

Ec 765













CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

## KNOWLEDGE OF PARSEE LITERATURE.

BY ED. SACHAU, PH. D.

On comparing with one another the two most ancient periods of development of the Iranian mind, in language as well as in literature,—that primitive one, whose witness is the Avesta, with the period of renaissance under Sasanian rule,—we find at once this striking difference, that the former is purely national and Iranian, almost wholly free from any foreign influence, whilst the latter, as it appears in the Pahlavi translations and the inscriptions of the Sasanian kings, is overwhelmed by foreign, Semitic, or more accurately speaking, Aramæan elements. The difficulties in explaining the pure Persian substratum of the language of this latter period, for even here not every problem has yet been solved, are by no means to be compared with those offered by the Semitic forms and words, which appear to the Indo-german linguist utterly unknown, to the Semitic scholar more than strange. Though a great quantity of highly valuable material has already been collected and digested by European scholars, still I do not think it sufficient to enable us to decide in a satisfactory manner the following questions:—During what time did that close intercourse between the Iranian and Semitic races take place, the existence of which we are compelled to assume as the source of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi language? Of what kind was this intercourse? And with which of the Aramæan nations in particular? The same questions demand an answer, in order to explain the numerous Iranian words which occur in the literature of the Babylonian Jews, in Syriac, in the Koran, and the most ancient Arabic poems.

Our attention is naturally drawn, in the first place, to the contemporary Syriac literature, but the reports of the Nestorian missionaries, who went forth preaching Christianity







Nestorian Patriarchs in the middle of the twelfth century, as "being learned in Syriac and Persian, and the translator of many books from Syriac into Persian" (وكان ماهرا بالسريانية) (والفارسية ونقل كتباً كثيرة من السريانية إلى الفارسية). We are also told by Bar Hebraeus, that he translated the works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia from Greek into Syriac (Assem. Bibl. Or. 3, 1, p. 376).

Acacius, appointed Jâthelîk A.D. 485, officiated as an ambassador of Fêrôz to the court of Zeno, and is stated by the same Mârî to have translated into Persian the treatise *في الامانة* of his contemporary 'Elisha', Metropolitan of Nisibis, by the command of Kawâd, who wished to have it, in order to discriminate between Christian and Manichæan doctrines (Assem. 3, 1, p. 378 ff.)

Job, who flourished about A.D. 550, a Nestorian monk from Hardashîr, is reported by Mârî to have translated into Persian two works of the most celebrated teachers of the Eastern Church, the *ميامر* (homilies) of Abraham of Naftar, and the *قوانين* (canons) of his own teacher, Abraham of Kashkar. The latter of these was the founder of monastic life amongst the Nestorians (about A.D. 500). Ebedyeshû mentions his "regulæ pro monachorum regimine" (Assem. 3, 1, p. 155, note a). The former, who probably lived about the same time, was a very popular author, both with Nestorians and Monophysites, as we may gather from the numerous remains of his works, which have survived thirteen centuries, and are at present deposited in the Vatican and the British Museum. (Add. 14, 623; 12, 167, dated A. Gr. 1187=A.D. 876; 18, 814; 17, 180; 17, 262; 14, 614; 14, 738; 17, 174). Cf. Assem. 3, 1, p. 431.

As a great many of the writers and chief authorities for the Eastern Church were native Persians, several of them converts from the Zoroastrian creed, (such as Jesaiah Bar Hadabû Arzunâyâ, originally a Persian courtier, then the author of acts of Christian martyrs, about the beginning of the fourth century after Christ; Farhâd, the wise Persian, who wrote his sermons, according to his own statements, be-

tween A.D. 337-345;<sup>1</sup> Theophilus Persa, who wrote against Cyril; Mares Persa, the friend of Ibas of Edessa; Simeon of Betharsam, the ܣܝܡܝܘܢ ܒܝܬܐܪܨܡ, about A.D. 525; Mâr Abâ I. (died A.D. 552) born a Zoroastrian, and many others)—it seems natural, that some of them at least should have endeavoured to provide their fellow Christians in the Persian empire with prayers, hymns, sermons, histories of saints, rules of ascetic life, etc., in their own tongue; and, accordingly, we have precise statements as to the three Syriac authors above mentioned, two Nestorians and one before the Nestorian schism, to whom we may add from a later period, when Islâm already prevailed in those countries, Ahron Persa, who became famous, about A.D. 665, as ܐܗܪܘܢ ܒܝܬܐܪܨܡ “the Persian translator.” (Assem. 2, p. 104a).

As regards the contents of this literature, its having perished is no great loss to science in general, but to know the language in which it was composed would afford us considerable help in solving the problems which the Pahlavi offers. It is possible, that one day a monastery may be found, like that of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert, which will re-open to us the stores of the older Nestorian literature, and yield us amongst them perhaps a few leaves of the above-mentioned translations into Persian; but I cannot think this very likely, as the American missionaries in Urmia do not seem hitherto to have found anything of the kind.

But to return to the point from which we started, the fact of the Pahlavi being almost overwhelmed by Aramaean influence, does not seem to have altered the essential character of the language in the least, as we learn by an examination of the language of the following period of Parsee literature, that of the so-called Pâzand or Pârsî translations, which are attempts to read and explain the ambiguous Pahlavi writing in a clear and distinct character. The main point in which this language differs from the Pahlavi is, that all the Aramaean words have given way to the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> The compositions of Farhâd, the most ancient Syriac church-father, are published in an excellent edition by Dr. W. Wright, London, 1869, Williams & Norgate; besides, the editor is about to make them more generally accessible by an English translation.

Iranian ones, and that every Semitic element has vanished, without leaving a trace of its former existence. This is one of the chief reasons why the Pahlavi is believed never to have been spoken generally by a whole nation or tribe, but to have been the learned language of the priests in the Sasanian empire. It was, to use Westergaard's words, "lingua quae per studium artificiosum et quidem arbitrarium miris signis formationibusque a natura alienis onerata et sequentium temporum ignorantia magnopere obscurata est."

The date of the Pahlavi, as well as of the Pâzand period, has not yet been accurately fixed. The time of the former, represented by the translations of the Avesta, by the Ardâ-Virâfnâma and Minôikhired, is assumed to extend from Ardashîr, the son of Bâbak (A.D. 227), till towards the end of the Sasanian rule; and that of the latter, represented by the Pârsî translations, from the conquest of Persia by the Arabs to the tenth or eleventh century after Christ, when the Zoroastrian creed was still widely diffused over the whole of the Iranian territories, as we learn from the coins of the Ispahbads of Taberistân with Pahlavi legends, and from the indubitable testimony of Ibn Hâukal. During the following centuries (eleventh and twelfth) the decay of the national religion was completed, its comparatively few remaining followers were confined to Yazd and other parts of Karmân, and an emigration of some of them to India not improbably took place. In this period of misfortune and distress, we cannot expect to find any remarkable literary tendencies, and it seems to mark a second break in the tradition in a certain way similar to that which we notice between the original Zand-texts and their translations into Pahlavi. The revival of Parsee literature in India proceeded from Karmân, where the learned tradition always was kept more free from foreign influence, and dates at the earliest from the end of the thirteenth century. In its subsequent development it may be divided into three parts, which partake, on the whole, of a more scientific and learned character, in our sense of the terms, than the former periods. The first part, written in Pahlavi, comprises views of the whole of the Zoroastrian theology or of



portions of it, especially of the eschatology, according to the text of the Avesta, and oral tradition, such as the Bundelesh and Bahmanyasht. A certain amount of skill in writing Pahlavi seems to have been kept up amongst the Parsee clergy down to our time, as they were still able to compose the Vajar-kart-dînik, most likely within the present century. The second division of these Parsee writings composed in Persian, exhibits a sort of Talmudic literature, the riwâyât, digests of the religious rules for the casuistry of common life,<sup>1</sup> dogmatical and legendary treatises, the Shâyist-Nâshâyist, the Saddar, 'Ulamâi Islâm, Jâmâspnâma, etc. Not long after were composed the poetical redactions of these and older works, *e.g.*, of the Ardâi-Vîrâf and the Saddari nazm, and original poetical compositions, such as the Zartushtnâma and Kiṣṣai Sanjân. These latter may have been influenced to a certain extent by the tendencies prevailing in Akbar's court. To the same period, we may assign the Sanskrit translations of Neriosangh and Ormuzdyâr. As the last, and least valuable, development of Parsee literature, we have to mention that mixture of Sufism and Zoroastrianism, which had its origin during the second half of the sixteenth century, with Âdar Kaiwân (died 1618) and his followers, the so-called Sipâsi Sûfis. This is represented by the Dasâtîr, the Shâristân of Bahrâm Farhâd (about 1624) and the Dabistân of Muḥsin Fânî.

Whilst the older portions of this literature, the Avesta and its translations, have been published nearly in their entirety, the later portions are but little known. The Bundelesh has been edited by Westergaard, and more recently by Justi, and Haug promises a new edition; the Saddari nazm, the Kiṣṣai Sanjân, the Zartushtnâma, the Persian translation of the Ardâi-Vîrâf,<sup>2</sup> have been translated, one into Latin, the others into English; Dastûr Hôshangji has published, at the

<sup>1</sup> One of the chief râwis is کامدین شاپور, to whom the first part of Z. and P. 8 is ascribed; others are بهمن پونجیہ, برزو قیامدین, نریمان ہوشنگ, کامہ بہرہ, مانگ چنکا, کاوس کامدین, کاوس کامان.

<sup>2</sup> This translation (by J. A. Pope, London, 1816,) has become so rare, that neither the British Museum, nor the Library of the Roy. As. Soc. possess a copy of it.



recommendation and with the help of Dr. M. Haug, an old Zand-Pahlavi glossary, and the same scholar announces a Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary, a translation and explanation of the inscriptions of Hâjîâbâd, and an edition of the Ardâi-Vîrâf-nâma by Dastûr Hôshangji.

In the following pages, I shall give an account of a few Parsee works, of the New Persian class, hitherto partially or entirely unknown in Europe; not following a systematic order, but merely accommodating myself to the materials which are at my disposal.

In the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, there is preserved a paper manuscript in Persian, without date or name of copyist, but probably written about the end of the last or beginning of the present century (121 foll.). Some emendations in the margin show its having been collated with the original manuscript. On the first fly-leaf we find these two notes:—"From the Atash Bahram. The temple built at Surat by Pestanji Kalabhai Wakeel.<sup>1</sup> Presented by his son Naushirwanji to John Romer. March, 1856;" and, "This is the book of Parsi Bahramji Naushirwanji Kraji." It contains two works, the first of which is a metrical paraphrase of the Mînôikhirad (metr. متقارب) foll. 1-61, beginning  
بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان آغاز داستان وصف خرد از گفته مرزبان  
راوری. The author, Marzubân, a native of Râwar, is also mentioned in the title of the second poem (fol. 61 b, lin. ult.) and in several other places, *e.g.* fol. 9a, line 7.

چنین دان ایا نام دار سُخَن . که چون مرزبان داشت راور و وطن

"Now, o glorious (reader), listen to the word as Marzubân, the native of Râwar, had it." The name also occurs on fol. 57a, l. 4, and 61 b, l. 1. As to his native place, Yâkût (MS. of the British Museum) gives the following notice: راور بتکریر: الراء وفتح الواو مدينة كبيرة بالسند من فتوح محمد بن القاسم الثقفي  
"Râwar, a large town in Sind, conquered by Muḥammad ben Alkâsim Attakâfi;" and this latter statement is confirmed by

<sup>1</sup> This statement is confirmed by Wilson, the Parsee religion, p. 557, note 5.

Albalâdhori (ed. of De Goeje, p. ۴۳۹, line 1), قالوا وقتیح محمد, "it is reported that Muḥammad ben Alkâsim took Râwar by force," which happened under the rule of Walîd b. 'Abdulmalik (A.D. 705—715).

The introductory tale, in this translation, is somewhat different from that of the original.<sup>1</sup> The first chapter (fol. 1b) contains the praise of God as the creator of the seven kishwars. The second chapter (fol 2a, lin. ult.) در معجزات begins with a few lines in praise of Zartusht, who is called خلیل خدا (perhaps in imitation of the Muhammadan خلیل الله, Abraham). The author then describes how Ahuramazdâ revealed himself to Zartusht and communicated to him the divine writings, the twenty-one nusks of the Avasta. Vohuman and Srôsh lead him to heaven; when he has passed the five spheres, his glory is increased in the sixth by the light of the prototypes of all created beings (حقایق); after having come to the seventh sphere, he heard the answer to every question he put; God "gave him from the light of his veil the book of the good religion in twenty-one chapters."

Fol. 2b, l. 10.

وهومن ندیم وسروشش دلیل شده رهنمای سوی گاه جلیل  
 چه از باد پایه گذشتش مقام زخیل ملایک رسیدش سلام  
 گذارش چو شد باد پایه سپهر بسوی ستر پایه شد تازه چهر  
 چهارم چه مه پایه را طی نمود زخورشید پایه رسیدش<sup>2</sup> درود  
 بروشن آتر در ششم هر طرف فرودش ز نور حقایق شرف  
 چه در پایه گاه هفتم رسید هر آنچه که پرسید پاسخ شنید  
 بدو داد یزدان ز نور حجاب زدین بهی بیست و یک در کتاب

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of comparison, I use only those extracts that are accessible to everybody in the careful edition of Spiegel (Gramatik der Parsisprache, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 128-155). The MS. of the Library of the India Office was not at my disposal, when I wrote this.

