

guzastag abdallāh (GA)

The accursed ‘Abdallāh

The Pārsīg treatise, *guzastag abdallāh* (GA), gives an account of a theological debate which took place between the Manichaean ‘Abdallāh and the high priest Ādarfarrōbay in the presence of the Arab Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-833 A.D.). It is said that the challenger was a native of Staxr in Persis and his name was Dēnohrmazd; and when he apostatized to Manichaeism, he chose the name ‘Abdallāh –in the manuscripts this name is written in a distorted form: *ابالیش /abāliš/*, *سلسلہ /salsalāh/*. The treatise deals with seven questions put forward by him to the high priest and the answers of Ādarfarrōbay – notice that in this text the word *tāzīg* means any Muslim.

We give below the transcription and translation of the treatise.¹

Translation

vizārišn

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It is said thus : The accursed ‘Abdallāh, the Manichaean², was from Staxr³. He [at first] was a soul-loving layman⁴. One day, hungry and thirsty, he came up to a fire-temple, [saying:] “I would take a Vāz⁵”. Over there, there was no one to administer the Vāz, and he came out [of the temple]. [In the way] a man in whose person wrath did abide, met with him, and said that: “Why do we have to do this and wish good to these people, when a man like you comes up [there] and they do not administer the Vāz to him, and hold him shabby, despicable and unrespected?”

¹ . The Pārsīg text in its original form or in Pāzand or Persian form is found in a number of manuscripts, K20, TD, SP 33, etc. It has been edited and also translated into French, English, and Persian.

A. Barthelemy, *Gujastak Abālish, Relation d'une conférence théologique présidée par le Calif Mámoun*, Paris, 1887.

Minochehr D. Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, « Gajastak Abālish », *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, 161-64.

Homi F. Chacha, *Gajastak Abālish*, Bombay, 1936.

ص. هدایت، گجسته ابالیش، تهران، ۱۳۱۸.

ابراهیم میرزای ناظر، ماتیکان گجستک ابالیش، تهران، ۱۳۷۵.

² . Pers. *zandīg* referring to Aram./ Syr. *zaddīqā* (ܙܕܕܝܩܐ) ‘righteous’, belonging to the (Manichaean) Elect.

³ . in Persis.

⁴ . *mard-ē veh* lit. ‘a good man’, here a Mazdayasnian.

⁵ . Pers. *vāz* ‘utterance ; grace ; a short prayer uttered in an undertone or suppressed tone’, *vāz griftan* ‘to recite a short prayer especially before meals’.

‘Abdallāh, at first, was Dēnohrmazd⁶ by name. His mind was then thrown into confusion, and wrath entered his person, and he stopped doing good [the worship of the Yazata], and in order to defeat in a debate all the learned men, those of the Good Religion, and those of the Muslims⁷, the Jews and the Christians of Persia⁸, he took the path leading to Baydād and to the court of Ma'mūn ‘Amir al-Mu'minīn⁹.

Ma'mūn ‘Amir al-Mu'minīn summoned all his learned men and also those of the Jews and the Christians. ‘Abdallāh [was there] to dispute. Then, by the order of ‘Amir al-Mu'minīn, Ādurfarrōbay son of Farroxzād, who was the leader of those of the Good Religion, the Qāḍī¹⁰, the Great Governor (i.e., the chancellor)¹¹, and Ma'mūn himself and ‘Abdallāh all sat together.

‘Abdallāh said: “O (Magian) priest, will you ask first, or shall I?”

The priest (Ādurfarrōbay) said: “Ask you that I may expound!”

1

The accursed ‘Abdallāh asked: “O priest, who has created water and fire?”

The priest answered: “Ahura Mazdā.”

‘Abdallāh said: “Then why do they smash and kill each other?”

The priest said: “Be aware and knowing that: there is not anything which Ahura Mazdā the Lord produced unto which the accursed Aṅra Mainyu, the deceitful, did not bring misfortune, unto the humidity of the water <coldness> and unto the <heat of> the fire burning <and dryness>, when they meet each other,

⁶ . Cf. the name dyn(‘w)hlmzdy on a seal of the Sāsānian times (Coll. Pirouzan, Tehran).

