

The *zīndag ruwān* ceremony in historical perspective

Miguel Ángel Andrés-Toledo

Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto,
Toronto, Canada

miguelangel.andrestoledo@utoronto.ca

Abstract

The Pahlavi syntagm *zīndag ruwān* (NP *zende/zinde ravān*), literally “living soul / soul of the living”, designates a Zoroastrian funerary ceremony to be performed by priests on behalf of a person in his/her lifetime for the benefit of his/her own soul. It is particularly ordered by that person as a pre-emptive means to ensure that the funerary prayers will be recited, even if relatives are unable to do so, and to guarantee the protection of the god Sraoša in the passing away to the afterlife. In this contribution, I discuss the most relevant aspects of this Zoroastrian ceremony that can be extracted from the Pahlavi literature, and consider that its changes from older periods until modern times are due to diachronic, diatopic and socio-economic variables.

Keywords: Zoroastrianism, Pahlavi, History of Religion, Critical edition, Middle Persian

The Pahlavi syntagm *zīndag ruwān* (NP *zende/zinde ravān*), literally “living soul / soul of the living”, designates a Zoroastrian funerary ceremony to be performed by priests on behalf of a person in his/her lifetime for the benefit of his/her own soul. It is particularly ordered by that person as a pre-emptive means to ensure that the funerary prayers will be recited, even if relatives are unable to do so, and to guarantee the protection of the divine being Sraoša in the passing away to the afterlife.¹ In this contribution, I will discuss the most relevant aspects of this Zoroastrian ceremony that can be extracted from the Pahlavi literature, in order to determine whether or not it underwent significant changes between older periods and present times.

The antiquity of the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony is unknown. Darmesteter (1880: 132, n. 4, 165, n. 1) traced its performance back to the Avestan period, based on the Avestan texts of V 9.56 and 13.55. According to these passages, Ahura Mazda advises celebrating a ceremony dedicated to Sraoša or to the soul of a killed otter for three days and nights, in a case in which two particularly sinful

1 Sraoša is described in the Avestan sources, for instance in Y 57.25, as a protector of the soul against the attack of the demons in this and the afterlife, but his famous role as a judge of the soul in the otherworld is attested for the first time in the Pahlavi sources, for instance in GrBd 26.50, Dd 13.2–3, 30.10, MX 2.114–163, Šnš 17.3 and WZ 35.31, as Kreyenbroek (1985: 4, 133–5) observed.

persons were not killed: a heretic who performed a purification without being properly acquainted therewith (V 9.56), and the killer of that otter (V 13.55);² if these sinners are not punished, the country will suffer diseases and famine. Unlike Darmesteter, I think that these two passages have no connection with the *zīndag ruwān*, insofar as the function of the substitute ceremonies alluded to in them is to counterbalance the disastrous effect that such evil actions would bring to the country, not to secure the funerary rites of a living person.

Other Old and Young Avestan texts, embedded in the long liturgy of the Yasna, do attest to the existence of worship or sacrifices (Av. *yaz-*) for the sake of one's soul while still alive, as Lommel (1930: 169–170), Shaked (1990: 17–19) and Panaino (2004: 66–70; 2009: 335) have already noted.³ Nevertheless, we cannot ascertain whether the texts containing those attestations were recited in a specific *zīndag ruwān* ceremony, as we know it from later sources, or in any other funerary ritual with a similar function during the Avestan period.

According to de Menasce (1964: 60), Boyce (1968: 274) and Panaino (2009: 334–5), the seed of this ceremony may be rooted in the Sasanian (and post-Sasanian) practice of the pious foundations, established by individuals to finance ceremonies or charitable acts for the benefit of the donor's soul. Also according to Panaino (2009: 334–5), who related this to the aforementioned Avestan passages, the foundation of a fire by Šābuhr I (reigning 241–272 AD) for the sake of his soul (Phl. *pad amāh ruwān*, Parth. *pad amā arwān* “for our soul” in ŠKZ 33)⁴ is to be contextualized in the frame not only of the dynastic cults, but also of the rites for one's soul while still alive.

Other kings and members of the Sasanian elites continued this custom of pious foundations for the souls of both living and departed persons, as demonstrated, for instance, by the inscription on the bridge built by Mihr Narseh “for his own soul” (Phl. *ruwān ī xwēš ray*) in Firuzābād in the fifth century.⁵ This tradition was not exclusive to the highest ranks of Sasanian society, but involved ordinary people as well, as shown by the (*Mādayān ī*) *Hazār dādestān* (MHD) “(Book of) Thousand sentences”, one of our main Pahlavi legal sources, compiled by Farroxmard ī Wahrāmān in the early seventh century (Macuch 1993: 9–10). Among the extensive casuistry of this legal text, we find cases of pious foundations established by a living person at his/her own expense to guarantee the Zoroastrian religious services for the soul after death.⁶ As Macuch (1991: 380; 1994: 177; 2009: 28) clearly explains, the *Hazār dādestān* divides property into three categories:

2 For V 13.55, see Andrés-Toledo (2016: 307).

3 OAv. *iθā. ā. yazamaidē. gəuš. uruuānəmcā. tašānəmcā. ahmākəng. āa. urunō* “In this way we now sacrifice to the cow's soul and (her) maker. Now (we sacrifice to) our own souls” in Y 39.1 (Hintze 2007: 257–66); YAv. *haom. uruuānəm. yazamaide* “we sacrifice to (our) own soul” in Y 59.28 and 71.18; YAv. *māuuōiia. hauuāi. urune. zbaiiemī. yazamadaēca* “I invoke my own soul and we sacrifice to it” in Y 71.11; YAv. *yazaitē. haom. uruuānəm* “he sacrifices to (his) own soul” in Yt 6.4 (= Ny 1.9).

4 See Huyse (1999: 1.46, 2.104–9) and Macuch (1994: 174; 2004: 191–2; 2009: 33–4).

5 See Henning (1954: 101), Boyce (1968: 283) and Macuch (1993: 260; 1994: 167–8; 2004: 189–90).

6 The concrete passages were discussed by Bartholomae (1913: 369–73), de Menasce (1964: 14–18, 59–62), Boyce (1968: 274–86) and Macuch (1993: 252–62).

- 1) with right of possession (Phl. *pad xwēšīh*);
- 2) in trusteeship (Phl. *pad stūrīh*);
- 3) for the preservation of the soul (Phl. *pad ruwān dāštan*).

If such a property was assigned by a testator for his/her soul (Phl. *ruwān rāy*), he/she could moreover specify that it should be used either “for a Yasna (ceremony) to the soul”⁷ (Phl. *ruwān yazišn rāy*) for him/herself or a third person, or for charitable acts to benefit the soul as well as the community, such as the construction of a bridge, helping the poor, etc. The best example of the former is discussed in MHD 15 [34.1–36.2] (Macuch 1993: 252–62):

34.1 *dar ī yazišn nihādag ī abar xīr ī ātaxš ud xwāstag ī ruwān nihād paydāg kard*

The chapter of the foundation of a Yasna (ceremony), about the property of the fire, and the property that has been established as a foundation for the soul.

(...)

35.9–11. *ka kard kū az bar ud waxt ī az xwāstag māh frawardīn pad ruwān ī farrox ud māh tīr pad ruwān ī mihrēn ēn yazišn ud har sāl pad ān rōz ka man frazām bawēd yazišn cand šāyēd ē kunēd*

If (the testator) appointed: “From the earnings and the interest from that property, one must perform this Yasna (ceremony) on the month Frawardīn for Farrox’s soul and on the month Tīr for Mihrēn’s soul, and as many Yasna (ceremonies) as one can each year on the day when my end will come”,

35.11–12. *ka waxt and nē bawēd cand ān yazišn ham-ēwēn aziš kardan šāyēd ān kunišn ī ka kunēd kirbag wēš bawēd*

if the interest does not suffice to allow performing that Yasna (ceremony) similarly to it, one must perform that which results in a more meritorious deed when one performs it.

35.11–14. *juttar nē bawēd cīyōn ka kunēd kū māh ādur pad ruwān ī man wisparad-ē rōz ohrmazd ud yašt-ē rōz wahman ud drōn-ē rōz ardwahišt ē yazēd*

It is not otherwise if he appoints: “In the month of Ādur, one must celebrate for my soul one Wisparad (ceremony) on the day Ohrmazd, one Yašt/Yasna (ceremony) on the day Wahman, and a Drōn (ceremony) on the day Ardwahišt.”⁸

7 For the Yasna, one of the Zoroastrian long liturgies, see Kotwal and Boyd (1991) and Stausberg (2004: 306–35).

8 For the Wisparad, one of the Zoroastrian long liturgies which consists of the intercalation of certain texts and ritual actions into the Yasna ceremony, see Stausberg (2004: 335–7).

35.14–16. *ud agar ka wisparad yazihēd yašt ud drōn kardan nē šāyēd pad ēn cim kū abāz ō saxwan ud framān ī pas ēstād wisparad kam nē yazišn*

And whenever the Wisparad is celebrated, if one cannot perform the Yašt/Yasna and Drōn (ceremonies), for the reason that the last will and testament is in force, the Wisparad is not to be celebrated less.

35.16–17. *ud yazišn ī pad ruwān ī mard mard nihēd ud kunēd pad-iz ruwān ī xwēš nihād ud kard bawēd*

And the Yasna (ceremony) that a man founds and performs for (another) man's soul will be founded and performed for his own soul as well.

35.17–36.1. *ka kunēd kū rōz ohrmazd aštād-ē kē xšnūman ohrmazd xwadāy ud rōz srōš yašt-ē xšnūman srōš ē yazēd*

If he appoints: “On the day Ohrmazd, one must celebrate one Aštād (ceremony) that has the dedication to Ohrmazd the Lord, and on the day Srōš one Yašt/Yasna (ceremony) with the dedication to Srōš”,

36.1. *ka ēk šāyēd kardan aštād kardan*

if only one can be performed, (then one must) perform the Aštād.

This passage confirms that the earnings and interest of a property endowed by a person as a pious foundation will guarantee that different ceremonies, including the Wisparad, Yašt, Yasna and Drōn, will be performed on the months and days appointed by the testator. In case that the interest is sufficient to perform only one, the first ceremony appointed in the testament will be preferred. Because this text does not explicitly mention that the ceremonies must be performed after the testator's death, we might infer that they may be done during his lifetime; if so, this text would attest to the practice of the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony in the seventh century. Nevertheless, the probability that these ceremonies must be performed after the testator's death is much higher, insofar as the purpose of this testament is to finance the funerary ceremonies of the testator with the earnings and interest to be gained out of that endowed property towards the future. Moreover, as Macuch (2004: 190) rightly pointed out, this kind of pious foundation not only contributed to the salvation of the founder's soul, but also provided a future income for the descendants and trustees in charge of the foundation. Thus, this testament serves, in a certain way, as a funeral insurance administered by (an)other appointed person(s), but cannot be considered proof of the performance of a *zīndag ruwān* ceremony in the seventh century.