<sup>2</sup> MS. رشیدش.

The author next gives a very general description of the twenty-one nuskas of the Avasta, and expatiates on the importance of the Khirad (*σοφία*), describing it as the inseparable friend and confidant of Zarathustra, by whose special help he was enabled to carry out the prophetic mission entrusted to him by Ahuramazdâ. Fol. 8 a, l. 6.

بهر کار بر وی خرد یار کرد ورا محرم راز اسرار کرد  
 خرد کرد پیوسته دمساز او که باشد خرد محرم راز او  
 خرد را چه با او سر و کار بود بهر رزم و بزیمش خرد یار بود  
 چو پیوسته بودش خرد راه بر زاسرار پوشیده بودش خبر  
 خرد بود در هر غممش غمکسار خرد در حریمش بدی پرده دار  
 گل دلکشایش خرد بد بباغ به شهبایش تارش خرد بد چراغ  
 خرد کرد اعدای او را ذلیل خرد بود بر معجزاتش دلیل  
 گراز جادوان خصم بسیار داشت بشد منتهی چون خرد یار داشت  
 جهانیش خصم و خرد خصم سوز خرد دلکشای و خرد دلفروز  
 چو یزدان خرد را بیاریش داد زهر بد خرد رستکاریش داد  
 چو دین بهی را نمودار کرد خرد کامکارش بهر کار کرد

In the following chapter, fol. 8 b,

در وصف خرد بیاری جناب احدیت گوید

the author begs God to bestow his mercy upon him, that he may give the description of the Khirad in verse. Fol. 9 a, l. 5.

کنون باز کردم بکار خرد بهمینوی پاسخ کذار خرد  
 چنین دان ای نام دار سخن که چون مرزبان داشت راوروطن

“Now I have revealed the operation of the Khirad; let the Khirad itself bring me the heavenly answer (to my questions). Now, o glorious (reader), listen to the word, as Marzubân, the native of Râwar, had it.”

In the last introductory chapter, fol. 9a, *وصف حال شاعر*, and *دوستان موافق*, the author gives an account of himself, and tells us whence he received his learning. He went to Yazd and stayed there some time, occupied in learning the old traditions. His teacher tells him: "Once, a younger friend of mine, Fûlâdi Gushtâb, wished to study the Mînôkhirad, written in Pahlavi characters; at his request I transliterated it into 'this Pârsî character.'" When he died, Marzubân received the manuscript and turned the work into verse. I give the text in extenso. Fol. 9a, l. 9.

قصاء<sup>1</sup> سپهری بیزدم کشید زهر سو شدم نیک خواهی پدید  
 بویژه کسی کو خرد یار داشت همیشه بوصفش سر و کار داشت  
 کجا رستم پور کشتاب بود گذشته ز دانش ز جاماسب بود  
 بمن آتجان آشنای گماشت کز الفت زمانی جدای نداشت  
 چنین گفت روزی برادر یکی مرا بودی کش سال بود اندکی  
 ورا بود فولاد کشتاب نام ندیده ز امید آفاق کام  
 به وصف خرد آرزو داشتی دمامم برو مهر بگماشتی  
 نوشته بد این وصف با معنوی (?) به خطی که خوانی ورا پهلوئی  
 ز بهر وی این نقش پیچیدمش بدین پارسی خط پسندیدمش  
 که همراز باشد ورا در جهان نماید بدان راه با هم‌رهان  
 چو بر کام او کردمش ساخته قضارا شدش جای پرداخته  
 ز گیتی گذر کرد و این نامه ماند زمشکان مرا اشک خونین فشاند  
 پذیرفتم ازان مکان خرد که تا نظم سازم بیان خرد

Then follow the contents of the Mînôikhîrad in fifty-four questions and answers, foll. 10a-54a, besides a conclusion in three chapters.

I. Fol. 54a. در مناجات قاضی الحاجات

II. Fol. 55b. در تصریح و خواهش شاعر از ایزد تعالی

III. Fol. 58b. در نصیحت خافلان و انجام کتاب

<sup>1</sup> MS. قصاء.



At the end there is added, in eight lines, a short account in prose of the six sorts of fires. As far as I can see, the work is complete, with one exception, viz., the first chapter is followed immediately by the ninth, though it only contains two questions and answers, the first fol. 10*a*, the second fol. 13*b*, l. 12, whence it would appear, that six questions and answers are wanting.

This may suffice as a description of the externals of the work. I shall have now to show its character and value, as well as its relationship to the Pahlavi or Pârsî text, in which I mark Marzubân's translation by M. and the Pârsî text (edition of Spiegel) P. And first, it may be noticed, that, to Marzubân, as to everybody who is not an accomplished master of the art of versification, the rhyme is a very serious obstacle, and that in general, we can rely more upon the first hemistich, as to the genuineness of its contents, than upon the second, where the rhyme is paramount to every other consideration. It was not the author's aim to give a translation of the work, but following the original, verse by verse, to bring its contents into a pleasing form. To effect this, he makes occasional additions or omissions, and generalises or transforms, according to the later tradition, the singularities, not to say oddities of the Parsee Mythology, which he either did not understand, or more probably did not think fit for his purpose, which evidently was to entertain. This paraphrase has not been made from the hitherto known Pâzand translation; for its proper nouns sometimes appear in a different shape, which can only be owing to the ambiguous Pahlavi character, not to the Zand writing, as this expresses every vowel and consonant separately. Neither does it seem to have been made from the same redaction in Pahlavi, which is the source of the Pâzand translation; for the arrangement of the single verses is sometimes different. The original is that Pahlavi text, which Marzubân's teacher transliterated for his friend Fûlâd i Gushtâb into the Pâzand character in Yazd (*v.* introduction). Both M. and P. are independent efforts to interpret the original; the former has often gone very far wrong, but P. too does not seem to have expressed

everywhere the full meaning of the Pahlavi original, as Windischmann already supposed.

The dev aêshma is written in P. as usual *khashm* (Spiegel, 136, l. 27, 28), by M. هیشم (fol. 23b, l. 10), which is to be derived from a variety of reading of the Pahlavi text, as it occurs in the Parisian manuscript of the Bundeshesh (edition of Justi, p. 76, 10 ; 82, 3, 6).

P. writes *ganiratha ganiras* (Sp. 142, 19), M. (fol. 52b, l. 4) هویرت; one read the same sign *n*, the other (wrongly) *w*, in سردلن. Among the manuscripts of the Bundeshesh, that of Copenhagen has always this reading, except in two places, that of Oxford almost always, and the Parisian one sometimes, so that I cannot see why Justi has constantly written both in his text and glossary خونیرس.

Raêvand, Pushti Gushtâspân (Spiegel, 148, 8) and Pêsh-yânsai are different names for the same mythical place, where Sâm's body lies (Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 9 and 247, Anm. 1). The Bundeshesh writes always in Zand characters *pêshyânsai*, and if we transliterate this into the Pahlavi character, we can readily explain the reading of M. دشت پشندس (fol. 51b, l. 9) assuming, that in his copy the second character, the compound یش was missing.

When M. writes دز کنت for P.'s *kañdîzh* and تور for *thôzh* (Sp. 137, 34), I do not consider these to be various readings, but another tradition, probably taken from Firdausi's *Shâh-nâma*, which seems to have been used by Marzubân, as we shall see hereafter.

As to the different arrangement of the verses, I must premise, that it is sometimes extremely difficult to state which verses in M. correspond to those in P., and which verses in P. are left out in M., the more so as the latter generalised and often misunderstood his original. But, paying due regard to this, the order of the first extract (Spiegel, p. 128-133) would be, according to M., as follows:—Verses 1-7, 9-11, 15, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24-27, 18, 28, 19, 29, 20. He has, therefore, omitted vv. 8, 12, 13, 23.

I lay much more stress upon the inversion of the order than upon omissions, though these, too, as we find in this chapter and elsewhere, sometimes seem to arise from other reasons than the mere caprice of the translator.

I proceed to give the paraphrase (text and translation) of those extracts published by Spiegel (p. 133 ff., p. 140 ff.) so highly interesting for Zoroastrian mythology, and shall afterwards shortly point out their differences from the Pâzand version. It will be noticed at once, that Marzubân's language is by no means the classical Persian, and that he uses words, connected with the matters treated upon, that are not to be found in the hitherto accessible Persian Dictionaries. Lastly, it must be mentioned that the single MS. which is at my disposal, that of the Royal Asiatic Society, though in general a very good one, is not sufficient to constitute everywhere a pure and indubitable text.

### سوال بیست یکم دانا وجواب خرد

سرافراز شاهان فرخنده پی	دگر گفت کز پادشاهان کی
نکو رای ونیکو نهادان بدند	که اندر شمر پیشدادان بدند
ظفر یافت طهمورث تیز جنک	کیامرث وهوشنک با هوس هنک
جز این پادشاهان با داد وزور	5 چه جم و فریدون با فر و نور
که بر دین یزدان به پیمود راه	روارو چنین تا بگشتاب شاه
دگر اهل بیدان دگر نیکن خو	ستمکاره بودند دگر داد جو <sup>1</sup>
یزدان بیگسان پدیدار بود	چرا حاجتی شان که در کار بود
نکویان زیرتر سر افراشتن	بدان را نبودی به انباشتن
بران دید یزدان نشان بهی	10 چنین پاسخ آورد کز قرهی
در سود ازان پس پدیدار کرد	که بر آرزو جمله را یار کرد
که بد هر یکی را بسانی نهاد	ز نیکی وانصاف و بیداد و داد
برینگونه بود آشکار ونهان	66 رواج سپهر و مدار زمان <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. اگر داد جوی

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pârsî râinidârî i ôgāmān, Neriosangh "pravṛttikârîtâ yâ samayânām."—Spiegel, p. 128, 11.

زسود وزبان جُستنِ خوب وزشت      پربشان ازبگونه آمد سرشت  
 جهاندار دانای فیروزگر      زهریک پذیرفت سودی دگر 15  
 کیامرث سود اینچنین کرد ساز      که گیتی تهی کرد از دیو و آز  
 تن خویشتن را نکرد ارجمند      زبَد کرد کوتاه دست گزند  
 ابر مردمان جهان جمله نیز      نکوهی<sup>1</sup> بیفزود تا رستخیز  
 زمعدن بر آورد هر سان گهر      چه آهن چه پولک و چه سیم وزر  
 زهوشنک شد سود ازینسان پدید      که بر کند بنیاد دیو پولید 20  
 دو بهره زدیوان گیتی بکُشت      بدیشان چو شد گاه کینه دُرشت  
 بشد زو هراسنده دیو ورده<sup>2</sup>      نهاک از بُنه رسم جشن سده  
 بسی رسمها زو پدیدار شد      بسی کارها زو نمودار شد  
 زطهورث آن شاه فیروزمند      بد ان سود کابلیس را کرد بسند  
 مرورا زبان حال<sup>3</sup> و بیچاره داشت      بسی سال بر سان یکباره داشت 25  
 دگر آنکه بُرد از دبیری و خط      نوشتن همان خواندن هفت خط  
 ب مردم زدیوان بد روزگار      بیاموخت خطهای بنیادگار  
 زجمشید سود اینکه چندان زمان      نه بُد مرگ و آز وستم در جهان  
 بُد از خرّمی گیتی آراسته      غم ورنج و سختی شده کایسته  
 جهان از بدیها فراموش داشت      بساط<sup>30</sup> مَحَبَّت در آغوش داشت  
 دگر آنکه آداب گیتی نهاد      بقانون افلاک از راه داد  
 جهانرا به شش دانک برهفت بخش      زقضات و حکما هر گونه نقش (?)  
 بیاراست تُندی و آهستگی      زشایستگی وزبایستگی 01  
 چو جم کرد<sup>4</sup> فرخنده شهری بساخت      که ایزد درو نیکویها شناخت  
 پس از برف وظلمات ملکوس دیو      که از جمله عالم بر آمد غریب 35

1 نیکوئی instead of the usual نکوهی

2 رَدّه؟

3 زَبُونِ حال = زبان حال

4 جم کرد = var i jam kard.