⁷ . Pers. *tāzīg* ‘Arab, Muslim’.

⁸ . Notice that Bagdād is called a part of Persia.

⁹ . Amir al-Mu'minīn ‘commander of the faithful’ \approx *amīr ī vurravišnīgān* on an Arab-Sasanian coin. R. Curiel, « Monnaies arabo-sasanides », *Revue numismatique*, 1965, 6/ 7, 321-328.

¹⁰ . Arab. قاضي ‘judge’. He was probably the Chief Judge of the Highest Court.

¹¹ . Pers. *vazurg framadār = bidaxš*.

the chaotic thing¹² which is with the fire encounters the water. This is like father and son, each of whom has an enemy whom they hold captive; when they meet each other, the enemy who is with the father strikes the son. It cannot be said that the father has struck his own son.”

And Ma'mūn 'Amir al-Mu'minīn approved that statement, considered it as a good [reply], and was greatly pleased with it.

2

Second, the accursed 'Abdallāh asked this: “Is it a greater sin when they smash the water and the burning fire than that when they carry the polluted matter (or, carrion)¹³ on to them and kill them immediately?¹⁴”

The priest said that: “The water and the fire are like a cow and a horse. When they bring out [the cow and the horse] of their own herds and carry them to a flock of small cattle, there they will find grass and fodder, and are taken care of. But when they carry carrion to them (water and fire), it is like carrying [the horse and the cow] to a pack of lions and wolves that will smash and kill and devour them.”

Ma'mūn 'Amir al-Mu'minīn approved.

3

Third, he asked this: “Is it Ahura Mazdā or Aṅra Mainyu who orders stroke and punishment unto men? For this that it is Aṅra Mainyu who inflicts smashing and killing and wound and punishment on men, then the kings who, for sins (/ crimes) committed by men, cut off their hands, and administer the bastinado¹⁵, they thus execute the command of Aṅra Mainyu. And this that it is Ahura Mazdā who inflicts punishment on men, by which logic¹⁶ ought to be believed, and if it is Ahura Mazdā who has prescribed the punishment, we then ought not [to present] complaints against Aṅra Mainyu.”

¹² . Pers. *druz* from Av. *druj-* f. ‘lie, disorder, chaos’.

¹³ . Pers. *nasāh* from Av. *nasuš*.

¹⁴ . Or : Is it a greater sin when they smash the burning fire <by> water than that when they carry the polluted matter (or, carrion) on to it and kill it immediately?

¹⁵ . *ped cōb zanend* lit. ‘they beat with a stick’.

¹⁶ . Pers. *xrad* ‘wisdom, philosophy’.

The priest said that: “This case is like that of a child whose finger is bit by a serpent, and the father, in order that the venom might not spread over the whole body and the child would not die, cuts off the finger of the child. The father is not to be considered as ignorant and enemy, but as wise and friend. In the same way, the (Magian) priests, the religious authorities and the judges, when men commit sins (/ crimes) and damage their souls and obstruct the way to the Best Existence, in order that their souls may not fall into the hands of the Daēva and the Druj, inflict material punishment on on them, they are not to be considered as ignorant people and as enemies but as friends and men of good will.”

Ma'mūn and Qāḍī approved with wonder.

4

Fourth, he asked this: “Is it cleaner to wash the hands with bull’s urine or with water? For, if the bull’s urine is cleaner, it is not proper to wash them again with water.”

The priest said: “When dung and other foul and filthy things are piled up in the house, do you yourselves clear them away or do you order your servants to carry them away?”

‘Abdallāh and Ma'mūn ’Amir al-Mu'minīn and Qāḍī said that: “Not at all! Any one will order his servants to cleanse.”

The priest said: “At night, when the Druj of contamination reaches the body, we first intend to take it away by the bull’s urine or with the sap of plants, and not with the pure and clean water. On this that contamination reaches the body of any person all are in agreement. For, the Jews, the Christians, and the Muslims, when they get up from bed, they do not pray to God nor do they perform the praise of angels (/ God)¹⁷, nor do they lay their hands on any food, nor do they start to work, unless they wash their hands [and face] before; and if they do thus [before washing their hands], they are considered as sinners and ignorant [people].”

