

## PAHLAVICA

BY

Dr. A. TAFAZZOLI

University of Tehran

### 1. *snōh*- "lament"

A verbal stem *snōh*- "lament" can be established in Pahlavi. Several passages of the Dēnkard containing this stem deserve to be quoted:—

DKM. 807.19–808.3 *ud ka tan hamgōnag kunēd, ravān šādihēd; . . . ud ka tan ān ī ravān āfrāh nē padirēd . . . , ravān snōhēd*

(*𐭮𐭲𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮*).<sup>1</sup> Both West and Sanjana, following the manu-

script, have taken the word as two. The former has translated as "the soul is a demon"<sup>2</sup> and the latter<sup>3</sup> as "(elevation of) the soul in Religion".<sup>4</sup> But the context requires a verb in the third person singular indicative, parallel to *šādihēd* and in meaning antonym to it. The passage may, therefore, be rendered as follows:—

"And when the body behaves so, the soul is rejoiced . . . , and when the body does not accept the teachings of the soul . . . , the soul laments."

In another passage (DKM. 799.11–13) the verbal noun of this stem occurs:

*ud abar andarz ī pad šēvan ud mōy abar vidardagān nē kardan, ud pas az bē viderišnīh \*hamē<sup>5</sup> snōhišn ō menišn nē afzāyēnīdan.* In

<sup>1</sup> This part is taken from the Rana manuscript, handwritten from the Bombay MS. Cf. M. J. Dresden, *Dēnkard, Introduction*, p. 15, Wiesbaden, 1966. It is also missing in the Copenhagen manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. West, *SBE*, vol. XXXVII, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> D. P. Sanjana, *The Dēnkard*, vol. 17, ch. 18.4.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *daēna hall*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. *y hm<sup>3</sup>k*.

this case, too, both West<sup>6</sup> and Sanjana<sup>7</sup> have divided the word into two. The former has translated it as "righteous one of the religion" and the latter as "faithful one of the Religion".<sup>8</sup> It is clear from the context that *snōhišn* is used here as a synonym of *šēvan* "wailing" and *mōy* "mourning" and, therefore, the meaning "lamentation" is demanded. The passage may be translated as follows:—

"Admonition as to not making wailing and mourning over the departed, and never augmenting lamentation in mind."

This meaning of "lamentation" holds good for other cases:

DKM. 658.21 *mahmānīh ī šēvan ud mōy ud snōhišn<sup>9</sup> ud garzišn andar šahr*: "the lodgement of wailing, mourning, lamentation and complaint in the country."

DKM. 652.8–11 *bē abar ō ān dehān abārōn anāštīh padīd, bē ān abārōn snōhišn,<sup>10</sup> bē ān abārōn spazgīh; ud nē-z az ān deh ān ī abārōn anāštīh frāz abesihēd, nē ān ī abārōn snōhišn ud nē ān ī abārōn spazgīh*: "the wicked strife attacked that country, (besides) that wicked lamentation, (besides) that wicked slander; and not even that wicked strife, nor that wicked lamentation, nor that wicked slander is dissipated from that country." The same sentence is repeated in DKM. 657.1.

DKM. 633.15 *pad ān snōhišn<sup>11</sup> garzīd*: "by this lamentation they complained." This is the translation of Av. *āaḥ tā snaodantiš garəzānā* (Yt. 19.80).

Etymologically *snōh-* can readily be explained as derived from Avestan \**snaud-* "weep, lament", *snaodant*-<sup>12</sup> cf. NP. *nōya*

<sup>6</sup> West, *op. cit.* p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> Sanjana, *op. cit.* ch. 11.20.

<sup>8</sup> Reading *daēnō-āshnav*.

<sup>9</sup> West, *SBE*, XLVII, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part V, *Dinkard*, Book VII, ch. VIII.7, translates "demon-worshipper". Sanjana, *Dinkard*, vol. XIV, ch. VII.7, reads *snōdīyān* and translates "mourning".

<sup>10</sup> West, *op. cit.* VII.17, translates "demon-worship". Sanjana, *op. cit.* VI.16, reads *daeva-nīyaishna* and renders "daēva-worship".

