

Saloumeh Gholami

The Afterlife of Avestan Manuscripts: Colophons and Marginal notes



Reichert

Saloumeh Gholami

The Afterlife of Avestan Manuscripts



On the back side of the book we find,
A place to leave traces, subtle and kind.
Memorials scribed by a friend so dear,
Better than any property, they remain near.

Saloumeh Gholami

The Afterlife of Avestan Manuscripts: Colophons and Marginal notes

Reichert Verlag

*Die Open-Access-Publikation dieses Buches wurde durch den Open-Access-Publikationsfonds der
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main unterstützt.
The open access publication of this book was funded by the Open Access Publication Fund of
Goethe University Frankfurt am Main.*

Förder-ID (Funder-ID): 239666954

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im
Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2023 Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden

ISBN: 978-3-7520-0754-1

eISBN: 978-3-7520-0268-3

DOI: 10.29091/9783752002683

www.reichert-verlag.de

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes
ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar.

Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen,
Mikroverfilmungen und die Speicherung und Verarbeitung in
elektronischen Systemen, auch bei nur
auszugsweiser Verwertung. Die Vergütungsansprüche des
§ 54, Abs. 2, UrhG. werden durch die Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort
wahrgenommen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	15
Abbreviations.....	16
Introduction.....	17
I. Colophons.....	31
1.1. The history of research on colophons.....	33
1.2. Terminology.....	35
1.3. The nature of colophons.....	36
1.4. Formal characteristics of colophons.....	47
1.4.1. Position, length and shape.....	47
1.4.2. Language.....	48
1.4.2.1. The influence of Persian and Zoroastrian Dari on Middle Persian colophons.....	48
1.4.2.2. The influence of the Middle Persian language on the New Persian language in the colophons.....	51
1.4.2.3. The Avestan citations in the Middle Persian colophons.....	51
1.5. Functional characteristics.....	62
1.5.1. Assertive part.....	63
1.5.1.1. Frazaft part.....	63
1.5.1.2. The manuscript's name.....	64
1.5.1.3. The copy's place of origin.....	65
1.5.1.4. Scribes' names and filiation.....	66
1.5.1.5. The original source of the copy.....	67
1.5.1.6. Reasons for making the copy.....	68
1.5.1.7. The dates of the copies.....	70
1.5.1.8. Donation, purchase and sale.....	72
1.5.1.9. Verification and validation.....	73
1.5.1.10. Historical details.....	74
1.5.2. Expressive part.....	84
1.5.2.1. Wishes.....	84
1.5.2.2. Exhortations.....	86
1.5.2.3. Curses.....	87
1.5.3. Directive part.....	88

II. Marginalia	91
2.1. 'Religious' purposes.....	93
2.1.1. Explanatory notes.....	93
2.1.1.1. Transcription of Middle Persian forms in Arabic script.....	93
2.1.1.2. Priests' notes.....	93
2.1.2. Poems regarding death.....	94
2.1.3. Giving thanks.....	96
2.1.4. Prayers.....	97
2.1.5. Dates.....	98
2.1.5.1. Sālmargs 'death date'.....	98
2.1.5.2. Nozūdī.....	101
2.1.5.3. Zādrūz 'birth date'.....	103
2.1.5.4. Gahanbārs.....	104
2.1.5.5. Yašt-xānī dates.....	104
2.1.6. Summary of the content of different parts of the Avesta.....	105
2.1.7. Names of priests as performers of the ceremonies.....	109
2.2. 'Less religious' purposes.....	109
2.2.1. Ownership notes.....	109
2.2.2. Treaties.....	112
2.2.3. Love poems.....	115
2.2.4. Sorrow.....	116
2.2.5. Curses.....	117
2.2.6. Advice.....	118
2.2.7. Riddles.....	119
2.2.8. Proverbs.....	119
2.2.9. Verses by famous poets.....	120
III. Notes on the Scribes and Individuals Mentioned in Colophons and Marginal Notes	121
3.1. The Dīnyār family.....	124
3.1.1. Gōbedšāh Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān.....	124
3.1.2. Other members of the Dēnyār family.....	125
3.1.3. The Marzbān family.....	126
3.1.3.1. Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār.....	127
3.1.3.2. Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār.....	128
3.1.3.3. Bahrām Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār.....	129
3.1.3.4. Nušīrwān Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār.....	131

3.2. Other families.....	134
3.2.1. Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh	134
3.2.2. Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār.....	136
3.2.3. Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār Bahrām Ardešīr Ādur Sīstānīg	138
3.2.4. Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr Gōštāsp Ardēšīr	141
3.2.5. Xosrow Nūšīrwān Rostam and Mehrabān Nūšīrwān Rostam.....	146
3.2.6. Vižan Šahryār Vižan	147
3.2.7. Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ Rostam Iraǰ Gobād Irānšāh	148
3.2.8. Gīv Sfandyād Gīv Māhyār	149
3.2.9. Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsp and Šahrām Rostam Jāmāsp	150
3.2.10. Behrūz Eskandar, Monaǰem-e Kermani	153
3.3. A note on the transmission of the Videvdād manuscripts	155

IV: Colophons and marginal notes: Images with transcriptions,

translations with commentary	159
4.1. Videvdād manuscripts	161
4.1.1. MS. 4000	161
4.1.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	161
4.1.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	162
4.1.1.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	163
4.1.1.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	166
4.1.1.5. Transcription and translation of the first Persian colophon	167
4.1.1.6. Transcription and translation of the second Persian colophon	171
4.1.1.7. Other Notes including Verses, Dates, Treaties, etc.	172
4.1.2. MS. 4010	174
4.1.2.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	174
4.1.2.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	176
4.1.2.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	178
4.1.2.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	179
4.1.2.5. Transcription and translation of the first Persian Colophon	181
4.1.2.6. Marginal notes	188
4.1.3. MS. 4020	196
4.1.3.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	196
4.1.3.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	196
4.1.3.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	196
4.1.3.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	197
4.1.4. MS. 4025	197

4.1.4.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	197
4.1.4.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	198
4.1.4.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	201
4.1.4.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	202
4.1.5. MS. 4030	203
4.1.5.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	203
4.1.5.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	204
4.1.5.3. Transcription and translation of the first Persian colophon	206
4.1.5.4. Transcription and translation of the second Persian colophon	210
4.1.5.5. Transcription and translation of the third Persian colophon.....	215
4.1.5.6. Persian prayer, fol. 81v.....	217
4.1.6. MS. 4040	230
4.1.6.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	230
4.1.6.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	231
4.1.6.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	232
4.1.6.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	233
4.1.6.5. Persian ownership note and verses, fol. 162v.....	234
4.1.7. MS. 4045	237
4.1.7.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	237
4.1.7.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	238
4.1.7.3. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon	239
4.1.7.4. Persian Sālmargs, front end paper	244
4.1.8. MS. 4050	251
4.1.8.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	251
4.1.8.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	252
4.1.8.3. Persian colophon.....	253
4.1.8.4. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	257
4.1.8.5. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	257
4.1.9. MS. 4055	258
4.1.9.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	258
4.1.9.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	259
4.1.10. MS. 4056	260
4.1.10.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	260
4.1.10.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	261
4.1.10.3. Marginal notes	262
4.1.11. MS. 4060	267
4.1.11.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon.....	267

4.1.11.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	268
4.1.11.3. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon	270
4.1.12. MS. 4062	274
4.1.12.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	274
4.1.12.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	276
4.1.12.3. Verses, front end paper	278
4.1.13. MS. 4063	292
4.1.13.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian Colophon	292
4.1.13.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian Colophon.....	293
4.1.13.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	295
4.1.13.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	296
4.1.13.5. Marginal notes	297
4.1.14. MS. 4065	314
4.1.14.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	314
4.1.14.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	315
4.1.15. MS. 4070	316
4.1.15.1. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	316
4.1.15.2. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	317
4.1.16. MS. 4080	319
4.1.16.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	319
4.1.16.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	320
4.1.16.3. Purchase note and Sālmargs, fol. 267r.....	320
4.1.17. MS. 4090	325
4.1.17.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon	325
4.1.17.2. Marginal notes	328
4.1.18. MS. 4100	331
4.1.18.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon	331
4.1.19. MS. 4114	341
4.1.19.1. Transcription of the first Persian colophon.....	341
4.1.19.2. Translation of the first Persian colophon.....	341
4.1.19.3. Transcription and translation of the second Persian colophon	343
4.1.19.4. Transcription of the third Persian colophon	350
4.1.19.5. Translation of the third Persian colophon.....	351
4.1.20. MS. 4121	352
4.1.20.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon	352
4.1.20.2. Marginal notes	353
4.1.21. MS. 4155	355

4.1.21.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon	355
4.1.22. MS. 4158	357
4.1.22.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	357
4.1.22.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	357
4.1.22.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	358
4.1.22.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	359
4.1.23. MS. 4161	360
4.1.23.1. Sālmargs	360
4.1.24. MS. 4162	361
4.1.24.1. Marginal notes	361
4.1.25. MS. 4164	364
4.1.25.1. Marginal notes	364
4.2. Yasnā manuscripts.....	369
4.2.1. MS. 8	369
4.2.1.1. Marginal notes	369
4.2.1.2. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	369
4.2.1.3. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	370
4.2.2. MS. 15	371
4.2.2.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	371
4.2.2.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	371
4.2.2.3. Transcription of the Persian colophon	372
4.2.2.4. Translation of the Persian colophon	373
4.2.3. MS. 29	373
4.2.3.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon	373
4.2.3.2. Translation of the Persian colophon	373
4.2.4. MS. 32	374
4.2.4.1. Persian colophon.....	374
4.2.4.2. Marginal notes	377
4.2.5. MS. 35	378
4.2.5.1. Marginal notes	378
4.2.6. MS. 82	380
4.2.6.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	380
4.2.6.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	380
4.2.7. MS. 90	381
4.2.7.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	381
4.2.7.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	381
4.2.7.3. Marginal notes	381

4.2.8. MS. 251	384
4.2.8.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	384
4.2.8.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	384
4.2.8.3. Marginal notes	385
4.2.9. MS. 252	386
4.2.9.1. Marginal notes	386
4.2.10. MS. 300	387
4.2.10.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	387
4.2.10.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	387
4.2.11. Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39195).....	388
4.2.11.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon	388
4.2.11.2. Translation of the Persian colophon	388
4.2.12. Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39196)	389
4.2.12.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon	389
4.2.12.2. Translation of the Persian colophon	389
4.3. Visperad manuscripts	389
4.3.1. MS. 2007	389
4.3.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon, fol. 36r–37v	389
4.3.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	390
4.3.2. MS. 2010	391
4.3.2.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	391
4.3.2.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	391
4.3.2.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	393
4.3.2.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	393
4.3.2.5. Transcription of the Persian colophon	394
4.3.2.6. Translation of the Persian colophon	395
4.3.3. MS. 2030	396
4.3.3.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	396
4.3.3.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	396
4.3.4. MS. 2038	397
4.3.4.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	397
4.3.4.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	398
4.3.4.3. Transcription of the Persian colophon	398
4.3.4.4. Translation of the Persian colophon	399
4.3.5. MS. 2040	400
4.3.5.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	400
4.3.5.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	400

4.3.5.3. Transcription of the Persian colophon	400
4.3.5.4. Translation of the Persian colophon	401
4.3.6. MS. 2109	402
4.3.6.1. Marginal notes	402
4.3.6.2. Transcription of the Persian colophon	404
4.3.6.3. Translation of the Persian colophon	404
4.4. Wištāsp Yašt manuscripts.....	405
4.4.1. MS. 5020	405
4.4.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	405
4.4.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	406
4.4.1.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	407
4.4.1.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	407
4.4.2. MS. 5040	407
4.4.2.1. Transcription of the first Persian colophon.....	407
4.4.2.2. Translation of the first Persian colophon	408
4.4.2.3. Transcription of the second Persian colophon.....	408
4.4.2.4. Translation of the second Persian colophon	409
4.5. Xorde Avestā.....	409
4.5.1. Xorde Avestā 1243 AY (Pouladi collection).....	409
4.5.1.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon	409
4.5.1.2. Translation of the Persian colophon	409
4.6. Miscellaneous Codex	411
4.6.1. Miscellaneous codex Xorde Avesta, Goftār-e jāmāsb-e Ḥakīm, Anūšīrvān and Abūzarjomehr	411
4.6.1.1. Marginal notes	411
4.6.1.2. Persian colophon.....	411
4.7. Pahlavi manuscripts	412
4.7.1. DH	412
4.7.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	412
4.7.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	412
4.7.1.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	413
4.7.1.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	413
4.7.2. BK	413
4.7.2.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	413
4.7.2.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	414
4.7.3. IM	414
4.7.3.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	414

4.7.3.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	415
4.7.3.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	415
4.7.3.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	415
4.7.3.5. Transcription of the third Middle Persian colophon	416
4.7.3.6. Translation of the third Middle Persian colophon	417
4.7.4. TD2.....	417
4.7.4.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon	417
4.7.4.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon.....	418
4.7.5. TD4a.....	419
4.7.5.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	419
4.7.5.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	419
4.7.5.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon	419
4.7.5.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon.....	420
4.7.6. Vičītakīhā-i Zātasparam	420
4.7.6.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon	420
4.7.6.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon.....	420
Appendix: List of and brief introduction to the manuscripts mentioned in this volume	421
Bibliography	433

PREFACE

In an ever-evolving literary landscape, examining historical texts and their intricate features is crucial for understanding the cultural and intellectual heritage of human civilizations. With this in mind, I am pleased to present this volume, a study that delves into the captivating world of Zoroastrian manuscript paratexts.

The aim of this book is to offer readers a nuanced and multidimensional analysis of the paratexts found mostly in Avestan manuscripts, specifically focusing on colophons and marginal notes. These elements, though often overlooked, provide invaluable insights into the historical, social, and cultural contexts in which these manuscripts were created and circulated. By examining these paratexts, we are granted a unique opportunity to delve into the minds of the scribes, readers and users who have engaged with these texts over the centuries.

This work represents the apex of detailed research carried out during a project funded by the German Research Academy (DFG) entitled ‘The Colophons of Iranian Avestan Manuscripts’ (Project number 239666954, from 2013 to 2018). It is my hope that it will not only contribute to the growing body of literature on the paratexts of Zoroastrian manuscripts but also inspire further investigations into the rich and diverse history of this extraordinary literary tradition.

I extend my deepest gratitude to the Open Access Publication Fund of Goethe University Frankfurt am Main for their generous support in facilitating the open access publication of this book.

I am deeply grateful to the many colleagues and mentors that have supported and contributed to this work in countless ways. I would like to convey my deepest appreciation to Jost Gippert and Almut Hintze for their unwavering support and encouragement throughout this journey, as well as their invaluable mentorship and expertise.

My deepest appreciation goes out to Hamidreza Nikravesh for editing the penultimate version of the book. I am incredibly grateful for the support provided by Mehraban Pouladi, the chairman of the Mobeds’ assembly in Iran, throughout all these years. Through a highly productive collaboration since 2016, we were able to discover a significant number of Zoroastrian manuscripts and historical documents in Iran, many of which are used in this book.

In conclusion, I fervently hope that this book will illuminate the intriguing world of Zoroastrian manuscripts and their paratexts. May it ignite curiosity and inspire readers to embark on their own exploratory journeys into these manuscripts.

Saloumeh Gholami, Frankfurt am Main, July 2023

Table 1: Transcription system for Persian colophons and marginal notes:

Consonants	Transcription		Consonants	Transcription		Vowels	Transcription
ء	ʾ		ص	ṣ		اَ	a
ب	b		ض	ẓ		اِ	e
پ	p		ط	ṭ		اُ	o
ت	t		ظ	ẓ		اَ	a
ث	ṯ		ع	ʿ		اِ	e
ج	ǰ		غ	ġ		اُ	o
چ	č		ف	f		آ	ā
ح	ḥ		ق	q		اِی	ī
خ	x		ک	k		اِو	ū
د	d		گ	g		اِ	ā
ذ	ẓ		ل	l		ی	ī
ر	r		م	m		و	ū
ز	z		ن	n			
ژ	ž		و	v			
س	s		ه	h			
ش	š		ی	y			

Table 2: List of Abbreviations

ZD	Zoroastrian Dari
ZDY	Zoroastrian Dari of Yazd
ZDK	Zoroastrian Dari of Kerman
Pers.	Persian
^ ... ^:	Above the line
∨ ... ∨:	Under the line
[...]:	Damaged and not legible
(...):	Missing in the text

INTRODUCTION

The Avesta, the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, the predominant religion of pre-Islamic Iran, are preserved solely through manuscripts. Although the Avestan language has roots extending back to the Proto-Iranian and even Indo-Iranian periods in the third and second millennia BCE, the written tradition only commenced in the late Sasanian period, around 600 CE, with the development of the Avestan script. The most ancient Avestan manuscripts trace back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the majority of the currently known Avestan manuscripts originated much later, primarily between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

Recent studies have shown that the texts that have come down to us are not exact copies of Sasanian or later originals. However, the manuscripts contain the Avestan texts and instructions for the actions to be performed during the rituals; thus, they reflect the variants of the various liturgies as they were celebrated at the time of the production of the manuscripts.

The Avestan manuscripts found their way to Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and were mainly brought to the United Kingdom from India by British travellers or employees of the East India Company. The earliest collection of Avestan manuscripts in the West is Hyde's collection, which is currently divided amongst the Bodleian Library, the Oxford University libraries and the British Library in London (Sims-Williams 2012: 177).

Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) was a Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford in 1691 and Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1697. Hyde never travelled to India himself; however, he established a network of travellers and East India Company officials that he requested to purchase books and manuscripts on his behalf (Sims-Williams 2012: 174).

Another important collection of Avestan manuscripts was acquired by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) (Duchesne-Guillemin 1985), who brought some of them from India to Paris. This collection is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

Samuel Guise's (1751–1811) collection is another well-known collection of Avestan manuscripts in the British Library. His work in Surat inevitably brought him into close contact with the Parsi community, and he purchased the collection of Dastur Darab, Anquetil-Duperron's teacher, at some point between 1758 and 1760 (Sims-Williams 2009: 199).

In addition to the above-mentioned manuscripts from India, numerous important Avestan manuscripts were also found in Iran. The earliest discoveries of Avestan manuscripts in Iran were made by Avestan scholars conducting exploratory expeditions in Iran during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Niels Ludvig Westergaard (1815–1878), the Danish orientalist scholar, made a three-year trip to India and Persia from May 1841 to May 1844. These trips brought him into contact with the Zoroastrian communities. In 1843, he purchased eight Zoroastrian manuscripts in Iran, amongst which were *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*¹ and *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (K35); they are now part of the famous *Codices Hafnienses*, and are kept at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Schmitt 2015).²

1 This text was published by Andreas (1882).

2 The Avestan manuscripts purchased by Westergaard in India and Iran during 1841–1844 are numbered K35–K43 in the collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Several manuscripts in this collection were published as facsimiles by A. Christensen & K. Barr (1931–1944), *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis*, 12 volumes, Copenhagen. These manuscripts were catalogued by N. L. Westergaard, J. Olshausen, and A. Mehren (1846–1857), *Codices Orientales Bibliothecae Regiae Havniensis, iussu et auspiciis Regis*

Edward Granville Browne (1862–1926) visited Iran in 1887–1888, and travelled to Yazd and Kerman, where he became acquainted with the Zoroastrian community. In his book ‘A Year amongst the Persians’, he mentions that most of the manuscripts (particularly the older and more valuable ones) had been sent to the Parsis of Bombay in order to be preserved (Browne 1893: 429). However, in one of the Fire Temples in Yazd, Dastūr Tīrandāz, the high priest of Yazd, presented Browne with two manuscripts, which he was allowed to borrow for the duration of his stay there, enabling him to examine them in depth. He provides a description of a Videvdād Sāde,³ which includes details of the main text, the colophons and the Sālmargs (see Browne 1893: 392–393).

We know that this manuscript, which was kept at the Fire Temple during Browne’s visit and later at the house of Dastūr Azargošasb, was stolen and sold in 2004 on the Bāzār-e Qadīm (Old Market) in Yazd. The manuscript was purchased by Vahid Zolfaghari, a collector, and is currently in his private collection in Yazd.⁴

Browne saw two more manuscripts that had been preserved at the Fire Temple in Kerman: One of these manuscripts was a Videvdād Sāde copied by Marzbān Wāhrom and was dated 1044 AY (1675 AD), and the other was a Xorde Avesta, which had been written by Dastūr Esfandyār Nušīrwān Esfandyār Ardešīr Ādur Sīstānīg in 1811 (Browne 1893: 441–442). These manuscripts are no longer kept at the Fire Temple of Kerman, and their current location is unfortunately unknown.

Another Avestan scholar, Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson (1862–1937), travelled to Iran in 1906, 1907 and 1910. He returned to Iran in 1918–1919 as a member of the American-Persian Relief Commission at the time of World War I, and eventually travelled around the world. In 1926, he made his final journey to Iran and India (Malandra 2007). In his book ‘Persia Past and Present: a Book of Travel and Research’, he recorded some of his attempts to find Avestan manuscripts. Here, he mentions that the Zoroastrians of Shiraz aren’t in possession of any Avestan manuscripts, but have encouraged him to ask the Zoroastrians of Yazd about the location of some copies (Jackson 1906: 337). In Yazd, the Zoroastrians showed him some fragments and two Avestan manuscripts; one of them was a fine copy of a Videvdād Sāde written by Vāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn in 977–978 AY/ 1608–1609 AD (see Appendix 4010), which Browne had also seen in 1893, while the other was a text of the Yasnā ceremony. Jackson also provides a good transcript of a Wištāsp Yašt. He emphasised that these were the only manuscripts that could be found, and that the best-informed members of the assembly stated that all their more important manuscripts had been sent to India for safe-keeping or for use, and feared that the chances of obtaining hitherto unknown copies were decreasing as the years passed (Jackson 1906: 358). Based on Jackson’s statement, a number of the manuscripts he had seen in Yazd, which were in Bombay at that time, had already been used by Geldner in the preparation of his edition of the Avesta (Jackson 1906: 358).

It is not yet known whether the Zoroastrians were unaware of the existence of more manuscripts in the community at that time, or if they were aware of other manuscripts but

Daniae Christiani Octavi enumerati et descripti. Pars I, Copenhagen: http://www.kb.dk/export/sites/kb_dk/da/nb/samling/os/downloads/Samtlig_e_codices_orientales_1.pdf. Some of these manuscripts have been digitised and are available at: <http://www.kb.dk/manus/ortsam/2009/okt/orientalia/subject637/en/?>

3 See V 4010 in Appendix.

4 This manuscript was published recently; see: Cantera, Alberto/ Ferrer-Losilla, Joan Josep/ Zolfaghari, Dorost (2019): *The Liturgical Videvdād manuscript 4010 (Ave 977–978)*. Sociedad de Estudios Iranios y Turanios: Girona.

did not intend to show them to foreign researchers. As mentioned by Browne and Jackson (Browne 1893: 429; Jackson 1906: 358), the Zoroastrians regularly stated that the most valuable manuscripts had been sent to India to be preserved. This led to the assumption among European scholars that no other Avestan manuscripts remained in Iran.

The developments of various theories regarding the transmission of Avestan manuscripts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and previously unknown Zoroastrian manuscripts that came to light in Iran from around 2000 completely revolutionised Avestan studies.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the three main editions of the Avesta were those compiled by Westergaard (1852), Spiegel (1853–1858) and K. F. Geldner (1886–1896), of which Geldner's edition has been considered the canonical text to date.

These editions represent mainly Indian manuscripts rather than Iranian ones, even though the Iranian manuscripts are often more conservative and contain a considerably greater number of important phonological characteristics. The reason for the underrepresentation of the Iranian manuscripts is that many of these manuscripts had not been found or were not available to scholars at the time at which the text editions were prepared. We know that Geldner had access to 13 Iranian manuscripts, some of them were originally composed in Iran in order to be sent to India (e.g. Mf2 [4020] or G18 [5000]), and copies of them were produced in India. Six of these manuscripts contain ceremonies of the long liturgy: Videvdād Sāde Mf2 (1618/1638) and Jp1 (1638/1658); Yasna Sāde: Mf1 (1741); Yasna Pahlavi Pt4 (1774) and Mf4 (younger), which are indeed Indian copies; Vīštasp Yašt Sāde K4 (1723) and Xwardarg Abestāg: F2, K36, 37, 38, Mf3 (1700), Pd and W1 (Cantera 2012c: 441).

Both Geldner and Westergaard believed that the Avestan texts had originally been composed at some time before the Achaemenid period, and would have been transmitted orally up to the time of the first Sasanian kings. They also believed that the original texts from the Sassanid period had been lost, and that only a few of the original manuscripts, which were later to be found in the regions of Yazd and Kerman, remained.

Geldner and Westergaard were of the opinion that all the surviving manuscripts had been based on one copy; thus, the aim of these scholars was to reconstruct the original text. To achieve this goal, they used similar methods to edit the Avesta texts, and the results of their work were also extremely similar.

The critiques of Geldner's canonical edition and the texts it contained began with the work of Hoffmann (1975, 1976, 1992) and reached their peak in the work of Cantera (1998). Humbach's (1973) theories regarding a further common hyparchetype for the ritual and exegetic manuscripts of the Videvdād, as well as Hoffmann and Narten's theory (1989) of hyparchetypes or 'Stammhandschriften', which were developed on the basis of Geldner's materials, were discussed at a later time and were proved to be false by Cantera (2012) and Tremblay (2012).

The most important arguments countering Hoffmann and Narten's theory and critiquing Geldner's edition were based on the results of and fresh information derived from a number of previously unknown Avestan manuscripts, which came to light in Iran one decade after the earliest discoveries of Hyde and Anquetil-Duperron.

A number of important articles published by Katayun Mazdapour (2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2008, 2008–2009, 2010, 2012) have drawn the attention of Avestan researchers to the fact that there

are still many undiscovered and unknown manuscripts in Iran, which have not been included in the editions of the Avesta. In her articles, Mazdapour listed and described many of these newly discovered manuscripts, most of which were found in the houses of priests' families or appeared for sale on the black market. In addition to introducing the manuscripts, she published the entire text of Videvdād 4000 (Mazdapour and Afshar 2013) and ms. 4161 (Cantera and Mazdapour 2015), a Xorde Avesta written by Mollā Behruz (Mazdapour 2006) and the Yasnā Visperad in the Sorušiyan collection (Mazdapour 2011).

Other manuscripts were also located, purchased or digitised through the work of other Iranian scholars such as Iraj Afshar, Zhale Amouzgar, Maryam Ghanei and Bahman Moradian (2013), Fatemeh Jahanpour (2011, 2012, 2014) and Vahid Zolfaghari (for more details see Cantera et al. 2019).

The new discoveries of Avestan manuscripts and the concept of the Avestan Digital Archive (ADA) regarding the importance of a new edition of the Avesta convinced Alberto Cantera and his colleagues to pay attention to the location and digitisation of the Iranian manuscripts. A considerable number of manuscripts were discovered and digitised between 2012 and 2014 in collaboration with various scholars.

The adventure of discovering manuscripts in Iran

The narrative surrounding the discovery of manuscripts in Iran is marked by both adventure and atypical circumstances. Regrettably, a significant portion of these manuscripts has been pilfered from Zoroastrian homes and institutions, ultimately falling into the possession of thieves and traders. Many of the newly uncovered manuscripts have histories that diverge from conventional academic paths. From clandestine encounters with criminals and merchants in obscure locations to engaging with an exorcist, some of these manuscripts have undergone a remarkable journey before finally reaching the secure confines of libraries where they have been donated and preserved. I have been asked so often about how I first came to occupy myself with the discovery of Avestan manuscripts that I have decided to devote this part of the introduction to providing a very brief description of my activities in this field. As succinctly as possible, I aim to describe the history of the process whereby, not without difficulty and occasional discouragement, more than a hundred Zoroastrian manuscripts were successfully found and digitised. Numerous manuscripts have since been made available through the Avestan Digital Archive (ADA) and are now being utilized by scholars engaged in Avestan studies around the globe.

During the Corpus Aesticum Workshop (formerly ECoDA) from February 6th to 9th, 2012, hosted by the Institute for Empirical Linguistics at Goethe University of Frankfurt, I extended an invitation to Koroush Niknam, a Zoroastrian priest and scholar, to participate in the workshop at our institute. His wife, Parimarz Rawaniyan, is the daughter of the late Mūbed Ravāniyan, a renowned priest from Yazd, and the owner of manuscript 4040, an important manuscript in the study of Videvdād text transmission. This manuscript was discussed by Mazdapour (2010; Mazdapour 2008–2009: 4–5). I had the opportunity to view the manuscript at the ancestral home of Koroush Niknam in the village of Qāsem Ābād near Yazd in 1995. Consequently, I requested that Koroush Niknam bring the manuscript to Frankfurt during the workshop. He graciously complied and allowed us to digitise it. I subsequently indexed the manuscript, which was published in both ADA and Gholami (2014).

In March of 2012, Alberto Cantera undertook his first field work trip to Iran, together with Moḥammad Kangarani, to search for Avestan manuscripts. During this trip, ms. 87, a Yasna manuscript held in the Kazemeini Museum, was digitised, as well as the currently available manuscripts in the Zolfaghari collection (for more details, see Cantera et al. 2020: 5).

In June of 2012, I undertook a trip to Yazd with Alberto Cantera and Juanjo Ferrer, where we visited the library of the Mārkar Orphanage (Parvarešgāh-e Mārkar in Persian); this orphanage was founded for Zoroastrian boys by Peshotanji Dossabhai Markar in 1923 but is no longer in operation, and the building has been restored and is now used as the Museum of Zoroastrian History and Culture. The orphanage has a library in which two Videvdād manuscripts (ms. 4025 and ms. 4158) are stored. During our first trip to Yazd, we were able to look at these manuscripts but, when we returned with our equipment to digitise them, the director of the library refused to give us permission to do so. We returned to Tehran and, following a meeting with Dr Esfandiyār Ekhtiyari, member of parliament for the Zoroastrian community, we were finally granted permission. Hence, on our second visit to Yazd, we were able to digitise the manuscripts with the support of Mūbed Pedram Soroushpour.

In Yazd, we also visited the Vaziri Library and saw two manuscripts, ms. 300 and ms. 2007. The library did not grant us permission to digitise the manuscripts but, during my subsequent trip to Yazd in March of 2014, I was able to order and purchase photographs of these manuscripts with the support of Mūbedyār Kamran Lorian.

Vahid Zolfaghari drew our attention to the Sedāghat House in the Priests Quarter in Yazd. On the top floor of the Sedāghat House, there was a room in which a valuable collection of Avestan manuscripts had previously been kept. This collection likely belonged to the family of Mūbed Azargošasb and included the old collection of Šahryār Rašid, the younger brother of Dastur Namdar. V 4010, which had been stolen and sold in the bazaar in Yazd and was later purchased by Zolfaghari for his private collection, had been part of this collection. Manuscript 83, a Yasna without a colophon, was also found in this house.

Also in Yazd, we were shown two additional manuscripts. The first was the Wištāsp Yašt 5102 from a private, unknown collection. The manuscript originated in Yazd but was offered to Alberto Cantera by a dealer from Mashhad. The manuscript was not purchased; however, it was digitised after the payment of a sum of money.

Another important and extensive collection that we digitised during this trip was the collection of Avestan manuscripts at the Zoroastrian Museum and Fire Temple in Kerman, which was shown to Alberto Cantera and Moḥammad Kangarani by Hومان Fravahri in March of 2012 for the first time. The manuscripts were digitised by Cantera, Ferrer and myself with the support of Pedram Soroushpour and the director of the Zoroastrian Museum and Anjoman-e Zartoštīyān-e Kerman [Zoroastrian Assembly of Kerman]: These works were mss. 15, 82, 2040, 2104, 4130 and 6187, and five further Xorde Avesta without colophons. In Kerman, we also digitised the illuminated Visperad 2038 from the Dinyār Oshidari house. The manuscript was kindly brought to the Hotel Akhavan, our location in Kerman, in order for it to be digitised. We also visited the private collection of Manučīhr Rostami, the son of Dastur Rashid Rostami.

In June 2012, we visited Manučīhr Rostami at his residence in Kerman, where he graciously showed us his manuscripts and allowed us to borrow them for a few days to digitise. Following his passing, his collection went missing for some time. However, I recently received the welcome news that the collection has been donated to the Museum and Fire Temple of Kerman, where it is now housed. The collection consists of three manuscripts: two

Videvdāds, 4055 and 4114, and one Xorde Avesta. Together with his father's manuscripts, these form a comprehensive collection at the Museum and Fire Temple of Kerman.

During the trip in June of 2012, Afshin Sorhrabi, a member of the Zoroastrian community in Yazd, donated 4090 to Alberto Cantera who, in consultation with Katayun Mazdapour, then donated it to the Yegānegi Library in Tehran. The Yegānegi Library is the home of another manuscript, a Xorde Avesta written by Rostam Goštāsb in 1072 AY/1703 AD (Mazdapour 2010: 5).

Another manuscript, an Indian Videvdād, ms. 4520, in the Fire Temple (Adriyān) was shown to us by Mūbed Firūzgarī; it was written in 1197 AY/1828 AD by Mūbed lū lā dā rū, the son of Mūbed Mūnočir, the son of Maṇik, who was the son of Nuraoz Lakbi Baṇḍārā.

We spent our last hours of this trip at the home of Mūbed Korush Niknam, where we enjoyed his and his kind family's generous hospitality. As mentioned, he had previously brought ms. 4040 to Frankfurt to be digitised. At his house in Tehran, he assisted us to digitise other manuscripts in his collection, including a Yasna, ms. 84, and a Xorde Avesta. The latter was relatively small in size (approximately 16 x 10 centimetres) and contained 144 folios. The manuscript did not contain colophons, and the Nerangs and prayers were in Persian.

In October 2012, while I was conducting fieldwork to document Zoroastrian Dari, the language of Zoroastrians in Kerman, I was informed about an illuminated Videvdād. This manuscript was penned by Mehrabān Nūšīrwān Bahrāmšā, the distinguished scribe behind the renowned manuscript 4060 (RSPA230), which is housed in the British Library. The current owner approached Alberto Cantera with a proposal to sell this significant artifact. Consequently, I was asked to journey to Yazd to evaluate the feasibility of acquiring the manuscript.

Under the cover of night, I left Kerman for Yazd, with the intention of meeting the manuscript's seller in a public setting the following morning. However, in a sudden turn of events, the seller changed the meeting spot to a location outside Yazd at the last moment. He was resolute in his condition that he would only display the manuscript if I agreed to this new meeting point. Despite my significant concerns about potential unpredictable circumstances and the anonymity of the sellers, I decided to proceed to the proposed location.

Upon arrival, I was introduced to manuscript 4045 by two young men in a semi-constructed building situated in a secluded area. One of them professed that the manuscript had been given to him by his uncle as a gift. The asking price was exorbitantly high. However, after a series of initial failures, setbacks, and three days of rigorous negotiations, I eventually secured the manuscript, courtesy of the financial support from the ADA.

The manuscript is now on a permanent loan at the Central Library of Tehran University. The captivating account of this discovery and acquisition of the manuscript was subsequently published in Gholami (2012). According to a note attached to the manuscript, bearing the name of Mūbed Rostam Kiyumars—a descendant of the Jahanbaxshi family—it appears that they were the original owners of the manuscript. Nevertheless, the details of how this manuscript found its way into the seller's possession remain obscure.

In March of 2014, Vahid Zolfaghari's entire collection was digitised. At that time, his collection comprised manuscripts 86, 2101, 2102, 4010 and 4065, along with a Xorde Avesta and Vāj-yašt-e Gahanbar.

During our trip, Alberto Cantera and I were invited to the home of an exorcist in Yazd, who claimed to possess a manuscript. Rather than showing it to us, he assumed the role of a doctor and insisted I take a peculiar potion for my headache. Reluctantly, I complied in hopes of leaving the house as quickly as possible. We stayed in Yazd for two days, waiting for him

to reveal the manuscript. Finally, just three hours before our flight from Yazd to Tehran, he allowed me a brief glance at the damaged Xorde Avesta in Avestan alphabet (Din Dabire), likely dating from the Qajar period, without a colophon. I managed to take only four photos of the manuscript during our car ride to the airport. Unfortunately, no other images from this manuscript are available.

Another intriguing episode during our trip involved a dealer who contacted us about a stolen manuscript that could be viewed at a house in Maryam Ābād, a village near Yazd. We were instructed to wait in our car to be contacted. Eventually, two men on motorcycles arrived and escorted us to an odd house in the village, where a man presented a Videvdād. He forbade us from taking photos and allowed only a brief examination of the manuscript. In my notebook, I recorded that this manuscript, ms. 4125, was written by Bahrām Nāmdār Bahrām Mehr in 1257 AY. Sadly, no pictures of this manuscript are accessible.

Manuscript 4155, penned by Bahrām Hormazdyār Jamšid Xodābaxš in 1272 AY/1903 AD, was owned by Rostam Kavusiyan Zadeh, a resident of Yazd. In March 2014, he granted us permission to digitise the manuscript.

During this trip, Maryam Ghanei informed us about a Videvdād, ms. 4085, authored by Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsb in 1794, which belonged to the Behmardi family. However, we were unable to locate Mr Behmardi or digitise his manuscript; I only possess images of its colophon, produced by Maryam Ghanei in collaboration with Bahman Moradiyan.

We also had the opportunity to visit the National Library of Iran (Ketābxāne-ye Mellī in Persian). Linda Goodarzi kindly provided images of manuscripts 682, 683, 2030, 4115, 4080, 4150, 4160, Khorda Avesta (Sig. 5_19218), Khorda Avesta (Sig. 5_24454), miscellaneous codex (Sig. 5_17541), Yasna (Sig. 5_39196), and Yasna (Sig. 5_39195).

We visited the Central Library of Tehran University, which houses manuscripts 2005, 4000, 4045, 4161, and 4411. Rostam Xodabaxši donated Visperad 2005 (Sig. 9345M) to the library on February 21, 1976.

The renowned manuscript 4000, the oldest known Iranian manuscript written by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn in 976 AY/1607 AD in Šarīf Ābād in Yazd, has been registered on UNESCO's Memory of the World Programme list under Nr. 1016. Dr Sohrab Xodabaxši, a descendant of a priestly family in Yazd, previously owned this manuscript before selling it to the Tehran University library.

As previously mentioned, I purchased manuscript 4045 in 2012 with the financial support of the ADA, and Alberto Cantera placed it on permanent loan at the Central Library of Tehran University.

Manuscript 4161 belonged to the priestly Jahanbaxši family. Katayoun Mazdapour informed me of a new Avestan manuscript during the winter of 2012 when the manuscript's owners wanted to sell it due to urgent financial issues. The ADA eventually purchased the manuscript, which is now on permanent loan at the Central Library of Tehran University. In Tehran, I visited the Library, Museum, and Document Center of the Iran Parliament (Ketābxāne, Mūze va Markaz-e Asnād-e Majles-e Šorā-ye Eslāmī in Persian), which houses valuable Zoroastrian manuscripts. I ordered and received images of manuscripts 20, 60, ML15292 (ADA number unknown to me), 4050, 4100, 4425, and 4510.

ML15292 was penned by Dastūr Xodābaxš Forūd before 1211 AY/1842 AD. Initially donated to the Iranian parliament's library, the donation was later revoked on October 7, 2002.

Another library that I visited during my stay in Iran was the Malek Library, in which only one manuscript, 4280, is preserved. This manuscript is an Indian Videvdād that was written

by Dārāb Rōstām Xoršēd in Navsārī in 1102 AY/1733 AD. In the nineteenth century, Samuel Guise, an English surgeon and collector, took this manuscript from India to London; the manuscript was sold in 1812, and was in the possession of various collectors until 1998 when Malek's National Library purchased it.

Katayoun Mazdapour introduced to us two Avestan manuscripts that had belonged to Jamshid Soroush Soroushian, a Zoroastrian author and scholar from Kerman. After his death, his relatives found ms. 2035 and a Xorde Avesta in his home library in Tehran. According to a note on the first page of ms. 2035, it was purchased by Arbāb Jamšīd Soruš Sorušiṯyān in Kerman in 1341 AY/1972 AD. The manuscript has no colophon. The Xorde Avesta was written by Mollā Behruz Eskandar in Kerman in 1226 AY/1857 AD, and the entire manuscript has been published by Mazdapour (2006).

Sāzmān-e Javānān-e Zartošṯi-ye Tehran (The organization of young Zoroastrians of Tehran), which is also known as Sāzmān-e Fravahr, bought two Avestan manuscripts close to the time at which I was in Tehran: ms. 2060 (Sig. 29X18), a Visperad, and a Wištāsp Yašt Sāde, ms. 5107.

To this list we need to add two Indian Videvdāds in the Mar'aši Najafi Library in Qom, namely mss. 4456 and 4485.

Through the efforts of Fatemeh Jahanpour, three important Videvdāds were discovered in Mashhad: ms. 4030 (Sig. 26288) at Astan-e Qods Library and mss. 4063 and 5040 in the private Hosseini Collection. The origin of ms. 4030 is unclear; we only know that the manuscript was donated by the Bonyād-e Šahid [Martyr Foundation] to the Astan-e Qods Library, together with other manuscripts and documents. Jahanpour (2011, 2012) has published and described this manuscript.

Ms. 4063 is an Iranian Videvdād Sāde by the Marzbān family; it was written by Šahmardān Wāhrom Marzbān in 1025 AY/1656 AD, and was presented by Jahanpour (2014) in her article. Ms. 5040 is an Iranian Wištāsp Yašt Sāde that was written by Behzād Ormazdyār in 1159 AY/1790 AD.

In October of 2016, Vahid Zolfaghari purchased two new Videvdāds for his collection at the Old Market of Yazd. Both manuscripts were severely damaged; the first manuscript had been partly dismantled and considerably damaged by moisture and other harmful elements, with the result that many pages are now only partly legible. I gave this manuscript to the library of the Bahonar University of Kerman, Department of Manuscripts, to be restored. Although it does not contain a colophon, the Sālmargs dated 1015 AY/1646 AD and 1019 AY/1650 AD in the manuscript attest to its Safavidorigin.

The second Videvdād purchased by Zolfaghari was a Qajar manuscript also devoid of a colophon. It, too, was sent to the Department of Manuscripts at the library at the Bahonar University of Kerman to be restored. This manuscript has now been restored and digitised, and the original has been returned to Vahid Zolfaghari.

The period between 2010 and 2015 can be considered a golden age of manuscript discovery in Iran. Thanks to the dedicated efforts of Katayoun Mazdapour, a researcher of the Avestan language and Zoroastrian culture, and her students, many manuscripts were located in various Iranian libraries, documented, and photographed. Additionally, Iranian scholars and the ADA Team worked diligently to purchase manuscripts from the black market and ensure their safe placement in libraries.

Unfortunately, manuscript sourcing in Iran declined after 2015. The belief that valuable manuscripts could no longer be found led to a sharp decrease in the search for new ones, both in Iran and Europe.

Despite this decline, I continued to search for manuscripts for several reasons. Firstly, many Zoroastrian manuscripts originated from priestly houses, and it was common for members of the Zoroastrian community to mention the presence of manuscripts in particular priests' homes. Colophons in Avestan manuscripts reveal that priests were the main patrons of many manuscripts and those who used them in ceremonies. Consequently, it seemed logical to assume that priests would still be the primary owners of these manuscripts in contemporary Iran, and that there might still be undiscovered and unknown manuscripts in the homes of priests' families.

The second reason for continuing the search was the likelihood of manuscripts being held in Zoroastrian institutions. To safeguard and preserve their collections, some private owners may have chosen to donate them to Zoroastrian institutions such as libraries or, more commonly, Fire Temples. For example, Mūbed Rašid Rostami donated a collection of manuscripts to the Fire Temple in Kerman. As a result, I hypothesized that other Zoroastrian institutions might also house undiscovered manuscript collections.

At the invitation of Houman Fravahri, I first met Mūbed Mehrabān Pouladi, the current chairman of the Council of Iranian Zoroastrian priests (Anjoman-e Mūbedān-e Irān in Persian) in Tehran in 2015. He kindly invited me to his ancestral priestly home in the Priests' Quarter (Maḥalle-ye Dastūrān in Persian) in Yazd. In February 2016, we travelled together to Yazd and visited this extraordinary house, where he allowed me to examine six Avestan manuscripts from his grandfather's collection. By chance, we discovered two additional manuscripts, mss. 4062 and 4162, wrapped in a white cloth in a suitcase in the backyard cellar, and thousands of historical documents in two large old chests in a hidden room within the house. I introduced this collection for the first time during the third meeting of the European research network, *Corpus Avesticum*, entitled "Phonetics and Phonology in Avestan and Beyond", held in Paris from April 25th to 26th, 2016. An application was submitted to the Endangered Archives Programme to preserve this valuable collection and to secure its original material by finding a suitable local home, ensuring both its long-term preservation and wider access. This application (reference no. EAP1014) was granted, and the collection was digitised. Three years later, an article dedicated to the introduction of this collection and its colophons and marginal notes was published by Gholami and Pouladi (2019).

At the time of discovery, the collection consisted of eight manuscripts, including mss. 29, 32, 35, 88, 4062, 4121, and 4162, and a Vāj Yašt Gahanbār. The Vāj Yašt Gahanbār was written by Goštāsp Mūbed Šahryār Nāmdār Zardošt Nōšīrvān in 1293 AY/1924 AD; for a description of other manuscripts, please refer to the appendix. The Pouladi Collection has expanded in recent years due to the purchase of new manuscripts offered by antique dealers and private owners, and currently consists of twenty-three Zoroastrian manuscripts, one of which is Videvdād 4056. A dealer in the Old Bazar in Yazd contacted Mehraban Pouladi and offered this manuscript for sale. It was purchased in 2017 and is currently in the Pouladi Collection. The generous support of the Parsis in London, particularly Zartosht Amrolia, enabled us to purchase and digitise additional manuscripts, and also to complete the construction of the museum. This museum, established by Mehraban Pouladi, is operated for the preservation and protection of manuscripts and historical documents.

In November 2016, ten months after discovering the Pouladi Collection, I asked Mehraban Pouladi to make a new attempt to investigate the possibility of the existence of manuscripts in the Yazd Ataš Varahrām Fire Temple. The Fire Temple had been visited several times by different people investigating the possible existence of Avestan manuscripts; however, they had been told that no manuscripts were kept there.

This time, through the support of Mehraban Pouladi, a number of manuscripts, including a miscellaneous codex and mss. 8, 90, 251, and 252, were found in the cellar in the backyard of the Fire Temple, along with other books that had been transferred there during the library's renovation. I introduced this collection in Gholami (2020).

Mehraban Pouladi played a pivotal role in all Avestan manuscript discoveries after 2016. He located the Videvdād 4075 by Mūbed Mehreganī, whose son had loaned the book to him for digitisation. The manuscript, authored by Behzād Dastūr Ormazdyār, dates back to 1126 AY during Karīm Khan Zand's reign. Additionally, we successfully located and purchased new manuscripts, including a Xorde Avesta belonging to the Ganji family, a Persian Xorde Avesta acquired from a dealer, and two Yasnā manuscripts from the Shahriyari family. The Xorde Avesta by Mūbed Ganji lacks a colophon; however, it features a marginal note that reads, "*mal-e Mūbed Bahrām Bemāvand, Rūz-e Vahman Amšāsāfand, māh-e Mehr māh-e qadīm, saneye 1257.*" This translates to, "Created by Mūbed Bahrām Bemāvand, on the day of Vahman Amšāsāfand, in the old month of Mehr, year 1257." I sent images of this manuscript to Bahram Boroumand, who proposed that the scribe of this manuscript was Šahrām, the brother of Dastūr Tīrān (Gholami 2023).

At the same time, I received information about two Yasnā manuscripts that belonged to the Šahrīyār family. After contacting the owner of the copies, I was informed that both copies had been sold to the National Library in 2017. A manuscript (Sig. 5-39196) was copied in 1245 Hejri by Dastūr Dīnyār Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh, the scribe of Y29 in the Pouladi Collection. The manuscript was copied in Šarīf Abād in Yazd, and belonged to Xašāyār Šahrīyārī, an inhabitant of Kerman. The second Yasnā that belonged to this family, with Sig. 5-39195, was copied by the same scribe; however, it is not dated.

In September 2019, a private collection of both Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian manuscripts was found in a Zoroastrian house in the east of Tehran. In addition to manuscripts of poetry from the Qajar period, the collection included a manuscript of *Dabestān-e Mazāheb* and a Xorde Avesta in Persian script with red interlinear translations in the Persian language. The Xorde Avesta was written by Behrūz, the famous son of Eskandar Monajem-e Kermānī (for more information, see Behrūz Eskandar, Monajem-e Kermani).

In January 2019, during my visit to the library of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature (Farhangestān-e Zabān-o Adab-e Fārsi in Persian) in Tehran, I found three Zoroastrian manuscripts and an Indian Avestan text entitled Gāhanbāre (Sig. 62751). This manuscript does not contain a colophon; thus, the scribe and the date of the copy are unclear. The second text was also an Indian Farvardīn Yašt (Sig. 44037), while the third manuscript was a Pahlavi manuscript (Sig. 43936) containing a collection of nineteen Pahlavi texts, mainly Andarz. These manuscripts will be introduced in my forthcoming article, 'Three Zoroastrian manuscripts in the Library of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature in Tehran'.

Codicological Progress and the Revelation of New Manuscripts

These newly discovered manuscripts serve as unique primary sources, offering entirely new perspectives for studying various aspects of the language and religion of Zoroastrians. The Avestan manuscripts are more than a collection of sacred and ritual texts; as the priests copied them according to the oral recitation tradition, they indirectly encoded the features of the oral tradition into the written form. Consequently, the spelling and orthography often reflect the scribes' mother tongues. Despite being written artifacts, the Avestan manuscripts embody elements of the oral tradition.

Since Iranian Avestan manuscripts are more conservative than Indian ones, their use in editing a new Avesta brings researchers closer to the time of the Avesta's writing. These manuscripts reveal significant differences from the Avestan texts edited by Geldner, which motivated the ADA team to concentrate on a new edition of the Avesta. The *Corpus Avesticum Berolinense* (CAB) project, led by Alberto Cantera at the Institute of Iranian Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, represents the first attempt to edit the entire Avestan Zoroastrian textual corpus within its ritual context, producing both printed and digital editions of the texts (<https://cab.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/>). Another significant project is The Multimedia Yasna (MUYA), an ERC Advanced Grant from 2016 to 2021, led by Almut Hintze. This project investigates the performance and written transmission of the core ritual of the Zoroastrian tradition, the Yasna.

In addition to the importance of the new findings for a new edition of the Avesta and its textual and ritual context, the genealogical information in the colophons and marginal notes has radically transformed our understanding of the transmission of Iranian liturgical manuscripts. Pinpointing the Avestan manuscripts in time and place has provided a new resource for testing and reviewing previous theories regarding the Avesta's transmission.

Avestan manuscripts are treasures of cultural and historical information. These crucial artifacts play a significant role in interpreting the spiritual and social life of Zoroastrians. This inference is derived from the numerous forms of secondary applications observed within the Avestan manuscripts.

Numerous scholars have started studying the newly discovered manuscripts and their interrelationships, focusing on various codicological aspects. While there have been some studies on the palaeography of Avestan manuscripts, mainly conducted by Martínez-Porro (2015, 2016) and Ferrer-Losilla (2016), research on the secondary use of Avestan manuscripts is generally scarce. This topic has never been systematically examined, despite its potential for providing valuable insights into how manuscripts were treated within Zoroastrian communities. Consequently, I decided to submit an application to study the colophons in Iranian Avestan manuscripts to the German Research Foundation (DFG). The results of the DFG project (GH 144/1–1, from 2013 to 2018) were published in Gholami (2017, 2018, 2020) and Gholami and Pouladi (2019). This book expands upon the earlier works by classifying, describing, and examining the linguistic, religious, and cultural aspects of the manuscripts from a well-defined perspective, specifically paratextual studies.

One of the earliest mentions of the term 'paratext' can be traced back to 1936 when Eckhart et al. discussed Latin works, noting that "The marginalia (created by the writer) involve repetitions of author names and biblical books cited in the text, largely corresponding to the paratext of the original" (Eckhart et al. 1936: 66).

Gérard Genette (1982) later developed the concept of paratext for the analysis of literary narratives. Since then, Genette's definition has been successfully employed in studying the form and function of paratexts in literary analyses. However, the adoption of a paratextual approach in manuscript studies is a relatively recent development, with scholars (e.g., Ciotti & Lin 2016; Gameson 2002; Buzi 2005; Reynhout 2006; Görke & Hirschler 2011) recognizing its value in providing explicit temporal and spatial information.

By adopting the concept of paratext in codicology, this study aims to paint a vivid, accurate, and detailed picture of the function of paratext in relation to the main text and its role in organizing and transferring Zoroastrian knowledge. The study will explore how paratexts contribute to structuring, organizing, and commenting on the knowledge contained in Avestan manuscripts, as well as how they reflect the activities of scribes, patrons, artisans, commentators, readers, sellers, and owners involved in the production, transmission, dissemination, and reception of the manuscripts and their content. Furthermore, the study will examine how paratexts provide access to the main text by emphasizing their role as a transition zone that documents the spatial and temporal dimensions of the manuscript production process and reveals the history of each individual Avestan manuscript. In addition to colophons, which are a primary component of paratext, this work examines marginal notes. These notes may include comments, annotations, statements, contracts, or corrections typically written in the margins by subsequent readers or writers. The main selection criteria for the chosen colophons and marginal notes involved diversity in structure and content, as well as the relationship between specific manuscripts and their respective colophons and marginal notes. These factors were carefully considered, as the outcomes of this study largely depend on these selections.

It would appear that scribbling on the pages of a manuscript was a favourite recreational practice for many readers, users or owners of Avestan manuscripts. For others, it was more of a necessity, as they wished to be remembered by future readers via these notes. Regardless of whether they are personal notes or more serious textual analyses, marginalia are fascinating for researchers. They provide a textual setting for both historical events and the life experiences of real people, and paint a realistic and vivid picture of the manuscripts as actual objects in the hands of Zoroastrians who had different opinions, emotions and inclinations.

This study is structured into five chapters, including this introductory chapter. The first chapter focuses on colophons, beginning with an introduction to the history of research on colophons, their terminology, and the functions and nature of colophons. It then presents formal and functional characteristics, with formal characteristics encompassing aspects such as position, length, language, and shape of colophons, and functional characteristics covering the assertive part (providing contextual information about the scribe and manuscript), the expressive part (demonstrating the scribes' feelings and wishes), and the directive part (exhorting the reader to perform an action).

The second chapter examines marginalia, discussing the two main functions of marginal notes: 'religious' purposes, such as prayers, personal blessings, and rogations; and 'less religious' purposes, like contracts, prescriptions, and writing exercises added by later readers, users, or owners. Based on the information extracted from colophons (Chapter 1) and marginal notes (Chapter 2), the third chapter provides details about the scribes and other individuals mentioned in the colophons and marginal notes, describing the role of this information in the transmission of Zoroastrian manuscripts.

Chapter 4 presents the extracted Middle Persian and Modern Persian colophons, as well as marginal notes, accompanied by their transcriptions, translations, and commentaries. In-

stead of editing the text, I sought to document the original forms found in the colophons, as variations often reveal important phonological, morphological, and stylistic characteristics of the language used. The transcription system for Middle Persian follows MacKenzie's system, while the transcription system for Persian colophons is shown in Table 1.

In translations, I aimed to provide a clear and free translation. For poetic colophons written in verse, my primary goal was to convey the meaning of the text rather than reproducing its prosody.

In addition to newly discovered materials, I reviewed and included colophons from some well-known and previously published manuscripts, including a number of Pahlavi manuscripts, in my corpus for comparative studies. The scribes of the Pahlavi manuscripts were occasionally the same as those of the Avestan ones, and comparing their colophons can reveal valuable information about their lives and writing styles. In this volume, I have incorporated images of the recently discovered manuscripts, considering the challenges scholars might face in gaining direct access to them.

The fifth part of the book consists of an appendix, a list, and a brief description of the manuscripts mentioned in this study.

I. Colophons

1.1. The history of research on colophons

The presence of colophons, in the form of a scribe's remarks added at the end of a manuscript, can be traced back to the mid-third millennium BCE in ancient Mesopotamia. Sumerian and Akkadian literary manuscripts from the third and second millennia BCE feature imperative colophons that provide various levels of meta-information about the scribe, as well as the place and date of production.

There are limited works focusing on colophons in Zoroastrian manuscripts. Serious discussions about colophons in Avestan and Middle Persian manuscripts began in the late nineteenth century. Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana (1895), a Zoroastrian head-priest and scholar, edited and translated various colophons in the Pahlavi Videvdād. Jamasp (1907) published and translated colophons in the Avesta-Pahlavi Videvdād manuscripts DN, DJJ, DJE, DJR, DR, MU, and IM; Hodiwala (1916) studied some Parsi-Sanskrit colophons, while Kuka (1917) provided an overview of the date equations in the colophons by Mēhrabān Kayxosro and in the calendar he followed.

