

THE LAST CHAPTER OF DĒNKART BOOK III APAR DĒN NIPĒK DĒNKART NIPĒK

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Introductory Remarks

The Dēnkart is the most comprehensive work written in Pahlavi regarding the doctrines, history and literature of the Mazdā-Worshipping Religion. The principal philosophical Zoroastrian text that has survived is Dēnkart, the great corpus of theological, mythological and exegetic material dating in matter from the late Sassanian Period. It is written in an abbreviated 'note style' and as such it is very difficult to translate. There is no punctuation, and if there is, it is also too often misplaced. The text of this formidable work is too difficult and its style is cramped, arid and obscure. The actual history of the compilation of the extant Dēnkart as given at the end of Book III (DKM 405–407) clearly refers to Ātur-Franabay ī Farroḡ-zātān as the editor of the first half and Āturpāt ī Ēmētān of the second half of this work. Both of them flourished in the IX Century.

I have selected this small and last chapter from Dēnkart Book III for this Commemoration Volume. I have based my text on Dēnkart Texts edited by D. M. Madan (DKM 405–407) and by Dastur Peshotan Sanjana (Dēnkart Vol. IX p. 680–682) respectively. In transcribing the Pahlavi I have substituted the Iranian equivalents for the Huzvāriš or the ideograms. Dastur Dr. Peshotan Sanjana was the first to edit and to translate this text in question in his Dēnkart Vol. IX. I may add that Prof. Sir Harold Bailey has given a transcription in Appendix VII to his monumental work 'Zoroastrian Problems in the IX Century Books', Oxford, 1943 pp. 217–218. Recently Prof. Dr. Olaf Hansen has selected this text with transcription in his *Mittelpersisches*

Lesebuch, Berlin, 1963, pp. 88–91. Prof. H. S. Nyberg has incorporated this text under Ch. VIII entitled 'History of the Sacred Books' in 'A Manual of Pahlavi', Wiesbaden, 1964, pp. 111–112. The last portion of this text is left out by Prof. Bailey and Prof. Nyberg as well.

The Pahlavi Dēnkart Book IV contains 'Selections from the book Aḏvēr-nāmak' compiled by the Saint Ātur-Franabāy ī Farroxv-zātān, the Pontiff of the faithful of Iran, who flourished about 130 years after the last ill-fated Sassanian King Jazdkart, and was living during the Khilāphat of Ma'mūn (813–833) A.C.). These 'Selections of Aḏvēr Nāmak' have preserved the tradition concerning the fate which befell the Zoroastrian scriptures and this account is given in Dēnkart (Dēnkart ed. by Madan pp. 412.3–415.3 and by Sanjana vol. IX pp. 685 ff.). For the text in transcription and lucid and intelligible translation, readers' attention is invited to Prof. Zaehner's monumental work 'Zurvān, A Zoroastrian Dilemma pp. 7–9 and 31–32. A transcription of part of this text (DKM 411.15–413.13) has appeared in Prof. Bailey's 'Zoroastrian Problems in the IX Century Books', Appendix VII pp. 218–219. This text narrates the history of the vicissitudes the Avestan scriptures had undergone in the long cycle of time from the foundation of the Zoroastrian Religion up to the period of its rejuvenescence during the reign of the Sassanian King Šāpur, son of Ardašir, as narrated by the Pontiff of the faithful, Ātur-Franabāy ī Farroxv-zātān, about 130 years after the decline and down-fall of the Sassanian Dynasty. His fifth lineal descendent Āturpāt ī Ēmētān, the last compiler of the Pahlavi Dēnkart, whilst giving the history of Dēnkart as stated in this monograph, corroborates his statement. These two statements written about nine to eleven centuries ago are supported by others contained in the Pahlavi traditions, viz. Dēnkart Book VII, ch. 7; Book VIII, ch. I; Artāk Virāf Nāmak ch. I. 1–17; Gr. Bundahišn 214.8 ff. and Šahrihā ī Ērān 2 ff.