For the Drōn ceremony, performed to consecrate the sacrificial bread or *drōn* and other edible elements of the ritual for several different purposes, including funerary rites, see Karanjia (2004; 2010) and Stausberg (2004: 349–58).

If we discard the passage of the *Hazār dādestān* discussed before, the first explicit attestations to the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony appear in two texts of Classical Pahlavi literature from the ninth century AD: *Mādayān ī Jōšt ī Friyān* (MJF) and *Dādestān ī dēnīg* (Dd).⁹ The former includes just a brief mention of this ceremony in MJF 8.1–2:¹⁰

8.1. *haštom frašn <ī> ēn pūrsīd kū kadām ān zīndag mardōm kē astwihād wēnēd <ud> mīrēd u-š ēdōn kāmag kū abāz ō zīndag šawēd ud did-iz astwihād wēnēd ud bē mīrēd u-š xwār sahēd*

8.1. The eighth riddle he asked (is) this: “Which is that living man who sees Astwihād, dies and so wishes he would go back to life, and sees Astwihād once again, dies and it seems easy to him?”

8.2. *jōšt ī friyān guft kū zīndagān pad škōh bawāš mar ī druwand <ī> sāstār ud murdagān ō dušox ōft cē ān mardōm ast kē yašt nē kard ēstēd parāhōm nē xwārīd ēstēd ud didīgar ān mardōm <ī> ō gāh ī zanān mad ēstēd u-š zan nē kard ēstēd ud sidīgar ān mardōm kē zīndag ruwān nē yašt ēstēd ud ahlawdād nē dād ēstēd ud yazišn ī yazdān nē kard ēstēd u-š ahlawdād ō wehān mardōman u-š guft kū daham ud nē dād ēstēd u-š mīrēd kāmag ōwōn kū abāz zīndag šawam ud did-iz mīrēd ud astwihād wēnēd u-š xwār sahēd*

8.2. Jōšt ī Friyān said: “May you be in misery whilst alive, scoundrel, liar, tyrant, and fall into Hell when dead, because that man is the one who did not perform the Yašt/Yasna, did not consume the *parāhōm*. The second (is) that man who frequented the bed of women but wed no woman. And the third (is) that man who did not have the *zīndag ruwān* (ceremony) celebrated and gave no pious gift (therefore); did not perform the Yasna to the deities, and as for the pious gift to the good people he said ‘I will give it’, but did not give it. And (when) he dies so he wishes he would go back to life, and dies once again, and sees Astwihād, and it seems easy to him.”

According to Jōšt ī Friyān’s answer to the eighth riddle posed by the wizard Axt in this Pahlavi text, when a man who did not fulfil his duties in life dies and meets the demon of death, Astwihād, he wishes he would go back to life in order to perform them; in such a case, the man could die and again meet that demon, but this would be no problem for his soul because of having fulfilled his duties. One of them, according to this passage, is to have the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony celebrated with a Yasna to the deities (Phl. *yazišn ī yazdān*) and to give a pious gift (Phl. *ahlawdād*) in the context of that ceremony, not only for the benefit of his own soul, but also to secure the protection of Sraoša/Srōš against Astwihād and other demons in the afterlife.

9 See Jaafari-Dehaghi (1987; 1998).

10 In the edition by Cantera and Andrés-Toledo (2006: 89); 2.41–48 in Haug and West (1872: 217–219, 253–254), Jaafari-Dehaghi (1987: 49) and Shaked (1990: 26–27). cf. Weinreich (1992: 60). The English translation is mine.

Apart from this brief mention, the most extensive exposition of the performance of the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony and its religious meaning in the Pahlavi literature is found in Manuščihr's *Dādestān ī dēnīg* 80. I present here a critical edition of the Pahlavi text with my English translation:¹¹

80.1. 80-wm pwrššn' W p'shw;' ZK y pwršyt' AYK ZNE 'zywndk' lwb'n' cym ME AYT' W ME l'd +plmwn'¹² 'p'yt'

haštādom pursišn ud passox ān ī pursīd kū ēn zīndag ruwān cim cē ast ud cē rāy framūdan abāyēd

As regards the eightieth question and reply, this (is) what you asked: “What is the reason of the *zīndag ruwān* (ceremony) and why must one order it?

80.2. AP-š ME plm'yt' ADYN'-š cygwn 'p'yt' plmwn' cygwn ŠPYL YHWWN-yt' AMT YDBHWN-d AP-š krpk' y ms swtyh'¹³ ME AYT'

u-š cē framāyēd ēg-iš cīyōn abāyēd framūdan cīyōn weh bawēd ka yazēnd u-š kirbag ī meh-sūdīh cē ast

And whenever one orders it, how then must one order it? How is it the best way to celebrate it? And what is the great profit of this meritorious deed?”

80.3. p'shw' HNA AYK nwk +wtl't'n' ZK <y> 3 YWM BYN 'm'l MN yčšn' plystšn' '-wcylyšnyk' cygwn nwk z'tk'n-c BYN ZK tlnkyh MN plwlšn' <W> p'sp'nyh 'pyl '-wcylyšnyktl'¹⁴

passox ēd kū nōg-widardān ān <ī> sē rōz andar āmār az yazišn paristišn a-wizīrišnīg cīyōn nōg-zādagān-iz andar ān tarunagīh az parwarišn <ud> pāsbānīh abēr a-wizīrišnīgtar

This (is) the reply: Worshipping with the Yasna (ceremony) those who have recently passed away within the period of three days (is) unavoidable, as nourishing and protecting the new-born too in their infancy (is) even much more unavoidable.

11 cf. West (1882: 237–42), Anklesaria (1958: 157–9) and the manuscripts K35 (Christensen 1934; 190r.11–192r.4), TD4 (Jamasp Asa and Nawabi 1978; 368.16–373.6) and D7 (Jamasp Asa and Nawabi 1976; 336.15–342.2). On the manuscripts of the Dd and its *stemma codicum*, see West (1882: xv–xix), Anklesaria (1958: 7–48) and Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998: 26–8).

12 W] TD4 (om.); pwršyt'] TD4 (' add.); zywndk'] zywndkyh TD4; lwb'n'] lwb'n K35 D7; AYT'] AYT K35 TD4 l'd] LA K35; plmwn'] plm'yt' K35 D7; plm'yt' TD4.

13 cygwn] TD4 (om.); plmwn'] plm'yt' TD4; YHWWN-yt'] YHWWN-yt TD4; krpk'] krpk K35 D7; y] TD4 (y ms om.); D7 (om.); swtyh] swt'yh D7.

14 nwk] TD4 (om.); wtl't'n'] wtl't'n' omn.; YWM] K35 D7 (y add.); '-wcylyšnyk'] '-wcylyšn' ZK TD4; '-wcylyšnyk D7; z'tk'n-c] z't'n-c TD4; '-wcylyšnyktl'] '-wcylyšnyktl' K35; '-wcylyšnt'tl' TD4.

80.4. ZK y 'wcyłšnykycšn'y PWN stwš l' d GBRA ZK y NPŠE ABY-tl W ZK y⁺ p' thš' dyh' NYŠE W ZK y' pwl'n' dyk prznd W ZK y' -wštyk' bndk' l' d PWN BRA-wtyłšnyh ZK y 3 YWM stwš⁺ yčšnyh plmwt'n' pycw' nyk'¹⁵

ān ī a-wizīrīšnīg yazišn ī pad stōš rāy mard ān ī xwēš pidar ud ān ī pādixšāyīhā zan ud ān ī aburnāyīg frazand <ud> ān ī a-waštīg bandag rāy pad bē-widerīšnīh ān ī sē rōz stōš yazišnīh framūdan frēzwānīg

Because of the Yasna (ceremony) in the *stōš* (being) unavoidable,¹⁶ for a man (it is) mandatory to order that ceremony of the three days' *stōš* on behalf of his father, his authorized wife, his underage child(ren) and his non-converted servant(s) on their passing away.

80.5. ZNE-c gwpt' YKOYMWN-yt AYK-š stwš YDBHWN-tn' LA š' yt' 'ywp' LA YDBHWN-d AHL AMT' 'k'syh YHMTWN-yt' 3 YWM PWN ZK⁺ gwhlyk'¹⁷ stwš yčšn'

ēn-iz guft ēstēd kū-š stōš yaštan nē šāyēd ayāb nē yazēnd pas ka āgāhīh rasēd sē rōz pad ān gōhrīg stōš yazišn

And this has been said: “(If) they cannot celebrate the *stōš* or they do not celebrate it, the *stōš* is (still) to be celebrated for three days as a substitute after the information (of the passing away) arrives,

80.6. ME krpk' y yčšn' ZY-š NPŠE plmwt' 'ywp'-š hndlcynyt' 'ywp'-š PWN d' t' ptš hm-d' tst' n' AYT' AMT-c š' yt' 'ytwn' y AHL MN ZK BRA l' dynhyt' hm' y AMT' BRA OL lwb' kyh YHMTWN-yt' ADYN' -š BYN stwš PWN 'm' l' wbs plyd' tyt' AP-š BRA OL plyd' t' YHMTWN-yt'¹⁸

cē kirbag ī yazišn ī-š xwēš framūd ayāb-iš handarzēnūd ayāb-iš pad dād padīš ham-dādestān ast ka-z šāyēd ēdōn ī pas az ān bē rāyēnīhēd hamē ka bē ō rawāgīh rasēd ēg-iš andar stōš pad āmār awiš frayādēd u-š bē ō frayād rasēd

- 15 ZK] TD4 D7 (' praem.); y¹] K35 D7 (om.); 'wcyłšnyk] omn. (y add.); y²] TD4 D7 (om.); y³] K35 (om.); D7 W; NPŠE] K35 (' add.); NYŠE TD4; p' thš' dyh'] p' thš' yh' omn.; W¹] TD4 (om.); 'pwl'n' dyk] 'pwl'n' yk' K35; 'pln' dyk' TD4; W²] K35 TD4 (om.); '-wštyk] '-wšt'yk D7; bndk'] bwndk TD4 D7; BRA-wtyłšnyh] K35 (' add.); TD4 (s. l. ' ante -yh add.); y⁴] K35 D7 (om.); yčšnyh] yčšn'yh omn.; plmwt'n] plmwt'n K35; pycw' nyk'] pycw' nyk K35 D7.
- 16 The Pahlavi term *stōš* designates a set of ceremonies performed during the first three days after someone's death for the benefit of his/her soul in honour of Srōš. See Modi (1922: 434) and Bajan (1991).
- 17 YKOYMWN-yt] ystyt' K35 D7; YDBHWN-tn'] YDBHWN-tn K35 D7; LA] K35 (om.); 'ywp'] 'ywp K35 TD4; AHL] D7 (' praem.); AMT'] AMT K35 TD4; gwhlyk'] gwhlyk' K35 TD4; gwhlyk' D7.
- 18 y¹] D7 (om.); NPŠE] BNPŠE TD4 D7; plmwt'] TD4 (' add.); 'ywp'-š¹] 'ywp'-š TD4 D7; 'ywp'-š²] 'ywp'-š TD4 D7; hm-d' tst' n'] K35 (s. l. sec. -t- scr.); hm-d' tst' n' TD4; y²] TD4 (om.); ZK] TD4 (y add.); AMT'] AMT TD4; lwb' kyh] TD4 (y add.); plyd' t'] TD4 (' y add.); YHMTWN-yt'] YHMTWN-yt TD4 (s. l.).