Ma'mūn ’Amir al-Mu'minīn approved [the reply], considered it as a good [reply], and rejoiced so much.

5

¹⁷ . *stāyišn ī yazdān* ‘praise of the Yazata’.

Fifth, he asked this: “To pay homage to the Victorious Fire and ask of it a gift of grace [saying]: « Give unto me, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazdā, prompt felicity, prompt protection, prompt life! »¹⁸ while it is well-known that fire indeed is so weak, powerless, and poor that if one day man does not provide it with fuel, it will die (i.e., it will be extinguished), [then] to ask a gift of grace from that one who cannot [give it to oneself] is not discerningly.”

The priest said that: “This case is like a town in which there are all [kinds of] professions: blacksmith, shoemaker, carpenter, tailor, [etc.] The shoemaker requests the blacksmith, « O blacksmith, prepare my (hand-)tools so that I may make you sturdy footwear! » The shoemaker sews the shoes of the tailor, and the tailor prepares the garment of the shoemaker. Likewise, the fire, in its corporeality, needs us to obtain libation, incense and fuel; and we too, are in need of fire to smash, with its *mainyava* activity, the *mainyava* Druj such as illness, fever, peril, and wrath. Likewise are kings in need of subjects, and subjects in need of kings.”

Ma'mūn 'Amir al-Mu'minīn approved [the reply], considered it as a good [reply], and was greatly pleased with it.

6

Sixth, he asked this: “It is clear, evident, and everyone agrees that the bodies of the righteous men of upright conduct¹⁹ are cleaner and purer than those of the deceitful sinners. [But] you pretend that the corpses of the deceitful ones, the non-Aryans, the sinners are cleaner than those of the righteous. This is quite unreasonable and unacceptable.”

The priest said: “The analogy of this subject is not such as you think, for, when the deceitful ones die, the *druj* (‘lie, deceit’) which was with them in life will take [their souls] and will lead them to the bad existence (hell), near Aṅra Mainyu; and the corpses, now that there is no *druj* with them, will be clean. But when the righteous ones, those who are of upright conduct, pass away, the Holy Immortals (*aməša spənta*) will

¹⁸ . Cf. Ātaš Niyāyišn 10 (Y 62.4) *dāyā mē ātarš puθra ahurahe mazdā āsu x^v āθrəm āsu θrāitīm āsu jītīm . . . : day ō man, ātaš ī ohrmazd pus, tēz x^v ārīh tēz srāyišnīh tēz zāyišnīh (× žīšn) . . .*

¹⁹ . *frārōn-kunišnān*. Pers. *frārōn kunišn* ‘upright deed’ renders Av. *raθbyō.varšti* ‘regular action’ (Purs. 27).

take their souls, welcome them and carry them back before Ahura Mazdā the Lord; and the *druj* of contamination which was with their corpses will become imprisoned in the house of the body and will makes the corpse filthy. [This case is] like the enemies who have invaded a town, and if the king of that town falls into their hands, they will capture, bind and drag him near their sovereign; but if they cannot seize the sovereign of that town, they will enter this town in despair and will devastate the town.”

Ma'mūn 'Amir al-Mu'minīn, heard that statement, he quite approved it, and it seemed wonderful to him.

7

Seventh, he asked this: “What is the reason of tying on the *kustīg* (‘sacred girdle’) [at the waist]? If it is a pious deed to bind the *kustīg*, then the asses, camels, and horses who, day and night, have the girth tied round their bellies seven times, will have priority [over men] to go to paradise²⁰.”