These two statements referred to above narrate the history of the ravages and destruction the Zoroastrian scriptures had to undergo in over twelve centuries from Alexander upto Āturpāt ī Ēmētān. This Āturpāt, son of Ēmēt, has given a good summary of nineteen out of twenty-one Nasks of the Zoroastrian scriptures,

as the Nasks Naxtar and Vaštag were not accessible to him. It was the miraculous feat of memorization accomplished by the priests which helped them to preserve and save their religious literature from delapidation and destruction. The memorizing of a sacred text was regarded as a main function of the priests. Witness in this connection the Pahlavi treatise 'Panč xēm ī Āsrōnān ut Dah Handarž', a paper contributed by me in Bazamē Ruzē Khorshed Memorial Volume pp. 122–130, 1951. It may be stated that this treatise is found *mutatis mutandis* in ch. 27 of Vičitakihā ī Zātsparam.

Signs

- () indicate words inserted by the writer to sound off the grammatical structure of the English translation or to make clear the sense.
 < > indicate insertions by the writer in the text.
 * indicate theoretical form.
 [] indicate redundant or written through oversight of the scribes or to word and sentences to be deleted.

Transcription

Apar Dēn Nipēk Dēnkart Nipēk — hač Nikēž ī Vēh-Dēn.

(1) Hat Dēnkart nipēk kart¹ hast ī hač visp-dānākih pēsīt² Dēn Mazdyast paštākih. Ut naḫūst kartak ī hač Vēh-Dēn Pōryōtkēšān ī vaḫšvar yašt-fravahr Spītāmān Zartōxšt fratōm hāvišt pat pursišn ut āšnavišn ī hač ham yašt-fravahr vēh-dēn paštākik dānišn ākāsih ī apar har dar, hangōšitak rošnīh ī hač būn rōšn. Ān būn pursišn vičēr ī dēhūpat būržāvand Kay Vištāsp nipēkēnītān³ būn ut būn ō Ganj ī Šasapikān aβaspārtan⁴ ut paččēn passačakihā vistartan framūt.⁵ Ut hač ān pas paččēn ō diž ī nipišt frēstīt, ut ānōd-ič dāšt.⁶ <Ēn hast> ākāsih.⁷

¹ so DPS; DM kartak.

² so DPS; DM pasīt; cf. DKM 470.13: pasīt instead of pēsīt.

³ so DM; DPS nipēkēnīt.

⁴ so DM; DPS aβaspārt.

⁵ so DPS; DM framūtān.

⁶ corrected; DPS and DM dāštan.

⁷ so DM; DPS āyāihā.

(2) Ut andar vizand ī hač mar ī dūš-x'varrah Alaksandar ō Ērān-šahr <ut> dēn <ut> x'vatādiḥ mat,⁸ ān ī pat diž ī nipišt ō sōžišn, ān ī pat Ganj ī Šasapikān ō dast ī Hrōmāyān mat,⁸ ut-aš ō-č⁹ *yōnāyik¹⁰ uzvān vičārtan¹¹ pat ākāsīḥ ī hač pēšēnik<ān>¹² <ō ēmāk> patvastak.¹³

(3) <Ka> ōy Bay¹⁴ Artaxštar Šāhān Šāh <ī> Pāpakān mat¹⁵ ō apāč-ārāstārīḥ <ī> Ērān x'vatādiḥ, ham nipēk hač pargandakīḥ ō ēvak gyāk āβōrt.¹⁶ Ut Pōryōtkēš ahrōβ Tansar ī <Ēhrpatān> Ēhrpat būt apar mat¹⁷ <kē rād> apāk paδtākīḥ hač Avistāk apāč handāxtan <ut> hač ān¹⁸ paδtākīḥ bavandakēnītan¹⁹ framūt, ut hamgōnak²⁰ kart. Ut <Šāhān Šāh Artaxštar> hangō-šītak <nipēk> hač brēh ī būn rōšn pat Ganj ī Šasapikān²¹ dāštan ut paččēn passačakīhā frāx'vēnītan framūt.²² <Ēn hast> ākāsīḥ.