because the meritorious deed of the Yasna (ceremony) that he himself ordered, or entrusted, or founded therefore has the same value,¹⁹ even if it is thus possible that it will be arranged thereafter". Whenever (the information of the passing away) spreads, then it helps to calculate it in terms of the *stōš*, and it will come to one's assistance (as a merit after death).²⁰

80.7. AMT ZK y AHL MN ZK lwb'kyhyt' PWN 'm'l y stwš BRA OL plyd't' W hdyb'lyh YHMTWN-yt' ZK y pyš MN ZK ZY-š BNPŠE' l' dnynt' W BYN ZK g's 'plyd'tyh't' 'dmytyktl W 'ywlyktl AYT²¹

ka ān ī pas az ān rawāgīhēd pad āmār ī stōš bē ō frayād ud ayārīh rasēd ān ī pēš az ān ī-š xwad rāyēnīd ud andar ān gāh frayādīhād ēmēdīgtar ud ēwarīgtar ast

Although that which is spread thereafter, as regards the calculation for the *stōš*, will come to one's assistance and help, that which oneself arranged before and will be assisting in that *gāh* is to be trusted more and (is) more certain.

80.8. wcyhyt'lyh y QDM NPŠE lwb'n W bym y MN ZK l'd AYK HT-š'n' przd'n' stwš LA plm'dynd 'ywp BYN ZK hng'm yštn' LA š'yt' BYN NPŠE zywndkyh W c'lk'wmndyh y NPŠE W 'k'syh' W 'pygwm'nyh zywndkyh stwš <y> d'tk' <y> NPŠE W zywndk' lwb'n plmwtn' W ZK-c y PWN plc'm l'dynytn²² 'p'yt' hndlcynytn'

wizīhīdārīh ī abar xwēš ruwān ud bīm ī az ān rāy kū agar-išān frazandān stōš nē framāyēnd ayāb andar ān hangām yaštan nē šāyēd andar xwēš zīndagīh ud cāragōmandīh ī xwēš ud āgāhīhā ud abēgumānīh zīndagīh stōš <ī> dādag <ī> xwēš ud zīndag ruwān framūdan ud ān-iz ī pad frazām rāyēnīdan abāyēd handarzēnīdan

Because of the separation concerning one's own soul and the fear thereof, in case their children will not order the *stōš* or they cannot celebrate it at that time, he must order during his life(time), with his own resources, consciously

19 Phl. *ham-dādestān* means literally "(sharing) the same opinion/sentence".

20 For the eschatological meaning of Phl. *bē ō frayād rasēd* "it comes to one's assistance", cf. for instance AWN 1.27 (Haug and West 1872: 6, 147; Vahman 1986: 80–81, 192), MX 22.6 (West 1871: 28, 155; 1885: 54; Anklesaria 1913: 79), MJF 1.2 (Jaafari-Dehaghi 1987: 34–5; Weinreich 1992: 52–3; Cantera and Andrés-Toledo 2006: 84), PRDd 24.2 (Williams 1990: 1.124–5, 2.51) and RĒA 17.32 (Safa-Isfēhani 1980:123–4).

21 PWN] D7 (ZK y add.); y] K35 (om.); plyd't'] plyd't K35; W¹] K35 (om.); TD4 (y add.); ZK] K35 (om.); BNPŠE'] BNPŠE TD4 D7; l'dynynt'] l'dynynt K35; l'dyn'yhyt TD4; plyd'tyh't'] plyd'th't' K35; plyd'tyht' TD4; plyd't h't' D7; W²] K35 (om.); 'ywlyktl] 'ywlyktl K35; AYT'] AYT TD4 D7.

22 W¹] K35 D7 (om.); bym] b'ym T46; ZK¹] TD4 (om.); HT-š'n'] HT-š'n' TD4; HT-š'n' D7; przd'n'] prznd'n K35; pr'zd'n' TD4; plm'dynd] plm'dynd TD4; ZK²] TD4 (y add.); yštn'] TD4 (s. l.); š'yt'] š'yt TD4; zywndkyh] zyndkyh D7; c'lk'wmndyh] c'lk'wmndyh K35; c'lk'wmndyh TD4; W²] TD4 (om.); W³] TD4 (om.); 'pygwm'nyh] omn. (W add.); d'tk'] d'tk' TD4 (W add.); d'tk D7; W⁴] TD4 (om.); zywndk'] zywndk K35, D7 (y add.); W⁵] D7 (om.); plc'm] TD4 (s. l. p- scr.); l'dynytn'] l'dynytn TD4.

and with no doubt, the established *stōš* for his life by himself, and the *zīndag ruwān* (ceremony), and also entrust him who must arrange it in the end.

80.9. W AMT KRA 2 l' dnynt' 'pzw'n' y krpk' W bwlcšn' AMT ZK plc' m LA š' yt' 'ywp LA lwb' kyhyt' W ZK y pyš krpk' plyd' tšnyk' AP-š ptš bwcšnyk' BYN-c hwt' štl y' m +YHWWN-yt'²³

ud ka har dō rāyēnīd abzōn ī kirbag ud burzišn ka ān frazām nē šāyēd ayāb nē rawāgīhēd ud ān ī pēš kirbag frayādišnīg u-š padīš bōzišnīg andar-iz hutāštтар jām bawēd

And if both things were arranged, (there is) increase of meritorious deeds and honour, (rather than) if in the end it cannot (be arranged) or is not spread, and the meritorious deed (done) before will provide assistance (after death) and salvation therewith, and he will be (clad) in a more beautifully made garment.

80.10. LBA W twb' nyk' przd'n' GBRA MNW-š NPŠE l' d YWM y plc' m yčšn' y stwš KBD-c krpk' lwb' kyh 'ywl MDMEN-st' AP-š AHRN-c' pl' l' styh' bwt W l' s OL 'pygwm' nyh l' d zywndk' lwb' n' l' dnynt' W YWM y plc' m l' d stwš W 'p' ryk-c krpkyh' BRA OL przd'n' l' dnynt' hndlcynyt' LWTE ZK yzd' n' PWN pylwecglyh W dyn' GDE <W> BYN hwt' štl y' m <W> yšt' W yčšn' kl KBD HWE-d²⁴

wuzurg ud tuwānīg frazandān mard kē-š xwēš rāy rōz ī frazām yazišn ī stōš was-iz kirbag rawāgīh ēwar sahist u-š anī-z frārāstīhā būd ud rāh ō abē-gumānīh rāy zīndag ruwān rāyēnīd ud rōz ī frazām rāy stōš ud abārīg-iz kirbagīhā bē ō frazandān rāyēnīd handarzēnīd abāg ān yazdān pad pērōzgarīh ud dēn xwarrah <ud> andar hutāštтар jām <ud> yašt ud yazišngar was hēnd

As for the man with great and powerful children, to whom the Yasna (ceremony) of the *stōš* on his own behalf at the last day and the spread of its many meritorious deeds seemed certain, (who) also took other precautions, arranged the *zīndag ruwān* (ceremony) as a way to be sure, and entrusted his children to arrange for his last day the *stōš* and also other meritorious deeds, the deities in victory and the glory of the religion (will be) with him, (he will

- 23 W¹] TD4 (om.); l' dnynt'] TD4 D7 (' add.); 'pzw'n'] 'pzw'n K35; krpk'] krpk TD4 D7; bwlcšn'] bwlcšn K35; ZK] TD4 D7 (y add.); W²] TD4 D7 (om.); y] K35 D7 (om.); krpk'] krpk'yh TD4; krpkyh D7; plyd' tšnyk'] plyd' tšnyk D7; bwcšnyk'] bwcšnyk TD4 D7; YHWWN-yt'] bwt' omn. (TD4 ' add.).
- 24 LBA] K35 (lwb' k praem. et del.); L'BA TD4; W¹] K35 D7 (om.); twb' nyk'] twb' nyk K35; przd'n¹] przd'n K35; TD4 D7 (y add.); krpk'] krpk D7; l' d] LA TD4; 'ywl] 'ytwn' TD4; MDMEN-st'] MDMEN'-st' K35; AHRN-c'] AHRN-c K35 TD4; l' s] D7 (y add.); zywndk'] zywndk D7; lwb' n'] lwb' n K35 D7; l' dnynt'] l' dnynt K35; W²] TD4 (om.); krpkyh'] krpk'yh' K35; TD4 (' praem.); przd'n²] przd'n K35; TD4 (y add.); l' dnynt'] l' dnynt K35; hndlcynyt'] hndlcyt' D7; ZK] TD4 D7 (y add.); yzd' n'] yzd' n K35 D7; W³] TD4 (om.); dyn'] TD4 (y add.); y' m] TD4 (y add.); yšt'] štr TD4; yčšn' kl] yčšnkykl K35; HWE-d] HWE-nd TD4.

be clad) in a more beautifully made garment, and the performers of Yašt and Yasna (ceremonies) will be many.²⁵

80.11. AHL-c MN ŠDYA- 'n' kwhššn' 'wgnw' AYT' AYK YWM ZY-š wtylšn' MN 'p'ty' pyh-1 y BRA OL ptm' nk' mt' yčšn W yšt' KRYTWN-yhyt' hm' k yčšngl' n y štr' yštn' gwm' nyk' BRA bwt' W OD BRA OL 'h' wšt' n OZLWN-yt' W yšt' wyl' st' hm' k yčšn' krtn' LA š' yt' W PWN ZK l' s' pyt' kyhyt' LBA swt' y plyd' tšnykyh ZY-š MN ZK y zywndk'²⁶ lwb' n yštn'

pas-iz az dēwān kōxšišn ōwōn ast kū rōz ī-š wīderišn az a-pādyābīh-ē ī bē ō paymānag mad yazišn ud yašt xwānīhēd hamāg yazišngarān ī šahr yaštan gumānīg bē būd ud tā bē ō hāwīštān šawēd ud yašt wirāst hamāg yazišn kardan nē šāyēd ud pad ān rāh paydāgīhēd wuzurg sūd ī frayādīšnīgīh ī-š az ān ī zīndag ruwān yaštan

And after the combat (of Srōš) with the demons, it thus happens that, on the day of his passing away, due to the ritual uncleanliness that has reached to that extent, the Yasna and Yašt are recited. (If) all performers of the Yasna (ceremony) in the country were doubtful about how to celebrate it, and unless (this knowledge) is transmitted to the disciples and the Yašt is prepared, it is not allowed to perform all the Yasna (ceremonies). And in this way it is manifested the great profit of the assistance (after death) to him due to celebrating the *zīndag ruwān* (ceremony).

