

Dādestān ī Dēnīg

Chapters 1-35

Transcription, Translation  
and Commentary

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Dedicated to  
Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams

### **Abstract**

The Dādestān ī Dēnīg 'Religious Judgments' consists of ninety-one answers given by Manušcihr ī Juwānjamān, the Zoroastrian high priest in the ninth century A.C., to the questions put to him by Mihr Xwaršēd ī Ādurmāhān and other members of his community. The first part of the text, which contains forty questions and answers, deals chiefly with the following matters:

Why is the righteous man important and what is the purpose of the creation of the perfect man? Why do the good suffer more than the evil in this world? The sin of those who leave the Mazda-worshipping religion for the evil religion; meritorious deeds; the vision of Ohrmazd and Ahreman by the departed soul. How does the soul depart from the body and where do the righteous and wicked souls go? Ceremonies in honour of Srōš to be performed during the Sedōš (i.e. three days after death). The nature of heaven and hell; individual eschatology; the renovation of the universe; the sacred cord and the sacred shirt.

The text is one of the most important surviving books of the ninth century and as a whole is a valuable source for the history of the Zoroastrian community under Islamic influence. Because the subjects discussed in the text cover a wide range of Zoroastrian religious doctrine, mythology and traditions, it shows the extensive knowledge of its author in different areas of study. A characteristic feature of this text is the difficult style of writing. Manušcihr's style is sophisticated but sometimes ambiguous and obscure, so his writing demands to be read carefully.

My edition of the first part of the book (chapters 1-35) is based on the text edited by the late B.T. Anklesaria in which all the surviving manuscripts have been carefully examined. I have given a transcription of the text with critical apparatus, following the method of transcription proposed by Prof. D.N. MacKenzie. I have also provided a translation and a very brief commentary.

## Contents

Abstract	3
Introduction	7
The Time and Life of Manuṣcihr	7
Date and Contents of Dādestān ī Dēnīg	8
The style of writing of Dādestān ī Dēnīg	9
The MSS of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg	10
(A) The Iranian MSS	10
(B) The Indian MSS	10
The present Edition, Transcription and Translation	12
Transcription and Translation	14
Introduction of Dādestān ī Dēnīg	14
Pursišn 1: Why is the righteous man called greater and better than the material and spiritual creation?	26
Pursišn 2: For what purpose is a righteous man created?	30
Pursišn 3: Why a righteous man is great	36
Pursišn 4: How must one judge the damage and distress which come from the rulers of the time to the people of the good religion?	38
Pursišn 5: Why does harm always happen to good people more often than to bad people?	40
Pursišn 6: Why are men created in the world? And what should we do in it?	42
Pursišn 7: Do the good deeds done for a dead person differ in effect from those ordered or done by themselves?	44
Pursišn 8: Do the good deeds done for a dead person from his own resources differ in effect from those which are not from his own resources and are not ordered by him?	46
Pursišn 9: The interest on a good deed during life	46
Pursišn 10: Does the interest which accrues become helpful on the fourth night in the same way as the original good deed?	48
Pursišn 11: Whether the interest eradicates sin as well as the original good deed	48
Pursišn 12: Does sin disappear on account of (someone's) good deeds, or do they punish him for the sins which were committed by him, and give him rewards and recompense for the good deeds which he has done?	50

Pursišn 13: Who are those who carry out the account of sins and good deeds?	52
Pursišn 14: Do they cancel sins on account of the eradication of life?	54
Pursišn 15: Whether the soul becomes aware of the dead body being torn	56
Pursišn 16: What are the reasons for the exposure of corpses?	58
Pursišn 17: What is the best way of exposing corpses?	64
Pursišn 18: Is it possible for the departed soul to see Ohrmazd and Ahreman?	66
Pursišn 19: Where do the souls of the righteous and wicked go?	68
Pursišn 20: The Cinwad bridge and the Dāitī peak	68
Pursišn 21: Do the spirits feel distress when a righteous man dies?	72
Pursišn 22: How does the soul depart from the body?	74
Pursišn 23: Where does the righteous soul stay for the first three nights after death?	76
Pursišn 24: Where does the wicked soul stay for the first three nights after death?	78
Pursišn 25: What is the nature of paradise and its pleasure?	80
Pursišn 26: What is the nature of hell and its pain and discomfort?	82
Pursišn 27: What is the reason for ordering the performance of the Drōn ritual of Srōš for three days after death?	84
Pursišn 28: What is the reason for worshipping Srōš separately from the other yazads?	86
Pursišn 29: What is the reason for performing the three drōn rituals separately with three dedications on the third night at dawn?	86
Pursišn 30: How does the righteous soul go to heaven, and what does he do?	88
Pursišn 31: How does the wicked soul go to heaven, and what does he do?	96
Pursišn 32: Where is hell and how is it?	100
Pursišn 33: what is the way of the righteous to heaven and that of the wicked to hell from the Dāitī peak?	102
Pursišn 34: Will this world become completely depopulated before the resurrection?	102
Pursišn 35: Who are the renovation makers?	104
Commentary	109
Bibliography	145
Abbreviations	153

## Introduction

The Dādestān ī Dēnīg or "Religious Judgments" is a Pahlavi text from the late ninth century which is very important because of the information it gives about the Zoroastrian priesthood and tradition during the early rule of Islam in Iran. It was translated for the first time in 1882 by Edward West,<sup>1</sup> and later in 1926 it was translated into Gujarati by T.D. Anklesaria and S.D. Barucha.<sup>2</sup> The first critical edition of the text (chapters 1-40) was made by T.D. Anklesaria,<sup>3</sup> though an edition of the first fifteen chapters of Dādestān ī Dēnīg had been published earlier.<sup>4</sup> A critical edition of the second part of the text (chapters 41-92) was prepared by P.K. Anklesaria<sup>5</sup> and was submitted as a Thesis for the Ph.D. of the University of London in 1958 but has never been published. Many individual chapters or shorter sections of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg have been edited and translated by various scholars (see Bibliography).

## The Time and Life of Manušcihr

Manušcihr's time and background has been studied in a scholarly way during the last few decades. West in the introduction to his translation of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg and Epistles of Manušcihr has offered detailed information on him;<sup>6</sup> cf. also Kanga 1951,<sup>7</sup> Tavadia 1956,<sup>8</sup> Pagliaro 1960,<sup>9</sup> Menasce 1975,<sup>10</sup> Boyce 1979<sup>11</sup> and Kreyenbroek 1995.<sup>12</sup> According to the above literature Manušcihr the son of Juwānjam flourished

1- West, E. W., *The Dādistān-i Dīnīk And The Epistles of Mānūskihar*, Oxford, 1882.

2- Anklesaria, T.D., and Barucha, S.D., *Dādestān-i Dīnī nō Tarjumo*, (Gujarati), Bombay, 1926

3- Anklesaria, T.D., *The Datistan-i Dinik*, Part I, pursišn I-XL, Bombay, undated. Hereafter I refer to the text as "Dd." and the author as "Ed."

4- Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, *The Dādistān-i-Dīnīk*, Questions 1-15, Bombay, 1897 (inaccessible to the present editor).

5- Anklesaria, P.K., *A Critical Edition of the Unedited portion of the Dādestān-i Dīnīk*, unpubl. thesis, University of London, 1958.

6- West, loc.cit., p. XIII-XIV.

7- Kanga, M.F., "Life and Letters of Manushchihr Goshnjam" in: Prof. Poure Davoud Memorial Volume, No. 11, Bombay, 1951.

8- Tavadia, J.C., *Der Zarathuštrier*, Leipzig, 1956.

9- Pagliaro, A., *Storia Della Letteratura Persiana*, Milano, 1960.

10- "Zoroastrian Literature After the Muslim Conquest", in: *The Cambridge History of Iran* 4, (ed.) E. Yarshater, Cambridge, etc., pp. 543-565.

11- Boyce, M., *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, London, 1979.

12- Kreyenbroek, PH., "The Introduction to the Dādestān ī Dēnīg", in: *Au Carrefour des Religions Mélanges Offerts à Philippe Gignoux*, Paris.

around 881 AD<sup>1</sup>. His family goes back to Ādurfarnbag Farrooxzādān, who was a great high priest who effectively defended the Zoroastrian faith in a debate at the court of the Caliph Ma'mūn (813-33).<sup>2</sup> He handed the office of Zoroastrian authority to his son Zardušt, from whom it passed to Vahrāmšād, who is cited in Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān as an authority in Zoroastrian law. Vahrāmšād delivered the office of religious leadership to Juwānjam, who had four sons, amongst whom Manušcihr was the most distinguished.<sup>3</sup> His second son, Zādspram, the author of "The Selections", was subsequently forced by Manušcihr to reconsider his new ideas about shortening the ceremonies of purification (barašnum). Manušcihr was called hērbed "teaching priest" in the heading of Epistles I and II. He also held the title of hērbed xwadāy "lord of the teaching priests" according to Epistle III, then rad "pontiff", framādār "director (of the profession of priests)" (Introduction to Dādestān ī Dēnīg and Epistle II) and dēn pēšōbāy "the leader of the religion". Manušcihr's judgments, as is apparent throughout his works, are based on the ideas and wisdom of the ancient leaders of the religion as handed down by dastūrs and pōryōtkēshān.<sup>4</sup>

#### Date and Contents of Dādestān ī Dēnīg

The Dādestān ī Dēnīg "Religious Judgments" consists of ninety-one answers given by Manušcihr to the questions put to him by Mihr Xwaršēd ī Ādurmāhān and other members of his community. Dādestān ī Dēnīg belongs to a group of Pahlavi texts which appear almost wholly Sasanian in its content and references. As West 1882, XXII, has pointed out, to judge from the imperative tone of Manušcihr in his Epistles, written in the year 881 AD., in comparison with his less imperative tone in Dādestān ī Dēnīg, it is likely that Dādestān ī Dēnīg was written several years before 881 AD.<sup>5</sup> The term Pahlavi Rivāyat attached to the text by which Dādestān ī Dēnīg is accompanied seems to be a modern name. According to Williams 1990, I, 8, since both the Pahlavi Rivāyat and Dādestān ī Dēnīg have their own opening and closing formulae "it would seem most reasonable to regard them as two independent texts".<sup>6</sup>

As to the subjects discussed in Dādestān ī Dēnīg, chapters 1-40 are mainly concerned with religious doctrines, the importance, responsibilities and duties of the righteous

1-. See Epistle III from which the above year is deduced: "I wrote this epistle from my own handwriting, and sealed several copies for the information of any faithful whatsoever of Eran Shahr, for the sake of receiving the approval of the opinion of me, Manushchihr, son of Goshn-Jam [read: Juwānjam] concerning the mandate of the religion in the victorious month Xvardat of the year 250 Yazdkart in confidence of and thankfulness to God" (the translation is that of Kanga 1951, 194).

2-. See Boyce 1979, 153.

3-. Ibid.

4-. See Kreyenbroek 1995, 171.

5-. See West 1882, p. XXII.

6-. See Williams 1990, I, 8, as well as Christensen 1917, 6.

man (Dd.1-3), apocalyptic and eschatological ideas (Dd.35-36), the relationship between man and god (Dd.18), and other important questions such as: Why is the righteous man important and what is the purpose of the creation of the perfect man? Why does the good man suffer more than the evil man in this world? The sin of those who leave the Mazda-worshipping religion for the evil religion; meritorious deeds; the vision of Ohrmazd and Ahriman by the departed soul. How does the soul depart from the body and where do righteous and wicked souls go? Ceremonies in honour of Srōš to be performed during the Sidōš (i.e. three days after death). The nature of heaven and hell; individual eschatology; the renovation of the universe; the sacred cord and the sacred shirt. According to Manušcihr, men's responsibility (*xwēškārīh*) is mainly to adopt wisdom (*xrad*) and truthfulness (*rāstīh*) in order to perform the will of God (Dd.1) and to expel the druz from the world.

### The style of writing of Dādestān ī Dēnīg

Dādestān ī Dēnīg is written in the form of questions and answers which is a common type of oral composition,<sup>1</sup> but in a characteristic style which is different from that of other Pahlavi writings. One aspect of this text is its difficulty. Manušcihr's style is sophisticated but sometimes ambiguous and obscure, sometimes ponderous and awkward, and therefore demands to be read carefully. One may assume that the art of composing original texts in Pahlavi had become somewhat artificial by the ninth century. The use of numerous compounds is another stylistic trait of Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Clumsy compounds such as *spōz-az-gāhīh* "without delay",<sup>2</sup> *dārmag-dānišnān* "(people of) delicate knowledge",<sup>3</sup> *a-bowandag-nimūdārīh* "incomplete guidance",<sup>4</sup> *nazdīk-rāh-tar* "the most direct means",<sup>5</sup> *kū-gyāgīh ud kay-zamānh* "the place and time"<sup>6</sup> etc. are found throughout Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Redundancy is another characteristic feature. Tedious and lengthy sentences are due to the combination of clauses which are not always relevant to the main sentence. In other words, Manušcihr uses many parenthetical sentences in which often there is no verb, e.g. Dd.2.13; 14.3; 16.13; 30.17. It is likely that the syntax of the text has been further muddled by scribes who did not fully understand the text and attempted to improve it as they saw fit. As West correctly suggests, Manušcihr's writings are very difficult both to understand and to translate into English. Nevertheless, he awakens respect by the depth of his thought and the power of his judgment.

<sup>1</sup>- See Boyce 1968, 43.

<sup>2</sup>- Dd. Int. 12

<sup>3</sup>- Dd. Int. 24

<sup>4</sup>- Dd. Int. 22

<sup>5</sup>- Dd. 16.12

<sup>6</sup>- Dd. 13.3

### The MSS of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*<sup>1</sup>

The following MSS were used for the edition of *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* by T.D. Anklesaria:

#### (A) The Iranian MSS:

1) TD - written by Gopatshah Rustom Bundar about 1592 A. C. (= 961 A. Y.)<sup>2</sup> in Kerman and brought from Yazd to India by Ervad Tahmuras D. Anklesaria in 1870.<sup>3</sup> A copy of this MS. is kept in the Mulla Feroze Library of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay. The MS was lacking the first 135 pages some pages in the middle, and also the last pages. As Anklesaria mentions Gopatshah was a hasty and careless scribe but his handwriting is clear and legible.<sup>4</sup> Full descriptions of the MS<sup>5</sup> are given by Jamasp Asa, K.M., 1978, Introduction; Anklesaria, T.D., and Barucha, S.D., 1926; West, E.W., 1882; Dhabhar, 1923; Anklesaria, P.K., 1958.

2) K35 - written in Kerman in 1572 A.D. corresponding to the year 941 A.Y. According to West's opinion given in his letter to N.L. Westergaard, who brought the MS. K35 from Iran in the year 1843 and presented to the University Library of Copenhagen in 1878, "the writing of this MS. is rather hasty but very legible" (quoted from West).<sup>6</sup> A full description of the MS<sup>7</sup> is given by West, 1882; Christensen, 1917; Anklesaria, T.D., and Barucha, S.D., 1926; and Anklesaria, P.K., 1958.

3) BK- written in Kerman. According to West, 1882, XVI<sup>8</sup> seems to have been a direct copy of K35. This MS was collated by Erwad Dhabhar and Tahmuras Anklesaria for their editions of the Epistles of Manuṣcihr and *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, Part I, respectively, but it was not available to P.K. Anklesaria when he edited the text of *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, Part II. It seems now to have been presented to the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay. Brief descriptions of the MS are given by West, 1882; Anklesaria, T.D., and Barucha, S.D., 1926; and Anklesaria, P.K., 1958.

#### (B) The Indian MSS:

1) DF - is thought to have been written by Dastūr Jamshedji Peshotanji of Bulsar,<sup>9</sup> and was available to T.D. Anklesaria and P.K. Anklesaria to collate with other MSS while

1- See Dd., preface.

2- Cf. Jamasp Asa, ibid; but Dd. states "about 1510-1530" in preface; cf. also Anklesaria, 1958, 10 who gives a date between 850-910 A.Y.

3- Cf. Jamasp Asa, 1978, Introduction; but Dd., states 1969 in preface.

4- See Anklesaria, P.K., 1958, 13.

5- The MS. TD was later published by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University in Shiraz (see bibliography).

6- See S.B.E., Vol. XIII, p. 340

7- The MS. K35 was later published by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University in Shiraz (see bibliography).

8- Cf. also Anklesaria, 1958, 17.

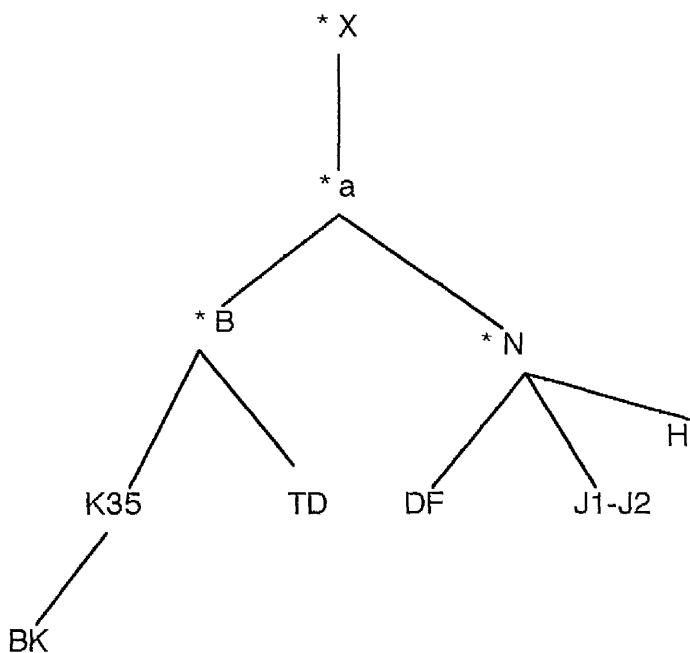
9- See ibid, 30; and Dd., Preface.

they were editing their "Pahlavi Texts". The important characteristic of this MS is that it has a Persian interlinear translation in the traditional way.<sup>1</sup>

2) J1, J2 - was lent to T.D. Anklesaria by Dastūr Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp-Asana in 1869. According to West's unpublished description quoted by Anklesaria 1958, 36, the MS was written by D. Jamshed and bears two different dates of 1188 A.Y. and 1210 A.D. A concise description of this MS is also found in Dhabhar, *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, Introduction, 13; and Epistle of Mānuṣcihr, Introduction, 19.

3) H - according to P.K. Anklesaria<sup>2</sup> the MS H probably belonged to Dastūr Peshotan Sanjana and his son, Dastūr Darab, by whom a copy of the MS was presented to Dr. Martin Haug in 1868. P.K. Anklesaria (loc.cit.) reports that a copy of this MS is in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, numbered M59. P.K. Anklesaria quotes from a letter of West published by Unvala, in which West remarks that the MS has evidently been much emended.

On the basis of the above remarks, the relationship between the MSS can be shown in the following stemma:



<sup>1</sup> See ibid.

<sup>2</sup> 1958, 4.

**The present Edition, Transcription and Translation**

My edition of the first 35 chapters of the book is based on the text edited by the late B.T. Anklesaria in which all the surviving manuscripts have been carefully examined.

I have given a transcription of the text with critical apparatus, following the method of transcription proposed by Prof. D.N. MacKenzie. I have also provided a translation and a very brief commentary. In my text I have attempted to follow the MSS as much as possible and to avoid emendation. In my translation I have attempted to be as literal as possible and to avoid paraphrase, though in some circumstances I have had no alternative but to give explanatory phrases in parentheses.

I have received valuable supervision and help from Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams without which the preparation of this dissertation would not have been possible. Hence I take the opportunity to express my great gratitude towards him. I would like also to express my thanks to Prof. Ph. Kreyenbroek who first advised me to choose *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* as a research subject. I am enormously grateful to my wife and children who bore with me patiently and assisted me in finishing this work.

## Transcription

### **Heading**

pursišnīhā [ī] cand dar ī mihr-xwaršēd ī ādur-māhān az anōšag ruwān manušcihr ī juwānjamān kard [ud] abārīg hu-dēnān, u-š pāsox [ī] wizārēnīd.<sup>1</sup>

### **Introduction**

**Int.0)** pad nām ud nērōg [ud] ayārīh ī dādār ohrmazd [ud] wispān yazdān, hamāg yazdān [ī] mēnōgān [ud] yazdān [ī] gētīgān hamāg dām ud dahišn, [ī] ohrmazd ū dahišn [ī] xwēš wāspuhragānīg spurrēnīd.<sup>2</sup>

**Int.1)** hu-dēnān ī ēd pursīdārān; az stāyišnīg nērōg ī cihr ud zōr ī gōhr ud daxšag ī xrad ud nišān ī hunar kē-z xrad-xwāhišnīh [ud] kirbag-uskārišnīh ud dēnīg-wizōyišnīhā pursišn paydāg,

**Int.2)** az manušcihr ī juwānjamān āfrīn.

**Int.3)** pāsox ēd kū cē-tān purr-dōšārmīhā ud wuzurg-abardomīhā andar ēd pursišnīg-nāmag ū man āfrīnēnīd, cand-tān āfrīnēnīd [ud] ciyōn-tān āfrīnēnīd, purr-paymānīhā [ud] bowandag abzōn-padēxīhā aw-iz ašmā hamist ham-paywandān jud-jud pad xwēš niyābag spurr<sup>3</sup> rasād, ud dagr pattāyād [ud] ū nēk-frazāmīh paywandīhād.

**Int.4)** ān ī-tān framūd nibištan abar ayāsišn ī ū ham-wēnišnīh ud ham-pursišnīh<sup>4</sup> [ī] man, mihrbānagīh ud dēn-dōstih ī xwad.

---

1. Text: gwc'lynyt'

2. Text: wspwl wndynyt'

3. Text: wspwl

4. BK: m'mpwrsyh

## **Translation**

### **Heading**

Questions on a number of subjects which Mihr-Xwaršēd son of Adur-Māh, and other associates of the good religion asked of Anōšag-Ruwān (i.e. of immortal soul) Manušcihr, son of +Juwānjam, and the answers +given by him.

### **Introduction**

**Int.0)** In the name, and with power and help of the creator Ohrmazd and all the yazads, all the spiritual and earthly yazads, all the creatures and the creations by which Ohrmazd has particularly perfected his creation.

**Int.1)** To those of the good religion, who are asking these things about the praiseworthy strength of nature, and the power of nature, and the signs of +wisdom and proof of ability, and also of whom the desire for wisdom and devotion to the good deeds, and interest in the religion are manifest through their questions, (2) blessings from Manušcihr son of Juwānjam.

**Int.3)** And the following is (my) answer: as you have blessed me in this letter of enquiries, filled with love and great superiority, as much as you have blessed, and in the same way as you have blessed in full measure and in perfect and increasing prosperity, so may it (i.e. the blessing) reach fully to all of you and (your) dependents, as is appropriate to each individually, and may it last long and conclude with good results.

**Int.4)** As to that which you had written concerning the memory of your meeting and discussion with me, it is (a sign) of your kindness and your love of religion.

**Int.5)** amā hamist kē yazdān bandag, pad kōxšišn [ī] druz ham-spāh, pad āstawānīh<sup>1</sup> ī abar weh-dēn ī māzdēsn ham-ēstišn, pad ēk ān ī ahlāyīh rāh <ī> ham-tōxšišn, ō<sup>2</sup> gāh ī andar ān ī pāšom axwān ham-ārzōg, pad hāzišn ī ō ān ī pāšom axwān [ud] fraš(a)gird ham-ēmēd hēm;<sup>3</sup> ān-mān kām ī ham-wēnišnīh [ud] ham-pursagīh cimīg, u-š sāl. ān-iz ī dēn nigēzēd kū: kē abāg ōy ī dānāg ud ahlaw pad ham-wēnišnīh [ud] ham-pursagīh nazdīk, ēg-iš kirbag ī was waxšišnīgtar ud ān ī meh pattāyišnīgtar.

**Int.6)** ud stāyišn ī-tān man rāy wēš az sāmān [ud] meh pāyag framūd nibištan cim ī mādayān purr dōstīh [ud] nigerišn ī pad hu-cašmīh, u-m pad-iš rāh ī ō spās-dārīh.

**Int.7)** ān ī-tān pad dānistān [ud] šnāxtan, rāh be man enyā ō any kas nē būdan framūd nibištan, az ašmā dōšārmīh ō rōn ī hu-cašmīh, be mādagwarīh ud rāstīh rāy cimīg nigerišn dādīhātar aw-iz abārīg mowmardān<sup>4</sup>[ī] pad hunar ī-šān bowandag-menīdārīhātar sazēd nibištan.

**Int.8)** cē abāg-iz škeft kōxšīdārīh ī druz ud garān wišōbišn ud zūrīh ī ō dēnīgān mad ēstēd, pas-iz pad yazdān xwābarīh nūn-iz radān mowbedān dastwarān dādwarān ud abārīg-iz dēnīgān [ud] dēnīgbedān kustag-kustag, ud anī-z hērbedān ud mowmardān<sup>5</sup> ī ōšmurđ-mānsar ī dranjēnīd-zand [ī] uskārd-dādestān ī āgāh dēn ī nimūdār cim ī wizīdār kirbag pad cand gyāg hēnd, kē pad-iz owōn dādestān šnāxtan [ud] dānistān [ī] rāh awēšān<sup>6</sup> wišādag.

**Int.9)** ān ī-tān kāmag abāyistan<sup>7</sup> ud xwaš-menišnīh az ān ī man abar būd framūd nibištan, ā-m nišān ī dōstīh ud hu-cašmīh, u-tān az yazdān ham-paymān [ī] dōstīh [ud] hu-cašmīh ī xwēš bawēd.

<sup>1</sup>. Text: 'wstwbw'nyh; TD: 'stb'nyh

<sup>2</sup>. Thus K35; Text, BK, TD, J2 have: OL 'n

<sup>3</sup>. Emended by ed.; Text: HWE-wm

<sup>4</sup>. Text: mynwk GBRA- 'n; TD omits mynwk

<sup>5</sup>. Text: mynwk GBRA- 'n

<sup>6</sup>. Text: 'wbš š'n

<sup>7</sup>. Text: 'b'yytn'

**Int.5)** We are all servants of God, and +fellow soldiers in the struggle against the druz, persistent in the profession of the Good Mazdayasnian Religion, and striving in the one path, that of righteousness, and desirous of that place in the best existence; (so) our desire to meet and discuss together is reasonable and (has continued for) a year. And also the religion teaches that he who comes near to the wise and righteous (man) to meet and discuss with him, then his good deeds are of the most-increasing and long-lasting nature.

**Int.6)** And +the main reason for the vast and high praise which you have had written about me is your affection and kind regard, and my custom is to be grateful for that.

**Int.7)** As to that which you have had written about there being no access to anyone but myself for knowledge and recognition, this is owing to your love and the result of benevolent regard; but for the sake of keeping particularly to the truth it is more legitimate to have a reasonable regard for the other virtues and it is proper to write to other +priests who are accomplished.

**Int.8)** For in spite of the assault of the druz and the grievous destruction and the deceit which has happened to the faithful, after the beneficence of God, even now, there are Rads, Mowbeds, Dastwars, judges and also other faithful leaders (of the religion) in various regions, and also other Hérbeds and +Mogmards who have studied the Sacred Words, recited the Zand, considered the Religious Law, and who are acquainted with the religion, and are displayers of the reasons and the distinctive good deeds, who are in many places, and by whom the way to understanding and recognising of such religious judgments is opened.

**Int.9)** As to that which you had written about your desire, need and pleasant thoughts about me, this is also a mark of your friendship and benevolence, and may you have the same measure of friendship and kind regards of the yazads.

**Int.10)** ān ī-tān andar wēš-dōstīh stāyīdārīh freh-būdīhā man rāy pad kišwar dastwarīh ud ēkīh ī be<sup>1</sup> dudīgarīh ud tāgīh [ud] judīh<sup>2</sup> az<sup>3</sup> ham-sāmān framūd nibištan, agar ōh-iz ašmā dōstīh rāy nibišt, pas-iz man duš-xwār sahist az ēd owān stāyišn.

**Int.11)** agar andar ēn zamānag [ud] šahrān \*ī-mān<sup>4</sup> šnāxtag ud āšnāg, abar kas ast<sup>5</sup> pad ōy ī dagr wurrōyišnīh [ud] dēn pēšobāy ī \*frāzīg,<sup>6</sup> man xwēš rāy nē ābrōyīg dārēm, ka ān stāyišn ī “sālār mān ēwāzīg niyābag” abar man srawāgīhēd, ud nē-z rāmišnīg bawēm<sup>7</sup> ka-m meh az xwēš sālār nāmēnēnd. cē-m stāyišn ān kāmag ī pad xwēš pāyag ud tāyag [ud]. wimand, u-m ābrōyīg sahēd ērīh andar xwēš abarīg [ud] hāwand, ud mehīh abar kehān.

**Int.12)** ān ī-tān wistāxīhā [ud] wistāxgarīhā abar drāz nibištan ī pursišn [framūd nibištan], ēn-iz nimūd kū pāsox pad hangām nibēsēm ī-m andar pardazišn bawēd, [ud] ān ī ašmā pad hu-cihr pursišnīh wistāxīh cimīg. [ud] man abar gōkānīg-pāsoxihā [ud] spōz-az-gāhīh kām [ī] taftīg, cē spōz ayāb a-bowandagīhā pāsoxih aniyābag ast.<sup>8</sup> az ān ī škeft-kōxšišnīh ī druz rāy awištāb, [ud] \*wizōyišnīg<sup>9</sup>-mcnišnīh az ān ī a-wizīrišnīg ud frēzwānīg kār kam pardazišnīh ast.

**Int.13)** abar pāsox hangām ud<sup>10</sup> pardazišn ī-mān zamān dād ī-tān andar nāmag paydāgēnīd, jud-iz az hu-cašmīh ī dōstīhā nišān ī āgāhīh<sup>11</sup> ī-tān az ān ī man kam pardazišnīh az-iš paydāg.

1. Text: BRA

2. Text: yw<sup>w</sup>tyh; emended by Kreyenbroek

3. Text: MIE; emended by Kreyenbrek

4. Text: zm<sup>n</sup>; emended by Kreyenbrock

5. Text: 't; emended by Kreyenbroek

6. Text: pr'ck'

7. Text: YHWWN- wrn

8. Text: 'ny'pyhyt; emended by Kreyenbroek

9. Text: wcyšnyk

10. Text: Y

11. Text: 'k'syh'

**Int. 10)** As to that which you have had written in much friendship and excessive praise of me (as if) I am a perfect Dastwar of the country, unique and without equal, peerless with no counterpart, even if you wrote in friendship, such praise makes me feel uncomfortable.

**Int. 11)** If at this time and these countries which are known and with which we are acquainted, there is a great person who is the +chief +leader of the religion on account of his steadfast belief; then I do not regard it as an accolade for myself when praise as "our only proper leader" is broadcast about me, and I am not pleased when they (i.e. people) call me greater than their own leader. For I would like to be praised according to my position and +ability (?) and limitation; and it seems to me honourable to be humble towards those who are superior or equal to oneself and to be superior towards the inferior ones.

**Int. 12)** As to that which (you have had written) surely and confidently in regard to lengthy writing of your enquiries, it also showed that I should write the reply at the first opportunity; and your confidence in your proper question is reasonable; and my fervent wish is to give the answers in detail and with no delay, because it is not proper to delay or give incomplete answers. The reason for the haste is the hard assault of the druz, and that there is little free time for an inquiring frame of mind on account of inevitable and compulsory duties.

**Int. 13)** As to the time for answering and the leisure which time gave us, explained in your letter, apart from benevolent regards of friendship, it is evident that you are aware of my lack of leisure time.

**Int.14)** u-m ēn-iz wistāxīh ast kū-tān pursišn dēnīg-wurrōyišnīhā [ud] dēnīg wizīr abāyišnīgīhā nibišt. andar pāsox cim-paydāgīh [ī] az dēn was ū<sup>1</sup> nimāyišn ī pad dānāgīh hu-ēwāz<sup>2</sup> ud az har(w)<sup>3</sup> ēwēnag abar xwāhišnīh abē-bīm.

**Int.15)** ud im nāmag andar māh [ī] tīr pad dōl owōn mad ka xwāstārīh ī az sāhīgān pad sc sālag bahr ī sālag-e, ud hu-dēnān must frāx. [ud] āsānīh ī pad-iš a-wizīrišnīg<sup>4</sup> ud cārag-garīh ī-m cand ādūgīh abar ān must [ud] spōzišnīh frēzwānīgtar. ud cār ī abar bōxtārīh ud frayādišn ī hāwištān [ī] cand wiħān ī handāxt ēstād rāy-am<sup>5</sup> ū xūbīhā nigerīdan ī im pursišn nē ayāft tā māh [ī] šahrewar ka ū ūrāz āmad hēm, u-m hangām hangām [ī] andak-ē pardazišn būd, u-m im pursišn nigerīd.

**Int.16)** ka-m im jādagīhā nibēsišnīh dīd, ēg-im<sup>6</sup> pursišn dar-dar<sup>7</sup> judāg ud daxšagīhātar<sup>8</sup> kardan cimīgtar sahist.

**Int.17)** ud u-m ū dibīr-ē dād pursišn [ī] pad im pacēn ī-tān framūd nibištān, dar-dar har(w) pursišn-ē pad dar-ē nibišt ud hangirdēnīd.

**Int.18)** cand u-m az dēn āgāhīh u-m pad ū ūyādīh ud az pēšēnīgān dastwarān<sup>9</sup> pad xrad sahišn ast, pāsox azēr ī pursišn nibišt kāmēm.

**Int.19)** ka ciyōn pursīd ciš, andar nēst ān rāy juttar, owōn sahēm ciyōn nibēsēm.

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<sup>1</sup>. Text: OL

<sup>2</sup>. Emended by Kreyenbrock; Text: hw'y'c

<sup>3</sup>. Text: 'I

<sup>4</sup>. Thus TD; Text: 'wcyhlšnyh

<sup>5</sup>. Text: ldm; BK, K35: Pd MN

<sup>6</sup>. Text: 'ynm; TD: w'ynwm; DF: 'ynwm

<sup>7</sup>. Text: BBA W BBA

<sup>8</sup>. J1, DF, BK, K35: wcyhl'kyh'tl

<sup>9</sup>. Thus DF; Text: dstwblyh

**Int. 14)** And I have also this confidence that your questions are written in faithful belief and need for religious judgments. And in (my) reply the explanations of the reasons which are manifold from the faith should be shown in such a way that there is no need of (religious) knowledge and no fear of further request.

**Int. 15)** And this letter came in the month of Tīr, at +Dōl, just when the demand of the +royal treasury was for the amount of three years (tax?) in a single year, and the complaints of the Zoroastrians were many. And it was necessary to give comfort in that (i. e. difficulty), and to find a remedy for these complaints and violations by using my few abilities. And for the sake of finding a remedy to save and help the disciples who had planned some excuse (i. e. about tax?) I found no (opportunity) to look properly at these questions until the month of Shāhrivar, when I came to Shiraz, and the time was a time of a little leisure for me, and I could look at these questions.

**Int. 16)** When I saw this letter (including) different cases, then it seemed more reasonable to me to make each chapter of the questions separate and more distinct.

**Int. 17)** And I gave to a scribe the questions which were in this copy and you have had written, and he wrote each question in the separate chapter and completed them.

**Int. 18)** And I intended to write as the answer below the questions whatever religious knowledge I have, whatever I remember from the authority of the ancients, and whatever seems to be rational.

**Int. 19)** If there is no disagreement about the things you have asked, my opinion is (exactly) such as I write.

**Int.20)** az ān ī ciyōn ān ī amā āgāhīhā az ān ī pēšēnīgān dastwarān kē weh [ud] dānāgtar ud axw ud rad ud dastwar ī amā būd hēnd, [ka-z]<sup>1</sup> āgenēn jud-dādestānīh būd, ān man <ka-z><sup>2</sup> wizīr ī abar im dar ēdōn ciyōn-mān dastwarān [ī] zamānag<sup>3</sup> ud dūdag pad mādagwar dāst, nibišt.

**Int.21)** pas-iz abar gōwišn ī ān dastwar kē any ēwēnag ast jud-dādestānīh nēst, ud agar ast ī-m sahišn ī ū Šnāsišn<sup>4</sup> ī drust rāy ayāſt, mowmard<sup>5</sup> ī dēn-āgāh kē Šnāsēd kē dēn-āgāhīhā wīrāst, pad spās dārem. [ud] mādayān ī rāstīh ī pēšēnīgān dastwarān gōwišn, ān cē pad cim, andar pāsox [ud] ēd cē pad rōšngarīh ī wizīr nibišt.

**Int.22)** agar ēdōn cim rāy bowandag ayāb wizīr rāy rōšn nē wēnīhēd, nē pargast az a-bowandagīh ī dēn wizīr pad rōšnīhā-nimūdārīh ud drust-cimīh, be az a-bowandag-nimūdārīh ī amā ū Šnāsišn<sup>6</sup> ī ān [ī] dēn nigēz, [ud] pargūd-az-ōšīh; ī ān-iz ī-mān xwāst āgāhīhā padēx<sup>7</sup>, awištāft-menišnīh ī az āwām sēzdēnīh.

**Int.23)** ōh-iz nūn jud az cihrag dānišn, baxšāyišnīh ī weh mēnōgān<sup>8</sup> ud mānsar wizārišnīg ud nigēzišn ī dēn, rōšntar nimāyišn ī abar dēnīg warzišn, az dō bun abērtar az-iš paydāgīhēd: ēk az mādayān <ī> nimūdārīh ī \*āsn-xrad<sup>9</sup> [ī] dēn pēšōbāy, ud ēk mādayāntar az nihādag<sup>10</sup> ī hu-fraward pēšēnīgān ī pēšōbāyān ī meh pōryōtkēšān.

