rhetorical aspects of our extant texts in our quest for some illusory historiographical certainty.

## Historicizing *Dēnkard* Book 9

“... history is philosophy teaching by examples.”

– Attributed to Thucydides  
by Dionysus of Halicarnassus

The Sasanian Empire (224–651 CE) is widely acknowledged to be one of the most important imperial polities of Late Antiquity and yet, paradoxically, it remains one of the least understood. The Sasanians typically have been studied by scholars and viewed by the public as antagonists to the Romans and Byzantines in the West; alternatively, they have been viewed as a precursor to the Islamic world in the Middle East. Up till very recently, the Sasanian era was treated as simply a transition period from the obscure Parthian centuries to the advent of Islam in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

First, we have no histories written by the Sasanians themselves. All of our historical sources are either from the Islamic era and written by Muslim scholars working in the Classical Persian and Arabic traditions like, al-Ṭabarī, Ferdowsī,

11 Cf. BOYCE 1975, p. 289.

12 Cf. O'LEARY 1994, p. 4 for a definition of rhetoric that I find very compelling: “Rhetoric is a social practice of ‘public, persuasive, constitutive, and socially constituted utterance.’ It is a method of inquiry whose object is to discover how audiences are moved or persuaded through the interplay of style, form, content, and context in texts both spoken and written.”

13 For a recent historiography of Sasanian studies, see DARYAEE 2016, pp. 193–203; for general treatments of the Sasanians, see CHRISTENSEN 1944; POURSHARIATI 2008; and DARYAEE 2009; and, most recently, BONNER 2020.

al-Tha‘ālibī, Ḥamza al-İşfahānī, and others.<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, we have histories and chronicles written by the enemies of the Sasanians, such as the Roman and Byzantine historians or the Christian communities writing in Syriac and Armenian and the Jewish, Manichaean, and Mandaean communities for example. What we do have in the way of textual sources from the Sasanians themselves are inscriptions and reliefs, coins, seals, bullae, and papyri — all of which are linguistically challenging to work with in the best of cases, and, while very useful for studying Zoroastrianism as an imperial project and its attendant political theology, genre constraints mean that we find little in the way of materials that formally explicate religious thought in any depth. Recent works have artfully engaged with these historiographical inheritances and provide us with far more sharpened analytical tools for understanding Sasanian imperial ideologies as dynamic and evolving socio-political programs and yet deeply committed to recreating certain paradigmatic acts both in textual and visual media that tie the Sasanians to their Zoroastrian past.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned earlier, we also have several corpora from religious communities living within the Sasanian world, including Jews,<sup>16</sup> Christians,<sup>17</sup> Manicheans,<sup>18</sup> Mandaeans<sup>19</sup> in the West and Hindus and Buddhists in the East, and their responsa to the Zoroastrian imperial authorities and Iranian culture.

Finally, we have the transition of Zoroastrianism as a religion of imperial elites to their minoritization under Islam.<sup>20</sup> In Iranian religious history, the advent of Islam signals more than simply a new religious entrant to a diverse

14 See RUBIN 2005, pp. 52–93; POURSHARIATI 2008; HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2018; and HOYLAND 2018.

15 See DE JONG 2003b, pp. 16–26; SHAYEGAN 2004, pp. 363–384; POURSHARIATI 2008; DARYAEE 2009; CANEPA 2009 and 2018; BECKER 2014, pp. 7–25; SHENKAR 2014; PAYNE 2013, pp. 3–33; 2015; and 2016a, pp. 4–41; DARYAEE/REZAKHANI 2016; and WIESEHÖFFER 2017, pp. 381–391.

16 See the surveys of WIDENGREN 1961, pp. 117–162; NEUSNER 1983; pp. 909–923; 1990; and 1993; BRODY 1990, pp. 52–61; GAFNI 2002, pp. 223–266; ELMAN 2004, pp. 31–56; 2005 [2009], pp. 15–25; 2007, pp. 165–197; and ELMAN/SECUNDA 2015, pp. 423–435; see also the studies of KALMIN 2006; KIPERWASSER/SHAPIRA 2008, pp. 101–116 and 2012, pp. 203–235 and 2015, pp. 65–92; SECUNDA 2014 and 2016, pp. 233–241; HERMAN 2012 and 2014; MOKHTARIAN 2015; KIEL 2016; BRODY 2016, pp. 209–232; GROSS 2016, pp. 248–255; and see now SECUNDA 2020. For a critical reappraisal and problematising of our source-critical approaches, see THROPE 2015, pp. 318–345.

17 See LABOURT 1904; ASMUSSEN 1983a, pp. 924–948; WILLIAMS 1996, pp. 37–53; JULLIEN/JULLIEN 2002, pp. 282–335; WALKER 2006; FRENSCHKOWSKI 2015, pp. 457–475; MINOV 2014, pp. 149–201 and 2021, pp. 142–253; PAYNE 2015; SMITH 2016; and now DEBIÉ 2021, pp. 340–364.

18 See GARDNER/BE DUHN/DILLEY 2015; HUTTER 2015, pp. 477–489; GARDNER 2020; and BE DUHN 2020.

19 See BUCKLEY 2002; SHAPIRA 2004, pp. 243–280; RUDOLPH 2008; VAN BLADEL 2017a; and HÄBERL 2012, pp. 262–276 and 2022.

20 See KREYENBROEK 1987, pp. 151–166 and 1989, pp. 185–208; CHOKSY 1997; KHANBAGHI 2009; 201–212; STAUSBERG 2012, pp. 171–193; and DARYAEE 2015, pp. 103–118; SAHNER 2019, pp. 61–83 and 2021, pp. 67–93; and VEVAINA 2021.

late antique socio-religious landscape; what we also, unfortunately, perpetuate in disciplinary terms is a profound scholarly gulf between the specialists of the pre-Islamic world and scholars of Islam. In the last decade a number of monographs on the Islamicization of the post-Sasanian world specifically or Islamicization more generally with some discussion of the Iranian world, examine and write about the fundamental analytical categories related to religion, civil society, ethnicity, culture, literature, and historical change in new and dramatic ways.<sup>21</sup> All of these highly stimulating works focus primarily on the Islamic side; the scholarly output by the Zoroastrianists has been slower and, in my opinion, still remains significantly under-theorized.<sup>22</sup>

It is precisely with the Zoroastrian Middle Persian literary corpus that we encounter a major historiographical challenge. The Zoroastrian religious ideologies found in the texts are essentially the products of centuries of oral traditions that were finally redacted in the late Sasanian and early Islamic centuries. All of us working on Pahlavi literature are left with the unenviable task of having to constantly make value judgments about what is ‘genuinely’ pre-Islamic content and what are responses to the new historical realities under Islam. Suffice it to say, as a discipline there has been little methodological discussion about establishing mutually agreed upon criteria for adjudicating these cases.<sup>23</sup>

The intimate relationship between ‘religion’ (*dēn*) and ‘politics’ (*xwadāyīh*) in the Sasanian world was precisely the variable that changed so dramatically in the early Islamic period. Much has been written regarding ‘Church’ and ‘State’ under the Sasanians. Perhaps the most eloquent statement comes from al-Mas‘ūdī (896–956 CE) who, in the context of Islamic political theory, quotes Ardašīr, the founder of the Sasanian Dynasty, as saying: “Religion (*dīn*) and kingship (*mulūk*) are two brothers, and neither can dispense with the other. Religion is the foundation of kingship and kingship protects religion. For whatever lacks a foundation must perish, and whatever lacks a protector disappears.”<sup>24</sup> The loss of state sponsorship was probably the most important change for the Zoroastrian priesthood who were experiencing significant socio-economic difficulties due to the seizure of their ecclesiastical land holdings and their being forced to pay the onerous poll tax or *jizya*.

21 See LEVY-RUBIN 2011; CRONE 2012; and SAVANT 2013.

22 See SHAKED 1995 and 2015b, pp. 491–498; STAUSBERG 1997, pp. 116–140 and 2012, pp. 171–193; DE JONG 2016, pp. 223–238; REZANIA 2017, pp. 336–362; TERRIBILI 2017, pp. 396–418 and now VEVAINA 2021. For general studies, see STAUSBERG 2008, pp. 561–600 and 2010, pp. 223–238 and STAUSBERG/VEVAINA 2015, pp. 1–18.

23 For the Sasanian period, GIGNOUX (1979, pp. 137–141) and GYSELEN (2009, pp. 163–190) have provided us with valuable historiographical constraints for how we should use primary materials — inscriptions, coins, seals, gems, bullae, and papyri.

24 Quoted in ZAEHNER 1956, p. 85. See SHAKED 1984, pp. 31–67 for the most detailed treatment of this trope. Cf., for example, Ardašīr’s words in the *Šāhnāme*: پیاموز آیین و دین بهی که بی دین ناخوب باشد مهبی “Learn the superior rite and religion, because sovereignty without religion is not good!” (KHALEGI MOTLAGH 1997, vol. v, p. 80, line 50; quoted in GHAZANFARI 2011, p. 41 and see that work for a number of other valuable passages).

Mānuščihr, the high priest of Kermān in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century CE described the Zoroastrian communities of his time as “scattered jewels” (*wehān gohrān ēwēnag wistarīd*, DD 0.26) due to the *jizya*, the poll tax paid to the Muslim authorities and he lamented the increasing levels of apostasy, the consequent glut of priests undercutting each other’s rates to corner the market with dwindling numbers of lay clients and patrons, and a corresponding lack of knowledge amongst the young priests of his time who did not have the texts as well memorized as the earlier generations of the Zoroastrian priesthood.<sup>25</sup> Our extant Pahlavi texts appear to have been finally redacted in this socio-economic milieu. This religious crisis for the Zoroastrian communities in Iran is ultimately reflected in Pahlavi scriptural hermeneutics and in apocalyptic narratives, and in a number of Pahlavi texts of various genres. The corpus of Pahlavi literature itself is not, in my opinion, merely a textual hermeneutics of the Zoroastrian scriptural record of the objectified *Avesta* (*abestāg*) as a ‘Book’ but rather, it is a project of a much broader and ambitious cultural hermeneutics.<sup>26</sup> This leaves us with the unenviable task of attempting to historicize religious texts in an increasingly literary priestly culture engaging in new forms of media and developing new literary genres in occasionally uneasy tensions with age-old, orally-derived scholastic inheritances. In the case of Zoroastrianism, one faces a number of obstacles, many of which remain insurmountable at the present date. JOSEF WIESEHÖFER summarizes some of these historiographical challenges for the study of Zoroastrianism in the Sasanian period:

“... we are faced with a threefold dilemma: the problem of the lack of uniformity and synchronism in religious literature in Iran, the profusion of contradictory scholarly opinions in questions of detail, and finally the lack of conceptual accuracy and the lasting influence of stereotypes and static ideas bequeathed by earlier research.”<sup>27</sup>

These three dilemmas, especially the last, are equally problematic for the present work. Yet, I believe that hermeneutics make texts ‘sacred,’ and so we must make an attempt, albeit limited in scope and modest in method, to historicize *Dēnkard* Book 9 in order to better understand the social significations of these timeless commentaries on myth, ritual, epic, law, and doctrine. In writing about the various Books of the *Dēnkard* one must always grapple with a complex trans-historical hermeneutic:

1. Text as Avestan inheritance(s);
2. Text as late antique — Sasanian — composition(s);
3. Text as Islamic era redaction(s);<sup>28</sup>

25 See KREYENBROEK 1987, pp. 151–166 and 1989, pp. 185–208.

26 See, for instance, SHAKED 2003, pp. 63–74; DE JONG 2009, pp. 27–41 and WILLIAMS 2012, pp. 139–152 who make much the same point.

27 WIESEHÖFER 2001, pp. 199–200.

28 Cf. MACUCH 2007, pp 156–157, where virtually the same argument is adduced for historicizing the legal *nasks* of *Dēnkard* Book 8, which represent the legal knowledge of

4. Text as medieval and early modern manuscript(s);
5. Text as modern scholarly edition(s).

To begin with the question of Avestan origins, the only passage in *Dēnkard* Book 9 with an extant Avestan original is the *Waršt mānsr* commentary on the *Ā Airiōmā Išiiō* in *Dēnkard* 9.46.1–5 as discussed earlier. As early as 1863, FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL had translated FrW 4.1–3 and identified it as being the ‘lost’ Avestan original of Dk 9.46.1–5. This Avestan passage has been translated almost a dozen times since and has been cited as proof of the greater scope of the *Avesta* in pre-Sasanian times.<sup>29</sup> As I have argued, the *Waršt mānsr Nask* seems to acknowledge its Avestan original in the phrase: *harwistīn srawān abēzag pad hāwand-abestāgīh ēn weh* “Among all words (it is the most) pure, this is best in terms of being equal to the *Avesta*,” where *harwistīn srawān abēzag* renders Av. *vīspanam arəzuuō srauuaham* “of all words, O upright one [= Zaratuštra].” This is glossed by the following *pad hāwand-abestāgīh ēn weh* “this is best in terms of being equal to the *Avesta*.” It is noteworthy that this phrase is not found elsewhere in *Dēnkard* Book 9. It seems too much of a coincidence that the *only* surviving Avestan fragment of a section of Dk 9 uses this phrase, and I would therefore argue that the statement expresses the interpreters’ awareness that this particular *fragard* was based on the extant Avestan text.<sup>30</sup>

With regard to the Sasanian period, we find explicit references in *Dēnkard* Book 9 to both the so-called heresy of ‘Zurvanism’ and polemics against Mani (216–276 CE) and his Hearers (*niyōšāg*). To take the first example, a famous passage in the *Waršt mānsr Nask* (Dk 9.30.4–5) is a hermeneutics of *Yasna* 30.3 on the twin “spirits” (Av. *mainiū-*), where the demon Arš (from OAv. *arəš* adv. “straight” from the adj. *arəzu-*) says that Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were two brothers in one womb. Here, this Monist view — often ascribed to ‘Zurvanites’ or ‘Zurvanism’<sup>31</sup> by Western scholars — is repudiated in favor of the separate origin of light and darkness. The Avestan base passage of Y 30.3 is one of the most famous and disputed in the *Gādās* and has featured prominently in every controversy on the so-called ‘essence of Zaratuštra’s message’ and been translated differently in virtually every edition. It is rendered by SKJÆRVØ as follows:

*aṭ tā maniiū pauruiiē yā yēmā xʷafnā asruuātəm*  
*manahicā vacahicā šīiaoḍanōi hī vahiiō akəmca*  
*āscā hudāñhō arəš višiiātā nōiṭ duždāñhō*

three radically different social milieu.

29 For a full bibliography of the *Fragment Westergaard* up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see HAAS 1908, pp. 181–187. Cf. also SCHLERATH 1968, I, pp. 242–243. Rather surprisingly WEST 1892, p. 452 stated: “No quotation from this *Nask* has yet been noticed”; see also MOLÉ 1963, pp. 144–145.

30 See VEVAINA 2005 [2009], pp. 215–223 for further details.

31 For ‘Zurvanism,’ monism, and time speculation, see ZAEHNER 1955 [1971], and, more recently, see REZANIA 2008, pp. 48–71 and 2010.



“Thus, those two spirits in the beginning, which have been renowned as ‘the twin sleeps,’  
the twin thoughts and speeches — they are twin actions: a good and a bad one.  
And between those two those who give good gifts have discriminated rightly  
(*arš*), not those who give bad gifts.”<sup>32</sup>

The Pahlavi hermeneuts of the *Waršt mānsr Nask* in Dk 9.30.4–5 (DH 284v || J5 390 || DkM 829) render this passage in a rather surprising way:

*ud az gōwišn ī<sup>33</sup> zardu(x)št abar<sup>34</sup> drāyīdan ī arš<sup>35</sup> dēw ō mardōmān ohrmazd ud  
ahrimen brād<sup>36</sup> ī pad ēk aškom būd hēnd ...*

(5) *ud<sup>37</sup> abar drōzanīh ī arš<sup>38</sup> dēw ud jud-bunīh<sup>39</sup> ī rōšn ud tom ud<sup>40</sup> wehīh ī<sup>41</sup> ān  
ī rōšnīst ī pad wizīn ud<sup>42</sup> waršt<sup>43</sup> ud wadīh ī ān ī tom / wattar<sup>44</sup>.*

“And from the sayings of Zardušt, about how the demon Arš howled to mankind:  
‘Ohrmazd and Ahrimen were brothers from one womb!’ ...

(5) And about how the demon Arš lied about the separate origin of light and  
darkness, about the goodness of him who is most (full of) light (who is apparent)  
through (his good) choice and actions, and about the badness of him who is (full  
of) darkness / evil.”<sup>45</sup>

The interconfessional and intertextual aspects of this particularly marked interpretation can be seen in a similar statement found in a Manichaean polemical hymn, M 28 I Rii in Middle Persian:

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| (1) 'wd gwynd kw 'whrmyzd  | “And they say that Ohrmezd                   |
| (2) 'wd 'hrymn br'dr hynd  | and Ahrimen are brothers.                    |
| (3) 'wd pdys'y 'yn sxwn    | And, on account of this speech               |
| (4) rsynd 'w wnywdyh       | they will come to destruction.               |
| (5) z'wr u p'dys'gyh gwynd | Falsehood and scorn they speak               |
| (6) 'br 'whrmyzd           | about Ohrmezd (saying) that:                 |
| (7) kwš m'hmy dyw hmwxt    | ‘Māhmī the demon taught (him how)            |
| (8) šhr rwsn qyrdn         | to make the land/world light.” <sup>46</sup> |

32 After SKJÆRVØ 2011, p. 45.

33 DH || not in J5.

34 DH ⟨QDM⟩ || J5 ⟨W QDM⟩.

35 DH, J5 ⟨'lš⟩.

36 DH ⟨W AH⟩ || J5 ⟨2 AH⟩ for *dō brād* “two brothers.”

37 Not in J5.

38 DH ⟨.⟩ or perhaps ⟨Y⟩.

39 J5 ⟨ywdt' bwnyhldw'ntwm⟩ and روشن نوم subscripted.

40 Not in J5.

41 Not in J5.

42 Not in J.

43 DH ⟨.:⟩ || J5 ⟨.⟩.

44 DH ⟨tm⟩ for *tom* “darkness” || J5 ⟨SLYtl⟩ for *wattar* “evil.”

45 After VEVAINA 2012, p. 475.

46 After SKJÆRVØ 1995a, p. 245; cf. also HENNING 1951, pp. 50–51. The doctrine is critiqued in greater detail in the Armenian Christian theologian Eznik of Kołb's *Refutation of Sects* from the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries ce; cf. ZAEHNER 1955 [1971] for other polemics against

HANS HEINRICH SCHAEFER, in the 1940s, first suggested that the ‘demon Māhmī,’ also associated with ‘Time’ appears to have been read out of the first hemistich of the second line of another Gathic strophe — Y 32.1 of the *X<sup>v</sup>aētumaitī Hāiti* (Y 32.1–16):

*axiūācā x<sup>v</sup>aētus<sup>š</sup> yāsaṭ abiiā vərəzənəm maṭ airiāmnā  
 abiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi aburahiūā uruuāzəmā mazdā  
 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 dūtāṅhō āṅhāmā tēṅg dāraiūō yōi vā daibišəntī*

“And for his (bliss) the family implores (him) and the household together with the community (implores him) for his (bliss).

The demons, to my (*mahmī*) resentment, (implore him) for (that) bliss of his, Ahura Mazda’s.

Let us be your messengers, (but) you keep a firm hold on them, (because they are the ones) who are being hostile to you (all).<sup>47</sup>

What should interest us is not just the fact that the *Gāḏās* are read as having something to say about a major social and theological controversy, rather, it is the exegetical technique here which is particularly fascinating. The interpreters of *Dēnkard* Book 9 read the Avestan adverb *vərəš* “rightly” as the name of an otherwise unattested demon, Arš, and they then ascribe the Zurvanite claim to him just as the Manichaean text reads the Av. pronoun “my” (*mahmī*) as the name of another unattested demon, Māhmī, clearly participating in a cross-communal hermeneutics.<sup>48</sup> The Dk text then immediately proceeds to refute the demon’s Monist view with a classic statement on the separate origins of light and darkness. In a nutshell, ‘orthodox’ — radical — dualism defended. Reading the Zoroastrian and Manichaean passages intertextually lets us see the intimate relationship between hermeneutics and polemics, an area of research that still remains highly fruitful.<sup>49</sup>

Just like the Zurvanite reading, we also find an explicit reference to the prophet Mani in *Dēnkard* 9.39.13–14 (B [662]<sup>50</sup> || DH 296r || J5 417 || DkM 857) on the *Kamnāmaēzā Hāiti* (Y. 46.1–19), which serves as a clear example of an ideologically motivated interpretation reflecting Sasanian-era polemics:

‘Zurvanism.’ For a discussion and alternative reading of this text, see DE BLOIS 1998, pp. 481–485; see also VEVAINA 2012, pp. 474–478 for a brief discussion of this passage.

47 After SKJÆRVØ (unpublished); cf. HUMBACH *et al.* 1991, I, p. 132. See SCHAEFER 1941, pp. 268–299 and cf. also RUSSELL 1987, pp. 74–80.

48 For competitive hermeneutics between Manichaeans and Zoroastrians using the *Gāḏās* as a scriptural battleground, see VEVAINA 2022a, pp. 291–322.

49 See TIMUŞ 2019, pp. 271–294 and 2021, pp. 125–154; and cf. VEVAINA 2022a, pp. 291–322, from which the following materials have been excerpted. The Apparatus has been improved here.

50 N.B., ms. B is very smudged on the first five lines, so J5 is supplied here as well.

*ud abar nišān ī druz xastag*<sup>51</sup> *mānīy*<sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup>{*ud*<sup>54</sup> *druwandān ī-*}š *niyōšāg*<sup>55</sup> {*zanišn*<sup>56</sup> *ī-š*} *az ōy*<sup>57</sup> *ī dahībēd mad.* (14) *ud ēn-iz kū druwand kē*<sup>58</sup> *ān ī man*<sup>59</sup> {*gēhān dahēd ō ān ī*} *kēnīg abrimen*<sup>60</sup> *ul-iš ēstēnīd bawēd ān ī xwad*<sup>61</sup> {*rēš dēw kū rawāg kard bawēd*} *pad margīh ī ān ī ablawīh gēhān.*

“And about the sign of Mani ‘crippled by the Lie,’<sup>62</sup> the wicked ‘Hearers’ [*niyōšāg*; Lat. *auditores*] of his, and the beating which came upon him from the Lord of the Land [*i.e.*, Wahrām I (r. 273–276/7 CE), who killed Mani]. And this, too, ‘He [*i.e.*, Mani] is wicked who gives my world to the vengeful one, Ahrimen, he will have established up above the Wound demon himself’, *i.e.*, he will have been set in motion for the death of the world of the Righteous.”

Mani, the founder of Manicheism and the archetype of heresy in Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam alike, is found here, incorporated into an ideological interpretation of the two-millennia-older *Gādās*, which are viewed as being transhistorical texts. The base text that triggers this interpretation appears to be Y 46.7–8:

*kēmnā mazdā mauuaitē pāiūm dadā*<sup>̇</sup>  
*hīiaṭ mā drəguuā*<sup>̇</sup> *dīdarəšatā aēnaḥhē*  
*aniūm* *šabmāt* *ādrascā manayhascā*  
*yaiiā šūiao* *danāiš ašam* *šraoštā ahurā*  
*tqm mōi dastuuqm daēnaiiāi frāuuao*<sup>̇</sup><sup>cā</sup>

“(But) whom do You appoint (as) guardian for one such as me, O Mazdā, when the deceitful one tries to seize me in order to injure (me), (whom do You appoint?) other than your fire and thought, with whose actions one \*nourishes Order, O Ahura? Proclaim a message about that to my vision soul (*daēnā*).”

*yā vā mōi yā*<sup>̇</sup> *gaēdā*<sup>̇</sup> *dazdē aēnaḥhē*  
*nōiṭ abiiā mā ādriš* *šūiao* *danāiš frōsiūi*<sup>̇</sup><sup>āt</sup>

51 DH ⟨hstk⟩ and ⟨'⟩ on the next line || J5 ⟨hst'k⟩ || B ⟨hwyw hstk'⟩.

52 B, J5 ⟨m'nyd⟩ || DH ⟨m'n'k⟩ with ⟨<sup>y</sup>d⟩ superscripted.

53 Barely legible in DH.

54 Not in J5.

55 Barely legible in B.

56 DH ⟨znšn'⟩ || J5 ⟨nšn'⟩.

57 DH, J5 ⟨OLE Y⟩ || B ⟨OLE I[ ]⟩.

58 DH, J5 ⟨MNV⟩ || J5 ⟨MN⟩.

59 Smudged in B.

60 DH upside down || B, J5 ⟨'hlmn'⟩.

61 Barely legible in B.

62 For his being ‘crippled,’ see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*: “Mānī was put to death during the reign of Bahrām b. Sābūr. After he executed him, he suspended him in two pieces, one half over a certain gate and the other half over a different gate of the city of Jundaysābur. These two places received the designations ‘the upper part of the Lord’ and ‘the lower (part) of the Lord.’ It is said that he had been previously imprisoned by Sābūr, but after Sābūr died Bahrām freed him. It is also said that he died while in prison, but there is no uncertainty regarding his ‘crucifixion.’ Some people relate that he had two misshapen feet whereas others said that it was his right foot (only)” (trans. REEVES 2011, p. 39).

*paitiiaogaṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšəḡhā  
tanuuām ā yā im bujiātōiš pāiāt  
nōiṭ dužjiātōiš kāciṭ mazdā duuaēšəḡhā*

“Or if someone who places my herds for sin,  
may destruction not reach me through his actions.  
May it in response come upon him for that hostility  
onto his body, so that they may prevent him from (living) a good life,  
by which one may keep him from a bad life, O Mazdā, by any hostility at all.”<sup>63</sup>

We find in the *Zand* of these passages in PY 46.7–8 (J2 260v || K5 213r || Mf4 471 || Pt4 185v):

- (a) *kē-t*<sup>64</sup> *ō man ohrmazd ud manīgān hāwištān ī man pānag dād.*  
 (b) *ka man ān*<sup>65</sup> *druwand abrimen pad dārišn dārēd*<sup>66</sup> *kēn kū-m kēn abāg dārēd  
ā-m pānagīh kē kunēd.*  
 (c) *anīy az tō*<sup>67</sup> *ātaxš ud wahuman čē ašmā rāy dānam kū-m pānagīh kunēd.*  
 (d) *kē*<sup>68</sup> *pad awwēšān kunišn ablāyīh parwaram*<sup>69</sup> *ohrmazd kū kār ud kirbag ku-  
nam ā-m pānagīh kē kunēd.*  
 (e) *ān*<sup>70</sup> *ō man dastwar ī*<sup>71</sup> *dēn frāz gōwē ēn gōwē kū dēn pad dastwar dār.*  
 (a) “Whom have you given to me as a protector O Ohrmazd, and to mine — my  
disciples?  
 (b) When that wicked one — Ahrimen — has me in his possession, (in) vengeance,  
*i.e.*, when he has (an issue of) vengeance with me, then who will protect me?  
 (c) Other than your fire and Good Mind, since I know that due to you, he affords  
me protection,  
 (d) the ones by whose actions I nourish Righteousness, O Ohrmazd, *i.e.*, I do  
work and (good) deeds, then who will protect me?  
 (e) Proclaim that one to me as a priest/an authority of the Tradition (*dēn*), saying  
this: ‘Hold the Tradition as (your) authority [alt. ‘Hold the Tradition through (a/  
your) high priest’]!’”  
 (a) *kē ān ī man gēhān dahēd ō ōy ī kēnīg kū xwāstag pad dastwar ī*<sup>72</sup> *ablomōyān  
dahēd*<sup>73</sup> *ā-š*<sup>74</sup> *pād(o)frāh kunēnd.*

63 After HUMBACH *et al.* 1991, pp. 169–170.

64 Pt4 (MNW) omitting (-t).

65 K5 (ZK Y).

66 J2, K5 omit.

67 J2, K5 (LK') or (LK W).

68 J2, K5 (AMT).

69 J2 damaged.

70 J2 (OLE Y ZK L) || K5 (ZK Y 'w' L).

71 J2, K5 || not in Mf4.

72 J2 omits.

73 J2 (YHWWNyt') || K5 (d'lsn').

74 Pt4 omits.

(b) *nē pad ān ī ōy*<sup>75</sup> *kunišn*<sup>76</sup> *an ōy*<sup>77</sup> *āhr rēš kē pad tan ud ruwān*<sup>78</sup> *rēš kunēd frāz rānēnidār ham kū-m*<sup>79</sup> *pād(o)frāh bowandag bē kardan nē tuwān.*

(c) *pad padirag-rasišnīh pad*<sup>80</sup> *ān ī*<sup>81</sup> *har dō ka*<sup>82</sup> *čiš ī*<sup>83</sup> *mēnōy ud gētīy nē xūb kunēd rasēd ō ōy ī ablomōy pad bēs*<sup>84</sup>.

(d) *ō*<sup>85</sup> *tanān*<sup>86</sup> *mard xwadāy rasēd kū-šān pād(o)frāh kunēd kē ēn pad*<sup>87</sup> *hu-zīšnīh pānagīh kū-š ēn dādestān ēdōn kū pānagīh ī*<sup>88</sup> *dāmān pad frārōnīh kunēd.*

(e) *nē pad duš-zīšnīh*<sup>89</sup> *ud pad kadār-iz-ēw zamān ohrmazd bēšīdār wattarān.*

(a) “The one who gives my world to the vengeful one, *i.e.*, the one who gives (away) property through a priest/an authority of the heretics,<sup>90</sup> then they punish him.

(b) Nor due to his actions, will I be someone who causes his *āhr* [*Av. ādri*-<sup>91</sup>] wound to grow forth — the one who inflicts wounds upon body and soul, *i.e.*, I am unable to punish him completely [*i.e.*, to kill him].

(c) Through a counter-attack [lit. ‘counter-arrival’] in both, *i.e.*, when one does nothing good in *this* world and in *that* world, it [*i.e.*, punishment] comes to him — the heretic (*ablomōy*) — with harm.

(d) To the bodies (of the heretics and) the man, the ruler comes, *i.e.*, he takes retribution on them; the one who (provides) protection for these (ones) through good living, *i.e.*, this Law/judgement is thus: namely, the protection of the creatures of the world through the producing of honesty,

(e) not through evil living — and, in whichever epoch, O Ohrmazd, he (is) hostile — (to) the evil ones.”<sup>92</sup>

75 J2, K5 (‘w’).

76 K5 (Y).

77 Pt4, Mf4 (Y) || K5 (‘w’).

78 K5 (y’n lwb’n).

79 K5 (AYK).

80 K5 omits.

81 Mf4, Pt4 omit.

82 Mf4 (MNW) for (AMT) || Pt4 omits (AMT).

83 J2 (W) for (Y).

84 Pt4 (krtn’) superscripted.

85 Pt4 (‘w’ W).

86 Mf4 (tn’ hwGBRA) mis-segmented for (tn’n GBRA).

87 J2 (PWN W).

88 K5 omits.

89 Pt4 (YHMTWN-yt) in the margin and (W).

90 Pahl. *ablomōy* ‘heretic’ (Av. *ašəmaoya-* perhaps meaning one “who obfuscates Truth/Order [*aša-*], shams/pretends Truthful/Orderly behavior” in Avestan; cf. also Old Indic *mugh-/mub-*, *mógha*, which seems to mean “wrap in darkness, obfuscate” and is also used in the sense of “counterfeit, pretense,” for which, see SKJÆRVØ 2003b, pp. 401–402. For a study of the Pahlavi term, see TIMUŞ 2019, pp. 271–294. It should be noted that this term here in PY 46.8a is precisely what is being interpreted in Dk 9 as encoding the anti-Manichaean interpretation of the *Gādhās*. TIMUŞ’s generally applicable claim that the Manichaeans “... are never qualified as *ablomōy* in the Zoroastrian sources” (p. 289) finds an exception here.

91 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904 [1979], p. 323, who has “Verderben, Unheil, Leid.”

92 Cf. DHABHAR 1949, pp. 201–202 and MALANDRA/ICHAPORIA 2013, pp. 71–72; cf. also the trans. in MILLS 1894, pp. 252–255.

Here, the Pahlavi interpreters appear to have found a scriptural justification — a proof-text — for Mani’s rise and ultimate demise at the hands of the Sasanian monarch. Wahrām’s killing of Mani is understood as being both prefigured *and* scripturally justified and hence, not arbitrary or unjust in any way. This reading of an anti-Manichean polemic into the *Gāḍās* exemplifies how all that was, is, and will be, can be found within the ancient sacred poetry of the *Gāḍās* and their *Zand*. I find this hermeneutical mode of eisegesis strikingly similar to what SUSAN HANDELMAN has suggested for the Bible:

“... the Biblical narrative claims that it is the structure into which all of history fits, and everything that is known about the world becomes part of its sequence of events. Moreover, by interpretive extension, all new facts become fitted into its account.”<sup>93</sup>

I believe this is precisely what we are seeing in the reference to Mani’s death where the *Avesta* and *Zand* are understood to contain a timeless truth regarding the battle between good and evil. In this case between the good ruler, Wahrām and the heretic par excellence, Mani.<sup>94</sup> I believe that approaching the text as a social document — whenever possible — allows us to better understand the theological and doctrinal concerns of the hermeneuts of *Dēnkard* Book 9. I would like to advance the claim that a survey of the emic strategies of knowledge production — their native epistemologies — as found in the Pahlavi texts are crucial for a more nuanced understanding of the religious history of Late Antiquity, the historiography of Zoroastrianism and, the Islamicization of Iranian society. One of the world’s most influential religious traditions on the theologies of its neighbors has, ironically, received short shrift from its own specialists in terms of studying the often implicit, but always fascinating theories of human understanding and cultural interpretations that constitute a form of discourse that we can credibly call ‘Zoroastrian Thought.’ Ironically, the self-reflections on such a momentous cognitive and affective shift in the consciousness of Zoroastrian intellectual elites comes precisely when they are faced with the rapid deterioration of their social capital and a profound fear of the irrelevance of their traditions and practices in a new age increasingly indifferent to the importance of their venerable tradition.

The Zoroastrian theologians themselves were acutely aware of the status of the *Zand* as a second order discourse *vis-à-vis* the *Avesta*, and, while they acknowledge the benefit (*sūd*) of memorization of the venerable *Avesta*, they emphasize, nonetheless, the hermeneutical currency of the *Zand*. In Dk 5.23.12–13

93 HANDELMAN 1982, p. 30.

94 For Mani as the archetypical heretic in Persian historiography, see TAQIZADEH/SHIRAZI 1956 and BABAYAN 2002, pp. 47–56. For Iranian elements in Manichaeism, see SKJÆRVØ 1995a, pp. 263–284 and WIDENGREN 1983, pp. 77–162. For the relationship between Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism, see SUNDERMANN 1997b, pp. 343–360; DE JONG 2014, pp. 129–148; HUTTER 2015, pp. 477–489; BEDUHN 2015, pp. 247–275; and the various excellent studies in GARDNER/BEDUHN/DILLEY 2015 and GARDNER 2020.

(B [355] || DH 262r || DkM 455) and 5.24.13a–b (B [359] || DH 264r || DkM 460), a Christian named Bōxt-Mārē asks his Zoroastrian interlocutor:

*ud*<sup>95</sup> *yazd ēn dēn ēē rāy pad ēwāz-ēw ī an-āšnāg ī nihuftag ī abestāg nām guft. ud ēē rāy pad nibištāg nē bowandag hangārd bē pad gōwišn narm kardan framūd*<sup>96</sup>. (13a) *bē narm kardan sūd was u-š*<sup>97</sup> *+hudagīh*<sup>98</sup> *pad ēzišn ud stāyišn āgābhēnišn ī ō*<sup>99</sup> *ramān* (13b) *ēk wēš dānist(an) ī čišān aziš ōh-iz ān ī ōwōn zofrihā saxwan ud ēwēn*<sup>100</sup> *rāstihā ud a-wāšt-rangīhā abespārdan*<sup>101</sup> *šāyistan ī dādestān ī wāz-gōwišnīg*<sup>102</sup> *frāy az* <sup>103</sup>*{ān ī} nibēsišnīg wasihā ud pad-iz abārīg was čim zīndag gōwišnīg saxwan az ān ī pad nibišt*<sup>104</sup> *mādagwartar hangārdan čimīg.*

Christian: “Why did God proclaim this Tradition in an unknown concealed language called *Avesta*? Why is it not considered perfect in (its) written form, but ordered to be memorized (*narm kardan*) in speech?”

(13a) Zoroastrian: “... But to memorize is a great benefit (*sūd*). Its ‘beneficial character (*hudagīh*) is in giving knowledge to people of ritual (activity) and praise, (13b) but one thing is more (beneficial), namely, that one gets to know things from it. Also, that, in this way, it is possible to transmit words profoundly and customs truly and without changing their character [lit. ‘color’]. The Law (*dādestān*) in spoken form is vastly superior to the written form; and for many other reasons also it makes better sense to consider living speech as being more important than the written.”<sup>105</sup>

The answer provides a defense of orality and the privileging of the living spoken word (*zīndag gōwišnīg saxwan*) over the written which I believe reflect the then contemporary anxieties of the Zoroastrian priesthood who feared the loss and perversion of their sacred wisdom if their scriptures fell into the hands of heretics, apostates, and non-believers. In a largely oral priestly tradition religious knowledge and spiritual wisdom were not primarily found in books but rather *embodied* in the person of priests who controlled access and regulated correct praxis through their choice of disciples. It is this conservatism that is most likely responsible for the ‘lateness’ of the late antique Pahlavi corpus in the early Islamic era.

As seen earlier, the complex and politically fraught nature of the transmission of Pahlavi literature is eloquently captured in Dk 3.420.7–9 (B 317 || DH 252r ||

95 DH || not in B.

96 DH ⟨plmwt'⟩ || B ⟨Wplmwt'⟩.

97 B ⟨AĀ-š⟩ || DH ⟨W AĀ-š⟩.

98 B ⟨hwtkyh⟩ || DH ⟨hwtkyh Y⟩.

99 DH ⟨OL⟩ || B ⟨OLE⟩.

100 B ⟨'dwy'n'⟩ || DH ⟨'d'wk'⟩.

101 DH ⟨'p'sp'lt'n'⟩ || B ⟨'pst' 'p'sp'lt'n'⟩.

102 DH ⟨w'c'gwbšnyk⟩ || B ⟨w'cgwwbwn gwšnyh⟩.

103 DH || not in B.

104 DH ⟨npšt'⟩ || B ⟨NPŠE⟩.

105 Improved from VEVAINA 2012, p. 473; cf. AMOZGAR/TAFAZZOLI 2000, pp. 72–73 and pp. 82–83; BAILEY 1943 [1971], p. 163; cf. also the trans. in SKJÆRVØ 2011, p. 250.

DkM 406), where we find a narrative history of the extant *Dēnkard* manuscript itself as a material product of historical contingency:

(7) *ud pas az wizend ud wišōbišn ī az tāzīgān ō-z dīwān ud ganj ī kišwar mad hu-fraward ādurfarnbay ī farrozzādān ī hu-dēnān pēšōbay būd ān pačēn ī kustagihā pargandag būd nōg-abzār az pargandagih abāz ō hamih ud dīwān ī-š dar āwurd andar nigerišn ud handāzišn ī ō wehdēn abestāg ud zand ud pōryōtkēšān gōwišn hangōšīdag payrōg ī az ān brāh abāz kard.*

(7) And then, after the harm and destruction the Arabs (*tāzīgān*) brought upon the ‘Archive’ (*dīwān*) and the ‘National Treasury’ (*ganj ī kišwar*) as well, the blessed Ādurfarnbay, son of Farrozzād — who was the leader of those of the Good Tradition — reassembled, with renewed strength, those dispersed copies in the ‘Archive’ of the court (*dar*); by inspecting and comparing them with the *Avesta* and *Zand* of the Good Tradition and the words of the Teachers of Old, he then restored it, as it were, to a glimmer from that brilliance.

Ādurfarnbay, son of Farrozzād supposedly debated with an apostate (*zandīg*) Abālīš in the presence of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph ‘Abd-Allāh al-Ma’mūn (r. 813–833 CE) in the *Gizistag Abālīš*.<sup>106</sup> If this is not simply a literary device, that would place him in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century CE. The *Dēnkard* text goes on to narrate in Dk 3.420.8:

(8) *pad škeft \*a-rām<sup>107</sup> ud wizend ī ō zardu(x)št ī ādurfarnbayān ī hu-dēnān pēšōbay būd jāst ān-iz dīwān ō wišōbišn ud ān nibēg ō wisistagih ud pargandagih ud aziš ō-z kahwanih (W stkyh)<sup>108</sup> ud pūdagih madan.*

(8) By the horrible \*turmoil and harm that befell Zardušt, son of Ādurfarnbay, who was the leader of the Mazdeans, that ‘Archive’ was destroyed as well and that book was torn up and scattered and damaged, fell into disuse, ... and began deteriorating.

FRANÇOIS DE BLOIS has suggested that this Zardušt might have been none other than Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Mutawakkilī or *al-mawbad al-Mutawakkilī*, “al-Mutawakkil’s *mawbad*,” who converted to Islam and became a boon companion of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861 CE).<sup>109</sup> Such a conversion would explain the reference to “the horrible \*turmoil and harm that befell Zardušt.”

106 Translation in SKJÆRVØ 2011, pp. 243–247; for the broader historical context of these debates between errant Dualists and the Islamic political elite, see SAHNER 2019, pp. 61–83.

107 DH (‘lm W wznđ Y OL) || B (‘lm wznđ OL) || cf. DE BLOIS 1996, p. 53, fn. 80 who dismisses the reading of (‘lm(w)) for *a-ram* “unrest, trouble” made by NYBERG 1974, p. 29a and instead suggests a possible emendation to (\*(')hlmw(kyh)) “apostasy,” which the manuscripts do not support.

108 B (stkyh) || DH (stkyh Y) at end of line.

109 DE BLOIS 1996, p. 45 with further details and an attempt to reconcile the name \*Zardušt b. Ādurxwarra (with variants due to mis-pointing) in Ḥamza and Yāqūt and Abū Ja‘far Zarātušt b. Aḥrā al-Mūbad in Codex Sprenger 30 (pp. 62, 94, and 141). See also RUBIN 2005, pp. 52–93 who discusses the historiographical value of Sprenger 30 as well



Mānuščīhr's second missive in his *Epistles* (2.1.13) (D7 431 || K35b 221v || T60 168v || TD4a 450) contains a rather opaque allusion to Zardušt's suspect loyalty and social ambition *vis-à-vis* the Muslim powers of the time:

*saham kū ašmā abar ēn xīr*<sup>110</sup> *andar xwēš*<sup>111</sup> *ōwōn wēš hēd čiyōn zardu(x)št*<sup>112</sup> *ī*  
(p)farnbay<sup>113</sup> *ka-š waxšagihā winnārd az-iš* (p)farnbay<sup>114</sup> *xwad* \**kahihid*<sup>115</sup>. *u-š*  
*bē* \**ōh*<sup>116</sup> *nibišt kū*<sup>117</sup> \**muslimānān*<sup>118</sup> *ka-šān āšnūd ēg-išān nēk passandīd*<sup>119</sup> *ud*  
*rāzīgān pāsox nibišt kū* \**agar-itān*<sup>120</sup> \**anagr*<sup>121</sup> *dūr-iz nihād hē ēg-išān weh-iz*  
*passandīd*<sup>122</sup> *hē*.

"I feel that that you are so full [lit. 'more'] of yourself regarding this matter like Zardušt, son of \*Ādurnfarnbay when he fixed the profits (for himself); \*Ādurnfarnbay himself was diminished by him/it. And he wrote thus, that when the Muslims heard these (things), then they approved it as being good; and the people of Rayy wrote a reply: 'If you had established (the decree) even infinitely far away, then they would have liked it even more.'"<sup>123</sup>

To return to our Dk text in Dk 3.420.9:

(9) *ud az ān pas ān ādurbād ī ēmēdān ī hu-dēnan pēšōbāy az yazdān* \**nixwārišn*  
*ud dēn mazdēsn ayārihišnih nōg-abzār pad xwāyišn ud wizōyišn ud ranj ī wēš im*  
*nibišt čē az ān wisāndag ud zruftag ud sūdāg ud xāk-āmēg dīwān abāz windīd*  
*ud ēd čē az abāz kardagih ud burdagih ud triftagih abāz āwurd az-iš wizīd*  
(mtk' myn) *ī hampursagīg xrad ayārīh pad abāz handāxtārīh ī ō pōryōtkēšān ī*  
*pēšānīgān gōwišn ud kardag ud abestāg paydāgih ud abzōn ī az wehdēn dānāgih*  
(ud) *daragihā padīš ārāst ud ristagēnid* \**bām-ēw ī az* \**payrōg ī ān brāh ī az rōšnih*  
*ī bun rōšn ud hammistihā kard pad wehdēn nimūdārīh ēn ī nāmēnid pad stūrīh*  
\**mānāgih ān wazurg bun dēnkard 1,000 darag*.

as summarises the debates on this text between THEODORE NÖLDEKE and ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. An edition or translation of this unique manuscript is a desideratum.

110 Mss. (hyl).

111 TD4a (W).

112 D7, K35b (zltwhšt') || TD4a, T60 (zltwyšt').

113 D7, TD4a, K35b (pplnbđ) || T60 (ppln) and (.bđ) on the next line || WEST read *aparōbd* "club-footed" and the following *waxšagihā* as "garments" and recently cited by DE JONG (2016, p. 233) [N.B., if one accepts WEST's reading then we would lack Zardušt's patronymic and any explicit link to Ādurnfarnbay as assumed by DE JONG, and as we find in Dk 3.420.8 above].

114 D7, K35b (pplnbđ) || TD4a (p plnbđ) || T60 (ppln) and (.bđ) on the next line.

115 D7, TD4a, T60 (ksyhyt') || K35b (wyšyhyt).

116 Mss. (OL).

117 K35b (AYK').

118 K35b (MN slm'n'n) and (mwslm'n'n) superscripted || TD4a (MN) and (slm'n'n W) on the next line || D7, T60 (MN slm'n'n W) || West evidently read (MN gylm'n'n) and translated as "those of Kirmân."

119 TD4a (psndytn').

120 Mss. (HT-'n').

121 K35b (ngl) || D7, TD4a, T60 (ndl).

122 K35b (psndyt) || TD4a, T60 (psyndyt(')) || D7 (syndyt').

123 Cf. KANGA 1958, pp. 376–377 and p. 380; cf. also WEST 1882, p. 329.

“And since then, I, Ādurbād, son of Ēmēd, leader of those of the Good Tradition, hastened by the gods, and with the assistance of the Mazdean Tradition, with renewed strength, turned to seeking out and examining, at great pains, this writing that had been recovered from that scattered and soiled ‘Archive,’ now in many pieces, some illegible, which had been restored, then carried off and stolen and once again brought back. I made selections from it with the aid of my inquiring wisdom (*hampursagīg xrad*) to guide me, again in comparison with what the Teachers of Old of the ‘ancients’ had said and done and what was manifest in the *Avesta* and enlarged from the knowledge of the Good Tradition. I arranged it in subjects and chapters, as a spark which (comes) from the glimmer of that brilliance which (is, in turn,) from the light of the original light; and guided by the Good Tradition, I redacted (*hammistihā kard*) this, which was named as a proxy (*stūr*), as it were, of that great original (*bun*) — the *Dēnkard* of a thousand chapters.”<sup>124</sup>

Here we see so clearly the social background of the early Islamic centuries and we must recognize that Ādurbād’s editorial decisions are fundamentally a product of his minoritization in the early Islamic centuries and his desire to salvage what he could of the learning of his priestly forebearers but, crucially, reflecting his “inquiring wisdom.” Implicit in this statement is the enormous hermeneutical power of the traditional redactor, which we would be well advised to always consider.

Ultimately, when dealing with the historiography of Pahlavi literature we are faced with three major disjunctions: 1) of periodization: Late Antique versus Islamic or Early Medieval; 2) of disciplinary identity: Pre-Islamic Iranistik versus Islamic Studies; 3) a civilizational transition: the ‘decline’ of the Sasanian world and the concomitant ‘rise’ of the Islamic. I have no doubt that readers of this text will interpret it in radically different ways that I cannot possibly predict. What I am equally certain about is that their cultural and disciplinary competencies and hermeneutic predilections will determine what my readers privilege in their reading process.

# Text, Translation, and Critical Apparatus *Sūdgar Nask* (Dk 9.1.1–9.23.8)

## *Dēnkard* 9.1.1–2 — Doxology and Introduction

DH 268v, 11 || K43b 21r<sup>1</sup> || J5 349, 14 || MR 137, 12<sup>2</sup>  
DKM 787, 1 || DKs vol. xvii, 1 || DKt<sup>3</sup>  
WEST 172 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 1<sup>4</sup>

1 K43b has §9.1.1 written vertically in the right margin. The Persian (NP) phrase (سرخه باید نوشت) “to be written in red” is written at the beginning of each *fragard* to indicate that the title should be written in red ink [N.B., as is the practice in DH, of which K43b is a copy]. 2 MR now has some tears and bleeding not seen in the facsimile in DRESDEN 1966. 3 Not in DKt. 4 Not in DKt or ASHA 2009.

(9.1.1) *šnōbr* (ī) *dādār*<sup>1</sup> *ohrmazd*<sup>2</sup> *niyāyišn* (ī) *dēn mazdēsn* ∴

(9.1.1) For the favor of the Creator Ohrmazd! Reverence to the Mazdean Tradition [= Av. *daēnā- māzdaiiasni-*].

1 J5 has ⟨سلس⟩ subscripted in NP. 2 J5 ⟨'wmzd⟩ with ⟨hr⟩ superscripted and ⟨هورمزد⟩ subscripted in NP.

(9.1.2) *nahom*<sup>1</sup> *dar* ∴ *abar hād*<sup>2</sup> *ud fragard ī nask nask ān ī hēnd bahrān brīnag pad čandīh*<sup>3</sup> *ī ān* (ī) *andar ēk ēk az naskān*<sup>4</sup> *ud ayābišn-sāmān wizārišn ī abāyišnīg ud čīdag*<sup>5</sup> *ī aziš čiyōn ast* <sup>+</sup>*nihang-ēw*<sup>6</sup> *ī az was ošmarišn*<sup>7</sup> *ī*<sup>8</sup> *andar* ∴

(9.1.2) The ninth book: About the *hāds* [= Av. *hāiti-*] and *fragards* of the individual *nasks* that are sub-sections of the (21) divisions [*i.e.*, of the Tradition]; with respect to how much there is within each of the *nasks*; and, to the extent that it can be obtained, appropriate explanations and gleanings from them; since, it is an extract from the many things which are enumerated within.

1 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨nhwm⟩ || MR, DkS ⟨nwhwm⟩ || J5 ⟨nwhwmBBA⟩. 2 DH ⟨h't' · W plǵlt'⟩ || K43b ⟨h't' · plǵlt'⟩ || no dot in MR, J5, DkM, DkS. 3 K43b ⟨cdyh⟩. 4 DkS ⟨nasgān⟩. 5 DkM, DkS ⟨wcytk'⟩ for *wizīdag* “selection.” 6 DH, K43b ⟨nsng Y 1 Y⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨sng Y 1 Y⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨nsngy-1⟩. 7 DH, K43b ⟨'wšmlšn'⟩ for *ošmarišn* || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨'wšmwłšn'⟩ for *ošmurišn*. 8 Not in DkS.

*Dēnkard* 9.2.1–21 –*Yaḏā.abū.vairiō* / *Ahuna Vairiia* (Y 27.13)

DH 268v, 14 || K43b 21r, 16 || J5 349, 17 || MR 138, 4

DKM 787, 6 || DKs vol. xvii, 2 || DkT 1 [27]

WEST 172 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 2 || TAFAZZOLI 3 [30] || ASHA 29

(9.2.1)<sup>1</sup> *stāyišn ī<sup>2</sup> dēn mazdēs n ī jud-dēw ī ohrmazd-dādestān* ∴ ∴

(9.2.1) Praise for the Mazdean Tradition, which discards the demons (and) which (contains) Ohrmazd's Law.

1 §9.2.1 not in K43b. 2 MR, DkS || not in DH, J5, DkM || DkT (dyn' (Y)).

(9.2.2) *sūdgar<sup>1</sup> ast 22<sup>2</sup> fragard ∴ fradom fragard yatā-abū-wēryō<sup>3</sup> čiyōn yatā-abū-wēryō<sup>4</sup> pad bunīh ī dēn ∴ u-š<sup>5</sup> brēhēnīdagīh<sup>6</sup> ī naskān<sup>7</sup> aziš kē<sup>8</sup> [ka] abar 6<sup>9</sup> dānišn<sup>10</sup> ī fradom ud abardom ī abāriḡ dānišnīhā astīh pad gyāḡ ī xwēš nimūd<sup>11</sup>* ∴(9.2.2) The *Sūdgar* has 22 *fragards*. The first *fragard* is the *Yaḏā Abū Vairiō* [= Y 27.13], since the *Yaḏā Abū Vairiō* is at the origin of the Tradition; and how the *nasks* have been fashioned from it, which are about the six first and uppermost forms of knowledge among the other forms of knowledge that exist — it [*i.e.*, the *Sūdgar Nask*] has shown it [*i.e.*, the *Yaḏā Abū Vairiō* / *Ahuna Vairiia*] in its proper [lit. 'own'] place.

1 Mss. (swtkl). 2 J5 (۲۲) subscripted in NP. 3 DH, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT (yt'y-'hwk-wylywk') || K43b (yt'y-'hwk') || J5 (yt''hwk-wylwk'). 4 J5 (yt'y'hwk) with (بئها) subscripted in NP. at the end of p. 349, 18 and (wylywk') with (ويريو) superscripted at the beginning of p. 349, 19 with (نسک اول ستود پشت آنرا بیست دو فرکرد است) written in the left margin. 5 DH, MR, J5, DkT (AṔ-š) || K43b, DkM, DkS (W AṔ-š). 6 K43b (blyhynkyh) for *brēhēnagīh*. 7 DkS (nsk'n ∴). 8 Mss. (MNW AMT(')). 9 DkS emends to (3) [see §9.2.2 in Commentary]. 10 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (d'nšn') || DH, K43b (d'n'sn'). 11 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5, DkS (nmwt-c).

(9.2.3) *ud ēdar<sup>1</sup> gōwēd abar amāwandīh ud pērōzgarīh ī az guftan ī yatā-abū-wēryō abar kārān bun* ∴(9.2.3) And here it speaks about the force and victory which (come) from saying the *Yaḏā Abū Vairiō* upon the beginning of actions.

1 MR (LT-ME) with a hyphen.

(9.2.4)<sup>1</sup> *ēk ka-š čiš kāmēd guftan ∴ ēk ka-š čiš<sup>2</sup> kāmēd xwāstan<sup>3</sup> ∴ ēk ka o kār šawēd* ∴

(9.2.4) One (recitation), when one wishes to say something; one, when one wishes to seek something; one, when one goes to work.

1 K43b jumps to *ēk ka-š čiš kāmēd xwāstān*. 2 DH, K43b (MYNDOM) || not in MR, J5 || DkM, DkS, DkT (MNDOM). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 (BOYHWN-st') for *xwāst*.

(9.2.5) 2 *ka-š<sup>1</sup> āfrīn kāmēd<sup>2</sup> kardan* ∴

(9.2.5) Two (recitations), when one wishes to make a blessing.

1 DH, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨AMT-š⟩ for *ka-š* || MR ⟨MNW-š⟩ for *kē-š* || J5 ⟨MN-š⟩ for *az-iš* presumably for ⟨MNW⟩ [N.B., in J5 copied in 1865 CE, the near-homophonous *ka* written ⟨AMT⟩ and *kē* written ⟨MNW⟩ have merged; similarly in §30 in the colophon of ADA 4062, for which, see GHOLAMI/POULADI 2019, p. 19, fn. 75]. 2 J5 ⟨YTYBWN-yt'⟩.

(9.2.6) 4 *ka*<sup>1</sup> *ō rad-franāmišnīh yazišn<sup>2</sup> ī gāhānbār* ∴

(9.2.6) Four, when (it is) for the ‘Recitation of the *rads*’ for performing [lit. ‘sacrificing’] a *Gāhānbār*.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨AMT⟩ || MR ⟨MNW-š⟩ for *kē-š* || J5 ⟨MN-š⟩ for *az-iš*. 2 DH ⟨ycšn' Y⟩ || K43b ⟨ycšn' Y⟩ with the *y*-diacritic under the ⟨Y⟩ as well || MR ⟨ycšnyh⟩ || J5 ⟨ycšn'yh⟩.

(9.2.7) 5 *ka* *ō druz bē-barišnīh* ∴

(9.2.7) Five, when (it is) for expelling the ‘Lie.’

(9.2.8) 6 *ka* *ō amāwandīh* (∴) 6 *ka* *ō perōzgarīh* (ī) *kārezār* ∴

(9.2.8) Six, when (it is) for force. Six when (it is) for victory in battle.

(9.2.9)<sup>1</sup> 7 *ka* *ō ān ī amahrspandān yazišn ka yazišn ī amahrspandān kāmēd kardan* ∴

(9.2.9) Seven, when (it is) for sacrificing to the Amahrspands [= Av. *aməša-spānta-*], (i.e.) when one wishes to perform a ritual [= Av. *yasna-*] for the Amahrspands.

1 MR has the sequence 7 *ka* *ō ān ī amahrspandān yazišn ka yazišn ī amahrspandān yazišn ka yazišn ī amahrspandān kāmēd* ⟨k'myt'⟩ *kardan* || J5 has the sequence 7 *ka* *ō ān ī amahrspandān kāmēd* ⟨k'myt'⟩ *kardan*.

(9.2.10) 8 *ka* *ō ān<sup>1</sup> ī ablawān frawahr yazišn* ∴

(9.2.10) Eight, when (it is) for sacrificing to the Pre-souls [= Av. *frauuāši-*] of the Righteous Ones.

1 MR, J5 omit ⟨ZK Y⟩.

(9.2.11) 9 *ka-š tōm<sup>1</sup> ō zamīg kāmēd<sup>2</sup> abgand* ∴

(9.2.11) Nine, when one wishes to throw seeds into the earth.

1 DH, K43b ⟨twm⟩ for *tōm* “seed” || MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨twhm⟩ for *tōhm* “seed” || J5 ⟨twhmk'⟩ for *tōhmag* “seed.” 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨YCBEN-yt'⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨k'm-yt'⟩.

(9.2.12) 10<sup>1</sup> *ka-š gušn kāmēd hištan<sup>2</sup>* ∴

(9.2.12) Ten, when one wishes to release the males [i.e., into the vicinity of the female animals].

1 J5 ⟨i·⟩ subscripted in NP. 2 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || J5 ⟨ŠBKWN-tn'⟩.

(9.2.13) 11<sup>1</sup> *ka<sup>2</sup> ō zan<sup>3</sup> xwāst<sup>4</sup> šawēd* ∴

(9.2.13) Eleven, when one goes to seek a wife.

1 J5 ⟨i·⟩ subscripted in NP. 2 J5 ⟨AMT-š⟩ with the ⟨-š⟩ deleted. 3 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨NYŠE⟩ || omitted in MR, J5 || DkS has a note: “DM [= ms. B] gives zn.” 4 DH, K43b || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨BOYHWN-stn'⟩.

(9.2.14) *12 ka-š<sup>1</sup> pad kōf-ēw<sup>2</sup> ul + āxēzēd<sup>3</sup> [šud]<sup>4</sup> ∴*

(9.2.14) Twelve, when one goes up on the top of a mountain.

1 MR (AMT=š) with the ⟨-š⟩ deleted. 2 DkM ⟨kp'-1⟩ || J5 ⟨kw' Y LALA⟩. 3 DH, K43b ⟨HYMNN-yt⟩ for *wurrōyistan*, *wurrōy-* “to believe, choose” || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨HYMNN-yt<sup>(1)</sup>⟩ all presumably for ⟨KYMWN- KYMWN-⟩ for *āxēzīdan*, *āxīstan*, *āxēz-* “to rise” [N.B., Arameogram not in MACKENZIE 1971 [1986], but listed in NYBERG, *et al.* 1988, p. 92 as KDM-WN- (QDM) pa<sup>c</sup>el *qaddem*, “to rise early” in J. Aram., Syr., Mand.] || DkT ⟨گرد بر شدن⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨OZLWN-t'⟩ for *šud* likely anticipating §9.2.15.

(9.2.15) *13 ka-š<sup>1</sup> ō rōstāg-ēw<sup>1</sup> kāmēd šud ∴ 12<sup>2</sup> ka abē-rāh<sup>3</sup> bē šawēd<sup>4</sup> ∴<sup>5</sup> ēk<sup>6</sup> ka-š<sup>7</sup> pad ān ī ābān widarg bē kāmēd<sup>7</sup> šud ∴*

(9.2.15) Thirteen, when one wishes to go to a (particular) district; twelve, when one goes where there are no roads; one, when one wishes to cross a ford in the waters.

1 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨lwtst'k-1⟩ || MR, DkT ⟨lwtst'k-1⟩. 2 Mss., DkM ⟨12⟩ || DkS, DkT ⟨13⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨p'1's⟩. 4 J5 ⟨OZLWN-t'⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨⟩ || omitted in J5. 6 DkS ⟨'ywp'⟩ for *ayāb* “or.” 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨k'm-yt'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨k'm-st'⟩.

(9.2.16) *ud abar kū pad<sup>1</sup> zanišn<sup>2</sup> ī dēwān fradom yatā-ahū-wēryō<sup>3</sup> guft<sup>4</sup> ∴*

(9.2.16) And about where the *Yaṯā Ahū Vairiō* was spoken first in order to strike the demons.

1 DH ⟨PWN PWN⟩. 2 MR, J5 ⟨znšn' Y 'w' Y ŠDYAn'⟩ for *zanišn ī ō ī dēwān*. 3 K43b ⟨yt yt'y-'hwk-wylwk'⟩. 4 DH, DkM ⟨gwpt'⟩ || K43b, MR, J5, DkS ⟨gwptn'⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨gwptn'⟩.

(9.2.17) *ud abar dahišnān<sup>1</sup> ī weh abāyišnīg-ōšmurišn saxwan ahunwar<sup>2</sup> hangirdīgīh (ī) hamāg ō zardu(x)št<sup>3</sup> guft<sup>4</sup> ∴*

(9.2.17) And about how He [*i.e.*, Ohrmazd] spoke to Zardušt — the best of (his) creations — the ‘words worthy of being Enumerated’ — the *Ahunwar* — the encapsulation of all things.

1 MR, J5 ⟨dhšn'n'⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨'hwwl'⟩. 3 DH, K43b ⟨zltwšt'⟩ || MR ⟨zltwhšt'⟩ || J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨zltwhšt'⟩ || [N.B., DH and K43b consistently have *zardušt* versus MR and J5 which have *zarduxšt* (as do the other copies of B). I render the form as *zardu(x)št* in the Text and “Zardušt” in the Translation]. 4 MR, J5 ⟨gwpt'⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gwptn'⟩.

(9.2.18) *ud abar pad fraž-srāyišnīh ī<sup>1</sup> frārōn<sup>2</sup>-menišnīhā ahunwar<sup>3</sup> har mārīg-ēw<sup>4</sup> dēw-ēw agārīhēd ud pāsbānīh ī tan ud<sup>5</sup> xwāstag az petyārag ∴*

(9.2.18) And about how, when one says forth with honest thought, each word of the *Ahunwar*, one demon is rendered powerless; and (there is) protection of (one's) body and property from the Adversary.

1 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨Y⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨PWN⟩. 2 J5 ⟨pl'lwnyh⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨'hwwl'⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨m'lyk-1⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨m'lyk⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5.

(9.2.19) *(ud) abar bazišn ī naskān 21 az-iz fradom ud didīgar ud sidīgar gāh ī ahunwar<sup>1</sup> ∴*

(9.2.19) (And) about the division of the 21 *nasks* as well from the first, second, and third ‘times’ [*i.e.*, akin to a verse-line, rendering Av. *afsmān-*] of the *Ahunwar*.

1 Mss. ⟨'hwwl'⟩.

(9.2.20) *ud abar abzōn ī dāmān az<sup>1</sup> menišn gōwišn ud kunišn ī rād<sup>2</sup> ī ablaw hērbēd wēš būd<sup>3</sup> ud tarsagāyih<sup>4</sup> ān ī ōy wēš kardan ud hamēšag-menīdārīh ī ablayih ud astih ī-š pādāšn :*

(9.2.20) And about how the growth of the creatures increased from the thoughts, words, and deeds of a generous, righteous *hērbēd* [= Av. *aēšrapaiti-*, i.e., a teaching priest]; and increasing respect for him; and about always thinking about Righteousness and the existence of a recompense for it/him.

1 Omitted in J5. 2 J5 (l'tyh 'hlwb'). 3 DkT (YHWWN-tn'). 4 DH, K43b (tlsk'yih) || MR, J5 (tlsk'syh) || DkM, DkT (tlsg'yih) || DkS (tlsg'syh).

(9.2.21) *ablāyih ābādīh pahlom ast :* :

(9.2.21) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard 9.3.1–2 — Ašəm Vohū (Y 27.14)*

DH 269r, 16 || K43b<sup>1</sup> || J5 350, 15 || MR 140, 11

DkM 788, 19 || DkS vol. xvii, 4 || DkT 4 [31]

WEST 175 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 5 || TAFAZZOLI 5 [33] || ASHA 33

1 K43b skips this *fragard* entirely and begins with the next one [N.B., likely due to the fact that §9.3.1 begins at the end of fol. 21v in K43b and §9.4.1 begins on fol. 22r, 1].

(9.3.1) *didīgar fragard ašem-wohū<sup>1</sup> : abar stāyīšn<sup>2</sup> ablāyih<sup>3</sup> dēn mīzd : ud a-stāyīšnīh<sup>4</sup> puhl az ablayih padēxih<sup>5</sup> :*

(9.3.1) The second *fragard*, the *Ašəm Vohū*, is about the praise of Righteousness — the reward of the Tradition; and the punishment for not praising (it); from Righteousness (comes) wealth.

1 DH, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (šmwhwk') || MR (šm hwk'). 2 DkM, DkS, DkT (Y). 3 DkS (Y). 4 MR (W 'st'yšn) and (yh Y) superscripted at the end of the line || J5 has the initial (') spelled like (2) || DkM, DkS (st'yšnyh Y). 5 J5 (ptyh) at the end of p. 350, 16.

(9.3.2) *ablāyih pahlom ābādīh ast :* :

(9.3.2) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard 9.4.1–3 — Yejhē Hātəm (Y 27.15)*

DH 269r, 18 || K43b 22r, 1 || J5 350, 17 || MR 140, 14

DkM 789, 1 || DkS vol. xvii, 5 || DkT 4 [31]

WEST 175 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 5 || TAFAZZOLI 5 [33] || ASHA 33

(9.4.1) *sidīgar fragard yejhē.hātəm<sup>1</sup> : abar kard<sup>2</sup> ī mardōm pad dagr-zīyīšnīh<sup>3</sup> ud ka 50 / 70<sup>4</sup> sāl bē zīyēnd<sup>5</sup> xāk dagr<sup>6</sup> būdan<sup>7</sup> ud ān-iz ī rāmišn-zīyīšnīhtar az*

*mardōmān pad brīn ī-š<sup>8</sup> zīndagīh<sup>9</sup> oš madan<sup>10</sup> ud nekīh ī gētīy<sup>11</sup> bē ān ī ablāyīh<sup>12</sup> dōšāram rāy ō arzānīgān dahībēd abārīg sazībēd<sup>13</sup> :*

(9.4.1) The third *fragard*, the *Yejbē Hātām*, is about how humankind was made to live long, and (yet) when they (humans) live 50 / 70 years, they will (nonetheless) be dust for a long time; and even to the one among humans whose life has been the happiest, at the end of one's life, death comes; and the goodness of *this* world is given to the worthy ones on account of (their) love of Righteousness; the rest (simply) passes away.

1 Mss. written in Av. script. 2 Mss. ⟨OBYDWNt'⟩ || DkT ⟨OBYDWNtn'⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨z'yšnyh⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨50 ŠNT'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨70 ŠNT'⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨zywynđ⟩. 6 DH, K43b ⟨đgl⟩ for *dagr* “long” || MR, J5, DkM ⟨dgl⟩ or ⟨sl⟩ || DkT ⟨سر⟩ without explanation (“head” or “end”?). 7 MR, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨YHWWNtn' ZK-c⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨YHWWNt' W ZK-c⟩ || DkS ⟨YHWWNtn' · ZK-c⟩ with the ⟨ZK'⟩ = ⟨ZY⟩ in the typescript in DkS. 8 K43b ⟨ZK⟩. 9 MR, J5 ⟨zyndkyh Y⟩. 10 DkS has §9.4.2 start here. 11 DH, DkM ⟨gytyd⟩ = ⟨gyt'⟩ || MR, J5, DkS, DkT ⟨gytyd⟩ || K43b ⟨gytyk⟩. 12 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5. 13 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨scyhytn'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨s'hyhyt'⟩.