80.12. 'dwyn' y zywndk' lwb' n plmwtn' hngwšytk' <y> stwš 'ytwn' nyd' pk' AYK 3 lwc <W> šp' n ptwstkyh' W hwyšynšnyh' hmw' l yčšn'-1 y slwš hm' y l' dynyt' W SGYTWN-yt' W 'thš-1 BYN yčšn' lwšnyhyt W hng' myh' bwd y DKYA bwdyhyt'²⁷

ēwēn ī zīndag ruwān framūdan hangōšīdag <ī> stōš ēdōn niyābag kū sē rōz <ud> šabān paywastagīhā ud xwēšēnišnīhā hamwār yazišn-ē ī srōš hamē rāyēnīd ud rawēd ud ātaxš-ē andar yazišn rōšnīhēd ud hangāmīhā bōy ī pāk bōyīhēd

- 25 If we read <štr'> *šahr* with TD4 instead of following K35 <yšt' W> *yašt ud*, the resulting sentence *šahr yazišngar was hēnd* would be translated as “the performers of Yasna (ceremonies) of the country will be many”.
- 26 MN] D7 (om.); ŠDYA- 'n'] ŠDYA- 'n TD4 D7; AYT'] hšt' K35; TD4 (iter.); YWM] ZNE TD4; mt'] TD4 (MN-c praem. et ' y add.); D7 (y add.); KRYTWN-yhyt'] krtk'yh' K35; KRYTN-yhyt' TD4 (s. l. krt'kyh scr.); krt'yh' D7; hm' k] D7 (' praem.); yčšngl' n] yčšn' gl' n' TD4; yčšn' gl' n D7; yštn'] yštn TD4; gwm' nyk'] gwm' nyk K35 D7; W¹] TD4 (om.); h' wšt' n] h' wšt' n omn.; W²] TD4 (W yšt' om.); wyl' st'] TD4 D7 (' add.); š' yst'] š' yst' K35; š' st' TD4; W³] TD4 (om.); ZK¹] TD4 (y add.); plyd' tšnykyh] plyd' tšnyk'yh K35; ZK²] K35 (ZK y om.); y] D7 (om.); zywndk'] zywndk TD4 D7.
- 27 'dwyn'] 'dwynt' TD4; D7 (' praem.); y] D7 (om.); zywndk'] zywndk D7; plmwtn'] plmwtn K35; hngwšytk'] hngwš' ytk' K35; hngwšytk D7; stwš] stwyh K35 (s. l. pro stwš corr.); nyd' pk'] nyd' bk' K35; ptwstkyh'] pt'wstkyh' K35; hwyšynšnyh'] hwyšynšnyk K35; hwyš' nšnyh' D7; hmw' l] hm' l TD4; yčšn'-1] yčšn' TD4; W¹] TD4 (om.); W²] TD4 (om.); 'thš-1] 'thš-1 TD4; lwšnyhyt] lwšn'yhyt TD4; lwšn' yhyt' D7; bwd] BRA D7; bwdyhyt'] bwdyhyt' K35.

The custom of ordering the *zīndag ruwān* (ceremony is) similar to (that of the) *stōš*, thus (being) suitable that, for three days and nights, continuously and gaining (the spiritual reward), they were always arranging a Yasna (ceremony with the dedication) to Srōš and that it continues, and that a fire is lit in the Yasna (ceremony) and purifying incense is censured in a timely manner.

80.13. W PWN 'dwyn' ⁺wgwn d'št' YKOYMWN-yt' AYK BYN 3 YWM 15 yšt' y slwš W 3 dlwn' y BYN b'm-1 PWN šnwmm' y 'dwyn' yštn' W YWM <y> tswm ⁺wspłt'-1 y 'lt'y²⁸ plwlt' YDBHWN-d

ud pad ēwēn ōwōn dāšt ēstēd kū andar sē rōz pānzdah yašt ī srōš ud sē drōn ī andar bām-ē pad šnūman ī ēwēn yaštan ud rōz <ī> tasom wisparad-ē ī ardāfraward yazēnd

And according to the custom, it has been so considered that, within the three days, 15 Srōš Yašt and three Drōn (ceremonies) in the dawn (after the third night) with the customary dedication are to be celebrated, and on the fourth day, they celebrate a Wisparad (ceremony with the dedication) to Ardāfraward.

80.14. lwb'nyk' nkylt' l'n' <y> zm'nk dwtk' <y> 'p'ryk' wyš-c ⁺nyšyt' l'n' y krpk' AYT' MNW BYN ZK y 3 YWM hm'k' dyn'-HD y slwš W KRA YWM 3 dlwn' y slwš yštn' W stykl LYLYA BYN b'm-1 dlwn' <y> 3 y 'dwyn' yštn' W NKSya y PWN lwb'n 'dwyn' 'wcyнк' krtn' 'p'yt' W k'mystn²⁹ krtn'

ruwānīg-nigerīdārān <ī> zamānag dūdag <ī> abārīg wēš-iz nīšīdārān ī kirbag ast kē andar ān ī sē rōz hamāg-dēn-ē ī srōš ud har rōz sē drōn ī srōš yaštan ud sidīgar šab andar bām-ē drōn <ī> sē ī ēwēn yaštan ud xwāstag ī pad ruwān ēwēn uzēnag kardan abāyēd ud kāmistan kardan

Among those who take care of the spiritual (things) of the rest of the family at (due) time and also look for a more meritorious deed, there is he who considers it (more) convenient to celebrate, within those three days, one *hamāg-dēn* (ceremony with the dedication)³⁰ to Srōš and, each day, three Drōn (ceremonies with the dedication) to Srōš; to celebrate three Drōn (ceremonies)

28 W] TD4 D7 (om.); 'wgwn] 'wgn K35; TD4 D7 (om.); d'št'] d'štn' K35 D7; YKOYMWN-yt'] ystyt' K35 D7; 15] TD4 (15 ... YWM om.); yšt'] yštn' K35; dlwn'] dlwn K35; šnwmm'] šnwmm K35; 'dwyn'] 'dwyn D7; yštn'] yštn K35; tswm] TD4 (' add.); wšplt'-1] wšplyt' '-1 K35; wšplyt'-1 TD4; wšplyt'-1 D7; y] TD4 (om.); 'lt'y] 'lt' D7.

29 lwb'nyk'] K35 (om.); lwb'nyk D7; nkylt' l'n'] nkyl'tk'n' K35; nyklyt' l'n' D7; zm'nk] zm'n' TD4; zym'n' D7; 'p'ryk'] 'p'ryk TD4 D7; nyšyt' l'n'] yhyt' l'n' K35; yhyt' l'n' TD4; yhyt' l'n' D7; krpk'] krpk D7; AYT'] AYT K35; y] K35 D7 (om.); hm'k'] hm'k K35 D7; dyn'-HD] dyn' TD4; slwš¹] slwš² TD4; dlwn'] dlwn K35; slwš²] TD4 (om.); stykl] st'ykl TD4; b'm-1] b'm D7; 'dwyn'] 'dwyнк' TD4 (y add.); yštn'] yštn K35 TD4; W¹] TD4 (y W add.); 'p'yt'] 'p'yt TD4; W²] D7 (om.); k'mystn'] k'msp' TD4

30 On the *hamāg-dēn*, see PRDd 9.14–15 (Williams 1990: 2.18, 140).

according to the custom in the dawn after the third night; and to do (so with) the wealth that (covers) the expenses of (such) custom for the soul, and prefers to do (so).

80.15. BYN dlwn' y 'lt'y plwlt' n' mcštyk' BRA krtn' YWM y 4-wm dw'cdh-hwm'st'-HD y 'lt'y plwlt' <W> 'p'ryk' yčšn' hnd'cyhyt'³¹ plmwtn' andar drōn ī ardāfraward nāmcīštīg bē kardan rōz ī cahārom dwāzdah-hōmāst-ē ī ardāfraward <ud> abārīg yazišn handāzihēd framūdan

After performing the *nāmcīštīg*³² in the Drōn (ceremony with the dedication) to Ardāfraward, it is planned to order on the fourth day a *dwāzdah-hōmāst* (ceremony with the dedication)³³ to Ardāfraward (and) the other Yasna (ceremonies).

80.16. W MNW wyš psndyh'tl YCBEN-st' yšt'l'n' ZK y st' dšnyktl W wecnykyh'tl pyt'kyny't AP-š MN yčšn' PWN blšnwm HLLWN-tn W 'p'ryk' DKYA-yh y 'dwynt' QDM tn' W y'mk'³⁴ krtn'

ud kē wēš-passandihātar kāmīst yaštārān ān ī stāyīšnīgtar ud wizīnīgihātar paydāgēnīd u-š az yazišn pad barsnūm šustan ud abārīg pākīh ī ēwēn abar tan ud jāmag kardan

And it was manifested that the worshippers who preferred (this) with more pleasure (are considered) more praiseworthy and more judicious. And before the Yasna (ceremony), one is to be washed by the *barsnūm* and is to perform other customary purifications over body and clothes.

80.17. OD BYN ZK yčšn'klyh LHMA MN ywlt' y y⁺wyh-dyn'n' THNN-tk' W HS MN ZK y wyh-dyn'n' krtk W BSLYA MN ZK y gwspnd y PWN yčšn'kwšt' YKOYMWN-yt' OŠTEN-tn' BYN m'n y 'thš'n' W ŠPYL-'n' SGYTWN-tn' MN AHRN 'p'ryk' gyw'k' y wl'wmnd W hwlšn' y wl'wmnd p'hlyhtn'³⁵

31 plwlt'¹] plwlt D7; n' mcštyk'] n' mcštyk K35 D7; 4-wm] 3-wm TD4; dw'cdh-hwm'st'-HD] K35 D7 (' add.); plwlt'²] TD4 (p- praem. et del.); 'p'ryk'] 'p'ryk TD4 D7; hnd'cyhyt'] K35 (hnd'yn, s. l. hnd'cyht praem. et del.)

32 The *dībāche* or introduction of the ceremony includes the Pahlavi word *nāmcīštīg*, followed by the name of the person in whose honour the ceremony is performed. In this case, Dd 80.15 refers to a Drōn ceremony with the dedication to Ardāfraward in which the *dībāche* contains the *nāmcīštīg* formula.

33 On the *dwāzdah-hōmāst*, see West (1880: 212–3), Kotwal (1969: 149), PRDd 9.13 (Williams 1990: 2.18, 140) and Stausberg (2004: 341–2).