The colophons in other Middle Persian manuscripts have been published and translated in various works. Anklesaria (1964: 134) published the image and translated the colophon in the Pahlavi text, Vičītakīhā-i Zātasparam; he also transcribed and translated the colophon in manuscript B namely Dādestān-i Dīnīk (Anklesaria 1958: 195–198) and in manuscript R (Anklesaria 1958: 199–201). Additional information about the colophons in a number of manuscripts can be found in the published manuscripts BK (Anklesaria 1958: 195–197), D3 (p. 115–116), D7 (p. 455–456), D10a (p. 740–744), D39 (p. 122, 176), D90 (p. 599), DH (Fol. 230r–230v and 241v), F11 (p. 148), F23 (p. 13–14, 28, 51–52, 92–93, 104), F25 (217–218), F35 (p. 216), J2 (p. 52), J4 (p. 200–201), J5 (p. 507, 516), K5 (p. 326v), K43 (p. 130v, 176v), MU27 (p. 125), R110 (p. 355), R115 (p. 948), R410 (p. 62–63), R413 (p. 917–919), T28 (p. 142), T 58 (p. 292), T65 (p. 112), TD2 (p. 726–727), TD4a (p. 572–573 and 614–615), TD23 (p. 260–261) and TD28 (p. 174–175).

Jamshedji Maneckji Unvala (1940) published the first detailed book about colophons, entitled 'Collection of colophons of manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some libraries of Europe'. The author was the late secretary of the Parsi Punchayat Funds and Properties, and his book is the result of his work on manuscripts in various libraries located in Europe, such as the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, the British Museum Library, the India Office Library, London, and the University Library in Munich, as well as in libraries in St. Petersburg, Copenhagen and other places. The author provided transcriptions and translations of the colophons and included genealogies of Indian and Persian scribes, as well as synchronisms of the Zoroastrian, Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian dates mentioned in some of the colophons.

In Iran, several activities in relation to the discovery of new manuscripts and the transcription and translation of their colophons have recently been initiated. Unfortunately, due to various difficulties, only a few of them have been published thus far.

Pakzad (2005: 415–419) edited and transcribed the colophons in the Middle Persian manuscripts TD2, DH, K43 and TD1. Mazdapour has published various articles about the newly discovered Avestan manuscripts in Iran, and has provided general information about the characteristics of these manuscripts and their colophons; examples are her publications 'Čand dast nevis e no yāfteye Avesta' [Some newly discovered Avestan manuscripts] (2010: 3–19), 'No yāftehā ye kohansāl' [Old new findings] (2003a: 3–19), 'Sarāghāz e yazīšn' [The beginning of Yazīšn] (1997: 71–84) and 'Bon neveštā ye kohan' [The ancient colophons]

(2003b: 253–258), amongst others. Fatemeh Jahanpour published ‘The Videvdād of Astān e Ghods’ and translated its colophons (see Jahanpour 2011), while Bahram Borumand Amin provided information about the Marzbān family, a family of scribes, and discussed how some manuscripts were copied by the members of this family in his article ‘Scribes of Pahlavi and Avestan manuscripts from Marzbān family’ (see Borumand Amin 2007: 355–364).

One of the systematic studies of some aspects of the colophons in the Avestan manuscripts was conducted by Panaino in 2012. In his article entitled ‘La datazione del «più antico» colophon avestico e altre questioni di cronologia nella tradizione manoscritta mazdaica’ [The dating of the ‘oldest’ Avestan colophon and other chronological questions in the Mazdaic manuscript tradition], he discussed important details regarding the colophons in K7b, K7a, K5, TD2, DH, K43, TD1, K43, B, K7 and other works. The highlight of this study is the discussion of the Yazdgerdi and Pārsig eras in the colophons.

Another important work on colophons in the Avestan manuscripts is ‘Remarks on the colophon in the Avestan manuscripts Pt4 and Mf4’ by Cantera (2015), in which the author provided transcriptions, transliterations and translations of the central parts of the Pahlavi colophons in the Avestan manuscripts Pt4 (ADA number 0400) and Mf4, in which the history of the manuscripts is recounted. Cantera provided a different view of the predecessors of Pt4 and Mf4, discussed the dates of the manuscripts, and finally provided a filiation (Cantera 2005: 31–42). In a later article, ‘Building trees, genealogical relations between the manuscripts of Videvdād’, Cantera briefly described the function of the colophons in Avestan manuscripts and their role in the tentative and partial reconstruction of the manuscripts, particularly the transmission of the Iranian Sāde (Cantera 2012a: 321–327).

Asha studied the colophons by Mihrābān Kayxusrō and provided some dates corresponding to the Parsi and Hindu eras.⁵ Hintze (2017) and Kotwal and Hintze (2008: 6–9) investigated the colophons in manuscripts with regard to the information they provided about the beneficiaries for whom the manuscripts were transcribed, and with regard to the merits accruing from the copying of manuscripts. She stated that the manuscripts were treated as valuable commodities and were often donated as ‘pious gifts’ (ašōdād), as indicated by the notes inscribed in the manuscripts.

A recent study by Gholami and Pouladi (2019) involved the colophons and marginal notes in the Avestan manuscripts in the Pouladi Collection. The article makes a collection of Middle Persian and New Persian colophons and marginal notes available, all of which were transcribed and translated from the Avestan manuscripts in the Pouladi Collection, which were mainly copied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This contribution established a classification of the colophons and marginal notes in this collection. In another article, Gholami (2020) provided transcriptions and translations of the colophons and marginal notes in the collection of Avestan manuscripts at the Ataš Varahrām temple in Yazd. This analysis is of assistance in understanding the context of manuscript production and possession, and in reconstructing the textual transmission of the manuscripts in the collection.

5 This article has only been published online and has no date. It can be found at: <http://www.rahamasha.net/uploads/2/3/2/8/2328777/cmk.pdf> (last viewed 24th of September 2020).

1.2. Terminology

The term colophon comes from the ancient Greek *κολοφών* meaning ‘summit’, and refers to the note at the end of a book (Carter 1952) or to part of a book written by the copyist in which he records details of his work containing information such as the name of the work, the name of the copyist or patron, the place of printing or copying, and the date. In reality, colophons constitute the meta-text concerning the production of the text.

The Middle Persian term for colophon, as found in a number of colophons, is *frazaft*. This term literally means ‘finished, completed’ and is derived from the verbal form *frazaftan* [plcptn] ‘to complete, to finish’. This designation is particularly appropriate because the colophons were written after the completion of a part or of an entire manuscript.

In some languages, the term colophon is related to the word for ‘memory’ because colophons were used to perpetuate the memory of those who had participated in the production of the manuscripts (Sanjan 1969: 3). In New Persian, both forms are found: The term *anjāme* means ‘completed’, while the term *yādegār-nāme* means ‘memorial’. In Georgian, the word *anderdzi* ‘testament’ is found for colophon; it is a loanword from the Middle Persian *handarz* ‘advice, testament’.⁶

The Middle Persian term *frazaft* with the meaning of colophon is found in the second colophon in V 4025, which was copied by Frēdōn Marzbān:

- *man dēn-bandag frēdōn [marz]bān ī frēdōn wāhrom rōstom ēn frazaft nibēs-ēm [be] (4) čāstag ī nibēsēndagān mānoščihr ī rōstom ī frēdōn u be (5) čāstag ī wāhrom ī marzbān ī frēdōn wāhrom nibēs-ēm.* (Second colophon in V 4025, lines 2–5)

‘I, the servant of the religion, Frēdōn [Marz]bān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rōstom, write this colophon according to the doctrine of scribes Mēnoščihr Rōstom Frēdōn and according to the doctrine of Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom.’

A similar conclusion can be drawn from the second colophon in Vyt 5020 (K4), written by Jāmāsb Hakīm Ardēšīr:

- *man ī dēn bandag jāmāsb hakīm ī ardēšīr anōšag-ruwān ū-m ēn daftar ī Wištāsp- (2) yašt ū-m dīd ū-m pasandīd u ū-m āfrīn kard bar nibištār u framūdār. bē framūdag ī (3) dastwar abēzag-xūm wēhmard nibištār <ī> daftar ān wuzurg-zādag framūdār <ī> daftar ēn frazaft (4) nibišt hom ...*

‘I, the servant of religion, Jāmāsb Hakīm Ardēšīr Anōšagruwān saw this book of Wištāsp Yašt and liked it and bestowed praise on the scribe and patron (of this book). I wrote this colophon at the command of Dastūr, the holy nature, Wēhmard, the scribe of this book and that noble the patron of this book ...’

Another term, *kurāsag*, was interpreted as ‘colophon’ by Jamasp (1907: xxix), although this does not appear to be correct. This word occurs in V 4000 (second colophon) and in mss. 510, 4600, 4610 and MK (second and third colophons). In these colophons, we can see that the term actually means ‘manuscript’ and not ‘colophon’:

6 Personal communication with Jost Gippert (12.05.2018). For the colophons in Georgian manuscripts see Gippert (2015) and Žožuā (2014).

- *frazaft pad drōd <ud> šādīh <ud> rāmišn. ēn kurāsag⁷ pad mäh <ī> Tīr sāl bar panj sad <ud> panjāh <ud> čahār;⁸ rōz srōš farrox kē nibišt estād ardašīr wahuman ī rōzweh šā-borzīn ī šēmar⁹ wahišt bahr*

(Second Middle Persian colophon, Pahlavi Videvdād IM, lines 1–4)

‘Completed in welfare, joy and delight. This manuscript was written in the month Tīr, the year 554, the blessed day Srōš by Ardašīr Wahuman Rōzweh Šā-borzīn Šēmar, may the paradise be his residence.’

- *agar pad ēn kurāsag ī wājag ī wardišnīg ayāb frāmōš bawēd ēstēd, u-m sahw mādagwarīh dārād*

(Second Middle Persian colophon, V 4000, lines 51–53)

‘If a word in this manuscript has been changed or forgotten, may (the reader) accept my mistake.’

- *harv kē ēn kurāsag dārād ud harv kē xwānād*

(Middle Persian colophon, 5020)

‘Everybody who keeps this manuscript and recites (it)’.

Based on other colophons, we know that the preservation and recitation of a manuscript and the celebration of Yazīšn using a manuscript is emphasised; thus, the word *kurāsag* cannot mean ‘colophon’.

The term *pačēn* does not mean ‘colophon’ either, and should be translated similarly to ‘copy’ instead:

- *man dēn bandag šahmardān wāhrom marzbān frēdōn wāhrom rustem bondār šahmardān dēn-ayār nibištōm ud frāz hišt ham az pačēn ud daftar pidar ī xwēš wāhrom marzbān frēdōn tā fragard-e šašōm az pačēn daftar amūy xwēš frēdōn marzbān az fragard šašōm tā sar yasn nibištōm*

(First Middle Persian colophon, V 4063, p. 142 verso, lines 3–8)

‘I, the servant of the religion, Šahmardān Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rustem Bondār Šahmardān Dīnyār, have written and launched <it> from a copy and book of my father, Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn until the 6th Fragard. I have written from the copy of the book of my uncle Frēdōn Marzbān, from the 6th Fragard until Yasn.’

1.3. The nature of colophons

The scribes of the Avestan manuscripts used colophons to provide the readers and users with spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional information regarding manuscript production. The scribes of the colophons in the Avestan and Middle Persian manuscripts developed a long and unique tradition of recording a variety of panegyrics, benedictions, cosmological information, prayer formulas, historical accounts and didactic fragments, which are of great interest to interdisciplinary researchers studying the history of the Zoroastrian community. The colophons often contain personal messages from the scribes for the readers, including various wishes and curses, or petitions and requests.

⁷ This word also occurs in mss. 510, 4000, 4600, 4610 and MK.

⁸ Written [ALBA].

⁹ A mistake or a variation of *šahmard* or *šāmard*.

The colophons, which can be brief or extensive, prosaic, rhymed or prosopoetic, include some formal information regarding the production process of the manuscripts, such as the name of the scribe and other people who were part of the manuscript production; for example, those who had ordered the manuscript. The colophons contain the type and the name of the manuscript, as well as the date and the place of the copy. This information can shed new light on the circumstances of manuscript production.

The colophons in the Avestan manuscripts do not vary significantly in terms of content and tend to follow a particular model. They establish a connection amongst three main groups of actors, namely the scribes, the patrons and the readers. The scribes, designated as *nibištārs*, are the main actors in the production process; they describe themselves as *dēn-bandag* ‘The servant of the religion’, and often present their family lineage. A number of colophons, particularly New Persian colophons, provide a curiously precise account of the scribe’s life, including some purely personal expressions.

The scribes frequently recorded different aspects of their lives and their feelings about their work, as well as the conditions under which they copied the texts. These informal notes hint at the joys and miseries of life as a scribe. It would appear that the scribes of the Avestan manuscripts were faithful scribes located within a religious Zoroastrian establishment. The ages of the scribes are not mentioned in the colophons, but it can be assumed that the best scribes were probably younger. In addition to having better eyesight than their elders, they probably possessed the necessary endurance for what was essentially highly repetitive and tedious work. A scribe required precise fine motor skills in order to consistently form legible and uniform letters.

We do not know exactly how the scribes of the Avestan manuscripts acquired their skills in copying and producing the manuscripts. It can be presumed that they acquired their training under the tutelage of professional instructors who were themselves scribes, and were mainly from priestly families. One of the most famous scribal and priestly families associated with the Avestan and Middle Persian manuscripts was the Marzbān family. This family developed a unique tradition in producing Avestan manuscripts during the Safavid period. By acting as the centre for the copying of Avestan manuscripts, the members of this family contributed significantly to the development of Zoroastrian manuscript culture. Unfortunately, the colophons contain no information about the methods of learning, the activities or the backgrounds of the pupils who attended training in the field of the production of manuscripts.

The patrons, *framūdār*, were the people who ordered a copy of a manuscript. In the following example, the scribe of the colophon mentions that he has seen the manuscript of Wištāsp Yašt and bestowed praise on the scribe and patron of it; he then states that he wrote this colophon at the command of the scribe of the manuscript. This shows that the scribe of this colophon was not the scribe of the manuscript:¹⁰

- *Man ī dēn bandag jāmāsb hakīm ī ardēšīr anōšag-ruwān ū-m ēn daftar ī Wištāsp-yašt ū-m dīd ū-m pasandīd ud ū-m āfrīn kard bar nibištār ud framūdār. bē framūdag ī dastwar abēzag-xūm wēhmard nibištār <ī> daftar ān wuzurg-zādag framūdār <ī> daftar ēn frazaft nibišt hom ...*

(Second Middle Persian colophon, Vyt 5020, lines 1–4)

10 The scribe used the term *frazaft* ‘colophon’ to describe this text. However, the text seems to me to be an ‘*araž-dīde*’ عرض دیده. The term ‘*araž-dīde*’ occurs in the Mongolian books in the royal Mongolian libraries, and is indeed a type of verification note in which a scribe confirms the originality of a manuscript (see Hāšemī 2002: 61).

‘I, the servant of religion, Jāmāsb Hakīm Ardēšīr Anōšag-ruwān saw this book of Wištāsp Yašt and like it and bestowed praise on the scribe and patron (of this book). I wrote this colophon at the command of Dastūr, the holy nature, Wēhmard, the scribe of this book and that noble the patron of this book ...’

The patrons, *framūdārs*, invited a scribe to copy a manuscript, often in the memory of a deceased person, in order that the soul of that person would receive the rewards of copying the Avesta and that the readers would send God’s blessings to her/his soul. Therefore, in the *framūdārs*, we find the family members and relatives of a deceased person mentioned in the first line. A clear example of this is the manuscript V 4000, which was written by Frēdōn Marzbān. He was invited to travel from Kerman to Šarīf Ābād in Yazd for the purpose of copying a manuscript in memory of Jamšīd Marzbān Wīrāf, a young bridegroom who had passed away due to illness. Jamšīd’s sister was the patron of the manuscript:

... [š] ze yek mām o bāb	... from the same mother and father
ze marg-e barādar šode del kabāb	became burning heart because of the death of the brother
bekard īn nedā yašt bahraš banā	she established this Yašt
be xošnūdi-ye īzadān o xodā	for the happiness of the Yazats and God

(Persian colophon, V 4000, 161v–161r)

A comprehensive examination of colophons in Avestan manuscripts, with a particular focus on those in New Persian, underscores the crucial role patrons have in the scribes’ endeavors. These colophons serve as valuable sources of information, offering a wealth of details about the patrons’ personal, religious, and socio-cultural lives. These accolades not only highlight the patrons’ importance in the creation of the manuscripts but also serve to emphasize their status within the community. The scribe often implores the reader to remember the patron and their family members, ensuring that their legacy and contributions are recognized and appreciated by future generations. Some colophons even provide insights into the motives behind the patron’s involvement in the manuscript’s production.

Moreover, some colophons shed light on the motives and aspirations behind the patron’s involvement in the manuscript’s production. These motivations may include the desire to preserve and promote religious and cultural knowledge, to gain spiritual merit or social prestige, or to commemorate deceased family members or religious figures. In some instances, the patron’s support of a manuscript may be driven by a combination of these factors.

In the Persian colophon in V 4030, the scribe mentions the name of the patron, whose name was Xodābaxš, and wishes him God’s forgiveness, happiness and health. The scribe states that the patron created an endowment for his ancestors, parents and other relatives, and wishes that all his relatives would benefit from this good deed (referring to the copying of this Videvdād):

11 Here, ‘dust’ is a reference to unpleasant things.

12 Jahanpour (2011) read it as *dādast*, which is not correct.

*nemūd ū be vaqf-e nīyākān-e xīš
pedar bā mādar jomle pākān-e xīš*

*čo vandīd xānand rā šādmān
šavābaš xodābaxš-e bahre rasān*

*bovad ham bahreaš mām va bāb-e ūy
be-dān korfa būd ū ham tarāzū
ze xīšānaš tamāmī bahre bād
har ānkas bexānad konad īšān-rā be-yād*

*malāyek īn soxan gūyand har bār
ke bādā xodābaxš rā ḥaq negahdār
nabāšad jōz be nīkūyī xīyālaš*

*be xoš-dānī nabāšad kas mešālaš
bovad ū sarfarāz-e har do ‘ālam
hamīše šādemān o dūr az ḡam*

*nabīnad xāṭeraš hargez ḡobārī
be-jōz ‘eyš o nešāī o kāmīkānī*

*xodā dādest ū rā arjmandī
be faẓl-e ḥaq nemīyābad gazandī*

bekūšad bar rah-e dīn-e zarātošt

*xodā yār-ast o peyḡambar va-rā pošt
ke raḥmat bād keyxosro ebn-e mehrabān
ke dādaš¹² ḥaq čenān farzand-e xoš-dān
ke farzand-e čenīn rā parvarīdand
ze bahr-r ū be jannat āramīdand*

*hamīn daftar-e vaqf-e vandīd nām
har ān-kū bexānad šavad šādmān*

*nabūd avestā-dī ke pandam dahad
be dard-e delam nīz marham nahad*

He made an endowment for his ancestors
his father, his mother and all of his holy rela-
tives

if they read the Videvdād with happiness
may its reward reach Xodabaxsh, the bene-
factor

may his mother and father benefit from it
may he have a share in that good deed
may all his relatives benefit from it
everybody who would read it, may remem-
ber him

the angels would say this word every time
may God save Xodabaxsh
he does not think about anything besides
goodness

in good-knowing, there is nobody like him
he would be proud in both worlds
(he would be) always happy and far from
sadness

he may not ever see dust¹¹
(may he see) only happiness, health, and
fortune

God has given him excellence
because of the favour of God, he will not be
hurt

he may attempt in the path of the religion of
the Zarathushtra.

God and the prophet may protect him.
blessing to Keyxosro, the son of Mehraban
that God gave him such a wise child
they raised such a child
they found a place in the paradise because
of him

this dedicated book of Videvdād
everybody who would recite it would be-
come happy

there is no Avesta, which would guide me
that would heal the pains of my heart

*ze nādānī-ye xīš goftam man īn
vagarne bovad gardeš-e axtar īn*
(Persian colophon, V 4000, p. 138r)

I said it because of my ignorance
other than that, it was the rotation of stars¹³

The connection between the scribe and the reader is manifestly discernible. The scribe possesses particular expectations, and upon their fulfilment by the reader, extends commendations accordingly. Each scribe aspires to be commemorated by readers and subsequent generations in a favourable manner: “Let all who recall us with benevolence and spiritual devotion be graced with an esteemed corporeal presence in the material world and a righteous celestial spirit in the realm of the immaterial.” The scribe consistently entreats readers to pardon any inadvertent errors and to diligently amend inaccuracies they may encounter:

*magīr ʿeyb bar xaṭam ey hūšyār
ke būdam del āzorde az rūzegār
delam qūte mīxord dar baḥr-e xūn
az ān ast gar hast¹⁴ īn xat zabūn
bedārīd maʿzūr xānandegān
ze gostāxī-ye bande ey bexradān*
(Persian colophon in V 4045, p. 160r)

Do not find faults with my manuscript, O,
the clever one!
Because I was heartsick of the world
My heart was floating in the sea of blood
Because of that reason, this manuscript is
modest
Please excuse me (you) readers!
for my insolence, O, the wise ones!

The subsequent colophon elucidates the potential inaccuracies within the manuscript and delves into the reasons behind their occurrence. In this colophon, the scribe acknowledges the inherent fallibility of human transcription and concedes that errors may have inadvertently arisen during the process of copying the manuscript. Several factors could contribute to these inaccuracies, such as the scribe’s level of expertise, physical or mental fatigue, or the quality of the source material utilized for the transcription:

*bedārīd maʿzūr¹⁵ xānandegān
be pūšīd saḥvaš ze bahr-e ravān
morakab zabūn būd bīrang ham
na bod kāgāz¹⁶-e xūb o na bod qalam
ze bas xoddel aškaste būdam be kār
abar meḥnat o goše-ye rūzegār
dorostaš hamī xān ʿeybaš be pūš¹⁷*

Please excuse me (you) readers!
conceal his mistakes for the soul!
if the ink was colourless
if the paper was not good or the pen
it is because I was so sad during the work
because of the sadness and grief (caused by)
destiny
Read it correctly and conceal its mistakes!

¹³ Meaning ‘it was fate’.

¹⁴ Uncertain.

¹⁵ Mistake for *maʿzūr*.

¹⁶ Mistake for *kāgāz*.

makon rīšxandam abā bad makūš

do not mock me and do not attempt toward badness!

*agar nām-e kāteb xāhī ayān*¹⁸

if you want to know the name of the scribe

*bovad bāmaš ebn-e nūšerawān*¹⁹

(his name) is Bamas, the son of Nushirvan.

mabādā be kāteb begūyīd bad

lest you say that the scribe is bad!

ke būdam del aškaste rūz-e abad

that I would be broken-hearted on the eternal day.

be-gītī-yo mīnū bavī šādmān

may be happy in both material and spiritual worlds

har ānkas ke rānad be nīkī zabān

everybody who may move their tongue for goodness.

(Persian colophon in 4030, p. 138r)

The scribes' requests for forgiveness regarding their errors are evident not just in the colophons, but also in the marginal notes interspersed throughout the text. This reveals a certain level of humility and conscientiousness on the part of the scribes, as they acknowledge their own fallibility and express their hope that readers will excuse any errors they might encounter in the text.

*šekaste ...*²⁰ *dāram ey por honar*

If I have any mistake, O (you), full of art!

be baxšāy tagšīram ey tāj-e sar

excuse my mistake, O (you), crown of head!

(A note on the front end paper of V 4062)

The scribes of the colophons frequently beseech the readers and future generations to request God's forgiveness to them:

bar-ān xānande besyār āfarīn bād

many praises to that reader

kojā mārā xodāmorzī ze dīn dād

who gave me A may-God-forgive from the religion.

(Persian colophon, V 4030, p. 160v)

Another example:

har ān kū yek-jaḥat bar rāh-e dīnīd

you, who have the same religion

be kāteb ham xōdāmorzī resānīd

send also God's forgiveness to the scribe

(Persian colophon, V 4030, p. 160v)

¹⁷ Mistake for *bepūš*.

¹⁸ Mistake for 'ayān.

¹⁹ According to the meter of the verse, I would have expected *bovad bāmaš ebn-e anūšeravān*.

²⁰ Unreadable.

Nonetheless, if the readers fail to meet the scribe's expectations, they may be subject to a curse. In the subsequent colophon, the scribe condemns the individual who actively searches for errors within the manuscript:

kasī kū 'eyb jūyad bad fazāyad

Someone who would just search errors, and
add evil

basī man' -e nevīsande namāyad

and would criticise the scribe

rox-aš zard o del-aš nāšād bādā

his face may be yellow, and his heart should
be unhappy²¹

(Persian colophon, V 4010, p. 156v)

Regardless of whether the sentiment was real or feigned, the scribes reprimand themselves by belittling, undervaluing or disparaging themselves, or by being excessively modest. The most basic kind of self-deprecation can be seen in the use of terms such as *bande-ye kamtarīn* 'the humble servant,' *zare-ye bī-meqdār* 'valueless bit' (Y 29), *al-'abd al-faqīr*, *al-'abd ol za'īf* 'poor servant,'²² and *xāk-e pāy-e* 'the dust beneath the feet' (2109). The scribes repeatedly described themselves as being sinners or sinful:

har kē xānad do' ā ṭama' dāram

From everybody, who reads (this book), I
long praying

*zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram*²³

Because I am a sinful servant

With rare exceptions, the Middle Persian colophons show a general uniformity of structure, style and content. The majority of the scribes merely repeated the common phrases; only a few departed from the common muster, either stylistically or in terms of content.

All the Middle Persian colophons begin with the *frazāft* part and contain data about the manuscript's name, the scribe's name and filiation, the original manuscript from which the copy was made, the reason for the copy, an emphasis on copying the manuscript and not removing the name of the scribe, the date and place of the copy, and wishes and curses. This can be explained by the fact that the authors of the colophons followed an old tradition, which was probably transferred from the older generation of scribes to the younger one. It seems that the scribes of the Middle Persian colophons were only interested in a limited range of topics, and did not attempt to document the major political, military and other types of developments that affected their immediate environments. The Middle Persian colophons have a more formal tone.

By contrast, the Persian colophons do not follow a single template; instead, they are written more freely and provide information about many aspects that cannot be found in the Middle Persian colophons. They are generally more detailed in terms of recounting contemporary events and in descriptions of social and historical conditions, particularly the colophons in the manuscripts M 50 and K 13.

²¹ The expression 'his face may be yellow' means 'he would get sick'.

²² For examples of these expressions in Islamic Iranian manuscripts, see Afshar (2002: 230).

²³ This verse occurs in other manuscripts; for example, in Suppl. pers. 29 (see Colophon 3a in Unvala 1940: 7).

In a notable instance, it is evident that the structure of Middle Persian colophons served as a template for crafting a New Persian colophon. The colophon found in ms. 32 of the Pou-ladi Collection employs similar elements and phrases commonly observed in Middle Persian colophons. Pay particular attention to the emphasized expressions below:

neveštam be dorūd o šādī yo farroxeh va rāmeš-e dīn, man-e dīn bande Forūd Dastūr Ābādān Dastūr Ḥakīm Dastūr Ardešīr be ḥasab ol-farmūde-ye Dastūr Xosro Dastūr jamšīd Dastūr Rostam ke asmā' ollāh ta'ālā, ke be tandorostī va kāmrānī va ašāye va farāron manešnī kūr farmāyad tā šad o panjāh sālān pas az šad o panjāh sālān be farzand-e farzandzādagān ... be-ū sepārānd. har gāh sahv-e šekaste dāšte bāšad, az rāh-e loṭf o šafeqqat o mehrabānī dorost farmāyand ke īsān rā Xodā biyāmorzād. har kas ke xānand ayā ā... pačīn az-aš namāyad man-ej ke neveštār-am be ašāyeh varzīdārī ham bahr konand. če īn gītī widērēšnī hast va jod az nām-e nīk neveštam andar rūz-e Ādar Īzad va māh-e farrox-e Mehr Īzad, sāl bar yek hezār o yek-šad o navad o panj yazdgerd šāhān šāh šahryārān, sane-ye 1242 hejriye.

‘I have written in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure of the religion, I, the servant of the religion, Forūd Dastūr Ābādān Dastūr Ḥakīm Dastūr Ardešīr, at the command of Dastūr Xosro Dastūr jamšīd Dastūr Rostam. In order to use it 150 years, after 150 years in the name of God, in health and happiness and righteousness and good deed for the children and grandchildren. May they give <it> to him. If (the manuscript) had a mistake, may they correct it with kindness, grace, and compassion. May God bless them. Anyone who recites or ... makes a copy of it or shares the good deed with righteousness with me, I who am scribe. Because the material world is passing and except the good name other... I wrote on the day Ādar Īzad and the glory month Mehr Īzad, the year thousand one hundred ninety-five of the Yazdgerd, king of kings, the year 1242 Hejri.’

A significant proportion of Persian colophons are composed in verse, indicating that numerous professional scribes possessed familiarity with poetry, and generally aspired to replicate the language and style of the classical period of Persian poetry, although only a few succeeded in this endeavor. A prevailing inclination in Persian colophons is to extol the patron or other significant individuals involved in the manuscript copying process, employing an exaggerated style. Various verses encompass numerous lines concerning the piety and righteousness of the manuscript’s sponsor and incorporate extensive details about their life. Similar wishes and curses are present in the majority of both Middle Persian and Persian colophons: ‘Anyone who recites the book, and teaches it or makes a copy of it or performs the Yazīšn ceremony with it, and remembers the scribe in good desire and piety of the soul, may he be of a good-famed body in the material world and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life, and if someone were to sell or buy the book or to erase the name of the scribe, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and the scribe would be accuser in the presence of the judge, Hormuzd.’

This means that the authors of the colophons used references to emphasize the significance of the Avestan manuscripts and the process of copying them. These statements in the colophons demonstrate the religious context in which the scribes lived, providing an explanation for the abundance of Avestan quotations, references, or Zoroastrian beliefs found in the colophons. In other words, the authors made use of these elements to enhance the importance

of the manuscripts and their content, reflecting the theological environment surrounding the scribes:

aēuuō pantā yō ašahē ‘There is only one way and that is of the righteousness’, *šātō manā vahištō uruuānō* ‘He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul’, *nōit ahmi zazuua yō nōit urune zazuua nōit čahmi zazuša* ‘He, whose soul has not acquired anything, has not acquired anything and also now, whose soul does not acquire anything, does not acquire anything’, *naēčtš zaraθuštra sūs yaθa ādare mašiiāka* ‘And, O, Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit from the evil men. Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, O, Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from the bad men’.²⁴

As mentioned previously, the Middle Persian colophons show general uniformity in terms of structure, style and content. The following table provides a summary of the general structure of the Middle Persian colophons, their components and their common sequence.

24 These Avestan quotations (in addition to Pahlavi translations) occur in the majority of the Middle Persian colophons.

Table 3: The overall structure and the sequence of different parts of a colophon (using the colophon in ms. 4030 as an example)

Subject		Contents	Details in chapter
Beginning, frazaft part		(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk jahišnīh (2) xūb murwāg xuǰastag rōzgār	1.5.1.1
Manuscript name		abestāg yašt wispared ju-(3) dēw-dād abāg nerang rastag yazišnīhā	1.5.1.2
Copy's place of origin		-	1.5.1.3
Scribes' names and filiation	Adjective	man dēn bandag	1.5.1.4
	Name	(4) wāhrom marzbān frēdōn wāhrom rostōm bondār šahmardān (5) dēn-ayār	
Copy	Verb	nibišt u frāz hišt	1.5.1.5
	Original source	az pačēn daftar xwēš (6) pidar xwēš nibišt hēm frāz hišt	
Reasons for making the copy		az bahr (7) wayf dēn mazdyasnān ke tā dastwarān u dastwar-zādagān u dēn (8) rāyenidārān xwānand u hammōzand u yazišn pad-iš kunand	1.5.1.6
Emphasis of the copy		o pačēn agar (9) az-iš kunand ruwān amā ruwān wāhrom kayān ud sarxāb rustōm (10) zamān pad ahlāyīh ud ahlaw-ruwānī ayād kunād, ēg-išān (11) gētīh tan husraw pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād.	1.5.1.7
Curse to prevent the removal of the scribe's name		(12) agar nām nibištār o nām ī wāhrom kayān sōrxāb awestarēd (13) ayāb abganēd ayāb yād nē kunēd	
		u-š gētīh tan-dūsraw (14) pad mēnōg ruwān šarmandagīh ud tabāh bawād u-š hamēmāl u-m (15) pad dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd pad anjoman ī īsadvāstrān zartuštān	
Date		(16) andar farroxīh u pērōzīh rōz ī Aštād, mäh ī Ābān sāl bar (17) 992, pas az 20 be yazdgerd ī šahryārān, šāhānšāh nāfag (18) be ōy husraw šāhānšāh Ohrmazdān	1.5.1.7
Wish		pad yazdān kām bawād (19) ēdōn bawād, ēdōn tar-īz bawād	

Avestan phrase 1	aēuuō pantā yō (20) ašahē.	1.5.2.2
Pahlavi Translation	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān jūd-rāh (21) īh	
Avestan phrase 2	šātō manā vahištō uruuānō	
Pahlavi Translation	šād ān (22) tan ke-š warzīd u ruwān xwēš	
čihromayān wištāspān	čand ahy menōg dastwar čihromayān (23) wištāspān bē rasād	
	dēn rawāg	
	dēn burdārān išān az dēn (24) nēkīh rasād	
	har kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš tuwān bawād (25) zīwistan	
Avestan phrase 3	nōiṭ ahmi zazuša yō nōiṭ urune zazuša nōiṭ čahmi zazuša	
Pahlavi Translation	nē čīš (27) grift kē-š ne ruwān grift tā nūn-iznē čīš grift kē (28) nē ruwān girēd	
Avestan phrase 4	naēčīš aḍa zaraθuštra s- (29) ūš yaθa hūm ādare mašīiāka	
Pahlavi Translation	ēg-iš (30) az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az (31) ān ī wadag mardōm.	1.5.1.4
	če agar-išān pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg- (32) išān sar zyān bawēd.	
	ēdōn bawād pad kāmāg ī uhr (33) mazd xwadāy.	
Scribe's name 2	man dēn bandag	
	wāhrom ī marzbān frēdōn wāhrom (34) bondār rūstom šahmardān dēnayār	
Manuscript name	ēn daftar ī jūd-dew-dād	1.5.1.2
Reasons for making the copy	(35) az bahr ī wayf, framūdāg ī wāhrom kayān sorxāb rūstom zamān (36) nibištōm	1.5.1.6
Final wishes	kē-š bar-xwardār bawād gētī xwašīh u dawlat pad (37) mēnōg ruwān ō ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād	1.5.2.1
	har dastwar u dastwar- (38) zādāg-ē ke xwānand man-iz ōy rāy hambahr kunand tā awešān-iz ā-m pad (39) karbag ī hamāg ham-bahr bawēnd.	
	če karbag u ahlāyīh mizd hagriz kem (40) nē bawēd, zyādāg weš bawēd.	

It merits acknowledgement that the presence of all components within each colophon is not consistent, and the sequential arrangement of these elements can differ across instances. In

the ensuing section, a comprehensive examination of the colophons' structural composition and distinguishing characteristics will be conducted.

1.4. Formal characteristics of colophons

This section focuses on the formal aspects of colophons, including aspects such as their position, length, language and shape.

1.4.1. Position, length and shape

The colophons in the Avestan manuscripts were generally written in the longer sections of the manuscripts. The colophons usually appear after the entire manuscript had been copied. In the case of the Videvdād Sādes, but not the Indian manuscripts, they occur after the eighth Fragard. In some Sāde manuscripts, the colophons occur before the first Fragard, as is the case in B 2 (Cantera 2012a: 321).

It is important to acknowledge that the length of colophons can vary significantly, with some being quite extensive, while others are rather brief, merely providing the date of completion or the scribe's name. Middle Persian colophons tend to be more comprehensive, whereas New Persian colophons, if not composed in verse form, are typically more concise in nature.

Regarding their form, the colophons in Avestan manuscripts exhibit a striking simplicity, lacking the geometric configurations commonly found in Islamic Iranian manuscripts. In the latter, colophons are often encompassed by geometric and floral motifs. However, there are two notable exceptions: ms. 32 and ms. 2109. In ms. 32, the Persian colophon is demarcated by plant decorations, while the Persian colophon in YV 2109 features a triangular layout, characteristic of Islamic Iranian manuscripts.

It is quite typical for the colophons in Avestan manuscripts to maintain the same font size and colour as the main text. However, in some instances, the Avestan sections and dates within Middle Persian colophons may be presented in red.

1.4.2. Language

The language used in the colophons in the Avestan manuscripts is usually Middle Persian or New Persian, although we find a number of colophons written in Pāzand and Gujarati in the manuscripts that were copied in India. The number of Middle Persian colophons decreased during the nineteenth century.

Various pieces of evidence have indicated that the oral tradition and native languages of the scribes exerted an influence on the written language used in colophons. Only a few studies have attempted to identify connections between the Avestan texts and the influence of the priests' native languages, which were used in recitation and, consequently, in the orthography of the Avestan manuscripts. Cantera (2014: 300–305) provided a brief overview, while Martínez-Porro (Forthcoming: 98–141) presented a highly detailed analysis in his doctoral thesis, which emphasized the significant impact of Zoroastrian Dari, the vernacular language of Zoroastrians, on the Avestan recitations and texts in Iranian manuscripts. Apart from an article by myself (Gholami 2018b), this influence has not been examined in relation to colophons and marginalia.

The colophons and marginalia open up new avenues for exploring the role of the scribes' native languages in their written work. As a result, these materials present a unique representation of language contact in written form, along with various intriguing shifts in grammar, lexicon, and pragmatics that make the study of the dialectology of the colophons particularly engaging.

Based on specific features related to phonological development and syntactical peculiarities, it can be deduced that the language employed in the colophons exhibits a strong influence of Persian, as well as the impact of at least one other language, namely Zoroastrian Dari.

The Zoroastrians of Iran have preserved their distinct language, which sets them apart from the Muslim majority population who speak New Persian. In terms of linguistic aspects, most scholars of Iranian languages perceive Zoroastrian Dari to be situated on a continuum of Central dialects (Windfuhr 1989; Gholami 2016, 2018), contrasting with the Southwestern Iranian languages such as Persian, based on traditional subdivisions of Iranian languages. The two primary dialects of Dari are Kermani and Yazdi. The Yazdi dialect encompasses around twenty sub-dialects, while Kermani, now extinct, appears to have had only one (Gholami 2015). The Yazdi dialect of Dari has attracted more scholarly attention than Kermani, as it is more conservative, better preserved, and possesses several sub-dialects, offering researchers a broader range of intriguing subjects.

Additionally, Gujarati has influenced the language used in the colophons of Indian Avestan manuscripts.²⁵

The Middle Persian colophons reveal a much wider influence of the Persian language; this influence is particularly apparent in the lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax, and can be observed more strongly in the manuscripts of the Qajar period. It is not simply the case that only Persian and the vernacular languages of the scribes have influenced the Middle Persian language used in the colophons, as a number of New Persian colophons also show signs of having been strongly influenced by Middle Persian.

This section seeks to trace the external linguistic influences on the language used in the colophons. A full discussion of all the grammatical changes resulting from the influence of the scribes' spoken languages is beyond the scope of this book, and I hope to continue this discussion in the future. In the present work, I have limited myself to a few examples of the influences, which can be classified according to two different categories: The first is the influence of Persian and Zoroastrian Dari on the Middle Persian colophons, and the second is the influence of Middle Persian on the New Persian colophons.

1.4.2.1. The influence of Persian and Zoroastrian Dari on Middle Persian colophons

In the domain of morphosyntax, the Pahlavi colophons in the Avestan manuscripts demonstrate alignment patterns that can be grouped into three language types: 1) split-ergative, 2) accusative and 3) post-ergative. A number of Iranian languages, such as Middle Persian, Bactrian and Pashto, are described as having an ergative construction, specifically what is known as 'split ergativity'.²⁶ This alignment contrasts with what is found in languages such as Persian, where the primary argument of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are treated similarly and are distinct from the object of a transitive verb. A number of Iranian languages, such as Persian and Sorani Kurdish,²⁷ can be characterised by the 'loss'

²⁵ For more details, see Gholami (2018: 199–200).

²⁶ See Dixon (1994: 14).

²⁷ See Jügel (2009).

of the ergative construction and are now essentially accusative languages, lacking the main features of split ergativity. Nevertheless, such languages still show some remnants of ergativity. A tense-sensitive alignment is exhibited in these remnants, in which the coding of core arguments differs according to the tense of the verb, similar to that which is found in several Western Iranian languages. In this alignment, the personal pronoun clitics change their roles when they occur with transitive verbs in the past tense. The enclitics change to proclitics and function as markers of subject agreement. The function of pronominal clitics as some form of agreement is well attested in several Iranian languages; Zoroastrian Dari belongs to this group of languages, which I prefer to call post-ergative languages.²⁸

All three of the constructions mentioned above can be found in the Middle Persian colophons in the Avestan manuscripts. This means that two further languages, namely Persian, an accusative alignment language, and Zoroastrian Dari, a post-ergative language, influenced the Middle Persian language used in the colophons.

We find typical split-ergative constructions, which are common in Middle Persian, in the following example:

- *man dēn-bandag... ēn daftar ke gōpadšā... nibišt bawād u=m did*²⁹
‘I, the servant ... saw this book was written by Gōpadšāh.’

The use of the pronominal proclitics as agreement markers in the past tense is obligatory in some Central dialects, such as Zoroastrian Dari. Its use is required even when an overt subject pronoun occurs in the same clause:

- *man i dēnbandak jāmāsb hakim ērdēšir anōšagruwān u=m ēn daftar i Wištāsp yašt u-m did u=m pasandid u u=m āfarin kard bar nipištār*³⁰
‘I, the servant of the religion, Jāmāsp Hakim, (son) of Ardašēr Nōširvān saw this book of the Wištāsp Yašt, I liked it and bestowed praise on the writer of the book.’

In a number of past transitive constructions in the colophons, we can observe that the *u=clitic* (that is, *u=m*) vanishes and only the independent pronoun *man* occurs. The verbs have no ending:

- *man dēnbandag mānuščihr ērdēšir i vāhrom spandyār ērdēšir nibišt u frāz hišt*³¹
‘I, the servant of the religion, Mānuščihr Ērdēšir Vāhrom Sfandyār Ērdēšir, have written it and launched it.’

There are many examples (such as in 2010, 4025, 1022, 1025, 4030, 300 and 4010) of the use of an accusative construction instead of a typical ergative one in the Middle Persian colophons. These examples can clearly be traced to the influence of Persian.

- *man dēnbandag marzbān vāhrom marzbān frēdōn vāhrom rustom bondār šahmardān dēn-ayār nibištōm*³²
‘I, the servant of the religion, Marzbān Vāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn Vāhrom Rustom Bondār Šahmardān Dīnyār, have written (it).’

28 See Gholami (2018b).

29 Bundahišn (TD 1).

30 From the second colophon in the Vyt 5020 (K4).

31 The second colophon in Vr 2010.

32 The colophon in V 1022.

In the domain of morphology, the colophons exhibit a number of New Persian forms instead of Middle Persian verbal forms, the most common of which is the use of the optative form *bād* instead of *bawād* ‘may be’:

- *nibišt hom andar farrōx būm <ī> tūrkābād, rustāg <ī> meybod <ī> yazd, bē xānag-ē dastūr Vāhrōm dastūr mihrabān dastūr anōšērwān dastūr rōstom ke-šān ruwān, wahištīg <ud> garōdmānīg bād.*
(V 4055, Middle Persian colophon, lines 18–21)

‘I have written in the blessed land of Tūrkābād, the village Meybod in Yazd, in the house of Dastūr Vāhrōm Dastūr Mihrabān Dastūr Anōšērwān Dastūr Rōstom. May their soul (be in) the paradise and Garōdmān.’

In contrast to morphology and syntax, it appears that the phonological characteristics demonstrate clearer results concerning the dialectal position of the language used in the colophons.

The personal names provide us with more details regarding the phonology of the language in the colophons and in the Sālmargs in the Avestan manuscripts. For example, the personal name *Vāhrōm* (*Bahrām* in Persian) in the Pahlavi colophons in mss. 4045, 4050, 4055 and 4060 is clearly a Zoroastrian Dari form, and shows two developments, the first being *ah(a)-* to *ā*. The second is *ā > ō*, which is well attested in Zoroastrian Dari (Pers. *tābe*, ZD *tūve* ‘pan’, Pers. *dāmād*, ZDY *zomūd*, ZDK *zumād* ‘bridegroom’). The second change is considered to be extremely trivial and has occurred in many Iranian languages, probably very recently. In a Pāzand colophon in an Indian manuscript, Suppl.pers.29, the form *Bihirām* appears. This form presumably reflects the Parsi Gujarati form (Persian *-ah-* > Gujarati *-ehe-*) and shows that the use of local pronunciations of proper names was not unique to Iranian manuscripts.³³

Another example of the phonological influence of Zoroastrian Dari on the Middle Persian language in the colophons is the term ‘city’; various terms are used, such as *bām ī šahr* (V 4010, first colophon), *bīm ī šahr* (V 4025, first colophon) and *būm* (BK). The word *bīm* represents a Zoroastrian Dari form of the Persian word *būm*. In this example, the vowel *ū* is fronted to *ī*. This development can be found in many North Western Iranian languages.

In the domain of the lexicon, many Persian or Arabic words can be found in Middle Persian colophons instead of or in addition to Middle Persian forms. The following examples belong to this group of borrowings: The use of the Persian preposition *be*, written in Persian script, instead of the Middle Persian *pad* ‘to’ (as in *be ayārīh ī Ohrmazd* ‘through the help of Ohrmazd’ and, in lines 3 and 4, in *be čāstag* ‘according to the doctrine of’ in 4025) and the use of the word ‘*mū* (عمو) (in *manōščihr ī rostōm ‘mūy³⁴ ī xweš* in 4010, first colophon, line 25, margin) and *moblaq*, a variation of *mablaq* (مبلغ) ‘price’ in the Pāzand form (in 4056, line 10), *wafg* a variation of *waqf* (وقف) ‘dedication’ (in 4062, line 29, in 4000, first colophon, lines 16 and 20, in 4063, second colophon, lines 7 and 11), *ketāb* (کتاب) ‘book’ (in 4065, line 9), *yād* (یاد) instead of the Middle Persian *ayād* ‘memory’ (in 4000, first colophon, lines 17 and 20 and second colophon, line 28, in 4010, second colophon, line 16, in 4020, first colophon, line 8 and second colophon, lines 12 and 20, in 4030, first colophon, line 13, in 4065, line 11).

³³ For more examples, see Gholami (2018).

³⁴ This is unlikely to be a word with the meaning of ‘teacher’, as suggested by Cantera (ibid.), or *ham pēdar* as read by Mazdapour (2010: 248).

1.4.2.2. The influence of the Middle Persian language on the New Persian language in the colophons

A wide range of examples show the influence of Middle Persian on various grammatical aspects of New Persian. In the colophon in ms. 32, the form *man-eġ* (منج) occurs instead of the Persian *man nīz* (من نیز) ‘I also’. The adverb *eġ* is the same Middle Persian form *-yc* (*-ič*, or *-iz*) that occurs frequently in the Middle Persian colophons. Another important characteristic of this colophon is the use of the adverbial ending *-yh* as the Persian form; that is, instead of *y*. Instead of *farroxī* فره‌خی ‘glorious’ in Persian, the form *farroxeh* فره‌خه appears, and instead of *šādī* شادی ‘happiness,’ the form *šādeh* شاده occurs in the text, which again shows the use of the Middle Persian ending *yh*. Another Middle Persian form is *āsāyeh*³⁵ اشایی instead of *āsāyī* اشایی, demonstrating once more the influence of the Middle Persian orthography, and yet another Middle Persian form in this colophon is *manišn* منش instead of the Persian *manīš* منش ‘behaviour’. The form *ayā* ایا follows the Middle Persian form *ayā(b)*, which is used instead of the Persian *yā* یا ‘or.’

Another Middle Persian word is *widērēšnī* ‘passing’ ویدیرشنی (*widerēšn-* ‘to pass’ + *ī* (h)), which is written using the Persian alphabet. The Middle Persian form *jod* ‘separate’ is used instead of the Persian form *jōz* جز. Other Middle Persian forms include *neveštār* instead of *nevīsande* ‘scribe,’ and *nibištār ham*, instead of the Persian *nibištār hastam* or *nibištār-am* ‘I am the scribe.’ In addition to its influence within the domains of orthography and lexicon, we also find the influence of Middle Persian on the morphology and syntax of the Persian language in this colophon. The substantive occurs in the plural with a number in the expression *saḍ o pangāh sālān* ‘150 years,’ instead of *saḍ o pangāh sāl*. صد و پنجاه سال.

With regard to syntax, two expressions that show the influence of Middle Persian are *dīn bande* ‘the servant of the religion’ instead of the Persian *bande-ye dīn*, and *frāron manišnī* instead of the Persian *manišn-e frāron* ‘good behaviour.’

It must be added that the language used in marginal notes was also influenced by Zoroastrian Dari. The personal names in the Sālmargs often occur in the form of Zoroastrian Dari; for example, the female personal name *Šārbānū* (*Šahrbānū* in Persian) occurs in the Sālmargs in ms. 1022 and ms. 4010, and is a Zoroastrian Dari form. The form *bī* in *ōmorzīde bī* (in the Sālmargs in 4030, p. 111r) is also a Zoroastrian Dari form of the Persian *bāšad*.

1.4.2.3. The Avestan citations in the Middle Persian colophons

When studying the language of the colophons, it appears necessary to also examine the Avestan citations within the colophons, including their variations, and the impact of language contact on their linguistic profile. In the chapter “Fragments Divers” No. 3, Darmesteter examines the following three phrases, drawing on the analysis of three manuscripts: Jp 1, Jp 129, and B 29:

nōiṭ cahmi zazva yō nōiṭ urunē zazva
nōiṭ cahmi zazusha [*yō nōiṭ urvāni jazush*]
naēcish adha Zarathushtra sūsh yathā [*hīm*] *ādare mashyāka*

‘Il n’a rien gagné celui qui n’a point gagné l’âme:
il ne gagnera rien celui qui ne gagne pas l’âme.
il n’y a aucun profil pour les hommes, ô Zarathushtra, à recevoir de lui ...’
(Darmesteter 1960:150)

35 This form is also found in the Persian colophon in 2109.

In the eighth chapter titled “Aogemaidê,” under Section 3, Darmesteter identifies an additional Avestan phrase:

shîtô manâo vahishtô urvâno

‘ayant joie de l’esprit et félicité de l’ame’

(Darmesteter 1960:154)

In the section titled “Fragmente und Zitate,” Chapter 10e, Bartholomae (1904: IX) refers to these fragments according to Darmesteter’s presentation. Three additional references can be found in M 55 (Bartholomae 1915: 119), K4 (Unvala 1940:124), and R, specifically Dārāb Hormazyār’s Rivāyat (Unvala 1922: 371).

In his article “The Avesta Fragment FrD.3,” Hoffmann focuses on these fragments in manuscripts Jp 1, K4, Jp 129, B 29, R, and M 55. He notes that “The eventual Pahlavi translation consists mostly of a mere paraphrase, which allows no certain conclusions for the Avestan wording to be drawn,” and “The fragments seem to be quoted from memory, and therefore, their textual condition is rather corrupt” (Hoffmann 1975: 282).

Examining these Avestan citations in the colophons, Redard (2019) argues that the numbering assigned to the passage of Y72.11 is inappropriate, as it is not the last passage of the Yasna.

The purpose of this section is to present an overview of the different variants found in Avestan fragments and their corresponding Middle Persian translations, with the following goals in mind: examining the variations and their possible causes, understanding the connection between Avestan phrases and Middle Persian translations, and ultimately, providing a more precise interpretation and comprehension of these sections.

The following table offers an overview of the variations in Avestan fragments and their Middle Persian translations:

Tabel 4: An overview of the variants of Avestan citations and their Middle Persian translations: First citation

Manuscript	Avestan citations	Pahlavi translation
4000	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahe	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh dād, abārīg ān ast jūd-rāhīh
4010a	[aē]juuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahe	[ēk ast rāhīh] ahlāyīh ud abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh
4010b	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahe	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh ud abārīg ī jūd-rāhīh
4020	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahē	ēk ast rāh ahlāyīh abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh
4025a	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahe	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh ud abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh
4030	aēuuō paṇtā yō ašahē	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān jūd-rāhīh
4040a	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahē	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh ud abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh
4040b	aē[...]	ēk ast rāhīh ah[lāyīh, abārīg ān jūd-rāhīh]
4045	aēuuō paṇtā yō a[ša]hē	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān ī jūd[rā]h
4056	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahē	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg jūd-rāh[īh]
4060	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahē	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh u yazad ud abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh

4062	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh jād, abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh
4063a	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān jūd-rāhīh
4063b	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe	ēk [a]st rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh
4065	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣhē aṣahē	ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh abārīg ān jūd rāhīh
4070	aēuuō. paṇtāi. yō. aṣahe	ēk ast rāh ahlāyīh abārīg ān ī jūd-rāh-ē
4080	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahē	ēk ast rāh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhī[h]
4158	aēuuō. paṇtō. yō. aṣahe	(in Persian script) yek ast rāh-e aṣāyē avar ān jod rāh
8	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe	ēk ast rāh ahlāyīh ud abārīg ān ī jūd rāhīh
5020 (K4)	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahē	ēk ast rāh ahlāyīh abārīg ān ī jūd-rāh
510 (K5)	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe. vīspe. aniaēšam. apaṇtam. aṇrahe. maniōuš. *nasištam. daēnam. daēuuaiiasnanam. parājītim. *mašiiānam. frākəroitim.	ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyīh harwisp ōy-šān a-rāh. ke dawāg mēnōg ī duš-dēn ud dēv-yasnēn jādūg farāz ō mardomān karrēnīt estāt.
L2	aēuuō paṇtō. yō. aṣahe. vīspe aniaēšam. apaṇnam	ēk ast rāh-ē ahlāyīh abārīg harwisp ān jūd rāhīh
DH	aēuuō paṇtā. yō. aṣahe. vīspe aniaēšam. apaṇnam	ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyīh harwisp ōy-šān a-rāh

Tabel 5: An overview of the variants of Avestan citations and their Middle Persian translations: Second citation

Manuscript	Avestan citations	Pahlavi translation
4000	šātō. manā. vahištō [...]	šād ān tan ke-š warz]īd ruwān xwēš
4010a	šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuqno	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwānīh xwēš
4010b	šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuqno	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwānīh xwēš
4020	-	-
4025a	ašātō. manā. vahištō. uruuqno.	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwānīh xwēš
4030	šātō manō vahištō uruuqno	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ud ruwān xwēš

4040a	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān xwēš
4040b	... anō vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzēd ud ruwān-e xwēš
4045	šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuq[nō]	šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān xwēš
4056	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān xwēš
4060	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān ī xwēš
4062	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzēd ruwān xwēš
4063a	šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ud ruwān xwēš
4063b	šātō. manō. [v]ahištō uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzēd ud ruwān xwēš
4065	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuōñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān xwēš
4070	-	-
4080	-	-
4158	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō.	(in Persian script) šād ān tan ka-š warzīd ruwān-e xīš
8	-	-
5020 (K4)	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān ī xwēš
510 (K5)	-	-
L2	šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqñō	šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān ī xwēš
DH	-	-

Tabel 6: An overview of the variants of Avestan citations and their Middle Persian translations: Third citation

Manuscript	Avestan citations	Pahlavi translation
4000	nōiṭ. čahmi. [...]	(removed)
4010a	nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuša	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4010b	nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša yō. nōiṭ. urune. [zazu]ša	nē-š čīš grift [kē-š] ne ruwān grift
4020	-	-

4025a	anōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuša	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4030	nōiṭ ahmi zazuša yō nōiṭ urune zazuša	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4040a	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urunē. zazuua.	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4040b	nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōiṭ. urunē. zazuša	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4045	-	nē-š čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān grift
4056	-	-
4060	-	-
4062	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuua.	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4063a	nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuša.	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4063b	nōiṭ. čah[mi]. zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuua.	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
4065	nōiṭ. čah [mi]. zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuua.	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān griftand
4070	-	-
4080	-	-
4158	-	-
8	-	-
5020 (K4)	nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuša.	nē-š čīš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift
510 (K5)	-	-
L2	-	-
DH	-	-

Tabel 7: An overview of the variants of Avestan citations and their Middle Persian translations: Fourth citation

Manuscript	Avestan citations	Pahlavi translation
4000	nōiṭ. čahmi ...	[...] k grift ... [n]ē čīš.
4010a	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē [nē] ruwān girēd
4010b	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē-š nē [ruwān] girēd
4020	-	-
4025a	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-iz nē čīš girēd kē-š nē ruwān girēd
4030	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān girēd

4040a	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-īz nē čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān girēd
4040b	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-iz nē čīš gīrēd kē nē ruwān girēd
4045	-	tā nūn-iz nē čīš gīrēd kē nē ruwān gīrēd
4056	-	-
4060	-	-
4062	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša.	tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē nē ruwān girēd
4063a	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša.	tā nūn-iznē čīš grift kē nē ruwān girēd
4063b	nōiṭ. čahmi. [za]zuša.	tā nūn-iz nē [č]īš grift kē nē ruwān girēd
4065	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša.	nūn-iz nē čīš girēd kē nē ruwān girēd
4070	-	-
4080	-	-
4158	-	-
8	-	-
5020 (K4)	nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša	tā nūn-iz nē čīš gīrēd kē nē ruwān grift
510 (K5)	-	-
L2	-	-
DH	-	-

Tabel 8: An overview of the variants of Avestan citations and their Middle Persian translations: Fifth citation

Manuscript	Avestan citations	Pahlavi translation
4000	[...]ē čīš. [...]ra. sūš. ya[θa]	ēg-iš az dēw]ān sūd ne bawēd [spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az ān ī wadag mar]dōm
4010a	-	-
4010b	-	-
4020	-	-
4025a	-	-
4030	naēčiš. aḍa. zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. hūm. ādare. mašiiāka	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
4040a	naēčiš. iḍa. zaraθuštra. sīš. yaθa. ādarə. mašiiāka	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
4040b	naēčiš. aḍa. z[...]hīm. ādare. mašiiāka	[ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd] spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az [ān ī wadag mardōm]
4045	naēčiš. iḍa. zaraθuštra. sīš. yaθa. hīm. ādare. mašiiāka	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd nē bawēd spētēmān zarāhtaxšt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
4056	-	-
4060	-	-

4062	naēčīš. zaraθuštra. siš. yaθa. ādarə. mašīika	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zardušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
4063a	naēčīš. iða. zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. hūm. ādare. mašīiāka	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
4063b	naēčīš. zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. ādarə. mašīiāka	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
4065	-	-
4070	-	-
4080	-	-
4158	-	-
8	-	-
5020 (K4)	naēčīš. iða. zaraθuštra. siš. yaθa. hīm. ādare. mašīiāka	ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zardušt u nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm
510 (K5)	-	-
L2	-	-
DH	-	-

As observed, the colophons display a considerable number of phonological variations within their Avestan fragments. To gain a better understanding of these variations, it is essential to explore various aspects, such as whether the variations follow a systematic pattern or occur randomly, the areas in which variation can occur, whether the variations are limited to specific lexical items, and to what extent the choice of variation is predictable.