1. Emended by Kreyenbrock

2. Emended by Kreyenbrock

3. Thus Text, TD; BK: zm'n; others: ZY- m'n

4. Text: ū řyšn; emended by ed.

5. Text: W mwg- GBRA for: mgw- GBRA

6. Text: ū řāyšn; emended by ed.

7. Thus Kreyenbroek; Text: ptyš; BK: ptš; DF: pts'y; J1: ptyk' Y

8. Thus text; TD, BK, Kreyenbrock: mynšn

9. Thus ed.; Text: 'yn' hlt'

10. Thus ed.; Text: HNHTWN- tn' tk'

**Int.20)** Since our knowledge arises from those ancient authorities who were better and wiser and (are) our masters, (spiritual) chiefs and authorities, if they disagree with each other, I have written (my) decision about this subject according to the opinion chiefly held by the authorities of our time and family.

**Int.21)** Also, in respect of the statement of an authority of another kind (i.e. not of my time and family) there is no disagreement, and if there is something which seems proper to me, I have accepted it gratefully from a man who is aware of the religion and who knows it and who is adorned with religious knowledge, for the sake of obtaining true knowledge. But I have written in the answer the essence of the truth from the reasonable statements of the early Dastwars and whatever was useful to illustrate their judgments.

**Int.22)** If a reason is not complete, or a judgment is not clearly perceived, it is not - Heaven forbid! - on account of the incompleteness of the religious judgments as to clear guidance and true meaning, but it is owing to our incomplete guidance in the understanding of the teachings of the religion, and lack of perception, and, even (though) we wished (to be) abundant in knowledge, hasty thinking due to pressure of time.

**Int.23)** Therefore even now, apart from essential knowledge, and the gifts of the good spirits, and the explanation of the sacred words, and the teachings of the religion, the clear interpretation of religious practice mostly derives from two sources: one is the interpretation of the principles by the Āsn Xrad (: innate wisdom) of the (current) leader of the faithful; and the more important one from the +foundations of the earlier blessed leaders, the great holders of the faith.

**Int.24)** az ān<sup>1</sup> ciyōn ān ī awēšān nibēgān ī abar cim-nimāyišnīh [ud] zofrīh [ud] bārīg-saxwanīh rāy \*ōh-iz<sup>2</sup> bārīg-wēnišnān ud \*dārmag<sup>3</sup>-dānišnān nē hudān<sup>4</sup>: pad andak [ud] frāz-iz padēxīh ī saxwan škeft gumān ī kam āgāhīh-šān<sup>5</sup> šāyēd būd.

**Int.25)** owōn abar cim ī im pursišnīhā agar ast ī-tān rōšntar paydāg ud cimīgtar abāyēd, nazdīktar rāh ū rāst nigēzišn ud rōšn nē jud ū wizīr ī frazānag pēšōbāy ī dēn. man cand-im dānišn [ud] ādūgīh hamē ka pursēd u-m tuwān pāsoxēnēm.

**Int.26)** ka wehān gohrān ēwēnag wistarīd<sup>6</sup> wizīrēnīdār wuzurg sūd xwēš: xwēšagān dōstīh ud drōdīh ud ahlāyīh paymōgīh ud druz nihānēnīdārīh. cē-m ašmā kām kunišn man āgāhēnīdan framāyēd.

**Int.27)** u-tān nōg-nōg-iz āfrīn. ān ī-tān xwad andar nāmag pad bun ud sar-iz nibišt, jud-jud pad xwēš niyābag, spurrīg,<sup>7</sup> šāyēd šād [ud] burzišnīg frazāmīhād, abāg \*a-brīd paywastagīhā ī az bun ū frazām ud wēhm-xākān-iz burzišnīg.

**Int.28)** pacēn ī pursišn ciyōn pāsox; ēd kū ka-š ciš andar nēst ān cim rāy juttar, owōn sahēm ciyōn nibēsīhēd

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1. Thus Text; Kreyenbrock adds: AYK

2. Thus Kreyenbrock; Text: OL-c

3. Text: šlmk

4. Thus text

5. Thus Kreyenbrock; Text: 'k'sšn

6. Thus Kreyenbrock, J1; Text: wslyt'

7. Thus BK; Text: wspwlyk'

**Int.24)** For, as to the explanation of reasons, depth, and subtlety of expression, even (those) people (of today) who have subtle insights and fine learning are not as well-informed as their (the ancients') books, and in their lesser or greater abundance of words there may be a strong hint of their lack of knowledge.

**Int.25)** So, about the meaning of the (answers to) these questions, if there be something which should be revealed more clearly and with more reason, there is no nearer way to a true and clear interpretation except by the judgment of the wise leader of the religion. So far as my knowledge and capability allow and I am able, I will always answer whenever you ask.

**Int.26)** When the good people (i.e. the faithful) are scattered like jewels, one who is (a religious) interpreter has (=given) great benefits: the love of his people, and well-being, and wearing the cloak of righteousness, and causing the druz to disappear. Please let me be informed what it is your wish that I should do.

**Int.27)** Many new blessings also (be) upon you! May that which you yourself wrote in the beginning and also at the end of your letter be achieved, (in a form) suitable to each one of you, completely, happily, and in a honourable manner, with unbroken connexion from beginning to end, and worthy of praise in wide realms.

**Int.28)** (Here is) a copy of the questions as well as the answers, and if there is nothing about it (i.e. the case) which is opposed to that reasoning, then it appears proper to me as it is written.

## Pursišn 1

1.1) fradom ān ī pursīd kū : mard ī ahlaw az star ud māh ud xwaršēd ud ātaxš ī ohrmazd cē rāy weh dād ēstēd, ud andar dēn meh ud weh guſt ēstēd az dahišn ī mēnōgīg, az-iz ān ī gētīgīg?

1.2) pāsōx ēd kū: frāzīh pad xrad rāst wizēngarīh, cē dāmān mehīh ud wehīh az hunar bawēd abar dāmān, ud hunar ī rāstīh weh, ud abzārīh ī xrad meh spās<sup>1</sup> ud yazad kāmišngarīh mādagwartom. cē har(w) 3 āgenēn ham-band-iz,<sup>2</sup> cē rāstīh paydāgīh pad xrad, u-š sūd kāmišngarīh ī dādār. xrad kāmišngarīh ī \*ōy abāyišn ī dādār, u-š zēn<sup>3</sup> rāstīh, ud kām ī dādār rawāgīh pad xrad abāg rāstīh.

1.3) har(w) 3 andar dāmān meh, \*u-šān<sup>4</sup> mehmānīh pad pāhlomīgān mardān ahlawān mēnōgīhā<sup>5</sup>. pad ān ī abēzag frawahr mēnōg-waxshīh ū druz kōxshāg ud spōzāg wānāg ud ānābāg, ān ī yazdān spāh zōrēnāg, ud mēnōg xwadāyīh ī ohrmazd gētīgīhā pad gētīg paymōgīh ud ham-bandīh ī tan gyān.

1.4) u-šān abzārōmandīh mādayān xrad ud gētīgīg kār pad ān ī xradīg abar gīrišnīh ī humat, hūxt ud huwaršt ud be-hilišnīh ud a-rawāgīh ī duš-mat, duš-hūxt ud dušxwaršt.

1.5) \*u-šān<sup>6</sup> handāxtār ī gētīgīg xwadāyīh<sup>7</sup> ī ohrmazd win(n)ārāg, ud ān ī abēzag dēn win(n)ārāg ud rawāgēnāg, ud dādār ī weh ī abēzag stāyīdār, ud pad druz ūšīh<sup>8</sup> ēstišnīh framūdār, ī pad rawāg-dahišnīh ī ān ī weh-dēn mānsar, ud rasišn ī ān weh rist-āxēzišnīh ud fraš(a)gird-kirdārīh ham-ayārīh ud xwēšīg spās, abar hamist gētīg dām sālār ud nigāh-dāštār ud rāyēnīdār ud meh ud abardar hēnd.

1.6) ūh-iz ān mēhīh nē har(w) mardōm, be pad pāšomān mardān ī ašōān rāy guſt ēstēd. kē-š[ān] andar nazdist ān-iz pāšom 3 hēnd: bun mayān ud frazām ī dahišn.

1- Text: sp'sy

2- All: ME; for: c

3- Thus BK; text has: dyn<sup>3</sup>

4- Text: AP- š

5- Text: mynwkyk

6- Text: AP-šn

7- Emended by ed.; text: hwt'y

8- Thus TD, DF; other MSS. have 'wyhyh.

**Pursišn 1**

1.1) The first +question: why is a +righteous man created better than the stars, moon, sun and fire of Ohrmazd, and is called in the +religion +greater and better than the spiritual creation, and also than that which is material?

1.2) The reply is this, that furtherance in wisdom (is) the +recognition of what is right, since the greatness and goodness of (some) creatures over (other) creatures arise from ability, and the +ability (to be) right (is) good, and the power to be wise (is) great and the service (of the gods) and the performance of the will of the gods is most essential. For all three are, also, +connected to each other; since the manifestation of truth (is) through wisdom, and its benefit is the performance of the will of the creator. Wisdom is the performance of his will, (i.e.) what is necessary for the creator, and its +means (are) truth, and the propagation of the will of the creator (is) through wisdom together with truth.

1.3) All three (i.e. wisdom, truth; and the service of the gods) are great among the creatures, and their residence is, spiritually, in the foremost righteous men, (for they) strive against demons, and reject them, and overcome them, and destroy them (through the help of) pure Frawahr in the spiritual existence; (and they) strengthen the army of the gods, and the spiritual sovereignty of Ohrmazd in the world by +being clad in a worldly (body) and by (their) combining body and soul.

1.4) And their essential competence is wisdom, and their worldly activity (consists) in the wise adoption of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and (in) the abandonment and discontinuance of evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.

1.5) And amongst them (i.e. righteous men) are the planner and the orderer of the material sovereignty of Ohrmazd, and the orderer and propagator of the pure religion, and the praiser of the good and pure creator, and the commander of the permanent +destruction of the fiend, and the propagation of the sacred word of the good religion; and the arrival of the good resurrection, and the +making of the renovation, (by) the cooperation and +service of their +own people, the masters and +guardians and directors and (those who are) great and superior over all the creatures of the world.

1.6) Nevertheless that greatness is not for every man, but it is said of the most excellent righteous men, amongst whom, firstly, these three are the most excellent:+(those at) the beginning, middle and the end of the creation.

1.7) ēk abēzag mard gayōmart kē-š fradom menišnīg stāyēnīdār būd ān ī yazdān.

1.8) wispān dahišn az bun-āfurišnīh tā abdom frazāmišn ī gētīgīg dām az<sup>1</sup> wehīh-warzišn ī ān ī oy zahag ud āwādag abar andar dārišn. ī ciyōn hōšang, tahmurip, jam, frēdōn. ciyōn frēstagān ī dēn, ciyōn zardušt, hušēdar, ud hušēdarmāh. ud fraš(a)gird-kirdārān ī ciyōn sōšāns ud rōšncašm ud xwarcašm ud ham-kārān rawāg-dahišnīhā.

1.9) [ēk ahlaw zardušt kē dēn]<sup>2</sup> padīriftār, ud yazdān pad ān ī mēnōg nērōg, abēzag stāyišnīhā, ud rāst yaštār,<sup>3</sup> ud druz az ān ī gētīg-kirbīhā gētīgīg-kārīh agārēnīdār ud dēn ī abēzag kē-š spurr wehīh ī spenāg mēnōg ud a-wehīh<sup>4</sup> ī gan(n)āg mēnōg az-iš paydāgīh, ānābišn ī druz ud pērōzīh frazāmīh ī dādār ud a-kanārag-rawišnīh ī dāmānīhā bawēd, mahist burdār.

1.10) ud pad-iz ān ī gayōmart wehīh, kē ān ī zardušt \*zāyišn-āfur<sup>5</sup> ast, pad-iz ān ī sōšāns wehīh, kē-š zardušt zahag ast, pad-iz harwisp humat hūxt huwaršt rawāgīhist az dām ud<sup>6</sup> pad dēn ēmēd dād ham-spās.

1.11) ēk tan kardār, frašgar sōšāns, kē ān ī druzīhā dēwān ud stāyišnīh ī šān<sup>7</sup> ud kōxšišnīh andar ahломōgīh ud ag-dēnīh ī sardag-sardag whīt (?) purr-ānābišnīhā az gēhān ānāstār. pad bowandag rawāgīh ī yazdān-stāyišnīh ud spurr-rawāgīh ī ān ī abēzag dēn fraš(a)gird frazāmēnīdār. pad ān ī pāšom kunišn ī anāhōgēnīdan ī brādarōd abar xwaršēd arwand-asp ud hamist rōšnān ud hamāg wehān ī dāmān xwēšīg spās.

1.12) cē ān-iz ī ka xwaršēd \*rōšnīh<sup>8</sup> az spōzišn ī tār, \*spīzišn<sup>9</sup> [ī] frāšm ī rōšnēnišn ī gēhān ud tazišn ī rōzān šabān wēnīhēd. ham frazāmišn ī fraš(a)gird rāy andar dēn ī māzdēsnān guſt ēstēd kū ēn meh rōšnīh ham mardān ī ašōān paymōgīhēd.

1-. Thus TD; others: MNW

2-. Added by ed.

3-. Thus others; text and TD: d'št<sup>1</sup>

4-. Cf. para. 5

5-. Text: 'pwł'st'

6-. Text: Y

7-. TD: yd'n; BK: wyh'n

8-. Text: Iwšn

9-. Text: spwčšn'

1.7) One is the pure man, Gayōmart, who was the first to praise the gods with his +mind.

1.8) All creatures, from the beginning of the creation to the final completion of the material creation, because of his exercise of goodness, are to be regarded as his +offspring and generation, such as +Hōšang, +Tahmurip, Jam, Frēdōn, and such as the apostles of the religion, such as Zardušt, Hušēdar and Hušēdarmāh, and the renovation makers such as Sōšāns, +Rōšncašm, and +Xwarcašm, and (their) collaborators in setting (things) in motion.

1.9) One is the righteous Zardušt who is the +acceptor of the religion and true worshipper of the gods with pure praise through spiritual strength, the disabler of the worldly activity of the fiend by means of worldly bodies, and the greatest bearer of the pure religion, from which the perfect goodness of the Good Spirit and the non-goodness of the Evil Spirit (is) evident, and the expulsion of the demons and the completion of the victory of the creator and the unlimited progress of (his) creatures come to pass.

1.10) And both for the goodness of Gayōmart +who made (possible) the birth of Zardušt, and also for the goodness of Sōšāns, who is the offspring of Zardušt, and also for the propagation of all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, through the creation, and for giving hope in the religion (we are) thankful.

1.11) Firstly: the +producer of bodies, the restorer Sōšāns, who (like) an expeller +wht(?) the world from the fiends and demons, and their praise, and (their) strife in heresy and various kinds of infidelity, with complete destruction. (Sōšāns is) the completer of the renovation through the complete propagation of the praise of the gods, and the perfect propagation of the pure religion. For by that most excellent act of purification of his counterpart (i.e. mankind?), the service of his own people (will be) above the swift-horsed sun and all the lights and all good creatures.

1.12) For just as the light of the sun is visible through the rejection of darkness, the \*brightening of the +glow of light, and the course of days and nights, likewise in respect of the completion of the renovation it is said in the Mazdean religion that this +great light is worn (as a garment) by +righteous men.

**pursišn 2**

**2.1)** dudīgar ān ī pursīd kū mard ī ašō ō gētīg pad cē kār rāy dād ēstēd, u-š andar gētīg pad cē ēwēnag abāyēd būd?

**2.2)** pāsox ēn<sup>1</sup> kū dādār dām dād ō rawāggarih ī-š kām.

**2.3)** u-mān abāyēd rawāgēnīd ān ī cē-š kām, kū tā windēm<sup>2</sup> ān cē-mān kām. cē ōy xwābar dādār tuwān ān cē-mān kām, ī cand ḥstīgāntar ēstēm.<sup>3</sup>

**2.4)** owōn ciyōn-iš kām arzānīg, \*ī<sup>4</sup> pad windišn ī ān cē-mān kāmag. ēn dām abd [ud] a-hamtāg āfurīd ēstēd [ud] wēnabdāg.

**2.5)** az-iz im abd-afurišnīh paydāg kū āfurāg spurr<sup>5</sup>-dānāg. kū-š āfurišn pad cim, u-š kām wehīh.

**2.6)** ka cimīg-āfurišnīh ī-š dām, wēhīh-iz ī-š kām ēwar, az-iz spurr tuwānīgīh ī dādār rāy dām<sup>6</sup> āfurīd paydāg.

**2.7)** pas wizīrīhist az xrad kū-š afurīd dām ō bowandag-rawāgīh ī-š kām pad spurrēnīd tā wattarīh bawēd.

**2.8)** cē ka wattarīh ast<sup>7</sup> wehīh ānābišn ī wattarīh bawēd, cē kē wattarīh nē spurrīg. pas cimīg gowīhēd kū-š dām dād ō xwēš kāmag rawāgīh: ī az wattarīh ānābtagīhā wehīh spurrēnīd rāy.

**2.9)** ham-gugāhīhist abāg ān ī pēsēnīgān guft kū āfurīhist dām ō kāmišngarīh ī dādār.

**2.10)** ān ī dādār kāmišngarīh bagīhist ō dō, ī ast parastišn kunišn [ud] kōxšišn.

1. Thus TD, text; other mss: HNA

2. Text: HŠKAHWN-m for: HŠKAHWN-ym

3. Thus others; TD, text: YKWYMWN-yt

4. Text: ZY-m

5. Text: wspwl

6. Emended by ed.; all mss: k'm

7. Thus BK; text: 'ytwn' Y

**Pursiṇī 2**

2.1) The second question: +for what purpose is a righteous man created for the world? And in what manner is it necessary for him to be in the world?

2.2) The reply is this, that the creator created the creatures for the propagation of his wish;

2.3) And we must +propagate whatever is his wish, so that we may obtain whatever is our wish. For, the beneficent creator can fulfil whatever is our wish, as long as we remain very steadfast.

2.4) This creation has been created wonderful and unique and visible so as to be worthy of his wish, for the fulfilment of what we wish.

2.5) Also, it is clear from the fact that the creation is wonderful that the creator is +all-knowing, (and) that his act of creation was intentional, and (that) his wish is goodness.

2.6) Since the creation of his creatures was intentional (and) also the goodness of his desire is certain, it is evident that he created the creatures for the sake of the omnipotence of the creator.

2.7) Then, it is + decided by wisdom that he created the creation for the complete propagation of his wish, (and) to fulfil (his wish) as long as evil exists.

2.8) +For, as long as evil exists, good dispels evil, +because evil is not perfect. Then, it is said that he created the creation on purpose for the propagation of his own will in order to +complete the good by dispelling evil.

2.9) (This) is in agreement with what the ancients said, (namely) that the creatures were created for the performance of the creator's desire.

2.10) The performance of the will of the creator is +divided into two (components), these are: the practice of worship, (and) battle.

2.11) <i> ciyōn parastišn ān ī dādār ī xwābar, kē dōst ō xwēš dām, kōxšišn ān ī abāg druz ī kōxšidār kē dušmen ī ō dahišn ī dādār.

2.12) ān wuzurg paristišn [ud] kōxšišn-iz ī<sup>1</sup> abardom paymān ī xwēštan, nazdīktom paymān ī ō āzādīh az dōstīh [i] āfurāg, ud must ī az dušmen ī kōxšidār. kadār-iz-č(w) margōmandān abar-estišn ayāftārān meh tuxšišn.

2.13) cē ka xwābarān<sup>2</sup> spurrtom purr-abdīhā passāxt <i> dahišn ī xwadāy, ā-š a-jumbišn stī pad abar rasišnīh ī jumb[āg] gan(n)āg mēnōg<sup>3</sup> jumbišn, a-wēnišnīg mēnōg a-gumēzišn ō wēnābdāg stī, ud wēnišnīg nimūnag,<sup>4</sup> mēnōg-waxšag ruwān andar gētīg-rawišnīg tan, nēk xwadāy kard<sup>5</sup>. u-š gyān<sup>6</sup> zīwēnāg ud frawahr ī dārāg ud wīr ī ayābāg ud ōš ī pāyāg ud xrad ī wizēnāg ud cihr ī xwad bizešk [ud] zōr ī rāyēnāg. ud cašm az dīdan, gōš az āšnūdan, wēnīg az hambōy<i>idān dahān az mizag dānistān ud kirb az pahrmāyišn \*ōmārdān,<sup>7</sup> [ud] dil az menīdan uzwān az guftan dast az warzīdan, pāy az raftan. ēd kē gyān frāxēnīdan ud waxšišn<sup>8</sup> ī xōn \*pōyīdan, (?)<sup>9</sup> ēd kē tan paywastān, ēd kē frahixtag dārišn rawāg rāyēnīd [i] xwēš-kārīh. hammis ō<sup>10</sup> tan abzārān gyān-kārīgīhā wirāyīhēd. pad frārōn dādīh humat, hūxt ud huwaršt ud pādāšn ī ān rōšngar ud hamēīg nēk-rawišnīh niwēyēnīd ud payrāst. ān frēzwānīg abar windādār mardōmān rāst bawandagīh ī xwēš ud drust wimand dāštan, abardom xwadāyīh ī dādār nē framuštan, pad rawāggarīh ī-š kām ō ōy wispl weh dōst, abēzag stāyīdār ud abēzag spās-dār būdan.

2.14) ciyōn dōstīh ī abēzag az ēwar menišnīgīh pad har(w) nēkīh <i> az-iš būd, ud ēc anāgīh az-iš nē būd. stāyīdārīh abēzag az stāyišn ī pad har(w) wehīh az-iš būd ud ēc<sup>11</sup> wattarīh az-iš nē būd. spās-dārīh ī abēzag az hamāg ābādīh az-iš būd, ud ēc must az-iš nē būd.

1. Thus K35; text: cnd

2. Thus K35; text: hw'plšn; TD: hw'pwł?n; J1, J2 H: hw'ply

3. Thus all; text: ywmbyn w'y mynwk...

4. J2, H, BK: mnwk

5. Text: krtn'

6. Text: HA for: HYA

7. Text: 'wmt'ltn'

8. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; BK: wn'ššn; text: wn'yh'n (?)

9. Text: hwn pwšn; K35: 'n PWN d'tn'; J2, H, DF: hwpwšn'; J1: gwp wyxtn'.

10. Text: 'w

11. Text: 'c

2.11) In as much as worship is that of the beneficent creator, who is a friend to his own creatures, (and) the battle is that with the warring demon, who is an enemy to the creation of the +creator.

2.12) That great worship (and) also (that) superior battle are a +pledge to one's self, the foremost pledge for +freedom (arising) from the friendship of the creator and a complaint against the enemy fighting (against one); each is a great endeavour of men who obtain the +superior existence.

2.13) For when the most beneficent and perfect creator achieved the creation of the Lord in the wholly wonderful way, with the arrival of the Evil Spirit, (he changed) the static existence into a dynamic spiritual +world. As a conspicuous +example, (he changed) the +invisible (and) unmixed spirit into a visible one. He placed the growing spirit of the +soul as a virtuous lord in the body so that it may move in the material world. He announced and adorned the +animating life, and the preserving +Frawahr, and the +acquisitive memory, and the protecting intelligence, and the discerning wisdom, and the +self-healing nature, (and) the organising power; (he announced and adorned) the eye to see, the ear to hear, the nose to smell, the mouth to recognise flavours, the body to +feel a +touch, the +heart to think, the tongue to speak, the hand to practise, the foot to walk. These (faculties) which cause improvement of the soul and +the increase of the flow of the blood (?), these which are related to the body, these which are regarded as to be trained to propagate the functions (?), all +these were arranged together with the +instruments of the body in a manner promoting the activity of life. Through the righteous laws of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, he announced and arranged the reward of the illuminator (i.e. Zardušt) and the virtuous conduct. (Thus) it (is) incumbent on truth-seeking men to maintain the proper +boundary of their true perfection, (and) not to forget the supreme sovereignty of the creator. And through propagation of that which is his wish, they should be pure glorifiers and pure praisers of that all-good friend.

2.14) As pure friendship has arisen from constant meditation on every virtue, and no harm has arisen from it; pure praising has arisen from the praise of every goodness, and no wickedness has arisen from it; (and) pure gratitude has arisen from all +prosperity and no complaint has arisen from it.

**2.15)** wābarīgān wizīr ham abēzag dōstīh, rāst stāyīdārīh, ud cimīg spās-dārīh östīgānīhēd \*kunīhēd,<sup>1</sup> pad-iz ān ī ka wahman pad menišn, srōš pad gōwišn ard pad kunišn mehmān dārīhēd.

**2.16)** ōh-iz mehmān ī wahman pad menišn az dil wehīhā ō rāst šnāyišnī[h] nixwārišnīgīh, [ud] az waranīgīhā [ud] xwad-dōšagīh dūr dāštan. srōš mehmānīh ī pad gōwišn az ān ī āgāh ī rāst guftār, ān ī an-āgāh az rāst dastwarān niyōxshīdār būdan. ard mehmānīh ī pad kunišn az ān ī wehīh dānīhēd rāyēnāg, ān ī nē dānēd pahrēzāg būdan paydāgīhīdan.

**2.17)** ēd se wehīh ī ōšmurd parwastag andar dō rāh ī pēšēnīgān guft, ī ast dānišnīg griftan [ud] dānišnīg hištan. ī-š abzārīh xrad [ud] frārōn tuxšāgīh.u-š dastwar ān ī rāyēnīdārīh ān abāg dēn ī yazdān rāstīhā dāštan. u-š bun abēzag menišnīh ī rāstīhā pad wahmanīgīhā wehīh.

**2.18)** ciyōn pēšēnīgān dēnīgān dēnīgīhā guft kū: kē<sup>2</sup> ān ī wahmanīg wehīh pad menišn mehmān dārēd, ēg-iš ān ī weh mēnōg rāh ī rāst nimāyēd<sup>3</sup> pad rāh ī rāst kāmag ī dādār šnāsēd, ud pad kāmišngarīh ī dādār waxshēd [ud] windēd kē nēkīh ī fraš(a)girdīg ayābēd.<sup>4</sup>

**2.19)** hangirdīgtar pāsox ēd kū: mard ī ahlaw<sup>5</sup> dām ast kē-š graft ān xwēš-kārīh ī awiš āfurīhist. u-š andar gētīg pad nē \*ēc<sup>6</sup> frēbīhistan ī hāzāngar druz purr pās. pad wizīdārīh az xrad ān ī dādār kām, kē xwad šnāyēnīdārīh šnāxtār, ān ī wehīh šnāxtag rawāgēnīdār, az cē awiš az-iš pahrēzīhīdār, u-š ēdōn abāyēd būdan, ciyōn ān mehīh ud wehīh pad-iz mēnōg östīgāntar bawēd.

1-. Text: OBYD[W]N-yhyt; TD: 'dntyhyt'

2-. Thus text; others: MN

3-. Text: nm'yst'

4-. Thus BK; text has: 'h'cyt'

5-. BK: 'šwk'

6-. Text: LA- yc; J1, J2, H om. -yc

2.15) (By) +performing trustworthy judgment (and) the same pure friendship, true praise, and hearty gratitude he is steadfast, just as if Wahman resides in (his) +thoughts, Srōš in (his) speech, and Ard in (his) action.

2.16) Thus, the residence of +Wahman in thought (is clear) from hastening the heart to a true propitiation, (and) keeping it away from lusts (and) self love. The residence of +Srōš in speech (is clear) from (the fact that) he who is aware of what is true, speaks; and he who is unaware of what is true, listens to the +priests. The residence of Ard in action is clear from the arrangement of what is known as goodness, (and) the avoidance of what he does not know.

2.17) These three virtues which have been counted are contained in two ways that the ancients have mentioned. These are wisely accepting (and) wisely leaving; their means are wisdom and righteous endeavour, and their law is to arrange and to keep it truly with the religion of the gods, and their origin (is) the pure meditation which is (to keep it) truly through Wahman's goodness.

2.18) For, wisely, the ancient religious men have said that to him who resides in the goodness of Wahman in thought the good spirit (i.e. Wahman) shows the right way. By the right way he understands the will of the creator, and through performing the will of the creator he increases and finds that which brings best the goodness of the restoration.

2.19) A more concise reply is this: that a righteous man is a creature who has accepted that responsibility which is provided for him, and is completely watchful in the material world in order not to be deceived by the +inciting demon. By choosing the will of the creator through wisdom he is himself the understander of propitiation (of Ohrmazd) and the propagator of what is known as goodness, and the +avoider of what (he does not know). He should live thus, so that such greatness and goodness may also be more stable in the spiritual existence.

### Pursišn 3

3.1) sidīgar pursišn ān ī pursīd kū mard ī ašō ēn mehīh cē cim rāy ast ?

3.2) pāsox ēd kū: māzdēsn kāmišngarīh ī dādār rāy. cē tāšīdan a-gumān kū rāh ī ū kāmišngarīh ī dādār šnāyišn ī-š kām. ud ān kām šnāyišnīh pad xrad ī drust drust bawēd. ān ī xrad kē-š kām [ī] mēnōgān yazdān abar šnāsēd nē wht<sup>1</sup>(?) be dēn ī rāst ī abēzag, ī ast mēnōgān dānišn, ud<sup>2</sup> frahangān frahang, ud \*awestādān<sup>3</sup> awestādīh ud tōhmag<sup>4</sup> ī wisp dānišnān. ān-iz ī abēzag <i>dēn ī māzdēsnān rawāgīh pad mard ī ašō.

3.3) ī ciyōn-iš nimūd pad dēn kū: man dād, spitāmān zardušt! mard ī ašō ī kat<sup>5</sup> xrad. u-š be pāyēm menišn az duš-mat, uzwān az duš-hūxt, u-š be pāyēm dast az dušxwaršt. u-š hāzēnēm tā ū ān ī pas, ašō ī dānāg ī kat xrad. u-š \*hamē<sup>6</sup>-ōšmur dēn kē-š dād xwēšēnišn ī dahibed windišn ī ast dēn-burdār ī dānāg, ī az zamānag ū zamānag, tā-z ū ān abdom axwān wardēnišn \*kē<sup>7</sup> hu-tāšīd fraš(a)gird.

3.4) ciyōn pad xrad dād ān ī ahlāyīh gēhān, ud pad xrad ānābīhēd har(w) wattarīh ud pad xrad spūrīgīhēd har(w) wehīh; pāhlom xrad ī dēn ī abēzag kē-š rawāgīh pad dēn burdārān. ān āfurīhist mehīh ī pāhlomān mardān ī ašōgān kē andar wht<sup>8</sup>(?) ān ī ciyōn nimūd abar gayōmart ud zardušt ud sōšāns.

<sup>1</sup>- Thus text, BK, TD; J1, J2, H, DF; ?t

<sup>2</sup>- Text: Y

<sup>3</sup>- Text: 'wst'twyh'n'

<sup>4</sup>- Thus BK, DF; text: twhmakwyh

<sup>5</sup>- Text, BK, TD; KT; J1, J2, DF; H: kt?

<sup>6</sup>- Text: hm

<sup>7</sup>- Text: MN

<sup>8</sup>- Thus text; TD, BK: ?t

**Pursišn 3**

3.1) The third question: why does the righteous man have such greatness?

3.2) The answer is this: for the performance of the will of the creator by the Mazda-worshipper. For (as for) creation, (it is) beyond doubt that the way to the performance of the will of the creator (is) the +satisfaction of his will. And the satisfaction of (his) will becomes complete through complete wisdom. The wisdom by which one understands the will of the gods is not +wht (?) to the true and pure religion which includes knowledge of the spirits, the culture of cultured people, the expertise of all experts and the seed of all knowledge. And the propagation of the pure religion of the Mazdeans is also (done) by the righteous man.

3.3) As he (i.e. Ohrmazd) has revealed in the religion: O Spitāmān Zardušt! I created the righteous man who is +desirous of wisdom, and I will protect his mind from evil thought, his tongue from evil words, and I will protect his hands from evil deeds. I will make him succeed in becoming righteous, learned and desirous of wisdom till the end. And ever-mindful of the religion which he gave him the ownership of ruling (?) and the finding of one who is wise and responsible for the religion at all times, until the turning-point of the final existence which is the well-created renovation.

3.4) As the world of righteousness was created through wisdom, and every evil is destroyed through wisdom, and every good is completed through wisdom, so the best wisdom of the pure religion, which is its propagation by the faithful, was created (as) the greatness of the best +righteous men of the +wht(?), as has been revealed concerning Gayōmart, Zardušt, and Sōšāns.

#### pursišn 4

**4.1)** 4-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: ēn zaxm ud tars ī-mān<sup>1</sup> az āwām pādixšāyān ud abārīg anāgīh ud āhōg ī weh-dēnīg \*kār<sup>2</sup> hamē rasēd u-š dādestān cē ēwēnag bawēd? u-mān pad mēnōgān weh-dādestānīh ast ayāb nē?

**4.2)** pāsox ēd kū: andar dēn ī māzdēsnān guft ēstēd kū rāh bandīh<sup>3</sup> kē-š pad ahlāyīh bēš, ciyōnīh<sup>4</sup> ēn wizārišn ast kū ān saxtīh ud andōh ī duš-xwārag<sup>5</sup> ī pad kirbag rawāgēnīd rāy rasēd, nē pad saxtīh ud ranj ud duš-xwārag ī was abāyēd hangārd.

**4.3)** ī ka nē pad andōh ud saxtīh abāyēd hangārd, ēg-iš az-iš paydāgīhēd<sup>6</sup> kū<sup>7</sup> pad ān pādāšn, ān and āsānīh ud rāmišn be ō ruwān rasēd, ciyōn nē kas az ān saxtīh ud duš-xwārīh ī-š pad hāwand ī ān kirbag abar mad, az ān ciyōn dēn ī weh ūstīgān dāštan,<sup>8</sup> menēd. stāyēd u-š pad-iš ēstēd ēwar kū kirbag andar kirbagān mādayān.

**4.4)** ān har(w) tars ud \*wišayg<sup>9</sup> ud duš-xwārīh ī-mān im weh-dēn dāštan rāy az hamēstārān ī dēn abar rasēd, mihr ī dēn rāy be gugārēm. ud az dēn \*wardišnīh<sup>10</sup> andar yazdān a-burd-šnōhr nē bawēm. ēg-mān hāwandīh [ī] spās, passazagīhā rasēd az yazdān ō ruwān: šnāyišn, <ī> urwāhm, āsānīh, ud xwārīh.

1-. J1, J2, H, DF: zm'ñ'

2-. Text: KALĀ; others: dyn' k'P'y

3-. Text: bndyh

4-. Text: cygwnš

5-. J1, J2, H, DF: dwšw'lk'

6-. TD: pty'kyny'

7-. Thus TD, DF; others: AYK-š

8-. Thus TD, K35, text; others: dh't'

9-. Text: syc; J1, DF: wyhk'; J2: wyhyk'; H: wyhy

10-. Text: vltšnyk

**Pursišn 4**

4.1) The fourth question: how must one judge +the damage and fear which affect us because of the rulers of the time and other evils and blights on the people of the good religion? Are we judged well by the spiritual beings or not ?

4.2) The answer is this, that it is said in the Mazdeans' religion that this is the explanation for the obstructions which appear harmful to righteousness (lit. to which (is) the manner of harm): the difficulty and disagreeable sorrow which occurs through propagation of virtue should not be considered as a great difficulty and trouble and discomfort.

4.3) If it should not be considered as sorrow and difficulty then it is revealed thereby that as recompense for that (trouble) so much peace and pleasure will come to the soul, so that no-one will think of that difficulty and discomfort which come upon him as a counterpart of (his) piety, through his steadfastly keeping the good religion, (but) will give praise and stand assured that this virtue is (the most) essential amongst virtues.

4.4) For the sake of love of religion we digest all that fear, +anxiety and discomfort which is done to us by the opponents of religion, because of (our) keeping this good religion, and we are not ungrateful to the god for changing our religion; then (as) the counterpart of our service (to the god), satisfaction, joy, peace and ease will come, as is fitting, to (our) souls from the god.

## Pursišn 5

5.1) 5-om ān ī pursīd kū cē rāy wehān anāgīh wēš hamē rasēd kū ō wattarān ?

5.2) pāsox ēd kū nē har(w) hangām ud har(w) gāh, nē har(w) wehān anāgīh wēš rasēd. cē mēnōgīg, wēš nēkīh ī wehān ēwar. be gētīgīg ud abērtar andar \*wad<sup>1</sup> zamānīh<sup>2</sup> amaragānīhā anāgīh ud bēš abar wehān wēš paydāgtar.

5.3) u-š cim was; ēk ī hangirdīg ēn-iz kū dar [ud] wihān ī rasišn wēš. cē rasišn<sup>3</sup> ī anāgīh az dō dar abērtar; az dēwān ī anāgīh baxtārān ēk, az wattarān [ī] anāgīh kardārān ēk.

5.4) ud agar ūh-iz jahišnīg, wattarīh wattarān bēš dārēnd. pas-iz amaragānīhā anāgīh ī ō wattarān az dēwān ud ān ī ō wehān az dēwān ud az wattarān-iz rasēd. u-š pad im rāh ī rasišn ēwēnag be gāh dō.

5.5) ēn-iz abērtar ēdōn ciyōn pēšēnīgān guft kū weh kār ranj abērtar pad gētīg, u-šān mizd pādāšn ī ēwarīgtar pad mēnōg, ud wattarān āsānīh ud rāmišn pad gētīg wēš, u-šān dard ud pādifrah ī pad mēnōg garāntar.

5.6) ud ēn-iz ast<sup>4</sup> kū wehān tars ī az dard ud pādifrah ī az dušox rāy, āsānīh ud xwārīh ī pad gētīg hilēnd. ciš-iz abārōnīh nē menē[n]d, ud gōwē[n]d, ud kunēnd. ēmēd ī ō ān ī āsānīh ud rāmišn pad wahišt rāy, was ranj ud tars ī pad frārōn warzidārīh ī pad menišn, gōwišn ud kunišn kāmagīhā ō grīw padīrēnd.

5.7) ud wattarān ruzdīh<sup>5</sup> ī pad rāmišn ī<sup>6</sup> zamānīg rāy, ān-iz rāmišn ī abārōnīhā, ī-š \*padisārīg dušox ast, ēg-iš xwēš-tan zamānīgīhā pad-iš rāmēnēnd,<sup>7</sup> ud waranīgīh ud xwad-dōšagīh rāy, ān-iz kār kē-š rāh ī ō wahišt pad-iš šāyēd būdan, xwēš-tan pad-iš nē ranjēnd.

