

## I Introduction

*Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērān-šahr* (hitherto *ŠĒ*) is a short Middle Persian text compiled in Late Antiquity which recounts the various cities in what it claims to be *Ērān-šahr*, the “domain of the Iranians.” The text also discusses the sometimes legendary, sometimes historical personage who founded the various cities and the center of their activity. The significance of this work is threefold. First, the text is of interest for those who work on Middle Iranian languages. The text contains a number of unique terms especially toponyms. Secondly, the text is of interest for those who are concerned with Sāsānian administrative geography and history. The text enumerates the various divisions, districts and a long list of geographical locations and names of cities. It includes historical material as well as the names of the Sāsānian kings who established the various cities. Thirdly, the text contains much information in regard to the Persian epic, the *Xwadāy-nāmag*, “Book of Kings.”

Since some of the information supplied by the *ŠĒ* is rare or unique and cannot be found in other texts, the translation of the text has faced certain problems. The content of the text appears to have been drawn from the Sāsānian conception of *Ērān-šahr* and other material was added to it in the early Islamic era. The last redactors of the text were living under the Abbāsīd Caliphate in the eighth century.

When the Sāsānian empire was established in the third century CE, Ardaxšīr I (224-240 CE) and Šābuhr I (240-270 CE) unified an area which they considered to be *Ērān / Ērān-šahr*. This geographical conception can be delineated by comparing Šābuhr’s Ka’ba Zardušt inscription and Kerdir’s inscription at Naqš-e Rostam. Although the conceptual view of *Ērān-šahr* differs somewhat between the royal and Kerdir’s inscription, a territory emerges which corresponds roughly to the eastern Iranian world, the Iranian Plateau, and Mesopotamia. The religio-political view at least in

the third century of what *Ērān* was territorially is indicated by Kerdir as: Persis, Parthia, Babylonia, Mesene, Adiabene, Atropatene, Isfahān, Rāy, Kirmān, Sagastān, Gurgān up to Pešāwar (Gignoux 1991; 71). The territories which the Sasanian kings mention to be under their rule and which are not part of Kerdir's list of provinces must then be considered *an-Ērān* the "non-Iranian" realm. There are no problems with this geographic conception of *Ērān-šahr* which remained almost constant as the territory of the Sāsānian empire with the usual border fluctuations. In this Middle Persian text which was composed during the latter part of the Sāsānian dynasty and redacted again in the eighth century, *Ērān-šahr* has a much larger territorial definition, which reminds us of the Sāsānian imperial inscription of Šābuhr I, but it is even larger in scope, since it does not conform to the administrative history of *Ērān* in most of the Sāsānian period (Gyselen 1988; 206).

The *ŠĒ* includes Africa and Arabia as part of *Ērān-šahr* which certainly was not part of the traditional territory of *Ērān-šahr*, nor was this the case in the inscription of Kerdir in the third century CE. One must question why the Zoroastrian scribes of the eighth century had such a geographical definition of *Ērān-šahr*. How did the Zoroastrian scribes come up with this conception of a unique geographical outlook and especially that of *Ērān-šahr*? There are several possibilities which need to be discussed and the first question that must be asked is whether the enumeration of the cities of *Ērān-šahr* in this text reflects a religious/mythical point of view or whether it portrays a historical, hence an imperial ideology of *Ērān-šahr*. It is clear that the Avestan conception of *Airyānōm Vaējō* / *Ērān-wēž* comprises the Central Asian regions of Sogdiana, Marw, Balx, Herāt, Hērmand, and Ray as mentioned in the first chapter of *Wīdēwdād*. Therefore we cannot look at the Avestan territorial conception of *Ērān-wēž* for the inspiration of the *ŠĒ*. If we are to seek a historical view for such a territory, then we have to ask when such a scenario would exist and when would parts of

Africa and Arabia have been considered as part of the Persian Empire.

The second possibility is to look at the Achaemenid period to see whether the *ŠĒ* was influenced by that territorial conception. Of course this is contingent upon whether the Sāsānians did remember the Achaemenids or had a memory of them. This is not the place to discuss this question, but we know that what the Classical authors tell us in terms of the Sāsānian Persian claims to the Achaemenid territorial integrity was a fabrication of Classical historiography and probably not of the Sāsānians themselves (Kettenhofen 1984; 189-190). Still, I believe there were avenues of transmission of Achaemenid memory which the Sāsānians chose selectively (Daryaei 1995; 129-141 : 1998; 434), but the territory of *Ērān* is not one of them. There are two reasons why we can not assign this territory to the Achaemenids. First of all, the conception of *Ērān* appears to have been an Avestan idea which was reinvented by the Sāsānians in the third century CE (Gnoli 1989; 175). Secondly, the territory which Darius I mentions in the Behistun inscription does not match this conception of *Ērān-šahr*, nor is it certain that the Achaemenids had a name for their empire. Darius I, in the sixth century BCE, in the Behistun inscription enumerates the following areas which were part of his empire (DB I 1.12-7):

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya imā dahyāva tayā manā patiyāiša  
vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāyaθiya āham Pārsa Ūvja  
Bābiruš Aθurā Arabāya Mudrāya tyaiy drayahyā Sparda  
Yauna Māda Armina Katpatuka Parθava Zraka Haraiva  
Uvārazmīy Bāxtriš Sugda Gadāra Saka θataguš Harauvatīš  
Maka fraharavam dahyāva XXIII

“Says the king Darius, these are the regions that came to me by the favour of Ahura Mazda I was their king: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt (those) who are beside the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia,

Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactia, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka, in all, 23 provinces.” (Kent 1953; 188-119; Schmitt 1991; 49-50).

By looking at the *ŠĒ* one can see most of the places mentioned in the Behistun inscription, but the inscription covers a wider scope in area. As for the Sāsānian period, we have the royal inscriptions of the third century CE to rely on. The territory of *Ērān-šahr* as mentioned by Šābuhr I does not match that of *ŠĒ* either (Back 1978; 285-288; Huyse 1999; 23-24). In the third century inscription of Šābuhr I (240-270 CE) where the various provinces are mentioned (*ŠKZ* based on the Greek version):

Ērān šahr xwadāw ahēm ud dārām šahr: Pārs, Pahlaw, Xūzestān, Mēšān, Asōrestān, Nōdšīragān, Arabestān, Ādūrbādagān, Armen, Wiruzān, Segān, Alān, Balāsagān yad frāxš ō kōf ud Alānān bar, ud hamāg Padišxwar kōf, Mād, Wurgān, Marg, Harēw, ud hamāg Abršahr, Kermān, Sagastān, Tūrān, Makrān, Pāradān, Hindestān, Kūšānšahr yad frāxš ō Paškabūr, ud yad ō Kāš, Sugd, Čāčestān marz, ud az hō ārag zrēh Mazūn šahr (Huyse 1999; 22-23).

I am the ruler of Ērān-šahr and hold these *šahrs*: Persia, Parthia, Xuzistān, Mēšān, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Āzerbāijān, Armenia, Geogris, Segan, Albania, Balaskan, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all of the mountain chain of Pareshwar, Media, Gurgan, Merv, Herāt and all of Abaršahr, Kermān, Sīstan, Tūrān, Makrān, Paradene, India, Kušānšahr up to Peshawar and up to Kašgar, Sogdiana and to the mountains of Taškent, and on the other side of the sea, Oman.

The only time the Sāsānian empire reached such a limit again began in the sixth century CE and continued to the time of Husraw II in the seventh century CE. Therefor the *ŠĒ* may be a reflection of this expanded empire which reached its largest limits during the time of Husraw II. While the

eastern territories had been under the control of the Sāsānians periodically, by the sixth century CE Arabia had become a major scene of activity as well. Yemen had been conquered in 575 CE by the Sāsānians and placed under the governorship of Bādhān who ruled from Šan‘ā’. From Yemen envoys had been sent to Medina by a Persian governor to collect taxes from the people (Kister 1968; 145) and also to inquire about the rising power of the Prophet Muhammad. As for northern Arabia, Oman had also been placed under Persian rule (Wilkinson 1975; 98). Arab sources suggest that as early as the rule of Kawād I the Persians were involved in Mecca, where he is said to have imposed the religious ideas of Mazdak on the Arabs of Najd and Tihāma. It is stated that when some of the population of Mecca refused, he ordered one of his Arab commanders to destroy the Ka‘ba which was not carried out (Kister 1968; 145-146). The only other problem remaining is the question of Africa. The *ŠĒ* mentions *frīgā* which in the Islamic period came to be known as Maghrib, more clearly Egypt, Tunisia, Tripolitania and the surrounding region (Modi 1899; 130). We know that in the early seventh century Husraw II’s forces conquered Egypt and ruled the region for several years, where they even went further west and south, making inroads into Lybia and Nubia (Altheim-Stiehl, 1992; 92).

If these historical developments are the point of reference for the geographical outlook of the *ŠĒ*, then we can make certain assumptions. One is that during the late Sāsānian period a conceptual worldview had developed which was based on the imperialistic policies beginning with Kawād I to the time of Husraw II. This is the time when the Sāsānian Empire reached its furthest limits and exerted its influence beyond the traditional borders of the Sāsānian empire. Consequently, the concept of *Ērān-šahr* in our text was an imperialistic notion of what *Ērān-šahr* was territorially. This idea seems to have survived even after the fall of the Sāsānian empire in the seventh century CE and was incorporated not only in the Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts, but also became part of the epic narrative of the Perso-Islamic Period.

It is no wonder then that when the preface to the *Šāhnāme Abū Mansūrī* describes the limits of *Ērān-šahr*, it provides a similar view to of our text:

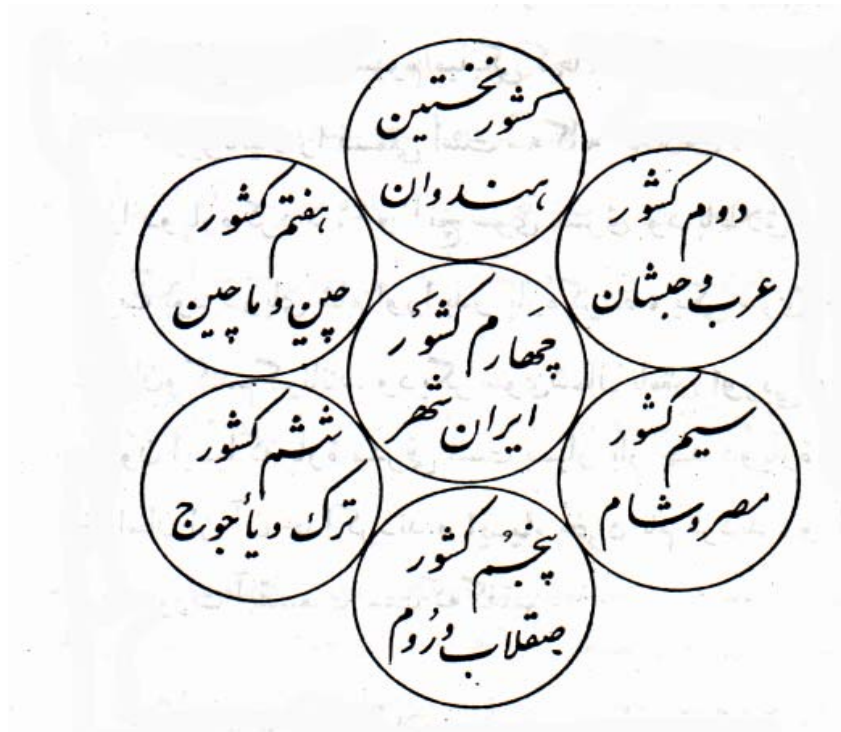
pĕĕk êDçof;Æ ÝĕC Ɔ pŷ× kƆo DN  
 Pwĕß×A kƆo qC pĕ;ŪCpĕC  
 pĕF PvC pNoCfĒorF pĕ;ŪCpĕC of;Æ Pçç  
 ÝĕC qC Ɔ lŪĕƆC Ūß×CpĭJ  
 PvCo êßv qC éçŪA Ɔ lŪoCk ŪDĭŪĭZ  
 PvpOhDF êßv qC éçŪA Ɔ êpŪç  
 pĕĕk Ɔ lŪoCk ŪDĕpN PvƆC LZ êßv ƆC  
 éçŪA Ɔ lŪoCk ŪCƆlŪç PvƆC  
 ŪDĕoƆDh Ōĕk LZ qC Ɔ lŪoCk ŪDĕpFpF  
 pOvCo qC éçŪA Ɔ lŪoCk ŪDĕorh  
 éØç pĕĕk ÝĕC Ɔ PwŪColŪqD× qC lŪĕßĒ  
 pŷ× Ɔ lŪoCk ŪDĭŪolŪqD× Ɔ  
 PvC Ýĭ×q ŪCpĕC

*Ērān-šahr* is from the Amū Daryā (Oxus) river to the Mişr (Nile) river and these other regions are around it (*Ērān-šahr*) and among these seven regions, *Ērān-šahr* is more magnanimous in every art and from the direction of the east are the Chinese and from its right are the Indians and from its left are the Turks and others are Xazariān and that more to the right the Barbarians and from the second left the Xawariān (westerners) and people from Mazandarān, and the Egyptians state that it is from Marzandarān and all of these are all the land of *Ērān*. (Qazvīnī 1332; 49 contra Monchi-Zadeh 1975; 8).

This point also brings us to the conceptual division of the universe according to the Zoroastrian tradition. In the Zoroastrian tradition the earth is divided into seven tracts *haft kišwar* “seven continents/climes,” (Avestan) *karšuuars*, where one tract was at the center which was the size of all the six climes combined (Schwartz 1985; 643). The six other tracts surround the central tract which was called (Avestan) *Xvaniraθa*, (Middle

Persian) *Xwanirah*. Reference to *Xwanirah* is found in the oldest period of Iranian civilization, in the Gāthās of Zoroaster. Yasna 32.3 mentions the seventh region, *būmiiā haptai 9ē*, literally “the seventh part of the earth,” which is to be identified with *Xwanirah*. The sea of *Farāxkart* surrounds *Xwanirah* and protects it. It is said that Ohrmazd made *Xwanirah* more beneficent than all other regions and it is in this *kišwar* where the Mazda-worshipping religion, kings and heroes were created (Shahbazi 1983; 241-242). Thus, *Xwanirah* becomes the central land and the focal point where the history of ancient Persians unfolds and the *ŠĒ* reflects this clime, i.e., *Ērān-šahr*. The others *kišwars* are *Arzah* (east), *Fradadafš* (southeast), *Wīdadafš* (southwest), *Sawah* (west), *Wōrūbaršt* (northwest), and *Wōrūjaršt* (northeast).

In this scheme the Sāsānians had developed a certain geographical outlook which was rooted in the Younger Avestan tradition, i.e., the idea of *Ērān*, but the material had been reworked to fit the imperial ideology in Late Antiquity. This becomes evident when we remember that in the division of the earth into seven climes *karšuuars* / *kišwar*, the central region, i.e., *Xvaniraθa* / *Xwanirah* was the tract where humans existed, and the other tracts were not inhabited. In this tract or continent *Airyandm Vaējō* / *Ērān-wēž* was located in Central Asia, close to the river *Vaḡhvī Dāitiyā* / *Weh Dāitiya* (Oxus River) (Humbach 1991; 33-40). By the Sāsānian period, this geographic conception had gone through changes and now *Airyandm Vaējō* / *Ērān-wēž*, i.e., *Ērān* was identified with the whole of *Xwanirah* (Christensen 1917; 117-118 : Dumézil 1971; 252-253). Consequently, other people who had inhabited *Xwanirah* were pushed onto the other tracts which had been uninhabited in the Avestan conception of the universe. One can see this conceptual evolution of the world by looking at the maps produced by the early Islamic authors who saw *Ērān-šahr* as the center tract and others surrounding it. This division is a constant feature of the ancient Persian geographical outlook and Persian Muslim authors such as Bērūnī and Yaqūt also divide the world into such a division. In *al-Taḥḥim* by Bērūnī a diagram of the seven *Kišwars* is given which complements the *Sāhnāme Abū Mansūrī*.



This view is a late Sāsānian representation of *Ērān* which had not only successfully transposed *Airyandm Vaējō* / *Ērān-wēž* onto its empire, but now included a territory which could only appear as a result of imperial ideology. The *ŠĒ* did not represent the traditional boundary of the early Sāsānian empire, but rather a region which had once been under the domination of the Persians and from then on was believed to be *Ērān*. This region is vividly mentioned in the preface of the *Šāhnāme Abū Mansūrī* to be from “Oxus to Nile,” which interestingly coincided with the terminology used by the great historian Marshal G. Hodgson in his book



*The Venture of Islam*. His definition of the Islamic or the Middle Eastern world was summed up as the “Nile to Oxus Region” (Hodgson 1977; 60). Ibn Rustah also gives a city by city enumeration of *Ērān-šahr* which demonstrates this imperial outlook (Wiet 1955; 115-120).

In the Islamic period many local and universal geographies began to be written, some taking on or describing the ancient Persian geographical concept of the world. These texts also recounted some of the important and legendary features of each city or region. In the Middle Persian texts such chapters in the *Bundahišn* recount the various regions, mountains and bodies of water. The source for the *Bundahišn* appears to have been a text called *Ayādgār ī Šahrīhā* (Memoire of Cities) which confirms the existence of geographical texts in the Sasanian period (Tafazzolī 1376; 265). It is related that during the time of Kawād I, a book on geography was written for him (Tavadia 1956; 204), which may have been the *Ayādgār ī Šahrīhā*. A short Middle Persian text known as *Abdīh ud Sahīgīh ī Sīstān* (The Marvels and Worthiness of Sīstān) is another example of a local historical/geographical work which resembles the *Tārīx-e Sīstān* in approach, albeit in a more compact fashion. Thus there is a connection between the Middle Persian and the early Islamic geographical works from which the Islamic historians and geographers must have drawn information.

## II

### Kusts and Administrative Divisions

While the latest redaction of the text was made in the Abbasī period (late eighth century), other evidence within the text suggests that its source or this text existed at the time of Kawād I / Husraw I in the sixth century CE. This is because if one looks at the list of provincial capitals of Persis in our text, four Šahrestāns are given: 1) Staxr; 2) Dārābgird; 3) Bēšābuhr; and 4) Gōr-Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah. This picture of the province of Persis is a pre-reform state. This is because after Kawād I laid siege to the city of Amida he deported its inhabitants to a new city built in the empire which he

named Weh-az-Amid-Kawād and made it the fifth division of the province of Persis. The division into five Šahrestāns is a constant feature in the Islamic geographical sources and has been attributed to the administrative reforms of the sixth century CE. Since our text mentions only four Šahrestāns, it may suggest that the source for the *ŠĒ* existed at that time, and the latter scribes failed to add Weh-az-Amid Kawād to the text.

It is thought that during the reign of Husraw I, the empire was divided into four *kusts* “sides” or “regions,” (Christensen 1944; 371: Altheim & Stiehl 1954; 138 : Frye 1983; 333 : Morony 1984; 28 : Frye; 1985; 154 : Brunner 1985; 750 : Morony 1995; 77), but the pioneering work of Ph. Gignoux, which has changed some of our basic assumptions regarding the administrative divisions of the empire has raised some serious doubts. Gignoux, in several studies has questioned the idea of quadripartition and has stated that the Sāsānian inscriptions, administrative seals and coins do not support the literary sources, and in fact there was never a quadripartition of the empire. He further believes that the contradictory sources available for this period which discuss the quadripartition should be put aside.

The traditional view that there was quadripartition was based solely on the literary sources. According to these sources, which Gignoux classifies as secondary and tertiary in his method of classifying sources, during the reign of Kawād I (488-531 CE) and his son, Husraw I (531-579 CE), the Sāsānian empire was divided into four quarters, where a *spāhbed* “General” was in charge of each *kust* “region.” In regard to the idea of quadripartition, he claims that the cause of this misconception is due to the adoption of the Mesopotamian quadripartite conception of the universe rather than the reality of the Sāsānian empire (Gignoux 1984; 25-27).

According to an Armenian source the empire was divided into the following *kusts*: 1) *kust ī xwarāsān* “quarter of the northeast;” *kust ī xwarwarān* “quarter of the southwest;” *kust ī nēmrōz* “quarter of the

southeast;” and *kust ī ādūrbādagān* “quarter of the northwest” (Markwart 1901). Ibn Rustah also attests this matter (Wiet 1955; 115). The Middle Persian texts of the late Sāsānian and early Islamic period also confirm this quadripartition. In *ŠĒ* the order of the *kusts* are in the following manner:

pad kust ī xwarāsān ... [pad kust ī xwarbarān] ...  
pad kust ī nēmrōz ... pad kust ī Ādūrbādagān

in the quarter of Xwarāsān ... [in the quarter of Xwarbarān]  
in the quarter of Nēmrōz ... in the quarter of Ādūrbādagān  
(Jamasp-Asana 1913; 18-14).