By addressing these aspects, valuable insights can be gained into the nature of the variations found in the Avestan fragments of the colophons. This, in turn, can help shed light on their linguistic characteristics and the potential reasons behind their occurrence. Further research and analysis are necessary to obtain a comprehensive understanding of these variations and their implications for the study of Avestan manuscripts and their colophons.

The tables above illustrate that a significant number of variants are phonological and mainly occur in vowels. This observation suggests that the scribes' dialect or mother tongue may have influenced the vowel variations. Furthermore, these phonological variations could have arisen from transcription errors, scribal mistakes, or the scribes' interpretation of the oral tradition.

Further investigation into these variations may reveal patterns or trends that can help gain a better understanding of the scribes' linguistic backgrounds and the potential influences that affected their work on the colophons. This could also provide insights into the transmission and evolution of the Avestan language over time, e.g. *paṇtā*, *paṇtā*, *paṇtā*, *paṇtā*, *paṇtāi*, *paṇtō*, *pəṇtā*, *paṇtā*; *maṇā*, *maṇō*; *uruuqṇō*, *uruuṇō*; *urunē*, *urune*; *naēčīš*, *naēčīš*; *aḍa*, *iða*; *sūš*, *siš*, *sīš*; *ādare*, *ādarə*. Concerning consonants, it is notable that *š* is frequently substituted by *ś* (e.g. *aśahē*, *aśahē*, *aśahe*, *aśahe*; *śātō*, *śātō*) and *ṇ* by *n*.

Among the numerous variants, the correct form appears to be *paṇtā*, a singular nominative form of *paṇtā*-/paθ- meaning 'way' or 'path'. The form *aśahe* is a genitive of the neuter noun *aśa*, which means 'truth' or 'piety'.

Regarding the variants of *uruuqnō* and *uruūōnō*, both are the nominal plural of *uruuan-* meaning ‘spirit’. Proto-Iranian *ā* should be expected to shift to *q*, indicating *uruuqnō* ‘souls’ alongside *uruūānō* (Hoffmann 1987, Martínez and de Vaan 2014: 13). In *uruūōnō*, it can be observed that *q* is replaced by *ō*. In terms of singular forms *urunē* and *urune*, the form with a short vowel, *urune*, appears to be correct.

Aside from phonological variants, there are also examples of grammatical variants, such as *zazuša* versus *zazuua*. Some manuscripts have *zazuša* instead of *zazuua*. Darmesteter translates *zazuš(a)* ‘gagnera’ (‘will win’). In Middle Persian translation, *zazuua* is rendered by *grift* ‘took’ and *zazuša* by *gīrēd*, which confirms the Darmesteter’s translation. Bartholomae obviously considers *zazuš* as an analogical nominative of the perfect participle, which seems realistic. However, Hoffmann believes that it does not make sense, because “A variation by a mere changing of equivalent grammatical forms would be a poor piece of poetical handicraft.” To solve this problem Hoffmann considers *zazuša* and its variants as a misspelling of *zazuši*, the feminine perfect participle (Hoffmann 1975: 287). In his opinion, it is well known that in Avestan texts religious injunctions are addressed equally to men and women and the repetition of a formula in the feminine therefore makes sense. A main problem for this theory is the use of the masculine relative pronoun *yō* instead of *yā*. Manuscripts 4030 and 4040b have *aða* ‘then’ instead of *iða* ‘here’. There are also a number of variants, where the conjunction *yaθa* ‘as, when’, or the adverb *iða* ‘here’ are missing.

The change of *ī* to *ū* is very common in Avestan manuscripts. Manuscripts 4030 and 4063a have *hūm* instead of *hīm*, personal pronoun for the third person (Sing.: acc. masc. fem.). In 4062, 4063b and 4040a, *hīm* is missing. In 4010, 4025a, 4030, 4040b, 4063b, 5020, *ahmi* ‘I am’ is used instead of personal pronoun *cahmi* (loc.).

Instead of *mašiiāka*, three variants *mašiika*, *mašiiāka*, *mašiiāka* occur in the manuscripts, which are all misspellings of *mašiiāka*.

Undoubtedly, the Avestan language, like all languages, undergoes phonological changes over time. Variations can occur when changes affect only certain varieties of the language or when they affect several varieties to varying degrees. An important question to consider is why particular forms change and which factors influence language change. Several studies have shown that lexically irregular changes are primarily the result of dialect contact (see Trudgill 1986; Wang and Lien, 1993; Schmidt and Herrgen, 2011). These changes result from the interference between systems and the interaction of languages with different phonological characteristics.

However, in the case of the phonological variants in the Avestan fragments in the colophons, it appears that the variations are more likely to be orthographic errors resulting from confusion, rather than accent variation, innovations, or linguistic convergence between the Avestan language of the text and the mother tongue of the scribes. The grammatical variations also belong to the same category and can be interpreted as errors, rather than true grammatical deviations.

Comparison of Avestan citations with their Pahlavi translations

A comparison between Avestan citations and their Middle Persian translations reveals significant differences in both length and content. For example, it can be observed that the Pahlavi translation of *aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe* is not a word-for-word rendering and contains an additional element that is absent in the Avestan citation (see table 4).

Considering four additional manuscripts, we can get interesting results. In four manuscripts namely, MK, DH, K5 and L2, the Avestan citation has an additional part and the Avesta part matches exactly its Pahlavi translations.

Let us look at the oldest attendance of the *aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe* part, which can be found in MK. The codex MK is the oldest Zoroastrian manuscript, a collection of Pahlavi texts, and was copied by Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān, who traveled from Iran to India to copy this manuscript and completed it in 691 AY [1322 CE] in Tanak in India. The text in MK is badly damaged and is illegible in the original manuscript. However, the text can be restored from copies of MK. The restored text and its colophon can be found in Jamasp-Asana (1913:168).

The fifth colophon of MK contains the *aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe* part. This colophon introduces the source of *aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe* as a Hādōxt passage. As usual, the Avestan fragment is followed by Pahlavi translation:

§5 (160v3) PWN h'twht gy[w'k-1] (4) pyt'k 'YK ['whrmzd 'L zltwḥšt gwpt (5) 'YK aē[uuō pañtā yō (6) ašaḥ[e vīspe aniaēš](7)am apa[ntam 'ywk 'YT l's Y] (8) 'hl'dyh [hlwsp 'LH-š'n' 'l'syh]

§5 (160v3) pad hādōxt gyāg-ē (4) paydāg kū ohrmazd ō zarduxšt guft (5) kū: aēuuō pañtā yō (6) ašahe vīspe aniaēš(7)am apa[ntam. ēk ast rāh ī (8) ahlāyih, harwisp awēšān arāhīh.

§5 (160v3) In a Hādōxt passage (4) it is revealed that Ohrmazd said to Zarduxšt: “One is the path of truth. All of the others (are) (7) un-paths”. One is the path of (8) righteousness, all they (are) un-paths.

Another manuscript, K5, which was copied by the same scribe, only one year later, namely in 692 AY [1323 CE] in Cambay (Gujarat), contains again the complete version of Avestan citation. The original source of the copy for this manuscript was a manuscript of Rustam Mehrabān.

The codex DH was copied in 946 AY+20 [1577 AD] by Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rostam, the brother of Gopadšāh, the scribe of TD. The original source of the copy for DH was a manuscript of Erdešr Wāhromšāh Rustam Wāhromšāh, the original of whose was copied by a grandson of Zātsparam named Spandiyar. If this Zātsparam was the author of the Pahlavi Zartošt-nāmag, then the origin of the DH copy is approx. 650 years older than DH (Anklesaria 1970).

At first appearance, it seems that the elder manuscripts, the three mentioned above, are more conservative in preserving the complete version of Avestan citations.

If we accept this theory, the fourth codex, namely 4320 (Indian Videvdād Sāde), seems to be an exception in preserving the complete Avestan citation. This is a much more recent manuscript, copied in 1128 AY [1759 AD] in Surat by Rustam Wāhrom Dārāb Sohrāb.

The scribe of this manuscript probably had access to one of the manuscripts with a longer version of the Avestan citations, although it is difficult to identify which one. It is known that all the Vidēvdād copies of the 17th century in India show a direct influence of the Iranian ones. There is considerable paleographical evidence that suggests 4320 likely descends indirectly from manuscript 4250 [O2] (Martínez Porro forthcoming).

In the case of manuscript 4250, there is one concrete variant that must be related to the copy sent by Xōsrō Nūšīrwān, which is manuscript 4020 (Martínez Porro forthcoming). In the colophon of 4020, Xosrow Nūšīrwān mentioned that he gave this manuscript of the Videvdād with Nērangas as a gift to the Dastūrs, Hērbēds, and Magūpads of India. This copy was used to make copies of at least five further manuscripts in India (4020* (MF2), 4070* (K9), 4080*, 4110, 4120).

The story of sending the ms. 4020 to India was previously documented in the Bahman Esfandyār Rivayat, the letter from Turkābād that was written in 996 AY (Dhabar 1932: 594).

However, since the 4020 does not contain the additional section in its colophon, and 4250 has a very short Pazand colophon, influence from the Xōsrō Nūšīrwān 4020 manuscript on 4320 via the 4250 can be excluded.

A detailed comparison of the *aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe* part and its translation in MK, K5, DH, L2 with the rest of the manuscripts is provided in table 9:

Table 9: A comparison of the *aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe* part and its translation in various manuscripts:

Man.	Date of copy	Place of copy	Scribe	Text	Avestan citation	Pahlavi translation
MK	691 AY [1322 CE]	Tanak	Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān	Pahlavi	aēuuō paṇtā yō aṣahe	ēk ast rāh ī ahlāyih
					vīspe aniaēšam apa[nṭam]	harwisp awēšān a-rāhih
K5	692 AY [1323 CE]	Cambay (Gujarat)	Mihrābān Kayhusraw Mihrābān	Pahlavi Yasna	aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. aṣahe.	ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyih
					vīspe. aniaēšam. apantəm.	harwisp ōy-šān a-rāh.
					anʾrahe. maniiōuš [duž] ³² daēnaṃ. daēuuaiiasnanam. parājīti[m maš]iianam. frākəreitīm.	ke dawāg mēnōg ī duš-dēn ud dēv-yasnēn jādūg farāz ō mardomān karrēnīt estāt.
DH	946 AY [1577 CE] ³³	Kerman		Iranian Bundahišn and the Zand ī Wahman Yasn	aēuuō paṇtā. yō. aṣahe.	ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyih
					vīspe aniaēšam. apaṣnam	harwisp ōy-šān a-rāh

36 Geldner reads this part as *nasištam*. I adopted Rerard's reading [duž]daēnaṃ (Rerard 2019: 763), which fits to the Pahlavi translation.

37 Or maybe written in 946 AY +20, namely 1597 CE (Cereti 2009).

L2	1759 CE	Surat	Rustam Wāhrom Dārāb Sohrāb	Indian Videvdad Sāde	aēuuō paṇtō. yō. ašahe.	ēk ast rāh-ē ahlāyīh
					vīspe. aniiaēšqm. apaθnqm	abārīg har- wisp ān jūd rāhīh
4000 to 4158, 8, 5020	1607– 1859 CE	Dif.*	Dif.**	Iranian Videv- dads and Yasnas	variants of aēuuō. paṇtā. yō. ašahe	variants of ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh,
					-	abārīg ān ast jūd-rāhīh

*Dif. Different locations, **Different scribes

It is also worth noting that the *aēuuō. paṇtā* section in K5 is longer compared to other manuscripts. Specifically, the part *aṇvrahe. maniiēuš [duž] daēnqm. daēuuaiiasnanqm. parājīti[m maš]jiānqm. frākərəitīm* is unique to K5. The Pahlavi translation of this part is recorded as *ke dawāg mēnōg ī duš-dēn ud dēv-yasnēn jādūg farāz ō mardomān karrēnīt estāt*.

Moreover, if we shift our focus to Pahlavi translations, we can observe an interesting transition from 1 to 3:

1. ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyīh harwisp ōy-šan a-rāh (found in MK, K5, DH)
2. ēk ast rāh-ē ahlāyīh abārīg harwisp ān jūd rāhīh (found in L2)
3. ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān ast jūd-rāhīh (found in all other manuscripts in this study)

Number 2 appears to be a transition between Number 1 and Number 3, in which elements from both translations can be found. It is noteworthy that *harwisp* from Number 1 and *abārīg* and *jūd-rāhīh* from Number 3 are used together. The transition from Number 1 to Number 3 is documented in L2, a manuscript that was copied in 1759 CE. Given that the *vīspe aniiaēšqm. apaθnqm* part of the colophons disappeared from Iranian manuscripts since 1607 CE, it is possible that L2 is a copy of an older manuscript that still contained the *vīspe aniiaēšqm. apaθnqm* part and some elements of Number 1.

Both DH and L2 contain an interesting common mistake, *apaθnqm* instead of the correct form *apaṇtqm*. This common mistake may indicate a relationship between DH and L2.

The second Avestan citation, *šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqnō*, is an incomplete quote from Yasna 60.11: *yaθa. nō. āṇhqm. šīiātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqnō. xvāθrauuaitīš. tanuuō. hēnti. vahištō. aṇhuš. ākāscōi. āhūire. mazda. jasəntqm*. (Source: Titus). It translates to “Having joy of mind and bliss of soul, we will taste bliss in paradise in person, coming near you, O Ahura Mazda.”

Another important part is the translation of *naēčīš. iða. zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. hūm. ādare. mašīiāka*. Bartholomae mentions *naēčīš iða ... sūš yaθa hīm ādarə mašyāka* and translates it as „es ist da kein Nutzen vorhanden, weil es die Menschen wegnehmen können“. This phrase is translated in the form *ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm* and continues with *če agar-šan pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg-išan sar zyān bawēd*. The Pahlavi part is more of an interpretation of the Avestan part rather than a literal translation.

Based on the aforementioned features, the following table provides the correct variant of Avestan fragments with their Pahlavi translations and English translation. For phrases numbered 3–5, I have adopted Hoffmann's views regarding the translations of *zazuša* versus *zazuua*.

	Avestan fragments	Pahlavi translation	Translation according to the Avestan fragments
1	<i>aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe. vīspe anīiaēšqm. apañtqm</i>	<i>ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh ud abārīg ān ast jūd-rāhīh</i>	There is only one way (and) that of piety and all of the others (are) un-paths
2	<i>šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqnō</i>	<i>šād ān tan ke-š warzīd ruwān ī xwēš</i>	happy thought and the paradise souls
3	<i>nōiṭ. cahmi. zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuua</i>	<i>nē-š čiš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift</i>	He has not won anything who has not won (anything) for his soul
4	<i>nōiṭ. cahmi. zazuši. yā. nōiṭ. urune. zazuši</i>	<i>tā nun-iz nē čiš grift kē nē ruwān girēd.</i>	She has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her soul.
5	<i>naēčīš. ida. zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. hīm. ādarə. mašiiāka</i>	<i>ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm</i>	Here on earth, there is not any prosperity, Zarathushtra, as ordinary people call it.

1.5. Functional characteristics

The colophons found in Zoroastrian manuscripts serve as metadata, offering unique insights that facilitate comprehension and engagement with the primary text. These colophons represent a particular variety of paratext, functioning as a significant supplement to the main text by fostering a dialogue between the scribe and the readers. They grant users access to distinctive information about the lives, cultures, beliefs, and histories of numerous Zoroastrians, predominantly from priestly and scribal families, who utilized the manuscripts as diaries to document notable events.

Scribes responsible for crafting the colophons were cognizant that their work would outlive them and that their reputations could be shaped by future readers. Consequently, they employed the manuscripts as enduring memorials to themselves and all individuals involved in the manuscript's production.

The colophons encompass an extensive array of content, featuring elements such as religious practices, cosmological viewpoints, theological convictions, didactic passages, prayer formulations, blessings, and encomiums.

Schiegg (2016: 142) categorised the colophons according four groups based on the speech acts proposed by Searle (1979).³⁸ I used three categories in his classifications as a

³⁸ In his monograph on speech acts, Searle (Speech Acts, 12) differentiated amongst Assertives (i.e. utterances that provide some truthful information), Expressives (i.e. utterances that express the speaker's emotions and attitude towards something), Directives (i.e. utterances that make the recipient do something), Comissives (i.e. utter-

way of discussing the different parts or components of the Middle Persian colophons: (1) the assertive part, providing the contextual information about the scribe and the manuscript, (2) the expressive part, demonstrating the scribe's feelings and wishes and (3) the directive part, urging the reader to do something.³⁹

1.5.1. Assertive part

This section delivers valuable details concerning the scribe, the manuscript, and even the historical and political contexts surrounding the manuscript's creation. In the subsequent discussion, I will explore various elements of the colophons that fall within the category of the 'assertive part'. This analysis serves to illuminate the intricate connections between the manuscript's content, the scribe's background, and the broader socio-political circumstances in which the manuscript was produced, enhancing our understanding of the colophons' significance and the manuscripts' role in their historical context.

1.5.1.1. Frazaft part

The majority of Middle Persian colophons commence with a section referred to as the *frazaft* 'completed', which I have dubbed the 'frazaft part' in this book. In this section, the scribe typically notes that the initial portion or entirety of the manuscript was completed in *drōd* 'welfare', *šādīh* 'joy', *rāmišn* 'peace' and *farroxīh* 'glory'. The scribe further asserts that this occurred in *nēk jāhišn(īh)* 'good fate', *xūb murwāg(īh)* 'good omen' and *xuǰastag rōzgār(īh)* 'blessed time'. A notable exception is evident in the second colophon of manuscript 4025, which presents a strikingly different opening phrase:

- *be ayārīh ī ohrmazd u pad ahy ī dēn ī weh ī abēzag ī r[āh] nimāyīh ī wehdēnān pōryōtkēšān*

'Through the help of Ohrmazd and through the first good and pure religion, the guide of the people of the good religion and the first teachers of the Mazdean religion.'

A number of the Persian colophons begin with Arabic equivalents of *frazaft*, namely *tamām šod* 'completed' (ms. 4000, p. 161v, col. 16b, p. 25 in Unvala 1940), *tamat tamām šod* (see colophons 15a, p. 22, 16a, p. 25 in Unvala 1940) and *tamāmat* (col. 139, p. 150 in Unvala 1940):

tamāmat šod īn yašt dar rūz-e dīn
hamān māh-e xordād būd az yaqīn

(V 4000, Persian colophon, p. 161v)

This Yašt was completed on the day Din
It was the month Xordad, certainly

In the manuscripts written in India, we encounter a lengthy list of mispronunciations pertaining to the term *frazaft* 'completed' in the Pazand colophons, such as *paraǰ pāt* (col. 15b, p. 19 in Unvala 1940), *pirǰi pat* (col. 15c, p. 20, in Unvala 1940), *praǰ p(a)d* (col. 23b, p. 36, in Unvala 1940), *praǰ βat* (col. 27b, p. 43, in Unvala 1940), *frazūuat* (col. 55, p. 74 in Unvala 1940), *frǰa pat* (col. 84a, p. 98 in Unvala 1940), *frǰa pada* (col. 102, p. 110 in Unvala

ances that make the speaker do something), and Declaratives (i.e. utterances that change the world through the mere pronunciation of words).

39 Schiegg (2016: 142) suggested a fourth category called 'Declaratives' (doing something with the reader), and classified curses within this category. I prefer to categorise curses under the expressive part because they demonstrate the scribe's feelings.

1940), *fraǰ pat* (col. 129a, p. 136 in Unvala 1940), *frāǰ* (col. 150b, p. 165 in Unvala 1940), as well as the forms دپ چرف [frjpd] (col. 16a, p. 22 and 16b, p. 24, col. 19b, p. 30 in Unvala 1940), دپ چرف (col. 40, p. 56 in Unvala 1940), دپ هچرف (col. 82b, p. 96 in Unvala 1940), دپ هچرف (col. 110, p. 115 in Unvala 1940) and دنب چرف (col. 114a, p. 118 in Unvala 1940) in the Persian colophons. Similar to the Iranian manuscripts, *tamat* also appears in the Persian colophons in the Indian manuscripts (for example, in col. 47, p. 67 in Unvala 1940). This extensive list of *frazaf* variations suggests that the manuscript copyists in India might not have been well-versed in the Middle Persian language. Consequently, the accurate form of this term, as well as numerous other Middle Persian words, may not have been documented.

Furthermore, colophons typically include details such as the manuscript's name, the scribe's identity and affiliation, the copy's date, and the original manuscript from which the copy was derived.

1.5.1.2. *The manuscript's name*

In the majority of manuscripts, the *frazaf* part is succeeded by the name of the manuscript. This offers additional insights into the type of ceremony performed and documented within the manuscript.

Zoroastrian ceremonies have been transmitted via liturgical and exegetical manuscripts. The long Zoroastrian liturgies were celebrated in the form in which they appear in the manuscripts, and continue to be celebrated in the same or in similar ways by Zoroastrians today. Various ceremonies form part of the long liturgies; the most basic one is the daily ceremony, known as the Yasnā. The Iranian Yasnā Sāde manuscripts provide the Avestan texts and instructions in Pahlavi or Persian for the actions to be performed during the ceremony. In the colophons in the Yasnā manuscripts, the definitions *yašt*, *yazišn* or *izešneh* are used for the manuscript's name. Yasnā-Visperad is mentioned in the colophons as Yašt-ī Vīsparēd, which is an extended form that includes some additional ritual actions and texts, as well as variants of some parts of the Yasnā ceremony. The Yasnā is the basis for a series of liturgies in which other texts are intercalated between the central texts, such as Gāthās and the Yasnā Haptaṅhāiti (Cantera 2015: 377).

A Visperad is an exegetical manuscript describing the solemn ceremony, which, however, includes only a selection of fragments of the complete liturgy, and does not constitute a coherent text. The definition *Yašt va Vesfarad Bon* is used for these types of manuscripts. In ms. 2007, in the text after the Middle Persian colophon, the name of manuscript is mentioned as being *abestāg yašt pad nērang xašōman rapēdpēn*.⁴⁰ Within the manuscript, the title *Yašt va Vesfarad Bon* in Persian can be found. In the second Middle Persian colophon in ms. 2010 (G18), the title *yašt visparēd abestāg abāg nērang* is used. In the case of the liturgical Videvdād, the title *abestāg yašt visparēd, ǰud-dēw-dād abāg nērang u rastag ī yazišnagthā* is utilized. The term Yašt in this context refers to Yasnā and it was traditionally chanted alongside the Visperad as part of the Yazišn ceremony. Nērang is ceremonial instructions that should be performed in *rastag ī yazišnagthā* 'ritual series' or 'ritual order'. These ritual instructions in Pahlavi or Persian (in Gujarati in the Indian manuscripts) only occur in the liturgical manuscripts, and are essential for understanding the sequence of the liturgy.

40 On page 37v.

Various colophons provide alternative names for manuscripts. In the third colophon of manuscript 2010 (G18), the Visperad manuscript is alternatively referred to as “bāḡeyast”:

- *ēn nāmag ī nāmīg az dastwarān u hērbadān u wehdēnān <ī> kirman kē-š pad dēn **bāḡeyast** ī war ī garmag xwānand nibēsēm.*

‘This famous book belongs to the Dasturs, Herbeds and Behdīns of Kerman which they call it ‘bāḡeyast ī war ī garmag’ in the religion’.

The Videvdād text, akin to those comprising the ceremonies of extended liturgies, has been transmitted through various types of manuscripts, encompassing both exegetical and liturgical texts in Indian and Iranian contexts (Cantera 2012a: 285). The majority of Videvdād manuscripts, particularly those originating from Iran, are of a liturgical nature. This category of manuscripts is characterized as *abestāg yašt vispared jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag ī yazēšnīhā* in the Pahlavi colophons. In the first colophon of IM, only the term *jud-dēw-dād* is present: *ēn fragard ī nohom ī jud-dēw-dād*, meaning ‘this (is) the ninth Fragard of Videvdād.’ In the Persian colophons, the name Videvdād appears in various forms: *vandīdād*, *jad-dīv-dād*, and *jad dīv vandīdād*. With *jad dīv vandīdād*, it seems the scribe combined the Middle Persian *jud-dēw-dād* with the Persian form *vandīdād*, creating a new variant. The term *jud-dēw-dād* is often written as ywdt ŠDYA d’t’ (as in 4010) in Middle Persian colophons and as *juṭ. dēw dāt* (as in Suppl. pers. 27, Suppl. pers. 1079) in Pāzand colophons.

The Wištāsp Yašt definition appears as *abestāg <ī> Wištāsp yašt uD yazišn [abāg nērang ī] rāstīg u yazišnīgīhā* in Pahlavi colophons.

Manuscripts are commonly referred to as *daftar* or *kurāsag*, while in Pāzand colophons, the Arabic term *ketāb* is also employed.

1.5.1.3. The copy’s place of origin

The location where the manuscript was copied is not always mentioned in the colophons. However, in the colophons of manuscripts by the Marzbān family, detailed descriptions of the copying locations are provided, including the city or village name, the quarter, and the house where the manuscript was copied. In the first colophon of ms. 4010, the first colophon of ms. 4025, and the colophon in the Pahlavi manuscript BK, the copying location is specified as the city of Kerman, in the quarter of *dādgān* (?) and the house of Marzbān. Various terms are employed for the term ‘city,’ such as *bām ī šahr* (ms. 4010, first colophon), *bīm ī šahr* (ms. 4025, first colophon), and *būm* (BK). The word *bīm* might represent a Zoroastrian Dari pronunciation of the Persian word *būm*.

The term *mahalag* is derived from Arabic and means ‘quarter’ in Persian. Anklesaria (1958: 198) misread this word. Interestingly, manuscripts copied by other members of the Marzbān family, such as Bahrām or Frēdōn, were also copied at the house of Marzbān; their father, and the name of the quarter in which their house was located appears in various forms in the manuscripts. For example, in the first colophon of ms. 4010, the word is written as [d’tk’n] with a diacritic ‘˘’ at the top of the first letter indicating the letter ‘d’. The same symbol is used in the first colophon of ms. 4025 and in BK, but the word is written differently in BK and can be read as *dahīgān* [dhyk’n]. Considering the presence of this symbol, it is unlikely that the alternative readings would be *yazdgān* or *šādgān*. While Anklesaria (1958: 196) read the word as *dehkān*, I disagree with this reading and believe that it should be read as *dādgān* based on the form found in ms. 4010.

After questioning several Zoroastrians in Kerman and searching through historical sources about the city, I was unable to find any reference to the variations in the names of the quarters mentioned in the manuscripts. However, based on historical information about the location of Zoroastrians in Kerman, we were able to identify the general area. It is likely that the term *dādgān* is a Zoroastrian designation for the quarter, possibly in contrast to the derogatory term *Gabr Mahalle*, which refers to the well-known old Zoroastrian quarter during the Safavid period in Kerman. According to Sykes (1902: 193), the ruins of *Gabr Mahalle* can be found to the north of the modern Zoroastrian quarter called *Zarīsf*, and it was destroyed by the Afghans. During the Afghan invasions between 1719 and 1724, the Zoroastrian residents of *Gabr Mahalle* were mercilessly slaughtered as this quarter was not protected by the local authorities. Consequently, *Gabr Mahalle* was completely destroyed and not rebuilt, leading to the relocation of the Zoroastrian quarter within the city walls. Today, most of the Kerman Zoroastrians reside in the *Zarīsf* quarter. There is a possibility that the house of *Marzbān* was located in *Gabr Mahalle*.

In the second New Persian colophon in ms. 4121, we find detailed information about the place where the copy was made. The colophon states that it was scribed in the place of worship, *Yazd*, in the house of the deceased father of *Xodādād*.

The names of *Turkābād* and *Šarafābād*, two villages located in the province of *Yazd*, appear in numerous colophons. For instance, *Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh* copied mss. 4055 and 4060 in *Turkābād* in *Yazd* in the house of *Dastūr Bahrām Mehrabān Nušīrwān Rostam*, who was likely the son of *Mehrabān Nušīrwān Rostam*, the scribe of K43. Both Y 8 and 4020 were also copied in *Turkābād*, according to their colophons. In colophon 4020, the manuscript was copied in the blessed place of *Turkābād* in the district of *Yazd*, in the land of the *Xwarenas*. The second colophon in ms. 4000 indicates that the *Videvdād* was written in the country of Iran in the village of *Šarafābād*, which is located in the city of *Maybod* in *Yazd*, at the house of *Vāhrōm Rostōm Bondār*.

1.5.1.4. Scribes' names and filiation

The majority of Zoroastrian scribes left no records of themselves except for the manuscripts they copied. The third part of most of the colophons includes the phrase *man dēn bandag* 'I, the servant of religion', followed by the name of the scribe and his genealogy. When the scribe is a priest, the title 'Dastur' is customarily placed before the names of both the scribe (e.g. 82, 90) and their ancestors.

The designation *maguwat zādēh* which translates to "Mobed-born" appears in manuscript 4080. The Arabic term *ebn* meaning "son" is frequently employed following the scribe's name and preceding the father's name in the genealogy of the scribe, as seen in manuscript 251.

The genealogies of Avestan scribes can be meticulously reconstructed by examining the colophons' familial records. To identify the numerous scribes responsible for the Avestan manuscripts, we can reference the *Rivāyats* as well as colophons in other Zoroastrian texts. By conducting a comprehensive analysis of these historical sources, we can gain a richer understanding of the scribes' lives and professional undertakings.

In Chapter 3 of this study, I use the available information to reconstruct the lives and activities of the most famous and productive scribes of the Avestan manuscripts and their roles in the study of the Zoroastrian scriptures and the copying of manuscripts. Based on this information, together with the scribes' indications about the original sources of the copies of

the manuscripts (see Chapter 1.5.1.5), it is possible to locate the Avestan manuscripts in terms of time and place.

1.5.1.5. *The original source of the copy*

One of the most important parts of the colophons for tracking the transmission of the manuscripts is the information about the original source from which the scribe made the copy. In addition to the historical importance of this kind of information, it clearly increases the quality and the value of the manuscript.

The evidence from various manuscripts suggests that the scribes consistently used existing manuscripts that had been copied by their relatives as sources for the copies of the new manuscripts. For example, we know that Frēdōn copied Jp1 from the manuscript by his father, Marzbān, which was copied from the manuscript by Šahrayār Ērdēšīr Ērīz Rostam. Bahrām Marzbān and his son Marzbān Bahrām also used the same manuscript to copy mss. 4010 and 4062.

Man ī dēn bandag, wāhrom ī marzbān frēdōn ī wāhrom ī Rostam ī bondār ī šahmardān ī dēn-ayār nibišt hom. frāz hišt hom az pačēn ī pidar ud brādar ī xwēš.

(Second Middle Persian colophon in V 4010, lines 3–6)

‘I, the servant of the religion, Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rostam Bondār Šahmardān Dēnayār, have written and launched <it> from the copy of my father and brother.’

A scribe sometimes used more than one manuscript when making his copy. For example, Bahrām copied the first part of 4025 and the Safavid part of 4030 from the manuscripts by his father and brother. His son, Šahmardān, mentioned in the colophon in V 4063 that he used his father’s manuscript for the first part (that is, until the sixth Fragard), and a copy produced by his uncle, Frēdōn Marzbān, for the second part of the book:

man dēn bandag šahmardān wāhrom marzbān frēdōn wāhrom rustem bondār šahmardān dēn-ayār nibištōm ud frāz hišt ham az pačēn ud daftar pidar ī xwēš wāhrom marzbān frēdōn tā fragard-e šašom az pačēn daftar amūy xwēš frēdōn marzbān az fragard šašom tā sar yasn nibištōm

(First Middle Persian colophon, V 4063, p. 142 verso, lines 3–8)

‘I, the servant of the religion, Šahmardān Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rustem Bondār Šahmardān Dīnyār, have written and launched <it> from a copy and book of my father, Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn until the 6th Fragard. I have written from the copy of the book of my uncle Frēdōn Marzbān, from the 6th Fragard until Yasn.’

The scribe of V 4065, Wāhromšāh Jāmāsb Anošag-ruwān Wāhromšāh Ērdešīr Wāhromšāh, mentioned that he had copied his manuscript from his uncle’s manuscript:

man ī dēn bandag wāhromšāh jāmāsb anošag-ruwān wāhromšāh ērdešīr wāhromšāh nibištōm frāz hišt az pačēn <ī> amū mihrebān anošag-ruwān wāhromšāh ka-š41 az bahrīh nāmḡānag <ī> nōg-rūz42 marzbān nibištāg bēd

41 The conjunction *ka* means ‘when, if, since’ and is used here incorrectly instead of *kē* ‘that’.

42 Written as *nōg* [nwk], probably in error for *nēk* [nywk].

(Middle Persian colophon in V 4065, lines 3–7)

‘I, the servant of the religion, Wāhromšāh Jāmāsb Anošag-ruwān Wāhromšāh Ērdešīr Wāhromšāh have written and launched <it> from the manuscript of <my> uncle Mihrēbān Anošag-ruwān Wāhromšāh, which was written as memorial of the blessed life Marzbān.’

It is possible to follow the transmission of various manuscripts based on the scribes’ statements regarding the original source of their copies (for a detailed discussion on this topic, see Chapter 3, notes on the transmission of the Videvdād manuscripts).

1.5.1.6. Reasons for making the copy

The manuscripts were generally commissioned by a specific person; this person was often a priest or a relative of a deceased person who ordered the manuscript as Nāmḡāne, a memorial to the deceased. The names of the patrons are mentioned frequently in the colophons, and the scribes explain that they wrote and launched the manuscripts for the sake of the ownership and honour of the patron:

*ke benveštam īn nesf-e jad-dīv-dād
ze bahr-e čenān mard-e parhīzgār
kojā bāb xānadstaš Esfandyār
nīyā ādar o bāb nūšīrvān*

that I wrote this half of Videvdād
for that such a chaste man
his father called him Esfandyār
his grandfather was Ādar and his father
Nūšīrvān

elāhī ke bāšand rōšan ravān

may their souls be bright

(Persian colophon in V 4050)

The scribes often stated that they had copied a manuscript for a priest and the children of priests, and for the leaders and followers of the religion in order for them to use the manuscript, recite it, teach and learn it, make a copy of it, perform the Yazīšn ceremony with it and remember the scribe in their prayers for his good name and pious soul:

*nibi[š]t hom frāz hišt[h]om kē tā dastwarān <ud> dastwar[zād]agān <ud> dēn-
hammōzgārān <ud> drust-abestāgān xwānand ud hammōzand <ud> yazi[šn] pad-iš
kunand ud pačēn az-iš kunand. rūwān jamšēd marzbān wīrāf rāy ayād kunand ud tā 150
sāl[ān] pad ahlāy]īh ud kirbag warzišnīh kār framāyēnd.*

(First Middle Persian colophon in V 4000, lines 8–12)

‘I have written and launched <this book> in order that Dastūrs and the children of the Dastūrs, <as well as> the teachers of the religion and possessors of correct Avestas, teach it, celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony with it, make a copy of it and remember the soul of Jamšēd Marzbān Wīrāf and use <this book> for 150 years with righteousness and good deed.’

The scribes also mentioned some more personal motivations for making copies of the manuscripts; they often considered the act of copying to be a good deed and insisted that their works deserved to be read:

*neveštam īn ketāb az bahr-e karfe
ke bāšad vaqf o xānandaš be-šarfe*

I wrote this book as a good deed
(this book) shall be donated and deserves to
be read.

(Second Persian Colophon in V 4030)

The scribes hoped that the readers would pray for them and send them God's blessing:

*ze bahr e ān neveštam īn revāyat
ke tā har kas ke xānad īn hekāyat*

For that reason, I wrote this narrative,
In order that everybody would read this
story

be kāteb ū dahad az del xodāmorz

He/she would send the scribe God's blessing

xodāvandā ravānam rā biyāmorz

O God! Bless my soul!

(First Persian Colophon in V 4010)

One of the main reasons for making a copy was to ensure that the manuscript would survive after the death of the scribe. The scribes were aware that the results of their scribal practices may rest in the hands of future users to whom the scribes addressed prayer requests, thus indicating that they saw the manuscripts they had copied as lasting memorials to themselves:

*[neveš]tam man īn xat ke tā rūzegār
barāyad bemānad ze man yādegār*

I wrote this manuscript
so that it may remain after my time has
passed, A testament to my existence,

*yaqīnam ke gītī nadārad baqā
bovad beh ke benvīsam har jā do°ā
[be far]°⁴³ īnke rūzī magar īn savād*

I believe the material world will not last,
It's better to write prayers on every page,
In case, perhaps one day, this manuscript is
read,

bexānand o ārand mā rā be yād

And the people would remember us.

(Persian colophon in V 4045)⁴³

The scribes copied manuscripts not only as lasting memorials to themselves, but also to the patrons and their relatives:

*man ēn daftar nibīštam az bahr <ī> nāmgānag <ī> garšāsb dastān rōstōm ka brādar
<ī> rōstōm dastān ēn daftar <ī> jud-dēw-dād az bahrīh kirbag <ud> mizd <ud> ahlāyīh
ī ruwān ō framūd*

(Middle Persian colophon in V 4065, lines 18–21)

'I wrote this manuscript in memory of Garšāsb Dastān Rōstōm, <his> brother Rōstōm Dastān ordered this manuscript of Videvdād as a good deed <and> reward <and> for righteousness of his soul.'

43 Uncertain.

1.5.1.7. The dates of the copies

The authors of colophons in both Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts, much like the authors of the Revāyats, utilized a wide array of calendrical systems. The most significant of these was the so-called Yazdgerdi era, which commenced with Yazdgerd's reign in 631. The chronological order of the colophons relied on the Yazdgerdi system, and the majority of these colophons feature the following phrase:

- *sāl bar ... pas az sāl 20 be yazdgerd šāhān šāh, nāfag be ōy ī husraw šāhān šāh ohrmazdān.*

‘The year ... after the 20th year (of the region) of Yazdgerd, the descendant of Husraw (who is) son of Ohrmazd.’

Yazdgerd III was the final Sasanian King of Kings of Iran, reigning from 632 to 651. His father, Šahriyar, was the son of Khosrow II (Middle Persian: Husraw), and Khosrow II's father was Hurmoz (Middle Persian: Ohrmazd). In relation to the Yazdgerdi date, the phrase “20 years after Yazdgerd” is often found. To convert the Yazdgerdi era into the Majūsī era (also referred to as the Pārsī or Fārsī era), 20 years should be added to the date provided in the Yazdgerdi era. This adjusted date marks the death of Yazdgerd. In the second colophon of TD2, the name of the era, Pārsīg (Majūsī), is mentioned:

Yazdgerd III was the last Sasanian King of Kings of Iran from 632 to 651. His father was Šahriyar, his grandfather was Khosrow II (Middle Persian Husraw), and Khosrow II was the son of Hurmoz (Middle Persian: Ohrmazd). The phrase *20 years after Yazdgerd* occurs after the Yazdgerdi date; in order to convert the Yazdgerdi era into the the Pārsī or Fārsī era (also known as the Majūsī era), the figure 20 must be added to the date given in the Yazdgerdi era. This date is the date of the death of Yazdgerd. In the second colophon in TD2, the name of the era, Pārsīg (Majūsī), is mentioned:

- *andar rōz ī fravardīn māh ī ābān sāl bar nō sad o haftād o hašt <ī> **pārsīg** pas az 20 bay yazdgerd šāhān šāh ī šahrīyārān* (TD 2, second colophon, 17–19)

‘On the day Fravardīn, the month Ābān, the year 978 Pārsīg era, after the 20th year of <the region of> Yazdgerd, king of kings, the great king.’

When examining the variants of this phrase across different manuscripts, several notable differences emerge. In most of the colophons, the phrase “pas az 20 BRA yazdgerd šāhān šāh” appears after the date. There are differing opinions regarding the form [BRA]. This word often appears after [L] “20”. Pakzad read [L] and [BRA] together, interpreting them as an error for *wuzurg* [LBA] (Pakzad 2005: 415), which seems incorrect. Panaino (2012: 627) expressed various opinions about this term in his article and concluded that this word could be a mistake for *bay* “majesty”. Mazdapour also considered this word to be a misspelling of *bay* “majesty” (Mazdapour and Afshar 2013: 52).

The variants of this phrase in different manuscripts suggest that this term could be the preposition *be* “to”. In the second colophon in 4000, *be* is used with *ō*, and it is known that *be*, which can also function as a particle used with verbs, has an indefinable function with *ō* (MacKenzie 1971: 18, see *2be*). This may indicate that *be* in this phrase means “in the era of”. In most manuscripts, *ō* is not used after *be*.

From the first century following the Islamic conquest, the Majūsī or Pārsī era was utilized in various regions of Iran, particularly in Tabarestān. This era is inscribed on a significant number of coins. However, the Yazdgerdi era was employed concurrently with this calen-

dical system and shared the same names for days and months as the Majūsī or Pārsī era (Abdollahi 1996: 271–272). These two dates were occasionally used simultaneously and in the same region, in a parallel manner (Taqizādeh 1971: 196). They were often confused until the second Islamic century (Abdollahi 1996: 275–276), which raises questions about their correct usage in later works.

The presentation of dates in Middle Persian and Persian colophons is not consistent. In the Persian colophons, the date is sometimes indirectly indicated due to the rhythm of the verse, and determining the exact date requires calculations that may be rather complex. For instance, in the Persian colophon of manuscript 4060, the year is expressed in the following form:

- *sane bod hezār o dah o panj o yak*
‘the year was thousand and ten and five and one’

To calculate the exact date, we should add 1000 to the sum of 10, 5, and 1. Consequently, the date of the colophon is 1016 AY.

It is important to note that, the phrase “twenty years after Yazdgerd” is only used after the date in Middle Persian colophons and not in the Persian colophons. The sole exception is in the Persian colophon of manuscript 4060, which indicates that the date 1016 is derived from the death date of King Yazdgerd.

In the Revāyats, all the dates are in Yazdgerdi, and the phrase “twenty years after Yazdgerd” is excluded. This suggests that the use of this phrase might be limited to Middle Persian texts. In the Revāyat by Dārāb Hormazdyār, the Yazdgerdi date is occasionally mentioned alongside the Hejrī date. Various forms of evidence from the Revāyats and manuscripts indicate that, whether the phrase “twenty years after Yazdgerd” is present or absent, the date in the Pahlavi colophons is Yazdgerdi.

In V 4062, p. 258r, we find a list of months that likely represent the equivalent Zoroastrian months to the months in the Jalali calendar:

<i>Farvardīnmāh</i>	<i>Ordībeheštāh</i>	<i>Xordādmāh</i>	<i>Tīrmāh</i>	<i>Amordādmāh</i>	<i>Šahrīvarmāh</i>
<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>
<i>Mehrmāh</i>	<i>Ābānmāh</i>	<i>Āzzarmāh</i>	<i>Deymāh</i>	<i>Bahmanmāh</i>	<i>Esfandmāh</i>

The Jalali calendar, which is a solar calendar, was established during the reign of Sultan Jalāl-Din Malikšāh’s (1072–1092) because of the inconvenience of reconciling the Hejrī lunar year and the retrogression of the Yazdgerdi calendar. The Jalali (or Maliki) calendar was instituted on the vernal equinox on the 15th of March 1079 (Muhammad 2017: 863).

The Jalali calendar was not popular in Iran before the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911); accordingly, it can be assumed that the above-mentioned equivalent Zoroastrian months to the months in the Jalali calendar might have been written after this period.

A number of the colophons in the Avestan manuscripts state the calendrical system indirectly. For example, the colophon in fol. 61v of M. 50 refers to a date according to the Iranian custom [*movāfeq-e ravāḡ-e īrānīyān*]. In reality, this date refers to the *Qadīmī calendar* ‘old calendar’ (see Unvala 1940: 56, 58) and not to the Yazdgerdī one.

The Middle Persian colophon in fol. 56 of K 13 presents a date in accordance with the custom of those of the good religion of the port of Surat [*az qarār-e movāfeq-e ravāḡ-e weh-dēnān-e bandar-e sūrat*], namely the Šāhansāhī or Yazgerdī era (see Unvala 1940: 140, 142).

The third Persian colophon in V 4114 provides us with the Eskandari calendrical system in addition to the Romī, Christian, Yazdgerdī and Hejrī ones:

Anjām yāft ketāb-e moqadas-e zand be 'aon va yāvarī-ye dāvar-e bīmānand dar yōm-e farxonde dādār ōrmazd bī-čūn o čand aḡ māh-e farvardīn-e arjmand sāl bar hezār o devīst o sī yon oh-e yazdgerdī movāfeq bā rūz-e došanbe čahārdahom-e šahr-e jamādī-yol-olā saneye 1286 hejrī, moṭābeq bā yōm yāzdahom-e ābānmāh-e romī, saneye 2179 eskandarī molāṣeq bā rūz-e bīst o seyom āv māh, farānse saneye 1869 'īsavī.

'Completed the holy book with the support and help of unparalleled God on the blessed day of Dādār Ormazd, without any doubt, from the blessed month Farvardīn, the year 1239 Yazdgerdī, in accordance with the day Monday, 14th of the month jamādī-yul-ulā of the year 1286 Hejrī, in accordance with 11th of Ābān, Romī (era), the year 2179 Eskandarī (era), in accordance with the 23th of the month Āv, French year 1869 Christian (era).'

The Eskandarī calendar is the ancient Macedonian calendar, a lunisolar calendar that was in use in ancient Greece in the first millennium BC and which was used across the Hellenistic world (McLean 2002: 166) during the Seleucid and Parthian empires in Iran. Another calendrical system mentioned in this colophon is the Roman calendar. This calendar consisted of several local calendars that were initially related to the lunar orbit. According to the Roman calendar, the year originally began on the first of March and ended in February, in which the leap month was also inserted (Rüpke 2011: 23–24).

1.5.1.8. Donation, purchase and sale

The assertive part of a colophon can contain information regarding official and legal matters, property and donations. Various colophons provide evidence that the manuscripts could be donated specifically to a certain person, usually a priest, or generally followers of the religion. The Arabic term *vaqf* is usually used to designate a donation in both the Middle Persian and in the Persian colophons:

*neveštam īn ketāb az bahr-e karfe
ke bāšad vaqf o xānandaš be-šarfe*

I wrote this book as a good deed
(this book) shall be a donation and can be
used to read.

(Second Persian colophon in V 4030, p. 160v)

Curses penned by scribes or by subsequent owners aimed at sellers and buyers are particularly frequent in the manuscripts:

[*har kē*] *ēn daftar jud-dēw-dād waγf bē forūšēd ayāb* [*har kē*] *bē-xarēd, ayāb nām ī man kē nibištār hom* [*az-iš*] *avestarēd kē avestarēd u-š gētīh tan dusraw u-š pad mēnog rūwān* [*d*] *rūwand bawād, uš hamēmāl u-m pad dādwarī dādār ohrmazd*

‘If someone sells this donated Videvdād or buys or erases my name, I who am the scribe, so that he would throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd.’

(Second Middle Persian colophon in V 4063, lines 14–18)

In another colophon, we see that the scribe wishes for the soul of the book seller to burn:

<i>be-dān kīn bovad vaqf o natvān forūxt</i>	Beware, this is a donation and cannot be sold.
<i>har ānkaš ke befrūxt rūḥaš besūxt</i>	If anyone sells it, his soul will burn,
<i>ravānaš bemānad be-šarmandegī</i>	his soul will be shamed,
<i>tanaš dar tab o ranj dar zendegī</i>	his body in pain and fever in life.

Despite the curses aimed at sellers and buyers, at least one colophon and several notes provide evidence that a manuscript could be sold by the scribe. While the colophon in V 4062 curses those who would sell the manuscript, in the colophon in V 4056, the scribe mentions that Esfandyār Adurbād Wāhrom-šāh Ērdešīr Wāhrom-šāh Ērdešīr Wāhrom-šāh purchased the manuscript for 6000 Dīnār:

*man ēn daftar nibišt-hom az bahr ī xwēšī[h] <ī> hamāg pērōzgarīh esfandyār adurbād wāhrom-šāh ērdešīr wāhrom-šāh ērdešīr wāhrom-šāh. be moblaq. šaš. hzār. dīnār. xriḏh.*⁴⁴ *ast kē-š barxordār bād tā sad <ud> panjāh sālān pad ahlāyīh kār framāyād ud pas az sad <ud> panjāh sālān be ō45 ī frazandān ud frazand <ī> husraw dēn-burdār abespārād*

‘I have written this manuscript for his own possession and (for) children, and for all victory of Esfandyār Adurbād Wāhrom-šāh Ērdešīr Wāhrom-šāh Ērdešīr Wāhrom-šāh. He has bought it for 6000 Dīnār. May he have it and use it for 150 years with righteousness, and may he entrust it to the children and (to) the good fame and faithful child, after 150 years.’

(Middle Persian colophon in V 4056, lines 8–12)

This colophon and six notes (see notes A–F) in the V 4056 manuscript comprise one of the few notes, if not the only one, in which the sale and purchase of the manuscript are recorded and treated as acceptable.

1.5.1.9. Verification and validation

It was quite common throughout the history of Avestan manuscript production for scribes, or users and readers, to add declaration notes to increase the level and value of a manuscript. These notes functioned as a kind of verification and validation of the manuscript.

⁴⁴ The words *be moblaq-e šaš hazār dīnār xriḏh* are written in Pāzand.

⁴⁵ A mistake for ōy.

Some manuscripts may include a declaration containing the term *shh* in specific places, frequently below the colophons. In the Islamic manuscript culture, the term is used to show that part of the text has been corrected by a specific person. However, in the Zoroastrian manuscripts, the term *shh* obviously served as a guarantee of the validity of the manuscripts.

The following example (from the Persian colophon in V 4121) even cites the name of a person who confirmed the validity of the manuscript:

shh mūbed ardašīr ben-e marhūm xodādād ‘confirmed by Mūbed Ardašīr, the son of the deceased, Xodādād’.

In the following example, the scribe of the colophon mentioned that he had seen the manuscript of Wištāsp Yašt, liked it, and bestowed praise on its scribe and patron. In this text, the scribe confirms the original source of the manuscript and states that he has seen or checked the manuscript and confirms its accuracy:

- *Man ī dēn bandag jāmāsb hakīm ī ardēšīr anōšag-ruwān ū-m ēn daftar ī Wištāsp-yašt ū-m dīd ū-m pasandīd ud ū-m āfrīn kard bar nibištār ud framūdār. bē framūdag ī dastwar abēzag-xūm wēhmard nibištār <ī> daftar ān wuzurg-zādag framūdār <ī> daftar ēn frazaft nibišt hom ...*

(Second Middle Persian colophon, Vyt 5020, lines 1–4)

‘I, the servant of religion, Jāmāsb Hakīm Ardēšīr Anōšag-ruwān saw this book of Wištāsp Yašt and liked it and bestowed praise on the scribe and patron (of this book). I wrote this colophon at the command of Dastūr, the holy nature, Wēhmard, the scribe of this book and that noble the patron of this book ...’

An ‘*araz-dīde* can be found in TD1. This manuscript has no colophon. The final folio (103r) contains two texts that were written later by Dastur Rustahm Gōštāsb Ērdašīr, and another note added by Dastur Jamšēd Jāmāsb Hakīm; in these notes, the scribes confirm that they had seen this book, which was written by Gōbedšā Rustahm Bondār, and that they had read and liked it.⁴⁶

1.5.1.10. Historical details

In addition to their religious significance, colophons offer a wealth of non-religious information, such as historical accounts. Colophons provide extensive details about the ruling dynasties that occupied the region when the Avestan manuscripts were copied. This information primarily concerns the situation of Zoroastrians during various periods throughout the history of Iran and India. Alongside other historical sources like the Revāyats, colophons offer a substantial amount of information about the region and the actions of kings and governments that opposed Zoroastrianism. As a result, colophons can sometimes provide crucial information not found in other sources.

The majority of existing Avestan manuscripts date back to the Safavid period (1501–1736), a particularly challenging time for Zoroastrian history. Safavid rule brought significant changes to Zoroastrian society, and numerous historical sources document that these centuries were a difficult era for Zoroastrians, marked by considerable suffering and population loss.

In general, historical material concerning the history of Zoroastrians under Safavid rule is relatively scarce. Most early accounts primarily rely on reports from European travelers. In

⁴⁶ For a transcription of these colophons, see Pakzad (2005: 418–419) and, for a translation, see TD1, second and third pages in the preface.

contrast, colophons were written by scribes who personally witnessed contemporary events, making them potentially more reliable than the accounts of historians who documented the same events decades or even centuries later. Moreover, colophons offer a wealth of data about various aspects of ordinary people's lives that historians may not have focused on, providing extensive details on religious and cultural topics that are often overlooked in historical works.

Manuscript scribes seemingly adopted a more emotional and direct manner when describing tragic historical events. In order to better comprehend and follow the historical aspects presented in colophons, it is essential to deepen our understanding of related events during the Safavid period by examining the Revāyats and reports from European travelers, which are the two main historical sources.

In the early sixteenth century, Shah Abbas I relocated numerous Zoroastrians to Gabr Maḥalle, or Gabrābad, a suburb of his new capital, Isfahān. Europeans who visited Iran during Shah Abbas' reign and afterward provided significant accounts of Zoroastrian life in Isfahān. For instance, Figueroa, who lodged near Gabr Maḥalle in Isfahān, described it as consisting of about 3,000 houses situated along several broad streets. He noted that more than ten years had passed since Shah Abbas I forcibly moved the people there and reported that the majority of Zoroastrian men worked as laborers or gardeners. There were only a few merchants among them, as most Zoroastrians lacked the capital to engage in trade (Figueroa 1667: 177–179). Another author, Della Valle, observed that the Zoroastrians of Gabr Maḥalle were impoverished and miserable; not engaging in trade, they earned their living through extremely hard work. One of Della Valle's Zoroastrian informants mentioned that many other Zoroastrians lived in towns such as Yazd and Šarīf Ābād, where they had temples, schools, and books (Della Valle 1970: 107–108). Nicholas Hemmio, who visited Iran in 1623–1624, stated that the inhabitants of Gabr Maḥalle had been deported from Gabrestān⁴⁷ and Yazd by the king (Firby 1988: 28).