34 W¹] TD4 D7 (om.); MNW] MNW-š TD4 (s. l.); psndyh'tl] psndyhtl K35 TD4; YCBEN-st'] YCBEN-stn' K35 (YCBE praem.); TD4 (' add.); yšt'l'n'] yšt'l'n D7; y¹] D7 (om.); W²] TD4 (om.); wecnykyh'tl] K35 (s. l. –c- scr.); wecnyhyhtl TD4; pyt'kyny't] pyt'kyny't' omn. (TD4 D7 ' add.); yčšn'] TD4 (y add.); HLLWN-tn] HLLWN-t K35; HLLWN-ytn TD4; W³] D7 (om.); 'p'ryk'] 'p'ryk K35 (y add.); D7 (y add.); y²] K35 (om.); W⁴] y TD4; y'mk'] ym'k TD4 (y add.) D7.

35 OD] TD4 D7 (' praem.); BYN] D7 (om.); ZK] TD4 (y add.); yčšn'klyh] yčšn' y glyh TD4; yčšn' glyh D7; LHMA] D7 (y add.); wyh-dyn'n'] wyh-dyn'n' K35; wyh-dyn'n' TD4; wyh-dyn'n' D7; THNN-tk'] T'YNN-tk' TD4; T HNN-tk' D7; HS] K35 (' praem.); y¹]

tā andar ān yazišngarīh nān az jōrdāy ī weh-dēnān ārdag ud may az ān ī weh-dēnān kardag ud gōšt az ān ī gōspand ī pad yazišn kušt ēstēd xwardan andar mān ī ātaxšān ud wehān raftan az any abārīg gyāg ī warōmand ud xwarišn ī warōmand pahrēxtan

Until (one is) in the performance of the Yasna (ceremony), one has to consume bread from grain milled by those of the Good Religion, wine made by those of the Good Religion, and meat from the sheep that has been slaughtered in the Yasna (ceremony); to enter the house of the fires and of the good people; (and) to refrain from any other place that (is) dubious and food that (is) dubious.

80.18. W PWN ZK y hwp p' hlyčšnyh ZK ycšn' BYN m' n' y ' thš y hmyšk' whš 'ywp' AHRN ' thš y wlhl' n' l' dnytn' plmwt' W MNW-š wyš krpkyh AP-š twb' n' AYT' l' s y krpk' KBD pl' hw³⁶

ud pad ān ī xūb pahrēzišnīh ān yazišn andar mān ī ātaxš ī hamēšag-waxš ayāb any ātaxš ī warahrān rāyēnīdan framūdan ud kē-š wēš-kirbagīh u-š tuwān ast rāh ī kirbag was frāx

And with that good care, one has to order to arrange the Yasna (ceremony) in the house of a fire that is always burning or in any other Fire of Warahrān. And for him who has more meritorious deeds and has the means (to do it), the path of meritorious deed(s) is much wider.

80.19. MNW-š km twb' n' PWN ZK ZY-š twb' n' bwcšnyk' '-c' l' d' 'ytwn' pyt' k' AYK LA ZK y 'hlwb' PWN '-k' m PWN '-twb' nykyh 'stlyt'³⁷

kē-š kam tuwān pad ān ī-š tuwān bōzišnīg a-cār rāy ēdōn paydāg kū nē ān ī ahlaw pad a-kām pad a-tuwānīgīh āstarēd

It (also) provides salvation to him who has less means (to do it) by whatever he can. Because of lack of resources it (is) thus manifest: “the righteous one does not sin because of lack of means, (but) because of lack of will”.

K35 (om.); wyh-dyn' n²] wyh-dyn' n' K35; wyh-dyn' n' TD4 D7; y²] TD4 (om.); YKOYMWN-yt'] YKOYMWN-yt TD4; OŠTEN-tm'] OŠTEN-tm K35 TD4; W¹] TD4 D7 (om.); ŠPYL-' n'] ŠPYL-' n' TD4; W²] K35 (om.); 'p' ryk'] 'p' ryk D7; W²] D7 (om.); hwlšn'] hwlšn TD4; y³] TD4 (om.); wl' wmd] wl' wmdnd K35 TD4; p' hlyhtn'] p' hlyhtn D7.

36 W] TD4 (om.); y¹] K35 (om.), D7 (y hwp om.); hwp] hw K35; p' hlyčšnyh] p' hlyčšn'yh K35 TD4; m' n'] m' n' TD4 D7; y²] TD4 (om.); hmyšk'] hmyšk D7; whš] TD4 (' add.); 'ywp'] 'ywp D7; y³] W TD4 D7; wlhl' n'] wlhl' n' D7; l' dnytn'] l' dnytn K35 D7; plmwt'] plmwt K35 (' praem.) TD4; krpkyh] krpk'yh K35 TD4; krpk'] krpk D7; pl' hw'] plynhw' TD4.

37 km] TD4 (om.); twb' n¹] twb' n' TD4; ZK] D7 (om.); twb' n²] twb' n' K35; twb' n' D7; bwcšnyk'] bwcšnyk K35; l' d] LA K35; 'ytwn'] TD4 (y add.); pyt' k'] pyt' k' TD4 D7; '-twb' nykyh] '-twb' nyk'yh K35; twb' nyk' yh D7; 'stlyt'] stlyt' D7.

Manušcihr was a religious authority and high priest in Iran during the ninth century, a fact that pervades his works and, added to his obscure style, makes it difficult to properly understand and translate them in certain cases (West 1882: xix). In this chapter, he uses the difficult and technical terminology of the juridical and ritual jargon to answer the questions posed by Mihr Xwaršēd ī Ādurmāhān and others about the reason (why), procedure (how) and advantage (for what purpose) of having the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony performed. After explaining the importance of ordering the *stōš* funerary ceremony for those relatives who have recently passed away, a duty compared to taking care of the new-born (Dd 80.3), this high priest poses the problem of knowing someone died in a remote place reaching the relatives too late. Although the *stōš* is expected to be performed within the three days immediately after the death, if the person previously ordered, entrusted or founded its performance as a funeral insurance, a custom confirmed by the *Hazār dādestān*, as we have seen before, it is still meritorious to perform it as soon as the relatives or trustees know about the death (Dd 80.4–6). Nevertheless, the person might feel insecure about the possibility of not having this mandatory ceremony performed in due time. In order to prevent this contingency, Manušcihr stresses the advantage of having the funerary rites performed beforehand, thus answering the reason why the *zīndag ruwān* is necessary (Dd 80.7–8). Nevertheless, as he clearly states in Dd 80.8–9, the performance of the latter does not exclude that of the *stōš*, because both are complementary and meritorious. The performance of the *zīndag ruwān* will not only strengthen the assistance of the gods against the demons after the person dies, but will also guarantee that the funerary rites are accomplished, in case the priests or their disciples in the country are not well acquainted with the ritual prescriptions of the *stōš* (Dd 80.10–11).

Manušcihr further describes how to perform the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony, which in general terms is similar to the *stōš*. The most relevant details of the former are the following:

- 1) a Yasna ceremony with the dedication to Srōš (Phl. *yazišn-ē ī srōš*) must be performed;
- 2) for three days and three nights continuously (Phl. *sē rōz <ud> šabān paywastagīhā*);
- 3) a fire (Phl. *ātaxš-ē*) must be lit in the Yasna ceremony;
- 4) purifying incense (Phl. *bōy ī pāk*) must be censed in a timely manner (Dd 80.12).
- 5) 15 Srōš Yašt (Phl. *pānzdah yašt ī srōš*) must be celebrated within the three first days;³⁸
- 6) three Drōn ceremonies with the customary dedication must be celebrated in the dawn after the third night (Dd 80.13).

38 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for kindly calling my attention to the fact that this refers to the recitation of three Srōš Yašt Hādōxt (Yt 11) in each *hāwan*, *rapihwin*, *uzērin* and *ušahin gāh* (morning, afternoon, evening and midnight to dawn respectively) during the three days, plus the recitation of three Srōš Yašt ī meh (Y 57) in each *ēbsrūsrim gāh* (sunset to midnight) during the three days.

- 7) a Wisparad ceremony with the dedication to Ardāfraward (Phl. *wisparad-ē ī ardāfraward*) must be performed on the fourth day.

A variant of this ritual, reserved for those who can afford it and who want to increase the meritorious deed derived from it, includes the celebration of a *hamāg-dēn* ceremony with the dedication to Srōš each day, plus three Drōn with the dedication to Srōš and the three more Drōn in the dawn after the third night (Dd 80.14). One of these Drōn is dedicated to Ardāfraward, and after its performance, a *dwāzdah-hōmāst* ceremony, also dedicated to Ardāfraward, and the other Yasna ceremonies will follow during the fourth day (Dd 80.15).

Other details of this description include some purity requirements before and during the *zīndag ruwān*. The person who orders it, the priest(s) performing it, or perhaps all of them, something that is unclear in the Pahlavi text, must have undergone the *barsnūm* purification before the Yasna for the *zīndag ruwān* (Dd 80.16). In order to keep oneself pure, one is only allowed to consume food (bread, wine, and meat) prepared under Zoroastrian prescriptions, and to enter an abode belonging to Zoroastrians (a temple or a private home), whose state of purity can be assured (Dd 80.17). As regards the proper place to celebrate the Yasna for the *zīndag ruwān*, it must be performed in the house of a fire that is always burning or in any other Fire of Warahrān (Phl. *andar mān ī ātaxš ī hamēšag-waxš ayāb any ātaxš ī warahrān*), that is, in a temple (Dd 80.18). Finally, the author recommends that everyone does not avoid performing the *zīndag ruwān* because of lack of resources, for it is meritorious also for the person who can only afford a modest ceremony (Dd 80.19).

It must be stressed that even though the information given by Manuščihir in this chapter is the most extensive description of the *zīndag ruwān* in the Pahlavi literature, it only refers to its practice in Kermān during the ninth century. As we will see, certain aspects of this ceremony were different in subsequent periods and regions, while others remained the same.

In chronological order, our next sources on the *zīndag ruwān* after the Pahlavi literature are the Zoroastrian New Persian texts known as *Šad dar-e našr* (SdN), *Šad dar-e bondaheš* (SdB), *Šad dar-e nažm* (SdNm), *Revāyāt*, *Dābestān-e Mazāheb* and *Farziyātnāme*. The date of composition of the SdN and SdB is uncertain, but predates the *Revāyāt*, which were written between AD 1478 and 1773. The SdNm was composed in metre in AD 1495 by Mardšāh ben Malekšāh.³⁹ The *Dābestān-e Mazāheb* or “School of religious doctrines” was written between 1645 and 1658, and belongs to Āzar Kayvān’s circle (Shea and Troyer 1843; Mojtabā’ī 2011). The *Farziyātnāme* or “Book of duties” was written in AD 1690 by Dastur Dārāb Pahlān (Modi 1924; Sheffield 2015: 533).