<sup>11</sup> West, *op. cit.* IV.44, translates "hearing", but in the foot-note he approaches the right meaning by suggesting that the word might be an approximate transcript of Av. *snaodentiš*. But his reading *snōdīyān* is not probable. Sanjana, *op. cit.* III.44, reads *snavīdagān*, and translates "injurious ones".

<sup>12</sup> C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1626.

“lamentation” and possibly Pash. *nāl* “sorrow, grief”.<sup>13</sup> Old Iranian intervocalic *d* in some cases becomes *h* in Middle Persian e.g. Av. OP. *spāda-* > Pahl. *spāh*; Av. *sand-*, OP. *θa<sup>n</sup>d-* > MP. *sah-* “seem”; OIr. *nidaδ(ā)* > MP. *nih-* “put”; OIr. *\*hampada-* > MP. *hambah-* “fall”; OIr. *\*vid-* “shoot” > MP. *vih-* etc.

Another *snōh-*, Av. *snaoδa-*<sup>14</sup> “clouds”, Pahl. *snōyān*,<sup>15</sup> S. Bal. *nōd*,<sup>16</sup> is attested in DKM. 661.2 *zamestān-iz ī dēvāndād ī snōhišn-ōmand*:<sup>17</sup> “cloudy winter, created by demons”.

## 2. *vanēgarīh* “prodigality”

Among the vices listed in a number of Pahlavi passages there frequently occurs *wnyklyh*, *wnykklyh*,<sup>18</sup> *wnyglyh*, which has been read and translated variously.<sup>19</sup> The precise sense of the word can be determined by the contexts and its antonyms and synonyms.

It occurs in Jamasp-Asana’s *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 93, line 11 as an antonym of *rādīh* “generosity” in the following sentence:—

*rādīh ka-š vanēgarīh nēst*. The sentence has been correctly rendered into Arabic by Ibn Miskawaih<sup>20</sup> ولا (يشوب) الجود سرف  
i.e. “(if) prodigality (does not pollute) generosity”.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For the suggestion of the fact that NP. *nōya* and Pash. *nāl* are derived from Av. *snaud-* I am indebted to Prof. H.W. Bailey, *Bundahishn, Thesis*, p. 698, London, 1933.

<sup>14</sup> Bartholomae, *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, p. 308; M. Bahar, *Glossary of Bundahishn*, p. 213, Tehran 1967.

<sup>16</sup> Bartholomae, *ibid.* s.v. *snaoδa-*.

<sup>17</sup> West, *op. cit.*, VIII.19, translates “worshipping the demon”. Sanjana, *op. cit.* VII.19, reads *daēva-ntyishna* and translates “daēva-worshippers”.

<sup>18</sup> The additional *k* in this spelling (DKM.372.2; 549.22) may indicate the length of the preceding vowel. Cf. H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 183.

<sup>19</sup> For various readings and translations see J. P. de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazdénne*, Paris, 1958, pp. 40–47: A.1; B.8; Ca.15; H.10. In one instance (A.1.) Professor de Menasce has correctly translated “prodigality”. For Sanjana’s readings and translations see the references given below.

<sup>20</sup> Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Miskawaih, *al-Ḥikma al-ḥālida* (= *Jāvedān arad*). Ed. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo, 1952, p. 33, line 4.

<sup>21</sup> Māhyār-e Navvābī has read the word as *vanigarīh* and translated it as

هرزگی — فسق — فساد i.e. “lewdness”. See *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz*, No. 3, 1338 A.H. p. 312, n. 89.

This meaning "prodigality" perfectly fits the other contexts too. In the Dēnkard (DKM. 485.19; Sanjana, vol. X, Book 6, ch. LXXI, 3) *vanēgar* is described as *ān ī vanēgar<sup>22</sup> kē<sup>23</sup> ān ī dārēd bē abesīhēnēd*:<sup>24</sup> "a prodigal is (a person) who wastes whatever he possesses". In the Bundahišn (Gr. Bd. 48.7) *vanēgarīh<sup>25</sup>* is attested in a list of demons and vices, and its antagonist is *vizīdār-dahišnīh* "bestowing discerningly".<sup>26</sup> In the Dēnkard (DKM. 328.15; Sanjana, vol. VII, p. 364, line 7) it is used as the *brādrōd<sup>27</sup>* i.e. "false brother, rival" of *rādīh* "generosity". The following passages may be added:—

DKM. 58.10<sup>28</sup> (Sanjana, II, p. 64, line 18) *rādīh ī pāk az vanēgarīh*: "generosity which is free from prodigality".