Other historical documents, specifically the Revāyats, offer valuable information about Bahman Esfandyār, who was sent to Iran by the Zoroastrians in India and arrived in Isfahān in 995 AY to seek religious literature and stories. In Isfahān, he encountered Farzāneh Sīyāvaxš Manūčīhr, who had been deported to the city by Shah Abbas I and was a resident of Gabr Maḥalle at the time of Bahman Esfandyar's visit. Farzāneh Sīyāvaxš Manūčīhr copied some works by the renowned Zoroastrian poet, Zartušt Bahrām Paždū, such as Zartušt-Nāme, for Bahman Esfandyār and gifted him some religious books along with his own poetry collection. In a portion of one of his poems, Sīyāvaxš Manūčīhr refers to the forced migrations during Shah Abbas I's reign in 995 AY.

A part of one of his poems is transcribed and translated here:

47 Since *Gabrestān* is the name for a quarter in various cities and the name of the town has not been mentioned, we do not know whether he meant the Zoroastrians from the Gabrestān in Yazd or from a Gabrestān in another city such as Kerman.

nevešte šod īn nosxe-ye delpazīr
ze goftār-e ān mūbed-e tīz vīr
zarātošt bahrām paždū be-kām

ke kard vasf-e peyqambar-e nīknām

ze ḥāl-e zarātošt esfantmān
ke čon rast az dast-e ān gomrahān

ze af'āl o aḥvāl o goftār-e ū
ze e'jāz o az xūb kerdār-e ū
be-dōr-e šahanšāh-e jam qadr o far

ze dōrān-e gītī nabīnad zarar
ze 'adlaš jahān šād o ābād bād
dar-e zolm rā baste az dād bād

sekandar nešān šāh 'abbās nām

be-doraš šode šīr o gāv ham-konām

be-kermān o dar yazd Behdīn bodand

ṭalab kard bā ešfahān āmadand

agar sāl o tārix porsī ze-man
ke benveštām īn ḥarfḥāy-e kohan
gozašte ze yazdġerd ye sāl būd
navad nīz ū panġ bāz o noḥšad fozūd

This pleasant manuscript was copied
 from the speech of that clever priest
 May it be according to the will of Zarātošt
 Bahrām Paždū

who described the story of good-fame
 prophet

about the life of holy Zarātošt

who was freed from the hand of those
 ignorant people

about his works, life, and his speech

about his miracles and his behaviour

May the life of the great king be with value
 and glory

he shall not meet any losses in this word

May the world be happy and prosperous

May the door of oppression be closed be-
 cause of his justice

King Abbās (is) his name, who has a sign
 from Sekandar

around him, lions and cows living together

There were Zoroastrians in Kerman and
 Yazd

He commanded and they came to
Isfahān

If you ask me the year and the date
that I wrote these old stories
in the Yazdġerd era
nine hundred ninety-five

In addition to Gabr Maḥalle, Chardin reported the existence of another Zoroastrian community in Najaf Ābād in Isfahān (Chardin 1927: 157). He also mentioned that there were some scattered communities in the desert and towards the Persian Gulf, with the majority living in or around Yazd and Kerman. He reported how Shah Abbas I demanded to have Zoroastrian books brought before him; when the priests could not produce these texts, the chief priest and others were killed. Chardin stated that the books that the Zoroastrians had brought were said to still be in the Royal Library, and that there were twenty-six in all (Chardin 1711, Band III: 128). Chardin also located a copy of the Avesta. For three months, a Zoroastrian priest came to him and recited from a manuscript that belonged to the great Dastūr of Yazd; later, the priest refused to continue his sessions unless Chardin bought the Avesta manuscript, but he refused to pay the price of fifteen hundred French francs (Chardin 1711, Band III: 128).

Travernier (684: 41) reported about the Zoroastrian merchants in Kerman. Since he was interested in wool, he travelled to Kerman and visited the Zoroastrian wool merchants, being responsible for the entire work of its manufacturing.

In addition to the reports of European travellers, the *Revāyat* letters and the colophons in the Avestan manuscripts provide many details about the lives of the Zoroastrians during the Safavid period. The statements in the Zoroastrian sources are partly contradictory with regard to the Safavid kings, particularly Shah Abbas. Frēdōn Marzbān began the letter of 997 AY by praising God and Shah Abbas, describing him as a friend of Zoroastrians. The son of his brother, Marzbān Nūšīrwān, wrote a poem in praise of Shah Abbas inscribed on a marble slab commemorating the restoration of the Fire Temple of Kerman in 1014 Y / 1054 H (1644 AD):

‘In the name of God! (In) the age of this fair omened, King of kings, sun-fortuned, of the time of Saturn, Jupiter witnessing, master of the realm of justice, and lord of the dominion of equity, better than Faridūn and greater than Nōšīrāvan, ruler of the world, King of kings of the earth, Shah Abbas, slayer of Turanians and qible⁴⁸ of the Iranians! Of the princes and captains present at his court to serve him, what in truth can I say but that they are indeed a band of kings?’ (Boyce 1966: 70–72, König 2014: 47–48)

However, many sources, for example letter F45, portray him as a negative character and provide evidence that the Zoroastrians experienced great difficulty under his rule, and encountered repeated periods of persecution and forced conversion. This letter, as well as other documents, show that the Zoroastrians lived in pitiful conditions in 997 AY and at the time of Shah Abbas. Two people were killed, and the Zoroastrians’ religious books, amongst them *Jāmāsb Nāme*, were seized and burned (see Sorūšīyan 1991: 25–27).

In another letter dated the day of Bahman in the month of Ardībehešt in the year 1005 AY (AD 1636), the Zoroastrians of Šarīfābād in Yazd reported to the Parses of India that the agents of Shah Abbas came to Yazd in the year 977 AY (AD 1608) to confiscate the Zoroastrians’ religious books. They murdered two Mobeds who refused to surrender them while, in Torkābād, many Mobeds who refused to surrender the books were killed, and the agents of Shah Abbas plundered and destroyed many scriptures. Shah Abbas forcefully deported many Zoroastrians, who then settled in Gabrābād near Isfahān.

In a letter dated 1019, the Zoroastrians of Yazd reported that during Shah Abbas’ reign, the harassment and persecution of their priests were so extensive that it was beyond description, and that two people had been killed. The Zoroastrians, in search of multiple religious books, managed to obtain several copies of the *Jāmāsbnāme*, but they desired more; however, an adequate number of copies was not available (Šahmardān 1970: 287).

The colophons of the manuscripts further corroborate the information found in both the travel reports of European travelers and the *Revāyats*. The scribes of manuscripts copied during the Safavid period frequently expressed their experiences of bitter and anxious times. A number of colophons reveal that, due to prevailing political circumstances, Zoroastrians were wandering from place to place, forced to either pay a penalty or abandon their religion. Bahrām Marzbān described some dramatic scenes regarding the forced relocation of Zoroastrians from Kerman to Qazwin and Isfahān in the colophons of mss. 4010 and 4030. In the colophon of 4010, he mentioned that his father left his home and moved to Qazwin at the command of Šāh and was unable to care for him for several months. In the colophon of 4030,

48 The direction of prayer for Muslims is towards the Ka’ba in the Sacred Mosque in Mecca.

he recounted the story of a Behdīn, Bahrām Kayān Sorxāb from Kerman, who was forced to move to Isfahān. This story refers to Shah Abbas' forced settlement of Zoroastrians in Gabr Maḥalle. Bahrām Marzbān stated that, due to political reasons, Bahrām Sorxāb, as well as his father and mother, were abused and evicted from their home. They had to pay a penalty and leave their home in Kerman. This dramatic scene is illustrated in detail in the following verses:

bar ū ʃor o setam besyār kardan

They caused a lot of oppression and violence for him

ze āzār o sīyāsāt bāb-e ū rā

because of violence and politics,

bīyāzordand o ān rād-e nekū rā

they abused his father, that generous, pious (man),

ze xān o mām-e xīšaš bā zan o ahl

from his home, with his wife and inhabitants,

borūn bordand badkārān-e nā ahl

they brought (them) out, (those) evil and bad (people),

zanī tarzāde o ʔeflī ke nozād

a mother after giving birth and a new-born baby,

be-zārī yo be-zaxm o dād o bīdād

with crying, violation, and shouts,

rawān kardand ū rā z-īṣafāhān

they sent them to Isfahān.

be ʔeyr-e ḥaq deram az vey be-tāwān

Unjustly, they took Dirham from them, as penalty

setādand o be bordandaš be-dānjāy

and brought him there.

sabab sāzad sababhā dād farmāy

The reasons (for that), shout it out!

varā andar rah-e dīn-e behī dāšt

It was because he was a Zoroastrian,

čo az rāh-e xodāy ū āgahy dāšt

that he was aware of the path of God.

pas az ān modatī āmad be kermān

After that, he came to Kerman for a while,

ke pūrī dāšt kūdak zān parīšān

because he had a son, a child, and he was worried about him,

bīyāmad tā barad ū rā ham īdar

he came to pick him up too,

resānad marv rā dar pīš-e mādar

in order that (he) would bring him to (his) mother,

čo dar īn daftar ū afkande bod rāy

since he had decided to write this book.

(Persian colophon, V 4030)

During the ruling periods of later Safavid kings, such as Sultan Ḥuseyn (1688–1728), there was an increase in violence and the forcible conversion of Zoroastrians. The embroiling of Zoroastrians in the armed conflicts between the Safavids and Afghans, and then between the Zand dynasty and the Qajars, resulted in an enormous degree of violence against them. In Kerman, the Afghans attacked the unprotected Gabr Maḥalle, which was outside the city walls, and slaughtered all the inhabitants. After the fighting ceased, a few surviving Zoroastrians were permitted to remain within the city walls. Under Nāder Šāh, the Zoroastrian

populations of Khorasan and Sistan were decimated, and about 12,000 Zoroastrians in Nāder Šāh's army died. The surviving Zoroastrians had to pay a penalty.

In addition to the historical and political events, some colophons also furnish us with the backstory of the manuscripts' production. The colophon in M 50,⁴⁹ a miscellaneous manuscript containing a Farvardīn Yašt, provides many details about the travels of a famous scribe, Jāmāsb Ḥakīm, to India. In the Persian colophon, the scribe Jāmāsb Ḥakīm Ardešīr Nūšīrvān Zarātōšt Jāmāsb Šāpūr Baxt-Āfarīn from Yazd wrote in 1093 AY that the Dastūrs of India had written to ask several questions regarding the religion of Zoroastrianism, had sent them to Iran, and desired answers. They also asked for Haoma,⁵⁰ together with the old Vars. Accordingly, the Zoroastrians of Iran sent Jāmāsb Ḥakīm Ardešīr to India with the answers to the questions, the Vars, and some Haoma. He arrived at the port of Bombay on the day of Xōršīd, in the month of Mihr in the year 1091 after much inconvenience and difficulty. He had always wished to meet the great Mūbed Rostam Jīv but was informed that the great Mūbed had passed away two years previously, which saddened him greatly. After some days, Jāmāsb Ḥakīm arrived at the port of Sūrat, and all the Mūbeds and Behdīns bestowed their favor and friendship on him, among them Mūbed Farāmarzjīv, Mūbed Bahmanjī, and Mūbed Nourūzjīv, the sons of Mūbed Rostamjīv. It was also stated that it had been about 1100 years since the community of Mūbeds and Zoroastrians had traveled from Iran to India and, since they had neither the book of Farrah-Vahrām Yašt nor the Haoma nor the Vars, the scribe of the colophon, Jāmāsb Ḥakīm, gave the greatest Mūbed a Farvardīn Yašt written in Zand Avesta characters (K 13),⁵¹ as well as some Haoma and a Vars. He embarked on the return voyage to Iran from the port of Sūrat in 1092 AY. In the port of Bombay, he was surprised by Mūbed Bahmanjīv, the son of the late Mūbed Rostamjī, who charged Jāmāsb Ḥakīm with the task of transcribing the Farvardīn Yašt from Zand into Persian.

The scribe stated that, although it was very difficult because he had never transcribed a book before, he completed the transcription and requested the readers to forgive any possible mistakes. This clearly explains the reasons for some mistakes, inconsistencies, and unexpected variants of particular forms found in the manuscript. The scribe remained in Sūrat for a period of five months before leaving in 1093 AY. In this colophon, we find the entire story behind two important manuscripts, namely M 50 and K 13.

The Middle Persian colophon in K 13,⁵² the manuscript mentioned earlier in the description of the colophon in M 50, contains the same historical information as found in the colophon in M 50. In this colophon, it is mentioned that nearly 1000 years had passed since the congregation of priests and Zoroastrians migrated from Iran to India, and they did not possess the Farvardīn Yašt or even twigs of the Haoma plant. The scribe of the colophon then brought the book of replies, along with some twigs of the Haoma plant, to the priest and the congregation to use in their ceremonies, and the sons of Mūbad Rostamjī showed him friendship and favor.

In manuscript 4000, Frēdōn Marzbān recounted the process of copying the manuscript. According to the colophon, he was invited to Šarīfābād, a village in Yazd, to create a copy of the manuscript in memory of Jamšēd Marzbān Wīrāf, a young bridegroom who tragically passed away due to illness. He vividly depicted the young bridegroom's untimely death in the Persian colophon of V 4000:

49 Col. 40 in Unvala (1940: 56–57).

50 A divine plant in Zoroastrianism.

51 Col. 130b in Unvala 1940: 138.

52 Col. 130b in Unvala 1940: 138.

*bedān ey pasandīde-ye nīk-nām
ke būdī yekī mard-e nīkū-serešt
be-rūz-e javā[nī ... behešt]
kojā nām jamšīd bon-e marzbān
va-rā bāb xānde be nīkī zabān
be qad būd čon sarv o roxsāre māh*

bī āz⁵³ ...

ze dastūr āmūxte o ... dost

be dīn ... e teqād-aš dorost

*be barzīgarī rafte zan xāste
del-aš rā be nīkī [bīyārāste]⁵⁴
gerefte ze har gūne-yī barg o sāz
ham az bahr-e dāmādī ān sarfarāz
ze ayyām ‘omr-aš šode bīst o panj
be ‘ālam ze har gūne-yī bord ranj*

*ze nāgāh īn čarx-e nāpāy-dār
nagardīd bar kām-e ū ostovār
be jamšīd nemūd
aǰal nāgahān jān-aš az tan robūd
basī rūz jamšīd bīmār būd
del-ī dūstān por ze tīmār būd
be šad nā-omīdī beraft az jahān*

*bīyafkand ātaš andar del-e dūstān
hamān mādar-aš sūgvārī gereft
barādar ze dard-aš nezārī gereft
har ān kas ke jamšīd dīde bodand
ze marg-aš hame pāk beryān šodand
[hamān] noḥe kardand o begristand
be nākām o bīčāregī zīstand
hamān xāhar o qom⁵⁶ o xīšān-e ū*

Know! O, virtuous and upright man,
There was a temperate man,
In his youth, [the paradise],
his name was Jamšīd, son of Marzbān
(his) father named him in a noble language
he was tall like a cedar, and his face like the
moon

Without greed ...

He learned from the Dastūr and ... (his)
friend

He believed in religion, and his faith was
true.

He was a farmer and sought to marry

Adorning his heart with goodness,

He provided everything.

For his wedding, that proud (man)

He turned 25 years old,

(And) suffered every kind of pain in the
material world.

Suddenly, this unstable wheel⁵⁵

Did not turn according to his will,

It showed ... to Jamšīd,

Suddenly, death stole the life from his body,

Many days he was sick,

The hearts of friends filled with pain,

He passed away with hundreds of disap-
pointments,

Burning the hearts of his friends,

His mother lamented,

His brother mourned his pain,

Everyone who had seen Jamšīd before

Grieved deeply at his death,

They lamented and cried,

Living with sadness and unhappiness,

His sister and relatives, too,

⁵³ Uncertain.

⁵⁴ Uncertain.

⁵⁵ This means ‘this world’.

⁵⁶ Written *qawām*, which does not suit the meter of the verse.

<i>basī nohe kardand bar jān-e ū</i>	Lamented much for him,
<i>bebūdand por dard kân saxt būd</i>	They were full of pain, for it was hard,
<i>ke jamšīd andar bar-e baxt būd</i>	For Jamšīd sought good fortune,
<i>be rūz-e javānī šode nā-omīd</i>	He met disappointment in youth,
<i>[har] ān ka[s] kojā hojre-ye ū⁵⁷ bedīd</i>	Everyone who saw his resting place,
<i>be dīde hamī ašk mīrīxtī</i>	Cried with tearful eyes,
<i>ze delšūz key jān-aš bogšīxtī</i>	Out of compassion, as their life had scattered,
<i>be ḥasrat šode zan ze šohar jodā</i>	The wife, parted from her husband in sorrow,
<i>ṭalab karde šabr-e delaš az xodā</i>	Sought patience for her heart from God,
<i>... [š] ze yek mām o bāb</i>	From the same mother and father,
<i>ze marg-e barādār šode del kabāb</i>	The heart burned at the death of a brother,
<i>bekard īn nedā yašt bahraš banā</i>	He established this Yašt,
<i>be xošnūdi-ye īzādān o xodā</i>	For the happiness of the Yazats and God.

As mentioned in the final portion of the Persian colophon, the young bridegroom's relatives commissioned this *jud-dēw-dād*. In the first colophon of the manuscript, Frēdōn stated that he had written this *Videvdād* at the request of Adurbād Māhwandād Hōšang Siyāwaxš. According to Mazdapour (Afshar & Mazdapour 2013: 50, comment 19), this Hōšang Siyāwaxš was likely the scribe of the *Yašt* Zand, dated 864 AY, and also a resident of Šarīfābād.⁵⁸ In the second colophon of V 4000, the specific location where the manuscript was copied is mentioned:

- *nibištom ēn jud-dēw-dād rāy andar kišwar ī ērān andar deh ī šarāfābād šahr <ī> maybod <ī> yazd pad xānag ī Vāhrōm ī Rostam bondār*
(second colophon V 4000, lines 36–38).

‘I have written this *Videvdād* in the country of Iran in the village Šarāfābād (in) the city Maybod of Yazd in the house of Vāhrōm Rostōm Bondār.’

The colophon in the Mehregānī manuscript, a manuscript from the Zand period, presents an incomplete story of a religious, handsome, and pious man named Behzād. He recited the Avesta day and night, participated in religious ceremonies, and passed away at a young age. Historical sources provide limited information about Zoroastrians aligning with the more religiously tolerant Zand dynasty (1750–1794). Similar to other religious minorities, they experienced a brief period of calm and peace under the Zand dynasty's rule.

A travel report written by Dastūr Mollā Fīrūz⁵⁹ provides valuable information about the lives of Zoroastrians under Karīm-Xān-e Zand. Mollā Fīrūz⁶⁰ was originally an Iranian Zoroastrian born in India in 1127 AY. At the age of ten, he travelled to Iran with his father and received education in religious studies in Zand, Pahlavi, Avesta and Persian by the great Dastūr

57 Uncertain.

58 Mazdapour (1997: 71–83) transcribed and translated the introduction and the colophon in this manuscript.

59 Manuscript H.P. (ms.) 300, K. R. at the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.

60 For more information about Mollā Fīrūz, see Šahmardān (1970: 530–539).

of Yazd, Marzbān Hūšang, for three years. In 1141 AY, he became the Nozūd in Xorramšāh⁶¹ under the tuition of the Dastūrs of Yazd; he then travelled to Isfahān and spent three years there while he studied astrology, philosophy, religion, syntax and morphology in the presence of famous scientists. Due to the massacre of the Zoroastrians during Sūltān Ḥossein's time (1125 AY), Zoroastrians no longer lived there, except for Mollā Fīrūz and his father, Mollā Kāvūs. His father, who was an astrologer, was invited to Shiraz by Karīm-Xān-e Zand, and they spent more than three years amongst the greatest men in the country in happiness and peace, as Mollā Fīrūz wrote in his verses. Mollā Kāvūs reported the oppression of the Zoroastrians in Kerman to Karīm Xān-e Zand, following which Karīm Xān-e Zand issued a royal command in order to protect the Zoroastrians in Kerman.⁶²

The Zoroastrians were again harassed, experienced violence from others and designated traitors during the reign of Āgā Moḥammad Xān (1779–1797) and later Qajar kings. A vast number of letters from the Qajar period illustrate the Zoroastrians' catastrophic situation.⁶³ During the Qajar period, the Zoroastrians' main occupation was agriculture, as it had been in the few hundred years prior to this time. A few of these individuals found good jobs as bankers or traders, but they had to pay *jazīyeh* (religious tax) to the notables of each local community, as well as to the regional Muslim authorities. During this period, they feared that their houses would be raided and that their possessions, such as their religious manuscripts, objects and other valuable items, would be seized (Petermann 1865, V. II: 204). According to the British educationalist Napier Malcolm (1870–1921), Zoroastrians had to identify themselves publicly by wearing yellow or similarly coloured clothing. They were not permitted to use umbrellas for shade from the sun or eyeglasses for better vision. They could not ride animals in the presence of Muslims, and were required to dwell in low-roofed homes in poor conditions (Malcolm 1908: 36, 45–47). Many foreign travellers to Iran reported the pitiful situation of Zoroastrians under the Qajars; Jackson (1906: 376) noted that the Zoroastrians lived in constant fear of persecution by Muslim extremists, and that their lives were in danger whenever the fanatical spirit of Islam broke out, such as during events that he had witnessed in Yazd. Edward Browne estimated that 7000 to 10,000 Zoroastrians lived in Yazd and its dependencies, with nearly all of them being engaged either in mercantile business or in agriculture; he reported that:

'they often meet with ill-treatment and insult at the hands of the more fanatical Muslims. They are compelled to wear the dull yellow raiment already alluded to as a distinguishing badge; they are not permitted to wear socks, or to wind their turbans tightly and neatly, or to ride a horse; and if, when riding even a donkey, they should chance to meet a Muslim, they must dismount while he passes, and that without regard to his age or rank' (Browne 1893: 370).

Some of the most important sources regarding the lives of Zoroastrians during the Qajar period are the poems of Šahrīyār Rostam Behmard, who was born in 1203 AY in Kūče-Bīyūk near Yazd, and who left Iran for India in around 1225 AY during a catastrophic famine and drought in Yazd. In his verses, he reported the famine and drought in Yazd and the assistance of the Queen of England and the Indian Zoroastrians. He also documented the details of the migration of a group of Zoroastrians to India during this period and the problems they experi-

61 A Zoroastrian village near Yazd.

62 For more information about the life of Mollā Kāvūs, see Šahmardān (1970: 542–551).

63 For these letters, see Sorūšīyān (1991: 36–147).

enced along the way, amongst them oppression by the Muslims and the sickness and death of a large number of Zoroastrians in Bandar Abbās. According to his verses, which cannot really be distinguished as works of literary art, the Indian Zoroastrians sent a ship to Bandar Abbās to take the Iranian Zoroastrians to India. They also sent a large quantity of food, clothing and gold for the Zoroastrians of Iran. Šahrīyār Rostam Behmard published these verses in a book that was published in 1258 AY in Bombay (Šāhmardān 1970: 526–528).

When the news of the woeful plight of the Zoroastrians in Iran reached the Parsis in India, emissaries were dispatched to Iran to assist the Iranian Zoroastrians. Maneckji Limji Hataria (1813–1890), an Indian Parsi-Zoroastrian scholar and civil rights activist, was appointed emissary in 1854 by the ‘Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund’, an organisation founded in Bombay with the aim of improving conditions for the Zoroastrians in Iran who were being persecuted by the Qajar rulers. Maneckji Limji Hataria’s most important achievement was the abolition of the religious tax (*jaḏīyeh*); he undertook direct negotiations with Nassereddin Shah and persuaded him to abolish the burden of *jaḏīyeh* in August of 1882 AD; Maneckji also helped the Zoroastrians in Yazd and Kerman to form various societies, and collected funds for the education of young Zoroastrians and for the repair of religious institutions such as Fire Temples.

Keyxosroḡī Xānšāheb Tīrandāz was another Parsi philanthropist who came to Iran after the death of Maneckji in 1890. Through his support, Anjoman-e Nāšeri-ye Yazd [Naseri Zoroastrian Association of Yazd] was established in 1892 at the Keyxosravī High School in the Xalf-e Xān’lī quarter; this association played a significant role in improving the social and living conditions of Zoroastrians, particularly for those in Yazd and Kerman.

While the majority of the discovered Avestan manuscripts date from the Qajar period, their colophons and additional notes do not provide extensive information about the life and history of the Zoroastrian community in comparison to the Safavid manuscripts. The Qajar Avestan manuscripts contain a considerable number of comments and notes, but most of them include repetitive phrases and stereotypical theological statements that are of limited historical value. Such differences are found not only in the content of the manuscripts, but also in the physical shape of the manuscripts. A limited number of Avestan manuscripts from the Safavid period are illuminated manuscripts, and contain various images of trees, flowers or plants outlining the forms of ideal gardens, a central metaphor in Iranian poetry and mythology. There are also images of animals such as deer (only in V 4062), mules, goats and different kinds of birds. In comparison to the relatively well-written manuscripts characterised by artistic taste during the Safavid period, the Qajar manuscripts were stripped of unnecessary ornamentation, lack coloured images, and the text is written in poor-quality ink. The fantastic creatures and birds that are often found in the texts and appeal to the eye in Safavid manuscripts are missing in the Qajar manuscripts; not only do the Qajar manuscripts show a complete lack of ornamentation, they do not possess the necessary artistic quality and emphasis in terms of layout and in calligraphy. This can mainly be seen in the illustration of *Yazišngāh*.⁶⁴ A considerable number of the Qajar Avestan manuscripts do not contain colophons; in the manuscripts that do have colophons, the colophons are written in the form of short poems or short texts in the Persian language. There are considerably more Arabic terms in the colophons in the Qajar manuscripts than there are in the Safavid colophons or notes.

64 A place in the fire temples where religious rites and ceremonies are performed.

1.5.2. Expressive part

The expressive part of colophons demonstrates the scribe's feelings, wishes, exhortations and curses. We can distinguish between the different feelings of the scribes that appear in the colophons: hope, sadness, malignity, expectancy, religious feelings and, rarely, humour. The scribes' wishes are of both a mundane and of a spiritual nature.

1.5.2.1. Wishes

The scribes of the manuscripts left their mark in the colophons by putting their wishes for the users, readers, the patrons of the manuscripts and themselves in writing. They desired that the users of the manuscripts would consider their souls worthy of remembering after they had passed away, and that they would make them participants in the good deeds that they performed. The scribes hoped that the readers would have good-famed bodies in the material world and pious, heavenly souls in the spiritual world. It was also important for the scribes of these colophons to entrust the manuscripts to the children and successors of people of the Zoroastrian faith in order for their works to be used for many years, symbolised by the mention of 150 years. Various colophons extended good wishes to anyone who used the manuscript, recited it, and taught or learnt from it, or celebrated the Yazīšn ceremony using it.

Another typical religious wish in the Middle Persian colophons is 'May it be according to the will of God and Amahraspandān. May it be so! May it be still more so!' The scribes wished for the reappearance of the Dastūr of the spiritual world, Čihromayān, the son of Wištāsp, as well as for the spread of the religion, the attainment of goodness through the religion and to live according to the wishes of the followers of the Zoroastrian religion. They wished that the Amšāspands [would] be a protection for the readers and themselves and all good ones in (all) the seven Kišvar of the earth' (Z. & P. 8., Unvala 1940: 92).

The scribes expressed special wishes for the patrons of the manuscripts; they hoped that the patrons would reside in the highest the paradise, and would acquire (their) share in the reward for the meritorious acts in the shining Garothman (the paradise) for eternity. They also hoped that the patrons and their relatives would benefit from the copies of the manuscripts and in the reward of this great meritorious; the scribes wished them happiness and health, fortune, prosperity and welfare:

nemūd ū be vaqf-e nīyākān-e xīš
pedar bā mādar jomle pākān-e xīš

he made an endowment for his ancestors
his father, his mother and all of his holy
relatives

čo vandīd xānand rā šādmān
ṣavābaš xodābaxš-e bahre rasān

if they read the Videvdād with happiness
may its rewards reach Xodābaxš, the bene-
factor

bovad ham bahreaš mām va bāb-e ūy
be-dān korfa būd ū ham tarāzū
ze xīšānaš tamāmī bahre bād
har ānkaš bexānad konad īšān-rā be-yād

may his mother and father benefit from it
may he have a share from that good deed
may all his relatives benefit from it
everybody who would read it, may remem-
ber him

malāyek īn soxan gūyand har bār

the angels would say this word every time

<i>ke bādā xodābaxš rā ḥaq negahdār</i>	may God save Xodābaxš
<i>nabāšad joz be nīkūyī xīyālaš</i>	he doesn't think about anything besides goodness
<i>be xoš-dānī nabašad kas mešālaš</i>	in good-knowing, there is nobody like him
<i>bovad ū sarfarāz-e har do ʿālam</i>	he would be proud in both worlds
<i>hamīše šādemān o dūr az ǧam</i>	(he would be) always happy and far from sadness
<i>nabīnad xāṭeraš hargez ǧobārī</i>	he may not ever see dust ⁶⁵
<i>be-joz ʿeyš o nešāṭ o kāmīkāri</i>	(may he see) only happiness, healthiness and fortune
<i>xodā dādast ū rā arjmandī</i>	God has given him excellence

(V 4030: First Persian Colophon p. 138r)

In the following colophon, the scribe mentioned that he had written the manuscript at the request of a particular person and wished that this person may attain nobility, goodness and rightness, reach Sošāns and his soul go to the Garōdman:

man ēn jūd-dēw-dād az dastwarīh <ī> pāk menišn srōš ayār ī yōšdāsr-tan ahlaw-ruwān adūrbād ī māhwandād hōšang siyāwaxš nibišt hom kē-š paywand pad ērīh u wehīh <ud> nēkīh ō ī sōšāns paywandād. u-š ruwān āškārag ō garōdmān šawēd. ēdōn bawād, ēdōn-iz bād, pad yazdān, amahraspandān kāmāg bawād.

I have written this Videvdād for the authority of the pure behaviour, may Srōš be his helper, pure body, righteous soul, Adurbād Māhwandād Hōšang Siyāwaxš. May he reach nobility, goodness and rightness and he may reach Sošāns and may his soul, clearly, go to the Garōdman. May it be so! May it be still more so. May it be according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān.

(The first Middle Persian colophon in V 4000, lines 22–27)

The scribes implored the readers to wish good things for them:

<i>har ke xānad do ʿā ṭama ʿ dāram</i>	From everybody who reads (this book) I long for good wishes
<i>zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram</i>	because I am a sinful servant

(Third colophon in V 4114, first page, p. 577)

This scribe desired forgiveness for possible errors that may have crept into his writing:

<i>ze xānande dāram ṭama ʿ īn qadar</i>	I want of the readers this
<i>ke āmorzeš-am xāhad az dādgar</i>	that they would ask my forgiveness from God
<i>har ān sahv kāyad be pīš-e nažar</i>	if they found any mistakes

65 Here, 'dust' refers to unpleasant things.

dorost-aš namāyad bexānad degar

may they correct them and read <them> in
a correct way

(Persian colophon in V 4050)

1.5.2.2. Exhortations

The expressive parts of colophons also contain the scribe's exhortations. The scribes used Avestan fragments, together with their Middle Persian translations, to advise their readers.

aēuuō. pañtā. yō. aša he. ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh jūd abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh

‘There is only one way of piety and the other one is heresy.’

šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqnō. šād ān tan ke-š warzēd ruwān <𐬀> xwēš.

‘Happiness and the paradise soul, he would be glad in body, [the one] who would improve his soul’.

nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazauua. nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša. nē-š čiš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift tā nun-iz nē čiš grift kē nē ruwān girēd.

‘He, whose soul has not acquired anything, has not acquired anything and also now, whose soul does not acquire anything, does not acquire anything’.

naēčiš. zaraθuštra. suš. yaθa. ādare mašiiāka. ēg-iš az dēwān sud ne bawēd spitāmān zardušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm. če agar-šān pad bun sud bawēd, ēg-išān sar zyān bawēd.

‘O Zardošt, there is no benefit from evil inside men. Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, O Spitāmān Zardošt, and no benefit from the bad men. Because if there is benefit [for] them in the beginning, then in the end there is injury [for] them’.

(Middle Persian colophon in V 4062, lines 37–49)

Some colophons contain specific instructions penned by the scribe for his own children, priests and other Zoroastrians to preserve the manuscripts, make copies of them and not to give them to non-Zoroastrians:

handarz hamē kunēm [be ō] ān ī xwēš frazandān ud dastwarān ud magupadān ud abārīg mahistān kē har abestāg ayāb zand kē pad hu-dēnīh dārand ud pačēn kunand pad ahlomōyān nē dahand.

‘I give advice to my own children, and Dastūrs and Magōpads and other pious people, who may preserve each Avesta and Zand with faithfulness (and) copy it, and may not give it to the evil-followers’.

(Second Middle Persian colophon, V 4000, 48–51)

Exhortations written by scribes are particularly frequent in the New Persian colophons.

1.5.2.3. Curses⁶⁶

Curses penned by the scribes or by subsequent owners are extremely common in the manuscripts.

The curses in the colophons in all the manuscripts are similar; the scribes curse their readers for adding or removing anything from the manuscript or misplacing the manuscript. In general, any act that prevents access to the book could be anathematised, such as the theft or sell of the book, giving it away as a gift, forfeiting it, or removing quires, pages, ornaments or the curse itself.

The scribes of the Avestan manuscripts frequently cursed the people who did not remember them favourably or thought badly of them. They cursed those who would destroy the manuscripts, those who would exercise greed with regard to the manuscripts, the enemies of the manuscripts, and those who might search for errors in the manuscripts, criticise the scribes or add evil words to the manuscript. The scribes of the colophons warned those who changed the name of the scribe or removed it from the manuscript and cursed them:

ēg nām ī amā rāy avestārēd kē avestārēd ayāb juddar kunēd u-š gētīh tan-dusraw ud be mēnōg ruwān-druwand bawād u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwarīh <ī> dādār ī Ohrmazd pad hanjāman ī īsadwāstar ī zarduxštān.

If <someone> wiped my name, so that <my name> would be wiped away or changed <it> may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be accuser in the presence of the judge, the creator, Ohrmazd and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstar, son of Zardušt.

(Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon in V 4000, lines 29–32)

Some scribes of the colophons cursed those who bought and sold the manuscripts:

[har kē] ēn daftar jud-dēw-dād wayf bē forūšēd ayāb [har kē] bē-xarēd, ayāb nām ī man kē nibištār hom [az-iš] avestārēd kē avestārēd u-š gētīh tan dusraw u-š pad mēnōg rūwān [d]ruwand bawād, uš hamēmāl u-m pad dādwarī dādār ohrmazd.

If someone sold this dedicated Videvdād or bought or erase my name, I who am the scribe, so that he would throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd.

(Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon in V 4063, lines 14–18)

The scribes also cursed those who borrowed a book and did not return it to the owner on time, or who did not care for a book properly:

Har kas ke īn ketāb besetānand, yazišn bexānand, ba'd az yek-hafte be-šāhebaš beresānand. Har gāh naresānand va har gāh žāye' va nāmarbūt negahdārānd, va la 'nat-e xodā va nefrīn-e xalq gereftār šavand!

⁶⁶ Schiegg (2016: 142) included the curses as a category within the declarative part; however, I prefer to classify them within the expressive part because they demonstrate the scribes' feelings.

‘Anyone who takes this book and performs Yazīš with it, should give it back to the owner after one week. If they don’t, or if they destroy it or keep it (in a) bad (manner), may they be cursed by God and people.’

(New Persian colophon in YV 2109)

There is another warning to those who are greedy about a manuscript, which means that they want to steal it:

Har kas ṭama^c-e67 īn ketāb konad, la^c nat-e xodā, neḡrīn-e xalq gereḡtār šavand

‘Anyone who is greedy about this book, God’s and people’s damnation on him/her’.

(Second Persian colophon in Vyt 5040, lines 5–6)

1.5.3. Directive part

The scribes of the manuscripts requested their readers to do something; common directives were to ignore or to correct mistakes, to pray for the scribes and to remember them kindly. The scribes wanted the readers to correct the possible mistakes with kindness, honesty, grace and compassion, or to overlook them. The scribes wanted the readers to recite the manuscripts, learn and teach them, make copies of them, perform the Yazīšn ceremony using them and, finally, to remember the scribes in their prayers for a good name and piety of the soul:

u har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn az-iš kunād ayāb yazišnīh pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh u ahlaw ruwānīg yād kunād ēg-iš gētih tan husraw pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād.

‘And everybody, who reads it, or teaches it, or makes a copy of it, or performs the Yazīšn ceremony with it, should remember us in good name and in the immortal soul’.

(Second Middle Persian colophon, V 4070 (K9), lines 11–13)

The scribes consistently desired those who recited the manuscripts to consider the scribes and pray for them, their relatives and loved ones, or those who assisted the scribe to produce the manuscript, when reciting it:

*be kāteb do^c āyī rasān o begūy
xodāmorzī az bahr-e xīšān-e ūy
ze xīšān-e kāteb ze xīšān-e ūy*

*ke kardand jahdī be-kār-e nekūy
bedārīd nikaš madārīd xār
ke tā xod be-mīnū bavīd rastegār*

pray for the scribe and say
blessing to his relatives
for the relatives of the scribe, for his relatives
that they attempt for the good deed
Keep it well and do not disrespect it!
so that you would be redeemed in the spiritual world.

(First Persian colophon in V 4030, p. 138r)

67 Written *ṭmh*.

The scribes frequently mentioned that they had copied a manuscript in order for the readers to pray for them and for their souls:

<i>az ān benvešte-am tā yādam ārand</i>	I wrote it, because they remember me
<i>moda' āy-e (?) ravān-e man bar ārand</i>	and pray for my soul
<i>fereydūn marzbān ben-e fereydūn</i>	Fereydūn the son of Marzbān, the son of Fereydūn

(First Persian colophon in V 4010, p. 156v)

The main reason for requesting prayers and writing prayer requests in the manuscripts was that the users and readers of the manuscript would remember the scribe when they used the manuscript:

<i>hamān beh ke benvīsam har jā do' ā</i>	it is better that I write everywhere prayer
<i>ğaraž īnke rūzī magar īn savād</i>	The reason being that maybe a day, this manuscript
<i>bexānand o ārand mā rā be yād</i>	(may somebody) recite and remember us

(Persian colophon in V 4050)

Equally common were the scribe's instruction for the readers or the owners of a manuscript to treat the manuscript with care. The scribe of the following colophon wanted the owner of the manuscript to keep it safe and clean, and to restore it when needed. He wanted the owner to keep it away from careless, uncouth and useless people who may destroy it:

Mūbed bahman-e mazbūr jad o jahd benamāyad ke ketāb rā xūb o pākīze negāh dārad va moḥāfezat namāyad va be-dast-e kasān-e bī68 ḥefāz, bī salīqe va bī-mašraf nadahad ke nabūd va xarāb šavad. Hame sālē ke az rūye īn ketāb bexānad ṭalab-e mağferat be-jaḥat-e vāqef va pedar o mādar o farzand o hameye nīyākān benamāyad va hamčēnīn be-dast-e farzand o farzand zāde mūbed bahman mazbūr ba'd az vafāt seporde ast ke behamīn rasm dar sīyōm-e panje tā īn ketāb bāqī ast bexānand ba'd az sālḥāye derāz har gāh ōrāq yā mondares šavad šahāfi va dorost nemūde ke bemānad va xarāb našavad, xodāvand bar haftād pošt va nīyākān-e ānkas bīyāmorzād va dar donyā va āxerat rū sefid va sarafrāz bemānand albate dar har sālī az rūzegār dar-īn ketāb har vaqt ke šahāfi yā dorost kardanī lāzem bešavad, benamāyand, albate darīn šavāb šarīk vahre ast.

‘May this Mūbed Bahman strive to keep the book pristine and well-preserved, ensuring it is not entrusted to careless, uncouth, or useless people who may damage it. Each year, may they offer forgiveness for the dedicator as well as their father, mother, children and all ancestors, whenever the book is recited. The responsibility of preserving and reciting the book will be passed on to Mūbed Bahman's children and grandchildren after his passing, so that the tradition may continue during Sīyōm-e Panje. If, after many years, the book becomes damaged or worn, efforts should be made to restore it, ensuring its preservation, and preventing its destruction. May God forgive (Mūbed Bahman's) seventy

68 Written *pī* instead of *bī*.

generations of ancestors and granting them happiness and pride in both this world and the hereafter. It is important to note that each year, or whenever restoration is required, those who contribute to these efforts will undoubtedly share in the rewards.’

(First Persian colophon in V 4114, lines 7–10)

The scribe of the following colophon asks the readers that if the Avesta copy loses its cover and its binding comes apart due to heavy use, they should rebind and restore it:

pas az sālḥā-ye derāz-e jaḥān

če ū gardad ōrāq o bī jeld ān

be-zūdī be-jeld o be-šīrāzeas

konand bāz ṣaḥḥāf, ham tāze-aš

be-har ḥāl abar nām o parhīz o kām

Even after many years,

when it becomes worn and loses its cover,

May they swiftly restore its cover and head-band,

Rebinding it and restoring its former glory!

In any case, let them protect its name and prevent damage, following the wishes of the scribe.

(Second Persian colophon in Ms. 4114)

II. Marginalia

Avestan manuscripts contain a wide range of notes written by individuals other than the original scribe, primarily the users of the manuscript. These notes are not found in typical colophon locations but rather in the margins or on the front and end papers of the manuscript. These notes can be just as fascinating as those written by the initial scribes of the manuscripts.

For many readers, users, or owners of Avestan manuscripts, scribbling on the pages of the manuscript was a favorite pastime, while for others, it was more of a necessity, as they desired to be remembered by future readers of these notes. Whether they are personal notes or more serious annotations regarding textual analysis, marginalia are extremely valuable for researchers.

The marginalia in Avestan manuscripts serve two main purposes: ‘religious’ purposes, such as prayers, personal blessings, and supplications, and ‘less religious’ purposes, like contracts, dates, prescriptions, and writing exercises added by later readers, users, or owners. It appears that it was quite common for blessings, supplications, and prayers to be added by later hands for both personal and other purposes throughout the history of Avestan manuscript production. A list of various categories of religious and less religious purposes can be found in the subsequent section.

2.1. ‘Religious’ purposes

This category is divided into two groups; the first group comprises annotations and notes related to liturgical use, which assist readers in understanding the text and facilitate the performance of rituals more easily.

2.1.1. *Explanatory notes*

2.1.1.1. *Transcription of Middle Persian forms in Persian script*

Some colophons, such as the Middle Persian colophon in manuscript 4062, may provide commentary-like glosses, including transcriptions of Middle Persian words in Persian script. It is possible that the reader of the colophon preferred to have the Middle Persian words in Persian script, likely due to difficulty reading Middle Persian words. This transcription was only done on the first page of the colophon, and the writer did not transcribe the other pages in the colophon.

In the same manuscript, some Middle Persian words in the Nērangs have also been written in Persian. These Persian forms are not an exact representation of the Middle Persian pronunciation but indicate a specific dialect that is neither purely Middle Persian nor Persian. Additionally, translations of Avestan words in Persian can sometimes be found above or below the Avestan forms.

2.1.1.2. *Priests’ notes*

Another group of marginalia appears to have been written by priests who used the manuscripts during ceremonies. These notes consist of additional information to help the priest perform a specific action in a particular passage of the text during the celebration of a ceremony. These notes may assist the priest in reciting the text correctly; in such cases, we find notes like ‘this part should be read,’ ‘this part should not be read,’ and ‘should be recited three times.’ The notes sometimes refer to an action that should be performed during the ceremony, for example: *īnjā nešast* ‘Sit here!’, *barsam nahādan* ‘Put barsam!’, *dahān pāk*

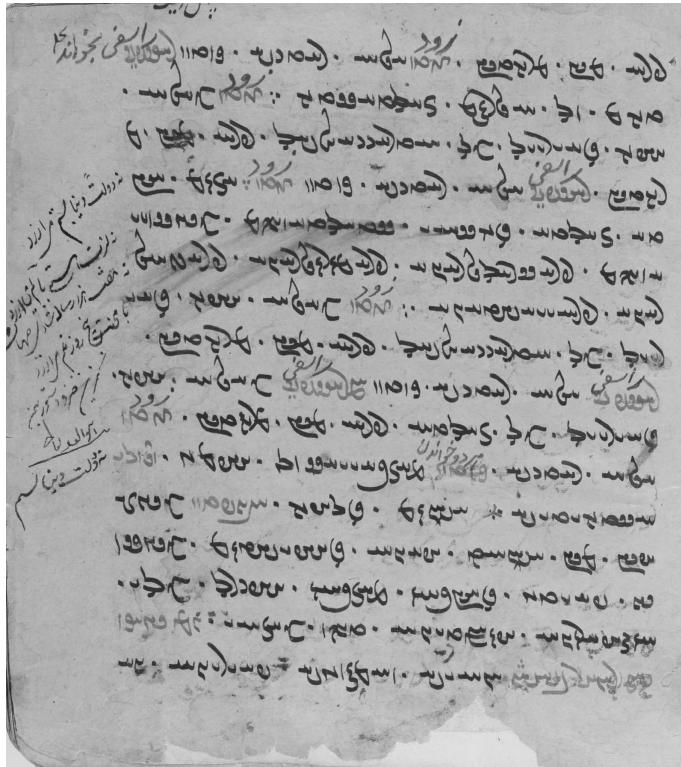


Image 1: Manuscript 2109, including the priests' note.

kardan 'Clean the mouth!', and *būy be ātaš dādan do bār* 'Give būy⁶⁹ to the fire, two times.' In manuscript 2109 (image 1), several notes on the text were added in pencil. These notes represent the Persian forms of Pahlavi instructions and provide guidance for two priests, Zūd or Rāspī; for example, *rāsfī xāmūš* 'Rāsfī should not read' or *rāsfī bexānad* 'Rāsfī should read,' *zūd bexānad* 'Zūd should read' and *zūd va rāsfī* '(both) Zūd va Rāsfī (should read)'.

Some notes serve as corrections to the text and are typically written above the main lines. Priests often indexed the manuscripts and added the number of Fragards or Kardes if these were not previously mentioned in the main text of the manuscript.

The second group of notes with religious purposes consists of notes that have no connection to the main text of the manuscript. They are, in fact, personal notes and include poems about death, prayers, expressions of gratitude, and dates.

2.1.2. Poems regarding death

A considerable number of the poems that are found in the Avestan manuscripts are about death and philosophy dealing with death. It appears that these kinds of poems helped the writer to deal with grief and loss, and brought him solace and comfort. These poems some-

⁶⁹ Aromatic biotic material, such as incense.

times refer to some of the most difficult and painful emotions and feelings associated with death and bereavement. Some examples are given below:

<i>rūz <ī> ke tanam be xāk-e namnāk resad</i> <i>āvāze-ye marg-e man be gūš-e aḡlāk resad</i> (V 4010, p. 157r)	Once my body reaches the moist soil, The voice of my death will arrive at the ears of the firmament.
<i>tā tavānestam nadānestam če sūd</i> <i>tā ke dānestam tavanestam nabūd</i> (V 4010, p. 157r)	When I could, I did not know what profit it brought, When I knew, I could not.
<i>agar šāhī, agar mīrī, agar kord</i> <i>agar paygāmbarī ke bāyadat mord</i> (V 4010, p. 157r)	Whether a king, a lord, or a Kurd, If you are a prophet, you too will die.
<i>aḡal čo āsīyāb ast mā čon gandom</i> <i>ke āxar mībarandat mīkonand xord</i> (V 4010, p. 157r)	Death is like a mill, and we are like wheat, In the end, you will be taken and cracked.
<i>agar šāh o gedāyī 'āqebat marg</i> <i>agar zīn kār alā hey 'āqebat marg</i> <i>agar dastat resad bar kād⁷⁰ o māhī</i> <i>ke ba'a az kād o māhī āqebat marg</i> (V 4010, p. 157v)	Whether you are king or beggar, your des- tiny is still death. Whether you ..., your destiny is still death Whether you gain a throne or fish, After obtaining either, your destiny is still death.
<i>če mībūd šab nemībūd rūz mībūd</i> <i>hame sāl o mah-e norūz mībūd</i> <i>če mībūd ān xodāvand ḡokm mīkard</i> <i>ke marg az nojavān hargez nemībūd</i> (V 4010, p. 157v)	I wish it had been day, not night, That the entire year and month had been Norūz. I wish that God had decreed that young people would never die.
<i>gūyand sang la'l šavad dar mAgām-e šabr</i>	It is said that with patience, stone turns into ruby,

70 According to Dehxodā, *jāyghā-e taxt*, probably meaning 'throne' here.

ārī šavad valī be xūn-e jēgar⁷¹ šavad

Yes, it transforms, but with much pain and sadness.

... xodāyān raftand

... The gods departed,

bīgāne nešīn ke āšenāyān raftand

Sit alone, for friends have passed away.

[h]engām-e xazān resīd o golhā hame rīxt

Autumn arrived, and all the flowers fell!

dar šaḥn-e⁷² čaman naqme sarāyān raftand

In the meadow, the singers departed!

(V 4162, p. 162r)

Some marginal notes include a *Sūgnāme*, an elegiac poem written to commemorate a departed person, often a priest. The departed person may have been involved in the production process of the manuscript during their lifetime:

ke dastūr behzād šod dar behešt

Dastūr Behzād went to paradise,

beheštī ke bāšad ze ‘anbar serešt

The paradise of good nature,

be pīš-e nīyākān-e xodrafte ast

Where he joined his ancestors.

del-e mām o bābaš be-qam gašte ast

The hearts of his mother and father filled with pain,

ke gaštast dar xāne-ye xodbe dar

for he left his own home.

beraftast rāhī ke nāyad degar

He embarked on a path from which he won’t return.

farāq aš xorad mādar-e jān fešān

His loving mother suffered from his separation,

hamān bāb dastūr-e rōšan ravān

As does his father, Dastūr Rōšan Ravān.⁷³

...

...

(V 4000: A poem, ADA fol. 161v)

2.1.3. Giving thanks

The manuscripts feature numerous notes in which the scribe expressed gratitude and praise for God’s support, assistance, and benevolence:

xodāyā sepāsam ze to har nafas

Oh, God! I thank You with every breath,

ke rūzī resānī-y-o faryādras

For You are generous and our helper.

(V 4010, p. 162v)

⁷¹ Literally ‘blood of liver’, an expression referring to much pain and sadness.

⁷² Written *ṣaḥn* صحن instead of *ṣaḥn* صحن .

⁷³ A variation of Anōšīrvān.

2.1.4. Prayers

In numerous manuscripts, we find prayers in which the writer sought help and support from God, Amšāspands, and saints. We also come across various prayers where the writer sought assistance and guidance from Šāh Varahrām Īzad. In the new section of manuscript 4030, on page 81 verso, at the beginning of the first Fragard of Videvdād, we find the following text:

- *Yā dādār-e vehe*⁷⁴ *afzūnī, yā šāh varahrām īzad, madad.*
'Oh, Creator, enhancer of goodness. O, Šāh Varahrām Īzad! Help us!'

The same manuscript contains a similar prayer before the seventh Fragard:

- *Yā Šāh varahrām īzad-e firūzgar! Bar hame-ye mūbedān āsān bekon!*
'O, Šāh Varahrām Īzad, the victorious! Make it easy for all Mūbeds!'

In various passages in this manuscript, such as at the beginning of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth Fragards, we find similar texts:

- *Be-nām-e xodā. Šāh varahrām īzad āsān konad ū bar hame-ye mūbedān, enšāllāh ta' ālī*⁷⁵
'In the name of God. May Šāh Varahrām Īzad make <it> easy for all Mūbeds. If the great God wills!'

The notes in the margins of manuscripts include a specific kind of prayer, which I call Xodāmorzī notes or 'God blessing notes':

- *Be-xaṭ-e mūbed ōrmazdyār*⁷⁶ *mūbed bahrām. Har kas xodā bīyāmorzī bedahand,*⁷⁷ *xodāvand bar ōšān bīyāmorzād. 1243. (V 4030, p. 161v)*
'Written by Mūbed Ōrmazdyār Mūbed Bahrām. Anyone who sends a may-God-for-give (to him), may God bless them. The year 1243.'

Xodāmorzī notes are usually brief texts that provide the name of the deceased person and a short prayer for their soul. However, there are a few examples of lengthy notes that contain similar information to that in the colophons, such as the name of the scribe, their place of residence, and the date on which they wrote the note:

- (1) *Be jahāt-e xodā bīyāmorzī, ke xodā bande rā āmorzīde konad, bande-ye haqīr rā,*
(2) *jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro yazdī ke dar kūk sāken* (3) *dārad, ke xodā bande rā,*
pedar va mādar va haftād pošt-e bande āmorzīde (4) *konad. har ke xunad*⁷⁸ *do' ā ṭame*⁷⁹
dāram, zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram. (5) *Al' abd, kamtarīn kamtarīnān, jamšīd xos-*
ro nūšervān xosro (6) *yazdī ke dar kermān sāken dāšte, īn ketāb rā dāde* (7) *be xosūs*⁸⁰
ānke xānande har ke bāšad bande be īn vandīdād šarīk (8) *astam, tā dānīd, šahebeh-e*⁸¹
ān jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro yazdī (9) *āmorzīde bād ke dar gīī va āxerat sarafrāz*

74 A mistake for *vēh* or *vēhīh*.

75 Only a guess. Not read by Jahanpour (2011: XXXII).

76 Can hardly be read.

77 In a number of notes such as this example, *har kas* 'everybody' occurs with a plural verb.

78 Probably the Dari form of *xānad*.

79 Probably the Dari form of *tama'* طمع.

80 Written as *خسوس*, a mistake for *خسوس* خصوص.

81 A mistake for *šāheh-e*.

bāšad be-tofiq-e rab-e (10) ‘ālamīyān. har ke mā rā dahad xodamorzī, yārab ū rā xodā bīyāmorzād. (11) Saneye 1222.

(V 4030, p. 161v)

Translation:

‘For God’s forgiveness, so that He may forgive this servant, this humble servant, Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro from Yazd, who lives in Kūk.⁸² May God bless me, my father and mother and my seventy generations of ancestors. Everybody who reads this, I request prayers from them, as I am a sinful servant. The servant, the most humble of humble, Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro, from Yazd, who lives in Kerman, donated this book. Particularly, regardless of who the reader may be, I am personally invested in this Vandīdād. You should know that the owner of this is Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro from Yazd. May God bless him and make him proud in this world and the hereafter, according to His will. Everyone who blesses us, may God bless them. The year 1222.’

Manuscript V 4062 includes a list of prayers that are presumably to be recited for a deceased person:

- *Sadāš⁸³ aval 3 yašt-e sorūš, yek yašt dah, yek yašt sīrūze, yek yašt rūze, bazām yek yašt sīrūze ..., xodāšān bīyāmorzād* (V 4062, p. 275r)
- ‘... first 3 times, Yašt of Sorūš, one Yašt of Dah, one Yašt of Sīrūze, one Yašt of Rūze, again one Yašt of Sīrūze... May God forgive them!’

2.1.5. Dates

The authors of the marginalia recorded the dates of various events, including Sālmargs ‘death date,’ Nozūdī, an Iranian mode of priestly initiation, and Zādrūz ‘birth date,’ Gahanbārs and Yašt-xānī ceremonies.

2.1.5.1. Sālmargs: ‘death date’

The Sālmargs complement the information provided in the colophons and help us to reconstruct the family trees of many priestly families. In this regard, a great deal of attention should be paid to the Sālmargs in ms. 4010, which record the death dates of the members of the famous Marzbān scribal and priestly families. Other observations from the Revāyats (the letters of Frēdōn and his nephew) and the colophons seem to suggest that Marzbān Frēdōn only had three sons but, according to the Sālmargs of 4010, we can conclude that he also had two daughters, Zarēstūn (who died in 954 AH) and Behbūd.

The Sālmargs in 4045 helps us to reconstruct the family tree of the Bahmanyār family; they also provide us with the death dates of Māvandād Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār (who died in 1047 AH) and Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār (who died in 1054 AH).

In terms of their basic features, the Sālmargs exhibit a general uniformity of style, expression and content, perpetuated through a constant repetition of stylised forms. A typical Sālmarg often begins with the Arabic term *vafāt* ‘death’, *vafāt-e yāftan* or *vafāt nemūdan* ‘dy-

⁸² It is not clear whether this place is a village or a quarter. In another part of this text, the scribe mentioned that he lived in Kerman; for this reason, Kūk, if written correctly, must be a village or a quarter in Kerman, which is no longer known.