شود جن و جن بنده یکسر تباه  
 زجم کرد یزدان کشاید دری  
 زپویندگان وزگویندگان  
 جهانرا جهان بان بیارایدا  
 40 شود گیتی آباد بار دگر  
 سیم خوردنیها زپاکی گزید  
 به پرهیز داد از خورشهای زشت  
 دگر آنکه از چار پایان دهر  
 مرین سود یکسر زجمشید بود  
 45 هم از مار دوش وزانفراسیاب  
 که چون بود ایام دژپادشاه  
 ره ورسم شاهی بر ایشان نوشت<sup>2</sup>  
 وگر پادشاهی بر ایشان قرار  
 بهیشم سپردی جهان داوری  
 50 مران دیو ناپاک تا رستخیز  
 چو زآنگونه دیوی بشاهی بدی  
 چنین بود سود از فریدون نیو  
 بسبتش به بندی که تا جادو آن  
 ودیگر کز ایران پی دیو شوم  
 55 منوجهر ازین سود دریافت نور  
 تهی کرد گیتی زجادوکران  
 بسی شهر بستند زانفراسیاب  
 60 پدید آمد این سود از کیقباد

نوشت MS. <sup>2</sup> و پرورشتهای رشت MS. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of آنیسی is like that of Pahlavi **سوسون**

همه کار شاهی باندازه داشت  
 بیزدان سپاس و کمر بر میان  
 بگیتی فزوده بلندی گرفت  
 زکرشاب سود اینکه مار سترک  
 بتیر و کمان چونکه بفراخت دست  
 بسی دیو پتیاره و جانور  
 بد این سودمندی زسام گزین  
 بر انداخت بنیاد گندرب دیو  
 کزان سهمگین زشت پستیارگان  
 کجا بودی از رستخیز آگهی  
 زدستان ورستم همی در جهان  
 زکاؤس کی سود ازینسان رسید  
 سیاوخش را سود ازینگونه بود  
 چو کنک دزی در زمانه بساخت  
 به صافی و نیکیش بودی مدار  
 زکیخسروی<sup>2</sup> نامی این سود خواست  
 شه جادوان کو بد افراسیاب  
 همه کار بر نیکویی ساخته کرد  
 بکھسار در کنک دز را نهفت  
 که اکنون کسی را درو راه نیست  
 چنین تا سیوشانس آید پدید  
 دهد هفت کشور بزینت ازان  
 زلهاسب سودی پدیدار بود  
 همه رسم شاهی باندازه داشت  
 زکیخسرو.<sup>2</sup> MS.

ره داد ورسم بهی تازه داشت  
 همی بود از وی نژاد کیان<sup>60</sup>  
 ره پاکی وارجمندی گرفت  
 تبه کرد کو بد چو کوهی بزرک  
 گهی<sup>1</sup> گین کمک مرغ را کرد پست  
 تبه گشت در جنگ آن نامور  
 که پردخت از دیو آبی زمین<sup>65</sup>  
 بر آورد از گُرگ آبی غریو  
 یکی گر بماندی بروی زمان  
 بگیتی نبودی امید بهی<sup>68</sup>  
 پدیدار شد سود فاش نهان  
 که آمد سیاوخش از او پدید<sup>70</sup>  
 که رادی و پاکی ازو رخ نمود  
 که دانا سیاوخش کردش شناخت  
 چو کیخسروی آمد از وی ببار<sup>68</sup>  
 که ارج همه جادوان را بکاست  
 بگیتی پدر کُشت آن کامیاب<sup>75</sup>  
 زجادوکران دهر پردخته کرد  
 بفرمان یزدان بی یار وجفت  
 دران شهر عزم کس آگاه نیست<sup>68</sup>  
 جهانبان ازو بر کشاید کلید  
 جهانرا بود جمله زیور از آن<sup>80</sup>  
 که پیوسته یزدان پرستار بود  
 پذیرفت دین روان تازه داشت  
 که<sup>1</sup> MS.

<sup>1</sup> MS. که

<sup>2</sup> MS. زکیخسرو

بر انداخت رسم بُت و بتکده  
 بکوشید در نیکی و کار نیک  
 85 زخیل جهودان و جادوگران  
 چو گشتاب آن شاه فرخنده پی  
 بیستی زگشتاب این سود بود  
 روان ساخت در دهر این دین پاک  
 یزش بر همان دین یزدان نمود  
 90 سرتاق بتخانه را کرد پست  
 بهر کار زرتشت را یآوری  
 ز کردار وی او ز مرد بلند  
 ازو غالب دیو بر هم شکست  
 پشوتن ازو بود و اسفندیار  
 95 کز ایشان همه رسم نیکی فرزد  
 از ایشان جهانرا بهی شد پدید  
 نو آئین بساط خوش انداختند  
 مرین جمله سود جهان دار بود

بگیتز

## سوال پنجاه سیوم دانا و جواب خرد

100 به پرسید باز آن هشیوار مرد  
 و پس<sup>1</sup> ساختن در کجا شد نهان  
 چه جایست جم کرد فرخنده پی  
 کجا مرتن سام را شد قرار  
 که هر کنک دز را که بر پای کرد  
 نهفته که کردش بروی جهان  
 که بنهاد و بنهفت بنیاد وی  
 همی از ازل تا به بس روزگار

پس MS. <sup>1</sup>

کجایست ماوای فترخ سروش  
 خری کش سه پایست جایش کجاست  
 اشایه<sup>1</sup> کجا هوم آراستار  
 کزو باشد آرایش رستخیز  
 کجا پاک موبد شه بامداد  
 زمانی که گلمائی<sup>3</sup> آمد بنام  
 کجایست سیمرخ را آشیان  
 از امروش وچمروش باقربههی  
 چنین داد پاسخ زماوای کنک  
 میان زمین وهوا از نهان  
 ببالی ایران پاک گزین  
 سیاوخش کردش بنا از بنه  
 زجم کرد اگر باز جوی خبر  
 به ایران وفرخنده کار آگهان  
 زهر بهتری مردم هوشمند  
 زهر رُستنی وزهر خوردنی  
 که هست از دری فرخی وبهی  
 چنین تا زهر چیز وهر خواسته  
 دگر تازه آباد گردد جهان  
 بدشت پشندس تن سام ران<sup>5</sup>

کزو دیو ود باشد اندر خروش  
 که یاور بدو ایزد رهنماست<sup>105</sup>  
 شده رُسته بر دهر وبر آستار  
 پذیرد ازو دیو وجادو گریز  
 بذکر خداوند دارن مَران<sup>2</sup>  
 چه کارش مدار وچه جایش مقام  
 چه مقصود ازو هست واصل همان<sup>110</sup>  
 چه باشد مدار وچه خیزد بهی  
 که هشدار تا گویمت جای کنک  
 سروش خجسته ورا جای داد  
 نه در آسمان ونه اندر زمین  
 بیاکی ورا دی<sup>5</sup> دور از گنه<sup>115</sup>  
 بنا کرد جمشید فترخ گهر  
 بزیر زمین ساختندش نهان  
 زمرغان وگاوان واز گوسفند  
 زپوشیدنی نیز وگستر دنی  
 بود اندر آن شهر با فرهی<sup>120</sup>  
 جهانی سراسر شود کاسته  
 ازان جمله پابستهای نهان  
 به پیش دماوند کوه اوفتاد<sup>120</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. v. 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> MS. مدار

<sup>3</sup> گرماهی = کلمائی

<sup>4</sup> MS. خزد

<sup>5</sup> رادی = Pahl. **دسمون** "liberalitas." Cf. I. v. 71.

<sup>6</sup> See رادی v. 17.



برو بر گمارید پروردکار  
 125 همان نیز نه بیور ونه نود  
 چنین تا دم رستخیز الممدام  
 سروش اشوی خجسته نظر  
 ورا از در رحمت و آفرین  
 که هر یارمندی بگیهان ازوست  
 130 بهان را<sup>2</sup> بشب پاسبانی کنند  
 شناسا بود آشکار ونهان  
 زدارای<sup>3</sup> دیوان سروش مکین  
 خری را که پیوسته<sup>4</sup> خوانی سه پای  
 زهرگونه رسم مقصود ازوست  
 135 مر<sup>5</sup> آن آب کان گشته از بن پدید  
 جز این نشان کاب ریمن شود (?)  
 مر<sup>7</sup> آن خر چو افتد نگاهش بر آب  
 اشایه نهان دل آرای هوم  
 ورا نزد وس تخمه شد جایگاه  
 140 برو پاسبان کرد پروردکار  
 فزون نهصد ونه نود زین شمار  
 همان نیز کلماهی نیک خواه  
 که تا دیو آبی نیازارش  
 اشو رادیان<sup>1</sup> نهصد ونه هزار  
 که از جادو و دیو ایمن بود  
 برو پاسبانند در صبح وشام  
 بدریای وش (!) تخمه دارد مقرر  
 خدیو جهان خوانده جان آفرین  
 زنش دادن جمله دیوان ازوست  
 بروز اندران دیده بانی کنند  
 نگهدار تن باشد وهم روان  
 پناه وهان مرگه جنک کین  
 بدریای وس تخمه باشدش جای  
 که پاکی و رادی و بیب بود ازوست  
 که گردد ز هجر و نساها<sup>6</sup> پلید  
 ازو پاک و بی بیم و ایمن بود  
 زداید همه ریمنی وعذاب  
 صفا دارد بین کشور آرای هوم  
 به اندر اشایه کشن<sup>8</sup> پایگاه  
 اشوان زنه بیور ونه هزار  
 که پیوسته باشند اش پاسدار  
 به پیرامنش دارد آرامگاه  
 زهر سان خرسر نگهدارش

<sup>1</sup> Translation of "Fravash i ashōn." Cf. v. 42.

<sup>2</sup> MS. بهان

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pahl. **کوم دلان** and **کوم دل**

<sup>4</sup> MS. را پوسته

<sup>5</sup> MS. هر

<sup>6</sup> MS. زهجر و نساها. *هجر* is the Zand *hikhra*, Pahlavi *هیجر* (Spiegel, die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, Wien, 1860, p. 153, l. 9).

<sup>7</sup> MS. هر

<sup>8</sup> اشایه کشن = *vourukasha*.

یزش همیشه هر بسد شه نیک پی  
 بماند مردم زسرتا میان  
 بدریای وس تخمه گیرد مقام  
 بدریاست پیوسته با ترس وبائ  
 فشانند به بحر آن یزش کرده آب<sup>1</sup>  
 بهر قطره آب اندر آن آبگاه<sup>2</sup>  
 نسازد یزش گر مرا کامیاب  
 بهنگام باران بروی زمین  
 جهان از گزنده شود تار و تنک  
 نماند بشاخ اندران برک و بار  
 چو فرخنده سیمرخ گسترده گام  
 کجا نام اورا بتازی ز داد  
 چو بنشیند آن مرغ به روزگار  
 چو بر خیزد از وی بروید دگر  
 شکسته چو شد شاخهای گران  
 مران تخم با شاخهای شگرف  
 پس آنکاه چمروش پرهیزکار  
 دگر که سازدش تیشتر بموج  
 بیبارد مران ابر با فرهی  
 بکھسار و هر بیشه و مرغزار  
 درخت و گیا و گل گونه گون  
 جهان در جهان را در هر چه هست  
 ز شاید و بایست از خورد و خفت

بشهر هویزث بود جای وی  
 میان تا بپایش جو گاو ژیان 145  
 بذکر جهاندار سازد قیام  
 کند یشث و توحید یزدان پاک  
 کزان دیو و جادو بماند تباب  
 شود صد هزاران خرستر تباب  
 نریزد بدریا یزش کرده آب 150  
 خرستر بیبارد پراز قهر و کین  
 بگیتی نه خاشاک ماند نه سنک  
 ز مردم به سختی بر آید دمار  
 ابر نخل وس تخمه دارد مقام  
 شمارند طوبای فرخ نهاد 155  
 برو بشکنند شاخ از وی هزار  
 هزاران کشن شاخ با برک و بر  
 بریزد بدریا همه تخم ازان  
 پراکنده گردن بدریای ژرف  
 به تشتر سپارد بدریا کنار 160  
 سپارد بمیخ و فرستد به اوج  
 بروی جهان تخم بار آوری  
 بصحرای وادی و دریا کنار  
 بروید ازان تخمها بر فزون  
 همه رُستینها زبالا و پست 165  
 زوش تخمه است آشکار و نهفت

translation of Zaothra, Zôr. <sup>1</sup> یزش کرده آب

ابکار. MS. <sup>2</sup>

21st Question of the Wise Man and Answer of the σοφία.

Again he said: "Of the noble kings, the sublime and fortunate princes, who were amongst the Pêshdâdians, some were of good judgment and nature, Kayâmarth and Hôshang with intellect and understanding, ʿTahmûrath gained the victory, a keen warrior; how bright and glorious were Jam and Ferêdûn! Besides these just and strong kings—so one after the other down to Gushtâb Shâh, who went on the path of God's religion—some were oppressors, some just, some unjust, some good-natured. Why at all did God evince a want of them, which proved useful? Was it not good to put aside the wicked? to raise the good ones higher?"

Thus he answered: "God, from glory, recognised in this the signal of good. According to his wish he gave assistance to all of them, through which he afterwards opened the door of advantage. From the goodness and probity, injustice and justice, which, in a certain manner, was the character of each of them—the revolution of the globe and the course of time, appeared and disappeared (*ἐν διᾱ δυοῖν* f. went on) in this manner. Through use and damage, noble and mean tendencies, the creation in this manner was disturbed. The almighty, wise, and victorious God received from each (of them) a different use."

