



# KAYĀNIĀN XIV. THE KAYANIDS IN WESTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

---

## KAYĀNIĀN

### xiv. The Kayanids in Western Historiography

In Western historiography up into the 19th century, the historicity of the pre-Achaemenid Persian dynasties was taken for granted, and the Kayanids, the “second dynasty of Persian kings,” were commonly identified with the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Median kings as described by Herodotus and other Greek writers. In Barthélemy d’Herbelot’s *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697, pp. 234-35, unchanged in 1777, II, pp. 462-63, and minimally changed in 1789, II, pp. 147-48), the meaning of *kay* in Pahlavi or “Deilami” is said to be “giant,” as well as “great king,” and the dynasty comprised the series known from the Perso- Arabic authors, including Dārāb, son of Bahman, and Dārā or Dārāb, son of Dārāb.

[Thomas Hyde](#) mentions only briefly that all the kings of the Median dynasty bore the title Kay, which he took to mean “famous” (*illustris*). He also mentions Lohrāsb, about whose genealogy, he says, nothing further was known, except that he was the father of Goštāsb, whom he discusses at length (chap. XXIII). He thought that Goštāsb was either Darius or his father Hystaspes and that



Goštāsb meant “made by a horse” (*factus equo*), referring to Herodotus’s story about the neighing horse (see [DARIUS iii](#)). He assumed that Goštāsb had founded the Āḍar-Goštāsb at Balk and that this fire was different from the one founded there by Lohrāsb, which was called Nowbahār. He thought that the crown worn by the kings in the reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam in Fars was the Kayanid crown (*tāj-e kayāni*; see below, end of the article).

William Jones, in “The Sixth Discourse: on the Persians” (delivered on 19 February 1789), stated that “we know [Lower Asia] was under the dominion of Caikhosrau,” whom he identified with Cyrus, asserting that the names were merely the Persian and Greek variants of the same name (pp. 44-45). He identified the Pishdadids with the Assyrians and the Kayanids with the Medes and the Persians, asserting that the Greek historians had made up the history of the Achaemenids, misunderstanding and changing the names: Cambyses for Kāmbakš (a title rather than a name) and Xerxes for Širuya (found in the *Šāh-nāma*) or possibly a title \*Šir-šāh (pp. 46-47).

Constantin-François Volney (1808, table p. 283, on the Kayanids pp. 287-301; 1814, pp. 283-96) presented a strengthened argument for the Kayanids being Herodotus’s Medes. He assumed that *Ky-axar* “the great victor” contained the title *kay* and identified Kay Kāvus, son of Aphra (according to Mirḳvānd) with Phraortes, Afrāsiāb with Astyages. He elaborated on the historical coincidences and differences between the Oriental sources and Herodotus, which he ascribed to Persian royal politics, especially, perhaps, those of Kay Ḳosrow, which may not have been so honorable for Cyrus and his ancestor, although the name subsists in Ḳosrow. He also suggested that the story of the Turanian war under Kay Kāvus resembled the Scythian invasion.

Louis Langlès, in his “Notice chronologique de la Perse depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu’à ce jour,” in Jean Chardin, 1811, X, pp. 160-62, summarizes the opinions of his predecessors (including Jones, Volney, 1808).

Robert Ker Porter, summing up earlier scholarship, has the chronology of the pre-Achaemenid and early Achaemenid kings shown in [Table 3](#).

John Malcolm (1829, pp. 510-11) still adhered to this scenario, in the main following Volney; and Louis Dubeux (Kayanids: pp. 233-72) simply gave the Western and Oriental versions separately, without, as far as the present author can see, passing judgement on either.



By Malcolm's time, however, the Achaemenid inscriptions were being deciphered, which allowed Henry C. Rawlinson (p. 51) to contrast the "distorted and incomplete allusions to Jemshíd and the Kayanian monarchs which are found in the Vendidad Sadé and in the ancient hymns," with "authentic history," and Friedrich Spiegel (1852, I, p. 44) called the Kayanids, including Vištāspa, partly purely mythical, partly legendary, without a trace of anything historical.

Nevertheless, Martin Haug, not much later, referred to Kauui/Kay as the title "of a whole dynasty of the ancient Bactrian rulers" (1862, pp. 246; idem, 1884, p. 290) and concluded from the fact that the ancestors of Darius and Vištāspa in the Achaemenid inscriptions and those of Goštāsb in the Avesta and the *Šāh-nāma* were not the same that the Achaemenid and Avestan Vištāspas were not identical (1862, pp. 254; idem, 1884, pp. 298-99). Spiegel (1891, p. 198), again, categorically stated that Vištāspa was not historical, but the last of the mythical kings. Similarly, James Darmesteter, in his early work, simply referred to the Pishdadids and the Kayanids as the first two mythical dynasties of Iran (1877, pp. 166-67, n. 4), and, in his *Zend-Avesta* (1893, III, p. xli), stated that the Kayanids were mythological heroes with no connection to any known historical reality and that the Avestan legend ends with Kauui Vištāspa.