⁸³ Uncertain.

ing', or *xodāmorzī* 'passing away'. The name of the dead person is followed by his filiation. The day, month and year of death are mentioned at the end of the Sālmargs:

Vafāt-e dastūr behzād dastūr ōrmazdyār dastūr mehrabān esfandyār dar yōm amordād īzad va sīzdahom-e āzarmāh va haftom-e xordād māj-e qadīm, saneye 1111 yazegerdī

'The death of Dastūr Behzād Dastūr Ōrmazdyār Dastūr Mehrabān Esfandyār, on the day Amordād Īzad and 13th of the month Āzar and the 7th of the old month Xordād, the year 1111 AY.'

(V 4000, p. 162r)

In most of the Sālmargs, the name of the dead person is preceded by expressions such as *ašo rawān* 'holy soul', *beheštī rawān* 'the paradise soul', *garoḡmānī rawān* 'heavenly soul', *mesmāh* 'nominee',⁸⁴ *marhūm* 'deceased', *pāyande* 'immortal' and *janat makān* 'the paradise place'.

A few Sālmargs contain the age of the dead person, which may be included at the beginning or at the end of the Sālmarg:

- **25 sālegī**,⁸⁵ *vafāt-e dīnyār mūbed rostam, yōm aštād, farvardīn māj, saneye 1336*.⁸⁶
'At the age of 25. The death of Dīnyār Mūbed Rostam, the day Aštād, the month Farvardīn, the year 1336.'

(V 4045, front end paper)

- **7 sālegī**, *haft sālegī, vafāt-e xosro mūbed hormazdyār, yōm ordībehešt [effaced: xord], šahrīvar māj, saneye 1336*.

'At the age of 7, at the age of seven, the death of Xosro Mūbed Hormazdyār, the day Ordībehešt, the month Šahrīvar, the year 1336.'

(V 4045, front end paper)

- *Vafāt-e ardešīr bahrām ..., yōm-e farvardīn, farvardīnmāj, saneye 1327, 30 sālegī*
'The death of Ardešīr Bahrām ..., the day Farvardīn, the month Farvardīn, the year 1327, at the age of 30'

(V 4045, front end paper)

A number of Sālmargs begin with the expression 'In the name of God':

- *Hova*.⁸⁷ *Be-nām-e xodā. Xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr esfandyār dastūr baxt āfarīn. Xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr ōrmazdyār dastūr bahrām, xodā bīyāmorzād, saneye 1239 yazdġerdīyeh*

'He. In the name of God. May God bless Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Baxt Āfarīn. May God bless Dastūr Ōrmazdyār Dastūr Bahrām. May God bless, the year 1239 AY!'

(V 4063, p. 145r)

84 The term *mesmāh* is an Arabic word meaning 'nominee'. In the context of the Sālmargs, it appears to mean 'selected person'.

85 A mention of the age of the deceased person can only be found in this manuscript.

86 The era has not been mentioned.

87 Meaning 'God'.

The Sālmargs are usually short, but a few examples include more detailed content:

- *Hova. vafāt yāftan-e beheštī ravān, dastūr keyxosro, valad-e marḥūm dastūr mehrabān, ben-e-marḥūm dastūr rostam, andar yōm sefandārmaz, aḡ farvardīnmāh-e qadīm, har kas xodā bīyāmorzī bedahad, xodāvand bar haftād pošt-e ōšān ōmorzīde bī,*⁸⁸ *Saneye 1242 Yazdgerdīyeh, Saneye 129[0]*

‘He, the death of the paradise soul, Dastūr Keyxosro, the son of the deceased Dastūr Mehrabān, the son of the deceased Marḥūm Dastūr Rostam, on the day Sefandārmaz, from the old month Farvardīn. Everybody, who gave God blessing, may God bless seventy generations of her/his ancestors, the year 1242 AY, the year 1290 Hejri.’

(V 4030, p. 111r)

As described above, the Sālmargs usually contain the name of the deceased person with his filiation and the date of death. A few Sālmargs also include the place of the death:

- *Saneye 12308 Yazdgerdīyeh. Be tārix-e vafāt-e beheštī ravān, dastūr keyxosro mūbed xodādād mūbed behmard ... andar yōm gūš īzad*⁸⁹ *aḡ bahman-māh-e qadīm dar **bandar-e mombay***⁹⁰ *be-raḥmat-e ḥaq rafte, xodā bīyāmorzād. Saneye 12308 yazdgerdīyeh*

‘The year 1238 AY. The death date of the paradise soul, Dastūr Keyxosro Mūbed Xodādād Mūbed Behmard ...⁹¹ on the day Gūš Īzad, from the old month Bahman, in the port of Mumbai he passed away. The year 1238 AY.’

(V 4030, p. 138r)

- *Tārix-e vafāt-e janat makānī, beheštī ravān, mūbed xodādād, xalf-e-marḥūm mūbed xodābaxš mūbed keyxosro, yōm dey-be mehr īzad, aḡ āzar māh-e qadīm, dar ḥasanābād*⁹² *be-raḥmat-e ḥaq peyvaste šod. Saneye 1247 Yazdgerdīyeh.*

‘The death date of the paradise resident, the paradise soul, Mūbed Xodādād, the son of the deceased Xodābaxš Mūbed Keyxosro. (He) passed away (on) the day Deybemehr Īzad, from the old month Āzar, in Ḥasanābād. The year 1247 AY.’

(V 4030, p. 262r)

- *Tārix-e vafāt-e janat makān,*⁹³ *beheštī ravān, farangīs, bent-e marḥūm mūbed xodābaxš, marḥūm mūbed keyxosro, yōm, az dey māh-e qadīm dar **raḥmat ābād-e taft*** *be-raḥmat-e ḥaq peyvaste šod. Saneye 1254 yazdgerdīyeh.*⁹⁴

‘The death date of the paradise resident, the paradise soul, Farangīs, the daughter of the deceased Mūbed Xodābaxš, deceased Mūbed Keyxosro. She passed away on the

88 Quite uncertain. If the reading were correct, *ōmorzīde bī* is a Zoroastrian Dari form derived from *āmorzīde bāšad*. In the context, a form such as *bīyāmorzād* ‘may bless’ might occur.

89 Not read by Jahanpour (2011: XXX).

90 Uncertain. Not read by Jahanpour (2011: XXX).

91 Uncertain.

92 The word *ābād*, which can be read easily, shows that it could be the name of a village. The traces of the word before *ābād* are similar to the word Ḥasan, which may refer to Ḥasan Ābād, a Zoroastrian village near Yazd. This is only a guess. Another possibility would be Faḥ Ābād. Since there is no Zoroastrian village with this name, it is very unlikely that this reading is correct.

93 *makānī* has been partly effaced and corrected as *makān*.

94 At the end of this Sālmarg, the capital letter *M* is written six times and could be the first letter of the name of the scribe of the Sālmarg.

day Ordībehešt, the old month Dey in (the quarter) Rāḥat Ābād⁹⁵ of (the city) Taft. The year 1254 AY.⁹⁶

(V 4030, p. 263r)

Sālmargs such as colophons and other comments and notes provide a vast number of linguistic and religious/cultural elements derived from Arabic or Islam. Several fields contain words that have been borrowed from Arabic, including the calendrical terms *yōm* 'day' and *sane* 'year', kinships terms such as *valad* 'son', *valade* 'daughter', *ebn*, *ben* 'son' and *abavī* 'father', and other terms such as *vafāt* 'death', *bd* 'servant', *ḥaqīr* 'humble', *xalq ollāh* 'the servant of God', *janat* 'the paradise', *raḥmat-e ḥaq* 'God's forgiveness', *marḥūm* 'deceased', *kāteb* 'scribe', *ta'ālā* 'great', *e'zām* 'great', *ekrām* 'great' and *mosammāt* 'lady'.

The following are examples:

- *Vafāt nemūdan, xodā bīyāmorzī-ye bānū dastūr sorūš be-tarīx-e yōm ōrmazd bozārgvār aḡ esfand mäh-e qadīm, berahmat-e*⁹⁷ *ḥaq peyvaste šode. har kas xodā bīyāmorzī be ān marḥūm bedahand xodā bar haftād pošt-e ōšān bīyāmorzād, 98 sa- neye 1239 yazdgerdīyeh.*

'The death of Bānū Dastūr Sorūš, the date, on the day Ōrmazd, the generous, from the old month Esfand (she) passed away. Everybody who gives that deceased God's blessing, may God bless seventy generations of her/his ancestors. The year 1239 AY.'

(Ms. 4040, p. 294r)

There are also few Sālmargs that do not follow the common structure described above:

- *Rūz-e šahrīvar, šahrīvar mäh, dastūr ōrmazdyār be-raḥmat-e ḥaq raft. Xodāyaš bīyāmorzād*

'On the day Šahrīvar, the month Šahrīvar, Dastūr Ōrmazdyār passed away. May God forgive him.'

(Ms. 4062, p. 231r)

2.1.5.2. Nozūdī

The Nozūdī/Nozādī ceremony is the Iranian process for initiating Zoroastrian priests and is considered one of the most significant rituals for Zoroastrians. Nozūdī represents the sole tier of priesthood within Iranian Zoroastrianism and may be conducted at an advanced age. A variety of manuscripts provide the dates of Nozūdī initiation for diverse individuals:

- *Nōzād šodan-e bande*⁹⁹ *roštam mūbed kīyūmars yōm āsemān xordād mäh, saneye 1337 hejri, 1288 yazdgerdī*

'Nozūdī of me, Rostam Mūbed Kīyūmars, the day Āsemān, the month Xordād, the year 1337 Hejri, 1288 AY.'

(Ms. 4045, p. 13v)

⁹⁵ Rāḥat Ābād is one of the Zoroastrian quarters in the city of Taft near Yazd.

⁹⁶ The birth date of Farangīs is written on page 138 recto. Based on this, and on this Sālmarg, she might have died at the age of 13.

⁹⁷ Written رحمت instead of raḥmat رحمت.

⁹⁸ Written as bīyāmorāzd.

⁹⁹ Quite certain. If the reading is correct, Rostam Mūbed Kīyūmars himself wrote this Sālmarg.

- *Nōzād šodan-e Rostam mūbed kīyūmars mūbed jahānbaxš mūbed rostam dar yōm āsemān īzad, xordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 133[7] hejrī, moṭābeq-e saneye 1288 yazdgerdī*
 ‘Nozūdī of Rostam Mūbed Kīyūmars Mūbed Jahānbaxš Mūbed Rostam, the day Āsemān, the old month Xurdād, the year 1337 Hejri, in accordance with 1288 AY.’
 (Ms. 4045, p. 159v)
- *Nozād šodan-e ardešīr, ben-marḥūm mūbed bahrām mūbed farāmarz dar yōm rašn īzad va ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1263 yazdgerdī moṭābeq bā saneye 1311 hejrī*
 ‘Nozūdī of Ardešīr, the son of the deceased Mūbed Bahrām Mūbed Farāmarz, the day Rašn Īzad, the old month Ordībehešt, the year 1263 AY, in accordance with 1311 Hejri.’
 (Ms. 4045, p. 159r)

A set of Nozūdī dates begins with the phrase *rūzī ke nōzād šodam*, signifying ‘the day I became Nozād’:

- *Rūzī ke nōzād šodam, ḥaḡīr; keyxosro xodādād behmard, be-tārīx yōm deymedīn, pāk ōrmazd, farvardīn māh 1252*
 ‘The day I became Nozād, the humble Keyxosro Xodādād Behmard, the date on the day Deymedīn, the holy Ōrmazd, the month Farvardīn, (the year) 1252.’
 (V 4062, p. 253r)
- *Rūzī ke nōzād šodam, ḥaḡīr jamšīd mūbed xodābaxš keyxosro, be-tārīx yōm šāh aštād īzad, xordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 122 yazdgerdīye*
 ‘The day I became Nozād, the humble Jamšīd Mūbed Xodābaxš Keyxosro, the date, on the day Šāh Aštād Īzad, the old month Xordād, the year 1220 AY.’
 (V 4062, p. 253r)

A few Nozūdī dates are more detailed:

- *Moṭavaled¹⁰⁰ šodan. Be-nām-e yazdān-e rūzī dahande-ye jāndārān va āmorzande-ye nīkūkārān. Nūzād šodan. Ardešīr ben-marḥūm mūbed bahrām farāmarz dar yōm rašn rāst va ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1263 yazdgerdī, moṭābeq bā saneye 1311 hejrī*
 ‘Birth. In the name of Yazdān, generous to living creatures and the forgiver of good men. Nozūdī of Ardešīr the son of the late Mūbed Bahrām Farāmarz, on the day of Rašn, Rāst¹⁰¹, in the old month of Ordībehešt, the year 1263 AY, corresponding to 1311 Hejri.’
 (Ms. 4045, p. 159r, as well as on the torn back paper)

At the bottom of this text, two calculations regarding the Yazdgerdi and Hejri eras occur:

$$1263-1287=24$$

$$1311-1336=25$$

100 A mistake for *motavaled* منولد. Written مطولد. Here, it means Nozūdī.

101 Presumably, *rāst* is a Persian translation of the word *rašn*.

2.1.5.3. *Zādrūz 'birth date'*

The birth dates of various people are recorded in the marginal notes in the Avestan manuscripts:

- *Hova, motavaled šodan-e farangīs bent-e mūbed xodābaxš, ben-marhūm mūbed key-xosro mūbed xodādād behmard, andar yōm āsmān, az xordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 12041 Yazdgerdīyeh, vasalām*

'God. Birth of Farangīs, the daughter of Mūbed Xodābaxš, the son of the late Mūbed Keyxosro Mūbed Xodādād Behmard, on the day Āsmān, from the old month Xordād, the year 1241 AY. The end.'

(V 4030, p. 138r)

In the following example, the term *āmadan* 'coming' is used to mean 'birth':

- *Be nām-e xodā. Tārīx-e āmadan-e Šīrīn Dastūr Keyxosro¹⁰² Dastūr Xodādād Dastūr Behmard rūz-e Vahman Amšāsfand, Šahrīvar māh-e qadīm. xodā rūzegār-e xūb bedahešān. Sane-ye 12402¹⁰³ Hejriye*

'In the name of God. The birthday date of Šīrīn Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Xodādād Dastūr Behmard, on the day Vahman Amšāsfand, the old month Šahrīvar. May God give them good life. The year 1242 Hejri (1827 AD).'

(Ms. 4062, p. 165v)

A number of birth date notes include detailed information about the time of the birth and the horoscope:

- *Be-nām-e xodā. Motevaled šodan mehrabān mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām, yōm bād īzad az mehr māh-e qadīm, šab-e jom'e 10 ħūt 23 raĵab čahār sā't o nīm be-šobh mānde. Tāle'-e mōled avāxer-e borj-e mīzān va xālī az har gūne vabāl ast. Nām-e molūd mehrabān. Besyār mobārak ast*

'In the name of God. The birth of Mehrabān Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Bahrām, on the day Bād Īzad of the old month Mehr, the night of Friday 10 Ĥūt 23 of Raĵab, four and a half hours left to the morning. The horoscope of the new-born is at the end of Libra¹⁰⁴ and far from any misfortune. The name of the new-born is Mehrabān. Many congratulations.'

(V 4162, p. 162r)

- *Tavalod-e mōlūd farangīs mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām. yōm mehr īzad az āzar māh-e qadīm 1295, šab-e jom'e, dovom-e šūr va dovom-e ordībehešt-e bāstānī 1305, pañj sā't be ġorūb mānde, be-tāle' nīme-ye borj-e asad ast va besyār xoš-qadam barāye pedar o mādār*

'The birth of the new-born Farangīs Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Bahrām. The day Mehr Īzad of the old month 1295, the night of Friday, Šūr 2nd and Ordībehešt 2nd of 1305 Bāstānī, five hours left to the night. The horoscope is in the middle of Leo¹⁰⁵ and is very fortunate for the father and mother.'

(V 4162, p. 162r)

¹⁰² Quite uncertain.

¹⁰³ Meaning 1242.

¹⁰⁴ Libra is the seventh astrological sign in the Zodiac (Time period: September 23 – October 23).

¹⁰⁵ Leo is the fifth astrological sign in the Zodiac (Time period: July 22 – August 23).

2.1.5.4. *Gahanbārs*

Several manuscripts, such as V 4030, document the dates of Gahanbār ceremonies:

- *Gahanbār dar*¹⁰⁶ *sāl ke mā dar ...*¹⁰⁷ *rasm ...*¹⁰⁸ *būd*
‘Gahanbār in the year that we in ... was a tradition of ...’
- *Gahanbār čehre-ye maidh-yo-zarem-gāh*¹⁰⁹, *yōm ... ordībehešt māj, bāšam*¹¹⁰ *roštam goštāsb.*
‘The time of the Gahanbār of Maiḍyōzarēm, the day ..., the month Ordībehešt, I am Rostam Goštāsb.’
- *Gahanbār yōm zāmyād va mehr māj.*¹¹¹ *Bāšam mūbed šahmardān*¹¹² *mūbed roštam.*
‘Gahanbār of the day Zāmyād and the month Mehr. I am Mūbed Šahmardān Mūbed Rostam.’
- *Yōm gūš īzad, ordībehešt māj.*¹¹³ *Bāšam mūbed xodābaxš mūbed Rostam.*
‘The day Gūš Īzad, the month Ordībehešt. I am Mūbed Xodābaxš Mūbed Rostam.’
- Saneye 992 yazdgerdīyeh
‘The year 992 AY.’¹¹⁴
(V 4030, p. 161v)

2.1.5.5. *Yašt-xānī dates*

A number of manuscripts contain the date of the Yašt-xānī ceremony. The following examples record date cancellations and postponements:

- *Tārīx-e [effaced: yašt] yašt,*¹¹⁵ *rūze-h*¹¹⁶ *ard, māj, šahrivar māj, be-dast oftāde ke dar sāl-e dīgar be-hamīn r[ūz] zemn nevešte šode, bokonand.*
‘The date of Yašt (ceremony) has fallen on the day Ard, the month Šahrivar. May they celebrate <it> in the next year on the same day, which is written here’.
(V 4030, p. 270v)
- *Yašt, tārīx-e vīdī[v]dād be-dast of[tāde] dar rūz-eh esfand, māj-e xordād ke dar sāl-e [d]īgar be-hamīn rūz zemn nevešte šode be-konand.*

106 Only a guess.

107 Uncertain.

108 Uncertain.

109 *gāh* is quite uncertain.

110 Only a guess.

111 *mehr māj* is quite uncertain.

112 Can hardly be read as *mehrabān*.

113 Clumsily written and can hardly be read.

114 This date is written in a different handwriting and colour below the Gahanbār dates. It is not clear if it demonstrates the correct date of these notes.

115 It means Yašt-xānī, which was a ceremony that was previously performed for both deceased and sick people, but which today is only performed for the deceased. In present-day Iran, this ceremony is performed 13 times per year (personal conversation with Mūbed Mehraban Pouladi, 19.04.2018).

116 Instead of *rūz-e*.

'Yašt. The date of Vandīdād¹¹⁷ (ceremony) has fallen on the day Esfand, the month Xordād, so that may (they) celebrate <it> also next year on the same day, which is written here.'

(V 4045: Yašt-xānī date, p. 270v)

2.1.6. Summary of the content of different parts of the Avesta

There are also numerous instances of paratexts that present abstracts of various sections of the Avesta. For instance, ms. 4063 includes a concise summary of each Fragard at their respective beginnings, composed in Persian, and offers interpretations and explanations of the text. In essence, these summaries provide key insights from the commentator's perspective for each section. As navigational aids, these overviews help guide readers through each Fragard:

First Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye šahrhā mikonad. yek īrān vēž ke aval zarātošt¹¹⁸ zamīn ravāḡ dād*
'(This part) talks about the lands. First, Irānvēž, that was the first land, was created by Zarathushtra.'¹¹⁹
(V 4063, p. 55r)

Second Fragard

- *Ke kodām šaxs ast ke dīn qabūl nemikonad*
'Who does not accept the religion?'
(V 4063, p. 57v)

Third Fragard

- *Porsīd zarātošt az ōrmazd ke kodām dīn pāk ast, kodām nāpāk?*
'Zarathushtra asked Ohrmazd: Which religion is pure and which one (is) impure?'
(V 4063, p. 63r)

Fourth Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye peymān va eqrār*
'Discussion about contract and confession.'
(V 4063, p. 69v)

¹¹⁷ Quite certain.

¹¹⁸ The function of Zarātošt in this context is unclear, since Irānvēž was the first country created by Ohrmazd and not by Zarathushtra. It is very unlikely to mean '(This part) talks about the lands. First, Irānvēž, that was the first land, was created, O! Zarathushtra'.

¹¹⁹ See the footnote above.

Fifth Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye morde va zende ast va yād*¹²⁰
‘Discussion about the living and the dead, as well as memory.’
(V 4063, p. 81v)

Sixth Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye āb va čāh ke kodām pāk ast va kodām nāpāk*
‘Discussion about water and well, and which one is pure and which one (is) impure?’
(V 4063, p. 91r)

Seventh Fragard

- *Porsīd zarātošt vīsfem*¹²¹ *ya‘nī nāsu,*¹²² *goftegū-ye pāk va nāpāk, goftegū-ye barešnūm,*¹²³ *mīkonad*
‘Zarathushtra asked about Vīsfem, meaning Nāsu. (This part) talks about purity and impurity, as well as Barešnūm.’
(V 4063, p. 104r)

Eighth Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye aval: Daxme barešnām, Goftegū-ye ātaš mīkonad*
‘The first dialogue (is) Barešnūm of Daxme¹²⁴ and talks about fire.’
(V 4063, p. 115v)

Ninth Fragard

- *Porsīd zarātošt ke mard-e ašū če no‘ pāk mīšavad?*
‘Zarathushtra asked: How does the righteous man become pure?’
(V 4063, p. 145v)

Tenth Fragard

- *Porsīd zartošt ke tan-e*¹²⁵ *ādam če tarz pāk mīkonad?*
‘Zarathushtra asked how the human body can be cleansed.’
(V 4063, p. 155v)

Eleventh Fragard

- *Porsīd zarātošt az ōrmazd ke har gonāhī ke dar āb yā dar ātaš yā darre āro var*¹²⁶ *yā az dast-e xīš yā az hame kārī ke korfe bāšad, če tarz pāk mīšavad?*
‘Zarathushtra asked Ōhrmazd: How can each sin be cleansed in the water, in the fire, in the valley, ..., as well as (sin) from one’s own hand and good deeds?’
(V 4063, p. 169r)

120 The function and the exact meaning of *yād* are not clear here. In general, the word means ‘remember, memory’.

121 Written in Avestan script.

122 Presumably, *nāsū* (*nasū*). *Nasū* is the Avestan name of the female Zoroastrian demon (daeva) of corpse matter. Belief in *Nasū* has greatly influenced Zoroastrian burial ceremonies and funeral rites.

123 The *Barešnūm* is the highest purification ceremony in the Zoroastrian religion.

124 Tower of Silence.

125 Written as *طن*, instead of *tan* *تن*.

126 Uncertain.

Twelfth Fragrad

- *Goftegū-ye pedar va mādār va xāhar va barādar mikonad*
'Discussion about father, mother, sister and brother.'¹²⁷
(V 4063, p. 172r)

Thirteenth Fragrad

- *Goftegū-ye jomandegān*¹²⁸ *ke nīst mīkonand. Kodām korfe bīštar dārad?*
'Discussion about the animals, which kill. Which one does it have more virtue?'
(V 4063, p. 181r)

Fourteenth Fragrad

- *Goftegū-ye āb va zamīn va jānevar mīgūyad*
'Discussion about water, ground and animals.'
(V 4063, p. 189v)

Fifteenth Fragrad

- *Goftegū ke tan-e ādam če no^c pāk mīšavad. Panj čīz zan rā pāk mīkonad. Aval arīšt, doyōm heyz, seyōm čele zan, az Xorešn pāk mīšavad. Mordār az yazišn pāk mīšavad*
'It discusses how the human body should be cleansed. Five things cleanse a woman. First, a damsel; second, a woman experiencing her menstrual cycle; third, a woman who is four months pregnant; these are cleansed through food. Carrion is cleansed by Yazīšn.'
(V 4063, p. 195v)

Sixteenth Fragrad

- *Goftegū ke doxtar-e no sāle nāmzad va davāzdah sāle Xāne-ye šohar*
'It discusses that a nine-year-old girl should be engaged, and a twelve-year-old should go to her husband's house.'
(V 4063, p. 201v)

Seventeenth Fragrad

- *Goftegū-ye mūy va xūn, sar tarāšīdan, xūn gereftan, nāxon čīdan*
'Discussion about hair, blood, shaving the head (hair), blood taking, disposing nails.'
(V 4063, p. 207r)

Eighteenth Fragrad

- *Goftegū alborz kūh [va] daryā-ye ..., ke ahrīman šedā-ye morḡ-e nīst mīšavad*
'Discussion about the Alborz Mountains and See that Ahreman becomes the voice of the Bird of death.'
(V 4063, p. 208v)

¹²⁷ This Fragrad is about the *Upaman* and how long it lasts for different relatives.

¹²⁸ A variant of or mistake for *jombandegān*, meaning 'animals'.

Nineteenth Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye šeytān la'eyn nasaš dorōj va ū¹²⁹ pāk konande, vahman amšāsṣand, gāv-e sorx √lāle rang √ferestād barāy-e neyrang va peyqambar zarātošt*
 'Discussion about Devil, damn him, Dorūj-e Nasū,¹³⁰ and its cleaner, Vahman Amah-rasṣand sent the red cow √tulip colour √for trick, and prophet Zarathuštra...' (V 4063, p. 219v)

Twentieth Fragard

- *Goftegū kīyāmarṣ va sīyāmak mīkonad*
 'Discussion about Kīyāmarṣ and Sīyāmak.' (V 4063, p. 226v)

Twenty-first Fragard

- *Goftegū-ye bīvar hezār gāv, bīvar hezār gūsṣand, bīvar hezār šotor, bīvar hezār asb paydā šod*
 'Discussion about ten thousand thousand cows, ten thousand thousand sheep, ten thousand thousand camels, ten thousand thousand horses, which were found.' (V 4063, p. 229r)

Twenty-second Fragard

- *Goftegūye ahrīman az xoddūr kon. Manṣresṣand mūbed-e bozorg savār ast*
 'Discussion about "Get Ahrīman away from you! Manṣresṣand, the great Mūbed is riding"'. (V 4063, p. 231v)

A long text in Persian follows the title of the twenty-second Fragard:

Hazangrem esfah nām,¹³¹ hezār asb bā zīn-e morāṣa¹³², tavāzo¹³³-e ān ravān ast ke vahman amšāsṣand pīškeš-e īn ravān-e vandīdād xūn¹³⁴ mīkonad. Hazangrem baeṣezanām¹³⁵ bīvar baeṣezanām¹³⁶ ya' nī hezār bīvar hezār bīv[ar] hezār: Hazangrem āstreh nām¹³⁷ ya' nī hezār āstar-e kohan mī-dahand. Hazangrem gavām¹³⁸ ya' nī hezār gāv-e sorx, mozd-e vandīdād xūn mīdahad. Anemīya nām hezār gūsṣand mozd-e ānke vandīdād mīxūne. Mozdāš šašt¹³⁹

Arabic sentence:

*ya' nī dorōj az tan-e ādam bīrūn mīravad¹³⁸ ya' nī šekast ahrīman-e deravand farre¹³⁹
 ... ahūrahe mazdā ya' nī ṣanā goftan az dādār ōrmazd (V 4063, p. 231v)*

129 Quite uncertain.

130 Name of the female Zoroastrian demon (daeva) of corpse matter.

131 Correct form *hazayrēm aspanqm*.

132 Spoken form of *vandīdād xān*, 'who recites Vandīdād'.

133 Correct form *hazayrēm baēṣazanqm*.

134 *hazayrēm. baēṣazanqm. baēuuarə. baēṣazanqm*.

135 Correct form *hazayrēm uštranqm*.

136 Correct form *hazayrēm gauuqm*.

137 Quite uncertain.

138 Unfortunately, I did not have access to the original manuscript and have only received a copy of the images, which were not good quality. When the images were enlarged, it was not possible to read many of the words.

139 The meaning of *farre* 'glory' does not suit this context.

‘Hazangrem esfah nām, (refers to) a dedication of a thousand saddled and inlaid to the soul of the Vandīdād reciter made by Vahman, the Amahraspand. Hazangrem baešežanām bīvar baešežanām means a thousand ten-thousand thousand ten-thousand thousand. Hazangrem āštreh nām means the gift of one thousand old camels. Hazangrem gavām means the gift of one thousand red cows as wages to the Vandīdād reciter. Anemīya nām signifies the gift of one thousand sheep as wages for the reciter of Vandīdād. The wages were sixty. It means that Doroj will depart from the human body, indicating the destruction of the sinful Ahrīman and the praising of Ohrmazd, the creator.’

2.1.7. Names of priests as performers of the ceremonies

Various manuscripts contain the names of priests who performed a ceremony or recited the Avesta:

- *Kasānī ke šab Vandīdād xāndand: rašīd xorsand, ormazdyār bahrām, ormazdyār jahānbaxš, ..., ..., bahrām hamāvand, ...*

‘Those who recite Vandīdād at the night: Rašīd Xorsand, Ormazdyār Bahrām, Ormazdyār Jahānbaxš, ..., ..., Bahrām Hamāvand’

(V 4010, p. 157v)

2.2. Less religious purposes

Apart from the religious marginal notes discussed thus far, the Avestan manuscripts contain a variety of entries that can be categorised as less religious. These include romantic poems, poems of sorrow, curses, advice, riddles, proverbs, and verses by famous poets, as well as treaties, oaths, and notes about ownership. These entries pertaining to treaties, oaths, and ownership frequently appear in numerous manuscripts. They provide an important resource for tracing the history of the transmission of these manuscripts among various holders, shedding light on the aspects of time and place.

2.2.1. Ownership notes

The marginalia additionally offer insights into the provenance of the manuscripts. Ownership markings and annotations, typically added at later stages, are prevalent in a multitude of manuscripts and have been inscribed by diverse users and possessors throughout various time periods. These details often furnish valuable information, enabling the tracking of a manuscript’s origin and its dissemination history:

- *Īn ketāb-e jad dīv vandīdād¹⁴⁰ az māl-e kamtarīn mūbed bahrām valad-e mūbed farāmarz ...¹⁴¹ mībāšad, tame¹⁴² konande be la‘nat-e [xodā gereftār] bād.¹⁴³*

‘This Vandīdād book belongs to the humble Mūbed Bahrām, the son of Mūbed Farāmarz. Divine condemnation of the greedy individual.’

(V 4161, p. 150v)

140 The scribe has combined the Middle Persian *Jud-dēv-dād* and the Persian form *Vandīdād* to produce a new form, *jad dīv vandīdād*.

141 Illegible. Possibly *bemān*.

142 A mistake for *tama* طمع “greed”.

143 This part of sheet is damaged and illegible.

- *Az māl-e xāš-e xāleš dastūr bahrām ben-marhūm dastūr falāmarz mībāšad. tame konande be la' nat-e xodā gereftār bād.*

‘(this book) belongs to the special and holy Dastūr Bahrām, the son of the deceased Dastūr Falāmarz. Divine condemnation of the greedy individual!

(V 4161, p. 267v)

- *Īn ketāb-e vandīdād az māl-e mūbed sorūš mūbed nūšīrvān mībāšad, daneste bāšīd. 1635 hejriyeh.*

‘This book of Vandīdād belongs to Mūbed Sorūš Mūbed Nūšīrvān. You might know. 1635 Hejri.’

(V 4040, 162v)

Certain annotations pertaining to ownership offer extensive details about the motivations behind gifting or donating a manuscript to an individual. For instance, one such note indicates that the manuscript was bequeathed to the author of the note to commemorate his Nozūdī ceremony:

- *Īn ketāb-rā az māl-e xāš-e xāleš mūbed bahman mūbed bahrām mībāšad. nešār-e nozādī haqīr nemūdand.*

‘This book belongs to this special and faithful Mūbed Bahman Mūbed Bahrām. It was donated for my Nozūdī.’¹⁴⁴

Har kas ṭama^c konad be-la^c nat-e xodā gereftār bād

May divine condemnation befall anyone who harbors greed for this book.

har kas xodābīyāmorzī bedahad xodāvand bar haftād pošt-aš bīyāmorzād

Conversely, may God bless those who give with His blessing, extending His grace to seventy generations of their ancestors.

(V 4063, p. 189v)

A few ownership notes contain the scribe’s place of residence:

- *Šāhebe¹⁴⁵ Ĵamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro yazdī ke dar kermān sāken būd ba’ d dar kūk sāken dārad¹⁴⁶. az xonande¹⁴⁷ tavaqoh¹⁴⁸ dāram ke xodā bīyāmorz be xodam va pedaram, mādaram, haftād poštam, xodā bīyāmorz behem bedahad.*

‘The possessor, Ĵamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro Yazdī, who lived in Kerman and later in Kūk¹⁴⁹. From the readers (of this book), I expect them [to give] blessings to me, my father, my mother, and my last seven ancestors. May God grant me blessings.’

har kē xānad do’ ā ṭama’ dāram

From everybody, who reads (this book), I long for God’s blessings

144 For the third time, Mūbed Bahman Mūbed Bahrām wrote his name on this manuscript and emphasised that this book belonged to him and he was the scribe (of the texts before the Fragrads).

145 Uncertain.

146 *Sāken dārad* seems to be incorrect here. It may be *soknā dārad*.

147 Probably a Zoroastrian Darī (also known as Behdīnī, Gavrī or Gavrūnī) pronunciation.

148 Instead of *tavaqo*, ‘expectation’.

149 Uncertain.

*zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram*¹⁵⁰

for I am a sinful servant.

- *Al ‘abd, kamtarīn-e kamtarīnān, xāk-e pāy-e hame-ye īzadīyān. Ĵamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro āmorzīde bād be tā[r]īx-e, sane-ye 12202, be rūz e taštārīn va amordād-e qadīm.*

‘The servant, the most humble of the most humble, the dust beneath the feet of all the followers of Īzad. Ĵamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro, may God bless him. In the year 1222, on the day of Taštārīn¹⁵¹, the old [month] of Amordād.’

(V 4062, p. 165v)

Ownership notes serve as a valuable tool for tracing manuscripts through space and time. These notes document various stages in the history of manuscripts, including their geographical locations after production, and the individuals who purchased or sold them. Often, a manuscript travels a significant distance before being copied in its final destination. By examining ownership notes, it is possible to associate a manuscript with a region other than where it was discovered, thus facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of its unique characteristics.

For instance, an Indian liturgical Yasnā (ms. 251) from the Ataš Varahrām in Yazd revealed that the manuscript had been donated to the Fire Temple in Yazd by two Zoroastrian brothers, Mobed Fereyduṇ Zartoshty (1904–2000) and Mobed Mehraban Zartoshty (1917–2012). The undated colophon within the manuscript indicates that it was copied in the port of Surat, India. Furthermore, an ownership note in Gujarati on the manuscript’s endpaper states that the book was owned by Mobed Bejanji Rustamji. The name “Mobed Bejanji” appears at the end of the statement, suggesting that it may be the name of the scribe who penned the ownership note.

Additional ownership notes can be found on the front and back endpapers of the manuscript. These notes include the name Tromjee Bazenjee, the city of Bombay, and the date 13 May 1832. An ownership note on page 146v features the name Bombay and the date 1 March 1824. On page 147r, another ownership statement contains the name Cavafsjee Bazenjee. The back endpaper of the manuscript again displays the name Tromjee Bazenjee, the city of Bombay, and a distinct date: 1 June 1833. These ownership notes suggest that the manuscript likely remained in Bombay until at least the specified dates and was held by the Parsi family Bazenjee. The names could represent the owners of the manuscript during different periods.

The central question concerns how a manuscript, copied in India and possessed by a separate Parsi family, arrived at the Fire Temple in Yazd. As mentioned earlier, two Zoroastrian brothers donated the manuscript to the Ataš Varahrām temple. Although born and raised in Yazd, the brothers moved to India since their father worked in Bombay. While pursuing their studies in India, the brothers also assisted their father, a merchant, in his trade. Their work and philanthropic endeavors in Bombay fostered close connections with the Parsi community. At some point during their time in Bombay, the brothers either discovered or acquired the manuscript from the Parsi family, subsequently transporting it to Iran and ultimately donating it to the Fire Temple.

This comprehensive history could only be reconstructed based on the donation stamp and ownership notes found in ms. 251.

150 This verse occurs in other manuscripts; for example, in Suppl. pers. 29 (see Colophon 3a in Unvala 1940: 7).

151 Probably Tīštār (Tīr).

2.2.2. *Treaties*

One of the most critical questions concerning the ownership of manuscripts is whether the Avestan manuscripts, as highly significant religious and sacred texts, could be sold or purchased. For many devout and religious Zoroastrians, the idea of buying and selling Avestan manuscripts is considered a grave sin. In numerous colophons and marginal notes, scribes cursed those who sold, bought, or damaged the manuscripts.

‘If someone sold this dedicated Videvdād or bought <it> or erase my name, I, who am the scribe, so that he would discard it, may he be of ill-famed body in this world and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be the plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Hormuzd.’

(Colophon in V 4062)

Nevertheless, at least one of the Avestan manuscripts, Videvdād 4056, contains pertinent information that can be considered as treaties. These notes were written following the Middle Persian and Persian colophons in the current manuscript before the ninth Fragard. With this information, we can trace the story of the manuscript’s ownership.

According to Note A, Dastūr Goštāsb donated the manuscript to Dastūr Bahrām Āzar Keyxosro in 1039 AY/1670 AD, and there is a specific mention that the owner of the manuscript was Dastūr Bahrām. Both Note B (dated 1055 AY/1686 AD) and Note D (dated 1054 AY/1685 AD) indicate that Dastūr Bahrām ‘endowed’ the manuscript to Dastūr Bahmanyār at a price of 5,000 Tabrīzī Dinārs. It is unclear why the terms endowment and gift have been employed here, despite the reference to the payment of 5,000 Dinārs. The date of Note D is one year earlier than Note B. It seems that a text had been written at the top of Note C, but it has been erased and is unreadable. The only legible words in the second line are *dar Kermān* ‘in Kerman,’ thus indicating that these statements and admissions of sale were presumably concluded in Kerman. Note E is an acknowledgement showing that Nošervān Ḥakīm Ardešīr reconciled with someone concerning this manuscript and no longer had a claim or dispute. Consequently, we can deduce that Nošervān Ḥakīm Ardešīr was one of the later owners of this manuscript around 1114 AY/1745 AD. A transcription and translation of the treaties are provided as follows:

Note A

*Pad nām-e dādār Ohrmazd*¹⁵²

(1) *be-tārīx-e rūz-e bahman amšāsfand va ābān-māh-e qadīm saneye 1039 yazdgerdīyeh eqrār nemūd dastūr goštāsb ebn-e dastūr* (2) *esfandyār adurbād*¹⁵³ *kē ketāb-e jad-dīv-dād xoṣṣte bonyād rā be-rūy-e šedq va šalāh nešār*¹⁵⁴ *nemūd*¹⁵⁵ ... va ... *xarīd*¹⁵⁶ *yaštan*¹⁵⁷ va (3) *nozūd*¹⁵⁸ *dastūr bahrām āzar kayxosro va men ba‘d dast o da‘vī nadāde va mālek-e ketāb-e ketāb-e mazbūr dastūr bahrām būde ast.*¹⁵⁹ (4) *be šarī ke har kas az*

¹⁵² Only this part is written in Pahlavi. The rest of the colophon is in Persian.

¹⁵³ Quite uncertain.

¹⁵⁴ Quite uncertain.

¹⁵⁵ Quite uncertain.

¹⁵⁶ Uncertain. Possibly *xīštan* ‘self, own’.

¹⁵⁷ Uncertain.

¹⁵⁸ Uncertain.

¹⁵⁹ Uncertain.

xīš va bīgāne azīn daftar yazišn xānand ayā āmūzand ayā fajīn¹⁶⁰ aḡ¹⁶¹-aš gīrand nīyākān va gozaštegān (5) dastūr goštāsb va vāled va dastūr esfandyār ādurbād¹⁶² rā be-do'āy-e xeyr va xodā-bīyāmorz yād konand va vājebāt-e rāh-e dīn rā farāmūš nakonand va az ... (6) be-dīn-mazmūn rāzī va šākerand va ketāb-e mazkūr māl-e dastūr bahrām ādar keyxosrost va be-dīgarī ta'alloq nadārad. be tāix-e¹⁶³ ... foq

‘On the date of the day Bahman Amšāsfind, the old month Ābān-māh, (the year) 1039 AY, Dastūr Goštāsb, the son of Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād, declared that he gives the blessed book Videvdād with righteousness and interest, ... for Yazīšn and Nozūdī ceremony of Dastūr Bahrām Āzar Kayxosro, and hereafter he has no claim and argument. The owner of the present book has been Dastūr Bahrām, under the condition that, everybody from relatives to strangers, who would recite this Yazīšn book, or would teach <it>, or make a copy of it, may remember the ancestors of Dastūr Goštāsb and his father Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād with ‘may-God-forgive’ and good prayer. May they not forget the obligations of the religious way, and they are satisfied and happy with this content ... and the present book belongs to Dastūr Bahrām Ādar Keyxosrost and does not belong to others. On the date ... following ...’

(V 4056)

At the end of this text, we find three names, which are likely the names of witnesses. The first two names are Mehrabān¹⁶⁴ Rostam Dastūr Nūšīrvān and Dastūr Faroxzād, Dastūr Bahmanyār Faroxzād. A phrase precedes these names, but it is not legible.¹⁶⁵

At the end of the first Persian colophon, we find another name following two personal names:

- ... *bande Goštāsb Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād*
‘I, Goštāsb Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād’

On this page, there are additional short notes in Persian that were added later to the Persian colophon. The following is a transcription and a translation, although several parts are not legible:

Note B

Dar ...¹⁶⁶ ruz-e šahrīvar va āzar-māh-e qadīm 1055 yazdġerdīyeh, hāžer āmad dastūr bahrām ādur¹⁶⁷ ...¹⁶⁸ dar ħożūr-e¹⁶⁹ jamā'at-e¹⁷⁰ mazkūr ke ketāb-e mazbūr rā be-šīqe-ye tohfe va hedye be-dastūr bahmanyār ardešīr mazbūr ...¹⁷¹ kard va dastūr bahmanyār

160 MP *pačēn*.

161 MP/NP *az*.

162 Quite uncertain.

163 Quite uncertain.

164 Less likely to be *jahān*.

165 Very unlikely that it is *āmade būd* ‘had come’.

166 Three or four words are unreadable.

167 Doubtful.

168 Not clearly written and illegible.

169 Doubtful.

170 Doubtful. Not clearly written.

171 Not clearly written.

pañ' hezār dīnār ... kard haq alhadāye ketāb-e meymūn maāb¹⁷² taslīm-e dastūr bahrām ...¹⁷³ nemūd

‘On the day Šahrīvar, the old month Āzar, (the year) 1055 AY, Dastūr Bahrām Ādur was present and he gave the present book in the presence of the mentioned people, as a gift, to the current Dastūr Bahmanyār Ardešīr ...¹⁷⁴ and Dastūr Bahmanyār¹⁷⁵ gave 5000 Dīnars (for) the blessed book, as a gift, to Dastūr Bahrām ...’¹⁷⁶

Another text follows the above-mentioned text:

Note C

har kasī dar ...¹⁷⁷ bā dastūr bahrām va dastūr goštāsb da‘ vī namāyad az¹⁷⁸ ...¹⁷⁹ va ketāb ... dastūr bahmanyār

‘Anyone who would argue with Dastūr Bahrām and Dastūr Goštāsb from ... and the book ... Dastūr Bahmanyār ...’

Another note on the subsequent page represents the contract of sale for the manuscript, which took place in 1054 AY.

Note D

hova (1) forūxt be bay‘ šahīh mo‘tabar-e dīnī, dastūr bahrām ādur keyxosro, be-dastūr bahmanyār ardešīr bahrām dā[d] (2) be mablaḡ-e pañ-hezār dīnār tabrizī¹⁸⁰ men ba‘d bā xodva farzandān-e mālek dast va da‘vā nadāšte bāšand. har (3) kas az-īn ma‘nī harf begūyad, be-la‘nat-e xodā va nefrīn-e fereštegān va xalq-e ‘ālam gereftār šavand. peymān šekanī-ye (4) rāh-e dīn-e yazdān bāšand. īn čand kalame jahat-e bay‘ nevešte šod. be tārix-e rūz-e šahrīvar amšāsfand, āzar (5) māh-e qadīm, sane 1054 yazdġerdīyeh.

The names of witnesses occur below the contract of sale:

be-dīn moġeb ast dastūr bahrām mazkūr. be-ħožūr būd dastūr keyxosro āzar. be-ħožūr būd dastūr ardešīr roštam behmard. be-ħožūr būd dastūr ardešīr mehrabān.

The rest of the witnesses’ names were written by a second hand. The handwriting is clearly different from the first:

be-ħožūr būd dastūr bahman keyxosro. be-ħožūr būd ardešīr mūbed¹⁸¹ fereydūn zarīsf.¹⁸² be-ħožūr būd dastūr faroxzād bahmanyār. be-ħožūr būd dastūr āzar dastūr keyxosro.

172 Doubtful.

173 Not clearly written and illegible.

174 Not clearly written and illegible.

175 Not clearly written and illegible.

176 Not clearly written and illegible.

177 Unlikely to be *pačīnī*.

178 Alternatively, *īzad*.

179 This part is damaged.

180 *Tabrizi Dinar* was one of the official currencies of Iran during the Safavid and Qajar periods.

181 Not written clearly.

182 Uncertain, unlikely to be *zartošt*.

Translation:

‘God. It was sold, in a correct and valid religious sale (manner), by Dastūr Bahrām Ādur Keyxosro and (he) gave <it> to Dastūr Bahmanyār Ardešīr Bahrām, in the amount of (or with the price) five thousand of Tabrizi Dinars. After this, they should not have any argument with him and his children and any claim (from him and his children). Anyone, who would discuss this matter, may he get God’s and the angels damnation and (he) would be a traitor in the religious way of Yazdān. These are some words written for the purpose of selling. The date: on the day Šahrīvar Amšāsānd, the old month Āzar, the year 1054 AY.

To confirm this, there is present Dastūr Bahrām. Dastūr Keyxosro Āzar was present. Dastūr Ardešīr Rostam Behmard was present. Dastūr Ardešīr Mehrabān was present’.

Written by another person:

‘Dastūr Bahman Keyxosro was present. Ardešīr Mūbed Fereydūn Zarīsf was present. Dastūr Faroxzād Bahmanyār was present. Dastūr Āzar Dastūr Keyxosro was present.’

At the bottom of this page, we find an admission regarding the possession of the manuscript:

Note E

eqrār ē terāf nemūd dastūr ros[tam] ... (2) ke īn ketāb-e yazišn-e jud-dēv[dād] ... (3) nošervān ḥakīm šolḥ nemūd va dīgar das[t] ... (4) da vā nadārad īn čand kalame jah[at-e] ... (5) nāme qalamī šah be-tārīx-e rūz ... [māh-e] (6) qadīm, saneye 1164. bedīn mojeb ast.

Translation:

‘Dastūr Rostam ... admitted and declared, that this Videvdād book Nošervān Ḥakīm reconciled and has no claim and argument. These few words are written because of The letter was written on the date, the day ..., the old month ..., the year 1164.¹⁸³ It is because of this’.

... *forūxt*¹⁸⁴ *bahrām māvandād* 92¹⁸⁵ ‘was bought by Bahrām Māvandād, 92.’
(V 4161, 249v)

2.2.3. Love poems

Some manuscripts contain a vast amount of love poems written by the readers or observers of the manuscript, mainly in the margins:

šab ke šod az qam-e hejṛān-e to mīpendāram In the night, as I grieve our separation, I feel
as though

*haft qarbāl-e falak bar saram ātaš pazast*¹⁸⁶ the seven layers of heaven are ablaze upon
my head

(V 4063, p. 143v)

¹⁸³ The era here is Hejri; that is, 1114 AY (1745 AD).

¹⁸⁴ Only a guess.

¹⁸⁵ It is not clear whether this number refers to a date or a price.

¹⁸⁶ Quite uncertain.

<i>tā az bar-e man ravāne gaštī, gaštī</i>	Since you left me, left me
<i>xūn raft be har do češm, gaštī gaštī</i> ¹⁸⁷	My eyes are full of blood, you left me
<i>az bas ke zadam āh o faḡān zātaš-e hejr</i>	I sighed and lamented so much from the pain of separation

...

...

(V 4063, p. 145r)

<i>čon ʿārež-e to, māh nabāšad rōšan</i>	As your visage, the moon does not shine bright!
<i>hamrang-e roxat gol nabūd dar golšan</i>	No flower matched your hue in the garden.
<i>abrūy-e kamān gozar konad dar jošan</i>	The arched eyebrow passes through the armor;
<i>mānand-e senān-e</i> ¹⁸⁸ <i>gīv dar jaṅg-e pašan</i>	like the spear of Giv during the Pašan War.
<i>... bī-meqdār, xāk-e qadam-e jamʿ</i>	the humble ..., the dust beneath the foot of all ...
<i>Sanye 1244</i>	The year 1244

(V 4062, p. 276r)

<i>hamčūn xošat</i> ¹⁸⁹ <i>da ʿvī-ye xūnrīz konad</i>	Your delight creates such a bloody strife,
<i>kaš kāb-e to šamšīr-e aḡal tīz konad</i>	your kaškāb ¹⁹⁰ sharpens the sword of death.
<i>bīmār agar šehat-e xod miṭalabad</i>	If the sick desire recovery
<i>bāyad ke ze dīdār-e to parhīz konad</i>	They should avoid your visit
<i>bande kamtar xāksār sīyāvaxš dastūr</i>	Humbly obedient, Sīyāvaxš Dastūr
<i>ādarbād</i>	Ādarbād

(V 4162, p. 162r)

2.2.4. Sorrow

Numerous scribes have left behind written works that provide glimpses into their emotional states. Within their texts, they articulate a range of emotions, including happiness, hope, love, as well as unhappiness and sadness:

<i>aḡyār be-rūz-e mā kār heyrānī</i>	Strangers are often surprised by our emotional state,
<i>xošhāl šod az bī-sar sāmānī</i>	finding joy in our turmoil.
<i>qam nīst agar če mā parīšān gaštīm</i>	It's not sorrowful, although we are disturbed;

¹⁸⁷ Quite uncertain. Unlikely to be *koštī* 'you killed'.

¹⁸⁸ A mistake for *senān* سنان. Written as *شنا*.

¹⁸⁹ The meaning of this part is quite uncertain. If the reading is correct, *xošat* is a variation of *xōšīyat* 'joy'.

¹⁹⁰ Barley soup.

jam^ε ī šādand az parīšānī

many seem to derive happiness from our disturbances!

(V 4063, p. 143v)

yek-qaṭre-ye xūn dast o bāqī hame qam

There is but a single drop of blood and the rest is sorrow

sāqī alam o naql¹⁹¹ bede bāde setam

Oh Saki! Did we not ask for the wine of oppression and grief?

dar xāne-ye mā matā^ε -e ḥasrat kam nīst

Within our home, the goods of remorse are in no shortage

qam bar sar-e ham¹⁹² rīxte^ε ālam^ε ālamīst¹⁹³

Such a world, where sorrow accumulates in such abundance!

(V 4063, p. 143v)

Afsūs ke golroxān kafanpūš šodand

‘Alas, the rosy-cheeked ones have donned shrouds.’

(V 4063, p. 288r)

2.2.5. Curses

Similar to the colophons, the writers of marginal notes invoked curses against those who would misuse the manuscripts or ignore the scribe and the notes, in the hope of protecting the manuscripts from being pawned, stolen, or sold.

For instance, the writer of the marginal notes in ms. 4062 (p. 96r) expressed their desire that anyone who coveted the manuscript would be burned by the fires of hell. In another note, the writer asserted that the enemy of the scribe would always be in a state of sadness (p. 115r). Another note warned that anyone who spoke ill of the scribe or thought badly of them would soon meet their demise in this world (p. 145v).

Through the use of curses in both the colophons and other notes, the scribes sought to deter those who might harm or destroy their manuscripts, emphasizing the importance of remembering them kindly:

har kē amā rāy be dil¹⁹⁴ bē guft wad

kū mar-ū¹⁹⁵ rāy wad o jazā be dahād

May those who harbor ill will towards us receive their just punishment and suffer the consequences of their malevolent thoughts

bandag jāmāsb ha[kīm]

the servant Jāmāsb Hakīm

(V 4063, back end paper recto)

191 Probably the Arabic phrase ألم نقل.

192 Unlikely to be saram, ‘my head’.

193 Uncertain.

194 Written as LBBE instead of as LBBME ‘heart’.

195 Quite uncertain. Probably the Persian form *mar ū*.

har kas īn ketāb-rā ʔama^c konand
be-ātāš-e dūzax ū rā kabāb konand
elāhī ōmīd¹⁹⁶
 (V 4062, p. 96r)

May those who are greedy for this book
 be consumed by the fires of hell.
 Amen, O God!

šāheḇ-e īn ketāb por¹⁹⁷ šav[ad]
došman-e ū ze qam asīr¹⁹⁸ šavd¹⁹⁹
 (V 4062, p. 115r)

May the owner of this book achieve greatness,
 And may their enemies always be in a state of sadness

har ke mā rā dahad xod[ā]morzī
yārab ū rā xodā biyāmorzād
har ke bad gūyad o bad andīšad
marg-e ū dar jahān be zūdī bād
 (V 4062, p. 145v)

May those who bless us with ‘God’s blessings’
 be blessed by God.
 And may those who speak ill of us or hold negative thoughts
 meet their demise in this world.

2.2.6. Advice

A substantial portion of the notes and verses within the Avestan manuscripts serve to offer advice, guidance, or counsel to their readers. These manuscripts encompass teachings, insights, and wisdom that the authors sought to impart to subsequent generations of readers. In manuscript 4062, the writer encourages readers to avoid friendships with unintelligent people to maintain peace of mind (p. 75r). There are various similarities between the advice given in the marginal notes of the Avestan manuscripts and the well-known Middle Persian Andarznāmes. Following the Persian colophon in manuscript 32, a note asserts that we should not become overly attached to the world, as both the world and humans are subject to death. Another piece of advice suggests that readers should not only acquire and store property during their lifetimes but also use it.

The scribe of the marginal notes in manuscript V 4161 (notes F and G) advises readers to use the back page of the Avestan manuscript for writing memorials, as a memorial penned by a friend is more valuable than any eternal property. The scribe hopes to be remembered one day through such a note. This desire for remembrance may be the reason many users or owners of Avestan manuscripts included notes in them, as the recurring theme in these notes is the hope that future readers will remember and pray for the writers. It appears that the authors of these notes considered the manuscript an enduring memorial or monument.

¹⁹⁶ Probably a mistake for *elāhī āmīn* ‘O! God Amen’.

¹⁹⁷ Quite uncertain.

¹⁹⁸ Quite uncertain.

¹⁹⁹ This verse was repeated and rewritten by another hand on this page.

rūzī agar ġamī resadat tangdel mabāš If you encounter sorrow, don't be sad;
*ro šokr kon mabādā ke az bad batar šavad*²⁰⁰ Be grateful instead, lest it worsens.
 (V 4010, p. 157r)

agar xāhī ke bāšī dar ferāġat If you seek tranquility,
makon bā ādam-e nādān refāqat avoid forming friendships with unintelligent individuals.
 (V 4062, p. 75r)

2.2.7. Riddles

In at least one manuscript, specifically ms. 4062, we encounter a riddle (Persian *čīstān*). This riddle comprises a verse with a double meaning and is presented as a puzzle for the reader of the manuscript to decipher.

*Do morġ az marġzāri kard farvāz*²⁰¹ Two birds took flight from a meadow,
*be sūy-e 'arš bālā mīfarīdand*²⁰² Ascending towards the sky.
yekī rā sar borīdand lang gardīd One had its head severed, and thus became lame,
yekī rā pāh borīdand gašt bī sar While the other's foot was cut, leaving it headless.

The solution to the riddle comprises two Persian words, *šāne-be-sar* meaning 'hoopoe' and *kolang*, which translates to 'pickaxe'.

2.2.8. Proverbs

Proverbs in the Avestan manuscripts frequently feature metaphorical language and are presented in verse form. They convey morals, wisdom, truth, and traditional perceptions passed down through generations. The following example is derived from manuscript 4062:

dārad hezār dor, šadaf o dam nemīzanad A shell, with thousands of gems inside,
 remains silent,
*morqī barāye beyze ī faryād mīkonad*²⁰³ While a bird cries out for just a single morsel.
Al-^c abd kamtarīn jamšīd xosro The humble servant, Jamšīd Xosro.
 (V 4062, p. 272r)

²⁰⁰ This verse is from Ḥāfez.