Kayâmarth was useful by cleaning the world of devils and lusts; he did not think his own body precious (*i.e.* offered it); he prevented the hand of damage from doing evil. Also, over all mankind, he increased welfare till the day of resurrection. Out of the mines he brought forth all sorts of metals, iron, steel, silver, and gold.

Hôshang was useful in destroying the building and the impure devil; he killed two parts of all the devils of the world, when the time of severe revenge came over them. Dev and demon trembled at him; he is the founder of the *jashni sadah* (festival on the 10th of Bahman). Many institutions (besides) are founded by him, and he did many deeds.

The victorious ʿTahmûrath was useful in binding 'Iblîs, in making him powerless and helpless, using him as a sort of

vehicle during thirty years. The other use is this, that he made known the writing and reading of seven sorts of characters. He taught mankind the lines of the architect (taking them away) from the devs of a bad age.

Jamshîd had the use, that during a long time there was no death, lust, or oppression in the world. The world was adorned with cheerfulness; trouble and sorrow and misfortune decreased; it forgot all evils and embraced the cushion of affection. Further, as a deed of justice, he founded the science and art of the world, according to the law of heaven.<sup>1</sup> All sorts of things were established by him. He made Jamkard a happy place, in which God recognised the good qualities. Then, from the snow and darkness of the dev, Malkûs, being so terrible that there arose a cry from the whole world, the Jinns and their servants are destroyed at once; of that dev nothing remains. God opens a door of the Jamkard and brings forth all sorts of beings, running, speaking, creeping, and growing. He gave to the world a world-guard, and increased the unanimity of the world. The world becomes cultivated a second time, and it (leg. *وگیتی*) gets another station. In the third place, he chose, from all pure things, the eatable ones, that food which is suitable according to the law of God; he ordered abstinence from filthy food and impure nourishment. Further, of all quadrupeds in existence, of the (whole) world, he did not give a part to the devs. This effect came only from Jamshîd, that the whole world depended, in fear and hope, upon him.

Further, the Almighty God saw this advantage resulting from the serpent of the shoulder and Afrâsiâb, that, since the days of the wicked king had come, an age of the revengeful Ahriman, he transferred the dignity of the reign to them, whose nature was founded upon the action of the devs. And, if the sovereignty had not been settled on them, Ahriman would have reached his intention; to Hêsham he would have given the dominion of the world with oppression and tyranny, and that impure devil would not have been routed nor put to flight from the world till the day of resurrection. If, in that man-

<sup>1</sup> Verse 32 is omitted, as the text is corrupt.



ner, a dev had been the master, the world would have been utterly ruined.

The brave Ferêdûn had this use, that he chained Dahâk, the friend of the dev, with such a chain, that there is no deliverance nor quarter for that magician. And another use he afforded, in blotting out of Erân the unfortunate traces of the devs by cleaning the earth of them.

Mînôchihir became illustrious by this use, that he took revenge on his father-brothers<sup>1</sup> Salm and Tûr. He cleared the earth of magicians with prudence and—a heavy club. He took many a city from Afrâsiâb, and got an ample satisfaction from him.

Kaikobâd was useful in opening the doors of justice to his people, in maintaining his government in perfect order, in keeping justice and virtue in a flourishing state. He always gave thanks to God and wore the belt, and from him the family of the Kayanians is derived. In the world he was exalted, and he went the way of virtue and dignity.

Karshâb (Keresâspa) was useful in killing the dreadful serpent, that was like a high mountain. When he raised his hand with arrow and bow, he killed the stupendous bird Kamak. Many a dev and beast of Ahriman's creation, perished in fight with this hero.

This advantage came from the famous Sâm, that he cleared the earth of the water-devil. He destroyed the house of the dev Gandarb; he raised a cry from the waterwolf. If, on the surface of the earth, a single one of the horrid creations of Ahriman had remained, there would have been no knowledge of the resurrection in the world, no hope of the good.

By Dastân and Rustam also some good, hidden and manifest, was done in the world.

Kai Kâ'ûs had this use, that Siyâvakhsh came from him.

Siyâvakhsh had this use, that virtue and purity appeared from him, when he built a castle called Kang, whose use the

<sup>1</sup> So Neriosangh "pit̄bhrâtarau;" 'Édal b. Dârâb in the "Farhangi Shâh-nâma," (MS. of the British Museum Add. 24413 f. 45 b. 2), "paternal and maternal grandfather." نیا بمعنی پدر پدر ونیز پدر مادر بود.

wise Siyâvakhsh had recognised. He conducted himself with purity and virtue, when Kaikhusrû was born to him.

From the illustrious Kaikhusrû arose this advantage, that he diminished the honour of all the magicians. That prosperous father killed the king of the magicians, Afrâsiâb. Every action he founded on virtue, the world he freed of magicians. On the mountain, he concealed the door of Kang Castle, according to God's order, without helper or mate, so that for nobody is there now a way to it; no one knows how to reach that place, until Siyôshâns appears. The guard of the world opens for him and adorns the seven kishvars beautifully, for his sake.

Lurhâsp (*v.* Luhrâsp) afforded a use, by being a constant worshipper of God, by maintaining the whole government in order, by accepting the dîn and keeping it well in his memory. He destroyed the very traces of idols and their temples, he established the rites of the fire-temples. He strove after noble purposes and bestowed benefits upon good men. From the Jews and magicians he took away the land from one end to the other, when that king Gushtâb appeared from his house.

From Gushtâb the world got this use, that he spread the pure religion at this time, and destroyed the worshippers of idols. He praised only the dîn of God, he eradicated the followers of a wicked religion. He crushed the top of the cupola of the idol temple. The bad teacher ceased to exercise evil influence. He gave assistance in everything to Zartusht, by this his reign became famous. On account of his deeds, he was raised from a great man to a king amongst all the Amshâsfands. Most of the devs were defeated by him, he made all Drujas powerless. Pashûtan and Isfandiyâr came from him and Jâmâst, the wise man of his time. All good increased by them, no age saw or heard of men like them. They afforded benefit to the world, impure customs and manners vanished. A new law they founded, an excellent ground-work; they made the world free of evils.

All these (things) were the use from God, because all of them (the above mentioned heroes and kings) were bearers of a suitable good. | 2

*53rd Question of the Wise Man, and Answer of the σοφία.*

That wise man asked again—Who has built Kang-diz? After being made, where was it hidden? Who hid it on the earth?

Where is that fortunate Jamkard? Who built it and hid it? Where does the body of Sâm rest, from eternity to eternity?

Where is the residence of the happy Serôsh, for whose sake devils and beasts are in trouble?

Where is the residence of the ass with three feet, whose helper is the guiding Jzad?

Where is the Vourukasha, Hôm, the preparer, who has grown higher than fate and star? through whom the resurrection is prepared, dev and magician fly from him.

Where is the pure Mobad, the king of the morning? his occupation is to think of God. When the fish Galmâhî comes, what is his work and his place? Where is Sâmurg's nest, and what is sought from him and obtained?

Where is the place of Amrôsh and Camrôsh? and what good comes from them?

It answered thus: As to the place where Kang-diz is—keep it well, that I may say it to you. The blessed Serôsh has assigned to it, from its foundation, the place between earth and air, above the pure and distinguished Erân, neither in heaven nor on earth. Siyâwakhsh built it from the foundation in purity and virtue, and without sin.

If you ask for the Jam-kard, it was built by the happy Jamshîd, in Erân, and well-skilled men constructed it under the earth. Of all best things, prudent men, birds, cows, sheep, of everything that grows, that is edible, that can be used as clothing or bedding, which is of a good and auspicious class,—of all these there is something in that glorious place; so that the whole world was deprived of all its property. Again, the world shall become flourishing, through all those hidden and incarcerated things.

In the plain of Pashandas lies the body of the noble Sâm before the Damâvand. The creator ordered 99999 farvars of

the pure men (to watch over him), that it might be safe from magicians and devs. So they watch over it, night and day, till the day of the resurrection.

The pure Serôsh, with auspicious look, stays in the sea of the Vis-tukhma tree. The creator has called him, by way of grace and blessing, "master of the world," because all help in the world comes from him. The defeat of the devs comes from him; he watches by night over good men, and also by day time he takes care of them. He knows what is manifest and secret, and cares for body and soul. The bold Serôsh beats the devs, being a protector of goodmen for the time of the battle of hatred.

The ass, which is called "three feet," has its residence in the sea of the Vis-tukhma. It is destined for manifold purposes; purity, virtue, and welfare come from him. All water coming out of the ground, which has been stained by dirt and carcass, is purified by him.<sup>1</sup> When the eye of this ass falls upon water, it purifies all impurity and vice.

The heart of the preparer Hôm is hidden in the sea Vourukasha; he rejoices this kishvar. His residence is close to the Vis-tukhma, in the Vourukasha. The creator gave him, as guardians, 99999 farvars, which always watch over him. Also, the benevolent Galmâhî has his place around him, that the water devil (Ahriman's toad) may not hurt him, protecting him from all sorts of kharastars.

The virtuous Mobad Shâh, whose profession is praising God, stays in Havîrath. From the head to the middle of his body, he is like a man; from the middle to the feet, like a terrible cow. His residence is in the sea of the Vis-tukhma, always engaged in pious meditation. He is always in the sea, in fear and sorrow, acknowledging and praising the pure God. He pours out into that sea the water made for worship (zaothra), that dev and magician may perish. Hundreds of thousands of kharasters perish by each drop of water in that sea. If he does not constantly praise, if he does not pour the Zaothra into the sea, then, at raintime, it would rain kharasters full of violence and hatred upon the earth. From this plague, the earth

<sup>1</sup> Verse 38 is omitted as the text is corrupt.



would be in darkness and distress, neither dust nor stone would remain in it. Neither leaves nor fruit would be on the branches any longer, mankind would perish most cruelly.

Simurg, with wide step, lives upon the palm tree Vis-tukhma; in Arabic they call it the fortunate Tûbâ. Sitting down, he breaks off 1000 branches; when he alights, 1000 huge branches, with leaves and fruit, grow out. When the heavy branches are broken off, all the seed is poured into the sea. This seed, with the wonderful branches, is scattered in the deep sea. Then, the careful Camrôsh, on the strand of the sea, commits it to Tishtar. A second time, Tishtar brings it to the waves, commits it to the clouds, and sends it to the zenith. That cloud rains down fruit, gloriously bringing seed on the surface of the earth, on the mountains, forests, meadows, deserts, valleys, and borders of the sea. Trees and herbage, and various coloured roses grow from that seed in abundance; a world in the world, all that is in it, everything that grows, high and low; everything in existence depends upon the Vis-tukhma."

The contents of these extracts are to be compared with the results of Windischmann's and Spiegel's mythological researches;<sup>1</sup> they will enable us to explain nearly all the variations from the Pâzand text, especially the additions made by Marzubân. Only of the building (بنیاد) destroyed by Hôshang (i. v. 20), and of موبدشاه instead of Gôpatishâh (ii. v. 10, 45 ff.), I cannot give any account.

V. 12. To the one use afforded by Hôshang M. (Marzubân) adds another, the foundation of the festival Cashni sada in conformity with Firdausi, and perhaps taken from him. The report of it from the Shâhnâma is given by Windischmann, p. 194-96.

V. 31. M. relates (v. 31-33) a use of Jamshîd, the foundation of science and art (آداب), which is not in P. (Pâzand text).

V. 35. That "malkôsân" (the biblical מלְקוֹשׁ), described in P. as a "rain," in other sources as a winter, appears here

<sup>1</sup> Zoroastrische Indien, ed. Spiegel, Berlin, 1863; Spiegel, Avesta ubersetzt iii. p. lii. ff.

as a dev, according to the later tradition. Richardson's Persian Dictionary: *ملکوس* name of a wicked person, on whose account the deluge was sent according to a notion of the ancient Persians.

V. 41, 42. The third use of Jamshîd, the definition of that which is allowed to be eaten and drunk according to the religious law, not being found in P., is probably to be derived from Yasna 32, 8. "Bagâ, Neriosangh's dakshanayâ" (in the passage, "yo manushyebhyaḥ samâsvâdayati asmâkañ paçûnâñ dakshaṇayâ khâdanañ,") seems to have been taken in a meaning like the Pahlavi, thus *داتیہا*, or Pârsi sazhâihâ, "in the right, lawful manner." (Cpr. Windischmann, p. 26, 27.)

V. 43. The fourth use of Jamshîd is also wanting in P. The second use in P. (v. 25) is not mentioned in M., but I think it extremely likely, as Windischmann (p. 203) has already supposed, that P. has in this place misinterpreted the original.

V. 45-46. That Azhis dahâka is called "dizh pâdishâh" (so in P., Spiegel, p. 132, v. 22, dahewat dahâk), is to be explained according to the later tradition; it was taken as an 'idâfa, "az i dahâk," the serpent of dahâk, and afterwards divided into two mythical beings: the serpent (𐬵𐬀) and Zohâk. This latter is the son of an Arabian prince, who rules the world 1000 years, being a personification of all sin and impurity. Erân left Yima, anarchy arose, an army goes to Arabia, making Zohâk king of Erân. Yima flies, is captured and sawn to pieces. From 𐬵𐬀 the tradition made two serpents: the devil kissed the shoulders of Zohâk and two serpents grew out of it (hence "mâr i dôsh," the serpent of the shoulder, v. 45), requiring as food human brain. This tradition, I should say, is a picture of the Conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the colours mixed up from very old and quite modern substances. Accordingly the "dahewat" of P. can probably be taken as a hint of the time of its composition being after the Muhammadan conquest.