1- Text: slwš for: SLYA

2- All MSS: zym'nyh for: zm'nyh

3- Thus all; TD: lsšnyh

4- DF: 'ytwn

5- Thus TD, DF; text, J1, J2, H: wlwzdyh

6- J2, H, DF: add 'p'lwnyh' ZY-š

7- J2, H, DF: P'mynd

**Purščn 5**

5.1) The fifth question: why does harm always happen to good people more often than to bad people.

5.2) The answer is this, that not at every time and every place and not to all good people does harm happen more often. For, in the spiritual world, the advantage of good people is assured, but in the material world and even more in +an evil time harm and pain to the virtuous are by and large more evident.

5.3) And the reasons for this are many; in short, even the manner and the cause of the occurrence (of harm) are more; for the occurrence of harm takes place mostly in two ways: one through the demons, the bestowers of harm, and one through evil people, the doers of harm.

5.4) (As for) the wicked, even if (it is) possible (that) evil people suffer harm, yet in general harm happens to evil people only through the demons and to good people through the demons and also through evil people; and in this way, the manner of its coming (is) +twofold.

5.5) Moreover, as (our) predecessors have said, the troubles of good people are much more in the material world, and their most certain reward and compensation are in the spiritual world. On the other hand the peace and pleasure of the evil ones are more in the material world, and their pain and punishment are heavier in the spiritual world.

5.6) And this is also (true), that good people abandon the comfort and +peace of the material world because of fear of the pain and punishment of hell; (therefore) they do not think, speak, or commit any sin. For the sake of (their) hope of comfort and pleasure they willingly accept much trouble and fear in practising virtue in thought, word and deed.

5.7) Evil people, because of (their) lust for +immediate pleasure, even that sinful pleasure whose +conclusion is hell, enjoy themselves in it +temporarily and for the sake of lust and self-indulgence they do not trouble themselves with that work which might take them to heaven.

**5.8)** ud pad ēd rāh, andar gētīg wattarān āsānih [ud] rāmišn frāy, ud wehān andōh ud bēš ud zarīg ud anāgīh wēš bawēd<sup>1</sup> dīdār[ī]g paydāg cim.

### Pursišn 6

**6.1)** 6-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ēn mardōm be ō gētīg cē rāy dād ēstēd? u-mān andar cē abāyēd kard?

**6.2)** pāsox ēd kū: pad-iz pāsox ī im pursišn nibišt kū dām āfurīhist be rāstīh kāmišngarīh ī dādār ud purr wehīhā win(n)ārdan ī ān ī a-kanārag [ud] nēk-rawišnīh ī dāmān kē-š bīm [ud] bēš ciyōn ast fraš(a)gird ī a-brādarōd, ān ī win(n)ārišn bawēd az spurr pādixšāyīh ī dādār [ud] a-pādixšāyīh ī druz.

**6.3)** ciyōn-iš guft pad dēn kū: andar ān zamān spurr pādixšāy bawēm man kē ohrmazd hēm [ud] nē pad ciš-iz pādixšāy bawēd gan(n)āg mēnōg.

**6.4)** ud abar-iz nēk-rawišnīh ī dām ud dahišnīh, ōšmurd kū: nēk man! ka-m ēdōn dām dād, ciyōn man. kadār-iz-ē(w) kāmag ō man xwadāyīh dahēnd, xwadāyīh-iz-āyēd,<sup>2</sup> ka ō kāmišngarīh ī pad-iz mehēnišn<sup>3</sup> ī-š xwadāyīh dād ēstēm.<sup>4</sup>

**6.5)** u-mān andar gētīg ēdōn abāyēd būd ciyōn-mān rāst-bowandagīh<sup>5</sup> ī xwēš, abardom xwadāyīh ī dādār drust-wimandtar dāšt bawēd.

**6.6)** rāh ī ō ān ī rāst-bowandagīh pad xrad dānīhēd, pad rāstīh wābarīhēd, [ud] pad wehīh sūdīhēd.

**6.7)** u-š widarag ī awiš abērtar weh mēnōg, rāstīhā pad menišn gāh kardan, dānišnīgīhā griftan dānišnīgīhā hištan.

**6.8)** ciyōn pad dēn gowīhēd kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū: wahman pad axw ī tō abēzag abāgēnē, kū-š mehmān be kunē, cē ka wahman pad axw ī tō abēzag abāgēnē, kū-š mehmān be kunē, ēdōn dō rāh be dānē, kē hu-rawišn ud kē-z duš-rawišn.

1- Thus TD; others: YHWWN-ī'

2- All MSS: 'yynd; but ed. has emended to: hwt'yh c'synd (?)

3- Thus J1, J2, DF; text: ms'nšn

4- DF: YKWYMWN-yl'

5- All MSS. bwndkyh but ed. has emended to: bndkyh

5.8) And in this way, in the material world, the comfort and pleasure of the evil ones are more, and the grief, sorrow, and pain of the good (people) are greater; and the reason for this is clearly manifest.

### Pursišn 6

6.1) The sixth question: why are men created in the world? And what should we do in it?

6.2) The answer is this: in reply to this question it has been written that the creatures were created +for righteousness, for the performance of the will of the creator, and for putting in perfect order the boundless and good progress of the creatures which are afraid and uneasy (as to) how the unique Frašgird will be. (Then there) will be order as a (result of) the complete rule of the creator and the powerlessness of evil.

6.3) As He (i.e. Ohrmazd) said in the religion (i.e. Avesta): "In that time (i.e. Frašgird) I, who am Ohrmazd, will be the supreme ruler and the Evil Spirit will be the ruler of nothing".

6.4) And also, about the good progress of the creatures and creation He thought: "It was good for me that I created the creatures in +my image! whenever they consent to my sovereignty, sovereignty +comes (into being) also, since (he thinks) 'I was created in order to do (His) will by increasing His sovereignty'".

6.5) And for us in the material world it must be in accordance with our own true perfection. (This) is kept within +proper limits (by) the supreme sovereignty of the creator.

6.6) The way to true perfection is known through wisdom, and is believed through truth, and becomes fruitful through goodness;

6.7) and the entry to (this way) is, above all, the good spirit: rightly to give (it) a place in one's mind, wisely to take (the good way), wisely to avoid (the bad way).

6.8) As is said in the religion: +Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: +may Wahman be a pure companion in your mind where you make him a guest! For if Wahman is a pure companion in your mind where you make him a guest, you will know the two ways, both the good way and the evil way.

### Pursišn 7

7.1) 7-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: ka mard-ē widerān bawēd, pas az widerān būdan ī ōy, kirbag-ē kas ōy rāy kunēd, kē az gētīg be šud<sup>1</sup> ēstēd, pad šab ī sidīgar andar bāmīg<sup>2</sup> be ū tarāzūg šawēd, ēg-iš ciyōn awiš šawēd ud frayādēd? ēdōn ciyōn ān mehīh ī pad dast ī xwēš kard ēstēd ayāb any ēwēnag?

7.2) pāsox ēd kū: ka kas ōy ī be widardag rāy pas az be widerišnīh kirbag kunēd,<sup>3</sup> agar ōy ī be widardag andar zīndagīh ān kirbag nē framūd, u-š nē handarzēnīd ud nē bun kard, u-š nē-z pad jād būd, ēg-iš be ū tarāzūg nē šawēd ud nē rasēd.

7.3) pad-iz hangām [ī] rawāgīhist \*nē<sup>4</sup> (?), ka ān kirbag kē-š nē frāyādēd nē xwēšīhēd, cē ān ī pad jād ī az kas xwēšīhēd, [ud ān ī] pad padīrišnīh [ī] az kas xwēšīhēd, ka-š nē pad jād, ēg-iš nē padīrist bawēd.

7.4) agar ān kirbag ōy widardag nē framūd, ud u-š nē-z handarzēnīd, be-š pad jād ham-dādestān būd, ān [ī] andar zīndagīh kunīhād, ēg-iš pad sedōš be ū abzōn ī gāh rasēd, ān ī pas az widardagīh kunīhēd nē pad āmār ī sedōš ud tarāzūg be pad hangām ī kirbag rawāgīhēd be ū rāmišn ī ruwān rasēd.

7.5) agar ān ī kirbag ī ōy widardag andar zīndagīh ī xwēš framūd, ayāb-iš handarzēnīd, ayāb bun kardār ud wihān ī ruwān warzīdārīh būd, ka pas az be widerišnīh rawāgīhēd, ēg-iš be ū rāmēnīdārīh ī-š ruwān rasēd. cē bun ī spās framūdār ud xwēšīg [ī] kirbagīh ēwar.<sup>5</sup>

7.6) cegām-iz-ēw kirbag ī rawāgīhēd, andar ān ī \*anagrān<sup>6</sup> rōšnīhā, abāg ōy ī kardār ham-kirbag. u-š pad āmār ī ruwān, kirbag abāg ōy kē kard hāwand. be ān ī kē-š kirbag pad dast ī xwēš kard, az ān ī kē-š framūd, ruwān hu-cihrtar ud amāwandtar.

1. Text: OZLWN-yt

2. Text: b'my

3. Text: OBYDWN-nd; emended by ed.

4. Text: Pd

5. Thus West; the editor has put ēwar at the beginning of next para.

6. Text: 'm'lglPn

**Pursišn 7**

7.1) The seventh question: when a man is passing away, after his passing away, how do the good deeds which another does for him go to him and help him who has left the world, on the dawn of the +third night, at which he goes to the +balance? And is its greatness such as what was done by his own hand, +or otherwise?

7.2) The answer is this: when anyone does a good deed for one who has passed away, after his death, if he who has died did not +order that good deed and did not +put it in his will and did not +bequeath it in his lifetime, and also if it was not (done) +by means of his property, then it does not go into the balance and does not reach him.

7.3) Also at the time when it is not put into effect (it dose not reach him), since that good deed which he did not assist does not belong to him; for if that which is appropriated (as his) by means of property from someone else and that which is appropriated (as his) by means of what is received from someone else is not (done) by means of his (own) property then it is not accepted as his (good deed).

7.4) If he who has passed away did not order that good deed, and did not also give instructions for it, but it (i.e. the good deed) was (done) by means of his property and (it was) in conformity with what may have been done (by him) in his lifetime, (then it) reaches (him) on the +fourth day after death to improve his position; That (good deed) which may have been done after his passing away does not come into account on the fourth day after death and into the balance, but reaches (him) for the pleasure of (his) soul at the time when the good deed is put into operation.

7.5) If he who has passed away ordered that good deed, or willed it, or if he is the founder and the cause of practising it for his soul, although it may have been put into effect after his passing away, it reaches him for the pleasure of his soul: for it is certain who ordered the pious foundation and who owns the good deed.

7.6) Whatever good deed may be put into practice is consubstantial, amongst the +endless lights, with him who is the doer of it; and at the weighing of his soul the good deed is identical with him who did it; +but the soul of one who performed the good deed by his own hand is more beautiful and powerful than that of the one who ordered it.

7.7) u-š hangōšīdag owōn ciyōn ka mard-ē wistarg-ē dastag ī pad hu-cihr abāyišnīg awiš pad tan dārēd, any mard-ē wistarg-ē dastag ī pad ham ēwēnag xwēš pad ganj dārēd, ud hu-cihrtar bāmīgtar ud abāyišnīgtar bawēd.

### Pursišn 8

8.1) 8-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: ān ī-š az xwāstag ī xwad be ō kas framūd kū-š<sup>1</sup> pad ruwān uzēnag-ē kunēd, tā ān kas ōy rāy kunēd az ān xwāstag, ud ranj kardan ī xwēš, ēk az did juttar ast ayāb nē?

8.2) pāsox ēd kū ēk az did juttar; cē ān ī az xwāstag ī xwēš framāyēd mādagwartar kū ān kas be az framāyišn ī ōy rāy kunēd.

8.3) andar ēwēnag ī kirbag ān mādagwartar ī xwad pad xwēš ranj warzēd, ud pas az ān ī az xwēš-iz pad xwēš framāyišn <c> rawāgēnēd, ud pas ān ī xwad pas az xwēš rāy handarzēnēd [ud] framāyēd, be ō rawāgīh rasēd, ud pastar ān ī kas ōy rāy kunēd.

8.4) ciyōn-iš ēdōn xwēš ān ī-š pad jād ka kas ōy rāy \*andar-iš<sup>2</sup> zīndagīh rāyēnēd, ēg-iš gāh abzāyēd [ud] ruwān bōzīhēd. ka pas az ōy ōy rāy rāyēnēd, ēg-iš rāmišn be ō ruwān rasēd. ka pad ān kirbag nē ham-dādestān, u-š nē pad jād, ka-z kas ōy rāy kunēd, ēg-iš be ō xwēših nē rasēd.

### pursišn 9

9.1) 9-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: waxš<sup>3</sup> ī kirbag<ē> az ān ī ka kirbag kard ēstēd, tā ān ī ka zīndag, cand abzāyēd?

9.2) pāsox ēd kū: az ān ī ka kirbag be ō rawāgīh rasēd, waxš andar ō abzāyišn ēstēd, tā ka zīndag. be ka-š ān ī kirbag az-iš be ābārīhēd <tā waxš ī> waxš<sup>4</sup> abāz nē ēstēd. ēdōn waxšēd ciyōn frazand andar aškamb ī mādarān abzāyēd bawēd.

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<sup>1</sup>- Thus TD; others: AYK-m

<sup>2</sup>- Text: BYN 'P-š

<sup>3</sup>- All MSS: wyš

<sup>4</sup>- BK omits: Y whš

7.7) And its likeness is such as when a man is wearing his beautiful and fitting suit of clothes; and he is handsomer and more brilliant and fitting than another man who has a suit of clothes in the same manner in his +cupboard.

### Pursišn 8

8.1) The eighth question: (if) one orders a person to expend from one's own wealth for one's soul (after one is dead), or if a person does this from that wealth of his own accord (lit. from his own toil) (without being ordered), is the one (thing) different from the other or not?

8.2) The reply is this: one is different from the other; for that which one orders from one's own wealth is more important than that which others may do for one without an order.

8.3) Amongst the various types of good deed, that is most important which one does oneself by one's own effort; and then that which one put into effect out of one's own (property) by one's own order, and then that which one wills and orders to be put into effect after one's death; and +lastly that which others may do for one.

8.4) So long as that (good deed) which someone arranges for his sake by means of his property during his lifetime is really his, then it improves his position (and) his soul is saved. If someone arranges (it) for him after his lifetime then the pleasure reaches his soul. If he did not agree to the good deed, and it is not (done) by means of his property, even if someone arranges (the good deed) for his sake it does not come to his possession.

### Pursišn 9

9.1) The ninth question: how much does the +interest on a good deed accrue, from the time that the good deed is done as long as one is alive?

9.2) The reply is this: from the time a good deed comes into effect its interest remains accruing so long as (the doer) is alive, except if his good deed is +taken away from him; the growth dose not cease, (but) grows as a child gets bigger in the mother's womb.

### pursišn 10

**10.1)** 10-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: waxš ī abzāyēd pad šab ī tasum ēdōn frayādišnīg bawēd, ciyōn bun ī kirbag pad xwadīh, ayāb juttar bawēd?

**10.2)** pāsox ēd kū: juttar, cē bun ī kirbag padīrag [ī] wināh be ēstēd ud waxš ī kirbag padīrag [ī] waxš ī wināh be ēstēd.

### Pursišn 11

**11.1)** 11-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: waxš ī kirbag wināh ēdōn kanēd ciyōn ān ī kirbag ī bun, ayāb nē?

**11.2)** pāsox ēd kū be \*ōh<sup>1</sup> kanēd wināh.<sup>2</sup> ciyōn ān ī kirbag rasēd tā wināh wizārišnīh rāy, ud pad tōzišn ī wināh rāy kunīhēd,<sup>3</sup> ān wināh kanēd ī andar dēn nāmcīštīg guſt ēstēd. ēg-iš abārīg kirbag gāh ī ruwān paydāg būdan rāy, abāg wināh ī pad bun ēstēd, ō āmār kunīhēd.

**11.3)** pad kirbag ud waxš ī kirbag, ruwān pādāšn. tā ān <ī> kirbag <tā> wināh wizārišnīgīh kunēd [ud] wināh kanēd,<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> guſt ēstēd.

**11.4)** bun kirbag <tā> bun ī wināh<īh> ud waxš ī kirbag waxš ī wināh kanēd.

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1. Text: OL

2. DF wn'h for: wn's; TD, text: HPLWN-yt 'h; W HPLWN-yt 'h; J1, J2, H, K35: HPLWN-yt whš

3. Text: OBYDWN-Ø-yhyt'

4. Thus DF, BK; text: HPLWN-t'

5. Thus BK; text, DF: l'd; others: LA

**Pursišn 10**

**10.1)** The tenth question: does the interest which accrues become helpful on the fourth night in the same way as the original good deed which belongs to him, or is it otherwise?

**10.2)** The reply is this, that it is otherwise, since the original good deed stands against sin, the interest on the good deed stands against the interest on sin.

**Pursišn 11**

**11.1)** The eleventh question: +does the interest on good deeds +destroy sin in the same way as the original good deeds or not ?

**11.2)** The answer is this, that it may destroy sins. When the meritorious deed occurs for the sake of redeeming a sin or is done in atonement for a sin, (then) it removes that sin which is specifically mentioned in the religion. Then in order to make the position of the soul clear, his other good deeds together with the sins which are in (his) +account, will be counted.

**11.3)** The soul is rewarded on account of good deeds and the interest on good deeds, so that it is said (that) the good deed redeems sins and uproots sins.

**11.4)** The original good deeds destroy the original sin, and the interest on good deeds destroy the interest on sins.



## Pursišn 12

**12.1)** 12-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū pad šab ī tasum wināh [ī] pad kirbag be ūgārēnd, az bun šawēd, ayāb-iš<sup>1</sup> wināh ī-š jast<sup>2</sup> pādifrāh kunēnd, ud kirbag ī-š kard mizd ud pādāšn dahēnd?

**12.2)** pāsox ēd kū: šab ī sidīgar andar bāmīg<sup>3</sup> āmār kard guft ēstēd.

**12.3)** abar wināh ī-š wizārd kirbag-ē ī-š appār ū āmār nē niyāz. cē āmār abar kirbag bawēd ī-š xwēš ēd cē-š xwēšihēd [ud] abar wināh ī-š pad bun ēstēd ēd cē-š bun jud ēstēd u-š pad-iš āstārd ēstēd pad-iš tarāzēnd ud wēših [ud] kamīh ī kirbag [ud] wināh ciyōn bawēd sanjēnd, \*dēwānōmandān<sup>4</sup> pad rāst tarāzūg ī a-cafsišn.

**12.4)** öy ī frārōn dād ī wēš kirbag, ka-š jast<sup>5</sup> wināh, zamānīg pādifrāh widārēd ud pad kirbag jāwēdān šnāyišnōmand bawēd.

**12.5)** öy ī abārōn dād ī wēš wināh, kardag<sup>6</sup> kirbag, pad ān ī zamānīg rāmišn rasēd; pad wināh ī-š jast, tā be rist-āxēz pādifrāhōmand bawēd.

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<sup>1-</sup> J2, DF: 'ywp'

<sup>2-</sup> J1, J2, II, DF: AYT

<sup>3-</sup> Thus BK; text: b'mk; DF: b'm

<sup>4-</sup> Text: g'n'wmnd'n'

<sup>5-</sup> H, DF: ystył'; J2: AYT

<sup>6-</sup> Thus K35, BK; Others: kr̄t'

**Puršn 12**

12.1) The twelfth question: on the fourth night, does the sin which +they cancel on account of (his) good deeds disappear, or do they punish him for the sins which were committed by him, and give him rewards and recompense for the good deeds which he has done?

12.2) The answer is this: It is said that the account is prepared at dawn on the third night.

12.3) As to the sins which are redeemed and are removed by good deeds, they do not need to be accounted; for the account is about his good deeds which belong to him, and about the sin which is in his account. That which stands separately in his account and by which he has sinned – concerning this the +registrars (?) make a balance and they weigh the amount of (lit. how much is) the excess and deficiency of sins and good deeds by a right and +unbiased balance.

12.4) One who has +right religion and has more good deeds (than sins), if a sin was committed by him, endures a temporary punishment and (then) becomes blessed for ever.

12.5) One who is +sinful and has more sins (than good deeds), if a good deed was done by him, attains temporary happiness by those good deeds, (but) through the sins which were committed by him, he will be suffering punishment until the resurrection.

### Pursišn 13

13.1) 13-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: āmār ī pad ruwān pad wināh ud kirbag kē kunēnd, u-š kū gyāg abar kunēnd, ka-šān pādifrah kard ēg-išān gyāg kū bawēd?

13.2) pāsox ēd kū: āmār ī abar kunišngarān pad kirbag [ud] wināh tā kunišngar zīndag bawēd, har(w) rōz 3 bār wahman ī amahraspand kunēd; ciyōn-iš menišn<sup>1</sup> gōwišn kunišn ī harwisp axw ī astōmand āmārēnīdan andar xwēš-kārīh ast.

13.3) abar wināh ī hamēmālān ī ō mihrdruzān kunihēd, gētīgīh-iz abar tan ud nāf ud āwādag ī mihr-drōzān madan guſt ēstēd. pad candīh pad-iz wēš[ih<sup>2</sup>] ud] kū-gyāgīh ud kay-zamānīh, āmārgar mihr, pad sedōš abar paymān ī kirbag [ud] wināh sāmān ī ahlāyīh ud druwandīh, srōšahlāy ud rašn ī rāst; pad tan ī pasēn ud pad spūtīgīh ī har(w) āmār, āmārēnēd xwad dādār ohrmazd, kē-š az ān-iz ī sedōš hammis āmār [ud] hamāg menišn<sup>3</sup> gōwišn ud kunišn ī dāmān āškārag andar ān ī oy harwisp-āgāh xrad.

13.4) pādifrah pad ruwan ī wināhkārān az ān ī mēnōg wināh ī-š kard [ud] ham-bāgīhist<sup>4</sup> rasēd. az ān bazag kunišn ī warzīd ud parward ān pādifrah frādom pad zamīg, pas pad dušox, ud abdom pad passāxt ī tan ī pasēn, abar ruwān ī wināhōmandān druwandān rasēd.

13.5) ka pādifrah pad sedōš widārd bawēd, ān ī ahlawān ruwān ō wahišt pāšom axwān, ān ī druwandān ruwān ō dušox ud wattom axwān rasēd.

13.6) ka-šān pādifrah ī fraš(a)gird widārd bawēd, pad passāxt yōjdahr az har(w) wināh rasēnd<sup>5</sup>, be ō hamcīgīhā<sup>6</sup>-rawišnīh, ō nēk-rawišnīh, pāšom-rawišnīh ī ān ī pāšom axwān a-petyārag.

<sup>1</sup>. Text: mnšn

<sup>2</sup>. Text: wyš

<sup>3</sup>. Text: mnšn

<sup>4</sup>. Thus TD, text; DF: hmbndkyhst'; J1, J2, H: hmbndyhst'

<sup>5</sup>. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: YHMTWN-3nd

<sup>6</sup>. Thus J1, DF; Text has: hm'kyh'

**Pursišn 13**

13.1) The thirteenth question: who are those who carry out the account of the sin and the good deeds of the soul, and where do they do it, and when they have punished them (i.e. the souls) then where is their place?

13.2) The answer is this: Wahman the amahraspand performs the reckoning of good deeds and sins for those who commit them three times every day as long as the +doer is alive, by +Wahman the amahraspand (i.e. the Blessed Immortal). For reckoning the thoughts, words and deeds of all (the creatures of) the material existence is among his duties.

13.3) About the hamēmāl sin (i.e. the sin against +opponents) which is +attributed to the +covenant-breakers, it is said that even in the material world (its result) comes to the covenant-breakers themselves and their families and +descendants; and as to the quantity and also the frequency and the place and time (of the sins of opponent) the accountant is Mihr; and at the Sedōš (i.e. fourth morning after death) (the judges) of the measure of good deeds and sins, and the limits of righteousness and wickedness are Srōš the righteous and Rašn the just; and in the future body, on the completion of all accounts, the creator Ohrmazd himself does the account, (the creator Ohrmazd) to whom the account of all the thoughts, words and deeds of the creatures, together with that of the Sidōš, are known through his omniscient wisdom.

13.4) The punishment upon the soul of the sinners is +equally divided and comes from that spiritual sin which was committed by him. Because of the sin that the sinner committed and fostered, that punishment comes to the souls of the sinful and wicked first on earth, afterwards in hell, and at last at the trial of the future body.

13.5) When the punishment is borne, on the fourth morning after death the soul of one who is righteous goes to the best existence in heaven, and the soul of one who is wicked goes to the worst existence in hell.

13.6) When they (i.e. the sinners) have endured the punishment of the restoration, they arrive purified of all sins through the trial, and reach the everlasting life, good progress and excellent progress of the best existence (which) is free from danger.

### Pursišn 14

**14.1)** 14-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: kandan ī gyān ud darrēnišn ī sag ud way [ī] pad nasā bawēd az<sup>1</sup> wināh ḥōgarēnd, wināh az bun be šawēd ayāb nē ?

**14.2)** pāsox ēd kū: wināh kāhišnīh [ud] kirbag abzāyišnīh az humat, hūxt, huwaršt az-iz ān saxtīh ud duš-xwārīh ī bawēd ī dēn [ud] ruwān warzīd rāy abar rasēd, pad stūrīh andar passāxtīh ud āstawānīh [ī] dēn pānag[īh] ī ruwān ḥōstīgān dārēnd.

**14.3)** ān ī anāgīh - <ī> ka kirkakkar ī ēd ka bazakkar ud ka tuxšēd ēd <ī> ka nē tuxšēd ēd ka hunsand ud ēd ka nē hunsand - pas a-kām u-š ēc wiħān ī kirbagīh abāg nēst, ciyōn a-kām rasēd, spās ud mizd rāy stānēnd.

**14.4)** ēwar kandan ī gyān abar ahlawān ud druwandān ēw-tom bawēd. har(w) kas mizd stad ēstēd, ān mizd zīndagīh ī tā widard hangām, be darrēnišn ī sag ud way nē abar har(w) kas ud har(w) tan bawēd. juttar kardan šayēd.

**14.5)** \*az<sup>2</sup> šnāxtan ī kirbag ud [az] xūb pahrēxtan ī nasā ud zūd wardīhistan ī ān ī rēmanīh. kāmag ī abar wināh-wizārišnīh rāy, widardag tan be ḥō kōfag waxš<sup>3</sup> gyāg ī ēwēnagīhā barēd handarzēnāg ham-dādestān, kū-š az dādīhā gyāgīh<sup>4</sup> sag ud murw darrēnēnd.

**14.6)** az ān ciyōn ān tars ī dēn-framānīh ud rawāg-kāmagīh rāy, tuxšāgīhā ḥō garīw ī xwēš padīrift ēstēd pad-iš xwēšag pādāšn, u-š pad ān rāh rasēd ḥō wināh nirfsišn [ud] ḥō ruwān šnāyišn.

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<sup>1</sup>- J1: MNW

<sup>2</sup>- Text: MNW

<sup>3</sup>- DF, J1, J2, II: 'š

<sup>4</sup>- DF: gyw'k

**Puršn 14**

**14.1)** The fourteenth question: do they cancel the sins on account of the eradication of life and the tearing of dogs and birds upon the body, and do the sins depart from (one's) +account ?

**14.2)** The answer is this: +the decrease of sin and increase of meritorious deeds are dependent on good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and also on that severity and difficulty which occur through exercising (one's) religion and soul; and through the +guardianship and the test (of life) and belief in the religion they (i.e. the righteous people) can be assured of protection for the soul.

**14.3)** Whether one is beneficent or +whether one is sinful, whether one strives or not, whether one is contented or not contented, that evil (i.e. the tearing up of the flesh) will come without one's desiring (it), and since (it is) undesired, no cause of merit is attached to it, and they (i.e. men) (have to) accept it as a service and reward.

**14.4)** The eradication of life certainly happens to the righteous and the wicked +equally. Everyone has received the reward, that reward is living up to the time of death; but tearing by dogs and birds does not happen to everyone and everybody and there are other alternatives.

**14.5)** On account of knowing what is right, and the +proper care of the corpse, and the rapid transformation of impurity, and a wish for the atonement of sins, one takes the body of one who has departed to a mountainous high place according to the rule, in accordance with what is advised, so that the dogs and birds may gnaw it at a proper place.

**14.6)** By respecting the precept of the religion and desiring its progress, everyone has accepted his own reward on his own neck diligently, and in that way he will attain the decrease of sins and satisfaction of the soul.

### Pursišn 15

**15.1)** 15-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ka-š sag ud way darrēnēnd, ruwān dānēd, u-š duš-xwārīh bawēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd?

**15.2)** pāsox ēd kū: tan ī mardōmān az brīnišn<sup>1</sup> [ud] darrēnišn dard owōn mārēd kū ka ruwān ham-kadag<sup>2</sup> ī tan, <ī> u-š<sup>3</sup> ruwān kē xwaš ud a-xwaš dānēd abāg gyān ī zīwēnāg<sup>4</sup> ud bōy ī sōhēnāg ud abārīgān gyān abzārān az tan šawēd; tan agār ud a-jumbāg ud a-mārišn, ēc dard frazām-iz nē mārēd nē sōhēd; ruwān abāg gyān az tan bērōn u-š darrēnišn awiš nē abyōxtag, be pad ān ī mēnōgīg sōhišn wēnēd ud dānēd.

**15.3)** ān ī druwand<sup>5</sup> ka-šān wēnēd kū abd-passaxt tan ī-š paymōg \*būd<sup>6</sup> wišōbīhēd ud ān xōg<sup>7</sup> ī-š dagr abāg būd, ēd-iz rāy kū: cē-m andar tanōmandīh ud gētīg-rawišnīh wināh nē wizārd ud ahlāyīh nē hambārd, ud pad-iz hangārišn<sup>8</sup> ī abar ēd kū-m pad wēš būdan ī-m abāg ēn tan wināh wizārdan ud ruwān bōxtan šāyist<sup>9</sup> hē. nūn az har(w) kas ud rāmišn ī gētīg ud meh ēmēd ī mēnōg judāg hēm, ō skeft āmār ud garāntar bīm windād ēstēm, ēg-iš abāz ō tanōmandīh ārzōgīhēd.

**15.4)** u-š darrēnišn owōn garān bawēd ān tan rāy ciyōn abzār-xānag ī bēdom ud nihān ud wastarag ī andartom, abāg \*zay zēn-abzār, \*a-sāmānīhā<sup>10</sup> agārīhēd ud wišōbīhēd.

**15.5)** aw-iz ī ahlaw abāg wuzurg urwāhman ī az ēwarz ī ō pāšom axwān, \*pas-iz xōg ī-š abāg tan būd ud wuzurg wuzurg-\*frayādišnīg<sup>11</sup> ahlāyīh ī-š hamē abāg tan hambārd rāy, abar hu-tāšīd tan ī abd-passāxt ī sahmgēnīhā wišōbīhēd ud cimīgīhā ka-š abāyišn ī pad-iš bawēd.

1. Thus TD; text has: SDKWN-šn

2. J1, TD, DF: hmkrīk'

3. J1, J2, H, DF: 'ywpš; K35: 'yny'

4. Thus all; TD, text add: AYT' BRA

5. H, DF: dlwc OD

6. Text: YHWWN-yt

7. TD: 'nd

8. Thus ed.; TD, K35: hnd'šn'; others: dhšn'

9. Text: š'ystr'; TD: š'str'

10. DF: 'nzm'nyh'; J1: 'nsmn'nyh'; J2, H: 'nsm'nyh'

11. Text: pyly'tšnyk

**Puršišn 15**

15.1) The fifteenth question: when dogs and birds tear that (i.e. dead body), does the soul know it and does any discomfort arise or +how is it ?

15.2) The +answer is this: the human body +experiences pain from the tearing and rending in as much as the soul shares a habitation with the body, and it is its soul that knows pleasant and unpleasant; (when) it departs from the body together with the animating vital soul and with the sense of feeling and other instruments of the vital soul, the body is inactive and motionless and without sensation, and neither experiences nor receives any pain even at the end. The soul, together with the vital soul, is outside the body and the tearing has no contact with it, but it sees and knows by means of a spiritual sense.

15.3) That wicked (soul) is again desirous of corporeal life when he sees that wonderfully-constructed body which was his garment, and (his) character which was with him for a long time are destroyed, for this reason: "because I did not redeem (my) sins and did not store righteousness during (my) bodily life and worldly existence"; and also by considering this: "I would have been able to redeem (my) sins and to save (my) soul through (my) long connection with this body. Now I am separated from everyone and (from) the joy of the world, and (from) the great hope for heaven, and I have found a hard reckoning and greater fear".

15.4) And its tearing is as grievous for that body as if a treasury outside (i.e. the body?) and the treasure and +garment inside (it) (cf. soul?) with the +weapon and armour are widely made inactive and destroyed (?).

15.5) Then even the righteous, in spite of the great joy of moving towards the best existence, for the sake of the character which accompanied his body, and the very great +helpful righteousness which he stored with the body, (grieves) for the well-formed and wonderfully-constructed body, which is terribly destroyed, and deliberately so, since there is a necessity for that.

**15.6)** ud bōy ī mardōmān ciyōn 3 šab bērōn ī tan, pad nazdīkīh ī tan nišīnēd, ān ī rāstīhā bīm ud āhr be ō dēwān, ud mizd ud drōd ud niwē be ō wehān mēnōgān ayādēnīdan ēmēdēnīdan ud abāyišn daxšag<sup>1</sup> nimūdan rāy, mēnōgīhā ēwāz gōwēd kū: cim darrēnēnd sag ud way ēn tan ī passāxt, ka abdom-iz abāg hamīhēd tan ud gyān pad āxēzēnišn ī rist.

**15.7)** ud \*az<sup>2</sup> ān ayādēnišn ī rist-āxēz ud \*rawišn<sup>3</sup> ī mēnōg ī tan abārīg weh mēnōgān urwāhmanīh ud ēmēd ud dēwān ud druzān bīm ud bēš rasēd.

### Pursišn 16

**16.1)** 16-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: nasā be ō murwān dād wihān cē ast ?

**16.2)** pāsox ēd kū passāzišn ī widardagān<sup>4</sup> tan owōn škeft kū ō ham mad ēstēd dō hambadīgīh. ēk dagr pattāyēnīdan ēk tēz wardēnīdan<sup>5</sup>; u-š ēwēnag ēn: ō yazdān pādan [ud] dēwān wardēnišn.

**16.3)** pas az \*ānayišn<sup>6</sup> ī gyān tā ka kirb wehīh<sup>7</sup> pad gyāg, dēwān xrad-stardān az tan tarsēnd, ciyōn mēš [ī] gurgān \*xast<sup>8</sup> ka az gurg frāz tarsēd.

**16.4)** mēnōg ī tan ī xōg ī dagr <rāy> andar tan būd rāy a-wišōbišn owōn kāmag ī pad-iš mānist, ka-z-iš hilēnd az māništ. pad im rāh ān ī widardān tan cand a-wināhīhātar šāyēd drust[ī]hā pāyišn.<sup>9</sup>

**16.5)** ham-passazag andar-iz dēn stāyīd ēstēd, awēšān frawahrān kē abar nigāh dārēnd ān kirb ī sāmān kersāsp ud anī-z spāhyān<sup>10</sup> az gyān ud tan<sup>11</sup> be ān cim rāy.

<sup>1</sup>- Thus ed.; Text: dh'k

<sup>2</sup>- Text: ZNE

<sup>3</sup>- Text, TD: lpšn'; others: lypšn'

<sup>4</sup>- Thus TD; others wtwltn'

<sup>5</sup>- Emended by ed.; text has: tyc wltwynytn'

<sup>6</sup>- Thus text: 'nyšn'

<sup>7</sup>- DF: g's

<sup>8</sup>- Text: hwyst

<sup>9</sup>- Thus ed.; text has: ntlwtwdšn'; DF: NTLWN-tn wndšn; others: NTLWN-tn dšn

<sup>10</sup>- Thus DF; TD: st'yšn; others: sp'h'n.

<sup>11</sup>- Thus DF, K35; others: YHWWN-tn'

**15.6)** And when the perception of man sits three nights outside the body, near to the body, for the sake of giving a reminder of fear and terror justly to the demons and (a reminder of) reward and peace and good news to the good spirits; and (for the sake of) +giving hope and showing the need to remember, it says with a spiritual utterance: "Why do dogs and birds tear the construction (i.e. the body) since at the end the body and vital soul will be united together at the resurrection?"

**15.7)** And from that reminiscence of the resurrection and the progress of the spirit of the future body, joy and hope comes (to) the good spirits and fear and pain (to) the devils and demons.

### Pursišn 16

**16.1)** The sixteenth question: what is the reason for giving a corpse to the birds ?

**16.2)** The reply is this: that the construction of the bodies of the departed is so wonderful that two opposing principles have combined. One is that which causes long continuance and one is that which causes quick alteration and its nature is this: preservation belongs to the gods and alteration to the demons.

**16.3)** After the +bringing of the soul (out of the body), as long as the body's goodness (is) in place, the stupefied demons are afraid of the body like a +sheep injured by wolves when it is frightened away by a wolf.

**16.4)** Because of (its) habit of being a long time in the body undisturbed, the spirit of the body wishes to remain in it even when they release it from its dwelling (i.e. the body); therefore (lit. in this way), the body of the departed ought to be looked after with the least sinfulness.

**16.5)** Likewise +for this reason those Frawahrs who with soul and body watch over the body of +Kersāsp, the son of Sām, and the other heroes too, are praised according to the religion.

**16.6)** ka hamīhēd ēbgatīg ud wināhišn ū widardān tan padwišagōmand nasuš duwārēd pad-iš ud az ān stahmagīh ka cēr bawēd abar gyān ī ān ī ahlaw mardōm u-š stōwēnēd az ān ī hū-kardīhā gāh ī tan, xwad andar tan gāh gīrēd, ēg ān tan pad ān cim xwānīhēd nasā.