In the Middle Persian text of *Sūr Āfrīn*, libation is given to the members of the court beginning with the *šāhān šāh* “king of kings,” *wāspuhr ī šāhān* “nobility connected with the king,” and *wuzurg framādār* “the grand minister.” Then a list of *spāhbeds* is given in the following manner:

hamāg zōhr xwarāsān spāhbed  
hamāg zōhr xwarwarān spāhbed  
hamāg zōhr nēmrōz spāhbed

worthy of all offerings - the spāhbed of xwarāsān,  
worthy of all offerings - the spāhbed of xwarwarān,  
worthy of all offerings - the spāhbed of nēmrōz.  
(Jamasp-Asana 1913; 157.9-12 : Tavadia 1935; 45).

In this passage the last *spāhbed* is not mentioned, but if we add the last *spāhbed* along with the ordering in the *ŠĒ*, this gives us the complete quadripartitioned areas. Islamic sources, such as al-Ṭabarī, Tha‘ālibī, and Mas‘ūdī also corroborate this quadripartition, although there are inconsistencies regarding the place of each province among the four quarters (Ṭabarī 1963; I.894 : Tha‘ālibī 1900; 393 : Mas‘ūdī 1969-1975; II.211.2). The literary sources state that before the reforms of Kawād I and Husraw I, an *Ērān-spāhbed* controlled the military of the entire empire,

but later this position was divided among four *spāhbeds*. Gnoli recently stated that all the secondary and tertiary sources in fact support the idea that there was a military quadripartition of the empire under Husraw I. According to him, this military reform was short lived because of the political upheaval of the late Sāsānian period, but left its trace in the Arabic and Persian sources (Gnoli 1985; 270). While Gnoli's suggestion is quite acceptable, it may be that this quadripartition went beyond the military reform. Although Gignoux has stated that the material evidence does not give any proof for such a reform in the late Sāsānian period, there does now appear to be some evidence to the contrary.

Some numismatic evidence also points to the quadripartition of the Sāsānian empire under Kawād I. The reverse side of Sāsānian coins usually includes the date when the coin was struck and the place or mint signature. There are many Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian mint signatures with uncertain attributions, and it now appears that not all mint signatures may represent a city where coins were minted. One of the mint signatures mentioned by Paruck was that of DINAN which at times he also read correctly as DIVAN, but did not know that it was the same mint (Paruck 1943; 105). He also read four mints with the prefix DIN which were AN, AV, AS, and AT (Paruck 1943; 139 : Göbl 1971; Plate XVI). Recently, Gurnet has proposed to read the Sāsānian mint signature DYNAN which had been attributed to the city of Dīnāwar, as DYW-AO, with three other signatures, DYW-AT, DYW-AS, and DWY-KR (Gurnet 1994; 140). This possibility is due to the confusing nature of the Middle Persian alphabet in which a letter can be read in several ways.

Gurnet suggests that the first three letters, DYW, are the abbreviation for *dēwān* (Perso-Arabic *dēwān*) meaning “government office,” or “chancery” with the next two letters acting as suffixes for the region. Gurnet suggests AO for the southwest; AT standing for the quarter of northwest, perhaps standing for Ādūrbādagān; AS for the capital, perhaps for Āsūrestān; and KR for the southeast, standing for Kermān (Mochiri 1985; 109-122). By identifying AO with the southwest the scheme of the

quadripartition becomes questionable, but what AO stands for is the real question. Gurnet does not give a definitive answer to this anomaly, and indeed one can read the suffix as AN, thus DYW-AN. But another suggestion may be more suitable. AO can also be read as XW, and thus reading Xwarāsān. Then DYW-XW could stand for “Dēwān of Xwarāsān,” the northeast quarter, and DYW-AS can be understood as the quarter of the southwest. Thus we can suggest the following scheme according to the numismatic evidence: DYW-AT for Dēwān of Ādūrbādagān; DYW-XW for Dēwān of Xwarāsān; DYW-AS for Dēwān of Āsūrestān; and DYW-KR for Dēwān of Kermān.

These coins were minted during the reign of Kawād I, which exactly corresponds with the beginning of the administrative reforms. Thus the literary sources can be complemented by the coins which both point to the fact that there was indeed a quadripartition. The quadripartition was a reaction to the military setbacks experienced by Kawād I and his father. The incursions from the east by the Hephthalites, as well as the Roman frontier wars in the west, and the Arab raids into the empire from the south made it crucial that the empire be able to deal with problems on several fronts. This may have been the cause behind the division of military power into the hands of four generals where they would be able to deal with the invasions and wars. These coins may have been struck for paying the military or used for the army of each *kust* which corroborates Gnoli’s contention.

We can also conclude that the impetus for the reforms was begun during the reign of Kawād I, and not his son Husraw I. The dates of these coins are from 32-40 year of Kawād’s reign (520-528 CE) (Paruck 1943; 105). Thus the date for the beginning of the quadripartition should be assigned to the early sixth century rather than later. Under Husraw I this reform may have become institutionalized, and so the Islamic sources would have attributed the reform to him. Of course this is not surprising, since Husraw I was an important monarch and many great acts and building of monuments were attributed to him.

### III The Structure

The schematical presentation of *Ērān-šahr* is placed in four major quarters (*kusts*): *Xwarāsān*, *Xwarwarān*, *Nēmrōz*, and *Ādurbādagān*. This scheme which represents the administrative reforms of Kawād I and Husraw I is also important for another reason. When looking at the progression of the *kusts* one is faced with a diagonal presentation, meaning the text begins from northeast to southwest to southeast to northwest. This form of describing the *kusts* is a constant feature in the Middle Persian texts, that is a diagonal representation where only *Abāxtar* is interchanged with *Ādurbādagān*. This exchange may be caused by the fact that *Abāxtar* designates the north in the Zoroastrian cosmology which is associated with evil and its abode (Tafazzoli 1368; 333 : 1376; 266). This presentation of the *kusts* in a diagonal manner is an ancient trait when describing the borders or limits of the empire, since Darius I in the sixth century BCE describes the limits of the Achaemenid empire in a diagonal fashion: from northeast to southwest to southeast to northeast (Kent 1953; 136-137).

The structure and language of the *ŠĒ* is formulaic. This means that a structure dominates the progression and the narrative of the text in the following manner:

Šahrestān x was built by y.

Šahrestān x and x was built by y.

Šahrestān x was built by y (narrative of y's feats).

Šahrestān x was built by y and z completed it.

Šahrestān x was built by y and Šahrestān x by y.

#### IV The Study of ŠĒ

Several translations of this text were done mainly in the late nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. The first scholar to deal with the text was E. Blochet (Blochet 1897; 165-176) who produced a French translation with useful notes. He was followed by J.J. Modi (Modi 1899) who supplied a Gujrati and English translation of the text, followed by J. Markwart's (Markwart 1931) posthumous publication of an English translation which has been the standard work for the past sixty nine years. It should be noted that while Markwart ingeniously was able to clear up many of the difficulties, he had not used Modi's work, especially his two articles which were published with his book at the turn of the century (Modi 1898; 129-163 : 1899; 164-180). S. Hedāyat, who had studied Middle Persian in India with B.T. Anklesaria, prepared the first Persian translation of the text in the first half of the last century as well (Hedāyat 1344; 412-433). Since then S.H. Nyberg edited and published the text of ŠĒ in his Pahlavi manual which improved many readings of the text as is apparent from the notes and the glossary to his work (Nyberg 1964; 113-117, 203-204). More recently, two shorter works in Persian have dealt with this text, the first by S. Oriān (Oriān 1983; 593-619) and another by the late A. Tafazzolī who supplied a basic translation with few notes (Tafazzolī 1368; 332-349).

## V

**The Manuscript**

The MK codex which contains the *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērān-šahr* was edited by K.J. Jamasp-Asana. The text was edited based on two manuscripts, MK and JJ (Modi 1913; 18-24). The codex was copied by a Persian Zoroastrian Priest named Mehrabān Kay-Khosrow in the fourteenth century, who traveled from Iran to India to assist the Parsi priests in their religious literature. The codex consisted of 163 folios where the *ŠĒ* was found in fol. 19b, 1.5 - fol. 26a, 1.6. The MK codex was copied from a manuscript written for a Parsi priest named Dēn-Panāh, son of Adūrbād who had written it for Šahzād ī Šādān-Farrox-Ohrmazd who was at the fire-temple of Broach. The codex contains a variety of texts, some short and a few longer ones, such as the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, and *Husraw ud Rēdag*.

For the transcriptions, MacKenzie's system has been used and in the section of the translation, the Middle Persian forms of the names are used with some modifications. The following symbols have been used in the transcriptions: [ ] addition / < > omission. First, the transcription of the text is given, followed by the translation both in English and Persian followed by the commentary.



### Transcription

pad nām ī dādār ī weh abzōnīg

[šahrestānīhā ī ērān-šahr]

pad nām <◇> ud nērōg ud ahlāyīh ī dādār ohrmazd [ud] jadag ī nēk.

- 1) šahrestānīhā ī andar zamīg ī ērān-šahr kard ēstēd jud jud rōz  
kū kadām sar-xwadāy kard pad gōkān abar ēn ayādgār nibišt  
ēstēd.
- 2) pad kust ī xwarāsān samarkand šahrestān kāūs ī  
kawādān bun fragand siyāwaxš ī kāūsān be frazāmēnīd.
- 3) kay-husraw ī siyāwaxšān ānōh zād u-š warzāwand ātaxš  
wahrām ānōh nišāst.
- 4) pas zardušt dēn āwurd az framān [ī] wištāsp-šāh 1000 ud 200  
fragard pad dēn dibīrīh pad taxtagīhā [ī] zarrēn kand ud nibišt ud  
pad ganj [ī] ān ātaxš nihād.
- 5) ud pas gizistag \*skandar sōxt ud andar ō drayāb abgand.
- 6) sugud ī haft āšyān u-š haft āšyānag andar būd  
ēd kū haft xwadāyān andar būd. ēk ān ī yam ud ēk [ān ī] až-i  
dahāg ud ēk ān [ī] frēdōn ud ēk ān ī manūčīhr ud ēk ān ī kāūs <ud  
ēk ān ī kay-husraw> ud ēk ān ī lohrāsp ud ēk ān ī wištāsp-šāh.
- 7) pas gizistag frāsiyāk ī tūr har ēk nišēmag ī dēwān [ud] uzdeštzār  
<◇> [ud] \*bašn padiš kard.
- 8) andar baxl ī \*bāmīg šahrestān [ī] nawāzag spandyād ī wištāspān

pus kard.

- 9) u-š warzāwand ātaxš wahrām ānōh nišāst u-š nēzag ī xwēš ānōh  
be zad u-š ō yabbu xāgān ud sinjēbīk xāgān ud čōl xāgān ud  
wuzurg xā[gā]n ud gōhram ud tuzāb ud arzāsp ī xiyōnān-šāh  
paygām frēstēd kū ō nēzag ī man be nigerēd har kē pad wāzišn ī  
ēn nēzag nigerēd čē andar ō ērān-šahr dwārēd.
- 10) šahrestān ī xwārazm \*narsēh ī jahūdagān kard.
- 11) šahrestān ī marw-rōd wahrām ī yazdgirdān kard.
- 12) šahrestān ī marw ud šahrestān [ī] harē gizistag skandar ī  
hrōmāyīg kard.
- 13) šahrestān [ī] \*pōšang šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard, u-š pad pōšang  
◁▷ puhl-ē wuzurg kard.
- 14) šahrestān [ī] tūs, tūs ī nōdarān [kard] ◁▷ [ud] 900 sāl spāhbed  
būd. pas az tūs spāhbedīh ō zarēr ud az zarēr ō bastūr ud az  
bastwar ō karzam mad.
- 15) šahrestān ī nēwšābuhr šābuhr ī \*ardaxšīrān kard pad ān gāh  
kē-š pahlēzag [ī] tūr ōzad u-š pad ham-gyāg šahrestān framūd  
kardan.
- 16) šahrestān ī kāyēn kay-lohrāsp ī wištāsp pid kard.
- 17) andar gurgān šahrestān ī dahestān xwānēnd narsēh ī aškānān  
kard.
- 18) šahrestān [ī] kūmīs [ī] panj-burg až-i dahāg pad šabestān  
kard. māniš [ī] \*pārsīgān ānōh būd. pad xwadāyīh [ī] yazdgird ī  
šābuhrān kard andar tāzišn ī čōl wērōy-pahr [ī] ān ālag.
- 19) šahrestān panj husraw ī kawādān k[ard]: husraw-◁ud>šād [ud]  
husraw ī mūst-ābād ud wisp-šād-husraw ud hu-bōy-husraw [ud]  
šād-farrox-husraw kard [ud] nām nihād.
- 20) u-š parisp-ē kē 180 frasang drahnāy ud 20 + 5 šāh ārešn  
bālāy 100 ud 80 dar kōšk [ud] dastgird andar framūd kardan.
- 21) pad kust [ī] xwarwarān šahrestān ī tūsišōn az framān ī  
tūs ī \*warāzag ī gēwagān kard.
- 22) šahrestān [ī] \*nasībīn \*warāzag [ī] gēwagān kard.
- 23) šahrestān ī ōrhāy narsēh ī aškānān kard.
- 24) šahrestān ī bābēl, bābēl pad xwadāyīh [ī] jam kard.

u-š tīr abāxtar ānōh be bast ud mārīg [ī] haft [ud] dwāzdah  
ī axtarān ud abāxtarān [ud] haštom bahrag pad jādūgīh ō  
mihr ud azērīg be nimūd.

- 25) šahrestān ī hērt šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard.  
u-š mihr-zād ī \*hērt marzbān pad war ī tāzīgān be gumārd.
- 26) šahrestān ī hamadān \*yazdgird ī šābuhrān kard kē-šān  
\*yazdgird ī dabr xwānēnd.
- 27) andar māh ud kust ī nihāwand ud war [ī] wahrāmāwand  
šahrestān-ē wahrām ī \*yazdgirdān kard kē-šān wahrām [ī] gōr  
xwānd.
- 28) 21 šahrestān ī andar padišxwārgar kard ēstēd az  
armāyīl enyā az framān armāyīl awēšān kōfyārān  
kard kē-šān az \*až-i dahāg kōf pad šahryārīh windād  
ēstād.
- 29) kōfyār 7 hēnd: dumbāwand <ud> wisēmagān ud āhagān  
ud \*wispūhr ud \*sōbārān ud musragān ud barōzān ud marinzān.
- 30) ēn ān būd kē-šān az \*až-i dahāg kōf pad šahryārīh windād  
ēstād.
- 31) šahrestān [ī] mūsel pērōz ī šābuhrān kard.
- 32) 9 šahrestān andar zamīg gazīrag kard ēstēd ud āmtūs kēsar  
brādar zād kard.
- 33) 24 šahrestān andar zamīg [ī] šām [ud] yaman ud frīgā ud  
kufah ud makkah ud madīnag gāh kard ēstēd ast šāhān šāh [ud]  
ast kēsar.
- 34) pad kust [ī] nēmrōz šahrestān ī kābul ardaxšīr ī spandyādān  
kard ēstēd.
- 35) šahrestān [ī] raxwat rahām ī gōdarzān kard pad ān gāh ka-š  
aspwarz nar ī tūr ōzad u-š yabbu-xāgān az ānōh stō be kard.
- 36) šahrestān ī bast bastūr [ī] zarērān kard pad ān gāh ka  
wištāsp-šāh dēn yaštān pad frazdān būd ud bunag ī wištāsp  
ud abārīg wāspuhragān andar nišāst.
- 37) šahrestān ī frāh ud šahrestān [ī] zāwalestān rōdstahm ī  
sīstān-šāh kard.
- 38) šahrestān [ī] zarang naxust gizistag frāsiyāk ī tūr kard u-š  
warzāwand ātaxš karkōy ānōh nišāst u-š manūščihr andar ō

padišxwārgar kard u-š spandarmad pad zanīh xwāst ud  
spandarmad andar ō zamīg gumēxt šahrestān awērān kard  
u-š ātaxš afsārd ud pas kay husraw [ī] siyāwaxšān šahrestān abāz  
kard. u-š ātaxš karkōy abāz nišāst ud ardaxšīr [ī] pābagān  
šahrestān be pad frazāmēnīd.

- 39) šahrestān [ī] kermān [\*kawād ī] pērōzān kermān-šāh kard.  
40) šahrestān [ī] weh-ardaxšīr <▷> pad 3 xwadāy kard ud ardaxšīr  
[ī] pābagān pad frazāmēnīd.  
41) šahrestān [ī] staxr ardawān ī \*pārsīgān-šāh kard.  
42) šahrestān [ī] dārāb-gird dārāy ī dārāyān kard.  
43) šahrestān [ī] weh-šābuhr šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard.  
44) šahrestān [ī] gōr-ardaxšīr-xwarrah ardaxšīr [ī] pābagān kard.  
45) šahrestān [ī] \*tūzag humāy ī čīhr-āzādān kard.  
46) šahrestān ī ohrmīzd-ardaxšīrān [ud]  
šahrestān ī rām-ohrmīzd ohrmīzd [ī] nēw-šābuhrān kard.  
47) šahrestān [ī] šūs ud šūstar šīšīnduxst zan ī yazdgird ī  
šābuhrān kard čiyōn duxt ī rēš-galūdāg jahūdāgān šāh mā-d-iz ī  
wahrām ī gōr būd.  
48) šahrestān ī wandōy-šābuhr ud šahrestān ī ērān-kard- <▷>  
šābuhr šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard u-š pīlābād nām nihād.  
49) šahrestān ī nahr-tīrag pad duš-xwadāyīh ī \*až-i dahāg  
pad šabestān kard ud zēndān ī ērān-šahr būd zēndān  
aškān nām būd.  
50) šahrestān [ī] simrān frēdōn ī ādwēnān kard. u-š masrūg simrān-  
šāh ōzād u-š zamīg ī simrān abāz xwēšīh ī ērān-šahr āwurd. u-š  
dašt [ī] tāzīg pad xwēšīh ud ābādīh be ō baxt-husraw ī tāzīg-šāh  
dād paywand dārišn ī xwēš rāy.  
51) šahrestān ī \*arhēst šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān kard.  
52) šahrestān ī \*āsūr ud šahrestān ī weh-ardaxšīr ardaxšīr ī  
spandyādān kard. u-š ōšāg ī \*hagar marzbān dō-sar ud bor-gil pad  
war ī tāzīgān be gumārd.

- 53) šahrestān ī gay gizistag \*aleksandar ī flīpus kard. mānīšn ī jahūdān ānōh būd. pad xwadāyīh [ī] yazdgird ī šābuhrān nīd az xwāhišn ī šīšīnduxt u-š zan būd.
- 54) šahrestān ī ērān-āsān-kard-kawād [\*kawād] ī pērōzān kard.
- 55) šahrestān ī aškar wahrām ī yazdgirdān kard.
- 56) šahrestān ādūrbādagān ērān-gušasp ī ādūrbādagān spāhbed [kard].
- 57) šahrestān ī wan wan ī gulaxšān kard ud pad zanīh ō kay-kawād mad ud drubuštīh ī arwandāsp tūr ī brād-rēš ī karb pad jādūgīh kard pānāgīh ī gyān xwēš rāy.
- 58) pad kust ādūrbādagān šahrestān ī ganzag \*frāsiyāk [ī] tūr kard.
- 59) šahrestān ī āmōy zandīg ī purr-marg kard. zardušt ī spitāmān az ān šahrestān būd.
- 60) šahrestān ī baydād abū-jafar čiyōn-šān abū-dawānīg xwānd kard. pad pērōzīh āwišt. frazaft pad drōd šādīh rāmišn.

### Translation

In the name of the beneficent bountiful Creator

[The Provincial Capitals of *Ērān-šahr*]

In the name and power and righteousness  
of the Creator Ohrmazd and good omen.

- 1) The cities in the land of *Ērān-šahr* which have been built in different days, where and which overlord made them is written in detail in this memoir.
- 2) In the Eastern direction, the foundation of the city of Samarkand was laid by Kāūs, the son of Kawād. Sīyāwaxš, the son of Kāūs completed it.
- 3) Kay Husraw, the son of Sīyāwaxš was born there, and he set the miraculous Wahrām fire there.
- 4) Then Zoroaster brought the Religion. By the order of king Wištāsp 1200 fragard (chapters) in the script of religious scripture were engraved on golden tablets and written and deposited in the treasury of that fire-(temple).
- 5) And then the accursed Alexander burnt and threw it into the sea.
- 6) Sogdiana (has) seven abodes, its having seven abodes in it means that there were seven Lords in it. One belonging to Jam and one to Aži Dahāg and one to Frēdōn and one to Manūčīhr and one to Kāūs and one to Lohrāsp and one to king Wištāsp.
- 7) Then the accursed Frāsiyāk, the Tūrānian, made seats for each of the demons, and an idol temple and a heathen temple.
- 8) In the brilliant Balx, the city of Nawāzag was built by Spandyād, the son of Wištāsp.
- 9) And he set the miraculous Wahrām fire there and struck his lance there and he sent a message to Yabbu Xāgān,

Sinjēbīk Xāgān, and Čōl Xāgān and the Great Xāgān and Gohram and Tuzāb and Arzāsp, the king of the Hayōns: “behold my lance, whoever beholds the movement of this lance is like they have rushed to Iran.”