(9.4.2)<sup>1</sup> *ud ēn-iz kū-š ān ī dēwān dād rawāg ō dēwān<sup>2</sup> zōr kard<sup>3</sup> barwēd tuwānīg kas kē ō arzānīg<sup>4</sup> xwāstār čiš nē dahēd :*

(9.4.2) And this, too, that a wealthy person who gives nothing to a worthy one who asks (for aid), will have strengthened the demons (and) have propagated the law of the demons.

1 DkS has §9.4.3 start here. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ŠDYAn'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨ŠDYA⟩. 3 K43b ⟨krtn'⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 ⟨'lc'nyk'n'⟩.

(9.4.3) *ablāyīh ast pahlom ābādīh :* :

(9.4.3) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

## *Dēnkard 9.5.1–9 — Yānīm.manō (Y 28.0)* [for Ahiiāsā Hāiti (Y 28.1–11)]

DH 269v, 4 || K43B 22r || J5 351, 3 || MR 141, 10

DkM 789, 9 || DkS vol. xvii, 6 || DkT 7 [34]

WEST 177 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 6 || TAFAZZOLI 9 [36] || ASHA 34

(9.5.1) *čahārom fragard yānīmanō<sup>1</sup> : abar kū dagr-zīyīšnīh<sup>2</sup> ān ī pad tan ī pasēn pahlom :<sup>3</sup> ud didīgar ān ī nūn ka-š xrad ud frahaxt-uzwānīh<sup>4</sup> ud tūxšāgīh ud pattūg-kārīh<sup>5</sup> ī hēnd zīndagīh-kārīgēnīdārān<sup>6</sup> abāg :<sup>7</sup> u-š ēn 5 a-gārēnīdār abāg nēst : āzwarīh ud xuftagīh<sup>8</sup> ud aḡgehānīh<sup>9</sup> ud rēdīh ud abārōn-marzīdārīh :*

(9.5.1) The fourth *fragard*, the *Yānīm.manō*, is about where (there is) long life — the one in the Final Body (being) the best. And second, (one's) current (life is best) when it is accompanied by wisdom, eloquence, diligence, and perseverance, which are those things that make life work; and it is not accompanied by these five that do not make it work: greed, sloth, laziness, \*\*gloating, and deviant intercourse.



1 Mss. ⟨y'nymnwk'⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨z'yšnyh⟩ || DkT adds a note that it should be ⟨zywšnyh⟩. 3 DH, K43b || not in MR, J5. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨pl'hht' 'wzw'nyh⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨pl'hht' 'wzw'nykyh⟩. 5 DkM, DkT add ⟨W pl'lwn mlcyt'lyh⟩ for *ud frārōn marzīdarīh*. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR ⟨k'lyk⟩ at the end of p. 141, 13 and ⟨ynyt'l'n ynyt'l'n⟩ on p. 141, 14 || J5 ⟨k'lyk ynyt'l'n'⟩ at the end of p. 351, 5 and ⟨ynyt'l'n'⟩ at the beginning of p. 351, 6. 7 Not in DkT. 8 Mss. ⟨hwpt'kyh⟩ but perhaps to be read as ⟨'wptwkyh⟩ = ⟨'nptwkyh⟩ for which, cf. SHAKED 1979, pp. 249–250 who reads *ō-pattōgīh* or *ana-pattōgīh* and tentatively suggests it might mean “lack of permanence” to explain ⟨hwptk'⟩ in Dk 6.73, which he reads as *hu-pattōg* and translates as “steadfast” (pp. 26–27). 9 Mss. ⟨'šgyh'nyh⟩.

(9.5.2) ⟨ud⟩ *ēn-iz kū dahāg ēn 5 āhōg būd az ān bē frēdōn abar ōzīhist<sup>1</sup> u-š pad ān ī<sup>2</sup> jam kēn<sup>3</sup> wānīd* ∴

(9.5.2) (And) this, too, that (Až ī) Dahāg [= Av. Aži Dahāka] had these five faults; because of that, Frēdōn [= Av. Θraētaona] was given strength superior (to Dahāg's) and defeated him as revenge for Jam [= Av. Yima].

1 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨'pl'wcyhst'⟩ || MR ⟨'pl' 'wcyhst'⟩ || DkT ⟨باوزبهد⟩ for *be-ōzīhīd*. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5. 3 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ym kyn'⟩ || J5 ⟨ymkyn'⟩.

(9.5.3) *ud abar grāyīh ī ēn 4 āhōg ud garān-zīyīšnīh<sup>1</sup> ī aziš ī<sup>2</sup> ast mastōgīh ud dūn-hambhāgīh<sup>3</sup> ud ablomōyīh ud xwad-dōšagīh* ∴

(9.5.3) And about the greater weight of these four (other) faults and the grievous life which results from them, (namely): drunkenness, keeping lowly company, heresy, and self-indulgence.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨z'yšnyh⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨zyyšnyh⟩ = ⟨z'šnyh⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5. 3 DH, K43b ⟨dwn' hmh'kyh⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨dwn' hmh'kyh⟩ with no diacritic || DkT adds the K43b reading ⟨đwn'⟩ in a note.

(9.5.4) *ud ēn-iz<sup>1</sup> kū jam ēn 4 āhōg az gēhān bē ōgārd<sup>2</sup> ud pas a-margīh šāyist winnārdan<sup>3</sup>* ∴

(9.5.4) And this, too, that Jam expelled these four faults from the world and then was able to establish immortality.

1 DH, K43b ⟨ZN-c⟩. 2 DkS ⟨'wk'lt'n' W⟩. 3 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨wyn'lt'n'⟩ || MR, DkS ⟨wyn'lt'⟩.

(9.5.5) *ud abar pahrēz<sup>1</sup> ī az ōy<sup>2</sup> kē pad gōwišn<sup>3</sup> āzād ud pad ox duz<sup>4</sup> ud abāgīh ī<sup>5</sup> staft-gōwišn<sup>6</sup> ī hu-ox [ī] ham-hāg* ∴

(9.5.5) And about staying away from the one who is noble in speech, (but) a thief in one's mind; and keeping company with one who speaks harshly, (but) who is a companion of the one whose mind is good.

1 J5 ⟨p'hlyc⟩ with ⟨' Y⟩ superscripted and ⟨jī⟩ subscripted in NP below the following ⟨MN⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OLE MNW⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨OLE Y MNW⟩ with ⟨jī⟩ subscripted in NP in J5. 3 MR ⟨gwbšn' 'z't' PWN⟩ || J5 ⟨gwbšn' 'z'tn' PWN⟩ with the ⟨'⟩ resembling ⟨2⟩ || DH ⟨gwbšn' W 'z't' W PWN⟩ || K43b ⟨gwbšn' W 'z't' W PWN⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gwbšn' 'z'tn' PWN⟩. 4 DH ⟨dwc'⟩ with ⟨W⟩ superscripted followed by ⟨'p'kyh⟩ || K43b ⟨dwc'⟩ at the end of 22r, 17 and ⟨W 'p'kyh⟩ beginning of 22r, 18 || MR, J5 ⟨dwc' 'p'kyh⟩ || DkS, DkT ⟨dwc' W 'p'kyh⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR || J5 has a blank space. 6 K43b ⟨gwbšnyk⟩.

(9.5.6) *ud ēn-iz kū ō drōzan<sup>1</sup> nēw-dilīh dahēd kē ān ī wattar framān andar gēhān rawāgēnēd* ∴

(9.5.6) And this, too, that the one who emboldens the liar is the one who propagates the evil command in the world.

1 Mss. ⟨dlwcn nyw<sup>o</sup>⟩ || DkT ⟨جړوځ⟩.

(9.5.7) *ud abar driyōš<sup>1</sup> mustōmand<sup>2</sup> pablom darmān<sup>3</sup> garzišn<sup>4</sup> ud mustgar<sup>5</sup> az garzišn<sup>6</sup> ī mustōmand<sup>7</sup> abāz-pafšīrišnīh<sup>8</sup> ud nē-padīrišnīh<sup>9</sup> ud a-wābarīgānīh<sup>10</sup> ud a-dahišnīh<sup>11</sup> būdan<sup>12</sup>* ∴

(9.5.7) And about the best remedy of the poor who has suffered an injustice being to submit a (legal) complaint; and the one who committed the injustice being (thus) shamed by the complaint of the one who suffered the injustice, being turned away, not being accepted, not believed, and given nothing.

1 DH, DkM, DkS ⟨ḍlygwš⟩ || K43b has a smudged form with ⟨ḍ⟩ and ⟨dlygwš⟩ superscripted without diacritic || MR, J5 ⟨dlwš⟩ || DkT ⟨ḍlygwš (Y)⟩. 2 MR, J5 ⟨mwst 'wmnd⟩ = ⟨HWE-nd⟩. 3 Superscripted in K43b on 22v, 1. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨glcšn'⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨glcšnyh⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mwstkl⟩ || MR ⟨mwstktl⟩ || J5 ⟨mstktl⟩. 6 MR ⟨klcšn'⟩. 7 MR, J5 ⟨mwst 'wmnd⟩. 8 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨ppšylšnyh⟩ || DkS ⟨ppšylšnyh ∙⟩ || MR ⟨ppšklšnyh⟩. 9 DH, K43b ⟨LAptylšnyh⟩ for *nē-padīrišnīh* || MR, J5 ⟨'ptylpt'⟩ for *a-padīrift* || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'ptylšnyh⟩ for *a-padīrišnīh*. 10 Mss. ⟨'w'plyk'nyh⟩. 11 DH ⟨'ḍhšnyh⟩ || K43b ⟨ḍhšnyh⟩ with ⟨ḍ⟩ at the beginning of fol. 22v, 3 || MR, J5 ⟨W ' 'dhyšn'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'ḍhšnyh⟩ || DkS (p. 7, fn. 8) notes that WEST (1892, p. 178) read B as ⟨'g's'n'yh⟩ and thus translates “want of Gāthā lore.” 12 Mss., DkM, DkS ⟨YHWWN-tn⟩ = ⟨YHWWN-t'⟩ || DkT ⟨YHWWN-yt'⟩.

(9.5.8) *ud abar paywastagīh<sup>1</sup> ī ō rāst čimīg garzišn must-wizārišnīh ud rāst-garziḍārān čimīg-garzišnīh az ān ī frōdtar dādwar pāyagīhā tā ō ān<sup>2</sup> ī abardom wizīrgar būd<sup>3</sup> ī ast ohrmazd* ∴<sup>4</sup>

(9.5.8) And about (the fact that) the resolution of injustice and the reasonable complaint of truthful complainers being connected to truthful and reasonable complaints, from the lower judge by levels up to the highest adjudicator, who is Ohrmazd.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ptwstkyh Y OL⟩ || MR ⟨ptwkstkyh OL⟩ || J5 ⟨ptkwstkyh OL⟩. 2 MR, J5 omit ⟨ZK Y⟩. 3 DH, DkM, DkS ⟨YHWWN-t⟩ || K43b ⟨YHWWN-t'⟩ || MR, J5 omit ⟨YHWWN-t Y⟩ || DkT ⟨YHWWN-t(n')⟩. 4 No divider in MR, J5.

(9.5.9) *abādīh ablāyīh pablom ast* ∴ ∴

(9.5.9) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

*Dēnkard* 9.6.1–4 — *Xšmāuuaiia.gāuš.uruuā Hāiti* (Y 29.1–11)DH 269<sub>v</sub>, 20 || K43b 22<sub>v</sub>, 7 || MR 143, 6 || J5 351, 18

DKM 790, 9 || DKS vol. xvii, 8 || DkT 10 [37]

WEST 178 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 7 || TAFAZZOLI 12 [37] || ASHA 37

(9.6.1) *pañjom fragard xšmaibīy<sup>1</sup> abar +framuštan<sup>2</sup> ī pid ō pus ud pus ō pid ud brād ō brād<sup>3</sup> ud dōst ō dōst ud mānbed ō nāyrīg<sup>4</sup> ud +nāyrīg<sup>5</sup> ō mānbed andar zamān handāzišn pad sagrih ud hang<sup>6</sup> ud nē framuštan ī mēnōy ī gāhān ō hāwanīg ōšmurdār ud srūdār ī gāhān :.*<sup>7</sup>

(9.6.1) The fifth *fragard*, the *Xšmaibīiā*, is about how a father forgets a son, a son a father, a brother a brother, a friend a friend, a husband a wife, and a wife a husband, within the time allotted to satiety and \*pleasure, and (yet) the ‘Spirit of the *Gāḍās*’ does not forget those who enumerate and recite the *Gāḍās* in the Morning Watch [= Av. *hāuuanī-*].

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨xšm’yby⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨xšmw’yby⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨plmwšt’⟩ || DkT ⟨plmwštn(‘)⟩ || MOLÉ (1963, p. 73) reads *framūštan* and SHAPIRA (1998, Appendices, p. 205) reads *framuštan* as well. 3 Omitted in K43b. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨n’ylyk⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨nn’ylyk⟩. 5 DH, K43b, MR, DkM ⟨n’ylyk⟩ || J5 ⟨nn’ylyk⟩ || DkS, DkT ⟨n’ylyk⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨hng⟩ = ⟨hwy⟩ || DkS ⟨khanj⟩ “loss of impulse” and compares NP خنج “the pleasures and comforts of life, delight, festivity, song, dance, mirth,” for which, see STEINGASS 1892, p. 476 || Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, Appendices, p. 206, who reads *xang* and translates “festivity” following WEST (1892, p. 178), who first read ⟨khang⟩ || cf. MOLÉ 1963, p. 74, who read “opulence” likely following NP هنج with meanings including “many, much, abundant” as in STEINGASS 1892, p. 1515 || DkT compares MPth. ⟨hnng⟩ which HENNING (1937, p. 83 = 1977, p. 563) translated as “\*aversion” and suggested a possible comparison with NP *hang* as well; [N.B., the word could perhaps also be read as ⟨hwy⟩ for *xwēy* “sleep”]. 7 No divider in MR, J5.

(9.6.2) *abar garzišn<sup>1</sup> ī mēnōy ī gāhān ka<sup>2</sup>[gāhān ka] hērbed ud dastwar pad uzdehīgih<sup>3</sup> bē widerēd ud kirb ī ān mard abāz ō xwēš būm nē rasēd ān<sup>4</sup> rāy čē<sup>5</sup> az ān bē andar ān būm ⟨ī⟩ zāyišn [ud] stahmagih ī ahlomōyān bawēd :.*

(9.6.2) About how the ‘Spirit of the *Gāḍās*’ complains when a *hērbed* and a *dastwar* [lit. ‘authority,’ *i.e.*, a high priest] passes on in a foreign land, and, for that reason, the body of that man does not come back to his own land, but because of that, in that land in which he was born there will be oppression by the heretics.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR ⟨glcšn’ mđnwd g’y’n⟩ || J5 ⟨glcšn’ mynwd g’s’n⟩. 2 Mss., DkM || not in DkS, DkT || omitted in MOLÉ 1963, p. 73, but cf. SHAPIRA 1998, Appendices, p. 205, fn. 50 who entertains the translation of WEST (1892, p. 178) as “although priest of the country-folk (dehīgānō)” based on his having presumably read the sequence as \**kā dabīgān* though DH clearly has ⟨AMT g’s’n AMT g’s’n⟩ indicating a dittography. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨’wcdyhykyh⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨’wcdskyh⟩ presumably for *uzdēsagih* “idolatry” and see also SHAPIRA 1998, Appendices, p. 206a, fn. 57. 4 K43b ⟨KK⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨ME ME⟩.

(9.6.3) *ud abar abardar-zōrih ī mēnōy<sup>1</sup> ī gāhān ud ān-iz ī rādih pad bōxtan ī ruwān az dōšox :.*

(9.6.3) And about the superior strength of the ‘Spirit of the *Gāḍās*’ and its generosity too in saving the soul from Hell.

1 K43b (mynwd Y g's'n') || DH (myn) at the end of fol. 270r, 5 and (Y g's'n') || MR, J5 (g's'n' mynwd) || DkM (mynwd Y g's'n') || DkS, DkT (mynwy Y g's'n').

(9.6.4)<sup>1</sup> *ābādīh pahlom ablāyīh ast* ∴ ∴

(9.6.4) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

1 J5 has *ābādīh pahlom ast ablāyīh* [N.B., the only example of a ms. deviating from the others in the Y 27.14 refrains at the end of each *fragard*].

## *Dēnkard 9.7.1–12 — Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā Hāiti* (Y 30.1–11)

DH 270r, 7 || K43b 22v, 16 || J5 352, 5 || MR 144, 4

DkM 790, 20 || DkS vol. xvii, 9 || DkT 10 [37]

WEST 179 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 8 || TAFAZZOLI 12 [39] || ASHA 38

(9.7.1) *šašom fragard atāwaxšīy*<sup>1</sup> ∴ *abar pahlomīh*<sup>2</sup> *ī panj ābādīh fradom pad ablāyīh* ∴<sup>3</sup> *ud didīgar pad frazand ī nek* ∴<sup>4</sup> *ud sidīgar pad zamīg ī rōyišnōmand* ∴<sup>5</sup> *ud čahārom pad ramag ī mēšān* ∴ *ud panjom pad frahaxtīh ī pad xwēš-kārīh* ∴<sup>6</sup>

(9.7.1) The sixth *fragard*, *Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā*, is about the fact that five prosperities are the best — the first (comes about) by means of Righteousness; and the second by a good child; and the third by land which is full of growth; and the fourth by a flock of sheep; and the fifth by having been instructed in doing one's duty.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ('t'whšy) || MR, DkS ('t't'whšyy') || J5 ('t't'whš'). 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 (p'hlwm). 3 No divider in MR, J5. 4 No divider in MR, J5. 5 No divider in MR, J5. 6 No divider in MR, J5.

(9.7.2) *abar baxšīšn ī ō tuxšāgān xwarrah* ∴<sup>1</sup> *ud ō aṣgehānān<sup>2</sup> škōhīh* ∴

(9.7.2) About how Fortune [= Av. *x<sup>v</sup>arənah-*] is distributed to the diligent; and poverty to the indolent.

1 No divider in MR, J5. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ('šgyh'n'n) || MR, J5 ('šgyh'nyh).

(9.7.3) *abar windīšn*<sup>1</sup> *ī xwarrah ī ekānag<sup>2</sup> nišīnān<sup>3</sup> ud 2-(g)ānag<sup>4</sup> rawān-iz* ∴ *ud 3-(g)ānag<sup>5</sup> tazān<sup>6</sup>* ∴ *ud 4-(g)ānag<sup>7</sup> dawān-iz ud 5-gānag<sup>8</sup> barān-iz<sup>9</sup> pad asp* ∴<sup>10</sup> *ud 6-(g)ānag<sup>11</sup> wāzān<sup>12</sup>-iz pad rahīy* ∴<sup>13</sup> *ud 7-gānag<sup>14</sup> pad dādestān-šnāxtārīh ud wizārdārīh* ∴ *8-gānag pad hu-pānagīh ī xwāstagān-iz ud 9-gānag<sup>15</sup> pad šnāsagīhā-tuxšāgīh<sup>16</sup> ī abar warzīdārīh ī zamīg* ∴<sup>17</sup> *ud 10-(g)ānag<sup>18</sup> pad hammōzgārīh ī mānsrspan<sup>19</sup>* ∴

(9.7.3) About how to find Fortune: singly while sitting; two-fold also while going; three-fold while hastening; four-fold too while running; five-fold too while riding a horse; six-fold too while driving a chariot; seven-fold by knowing and interpreting the Law; eight-fold too by protecting properties well; nine-fold by informed diligence regarding the cultivation of the earth; and ten-fold through teaching/learning the Sacred Word [= Av. *mąθra- spənta-*].

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (wndš'n) || MR, J5 (wndš'n'). 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 ('ywk(') 'ywk') for *ek ek*. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (YTYBWN'n W) || MR, J5

(YTYBWN'n Y) || DkS (YTYBWN'n · W). 4 Mss., DkM, DkT (2-'nk') || DkS (2-k'nk') for *dō-gānag*. 5 Mss., DkM, DkT || DkS (3-k'nk'). 6 DkT (تازان). 7 Mss., DkM, DkT || DkS (4-k'nk'). 8 Mss., DkM, DkT || DkS (5-k'nk'). 9 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 (YBL N'n-c' PWN). 10 No divider in MR, J5. 11 DH, K43b, MR, DkT || J5 (7-'nk' W) written at the end of p. 352, 9 and (c'n-c) written on the next line || DkS (6-k'nk'). 12 DkT (وزان). 13 No divider in DH, K43b. 14 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT || K43b (6-k'nk') instead of (7-k'nk') and omits (W we't'lyh) || MR, J5 omit the entire phrase *ud 7-gānag pad dādestān-šnāxtārīh ud wizārdārīh* and jump straight to *8-gānag pad hupānagīh*. 15 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5 (9-'nk') || DkS (9-k'nk'). 16 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 (twhš'kyh' QDM). 17 No divider in MR, J5. 18 Mss., DkM, DkT || DkS (10-k'nk'). 19 K43b (m'rspnd) || DkT (مارسپند).

(9.7.4) *abar garān pašēmānīh<sup>1</sup> ī zarmān mard az aǰgehānīh<sup>2</sup> ī pad ǰwānīh<sup>3</sup> ∴*

(9.7.4) About the grievous regret of an old man for indolence in (his) youth.

1 Mss. (pšym'nyh) = (pš'm'nyh) || DkS (pšym'nyh). 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (šgyh'nyh) || MR (DKYA šgyh'nyh) || J5 (AYŠ šgyh'nyh). 3 J5 (yw') at the end of p. 352, 12 and (ywb'nyh) at the beginning of p. 352, 13.

(9.7.5) *abar čabār čiš ī mard ka-š pad ǰwānīh handōxt ēstēd pad<sup>1</sup> zarmānīh padīš rāmišnīgtar barwēd ∴<sup>2</sup> fradom frahang ī<sup>3</sup> frārōn ∴<sup>4</sup> didīgar xwāstāg ī barōmand<sup>5</sup> (∴) sidīgar zan ī nēk ∴<sup>6</sup> čabārom mānd<sup>7</sup> ī ābādān<sup>8</sup> ∴*

(9.7.5) About the four things by which, when a man has amassed (them) in youth, he will be happier with them in old age: First, honest education; second, fruitful property; third, a good wife; fourth, a prosperous dwelling.

1 DH, MR, J5, DkS || omitted in K43b, DkM, DkT. 2 No divider in MR, J5, DkT. 3 Not in DkS. 4 No divider in MR, J5, DkT. 5 MR, J5, DkT (bl'wmn'd). 6 No divider in MR, J5. 7 DH, K43b (m'nd Y) || MR, J5 (m'n Y) || cf. MMP (m'nd) "house" in DURKIN-MEISTERERST 2004, p. 225. 8 J5 (p'tyh).

(9.7.6) *abar pañ handōzišn<sup>1</sup> ī ābādīh pahlom xwēš-kārīh ud tuxšāgīh ud hunsandīh ud wigrād-ōšīh ud čārak-karīh<sup>2</sup> ∴*

(9.7.6) About the five ways of accumulating the best prosperity: doing one's duty; being diligent; being content; keeping one's mind alert; and being resourceful!

1 DH, K43b, DkT (hndwcšn') || MR, J5, DkM, DkS (dwcšn'). 2 DH, K43b (°glyh) || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (°glyh).

(9.7.7) *abar pahrēz ī az nišast ī abāg mastōgān<sup>1</sup> ∴*

(9.7.7) About staying away from sitting with drunkards.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (mstwk'n) || MR, J5 (mstk'n).

(9.7.8) *ud ēn-iz kū nē pad dōišn ī +jehān<sup>1</sup> [= Av. jahi(ka)-] (ud) māyēnišn<sup>2</sup> xwārīd kē pad māyīšnān<sup>3</sup> xwārīšn ud abārōn-menišn zadār ud bēšīdar<sup>4</sup> ī kasān sazēnīdār<sup>5</sup> ī kārān barwēd ∴<sup>6</sup>*

(9.7.8) And this, too, that one should not indulge in gratification (and) drinking at the pleasure of promiscuous women; the one who, with a sinful mind from gratification and drinking, smites and harms people, making work pass by.

1 Mss., DkM (yh'n) for *jehān* "promiscuous women" = (ydz'n) for *yazdān* "(the) gods" || DkS (ydz'n) || DkT (یزدان). 2 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS (m'dynšn' hw'lyt') || J5 (msynšn'

hw'lt') || DkT transcribes as (ماذشان) with reference (p. 41, fn. 1) to the reading of WEST (1892, p. 180) (mâe-gunagānō) as “varieties of wine.” 3 DH, K43b, DkT (m'yšn'n hw'lšn') || MR (m'dynšn') at the end of p. 145, 12 with (n hw'lšn') on the next line || J5, DkS (m'dynšn' n hw'lšn') || DkM (m'yšn' hwhw'lšn'). 4 MR (byšyt'l) with the horizontal stroke of the letter (b) erased in DRESDEN 1966, p. 145, line 13 but still fully visible in the ms. in the FDML in Navsari [N.B., examined in Sept. 2010] || J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (byšyt'l) || DH (byšt'l) || K43b (bkšt'l). 5 K43b, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (scynyt'l) || DH (scynyt) written at the end of fol. 270v, 1 || MR (sc ynyt'l). 6 No divider in MR.

(9.7.9) *ud ēn-iz kū ān ī-t<sup>1</sup> hu-xwarišn xwar<sup>2</sup> ay kū arzānīgihā* ∴<sup>3</sup>

(9.7.9) And this, too, eat that which is good food for you to eat, that is (it means), where (one does so) in a worthy manner,

1 Mss. (ZK ZY-t'n()) hwlšn') presumably for (ZK ZY-t hw-hwlšn'). 2 DH, K43b (OŠTEN'y AYK) || MR (OŠTEN-t'y AYK) || J5 (ŠTEN-t'y AYK) || DkM, DkT (OŠTEN-t'y 'lc'nykyh') || DkS (OŠTEN-t'y AYK 'lc'nygyh'). 3 Not in J5, DkT.

(9.7.10) *ud kū-t<sup>1</sup> xward sabuk bawād ma sangīg<sup>2</sup> ay kū ka-t xward kirbag kun<sup>3</sup> ud az wināh pahrēz* ∴<sup>4</sup>

(9.7.10) (and) so that what you have eaten should be light, not heavy, that is (it means), when you have eaten, do a good deed and abstain from sin.

1 J5 (AYK). 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (sn'gyk'y AYK AMT-t) || MR, J5 (sn'yk'y AMT-t). 3 MR, J5 (OBYDWN MN) || DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (OBYDWN-d W MN) with DkT transcribing as 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. (کی) || DkS (OBYDWN W MN). 4 No divider in MR, J5, DkT.

(9.7.11) *ud kū-t<sup>1</sup> ān<sup>2</sup> ī xwarē +anōšagihād<sup>3</sup> ay kū driyōšān<sup>4</sup> bahr<sup>5</sup> +kun<sup>6</sup> u-t driyōš<sup>7</sup> āfrīnēnēnd<sup>8</sup>* ∴ *ud driyōš ī ablaw-dādestān<sup>9</sup> ā-š pablom ast āfrīn<sup>10</sup>* ∴<sup>11</sup>

(9.7.11) And that which you eat shall be made blessed [lit. ‘made immortal’] for you, it means, share with the poor and the poor will be caused to bless you; and the poor (one) whose Law is that of the Righteous, then his/her blessing is best.

1 Omitted in DkT, who notes that both B and K43b have (AYK-t). 2 Omitted in J5. 3 DH (n'wšk yh't'y) || K43b (n'wšk yh't) with (y) superscripted at the end of fol. 23r, 16 || MR (n'wšk yh't'y) || DkM (n'wšk š't'y) || DkS (ana-aōšbag šhādīb) || DkT (n'wšk š't'y) and transcribes (شاد بوی). 4 DH, DkM, DkT (dlygwš'n) || MR, DkS (dlygwš'n) with no diacritic || K43b (dlwš'n) || J5 (dlyh š'n'). 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR omits (b'hl) and has (OBYDWN) and (p-t') on the next line || J5 (dlyh yyš'n' b'hl'n' OBYDWN 'p-t') || DkS (b'hl OBYDWN-d 'p-t'). 6 MR, J5 (OBYDWN) || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (OBYDWN-d) [N.B., perhaps with (-d) for -ēnd to substitute for an original (-X<sub>2</sub>) used for the imperative] || DkT transcribes (کی). 7 DH, DkM, DkT (dlygwš) || MR, J5, DkS (dlygwš) || K43b (dlywš). 8 Mss. (p'lynynd). 9 K43b (d'tst) plus a smudge followed by (n) and another (n) superscripted along with (ی) above in Pers., indicating that only one of the (n) sequences should be read. 10 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (p'ryn') || omitted in MR, J5. 11 No divider in MR, J5.

(9.7.12) *ābādīb ast pablom ablāyīb* ∴ ∴

(9.7.12) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

*Dēnkard* 9.8.1–7 — *Tā.vō.uruuātā Hāiti* (Y 31.1–22)

DH 270v, 6 || K43b 23r, 19 || J5 353, 3 || MR 146, 7

DkM 792, 4 || DkS vol. xvii, 12 || DkT 13 [40]

WEST 180 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 10 || TAFAZZOLI 15 [42] || ASHA 42

(9.8.1) *haftom fragard tāwrat*<sup>1</sup> ∴ *abar nimāyišn ī ō zardu(x)št ēwēnag ī 4 āwām ī andar zardu(x)štān hazangrōzim*<sup>2</sup> ⟨∴⟩(9.8.1) The seventh *fragard*, *Tā.vō.uruuātā*, is about how the nature of the Four Ages in the ‘Millennium of Zardušt’ was shown to Zardušt.

1 Mss. ⟨t’wīt’⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨hznklwkzm⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hznlgwkzm⟩.

(9.8.2) *fradom zarrēn*<sup>1</sup> *ān kē*<sup>2</sup> *padiš ohrmazd ō zardu(x)št dēn nimūd* ∴

(9.8.2) First, the ‘golden’ (age), that in which Ohrmazd showed the Tradition to Zardušt.

1 Mss. ⟨ZHB-yn’⟩ || DkS ⟨ZHBA-yn’⟩. 2 K43b ⟨MN⟩.

(9.8.3) *didīgar sēmēn ān kē padiš wištāsp az zardu(x)št dēn padīruft*<sup>1</sup> ∴<sup>2</sup>

(9.8.3) Second, the ‘silver’ (age), that in which Wištāsp received the Tradition from Zardušt.

1 DH, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ptglwpt’⟩ for *padīruft* || K43b, MR ⟨ptglpt’⟩ for *padīrift* [N.B., an atypical distribution of the readings]. 2 No divider in MR, J5.(9.8.4) *sidīgar pōlābdēn ān āwām kē ablāyih-ārāstār ādurbād*<sup>1</sup> *ī mahrspandān andar zād*<sup>2</sup> ∴<sup>3</sup>

(9.8.4) Third, the ‘steel’ (one), that age in which Ādurbād, the son of Mahrspand, who redressed Righteousness, was born.

1 DH, K43b ⟨’twrpt’⟩ || MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨’twr’ p’r’⟩ || J5 ⟨’twr p’r’⟩. 2 MR ⟨YLYDWN-t’⟩ written at the end of p. 146, 13 and repeated at the beginning of p. 146, 14. 3 No divider in MR, J5.

(9.8.5) *čahārom āhen-abar-gumēxt*<sup>1</sup> *āwām ēn kē andar frāy-zāyišnīh*<sup>2</sup> ⟨*ud*⟩ *pādoxšāyih*<sup>3</sup> *ī ahlomōy ud abārīg wattarān*<sup>4</sup> *ud abar wišōbišn ī dēn ud xwadāyih ud nizārīh ī har gōnag wehīh*<sup>5</sup> ⟨*ud*⟩ *nēkīh ud frōd*<sup>6</sup> *waštan ī xēm ud xrad az ērān dehān* ⟨∴⟩

(9.8.5) Fourth, the age in which ‘iron was mixed’ is this in which the heretics and the other bad ones will be born more numerous and will rule; and about the disarray [lit. ‘scattering’] of the Tradition and of Sovereignty; and the weakening of all kinds of goodness and virtue and the decline of character and wisdom from the towns of the Iranians.

1 DH, K43b, DkS ⟨’sn’plgwmght’⟩ || MR ⟨’sn’plgwmght’⟩ with no diacritic || J5 ⟨’sn’plgwmght’⟩ with no diacritic || DkM has ⟨’sn’plwgmght’⟩ for which, see VEVAINA 2011, pp. 249–252 and p. 269 || DkT follows DkM here || Cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 188, who emends to *āhan \*abar \*zam gumēxt*. 2 Mss. ⟨pl’y YLYDWNšnyh⟩. 3 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨p’rwhš’dyh⟩ || K43b ⟨p’rthš’dyh⟩. 4 DkS starts a new section [§2] here. 5 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wyhyh⟩ || J5 ⟨whyh⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨plwt’ wštn’ Y⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨plwt’ štn’ Y⟩.

(9.8.6) *andar ham āwām<sup>1</sup> ošmurišn ī<sup>2</sup> was škeftih ud zāmihistan<sup>3</sup> ī āwām ō ān grāyih<sup>4</sup> ī wehān zīndagih ī andar +an-abāyišnīgih<sup>5</sup> bawēd :*

(9.8.6) In that same age there will be the enumerating of much hardship; and the age will be led to the life of the good ones becoming more grievous, which is inherent in impropriety.

1 DkS starts a new section [§3] here. 2 Mss. || omitted in DkT. 3 Mss. (z'myhstn') || cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 188, who reads *zaxmihistan* “torments” following DkS || cf. also CERETI 1995, p. 170, who emends to \**zamistān* “winter.” 4 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gl'dyh⟩ || K43b ⟨gldyh⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨'n'p'yšnyk⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨'p'yšnykyh⟩ || DkT ⟨BYN'n'p'yšnykyh⟩.

(9.8.7) *pablom ablāyih ābādih ast :*

(9.8.7) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### Dēnkard 9.9.1–11 — X<sup>v</sup>aētumaitī Hāiti (Y 32.1–16)

DH 270v, 16 || K43b 23v, 10 || J5 353, 12 || MR 147, 7

DkM 792, 17 || DkS vol. xvii, 17 || DkT 16 [43]

WEST 181 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 13 || TAFAZZOLI 18 [46] || ASHA 44

(9.9.1) *haštom fragard xwadmed<sup>1</sup> : abar pabrēz ī az ēzišn ī gan(n)āg<sup>2</sup> mēnōy rāy an-āstawān ī dēn ud ān ī az ēzišn<sup>3</sup> ī endar<sup>4</sup> ud sāwul<sup>5</sup> +rāy<sup>6</sup> an-ēbyāst<sup>7</sup>-dād :<sup>8</sup> ud ān ī az ēzišn ī tāwriy ud zārij rāy ēw<sup>9</sup>-mōg-dwārišn ud ān<sup>10</sup> az ēzišn ī akatāš rāy duš-nakkīrāygar<sup>11</sup> : ud ān ī az yazišn<sup>12</sup> ī hamāg dēwān rāy a-mārgen-dād<sup>13</sup> mardōm šnāyēnīdan<sup>14</sup> mādagwar :*

(9.9.1) The eighth *fragard*, the *X<sup>v</sup>aētumaitī*, is about keeping those who do not profess the Tradition from sacrificing to the Foul Spirit; and (about keeping) those who have not girded themselves with the Law from sacrificing to Endar [= Ved. Indra] and Sāwul [Av. Sauruu ~ Ved. *śarva*-, ‘archer,’ an epithet of Rudra]; and (about keeping) those who run about with one shoe from sacrificing to Tāwriy [= Av. Tauruui-, lit. ‘conquering?'] and Zārij [= Av. Zairi-, lit. ‘yellowish?']; and (about keeping) those who vilely repudiate (the Tradition) from sacrificing to Akatāš [lit. ‘the fashioner of evil (things)’]; and (about keeping) people whose Law lacks a ‘snake-whisk’ from sacrificing to all the demons. The essential thing is to propitiate (the gods).

1 Mss. ⟨hwtmyt'⟩. 2 MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gnn'k⟩ || DH, K43b, J5 ⟨gn'k⟩. 3 K43b ⟨'ycšnyk⟩. 4 DH, K43b ⟨'ndl⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨'ndl w'wn⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'ndl W'wn⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨s'wvl'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨s'wl⟩. 6 Mss., DkM ⟨LA⟩ || DkS, DkT emend to ⟨l'd⟩ but note that the mss. have ⟨LA⟩. 7 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'n'yyp'y'st'⟩ || K43b ⟨'n'yyp y'st'⟩. 8 No divider in MR, J5. 9 DH, K43b, MR, DkT ⟨'yw°⟩ || J5 ⟨'ywk°⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨'ywmwk⟩. 10 DkS ⟨Y⟩. 11 DH, K43b ⟨dwšnkkl'ykl⟩ || MR ⟨dwš nkyl'kl :⟩ || J5 ⟨dwšnkyl'kl⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨dwšnkyl'ygl⟩ || DkS ⟨dwš nkyl'ygl⟩. 12 Mss. ⟨ycšn'⟩ || DkS, DkT emend to ⟨'ycšn'⟩. 13 DH, K43b ⟨' m'lgn'd't'⟩ || MR ⟨' m'lgn'⟩ at the end of p. 147, 13 and ⟨d't'⟩ added at the beginning of p. 147, 14 || J5, DkS ⟨'m'lgn' d't'⟩ || DkM ⟨'m'lgn'd't'⟩ || DkT ⟨'m'lgn' d't'⟩. 14 DkT adds ⟨LA⟩.



(9.9.2) *ud abar gišna<sup>1</sup>-menišniḫ ī ōy kē drāyān xwarēd<sup>2</sup> xwārēd :<sup>3</sup> ud šādīḫ<sup>4</sup> ī dēwān az<sup>5</sup> ān mar ud andarz ī abar nē guftan ī andar xwarišn ud xwārišn saxwan :*  
 (9.9.2) And about the small-mindedness of the one who eats (and) drinks while chattering; and the happiness that the demons derive from that miscreant; and the advice about not speaking a word while eating and drinking.

1 DH, K43b (ḡyšnk'). 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (OŠTEN-yt') || omitted in MR, J5. 3 No divider in MR, J5. 4 K43b (štyh) and (š't) superscripted. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (MN ZK ml W 'ndlc') || MR (MNW ZK Y mly W'ndlc') || J5 (MNW ZK Y ml 'ndlc').

(9.9.3) *ud pad spās ud šnāyišn ī yazdān pēš az xwarišn ud xwārišn ud pad-iz pardaxt<sup>1</sup> ud pākīḫ<sup>2</sup> ī dabān-u-š<sup>3</sup> ablāyīḫ-stāyišniḫ<sup>4</sup> :*

(9.9.3) And by thanking and propitiating the gods before eating and drinking and also regarding leftovers, and (by) keeping the mouth clean, one praises Righteousness.

1 DkT (pld'htn'). 2 K43b (p'yh). 3 Mss. (PWME AP-š). 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (st'yšnyh) || MR, J5 (st'yšn'Y).

(9.9.4) *ud abar ōy kē dastwar nē dāštan pad-dād<sup>1</sup> (rāy) nē xwēšīḫ ī<sup>2</sup> ēč kirbag ī kunēd<sup>3</sup> ud nē rasīd ī<sup>4</sup> ō ān ī pablom axwān :*

(9.9.4) And about the one who, (because of) not having a *dastwar* (as prescribed) by the Law, does not keep any for oneself of the good deeds which one does and (hence) will not arrive to the Best Existence.

1 DkT (PWN d't' Y LA). 2 Omitted in DkS || DkT deletes (Y). 3 Mss. (OBYDWN-X<sub>1</sub>). 4 Omitted in DkS || DkT deletes (Y).

(9.9.5) *ud abar gāḫ ī yazišn ī srōš-ablīy<sup>1</sup> abērtar pad sazišn ī fradom nēmag ī šab ud ōy<sup>2</sup> ī yaštār<sup>3</sup> ō pāsbāniḫ ī-š az ān mēnōy<sup>4</sup> druz niwēyēnīdagīḫ :*

(9.9.5) And about the *Gāḫ* [*i.e.*, a Watch of the Day] for the sacrifice to Srōš-Ahlīy [= Av. Sraoša Ašīia], being more often when the first half of the night has passed; and the sacrificer having invited him from *that* world for guarding against the 'Lie.'

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (slwšhlyy) || MR, J5 (slwšhly) || DkS (slwš'hlyy). 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 omit (OLE Y). 3 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT (yšt'l) || K43b (d't'l) with (yšt'l) superscripted || MR, J5 (W yšt'l) 4 DkT adds (Y).

(9.9.6) *ud gāḫ ī yazišn ī rašn ud aštād abērtar az ān pas<sup>1</sup> pad +ušahin<sup>2</sup> radīḫ ud ōy ī yaštār ān ī jōrdāyān<sup>3</sup> ābādīḫ niwēyēnīdagīḫ :*

(9.9.6) And the *Gāḫ* for the sacrifice to Rašn [= Av. Rašnu] and Aštād [= Av. Arštāt], being more often after that, under the Ratuship of *Ušahin* [= Av. *ušabina*-]; and (how) the sacrificer has invited prosperity from/of grains.

1 J5 (AHL) written unclearly and (پس) subscripted in NP. 2 DH (wš'h') || MR (wšh') || J5 (wšhy) || K43b (wš'hn) || DkM (wš'h) || DkS (wšhyn') || DkT (wšhyn). 3 K43b (ywlt'y'd'n) and (yw'l'd'n') superscripted.

(9.9.7) *ud gāḫ ī yazišn<sup>1</sup> ī mihr ī frāy-gāwyoḏ<sup>2</sup> ud rāmišn<sup>3</sup> xwālom<sup>4</sup> mēnōy ī<sup>5</sup> abērtar pad hāwan radīḫ ud ōy ī yaštār ān ī gōspandān ramag<sup>6</sup> niwēyēnīdagīḫ :*

(9.9.7) And the *Gāḫ* for the sacrifice to Mihr of Wide Pastures and the Spirit of Most Sweet Happiness, being more often under the Ratuship of *Hāwan* [= Av. *hāuuani*-]; and the sacrificer has invited the cattle herds.

1 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT || K43b ⟨ycšnyk⟩ with ⟨Y⟩ superscripted || omitted in MR, J5. 2 DH, DkM, DkS ⟨pl'y-g'wywt'⟩ || K43b, MR ⟨pl'-gywywt'⟩ || J5 ⟨pl'g'ywt'⟩ || DkT ⟨pl'gywywt'⟩. 3 DkT adds ⟨Y⟩. 4 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hw'lwmm⟩ || K43b ⟨hwlwm⟩. 5 Not in DkS. 6 DH, K43b ⟨lmknwynytkyh⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨lmk' nywytkyh⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨lmk(') nwynytkyh⟩.

(9.9.8) *ud gāh ī ēzišn<sup>1</sup> ī ašwahišt ud ātaxš-iz ī ohrmazd abērtar pad rapihwin<sup>2</sup> radīh ud ōy ī yaštār ān ī ablāyīh ramag niwēyēnīdagīh* ∴<sup>3</sup>

(9.9.8) And the *Gāh* for the sacrifice to Ašwahišt [= Av. Aša Vahišta] and the Fire of Ohrmazd as well, being more often under the Ratuship of *Rapihwin* [= Av. *rapišβina-*]; and (how) the sacrificer has invited the herds of Righteousness.

1 DkS emends to ⟨ycšn'⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨lpspy⟩ || DkS, DkT emend to ⟨lpspyn⟩. 3 No divider in MR, J5.

(9.9.9) *ud gāh ī yazišn ī burz ī xwadāy (ī) mādagān ī ābān<sup>1</sup>-nāf ud āb-iz ī ohrmazd-dād abērtar pad<sup>2</sup> uzērin<sup>3</sup> radīh ud ōy ī yaštār ān ī wīrān ramag niwēyēnīdagīh* ∴

(9.9.9) And the *Gāh* for the sacrifice to the High Lord [*i.e.*, Av. Apam Napāt] (of) the Females of the Scion of the Waters and the Water of Ohrmazd as well, being more often under the Ratuship of *Uzērin* [= Av. *uzaieirina-*]; and the sacrificer having invited the herds of men.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'p'n n'p' W MYA-c⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨'p'n' p' MYA-c⟩. 2 Omitted in J5. 3 Mss. ⟨'wz'yly⟩ with DH, K43b ⟨uzērin⟩ added in Av. script || MR, J5 ⟨uzērən⟩ added in Av. script || DkS emends to ⟨+'wz'ylyn⟩ || DkT ⟨uzērin⟩ in Av. script (following K43b and DkM, which he calls 'B').

(9.9.10) *ud gāh ī ēzišn<sup>1</sup> ī ahlawān frawahr ud mādagān ī wīr-ramagān ud sālān-iz hu-mānišnīh<sup>2</sup> ud amāwandīh-iz ī \*hu-tāšīd<sup>3</sup> ī hu-rust ī<sup>4</sup> pērōzgar-iz<sup>5</sup> ī ohrmazd-dād wānīdarīh-iz<sup>6</sup> ī pad<sup>7</sup> abar-rawišnīh<sup>8</sup> abērtar pad ayibīsrūsrīm<sup>9</sup> radīh ud ōy<sup>10</sup> ī yaštār harwist<sup>11</sup> ābādīh bun ud harwist<sup>12</sup> ablāyīh paydāgīh bar niwēyēnīdagīh* ∴

(9.9.10) And the *Gāh* for the sacrifice to the Pre-souls of the Righteous Ones and the Females with herds of men, the years of good-dwelling too, and the well-fashioned, well-grown, victorious force as well, established by Ohrmazd, the Conquering one too who-moves-above, being more often under the Ratuship of *Ayibīsrūsrīm* [= Av. *aiβisrūšrima-*]; and (how) the sacrificer has invited the foundation of all prosperity and all (its) fruits with the manifestation of Righteousness.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨'ycšn'⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨ycšn'⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hwm'nšnyh⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨hwmynšnyh⟩. 3 DH, K43b ⟨hwtw'šyt'⟩ with the ⟨š⟩ marked with the NP diacritic for ⟨š⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨hwtw'šyt'⟩ with no diacritic || DkM ⟨hwtw'šyt'⟩ || DkT ⟨hwtw'šyt'⟩ || DkS ⟨hwt'šyt'⟩. 4 DkT ⟨W⟩. 5 DH, DkM, DkS ⟨pylwcgl-c⟩ || K43b ⟨pylwcgl-c⟩ || MR, J5, DkT ⟨pylwcglyh-c⟩. 6 DkS ⟨w'nyt'lyh⟩. 7 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b. 8 J5 ⟨'plh lwbšn'⟩ with the second ⟨l⟩ crossed out. 9 DH, K43b ⟨'yypyslwkslym⟩ || MR, J5, DkM ⟨'yypyslwkslym⟩ || DkS ⟨'yypyslwkslym⟩ || DkT ⟨'yyp' slwkslym⟩. 10 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 (OL). 11 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5, DkS ⟨hlwsp'⟩. 12 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkT || MR, DkS ⟨hlwsp'⟩.

(9.9.11) *ahlāyīh ābādīh pablom ast* ∴ ∴

(9.9.11) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

*Dēnkarđ* 9.10.1–4 — *Yašāišišā Hāiti* (Y 33.1–14)

DH 271r, 18 || K43b 24r, 16 || J5 354, 13 || MR 150, 1

DkM 794, 5 || DkS vol. xvii, 16 || DkT 19 [48]

WEST 185 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 15 || TAFAZZOLI 21 [50] || ASHA 50

(9.10.1) *nohom fragard yāsāiš<sup>1</sup> : abar dēwīh ud zad-xwarrāhīb ud purr-rēmanīh ud garān-gandīh ud garān-wināhīb ud āzār<sup>2</sup> hamāg mēnōyīg<sup>3</sup> ud gētiyīg<sup>4</sup> nēkīb ī kūn-marz :*

(9.10.1) The ninth *fragard*, the *Yašāišišā*, is about how anal sex (produces) demonhood, blights the Fortune, is full of filth, grievous stench, grievous sins, and hurts all goodness in *this* world and in *that* world.

1 DH, K43b ⟨y's'yš⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨y's'yyš⟩ || DkS ⟨y's'yš⟩. 2 DkT ⟨𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥⟩. 3 DH, K43b, J5, DkM ⟨mynwđyk⟩ || MR ⟨mđnwđyk⟩ || DkT ⟨mynwyyk⟩ = ⟨mynw'k⟩ || DkS ⟨mynwdyg⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨gytygyk⟩ || DkT ⟨gytydyk⟩ || DkS ⟨stihīg⟩ = ⟨gytydyg⟩.

(9.10.2) *ud garān wināh<sup>1</sup>-wizārdagīh ud wuzurg<sup>2</sup> kirbag-xwēšēnīdārīh<sup>3</sup> ī ōy ī +ōzadār<sup>4</sup> ud škeft-wināhīb ī ōy ī snāyēnīdār ī ān [ī]<sup>5</sup> wināhgār :*

(9.10.2) And (about) how the one who kills that sinner has purged (these) grievous sins and appropriates great merit for him/herself; and the fearsome sinfulness of the one who favors that sinner.

1 DH, K43b ⟨wn's⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wn'syh⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨LBA krpk'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨krpk' LBA⟩. 3 J5 ⟨hwyš'nyt'lyh⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨'wcyt'⟩ || DkT ⟨تاگزیدار⟩. 5 Mss. || deleted in DkT.

(9.10.3) *az 7 ī pad wad ī abar wattarīh hāwand<sup>1</sup> gan(n)āg<sup>2</sup> mēnōy ōšmurēd<sup>3</sup> :<sup>4</sup> cīyōn až ī dahāg pad jādugīh : ud až<sup>5</sup> ī srūwar pad stahmagīh :<sup>6</sup> ud wadag pad wad-hunuškīb<sup>7</sup> : tūr ī brādarōxš<sup>8</sup> pad ablawgenīb<sup>9</sup> :<sup>10</sup> ud abrimen<sup>11</sup> pad garān-wināhīb : ēk wīftīdag<sup>12</sup> ud wīftēnīdag pad garān-wināhīb gōwēd<sup>13</sup> :*

(9.10.3) Of the seven bad ones whom it [*i.e.*, the *fragard* or *nask*] enumerates as being in evil equal to the Foul Spirit: Až ī Dahāg for sorcery; Až ī Srūwar [= Av. Aži Sruuara, *i.e.*, the horned dragon] for oppression; Wadag [also Ōdag, *i.e.*, the mother of Až ī Dahāg] for having evil spawn; Tūr ī Brādarōxš for killing the Righteous One [*i.e.*, Zardušt]; and Ahrimen for such grievous sinfulness; it says with regard to grievous sinfulness: one passive and active participant engaging in anal sex.

1 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 2 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨gn'k⟩ || MR, DkS ⟨gnn'k⟩. 3 Mss. || DkT ⟨'wšmwlt'⟩ for *ōšmurd* and transcribes as (شمرده شده اند) “have been enumerated.” 4 No divider in MR, J5. 5 MR ⟨'c' Y 'c' Y⟩. 6 No divider in MR, J5. 7 MR ⟨hwn' škyh⟩ || DkT ⟨slyh (W) hwnwškyh (W)⟩. 8 MR ⟨bl'tlw hš⟩. 9 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'hlwb'kn'yh⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨'hlwb'kyh⟩. 10 DH, K43b || no divider in MR, J5. 11 DH, K43b ⟨'hlmn⟩ written upside down || MR, J5 ⟨'hlmn⟩ || WEST (1892, p. 185, fn. 5) translates “apostate” (for *ablomōy*) and says: “Both MSS. [= B and K43b] have Aharmanō, but this differs only in its last letter from aharmōk, ‘an apostate,’ which is the reading of Dd. LXXII, 9 and more suitable to the content” [N.B., DH, K43b have ⟨'hlmn⟩ written upside down, so clearly for *abrimen*] || DkM ⟨'hlmn'⟩ for *abrimen* || DkS ⟨'hlmwk'⟩ for *ablomōy* presumably following WEST || DkT ⟨'hlmn'⟩ and adds WEST's emendation to ⟨h'lmwk'⟩ (TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 48, fn. 12) and transcribes as (اهرموغ) again referring to WEST (p. 49, fn. 8) and quoting DkM (p. 747, line 21

= Dk 8.35) in support. 12 MR ⟨wyptytk' Wwyypnytk' PWN gl'n wn'syh YMRWN'-yt'⟩ || J5 ⟨wyptytk' W wyptynytk' PWN gl'n wn'syh YMRN'-yt'⟩ with ⟨كويد⟩ subscripted in NP || DH, K43b ⟨wyptytk' W wyptynytk' PWN gl'n wn's YMRWN'-yt'⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨wyptytk'n' W wyptynytk' PWN gl'n wn'syh YMRWN'-yt'⟩ || DkT ⟨wyptytk' W wyptynytk' PWN gl'n wn'syh YMRWN'-yt'⟩. 13 J5 has ⟨YMRN'-yt'⟩ written unclearly and ⟨كويد⟩ subscripted in NP, presumably for ⟨كويد⟩.

(9.10.4) *pablom ast ablāyih ābādih* ∴ ∴

(9.10.4) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### Dēnkard 9.11.1–15 — Yā.šiiiaoḡanā Hāiti (Y 34.1–15)

DH 271v, 5 || K43b 24v, 5 || B 585, 1–5 || J5 355, 1–356, 10  
and 359, 15–360, 1 || MR 150, 13 || D10A 587, 1 || A40 1085v, 4  
DKM 794, 16 || DkS vol. xvii, 17 || DkT 22 [51]  
WEST 186 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 15 || TAFAZZOLI 24 [53] || ASHA 51

(9.11.1) *10om fragard yāšyōsn<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar garzišn ī ātaxšān mēnōy ō obrmazd az<sup>2</sup> mardōmān<sup>3</sup> 7-dar ∴*

(9.11.1) The tenth *fragard*, the *Yā.šiiiaoḡanā*, is about the complaint of the ‘Spirit of the Fires’ to Ohrmazd about people: seven topics.

1 Mss. ⟨y'šy'wsn'⟩ || K43b ⟨d'šy'wdyn'⟩. 2 MR, J5 ⟨W MN⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨ANŠWTA-<sup>3</sup>n⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨ANŠWTA⟩.

(9.11.2) *fradom ⟨garzišn⟩ az kadagīgān pad xwār ud <sup>+</sup>a-pandih<sup>1</sup> dāštan ud a-paymān rōzēnidan ud a-šust-dast kār padiš kardan ud kanīg kē ātaxš andar azē<sup>2</sup> pāy <sup>+</sup>xwār<sup>3</sup> kard ud xwarg škastan<sup>4</sup> ud snāh<sup>5</sup> andar brāh bē āwurd ∴*

(9.11.2) First, (the complaint) about householders for considering him [*i.e.*, the Fire] abject and \*pointless, lighting him immoderately, working with him with unwashed hands; and (for example) the girl who demeaned the Fire underfoot and broke his embers and brought violence into (his) glow.

1 MR ⟨'pndyh⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨'pndš⟩ || J5 ⟨'pnsyh⟩ || DkS ⟨a-pūzesh⟩ “contemptible” and compares NP ⟨پوڈش⟩ “apology” || cf. TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 52, fn. 1 and ASHA 2009, p. 52, fn. 218 for brief discussions of this form. 2 DkT ⟨(Y)⟩. 3 DH, K43b, MR, DkM ⟨hwyl⟩ = ⟨'ndl⟩ || J5 ⟨hw'yl⟩ || DkS ⟨andar⟩ || DkT ⟨اندر⟩ || cf. NP خوار کردن “to hold in contempt, despise,” for which see STEINGASS 1892, p. 479. 4 DkT emends to ⟨škst'⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨sn'h⟩ || DkS ⟨gívâh⟩ for NP كيوه “cotton shoe,” for which, cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 1109.

(9.11.3) *didīgār garzišn az burdārān ī ātaxš az ān mān kū-šān <sup>1</sup>{pabrēz ī ātaxš kardan pad-dād ō ān mān kū-šān} pabrēz ī ātaxš kardan pad-dād nēst ∴*

(9.11.3) Second, the complaint about those who carry the Fire from a dwelling where protecting the Fire is according to the Law to a dwelling where it is not according to the Law.

1 MR and J5 skip the sequence *pabrēz ī ātaxš kardan pad dād ō ān mān kū-šān* [N.B., due to a jump-omission at the line break in MR].

(9.11.4) *ud ānōh az ān ī dēwān rasišn ud paššinjīšn juwān ī yarrōmand ud tabišnōmand ud afsār-ēstīšnōmand<sup>1</sup> mānāg stard nibast ud bēšāzišnīh ī-š az ān xīndagīh pad frāz-burdārīh ī awiš ān ī<sup>2</sup> pāk rāšk<sup>3</sup> ayāb<sup>4</sup> +wohugōn ayāb<sup>5</sup> +wohukerd ayāb hadanbāy<sup>6</sup> ayāb kadār-iz-ēw ān ī hu-bōytom<sup>7</sup> az urwarān<sup>8</sup> būd :*  
 (9.11.4) And there he [*i.e.*, the Fire] lay like a youth in a stupor — itchy, feverish, and cold — from the demons coming upon him and infecting [*lit.* ‘sprinkling’] him; and for healing him of that illness, bring forth to him pure sandalwood or frankincense or aloewood or pomegranate or whatever was the most sweet-smelling of plants.

1 DH (‘ps’l’st) at the end of fol. 271v, 11 and (šn’wmn’đ) at the beginning of 271v, 12 || K43b (‘ps’l’st šn’wmn’đ) || MR, J5 (‘ps’l’stšn’wmn’đ) || DkM, DkS (‘ps’l’stšn’wmn’đ) || DkT (‘ps’l’stšn’wmn’đ). 2 DH, K43b, DkT || MR, J5, DkM, DkS (‘ZK Y ZY-š’n’). 3 DkS (l’sn’) || DkT (راسن). 4 Mss. (‘ywp’ hwgwn) for (‘ywp whwgwn) || DkT (هوگون). 5 Mss. (‘ywp’ hwklyt’) for (‘ywp whwklyt’) || DkT (هوکرید). 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (hdnp’d) || MR (htp’d) || J5 (‘ywp’ ywp’ y 2’ ywp’). 7 Mss. (hwbwd twm) || DkM, DkS (hwbwdtwm) || DkT (hwbwytwm). 8 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT (‘wlvw’l’n) || MR, J5 (‘wlvw’l’n).

(9.11.5) *sidīgar garzišn ī<sup>2</sup> az jeh<sup>3</sup> kē-š pad daštān abar rasīd gand ud rēm<sup>4</sup> ī az daštān awiš rasēnīdan<sup>5</sup> ud xīndagīh ud stardīh ī aziš čiyōn azabar-nibišt<sup>6</sup> :*  
 (9.11.5) Third, the complaint about the promiscuous woman [= Av. *jahī-*] who, when menstruation comes upon her, lets the dirt and filth from (her) menstruation reach him, and (about) the sickness and stupor (resulting) from her, as written above.

1 J5: (glčšn’ šn’Y). 2 Not in DkT. 3 DH, K43b (jyh) and the Av. (j) = (yw) superscripted || MR (ywyjh) with the (yw) perhaps for the Av. (j) || J5 (yyh) with no diacritic and the Av. (j) superscripted || DkM, DkS (yyh) with no diacritics. 4 DH, MR, J5 (lym) for *rēm* || K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (lymn) for *rēman*. 5 DkM, DkS (YHMTWN-yn-yt’). 6 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT (‘cplnšt’) || J5 (‘cplnšt’).

(9.11.6) *čahārom garzišn az jeh<sup>1</sup> kē šnūg<sup>2</sup> pad ādušt<sup>3</sup> andar hīlēd<sup>4</sup> ud gēs wizārēd<sup>5</sup> ud nam ud xwēdagīh<sup>6</sup> az sar abāg rēm<sup>7</sup> ud mōy-iz az-iš ō ātaxš ōbastan ud an-hunsandīhā dūd<sup>8</sup> ud xīndagīh ud stardīh<sup>9</sup> ī aziš :*

(9.11.6) Fourth, the complaint about the promiscuous woman who places (her) knee on the fire-stand and combs (her) locks, and dew and moisture fall from (her) head together with the filth, and hair too (falls) from her into the fire and cause him discontent due to the smoke and sickness and stupor which come from her.

1 DH, K43b (jyh) and the Av. (j) = (yw) superscripted || MR (ywyjh) with the (yw) perhaps for the Av. (j) || J5 (yyh) with no diacritic and the Av. (j) superscripted || DkM, DkS (yyh) with no diacritics. 2 Mss. (šnw’k’) || DkT (شانه) “shoulder.” 3 DH (‘twšt’) for *ādušt* a variant of (‘tyšt’) for *ādišt* “firestand,” cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 5 || K43b (‘tw) at the end of fol. 24v, 19 and (št’) superscripted || DkT (بزد آژرا) “the Fire god.” 4 DH, K43b (ŠBKWN-X<sub>1</sub>) || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>). 5 DH, K43b, DkT (wc’lyt’) || MR, J5 (wc’ltn’) || DkM, DkS (wc’lt’). 6 DkT adds ((Y)). 7 DH, K43b (lym W mwd-c) || MR, J5, DkT (mwd lym-c) || DkS, DkT (mwd lymn-c). 8 DH, K43b (dwt’ W) || MR, J5, DkS (ywt’ W) || DkT (ywt’n (Y)). 9 MR, DkM, DkS (sltyh Y) || DH, K43b, DkT (sltyh) || J5 (sltkyh).

(9.11.7) *panjom garzišn az pid ud sālār ī aburnāyīg<sup>1</sup> pad abāz nē dāstan ī aburnāyīg az ātaxš ud hīxr<sup>2</sup> ud abārīg a-dādīh ī-š az<sup>3</sup> aburnāyīgān abar rasēd :*

(9.11.7) Fifth, the complaint about the father and guardian of the child for not keeping the child (away) from the Fire; and bodily waste and (all) the other unlawful matter that comes upon him [*i.e.*, the Fire] from children.

1 Mss. ⟨'pln'dyk⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨hđhl⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5 ⟨MN ZK⟩.

(9.11.8) *šašom garzišn az +pitār<sup>1</sup> kē-š ān ī a-yōjdahr<sup>2</sup> āhan abar<sup>3</sup> barēd<sup>4</sup> u-š wād ī dahān<sup>5</sup> abar damēd<sup>6</sup> ud pad kār framūd<sup>7</sup> ud an-āmār bawēd* ∴

(9.11.8) Sixth, the complaint about the \*smith who carries ritually unclean iron onto him [*i.e.*, the Fire] and blows the breath of his mouth upon him while working on him, and (the sin) will be incalculable.

1 DH, K43b ⟨pyt'l⟩ for +*pitār* and cf. Av. *pisraṭ* in V 8.87–90 || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pytyd'lk⟩ for *petyārag* “Adversary” || Cf. AirWb. col. 907 who has *pisra-* m. “Bezeichnung einer Vorrichtung zum Schweißen von Metallen” || ASHA (2007, p. 54) suggests Av. *pisraṭ* means “smith.” || As per BARTHOLOMAE, the word is likely an object made of metal. ELIZABETH TUCKER (p.c.) suggests that Av. *pisra-* literally means “crusher, hammerer” and is a derivative from the Indo-Iranian root \**piš* “to crush, to smash.” In V 8.87–90 it is perhaps a word for the smith’s tool or a hammer, as *pisraṭ hacā zaraniiō.saēpāt ... arəzatō.saēpāt ... aiiō.saēpāt ... haosafnaēnō.saēpāt* appear to be a *pisra-* qualified by a possessive compound “because of a *pisra-* with a golden-... silver-... iron-... steel-*saēpa-*.” As TUCKER has suggested to me, if the Av. word literally meant “hammerer, crusher” it could perhaps have been reinterpreted in Pahl. for a person who does the hammering, *viz.*, a blacksmith. Cf. also WD 32.8–11 where we find four attestations of the word, evidently meaning “forge, smithy”: ... *ātaxš-ēw az +pitār* ⟨pyt'l⟩ *bē zarrēn-pahikarān* || (9) ... *+pitār asēmēn-pahikarān* || (10) ... *+pitār pad bē asēm-pitārān* || (11) ... *+pitār bē pōlād āhen-garān...* “the fire from the forge of gold-workers... ...forge of the silver-workers ...forge \*of the \*iron-workers... ...forge \*of the steel and iron-workers...” (after SHEFFIELD forthcoming). I must thank DAN SHEFFIELD for generously sharing his text and translation with me. 2 DH, K43b ⟨'ywsđ'sl⟩ || MR ⟨'ywsđ'sl⟩ || DkT ⟨'ywsđ'sl (Y)⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨'wsđ'sl⟩. 3 DH ⟨QDM⟩ at the end of fol. 271v and ⟨QDM⟩ as the first word of fol. 272r. 4 Mss. ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨dh'n'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨dhyn'⟩ || DkT ⟨dh'n'⟩ or ⟨ydz'n'⟩. 6 DkS ⟨dmytn'⟩. 7 DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨plmwtn'⟩.

(9.11.9) *ud abar<sup>1</sup> haftom garzišn ī škefttar<sup>2</sup> ud garāntar gōwēd az awēšān kē-š pad drō<sup>3</sup> war abar warzēnd<sup>4</sup> ud ka-š pad bōxt ud ēraxt paydāg kard bawēd ud padiš jud-dādestān bāwēnd* ∴

(9.11.9) (And) about the seventh, the complaint which it/he [*i.e.*, the *fragard* or the Fire] says is harsher and more grievous (than all others): about those who perform the ordeal on somebody through deceit, and, when it has been manifest whether one is saved or condemned, they disagree about it.

1 MR, J5 || omitted in DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT. 2 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨škpttl⟩ || K43b ⟨škptl⟩ and ⟨škpttl⟩ corrected above. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS ⟨dlwb'wl⟩ || MR ⟨dlwb'W L⟩ || J5 ⟨slwb'⟩ and ⟨L⟩ on next line || DkT ⟨glwb W wl⟩ and transcribes as ⟨برش وور گرو⟩. 4 DH, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wlcynđ⟩ || K43b ⟨wlc'đ⟩ || J5 ⟨wlcyn'⟩.

(9.11.10) *ud andar garzišnīhā ān ī rēman žomāy<sup>1</sup> ān ī pāk frāz grift<sup>2</sup> ud aziš waxšīdan ud pad dādīg<sup>3</sup> ud a-dād kār ēkānag sōxtan ud waxšīdan ēdōn<sup>4</sup> čiyōn ka-š har 2 pad abāyist<sup>5</sup> hē<sup>6</sup> ud a-kām<sup>7</sup> ud awestābīg sōxtan ud waxšīdan ān ī rēman pad sōzišn an-hunsandīhā<sup>8</sup> jūdan ud andar ān ī a-dād<sup>9</sup> kār<sup>10</sup> pad waxšīšn bēšist<sup>11</sup> ∴*

(9.11.10) And among the (various) complaints (are): One takes what is polluted along with what is clean and (the Fire) blazes from them; he burns and blazes obediently for both lawful and unlawful use as if each was acceptable; and he burns and blazes unwillingly and by coercion (so that) he devours unhappily by burning (by coercion) what is polluted; and how one harms him through unlawful use when he blazes.

1 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨yw̄m'd⟩ || MR ⟨yw̄m'n⟩. 2 DkS, DkT ⟨OHDWN-tñ'⟩. 3 DkS ⟨wštyg⟩. 4 Omitted in DkT. 5 K43b ⟨'pst'⟩. 6 DkS begins a new section [§10] here. 7 DkS ⟨'k'm⟩ = ⟨2-k'm⟩. 8 MR, DkS, DkT ⟨'nhwsndyh'⟩ || J5 ⟨'nhwsndyh'⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM ⟨'nhwsh'⟩. 9 DH, K43b ⟨'d't'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'d'tyh'⟩ for a-*dādīhā*. 10 DH, K43b, DkT || MR repeats *ēkānag sōxtan ud waxšīdan* at the end of p. 153, 8 and ⟨'k'⟩ [for ⟨'y[twn']⟩] at the beginning of p. 153, 9. A big gap follows which would contain *ēdōn čiyōn ka-š har* followed by *2 pad abāyist hē* and then continues with *waxšīn bēšist* [n.b., without *pad*] || J5 has the sequence *ēkānag sōxtan ud waxšīdan* with a big gap and then the sequence resumes with *2 pad abāyist hē* || DkS has the sequence *ēkānag sōxtan waxšīdan ēdōn čiyōn ka-š har 2 pad abāyist hē*. 11 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'byšst'⟩ || DH ⟨'byšstn'⟩ || K43b ⟨'byššn'⟩ and ⟨'yššn'⟩ superscripted and ⟨'byšstn'⟩ written next.