**16.7)** ed hambadīgīh ī tēz wardēnēd ēwēnag ud garāyīh<sup>1</sup> ī im nasuš rāy, ka-z pad wišōbišn ī ān tan šāyēd, pas-iz ānāftan ud wardēnīd[an] bēšāzdārīhā<sup>2</sup>.

**16.8)** az ān ciyōn mardōmān tan passāxtag<sup>3</sup> ī az ast ī saxt<sup>4</sup> ud pid ī sust, ān \*judīhēd<sup>5</sup> rāyēnišn ī ast az ān ī pid.

**16.9)** cē ast pad-iš saxtīh ka-š pid \*ī<sup>6</sup> tarr<sup>7</sup> nē abāg, u-š nē bawēd tarr dāštār, xwad cihrīgīhā huškīhēd ud a-carbišn ud dagr-pattāyišn bawēd. pad huškīh az nasāyīh be ū \*hixrīh<sup>8</sup> xwarīhēd.

**16.10)** pid ī pēr[ā]mōn ast kē pad āsnīdārīh ī zīwēnāg gyān tarr [ud] waxšīnīg būd, <ud> pas az gyān šawišnīh tarrīh a-dōstīh rāy ū pūdagīh ud gandagīh rasēd, u-š xrafstarān andar hambōšēnd<sup>9</sup>.

**16.11)** saxt-iz ast pūdag wišōftag agār kardan payrāst ēstēd.

**16.12)** \*cē<sup>10</sup> abāz ēstādan<sup>11</sup> ī ān ī wināhkārān nazdīk-rāh-tar cār ān, – be az mardōmān āstār – pid az ast jud stirdag gugārd bawēd.

1-. TD: gl's

2-. DF: byšcd'lyh

3-. J1, J2, H, DF: s'htk'

4-. Thus text; all have: HZYTWN-d

5-. Text: ystyhyt for: jwdtyhyt (?)

6-. Text: OD

7-. Thus Text; others: pytwndtl

8-. Text: 'slyh

9-. Text: hmbyšynd

10-. Text: QDM

11-. Text: ystyf

16.6) When adversity and destruction are connected to the bodies of the departed, the demon +Nasuš, the +contaminating one, rushes on it, and because of her oppression, when she becomes triumphant over the soul of the righteous man and drives it out from the well-made abode of the body, she makes a place for herself in the body: then the body for that reason is called a corpse (Nasā).

16.7) On account of this opposing force, which quickly alters the nature (of the body), and (because of) the +severity of the Nasuš, when the destruction of that body becomes possible, then the rejection and alteration of the body (are) healthful.

16.8) Since the body of men is constituted from hard bone and soft flesh, the function of bone +differs from that of the flesh.

16.9) For the bone through its hardness, when no moist flesh is with it, and there is no (thing) to keep it moist, itself naturally becomes dry and it becomes without fat and durable; through (its) dryness, it (alters) from the state of a corpse to the state of +hixr (i.e. dry dead matter) and is consumed.

16.10) The flesh around the bone, which by the purifying (power) of the life-giving soul was (formerly) moist and growing, after the departure of the soul, because of (its) dislike of moisture, comes to be rotten and to stink, and noxious creatures +come into being in it.

16.11) Also the hard bone is arranged (so as) to make the rotten, destroyed (flesh) ineffective,

16.12) because the +most direct means of avoiding those things which cause corruption (is) this – without man's sins – (that) the flesh is +scraped away from the bones and digested,

**16.13)** ciyōn pad judīh [ī] pid ḍ gugārišn az nasāyīh be \*hixrīh<sup>1</sup> ud ast be ḍ \*xwēšēnišn<sup>2</sup> [ud] kālbod ḍ \*tāšišn<sup>3</sup> (?) abētar rassēd. ciyōn ān ī pid mardōmān xward rāh nēst cē-šān garāntom rēmanīh ud padwišag awiš abyōxtīhēd.<sup>4</sup> āstārd garān purrīhā az-iš āstārē[n]ēnd ...<sup>5</sup> brēhēnīd [ud] dād<sup>6</sup> ēstēd, dād nē sazāg; cē-š ālūdagīh ī ān \*yōjdahrān<sup>7</sup> gōspandān [ud] padwišagīg abāz paywandišnīh ī ḍ mardōmān rāy \*garān<sup>8</sup> an-ēwēn bawēd. pad rōsnān ātaxšān be-sōxtan nē sazāg, cē āzārišn ī ān ī purr pākīh, ī ātaxš, az-iš bawēd. ciyōn xwad be ḍ [ātaxš] sōxt madan nē šāyēd, \*ēg<sup>9</sup> ān ī sūxtār pad garāntom āstār az-iš \*drōsīhēd<sup>10</sup>. be ḍ jawišn ī xrafstarān handāxtan nē sazāg, cē mēnōg ī tan - ka ī-t mēnōgīh <ī> andar tan - <ī> wināhišn ī xrafstarān abar weh-kirbān nigerēd wišōbēd agārēnēd \*ēg<sup>11</sup> škeftūh bēshēd. pas owōn cārigtar rāh bawēd ka ciyōn andar dēn framūd ēstēd ān ī nasušōmand tan pad rōsn kōf waxš būm nihīhēd. nē burdan ī ḍ āb ud urwar [ud] mardōmān māništ rāy ēwēnīhā bandīhēd, tā kirb-xwārān sagān ud kirb-xwārān wayān kē nē dast-hammōg ī mardōmān hēnd, nē-z pad xvarišn mehmān hēnd, u-šān nē-z mardōm be ḍ nasā-xwarišnīh barēnd, xwad tazān [ud] wāzān šawēnd ān ī pid xwarēnd. pad gyānīg ātaxš andar zīndag tan ī ohrmazd dāmān gugārīhēd. az pid-kirbīh ud nasāyīh be ḍ gil-kirbīh ud hixrīh wihiřīhēd aw-iz xāk<īh> gumēzīhēd payrāstag bawēd.

**16.14)** ḍoh-iz ān sagān ud wayān murwān xwad-cihrag yazdān kirb-xwārān dād ēstēd. ud stard-xradīh rāy, pad-iz ān wināh an-āstārīd hēnd. az ān pid ī ḍ tan [ī] zīndag [ī] ohrmazd dāmān gumēzīhēd ēg ān-iz dēwān snāh <ī> ciyōn nimūd andar ān dar ī abar cim ī sag ī ḍ murdag nimūdan, kū widardagān tan ka be-āstārīhā ḍ ohrmazd dām zīndagān tan gumēzīhēd, bahrīg rist-āxēzišnīh daxšag nimāyēd, u-š pad-iš dēwān andar dārēnd ud andar dardīhēnd pad yazdān kām.

1-. Text: 'slyh

2-. Text: hwyš dh'n

3-. Text: t'yšn

4-. Text: 'pyw[ww]htyhyt'

5-. Some words seem to be missing from this point, see text, p. 39

6-. Emended by ed.; text: YHBWN-yt'

7-. Text: ywssl'n

8-. Text: gl'y; J1: KALA

9-. Thus cd.; Text: OBYDWN

10-. Text: dlw'hyhyt'

11-. Text: OBYDWN

16.13) for by the separation of the flesh (from the corpse) for consumption (by birds), it becomes less of a corpse and more like hixr (i.e. dry dead matter), and the bone (goes) for +appropriation and (its) shape for (re)making (?), as there is no way for the flesh to be +eaten by men because the greatest filth and contagion is mixed with it, and those who cause sin fully cause sin thereby, (so the religion) decrees, and it is laid down, that it is not proper to give +(it to domestic animals) because its contamination of those pure domestic animals and (its) polluting reconnection to men is seriously improper. Burning (the corpse) in the luminous fire is not allowed, because the torment of that which is completely pure, that is the fire, arises from it; just as one should not oneself approach what is burnt, (though it is) the burner (who) thereby \*falls into (lit. is branded with) the most serious sin. Leaving (the corpse) to be devoured by noxious creatures is not proper; because it disturbs and renders powerless the spirit of the body, which is the spiritual element in your body, when it observes the destruction of the body of a righteous man by noxious creatures, and it suffers distress. Therefore the most proper way is when, as is ordered in the religion, the body which contains Nasuš (i.e. the demon of death), is put on the open mountain in a high place; and in order not to take it to the water and plants and to the settlements, it (i.e. the corpse) should be fastened in the customary manner, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds – which are not accustomed to men and are not given food by men and which men do not bring to eat the corpse – go themselves running and flying and eat that flesh. It (i.e. the corpse) is digested by the vital fire which is in the live body of the creatures of Ohrmazd, and it (i.e. the corpse) changes from a fleshy body and the nature of a corpse to a body of clay and hixr (i.e. dry dead matter), and becomes mixed with the dust and fittingly arranged.

16.14) So, those dogs and birds have been created as natural corpse-eaters by the gods, and because of (their) dull intellect, they are not guilty of that sin (i.e. because of eating corpses). From that flesh which is mingled with the living body of the creatures of Ohrmazd there arises a blow against the demons, as it is shown in the +chapter: +"The reason for showing a dog to the corpse", since it shows (to) the bodies of those who have passed away, when they are guiltlessly mingled with the living bodies of the creatures of Ohrmazd, a sign of the allotted resurrection (to come); and the demons are kept in it and are tormented in it by the will of the gods.

### Pursišn 17

17.1) 17-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū:ān ī weh ī ka ḥ murwān dahēnd ayāb cē-ēwēnag weh?

17.2) pāsox ēd kū pas az sag nimūdan, ciyōn-iš cim pad dar ī xwēš paydāg, ān ī nasā ī ḥ kōf ud waxš būm ēwēnagīhā<sup>1</sup> barēnd. ān-iz rāy kū tā sagān ud murwān ān nasā be ḥ abōmand warzōmand māništōmand gyāg nē āwarēnd<sup>2</sup> ān<sup>3</sup> ēwēn bastan. ka murwān ī kirb-xwārān ān ī pid ka nē xwarihēd<sup>4</sup> pūdag winastag xrafstarōmand bawēd.

17.3) ān ī pid ī xward bawēd, ēg ān ī ast dādīhā be ḥ astōdān – kē az būm ēdōn abar dāšt, ud az abar ēdōn aškōb ēstēd, tā pad ēc ēwēnag wārān ḥ nasā nē wārēd, u-š āb ul awiš nē ēstēd, u-š nam ul awiš nē dahēd, u-š sag ud rōbāh awiš šud nē šayēnd, u-š rōšnīh ḥ madan rāy sūrag pad-iš kard ēstēd – barēnd; abar dastwarīhā guſt ēstēd.

17.4) ān astōdān ast kandag<sup>5</sup> az ēk sig <ud> u-š nihumbag az ēk sig ī sūragōmand tāšīd<an> passāxt<an>, u-š pērāmōn pad sang ud gac hambārēnēd.

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<sup>1</sup>- Emended by ed.; text has: 'dwyn'

<sup>2</sup>- Text: YHYTWN-d

<sup>3</sup>- Text: 'ny

<sup>4</sup>- Text: OŠTEN- tyhyt'

<sup>5</sup>- Thus text, TD; others: ktk'

**Pursišn 17**

17.1) The seventeenth question: is it good if they give (the corpse) to the birds, or how is it best?

17.2) The +answer is this: after +showing it (i.e. the corpse) to the dog, the reason for which is manifest in its own +chapter, they should take the corpse to the mountains and high places according to the custom; (it is) the custom to fasten (it) so that the dogs and birds do not bring that corpse to a watered, cultivated or inhabited place. If that flesh is not eaten by the corpse-eating birds (it) becomes rotten, spoiled and full of noxious creatures.

17.3) It is said by the highest authorities that (when) the flesh has been eaten, then they (should) take the bones, +according to the religious law, to an +ossuary which is raised above the ground, and above which a roof is positioned in such a way that the rain never falls on the corpse, and the water does not collect above it, nor does it give out moisture above it, nor are dogs and foxes able to approach it, and in order that light may come to it a hole is made in it.

17.4) The +ossuary is carved from a single +stone, and its covering is cut and fashioned from a single stone, with a hole in it, and one fills it up all around with +stones and plaster.

### Pursišn 18

**18.1)** 18-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ruwān ī ahlawān ud ruwān ī druwandān ka be ū mēnōgān šawēnd, ēg-išān<sup>1</sup> ohrmazd ud ahreman be abāyēd dīd, <ast ī> ayāb nē?

**18.2)** pāsox ēd kū ahreman rāy guft ēstēd kū-š gētīg nēst.

**18.3)** ohrmazd-iz andar mēnōgān mēnōg, pad ān ī gētīgīg ud ān-iz ī mēnōgīg šnāyišn[īg], kirb wēnišnīg spurr nē be pad xrad ud zōr hangōšīdag wēnīhēd.

**18.4)** <ī> ciyōn guft be ū spitāmān zardušt, ka-š \*dastl-dahišnīh<sup>2</sup> zāyist, u-š guft kū: dast ī \*mard<sup>3</sup> ī ašō gīr! cē-m pad tō xwēš dēn hu-cašm gīrišnīh, <ī> and kū gīrē wēnē ān kē az ān ī man xrad ud xwarrah mehmānīh wēš abar.

**18.5)** ruwān ī ahlawān ud druwandān pad ān ī mēnōgīg sōhišn ān gāh wēnēnd \*kū<sup>4</sup> ohrmazd dīd sahēnd, ēdōn-iz ān ī ahreman \*hamzamān<sup>5</sup> pad ān ī xrad ī-š dādār abar barēd bārīgīhā bc šnāsēnd<sup>6</sup> tā ohrmazd ud ahreman .

**18.6)** ud ān ī ahlawān pad bōxtan ī az ahreman ud madan ī ū ohrmazdīg axwān šād bawēd, [ud] ū ān ī ohrmazd xwarrah namāz barēd; ud ān ī druwand pad frēbīhistan ī az ahreman ud waštan<sup>7</sup> ī az ohrmazdīg pand bēšīdtar ud pašēmāntar bawēd. zāyišn [ī] āmurzišn xwēšihēd<sup>8</sup>(?), [ud] pattāy[ēd] dast-grawīh ī-š pad xwēš dast-dahišnīh andar druz, az mēnōg ān paywāzišn ī az xwābarān xwābartom rasēd pad rist-āxēz zamānag.

1- Emended by ed.; text: ?hw

2- J1: omits

3- Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: hw- GBRA

4- TD: MN; others: MNW

5- Text: hmnm'h

6- Text: šn's'nd; DF: šn'snd

7- TD, J1: YATWN- d; DF: W YATWN- d; J2: WW YATWN- d

8- K35: hwyšt

**Pursišn 18**

18.1) The eighteenth question: when the soul of the righteous and the wicked go to the spiritual world, is it possible for them to see Ohrmazd and Ahriman or not?

18.2) The reply is this: it is said that +Ahriman has no material existence.

18.3) Ohrmazd (is) also a spirit among the spiritual beings (and is) worthy of praise both in the material and spiritual worlds. +His form is not completely visible, but he is seen through wisdom and similar powers.

18.4) As he (i.e. Ohrmazd) told Zardušt the Spītāmān, when he (i.e. Zardušt) asked (him) to give him a hand (i.e. to help), and he said: "Grasp the hand of the righteous man (i.e. guide him), for (with regard to his) benevolently accepting my religion through you, in as much as he accepts (it) he would see what is much superior through my wisdom and glory and hospitality".

18.5) The souls of the righteous and the wicked see through the spiritual senses the place where they seem to see Ohrmazd. Likewise in the case of Ahriman, by the wisdom which the creator provides them, +at once they can precisely recognise Ohrmazd and Ahriman.

18.6) And (the souls) of those who are righteous are delighted at being saved from Ahriman and coming to the world of Ohrmazd, and they pay homage to the glory of Ohrmazd; and the (soul) of the wicked man is more tormented and more repentant because of his being deceived by Ahriman and turning from the way of Ohrmazd. He appropriates (?) a request for mercy and he endures +captivity which (results) from giving help amongst the demons, the answer of the most beneficent of the beneficent ones (i.e. Ohrmazd) will come from heaven at the time of the resurrection.

### Pursišn 19

19.1) 19-om pursišn <ī> ān ī pursīd kū ahlawān ud druwandān <ī> ō kū gyāg šawēnd?

19.2) pāsox ēd kū ēdōn guft ēstēd kū widardān ud murdagān ruwān 3 šab pad zamīg hēnd. u-šān fradom šab az humat šnāyišn az dušmat bēš. dudīgar šab az hüxt rāmišn az duš-hüxt duš-xwārīh pādifrāh; ud sidīgar šab az huwaršt frayādišn az dušxwaršt pādifrāh rasēd.

19.3) ān ī sidīgar šab, andar bāmī[g], ō alburz gyāg ī āmār šawēnd . kard āmār ō puhl<sup>1</sup> andar rawēnd.

19.4) ud ān ī ahlawān pad puhl widerēd pad ulīh, agar hamēstagānīg tā ō ānōh kū-š gāh ud agar abāg wēš kirbagīh [ud] frārōn dād tā-z ō wahīst, agar abāg wēš kirbagīh [ud] frārōn dādīh srōd gāhān tā-z ō garōdmān šawēd.

19.5) ān ī druwandān az tēx ī puhl ayāb az mayān ī puhl <ōftēd> pad nigūnīh ō dušox ūftēd tā ān ī pāyag ī-š druwandīh nigūnīhēd.

### Pursišn 20

20.1) 20-om pursišn <ī> ān ī pursīd kū cinwad puhl ud cagād ī dāitī ī rāh ī ahlawān ud druwandān ciyōn? ka ahlaw ciyōn, ka druwand ciyōn bawēd?

20.2) pāsox ēd kū: dastwarān ēdōn guft kū cagād ī dāitī <ī> andar ērān-w[ē]z pad mayān ī gēhān [ast]. tā nazdīkīh ī ān cagād ī dāitī, ī \*ast<sup>2</sup> ān dār-kirb mēnōg cinwad puhl ī az war ī alburz abāz ō cagād ī dāitī abgand ēstēd .

20.3) ciyōn ān ī puhl dār homānāg ī was pahlūg kē-š pušt ast ī frāx, ud ast ī bārīg ī tēz; u-š frāx-sōgīhā ast <ī> ēdōn wuzurg ī-š wist ud haft nāy pahnāy, u-š tēz-sōgīhā ēdōn tang ī pad bārīgīh ēdōn ciyōn awestarag tēx bawēd<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>- Thus DF; text: pwl

<sup>2</sup>- Text: 'y'pt'

<sup>3</sup>- Thus BK; text omits YHWWN-yt'

**Pursišn 19**

19.1) The nineteenth question: +where do the righteous and wicked go?

19.2) The reply is this: it is said that the souls of the dead and departed are on the earth for three nights. The first night they receive comfort as a result of their good thoughts and sorrow as a result of their evil thoughts. The second night they receive pleasure as a result of (their) good words and trouble and punishment as a result of (their) evil words; and the third night they receive help as a result of (their) good deeds and punishment as a result of (their) +evil deeds.

19.3) At dawn on that third night they go to +Alburz, the place of judgement. After being judged they go on to the bridge.

19.4) And he who is righteous passes over the bridge in the upward direction, and if he belongs to limbo (*harmēstagān*), he goes to where his place is; and if (he has) more good deeds and proper religion he goes to paradise; and if (he has) more good deeds and proper religion and has recited the *Gāhān* he goes to +Garōdmān.

19.5) He who is wicked falls from the sharp edge of the bridge or from the middle of the bridge. He falls head first to a +level in hell which is inversely proportional to his wickedness.

**Pursišn 20**

20.1) The twentieth question: how are the +Cinwad bridge and the +peak of Dāitī which form the path of the righteous and the wicked? what are they like when (one is) righteous, and what are they like when (one is) wicked?

20.2) The reply is this: it is said by the authorities that the peak of Dāitī is in *Erān-wēz*, in the middle of the world. Near the peak of Dāitī, there is found that spiritual being with a wooden body, that is the Cinwad bridge, which stretches from the fortress of +Alburz to the peak of Dāitī.

20.3) Since the bridge is like a beam with many sides, which has a wide surface and at the same time has one which is thin and sharp; and on the wide side it is so large that its width is twenty seven reeds, and on the sharp side it is so narrow that in thinness it is like a +razor-blade.

**20.4)** ka ahlawān ud druwandān ruwān rasēnd, ō ān gyāg ī-šān niyābagīhā ast gardēd.

**20.5)** pad wuzurg xwarrah ī dādār ud framān ī ōy rāst-āmār ud puhlbān, ahlawān frāx-puhlīh bawēd and cand nō nēzag bālāy ud drahnāy, kē-š jud jud \*dagrandīh<sup>1</sup> se<sup>2</sup> nay, druwandān tang-puhlīh bawēd tā-z hangōšīdag ī ān ī awestarag <ī> tēx.<sup>3</sup>

**20.6)** ud ān ī ahlawān pad puhl widarēd, u-š rāh xwašīh <ī> pad ān ī hangōšīdag ī gētīgīg ka andar wahār ī zarrēn tan ī hu-cihr<sup>4</sup> ud škeft ī hu-bōy pad ān ī \*niwāg<sup>5</sup> mēnōg pōst xwaš arz ud wehīh ārzōgīhā ud abē-ranjīhā<sup>6</sup> rawē<sup>7</sup>.

**20.7)** ān ī druwandān ciyōn gām ō puhl nihēd dabrīh<sup>8</sup> ud tēzīh rāy az mayān ī puhl<sup>9</sup> ūftēd ud nigūn gardēd. u-š ō dušox rāh a-xwašīh pad ān hangōšīdag ciyōn gētīgīg, andar mayān ī ān ī gandag <ī> murdagestān ānōh kū ān ī tēz az kync (?) nigūn be ul tēx abzīd<sup>10</sup> ēstēd. ud a-kām-tazišnīhā rawēnd, abāz \*ēstād<sup>11</sup> ud \*drang<sup>12</sup> kardan nē hilēnd.

**20.8)** and meh ān xwašīh ud a-xwašīh abar ruwānān hangōšīdag ī gētīgīg cand meh ēdōn mēnōg sazišnīg az gētīgīg ī sazišnīg.

<sup>1</sup>. Text: dgIwndyh

<sup>2</sup>. TD: 4

<sup>3</sup>. Thus all MSS; text: tyb

<sup>4</sup>. Text: hwcyL

<sup>5</sup>. Text, TD, BK: 'k'; others: gn'k

<sup>6</sup>. Emended by ed.; text: 'p'lcyh'

<sup>7</sup>. Thus BK; TD, text: SGYTWN- t'

<sup>8</sup>. Thus J1, J2, H; text, TD: wspwlyh; BK, DF, K35: dyplyh; ed. emends to nyckwlyh

<sup>9</sup>. TD: p'c

<sup>10</sup>. Thus text; K35, BK: 'pzst'

<sup>11</sup>. Text: yst'r

<sup>12</sup>. Text: dlwnd

20.4) When the souls of the righteous and the wicked arrive, +it turns to the place (i.e. the side) which is appropriate for them.

20.5) By the great glory of the creator and the command of the one who (takes) the just account and is the guard of the bridge, for the righteous the width of the bridge becomes as much as the height and length of nine spears – each of which is three +reeds long – and for the wicked, the narrowness of the bridge becomes like the edge of a razor.

20.6) And he who is righteous passes over the bridge, and the pleasantness of his journey, according to a material simile, is as though a +handsome, wonderful, perfumed person were to walk about with a spiritual sound and go pleasantly and well (and) willingly and effortlessly in the golden-coloured spring.

20.7) He who is wicked falls from the middle of the bridge and turns downwards as he steps on the bridge, because of (its) +roughness and sharpness. And the unpleasantness of his path to hell, according to a material simile, is similar to the middle of a stinking cemetery; there are sharp points of +kync (?) which are inverted and pointing upwards, and they (i.e. the wicked) go with unwilling haste, and they do not allow (them) to stop or to linger.

20.8) That pleasantness and unpleasantness are so much greater for the souls, according to a material simile, as what is fitting for the spirit is greater than what is fitting for the world.

## Pursišn 21

**21.1)** 21-om pursišn <i>ān ī pursīd kū: ka ān [ī] ahlaw be widerēd kē-š was yazišn ī yazdān ud was kār [ud] kirbag kard ēstēd, mēnōg [ī] dahišn, mēnōg [ī] yazišn, dēn ī māzdēsnān ud āb ud zamīg urwar ud gōspand be ō ohrmazd garzišn kunēnd az be widerišnīh ī ān ī ahlaw, u-šān duš-xwār bawēd ka az gētīg be šawēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd?

**21.2)** pāsox ēd kū: ān ī ahlaw \*ruwān<sup>1</sup> ī pad andar be widerišnīh ī ān ī gētīgīg dard-widār, pas-iz az be widerišnīh tā be widašt ī-š pad ān škeft āmār \*cēchīdār,<sup>2</sup> ud pas az āmār pad ān ī xwēš gāh urwāhm, pad ān ī ka-š ham-nāfān ī andar gētīg, kē-šān ān ī mēnōgān rāz an-ayāft ud ān ī ōy<sup>3</sup> gāh a-šnāxt, gētīg<sup>4</sup>-cihrīhā andar glwhyyk<sup>5</sup> (?)<sup>6</sup> andōhōmand [ud] abar<sup>6</sup> yazdān abaxšāyišnēnāg.

**21.3)** mēnōgān<sup>7</sup>, mēnōg [ī] dahišn, <mēnōg ī yazišn ī><sup>8</sup> dēn ī māzdēsnān, mēnōg ī weh ī andar gētīgīg, kē-šān aw-iz ahlaw andar gētīg stāyīdār ud warzīdār [ud] rāyēnīdār ud pānag ud pahrēzēnāg ud ayār bawēd. abar ān ahlaw ī az gētīgīg pānagīh ō pahrēz ayār-dahišnīh apparīhēd abardar<sup>9</sup> garzišn [ud] abar pādāšn paywandišn ud abar-iš nōg pānag [ud] ārāstār xwāhišn ō dādār kunēnd.

**21.4)** dādār [ī] wisp-tuwān paywāzēd ud ō druz wānišn ō ahlawān šnāyišn, ō ān ī weh dāmān pānag ud frayādāg baxšēd.

**21.5)** ciyōn guſt ēstēd kū: andar har(w) zamānagīhā, dēn dastwar ud rāyēnāg ī dām paydāgēnīd, kē andar ān ī zamānag dām pānagīh ud yazdān kāmagīh abar rawāgīhēd.

1. Text: 'hlwb'n for: 'hlwb' lwb'n'

2. Text: 'm'lc d'P'

3. DF; OI.

4. DF, J2, H: stwš

5. Thus K35; TD: dlw'cyk'; J1: dlw'h Y; J2, H, DF: dlw'hk'

6. Thus all MSS; TD and text have: ME

7. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: mynšn; K35: MN-š'n

8. Emended by cd.

9. Text: 'płt'!

**Pursišn 21**

21.1) The twenty first question: when the +righteous man who has performed much worship of gods and many duties and good deeds departs, do the spirit of creation, the spirit of worship, the religion of the Mazdeans, the water, earth, plants and beneficent animals make complaint to Ohrmazd about the departure of that righteous man? Is it distressing to them when he departs from the material world? or how is it?

21.2) The reply is this: the soul of the righteous undergoes material pain while it departs. After departure, until it has passed through that frightful account, it +laments. After the judgment it is joyful in its own place, and since its relatives who are in the material world have not realised the +the spiritual mysteries, and have not known its place, they are +glwhyyk (?) full of grief (for them) in a worldly manner, and arouse the gods +to pity (them).

21.3) +The spirits, the spirit of creation +(and the spirit of the worship) of the Mazdean religion, the good spirit in the material world, of whom that righteous man is, the praiser, worker, arranger, protector, servant, and helper in the material world, make a loud complaint to the creator about that righteous man who is deprived of earthly protection, care and help; they also make a request to the creator concerning the attaching of reward (to the righteous man) and about their new protector and arranger.

21.4) The omnipotent creator responds and allots destruction to the druz, gratification to the righteous, and a protector and helper to the good creatures.

21.5) As it is said: at all times he reveals a religious authority and an organiser of the world, (through) whom the protection of the world and the performance of the will of the gods is put into effect at that time.

## Pursišn 22

**22.1)** 22-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū gyān ka az tan ī mardōmān frāz stānēnd ciyōn be šawēd?

**22.2)** pāsox ēd kū: pad ān hōmānāg guft ēstēd ciyōn ka az ātaxš suxrīh<sup>1</sup> ul-hanjīhēd. cē ātaxš ka sōzišnīg sōxt, <ī> a-brāh mānd, ka nōg sōzišnīg nē ayābed, <ud> ayāb wizāyišnīg abar rasēd, ēg-iš suxrīh garmīh az-iš be šawēd. gyān-iz<sup>2</sup> pad a-tōšagīh<sup>3</sup> andar tan nē ēstēd ham-mānag be šawēd.

**22.3)** ham-passazag dēn dastwarān ēn-iz guft kū margōmandān mardōmān pad dānišn hangām wēnēnd ka mēnōgīhā band-ē ū grīw kūnēnd, ka-š zamānag frāz mad, ēg-iš pad ham-bar rāyēnēd u-š ū ūftišn gyāg ī marg. wihān ī marg: u-š būšāsp abespārēd \*wēn,<sup>4</sup> u-š tab ašōbēnēd ūš, u-š zarmān stānēd nērōg,<sup>5</sup> pad ān ī abespārēd \*wēn,<sup>6</sup> weh rawišn ud tazišn ī abzārān kē-šān zōrēnāg hēnd abāz ēstēd, ud cihr<sup>7</sup> kē xwadīg andarōnīg bizešk ast, widarag ī rōšn nē ayābed. u-šān ašōft ūšīh rāy ū cārān \*šnāsišn<sup>8</sup> ud ūd zōrīh rāy ū cārīg kār rāh bast bawēd. pad agārīh ī abzārān rawēd ruwān ī a-marg tan kadag xwadāy abāg gyān ī zīwēnāg az tan ī agār, ud<sup>9</sup> ruwān ī a-marg ciyōn kadag xwadāy ī dānāg az kadag ī awērān ū mān ī hu-pēsīd.

**22.4)** ūh-iz guft pēšēnīg<sup>10</sup> frazānagān kū gyān ast mēnōg zīwēnāg ī andarag<sup>11</sup> ruwān ī tan; tā ruwān ham-kadag ī tan zīndagīh dārēd tan,<sup>12</sup> widard tan zīndagīh ī ruwān ast.

1. Thus J1; text: swh'lyh

2. Thus K35; text: HYA cygwn

3. K35: w't wškyh

4. Text: yn

5. TD: klyn'k'

6. Text: xwn

7. Text: cyl

8. Text: šn's'n

9. Text: OL

10. Emended by ed.; text: pyš'yk'

11. ūndPn'

12. K35: ŠLYTWN-tn'

**Pursiṣṇ 22**

22.1) The twenty-second question: when they take the soul away from the bodies of men, how does it depart?

22.2) The reply is this: it is said to be like when the redness is drawn out of a fire. For when the inflammable (material) of a fire is burnt, it remains without glowing, if it does not receive new inflammable (material); or (if something) injurious affects (it), then its redness and heat depart from it. (So) too the soul does not stay in the body +without provisions, (but) departs in the same way.

22.3) +Likewise the authorities of the religion have said that as a result of (their) knowledge mortal men are able to see the time when he (i.e. Astawihād, the demon of death) puts a +noose around the neck. When his (i.e. a man's) time has come (i.e. at the point of death), he leads him along as a +companion to the place of death (for) falling down (i.e., destruction). The cause of death (is this): +Būṣāsp gives up his breath, fever causes his consciousness to be destroyed, old age takes his strength away; because he gives up (his) breath, the faculties which give him strength fail to function and to move properly and the +nature which is his own inward physician does not find a clear path. Their path is closed to the recognition of remedies on account of the destruction of their consciousness (i.e. those entrusted with his well-being) and to the remedial duties on account of losing strength. On account of the inactivity of the faculties of the (body), the immortal soul, (which is) the master of the house (in) the body; departs along with the animating life from the impotent body; and the immortal soul like a wise master goes out from the ruined house (i.e. the body) to a well decorated dwelling.

22.4) Likewise the ancient sages have said thus: life is a vitalising spirit which is within the soul in the body; as long as the soul is in the same dwelling as the body, the body is alive; (but) the departure of the body is the life of the +soul (i.e. in fact the soul starts a better life when it leaves the body).

### Pursišn 23

**23.1)** 23-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ka ān ī ahlaw be widerēd, ruwān šab ī fradom ud sidīgar kū gyāg nišinēd ud cē kunēd?

**23.2)** pāsox ēd kū ēdōn guſt ēstēd kū ruwān ī mardōman xwad mēnōg ī tan, pas az bc widerišnīh se šab pad zamīg bawēd, ud gumān ī abar xwēš gāh, andar bīm ī<sup>1</sup> az āmār ud tars ud wišayg<sup>2</sup> ud bīm [ud] cēhag<sup>3</sup> ī az puhl ī cinwad rāy \*sōhēd<sup>4</sup> ud cēhān nišinēd ud abar xwēš kirbag [ ud ] wināh nigerēd.

**23.3)** ruwān ī andar rāh ī<sup>5</sup> ō ham mēnōg ī tan kē-š ham-sōhišn [ud] ham-mārišn ast abar wināh ī-š kard ud kirbag ī-š kam kard cašmagāh bawēd.

**23.4)** u-š fradom šab az xwēš humat, dudīgar šab az hūxt, sidīgar šab az huwaršt rāmišn ō ruwān hāzēd, agar abāg-iz ahlawīh wināh ast ī-š pad bun ēstēd, fradom pad tōzišn dušxwaršt pādisfrāh ham sidīgar šab rasēd.

**23.5)** ham sidīgar šab andar bāmīg<sup>6</sup> nigāhbed<sup>7</sup> ganjwar ī kirbag ciyōn hu-cihr kanīg-ē be ō padīrag āyēd, abāg hambār ī xwēšīg kirbag [abar] frēg cand a-tōxt wināh ud bazag be ō āmār rasēd rāstīhā āmārīhēd, ud pad mānd wināh puhl pādisfrāh widārēd.

**23.6)** tōxt dušmat , duš-hūxt , dušxwaršt abāg frayādāg ud rāmēnāg mēnōg ī xwēš humat, hūxt, huwaršt be ō garōdmān ayāb ō wahišt ayāb ō hamēstagān ī ahlawān ānōh kū-š andar ahlawīh gāh ast awiš franāmēd.

1. Emended by ed.; text: bymyh; DF: b'myh

2. Thus DF; text, J1, J2, H: wyhyk'; K35: wšyk'; TD: wš'yk'; ed. Emends to: nšyp (?)

3. Text: pšk'; TD: pyhk'

4. Text: swhyth

5. Text: Ps-1

6. Text: b'mny

7. Text: nk'y'pyt'; K35, J1: 'y'pyt'; J2, H, F: W 'y'pyt'

**Pursiṇ 23**

23.1) The twenty third question: +when he who is righteous departs where does (his) soul sit on the first night and the second and the third, and what does it do?

23.2) The reply is this: +it is said that the soul of men (which is) itself the +spiritual (counterpart) of the body, remains three nights on earth after the departure doubtful about its own place, and in fear of judgement, and in dread and +anxiety and because of (its) fear and horror of the Cinwad bridge, it sits suffering and lamenting and examines its own good deeds and sins.

23.3) The +journeying soul (lit. the soul on the way) which (is) +the same as (?) the spiritual (counterpart) of the body, with which it has the same feeling and the same perception, becomes +aware of the sins it has committed and the few good deeds which it has done.

23.4) And +the first night pleasure reaches the soul from its own good thoughts, the second night from its own good words, and the third night from its own good deeds; and if also, with the righteousness, there be sin which is in his +account, the first punishment in atonement for the evil deeds happens on the same third night.

23.5) On the same third night at dawn, the +guardian and treasurer of good deeds who is like a handsome maiden comes to meet it, with the store of its own good deeds on (her) shoulder. Many unatoned sins and crimes come into the account and are justly accounted for, and in atonement for the remaining sin it undergoes punishment.

23.6) (After) +having atoned for evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, along with its own good thoughts, good words and good deeds (in the shape of) the helpful and pleasing spirit (i.e. the beautiful maiden) it +proceeds to the supreme heaven (garōdmān), or to paradise (wahišt) or to the limbo (hamēstagān) of the righteous, where there is a place for it in righteousness.

### Pursišn 24

24.1) 24-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: ān ī druwand ka be mīrēd, ruwān šab ī fradom ud dudīgar ud sidīgar kū gyāg nišīnēd ud cē gowēd [ud] kunēd?

24.2) pāsox ēd kū ān ī šab se ruwān pad zamīg bawēd [ud] abar menišn gōwišn kunišn ī ān ī xwēš-tan nigerēd,<sup>1</sup> ud gumān ī abar xwēš gāh, ud garān bīm ī az āmār, meh tars ī az puhl ud škeft bīm ī dušox rāy \*sōhēd,<sup>2</sup> menišn garān cēhag<sup>3</sup> ud bīm <ī> nimūdār.<sup>4</sup>

24.3) ud ruwān [ī] andar rāh <ē> mēnōg ī tan abar kirbag ī-š nē kard ud wināh ī-š kard hangārīdār<sup>5</sup> ud cašmagāh dādār.

24.4) fradom šab az xwēš duš-menišnīh, dudīgar šab az xwēš duš-gōwišnīh, ud sidīgar šab az xwēš duš-kunišnīh awištābōmand; be az kirbag ī-š andar gētīg kard ēstēd; fradom šab mēnōg ī hu-menišh ud dudīgar šab mēnōg ī hu-gōwišnīh ud sidīgar šab mēnōg ī hu-kunišnīh be ō ruwān rasēd, u-š rāmišnīg ud frayādāg bawēnd.

24.5) ud sidīgar šab, andar bāmī[g] nigāhbed<sup>6</sup> ī-š wināh pad carātīg kirb ī sahmgēn [ud] rēman ī āzārdār abāg hanbār ī-š wināh ō padīrag āyēd<sup>7</sup> ud gandag wād ī abāxtarīghā be ō padīrag āyēd ud 'stssstyh'(<sup>8</sup>)<sup>9</sup> pad nibēmišnīhā (<sup>9</sup>)<sup>10</sup> ud a-kām-tāzišnīhā be ō āmār rasēd.