- 10) The city of Xwārazm was built by Narsēh, the son of the Jewess.
- 11) The city of Marv-rōd was built by Wahrām, the son of Yazdgerd.
- 12) The city of Marv and the city of Herāt were built by the accursed Alexander the Roman.
- 13) The city of Pōšang was built by Šābuhr the son of Ardaxšīr, and he built a large bridge in Pōšang.
- 14) The city of Tūs was built by Tūs, the son of Nōdar, and (he) was the general for 900 years. After Tūs, the office of general came to Zarēr and from Zarēr to Bastūr and from Bastūr to Karzam.
- 15) The city of Nēwšābuhr was built by Šābuhr the son of Ardaxšīr. At that time when he killed the Tūrānian Pahlīzag, he ordered to build the city in the same place.
- 16) The city of Qāyēn was built by Kay Lohrāsp, the father of Wištāsp.
- 17) In Gurgān, the city which they call Dahestān was built by Narseh, the Arsacid.
- 18) The city of Kūmīs of five towers Aži Dahāg made it his own harem. The abode of the \*Parthians was there. In the reign of Yazdgird, the son of Šābuhr made it during the invasion of the Čōl, at the boundary of the Gruzian Guard.
- 19) Five cities were built by Husraw, the son of Kawād: Husraw-šād, and Husraw ī Mūst-Ābād, and Wisp-šād-Husraw and Hū-bōy-Husraw, and Šād-fārox-Husraw and named them.
- 20) He ordered the establishment of a wall 180 farsang(s) long and 25 royal cubit(s) high, 180 palace gates and ordered in it the establishment of the an estate.
- 21) In the Western direction, the city of Ctesiphon was built



- by the order of Tūs, the son of Warāz from the family of Gēw.
- 22) The city of Nisibis was built by Warāzag the son of Gēw.
- 23) The city of Edessa was built by Narseh, the Arsacid.
- 24) The city of Babylon, was built by Bābēl during the reign of Jam. And he bound the planet Mercury there and he showed the seven planets and the twelve constellations and the eighth portions by sorcery to the Sun and to those below (mankind).
- 25) The city of Hīra was built by Šābuhr, the son of Ardaxšīr and he appointed Mihrzād the margrave of Hīra over the wall of the Arabs.
- 26) The city of Hamadān was built by Yazdgird, the son of Šābuhr whom they call Yazdgird the rough.
- 27) In Media and the district of Nihāwand and the fortress of Wahrāmāwand, Wahrām the son of Yazdgird whom they call Wahrām Gōr, built a city.
- 28) 21 cities were built in Padišxwārgar, either Armāyīl or by the order of Armāyīl were built by the mountaineers, who from Aži Dahāg acquired the dominion of the mountains.
- 29) There are seven mountaineers: Wisēmagān of Damāwand, and Āhagān and Wispūhr and Sōbārān and Musragān and Barōzān and Marinzān.
- 30) These were those who from Aži Dahāg acquired the dominion of the mountains.
- 31) The city of Mosul was built by Pērōz, the son of Šābuhr.
- 32) 9 cities were built in the land of Jazīra, and Āmtūs, the nephew of Caesar built them.
- 33) The 24 cities which were built in the land of Syria and Yemen and Africa and Kufā and Mecca and Medina, some were built by the King of Kings and (some built) by the Caesar.
- 34) In the Southern direction, the city of Kābul was built by Ardaxšīr, the son of Spandyād.
- 35) The city of Raxvat was built by Rahām, the son of Gōdarz, at that time when he, Aspwarz killed the manly Tūr, and harassed

Yabbū the Xāgān from there.

- 36) The city of Bust was built by Bastūr, the son of Zarēr, at that time when king Wištāsp worshipped the religion by the Frazdān (lake), and the abode of Wištāsp and other blood princes was established.
- 37) The city of Frāh and the city of Zābul were built by Rustam, the king of Sīstān.
- 38) The city of Zarang was first built by the accursed Frāsiyāk, the Tūranian, and established the miraculous Karkōy Fire there, and Manūčīhr was (surrounded) in Padišxwargar, and (Frāsiyāk) asked Spandarmad as wife and Spandarmad mixed in the earth, (he) destroyed the city and he extinguished the fire, and then Kay Husraw, the son of Siyāwaxš again built the city. And he again founded the Karkōy Fire, and Ardaxšīr, the son of Pābag finished the city.
- 39) The city of Kermān was built by (\*Kawād) the son Pērōz, the king of Kermān.
- 40) The city of Weh-Ardaxšīr was built by three lords and Ardaxšīr, the son of Pābag finished it.
- 41) The city of Staxr was built by Ardawān, king of the \*Parthians.
- 42) The city of Dārābgird was built by Dārā, the son of Dārā.
- 43) The city of Bēšābuhr was built by Šābuhr, the son of Ardaxšīr.
- 44) The city of Gōr-Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah was built by Ardaxšīr, the son of Pābag.
- 45) The city of Tūz was built by Humāy, the son of Čīhr Āzād.
- 46) The city of Hormizd-Ardaxšīr and the city of Rām-Hormizd were built by Hormizd, the valiant, the son of Šābuhr.
- 47) The city of Susa and Šūštar were built by Šīšīnduxt, the wife of Yazdgird, the son of Šābuhr, since she was the daughter of Reš Galut, the king of the Jews and also was the mother of Wahrām Gōr.
- 48) The city of Wandōy-Šābuhr and the city of Ērān-kard-Šābuhr, Šābuhr, the son Ardaxšīr built, and he named it Pīlābād.
- 49) The city of Nahr-Tīrag was built during the evil reign of

Aži Dahāg as a harem, and was the prison of Ērān-šahr, and it was called the prison of the Arsac.

- 50) The city of Himyār was built by Frēdōn, the son of Ādwēn. And he killed Masrugh, the king of Himyār, and he again brought the land of Himyār under the sovereignty of *Ērān-šahr*. And he gave the plain of the Arabs to Baxt Husraw, the king of the Arabs as his very own feud, on the account of the connection which he himself made with him.
- 51) The city of Ārhēst was built by Šābuhr, the son of Ardaxšīr.
- 52) The city of Āsūr and the city of Weh-Ardaxšīr, were built by Ardaxšīr, the son of Spandyād. And he appointed Ōšag, of Hagar as the margrave (over the) Dō-sar and Bor-gil by the wall of the Arabs.
- 53) The city of Gay was built by the accursed Alexander, the son of Philip. The dwelling of the Jews was there. During the reign of Yazdgird, the son of Šābuhr, (the Jews) were led there by the request of Šišīnduxt who was his wife.
- 54) The city of Ērān-āsān-kard-Kawād, was built by (\*Kawād), the son of Pērōz.
- 55) The city of Aškar was built by Wahrām, the son of Yazdgird.
- 56) The city of Ādūrbādagān was (built) by Ērān-Gušasp who was the general of Ādūrbādagān.
- 57) The city of Wan was built by Wan, the daughter of Gulaxšān and became married to Kay Kawād, and the fortification of Arwandāsp was built by Tūr, the son Brātrēš the Karp by sorcery as a place of protection for his own life.
- 58) In the direction of Ādūrbādagān, the City of Ganzag was built by Frāsyiāk, the son of Tūr.
- 59) The city of Āmol was built by the heretic who is full of death. Zoroaster, the son of Spitāmān was from that city.
- 60) The city of Baghdad was built by Abū Ja'far whom they call Abū Dawānīq.

Sealed with victory.

Finished with prosperity, happiness and peace.

**Persian Translations**

çiF íÛBr¾C ÈìÛ okCk ÖDÛ éF

{pè;ÛCpëC êDèÛDOvpèz}

ÈìÛ PiF Þ kr×oÞC okCk êoDë Þ ÞpiÛ Þ  
ÖDÛ éF

éZ ok ÖClÆ pç ,lÛC ælz éOhDv pè;ÛCpëC  
Ýì×q ok éÆ íëDèÛDOvpèz (1  
Ðì©;N éF ,PvC ælz éOhDv íëClhpv  
ÖClÆ PvlF Þ DWÆ ok ,êoDêqÞo

.PvC

ælz éOzßÛ oDÊkDë ÝëC  
ok

PzCnÊ ÚDìÛF kDGÂ pwJ uÞÞDÆ Co lÛÂpØv  
ÚDOvpèz ÚDvCph PvßÆ ok (2  
.lìÛDvo ÖDVp¾ éF

Co ÚA uÞÞDÆ pwJ yÞDìv

.lìÛD;Û DWÛA lÛÞDVoÞ ÖCpèF çNA ÞC Þ lz  
ækCq DWÛA yÞDìv pwJ ÞpwilÆ (3  
(DOvÞC) kpÊp¾ 1200 LvDO;Ê æDz ÚD×p¾ éF

.koÞA Ýëk Þ;Noq xKv (4

ÚA éÛCrh ok Þ PzßÛ Þ lÛÆ Ýëoq  
êDç édßÎ êÞo pF æpìFk Ýëk (-h) éF

.kDèÛ ælç;NA

.lÛç¾C Dëok ok Þ Phßv CpÛA Úß·Ï×  
olÛçvC xKv (5

êClh Þ;ç éÆ PvC ÝëC ÚA ÚDìzA Þ;ç Þ  
,PvC ÚDìzA Þ;ç Co l»v (6

,Úþlëp¾ ÚÁ qC íÇë ,ÅDe" ÚÁ qC  
 íÇë ,lì;ØV ÚÁ qC íÇë .kßF ÚÁ ok  
 ,HvCpèî ÚÁ qC íÇë  
 ,uþþDÆ ÚÁ qC íÇë ,pèZßÜ× ÚÁ qC íÇë

.LvDO;Ê æDz ÚÁ qC íÇë  
 ÚCßëk êCpF íçDËOw;Û DèÚÁ qC Èë pç ok  
 Úß·Ï× íÛCoßN EDìvCp¾C xKv (7  
 .PhDv  
 éÛDiOF þ ælçOF (þ)  
 .PhDv LvDO;Ê pwJ oDëlÛ;vC Co æqCßÛ  
 ÚDOvpèz í×DF jÏF ok (8  
 þ»Gë éF þ kq DWÚA Co çëßh ærìÛ þ  
 ,lìÛD;Û DWÚA Co lÛþDVoþ ÖCpèF çNA þ (9  
 þCtN þ ÖpèÊ þ ÉorF ÚDÂDh þ  
 ÚDÂDh ÍßZ þ ÚDÂDh ßGWÛv þ ÚDÂDh  
 éÆ pç ,lëpËÛF Ý× ærìÛ éF :éÆ  
 kDOvp¾ ÖDìJ ÚDÛßih æDz HvDVoC þ  
 .ælëqDN pè;ÛCpèC éF éÆ PwÛëC  
 lÛÛDØç ,kpËÛF ærìÛ ÝëC yqþ éF  
 .PhDv kßèV pwJ évpÛ Co ÖqoCßh ÚDOvpèz  
 (10  
 .PhDv kpËkrë pwJ ÖCpèF Co kþoþp×  
 ÚDOvpèz (11  
 .PhDv Úß·Ï× í×þo olÛçvC Co MCpç  
 ÚDOvpèz þ þp× ÚDOvpèz (12  
 ÐJ ÌÛzßJ ok þC þ ,PhDv pìzkoC pwJ  
 oßJDz Co ÌÛzßJ ÚDOvpèz (13

.PhDv íËorF  
 xJ .kßF lGçDKv ÍDv lÿèÛ þ PhDv omßÛ  
 pwJ ußN Co ußN ÚDOvpèz (14  
 .lìvo ÖqpÆ éF oßowF qC þ oßowF éF  
 pëoq qC þ pëoq éF êlGçDKv ußN qC

- ÅriïèJ éÆ ÚD×q ÚA ok .PhDv pìzkoC pwJ  
 oßJDz Co oßJD;ìÛ ÚDOvpèz (15  
 .lÛqDwF íÛDOvpèz kß×p¾  
 DWÛDØç ok ,P;Æ Co íÛCoßN  
 .PhDv HvDO;Ê olJ HvCpèÎ íÆ Co ÝëDÂ  
 ÚDOvpèz (16  
 .PhDv íÛDÇzC évpÛ lÛÛCßh ÚDowçk Co ÚA  
 éÆ íÛDOvpèz ÚDÊpÊ ok (17  
 .kpÆ kßh ÚDowGz Co ÚA ÅDe" Co UpF XÛJ  
 x×ßÂ ÚDOvpèz (18  
 oßJDz pwJ kpÊkrë íëCßpÛD×p¾  
 ÚD×q ok .kßF DWÛA ]ÚDìÛDÇzC] æDËO×DÂC  
 .kßF pèJêßpèß PèV ok  
 ÍßZ ÖßWç ÚD×q ok ,PhDv CpÛA  
 ,kDz-ßpwh Co DèÛA ß PhDv kDGÂ pwJ  
 ßpwh Co ÚDOvpèz XÛJ (19  
 ß ßpwh-êßFßç ß ,ßpwh-kDz-  
 Lwëß ß ,kDFA-Pwú× ßpwh ß  
 .kDèÛ ÖDÛ  
 ßpwh-gp¾-kDz  
 ,lÛÏF æDz yoC 25 ß qCok ÌÛvp¾ 180 éÆ  
 êoCßëk éÆ kß×p¾ (ßC) (20  
 .lÛqDwF kpËOvk ÚA ðhCk  
 ok ß gDÆ æqCßok 180  
 ÚD×p¾ éF ÚDÊßìÊ æqCoß Co ÚßçwìN  
 ÚDOvpèz ,ÚCoßoßh PvßÆ ok (21  
 .PhDv  
 ußN  
 .PhDv ÚDÊßìÊ æqCoß Co ÝìGÿÛ ÚDOvpèz  
 (22  
 .PhDv íÛDÇzC évpÛ Co DçoßC ÚDOvpèz (23  
 Co pìN æoDìv ßC ß .éOhDv ÛV íëCßpÛD×p¾  
 ok ðFDF Co ðFDF ÚDOvpèz (24

PØwÂ ß UpF ækqCßk ß æoDìv P¿ç  
 éF «ßFp× ÛwÏ- ß ,PwF DWÛA ok  
 .kßØÛF Ökp× éF ß (EDO¼A)pè× pëq  
 êpÊßkDV DF Co (ÚDØvA) ÛO¿ç  
 ÚDFqp× kCqpè× ßC ß PhDv pìzkoC pwJ  
 oßJDz Co æpìd ÚDOvpèz (25  
 .PzDØÊ  
 ÚDëqDN oDÿd pF Co  
 æpìd  
 kpÊkrë Co ßC éÆ PhDv oßJDz pwJ kpÊkrë  
 Co ÚClØç ÚDOvpèz (26

.lÛÛCßh í×  
 Ýjh  
 éÆ kpÊkrë pwJ ÖCpèF ,lÛFA ÖCpèF oDÿd ß  
 lÛFDèÛ éìdDÛ ß kD× ok (27  
 .PhDv íÛDOvpèz lÛÛCßh  
 í× oßÊ ÖCpèF Co ßC  
 Dë ,PvC ælz éOhDv pÊoCßizlJ ok éÆ  
 ÚDOvpèz Èë ß PwìF (28  
 qC éÆ lÛC  
 éOhDv ÚCoDìçßÆ ÚA ÐìèD×oC ÚD×p¼ éF Dë  
 ÐìèD×oC

.lÛO¼pÊ oDìohC ok  
 íëCßpÛD×p¼ êCpF Co æßÆ ÅDe" (Pvk)  
 oßKvß ß ÚDËÇA ß lÛFD×k ÚDËØìvß :lÛOwç  
 P¿ç ÚCoDìçßÆ (29  
 .ÚCrÛp× ß  
 ÚCqßpF ß ÚDËpw× ß ÚCoDFßv  
 ß  
 oDìohC ok íëCßpÛD×p¼ êCpF Co æßÆ  
 ÅDe" (Pvk) qC éÆ lÛkßF ÚDÛëC (30

.lÛO¼pÊ

.PhDv oßJDz pwJ qþpìJ Co íßαß× ÚDOvpèz  
(31  
ußOì×C (Co DèÛA) ,PvC ælz éOhDv æpërV  
ok éÆ ÚDOvpèz éÛ (32  
.PhDv  
p¥ìÂ ækCqokCpF  
é¾ßÆ þ DÃëp¾A þ ÝØë þ ÖDz Ýì×q ok éÆ  
íÛDOvpèz oDèZþ PwìF (33  
í©·F þ æD;ÛçDz  
Co í©·F ,PvC ælz éOhDv éÛël× þ éç× þ  
.PvC éOhDv  
p¥ìÂ Co  
.PhDv oDèlÛ;vC pwJ pìzkoC Co ðFDÆ  
ÚDOvpèz ,qþpøìÛ PvßÆ ok (34  
qoþ -HvC éÆ ÚD×q ÛA ok ,PhDv qokßÊ pwJ  
ÖDço Co kßho ÚDOvpèz (35  
.kpÆ ÚCrëpÊ DWÛA qC Co  
ÚDÂDh ß»Gë þ P;Æ Co íÛCoßN pÛ  
æDz éÆ ÚD×q ÛA ok þ ,PhDv pëoq pwJ  
oßowF Co PwF ÚDOvpèz (36  
HvDO;Ê éÛF þ kßF ÚCkqp¾ (éZDëok) oDÛÆ  
ok Ýëk çèDìÛ êCpF HvDO;Ê  
.kpÆ pÃOw× DWÛA  
ok Co ÚDÊkCrçDz pËëk þ  
.PhDv ÚDowìv æDz ,Ûovo Co ÚDowïFCq  
ÚDOvpèz þ æp¾ ÚDOvpèz (37  
çNA þ PhDv Úß·Ï× íÛCoßN EDìvCp¾C PwiÛ  
Co ìÛoq ÚDOvpèz (38  
(æpαDex) pÊoCßizlJ éF Co pèZßÛ× þ  
liÛD;Û DWÛA ok Co êßÆpÆ lÛþDVoþ  
ok l×olÛKvC þ PvCßh íÛq éF Co  
l×olÛKvC (EDìvCp¾C) þ kpÆ  
yß×Dh Co çNA ÛA þ ÚCpëþ Co ÚDOvpèz  
ÚA(EDìvCp¾C) þC .Piì×A Ýì×q



çNA þ PhDv qDF Co ÚDOvpèz ÚA  
 yþDìvpwJ þpwilÆ xKv þ kpÆ  
 .liÛDvo ÖDVp¾ éF Co ÚDOvpèz ÚA  
 ÚDÇFDF pìzkoC þ ,liÛD;Û qDF Co êßÆpÆ  
 ,PhDv ÚDxpÆ æDz ,ÚCqþpìJ ]kDGÂ] Co  
 ÚDxpÆ ÚDOvpèz (39  
 éF CpÛA ÚDÇFDF pìzkoC þ ,lÛOhDv  
 CþpÛDxp¾ év pìzkoC éF ÚDOvpèz (40

.liÛDvo  
 ÖDVp¾  
 .PhDv ]ÚDìNoDJ] æDz ÚCþkoC Co piOvC  
 ÚDOvpèz (41  
 .PhDv CoCk pwJ CoCk Co kpËFCoCk  
 ÚDOvpèz (42  
 .PhDv pìzkoC pwJ oßJDz Co oßJD;ìF  
 ÚDOvpèz(43  
 .PhDv ÚDÇFDF pìzkoC Co æoßhpìzkoC-oßÊ  
 ÚDOvpèz (44  
 .PhDv kCqApèZ pwJ DØç Co UßN ÚDOvpèz  
 (45  
 pìîk krxpç Co krxpç-ÖCo ÚDOvpèzþ  
 pìzkoC-krxpç ÚDOvpèz (46  
 .PhDv  
 oßJDz pwJ  
 oßJDz pwJ kpÊkrë Úq Phk Ýì;ìz Co pOzßz  
 þ yßz ÚDOvpèz (47  
 .kßF oßÊ ÖCpèF okDx þ  
 ÚCkßèV æDz MßîDWîC uCo pOhk éÆ PhDv  
 pwJ oßJDz Co oßJDz-kpÆ-ÚCpèC ÚDOvpèz þ  
 oßJD;ëlÛV ÚDOvpèz (48  
 .kDèÛ ÖDÛ kDFA ÐìF  
 CpÛA þ PhDv pìzkoC

DWÛA (çëßh) íëCþpÛD×p¾ ÚCoþk ok ÅDe“  
 Co pìN æpèÛ ÚDOvpèz (49  
 .kDèÛ ÖDÛ ÚDÇzC ÚClÛq þ kßF  
 pè;ÛCpèC ÚClÛq þ ,kpÆ kßh ÚDowGz Co  
 æDz Áþpw× þ ,PhDv ÝìOFA pwJ Úþlèp¾ Co  
 ÚCoþDØç ÚDOvpèz (50  
 ,koþA ok pè;ÛCpèC ½p¥N éF qDF  
 Co ÚCoþDØç Ýì×q þ ,P;Æ Co ÚCoþDØç  
 kCk êqDN æDz  
 þpwh-PiF éF PiçÏ× éF Co ÚDèqDN Pzk þC  
 þ