The priest said: “It is not an unreasonable thing, but it seems unreasonable to the unknowing and ignorant who are unaware that they do not know the reason of a thing (a subject); and I will shed some light on the subject the reason of which is not clear to you. We say thus:

As we believe in two principles, we have indicated this [duality] on our body: The part of Ahura mazdā is light and *garō.dəmāna* (Paradise). So by analogy, whatever is above the upper half of the body – such as [the faculties of] speaking, hearing, seeing and smelling – is the seat of wisdom, breath-soul, *ahvā* (chest) and mind (heart), intelligence and wit (memory), innate wisdom and acquired wisdom, [just like] the seat of the Yazata and the Aməša Spənta; and if men consider their upper half [of the body] in the likeness of the Best [Existence], then it is taken as a principle and they consider it as Virtue. The lower half [of the body] is, such as stench and filth, the place of urine and excrement and stench, in the likeness of the den and place of Aṅra Mainyu and the Daēva; if [men] find clear that [the lower half is in the likeness of hell], then they take it as a principle and we look to it as Defect. The *kustīg* is the limit-fixer of bodies. It is called *kustīg* for the reason that it has drawn a distinction in the body between two *kust* (‘sides,

²⁰ . *vahišt* lit. ‘best’.

directions'). Likewise, you also draw a distinction between your place of sitting (living room) and the place of making water (lavatory). Then this [*kustīg*] is like a wall which stands in the middle.”

Ma'mūn 'Amir al-Mu'minīn and the Qāḍī approved [the reply], considered it as a good [reply], and was greatly pleased with it.

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Then they said to 'Abdallāh thus: “Go <away>! For you cannot defeat him in the dispute. Because the more you ask, the better and the clearer and the more logical will he expound.”

The deceitful 'Abdallāh became like a diminished and downcast and [tongue-]tied and defeated and stupefied person.

...

Completed with welfare and happiness and pleasure.

mādayān

Text

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ped nām ī yazdān ī kirbakkarān

ēdōn gōbend kū guzastag abdallāh ī zandīg az staxr būd.
mard-ē veh ruvāndōst būd. rōz-ē gursag tišnag ō ātašgāh ×frāz²¹
mad kū « vāz gīrem ». ānōh kas nē būd kē vāz dād hē. ud bērōn
bē mad. ud mard-ē kē xēšm ped tan mehmān būd, pedīrag āmad.
u-š guft kū : « cē²² abāyed ēn varzīdan, ud ped hān ī mardōm
nēkīh-kāmag būdan ka²³ mard-ē ī cōn tō frāz rased, u-š vāz-ē nē
dahend, ud sust ud x^vār ud anāzarm dārend ? »

abdallāh fradum dēnohrmazd²⁴ nām būd. u-š menišn višuft,
ud xēšm andar tan dvārist, u-š dast az kār kirbag [yazišn ī
yazdān kirdan] abāz dāšt. ō hāmōyēn dānāgān ī vehdēnān, ud

²¹ . 𐭪𐭮𐭥𐭥 K 20, 𐭮𐭥 TD.

²² . ×cim

²³ . 𐭪𐭮

²⁴ . 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥.

tāzīgagān ud jehūdagān ud tarsāgān ī pārs ēranzēnīdan <rāy> rāh
ō bagdād ud dar ī māmūn amīr muminīn grift. ud māmūn amīr
muminīn frmūd kū hāmōyēn dānāgān ī x^vēš ud hān-z ī
jehūdagān ud tarsāgān ō pēš x^vāst hend. ud abdallāh ēranzēnīd.
ud pas az framān ī amīr muminīn ādurfarrōbay ī farroxzādān,
cōn hudēnān pēšobāy būd, kāḏīg vazurg framadār ud x^vad
māmūn ud abdallāh āgenīn nišast hend, ud abdallāh guft kū :
« mōbed, nazdist tū pursē ayāb an ? »

mōbed guft kū : « tū purs dā an vizāram ! »

I

pursīd guzastag abdallāh kū : « mōbed, āb ud ātaš kē dād ? »

mōbed guft kū : « ohrmazd. »

abdallāh guft kū : « pas cim āgenīn zadār ud ōzadār²⁵
hend ? »

mōbed guft kū : « āgāh dānišnīg bed kū ēc-iš²⁶ nēst ī ohrmazd
x^vadāy frāz dād ud guzastag ahrmen ī durvand pedyārag aviš nē
burd. ō āb x^vēdīh <sardīh> ud ātaš <garmīh> sōzāgīh <ud
huškīh>²⁷. ka <ātaš ud āb> ō ham rasend, hān druz ī abāg ātaš ō
āb rased. humānāg pid ud pus kē-šān harv ēk dušmen-ē ast,
griftār dārend, ka ō ham rasend, hān dušmen ī abāg pidar ō pusar
zaned, nē šāyed guftan kū pid ō pusar ī x^vēš zanišn kird. »

ud māmūn amīr muminīn hān soxan pessannīd ud ped xūb
dāšt ud rāmišn ī vas pedīrift.