24.6) pad frēstagīh frēstārīh ud abārōn-dēnīh ud \*ašōganīh<sup>10</sup> \*zūr-gug[āyīh]<sup>11</sup> hamē weh-gōhr nikōhagīh ud druz-stāyīh freh-wināhīh ēraxtēd ud az puhl ūstēd ō dušox nigūnīhēd.

<sup>1</sup>- J1: wtylyt'; J2, H, DF: wdylyt'

<sup>2</sup>- Text: swwhyst; DF: dyn' AYT

<sup>3</sup>- TD, K35: cygwn

<sup>4</sup>- Thus al MSS; ed. emends to: bym Y MN t'l

<sup>5</sup>- Text: hwgl'yt'

<sup>6</sup>- Text: nk'ypf'; other MSS: nk'kpf'

<sup>7</sup>- K35: YIIMTWN-yt

<sup>8</sup>- Thus K35; text: 'styssyytyh'

<sup>9</sup>- Thus DF, H, J1, J2; K35: npwdmšnyh'; text: PWN wymšnyh'

<sup>10</sup>- Text: šwgnyk'

<sup>11</sup>- Text: zwlgwk; J1: zlyn'; J2, H, DF: zwlyn

**Pursišn 24**

24.1) The twenty-fourth question: when he who is wicked dies, where does the soul sit on the first night, the second, and the third? and what does it say and do?

24.2) The reply is this: that those three nights the soul is on earth and observes the thoughts, words, and deeds of its own body, and (it is) uncertain about its own place and feels grievous fear of judgment (and) great terror of the bridge and grievous fear on account of hell, and (its) thoughts display terrible +grief and fear.

24.3) And the +journeying soul, the spiritual (counterpart) of the body, is +considering the good deeds it has not done and the sins it has committed, and acknowledging (them) (lit. "making (them) evident (to himself)").

24.4) It is +troubled the first night by its bad thoughts, and the second night by its bad deeds, and the third night by its bad words, but on account of the good deeds which it has done in the material word, the first night the spirit of good thoughts, the second night the spirit of good words, and the third night the spirit of good deeds come to the soul and become pleasing and helpful to it.

24.5) And the third night at dawn, the +guardian of its sins in the shape of a frightful, filthy and harmful +maiden comes to meet it with the store of its sins, and a fetid +northerly wind comes out to meet it; and (the soul) comes to judgement with +... (?) +prostrating (?), and unwillingly running.

24.6) On account of deception and deceit, heresy, smiting the righteous, false witness, perpetual +blaming of the +good-natured, and praise of evil, and excessive sinfulness, it (i.e. the wicked soul) is +condemned and falls from the bridge and is thrown headlong into hell.

**Pursišn 25**

**25.1)** 25-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ciyōnīh ī wahišt ud āsānīh xwašīh andar wahišt ciyōn ast ?

**25.2)** pāsox ēd kū ulīg ud abrāzīg [ud] bālistīg rōšntom hu-bōytom ud pāktom ud hu-cihrīhātom abāyišnīgtom wehtom ud gyāg māništ<sup>1</sup> ī yazdān.

**25.3)** u-š andar ast hamāg āsānīh ud rāmišnīh urwāhm ud šēdāyīh ud nēkīh wēš ud weh az-iz ān ī mahist ud abardom nēkīh rāmišn ī pad gētīg.

**25.4)** u-š nēst ēc niyāz ud dard bēš ud duš-xwārīh.

**25.5)** u-š xwašīh ud nēkīh [ī] yazdān az ān ī hamēšag-sūd gāh [ud] ganj ī purr ī a-kāhišn an-abesīhišn<sup>2</sup> a-kanārag.

**25.6)** ud wahištīgān andar wahišt abē-bīmīh ī az anāgīh ciyōn ū a-petyāragīh rasišn ī nēk yazdān<sup>3</sup> ciyōn ū xwēš kirbag passazag.

**25.7)** and<sup>4</sup> frahist nēkīh ī mēnōg ī az ān ī gētīg cand ān [ī] a-kanārag ud hamēīg az ān ī kanāragōmand ud \*jahišnīg.<sup>5</sup>

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1- J1: m'nst

2- Emended by ed.; text: 'n'psh'n'

3- Text: wyh'n

4- Emended by ed.; text: HNA

5- Text, J1, J2: wyh'nyk; others: wy'h'nyk'

**Purśiṇ 25**

25.1) The twenty-fifth question: what is the nature of paradise, and how are the comfort and the pleasure therein?

25.2) The reply is this: that (it is) high, exalted, and supreme, most splendid, most fragrant, and most pure, and most beautiful, most desirable, and best, and (it is) the place (and) dwelling of the gods.

25.3) And in it there are all comforts and pleasures, delight and +bliss and goodness exceeding even the greatest and highest goodness (and) comfort in the world.

25.4) And there is no need nor pain, sorrow nor discomfort in it.

25.5) And the pleasure and goodness +of the gods (derive) from that place of +everlasting benefit, from the complete and undiminishable treasure which is imperishable and unlimited.

25.6) And the heavenly beings (have) no fear of evil in heaven, for (they have) come to the (place of) safety of the good gods as befits their own good deeds.

25.7) And the goodness of the spiritual (world) is superior to the goodness of the material (world), as much as that which is unlimited and everlasting is more than that which is limited and +subject to change.

## Pursišn 26

**26.1)** 26-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ciyōnīh [ī] dušox ud dard duš-xwārīh pādifrah ud gand<sup>1</sup> ī dušox ciyōn ast?

**26.2)** pāsox ēd kū: frōdīg, zofāyīg, nigūnīg, ud tārīktom, gandagtom ud sahmgēntom,<sup>2</sup> an-abēdāntom ud wattom gyāg ud gilistag ī dēwan ud druzān.

**26.3)** u-š nēst andar ēc āsānīh [ud] xwašīh ud urwāhmīh.

**26.4)** u-š andar ast hamāg gandagīh ud rēmanīh, dard ud pādifrah, bēš ud zarīg<sup>3</sup> ud anāgīh [ud] duš-xwārīh.

**26.5)** u-š nē hangōšīdag ēc [ō] gandagīh rēmanīh dard ud anāgīh ī gētīgīg. cē nē hangōšīdag gumēzag<sup>4</sup> anāgīh ī gētīgīg ō ān ī-š a-jomā-nēkīh u-š damišn az bun-kadag ī anāgīh.

**26.6)** ud and garāntar ān anāgīh andar dušox az-iz garāntom anāgīh ī andar gētīg, cand mehīh ī mēnōg az gētīg, ud wēš garān<sup>5</sup> tars ī pādifrah ī abar ruwān az ān ī pad tan wattarīh ī dēwān.

**26.7)** ud pādifrah abar ruwān az ān māništ az dēwān tār, mānāgīh<sup>6</sup> ī ān anāgīh ō dušox ī-šān kamālak <ī> ahreman purt-marg.

**26.8)** ud cimīg guftan ī dastwarān saxwan ēd kū: abārīg har(w) cīš bīm wēš kū xwad cīš, ud dušox xwad<sup>7</sup> cīš ī wattar kū bīm.

1- Text: gwnd

2- Text: smkynwtwm

3- TD, K35: zlp'

4- TD: ZNE-c

5- Thus K35; text: glc'n'

6- Thus text; others: wt'ltwm 'n'kyh; TD, K35: wt'l m'n'kwyh

7- Thus text; J1, J2, H: hwmnt; TD, K35: hwtm; DF: hwmwt.

**Pursišn 26**

**26.1)** The twenty-sixth question: what is the nature of hell and the pain and discomfort and punishment and stench of hell?

**26.2)** The reply is this: it is below, deep, and underground, most dark, most fetid, and most terrible, most unwanted, and worst, the place and the dwelling of demons and fiends.

**26.3)** And there is no comfort or pleasure or delight in it.

**26.4)** Therein it is all stench, filth, and pain and punishment, sorrow and +grief, evil and discomfort.

**26.5)** And +it has no similarity to the stench and filth, pain and evil of the material world; for there is no similarity between the mixed evil of the material world and that with which there is no goodness, and whose breath issues from the +origin and abode of evil.

**26.6)** And the evil in hell is so much more grievous than even the most grievous evil in the material world, just as the greatness of the spiritual world is (more) than that of the material world; and the +grievous fear of the punishment of the soul is more than that of the wickedness of the demons towards the body.

**26.7)** And the punishment of the soul is from that place, (and) from the darkness of the demons, (and) that evil resembles the hell of their chief Ahriman who is full of death.

**26.8)** The words of the wise utterances of the authorities are these: the fear of every other thing is more than the thing itself, (but) hell itself is a thing worse than the fear of it.

**Pursišn 27**

**27.1)** 27-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū sedōš cim cē ast \*kū<sup>1</sup> andar 3 rōz yazišn ud drōn \*r<sup>2</sup> srōš framāyēnēnd kardan ?

**27.2)** pāsox ēd kū gyān ud ruwān ka az mēnōg waxš be ū gētīg paymōgīh rasēd, u-š dard ud wizāyišn abar widard ēstēd nāzuktar. u-š parvarišn zāyišn paristišn pānagīh pāsbānīh abāyišnīgtar ud a-wizīrišnīgtar; pēm xwarišnīh ud ātaxš nōg-nōg [ud] hamēšag pākīhā andar abāyēd.

**27.3)** ēdōn-iz ka az tanōmandīh bērōnīhēd, u-š dard ud gyān-kanišnīh abar mad ēstēd, ham-gōnag nāzuktar; u-š pānagīh pāsbānīh frayādišn ī az mēnōgān [ud] gētīgān abāyišnīgtar.

**27.4)** u-š mēnōg-cihrīh<sup>3</sup> rāy dahišn ī yazdān ud frayādišn ī mēnōg nērangīg frayādišnīgtar; ātaxš-iz nōg-nōg ān ī andar yazišn ēwēntar.

**27.5)** pad im cim 3 rōz<sup>4</sup> ruwān rāy<sup>5</sup> paywastagīhā yazišn [ud] ātaxš sōzišnīh ud pāk nōg- nōgīh [ud] abārīg dēnīg nērangīg pāsbānīh, pēm xwarišnīh-iz ham \*cāšnīg<sup>6</sup> framūd ēstēd.

**27.6)** az ān ciyōn pāsbānīh [ud] pānagīh [i] gētīgān az dādār framān srōšahlāy xwēš-kārīh ud āmārgar-iz pad sedōš ēk , ān ī ruwān 3 rōz ud šab mēnōg-waxšīh<sup>7</sup> gāh andar gētīg <ud> pānagīhēd<sup>8</sup> pad ān ī srōš pādārīh<sup>9</sup> ud āmārīhēd pad-iz ān ī srōš āmārīh, pad-iz ān cim 3 rōz ud šab yazišn [i] srōš kardan paydāg cim.

**27.7)** rōz ī tasum yazišn [i] ardā fraward framūd<sup>10</sup> kardan ham ruwān abārīgān ardā frawardān ī astān, būdān, bēdān, az gayōmart ī abzōnīg ū sōšāns ī pērōzgar.

<sup>1-</sup> DF: MNW

<sup>2-</sup> Text, TD: dlwn<sup>i</sup> HD; J1, J2, H: dlwn<sup>i</sup>- 1; DF: dlwn

<sup>3-</sup> J2, H, DF: cylyh

<sup>4-</sup> Text adds AMT; but DF adds MNW

<sup>5-</sup> Thus J2, DF

<sup>6-</sup> Text: hwlšnyh c'mcšnyh; J1, J2, H, DF: hwlšnyhc hmcšnyh

<sup>7-</sup> Thus TD; others: whš

<sup>8-</sup> TD: p'nk' YHSN<wn>- yt

<sup>9-</sup> TD: p'tpl'syh; J1 adds hmlwb'n'

<sup>10-</sup> Text: plmwtn<sup>i</sup>

**Pursiṇ 27**

27.1) The twenty-seventh question: (as for) the +Sedōś, what is the reason for ordering the performance of the worship and the +Drōn ritual of Srōś for three days?

27.2) The reply is this: when the spirit and soul come from the +spiritual existence to be clad in the material world, and have passed into the pain and injury (of the material world), they become more vulnerable; and their +fostering and birth, service, protection and defence are more necessary and unavoidable, (therefore) it is necessary (for them) to +drink milk and to keep the +fire constantly tended and in a state of purity.

27.3) Likewise, when he (i.e. man) +emerges from bodily existence, and pain and the cessation of life come to him, he becomes similarly more vulnerable; (therefore) protection and defence and help from the spiritual and the material world is more necessary.

27.4) And on account of his spiritual nature, donations to the gods and the help of spiritual spells are very beneficial; also continually tending the fire during worship is very proper.

27.5) For this reason it is ordered that worship be performed continually for three days for the soul, and that the fire be kept burning, pure, and renewed, (and) other religious spells (be used) to protect (the soul), and also that milk be drunk and (the Drōn) +tasted.

27.6) Because the defence and protection of worldly creatures is the proper function of righteous Srōś by the creator's command, (and) righteous Srōś is also one of those who performs the account on the fourth morning after death, that soul is protected by the +guardianship of Srōś during the three days and nights, the period of spiritual existence in the material world; and he is judged by the judgment of Srōś; and therefore, the reason for worshipping Srōś for three days and nights is manifest.

27.7) On the fourth day, the worship of the righteous Frawahr (of the deceased) and the other righteous Frawahrs of those who are, and were, and +will be, from the bountiful Gayōmart to the victorious Sōśāns, is ordered to be performed for the same soul.

### Pursišn 28

**28.1)** 28-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū yazišn ī srōš any šnūman ī did abāg kardan nē pādixšāy, cē cim rāy \*kū-š<sup>1</sup> judāgīhā yazēnd.

**28.2)** pāsox ēd kū: wispān<sup>2</sup> xwadāy dādār kē xwābar abar xwēš dām, ud grāmīgdār xwēš rāst-bandagīh,<sup>3</sup> ī-š dād ū<sup>4</sup> srōshlāy; <ī><sup>5</sup> judāgīhā yaštan, ka nē ān ī ūy nām wasīhā gōwīhēd, nē-z ān ī amahraspandān nām abāg ūy yaštan pad ēn cim.

### Pursišn 29

**29.1)** 29-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū šab ī sidīgar pad ūš(e)bām ān drōn 3 pad 3 šnūman judāgīhā yaštan cim cē ast ?

**29.2)** pāsox ēd kū drōn ēw<sup>6</sup> kē-š šnūman [ī] rašn aštād šnāyišn ī ūš(e)bām ud gāh ī ušahin rāy<sup>7</sup>, cē gar ī ušdāštār andar šnūman [ī] aštād yazad<sup>8</sup> gōwīhēd abāg aštād gāh ī ušahin.

**29.3)** [drōn ēw kē pad]<sup>9</sup> šnūman [ī] xwarrah xwadāy ī ān hangām, ka ān āmār bawēd, ruwānān andar ušahin bām ī ūš, ka ū āmār šawēnd ā-šān widār pad ūš ī bāmīg.

**29.4)** drōn ēw kē pad šnūman ī wāy ī weh, ēd-iz rāy \*kū<sup>10</sup> ciyōn wāy ī wattar appardār<sup>11</sup> ud zadār, ēdōn-iz wāy ī weh kōxšīdār ud ham padīrag ī wāy ī wattar, u-š wizūdār az gyān-apparišnīh ud padīriftār ud pānag ī gyān drōn rāy.

1- Text: AMT-š

2- J1, J2, H, DF: wysp'

3- J1: bntykyh; J2, DF: bwntykyh

4- DF: OD

5- Text: Y

6- BK: HNA

7- Emended by ed.; text: L'

8- J1, J2, H, DF: yštn'

9- Added by ed.

10- Text: AMT

11- Text: 'pwlt?'

**Pursišn 28**

28.1) The twenty-eighth question: it is not permissible to recite the worship of Srōš together with another second +dedication ritual; what is the reason for worshipping +him separately?

28.2) The reply is this, that the lord of all things is the creator who is beneficent towards his own creatures, and holds dear the status of his own true servant which he bestowed on righteous Srōš. (This) being worshipped separately, since his name is not spoken enough (otherwise), and also the fact that the names of the amahraspands are not venerated with his, (are) for this reason.

**Pursišn 29**

29.1) The twenty ninth question: what is the reason for performing separately the three drōn rituals with three dedications on the third night at dawn?

29.2) The reply is this: one drōn ritual, whose dedication is to Rašn and Aštād, is for the sake of praising the dawn and the +night-time; for the mountain Ušdāštār is mentioned in the ceremony dedicated to the yazad Aštād (and) with Aštād the night-time.

29.3) (One drōn ritual whose) dedication is to the Glory, the ruler of that time when the reckoning occurs. The souls are in the light of the dawn of night-time when they go to the reckoning, then their passing is through the bright dawn.

29.4) One drōn ritual whose dedication is to the good Wāy, because, just as the bad Wāy is the taker and destroyer (of the soul), likewise the good Wāy is a challenger and also opponent of the bad Wāy, and obstructs him from taking the soul, and (the good Wāy is) the acceptor and protector of the soul by means of the drōn ritual.

### pursišn 30

**30.1)** 30-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ruwān ī ahlawān ka be ō wahišt šawēd pad cē ēwēnag šawēd? u-š kē padīrēd, kē nayēd, u-š handēmān ī ohrmazd kē kunēd, u-š az ahlawān ī pad wahišt kas be ō padīrag rasēd,<sup>1</sup> u-š kas pursišn az-iš kunēd ayāb ciyōn, u-š āmār ī pad wināh ud kirbag abar kunēnd, u-š andar wahišt āsānih xwaših ciyōn nimāyēd,<sup>2</sup> u-š xwarišn cē, u-šān ayārišn ī be ō gētīg bawēd ayāb nē, ud sāmān ī wahišt paydāg ast ayāb cē ēwēnag?

**30.2)** pāsox ēd kū: ruwān ī ahlawān be ō wahišt pad zōr ī ān ī mēnōg kirbag abāg weh mēnōg ī ruwān parwānag, pad paymān ud pāyag ud \*tāyag<sup>3</sup> ī-š xwēš kirbag, abāg kirbag mēnōgīg be <ō gētīg> rah [ud] wardyūn ud wāš<sup>4</sup> ī cahārag bārag [ud] jāmag [ud] payrāyag [ud] abzārān ī abāyišnīg ud mēnōg-wāzišnīhā be ō wahišt ayāb ō garōdmān ānōh kū-š gāh ast franāmēd.

**30.3)** u-š wahman amahraspand ō ohrmazd ī dādār handēmānēnēd, ud az ohrmazd framān gāh ud mizd paydāgēnēd, ān ohrmazd <ō> handēmān gāh, pad ān ī wēnēd dānēd ud \*ayābed<sup>5</sup> šād bawēd.

**30.4)** ohrmazd ī weh dāhagān<sup>6</sup> dādār andar-iz mēnōgān mēnōg, u-š mēnōgān-iz wēnišn, ōh dīd ī mēnōgān abar gētīgān paydāg.

**30.5)** be ān ī ka<sup>7</sup> pad wuzurg \*xwašīh<sup>8</sup> ī dādār, mēnōgān<sup>9</sup> gētīgīg wēnišnīhā paymōzēnd, ayāb<sup>10</sup> ō gētīgān mēnōg sōhišnīg wēnišn abyōzēnd enyā, axw pad gētīg sōhišn mēnōgān dīd<sup>11</sup> pad ān hangōšīdag tuwān, ciyōn ka tanīhā wēnēnd <ī> kē-š ruwān andar, ayāb ka ātaxš wēnēnd kē-š wahrām andar, ayāb āb wēnēnd kē-š xwēš mēnōg andar ast.

<sup>1</sup>- BK: YATWN-yt'

<sup>2</sup>- Text: nm'yt'

<sup>3</sup>- Text: t'd(y)k'; J1, J2, H, DF: om.; BK: t'd(y)k'

<sup>4</sup>- J1, J2, H, DF: W wn's W; TD: W wn's W

<sup>5</sup>- Text: h'cyt'

<sup>6</sup>- DF: dhyk'n'

<sup>7</sup>- DF: MNW

<sup>8</sup>- Text: hwyšh; BK: w'nyšh; TD, DF: w'ndš; other MSS: w'ndyh

<sup>9</sup>- From this point TD adds: BRA ZK Y AMT PWN LBA hwyš d'tl mynwk'n QDM gytydy'n pyt'k

<sup>10</sup>- Thus K35; text: AHRN-c

<sup>11</sup>- DF: HZYITWN-d

**Pursiṇ 30**

30.1) The thirtieth question: when the soul of a righteous man goes to heaven, in what manner does he go, and who receives him? Who leads him, and who introduces him into the presence of Ohrmazd, and does anyone of the righteous in heaven come out to meet him, and does anyone make enquiries of him? Or how (is it)? Will they arrange a reckoning of his sins and good deeds, and how are the comfort and sweetness shown to it in heaven, and what is his food, and does their help come to the material world, and is the limit of heaven manifest, or what form does it take?

30.2) The reply is this, that the righteous soul proceeds to heaven through the power of (his) spiritual merits, accompanied by the good spirit which is the guide of the soul, according to the proportion, degree, and +position of his own good deeds, together with the spiritual meritorious deeds in the +chariot, vehicle and carriage with four horses, with garment and adornment and suitable equipment, and spiritually flying to heaven or to Garōdmān, where his place is.

30.3) And Wahman the amahraspand introduces him into (the presence) of Ohrmazd the creator and by order of Ohrmazd he reveals his place and reward, (namely) a place in the presence of Ohrmazd, (and) through what he sees, realises and obtains he becomes glad.

30.4) Ohrmazd, the creator of good +creatures, is a spirit even among spirits, and the spiritual beings vision of him is (like) that which is manifest to the material beings through watching the spiritual beings.

30.5) But when through the great +kindness of the creator the spiritual beings put on worldly appearances, or moreover, when they give a spiritual sense of sight to the beings of the material world, then the consciousness can see the spiritual beings through a worldly sense in just such a way as when one sees bodies in which the soul is, or when one sees fire in which is +Wahrām, or when one sees water in which is its own spirit.

**30.6)** be pad ān handēmānīh ohrmazd ān ruwān wēnēd ēwar; cē ohrmazd wispān wēnēd.

**30.7)** ān-iz \*ahlawān<sup>1</sup> ruwān, cand-iš az ān ī ohrmazd andar mēnōgīg sōhišn abyōzīhēd, pad nimūdan ī az ān ī ohrmazd urwāhmanīhēd.

**30.8)** u-š ahlawān ī andar wahišt kē-š andar gētīg paywand ud dōst ud ham-dēn ud ham-gāh<sup>2</sup> būd hēnd dōšāram<sup>3</sup> nimāyišnīh ud drōd<sup>4</sup> pursišnīh, mānāg burzišnīgīh ī az madan ī ō wahišt ī u-š hamē nēk būdē andar wahišt gōwēnd.

**30.9)** ud āmār ī pad wināh ud kirbag abar wahištīgān nē bawēd; xwad andar ēn mādayān škeft pursišnīh; cē ruwān ī widardagān be ō wahišt, kard-āmārīh ud tōxt-wināhīhā ēdōn rasēd, ī ka-š tā fraš(a)gird ānōh gāh ud ō nōg āmār a-niyāz.

**30.10)** ud ān ī āmār bawēd pad hangām ī āmār <bawēd>; āmārgar ohrmazd, wahman, mihr, sroš, rašn, har(w) ēk pad xwēš hangām, hamāg pad rāstīh āmār kunēnd, ciyōn pad dar ī xwēš pāsox nibišt.

**30.11)** ān ī xwarišn rāy pursīd, gētīg xwarišnān pad dō rāh bawēd; ēk a-caxšišn<sup>5</sup> ī az awištāb ī az āz, ēk pad urwāzišn ī ō frazāmišn,<ī> andar wahišt awištāb ī az āz nēst ud pad wēš-rāmišnīh urwāz.

**30.12)** pad ān homānāg ī ciyōn gētīgān ī az xwarišn ī urwāzišnīgīh<sup>6</sup> frazāmīhēnd; ān-iz ruwān mēnōgīg frazāmišn rāmišn ham-andāzagīhā awiš rasišnīg,<sup>7</sup> u-š pad nimāyišn ī ō gētīgān nām<sup>8</sup> mēdyōzarm rōgn.

1- Text: dlwc

2- DF: hm nk's; J1, J2, H, BK: hm wyhyh

3- TD, BK: dwšlm; others: dwšlm

4- Text: ŠWM; BK: šnwmm'

5- Text: 'chššn'; J1, J2, H, DF: 'chš'n'

6- DF: 'wrw'cšnyh Y

7- DF: ls'nyh

8- Thus TD, BK, DF; text: d'm

30.6) But at that introduction Ohrmazd sees the soul assuredly, because Ohrmazd sees all things.

30.7) And also the soul of the +righteous, in as much as it perceives (something) of Ohrmazd through a spiritual sense, becomes delighted by what it is shown of Ohrmazd.

30.8) And the righteous in heaven who have been his relatives and friends, and are of the same religion and the same place in the world, show him affection and enquire after his health and (shows) similar respect for his coming to heaven and tell him: "welcome to heaven!"

30.9) And there will be no reckoning as to the sins and good deeds of the heavenly ones — this is itself among the difficult questions (dealt with) in this treatise — for the souls of the departed arrive in heaven after the accounting has been done and (their) sins atoned, so that their place is there until the renovation and there is no need for a new accounting.

30.10) And that accounting is at the time of accounting. Those who perform the accounting (are) Ohrmazd, Wahman, Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn, each at his own time. They will all perform the accounting with justice, according to the reply written in its own chapter.

30.11) As to that which (you) asked about food: worldly meals are (consumed) in two ways: one +without tasting, from haste due to greed, and the other with enjoyment to the end. In heaven there is no haste or greed but enjoyment with much delight.

30.12) Just as those worldly creatures become perfected by joyful food, in like manner spiritual perfection and joy reach the soul, and in its appearance to worldly creatures (this) is +called +"spring butter".

**30.13)** u-š cim ī ān nām ēn kū andar<sup>1</sup> gētīgīg xwarišn ān ī az gōspandān bar pāšom guſt ēstēd, andar ān ī gōspandān bar pad xwarišnīh ſir ud andar ſir rōgn ud andar rōgn ān [ī] pad wehīh stāyīd ēstēd, ī dudīgar māh ī az sāl ka mihr pad gāw axtar bawēd gīrēnd, ciyōn ān māh [ī] dēnīg zarmiyā<sup>2</sup> xwānīhēd. nām āmārišn ud nimāyišn ēn kū-š handāzag ī gētīgīg ān ī pāšom xwarišn ī andar gētīg.

**30.14)** ud ān ī ahlawān ruwān az wahišt ud garōdmān be ayār-dahišnīh nē bawēd; cē ān ī purr urwāhm axwān, ēg-iš nē az-iš ayāsišnīh, be-š har(w) kas awiš purr ayāsišn ast.

**30.15)** be, ham ruwān gētīg, gētīgān xwēšīgān, ham-nāfān ayādīhēd, ān ī hu-ayād<sup>3</sup>, a-brādarōd<sup>4</sup> a-petyārag, ud hamāg-rāmišn gētīg ī ciyōn pad fraš(a)gird bawēd, urwāzēd pad xwēš hangām<sup>5</sup>, ud madan awiš ayāst.

**30.16)** ud ham ruwān āsānīh ud rāmišn ud urwāhm ī andar wahišt ud garōdmān pad paymān ristag ud ēwēn ī xwēš kirbag.

**30.17)** hamāg ēwēnīg āsānīh rāmišn ī ciyōn gētīgīhā az mard ī dōst ī dānāg ān paristag ī tarsāgāh ud abārīgān mardān ī frahixtišnīgān; ēd-iz az<sup>6</sup> nārīg ī hu-kirb ī hu-šarm [ī] šoy-kāmag, ān ī \*ēr-mānag ī \*paristār, ud abārīgān nārīgān ī sūd-abgārān; ēd-iz az stōrān, pahān, dadān, murwān, māhīgān [ud] abārīg gōspand sardagān, ēd cē az rōšnān ātaxšān hu-tazišnān wādān ud brāzīdagān<sup>7</sup> ayōxustān \*xōn abgēnagān<sup>8</sup>, ēd-iz ī az \*pargān<sup>9</sup> būm xānag hamist zamīgān ī hu-dāhagān; ēd-iz ī az rōdān ud xānīgān cāhān<sup>10</sup> ud hamist āb sardagān; ēd-iz ī az dārān ud draxtān ud mēwagān ī narm ud jordāyān<sup>11</sup> ud wāstarān ud

1-. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; others: BYN gtydy

2-. Thus TD; text: zlm'h

3-. J1, J2: 'byd't

4-. Emended by ed.; text has 'blmtlw'

5-. TD: hwyš 'n'm; DF: 'wyš'n ŠM

6-. Thus text; others: HNA MNW

7-. Text: bl'p'k'n

8-. Text: 'wn'k'n'yk

9-. Text: plyk'n

10-. Text: ch'n

11-. Text: ywl'p'n

30.13) And the reason for that name is this: it is said that the best earthly food (comes) from the products of cattle, and among the products of cattle used as food milk (is the best), and amongst milk (products) butter (is the best), and amongst butters (the best is) that which is extolled for its goodness, which they obtain in the second month of the year, when +Mihr is in the constellation of Taurus, as that month is called Zarmya in the religion. The interpretation and explanation of the name is this, that the earthly equivalent of that (i.e. heavenly food) is the best food in the world.

30.14) And the soul of the righteous does not +help (anyone) from heaven and Garōdmān, because there is no longing (to go) away from that joyful existence, but every one is full of longing (to go) towards it.

30.15) But the soul thinks of the world and his worldly friends and relatives, these (things) which are +good to remember, without rivalry and without antagonism, and a world full of pleasure, as it will be in the renovation; and he rejoices in his time and longs to come to it,

30.16) And likewise the comfort, pleasure and joy of the soul in heaven is in proportion to the kind and manner of his own good deeds.

30.17) All kinds of comfort and joy as (there are) in the world, (such as what may come) from a man who is a wise friend, (or) a reverent servant, or other cultured men, this (i.e. comfort) also (which may come) from a beautiful, modest, and husband-loving woman, (or) a humble maid servant, or other +beneficial women; this also (which may come) from +large and small cattle, wild beasts, birds, fishes, and other species of animals; this also (which may come) from bright fires, well-blowing winds, shining metals and +bright crystals; this also (which may come) from +walls and lands, houses and all +well-fertilised lands; this also (which may come) from rivers and springs, wells, and all kinds of water; this also (which may come) from trees and

tarragān ud sprahmagān ud abārīg urwarān; ēd-iz ī [az] zamīg passāzišnīh ī imēšān ī dām [ud] hamist dahišān. ēd cē-<az>ēwēnagān <ud> mizagān ud bōyān ud gōnagān<sup>1</sup> ī xwaš, hamāg cihrān zōrān kārān axwān abzārān be ō margōmandān madan šayēd; az ān mēnōg kirbagīg pad hangōšīdag ud hōmānāgīh ī dīdārag, narān ud nārīgān ud gōspandān ud ātaxšān ī ādurān hāmōyēn ayōxustān ud \*sigān<sup>2</sup> ud zamīgān ud ābān ud urwarān passazagīhā kirbag mēnōgīg ō ān ruwān abyōxt pad pāyag [ud] paymān ī-šān zōr ī az kirbag rāyēnīdārīh ī ān ahlaw ō<sup>3</sup> ān ī ahlaw pad rāmēnīdārīh sazāg hu-nāmīhā<sup>4</sup> ud abāyišnīgīhā ud sazišnīh ud hamēšag rāmišn paywastagīhā ud a-jomā-bēšīhā ayābed, was-iz urwāhmīhēd <ī> ī-š andar gētīg az bun handāzag nē whī (?) , be ō ān ī wahištīgān ud garōdmānīgān ēdōn rasēd ī-š ān-iz ī abardom nēkīh ud rāmišn ī gētīgīg nē hangōšīdag.

**30.18)** be pad āgāh-dārīh ī ō gētīgān nimūnag guftan [ud] nimūdan ī az gētīg; enyā kanāragōmand abāg a-kanārag ud a-sazišnīg abāg sazišnīg [ud] kāhišnīg<sup>5</sup> abāg a-kāhišnīg ham-hangōšīdag nē bawēd.

**30.19)** ud gētīg ast kanāragōmand ud sazišnīg ī kāhišnīg, ī ān ī a-sar rōšnīh ast a-sazišnīg a-kāhišnīg ud ān ī hamāg-sūd ganj hamēīg sūd an-abesīhišnīg ud ān ī rōšn garōdmān wispr urwāhm a-jomā bēš.

**30.20)** ud ān ī ahlaw andar wahišt ud garōdmān gāh ān ī mizd fradom ayābed,<sup>6</sup> u-š tā rist-āxēz<sup>7</sup> ka gētīg-iz abēzag [ud] a-petyārag bawēd xwad az-iš a-wardišnīg pad rist-āxēz<sup>8</sup> ān meh ud weh pāšom ayābed<sup>9</sup> ud jāwēdān xwārīhēd.

<sup>1</sup>- Test: wnyNy'n; H: nkwnk'n; DF: wnyNy'

<sup>2</sup>- Emended by ed. to syg'n while it should be emended to \*sk'n = sigān (written syg in Dd. xvi.4); text has: KLBA-<sup>n</sup>

<sup>3</sup>- BK omits

<sup>4</sup>- Text: hwd'myh'; others: hw-ŠM-yhyh

<sup>5</sup>- Emended by ed.; text has k'sšny'

<sup>6</sup>- Text: h'cyt'

<sup>7</sup>- Text: lyst 'hc

<sup>8</sup>- Text: lyst 'hc'

<sup>9</sup>- Text: h'eyt'

shrubs, soft fruits, grain and fodder, vegetables, flowers, and other plants; this also (which may come) from the cultivation of the earth by (?) these creatures and all creation; these pleasant tastes and fragrances and colours of all types, all natures, powers, people, beings, (and) abilities can come to mortals; (all these) on account of his spiritual good deeds are attached to the soul, in the manner and likeness of a vision, males and females, cattle, +fires of fire (temples), metals of every kind, (precious) +stones, lands, water and plants, as befits (his) +spiritual merits; in the degree and proportion of their strength (resulting) from that righteous man's achievement of good works, that righteous man is worthy of pleasure and obtains good reputation, and what is seemly and fitting and constant comfort with no pain. He is also so joyful that no example is +wht(?) in the world from the beginning, but (that happiness) comes to those who are in heaven and those in Garōdmān in such a way that even the highest worldly happiness and pleasure were no comparison.

30.18) But for the sake of enlightening the worldly beings (it is necessary) to tell them and to show them an example from the material world, otherwise there is no similarity between the limited and the unlimited, the perpetual and the transient, (or) the diminishing and the undiminishable.

30.19) The material world is limited, transient, diminishing, and the endless light is perpetual (and) undiminishing, and that all-beneficial treasury is ever-beneficial (and) imperishable, and the bright Garōdmān is all joy with no pain.

30.20) And one who is righteous at first obtains a place and reward in heaven and Garōdmān, and it is his until the resurrection, when the world also becomes pure and unassailed, and he becomes unchangeable thereby, and through the resurrection he obtains what is greater and better (and) most excellent and is happy for ever.

### Pursišn 31

**31.1)** 31-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ān ī druwand ka ō dušox šawēd ciyōn šawēd; cē ēwēnag šawēd; u-š kē ō padīrag āyēd; u-š kē nayēd ō dušox; u-š az dušōxīgān kas ō padīrag āyēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd; u-š pādifrāh ī wināh ī-š kard pad ēw-bār abar kunēnd ayāb-iš tā tan ī pasēn ān ham pādifrāh ast? u-šān andar dušox xwarišn cē bawēd; u-šān dard ud duš-xwārīh pad cē ēwēnag ast; dušox sāmān paydāg ast ayāb ciyōn ast?

**31.2)** pāsox ēd kū ān ī druwandān ruwān pas az be widerišnīh,<sup>1</sup> šab ī tasum kard āmār az puhl ī cinwad nigūn gardēd ud \*kafēd.<sup>2</sup>

**31.3)** u-š wizarš<sup>3</sup> dēw sezdēnīhā bastag nayēd,<sup>4</sup> u-š nayēd be ō dušox.

**31.4)** u-š abāg bawēnd mēnōg dēw ī hambūsīd<sup>5</sup> az ān ī oy wināh pad was cihrag ud gāh<sup>6</sup> mānāg ī wimuštārān-iz, rēšidārān,<sup>7</sup> özanišngarān, murnjēnīdārān, marān, duš-kirbān, bazag-ēwēnagān ud an-abāyistān, \*a-carātīgān<sup>8</sup>(?), rēmanān, gazāgān,<sup>9</sup> darrāgān xrafstarān, gandagān wādān, tārīkān, gandagān<sup>10</sup> sōzāgān, tišnagān, \*gušnagān,<sup>11</sup> \*anābuhlān,<sup>12</sup> ud abārīg frahist wināhēnāgān ud dardēnāgān kē-š pad hangōšīdag ī gētīg bēš-kardārān mēnōgīg abāg bawēnd.

**31.5)** u-š ham handāzag [ī] zōr [ud] nērōg ī-šān az ān ī oy wināh dād, ān ī tā bc ō fraš(a)gird zamān, an-āsānīhā dardēnēnd [ud] bēšēnēnd.<sup>13</sup> ud pad ān ī wizarš<sup>14</sup> nīdārīh a-kāmagīhā āyēd be ō dušox ud handēmānīhēd ō druz ud gan(n)āg ud pašēmānīhēd az frēbišn ī \*waranīgīhā<sup>15</sup> kāmagīh, ud az dušox abāz ayāstār ō gētīg ud škeſt ārzōg ō kirbag.