V. 62-64. Between Kaikawâd and Sâm, M. inserts Keresâspa on his own authority, but in conformity with the tradi-

tion. The serpent, which he kills, is the Sryvara, well known from Yasna 9, 9. His killing the bird Kamak is also related in the mythological poems published by Spiegel (Einleitung in die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, p. 343, v. 217).

V. 65, 66. M. contains some mythical elements, which I cannot thoroughly explain. The دیو آبی denotes ii. v. 45. Ahriman's toad mentioned in Bundelesh, chap. 52, and is given in P. by "vak" (frog). Perhaps the "shêdâ i dayan mayyâ," (Bundelesh, ed. Justi, page 48, 5), whose enemy is the beaver, should be explained individually, not generally, as Justi does (ib. p. 27, 8, 9).

V. 66. Gandarb is in the later tradition the minister of Zohâk (Windischmann, 35, 40), but a special "building of Gandarb" is not known to me. The گرگ آبی "waterwolf," may possibly be combined with the dev Khavah, who appears in the shape of a wolf (Bundelesh, ed. Justi, p. 47, 17).

V. 69. Between Sâm and Kahôs, M. inserts Sâm's son Dastân, and Rustam, the son of Dastân, probably from the Shâhnâma.

V. 81-86. The information which M. has concerning Luhrâsp—more than P.—is generalised from Firdausî, whose report is given and explained by Spiegel (Avesta, uebers ii. p. xi).

V. 94-97. Regarding Kai Gushtâsp, M. is more detailed than P., adding the names of his sons Pashûtân, Isfandiyâr, and Jâmâst, of whom especially Pashûtân (Peshôtanus), the ruler of Kangdizh, and the companion of Siyôshâns is a well known hero of the Zoroastrian mythology.

II. v. 13. To Camrôsh in P. (v. 10) M. adds Amrôsh; both Camru and Amru occur in the Farvardîn Yasht (v. 109).

V. 17. M. gives the additional information of the building of Kangdizh, by Siyâwakhsh, in conformity to the Shâhnâmah (Windischmann, 17, 245).

V. 24. Between v. 24-25, M. has omitted P. v. 5-7 and between v. 25-26 P. v. 9, 10 (Spiegel, p. 141).

V. 56. That the tree Vistukhma was a date tree (نخل), is a statement for which Marzubân himself is responsible.

Lastly, it must be noticed, that Marzubân's poetry is very

much of the same character as the "Ergänzungen zu dem Shâhnâme aus den Riwâyets," (Spiegel, Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen, p. 317 ff). We have found it likely, that Marzubân used the Shâhnâme; here we find the exact quotation of it (l. l. 330, v. 69).

بشہنامہ هست این یکایک خمیر

"All this is related in detail in the Shâhnâme."

A favourite expression of both is تازه کردن or شدن (Spiegel, l. 1, p. 327, 5, 15; 330, 66, and very common in Marzubân). I therefore feel inclined to assign both authors to almost the same age, and this scarcely earlier than the end of the 16th or the 17th century.

It remains for us to state, that Marzubân often did not understand his original, and for this reason left out passages, or wrote something of his own invention; but from the particulars adduced above it will appear that he is an excellent witness as to the tradition of his age, always in conformity with either of the two sources of all Parsee tradition, the Zand texts for the ancient, the Shâhnâme for the modern. I would advise the future editor of the Mînôîkhirad not only to give the Pahlavî, Pâzand and Sanscrit versions, but also this most recent recension. *Habent sua fata libelli*—and here we have four different witnesses to the *fata* of the Mînôîkhirad, all well worthy of being listened to.

The same manuscript contains, on fol. 62-121, another work of Marzubân, a history of Anûshîrwân. This is, to a certain extent, a historical novel in the modern sense, with this great difference, that here, the action is not the chief point by which the author tries to amuse his readers, but the interspersed conversations on moral topics, "orient pearls at random strung." Possibly, the author had a political motive for composing this poem, as we shall see hereafter. It begins thus—

بنام ایزد بخشاینده مہربان

آغاز داستان عدالت شاه نوشیروان از گفته مرزبان



The author's name occurs again on fol. 118a 10.

برو بر درود دعا هر زمان فرستد ز اخلاص دل مرزبان

In the introduction (fol. 62a-63b), he states that he intends to glorify Anûshîrwân.

بهنجار نوشيروانى سخن کنم وصف نوشيروان کهن<sup>1</sup>

When Kobâd, the father of Anûshîrwân, became a tyrant, his brother Palâsh was raised to the throne. After the death of Palâsh, Kobâd, having wandered through a great part of the world, returns and takes revenge. His former enemies are compelled to fly, amongst them the wise Yûnân. "The world was then forty years under his dominion; he departed, and nothing remained of him but a bad name." Fol. 63b.

صفت پادشاه نوشيروان ونصیحت نامه يونان

Having heard of Anûshîrwân's succession, Yûnân consults his horoscope, and obtains the answer, that Anûshîrwân would be a friend to him. Yûnân writes him a letter full of advice, and begs leave to return. Fol. 69b جواب نامه يونان  
Fol. 70b, دستور Anûshîrwân, pleased with the letter, asks him to come. Fol. 70b, رفتن يونان در نزد نوشيروان, Yûnân sets out and meets with a glorious reception. The following chapters are uninteresting, as the same scene is repeated several times. Anûshîrwân assembles the wise men of his empire to *συμπόσια* (بزم) with him, he holds disputations with them, in which Yûnân naturally plays the chief rôle. The subjects of discussion are ethical common places, of so vague and undefined a character, that it is not worth while dwelling upon them. As an effort to vary the tale, I consider the episode, that Anûshîrwân, after having heard a sermon of Yûnân's about moderation, resolves to send back to his home the son of Mundiri 'Arab, who is kept at court as a sort of prisoner on account of Anûshîrwân's having fallen in love with him (fol. 74b. آزاد کردن نوشيروان). (پسر مندر عرب). After several disputations, follows another episode, fol. 88b. خبر يافتن نوشيروان از ظلم قيصر. The Kaisar begins to oppress his people; Anûshîrwân writes to him, order-

<sup>1</sup> Metr. متقارب

ing him to conduct himself with more propriety. Kāiṣar obeys, excuses himself and sends valuable presents and treasures, with which Anūshīrwān constructs a garden, and builds in it a beautiful hall (ایوان). After this he invites the Khākān, Kāiṣar, Faġfūr Shāh, and Shāhanshāhi Hindostān to come and see his work: they come and admire it. Anūshīrwān's power spreads so far, that "all the seven kishwars are to him as slaves (بندوار)."

Fol. 92*a*, there commences an account of his building, the Âdar Gushasp on the summit of a mountain, from whence he sets out for Madâ'in, and erects there a palace (کاخ). Lastly, he builds his own mausoleum (دخمه); Yûnân writes a book of which one copy is deposited in the Âdari Gushasp, another in this dakhma.

Here (fol. 100*b*) the first part of the history ends. As a transition to the second part of the work, the author gives an account of the Sasanian kings, after Anūshīrwān, till the time of Muḥammad. Though all of them had the desire to see the two large buildings of Anūshīrwān, none of them could find the way to them, but at last, 'Alī succeeded, with three companions, 'Abdurrahîm, Mâ mûn, and 'Abulkhair. He goes, with a large army, to the Âdari Gushasp; here, an aged Mobad, Râmish Ârâm, brings forward an old book in Pahlavi, the one written by Yûnân: the future is predicted in it, the mission of Muhammad, the conquest of Persia by the Muslims, etc. 'Alī admires it so much, that he orders 'Abulkhair to translate it into Persian: then 'Alī sets out for Madâ'in (also called "Madîna"), where the Kûtuwals meet him and describe the dakhma as inaccessible situated within a palace (کوشک). 'Alī, displeased by their advice, sets out again, resolving to destroy the kûshak in order to come to the dakhma. But his army, after having worked a whole year, sees that its destruction is impossible. Then, an old servant in the dakhma (or margauzan), whose ancestors were appointed to watch it by Anūshīrwān himself, is led to 'Alī. The pîr tells him, that the dakhma is inaccessible to everybody, but, that Anūshīrwān himself, (fol. 108*b*. 8),

چنان کرد در نامه خویش یاد که از تازیان شاه با دین و داد  
 ز خویشان پیغمبر هاشمی بپوید برین کوه قرخ همی الخ

“has mentioned in his own book, that a pious and just king from among the Arabs, one of the relations of the prophet of the family of Hâshim, will come to this auspicious mountain.”  
 ‘Alî announces himself to be this king, and asks the pîr to lead the way. He sets out with a few companions. After having reached the dakhma, they find the body of Anûshîrwân sitting on a throne; on a tablet and a ring are inscriptions in Pahlavi, containing moral sentences and the prediction of the arrival of ‘Alî and his companions. ‘Alî, after having uttered a long eulogy on Anûshîrwân, returns to Madâ’in, stays there three days and sets out for the Ka’ba, everywhere mentioning the name of Anûshîrwân. Then follows a moralizing paraenetic conclusion.

I give here the chapter immediately preceding the conclusion. (Fol. 117b. 11.)

رفتن حضرت امیر زیارت کعبه وعهد نامه اهل عجم نوشتن  
 سه روزش بد اندر مداین مقام چهارم سوی کعبه برداشت کام  
 سوی خانۀ اعظم آورد روی برانچار زیارت نمود آرزوی  
 بهر جا که رو کرد شیر خدای همی بر نهان بود نیکی فزای  
 سخن داشت از داد نوشیروان همی بود در یاد نوشیروان  
 یکی عهد بنوشت با دین و داد ز دین بهی کرد هر گونه یاد  
 که از اهل بهدین ستم دور باد جفاجوی آن قوم رنجور باد  
 رساند کسی که بران قوم بیم ورا جای باشد به قعر جمیم  
 بران قوم هر کس بود خوش<sup>1</sup> منش نه بیند ز آل نبی سرزنش  
 بهر دو سرایا شدش خوشدی به قول رسول وبعهد علی  
 دکر باره دین بهی را علم فرازید وبر کند بیخ ستم  
 نکو کار مردم ازو کام یافت همه شورش وفتنه آرام یافت

<sup>1</sup> MS. above it منش , خوش مقال

برو بر درود دعا هر زمان فرستد ز اخلص دل مرزبان  
 چو شد وصف مرغوزن شه تمام و را نامه داد خواندیم نام  
 که اندر جهان داد زیباتر است خنک آنکه باداد و دین پرور است  
 که تا هست اندر جهان خاک و آب بگردد همی بر زبر آفتاب

“ Three days he stayed in Madâ'in, on the fourth he set out for the Kâ'ba, feeling the desire to walk on the path of pilgrimage. Everywhere, where God's lion came, welfare increased secretly. He spoke of the justice of Anûshîrwân, always mentioning him. He wrote a memoir (عهد) in piety and justice, mentioning in every way the good religion. May oppression be far from the followers of the good religion! an offender of them may fall into misfortune. To him who brings terror on this people a place in hell is destined. No one who is kindly disposed towards them, will ever be blamed by the family of the prophet (Muḥammad). He will be happy in both worlds, according to the word of the prophet and 'Ali. A second time the world raised up the good religion and destroyed the root of oppression. Good men have reached their desire through it (the good religion); all trouble and disturbance is allayed. Marzubân never ceased to pray for it most sincerely.

“ As the description of the Shâh's Margauzan is finished, we have called this 'the book of justice,' because justice is the greatest ornament in the world. Happy he who educates in justice and piety; so long as there is earth and water in existence, he will surpass (in glory) the sun.”

Some parts of this story are also found in a MS. of the British Museum, Add. 24, 413, but in totally different redactions. The two poetical fragments (metr. متقارب) fol. 69b.-74b. correspond :

I. Fol. 69b-70b, <sup>USE</sup> گفتار اندر مجلس کردن نوشیروان و پرسش او  
 to Marzubân, با یونان و پاسخ یونان در اندرز و حقیقت دانش او  
 fol. 73b. 3-74b. 11.

<sup>1</sup> MS. حاک



II. Fol. 70*b*-74*a*, وزیران و موبدان عادل از نوشیروان عادل to Marzubân, fol. 76*b*-81*b*. The contents are in general the same, sometimes also the wording is very similar.

On fol. 74*b*. there is a postscript, stating that this رسالة مجلس (Mr. Major Malcolm Şâhib) in Bombay 1225 H. = A.D. 1810.

The same MS. likewise contains redactions in prose of the above story on fol. 49*b*.-57*a*.

Fol. 49*b*.: 'Abulkhair 'Amrî speaks of the miraculous fire-temple of Anûshîrwân, and of his disputation with the Mobads who lived there; they show him two books in Pahlavi, one by Zartusht himself, the other فرسخ زبانه by Yûnân. 'Abulkhair translates the latter into Persian.