II

guzastag abdallāh [didīgar] ēn pursīd kū : « āb ātaš sōzāg ka-
šān zanend vināh vēš hē az hān kē-šān nasā aviš [barend] ped
gyāg bē x^vmīred (x^vōzanend)²⁸ ? »

mōbed guft kū : « āb ud ātaš humānāg cōn gāv-ē ayāb asp kē
az ramag ī x^vēš bēron bē āvarend, ō ramag ī gōspendān barend,
ud ānōh giyāh ud x^varišn vinded, pānāgīh aziš kunend, ud ka
nasā aviš barend cōn ka-š ō ramag ī šagrān ud gurgān, avēšān
zanend ud ōzanend ud bē ōbārend.

²⁵ . ܘܕܝܘܘܢ

²⁶ . ܘܕܝܘܘܢ /ēc-ciš/ or /ēc-iš/.

²⁷ . ܘܕܝܘܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܘܢ | ܘܕܝܘܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܘܢ | ܘܕܝܘܘܢ | ܘܕܝܘܘܢ

²⁸ . ܘܕܝܘܘܢ K20, ܘܕܝܘܘܢ TD. ܘܕܝܘܘܢ ?

māmūn amīr muminīn pessannīd.

III

sidīgar [ēn] pursīd kū : « zaxm ud pādīfrāh ī ped mardōm ohrmazd framāyed ayāb ahrmen ? cē ēn kū<-šān mardōm kē-šān ahrmen> zanišn ud ōzanišn ud zaxm ud pādīfrāh <kuned> ēg-išān x^vadāyān, ped vināh ī mardōmān kunend dast burrend ud ped cōb zanend, ēg-išān framān ī ahrmen kird baved. ēn kū-šān mardōm kē-šān ohrmazd pādīfrāh kuned ped kadām xrad sazed vurravistan, ud agar pādīfrāh ohrmazd framūd, ēg-umān az ahrmen nē must hē ! »

mōbed guft kū : « dādestān ēn ōn humānāg cōn frazend-ē ka angust-ē mār gazed, ud pidar ped ēn kū dā hamāg tan zahr nē rasād²⁹ ud frazend nē mīrād angust ī frazend brīned, pidar rāy nē <ped> adān ud dušmen abāyed dāštan, bē ped dānāg ud dōst. bē hamgōnag mōbedān ud dastvarān ud dādvarān ka x^vad mardōmān vināh kunend, ruvān rēš kunend, ud rāh pahlum oxān bannend, jādag ī hān rāy kū-šān ruvān ō dast ī dēvān druzān mā rasād, gētīgīhā hān pādīfrāh kunend, nē ped adān ud dušmen bē ped dōst ud nekīhkāmag abāyed dāštan. »

māmūn ud kāḏīg abd pessannīd.

IV

cahārum ēn pursīd kū : « dast ped gōmēz šustan pāktar kū ped āb ? cē agar gōmēz pāktar ast, didīgar bār ped āb nē sazed šustan.

mōbed guft kū : « ašmā ka andar xānag sargēn ud tis ī gennag ud rīman gird āyed x^vad bē bared ayāb ō bannagān framāyed dā bē barend ? »

abdallāh ud amīr muminīn ud kāḏīg guft kū : « nē ēc³⁰ tis ped hān ēvēnag, harv kas ō bannag[ān] framāyeⁿd x^vpālūdan³¹. »

mōbed guft kū : « amā ped šab ka druz ī nasrušt ō tan rased, nazdist ped hān gōmēz ayāb ped āb ī tantōhmag framāyem <bē> burdan, nē ō āb ī abēzag ī pāk. ped ēn kū nasrušt ped tan ī harv kas bē rased harv kas hamdādestān. cē jehūdān ud tarsāgān ud tāzīgān harv kas bāmdād ka az vistarg abar vigrāyed <kū dā>