Without providing much information about its performance, SdN 58 (West 1885: 318–20; Dhabhar 1909: 40–41), SdB 43.2–3, 5 and 94.5–7 (Dhabhar 1932: 535, 567–8), SdNm 63 (Hyde 1700: 466–7), and the *Revāyat* of Suratya Adhyārus (AD 1670; MU 2.34.1–6, 2.42.18, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar

39 See Hyde (1700: 431–88), West (1885: xxxvii), Dhabhar (1909: iii, vii–ix), Hodivala (1920: 279–349), Tavadiā (1954), Vitalone (1987; 2000–01: 154–6) and Sheffield (2015: 532–4).

1932: lxii–lxiii, 419, 423) comment on the increasing merit of celebrating the *zinde ravān* ceremony each year while still alive. SdN 58.4–5, 11, SdB 43.5 and 94.5–7, and SdNm 63 emphasize, like Dd 80.5–8, the importance of having it performed in case the person dies in a place where no one can take care of the funerary rites. Also like Dd 80.3, SdN 58.6–9 and SdNm 63 compare the protection from the demons that Soruš (Phl. Srōš) offers to the soul of a person who had this ceremony performed to the nourishing and protection of the newborn in their infancy.

Dābestān-e Mazāheb 14 (Shea and Troyer 1843: 1.335) quotes the sixty-third chapter of Dastur Šāhzāde’s *Šaddar*, according to which a believer must perform the *zinde ravān* ceremony while still alive, and propitiate Soruš as a sacred duty to ensure his salvation. Although the SdNm was presumably composed by Mardšāh ben Malekšāh, not by a certain Dastur Šāhzāde, the fact that SdNm 63 deals with this ceremony does not seem to be a coincidence. On the contrary, it probably indicates that Dastur Šāhzāde’s *Šaddar* is actually SdNm, and that the author of the *Dābestān-e Mazāheb* quotes SdNm 63 or a later recension thereof.

A few more details about the ritual are given in SdB 43 (Dhabhar 1932: 535). Four priests participate in the ceremony and divide their tasks: while two recite the Avestan texts of the Yasna for three days and nights without interruption, the other two rest and tend the fire, which must continuously burn and accompany the recitation (SdB 43.1, 7). When the ceremony is performed continuously, it is called *paiwaste zinde ravān* “continuous *zinde ravān* (ceremony)”; otherwise, it is called *gusaste* “interrupted”. The religious merit that results from the former is 70,000 *tanāfur* for every day, while the merit of the latter is only 100 *tanāfur* for every day (SdB 43.6–9).⁴⁰ Moreover, SdB 43.4 refers to a garment (NP. *jāme*) consecrated with the *darun* (Phl. *drōn*) that will be given back in the afterlife to the offerer in the shape of a luxurious garment embroidered in gold and silver, in which the soul will be dressed. The consecration of this pious gift (Phl. *ahlawdād*; NP. *ašodād*) in the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony is not explicitly mentioned in Dd, but its existence can be inferred from the Pahlavi syntagm *andar hutāšttar jām* “(clad) in a more beautifully made garment” (Dd 80.9–10), where Phl. <y’m> *jām* “garment” was wrongly interpreted by West (1882: 239) as <k’m> *kām* “wishes” in Dd 80.9 and as <GDE> *xwarrah* “glory” in Dd 80.10. In my opinion, the meaning in the Pahlavi and New Persian texts is the same: the garment consecrated in the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony will dress the soul in the afterlife and glorify it even more on account of being offered as a pious gift.

Among the Zoroastrian New Persian texts, the *Revāyāt* of Šāpur Bharuci, Kāmdin Šāpur, Dastur Barzo Kāmdin, and Dārāb Hormazyār Framarz are our most precise sources regarding the *zinde ravān*. The individual *Revāyat* of Šāpur Bharuci has no certain date, but was probably written in the sixteenth

40 The same merit is ascribed to these two variants in the New Persian *Revāyat* of Šāpur Bharuci (MU 2.13, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932: 402). The merit of 70,000 *tanāfur* for the *zinde ravān* is also mentioned in the *Farzīyātnāme* (Modi 1924: 14). A *tanāfur* (Phl. *tanāpuhl*; Av. *tanu.pərəθa-*) is a grade of sin or merit, which is equal to 1,200 dirhams according to the *Revāyat* of Kāmdin Šāpur (Dhabhar 1932: 206).

century, insofar as it contains the reply of religious authorities from Šarīfābād and Turkābād (Yazd, Iran), like Mehrābān D. Nošīrvān and Āzarbād D. Māvīndād (Dhabhar 1932: xliii–xlv), who lived in that period. The individual *Revāyat* of Kāmdīn Šāpur is dated AD 1559 (AY 928) and transmits the answers of the religious authorities of Šarīfābād and Turkābād (Yazd), Kermān, Xorāsān, and Sistān to Herbad Padām (Rāmyār) of Broach (Dhabhar 1932: lix; Vitalone 1987: 10–11). The collective *Revāyat* of Dastur Barzo Kāmdīn, which is named after the priest of Navsari who sent a letter with questions to the religious authorities of Yazd, Kermān and Esfahān in AD 1645 (AY 1015), preserves their answers distributed in two letters, one dated AD 1650 (AY 1019) and another one sent seven to nine years later, in AD 1657/1659 (AY 1026/1028; Dhabhar 1932: lxii; Vitalone 1987: 16–17). An autograph copy of the collective *Revāyat* of Dārāb Hormazyār Framarz, which comprises all the *Revāyāt* mentioned before and some more, is the manuscript BUL29 of the Bombay University Library, completed in AD 1680 (AY 1049; Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932; Vitalone 1987: 20–21).

The *Revāyat* of Šāpur Bharuci states that the person who orders the *zinde ravān* ceremony must have already undergone the *baršnūm* purification. Because of that, the *zinde ravān* cannot be ordered on behalf of a child under 11 years old, because he/she has not yet undergone the *baršnūm* (Dhabhar 1932: 175, 284). This is an important observation, which may eventually clarify the problem of Dd 80.16 about who must undergo the *baršnūm* before the Yasna for the *zīndag ruwān*. If the prescription in the Pahlavi text was the same as in the *Revāyat* of Šāpur Bharuci, it would indicate that the person who had the Yasna for the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony performed in the ninth century in Iran must have already been cleansed by the *baršnūm* purification too. Also, according to the *Revāyat* of Šāpur Bharuci (Dhabhar 1932: 284), three *Wīdēwdād* ceremonies dedicated to Soruš are recited during the *zinde ravān*, a tradition that seems to have been current in the Yazd area during the sixteenth century, but is not mentioned by Manušcihr, high priest of Kermān during the ninth century.

According to the *Revāyāt* of Kāmdīn Šāpur and Dastur Barzo Kāmdīn (MU 1.535–537, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932: 345), four *darun* must be consecrated on the dawn of the fourth day to Rašn-Āštād, Ramišne-Xārām (= the good Way), Soruš and Ašoān Frohar (= Ardāfraward). In Iran, the first *darun* is dedicated to Rašn-Āštād, while in India the first *darun* is dedicated to Ramišne-Xārām. According to the *Revāyat* of Kāmdīn Šāpur (MU 1.535, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932: 345), the difference between the *zinde ravān* and the *anuše ravān* ceremonies is that *ahmāi. raēšca* (= Y 68.11) is recited in the former, but not in the latter. The explanation for omitting it in the *anuše ravān* ceremony, also according to this *Revāyat* (MU 2.42.9–17, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932: 423), is that this formula is a benediction for the body.

The *Revāyat* of Dastur Barzo Kāmdīn (MU 2.39.5–41.17, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932: 422–423), which preserves the most detailed description of the performance of the *zinde ravān* ceremony, confirms the information provided by the *Revāyāt* of Šāpur Bharuci and Kāmdīn Šāpur, and adds some more. One Yasna ceremony dedicated to Soruš and the *darun* to the same deity must be celebrated continuously (NP. *paiwaste*) each day for three consecutive days. In the *uśahin gāh* of the third night, that is, on the dawn of the fourth day,

four *darun*, each dedicated to Rašn-Āštād, Ramišne-Xārām, Soruš and Ašoān Frohar, must be consecrated; fruits, herbs and the garment given as a pious gift (NP. *ašodād*) must be consecrated in the last *darun* to Ašoān Frohar. On the tenth day, a Yasna dedicated to Ašoān Frohar, a *darun* to the same, and the Āfrīnagān ī dahmān must be celebrated.⁴¹ On the thirtieth day and on the last day of the year, the Yasna of Sīrōzag, the *darun* of the same and the Āfrīnagān ī dahmān must be celebrated; on the last day of the year, the recitation of the Āfrīn ī dahmān will be added. On the thirty-first day and every month on the same day as that on which the *zinde ravān* was begun, a Yasna dedicated to Ašoān Frohar, a *darun* to the same, two Āfrīnagān ī dahmān, one Āfrīnagān of Srōš, and the Āfrīn ī dahmān must follow. The Āfrīnagān must be recited day and night for a year. Besides these recitations, the fire must be kindled during the performance of the ceremony. Unlike SdB 43, the *Revāyat* of Dastur Barzo Kāmdin prescribes the participation of only two priests, but recommends that there may be four performing the ceremony, in two separate groups of two priests, in case two *zinde ravān* are begun on the same day. In general terms, the *Farziyātnāme* (Modi 1924: 13–15) agrees on the description of the *zinde ravān* with the one given in the *Revāyat* of Dastur Barzo Kāmdin, but assigns the first *darun* in the *uśahin gāh* of the third night to Ramišne-Xārām, thus following the Indian practice. Moreover, the *Farziyātnāme* specified that the consecrated garment must be given as a pious gift to a *mobad* or to a *dastur*, and that it must be made of white cotton of superior quality. According to this text, a well done *zinde ravān* includes money and a suit of clothes for the priest.

Finally, the compiled *Revāyat* of Dārāb Hormazyār Framarz (MU 1.355–356, Unvala 1922; Dhabhar 1932: 317) adds that, when reciting the Āfrīnagān for the *zinde ravān*, the following formula with the name of the person must be included: *in xšnumaine nāmcišti zinde ravān-e fulān fulān berasād* “may this dedication reach especially the *zinde ravān* (lit. ‘living soul’) of so and so”. This practice is reminiscent of *nāmcištīg* mentioned in Dd 80.15.

After the New Persian texts mentioned previously, Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherjirana (1869; translated from Gujarati into English by Kotwal and Boyd 1982) and Modi (1922: 444–6) gave us insight into the *zinde ravān*, as performed by the Parsi communities during, respectively, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In his catechism, the former (p. 94) defined it as being “comprised of ceremonies dedicated to Srosh for the first three days, and to all departed souls (*ardafrawash*) on the fourth day” that a living person must have performed for four days, the whole year and even every year, if he/she has the means to do so. Dastur E. S. Meherjirana (Kotwal and Boyd 1982: 166) also recommended its performance in case one died while travelling, and nobody who could order the funerary ceremony on his/her behalf knew about it.⁴² Modi (1922: 444–6) added that the formula *zinde ravān* plus the name of

41 As one of the anonymous reviewers of this article has kindly informed me, in the present practice, the Āfrīnagān ī dahmān is performed only once, on the dawn of the fourth day after death.