DKM. 372.2<sup>29</sup> (Sanjana, VIII, p. 412, line 5) *vanēgarīh gāh rādīh*: "prodigality resides in generosity".

DKM. 549.22<sup>30</sup> (Sanjana, XII, p. 41, line 5) *rādīh vehīh, uš vanēgarīh petiyārag*: "generosity (is) a virtue and its rival (is) prodigality".

DKM. 527.11 (Sanjana, XI, p. 93, line 11) *dah čiš ēn homā-nāgtar, cēōn rādīh vanēgarīh*: "these ten things are more alike, as generosity is similar to prodigality".

DKM. 551.7 (Sanjana, XII, p. 44, line 8) *abar ēn-iz paydāg kū vanēgarīh az gēhān bē barišn, bē ēdōn bē barišn kū rādīh bē nē kāhēd*: "About this, too, it is manifest that prodigality must be taken away from the world, but it must be taken away in such a way that generosity does not decrease".

DKM. 563.20 (Sanjana, XII, p. 75, line 4) *ēn-iz ēdōn kū az*

<sup>22</sup> Thus in *K.* (*The Pahlavi Codex K43, Codices Avestici et Pahlavici*, vol. V. fol. 186 v.1. 13). *B.* has

<sup>23</sup> Thus in *K.*, *B.* has *MN*.

<sup>24</sup> Thus in *K.*, *B.* has 'psyhyt'.

<sup>25</sup> *TD. 2* *DH.* *P.*

<sup>26</sup> B.T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh*, Bombay, 1956, p. 56. l. 3, has read the word as *vanda-garīh* and translated it as "avarice".

<sup>27</sup> For this term see Zaehner, *Zurvan*, p. 193. n. D.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted by de Menasce, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> The reference is given by de Menasce, *op. cit.*

*a-paymānīh \*vanēgarīh* (MSS. *bwnykklyh*) . . . . . *bavēd*: "This (is said), too, that prodigality proceeds from immoderation".

DKM. 579.6 (Sanjana, XIII, p. 11, line 5) *guft ēstēd kū vanēgar ān bavēd kē ō vāllarān čiš dahēd*: "It has been said that a prodigal is a person who gives things to the evil". Here *vanēgar* is the antonym of *rād*.

Further references are:—DKM. 431.5 (Sanjana, IX, p. 474, line 15), DKM. 443.6 (Sanjana, IX, p. 487, line 9), DKM. 451.12 (Sanjana, IX, p. 496, line 10). In DKM. 22.17 (Sanjana, I, p. 24, line 5) *vanēgarīg* "prodigal" is attested as an antonym of *vizīdār-dahišnīg*.

It is clear from the passages quoted above that *vanēgarīh* is the *brādrōd* i.e. "false brother, rival" of *rādīh* "generosity" or *vizīdārdahišnīh* "bestowing discerningly". If "generosity" is carried to excess, it approaches the border of "prodigality". The real antagonist of *rādīh* is *penīh*<sup>30</sup> "stinginess".

If the reading *vanēgarīh* is correct, the word must be analysed as *vanē-gar-īh*. Two etymologies may be proposed for *vanē*. It may be regarded as identical with Manichaean Middle Persian *wnywdyḡ* "annihilation, destruction", *wnybwł* "annihilated".<sup>31</sup> If so, "prodigality" must be explained as a semantic development of "destruction, waste". As the alternative *vanē* may be considered as a derivative of OP. *van* "throw", *avaniyat* "was thrown".<sup>32</sup>

### 3. *hēz* "drought"

In a passage of DK. 9 (DKM. 810.20–21; Sanjana vol. XVII, p. 50), where the vicious deeds of Azidahāk are related, there is mention of several calamities which he inflicted upon the world. The passage reads: *ud lō abar gēhān harzag<sup>33</sup> kard niyāz ud škōhīh ud langīh . . . W hyyc (ϷϷ) ī a-vāstar . . .* "And you have let loose into the world Want, Poverty, Distress . . .