(9.11.11) *ud ēn-iz gōwēd<sup>1</sup> kū nē ēdar bawam ud az ēdar ul uzam<sup>2</sup> az zamīg abar o<sup>3</sup> asmān tō man-iz<sup>4</sup> pus ham<sup>5</sup> framāy<sup>5</sup> o man<sup>6</sup> čiyōn ān-iz ī anīy dām :*

(9.11.11) And (the Fire) says this, as well: 'I shall not be here, and from here I will go up from the earth up to the sky. I am your son, too, command me just like (You do) the other creations.'

1 DkS ⟨YMRWN'-yt'⟩. 2 MR ⟨'wc MN MN⟩ for ⟨'wc-m MN⟩. 3 DH superscripted. 4 DH, K43b ⟨L-ğc⟩ || MR, J5, DkM ⟨L L-yc⟩ || DkS, DkT ⟨L-yc⟩ with no diacritic. 5 DH, K43b ⟨plm'k'⟩ for ⟨plm'd'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pl'd'⟩. 6 DH ⟨L cygwn ZK-c Y ZK'y d'm'⟩ || K43b ⟨L⟩ and ⟨c Y ZK'y d'm'⟩ on the next line || MR, J5 ⟨L cygwn ZK-c Y ZK'y d'mn'⟩ || DkM ⟨L cygwn ZK-c Y ZK'y d'm'⟩ || DkT ⟨L cygwn ZK'y d'm'⟩ || DkS ⟨LK cygwn ZK-c Y ZK'y d'm'⟩.

(9.11.12) *u-š guft ohrmazd kū ēdōn tō<sup>1</sup> ātaxš abar ēstīhē<sup>2</sup> pad xwēš-kārīh tō ān<sup>3</sup> wazr bar<sup>4</sup> pad<sup>5</sup> {mēnōy hād abzār-it-ēw<sup>6</sup> ī čiyōn ān daham kē pad ān harwist ox ī astōmand} bē wardē o ān ī<sup>7</sup> a-sar rōšnīh anīy<sup>8</sup> ud o ān ī a-sar tārīkīh<sup>9</sup> anīy :*

(9.11.12) And Ohrmazd said: 'In this way, you, O Fire, are established above in (your) duty. You carry that club in *that* world, as it were, I am giving you a tool like that, with which you shall turn the entire material existence, some to the endless light and others to the endless darkness.'

1 End of MR — on p. 153, 13 — and written at the bottom of the page in NP ⟨تمام شد جزو پنج⟩ || the next page — p. 154, 1 — begins at §9.12.15. A folio of ms. B for §9.11.12 to a portion of §9.11.14 survives. D10a and A40 abruptly end *Dēnkard* Book 8 mid-sentence and start Book 9 here on p. 587, 1–2 and 1085v, 4 respectively, with *ātaxš abar...* || J5 has a portion of §9.12–9.14 with *ātaxš abar ēstīhē ... ān ī oīy bēšīšn wattom* found on p. 356, 6–10 and then repeated on p. 359, 15–19. 2 Mss., DkM, DkT ⟨YKOYM(W)N-yh'⟩ || DkS ⟨YKOYMW(N)-yh'⟩ || possibly to be read simply as *ēstē* for which, see SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], pp. 171–172. 3 A40 ⟨ZK Y⟩. 4 DH, K43b ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || B, J5, D10a, A40, DkM, DkS ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ || DkT ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ also cites K43b ⟨-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ in a note, and translates as ⟨بری⟩ "you (sing.) carry." 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS || B, J5, D10a, and A40 omit the following sequence *mēnōy hād abzār-it-ēw ī čiyōn ān dahēm kē pad ān harwist ox ī astōmand* and resume with *bē wardē*. 6 DkS emends to ⟨'pz'l-1'⟩. 7 Not in A40, D10a, DkM. 8 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨ZK'y'⟩ || B, A40 ⟨ZK ZK'y'⟩ || J5,

D10a ⟨ZKZK'y⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨ZK'y⟩. 9 J5 [p. 359, 16 (the second sequence)] ⟨hwšnyh⟩ and ⟨t'lykyh⟩ on the next line.

(9.11.13) *ud ēn-iz kū kē<sup>1</sup> ātaxš pabrēz kunēd<sup>2</sup> ā-š ān ī mahist<sup>3</sup> tarsagāyih<sup>4</sup> andar ohrmazd kard bawēd* ∴

(9.11.13) And this, too, that, (if) someone protects the Fire, then one will (thereby) have paid the greatest respect to Ohrmazd.

1 J5 ⟨AMT⟩ for *ka* presumably for ⟨MNW⟩ for *kē*. 2 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>i</sub>⟩. 3 DH, B, J5, D10a, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mhyst'⟩ || K43b ⟨mhst'⟩. 4 DH, B, A40, DkM, DkS ⟨tlsk'yih⟩ || J5 ⟨tlsk'yih⟩ superscripted on p. 356, 9 but ⟨tlsk'syh⟩ and ⟨tlsk'yih⟩ in the margin on p. 359, 18 || K43b, DkT ⟨tlsg'yh⟩ || D10a ⟨tlsk'yh⟩.

(9.11.14) *ahlawān šnāyēnīdārīh pablom ud<sup>1</sup> ān ī ōy bēšīšn wattom<sup>2</sup> ān ka hu-šnūd<sup>3</sup> frāyēnēnd dād ud<sup>4</sup> gēhān<sup>5</sup> kū bē + abzāyēnēnd<sup>6</sup> ∴* *{ka bišt rēšēnēnd dēw kū bē kāhēnd ∴*

(9.11.14) The propitiation (of the Fire) by the Righteous Ones is the best and harming him is the worst. When he is pleased, they further the Law and the world, that is, they make him increase. When he is tormented, the demons wound him, that is, they diminish (him).

1 B, J5, D10, DkM, DkS, DkT || omitted in DH, K43b. 2 DH, K43b, B, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨SLYAtwm⟩ || J5 ⟨SLYAtwm⟩ on p. 356, 10 but ⟨SLYAt' Y⟩ on p. 359, 19 [N.B., the last word]. J5 has half a blank page on p. 356, 10 and then has more than two and a half pages of *Dēnkard* Book 8 inserted [N.B., like D10a with which it is related]. The *Dēnkard* Book 9 portion of J5 resumes at §9.11.12 by repeating *ātaxš abar ēstīhē* ... on p. 359, 15 || D10a ⟨SLYAt'⟩. 3 J5 ⟨L⟩. 4 DkS, DkT ⟨Y⟩. 5 Mss. || DkT reads *gēhān* but translates as ⟨يزدان⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨pz'dynd⟩ || A40 ends the *fragard* here and the next line reads *yāzdahom fragard esn*. 7 Sequence omitted in J5, which jumps to §9.12.1.

(9.11.15) *ast ahlayih ābādīh pablom ∴ ∴*

(9.11.15) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

## Dēnkard 9.12.1–32 — Yasna Haptanḥāiti (Y 35–41)

DH 272r, 16 || K43b 25v, 2 || B 585, 6–586, 22

MR 154, 1–157, 12 || J5 360, 2<sup>1</sup>

D10a 587, 9–591, 9 || R50 114, 1<sup>2</sup> || R323b 629, 19–631, 19<sup>3</sup> || R49<sub>(2)</sub><sup>4</sup>  
500, 8–503, 14 || D12<sup>5</sup> 486, 13–490, 2

F2<sup>6</sup> 126, 14–131, 1 || A40<sup>7</sup> 1085v, 12–1087r, 8

DKM 796, 17 || DkS vol. xvii, 21 || DkT 28 [57]

WEST 189 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 18 || TAFAZZOLI 28 [57] || ASHA 56

1 J5 breaks off at §9.12.15 (see note below). 2 R50 covers §9.12.15–32 and begins where J5 and the other mss. end ... *pablom yazīšn ī ān ī āsrō* ... 3 R323b breaks off at §9.12.15. 4 R49<sub>2</sub> breaks off at §9.12.15. 5 D12 breaks off at §9.12.15. 6 F20 breaks off at §9.12.15. 7 A40 breaks off at §9.12.15.



(9.12.1) *11om fragard ēsn<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar hanjāman ī mēnōyān yazdān garzišn ī ātaxš rāy ud hanjāmanīg garzišn ī ātaxš abāg<sup>2</sup> guftan ī<sup>3</sup> ēn-iz kū nē<sup>4</sup> ēdar bawam ud az<sup>5</sup> ēdar ul uzam az zamīg abar ō asmān ānōh an rošnēnam<sup>6</sup> abar<sup>7</sup> ō<sup>8</sup> haft<sup>9</sup>-kišwar zamīg čiyōn māh ud xwaršēd ud star-iz ī bay-dād ka pad bām ī xwēš rošnēnēnd ∴<sup>10</sup>*

(9.12.1) The eleventh *fragard*, the *Yasna* (*Haptaḡhāiti*), is about the assembly of the gods in *that* world because of the complaint of the Fire; and the complaint of the Fire in the assembly together with this, too, that he said: ‘I shall not be here, and from here I will go up from the earth up to the sky. There I will illuminate the earth with its seven regions like the moon, the sun, and the stars — established by the Lord — too, when they illuminate by their own brilliance.’

1 Mss. ⟨'sn'⟩ = ⟨yysn'⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT || not in B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM. 3 Not in A40, DkM. 4 R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40 ⟨LY⟩ for ⟨LA⟩. 5 DH, K43b, B, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20. 6 DH, K43b, B, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨lwsšnynm⟩ || D10a ⟨lwyšmnynm⟩ || D10a, R49<sub>2</sub>, F20 ⟨lwyšmn ynm⟩ = ⟨LOYŠE YWM⟩ for *sar rōz* “beginning of the day.” 7 DH, K43b, DkT || not in B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkS, DkM. 8 Mss. ⟨'w'⟩. 9 K43b ⟨hphpp°⟩. 10 No divider in R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40.

(9.12.2) *ud gōwišn<sup>1</sup> ī ohrmazd abar rāst-garzišnīh ī ātaxš<sup>2</sup> andar gumēzagīh<sup>3</sup> ī dām ⟨ud⟩ ātaxš a-petyārag<sup>4</sup> dāštan nē +šāyistan<sup>5</sup> ud dahišn ī dām ō gētīy abāg petyāragōmandīh<sup>6</sup> ⟨ud⟩ ātaxš-iz az<sup>7</sup> [dāštan nē šāyistan ī] a-dahišnīh ī abāg a-petyāragīh [ī] ātaxš-iz<sup>8</sup> weh būd rāy ātaxš hursandēnīdan<sup>9</sup> ud pabrēz paydāgēnīdan<sup>10</sup> ∴<sup>11</sup>*

(9.12.2) And (about) Ohrmazd’s speech about the rightful complaint of the Fire, (being) in the Mixture of the Creation, (and) the impossibility of keeping the Fire without an Adversary; and the establishment of the creation in *this* world while having an Adversary; and also the impossibility of keeping the Fire from not being established while not having an Adversary; in order that the Fire was better as well, how to make the Fire content and how to make manifest his care.

1 K43b ⟨gwbšnyk⟩ with ⟨W Y⟩ superscripted. 2 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨'thš W⟩. 3 DH, K43b || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gwmhytkyh⟩ for *gumēxtagīh*. 4 DH, K43b, J5, DkS, DkT ⟨'pytyd'lk'⟩ || B, DkM ⟨'p'tyd'lk'⟩ || J5 ⟨'pytyd'lk' Y⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨š'dytn'⟩ = ⟨š'stn'⟩ || B, D10a, J5, DkM ⟨š'dyt'⟩ || DkS ⟨š'dytn'⟩ following K43b || DkT ⟨š'dytn'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨نشاید⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkT add ⟨Y⟩ || R323b, F20, DkM ⟨pytyd'lk' wmn'dyh⟩ || R49<sub>2</sub> ⟨pytyd'lk'⟩ and ⟨'wmn'dyh⟩ on the next line || D12 ⟨pytyd'lk' wmn'd⟩ with ⟨yh⟩ superscripted at the end of line || DkS ⟨pytyd'lk'wmn'dyh⟩. 7 DH and K43b omit the following sequence. 8 K43b omits ⟨-c⟩. 9 DH, K43b ⟨hrsndynyt'n'⟩ || B, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨hrsndynyt'n'⟩ with no diacritic || DkT ⟨hrsndynyt'n'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨خوردندید⟩. 10 B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pyt'kynyt'n'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨pytynyt'n'⟩. 11 No divider in R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40.

(9.12.3) *ud<sup>1</sup> guftan ī<sup>2</sup> ātaxš kū agar<sup>3</sup> nē + anīy<sup>4</sup> ēwēnag-ēw az ān kū ēdōn čiyōn-im xwāyišn kard kū ēdōn<sup>5</sup> an rošnēnam<sup>6</sup> ohrmazd āgāh hē andar dāmān kū ēdōn nē šāyam<sup>7</sup> dād<sup>8</sup> ēg man ohrmazd stān<sup>9</sup> ēg man ānōh bē dah<sup>10</sup> pad<sup>11</sup> mayān<sup>12</sup> ērān-wēz ∴<sup>13</sup>*

(9.12.3) And (about) the Fire saying: ‘If it is not different from the manner as I requested, that is, I will illuminate in this manner, O Ohrmazd, You are aware

that among the creatures I cannot be established in this manner. So, take me, O Ohrmazd! So, establish me there, in the middle of the Expanse of the Iranians!

1 DH, K43b, DkT || not in B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS. 2 B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b, J5. 3 DH, K43b, DkT || not in B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS. 4 Mss. (ZK). 5 Omitted in K43b. 6 R49<sub>2</sub> ⟨lwsntwm⟩ and ⟨ynm⟩ superscripted. 7 K43b ⟨šdyy⟩. 8 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || B has a blank space followed by ⟨t'⟩ || D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40 ⟨t'⟩ with no space, suggesting that they are copies of B. 9 DH, K43b ⟨YNSBN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YNSBWN⟩. 10 A40 ⟨YHBBWN-t'⟩ with the ⟨-t'⟩ crossed out. 11 B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, DkM, DkS, DkT || J5 ⟨APWN⟩ || DH ⟨W PWN⟩ at the end of fol. 272v, 5 and ⟨W PWN⟩ repeated at the beginning of fol. 272v, 6 || K43b ⟨YHBBWN W PWN WPWN⟩. 12 DkT ⟨(Y)⟩. 13 No divider in R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40.

(9.12.4) *stānēš<sup>1</sup> ātaxš ī abzōnīg<sup>2</sup> kē dādār<sup>3</sup> ohrmazd u-š ān bē sūdāg<sup>4</sup> andar mān<sup>5</sup> dād pad ham-barišnīh ayārīh* ∴<sup>6</sup>

(9.12.4) May You take (me), the beneficent Fire, whose Creator is Ohrmazd! And, having rubbed him [*i.e.*, the Fire], He [*i.e.*, Ohrmazd] established him in a house in order to help with the gathering [*i.e.*, of other fires].

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YNSBWN-X<sub>2</sub>-š⟩ || B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20 ⟨YNSBWN-ym-š⟩ || J5, A40 ⟨YNSBWN-X<sub>2</sub>-ydy⟩ || for this form, see the discussion in SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], pp. 149–194, in particular p. 157 and for a Table of verbal forms found in the *Sūdgar Nask* — Dk 9.12.4, 5, 27, 31; 9.19.3; 9.20.7 (p. 185). 2 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨pzwnyk MNW⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM ⟨pzw'n Y MN⟩. 3 A40, DkM, DkT ⟨d't'l'whrmzd⟩. 4 A40 ⟨ZK Y swt'⟩. 5 J5 has ⟨مان⟩ subscripted in NP || A40 ⟨m'n BRA YHBBWN-t⟩. 6 No divider in R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40.

(9.12.5) *u-š ēdōn pad gōwišn<sup>1</sup> guft kū ēdōn tō kē man ātaxš hē rōyišnēnēš<sup>2</sup> pad<sup>3</sup> harwist<sup>4</sup> mān kū rasē ud harwist wis ud harwist zand ud harwist<sup>5</sup> deh<sup>6</sup> ud ēdōn tō burzānd<sup>7</sup> āb ud urwar ud kē-z ahlawān frawabr ka tō pad<sup>8</sup> bē-abetespārišnīh<sup>9</sup> zōhr<sup>10</sup> frāz<sup>11</sup> barēnd mardōm ka ō tō ēsm frāz barēnd ī hušk ī pad rōšnīh nigerīd u-š ēdōn guft kū ēn ādur gušnāsp<sup>12</sup>* ∴

(9.12.5) And thus He [*i.e.*, Ohrmazd] spoke, saying: ‘In this manner, may you, who are my Fire, cause growth in every dwelling where you come, and in every village, every tribe, and every land; and thus, they shall exalt you — the waters and plants and also the Pre-souls of the Righteous Ones — when humans bring libations entrusted to you, when they bring you firewood that is dry and inspected by light.’ And thus, He said: ‘This (is) the Gušnāsp Fire.’

1 J5 ⟨gwbšn Y⟩. 2 DH ⟨lwyšnynyš⟩ || K43b ⟨lwyšn ynyš⟩ || B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, DkM ⟨lwyšn'nyš⟩ || J5, F20, A40, DkS ⟨lwyšn'nyš⟩ || DkT ⟨lwyšnynyš⟩ and transcribes as ⟨روشنانی⟩ || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 185. 3 DH, K43b ⟨PWN WN⟩. 4 DH, K43b ⟨hlwst'⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hlwsp'⟩. 5 DH, K43b, J5 ⟨W hlwst'⟩ || B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkT ⟨hlwsp'⟩ without the preceding ⟨W⟩ || DkS ⟨W hlwsp'⟩. 6 DH, K43b ⟨MTA.⟩ || K43b ⟨W MTA.⟩. 7 DH, K43b ⟨bwlc'n'd⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS ⟨bwlcynd⟩ || DkT ⟨bwlcynd⟩. 8 DH, K43b ⟨PWN BRA⟩ for *pad bē* || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨BRA PWN⟩ for *bē pad*. 9 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'psp'lšnyh⟩ || B ⟨'psk'lšnyh⟩ with ⟨'n⟩ and ⟨'p⟩ superscripted || D10a, J5, D12, F20, A40 ⟨'psk'lšnyh⟩ || R323b, R49<sub>2</sub> ⟨'psk'lšnyh⟩. 10 R323b ⟨zwłhl⟩ with the first ⟨l⟩ crossed out. 11 B has the

sequence *frāz barēnd mardom ka ō tō ēsm frāz barēnd hušk pad rōšn* written above p. 586, 1. 12 DH, K43b, DkS ⟨gwšn'sp'⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkT ⟨gwšn'sp'⟩ || D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, A40, DkM repeat the sequence *zōhr ēdōn frāz barēnd mardōm ka ō tō ēsm frāz barēnd hušk pad rōšnih nigerid u-š ēdōn guft kū ēn ādūr gušnasp*, presumably to copy the sequence written above p. 586, 1 in B.

(9.12.6) *ud abar*<sup>1</sup> *hāwand-mizdih ī drūdār*<sup>2</sup> *ud parišidār ud rōšnēnidār ī ēsm ka har* 3 *dōšāram rāy kunēnd*<sup>3</sup> *hāwand-ablāyih bēnd* ∴

(9.12.6) And about the identical reward for the one who reaps, the one who inspects, and the one who kindles the firewood; when all three do it out of love, they are equal in Righteousness.

1 DH (W QDM h'w n d) with ⟨mzd̄yh⟩ on the next line || K43b ⟨QDM h'wnd⟩ written at the bottom of fol. 25v and ⟨mzd̄h⟩ on fol. 26r, 1 and ⟨mzd̄yh⟩ superscripted || B ⟨QDM⟩ and ⟨h'wnd mzd̄yh⟩ on the next line || J5, DkM, DkS ⟨QDM h'wnd mzd̄yh⟩ || D10a, DkT ⟨QDM h'wnd mzd̄yh⟩. 2 B, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM ⟨dlwt'1 Y W⟩ || DkS, DkT ⟨dlwt'1 W⟩ || not in DH, K43b. 3 K43b ⟨OBYDWN⟩ quite smudged.

(9.12.7) *ud abar čibrīh*<sup>1</sup>-*mizdih ī āsnūdār ud pāk- ud pādyāb-kardār ī ān ī<sup>2</sup> ātaxš sraxt*<sup>3</sup> *ud ēsm abar-burdār*<sup>4</sup> *ud frāz-āsnādār ud frāz-kardār ī ātaxš ud bē-burdār ī ēsm ī garān framūd*<sup>5</sup> *dādīg-kār dēg*<sup>6</sup> *ud kudāmag*<sup>7</sup> *aziš wināh ī ōy [ī] jumbēnidār* ∴

(9.12.7) And about the reward in kind of the one who purifies the corner/side [= Av. *šraxti-*] of the fire (altar) and the one who makes (it) clean and pure; and (about) the one who brings the firewood; the one who washes (it); the one who makes the Fire; and the one who removes the firewood, for which a cauldron, made in accordance with the Law, is ordered; (and about) the sin of the one who moves the leftovers from him.

1 DH, K43b, DkS ⟨cyhlyh⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkT ⟨cyhl⟩. 2 Not in DkT. 3 DH, B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkT ⟨sl'ht'⟩ || K43b ⟨slht' W⟩ || DkM ⟨sl'htn'⟩ || DkS ⟨slht W⟩. 4 K43b ⟨b'lr'⟩. 5 DkT ⟨plmw't'⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨dyg⟩ = ⟨dyy⟩ or ⟨ds⟩ || B, J5, D10a, DkM, DkS ⟨dyg⟩ = ⟨yyy⟩ || R323b ⟨wkw⟩ and ⟨thmk'⟩ for *tohmag* on the next line. 7 DkT transcribes as (مانند آن).

(9.12.8) *ud abar zadār ī ān ī ātaxš sraxt*<sup>1</sup> ∴ *ud abar-burdār*<sup>2</sup> *ī-š ān*<sup>3</sup> *ī tarr ēsm* ∴

(9.12.8) And about the one who strikes the corner/side of the fire (altar); and about the one who brings damp firewood upon it.

1 DH, B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkT ⟨sl'ht'⟩ || K43b, DkS ⟨slht'⟩. 2 K43b ⟨b'ltwl⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨ZK Y tl⟩ || B, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40 ⟨ZKtl⟩ || DkM ⟨zylt⟩.

(9.12.9) *abar āfrīn ī ātaxš ō mardōmān kē*<sup>1</sup> *aziš hu-šnūd* ∴

(9.12.9) About the blessing of the Fire for people from whom he receives satisfaction.

1 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨MNW⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM ⟨ANŠWTA'n' MN hwšnwt'⟩ for *mardōmān az hušnūd*.

(9.12.10) *ud abar andarz ī abar nē burdan*<sup>1</sup> *ī ō ātaxš ān ī az duz ud*<sup>2</sup> *appar zōhr*<sup>3</sup> *ud garān*<sup>4</sup>-*publih ī ōy ī<sup>5</sup> burd*<sup>6</sup> *ālūd [ī] ud rēškenih ī ātaxš az*<sup>7</sup> *ān ī<sup>8</sup> ka ōy-iz ī-š hu-barišn yazēd*<sup>9</sup> *az āhōg-gōwišn ī dēwān* <sup>+</sup>*wani-būd*<sup>10</sup> ∴

(9.12.10) And about the advice regarding not carrying libations from a thief and from theft to the Fire; and there being such grievous punishment for the one who carried (and) polluted (him); and the harming of the Fire from that one too who when sacrificing to him (with) a good offering, (yet still) came to ruin from the sinful [lit. ‘faulty’] speech of the demons.

1 Mss. ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 2 Not in DkM, DkT. 3 DH, K43b, J5 ⟨zwhl⟩ for *zōhr* “libation” || B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨zwl⟩ for *zōr* “power, strength.” 4 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT have *garān-publīh ī ōy ī burd...* without the sequence *garān dēwān ōwōn būd* || B, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM have *garān dēwān ōwōn būd publī ō ī burd...* 5 Not in D10a. 6 B, J5, D10a, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨YĀLWN-X<sub>2</sub> ‘lwwt’ Y⟩ as one word || B, R323b, A40 ⟨‘lwwt’ Y Y⟩ || J5 R49<sub>2</sub>, D12 ⟨‘l wwt’ Y⟩ || F20 ⟨‘l⟩ at the end of p. 129, 13 and ⟨wwt’ Y⟩ at the beginning of p. 129, 14 || DkS ⟨‘lwwtyh⟩. 7 K43b (MN) and ⟨M ZK⟩ on the next line. 8 Not in DkT. 9 DH, DkS, DkT ⟨ycyt’ MN⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40 ⟨ycyt’ MN⟩ || K43b ⟨ycyt’ Y MN⟩ || DkM ⟨scyt’ MN⟩. 10 B, J5, D10a, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨AWDWN YHHWN-t’⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨AWDWN YHHWN-t’⟩ presumably for ⟨AWBDN YHHWN-t’⟩ for \**wanī-būd* “destroyed, ruined.”

(9.12.11) *ud ēn-iz kū az ān ī ātaxš a-pahrēzišnīh ka zan az pūsar-tanīh<sup>1</sup> abāgēnīd nē pad harwist daštān-māh dahēnd<sup>2</sup> ān ī<sup>3</sup> zabāg<sup>4</sup> pus<sup>5</sup> ∙<sup>6</sup>*

(9.12.11) And this, too, it is from the Fire not being tended that, if a woman is pregnant [lit. ‘having a son (in her) body’], they [*i.e.*, the gods] do not give a son to the one who sired him [*i.e.*, the potential father], every time they perform their conjugal duties.

1 DH, K43b ⟨pwsltnyh⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pwslyh⟩ || WEST (1892, p. 192) has ⟨pūs radīh⟩ “propensity for a son.” 2 K43b ⟨YHĪWN-t⟩ with ⟨d⟩ superscripted. 3 Not in DkT. 4 DH ⟨zh’k’⟩ at the end of fol. 273r, 2 || DkT ⟨zh’k’ (Y)⟩. 5 B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨BRE⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨pws⟩. 6 No divider in R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40.

(9.12.12) *ud abar tōzišn ī frōwišn<sup>1</sup> ud abārīg a-dādīh ī pad ātaxš<sup>2</sup> bawēd mardōm kē<sup>3</sup> ātaxš<sup>4</sup> [ī] ō sālārīh mad ēstēd ud nē dādīhā sālārēnēd ∙*

(9.12.12) And about the penalty for extinguishing (him) and the other illegality that happens to the Fire; (about) people into whose guardianship the Fire has come, and (who) do not exercise guardianship according to the Law.

1 Mss. ⟨plwbšn’⟩ || WEST (1892, p. 192, fn. 1) conjectures a ⟨PWN⟩ with the ⟨WN⟩ lost prior to ⟨lwbšn’⟩ but cf. NP فرو نشاندن lit. “to make sit down” or “to extinguish” in STEINGASS 1892, p. 925. 2 DH, K43b, DkT || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, F20, DkM, DkS ⟨‘thš Y⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨MNW⟩ || B, D10a, J5, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, DkM, DkS ⟨MN⟩. 4 B, D10a, R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, F20, A40, DkM, DkS ⟨‘thš Y⟩ || not found in DH, K43b, J5.

(9.12.13) *ud abar andarz ī ō zardu(x)št pad čegām-iz-ēw ī xwarēd yazdān yaštan ud an-yašt<sup>1</sup> nē xwardan ∙<sup>2</sup>*

(9.12.13) And about the advice to Zardušt about sacrificing to the gods whatever one eats and not eating what is not consecrated [lit. ‘not sacrificed’].

1 DH, K43b ⟨‘nyšt’⟩ || B, D10a, J5 ⟨‘nyšt’⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨‘nyšt’⟩ with DkT transcribing as ⟨نايشته⟩ || [N.B., this reading also suggested independently in ASHA 2007, p. 61]. 2 No divider in R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, A40.

(9.12.14) *ud abar kāmag ī ganāg mēnōy kū ma<sup>1</sup> kas kunād<sup>2</sup> yazišn ud niyāyišn ī yazdān ud ma xwadāy ud dastwar dārānd<sup>3</sup> kū-šān ma kāmag barwād ī<sup>4</sup> ō ēc frārōnih<sup>5</sup> ∴*

(9.12.14) And about the desire of the Foul Spirit that no one shall perform a *Yasna* and *Niyāyišn* to the gods and that they shall not have a ruler and (priestly) authority, so that they shall have no desire to do anything honest.

1 B ⟨AHL⟩ and then ⟨AL⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>-t(′)⟩ || A40 ⟨OBYDWN-t⟩. 3 DH ⟨YHSNN-nd⟩ || K43b ⟨YHSNN-yn⟩ with something like ⟨wđ⟩ crossed out and ⟨đ⟩ superscripted || B, D10a, J5, A40 ⟨YHSNN-X<sub>2</sub>-d⟩ || R323b, R49<sub>2</sub>, D12, F20, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YHSNN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 4 Not in A40, DkS, DkT. 5 J5, D12 ⟨plw'lwnyh⟩.

(9.12.15) *ud abar andarz ī pad abāyistōmandīhā<sup>1</sup> yaštan ī yazdān pad ān<sup>2</sup> ī pah-lom<sup>3</sup> yazišn ud ān<sup>4</sup> ī āsrō ī a-wināh ud mayānag ān ī<sup>5</sup> āsrō kē-š wināh nē frāy az ēk arduš<sup>+</sup>ō<sup>6</sup> bun ∴ ud ān ī nidom ān ī<sup>7</sup> āsrō kē-š nē frāy az xwar-ēw pad bun ∴*

(9.12.15) And about the advice about how to sacrifice properly to the gods: with a best sacrifice and with a priest [= Av. *āθrauuā-*] who is without sin; and a medium (sacrifice with) a priest whose sin is no more than one *arduš* [= Av. *arəduš-*, i.e., a degree of sin whose punishment was a light ‘stroke, blow’] to his account; and the lowest (sacrifice with) a priest who has no more than one *xwar* [= Av. *x<sup>v</sup>ara-*, i.e., a slightly heavier degree of sin whose punishment was a ‘wound’ that cuts into the flesh to a depth of half a finger] to his account.

1 DH, K43b, B, D10a, R49<sub>2</sub>, A40, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'p'st'wmndyh'⟩ || J5 ⟨'p'st'wmndyh'⟩ || R323b ⟨'p'st'wmn'dyh'⟩ || D12 ⟨'p'st'wmn'⟩ with ⟨dyh'⟩ superscripted at the end of the line || F20 ⟨'p'st'wmndyh'⟩. 2 J5 ends here || R323b ⟨ZK Y MNW ZK⟩ with ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub> MN⟩ on the next page (p. 632) followed by a divider and ⟨*taš mazda tauua xšaθrəm*⟩ in Avestan || R49<sub>2</sub> ⟨ZK Y MNW ZK OBYDWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ at the end of p. 503, 14 and ⟨MN⟩ on the next page followed by a divider and ⟨*taš mazda tauua xšaθrəm*⟩ in Av. || D12, F20 ⟨ZK Y MNW ZK⟩ with ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub> MN⟩ followed by a divider and ⟨*taš mazda tauua xšaθrəm*⟩ in Av. || A40 ⟨ZK Y MNW ZK OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub> MN⟩ followed by ⟨*taš mazda tauua xšaθrəm*⟩ in Av. with no divider separating the Pahl. from the following Av. sequence. 3 R50 begins here. 4 K43b ⟨KK⟩. 5 Not in DkT. 6 Mss. have *a-bun* or *2-bun*. 7 Not in DkT.

(9.12.16) *ud kē andar wis ī mazdēsān pas az 15 sāl a-srūd-gāhān pad wināhgārīh čiyōn sag ōy<sup>1</sup> pih abgand ud wināh ī drāyān-žōyišnīh ō bun būd ud a-padīrīšnīgīh<sup>2</sup> ī-š<sup>3</sup> ruwān az mānsrspand ∴<sup>4</sup>*

(9.12.16) And (how) the one who, in a Mazdean village, after 15 years (of age), had not recited the *Gāθās* was in a state of sinfulness, like a dog being thrown a piece of meat; and the sin of chewing while chattering went to his/her account, and (how) his/her soul will not be worthy of being received by the Sacred Word [= Av. *māθra-spənta-*].

1 DH, K43b ⟨OLE⟩ for *ōy* “(s)he, it” || MR, R50, DkS ⟨OLE-š'n'⟩ for *awēšān* “they, those” || DkM ⟨OLE⟩ and ⟨š'n'⟩ on the next line || DkT ⟨OLE-š'n'⟩ for ⟨ایشان⟩ and in the transcription adds ⟨(ای او)⟩ “for it.” 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'ptylšnykyh⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨'ptylšnyh⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨ZY-š⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨ZY-š MN⟩. 4 Not in MR.

(9.12.17) *ud abar madan ī pad har zamān astwihād<sup>1</sup> ō ōšōmandān kē ōš mad ēstēd<sup>2</sup> ⟨ud⟩<sup>3</sup> kē-z nē ∴*

(9.12.17) And about Astwihād [= Av. Astō.vīdātu, lit. ‘the bone-untier,’ *i.e.*, the demon of death] coming to mortals at any time, both to those for whom death has come and also for whom it has not (yet come).

1 MR ⟨'stw h't'⟩. 2 MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YKOYMWN-yt(')⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨YKO-yt'⟩. 3 R50 has a divider here.

(9.12.18) *ud abar menišn<sup>1</sup> ī druwandān<sup>2</sup> kū nē ast ān ī pablom axwān nē rasēd frašgird-kardārīh ud nē rist<sup>3</sup> pad ān ul<sup>+</sup> hangēzēnēnd<sup>4</sup> ∴ ud nē ān wardišn rasēd ∴*

(9.12.18) And about how the wicked think: ‘There is no Best Existence, the Renovation will not come, the dead will not be raised in/during it, and *that* transformation [lit. ‘turning,’ originally the last turn of the heavenly racecourse] will not come.’

1 MR, R50 ⟨wmy'n'sn' myn'sn'⟩. 2 K43b ⟨dl'wnd'n⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨lst'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨lyst'⟩ || DkM ⟨lst'⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨'wstynynd⟩ for *ēstēnēnd* presumably for the almost identical ⟨hngc'ynynd⟩ for *hangēzēnēnd*, but see below.

(9.12.19) *ud ēn-iz kū drō ō ham nigerēnd druwand cē ast ān ī pablom axwān rasēd frašgird-kardārīh<sup>1</sup> ī web ud ul rist pad ān ēstēnēnd<sup>2</sup> ud ēdōn ān wardišn rasēd ∴*

(9.12.19) And this, too, that the wicked consider it a deception: ‘What is the Best Existence? Will the Renovation of the good come? And will they raise the dead by it? And will *that* transformation come in this way?’

1 K43b ⟨krt'lyh⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YKOYMN-yn-ynd'⟩ || MR ⟨YKOYMWN-ynd'⟩ || R50 ⟨YKOYMN-ynd'⟩.

(9.12.20) *ud abar andarz ī pad šēwan ud mōy abar widerdagān<sup>1</sup> nē kardan ud pas az bē widerišnīh<sup>2</sup> hamāg snōhišn<sup>3</sup> ō menišn nē abzāyēnīdan ⟨ud⟩ bēšišn ī mēnōy-iz<sup>4</sup> ī xānag az kardan ī<sup>5</sup> šēwan ud mōy abar widerdagān ∴*

(9.12.20) And about the advice not to mourn and lament over the departed, and after all has passed away, not to add lamentations into (one’s) mind; (and about) the harm done also to the ‘Spirit of the House’ from mourning and lamenting over the departed.

1 DH, MR, R50, DkM, DkT ⟨wtlkt'n(')⟩ || K43b ⟨wtwltk'n⟩. 2 DkS ⟨Y⟩. 3 MR, DkS ⟨snwh'sn'⟩ || DH, DkM, DkT ⟨snw h'sn'⟩ || K43b ⟨ḍyn' h'sn'⟩ || cf. TAFAZZOLI 1971, p. 194 who suggested such a reading for *snōb-* “to lament.” 4 DH, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT || K43b has *mēnōy čiyōn ox*. 5 MR, R50 ⟨m'n⟩ || not in DH, K43b || DkM ⟨krt'n' Y MN šywn' W mwḍ'⟩ for *kardan ī az šēwan ud mōy*.

(9.12.21) *ud ēn-iz kū ablawān frawahr az pas ī<sup>1</sup> xwēš yazišn ud āfrīn ī mardān ī ablawān xwāyēnd nē šēwan ud mōy<sup>2</sup> ∴*

(9.12.21) And this, too, that the Pre-souls of the Righteous Ones seek sacrifices for themselves and the blessings of Righteous Men — not mourning and lamentations.

1 MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b. 2 MR, DkS ⟨mwḍ'⟩ || DH ⟨mwwḍ'⟩ with the ⟨ḍ⟩ only partially visible || K43b ⟨mwwḍ'⟩ || DkT ⟨mwy'⟩.

(9.12.22) *ud ēn-iz kū nē har kas tan abāg ruwān ham-kāmag<sup>1</sup> bawēd xwarišn ān<sup>2</sup> tan kāmag ud xwāstag-iz hambār ∴<sup>3</sup> ablāyēnīdārīh<sup>4</sup> ruwān kāmag ∴ ud dās-r-iz ī bē dahēnd ∴*

(9.12.22) And this, too, not every person's body has the same desire as their soul; that body desires food and also an accumulation of wealth; the desire of the soul is to make (others) Righteous and the gifts [= Av. *dāšra-*] too that they [*i.e.*, people] give (to others in *this* world).

1 DH, MR, DkS, DkT ⟨hmk'mk'⟩ || K43b ⟨hmk'⟩ || DkM ⟨hmk'mk'⟩. 2 MR, R50 ⟨ZK ZK⟩ || DkT ⟨ZK (Y)⟩. 3 No divider in MR, R50. 4 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT || MR, R50 ⟨'hl'yhdynyt'l⟩.

(9.12.23) *abar pursišn ī ablaw<sup>1</sup> zardu(x)št kū kē ast kē harwist<sup>2</sup> wehīb ud pahlomīb az xwēš appārenīd estēd nē appārenīd menēd ud nē ān<sup>3</sup> zyān garzēd<sup>4</sup> ∴*

(9.12.23) About the Righteous Zardušt's question: 'Who is it who has stolen all goodness and excellence from one's own (family) (but) does not think one has stolen it and does not complain about that (as) harm?'

1 Not in DH, K43b. 2 Mss., DkM, DkS || DkT ⟨hlwsp'⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, R50. 4 DH, K43b, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR ⟨glcšn'⟩.

(9.12.24) *ud passox ī ohrmazd kū ōy ast (ī) az ān ī xwēš uzwān zīnēnīd<sup>1</sup> estēd pad saxwan frāz-gōwišnīh kū pad drō guftan marg-arzān<sup>2</sup> būd estēd<sup>3</sup> ∴*

(9.12.24) And Ohrmazd's reply: 'It is the one who has caused damage from one's own tongue by what one has said forth, that is, by uttering lies, one has become (a sinner) worthy of death.'

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨zynynyt'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨zynyt'⟩. 2 DH, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mlg'lc'n⟩ || K43b ⟨mlg'lc'n⟩. 3 DkM, DkS ⟨YKOMWN-yt'⟩ || noted in DkT.

(9.12.25) *ud ēn-iz kū \*zay<sup>1</sup> ast gan(n)āg mēnōy sneh ud<sup>2</sup> ēdōn bowandag-menišnīh spandarmad [ud<sup>3</sup>] xwadāyīh<sup>4</sup> ud ēdōn druz \*nāyēn-ōzīh<sup>5</sup> ka mard garān-menišnīh rāy nē passox kū garān-menišnīh rāy drō nē gōwēd ∴*

(9.12.25) And this, too, there is a Weapon [= Av. *zaiia-* 'weapon'] which will strike the Foul Spirit, and, thus, balance-mindedness (*i.e.*) Spandarmad will have Sovereignty; and, thus, the 'Lie' will have weaker strength when a man due to thinking grievous thoughts does not answer, that is, (even) due to thinking grievous thoughts one (still) does not speak a lie.

1 DH ⟨zydh⟩ or ⟨zydy⟩ || K43b, DkM ⟨zyš⟩ || MR ⟨zydh⟩ or ⟨zyš⟩ || DkS ⟨zgš⟩ "weapon" || DkT ⟨zyš⟩ and translates as ⟨کش⟩ for *ke-š*. 2 DH, K43b || not in MR, R50, DkM, DkT || DkS ⟨sneš, aēdūn⟩ with the two words hyphenated in the printed Pahlavi text. 3 Deleted in DkT. 4 DH, MR, R50, DkM, DkT ⟨hwt'yh⟩ || K43b ⟨hwt'yh⟩ || DkS ⟨hwt'yh⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨ndy'dyn'wcyh⟩ || MR ⟨ndy'dyn'wcyh⟩ || DkT ⟨(Y) ndy'dyn'wcyh⟩ and transcribes as ⟨دروج ناییدن اوزی⟩ || DkM ⟨ndy'dyn'wcyh⟩ || DkS ⟨vēh daēnô-aōjīh⟩ for *weh dēn-ōzīh*.

(9.12.26) *ud ēn-iz kū ān pad ān ī hazār tā<sup>1</sup> zōhr dēwān yazēd kē pēš az ān ī dānāg zōd ōy ī a-dahm pad zōdīh estēnēd<sup>2</sup> ∴*

(9.12.26) And this, too, that the one who installs one who is unqualified as a *zōd* [= Av. *zaotar-*, *i.e.*, an officiating priest] before a knowledgeable *zōd*, sacrifices to the demons with a thousand libations.

1 Mss. ⟨t'⟩ for *tā*, a measure word for "unit" in NP. 2 Mss., DkS, DkT ⟨YKOYMWN-yn-yt'⟩ || DkM ⟨YKOYMWN-yn-yt'⟩.

(9.12.27) *ud ēn-iz kū ōy ī dahm pad zōdih* [*ī*<sup>1</sup>] *ēstēnēs<sup>2</sup> ma ōy ī a-dahm* ∴<sup>3</sup> *čē ēdōn tō frāz-rasišnih* *ī<sup>4</sup> ō<sup>5</sup> garōdmān* ∴

(9.12.27) And this, too: ‘You should install as *zōd* one who is qualified, not one who is unqualified, for in this way, you shall arrive to *Garōdmān* [= OAv. *garō. dāmāna-*, lit. ‘the House of Song’].’

1 MR, R50 || not in DH, K43b, DkM, DkT. 2 DH, K43b (AYTgnyš) || MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (AYTynyš) || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 185. 3 MR has a (W) before (ME) || not in DH, K43b, R50. 4 Deleted in DkT. 5 Mss. (OL) || K43b (AL).

(9.12.28) *ud ēn-iz kū duš-zōd wattar az* *\*a-zōdih*<sup>1</sup> ∴

(9.12.28) And this, too, a bad *zōd* is worse than \*not having an Office of the *zōd*.

1 Mss. (zwtyh) || DkT suggested emending to (a-zwtyh) for *\*a-zōdih* in a fn. and emends his transcription to (عی) (زونی).

(9.12.29) *ud ēn-iz kū ōy ī wināh-āyōxtār pēš<sup>1</sup> wahuman az* [*mēnōyān*<sup>2</sup>] *menišn ānābībēd pas aboxšāyišn<sup>3</sup>* ∴ *ud pas šarm ud pas niyōšīdārīh ud pas pad ān druz<sup>4</sup> wināhgārīh mibrōdruz<sup>5</sup> bawēd* ∴

(9.12.29) And this, too, first, the one yoked to sin is made to reject Wahuman from (one’s) thoughts, then there is (self) pity, and then shame, and listening [*i.e.*, to the demons], and because of those sinful acts by that ‘Lie,’ one becomes a ‘Contract-believer’ [= Av. *miθrō.druj-*].

1 MR, R50, DkT (w hwmn MN) || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS (pyš HWE-t). 2 MR, J5 (mynwy’n’ mynšn’ Y) || not in DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (n.b., *mēnōyān* and *menišn* look similar). 3 DH, K43b (‘pwhš’yšn’) || MR, R50 (‘pwhšyšn’ Y AHL šlm nykšyt’lyh AHL PWN ZK) || DkM (‘pw hšyšn’y ∴ W AHL šlm W AHL nywkšyt’l W AHL PWN ZK) || DkS (‘pwhš’yšn’yh W AHL šlm W AHL nywkšyt’lyh · W AHL PWN ZK) || DkT (‘pwhš’yšn’) but transcribes as (بخشش). 4 MR, R50, DkM, DkS || not in DH, K43b, DkT. 5 DkM (mtr’ Y dlwc’).

(9.12.30) *ud ēn-iz kū<sup>1</sup> harwist<sup>2</sup> mard ī rēšīdār<sup>3</sup> pēš ān ī ham-barišnih burdan<sup>4</sup> ud āsrō-z ī srāyišn-āyōxtār ud āsrō-z ī ādehīg ud āsrō-z ī uzdehīg ud āsrō-z ī xwēš<sup>5</sup> xwēšāwand* ∴<sup>6</sup>

(9.12.30) And this, too, that they will bring every man who wounds (others) before the gathering (namely): A priest who is (correctly) yoked to recitation, a priest in the land, a priest in a \*neighboring land, and a priest who is one’s own kin as well.

1 Not in MR, R50. 2 DH, K43b || MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (hlwsp’). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, R50 (lyšyt’lyh). 4 Mss. (YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>). 5 Mss. (NPŠE hwyš’wnd). 6 No divider in R50.

(9.12.31) *ēdōn ō tō gōwam spitāmān kū ma mibr<sup>1</sup> abar<sup>2</sup> drōzēš<sup>3</sup> ma ka abāg druwandān ham-pursē<sup>4</sup> kū pašt<sup>5</sup> kunēnd<sup>6</sup> u-š meh-dādestānih andar nē<sup>7</sup> hād<sup>8</sup> ma ka abāg xwēš-dēnān ī ahlawān pad čiš-iz meh-dādestānih<sup>9</sup> čē har<sup>10</sup> 2-ān mibr ast druwandān-iz<sup>11</sup> ud ahlawān-iz* ∴

(9.12.31) ‘Thus I say to you O Spitāmān [= Zardušt], you shall not belie the Contract, neither when you conclude (it) with the wicked, that is, they make an agreement, and there will be no higher Law (that will permit you to belie it), nor, as it were, when (it is) with the Righteous Ones of one’s own Tradition, not even by anything (appealing) to a higher Law, because a Contract is for both — the wicked ones and also the Righteous Ones.’



1 MR, DkS ⟨mtrwk⟩. 2 Not in MR, DkS. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨dlwcyš⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨dlwcš⟩ || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 185. 4 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨hmpwrsydy⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨hmpwrskydy⟩ || DkM ⟨hmpwrsydy⟩. 5 DH, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pšt'⟩ || K43b ⟨pwšt'⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, R50 ⟨l'd⟩. 8 MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨HWE-t'⟩ || DH ⟨HWE-t W⟩ || K43b ⟨HWE-d W⟩. 9 DH, DkM, DkT, DkS ⟨msd'tst'nyh⟩ || K43b ⟨msd'tst'nyh⟩ || MR ⟨ms d'tst'nyh⟩. 10 DH, K43b ⟨KRA 'n mtr'⟩ || MR ⟨KRA 2 Y 'nmtr'⟩ || R50 ⟨KRA 2 'nmtr'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨KRA 2 mtr'⟩. 11 MR ⟨dlwn'd'n-c⟩.

(9.12.32) *ast ābādīh ablāyīh pahlom* :: ::

(9.12.32) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard* 9.13.1–10 — *Uštāuwaitī Hāiti* (Y 43.1–16)

DH 274r, 1 || K43b 27r, 14 || J5 364, 17 || MR 157, 13 || R50 116, 9

DkM 801, 1 || DkS vol. xvii, 30 || DkT 40 [68]

WEST 195 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 25 || TAFAZZOLI 42 [70] || ASHA 66

(9.13.1) *dwāzdahom<sup>1</sup> fragard uštwait<sup>2</sup> :: abar burzišnīgīh<sup>3</sup> ī zardu(x)št pad hu-  
šnūdīh ī āb ud<sup>4</sup> emēd ī awiš harwist<sup>5</sup> dām* ::

(9.13.1) The twelfth *fragard*, the *Uštāuwaitī*, is about the praiseworthiness of Zardušt for satisfying the water(s) and the hope of all creatures in him.

1 J5 ⟨w⟩ subscripted in NP. 2 MR, J5 ⟨'wšt'w 'yt'⟩ || R50, DkS ⟨'wšt'w'yt'⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨'wšt'yt'⟩. 3 K43b ⟨bwlcyyh⟩. 4 DkT ⟨Y⟩ || not in DkM. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨hlwsp'⟩.

(9.13.2) *ud abar nē abēzag ošmurdan ī mānsr kē<sup>1</sup> mānsr nē pad dastwar gōwēd* ::

(9.13.2) And about how the one who does not speak the (Sacred) Word through a (priestly) authority does not purely enumerate the (Sacred) Word.

1 Mss. ⟨MNW⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 195, fn. 3 who emends to ⟨AMT⟩.

(9.13.3) *ud ēn-iz<sup>1</sup> kū mānsr i<sup>2</sup> mard ī āhōgēnīdag<sup>3</sup> ā-š ō ān ī an-āhōgēnīdag<sup>4</sup> gyāg  
barēd<sup>5</sup>* ::

(9.13.3) And this, too, (about what happens to) the (Sacred) Word of a man who is defiled, he then carries it to an undefiled place.

1 K43b ⟨pyt'k⟩ [N.B., in DH the beginning of §9.13.3 and §9.13.4 both with ⟨pyt'k⟩ are above each other in fol. 274r, 4–5, suggesting that the scribe of K43b was copying from DH]. 2 MR, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b || unclear in J5. 3 MR, J5, R50, DkT ⟨ADYN⟩ for *ēg* “then, thereupon” || not in DH, K43b || DkM, DkS ⟨ADYN-'š⟩. 4 MR, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨'n'hwkynytk'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨'hwkynytk'⟩ || J5 ⟨'n'hw'krpk'⟩ || DkT ⟨'n'hwkynytk'⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub> ::⟩ and then ⟨W ZNE-c pyt'k AYK⟩ [N.B., with the ⟨pyt'k⟩ being exceedingly rare in this phrase in Dk 9] || MR ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>-c pyt'k AYK⟩ || J5 ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub> ::⟩ and then ⟨ZNE-c AYK⟩ without the ⟨pyt'k⟩ || R50 ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub> MN-c pyt'k AYK⟩ || DkT ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub> ::⟩ but transcribed as ⟨ند) and then ⟨W ZNE-c pyt'k AYK⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub> :: ZNE-c pyt'k AYK⟩.

(9.13.4) *ud ēn-iz paydāg kū mard ī āzwar ī aškam bowandag<sup>1</sup> az handāzišn<sup>2</sup> ēwāz ō tan rāmēnidārīh bar<sup>3</sup> wināh sar awiš ēdōn dārēd čiyōn dār-ēw kē šēb<sup>4</sup> ī har rēmanīh<sup>5</sup> awiš :*

(9.13.4) And this is manifest too, that the greedy man, whose belly is full from scheming simply in order to gratify [lit. ‘make happy’] (his own) body, thus puts his head to every sin like a tree which has \*roots with all (manner of) pollutants on it.

1 DH, K43b ⟨bwndk’⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨bwndk⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨bndk’⟩ and transcribes as ⟨شکمنده⟩ “slave of/to the belly.” 2 DH, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT || K43b ⟨hnd’cyhn⟩ and ⟨šn⟩ superscripted || J5 ⟨hnd’cšn’ W ’yw’c’⟩. 3 J5 ⟨KRRRA⟩. 4 DH, K43b ⟨šyp’⟩ || MR ⟨šyp’⟩ = ⟨ššp’⟩ || J5, DkM ⟨šyyṗ’⟩ = ⟨ššp’⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 196, who reads ⟨šipō⟩ “foundation” || DkS ⟨shīp⟩ || DkT ⟨شيب⟩ || cf. both شيب and شيو “a descent, declivity; the lower part, base, foundation” in STEINGASS 1892, p. 771 and p. 777 and also ⟨nyšp’(‘)⟩ for *nišēb* “declivity” or “dejection” in Astrological usages (MACKENZIE 1971, p. 60) || cf. also ASHA 2009, p. 66, who translates as “slope.” 5 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨lymn’ yh⟩ || K43b, DkS ⟨lymnyh⟩.

(9.13.5) *ud ēn-iz kū wāy awēšān-iz<sup>1</sup> warzēd<sup>2</sup> kū-šān bē ōzanēd kē<sup>3</sup> pad<sup>4</sup> +mēhan<sup>4</sup> (ī) stabr<sup>5</sup> būd ēstēnd kē āz ī dēwān-dād :*

(9.13.5) And this, too, Wāy [= Av. Vaiiu] \*catches up with those ones too, that is, he kills them — (both) those who have been in a firm dwelling (and) those who (harbor?) ‘the demon-established Lust.’

1 MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OLE-š’n-c⟩ || J5 ⟨OLE-š’n-c⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨OLE-šn-c⟩. 2 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wlcyt’⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨wltyt’⟩ for *wardēd* “(s)he/it turns” [N.B., intransitive] || Cf. YAv. *vərəc-* “to drag, put in pieces” first suggested by SANJANA (1922, p. 25, fn. 7), perhaps to be connected with Av. *api.varəcānti* (N 77.2 = D 95), though KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK (2009, p. 48) emend to \**aiši.varzənti* “handle”; but cf. also YAv. *fraorəcinta* (Yt 17.19), which SKJÆRVØ (unpublished) translates as “could not catch up with.” CHEUNG (2007, p. 420) suggests a possible connection with the Khot. form *valj-*, for which EMMERICK (1968, p. 120) has a possible meaning of “to go astray, be deceived.” 3 Omitted in J5. 4 Mss. ⟨mdy’n⟩ for *mayān* “middle, among” but perhaps for ⟨\*myhn’⟩ for *mēhan* “dwelling.” 5 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨stpl⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨sppl⟩.

(9.13.6) *ud ēn-iz kū azbāyišn<sup>1</sup> ī yezdān menīdan<sup>2</sup> abāg guftan ud guftan abāg kardan ud<sup>3</sup> kardan pad<sup>4</sup> +a-dād frēftārīh-kārīg :*

(9.13.6) And this, too, (about) thinking the invocation of the gods together with speaking (ritually correct words), (and) speaking (them) together with doing (the correct ritual acts); and (also about) doing (them) in an unlawful manner producing deception.

1 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨’zb’yšn’⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨’mb’yšn’⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mynyt’n’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨mynyt’⟩. 3 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT || K43b ⟨krtn’⟩. W *krtn’* presumably to indicate the proper way to parse the sequence || MR, J5, R50 omit ⟨W⟩. 4 MR ⟨PW’ d’t’ plypt’lyh⟩ || DH ⟨PWN plyypt’lyh⟩ || K43b ⟨PWN plyyt’lyh⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨PW’ plypt’lyh⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨PWN ’plyypt’lyh⟩ || DkT ⟨PWN plypt’lyh⟩.

(9.13.7) *ud abar abēzag wehīh ī amahrspandān ud hamīh ī-šān menišn gōwišn kunišn āgenēn<sup>1</sup> (ud) dādārīh<sup>2</sup> ud parwardārīh ud pānaqīh ī-šān ābādīh ī gēhān<sup>3</sup> :*

(9.13.7) And about the pure goodness of the Amahrspands and how they unite together their thoughts, words, (and) deeds; and how they establish, nurture, and protect the prosperity of the world.

1 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (<'knyn(')) || DH, K43b (<'knġn'). 2 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (<d't'lyh W plwlt'lyh) || DH, K43b (<d't'l Y W plwlt'lyh) [n.b., apparently an aural error]. 3 MR, J5, R50 (<gyh'n) || DH (<yzd'n) with (<gyh'n) superscripted || K43b (<gyh'n yzd'n) || DkM, DkS, DkT (<yzd'n gyh'n).

(9.13.8) *abar dādan<sup>1</sup> ī ohrmazd zardu(x)št pad wehīh čiyōn xwēš* ∴

(9.13.8) About how Ohrmazd established Zardušt in goodness like His own (goodness).

1 Mss. <YHBWN-tn) = <YHBWN-t') || DkT transcribes as <𐬨𐬀𐬎).

(9.13.9) <ud) *ēn-iz kū kē<sup>1</sup> ō hāwištān ī zardu(x)št čiš dahēd ā-š mizd ud<sup>2</sup> pādāšn ēdōn čiyōn<sup>3</sup> ka-š ō zardu(x)št čiš dād<sup>4</sup> hē* ∴

(9.13.9) (And) this, too, that the one who gives something to Zardušt's disciples [*i.e.*, the priesthood], his/her reward and recompense are just as if (s)he had given something to Zardušt (himself).

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT <MNW OL) || MR, J5, R50 <MN). 2 MR, R50, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT || DH, K43b <Y) at the end of fol. 274r, 13 and fol. 27v, 7 respectively. 3 DkM <cygwn' cygwn') || not in MR, J5 || noted in DkT. 4 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT <YHBWN-t) || J5 <d't').

(9.13.10) *ast pablom ābādīh ablāyīh* ∴ ∴

(9.13.10) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard* 9.14.1–5 — *Taṭ.Ṣβā.pərəsā Hāiti* (Y 44.1–20)

DH 274r, 15 || K43b 27v, 9 || J5 365, 13 || MR 159, 5 || R50 117, 8

DkM 801, 20 || DkS vol. xvii, 32 || DkT 43 [71]

WEST 196 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 26 || TAFAZZOLI 45 [73] || ASHA 67

(9.14.1) *sēzdahom fragard tat-spā-pers<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar ōz ud tagīgīh ī mēnōy ī drōn* ∴

(9.14.1) The thirteenth *fragard*, the *Taṭ.Ṣβā.pərəsā*, is about the strength and agility of the 'Spirit of the *drōn*' [= Av. *draonah*-].

1 Mss. <tts'ypyls) || DkM, DkT <tt sp' pyls) || DkS <tt sp'y pyls).

(9.14.2) <ud) *ēn-iz<sup>1</sup> kū har<sup>2</sup> šab dēwān az dōšox pad wināhīdan ud margēnīdan<sup>3</sup> ī dāmān andar ō<sup>4</sup> gēhān dēwārēd<sup>5</sup> ud ka drōn yazēnd ān mēnōy pad zadan<sup>6</sup> ud abāz dāštan ī dēwān <ud) āyōzīdan<sup>7</sup> andar har šab 99<sup>8</sup> bār pad kōšīšn ī abāg 6 frōd<sup>9</sup> wardēd u-šān zanēd<sup>10</sup> ud stōwēnēd ud az marnjēnīdārīh<sup>11</sup> ī gēhān abāz dārēd* ∴

(9.14.2) (And) this, too, that every night the demons rush from Hell into the world in order to defile and cause death to the creatures; and when they [*i.e.*, people] consecrate the *drōn*, that Spirit descends [lit. 'turns down'] in order to strike and restrain the demons, (and) yokes itself to struggle with the demons ninety-nine times each night; and it smites and suppresses them and restrains them from destroying the world.

1 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨ZNE-c⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨ZNE⟩. 2 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨KRA LYLYA ŠDYAn MN dwšhw PWN wn'sytn'⟩ || K43b ⟨KRA LYLYA ŠDYAn PWN wn'sytn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨KRA ŠDYAn(') MN dwšhw' PWN wn'sytn'⟩ || Cf. also WEST 1892, p. 197, fn. 2. 3 MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨mlgynytn'⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨mlgyncynytn'⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OL⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 5 MR, DkS ⟨dwb'lyn'd W AMT dlwn' ycynd ZK mđnwd⟩ || R50 ⟨dwb'lyn'd W AMT dlwn' ycynd ZK mynwk⟩ [N.B., I have been unable to re-check these diacritics] || DH ⟨dwb'lynd AMT dlwn' ycynd ZK mynwd⟩ || K43b ⟨dwb'lynd ycynd ZK mynwd⟩ || J5 ⟨dwb'lynd W AMT dlwn' ycynd ZK Y mynwd⟩ || DkT ⟨dwb'lynd W AMT dlwn' ycynd mynwd⟩ || DkM ⟨dwb'lynd W AMT dlwn' ycynd ZK mynwd⟩. 6 K43b ⟨ztn'⟩ and ⟨n'⟩ superscripted and then ⟨ztn'⟩ repeated. 7 DkM, DkS ⟨'ywcyt'n W⟩ || DkS ⟨âyûzêd⟩ and translates as “jumps down” citing NP یوزیدن for which, see STEINGASS 1892, p. 1538 || DkT emends to ⟨'ywcyt' W⟩. 8 Mss. ⟨90 3 3 3⟩. 9 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨plwt'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨plwt'n'⟩. 10 MR, J5, R50 ⟨znyt' W stwbynyt' MN⟩ || K43b ⟨znyt' W stw bynyt' W MN⟩ || DH ⟨znyt'n' W stwbynyt' W MN⟩ || DkT ⟨znyt W stwbynyt W MN⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨znyt' W stwbynyt' W MN⟩. 11 Mss. ⟨mlcynytn'lyh⟩.

(9.14.3) *ud ēn-iz kū awēšān mardān<sup>1</sup> kadār-iz-ēw kē ēn gōwišn frāz ēzēd ān bawēd ablaw bē az awēšān mardān kē<sup>2</sup> hunsandihā<sup>3</sup> pad kāmag ān ī duš-huwaršt<sup>4</sup> framān abar barēnd<sup>5</sup> ud wiftēnd<sup>6</sup> ayāb wiftēnēnd az<sup>7</sup> gōwišnān<sup>8</sup> ī frāz grift o<sup>9</sup> awēšān ēdōn kē<sup>10</sup> duš-mad frāy kū hu-mad u-š duš-ūxt<sup>11</sup> frāy kū hūxt<sup>12</sup> u-š duš-huwaršt<sup>13</sup> frāy kū hu-waršt (:·)<sup>14</sup>*

(9.14.3) And this, too, that each and every one of those men offers up in sacrifice these words [*i.e.*, the *Taṭ.ṯβā.pərəsā Hāiti* or the *Drōn Yašt*], he will become Righteous, but, among those men who self-contentedly carry out orders to do bad deeds at will, they are deceived or are caused to be deceived by the words they have embraced; thus in this (same) way is one whose bad thoughts are more than his good thoughts, his bad words more than his good words, and his bad deeds more than his good deeds.

1 MR ⟨BRA'n⟩. 2 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT || omitted in J5 || R50 ⟨MN⟩. 3 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨dwšhwłšt'⟩ || MR ⟨dwšwłš⟩ with ⟨t'⟩ superscripted at the end of p. 159, 14 || J5, R50, DkS ⟨dwšwłšt'⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || R50 ⟨-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ and ⟨-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ superscripted. 6 DH, MR, J5, R50 ⟨wyptynd 'ywp, wyptynynd⟩ || K43b ⟨W yyptynd 'ywp yyptynynd⟩ || DkT ⟨(W)ptynd 'ywp' (W)ptynynd⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨W yyptynd 'ywp(') yyptynynd (:·)⟩. 7 DH, K43b ⟨. MN⟩ || no dot in MR, J5, R50. 8 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5, R50 ⟨gwš'n'⟩. 9 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'w' OLE-š'n'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨'w' W OLE-š'n'⟩. 10 DH ⟨MNW MNW⟩ with the first ⟨MNW⟩ being the last word on fol. 274v, 2 and the second ⟨MNW⟩ at the beginning of fol. 274v, 3 || K43b ⟨MNW MNW⟩ [N.B., in the middle of fol. 27v, 18, suggesting it is a direct copy of DH] || MR ⟨MN⟩ presumably for ⟨MNW⟩ || J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨MNW⟩. 11 DH, K43b, MR, R50 ⟨dws'wht'⟩ || J5 ⟨dwšhwht'⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨dwšhwht'⟩ || DkS ⟨dws'wht'⟩. 12 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hwhht'⟩ || J5 ⟨hwhht'⟩. 13 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨dwšhwłšt'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨dws'włšt'⟩ || J5 ⟨W dwšhwłšt'⟩ || DkS ⟨dws'włšt'⟩. 14 None of the mss. have a divider here || WEST 1892, p. 197 begins a new section here based on the *abar*.

(9.14.4) *ud abar bē<sup>1</sup> burdan ī āstawanīh-<sup>+</sup>jahišnīg<sup>2</sup> kū<sup>3</sup> marg-arzān<sup>4</sup> frāz muštan ī abārig wināh wād ī škeft<sup>5</sup>-tag mānāg ka tēz dašt frāz mālēd (:·)<sup>6</sup>*

(9.14.4) And about it [*i.e.*, the *drōn?*] removing the one who \*pretends to profess belief, that is, (the sin of) being ‘worthy of death’ wipes away other sins like the impetuous fleet wind when it swiftly sweeps forth (over) the plain.

1 Not in K43b. 2 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨yhšnyk⟩ || K43b ⟨đhšnyk⟩ || DkT ⟨yhšnyk⟩ but transcribes as ⟨گناهى⟩ || ASHA (2009, p. 68, fn. 357) reads *jabišnīg margarzān* “the one accused on an accidental capital offence.” 3 MR, J5, DkS ⟨AYK⟩ || not in DH, K43b, DkM, DkT [N.B., in DH the word would have been expected at the end of 274v, 4 or the beginning of 274v, 5]. 4 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨škpt' tk' m'n'k AMT⟩ || MR ⟨škpt' tk' hwm'k AMT⟩ || J5 ⟨škptk' tk ... [next line] hwm'n'k AMT⟩ || R50, DkT ⟨škpt' tk' hwm'n'k AMT⟩ || DkM ⟨škpt' tk' hwm'n'k AMT⟩ || DkS ⟨škpt W tk' hwm'n'k AMT⟩. 6 No divider in R50.

(9.14.5) *ablāyīh abādīh ast pablom* :: ::

(9.14.5) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard* 9.15.1–5 — *At.frauuaxšiiā Hāiti* (Y 45.1–11)

DH 274v7 || K43b 28r1 || J5 366, 7 || MR 160, 8 || R50 118, 5

DkM 802, 14 || DkS vol. xvii, 33 || DkT 46 [74]

WEST 197 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 27 || TAFAZZOLI 48 [76] || ASHA 69

(9.15.1) *14-om fragard at-frawaxšīy<sup>1</sup> :: abar nimūdan ī ohrmazd ō zardu(x)št ruwān ī kirsāsp<sup>2</sup> sa(h)mgenīhā<sup>3</sup> :: ud tars ī zardu(x)št az ān sa(h)mgenīh<sup>4</sup> ud pašēmānīh<sup>5</sup> guftan<sup>6</sup> ī kirsāsp<sup>7</sup> az āmārīhā zadan ī-š mardōm burzīdan<sup>8</sup> ī-š pabrēxtagān<sup>9</sup> ī az wināh ud čašmāgāhīh<sup>10</sup> ī-š az dādār ohrmazd pad zadan ī-š ātaxš (<:)*

(9.15.1) The fourteenth *fragard*, *At.frauuaxšiiā*, is about how Ohrmazd showed Kirsāsp's [= Av. Kərəsəspa] soul to Zardušt, terrifying (him), and Zardušt's fear of that terrible thing; and how Kirsāsp regretted killing people in such large numbers; how he was praised by those whom he had kept from sin; and his condemnation by Ohrmazd the Creator for striking his Fire.

1 DH, MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'tplwhšy⟩ || K43b ⟨'tplwhšyy⟩ = ⟨'tplwhš'⟩. 2 DH ⟨gls'sp'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨klyš'sp'⟩ || K43b ⟨gls'ysp'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨kls'sp'⟩. 3 DH, K43b ⟨smkn'yh' :: W tls zltwšt'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨smkn'yh' tls Y zltwhšt'⟩ || J5 ⟨d'mkn'⟩ with ⟨'yh'⟩ superscripted at the end of p. 366, 8 and ⟨tlyzltwhšt'⟩ at the beginning of p. 366, 9 || DkM, DkS ⟨smkn'yh' :: W tls zltwhšt'⟩ || DkT ⟨sm' kn'yh'⟩. 4 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨smkn'yh'⟩ || J5 ⟨d'mkn'yh'⟩ || R50 ⟨smkn'yh'⟩. 5 MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT ⟨pšym'nyh'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨pš'm'nyh'⟩ || DkM ⟨pš'ym'nyh'⟩. 6 J5 ⟨گفتن⟩ subscripted in NP. 7 DH, K43b ⟨gls'sp'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨klyš'sp'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨kls'sp'⟩. 8 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨bwlyctn'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨bwlyct'⟩. 9 MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨p'hlyhtk'n'⟩ || DH ⟨p'hlyht'⟩ at the end of fol. 274v, 9 and ⟨k'n'⟩ at the beginning of fol. 274v, 10 || K43b ⟨p'hlyht k'n'⟩ || J5 ⟨p'hlyhtk'n'⟩. 10 DH, MR, DkM, DkS ⟨cšm'k'syh'⟩ || K43b ⟨cšm'k'⟩ with ⟨'k's⟩ and ⟨'syh'⟩ written above fol. 28r, 5 || J5 ⟨cšm'⟩ at the end of p. 366, 10 and ⟨'g'syh'⟩ on the next line and ⟨اکاهی⟩ subscripted in NP || R50 ⟨cšm'k'kyyh'⟩ || DkT ⟨cšm'ksyh'⟩.