(4) Ut pas hač vizand ut višōβišn <ī> hač Tāžikān ō-č dīvān ut ganj ī Kēšvar mat²³ hu-fravart [Āturpāt ī]²⁴ Ātur-Franabaγ ī Farroχ^v-zātān ī hu-dēnān pēšōpāδ būt ān paččēn ī k<ō>stakīhā²⁵ pargandak būt nōk aβžār hač pargandakīḥ apāč ō hamīh dīvān

⁸ so DPS; DM matan.

⁹ so DM; DPS ō.

¹⁰ suggested by Prof. Bailey; vide Zor. Prob. p. 85 f. n. 4 and p. 217. Nyberg reads ywn'n'yk = yōnāyik (A Manual of Pahlavi p. 111). DPS ēywtw'yk = ēyōtnāik.

¹¹ so DM; DPS vičārt.

¹² corrected; DPS and DM pēšēnik.

¹³ corrected; DPS and DM guft stak written ywptw stk. Of these letters yw = ēn may be joined to the preceeding word pēšēnik so as to read pēšēnikēn for the correct word pēšēnikān. The remaining letters ptw stk would form a word resulting in patvastak. Better patvast ēstēl.

¹⁴ so DPS; DM BB = bab for correct bay.

¹⁵ so DPS; DM matan.

¹⁶ so DM; DPS āβōrtan.

¹⁷ corrected; DPS and DM matan.

¹⁸ DPS inserts avistāk after ān.

¹⁹ so DPS; DM bavandakēnītak ww.

²⁰ corrected; DM gives incorrect spelling ym'wwkw = ēmhūnak. DPS ym'wwkw = žamānak.

²¹ corrected; DPS Šasapān and DM Šapān.

²² so DPS; DM framūtān.

²³ so DPS; DM matan.

²⁴ so DM; DPS Āturpātīk. Words Āturpāt ī are wrongly written out by the scribe and as such are to be deleted from the text; hence inserted by me in [].

²⁵ corrected; DPS and DM kastakīhā.

i-š dar āpōrt. Andar nikērišn ut handāžišn i ō vēh-dēn apastāk ut zand <ut> pōryōtkēšān gōβišn hangōšitak pērōk i hač ān brēh apāč kart.

(5) Pat škišt ārm <ut> vizand²⁶ <i> ō Zartōχšt i Ātur-Franabayān i hūdēnān pēšōpād būt jast, ān-ič divān ō višōβišn, ut ān nipēk visistakih ut pargandakih, ut hačiš ō-č kaχvanih ut nastakih²⁷ ut pūtakih mat.²³

(6) Ut hač ān pas az Āturpāt i Ēmētān i hūdēnān pēšōpād, hač yazdān nisvārišn²⁸ dēn mazdyast adyār-dahišnih nōk aβžār pat χvādišn ut vičōdišn²⁹ ut ranj i vēš ham nipišt. Čē hač ān visāndak ut zrūftak ut sūtak ut χāk-āmēk divān apāč vindit, ut ē čē hač apāč-griftakih ut būrtakih ut traftakih apāč-āpōrt <tōβān-ast>, hačiš vičit hač³⁰ mayūy³¹ hampursagih³² ut χrat adyārih, pat apāč-handāχtārih i ō pōryōtkēšān i pēšēnikān gōβišn kartak ut avistāk paδtākīh ut aβzōn i hač vēhdēn dānākīh darakihā patiš ārāst³³ ut rastakēnīl bām-ē i hač pērōk³⁴ i ān brēh hač rōšnih <i> būn rōšn. <Ut> hamistihā kart pat vēh dēn nimūtārih ēn i nāmēnīl pat stōrih mānāk i ān vazury būn Dēnkart <i> hazār darak.

(7) Ut patrāst čstēt pat yazdān nērōk dahišnih, <ut> frēstīt i ōy-ič³⁵ apar mat i pahlōm dēn-būrtārān i andar žamānak matan-ič, i ō hūdēnān bavišn³⁶ rōβān adyārih, ut apāč-patvast³⁷ vičēn³⁷ ō apārik Ērān nikēž i dēn Mazdyast ākāsīh, ut ham-būn³⁸ aβžārtar apāč kartan i hač-ič ān i apartōm kart hāvištān i Ōšētar i Zartōχštān pat apāč pursitārih i hač Ōšētar vēh-dēn paδtākīh.³⁹

²⁶ so DM; DPS ut zand.