.PzCk

þC DF éÆ êlÛßìJ p-DiF  
 .PhDv pìzkoC pwJ oßJDz Co PvoA ÚDOvpèz  
 (51  
 oDèlÛçvC pwJ pìzkoC Co pìzkoC-éF  
 ÚDOvpèz þ oßvA ÚDOvpèz (52  
 pF ÐÈoßF þ pvþk (æDKv pF )  
 ÚDFqp× ÚCßÛµ éF Co pËç ÌzúC þ PhDv  
 .koDØËF

ÚDèqDN oD¥d

æDËO×DÂC ,PhDv ußKìÏ¾ pwJ Úß·Ï×  
 olÛçvC Co íV ÚDOvpèz (53  
 ççCßh éF oßJDz pwJ kpËkrë  
 íëCþpÛD×p¾ ÚCoþk ok .kßF DWÛA ÚCkßèV  
 .koþA DWÛA éF (Co  
 ÚCkßèV) Phk Ýì;ìz çëßh Úq  
 .PhDv qþpìJ pwJ ]kDGÂ] Co kDGÂ-kpÆ-  
 ÚDvA-ÚCpèC ÚDOvpèz (54  
 .PhDv kpËkrë pwJ ÖCpèF Co pËzC ÚDOvpèz  
 (55  
 ÚDWëDFomA lGçDKv éÆ Hw;ê-ÚCpèC Co  
 ÚDWëDFomA ÚDOvpèz (56

. (PhDv) kšF  
 kDGãîÆ íÛq éF éÆ PhDv ÚD;íîÊ pOhk ÚP  
 Co ÚP ÚDOvpèz (57  
 HvlÛPoc sk Moß¥F Co DWÛA êpÊPkDV  
 DF EpÆ çëokCpF oßN P ,lxA ok  
 . çëšh ÚDV  
 ³çd êCpF ,koPA ok  
 .PhDv íÛCoßN EDìvCp¼C Co ÅrÛÊ ÚDOvpèz  
 ÚDWëDFomA PvßÆ ok (58  
 qC ÚDØOìKvC pwJ P;Noq .PhDv Ép× pJ  
 ÄëlÛq Co ÐúxA ÚDOvpèz (59  
 .kšF  
 pèz ÚA  
 .PhDv lÛÛCšh íÃîÛCÞk Co ÞC éÆ pç·VßFC  
 Co kCl»F ÚDOvpèz (60  
 P¼Dë ÚDëDJ  
 êqÞpîJ éF  
 .ç×Co Þ êkDz Þ kÞok  
 éF P¼Dë ÖDVp¼

### Commentary

**-pad nām ī dādār:** “in the name of the Creator”

This is one of the two common formulas for the beginning of the Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts which usually accompanies Ohrmazd; see *Kārnamag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (Nyberg 1964; 1); *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* (Nyberg 1964; 18); and the Indian *Bundahišn* (Behzādī 1368;1). The other form being *pad nām ī yazdān* “in the name of the Gods,” which is more common and found in the fourth century at the inscription of Meškīnšahr (Frye & Skjærvø 1996; 54). The formula is also found in the Middle

Persian Zoroastrian texts of the eighth and ninth centuries. The Zoroastrian *pad nām ī yazdān* may have been the model for the salutary slogan *bism allāh* in the Islamic period (Gignoux 1979; 159-163; 1986; 172). In the early Islamic period, *allāh* was equated with *yazad* as is apparent from an Umayyad coinage struck in the name of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmīr in 691/692 CE (Mochiri 1981; 170).

**-weh abzōnīg:** “beneficent bountiful”

This formula rarely appears in the beginning and so this part of the salutary introduction is almost unique which may be a clue on the *Muslim al-Rahmān al-Rahīm*. *Abzōnīg* refers to Ohrmazd’s epithet. In the Zoroastrian tradition he is the bestower of everlasting / increasing blessing and health, equivalent to Avestan *spōništa-*; Pazand *awazūnī*; Sanskrit *guru*, *br̥hat* (Nyberg 1974; 26).

**-jadag ī nēk:** “good omen”

*Jadag* is from (Avestan) *yam-* “to hold, to sustain,” South Western form \**zdg*; found in Parthian as part of *hwydag* “good form” (Nyberg 1974; 225).

1) **Šahrestānīhā:** “cities”

*Šahrestān* with the plural suffix *īhā*. *Šahrestān* goes back to Old Iranian \**xšaθra-stāna-*; Thus Old Persian *xšaça-* > Middle Persian *šahr* / Middle Persian inscription *štr* > New Persian *šahr*. In *Avesta* the form is *xšaθra*; Parthian *xšahr* / Parthian inscription *hštr*; Greek inscriptions have *πολις* / *πολιεις* (Back 1978; 263). The general meaning for *šahrestān* is “province,” “capital,” or “city,” but it also meant a city with its surrounding region. For further comments especially in regard to its meaning on the administrative seals see (Gyselen 1989; 42). Provinces in the third century inscriptions appear as *štry* / *šahr*, while the districts were also known as *šahr* and a capital city was known as *šahrestān*. The *šahr* was administered by the *šahrdār*, who was probably a local king in the third century and later appointed by the King of Kings (Lukonin 1985; 701). The districts or *šahrs* were under the command of various officials

such as the *šahrab* and a *mowbed*. The *mowbed* “priest,” dealt with property rights and other legal affairs. There was also an *āmārgar* “accountant,” who dealt with the financial aspects of one or several districts. For the *ŠĒ*, šahrestān stands for capital city and its surrounding area.

**-zamīg:** “earth / land”

*Zamīg* is the North Western form which is used interchangeably with the South Western form *damīg*. Thus (Avestan) *zam-*; (Manichaean Parthian) *zmyg* > (New Persian) *zamīn*.

**-Ērān-šahr:** “Land / empire of the Iran”

E. Herzfeld believed that *Ērān-šahr* was a creation in the Achaemenid times which stood for the official name of the their empire *\*aryānām xšaça* (Herzfeld 1947; 699-700). Gnoli has shown that the concept of Iran / *Ērān-šahr* is a third century idea which was the outcome of a religio-political propaganda during the time of Ardaxšīr I (224-240 CE) (Gnoli 1989; 177-178). *Zamīg ī Ērān-šahr* is significant in that the religio-political concept is tied to a set territory, i.e., the list of cities enumerated in the text. What is noteworthy is that the area proclaimed as being the land of Iran is much larger than the area in which the Sāsānians ruled. This may indicate an ideal (political) view of what the land or empire should entail. The other important point is that this text was redacted in the eighth century, when the Arab Muslims had conquered and put an end to the Sāsānian empire. While the empire is no more, the Zoroastrian scribes still imagined a set territory as the domain of the Iranians which echoes the sentiments of *Šāhnāme Abū Maṣūri* and Ibn Rusta where the land of Iran is from Egypt to Central Asia (Wiet 1955; 115).

**-jud jud rōz:** “different days”

The manuscript has *YWM* “day” which indicates different times or eras. It is also possible to emend the word to *būm* “land” or “region,” since the text is discussing the different regions of *Ērān-šahr*. The meaning of *būm* has been preserved by Persian writers and poets such as Sanā’ī:

*kišwar-ē rā ke ‘adl ‘ām nadīd / būm dar būm-aš ēč bām nadīd* “A country that in it no justice has been seen, none of its regions has seen a roof,” (*Borhān-e Qate’* I 320).

**-sar-xwadāy:** “independent ruler”

*Sar* “Chief,” (Avestan) *sara-*; (Manichaean Parthian) *sr*; (Pazand) *sar*; (New Persian) *sar*. *Xwadāy* / *MRWHY* “suzerain or lord in a political sense.” God in the Judeo-Christian sense; (Aramaic) *mārā*; (Syriac) *moā*; (Mandean) *marā*; (Akkadian) *marū*; (Parthian inscription) *hwtyw*; (Middle Persian inscription) *xwd’y*; (Pazand) *xwadāē*; and in (New Persian) *xudā*, standing for “God” (Shayegan 1998; 31-54). See Molé for *dēr-xwadāy* in the *Dēnkard* 5.2.9 and *Dēnkard* 7.4.83 instead of *sar-xwadāy* (Molé 1967; 58 & 108), where Āmuzegār & Tafazzolī read both passages correctly as *sar-xwadāy* (Āmuzegār & Tafazzolī 1372; 104 & 115). The general meaning of the compound is clear that it stands for “independent Lords” equivalent to the Arabic *Mulūk al-Tawā’if*. This is confirmed by several passages from the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābāgān* as well. According to the *Kārnāmag* (Ch. 11 ed. Farahwašī 1354; 110-112) Ardaxšīr I (224-240 CE) in his campaign to unify *Ērān-šahr* under his rule continuously fought battles: *pas as ān ardaxšīr ō kustag kustag ud ud was kārezār ud ōzanišn abāg sar-xwadāyān ī ērān-šahr kard* “Then after, Ardaxšīr went to each region and made much battle and killing with the independent rulers (*sar-xwadāyān*) of *Ērān-šahr*.” The story continues that while he moved from one region to another, there were uprisings and he was worried and dismayed that he could not unify *Ērān-šahr* under his rule (Ch. 11; 112-113). At the end of the story unification is attained (Ch. 13; 134-135): *pas az ān ka ohrmazd ō xwadāyīh rasīd hamōyēn ērān-šahr abāz ō ēw-xwadāyīh tuwānist āwurdan ud sar-xwadāyān ī kustag kustag ohrmazd ō framān burdārīh āwurd* “After then when Hormizd came to rulership, all of *ērān-šahr* again was brought under a single-ruler (*ēw-xwadāy*) and the independent rulers (*sar-xwadāyān*) of each region brought obedience to Hormizd” (Daryae 1995; 151).

**-gōkān:** “detail”

Markwart and Nyberg read the word as *dōgān* “doubly,” because they thought that the name of the cities were mentioned twice, once in the beginning, in a summary enumeration, and then a second time, in the special exposition. Since many cities are listed, it makes better sense to read the word as *gōkān* “detail.” Blochet had read the word as *dōgān* earlier (Blochet 1895; 165), while others suggested *gōkān* (Oriān 1983; 602: and Tafazzolī 1983; 334).

**-ayādgār:** “memoir”

(Pazand) *ayādagār*; (New Persian) *yādegār*. The word can be translated as “testament” or “memoir.” Other examples as part of titles in the Middle Persian texts are *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* “the Memoir of Zarēr,” and *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg* “the Memoir of Jamasp.”

2) **Kust:** “side;” “district;” “direction;” “region;”

(Parthian) *kws*; (Armenian loanword) *kois* “side;” *kušt* “the waist, the belly.” The Sāsānian Empire was quadripartitioned into four major *kusts* in the sixth century as a result of Kawād I and Husraw I's administrative and military reforms (see Introduction). According to Middle Persian sources the following *kusts* existed: 1) *kust ī xwarāsān* “quarter of the northeast;” 2) *kust ī xwarwarān* “quarter of the southwest;” 3) *kust ī nēmrōz* “quarter of the southeast;” and 4) *kust ī ādūrbādagān* “quarter of the northwest.” *Kust* was also used in the sense of direction as in this part of the text.

**-Kāūs ī kawādān:** “Kāūs, the son of Kawād”

Kāūs is the third Kayānid king, the son of Kay Abīoeh, the grandson of Kay Kawād (Justi 1895; 334), but in the *ŠĒ* he is made the son of Kawād. According to the Avesta, Yašt XIII and XIX which supplies a complete list of the Kayānid kings the list is given in the following order:

- a) kauui kauuātā ; b) kauui aipi.vohu ; c) kauui usaēan ;
- d) kauui aršan e) kauui pisinah ; f) kauui biaršan; g) kauui siāuuaršan;
- h) kauui haosrauuah i) kauui wīštāspa (Kellens 1976; 48-49).

Many stories are connected with Kāūs where he figures quite prominently in the Indo-Iranian tradition, but their historical veracity has been questioned (Dumézil 1969; Kellens 1976; 37-49), contra see (Christensen 1931). Kāūs appears in many passages in the Middle Persian and Persian epic texts where for a summary of his feats and function see (Afifī 1374; 582-585). However, there is no mention of him building Samarkand and so it is a unique piece of information from the ŠE. His misdeeds are infamous in the *Šāhnāme of Ferdowsī* and supported by the Middle Persian texts. For example in the *Bundahišn* (XXXIII.8): *andar xwadāyih ī kāūs andar ham hazārag dēwān stahmag būd hēnd ošnar o ōzanišn mad ud mēnišn ī wiyābānānīd tā o kārzār ī asmān šud ud sarnigōn ōbast xwarreh aziš appārag būd pas pad asp ud mard gēhān ānāst kard ušān pad būm ī sambarān pad frēb abāg paydāgān ī kayān bast hend* “During the rulership of Kāūs, in the same millennium the demons became strong, (and) Ošnar was killed and his (Kāūs) thought was led astray, so he went to battle the sky and fell head-down, his glory was taken away, then by horse and men they destroyed the material world, they were bound at the summit of Hamāwarān by deception along with the notables of Kayānids.”

**-Siyāwaxš:** “Siyāwaxš”

(Avestan) *Sīāuuaršan* “having black stallions.” He is the son of Kāūs who is killed at the hands of Frāsiyāk. The story of his innocence and death had become a tragic story and the subject of mourning ceremonies (Yarshater 1979; 88-95 : Meskūb 1370). He is also connected with the *Kangdiz* which is also called *Siyāwaxškard*. In the Avesta (Yašt V.54) Tūsa makes sacrifices to Anāhīd so that he would become victorious over *Kaṇha*. In the *Bundahišn* the location of *Kangdiz* is: *pad kust ī xwarāsān* “in the northeastern direction,” and to the north of the Frāxwkard ocean (XXIX.10). In the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* (64.13) *Kangdiz* is in the eastern direction, close to the Sadwēs lake, at the border of *Ērān-Wēž* (Tafazzolī 1364; 80). The full story is contained in *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (49) where *Kangdiz* is said to be located in Tūrān (Bērūnī 1367; 235; Naršaxī 1363; 32-33). Other sources give the location of *Kangdiz* in Xwārazm and the later source gives ample



information about Siyāwaxš's death and the mourning rituals of the Sogdians. In the *Tarīx ī Buxārā*, the form *Ghahndiz* appears which is a place east of the Jaxartes river (Naršaxī 1363; 32). This seems to be the most plausible location of *Kangdiz* and as Tavadia had mentioned a long time ago *Khang* is the Chinese form for Samarkand (Tavadia 1926; 883). As for the etymology of the word it is possible to posit an Iranian *\*kanha-* attested in Khotanese *kāhyḏnaa-* “of brass;” Sanskrit *kamsa* “white copper.” Thus with *diz* giving “brass fortress,” (Bailey 1935; 768), i.e., *diz ī rōyēn*.

**-fragand / frazāmēnīd:** “Laid” & “Completed”

These verbs are used in the sense of “laying” and “completing” someone else’s work. In the inscription from Meškin·ahr it was also used in the sense of building and completion: *ZNE dzy ZY plhw dhwh x wdy plkndy [A]Pm PWN ŠM ZY yzd’n GDE ZY MLKAn MLKA PWN IIIIII ŠNT PWN plc’my krtv* “this castle that \*Farrox-D. laid the foundations of - I completed” (Frye & Skjærvø 1996; 54).

3) **Kay-husraw:** “Kay Husraw”

(Avestan) *kauui hausrauuia*, (New Persian) *Xosro*. Kay-husraw is the son of Siyāwaxš and according to Avestan, Middle Persian and Persian texts is the smiter of Siyāwaxš’s murderer, i.e., Frāsiyāk. He is the most prominent Kayānid figure and is the beholder of *xwarrah* “glory” or the symbol of rightful rule in the Iranian world. In Yašt XIX he is noted for his “victoriousness” *vδrδraṃmahe*, his “conquering superiority” *vanaiṃtiāasca paiti uparatātō*, and also his “immediate victory over enemies” *haθrauuataheca paiti hamδrδṃanāṃ* (Daryaei 1997; 45-46). He is also connected with the province of Xwarāsān and the building of *Kangdiz*. According to the *Pahlavi Rivāyat: be zamīg āmad andar tūrān ō kust [ī] xwarāsān rōn gyāg kūr siyāwaxškard be kard* “(The Spirit of Khang) It came to earth in Tūrān in the *kust* of Xwarāsān, in the place where, Siyāwaxškird stood” (*Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*; Afīfī 1374; 46 : Williams 1990; 89).

**-Ātaxš wahrām:** “Victorious Fire”

*Ātaxš wahrāms* were also established by the early Sāsānian monarchs and the high priest Kerdīr, See ŠKZ 22 (Beck 1978; 329-330 : Gignoux ) for Kerdīr see KKZ 2/ KNRm5/ KSM 3; and KKZ 5/ KNRm 12/ KSM 6 (Gignoux 1991; 54-56). This fire is one of the three types of fires: *ātaxš Wahrām, Ātaxš Ādūrān, and Ādurōg-ī Dādgāh* where the Victorious Fire was the highest grade that had to have two priests who were qualified to constantly attend to it (Yamamoto 1981; 89). According to the Pahlavi commentary of the *Wīdēwdād* (VIII.79), the Wahrām fire could “kill a thousand dēws and men and sorcerers and fairies” (Anklesaria 1949; 219). According to many texts, after the defeat of an adversary it was the custom to establish a *wahrām fire* as Ardaxšīr did in the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (VI.9) (Farahwašī 1354; 47). Thus in the *ŠĒ* the establishment of the *wahrām fire* may be due to the killing of Frāsiyāk by Kay Husraw.

**4) taxtag ī zarrēn:** “Golden tablets”

We have a unique story here where it is reported that the sacred scripture was written on *taxtag ī zarrēn* “golden tablets.” Further the verb used is *kandan* “engrave,” while according to other Middle Persian texts, the Avesta was *nibišt* “written” on *gāw pōstīhā* “cow hides,” and with *āb ī zarr* “gold water.” We can not be sure as to the original version of the story, whether the legend had it that it was written on golden tablets or with gold-water, but both convey the same idea.

**-ganj ī ān ātaxš:** “Treasury of the fire-temple”

The passage is referring to the treasury of the Wahrām fire-temple in Samarkand which was established by Kay Husraw. Again this is unlike the other reports in the Middle Persian texts in regard to the location of the Avestan corpus. In the third book of the *Dēnkard*, the Avesta is placed in the *ganj ī šāhīgān* “royal treasury,” and also a copy of it kept in *diz ī nibišt* “fortress of writings” (de Menasce 1973; 379 : Humbach 1991; 50-51). The *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (1.15) also mentions *diz ī nibišt*. Henning equated this with the Ka‘ba-ī Zardušt (Henning 1957; preface) but recently this

notion has been questioned and two rectangular buildings a few meters southwest of the Ka'ba have been suggested to be the location of the fortress of archives (Huyse 1998; 115-116). For a discussion on the ideogram *KLYT' diz* see (Vahman 1986; 225-226). In the fifth book of the *Dēnkard*, it is indicated that the Avesta was written *pad gāw pōstīhā ud zarr* “on cow hides and with gold,” and placed in the *ganj ī xwadāyān* “the treasury of the Lords” (Humbach 1991; 51). Thus there are inconsistencies in regard to the story of the location (usually placed in Fārs) and the manner in which the Avesta was written. We should mention, however, that the *Fārsnāme* mentions *kūh ī nifišt* “Mountain archive” which was located in Staxr, in Fārs and when Wištāsp had accepted the religion, a copy of the *Avesta*, which was written on 12000 cow hides, was deposited there (*Fārsnāme* 1921; 49). Later tradition such as the 14<sup>th</sup> century *Sūr al-Aghālīm*, otherwise known as *Haft Kišwar* states “and there is another mountain where there are many drawings and figures made and there is a shaved rock and they call it *kūh ī nigīšt* (i.e., *kūh ī nibišt*), meaning on it things have been written (*Sur al-Aghālīm* 1353; 58).

**-dēn dibīrīh:** “Script of the religious scripture”

The “script of the religious scripture” means the Avestan script which was invented in the Sāsānian period (Bailey 1971; 193). Ibn al-Nadim reports on the different scripts used by the Persians and states that one of them was used for writing on religion and the Persians called it *dēn dafīriya* (Al-fihrist 1350; 16).

**5) gizistag skandar:** “Accursed Alexander”

*Gizistag* “accursed” is a usual epithet of Alexander the Great along with a few other mortals as well as the epithet for Ahreman. For Alexander see *Ardā wirāz nāmag* (I.3); *Abdīh ud Sahīgīh ī Sīstān* (13); and *Bundahišn* (XXXIII.14). Of what little the Sāsānians knew about the Achaemenids, it was clear to them that at the time of a certain Darius, *dārā ī dārāyān* “Dārā the son of Dārā,” probably Darius III, Alexander was able to defeat him and destroy the empire and the religion. Muslim historians also have related the story for which see (*Nāme-ye Tansar* 1345; 140-141).