(9.15.2) *ud xwāst<sup>1</sup> ī kirsāsp<sup>2</sup> az<sup>3</sup> ohrmazd ān ī pablom axwān pad ān kardārīh ka-š kušt<sup>4</sup> az<sup>4</sup> (ī) srūwar ud stahmagīh ī ān petyārag :: ud ka-š wānīd gandarb<sup>5</sup> ī zāirīb<sup>6</sup>-pāšnān ud škeftīh ī ān druz (<:)) ud (abar) ka-š zad<sup>7</sup> bunušk<sup>8</sup> ī nirwīgān<sup>9</sup> (ud) dāštānīgān<sup>10</sup> ud<sup>11</sup> garān anāgīh ud wizend ī az-išān :: ud (abar) ka-š rāmēnīd tagīg wād (ud) az gēhān zyānīh<sup>12</sup> abāz (dāšt ud) ō dāmān sūdih āwurd pad-*

*iz*<sup>13</sup> *ān ī ka dahāg az band*<sup>14</sup> *harzag*<sup>15</sup> *barwēd ud pad marnjēnīdan*<sup>16</sup> *ī gēhān abar dwardēd ud dām-abesibēnīdārīh drāyēd ōy hangēzihēd*<sup>17</sup> *ud pad wānīdan ī ōy ān ī was-ōz druz* {*ud*} *ō gēhān dām*<sup>18</sup> *frayādēd*<sup>19</sup> {*·:*}

(9.15.2) And (about) how Kirsāsp asked Ohrmazd for the Best Existence (as a reward) for that (great) deed: (Namely) when he struck Az ī Srūwar, and the oppression caused by that Adversary; and (about) when he defeated the ‘yellow-heeled’ Gandarb [= Av. Gaṇdarəβa] and (about) the awfulness of that lie-demon; and (about) when he struck the spawn of the Niwīgs [= Av. Niuuika] and the Dāštānīgs [= Av. Dāštaiia] and the grievous evil and harm which came from them; and (about) when he calmed the fleet wind (and) (held back) harmfulness from the world. And how he brought beneficence to the creatures: As when Dahāg breaks loose and rushes upon the world to destroy (it) and boasts of how he will destroy the Creation, (then) he [*i.e.*, Kirsāsp] will be roused in order to overcome that mighty strong demon (and) will help the creatures of the world.

1 J5 ⟨BO'YHWN-st'⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨BOYHWN-stn'⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨kls'sp'⟩ || MR, J5 MR, R50 ⟨klyš'sp'⟩. 3 DkM, DkT omit *az ohrmazd*. 4 Mss. ⟨gž⟩ || R50 omits diacritic || NYBERG (1933, p. 345, fn. 5) suggests a graphic error. 5 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkT ⟨gndlp'⟩ || MR, DkS ⟨gndlp'⟩ || R50 omits diacritics. 6 DH ⟨z'y l Y p'sn'n'⟩ || K43b ⟨z'bl Y⟩ and ⟨p'sn'n'⟩ on the next line || MR, J5, R50 ⟨z'y l Y p'sn'n' w'⟩ with J5 subscripting ⟨وِی) in NP to be read for *ō* || DkM ⟨z'y l Y p'sn'n'⟩ || DkS ⟨z'yly p'sn'n'⟩ || DkT ⟨z'yly⟩ and ⟨p'sn'n'⟩ on the next line. 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨zt'⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 8 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨hwnš'k'⟩ || MR ⟨hwnwš'k'⟩ with the ⟨'⟩ and ⟨Y⟩ superscripted at the end of the line || J5, R50, DkS ⟨hwnwš'k'⟩. 9 MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨nywyk'n'⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM ⟨ywyk'n'⟩ || DkT ⟨(n)ywyk'n'⟩. 10 DH, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨d'st'nyk'n'⟩ || K43b ⟨d'styk'n'⟩ with ⟨'nyk'n'⟩ written above fol. 28r, 8 || J5 ⟨d'tst'nyk'n'⟩ for *dādestānīgān*. 11 DkT ⟨(Y)⟩. 12 DkT ⟨zyd'nyh (Y)⟩ and was erroneously transcribed as ⟨زبان) “tongue, language” in TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 75 but correctly translated as ⟨زبان) (p. 76) [N.B., my photocopy of TAFAZZOLI 1966, pp. 47–48 is unclear]. 13 DH, K43b ⟨PWN-c ZK Y ZK AMT'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨PWN ZK Y AMT'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨PWN-c ZK Y AMT'⟩ || cf. NYBERG 1933, p. 345, fn. 8 who cites MX 57.21 (56.21) for the sequence *pad-iz ān ī ka* and cf. also Dk 9.42.6 and 9.57.3 in the other *nasks* as well. 14 K43b ⟨bn) plus something smudged out and ⟨bnd) written above fol. 28r, 11, as well as ⟨bnd.) in the right margin. 15 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hlck'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨'lcwk'⟩ for *ārzoḡ* “desire, lust.” 16 Mss. ⟨mlnc°). 17 DH, K43b ⟨hnkycyhyt' PWN) || MR ⟨hnkycyhytn' PWN) || J5 ⟨hngcyhytn' PWN) || R50 ⟨hngcyhytn' PWN) || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hngcyhyt'⟩ ||. 18 K43b ⟨d'n). 19 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨plyd't-yt' W) || MR, J5, R50, DkM ⟨plyd'tytn'⟩ || DkS ⟨farākhētē) and compares NP فراختن which he translates as “to render comfortable.”

(9.15.3) *ud hamēmālīh ī ataxš ō kirsāsp*<sup>1</sup> *pad must ī padīš kard*<sup>2</sup> *ud abāz dāstan ī-š az* <sup>3</sup>*wabišt ud ayārīh ī gōšurūn awišt pad ābādīh ī padīš kard ud pādan ī-š az* *dōšox* {*·:*}

(9.15.3) And how the Fire accused Kirsāsp for the violence he had done to him [*i.e.*, the Fire]; how he [*i.e.*, Kirsāsp] was kept away from Paradise, and how the ‘Soul of the Cow’ [= Av. Gōuš Uruuan] helped him (in return) for the prosperity which he caused for it (her?), and how it protected him [*i.e.*, Kirsāsp] from Hell.

1 DH ⟨gls'sp) or ⟨kls'sp) [N.B., the ⟨g) and ⟨k) are similar in DH] at the end of fol. 274v, 18, with the ⟨'⟩ on the next line || K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨kls'sp'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨klyš'sp'⟩. 2 DkM, DkT ⟨krtn) LAWHL). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || MR, J5, R50 omit *wabišt ud ayārīh ī gōš-urwan awišt pad ābādīh ī padīš kard ud pādan ī-š az* and pick up the final *dōšox*.

(9.15.4) *ud xwāyīšn<sup>1</sup> ī zardu(x)št ō ātaxš abar āmurzīdan ī-š az wināb ud hanjāftan<sup>2</sup> ī ātaxš ān<sup>3</sup> [ī] xwāyīšn ud franaftan ī kirsāsp<sup>4</sup> ruwān ō hammistīg-axwān<sup>5</sup> ∴*

(9.15.4) And how Zardušt asked the Fire to have mercy upon (him) for his [*i.e.*, Kirsāsp's] sin; and how the Fire carried out that request; and how the soul of Kirsāsp departed (instead) to the Intermediate Existence.

1 DH, K43b ⟨hw'yšn' Y zltwšt'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨hw'yšnyh zltwhšt'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hw'yšn' Y zltwhšt'⟩. 2 MR, R50, DkS ⟨hnc'ptn'⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM ⟨hnc'tn'⟩ || J5 ⟨hn'ptn'⟩ || DkT ⟨hnc'(p)tn'⟩ || ASHA (2009, p. 70, fn. 368) has *ōzaxtan* “to pardon.” 3 MR, DkS, DkT ⟨ZK hw'yšn'⟩ || DH ⟨ZK Y⟩ on fol. 274v, 21 and ⟨hw'yšn'⟩ on fol. 275r, 1 || K43b ⟨hw hw'yšn'⟩ and ⟨ZK Y⟩ superscripted || J5, DkM ⟨ZK Y hw'yšn'⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨kls'sp'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨klyš'sp'⟩. 5 MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨hmystyk' 'hw'n(')⟩ || DH ⟨hmyyst'hw'n⟩ = ⟨hm'st'hw'n⟩ || K43b has either ⟨hm'st'hw'n⟩ or ⟨hmyst'hw'n⟩ [*n.b.*, a smudge makes it difficult to read the word definitively] || DkM, DkT ⟨hm'st'hw'n⟩.

(9.15.5) *ablāyīb pablom ast ābādīh ∴ ∴*

(9.15.5) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard* 9.16.1–20 — *Kamnāmaēzā Hāiti* (Y 46.1–19)

DH 275r, 2 || K43b 28r, 19 || J5 367, 4 || MR 162, 3 || R50 119, 7  
DkM 803.13 || DkS vol. xvii, 35 || DkT 49 [77]  
WEST 199 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 28 || TAFAZZOLI 51 [79] || ASHA 78

(9.16.1) *pañdabom fragard kamnamēz<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar rasišn<sup>2</sup> ī astwihād pad gyāg ud kas ud a-bōzišnīh ī aziš kas-iz az ošōmandān ⟨ud⟩ abar xwāst ⟨ī⟩ nē sazistan ī ošōmand tan ud frasāwand<sup>3</sup> xīr ⟨ī⟩<sup>4</sup> mardōm<sup>5</sup> ∴<sup>6</sup>*

(9.16.1) The fifteenth *fragard*, the *Kamnāmaēzā*, is about how Astwihād comes upon the place and person (who passes) and (the fact) that no one at all among mortals will be saved from him; (and) about the request for the non-passing of the mortal body and the transient matters of humankind.

1 Mss. ⟨kmmnyc'⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨YHMTWN-šn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YHMTWN-šnyh⟩. 3 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨pls'wndyh(Y)⟩. 4 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 5 DkS, DkM, DkT ⟨mltwm⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨mlg⟩ for *marg* “death.” 6 Omitted in R50.

(9.16.2<sup>a</sup>)<sup>1</sup> DH, K43b: *ud ēn-iz kū ošōmandān hamāg astwihād pad ān ī škeft ud frāz-paydāg abd barēd<sup>2</sup> ud nē bōxtēnd<sup>3</sup> aziš kas-iz bē kē ruwān bōzēd ∴*

(9.16.2<sup>a</sup>) DH, K43b: And this, too, that Astwihād carries (off) all mortals by a frightening and visible wonder [*lit.* ‘a wonder visible afar’]; and nobody is saved from him except the one who saves a [*i.e.*, one's own] soul.

1 There are significant textual divergences between DH, K43b ~ MR, J5, R50 in §9.16.2, requiring a partially diplomatic presentation [*n.b.*, DkT follows K43b here]. 2 DH ⟨Y'YLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ || K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨bwhtynd'⟩.

(9.16.2<sup>b</sup>) MR, J5, R50: *ud abesihēn<sup>1</sup>-xīrīh ī ōy ī škeft pad a-paydāg<sup>2</sup> abd barēd ud nē bōxtēnd aziš kas-iz bē kē<sup>3</sup> ruwān bōzēd* ∴<sup>4</sup>

(9.16.2<sup>b</sup>) MR, J5, R50: and the destruction of the matters of the one who is frightened by the invisible [lit. ‘non-manifest’] wonder that he [*i.e.*, Astwihād] carries (off); and nobody is saved from him except the one who saves a [*i.e.*, one’s own] soul.<sup>5</sup>

1 MR, J5 (‘psyhyn’) = (‘p’syn’) || R50 has what looks like (‘p’syn’d’n’). 2 J5, R50 (‘pyt’k) || MR (‘pyt’) with (k) superscripted. 3 R50 (MN). 4 Omitted in MR, R50. 5 Cf. WEST 1892, p. 200, fn. 3.

(9.16.3) *ēn-iz kū ruwān ēw-tāg wēnēd mēnōy mizd<sup>1</sup> ud publ ∴ ud tanōmand<sup>2</sup> nē ēdōn wēnēd agar-iš<sup>3</sup> tanōmand čiyōn ān dīd bē ēg-iš pad-iz<sup>4</sup> čiš-iz<sup>5</sup> āsānīh ud<sup>6</sup> xwārih<sup>7</sup> ī gētīy wināh hambun-iz nē kard<sup>8</sup> ud az kirbag fradom nē mōšīd<sup>9</sup> hē ∴*

(9.16.3) (And) this, too, that the soul alone sees the reward and the punishment in *that* world; but (while) embodied, one does not see in this way. If one were to see like that while embodied, then, even with regard also to the things of ease and comfort of *this* world, one would not even commit any sin at all, nor avoid good work in the first place.

1 K43b (mzd) || MR (mzd pwhl) || R50 (mzd mynwd mzd pwhl). 2 MR, J5, R50 (tn’wmnnd). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (HT-š) || MR, J5, R50 (AĀ-š). 4 Mss. || DkT (PWN). 5 K43b (MNDOM) and (-c) superscripted at the end of fol. 28v, 5 and (-c) repeated on fol. 28v, 6. 6 DH, K43b, DkT (W) || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS (Y). 7 MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT (hw’ylyh) || DH, K43b, DkM (hw’ylyh). 8 DkM (krtn’ MN). 9 DH, K43b, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (mwšyt’) || MR (mw šyt) = (MN šyt).

(9.16.4) *ud abar zištīh<sup>1</sup> ud samgenīh<sup>2</sup> ī mardōmān tan pas az marg ud ān-iz ī pad har abāyīšnīg-čīšīh<sup>3</sup> grāmīgtar<sup>4</sup> dāšt<sup>5</sup> estād<sup>6</sup> a-frasāg (<∴)*

(9.16.4) And about how ugly and frightening humans’ bodies are after death and how what had been regarded as more precious than every seemly thing is (in fact) \*transient,

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (zyštyh W) || MR, J5, R50 (ZK štyh Y) || DkS (zyštyh Y). 2 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (smkn’yh) || K43b (d’mkn’yh) || R50 (smkn’yh\*) with the final (’) crossed out. 3 Mss. (MNDOMyh) || DkT (MNDOM Y). 4 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (gl’mykyl) || K43b (gl’mytl) || R50 (gl’mtl). 5 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (d’št’) || K43b (d’štn’). 6 DH, K43b (YKOYMWN-’t’) || MR, R50, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (YKOYMWN-yt(’)).

(9.16.5) *andar xāk-abgandagīh<sup>1</sup> ud zīndagān-iz ān ī-š nabānazdištītar an-abēdānīgīh* [∴]<sup>2</sup> *az-iš dūrīh<sup>3</sup>*

(9.16.5) something that is cast into the dirt; (and how) of the living, too, those who were closest to him/her have no use for it (and) stay far away from it.

1 Mss. (APLak LMYTNtkyh). 2 DH has a dot || K43b has a flower || not in MR, J5, R50 which have (Whčš) || DkS (W) with no divider. 3 K43b (LHPyh) with (yh) superscripted.

(9.16.6) *ud ka<sup>1</sup> ēg-iz bōy pad nazdikīh ī tan ud sag ud wāy pad wišōbišn ī tan frāz šawēnd bōy az-išān čiyōn mēš az<sup>2</sup> gurg tarsēnīdan<sup>3</sup> ud ō sag ud wāy abar nē<sup>4</sup> wišuftan ī tan pahikārdan ud awēšān ān gōwišn mēnōyīhā mārdan ud<sup>5</sup> fradom abāz \*passardan<sup>6</sup> ud ān tan zīndag menīdan (<∴)*



(9.16.6) And when, then too, the consciousness [= Av. *baodāb*- ‘consciousness’] is in the vicinity of the body, and dogs and birds come forth to dismember the body, (how) the consciousness is afraid of them — like a sheep (fears) a wolf — and how it [*i.e.*, the consciousness] fights with the dogs and birds not to dismember the body; and how it recites to them [*i.e.*, the animals] those words [*i.e.*, the *Kamnamaēzā* or the *Staota Yesniia*] of the denizens of *that* world and, first, it \*chases them away and considers that body to be alive.

1 DH (W AMT ADYN'-c bwd PWN) with the second (') superscripted over the word || K43b, DkT (W AMT ADYN'-c bwd PWN) || MR, J5, R50 (W AMT-c ADYN'' CBWY PWN) for *ud ka-z ēg xīr ī pad...* || DkM (W AMT ADYN' wc BRA PWN...) for *ud ka ēg ōz bē pad...* 2 DH (MN MN) with the first at the end of fol. 275r, 14 and the second (MN) at the beginning of fol. 275r, 15 || DkM (MN MN). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (tlysynyt'n') || MR, J5, R50 (tly'synyt'n'). 4 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT (QDM LA wšwptn') || K43b (QDM LA wšwp) with (n' Y) superscripted and (tn') omitted || MR, J5, R50 (QDM wšwpšn'). 5 Not in DkT. 6 Mss. (psltn') || cf. WEST 1892, p. 201, who translates as “repelling” || cf. also SANJANA 1922, p. 29, fn. 10, who compares NP *fasurdan* “to chase away, press,” which STEINGASS (1892, p. 930) has as *فشدن* “to squeeze, press, wring; to plant the foot firmly” || DkT transcribes (پسردن) and suggests that while the meaning is uncertain, it likely means *دور کردن*.

(9.16.7) *ud pas ka-šān ān tan +wišuft<sup>1</sup> bōy ēdōn čiyōn mēš ī dēnūdag ka ō waččagān bē tazēd ō nazdikih<sup>2</sup> ī ān wišuftag tan tazīdan<sup>3</sup> pad garān a-šādih<sup>4</sup> ō tan nigeridan<sup>5</sup> kū ān tan<sup>6</sup> andar čē nekīh būd nūn<sup>7</sup> ō čē anāgih mad ēstēd ōšmurdan (·:)*

(9.16.7) And then, when they [*i.e.*, the animals] have dismembered that body, the consciousness — just like when an ewe runs to its young — runs to the vicinity of that dismembered body and observes that body in grievous distress, recalling: ‘In what goodness that body was (but) now, to what evil it has come!’

1 Mss. (wšwp') for *wišōb* || DkT emends to (wšwb(t')). 2 DH (nzdygyh Y ZK) || K43b (nzdykyh Y ZK) || MR, DkS (nzdykyh ZK Y) || J5, R50 (nzdykyh ZK) || DkM (nzdygyh Y ZK) || DkT (nzdykyh Y ZK). 3 DH, K43b, DkS (tcytn') || MR, R50 (tcyt) || J5, DkT (tcyt'). 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ('š'tyh) || MR, J5, R50 ('štkyh). 5 MR, J5, R50 (nkyltyn' AYK) || DH, K43b (nkđlytn' W AYK) || DkM, DkS (nkyltyn' W AYK). 6 DH, K43b (tn' BYN ME nywkyh) || MR, J5, R50 (tn' sm [new line in MR] y'n' BYN nywkyh) || DkM (tn' smy'n' BYN nywkyh) || DkS, DkT (tn' smyyn' BYN ME nywkyh). 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (KON) || MR, J5, R50 (KO).

(9.16.8) *ud ka ān tan pad<sup>1</sup> zīndagih wināhgār būd abar nē padīristan<sup>2</sup> ī-š andar ān<sup>3</sup> zīndagih ān ī<sup>4</sup> bōy abar pahrēz ī az wināh ud warzīdan ī kirbag ō ān tan āfrāhēnīdan<sup>5</sup> abāz +hangrāyīd<sup>6</sup> ·:·<sup>7</sup>*

(9.16.8) And, if that body [*i.e.*, the person] was sinful in life, about how it again lamented about not accepting that which the consciousness had counseled that body about staying away from sin and doing good works.

1 Omitted in R50. 2 Mss. (MKBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>). 3 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b. 4 Mss. || omitted in DkT. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ('pl'synyt'n') || MR, J5, R50 ('pl's'ynyt'n'). 6 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (hngl'yyt') || cf. WEST 1892, p. 201, who translates “repeatedly well-endeavoured” || cf. also DkS (hū-garāyīdan) “impelling” || DkT leaves un-transcribed and un-translated || cf. also ASHA 2009, p. 80, who translates “(the *baodāb*) weeps again,” presumably reading *abāz griyistan*, *griy-* “to weep” (cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 37) [N.B., ASHA does not account for the pre-verbal element]. 7 No divider in J5.

(9.16.9) *ēn-iz kū-t zamānag ī nēkīh<sup>1</sup> gišnag būd<sup>2</sup> ud ān ī anāgīh drāz ast :*

(9.16.9) (And) this, too (it says): ‘Your time (to enjoy) goodness was short, but that of (suffering) evil is long!’

1 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨nywkyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨nywkyh Y⟩. 2 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YHWWN-t’ W ZK Y ’n’kyh⟩ || K43b ⟨YHWWN-t’ W ZK Y ’n’k⟩ with the following word smudged [n.b., likely a miswritten form of ⟨đl’c⟩ which follows] || MR, J5, R50 ⟨YHWWN-t’ ’n’kyh⟩.

(9.16.10) *ud ēn-iz kū andar<sup>1</sup>{gētīy mardōm kē 100 sāl bē zīyēd kem kū ān kē sad sāl nē zīyēd} ud zīndagīh andak<sup>2</sup> andak sazihistan<sup>3</sup> ud hanjaft<sup>4</sup> zīndagīh<sup>5</sup> zan ud xwāstag (ud) abārīg gētīyīg ādān hamāg pad ēw<sup>6</sup> bār hištan<sup>7</sup> ud<sup>8</sup> ō anīy kas madan :*

(9.16.10) And this, too, that in *this* world, people who live a hundred years are fewer than those who do not live a hundred years and (the fact) that life passes little by little, and, when life has come to an end, (one’s) wife, property, (and) other wealth in *this* world are all in one moment left behind and come to someone else.

1 The following sequence is missing in J5. 2 DH, DkT ⟨’ndk ’ndk’⟩ || K43b ⟨’ndk’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨’ndk W ’ndk’⟩ || DkM ⟨’ndk ’ndk W’⟩ || DkS ⟨’ndk’ ’ndk’⟩. 3 MR ⟨Wsc yhstn’⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨hncpt’⟩ || MR ⟨Whnc⟩ and ⟨ptn’⟩ on the next line || J5 ⟨W hnc ptn’⟩ || DkS ⟨hncptn’⟩ || DkT ⟨hncptn’(Y)⟩. 5 DkS ⟨’W’⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨HD⟩. 7 Mss. ⟨ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 8 Not in DkS.

(9.16.11) *ud ēn-iz kū ka mardōm nihang-iz ēwarz ī pad ān ī dōstōmand ud padēxōmand<sup>1</sup> rāh<sup>2</sup> rāy abar wizīrišnīg tōšag wizīhēnd ud frāyīhā abar dārēnd ī-šān abērtar sazēd abārīg<sup>3</sup> ān ī jāwēdān abāyīšnīg ud az-iš a-wizīrišnīg<sup>4</sup> tōšag ⟨nē⟩ wizīhīdan ud sāxtan abāg<sup>5</sup> xwēš abar dāstan :*

(9.16.11) And this, too, (it is as) if people, for the sake of even a small journey on a safe [lit. ‘friendly’] and prosperous road, load dispensable provisions and take more than the maximum they need, (rather than) gathering, preparing, and taking with them the other — indispensable — provisions, those they would need for eternity.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨ptyhw’wmnd̂⟩ || MR ⟨ptyhwmn’đ̂⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨ptyhwmd̂⟩ || DkS ⟨pyyhw ’wmnd̂⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 202, who transcribed ⟨patyânmond̂⟩ and translates “inimical” and is followed by DkS [n.b., their reading would require ⟨pty’r’wmnd̂⟩ for \**ptyārōmand* with ⟨r⟩ for the expected ⟨l⟩ and would then allude to Heaven and Hell, as suggested by DkS]. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 3 DkS ⟨Y ZK Y⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨’wcyłšnyk⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨’w’łšnyk⟩ || DkS ⟨hwwcyłšnyk⟩. 5 MR, J5, R50 ⟨LWTE⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨W LWTE⟩.

(9.16.12) *ud abar 7 a-hōš xwadāy ī<sup>1</sup> andar kišwar ī xwanīrah dād ēstēd<sup>2</sup> u-šān abar xwarrah ud wazurg-ōzīh<sup>3</sup> ud nēkīh-iz ī<sup>4</sup> ayārān ud zīndag<sup>5</sup> pādoxšāy ī<sup>6</sup> andar har 2 axwān :*

(9.16.12) And about the seven immortal rulers who were established in the continent of Xwanīrah [= Av. *x’anīraša-*]; about their Fortune and their helpers’ great strength and goodness too; and (about) the living rulers in both existences.

1 MR, J5, DkS ⟨Y⟩ || not in DH, K43b, DkM || DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 2 DH, K43b, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YKOYMWNYt’(Y)⟩ || MR ⟨KWYKO YMWNYt’⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨wclg’wcyh⟩. 4 MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT ⟨nywkyh-c Y⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨nywkyh cyh⟩ || DkM ⟨nywkyhcyh⟩. 5 DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨W’⟩. 6 Deleted in DkT.

(9.16.13) *wan ī jud-bēš abar ērān-wēz<sup>1</sup> ud pad ān ī friyānīyānān<sup>2</sup> gāh* ∴

(9.16.13) The ‘harm-discarding’ tree in the Iranian Expanse and on the throne of the Friyānians [= Av. Friiāna-].

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨’yl’nwyc’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨’yl’nyc’⟩. 2 DH, MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ply’ny’n’n g’s⟩ || K43b ⟨ply’n y’n ’ng’s⟩.

(9.16.14) *ud gōbed<sup>1</sup> andar (an-)ērān<sup>2</sup> dehān* ∴

(9.16.14) And (about) Gōbed, (who was) in the (non-)Iranian lands.

1 Mss. ⟨gwkp’t’⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨’yl’n’⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨’n’yl’n(’’)⟩ || see WEST 1892, pp. 202–203, fn. 6; SANJANA 1922, p. 31, fn. 5; and ASHA 2009, pp. 81–82, fn. 432 for different textual traditions regarding the precise location of Gōbed(šāh) — being inside or outside of the Expanse of the Iranians; for further details, see HUMBACH 1985, pp. 327–334.

(9.16.15) *ud pišyōsn<sup>1</sup> ī wištāspān pad kangdiz<sup>2</sup> ī stēndag-drafš<sup>3</sup> kē<sup>4</sup> andar ān<sup>5</sup> bēwar ān ī<sup>6</sup> būland-išān<sup>6</sup> kē syā samōr<sup>7</sup> dārend ī dēn-dōšidār<sup>8</sup> ī ablaw az pasih ī pišyōsn<sup>9</sup> ī wištāspān* ∴<sup>10</sup>

(9.16.15) And Pišyōsn, the son of Wištāsp, (who was) in Kang-diz [i.e., a Fortress named ‘Kang’], with raised banners, in which there are ten thousand \*\*exalted ones, those who wear black marten furs, Righteous Ones who love the Tradition, following Pišyōsn, the son of Wištāsp.

1 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨pšy’wsn’⟩ for *pišyōsn* || DkT also has ⟨pšy’wsn’⟩ but transcribes as ⟨پشوتن⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨pšy’wtn’⟩ for *pišyōtan*. 2 DH, K43b ⟨:⟩. 3 DH, K43b ⟨styndk’ dlpš’⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨styndk W klpš’⟩ || J5, DkS ⟨styndk W dlpš’⟩ || DkM ⟨st ynyk W dlpš’⟩ || DkT ⟨stynyk dlpš’⟩. 4 R50 ⟨MN⟩. 5 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b. 6 Mss. ⟨bwlñn-š’n(’’)⟩ = ⟨bwlwš’n’⟩ || DkS emends to ⟨būland-shān’⟩ following WEST 1892, p. 203, who translates “exalted” || DkT suggests it might be a rare onomastic: به نظر میرسد که این واژه نام ویژه ای باشد (TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 81, fn. 14) || WILLIAMS 1990, II, p. 88 has \**burzišnīgān* “exalted” || ASHA (2009, p. 82, fn. 435) suggests that the word can be read as \**varravišnīgān* || [N.B., the form looks like a plural of the word describing the ‘10,000’]. 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨smwl’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨smw L’⟩. 8 DH, K43b ⟨dyn’ dwšyt’l’⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨dyn’ nywkšyt’l’⟩. 9 Mss. ⟨pšy’wsn’⟩ || DkS ⟨pšy’wtn’⟩ || DkT also has ⟨pšy’wsn’⟩ but transcribes as ⟨پشوتن⟩. 10 J5 ⟨:⟩ instead of the usual flower.

(9.16.16) *ud frādaxšt ī xumbīgān ī hōšang<sup>1</sup> pus kē<sup>2</sup> pādōxšāy<sup>3</sup> pad āb ī nāydāg<sup>4</sup>* ∴<sup>5</sup>

(9.16.16) And Frādāxšt, son of Xumbīg, the son of Hōšang, who is the ruler in the deep waters.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hws’ng’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨’wš’wmn(’’)d’⟩ for *ōšōmand*. 2 R50 ⟨MN⟩. 3 DH, K43b, J5, R50, DkS ⟨p’twhš’y Y’⟩ || MR ⟨p’tš’y Y’⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨p’twhš’y’⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨n’ywt’k’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨’ywt’k’⟩. 5 No divider in J5.

(9.16.17) *ud ašwazd<sup>1</sup> ī pōrūdaxšt<sup>2</sup> pus kē<sup>3</sup> pādixšāy<sup>4</sup> abar pad bālist<sup>5</sup> ī paydāgdom dašt ī pēšinās<sup>6</sup>* ∴

(9.16.17) And Ašwazd, the son of Pōrūdaxšt, who is the ruler on the highest, most visible plain of Pēš(i)nās.

1 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨’šw’zd’⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkT ⟨’šw’zd’⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨pwlwthšt’⟩. 3 K43b ⟨MN⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨ŠLYTA’⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨b’lst’ Y’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨b’lstn’ Y’⟩. 6 K43b ⟨pyšn’yh’⟩.

(9.16.18) *ud barāzd<sup>1</sup> ī kōšišn-kardār* ::

(9.16.18) And Barāzd, the fighter.

1 DH, K43b (bl'zd) with the elongated Psalter ⟨d⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨bl'zd⟩ || DkT ⟨bl'zg⟩ and transcribes as ⟨برازي⟩ following WEST (1892, p. 203, fn. 7), who suggests the name is related to Av. Virāza “leader of men” in Yt 13.101.

(9.16.19) *ud haštom kay<sup>1</sup> ī nāmīg wištāsp ast kē kay-husrōy<sup>2</sup> gōwēd kē ān ī tō dēn ī mazdēsnan rawāgīh-iz dabēd ud andar-iz dānēd kē ān ī<sup>3</sup> man warzišn ī weh dabēd frāz-wābarīgānīh<sup>4</sup> kū kard ī man pad wābarīgān<sup>5</sup> sahīg<sup>6</sup> dārēd* ::

(9.16.19) And the eighth famous Kay is Wištāsp, another says it is Kay Husrōy, who will both propagate your Mazdean Tradition and also knows it well (saying): ‘The one who gives truthfulness to my good work, that is, the one who regards as worthy what I have done in a truthful manner.’

1 Mss., DkS ⟨ky⟩ || no diacritic in DkM, DkT. 2 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨kyhwslwy⟩ || DH ⟨kyhwslw'⟩ and ⟨y⟩ on next line || K43b ⟨kyhwslw' y⟩. 3 Not in MR. 4 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨w'plyk'nyh⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨w'plyk'n' Y⟩ and transcribes as ⟨باوريگانی⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS ⟨w'plyk'n'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨'plyk'n'⟩ || DkT ⟨w'plyk'nyh⟩ and transcribes as ⟨باوريگانی⟩. 6 DH, K43b ⟨shyk⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gyh'n⟩.

(9.16.20) *ablāyīh ābādīh pablom ast* :: ::

(9.16.20) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### Dēnkard 9.17.1–9 — Spəntā.mainiiū Hāiti (Y 47.1–6)

DH 275v, 20 || K43b 29r, 20 || J5 369, 7 || MR 166, 5 || R50 122, 4  
DKM 805, 20 || DKS vol. xvii, 40 || DkT 55 [84]  
WEST 204 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 32 || TAFAZZOLI 57 [86] || ASHA 84

(9.17.1) *16-om fragard spēmed<sup>1</sup> :: abar wināhgārān<sup>2</sup> publ<sup>3</sup> čiyōn az dēn paydāg kardan<sup>4</sup>* ::

(9.17.1) The sixteenth *fragard*, the *Spəntā.mainiiū*, is about how to perform the punishment of sinners, as is manifest from the Tradition.

1 DH ⟨spymyt⟩ || K43b ⟨spymyt'⟩ squeezed together and ⟨spymyt'⟩ superscripted || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨spymyt'⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wn'sk'l'n'⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 3 MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨Y⟩. 4 DkT emends to ⟨krt'⟩.

(9.17.2) *ud abar yašt kardan ō mard ud zan ud zan pēš az<sup>1</sup> mard framūd ēstēd* ::<sup>2</sup> *ud garōdmānīgīh<sup>3</sup> pad yašt<sup>4</sup> xwad [i<sup>5</sup>] srāyīšnīg ayāb gētīy-xrīd<sup>6</sup> būd<sup>7</sup>* ::

(9.17.2) And about (the fact that) it is ordered for a man and a woman to perform the ritual [*i.e.*, a *Yasna*] and for women before men; and (how) one was bound for *Garōdmān* by reciting oneself the (*Yasna*) ritual or by the *Gētīy-xrīd* [= ‘the world purchased’ ritual].

1 Omitted in K43b. 2 No divider in MR, J5, R50. 3 MR ⟨glwtm'n kykh⟩ written as two words || J5 ⟨glwtm'n' kykh⟩ with ⟨گروتمان⟩ subscripted in NP. 4 J5 ⟨yyšt' Y⟩ ||

DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM || not in MR, J5, DkS, DkT. 6 Mss. ⟨gytydy-ZBNWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 7 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨YHHWN-yt'⟩.

(9.17.3) *ud abar āzādīh ī ruwān az dōšox pad ablāyīh dōšāramīhā ⟨ud⟩ dād<sup>1</sup> ī asp<sup>2</sup> ī ray<sup>3</sup> ud zamīg ī kišwzār<sup>4</sup> ud zan ī nēk ō mard ī ablaw<sup>5</sup> {ud zan-iz kē tan pad zanīh ō mard ī ablaw} dahēd ud zamānān ī zamānān<sup>6</sup> [ī] ud rōz rōz ān<sup>7</sup> rād kirbag waxšīdan<sup>8</sup> ∴*

(9.17.3) And about how the soul is freed from Hell by the love of Righteousness; (and) how a fleet horse, a (piece of) tillable land, and a good woman are given to a Righteous Man [*i.e.*, in *Garōdmān*]; and also (about) the woman who gives herself in marriage to a Righteous man and how that generous good deed increases hour by hour and day by day.

1 DH, MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨YHBWN-t'⟩ || K43b ⟨YHBWN-t'⟩ [N.B., ⟨°WN-t'⟩ not visible in CHRISTENSEN 1936b [1979b] though faded but visible in the scan in my possession] || DkT ⟨YHBWN-t'⟩ but transcribes as ⟨دادن⟩. 2 K43b ⟨'sp⟩ with ⟨' Y⟩ superscripted at the end of the line. 3 Mss. ⟨lgīy⟩ with DH, K43b, J5 = ⟨LA⟩ || DkS transcribes as *rāc*. 4 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨kyšwc'1 W NYŠE Y nywk' OL GBRA⟩ || MR ⟨kyšwc'1 Y W NYŠE Y OL nywk' OL GBRA⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨kyšwc'1 Y W NYŠE Y OL nywk' Y OL GBRA⟩ || DkM ⟨kyšwc'1 W NYŠE Y nywk' Y OL GBRA⟩. 5 Sequence repeated in DH (and in MR, J5, R50 with small variations; see below) || not repeated in K43b, DkT || MR ⟨NYŠE-c MNW tn' NYŠE-yh OL GBRA Y 'hlwb' W NYŠE-c MNW tn' OL GBRA Y 'hlwb'⟩ || J5 ⟨Y OL NYŠE-c MNW tn' NYŠEyh OL GBRA 'hlwb' NYŠE-c MNW tn' OL GBRA 'hlwb'⟩ || R50 ⟨W NYŠE-c MNW tn' NYŠEyh OL GBRA 'hlwb' NYŠE-c MNW tn' OL GBRA 'hlwb'⟩ || DkM ⟨W NYŠE-c MNW tn' PWN NYŠEyh OL GBRA Y 'hlwb'⟩. 6 MR, J5, R50 ⟨DNA'nd⟩ for ⟨ODNA'n Y⟩. 7 J5 ⟨ZK Y⟩. 8 DH, DkM, DkT ⟨whšyt'n'⟩ || K43b, MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨whšyt'⟩.

(9.17.4) *ud abar puhl ī ōy ī<sup>+</sup> wanīyēnīdār<sup>1</sup> ud<sup>+</sup> a-dādār<sup>2</sup> pad sidōš čiyōn<sup>3</sup> kē zīndag āhan ī widāxt pad galōg<sup>4</sup> abāz rēzēnēnd<sup>5</sup> ∴*

(9.17.4) And about the punishment of the one who has wasted (their wealth) (yet) has not given (alms/charity); on the Third Dawn (after death) being like when they (forcibly) pour melted iron down someone's throat who is alive.

1 Mss. ⟨wnynyt'1⟩ = ⟨nwynyt'1⟩ || WEST (1892, p. 205) reads ⟨navīnīdār⟩ “mourner” || DkS ⟨nūyīnīdār⟩ “mourner” adding Pers. *ūyīdan* “to cry aloud” (SANJANA 1922, p. 33, fn. 8) [N.B., likely a typo for ⟨نوییدن⟩ *nūyīdan* “to cry aloud, lament,” for which, see STEINGASS 1892, p. 1437 || ASHA (2009, p. 86, fn. 459) suggests *vinēnīdār* “loses (his fees),” likely based on TAFAZZOLI 1971a, pp. 195–197. 2 DH, K43b ⟨'d't'1⟩ || MR ⟨W'd't'1⟩ || J5, DkM ⟨W'd't'1⟩ || DkS ⟨hšt'1⟩ (p. 41) but translates as “stingy” adding ⟨a-dātār⟩ and mentions the reading of WEST (1892, p. 205) as ⟨*khashtār*⟩ “wounder” (SANJANA 1922, p. 33, fn. 9) [N.B., WEST has “self-wounder”] || DkT suggests ⟨*āyaxšēndē*⟩ “cruel or unforgiving” || ASHA (2009, p. 86, fn. 460) suggests *hištār* “releases (or dissolves a marriage).” 3 Mss. *čiyōn čiyōn*. 4 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨glwk'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM ⟨nylwk'⟩ for *nērōg* “force.” 5 DH, K43b ⟨lycynynd'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨lycynynd'⟩.

(9.17.5) *ud abar pād(o)frāb<sup>1</sup> +ī<sup>2</sup> ō zan kē tan pad<sup>3</sup> zanīh<sup>4</sup> ō mard ī ablaw dahēd az-iš abāz āyēd<sup>5</sup> čiyōn ka-š zūzag<sup>6</sup> bāstān pad haxt andar šawē ud bē āyē ud brīd<sup>7</sup>-rāhīb ī-š<sup>8</sup> az ān ī pahlom axwān ∴*

(9.17.5) And about the punishment of a woman who gives herself in marriage to a Righteous Man then leaves him — (for her it will be) like if a hedgehog

continually goes in and comes out between her thighs — and how her path is cut off from the Best Existence.

1 DH, K43b, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨p'twpl's⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨p'tpl's⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨OL⟩ || MR, DkS ⟨Y⟩ || DkT ⟨(Y) OLE⟩ and notes that the mss. (B = DkM and K43b) have ⟨OL⟩ || not in J5, R50. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 4 Mss. ⟨zn'yh⟩ not ⟨NYŠEyh⟩ as before [N.B., likely suggesting a common original]. 5 HUMBACH *et al.* 1991, II, p. 245 emend to <sup>+</sup>*rawēd*. 6 DH ⟨zwzk'b'st'n⟩ || K43b ⟨zwzk'⟩ at the end of the line and ⟨b'st'n⟩ at the beginning of the next || MR ⟨zw ZK Wb'st'n⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨zwzk W b'st'n⟩ || DkT ⟨zwzk(') b'st'n⟩ || DkS ⟨zwzgz b'st'n⟩. 7 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨W blyt'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨W lyt'⟩. 8 K43b ⟨ZK-š⟩.

(9.17.6) *ud abar a-bōxtišnīh ī druwandān ruwān az' dōšox tā tan ī pasēn* ::

(9.17.6) And about how the souls of the wicked are not delivered from Hell until the Final Body.

1 J5 has ⟨j⟩ subscripted in NP as the last word of p. 369.

(9.17.7) *ud abar pādofrāh<sup>1</sup> ī druwandān ēn-iz čiyōn gōspand-ēw kē zīndag<sup>2</sup> pad pāy ud sar nigūn<sup>3</sup> āgust estē u-š angust-zahyā-ēw<sup>4</sup> māyīšn<sup>4</sup> pad wēnīg<sup>5</sup> tazē* ::

(9.17.7) And about the punishment of the wicked, this too is like a sheep which while alive were to be suspended by (its) feet and (its) head upside down and the \*mucus were to flow (out of) its nose to a depth of one finger.

1 Mss. ⟨p'twpl's⟩. 2 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨zynyk PWN⟩ || DH ⟨zyndk W PWN⟩ || K43b ⟨z'ndk W PWN⟩. 3 K43b ⟨kwn⟩ at the beginning of fol. 29v, 3. 4 DH, K43b ⟨m'yšn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM ⟨m'yšnyk⟩ = ⟨m's'nyk⟩ || DkT ⟨m'yšnyk⟩ but transcribes as ⟨میانى⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 205, fn. 4, who suggests ⟨māyagānīk⟩ “specific” [N.B., found in Dk 8.20.166] or ⟨māsānīk⟩ “tumerous or coagulating” and compares with ⟨mūyishnīk⟩ “lamentable” || DkS ⟨māzganīg⟩ which he reads as *Māzībnīg* and compares Pers. مازه “back bone,” for which, cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 1140. 5 DH, K43b, DkS ⟨wynyk tcydy⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨ynyk tcydy⟩ || J5 ⟨gwpt-c-ydy⟩ || DkS ⟨wynyk tc yd⟩ with ⟨yd⟩ = ⟨2⟩.

(9.17.8) *ud abar gāhān pad mēnōy warr ī pad hamāg gōnag abd-<sup>+</sup>pēsīdag<sup>1</sup> mānāg ō ōy ī gāhān srūdār (ī)<sup>2</sup> ahlaw nihumbīhistan<sup>3</sup>* ::

(9.17.8) And about the *Gāḏās* being clothed in wool from *that* world, which is \*adorned with every kind of marvel, (being) like the Righteous one who recites the *Gāḏās*.

1 DH, K43b ⟨'pđ p'stk'⟩ perhaps for an original ⟨'pđ pysytk'⟩ [N.B., for the transliteration of small ⟨y⟩ see SKJÆRVØ 2014, [2018], p. 151] || DkM ⟨'pd p'stk'⟩ without diacritic || MR, J5, R50 ⟨'p' p'stk'⟩ perhaps for an original ⟨'pyy pysytk'⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 205, who reads ⟨apā-pāstakō⟩ “without a footing” || DkS ⟨afdī, pāzīdag⟩ “chrysalis” || DkT ⟨'pd p'yytk'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨افد پائیده⟩ and translates as پائیده “upside down” || ASHA 2009, p. 87, fn. 472 likewise emends to <sup>+</sup>*pēsīdag*. 2 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨nhwmbyhstn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT ⟨nhwmbyhyt(')⟩ || DkT transcribes as ⟨نهمبیده⟩ in TAFAZZOLI 1966, p. 57, but erroneously printed as ⟨تهمبیده⟩ in TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 85.

(9.17.9) *ābādīh ahlayīh ast pahlom* :: ::

(9.17.9) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

*Dēnkard* 9.18.1–4 — *Yeziḏā Hāiti* (Y 48.1–12)

DH 276r, 14 || K43b 29v, 16 || J5 370, 5 || MR 167, 14 || R50 123, 5  
 DKM 806, 18 || DKS vol. xvii, 42 || DkT 58 [87]  
 WEST 206 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 34 || TAFAZZOLI 60 [88] || ASHA 87

(9.18.1) *17-om fragard yezi<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar [kū] kē ēn<sup>5</sup> wināh<sup>3</sup> kunēd<sup>4</sup> az dēn wašt u-š  
 xwēš zīndagīh ud xwarrah kāhīd barwēd mardōm ka dēw ud āstawān-dēn ka<sup>5</sup>  
 an-āstawān-dēn ∴ ud čāšīdār ka a-čāšīdār<sup>6</sup> a-dān ∴ <sup>7</sup>{ud āgāb-gāhān ka an-  
 āgāb-gāhān<sup>8</sup> an-ešnās} ∴ <sup>9</sup>ud wizīdār-dahišn ka<sup>10</sup> a-wizīdār-dahišn a-xrad<sup>11</sup> ud  
 hunsandīhā pad abū<sup>7</sup>ih ud radīh ēzēd ∴*

(9.18.1) The seventeenth *fragard*, the *Yeziḏā*, is about the one who commits the following five sins having turned (away) from the Tradition, and (thereby) one's own life and Fortune is diminished: When a human is (in fact) a demon; and when someone who professes the Tradition, but (in reality) does not profess the Tradition; and when a teacher is not a teacher (because one) lacks knowledge; and when someone (supposedly) learned in the *Gāḏās* is not learned in the *Gāḏās* (because one) does not know them; and when a discerning one is not a discerning one (due to) lacking wisdom, and (yet) contentedly sacrifices as a Lord [= Av. *abu-*] and as a Model [= Av. *ratu-*].

1 Mss. ⟨zyyk⟩ || DkS ⟨zyyk'⟩. 2 K43b (6) replaced with (5). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 4 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩. 5 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨AMT 'n'stwb'n dyn'⟩ || sequence omitted in K43b || MR ⟨'n'stwb'n dyn dyn'⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨'n'stwb'nyh dyn'⟩. 6 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 7 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨W 'k's g's'n AMT 'n'k's g's'n 'nšn's'⟩ || K43b ⟨W 'k's g's'n 'nšn's'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨'k's g's'n 'n'k's g's'n 'nšn's'⟩ || J5 ⟨'k's g's'n AMT' 'n'kyh g's'n 'nšn's'⟩. 8 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 9 Not in DH, K43b, R50. 10 DH, K43b ⟨AMT'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨AMT' AMT'⟩ || J5 ⟨AMT AMT'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨AMT'⟩. 11 DH, K43b ⟨' hlt W hwnsndyh'⟩ || MR ⟨W 'hlyth hwnsndyh'⟩ || J5 ⟨W 'hlyth W hwnsndyh<sup>2</sup>⟩ and re-written above p. 370, 10 || R50 ⟨W ' hlyth hwnsndyh'⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨' hlt hwnsndyh'⟩.

(9.18.2) *ud<sup>1</sup> ēn-iz kū awēšān-iz kē pah ud stōr a-dādīhā kušēnd ān-išān<sup>2</sup> zīndagīh  
 ud xwarrah kāhēd ∴*

(9.18.2) This, too, that also those who unlawfully kill sheep and cattle, diminish their life and Fortune.

1 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b. 2 DH, K43b ⟨ZK-š'n⟩ || MR ⟨ZK š'n⟩ or ⟨ZY š'n⟩ || J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ZY-š'n⟩.

(9.18.3) *ud ēdōn-iz awēšān-iz<sup>1</sup> kē<sup>2</sup> ohrmazd tar-menēnd<sup>3</sup> abēzag ahlaw spitāmān  
 ud xwēš-dēnān-iz<sup>4</sup> ī ahlawān hāwīštān<sup>5</sup> ī tō ∴*

(9.18.3) And, in the same manner too, also those who scorn Ohrmazd, O pure, Righteous Spitāmān [*i.e.*, Zardušt], and those of your own Tradition too who are your Righteous disciples [*i.e.*, the priesthood].

1 J5 ⟨OLEš'n'⟩. 2 J5 ⟨AMT'⟩. 3 Mss., DkM, DkS ⟨tl mynynd'⟩ || DkT ⟨tl mynynd' (Y)⟩. 4 DH, K43b, MR, R50 ⟨hwyšdyn' 'n-c'⟩ || DkT ⟨hwyšdyn' 'n-c'⟩ || J5, DkM, DkS ⟨hwyš dyn' 'n-c'⟩. 5 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨h'wšt'n'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨h'wšt'⟩.

(9.18.4) *ābādīh pablom ast ahlāyīh ∴ ∴*

(9.18.4) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

*Dēnkard 9.19.1–11 — Aṭ.māiiauā Hāiti (Y 49.1–12)*

DH 276v, 1 || K43b 30r, 5 || J5 370, 14 || MR 168, 13 || R50 123, 15  
 DKM 807, 7 || DKS xvii, 43 || DkT 61 [89]  
 WEST 206 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 35 || TAFAZZOLI 63 [91] || ASHA 89

(9.19.1) *18-om fragard at-maiyaw<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar ābusih ī dēw az ōy kē xward<sup>2</sup> hordad  
 <ud> amurdad<sup>3</sup> pad wināhgārīh drāyēd ∴ ud +kē<sup>4</sup> estān mēzēd<sup>5</sup> ∴ ud kē šusr  
 wānīyēnēd<sup>6</sup> ∴*

(9.19.1) The eighteenth *fragard*, the *Aṭ.māiiauā*, is about a demon becoming pregnant by the one who ate Hordad [= Av. Hauruatāt, lit. ‘Wholeness,’ *i.e.*, water] (and) Amurdad [= Av. Amərətāt, lit. ‘Immortality,’ *i.e.*, vegetal substances] (yet) chatters in sinfulness (deliberately); and the one who urinates standing; and the one who wastes semen.

1 Mss. ⟨‘t m’dywb’⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OŠT’E-t(‘)⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨OŠTEN-t’⟩ [N.B., OŠT’E being the older form, found in IMP]. 3 DH, K43b ⟨‘mrđt’⟩ || J5 ⟨‘mrđt’⟩ || MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨‘mwrđt’⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨MN⟩ for *az* “from” || DkS ⟨MNW⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨MN(W)⟩. 5 DH, MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mycyt’⟩ || K43b ⟨myt mycyt’⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨HWBDN-yn-yt’⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨HWBDN’-yn-yt(‘)⟩.

(9.19.2) *ud jeh<sup>1</sup> kē pas az hūfrāšmōdād<sup>2</sup> čē-gāmag jōyēd ∴ <sup>3</sup>{ud kē šab pad  
 a-srāyišnih ī ahunwar<sup>4</sup> šōr<sup>5</sup> xwarišn ō abāxtar rēzēd ∴}*

(9.19.2) And (about) the promiscuous woman, who devours anything at all after sunset, and who, at night, pours salty food to the North without reciting the *Ahunwar*.

1 DH, K43b ⟨jyh⟩ and Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || R50, MR, J5 ⟨yyh⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨yyh⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨hwkpl’šmwkd’t(‘)⟩. 3 Sequence omitted in K43b. 4 Mss. ⟨‘hwwl’⟩. 5 DH ⟨šwl⟩ for which, cf. شور “salty, brackish” in STEINGASS 1892, p. 765 || MR, J5 ⟨šwl⟩ = ⟨d’nl⟩ || DkS ⟨dānar⟩ “crumbs” following WEST 1892, p. 207, who translates “morsel” || similarly ASHA 2009, p. 90, fn. 490, who compares Av. *danara* “a measure of food or drink” in V 16.7 || DkT ⟨ياوری⟩ and translates *یک بار* “once”; cf. also ZFJ (TD2, p. 440): *pad xwarišn ī tarr ud šōr* ⟨šwwl⟩ *grāy*.

(9.19.3) *<ud> ēn-iz kū ruwān ēw-tāg bāstān ō tan xwāyišnīg pad-iz<sup>1</sup> ēn ēwāz kū  
 ay <sup>2</sup>{tan ī sejōmand<sup>3</sup> ablāyih +stāyēš<sup>4</sup> pad +ul-nibēmišnīh<sup>5</sup> ka bē xufsē ablāyih  
 pad frāz-bawišnīh} ka wigrād bawē ud ablāyih<sup>6</sup> pad ul-ēstīšnīh<sup>7</sup> čiyōn tō pad  
 harwist āyišn <ud> bē-šawišnīh pad wēn āwarišn <ud><sup>8</sup> barišn hu-mizdīh ud was-  
 mizdīh ud ablāyih-mizdīh bawād ∴}*

(9.19.3) (And) this, too, (that one’s) soul alone (is) constantly seeking from (one’s) body, also by these words [lit. ‘voice’]: ‘O perishable body! You should praise Righteousness while lying down, when you go to sleep; (praise) Righteousness when you come to, when you become awake; and (praise) Righteousness when you get up, for in every (daily) coming and going, when inhaling and exhaling, there shall be a good reward, much reward, and the reward of Righteousness.’

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨PWN-c ZNE ’yw’c’⟩ || MR ⟨PWN ’yw’c’⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨PWN-c ’yw’c’⟩. 2 DH, K43b || MR omits the sequence *tan ī sejōmand ablāyih stāyēš pad ul-nibēmišnīh ka bē xufsē ablāyih* and, instead, has *tanōmand pad frāz bawišnīh* || J5 also omits



the sequence and has *tan* as the last word of p. 370, 14 and *bēnd sejōmand pad frāz bawišnih* at the beginning of p. 371, 1 || R50 *bēnd sejōmand pad frāz bawišnih* || DkM, DkS, DkT *tan ī sejōmand ablāyih stāyēš ud pad ul-(ni)bēmišnih ka bē xufšē ablāyih*. 3 DH, K43b, DkS (sc'wmnd). 4 DH, K43b, DkS (st'sd') || DkT (st'xdy) || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 185 who transliterates as ⟨yyt'sdw⟩. 5 DH, vK43b, DkM, DkS (LALA pdmšnyh) but see DH (LALA npdmšnyh) in §9.19.5 || DkT ⟨(n)pdmšnyh⟩. 6 J5 (‘hlyyh) and (‘hl’yh) superscripted at the end of p. 371, 1. 7 Mss. ⟨'wstšnyh⟩ || DkT ⟨'wstšnyh-c⟩. 8 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩.

(9.19.4) *ud ka tan ham-gōnag kunēd<sup>1</sup> ruwān šādihēd<sup>2</sup> ud ō tan āfrīn kunēd<sup>3</sup> kū nēk tō bawād \*ay<sup>4</sup> tan ī sejōmand<sup>5</sup> kē-t<sup>6</sup> man buland kard ham kē-t<sup>7</sup> man nazdik<sup>8</sup> rasēnid ham ō ān ī pablom axwān :*

(9.19.4) And when the body does accordingly the soul is made happy and blesses the body: ‘Bless you! O you perishable body, who lifted me up, who made me come close to the Best Existence.’

1 Mss. ⟨OBYD(W)N-X<sub>1</sub>⟩. 2 DH, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨š'tyhyt⟩ || K43b ⟨š't yhyt⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨'štyhyt'⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨OBYD(W)N-X<sub>1</sub>⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨HNA⟩ for *ēd* “this” || DkT emends to *ay*. 5 DH, K43b, J5 ⟨sc'wmnd⟩ || MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨sc'wmn'd⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨MNW-t L bwlnd⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨MNW t'L bwlnd⟩ || J5 ⟨MN t'L bwlnd⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨MNW tl bwlnd⟩. 7 DH, K43b ⟨MNW-t L nzdyk Y W YHMTWN-ynty'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨MNW t'L nzdyk' YHMTWN-ynty'⟩ || J5 ⟨MNW⟩ at the end of p. 371, 5 and ⟨t'l nzdyk' YHMTWN-ynty'⟩ at the beginning of p. 371, 6 || DkS ⟨MNW tl nzdyk' YHMTWN-ynty'⟩ || DkT ⟨MNW-t L nzdyk YHMTWN-ynty'⟩. 8 DH, K43b, DKM ⟨Y W⟩.

(9.19.5) *ud ka tan ān ī ruwān āfrāh nē padirēd<sup>1</sup> ud anāg-rawišnih gōwēd pad ul-nibēmišnih<sup>2</sup> ud anāg-rawišnih pad frāz-bawišnih<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>{ud anāg-rawišnih pad ul-ēstišnih<sup>5</sup> ruwān \*snōhēd<sup>6</sup> ān<sup>7</sup> ī garzišniḡ} gōwišn barēd<sup>8</sup> kū anāg tō tan ī sejōmand<sup>9</sup> kē<sup>10</sup>-t man gišnag kard (ham) kē-t<sup>11</sup> man nazdik rasēnid ham<sup>12</sup> ō<sup>13</sup> ān ī wattom axwān :*

(9.19.5) And if the body does not accept the counsel of the soul and (instead) utters: ‘Woe’<sup>14</sup> when it lies down; and ‘Woe’ when it comes to; and ‘Woe’ when it gets up, (then) the soul \*sobs, raising its voice in complaint (saying): ‘You are evil, O perishable body, who made me short(-lived), who made me come close to the Worst Existence!’

1 Mss. ⟨MKBL(W)N-X<sub>1</sub>⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨LALA npdmšnyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨LALA pdmšnyh⟩. 3 K43b ⟨YHWWN-šnyk⟩. 4 Following sequence omitted in K43b. 5 DH, DkM, DkT ⟨'wstšnyh⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50, DkS. 6 DH ⟨dyn' AYT'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨dyn' AYT'⟩ for *dēn ast* for a putative ⟨'snwh-yt'⟩ for *snōhēd* from *snūdan*, *snōh-* “to weep, sob” with the parsing first suggested by TAFAZZOLI (1971a, pp. 193–194) || cf. also ASHA 2009, p. 91, fn. 503 who, likely following DkT, compares Yt 19.80: *snaodāntiš garazānā* “weeping and complaining (women)”; cf. HINTZE 1994a, p. 341: “weinenden (und) klagenden (Frauen).” 7 MR, R50 ⟨WZK⟩. 8 K43b ⟨YBLWN⟩. 9 DH, K43b, J5 ⟨sc'wmnd⟩ || MR ⟨sc'⟩ at the end of line and ⟨wmn'd⟩ on the next line || R50 ⟨sc'wmn'd⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨syc'wmnd⟩. 10 DH, K43b ⟨MNWtL gšnk'⟩ || MR ⟨MN tlgšnk'⟩ || R50 ⟨MNW tlgšn'⟩ with ⟨k'⟩ written above p. 124, 13 || DkM, DkS ⟨MNW tl⟩ || DkT ⟨MNW-t L⟩. 11 MR ⟨MNW tlyšnk'⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨MNW tl⟩ || DkT ⟨MNW-t L⟩. 12 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨HWE(')-m⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨HWE(')-d⟩. 13 Mss. ⟨'w'⟩. 14 Lit. “evil progress” *anāg-rawišnih* [N.B., rendering OAv. *auuaētāt-* (e.g. in Y 31.20) with \**rawišnih* rendering the Av. *ōtāt* suffix].

(9.19.6) *ud abar kū +a-niškan<sup>1</sup> ud +a-hamkan<sup>2</sup> ud +ābenjaḡ<sup>3</sup> nišān ī gišnaḡ<sup>4</sup>-zīyīšnīh u-š bēšāzišnīh ahunwar<sup>5</sup> ud<sup>6</sup> ablāyīh guftan :*

(9.19.6) And about the fact of not having \*\*digging and \*\*burrowing and \*\*clinging (ticks, which are) the sign of having a short life, then the way to heal is to say an *Ahunwar* [= *Abuna Vairiia*] and an *Ablāyīh* [= *Ašəm Vohū*].

1 DH, K43b ⟨'nyškn'⟩ = ⟨'wyškn'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨'nyškn'⟩ || WEST (1892, p. 208) reads avēsakō “unaccustomed” || DkM ⟨'wyškn W⟩ || DkS ⟨'wyškn' W⟩ and transcribes as *a-višbag* “evil” and suggests it is the antonym of NP *višbag* “good” (SANJANA 1922, p. 36, fn. 4) || DkT ⟨'wyškn' W⟩ with no transcription || ASHA does not transcribe or translate || These three highly conjectural forms and translations in §9.19.6 above have been (tentatively) suggested to me by P.O. SKJÆRVØ (p.c.) based on two somewhat similar looking *hapax legomena* — ⟨hngn⟩ and ⟨hyjg⟩ — in a MMP text (see SUNDERMANN 1973, p. 28), for which, see the discussion in SKJÆRVØ 1994b, pp. 269–286, in particular, pp. 271–278. There, SKJÆRVØ noted that Pers. 𐭥𐭮 “a tick” (see STEINGASS 1892, p. 1056) is from *kan-* “to dig,” with the same putative root in the first two forms above. For MMP ⟨hyjg⟩ he suggests, amongst different alternatives, that it might be a derivative of the root √*bag*, Skt. *sa(ñ)-* “to adhere, cling to” with the MMP ⟨-y-⟩ being due to palatalization and, thus, he suggests a cognate with Khot. *hajse* (a *hapax*) mentioned in the *Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra* together with *pāra-*, a small boring creature. He suggests: “Small clinging and boring or digging creatures would fit both the Middle Persian and the Khotanese contexts” (p. 278). For the third form, cf. *ābenjīdan*, *ābenj-* found in DD 71.7 (*ābenjēd* or *ābenjīd*; TD4a 353 || T60 110b) and rendered by KÖNIG (2010, p. 456) in his glossary as (*ābanjīdan*, *ābanj-*) “abziehen” (“to pull out”). Cf. also NP *هنجیدن* “to drag” and *هنبجیدن* “to vex, molest, injure, irritate” (STEINGASS 1892, p. 126 and p. 1513 respectively, with additional translations). This passage merits further scrutiny. 2 DH, K43b ⟨'hmkn'⟩ presumably for ⟨'hmkn' W⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨'hmkn'⟩ || DkM ⟨'hmkn W⟩ = ⟨'hmk' W⟩ || Presumably following WEST 1892, p. 208, DkS has ⟨'hmk' W⟩ and transcribes as *kbāmag* “imperfect,” and he suggests *خام* “raw, crude” (SANJANA 1922, p. 36, fn. 5) || DkT ⟨'hmkn W⟩ = ⟨'hmk' W⟩ with no transcription || ASHA does not transcribe or translate. 3 DH, K43b ⟨'hnc'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM ⟨w'hnc'⟩ || DkS ⟨nh'nck'⟩ and transcribes as *nihānchig* “hidden,” presumably following WEST 1892, p. 208, who translated as “secret” || DkT ⟨'hnc'⟩ with no transcription || ASHA does not transcribe or translate. 4 DH, K43b ⟨ḡšnk'⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨'hwwl⟩. 6 DH, K43b || not in MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT.

(9.19.7) *ud ēn-iz kū ka ō gōmēz<sup>1</sup> nišnē ahunwar<sup>2</sup> frāz srāyēš<sup>3</sup> ud ablāyīh pas ka ul ēstē<sup>4</sup> kū kamist tō wisinnād dēw druz ⟨:⟩*

(9.19.7) And this, too, when you sit to urinate, you should recite an *Ahunwar* and, afterwards, when you stand up, an *Ablāyīh*, so that the demon ‘Lie’ cuts you [*i.e.*, your life] off the least.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gwmyc' YTYBWN-ydy⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨gwmyc' YBWN-ydy⟩ || J5 ⟨gwmyc' GBRA⟩. 2 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkT ⟨'hwnwl⟩ || J5, R50, DkS ⟨'hwwl⟩. 3 J5 ⟨sl'dšn⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨'wst'yd⟩ || R50 ⟨'st'yd⟩.

(9.19.8) *ud ka ō nārīg abar rawē ahunwar<sup>1</sup> fradom srāyēš ud ablāyīh pas [:] ka andarg baxt kunē<sup>2</sup> čē<sup>3</sup> ēdōn tō ān-iz ast pad ablāyīh ablawtar ud pērozgartar kē tō pus kunē<sup>4</sup> :*

(9.19.8) And when you mount [lit. ‘go onto’] (your) wife, you should first recite an *Ahunwar* and an *Ablāyīh* afterwards, when you ‘do it’ between (her) thighs, for in this way that too is more righteous for you in Righteousness and more victorious for you who are making a son.

1 Mss. ⟨'hwnwl⟩. 2 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 3 K43b ⟨QDM⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩.

(9.19.9) ⟨ud⟩ *ēn-iz kū ka andar<sup>1</sup> ō xānag šawē mēnōy ī xānag ud harwist ān ī ahlawān stī<sup>2</sup> ī andar<sup>3</sup> ān mān kē hēnd ud būd ⟨ud⟩ bawēnd namāz \*bar<sup>4</sup> ud ahunwar<sup>5</sup> gōw<sup>6</sup> ∴*

(9.19.9) (And) this, too, when you go into a house, pay homage to the ‘Spirit of the House’ and say an *Ahunwar* to the entire existence of the Righteous Ones in that house — those who are, were, and will be.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 2 Mss. ⟨sty Y⟩. 3 DkM ⟨W BYN⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨’hwnwl⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨YMRWN(’)⟩.

(9.19.10) *ud abar-iz tuštan<sup>1</sup> ī druwandān ān-iz sūr ī-šān pad xwadāyih nē rāst baxt ∴<sup>2</sup>*

(9.19.10) And also about the \*hoarding of the wicked ones, (about) that food too of theirs that they did not distribute rightly during their rule.

1 DH, MR, J5, DkM (twštn’ Y) || K43b (tw) at the end of fol. 30v, 8 and (št’n’ Y) superscripted || WEST (1892, p. 209) transcribes as *tavastanō* “corruption” || DkS has *tansīdan* and translates as “troubles,” suggesting Pers. تنسیدن which he translates as “to be troubled, disturbed in mind” (p. 36, fn. 9) || DkT (twštn’) and transcribes as ⟨توشتن⟩ and translates as اطاعت دروندان “obeying, submitting to the wicked ones” || The infinitive is most likely related to *tōšag* “(travel) provisions,” for which, cf. §9.16.11. 2 Not in MR.

(9.19.11) *ābādīh pahlom ablāyih ast ∴ ∴*

(9.19.11) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity.

### *Dēnkard* 9.20.1–10 — *Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti* (Y 50.1–11)

DH 277r, 5 || K43b 30v, 10 || J5 372, 2 || MR 171, 6 || R50 125, 8  
DkM 808, 18 || DkS xvii, 46 || DkT 67 [95]  
WEST 209 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 37 || TAFAZZOLI 69 [97] || ASHA 93

(9.20.1) *19-om fragard kadmōruw<sup>1</sup> ⟨∴⟩ abar kū ruwān ka ō ham rasēnd ān ī ōy ī nēk dastwar ī ruwān-dōst ruwān burzēnd pad ān kū-š nē rēšēnēd ud az dōšox \*pāyēd<sup>2</sup> ⟨∴⟩*

(9.20.1) The nineteenth *fragard*, the *Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā*, is about where the souls, when they come together, praise the soul of the one who is a good authority — and a friend of one’s (own) soul — for not causing injury to one(self) and for protecting one(self) from Hell.

1 Mss., DkS ⟨ktmwklwk’⟩ || DkM ⟨ktmwylwk’⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨ktmwylwk’⟩. 2 DH, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨NLTWN-t’⟩ for *pād* || K43b ⟨NLTN-t’⟩ with ⟨NLTWN-t’⟩ superscripted || MR ⟨NTWL-t’⟩ || DkT ⟨NLTWN-t’⟩ for *pād* but transcribes as ⟨پایید⟩.

(9.20.2) *abar tārikīh ud \*burzōmandīh<sup>1</sup> ud dūr a-bunīh<sup>2</sup> ud \*sejđīh<sup>3</sup> ud a-wehīh ī dōšox ud wazag-ĵōyišnīh<sup>4</sup> ud wazag-nihumbišnīh<sup>5</sup> ud \*pēšōg-bāryōš<sup>6</sup> ud snēxr<sup>7</sup> abar-rasišnīh ud dardōmandīh ud bēšōmandīh<sup>8</sup> ud škeft-bīmīh ī dōšoxīgān ∴*

(9.20.2) (And) about the darkness and \*depth and far-reaching bottomlessness, terror, and lack of goodness of Hell; and how one is chewed by frogs and covered by frogs; how there comes down upon one \*burning ashes and snow; and how there is pain and sorrow and the awful fear of the denizens of Hell.