²⁰¹ As *p* does not exist in Arabic, it is replaced by *f*. It is not clear why an Arabic pronunciation of the word occurs.

²⁰² An Arabic pronunciation of *mīparīdand*.

²⁰³ Another version of this proverb is: *dārad hezār dor, šadaf o dam nemīzanad* / A shell, with thousands of gems inside, remains silent, / *yek beyze morq dārad o faryād mīkešad* / Yet the bird, with just a single testicle, constantly cries out.

2.2.9. Verses by famous poets

The scribes of the notes in the Avestan manuscripts often quoted the works of renowned poets such as Ḥāfeẓ, Ferdowsi and Bābā Ṭāher:

<i>īn če šūrīst ke bar dōr-e qamar mībīnam</i>	what is this chaos, that I see in the moon cycle?
<i>hame āfāq por az fetne [o] šar mībīnam</i>	I see all horizons full of strife and evil.

(V 4063, front end paper)

The following verse is by Amīr Xosro Dehlavī, an Indo-Persian Sufi singer, musician, poet and scholar (1253–1325 AD).²⁰⁴

<i>če ṭāle^c dāram īn kaz āsemān har²⁰⁵</i>	What fortune do I possess! All sorrow descending from the heavens
<i>kārevān-e qam</i>	
<i>ke āyad bar zamīn joz dar²⁰⁶ del-e man bār</i>	upon the earth shall find no destination except my heart.
<i>nagšāyad</i>	

(V 4063, p. 143v)

The following poem is from the Šāhnāme of Ferdowsi:

<i>parastīdan-e dādgar pīše kon</i>	Engage yourself in praising God!
<i>be rūz-e gozar²⁰⁷ kardan andīše kon</i>	Contemplate the day of departing from this world!
<i>be-xaṭ-e bande-ye kamtarīn rostam ...²⁰⁸</i>	Penned by the humble servant, Rostam...

(V 4063, back end paper recto)

The following verse is by Bābā Ṭāher, with some changes:

<i>be qabrestān gozar kardam kam o bīš</i>	I passed by a cemetery once,
<i>be bod xāk-e dolat mand o darvīš</i>	Where the graves of both rich and poor lay.
<i>na darvīš bī kafan dar xāk bordand</i>	The poor were not interred without a shroud,
<i>... dolat mand ū rā ... yek kaṣṣ²⁰⁹</i>	Nor the rich with a single shoe more.

(V 4062, p. 76r)

204 Amīr Xosro Dehlavī (1253–1325) was a Sufi musician, poet and scholar from India who mainly wrote poetry in Persian, but also in Hindavi.

205 In some editions of this verse, we see *yēk* instead of *har*.

206 In some editions of this verse, we see *bar* instead of *dar*.

207 A mistake for *gozar* گزر.

208 The rest is illegible.

209 In the original verse: *be qabrestān gozar kardam kam o bīš* / I passed a cemetery sometimes / *be dīdam qabr-e dolatmand o darvīš* / I saw the graves of both rich and poor people / *na darvīš bī kafan dar xāk rafte* / neither poor was buried without shroud / *na dolatmand borde yek kafan bīš* / nor rich took one shroud more.

III. Notes on the Scribes and Individuals Mentioned in Colophons and Marginal Notes

In the study of the patrons and scribes of the manuscripts, Hintze (2017: 145) observed that scribes often recorded the names of the individuals who commissioned the copying of the manuscripts. This practice sheds light on the various groups of people involved in the creation and use of these historical documents. Hintze (2017: 145) stated that in colophons, scribes typically mentioned the person who requested the manuscript be copied. She identified three primary groups of individuals mentioned in this context: 1) the scribes themselves, 2) other priests and 3) members of the laity. She emphasised that references to payment were generally made only in the third case.

Expanding upon previous research, our data uncovers a more diverse array of individuals mentioned in colophons and marginal notes. In this analysis, six main groups have been identified as playing a significant role in the production of manuscripts: 1) the scribes themselves, 2) patrons, 3) individuals in whose memory the manuscripts were copied, 4) priests who used the manuscripts for Yazīšn, 5) donors, and 6) owners.

The patron of a manuscript could be ‘a member of the laity,’ as mentioned by Hintze (2017: 145), or a priest. In several colophons, a layperson instructs the scribe to copy a manuscript for a priest to use during the Yazīšn ceremony. In colophons, the patron is frequently identified as the owner of the manuscript at the time it was copied. The names of manuscript owners typically appear in the margins. Marginal notes supply additional groups of people, such as commentators, readers, sellers, later owners, and others.

The names of mentioned individuals are often accompanied by brief genealogical information, including the names of their fathers, grandfathers, and earlier ancestors. Sometimes, Arabic expressions like *ibn* (also *ben*) ‘son’ or *valad* ‘child’ are used. In the Middle Persian colophons, either the suffix *-ān* occurs or there is no expression between the name of the scribe and the name of his father, grandfather and earlier ancestors.

In addition to names and genealogies, such references often include honorific titles and/or nicknames. The title *anōšag ruwān* is typically used for deceased individuals. In the case of patrons, numerous honorific titles may precede the main name. The names of the manuscript’s scribe and the scribe of the original source are mentioned, accompanied by detailed genealogical information. In other instances, only the names of the person and their father are provided. The scribe’s name may be followed by their city, such as Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Kermāni. These place names could refer to the scribe’s birthplace, their family’s origin, or their place of residence.

Colophons tend to be patrifocal, often containing the names of the scribe’s father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on. A few colophons suggest the name of the person’s mother, as seen in the colophon of manuscript 4100, where the scribe included the patron’s mother’s name along with the father’s name.

It is important to note that the names of scribes, owners, or donors have frequently been erased and replaced with new ones, as observed in the case of manuscript 4040.

As limited as it is, information about a scribe’s name and filiation (1.5.1.4.) and the name and filiation of the scribe of the original source (1.5.1.4.), as well as the information contained in Sālmargs, can assist one to begin to identify the activities and the lives of the various groups of people mentioned in the colophons and establish their identities. In the following section, we aim to introduce the most active actors in the history of the copying of Zoroastrian manuscripts.

A brief note about the transcription of personal names

One of the most challenging aspects of personal names in Zoroastrian manuscripts is the extensive variation that exists. It is crucial to recognize that a single name may have different transcriptions depending on whether it is rendered in Middle Persian, Persian, or Gujarati Persian. Regrettably, there is no consistency in the use of these languages, resulting in a broad range of variations for each; for example, Middle Persian Ardešēr, Erdešer, and Erdešīr are all variants of the Persian Ardešīr. To maintain greater consistency, the Persian forms of personal names are preferred. However, when citing other works, the original form found in the related literature will be used.

3.1. The Dīnyār family

The Dīnyār family played a significant role in the history of Zoroastrian manuscript copying, as they were responsible for reproducing numerous Avestan, Middle Persian, and Persian manuscripts. The majority of these texts are religious treatises, but the collection also includes other types of literature, such as legal texts (ZFJ, RĒA, PRĀF/PRFS, p in TD2) and (partly) structured compendia of diverse origins (GrBd, WZ, PRDd).²¹⁰

3.1.1. *Gōbedšāh Rostam Bondār Šahmardān*

Gōbedšāh Rostam from Kerman, the great uncle of Marzbān Frēdōn, copied at least two Pahlavi manuscripts: TD1 and TD4a. TD1, which lacks a colophon, was penned directly by Gōbedšāh. However, the final folio (103r) features two texts written later by Dastur Rostam Gōštāsb Ardršīr and another note added by Dastur Jamšēd Jāmāsb Ḥakīm. In these notes, the authors confirm that they had seen the book, written by Gōbedšāh Rostam Bondār, and that they had read and appreciated it.²¹¹ The date of the manuscript cannot be ascertained because the colophon by Gōbedšāh Rostam Bondār is missing. TD4a has two colophons, one of which was written by Gōbedšāh Rostam. Gōbedšāh also copied the manuscript by Vičītakīhā-i Zātasparam.

Gōbedšāh Rostam's name is also found in three Revāyats. In Dārāb Hormazdyār's Revāyat, a document dated 880 AY lists Gōbedšāh Rostam among the group in Khorasan (Anklesaria 1958: 9, König 2014: 54); his name follows that of his brother, Dastūr Bahrām Rostam Šahmardān. In the letter sent from Iran in 885 AY with Jasa's Revāyat, his name appears as the eighth name under the signatories, once again after his brother's name. It seems that the third name on this list, Marzbān Rostam Šahmardān, was another of Gōbedšāh's brothers (Unvala 1932: iv).

Anklesaria reported a copy of the Revāyat of Kama Asa Khambayeti, written in 896 AY and housed in the First Dastoor Meherjrana Library in Navsāri. The Pāzand colophon in this manuscript contains greetings from twenty-six Dastūrs of Iran to the Dastūrs of India. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth names in the list of Dastūrs are Dastūr Gōbedšāh Rostam, his brother Dastūr Bahrām Rostam, and Dastūr Vahmanyār Gōbedšāh.

²¹⁰ For more information about these texts, see König (2014).

²¹¹ For a transcription of these colophons, see Pakzad (2005: 418–419) and, for a translation, see TD1, the second and third pages in the preface.

3.1.2. Other members of the Dēnyār family

Parīn Gōbedšāh, the daughter of Gōbedšāh, copied the Avestan and Pahlavi manuscript ‘Anārām va Bahman mäh’ (circa 1555 AD) for the Dasturs and Mūbeds in India.

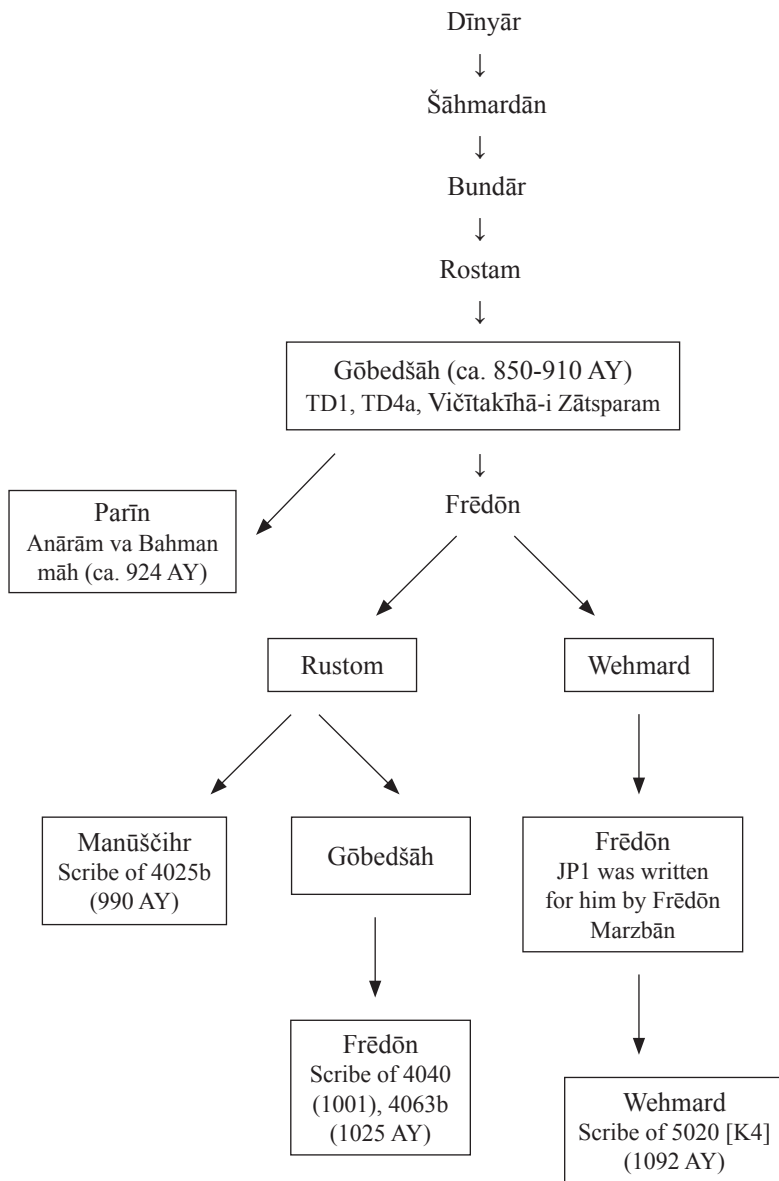
Another scribe in this family, Manuščihr Rostam Frēdōn Gōbedšā Rostam Bondār Šahmardān Dīnyār, copied the second part of ms. 4025.

Frēdōn Gōbedšāh copied ms. 4040 and the second part of ms. 4063. Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard Frēdōn Gōbedšā Rostam Bōndār Šahmardān Dīnyār was another member of this family and copied Wištāsp Yašt Sāde 5020 (K4) in Kerman. His family lineage is given as Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard Gōbedšā Rostam Bōndār Šahmardān Dīnyār in the colophon in ms. 5020 (K4). Based on the colophon in this manuscript, Unvala (1940: 191) provided the full name of the scribe in the Gōbedšāh family tree. However, according to the genealogical information in the colophons in mss. 4040 and 4025, which were copied by two other members of this family, namely Frēdōn Gōbedšāh and Manuščihr Gōbedšāh, it can be concluded that the third Wēhmard in the colophon in 5020 (K4) and in the family tree posited by Unvala is an error.

In the colophon of 5020, Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard mentioned that this manuscript was a copy of the book by Bahrām Marzbān Frēdōn Rostam Bōndār, which was copied from a copy of the book by Xōsrošāh Nušīrwān Rostam.

The name of another member of the Gōbedšāh family, Frēdōn Wēhmard Frēdōn Gōbedšā Rostam Bōndār Šahmardān Dīnyār, appears in the colophon of JP1. In it, the scribe of JP1, Frēdōn Marzbān, stated that he copied JP1 for Frēdōn Wēhmard and sought advice from him, as well as from his father and brother (Geldner 1895: V–VI).

Based on the information regarding the genealogy of the scribes in the colophons, the family tree of the Gōpadšāh family can be reconstructed as follows:



3.1.3. The Marzbān family

The Marzbān family, a distinguished priestly family from Kerman with roots in Khorāsān, played a significant role in the Zoroastrian scribal tradition. Members of this family copied numerous important Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts and have, as a result, been frequently discussed in research concerning the genealogy of Zoroastrian manuscripts (see Hodivala 1920: 294 f., fn. 33; Unvala 1940: 191 (family tree); König 2014: 50–60; Cantera 2014: 93–96).

3.1.3.1. Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār

Marzbān was *mūbed šāh*, a Chief Mūbed in Kerman. By contrast, Mehrabān held the position of *kah*²¹²-*mūbed* of Kerman. Marzbān had three sons: Dastūr Nūšīrwān, his oldest son, Frēdōn, the second son, and Bahrām, the youngest. Information in the Sālmargs of ms. 4010 indicates that he had at least two daughters, Zarestūn and Behbūd, although their names were not included in Frēdōn and Rostam's letter of 996, which was among the letters exchanged between the Iranian and Indian communities (Revāyat):

<i>bedān ey pāk mard-e nīk farjām</i>	Know, O you! The holy and fortunate man!
<i>ke sāl-e sīzdah čon 'mr-e man raft</i>	When I turned thirteen years old,
<i>marzbān-e fereydūn az vaṭan raft</i>	Marzbān, the son of Freydūn, left his homeland
<i>be amr-e šāh dar qazvīn vaṭan sāxt</i>	by the order of the king (and) Qazvin became his home.
<i>čand mähī be-dīn bande napardāxt</i>	For a couple of months, he did not take care of me.
<i>ba'd az ān dar xorāsān raft daryāb</i>	After that, he moved to Xorāsān – pay attention!
<i>čon ke būd-aš dar ānjā hamdam-e āb</i>	For there, he became a companion to water. ²¹³
<i>be andak moddatī āmad be kermān</i>	After a short time, he came to Kerman,
<i>aḡal āmad nabūd-aš hīč darmān</i>	He passed away, and there was no choice.
<i>be sālī panje o haftom ze 'ālam</i>	He passed away at the age of fifty-seven.

These indications suggest that Marzbān was forced to leave his home in Kerman and move to Qazvin at the command of Shah Abbas. As previously mentioned, a variety of political decisions and forced population displacements resulted in the movement of a large number of Zoroastrians during this king's reign (for Zoroastrians under Shah Abbas, see Boyce 1979: 180, 182; Moreen 1981). Shah Abbas moved his capital from Qazvin to the more central city of Isfahān in 1598. Therefore, it is likely that Marzbān was forcibly settled in Qazvin sometime before 1598, the year in which the capital was moved from Qazvin to Isfahān.

Marzbān then moved to Khorasan for a short period before returning to Kerman, where he died at the age of fifty-seven in the year 970, in the month of Farvardin on the day Varahrām, according to the Sālmargs in ms. 4010.

He was the scribe of manuscript IM, which was copied in Kerman in 944 AY (1575 CE) from the copy by Shahryār Ardešīr Ērīz Rostam Ērīz Kavād Ērānšāh, who in turn copied it from the manuscript by Vižan Vahrāmšāh Vižan for Ādurgašasp Yazdayār Vižan Vahrāmšāh. This manuscript was transported to India by Syāvaxš Ohrmazdyār Syāvaxš Rostam Ohrmazdyār (Jamasp 1907: p. xxiv; Sims-Williams 2012: 188–190), who presented it as a gift to the 'wealthy noble' Manekji Sohrabji Kavusji Ashburner in 1853 CE, who then donated it to Dastūr Hōšang Jāmāsp of Pune (Hintze 2017: 152). The current location of IM

212 The term *kah* means 'small'.

213 According to Zolfaghari, āb means 'wine' in this context (Cantera et al. 2019).

is unfortunately unknown. However, Dastūr Hōšang used it for his edition of the Pahlavi version of the Videvdād and recorded its variant readings. He also reproduced the three colophons in IM in the original Pahlavi script, accompanied by an English translation (Hintze 2017: 152, Jamasp 1907: pp. xxiv–xxxi. For the colophons, see Cantera 2012b: 323; for the genealogy of IM, see Mirza 1987: 331, and Cantera 2014: 135–137).

Marzbān Frēdōn also copied two Pahlavi codices, BK (1592 CE) and DH (1597 CE),²¹⁴ both of which contain colophons. The colophons in 4010, JP1 and 4062, indicate that a manuscript written by him was the original version of the copies of these manuscripts.

3.1.3.2. *Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār*

The second son of Marzbān, Frēdōn, was the scribe of the Pahlavi codex TD2²¹⁵ (975–978 AY/1606–1609 AD) that was copied from his father, Marzbān's, manuscript, which had been copied from the manuscript by Frēdōn's uncle, Dastūr Gōbedšāh Rostam Bōndār, according to the colophon in TD2. Frēdōn was also the scribe of JP1. This manuscript is an Iranian Videvdād Sāde that was kept at Jamshedji Peshotanji Sanjana at the time of Geldner, but the manuscript appears to have since been lost. Geldner provided some details about the colophons in this manuscript; he noted that Frēdōn had copied this manuscript from the manuscript by his father, Marzbān, which had been copied from the manuscript by Šahrayār Ērdēšīr Ērīz Rōstom. Bahrām Marzbān and his son Marzbān Bahrām used the same manuscript to copy mss. 4010, 4030 and 4062. Frēdōn copied JP1 for Frēdōn Wehmard Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustōm Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnayār, and asked him for advice, as well as advice from his father and brother. The manuscript was completed on the day of Mānsarespend in the month of Ādur in the year 987 AY/1618 AD. A second colophon dated about a hundred years later contains the information that Dastūr Rōstom Goštāsp Ērdēšīr (the copyist of Mf1, dated 1090 AY/1721 AD) and F2 (1075 AY/1706 AD) read this manuscript, approved of it, and gave his blessing to Frēdōn (Geldner 1895: V–VI).

In 978 AY/1609 AD, Frēdōn copied ms. 4000, the oldest existing Videvdād Sāde to date, which is housed in the library of Tehran University.²¹⁶ Frēdōn was invited to Šarīfābād, a village in Yazd, to copy this manuscript in memory of Jamšēd Marzbān Wīrāf, a young bridegroom, who had passed away due to illness.

Among the Revāyats, we find a letter written by Frēdōn and Rostam Nūšīrvān's son, who was Frēdōn's nephew, in Kerman, dated 996 AY. This letter provides us with valuable information about the genealogy and origin of the Marzbān family.²¹⁷

The main part of the letter is written in verse, and its style is very similar to the verses in the New Persian colophons in the Avestan manuscripts. The introduction of the letter, which is not in verse, provides a number of indications suggesting that this letter was written in Kerman and sent to Surat, along with the manuscript of a Wištāsp Yašt and a Visperad by Bahman Suratiye (Unvala 1922: 149–150).

- *va dar velāyat-e može'-e dār-ol-amān-e kermān, ketāb-e veštāsf yašt va vasferad*²¹⁸
jahat-e ān-jānebān ferestādīm ...

214 See ms. DH Anklesaria (1908: 3–6 and 9–13) and Hušang (undated).

215 For the colophon, see Folio 122r, lines 8–10.

216 This manuscript was published by Mazdapour and Afshar (2013).

217 For this letter, see Unvala (1922: 149–157).

218 Correct forms are Vištāsp Yašt and Vispērad.

‘And in the region of Kerman, the place of safety, we sent the book of Wištāsp Yašt and Visperad for those Excellencies ...’²¹⁹

(Unvala 1922: p. 150, lines 5–6)

This manuscript contained a Wištāsp Yašt (ms. 5010) copied from an original by Xosrošāh Anōšagruwān Rōstām Xosrošāh (1324/1344 CE), and a Visperad (ms. 2010) that had been written by Manuščihir Ardešīr Vahrom Sfandyād Ardešīr in 1627 CE (Cantera 2014: 164). We know that ms. G 18, which is kept at The First Dastur Meherjirana Library in Navsārī, contains a Wištāsp Yašt and a Visperad. Ms G 18 (containing mss. 5010 and 2010) has three colophons, but the name of Frēdōn Marzbān only appears in the third colophon. The indication of his name shows a connection between G 18 and the manuscript mentioned in the letter of 997 AY as a source for the copy of G 18.²²⁰

Frēdōn was also the scribe of mss. 2005, 2010 and 5010. Ms. 2005 does not contain a colophon; if there was once a colophon at the end of the manuscript, it has been lost. According to Cantera (2014: 104), palaeographical characteristics show that this manuscript was copied by Frēdōn Marzbān.

It appears that Frēdōn Marzbān was not the scribe of ms. 4025, and only wrote the second colophon in this manuscript, in which he mentioned the names of the two scribes of the manuscript as being his brother Wāhrōm and Mānōščihr Rustōm Frēdōn ī Gōpadšāh Rust[ōm] Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnayār.

From a Persian colophon in a miscellaneous manuscript (Sig. 13522) in the library of the parliament in Tehran,²²¹ we understand that Frēdōn Marzbān had also written a Persian book entitled *Xāb-nāme* ‘Dream Interpretation’. In the year 1013 AY, the scribe of the colophon, Bahrām Mehrabān Bahrām Goštāsb, stated that he had copied this manuscript from the book written by Frēdōn Marzbān.

It is worth mentioning that another person named Frēdōn Marzbān lived during approximately the same period; he had travelled from India to Persia, possibly on business, and had taken a letter to a priest in Navsari (see Dhabar 1932: 620–622). This letter is not dated, but it is possible to determine an approximate date. We know that Frēdōn Marzbān took this letter to the chief Dastūr of Navsari, Dastūr Mahyar (Mehreji Rana). In 1579, the priests of Navsari signed a document acknowledging Meherji Rana as their leader and declaring that all religious ceremonies would henceforth be performed only after obtaining his permission. Since he died in 1591, Frēdōn Marzbān would have probably taken this letter to the chief Dastūr at some point between 1579 and 1591 AD (Gholami 2017).

3.1.3.3. *Bahrām Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār*

Bahrām was the youngest son of Marzbān. The first Middle Persian and New Persian colophons in ms. 4010 provide a detailed description of Bahrām’s life and depict highlights of his personal, social and religious experiences.

219 Meaning ‘for the Dastūrs in India’.

220 A relationship between G 18 and the manuscript mentioned in Frēdōn and Rustam’s letter was noted by Andrés Toledo and König (See König 2014: 57, fn. Nr. 72). Cantera believed that it was impossible to decide whether the ms. 2010 in the Meherjirana Library was a copy made in Iran or in India. He stated that palaeographic analysis showed that the copyist was not Frēdōn Marzbān, and that the manuscript did not have any characteristics of Indian palaeography (Cantera 2014: 165, fn. Nr. 181).

221 This manuscript is in Persian and contains various texts, including *Goštār-e Jāmāsb-e Ḥakīm*, *Pand-nāme-ye Anūšīrvān*, *Xāb-nāme*, *Dastān-e Mūbed-e Mūbedān*, *Sogand-nāme* and *Zand-e Bahman yašt*.

Bahrām was thirteen years of age when his father passed away; after the death of his father, he began to focus on learning rituals and religious instructions. The first Middle Persian colophon indicates that he learnt extensively from various people, amongst them his brothers and Mēnōščihr ī Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh and the brothers of the latter. According to the Persian colophon, he became a Nozūd when he was sixteen and, at the age of eighteen, he celebrated the Widewdād in Nō-nāwar Yasna, and emphasised that he performed it for the immortality of the soul of his father. At the age of twenty, he copied the Videvdād 4010.

Bahrām copied the old part of ms. 4030 from the manuscript written by his father and brother at the command of Bahrām Kayān Sorxāb. In the Persian colophon in this manuscript, he wrote a brief yet dramatic biography of Bahrām Kayān Sorxāb and his family during the reign of Šāh Abbās.

Bahrām also copied the first part of 4025 and the Safavid part of 4030 from the manuscript written by his father and brother.

We know that Dastūr Wehmard Frēdōn Wehmard Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dīnyār copied Vyt 5020 from a copy of the manuscript by Bahrām, which was copied from a copy of the manuscript written by Xosrošāh Nūšīrwān Rustōm.

His name is found amongst the signatories of various letters from Kerman to India, and in Frēdōn and Rostam's letter to India. In his letter to India of 996 AY (AD 1627), Fereydūn Marzbān mentioned that Bahrām, his younger brother, had two sons:

... ze bahrām do pūr-e bā afarīn
mahīn šāhmardān [o] kah marzbān ...

... from Bahrām, two blessed sons
The older Šāhmardān and the younger
Marzbān²²²

The Sālmargs in ms. 4010 indicate that Bahrām died on the day Māh in the month of Farvardīn and in the year 1021 AY (1652 AD) at the age of 64,²²³ seventeen years after the deaths of his two brothers, Anōšagruwān and Frēdōn, who had passed away in 1004 AY (1635 AD).

Bahrām's older son was Šahmardān, the copyist of the first part of ms. 4063. His name is found amongst the signatories of the Maktub-i Suratya dated 1670 that was written in Kerman (Dhabar 1932: 625).

Marzbān was Bahrām's younger son, the copyist of 4062 (the Pouladi Collection) and of a Videvdād (1044 AY/1675 AD), which Browne saw in the Fire Temple in Kerman (Browne 1893: 442). The current location of this manuscript is unfortunately unknown. He copied ms. 4062 from a copy by his grandfather, Marzbān Frēdōn Marzbān, which was in turn a copy of Šahrīyār Idešīr Rostam's manuscript that was written for Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šahmardān. Marzbān Bahrām copied 4062 for Dastūr Esfandyār Nušīrwān Ādar, the same patron as for 4050.

The name of Marzbān Bahrām appears as a signatory in both Maktub-i Suratya (Dhabar 1932: 625) and in the letter to Dastur Rostam Peshutan and others regarding the new Dakhme (Dhabar 1932: 624).

²²² See Unvala (1922: 153).

²²³ According to the Persian colophon, we know that Bahrām's father died in 970 AY, when Bahrām was thirteen years of age. Since Bahrām died in 1021 AY, he must have been 64 when he died.

3.1.3.4. Nušīrwān Marzbān Frēdōn Bahrām Rostam Bondār Šāhmardān Dīnyār

According to Frēdōn and Rostam's letter, Dastūr Nušīrwān was the older brother of Frēdōn and had three sons: The name of the oldest son was Rostam, and the youngest son was Marzbān. The other son was named Xosrow. Rostam had a son named Zarātošt.

In 952 AY, Nušīrwān Marzbān travelled to Yazd together with a number of noble Zoroastrians from Kerman in order to visit the Zoroastrian shrines and temples. In Yazd, he visited Dastūr Xosrow Dastūr Māvandād, whose name is found in a letter dated 928 amongst the names of the Dastūrs of Šarīfābād. Dastūr Xosrow told Nušīrwān Marzbān stories about events that had affected the Zoroastrians of Yazd one hundred years previously, and Nušīrwān documented these stories in his letters to India (Šāhmardān 1970: 674).

In the years between 991 and 996 AY, Nušīrwān wrote a wide range of historical stories in the form of poetry, including 'Mazdak Nāme', 'The story of Soltān Mahmud', 'The story of Nušīrwān and Marzbān', 'Dignity of Mūbeds', 'The story of Jamšid and the reality in the case of the dead', a translation of 'Ardāvīrāf' in verse, and 'The story of Harāt's king', which were documented in Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat (Unvala 1922: II). At the end of the stories, he mentioned his name as the scribe and indicated the dates on which he wrote the verses. Based on his poems, we know that he prophesied and knew about astrology. To date, we have not found Avestan or Pahlavi manuscripts written by him.

He signed and wrote a large number of verification and validation notes, amongst them the following note at the end of a letter dated 996 AY:

'This account is versified by Frēdōn Marzbān, brother of Anōšāgruwān Marzbān; and Rostam Anōšāgruwān, son of Anōšāgruwān Marzbān and nephew of Frēdōn had made a copy of it for the Rivayat of Bahman Punjya. Letter written in AY 996, A. H. 1036.' (Dhabhar 1932: 592).

The Sālmargs in ms. 4010 indicate that he passed away on the day Xordād in the month Xordād in the year 1004 AY (1635 AD).

It is not clear whether his son, Marzbān Nūšīrvān, or the son of his brother, Marzbān Bahrām, was the author of the inscription on the marble stone at the Fire Temple, *Darb-e Mehr*, in the quarter of *Šahr* (Boyce 1966: 70–72), which includes part of ancient Kerman (Sykes 1902: 193). The verse on this marble stone records the building of an earlier *Darb-e Mehr* during the reign of Shah Abbas by a Behdīn, Rostam Bondār Mehragān, in 1014 AY.²²⁴ Rostam, another son of Nušīrwān, was the scribe of the letter to India dated 996. As mentioned previously, his name, together with the name of his uncle Frēdōn, occurs at the end of this letter. It appears that Frēdōn dictated the letter to him, and that Rostam wrote the letter:

²²⁴ For the transcription and translation of this inscription, see Boyce (1966: 70–72). Part of the inscription was also discussed in König (2014: 47–48). This *Darb-e Mehr* housed the ancient Ataš-Varahrām of Kerman. After transferring the Ataš-Varahrām to the Fire Temple of Qanātgestān and to the new Fire Temple of Kerman in 1923 (1302 Š), the *Darb-e Mehr* in the quarter of *Šahr* gradually lost its religious importance and was later converted to a residential house. At the time of Mary Boyce's visit, the marble stone was found on the floor of gallery of the Gahanbār-xāne of the *Darb-e Mehr*. She stated that Arbab Jamshid Soroushian transferred it for safe keeping to the Šāh Varahrām Izad shrine (see Boyce 1966: 59–60, footnote 80). This marble stone is now held at the Mūze-ye Mardom-šenāsi-ye Kerman (Zoroastrian Museum of Kerman); written communication with Arash Ziyatabari and Armita Farahmand, fifth of May 2021.

To ey rostam-e pūr-e nūšīrvān
to naẓm-e ʿamūyat kon īnjā ʿayān
to benvīs tā ū ʿo dor softe ast
basī pand o andarzhā gofte ast
ke tā mardom-e marz-e hendūstān
*bedānand sar rešteye dūstān*²²⁵

(Unvala 1922, II: 154)

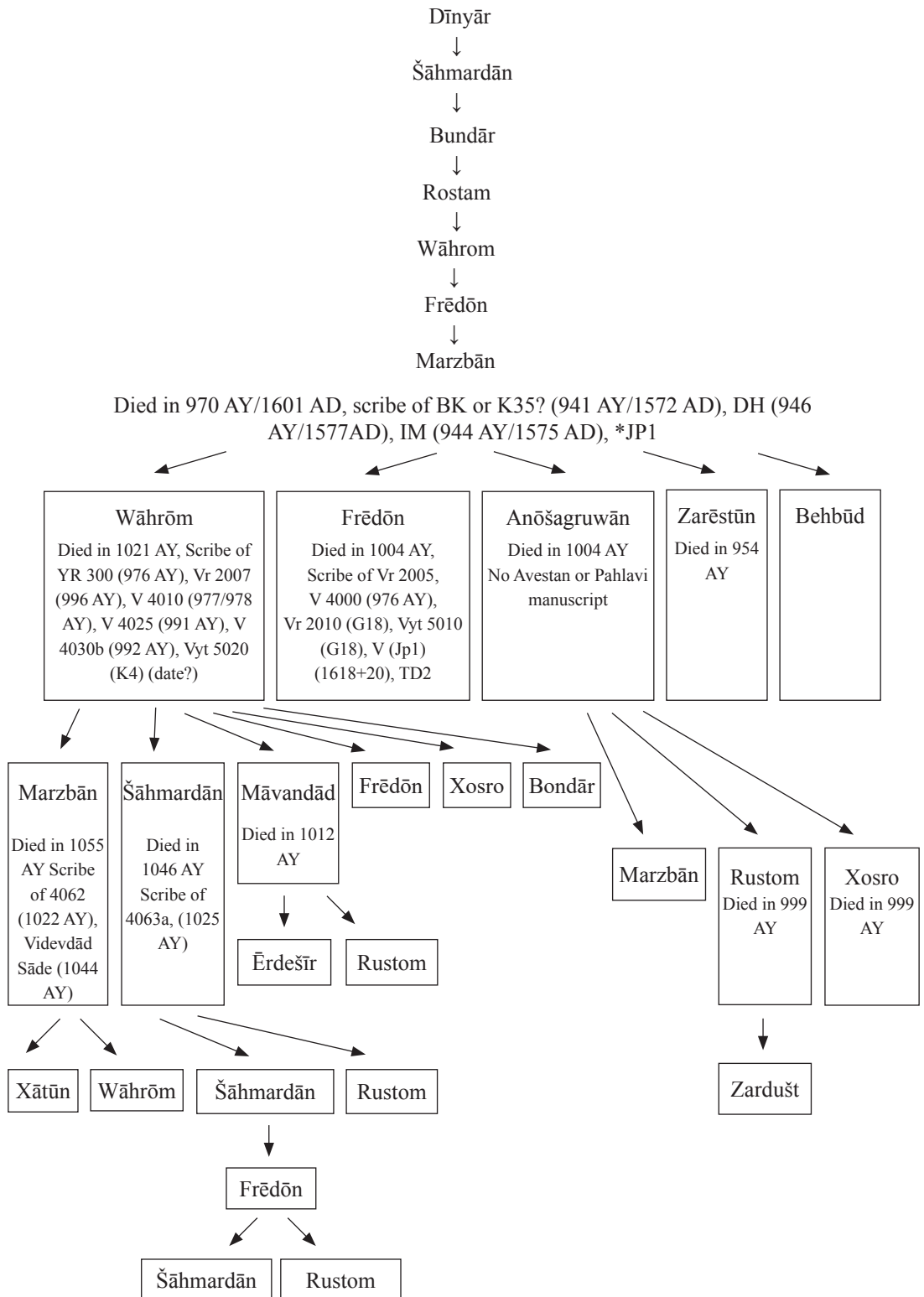
O! Rostam, son of Nūšīrvān!
 Present here the verse of your uncle!
 Write that he is as valuable as the pearl!
 He who offered much advice and guidance!
 So that the people of the land of India
 May know about the origin of friends!

He was also one of the signatories of the Maktub-i Suratya of 1670 (Dhabar 1932: 625). Cantera (2014: 97, 95, 99) pointed out that mss. 4045 and 4050 written by Mihrābān Nūšīrvān were copied from the manuscripts by Nūšīrvān's sons Irdešīr (*4050a) and Rostam (*4045). However, my results differ from Cantera's (2014: 97, 95, 99) estimate. The letter of 996 lists the sons of Nūšīrvān as Rostam, Marzbān and Xosrow. The name of Ardešīr cannot be found amongst the names of Nūšīrvān's sons. The colophon in ms. 4050 indicates the manuscript of Ardešīr Nūšīrvān Esfandyār as the source of the copy, which refers to another family and not to the Marzbān family. The colophon in ms. 4045 states that Mihrābān Nūšīrvān copied the manuscript from a manuscript by Rostam Nūšīrvān Wahomanyār and not from one by Rostam Nūšīrvān Marzbān. The colophon in 4050 mentions that the manuscript was copied from the manuscript by Ērdēšīr Anōšag-ruwān Spandyār. This information shows that the sources for the copies of mss. 4045 and 4050 were not the manuscripts written by Nūšīrvān's sons.

Based on the letter written by Frēdōn Marzbān and Rostam Nūšīrvān and dated 996, as well as the Sālmargs in ms. 4010 and the colophons in the manuscripts of this family, we can reconstruct the genealogical tree of the Marzbān family as follows:

²²⁵ Unvala (1922: 154, rows 15–16).

Family tree of the Marzbān family:



3.2. Other families

3.2.1. Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh

Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh Ardešīr Bahrāmšāh was one of the most creative and important scribes in Iran in the seventeenth century. He was the scribe of four illuminated Videvdād manuscripts, ms. 4045, 4050, 4055 and 4060, as well as of ms. 6 in the Zolfaghari collection and a Pahlavi Visperad, ms. 2510. Manuscript 6 and the Pahlavi Visperad 2510 do not contain colophons; hence, the identification of the scribe of these manuscripts was based on an orthographic and palaeographical analysis. The latter appears to be the only existing Avestan text with a Pahlavi translation of Iranian origin to date.

Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh used various sources for the copies of the Videvdād manuscripts; for example, he copied ms. 4045, which is currently housed in the library of Tehran University, from a manuscript by Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār in 1004 AY (1635 AD). Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār was also the patron of ms. 4045, as mentioned in the Persian colophon in the manuscript. Mehrabān Nušīrwān stated that this Videvdād belonged to Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār, a good and pious man whose father and grandfather were Mūbēd, and who wanted Mehrabān Nušīrwān to copy this manuscript for him. We find the name of Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār in the Sālmargs in ms. 4045. According to these Sālmargs, he died in 1054 AY (1685 AD), fifty years after completing ms. 4045. Cantera identified this Rostam Nušīrwān as the nephew of Frēdōn and Vahrōm Marzbān (Cantera 2014, pp. 99–100), which cannot be correct, as the genealogical information shows that his grandfather was Bahmanyār and not Marzbān.

Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh used two manuscripts for the copy of ms. 4050,²²⁶ which is currently in the library of the parliament in Tehran. He used a manuscript by Ardešīr Nušīrwān Spandyār for the first part of 4050 until the beginning of V 9 and, for the second part of this manuscript, he used a manuscript by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn, which was written for Rustam Mehrabān Bahrām Ādar. Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh copied the entire manuscript, both the first and the second part, under the patronage of Esfandyār Nušīrwān Ādar Bahrām Ādar, who is mentioned as being the patron in both the Middle Persian colophons and in the Persian one.

Although Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 210) considered both Esfandyār Nušīrwān Ādar Bahrām Ādar and Rustam Mehrabān Bahrām Ādar to be the patrons of ms. 4050, I am of the opinion that Rustam Mehrabān Bahrām Ādar was the patron of the manuscript by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn and not the patron of ms. 4050 based on this passage in the second Middle Persian colophon:

man dēn bandag mehrēpān anošagruwān wāhromšā (4) ērdēšīr wāhromšāh nibištōm frāz hišt az pačēn frēdōn marzbān (5) frēdōn, kē-š az bahrīh xwēšīh hamāg pērōzgarīh rustōm mehrēpān (6) Vāhrōm ādur nebeštāg bawēd, ke-šān ruwān pad pahlom axwān rōšn ō (7) garōdmān be-rasād. nebeštōm az bahrīh xwēšīh hamāg pērōzgarīh (8) spandyāt anošagruwān ādur Vāhrōm ādur.

‘... (this manuscript) has been written and completed by me, the servant of the religion, Mehrēpān Anošagruwān Wāhromšā (4) Ērdēšīr Wāhromšāh, from a manuscript of Frēdōn Marzbān (5) Frēdōn, which was written for the possession of all victorious

²²⁶ For a description of this manuscript, see Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 210).

Rustōm Mehrēpān (6) Vāhrōm Ādur. May his soul reach for ever that best world, the shining (7) Garōtmān. I, the righteous, have written (this manuscript) for the possession of all victorious (8) Spandyāt Anošagruwān Ādur Vāhrōm Ādur...'

If my assumption is correct, the manuscript copied by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn and used by Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh for the second part of ms. 4050 cannot be ms. 4000, which was ordered by Datūr Adurbād in memory of the young dead bridegroom, Jamšīd Marzbān Wīrāf. The name Rostam Mehrabān Bahrām Ādar is not mentioned anywhere in the Middle Persian colophons or in the Persian colophon in ms. 4000. Based on the first Middle Persian colophon in ms. 4063, we know that Šahmardān Bahrām Marzbān used a manuscript written by his uncle, Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn, to make the copy of part of the sixth Fragard to the Yasnā in ms. 4063. It is highly possible that the manuscript mentioned in the second Middle Persian colophon in ms. 4050 was the manuscript that was used for the second part of ms. 4063. The other manuscript that Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn may have used as a source for the copy of the second part of ms. 4050 could be JP1, which appears to have now been lost. Geldner did not mention the name of the patron in his description of the colophon in this manuscript (Geldner 1895: V-VI); therefore, a definitive attribution seems to be implausible.

Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 210) noted that the date of the second Middle Persian colophon in ms. 4050 is earlier than that of the first, which appears to be unlikely. Based on the date mentioned in the Persian colophon, we can conclude that the year 1009 AY/1640 AD in the first Middle Persian colophon is a mistake. The Persian colophon documents the same day and month; however, the year is given as 1008 AY/1639 AD, which seems to be the correct year for the copy of the first part of the manuscript:

<i>nevešte šod īn nosxe-ye por xerad</i>	This manuscript, full of wisdom, was written
<i>be dey māh o dar rūz-e espantfmad</i>	In the month of Dey, on the day Spandārmazd ²²⁷
<i>sane haššad o hašt būd o do šad</i>	In the year 808 and 200
<i>ze yazgerd ān šāh-e bā dīn o dād</i>	of the Yazdgerd era, under that faithful and just king.
<i>ke benveštam īn nesf-e jad-dīv-dād</i>	I wrote this half of the Videvdād
<i>ze bahr-e čenān mard-e parhīzgār</i>	for such a chaste man
<i>kojā bāb xānadstaš esfandyār</i>	A man called Esfandyār by his father,
<i>nīyā ādar o bāb nūšīravān</i>	his grandfather was Ādar and his father, Nūšīrvān

It is likely that the same manuscript by Frēdōn Marzbān that was used for the copy of ms. 4050 was also the source for the copies of mss. 4055 and 4060. In the colophon in ms. 4055, Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh mentioned that he had copied the manuscript from a copy by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn for Sandal Sīyāvaxš Bahrām, who was the patron of this manu-

²²⁷ In the Zoroastrian Calendar, this name occurs in the form of *Spandārmazd*. At present, Zoroastrians also use *Spandārmazd* or *Spandārmaz*.

script. He copied ms. 4055 in 1014 AY (1645 AD) in Turkābād in Yazd at the house of Dastūr Bahrām Mehrabān Nušīrwān Rostam, who was probably the son of Mehrabān Nušīrwān Rostam, the scribe of K43 (copied in 936 AY/1567 AD) and the brother of Xosro Nušīrwān Rostam, who were also inhabitants of Turkābād and the copyists of ms. 4020 (see Xosro Nušīrwān Rostam).

Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh copied ms. 4060 in memory of Zarēr Rostam Anārōn in 1016 AY (1647 AD), again in Turkābād and at the house of Dastūr Bahrām Mehrabān Nušīrwān Rostam. The patron who funded the copying was Marzbān Sandal Xosrodād (in the Persian colophon, Marzbān Sandal Xosro Šād Sa'd).

The New Persian colophons by Mehrabān Anōšagruwān provide limited information about his personal life. In his colophons, he complained frequently about experiencing bitter and difficult times because of 'people and life', and introduced these subjects as reasons for his possible mistakes and errors in the manuscript:

<i>xaṭ-am gar če por sahv yā por xaṭāst</i>	if my script is full of mistakes and errors
<i>ʿjab nīst bī ʿeyb yektā xodāst</i>	It's no wonder, only God is flawless
<i>del-e man nabod yek zamān barqarār</i>	Not a moment was my heart calm,
<i>be rox bāram az ʿašm xūn dar kenār</i>	I cry blood from my eyes
<i>ze baʿzī kasān o az īn rūzegār</i>	because of certain people and this period
<i>del-am būd por dard layl o nahār</i>	Day and night, my heart was full of pain.
<i>ze dānā šenīdī to īn dastān</i>	Did you hear this story from the wise?
<i>ke mīgūyad az gofte-ye bāstān</i>	Who tells of ancient tales,
<i>ke dast-e šekaste konad kār sost</i>	That a broken hand works lazily,
<i>valīkan bovad kār-e ū tandorost</i>	Yet still works well.
<i>del aškaste kār-aš nabāšad pasand</i>	The work of a broken heart is not apt,
<i>agar če konad saʿy ey hūšmand</i>	Despite its efforts, O wise ones!
<i>marā del por az xūn bodī rūz o šab</i>	Day and night, my heart was full of sorrow.

(Persian colophon, 4050)

3.2.2. Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār

The colophon and Sālmargs in ms. 4045 record a scribe who was also a patron and who funded the copying of this manuscript. In the Middle Persian colophon in ms. 4045, the scribe, Mehrabān Nušīrwān Bahrāmšāh, mentioned that he had copied this manuscript from a manuscript by Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār. Sadly, the origin of this manuscript is unknown. In the Persian colophon in ms. 4045, he is described as a pious man from a priestly family who wanted the scribe to copy a manuscript, probably one of his own:

*...yam aval be nām e xōda
pas ānke konam qeše ra ebtedā
ze man bešno ey āqel-e nāmvar
ke gūyam man īn qeše rā sar be sar
...īn daftar az bahr-e kīst*

*begūyam ke ān mard rā nām čīst
yekī mard-e šādast o rōšan ravān
xodaš rostam o bāb nūšīrvān*

*[nīyā] rā nām bod Bahmyār
nekū mard o dastūr o parhīzgār
pedar bar pedar mūbed o pārsā*

hame rūze dar zekr o fekr-e xodā

*...īn mard-e pāk e' teqād
ma rā goft ey āqel-e pākzād
yekī nosxe benvīs az bahr-e man
ke mānad ze man nām dar anjoman
[nevešta]m man īn daftar az dīn o dād*

*ke nām-e va rā hast jad-dīv-dād
sepās az xodavand-e parvardegār
ke čandān amān dīdam az rūzegār*

*...ām īn ketāb az nahād
ze bahr-e čenān mard-e pāk e' teqād
ke har laḥze o har zamān xānad-aš
ravān o xerad rā bar afrūzad-aš
...āl xānad be 'eyš o be nāz
pas ānke sepārad be farzand bāz
omīdam ke farzand e ū hamčenīn
sepārad be farzand az rāh-e dīn*

...nā sīyāvšāns-e fīrūzgar

First, in the name of God
Then I begin the story
O wise and renowned, hear from me!
For I will tell this story completely:
Who does this book belong to, you may ask?

I would tell you the name of that man,
A man of happy and bright soul.
His name is Rostam and his father is
Nušīrvān,

His grandfather was named Bahmanyār,
a good man, a Dastūr, and a chaste man.
Both his father and grandfather were
priests and pious.

Every day he was consumed with thoughts
of God,

Such was this holy believer.

He told me, «O wise one, of holy birth,

Scribe a manuscript for me,

So that my name may live on in society.»

I have written this book about religion and
laws,

its name is Videvdād

Thanks be to God, the Creator,

That to that extent we may be safe from
fate.

This book I scribe from the basis

For such a devout man,

So that he may read it at every moment,

It ignites his soul and wisdom,

May he read it with joy and pleasure,

And pass it on to his child.

I hope that his child too,

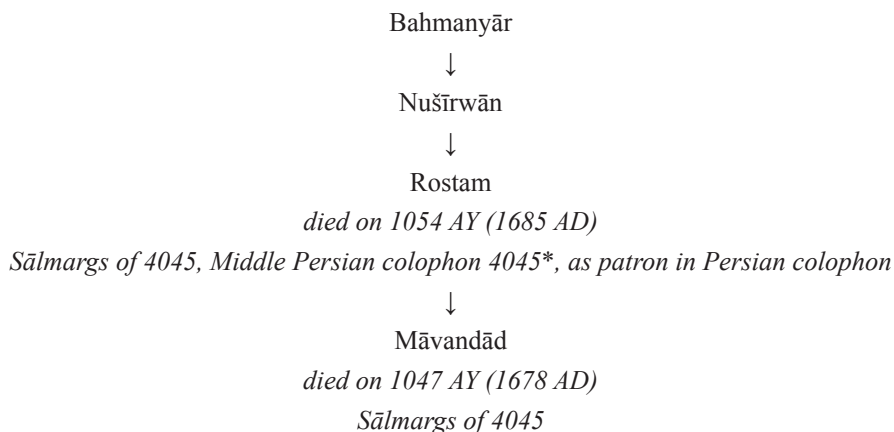
May pass it on to his children, in the way
of religion,

And may they be victorious like the
Sīyāvšāns²²⁸

228 Possibly a variation of Sōšāns.

Rostam Nušīrwān Bahmanyār's name and the date of his death were recorded in the Sālmargs in ms. 4045 as follows: 'The death date of holy soul, Dastūr Rostam Nūšīrwān Bahmanyār, on the day Ard Īzad, the month Xordād, the old month, the year 1054 AY (1685 AD), on Ša'bān 22, the year 1096 Qamari.' According to this Sālmarg and the Persian colophon in the manuscript, he died fifty years after the copying of ms. 4045.

Family tree of the Bahmanyār family according to the Sālmargs and colophons in V 4045



3.2.3. Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār Bahrām Ardešīr Ādur Sīstānīg

Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār was among the active scribes of Avestan manuscripts in the early nineteenth century. His family genealogy indicates that his ancestors hailed from Sīstān. Most of the manuscripts transcribed by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār are found in Kerman. This fact, along with the characteristic loss of #*h*- that is typical of the Zoroastrian Dari of Kerman (see Gholami 2016; Gholami & Farahmand, 2016; Lorimer, 1916: 440–442) may suggest his affiliations with this region. According to Martínez-Porro (forthcoming, 2.3.1.1.2.5) the scribe's mother tongue could have been the Zoroastrian Dari of Kerman, thus indicating that he came from Kerman.

However, this contradicts a characteristic found in the Middle Persian colophon in 2038 (dated 1175 AY/1806 AD),²²⁹ in which the name Esfandyār is written as *wespaṇdār* [wspnd'r] instead of as *aspandyār*, and *ādarbād* appears in the form *wādarbād* [w'twb't]. The space between the words and the closeness of the *w*- to these names clearly indicate that *w*- is an initial consonant and not a word divider. These examples show a phonological change that is characteristic of the Zoroastrian Dari of Yazd. Instead of the Kermani *ā* in the initial position, a bilabial spirant *w*, or the vowel *ā* occurs in Yazdi (Kermani *ārt* 'flour,' Yazdi *vurt*; Yazdi *vudem* 'man, human,' Kermani *ādem*; Gholami 2016). This characteristic is only found in the colophon in ms. 2038 and not in the colophons of later manuscripts copied by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān, such as ms. 2040.

²²⁹ The date that occurs in the Persian colophon at the end of the book is 1179 AY (1810), which means that there is a difference of four years between the Middle Persian colophon after half of the book and the Persian colophon at the end of the book.

We know that he was the scribe of seven manuscripts, six manuscripts containing the long liturgy (three Yasnā and three Visperads) and one Xorde Avesta, as well as being the scribe of three illuminated Visperads: ms. 2040 (dated 1182 AY/1813 AD),²³⁰ ms. 2104²³¹ and ms. 2038 (dated 1179 AY/1810 AD).²³² He also copied an illuminated Yasnā, ms. 15 (dated 1185 AY/1816 AD), another Yasnā, ms. 82 and a Xorde Avesta, ms. 6187 (dated 1172–1173 AY/1804–1805 AD).

This Xorde Avesta is not the same Xorde Avesta that Browne saw at the Fire Temple in Kerman; Browne noted that the scribe of that Xorde Avesta was Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār, and that the manuscript had been written in 1811 AY (Browne 1893: 442). Sadly, the current location of this Xorde Avesta is unknown.

All the other manuscripts, except for ms. 2038 and ms. 90, originally belonged to Rašīd Rostami (1930–2000), the late Dastūr of Kerman and the director of the Kerman Adrīyān (Fire Temple) for thirty years, and were held by the Zoroastrian Museum and Fire Temple in Kerman. Vr 2038 belonged to Dīnyār Ošīdarī, a resident of Kerman. Mehraban Pouladi and I found Yasnā 90 in the cellar in the backyard of the Fire Temple, along with other manuscripts and books that had been transferred there while the library was being renovated.

I introduced this Yasnā in my article entitled ‘The collection of Avestan manuscripts of the Ataš Varahrām in Yazd’ (Gholami 2020: 40–44). The colophon in ms. 90 does not contain a date but, according to the dates of the other manuscripts written by Esfandyār Anūšīrvān, this manuscript could also be dated to the first half of the nineteenth century.

As mentioned in Gholami (2020: 44), the colophons written by Esfandyār Anūšīrvān provide different genealogical information. For example, the name ‘Vāhrōm’ only occurs in the Persian colophons (except for ms. 2040) and in the Middle Persian colophon in 2040. In ms. 2038, the name ‘Esfandyār’ occurs instead of ‘Wāhrom’, which is probably a mistake.

Based on a comparative study of the colophons in Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār’s manuscripts and in Vaqf Nāme ms. 90, which provides a list of the family members of the Ādur Sīstānīg family, we can reconstruct the genealogy of this family as follows: Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār Bahrām Ardešīr Ādar Sīstānīg.

In the Persian colophon in ms. 15, the name Ādarbād has been recorded instead of Ādar. The differences between the Middle Persian and Persian colophons in ms. 2038 are substantial. While the date of the copy is recorded as 1175 AY (1806 AD) in the Middle Persian colophon, the date in the Persian colophon, which has been added at the top of the colophon, is given as 1179 AY (1810 AD). In the Middle Persian colophon, Esfandyār Nūšīrwān stated that he had copied the manuscript for Šahrībōnū Dastūr Sīyāvaxš, and the same name appears in the Persian colophon in ms. 15. The Persian colophon in Y 17 provides us with a more detailed genealogy of the Šahrībānū family, namely ‘Šahrībānū Dastūr Sīyāvaxš Dastūr Ādarbād’. The text in the Middle Persian colophon in ms. 2038 continues as follows: ‘I have written for the possession and success of Sēndal’, who should thus have been the patron of the manuscript but, surprisingly, the Persian colophon makes no mention of such a person. Instead, Esfandyār Nūšīrwān stated that he had copied the manuscript for the success of the children of Šahrībānū and donated it to the child of Dastūr Sīyāvaxš Dastūr Fereydūn Dastūr Manūčehr Dastūr Fereydūn.

²³⁰ For a description, see Martínez-Porro (2014a: 78ff.).

²³¹ For a description, see Martínez-Porro (2014a: 80).

²³² For a description, see Martínez-Porro (2014a: 78).

The colophons in manuscript 2040 do not provide any explicit information about the patron or possessor of the manuscript. However, a note at the end of the Persian colophon does mention that Esfandyār Dastūr Nūšīrwān sold this manuscript to Dastūr Farrozzād Dastūr Fereydūn.

Additional insight into the manuscript's ownership history is provided by the marginal notes at the bottom of the colophon page, which confirm this transaction.

We know that this manuscript belonged to Bahrām Mobed Esfandyār in 1306²³³, who was probably one of the descendants of Espandyār Dastūr Nušīrwān. At the end of the colophon page, we find another note mentioning that the manuscript belonged to the Adrīyān, who is very likely to have been the Adrīyān in Kerman, and the scribe of this note cursed anybody who would be greedy regarding this manuscript.

The donation stamp in ms. 90 shows that the manuscript was donated to the library of Ataš Varahrām by Dastūr Freydūn Dastūr Esfandyār. It is possible that the donor of this manuscript, Dastūr Freydūn Dastūr Esfandyār, was the brother of the owner of ms. 2040, who probably donated his own manuscript to the Adrīyān in Kerman.