**-drayāb abgand:** “Threw in the sea”

*Drayāb abgand* is unique to the *ŠE* in regard to the fate of the Avestan corpus. It is usually reported that Alexander burnt the Avesta, *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (I.6) and in another version a copy was sent to Rome (Greece) (*Dēnkard* III B 316.18-21) *Bundahišn* XXXIII.14: *pas andar xwadāyih ī dārā ī dārāyān aleksandar kēsar az hrōm dawārist ō ērān-ahr āmad dārā šāh ōzad ud hamāg dūdāg ī xwadāyān moγ-mardān paydāg ō ērān-šahr ābaxšīnēd ud was marag ātaxš afsārd ud dēn ī māzdēsnañ ud zand stād ō hrōm āmad ud abestāg suxt ud ēran-šahr pad nawad xwadāy baxt.* “Then during the rulership of Dārā, the son of Dārā, Alexander the Caesar of Rome rushed to Iran, killed king Dārā and destroyed all the family of the rulers (and) Magi who were visible in Iran, and extinguished countless fires, and took the religion of the Mazdā worshipping religion and the commentary (of Avesta) and sent it to Rome and burnt the Avesta and divided Iran into ninety king(dom)s.” We know that Alexander actually destroyed Samarkand in 329 BCE and Markward conjectured that a copy of the Avesta was preserved there which must have been destroyed. Subsequently, the sea here was taken as the Zarafšān river (Markwart 1932; 30). The existence of the Avestan corpus at this time in written form is unlikely and can not be substantiated, although it has been suggested that by the Achaemenid period the Avesta was widely spread (orally) all over the empire, based on the heterogeneous dialectal traces, one in Arachosia and another in Persis (Hintze 1998; 158). There is still another possibility and that is to read the first word as *\*girdāb* “whirlpool,” according to the orthography in the manuscript. Thus, *girdāb abgand* “threw in the whirlpool.” This is contingent upon finding such a geographical name and S. Adhami informed me that in fact such a place exists in Ahmad Dāne's *Nawādir al-Waqāye*’ where the *girdāb ī Iskandar* “Alexander's whirlpool” is mentioned. The reference, however, belongs to the nineteenth century and one needs to find an older reference.

6) **-Sugud ī haft āšyān:** “The seven abode Sogdiana”

Nyberg was the first to identify the word as *sugud*. Markwart read *āyšān* as *xwadāyān*, although both manuscripts appear to have had *āšyān*. Jamasp-Asana emended the word to *xwadāyān* and may have emended it the second time where *āyān* occurs in the passage as *xwadāyān* as well. Nyberg read the word as *HY'k'n' / \*jānakān* “soul-place” (Nyberg 1974; 106-107). In the eleventh century text, the *Zayn al-Axbār*, the medieval Muslim historian, Gardizi states that: When 500 years elapsed from the reign of Farīdūn, Manūčīhr came out in revenge of Iraj and he died in the village of Bam from the region of Kermān. And he established an Aywān, and they call it Sogdiana, the seven abodes (*āšyān*), where seven kings established it: “one Jam and the other Bēwarāsb and thirdly Frēdōn and fourth Manūčīhr and fifth Kay Us and sixth Lohrāsp and seventh Guštāsp” (Zayn al-Axbār 1968; 6). S. Kīyā was the first person to notice this and suggest the reading *haft āšyān*. Based on Gardizī’s account one can suggest that the eighth person to be omitted from the passage is not Až-i Dahāg as Markwart believed, but Kay Husraw (Kīyā 1954; 48-49; 1975; 472-473). This may mean that each of the kings had a separate residence.

#### 7) -Frāsiyāk: “Frāsiyāk”

Avestan *Fraŋrasīan*; written several ways in Middle Persian (as well as in this text): *Frāsīyāb*; *Frāsīyāk*; Pazand *Frāsyā*; and New Persian *Afrāsīyāb*. He is the king of Tūrān and the killer of Siyāwaxš and Aghraerath. His battles begin with the Iranians during the rulership of Manūčīhr and as an enemy of Iran (Aryans) he functions as the withholder of waters (*Bundahišn* XXXIII.6): *ka manučihr uzīd būd did frāsīyāk āmad ērān-šahr abāz dāšt tā was wišōbišn ud an-ērānīh padīš kard wārān az ērān-šahr abāz dāšt* “When Manūčīhr was dead, again Frāsiyāk came, he held *Ērān-šahr* till much destruction and non-Iranians came to it, (and) withheld rain from *Ērān-šahr*.” He is ultimately killed at the hands of Kay Husraw.

#### -nišēmag ī dēwān: “Residence of the demons”

Markwart read the word *bayān* “gods” because he interchanged the position of *bayān* with *dēwān* (Markwart 1931; 10) which was also

accepted by Nyberg (Nyberg 1964; 113). Tavadia had suggested to read the passage as “ihre (der Dēw) Götzentempel” (Tavadia 1926; 884).

**-uzdēstzār [ud] bašn:** “Idol temple and a heathen temple”

Markwart read the last word as *bayān*. Utas suggested *šāman* (Utas 1979; 120), while Tafazzolī had suggested that the word should be read as *bašn* which occurs in Sogdian as the first element in the word *baṣpat-* and in Manichaean Middle Persian *bšnbyd* “master of an idol temple” or “heathen priest” which also appears with *uzdēsān* (Tafazzolī 1990; 48).

8) **Baxl ī bāmīg:** “Brilliant Balx”

The manuscript reads *nāmīg* “famous,” and Markward, Modi, Nyberg and Utas agreed with this reading. Blochet, however, was the first to read it correctly as *bāmīg* (Blochet 1897; 171). This epithet for *Baxl*, Avestan *Bāxtrī*, Persian *Balx* is found in a variety of texts, for example a medieval text on *Balx* states: “and some say that Balx is called *balx ī bāmī*,” i.e. brilliant or beautiful *Balx* (*Faḏa ʿil Balx* 1970; 28), while Moqaddasī states that in the ancient books, Balx was called brilliant (Moqadasī 1361; 439). In Persian literature in general, Balx has the epithet of *bāmī* “brilliant,” (*Farhang Anandraj* 1335). This may be an error by the scribe in our text, where he mistakenly wrote the initial letter *bēt* as *nūn* (Zarshenas 1376; 7).

**-Nawāzag:** “Nawāzag”

This is a town in Balx which appears to have been the border between Iran and Turan. The next section (9) demonstrates why Spandyād’s lance made the mark for the boundary. The *Wižādagīhā ī Zādspram* (4.10) relates that a hērbed lived in this town who took care of a cow whose function was to show the boundary between Iran and Tūran *sāmān ī ērān andar tūrān* with its hoof (Gignoux & Tafazzolī 1993; 58-59). Kāūs who wants part of the Tūrānian territory plans to have the cow killed which he succeeds in doing (4.20), causing a war between the two sides.

**-Spandyād ī wištāspān:** “Spandyād, the son of Wištāsp”

Avestan *spəntō.dāta-*, New Persian *Isfandiyār*, Arabic *Isfanyād* is the name of one of the sons of Kay Wištasp and has the Avestan epithet “brave.” In the Avesta this name is also used for a mountain in the *Zamyād Yašt* which in the *Bundahišn* is said to be in Xwarāsān. In the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, *Spandyād* is the brother of Zarēr who after Zarēr’s death along with Bastūr and Grāmīg-kard attack the enemy and are able to capture the Tūrānian Arjāsp (*Ayādgār ī Zarērān* 112-114).

9) **nēzag**: “Lance”

Avestan *naēza-*, Parthian *nizag*, Pazand *nēžā*; Persian *neizah*; Arabic loanword *naizak-*. The placing of the lance in the ground has been suggested to be one of the ways in which a border between two states was decided (Oriān 1983; 604). The sense of the passage is clear and that is that who ever gets close to this lance, it is as if he has invaded Persia. Note the demonic verb used here, *dwārēd*. Spandyād’s reestablishment of the border by this lance is due to the fact that Kay Us had killed the cow whose function was to show the border between Iran and Turan.

-**Yabbu xāgān**: “Yabbu Xāgān”

*Yabbu* is a Turkish royal title. Yabghu Xāgān, is the Xāgān of the Western Turks which may refer to T’ung for whom coins were also minted in his memory because of the conquest and the defeat of the Hephthalites in 625 CE (Harmatta & Litvinsky 1996; 370). According to Chinese sources, after Shekui Xāgān, Ton-yabghu came to the throne of the Grand Xāgān in 615 CE. He is also reported to have fought against the Sāsānians and was able to annex some of the eastern territories of the Persians (Shōshin 1988; 21). According to the section on Persia in the Jiu Tang shu, Ton-yabghu constantly attacked the Sāsānians and was able to defeat them. He is said to have killed Kusahuo (Husraw II) and brought his son, Shili (Šēroe) to the throne. Šēroe is said to have been given the title of (Turkish) *iltābār* and an agent of his, (Turkish) *tudun* to watch over him. Although the accuracy of this account is very doubtful, especially in regard to the dates supplied by the author of the Chinese account, we can place Ton-yabghu to the early seventh century. The date of his death is known to

have been 628 CE (Shōshin 1988; 31-32).

**-Sinjēbīk xāgān:** “Sinjēbīk Xāgān”

Markwart identified him as Istāmi Xāgān, (Chinese) sik-tiem-mit, (Arabic) sinjibū (Markwart & Monchi-Zadeh 1990; 167). He was the Xāgān of the Western Turks, contemporary of King Husraw I (Nyberg 1974; 176; Utas 1979; 117).

**Čōl xāgān:** “Čōl Xāgān”

Refers to Ch’u-lo Xāgān who was killed by the Sāsānian general, Wahrām Čōbīn in routing the Turkic army (Harmatta & Litvinsky 1996; 368). The Sui shu states that a Chu’u-lo of the Western Turks preceded Ton-yabghu. Under his rule in the late sixth century was the town of Shi (Šāš, modern Taškent) where Iranians lived (Shōshin 1988; 21).

**-Wuzurg xā[gā]n:** “Great Xāgān”

In the sixth century the area under Turkic rule was quadripartitioned and governed by four rulers and the ruler of the Central Region was the Great Xāgān (Chinese) *chung mien ta ko-han* (Sinor 1990; 298) which would render the Middle Persian *wuzurg xā[gā]n*.

**-Xiyōnān šāh:** “King of the Huns”

Avestan *hyaona-*. Turkish people in Eastern Iran, New Persian *hayūn*, Chinese *Hiung-nu* (Nyberg 1974; 218). In Persian mythology, *xiyōn* was the name of a Tūrānian tribe which was led by Arjāsp in battle against Kay Wi-tāsp. In the *Zamyād Yašt* Kay Wištāsp achieves victory over Arjāsp and other *xiyōns*. Later this name was equated with the Hephtalites in the east who were a menace to the Sāsānians. Bailey has discussed the etymology of the Xiyōn in detail (Bailey 1930-32; 945-953 : 1972; 18-28; also Cereti 1995; 191).

**10) Narsēh ī yahūdagān:** “Narseh, the son of a Jewess”

Avestan *nairyō.san̄ha*; Manichaen Parthian *nrysf*; Manichaen Middle Persian *nrysh*; Armenian *narseš*. This is a reference to Narseh, the brother



of Wahrām Gōr (421-439 CE). Muslim historians tell us that Wahrām Gōr had appointed his brother as the governor of Xwarāsān (Ṭabarī 1999; 99). *Jahūdagān* “son of a Jewess.”

11) **Marw-rōd**: “Marv-rōd / Marv on the river”

This city was 160 miles north of the great city of Marv on the Morghab river. Since the city stood on the river it was called *marv-rōd* or *bālā murghāb*. In the Islamic sources it is also known as *marv-ar-rūdh* “Marv on the River” or “little Marv” (Le Strange 1966; 404-405). In this text the foundation of the city is attributed to Wahrām Gōr who fought and defeated the Chionites at Marv and is said to have established a tower to demarcate the border of the Sasanian empire (Ṭabarī 1999; 96). We also come across this toponym in *Husraw ud Redag* (57), where it is mentioned as having famous grape wine, *may ī marvrōdīg* (Monchi-Zadeh 1982; 75).

12) **Marw**: “Marv”

(Avestan) *maru*, (Old Persian) *margu-*, (Persian) *marv*. The foundation of the city is attributed to Alexander which is supported by Classical historians such as Pliny (*Natural History* vi.46). Ṭabarī states that Wahrām appointed Narseh as the governor of Xwarāsān and at that time Marv was probably the limits of the Sasanian empire in the northeast (Ṭabarī 1999; 98).

-**Harē**: “Herāt”

(Avestan) *harōiuua-*, (Old Persian) *haraiva-*, (Greek) Ἀριοι. Pliny also tells us that indeed Alexander did build Herāt as well (*Natural History* vi.46), which the *ŠĒ* confirms, and most of the Islamic source follow the same account (Modi 1898; 144).

13) **Pōšang**: “Pošang”

According to the Muslim geographers, this city was located in Xwarāsān and was fortified and was a day travel (10 farsax) from Herāt (Ḥudūd al-

alam 1983; 192). Tafazzolī identified this city with Gūryān (Tafazzolī 1989; 339).

**-Šābuhr ī ardaxšīrān:** “Šābuhr, the son of Ardaxšīr.”

This is Šābuhr I (240-270 CE), the son of the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty who in this text is said to have built the city of Pō-ang as well as a large bridge there.

14) **Tūs:** “Tūs”

(Avestan) *Tusa-*. In the *Ābān Yašt* (V.53) he is mentioned as a valiant warrior who asked Anāhīd to overcome the sons of Vaēsaka. He is the son of *Naotara* and a warrior during the time of Kay Husraw in the *Šāhnāme* of Ferdowsī.

**-Nōdarān:** “Of the clan of Nōdar”

(Avestan) *Naotara-* or *Naotairiia-*. In the *Ābān Yašt* (V.76), *Vistauru-* is identified as a son of *Naotairiia* who asks Anāhīd for dry passage. *Vistauru* is the brother of *Tusa-* and in *Rām Yašt* (XV.35) *Hutaosa* is their sister and is mentioned as having “many brothers” *pouru-brāēra* from the “house” *vīs-* of *Naotairiia*. *Vistauru* was identified as *Gustahm* of the *Šāh-nāme* (Darmesteter 1882; 71). Nōdar is the son of Manūčīhr who according to the *Bundahišn* was killed along with his brother Freh (XXXIII.5): *pas frāsiyāk āmed manuščīhr abāg ērānagān ō padišxwargar spōxt pad sēj ud niyāz ud was margīh abesihēnīd freh ud nōdar manuščīhr pus ōzad tā pad any paywand ērān-šahr az frāsiyāk stad*: “Then Frāsiyāk came, Manūčīhr along with the Iranians were delayed at Padišxwargar, by trouble and misery and much death (they) were destroyed. Freh and Nōdar, the sons of Manūčīhr were killed, till other offsprings took Iran from Frāsiyāk.”

**-Zarēr:** “Zarēr”

(Avestan) *zairiūuari*, (Middle Persian) *Zarēr* is the elder brother of Kay Wištāsp and the father of (Avestan) *Bastauuari-*, (Middle Persian) *Bastūr*. According to the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* he was killed by *Widrafs ī Jādūg* (*Ayādgār ī Zarērān* 75-76).

**-Bastūr:** “Bastūr”

(Avestan) *Bastuuari*, (Middle Persian) *Bastūr*. His frawašī is worshiped in *Yašt* (XIII.103). In the Middle Persian texts, he is the young son of Zarēr who after his father’s death in battle attempts to take revenge on Widraf. Kay Wištāsp cautions him not to engage in battle with Widrafš because *Bastūr* is still young and does not know the art of warfare (*Ayādgār ī Zarērān* 80), but ultimately he kills *Widrafš*.

**-Karzam:** “Kazam”

(Avestan) *Kauuārasman-* whose frawašī is worshiped in *Yašt* (XIII.103) and who in later tradition is known as Gorzam, the jealous brother of Isfandīyār. Islamic sources report that he was close to Kay Wištāsp and that he was killed when the city of Balx was captured by Arjāsp (Tha’alibī 1368; p. 202).

15) **Nēwšābuhr:** “Nēwšābuhr”

Nēwšābuhr “Brave Šābuhr” is the name of the city of (Persian) Neišāpūr in the province of Xwarāsān. Hamza al-Isfahanī who has the most complete list of cities built by Šābuhr I, mentions the city of Nēwšābuhr being built by him (*Tārīkh* 1367; 46).

16) **Kāyēn:** “Qāyēn”

This city is located in Xwarāsān and its foundation is attributed to Kay Lohrāsp in this text. Kay Lohrāsp (Avestan) *Auruuat.aspa-* is mentioned in *Abān Yašt* (V.105) as the father of Kay Wištāsp. Markwart believed that this identification is based on a popular etymology (Markwart 1932; 53).

17) **Gurgān:** “Gurgān”

(Avestan) *vŠhrkāna*, (Old Persian) *Vrkāna-*, (Greek) *Hyrkania* (Persian) *Gurgān* “land of the wolves,” which is placed as part of *dahestān* “The Country of the Dahae.” Dahae was the name of the nomads who conquered Parthia and established the Arsacid dynasty. In the Islamic sources two Narseh are mentioned for the Arsacid period, one *Narsē ī nēw*

“Narseh the Brave” and *Narsē ī šekārī* “Narseh the Hunter” (Kiya 1344; 15). Markwart has suggested that this Narseh may be the brother of Wahrām Gōr (Markwart 1932; 55). Since we do not know of a Parthian ruler by this name it is also possible to emend the name to *wyrwd* “Orodes II” who ruled in 57/58 BCE. Among the confederation of Daha the most important tribe was the Parni. They gave their name to the eastern shores of the Caspian (Dahestān).

18) **Kūmīs**: “Kūmīs”

Arabic *Qūmis*, of which the capital city is *Dāmghān*. This place included the Parthian capital of Hecatompyle (city of hundred gates) which is to be identified with Dāmghān and it may be for this reason that the *ŠĒ* assigns the foundation of this place to the Parthians. Classical sources report on this capital of the Parthians which was built by Seleucus Nicator (according to Curtius VI.2.15) (Bosworth 1986; 377).

**-Panj burg**: “Five towers”

Nyberg read it as “Having five grey (horses).” The reading is based on the modern rendition of *bōr* which stands for the color red and bay, but also grey (Nyberg 1974; 150). The text, however, can be read as *pncbwlg* “five towers,” where its location was not known (Markwart 1932; 12).

**-māniš ī pārsīgān**: “abode of the \*Parthians”

The author mistakenly has assigned the Parthian homeland to the Persians and so the text must be emended to *māniš ī \*pahlavīgān* (Markwart 1932; 12).

**-Yazdgird ī šābuhrān**: “Yazdgird II”

According to Markwart Yazdgird I and Yazdgird II are confused in this passage. Since we know that in the fifth century CE, Yazdgird II fought against the white Huns (Markwart 1932; 57) and their leader was Tšōl (G. Hoffmann, 1880, p. 50), it is more probable to identify him as Yazdgird II.

**-Wērōy-pahr:** “The Gruzinian Guard”

The old name of the fortress at Darband; Syriac *Wīrōpahrg*; Armenian *Iwroy Parhak*; Greek Ἰβηραεῖς: Parthian (ŠKZ 2.2.3) *wyršn*; (Greek inscription ŠKZ 2.2.3) IBHPIAN which stands for Georgia (Iberia). Henning suggested that two different countries, one Iberia and the other somewhere near Balx were mentioned by this name (Henning 1945; pp. 88-89; 1947; 49). Utas remarked that this is a confusion between the people Cōl (Cöl) and the place name located west of the Caspian. This confusion effects the next two paragraphs 19-20 where the mentioned cities should be placed in the west (Utas 1979; 122).

19) **husraw-<ud>šād, husraw ī must-ābād, wisp-šād-husraw,  
hu-bōy-husraw, šād-farrox-husraw**

The location of some of the five cities mentioned which were built by Husraw is unclear (Gyselen 1988; 198), but *Šād-husraw* is similar to the name of *Husraw-šād-hormizd*, i.e. Ctesiphon. Mochiri has assigned a mint mark VSP for the city of *Wisp-šād-Husraw* in Iraq (Mochiri 1983). Isfahani mentions another city by the name of *Husraw-šābuhr* which was one of the seven cities of Madā’in which was built by Husraw I. *Hu-bōy-husraw* is similar to *Hanbū-šābuhr* which was situated close to Madā’in (Tafazzolī 1983; 340).

20) **180 dar:** “180 gates”

Markwart omits the number 180 (Markwart 1932; 13) which stands for 180 gates. The text is probably stating the great size of this fortification.

**-dastgird:** “Estate”

Markwart simply translates it as “lodge,” but in his notes takes *dastgird* as a proper name (Markwart 1931; 13). It is also the name of a well known place where Husraw II had a palace with amazing riches which was raided by Heraclius in 628 CE during his invasion of the Sāsānian empire (Frye 1984; 337). Ito makes an unlikely emendation and comes up with the city

of “Gēhān-farrox-kard-Husrōy,” which is not in the text and identifies it as *Dastgird* (Ito 1960; 38). While this may be referring to the famous Dastgird of Husraw II, the meaning of the word has been noted to be “fortificatio” which came to mean camp or landed property (Skalmowski 1993; 161), which is meant in this passage.