1 Mss. ⟨bwlc' 'wmndyh⟩ || DkM ⟨bwlc' 'wmndyh⟩ || DkS ⟨bwlc' wmn d̄yh⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨bwlc' 'wmndyh⟩ but transcribes as ⟨بلندی⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨' bwn yh Y W⟩ || MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'bwnyh Y⟩ || J5 ⟨'bwnyh-Y⟩. 3 DH, K43b ⟨syškyh⟩ perhaps for *sejdīb* “terror” || MR ⟨ksškyh⟩ || J5, R50, DkM ⟨syd'kyh⟩ for *syāgīh* “blackness” as WEST (1892, p. 209) has it || DkS ⟨syd'kyh⟩ and transcribes as *syāgīh* “far-reaching (*dūr*) endlessness of the gloom” || DkT ⟨syd'kyh⟩ and transcribes as ⟨سیاهی⟩. 4 DH ⟨Wwzkjwyšnyh⟩ || K43b ⟨Wwzkywyšnyh⟩ with no diacritic || MR, J5 ⟨Wwzk ywyšnyh⟩ || DkM ⟨W wzg ywyšnyh⟩ = ⟨W nzd ywyšnyh⟩ || DkS ⟨W nzd gndšnyh⟩ and transcribes as *va nazd-gandishnih* “and close filth” || DkT ⟨W nzd gndšnyh⟩ and transcribes as ⟨گندشی(یک) نزد⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 209, who translates as “proximity to stench.” 5 DH, K43b ⟨Wwzk nhwmbšnyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨Wwzk nhwmbyh⟩ || DkM ⟨wzg nhwmbšnyh⟩ = ⟨nzd nhwmbšnyh⟩ || DkS ⟨W nzd nhwmbyh⟩ and transcribes as *va nazd-nihūmbīh* “and close concealment” following WEST 1892, p. 209, fn. 3, who compares AWN 54.5–8 || DkT ⟨nzd nhwmbšnyh⟩ and transcribes as ⟨نهمیشی(یک) نزد⟩. 6 DH, K43b ⟨pyšwk' b'lywš⟩ || MR, J5, DkM ⟨pyšwk' b'lynyh⟩ = ⟨pyšnk' b'lynyh⟩ || DkS ⟨pyšnk' b'lynyh⟩ and transcribes as *pīshang-bālinīh* “painful reclining,” which he derives from Av. *pīsh* “to hurt” [N.B., an uncertain meaning] and, for the second member of the compound, he suggests NP بالین “cushion, bed” || cf. also WEST 1892, p. 209 who transcribes as *pīsnakō-bālinīh* “sleet-pelted clambering” || DkT ⟨pyšwk' b'lynyh⟩ and transcribes as ... بالینی but does not translate || ASHA (2009, p. 94) translates as “cushion of ...” and reads J5 as ⟨ps'nk'⟩ = ⟨ps'wk'⟩. 7 DH, K43b, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨snyyh⟩ || MR ⟨snhl⟩ || DkS ⟨snyz'l⟩ and transcribes as *snēzār* “lamentation” which he derives from Av. *snud-* “to lament” || DkT ⟨snyyh⟩ and transcribes as ⟨سنهر⟩ and translates as برف “snow.” 8 K43b ⟨yš'wmndyh⟩ a bit smudged and ⟨yš'w⟩ superscripted.

(9.20.3) *ēn-iz kū-š<sup>1</sup> azabar abāz abgand estēd az čagād<sup>2</sup> ī dāitī<sup>3</sup> ī abar ērān-wēz ō harborz ī ast čandōg<sup>4</sup> puhl u-š azēr ī mayān<sup>5</sup> dōšox dar ī widār<sup>6</sup> ast ī hamāg ahlaw ud druwand ud tar ahlawān widār 9 nēzag pahnāy ek ek<sup>7</sup> dagrandīh<sup>8</sup> sē nāy<sup>9</sup> frāxīhēd ud pad druwandān widār<sup>10</sup> čiyōn awestarag<sup>11</sup> tēx<sup>12</sup> bawēd* .<sup>13</sup>

(9.20.3) And this, too, there is spanning [lit. ‘thrown over’] it, from the Dāitī Peak, which (looms) over Ērān-wēz to the Harborz [= Av. Harā Bərəzaitī] — what is (called) the ‘Shaking Bridge’ — and below the middle of it is the door of Hell, through which all the Righteous and the wicked must pass; and across the passage of the Righteous Ones it is enlarged to nine spears wide, the length of each of them is three reeds, (but) for the wicked ones the passage becomes like a razor’s edge.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ZNE-c AYK-š⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨ZNE-c-š⟩. 2 K43b ⟨ck't'⟩ and ⟨'p⟩ superscripted and a mark subscripted below the letter ⟨k⟩ || J5 ⟨ck't YY⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨d'yty⟩. 4 DH, K43b ⟨cndwk⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨cynk'⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨mdy'n'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨m'tyd'n'⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨mdy'n'⟩ || DkT ⟨mdy'n(Y)⟩. 6 J5 ⟨wt'LAYt'⟩. 7 J5 ⟨'ywk'-c⟩. 8 DH, K43b ⟨dglndyh⟩ || MR, DkT ⟨dglndyh⟩ with no diacritics || J5 ⟨dlwndyh⟩ || DkM ⟨dglndyh⟩ || DkS ⟨dylngyh⟩. 9 DkM ⟨W 'y⟩. 10 R50 ⟨t'l⟩. 11 DH, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'wstlk'⟩ || K43b ⟨'wstlk'⟩ || MR ⟨'wstlk'⟩ and the otiose stroke written above the ⟨k⟩ || J5 ⟨'wstlk'⟩. 12 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨tyh⟩ = ⟨t'b⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨th⟩. 13 No divider in MR, J5, R50.

(9.20.4) *ēdōn ō<sup>1</sup> tō gōwam spitāmān kū rāstīh mard franāmēd tarist čēh-widarg ī dūr-nāmīg<sup>2</sup> čandōg puhl čē bē mard<sup>3</sup> ī rāstīhōmand<sup>4</sup> āštād<sup>5</sup> ī weh ī fray-dādār<sup>6</sup> (ī)*

*gēhān ud mihr-iz ī fray-gāwyođ<sup>7</sup> ā-š az ān tangih bōzēnd čiyōn ān ī hazār-gānag<sup>8</sup> spāh ·:*<sup>9</sup>

(9.20.4) Thus I say to you, O Spitāmān: ‘The man of Truth proceeds across the ‘Passage of Wails’ — the far-famed ‘Shaking Bridge’ — because Good Aštād, the producer of abundance for the World, and Mihr of Wide Pastures too, save the man who possesses Truth from that constriction (of the Bridge) like (with the help of) an army of a thousand.’

1 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (OL) for *ō* || DH, K43b (ZK) for *ān* perhaps for \**ō* spelled ⟨w⟩ but which was read as *ān* in the ms. from which DH and K43b descend? Also see fn. §9.20.6. 2 DH, K43b, DkT (dwl’n’m’yk cndwk’) || MR, J5, R50, DkM (dwl’n’m’yk-c nywk’) for *dūr-nāmīg-iz nēk*. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 4 DH (l’st) at the end of fol. 277r, 15 and ⟨yh’wmnd̄⟩ at the beginning of fol. 277r, 16 || K43b, DkM (l’st yh’wmnd̄) || MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT (l’styh’wmnd̄). 5 R50 ⟨yšt’t’⟩. 6 DH, K43b, J5 (pl’d’t’lgyh’n) || MR, R50 (pl’yd’t’l Y gyh’n) || DkM (pl’yd’t’l gyh’n) || DkS (plyhd’t’l Y gyh’n) with ⟨plyh°⟩ = ⟨pl’b°⟩ || DkT (pl’yd’t’l (Y) gyh’n). 7 DH, K43b (pl’yg’wywt’) [N.B., ⟨w⟩ written atypically in both Iranian mss.] || MR, R50, DkT (pl’g’wywt’) or (plhg’wywt’) || J5 (pl’ygywywt’) || DkM (pl’ygywywt’) || DkS (pl’g’wywt’). 8 DH, R50 (hc’lk’nk’) || K43b (hc’lk’n k’) || MR, J5 (hc’lk’nk’) || DkM, DkT (hcl’k’nk’) || DkS (hc’lk’n). 9 No divider in MR, J5, R50.

(9.20.5) *ēdōn ō tō gōwam spitāmān kū mihr ma abar-druxtār bawē ma ka<sup>1</sup> abāg druwandān ham-pursē<sup>2</sup> ud ma ka abāg xwēš-dēnān ī ablawān čē har dō-ān<sup>3</sup> mihr ast druwandān-iz ud ablawān-iz mihr ast gurg-iz zardu(x)št abāg waččagān<sup>4</sup> ān ī jehīg<sup>5</sup> [= Av. jahika-] mihr škefttar ast spitāmān<sup>6</sup> ·:*<sup>7</sup>

(9.20.5) Thus I say to you, O Spitāmān: ‘Be not someone who would belie the Contract, neither when you conclude it with wicked ones nor when it is with Righteous Ones of one’s own Tradition, because the Contract is for both the wicked and the Righteous Ones, even (with) a wolf, O Zardušt, and with (its) young; (but) the Contract with a promiscuous woman is the most awful, O Spitāmān!’

1 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b. 2 R50 (AMT PWN sydy) for ⟨hmpwrsydy⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT (KRA 2-’n mtr’) || MR, J5, R50, DkM (KRA 2’nmtr’). 4 MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (wck’n’) || J5 (wck’n’) written diagonally at the bottom of p. 372 to indicate the next word on p. 373; however, the first word on p. 373 is the following (ZK Y) || DH, K43b (wckyn’ ·). 5 DH, K43b ⟨jyhyk⟩ and Avestan ⟨j⟩ = ⟨yw⟩ superscripted || MR ⟨ywyhyk⟩ || J5 ⟨yyhyk⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || R50 ⟨yhywyk⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨yyhyk⟩ with no diacritic. 6 R50 (spyt’m’n’) with a small vertical stroke written under the first (’). 7 No divider in MR, R50.

(9.20.6) *ēdōn ō<sup>1</sup> tō gōwam spitāmān kū ma jeh<sup>2</sup> hāzē ō<sup>3</sup> kunišn kū-š zan ma kun<sup>4</sup> ud abāg-nibēmišnīh<sup>5</sup> kū-š<sup>6</sup> abāg ma \*xufs<sup>7</sup> ·:*<sup>8</sup>

(9.20.6) Thus I say to you, O Spitāmān: ‘Do not seduce [lit. ‘lead, persuade’] a promiscuous woman to “do it,” that is, do not make her a wife, or “lie with her,” that is, do not sleep with her!’

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (w’) || MR, J5, DkS (OL). 2 DH, K43b ⟨jyh⟩ and Av. ⟨j⟩ = Pahl. ⟨yw⟩ superscripted || MR ⟨ywyhyk⟩ || J5 ⟨yyhyk⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || R50 ⟨yyhwyk⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || DkM, DkT ⟨yyhyk⟩ with no diacritic || DkS ⟨yyh⟩ with no diacritic. 3 Mss. ⟨w’⟩. 4 J5 (OBYDWN=d̄) with the ⟨-d̄⟩ crossed out. 5 Mss. ⟨npdmšnyh⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (AYK-š) || MR, J5, R50 (OLE AYK). 7 Mss.,

DKM, DkS ⟨HLMWN-t'⟩ for *xuft* || DkT emends to ⟨HLMWN'⟩ for *xufs* and transcribed as (مخواب) || ASHA (2009, p. 95) also emends to \*x'afs. 8 No divider in R50 || MR ⟨:⟩.

(9.20.7) *ud agar<sup>1</sup> jeh<sup>2</sup> hāzē ō kunišn ud abāg-nibēmišnīh<sup>3</sup> ōy ma<sup>4</sup> pas<sup>5</sup> frāz hīlēs<sup>6</sup> ma pad tangīh ud ma pad frāxīh ud ma<sup>7</sup> tan ud ma gyān dōšāram<sup>8</sup> rāy cē kē jeh<sup>9</sup> hāzēd ō kunišn abāg-nibēmišnīh<sup>10</sup> ōy frāz hīlihēd<sup>11</sup> tan ayāb gyān dōšāram<sup>12</sup> rāy ud<sup>13</sup> ān ōy zīnēnēd<sup>14</sup> mān ud wis ud zand ud deb ⟨ud⟩ mibrōdruz<sup>15</sup> ī az ān barwēd ān ōy ruwān zīnēnēd<sup>16</sup> ∴.17*

(9.20.7) And if you seduce a promiscuous woman to “do it” or “lie with her,” then you shall not discard her, neither in good times nor in bad [lit. ‘neither in constriction nor in expanse’], and neither for love of (one’s) body nor of (one’s) soul. Because the one who seduces a promiscuous woman to “do it” or “lies with her,” and she is then discarded for love of either body or soul, he then damages his house, village, tribe, and land; (and) the ‘Contract-belier’ who comes from that [*i.e.*, the offspring of that illicit union] causes damage to his soul.

1 Omitted in K43b. 2 DH, K43b ⟨jyh⟩ and the Avestan ⟨j⟩ = ⟨yw⟩ superscripted || MR ⟨ywyyh⟩ || J5 ⟨WHTyyh⟩ for ⟨W HT yyh⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || R50 ⟨WHTkyh⟩ for ⟨W HT yyh⟩ with the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨yyh⟩ with no diacritic. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨LWTE npdmšnyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨LWTE pdmšnyh⟩. 4 MR, J5, DkS, DkT || not in DH, K43b, DkM. 5 Deleted in DkT. 6 J5 ⟨ŠBKKNW-yš⟩ and a mark above indicating an error and the corrected ⟨ŠBKWN-yš⟩ written in the left margin of p. 373, 4 || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 185. 7 J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨AL PWN tn'⟩. 8 J5 ⟨dws'lm'l'd⟩. 9 DH, K43b ⟨jyh⟩ || MR ⟨ywyyh⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨yyh⟩ with the Avestan ⟨j⟩ superscripted || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨yyh⟩. 10 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨npdmšnyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨pdmšnyh⟩. 11 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨ŠBKWN-yh-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT ⟨ŠBKWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ || cf. SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 172. 12 MR, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨dws'lm l'd⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨dws'yml l'd⟩ || J5 ⟨dws'lm'l'd⟩. 13 Omitted in DkT. 14 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨zynynyt'⟩ || J5 ⟨zynyt'⟩. 15 DH ⟨mtrwk'wdlwc⟩ || K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mtrwk'n dlwc'⟩ || MR ⟨mtr'-'wdlwc'⟩ with an English hyphen || J5, R50 ⟨mtr''wdlwc'⟩. 16 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨zynynyt'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨zynyt'⟩ || DkS ⟨zīvinēd⟩ and translates “(soul) which animates her” following WEST 1892, p. 211 || ASHA (2009, p. 96, fn. 531) reads *hān ōy ravān zīnēd* (§9.20.8) *ēdōn fraزندān kū-šān mibr-druz abar rased* as part of this § and translates “he harms his soul (*urvan-*), as well as his children [that is, the ‘breach of contract comes upon them].” 17 No divider in MR, J5, R50.

(9.20.8) *ēdōn fraزندān kū-šān<sup>1</sup> mibrōdruz<sup>2</sup> abar rasēd pad<sup>3</sup> ⟨duš-hammōzišnīh ⟨ī⟩ ōy ī druwand andar bun ī dōšox ud pad a-frazandīh<sup>4</sup> bē⟩ nibayēd ∴.5*

(9.20.8) Thus (upon his) children, that is, (the sin of being) a ‘Contract-belier’ comes upon them (too) through the evil teaching of the wicked one who lies at the bottom of Hell and (is) without children [*i.e.*, the Promiscuous Woman].

1 J5 omits ⟨AYK-š'n⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨mtr'dlwc⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨mtrwkdlwc(')⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨mtr' dlwc⟩. 3 J5 omits the following sequence. 4 MR, R50 ⟨'przndyh⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨'prđndyh⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'przndyh⟩. 5 No divider in MR, J5, R50.

(9.20.9) *hād druwandān az ēn-iz nēkīh nēst kē-š dād was obrmazd ān nēkīh ∴*

(9.20.9) In sum: For the wicked there is no goodness from this at all, which Ohrmazd established plenty of, (namely) that goodness.

(9.20.10) *pablom ablāyīh ast ābādīh ∴ ∴*

(9.20.10) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

*Dēnkard* 9.21.1–25 — *Vohū.xšaθrā Hāiti* (Y 51.1–22)

DH 277v, 9 || K43b 31r, 18 || J5 373, 10 || MR 174, 3 || R50 127, 5  
 DKM 810, 8 || DKS vol. xvii, 49 || DKt 73 [100]  
 WEST 212 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 39 || TAFAZZOLI 75 [102] || ASHA 96

(9.21.1) *wistom fragard wobū-xšahr<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar stahmbagihā<sup>2</sup> kard<sup>3</sup> ī dahāg<sup>4</sup> xwadāyih abar būm ī haft ud pēš-rawāgih<sup>5</sup> [ī-š framān az dast<sup>6</sup> +ā-wardišn ∴*

(9.21.1) The twentieth *fragard*, the *Vohū.xšaθrā*, is about how oppressively Dahāg took sovereignty over the earth of seven (regions) and how his command went forth from a \*turn of his hand.

1 DH, K43, DkM, DkT ⟨whwhkhšt⟩ || MR, R50, DkS ⟨whwhkhšt⟩ || J5 ⟨whwhkyšt⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨sthmbkyh'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨sthmkkyh'⟩. 3 DkT emends to ⟨OHDWN-tn'⟩ [N.B., also possible though *kard* is rarely spelled with an Arameogram]. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨dh'k' hwt'yjh⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨dh'k' OBYDWN-t' hwt'yjh⟩. 5 The following sequence is omitted in R50. 6 DH, K43b (YĎE 'wwlts'n') || MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨YDE'n wltšn'⟩ = ⟨GDE'n wltšn'⟩ for *dastān wardišn* “turning, waving of (his) hands” or *xwarrahān wardišn* “vicissitudes of Fortune” following the reading and trans. in MOLÉ 1959, p. 283 and p. 286 and also in SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 83 || DkT ⟨GDE'n wltšn'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨گردش فرآن⟩ and translates as به علت گردش فرها “due to the “vicissitudes of Fortune” || cf. also §9.22.4.

(9.21.2) *ud abar hanjamanīg<sup>1</sup> pursišn ī dahāg ∴ abar čim ī wišōmandih ī hambāstag mardōm pas az kirrēnīdan ī jam ud xwadāyih<sup>2</sup> ī dahāg ud<sup>3</sup> mardōm ō dahāg passox guftan<sup>4</sup> kū jam<sup>5</sup> abāz dāšt estād<sup>6</sup> az gehān niyāz<sup>7</sup> ud škōhīh ud suy<sup>8</sup> ud tišn<sup>9</sup> ud zarmān ud margih ud šewan ud moy ud sarmāg ud garmāg ī a-paymān ud amēzišn ī dēw abāg mardōm ∴*

(9.21.2) And about Dahāg’s question in the assembly about the reason why all people were filled with poison after Jam had been split in two; and (about) the rule of Dahāg; and how the people answered Dahāg: ‘Jam had kept away from the earth want and destitution and hunger and thirst and old age and death and sorrow and weeping and immoderate cold and heat and the mingling of demons with humans.’

1 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨hncmnyk⟩ || MR ⟨hncmn'yg'n⟩ || J5, DkM, DkS ⟨hncmnyk'n'⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨hwt'yjh⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hwt'yjh⟩. 3 DkT begins a new § here. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨gwptn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨gwpt'⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YKOYMWN-t'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨YKOYMWN-yt'⟩. 7 DH, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨nyd'c'⟩ || K43b, J5 ⟨nyd'ck⟩. 8 J5 ⟨swty⟩ || DkT ⟨swg⟩ and transcribes as ⟨سوك⟩ and following. 9 DkT ⟨tšn'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨تشنكى⟩ and following.

(9.21.3) *ud ēn-iz kū<sup>1</sup> {āsānīh-dādār būd jam kū-š čiš ān<sup>2</sup> kard ī mardōmān} āsānīh aziš būd ud kāmag-dādār kū-š<sup>3</sup> nekīh pad<sup>4</sup> dād<sup>5</sup>-šnāyēnīdārīh<sup>6</sup> kū-š mardōm pad frārōnīh ōh<sup>7</sup> šnāyēnīd ⟨∴⟩*

(9.21.3) And this, too, that Jam made comfort, that is, he did what made comfort for people, (and) he granted (their) wish, that is, his goodness was by pleasing (people) according to the Law, that is, thus, he pleased the people through his honesty.

1 J5 skips this sequence [N.B., a jump omission from *āsānīh* to the next *āsānīh*]. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, R50. 3 K43b ⟨AYK⟩. 4 DH and K43b have a space between ⟨PWN⟩ and ⟨YHBWN-t⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨YHBWN-t⟩ || MR, DkS ⟨YHBWN-t'⟩ || J5 ⟨d't'⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨YHBWN-t⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS ⟨šn'yynyt'lyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkT ⟨šn'yynyt'l⟩. 7 J5 subscripts ⟨غ⟩ below ⟨TNšn'dynyt'⟩ written as a single word.

(9.21.4) *ud ⟨abar⟩ ōdag<sup>1</sup> kē jam<sup>2</sup> ī šēd ī hu-ramag kē-tān pad zūr-zanišnīh bē zad a-dādestānīhā ud<sup>3</sup> tō abar gēbān harzag<sup>4</sup> kard ud niyāz ud škōhīh ud tangīh<sup>5</sup> ud āz ud suy<sup>6</sup> ud tišn ud<sup>7</sup> xešm ī xurdrus<sup>8</sup> niyāz ī a-wāstar<sup>9</sup> ⟨ud⟩<sup>10</sup> sahm ud sej ī nihān-rawīšn ud zarmān ī + duš-pid<sup>11</sup> a-pid<sup>12</sup> dēw-ēzišnōmand<sup>13</sup> dād :*

(9.21.4) And (about) Ōdag [*i.e.*, Dahāg's mother], who struck Jamšēd [= Av. Yima xšaēta-, 'luminous Yima'], of good herds [= Av. *huuqθβa-*], who struck you all by trickery — unlawfully; and how she let you (Dahāg) loose upon the world and established want, poverty, indigence, greed, hunger, and thirst, 'Wrath' with the bloody club [= Av. *Aēšma xruuī.dru-*], 'Want' without pastures, 'Terror' and 'Danger,' which move in secrecy, 'Old Age' with a bad father (or) no father, performing sacrifices made to the demons.

1 Mss. ⟨'wtk(')⟩. 2 DH, K43b, MR, DkS ⟨ym Y šyt'⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨ymšyt'⟩ || DkM ⟨ym šyt'⟩ || DkT ⟨ym (Y) šyt'⟩. 3 DkT begins a new § here || cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 83 who reads *warrag* "flock(s)." 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨hlck'⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨'lcwk'⟩ for *ārzōg* "lust" || R50 ⟨'tēl'⟩ and ⟨'lcwk'⟩ added. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨tngyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨tgyh⟩. 6 DkM ⟨Y⟩. 7 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 8 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩ || DkT transcribes as ⟨خونين⟩. 9 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨' w'stl'⟩ = ⟨2 w'st'l'⟩ || MR ⟨' w'st'⟩ with ⟨l'⟩ superscripted at the end of line || DkT ⟨'ybw'st'l'⟩ = ⟨2 w'st'l'⟩. 10 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 11 Mss. ⟨dwšpt'⟩ || likely following MOLÉ 1959, p. 284, DkT emends to ⟨dwšdpt'⟩ for *duš-daft* and transcribes as ⟨دژدفت⟩ and translates as *بد دارنده نفس* "having bad breath"; a similar reading is found in SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 83, who reads *duždaft* || Cf. V 19.43: *iθiiejō maršaonəm zauruua duždaqfədrō kərənaoiti* "... dangerous, destructive Senility, badly deceiving..." [N.B., PV 19.43–44 are no longer extant] || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2008b, pp. 538–539, who reads *zarmān ī duš-pid a-pid dēw-ēzišnōmand* "Old Age with a bad father or no father, in which there are sacrifices to the dēws" and suggests that Av. *duž-daqfədrō* "badly deceiving" was segmented — interpreted — differently here as *duždaq-fədrō* "bad father" (p. 539, fn. 19). 12 DH ⟨'p t ŠDYA⟩ || K43b ⟨hpt⟩ and ⟨ŠDYA⟩ on the next line || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨hptŠDYA⟩ for *haft-dēw* || DkM ⟨hpt' ŠDYA⟩ || cf. WEST 1892, p. 213, fn. 4 and also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 83 for this reading *contra* SKJÆRVØ 2008b, pp. 538–539, who reads ⟨'pt'⟩ for *a-pid* in parallel with the previous ⟨dwšpt'⟩ for *duš-pid* [N.B., the first has an otiose and the second does not in the mss.]. 13 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'ycsn'wmnd'⟩ with DkS translating "the seven demons who must not be worshipped" || MR, J5, R50 ⟨'ycsn' 'wmnd'⟩.

(9.21.5) *ud ēn-iz kū<sup>1</sup> ⟨ān ī pad kēr ud gund⟩ ā-t<sup>2</sup> bē az ābusīh<sup>3</sup> kard duš-xwarrah hād šābistān-it<sup>4</sup> kard ī a-bē-kard-<sup>+</sup>sej<sup>5</sup> kū-š čārag xwāst nē šāyēd kē<sup>6</sup> nē wālēd az tan<sup>7</sup> kū paywand az-iš nē rawēd :*

(9.21.5) And this, too, that, by (chopping off Jam's) penis and testicles, then (having been reduced to) evil Fortune, you [*i.e.*, Ōdag or Dahāg?] excluded him from (causing) pregnancy, as it were, you made him a eunuch — without (him) having done dangerous things (to you) — that is, it is not possible to seek a remedy for him, from whose body nothing grows, that is, no lineage goes (forth) from him.

1 DH, K43b ⟨ZK Y PWN kyl Wgwnd'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'pwsł wyn'ā'⟩ for *pūsar wēnēnd* "they look (for) a son," also the reading in MOLÉ 1959, p. 284 with DkS (p. 160,



fn. 7) suggesting that this might be a reference to Dahāg's daily consumption of two youths || SHAPIRA (1998, p. 68) reads *wēnēdat*. 2 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (<-t) connected = <(HT) || DH, K43b (< t) unconnected. 3 K43b (< p) with what looks like <wss> and <wsy> added. 4 DH, K43b, MR (<š'pst'n t) || J5 (<yš'p st'nt') || DkM, DkT (<š'pst'nt) = <š'pst hwt) || DkS (<š'pst hwt-kr't) and transcribes as <shâpist khûd-kard) and compares NP *shâfidan* "to fall," for which, cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 724: "to trip, slip, stumble" || cf. also MOLÉ 1959, p. 284, who transcribes as *šipist xvat kart* and compares NP *šibist* "répugnant" (fn. 8) || a similar reading is found in SHAPIRA 1998, p. 68, who reads *šibist x'ad.kard* "monstrous self-produced"; cf. also STEINGASS 1892, p. 731. 5 DH, K43b (< BRA krt' sp') || MR, J5, R50 (< BRA krt' sp'Y) || DkS (<abarâ-kard sij) and translates *sij* as "calamitous circumstance" || DkM (<BRA krt' sp') || DkT (<BRA krt' sp') and transliterates <بکردی سیژ) and translates as آتان را آزار می کردی. 6 K43b (MN). 7 J5 has a blurry (tn') with <تن) subscripted in NP.

(9.21.6) *ud tō gōspand ī frāx-raftār az mardōmān sījdēnīd<sup>1</sup> ∴ ud tō az amā bē ap-purd ān ī bāmīg<sup>2</sup> rōšn ī<sup>3</sup> jam<sup>4</sup> ī sēd ī hu-ramag kē pad<sup>5</sup> {harwist \*ēs<sup>6</sup> abar-rasišnih pad hamāg zamestān ī-š pad hu-tābišnih tāft kū-š} hamāg<sup>7</sup> gyāg pad nēkih kardan bē mad<sup>8</sup> ∴*

(9.21.6) And you kept away from people the animals that roam afar; and you stole from us the bright radiance of Jamšēd, of good herds, who, with the arrival of every frost, during the entire winter that he heated (us) with (his) good heat, that is, he came in order to make every place (be filled) with goodness.

1 DH, K43b (<syšdynyt') || MR (<sg YHSN-yt') = <gdk YHSN-yt') || DkM, DkT, DkS (<sg YHSN-yt') with DkT transcribing as <سگ (؟) را... داشتی) || cf. also MOLÉ 1959, p. 284, who reads *gadak 'dārēt* and translates as: "Tel le brigand, tu éloignes des hommes les animaux de la plaine" (p. 287) || cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 85 for the same reading. 2 DkM, DkT (<Y). 3 Not in DkM, DkT. 4 R50 (<jmšyt). 5 This sequence is not in DH, K43b, which have *hamāg gyāg pad nēkih...* || DkT has *harwisp xā abar-rasišnih pad hamāg zamestān ī-š pad hu-tābišnih tāft kū-š hamāg gyāg pad nēkih...* 6 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (<'ys) = <(h'y) = <'hy) etc. || cf. WEST 1892, p. 213, who translates as "evil contingency" but does not provide a transcription [N.B., neither does DkT]. Cf. also DkS who transcribes as <akhi(b)) for \*brādī(b) and translates as "universal brotherhood." While DkT has no transcription provided, TAFAZZOLI (1974, p. 121) has a convincing reading and suggests (<'ys) for *ēs* from Av. *isu-lisauu-* "frosty, icy" [AirWb col. 372], he also cites Pashto *asai* "hoar-frost" and Sarikoli *iš* "cold" and compares (P)V 9.6 [N.B., ref. cited in MOAZAMI 2014, p. 270] || SHAPIRA (1998, I, p. 68) reads (<'y 'hy) and does not translate, but cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 85, fn. 39 for a summary of literature || ASHA (2009, p. 100, fn. 564) replicates TAFAZZOLI (1974, p. 121) without attribution. 7 DH, K43b, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS. 8 J5 (<mr'Y).

(9.21.7) *ōšōmand hē bēwarāsp tō-z bē ških<sup>1</sup> čiyōn ēn<sup>2</sup> dādestān<sup>3</sup> ēdōn kū xwadāy ī wad čiš-ēw ī ēdōn wad ā-m<sup>4</sup> ō ōy ī web xwadāy kāmag [:]<sup>5</sup> bahr abar barišnih <kū) čiš ō<sup>6</sup> ōy daham<sup>7</sup> kē xwadāyih<sup>8</sup> ī web abāyēd ka kunēd<sup>9</sup> ∴*

(9.21.7) You are mortal, O Bēwarāsp [lit. 'with 10,000 horses,' i.e., an epithet of Dahāg]. You too will be broken! For such is this Law, namely: A bad ruler (receives as reward) something equally bad. Then the desired share shall be brought to the one who is a good ruler, (i.e.), I give something to the one whose rule befits him, when he does (accordingly).

1 DkT suggests emending to <škwwyh). 2 J5 (<W ZNE) with <این) subscripted in NP. 3 DH, K43b (<d'tst st'n'). 4 DH, K43b (<-m 'w' OLE) for *ā-m ō ōy* || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (<-m'n' OLE) for *ā-mān ōy*. 5 No divider in DH, K43b. 6 Mss.

⟨'w'⟩. 7 DkS ⟨YHBWN-ym⟩. 8 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hwt'dyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨hwt'd⟩. 9 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩.

(9.21.8) *ud abar wānīdan<sup>1</sup> ī frēdōn dahāg ud margēnīdan rāy wazr abar frēg<sup>2</sup> ud dil mastarg-iz<sup>3</sup> zadan ∴<sup>4</sup> ud nē murd<sup>5</sup> ī dahāg az ān zanišn ⟨∴⟩*

(9.21.8) And about how Frēdōn defeated Dahāg and how he struck his club on (his) shoulder blade, heart, and skull in order to kill him, (but) Dahāg did not die from that strike.

1 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkT ⟨w'nytn'⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨w'nlytn'⟩. 2 Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, I, p. 72 and II, p. 85, who reads *palīg* following MOLÉ 1959, p. 284, who read *palik* “côtes” and cites HENNING 1946, p. 729 who compares Sogd. ⟨'psβr'yc⟩ “a sheep’s shoulderblade,” ⟨-βr'yc⟩ = *frēč* comparing MMP ⟨pryyg⟩ and Pahl. ⟨plyk⟩ “shoulder.” 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mstlg-c ztn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨mst' LA ztn'⟩. 4 No divider in J5. 5 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS ⟨YMYTN-t'⟩ || J5, DkT ⟨YMYTWN-tn'⟩ and also MOLÉ 1959, p. 284.

(9.21.9) *ud pas pad šufšēr zadan ud pad fradom didīgar ud sidīgar zanišn az<sup>1</sup> tan ī dahāg was ēwēnag xrafstar waštan ∴*

(9.21.9) And, then, how he [*i.e.*, Frēdōn] struck him [*i.e.*, Dahāg] with his sword and how, (by) the first, second, and third strike, many kinds of noxious creatures rained from Dahāg’s body.

1 J5 ⟨MN⟩ with some bleeding and ⟨j⟩ subscripted in NP.

(9.21.10) *guftan ī dādār ohrmazd o<sup>1</sup> frēdōn kū-š ma kīrrēnē<sup>2</sup> kē dahāg čē agar-iš kīrrēnē<sup>3</sup> dahāg purr ēn zamīg +kunē<sup>4</sup> az yaz<sup>5</sup> ud +ōgrāg<sup>6</sup> ud gazdum ud karbūg ud kasawag<sup>7</sup> ud wazag ⟨ud⟩ abāg ēwēnag bastan ī pad škeft band andar<sup>8</sup> garāntom pādofrāh ī a-wisān<sup>9</sup> ∴<sup>10</sup>*

(9.21.10) (And) how Ohrmazd the Creator said to Frēdōn: ‘Do not split him — Dahāg — because, if you split him — Dahāg — you will make this earth full of serpents, \*toads, scorpions, lizards, tortoises and frogs.’ (And about) the way he [*i.e.*, Dahāg] was bound with strong fetters with the most grievous punishment which was inescapable [lit. ‘inseparable’].

1 Mss. ⟨'w'⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨klyn-ydy⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨kl-ydy⟩. 3 Mss. ⟨klyn-ydy⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>-yd⟩ || cf. SKJÆRVØ 2014 [2018], p. 172. 5 Mss. ⟨yz⟩ || DkS ⟨ğz⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨gz⟩ with no diacritic and DkT transcribes as ⟨z⟩ which he equates with مار in his transl. || cf. 9.15.2 for ⟨ğz⟩ for *gaz*. 6 DH, K43b ⟨'wğl'k⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS with no diacritic || DkT ⟨اوردسک⟩ [sic] and translates as خزندگان “reptiles, crawling (things)” || cf. SHAPIRA 1998, I, p. 73 and II, p. 85, who reads *udarasag* “\*otters” following MOLÉ 1959, p. 284, who read *udarasak* ||. 7 MR, J5, R50 ⟨wkswk'⟩ for ⟨w kswk⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨swk⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨W kswk'⟩ || DkT ⟨W kswk'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨کشف⟩ [N.B., cf. also the alternate form *kašawag* “tortoise”. 8 K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨BYN⟩ || DH ⟨ĪYN⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 9 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkT ⟨'ws'n⟩ = ⟨ybs'n⟩ [N.B., a common way of writing the privative *a-*] || J5 ⟨ywws'n⟩ || DkS transcribes as ⟨ana-basân⟩ and translates as “confinement” following WEST 1892, p. 214 || MOLÉ (1959, p. 284), emends to \**zindān* and is followed by SHAPIRA (1998, I, p. 73 and II, p. 85). 10 No divider in MR, J5, R50.

(9.21.11) *ud ēn-iz ⟨kū⟩<sup>1</sup> ka až ī dahāg bast būd<sup>2</sup> ēdōn ān-iz sraw bē mad pad harwist<sup>3</sup> kišwar kē haft kū bē zad až ī dahāg<sup>4</sup> {ud bē ān zad} frēdōn ī āspīyān<sup>5</sup> ī buland ī zōrīg ∴*

(9.21.11) And this, too, when Až ī Dahāg had been bound in this manner, that word came to all the regions, which are seven: ‘Až ī Dahāg has been struck, and the one who struck him was the tall and powerful Frēdōn, the son of Āspīy.’

1 DkT adds ⟨AYK⟩. 2 J5 ⟨نوبو⟩ subscripted in NP. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5, R50, DkS (hlwsp') || DkM ⟨MN ym⟩. 4 Sequence omitted in DkT. 5 DH, MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ('spyk'n') || omitted in K43b.

(9.21.12) *ud ān ī dahom zamestān ān mādayān<sup>1</sup> wurrōyist u-šān ēdōn guft kū menēm<sup>2</sup> nūn kū-šān zad [ī]<sup>3</sup> až ī dahāg čē<sup>4</sup> nē nūn wazēd abar ō<sup>5</sup> harwist kišwar kē haft ud ān ī web gōwišn ud ān ī wattar ā-z nē gōwēd ud nē pad xwāyišn xwāhēd ān ī nēk<sup>6</sup> \*čarādīg ud ān-iz ī ārzōg ī xwāstag :*

(9.21.12) And, (in) the tenth winter, that was believed in particular, and thus, they said: ‘We think now that they have struck Až ī Dahāg, because he does not now fly over all the regions, which are seven; and he also does not say good things nor bad, and neither does he seek a good (married) woman [= Av. *carāitī-*] (for sex) nor does he have desire for (people’s) property.’

1 DH, K43b ⟨m'tyd'n⟩ || DkT translates as نامه || MOLÉ (1959, p. 284) reads 'dehān = ⟨MTA'n⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkT ⟨mynym KON⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS ⟨MN ym KON⟩ for *az jam nūn* “due to Jam.” 3 Omitted in DkT. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ME LA KON wcyt'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨ME LA KON-c yt'⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨'w'⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨nywk l'tyk⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨nywk' cl'tyk⟩.

(9.21.13) *ud ēn-iz kū ka-š zan ud xwāstag ī-š abāyišnīg sabist dāstan āgāhīb<sup>1</sup> mad ēg-iš pad sūragōmand<sup>2</sup> ī zarrēn andar hāxt<sup>3</sup> ud ān<sup>4</sup> bowandag<sup>5</sup> ud a-rišt<sup>6</sup> pad mēnōy-gyāgīb<sup>7</sup> ō gilistag bē<sup>8</sup> mad<sup>9</sup> ī až ī dahāg :*

(9.21.13) And this, too, when knowledge came to him [*i.e.*, Dahāg] of women and property which seemed appropriate for him to possess, then he prodded [lit. ‘led’] (them) with a golden goad, and they came intact and unmolested [*i.e.*, *virgo intacta*], through places in *that* world, to the lair of Až ī Dahāg.

1 DH, K43b ⟨'k's'yh⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨swlk'wmnd' Y⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨swlk'wmnd'⟩ || DkM ⟨y'lk'wmnd'⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨h'ht'⟩ || MR, J5, DkM ⟨h'htn'⟩ || cf. MOLÉ 1959, p. 285, who reads *ābixtan*. 4 MR, J5, DkM, DkS ⟨Y'⟩. 5 DH, K43b ⟨bwnđk'⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨bwnyk'⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨bndk'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨بنده⟩ “slave, servant.” 6 DH, K43b ⟨'lyšt'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'ylyšt'⟩ from Av. *a-irišta-* “undamaged” [cf. AirWb col. 190] suggested in DkT but transcribed as ⟨ایرخت⟩ likely following MOLÉ 1959, p. 285, who reads *ēraxt*, as does SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 87). 7 DkT emends to ⟨mynwd gyw'k Y OL⟩. 8 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨BRA⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 9 MR ⟨mtn'⟩.

(9.21.14) *ud ēn-iz kū kē-š ān ī ōy bē zad brād ayāb nāf ayāb naftīy<sup>1</sup> ayāb kadār-iz-ēw nabānazdištān<sup>2</sup> ā-šān nē pad ān [ī] garān<sup>3</sup> sabist u-šān nē pad menišn menīd kū-šān ayād-iz abāz nē<sup>4</sup> kard u-šān ēdōn guft kū mānbed ān bē zad kē harwist<sup>5</sup> ātaxšān az dēnān<sup>6</sup> abāyēd ān mānbed ud dahibed ān bē zad kē harwistīn awēšān xwadāy :*

(9.21.14) And this, too, that, (if) the one who struck his brother, family, or descendant, or anyone whosoever of his closest relatives, then it did not seem grievous to them regarding that (action), and they did not think about it, that is, they did not even recall it, and thus they said: ‘He has struck the House-Lord, for whom, among those of the Tradition, all the fires must have as that House-Lord, and he has struck the Land-Lord who is the ruler of them all.’

1 DH, K43b ⟨npty⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM ⟨pt'y⟩ || DkS, DkT ⟨pt⟩ for *pid*. 2 DH, K43b ⟨nb'nzdšt'n W 'š'n⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨nb'nzdšt' ZY-š'n⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨nb'nzdšt'n 'š'n⟩. 3 J5, R50 ⟨gyl'n⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨hlwsp'⟩. 6 MR, J5, R50 ⟨dyn'n' p'yt'⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨dyn'n'⟩ || DH ⟨d'n'n' p'yt'⟩ || K43b has a big space at the beginning of the line followed by ⟨d'n'n' p'yt'⟩ in fol. 32r, 19 || DkS emends to ⟨dyn 'w'⟩ for *dēn ō* || DkT suggests emending to ⟨hlwsp' thš'n \*MNW dyn'n' p'yt'⟩ for *harwisp ātaxsān kē dēnān pāyēd* which he translates as *ها که دینها را باید که همه آتش* || cf. also SKJÆRVØ 2008b, p. 545, who reads *harwisp ātaxsōmandān \*ōb abāyēd* “whom it befits all those who possess a fire” || cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 87 who follows MOLÉ 1959, p. 285, who emends to *kē dēvān* [N.B., *dēw[ān]* is generally written with the arameogram ⟨SDYA[*n'*]]).

(9.21.15) *ud ēn-iz kū har gyāg kū ōy bē mad<sup>1</sup> āyēb<sup>2</sup> ī az saf<sup>3</sup> andar ōbast u-šān ān ī stabr<sup>4</sup> ātaxš āyift<sup>5</sup> pahrez rāy* ∴<sup>6</sup>

(9.21.15) And this, too, that in every place he came, a conflagration fell from his hoof [= Av. *safa-*], and, how they lit a strong fire in order to protect (themselves).

1 K43b has *kū har gyāg kū ōy bē mad* repeated on fol. 32v, 1. 2 DH ⟨'dyṗ'⟩ || K43b ⟨'sṗ'⟩ with ⟨'dyp'⟩ superscripted || MR ⟨'sp'Y'⟩ with the ⟨s⟩ = ⟨s⟩ in ⟨sṗ'⟩ for *saf* a few words later || J5, DkM, DkS ⟨'sp'⟩ || DkT ⟨'sp'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨آسیب⟩ “misery, calamity,” cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 61 || for the reading adopted here and a discussion of earlier scholarship, see SKJÆRVØ 2008b, p. 547. 3 MR ⟨sṗ'⟩ || J5 ⟨sp'⟩ || K43b, DkM, DkS ⟨sp'⟩ || DH ⟨sp'⟩ = ⟨st'⟩ [N.B., likely due to the ⟨'⟩ written too closely to the previous ⟨p⟩] || DkT ⟨sc'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨سینز⟩ reading Pahl. *sej* and translating *از وحشت او* “from his terror, fright” || cf. also MOLÉ 1959, p. 285 for a similar reading *syaz* || cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 87, who reads *sēj*. 4 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨stpl'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨sṗl'⟩ = ⟨scl'⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkM ⟨'dyṗt'⟩ || MR, J5, DkS ⟨'dyṗtn'⟩ || DkT ⟨'ypt'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨یافتند⟩ || as the note for <sup>1</sup>*āyēb* above, see SKJÆRVØ 2008b, p. 547, who compares *ādurēn āyēb* “fiery blaze” in MMP referring to the great conflagration at the end of the world || cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 87, fn. 46. 6 MR, J5, R50 repeat the sequence *ēn-iz kū har gyāg kū ōy bē mad* || not in DH, K43b.

(9.21.16) *ud ēn-iz kū-š pad gumēzag warzīd<sup>1</sup> hu-waršt ud ān-iz ī duš-hwaršt<sup>2</sup> až ī dahāg* ∴

(9.21.16) And this, too, that Až ī Dahāg practiced mixing good and bad deeds as well.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wlcyt'⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨wlcyt'n'⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨dwšhwršt'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨dwšwlšt'⟩.

(9.21.17) *ud abar hampursīd<sup>1</sup> (ī)<sup>2</sup> māzandarān<sup>3</sup> debhān pas az<sup>4</sup> wānīdan ī dahāg pad dāstan<sup>5</sup> ī ō xwanīrah ⟨ud⟩ spōxtan ī frēdōn aziš pad<sup>6</sup> mānišn frāz grift<sup>7</sup> ī ham gyāg pad was marag padīdan<sup>8</sup> u-šān bulandīh rāy zrēh ī frāxkard ast kū tā mayān<sup>9</sup>-rān ast kū tā nāfag ud ān ī zōfrtar<sup>10</sup> gyāg<sup>11</sup> tā ō dabān mad* ∴

(9.21.17) And about how the towns of the Māzandars conspired after Dahāg was defeated about how to keep him in (the region of) Xwanīrah [= Av. *x'anīraša-*] (and) how to repel Frēdōn from it; how the same place was taken up as (their) dwelling (and) how they flew (there) in great numbers; and, as for their height — (in) the Frāxkard Sea [= Av. *zrauiāh- vourukaša-*] there were some whom (the waters reached) to mid-thigh, some to the navel, and, in the deeper place, it reached to the mouth.

1 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨hmpwrsyt'n'⟩. 2 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨m'zn'dl'n'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨m'zndl'n'⟩ || DkS ⟨m'zn'dl'n'⟩. 4 J5 ⟨MNW 'wytn'⟩. 5 MR,

J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨d'štn'⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨wy'y'tn'⟩ for *ud dāštan* with ⟨y'⟩ for ⟨š⟩. 6 MOLÉ (1959, p. 285) has *'pat 'pat*. 7 DkT emends to ⟨OBYDWN-tn'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨کردن⟩ likely following MOLÉ 1959, p. 285. 8 DH, K43b ⟨ptytn'⟩ || MR, K43b, DkM, DkS ⟨ptyt'⟩ || DkT ⟨ptyt⟩. 9 DkM ⟨mdy'n'l'n'⟩. 10 K43b ⟨zwp pltl⟩. 11 R50 ⟨g'zn⟩ and ⟨gyw'k⟩ added.

(9.21.18) *ud ka o<sup>1</sup> ēn kišwar mad<sup>2</sup> hēnd<sup>3</sup> driyōšān<sup>3</sup> garān zyān ud zanišn<sup>4</sup> kardan* ⟨ud⟩<sup>5</sup> *mardōmān pad garzišn o frēdōn madan ud guftan kū čim-it<sup>6</sup> bē zad až ī dahāg kē hu-xwadāy būd pad padoxšāyīh kū-š bīm abāz dāšt* ∴ *ud<sup>7</sup> wizōstār u-š ēn kišwar bē pād az<sup>8</sup> māzandarān dehān<sup>9</sup>* ⟨∴⟩

(9.21.18) And how, when they came to this region, they caused grievous damage and the killing (of) the poor, (and) how the people came to Frēdōn in order to complain, saying: ‘Why did you strike Až ī Dahāg, who was a good ruler in kingship, that is, he kept fear at bay; and (was) an inquisitor; and he protected this region from the towns(folk) of the Māzandars.’

1 Mss. ⟨'w'⟩ || DkT ⟨'w⟩. 2 J5 has ⟨مد⟩ subscripted in NP. 3 MR, R50, DkM, DkT ⟨HWE'-ḏ dlygwš'n(⟨'⟩) gl'n'⟩ || J5 ⟨HWE'-ḏ klyš'n gl'n'⟩ || not in DH, K43b || DkS ⟨yl'n-š'n'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨yalān-shān⟩ for *yalān-šān* “heroes... they,” which he takes as the agent. 4 Not in J5. 5 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 6 MR, R50 ⟨cm tBRA⟩. 7 Not in MR || R50 ⟨ww⟩. 8 Not in MR, J5, R50. 9 MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨MTA-'n(⟨'⟩)⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨MATA-'n⟩.

(9.21.19) *u-šān abar watarīh ī māzandarān ⟨ud⟩<sup>1</sup> xwārgōnīh<sup>2</sup> ī mardōm ī ēn kišwar andar awēšān ēn-iz guft kū ēg gōwēnd kū čē edōn awēšān dādestān čē gōšōmand<sup>3</sup> kū-šān karrag ast sūragōmand kū-šān sūrag ast xwānišnōmand<sup>4</sup> kū ēk o y ī did<sup>5</sup> o<sup>6</sup> xwānēnd wīr amā<sup>7</sup> awēšān-iz<sup>8</sup> mānēm<sup>9</sup> pad ēd dārēm<sup>10</sup> kū mardōm hēnd* ⟨∴⟩

(9.21.19) And they also said this about the evilness of the Māzandars (and) the wretchedness of the people of this region amongst them, that is, they then say: ‘What is this Law of theirs? What is “having ears,” that is, they have evil ears containing “holes,” that is, they have holes; that (Law?) contains “calling,” that is, they call one another “man.” We resemble them too, we take them to be “people.”’

1 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 2 MR, J5 ⟨hw'lgwnyh⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM ⟨hw'lgwn-š⟩ || cf. also WEST 1892, p. 216, who translates as “wretched state” || DkS transcribes as ⟨khvārgūnīh⟩ and translates as “distressed state” and compares NP خوار “wretched” || DkT transcribes as ⟨خوارگونی⟩ and translates as خوارى || cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 89, who also reads *x<sup>o</sup>ārgōnīh*. 3 DH ⟨g<sup>o</sup>wš'wmnd⟩ || K43b, MR, J5 ⟨g<sup>o</sup>wš'wmnd⟩ with no initial *g*-diacritics || hence WEST (1892, p. 217) reads *dōs-hōmōnd* and translates as “filthy” || DkS transcribes as ⟨dūsh-āomand⟩ and translates as “full of filth” — both readings connected with reading the following ⟨klk'⟩ as connected with NP كره “filth, dirt,” for which, cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 1026 || DkT follows WEST and SANJANA || cf. also SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 89, who reads *dōzōmand*. 4 Mss. ⟨KRYTN-š'n' 'wmn'd⟩. 5 Mss. ⟨TWB⟩. 6 DH, K43b ⟨'w⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'w⟩. 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨LNE⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨MN⟩. 8 DH ⟨OLE-š'n-c⟩ with the NP diacritic for ⟨ش⟩ [3 dots above]. 9 DH ⟨m'nym⟩ || K43b ⟨m'n'm⟩ and ⟨ym⟩ superscripted || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mynym⟩ as does MOLÉ (1959, p. 285) and SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 89). 10 K43b ⟨HSWN-ym⟩ with the initial ⟨Y<sup>o</sup>⟩ missing at the beginning fol. 32v, 16.

(9.21.20) *ud abar<sup>1</sup> ham-rasišnīh<sup>2</sup> ī frēdōn abāg māzandarān dehān pad dašt ī* *+pēšānsīy<sup>3</sup> ud pahikārdan ī o awēšān kū māzandar deh-itān<sup>4</sup> kē bē zad až<sup>5</sup> ī dahāg<sup>6</sup> kē stī<sup>7</sup> arwandtom kē har +dirīn<sup>8</sup> padoxšāy<sup>9</sup> būd<sup>10</sup> dēwān ud mardōmān an-iš pad ān ī o y zanišn frāz dād<sup>11</sup> ham ohrmazd tarwēnīdārtar az +anyān<sup>12</sup> dāmān*

*pad hamēmāl<sup>13</sup> ī xwēš stōw kardan<sup>14</sup> ēg ēn ān ī man deh bē zanēd ašmā<sup>15</sup> kē māzandar deh-ēd<sup>16</sup> ∴*

(9.21.20) And about how Frēdōn came together with the townsfolk of Māzandar in the plain of Pēšānsīy and how he argued with them: ‘Who struck you, towns(folk) of Māzandarān? Až ī Dahāg, the fleetest in existence, who was the king of the two — demons and men. It was Ohrmazd who — in order to strike him [*i.e.*, Dahāg] — made me more conquering than the other creations in order to suppress (my) own Adversary [*i.e.*, Dahāg]; (even) then you strike this land of mine, you who are the towns(folk) of Māzandar?’

1 MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨QDM ’w’⟩ || omitted in DH, K43b, DkM, DkT. 2 R50 ⟨hm-YHMTWN-šnyh⟩ miswritten and ⟨YHM⟩ superscripted || [n.b., *ham*<sup>o</sup> omitted in MOLÉ (1959, p. 285) and SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 89)]. 3 DH ⟨pyš’nyys⟩ || K43b ⟨pyš’nkys⟩ || MR ⟨pyš’nykys⟩ || J5 ⟨pyš’nygyh⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pyš’nyks⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨MTAy’t MNW⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨MTA-yt HWE’⟩ as does MOLÉ (1959, p. 285) and SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 89). 5 J5 ⟨’c’Y⟩ with ⟨j⟩ subscripted in NP. 6 J5 ⟨dh’k⟩ with ⟨دهاک⟩ subscripted in NP. 7 MR ⟨s⟩ with ⟨ty⟩ superscripted at the end of p. 180, 4 and ⟨’lwndtwm⟩ at the beginning of p. 180, 5 || J5 ⟨st’y ’lwndtwm⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨dytwdwtwm⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨sty ’lwndtwm⟩. 8 DH ⟨dl’n⟩ || MR, K43b, J5, DkM ⟨yl’n⟩ || DkS ⟨gl’n’⟩ || DkT ⟨(2-’n) gl’n⟩ presumably all for ⟨+dlyn⟩ || cf. PY 11.9. 9 K43b ⟨p’t⟩ and ⟨hš’y⟩ superscripted. 10 DkT adds ⟨(Y)⟩. 11 MR, J5, R50 add ⟨yl’n⟩ || not in DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT. 12 DH ⟨’n d’m’n⟩ and ⟨ZK⟩ superscripted || K43b ⟨ZK’n d’m’n’⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨ZK ’n-d’m’n’⟩ || R50 ⟨ZK dnd’m’n’⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ZK ’nd’m’n’⟩ || DkT transcribes as ⟨دامان آن⟩ || cf. MOLÉ 1959, p. 285 who reads *’hač’ hān hangāmān* and is followed by SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 91). 13 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hymy’l Y⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨hmym’lyh⟩. 14 K43b ⟨krt’n’⟩. 15 J5 has ⟨شما⟩ subscripted in NP. 16 Mss. ⟨MTA-yt(’)⟩.

*(9.21.21) ud māzandarān frēdōn sabuk menīd ud pad afsōs ēwāz guftan<sup>1</sup> kū ēdōn ē<sup>2</sup> bawēd kū tō bē zad<sup>3</sup> az<sup>4</sup> ī dahāg kē stī<sup>5</sup> arwandtom kē har dō-ān<sup>6</sup> pādoxšāy būd dēwān ud mardōmān u-š tō<sup>7</sup> {pad ān ī ōy} zanišn frāz dād hē ohrmazd tarwēnīdārtar<sup>8</sup> az<sup>9</sup> +anyān<sup>9</sup> dāmān ēg-iz amā andar ēn nišīnēm ud andar ēn mānēm ud nē tō ī buland ī was-ārōyišn ī stabr<sup>10</sup> pah ⟨ud⟩<sup>11</sup> wīr gōwišn andar abāriḡ kas ā-t ēdar bē nē<sup>12</sup> ∴*

(9.21.21) And how the Māzandars thought lightly of Frēdōn and spoke words in mockery: ‘Let it be thus that you struck Až ī Dahāg who was the swiftest in existence, who was the king of both — demons and men — and (that) Ohrmazd made you more conquering than the other creatures in order to strike him. Even then we will settle in this (place) and we will dwell in it — not you who are tall, well-grown, having sturdy sheep and men — then we will not allow you to speak here amongst the other people.’

1 DkSemends to ⟨gwpt’⟩. 2 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨’y⟩ for *ē*, a particle with the present tense 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperative sense || J5 ⟨HNA⟩ for *ēd* “this.” 3 DkS ⟨ztn’⟩. 4 J5 ⟨’c’ Y⟩ and ⟨dh’k⟩ over two lines with ⟨ا ده ک ج⟩ subscripted [and unjoined] in NP. 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨sty ’lwndtwm⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨st’y ’lwndtwm⟩. 6 DkM, DkS ⟨2 hwp’twš’y⟩. 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || MR, J5, R50 have *bē zadan až ī dahāg pad*. 8 DkT transcribes as ⟨تروانیدار⟩ without the comparative ⟨’tl⟩ for *-tar* being rendered. 9 DH, K43b ⟨ZK’n d’m’n’⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨ZK Y hwd’m’n’⟩ || J5 ⟨MN ZK⟩ and ⟨hwd’m’n’⟩ on the next line || DkM ⟨ZK hwd’m’n’ ZK ’nd’m’n’⟩ || DkS ⟨zak āndāmān⟩ || DkT ⟨ZK hwd’m’n’⟩ and transcribes as ⟨دامان خوب⟩ || MOLÉ (1959, p. 285) reads *’hač’ hān hangāmān* and is followed by SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 91. 10 Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 91, who emends to *\*stār pāyag* following

MONCHI-ZADEH (1975, p. 104, fn. 8). 11 Mss. (Y) || MOLÉ (1959, p. 286) also emends to ⟨W⟩. 12 DH, K43b ⟨ŠBKWN-ṡ⟩ [cf. 9.22.11 for DH, K43b ⟨OBYDWN-ṡ⟩] || MR, R50 ⟨ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || J5 appears to have ⟨°X<sub>2</sub>⟩ which looks like the sequence ⟨°ymy⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ŠBKWN-ym⟩.

(9.21.22) ⟨ud⟩ *ēn-iz kū bē pas tazīd ud pērōzgar frēdōn ō bālist [ī] pēš tazīd u-š<sup>1</sup> wēnīg ān<sup>+</sup> frōgīd<sup>2</sup> kū-š bē<sup>3</sup> daft<sup>4</sup> ud az dašn<sup>5</sup> wēnīg ī ōy snexr padīd hēnd ī hamāg sard ī zamestān handaxšwand<sup>6</sup> (ī) burrāg ī tēz ∴ ud az hōy wēnīg ī ōy sag padīd hēnd ī<sup>7</sup> ka<sup>+</sup> ham-tāftag<sup>8</sup> ī kadag-masāy ī ātaxš handaxšwand<sup>9</sup> ī burrāg ī tēz xāk-iš burd<sup>10</sup> bē bast pērōzgar ī tagīg ī frēdōn az<sup>11</sup> pāy ī gāw<sup>12</sup> ī gušn ī barmāyōn (∴)*

(9.21.22) (And) this, too, (they) ran back, and the victorious Frēdōn ran before (them) to the heights; and his nose \*snorted, that is, he blew it out and, from his right nostril, snow fell (as if) all the cold of winter, \*burning, cutting, (and) sharp; (and) from his left nostril, stones fell the size of a house, as if heated by a \*burning, cutting, (and) sharp fire; the victorious, fleet Frēdōn carried him off [i.e., Dahāg] — bound — through the dust from the foot of the bull Barmāyōn [= Av. Barəmaiaona; Pers. Barmāyūn, Barmāya, or Pormāya].

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 2 Mss. ⟨plwkyt'⟩ || DkS ⟨firōgīd⟩ and translates as “flamed” following WEST 1892, p. 218 and compares NP فروغ “flame,” also translated as “splendour, light, brightness, flame,” in STEINGASS 1892, p. 924 || Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 91 who follows MOLÉ 1959, p. 286, who, in turn, reads *fravit* and suggests *frafrauuaiti* in Y 9.32 from √frau<sup>1</sup> “to fly”; CHEUNG (2007, p. 90) states: “It is certainly not inconceivable that in some passages the meaning ‘to flow (to, up to, etc.), vel sim’” but cf. also √frou<sup>2</sup> “to flow” (pp. 90–91) || DkT transcribes as (بفروغید) and translates as فروغی بیرون جست. 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 4 DH, K43b, DkS ⟨dpt' W MN⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨kpt'⟩ for *kaft* “to fall” || DkM, DkT ⟨dptn' MN⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkS, DkT ⟨dšn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨šn'⟩. 6 DH, K43b ⟨hndhšwnd⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨hndhšwnd⟩ || DkM ⟨zms't'n'n dhšwnd⟩ || DkS ⟨'ndhšn Y⟩ || DkT ⟨hndhšwn Y⟩ || Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 91 who follows MOLÉ 1959, p. 286, who reads *damistān-ōšišn*. 7 Deleted in DkT. 8 DH, K43b ⟨hmt'pt'⟩ for ⟨hmt'ptk'⟩ || MR ⟨AMT⟩ and ⟨hptn'Y⟩ on the next line || J5, DkM ⟨AMT hptn' Y⟩ || DkS ⟨AMT 'ptn'⟩ || DkT ⟨hpt' Y⟩ || Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 91, who reads *daft*. 9 DkS ⟨'ndhšn Y⟩ || MOLÉ 1959, p. 286 reads *ātaxš-ōšišn* as does SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 91). 10 DH, K43b ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ though DkT transcribes as (بَرْد) and begins a new § here || MOLÉ (1959, p. 286) reads \**burt* and suggests that خاک بردن “vaincre” was in current use in NP || SHAPIRA (1998, II, p. 91) follows MOLÉ. 11 DH (MN) at the end of fol. 279r, 12 and ⟨MN⟩ repeated at the beginning of 279r, 13 || K43b ⟨MN MN⟩. 12 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨TWRA⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨TWRY⟩ = ⟨tn' Y⟩ for *tan ī* “body of.”

(9.21.23) *u-š ān pad ulīh<sup>1</sup> ul dawēnīd u-š<sup>2</sup> awēšān kard sag-kīrb<sup>3</sup> u-š awēšān bē zad hēnd kē māzandarān<sup>4</sup> deb pad<sup>5</sup> panjāb<sup>6</sup>-γnišnīh sad-γnišnīh bazār-γnišnīh a-mar<sup>7</sup>-γnišnīh (∴)*

(9.21.23) And he [i.e., Frēdōn] made them run upward, he turned them into the shape of stone and struck them — the towns(folk) of Māzandar — striking fifty, striking a hundred, striking a thousand, and striking countless numbers.

1 DH, K43b, J5, DkM ⟨LALAYh LALA LHTWNynyt'⟩ || MR ⟨LALAYh LALA LHTN ynyt'⟩ || R50 ⟨LA LAYh LHTN ynyt'⟩ || DkT ⟨LALAYh LHTNynyt'⟩ and transcribes as (بالایی بردوانید). 2 R50 ⟨'p-šy'⟩. 3 MR, J5, R50 ⟨sk Wklp'⟩ || DkS translates as “petrified” || DkT transcribes as (سنگ) “stone” as he has in §9.21.22 || MOLÉ (1959, p. 286, fn. 26) suggests we have *sag* “dog” for *sang* “stone” || Cf. SHAPIRA 1998, II, p. 91, who reads *sa(n)g* “stone.” 4 MR,

R50, DkS (m'zn'dl). 5 J5 (PWN PWN). 6 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (70 ΓNšnyh) || MR (70 ΓN + hyphen + šnyh). 7 R50 (W'm).

(9.21.24) *u-š ēdōn bē zad hēnd pērōzgar ī tagīg frēdōn frāxih dō srišwādag ān ī māzandar deb<sup>1</sup> ∴ ēk srišwādag bē mad zad ud wēmārgen<sup>2</sup> ud nē-z pas spitāmān zardu(x)št kē māzandar deb abar ēn kišwar ī xwanirah raft hēnd u-šān nē pad abar-menišnīb-iz<sup>3</sup> menīd kū šawēm<sup>4</sup> bē az dō<sup>5</sup> kē ēdōn nām būd<sup>6</sup> {spityōš ī spānsnāyōš ∴} ud arzrāspīy ī spānsnāyōš ∴ kē tazīd hēnd pad xrad-xwāyišnīb ud raft hēnd abar frašōštar ī hwōwān<sup>7</sup> ∴*

(9.21.24) In this way, the victorious, fleet Frēdōn scattered two-thirds of the towns(folk) of the Māzandars; one-third came, beaten down and sick; and never afterwards, O Spitāmān Zardušt, did the towns(folk) of the Māzandars invade this region of Xwanirah, nor even think in pride that they would go forth, except two — named Spityōš, the son of Spānsnāyōš, and Arzrāspīy, the son of Spānsnāyōš — who ran in search of wisdom and went over to Frašōštar of the Hwōwids [= OAv. Fərəšaōštra Huuō.guua, found in Y 51.17].

1 Mss. (MTA) || MolÉ (1959, p. 286) reads 'dēv. 2 DH (wym'lkn W) || K43b (wym' W) || MR, J5, R50, DkT (wym'l WLA-c) || DkM, DkS (wym'l W LA-c). 3 MR, J5, DkM, DkS (QDM mynšnyh-c mynyt') || DH, DkT (QDM m'nšnyh-c mynyt') || K43b (QDM m'nšnyh) on fol. 33r, 18 and (c mynšnyh) and followed by (c mynyt') on fol. 33r, 19. 4 R50 (OZLWN-yṃ). 5 DH, K43b (2 MNW) || MR, R50 (ZK MNW [MR new line] W) || J5 (ZK Y MNW) || DkM, DkS, DkT (ZK MNW), as does MolÉ (1959, p. 286). 6 DH, K43b || MR, J5, R50 have the sequence *hēnd u-šān nē pad* || DkM, DkS, DkT (YHHWN-t HWE'd spytyywš). 7 Mss. (hwwb'n) || DkT (hwwb').

(9.21.25) *pablom ābādīb ast ablāyīb ∴ ∴*

(9.21.25) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard 9.22.1–13 — Vahištōišti Hāiti (Y 53.1–9)*

DH 279r, 21 || K43b 33v, 2 || J5 378, 6 || MR 182, 10 || R50 132, 17

DkM 815, 3 || DkS vol. xvii, 58 || DkT 88 [114]

WEST 219 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 45 || TAFAZZOLI 90 [116] || ASHA 106

(9.22.1) *wīst ud ēkom fragard wahištōiš<sup>1</sup> ∴ abar kū xwāyišnān pablom dēn ī weh ∴ ud abar madan ī (ō) hamāg gēhān xešm<sup>2</sup> har šab ēk ∴ būšāsp dō jār pad winābēnīdan ud kāhīdan<sup>3</sup> (∴) šrōš-ablīy sē ∴ ud dahmān āfrīn čahār pad frāy-dabišnīb ud wālišn<sup>4</sup>-dabišnīb ud bōxtārtom az yazdān dahmān<sup>5</sup> āfrīn būd ∴*

(9.22.1) The twenty-first *fragard*, the *Vahištōišti*, is about where the best of things (ought) to be sought — (in) the Good Tradition; and about how there comes every night to the entire world — ‘Wrath’ once and Būšāsp [= Av. Būšīiāstā, ‘(demoness of) Sloth’] twice in order to defile and diminish (it); and Srōš three times; and Dahmān Āfrīn four times in order to produce abundance and growth; and (how) the greatest deliverer among the gods is Dahmān Āfrīn.



1 Mss. ⟨whštwwkyšt'⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨hšm KRA LYLYA 'đwk'⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨hšm KRA LYLYA 'ywk'⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS (KRA LYLYA hšm 'ywk'). 3 DkS, DkM (W). 4 DH, K43b ⟨Ww'łšn⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS (PWN wn'łšn'⟨⟩) for *pad winārišn* “in order to organize” || DkT transcribes ⟨گنارش⟩ [N.B., correct in TAFAZZOLI 1966, p. 88 but misprinted as ⟨گنارش⟩ in TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 115], translated as کردن مرتب “to put in order, organize” || cf. WEST 1892, p. 219 and SANJANA 1922, p. 45 which have “increasing gifts.” 5 DH, K43b ⟨đhm'n · p̄ryn⟩.

(9.22.2) *ud ēn-iz kū kirbān abdtom<sup>1</sup> az nārīgān hōmāy<sup>2</sup> ī āzād-tōhmag ī wištāspān :: ud az aspān asp ī šēd ī wištāspān ::<sup>3</sup> ud az gāwān gāw ī gušn ī barmāyōn ::<sup>4</sup> ud az mēšan mēš ī frašōxtar ī \*dabr<sup>5</sup> ī spēd-ērwarag ī star-pēsīd<sup>6</sup> ud abar-nēmag pad pišādag ud zarrēn<sup>7</sup>-pēsīd ud abartar-nēmag<sup>8</sup> zard :: ud ēk-iz az awēšān<sup>9</sup> ō hazār ēk-iz-ēw xwarrah hāwandih ī dahm mard ī ablaw kē<sup>10</sup> dahmān ī wehān āfrīn padīš nē ayābēd ::*

(9.22.2) And this, too, the most wonderful of shapes among women was the high-born Hōmāy, daughter of Wištāsp; among horses the sorrel horse belonging to Wištāsp; among bulls (it was) the bull Barmāyōn; and among sheep (it was) the sheep Frašōxtar, dark-colored [= Av. *daβra-*], white-cheeked, star-adorned, with its upper part \*speckled and gold-adorned and the uppermost part yellow; and not even one of them obtains even a thousandth of the Fortune equal to the Qualified Man who is Righteous, through whom the Dahmān Āfrīn of the Good Ones (is recited).