In late 19th-century universal histories, it is not always clear whether the authors considered the Kayanids to be historical. For instance, Marius Fontane in volume two of his *Histoire universelle*, dedicated to *Les Iraniens*, seems to suggest that at least Kay Kōsrow and Garšāsb were historical kings ruling different parts of Iran (IV, pp. 264-65), while Cornelis Tiele, comparing the Old Indic evidence including Kavi Uśanas, was more specific: Kauuis were a kind of visionary (*sehern*) or magicians, who were later made into a royal dynasty (II, p. 72).

By the late 19th century, however, the historicity of Vištāspa, as well as that of his Kayanid predecessors, had become inextricably linked with that of Zarathustra, and, in the section on the history of Iran in the *Grundriss* (II, p. 410), Ferdinand Justi characterizes the pre-Zarathustrian *kauuis* as legendary, while Kauui Vištāspa, who was historical, as were the Gathic circle (as proved by the family relationships between them and the historical Zarathustra in the *Young Avesta* and later traditions), had been artificially attached to the Kayanids.

Williams Jackson (1898, pp. 211-12; cf. 1928, p. 280), made a reference to Kauui



Vištāspa “[b]eing a member of the Kayanian line,” which would imply that he considered the Kayanids, like Vištāspa, as historical.

Even after the Achaemenid inscriptions had been well deciphered, there were scholars who firmly believed in the identity of the Avestan and Achaemenid Vištāspas, notably, Johannes Hertel (1924) and Ernst Herzfeld (1929, Teil I and III, p. 185; idem, 1930). Herzfeld (1929, Teil II, p. 155) revisited the Median background of the Kayanids, endeavoring to show in detail how the Kayanid “history,” by subtracting the mythical elements, could be reduced to Median history.

Arthur Christensen, whose 1931 study was a response to these two scholars, not an independent study of the Kayanids, moved the Kayanids back into history, but his conclusion that at least some of the *kauuis* were historical was based upon the assumption that Zarathustra was historical (p. 27). He then also surmised that the genealogy of and principal details about the preceding kings would have been known at Vištāspa’s court and remembered in the Zoroastrian milieu (p. 29). Finally, he opined that “the kingdom of the *kauuis* in Eastern Iran was the first purely Aryan large-scale political organization on Iranian territory: the age of the *kauuis* is the first heroic age of the ancient Iranians” (p. 35).

Herzfeld countered Christensen’s arguments in another article (1936), where he maintained his opinion that the Avestan Vištāspa was the legendary version of the real Vištāspa (p. 70). Later, Georges Dumézil (1986, p. 226), too, criticized Christensen’s conclusions, pointing out that the prolonged discussion regarding the historicity of the obviously mythical Kayanids was aggravated by being connected with the problem of the identity of Vištāspa.

Even in the second half of the 20th century and later, there has been some reluctance to give up the historicity of the Kayanids, principally because of the axiomatically assumed historicity of Zarathustra and Vištāspa.

Mary Boyce, in her article on the Kayanian heroic cycle, viewed the *kauuis* on the background of a heroic age (cf. Christensen, above) as “warlike leaders,” but Kauui Vištāspa as following Zarathustra’s new ideas, among them his “explicit rejection of a life dependent on the sword,” which would rule out encouraging “a literature celebrating martial exploits for entertainment,” although his subjects and others did preserve the narratives about the Kayanids (Boyce, 1954, pp. 46-47).



Ilya Gershevitch (pp. 185-86) proposed that one particular family of *kauuis* (composers of hymns) from Sistān acquired political power and, at the time of Zarathustra, ruled in Chorasmia (Zarathustra's homeland according to Henning, 1951), but Zarathustra would not be using the term *kauui* in its original sense, since he disapproved of their adherence to the traditional Indo-Iranian rituals and their opposition to his reform.

It is not entirely clear how Boyce viewed the historicity of the *kauuis* in her *History of Zoroastrianism* (1975). In the case of Kərəsāspa/Garšāsp, she assumed the surviving texts preserve “a mixture of historical fact . . . with elements from folklore and popular superstition” (p. 103). About the Kayanids, she said that they were “Airya princes” who formed the Kayanid dynasty, which came to be presented as succeeding the (wholly legendary/mythical) Pishdadids, and the stories about them, she surmised, might have derived “from the oral traditions of Vištāspa's own house” (p. 105; cf. Christensen, above). She also refers to the “pagan” *kauuis* being “cast as upholders of the Good Religion” (p. 106).

The assumption that the *kauuis* were historical was challenged in the post-World War II period, along with the historicity of Zarathustra and Kauui Vištāspa, by, among others, Jean Kellens (1976; idem, 1997-98, pp. 750-52), Almut Hintze (1994), and Prods Oktor Skjærvø (1996).