21) **Tūs ī warāzag ī gēwagān**: “Tūs, the son of Warāz, the son of Gēw” (Avestan) *Tusa*- mentioned in *Yašt* (5.53) as a valiant warrior who is aided by the goddess Anāhitā in defeating his enemies. Markwart believed that the reason for assigning the building of Ctesiphon (*Tīsfūn*) to *Tūs* is due to “childish etymology” (Markwart 1932; 62), and he may be right. *Warāz* is mentioned in the inscription of Šābuhr I and that of Nāreseh as one of the important royal clans of the Arsacids (Henning 1954; 50-51; Sahbazi 1993; 155). In the *Šāhnāme* (300-103-5) *Warāz ī Gēwagān* was at the time of Kay Husraw who was active as late as the time of Lohrāsp.

22) **Nasībīn**: “Nisibis”

The text has *syn*’ which Markwart emended to *nsybyn*’ (Markwart 1932; 62). Nisibis was located in the province of Arbāyistān in Mesopotamia, where it was an important trade center and some Persians apparently inhabited the city. The Perso-Roman silk trade was centered around this city (Brunner 1983; 761-762).

23) **Ōrhāy**: “Edessa”

(Syriac) *Orhāi*; (Armenian) *Urhay*; Arabic *al-Ruhā*’ the foundation of which is assigned to a Narseh. The Sasanians from the third century laid siege to this city in upper Mesopotamia. Markwart suggested that this Narseh was the contemporary of the first Christian king of Edessa in the third century CE (Markwart 1932; 66). Šābuhr was able to capture the Roman emperor Valerian close to Edessa in 260 CE. During the rule of Husraw II (590-628 CE), the Roman general, who controlled Edessa was named Narseh and became subordinate to the Sasanian king (Bajraktarevic 1993; 995) and this may be why in our text we have the name of Narsē as the founder of the city.

24) **Bābēl**: “Babylon”

Blochét had connected Babylon with the center of the study of astrology but considered the passage as obscure (Blochet 1897; 173). Markwart also stated that Babylon was thought to be the center of astrology (Markwart 1932; 66), but did not give any other information. This reference emphasizes the Babylonian origin of astrology, but the influence of Greek astrology has been demonstrated on this passage as well (MacKenzie 1964; 65n; Panaino 1998; 76).

-**Tīr**: “Planet Mercury”

The reference is to the planet mercury whose sign is thought to have influence over the region of Babylon (MacKenzie 1964; 65n), and it was considered a very negative luminary and it was to have a demonic function (Panaino 1998; 76). I would like to thank Professor Panaino for the reference. The end of the passage is not clear.

-**haštóm bahrag**: “eighth firmament”

Probably means the eighth firmament or heavenly sphere which according to the ancients was the sphere of the immobile stars (Tafazzolī 1983; 341).

25) **Hērt**: “Hīra”

(Aramaic) *Hērtā* “camp;” (Arabic) *al-Hīra*. This town is located in Iraq. The text assigns the building of the city to Šābuhr I, which probably refers to his rebuilding of the city. We have evidence of Šābuhr destroying the city of Hatra (Ṭabarī 1999; 36) whose name is similar to Middle Persian *Hērāt*. No evidence, however, exists to connect Šābuhr I to Hira. Modi suggested that Šābuhr I attacked Hīra and rebuilt it and appointed Mihrzād as its margrave (Modi 1898; 151). During the late Sasanian period the western and southern direction of Hīra was protected by a defensive system which included a canal system which supplied water and was a barrier. The wall system was reinforced again during the reign of Husraw II (Morony 1982; 28).

**-War ī tāzīgān:** “Wall / Fortress of the Arabs”

Markwart translates it as the “lake of the Arabs” (Markwart 1932; 14) which stands for the Persian Gulf. From the early Islamic period the name of this gulf was known as (Arabic) *Baḥr Fāris* or *Xalīj Fāris* and by the later Europeans of the sixteenth century as *Sino Persico* or *Sinus Persicus* (Bosworth 1997; 84-89). Thus it is surprising that such a well known name for this boundary of water would be the “Arab Gulf” (During the end of the Qajar Period and the time of Reza Shah the British for the first time called this body of water the Arabian Gulf, and it became a term used from the 1960's as part of Arab nationalist activities). Nyberg had seen this discrepancy and stated that *war* stood for “wall,” “enclosure,” or “fortress” (Nyberg 1959; 316-326). One can suggest that *war* was part of the Sāsānian wall defense system (Frye 1979; III 11 : Azarnoush 1374; 3-15), here standing for the *Khandaq ī Šābuhr* (Morony 1982; 28). This meaning for *war* can also be found in Vedic *valá*; Avestan *var-*; Khotanese *vara-*, Waxī *wīrg* (Bailey 1954; 26-28). In the Sāsānian period (Avestan) *Pūitika* which is mentioned in the *Wīdēwdād* (V.19) was equated with the Persian Gulf (Bahār 1375; 142-143 : Behzādī 1368; 244).

**26) Yazdgird dabr:** “Yazdgird the rough”

Markwart translates Yazdgird's epithet as “the sinner,” which is also attested in al-Ṭabarī as *al-Athīm* (Ṭabarī 1999; 70). Nöldeke had already interpreted the term correctly as *dabz* “rough, harsh” (Nöldeke 1878 72). Al-Ṭabarī in discussing Bahrām V's reign calls his father (Arabic) *al-Khashin* (Ṭabarī 1999; 82). Persian *zebr* “rough” is found in many of the Perso-Arabic texts (Kiyā 1965; 16; Tafazzolī 1972; 270-273), as the epithet of Yazdgird II.

**27) War ī wahrāmāwand:** “Wall / Fortress of Wharāmāwand”

Name of a fortress in *māh* “Media” which Modi suggested to be either the late city of Rāman, close to Nihāvand, or Rāvandeh (Modi 1898; 152).

**28) -Padišwārgar:** “Padišwārgar”



(Old Persian) *pātišhuvariš*, (Parthian) *pryšžwr*. In *the Letter of Tansar*, Gušnasp has the title of “Prince and King of Tabarestān and Baršawādgān, of Gīlān and Deylamān and Rōyān and Dumbāvand” (*Nāme-ye Tansar* 1354; 49 : Boyce 1961; 12). For a comprehensive review of this toponym which is the mountain region in northern Iran see (‘Alam 1991-1992 6-34).

**Armāyīl:** “Armāyīl”

According to the *Šāhnāme* of Ferdowsī, when Zāhhāk came to the throne and two snakes had grown from his shoulders, the brain of two young men were prepared for them each night. Two righteous men who were from the lineage of kings by the name of Armāyīl and Karmāyīl decided to pose as cooks, so that they would be able to save one youth each day. From these people, it is said that the Kurdish people originated. Dīnāwārī, however, gives us some other information and that is that Zāhhāk made a man by the name of Armāyīl as his Wazir. He was from the family of *Arfaxšād*, “Jamšīd,” and every day he would release two people out of four men (obviously numbers here differ), and would instead give the tyrant sheep brain. The ones who would escape death would flee to the mountains and they say that they are the Kurds (Safā 448; 1374). Rather than taking their domain from Aži Dahāg, the sentence means that from the fear of Aži Dahāg they fled to the mountains.

**-Kōfyārān:** “Mountineers”

Bailey believed that *kōfyār* was the title of the sovereigns of Armāyīl (Bailey 1930-1932; 947).

29) **Dumbāwand <ud> Wisēmagān:** “Wisēmagān of Damāwand”

This is the name of a family in northern Iran; (Armenian) *Vsemakan* (Nyberg 1974; 214). The *Wisēmagān* are mentioned as a tribe / family as early as the fourth century CE, as the *Apakān Vsemakān* (Markwart 1932; 70). The manuscripts supply 7 and 8 for the number of the families. If one

takes *Dumbāwand* and *Wisēmagān* separately, then 8 should be the correct number. Otherwise 7 is the preferred number.

**-Āhagān:** “Āhagān”

Markwart emends the word to *Nihāvand* (Markwart 1932; 15), while there is a village by the name of ṣh close to Damāwand (Oriān 1983; 609) and there is a famous family in northern Iran known by the name of Āhī who were from Āh close to Rōdhan (Sotoodeh 1976; 61).

**-Wispūhr:** “Wispūhr”

Markwart reads the word as *Vēsutūn* (Markwart 1932; 15), but this is an emendation by him, while Nyberg read the word as *wspwtr'*, who are probably another family from Northern Iran.

**-Sōbārān:** “Sōbārān”

Markwart reads the word as *Dēnāhbarān* (Markwart 1932; 15), while Nyberg reads the word as *Sōbārān* (Nyberg 1964; 176). There is also a famous family of *Sarbār* who live today by Darāsal in the villages of Ozrodnūr in northern Iran (Sotoodeh 1976; 67), which may be identified with this name.

**-Barōzān:** “Barōzān”

Markwart read the word as *Balōčān* which is not close to Padišxwārgar, and again Nyberg's suggestion to read the word as *bārzān* or better *Barōzān* is more sensible, where he connects it to *Bārijān*, a village of Xānlanjān (Nyberg 1964; 44), which may be identified with this name.

31) **Mūsel:** “Mosul”

The city of Mosul, (Arabic) *al-Mawsil* “the confluence” was located on the west bank of the Tigris river. The Sāsānian governor of Mosul was known as Būdh-Ardashīr and thus it was thought that the official name of

the city was Būdh-Ardashīr and others state that the name of the city was Bih-Hormoz-Kowādh (Le Strange 1966; 87).

**32) Gazīrag:** “Gazīra / Island / Peninsula”

The Arabs named upper Mesopotamia *al-Jazīrah*. The three districts of *al-Jazīrah*, are taken from the names of the three Arabian tribes settled there under Sāsānian rule. This term is used for the region of the northern part of the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates. In Persian the region is called *Arvastān* and *Bēth Arabāyā* by the Aramaean population of the region. During the Arab Muslim conquest, the area was under Roman control and this may be the reason why the *ŠĒ* assigns its foundation to Caesar, i.e., the Byzantine emperor (Canard 1965; 523).

**-Āmtūs kēsar brādar:** “Āmtūs the brother of Casaer”

Probably should be identified with Aurelius Verus, the brother of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus who fought against the Arsacids (164-166 A.D.). We know both co-regents (Aurelius Antoninus Aurelius & Verus) built a number of cities and invaded Parthia in 162 CE and took over Mesopotamia and Armenia as part of the Roman Empire (Wolski 1993; 185).

**33) Šām:** “Syria”

In the fifth century CE, the Ghassānids ruled this region, where they had adopted Christianity and were under Byzantine control. This region was an area which the Sāsānians attacked often and was the scene of bitter wars with the Romans. By 613 CE the Sāsānian army had taken Antioch and later Damascus and beyond, Šahrwarāz taking Jerusalem and Šāhīn conquering Anatolia (Frye 1983; 168).

**-Yaman:** “Yemen”

Located in the southwest of the Arabian peninsula and was conquered by Husraw I in 575 / 575 CE His governor in Yemen was Bādhān who ruled from Šan‘ā’ and at the order of the King of Kings had sent envoys to

Yathrib to inquire about the region (Lings 1983; 260). Husraw I sent a force of 800 cavalymen to Yemen under the leadership of Wahrīz who controlled the region in the late sixth century (Bosworth 1983; 607).

**-Frīgā:** “Africa”

*Ifrikiya* was the name given by the Arabs to the eastern part of Barbary, while the west was called *Maghrib* (Lybia). The word is derived from (Latin) *Africa* given by the Romans. What is meant here probably is what later came to be known as Maghrib, or Egypt and the adjoining areas (Northern Africa) (Modi 1898; 130). This would fit the picture of *Ērān-šahr* reaching to Egypt in the preface to the *Šāhnāme Abu Mansūrī*, where its limits are from *rūd ī amū* to *rūd ī mišr* (Oxus to Nile river) (Qazvīnī 1332; 49). Monchi-Zadeh had read *rūd ī forāt* (Euphrates) (Monchi-Zadeh 1975; 8) which is also possible, giving the third century CE conception of *Ērān-šahr*. I still would keep Qazvīnī’s reading whose suggestion is based on two manuscripts. We know that Egypt, Lybia and northern Nubia came under Sāsānian control (Altheim-Stiehl 1992; 92). In fact Ṭabarī based on the *isnad* of Hišām b. Muḥammad states that “This Kisrā Abarwīz had accumulated more wealth than any other monarch. His riders reached as far as Constantinople and Ifīrīqiyah (Africa) (Ṭabarī 1999; 376).

**-Kufah:** “Kufah”

A city established as an encampment by the Arab Muslim conquerors in Iraq after the battle of al-Qadisīya by the order of the Caliph ‘Umar in 638 CE. In the Persian tradition, the city was built by Hōšang which may be the source of the *ŠĒ*, albeit a later tradition (Hurāt 1993; 1105).

**-Makkah:** “Mecca”

Mecca is located in the Hijaz in the Arabian peninsula and in the pre-Islamic period, in the sixth century was the scene of rivalries between the Romans and the Sāsānians. The city appears to have remained neutral during the Perso-Roman wars, but Persian activity in the region is not unknown (Watt 1986; 145). We have information that indeed Persians were present or had an influence on people of Mecca, where stories of

ancient Persian kings were told in the streets at the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Lings 1983; 89). While Markwart denies Sāsānian influence in Mecca and Medina (Markwart 1932; 83), there is evidence to the contrary. Arabic sources state that the Sāsānian attempted to control Mecca and Medina in the late sixth century and had influence in this region (Bosworth 1983; 600 : Kister 1968; 144-147).

**-Madīnag:** “Medina”

(Arabic) *al-Madīna* “the city.” The inclusion of the Arabian city of Medina in the Hijaz in this text suggests that the *ŠĒ* was redacted after the early seventh century, since the name of the city in pre-Islamic times was (Arabic) *Yaṭrib*, (Minaean inscriptions) *Ythrb*, and (Greek) *Iathrippa* (Watt 1986; 994).

34) **Kābul:** “Kābul”

Muslim historians provide other names for this city in the ninth and the tenth centuries such as *Jurwas* and *Tābān*, but Kābul was the name for the district where the city by the same name was located (Le Strange 1966; 349).

**-Ardaxšīr ī Spandyād:** “Ardaxšīr, the son of Spandyād”

In the Zoroastrian tradition Ardaxšīr ī Kay is also known as Ardaxšīr, the son of Spandyād (Cereti 1996; 152). Here in our text, he is credited with the building of the city of Kābul. Usually this Ardaxšīr is identified with Artaxerxes I (Bahār 1369; 197), but he should be identified with Artaxerxes II (Boyce 1991; 385: Amir Arjomand 1998; 246).

35) **Raxwat:** “Raxvat”

(Arabic) *Raxud* located in Xwarāsān (Hudūd al-Ālam 103) which was identified by Markwart as (Avestan) *Haraxuuaitī* (Markwart 1931; 84). Again here we have a unique piece of information which is not found anywhere else as to the builder of the city. Rahām is present in the *Šāhnāme* during the reign of Kāūs (I 366; 666). In the absence of any other

source, the connection between the city of Raxwat and Rahām according to Markwart maybe due to a popular etymology (Markwart 1932; 85).

### 36) **Bast:** “Bust”

*Bust* was the second largest city in S-stān in the medieval period and was known to have been the location where Wi-tāsp made the religion current. According to a short Middle Persian text, the *Abdih ud Sāhagih ī Sīstān*, it was the scene of Zoroaster’s ministry and one of his important disciples, *Sēn ī Ahūmstūdān*, was from Bust. Sēn’s *frawa-i* is worshiped in Yašt XIII.97, who according to the Zoroastrian tradition was the first disciple and trained others in the religion of Zoroaster (Gnoli 1967; 79; 1980; 138-139; Mayrhofer 1977; 73; Boyce 1989; 273; Daryae 1996; 536-537). Thus, the location has immense importance for Sasanian Zoroastriansim.

### -**Bastūr ī zarērān** “Bastūr, the son of Zarēr”

*Bastūr* plays a prominent role in the epic of *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, where as a young boy he is able to defeat the Tūranian forces and take revenge for the death of his father. Once Zarēr is killed, king Wištāsp exclaims whoever takes revenge of Zarēr’s death, he will marry his daughter *Humāy ī man duxt* to him and give him the home and dwelling *mān ud kadag ī zarēr* of the fallen hero (Gheybi 1999; 7).

### 37) **Frāh / Zāwalestān:** “Frāh / Zābul.”

The city of *Frāh* / (Persian) *Farah* is close to the Helmand River. The highlands of the Qandahār country, along the upper waters of Helmand were known as *Zāwalestān* / (Persian) *Zābulistān*. In the Persian tradition *Sīsātān* and *Zāwalestān* were famous as the home of Rustam (Le Strange 1966; 334-335).

### -**Rōdstahm:** “Rustam”

The cities mentioned to have been built by Rustam are in the area which he ruled and was conferred upon Rustam's family in the Persian epic, and

this area appears to be the Indo-Scythian kingdom of Maues of the early first century CE and the later Indo-Parthian kingdom of Gondophares who appears to have influenced Rostam's characteristics in the Persian epic (Shahbazi 1993; 157-158 : Sarkarati 1378; 28-32). In the epic tradition Zāvulestān is the domain of Rostam and consequently he is given the title of king of Sīstān.

38) **Zarang**: “Zarang”

In the Islamic sources the capital of the province of Sīstān was known as Zaranj / Zarang. In the Sasanian period it was a great fortified city (Le Strange 1966; 335).

-**Karkōy**: “Karkoy”

In the *Tārīx-e Sīstān* another version of the foundation of this fire-temple is mentioned which does not give Frāsiyāk any part in its establishment. The text relates that Kay Husraw prayed at the Karkoy fire-temple which had originally been a sanctuary of Kay Wištāsp and by this act he was able to establish the fire once again. As a result the fortification which Frāsiyāk had built and concealed in the dark through sorcery was made manifest and destroyed (Bahār 1314; 35-37). In regard to the request of Frāsiyāk from Spandarmad, one can also find the story in the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādsprām* (Chapter 4.4-7) with some variation and elaboration (Gignoux & Tafazzolī 1989; 189-202). Theodore bar Konaī also relates this story, but states that Spandarmad became the wife of Frāsiyāk (Markwart 1368; 19-20).

39) \***Kawād ī Pērōzān Kermān šāh**: “Kawād, the son of Pērōz,  
king of Kermān”

Bailey in his review of Markwart's translation of our text had suggested that *pērōzān* is a patronymic before which a name has been dropped out (Bailey 1931; 782), and Modi (1898; 154) and Markwart (1932; 40) suggested that the figure should be Wahrām IV (388-399 CE) who was known as *Kermān-šāh* according to Ṭabarī (Ṭabarī 1999; 69). The problem is that Wahrām IV ruled in the fourth century CE and that his

father was not Pērōz, but rather Šābuhr II. It is more probable that the missing name should be Kawād who was the son of Pērōz who came to power in the fifth century AD.

40) **Weh-ardaxšīr**: “Weh-Ardaxšīr”

Markwart assigns the city to Kermān, but Gyselen places the city in Iraq (Gyselen 1989; 62). The problem here is that in the progression of naming the areas, we are still in the east and the cities close to Fārs await to be mentioned. Gyselen, however, has pointed out that this city which was part of Ctesiphon was placed erroneously in the Southern *kust* in the Šē (Gyselen 1988; 199). In the *Fārsnāme* of Ibn Balxī it is also related that Ardaxšīr I called several cities by his own name including *Bih Ardašīr* which was in Kermān (*Fārsnāme* 1363; 60). But there was also a *Bih Ardašīr* on the west side of Madā’in in Iraq (Ṭabarī 1999; 16).

41) **Staxr**: “Staxr”

Staxr was the center of Sasanian power in the beginning of the third century CE. The Anāhīd fire-temple which Pābag, Ardaxšīr’s father, was custodian of was at Staxr and the Achaemenid monuments were also located close by. Thus the assigning of the building of Staxr to Ardawān seems to be a mistake, even though he is given the title of *pārsīgān-šāh*. Another possibility is to emend the name to Ardaxšīr, assigning it to an Artaxerxes (of the Achaemenid period) or Ardaxšīr II as its builder.

-**Pārsīgān šāh**: “king of \*Parthians”

The text assigns this important center as being built by Ardawān, the Parthian ruler (miswritten as *pārsīgān* for *pahlawīgān*), which is also attested in the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (I.2-4), where Ardawān resided at Staxr when Pābag was alive. Staxr was an administrative and religious center in the Achaemenid period and then became the center of Sāsānian activity in the Third Century CE when Ardaxšīr I established the Sāsānian empire.

42) **Dārāb-gird**: “Dārābgird”



(Arabic) *Dārābjird*. The building of the city is assigned to Darius III in our text. Its early importance is that Ardaxšīr I as a child was sent to this place to become the foster child of Tīrā who was the eunuch of Gozihr who was the local ruler of Staxr (Ṭabarī 1999; 5-6). According to Ṭabarī after Tīrā died Ardaxšīr took his position as the *argbed* (Casstellan) and began his career as a conquerer (Ṭabarī 1999; 6).

43) **Weh-šābuhr**: “Bēšābuhr”

In the Persian tradition the building of Bēšābuhr is first assigned to the legendary Pēšdādīd kings. Then it was believed to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great and Šābuhr I had rebuilt the city (*Fārsnāme* 1363; 63).

44) **Gōr-ardaxšīr-xwarrah**: “Gōr-Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah”

Gōr was build by him at the place where Artabanus IV was defeated in 224 CE. Gōr in later tradition came to be known as *Fērōzābād*. *Ardaxšīr-xwarrah* means “Ardaxšīr’s Glory.” The place was established by Ardaxšīr I.