²⁹ . لعموم

³⁰ . لسوع

³¹ . ۱۱۴۰۰۰۰ /pahrixtan/.

dast [ud rōy] nē šōyād³² namāz yazd ud stāyišn ī yazdān nē kuned, ud dast ō ēc-iš x^varišn ud kār nē gīred, ud agar kas gīred ped vināhgār ud adān dārend. »

māmūn amīr muminīn pessannīd ped xūb dāšt ud rāmišn ī vas <aziš> pedīrift.

V

panzum ēn porsīd kū : « namāz ō ātaš vahrām burdan ud āyaft aziš x^vāstan kū "dah ō man, ē ādur³³ ī ohrmazd pus tēz-x^vārīh ud tēz-srāyišnīh ud tēz-zīvišnīh ! » kū ka [ēn] āšnāg kū ātaš x^vad ēdōn nizār ud abādyāvand ud driyuš kū ka mardōm x^varišn ī ēzm rōz-ē nē dahed bē mīred ; az ōy kē ped x^vēštan nē šāyed, āyaft aziš x^vāstan nē vizīdārīhā. »

mōbed guft kū : « dādestān ī ēn ōn humānāg cōn šahrestān-ē hamāg pēšag andar hend, āhengar ud kafškar ud drūdgar ud darzīg ; ud kafškar az āhengar x^vāyišn kuned "āhengar", kū, "dastabzār ī man bē vīrāy dā mōzag ī tō xūb bē kunam !" ud kafškar mōzag ī darzīg dōzed, darzīg jāmag ī kafškar vīrāyed. hamgōnag ātaš ped tan(īk)kirdagīh niyāzumand ast bē ō amā ped vindādan ī zōhr ud bōy ud ēzm ; ud amāh-iz ped mēnōgīkkirdārīh bē zadan ī druz ī mēnōgīg cōn vēmārīh ud tab ud sīz ud xēšm niyāzīg hem ō ātaš. hamgōnag x^vadāyān niyāzumand ō bannagān, bannagān niyāzumand ō x^vadāyān. »

ud māmūn amīr muminīn pessannīd ped xūb dāšt ud rāmišn ī vas aziš pedīrift.

VI

šašum ēn porsīd kū : « ēn rōšn pēdāg ud³⁴ harv kas hamdādestān kū : tan ī ahlavān frārōn-kunišnān pāktar ud abēzagdar kū hān ī durvandān ud vināhgārān. ašmā gōbed kū nasā ī durvandān ud anērān ud vināhgārān pāktar kū hān ī ahlavān. ud ēn vas abēcim ud apedīriftag ast. »

mōbed guft kū : « hangōšīdag ī ēn tis nē ēdōn cōn ašmā handēšed. cē durvandān ka bē mīrend, hān druz ī ped zīndagīh abāg būd gīred ō dušox nayed nazdīk ī ahrmen, ud nasā ī druz abāg nēst, ā pāk. ud ahlavān frārōn-kunišnān ka bē viderend, ruvān amehrspondān gīrend, bē pedīrend, abāz ō pēš ī ohrmazd

³² . سلوا .

³³ . سهدا . ē N'R.

³⁴ . سع .

x^vadāy barend ; hān druz ī nasrušt ī abāg nasā būd, ped xānag ī tan bannmān³⁵ baved, ud hān nasā rīman kuned. humānāg dušmen-ē ka ō šahrestān-ē mad, ud agar-šān šahriyār ī hān šahrestān ō dast āyed, gīred ud banned³⁶ ud nazdīg ī šahriyār ī x^vēš bared ; ud agar-šān šahriyār ī hān šahrestān griftan nē tuvān, anumēdīhā³⁷ ped ham šahrestān andar šavend ud šahrestān avīrān kunend³⁸ . »

māmūn amīr muminīn ka hān soxan ašnūd vas pessannīd u-š abd sahist.