Fol. 51*a*. The same story about Anûshîrwân's father Kobâd, his brother Palâsh, and Anushîrwân's succession.

Fol. 51*b*. Yûnân is called to his Court.

Fol. 53*a*.-57*a*. contain in prose the second part of Marzubân's tale, with the single remarkable difference, that here not 'Alî, but Mâ'mûn is the hero. Fol. 57*a*. رسالة تمام شد این The colophon states, that it likewise was copied by order of Mr. Major Malcolm Şâhib in Bombay, 1225 H. = A.D. 1810. All these pieces are in the same handwriting as a Farhangi Shâhnâma in the same MS. (fol. 31-45), which is composed by 'Édal ben Dârâb (according to his own words in the preface) for Major Malcolm, and bears the same date.

Fol. 61*a*.-68*b*. in a different hand, offer a third redaction of the same tale حكايت رفتن هارون الرشيد برای زیارت دخمه Here, instead of 'Alî and Mâ'mûn, Hârûn Arrashîd is the hero. Some other slight variations are not worth mentioning.

The whole story is made up, as we have shown, in a not very artificial manner, of two distinct parts, and accordingly the author's purpose was a double one, in the first place, to glorify Anûshîrwân, the greatest of the Sasanian kings, his

love of justice, wisdom, and architectural works; and secondly, to bring the earliest Islamitic history in the person of 'Alî, its chief representative for the Shî'ah, into a certain relation to him, describing him as paying the utmost reverence to Anûshîrwân's memory. In this way, it would seem, the author, himself a بهدین, tried to establish a claim upon the Muḥammadans for acknowledgement of, and especially protection for the remaining followers of that creed, which was Anûshîrwân's, whom and which, 'Alî himself glorifies, according to the tale of Marzubân (vide v. 4, 5 of the above given extract). The author adds, on his own authority, that "he who is well disposed towards them, never will be blamed by the prophet (Muḥammad) and his family (especially 'Alî)". On this account, I suppose that this *داک نامه* or "book of justice," is a child of injustice and oppression; that Marzubân wrote it during his stay at Yazd, in a time of trouble and distress, in order to give the persecutors of his fellow Zoroastrians a more favourable idea of them. Marzubân speaks of himself, in the last verses of the introduction to *Minôkhirad*, as follows (Fol. 9b. 10):

ولی گر پراکنده بینی سخن      خطا پوش می باش و غیبت مکن  
 گرازگردش چرخ بچاره ام      مدامان پریشان و آواره ام  
 بساطم پراکنده دارد سپهر      نه بنمایدم یکدم از مهر چهر  
 ولیکن سپاسم ز پروردگار      که بر هر چه هستم نماید گذار

"If you see my words orderless, excuse and do not slander. If through a revolution of fate I am helpless, continually in trouble and distress—my carpet has been torn by heaven, not a moment appears to me the face of love. Notwithstanding, the cause of my praise is God, who forgives me, how sinful I am." Perhaps we can take this individual description as a true picture of the state of all Zoroastrians in the Persian empire at his time. As the work is addressed to the Shî'itic Persians, 'Alî is the hero, whilst in the more modern redactions (probably composed in India) Ma'mûn, or the common hero of Eastern tales, Hârûn Arrâshid, plays the chief part.

In the following pages I give, as a further addition to our knowledge of Pârsee literature, a review of the manuscripts treating of Zoroastrian matters, which are preserved in the British Museum. They are neither very numerous (fifteen) nor of first-rate importance, but still they give us an opportunity, in several instances, of bringing to light some things hitherto unknown in Pârsee literature.

I. Arundel Orient. 54. A copy of the Vandidâd Sâda, the arrangement of the three sacred books, Vandidâd, Yasna, and Vispered, in which the single chapters are mixed together in such a way as to suit the recitation prescribed for the usual worship, similar to the arrangement of the Gospels for the services of the whole year, which we find in the *Evangeliaria*. Interspersed in the text there are numerous notes in Pahlavî, liturgical directions for the acts that are to be executed in connexion with the text, many of considerable length and more numerous than I find in any of the Vandidâd Sâdas of the Library of the India Office. As they are of great importance for the Pahlavî Dictionary, and specially for its most difficult part, the liturgical terminology, they fully deserve to be edited, for which purpose this MS. would do very well, the whole being in good preservation and clearly written. The following are common in all MS.: او = Pers. تا, "till," "etc.;" او وادسوا "till the passage;" او لادسوا "to recite to the end;" سه رسلا درون او "to recite three times;" and the names of both the officiating persons, لادسوا and او رسلا. Of these latter some are to be found in Brockhaus' edition (Leipzig, 1850), while all the others are wanting.

On fol. 148*b*, at the end, we read شکست زد باد اهریمن دروند "to say thrice: broken, beaten be the wicked, cursed Ahrîman, with all the devs and drujas." Then follows a short chapter (fol. 148*b*, 149*a*) in Pârsee (Zand character) on the evil eye (*cashm*) and look (*nadara* = نَظَرَة), and their different kinds. The MS. has no colophon; it was probably written in Karmân in the seventeenth, if not the sixteenth century.







that the usual form is **دندور**. The second verse I do not venture to translate. The colophon proceeds thus:—

“This book Ezashne was finished on Amerdād, of the month Ardibahisht, in the year 1030 after Yazdagird. I have written this book, the praying, most humble Herbad Dārāb b. Hîrâ b. Jāndâ, in the family<sup>1</sup> of Mobad Hormazyâr son of Herbad Râmyâr. Whosoever reads or writes or learns this, let him say a prayer and blessing. So may it be (*huzasnê*?) auspicious; so may it be, good and fair.”

III. Add. 18, 396. Another copy of the same work, foll. 199, dated A.D. 1737 in the colophon on folio 199a.

فرچید<sup>۲</sup> پدرو شادی ورامشنی اندر روز شهرپور امشاسفند ماه بهمن  
امشاسفند سال اور یکہزار صد و پنج از شاهنشاه یزدگرد شہریار ساسان  
تخمہ شہرستان یران<sup>۳</sup> این کتاب اوستا یزشنہ تمام شد. کاتب حروف  
من دین بندہ موبد بہیکہاجی ابن دستور رستم جی بن دستور  
بہرام جی لقب سنجانہ پرستار آتش و ہرہرام ساکن قصبہ نوساری  
سرکار سورت داخل کجرات. اندر بلد ہند. ہر کہ خواند وان آموزد  
دوعای انوشہ روانی برین بندہ رساند<sup>۴</sup> والسلام. مالک این کتاب سیت  
صاحب موبد مانک جی سیت ولد کروتمانی پشم احوانی نوروز جی  
سیت ارزانی یاد والسلام.

“Finished to the praise (of God), in joy and gladness, on

<sup>1</sup> The same family is mentioned in the colophon of Z. and P. 17 (a copy of the Yasna with the Sanscrit translation) dated 925 = 1557, and of Z. and P. 2 (dat. 1129 = 1761; pag. 703). By the uniform reading of the MSS., Dr. Justi's conjecture *رامیار* (Bundeh. page xix.) is excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Both فرچید and فرفت I am inclined to consider as careless and false readings of **فرادوم** (transliterated *paraj pet* in Z. and P. 8, last folio). Justi (Bundehesch, p. xix. l. 12) prints twice فرفت, where both MSS. have فرجفت

<sup>3</sup> Leg. ایران.

<sup>4</sup> In this place Indicative and Optative are used promiscuously, کنان and کند, رساند and رسانان, etc.

Shahrevar, of the month Bahman, in the year 1105 after Yazdagird, the Sasanian king of Erân. The copyist am I, the servant of the (true) religion, Mobad Bhikhâjî b. Dastûr Rustamjî b. Dastûr Bahrâmjî, Sunjâna by surname, a worshipper of the fire Bahrâm, an inhabitant of the village of Nausârî, in the district of Sûrat, in Gujarât, India. Whosoever reads or learns this, let him say a prayer for bliss<sup>1</sup> for this servant. The possessor of this book is Mobad Mânakjî, son of the liberal and much esteemed<sup>2</sup> Naurôzjî, of blessed memory."

IV. Reg. 16. B. vi. (Hyde collection). A copy of the greater part of the Khurda Avastâ, dated 1674, foll. 67. It contains the following pieces:—

Fol.	Fol.
1a. Yathâ ahû vairyô.	1b. Nirañg kustî bastan.
3a. Nirañg dast sôî.	6a. Hôshbâm.
9b. Khurshêd nyâyish	17b. Mihr nyâyish.
20a. Mâh nyâyish.	23a. Nyâyish Ardvîsûr.
27. Nyâyish Âtash Bahrâm.	32b. Duâe (Nâm-sitâishn).
35a. Paitaêti (Patet Aderbâd).	45b. Gâh Hâvan.
48a. Gâh Rapithan.	51a. Gâh Uzîran.
53a. G. Aiwîsrûthrem.	56a. G. Ushahin.
58b. Nêkâh (نکاح) to fol. 65b.	

Then follows: (leg. پازند نویسنده است ولیکن پاز (پازند) نمی دانیم  
خواندن در یکنجانب (sc. India)

In the concluding chapter, the writer compares the Zand characters with the Persian, treats of the different forms of the Zand characters (at the beginning, middle or end), etc.

تمت تمام شد این کتاب اوستاوند و حرفهای : Colophon, fol. 67a. :  
پازند و حرفهای اوستاوند نویسنده هیرید زاده هیرید هرمزیار بن هیرید  
فرامرز بن هیرید قیامدین بن هیرید کیقباد لقب سنجانه این کتاب  
بروز انیران بماه اردی بهشت سنه یزدکرد در یکت هزار و چهل و دو

<sup>1</sup> Compare Z. and P. 2, p. 703—هرکه خواند دعا و آفرین و انوشه روانی  
بر کاتب و نویساننده این کتاب برساند

<sup>2</sup> So translated on folio 201.

بعد از فرمایش کنورچی بن نماهانه (ناهانہ) پہایی مودی نوشتہ شد هر کہ خواند دعا کند<sup>1</sup>

“ This Avastâ u Zand, with the Pâzand and Avasta-Zand alphabets, was finished and copied by the Herbad's son, Herbad Hormuzyâr b. Herbad Ferâmrûz b. Herbad Kiyâmîdîn b. Herbad Kaikobâd, Sunjâna by surname, on Anêrân, in the month of Ardibahisht, in the year of Yazd. 1042, after (!) the order of Konorjî b. Nmâhâna (b. Nâhâna) Phâi Mûdî. Whosoever reads it, let him say a prayer.”

The same Herbad Hormuzyâr copied one year later, 1675, the Sad-dar i naẓm, Add. 6998.

V. Add. 8997, foll. 203. اوستای درون Avastâi darûn, a collection of those chapters of the Avastâ, that are recited in the festivals for the deceased, the first of which takes place on the fourth day after the death. On the 30th day, the Yasna is read, and the Darûn Sîrôza, invocations of all the Yazatas, who preside over the single days of the month, over the months, etc. The same ceremony is repeated on every anniversary. This copy is quite modern, written (probably in Persia) partly in Zand, partly in Persian characters. Many pages are stained, the ink in many places nearly blotted out. The whole contains four parts.

1. The particular chapters of the Yasna, arranged somewhat differently from Anquetil's statement.<sup>2</sup>

Fol.	Fol.
1b. Introductory prayer.	2a. Yasna 3, 1-8; 24-37; 52-60.
10a. Y. 23, 1-9.	12b. Y. 4, 1-28, 42-56.
24a. Y. 37.	25b. Y. 6, 1-22, 39-53.
32a. Y. 26.	37b. Short invocation of the five Gâhs.
38b. 6 Y. 7, 1-29; 43-55.	49b. 5 Y. 7, 59-69.
46b. 7 Y. 23.	53a. A short prayer.
51a. 7 Y. 8, 1-3; 5-9.	55b. 2-10 Y. 4, 53 and a short prayer.
53b. 1 Y. 8, 10-18.	

<sup>1</sup> This phrase, which occurs in the colophon of almost every Parsee MS., has originated from the Greek; it is developed, as usual, through the medium of the Syriac, **ܩܠܗ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܣܬܐ** out of the *καὶ οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες εὐχεσθῆ μοι κ.τ.λ.* which frequently occurs in Greek MSS.

<sup>2</sup> See Spiegel's translation of the Avastâ, ii. p. lxxix.

In general, there is omitted the piece corresponding to Yasna 4, 29-41, and the invocations are shortened; besides, there are many other variations from the texts, in accordance with the liturgical purpose of this compilation.

2. Fol. 56a.-149a. The Farvardîn Yasht, invocations of the Fravashis, who exercise the شفاعت (intercession) for all mankind at Ahuramazda's throne. It is usually read on the Farvardîn, Khurdâd, Tîr, Bâd, and on the Gâthâs, the last ten days of the year.

3. Fol. 149a.-169b. The three Âfrîngâns, each preceded by a short introduction. They are also read on the Gâthâs, in commemoration of the deceased.

Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr, fol. 149a.-155b.

Âfr. Gâthâ, fol. 155b.-164b.