1. Ed. emends to: BRA mylšnyh or: plwt' YMYTWN- šnyh

2. Text: kpynyť

3. Text: wyzl'š

4. Text: n'yť; TD: 'yt'

5. Thus J1, J2, H: hmbwsyt'; text: hmbwsit'; BK, TD: hmwwsyť; DF: hmbwstķ'

6. Text: nk's

7. TD: lyštw'p'n'

8. Text: 'ncl'tyk'n

9. TD: gc'n

10. TD omits.

11. Text: dwš gnn'k'n

12. Text: 'n'p'hl'n

13. Text: byšnynynd; J1: byšdynynynd; BK: byšyšn' ynynd

14. Text: wyzl'š

15. All MSS: wlykyh'; ed. has emended to wlwnykyh'

**Pursišn 31**

31.1) The thirty-first question (you) asked is that: when one who is wicked goes to hell, how does he go? In what manner does he go, and who comes to meet him, and who conducts him to hell, and does anyone of the denizens of hell come to meet him, or how is it? And do they punish him for the sins which he has done all at once, or is his punishment the same until the final body? And what is their food in hell, and how is their pain and discomfort? And is the limit of hell manifest, or how is it?

31.2) The reply is this: on the fourth night after departure, the soul of the wicked, having been judged, topples head first from the Cīnwad bridge and falls down.

31.3) And the demon +Wizarš conducts him, oppressively fettered, and leads him to hell.

31.4) And with him there are the spirits of the demons produced from his sins in various forms and places, similar to those who are destroyers, +damagers, slayers, spoilers, felons, ugly criminals, unworthy (people), +those who are shameless, (?) polluted, those who bite and tear, noxious creatures, fetid winds, glooms, burning stenches, thirsty ones, +hungry ones, those who are not atoned, and many other (demons) who incite people to sin and cause suffering, who make trouble for (him) in the spiritual world as in the gētig.

31.5) And in the same proportion as the strength and power which is +given to them (i.e. the demons) by his sins, they make him experience torment and pain without respite until the time of renovation; and he comes to hell unwillingly under the guidance of Wizarš. (Then) he is introduced to the druz and the Evil one (i.e. Ahriman). He is regretful of the delusion of +lust and desire, and from hell he remembers again the material world, and he has a great desire for good deeds.

**31.6)** u-š xwarišn pad handāzag ī ān ī andar [gētīg]<sup>1</sup> gandagtom, pūdagtom, rēmantom ud a-xwašīhtom; u-š xwardan nē pad urwāzišn frazāmišn, be pad niyāz ī-š az āz awištābīhēd ud gursag ud tišnag dārēd <juxt<sup>2</sup>>.

**31.7)** az ān bazag-ēwēnagīh u-š nē bawēd sagrīh, be-š abzāyēd awištāb u-š ān dard ud pādifrāh ud awištāb dagrīh.

**31.8)** gyāg-iš<sup>3</sup> andar dušox nē sāmānīhēd, pēš az rist-āxēz tā fraš(a)gird zamānag andar dušox.

**31.9)** u-š wināh \*frāzīg<sup>4</sup> ān pādifrāh paywastag. u-š ān pādifrāh az druz [ud] mēnōg ī xwēš wināh <i> pad ān ēwēnag ud handāzag abar rasēd ī-š āzārīd ud bēšīd ud ān ī wattar yašt ud stūd [ud] paristīd.

**31.10)** pad fraš(a)gird zamānag ka wānīhēd ān druz, ān ruwānān ī druwandān 3 rōz andar āhan ī widāxtag widārēnd. hamāg druzān duš-menišnān ī-šān az ān wināh <ud> pad burišn ud škenišn ī ān āmēxtagīh ī ān ī druwandān ruwān wināh passazīgīhā dardīhēnd<sup>5</sup> ud \*awištābīhēnd;<sup>6</sup> ud pad ān ī abardom šōyišnīh pad ān ī widāxtag āhan be yōjdahrīhēnd az gast rēbag<sup>7</sup> ud pad xwābarīh ud aboxsīdārīh ī xwābarān xwābartom āmurzīhēnd ud az didom abēzagān bawēnd ciyōn pad hangōšīdag guſt ēstēd kū abēzagān bawēnd 2 ēwēnag: ēk ī analūd, ēk ī āsnūd.<sup>8</sup>

**31.11)** pas az ān yōjdahrīh nē bawēnd dēwān nē pādifrāh nē dušox ī abar druwandān; awēšān-iz wirāstag bawēnd<sup>9</sup> rāst bawēnd ahlaw a-dard a-marg ud a-bīm ud abē-anāgīh.

1- Added by cd.

2- TD: hwht

3- Text: gyw'kyh

4- Text: pl'ck

5- Text: dlt' YHSN-nd

6- Text, TD: 'wyštp'YHSN- nd; DF: 'wštpynd

7- Text: lyypk'

8- Text: 'sn' tn'

9- Emended by ed.; text: YHWWN-yt

31.6) +And his food is similar to the most fetid, most rotten, most polluted, and most unpleasant food in the world; and he does not eat with delight (and) fulfilment, but he is impelled by need, which is due to greed, and is kept hungry and thirsty,

31.7) because of that sin. He has no satisfaction, but his oppression increases and (so does) the length of his pain and punishment and oppression.

31.8) His place in hell is not limited, (but) before the resurrection until the time of renovation (he is) in hell.

31.9) And (because) his sin (is) +increasing that punishment is continuous. That punishment comes to him from the druz (and) the spirit of his own sin in the form and proportion in which he tormented and hurt others, and worshipped and praised and served that which is evil.

31.10) At the time of renovation, when the fiend is conquered, the souls of the wicked pass through molten metal for 3 days; (and) all the evil-minded demons who +(were ...) by their sin suffer appropriately and are oppressed by the destruction and breaking-up of the (state of) mixture (caused) by the sins of the souls of the wicked; and through that supreme washing with molten metal, they become purified from the +horrible deceit, and they are forgiven and become pure +again by the benevolence and mercy of (him who is) supreme one among the benevolent. For, it is said likewise that (men) become pure in two ways: one which is unmixed (with sin), and one which is purified.

31.11) And after that purification there will be no demons, no punishment and no hell for the wicked; they too, are saved (from sin) and become upright; they become righteous, pain-free, immortal, fearless, and free from evil.

**31.12)** u-šān abāg rasēd mēnōg ī ān kirbag ī-šān kard ud rāyēnīd ēstēd andar gētīg. u-šān rāmišn ud urwāhm ayābēd pad pāyag [ud] paymānag ī ān kirbag.

**31.13)** be ruwān ī ahlawān pādāšn<sup>1</sup> [ī] weh-dādīh [ud] wēš kirbagīh, gāh [ī] weh ud pāyag [ī] meh rāmišn ud šādīh wēš bawēd.

### Pursišn 32

**32.1)** 32-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū dušox pad kadām kustag ud kadām zamīg ud ciyōn ast ?

**32.2)** pāsox ēd kū gyāg ī druwandān ruwān pas az frōd mīrišnīh ī tan pad 3 wimand:

**32.3)** u-š ēk hamēstagān ī druwandān xwānīhēd gumēzag ast be anāgīh wasīhā ud frāyīhā wēš az nēkīh, ud gyāg sahmgēn,<sup>2</sup> tārīk ud gandag ud garān anāgīh.

**32.4)** ud ēk ān ī wattom axwān xwānīhēd ast fradom \*wixrūnīgān<sup>3</sup> ud dēw[ān] māništ ānōh dārēnd, ud anāgīh ud pādisfrāh purr, ud āsānīh ud rāmišn ēc nēst.

**32.5)** ēk druzaskān<sup>4</sup> xwānīhēd ast pad bun ī xān ī tom kū dēwān kamālīg<sup>5</sup> dwārēd; ānōh hamāg tār ud hamāg anāgīh ābād mān.

**32.6)** ēd 3 gyāg pad hangirdīg dušox xwānīhēd; ast abāxtarīg ud nigūnīg ud azērīg ī ēn zamīg ud tā-z abardom nigūnīh ī asmān;<sup>6</sup> u-š dar pad zamīg az abāxtar nēmag, gyāg ē(w) ast arezūr grīwag xwānīhēd. kōf ē(w) ī pad ham kōf ī arezūr<sup>7</sup> nām kē andar kōfīg<sup>8</sup> kōfān pad dēwān meh<sup>9</sup> nām andar dēn guft ēstēd; dēwān andar gētīg ham-dwārišnīh ud hanjaman pad sar ī ān kōf ciyōn ān ī arezūr kamāl xwānīhēd.

<sup>1</sup>- Text: pt's

<sup>2</sup>- Text: smkyñ'

<sup>3</sup>- Text: wyhlws'n; TD, BK: wšlwysn'

<sup>4</sup>- TD: 'st'nk'; H: 's'n; J1, J2, DF: 'sd'n

<sup>5</sup>- Text: km'lPk'

<sup>6</sup>- Text: 's'm'n', J1, J2, H, DF: 'sym'n'

<sup>7</sup>- Text: 'lwzwI

<sup>8</sup>- Thus text; ed. has emended to: BYN-c npyk'

<sup>9</sup>- Text: myh for: ms

31.12) And the spirit of the good works which they have +done or have arranged in the world, reaches them, and they obtain comfort and pleasure according to the degree and proportion of those good works.

31.13) But the reward of the souls of the righteous on account of (their) belief in the good religion and having more good deeds, is a better position and a greater place (in heaven) (and their) comfort and happiness is more.

### Pursišn 32

32.1) The thirty-second question (you) asked is that: on which side and (in) what location is hell, and how is it?

32.2) The reply is this, that the place of the souls of the wicked after the death of the body is in three directions.

32.3) One of them is called the +limbo of the wicked, and it is mixed with evil much more than good, and it is a +terrible, dark, and fetid place (with) grievous evil.

32.4) And one is that which is called the worst existence, (and) it is the first (place of) +tormentors (?) and the demons have (their) abode there. It is full of evil and torture and there is no comfort nor pleasure.

32.5) One is called druzaskān, (which is) at the bottom of the house of darkness, where the head of the demons runs; it is a crowded place of all darkness and evil.

32.6) These three places, together, are called hell. It is to the north and downwards and below this earth, and it also (reaches) to the outermost limit of the sky, and its gate to the earth is on the northern side, (where) there is a place which is called the neck of +Arezūr, a mountain within that same mountain (range) bearing the name of Arezūr, which among (all) the mountains is said in the religion to have the greatest fame with the demons, because the demons in the material world rush and gather on the top of that mountain, so that it is called the head of Arezūr.

### Pursišn 33

33.1) 33-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū az cagād ī dāitī rāh ē(w) ī ašōān ū wahīšt ud ēk ī druwandān ū dušox u-š ciyōnīh pad cē ēwēnag ast?

33.2) pāsox ēd kū: ēk ū ulīh ud ēk ū nigūnīh ud har(w) dō az ēk mayānag,<sup>1</sup> ēn was ū šnāsišn be cāšišn<sup>2</sup> rāy nibēsēm<sup>3</sup> kū: ān ī ahlawān ruwān pad cinwad puhl widerēnd pad mēnōg wāzišnīh ud ān ī kirbag zōr ul ū star ayāb ū māh ayāb ū xwaršēd pāyag ayāb ān ī asar-rōšnīh franāmēnd. ān ī druwandān ruwān az puhl \*ōftēnd,<sup>4</sup> u-š druxtār dēw ud rēman[īh] az ān ī ōy wināh hambastag<sup>5</sup> <u-š> andar zamīg ū nigūnīh nayēnd, ciyōn har(w) do rāh az ān puhl ī abar dāitī cagād.

### Pursišn 34

34.1) 34-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū: ēn gētīg abē-mardōm be bawēd ēdōn kū ēc astōmand andar nē bawēd ud pas rist-āxēz kunēnd ayāb ciyōn bawēd?

34.2) pāsox ēd kū ēn gētīg hamēšag az āfurišn tā-z ū abēzag fraš-kardārīh hagriz<sup>6</sup> abē-mardōm nē būd, nē-z bawēd; ud gan(n)āg-mēnōg [ī] a-weh ēn rawāg-kāmagīh nē hāzēd.

34.3) ud nazd ū zamānag ī fraš(a)gird astōmandān az xwardārīh be ēstēnd pad a-xwarišnīh zīwēnd, ud frazand az awēšān zāyēnd ān ī anōšag ēd cē dagr-pattāy ud anagr(āy)<sup>7</sup> kirb dārēnd.

34.4) ēdōn kē<sup>8</sup> astōmandān mardōmān ast ī pad gētīg hēnd; ka widardān mardōmān ast ī abāz āxēzēnd<sup>9</sup> ud abāz zīwēnd.

1. Emended by ed.; Text, Bk, DF: m'šnk'

2. Text: cyššn

3. TD: LA YTYBWN-m

4. Text: 'wptšnyh

5. TD:hmb'stk'; BK, K35: hmbwsyt'; J1, J2, H, DF: hmbwst'

6. Text: hkwlc'

7. J1, J2, DF, H: hwwyl'd; BK: hwdl'g

8. Thus BK, K35; other MSS: MN

9. Text: h'c-ynd

**Pursišn 33**

33.1) The thirty third question: how is the way of the righteous to heaven, and the one of the wicked to hell from the Dāitī peak?

33.2) The reply is this: one is upwards and one is downwards and both (ways start) from the same middle point. I write this much for (you) to understand through (my) teaching: the souls of the righteous pass over the Cinwad bridge in spiritual flight, and the power of (their) meritorious deeds leads them upwards to the stars, or to the moon, or to the station of the sun, or to the endless light. The souls of the wicked fall down from the bridge, and the deceitful demon and the defilement (caused) by their sins lead him bound and downwards into the earth; for both ways are from that bridge on the Dāitī peak.

**Pursišn 34**

34.1) The thirty-fourth question: will this world become completely depopulated, so that there will be no corporeal being in it, and afterwards will they (i.e. the renovators) produce the resurrection, or how will it be?

34.2) The reply is this, that the world has never been, and also will never be depopulated, the whole time from the creation right up to the pure renovation; and the +evil Ahriman will not achieve the fulfilment of his desire.

34.3) Material beings will stop eating near the time of the renovation and live without eating, and immortal offspring will be born from them, because they will have durable and +infinite bodies.

34.4) It is so in the case of (those) who (are) corporeal men (living) in the world; in the case of dead men, they will rise again and live again.

### Pursišn 35

35.1) 35-om pursišn ān ī pursid kū awēšān kē<sup>1</sup> andar fraš-kardārīh andar abāyēnd kē hēnd kē bawēnd ciyōn hēnd?

35.2) pāsox ēd kū abāyišnīgān<sup>2</sup> ī pad ān ī pāsom kār gōkānī[g] ošmurd drāz; cē gayōmart, jamšēd ud zardušt spītāmān ašōān rad ud wasān wuzurg spāsān abzār ī fraš(a)gird frazāmēnīd rāy brēhēnē[n]d. azišān wuzurg abd ud awizīrišnīg rāyēnīdārīh abar raft<sup>3</sup> ī ō kardan ī fraš(a)gird kunēd.

35.3) pad-iz ān ī fraš(a)gird nazdīkīh sāmān kersāsp kē dahāk wānēd, ud kayxosrō kē<sup>4</sup> wāy ī dagrand-xwadāy \*widārīhēd<sup>5</sup> ud tūs ud wēw abāg ān abārīg cand wuzurg kunišnān ayār hēnd fraš-kardārīh

35.4) be ān ī wāspuhragānīgtar fraš(a)gird kardār 7 guft ēstēd ī-šān nām rōšncašm, xwarcašm, \*frādat-xwarrah,<sup>6</sup> wīdat-xwarrah,<sup>7</sup> ud kāmag-nyāyišn,<sup>8</sup> kāmag-sūd ud sošāns.

35.5) ciyōn guft ēstēd kū andar 57 sāl ī rist-āxēzišnīh zamānag, rōšncašm pad arzah ud xwarcašm pad sawah, frādat-xwarrah pad fradadasf<sup>9</sup> ud wīdat-xwarrah pad wīdadafš, kāmag-nyāyišn<sup>10</sup> pad wōrūbaršt ud kāmag-sūd pad wōrūjaršt ud sošāns pad xwanirah ī bāmīg abēzag.

35.6) paywast-axwīh, bowandag-ham-wēnišnīh,<sup>11</sup> spurīgīhā-dānišnīh, ud purr-xwarrahīh ī ān haftān fraš(a)gird-kardārān ēdōn abd kū az kišwar be ō kišwar har(w) ēk ō 6 āgenēn ēdōn ham-pursēnd, ciyōn nūn mardōm ō ham-wēnišnīh, ham-gōwišnīh ud ham-kunišnīh pad uzwān ēk ō did saxwan gōwēnd ud ham-pursagīh kunēnd.

1-. BK: MN

2-. Text: 'pxššnyk'n

3-. BK: YATWN-<sup>3</sup>d

4-. Text: MNW MN; BK: MNW MNW; J1, J2, H, DF: omit MNW MN

5-. Text: wt'lynyt'; J1: wtylynyt'

6-. Text: pl'yt'; TD: pl'syt'

7-. Text: w'nyt'- GDE

8-. Emended by ed.; Text has: k'mk whššn'

9-. Text: pldt'pš

10-. Emended by ed.; text: k'mk whššn

11-. Emended by ed.; Text has: w'mnšnyh

**Pursišn 35**

35.1) The thirty fifth question: who are those who are necessary for making the renovation, who will they be, and how are they?

35.2) The answer is this, that a detailed count of those who are necessary for accomplishing that most perfect work is a lengthy business, for Gayōmart, Jamšēd, and Zardušt the Spītāmān, the master of the righteous, and many great assistants will produce the means for completing the renovation. Through them there come about the great wonders and essential arrangements which cause the making of the renovation.

35.3) Likewise, near the time of renovation, Kersāsp the Sāmān who conquers Dahāk, and Kayxosrō, who is transported by Wāy of the long dominion, and Tūs and Wēw, with the many other doers of great deeds, will help to make the renovation.

35.4) But the most particular +renovation-makers are said to be seven, whose names are: Rōšncašm, Xwarcašm, Frādat-xwarrah, Widat-xwarrah, and Kāmag-nyāyišn, Kāmag-sūd, and Sōšāns.

35.5) As it is said: in the fifty-seven years, which is the period of the raising of the dead, Rōšncašm (will be) in Arzah, and Xwarcašm in Savah, and Frādat-xwarrah in Fradadafš, and Widat-xwarrah in Widadafš, and Kāmag-nyāyišn in Wōrūbaršt, and Kāmag-sūd in Wōrūjaršt, and Sōšāns in the glorious and pure Xwanīrah.

35.6) The like-mindedness, perfect agreement, complete knowledge and gloriousness of these seven renovation-makers are so wonderful that they each consult with the six others, from continent to continent, just as now people speak and consult one another with the tongue (i.e. by speaking in person) in order to agree in opinions, in words and in deeds.

35.7) ham pāšom-kunišnān pad 6 sāl andar 6 kišwar pad 50 sāl andar xwanirah [ī] bāmīg a-margīh win(n)ārēnd, hamē-zīndagīh ud hamē-sūdīh<sup>1</sup> rawāgēnēnd pad ayārīh zōr [ud] xwarrah ī wisp-āgāh spenāg mēnōg dādār ohrmazd.

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<sup>1</sup> Thus all MSS; text, TD: swdkyh

35.7) Likewise, these (renovation makers) whose works are perfect establish immortality and propagate everlasting life and everlasting advantage, for six years in the six continent, and for fifty years in the glorious Xwanirah, through the help and strength and glory of the omniscient and beneficent spirit, the creator Ohrmazd.

## **Commentary**

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### **Heading**

juwānjamān [ywb'n'ym'n] “Juwānjamān”: MacKenzie 1984, 383 explains the underlying name as Juwān-jam “the young Jamshed” rather than Gušn-jam “the male Jamshed”; see also Boyce 1979, 153.

wizārēnīd “explained”: the MS reading gwc’lynyt<sup>l</sup> implies the NP form guzār-.

### **Introduction**

The introduction to Dd. was transcribed and translated by Kreyenbroek 1995, 171-176. I am indebted to him for his scholarly treatment of the text.

**Int.1-** xrad “wisdom”: for discussion of xrad, which has a prominent role in Zoroastrian thought, see Shaked 1979, 229 note 2.4; see also Dd.1.2.

**Int.5-** ham-spāh “fellow soldier” Kreyenbroek ibid.; “united, as a united force” MacKenzie 1984, 158.

ān ī pāšom axwān “that of the best existence” = “the best existence”: This construction seems to be characteristic of the author’s style; cf. e.g. Dd. Int.22; 13.3; 11.1 ān ī kirbag (Prof. Sims-Williams).

**Int.6-** mādayān “the main thing; book”: on this word see Shaked 1979, 232, note 8.1.

**Int.7-** mowward seems to be a fully-trained priest as compared to hāwišt who is a “priestly student”; on this word see Bailey 1933-35a, 279 and Kreyenbroek 1987, 189, 196.

**Int.11-** \*frāzīg [pr’cyk] “foremost, eminent, chief”: derived from frāz (?); cf. Dd. 31.9; 43.15.

dēn pēšōbāy “leader of the religion”: for two different explanations of this word see Bailey 1971, XXXVII-XXXIX, and MacKenzie 1967, 130-136.

tāyag [t’yk] “capability, ability”: from tāy-, tāyīdan “to be capable, to suffice” (for which see Nyberg 1974, 193; Loq., Vol. 47, p. 250). Anklesaria emends to t’kyh; Kreyenbroek offers no explanation. The phrase pāyag ud tāyag “position and ability” occurs again in Dd.30.2. The rhyme is no doubt deliberate.

**Int.15-** dōl [dw] “Dōl”: is the name of a sign of the zodiac (Aquarius). In ŠnŠ.XXI.1-2 it is used to measure the length of a shadow at midday: nišān ī sāyag ī nēm-rōz nibēsēm farrox bawād! xwaršēd pad ... 15-om ī dōl hašt pāy ud nēm “I write of the indication of the midday; may it be auspicious. (When) the sun (is) ... at the 15th of Aquarius, (the shadow is) eight and half feet”. In Gr.Bd.Va, 1-2 Dōl corresponds to Tīr when Ahriman makes an attack on the creation of Ohrmazd; see Anklesaria, B.T., 1956, 60. Cf. Dd.30.13 where the sun is in the constellation of Gāw “Taurus”. Here Dōl seems to be used in order to indicate the time in the month Tīr when the writer has received the letter. Another possibility is to read the word dūr in the sense “late” (cf. Loq., Vol. 188, p. 347) and translate the phrase “near the end of the month ...”. Kreyenbroek 1995, 175, n. 50 reads dawr “time” as an Arabic loan word.

šāhīgān “royal treasury”: literally “kingly”; cf. NP šāygān. CPD., 79 gives the translation “palace”, which is a specialization of this basic meaning. For the etymology of this word see Bailey 1971, 231.

**Int.23-** nihādag “foundation”: on this technical term see Dhabhar 1955, 132.

## Pursišn 1

This chapter was translated first by Kanga 1964a and later on by Molé in 1963.

**1.1-** fradom ān ī pursīd kū: lit. “first [is] that which [you] asked”.

mard ī ahlaw: the “righteous man” is here typified by three personalities who are placed at the beginning, middle and end of human existence. They are Gayōmart, Zardušt and Sōšāns. See Molé 1963, 469.

dēn: here seems to refer to the Avesta and Zand. The same meaning can be found in various Pahlavi texts (e.g. DKM.7.44).

meh ud weh az dahišn: likewise man is called sālār ī dāmān in Dd.36.15, cf. also ŠGV.1.6: u-š dād mardōm pad sardārīh ī dāmān ū kām rawāgīh.

**1.2-** wizēngarīh “discrimination, recognition”: seems to be a function of xrad; cf. DKM.485.5: xrad kār ēd: wizēnīdārīh kardan ud weh az wad šnāxtan, ān ī weh griftan, ān ī wattar hištan “the function of wisdom is to discriminate and to know good from bad, to grasp the good and to avoid the bad”. See also Dd.36.19: ān ī wizīngar xrad ...

hunar ī rāstīh weh “the ability to be right is best”: cf. Pahl.Riv.10.1: “Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: ‘Which (is) the one virtue that is best for mankind?’ Ohrmazd said: ‘Truthful speech (is) best’”. For more discussion of rāstīh see MX.3.6; Sd.N. chap. 62; Sd.Bd. chap. 70.1-3; 74.20-22; Dēnkard VI.22.

ham-band “connected”: for the relation between wisdom and virtue see MX. 10.5: ud hunar kē-š xrad nē abāg, pad hunar nē dārišn “and virtue that has no wisdom with it is not to be considered as virtue”.

zēn “means”: can alternatively be read dēn, cf. MX.Intr.39: cē yazdān dēn rāstīh ud dād frārōnīh “since the religion of the yazad is truth and their law is honesty”.

**1.3-** Cf. Shaked 1971, 88, where he gives the translation of this paragraph slightly different.

paymōgīh “being clad”: likewise the body is compared to a garment in Dd.30.5; 36.25. For a comprehensive discussion of paymōg see Bailey 1971, 112.

**1.5-** ōshīh “destruction”: cf. a-ōshīh in Shaked 1979, 134, n. B5. It can alternatively be read: ’wyhyh.

fraš(a)gird-kardārīh: “making of the renovation”; cf. para. 8; Dd.35.1.

xwēšīg “one’s own”: see Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 145, n. 16.

spās: see Shaked 1979, 235, n. 13.6 where the meaning “reward” has been suggested for spās; however, there is another meaning for spās in Dd.36.15: kard-spāsān ahlawān “the righteous who have fulfilled their service”.

nigāh-dāštār “guardian, watchman”: cf. Williams 1990, II, 219, who quotes a passage from DK.VII.1.16 and takes the similar word nigāhdār to mean “watchman”.

**1.6-** For the traditional doctrine, which places the prophet Zardušt in the middle of the history of the world, and its relation to Insān al-kāmil see De Menasce 1975, 546.

**1.7-** Cf. DKM.III, 29: fradom dēn padīriftār ī az dādār gayōmart būd. “Gayōmart was the first to accept the religion from the creator”; cf. also Shaki 1968, 36, who suggests the emendation of mēnišnīg to mēnišnīhā.

**1.8-** It is said in MX.26.14, 17 that the renovators were produced from the body of Gayōmart; see WZ.2.10; cf. also Williams 1985, 683 ff.

hōšang [hwš'ng]: Hōšang of the Pēšdād dynasty in Yt.5.22 presents several sacrifices to Anāhītā wishing to kill two thirds of the gigantic demons of Māzan. He is mentioned also in Yt.19.26; 15.7; 17.26, in the Pahlavi books, e.g. DKM.594.19; Dd.65.5, and in early Islamic sources, e.g. Tabari, Vol.I, 171.

tahmurip [thmwlyt<sup>t</sup>] “Tahmurip”: <Av. taxma.urupay-; as Tafazzoli 1969, 253 has pointed out, when the letter [p] joins to a final stroke it resembles the letter [t]; this has happened to the above word and is the reason for it being mis-read as NP Tahmuraθ. Cf. also Pahl.[hlwst] for harwisp CPD., 220. The name tahmurip is also attested in Dd.36.26; Y.15. 11-12; 17. 24; 19. 28, 29; for the story of Tahmurip and Ahriman see Pers.Riv.294-98; Tabari, Vol. 1, p. 175; Boyce 1975, I, 104.

fraš(a)gird-kardārān “the renovation makers”: see Dd.35.1, Comm., for more discussion of the making of the renovation and those who arrange the renovation including:

xwarcašm [hwlcšm] “Xwarcašm”: < Av. Hvarə.caēšman-; Barth. 1848-49: “Sonnenlicht bereitend” (?); Mayrhofer 1977, I, 73, n. 180 “Der (der Menschen bzw. den Seelen der Verstorbenen) die Sonne durch religiös Kraft zuweist”; He is one of the Immortals and the ruler of Sawah; cf. WZ.35.14; and Boyce 1975, 284.

rōšncašm [lwšncšm] “Rōšncašm”: < Av. Raocas.caēšman- cf. Yt. 13, 120, 128; WZ. 35.14; Barth. 1489: “Licht bereitend” (?); Mayrhofer 1977, I, 73, n. 269 “Der (der Menschen bzw. den Seelen der Verstorbenen) das Licht durch religiös magische Kraft zuweist”. He is one of the Immortals and the ruler of Arezah; cf. WZ. 35.14; and Boyce 1975, 284.

**1.9-** dēn padīriftār: cf. Phl.Riv.47.2: u-š dēn-iz haft bār padīrift “And he received the (revelation of) religion seven times”. See also WZ.34.46 and Williams 1990, II, 215, n. 3.

**1.10-** zāyišn āfur ast [z'yšn 'pw1 AYT]: another possibility is to read the phrase: ...?p<w>1 AYT (... abar ast) as Molé 1963, 473 has read it.

**1.11-** tan kirdār “producer of the bodies”: cf. WZ.34.1 ... zardušt az ohrmazd pursid kū tanōmandīhā pad zamīg bē widard-hēnd, pad fraš(a)gird tanōmand abāz bawēnd ayāb giyānīg hōmānīghā? (2) ohrmazd <guft> kū: tanōmand abāz bawēnd ... “Zardust asked of Ohrmazd: will the embodied beings who passed away on earth be again embodied at the renovation or will they be like shadows? Ohrmazd replied: “they will be embodied again”.

wht<sup>t</sup> “released, freed, separated (?)”: this word has been problematic for all editors of this chapter. Molé 1963, 474 emended it to \*nihāt. Kanga 1964a, 99 read vaxt and translated it “ordained”, relating it to baxt. This word has already been discussed by Zähner 1937-39d, 899 by whom it is connected to Skt. bhrasta- “straying from”. Alternatively Zähner has explained the word from the root \*vac-, \*vak- and has taken it to mean “turn aside, be averse”.

In my opinion waxt is the past form of a verb waxtan “to release, to separate”; cf. NP wāxīdan “separate, keep away from” in BQ., vol. 4, 2244; cf. Sogd. w’c-, wayt “to release, to send, to let”, see Gharib 1995, No. 9792; the word is also attested in Dd.3.2, 4; 30.17; and ŠGV.VI, 3; X, 66; XVI, 102. In ŠGV.VI, 3 the meaning of waxt is rather clear: U han vyāwanī i ēša nēst-Yazat-gōēa, keša Daharī xvānend, ke ez arg i dīnī u ranj i pa kerbaa varzīdan vaxt estend...” Un autre égarement est celui des athées l qu’on appelle dahrī, l qui s’affranchissent de la discipline religieuse et du labeur que comporte l’accomplissement des actes de vertu, ...”, see Menasce 1945, 78.

**1.12-** For the same comparison cf. WZ.34.25: ud did homānāg būd fraš(a)gird kardārīh ō šab ī tār. ka šab ō sar šawēd, xwaršēd [az] se kanārag ī gēhān hanjēd , ud [abāg] abāz ō xwēš giyāg madan wardišn frazāmēnēd. ān nōg pad spīzišn bawēd ud tom ud tār zanēd. “And again the performance of the renovation was analogous to a dark night, when the night ends, the sun goes out to the three ends of the world, and having come back to its own place, it completes the revolution, it recurs anew for brightness and smites darkness and gloom”.

frāšm [pl’šm] “brightness”: <Av. frāšmi- as Gershevitch 1959, 233 explains, is understood as a derivative of frāšma-, meaning “possessed of glow, glowing”. It is also attested in Dd.36.84, 104 in the sense “brightness”; see also Bailey 1930-32b, 596 and 1971, 42 who remarks ‘frašm is here the first light of the sun before the ball of the sun itself is visible’.

meh rōšnīh “the great light”: there are some implications about the great light at the time of renovation in Dd.36.104: andar ān nēktom zamānag , xwaršēd ud māh rōšnān bawēnd bē nē niyāz ō rōz ud gardišn ud spīzišn ī frāšm, cē gēhān hamāg rōšn ud a-tār ud wispān-iz dāmān rōšn. “In that most excellent time there will be sun, moon and luminaries, but there is no need for day and the revolving and advancing of brilliance, because the whole world will be bright and without darkness, and all the creatures will also be bright”

## Pursišn 2

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Molé 1963, 476 ff; and Kanga 1964b, 127-140.

**2.1-** For the same question cf. Shahrastani, Livre Des Religions et des sectes, 1, 1986, 649: Zoroastre demanda: “pourquoi as-tu créé le monde et propagé la Dēn?” Ohrmazd répondit: “parce que le Diable criminel ne peut être réduit à néant que par la création du monde / et la propagation de la Dēn: si la Dēn ne s’était pas développée, le monde ne se serait pas développé”. Also cf. ŠnŠ.II.11: ēn-iz kū

baxt-āfrīd guft kū har(w) dahišn-ē ohrmazd [ō] hamēstārīh ī ēk petyārag ... dād ēstēd." This also, that Baxt-Āfrīd has said that every single creation of Ohrmazd is created to withstand a single assault ...". It is also said in Dēnkard VI, 135 that: u-šān ēn-iz āōn dāšt kū ohrmazd ī xwadāy har(w) dām ēn-ez 2 sūd rāy dād, ēbgad pad-eš absihēnīdan ud gugāhīh ī xwēš rāy. "They held this too: Ohrmazd the lord created every creature for these two benefits: to destroy the adversary by them, and (for them) to serve as his witnesses".

**2.3-** rawāgēnīd [lwb'kynyt] "propagate, set in motion": Prof. Sims Williams suggests that this form is a short infinitive. It seems that this kind of infinitive was quite common in texts of the ninth century.

**2.5-** spurr [wspwl] "perfect, entire": Molé emends this to <ud> spurr; and Kanga: vispurr (?); since this form appears several times in the text it presumably does not need any emendation but is a variant of spurr(īg). Cf. uspurrīg in CPD., 85.

**2.7-** wizīrīhist [weylyhst'] "decided": from wizīrīhistan <sup>1</sup> wizīristan, wizīr-, NP guzīr.

**2.8-** See: ŠGV.VIII.20-24: "For where there is good, there cannot possibly be evil...similarly with other contraries, the fact that they cannot combine and are mutually destructive is caused by dissimilarity in substance. This substantial dissimilarity and mutual destructiveness is observable in phenomena in the material world." (Quoted from: Zaehner 1956, 59).

For "cē ka" as conj. see Nyberg 1974, II, 54.

See Kanga for a different reading; Molé 1963, 476 has left out a part of the sentence.

ānābtagīhā: cf. Shaked 1979, 287 n. B14.17.

az ... rāy "because of": cf. Shaked 1979, 292; cf. also Nyberg, 1974, II, 88: "owing to".

spurrēnīd / spurrēnīdan; for short infinitives see above note 3.

**2.10-** bagīhist: is a denominative form of bagīdan "to divide", Av. baga- ; it is also attested in Dd.13.4 and Gr.Bd. (TD2), pp.149-8.

**2.11-** cf. Dēnkard VI, 23: hunarāwandīh ēd pahlom kē abāg druz ī mēnōg kōšēd. "This possession of virtue is best: one who makes battle against the non-material demons". A parallel text is also found in Pahl.Riv.62-10.

**2.12-** A discussion of the paymān "pledge" is in Zaehner 1961, 286-7; and 41. See also Shaked 1987.

āzādīh [Pc'tyh]: can alternatively be read ābādīh [Pp'tyh] "prosperity", see for detailed discussion Shaked 1974, 217 ff; 239.

abar-ēstišn “superior existence”: cf. Dēnkard VI, 233, 236.

**2.13-** cf. WZ.1.26: se hazār sāl dām tanōmand ud a-frāz-raftār būd. xwaršēd, māh, [ud] starān ēstād hēnd andar bālist a-wizišnīg. (27) pad zamānag sar ohrmazd nigarīd kū cē sūd ast ī az būdan ī dām ka a-pōyišnīg a-rawišnīg [ud] a-wizišnīg. u-š pad ayārīh ī spihr ud zurwān dām frāz brēhēnīd “For three thousand years the creatures were in material state and unable to move .The sun, the moon and the stars stood still in the bālist (i.e. highest position) without revolution. (27) At the end of the period, Ohrmazd observed: ‘what is the advantage of creating the creation if it were unable to run, unable to move, [and] unable to revolve?’ and with the help of the celestial sky and time, he created the creation”.

a-wēnišnīg mēnōg ...: cf. Shaked 1971, 63 where he discusses the term mēnōg.

nimūnag: is grounded in the spiritual world, which is its exemplar. See: Zaehner 1961, 297.

For ruwān as the lord of the body see Bailey 1971, 99. The same meaning is also attested in WZ.29.7: ud spāhbed ruwān, ī xwadāy ud rāyēnīdārīh ī tan, kē-š awiš rad ... “and the soul, the commander, who is the lord and organiser of the body, who is a chief to him ...”

gyān ī zīwēnāg: see Bailey 1971, 99 for the function of gyān. Kanga 1964b, 129, n. 5 reads: axv zīvēndak; Molé 1963, 476 suggests vaxš zivēnāk; but the phrase gyān ī zīwēnāg occurs again in Dd.22.3, 4.

With reference to Frawahr and its preserving function see Bailey 1971, chap. 1.

wīr ī ayābāg: cf. DKM.485: wīr kār ēd: cīš xwāstan “the work of the memory is to seek things”. See also DKM.48.10: wīr nērōg xwāstār ud ayāftār, hōš ōz dāštār ud pādār (?), xrad zōr nigīrīdār wizīngar ud kārīgēnīdār hast ī dānišn “The power of wīr is to seek and acquire, that of the hōš is to maintain and protect, that of the xrad is to observe and decide and set knowledge in motion”. Cf. with ŠGV.5.82: dānišn ī ayābāg “acquisitive knowledge”. Cf. Bailey 1971, 98-102 and Shaked 1974a, 319.

cīhr ī xwad bizešk: see Dd.22.3 for the same phrase.

\*pahrmāyišn [ptlm'hšn] “touch”: see WZ.29.4; 30.25 and Bailey 1971, 102.