VII

haftum ēn pursīd kū : « kustīg bastan cim cē ? agar kustīg bastan kirbag baved, ēg³⁹ xarān ud uštarān ud aspān pēštar šavend ō vahišt kē šab ud rōz haft bār tang ped aškamb bast dārend ! »

mōbed guft kū : « abēcim tis nēst. ped adānān ud dušāgāhān abēcim sahed kē anāgāh hend kē cim ī tis nē dānend ; ud cim ī tis nēst ī rōšn, bē-t⁴⁰ an rōšn kunam : amāh ēdōn gōbem kū cōn-mān vurravišn⁴¹ ped do-bunēštīh, u-mān⁴² ped hān ī x^vēš tan bē pēdāgēnīd ēsted. bahr ī ohrmazd ast rōšnīh ud garōdmān, ped hangōšīdag ēdōn harv cē azabar nēmag ī tan cōn [gōbišn] ud ašnavišn [ud vēnišn] ud hambōyišn, gyāg ī xrad ud gyān ud ox ud menišn ud uš ud vīr ud āsn xrad ud gōšōsrūd xrad gyāg ī yazdān ud amehrspendān ; ka mardōm azabar nēmag ped hangōšīdag ī vahišt dārend, <ā-š> bunēšt <gīrend ud ped hunar abar nigerend> ...⁴³ ud azēr nēmag ast cōn gennagīh ud rīmanīh, gyāg ī (gō)mēzišn⁴⁴ ud sargēn ud gennagīh humānāg gilistag, ī gyāg ī ahrmen ud dēvān ; ud agar <mardōm azēr nēmag ped hangōšīdag ī dušox> ...⁴⁵ dārend, ā-š bunēšt gīrend, ud ped āhōg abar nigerend. ud kustīg sāmāngar ast ī tanān ; ēd rāy

³⁵ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 or bun mān, cf. ŠGV 13.62 bun ud mānišn.

³⁶ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 K20, 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 TD. Better 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥

³⁷ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

³⁸ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥

³⁹ . 𐭮𐭥

⁴⁰ . 𐭮𐭥 K 20, 𐭮𐭥 TD.

⁴¹ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥

⁴² . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 K 20, 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 TD.

⁴³ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 /nē cim-iš ast/.

⁴⁴ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥

⁴⁵ . 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 /kas āškārag/

kustīg x^vānend. cē-š tan ped do kust bē^x pēdāgēnīd⁴⁶ ēsted.
hamgōnag cōn ašmā, cōn gyāg ī nišast az hān ī gōmēz
pēdāgēned. ēg ēn <cōn> dīvār-ē ped meyān abar ēsted. »

māmūn amīr muminīn ud kāḏīg pessannīd ped xūb dāšt ud
rāmišn ī vas <aziš> pedīrift.

00

u-šān pas ō abdallāh guft kū : « <bē> šav ! cē-š⁴⁷ ēraxtan nē
tuvān ! cē harv cand vēš pursē nēktar ud rōšndar /ped/
cimīgdar⁴⁸ vizāred. »

durvand abdallāh kast⁴⁹ ud škast ud bast ud ēraxt [sturd]
humānāg būd.

anōšagravān bād ādurfarrōbay ī farroxzādān kē guzastag
abdallāh rāy škast ! ēdōn bād, ēdōndar bād ! ud varz ud x^varraḥ
abzāyād, ohrmazd ī x^vadāy rāy, abāg amehrspendān ud abārīg
yazdān. ud zad ud škast ud nifrīd bād ōy gennāg mēnōg durvand
ī adān ī dušdān ī frēftār, abāg dēvān ud druzān ud jādūgān ud
perīgān ud sāstārān [ud vināhgāran] !

frazaft ped drod šādīh rāmišn.

⁴⁶ . 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭮

⁴⁷ . 𐭪𐭮𐭫

⁴⁸ . 𐭪𐭮𐭫𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮 ped-cimdar or cimīgdar.

⁴⁹ . 𐭪𐭮𐭮