<sup>30</sup> For the etymology of this word see R. C. Zaehner, *BSOS*, IX, p. 317. The word is spell *pngh* or *pnyh* (= *penīh*).

<sup>31</sup> W. Henning, *BSOS*, IX, p. 89.

<sup>32</sup> R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 206; W. Brandenstein, M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altperischen*, 1964, p. 151. For the most recent discussion on this root see O. Szemerényi, *Die Sprache*, XII (1966), p. 199.

<sup>33</sup> M. Molé (*IJL*. III. 4, 1959, p. 284 § 4) read *arzōk* 'desire illicite'.

and *hyyc* that has no pasture-land . . .". The word which I have transliterated as *hyyc*, if joined to the preceding *wāw*, could represent the spelling *nyd'c* (= *niyāz*) "want, need", the reading which was adopted by West,<sup>34</sup> Sanjana,<sup>35</sup> Molé<sup>36</sup> and Zaehner.<sup>37</sup> But this reading cannot be accepted, since *niyāz* has already been mentioned in the same list, and it is highly improbable that it could convey two different meanings in the same passage.<sup>38</sup> Therefore another solution should be sought.

The adjective *a-vāstar* is the clue. It represents Avestan *avāstra-* "was kein Futter hat", used as an epithet of *haēčah-* "Trockenheit, Dürre" (Vd. 13.51; 7.26; Yt. 13.130)<sup>39</sup>. *haēčah-* with its epithet *avāstra-* are translated into Pahl. as *hušk ī avāstar*. Therefore Pahl. *hyyc* i.e. *hēz* (or possibly *hēč*) is the equivalent of Av. *haēčah-*. The spelling *yy* might have been intended to indicate the length of the vowel *ē*, and also to avoid confusion of this word with Pahl. *hēč* "nothing". However, the spelling *hyc* is also attested in *Zād Spram* 32.2, where the word appears along with almost the same calamities mentioned in the previous passage. The passage reads: *čēōn Jam abāz-dārišnīh ī sahm ud tangīh ud sēz rāy ravān ī ōy yazihēd ud x<sup>v</sup>ānihēd pad abāz-ēstišnīh <ī> dēvān-frāz-kirrēnīd hēz-iz <ī> \*avāstar, sahm ud sēz-iz ī nihān-ravišn*. R. C. Zaehner,<sup>40</sup> who failed to recognize *hēz*, emended it to *sēž* "danger"<sup>41</sup> and thought of a compound *sēž-x<sup>v</sup>āstār*,<sup>42</sup> which he regarded as an epithet of *sahm* "fear". This explanation is not tenable. The passage should be translated as follows:—"Thus because Jam held Fear, Distress and Danger in check, his soul is worshipped and invoked in order to repel the (calamities) created by the demons, viz., Drought that has no pasture-land, Fear and Danger that moves in secret".

<sup>34</sup> West, *SBE.*, Pahlavi Texts, IV, p. 213, translated 'Want without pastures'.

<sup>35</sup> Sanjana, *op. cit.*, vol. XVII, p. 40, translated 'Want without pastures'.

<sup>36</sup> Molé, *op. cit.*, read *nyāz ī avāstr* 'la peste qui détruit les fourrages'.

<sup>37</sup> R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, p. 142, translated 'Want'.

<sup>38</sup> Molé, *op. cit.*, translated 'besoin' and 'peste'; Zaehner translated 'Need' and 'Want'.

<sup>39</sup> Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 179, 1728.

<sup>40</sup> *Zurvan*, p. 263 (text), 259 (translation).

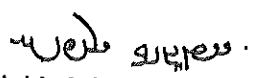
<sup>41</sup> Zaehner translates 'need'.

<sup>42</sup> Translating 'which seeks out need'.

4. *kaškanjīr* "ballista"

In a previous article I discussed the word *kaškanjīr* in the *Draxt ī Āsūrīg* § 41 (*Pahlavi Texts*, 112.7).<sup>43</sup> Since the word is of rare occurrence in Pahlavi, it may be worth giving reference to another passage containing the same word that has hitherto been overlooked. It appears in ZXA. p. 94, l. 21, where it is corruptly written as *kšl'ncyl* (2 MSS. *kšl'ncyl*), translating Av. *čakuš-* "Wurfhammer, Wurfaxt". Bartholomae<sup>44</sup> read the Pahlavi translation as *kišt i hanjil* without comment. Dhabhar<sup>45</sup> read it tentatively as *kišt-i hanjil* (?), identifying *kišt* with NP. *xišt* "dart", and taking *hanjil* from *hanj* "draw". He proposed translation as "cross-bow". It seems almost certain that *kšl'ncyl* is the corrupt form of *kšk'ncyl* (= *kaškanjīr*), a well established word in NP.