\*ōmārdan [‘wm'ltn] “to feel”: the text gives [‘wmt'ltn'] (?). Kanga 1964b, 130 reads hu-matārtan “feeling”. Molé 1963, 476 reads: omatārtar (?).

dil az mēnīdan: Kanga has corrected this to sar az mēnīdan, which does not seem to be necessary since in Persian one aspect of “dil” is thinking as in: cašm ī dil bāz kun ke jān bīnī vān ce nādīdanīst ān bīnī. “Open the eyes of your heart so that you may see the soul, so that you may see whatever is invisible!” (Hatef, p. 27). See also Williams 1990, II, 122, who quotes from Y.31.12: “The heart is the seat of thought”.

waxšišn [ī] xōn pōyīdan: alternatively it is possible to read: waxšišn hu-puš “proper support of life” (?); this part seems to be corrupted by different scribes and I am not entirely happy with my reading. Molé 1963, 478 reads \*vaxšišn xūp xvāstan “et maintient la croissance”.

ēd kē: cf. ēd ka Dd.12.3; 14.3; see Comm. 14.3.

ō tan abzārān: Kanga reads hu-tan abzārān as: “the instruments of the good body”; Molé suggests xwad abzārān, see ibid. We have also in DKM.50.8 gyānīg ud tanīg abzār.

rāst bawandagīh: it is also possible to read rāst bandagīh “true service” as Kanga suggests.

**2.14-** ābādīh: see above note 12.

**2.15-** wābarīgān “trustworthy”: cf. Shaked 1979, 225.

\*kunīhēd [OBYD[W]N-yhyt]: cf. Molé 1963, 477. Kanga 1964b, 130 reads griftihēt. Alternatively, TD’s reading ’dntyhyt’ may be emended to \*ēg-it dahēd (?) “then he gives you”.

wahman pad menišn ...: likewise Wahman resided in Zoroaster’s thought as is mentioned in Dēnkard VI, 2.

**2.16-** ...Wahman pad tan mehmān ēg-iš ēn daxšag ku taftīg bawēd pad kirbag, ud hu-paywand bawed abāg wehān, ud hugar bawēd pad āštīh, ud nēangad wehān jādag-gōw, ud xwad rād bawēd “A man whose body is inhabited by Wahman - this is his mark. He is ardent as regards good works, has a good relationship with the good, is easy in making peace, is an advocate of the good of the destitute, and is himself generous”. Dēnkard VI, 78.

... kē Srōš pad tan mehmān ēg-iš daxšag ēn kū andar harw gāh saxwan abāg šāyēd guftan, ud ka gōwēnd ōh niyōšēd, ud ka āhōg abāz gōwēnd padīrēd ud wirāyēd. kasān rāy drōg ne gōwēd, ud hān ī abē-wināh ne zanēd, ud hān ī wināhgār pad paymān zanēd “A man whose body is inhabited by Srōš - this is his mark. It is always possible to talk to him; when people talk he listens, when they report a fault [which he has] he accepts and disciplines it. He does not tell lies to people, and does not chastise an innocent person, and he chastises a transgressor appropriately”. Dēnkard VI, 28-9. Cf. also Kreyenbroek 1985, 129.

Cf. Williams 1990, II, 219 n. 18 for a different translation of this part as follows: “the presence of Srōš in words is (the result) of him who is aware (i.e. the priest?) being a true speaker and of him who is unaware (i.e. layman?) being a listener to righteous high priests”.

**2.18-** cf. Shaked 1994, 66 for a different translation.

waxšīdan, waxš- “to grow”: cf. Dd.9.2; 36.62.

**2.19-** hāzāngar [h'c'nkl] “inciting”: is read āxizāngar by Kanga 1964b, 130 and is emended to viyābāngar by him.

pahrēzīhīdār “avoider”: on this word see Bailey 1935, 762 and Henning 1936, 579.

### Pursišn 3

This chapter was translated by Molé 1963, 479.

**3.2-** šnāyišn “satisfaction”: cf. Dēnkard VI, 260 n. 97.1.

wht “separate, away” cf. Dd.1.11.

**3.3-** kat [kt] “willing, desirous”: cf. Av. katay- “id.”.

dēn-burdār “responsible for the religion”: cf. Kreyenbroek 1987, 187.

**3.4-wht'** “separated”: cf. Dd.1.11; 3.2; 30.17; however here a possible alternative would be to regard the word as \*nihād; cf. Dd.64, in: Anklesaria 1958, 127 where this word has been emended by Henning to nihād.

### Pursišn 4

**4.1-** Cf. Boyce 1987, 154, who has discussed the difficulties and struggles of the Zoroastrian community in the ninth century.

**4.4-** \*wišayg [wšyk'] “fear, anxiety”: cf. MMP. wšyg; the word is attested in Dd.23.2; WZ.10.2; AWN. chap.1. 3. The word is apparently from \*wi-šadika- (as / payg / \*padika- “footman”); cf. Skt.vi-ṣad, -ṣidati “be despondent, despair” (see Mackenzie 1984, 157 and WZ., p. 159).

### Pursišn 5

**5.1-** Cf. Shaked 1971, 73, where he points out the answer which is given to this question. According to DKM.572 f. anyone can receive reward or punishment either in this world (gētīg) or the other world (mēnōg).

**5.2-** \*wad zamānh \*[SLYA zm'nyh] “evil time”: cf. Bailey 1971, 195 who gives the short text of “The hope of deliverance by Varhrān ī varcāvand” to express the feeling of wad zamānh “evil times”. See also Pahl.T., p. 160; Gr.Bd.I.25. The text gives [slwš] for [SLY']

**5.4-** be [BRA] here stands for pad, implying the NP development pad >pa >be. cf. also Dd.6.2; 16.5; 40.7.

**5.5-** Cf. ZWY.4.68: "... During those perplexing times, religious men will undergo great trouble and difficulty, and they will be in trouble at the hands of the juddins; but although their body will be in trouble and distress, their souls will be flourishing and happy in heaven. If a person does not put his body in sore trial in this world, then he keeps his soul in need in the spiritual world and it will be enfeebled and will be in pain and trouble" (Dhabhar, 1932, 466).

**5.6-** *xwārīh*: see Bailey 1971, 15.

**5.7-** *padisārīg* [ptys'lyk] "conclusion": since sar means both "beginning" and "end", its derivative *padisār* can presumably have both meanings too (Prof. Sims-Williams); it is also attested in WZ.3.1; 22.9 in the meaning "en succession, l'un après l'autre"; cf. also CPD., 63; Nyberg 1974, II, 156 and Tafazzoli 1995, 301.

*zamānīg* "temporary": is also attested in Dd.12.4, 5; DKM.85.21; 355.22; 401.20; REA.21.4; 41.9; WZ.4.2; in CPD., 98 only the meaning "prescribed" is given.

## Pursišn 6

This chapter was translated and transcribed by Molé, 1963, 421.

**6.2-** Cf. Dd.2.9.

be [BRA] "for, to": this Np. form is frequently used in the text; see note to Dd.5.4.

**6.4-** *ciyōn man* "in my image": cf. with Gr.Bd.XXVIII.4: *ruwān ciyōn ohrmazd ud ōš ud wīr ud mārišn ud andōšišn ud dānišn ud uzwānišn ciyōn ān šaš amahraspand ī pēš ī ohrmazd ēstēd* "the soul is like Ohrmazd; intelligence, memory, sensation, thought, knowledge and distinction are like the six amahraspands who stand in front of Ohrmazd". Man is the material equivalent of Ohrmazd in the world; see Gershevitch 1959, 10-12; Shaked 1994, 52 ff. The author of Pahl.Riv. in chapter 46 goes further and declares that Ohrmazd created the creation from his own body, on which see Williams 1985, 683 and 1990, II, 212. This idea (i.e. the sameness of man and god) may have influenced Islamic Iranian mysticism.

*xwadāyīh-iz āyēd*: the sovereignty comes (into being) also; there are several passages in pahl. texts implying that the existence of creation is incomplete without man.

**6.5-** Cf. Kanga 1964b, 138.

*drust-wimandīhā...*: cf. Dd.2.13 for discussion of a similar point.

**6.8-** See Dd.2.15, 18.

abāgēnā: 3rd sg. optative.

See also Shaked 1994, 66 ff. where he compares the righteous man e.g. Zoroaster to Ohrmazd.

## Pursišn 7

**7.1-** Cf. Dd.8.3, Comm.

šab ī sidīgar: is attested in ŠnŠ.VIII.5 as se-šabag.

tarāzūg “balance, judgement”: cf. AWN.10.12.

**7.2-** framūdan in the technical sense “to commission”: is attested frequently in Dd., e.g. Dd. 8.1, 2; 43.2; 81.1; 82.2; 87.6. As pointed out by Kreyenbroek 1987, 188, it was customary for the layman to “commission” an acceptor (padīrifstār) to perform a ritual on his behalf.

bun kardan “to bequeath, to authorise” is discussed by Zaehner 1937-39c, 584; Nyberg 1974, 50; cf. Dd.7.5; DKM.183.14; 184.12; Pahl.T. p. 46.

u-š nē pad jād būd “was not (done) by means of his property”: jād [y't] “share, portion, property”; cf. Av. yāta- “id.” (Barth. 1283) Sogd. y't'k “meat” (Gharib 10908) (Prof. Sims-Williams). The same idiom is used several times in the following paragraphs.

bun kardār: see above bun kardan.

**7.4-** sedōš [stwš] “Sedōš, the forth morning after death”: see Dd.27.1 Comm.

**7.6-** \*anagrān “endless (lights)": emended by Prof. Sims-Williams. The text has [P'm'lgl'n] āmārgarān “accountants” which does not make sense with rōšnīhā.

See Dd.8.3 Comm.

**7.7-** ganj [gnc'] “treasure” cf. NP ganj-a (-e) “cupboard” see Mo'īn 1982, III, 3407.

## Pursišn 8

**8.3-** See: Sd.N., chap. 41 “That which they provide in their lifetime is better; and, just as would occur when anyone plants a tree anew, and is eating the fruit of it every year, even so much is that good work increasing every year ... one who has done a duty on his own account, has seen, that the thing itself which others accomplish after his lifetime is very different (West 1885, 304-5).

### Pursišn 9

**9.1-** waxš “merit, interest”: is discussed by Barth. 1913, note 1 and Hübschmann 1892, ZDMG, 46, p. 329; see Shaked 1979, 307; and Dd. 10.1, 2; 11.1, 3, 4. waxš ī kirbag “interest on a good deed”: by looking through other Pahl. texts as Pahl.Riv.42.4-5 one can see that the use of commercial terms such as capital and interest in a religious sense was well known in Iran at the author’s time.

**9.2-** be ābārīhēd “is lost, taken away, robbed”: or be āzārīhēd “is tormented, damaged”; for different meaning of ābār see Shaked 1979, 250.

See above, note 8.3.

### Pursišn 10

**10.1-** See Dd.12.1

### Pursišn 11

**11.1-** A discussion of a similar question is found in Pahl.Vd.VII.52 where it is said that “a good-thought extirpates a wicked-thought; a good-word extirpates a wicked-word; a good-deed extirpates a wicked-deed”.

kandan ī wināh “to uproot sin”: cf. wizārišn ī wināh “to redeem sin”. Both terms are attested in ŠnŠ.VIII.18; XV.28.

**11.2-** pad bun ēstēd “is in (his) account”: cf. ŠnŠ.V.1; X.17; XVI.2, 3, 4 and Phl.Riv.7.1: ... ā-š ḍ bun nēst “then it is not in (his) account”; cf. also Dd.14.1; MYF., p. 4: ḍ bun nē bawēd “is not in (his) account”. The same phrase occurs in Dd.12.3; 23.4; 39.3.

### Pursišn 12

**12.1-** ḍgārēnd “remove, expel”: from <ōgār-. Kanga reads hangārēnd “they account” which also makes good sense.

**12.3-** ēd cē \*”whatever”: cf. Dd.2.13; 14.3.

dēwānōmandān “archive-holders, registrar?”: cf. dēwān [d(p)yw'n] <\*dipi-vahana- “document house”, Nyberg 1974, 64; see also CPD, 26; in Christian usage: “the recording angels”. Alternatively, one may take this word as haplography for \*dānišnōmandān “the wise ones” as suggested by Prof. Sims-Williams.

a-cafsišn “free from deviation, impartial”: from the root kam-, cam- “to bend”, pres. cafs-, casp-; cf. NP cafta “bent”; see Tafazzoli 1972, 652.

**12.4, 5-** frārōn dād / abārōn dād: cf. Dd.2.13.

### Pursišn 13

**13.2-** Paragraph 2-3 is translated by Kreyenbroek 1985, 135.

kunišngar “doer”: cf. WZ.14.3; 35.28.

Wahman is said to be responsible for the account of the soul on which see Y.48.8; 32.6.

**13.3-** *wināh ī hamēmālān* “the sin against the opponents”: it appears from ŠnŠ. VIII.1, 16 that the hamēmāl sin is an evil action which affects other people while the ruwānīg sin affects only the sinner. It is also said in Pahl.Riv.15b5 that “For (an offence against) opponents a man must make amends, and he should confess to it in (the presence of) the opponent...”. For the names of different sins see Sd.N. chap.13. Some sources on the hamēmāl sin are: Pahl.Texts, wāzag-ē cand az ādurpād mārespandān, para.75; Sd.N. chapter 42, p.33; Pers.Riv.210 ff.; Modi 1922, 446-455; Asmussen 1965, 65; 135; Williams 1990, II, 151.

ō mihrdrujān kūnīhēd “is attributed to the contract-breakers”: lit. “is made unto the contract-breakers”; cf. Kreyenbroek 1985, 135.

mihrdrujān “covenant-breakers”: in Vd.4.2-10 six kinds of contract are spoken of as follows: 1- Word contract 2- hand contract 3- contract about a small cattle 4- contract about a large cattle 5- contract about men 6- field contract; see Pers.Riv.37 in which the duration of the punishment of each kind of contract breaking is mentioned in detailed. See also Sd.N. chap.25.

abar tan ud nāf ...: There is the same statement concerning the sin of contract breakers which affect their relatives in the Pahl.Riv. chapter 6 and Sd.N. chap.25. Alan Williams 1990, II, 124 has pointed out the disagreement between some commentators of Pahlavi books (e.g. Vd.) “on the subject of the sin “coming upon the children” of the sinner.” See also Pers.Riv. I, 53.3.

**13.4-** *ham-bāgīhist* “equally divided”: see Dd.2.10; see also Kanga 1964b, p.133, note 2.

**13.5-** *sedōš*: see Dd.27.1 Comm.

### Pursišn 14

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1970, 219 ff. The subject matter of this chapter is also comparable to Pahl.Riv.24.1 and Dd.15.2 on which see Dd.15.2, Comm.

14.1- az bun be šawēd “depart from his account”: cf. Dd.11.2, Comm.

14.2- Cf. Kanga 1970, 224 for a different understanding of the text.

stūrīh “guardianship”; see Perikhanian 1970, 353ff; also cf. Dēnkard VI, 296, p.114.

14.3- The repeated ka ... ēd ka ... clearly means “whether ... or ...”. Perhaps ē < ēd [HNA] “this” has been confused in writing with a different ē < \*ēw < \*ada-vā “or” (NP yā, cf. MP ayāb < \*ada-vā-api) (Prof. Sims Williams). Cf. Dd.2.13; 12.3.

14.4- ēw-tom “alike, equally”: adv.; cf. Williams 1990, I, 301.

14.5- For several “precautions to be observed while carrying the corpse to the Daxma” see Pers.Riv.118 ff.

14.6- rawāg-kāmagīh: is emended to ruwān-kāmagīh “desire for the soul” by Kanga 1970, 222.

### Pursišn 15

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1970, 219 ff.

15.1- See also Shaked 1994, 39 ff. who discusses the different reports of Zoroastrian books about the fate of the soul.

15.2- A similar answer is given to this question in Pahl.Riv. 24.1: ān-iz paydāg kū ruwān ī ahlawān pas az ān ka gyān az tan be šawēd ka \*gurg ud sag ud way brīnēnd ud jōyēnd ruwān ī ahlawān tis-iz ī duš-xwārīh nē bawēd ud ruwān ī druwandān pas az ān ka-śān ruwān az tan be šawēd ka-ś gurg ud rōbāh ud sag ud way tan brīnēnd ud jōyēnd dard-ē ud duš-xwārīh-ē ēdōn ōh bawēd kū wāng kunēd. “This also (is) revealed, that (as for) the souls of the righteous, after the soul departs from the body, when the wolf and fox and dog and bird rend and devour (the body), there is nothing at all of distress for the souls of the righteous. And (as for) the souls of the wicked, after their souls depart from the body, when the wolf and fox and dog and bird rend and devour the body, there is thus such a pain and distress that is [i.e. the soul] cries out”. It is said in Pers.Riv.165 that “When the body of one fit for hell is eaten by the vultures, torture and discomfort reach his soul, but when the body of one fit for heaven is eaten, the soul of it is in comfort”. A parallel reply is also found in Sd.Bd. chap. 24.

Cf. Shaked 1994, 54, who translates a part of this para. differently.

mārēd, mār- “feel, perceive, notice”: Kanga 1970, 222 reads mālēd.

bōy ī sōhēnāg: see Bailey 1971, 97.

**15.4-** wastarag [wstlg] “garment (?)”: another alternative is perhaps to emend it to \*sturg [stwl̥g] “strong(?)”; so if it is correct the translation should be “... the most interior and secret and strong instrument of an armoury, along with weapons and armours inside it are widely made inactive and destroyed”.

zay “weapon”: alternatively it can be read zarr, meaning “gold”.

**15.5-** frayādišnīg “helpful”: Kanga 1970, 222 reads frahaxtišnīg.

**15.6-** \*ēmēdēnīdan “to give hope”: cf. ēmēdišn “to entertain hope” in Dēnkard VI, E43d, p. 210.

## Pursišn 16

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1969, 65 ff.

**16.3-** ānayišn [‘nyšn] “bringing”: Kanga reads the variant in TD as [‘ws’nwnd] ōsānvand supposedly meaning “having passed away”, but \*ōsānišn “casting out” would fit the context better.

ciyōn mēš ī gurgān \*xast ... : a similar phrase is found in Gr.Bd.IV.10: “the sky was as afraid of him (the Evil Spirit) as a sheep of a wolf”.

**16.5-** be ān cim rāy = pad ān cim rāy: See Dd.5.4 Comm.

sāmān kersāsp [s’m’n’ kls’sp] “Sāmān Kersāsp”: both here and in Dd.35.3; 36.26, 84; WZ.35.2; Pahl.Riv.54; Gr.Bd.XXIX.8-9 he is mentioned as one of the Immortals who in the company of Tūs, Wēw and Kayxosrō will help the Sōšāns to arrange the fraš(a)gird. But another feature of Kersāsp is that he is described as a soulless sinner who polluted the fire deliberately (Sd.Bd.20) or involuntarily (Yt.19.40; Y.9.11). Cf. Gr.Bd.XXIX.8: “As regards Sām they say: He was immortal; at the time he scorned the Revelation of Mazdā-worship, a Turk who was named Nāin slew him with an arrow, when he was asleep; there in the plain of Pēsyānsi, ... a myriad fravahrs of the righteous are his guards for this purpose that when Azi Dahāk shall become unfettered he may arise and smite him”. Williams 1990, II, 245 suggests that Kersāsp’s soullessness is an allusion to his reputed sinfulness. Kersāsp, as Williams 1990, II, 161-4 has pointed out, has the best soul in the sight of Zardušt but is hateful in the sight of Ohrmazd. Williams (ibid.) suggests that H. E. Edulji (who brought together Avestan, Pahlavi and later texts on Kersāspa in 1983, 50; pp. 32-86) “is perhaps correct in supposing that in the Pahlavi books the twist to the legend of Kērəsāspa, the great warrior hero, ‘was probably given by the Sasanian priests to warn the warrior class that they, the priests, were more powerful’”. Some sources about Kersāsp are MX.61.20; ZWY.3.55-61; DKM.802. 14; 803.12; SBE XVIII. 373-381.

**16.6-** nasuš [nswš] “Nasuš”: a filthy female demon who in the form of an angry and ugly fly attacks the corpses from the north, the abode of the demons, and contaminates them; the reason for showing the corpses to the dog is to drive out the demon Nasuš from them. See Pahl.Vd.7.2; ŠnŠ.II.1-4; X.33; Pers.Riv.112-18; Gray 1928, 211; Williams 1990, II, 120.

padwišagōmand [ptwš<>k<sup>l</sup> 'wmnd] “contaminating”: Av. paiti.vaēšah-; see Tavadia 1930, 33, n. 7; Bailey 113; 202, n. 4; Kapadia 1953, 496; cf. para. 13.

**16.7-** garāyīh \*[gl<sup>l</sup>dyh] “severity”: is also attested in Dd.36.80; cf. Pahl.Vd.XIII. 45; Gr.Bd.XXXI.38, and BQ. Vol. III, p. 1783.

**16.8-** \*judīhēd [ywdyh] “differs”: is read jastīhēd “occurs” by Kanga 1969, 73.

**16.9-** \*hixrīh [hyhlyh] “dry dead (and hence impure) matter, such as nails and hair”: Av. hixra; cf. Pahl.Riv.55.3: “(if) any dead matter peels from the hands, feet or from the limbs, if no moisture appears therewith, it is hixr, otherwise it is Nasā”. Cf. also Dd.16.13. See Pahl.Vd.III.14; ŠnŠ.XV.26; Pers.Riv.79.

**16.10-** hambōšēnd [hmbwšynd] “come into being”: cf. CPD., 40; suggested by Prof. Sims-Williams.

**16.12-** nazdīk-rāh-tar “the most direct”: cf. NP nazdīktar rāh.

stirdag “scraped”: cf. NP sturdan, etc.; cf. Henning 1940, 35.

**16.13-** xwēšēnišn “appropriation”: i.e. bone is re-appropriated to the original creation from whence it will eventually return (at frašgard) in its former shape.

It is not proper to give it to domestic animals...: since some words are missing in this point Kanga has inserted: nasāk ḏ gōspandān kē pat sūt ī martōmān brēhēnīt ut dāt ēstēt dātan nē sacāk “It is not fit to give the dead body to the domestic animals who are created and produced for the welfare of mankind”.

ān ī pid mardōmān xward rāh nēst: there are other Pahl. passages indicating that the flesh is not to be eaten by man, e.g. Pahl.Riv.41, where the author is concerned with margarzān sins: nasā pad wināhgārīh xwardan “wickedly to eat carrion”. In AWN.97 Wīrāz reports from hell: ēg-im dīd ruwān ī zan-ē ud mard-ē kē abar rīd ud be xward u-m pursīd kū ēn tanān cē wināh kard kē ruwān ūwōn garān pādifrāh bared gōwēd Srōš-ahlaw ud Ādur-yazad kū ēn ruwān ī awēšān druwand mard ud zan kē-šān pad gētīg nasā pad wināhgārīh jūd “And I saw the soul of a man and of a woman who defecated and ate (the faeces). And I asked: ‘what sins did these bodies commit whose souls are undergoing such sever punishment?’ Srōš, the pious, and the god Ādur said: ‘These are the souls of the wicked man and the wicked woman who devoured corpses in sinfulness’”. In another passage in ZWY.4.24 Ohrmazd predicts the evil time at the end of Zoroaster’s millennium: ud nasā nigānīdan ud nasā šustan ud nasā sōxtan ū ūb ud ātaxš burdan ud nasā xwardan pad dād dārēnd ud nē pahrēzēnd “They consider burying corpses and washing and burning and taking it to the water and fire and eating the corpse as to be right and they will not avoid it”. In Sd.N.71 (West 1885, 336) it is said: “for as much as it is not desirable for any one to eat dead matter for the sake of medicine and remedy, let them beware when they eat it. For it asserts, in the commentary of the Vendīdād, that it is requisite to demolish the habitation, house and abode of any one who has eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of his body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes. And along with these torments, which they accomplish on him, his soul is in hell till the resurrection”.

**16.14-** Since no chapter on this subject occurs in the Dd. as extant, West 1882, 42 n. 5, assumes that some chapters have been lost.

The reason for showing the corpse to a dog is to drive out the demon Nasuš, as it is stated in ŠnŠ.II.1: andar ān zamān ka gyān be šawēd, ka-š sag-ē andar pāy bast ēstēd; pas-iz nasuš abar ū dwārēd ud pas ka-š wēnēd, ā-š nasuš ū zanēd. “at the time when the life departs, if a dog is tied (beside) his feet; then even (when) the Nasuš rushes on (him), and subsequently when it (i.e. the dog) sees it, then it drives out the Nasuš”. It is said in Gr.Bd.XXIV.48 that among the material creatures, cock and dog are created as collaborators of Srōš to oppose demons and sorcerers. See Pahl.Vd.7.2; ŠnŠ.II.1-4; X.33; Pers.Riv.112-18; Gray 1928, 211; Boyce 1975, 303; Williams 1990, II, 120.

## Pursišn 17

17.2- Cf. Vd. VI. 44-46: "... where shall we carry and where shall we lay the body of the dead? ... on the highest places whence the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds may sooner recognize them. There the Mazdayasnians shall fasten the dead, by the feet or by the hair, with iron, stones or clay, lest the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds may carry and throw the bones in the water or on the trees ..." (Dhabhar 1932, 78).

sag nimūdan: see above note 14.

As West 1882, 43; note 1 remarks "this is another allusion to the missing chapter" mentioned in Dd.16.14 Comm.

17.3- Cf. Vd. VI. 49-51: "Where shall we carry, where shall we lay the bones of the dead? For them, an uzdana (i.e. astōdān; ossuary) should be at once made out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, or of the wolf, and wherein rain-water may not fall from the upper part thereof. If the Mazdayasnians can afford it, (they can make it) of stones, or of plaster or of a thick cloth. If the Mazdayasnians cannot afford it, they shall lay them on the ground, in the bedding or the sheet (used by the dead), covered with light (i.e. in the open air) and beholding the sun" (Dhabhar 1932, 78).

astōdān is also described in ŠnŠ II.6; see also West 1882, 44; note 1.

17.4- kandag "carved"; another alternative is kadag "room".

sig [sk<sup>l</sup>, syk, etc.] "stone": can hardly be a dialectical variant of sang as assumed by Bailey 1971, 125; note 1. Cf. rather OP. θikā- (Prof. Sims-Williams). Cf. also Dd.30.17 (where KLBA<sup>n</sup> = sagān "dogs" is written for sigān "stones"); 90.2.

Cf. Pers.Riv:102: "Q. Of what material should a dakhma be constructed wherein the corpses of Behdins are carried (and placed)? A. It is said in the Mazdayasnian religion that it is commendable and better if it is (made) of stone and mortar, but if it is not within one's power to build it of stone and mortar, then it will do if it is made of raw bricks and clay". Then in the footnote is added in Persian that "and inside the dakhma should be covered by stone and plaster".

## Pursišn 18

Apart from the last paragraph, this chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 235.

**18.2-** As Williams 1989, 231 has pointed out about Ahriman “his very existence is the denial of existence”. Williams (*ibid.*) quotes a passage from DKM.530.20-531.3 by which the concept of the existence of Ahriman becomes more evident: “It is possible to put Ahriman out of the world in this manner, namely, every person, for his own part, chases him out of his body, for the dwelling of Ahriman in the world is in the body of man. When he will have no dwelling in the bodies of men, he will be annihilated from the whole world; for as long as there is in this world a dwelling even in a single person for a small demon, Ahriman is in the world”. Cf. also Dd.36.51: ēk ēn kū dām ī ohrmazd mēnōg ud gētīg-iz, ḍy ī druz nēst gētīg be wad [i] mēnōgīh abyōzīd ḥ gētīg “One is this, that the creation of Ohrmazd is spiritual and also material, while that of the druz is not material, but (he can only) join spiritual evil to the world”. The creation of Ahriman however is said in Gr.Bd.XXVII.52 to be fashioned from the material darkness. Cf. Zachner 1955, 135, 180. See also Shaked 1967, 227-254; 1994, 23.

**18.3-** See Dd.30.5.

It is said in ŠnŠ.XV.1-2 that Zoroaster was seated before Ohrmazd and saying to Ohrmazd “Your head and hands and feet and hair and face and tongue (are) visible to me even as those of my own, and you have such clothes as men have. Give me (your) hand, so that I may take hold of your hand”. Ohrmazd said: “I am an intangible spirit; it is not possible to take hold of My hand”. Williams 1989, 229 points out that “in Zoroastrianism, from God and his Immortals down to the soul of each person, spirit reaches deep into matter, so that the very purpose and eventual outcome of existence is that the spirit of Mazda is to be realised in perfect bodily form”.

**18.4-** As it is mentioned in many Pahlavi texts e.g. ŠnŠ.XV.4-5 Ohrmazd is the supervisor of the righteous man in the material world.

**18.5-** \*hamzamān [hmzm’n] “immediately, at once, at the same time”: the text gives [hmnm’n]; cf. Gignoux 1968, 235, who reads hammān “cohabitant”.

**18.6-** dast-graw [dstglwb] “captivity”: see Tafazzoli 1995, 301.

Pursišn.19 Chapters 19-24 of Dādestān ī Dēnīg deal with the fate of the soul after death, on which see Dd.19.2 and 23.1, Comm.

19.1- Cf. Dd.23.1. See Sd.Bd., chap. 99 for the same account of the fate of the departed soul.

19.2- See Dd.23.2. The most significant subject for the author of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg, to which he devotes several chapters (19-32), is the fate of the soul after death. No other Pahlavi text is so clear and straightforward as Dd. Manušcihr also gives a detailed account of the moment when the soul leaves the body, in other words, the point of death. The Pahlavi term *gyān kandan*, is applied to this moment. Its Arabic equivalent is *ehtezār* or *naz'*. However it seems that neither "eradication of life" nor "pangs of death" is an adequate translation of the Pahlavi term. According to Manušcihr *gyān kandan* may be likened to the moment when the inflammable material of a fire is burnt up and remains without glowing (Dd.22.2), i.e. when the last spark of life is extinguished.

According to Manušcihr's account in Dd.19.2; 23.2; 24.2 the soul of man or the spiritual counterpart of the body after death remains three nights on earth, where the body is, doubtful about its own place (see Dd.23.2 Comm.). During these three days and nights (Sedōš) the soul receives either pleasure or punishment according to his good or bad thoughts, words, and deeds (Dd.19.2; 23.4; 24.4). At the dawn of the third night the soul of the righteous man meets the guardian of his good deeds in the shape of a beautiful maiden who accompanies him to the place of account (Dd.23.5). At the same time the soul of the wicked man meets the guardian of his sins in the form of a frightful and harmful maiden (Dd.24.5). After being judged the souls of the righteous and wicked go to the Cinwad bridge over which all the souls must pass. When the souls arrive it turns to the shape which is appropriate for them (Dd.20.4). The souls of the righteous pass over the bridge and go either to the Limbo or paradise, while the souls of the wicked fall from the sharp edge of the bridge to hell (Dd.19.4; 5).

19.3- *alburz* [Pbwlc] "Alburz": Av. *harā*, *bōrəzaiti*; see Dd.20.1, Comm.

19.4- See Dd.23.4.

*hamēstagān* [hmystk'n] "(the state of) Limbo" the intermediate place between Heaven and Hell: from Av. *ham.myas-* "to be mixed in equal proportions", cf. Barth. 1190; Nyberg 1974, II, 91. For more discussion on the etymology of *hamēstagān* see

Klingenschmitt 1972, 79-92. In DKM.441 and Pahl.Riv.65.1 Hamēstagān is said to be situated between the earth and the star station (as in the present text); in Gr.Bd.XXX.32-34 hamēstagān is a place just like the earth for those people whose sins and good deeds are equal. Ardā Wirāz (AWN, chap.6) gives a somewhat different account as it states that those who have equal good deeds and sins remain in hamēstagān until the Final Body. Their punishment is cold and heat; see also Dd.23.6; 32.3. The same idea of dividing the heaven to three parts is also attested in Islam in which the parallel term for hamēstagān is a'rāf.

For gāhān srāyišnīh see Dhabhār 1955, 136.

The division of heaven into three parts is also attested in Pahl.Riv.65.1: ēn-iz az abestāg paydāg kū az zamīg tā ō star pāyag hamēstagān, pad star pāyag tā ō xwaršēd pāyag ān ī pāšom axwān, pad xwaršēd pāyag az xwaršēd pāyag tā ō asmān ān ī asar rōšnīh ud garōdmān andar ān ī asar rōšnīh. “This also (is) revealed in the Avesta, that from the earth to the star station (is) Limbo; from the star station to the sun station (is) the Best Existence; from the sun station to the heavens (is) the Endless Light, and Garōdmān (is) in the Endless Light” (Williams 1990, II, 113).

19.5- tēx: see Henning 1964, 41.

## Pursišn 20

20.1- cinwad puhl [cynwt pwhl] “Cinwad bridge, the Divider bridge”: the bridge over which all the souls of righteous and wicked men must pass after death. It is located in Ērān-wēz and has two extremities, one on the top of cagād ī Dāitī and the other at the mount of Alburz according to Dd. and Gr.Bd.XXX.1. As a righteous soul passes the bridge it becomes nine spears wide while for a sinner it becomes as sharp as a blade. Cf. Dd.23.2; 31.2; 33.2. See Boyce 1975, 117; 137; 237. The concept of Cinwad bridge is comparable with the Islamic Pul ī Sarāt; the parallel points in these two traditions are quite significant.

cagād ī dāitī “the peak of Dāitī” is described in Gr.Bd.XXX.1-2: “A peak, which is of the height of a hundred men, in the middle of the world, which they call the peak of the Dāitī, is the fulcrum of the balance (i.e. the scales) of the yazat Rašnu; one scale is on the base of mount Alburz in the northern direction, one scale is on the summit of mount Alburz in the southern direction, and the middle rests upon that peak of the Dāitī. In that middle place is a floor sharp like a sword, the height, length, and width of which are nine spears”. See also Gr.Bd.IX.2, 9; cf. Markwart 1938, 122ff; Boyce 1975, 133, 137; and Gnoli 1980; cf. Dd.33.1, 2.

awestarag: cf. NP ostore “razor”; see Mo'īn I, 1982, 249.

**20.4-** See Boyce 1984, 83; cf. also Sd.Bd. chap. 99.

**20.5-** nay: the nine spears of three reeds each, in length, making up the twenty-seven reeds; a reed seems to have been about 4 feet 8 inches; see West 1982, 48 note 5; cf. also Shaked 1979, 131.1, who translates “fathom”.

**20.6-** hu-cihr “beautiful”; the text gives the NP form hw cyl = xujīr / hujīr.

**20.7-** dabrīh [dplyh] “roughness”: is emended by ed. to nēzagwarīh [nyckwlyh] “containing spears (?)”; the MS. TD gives [wspwlyh], but the MSS. J1, J2 and H give [dplyh], on which see Tafazzoli 1972, 267. The word can be read dabrīh cf. NP zabrīh meaning “roughness”. The word is also attested in Pahl.Riv. 4.2; cf. Williams 1990, II, 122.

\*kync (?): I have found no explanation of this word. Dhabhar 1932, 573 has emended it to kunduz and has traced it in the NP kundūz “needle” (?) but gives no etymology. NP kundūz “needle” is found in Loq., 187; p. 251; cf. also Sd.Bd., chap. 99, where the form kundūc is given with the same meaning.

## Pursišn 21

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1980, 211 ff.

**21.1-** On the importance of mard ī ahlaw see Dd.1.1; 63; Pahl.Riv.46.4; Gr.Bd. XXVI.111; Zaehtner 1961, 260; Shaked 1994, 52 ff.

**21.2-** cēhīdār “lamenting”: is an emendation by Kanga 1980, 216, also adopted by Shaked 1994, 47 in his translation of this paragraph.

rāz: cf. Kanga, ibid, who reads nē-iz

glwhyyk (?) : Kanga, ibid, 212 reads drānāyīk and translates “length, for a long time”. Shaked 1969, 207 reads grōhīg “in groups” but gives no translation in 1994, 47.

abaxšāyišnēnāg: for the various meanings of this word see Shaked 1979, 283.

**21.3-** mēnōgān: the text gives menišn which is joined to the former paragraph by Anklesaria; see Kanga for a different reading and translation; cf. also Shaked 1994, 47 and 1969, 33.

## Pursišn 22

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1980, 215 ff.

**22.2-** a-tōšagīh: is emended to wād-wazagīh by West 1882, 52.

**22.3-** mēnōgīhā band...: see Williams 1990, II, 174-5; 182, n. 2; Dd.31.3; 36.93. Cf. also Pahl.T.41; MX.I.115.

ham-bar [hmb1] “company”; cf. ham-ayār ud ham-bar “co-helper and companion” Dd.89.5 cf. also ham-barīhā, WZ.175, n. 44.

būšāsp [bwš'sp] “Būšāsp”: būšāsp abespārēd wēn: cf. Dd.36.39: u-š būšāsp dēw pad nizārēnīdan wēn abespārd ud tab dēw pad stardēnīdan ud oš \*ašōbenīdan ud āz dēw pad zōr ōgārdan ud pēš-tazišn ud \*darrišn [ud] \*jūdan “And the demon Būšāsp gives up his breath to weaken (him), and the demon Tab (i.e. fever) to confound and disturb the intelligence, and the demon Āz to reduce the strength and to rush forth, tearing and devouring (thereby reducing the power of man)”. Cf. Kanga 1980, 218; cf. also Dd. 36.51.

cīhr ī xwad bizešk: cf. Dd.2.13.

**22.4-** For the translation of this paragraph see Shaked 1971, 81. Cf. also Dd.15.2.

### Pursišn 23

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1983, 112. Moreover this chapter should be compared with Dd.19.2; 24.2-4; 25.3-5; 30; 31.

**23.1-** A clear description of the fate of the soul after death is found in Younger Avestan texts such as Hā dōxt Nask, Vištāsp Yašt and Vidēvdād as well as Pahlavi texts such as Dādestān ī Dēnīg, Pahlavī Rivayāt, Bundahišn, Mēnōg ī Xrad, Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, and Škand Gumānīg Wizār, and in the New Persian Zoroastrian texts such as the Persian Rivāyats and Sad Dar Nasr Sad Dar Bundahiš.