As late as 1980, Gherardo Gnoli, in his study of Zarathustra's homeland, stated that denying the Kayanids any historical background “only leads to exaggerations that are hardly acceptable,” as it would mean splitting Kauui Vištāspa in two (p. 7), that is, one epic and one historical, and he criticized (p. 234) Kellens (1976), suggesting that, if some of the Iranian mythical history goes back to Indo-Iranian times, “a sort of history can be glimpsed in it.” In FARR (AH), he referred to the Kayanians, who reigned “there where lake Kāsaōiia is formed by the river Helmand, there where the mountain Ušiḍā is located” (*Yašt* 19.65-72), but this text contains no reference to Kayanids, but, rather, to “the one who shall stand forth from there, where. . .,” that is, according to *Yašt* 19.92, Astuuat.ərətā, the Saošiiant.

In 2003, Hanns-Peter Schmidt criticized the assumption of the non-historicity of the *kauuis*, also targeting Kellens, 1976, citing “the communis opinio, represented in particular in the comprehensive study of Arthur Christensen” (p. 373, n. 1). Schmidt also admitted the legendary nature of the tradition, however, suggesting that we will never know how much in it is “genuine, old”



(p. 372), that is, presumably, historical, tradition.

On the Qajar Kayāni crown (*tāj-e kayāni* or *kolāh-e kayāni*) and its successor, the Pahlavi crown, see [CROWN JEWELS OF PERSIA](#) and [CROWN v. IN THE QAJAR AND PAHLAVI PERIODS](#). Both crowns are now in the Museum of The Treasury of National Iranian Jewels (Muza-ye jawāherāt-e melli), affiliated with the Central Bank (*Bānk-e markazi*; see also [Amanat](#), 2001).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

*Āfrīn ī Zardušt*, ed. Niels Ludwig Westergaard, in idem, *Zendavesta or The Religious Books of the Zoroastrians I: The Zend Texts*, Copenhagen, 1852-54, pp. 300-301; repr., Wiesbaden, 1993, with introduction by Rüdiger Schmitt.

Abbas Amanat, “The Kayanid Crown and Qajar Reclaiming of Royal Authority,” *Iranian Studies* 34, 2001, pp. 17-30.

Behrangore T. Anklesaria: see *Bundahišn, Kār-nāmag, Mēnōy xrad*.

Peshotan K. Anklesaria: see *Manuščīhr*.

Asadi Ṭusi, *Loḡat-e fors*, ed. Moḡammad Dabirsiāqi, Tehran, 1957.

Avesta: see Bartholomae, Darmesteter, Geldner.

Abu ‘Ali Moḡammad Amirak Bal‘ami, *Tāriḡ-e Bal‘ami*, ed. Moḡammad-Taqi Bahār, Tehran, 1962, pp. 130-32; rev. ed. Moḡammad Parvin Gonābādi, Tehran, 2000; ed. Moḡammad- Jawād Maškur, as *Tarjama-ye Tāriḡ-e Ṭabari az Abu ‘Ali Moḡammad Bal‘ami, qesmat-e marbuṭ be Irān*, Tehran, 1958; tr. Hermann Zotenberg, as *Chronique de . . . Tabari traduite sur la version persane d’Abou-‘Ali Mohammad Bal‘ami*, 4 vols., Paris, 1867-74.

Abu Rayḡān Biruni, *Ketāb al-āṭār al-bāqia ‘an al-qorun al-kālia*, ed. Eduard C. Sachau, as *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*, Leipzig, 1878; repr., Leipzig, 1923; ed. with commentary Parviz Adkâ’i, Tehran, 2001; tr. Eduard



Sachau, as *The Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, London, 1879; repr., Frankfurt, 1969.

Idem, *Ketāb taḥqīq mā le'l-Hend men maqula maqbula fi'l-'aql aw marḍula*, ed. Eduard C. Sachau, London, Leipzig, 1887; rev. ed. Hyderabad, 1958; tr. Eduard C. Sachau, as *Alberuni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030*, 2 vols., London, 1910; 2 vols. in one, popular edition, London, 1914.

Mary Boyce, "Some Remarks on the Transmission of the Kayanian Heroic Cycle," in *Serta Cantabrigiensia*, Aquae Mattiacae [Wiesbaden], 1954, pp. 45-52.

Idem, "Zariadres and Zarēr," *BSOAS* 17, 1955, pp. 463- 77.

Idem, *A History of Zoroastrianism I*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/8, Religion 1.2.2A, Leiden and Cologne, 1975.

*Bundahišn*, ed. and tr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, as *Zand-ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, Bombay, 1956; ed. Fazollah Pakzad [Fazl-Allāh Pākzād], as *Bundahišn: Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie*, Tehran, 2005 (paragraph numbers in brackets).

Cereti: see *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*.