Another important consideration regarding the colophons in the manuscripts that were copied by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān is that the colophon in ms. 90 was written by a different hand. I argue that ms. 90 is probably a copy of another copy by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān, most likely ms. 82 in the Ataš Varahrām collection. The copyist of ms. 90 may have reproduced the colophon in ms. 82 without changing the information or adding his name to the manuscript. Both colophons are short, and neither contains the date of the copy; however, similar strange mistakes can be observed in both colophons, such as the use of *dastwar bar* instead of *dastwar*, *rāwmišn* instead of *rāmišn*, *nūšīrān* instead of *nūšīrwān* and *rōzār* instead of *rōzgār*.

The phrase *nibištom* <ud> *frāz hišt hom pad dēn* <ī> *čiyōn pēdar* <ud> *dēn* <ī> *xwēš* <ud> *pad dēn* 'I have written and launched <it> according to the religion of my father and my (9) own and the religion' is found in both colophons, and is an extremely untypical phrase in colophons.

The following table shows a comparison of the colophons in mss. 82 and 90.

82

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh*
<ud> *rāwmišn*²³⁴ *ud pad nēk jāhišn ud* (2)
xūb murwāg xūb frazāmag

awāstāg drust rōzār awāstāg (3) *yašt rēstag*
yazišnīg.

man dēn bandag dastwar bar aspandār dast-
war bar nūšīrān (4) *dastwar bar aspandār*
dastwar ēr<d>šīr ādur sīstānīg.

90

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh*
(u) *rāw*(2)*mišn*²³⁵ *pad nēk jāhišn ud xūb*
murwāg <ud> *xūb frazāmag*

awāstāg drust rōzār awās(4)*tāg yašt rēstag*
yazišnīg.

man dēn bandag das(5)*twar bar aspandyār*
dastwar bar nūšīrān (6) *dastwar bar*
aspandyār dastwar bar ēr<d>šīr (7) *ādur*
<ī> *sīstānīg*

²³³ The era is not clear, and neither is whether Shamsi meant 1927 AD.

²³⁴ Written as *r'wmšn*¹

²³⁵ Written as *rāwmišn* instead of as *rāmišn*.

*nibištom <ud> frāz (5) hišt hom pad dēn nibištom <ud> frāz hi(8)št hom pad dēn
 <ī> čiyōn pedar <ud> dēn <ī> xwēš <ud> <ī> čiyōn pēdar <ud> dēn <ī> (9) xwēš
 pad dēn <ud> pad dēn
 yašt (6) nibišt hōm az bahr <ī> dēn ke tā yašt nibišt hom
 150 sālān bē nēk frazām*

Translation:

82

(1) Completed in welfare and joy and glory
 <and> pleasure, in good fate and (2) good
 omen, and good end, <this> Avesta of (3)
 good time, the Avesta of Yašt <with> ritual
 series. I, the servant of religion, Dastūr
 Aspadār Dastūr Nūšīrān Dastūr Aspadār
 Dastūr Ēr<d>šīr Ādur Sīstānīg, have written
 and launched <it> according to the religion
 of my father and my (9) own and the reli-
 gion. I have written (this) Yašt for the reli-
 gion in order that [it will be used] for 150
 years with good end...'

90

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and
 (2) pleasure, in good fate and good omen
 and (3) good end, the Avesta of good time,
 (4) the Avesta of Yašt with ritual series. I,
 the servant of religion, Dastūr Aspadār,
 Dastūr Nūšīrān (6) Dastūr Aspadār Dastūr
 Ēredšīr (7) Ādur, from Sīstān, have written
 and launched <it> (8) according to the re-
 ligion of my father and my (9) own. I have
 written (this) Yašt according to religion'

Based on the large number of similarities in the two colophons, which is above average, it is possible that ms. 90 is a copy of ms. 82, and that the colophon in ms. 90 is a reproduction of the colophon in ms. 82. By focusing on the palaeographical and orthographic characteristics, Martínez-Porro (forthcoming, 3.2.1.1.1) concluded that ms. 2104 and part of ms. 4055b were also written by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān. Neither of these manuscripts contains a colophon.

There was another Esfandyār Nūšīrwān, the patron of mss. 4062 and 4050, who should not be confused with the Esfandyār Nūšīrwān discussed here. His genealogy is given as Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Ādūr Vāhrōm Ādūr.

3.2.4. Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr Gōštāsp Ardēšīr

Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr Gōštāsp's name has been mentioned in the colophons of at least three manuscripts of the long liturgy. He was the scribe of Yasnā 8, which is housed in Ataš Varharām in Yazd.²³⁶ He was the scribe of two further Visperads²³⁷ 2030 (Sig. 5-19206) dated 1076 AY (1707 AD)²³⁸ that are held at the National Library (Ketābxāne-ye Mellī) in Tehran, and *2070, the famous miscellaneous codex Mf 1 (K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mulla Firuz library, D 83, 3799, ADA number 10)²³⁹, which was written in 1090 AY. Geldner included

²³⁶ For a description of this manuscript, see Gholami (2020: 44–48).

²³⁷ For a description of this manuscript, see Martínez-Porro (2014a: 78).

²³⁸ Cantera mentioned 1716 AD (1085 AY; 2014: 407), which is not correct. See Martínez-Porro (2014a: 78), who mentioned the date as being 1076 AY.

²³⁹ Hintze, Almut (2012): 'Manuscripts of the Yasna and Yasna ī Rapithwin'. In: Cantera, Alberto, (Ed.), *The Transmission of the Avesta*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 244–278. (Iranica 20). This manuscript was also described in Dhabar (1923: 1).

Mf 1 in his edition of the Avesta and described it as an excellent manuscript (Geldner 1896: xi).

If my suggested date for ms. 8, namely 1106 AY/1737 AD, is correct, this manuscript is the most recent existing manuscript by Rostam Gōštāsp, and was written sixteen years after Mf1 and thirty years after ms. 2030. Both ms. 8 and Mf1 were copied in Turkābād.

Martínez-Porro, following a palaeographical and orthographical analysis, stated that ms. 88 in the Pouladi Collection appeared to be a copy made by Rostam Gōštāsp or someone very close to him (Martínez-Porro 2017: 101). Using the same methodology, he also concluded that Rostam Gōštāsp copied ms. 2101 (Martínez-Porro forthcoming, 3.1.2.3).

From the colophons and marginal notes in manuscripts 2030 and Mf1, we learn that Rostam Gōštāsp had a son named Bahrām, who sadly died young, prior to the creation of these manuscripts. Bahrām's name was added above the tenth line on the first page of the colophon in manuscript 8, as well as above the tenth line and in the left margin of the first page of the colophon in manuscript 2030. The scribe, his father,²⁴⁰ wished that readers include the soul of Bahrām in their Yazīšn blessings. Rostam Gōštāsp copied Mf1, manuscripts 2030 and 8 in remembrance of his son, Bahrām. Bahrām's death date, 1080 AY, is mentioned in a Persian note at the end of the colophon in manuscript 2030.

The scribe, Rostom Gōštāsp Ardešīr, employed certain formulas (see the following table numbers 1, 3, 4, 5) that echo those found in the colophon of the Pahlavi codex BK, written by Marzbān Frēdōn Vāhrōm, and in the second colophon of TD4a, which appears to be a copy of the colophon of BK (refer to the following table BK and TD4a numbers 1 to 6). These similarities in the colophons of these manuscripts may suggest that Rostam Gōštāsp had access to the manuscripts transcribed by Marzbān Frēdōn Vāhrōm.

Table 4: A comparison of the colophons of 2030, BK and TD4a:

	2030	BK	TD4a
1	nibišt hom andar waxšišn ud ahlāyīh, nirfsišn drōj (12)	nibištom <ud> frāz hišt andar waxšišn ī (3) ahlāyīh, [ni]rfsiznīh <𐬨> drōj <ud> handōzišn [i] kirbag hanbār	nibištom <ud>frāz hišt andar waxšišn ī ahlāyīh, (4) [ni]rfsiznīh <𐬨> drōj <ud> handōzišn [i] kirbag hanbār
2	-	ke az xwahišnān ud saxwanān (4) pahlom dārād,	ke az xwahišnān ud saxwanān (5) pahlom dārād,

²⁴⁰ If we accept the possibility that his father added his name to the colophon and that this was not done by a later reader or user of the manuscript.

3	<p>abdīh yazdān abē-gumānīh pad astīh <▷> dādār ohrmazd ud (13) [am] ahraspandān abārīg yazdān ud wēh-dahišnān <ud> dēn ī wēh (14) <▷> [mazdayast] ān <ud> pēdāmbārīh <▷> yazat fravahr ī zarduxšt spitāmān <▷> (15) [ahlaw] fravahr. abē-gumānīh ka ohrmazd hamāg dāmān <▷> xwēš (16) [dā]d kē awīš framān burdār bawand.</p>	<p>u-š²⁴¹ yazdān abē-gumānīh ī pad astīh ī dādār orhmazd (5) <ud> amahraspandān abārīg-iz yazdān wēh- dahišnān <ud> dēn <▷> wēh <▷> mazdayastān <ud> pēdāmbārīh ī (6) yašt Fravahr ī zardušt spitāmān ī ahlaw <ud> abē-gumānīh az hamāg dāmān ī (7) xwēš kē awīš framānburdār bawand</p>	<p>u-š yazdān abē- gumānīh ī pad astīh ī (6) dādār orhmazd <ud> amahraspandān abārīg- iz yazdān wēh-dahišnān <ud> dēn <▷> (7) wēh <▷> mazdayastān <ud> pēdāmbārīh ī yašt fraā ī zardušt sp(8)ētāmān ī ahlaw <ud> abē-gumānīh az hamāg dāmān ī xwēš kē awīš (9) framānburdār bawand</p>
4	<p>pad wēhīh, rāh (17) [namāyīg] bawēd.</p>	<p>pad wēhīh ī rāh namāyī bawēd.</p>	<p>pad wēhīh ī rāh namāyī bawēd.</p>
5	<p>amā-iz mardōmān ōy hamāg dāmān nēkīh (18) [abāyē]d xwāstan tā-mān ō xwēš-iz rasād xwāstanišnīg</p>	<p>(8) amā-iz mardōmān ō hamāg wēhān nēkīh abāyēd xwāstan tā-mān ō (9) xwēš-iz rasēd.</p>	<p>amā-iz (10) mardōmān ō hamāg wēhān nēkīh abāyēd xwāstan tā-(11) mān ō xwēš-iz rasēd.</p>
6	-	<p>az rōz ī āsmān, az māh <▷> amōrdad, sāl ī nō sad [o] (10) čehel [o] yak pas az 20 yazdgerd šāhān šāh abāz ō husraw ī šāhān (11) šāhān ohrmazdān kē nibištom man marzbān frēdōn andar farroxī būm (12) german dar mahalag ī dādgān</p>	<p>az rōz ī āsmān, az māh <▷> amōrdad, sāl ī (12) nō sad [o] čehel [o] yak pas az 20 yazdgerd šāhān šāh abāz ō husraw ī (13) šāhān šāhān ohrmazdān kē nibištōm man marzbān frēdōn (14) andar farroxī būm germān dar mahalag ī dādgān</p>
		<p>pad xwēšīh <ud> hamāg ī pērōzgar xwēš (13) frazandān xwēš rāy nibišt hom tā sad <ud> panjāh sālīyān u kār (14) pad ahlāyīh framāyēm pas az sāl [sad <ud> panjāh] ō (15) husraw <ud> dēn burdār abespārēnd. har ke xwānand [ayāb hammōzand ayāb pačēn] (16) aziš kunēd ...</p>	<p>pad xwēšīh <ud> hamāg ī (15) pērōzgar xwēš frazandān xwēš rāy nibišt hom tā sad <ud> (16) panjāh sālīyān kār pad ahlāyīh framāyēm pas az sāl (17) [sad u panjāh ō] husraw <ud> dēn burdār abespārēnd. (18) har ke xwān[ād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn] aziš kunād ...</p>

241 Anklesaria writes and transcribes *uš* [APš] in BK (Anklesaria 1958: 195 and 196), whereas in the colophon of 2030 the form *abdīh* [ʾpdyh] occurs.

Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr was also the scribe of four Xorde Avestā: 6095 (Mf3), dated 1069 AY/1700 AD, of which 6090 [MF51] is a copy (König 2021), ms. 6135, the manuscript in the Yegānegī library, dated 1072 AY/1703 AD (see Mazdapour 2008–2009: 5, König 2021), ms. 6110 (Mf29) dated 1073 AY/1704 AD (see Dhabhar 1923: 25ff.) and F2 (1075 AY/1706 AD) (see Geldner 1896: iii; Dhabhar 1923: 24).

His name appears in the second colophon of JP1, a manuscript copied by Frēdōn Marzbān. The colophon indicates that Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr read and approved this manuscript, granting his blessing to Frēdōn in 1087 AY (Geldner 1896: v–vi). Rostam also gave his approval for the Pahlavi manuscript TD191.

Cantera provided further information about the origin of the manuscripts copied by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr, and mentioned that he had access to the manuscripts belonging to the Gōpatšāh Rostam branch of the Šahmardān Bōndār family, namely the Dīnyār family. He also mentioned that, during his four-year stay in Yazd to receive instruction to become a priest, Mullā Fīrūz had access to a few manuscripts by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr and brought some of them to India, including ms. 10 (Mf1; Cantera 2014: 95 and 105ff.).

Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr is also credited with writing Farhang-e Pahlavi (E26) in 1077 AY/1708 AD (Dhabhar 1923: 69). This manuscript is held at The First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, which also houses a multitude of manuscripts in Avestan, Pahlavi, Persian, and Gujarati languages that were copied or transcribed from the manuscripts by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr.

The miscellaneous codex 4110 + 355 + 2070 that is housed in the library (description by Dhabhar 1923: 8; Andrés-Toledo & Cantera 2012: 211; Hintze 2012: 252; and Martínez-Porro 2014: 79–80) was completed by Erachji Sorabji between 1876 AD (the Videvdād) and 1879 AD (the Yasna ī Rapithwin and the Visperad). The Visperad and Yasnā parts are derived from a copy in the Mulla Feeroz Library that was written by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr in 1104 AY (Dhabhar 1923: 8).

Other manuscripts by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr include the miscellaneous codices 360 + 2103 (Kotwal et al. 2008: 7; Martínez-Porro 2014: 80) and ms. 2106 (Kotwal et al. 2008: 6; Martínez-Porro 2014a: 80).

Unfortunately, many significant Zoroastrian texts originally authored by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr are now only preserved as copies made by Dastur Erachji. The whereabouts of the manuscripts from which he made his copies remain unknown. Dastur Erachji, who lived from 1826–1900 AD, was both a prolific scribe and a notable scholar (Kotwal 2012: 200). Between 1862 and 1887, he served as the librarian of the Mulla Feroze Library in Bombay, where he copied a vast number of manuscripts in Avestan, Pahlavi, Persian, and Gujarati. These copies were made not only for the library's collection, but also for his own personal collection. Upon donating his manuscript collection to the First Dastoor Meherjirana Library, it was found that more than seventy-five of the manuscripts were in his own hand (Kotwal 2012: 201), including several that were originally by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr.

The Pahlavi miscellaneous codex (F 25) contains a commentary on Ašem. This part was copied from a manuscript written by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr in 1155 AY/1786 AD, which was copied by Mulla Kavus Rostam and then copied by Dastur Erachji in 1878 AD (Dhabhar 1923: 18). It would appear that the date 1786 is questionable, as it is difficult to believe that Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr copied this manuscript eighty-six years after he copied ms. 6095 (Mf3). The same problem can be found with the date of a copy of Ārāsteh by Dādār bin Dadukht (F52). Mulla Kavus Rostam transcribed this portion from a manuscript written in

1155 AY /1786 AD by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr, and Dastūr Erachji transcribed it for himself and completed it in 1247 AY (Dhabar 1923: 31). The calendar era of the date 1155 mentioned by Dhabar for both of these manuscripts needs to be proved, as it is possible that the era is Hejrī and not Yazdgerdi; in this case, the date of the copy by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr would be 1742 AD, which fits the time frame of the manuscripts by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr.

Dastur Erachji copied a *Sad dar Nasr* in Persian in 1229 AY/1860 (F49) from a manuscript written by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr in 1075 AY (Dhabar 1923: 29). Two texts in *Saddar Bundahišn* (F64), namely *Setayeš-e sī-rūze* and marriage benedictions, were also copied by Dastur Erachji in 1254 AY/1885 AD from a manuscript by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr that was completed in 1075 AY (Dhabar 1923: 41).

A manuscript describing various Zoroastrian ceremonies in Gujarati (F97) contains, amongst others, three texts that were originally written by Rostam Gōštāsp. One of them concerns the preparation of the *Zaothra* water in the *Yasna* ceremony and was extracted from *Nērangestān*, a manuscript written by Rostam Gōštāsp (Dhabar 1923: 55), while the second text describes the ceremony in preparation for the *Yasnā* ritual, and was transcribed from a manuscript written by Rostam Gōštāsp in 1080 AY (Dhabar 1923: 56). The third text in this manuscript pertains to the consecration of the *Darun* ceremony, conducted without the presence of fire. It was transcribed from a manuscript originally penned by Rostam Gōštāsp in the year 1080 AY.

Table 5: Manuscripts by Rostam Gōštāsp Ardēšīr

Manuscript type	Numbering/Signature	Date	Current location
Long liturgy	8	1737 AY (?)	Ataš Varahrām Yazd
	10 (Mf1)	1721 AY	Cama Oriental Institute, Mulla Firuz Library
	*F 3 (a copy of Mf1)	1721 AY (Persian colophon 1080)	Unknown
	*355	1735 AY	Unknown
	2030	1707 AY	Ketabxane-ye Melli
	*2070	1735 AD	Unknown
Xorde Avesta	6095 (Mf3)	1700 AD	
	6110 (Mf29)	1704 AD	
	6135 (YL2-17-02233)	1723 AD (1072 + 20 Y)	Yeganegi Library
	7075 (F2)	1703 AD	The First Dastur Meherji Rana Library
Farhang-e Pahlavi	E26	1708 AD	The First Dastur Meherji Rana Library
Pahlavi miscellaneous codex that contains a commentary on Ašem	*F 25	1786 AD (?)	Unknown

Sad dar Nasr	*F49	1706 AD	Unknown
Ārāsteh of Dādār bin Dadukht	*F52	1786 AD (?)	Unknown
Setayeš-e sī-rūze	*F64	1706 AD	Unknown
Marriage benedictions	*F64	1706 AD	Unknown
Preparation of the Zaothra water in the Yasna ceremony extracted from Nērangestān	*F97	1711 AD (?)	Unknown
Ceremony in preparation for the Yasnā ritual	*F97	1711 AD	Unknown
Consecration of the Darun ceremony	*F97	1711 AD	Unknown

3.2.5. *Xosrow Nūšīrwān Rostam and Mehrabān Nūšīrwān Rostam*

Xosrow²⁴² Nūšīrwān Rostam Šahryār Māwandād Bahrām Mihrabān Nūšīrwān Rustam Šahryār Bahrām Yazadyār Mihrabān and his brother Mehrabān were from a priestly family in Turkābād in Yazd. The name of their father, Nūšīrwān Rostam, appears in the letter dated 904 AY/1535 AD, as well as in the letters that were sent to India with Kāmdīn Šāpūr and Kāvūs Kāmdīn. Their grandfather's name, Rostam, occurs in Spandyār Sohrāb's Revāyat of 880 AY/1511 AD and the name of their great-grandfather, Šahryār, is found in Narīmān Hōšang's Revāyat of 855 AY/1486 AD (Katrak 1941: 244).

Xosrow was the scribe of ms. 4020, and he copied this manuscript from a manuscript by Nūšīrwān Sīyāvaxš Šahryār Ardešīr in Turkābād in Yazd in 987 AY (1618 AD).

There is a difference between the genealogy of Xosrow Nūšīrwān in ms. 4020, which was written in Iran, and in ms. 4070, which was copied in India. It appears as Xosrow Nūšīrwān Rostam Šahriyār Bahrām Mihr(bān) Māhwindād Bahrām Mihrbān Nūšīrwān Rostam Šahriyār Bahrām Yazdiyār Mihrbān in ms. 4070. The underlined part does not appear in ms. 4020, which was copied in Iran, and appears to be a mistake that presumably occurred in the process of making the copy from the Iranian original.

In the colophon, Xosrow Nūšīrwān stated that he presented this manuscript of the Videvdād, with Nērang, as a gift to the Dastūrs, Hērbēds, and Magūpads in India. This copy was used to make copies of at least five further manuscripts in India (4020* (MF2), 4070* (K9), 4080*, 4110, 4120). The story of the sending of ms. 4020 to India was documented previously in the Bahman Esfandyār Rivayat, the letter from Turkābād that was written in 996 AY/1627 AD (Dhabar 1932: 594). This letter contains the story of the visit of Behdīn Bahman Esfandyār from Turkābād; the scribes of this letter, Xosrow Nūšīrwān and Rostam, stated that Bahman Esfandyār was at their service for several days and that they made him atone according to the prescribed rules of the Zoroastrian religion because he had travelled

242 König mentioned the name Xosrōšāh Nūšīrwān Rostam. See König (2014: 45, footnote 56).

by water, and had crossed the sea (Dhabar 1932: 593). They administered Barešnum (purification) to him and he went on a retreat of nine nights and revered water and fire and served the Atash Nahrām according to the religion. According to this letter, Bahman Esfandyār also made a pilgrimage to Pārs Bānū. Xosrow Nūšīrwān and Rostam reported that Bahman Esfandyār sent the Videvdād to India, and emphasised that they presented the manuscript to the priests of India without being compensated for its value (Dhabar 1932: 594). They wanted the priests in India to treat Bahman Esfandyār well.

From the colophon in 5020, we know that Dastūr Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard Frēdōn Gōpadšā Rostam Bōndār Šahmardān Dīnyār wrote his manuscript based on a copy of the manuscript by Vāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Rostam Bōndār, who had written it based on a copy of the manuscript by Husraw-šāh Anōšag-ruwān Rostam. Following Katrak (1941: 162, Nr. 742 and p. 244), König stated that this Xosrošāh was the same Xosrow Nūšīrwān Rostam who was the scribe of ms. 4020 (König 2014: 54). Since the colophon in ms. 5020 provides limited genealogical information (only the name of the father and grandfather), and since the name found in ms. 5020 is Xosrošāh and not Xosrow, another possibility may be that this Husraw-šāh Anōšag-ruwān Rostam was a different person from Xosrow Nūšīrwān Rostam from Rurkābād.

The brother of Xosrow, Mihrabān Nūšīrwān, who should not be confused with Mihrabān Nūšīrwān, the son of Bahrāmšāh, was the scribe of the Pahlavi codex K43 (Christensen 1936). Based on a comparison of the orthographical characteristics of this codex and those of ms. 4162 in the Pouladi Collection, Martínez-Porro (2017) hypothesised that Mihrabān Nūšīrwān Rostam or his brother Xosrow could have been the copyist of ms. 4162.

3.2.6. *Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan*

The name of Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan, a Dastur from Kerman, is mentioned in two colophons in ms. 4040, although his name has been partly effaced in these colophons. Based on the colophons in ms. 4040, Cantera (2014: 112) concluded that the manuscript by Šahryār Ardešīr Ēriz Rustōm Ēriz Kabād, the original source of all the liturgical Vidēvdād manuscripts, was descended from a manuscript written by Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan. Neither the manuscript by Šahryār Ardešīr nor the manuscript by Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan are known to exist today. In both the colophons in ms. 4040, the scribe, Frēdōn Gōpadšāh, mentioned that he had copied this book from Dastūr Vīžan, which can be interpreted as ‘a manuscript scribed by Dastūr Vīžan’ in consultation with Gīv Spandyād Gīv (for more about this name, see below Gīv Spandyād Gīv). As also stated by Cantera (2014: 112), it appears that Frēdōn Gōpadšāh reproduced the colophon in the original manuscript, namely the manuscript by Šahryār Ardešīr Ēriz Rustōm Ēriz Kabād, with a few small changes including changing the name of the copyist and the date of the copy. However, the part including the name of Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan was derived from the colophon in the manuscript by Šahryār Ardešīr.

The name of Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan also appears in the second colophon in Dēnkard (DkM 949.19–950.2),²⁴³ in which Mihrābān Sfandyād Mihrābān mentioned that he copied the manuscript from a copy by Dastur Vīžan Šahryār Vīžan in consultation with Gīv Sfandyād Gīv.

243 These colophons were discussed in Cantera (2014: 110–111), West (1892: xxxiii ss.), Madan (1911: 949) and in the facsimile of Dresden (1966: 644ff.).

Unvala provided the family tree of Vižan Šahryār (Unvala 1940: 193);²⁴⁴ however, Cantera (2014: 96) concluded that this genealogy was problematic.

Cantera (2014: 97) suggested two possibilities for the genealogy of Vižan Šahryār Vižan, namely that either Vahromšāh or Xosrošāh was his great-grandfather. He highlighted the colophon of Mēnōg ī Xrad from ms. K43 (1594), which mentions a Šahryār Vižan Xosrošāh who could have been the father of Vižan Šahryār Vižan. König (2014: 53, fn. 49) also paid attention to this colophon, and stated that it was uncertain whether Vižan Šahryār was the son of Šahryār Vižan Xosrošāh. These indications highlight the possibility that Xosrošāh was the great-grandfather of Vižan Šahryār Vižan.

Both colophons 1 and 3 in IM state that Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom copied this manuscript from the copy by Šahryār Ardešīr Ērīz Rustōm Ērīz Kavād Ērānšāh in Kerman in 944 AY/1575 AD, who, in turn, had copied it from the manuscript by Vižan Vahrāmšāh Vižan for his brother, Ādurgušasp Šahryār Vižan Vahrāmšāh.²⁴⁵ These colophons suggest that Vahrāmšāh could have been the great-grandfather of Vižan Šahryār Vižan.²⁴⁶

According to Hintze (2017: 153), two generations, or approximately 60 to 100 years, elapsed between the copy by Šahryār Ardešīr and that by Vižan Vahrāmšāh Vižan, who copied the manuscript by Ardešīr Wahuman Rōzweh Šahburzīn Šāhmard, which was completed in 554 AY (1185 CE).

3.2.7. *Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ Rostam Iraǰ Gobād Irānšāh*

As mentioned previously, it would seem that most of the available Iranian liturgical Videvdād manuscripts can be traced back to a manuscript that was copied by Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ Rostām Iraǰ Kabād, whose name can be found in two colophons in ms. 4040 and in Add. 328. 329 in the University Library of Cambridge (see Unvala 1940: 154, who read Šahryār as Yazdayār).

The colophon in Kama Bohra's Rivayat (Dhabar 1932: 626 and 627) mentions him as being the scribe of the letter, which was written in 896 AY/1527 AD in Yazd with Gīv Esfandyār. He and Gīv Esfandyār were mentioned as being the writers of Maktub-e Maneck Changa written in 904 AY (1535 AD; Dhabar 1932: 629), and as being amongst the signatories of this letter from Yazd. I was not able to find the reasons for the idea proposed by König, namely that Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ was a member of the Xorāsāner community in Kerman and had probably been exiled there (König 2014: 53, fn. 49).

Focusing on the second colophon in the Dēnkard (DkM 949.19-950.2), Cantera highlighted a problem with the source of the copy of this manuscript (Cantera 2014: 111). He stated that Šahryār Ardešīr Ērīz claimed that he had copied this manuscript in 1516 (or 1496) from an original by Marzbān Sfandyād Marzbān, whose father was a cousin of Mihrābān Kayxosro. He continued with the mention of Vižan Šahryār and Gīv Sfandyād, and stated that this statement was contradictory: Šahryār said that he produced/made (*kard hom*) his manuscript from a copy by Marzbān Sfandyād and, subsequently, stated that he had copied it (*kard hom* again) from a copy by Vižan Šahryār Vižan and in consultation with Gīv Sfandyād Gīv. He continued by saying that Unvala (1943: 154) solved the problem by interpreting the

244 Unvala read Yazdiyar instead of Šahryār (Unvala 1940: 155, 193).

245 For the genealogy of IM, see Hintze (2017: 152–153), Mirza (1987: 331) and Cantera 2014 (135–137).

246 For a more detailed discussion of the genealogy of Vižan Vahrāmšāh Vižan, see Mirza (1987: 331), Cantera (2014: 96, fn. 78) and König (2014: 53, fn. 49).

verb *kard hom* as ‘I have collated’. In his opinion, Šahryār Ardešīr’s copy was a copy of an original by Marzbān Sfandyād and collated two additional manuscripts, namely those by Vižan Šahryār and Gīv Sfandyād.

Cantera (2014) pointed out that this interpretation was unlikely, mainly with regard to Vižan Šahryār and Gīv Sfandyād. Gīv Sfandyād was a contemporary of Šahryār Ardešīr (see DkM 951.8 ss: ‘Blessed inhabitant of the paradise is Gīv Sfandyād Gīv who helped me, Šahryār, servant of the religion, and provided me with the means to make this book correct’). Thus, the consultation (*hampursagih*) had presumably taken place with Gīv Sfandyād himself and was not a consultation of a manuscript copied by him. Cantera’s view of the role of Gīv Sfandyād as a consultant is correct; however, his interpretation regarding the source of the copy, which led to finding the information in the Middle Persian colophon, is contradictory and needs to be discussed.

My suggestion is that, in addition to the Middle Persian colophon, we need to consider the Persian colophon, which provides us with more detailed and clearer information about the history of the copies of this manuscript.

Two parts of this long colophon in Persian are of particular importance. The beginning of the *Bayān-e nevisande-ye ketāb-e dīnkard*, ‘the statement of the scribe of the book of Dīnkard’, provides an indication suggesting that this part was reproduced from the original manuscript used for the copy of this manuscript, namely a manuscript by Māvandād Narimāhān Bahrām Mehrabān:

‘...I, Mābandād Narimāhān ibn Vāhrām ibn Mitrū’āpān have written <this book> on the day Dēn, the month Tīr, victorious, the year 369 AY...’

The colophon contains another indication of the scribe’s name, which is again in the first person:

‘In the year 865, I, Šahryār Ardešīr Iraḡ Rostam Iraḡ Gobād Irānšāh’

On the last page of the Persian colophon (p. 16), Šahryār Ardešīr mentioned that his book was a *naql*, an account taken from the manuscript by Marzbān Esfandyār Marzbān Mehrabān Esfandyār Mehrabān Marzbān Dahišnyār Rūznīyā Šahmardān Šādān Konšāh. The inexact and unexpected pronunciation of some personal names shows that the manuscript was probably copied in India. The scribe mentioned that *īn daftar az dastūr nīk īzadyār nīz karde-am* should be corrected as *īn daftar az dastūr vižan šahryār nīz karde-am*; in my opinion, it could be translated as ‘I have also made (it) from (a manuscript) by Bižan Šahryār’. This could mean that his main source was the manuscript by Marzbān Esfandyār Marzbān, but that he also used another manuscript, namely the manuscript by Bižan Šahryār. Šahryār Ardešīr mentioned that he had copied the manuscript in consultation with Gīv Esfandyār Gīv Māhyār.

3.2.8. *Gīv Sfandyād Gīv Māhyār*

The name Gīv Sfandyād Gīv is found in the second colophon in Dinkard and in both colophons in ms. 4040, mainly in connection with the name Šahryār Ardešīr Iraḡ Rostam.

In comparison to other dates pertaining to the activities of Gīv Esfandyār, I believe that the most reliable date for the copy of the Dinkard manuscript is 865 AY+20, or 885 AY/1516 AD.

In the Rivāyat by Kama Asa Khambayeti (f. 99–101)247 dated 896 AY, we find him mentioned as consultant to Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ Rostam (Dhabar 1923: 119). Another colophon in the same manuscript (see ff. 145–146) in Zand characters also includes his name: ‘Written for the Parsis of India by Gīv Esfandyār and completed in Yazd on Day Tir, month Bahman, the year 896 AY’ (Dhabar 1923: 119–120). The term *anōšag ruwān vahīštīg* before the name of Gīv Esfandyār in Kama Asa Khambayeti’s (or Kama Bohra’s) Rivāyat is problematic because he is also named as the writer of the Maktub-e Maneck Changa eight years later in 904 AY, together with the name of Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ Rostam. Thus, I am not entirely convinced that we can conclude that he was dead at the time at which the Rivāyat was written by Kāmā Bohra. Either the use of term *anōšag ruwān vahīštīg* should not be interpreted as a designation for a deceased person, or the year or the calendar era has not been mentioned correctly in one of these Rivāyats. In both Rivāyats, the phrase ‘20 years after Yazdgerd’ occurs after the Yazdgerdi date. It is difficult to believe that Šahryār Ardešīr Iraǰ Rostam collaborated with two different Gīv Esfandyārs.

3.2.9. *Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsp and Šahrām Rostam Jāmāsp*

Tīrān and his brother Šahrām lived at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries in Aharestan in Yazd. Šahrām was the scribe of ms. 4100; the colophon in this manuscript provides important details about the origin of Rostam Jāmāsp’s family, as Šahrām stated that their ancestors were priests who originally came from Yazd.

He introduced the daughter of Zomorrot Xātūn as the patron of 4100. Zomorrot was the daughter of Xosrošahr from Mahalle-ye Sar-e deh in Taft in Yazd. The daughter of Zomorrot, whose name does not occur in the colophon, paid Šahrām to write the book for her relatives, family and father. In addition to the name of her mother, the name of her father is mentioned as Bahrām Bemān.

Šahrām’s manuscript was copied in 1240 in Yazd, although the precise date is unknown. Mazdapour (2008–2009: 6), Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 211), Boroumand Amin (2013) and Cantera (2014: 410) considered this date to be Yazgerdi and suggested the date 1871 AD for the copy. Based on the previous literature, in addition to the orthographical characteristics, Martínez-Porro argued that the brothers Tīrān and Šahrām Rōstam copied their manuscripts at the end of the nineteenth century (Martínez-Porro forthcoming, see 3.2.2.4).

In February of 2020, Mehraban Pouladi and I purchased a Xorde Avesta that had belonged to the Mūbed Ganjī family, and which is currently in the Pouladi Collection at the Museum of manuscripts and historical documents in Yazd. The manuscript has no colophon, but one of the pages contains a marginal note: ‘mal-e Mūbed Bahrām Bemāvand, Rūz-e Vahman Amšāsāfand, māh-e Mehr māh-e qadīm, saneye 1257’. In May of 2021, I sent a few images of this manuscript to Bahram Boroumand, who identified the scribe of this manuscript as Šahrām Rostam Jāmāsp. After a comparison of the palaeographical characteristics of ms. 4100 and this Xorde Avesta, I confirmed Boroumand’s identification of the scribe.

If we look at the dates of the copies of other manuscripts written by the members of this family, the date 1871 AD does not appear to be correct, as 77 years would have elapsed between the manuscripts that were copied by Tīrān and those that were copied by his brother Šahrām.

247 Known also as Šāpūrāsā Rivāyat. For a detailed discussion, see Dalvand (2015: 189ff.) and Vitalone (1978: 8).

Consider the manuscripts by Tīrān who copied two Videvdāds, mss. 4085 and 4090 and, presumably, Visperad 2035. Ms. 4085 belonged to the Dastūr Behmardi family from Yazd,²⁴⁸ and is dated 1163 AY (1794 AD). Sadly, the current location of ms. 4085 is unknown. The other manuscript, ms. 4090, which is currently housed in the Yegānegī Library, contains a colophon; however, the year is not mentioned in this colophon (see below for a transcription and translation of this colophon).

Based on a comparison of the palaeographical and orthographical characteristics of ms. 4090 and ms. 2035,²⁴⁹ the Visperad of Jamshid Soroush Soroushian, Boroumand Amin concluded that ms. 2035 was also written by Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsp (Boroumand Amin 2013). Focusing on the Sālmargs written between 1871 and 1897, he proposed the date of approximately 1860 AD for the copy of this manuscript.

Cantera mentioned two dates for the same manuscript; in the list of manuscripts at the end of his book, he suggested the date 1791 AD for ms. 2035 (Cantera 2014: 407). In the same book, he mentioned that Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsb's ms. 4090 was copied in the mid-nineteenth century (Cantera 2014: 286).

The next milestones in the history of the manuscripts by the Rostam Jāmāsp family are the manuscripts copied by Rostam, the son of Tīrān, whose name we find in at least two manuscripts. In my article (Gholami 2020: 35), I introduced a miscellaneous codex of a collection of Avestan manuscripts of the Ataš Varahrām in Yazd; amongst the different texts in this manuscript was a Goftār-e Jāmāsb written by Rostam Tīrān Rostam. Consider the following colophon:

Tamām šod goftār-e ġāmāsb-e ḥakīm ke xodāyaš bīyāmorzād. (2) Kāteb ol-ḥorūf, man-e dīn bande, dastūr rostam, dastūr Tīrān (3) ahrāstānī. Āmorzīde bād har kas ke āmorzeš be-ravān-e kāteb (4) berasānand. Be-tārīx-e rūz-e ōrmazd, ābānmāh-e qadīm, saneye 1213 heġrīye.

‘(1) completed (the book) of Goftār-e Ġāmāsb-e Ḥakīm. (2) I, the scribe, the servant of the religion, Dastūr Rostam, Dastūr Tīrān, (3) from Ahrestan. May everybody be forgiven who (4) sends A may-God-forgive to the soul of the scribe.

The date: the day Ōrmazd, the old month Ābān, the year 1213 Hejṛī.’

This colophon is dated as being in the Hejṛī era; however, it is not clear whether the calendar era is Šamsi or Qamari. Since the day and month are presented in Iranian, we can conclude that the date is Šamsi and, in this case, the date of the copy should be 1834 AD. However, the term Xoršīdī was rarely used at this time, and Hejṛī even less often. A few manuscripts from the Hejṛī Qamari era include the Iranian day and month; thus, if we consider the date in the Qamari era, this colophon can be dated to 1799 AD.

The name Dastūr Rostam valad-e Dastūr Tīrān Rostam-e Aharestānī also occurs in fol. 139 of the miscellaneous manuscript Add. 8994 at the British Library. The same name appears in a seal impressed on fol. 73 b. as Rostam valad-e mūbed teyrān. This manuscript was described by Rieu (1879: 52ff.). Fol. 139 contains the date 1226 AH (1811 AD). With regard to the dating of this manuscript, Rieu found the dating suggested by Sachau to be incorrect:

²⁴⁸ This manuscript has still not been digitised; thus, no picture is available.

²⁴⁹ This manuscript has been published in facsimile by Mazdapour (2010); for a description, see Mazdapour (2012: 171ff.).

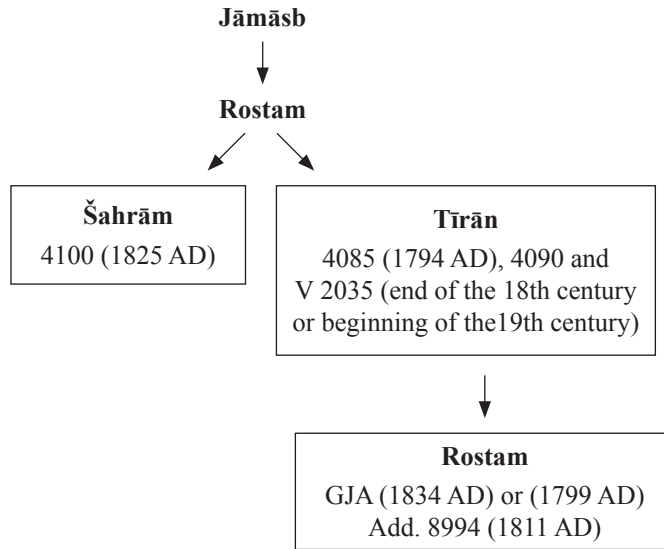
‘This MS. has been fully described by Professor Sachau; see his ‘Contributions’ etc., p. 277. The date 1858, however, there assigned to the transcription, is evidently wrong; for the MS. was purchased for the Museum in 1832. The area of the Hijrah, by which it is distinctly dated, fol. 104 a, has been mistaken for that of Yazdagard’ (Rieu 1879: 53).

According to the genealogical information in the colophon in Add. 8994, there is no doubt that the scribe was the son of Rostam Jāmāsb. Based on the colophons in his two texts, we know that he wrote his manuscripts between 1834 AD (or 1799 AD) and 1811 AD. If we compare these dates to the date of ms. 4100 suggested by Mazdapour (2008, 2009: 6), Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 211), Boroumand Amin (2013), Cantera (2014: 410) and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming), this means that Rostam copied his manuscripts 73 to 60 years before the manuscript produced by his uncle. Another problem, as described above, is that there is a difference of at least 77 years between the manuscripts by Tīrān and Šahrām. This cannot be correct.

Based on these problems, I argue that the dating of ms. 4010 is incorrect. The uncertainty about the calendar era in the colophon in ms. 4100 has led to incorrect results, which have had a strong influence on later works in the field of the genealogical study of the manuscripts and the orthographical and palaeographical analyses of the manuscripts of this family. The calendar era, which was not mentioned in the colophon, cannot be Yazdgerdi, but is extremely likely to be Hejri Qamarī; thus, I suggest the date 1825 AD for this manuscript. The assumptions of Amin Boroumand (2013) regarding the dates of the manuscripts produced by this family, which focus on a copy date that is very close to the Sālmargs, also do not fit the time frame for these manuscripts, while the dates suggested by Cantera, namely 1791 AD for ms. 2035 and approximately 1795 AD for ms. 4090, match the dates of the manuscripts copied by the members of this family. Cantera’s second suggestion, namely that Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsb’s ms. 4090 was copied in the second half of the nineteenth century (Cantera 2014: 286), cannot be correct.

Based on the genealogical information in the colophons in the manuscripts of this family, we can reconstruct the family tree and follow the history of the manuscripts that were copied by the members of the Rostam Jāmāsb family as follows:

Family tree of the Rostam Jāmāsb family and their manuscripts

3.2.10. *Behrūz Eskandar, Monaġem-e Kermani*

Mollā Bahman (known as zarpit),²⁵⁰ the son of Farāmarz and the grandson of Esfandyār, was a treasurer of the Zand court in Shiraz who died during the reign of Lotf'ali Xān-e Zand. His son, Goštāsb, the grandfather of Behrūz, the scribe of Xorde Avesta 1243 AY, had a close relationship with Ağā Moḥammad Xān Qajar. He learnt astrology and treasury from his father, Mollā Bahman. Because of the status of his father in the Zand court, Goštāsb was selected as the treasurer of Lotf'ali Xān-e Zand. After the decline of the Zand dynasty, Lotf'ali Xān-e Zand escaped to Kerman and took Goštāsb with him. In a story cited by various scholars such as Šahmardān (1970: 607–610), Oshidari (2011: 11–12) Goštāsb was arrested and sent to prison by Lotf'ali Xān-e Zand due to his prediction of the conquest of Kerman by Ağā Moḥammad Xān Qajar. Shortly thereafter, Ağā Moḥammad Xān released Goštāsb due to this prediction, and Goštāsb then became his close confidant and even accompanied him on official visits abroad. After Ağā Moḥammad Xān was killed, Goštāsb returned to Kerman and lived there until the time of Fath-Ali Shah. Later in his life, his wife La'l, as well as his oldest son, were forced to become Moslem and the name of his son was changed to Moḥammad Ĵadīd-ol-eslām. Similar to his father, he was also conversant in astrology and became the astrologer to Fath-Ali Shah. In addition to Eskandar and Moḥammad Ĵadīd-ol-eslām, Goštāsb had another son whose name was Sohrāb, and who was also known as Zohrāb.

Eskandar (who died in 1226 AY, 1273 Hejri), the son of Goštāsb, was an astrologer and an author; he wrote the book 'Moḥaqeq-ol-Tāriḫ' in 1852, which was about the history of Kerman until the end of the Sasanian Empire. In the colophon in his book, Eskandar mentioned that this book was a summary of the previous research on the establishment of Kerman and the

250 Probably a variation of zarpād, meaning 'treasurer'. This etymology was also mentioned by Oshidari (2011: 12).

region of Yazdgerd, who was the last king of the Iranians, as well as a summary of the humiliations experienced by the Iranians and the Zoroastrians and the rise of Prophet Muhammad.

According to the colophon, Behrūz, who died in 1248 AY/1879 AD (1295 Hejri) and was the son of Eskandar, also copied the book written by his father in 1229 AY/1860 AD (1277 Hejri) in Kerman. This copy (Sig. A218) is the only attested copy by Moḥaqeq-ol-Tārīx, and is kept in the institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg.²⁵¹

Behrūz was also the scribe of two Xorde Avestas, one in Persian dated 1243 AY/1874 AD (in the Pouladi Collection)²⁵² and the other a Xorde Avesta in Dindabire dated 1226 AY/1857 AD (1273 Hejri in the Sorūšīyān Collection).²⁵³ He was also the author of the H.P. (ms.) 295 Cama manuscript, a book about the Zoroastrian leap year, *Sāl-e kabīse*. His name and signature can be found in various documents issued by Anjoman-e Nāserī-ye Zartoštīyān, an institution that was established by Maneckji Limji Hatara in Kerman. In addition to overturning the *jaḏīye* poll tax for Zoroastrians in Iran in 1882, Maneckji supported the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kerman in the establishment of societies based on the pattern of the Bombay Parsi Panchayet. One of these associations was *Anjoman-e Nāserī-ye Zartoštīyān* in Kerman, or the 'Naseri Zoroastrian Association of Kerman'. In one of the reports about the early activities that Maneckji sent to Bombay, the name and signature of Behrūz Eskandar were included, identifying him as a member and secretary of the association.

Behrūz had two brothers, Aflātūn and Šāhrox. The existing material provides limited information about Šāhrox's life. In the biography of his son, Keyxosro (1874–1940), the nationalist representative of the Zoroastrians in the parliament of Iran, who was mysteriously murdered due to his political activities,²⁵⁴ it is mentioned that he had never met his father because the latter went to Bombay and, after returning, immediately became ill and passed away before the birth of his son. Keyxosro wrote that Šāhrox, his father, was a merchant and an astrologer, as were other members of his family. His wife, Keyxosro's mother, was Firūze, the daughter of Xosro Sandal, from another Zoroastrian family from Kerman. Firūze and Šāhrox had another son, Rostam, who was two years older than Keyxosro (for a detailed description, see Ghanbari 2008:16).

Aflātūn, another brother of Behrūz, was brought to Tehran by Maneckji in 1235 AY/1866 AD (1283 Hejri). He studied and graduated in Tehran in 1243 AY/1874 AD (1290 Hejri) and, in 1255 AY/1886 AD (1303 Hejri), he wrote Eqbāl-e Nāserī, a school book for elementary school students. Aflātūn was a poet who published his works under the pseudonym of *Afsar*. After graduating, he returned to Kerman and developed an educational system for Zoroastrians in the city.

Behrūz had three sons, Bahrām, Marzbān and Hošang. Marzbān, his second son, was also an astrologer and taught at the Zoroastrian school, which was established by Maneckji in Kerman. Bahrām, Behrūz's oldest son, also learnt astrology and a high level of scholarship from his father. He mastered English and moved to India with the assistance of Maneckji. His son Bahman later became one of the most successful carpet merchants in Iran under Reza

251 This book has now been published. See Semnan and Rashtiyani (2019).

252 This manuscript was recently purchased and added to the Pouladi Collection. For this reason, it is not mentioned in the list of manuscripts in Gholami and Pouladi (2019).

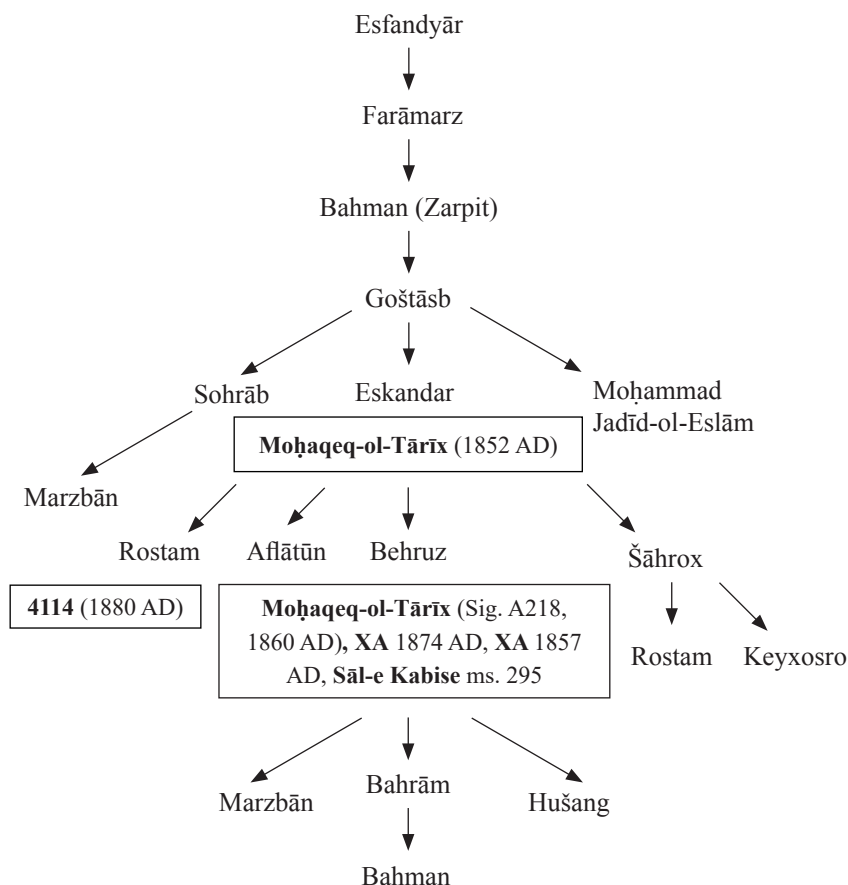
253 This manuscript has been published by Mazdapour (2007).

254 One of Keyxosro Šāhrox's important activities was locating the site of Ferdowsī's tomb. For more information on this, see Shahbazi (1999). For a biography of Keyxosro Šāhrox, see Ghanbari (2008).

Shah. He selected the family name Bahrami, and this family still lives in Kerman (Oshidari 2011: 13–14).

The family tree of Behrūz Eskandar was partly reconstructed by Oshidari (2011: 14) and Semnan and Rashtiyani (2019: 25). Based on the information in the colophons in both the Xorde Avestas and in ms. 4114 written by Behrūz Eskandar, the family tree for this family can be completed as follows:

The family tree of Behrūz Eskandar, Monajem-e Kermani



3.3. A note on the transmission of the Videvdād manuscripts

Based on information gleaned mainly from the colophons in the Avestan manuscripts, Cantera provided a detailed analysis of the transmission of the Videvdād, first in his book *Vers une édition* (Cantera 2014, 96ff.), then in the introduction to the facsimile of ms. 4161 (Mazdapour & Cantera 2015, 23ff.) and in the introduction to the facsimile of ms. 4010 (Cantera et al. 11ff.). He surmised that all the available Iranian liturgical Videvdād manuscripts were derived, at least for the most part, from a single original, a manuscript that was copied

by Šahryār Ardēšīr Īraj Rostam Īraj Qobād. A partially effaced mention of the name Bīžan Šahryār in the colophons in ms. 4040 has been used to support the idea that the source of the manuscript by Šahryār Ardēšīr Īraj was a manuscript by Bīžan Šahryār, who was a priest who collaborated in the copying of the original version of the exegetical Videvdād manuscript IM and in the copying of a manuscript of the Dēnkard in the first half of the sixteenth century (Cantera et al. 2019: 10).

Two copies of the manuscript by Šahryār Ardēšīr Īraj have been found: One was produced by his grandson, Nūšīrwān Syāwaxš Šahryār Ardešīr, and one by Marzbān Frēdōn. The manuscript by Marzbān Frēdōn was copied directly or indirectly by his sons or grandsons. In the second colophon in 4000,²⁵⁵ Frēdōn stated that he had copied this version from the manuscript written by his father. In the colophon in ms. 4010, Bahrām mentioned that he had copied the manuscripts written by his father and brother. The colophon in ms. 4030 mentions that he had copied this manuscript from his own manuscript and from the one by his father. In the colophon in ms. 4063, Bahrām's son, Šahmardān, explained that he had written this manuscript based a copy by his father until the sixth Fragard, and had used a copy of the book written by his uncle, Frēdōn Marzbān, for the sixth Fragard until the Yasn.

As Cantera stated,

‘the oldest brother, Anōšagruwān, must also have made a copy, but it has been lost. The copies made by his two sons, Ardešīr and Rōstam, have also been lost. Nonetheless, Mihrābān Anōšagruwān has made a copy of the manuscript by Rōstam and of the first part of the manuscript by Ardešīr. Accordingly, through mss. 4045 and 4050 we can try to reconstruct the manuscript by Anōšagruwān, Marzbān Frēdōn's son’ (Cantera et al. 11ff., see also Cantera 2014, 96ff.; Mazdapour and Cantera 2015, 23ff.)

However, this does not appear to be correct because Rostam is mentioned in ms. 4045 and Ardešīr is mentioned in ms. 4050; thus, they could not be the sons of Nūšīrwān Marzbān. In the colophon in ms. 4045, Mihrēbān Anōšagruwān Vahromšāh stated that he had copied this manuscript from a manuscript of all victory Rostam Nūšīrwān Bahmanyār; whose name is also mentioned in the Persian colophon in 4045. The scribe stated that this book belonged to a person named Rostam, whose father was Nūšīrvān and whose grandfather's name was Bahmanyār. The scribe describes him as a good man, a Dastūr and a pious man, and emphasised that his father and grandfather were Mūbed and pious. He wanted the scribe to copy the manuscript for him (see the Persian colophon in ms. 4045). The name of Rostam Nūšīrwān Bahmanyār also appears in the Sālmargs in ms. 4045,²⁵⁶ according to which he died in 1054 AY (1685 AD).

The second person that Cantera identified as the son of Nūšīrwān Marzbān was Ardešīr, which doesn't seem likely either. The letter of 996 AY/ 1627 AD named the sons of Nušīrwān as Rostam, Marzbān and Xosrow, and the name of Ardešīr is not found amongst the names of Nūšīrwān's sons. Furthermore, in the colophon in ms. 4050, the scribe, Mehrabān Nūšīrwān, mentioned that he had copied the manuscript from a copy of the book by Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Sfandyār, not from the book by Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Marzbān. This Ardešīr Nūšīrwān could be the person who is known as Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Kermani, the scribe of the letter of 967, who

255 This part is damaged and only the phrase “I have written ... Anōšagruwān Marzbān” can be read, which can be interpreted as “I have written (this book from a manuscript of) eternal soul, Marzbān”.

256 For a more detailed discussion, see the Bahrāmšāh family.

travelled to King Akbar's court in India²⁵⁷ and collaborated with Mīr Jamāl-al-Dīn Ḥosayn b. Fakr-al-Dīn Ḥasan Enjū Šīrāzī, the author of *Farhang-e Jahangiri*, to produce one of the most complete and authoritative dictionaries of the Persian language, which was composed in India at the beginning of the eleventh or seventeenth century (Bayevsky 1999). He was well known for his in-depth knowledge of the Zand, Pazand and Middle Persian languages, as well as for his knowledge of lexicography.

To my regret, I could not find the name of Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Kermānī's grandfather in the available sources; therefore, it is not clear whether he was the Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Sfandyār mentioned in the colophon in 4050.

Since Rostam Nūšīrwān Bahmanyār and Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Sfandyār were not the members of the Marzbān family, we cannot be certain that they had access to the manuscripts of this family. Therefore, unless we find new evidence to confirm this theory, the origins of mss. 4045 and 4050 remain unclear.

The second line in the transmission of the Vīdevdād manuscripts consists of the manuscripts that can be traced back to a copy by Nūšīrwān Syāwaxš Šahryār Ardešīr, who was likely to have been the grandson of Šahryār Irdešīr Ērīz, the scribe of the original manuscript from which the copies of the manuscripts by the Marzbān family were made. A manuscript by Nūšīrwān Syāwaxš Šahryār Ardešīr was the original manuscript for the copy of ms. 4020. The colophon in ms. 4020 indicates that Xosro Nūšīrwān Rostam Šahryār Wāhrom copied this manuscript from a copy by Nūšīrwān Syāwaxš Šahryār Ardešīr in Turkābād in Yazd; the colophon also mentions that Xosrow Nūšīrwān gave this manuscript as a gift to the Dastūrs, Hērbēds and Magupads of India. This manuscript was finally sent to India, where at least five manuscripts were copied from it, namely mss. 4020 (Mf2), 4070, 4080, 4110 and 4120. The story of ms. 4020 being sent to India is well documented in the Bahman Esfandyār Rivayat, the letter from Turkābād, which was written in 996 AY. The letter mentions the names of Dastūr Xosro Nūšīrwān and Dastur Rostam, who sent the Vīdevdād to India with Behdīn Bahman. They stated that this manuscript could be used whenever no Vīdevdād manuscript was available (Dhabar 1932: 594). Hodivala (1920: 326) and Dhabhar (1932: 594 n. 2) identified it as ms. 4020 (Mf2), which is currently in the Mulla Firoze Library. However, based on mistakes in the writing of the name of the scribe in the second colophon and a number of palaeographic features, such as the confusion of *št* for *šc*, which are characteristic of the Indian scribal tradition, Cantera provided sufficient reasons to suspect that MF2 was not the ms. 4020 that was written in Turkābād in Iran.²⁵⁸

The relationship between the manuscripts written by the Marzbān family and a copy by Nūšīrwān Syāwaxš Šahryār Ardešīr was based mainly on the possibility that he used a copy by his grandfather as a source, and which had also been used by Marzbān Frēdōn. The sources of the manuscripts by Rostam Nūšīrwān Bahmanyār mentioned in ms. 4045 and by Ardešīr Nūšīrwān Spandyār mentioned in ms. 4050 remain unclear. The relationship of each of these two manuscripts to the Marzbān family or to Xosro Nūšīrwān Rostam could be the last piece in the transmission's puzzle.