**23.2-** HN.II.5 adds that the soul chants the Gāθā Uštauuaiti and asks for blessedness during the three nights after death. Vištāsp Yašt 22.53 has the same account as Dd.19.2; 23.2. Pahl.Riv.23.2 follows HN.II.3-5 and states: “For three days and nights the righteous soul sits in that place where his head rests when his soul departs, he wears a white garment, (and) he speaks these words: “It was good for me if I did good deeds: I belong to Ohrmazd, and according to his wish he therefore treats me with goodness”. Sd.N.99.1 gives more information: “The soul walks about for three days in this world and goes to the place whence it has come out of the body and is in search of the body and entertains a hope thus: ‘Would that I could enter the body once again!’”.

mēnōg ī tan: “the spiritual (counterpart) of the body” is probably the “life”, as described in Dd.21.4; see also West 1885, 54, note 1. Zaehner 1961, 305 translates “the unseen genius of the body”. He remarks that the Zoroastrian conception of the nature of the soul is rather materialistic.

wišayg [wšyk] “fear, anxiety”: see Dd.4.4 Comm.

23.3- ruwān ī andar rāh “the journeying soul” (lit. the soul on the way): Zādspram in his Wizīdagīhā more clearly compares the combination of man to that of the sky and states that the structure of man includes four powers: tanīg, gŷānīg, dānišnīg, and ruwānīg; cf. WZ.30.1: Each power consists of three parts; e.g. WZ.30.2 the ruwānīg power is divided into three: the soul in the body which is the spirit of the body, the soul out of the body, and the soul on the way. Cf. WZ.30.37, The soul on the way is the advisor of the body and leads him to the place of judgment where he is concerned with the sins committed by the body. (30.37) ruwānīg se ī ast ruwān ī andar tan ud ruwān ī berōn ud ruwān ī pad mēnōgān axwān....(30.45) ruwān ī andar rāh mēnōg ast ī weh ud abēzag-cihrag. padīrag tan ḍwōn winnārd ēstēd ḍwōn ciyōn tan kāmag xwarišn xwarēd ud wastarg nihumbēd ān. ī ruwān kāmag ka pad tan xwarišn be ū gursagān ud wastarg be ū brahmagān pad rāstīh be baxshēd.... See also Bailey 1971, 110.

cašmagāh “aware, notorious”: cf. CPD, 21. Bailey 1971, 110 translates “downcast”, and Zachner 1955, 193 gives “aware”.

23.4- As to the soul at this stage various accounts are found in Zoroastrian texts. In HN.II, III; AWN.IV, 6; Pahl.Riv.23.3 and Dd.19.2; 24.4 the soul is said to enjoy happiness for good deeds and to be punished for sins during these three days. But in Gr.Bd.XXX.4 it is said: “When man passes away, the soul sits for three nights near unto the body, where its head was and sees much annoyace, during those nights, from the Dēv Vizares ... and turns the back entirely towards the fire which is kindled there” (Anklesaria).

pad bun ēstēd: see Dd.11.2 Comm.

23.5- In the case of the Daēnā, the beautiful girl who is the personified figure of good thoughts, good words and good deeds all texts have nearly the same account (on which see Y.43.1; HN.II.5; Gr.Bd.XXX.12; WZ.30.32; 35.59; AWN.4.9, 11; 17.9; Pahl.Riv. 23.5-11). See also Molé 1960, 155-185; Åsmussen 1965, 106; Boyce 1975, 237. The good action of the righteous man appears before the soul as a handsome man in Islamic accounts as in the book of Ehya' al ulūm by Ghazzali: 'Somma ya'tīhā āta hasanū alvajh tayyeb alrīh hasān alsyāb. fayaghūlū abāšarū berahimātē rabbeka va jannatū ſīhā na'imun muqīm. fayaghūlū bašarakallah bexayr, man anta? fayaghūlū ana amaluka alsāleh' "There comes (before the soul) a handsome and fragrant man in a good garment and says: "The blessing of your God and paradise, in which there is an

everlasting comfort, be upon you! (The soul) says: The goodness of God upon you!  
Who are you? (The man) says: I am your good deeds".

**23.6-** Cf. Dd.19.4; 30.2 and 32.3.

franāftan "to proceed": Av. fra-nam-; see Nyberg 1974, 76.

### Pursišn 24

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1983, 118 ff. Moreover this chapter should be compared with Dd.19.2; 23.2-5; 24.3-5; and the second fragard of HN in Westergaard 1852-4, XXII.1-18.

**24.2-** cēhag "grief": cf. Dd. 23.3.

**24.3-** See Dd.23.3 Comm.

hangārīdār "considering": cf. West who translated "computer"; Kanga in 1983, 114, has read hu-grīyītār and translated "immensely weeping, excessively crying".

cašmagāh dādār "acknowledging": lit. "making (them) evident (to himself)": Kanga gives another alternative: cašmakāsīhātār "aware"; see ibid., 121.

**24.4-** awištābōmand "troubled": cf. Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 386.

**24.5-** nigāhbed: see Dd.23.5.

carātīg "maiden": Av. carāitī-, see Nyberg 1974, 53 and Kapadia 1953, 514.

abāxtar "north": is the place of Ahriman and demons. According to Dd.32.6 hell is in the north. In NP it is often used to mean west however in some Persian sources abāxtar is also applied to east. See Mo'īn 1982, I, 434.

'stssstyh'(?): Kanga 1983, 124, n. 9 reads astvīdātīhā "in the manner of a person with bones fractured".

nibēmišnīhā (?) [npdmšnyh] "prostrate, lying": cf. nibēm CPD., 59; Parth. nbdm; cf. also Nyberg 1974, 141. This word is read nipadamišnīhā "joltingly, being tossed about" by Dhabhar 1955, 129; Kanga reads vīmišnīhā "frightfully".

\*ašōganīh "smiting the righteous": Avestan loan word, see Barth., 245.

**24.6-** weh-gōhr "good-natured": is opposite to wad-gōhr "bad-natured, ill-natured, of bad character"; cf. MX.I.63; XV.30; LIX.2, 6.

nikōhagīh "blaming": cf. nikōhīdag in Bailey 1971, 49.

ēraxtan, ēranj-, "to damn, condemn, blame": as Shaked has suggested in 1979, 229, n. 1C.2 it seems to be a legal term opposite to bōxtan "save, acquit".

### Puršišn 25

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 230-31. This chapter is comparable to Ardā Wirāz's vision of paradise: u-m dīd ān ī pahlom axwān ī ahlawān ī rōšn ī hamāg xwārīh ī frāxīh ud was sprahm ī hubōy [1] harwisp pēsīd ī harwisp škuftag ud bāmīg ud purr-xwarrah ud wisp šādīh ud wisp rāmišn kē kas az-iš sāgrīh nē dānēd "And I saw the best world of the righteous: bright, all ease and prosperity and many sweet smelling flowers, all coloured and all opened, brilliant, glorious, all happiness, all joy, by which no-one becomes satiated" (AWN.XV.10).

**25.3-** šēdāyīh "ecstasy, bliss": cf. Np. šaydāyīh with the same meaning. This word is also attested in Dd.36.103; cf. also purr-šēdā: Dd.36.105; for more explanation of this word see Zaehner 1937-39d, 894 ff.

**25.5-** yazdān: Shaked 1971, 98 and 1979, 234 reads jahān "spring".

hamēšag-sūd gāh: render Av. misvānahe gātvahe; cf. Dd.36.15; 30.17; WZ. 179; n. 31. See also Kreyenbroek 1985, 139, n. 146.

**25.7-** jahīšnīg \*[yhyšnyk] "subject to change": the text gives [wyh'nyk], possibly for wihānag "reason, cause" (?); Gignoux reads dahišnīg and translates "created".

### Puršišn 26

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 230-31. This chapter is comparable to Ardā Wirāz's vision of hell: ... u-m dīd ān ī sējōmand ī bīmgēn ī sahmgēn ī was dard ī purr anāgīh ī gandag ud tārtom dušox ... "And I saw the blackest hell, dangerous, fearful, terrible, holding much pain; full of evil, foul-smelling..." AWN.LIV.1. (Translation quoted from Boyce, 1984, 88.)

**26.4-** zarīg "grief": for more explanation of this word see Zaehner 1937-39a, 105.

**26.5-** For a different reading and translation of this paragraph see Shaked 1971, 73.

bun-kadag: source, origin; cf. bun-xān(ag), see WZ.3.23

**26.6-** garān "grievous": another alternative is garzān, garz- "lamenting"; see Shaked 1971, 73.

## Pursišn 27

**27.1-** sedōš [stwš] “Sedōš, the period of three full days after death”: MacKenzie \*stōš. However the traditional pronunciation sedōš may be correct. Neryōsang translates stwš by Skt. trirātra- “three nights”, suggesting an etymology from se “three”+ dōš “(last) night” (Av. \*dāošā- “evening, west” in dāoša(s)tara- “western”, Barth. 674). During this time various ceremonies, such as Yasna, Vendīdād, Drōn and Āfrinagān, are performed for the departed soul. See for more discussion Modi 1922, 434; Tavadia, 1930, 14 ff.; Dhabhar, 1963, 121, n. 4; Kotwal 1969, 169; Kreyenbroek 1995a, 31, n. 24.

drōn [dlwn'] “Drōn, consecrated bread”: the word drōn derives from Av. draonah- “portion, possession” and in Avesta it was a portion offered, through consecration, to the divine beings; Y.33.8; in Pahlavī drōn is the offering of a round bread with some butter called gōšudāg. A common yašt ī drōn celebration is that with the šnūman of Srōš. This ceremony should be performed during the three days following death; see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, 63; cf also ŠnŠ.XII.1; XVII.3, 6; Pahl. Riv. 27.7; 56.1; and Srōš Yašt; for a detailed and comprehensive discussion of Drōn see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, II; see also the Pahlavi text “abar cim ī drōm”, K. M. Jamasp-Asa 1985, 334 and Modi 1922, chapter 12, 15; and Pers. Riv.413 ff.

Gr.Bd.XXVI.48-50 gives a parallel reason for performing yašt ī drōn ī srōš: “As one says: ‘Ohrmazd is the protector of the soul in the spiritual state, and Srōš is the protector of the body in the material state’ .... The souls of the departed reach the Cinwad bridge under the protection of Srōš; they have, therefore, to perform yazišn ī drōn and āfrīngān all for Srōš (for) seven years in seven regions”....

**27.2-** mēnōg waxš “spiritual existence”: see for more explanation Shaked 1971..

For the similarity of the newly dead person to a new-born child see Sd.N., chap. 16, p. 15, and chap. 40, p. 109.

pēm xwarišnīh “drinking milk”: presumably refers to gōšudāg, Av. gaoš:hušāh- “the beneficent cow” which represents the animal kingdom in Drōn ritual ceremonies. Gōšudāg may be milk, butter, eggs, wine, garden herbs, etc. See ŠnŠ.II.17; III.35, n. 7; Pahl.Riv.23.17; 58.67; Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, 63.

ātaxš: Boyce 1966, 100-101, 107 refers to the ātaš-zōhr ritual at the (cārom) ceremony for the dead person, during which the fat of a sheep is offered to the Ātaš ī Bahrām because it is held that the departed soul goes to the court of king Bahrām the Victorious (i.e. the Ātaš-Bahrām) at dawn on the fourth day. If the fire is kept tended, Ādar-Xwarrah and other Amahraspands help the soul to pass the Cinwad bridge

happily. I assume that keeping candles lit for the dead at the same time among Iranian Moslems is a survival of the above ritual. See also Gr.Bd.XXX.4; Dd.48.34 (P.K.Ankesaria 1958, 102).

27.3- bērōnīhistan “to emerge”: cf. Dd.36.95. It is also attested in WZ.29.8; 30.46.

27.5- cāšnīg: is a ritual taste of Drōn, consecrated food or drink; see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, 64.

27.6- This paragraph is translated by Tavadia 1930, 11; Shaked 1971, 88; Kreyenbroek 1985, 109; and it is comparable with Dd.13.3.

pādārīh “protection”: cf. Dēnkard VI, B14.22; Bailey 1971, 49.

27.7- bēdān [byt<sup>n</sup>] “those who will be”: the form bēd is 3rd sing. present indicative of the verb būdan, baw- “to be, to become” cf. Nyberg 1964, I, 176; and -ān is the plural ending. The form bēdān is also attested in other Pahlavi books such as Pahl.Yasna 12.9; Pahl.Vd. (several times); ŠnŠ.XV.24.

## Pursišn 28

This chapter is transcribed and translated by Kreyenbrock 1985, 113.

28.1- Cf. for the same statement Pahl.Riv.56.3: ud abārīg abāg ohrmazd yazišn be az srōš cē srōš xwadāy ud dahibed ī gēhān ast ēd rāy judāgīhā abāyēd yaštān “And the others are to be worshipped with Ohrmazd, except for Srōš, for Srōš is the lord and ruler of (this) world; for this reason one should worship him separately”.

šnūman [šnwmn] “propitiation, satisfaction”: Av. xšnumaine; Zand. šnāyēnīdārīh. For more explanation on the term Srōš drōn or yašt ī drōn with the šnūman of Srōš see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, 64 and II, 299.

\*ka: for kū; cf. Brunner 1977, 242; Kreyenbrock 1985, 113.

## Pursišn 29

29.2- ušahin “night time”: the fifth gāh of the day, from midnight till sunrise, which is the period under the guardianship of Srōš. According to the Gr.Bd.III.21 a day is divided to five periods and over each period is appointed a spirit. hāwan, rapihwin, uzērin, aiwistrūhrim and ušahin are the name of five watches (gāh) of the day respectively.

rašn [ud] aštād: three āfrīnagāns are to be performed during the third night after death among which one is dedicated to Rašn and Arštād together. These two yazads who are the personification of justice are said to be met soon after death. See ŠnŠ.XVII.3; Boyce 1975, 330.

ōš(e)bām / ušbām “break of the day, dawn”.

ušdāštār [‘wśd’št’l] “Ušdāštār, protector of dawn”: Av. uši.darəna, cf. Barth. 416; this mount is described in the Avesta as aša.xwāθra- “having comfort from Aša”. It is a branch of the Alburz (Gr.Bd.IX.3) and is placed in Sistan (Gr.Bd.IX.18); it is also called uši.dam- in the Avesta, cf. Barth. 416. It seems likely that there might be a connection between Ušdāštār and the mount Xwājeh in Sistan. See Yt.19.2; Dd.36.100.

**29.3-** The second āfrīnagān is dedicated to the frawašis of the just, for which see Boyce 1975, 122.

**29.4-** The third āfrīnagān should be dedicated to Rāman, who is related to Wāy (Gr.Bd.XXVI.28); the divinity of the air through which the soul must travel. See Boyce 1975, 80, 330.

Cf. ŠnŠ.XVII.4; XXVIII.7 for the same statement.

gyān-\*apparišnīh “taking the soul”: cf. Zaehner 1955, 86, n. 2.

## Pursišn 30

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1965, 72-86.

**30.1-** The same question is found in HN.II, III; and Pahl.Riv.23.1; cf. also Dd.19.4; 23.6. Beside the above sources, Williams 1990, II, 172 gives more references on the fate of the soul after death e.g. MX.II.123; DK.III; DKM.66; Gr.Bd.XXX; Sd.Bd.99; Zaehner 1961, 302-8.

**30.2-** tāyag [‘d(y)k’] “ability, sufficiency”: cf.Dd.Int.11 Comm.

rah ud wardyūn: cf. Bailey 1971, 47: rah vartēn ut vāš cahārak bārak; Gignoux 1984, 61, n. 2 reads rāhy ud vardyūn “chariot and vehicle” but suggests that the word rāhy was probably taken by mistake as a synonym to wardyūn. See also Kanga 1965, 80, n. 2, who gives the history of the reading and interpretation of this word.

wāš “carriage, chariot”: from Av. vāša-, cf. Bailey 1971, 231.

**30.3-** Cf. Gr.Bd.XXVI.12-14: Wahman’s responsibility is introduction ... he carries the righteous man to the best existence and introduces him to Ohrmazd.

**30.4-** This paragraph is translated by Shaked 1971, 78.

dāhagān [d’hk’n] “creatures”: cf. hu-dāhagān in para. 13; cf. CPD., 44.

**30.5-** Cf. Dd.18.3. For a different reading and translation of this paragraph see Shaked 1971, 76; cf. also Bailey 1971, 112.

\*xwašīh [hwšyh] “kindness, pleasure”: the text gives [hwyšyh]; Kanga reads xwēšīh “relationship”(?).

ātaxš ... kē-š wahrām andar: on the Ātaxš ī Wahrām see Modi 1922, 211-239; as Boyce 1982, 223 suggests, ‘when the temple cult was founded, the new temple fires were dignified by the Avestan epithet verethraghan- “victorious”; which in due course, as pronunciations changed, fell together with the substantive verethraghna- “victory”; and since the latter was also the name of the immensely popular yazata of Victory, a confusion was natural’. See also Yamamoto 1981, 99 and chap. 5; Williams 1990, II, 156; n. 1.

**30.6-** For the translation of this paragraph see Shaked 1971, 61.

**30.7-** \*ahlawān ruwān: the text gives druz ruwān [dlwc lwb'n] but one expects “the (departed) soul (of the righteous man)”.

**30.8-** Cf. Pahl.Riv.23.14.

**30.10-** For the translation of this paragraph see Kreyenbroek 1985, 134 f.

**30.11-** For the translation of this paragraph see also Mirza 1964, 121; Gignoux 1968, 234.

a-caxšišn [Pchššn] “without tasting” (Prof. Sims-Williams); Kanga emends the word to aboxšišn and translates “punishment”; Mirza reads abaxšišn “repentance”; Gignoux emends to \*abāyišn.

**30.12-** Cf.Pahl.Riv. 23:17

nām: Kanga reads jām “cup”; Gignoux 1968, 234 reads dām.

mēdyōzarm rōyn [mytywkzlm MŠYA] “spring butter”: cf. Pahl.Riv.23.17; HN.II.38; MX.II.152; see also Kanga 1965, 84-85 for an etymology and full explanation.

**30.13-** Cf. Williams 1990, II, 174.

kē mihr pad gāw axtar bawēd: cf. Dd.Int.15.

**30.14-** ayār-dahišnīh “friendship; help”: cf. Dd.21.3; cf. also Dēnkard VI, C82.2.

ayāsišn, ayās- [byd's-] “longing”: see Dēnkard VI, 57.

**30.15-** hu-ayād [hw<sup>b</sup>yd't] “good to remember”: Kanga 1965, 75 reads an-abyāt “unremembered”.

**30.17-** sūd-abgār “beneficial” Zaehner 1955, 292 translates “promote”.

stōrān pahān “large and small cattle”: cf. Av. staora- and pasu-.

ēd cē “whatever”: cf. Dd.2.13: ēd kē; 12.3; 14.3 Comm.

\*xūn ābgēnagān “bright crystals” cf. Bailey 1971, 131.

\*pargān [plk'n] “walls”: perhaps a form related to Parth. p'rgyn “ditch” (\*pāri-kanya-) or MP targān “\*wall” (according to Nyberg 1964, II, 151). Text gives plyk'n.

hu-dāhagān “well-fertilised”: (lit. well-created); cf. weh dāhagān para. 4 above. Kanga reads hūdākān “well-yielding”.

ādur / ātaxš: are two different terms to name two different fires; see Boyce 1968b, 52-68.

\*sigān [sk'n] “stones”: the text has KLBA-<sup>n</sup> [sagān] “dogs” which is a miswriting for the plural of sig / sag “stone” (written syg in Dd.17.4, see Comm.).

kirbag ī mēnōgīg ō ān ruwān abyōxt ... “his spiritual good deeds are attached to the soul”; see Asmussen 1965, 33.

[wht']: (?) cf. Dd. 1:11; 3.2, 4; cf. Kanga 1965, 75 who reads vaxt “destined” (i.e. baxl).

**30.18-** See Shaked 1971, 74-5 for the translation of this paragraph. Cf. also Zaechner 1961, 307 where he discusses the Zoroastrian conception of Heaven.

**30.19-** Cf. Dd.36.15.

### Pursišn 31

This chapter is comparable to Pahl. Riv., chapter 23; it was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 239-241.

**31.3-** wizarš [wyzlš] “Wizarš”: a demon who pulls the soul of the wicked to hell after his death; cf. Nyberg 1974, 218. According to the Pahlavi texts everyone has a noose on his neck even before birth, cf. Pahl.Riv.23.29 and Pahl.Vd.19.29: har(w) kas-ē pad band-ē andar gardan öftēd ka be mīrēd ka ašō ā-š az gardan be öftēd ka druwand ā-š pad ān ham band be ō dušox hanjēnd “it falls on to every person with a noose at (birth); when he dies if he is righteous, then it shall fall from his neck; if wicked, then they will drag him with that very noose to hell”. The noose is cast by Astwhād the demon of death, as is stated by some sources such as Andarz ī pōryōtkēšān, 31; Dd.36.93; or it is cast by the demon Wizarš according to MX.II.164-166. Cf. also Dd.22.3 and Gr.Bd. XXVII.22. Then if the soul is wicked the demon Wizarš seizes him and hurts him badly and finally drags him to hell. See also Pers.Riv.58-9; Williams 1990, ll, 174, n. 12.

**31.4-** rēšidārān [lyšyt<sup>b</sup>Pn] “those who are harmful”; from rēš- “hurt”. See CPD., 72.

\*a-carātīgān [c<sup>a</sup>ltyk'n] “those who are shameless (? )”: lit. those who are not virgin; text gives [ncltyk'n]. Cf. Gignoux 1968, 239.

gazāgān [gc'k'n] “those who bite”: from gaz-, cf. gastān, gaštan in Dd. 36.22.

darrāgān [SDKWN-<sup>k</sup>n] “those who tear”. Cf. Gignoux, ibid., who reads drīnāgān.

gandagān sōzāgān [gndk'n swc'k'n] “burning stenches”. Gignoux, ibid., omits gandagān.

\*gušnagān [gwšnk'n] “those who are hungry”; text gives [dwš gnn'k'n]. Gignoux however follows the text and reads duš-gannagān.

\*anābuhlān [n'pwhl'n] “those who are not atoned”: cf. CPD., 8. Text gives [n'p'hl'n]. Gignoux 1968, 239-241 does not read and translate this word.

**31.5-** dād [d?t] “gave” is taken to mean “justice” by Gignoux ibid. This word has the same written form as yāt meaning “a degree of sin” (cf. CPD., 97), which may also suit the context.

bēšēnēnēnd: the form bēšēnīdan “cause to offend, afflict” is also attested in Dēnkard VI, E45i.

\*waranīgīh [wlnykyh] “lust”: text gives [wlykyh']. Ankesaria emends to waranīgīhā; cf. text, 66, n. 47. Gignoux loc.cit. however reads virēgīhā kāmagīh “wish to escape”.

**31.6-** Cf. Kanga 1965, 84 n. 9 and Mirza 1964, 121.

a-xwašīhtom ['BSYMyhtwm] “the most unpleasant”. Gignoux loc.cit. reads ahōštom “id.”.

**31.8-** Cf. Pahl.Riv.23.35, 36: ud druwandān gōwēnd kū-š gand dahēm ī nōg rīd ēstēd weh ān \*gand \*ka-š dahēm ayāb ān ī nē nōg rīd ēstēd ahreman gōwed kū-š gand ī nōg dahēd cē ruwān ī druwandān ā-šān tā tan ī pasēn xwarišn ēn [ast] “And the wicked say: ‘Shall we give him that stench of freshly voided (filth)? Is it best if we give him that stench, or that which has not been freshly voided?’ Ahriman says: ‘Give him the fresh stench, because for the soul of the wicked, then this is the food for them until the future body.’” (Williams 1990, I, 123; II, 51) cf. also MX.I.194; Sd.Bd.99.25.

a-frāz(ag): see Dd.Int.11 Comm.

gast [gst'] “horrible, defiled” Parth. gst; OP. gasta- (Prof. Sims-Williams); cf. Dd.36.22.

**31.10-** \*rēbag [ly<y>pk'] “deceit”: from the base of riftag “deceit”. Cf. Shaked 1979, 304. Gignoux loc.cit. reads rōspīg (!)

aboxšīdārīh “forgiveness, pity”: cf. WZ.14.1.

didom “again, second”: Shaked loc.cit. reads \*nīdom “lowest”.

## Pursišn 32

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 226.

**32.3-** hamēstagān “(the state of) limbo” cf. Pahl. Riv. 65.1, 2; see also Dd.19.4 and 23.6.

**32.4-** \*wixrūnīgān [wyhlwny<sup>k</sup>'n] “tormentors” (lit. bloodies): cf. Av. xrūta-, vīxrumant- etc., see Barth. 539, 1436-7; West 1882, 75. Mirza 1964, 113 explains this word as [DHLWN-yg'n] = tarsīgān “fearful ones” (?), but such a form, as far as I know, does not exist in Pahlavi. Cf. Gignoux 1968, 226, who reads viš-rōyišn (?) and translates “grows poison”; see also Kreyenbroek 1985, 82.

**32.5-** druzaskān [dlwc'sk'n] “the burrow of the druj”: is a transcription of Av. drujas-kanā, (Barth. 781) “Höhle, Behausung der Drug”. The second element of this word derives from Av. kan “to dig”. The Pahlavi form of this word is also attested in Vd.XIX.41 and Gr.Bd.XXXI.6. See Mirza 1964, 114.

**32.6-** arezür grīwag [lzw<sup>l</sup> glywk'] “neck of Arezür”: is called “the gate of Hell” in Pahl.Vd.III.7: “Oh holy Creator of the material world! which (where) is the first of this earth the most uncomfortable”, - (that is, by which does the spirit of the earth have the greatest discomfort)?- Thereupon replied Ohrmazd: “On the neck of Arzur where, Oh Spītamān Zaratusht!- (at the gate of the wicked existence) wherein the dēvs concur ...”. In Pahl.Riv.50.1 it is said that: ... ān gyāg kū dar ī dušox grīwag-ē ēdōn arezür grīwag nām ī wēm ān be gōwēnd ... “where the gate of Hell (is), (there is) a neck; they call that rock The Neck of Arezür by name. (cf. Williams 1990, II, 90; 241). The same statement is attested in Gr.Bd.IX.10: “The neck of Arezur is a summit at the gate of Duzakhv, whereon the congress of the divs, [that is,] they practise [all deceitfulness] thither”. Although the mount ərəzura- is created by Ohrmazd in Yt.19.2, it is also called the gate of Hell in the Pahlavi Vd., perhaps because of several volcanoes in it. The name Arezür also occurs as that of a demon mentioned in MX.XXVII.15, although there is no obvious connection with the “Neck of Arezür” in the Pahlavi texts. See Christensen 1917, I, 53; Hartman 1953, 31; Williams 1990, II, 241.

abāxtar: see Dd.24.5 Comm.

### Pursišn 33

**33.1-** dāitī: see Comm., 20.1.

**33.2-** Cf. Pahl.Riv. chapter 65; cf. also Dd.19.4; 23.6; 30.2.

### Pursišn 34

**34.3-** anagr<āy> [ŋgl<’d>] “infinite”: an alternative reading might be \*hugar(āy) (?) \*[hwgl<’d>] “beneficent”. However MSS J1, J2, DF, H give hwwyl'd (?); if either is correct it seems that the author is making the word hugar(āy) or anagr(āy) rhyme with dagr pattāy.

### Pursišn 35

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Molé 1963, 444-45 and 1967, 226.

**35.1-** fraškardārīh “making the renovation”: cf. fraš(a)gird [plškrt] “the renovation, restoration”: <Av. frašō.kerətay- “Neugestaltung (der Menschheit)”, Barth. 1008. According to the Avestan and Pahlavi texts the final position of the material world should be just the same as at the beginning of the creation, that is, spiritual (mēnōg), painless and free of evil. The period of the renovation is said to be 57 years (WZ.46-50), during which Sōšāns rules in the country of Xwanirah, the centre of the earth. He, with the help of his assistants (i.e. fraš(a)gird kardārān), will put the religious law into effect once again and give a new order to the world (WZ.35-14). It is also said that there will be no death or destruction, nor demon-created envy in the renovated world and that the renovators are equal in thoughts, words and deeds (Yt. 13.83; 19.16; WZ.35.17; Dd.). According to Dd.35 the number of the special renovators is seven (see above, para.4) but the names and number of these renovators do not correspond with those mentioned in other Pahlavi texts. Since the fraš(a)gird is held to replicate the beginning of the creation, it seems likely that Manušcihr was trying to make the number of the renovators correspond with the seven Amahraspands. See Boyce 1975, 284.

**35.2-** abāyišnīgān [p'yšnyk'n] “those who are necessary”: since the text gives [phšnyk'n] an alternative reading might be abaxišnīgān “assignable”.

**35.3-** Sāmān Kersāsp: in Pahl.Riv.48.35 it is said that at the time of renovation “Ohrmazd with the amahraspands will approach the soul of Sāmān, and he will raise up Sāmān Kersāsp, and he (i.e. Sāmān Kersāsp) will slay Dahāk”; cf. also Dd.16.5.

kayxosrō [Kdhslw(d)] “Kayxosrō”: cf. Pahl.Riv.48.39: “And when the Sōšāns comes back from consultation, then Kayxosrō will come towards him, sitting upon Wāy of Long Dominion”. According to DKM.817 ff., Kayxosrō met Wāy of Long Dominion, transformed him into the form of a camel, sat upon him, and rode upon him to see the places of the immortal heroes. See Zaehner 1955, 87, n. 3; Williams 1990, II, 232-3, n. 26. Some sources on Kayxosrō are: Yt.5.49-50; 9.17-19, 21-23; 15.31-32; 13.137; Dēnkart VII chap.1.39; VI chap.16.19; VIII chap.13.14; Gr.Bd.XXXV, 22; XXXVI, 7; XXXIII, 108b; MX.26.58; 61.13; Dd. 36.26; 89.4.

Other collaborators of Sōšāns who are also held to be immortal are mentioned in Dd.89 as follow: 1- Wan ī jud-bēš “the tree opposing harm”; 2- Gōpatšāh; 3- Pišyōtan; 4- Fradāšt ī Xumbīgān; 5- Yōšt ī Friyānān; 6- Ašōm Yahmāi; 7- Ašawazdād. Cf. Dd.16.6; Pahl.Riv.54; Zaehner 1955, 87; Williams 1990, II, 164 and 239.

**35.4-** The seven renovators as attested in Yt.13 and WZ.35.17 are: 1- Raocas.caēšman, see Barth., 1489; 2- Hvarə.caēšman, see Barth., 1848; 3- Frādat-x'arənah, see Barth., 1015; 4- Viðat.xvarənah, see Barth., 1442; 5- Vouru.nəmah, see Barth., 1431; 6- Vouru.savah, see Barth., 1431; 7- Astvaṭ.ərəta, see Barth., 215 (Yt.13). 1- Rōšncašm 2- Xwarcašm 3- Frādat-x'arraha 4- Wīdat-xwarrah 5- Worunem 6- Worusūd 7- Sōšāns (WZ.35: 17).

Frādat-xwarrah: <Av. Frādat x'arənah; cf. Barth. 1015; and Mayrhofer, 1977, 73, n. 136: “Der das xvarənah fördert”; cf. also WZ. 35.14, 17.

Widat-xwarrah: <Av. viðat.x'arənah-; cf. Yt.13, 128; Barth., 1442; and Mayrhofer, 1977, 73, n. 365: “Der das xvarənah findet, seiner teilhaftig wird”; cf. also WZ. 35.14.

Kāmag-nyāyišn, Kāmag-waxšān / -waxšišn: <Av. vouru.nəmah-; cf. Yt.13, 128, Barth., 1431; and Mayrhofer 1977, 73, n. 393: “Der andachtiger Verehrung weithin reicht”; cf. also WZ.35.14.

Kāmag-sūd: Worusūd <Av. Vouru.savah- cf. Yt. 13, 128, Barth., 1431; and Mayrhofer 1977, 73, n. 393: “Der mit weitreichender Kraft”; cf. also WZ.35.14.

**35.5-** According to the Zoroastrian mythology the universe is divided to seven kišwar (continents) as follows:

- 1- arzah [‘lz’h] “Arzah”: the eastern continent”; Av. arəzahi-, see Barth., 202.
- 2- sawah [sw’h] “Sawah”: the western continent”; Av. savahi-, see Barth., 1562.
- 3- fradaðafšū [pldt’pš] “Fradadafš”: the south eastern continent; Av. fradaēafšō-, see Barth., 982.
- 4- wīdaðafšū [wydt’pš] “Wīdadafš”: the south western continent; Av. Vīdaēafšō-, see Barth., 1442.
- 5- wōrūbaršt [w’wlwblšt] “Wōrūbaršt”: the north-western continent; Av. Vouru.barəšti-, see Barth., 1430.
- 6- wōrūjaršt [w’wlwclšt] “Wōrūjaršt”: the north-eastern continent; Av. Vouru.jarəšti-, see Barth., 1430.
- 7- xwanirah [hwñyls] “Xwanirah”: the central continent. See Nyberg 1974, II; Boyce 1975, 284; Av. x'aniraθa- the central clime. “niraθa- < \*ni-rm̥tho- may belong to MPers. nyr'myšn “layer” or “deposit”, cf. Andreas-Henning, Mir.Man. I, 177.8 ... Accordingly x'a-niraθa- can be understood as literally meaning ‘self-founded, being its own foundation, not resting on anything else’” (quoted from Gershevitch, 1959, 176).

35.6- Cf. WZ.35.18 for a parallel statement.

paywast-axwīh: “like-mindedness”; cf. Nyberg 1974, 159. Molé 1963, 444 reads patvast ahoš and joins it to the last paragraph.

35.7- One should bear in mind that the fraškardārān or renovators are not necessarily immortals. The confusion of “Renovators” and “Immortals” has resulted in different accounts of the renovators in the Pahlavi texts, e.g. Yt.13; WZ.35.3; DKM.805; MX.7.27, 28; Z.W.Y.9.20-23. It is said in Pahl.Riv.54.1 that frašegird kardār was hēnd ān ahōš ud a-marg ēk pišyōtan ēk wan ī jud-bēš ēk gōpatšāh ēk yōšt ī friyāniyān ud ān kē-š gyān andar tūs ud wēw ud kersāsp ī tan ast u-š gyān nēst “The producers of Frašegird are many; they (are) immortal and deathless: one (is) Pišyōtan; one (is) the Tree Opposing Harm; one (is) Gōpatšāh; one is Yōšt of the Friyān family; and those who (have) a soul, Tūs and Wēw, and Kersāsp, who has a body and has no soul” (Williams, 1990, I, 197; II, 91). Likewise the names of the immortals are not the same in Pahlavi texts. They are mentioned in Dd.89.1-5 as follows: 89-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū awēšān kē a-ōš hēnd ud amarg dād ēstēnd kē ud cand hēnd. u-šān a-ōšīh tā cē sāmānag ast. har(w) ēk pādixšāyih kū-gyāg dārēnd ... pāsox ēd kū xwadāy ī a-ōš ī xwarrah kešwar ī xwanirah 7 guft ēstēd. ēk yōšt ī friyāniyān, ēk awestāgīg [ašəm.] yahmāi.ušta nām ud hamfriyān pus, ēk fraðāxšti nām ud xumbīgān pus, ēk ašawaz[d]an[h] nām ud poruðāštōš pus, ēk wan ī jud-bēš, ēk gōbatšāh, ēk pēšyōtan kē az catrōmiyān xwānīhēd .... “The eighty-ninth question: who and how many are those who are deathless and are made immortal, and how far is their immortality; where does each one of them rule; how far is the sovereignty of each one? ... The reply is this that the immortal rulers of the glorious region of Xwanirah are said to be seven: one Yōšt son of Friyān; one is named in Avestan [Ašəm].yahmāi.ušta son of Hamfriyān; one is named Fraðāxšti son of Xunbyā; one is named Ašawazdangh son of Poruēāxšti; one Wan ī jud-bēš; one Gōbatšāh; one Pēšyōtan who is called Catrōmiyān”.

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### Abbreviations

AWN.	Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: see Bib.Jamasp Asa, K.
BQ.	Borhan i Qāte'
conj.	conjunction
Dd.	Dādistān i dēnīg
DKM.	Dinkard Madan: see Bib.Madan
Ed.	Editor: Anklesaria, T.D.
f(f).	and the following page(s)
Gr. Bd.	Zand-ākāsīh, Iranian or Greater Bundahiš: see Bib. Anklesaria, B.T.
HN.	Hādōxt Nask
Loq.	Loqat-Nāme: see Bib.Dekhoda
MMP	Manechaean Middle Persian
MP	Middle Persian
MX.	Dādestān i Mēnōg i Xrad: see Bib. West, E.
M.Y.F.	Mādayān i Yōšt i Fryān: see Bib.Jaafari-Dehaghi, M.
n.	note
NP.	New Persian
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
Pahl.	Pahlavi
Pahl.Riv.	The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādistān i Dēnīg: see Bib.Williams, A. V.
Pahl.T.	The Pahlavi Texts: see Bib. Jamasp-Asana, J. M.
Pahl.Vd.	Pahlavi Vendidād: see Bib. Anklesaria, B.T.
Pahl.yasna	Pahlavi Yasna And Visperad: see Bib. Dhabhar, E.B.N.
Parth.	Parthian
Pers.Riv.	The Persian Rivayats of Hormazdyar Framarz: see Bib. Dhabhar, E.B.N.
REA.	Rivāyat i Emēt i Ašāvahīštān: see Bib. Safa-Isfahani, N.
Sd.Bd.	Saddar Bundahiš: see Bib. Dhabhar, E.B.N.

Sd.N.	Saddar Nasr: see Bib. Dhabhar, E.B.N.
SGV.	Skand-Gumānīk Vicār: see Bib. Menasce, P. Jean.
SnS	Sāyast-nē-Sāyast: see Bib. Tavadia J.C.
vb	verb
WZ.	Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram: see Bib. Gignoux, Ph., and Tafazzoli, A.
Y.	Yasna
Yt.	Yašt
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZWY	Zand ī wahuman yasn: see Bib. Anklesaria, B.T.

\* Words emended in the text.

[ ] Letters or words supplied in the text.

< > Letters or words deleted in the text.

( ) Explanatory words added in the translation.

+ Used in the translation to draw attention to an explanation in the Commentary.