Sir John Chardin (1643-1713), *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient, enrichis d'un grand nombre de belles figures en taille-douce, représentant les antiquités et les choses remarquables du pays*, new ed. by Louis Langlès, 10 vols., Paris, 1811.

Arthur Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen, 1931; tr. Ḍabiḥ-Allāh Ṣafā, as *Kayāniān*, Tehran, 1957.

Idem, "Notes and Queries: Kavāḍ," *BSOAS* 7, 1934, pp. 483-85.

Idem, *Les gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, Paris, 1936.

Carolus (Carl Christian) Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis persicae*, Bonn, 1920.

Ctesias, *Ctésias: Histoires de l'Orient*, tr. Janick Auberger, Paris, 1991.



*Dādestān ī dēnīg*: see *Manuščihr*.

James Darmesteter, *Ohrmazd et Ahriman: leurs origines et leur histoire*, Paris, 1877.

Idem, tr., *Le Zend-Avesta: traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique*, 3 vols., Paris, 1893; repr., Delhi, 1965; tr., as *The Zend-Avesta, Sacred Books of The East IV*, Oxford, 1895.

*Dēnkard*, ms. B [and its copy MR], ed. Mark J. Dresden, as *Dēnkart: A Pahlavi Text: Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript B of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay*, Wiesbaden, 1966; book 3, tr. Jean de Menasce, as *Le troisième livre du Denkart*, Paris, 1973; book 5, ed. and tr. Jaleh Amouzgar and Ahmad Tafazzoli, as *Le cinquième livre du Dēnkard: Transcription, traduction et commentaire*, *Studia Iranica, Cahier 23*, Paris, 2000; book 7, ed. and tr. Marijan Molé, in idem, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis*, *Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris 3*, Paris, 1967; book 9, *Sūdgar Nask*, ed. and tr. Yuhan S.-D. Vevaina, in idem, "Studies in Zoroastrian Exegesis and Hermeneutics with a Critical Edition of the Sūdgar Nask of Dēnkard Book 9," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2007.

Abu Ḥanifa Dinavari, *Aḵbār al-ṭewāl*, ed. Vladimir Guirgass, Leiden, 1888; ed. 'Omar Fāruq Ṭabbā', Beirut, 1995.

M. J. Dresden: see *Dēnkard*.

Louis Dubeux, *La Perse*, Paris, 1841.

Georges Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, 3 vols., Paris, 1968-73; vol. II. *Types épiques indo-européens: Un héros, un sorcier, un roi*, 4th ed., Paris, 1971; repr., Paris, 1986; tr. David Weeks, in Jaan Puhvel and David Weeks, eds., *The Plight of A Sorcerer*, Berkeley, Calif., 1986.

Idem, *Le roman des jumeaux et autres essais: vingt-cinq esquisses de mythologie (76- 100)*, Paris, 1994.

Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and Enrico Morano, *Mani's Psalms: Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian Texts in the Turfan Collection*, *Berliner Turfantexte 27*, Turnhout, 2010; reviewed by Prods Oktor Skjærvø, in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55, 2012, pp. 255-96.



Ebn al-Balkī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Guy Le Strange and Reynold A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1921; ed. ‘Ali-Naqī Behruzi, as *Fārs-nāma-ye Ebn Balkī: qadimitarin tāriḵ wa joḡrāfiyā-ye Fārs*, Shiraz, 1964.

Ebn al-Meskawayh, *Tajāreb al-omam* I, ed. Abu’l-Qāsem Emāmi, Tehran, 1987, pp. 18 ff.

Abu’l-Qāsem Enjavi Širāzi, *Mardom wa qahramānān-e Šāh-nāma*, n.p., n.d.; repr., as *Ferdowsināma: Mardom wa Šāh-nāma*, 3 vols., Tehran, 1979, II, pp. 265-97; III, pp. 139-82.

Mirzā Ḥasan Fasā’i, *Fārsnāma- ye nāšeri*, ed. Manšur Rastgār Fasā’i, 2 vols., Tehran, 1988.

Marius E. Fontane, *Histoire universelle* II. *Les Iraniens: Zoroastre (de 2500 à 800 av. J.-C.)*, Paris, 1881.

William Sherwood Fox and R. E. K. Pemberton, *Passages in Greek and Latin Literature Relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism*, The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute 14, Bombay, 1927.

Karl Friedrich Geldner, *Avesta: The Sacred Book of the Parsis*, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1896 (see also *Rigveda*).

Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959.

Philippe Gignoux, “How Has the Avestan *Xvarenah* Been Interpreted in the Philosophical Pahlavi Texts?” in Fereyduṅ Vahman and Claus V. Pedersen, eds., *Religious Texts in Iranian Languages: Symposium Held in Copenhagen May 2002*, *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Copenhagen, 2006, pp. 175-84.

Philippe Gignoux and Ahmad Tafazzoli: see [Zādspram](#).

Gherardo Gnoli, *Zoroaster’s Time and Homeland: A Study on the Origins of Mazdeism and Related Problems*, Naples, 1980.