Âfr. Rapithwin, fol. 164b.-169b.

4. Fol. 170-203. The Sîrôza. Each prayer or invocation appears in two different redactions, the so-called greater and lesser Sîrôza, one *فہ آیسہ یشتہ* (i.e. to *âyêse yasti*, the beginning of the verses in Yasna 3), the other *فہ یزید میدہ* (i.e. to *yazamaidê*, compare Yasna 5 and 6). They are substantially identical with those published and translated by Anquetil, Westergaard, and Spiegel.

Fol. 170-173b., the Sîrôza of the thirty days.

173b.-174 (+b.), the same for the months.

174 (+b.)-176a., for the five Farvardiân.

Then follow *Darûns* for special days, a *darûn myazdi gôsfand* (Fol. 180b.), for the seven Amshâsfands (fol. 185a.); lastly, for Amerdâd, Rashnu, Ashtâd, and Zâmyâd (fol. 201a., unfinished).

For a better understanding of this, the following particulars will be useful. The Darûn sacrifice is performed in honour of the seven Amshâsfands, Rashnu râzista, Sraosha and the Fravashis, on the days Mithra of the month Mithra, on Khurdâd of the month Farvardiân, on the Gâhanbârs, on the five last days of the year, and on the fourth day after a death. Three Darûns are offered, one to Rashnu râst and Ashtâd, one to Sraosha, and one to the Fravashis of the pure. The relation of Sraosha, Rashnu râst and Ashtâd to the cere-



mony is, that they lead the departed souls over the bridge Cinvat.

Of the third part, fol. 194a.-203 is written in Zand, the rest in Persian characters (like the short interspersed prayers in the first part). The MS. has no colophon, but was probably written in Persia towards the end of the last century.

A noticeable fact in this MS., also occurring in several others, is the system of transliteration into Persian characters, applied to Zand texts. That it is a system which, to a certain degree, accurately represents the original, and is unvarying, will be proved by the following details, which may serve also as a help to the rather puzzling task of reading a Zand text in Persian characters.

ا represents sometimes short *a* in fine, مزدا = mazda; ا = u, اوردینه taurvayêni.

آ = âo in fine, مزدا mazdâo, in medio نیاچو nyâoñco, دروی تیا سچه drvaityâosca; further = ao in اشانام ashaonâm; â in امشناه ameshanâm, واته ویو vâthwyô, نامه nâma. Âo is also expressed in fine by آعه in تبیشاعه tbaêshâo, by آ in فیردکاه pairikâo, and by و in سفه ننگه و spananhâo.

ت represents also th ورد ترغنم verethraghnem; ته = th ته ویشو thwaêshô, واته ویو vâthwyô.

ج = j; چ = c; خ = kh q; د = d d; ده = dh, ویده ویشته وو vîdhvaêsthwô.

<sup>1</sup> It may be noticed here, that in Sanscrit, as written by Pârsees, the خ = kh is usually changed into sh: hûst هوخت, mînôishirad مینوی خرد. As a curiosity of some interest, I give the Sanscrit colophon of Z. and P. 19 (a copy of the Mînôikhirad with Neriosangh's translation), a specimen of many of the kind.

संवत १५७७ व्रषे कार्तिक शुदि अष्टमो वार शुक्ले आधह श्री नागमंडलकरणे पारसी संवत ८५० साल हस्तसवदअजस इन साह ईजदजरद सहिरीआर रीज रखां माह बहान उ ॥० पदमापोच उ ॥० महोआरसुतल उ ॥० महिरवान. पुस्तक मदनोदधिरद लखितं ए० पाल्हणसुत ए० विहिरांम लखावितं ए० यदि आकापि पटयति यदि आकापि गुणयति यदि आकापि उत्तारयति तस्य कार्ये मया लखितं शुभं भवतु ॥ हमत हप्त ह्रअरिस्त ॥

“In the Samvat-year 1577, in the month Kârtika, on the 8th day, in the



1. خشنیمینه اهوره مزدا ریوتو خرده ننگهتو امشنام 2. ونکهوه  
مننکه آخشتوعش همونتیا ترداتو انیاعش دامان آسنه خرتوو  
مزداداته کوشوسری ته خرتوو مزداداته

3. اشه وهشته سریشته اعریه منو عشیه سیره مزداداته سوکیا  
ونکهایا ووُرو دوعتريا (181a) مزداداتیا اشونیا

4. خشته وعریه ایوخشسته مرژدکاعه سرايو درهغو وه سفنتیا  
ونکهایا آرمتوعش راتیا ونکهایا ووُرو دوعتريا مزداداتیا اشونیا  
(هر روزی که باشد گفتن وپس وروز آدر)

9. آترو اهوره مزدا فتره خرده ننگه سونگه مزداداته اعرینام  
خره نو مزداداته کاوبه چه خرده ننگه مزداداته آترو اهوره مزدا  
فتره کووعش هوسره ونکه هه ورووعش (181b) هوسره ونکه هه اسنه ونته  
کرووعش مزداداته چی چسته ورووعش مزداداته کاوه یه هچه خرده ننگه  
مزداداته آترو اهوره مزدا فتره ریونته کرووعش مزداداته کاوه یه هچه  
خره ننگه مزداداته آترو اهوره مزدا فتره آترش سفنته رتیشتاره  
یزه ته فوُرو خرده ننگه یزه ته فوُرو بیشه زه آترو اهوره مزدا فتره مد  
ویسفی بیو آتربه بیو خشترو نفدرو نیرویوسنک (182a) هه هته یزه ته

ماه مانکه هه کوچتره کی عُش چه ایووداتیا کی عُش چه فوُرو سره دیا  
14. کوش کی عُش تشنه کی عُش اُرانه درواسفیا سیریا مزداداتیا

اشونیا

21. رام رامه نوخاستره وپوعش اُنه روکره ترداتو انیاعش دامان  
ایتد تی ویوید تی استه سفنتو مینوم تواسه خداتِه زروانه اکرنه  
زروانه درهغو خداتِه ویسفیشام یزه تمام تا سر اوختو نامه نویزه ته  
(182b) دو بار گفتن

فہ راہ یزہ میدہ

1. اهورم مزدام ریونتم خرہ ننگہنتم یزہ میدہ امشا سفنتا هوخشترا

هودانکہو یزہ میدہ

2. وھومنو امشم سفنتم یزہ آخشتیم ہم و نتم یزہ ترہ اتام انیاعش

دامان آسنم خرہ تیم مزداتام یزہ کوشوسریتم خرہ تیم مزداتام یزہ

3. اشم وھشتم سریشتم امشم سفنتم یزہ اعریمم عشیم یزہ سیرم مزدہ

(183a) داتم یزہ سوکام ونگہیم ووعرو دوعترام مزدہ داتام اشونیم یزہ

4. خشترم وعریم امشم سفنتم یزہ ایوخسستم مرژدکم سرابودرغیم یزہ

5. سفنتام ونگہیم آرمیتیم یزہ راتام ونگہیم ووعرو دوعترام مزدہ داتام

اشونیم یزہ

ھر روزی کہ بید گفتن و آدر

9. آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یزہ خرہنو مزداتام یزہ اعریمم خرہنو

مزدہ داتم (183b) عقرم کویم خرہنو مزداتام یزہ آتریم اھورہہ مزدا

فترم یزہ کویم ہوسرہ ونگہیم یزہ وعریم ہوسرہ ونگہیم یزہ اسنہ و نتم کہ وعریم

مزدہ داتم یزہ چی چستیم وعریم مزدہ داتم یزہ عقرم کویم خرہنو مزدہ

داتم یزہ آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یزہ ریونتم کہ وعریم مزدہ داتم یزہ

عقرم کویم خرہنو مزدہ داتم یزہ (184a) آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یزہ

آترش سفنتہ رتیشتارہ یزہ یزہ تہ فوعرو خرہ ننگہ یزہ یزہ تہ فوعرو بیشہ زہ

یزہ آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یزہ ویسفہ آترو یزہ خشترم نغدرم نیریوسنگہم

یزہ تم یزہ

12. مانگہم کوچترم یزہ کاعم ایوداتہہ ارانو فرہوشیم یزہ کاعم فوعرو

سردہہ ارانہ فرہوشیم یزہ (184b).

14. کی عش ہودانکو اوانم یزہ درواسقام سیرام مزدہ داتام اشونیم یزہ

21. رامہ خاسترم یزہ ویم اشہ و نم یزہ ویم آفرہ کہ وعریم یزہ ترہ داتام



انیاعش دامان ایتد تی ویو یز ید تی استه سقنتو مینیوم تواشم  
 خداتم یز زروانم اکرنم یز زروانم درهغو خداتم یز ویسفمچه اشه ونم  
 مینیوم یز تم یز ویسفمچه اشه ونم کیتیم یز تم (185a) یز اشونام  
 ونکپیش سیرا سفنتا فرهوشیو ستومه تا سرکفتن

VI. Add. 8996. A collection of Yashts and prayers (foll. 65); dated 1855.

1. Fol. 1. Bahrâm Yasht.      2. Fol. 18a. Âtash Nyâyish.  
 3. Fol. 22b. Âfrîn of the seven      4. Fol. 25a. Patet Erâni.

Amshâsfands.

5. A collection of prayers with the following names :—

Fol. 45b. نماج اورمزد "prayer to Ormazd."

Fol. 49a. بنام دادار "in the Creator's name."

Fol. 56a. سپاس اکناره "boundless thanks."

Fol. 57b. نام خاور "the name of the Lord."

Fol. 60a. چترم بیاد "it may be manifest."

Fol. 64. دعای چشم زخم "prayer against the evil eye,"

Yasna 32, 10.

Numbers 1 and 2, and fol. 64 are Zand, the rest Pârsi; the whole is written in Persian characters, except fol. 64. It deserves to be mentioned, that in this MS., as well as in Add. 8995 (both, I suppose, written in Persia), the Yashts and Patet Erâni have a peculiar introduction prefixed to those given by Westergaard and Spiegel. The latter are usually found in Indian MSS. The constant phrase at the beginning is مس و ه فیروزکر باک فه مینوی. As a specimen, I give the introduction to the Bahrâm Yasht, fol. 1.

مس و ه فیروزکر باک فه مینوی اردی بهشت بلند و آدر و سروش  
 وورهرام ایزد اشوی ورجاوند هماوند فیروزکر خشنوتره اهوره مزدا اشم  
 وهی سه فره ورانه هرگاه که باشد اهوره مزدا ریوتو خره ننگهتو امشنام  
 سفنتنام امه هوتاشته هوروده وره ترغنه اهوره کاته وننتیاسچه افره تاتو  
 خشنوتره یسناعچه تا وامروتی

“Great, good, victorious in heaven be Ardibahisht, the sublime, and Âdar, and Srôsh, and Varahrâm, the pure, active, powerful, victorious Yazata.” We find similar introductions prefixed to the Âfrîn of the seven Amshâsfands, Patet Erâni, and Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht (Add. 8995 fol. 17a). Whether they serve for a special liturgical purpose, and for which, I have no means of ascertaining.

The prayers, fol. 45b.-63, would form a very valuable publication, less on account of their contents than their language. They are not without considerable difficulties, and I doubt, whether this single MS. would suffice to give a reliable text.

The following colophon stands on fol. 65: نوشتم از بهر اشایه : 65  
 ورزی دین چاشیدار پتت گفتار ستایش نیایش نیکو خصال پسندیده  
 اقبال جهان فرود خلق خالق که تا صد و پنجاه سالان کار فرمایند  
 پس اچ صد و پنجاه سالان بفرزندان فرزند ان دکابه (کتاب leg.)  
 اوسپارند ظط (خط leg.) بنده کمترین خاک پای دانشوران یکجهت  
 دین وه مازدیسنان کیقباد بهشتی روان رستم لهراسب بتاریخ روز  
 فروردین ایزد اچ ۱۹ بهمنماه قدیم سنه ۱۲۲۳

“I have written this for the sake of purity, that works religion, teaches penitence, speaks noble and pleasant prayer and adoration, the progress of the world, the furtherance of the Creator's creations—that they may use it till 150 years, and then after 150 years hand it over to the grand-children.<sup>1</sup> Written by the most humble servant of all dust-born scholars, the follower (یکجانب = یکجهت) of the good Mazdayasnian religion, Kaikobâd Bahishti-Rewân (?) Rustam Luhrâsp, on the Farvardîn, the 19th of the Bahman A. 1223, according to the era of the Kādîmîs.”

VII. Add. 8995. A collection of Yashts, the whole in Persian characters. Imperfect at the beginning, the number of the first leaf being ۱۴. Dated 1766.

1. Fol. 1. Ormazd Yasht, beginning with v. 5 (ed. of

<sup>1</sup> The same phrase occurs in the Pahlavî colophon edited by Dr. Justi (Bundehesch, pag. xix).

فره‌مریعه اشاعم اهورد مزده ید تی آسته مزشته‌چه (Westergaard)  
وهشته‌چه سریشه‌چه تا

2. Fol. 10*b*. Ardibahisht Yasht.
3. Fol. 17*v*. Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht.
4. Fol. 24*b*. Srôsh Yasht.
5. Fol. 34-51. Patet Erâni.