5. *stēndag-drafs* "with erect banners"

Kangdiz is mentioned in the *Dēnkard* (DKM. 805.9) with the epithet of . The first element of this compound is divided into two in the printed text of Madan. Both West<sup>46</sup> and Sanjana<sup>47</sup> read the first component *sad-gāndag*<sup>48</sup> and took the second as a separate word.<sup>49</sup> But in both Copenhagen and Rana manuscripts it is written *styndk*. The compound is to be read *stēndag-drafs*.<sup>50</sup>

This compound is attested in the *Zand ī Xurdaḡ Avistāg*<sup>51</sup> as the Pahlavi translation of Avestan *ərəδwō-drafsa-*, used in Yt. I. 11 as an epithet of *haēnā-* "enemy army", who were identified by

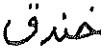
<sup>43</sup> A. Tafazzoli, *Do vāže-ye pārlī az draxt ī āsūrīg in Majalle-ye dāneshkade-ye adabiyāt-e Tehran*, XIV. 2 (1966), pp. 142-147.

<sup>44</sup> *Air. Wb.* 575.

<sup>45</sup> *Translation of Zand ī Khūrtak Avistāk*, p. 179, n. 3.

<sup>46</sup> West, *SBE.*, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV, p. 203.

<sup>47</sup> Sanjana, 17, ch. XV.11.

<sup>48</sup> Identifying *kandag* with Pers.  "moat".

<sup>49</sup> West's translation is: "Kangdiz the hundred-moated, wherein there are a myriad spears (*drafs*)".

<sup>50</sup> *stēndag* is a pres. participle from *stēn-* "raise".

<sup>51</sup> *Zand-ī Khūrtak Avistāk*, ed. E. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1927, p. 91, line 1. Translation of ZXA. 1963, p. 172.

the commentator of ZXA. with the Turks. In Vd. I. 6 the same Avestan compound occurs as an epithet of *bāxδī*- "Bactria" and it is rendered in Pahlavi by *afrāšt-drafs*<sup>52</sup> "with erect banners". It is an appropriate epithet for an "enemy army", a "fortified city" and a "castle".

6. \**gōfsišn* "fun"

The following sentence occurs in the *Andarz ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān* § 15 (*Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, p. 59, l. 11):

فوسسک ا کپ سوسک سوسک سوسک سوسک

The translators of this text have generally read the first three words of the sentence as *spas*<sup>53</sup> (thinking of NP. *sepas*), *pēš* and *pasox*. C. De Harlez translated: "devant et derrière (avant et après) répons avec mesure". He quoted in the footnote of his translation Peshotan B. Sanjana's reading as *spahar vīn*.<sup>54</sup> Tarapore translated: "think with moderation after and before a reply".<sup>55</sup> More recently Y. M. Nawabi has rendered: "pas va piš-e pāsox rā be-sanj".<sup>56</sup> R. C. Zaehner differently translated: "give a quick (?si' pas 'ut pēsh) answer (only) if it accords with moderation".<sup>57</sup>

A glance on the variants, recorded in the footnote of Jamasp-Asana's edition, proves that this sentence was chosen from the late and unreliable manuscripts and the correct reading of the old MK., as it is usually the case with this edition, lies in the footnote. The sentence according to this manuscript reads thus:<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *afrāstag-drafs* (*Zand-ī Vohāman Yasn*, VII. 7,14) and *ul-grift-drafs* (*ibid.* IV. 4; VII. 7).

<sup>53</sup> If this reading were to be accepted, the word should be transcribed as *sp-ḤL* i.e. 'sp-pas', and the first *p* should be considered as superfluous. The spelling would, however, be very odd.

<sup>54</sup> C. de Harlez, *Muséon* VI, 1887, p. 69 § 16.