Louis H. Gray, “Kai Lohrasp and Nebuchadrezzar,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 18, 1904, pp. 291-98.

Alfred von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, preface by Thodore



Nöldeke, Tübingen, 1888; repr., Graz, 1973.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Ḥamza Eṣfahāni, *Ketāb ta'riḳ seni moluk al-arż wa'l-anbiā'*, ed. and Latin tr. J. M. E. Gottwaldt, 2 vols., St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1844-48; tr. Ja'far Še'ār, as *Tāriḳ-e payāambarān wa šāhān*, Tehran, 1967.

Martin Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1862; 3rd ed., edited and enlarged by E. W. West, London, 1884.

Walter B. Henning, *Zoroaster: Politician or Witch-Doctor?* Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, London, 1951.

Idem, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11, 1943, pp. 52-74; repr. in idem, 1977, II, pp. 115-37.

Idem, *W. B. Henning Selected Papers*, 2 vols., Acta Iranica 14-15, Tehran and Leiden, 1977.

Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, Paris, 1697.

Johannes Hertel, *Achaemeniden und Kayaniden: Ein beitrag zur geschichte Irans*, Leipzig, 1924.

Ernst Herzfeld, "Zarathustra," *AMI* 1, 1929, pp. 76-185: "Teil I: Der geschichtliche Vištāspa," pp. 77-123; "Teil II: Die Heroogonie," pp. 125-168; "Teil III. Der awestische Vištāspa," pp. 169-85.

Idem, "Vishtāspa," in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume: Papers on Indo-Iranian and Other Subjects, Written . . . in Honour of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi*, Bombay, 1930, pp. 183-205.

Idem, "Mythos und Geschichte," *AMI* 6, 1936, pp. 1-109.

Almut Hintze, ed. and tr., *Zamyād-Yašt: Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Wiesbaden, 1994.

Helmut Humbach and Pallan Ichaporia, ed. and tr., *Zamyād Yasht: Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta: Text, Translation, Commentary*, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Helmut Humbach and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli III/1: Restored Text and Translation and III/2: Commentary* by P. O.



Skjærvø, Wiesbaden, 1983.

Thomas Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, Oxford, 1700; 2nd ed., *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia*, Oxford, 1760.

Mahmoud Jaafari-Dehgani: see Manuščihr.

Abraham V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster: The Ancient Prophet of Iran*, New York, 1898 (several reprints).

Idem, *Zoroastrian Studies: The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs*, New York, 1928; repr., 1965.

Jalāl-al-Din Mirzā, *Nāma-ye ƙosrovān: dāstān-e pādšāhān-e Pārs be zabān-e pārsi ke sudmand-e mardomān be viža kudakān ast*, Vienna ed., 1880; repr., Tehran, 1976.

Jamasp-Asana, ed.: see *The Pahlavi Texts Contained in the Codex MK II*, Bombay, 1897.

Stephanie W. Jamison, “Penelope and the Pigs: Indic Perspectives on the Odyssey,” *Classical Antiquity* 18, 1999, pp. 227-72.

Idem, *The Rig Veda Between Two Worlds/Le Ṛgveda entre deux mondes: Quatre conférences au Collège de France en mai 2004*, Paris, 2007.

William Jones, “The Sixth Discourse: on the Persians,” *Asiatick Researches* Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia 2, 1790, pp. 43-66; repr. in idem, *The Works of Sir William Jones*, London, 1799, I, pp. 73-94.

Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895; repr., Hildesheim, 1963.

Idem, “Geschichte Irans von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sāsāniden,” in *Grundriss II*, 1904, pp. 395-549.

*Kār-nāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*, ed. and tr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, as *Kār-nāma-ī Artakhsīr-ī Pāpakān*, Bombay, 1935.



Jean Kellens, “L’Avesta comme source historique: la liste des Kayanides,” in *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 24, 1976, pp. 37-49.

Idem, “Langues et religions indo-iraniennes: de la naissance des montagnes à la fin du temps: le Yašt 19,” *Annuaire du Collège de France: résumé des cours et travaux*, 1997-98, pp. 737-64.

Idem, “Langues et religions indo-iraniennes: promenade dans les Yašts à la lumière de travaux nouveaux (suite),” *Annuaire du Collège de France: résumé des cours et travaux*, 1999- 2000, pp. 721-51.

Idem, “L’Idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides,” *JA* 290, 2002, pp. 417-64. Idem, *Études avestiques et mazdéennes II: Le Hōm Stōm et la zone des déclarations (Y7.24-Y15.4, avec les intercalations de Vr3 à 6)*, Paris, 2007; reviewed by Prods Oktor Skjærvø, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 104, 2009, cols. 703-8.

Jean Kellens and Eric Pirart, ed. and tr., *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1988- 91.