²⁷ so DM; DPS ut stākīh separately instead of nastākīh.

²⁸ suggested by Prof. Bailey. DM gives svārišn = swβ'ršn. DPS gives the reading adyārišn. It can be read naxvārišn.

²⁹ so Bailey; DPS and DM wēyšn = vičīšn.

³⁰ corrected; DM mtkw; better mw = ideogram of Ir. hač. Of the letter T is read yn, the word would read mayūk. DPS gives mtww = matan, mīhr.

³¹ so DM; DPS mēnōk.

³² corrected: MSS. hampursagik.

³³ so DPS; DM ārāstan.

³⁴ so DPS; DM ptyrk = patfrak wrongly.

³⁵ DPS and DM wlē = ō-ič; ō-č; better wlmn-ē = ōy-ič.

³⁶ so DM and DPS; K₄₃ dānišn (Hansen, *Mittelpersisches Lesebuch* p. 91).

³⁷ sa DPS and DM; K₄₃ patvastan-ič i, which is a better reading.

³⁸ so DM; DPS ham-būn-ič = even a little, least, as little as possible.

³⁹ so K₄₃. DPS and DM omit paδtākīh.

Translation

About the Book of the Religion — Dēnkart Book —
From the Exegesis of the Good Religion.

(1) Know that the book Dēnkart is prepared from the manifestation of the Mazdā-worshipping Religion, adorned with all knowledge. And it was the first (naḫūst)[1] composition of the Pōryōtkēšas[2], the first rank disciples of the prophet Spitama Zartōšt of-revered-Fravaši, by means of conference with and listening from this one of revered Fravaši about the knowledge and information as regards every revealed by the good religion, compared with brilliance which is visible from the original source (būn). The blessed[3] king Kay Vištāsp[4] ordered the original, the conference and the decrees, to be recorded in book form, to consign the original book to the Ganj ī Šasapikān[5] and to distribute its copies suitably; and thereafter he sent a copy to the Diz ī Nipišt[6] and preserved (it) even there. Such is the information.

(2) And during the calamity which befell Ērān-šahr and its Religion and sovereignty on account of the villain[7] Alexander of evil glory, that which (is deposited) in the 'Diz ī Nipišt' burnt up and that which (is consigned) to the 'Ganj ī Šasapikān' came into the hands of the Romans, and its being translated into the Greek[8] language has been transmitted to us by the information from the Ancients.

(3) When His Majesty the Emperor Artaxštar[9], Son of Pāpak, came for the restoration of the Sovereignty of Ēran, he brought this book from dispersion to one place. And there came up the Pōryōtkēš holy Tansar[10] who was the Ēhrpatān Ēhrpat[11], whom he ordered to recast (it) with evidence from the Avesta and to complete (it) from that evidence, and (Tansar) did accordingly. And (the Emperor Astaxštar) ordered the similar (work) from the spark of the original source of light to be preserved in the 'Ganj ī Šasapikān' and to disseminate (its) copies in a suitable manner. This is the information[12].

(4) And after the calamity and disintegration which befell the archives[13] and the Treasury of the Kingdom from the Arabs the Saint Ātur-Franabay, son of Farroḫ^v-zāt, who was the Pontiff

of the faithful, brought back that copy which was scattered in (various) places, as a new edition (nōk aβžār) from dispersion to unification and to his Court. And he reconstructed Avistāk and the Commentary and the sayings of the Pōryōtkēšas with the observation and estimate of the faithful, resembling a spark of light from that blaze.

(5) (But) owing to the grievous affliction and calamity[14] which befell Zartōχšt, son of Ātur-Franabay, who was (then) the Pontiff of the faithful, his archives also came to devastation and that book to destruction and dilapidation and from it even to obsolescence, worn-out-condition and decay.