1 DH, K43b ⟨' p̄dtwm⟩ || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'p̄ytwm⟩. 2 J5 ⟨hwmw'⟩ = ⟨HWE-dy⟩. 3 No divider in J5. 4 No divider in R50. 5 Mss. ⟨dypl⟩ = ⟨sp̄l⟩ || DkS transcribes ⟨gēfar⟩ || DkT transcribes as ⟨دبر⟩ and translates as خاکستری “gray, ashen.” 6 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pysyt'⟩ || J5 ⟨pšyt'⟩ with a mark over it and ⟨pysyt⟩ in the right margin. 7 Mss. ⟨zlywn'⟩ but also possibly to be read as *zargōn* “golden,” but see §9.22.4 || DkM ⟨zlyn'⟩. 8 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'pltnymk'⟩ for *abartar-nēmag* || DH, K43b ⟨'cplnymk'⟩ for *azabar-nēmag*. 9 R50 ⟨nymk'-PWN⟩ and ⟨OLEš'n⟩ following. 10 J5 ⟨AMT⟩.

(9.22.3) *ud ēn-iz and-čand pad mard ud zan wehīh pad mar ud jeh<sup>1</sup> wattarīh ::*

(9.22.3) And this, too, (that) there is as much goodness in men and women as there is evil in miscreants and promiscuous women.

1 DH, K43b ⟨jyh⟩ and the Av. ⟨j⟩ superscripted || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨yyh⟩ with no diacritic.

(9.22.4) *ud abar kard<sup>1</sup> ī kay-us xwadāyīh pad čērīh abar<sup>2</sup> būm ī haft pad dēwān ud mardōmān rawāgīh ī-š framān tēztar az dast<sup>3</sup> \*ā-wardišn ::<sup>4</sup> ud kardan ī<sup>5</sup> ān-īš<sup>6</sup> haft mān pad mayānag ī harborz ēk zarrēn<sup>7</sup> ud dō<sup>8</sup> sēmēn ud dō<sup>9</sup> pōlābdēn ud dō<sup>10</sup> ābgēnagēn ud was dēw ud māzanīg az<sup>11</sup> wināhīdan ī gēhān abāz dāštan ud andar ō kār ī xwēš bastan ud mardōm kē<sup>12</sup> zōr az<sup>13</sup> zarmān tarwēnidag ud<sup>14</sup> jān \*nazd<sup>15</sup> ō pazdagīh<sup>16</sup> ī az tan būd ō ān ī ōy mān ayāft tēz pērāmōn ān mān ⟨ud⟩ wāzēnīdan<sup>17</sup> ud zarmān aziš<sup>18</sup> ōsānīhistan<sup>19</sup> u-š zōr ud juwānīh abāz madan<sup>20</sup> hād framān-īš dād ēstād<sup>21</sup> kū mardōm<sup>22</sup> pad dar abāz ma dārēd pānzdah sālag<sup>23</sup> handēmān<sup>24</sup> kunēd<sup>25</sup> ⟨:⟩*

(9.22.4) And about (how) Kay Us [= Av. Kauui Usan Usađan], ruled in bravery over the earth of seven (regions), with his commands propagated among demons and men faster than a \*turn of the hand; and how he made those seven dwellings of his in the midst of the Harborz (mountains) [= Av. *harā bərəzaitī*]: one of

gold, two of silver, two of steel, and two of crystal; and how he restrained many demons and giants from defiling the world and binding (them) to work for him; and how people whose strengths were overcome by old age and (whose) life was near to being expelled from the body managed to come to his dwelling and were swiftly conveyed around that dwelling, and old age was made to drop from him/her, and strength and youthfulness came back to them. In sum, he had given a command: ‘Do not keep people back at the door but send them into my presence as fifteen-year-olds.’

1 DkT emends to ⟨OBYDWN-tn′⟩. 2 R50 ⟨MNW⟩. 3 DH ⟨YĎE ′wvltšn′⟩ for *das̄t* <sup>+</sup>*ā-wardišn* and cf. also Skt. *āvart-* “to turn around” from *√vart-* / *vrt-* || K43b, MR, J5 ⟨YDE ′wvltšn′⟩ with no diacritics || DkS ⟨yedâ hû-wardishna⟩ and translates as “waive of the hand” as WEST (1892, p. 220) has “wave of the hands,” as does ASHA (2009, p. 108) || DkT ⟨GDE′n wltšn′⟩ and transcribes as ⟨فزان گردش⟩ “circulating of the Fortunes” || cf. also §9.21.1. 4 DH, K43b ⟨⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 5 Deleted in DkT. 6 DkM, DkS ⟨ZY-š̄⟩. 7 Mss. ⟨zlyn′⟩. 8 Mss. ⟨2⟩. 9 Mss. ⟨TYLN′⟩. 10 Mss. ⟨2⟩. 11 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨MN wn′sytn′⟩ || MR ⟨MNW⟩ with ⟨n′sytn′⟩ on the next line || J5, R50 ⟨MNW wn′sytn′⟩. 12 R50 ⟨MN⟩. 13 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 14 DH, K43b ⟨Wy′n ′zd̄⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkT ⟨Wy′n ′zd̄yh⟩ || DkM ⟨W y′n nz̄dyh⟩. 15 DH, K43b || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨nz̄dyh⟩. 16 DH, K43b ⟨pz̄dkyh⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨pz̄dyh⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨pzykyh⟩. 17 MR ⟨w′cynyt′ [new line] W⟩ || DkT emends to ⟨w′cynyt′⟩. 18 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 19 DkT emends to ⟨′ws′nyhst′⟩. 20 DkT emends to ⟨mt′⟩. 21 DH, K43b ⟨YKOYMWVN-′t′⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨YKOYMWVN-yt′⟩. 22 DH, K43b ⟨mltwm′⟩ || MR, J5 ⟨mlwm′n′⟩ || R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mltwm′n′⟩. 23 K43b ⟨sylvk′⟩. 24 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨hndym′n′⟩ || MR ⟨hnd′m⟩ with ⟨′n′⟩ superscripted || J5, R50, DkS ⟨hnd′m′n′⟩. 25 Mss. ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩.

(9.22.5) *pas dēwān abar oš̄ ī kay-us ham-pursīdan ud xešm ān ī ōy<sup>1</sup> oš̄<sup>+</sup> padīriftan<sup>2</sup> ud ō kay-us madan<sup>3</sup> ∴ ud ān-ōwōn wuzurg xwadāyih<sup>4</sup> {ī-š̄ abar haft būm dāšt pad-iš̄ menišn<sup>5</sup> xwālēn<sup>5</sup> kard<sup>6</sup> ∴ u-š̄ ō xwadāyih ī} asmān<sup>7</sup> gāh ī amahrspandān arzōgenīdan<sup>8</sup> ∴*

(9.22.5) Afterwards, the demons conspired about the death of Kay Us and (the demon) ‘Wrath’ accepted (to take care of) his death and how he came to Kay Us; and how he made him soft-minded [lit. ‘made it sweet in his mind’] about that way in which he ruled greatly over the earth of seven (regions) and (instead) made him desire the rule of Heaven [lit. ‘sky’] and the throne of the Amahrspands.

1 J5, R50 ⟨OL⟩ for ⟨OLE⟩. 2 MR, J5, R50 ⟨MKBLWN-X<sub>1</sub>⟩ || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨MKBLWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩. 3 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨mtn′ ∴⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨mtn′ Y ∴⟩. 4 J5 omits the following sequence [N.B., a jump omission from *xwadāyih* to the next *xwadāyih*]. 5 Mss. ⟨hw′lyn′⟩ || DkS ⟨hw′lgwn′⟩ and transcribes ⟨khvārgūn⟩ and translates as “discontented” following WEST 1892, p. 221, who suggests “(making him) wretched” || DkT does not transcribe but also suggests ⟨خوارگون (ʔ)⟩ in a footnote (TAFAZZOLI 2019, p. 118, fn. 2). 6 DkS emends to ⟨krtn′⟩. 7 MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨′s′m′n′⟩ || DH, K43b, DkT ⟨′sym′n′⟩ || DkM ⟨′sym′n W⟩. 8 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨′lcwkynyt′⟩.

(9.22.6) *ud kay-us az wiyābāngarīh<sup>1</sup> ī xešm ud abārīg dēw<sup>2</sup> ī-š̄ ham-kār ō<sup>3</sup> ān a-kārēnīdan ēstād pad-iz<sup>4</sup> pabikārīšn<sup>5</sup> (ud) nāzišn ī yazdān az-iš̄ nē wašt (∴)*

(9.22.6) And Kay Us — because ‘Wrath’ and the other demons who were his collaborators led him astray — insisted on undoing it [*i.e.*, Heaven]; not even by the debating (and) cajoling of the gods did he turn away from it.

1 DH, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨wyd'p'nklyh⟩ || K43b ⟨yd'p'nklyh⟩ || J5 ⟨wyd'p'nkly⟩ with ⟨yh-Y⟩ written vertically at the end of p. 379, 10. 2 Omitted in K43b. 3 Mss. || DkT omits ⟨OL ZK⟩. 4 K43b ⟨PWN-c PWN-c⟩. 5 DH ⟨ptklšn'⟩ at the end of fol. 280r, 1 and ⟨n'čšn'⟩ at the beginning of fol. 280r, 2 || K43b ⟨ptk'łšn' n'čšn'⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨ptk'łšn' 'čšn'⟩ || DkM ⟨ptk'łšn' W 'čšn'⟩ || DkS transcribes as ⟨patkârishna va âzishna⟩ || DkT ⟨ptk'łšn' (w)w'čšn'⟩ and transcribes as ⟨پیکارش و وازش⟩.

(9.22.7) *ud tar<sup>1</sup> harborz abāg was dēw ud druwand [ud<sup>2</sup>] mardōm tā +abr<sup>3</sup> ī tom ul dwāristan<sup>4</sup> pad ān kanārag kayān<sup>5</sup> xwarrab +gil<sup>6</sup>-kirb būd (·:)*

(9.22.7) And how he rushed up across the Harborz (mountains) with many demons and wicked men up to the dark clouds, at that border was the 'Fortune of the Kayanians' in the form of \*clay.

1 Mss., DkS ⟨LCDr'⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨LCDr'⟩. 2 DH, K43b ⟨W⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM ⟨·: W⟩ || DkT deletes ⟨W⟩. 3 DH ⟨pyly⟩ at the end of fol. 280r, 2 and ⟨tm⟩ at the beginning of fol. 280r, 3 || K43b ⟨pyly tm⟩ || MR ⟨ply twm⟩ || J5 ⟨pyltm⟩ || R50 ⟨plytm⟩ || DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pl Y tm⟩ with DkS transcribing as ⟨par ī tom⟩ and translates as "utmost confines of darkness" following WEST 1892, p. 221 who has "outer edge of darkness" and who suggests in a note (fn. 4) the reading ⟨par-ī tom⟩ and notes: "Where the endless light commences" but alternatively suggests "to the utmost" if read as ⟨frētum⟩ as equivalent to ⟨frêhtûm⟩ [N.B., a reading only possible for MR]. Ferdowsī provides the most plausible reading with زابر سیاه "dark, black cloud(s)" with Pers. سیاه rendering Pahl. *tom* for ⟨t(w)m⟩ (KHALEGHI MOTLAGH 1990, vol. II, p. 97, line 392). 4 DkT emends to ⟨dwb'lst'⟩. 5 DH, K43b, DkS ⟨ky'n'⟩ || MR ⟨y'n'⟩ and ⟨yy'n'⟩ on the next line, presumably for ⟨ky'n'⟩ || J5, R50 ⟨y'n' yy'n'⟩ || DkM, DkT ⟨ky'n'⟩. 6 Mss. ⟨TYNA⟩ for *gil* "clay" but -k. perhaps originally ⟨\*gl⟩ for *gar* "mountain," for which, cf. PY 42.2 ⟨TYNA y c⟩ for *gar-iz* rendering Av. *gairīšcā*; the conflation of *gil* "clay" and *gar* "mountain" is found in the Perso-Arabic historians as well; see *Commentary* for further details and literature.

(9.22.8) *ud kay-us az<sup>1</sup> spāh hamist abar rēzīhistan<sup>2</sup> ·: ud pad-iz nōg abarīg<sup>3</sup> pahikārišn ī yazdān<sup>4</sup> abardom az ān duš-āgābīh nē waštan<sup>5</sup> ·:·<sup>6</sup>*

(9.22.8) And how Kay Us with his entire army was overwhelmed [lit. 'were poured upon,' *i.e.*, attacked by superior numbers], but still fought anew on high with the highest of the gods; (and yet) how he did not turn away from that evil knowledge.

1 Not in DkT. 2 DkT emends to ⟨wlycyhst'⟩ and translated as ⟨گریزنده⟩ "fleeing, running away" || cf. STEINGASS 1892, p. 601 for ریختن "to scatter, disperse, break in pieces." 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨'plyk⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨hw'plyk⟩ for *xwābarīg* "beneficial, merciful." 4 K43b ⟨yzd'n'⟩ miswritten and ⟨yzd'n'⟩ superscripted. 5 DkT emends to ⟨wšt'⟩. 6 No divider in MR, R50.

(9.22.9) *ud pas dādār kayān xwarrab<sup>1</sup> abāz ō xwēs<sup>2</sup> xwānd ud spāh ī kay-us<sup>3</sup> az ān burz ō zamīg obastan<sup>4</sup> ud kay-us ō<sup>5</sup> zrēh ī frāxkard wāzīdan<sup>6</sup> ·:*

(9.22.9) And how, afterward, the Creator called the 'Fortune of the Kayanians' back to himself; and how the army of Kay Us fell from that height to the ground; and how Kay Us flew to the Frāxkard Sea.

1 J5 has ⟨خره⟩ subscripted in NP. 2 K43b ⟨npšt'⟩ and ⟨NPŠE⟩ following || J5 has ⟨خویش⟩ subscripted in NP below ⟨NPŠE⟩. 3 J5 ⟨k'ywk⟩. 4 Mss. ⟨'wpstn'⟩ || DkT ⟨'wpst'⟩ || DkM, DkS ⟨hmpstn'⟩. 5 K43b ⟨W⟩ = ⟨O⟩ for ⟨OL⟩. 6 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨wcyt'⟩.

(9.22.10) *ud ēn-iz gōwēd kū bē ōy<sup>1</sup> kas az pasih wāzīd<sup>2</sup> nēryōsang<sup>3</sup> ī frāy-dādār gēhān [ud] pad wardišn ī ān ī ōy kas (:)*

(9.22.10) And this, too, it [*i.e.*, the *fragard* or the *nask*] says: ‘From the rear flew Nēryōsang [= Av. Nairiō.sarha] — producer of abundance for the world — in order to turn (back) that person [*i.e.*, Kay Us].

1 MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OLE AYŠ⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨OLE⟩ || J5 ⟨OLE-š'n'⟩. 2 MR, J5, R50, DkS anticipate and provide the following sequence *ā-š ēdōn ō ham ārāst* and then they repeat the sequence *pasih wāzīd nēryōsang*. 3 MR, J5, R50 (nylywksng) || DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (nylsng).

(9.22.11) *ud ān ī a-zād husrōy ā-š ēdōn ō ham<sup>1</sup> ārāst wāng čiyōn ān<sup>2</sup> ī hazār-gānag spāh kū ma ēd zanē<sup>3</sup> nēryōsang<sup>4</sup> ī frāy-dādār<sup>5</sup> gēhān čē agar<sup>6</sup> ēd mard zanē neryōsang<sup>7</sup> ī frāy-dādār<sup>8</sup> gēhān nē pas pad windišn windīhēd bē wisānēnidār<sup>9</sup> ⟨ī⟩ dastwar ī tūrān čē az ēd mard zāyēd ⟨ī⟩ siyāwaxš ast nām az<sup>10</sup> siyāwaxš an zāyam kē husrōy<sup>11</sup> ham kē ān<sup>12</sup> ī hu-wīrdom<sup>13</sup> az<sup>14</sup> tūrān kē gund ud spāh tabāh<sup>15</sup> wēš ā-š ō \*nāyēn<sup>16</sup>-wīrih bē rasēnam kū-š gund ud spāh tabāh<sup>17</sup> bē kunam kē ān ī tūrān pādoxšāy dūr-tazišn kunam<sup>18</sup> ⟨:⟩*

(9.22.11) And the cry of the unborn Husrōy [= Av. (Kauui) Haosrauuh / Husrauuh], thus he was so adorned like that of an army of a thousand men: ‘Do not strike this one, O Nēryōsang — producer of abundance for the world — for if you strike this man, O Nēryōsang — producer of abundance for the world — afterward, there will be no way of finding somebody to get rid off the *dastwar* of Tūrān [*i.e.*, Pers. Afrāsyāb]. For from this one [*i.e.*, Kay Us], a man will be born whose name is Siyāwaxš [= Av. (Kauui) Siiāuaršan, *i.e.*, ‘the one with black horses’]. From Siyāwaxš, I, Husrōy will be born, who will cause him — the one from Tūrān, who possesses the most good men, whose troops and army (cause) more destruction — him to come to possessing weak men, so that I may destroy his troops and army, I who shall make the ruler of Tūrān [*i.e.*, Pers. Afrāsyāb] run far away!’

1 Mss. ⟨w(‘) hm⟩. 2 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨ZK Y⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 3 Mss. ⟨zn'-ydy⟩. 4 MR, R50 (nylywksng) || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (nylywksng) || J5 (nylywksng) with a mark above and ⟨nylywksng⟩ written in the right margin on p. 380, 2 || DkT (nylywksng). 5 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pl'yd't'l⟩ || MR ⟨pl'ȳ d't'l⟩ || J5 ⟨pl'd't'l⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨HT HNA⟩ || MR, R50 ⟨HTHN⟩ || J5 ⟨MN HNA⟩. 7 DH ⟨nylywksng⟩ || K43b is smudged here || MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨nylywksng⟩ || J5 ⟨nylwksng⟩. 8 DH, K43b, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨pl'yd't'l⟩ || MR ⟨pl'ȳ d't'l⟩ || J5 ⟨pl'd't'l⟩. 9 Mss. ⟨ws'nynyt'l⟩ || DkT transcribes as (نسانانیدار) || SUNDERMANN 2008, p. 163: “severing (*wisānēnidār*) judge of Tūrān will not be found.” 10 J5 has ⟨zi⟩ subscripted in NP, presumably because the ⟨MN⟩ was too close to the preceding ⟨ŠM⟩. 11 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hswlwy⟩ || DH, K43b (slwy). 12 MR, J5, R50 ⟨ZK Y⟩ repeated. 13 MR, J5, R50 ⟨hwlytwm⟩ for *hu-wīrdom* “(having) good men/heroes” || DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨hmwlytwm⟩ for *ham-wīrdom* “having the most good men or heroes.” 14 J5 has ⟨zi⟩ subscripted in NP, presumably because the ⟨MN⟩ was too close to the preceding ⟨'twm⟩. 15 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨tp'h⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨typ'h⟩. 16 Mss. ⟨nyd'dyn' wylyh⟩ || DkM ⟨nyd'dyn' wylyh⟩ or ⟨wys'dyn' wylyh⟩ || DkS ⟨vēsh Daēna-vīrih⟩ for *wēš dēn wīrih* || DkT transcribes as (نایدین ویری) and translates as نیروی نابود کننده and cites DHABHAR 1949, p. 173, who cites *nāidūiāh* “poorer, weaker” in Y 34.8 and Y 57.10 (*nāidūiāyham*- in Mf4) || ASHA 2009, p. 110, fn. 637 emends to \**nāyēn-vīrih* “in need of men.” 17 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨tp'h⟩ || not in MR, J5, R50. 18 DH, K43b ⟨OBYDWN-ṃ⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkM,

DkS, DkT (OBYDWN-m) || For (-m) cf. ZEINI 2020, pp. 189–190 where he suggests that the hooked form of (-m) along with (-mm) and (-yt) are “an orthographic convention motivated by the verb (‘BYDWN-), perhaps to disambiguate its reading and to avoid confusion with *griftan*, *gīr-*” (p. 190), though, note DH, K43b (ŠBKWN-m) in §9.21.21.

(9.22.12) *u-š pad ān gōwišn rāmēnīd frawahr ī husrōy nēryōsang ī frāy-dādār gēhān u-š ān<sup>1</sup> pad ān<sup>2</sup> gōwišn frāz hišt<sup>3</sup> ud ān<sup>4</sup> pad ān ošōmand būd kay-us :*

(9.22.12) And by those words the Pre-soul of Husrōy calmed Nēryōsang — producer of abundance for the world — and because of those words, he [*i.e.*, Nēryōsang] released him [*i.e.*, Kay Us], and due to him [*i.e.*, Husrōy], he — Kay Us — became mortal [*i.e.*, in lieu of being killed].

1 DH, K43b || not in MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT. 2 Not in MR, R50 || J5 (ZK) crossed out. 3 DH, K43b, R50, DkM, DkT (ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>) || MR, J5, DkS (ŠBKWN-X<sub>2</sub>). 4 DH, K43b (ZK PWN ZK 'wš'wmnd) || MR, J5, R50, DkS (ZK Y PWN 'wš'wmn())d || DkM, DkT (ZK PWN 'wš'wmnd).

(9.22.13) *pablom ābādīh ablāyīh ast :: :*

(9.22.13) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!

### *Dēnkard* 9.23.1–8 — *Ā.airiīēmā.išiiō / Airiīaman* (Y 54.1)

DH 280r, 17 || K43b 34v, 1 || J5 380, 9 || MR 187, 2 || R50 135, 15

DkM 817, 11 || DkS xvii, 63 || DkT 94 [120]

WEST 223 || SANJANA vol. xvii, 49 || TAFAZZOLI 96 [122] || ASHA 111

(9.23.1) *wīst-dōwom fragard ēr(ya)man<sup>1</sup> :: abar ham rasīd<sup>2</sup> ī kay-husrōy ud wāy ī dagrand-xwadāy nazd ō frašgird (ud) pursīd<sup>3</sup> ī kay-husrōy ō wāy ī dagrand-xwadāy abar<sup>4</sup> zadan ī-š čand az pēšēnīgān<sup>5</sup> kē pad warz ud xwarrah abardom būd hēnd az mardōmān<sup>6</sup> ::*

(9.23.1) The twenty second *fragard*, the *Airiīaman*, is about how Kay Husrōy and Wāy of Long Rule came together close to the Renovation; (and) how Kay Husrōy asked Wāy of Long Rule about why he struck down (so) many of those ‘ancients’ who were the highest of humankind in miraculous power [= Av. *varəcab-* ‘miraculous power’] and Fortune.

1 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (‘ylmn’) || MR, J5, R50, DkS (‘ylymn’). 2 DkT emends to (hm YHMTWN-ytn’). 3 DH, K43b, J5, DkM, DkS (pwrsyt’) || MR, R50, DkT (pwrsyt’n’). 4 K43b (ME). 5 K43b (pyšyndk) with (pyšyn) superscripted at end of fol. 34v, 3 and (‘n) at beginning of fol. 34v, 4. 6 J5 has (مردمان) subscripted in NP below (ANŠWTA’n’).

(9.23.2) *ud passox ī wāy ī<sup>1</sup> dagrand-xwadāy abar zadan ī-š<sup>2</sup> awēšān ::<sup>3</sup> ud pad ān passox grift<sup>4</sup> ī kay-husrōy wāy ī dagrand-xwadāy ud<sup>5</sup> frāz wardenīdan ī<sup>6</sup> ō ān ī uštar-kīrb ud abar nišast<sup>7</sup> ud šud<sup>8</sup> ī abāg ērān banjamanīgān ō anōh kū nibayēd pad xwēy<sup>9</sup> :: haōišti<sup>10</sup> gəuruuān :: ī a-marg ud hangēzēnīdan ī-š ōy<sup>11</sup> ud ham-mis ōy-iz<sup>12</sup> šud<sup>13</sup> ī<sup>14</sup> ō<sup>15</sup> anōh kū nibayēd<sup>16</sup> pad xwēy tūs<sup>17</sup> ī ardīg-rānēnīdār ud*

*hangēzēnīdan ī-š ōy-iz*<sup>18</sup> *ud hammis*<sup>19</sup> *ōy-iz šud*<sup>20</sup> *ī-š ō anōh kū nibayēd kay-abiweh ud hangēzēnīdan ī-š ōy-iz* (:)

(9.23.2) And how Wāy of Long Rule replied about why he struck them down; and how Kay Husrōy, at that reply, grabbed Wāy of Long Rule and changed him into the shape of a camel and mounted (him); how he went with members of the assemblies of Iran to there where the immortal Haōišti Gəuruuān lay asleep and how he roused him, and, together with him too, went to where the Battle-fighting Tūs [= Av. Tusa] lay asleep, and how he roused him as well, and, together with him too, went to where Kay Abiweh [= Av. Kauui Aipiūuānhu / Aipi.vohu, lit. ‘he who (gives/receives) good things hereafter’] lay, and how he roused him as well.

1 Not in DH, K43b. 2 Not in K43b. 3 No divider in MR, R50. 4 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨OHDWN-tñ⟩. 5 Omitted in DkT. 6 DkT deletes ⟨Y⟩ and has ⟨OL⟩ at the end of p. 94, 5 and ⟨OL⟩ repeated on p. 94, 6. 7 Mss. || DkT emends to ⟨YTBWN-stñ⟩. 8 J5 ⟨OZLWN-yt⟩ with the ⟨y⟩ crossed out and ⟨شد⟩ subscripted in NP || DkT emends to ⟨OZLWN-tñ⟩. 9 Mss. ⟨hwy⟩ for *xwēy* “sleep” = ⟨hng⟩ for *hang* “cave” || For *xwēy* cf. TAFAZZOLI 1990, pp. 47–60 [N.B., he reads as *xwē*] who also cited a number of dialectal forms and Pz. ⟨xʷəy⟩ (p. 53) and suggests it perhaps goes back to OIran. \*xʷafya- (p. 54) || For *hang* “cave,” cf. NP هنگ “a cavern, cleft in the rock” in STEINGASS 1892, p. 1515; cf. also ZAEHNER 1955 [1971], p. 104, who translates “cave” for this passage || WEST (1892, p. 224) translates “strength” and adds in a note: “Reading *hang*, which can also mean ‘a cave;’ but we can likewise read *hūg*, ‘spiritual life’ (fn. 2) || DkS, following WEST, translates “spiritual consciousness” and also suggests possibly reading *hang* “intellect, power, cave” [N.B., see STEINGASS above] || DkT transcribes as ⟨هنگ به⟩ and translates as در هنگ قرار دارد. 10 DH (: *haōišti gəuruuā Y*) in Av. || K43b (: *h’ōišti gəuruuā Y*) with ⟨ha⟩ superscripted in Av. [N.B., presumably since the first two letters ⟨h’⟩ were written in Pahl.] || MR (: *haōišti · gəuruuān ·* :) || J5 (: *haōišti gəuruuān ·* :) || DkM ⟨*hāōišti Y gəuruuān ·*⟩ || DkS ⟨*haōišti Y gəuruuān ·*⟩ || DkT ⟨*hāōišti Y gəuruuān ·*⟩. 11 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨OLE⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨OLE⟩. 12 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OLE-c⟩ || MR, J5, R50 ⟨OLE-c Y⟩. 13 DkT emends to ⟨OZLWN-tñ⟩ but deletes ⟨Y⟩. 14 Omitted in DkT. 15 J5 ⟨OL⟩ and ⟨وی⟩ subscripted in NP. 16 K43b ⟨SKBHWN-yt⟩ and ⟨ŠK⟩ superscripted. 17 K43b ⟨twyh⟩. 18 DkS emends to ⟨OL⟩. 19 K43b ⟨KHDE⟩ at the end of fol. 34v, 9, and ⟨c⟩ at the beginning of fol. 34v, 10 without ⟨OLE⟩ || DkM ⟨KHDE W OLE-c⟩. 20 MR, J5 ⟨OZLWN-t’ ZY-š KHDE OLE-š’ n’ OL TME⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨OZLWN-t’ Y OL TME AYK⟩ || R50 ⟨OZLWN-t’ ZY-š KHDE OLE-š’ n’⟩ || DkM ⟨OZLWN-t’ ZY-š OL TME AYK⟩ || DkS ⟨OZLWN-t’ OL TME AYK⟩ || DkT ⟨OZLWN-tñ’ ZY-š OL TME AYK⟩.

(9.23.3) *ud raft*<sup>1</sup> *ī-š hammis awēšān ud*<sup>2</sup> *andarg rāh ō ham rasīd*<sup>3</sup> *ī ōy ī sūdōmand ī pērōzgar sōšāns ud pursīd*<sup>4</sup> *ī az ōy*<sup>5</sup> *sūdōmand*<sup>6</sup> *ī pērōzgar kū kē*<sup>7</sup> *mard hē kē nišīnē pad wāy abar ī dagrand-xwadāy kū wāzēnē wāy ī dagrand-xwadāy frāz wašt ō ān ī uštar*<sup>8</sup> *-kirb* (:)

(9.23.3) And how he went about together with them and how on the road he met with the one who will bring benefit (*sūdōmand*) and victory — Sōšāns — and how he, the one who will bring benefit and victory — asked him: ‘Who are you, O man, who sit on Wāy of Long Rule? Where are you flying Wāy of Long Rule changed into the shape of a camel?’

1 DkT ⟨SGYTWN-tñ⟩. 2 DkT begins new § here. 3 DkT emends to ⟨ʷytn⟩. 4 DkT emends to ⟨pwršytn⟩. 5 DH, J5, DkS, DkT ⟨OLE⟩ || K43b ⟨OLE⟩ blurred and ⟨OLE⟩ superscripted || MR, R50 ⟨OLE Y⟩. 6 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT ⟨swdmnd⟩ || MR, J5, R50, DkS ⟨swtymnd⟩. 7 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 8 MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨GMRA⟩ || DH, K43b ⟨GMR’A⟩.

(9.23.4) *ud guftan ī kay-husrōy pad passox ō sōšāns kū an<sup>2</sup> ham kay-husrōy* (·:)  
 (9.23.4) And how Kay Husrōy said in reply to Sōšāns: ‘I am Kay Husrōy!’

1 Not in DH, K43b. 2 J5 (W ANE).

(9.23.5) *ud burzīdan ī sōšāns<sup>1</sup> ō kay-husrōy abar kand<sup>2</sup> ī-š<sup>3</sup> ān ī +uzdēs-zār<sup>4</sup> ī abar bār ī war ī čēčast<sup>5</sup> ud zadan ī-š jādūg frāsāsp* (·:)

(9.23.5) And how Sōšāns praised Kay Husrōy for how he razed the idol-temple(s) on the shores of Lake Čēčast [= Av. *caēcasta-*] and how he struck down the sorcerer Frāsāsp [= Pers. Afrāsyāb].

1 DH, K43b (swš'ns) || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (swkš'ns). 2 DkT emends to (HPLWN-tñ). 3 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT || not in MR, J5, R50. 4 DH (‘wcdyc'l) || K43b (‘wcdyc'l Y 'c'l) || MR, J5, R50 (‘wc dyc'l) || DkM, DkS, DkT (‘wc' dyc'l). 5 Mss. (cykcs't').

(9.23.6) *ud stāyīdan ī kay-husrōy<sup>1</sup> dēn mazdēs<sup>2</sup> ud madan ī +ast<sup>3</sup> tuwānīg kīrsāsp<sup>4</sup> gad<sup>5</sup> dast ō awēšān padīrag<sup>6</sup> (ud) abar [ī]<sup>7</sup> ōy<sup>8</sup> +gayg<sup>9</sup> (ud)<sup>10</sup> jādūg mān bē ēstād<sup>11</sup> ī ardīg-rānēnīdār<sup>12</sup> tūs ud xwānd<sup>13</sup> ī-š<sup>14</sup> kīrsāsp ō āstawānīgih<sup>15</sup> ī abar gāhānīgih ud hamih ī abāg awēšān ud stāyīdan ī kīrsāsp<sup>16</sup> ablāyih ud abgand<sup>17</sup> ī-š ān ī arm-zadār* (·:)

(9.23.6) And how Kay Husrōy praised the Mazdean Tradition, and the coming of the one who is able, Kīrsāsp — club in hand — to meet them; and how the Battle-fighting Tūs stood upon the dwelling of that \*robber (and) sorcerer; and how he called Kīrsāsp to profess himself a follower of the *Gāḍās* and make common cause with them; and how Kīrsāsp praised Righteousness and how he cast down that ‘arm-striker.’<sup>18</sup>

1 R50 (kyhwslly QDM dyn'). 2 DH, K43b (mzdst') || MR, J5, DkM, DkS, DkT (mzdyst'). 3 Mss. (AYT(') twb'nyk). 4 DkT adds (Y). 5 DH, K43b (ğt' YDE OL OLEš'an') || MR, J5, R50, DkS (yt' OL YDE OL OLEš'n') with an unclear diacritic over the *gad* in MR [N.B., no diacritics on others] || DkM, DkT (yt' YDE OL OLEš'an') with no diacritics. Also cf. an epithet of Kərəsāspa in Av. corresponding to *gad dast* in Yt 13.136: *gādauuara-* “mace bearing.” 6 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (ptylk') || J5 (ptylk Y). 7 Omitted in DkT. 8 DH, K43b, DkM, DkS, DkT (OLE) || not in MR, J5, R50. 9 Mss. (gyg) || usually (gdk(')) in MacKENZIE 1971, p. 36 from Av. *gada-* “robber.” 10 DkT adds (Y). 11 DkT emends to (YKOYMWN-tñ). 12 DH, K43b, MR, DkM, DkS, DkT (‘l'n'nynt'l) || J5 (‘l'n'nynt'l). 13 DkT (KRYTN-tñ). 14 DH, K43b (ZY-š) || MR, J5, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT (ZY-š OL). 15 DH, K43b, DkM, DkT (‘stwb'nykyh Y QDM) || MR, R50, DkS (‘stwb'nyh Y QDM) || J5 (‘stwb'nyh) and (QDM) on the next line. 16 K43b (kls'st') and (sp) superscripted. 17 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS (LMYTN-t' ZY-š) || J5 (LMYTN-t' Y ZY-š) || DkT (LMYTN-tñ ZY-š). 18 Cf. Av. *arəma-* “shoulder, forearm” in Yt 13.72: *nōiṭ asānō arəmo.šūtō auuasiiāt* “nor stones thrust by arms may cut (him) down,” cf. also MALANDRA 2018, p. 146 and p. 97.

(9.23.7) *pad ēn-iz gōwēd kū ēdōn awēšān mard ō<sup>1</sup> ham rasēnd (ī) frašgird-kardār<sup>2</sup> ī pad ēn fragard ud ān-iz ī abārīg gyāg guft ēstēd (ud) harwist arwand hēnd<sup>3</sup> abar-kār ud harwist<sup>4</sup> tagīg hēnd<sup>5</sup> nēw ud awēšān kumēnd<sup>6</sup> frašgird pad kāmāg andar axwān a-zarmān ud a-marg ud a-suyišn ud a-puyišn tā hamē ud<sup>7</sup> hamē rawišnīh* ·:

(9.23.7) Regarding this too, it [*i.e.*, the *fragard* or the *nask*] says: ‘In this way those men who shall produce the Renovation, will meet up (with) both those men-

tioned in this *fragard* and those mentioned in other places [*i.e.*, other texts] — all are valiant, their work-up-above, and all are fleet (and) brave; and they will make the Renovation — at will within the (two) worlds — without old age and death, without hunger and thirst, forever and for eternity.’

1 Mss. ⟨'w'⟩. 2 DH ⟨plškr̥t'kr̥t'1 · Y PWN⟩ || K43b ⟨plškr̥t'kr̥t'1 · PWN⟩ || MR ⟨plškr̥t kr̥t'1⟩ with ⟨yh⟩ superscripted at the end of the line and ⟨PWN⟩ on the next line || J5 ⟨plškr̥t'⟩ and ⟨kr̥t'lyh PWN⟩ on the next line || DkM ⟨plš⟩ and ⟨kr̥t' kr̥t'lyh Y PWN⟩ on the next line || DkS ⟨plškr̥t' kr̥t'lyh Y PWN⟩ || DkT ⟨plškr̥t⟩ and ⟨kr̥t'lyh Y PWN⟩ on the next line. 3 DkS ⟨'lwnd'wmn'đ⟩. 4 DH, K43b, DkM || MR, J5, R50, DkS, DkT ⟨hlwsp'⟩. 5 DkS ⟨tkyg'wmn'đ⟩. 6 DH, K43b, MR, R50, DkM, DkS, DkT ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ || J5 ⟨OBYDWN-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ and ⟨-X<sub>2</sub>⟩ superscripted and ⟨كند⟩ subscripted in NP.

(9.23.8) *ast pablom ābādīh ahlāyīh* :: ::

(9.23.8) Righteousness is the Best Prosperity!





## Appendices

### Appendix A: ‘Old Avesta’ Liturgical Textual Divisions

<i>Yaḏā Abū Vairiio</i> [Y 27.13]	<i>Abuna Vairiia</i>	21 Words	Y 27.13
<i>Aṣəm Vohū</i> [Y 27.14]	<i>Aṣəm Vohū</i>	12 Words	Y 27.14
<i>Yeḡbē Hātəm</i> [Y 27.15]	<i>Yeḡbē Hātəm</i>	15 Words	Y 27.15
<i>Yānīm Manō</i> [Y 28.0]	<i>Yānīm.manō</i>	13 Words	Y 28.0
<i>Abunauuaitī Gāḏā</i> [Y 28–34]			
1	<i>Abiiāsā Hāiti</i>	11 Strophes	Y 28
2	<i>Xšmāuuaiia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti</i>	11 Strophes	Y 29
3	<i>Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā Hāiti</i>	11 Strophes	Y 30
4	<i>Tā.vō.uruuātā Hāiti</i>	22 Strophes	Y 31
5	<i>X<sup>o</sup>aētumaitī Hāiti</i>	16 Strophes	Y 32
6	<i>Yaḏāišiḏā Hāiti</i>	14 Strophes	Y 33
7	<i>Yā.šiiiaoḏanā Hāiti</i>	15 Strophes	Y 34
<i>Yasna Haptaḡhāiti</i> [Y 35–41] 1–7	<i>Yasna</i>	41 Strophes	Y 35–41
<i>Uštauuaitī Gāḏā</i> [Y 43–46]			
1	<i>Uštauuaitī Hāiti</i>	16 Strophes	Y 43
2	<i>Taṭ.ḏβā.pərəsā Hāiti</i>	20 Strophes	Y 44
3	<i>Aṭ.frauuaxšiiā Hāiti</i>	11 Strophes	Y 45
4	<i>Kamnamaēzā Hāiti</i>	19 Strophes	Y 46
<i>Spəḡta Mainiiū Gāḏā</i> [Y 47–50]			
1	<i>Spəḡtā.mainiiū Hāiti</i>	6 Strophes	Y 47
2	<i>Yeziḏā Hāiti</i>	12 Strophes	Y 48
3	<i>Aṭ.māiiuuā Hāiti</i>	12 Strophes	Y 49
4	<i>Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti</i>	11 Strophes	Y 50
<i>Vohū Xšaḏrā Gāḏā</i> [Y 51]			
1	<i>Vohū.xšaḏrā Hāiti</i>	22 Strophes	Y 51
<i>Vahištōišti Gāḏā</i> [Y 53]			
1	<i>Vahištōišti Hāiti</i>	9 Strophes	Y 53
<i>Ā Airiiēmā Išiiō</i> [Y 54.1]	<i>Airiiaman</i>	24 Words	Y 54.1

## Appendix B: Dēnkard Book 9 — ‘Old Avesta’ Concordance

<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sūdgar</i>	<i>Waršt mānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
1	Dk 9.2.1-21 = Y 27.13 <i>Yašā Abū Vairiō</i>	Dk 9.24.1-21 <i>AeSrapaitiš</i>	Dk 9.47.1-22 = Y 27.13 <i>Yašā Abū Vairiō</i>
2	Dk 9.3.1-2 = Y 27.14 <i>Ašom Vobū</i>	Dk 9.25.1-5 = Y 27.13 <i>Yašā Abū Vairiō</i>	Dk 9.48.1-5 = Y 27.14 <i>Ašom Vobū</i>
3	Dk 9.4.1-3 = Y 27.15 <i>Yeñbe Hātqm</i>	Dk 9.26.1-3 = Y 27.14 <i>Ašom Vobū</i>	Dk 9.49.1-9 = Y 27.15 <i>Yeñbe Hātqm</i>
4	Dk 9.5.1-9 = Y 28.0 <i>Yānim Manō</i> [Y 28-34: <i>Abnauuaitī Gāšā</i> ]	Dk 9.27.1-3 = Y 27.15 <i>Yeñbe Hātqm</i>	Dk 9.50.1-30 = Y 28.0 <i>Yānim Manō</i> [Y 28.34: <i>Abnauuaitī Gāšā</i> ]
5	Dk 9.6.1-4 = Y 29.1 <i>Xšmāuuaitia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.28.1-9 = Y 28.0 <i>Yānim Manō</i> [Y 28.34: <i>Abnauuaitī Gāšā</i> ]	Dk 9.51.1-17 = Y 29.1 <i>Xšmāuuaitia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti</i>
6	Dk 9.7.1-12 = Y 30.1 <i>Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.29.1-14 = Y 29.1 <i>Xšmāuuaitia.gəuš.uruuā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.52.1-17 = Y 30.1 <i>Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā Hāiti</i>
7	Dk 9.8.1-7 = Y 31.1 <i>Tā.və.uruuātā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.30.1-17 = Y 30.1 <i>Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.53.1-49 = Y 31.1 <i>Tā.və.uruuātā Hāiti</i>
8	Dk 9.9.1-11 = Y 32.1 <i>X<sup>ə</sup>aētumaitī Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.31.1-28 = Y 31.1 <i>Tā.və.uruuātā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.54.1-11 = Y 32.1 <i>X<sup>ə</sup>aētumaitī Hāiti</i>
9	Dk 9.10.1-4 = Y 33.1 <i>Yašāišišā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.32.1-27 = Y 32.1 <i>X<sup>ə</sup>aētumaitī Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.55.1-11 = Y 33.1 <i>Yašāišišā Hāiti</i>
10	Dk 9.11.1-15 = Y 34.1 <i>Yā.šiiəodanā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.33.1-7 = Y 33.1 <i>Yašāišišā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.56.1-10 = Y 34.1 <i>Yā.šiiəodanā Hāiti</i>
11	Dk 9.12.1-32 = Y 35.2-41 <i>Yasna Haptañbāiti</i>	Dk 9.34.n-u = Y 34.1 <i>Yā.šiiəodanā Hāiti</i>	Dk 9.57.1-30 = Y 35.2-41 <i>Yasna Haptañbāiti</i>
12	Dk 9.13.1-10 = Y 43.1 <i>Uštauuaitī Hāiti</i> [Y 43-46: <i>Uštauuaitī Gāšā</i> ]	Dk 9.35.1-26 = Y 35.2-41 <i>Yasna Haptañbāiti</i>	Dk 9.58.1-30 = Y 43.1 <i>Uštauuaitī Hāiti</i> [Y 43-46: <i>Uštauuaitī Gāšā</i> ]

- 13 Dk 9.14.1-5 = Y 44.1  
*Taṭ.Ṣḷā.pərəsā Hāiti*
- 14 Dk 9.15.1-5 = Y 45.1  
*Aṭ.fraunaxšiiā Hāiti*
- 15 Dk 9.16.1-20 = Y 46.1  
*Kannamaēzā Hāiti*
- 16 Dk 9.17.1-9 = Y 47.1  
*Spəntā.mainiu Hāiti*  
[Y 47-50: *Spəntā.mainiu Gāḍā*]
- 17 Dk 9.18.1-4 = Y 48.1  
*Yeziḍā Hāiti*
- 18 Dk 9.19.1-11 = Y 49.1  
*Aṭ.māiuuā Hāiti*
- 19 Dk 9.20.1-10 = Y 50.1  
*Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti*
- 20 Dk 9.21.1-25 = Y 51.1  
*Vobū.xšaḍrā Hāiti*  
[Y 51: *Vobū.xšaḍrā Gāḍā*]
- 21 Dk 9.22.1-25 = Y 53.1  
*Vahiṣṭōišti Hāiti*  
[Y 53: *Vahiṣṭōišti Gāḍā*]
- 22 Dk 9.23.1-8 = Y 54.1  
*Ā Airiāmā Išiō*
- 23 —
- Dk 9.59.1-20 = Y 44.1  
*Taṭ.Ṣḷā.pərəsā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.60.1-9 = Y 45.1  
*Aṭ.fraunaxšiiā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.61.1-15 = Y 46.1  
*Kannamaēzā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.62.1-9 = Y 47.1  
*Spəntā.mainiu Hāiti*  
[Y 47-50: *Spəntā.mainiu G.*]
- Dk 9.63.1-11 = Y 48.1  
*Yeziḍā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.64.1-13 = Y 49.1  
*Aṭ.māiuuā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.65.1-14 = Y 50.1  
*Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.66.1-13 = Y 51.1  
*Vobū.xšaḍrā Hāiti*  
[Y 51: *Vobū.xšaḍrā Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.67.1-13 = Y 53.1  
*Vahiṣṭōišti Hāiti*  
[Y 53: *Vahiṣṭōišti Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.68.1-2 = Y 54.1  
*Ā Airiāmā Išiō*
- Dk 9.69.1-60 = \*Yašt
- Dk 9.36.1-4 = Y 43.1  
*Uṣṭauuaiti Hāiti*  
[Y 43-46: *Uṣṭauuaiti Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.37.e-o = Y 44.1  
*Taṭ.Ṣḷā.pərəsā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.38.1-13 = Y 45.1  
*Aṭ.fraunaxšiiā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.39.1-31 = Y 46.1  
*Kannamaēzā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.40.1-13 = Y 47.1  
*Spəntā.mainiu Hāiti*  
[Y 47-50: *Spəntā.mainiu G.*]
- Dk 9.41.1-29 = Y 48.1  
*Yeziḍā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.42.1-14 = Y 49.1  
*Aṭ.māiuuā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.43.1-13 = Y 50.1  
*Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.44.1-22 = Y 51.1  
*Vobū.xšaḍrā Hāiti*  
[Y 51: *Vobū.xšaḍrā Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.45.1-11 = Y 53.1  
*Vahiṣṭōišti Hāiti*  
[Y 53: *Vahiṣṭōišti Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.46.1-5 = Y 54.1  
*Ā Airiāmā Išiō*
- Dk 9.14.1-5 = Y 44.1  
*Taṭ.Ṣḷā.pərəsā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.15.1-5 = Y 45.1  
*Aṭ.fraunaxšiiā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.16.1-20 = Y 46.1  
*Kannamaēzā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.17.1-9 = Y 47.1  
*Spəntā.mainiu Hāiti*  
[Y 47-50: *Spəntā.mainiu Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.18.1-4 = Y 48.1  
*Yeziḍā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.19.1-11 = Y 49.1  
*Aṭ.māiuuā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.20.1-10 = Y 50.1  
*Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā Hāiti*
- Dk 9.21.1-25 = Y 51.1  
*Vobū.xšaḍrā Hāiti*  
[Y 51: *Vobū.xšaḍrā Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.22.1-25 = Y 53.1  
*Vahiṣṭōišti Hāiti*  
[Y 53: *Vahiṣṭōišti Gāḍā*]
- Dk 9.23.1-8 = Y 54.1  
*Ā Airiāmā Išiō*

## Appendix C: MADAN (DkM) Concordance = MADAN (1911)

<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sūdegār</i>	<i>Warštmanāsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
Intro.	787, 1	—	—
1	787, 6	818, 21	873, 7
2	788, 19	822, 9	876, 13
3	789, 1	823, 3	877, 8
4	789, 9	823, 11	878, 8
5	790, 9	823, 19	884, 6
6	790, 20	825, 15	888, 8
7	792, 4	828, 15	892, 11
8	792, 17	831, 6	903, 11
9	794, 5	835, 18	905, 1
10	794, 16	841, 10	907, 4
11	796, 17	843, 22	908, 22
12	801, 1	846, 7	913, 11
13	801, 20	849, 16	918, 6
14	802, 14	851, 21	921, 16
15	803, 13	854, 11	923, 7
16	805, 20	856, 6	925, 19
17	806, 18	860, 12	926, 18
18	807, 7	861, 19	928, 3
19	808, 18	864, 19	930, 18
20	810, 8	866, 6	932, 17
21	815, 3	867, 18	934, 13
22	817, 11	870, 12	936, 3
23	—	872, 15	936, 10

Appendix D: *Sūdgar Nask* Final Formulae Concordance

<i>Fragard</i>	B	DH	K43b	MR	J5	D10a
1 = §9.2.21	—	<i>ablāyīb ābādīb pablom ast</i>	=	=	=	—
2 = §9.3.2	—	<i>ablāyīb pablom ābādīb ast</i>	—	=	=	—
3 = §9.4.3	—	<i>ablāyīb ast pablom ābādīb</i>	=	=	=	—
4 = §9.5.9	—	<i>ābādīb ablāyīb pablom ast</i>	=	=	=	—
5 = §9.6.4	—	<i>ābādīb pablom ablāyīb ast</i>	=	=	<i>ābādīb pablom ast ablāyīb</i>	—
6 = §9.7.12	—	<i>ābādīb ast pablom ablāyīb</i>	=	=	=	—
7 = §9.8.7	—	<i>pablom ablāyīb ābādīb ast</i>	=	=	=	—
8 = §9.9.11	—	<i>ablāyīb ābādīb pablom ast</i>	=	=	=	—
9 = §9.10.4	—	<i>pablom ast ablāyīb ābādīb</i>	=	=	=	—
10 = §9.11.15	—	<i>ast ablāyīb ābādīb pablom</i>	=	—	—	—
11 = §9.12.32	—	<i>ast ābādīb ablāyīb pablom</i>	=	=	=	—
12 = §9.13.10	—	<i>ast pablom ābādīb ablāyīb</i>	=	=	=	—
13 = §9.14.5	—	<i>ablāyīb ābādīb ast pablom</i>	=	=	=	—
14 = §9.15.5	—	<i>ablāyīb pablom ast ābādīb</i>	=	=	=	—
15 = §9.16.20	—	<i>ablāyīb ābādīb pablom ast</i>	=	=	<i>ablāyīb ābādīb ī pablom ast<sup>1</sup></i>	—
16 = §9.17.9	—	<i>ābādīb ablāyīb ast pablom</i>	=	=	=	—
17 = §9.18.4	—	<i>ābādīb pablom ast ablāyīb</i>	=	=	=	—
18 = §9.19.11	—	<i>ābādīb pablom ablāyīb ast</i>	=	=	=	—
19 = §9.20.10	—	<i>pablom ablāyīb ast ābādīb</i>	=	=	=	—
20 = §9.21.25	—	<i>pablom ābādīb ast ablāyīb</i>	=	=	=	—
21 = §9.22.13	—	<i>pablom ābādīb ablāyīb ast</i>	=	=	=	—
22 = §9.23.8	—	<i>ast pablom ābādīb ablāyīb</i>	=	=	=	—

1 Contra MALANDRA/ICHAPORIA (2013, p. 93, fn. 8) who state: “This oft repeated line at the end of fragard’s [sic] in the Dēnkard never has the izafe.”

## Appendix E: Manuscript B Concordance = DRESDEN (1966)

<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sādgar</i>	<i>Warštāmānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
Intro.	Missing	—	—
1	—	—	675, 18–677, 22; continued at 587, 1–16
2	—	—	587, 17
3	—	—	588, 10
4	—	—	589, 10
5	—	—	594, 15
6	—	—	597, 17
7	—	—	600, 21
8	—	—	608, 17
9	—	Dk 9.32.9 = 646, 1	609, 20
10	Missing to end of §9.11.12	649, 4	611, 10
11	585, 6–586, 22	651, 4	612, 17
12	Missing	653, 2	616, 1
13	—	655, 17	619, 16
14	—	657, 10	622, 9
15	—	659, 9	623, 13
16	—	660, 17	625, 10
17	—	664, 8	626, 4
18	—	665, 10	627, 4
19	—	668, 4	629, 3
20	—	669, 11	630, 11
21	—	671, 2	631, 19
22	—	673, 9	632, 21
23	—	675, 7	633, 5

## Appendix F: Codex DH Concordance = ANKLESARIA (1971)

<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sādgar</i>	<i>Waršt mānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
Intro.	—	—	—
1	268v, 11	280v, 20	302r, 7
2	268v, 14	282r, 12	303r, 15
3	269r, 16	282v, 2	303v, 5
4	269r, 18	282v, 8	303v, 20
5	269v, 4	282v, 14	306r, 7
6	269v, 20	283r, 21	307v, 9
7	270r, 7	284v, 9	309r, 10
8	270v, 6	285v, 10	313r, 19
9	270v, 16	287v, 3	314r, 3
10	271r, 18	289v, 13	314v, 16
11	271v, 5	290v, 15	315v, 5
12	272r, 16	291v, 13	317r, 15
13	274r, 1	293r, 7	319r, 9
14	274r, 15	294r, 1	320v, 1–21
15	274v, 7	294v, 21	Text ends
16	275r, 2	295v, 7	
17	275v, 20	297r, 12	
18	276r, 14	297v, 12	
19	276v, 1	298v, 17	
20	277r, 5	299r, 18	
21	277v, 9	300r, 2	
22	279r, 21	301r, 3	
23	280r, 17	301v, 18	
	—		



## Appendix G: Codex K43b Concordance = CHRISTENSEN (1936b [1979b])

	<i>Sūdgar</i>	<i>Waršt mānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
<i>Fragard</i>			
Intro.	21r. [written vertically]	—	
1	21r, 16	35r, 6	
2	Skipped	36v, 6	
3	22r, 1	36v, 19	
4	22r, 8	37r, 6	
5	22v, 7	37r, 12	
6	22v, 16	38r, 14	
7	23r, 19	39v, 15	
8	23v, 10	41r, 7–42v, 3	
9	24r, 16	Text ends	
10	24v, 5		
11	25v, 2		
12	27r, 14		
13	27v, 9		
14	28r, 1		
15	28r, 19		
16	29r, 20		
17	29v, 16		
18	30r, 5		
19	30v, 10		
20	31r, 18		
21	33v, 2		
22	34v, 1		
23	—		

Appendix H: Manuscript J5 Concordance = J<sub>M</sub>ASP ASA/NAWABI (1976c)

	<i>Sūdgār</i>	<i>Wars̄tmānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
<i>Fragard</i>			
Intro.	—	—	—
1	349, 14	381, 11	430, 15
2	349, 17	384, 5	435, 6
3	350, 15	384, 17	436, 3
4	350, 17	385, 3	437, 5
5	351, 3	385, 8	443, 11
6	351, 18	387, 1	447, 15
7	352, 5	389, 17	451, 14
8	353, 3	392, 7	462, 11
9	353, 12	396, 16	464, 4
10	354, 13	402, 11	466, 7
11	355, 1	405, 1	468, 6
12	360, 2	407, 5	473, 7
13	364, 17	410, 9	478, 10
14	365, 13	412, 11	482, 6
15	366, 7	414, 17	483, 17
16	367, 4	416, 7	486, 9
17	369, 7	419, 18	487, 9
18	370, 5	420, 19	488, 17
19	370, 14	423, 8	491, 10
20	372, 2	424, 12	493, 8
21	373, 10	425, 19	495, 7
22	378, 6	428, 7	496, 18
23	380, 9	430, 4	497, 5
	—		

## Appendix I: Codex D10a Concordance = JAMASP ASA/NAWABI (1976b)

<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sādgar</i>	<i>Waršt mānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
Intro.	Missing	—	—
1	—	—	—
2	—	—	593, 5
3	—	—	594, 11
4	—	—	596, 11
5	—	—	607, 12
6	—	—	615, 6
7	—	—	622, 13
8	—	—	642, 12
9	—	—	645, 14
10	Missing to end of §9.11.12	—	650, 2
11	587, 9	—	653, 11
12	Missing	—	662, 14
13	—	—	672, 3
14	—	—	678, 13
15	—	—	681, 13
16	—	—	686, 9
17	—	—	688, 6
18	—	—	690, 13
19	—	—	695, 14
20	—	—	699, 11
21	—	—	703, 4
22	—	—	706, 1–724, 9
23	—	—	—

## Appendix J: Manuscript MR Concordance = DRESDEN (1966)

	<i>Sūdgar</i>	<i>Warštman̄sr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
<i>Fragard</i>			
Intro.	137, 12	—	
1	138, 4	189, 10–192, 14	
2	140, 11	Ms. ends	
3	140, 14		
4	141, 10		
5	143, 6		
6	144, 4		
7	146, 7		
8	147, 7		
9	150, 1		
10	150, 13		
11	154, 1		
12	157, 13		
13	159, 5		
14	160, 8		
15	162, 3		
16	166, 5		
17	167, 14		
18	168, 13		
19	171, 6		
20	174, 3		
21	182, 10		
22	187, 2		
23	—		

## Appendix K: Manuscript R50 Concordance

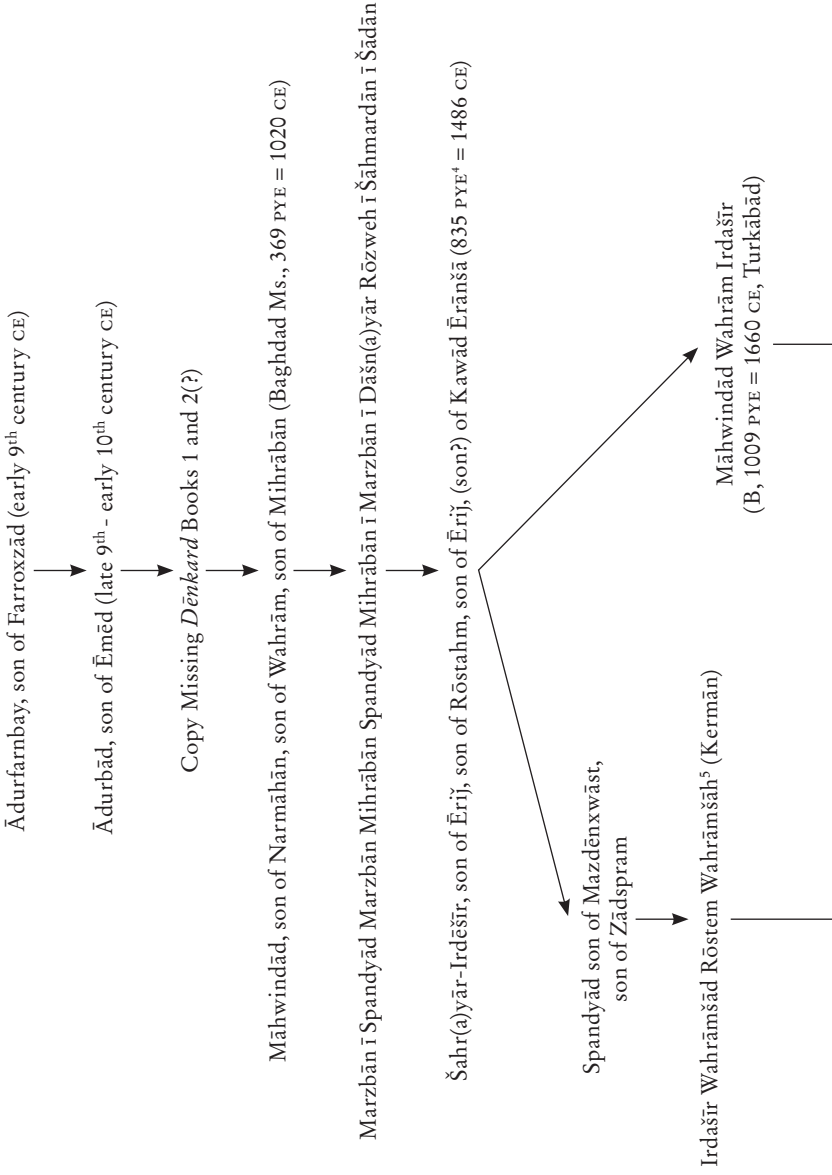
<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sādgar</i>	<i>Waršt mānsr</i>	<i>Bag</i>
INTRO.	—	—	—
1	—		
2	—		
3	—		
4	—		
5	—		
6	—		
7	—		
8	—		
9	—		
10	—		
11	—		
12	§9.12.15–32 = 114, 1		
13	116, 9		
14	117, 8		
15	118, 5		
16	119, 7		
17	122, 4		
18	123, 5		
19	123, 15		
20	125, 8		
21	127, 5		
22	132, 17		
23	135, 15		

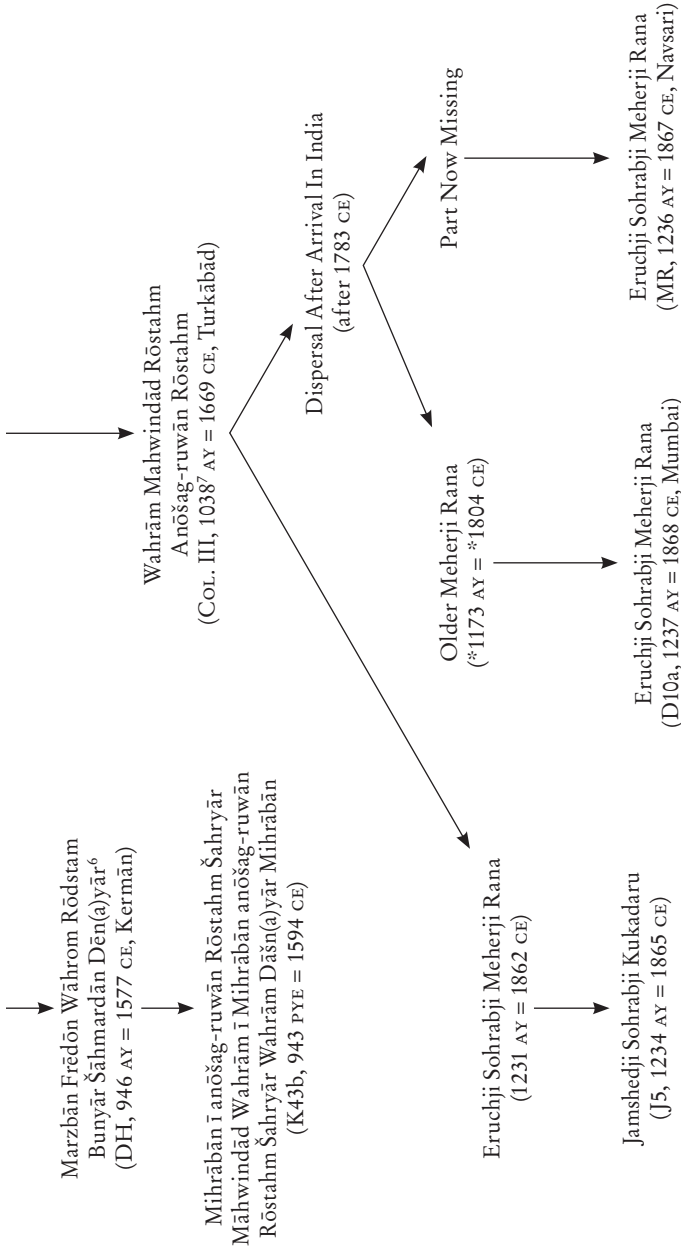
Appendix L: The 21 *Nasks* of the ‘Tradition’ from *Dēnkard* 8.1.9–12<sup>2</sup>

1) <i>yadā</i>	<i>Stōd Yasn (Yašt)</i>	Y 14–16, 22–27, 28–54, 56	Liturgies
2) <i>abū</i>	<i>Sūdgar</i>	Pahlavi résumé	Commentary on the ‘Old Avesta’
3) <i>vairiūtō</i>	<i>Warštmanšr</i>	Pahlavi résumé; FrW 4	Commentary on the ‘Old Avesta’
4) <i>aḏā</i>	<i>Beg</i>	Pahlavi résumé, Y 19–21; FrW 9	Commentary on the ‘Old Avesta’
5) <i>ratuš</i>	<i>Waštāg</i>	Lost	Not analysed
6) <i>aštā</i>	<i>Hādōxt</i>	HN 1–2; Y 58; Yt 11; WD <sup>3</sup>	Miscellaneous texts
7) <i>cūt</i>	<i>Spand</i>	a few fragments	Zaraduštra legends
8) <i>hacā</i>	<i>Dāmdād</i>	a few fragments	Cosmogony
9) <i>vayjbāuš</i>	<i>Nādar / Waxdar</i>	FrW 1–3, 8	Not analysed
10) <i>dazdā</i>	<i>Pāzag / Pāzen</i>	Āfr.; Ny; G.; S.	Connections of the liturgy with the divisions of the day, year
11) <i>mananbō</i>	<i>+Ratušwinaiti / Ratuštāiti</i>	Y 65.9–19	Arrangement of the Sacrifice
12) <i>šūaoḏananam</i>	<i>+Brīb (Bariš)</i>	a few fragments	Points of religious ethics
13) <i>anbāuš</i>	<i>Kaškayraw</i>	a few fragments	Instructions for annulling poorly performed sacrifices
14) <i>mazdāi</i>	<i>Wištāsp-sāst</i>	Only AZ and Vyt left	Vištāspa’s ‘conversion’
15) <i>xšādrəm-cā</i>	<i>Nigādom / Niyādom</i>	Fragments in VN; WD	Legal materials
16) <i>aburāi</i>	<i>Duzd-sar-ōzad</i>	a few fragments	Legal materials
17) <i>ā</i>	<i>Huspārām</i>	<i>Hērbdestān</i> and <i>Nērangestān</i>	Legal materials
18) <i>yim</i>	<i>Sagādom</i>	a few fragments	Legal materials
19) <i>drigubiū</i>	<i>Widēwdād / Jud-dēw-dād</i>	Only complete <i>nask</i> ; ZFJ	Legal mythological materials
20) <i>dada</i>	<i>Čibrdād</i>	Fragments; portions of Bd?	Mythical history
21) <i>vāstārēm</i>	<i>Bayān-yast (Yašt)</i>	Y 57.2–34; Yt 5–19; WD	Hymns to the deities

2 A very tentative and debatable list adapted from “Avesta,” EIr = KELLENS (1987a, p. 37) and augmented by CANTERA (2004, pp. 13–20) and TREMBLAY (2012, p. 101). Cf. also DARMESTETER (1893, pp. x–xvi).  
 3 For the Av. fragments in the WD, see BARTHOLOMAE (1901, pp. 92–101).

## Appendix M: Stemma of the Primary and Secondary Manuscripts





4 SANJANA (1928, vol. XIX, p. 70); WEST (1892, p. xxxv) and UNVALA (1940, p. 67, fn. 1) read 865 PYE (= 1516 CE).  
 5 DH, col. I.2: Irdašīr Wāhrāmšād Rōstem Wāhrāmšāh contra col. I.7: Irdašīr Wāhrāmšāh Rōstahm Wāhromšāh contra col. II.1: Ardašīr Wāhrāmšāh Rōstahm Wāhrāmšād.  
 6 DH, col. I.2: Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rōdstam Bunyār Šāhwardān Dēn(a)yār contra col. II.1: Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrām.  
 7 DkM, DkS (1000 W 30 W 4) || N.B., SANJANA (1928, vol. XIX, p. 106 and p. 74) transcribes as (1038) but then translates as “1036.”