Ġiāṭ-al-Din Moḥammad K̄vāndamir, *Tāriḳ-e ḥabib al-siar*, ed. Jalāl-al-Din Homā’i, 4 vols., Tehran, 1954, I, pp. 190-208.

Abu ‘Abd-Allāh Moḥammad K̄vārazmi, *Mafātiḥ al-‘olum*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden, 1895; tr. Ḥosayn K̄adiv-Jam, as *Tarjama-ye Mafātiḥ al-‘olum*, Tehran, 1968.

Anna Krasnowolska, “The Heroes of the Iranian Epic Tale,” *Folia Orientalia* 24, 1987, pp. 173- 89.

William W. Malandra, *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion: Readings from the Avesta and Achaemenid Inscriptions*, Minneapolis, 1983.

John Malcolm, *The History of Persia, from the Most Early Period to the Present Time: Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages, and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom*, London, 1815; new rev. ed., London, 1829.

Manuščihr Gušnjam/Juwānjam, *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, pt. 1 [questions 1-40], ed. and tr. Mahmoud Jaafari-Dehgani, as *Dādestān ī dēnīg, Part I: Transcription, Translation and Commentary*, *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 20, Paris, 1998; pt. 2



[questions 41-93], ed. Peshotan K. Anklesaria, as “A Critical Edition of the Unedited Portion of the Dādestān-i Dīnik,” doctoral thesis, University of London, 1958; tr. E. W. West, in *Pahlavi Texts II*, Sacred Books of the East 18, Oxford, 1882.

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali Mas'udi, *Moruj al-dahab wa ma'āden al-jawhar*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, revised new ed. by Charles Pellat, 7 vols., Beirut, 1966-79; tr., Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, as *Les Prairies d'or*, revised and corrected by Charles Pellat, 3 vols., Paris, 1962-71.

Manfred Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch I*, Vienna, 1979.

Jean de Menasce: see *Dēnkard*, book 3.

*Mēnōy xrad*, ed. Tahmuras D. Anklesaria as *Dānāku mainyô-i khard*, Bombay, 1913; tr., E. W. West, as “Dīnâ-î maīnôgî khirad,” in *Pahlavi Texts III*, Sacred Books of the East 24, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1885, pp. 3-113; tr., Aḥmad Tafazzoli, as *Mīnōg ī xrad/Minu-ye kerad*, Tehran, 1975; repr., Tehran, 1995.

Abu'l-Faḡl Rašid-al- Din Meybodi, *Kašf al-asrār wa 'oddāt al-abrār*, ed. 'Ali-Aṣḡar Ḥekmat et al., 10 vols., Tehran, 1952-60; reprinted several times.

Moḥammad Mirkvānd, *Tāriḡ-e rawżat al-ṣafā*, 11 vols., Tehran, 1959-72; ed. Jamšid Kayānfār, as *Tāriḡ-e rawżat al-ṣafā fī sirat al-anbiā' wa'l-moluk wa'l-ḡolafā'*, 7 vols. in 11, Tehran, 2001; tr., David Shea, as *History of the Early Kings of Persia from Kaiomars, the First of the Peshdadian Dynasty, to the Conquest of Iran by Alexander the Great*, London, 1832.

H. K. Mirza: see *Pahlavi Rivāyat*.

Marijan Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien: Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne*, Paris, 1963 (also pub. as *Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne*).

Idem, 1967: see *Dēnkard*, book 7.

Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi, *Tāriḡ-e gozida*, ed. 'Abd-Ḥosayn Navā'i, 2 vols., Tehran, 1957-60.

James H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and in London, February to May 1912*, London, 1913.



*Mojmal al-tawārīk wa'l-qeşaş ta'lif-e sāl-e 520 hejri*, ed. Malek-al-Šo'arā' Moḥammad-Taqi Bahār, Tehran, 1939; ms. ed. Iraj Afšār and Maḥmud Omidsālār, as *Mojmal al-tawārīk wa'l-qeşaş ta'lif-e sāl-e 520 qamari: Noska-ye 'aksi-e mowarraḳ-e 751 (Ketāb-kāna-ye dawlati-e Berlin)*, Ganjina-ye noska-bargardān-e motun-e fārsi, no. 1, Tehran, 2001.

Theodor Nöldeke, "Kayanier im Awestā," *ZDMG* 32, 1878, pp. 570-72.

Idem, "Das iranische nationalepos," in *Grundriss* II, pp. 130-211; published separately, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920; tr., Leonid Th. Bogdanov, as *The Iranian National Epic, or, The Shahnamah*, Bombay, 1930; repr., Philadelphia, 1979; tr., Bozorg 'Alawi, as *Ḥamāsaye melli-e Irān*, Tehran, 1969.