45) **Humāy ī čīhr āzādān**: “Humāy, the daughter of Čīhr Āzādān”

Bloch, Markwart and Oriān all have the same reading, Humā the daughter of Čīhr Āzādān, while Tafazzolī reads Hormizd for Humāy (Tafazzolī 1983; 336). In the *Bundahišn* (XXXIII.13) she is said to be the daughter of Wahman ī Spandīyād: *andar ham hazārag ka xwadāyīh ō wahman ī spanīyādān mad ud āwērān būd ērānagān xwēš pad xwēš absist hēnd ud az tohmag ī xwadāyīh kas nē mānd kē xwadāyīh kard hād ušān humāy ī wahman doxt pad xwadāyīh nišast*. “In the same millennium, when rulership came to Wahman, the son of Spandīyād, and there was ruin, the Iranians destroyed one another and there was no one from the seed of the rulers left who would rule. Then they brought Humāy, the daughter of Wahman, to rulership.”

46) **Hormizd-Ardaxšīr / Rām-Hormizd**: “Hormizd-Ardaxšīr / Rām-Hormizd”

The cities of Hormizd-Ardaxšīr and Rām-Hormizd are two cities in the province of Xūzestān. Hormizd-Ardaxšīr was a Christian diocese and administrative seals exist for this city as well (Gyselen 1989; 74-75). Hormizd-Ardaxšīr was known in Islamic times as al-Ahwaz, the capital city of Xūzestān (Le Strang 1966; 233).

**-Hormizd nēw šābuhrān:** “The Valiant Hormizd, son of Šābuhr”

This is Hormizd I (272-273 CE) who in the Zoroastrian and Islamic texts has the epithet of “valiant” (Kīyā 1965; 15).

47) **Šūs / Šūstar:** “Susa and Šūstar”

Susa, (Persian) *Šūš* is located in the province of Xūzestān and was the ancient Elamite capital. In the Islamic tradition it was identified as the place of “the Palace of Šūšān” found in the Book of Daniel (Le Strange 1966; 246). The tomb of Daniel is also thought to be at this city. It is quite possible that because of this biblical connection, the name of the daughter of the Re· Galut, Šīšīnduxt was given as the builder of this city. Šūstar / *Šūstar* is 60 miles north of Hormizd-Ardaxšīr (Le Strange 1966; 235).

**-Šīšīnduxt:** “Šīšīnduxt”

The name of the queen would have been *Šūšān* in Hebrew, meaning “lily,” Arabic and Persian *Sūsan* (Modi 1898; 142). She was the wife of Yazdgerd I (399-420 CE) and her father was the Jewish leader in 407 CE. Because of the king's religious tolerance, the Exilarch must have been close to him and in contact which makes the story more likely. It has been suggested that any of the following Exilarchs could have been the father of Šīšīnduxt; Mar Kahana, Mar Yemar, and Mar Zutra I, while Huna B. Nathan was suggested by Modi to have been the father of Šīšīnduxt (Modi 1898; 141). Gray, however, had ruled out all of them as a likely candidate (Gray 1916; 465).

**-Reš-galūdag:** “Leader of the Exile”

(Hebrew) *Rosh Golah*, where the Middle Persian form may have been taken from the Aramaic form *Resh Galutha*. Šīšīndux may have been the daughter of Mar Kahana I (400-415 CE).

48) **Pīlābād**: “Pīlābād”

This is the Syriac name for the city of *Wandōy-šābuhr*, (Persian) *Jundīšāpūr*, *Gundīšāhpūr*, i.e., *bet lāpāt* in Xūzestān. A famous medical center was located in this city. Ṭabarī states that Šābuhr II had Indian physicians brought to the city which established the center. Greek and Nestorian presence was even stronger which makes the location a meeting ground for Greek and Indian medicine (Ṭabarī 1999; 66).

49) **Nahr-Tīrag**: “Nahr-Tīrag”

The city was located in Iraq, situated on a canal (Arabic) *nahr* (Modi 1898; 159).

-**Zendān ī ērān-šahr**: “the Prison of Ērān-šahr”

According to Markwart the author has made a mistake in identifying the “Castle of Oblivion” which was located at Dizful with this location (Markwart 1931; 99).

50) **Simrān**: “Himyār”

This is the old name for Southern Arabia (Nyberg 1974; 176) and in the Islamic period was used to designate Yemen and in Persian mythology was known as *Hāmāwarān* (Modi 1898; 159; Markwart 1932; 99-102; Monchi-Zadeh 1975; 347). The Sāsānians took over the region in about 570 CE, during the reign of Husraw I.

-**Maswar**: “Masrugh”

Markwart read the name of *Manšūr*, the Abbāsīd caliph, while Nyberg reads it as *Mēi-var* and suggests to be a mocking translation of the name Qais born by the kings of Kinda (Nyberg 1974; 132; Bosworth 1983;

607). However, the last ruler of the Ela-Abraha dynasty was *Masrūgh* (Mordtmann 1936; 311) who was defeated by the Sāsānians. From then on the region was under Persian governors who resided in San‘ā’ and Persians resided in the region when the Prophet Muhammad sent his envoys to Yemen. The proper name of the king of Himyar in the text may be emended to Masrūgh who was the last of the autonomous kings.

**-Baxt husraw:** “Baxt-Husraw”

This is a distorted version of the name of the Babylonian king *Nabū-kudurri-ušur* / *Nebuchadnezzar* (Nyberg 1974; 45 : Bosworth 1991; 22). In the *Fārsnāme*, *Boxt al-Nasr* is known as the Spāhbed of Iraq (*Fārsnāme* 1363; 51).

51) **Ārhēst:** “Ārhēst”

Nyberg has made the suggestion that the name of the city should be read as Arhēst which is a village and a market place on the banks of Lake Van (Nyberg 1974; 29). We should note, however, that this city must be in the Mesopotamian region because it is mentioned between S. Arabia and Mesopotamia (Gyselen 1988; 201). There are no sources that indicate that Šābuhr I built this city. Modi identified the city as *Xarāyist* / *Sābur Xwāst* of the Islamic sources, located between Kūhistān and Isfahān, some 22 farsakhs from Nihāwand (Modi 1898 159). Markwart conjectured that this is the location of *ērān-šād-šābuhr* (*Šād-šābuhr*) around Kaškar (Markwart 1931; 102), which appears to be correct. Ṭabarī states that Šābuhr I built a city in Maysān called *Šād-Šābuhr* (Ṭabarī 1999; 377). This city was the center of an administrative district (Morony 1984; 155).

52) **Āsūr:** “Āsūr”

Nyberg reads it as *Ardebil* (Nyberg 1974; 9), while Markwart's suggestion to read the word as *Āsūr* is more plausible. *Āsūr* stands for *Āsūrestān*, the Sāsānian province of Babylonia. By the end of the sixth century CE the Banū Lakhm, the Arab vassals of the Sāsānians at Hira ruled over *Āsūr*. With the fall of Banū Lakhm at the beginning of the seventh century CE,

the Sāsānians stationed a *marzbān* at Hira to rule over this region (Morony 1982; 22).

**-Weh-Ardaxšīr:** “Weh-Ardaxšīr”

Weh-Ardaxšīr was on the western side of al-Madā’in, i.e., Ctesiphon and its foundation is also attributed to Ardaxšīr. Ṭabarī states that Ardaxšīr I left Adūrbādagān for Sūrestān (Āsūr in our text) and on the banks of Tigris, opposite of Ctesiphon he built *Bih-Ardaxšīr* (Ṭabarī 1999; 14-15). Markwart believed that the builder, i.e., Ardaxšīr Wahman was to be identified with Cyrus with whom Ardaxšīr I wanted to connect his genealogy (Markwart 1931; 103). If fact, Artaxerxes II is the point of reference which Ardaxšīr I used as his descendant (see passage 34 under Ardaxšīr ī Spandyād).

**-Ōšag:** “Ōšag”

This appears to be the name of a margrave, although there are no reference found. Nyberg reads the name as *ōdāk* as the name of a river which was an affluent of the Euphrates river (Nyberg 1974; 143), where an Ōšag was in charge of the city.

**-Hagar:** “Hagar”

(Syriac) *hagar*, Arabic (*hajar*), also known as Baḥrain (Ṭabarī 1999; 54-55). Markwart suggests that this city should be located in Baḥrain where there was a Sāsānian margrave present (Markwart 1931; 103) and Nyberg takes *Hagar* as the name of an Arab tribe in the Syrian desert (Nyberg 1974; 89). Ardaxšīr I invaded Baḥrain from the province of Fārs (Gōr) and defeated its king, Sanātruq who may have been a Parthian noble who was ruling that area (Parthian Sinatrices) (Ṭabarī 1999; 16).

**-Marzbān:** “Margrave”

This title can be translated as “margrave,” or “guardian of frontiers,” which suits the text, either for Syria or Baḥrain. Gignoux, however, is doubtful of

the literary sources suggesting a quadripartition of the empire and the existence of four *marzbāns* in the bordering regions of the Sāsānian empire (Gignoux 1984; 256). There seems to have been more than four *marzbāns* in various parts of the late Sāsānian Empire.

**-dō-sar:** “Dō-sar”

Markwart read the word as *gund-sar* “army commander,” (Markwart 1931; 105), while Nyberg suggested *dō-sar* as the name of one of the two armies commanded by the kings of al-Ḥīra (Nyberg 1974; 65). Nyberg appears to be correct, because Ṭabarī informs us that the Persian cavalry were sent to al-Ḥīra (1000 men) each year to support the Lakhmids. The name of the troops were *Dausar* and *Šahbā’* during the time of Nu‘mān I. Rothstein was the first to suggest that the *Dausar* and *Šahbā’* were garrison troops of al-Ḥīra (Rothstein 1899; 134-138). Kister in describing the situation of al-Ḥīra during the fifth century stated that three divisions existed in the city; the *Dausar* who were the elite warriors; *al-Šahbā’* and *al-Malḥā’*, being called this because of the color of the Iron (their coat-of-mail) (Kister 1968; 167). *Dausar* “having two heads” was suggested by Nyberg to mean that there was an infantry and a cavalry component to this army (Nyberg 1974; 65). This is, however, unlikely since all of our sources state that they were a cavalry force and it is possible that there were two regiments, or component detachments each with its own commander (Ṭabarī 1999; 80n).

**-bor-gil:** “Bor-gil”

Markwart does not give any concrete suggestion and only Nyberg’s argument seems plausible to read the word as *bor-gil*, as the name of one of the two armies commanded by the kings of Ḥīra (Nyberg 1974; 48). Ṭabarī and other Arab sources states that one group of the Persian forces were known as *al-Šahbā’* which means “the brightly gleaming ones,” or “white mingled with grey.” The reason they were called this was because of the glint of their breast plates and weapons or coats of mail (Kister 1968; 167). Nyberg derives *bor-gil* “the grey troops” from *gil* < \**grda*- “troop” (Nyberg 1974; 48).

53) **Gay:** “Gay”

The city of Isfahan in the medieval times had two settled areas, one was located east of Jay (Gay) called *Šahrestān*, and the other was two miles to the west, *al-Yahūdīyah* “the Jewish town,” which was much larger than *Šahrestān*. Muqaddasī reports that the city had 12 gates and the buildings were built from unbaked brick (Le Strange 1966 2-3-204).

-**Aleksander ī flīpus:** “Alexander, the son of Philip”

Markwart states that after *flīp*, the MK manuscript has been eaten away by worms and based on West’s conjecture, he emends the text to *flīpān* (Markwart 1931; 23). But according to Modi the Tehran manuscript (JJ) was copied from the original which was in good condition and supplied *flīpus*, i.e., Philipous (Modi 1898; 143).

54) **Ērān-āsān-kard-kawād:** “Ērān-āsān-kard-kawād”

Meaning “Kawād has made Ērān Peaceful.” Markwart identified the city as found in the Geography of Armenia which was placed in the Western *kust* between Garmakān (*Bēth Garmē*) and Adiabene (Markwart 1931; 105). The city was created by Kawād I (488-531 CE) in the Holwān region (Gyselen 1989; 536).

55) **Aškar:** “Aškar”

Bloch identified the city as *Askar*, a city which Muslim geographers assign to Xūzestān (Blochet 1897; 176; Modi 1898; 159; Markwart 1931; 106).

56) **Ādūrbādagān:** “Ādūrbādagān”

The capital with the same name for the province. It is possible that here we have a reference to Atropates who was the satrap of Media during the time of Darius III and Alexander the Great, whose family ruled the region during the Seleucid period as related by *Diodorus Siculus* 18.3.3 and Strabo’s *Geography* 11.13.1 (Chaumont 1987; 17-18).

**-Ērān-gušasp:** “Ērān-Gušasp”

This may be a reference to the sacred fire-temple of *Ādūr-Gušasp* in Ādūrbādagān. Since in the Middle Persian texts Ādūrbādagān is also identified with ērān, it is quite possible that the name *Ērān-Gušasp* came about. In the Islamic period the name of the province was derived from an Adharbādh b. Ērān (Markwart 1931; 106).

57) **Wan:** “Wan”

The Armenian city of Van by the lake with the same name. *Wan ī gulaxšān*: “Wan, the daughter of Walaxš” (Nyberg 1964; 202). *Gulaxšān* is a late development from *Walāx* > *Balāx* > *Gulaxš* (Périkhanian 1996-1997; 115), which is Parthian Vologeses. Markwart conjectured that *gulaxš* is a corruption of the name *vidargā* / *vidirisā* and his daughter Frānag. Kay Kawād is also known in the Islamic sources to be the son of Frānag (Markwart 1931; 106-107).

**-Karb:** “Karp”

(Avestan) *karapan* is not an epithet of the Tūrānian Brātrēš and this is the only text that makes Tūr a *karp*, a group of Indo-Iranian priests during Zoroaster's time. They were pagan singers or poets who were the opponents of Zoroaster (Schwartz 1989; 105).

58) **Ganzag:** “Ganzag”

(Arabic) *Janzah*, also known as *Šz*. The building of the city is assigned to Frāsiyāk, where legend has it that it was the place where Frāsiyāk had died, by Lake Urumia. This place became a pilgrimage site based on a fabricated story that this town was where Zoroaster was born (Boyce 1992; 9). In this legend the building of the city of Ganzag which had a fortification is assigned to Frāsiyāk, no doubt this is a transposition of eastern legends to the west by the Sāsānians.

59) **Āmōy:** “Āmol”



The city of *Āmol*, the capital of Tabarestān. During the Abbāsīd period in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE it was one of the largest cities in the north (Le Strange 1966; 370).

**-Zandīg ī purr-marg:** “The heretic who is full of death”

According to Markwart this refers to Mazdak (Markwart 1932; 110-112). In the *History of Tabarestān* there is a long passage about Mazdak and Kāūs, the brother of Husraw I who was favored by the Mazdakites, and that he resided in the north (*Tārīx-e Tabarestān* 1984; 01-201). The following passage omits the city which may be the city of Ray which according to legend was Zoroaster's birth place (Markwart 1931; 112 : Tafazzolī 1983; 349).

60) **Baydād:** “Baghdad”

Old Persian *baga*; Middle Persian *bay* “God,” “Lord,” with the verb *dād* “to create,” thus “Created by God.” Caliph al-Manšūr founded Madīnat al-Salām at the site of the already existing market-town of Baghdad. Baghdad in the eighth century was expanded as a round city which became the capital of the Abbāsīds (Le Strange 1966; 30).

**-Abū jafar:** “Abū Ja‘far”

Refers to the Caliph al-Manšūr (754-775 CE).

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No. 1, 1376, pp. 1-29.

**Abbreviations**

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
conj.	conjunction
dem.	demonstrative
interrog	interrogative
n.	noun
p.n.	proper noun
pl.n.	place name
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
ptn.	patronymic
vb.	verb
vbl.	verbal

## Glossary

## A

abar	[QDM] prep. “up, on,” : 1
abārīg	[ʔpʔryk] pron. “other” : 36
abāxtar	[pʔhtl] n. “planet” : 24; abāxtarān pl. : 24
abāz	[LAWHL] adv. / preverb “again” : 38, 50
abgand	[LMYTWN] vb. “threw” : 5
abū-dawānīg	[ʔbwdwʔnyg] p.n. “Abū Dawānīq” : 60
abū-jafar	[ʔbwjfr] p.n. “Abū Jaʔfar” : 60
abzōnīg	[ʔpzwnyg] adj. “bountiful” : 0
afsārd	[ʔpsʔlt] vb. “extinguished” : 38
ahlāyīh	[ʔhlʔdyh] n. “righteousness” : 0
aleksandar, skndar	[ʔlksndl, skndl] 5, 12] p.n. “Alexander” : 5, 12, 53
andar	[BYN] prep. “among, in” : 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 17, 18, 20, 27, 28, 32, 33, 36, 38
ardawān	[ʔltwʔn] p.n. “Ardawān” : 41
ardaxšīr	[ʔlthšt] p.n. “Ardaxšīr” : 25, 34, 38, 40, 44, 51
ardaxšīrān	[ʔlthštlʔn] ptn. “son of Ardaxšīr” : 13, 15, 43, 48, 51
ārešn	[ʔlšn] “cubit” : 20
arhēst	[ʔlhyst] pl.n. “Ārhēst” : 51
armāyīl	[ʔlmʔyl] p.n. “Armāyīl” : 28
arwand-āsp	[ʔlwndʔsp] p.n. “Arwand-āsp” : 57
arzāsp	[ʔlcʔsp] p.n. “Arzāsp” : 9
aspwarz	[ʔspwrc] p.n. “Aspwarz” : 35
ast	[AYT] vb. “is” : 33
aškar	[ʔškl] pl.n. “Aškar” : 55
aškān	[ʔškʔn] p.n. “Arsac” : 49; aškānān pl. 17, 23
awērān	[ʔpylʔn] adj. “destroyed” : 38
axtarān	[ʔhtlʔn] n. “constellations” : 24

Daryae	93
ayādgar	[ʔbydʔtkʔl] n. “memoir, testament” : 1
az	[MN] prep. “from, than, by” : 4, 14, 21, 28, 30, 53, 59
azērīg	[hcdylkʔ] prep. “under” : 24
až-i dahāg	[ʔc-y dhʔk] p.n. “Aži Dahāg” : 6, 18, 28, 30, 49
ābādīh	[ʔpʔtyh] n. “feud” : 50
ādūrbādagan	[ʔtwrpʔtkʔn] p.n. “Ādurbādagan” : 56, 58
ādwenān	[ʔdwynʔn] ptn. “son of Ādwēn” : 50
āhagan	[ʔhgʔn] p.n. “Āhagan” : 28
ālag	[ŠTLA] n. “Side, boundary” : 18
āmōy	[ʔmwy] pl.n. “Āmol” : 59
āmtūs	[ʔmtws] p.n. “Āmtūs” : 32
ān	[ZK] dem. pron. “that” : 4, 6, 15, 18, 30, 35, 36, 59
ānōh	[TME] adv. “there” : 3, 9, 18, 35, 38, 53
āsūr	[ʔswl] pl.n. “Assyria” : 51
āšyān	[ʔšydʔn] n. “abode, nest” : 6: āšyānag : 6
ātaxš	[ʔthš] n. “fire” : 3, 4, 9, 38
āwēšān	[OLEšʔn] vb. “they, those” : 28
āwišt	[HTYMWN-t] vb. “sealed” : 60
āwurd	[YHYTYWN-t] vb. “brought” : 4, 50

## B

baydād	[bqdʔd] pl.n. “Baydād” : 60
bahrag	[bʔhlg] n. “portion” : 24
barōzān	[blwcʔn] p.n. “Barōzān” : 29
bast	[ASLWN-t] vb. “bound, tied” : 24
bast	[bst] pl.n. “Bust” : 36
bastūr	[bstwl] p.n. “Bastūr” : 14
bašn	[bšn] n. “heathen temple” : 7
baxl	[bhl] pl.n. “Balx” : 8
baxt-husraw	[bht-hwslwbʔ] p.n. “Baxt Husraw” : 50

bābēl	[b'byl] pl.n. "Babylon;" n. "Babēl" : 24
bālāy	[b'l'd] n. "high" : 20
bāmīg	[b'myk'] adj. "brilliant" : 8
be	[BRA] particle with verbs. : 2, 9, 24, 25, 35, 38, 50, 51
bor-gil	[bwlgy] p.n. "Bor-gil" : 51
brād-rēš	[bl'dlyš] p.n. "Brād-rēš" : 57
brādar zād	[bl'tl z't] n. "nephew" : 32
bun	[bwn] n. "foundation" : 2
bunag	[bwnk'] n. "abode" : 36
būd	[YHWWN-t, bwt] vb. "was" : 6, 14, 18, 30, 36, 47, 49, 53, 59

## C

čē	[ME] interrog. pron. "which, because, for, since" : 9
čīhr-āzādān	[cyhl'c'd'n] p.n. "Čīhr Āzād" : 45
čiyōn	[cygwn] conj. "since, as, like, when" : 47
čiyōn-šān	[cygwn-š'n] conj. with vb. "whom they" : 60
čōl	[cwl] p.n. "Čōl" : 9, 18