(6) And thereafter I, Āturpāt, son of Ēmēt, the Pontiff of the faithful, by the grace (nisvārišn)[15] of God and assistance of the Religion of Mazdā-Worship, wrote this new edition (nōk aβžār) with many aspirations, investigations and pains; whatever I could secure again from the archives scattered, dispersed,[16] worn out and mixed with dust and whatever I could restore from the state of being withheld, carried away and stolen,[17] I with the help of wisdom and by conference with the Magian priests, selected therefrom and arranged chapters thereby by recasting the utterances and usages of the ancient Pōryōtkēšas and by the manifestation of Avistāk and the beneficence of the knowledge of the Good Religion, and I saved a beam out of that blaze which emanated from the brilliance of the original light. And I entirely prepared for the publicity of the Good Religion this (Volume) which I named the Dēnkart of a thousand chapters by way of adoption (stūrīh) of that great original.

(7) And it is adorned with the strength and dispensation of God, and its despatch reached the most excellent promulgators of the religion during the period and its advent (reached) for the knowledge of the good religionists and for the help (of their) souls and the news of its re-transmission to other parts of Ēran (came up) for the Exegesis of the Religion of Mazdā-Worship and to reconstruct the same original very effectively (aβžārtar) is due to the supreme acts of the disciples of Ōšētar, son of Zartōχšt, by means of the catechism and manifestation of Ōšētar of the Good Religion.[18]

Notes to the Translation

[1] naḡust, Pāz naḡust, ideog. avlā, Mod. Pers. nakhuist: the first, at first, in the first place. Bailey (Zor. Prob. p. 217) reads 'ut ḡastūk.

[2] lit. those who belong to the foremost or supreme religion, followers of the ancient faith, foremost leaders of the faith, ancient sages. Av paoiryō-īkaēša. Cf. Bartholomae AirWb. 812. See my book Čilak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān p. 106.

[3] buržāvand, blessed from inf. būržitān, Av. √ barəg, pres. bərəj-aya-, to welcome, to do homage to; (2) buržāvand, Av. bərəzant- Skr. brihant-, exalted, noble, sublime, grand from inf. buržitān, Av. barəz-, bərəz- to grow high, to rise high. Bharneha translates the word "having exalted vision" and compares it with Av. bərəzai-ši (Pahlavi-Pāz. Gloss. p. 115).

[4] Patron of Zoroastrianism, the Constantine of Zoroastrianism and the Defender of the Faith. His name is ever referred to in Avesta and Pahlavi texts, in the Šāh Nāmak, and in Mohammedan writers who allude to Persia. He was the son of Aurvaṭ-aspa (MP. Lohrāsp) and was sprung from the Kayanian dynasty. See Jackson, Zoroaster, 69 ff. According to Prof. Henning, King Vištāspa was the last paramount chief of a Chorasman Confederation finally overthrown by Cyrus. (Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-Doctor? p. 18-19). For etym. of the name Vištāspa, see Bailey, Transactions of the Philological Society, London, and JRAS. October 1953 pp. 101-103.

[5] The correct reading is Ganj i Šasapikān. The word is found defectively written in the Pahlavi texts Šapikān, Šapān etc. Prof. Sir Harold Bailey explains the word thus: "In the Dēnkart 437.20 (quoted on p. 154) is named the ganj i ḡatāyān 'treasury of the Lords'. In Armenian, in Sebēos (ed. Constantinople, p. 193) we find: isk z-patčēn outil ḡostovanout'ean ask'ay ḡosrov hramayeac knk'el iurov matānean eu tal i ganjs ask'ouni 'but the King Khosrov ordered to seal the true copy of the Confession with his own seal and to deposit it in the royal trasaury'. A similar expression, possibly a reminiscence of Persian usage, is used of the Alexandrian Library by Abū'l-Faraj ibn al-'Ibri (Barhebraeus) in his book of Dynasties (al-muḡtasar fī 'l-duwal,