Henrik S. Nyberg, *Irans forntidiga religioner*, Stockholm, 1937; tr. Hans H. Schaeder, as *Die Religionen des Alten Iran*, Leipzig, 1938; repr., Osnabrück, 1966. *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, ed. and tr. Alan V. Williams, as *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* I-II, Det Kong. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, hist.fil. medd. 60, 1-2, Copenhagen, 1990; ed. and tr. H. K. Mirza, as "The Pahlavi Rivayat Preceding the Dadestan i Dinik," Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1942; tr., Mahšid Mir-Fakrā'i, as *Rewāyat-e Pahlavi*, Tehran, 1988. *The Pahlavi Texts Contained in the Codex MK Copied in 1322 . . .*, vol. II, ed. Jamaspji Minochehrji Jamasp-Asana, Bombay, 1913; reprinted as *Motūn-e Pahlavi: tarjama, āvānevešt* by Sa'id 'Oryān, Tehran, 1992 (page nos. in brackets).

Eric V. Pirart, *Kay.n Yasn (Yasht 19.9-96): l'origine avestique des dynasties mythiques d'Iran*, Sabadell-Barcelona, 1992.

Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia . . . during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820*, 2 vols., London, 1821-22.

Ebrāhim Purdāwud, "Kayāniān," in idem tr. with commentary, *Yaštḥā*, two vols., Bombay, n.d., II, pp. 207-88.

Henry C. Rawlinson, *The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, Decyphered and Translated with a Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in General, and on that of Behistun in Particular* I, London, 1846.

*Rigveda*, ed. Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, as *Rig Veda: A Metrically Restored Text with An Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge, Mass., 1994; tr., Karl Friedrich Geldner as *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*, 4 vols., Cambridge,



Mass., 1951-57; repr. in one vol., Cambridge, Mass., 2003.

Ḍabiḥ-Allāh Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāyi dar Irān*, 4th ed. Tehran, 1984, pp. 485-548.

Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr, ed. and tr. Touraj Daryaee, as *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History with English and Persian Translations*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2002.

Šams-e Faḳri Ešfahāni, *Vāža-nāma-ye fārsi: baḳš-e čahārom-e Me'yār-e jamāli*, ed. Šādeq Kiā, Tehran, 1958.

Šāyist nē šāyist, ed. Jehangir C. Tavadia, as *Šāyast-nē-šāyast: A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs*, Hamburg, 1930.

Ulrich Schapka, “Die persischen Vogelnamen,” Ph.D. diss., Würzburg, 1972.

Hanns-Peter Schmidt, *Vedisch vratá und awestisch urvāta*, Hamburg, 1958.

Idem, “Gathic *maga* and Vedic *maghá*,” in *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute International Congress Proceedings (5th to 8th January, 1989)*, Bombay, 1991, pp. 220-39.

Idem, “Zaraθuštra and His Patrons,” in Mehrborzin Soroushian, Farrokh Vajifdar, and Carlo G. Cereti, eds., *Ātaš-e dorun. The Fire Within: Jamshid Soroush Soroushian Memorial Volume*, Tehran, 2003, pp. 357-76.

Rüdiger Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr.*, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch V/5a*, Vienna, 2011.

Nicholas Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*, *Berliner Turfantexte 12*, Berlin, 1985.

Prods Oktor Skjærvø “Iranian Epic and the Manichean Book of Giants: Irano-Manichaica III,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48/1-2 = Éva Jeremias, ed., *Zsigismond Telegdi Memorial Volume*, Budapest, 1995 [pub. 1997], pp. 187-223.

Idem, “Zarathustra in the Avesta and in Manicheism: Irano-Manichaica IV,” in *La Persia e l'Asia centrale da Alessandro al X secolo . . . (Roma, 9-12 novembre 1994)*, Rome, 1996, pp. 597-628.

Idem, “Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions III: Zarathustra and Diomedes: An



Indo-European Epic Warrior Type,” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 11, 1997 [pub. 2000], pp. 175-82.

Idem, “Royalty in Early Iranian Literature,” in Nicholas Sims-Williams, ed., *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies . . . Cambridge . . . 1995*, Wiesbaden, 1998a, pp. 99-107.

Idem, “Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions I. Siyāvaš and Kunāla,” in Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert, and Lisi Oliver, eds., *Mīr Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, Innsbruck, 1998b, pp. 645-58.

Idem, “Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions II: Rostam and Bhīṣma,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 51, 1998c, pp. 159- 70.

Idem, “Avestan Quotations in Old Persian?” in Shaul Shaked and Amnon Netzer, eds., *Irano-Judaica IV*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 1-64.

Idem, “Rivals and Bad Poets: The Poet’s Complaint in the Old Avesta,” in Maria G. Schmidt and Walter Bisang, eds., *Philologica et Linguistica: Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001*, Trier, 2001, pp. 351-76.

Idem, “Praise and Blame in the Avesta: The Poet-Sacrificer and His Duties,” in *Studies in Honour of Shaul Shaked*, Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 26, 2 vols., Jerusalem, 2002, I, pp. 29-67.