## D

dabr	[dpl] adj. "rough" : 26
dahestān	[dhst'n] pl.n. "Dahestan" : 17
dar	[BBA] n. "gate, door" : 20
dastgird	[dstkrt] n. "estate" : 20
dašt	[dšt] n. "plain" : 50
dād	[YHBWN-t] vb. "gave" : 50
dādār	[d't'l] n. ag. "Creator" : 0
dārāb-gird	[d'l'bgylt'] pl.n. "Dārābgird" : 42
dārāy	[d'l'y] p.n. "Dārāy" : 42

dārāyān	[d'l'y'n] ptn. “son of Dārā” : 42
dārišn	[YHSNNšn] vb.n. “connection, preservation” : 50
dibīrīh	[dpyryh] n. with <i>dēn</i> “religious script” : 4
dēn	[dyn] n. “religion” : 4, 36
dēwān	[ŠDYA'n] n. pl. “demons” : 7
dō-sar	[dwsł] p.n. “Dō-sar” : 52
drahnāy	[dlhn'd] n. “length” : 20
drōd	[ŠRM] n. “prosperity, peace” : 60
drubuštīh	[dlwpwštīh] n. “fortification” : 57
dumbāwand	[dmb'wnd] pl.n. “Damāwand” : 29
duš-xwadāyīh	[dwšhw't(y)yh] n. “evil reign, evil rule” : 49
duxt	[dwht] n. “daughter” : 47
dwārēd	[dwb'lyt] vb. “rushed, crept” : 9
dwāzdah	[dw'cdh] num. “twelve” : 24

## E

enyā	[ʼynyʼ] conj. “or, otherwise” : 28
ēd	[HNA] dem.pron. “this” : 6
ēk	[ʼywk] num. “one” : 6, 7
ēn	[ZNE] dem. pron. “this” : 1, 9, 30
ērān-āsān-kard-kawād	[ʼyl'n's'nklkw't] pl.n. “Ērān-āsān-kard-Kawād” : 54
ērān-gušasp	[ʼyl'ngwšsp] p.n. “Ērān-Gušasp” : 56
ērān-kard-šābuhr	[ʼyl'nklš'bwhl] pl.n. “Ērān-kard-Šābuhr” : 48
ērān-šahr	[ʼyl'nštl'] pl.n. “Ērān-šahr” : 1, 9, 49, 50
ēstēd	[YKOYMWN-t] aux. vb. “stand, to be” : 1, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34

## F

flīpus	[flypws] ptn. “son of Philip” : 53
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fragand	[plknd] vb. “laid, founded” : 2, 4
framān	[plm’n] n. “order, command” : 4, 21, 28
framūd	[plmwt] vb. “ordered, commanded” : 15, 20
frasang	[plsng] n. “farsang” : 20
frazāft	[plc’pt’] vb. “finished, completed” 60
frazāmēnīd	[plc’mynyd] vb. “ended” : 2, 38, 40
frazdān	[plcd’n] pl.n. “Frazdān” : 36
frāh	[pl’h] pl.n. “Frāh” : 37
frāsiyāk	[pl’sy’k, pl’sy’b] p.n. “Frāsīyāk” : 7, 38, 58
frēdōn	[plytwn’] p.n. “Frēdōn” 6, 50
frēstēd	[ŠDRWN-yt’] vb. “sent” : 9
frīgā	[plyg’] pl.n. “Africa” : 33

## G

gazīrag	[gcylg] pl.n. “Jazīra” : 32
ganj	[gnc] n. “treasury” : 4
ganzag	[gncg] pl.n. “Ganzag” : 58
gay	[g’d] pl.n. “Gay” : 53
gāh	[g’s] n. “place” : 15, 33, 35, 36
gēwagān	[gywg’n] ptn. “son of Gēw” : 21, 22
gizistag	[gestk] adj. “accursed” : 5, 7, 12, 38, 53
gōdarzān	[gwdlc’n] ptn. “son of Gōdarz” : 35
gōhram	[gwhlm] p.n. “Gōhram” : 9
gōkān	[gwk’n] n. “detail” : 1
gōr	[gw] n. “Onger, the epithet of Wahrām V” : 27, 47
gōr-ardaxšīr-xwarrah	[gw]’lthštlGDE] pl.n. “Gōr-ardaxšīr- xwarrah” : 44
gulaxšān	[gw]hš’n] ptn. “son of Gulaxš” : 57
gumārd	[gwm’t] vb. “appointed, entrusted” : 25, 51
gumēxt	[gwmyht] vb. “mixed” : 38
gurgān	[gw]lg’n] pl.n. “Gurgān” : 17
gyān	[HYA] n. “soul” : 57

**H**

haft	[hpt] num. “seven” : 6, 24
hagar	[hgl] pl.n. “Hagar” : 52
hamadān	[hmd'n] pl.n. “Hamadān” : 26
ham-gyāg	[hmgyw'g] n. “same place” : 15
har	[KRA] adj. “every, each” : 7, 9
harē	[hly] pl.n. “Herāt” : 12
haštom	[hštwm] num. “eighth” : 24
hēnd	[HWE-nd] aux. vb. “to be, are” : 29
hērt	[hlyt] pl.n. “Hīra” : 25
hrōmāyīg	[hlwm'dyg] adj. “Roman” : 12
hu-bōy-husraw	[hwbwdhwslwb'] pl.n. “Hu-bōy-Husraw” : 19
humāy	[hwm'd] p.n. “Humāy” : 45
husraw	[hwslwb'] p.n. “Husraw” : 19
husraw ī mūst-ābād	[hwslwb Y mwst'b't] pl.n. “Husraw ī Mūst- Ābād” : 19
husraw-šād-husraw	[hwslwbš'dhwslwb'] pl.n. “Husraw-šād Husraw” : 19

**I**

ī	[Y] rel. pron., connective particle, passim
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**J**

jadag	[ytk'] n. “omen” : 0
jahūdān	[yhwt'n] p.n. “Jews” : 53; jahūdagān “Jews, Jewess” : 10, 47
jam	[ym] p.n. “Jam” : 24
jādūgīh	[y'twkyh] n. “sorcery” : 24, 57
jud	[ywdt'] n. “different, separate” : 1



## K

ka	[AMT] conj. “when” : 35, 36
kadām	[kt'm] conj. “which” : 1
kand	[HPLWN-t] vb. “engraved” : 4
karb	[klp] p.n. “Karb” : 57
kard	[OBYDWN-t] vb. “built” : passim, in almost every sentence
kardan	[OBYDWN-t'n, krtn'] vb. “to do, to make” : 15, 20
karkōy	[klkwy] p.n. “Karkōy” : 38
karzam	[klcm] p.n. “Kazam” : 14
kawād	[kw't'] p.n. “Kawād” : 39, 54
kawādān	[kw't'n] ptn. “son of Kawād” : 2, 19
kay-husraw	[kdhwslwb'] p.n. “Kay Husraw” : 3, 6, 38
kay-kawād	[kdkw't'] p.n. “Kay Kawād” : 57
kay-lohrāsp	[kdlhl'sp] p.n. “Kay Lohrāsp” : 16
kābul	[k'pwl] pl.n. “Kābul” : 34
kāyēn	[k'yyn] pl.n. “Kāyēn” : 16
kāūs	[k'hws] p.n. “Kāūs” : 2, 6
kāūsān	[k'ws'n] ptn. “son of Kāūs” : 2
kermān	[klm'n] pl.n. “Kermān” : 39
kermān-šāh	[klm'nš'h] ptn. “King of Kermān” : 39
kē	[MNW] rel.pron. “who, which” : 9, 20, kē-š 15, kē-šān 26, 27, 28, 30.
kēsar	[kysl] n. “Caesar” : 32, 33
kōf	[kwp] n. “mountain” : 28, 30
kōfyār	[kwpy'l] p.n. “mountaineer” : 29; kōfyārān pl. : 28
kōšk	[kwšk'] n. “palace” : 20
kufah	[kwph] pl.n. “Kufah” : 33
kust	[kwst] n. “direction, district, side” : 2, 21, 27, 34, 58

Daryae

99

kū

[AYK] conj. “that, than, where, since” : 1, 6, 9

kūmis

[kwmys] pl.n. “Kūmis” : 18

## L

lohrāsp

[lhl'sp] p.n. “Lohrāsp” : 6, see also Kay Lohrāsp

## M

mad

[mt'] vb. “came” : 14, 57

madīnag

[mtyng] pl.n. “Medina” : 33

mād

[AM] n. “mother” : 47, mād-īz

makkah

[mkkh] pl.n. “Mecca” : 33

manūčīhr

[mnwcyhl] p.n. “Manūčīhr” : 6, 38

man

[L] pers.pron. 1 sg. “I, me, mine” : 9

marinzān

[mlnc'n] p.n. “Marinzān” : 29

marw

[mlw] pl.n. “Marw” : 12

marw-rōd

[mlwlwt'] pl.n. “Marw-rōd” : 11

marzbān

[mlcp'n] n. “margrave” : 25, 51

masrūg

[mslwk'] p.n. “Masrugh” : 50

māh

[m'h] n. “month” : 27

māniš

[m'nyš] n. “abode” : 18

mānišn

[m'nyšn] n. “dwelling” : 53

mārīg

[m'lyk'] n. “sign” : 24

mihr

[mtr'] p.n. “Mihr” : 24

mihr-zād

[mtrc'd] p.n. “Mihrzād” : 25

musragān

[mwslk'n] p.n. “Musragān” : 29

mūsel

[mwsyl] pl.n. “Mosul” : 31

## N

nahr-tīrag

[nhltylk'] pl.n. “Nahr-Tīrag” : 49

nar	[ZKL] n. “male, manly” : 35
narsēh	[nlsyh] p.n. “Narseh” : 10, 17, 23
nasībīn	[nsybyn] pl.n. “Nisbis” : 22
naxust	[nhwst'] n. “first” : 38
nawāzag	[nw'zk'] pl.n. “Nawāzag” : 8
nām	[ŠM] n. “name” : 0, 19, 48, 49
nēk	[nywk] adj. “good” : 0
nēmrož	[nymlwc] pl.n. “South” : 34
nērōg	[nylwk] n. “power” : 0
nēw-šābuhr	[nywš'bwahl] pl.n. “Nēwšābuhr” : 15
nēw-šābuhrān	[nywū'bwahl'n] ptn. “son of Brave Šābuhr” : 46
nēzag	[nyck'] n. “lance” : 9
nibišt	[YKTYBWN-stn'] vb. “written” : 1, 4
nigerēd	[nkylyt'] vb. “look, observe” : 9
nihād	[HNHTWN-t'] vb. “placed” : 4, 19, 48
nihāwand	[nyh'wnd] pl.n. “Nihāwand” : 27
nimūd	[nmwt'] vb. “showed” : 24
nišāst	[YTYBWN-st'] vb. “set” : 3, 9, 36, 38
nišēmag	[nšdymk] n. “seat, abode” : 7
nīd	[YDBLWN-t'] vb. “led, placed” : 53
nōdarān	[nwdl'n] ptn. “son of Nodar” : 14

## O

ohrmazd	[ʾwhrmzd] p.n. “Ohrmazd” : 0, 46
ohrmazd-ardaxšīr	[ʾwhrmzdalth·tl] pl.n. “Hormizd-Ardaxšīr” : 46
ō	[OL] prep. “to, at” : passim
ōrhāy	[ʾlh'y] pl.n. “Edessa” : 23
ōšag	[ʾšk'] p.n. “Ōšag” : 52
ōzad	[YKTLWN-t'] vb. “killed” : 15, 35, 50

**P**

pad	[PWN] prep. “to, at, on, in by, through” : passim
padiš	[ptš] postp. “to him, her, it, them” : 7
padišxwārgar	[pt(y)šhw'lg] pl.n. “Padišxwārgar” : 28, 38
pahlēzag	[phlyck'] p.n. “Pahlēzag” : 15
panj	[pnc] num. “five” : 19
panj-burg	[pncbwlg] pl.n. “five towers” : 18
parisp-ē	[plyspy] n. “a wall” : 20
pas	[AHL] adv. “then, after” : 4, 5, 7, 14, 38
paygām	[pgt'm] n. “message” : 9
paywand	[ptwnd] n. “offspring” : 50
pābagān	[p'pk'n] ptn. “son of Pābag” : 38, 40, 44
pānāgīh	[p'n'kyh] n. “protection” : 57
pārsīgān	[p'lsyg'n] p.n. “Persians” : 18
pārsīgān-šāh	[p'lsyg'nš'h] ptn. “King of Persians” : 41
pērōz	[pylwc] p.n. “Pērōz” : 31
pērōzān	[pylwc'n] ptn. “son of Pērōz” : 39, 54
pērōzīh	[pylwcyh] n. “victory” : 60
pid	[AB'] n. “father” : 16
pīlābād	[pyl'p't'] pl.n. “Pīlābād” : 48
pōšang	[pwšng] pl.n. “Pōšang” : 13
puhl-ē	[pwhly] n. “a bridge” : 13
purr-marg	[pwlmlk'] adj. “full of death” : 59
pus	[BRE] n. “son” : 8

**R**

rahām	[lh'm] p.n. “Rahām” : 35
raxwat	[lhwt'] pl.n. “Raxvat” : 35
rām-ohrmazd	[l'm'whrmzd] pl.n. “Rām-Hormizd” : 46
rāmišn	[l'yšn] n. “peace” : 60
rāy	[l'd] postp. “on account of, for” : 50, 57

reš-galūdag	[lšglwtk] p.n. “Reš Galut” : 47
rōdstahm	[lwtsthm] p.n. “Rustam” : 37
rōz	[YWM] n. “day” : 1

## S

samarkand	[smlknd] pl.n. “Samakand” : 2
sar-xwadāy	[slhwt’y] n. “overlord” : 1
sāl	[ŠNT] n. “year” : 14
simrān	[sml’n] pl.n. “Himyār” : 50
simrān-šāh	[sml’nš’h] n. “King of Himyārs” : 50
sinjēbīk	[snjybyk] p.n. “Sinjēbīk” : 9
siyāwaxš	[syy’whš] p.n. “Siyāwaxš” : 2
siyāwaxšān	[syy’whš’n] ptn. “son of Siyāwaxš” : 3, 38
sīstān-šāh	[syst’nš’h] n. “king of Sīstān” : 37
sogd	[swkd] pl.n. “Sogdiana” : 6
sōbārān	[swb’l’n] p.n. “Sōbārān” : 29
sōxt	[swht’] vb. “burnt” : 5
spandarmad	[spndlmt’] p.n. “Spandarmad” : 38
spandyād	[spnty’t’] p.n. “Spandyād” : 8
spandyādān	[spnty’t’n] ptn. “son of Spandyād” : 34, 51
spāhbed	[sp’hpt] n. “general, commander” : 14, 56; spāhbedīh : 14
spitāmān	[spyt’m’n] p.n. “Spitāmān” : 59
staxr	[sthl] pl.n. “Staxr” : 41
stō	[stwb’] vb. “harassed, distressed, defeated” : 35

## Š

šabestān	[špst’n] n. “harem” : 18, 49
šahrestān	[štrst’n] n. “city, capital city” : passim in almost every passage
šahrestānīhā	[štrst’nyh’] n. “cities, capital cities” : 1

Daryae	103
šahryārīh	[š'tryd'lyh] n. "dominion" : 28, 30
šābuhr	[š'pwhl] p.n. "Šābuhr" : 13, 25, 43, 48, 51
šābuhrān	[š'pwhl'n] ptn. "son of Šābuhr" : 18, 26, 31, 47, 53
šādīh	[š'tyh] adj. "happiness" : 60
šād-farrox-husraw	[š'tplhwhwslb'] pl.n. "Šād-farrox-Husraw" : 19
šāh	[MLKA, š'h] n. "king" : 20, 33, 47; šāhān pl. : 33
šām	[š'm] pl.n. "Syria" : 33
šišīnduxt	[šyšyntwh't'] p.n. "Šišīnduxt" : 47, 53
šūs	[šws] pl.n. "Susa" : 47
šūstar	[šwstl] pl.n. "Šūstar" : 47

## T

taxtagīhā	[t'htkyh'] n. "tablets" : 4
tāzīg	[t'cyk'] p.n. "Arab" : 50; tāzīgān pl. : 25, 51
tāzīg-šāh	[t'cykš'h] n. "King of the Arabs" : 50
tāzišn	[t'čšn] vbl.n. "invasion" : 18
tisfōn	[tspwn] pl.n. "Ctesiphon" : 21
tūr	[tyl] p.n. "Mercury" : 24
tuzāb	[twc'p] p.n. "Tuzāb" : 9
tūr	[twl] p.n. "Tūr, Tūranian" : 7, 15, 35, 38, 57, 58
tūs	[tws] p.n. / pl.n. "Tūs" : 14, 21
tūzag	[twck'] pl.n. "Tūz" : 45

## U

u-	[AP] conj. "and" always followed by the suffixed personal pron. u-š : 3, 6, 9, 15, 20, 24, 35, 38, 48, 50, 51, 53
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ud	[W] conj. “and” : passim
uzdēstzār	[’wcdysc’l] n. “idol temple” : 7

**W**

wahrām	[w’hl’m] p.n. “Wahrām” : 3, 9, 11, 27, 47, 55
wahrāmāwand	[w’hl’m’wnt] pl.n. “Wahrāmāwand” : 27
wan	[wn] p.n. / pl.n. “Wan” : 57
wandōy-šābuhr	[wndwyšpwhl] pl.n. “Wandōy-Šābuhr” : 48
war	[wl] n. “wall, fortress, enclosure” : 25, 27, 52
warāzag	[wl’cg] ptn. “son of Warāz” : 21, 22
warzāwand	[wlc’wnd] adj. “miraculous” : 3, 9, 38
waspūhr	[w’spwhl] p.n. “Wispūhr” : 29
waspūhragān	[w’spwhlk’n] “blood princes” : 36
wazišn	[wcšn] vbl.n. “movement” : 9
weh	[ŠPYL] adj. “good” : 0
weh-ardaxšīr	[wh’ldhštl] pl.n. “Weh-Ardaxšīr” : 40, 52
weh-šābuhr	[whš’pwhl] pl.n. “Weh-Šābuhr” : 43
wērōy-pahr	[wylwyphl] pl.n. “Gruzian Guard” : 18
windād	[HŠKHWN-t] vb. “acquired, obtained” : 28, 30
wisēmagān	[wsymg’n] p.n. “Wisēmagān” : 29
wisp-šād-husraw	[wspš’thwslb] pl.n. “Wisp-šād-Husraw” : 19
wištāsp	[wšt’sp] p.n. “Wištāsp” : 16, 36; wištāsp-šāh “king Wištāsp” 4, 6, 36
wištāspān	[wšt’sp’n] ptn. “son of Wištāsp” : 8
wuzurg	[wcwlg] adj. “great” : 9, 13

**X**

xāgān	[h’k’n] p.n. “Xāgān” : 9, 35
xiyōnān-šāh	[hywn’nš’h] p.n. “king of Hayōns” : 9
xwadāy	[hwt’y] n. “lord” : 40; xwadāyān pl. : 6

Daryae

105

xwadāyīh	[hwt'yih] vbl.n. "reign" : 18, 24, 53
xwāhišn	[BOYHWN-šn] vbl.n. "request" : 53, xwāst 38
xwānd	[KLYTWN-t'] vb. "call" : 27, 60, xwānēnd 17, 26
xwarāsān	[hwl's'n] n. "East" : 2
xwarwarān	[hwlwl'n] n. "West" : 21
xwārazm	[hw'lcm] pl.n. "Xwārazm" : 10
xwēš	[NPŠE] adj. "own" : 9, 50, 57, xwēšīh "possession" : 50

## Y

yabbu	[ybbw] p.n. "Yabbu" with xāgān : 9, 35
yam	[yam] p.n. "Jam" : 6
yaman	[ymn] pl.n. "Yemen" : 33
yaštan	[YDBHWN-tn'] vb. "worshipped" : 36
yazdgird	[ycdklt] p.n. "Yazdgird" : 18, 26, 47, 53
yazdgirdān	[ycdklt'n] ptn. "son of Yazdgird" : 11, 27, 55

## Z

zad	[MHYTWN-t] vb. "struck" : 9
zamīg	[zmyk'] n. "earth" : 1, 32, 33, 38, 50
zan	[NYŠE] n. "wife" : 47, 53
zanīh	[NYŠEyh] n. "wife" : 38, 57
zandīg	[zndyk] n. "hertic" : 59
zarang	[zlnk] pl.n. "Zarang" : 38
zardušt	[zltwšt] p.n. "Zoroaster" : 4, 59
zarēr	[zlyl] p.n. "Zarēr" : 14
zarērān	[zlyl'n] ptn. "son of Zarēr" : 36
zarrēn	[ZHBAYn'] adj. "golden" : 4
zād	[YLYDWN-t] vb. "born" : 32
zāwalestān	[z'wlst'n] pl.n. "Zābul" : 37



106  
zēndān

Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr  
[zynd'n'] n. "prison" : 49

### **Numerals**

3	40
7	29
9	32
25	20
24	33
180	20
900	14
1200	4