ed. Pococke, 1663, p. 181): *fī xazā'* in *al-mulūkiyyah* rendered by Pococke in *gazophylaciis* [*bibliothecis*] *regiis*. This passage is discussed by R. S. Mackensen in the *Amer. Journ. of Semitic Lang.* 50 (1934), 121. Hence we have as a term for the Royal Library of the Sassanian Kings *ganj ī x'atāyān* = Armen. *ganjs ark'ouni* (= Arab. *xazā'in al-mulūkiyyah*). The unexplained Pahlavi words should correspond in meaning. If we read *šasa-pikān* we have the Persian form *šasap-* of the O. Pers. *xšassa-pāvan-* Gr. *σαρπάνης*, which survives in the Mid. Parth. form in Armen. *šahap* 'οικονόμος, *Stadtpleger*' (Hübschmann, Armen. Gram. 208). This gives *šas-* <O.Pers. *xšassa*, Av. *xšaθra-* The form *šasapik-* will then be adjectival, used later as a noun." (Zor. Prob. p. 230–231).

[6] *lit.* fortress of writings, strong-place of writings, the National Archives. In *Artāk Vīrāf Nāmak* Ch. 1.7 we find the word *KRYTĀ nipišt*. "The Aramaic *QRYTA* 'lown' is found also in *Kārnāmak ī Artaxšīr ī Pāpakān*, ed. Antia, 12.17 as *karitāk* referring to the *diz* of the *Kirm* (10.8). The *Dēnkart* (DKM. 405.20, 22; 412.5) has *diz ī nipišt*. Hence the equation *karitā = diz* is assured" (Bailey, *Zor. Prob.* p. 152 f. n. 1). See also Klīma, *Manis Zeit und Leben*, Praha 1962 p. 27 and p. 51.

[7] *mar* (1) a villain, a felon, a wicked being; cf. Av. *mairya-*, Skt. m. $\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}}$. (2) number, enumeration, account, from Av $\sqrt{\text{mar-}}$ to count, to remember. In the Avesta the *mairya-* is usually looked upon with contempt; e.g. *Yašt* 10.2; *Vid.* 5.35; *Yasna* 9.18; *Yašt* 5.41; *Yašt* 9.30. The activity of the *mairya-* is described by the verb *ā9-* to terrify, to drive off. Zor. Pahl. *mar-* may be either an inherited West Iranian word or a transcription from the Avestan tradition. "By using *mar* of the Macedonian Alexander as in DKM 405.21 *mar ī dušxvarrah alaksandar* 'the man of violence ill-destined Alexander' the sense of 'violent' enemy is made clear," remarks Bailey. Later in the Sanskrit Version we rightly find *nṛśamṣa-* 'violent, cruel'. For further details, see Bailey's article *Arya IV* pp. 77–82 in *BSOAS* vol. XXVI Part I. 1963 and Stig Wikander's *Der Arische Männerbund*.

[8] Text gives *ō-č ywtwayk*. Prof. Bailey suggests the reading *ō-ič yōnāyik* and remarks that in DKM 406.2 *YWTWAYK*

is simpler to emend to YWNAYK since YW and T in Pahl. are at times confused and it may be dittography. (Zor. Prob. p. 85). Cf. Manich. Mid. Parth. ywnyg *yōnīg 'Greek' (Henning, BSOS. IX 90). Nyberg (A Manual of Pahlavi) reads the word in question 'yōnānāyik'.

[9] For full details on the proper name, see Kārnamak ī Astaxšir ī Pāpakān ed. by Dastur Dr. Darab Sanjana, Introduction pp. I–XIV and Zaehner, Zurvān p. 7, 8, 35, 36 and 51.