Appendix N: *Sūdgār Nask* Translations and Editions Concordance

'Old Avesta'	WEST Trans.	DkM Text	DkS Text	DkS Trans.	DkT 1966 Text	DkT 1966 Transcr.	DkT 1966 Trans.	DkT 2019 Text	DkT 2019 Transcr.	DkT 2019 Trans.	ASHA Trans.
INTRO.	§9.1.1-2	787, 1	xvii, 1	xvii, 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 27.13	§9.2.1-21	787, 6	xvii, 2	xvii, 2	1	2	3	27	28	30	29
Y 27.14	§9.3.1-2	788, 19	xvii, 5	xvii, 4	4	5	6	31	32	33	33
Y 27.15	§9.4.1-3	789, 1	xvii, 5	xvii, 5	4	5	6	31	32	33	33
Y 28.0-11	§9.5.1-9	789, 9	xvii, 6	xvii, 6	7	8	9	34	35	36	34
Y 29.1-11	§9.6.1-4	790, 9	xvii, 8	xvii, 7	10	11	11	37	38	39	37
Y 30.1-11	§9.7.1-12	790, 20	xvii, 9	xvii, 8	10	12	12	37	38	39	38
Y 31.1-22	§9.8.1-7	792, 4	xvii, 12	xvii, 10	13	14	15	40	41	42	42
Y 32.1-15	§9.9.1-11	792, 17	xvii, 13	xvii, 11	16	17	18 <sup>a</sup>	43	44	46	44
Y 33.1-14	§9.10.1-4	794, 5	xvii, 16	xvii, 15	19	20	21	48	49	50	50
Y 34.1-15	§9.11.1-15	794, 16	xvii, 17	xvii, 15	22	23	24	51	52	53	51
Y 35-41	§9.12.1-32	796, 17	xvii, 21	xvii, 18	28	29	30	57	58	59	56
Y 43.1-16	§9.13.1-10	801, 1	xvii, 30	xvii, 25	40	41	42	68	69	70	66
Y 44.1-20	§9.14.1-5	801, 20	xvii, 32	xvii, 26	43	44	45	71	72	73	67
Y 45.1-11	§9.15.1-5	802, 14	xvii, 33	xvii, 27	46	47	48	74	75	76	69
Y 46.1-19	§9.16.1-20	803, 13	xvii, 35	xvii, 28	49	50	51	77	78	79	78
Y 47.1-6	§9.17.1-9	805, 20	xvii, 40	xvii, 32	55	56	57	84	85	86	84
Y 48.1-12	§9.18.1-4	806, 18	xvii, 42	xvii, 34	58	59	60	87	88	88	87
Y 49.1-12	§9.19.1-11	807, 7	xvii, 43	xvii, 35	61	62	63	89	90	91	89
Y 50.1-11	§9.20.1-10	808, 18	xvii, 46	xvii, 37	67	68	69	95	96	97	93
Y 51.1-22	§9.21.1-25	810, 8	xvii, 49	xvii, 39	73	74	75	100	101	102	96
Y 53.1-9	§9.22.1-13	815, 3	xvii, 58	xvii, 45	88	89	90	114	115	116	106
Y 54.1	§9.23.1-8	817, 11	xvii, 63	xvii, 49	94	95	96	120	121	122	111

Appendix O: *Sūdgar Nask* Manuscript Concordance

'Old Avesta'	DH	K43b	B	J5	MR	R50	R323 <sub>B</sub>	R49 <sub>2</sub>	D12	D10a	F20
INTRO.	268v, 11	21r.	—	349, 14	137, 12	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 27.13	268v, 14	21r, 16	—	349, 17	138, 4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 27.14	269r, 16	—	—	350, 15	140, 11	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 27.15	269r, 18	22r, 1	—	350, 17	140, 14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 28.0-11	269v, 4	22r, 8	—	351, 3	141, 10	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 29.1-11	269v, 20	22v, 7	—	351, 18	143, 6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 30.1-11	270r, 7	22v, 16	—	352, 5	144, 4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 31.1-22	270v, 6	23r, 19	—	353, 3	146, 7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 32.1-15	270v, 16	23v, 10	—	353, 12	147, 7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 33.1-14	271r, 18	24r, 16	—	354, 13	150, 1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y 34.1-15	271v, 5	24v, 5	— to §9.11.12	355, 1	150, 13-153, 13	—	—	—	— to §9.11.12	—	—
Y 35-41	272r, 16	25v, 2	585, 6 — 586, 22	360, 2	154, 1 — 157, 12	114, 1	629, 19 — 631, 19	500, 8 — 503, 14	486, 13 — 490, 2	587, 9 — 591, 9	126, 14 — 131, 1
Y 43.1-16	274r, 1	27r, 14	—	364, 17	157, 13	116, 9	—	—	—	—	—
Y 44.1-20	274r, 15	27v, 9	—	365, 13	159, 5	117, 8	—	—	—	—	—
Y 45.1-11	274v, 7	28r, 1	—	366, 7	160, 8	118, 5	—	—	—	—	—
Y 46.1-19	275r, 2	28r, 19	—	367, 4	162, 3	119, 7	—	—	—	—	—
Y 47.1-6	275v, 20	29r, 20	—	369, 7	166, 5	122, 4	—	—	—	—	—
Y 48.1-12	276r, 14	29v, 16	—	370, 5	167, 14	123, 5	—	—	—	—	—
Y 49.1-12	276v, 1	30r, 5	—	370, 14	168, 13	123, 15	—	—	—	—	—
Y 50.1-11	277r, 5	30v, 10	—	372, 2	171, 6	125, 8	—	—	—	—	—
Y 51.1-22	277v, 9	31r, 18	—	373, 10	174, 3	127, 5	—	—	—	—	—
Y 53.1-9	279r, 21	33v, 2	—	378, 6	182, 10	132, 17	—	—	—	—	—
Y 54.1	280r, 17	34v, 1	—	380, 9	187, 2	135, 15	—	—	—	—	—

Appendix P: *Warštmanšr Nask* Concordance

'Old Avesta'	West Trans.	DkM Text	DkS Text	DkS Trans.	B	DH	K43b	J5	MR	D10a
<i>Aeθrapaitiš</i>	9.24.1-21	818, 21	xvii, 66	xvii, 51	—	280, 20	35, 6	381, 11	189, 10-192, 14	—
Y 27.13	9.25.1-5	822, 9	xvii, 72	xvii, 56	—	282r, 12	36v, 6	384, 5	—	—
Y 27.14	9.26.1-3	823, 3	xvii, 74	xvii, 57	—	282x, 2	36v, 19	384, 17	—	—
Y 27.15	9.27.1-3	823, 11	xvii, 75	xvii, 58	—	282x, 8	37r, 6	385, 3	—	—
Y 28.0-11	9.28.1-9	823, 19	xvii, 75	xvii, 58	—	282x, 14	37r, 12	385, 8	—	—
Y 29.1-11	9.29.1-14	825, 15	xvii, 79	xvii, 61	—	283r, 21	38r, 14	387, 1	—	—
Y 30.1-11	9.30.1-17	828, 15	xvii, 85	xvii, 65	—	284v, 9	39v, 15	389, 17	—	—
Y 31.1-22	9.31.1-28	831, 6	xvii, 90	xvii, 69	—	285v, 10	41r, 7-42v, 3	392, 7	—	—
Y 32.1-15	9.32.1-27	835, 18	xvii, 98	xvii, 75	9.32.9 = 646, 1	287v, 3	—	396, 16	—	—
Y 33.1-14	9.33.1-7	841, 10	xviii, 1	xviii, 1	649, 4	289v, 13	—	402, 11	—	—
Y 34.1-15	9.34.n-u	843, 22	xviii, 5	xviii, 5	651, 4	290v, 15	—	405, 1	—	—
Y 35-41	9.35.1-6	846, 7	xviii, 10	xviii, 8	653, 2	291v, 13	—	407, 5	—	—
Y 43.1-16	9.36.1-4	849, 16	xviii, 16	xviii, 12	655, 17	293r, 7	—	410, 9	—	—
Y 44.1-20	9.37.e-o	851, 21	xviii, 20	xviii, 15	657, 10	294r, 1	—	412, 11	—	—
Y 45.1-11	9.38.1-13	854, 11	xviii, 24	xviii, 18	659, 9	294v, 21	—	414, 17	—	—
Y 46.1-19	9.39.1-31	856, 6	xviii, 28	xviii, 21	660, 17	295v, 7	—	416, 7	—	—
Y 47.1-6	9.40.1-13	860, 12	xviii, 35	xviii, 27	664, 8	297r, 12	—	419, 18	—	—
Y 48.1-12	9.41.1-29	861, 19	xviii, 38	xviii, 28	665, 10	297v, 12	—	420, 19	—	—
Y 49.1-12	9.42.1-14	864, 19	xviii, 43	xviii, 32	668, 4	298v, 17	—	423, 8	—	—
Y 50.1-11	9.43.1-13	866, 6	xviii, 46	xviii, 34	669, 11	299r, 18	—	424, 12	—	—
Y 51.1-22	9.44.1-22	867, 18	xviii, 49	xviii, 36	671, 2	300r, 2	—	425, 19	—	—
Y 53.1-9	9.45.1-11	870, 12	xviii, 53	xviii, 39	673, 9	301r, 3	—	428, 7	—	—
Y 54.1	9.46.1-5	872, 15	xviii, 57	xviii, 42	675, 7	301v, 18	—	430, 4	—	—

Appendix Q: *Bag Nask* Concordance

'Old Avesta'	WEST Trans.	DkM Text	DkS Text	DkS Trans.	B	DH	K43b	J5	MR	D10a
Y 27.13	9.47.1-22	873, 7	xviii, 58	xviii, 43	675, 18-677, 22 = 9.47.1-17 continued 587, 1-16	302r, 7	—	430, 15	—	—
Y 27.14	9.48.1-5	876, 13	xviii, 64	xviii, 47	587, 17	303r, 15	—	435, 6	—	593, 5
Y 27.15	9.49.1-9	877, 8	xviii, 66	xviii, 48	588, 10	303v, 5	—	436, 3	—	594, 11
Y 28.0-11	9.50.1-30	878, 8	xviii, 67	xviii, 49	589, 10	303v, 20	—	437, 5	—	596, 11
Y 29.1-11	9.51.1-17	884, 6	xviii, 77	xviii, 55	594, 15	306r, 7	—	443, 11	—	607, 12
Y 30.1-11	9.52.1-17	888, 8	xviii, 84	xviii, 60	597, 17	307v, 9	—	447, 15	—	615, 6
Y 31.1-22	9.53.1-49	892, 11	xix, 1	xix, 1	600, 21	309r, 10	—	451, 14	—	622, 13
Y 32.1-15	9.54.1-11	903, 11	xix, 19	xix, 13	608, 17	313r, 19	—	462, 11	—	642, 12
Y 33.1-14	9.55.1-11	905, 1	xix, 22	xix, 15	609, 20	314r, 3	—	464, 4	—	645, 14
Y 34.1-15	9.56.1-10	907, 4	xix, 26	xix, 17	611, 10	314v, 16	—	466, 7	—	650, 2
Y 35-41	9.57.1-30	908, 22	xix, 29	xix, 19	612, 17	315v, 5	—	468, 6	—	653, 11
Y 43.1-16	9.58.1-30	913, 11	xix, 37	xix, 25	616, 1	317r, 15	—	473, 7	—	662, 14
Y 44.1-20	9.59.1-20	918, 6	xix, 45	xix, 31	619, 16	319r, 9	—	478, 10	—	672, 3
Y 45.1-11	9.60.1-9	921, 16	xix, 51	xix, 35	622, 9	320v, 1-21	—	482, 6	—	678, 13
Y 46.1-19	9.61.1-15	923, 7	xix, 54	xix, 38	623, 13	ms. ends	—	483, 17	—	681, 13
Y 47.1-6	9.62.1-9	925, 19	xix, 59	xix, 41	625, 10	—	—	486, 9	—	686, 9
Y 48.1-12	9.63.1-11	926, 18	xix, 60	xix, 42	626, 4	—	—	487, 9	—	688, 6
Y 49.1-12	9.64.1-13	928, 3	xix, 63	xix, 44	627, 4	—	—	488, 17	—	690, 13
Y 50.1-11	9.65.1-14	930, 18	xix, 67	xix, 47	629, 3	—	—	491, 10	—	695, 14
Y 51.1-22	9.66.1-13	932, 17	xix, 71	xix, 50	630, 11	—	—	493, 8	—	699, 11
Y 53.1-9	9.67.1-13	934, 13	xix, 74	xix, 52	631, 19	—	—	495, 7	—	703, 4
Y 54.1	9.68.1-2	936, 3	xix, 77	xix, 54	632, 21	—	—	496, 18	—	706, 1-724, 9
<i>Yašt</i>	9.69.1-60	936, 10	xix, 77	xix, 54	633, 5	—	—	497, 5	—	—

Appendix R: Pahlavi Renderings of the Old Avestan *Incipits*

<i>Yaθā.abū.vairiūō</i>	<i>yatāy-abū-wēryō</i>	DH, MR ⟨yt'y-'hwk-wylywk'⟩ K43b ⟨yt'y-'hwk'⟩ J5 ⟨yt'hwk-wylwk'⟩
<i>Ašəm.vohū</i>	<i>ašem-wohū</i>	DH, J5 ⟨'šmwhwk'⟩ MR ⟨'šm hwk'⟩
<i>Yeḡhē.bātqam</i>	—	Mss. written in Av. script.
<i>Yānīm.manō</i> <i>Xšmaibiūā</i>	<i>yānīm-manō</i> or <i>yānimnō</i> <i>xšmaibīy</i>	Mss. ⟨y'nymnwk'⟩ DH, K43b ⟨xšm'yby⟩ MR, J5 ⟨xšmw'yby⟩
<i>Aṭ.tā.vaxšiiā</i>	<i>atāwaxšīy</i>	DH, K43b ⟨'t'whšy⟩ MR ⟨'t't'whš'⟩ J5 ⟨'t't'whš'⟩
<i>Tā.vō.uruuātā</i> <i>X<sup>o</sup>aēiumaitī</i> <i>Yaθāišiθā</i>	<i>tāwrat</i> <i>xwadmēd</i> <i>yāsāiš</i>	Mss. ⟨t'wlt'⟩ Mss. ⟨hwtmyt'⟩ DH ⟨y's'yš⟩ MR, J5 ⟨y's'yš'⟩
<i>Yā.šiiāoθanā</i> <i>Yasna (Haptaḡhāiti)</i> <i>Uštāuuaitī</i>	<i>yāšyōsn</i> <i>ēsn</i> or perhaps <i>yesn</i> <i>uštwait</i>	Mss. ⟨y'sy'wsn'⟩ Mss. ⟨yysn'⟩ MR, J5 ⟨'wšt'w'yt'⟩ R50 ⟨'wšt'w'yt'⟩ DH, K43b ⟨'wšt'yt'⟩
<i>Tat.θβā.pərəsā</i> <i>Aṭ.frauuaxšiiā</i>	<i>tat-spā-pers</i> <i>at-frawaxšīy</i>	Mss. ⟨ttsp'yypyls⟩ DH, MR, J5, R50 ⟨'tplwhšy⟩ K43b ⟨'tplwhš'⟩
<i>Kamnamaēzā</i>	<i>kamnamēz</i>	Mss. ⟨kmnmyc'⟩ J5 adds an ⟨Y⟩
<i>Spəḡntā.mainiiū</i>	<i>spēmed</i>	DH ⟨spymyt'⟩ K43b ⟨spymyt'⟩ MR, J5, R50 ⟨spymyt'⟩
<i>Yezidā</i> <i>Aṭ.māiiuuā</i> <i>Kat.mōi.uruuā</i> <i>Vohū.xšaθrā</i>	<i>yezī</i> <i>at-maiyaw</i> <i>kadmōruw</i> <i>wohū-xšahr</i>	Mss. ⟨zyzk'⟩ Mss. ⟨'t m'dywb'⟩ DH, MR, R50 ⟨ktmwk'lwkw'⟩ DH, K43 ⟨wwhwhkšt'⟩ MR, R50 ⟨whwhkšt'⟩ J5 ⟨whwhkšt'⟩
<i>Vahištōišti</i> <i>Airiāman</i>	<i>wahištōišť</i> <i>ērman</i> <i>ērman-xwāyišnīb</i>	Mss. ⟨whšt'wkyšt'⟩ Mss. ⟨'ylmn'⟩ Mss. ⟨'ylm'n'-hw'yšnyh⟩

## Appendix S: SANJANA (DkS) Concordance = SANJANA (1922)

<i>Fragard</i>	<i>Sūdgār</i> Text	<i>Sūdgār</i> Translation
Introduction	xvii, 1	xvii, 1
1	xvii, 2	xvii, 2
2	xvii, 5	xvii, 4
3	xvii, 5	xvii, 5
4	xvii, 6	xvii, 6
5	xvii, 8	xvii, 7
6	xvii, 9	xvii, 8
7	xvii, 12	xvii, 10
8	xvii, 13	xvii, 11
9	xvii, 16	xvii, 15
10	xvii, 17	xvii, 15
11	xvii, 21	xvii, 18
12	xvii, 30	xvii, 25
13	xvii, 32	xvii, 26
14	xvii, 33	xvii, 27
15	xvii, 35	xvii, 28
16	xvii, 40	xvii, 32
17	xvii, 42	xvii, 34
18	xvii, 43	xvii, 35
19	xvii, 46	xvii, 37
20	xvii, 49	xvii, 39
21	xvii, 58	xvii, 45
22	xvii, 63	xvii, 49
23	xvii, 1	xvii, 1

# Abbreviations

## General Abbreviations

Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Av.	<i>Avesta</i> / Avestan
AY	After Yazdgird III's Coronation [= Date + 631 years]
Elam.	Elamite
Guj.	Gujarati
Heb.	Hebrew
Iir.	Indo-Iranian
IMP	Inscriptional Middle Persian
J. Aram.	Jewish Aramaic
Khot.	Khotanese
Mand.	Mandaic
MMP	Manichaean Middle Persian
MP	Middle Persian
MPth.	Manichaean Parthian
NP	New Persian
OAv.	Old Avestan
OP	Old Persian
Pahl.	(Book) Pahlavi
Pers.	(New) Persian
Pth.	Parthian
PYE	Post-Yazdgird III (Post-Sasanian) Era [= Date + 651 years]
Pz.	Pāzand
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Syr.	Syriac
Ved.	Vedic
YAv.	Young Avestan

## Texts

ĀfrF	<i>Āfrīnagān of the Firištās</i>
ĀfrG	<i>Āfrīnagān of the Gāhānbār</i>

Aog	<i>Aogamadaēcā</i>
AWN	<i>Ardā Wirāz Nāmag</i>
ĀZ	<i>Āfrīnagān ī Zardušt</i>
ĀG	<i>Āfrīn ī Gāhānbār</i>
Bd	<i>Bundahišn</i>
ČAP	<i>Čīdag Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān</i> (= PZ or <i>Pand-nāmag ī Zardu(x)št</i> )
DD	<i>Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>
DkM	<i>Dēnkard</i> (MADAN 1911 edition)
DkS	<i>Dēnkard</i> (SANJANA/SANJANA 1874–1928 edition)
DkT	<i>Dēnkard</i> (TAFAZZOLI 1966 [2019] edition [reprint])
FrÖ	<i>Frahang ī Ōim</i>
FrP	<i>Frahang ī Pahlawīg</i>
FrW	<i>Fragment Westergaard</i>
HKR	<i>Husraw ī Kawādān ud Rēdag-ēw</i>
HN	<i>Hādōxt Nask</i>
H	<i>Hērbedestān</i>
KKZ	Inscription of Kerdīr (Kartīr) at the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt
KNR	Inscription of Kerdīr (Kartīr) at Naqš-e Rostam
KSM	Inscription of Kerdīr (Kartīr) at Sar Mašhad
MHD	<i>Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān</i>
MX	<i>(Dādestān ī) Mēnōy ī Xrad</i>
N (D)	<i>Nērangestān</i> (D = DARMESTETER 1893 [1960] edition)
NM	<i>Nāmagihā ī Mānušcihr</i>
Ny	<i>Niyāyišn</i>
P	<i>Pursišnihā</i>
PAog	<i>Pahlavi Aogamadaēcā</i>
PĀZ	<i>Pahlavi Āfrīnagān ī Zardu(x)št</i>
PH	<i>Pahlavi Hērbedestān</i>
PHN	<i>Pahlavi Hādōxt Nask</i>
PN	<i>Pahlavi Nērangestān</i>
PP	<i>Pahlavi Pursišnihā</i>
Pp	<i>Patit ī Pašēmānih</i> (I–II)
PR	<i>Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>
PS	<i>Pahlavi Sīrōzag</i>
PT	<i>Pahlavi Texts</i>
PV	<i>Pahlavi Videvdad</i> (Pahlavi version of the <i>Vendīdād</i> or <i>Wīdēwdād</i> )
PVr	<i>Pahlavi Visperad</i> ( <i>Wisprad</i> )
PXA	<i>Panj Xēm ī Āsrōnān</i>
PY	<i>Pahlavi Yasna</i>
PZ	<i>Pand-nāmag ī Zardu(x)št</i> (= ČAP or <i>Čīdag Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān</i> )
RBP	<i>Revāyat-e Bahman Punjya</i>
REA	<i>Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašwahištān</i>
RV	<i>Rig Veda</i> ( <i>Ṛg Veda</i> )
S	<i>Stāyišn Sīrōzag</i>
Sd.Bd	<i>Sad-dar Bondabeš</i>
Sd.N	<i>Sad-dar Našr</i>



Supp.ŠnŠ	<i>Supplementary Texts to the Šāyist nē Šāyist</i>
ŠE	<i>Šabrestānīhā ī Erānšahr</i>
ŠN	<i>Šābnāme</i> (KHALEGHI MOTLAGH edition)
ŠnŠ	<i>Šāyist nē Šāyist</i>
V	<i>Videvdad</i> ( <i>Vendīdād</i> or <i>Wīdēwdād</i> or <i>Juddēwdād</i> )
VN	<i>Vaēḏā Nask</i>
Vr	<i>Visperad</i> ( <i>Wisprad</i> )
Vyt	<i>Vištāsp Yašt</i> ( <i>Wištāsp Yašt</i> )
WD	<i>Daftar ī Wizirkard ī Dēnīg</i>
WZ	<i>Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram</i>
XA	<i>Xorde Avesta</i>
XP	<i>Xwad Patit</i> ( <i>Xwad Patēt</i> )
Y	<i>Yasna</i>
YAV	<i>Yaḏā Ahū Vairiō</i> or <i>Ahuna Vairiia</i> ( <i>Yasna</i> 27.13)
YH	<i>Yasna Haptaṅhāiti</i> ( <i>Yasna</i> 35–41)
Yt	<i>Yašt</i>
Z	<i>Zand</i>
ZXA	<i>Zand ī Xorde Avesta</i>
ZFJ	<i>Zand ī Fragard ī Juddēwdād</i>
ZWY	<i>Zand ī Wahman Yasn</i> ( <i>Bahman Yašt</i> )

## Journals and Editions

AcIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
ActOr	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
ADA	Avestan Digital Archive ( <a href="https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/">https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/</a> )
AIASH	<i>Acta Iranica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AirWb	<i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> (BARTHOLOMAE 1904)
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AOASH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BSOS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
CHI	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i>
CLI	<i>Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum</i>
DABIR	<i>Digital Archive of Brief Notes &amp; Iran Review</i>
EIr	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i>
GirPh.	<i>Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
HdO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IS	<i>Iranian Studies</i>

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCOI	<i>Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSAI	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
KDVS	<i>Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab</i>
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
RHR	<i>Revue d'histoire des religions</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
SBE	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i>
StIr	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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2-*ān* see *dō*

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4 see *čahār*

5 see *pañ*

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7 see *haft*

8 see *hašt*

9 see *nō*

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11 see *yāzdah*

13 see *sēzdah*

20 see *wīst*

21 see *\*wīst-ēk*

22 see *\*wīst-dō*

50 see *pañjāh*

70 see *haftād*

99 see *\*nawad-nō*

100 see *sad*

1000 see *hazār*

*ā-* “then” §7.11, §11.13, §13.3, §13.9,  
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*āb* “water(s)” §9.9, §12.5, §13.1,  
§16.16

*ābādān* “prosperous” §7.5

*ābādīh* “prosperity” §2.21, §3.2, §4.2,  
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*abāg* “together, with” §5.1, §7.7, §11.6,  
§12.1, §12.2, §12.22, §12.31, §13.6,  
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*abāgēnīdan*, *abāgēn-* “to  
accompany *abāgēnīd*” §12.11

*abāg-nibēmīšnih* “lying with” §20.6,  
§20.7

*ābān* “the waters” §2.16, §9.9

*ābān-nāf* “Scion of the Waters” [= Av.  
Apam Napāt] §9.9

*ābar* “about, regarding, over, upon”  
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 §23.1, §23.2, §23.3, §23.5, §23.6
- abār-burdār* “(the one) who brings  
 upon” §12.7
- abardar-zōrih* “superior  
 strength” §6.3
- abardom* “uppermost, highest” §2.2,  
 §5.8, §22.8, §23.1
- abar-druxtār* “belier (of the Contract)”  
 §20.5
- abar-kār* “work-up-above” [= Av. *uparō*.  
*kairiia-*] §23.7
- abar-menišnīh* “pride” §21.24
- abar-nēmag* “upper part” §22.2
- abāriḡ* “the other” §2.2, §4.1, §8.5,  
 §11.7, §12.12, §14.4, §16.10, §16.11,  
 §21.21, §22.6, §22.8, §23.7
- abārōn-marzīdarīh* “deviant  
 intercourse” §5.1
- abārōn-menišn* “sinful mind” §7.8
- abar-ōzīhist* “superior strength” §5.2
- abar-rasišnīh* “coming down upon,  
 arrival” §20.2, §21.6
- abar-rawišnīh* “moving above” §9.10
- abartar-nēmag* “uppermost  
 part” §22.2
- aboxšāyišn* “mercy, pity” §12.29
- abāxtar* “North” [= Av. *apaxtāra-*] §19.2
- abāyistan, abāy-* “to befit, must have”  
*abāyēd* §21.7, §21.14
- abāyistōmandīhā* “(doing something)  
 properly” §12.15
- abāyišnīḡ* “appropriate” §1.2, §16.4,  
 §16.11, §21.13
- abāyišnīḡ-ōšmurišn* “worthy of being  
 enumerated” §2.17
- abāz-pafšīrišnīh* “not being  
 accepted” §5.7
- abd* “wonder” §16.2
- abd-<sup>+</sup>pēsīdag* “adorned with...  
 marvel(s)” §17.8
- abdtom* “most wonderful” §22.2
- a-bē-kard-<sup>+</sup>sej* “who has not done  
 \*dangerous things (?)” §21.5
- abē-rāh* “having no roads” §2.16
- abērtar* “mostly, more often” §9.5,  
 §9.6, §9.7, §9.8, §9.9, §9.10, §16.11
- abesihēn-xīrih* “destruction of  
 matters” §16.2b
- abēzag* “pure, purely” §13.2, §13.7, §18.3
- abgandan, abgan-* “to throw, cast (down)”  
*(abāz) abgand estēd* §20.3  
*abgand* §2.11, §12.16, §23.6
- ābgēnagēn* “(made) of crystal” §22.4
- a-bōxtišnīh* “(fact of) not being  
 delivered” §17.6
- a-bōzišnīh* “(fact of) not being  
 saved” §16.1
- abr* “cloud” §22.7
- a-bunih* “bottomlessness” §20.2
- aburnāyīḡ* “child” §11.7
- aburnāyīgān* “children” §11.7
- ābusīh* “pregnancy” §19.1
- ābusīh kardan, kun-* “to make pregnant”  
*ābusīh kard* §21.5
- abzār* “tool” §11.12
- abzāyēnīdan, abzāy-* “to make increase,  
 add”  
<sup>+</sup>*abzāyēnēnd* §11.14  
*abzāyēnīdan* §12.20
- abzōn* “growth” §2.20
- abzōnīḡ* “beneficent” §12.4
- a-čāšīdār* “(who is) not a teacher” §18.1
- a-dād* “unlawful” §11.10
- a-dādār* “who does not give  
 (charity)” §17.4
- a-dādīh* “(something) unlawful,  
 illegality” §11.7, §12.12
- a-dādīhā* “unlawfully” §18.2

- a-dabišnih* “not given anything, not being established” §5.7, §12.2  
*a-dahm* “unqualified” §12.26, §12.27  
*a-dān* “lacking knowledge” §18.1  
*ādān* “wealth” §16.10  
*ādebīg* “being in a \*neighboring land” §12.30  
*ādušt* “firestand” §11.6  
*ādurbād ī mahrspandān* “Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand” §8.4  
*ādur gušnāsp* “Ādur Gušnāsp (Fire)” §12.5  
*āfrāh* “counsel” §19.5  
*āfrāhēnīdan, āfrāh-* “to counsel”  
*āfrāhēnīdan* §16.8  
*a-frasāg* “transient” §16.4  
*a-frazandih* “without children” §20.8  
*āfrīdan, āfrīn-* “to bless”  
*āfrīnēnēnd* §7.11  
*āfrīn kunēd* §19.4  
*āfrīn kardan* §2.5  
*āfrīn* “blessing(s)” §7.11, §12.9, §12.21, §22.1, §22.2  
*afsār-ēstīšnōmand* “cold” §11.4  
*afsōs* “mockery” §21.21  
*āgāh* “knowing, aware” §12.3  
*āgāhīh* “awareness, knowledge” §21.13  
*āgāh-gāhān* “learned in the *Gāšās*” §18.1  
*agar* “if” §12.3, §16.3, §20.7, §21.10, §22.11  
*agārēnīdār* “who does not make (things) work” §5.1  
*agārēnīdan* “undo” §22.6  
*āgārīhistan, āgārīh-* “to be rendered powerless/undone”  
*āgārīhēd* §2.18  
*āgenēn* “together” §13.7  
*āgust* “suspended” §17.7  
*+a-hamkan* “\*\*not having burrowing (ticks)” §19.6  
*āhan* “iron” §11.8, §17.4  
*āhan-abar-gumēxt* “to which iron was mixed” §8.5  
*+āhenjag* “\*\*not having irritating (ticks)” §19.6  
*ablaw* “Righteous, the Righteous” §2.20, §12.23, §14.3, §16.15, §17.3, §17.5, §17.8, §18.3, §20.3, §22.2  
*ablawān* §2.10, §9.10, §11.14, §12.5, §12.21, §12.31, §18.3, §19.9, §20.3, §20.5  
*ablaw-dādestān* “whose Law is that of the Righteous” §7.11  
*ablawgenīh* “killing of the Righteous One” §10.3  
*ablawtar* “more righteous” §19.8  
*ablāyēnīdārīh* “making (others) Righteous” §12.22  
*ablāyīh* “Righteousness” §2.20, §2.21, §3.1, §4.1, §4.2, §5.9, §6.4, §7.1, §7.12, §8.4, §8.7, §9.3, §9.8, §9.10, §9.11, §10.4, §11.15, §12.6, §12.32, §13.10, §14.5, §15.4, §16.20, §17.3, §17.9, §18.4, §19.3, §19.6, §19.7, §19.8, §19.11, §20.10, §21.25, §22.13, §23.6, §23.8  
*ablāyīh-ārāstār* “who redresses Righteousness” §8.4  
*ablāyīh-mīzdīh* “reward of Righteousness” §19.3  
*ablāyīh-stāyīšnih* “praise of Righteousness” §9.3  
*ablomōy* “heretic, apostate” §8.5  
*ablomōyān* §6.2  
*ablomōyīh* “heresy, apostacy” §5.3  
*abrimen* “Ahrimen” §10.3  
*ābhōg* “fault(s)” §5.2, §5.3, §5.4  
*ābhōg-gōwišn* “sinful speech” §12.10  
*ābhōgēnīdag* “defiled” §13.3  
*a-hōš* “immortal” §16.12  
*ahū’ih* “being (a) lord” §18.1  
*ahunwar* “Ahuna Vairiia” [= Y 27.13]; see also *yatā-abū-wēryō* §2.17, §2.18, §2.19, §19.2, §19.6, §19.7, §19.8, §19.9  
*aǰgehānān* “indolent, lazy (ones)” §7.2  
*aǰgehānīh* “laziness, indolence” §5.1, §7.4  
*a-kārēnīdan ēstād* “undoing” §22.6

- akatāš* “Akatāš” [lit. ‘the fashioner of evil (things)’] §9.1  
*ālūd* “polluted” §12.10  
*amā* “we, us” §21.6, §21.19, §21.21  
*āmadan*, *āy-* “to come”  
 (*bē*) *āyē* “come out” §17.5  
 (*abāz*) *āyēd* §17.5  
*āyišn* §19.3  
*amahrspandān* “Amahrspands” [= Av. *aməša- spənta-*] §2.9, §13.7, §22.5  
*a-mar-yušnīh* “striking countless numbers” §21.23  
*a-marg* “immortal, without death” §23.2, §23.7  
*a-mārgen-dād* “whose Law lacks a ‘snake-whisk’” §9.1  
*āmārīhā* “large numbers, innumerable” §15.1  
*amāwandīh* “force” §2.3, §2.8, §9.10  
*āmēzišn* “mingling” §21.2  
*amurdad* “Amurdad” [= Av. *Amərətāt*] §19.1  
*āmurzīdan*, *āmurz-* “to have mercy (upon)”  
 (*abar*) *āmurzīdan* §15.4  
*an* [pron.] “I” §12.1, §12.3, §22.11, §23.4  
*ān* “that (one)” *passim*  
 +*an-abāyišnīgīh* “impropriety” §8.6  
*an-abēdānīgīh* “having no use for (something)” §16.5  
*ānāftan*, *ānāb-* “to reject”  
*ānābīhēd* §12.29  
*anāg* “evil” §19.5  
*an-āgāh-gāhān* “not learned in the *Gāšās*” §18.1  
*anāg-rawišnīh* “‘Woe’ [lit. ‘evil behaviour’ = Av. *auuaētāt-*]” §19.5  
*anāgīh* “evil” §15.2, §16.7, §16.9  
*an-āhōgēnīdag* “undefiled” §13.3  
*an-ēbyāst-dād* “(those) who have not girded themselves with the Law” §9.1  
*an-āmār* “incalculable” §11.8  
*an-āstawān* “who does not profess (the Tradition)” §9.1  
*an-āstawān-dēn* “who does not profess the Tradition” §18.1  
*andak* “little (by little)” §16.10  
*andar* “in, inside, within, inherent” *passim*  
*andarg* “between, on (the road)” §19.8, §23.3  
*andarz* “wisdom, advice” §9.2, §12.10, §12.13, §12.15, §12.20  
*and-čand* “as much as” §22.2  
 (*an-)**ērān* “non-Iranian (lands)” [variant only in MR, J5, R50] §16.14  
*an-ešnās* “who does not know” §18.1  
*angust-zahyā-ēw* “the depth of one finger” §17.7  
*an-hunsandīhā* “discontentedly, unhappily” §11.6, §11.10  
 +*a-niškan* “\*\*\*not having digging (ticks)” §19.6  
*anīy* “other(s), different” §11.11, §11.12, §16.10  
*ānōh* “there” §11.4, §12.1, §12.3, §23.2  
*anōšagīhistan* “to be made blessed” [lit. ‘made immortal’]  
 +*anōšagīhād* §7.11  
*ān-ōwōn* “that way” §22.5  
 +*anyān* “other [pl.]” §21.20, §21.21  
*a-padīrišnīgīh* “(the fact of) not being received” §12.16  
*a-pabrēzišnīh* “(the fact of) not being tended” §12.4  
 +*a-pandīh* “pointless” §11.2  
*a-paymān* “immoderate(ly)” §11.2, §21.2  
*a-petyārag* “without an Adversary” §12.2  
*a-petyāragīh* “not having an Adversary” §12.2  
*appar* “theft” §12.10  
*appārēnīdan* “to steal” *appārēnīd*  
*ēstēd* §12.23  
*appurdan*, *appar-* “to steal”  
 (*bē*) *appurd* §21.6  
*a-puyīšn* “without thirst” §23.7



- ardīg-rānēnīdār* “who fights a battle” [an epithet of Tūs; Av. Tusa] §23.2, §23.6
- arduš* “Arduš” [= Av. *araduš-*, i.e., a degree of sin whose punishment was a light ‘stroke, blow’] §12.15
- a-rišt* “unmolested” [i.e., *virgo intacta*] §21.13
- arm-zadār* “‘arm-striker’” [an epithet for Kirsāsp’s club] §23.6
- arwand* “fleet, valiant” §23.7
- arwandtom* “fleetest, most valiant” §21.20, §21.21
- arzānīg* “worthy” §4.2
- arzānīgān* “worthy ones” §4.1
- arzānīgihā* “in a worthy manner” §7.9
- ārzōg* “desire” §21.12
- ārzōgēnīdan* “to be made to desire” §22.5
- arzrāspīy* “Arzrāspīy” [son of Spānsnāyōš] §21.24
- āsānīh* “ease” §16.3
- āsānīh-dādār* “(one who) makes comfort” §9.21.3
- a-sar* “endless” §11.12
- asmān* “sky” §11.11, §12.1, §22.5
- asnūdār* “one who purifies” §12.7
- asp* “horse” §7.3, §17.3, §22.2
- aspān* §22.2
- āspīyān* “the son of Āspīy” [i.e., Frēdōn] §21.11
- a-srāyīšnīh* “(the fact of) not reciting” §19.2
- āsrō* “priest” [= Av. *āšrauuua-*] §12.15, §12.30
- a-srūd-gāhān* “who has not recited the *Gāšās*” §12.16
- ast* “to be” §1.2, §2.2, §2.21, §3.2, §4.2, §5.3, §5.8, §5.9, §6.4, §7.1, §7.12, §8.7, §9.11, §10.4, §11.15, §12.18, §12.19, §12.23, §12.24, §12.25, §12.32, §13.10, §14.5, §15.5, §16.9, §16.19, §16.20, §17.9, §18.4, §19.5, §19.8, §19.11, §20.3, §20.5, §20.10, §21.17, §21.19, §21.25, §22.11, §22.13, §23.6, §23.8
- āstawān* “who professes belief (in the Tradition)” §18.1
- āstawān-dēn* “who professes belief in the Tradition” §18.1
- āstawānīgīh* “(the fact of) professing belief in (the Tradition)” §23.6
- +*āstawānīh-jaḥīšnīg* “one who \*pretends to profess belief” §14.4
- a-stāyīšnīh* “(the fact of) no(t) praising” §3.1
- astīh* “existence” §2.2, §2.20
- astōmand* “material” [lit. ‘having bones’] §11.12
- astwihād* [demon of death] “Astwihād” §12.17, §16.1, §16.2
- a-suyīšn* “without hunger” §23.7
- a-šādīh* “unhappiness, distress” §16.7
- ašēm-wohū* “Ašēm Vohū” [= Y 27.14] §3.1
- aškam* “belly” §13.4
- ašmā* “you” [pl.] §21.20
- aštād* “Aštād” [= Av. Arštāt] §9.6, §20.4
- a-šust-dast* “having unwashed hands” §11.2
- ašwahišt* “Ašwahišt” [= Av. Aša Vahišta, lit. ‘Best Order’] §9.8
- ašwazd* “Ašwazd” [son of Pōrūdaxšt] §16.17
- atāwaxšīy* “Aṭ.tā.vaxšīiā” [= Y 30.1–11] §7.1
- ātaxš* “fire” §9.8, §11.2, §11.3, §11.6, §11.7, §11.12, §11.13, §12.1, §12.2, §12.3, §12.4, §12.5, §12.7, §12.8, §12.9, §12.10, §12.11, §12.12, §15.1, §15.3, §15.4, §21.15, §21.22
- ātaxšān* §11.1, §21.14
- at-frawaxšīy* “Aṭ.frauuaxšīiā (Hāiti)” [= Y 45.1–11] §15.1
- at-maiyaw* “Aṭ.māiiauā (Hāiti)” [= Y 49.1–12] §19.1
- āwām* “age, epoch” §8.1, §8.4, §8.5, §8.6
- +*ā-wardīšn* “\*turn (of the hand)” §21.1, §22.4
- āwarišn* “bringing (hither)”

- wēn āwarišn barišn* “inhaling and exhaling” §19.3  
*a-wehīb* “lack of goodness” §20.2  
*awestarag* “razor” §20.3  
*awēšān* [see *ōy*]  
*a-wināb* “being without sin” §12.15  
*a-wisān* “inescapable” §21.10  
*awiš* “to him, it” [postposition] §11.4, §11.5, §13.1, §13.4, §15.3  
*a-wizidār-dahišn* “who is not discerning” §18.1  
*a-wizīrišnīg* “inescapable, indispensable” §16.11  
*āwurdan, āwar-* “to bring”  
*āwurd* §15.2  
*(bē) āwurd* §11.2  
*āxēzīdan, āxēz-* “to go up, arise”  
*āxēzēd* §2.14  
*a-xrad* “who lacks wisdom” §18.1  
*axwān* “Existence(s)” §9.4, §12.18, §12.19, §15.2, §16.12, §17.5, §19.4, §19.5, §23.7  
*ay* [particle] “that is” §7.9, §7.10, §7.11, §19.3  
*ayāb* “or” §11.4, §14.3, §17.2, §20.7, §21.14  
*ayābišn-sāmān* “to the extent that it can be obtained” §1.2  
*ayād kardān* “recall, remember” §21.14  
*ayāftan, ayāb-* “to obtain, reach”  
*ayābēd* §22.2  
*ayāft* §22.4  
*ayārān* “helpers” §16.12  
*ayārīh* “help” §12.4, §15.3  
*ayibīsrūšrim* “Ayibīsrūšrim” [= Av. *aiβīsrūšrima-*] §9.10  
*āyēb* “conflagration” §21.15  
*āyīftan* “to light (a fire)”, *āyift* §21.15  
*a-yōjdahr* “unclean” §11.8  
*āyōzīdan* “to yoke” §14.2  
*az* “from, away from, concerning” *passim*  
*āz* “(demon of) ‘Lust’” §13.5  
*azabar* “(spanning) over, above” §20.3  
*azabar-nibišt* “(as) written above” §11.5  
*a-zād* “unborn” §22.11  
*āzādīh* “freedom” §17.3  
*āzād-tōhmag* “highborn” [an epithet of Hōmāy] §22.2  
*āzār* “hurting, torment” §10.1  
*a-zarmān* “without old age” §23.7  
*azbāyišn* “invocation” §13.6  
*azēr* “under(neath), below” §11.2, §20.3  
*az ī srūwar* “Az ī Srūwar” [= Av. Aži Sruuara, the horned dragon] §15.2 [see also *až ī srūwar*]  
*aziš* “from it, them” [postposition] §1.2, §2.2, §5.3, §11.5, §11.6, §11.10, §12.7, §12.9, §16.1, §16.2, §21.3, §21.17, §22.4  
*āzwar* “greedy” §13.4  
*āzwarīh* “greed” §5.1  
*až ī dahāg* “Až(i) Dahāg” [= Av. Aži Dahāka; see also *dahāg* §10.3, §21.11, §21.12, §21.13, §21.16, §21.18, §21.21  
*až ī srūwar* “Až ī Srūwar” [= Av. Aži Sruuara, *i.e.*, the horned dragon; see also *az ī srūwar*] §10.3  
*bay-dād* “(stars) set in place by the Lord” [= Av. *bayō.dāta-*] §12.1  
*babr* “a share, section” §7.4, §21.7  
*babrān* §1.2  
*bālist* “highest, heights” §16.17, §21.22  
*bām* “brilliance” §12.1  
*bāmīg* “bright” §21.6  
*band* “fetters, bonds” §15.2, §21.10  
*bar* “fruit” §9.10  
<sup>1</sup>*bār* “(number of) times” §14.2 [see *ēw*]  
<sup>2</sup>*bār* “shore” §23.5  
*barāzd* “Barazd” §16.18  
*barmāyōn* “Barmāyōn” [= Av. Barōmāiaona; Pers. Barmāyūn, Barmāya, Pormāya] §21.22, §22.2  
*barōmand* “fruitful” §7.5  
*barišn* “carrying (away)” §19.3 [see *āwarišn*]

- bastan*, *band-* “to bind”, *bastan* §21.10, §22.4, *bast* §21.11  
*(bē) bast* §21.22  
*bāstān* “continually, constantly” §17.5, §19.3  
*baxšišn* “distribution” §7.2  
*baxtan*, *baxš-* “to distribute”  
*baxt* §19.10  
*bazišn* “division” §2.19  
<sup>1</sup>*bē* verbal particle, “away” §5.2, §20.4  
<sup>2</sup>*bē* “but, except” §14.3, §16.2  
*bē-abespārišnīh* “(fact of) entrusting” §12.5  
*bē-barišnīh* “taking away, expelling” §2.7  
*bē-burdār* “who carries away” §12.7  
*bē-šawišnīh* “going” §19.3  
*bēšāzišnīh* “healing” §11.4, §19.6  
*bēšīdar* “who harms” §7.8  
*bēšistan* “harm”  
*bēšist* §11.10  
*bēšišn* “harm” §11.14, §12.20  
*bēšōmandīh* “being full of sorrow” §20.2  
*bēwar* “ten thousand” §16.15  
*bēwarāsp* “Bēwarāsp” [lit. ‘having 10,000 horses, an epithet of Dahāg].  
*bīm* “fear” §21.18  
*bišt* “tormented” §11.15  
*bowandag* “full, complete, intact” §13.4, §21.13  
*bowandag-menišnīh* “complete-mindedness” [Pahl. glossing of Spandarmad] §12.25  
*bōxtan*, *bōz-* “to save, saving”  
*bōzēd* §16.2  
*bōzēnd* §20.4  
*bōxt* §11.9  
*bōxtēnd* §16.2 [passive]  
*bōxtan* §6.3  
*bōxtārtom* “greatest deliverer” [Dahmān Āfrīn] §22.1  
*bōy* “consciousness” §16.6, §16.7, §16.8  
*brād* “brother” §6.1, §21.14  
*brāh* “glow” §11.2  
*brēhēnidagīh* “(the fact of) having been fashioned” §2.2  
*brīd-rāhīh* “path was cut off” §17.5  
*brīn* “end” §4.1 [cf. *brīdan*, *brīn-* ‘to cut off’]  
*brīnag* “sub-(sections)” §1.2  
*būdan*, *baw-* “to be”  
*bawam* §11.11, §12.1  
*bawē* §19.3, §20.5  
*bawēd* §4.2, §6.2, §7.5, §7.8, §8.6, §11.8, §12.12, §12.22, §12.29, §14.3, §15.2, §20.3, §20.7  
*(ē) bawēd* §21.21  
*bawēnd* §19.9  
*bawād* §7.10, §12.14, §19.3, §19.4  
*būd* §2.20, §5.2, §5.8, §11.4, §12.2, §12.16, §16.7, §16.8, §16.9, §17.2, §19.9, §21.3, §21.11, §21.18, §21.20, §21.21, §21.24, §22.1, §22.4, §22.7, §22.12  
*būd hēnd* §4.1, §23.1  
*būd ēstēd* §12.24  
*būd ēstēnd* §13.5  
*būdan* §5.7  
*buland* “exalted, tall” §16.5, §19.4, §21.21  
*bulandīh* “height” §21.17  
*būm* “land, earth” §6.2, §21.1, §22.4, §22.5  
*bun* “beginning, foundation, account, bottom” §2.3, §9.10, §12.15, §12.16, §20.8  
*bunīh* “origin” §2.2  
*burdan*, *bar-* “to carry, bear, carry out”  
*barē* §11.12  
*barēd* §13.3, §16.2, §19.5  
*(abar) barēd* §11.8  
*barēm* §12.10  
*barēnd* §12.5, §12.30,  
*(abar) barēnd* §14.3  
*burd* §21.22  
*burdan* §12.30  
*(abar) burdan* §12.10  
*(bē) burdan* §14.4  
*(abar) barišnīh* §21.7  
*barān* “riding (a horse)” §7.3

- burdārān* “those who carry” §11.3  
*burrāg* “cutting” §21.22  
*burz* “height” §9.9, §22.9  
 +*burzōmandīh* “depth” §20.2  
*burzīdan*, *burz-* “to praise, exalt”  
     *burzānd* §12.5  
     *burzēnd* §20.1  
     *burzīdan* §15.1, §23.5  
*burzišnīgīh* “praiseworthiness” §13.1  
*būšāsp* “Bušāsp” [= Av. Būšiiāstā,  
 ‘(demoness of) Sloth’] §22.1
- čagād ī dāiti* “the Dāiti Peak” §20.3  
*čahār* “four” §2.6, §5.3, §5.4, §7.5, §8.1,  
 §22.1  
*čahārdom* §5.1, §7.1, §7.5, §8.5, §15.1  
*čahārdahom 14om* “fourteenth” 14.1  
*čahār-gānag 4-gānag* “four-fold” §7.3  
*čahārom* “fourth” §11.5  
*čand* “as many” §23.1  
*čandīh* “amount” §1.2  
*čandōg puhl* “the ‘Shaking  
 Bridge’” §20.3, §20.4  
 +*čarādīg* “(married) woman” [= Av.  
*carāiti-*] §21.12  
*čārag* “remedy” §21.5  
*čārak-karīh* “(the fact of) being  
 resourceful” §7.6  
*čāšīdār* “teacher” §18.1  
*čašmāgāhīh* “condemnation” §15.1  
*čē* “for, because” §6.2, §12.19, §12.27,  
 §12.31, §16.7, §19.8, §20.4, §20.5,  
 §20.7, §21.10, §21.12, §21.19, §22.11  
*čē-gāmag* “whatever, anything at  
 all” §19.2  
     *čēgām-iz-ēw* “whatever” §12.13  
*čēh-widarg* “the ‘Passage of  
 Wails’” §20.4  
*čērīh* “bravery” §22.4  
*čibrīh-mizdīh* “reward in kind” §12.6  
*čim* “reason, why?” §21.2, §21.18  
*čimīg-garzišnīh* “reasonable  
 complaint(s)” §5.8  
*čiš* “thing, matter” §2.4, §4.2, §7.5,  
 §12.31, §13.9, §16.3, §16.4, §21.7  
*čiyōn* “as, like, when” *passim*
- čīdag* “gleanings” §1.2
- dabr* “dark-colored” [= Av.  
*daβra-*] §22.2  
*dādan*, *dab-* “to establish, give”  
*daham* §21.7  
*dahēd* §4.2, §5.6, §13.9, §16.19,  
 §17.3, §17.5  
*dahēnd* §12.11  
*(bē) dahēnd* §12.22  
*(bē) dah* §12.3  
*(bē) dahīhēd* §4.1  
*dahišn* §12.2  
*(frāz) dād ham* §21.20  
*(frāz) dād hē* §21.21  
*dād* §4.2, §11.14, §12.4, §13.6,  
 §13.9, §16.12, §17.3, §20.9, §21.4,  
 §21.20, §21.21, §22.4  
*dād ēstēd* §16.12  
*dād ēstād* §22.4  
*dādan* §13.8
- dādār* “creator” [lit. ‘he who sets all in  
 place’] §1.1, §12.4, §15.1, §21.10,  
 §22.9  
*dādārīh* “establishing” [lit. ‘(the fact  
 of) being the one who sets in  
 place’] §13.7  
*dādestān* “Law” §21.7, §21.19  
*dādestān-šnāxtārīh* “(the fact of)  
 knowing the Law” §7.3  
*dādīg* “lawful” §11.10  
*dādīg-kār* “made in accordance with the  
 Law” §12.7  
*dādīhā* “according to the Law” §12.12  
*dād-šnāyēnidārīh* “(the fact of)  
 pleasing (people) according to the  
 Law” §21.3  
*dādwar* “judge” §5.8  
*daftan*, *dam-* “to blow (out)”, *bē*  
*daft* §21.22 [see *damīdan*]  
*dagr* “long” §4.1  
*dagrandīh* “length” §20.3  
*dagrand-xwadāy* “of Long Rule” [an  
 epithet of Wāy] §23.1, §23.2,  
 §23.3

- dagr-zīyišnīh* “long life/living” §4.1, §5.1
- dahāg* “(Až ī) Dahāg” [= Av. Aži Dahāka] §5.2, §15.2, §21.1, §21.2, §21.8, §21.9, §21.10, §21.17 [see *až(i) dahāg*]
- dahān* “mouth” §9.3, §11.8, §21.17
- dah-gānag* 10-gānag “ten-fold” §7.3
- dahibed* “Land-Lord” [= Av. *dañhupaiti-*] §21.14
- dahišnān* “(best of) creations” §2.17
- dahm* “qualified” §12.27
- dahm mard* “Qualified Man” §22.2
- dahmān āfrīn* “Dahmān Āfrīn” §22.1
- dahmān ī wehān āfrīn* “the Dahmān Āfrīn of the Good Ones” §22.2
- dahom* 10-om “tenth” §11.1, §21.12
- dām* “creatures, creations, Creation” §11.11, §12.2, §13.1, §15.2
- dām-abiesihēnīdārīh* “destroying of the Creation” §15.2
- dāmān* §2.20, §12.3, §14.2, §15.2, §21.20, §21.21
- damīdan, dam-* “to blow”  
(*abar*) *damēd* §11.8 [see *daftan-*]
- dānāg* “knowledgeable” §12.26
- dānīstan, dān-* “to know”  
(*andar*) *dānēd* “knows well” §16.19
- dānišn* “form of knowledge” §2.2  
*dānišnīhā* §2.2
- dar* “chapter, topic, door” §1.2, §11.1, §20.3, §22.4
- dār* “tree” §13.4
- dardōmandīh* “(the fact of) being in pain” §20.2
- darmān* “remedy” §5.7
- dāsr* “gift(s)” §12.22
- dast* “hand(s)” §21.1, §22.4
- dastwar* “high priest” §6.2, §9.4, §12.14, §13.2, §20.1, §22.11
- dašn* “right (hand)” §21.22
- dašt* “plain” §14.4
- dašt ī pēšinās* §16.17
- dašt ī +pēšānsīy* §21.20
- daštān* “menstruation” §11.5, §11.7
- daštān-māh* “conjugal duties”  
[= Av. *daxšta-*, ‘sign of menstruation’] §12.11
- dāštan, dār-* “to have, hold, consider, regard, possess”  
*dārēd* §13.4, §14.2, §16.19  
*dārēnd* §12.14, §16.15  
(*abar*) *dārēnd* §16.11  
*dārēm* §21.19  
*dāšt* §22.5  
*dāšt ēstād* §16.4  
*dāštan* §9.4, §12.2, §14.2, §15.3, §21.13, §21.17, §22.4  
(*abar*) *dāštan* §16.11  
(*abāz*) *dāštan, dār-* “to restrain, keep back, keep at bay”  
*abāz ma dārēd* §22.4  
*abāz dāšt* §21.18  
*abāz (dāšt)* §15.2  
*abāz dāšt ēstād* §21.2  
*abāz dāštan* §14.2, §22.4  
*abāz nē dāštan* §11.7  
*dāštānīgān* “Dāštānīgs” [= Av. Dāštaiaia] §15.2
- dawān* “running” §7.3
- dēg* “cauldron” §12.7
- deb* “land, town” §12.5, §20.7, §21.20, §21.23, §21.24
- debān* §8.5, §16.14, §21.17, §21.18, §21.20
- dēn* “Tradition” [= Av. *dāenā-*] §1.1, §2.1, §2.2, §3.1, §8.2, §8.3, §8.5, §9.1, §16.19, §17.1, §18.1, §18.3, §19.5, §22.1, §23.6  
*dēnān* §21.14 [see *xwēš-dēnān*]
- dēn-dōšīdār* “one who love(s) the Tradition” §16.15
- dēnūdāg* “female, milch” §16.7 [see *mēš*]
- dēw* “demon(s)” §2.18, §11.14, §18.1, §19.1, §19.7, §21.2, §22.4, §22.6, §22.7  
*dēwān* §2.16, §4.2, §9.1, §9.2, §11.4, §12.10, §12.21, §14.2, §21.20, §21.21, §22.4, §22.5

- dēwān-dād* “set in place by the demons” §13.5  
*dēw-ēzišnōmand* “performing sacrifices to the demons” §21.4  
*dēwih* “demonhood” §10.1  
*did* “another” §21.19  
*dīdan*, *wēn-* “to see”  
*wēnēd* §16.3  
*dīd hē* §16.3  
*didīgar* “second” §2.19, §3.1, §5.1, §7.1, §7.5, §8.3, §11.3, §21.9  
*dil* “heart” §21.8  
*+dirīn* “(of) the two” §21.20  
*dō* “two” §2.5, §16.12, §21.24, §22.1, §22.4  
*dō-ān / 2-ān* “both” §12.31, §20.5, §21.21  
*dōst* “friend” §6.1  
*dōstōmand* “safe” [lit. ‘friendly’] §16.11  
*dōšāram* “love” §4.1, §12.6, §20.7  
*dōšāramihā* “lovingly” §17.3  
*dōšišn* “gratification” §7.8  
*dōšox* “Hell” §6.3, §14.2, §15.3, §17.3, §17.6, §20.1, §20.2, §20.3, §20.8  
*dōšoxigān* “denizens of Hell” §20.2  
*drāy-* “chatter” [N.B., demonic talk]  
*drāyān* “chattering” §9.2  
*drāyān-jōyišnib* “(the sin of) chewing while chattering” §12.16  
*drāyīdan*, *dray-* “chatters, boasts”  
*drāyēd* §15.2, §19.1  
*drāz* “long” §16.9  
*driyōš* “poor” §5.7, §7.11  
*driyōšān* §7.11, §21.18  
*drō* “deceit, deception” §11.9, §12.19, §12.24, §12.25  
*drōn* “Drōn (cake)” [= Av. *draonah-*] §14.1  
*mēnōy ī drōn* “Spirit of the Drōn (cake)” §14.1  
*drōzan* “liar” §5.6  
*drūdār* “one who reaps” §12.6  
*druxtan*, *drōz-* “to belie (the Contract)” (*ma mihr abar*) *drōzēš* §12.31  
*druwand* “wicked (person, people)” §12.19, §20.3, §20.8, §22.7  
*druwandān* §12.18, §12.31, §17.6, §17.7, §19.10, §20.5, §20.9  
*druz* “the ‘Lie,’ the lie-demon” §2.7, §9.5, §12.25, §12.29, §15.2, §19.7  
*dūd* “smoke” §11.6  
*dūn-hambagih* “(the fact of) keeping lowly company” §5.3  
*dūr* “far” §20.2  
*dūrīh* “far distance” §16.5  
*dūr-nāmīg* “far-famed” §20.4  
*dūr-tazišn* “running far away” §22.11  
*duš-āgāhīb* “evil knowledge” §22.8  
*duš-hammōzišnib* “evil teaching” §20.8  
*duš-huwaršt* “bad deeds” §14.3, §21.16  
*duš-mad* “bad thoughts” §14.3  
*duš-nakkīrāygar* “one who vilely repudiates” §9.1  
*duš-ūxt* “bad words” §14.3  
*duš-xwarrah* “of evil Fortune” §21.5  
*duš-zōd* “a bad Zōd” [= Av. *zaotar-*] §12.28  
*duz* “thief” §5.5, §12.10  
*dwāridan dwāristan*, *dwār-* “to rush” [N.B., demonic movement]  
*dwārēnd* §14.2  
*(abar) dwārēd* §15.2  
*dwāzdah* “twelve” §2.14  
*dwāzdahom* “twelfth” §13.1  
*ē* [optative particle] §21.21  
*ēč* “any, anything” §9.4, §12.14  
*ēd* “this” §21.19, §22.11  
*ēdar* “here” §2.3, §11.11, §12.1, §21.21  
*ēdōn* “thus, in this way” *passim*  
*ēg* “then” §12.3, §16.3, §16.6, §21.13, §21.19, §21.20, §21.21  
*ēk* “one” §1.2, §2.4, §2.15, §10.3, §12.15, §20.3, §21.19, §21.24, §22.1, §22.2, §22.4  
*ēkānag* “singly, each” §7.3, §11.10  
*ēmēd* “hope” §13.1  
*ēn* “this, these” *passim*

- endar* “Endar” [= Ved. Indra] §9.1  
*ērān* “Iranian” §8.5, §16.14 [variant only in DH, K43b], §23.2  
*ērān-wēz* “the Expanse of the Iranians” §12.3, §16.13, §20.3  
*ēraxt* “condemned” §11.9  
*ēr(ya)man* “Airiiaman” [= Av. Ā Airiiōma Išiiō, Y 54.1] §23.1  
*+ēs* “frost” §21.6  
*ēsm* “firewood” §12.5, §12.6, §12.7, §12.8  
*ēsn* “Yasn” [= Av. Yasna Haptanḥāiti, Y 35–41] §12.1  
*ēstādan*, *ēst-* “to stand, be, install” [auxiliary verb]  
*ēstē* §17.7  
*(ul) ēstē* §19.7 [see *ul*]  
*ēstēnēš* §12.27  
*(ul) ēstēnēnd* §12.19 [see *ul*]  
*ēstēnēd* §12.26  
*ēstān* §19.1  
*(abar) ēstihē* §11.12 [see *abar*]  
*(bē) ēstād* §23.6  
*(būd) ēstēnd* §13.5  
*ēwarz* “journey” §16.11  
*ēw* “one”  
*pad ēw bār* “in one moment” §16.10  
*ēw-tāg* “alone” §16.3, §19.3  
*-ēw* “one, a single” §1.1, §1.2, §2.14, §2.15, §2.18, §12.3, §12.15, §13.4, §17.7, §21.7, §22.2  
<sup>1</sup>*ēwāz* “only, simply” §13.4  
<sup>2</sup>*ēwāz* “words” §19.3, §21.21  
*ēwēnag* “manner, kind, way” §8.1, §12.3, §21.9, §21.10  
*ēw-mōg-dwārišn* “running with one shoe” §9.1  
*ēzišn* “sacrifice, sacrificing, Yasna” §9.1, §9.8, §9.10 [see *yazišn*]
- fradāxšt* “Fradāxšt” [son of Xumbīg] §16.16  
*fradom* “first” §2.2, §2.16, §2.19, §7.1, §7.5, §8.2, §9.5, §11.2, §16.3, §16.6, §19.8, §21.9
- fragard* “Fragard” [‘chapter,’ textual division] §1.2, §2.2, §3.1, §4.1, §5.1, §6.1, §7.1, §8.1, §9.1, §10.1, §11.1, §12.1, §13.1, §14.1, §15.1, §16.1, §17.1, §18.1, §19.1, §20.1, §21.1, §22.1, §23.1, §23.7  
*frabang* “education” §7.5  
*frabaxt-uzwānīh* “(the fact of) having an educated tongue” §5.1  
*framān* “command(s), order(s)” §5.6, §14.3, §21.1, §22.4  
*framūdan*, *framāy-* “to order”  
*framāy* §11.11  
*framūd* §11.8, §12.7, §17.2  
*framūd ēstēd* §17.2  
*framuštan*, *framōš-* “to forget, forgetting”  
*framuštan* §6.1  
*franaftan*, *franam-* “to depart”  
*franaftan* §15.4  
*franāftan*, *franām-* “to proceed”  
*franāmēd* §20.4  
*frārōn* “honest” §7.5  
*frārōnīh* “honest, honesty” §12.14, §21.13  
*frārōn-menišnīhā* “with honest thought” §2.18  
*frāsāsp* “Frāsāsp” [= Pers. Afrāsyāb] §23.5  
*frasāwand* “transient” §16.1  
*frašgird* “Renovation” §23.1, §23.7  
*frašgird-kardār* “who makes the Renovation” §23.7  
*frašgird-kardārīh* “the making of the Renovation” §12.18, §12.19  
*frašōštar* “Frašōštar” [‘of the Hwōwids’ = Av. Fərəšaoštra Huuō.guua] §21.24  
*frašōxtar* “(the sheep) Frašōxtar” §22.2  
*frawahr* “Pre-Soul(s)” [= Av. *fraunaši-*] §2.10, §9.10, §12.5, §12.21, §22.12  
*frāxēnīdan*, *frāxēn-* “to enlarge”  
*frāxīhēd* §20.3  
*frāxīh* “expanse, scattered” §20.7  
*frāx-raftār* “(who) roams far” §21.6

- frayādīdan*, *frayād-* “to help”  
*frayādēd* §15.2  
*frāy* “more” §12.15, §14.3  
*frāy-dādār* “producer of abundance” §20.4, §22.10, §22.11, §22.12  
*frāy-dabišnih* “(the fact of) producing abundance” §22.1  
*frāyēnīdan*, *frāy-* “to further”  
*frāyēnēd* §11.14  
*fray-gāwyōd* “of Wide Pastures” [an epithet of Mihr] §9.7, §20.4  
*frāyihā* “more” §16.11  
*frāy-zāyišnih* “(the fact of) being born more numerous” §8.5  
*frāz-āsnādār* “one who washes” §12.7  
*frāz-bawišnih* “(the fact of) coming to, awakening” §19.3, §19.5  
*frāz-burdārīh* “(the fact of) bringing forth” §11.4  
*frāz-gōwišnih* “(the fact of) saying forth” §12.24  
*frāz-kardār* “one who makes (the fire)” §12.7  
*frāz-paydāg* “visible” §16.2a  
*frāz-rasišnih* “(the fact of) arriving” §12.27  
*frāz-srāyišnih* “(the fact of) saying forth” §2.18  
*frāz-wābarīgānih*  
“truthfulness” §16.19  
*frazand* “child” §7.1  
*frazandān* “children” §20.8  
*frēdon* “Frēdōn” [= Av. Ōraētaona] §5.2, §21.8, §21.10, §21.11, §21.17, §21.18, §21.20, §21.21, §21.22, §21.24  
*frēftārīh-kārīg* “producing deception” §13.6  
*frēg* “shoulder blade” §21.8  
*friyāniyān* “the Friyānians” §16.13  
*frōdtar* “lower” §5.8  
\**frōgīdan*, *frōg-* “to snort”  
\**frōgīd* §21.21  
*frōwišn* “extinguishing (of the fire)” §12.12  
*gad dast* “club in hand” §23.6  
<sup>1</sup>*gāh* “time(s)” [~ verse-line(s), Av. *afsmān-*] §2.19  
<sup>2</sup>*gāh* “Watch (of the Day)” §9.5, §9.6, §9.7, §9.8, §9.9, §9.10  
<sup>3</sup>*gāh* “throne” §16.13, §22.5  
*gāhān* “*Gāḏās*” §6.1, §6.2, §6.3, §17.8, §17.9, §18.1  
*gāhānīgīh* “follower of the *Gāḏās*” §23.6  
*gāhānbār* “*Gāhānbār* Festival” §2.6  
*galōg* “throat” §17.4  
*ganāg mēnōy* “the Foul Spirit” §9.1, §10.3, §12.14, §12.25  
*gand* “dirt” §11.5  
*gandarb* “*Gandarb*” [= Av. *Gaṇdarəβa*] §15.2  
*garān* “grievous” [lit. ‘heavy,’ one’s sins to be weighed on the scale of Rašn at the Činwad Bridge] §7.4, §10.2, §12.7, §12.10, §15.2, §16.7, §21.14, §21.18  
*garān-gandīh* “grievous stench” §10.1  
*garāntar* “more grievous” §11.9  
*garāntom* “most grievous” §21.10  
*garān-menišnih* “(the fact of) having grievous thoughts” §12.25  
*garān-publiḥ* “grievous punishment” §12.10  
*garān-wināhīh* “grievous sins, sinfulness” §10.1, §10.3  
*garān-zīyišnih* “(the fact of) living a grievous life” §5.3  
*garmāg* “heat” §21.2  
*garōdmān* “*Paradise*” [= Av. *garō. dāmāna-*, lit. ‘the House of Song’] §12.27  
*garōdmānīgīh* “(the fact of) being *Paradise-bound*” §17.2  
*γarrōmand* “itchy” §11.4  
*garzīdan*, *garz-* “to complain”  
(*nē*) *garzēd* §12.23  
*garzišn* “complaint” §5.7, §5.8, §6.2, §11.1, §+11.2, §11.3, §11.5, §11.6, §11.7, §11.8, §11.9, §12.1, §21.18  
*garzišnīg* “complaining” §19.5



- garzišnīhā* “(various complaints)” §11.10  
*gāw* “bull” §21.22, §22.2  
*gāwān* “bulls” §22.2  
*gayg* “robber” §23.6  
*gazdum* “scorpion(s)” §21.10  
*gēhān* “the world (of the living)” §5.4, §5.6, §11.14, §13.7, §14.2, §15.2, §20.4, §21.2, §21.4, §22.1, §22.4, §22.10, §22.11, §22.12  
*gēs* “hair, locks” §11.6  
*gētīy* “belonging to *this* world” §4.1, §12.2, §16.3, §16.10  
*gētīyīg* “in *this* world” §10.1, §16.10  
*gētīy-xrīd* “the World-Purchased Ceremony” §17.2  
*gilistag* “lair” §21.13  
*gil-kirb* “in the form of clay” §22.7  
*gišnag* “short” §16.9, §19.5  
*gišnag-menišnīh* “(the fact of having) a small mind, small-mindedness” §9.2  
*gišnag-zīyišnīh* “(the fact of having) a short life” §19.6  
*gōbed* “Gōbed” [= Av. Gao-paiti] §16.14  
*gōmēz* “urine” §19.7  
*gōnag* “kind” §8.5, §17.8  
*gōspand* “sheep, animals” §17.7, §21.6  
*gōspandān* “cattle” §9.7  
*gōšōmand* “having ‘ears’” §21.19  
*gōšurūn* “Soul of the Cow” [= Av. Gōuš Uruuan] §15.3  
*gōwišn* “words, voice, say, speak” §2.20, §5.5, §12.2, §12.5, §13.7, §14.3, §16.6, §19.5, §21.12, §21.21, §22.12  
*gōwišnān* “words” §14.3  
*grāmīgtar* “dearer, more precious” 16.4  
*grāyīh* “greater weight, more grievous (sins)” §5.3, §8.6  
*griftan*, *gīr-* “to grab, take”  
*gīrēnd* §7.4  
*grift* §23.2  
*(frāz) grift* §11.10, §14.3, §21.7, §21.17  
*guftan*, *gōw-* “to say”  
*gōwam* §12.31, §20.4, §20.5, §20.6  
*gōw* §19.9  
*gōwēd* §2.3, §10.3, §11.9, §11.11, §12.25, §13.2, §16.19, §19.5, §21.12, §22.10, §22.12, §23.7  
*gōwēnd* §21.19  
*guft* §2.16, §2.17, §11.12, §12.5, §21.12, §21.14, §21.19  
*guft ēstēd* §23.7  
*guftan* §2.3, §2.4, §9.2, §12.1, §12.3, §12.24, §13.6, §15.1, §19.6, §21.10, §21.18, §21.21, §23.4  
*(passox) guftan* §21.2  
*gumēzag* “mixing” §21.16  
*gumēzagīh* “Mixture” §12.2  
<sup>1</sup>*gund* “testicles” §21.5  
<sup>2</sup>*gund* “troops” §22.11  
*gurg* “wolf, wolves” §16.6, §20.5  
*gušn* “male(s)” §2.12, §21.22, §22.2  
*gyāg* “place” §2.2, §13.3, §16.1, §21.6, §21.15, §21.17, §23.7  
*gyān* “soul” §20.7  
*h-* “to be”  
*ham* §11.11, §22.11, §23.4  
*hē* §12.3, §12.5, §13.9, §16.3, §21.7, §21.19, §23.7  
*hēnd* §1.2, §5.1, §12.6, §19.9, §21.19, §23.7  
*-ēd* §21.20  
<sup>1</sup>*hād* “Hāiti” [= Av.] §1.2  
<sup>2</sup>*hād* [particle] “as it were” §11.12, §12.29, §12.31, §20.9, §21.5, §22.4  
*hadanbāy* “pomegranate” §11.4  
*haft 7* “seven” §2.9, §10.3, §16.12, §21.1, §21.11, §21.12, §22.4, §22.5  
*haftād 70* “seventy” §7.1  
*haftdahom 17-om* “seventeenth” §18.1  
*haft-dar 7-dar* “seven topics” §11.1  
*haft-kišwar* “seven regions” §12.1  
*haftom* “seventh” §8.1, §11.9  
*ham* “same” §8.6, §21.17