42 Kotwal and Boyd (1982: 166–7) added that many Parsis do not fulfil this religious duty, but offset it by performing their own *zīndag ruwān* together with the funerary prayers or *anōšag ruwān* of the husband or wife that passes away.

the living person in whose honour it is performed, is pronounced in the *dībāche* or introduction to a funerary ceremony dedicated to Soruš, something confirmed by Dd 80.15 and the *Revāyat* of Dārāb Hormazyār Framarz: if the person were dead, the formula would change to *anoše ravān* (= Phl. *anōšag ruwān* “immortal soul”) instead. He also informs us that the *zinde ravān* included the ceremonies on the fourth (*cahārum*), tenth (*dahum*), and thirtieth days of the month, and the thirtieth day of each subsequent month (*siruz*) until the end of the year, and the anniversary (*sālruz*).⁴³ In his opinion, it was ladies who generally had it performed.

As far as the Iranian practice of the *zende/zinde ravān* is concerned, Boyce (1977: 210–11) specified that the formula *be-rasād ašō zende ravān* “may (the merit) reach the righteous living soul” was recited instead of the usual prayer for the dead, and that the ceremony included the consecration of a sacred shirt and at least a blood sacrifice. Thereafter, the living person might establish a yearly celebration of a *gāhānbār-e caxre* for the rest of his/her life.⁴⁴

As regards the contemporary, living practice of the *zende/zinde ravān* in Parsi communities, Kotwal and Choksy (2004), Hathiram (2009) and Karanjia (2016) account for its performance. The Parsi usage permits the celebration of a *stōm* ritual for a living person to be performed in the context of a year-long *zinde ravān*, as confirmed by Kotwal and Choksy (2004: 392). Hathiram (2009) explained that the *zinde ravān* includes all the funerary rites, except the *sagdīd*, *sachkār*, and *geh-sarnā*, which require the presence of the corpse,⁴⁵ and thoroughly described the Parsi performance of the *zinde ravān* ceremony, with an example starting on the first day (Ohrmazd) which includes the following steps:

- 1) The recitation of Srōš Bāj with six small Drōn in every *gāh*, beginning with the *hāwan gāh* of the first day (Ohrmazd), stretching to the *ēbsrūsrīm gāh* of the third day (Ardwahišt).
- 2) The recitation of Ny 1, Ny 2 and Yt 11 in the *hāwan*, *rapihwin* and *uzērin gāh* of the first, second, and third days, mentioning the name of the person.
- 3) The recitation of Yt 2 and 11 in the *uśahin gāh* of the first, second, and third days, mentioning the name of the person.
- 4) Three Yasna ceremonies dedicated to Sraoša in the *hāwan gāh* of the first, second, and third days.
- 5) Three Wīdēwdād dedicated to Sraoša in the *uśahin gāh* of the first, second, and third days, which can be substituted by only one Wīdēwdād dedicated to Sraoša in the *uśahin gāh* of the last day.
- 6) Y 57 in the *ēbsrūsrīm gāh* of each of the three days.

43 For the Iranian and Parsi names of these important dates, see Boyce (1968: 272, n. 9).

44 For similar considerations on the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony in modern times, see also de Menasce (1964: 60, n. 30), Kreyenbroek (1985: 162) and Stausberg (2002: 429; 2004: 75, 339–40).

45 The *sagdīd* is the dog’s gaze, used as a means of expelling the corpse’s demon (Av. *nasu-*) from the corpse; the *sachkār* is the final ritual bath and shrouding of the corpse; the *geh-sarnā* is the funerary recitation of Y 28–34 (Lüddeckens 2004: 161).

- 7) The consecration of five separate *bāj* in the *uśahin gāh* of the third day, together with the consecration of the set of clothes, copper vessels and other implements.
- 8) The Uthamna ceremony performed in the last 80 minutes of the *uśahin gāh* of the third day.⁴⁶
- 9) The recitation of *Āfrīnagān ī dahmān* on the dawn of the fourth day.
- 10) The *Ardāfraward* ceremonies on the fourth day, again together with the consecration of the set of clothes.
- 11) The offering of a *machi* (“throne”), consisting of six to nine pieces of sandalwood offered to the fire with an accompanying *bāj*, in the *hāwan gāh* of the fourth day.
- 12) A *Yasna* ceremony dedicated to *Ardāfraward* in the *hāwan gāh* of the fourth day.
- 13) *Stōm* prayers in each of the *gāh* of the fourth day.
- 14) A *Wīdēwdād* ceremony dedicated to *Ardāfraward* in the *uśahin gāh* of the fourth day.
- 15) The celebration of a *Bāj Dharnū* of *Farroxšī* in the *uśahin gāh* of the fourth day.
- 16) The performance of daily *Āfrīnagān*, *Farroxšī*, *Bāj* and *Stōm* up until the tenth day.
- 17) The performance of the special *dasmā* (“tenth”) day ceremonies on the tenth day, together with the consecration of the set of clothes.
- 18) The performance of the *Sīrōzag* prayers on the thirtieth day (*Roj Aneran*).
- 19) The performance of the *māsisā* (“first month”) prayers on the thirty-first day.
- 20) The performance of monthly prayers (*rōzgar*) on every first day of the month for one year.
- 21) The performance of the *Chamsi* (“sixth month”) *Sīrōzag* prayers on the 180th day, and the *Chamsi* prayers on the 181st day.
- 23) The performance of the *Varsi* (“first anniversary”) *Sīrōzag* prayers on the 365th day and the *Varsi* prayers on the 366th day.⁴⁷

Hathiram estimated a total amount of USD \$1,000 for the performance of this long ceremony.

A more general description is provided by *Karanjia (2016)*, who specifies that the *zinde ravān* can be performed for an individual or for a couple, and that it can be shortened and adjusted depending on the person’s means. His account includes the following details:

- 1) The celebration of one *Yasna* to *Sraoša* and one *Wīdēwdād* to *Sraoša* each night for three days, or three *Yasna* to *Sraoša* and one *Wīdēwdād* to *Sraoša*. At least one *Yasna* is necessary, but the *Wīdēwdād* is optional.
- 2) *Srōš Bāj* in each of the five *gāh* for the first three days. This is optional.
- 3) *Y 57* in the *ēbsrūsrim gāh* for three days.

46 The Uthamna consists of the recitation of *Ny 1*, *Ny 2*, *Vīspa humata*, *Du’ā ī Nām Stāyišn*, *Namāz ī cahār nēmag*, *Uzērin gāh*, *Yt 11*, *Paṭit ī ruwānīg* and *Nērang ī bōy dādan*.

47 For the explanation of these ritual terms, see *Karanjia (2004: 405)* and *Kotwal (2018)*.

- 4) The Uthamna in the *uzērin gāh* of the third day.
- 5) Four Cahārom bāj on the third night, and the consecration of a set of new clothes in the Ardāfraward bāj.
- 6) The Uthamna in the *uśahin gāh* of the third night.
- 7) Āfrīnagān ī dahmān on the dawn of the fourth day.
- 8) Āfrīnagān, Farroxšī, Bāj and Stōm on the fourth day. The repetition of Āfrīnagān, Farroxšī, Bāj and Stōm on the tenth, thirtieth day (Sīrōzag) and each month for 12 months is optional.

In summary, the Pahlavi literature of the ninth century is our oldest source on the performance of the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony, but provides us with scant information in comparison with Zoroastrian texts of later periods. MJF 8.1–2 only mentions the celebration of a Yasna ceremony to the deities (Phl. *yazišn ī yazdān*) and the consecration of a pious gift (Phl. *ahlawdād*) in the context of the *zīndag ruwān*. Dd 80 further explains the reasons for and the advantages of having this ceremony performed, and gives some details about its procedure. The outer actor is the person who orders the ceremony while still alive. Before celebrating it, he must be washed by the *baršnūm* and other purifications over body and clothes, consume food prepared under Zoroastrian prescriptions, and only enter clean places, in order to remain in a state of ritual purity for this occasion. The inner actors must be at least two priests, as inferred from the use of the plural verb *yazēnd* “they celebrate” in Dd 80.13. The place where it will be performed must be a temple, either the house of a fire which is always burning or any other Fire of Warahrān (Phl. *mān ī ātaxš ī hamēšag-waxš ayāb any ātaxš ī warahrān*), which means that the *zīndag ruwān* include inner ceremonies, apart from other outer ones. Concerning its duration, it lasts for four days. Among the items required, a fire must be continuously burning, incense must be censed in a timely manner, and a pious gift, probably in the form of a garment or set of clothes, must be given.⁴⁸ The actions include the continuous recitation of: 1) the Yasna with the dedication or *xšnūman* to Srōš during three days and three nights; 2) 15 Srōš Yašt (12 Srōš Yašt Hādōxt plus three Srōš Yašt ī meh); 3) three Drōn in the dawn after the third night, with dedications that are not mentioned in the Pahlavi text; 4) and on the fourth day, a Wisparad ceremony with the dedication to Ardāfraward. These actions may be substituted by a more expensive ritual that includes: 1) one *hamāg-dēn* ceremony with the dedication to Srōš; 2) each day, three Drōn ceremonies with the dedication to Srōš; 3) three Drōn in the dawn after the third night, the last of which is dedicated to Ardāfraward; 4) and on the fourth day, a *dwāzdah-hōmāst* ceremony with the dedication to Ardāfraward and other Yasna ceremonies, instead of only a Wisparad.

The sparingness of details about the *zīndag ruwān* in the Pahlavi literature, which contrasts with the profuse descriptions of the New Persian *Revāyāt*, the modern sources and the more extensive contemporary practices, can be

48 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for kindly calling my attention to the fact that the late sixth century CE Shumei funerary couch includes two women holding folded clothes, which may represent a gift to the priest and may therefore point to the existence of this funerary rite among Sogdian populations of north-central China.

explained in different ways. On the one hand, we cannot expect much information from the passage from the MJF, a fluent composition of neck riddles to entertain a wider, non-specialized public, in which elaborated ritual descriptions would be out of place. On the other hand, we may expect more from the Dd, in itself an explanatory text that answers questions; nevertheless, we must not forget that such questions were addressed to an audience different from that of the MJF. As West (1882: xix) and Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998: 25) underlined, Manušcihr's style is obscure, I would even say that it is also very technical, a fact that reveals that his target audience (Mihr Xwaršēd ī Ādurmāhān and others) was most likely well acquainted with such technicalities. In this regard, the difference between the brief description of the *zīndag ruwān* in Dd 80 and the abundance of details in the later Zoroastrian sources might be due to Manušcihr's conscious attempt to summarize the core aspects of this ceremony for a specialized audience. If this was the case, the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony performed in Kermān during the ninth century may have included more elements and have been thus more complex than the one described by Manušcihr. This being possible, we must also take into account that this high priest commented on two variants of the same ceremony, of which more may have existed there and in other Zoroastrian communities of the same and later periods. Some core elements and the main purpose of the *zīndag ruwān* ceremony, that is, to have the funerary rites performed in advance as a pre-emptive measure, remained the same since post-Sasanian times. However, the fact that this ceremony could be lengthened and adjusted, depending on the means of the person who ordered it, is stressed from the Dd up to modern, contemporary practices, and points to a variable performance. This important aspect, generally forgotten, is not only relevant to understanding the historical development of the *zīndag ruwān*, but also of other Zoroastrian rituals. The length and complexity of actions to be performed in the *zīndag ruwān* may have been influenced by diatopic or diachronic factors, but most probably depended on socio-economic variables. They were partially reflected in its diverse descriptions, but are nevertheless relevant to a proper understanding of the changes in the *zīndag ruwān* in regions and periods in which not all the Zoroastrians could afford to finance long, and therefore expensive, variants of a ceremony decisive for their welfare in the afterlife.