[10] "Tansar, the Ēhrpatān Ēhrpat of Ardašir, collected what material he could find and reduced it to some sort of canon we have no good reason to disbelieve. It is possible that Tansar was in fact identical with Kartir, as Sprengling maintains, and the record preserved in the Dēnkart attributes to Tansar the exploits of Kartir; for it is true that the accounts of Ardašir's reign in the Pahlavi books are very much more legendary than historical. The personality of Tansar is indeed almost entirely lost to us, but his importance as the reviver of Zoroastrianism is remembered. The Dēnkart says of him: 'nē-ič hač ān dēh ān ī apārōn anāštih frāč, ašsiđihēt ut nē ān ī apārōn dēvasn ut nē ān ī apārōn spazgih tāk kaδ ō avē *dahēnd patirišn āsrōn ī mēnōk sardār ī purr-guftār rāst-guftār ī ahrov Tansar' (DKM 652.10). Neither shall unrighteous turmoil, nor unrighteous devil-worship, nor unrighteous calumny be eradicated from the provinces until men offer to accept him, the priest, the spiritual leader, the eloquent, truthful, blessed Tansar." (Zaehner, Zurvān, A Zoroastrian Dilemma p. 9–10).

[11] Lit. meaning, the priest of priests, the high-priest. This title is sometimes written hērbaδān-hērbaδ. In the Zoroastrian church this office was inferior only to that of mōbaδān-mōbaδ. Vide Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides pp. 114, 131 and L'Empire des Sassanides pp. 35–36. Stig Wikander (Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran Ch. II) advances the thesis that the hērbaδs originated in the north-west and were the priests of Vayu and Anāhitā. For further details about hērbaδ and mōbaδ, see Wikander, *ibid.* 23 ff.

[12] For transcription and translation of this para see O. Klīma, Manis Zeit und Leben pp. 172–173. In the transcription Klīma gives patganj ī Šaspān āwurtan instead of pat ganj ī Šasa-

pīkān *dāštan*. Both Sanjana and Madan give *dāštan* and not *āwurtan*.

[13] *dēvan*, *dēwān* (**dēβān*) = archives, pl. of *dyb*. This word occurs twice in this text paras 4-6. Mod Pers. *divān*. For the various forms see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 133 sq. See Henning, 'The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani' in *Asia Major* N.S. III, p. 207. Cf. also Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 60, no. 540. Dr. West (SBE Vol. XXXVII p. XXXI) correctly translates "Archives".

[14] The calamity alluded to here is that Zartōḫšt, son of Ātur-Franabay i Farroḫ^v-zātān, had embraced Islam in the time of Khalifa Mamun. This allusion is given in the *Nāmakiḥā i Manuščihr*, Epistle II, Ch. 1.13. For transcription and translation of this para see my paper in Prof. Taraporewala Memorial Volume in Deccan College Bulletin No. 18.

[15] *nisvārišn*, *naḫvārišn*. I have translated it by 'grace'. Junker (FrP. in *zeichengemässer Anordnung*, 1955 p. 1) gives the word *naḫvb'r* = *naḫvār* and translates "Guvernör, General." Hence the word *naḫvārišn* here would mean 'governorship, generalship', sovereignty, chieftainship. For full details see Junker, FrP. 1912 Edition pp. 36-39. This word may be distinguished from the similar word spelt *niḍvārišn* from inf. *niḍvāritan-* to proceed, to rush off. Av. *ni + /* *dvar-* to run, to rush, cf. my article on *Dāti-stān-i Dēnik Pursišn* II pp. 138-139 f.n. 3 in Unwala Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1964. Nyberg (*A Manual of Pahlavi* s. v.) reads the word *nihvārišn*.

[16] *Zrūftak*: dispersed, destroyed, past part. pass. of inf. *zrūftan*, to disperse, to wipe off; derived from *uz + *raup*, NPers. *ruftan*, to sweep, sogd. *pr'wp-* *Dhāyana* I. Cf. Bailey, BSOS VII, p. 81, and Zaehner, *Zurvān* p. 329 for etym. and references of its occurrence in other Pahl. Texts.

[17] Sometimes *trūftakih*, meaning state of being stolen away. See Nyberg, Glossar p. 227.

[18] Nyberg has omitted para 7 of this text in his *Manual of Pahlavi*. Prof. Hansen gives the text completely with latin transcription and the basis of his text is K 43. Vide *Mittelpersisches Lesebuch*, 1963. For Dr. West's translation of this text, see SBE Vol. 37, p. XXX-XXXI.