<sup>55</sup> J. C. Tarapore, *Pahlavi Andarznāmak*, Bombay, 1933, p. 22 § 15.

<sup>56</sup> Y. M. Nawabi, *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz*, XI, 4, 1338, p. 519.

<sup>57</sup> *The Teachings of the Magi*, p. 102.

<sup>58</sup> The *waw* seems to be otiose, since it does not appear in any other passage quoted below.





*Andarz ī Ošnar* § 42 prohibited it: *kē gōfsišn*<sup>64</sup> *ud afsōsgarīh handēšēd dūr dāštan*: "To keep oneself aloof from him who thinks of making fun of others and of mockery". There seems to have been disagreement among the Zoroastrian moralists as to whether one should practise *gōfsišn* or not. Some like the compiler of the *Andarz ī Ādurbād* prescribed it but only with moderation. Others like the compiler of the *Andarz ī Ošnar* did not approve of it, obviously maintaining that it would eventually turn into "mockery".

#### 7. *kār* "people, others"

Old Persian *kāra*- "people, army"<sup>65</sup> seems to have survived in Pahlavi as the second element of the juxtaposed copulative substantive<sup>66</sup> *kas ud kār* "followers, relatives" (NP. *kas o kār*, Kurdish *kes o kar*), attested in the following passage: *tā xrad pad tan ī mard bē āmēzēd ud ravāg bavēd, gyān-abespār dušmen pad x<sup>v</sup>ēštan-iz afsārēnēd, čē sālārīh padīš hučāšmtar, kas uš kār pad farrah puštebānag*: "As long as wisdom mingles and runs in a person, he himself bridles his life-expending enemies; for leadership has good regards for him, and his followers support him on account of his fortune".<sup>67</sup>

In the following Pahlavi passages there occurs the word *kārān*, used always in the plural, signifying "other people, others":—

<sup>64</sup> E. Dhabhar, *AOŠD.*, Bombay, 1930, p. 19, translated 'gossip'.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Pashto *kōr* 'family', *kara* 'in, to the house'. Cf. G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, p. 33. E. Benveniste (*Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*, Paris, 1966, p. 86) has recognized OPers. *kāra*- in *Kārayanda* and *Kārayauza*, two Iranian personal names recorded in the Elamite tablets. W. B. Henning recognized this OPers. word in Sogd. *ʾzlkʾr* 'nobleman'. Cf. I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, p. 250 § 1124.

<sup>66</sup> For this formation see G. Lazard, *Grammaire*, p. 277. Pahlavi *kār ud bār* 'affairs' (Zd. Sp. 98.10; *Ayādgar ī Jāmāspīg*, ed. Messina, V. 4), NP. *kār o bār* can be regarded to have the same formation. Its first component is *kār* 'work'. I take its second element to mean 'dealing' or 'behaviour', derived from OIr. *\*bar*: 6) 'behandeln' (*Áir. Wb.* 935), Cf. Pahlavi *barišn* 'modes of conduct'.

<sup>67</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, p. 164. 6-9. This passage has been differently translated by M. F. Kanga, *Kaiser-i Hind Naoroze Number*, Bombay, 1953.

MX. 36.27 *kē ō zan ī kārān šavēd*: "He who goes to the wives of others".<sup>68</sup> Pazand has *kasqn* "others" for Pahlavi *kārān*.<sup>69</sup>

DKM. 560.18 (Sanjana, Vol. XII, p. 67) *ēn-iz ēdōn kū pad zan ī kārān<sup>70</sup> varanīg nē bavišn, čē dōšārm ī zan ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš bē kāhēd; x<sup>v</sup>ad-iz ō Jeh-marzih vardēd, kē pad zan ī kārān varanīg bavēd*: "This (is said), too, namely, one must not be lustful for the wives of others; because the love for one's own wife decreases; and he who is lustful for the wives of others, becomes indeed inclined to fornication". Cf. line 15 of the same page: *zan ud rahīg ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš dōst bavišn*: "love your wife and children".