Bibliography

- Andrés-Toledo, M.Á. 2016. *The Zoroastrian Law to Expel the Demons: Wīdēwdād 10–15. Critical Edition, Translation and Glossary of the Avestan and Pahlavi Texts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Anklesaria, T.D. 1913. *Dānāk-u Mainyō-i Khard*. Bombay: Fort Printing Press.
- Anklesaria, P.K. 1958. *A Critical Edition of the Unedited Portion of the Dādestān-i Dīnik*. London: SOAS (unpublished PhD dissertation).
- Bartholomae, Ch. 1913. "Mitteliranische Studien IV. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Sasanidischen Rechts", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 27, 1913, 347–74.
- Bajan, P.M. 1991. "On the Middle-Persian word Stōš", in K.R. Cama Oriental Institute *Platinum Jubilee*. Bombay: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 321–8.

- Boyce, M. 1968. "The pious foundations of the Zoroastrians", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31/2, 270–89.
- Boyce, M. 1977. *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cantera, A. and M.Á. Andrés-Toledo. 2006. "Los acertijos indoiranios: cuestiones de vida o muerte (II). El Mādayān ī Yōšt ī Friyān", in G. del Olmo Lete, Ll. Feliu and A. Millet Albà (eds), *Šapal tibnim mū illakū. Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Barcelona: AUSA, 69–108.
- Christensen, A. 1934. *The Pahlavi Codex K35. Second Part, Containing the Epistles of Manushchihir and the Selections of Zādh-sparam*. (Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis 4.) Copenhagen: The University Library of Copenhagen.
- Darmesteter, J. 1880. *The Zend-Avesta. Part I. The Vendīdād*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dhabhar, B.N. 1909. *Saddar Naṣr and Saddar Bundehešh*. Bombay: The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties.
- Dhabhar, B.N. 1932. *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and Others. Their Version with Introduction and Notes*. Bombay: The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute.
- Hathiram, M.J. 2009. "The Jindeh Ruvan ceremony – a brief explanation", *Frashogard*. <https://www.frashogard.com/the-jindeh-ruvan-ceremony-a-brief-explanation/> (accessed 15 July 2020).
- Haug, M. and E.W. West. 1872. *The Book of Arda Viraf*. Bombay and London: Government Central Book Depot / Trübner.
- Henning, W.B. 1954. "The inscription of Firuzabad", *Asia Major* 4, 1954, 98–102.
- Hintze, A. 2007. *A Zoroastrian Liturgy. The Worship in Seven Chapters (Yasna 35–41)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hodivala, Sh. H. 1920. *Studies in Parsi History*. Bombay: Sanj Vartaman Press.
- Huyse, Ph. 1999. *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*. 2 vols. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III, I, Texts I.) London: SOAS.
- Jaafari-Dehaghi, M. 1987. *Mādayān ī Yōšt ī Fryān. Text, Transcription, Persian Translation and Glossary*. Tehran: Frawahar.
- Jaafari-Dehaghi, M. 1998. *Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Part I. Transcription, Translation and Commentary*. Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Irlandaises.
- Jamasp Asa, Kh. M. and M. Nawabi. 1976. *Manuscript D7. Fragments from the Pahlavi Rivayat, Datistan-i Dinik, Namakiha-i Manushchihir and Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam*. Shiraz: Asia Institute of the Pahlavi University.
- Jamasp Asa, Kh. M. and M. Nawabi. 1978. *Manuscript TD4a. The Pahlavi Rivāyat, Dāstān-i Dinik, Nāmākīhā-i Manushchihir and Vichitakīhā-i Zātasparam etc.* Shiraz: Asia Institute of the Pahlavi University.
- Hyde, Th. 1700. *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, Eorumque Magorum*. Oxford: Sheldon.
- Karanjia, R.P. 2004. "The Bāj-Dharnā (Drōn Yašt) and its place in Zoroastrian rituals", in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 403–23.
- Karanjia, R.P. 2010. *The Bāj-dharnā (Drōn Yasht)*. Mumbai: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute.
- Karanjia, R.P. 2016. "What are the Zindeh-Ravān rituals?", *Jam-e Jamshed*. <https://ramiyarkaranjia.com/9-qa-about-rituals> (accessed 15 June 2020).
- Kotwal, F.M. 1969. *The Supplementary Texts to the Šāyest nē-Šāyest*. Copenhagen: Munskgaard.

- Kotwal, F.M. and J.W. Boyd. 1982. *A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion*. California: Scholars Press.
- Kotwal, F.M. and J.W. Boyd. 1991. *A Persian Offering. The Yasna: a Zoroastrian High Liturgy*. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des Études Iraniennes.
- Kotwal, F.M. and J.W. Boyd. 2018. "Religious injunction to be observed when a Zoroastrian expires during the Gatha days", *Dabir* 5, 48–51.
- Kotwal, F.M. and J.M. Choksy. 2004. "To praise the souls of the deceased and the immortal spirits of the righteous ones: the staomi or stūm ritual's history and functions", in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 389–401.
- Kreyenbroek, Ph. 1985. *Sraoša in the Zoroastrian Tradition*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lommel, H. 1930. *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt*. Tübingen: J. C.B. Mohr.
- Lüddeckens, D. 2004. "Bruch und Kontinuität in Todesritualen. Beobachtungen zu westeuropäischen und zoroastrischen Bestattungen", in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 153–72.
- Macuch, M. 1991. "Charitable foundations. I. In the Sasanian period", in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. V, Fasc. 5. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 380–82 (also available on <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/charitable-foundations-mpers#pt1>).
- Macuch, M. 1993. *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran. Die Rechtssammlung des Farroḫmard i Wahrāmān*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Macuch, M. 1994. "Die sasanidische Stiftung 'für die Seele' – Vorbild für den islamischen waqf?", in P. Vavroušek (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial Volume of Otakar Klima*. Prague: Enigma Corporation, 163–80.
- Macuch, M. 2004. "Pious foundations in Byzantine and Sasanian law", in Gh. Gnoli (ed.), *La Persia e Bisanzio. Convegno internazionale. Roma 14–18 ottobre 2002*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 181–96.
- Macuch, M. 2009. "Die sasanidische fromme Stiftung und der islamische waqf: eine Gegenüberstellung", in A. Meier, J. Pahlitzsch and L. Reinfand (eds), *Islamische Stiftungen zwischen juristischer Norm und sozialer Praxis*. Berlin: Akademie, 19–38.
- de Menasce, J.P. 1964. *Feux et fondations pieuses dans le droit sasanide*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Modi, J.M. 1922. *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*. Bombay: British India Press.
- Modi, J.M. 1924. *The Persian Farziât-Nâmeḥ and Kholâseh-i Dîn of Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan*. Bombay: Fort Printing Press.
- Mojtabā'ī, F.-A. 2011. "Dabestān-e Maḍāheb", in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol. VI, Fasc. 5. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 532–4 (also available on <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dabestan-e-madaheb>).
- Panaino, A. 2004. *Rite, parole et pensée dans l'Avesta ancien et récent. Quatre leçons au Collège de France (Paris, 7, 14, 21, 28 mai 2002)*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Panaino, A. 2009. "The Bactrian royal title βαγ[η]-ζνογο / βογο-ηζνογο and the Kušān dynastic cult", in W. Sundermann, A. Hintze and F. de Blois (eds), *Exegisti Monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 331–46.
- Safa-Isfahani, N. 1980. *Rivāyat-i Hēmūt-i Ašawahistān. Edition, Transcription and Translation. A Study in Zoroastrian Law*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

- Shaked, Shaul. 1990. "‘For the sake of the soul’: a Zoroastrian idea in transmission into Islam", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13, 1990, 15–32.
- Shea, D. and A. Troyer. 1843. *The Dabistān, or School of Manners*. Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Sheffield, D.J. 2015. "Primary sources: New Persian", in M. Stausberg and Y.S. D. Veivaina (eds), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*. Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 529–42.
- Stausberg, M. 2002. *Die Religion Zarathushtras. Geschichte – Gegenwart – Rituale*. Vol. 1. Stuttgart and Berlin: Kohlhammer.
- Stausberg, M. 2004. *Die Religion Zarathushtras. Geschichte – Gegenwart – Rituale*. Vol. 3. Stuttgart and Berlin: Kohlhammer.
- Tavadia, J.C. 1954. "Sad Dar versions and their authors", in J.J. Modi and J.M. Unvala (eds), *Prof. Jackson Memorial Volume: Papers on Iranian Subjects Written by Several Scholars in Honour of the Late Prof. A.V. Williams Jackson*. Bombay: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 30–36.
- Unvala, M.R. 1922. *Dārāb Hormazyār’s Rivāyat*. Bombay: British India Press.
- Vahman, F. 1986. *Ardā Wirāz Nāmāg. The Iranian ‘Divina Commedia’*. London and Malmö: Curzon Press.
- Vitalone, M. 1987. *The Persian Revāyats: a Bibliographic Reconnaissance*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Vitalone, M. 2000–01. "Origin and contents of Zoroastrian religious literature in New Persian", *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale* 60–61, 149–60.
- Weinreich, M. 1992. "Die Geschichte von Jōišť ī Friyān", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19/1, 44–101.
- West, E.W. 1871. *The Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard or the Spirit of Wisdom. The Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, as Arranged in the Fifteenth Century by Neriosengh Dhaval*. Stuttgart and London: Carl Grüniger / Trübner.
- West, E.W. 1880. *Pahlavi Texts. Part 1: The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shāyast Lā-Shāyast*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- West, E.W. 1882. *Pahlavi Texts. Part 2: The Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk and the Epistles of Mānūskīhar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- West, E.W. 1885. *Pahlavi Texts. Part 3: Dīnā-ī Maīnōg-ī Khīrad, Sikand-gūmānīk Vigār, and the Sad Dar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, A.V. 1980. *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Part I: Transliteration, Transcription and Glossary. Part II: Translation, Commentary and Pahlavi Text*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.