Idem, “Zarathustra: First Poet-Sacrificer,” in Siamak Adhami, ed., *Paitimāna: Essays in Iranian, Indian, and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt*, 2 vols., Costa Mesa, Calif., 2003, II, pp. 1-47.

Idem, “Smashing Urine: On *Yasna* 48.10,” in Michael Stausberg, ed., *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*, Leiden and Boston, 2004, pp. 253-81.

Idem, “Avestan and Old Persian Morphology,” in Alan S. Kaye, ed., *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*, Winona Lake, Ind., 2007, pp. 853-940.

Idem, “The *Gāθās* and the Kusti,” in Mahmud Jaafari-Dehaghi, ed., *One for the Earth: Prof. Dr. Y. Mahyar Nawabi Memorial Volume*, Tehran, 2008a, pp. 117-33.

Idem, “*Tahādī*: Gifts and Counter-Gifts in the Ancient Zoroastrian Ritual,” in Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson, eds., *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on His 65th Birthday*



*Presented by His Students and Collegues*, Leiden and Boston, 2008b, pp. 493-520.

Idem, "Middle West Iranian," in Gernot Windfuhr, ed., *The Iranian Languages*, London and New York, 2009a, pp. 196-278.

Idem, 2009b: see Kellens, 2007.

Idem. *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism*, New Haven and London, 2011.

Friedrich Spiegel, *Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen: Aus dem Grundtexte übersetzt, mit steter Rücksicht auf die Tradition*, 3 vols. in 2, Leipzig, 1852-63.

Idem, *Erânische Alterthumskunde 1. Geographie, Ethnographie und älteste Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1871.

Idem, "Awestâ und Shâhnâme," *ZDMG* 45, 1891, pp. 187-203.

Werner Sundermann, "Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer," *Die Sprache* 36, 1994, pp. 244-70.

Abu Manşur 'Abd-al-Malek Ta'ālebi, *Gorar akbār moluk al-fors*, ed. and tr. Hermann Zotenberg as *Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris, 1900.

Moḥammad b. Jarir Ṭabari, *Ta'riḳ al-rosol wa'l-moluk*, ed. Michaël Jan De Goeje et al., 15 vols., repr., Leiden, 1964, I/1, pp. 179-83; tr. by various scholars as *The History of al-Ṭabari*, 40 vols., Albany, New York, 1985-2007, III, tr. William M. Brinner, as *The Children of Israel*, 1991; IV, tr. Moshe Perlmann, as *The Ancient Kingdoms*, 1987.

*Tāriḳ-e Sistān*, ed. Moḥammad-Taḳi Malek-al-Šo'arā' Bahār, Tehran, ca. 1935; tr., Milton Gold, as *The Tāriḳh-e Sistān*, Rome, 1976.

J. C. Tavadia: see *Šāyist nē šāyist*.

TD4a, ed. by K. M. Jamasp Asa, Y. Mahyar Nawwabi, and M. Tavousi, as *Manuscript TD4a: The Pahlavi Rivāyat, Dātistān-i Dinik, Nāmakihā ī Manushchihhr and Vichitakihā-i Zātaspram etc.*, The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches 52, Shiraz, 1978.

Cornelis Petrus Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, tr. Georg Gehrlich, 2 vols. in 3, Gotha, 1896-1903.



Yuhan S.-D. Vevaina: see *Dēnkard*, book 9.

Constantin-François Volney, *Chronologie d'Hérodote, conforme à son texte*, pt. 2: *Empires des Assyriens et des M. des: Prise de Troie, selon les annales de Tyr et de Ninive; Époque de Ninus, selon les Arabes homérites; Époques de Zoroastre, de Zohak, de Féridon, etc., prouvées par Hérodote*, Paris, 1808.

Idem, *Recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire ancienne*, 3 vols., Paris, 1814-15.

Ernst Waldschmidt and Walter Lentz, "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 13, 1933 pp. 478-607.

Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, New York and Oxford, 1995.

Dieter Weber, "Zur sogdischen Personennamengebung," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 77, 1972, pp. 191-208.

Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart, 1965.

Alan V. Williams, see *Pahlavi Rivāyat*.

*Wizīrgerd ī dēnīg*, ed., Peshotan Behramji Sanjana (Pešotan Behrāmjī Sanjānā), as *Daftar ī Wizīrgerd ī Dēnīg*, Bombay, 1218 [AY]/1848.

Ehsan Yarshater, "Iranian National History," in *Camb. Hist. Iran* III/1, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 359-477.

*Yašt* 19: see Hintze; Humbach and Ichaporia; Pirart.

Zādspram, *Wizīdagīhā*, ed. and tr. Philippe Gignoux and Ahmad Tafazzoli, as *Anthologie de Zādspram: édition critique du texte pehlevi*, Studia Iranica, Cahier 13, Paris, 1993.

*Zāmyād Yašt*: see Almut Hintze; Humbach, 1999.

*Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, ed. and tr. Carlo G. Cereti as *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, Rome, 1995.