Colophon on fol. 51*a*. نوشتم من دین بنده دستور رستم دستور  
جناماسب اندر روز خیر ایزد آج امرداد ماه قدیم سنه ۱۱۴۳ ایزد جردیه  
فرجام یافت

"I wrote it, the servant of the (true) religion, Dastûr Rustam b. Dastûr Jâmâsp, on the day of the best Ized (? of the Amerdâd, in the Kadîmî year of Yazd. 1144. Finished."

VIII. Add. 8994, Fol. 139. A collection of several smaller pieces; dated 1858.

1. Fol. 1. Ormazd Yasht (v. 1-33) in text (Persian characters), Persian paraphrase and commentary.

2. سوکند نامه, "the oath-book," a legal treatise on the obligation of an oath, the duty of an intermediary, the ceremonies connected with the oath, the formula jurisjurandi itself. Substantially it is the same with that given by Spiegel in "the Avastâ translated," ii. pag. lvi., but they are two different redactions. The present copy is so full of blunders, that it alone would not enable one to make an accurate edition of the text.

3. Fol. 46. Riwâyât, ordinances concerning several duties of the Zoroastrians.

4. Fol. 61*b*. نصیحت نامه بوزر جمهر حکیم وکنکارشاه نوشیروانی  
"the book of good advice, by Abû Zâr, the doctor and kankârshâh (?) of Anûshîrwân." The story is this, that Anûshîrwân assembles 23 wise men; each of them utters a maxim (حکمت) and Anûshîrwân orders these to be written down in golden ink; then follow the 23 maxims of an ethical and paraenetic character.

5. Fol. 74. A paraphrase of the Ashem vohu with a commentary; and Fol. 100, the same for the Yathâ ahû varyô.

6. Fol. 81*b*. Short questions addressed to the wise Jâmâsp with his answer; for instance, who is the best? The wisest?

7. Fol. 84*b*-99*b*. A story of Anûshîrwân. He asked the wise Abû Zar Jamhar to compose a book about him; Abû Zar did so, calling it ظفر نامه. Then he reports a conversation between himself and his teacher concerning ethical topics.

8. Fol. 104*b*-139. The book of Dâdâr b. Dâdukht, a wise man in the time of Shâpûr, the son of Ardashîr b. Bâbak; in questions and answers. In the introduction it is stated that the book was translated from Pahlavî by Jalîl b. Jahyâd b. Mihrbân, and transformed into a new edition by the Mobadân Mobad Abû Nafrîn (!) Srôshyâr.

این یکدفتربست که ویرا راسته خوانند داد بن دادخت موبدان موبد کرده است در روزکار شاپور بن اردشیر بابکان بود و بن دادار (!) بن دادخت مردی بود خردمند که مردمان او را که (!) استاد خواندندی و استاد جلیل بن جهیاد بن مهربان از این کتاب رغبت افتاد و از (105) زبان پهلوی بزبان پارسی آورد تا هر که را رغبت کند خوش در تواند یافتن و موبدان موبد ابو نفرین (!) سروشیار از تخمه آدریاد مهره سفندان که از نسل دادار بن دادخت باشد (! sic) واجب دید و گفتار ایشان را تازه کردانید تا ثواب مزد آنرا بروان و خویش (105*b*) و آنهبشتی رسانیده باشد

Then it proceeds: The Kaiser *ابولیوس* sends to Shâpûr, at his request, learned men to translate the Greek medical books into Persian. These philosophers encroach upon the dignity of the Zoroastrian creed, which they despise, for if the revelation in the holy books of the Persians were true, it would have taught them also the medical art. Dâdâr answers them, that when Alexander had come to Persia, he availed himself of the Persian literature collected in Istakhr; that there Aristotle translated the Persian medical treatises into Greek; and that from him the other philosophers received this knowledge. Then follows a disputation on physical topics,



the generation of man, the sexes, the frôhars, the divine sense (آسن خرد), sleep, etc. At last the Greek savants, when asked by Dâdâr for an explanation of the evil principle, Ahriman, are defeated. The MS. has two colophons, on fol. 104*a.* and 139*a.*; it was copied by Rustam b. Tîrân in the year 1226 of Yazdagird.

IX. Reg. 16. B. II. (Hyde's library), contains the poetical edition of the Ardâivîrâfnâma, fol. 1-94 in Zand characters; fol. 106-152 the same in Persian characters. Title:

کتاب اردا ویراف از گفته شعر زرتشت بهرام

Zartusht Bahrâm is, besides, the author of the Zartusht and Canghraghâc-nâma. Both texts agree with each other in all particulars, except a few slight variations arising entirely from the want of a fixed system of transliteration.

The same MS. contains on fol. 95*a.*, the Pârsee names for the days of the month; 95*b.*, the names of the months; 96*a.*, Yathâ ahû vairyô, Ashem vohû and the Kurshêd Nyâyish; 103*a.*, the names of the devs; 103*b.*, the names of the Yazatas and Amshâsfands; 104*b.*, the names of the Persian kings from "Kayaomaras" to Yazdagird. The whole is in Zand characters.

تمام شد. 95*a.* and 152*b.* Fol. Twice the same colophon, on fol. 95*a.* and 152*b.*

کتاب اردا ویراف بروز خرداد به ماه مبارک بهمن سال اور هزار و چهل و هفت از شاهنشاه ایزدجردی تمام شد و نویسنده کاتب الحروف بنده هیربد زاده هیربد خورشید بن اسفندیار بن رستم هر که خواند آفرین کند

Copied by Herbad Khorshêd b. Isfandiyâr b. Rustam. Finished in the year 1047=1679.

X. Reg. 16 B. I. Another copy of the same work, likewise giving a double text in Zand and Persian characters (fol. 1-174). Besides, it contains on foll. 174-330, written in the same manner, the Saddar i nazm, incomplete. The last thirty "dar" are wanting.

This MS. has no colophon; it seems, however, to be written by the same hand as Reg. 16 B. II., Khorshêd b. Isfandiyâr b.

Rustam, A.D. 1679. On the first fly leaf we read :—"This book is very hard to be procured, for when I had prevailed with the Priest to write it for me, he durst not let his own caste or sect know of it, but wrote it all in the night, when all eyes were shut and asleep."

XI. Reg. 16. B. XV. (Hyde's library). A copy of the *Saddar i naẓm* (foll. 165), dated Muḥarram 1050 of the Hijra = A.D. 1640. This work has been long known in Europe by Hyde's Latin translation in "*Veterum Persarum ctr. religionis historia, Oxonii, 1780.*" (Second edition).

XII. Add. 6998. Another copy of the same work (foll. 420, written by a European hand, with Hyde's Latin translation. The original of this copy was dated A.H. 1043 = A.D. 1633, and written by Hormuzyâr b. Ferâmrûz b. Kiyâmdîn Kaikobâd (see under No. 4).

The author of this poetical edition of the "hundred doors" صدر is not known. He states in the introduction, that he went to Karmân and studied there under Dastîr Shahriyâr b. Melikshâh, the author of the ground work in prose (كتاب صدر نثر) quoted in the collection of *Riwayât*, MS. Anquetil xii., Spiegel's *tradit. Lit. der Parsen*, p. 89, anm. 1). The date of the composition of this is 864 of Yazdagird = A.D. 1496.

XIII. Add. 24, 413 foll. 94. A collection of treatises, purchased from Major Malcolm. It contains—

1. آغاز داستان بهدینان فارس قصهٔ ساجان fol. 1-19, beginning "Commencement of the history of the Behdîns of Persia, who emigrated from Erân to Hindostan." Translated by E. B. Eastwick, in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, 1842, p. 168 sq. Quite modern handwriting.

2. Fol. 22-25. A fragment of a Pahlavî dictionary, explained in Persian, arranged according to the first and second letters of the words. The author frequently quotes Zartusht Bahrâm.

Incomplete at the end; last words سپتینا با اول مفتوح بشانی زده وتای فوقانی مکسور ویای معروف لبرا کوبند وآنرا بتازی شغه خوانند Very bad, modern handwriting.

فرهنگ جهانگیری  
appendix to

3. Fol. 31-45. فرهنگ شاهنامه, a short explanation of old words occurring in the Shâhnâma, composed by Êdal b. Dârâb, at the request of Major Malcolm, in the year 1179 of Y. = A.D. 1809, in Bombay.

4. Stories of Anûshîrwân, (see p. 34), *a.* fol. 49-57, copied by Êdal, in the year 1179 of Y.; *b.* fol. 61-68, by another hand; *c.* in verse, fol. 69-74, copied by Êdal, in the year 1179 of Y.

5. Fol. 77-84. Another work composed by Êdal, at the request of Major Malcolm, treating of the Pârsee names of the days and months, and about the festivals Naurôz, Naurôz i buzurg جشن تیرگان and جشن مهرگان

6. Fol. 85-94. The history of Ardashîr b. Bâbak, in Pahlavî. Quite modern handwriting; not improbably copied by Êdal b. Dârâb.

XIV. Add. 22,379. A copy of a Pahlavî glossary, with transliteration into Zand and Persian characters, and a Persian explanation (foll. 38). It begins with seven introductory verses in mutakârib; then a comparative table of the Pahlavî, Zand, and Persian alphabets. From fol. 3*b.* follows the glossary in 24 abwâb (chapters), arranged according to subjects—names of God, the angels, elements, world, animals, etc.; lastly, the names of the days and months, the five gâthâs and the numerals. The whole is clearly written (in India), and in good preservation; the bottom of the first twenty leaves is a little damaged. There is no colophon, but the MS. probably dates from the latter half of the last century.

This glossary is, I think, the same that was published by Anquetil, though not in the original order, and inserted by Dr. Justi in his dictionary to the Bundeshesh, and which Dastûr Hoshangji is going to edit. As nobody has given a description of the work in its original order, I have no means of deciding this question; but a careful comparison has shown me, that all the words adduced by Dr. Justi from the Parisian MS., are found here, along with some others, which do not seem to occur there. In the Persian explanation, other words are sometimes used than those quoted by Justi. About the



identity there can be scarcely any doubt, but possibly this MS. offers a somewhat different redaction.

XV. Add. 22,378 is written by the same hand as Add. 22,379. It contains four pieces, viz. :—

1. Three sections of the Bundehesch (chap. xviii., portions of chaps. xix. and xx); the Pahlavî text with Persian transliteration and Persian translation, interspersed with a commentary (or glosses). Fol. 1-8.

2. In the same manner, the beginning of the Shikand Gumânî Gudhâr (foll. 8).<sup>1</sup> It breaks off with the following passage :—

گوهرن زدم هویتونید کبد ادون نکیها کبد سرد گیها چگین کبد دینی کبد  
ادمونشنی دیین انبام هون همای ادوکت روتمن دود انبسان هم بدی

3. A Zand glossary. In the first column, the Zand word with Persian transliteration; in the second, the corresponding Sanscrit (on the first page with Gujarâtî, afterwards with Persian transliteration); and in the third column, the Persian explanation. Foll. 32.

4. A few notes on the sounds of the Zand language as compared with those of the Persian and Gujarâtî (unfinished). Foll. 4.

This MS. has been used by Dr. Justi for his edition of the Bundehesch, and is described in the *Introd.*, p. xvii.

P.S.—When I wrote the description of the *Anûshîrwân* romance and its different redactions, I was not aware of a most interesting fact, which considerably strengthens my opinion of its being composed from a political motive. Dr. E. Polak, in his valuable book, “*Persien, Land und Leute, 1861*,” p. 28, says, that the Gabrs in Yazd are indebted for their existence, however wretched it may be, in the main to a “*Freibrief*” (writ of toleration) of ‘Alî, which they pretend to possess, and that without this they would have vanished long ago from the soil of Iran.

Hitherto I was not able to state anything about the time of *Marzubân*. At present, however, I see that I did not

<sup>1</sup> By the way it may be mentioned, that Z. and P. 15 (India Office Library), which bears the title of *Shikand Gumânî*, is a *Patet* in Pahlavi.



pay the necessary attention to one verse in the introduction to the translation of *Mīnôikhirad*, viz. fol. 9*b*. l. 9.

بنام ویش کر بسازی شمار      بود از من او و تو یاد کار

“If you count its (the book’s) name, then it will be a commemoration of me and of it and of you.” Now, the name of the book is *وصف خرد* and the numerical value of these characters, added together, gives 980. This, according to the era of Yazdagird, would correspond to A.D. 1612, which date comes pretty near to my conjecture on p. 30, l. 9-12.

pay the necessary attention to one verse in the introduction  
to the translation of Alindkhirah, viz. fol. 6A. I. 9.

لا اله الا انت سبحانك انى كنت  
المشربى السبعى شيبى ولو

"If you count the (the book's) name, then it will be a com-  
memoration of me and of you." Now, the name  
of the book is *سبعى شيبى* and the numerical value of these  
characters, added together, gives 980. This according to the  
era of Yazdgerd would correspond to A.D. 1612, which date  
comes pretty near to my conjecture on p. 30, l. 9-12.

Ec 765









① Ein 765

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