- hamāg* “all, entire” §2.17, §9.1, §10.1, §12.20, §16.2, §16.10, §17.8, §20.3, §21.6, §21.22, §22.1
- ham ārast* “so adorned” §22.11
- hambār* “accumulation” §12.22
- hambāstag* “all” §21.2
- hambun-iz* “(not) at all” §16.3
- hamē* “forever” §23.7
- hamēmāl* “adversary” §21.20
- hamēmālīh* “accusation” §15.3
- hamē-rāwišnīh* “for eternity” §23.7
- hamēšag-menīdārīh* “(the fact of) always thinking” §2.20
- ham-gōnag* “accordingly” §19.4
- ham-hāg* “companion” §5.5
- hamīh* “unity, ‘common cause’” §13.7, §23.6
- ham-kāmag* “having the same desire” §12.22
- ham-kār* “collaborator(s)” 22.6
- hammis* “together (with)” §23.2, §23.3
- hamist* “entire” 22.8
- hammistīg axwān* “Intermediate Existence” [= *hamēstagān*] §15.4
- hammōzgarīh* “teaching, learning” §7.3
- \*ham-tāftag* “heated” §21.22
- handaxšwand* “\*burning” §21.22
- handāzišn* “allotted (time), scheming” [lit. ‘measuring’] §6.1, §13.4
- handēmān kardan* “to send into (one’s) presence”
- handēmān kunēd* §22.4,
- handōxtan, handōz-* “to amass”
- handōxt ēstēd* §7.5
- handōzišn* “(act of) accumulating” §7.6
- hangēzēnīdan, hangēz-* “to rouse”
- hangēzēnīdan* §23.2
- hangēzīhēd* §15.2
- hangirdīgīh* “encapsulation” §2.17
- hangrāyīd, hangrāy-* “to counsel”
- (abāz) hangrāyīd* §16.8
- hanjāftan* “to come to an end”
- hanjāft* §16.10
- hanjāftan, hanjām-* “to carry out”
- hanjāftan* §15.4
- hanjaman* “assembly” 12.1
- hanjamanīg* “related to, denizens of the assembly” §12.1, §21.2
- hanjamanīgān* “members of the assemblies” §23.2
- haōišti gauruuṇ* [= Av. Haōišti Gauruuṇ] §23.2
- har* “each, every” §2.18, §8.5, §11.10, §12.6, §12.17, §12.22, §12.31, §13.4, §14.2, §16.4, §16.12, §20.5, §21.15, §21.20, §21.21, §22.1
- harborz* “Harborz” [= Av. Harā Bərəzaitī] §20.3, §22.4, §22.7
- harwist* “all, entire, every” §9.10, §11.12, §12.5, §12.11, §12.23, §12.30, §13.1, §19.3, §19.9, §21.6, §21.11, §21.12, §21.14, §23.7
- harwistīn* §21.14
- harzag baw-* “break loose” §15.2
- hašt* “eight” §2.10
- haštdahom 18-om* “eighteenth” §19.1
- hašt-gānag 8-gānag* “eight-fold” 7.3
- haštom* “eighth” §16.19
- hāwan* “Hāwan (Gāh)” [= Av. *hāuuanī-*] §9.7
- hāwand* “equal” §10.3
- hāwand-ahlāyīh* “identical, equal in Righteousness” §12.6
- hāwandīh ī* “equal to” §22.2
- hāwand-mizdīh* “equal reward” §12.6
- hāwānīg* “related to the Morning Watch” §6.1
- hāwištān* “disciples” §13.9, §18.3
- haxt* “thigh” §17.5, §19.8
- hāxtan, hāz-* “to lead, prod”
- hāzē* “seduce” §20.6, §20.7
- hāzēd* “(one) seduces” §20.7
- (andar) hāxt* §21.13
- hazangrōzim* “Millennium (of Zardušt)” §8.1
- hazār 1000* “a thousand” §12.26
- hazār ēk-iz-ēw* “even 1/1,000th(?)” §22.2
- hazār-gānag* “of a thousand, thousand-fold” §20.4, §22.11

- bazār-γnišnīh* “striking a thousand” §21.23
- hērbed* “Hērbed” [= Av. *aēθrapaiti-*, a teaching priest] §2.20, §6.2
- hištan*, *hil-* “release, leave behind, discard, allow”  
(*bē nē*) *hilēm* §21.21  
(*andar*) *hilēd* “place (upon)” §11.6  
(*frāz*) *hilēš* §20.7  
(*frāz*) *hilihēd* §20.7  
(*frāz*) *hišt* §22.12  
*hištan* §2.12, §16.10
- bixr* “bodily waste” §11.7
- hōmāy* “Hōmāy” [daughter of Wištāsp] §22.2
- hordad* “Hordad” [= Av. *Hauruatāt*, lit. ‘Wholeness,’ *i.e.*, Amahrspand representing water] §19.1
- hōšang* “Hōšang” §16.16
- hōy* “left (hand)” §21.22
- hu-barišn* “good offering” §12.10
- hu-bōytom* “most sweet-smelling” §11.4
- hūfrāšmōdād* “sunset” §19.2
- hu-mad* “good thoughts” §14.3
- hu-mānišnīh* “of good-dwelling” §9.10
- hu-mizdīh* “good reward” §19.3
- hunsandīh* “being contented” §7.6
- hunsandīhā* “contentedly” §14.3, §18.1
- hunušk* “spawn” §15.2
- hu-ox* “(whose) mind is good” §5.5
- hu-pānagīh* “(the fact of) having good protection” §7.3
- hu-ramag* “having good herds” [an epithet of Jam] §21.6
- hursandēnīdan* “to make content” §12.2
- hu-rust* “well-grown” §9.10
- husk* “dry” §12.5
- husrōy* “Kay Husrōy” [= Av. Kauui Haosruuah; see *kay-husrōy*] §22.11, §22.12
- hu-šnūd* “pleased, satisfied” §11.14, §12.9
- hu-šnūdīh* “(the fact of) being satisfied” §13.1
- hu-tābišnīh* “(the act of) heating well” §21.6
- hu-tāšīd* “well-fashioned” §9.10
- hu-waršt* “well wrought/done, good deeds” §14.3, §21.16
- hu-wīrdom* “who has the most good men” §22.11
- hūxt* “well spoken, good words” §14.3
- hu-xwadāy* “good ruler” §21.18
- hu-xwarišn* “good food” §7.9
- hwōwān* “Hwōwids” [family/clan name of Frašōštar; Av. *Fərəšaoštra Huuō. guua*] §21.24
- iz* “too, and” [see *-z*] *passim*
- ī* [*ezafe*, connective particle] *passim*
- ǰādūg* sorcerer” §23.5, §23.6
- ǰādugīh* “sorcery” §10.3
- ǰam* “Jam(šēd)” [= Av. *Yima*] §5.2, §5.4, §21.2
- ǰam ī šēd* “Jamšēd” [= Av. *Yima xšaēta-*] §21.6
- ǰān* “life” §22.4
- ǰār* “time, occasion” §22.1
- ǰāwēdān* “eternity” §16.11
- ǰeh* the prototypical wicked woman, “‘promiscuous’ woman” [= Av. *ǰabī-*] §11.5, §11.6, §19.2, §20.6, §20.7, §22.3
- ǰēhān* §7.8
- ǰehīg* “‘promiscuous’ woman” [= Av. *ǰabika-*] §20.5
- ǰomāy* “along with” §11.10
- ǰōrdāyān* “grains” §9.6
- ǰūdan*, *ǰōy-* “to chew, devour”  
*ǰōyēd* §19.2  
*ǰūdan* §11.10
- ǰud-bēš* “harm-discarding (tree)” §16.13
- ǰud-dādestān* “disagreed” §11.9
- ǰud-dēw* “(the *dēn* which) discards the demons” §2.1
- ǰumbēnīdār* “a mover, one who moves (something)” §12.7
- ǰuwān* “(a) youth” §11.4

- juwānīh* “(one’s) youth” §7.4, §7.5, §22.4
- ka* “if, when” *passim*
- kadagīgān* “householders” §11.2
- kadag-masāy* “house-sized (stones)” §21.22
- kadār-iz-ēw* “whatever, each and every one, anyone whosoever” §11.4, §14.3, §21.14
- kadmōruw* “Kaṭ.mōi.uruuā (Hāiti)” [Y 50.1–11] §20.1
- kāhīdan, kāh-* “to diminish”  
*kāhēd* §18.2  
*(bē) kāhēnd* §11.14  
*kāhīd bawēd* §18.1  
*kāhīdan* §22.1
- kāmag* “will, wish, desire” §12.14, §12.22, §14.3, §21.7, §23.7
- kāmag-dādār* “one who grants a wish” §21.3
- kāmīstan, kām-* “to wish”  
*kāmēd* §2.4, §2.5, §2.9, §2.11, §2.12, §2.15
- kamīst* “least” §19.7
- kamnamēz* “Kamnamaēzā (Hāiti)” [Y 46.1–19] §16.1
- kanārag* “border” §22.7
- kandan, kan-* “to dig, raze”  
*kand* §23.5
- kangdiz* “Kangdiz” [a Fortress] §16.15
- kanīg* “girl” §11.2
- kār* “work” §2.4, §11.2, §11.8, §11.10, §22.4  
*kārān* §2.3, §7.8
- karbūg* “lizard” §21.10
- kardan, kun-* “to make, do”  
*(bē) kunam* §22.11  
*kun* §7.10, §20.6  
*kunē* §19.8, §21.10  
*kunēd* §9.4, §11.13, §18.1, §19.4, §21.7  
*kunēnd* §12.6, §23.7  
*kunād* §12.14  
*kard ham* §19.4  
*kard ⟨ham⟩* §19.5
- kard bawēd* §11.9, §11.13
- kard* §4.1, §12.3, §15.3, §16.3, §16.19, §21.1, §21.3, §21.4, §21.5, §21.14, §21.23, §22.4
- kardan* §2.5, §2.9, §2.20, §4.1, §11.2, §11.3, §12.20, §13.6, §21.6, §21.18, §22.4
- kardārīh* “deed” §15.2
- kārezār* “battle” §2.8
- karrag* “ear” [N.B., of demonic beings] §21.19
- kas* “person, somebody” §4.2, §22.10  
*kas ... nē, nē ... kas*  
“nobody” §16.1, §16.2, §21.21  
*any kas* “somebody else” §16.10  
*har kas* “everybody” §12.22,  
*ma kas* “let nobody” §12.14
- kasān* “people” §7.8
- kasawag* “tortoise(s)” §21.10
- kay* “Kay” [= Av. Kauui] §16.19
- kayān* “Kayanians” §22.7, §22.9
- kay-abiweh* “Kay Abiweh” [= Av. Kauui Aipiuaaṅhu / Aipi.vohu, ‘he who (gives/receives) good things hereafter’] §9.23.2
- kay-husrōy* “Kay Husrōy” [= Av. Kauui Haosrauuaḥ / Husrauuaḥ, ‘he who has good fame’]; see *husrōy* §16.19, §23.1, §23.2, §23.4, §23.5
- kay-us* “Kay Us” [= Av. Kauui Usan / Usaḍan] §22.4, §22.5, §22.6, §22.8, §22.9, §22.12
- kē* “who, which” *passim*
- kem* “less, fewer” §16.10
- kēn* “revenge” §5.2
- kēr* “penis” §21.5
- kirb* “body” §6.2
- kirbān* “shapes” §22.2
- kirbag* “good deed, good work(s), merit” §7.10, §9.4, §16.3, §16.8, §17.3,
- kirbag-xwēšēnīdārīh* “appropriates merit” §10.2
- kirrēnīdan, kirrēn-* “to (be) split (in two)”

- (*ma*) *kirrēnē* §21.10  
*kirrēnīdan* §21.2  
*kirsāsp* “Kirsāsp” [= Av.  
 Kārāsāspa] §15.1, §15.2, §15.3,  
 §15.4, §23.6  
*kišwar* “region(s)” §16.12, §21.11,  
 §21.12, §21.18, §21.19, §21.24  
*kišwzār* “tillable” §17.3  
*kudāmag* “leftovers” §12.7  
*kōf* “mountain” §2.14  
*kōšišn* “struggle” §14.2  
*kōšišn-kardār* “fighter” §16.18  
*kū* “that, that is, so that” *passim*  
*kūn-marz* “anal sex” §10.1  
*kunišn* “act, action” §2.20, §13.7, §20.6,  
 §20.7  
*kuštan*, *kuš-* “to strike, kill”  
*kušēnd* §18.2  
*kušt* §15.2  
  
 -(*i*)*m* [1<sup>st</sup> person sg. encl. pron.] §12.3  
*ma* negation §7.10, §12.14, §12.27,  
 §12.31, §20.5, §20.6, §20.7, §21.10,  
 §22.4, §22.11  
*mādagān* “Females” §9.9, §9.10  
*mādagwar* “essential (thing)” §9.1  
*madan* “to come”  
*mad* §12.12, §12.17, §16.7, §21.6,  
 §21.11, §21.13, §21.15, §21.17,  
 §21.24  
 (*bē*)*mad* §21.6, §21.11, §21.13,  
 §21.15, §21.24  
*mad hēnd* §21.18  
*mad ēstēd* §12.12, §12.17, §16.7  
*madan* §4.1, §12.17, §16.10,  
 §21.18, §22.1, §22.5, §23.6  
*abāz madan* “to come  
 back” §22.4  
*mādayān* “in particular” §21.12  
*māh* “moon” §12.1  
*mabist* “greatest” §11.13  
*mālidan*, *māl-* “to sweep”  
 (*frāz*) *mālēd* “sweeps forth” §14.4  
*man* “I, me” [1<sup>st</sup> person pron.  
 oblique] §11.11, §12.3, §12.5,  
 §16.19, §19.4, §19.5, §21.20  
  
*mān* “dwelling, house” §11.3, §12.4,  
 §12.5, §19.9, §20.7, §22.4, §23.6  
*mān-* “to resemble”  
*mānēm* §21.19  
*mānāg* “resembling, like” §11.4, §14.4,  
 §17.8  
*mānbed* “House-Lord” [= Av. *nmānō*.  
*paiti*] §6.1, §21.14  
*māndan*, *mān-* “to dwell”  
*mānēm* §21.21  
*mānd* “dwelling” §7.5  
*mānišn* “dwelling” §21.17  
*mānsr* “(Sacred) Word” [= Av.  
*mądra-*] §13.2, §13.3  
*mānsrspand* “Sacred Word” [= Av.  
*mądra- spənta-*] §7.3, §12.16  
*mar* “miscreant, villain” §9.2, §22.3  
*marag* “number(s)” §21.17  
*mard* “man” §6.2, §7.4, §7.5, §12.25,  
 §12.29, §13.3, §13.4, §17.2, §17.3,  
 §17.5, §20.4, §22.2, §22.3, §22.11,  
 §23.3, §23.7  
*mardān* §12.21, §14.3, §16.6  
*mardōm* “humans, people” §4.1, §9.1,  
 §12.5, §12.12, §15.1, §16.1, §16.10,  
 §16.11, §18.1, §21.2, §21.3, §21.19,  
 §22.4, §22.7  
*mardōmān* §4.1, §11.1, §12.9,  
 §16.4, §21.3, §21.6, §21.18, §21.20,  
 §21.21, §22.4, §23.1  
*mārīg* “word” §2.18  
*marg* “death” §16.4  
*margih* “death” §21.2  
*marg-arzān* “worthy of death” §12.24,  
 §14.4  
*margēnīdan* “to cause death, to  
 kill” §14.2, §21.8  
*marnjēnīdan* “to destroy” §15.2  
*marnjēnīdarīh* “(the act of)  
 destroying” §14.2  
*mastarg* “skull” §21.8  
*mastōgān* “drunkards” §7.7  
*mastōgih* “drunkness” §5.3  
*mayān* “middle” §12.3, §20.3  
*mayānag* “middle” §12.15, §22.4  
*mayān-rān* “mid-thigh” §21.17

- +māyišn* “mucus” §17.7  
*māyišnān* “lust” 7.8  
*māzandar* “people/town(s) of  
     *Māzandar*” §21.20, §21.24  
     *māzandarān* §21.17, §21.18,  
     §21.19, §21.20, §21.21, §21.23  
*māzanīg* “giants” §22.4  
*mazdēsn* “Mazdean” §1.1, §2.1, §23.6  
     *mazdēsnān* §12.16. §16.19  
*+mēhan* “dwelling” 13.5  
*meh-dādestānīh* “a higher Law” §12.31  
*menīdan, men-* “to think”  
     *menēm* §21.12  
     *menēd* §12.23  
     *menīd* §21.14, §21.21, §21.24  
     *menīdan* §13.6, §16.6  
*menišn* “thought” §2.20, §12.18,  
     §12.20, §12.29, §13.7, §21.14, §22.5  
*mēnōy* “that world; of that world,  
     spirit” §6.1, §6.2, §6.3, §9.1, §9.5,  
     §9.7, §10.3, §11.1, §11.12, §12.14,  
     §12.20, §12.25, §14.2, §16.3, §17.8,  
     §19.9 [see *ganāg mēnōy*]  
     *mēnōyān* “(those) in that  
     world” §12.1, §12.29  
     *mēnōyihā* “denizens of that  
     world” §16.6  
*mēnōy-gyāgīh* “places in that  
     world” §21.13  
*mēnōyīg* “in that world” §10.1  
*mēš* “sheep” §16.6, §16.7, §22.2  
     *mēšān* “sheep” §7.1, §22.2  
     *mēš ī dēnūdag* “ewe” §16.7  
*mibr* “Mihr, the (personified)  
     ‘Contract’” [= Av. *Miθra*] §9.7,  
     §12.31, §20.4, §20.5  
*mibrōdruz* ‘Contract-believer’ [= Av.  
     *miθrō.druj-*] §12.29, §20.7, §20.8  
*mistan, mēz-* “to urinate”  
     *mēzēd* §19.1  
*mizd* “reward” §3.1, §13.9, §16.3  
*mōšīdan* “to avoid”  
     *mōšīd* §16.3  
<sup>1</sup>*mōy* “hair” §11.6  
<sup>2</sup>*mōy* “lament, weeping” §12.20,  
     §12.21, §21.2  
*murdan, mīr-* “to die”  
     *murd* §21.8  
*must* “violence” §15.3  
*mustgar* “one who commits  
     injustice” §5.7  
*must-wizārišnīh* “resolution of  
     injustice” §5.8  
*mustōmand* “who has suffered an  
     injustice” §5.7  
*muštan, māl-* “to wipe, sweep”  
     (*frāz*) *muštan* “wipe away” §14.4  
*nabānazdištān* “closest  
     relatives” §21.14  
*nabānazdišttar* “those ‘more’ closest of  
     (one’s) relatives” §16.5  
*nāf* “family” §21.14  
*nāfag* “navel” §21.17  
*naftiy* “descendant(s)” §21.14  
*nam* “dew” §11.6  
*namāz burdan, bar-* “to pay homage”  
     *namāz bar* §19.9  
*nām* “name” §21.24, §22.11  
*nāmīg* “famous” §16.19  
*nārīg* “wife” §19.8  
*nārīgān* “women” §22.2  
*nask* “Nask” §1.2  
     *naskān* “Nasks” §1.2, §2.2, §21.9  
<sup>\*</sup>*nawad-nō* 99 “ninety-nine” 14.2  
*nāy* “reed” §20.3  
*nāydāg* “deep” §16.16  
*nāyēn-ōzīh* “(the fact of) having weaker  
     strength” §12.25  
<sup>+</sup>*nāyēn-wīrīh* “(the fact of) having weak  
     men” §22.11  
*nāyrīg* “wife” §6.1  
*nazd* “near, close” §22.4, §23.1  
*nazdik* “near, close” §19.4, §19.5  
*nazdikīh* “vicinity” §16.6, §16.7  
*nāzišn* “cajoling” §22.6  
*nē* “no, not” *passim*  
*nēk* “good” §7.1, §7.5, §17.3, §19.4,  
     §20.1, §21.12  
*nēkīh* “goodness” §10.1, §16.7, §16.9,  
     §16.12, §20.9, §21.3, §21.6  
*nēmag* “half” §9.5

- nēryōsang* “Nēryōsang” [= Av. Nairiio. sanha] §22.10, §22.11, §22.12  
*nē-padirišnih* “(the fact of) not being accepted” §5.7  
*nēst* “is not, there is not” §5.1, §11.3, §20.9  
*nēw* “brave” §23.7  
*nēw-dilih* “bravery” §5.6  
*nēzag* “spear” §20.3  
*nibastan, nibāy-* “to lie down”  
*nibayēd* §23.2  
*(bē) nibayēd* §20.8  
*nibast* §11.4  
*nidom* “lowest” §12.15  
*nigerīdan, niger-* “to inspect, observe”  
*nigerīd* §12.5  
*nigerīdan* §16.7  
*ham nigerēnd* “consider” §12.19  
*nigūn* “upside down” §17.7  
*nihang* “extract, small” §1.2, §16.11  
*nihuftan, nibumb-* “to clothe”  
*nibumbihistan* §17.8  
*nimāyišn* “showing” §8.1  
*nimūdan, nimāy-* “to show”  
*nimūd* §2.2, §8.2  
*nimūdan* §15.1  
*nišān* “sign” §19.6  
*nišastan, nišān-* “to sit (down), settle”  
*nišānē* §19.7, §23.3  
*nišānēm* §21.21  
*nišānān* §7.3  
*nišast* §7.7  
*(abar) nišast* “mount” §23.7  
*niwēyēnīdagih* “(the fact of) being invited” §9.5, §9.6, §9.7, §9.8, §9.9, §9.10  
*niwīgān* “spawn of the Niwīgs” [= Av. Niuuika] §15.2  
*niyāyišn* “reverence, homage” §1.1, §12.14  
*niyāz* “want” §21.2  
*niyōšīdārīh* “listening” §12.29  
*nizārīh* “weakening” §8.5  
*nōg* “anew” §22.8  
*nōhom* “ninth” §1.2, §10.1  
*nūn* “now” §5.1, §16.7, §21.12
- ō* “to, for” *passim*  
*ōbastan, ōbad-* “to fall”  
*ōbast* §21.15  
*ōbastan* §11.6, §22.9  
*ōdag* “Ōdag” [also Wadag; the mother of Až ī Dahāg] §10.3  
*ōgārdan, ōgār-* “to expel”  
*(bē) ōgārd* §5.4  
*+ōgrāg* “\*toads” §21.10  
*ohrmazd* “Ohrmazd” [= Av. Ahura Mazdā] §1.1, §5.8, §8.2, §11.1, §11.13, §12.2, §12.3, §12.4, §12.12, §12.24, §13.8, §15.1, §15.2, §18.3, §20.9, §21.10  
*ohrmazd-dādestān* “pertaining to Ohrmazd’s Law” §2.1  
*ōsānihistan* “to be made to drop” §22.4  
*ōš* “death” §4.1, §12.17, §22.5  
*ōšmarīšn, ōšmurišn*  
“enumeration” §1.1, §8.6  
*ōšmurdan, ōšmar- ōšmur-* “to enumerate, recall”  
*ōšmurēd* §10.3  
*ōšmurdan* §13.2, §16.7  
*ōšmurdār* “one who enumerates” §6.1  
*ōšōmand* “mortal” §16.1, §21.7, §22.12  
*ōšōmandān* “mortals” §12.17, §16.1, §16.2  
*ox* “existence” §11.12  
*oxih* [see *ahū’ih*]  
*ōy* [3<sup>rd</sup> person sg. personal pron.] §2.20, §5.5, §9.2, §9.4, §9.5, §9.6, §9.7, §9.8, §9.9, §9.10, §10.2, §11.14, §12.7, §12.10, §12.16, §12.24, §12.26, §12.27, §12.29, §15.2, §16.2, §17.4, §17.8, §19.1, §20.1, §20.7, §20.8, §21.7, §21.14, §21.15, §21.19, §21.20, §21.21, §21.22, §22.4, §22.5, §22.10, §23.2, §23.3, §23.6  
*awēšān* §11.9, §13.5, §14.3, §16.6, §18.2, §18.3, §21.14, §21.19, §21.20, §21.23, §22.2, §23.2, §23.3, §23.6, §23.7  
*ōz* “strength” §14.1  
*ōzadār* “the one who kills” §10.2

- ōzadan, ōzan-* “to kill”  
*(bē) ōzanēd* §13.5
- pad* “with, by means of, with respect to”  
*passim*
- pādan, pāy-* “to protect”  
*+pāyēd* §20.1  
*pād* §21.18, §20.1  
*pādan* §15.3
- pādāšn* “recompense” §2.20, §13.9  
*pad-dād* “according to the Law” §11.3  
*padēxih* “wealth” §3.1  
*padēxōmand* “prosperous” §16.11  
*padīdan, pad-* “to fall”  
*padīd hēnd* §21.22  
*padīdan* §21.17  
*padīrag* (ō... *madan*) “to meet” §23.6  
*padīrīftan padīruftan, padīr-* “to accept”  
*padīrēd* §19.5  
*padīruft* §8.3  
*padīrīftan* §16.8, §22.5  
*padīš* “to him, it, through”  
 [postposition] §7.5, §8.2, §8.3,  
 §11.2, §15.3, §22.2  
*pādixšāy, pādoxšāy* “ruler” [see  
*pādoxšāy*]  
*pādixšāy* §16.17  
*pādoxšāy* §16.12, §16.16, §21.20,  
 §21.21, §22.11  
*pād(o)frāh* “punishment” §17.5, §17.7,  
 §21.10  
*pādoxšāy* [see *pādixšāy*]  
*pādoxšāyih* “Sovereignty,  
 kingship” §8.5, §21.18  
*pādyāb-kardār* “one who makes  
 clean” §12.7  
*pah* “sheep” §18.2, §21.21  
*pahikārdan* “to argue, fight  
 (over)” §16.6, §21.20  
*pahikārišn* “debating, arguing,  
 fighting” §22.6, §22.8  
*pahlom* “best” §2.21, §3.2, §4.2, §5.1,  
 §5.7, §5.9, §6.4, §7.6, §7.11, §7.12,  
 §8.7, §9.4, §9.5, §9.11, §10.4, §11.14,  
 §11.15, §12.18, §12.19, §12.32,  
 §13.10, §14.5, §15.2, §15.5, §16.20,  
 §17.5, §17.9, §18.4, §19.4, §19.11,  
 §20.10, §21.25, §22.1, §22.13, §23.8  
*pablomih* “the best, excellence” §7.1,  
 §12.23  
*pahnāy* “wide” §20.3  
*pabrēxtagān* “those kept from  
 sin” §15.1  
*pabrēz* “protecting, staying away,  
 abstaining, care” §5.5, §7.7, §7.10,  
 §9.1, §11.3, §11.13, §12.2, §16.8,  
 §21.15  
*pāk* “pure, clean” §11.4, §11.10  
*pākīh* “purity” §9.3  
*pāk-(kardār)* “the one who makes  
 pure” §12.7  
*pānagih* “protection” §13.7  
*panj* 5 “five” §2.7, §5.1, §5.2, §7.1, §7.5,  
 §18.1  
*panjāh* 50 “fifty” §4.1  
*panjāh-γnišnīh* “striking fifty” §21.23  
*panjdabom* 5om “fifth” §16.1  
*panj-gānag* 5-gānag “five-fold” 7.3  
*panjom* “fifth” §6.1, §7.1, §11.7  
*pānzdah* 15 “fifteen” §12.16, §22.4  
*pardāxt* “leftovers” §9.3  
*parišīdār* “one who inspects” §12.6  
*parwardārīh* “nurturing” §13.7  
*pas* “then, after(wards)” §5.4, §9.6,  
 §12.16, §12.20, §12.21, §12.29,  
 §16.4, §16.7, §19.2, §19.7, §19.8,  
 §20.7, §21.2, §21.9, §21.17, §21.22,  
 §21.24, §22.5, §22.9, §22.11  
*pāsbānih* “protection, guarding” §2.18,  
 §9.5  
*pasih* “after”  
*az pasih* “following” §16.15,  
 §22.10  
*(abāz) passardan* “to chase away” §16.6  
*passox* “answer” §12.24, §12.25, §21.2,  
 §23.2, §23.4  
*pāšēmānih* “regret” §7.4, §15.1  
*pāššinjšn* “infecting” [lit.  
 ‘sprinkling’] §11.4  
*past* “agreement” §12.3  
*pattūg-kārīh* “perseverance” §5.1  
*pāy* “foot, feet” §11.2, §17.7, §21.22



- paydāg* “manifest” §13.4  
*paydāg kardan* “to make manifest”  
     *paydāg kard bawēd* §11.9  
     *paydāg kardan* §17.1  
*paydāgdom* “most visible” §16.17  
*paydāgēnīdan* “to make  
 manifest” §12.2  
*paydāgīh* “manifestation” §9.10  
*pāyagīhā* “(various) levels” §5.8  
*paywand* “lineage” §21.5  
*paywastagīh* “being connected” §5.8  
*pazdagīh* “(the fact of) being  
 expelled” §22.4  
*pērāmōn* “around” §22.4  
*pērōzgar* “victorious, brings  
 victory” §9.10, §21.22, §21.24,  
 §23.3  
*pērōzgarīh* “victory” §2.3, §2.8  
*pērōzgartar* “more victorious” §19.8  
*pēš* “before” §9.3, §12.26, §12.29,  
 §12.30, §17.2, §21.22  
*pēšēnīgān* “those before us, the  
 ‘ancients’” §23.1  
 +*pēšōg-bāryōš* “burning ashes” §20.2  
*pēš-rawāgīh* “(the fact of) going  
 forth” §21.1  
*petyārag* “the Adversary” §2.18, §15.2  
*petyāragōmandīh* “(the fact of) having  
 an Adversary” §12.2  
*pid* “father” §6.1, §11.7  
*pih* “piece of meat” §12.16  
*pišādag* “speckled” [an epithet of  
 Frašōxtar] §22.2  
*pišyōsn* “Pišyōsn” [son of  
 Wištāsp] §16.15  
 +*pitār* “\*blacksmith” §11.8  
*pōlābdēn* “steel” §8.4, §22.4  
*pōrūdaxšt* “Pōrūdaxšt” [father of  
 Ašwazd] §16.17  
*puhl* “punishment” §3.1, §16.3, §17.1,  
 §17.4  
*purr* “full (of)” §21.10  
*purr-rēmanīh* “(the fact of) being full of  
 pollutants, filth” §10.1  
*pursīdan, purs-* “to ask”  
     *pursīd* §23.1, §23.3  
     *ham-pursē* “conclude” §12.31,  
     *ham-pursīd* “to conspire” §21.17  
     *ham-pursīdan* §22.5  
*pursišn* “question” §12.23, §21.2  
*pus* “son” §6.1, §11.11, §12.11, §16.16,  
 §16.17, §19.8  
*pusar-tanīh* “pregnant” [lit. ‘having a  
 son (in her) body’] §12.11  
  
*rād* “generous” §2.20, §17.3  
*rādīh* “generosity” §6.3  
*rad-franāmišnīh* “‘Recitation of the  
 rads’” §2.6  
*radīh* “Ratuship, Office of *rad*” §9.6,  
 §9.7, §9.8, §9.9, §9.10, §18.1  
*raftan, raw-* “to go”  
     (*abar*) *rawē* “mount” §19.8  
     *rawēd* §21.5  
     *raft* §23.3  
     *raft hēnd* §21.24  
     *rawān* §7.3  
*ray* “fleet” §17.3  
*rāh* “road” §16.11, §23.3  
*ramag* “flocks, herds” §7.1, §9.7, §9.8,  
 §9.9  
*rāmēnīd, rām-* “to make happy”  
     *rāmēnīd* §15.2, §22.12  
*rāmēnīdarīh* “(the fact of) making  
 happy” §13.4  
*rāmišn xwālom mēnōy* “‘Spirit of Most  
 Sweet Happiness’” §9.7  
*rāmišnīgtar* “happier” §7.5  
*rāmišn-zīyīšntar* “whose life has been  
 the most happy” §4.1  
*rapihwin* “Rapihwin” [= Av.  
*rapīθβīna-*] §9.8  
*rasīdan, ras-* “to arrive”  
     (*bē*) *rasēnam* §22.11  
     *rasē* §12.5  
     *rasēd* §12.18, §12.19  
     (*abar*) *rasēd* §11.7, §20.8  
     *rasēnd* §20.1  
     (*abāz...*) *rasēd* §6.2  
     (*ham*) *rasēnd* §20.1  
     (*abar*) *rasīd* §11.5  
     (*ham*) *rasīd* §23.1

- rasišn* “arrival” §11.4, §16.1  
*rāst* “right, rightly” §5.8, §19.10  
*rāst-garzidārān* “truthful complainers” §5.8  
*rāst-garzišnīh* “rightful complaint” §12.2  
*rāstīh* “Truth” §20.4  
*rāstīhōmand* “possessing Truth” §20.4  
*rāšk* “sandalwood” §11.4  
*rašn* “Rašn” [= Av. Rašnu] §9.6  
*rawāg* “propagated” §4.2  
*rawāgēnīdan* “to propagate”  
*rawāgēnēd* §5.6  
*rawāgīh* “propagation” §22.4  
*rawāgīh dah-* “propagate” §16.19  
*rāy* “for the sake of, from, because of” §4.1, §6.2, §9.1, §12.1, §12.2, §12.6, §12.25, §16.11, §20.7, §21.8, §21.15, §21.7  
*rēdīh* “\*gloating” §5.1  
*rēm* “filth” §11.5, §11.6  
*rēman* “polluted” §11.10  
*rēmanīh* “pollution” §13.4  
*rēšīdan, rēš-* “to injure”  
*(nē) rēšēnēd* §20.1  
*rēšēnēd* §11.15  
*rēšīdār* “the one who wounds” §12.29  
*rēškenīh* “harmfulness” §12.10  
*rēxtan, rēz-* “to pour”  
*rēzēd* §19.2  
*(abāz) rēzēnēd* §17.4  
*(abar) rēzīhistan* §22.8  
*rist* “dead” §12.18, §12.19  
*rōstāg* “district” §2.15  
*rōšn* “radiance” §21.6  
*rōšnēnīdan, rōšn-* “to light, illuminate, kindle”  
*rōšnēnam* §12.1, §12.3  
*rōšnēnīdār* “one who lights, kindles” §12.6  
*rōšnīh* “light” §11.12, §12.5  
*rōyišnēnīdan, rōyišnēn-* “to make grow”  
*rōyišnēnēš* §12.5  
*rōyišnōmand* “full of growth” §7.1  
*rōz* “day” §17.3  
*rōzēnīdan* “to light, lighting” §11.2  
*rustan, rōy-* “to grow”  
*rōyišnēnēš* “may you cause growth” §12.5  
*ruwān* “(breath) soul” [= Av. *uruuan-*] §6.3, §12.16, §12.22, §15.1, §15.4, §16.2, §16.3, §17.3, §17.6, §19.3, §19.4, §19.5, §20.1  
*ruwān-dōst* “a friend of one’s (own) soul” §20.1  
*sabuk* “light, lightly” §7.10, §21.21  
*sad 100* “a hundred” §16.10  
*sad-γnišnīh* “striking a hundred” §21.23  
*saf* “hoof” [= Av. *safa-*] §21.15  
<sup>1</sup>*sag* “dog” §12.16, §16.6  
<sup>2</sup>*sag* “stone” §21.22  
*sag-kirb* “shape of stone” §21.23  
*sagrīh* “satiety” §6.1  
*sahīg* “in a truthful manner” §16.19  
*sahistan, sab-* “to seem”  
*sahist* §21.13, §21.14  
*sa(h)mgenīh* “terrible, frightening” §15.1, §16.4  
*sa(h)mgenīhā* “terrifying” §15.1  
*sangīg* “heavy” §7.10  
*sāl* “year(s)” §4.1, §12.16, §16.10  
*sālān* §9.10  
*sālag* “year-old(s)” §22.4  
*sālār* “guardian” §11.7  
*sālārēnīdan* “to exercise guardianship”  
*sālārēnēd* §12.12  
*sālārīh* “guardianship” §12.12  
*samōr* “marten (fur)” §16.15  
*sar* “head” §11.6, §13.4, §17.7  
*sard* “cold” §21.22  
*sarmāg* “cold” §21.2  
*saxwan* “word, speaking” §2.17, §9.2, §12.24  
*sāwul* “Sāwul” [Av. Saurua ~ Ved. *śarva-*, an epithet of Rudra] §9.1  
*sāxtan, sāz-* “to prepare, preparing”  
*sāxtan* §16.11  
<sup>1</sup>*saz-* “to fit, need”  
*sazēd* §16.11

- <sup>2</sup>*sazistan*, *saz-* “to pass (away)”,  
*sazihēd* §4.1  
*sazihistan* §16.10  
*(nē) sazistan* §16.1  
*sazēnidār* “the one who makes (things)  
pass by” §7.8  
*sazišn* “passed, passing” §9.5  
*sē* 3 “three” §12.6, §20.3  
<sup>+</sup>*sejdih* “terror” §20.2  
*sējōmand* “perishable” §19.3, §19.4,  
§19.5  
*sēmēn* “silver” §8.3, §22.4  
*sēzdah* 13 “thirteen” §2.15  
*sēzdahom* 13<sup>om</sup> “thirteenth” §14.1  
*sidigar* “third” §2.19, §4.1, §7.1, §7.5,  
§8.4, §11.5, §21.9  
*sidōš* “Third Dawn (after death)” [OP  
<sup>\*</sup>*çitā- ušī-*] §17.4  
*sījdēnīdan* “to keep away”  
*sījdēnīd* §21.6  
*siyāwaxš* “Siyāwaxš” [= Av. (Kauui)  
Siiāuuaršan, ‘the one with black  
horses’] §9.22.11  
*snāh* “violence” §11.2  
*sneh* “a strike, blow” §12.25  
*snēxr* “snow” §20.2, §21.22  
*snōhīdan*, *snōh-* “to lament, sob”  
<sup>+</sup>*snōhēd* §19.5  
*snōhišn* “lamentations” §12.20  
*sōšāns* “Sōš(y)āns” [= Av.  
Saošiiant] §23.3, §23.4, §23.5  
*sōxtan*, *sōz-* “to burn, burns”  
*sōxtan* §11.10  
*sōzišn* “burning, burns” §11.10  
*spāh* “army” §20.4, §22.8, §22.9, §22.11  
*spandarmad* “Spandarmad” [= Av.  
Spənta Ārmaiti] §12.25  
*spās* “thanking” §9.3  
*spānsnāyōš* “Spānsnāyōš” [father of  
Spityōš and Arzrāspīy] §21.24  
*spēd-ērwarag* “white-cheeked” [an  
epithet of Frašōxtar] §22.2  
*spēmēd* “Spəntā.mainiiū (Hāiti)” [= Av.  
Y 47.1–6] §17.1  
*spitāmān* “Spitama” [a family/clan name  
of Zardušt] §12.31, §18.3, §20.4,  
§20.5, §20.6, §21.24  
*spityōš* “Spityōš” [son of  
Spānsnāyōš] §21.24  
*spōxtan*, *spōz-* “to repel”  
*spōxtan* §21.17  
*sraw* “word” §21.11  
*sraxt* “corner/side of the (fire  
altar)” §12.7, §12.8  
*srāyišn-āyōxtār* “yoked to  
recitation” §12.30  
*srāyišnīg* “reciting” §17.2  
*srišwādag* “a third”  
*ēk srišwādag* “one third” §21.24  
*dō srišwādag* “two thirds” §21.24  
*srōš-ablīy* “Srōš-Ahlīy” [= Av. Sraoša  
Ašīia] §9.5, §22.1  
*srūdān*, *srāy-* “to recite”  
*(frāz) srāyēš* §19.7, §19.8  
*srūdār* “the one who recites” §6.1,  
§17.8  
*stabr* “strong, sturdy” §13.5, §21.15,  
§21.21  
*stadan*, *stān-* “to take”  
*stān* §12.3  
*stānēš* §12.4  
*stahmagih* “oppression” §6.2, §10.3,  
§15.2  
*stahmbagīhā* “oppressively” §21.1  
*star* “star” §12.1  
*stard* “stupor” §11.4  
*stardīh* “stupor” §11.5, §11.6  
*star-pēsīd* “star-adorned” [an epithet of  
Frašōxtar] §22.2  
*stāyīdan*, *stāy-* “to praise”  
*stāyēš* §19.3  
*stāyišn* §2.1, §3.1  
*stāyīdan* §23.6  
*stēndag-drafš* “(with) raised  
banners” §16.15  
*stī* “(temporal?) existence” [= Av.  
*stī-*] §19.9, §21.20, §21.21  
*stōr* “cattle” §18.2  
*stōw* “suppression”  
*stōw kardan* “suppress” §21.20

- stōwēnīdan, stōwēn-* “to suppress”  
*stōwēnēd* §14.2  
*sūdan* “rub”  
*(bē) sūdāg* “having rubbed” §12.4  
*sūdgar* “*Sūd-gar (Nask)*” [lit. ‘Benefit-maker’] §2.2  
*sūdīh* “beneficence” §15.2  
*sūdōmand* “the one who will bring benefit” §23.3  
*sūr* “food” §19.10  
*sūrag* “hole(s)” §21.19  
<sup>1</sup>*sūragōmand* “containing hole(s)” §21.19  
<sup>2</sup>*sūragōmand* “a goad” §21.13  
*suy* “hunger” §21.2  
*syā* “black” §16.15
- (i)š [3<sup>rd</sup> sg. enclitic pron.] §13.3, §13.9, §14.3, §15.2, §16.3, §16.5, §16.8, §16.11, §17.5, §17.7, §18.1, §19.6, §20.1, §20.3, §20.4, §20.6, §20.9, §21.5, §21.10, §21.13, §21.14, §21.20, §21.22, §22.4, §22.5, §22.6, §23.1, §23.2, §23.5, §23.6  
*šab* “night” §9.5, §14.2, §19.2, §22.1  
*šābistān* “eunuch” [*i.e.*, castrated] §21.5  
*šādēnīdan*, “make happy”  
*šādīhēd* [passive] “is made happy” §19.4  
*šādīhēd* “made happy” §19.4  
 -(i)šān [3<sup>rd</sup> pl. enclitic pron.] §11.3, §12.14, §13.5, §13.7, §14.2, §15.2, §16.6, §16.7, §16.11, §16.12, §18.2, §19.10, §20.8, §21.12, §21.14, §21.15, §21.17, §21.19, §21.24,  
*šarm* “shame” §12.29  
*šaš* 6 “six” §2.2, §2.8  
*šaš-gānag* 6-gānag “six-fold” §7.3  
*šašom* “sixth” §7.1, §11.8  
*šāyistan, šāy-* “to be able, possible, appropriate”  
*(nē) šāyam* §12.3  
*šāyēd* §21.5  
*šāyist* §5.4  
*(nē) šāyistan* “it not being possible” §12.2  
*šāzdahom* 16om “sixteenth” §17.1  
*šēb* “\*roots (of a tree)” §13.4  
*šēd* “sorrel” §22.2  
*šēwan* “mourn, mourning” §12.20, §12.21, §21.2  
*škastan, ške(n)n-* “to break”  
*škastan* §11.2  
*škeft* “frightening, frightened, strong” §16.2, §21.10  
*škeft-bīmīh* “awful fear” §20.2  
*škeftīh* “hardship, awfulness” §8.6, §15.2  
*škeft-tag* “fleet, impetuous” §14.4  
*škefttar* “harsher, most awful” §11.9, §20.5  
*škeft-wināhīh* “fearsome sinfulness” §10.2  
*škīh-* “to be broken”  
*bē škīh* §21.7  
*škōhīh* “destitution” §7.2, §21.2  
*šnāsagīhā-tuxšāgīh* “informed diligence” §7.3  
*šnāyēnīdan, šnāy-* “to propitiate”  
*šnāyēnīdan* §9.1  
*šnāyēnīdār* “the one who favors” §10.2  
*šnāyēnīdārīh* “propitiation” §11.14  
*šnāyīšn* “propitiating” §9.3  
*šnōhr* “favor” §1.1  
*šnūg* “knee” §11.6  
*šōr* “salty” §19.2  
*šudan, šaw-* “to go”  
*šawē* §17.5  
*(andar) šawē* §19.9  
*šawēd* §2.4, §2.13, §2.15  
*šawēm* §21.24  
*šawēnd* §16.6  
*šud* §2.14, §2.15, §23.2  
*šufšēr* “sword” §21.9  
*šusr* “semen” §19.1
- t [2<sup>nd</sup> sg. enclitic pron.] §7.10, §7.11, §16.9, §19.4, §19.5, §21.5, §21.21  
<sup>1</sup>*tā* “to, up to, as, until” §5.8, §12.26, §17.6, §21.17, §22.7, §23.7

- <sup>2</sup>*tā* [marker for counting]  
*hazār tā* “1000” §12.26  
*tabāh* “destruction” §22.11  
*-tān* [2<sup>nd</sup> pl. enclitic pron.] §21.4  
*tabišnōmand* “feverish” §11.4  
*tāftan, tāb-* “to heat”, *tāft* §21.6,  
*tagīg* “fleet” §15.2, §21.22, §21.24,  
 §23.7  
*tagīgih* “agility” §14.1  
*tan* “body, self” §2.18, §12.22, §13.4,  
 §16.1, §16.4, §16.6, §16.7, §16.8,  
 §17.3, §17.5, §19.3, §19.4, §19.5,  
 §20.7, §21.5, §21.9, §22.4  
*tan ī pasēn* “the Final Body” §5.1,  
 §17.6  
*tangih* “constriction” §20.4, §20.7  
*tanōmand* “embodied” §16.3  
*tar* “across” §20.3, §22.7  
*tārikih* “darkness” §11.12, §20.2  
*tarist* “across” §20.4  
*tar-menīdan, tar-men-* “to scorn”  
*tar-menēnd* §18.3  
*tarr* “damp” §12.8  
*tars* “fear” §15.1  
*tarsagāyih* “respect” §2.20, §11.13  
*tarsīdan, tars-* “to fear, be afraid”  
*tarsēnīdan* §16.6  
*tarwēnīdag* “overcome,  
 conquered” §22.4  
*tarwēnīdārtar* “more overcoming, more  
 conquering” §21.20, §21.21  
*tat-spā-pers* “Taṭ.ṣṣā.pərəsā (Hāiti)” [=  
 Y 44.1–20] §14.1  
*tāwrat* “Tā.vē.uruuātā (Hāiti)” [=  
 Y 31.1–22] §8.1  
*tāwrij* “Tāwrij” [= Av. Tauruui-] §9.1  
*tazīdan, taz-* “to run, hasten, flow”  
*tazē* “flows” §17.7  
*(bē) tazēd* “runs” §16.7  
*tazān* “hastening” §7.3  
*(bē pas) tazīd* §21.21  
*(pēs) tazīd* §21.21  
*tazīd hēnd* §21.24  
*tazīdan* §16.7  
*tēx* “edge” §20.3  
*tēz* “sharp, swiftly” §14.4, §21.22,  
 §22.4  
*tēztar* “faster” §22.4  
*tišn* “thirst” §21.2  
*tō* “you” [2<sup>nd</sup> sg. personal pron.] §11.11,  
 §11.12, §12.5, §12.27, §12.31, §16.19,  
 §18.3, §19.3, §19.4, §19.5, §19.7,  
 §19.8, §20.4, §20.5, §20.6, §21.6,  
 §21.7, §21.21  
*tom* “dark” §22.7  
*tōm* “seed(s)” §2.11  
*tōšag* “provisions” §16.11  
*tōzišn* “penalty” §2.12  
*tūrān* “Tūrān” §22.11  
*tūr ī brādarōxš* “Tūr ī Brādaroxš” [the  
 killer of Zardušt] §10.3  
*tūs* “Tūs” [= Av. Tusa] §23.2, §23.6  
*tuštan* “to hoard” §19.10  
*tuwānīg* “wealthy, able” §4.2, §23.6  
*tūxšāgān* “the diligent ones” §7.2  
*u-* “and” *passim*  
*ud* “and” *passim*  
*ul āxēzīdan, āxēz-* “to go up”  
*ul +āxēzēd* §2.14  
*ul dawēnīdan, dawēn-* “to make  
 somebody run up”  
*ul dawēnīdan* §21.23  
*ul dwāristan, dwār-* “to rush up”  
*ul dwāristan* §22.7  
*ul ēstādan, ēst-* “to stand up”  
*ul ēstē* §19.7  
*ul-ēstīšnīh* “getting up (from  
 bed)” §19.3, §19.5  
*ul +hangēzēnīdan, hangēzēn-* “to raise  
 up”  
*ul +hangēzēnēnd* §12.18  
*ulīh* “upward” §21.23  
*ul-nibēmišnīh* “lying down” §19.3,  
 §19.5  
*ul uzīdan, uz-* “to go up”  
*ul uzam* §11.11, §12.1  
*urwar* “plant” §12.5  
*urwarān* §11.4  
*ušahin* “Ušahin” [= Av. *ušahina-*] §9.6

- uštar-kirb* “shape of a camel” §23.2,  
 §23.3  
*uštwait* “Uštatauaitī (Hāiti)” [= Y 43.1–  
 16] §13.1  
*uzdehīg* “in another land” §12.30  
*uzdehīgīh* “another land” §6.2  
*uzdēs-zār* “idol-temples” §23.5  
*uzērin* “Uzērin” [= Av.  
*uzaiieirina-*] §9.9  
*uzwān* “tongue” §12.24  
  
*wābarīgān* “truthful” §16.19  
*waččagān* “the children” §16.7, §20.5  
*wad* “bad (ones, things)” §10.3, §21.7  
*wād* “breath, wind” §11.8, §14.4, §15.2  
*wadag* “Wadag” [also Ódag; the mother  
 of Až ī Dahāg] §21.4  
*wad-hunuškēh* “(the fact of) having evil  
 offspring” §10.3  
*wahišt* “Paradise” [lit. ‘the best  
 (place)’] §15.3  
*wahištōišť* “Vahištōišťi (Gāṣṣā/Hāiti)” [=   
 Y 53.1–9] §9.22.1  
*wālīdan*, *wāl-* “to grow”  
*wālēd* §21.5  
*wālišn-dahišnīh* “(the fact of) producing  
 growth” §22.1  
*wan* “tree” §16.13  
*wāng* “a cry” §22.11  
*wānīdan* “to overcome, defeat”  
*wānīd* §5.2, §15.2  
*wānīdan* §15.2, §21.8, §21.17  
*wānīdarīh* “conquering” §9.10  
*wanīyēnēd* “the one who wastes” §19.1  
<sup>+</sup>*wanīyēnīdār* “one who wastes” §17.4  
*war* “ordeal” §11.9  
*war ī čēčast* “Lake Čēčast” [= Av.  
*Čaēčasta-*] §23.5  
*wardēnīdan*, *wardēn-* “to (make  
 somebody) change (into),  
 transform”  
*(frāz) wardēnīdan* §23.2  
*wardišn* “transformation, turning  
 (back)” §12.18, §12.19, §22.10  
*warr* “wool” §17.8  
  
*warz* “miraculous power” [= Av.  
*varəcab-*] §23.1  
<sup>1</sup>*warzīdan*, *warz-* “to catch up”  
*warzēd* §13.5  
<sup>2</sup>*warzīdan* “to do, doing (good works),  
 practice”  
*(war) warzēnd* “perform an  
 ordeal” §11.9  
*warzīd* §21.16  
*warzīdan* §16.8  
*warzīdarīh* “cultivation” §7.3  
*warzišn* “work” §16.19  
*was* “many, much” §1.2, §8.6, §20.9,  
 §21.9, §21.17, §22.4, §22.7  
*was-ārōyišn* “well-grown” [an epithet of  
 Frēdōn] §21.21  
*was-mizdīh* “much reward” §19.3  
*was-ōz* “mighty strong” §15.2  
<sup>1</sup>*waštan*, *ward-* “to turn (away), change”  
*(bē) wardē* “you shall  
 turn” §11.12  
*(frōd) wardēd* “descends” §14.2  
*wašt* §22.6  
*waštan* §8.5, §22.8  
*(frāz) wašt* §18.1, §23.3  
*(frōd) waštan* “decline” §8.5  
<sup>2</sup>*waštan*, *wār-* “to rain down”  
*waštan* §21.9  
*wattar* “bad, worse” §5.6, §12.28,  
 §21.12  
*wattarān* “the bad ones” §8.5  
*wattarīh* “evil, evilness” §10.3, §21.19,  
 §22.3  
*wattom* “worst” §11.14, §19.5  
*waxšīdan* “to grow, increase” §11.10,  
 §17.3  
*waxšīšn* “blaze” §11.10  
*wāy* “Wāy” [= Av. Vaiiu] §13.5, §16.6,  
 §23.1, §23.2, §23.3  
*wazag* “frog(s)” §21.10  
*wazag-joyišnīh* “chewed by  
 frogs” §20.2  
*wazag-nihumbišnīh* “covered by  
 frogs” §20.2  
*wāzīdan*, *wāz-* “to drive”  
*wāzān* §7.3

- wazēd* §21.12  
*wāzīd* §22.9  
*wāzēnīdan*, *wāzēn-* “to make fly, convey”  
*wāzēnē* §23.3  
*wāzēnīdan* §22.4  
*wazr* “a club” §11.12, §21.8  
*wazurg-ōzīh* “great strength” §16.12  
*weh* “good” §2.17, §12.2, §12.19, §16.19, §20.4, §21.7, §21.12, §22.1  
*wehān* §8.6, §22.2  
*wehīh* “goodness” §8.5, §12.23, §13.7, §13.8, §22.3  
*wēmārgen* “sick” §21.24  
*wēn* “breath” §19.3  
*wēnīg* “nose” §17.7, §21.22  
*wēs* “more, increasing” §2.20, §22.11  
*wīdardan*, *wīder-* “to pass, pass on”  
*(bē) wīderēd* §6.2  
*wīdarg* “passage, ford” §2.15  
*wīdār* “passing” §20.3  
*wīdāxt* “melted” §17.4  
*wīderdagān* “the departed (ones)” §12.20  
*wīftēnīdan-*, *wīft-* “to deceive”  
*wīftēnd* §14.3  
*wīftēnēnd* §14.3  
*wīftēnīdag* “active participant in anal sex” §10.3  
*wīftīdag* “passive participant in anal sex” §10.3  
*wīgrād* “become awake, awaken” §19.3  
*wīgrād-ōšīh* “keeping one’s mind alert” §7.6  
*wīnāh* “sin” §7.10, §10.2, §12.7, §12.15, §12.16, §13.4, §14.4, §15.1, §15.4, §16.3, §16.8, §18.1  
*wīnāh-āyōxtar* “the one yoked to sin” §12.29  
*wīnāhēnīdan*, *wīnāh-* “to defile”  
*wīnāhīdan* §14.2, §22.4  
*wīnāhēnīdan* §22.1  
*wīnāhgār* “sinner” §10.2, §16.8  
*wīnāhgārān* §17.1  
*wīnāh-gārīh* “sinful, sinfulness” §12.16, §12.29, §19.1  
*wīnāh-wīzārdagīh* “purged (these grievous) sins” §10.2  
*wīndādan*, *wīnd-* “to find, finding, acquiring”  
*wīndīšn* §7.3, §22.11  
*wīndīhēd* §22.11  
*wīnnārdan*, *wīnnār-* “to establish”  
*wīnnārdan* §5.4  
*wīr* “man, men” §21.19, §21.21  
*wīrān* §9.9  
*wīr-ramagān* “flocks of men” §9.10  
*wīs* “village” §12.5, §12.16, §20.7  
*wīsānēnīdār* “the one who gets rid off (someone, something)” §22.11  
*wīsistan*, *wīsinn-* “to cut off”  
*wīsinnād* §19.7  
*wīst* 20 “twenty” §2.19  
*\*wīst-dō* 22 “twenty-two” §2.2  
*\*wīst-dowom* 22om “twenty-second” §23.1  
*\*wīst-ēk* 21 “twenty-one” §2.19  
*\*wīst-ēkom* 21om “twenty-first” §22.1  
*wīstom* 20om “twentieth” §21.1  
*wīšōmandīh* “(being) filled with poison” §21.2  
*wīštāspān* “(daughter of) Wištāsp” [*i.e.*, Hōmāy] §22.2  
*wīšuftan*, *wīšōb-* “to dismember (the body)”  
*+wīšuft* §16.7  
*wīšuftan* §16.6  
*wīšuftag* §16.7  
*wīšōbišn* “dismemberment (of the body), disarray, scattering (of the *dēn*)” §8.5, §16.6  
*wīštāsp* “Wištāsp” [= Av. Vištāspa] §8.3, §16.19  
*wīštāspān* “son of Wištāsp” §16.15, §22.2  
*wīyābāngarīh* “leading astray” §22.6  
*wīzārdan*, *wīzār-* “to separate”  
*wīzārēd* “(she) combs” §11.6  
*wīzārdārīh* “interpreting (the Law)” §7.3  
*wīzārīšn* “explanations” §1.2  
*wīzend* “harm” §15.2

- wizīdār-dabišn* “discerning” §18.1  
*wizīhīdan, wizīh-* “to gather, load”  
     *wizīhēnd* §16.11  
     *wizīhīdan* §16.11  
*wizīrgar* “judge” §5.8  
*wizīrišnīg* “dispensable” §16.11  
*wizōstār* “inquisitor” §21.18  
*wohugōn* “frankincense” §11.4  
*wohukerd* “aloewood” §11.4  
*wohū-xšahr* “Vohū.xšaḏrā (Gāḏā/Hāiti)”  
     [= Y 51.1–22] §9.2.1  
*wurrōyistan, wurrōy-* “to believe”  
     *wurrōyist* §21.12  
*wuzurg* “great” §10.2, §22.5
- xānag* “house” §12.20, §19.9  
*xāk* “dust” §4.1, §21.22  
*xāk-abgandagīh* “(the fact of) having  
     been cast into dirt” §16.5  
*xēm* “character” §8.5  
*xēšm* “(Demon of) Wrath” [= Av.  
     Aēšma ‘Wrath’] §21.4, §22.1,  
     §22.5, §22.6  
*xīndagīh* “illness, sickness” §11.4,  
     §11.5, §11.6  
*xīr* “matter(s)” §16.1  
*xrad* “wisdom” §5.1, §8.5  
*xrad-xwāyīšnīh* “search of  
     wisdom” §21.24  
*xrafstar* “noxious creature” [= Av.  
     *xrafstra-*] §21.9  
*xšmaibīy* “Xšmaibiīā (Hāiti)” [= Y 29.1–  
     11] §6.1  
*xuftan, xufs-* “to sleep”  
     (*bē*) *xufsē* §19.3  
     +*xufs* §20.6  
*xuftagīh* “sleepiness, sloth” §5.1  
*xumbīg* “Xumbīg” [son of  
     Hōšang] §16.16  
*xurdruš* “having/with a bloody  
     club” §21.4 [an epithet of Xēšm]  
*xwad* “oneself” §17.2  
*xwadāy* “lord, ruler” §9.9, §12.14,  
     §16.12, §21.7, §21.14, §21.18
- xwadāyīh* “lordship, reign,  
     sovereignty” §8.5, §12.25, §19.10,  
     §21.1, §21.2, §21.7, §22.4, §22.5  
*xwad-dōšagīh* “self-indulgence” §5.3  
*xwadmēd* “X<sup>v</sup>aētumaitī (Hāiti)” [=  
     Y 32.1–16] §9.1  
+*xwālēn* “sweet” §22.5  
*xwālom* “most sweet” §9.7  
*xwāndan, xwān-* “to call”  
     *xwānēnd* §21.19  
     *xwānd* §23.6,  
     (*abāz*) *xwānd* “call back,  
     recall” §22.9  
*xwanīrah* “continent of Xwanīrah” [=  
     Av. *x<sup>v</sup>anīraḏa-*] §16.12, §21.17,  
     §21.24  
*xwānišnōmand* “containing  
     ‘calling’” §21.19  
*xwar* “degree of sin” [= Av.  
     *x<sup>v</sup>ara-*] §12.15  
*xwardan, xwar-* “to eat”  
     *xwarē* §7.11  
     *xwarēd* §9.2, §12.13  
     *xwar* §7.9  
     *xward* §7.10, §19.1  
     *xwardan* §12.13  
*xwarg* “embers” §11.2  
*xwār* “abject” §11.2  
*xwār kardan* “to demean”  
     +*xwār kard* “demeaned (the  
     fire)” §11.2  
+*xwārgōnīh* “wretchedness” §21.19  
*xwārīdan, xwār-* “to drink”  
     *xwārīd* §7.8  
*xwārīh* “comfort” §16.3  
*xwarišn* “eating, food” §9.2, §9.3,  
     §12.22  
*xwārīšn* “drinking” §7.8, §9.2, §9.3  
*xwarrah* “Fortune” [= Av.  
     *x<sup>v</sup>arənah-*] §7.2, §7.3, §16.12,  
     §18.1, §18.2, §22.2, §22.7, §22.9,  
     §23.1  
*xwaršēd* “sun” §12.1  
*xwāstan, xwāh/y-* “seek”  
     *xwāhēd* §21.12  
     *xwāyēnd* §12.21



- xwāst* §2.13, §15.2, §16.1, §21.5  
*xwāstan* §2.4  
*xwāstag* “property” §2.18, §7.5, §12.22, §16.10, §21.12, §21.13  
*xwāstagān* §7.3  
*xwāstār* “the one who asks” §4.2  
<sup>1</sup>*xwāyišn* “seeking, requesting, asking” §12.3, §15.4, §21.12  
<sup>2</sup>*xwāyišn* “(something) to be sought”  
*xwāyišnān* “things to be sought” §22.1  
*xwāyišnīg* “seeking” §19.3  
*xwēdagīh* “moisture” §11.6  
*xwēs* “own” §2.2, §6.2, §12.1, §12.21, §12.23, §12.24, §12.30, §13.8, §16.11, §18.1, §21.20, §22.4, §22.9  
*xwēsāwand* “kin” §12.30  
*xwēs-dēnān* “those of your/one’s own Tradition” §12.31, §18.3, §20.5  
*xwēsīh* “selfhood, oneself” §9.4  
*xwēs-kārih* “(one’s own) duty” §7.1, §7.6, §11.12  
*xwēy* “sleep” §23.2
- yānīmanō* “Yānīm.manō (Hāiti)” [= Y 28.0 for Y 28.1–11] §5.1  
*yāšyōsn* “Yā.šīiaošanā (Hāiti)” [= Y 34.1–15] §11.1  
*yatā-abū-wēryō* “Yaḏā Ahū Vairiio” [= Y 27.13; see also *ahunwar*] §2.2, §2.3, §2.16  
*yāsāiš* “Yaḏāišiḏā (Hāiti)” [= Y 33.1–14] §10.1  
*yašt* “ritual”  
*yašt kardan* “to perform a ritual/ *Yasna*” §17.2  
*yaštan*, *yaz- ēz-* “to sacrifice” (*frāz*) *ēzēd* §14.3, §18.1  
*yazēd* §12.10, §12.26  
*yazēnd* §14.2  
*yaštan* §12.13, §12.15  
*yaštār* “sacrificer” §9.5, §9.6, §9.7, §9.8, §9.9, §9.10  
*yaz* “serpent(s)” §15.2, §21.10  
*yāzdah 11* “eleven” §2.13, §12.1  
*yāzdahom 11om* “eleventh” §12.1
- yazdān* “gods, deities” [= Av. *yazata-*] §9.3, §12.1, §12.13, §12.14, §12.15, §13.6, §22.1, §22.6, §22.8  
*yazišn* “sacrifice, sacrificing, *Yasna*” §2.6, §2.9, §2.10, §9.5, §9.6, §9.7, §9.9, §12.14, §12.15, §12.21 [see *ēzišn*]  
*yejḥē.hātām* “Yeḥjē Hātām” [= Y 27.15] §4.1  
*yēzi* “Yeziḏā” [= Y 48.1–12] §18.1
- z “too, and” [see *-iz*] *passim*  
*zad* “beaten down” §21.24  
*zadan*, *zan-* “to strike, kill”  
*zanē* §22.11  
*zanēd* §14.2  
*(bē) zanēd* §21.20  
*zanišn* §2.16, §21.8, §21.9, §21.18, §21.20, §21.21  
*zad* §15.2, §21.12  
*(bē) zad* §21.11, §21.14, §21.18, §21.20, §21.21  
*(bē) zad hēnd* §21.23, §21.24  
*zadan* §14.2, §15.1, §21.8, §21.9, §23.1, §23.2, §23.5  
*zadār* “the one who smites, strikes” §7.8, §12.8  
*zad-xwarrabiḥ* “whose Fortune is blighted” §10.1  
*zahāg* “(one who) sires” §12.4  
*zāiri-pāšnān* “yellow-heeled” §15.2  
*zamān* “time, hour” §6.1, §12.17  
*zamānān* §17.3  
*zamānag* “time” §16.9  
*zamestān* “winter” §21.6, §21.12, §21.22  
*zamīg* “earth, land, field, ground” §2.11, §7.1, §7.3, §11.11, §12.1, §17.3, §21.10, §22.9  
*zāmiḥistan* “to be led” §8.6  
*zan* “woman, wife” §2.13, §7.5, §12.11, §16.10, §17.2, §17.3, §17.5, §20.6, §21.13, §22.3, §22.13  
*zand* “tribe” §12.5, §20.7  
*zanīh* “marriage” §17.3, §17.5

- zard* “yellow” §22.2  
*zardu(x)št* “Zardušt” [= Av. Zarašustra] §2.17, §8.1, §8.2, §8.3, §12.13, §12.23, §13.1, §13.8, §13.9, §15.1, §15.4, §20.5, §21.24  
*zardu(x)štān* “(millennial) of Zardušt” §8.1  
*zārij* “Zārij” [= Av. Zairi-] §9.1  
*zarmān* “old (age), (Demon of) Old Age” §7.4, §21.2, §21.4, §22.4  
*zarmānīh* “old age” §7.5  
*zarrēn* “golden” §8.2, §21.13  
*zarrēn-pēsīd* “gold-adorned” [an epithet of Frašōxtar] §22.2  
*zay* “Weapon” [= Av. *zaiia-*] §12.25  
*zādan*, *zāy-* “to be born”  
*zāyam* §22.11  
*zāyēd* §22.11  
*zāyišn* §6.2  
*zād* §8.4  
*zīndag* “alive, living” §16.6, §16.12, §17.4, §17.7  
*zīndagān* “the living (ones)” §16.5  
*zīndagīh* “life” §4.1, §5.1, §8.6, §16.8, §16.10, §18.1, §18.2  
*zīndagīh-kārīgēnīdārān* “(things) that make life work” §5.1  
*zīnēnīdan* “to cause damage”  
*zīnēnēd* §20.7  
*zīnēnīd* §12.24  
*zīstan*, *zīy-* “to live”  
*(bē) zīyēd* §16.10  
*zīyēnd* §4.1  
*zištīh* “ugliness” §16.4  
*zōd* “Zōd” [= Av. *zaotar-*, an officiating priest] §12.26  
*zōdīh* “Office of Zōd” §12.26, §12.27, §12.28  
*zōfrtar* “deeper” §21.17  
*zōhr* “libation(s)” §12.5, §12.10, §12.26  
*zōr* “strength(s)” §4.2, §22.4  
*zōrīg* “powerful” §21.11  
*zōr kardān* “to strengthen”  
*zōr kard* §4.2  
*zrēh ī frāxkard* “Frāxkard Sea” [~ Av. *zraiiab- vourukaša-*] §21.17, §22.9  
*zūzag* “hedgehog” §17.5  
*zyān* “harm, damage” §12.23, §21.18  
*zyānīh* “harmfulness” §15.2