DKM. 501.5 (Sanjana, Vol. XI, p. 29) *ušān ēn-iz āōn dāšt kū druj pad kadag ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš x<sup>v</sup>āyīšn, nē pad ān ī kārān, čē kē pad ān ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš x<sup>v</sup>āhēd vandēd, ka-š kāmēd tavān az kadag bē kardan, ud kē pad ān ī kārān x<sup>v</sup>āhēd nē vandēd*: "They considered this, too, namely, one should invite the Druj to one's own abode, not to the abodes of others; because whoso invites it to his own abode, will find it, and is able, whenever he wishes, to banish it, and he who invites it to the abodes of others, does not find it."

DKM. 502.1 (Sanjana, Vol. XI, p. 31) *kār ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš ēd bavēd \*kū abāg druj ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš kōšēd, nē abāg druj ī kārān; abar ardīg kāmāg bavēd kē abāg druj ī kārān kōšēd*: "One's duty is to struggle with one's own Druj, and not with the Druj of others; (since) whoso struggles with the Druj of others, becomes desirous of war."

DKM. 532.14 (Sanjana, Vol. XII, p. 3) *ušān ēn-iz āōn dāšt kū ka tavān ud vizirēd nē x<sup>v</sup>āyīšn čiš ī kārān,<sup>71</sup> čē kē pad čār čiš ī kārān x<sup>v</sup>āhēd ka (MSS. *kē*) pad a-čār <ih> x<sup>v</sup>āhēd nē vandēd*: "They considered this, too, namely, if one is able and can, one should not ask for a thing of others, since whoso having means asks for a thing of others, whenever he is helpless and asks (for it), does not find it."

DKM. 518.10 (Sanjana, Vol. XI, p. 73) *uš andar ēk-ē āhōg ī x<sup>v</sup>ēš nigerišn čand tavān pad virāyīšn abar tuaxšišn, uš andar ān ēk (MSS. *āhōg*) ī didigar vehih ī kārān nigerišn, pad x<sup>v</sup>ēš dārišn,*

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *az zan ī kasān pahrēxtār bāš*. (MX. 2. 50; ZXA. p. 219. 1.); *zan ī kasān* (A VN. 71. 3), *mard ī kasān* (ibid. 24. 3; 62. 4; 64. 4). Cf. *mard ī bēgānag* (ibid. 95. 3).

<sup>69</sup> West, *SBE.*, vol. XXIV, p. 73, translated 'a professional courtesan'.

<sup>70</sup> Sanjana has usually taken it to mean 'work'.

<sup>71</sup> Sanjana, *ibid.*, p. 4, translated *kārān* as 'Turanians'.

*padiš pad rāmišn bavišn, uš abar āmōxtišn*: “Firstly one should observe one’s own faults and should endeavour to correct oneself as much as one can, and secondly one should observe the virtues of others, adopt them, be happy of them and learn therefrom.”

DKM. 521.3 (Sanjana, Vol. XI. p. 79) *ušan ēn-iz āōn dāšt kū bē a<sup>w</sup>ēštan bē virāyēd ud pad vehīh ī-š ast kārān hāzēd, ēnyā-š kas nē \*āmōzēd* (MSS. *āmōxtēd*): “They considered this, too, namely, one should not teach anybody anything but refining himself and persuading others towards the virtues, which he possesses . . .”

In most of the above quoted passages *kārān* is used in contrast with *a<sup>w</sup>ēš* “one’s own”, and could equally be replaced by *kasān* “others”. We have two semantic developments of OPers. *kāra-* “people” namely, “followers, relatives”, as in the case of *kas ud kār*, and “other people, others”, as in the case of *kārān*.

1967

## ADDENDA

For *vanēgar* cf. DKM. 109.6, where *pen ī vanēgar* “stingy and prodigal (demons)” are used in contrast with *rād ī vizīdār-dahišn* “generous and discerningly bestowing (gods)”.

The word *\*gōfsišnīg* (written *wgww psšnyh* as two words in B.) or possibly *\*ni/viyōfsišnīg* occurs in DKM. 53.22-54-1 (B. 39.18) along with adjectives such as *frāy-xandag* “one who laughs too much”; *gōfsišnīh* is regarded to be one degree below *rāmišn* “happiness” and one degree above *afsōsgarīh* “mockery”. If *rāmišn* exceeds its measure (*paymān*) in a person, he first becomes *gōfsišnīg*, and if it exceeds even further, he becomes *afsōsgar*.

1970