257 For this letter and further details of Irdešīr Nūšīrwān Kermānī's life, see Dhabar (1932: 352–359), Šahmardān (1970: 530–539) and Dalvand (2015: 197ff.). For a discussion of Akbar Shah and Irdešīr Nūšīrwān Kermānī, see Shastri (1918: 84ff.).

258 For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Cantera (2014: 88). For palaeographical characteristics, see Martínez-Porro (2017: 110ff.).

IV: Colophons and marginal notes: Images with transcriptions, translations with commentary

4.1. Videvdād manuscripts

4.1.1. MS. 4000

4.1.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (ADA fol. 160r–160v)

(1) *frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud farroxīh* <ud> *rāmišn pad nēk dahišn* (2) *xūb-murwāg ud xujastag*²⁵⁹ *rōzgār abestāg yašt wisparēd, jud-(3) dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag ī yazišnagīhā*.²⁶⁰ *man dēn bandag frēdōn* (4) *marzbān ud frēdōn wāhrōm rustōm bundār šahmardān dēn-ayār* (5) *nibišt hom*²⁶¹ *frāz hišt hom andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh* (6) *rōz ī dēn* <ī> *weh ī mazdyasnān*²⁶² *ud māh ī xwardad sāl bar* (7) *976 pas az sāl 20 be*²⁶³ *yazdgerd šāhān šāh, nāfag be*²⁶⁴ *ō ī* (8) *[hus]raw šāhān šāh ohrmazdān. nibi[š]t hom frāz hišt* (9) *[h]om kē tā dastwarān* <ud> *dastwar[zād]agān* <ud> *dēn-hammōzgārān* <ud> *drust-(10) abestāgān*²⁶⁵ *xwānand ud hammōzand* <ud> *yazi[šn] pad-iš kunand ud pačēn az-iš* (11) *kunand. rūwān jamšēd marzbān wīrāf rāy ayād kunand ud tā 150* (12) *sāl[ān pad ahlāy]īh ud kirbag warzišnīh kār framāyēnd. čiyōn jamšēd* (13) *marzbān wīrāf be rōz juwānīg sāl siōm be gyāg-ē rāstān ud* (14) *pākān raft andar rōz dēn*²⁶⁶ *pad ādūr māh ī spandarmad az gētīh* (15) *[be*²⁶⁷ *...]*št.²⁶⁸ *pas xwēšān ōy*²⁶⁹ *ēn jud-dēw-dād rāy ba[h]r ī* (16) *wāf*²⁷⁰ *framūdand*²⁷¹ *kē dastwarān* <ud> *dastwarzādagān kār framāyēnd rū[wā]n* <ī> (17) *ōy*²⁷² *rāy yād kunand. har kē xwā[nād ud]* *hammōzād*²⁷³ *[ud yazišn]* (18) *pad-iš kunād ud amā rāy pad nē[knām]īh ud ahl[aw ruwānīh yād kunād]* (19) *ēg-iš gētīh ...* <second page> (20) *ēg-iš xwānēd ud hammōzēd ud yād nē kunēd* <ud> *nām* <ī> *nibīsandag ud wagf-(21) kunandag*²⁷⁴ *awestarēd kē awestarēd, ēg-iš gētīh tan dusraw, pad mēnōg* (22) *ruwān druwand bawād. man ēn jud-dēw-dād az dastwarīh* <ī> *pāk* (23) *menišn srōš ayār ī yōšdāsr-tan ahlaw-ruwān adūrbād ī* (24) *māhwandād hōšang siyāwaxš nibišt hom kē-š paywand* (25) *pad ērīh ud wehīh* <ud> *nēkīh ō ī sōšāns paywandād. u-š* (26) *ruwān āškārag* *ō*²⁷⁵ *garōdmān šawēd. ēdōn bawād, ēdōn-(27) iz bād, pad yazdān, amahraspandān kāmag bawād.*

259 It is written *xuyastag*. A mistake for *xujastag*.

260 This word can be read as either *yazišnagīhā* or *yazišnigīhā* and not as *yazišnīgīhā* as transcribed by Mazdapour 2013. In other manuscripts, for example, in YiR 300, *yazišnīhā* is attested.

261 As HWE- is the defective verb *h-* ‘be’, I would read HWEwm as *nibišt hom* and not *nibišt hēm* as transcribed by Mazdapour 2013. For *nibišt hēm* I would expect HWEym.

262 The letter *-t-* in the Pahlavi form seems to be a mistake.

263 Read *bay* by Mazdapour. See the next footnote.

264 Mazdapour reads this word as *bay*, a variation of *bay*. As the word is written *be* [BRA], I would read it as *be* which is followed by *ō* and in this case it seems that it has an indefinable function (cf. MacKenzie 1971: 18, see *be*). In this manuscript only *be* occurs.

265 Alternatively, a mistake for *drust-abestānān*, may mean ‘the true supporters (of the religion)’.

266 Probably a mistake for *day*. That means, in the month *day-pad-ādūr*.

267 Uncertain.

268 Maybe *[be šud wahi]št*. The whole sentence may mean ‘he went from material world to paradise’.

269 Written *ō* [OL].

270 Written *wāpk*, that means *wāyf*. For further information about this word, see Mazdapour 2013, p. 52, comment number 57.)

271 Unlikely *framūd tā* as suggested by Mazdapour 2013.

272 Written *ō* [OL].

273 Not *āmuzēd* as suggested by Mazdapour 2013.

274 *Wāfg-kunandag* ‘dedicator’ (a variant of *wāyf-kunandag*), not *nibēg konandag* as suggested by Mazdapour 2013.

275 Written *ōy* [OLE] ‘he, she’, which is obviously a mistake for *ō* ‘to’.

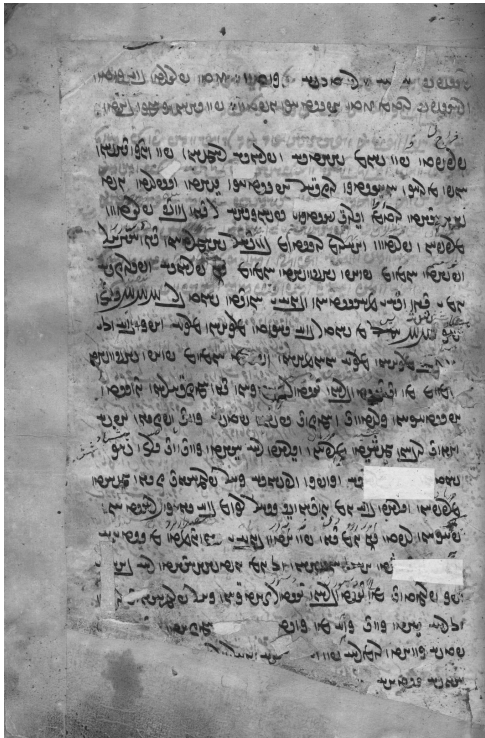


Image 2: MS. 4000, First Middle Persian colophon, first page

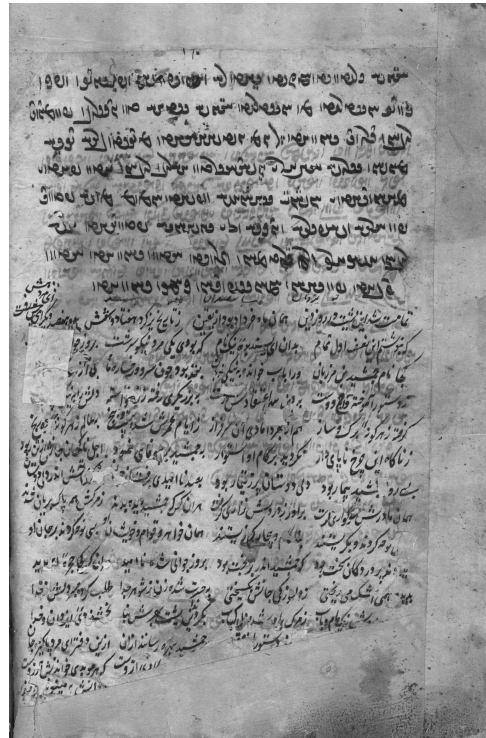


Image 3: MS. 4000, First Middle Persian and Modern Persian colophon, second page of Middle Persian colophon

4.1.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory <and> pleasure, in good fate (2) <and> good omen, and blessed time, <this> Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd Jud(3)dēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Frēdōn (4) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dēnayār (5) have written <this> in fortune and victory, (6) on the day good Dēn of Mazdayasnān, the month of Xordād, (7) the year 976, after the 20th year of <the region of> Yazdgerd, king of kings, descendant of (8) Husraw, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. I have written (9) and launched <this book> in order that Dastūrs and the children of the Dastūrs, <as well as> the teachers of the religion and possessors of correct (10) Awestas, teach it, celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony with it, (11) make a copy of it and remember the soul of Jamšēd Marzbān Wīrāf and use <this book> (12) for 150 years with righteousness and good deed. It was so that Jamšēd (13) Marzbān Wīrāf went to the place of the abstemious (14) and holy persons as he was young and at the age of thirty, on the day Day-pad-ādūr, the month Spandarmad. He [went] from the material world (15) [to the paradise]. Therefor his relations ordered this Judēwdād (16) as devotion in order that the Dastūrs and the children of the Dastūrs use <it> and (17) remember his soul. Everybody who would recite <it>, or would teach <it> or celebrate the (18) [Yazīšn] ceremony with it, and would remember us in [good name] and pi[ety of the soul], may he be (19) ... in this world. <second page> (20) If some-

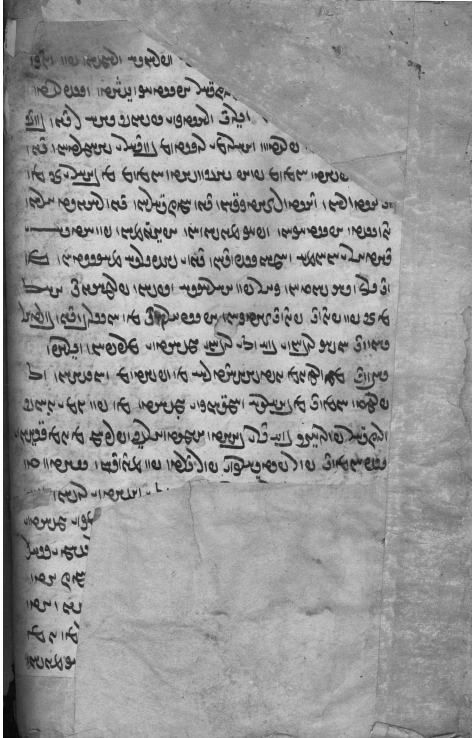


Image 4: MS. 4000: Second Middle Persian colophon, first page

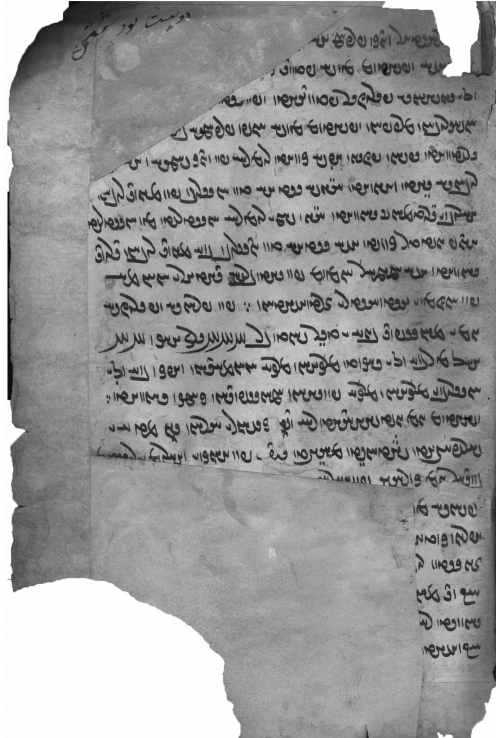


Image 5: MS. 4000: Second Middle Persian colophon, second page

body recited and taught <this book, but> didn't remember and wiped the name of the scribe and (21) the name of the dedicator in order that (their name) would be wiped away, may he be of (22) ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world! I have written this Videvdād for the authority of the pure behaviour (23), may Srōš be his helper, pure body, righteous soul, Adurbād (24) Māhwandād Hōšang Siyāwaxš. (25) May he reach nobility, goodness and rightness and he may reach Sošāns and (26) may his soul, clearly, go to the Garōdman. May it be so! May it be (27) still more so. May it be according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān.

4.1.1.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (ADA fols. 295v–297r)

(1) ... *ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk*(2)[-*dahišn*] ... [*r*]ōzgār *abestāg ud yašt wisparēd*
 (3) ... *nērang ud rastag*²⁷⁶ *ī yazišnīgihā. man dēn bandag* (4) [*frēdōn marzbān*] *frēdōn wāhrōm ī rustōm bundār ī šahmardān dēn*(5)[*ayār*] [*n*]ibišt *hom frāz hišt hom az bahr ī ān kē* (6) *tā dastwarān ud dastwarzādagān dēn hammōzgārān* <*ud*> *dēn-rāyēnīdārān* <*ud*>

276 Written *rēstag* [rystk].

(7) *drust-abestāgān*²⁷⁷ *ud pāk-menišnān*, *abē-gumān pad hastīh ī* (8) *dādār ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān ud dēn ī wēhīh mazdyasnān, kē* (9) *tā 150 sālān kār pad ahlāyīh ud yazišn framāyēnd. pas* (10) *az ān pad frazand*²⁷⁸ <ud> *frazandzādagān*²⁷⁹ *abespārān*²⁸⁰ *kē husraw* <ud> *dēn-burdār* (11) *bawand. anōšag ruwānī be* *ō*²⁸¹ *ī ruwān ī jamšēd ī marzbān* <ī> *wīrāf* (12) *dahand cē ōy ēn jud-dēw-dād rāy kē nibištōm xwēšān* <ī> *ō*²⁸² (13) *framūd hand az bahrīh nām-gānag ī jamšēd kē pad rōz ī juwānīg* (14) *ud rōzgār* <ī> *bornāyīg be dar ī baxt* <ī> *ēmēdwārīg frazām az ēn gēhān ī* (15) *sejōmand* <ud> *purr-pētyāragī[h]* <ī> *purr-dard pad mēnōgān raft* (16) ... [*ō ī*] *wahišt ī rōšn*... (17) ... [...] *mk ī jamšēd ī* (18) ... *sar ī sāl* ... (19) *hammōzād* (20) ... [*k*] *unād* (21) ... [*a*] *mā*²⁸³ *ēn* (22) ... [*pā*] *k*²⁸⁴ *menišn* <second page> (23) ... *rāstār nēk frazām* ... (24) [...] *īh nibištōm kē-š paywand* ... (25) *ō ī sošāns pērōzgar paywandād ud pad* [*g*] *ēt[īh]*²⁸⁵ ... (26) *anōšag-ruwān marzbān nibištōm kē-š xūb frazāmīh b[...]* ... (27) *xwānād yazišn ud pačēn az-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ud ah[law]-* (28) *ruwānīh yād kunād, ēg-iš gētīh tan-husraw ud pad mēnōg ruwān-* (29) *ahlaw ī garōdmānīg bawād. ēg nām ī amā rāy awestarēd kē awestarēd* (30) *ayāb juddar kunēd u-š*²⁸⁶ *gētīh tan-dusraw ud be mēnōg ruwān-druwand* (31) *bawād u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwarīh* <ī> *dādār ī ohrmazd* (32) *pad hanjaman ī tsadwāstar ī zarduxštān. pad farroxīh ud pērōzīh* (33) *rōz ī mārāspand māh ī tīr sāl bar 976* (34) *pas az 20 be* *ō*²⁸⁷ *ī yazdgerd šāhān šāh ohrmazdān nāfag be* *ō*²⁸⁸ *ī* (35) *husraw ī šāhān šāh pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmāg bawād.* (36) *nibištōm ēn jud-dēw-dād rāy andar kišwar ī ērān andar deh ī* (37) *šarafābād šahr*²⁸⁹ <ī> *maybod*²⁹⁰ <ī> *yazd pad xānag ī wāhrōm [ī rustōm]* (38) *bundār ēn kurāsag pad* ... (39) [...] *pāšnīh kē* ... (40) *āfarīn kard[...]*²⁹¹ ... (41) *zīwīstan ru[wān]*²⁹² ... (42) *kū tā mān*²⁹³ [...] ... (43) *bawēd rā[...]*²⁹⁴ (44) *kū wahišt*²⁹⁵ ... <third page> (45) ... [...] *š tuwānīgīh ud xw[e ...]*²⁹⁶ (46) ... [...] *ēm ud ān-iz andar haft kišwar š[...]* (47) ... *abar barād cē dēn abē-gumānīhā* ... (48) ... *abāg amā hamkār bawēd, handarz hamē kunēm* (49) ... *ān ī xweš ud frazandān ud dastwarān ud*

277 Alternatively, a mistake for *drust-abestānān*, may mean ‘the true supporters (of the religion)’.

278 Written *pdrnd*.

279 Ibid.

280 The traces of two blotted letters before the final *d* favour this reading strongly.

281 A mistake for *ōy*.

282 A mistake for *ōy*.

283 Not *kē* as suggested by Mazdapour because of the traces of an [L] which strongly support the spelling [LNE] *amā* ‘we, us’.

284 The traces of the last letter before *k* strongly support this reading.

285 Uncertain.

286 Written *hš*.

287 A mistake for *ōy*.

288 A mistake for *ōy*.

289 Differing from Mazdapour *štahnawed*, this word, in the form of *štahnūd* شهنود is also attested in Revāyat-e Dārāb Hormazyār, vol. 2, p. 368, line 8. It is mentioned in the form of *aštanmū* in the same source, p. 372, line 10 (also referred to by Mazdapour in Mazdapour and Afshar 2013, p. 51, comment number 35). In my opinion, the word must originally be the Pāzand form of *šahr* [šthn^l], in which the last letter has been falsely read as *d*, and then the form *štahnad/štanhnūd* entered Reyāyats and colophons.

290 Written [mhyb^l].

291 The suggestion by Mazdapour ‘... *kē* ... *pōryōt[kēšān]* ...’ for lines 39–41 is not correct (Mazdapour and Afshar 2013, p. 48, see number 30).

292 Uncertain.

293 Or alternatively *mār[...]*.

294 Or alternatively *nē* [LA] ‘not’.

295 Almost uncertain.

296 Uncertain.

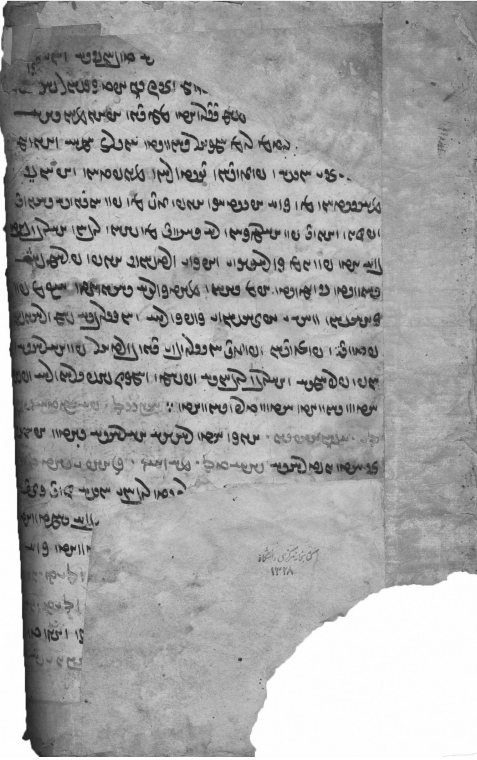


Image 6: MS. 4000: Second Middle Persian colophon, third page

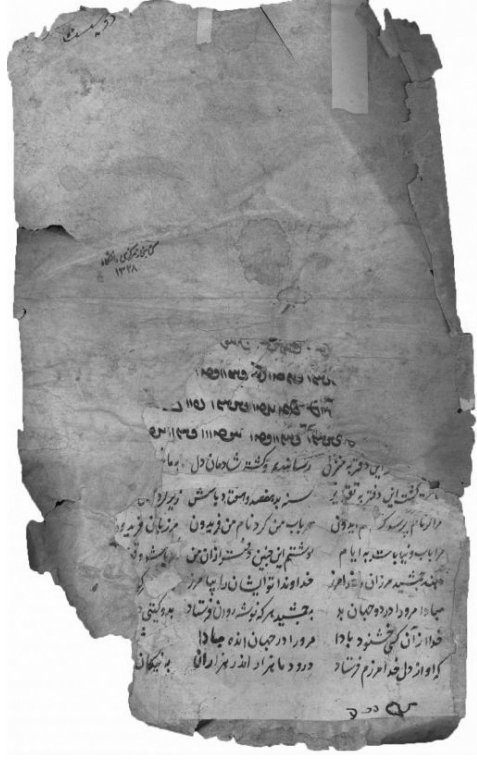


Image 7: MS. 4000: Second Middle Persian colophon, fourth page

magōpadān ud abārīg (50) *mahistān*²⁹⁷ *kē har abestāg ayāb zand kē pad hu-dēnīh dārand* (51) *ud pačēn kunand pad ahlomōyān*²⁹⁸ *nē dahand. kē-sān ruwān ahlaw bād* (52) *be agar pad ēn kurāsag ī wājag ī wardišnīg ayāb frāmōš* (53) *bawēd ēstēd. u-m sahw mādagwarīh dārād. kū-m pad* (54) *kāhišn wināh ī abzāyišn ī kirbag rāy ud husrawīh nām ud rāyēnišn* (55) *paywand ud frazandān ud frazand husraw ī dēn-burdār pad ahlāyīh* (56) *xūb-frazāmīh ud ahlaw-ruwānīh xwēš ud hamāg-iz wehān rāy nibišt.* (57) *ēdōn bawād. ēdōntar-iz bawād. aēuuo. pañtā. y* (58) *ō. ašahe. ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh <ud> dād*²⁹⁹, *abārīg* (59) *ān ast*³⁰⁰ *jūd-rāhīh. šātō. manā. vahištō.* (60) [*uruuqnō*, *šād ān tan kē-š warz*] *īd ruwān <ī> xwēš. čand ahy*³⁰¹ (61) [*mēnōg dastwar čihromayān wištāspān*] *be rasād* (62) [*dēn rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nēkīh ras*] *jād har* (63) [*kas pad kāmag ī xwēš tuwān bawād zīwistan*] *nōiṭ. čahmi.* (64) [...] *nōiṭ. čahmi.* (65) ... [...] *k*³⁰² *grift* (66) ... [*n*] *ē čīš.* <fourth page> (67) ... [*naēčīš.*

297 Unlikely a mistake for *Mazdayasnān*, as suggested by Mazdapour.

298 Written *ahlomogān* [ahlmwk'n].

299 Alternatively, Mazdapour also suggests the possibilities of *yazad*. It is unlikely that the word is derived from Arabic words such as *jahd* ('attempt') or *jahat* ('direction') due to the presence of a point below the second letter. This word occurs only in 4000 and 4062 after *ahlāyīh*.

300 Not *mihōxt* as suggested by Mazdapour. The spelling [AYT] strongly supports this reading.

301 Not read by Mazdapour.

302 Uncertain.

aḏa. zaraθuštr]ra. sūš. ya[θa. hūm. ādare. (68) mašiiāka. ēg-iš az dēw]ān sūd nē bawēd [spitāmān zartuxšt (69) nē-z az ān ī wadag mar]dōm. čē agar-išān pad b[un sūd bawēd, (70) ēg-išān sar] zyān bawēd. ēdōn bawād ...

4.1.1.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) [Completed in] glory and pleasure, in good (2) [fate] <and> [blessed] time, <this> Avesta and Yašt <of> Wisparēd (3) ... [with] Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, (4) [Frēdōn Marzbān] Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dēn(5)ayār, have written <and> launched <it> for (6) the Dastūrs, and the children of the Dastūrs, the teachers of the religion, the leaders of the religion, (7) <the possessors> of the correct Awestās³⁰³ and the people of good thought <who do not have any> doubt about the existence of the (8) creator Ohrmazd and Amahraspandān and the religion of the goodness of Mazdyasnān, in order that (9) for 150 years, they would use <it> with humility and celebrate the Yazišn ceremony (with it). And after (10) that <they> would give it to the children and grandchildren, may (11) they be good-name and faithful. May they send the immortality of the soul to the soul of Jamšēd Marzbān Wīrāf (12–13) because I have written this Juddēwdād with the command of his relatives for the memory of Jamšēd, who died young (14) and juvenile, at the time of fortune and hope.³⁰⁴ Finally he went from this (15) dangerous world, full of badness and pain to another world. (16) ... [that] bright the paradise ... (17) ... of Jamšēd (18) ... on the year ... (19) may teach (20) ... may make (21) ... us this (22) ... [holy] thought <second page> (23) ... rightness, good end ... (24) I wrote ... that his connection ... (25) may join the Sošāns, the victorious, and in the world ... (26) I have written ... Anōšagruwān Marzbān³⁰⁵, in order that <everybody who>.... good end ... (27) and would recite <it> and celebrate Yazišn (with it) and make a copy of it <and> would remember us in good name and piety of the (28) soul, then he may be of a good-famed body in the material world and a (29) pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. If <someone> wiped my name, (30) so that <my name> would be wiped away, or changed³⁰⁶ <it> may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of (31) ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be accuser in the presence of the judge, the creator, Ohrmazd and (32) in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstar, son of Zardušt. In glory and victory (33) the day Māraspand, the month Tīr, the year 976 (34) after the 20th year of <the region of> Yazdgerd, king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd, descendant of (35) Husraw,³⁰⁷ king of kings. May it be according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān. (36) I have written this Videvdād in the country of Iran in the village (37) Šarafābād, the city Maybod of Yazd in the house of Wāhrōm Rostōm (38) Bundār. This manuscript in ... (39) [...]... that ... (40) would praise ... (41) live so[ul] ... (42) that I [...] ... (43) would be [...] (44) that the paradise ... <third page> (45) ... [...]ability and [...] (46) ... [...]and that also in the seven

303 Quite uncertain.

304 *be dar ī baxt* could also possibly refer to the wedding of Jamšid.

305 Mazdapour states in Mazdapour and Afshar (2013, p. 51, comment number 30) that *anōšag-ruwān* is used as a personal name in this context, and its meaning ‘immortal soul’ is not favoured here. She also mentions that, according to the Revāyāt-e Dārāb Hormuzyār (Vol. II, p. 163, lines: 15–18 and p. 153, lines 8–9), Anōšīrvān Marzbān is the brother of Frēdōn Marzbān, the scribe of this manuscript. As the text before this part is missing, we do not know exactly whether the present manuscript is a copy of a manuscript scribed by Anōšīrvān, the brother of Frēdōn. We have not yet found any manuscript copied by him.

306 Alternatively, ‘remove’.

307 In other colophons ‘Yazdgird, descendant of Husraw, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd’, which is correct. Yazdgird is the grandchild of Husraw and Husraw is the son of Ohrmazd.

countries [...] (47) may bring..., because the religion without doubt ... (48) ... may be collaborator with us, I would advice (49) ... his own and children of Dastūrān and Magōpadān and other (50) great people who have any <kind of> Awesta or Zand because of <their> good religion (51) ... and may make a copy (of it) and not give to the heretics. May their soul be righteous! (52) But if in this manuscript a word has been changed or has been forgotten (53), may accept my mistake. Because I have written <this manuscript> for (54) the reduction of my sins and increase of good deed and for the fame-name and arrangement of (55) the connection and children and the son of Husraw, the pious, <who would be> the leaders of the religion in righteous (56) and good end and holy soul and piety of the soul for me and for all good people. (57) May it be so! May it be still more so! There is only one way and that is of the (58) righteousness. There is only one way of pious and law, the other (59–60) ones are heresy. He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible (61) [Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wīštāsp] (62) [May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion]. May every- (63) [one be able to live according to his wish]. (64–66) [S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul] <fourth page> (67–70) ... [And, O, Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit from the evil men. Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, O, Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from the bad men. Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then in the end there is injury (for) them]. May it be so! ...

4.1.1.5. *Transcription and translation of the first Persian colophon (p. 161v–161r)*

tamām-at šod īn yašt dar rūz-e dīn
hamān māj-e xordād būd az yaqīn
ze tārix-e yazgerd haftād o šeš
be-dū noḥṣad dīgar ey pīš-raft mard-e haš

This Yašt was completed on the day Dīn
 It was the month Xordād, certainly
 from the Yazdgerdi era of 76,
 <add> another 900 years to that, O clever
 man!

ke benveštām īn nesf-e aval tamām
bedān ey pasandīde-ye nīk-nām
ke būdī yekī mard-e nīkū-serešt
be-rūz-e javā[nī ... behešt]
kojā nām jamšīd, bon-e marzbān
va-rā bāb xānde be nīkī zabān
be qad būd čon sarv o roxsāre māj

That I completed this first half.
 Know this, O virtuous and upright man,
 There was a temperate man.
 In his youth, [the paradise].
 His name was Jamšīd, son of Marzbān
 (his) father named him in a noble language
 he was tall like a cedar, and his face like the
 moon

bī āz³⁰⁸ ...
ze dastūr āmūxe vāj o vost

Without greed ...
 He learned from the Dastūr and ... (his)
 friend

be dīn-e [behī] e^c teqād-aš dorost

He believed in religion, and his faith was
 true.

308 Uncertain.

*be barzīgarī rafte zan xāste
del-aš rā be nīkī [bīyārāste]³⁰⁹
gerefte ze har gūne-ye barg o sāz
ham az bahr-e dāmādī ān sarfarāz
ze ayyām ‘omr-aš šode bīst o panj
be ‘ālam ze har gūne[-yī bor]de ranj*

*ze nāgāh īn čarx-e nāpāydar
nagardīd bar kām-e ū ostovār
be jamšīd [... ...]³¹⁰ nemūd
aḡal nāgahān jān-aš az tan robūd
basī rūz jamšīd bīmār būd
del-e dūstān por ze tīmār būd
be šad nā-omīdī beraft az jahān*

*[bīyafkand] ātaš andar del-e dūstān
hamān mādar-aš sūgvārī gereft
barādar ze dard-aš nezārī gereft
har ān kas ke jamšīd dīde bodand
ze marg-aš hame pāk beryān šodand
[...] noḡe kardand o begrīstand
be nākām o bīčāregī zīstand
hamān xāhar o qom³¹¹ o xīšān-e ū
basī noḡe kardand bar jān-e ū
bebūdand por dard kān saxt būd
ke jamšīd andar bar-e baxt būd
be rūz-e jāvānī šode nā-omīd
[har] ān ka[s] koḡā hoḡre-ye ū³¹² bedīd
be dīde hamī ašk mīrīxtī
ze del-sūz key jān-š bogsīxtī*

*be ḡasrat šode zan ze šohar ḡodā
ḡalab karde šabr-e delaš az xodā*

He was a farmer and sought to marry
Adorning his heart with goodness,
He provided everything.
For his wedding, that proud (man)
He turned 25 years old,
(And) suffered every kind of pain in the material world.

Suddenly, this unstable wheel
Did not turn according to his will,
It showed ... to Jamšīd,
Suddenly, death stole the life from his body,
Many days he was sick,
The hearts of friends filled with pain,
His passing caused a great deal of disappointment.

Burning the hearts of his friends,
His mother lamented,
His brother mourned his loss,
Everyone who had seen Jamšīd before
Grieved deeply at his death,
They lamented and cried,
Living with sadness and unhappiness,
His sister and relatives, too,
Lamented much for him,
They were full of pain, for it was hard,
For Jamšīd sought good fortune,
He encountered disappointment in his youth,
Everyone who saw his resting place,
Cried with tearful eyes,
Out of compassion, as their life had scattered,
The wife, parted from her husband in sorrow,
Sought patience for her heart from God,

³⁰⁹ Uncertain.

³¹⁰ Unlikely *fānī* ‘mortal’.

³¹¹ Written *qavām*, which does not correspond to the verse metre.

³¹² Probably a variation of *heḡle*. Since Jamšīd was a farmer, this word can not be *hoḡre*, which means ‘shop’. In Persian *heḡle* refers to ‘a place provided for the consummation of a marriage’.

... [š] ze yek mām o bāb
 ze marg-e barādar šode del kabāb
 bekardand īn yašt bahraš banā
 be xošnūdi-ye īzadān o xodā
 ...
 ... [nd] dastūr ...
 [be] jamšīd bahre resānand az ān
 az īn daftar ey mard-e pākīze jān
 ...
 ...
 ... az ūst
 ke har mūbedī xānad-aš ārezūst
 ...
 ...
 ...
 [d]āneš be mīnū ...
 <second page>
 konūn har ke xānad be-šedq īn ketāb
 xodāmorz gūyad be-rāh-e šavāb
 be-jamšīd o ham bāb-e ū bar zabān
 be kāteb frēdōn, bon marzbān
 čō³¹⁴ az del xodāmorz-e mā rā be dād
 hame rūze bād-aš del o baxt šād
 ze mā šad hezārān xodāmorz bād
 be-dān kas ke mā-rā xodāmorz dād
 ādorbād dastūr-e pākīze dīn
 čō farmūd man rā ke benveštam īn
 ze lotf-e xodā būd o az dīn-e ū
 ke benveštam īn daftar ey nīkxū
 čō ū nīst dastūr-e pāk e^c teqād

From the same mother and father,
 The heart burned at the death of a brother,
 He established this Yašt,
 For the happiness of the Yazats and God.

...
 Dastūr
 May they reach benefit to Jamšīd from that,
 from this manuscript, O, the holy-soul man!

...
 ...
 ... is from him
 every Mūbed wishes to recite it.

...
 ...
 ...
 knowledge in the spiritual world ...

Now, everybody who recites this book with
 honesty,
 Offer a prayer for God's forgiveness as a
 reward,³¹³

to Jamšīd and also to his father,
 to the scribe, Frēdōn, son of Marzbān.
 If <the reader> gave us a may-God-forgive
 from <her/his> heart,
 may her/his heart and fortune be happy every
 day.

From us, a hundred thousand blessings of
 God-forgiveness

to those, who sent us God's forgiveness.
 Ādorbād, the holy religion's Dastūr,
 when he ordered me to scribe this <book>.

It was by God's mercy and his religion,
 that I was able to scribe this manuscript, O
 good-nature <man>!

There is no one equal to the pure faith Dastūr,

313 Alternatively, 'in the path of rightness'.

314 Written *jo* instead of *čō*.

*xodāvand jomle morād-aš be dād
ke bāšand ba‘zī be farmān-e ū
be-šad vajh gašte do‘ā xān-e ū
elāhī sar-aš sabz o del-šād bād
bīyābad be gītī yo mīnū morād*

*hamīše abā dūstān gašte jam‘
be-bālā čo sarv o be roxsāre šam‘*

*makon ‘eyb-am ey mard-e besyār dān
ke kas nīst bī‘eyb jōz geyb-dān*

*bepūšān hame sahv-e šē‘r-e ma-rā
ke baxšad ravān-at be mīnū xodā*

*bedārīd ma‘zūr xānandegān
ze gostāxī-yī kāmādam bar zabān*

hezār āfarīn o dorūd o do‘ā

*ze mā bād bar rūy-e nīkān šafā
čo hūšang dastūr jamšīd būd
yekī mard-e bā rāy o ommīd būd
sarafrāz pūr-e māvandād būd
ze har bad, del o jānaš āzād būd*

*vey az bahr-e jamšīd karde yaziš
ke bīmārī yo gam mabād hargez-aš
vanīdād-e jamšīd ū xodnegāh*

*bedārad be-rūzān o sālān o māh
[har ān kas]³¹⁵ bodaš kār dar rāh-e dīn*

*ferestad ravān-e va-rā āfarīn
be kāteb ferestad vey āmorzešt
ze gītī yo mīnū be pand-e xošt
...*

May God fulfill all his wishes!
Some people obey his orders
and pray for him in hundreds of instances.
May his head be green and his heart happy!
May he find in both material and spiritual
world (his) wish!
May he always gather with his friends!
May his stature be like cedar and his face
like candle!
Do not look at my faults, O wise man!
Nobody is without mistake, except who
knows the hidden.
Hide all the errors of my verse!
May God forgive your soul in the spiritual
world!
Please excuse me (you) readers!
for any insolent words that might have es-
caped my mouth!
May thousands of our blessings, greetings,
and prayers
bring purity to the faces of the good people.
There was a Hūšang, Dastūr Jamšīd.
He was a man with wisdom and hope.
He was the proud son of Māvandād.
His heart and life were free of any mischie-
vousness.
He performed Yazīš for Jamšīd.
May he never have sickness and sadness!
He himself will uphold the Videvdād of
Jamšīd
in the coming days, months, and years.
[everybody who] thrives in path of the re-
ligion,
may send blessings to his soul.
May he send blessing to the scribe.
From material world and the spiritual world,
(a) happy advice
...

³¹⁵ Uncertain.

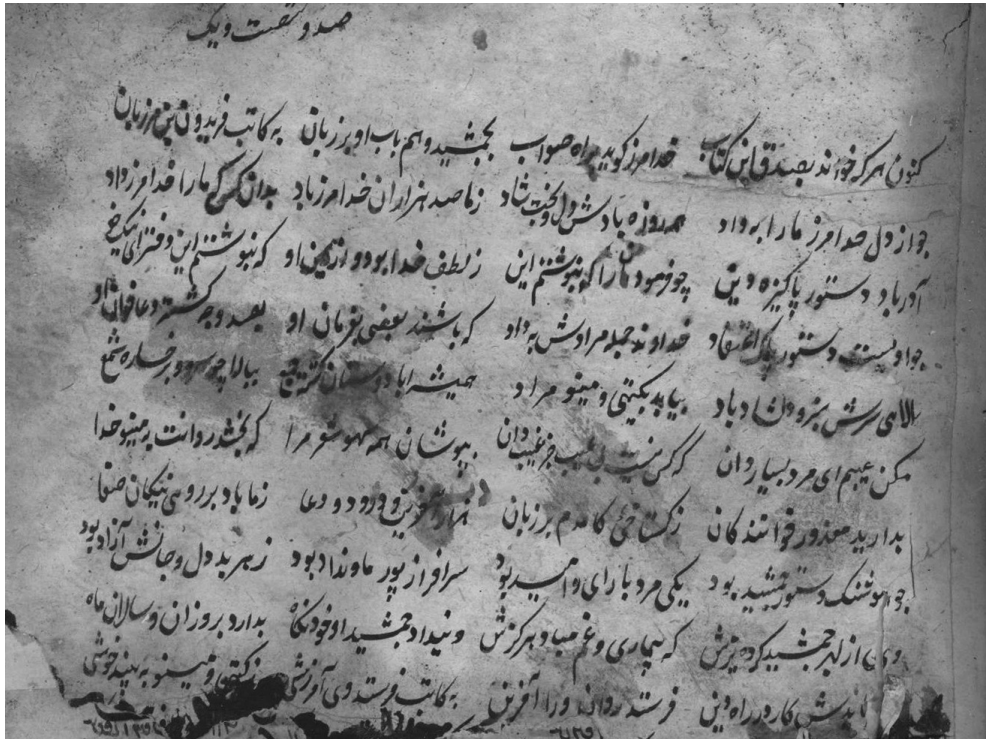


Image 8: MS. 4000, First Modern Persian colophon, second page (ADA fol. 161r)

4.1.1.6. Transcription and translation of the second Persian colophon (p. 297r)

... īn daftar be manzel	... I have completed this manuscript
rasānīdīm o gašte šādmān del	and my heart became happy
be mā ...	to us ...
... gašt īn daftar be taqdīr	... this manuscript be destined to happen
sane bod noḡṣad o haftād bā šeš	The year was 976 of the Yazdgerd era...
ze yazdgerd ...	from Yazdgerd ...
ma-rā gar nām porsad kas ham īdūn	If somebody asked my name, now
... bāb-e man kard nām-e man freydūn	... My father named me Fereydūn,
marzbān fereydūn ...	Marzbān Fereydūn ...
ma-rā bāb o nīyā bāšad be ayyām	May my father and my grandfather be remem- bered eternally!
neveštām īn čenīn daftar az ān man	I wrote this manuscript
[ke] bāšad va[qf] ...	as a dedication
dahand jamšīd-e marzān rā xodāmorz	in hope that they would offer a 'may-God-for- give' for Jamšīd Marzbān.

<i>xodāvandā to īšān rā bīyāmorz</i>	O God! Forgive them!
[...]rk
<i>ma-bādā marđ³¹⁶ rā dar do jahān bad</i>	May the man not have any badness in both worlds.
<i>be jamšīd har ke nūšeravān ferestād³¹⁷</i>	To everyone who prayed for Jamšīd's immortal soul
<i>be-do gītī d ...</i>	In both worlds ...
<i>xodā az ān kasī xošnūd bādā</i>	May God be satisfied with that person,
<i>ma-rū rā dar jahān andoh ma-bādā</i>	May s/he have no sadness in the material world
...	...
<i>ke ū az del xodāmorz-am ferestād</i>	who, from the heart, sent me a 'may-God-for-give.
<i>dorūd-e mā hezār andar hezārān</i>	My greetings, thousands and thousands,
<i>be nīkān ...</i>	to the pious people

4.1.1.7. Other Notes including Verses, Dates, Treaties, etc.

<i>ke dastūr behzād šod dar behešt</i>	Dastūr Behzād went to paradise,
<i>beheštī ke bāšad ze ‘anbar serešt</i>	The paradise of good nature,
<i>be pīš-e nīyākān-e xod rafte ast</i>	Where he joined his ancestors.
<i>del-e mām o bābaš be-qam gašte ast</i>	The hearts of his mother and father filled with pain,
<i>ke gaštast dar xāne-ye xod be dar</i>	for he left his own home.
<i>beraftast rāhī ke nāyad degar</i>	He embarked on a path from which he won't return.
<i>farāq-aš xorad mādar-e jān fešān</i>	His loving mother suffered from his separation,
<i>hamān bāb dastūr-e rōšan ravān</i>	His father, Dastūr Rōšan Ravān, also suffers from his separation
...	...

316 Written ma-rū, but this reading does not favour the context.

317 The metre of this part is problematic and does not fit other parts.

az iṣān bokon dard o qamhā jodā
begardān balāhā ze qam dīdhā

Remove pains and sorrows from them!

Take away the misfortunes from those who
 experienced sadness!

ke bāšand andar jahān pāydhār
na bīnand bad hīč dar rūzegār

May they be eternal in this world!

May they never see bad things in life!

- *vafāt-e dastūr behzād dastūr ōrmazdyār dastūr mehrabān esfandyār dar yōm amordād īzad va sīzdahom-e āzarmāh va haftom-e xordād māj-e qadīm, saneye 1111 yazdgerdī*
 ‘Dastūr Behzād Dastūr Ōrmazdyār Dastūr Mehrabān Esfandyār passed away on the day of Amordād Izad, the 13th of the month Āzar, and the 7th of the old month Xordād, in the year 1111 AY.’

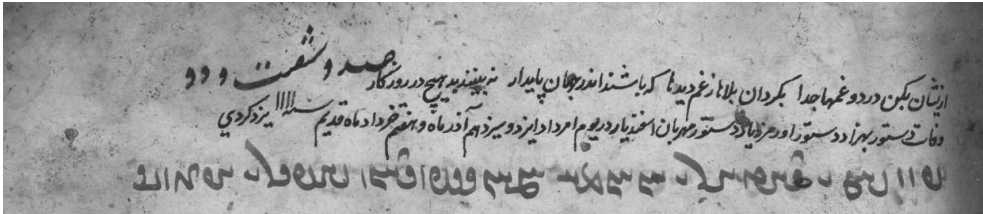


Image 9: MS. 4000, A poem (ADA fol. 161v)

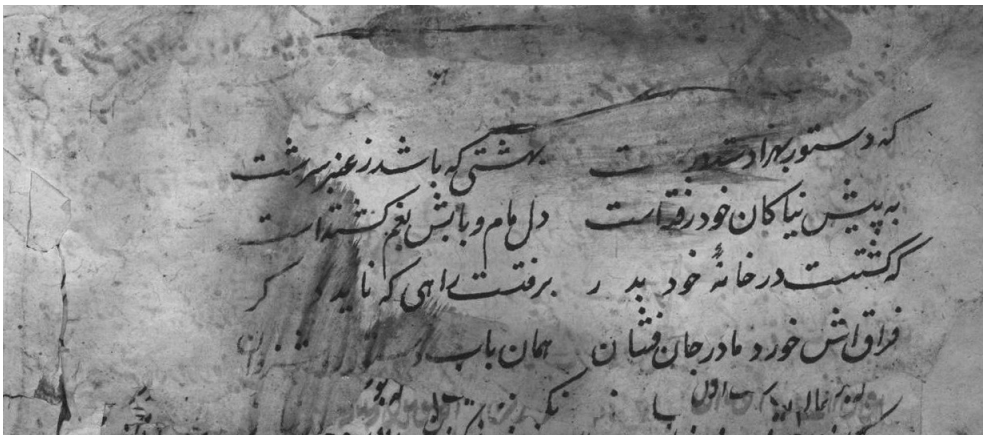


Image 10: MS. 4000, A poem and a Sālmarg (ADA fol. 162r)

4.1.2. MS. 4010

4.1.2.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (ADA fol. 155r–156r)³¹⁸

(1) *frazaft frazaf*³¹⁹ *pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh* <ud> (2) *rāmišn* [*pad nēk*] *dahišn* <ud> *xūb murwāg xoĵastag rōzgār* (3) *abestāg yašt wispar*[ēd] *jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang* (4) *rastag ī yazēšnīhā. man ī dēn bandag, wā*[hrōm] *marzbān frēdōn* (5) *ī wāh*[rōm] *rustōm ī bundār ī šahmardān ī dēn-ayār* [nibišt] (6) *hom* <ud> *frāz hišt hom az pačēn ī pidar ud br*[ādar ī] (7) *xwēš. kard nibišt hom andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh rōz gōš* [*ud māh ī amordād*]³²⁰ <second page> (8) *sāl bar 977 pas az 20 be yazdgerd ī šahr*(9)*yārān, nāfag be husraw ī šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān. nibišt* (10) *hom ud frāz hišt hom az bahrīh xwēšīh ī xwēš* (11) *rāy ud frazandān* <ī> *xwēš rāy kē ohrmazd pad rastag*³²¹ *ī ašorawīh,*³²² (12) *wehīh ud frārōnīh kām ud amēd*³²³ (?) *bandag (?) rawāg bawād* ^ *kunād ēdōn* ^³²⁴. *čiyōn pad sāl* (13) *13 pidar marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm az gētih pad mēnōgān hūram* <ud> (14) *hubōy šud. ēn bandag abē-pidar šud hom az pēš ī* (15) *brādarān ud pēš ī har frārōnkunišnān kē hom ud dēn-šān*³²⁵ *pad* (16) *hūramīh bawēd. har gyāg-ē čiš-ē hammōxt-om srōš-ayār* (17) *bawād mēnōščihr ī rustōm frēdōn gōpadšāh ud brādarān* (18) *kē har čiš* ^{ke} *dānist hēnd nimūdārīh bandag kard* [hēnd]³²⁶. (19) *pad sahiḡīh ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān ud pad hammōzišn ī nēk kardārān,* (20) *frārōnkunišnān* <ud> *xūb-hūmān nawzōd šud hom. ud pad sāl ī* (21) *18-om jud-dēw-dād ud nō-nāwar*³²⁷ *yašt hom ud az bahr ī* (22) *pēdar zīndag-ruwānīg*³²⁸ *kard hom. ud az bahrīh xwēš ham*³²⁹ *zīndag-*(23)*ruwānīg man jud-dēw-dād kard hom. ud pad sāl ī wīstom ham,* (24) *ēn jud-dēw-dād nibišt amēd*³³⁰ *kē pad drustīḡīh* <ud> *xūb-frazāmīh,* (25) *pad kāmāg ī ohrmazd xwadāy ud amhraspandān ud abarīg wehān pad drustīh* (26) *nibištāg*³³¹ *ud pad frazām rasīd. hamāg wehān ud weh-dēnān pad* (27) [nēk] ³³² *kirbag ī man hambahr ud man pad mīzd ī hamāg wehdēnān ud kustīgdārān* <third page> (28) *ham-bahr bawām. har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn* (29) *az-iš kunād ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh* (30) *ud ahlaw-ruwānīh ayād kunād, ēg-iš gētih tan-husraw ud pad mēnōg* (31) *ruwān ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād, paywand pad sōšāns paywandād.* (32) [ēg-]³³³ *iš nām ī amā awestarēd ayāb judtar kunēd u-š*³³⁴ *gētih* (33) *tan-dusraw ud pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād u-š*

318 A transcription and translation of this colophon has been published by Ferrer-Losilla (see Cantera et. al 2019: 22–28). Prior to this publication, Ferrer-Losilla graciously shared his work with me, allowing us to examine and cross-reference our interpretations. Consequently, our readings and translations bear substantial similarity.

319 This word is repeated.

320 This part has been altered. According to the Persian colophon, it can be determined that the month is Amurdād.

321 Maybe *rāstagīh*, which is a mistake for *rāstīh* ‘goodness’.

322 Quite uncertain.

323 A variation of *ēmēd* or *ummēd* ‘hope’.

324 It seems that *kunād* is a correction for *bawād*.

325 Unlikely a mistake for *ēg-šān*.

326 The reading is certain.

327 Written *nōnābar*.

328 Written *zandagruwānīg*.

329 Or *xwēš-om*. Written *xwēš hom*.

330 A variation of *ummēd*, *ēmēd* ‘hope’.

331 Quite uncertain.

332 This part has been altered.

333 Possibly.

334 Quite certain.

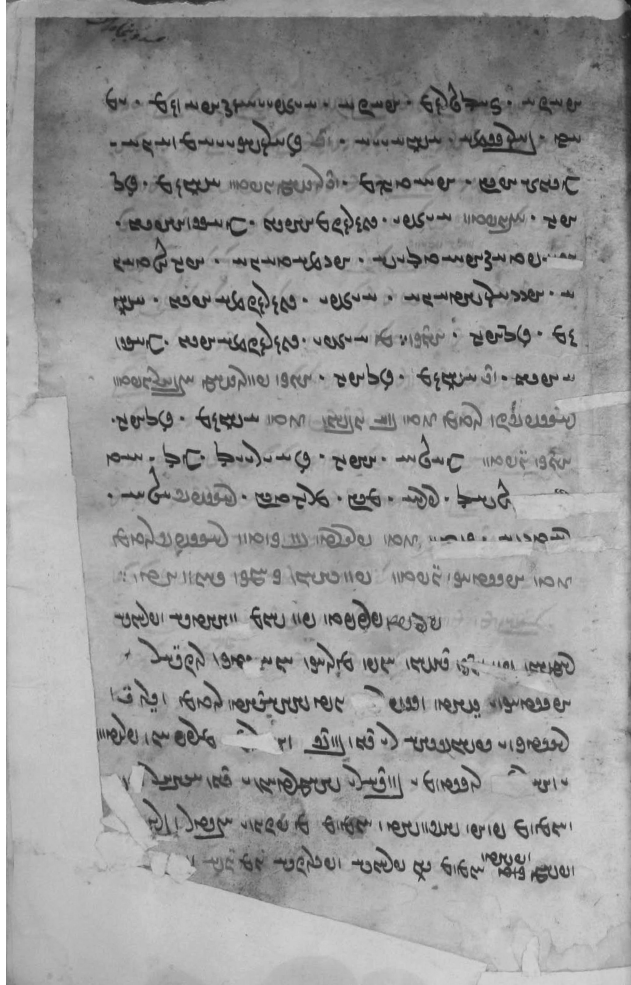


Image 11: MS. 4010, First Middle Persian colophon, first page

hamēmāl (34) [*hom*]³³⁵ [*p*]ad dādwar ī dādār ī ohrmazd pad hanjaman ī īsadwāst(35)rān ī zarduštān. andar farroxih ud pērōzih bīm³³⁶ ī šahr ī kermān pad (36) mahalag ī dādgān³³⁷ ud pad xānag ī marzbān nibišt hom. pad yazdān (37) <ud> [amahra]spandān kāmag bawād. ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād. (38) [aē]uuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe. (39) [ēk ast rāhīh] ahlāyih ud abārīg ān ī jud-rāhīh (40) šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuqnō. šād (41) ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwānīh³³⁸ xwēš. čand ahy ī mēnōg ī dastwarīh ī (42) [čihromayān wištās]pān be rasād. dēn rawāg dēn bur(43)dārān-šān [az] dēn nekīh rasād har kas pad kāmag <ī> xwēš (44) tuwān

³³⁵ The context strongly favours this reading.

³³⁶ Probably the Zoroastrian Dari pronunciation of *būm* or a mistake for *bām*.

³³⁷ Alternatively, *šādgān*.

³³⁸ A mistake for *ruwān ī*.

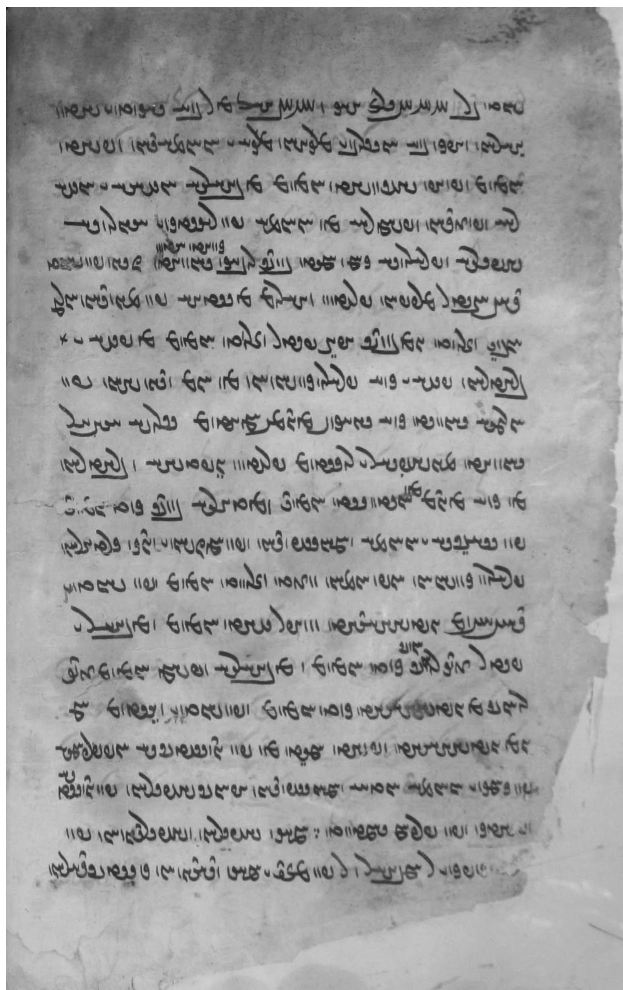


Image 12: MS. 4010, First Middle Persian colophon, second page

*bawād zīwistan.*³³⁹ *nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōiṭ. (45) urune. zazuša. nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša. nē-š čīš (46) grift kē-š nē ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē [nē] (47) ruwān gīrēd. ēdōn bawād pad kāmāg ī ohrmazd xw[adāy].*

4.1.2.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare and joy and glory <and> (2) pleasure [in good] fate <and> good omen, and blessed time, (3) <this> Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd Judēwdād with Nērangs and (4) ritual series. I, the servant of religion, [Wāhrom] Marzbān Frēdōn (5) Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār ī Šahmardān Dēnyār, have (6) [written] and launched <it> from a copy of my fa-

³³⁹ Or alternatively *har kas pad kāmāg xwēš [ud] tuwān bād zīwistan* 'Everybody may live according to his/her will and power.'

ther and brother. (7) I have written <it> in joy and victory, on the day Gōš, and [the month Amordād] (8) in the year 977, after the 20th [year of the reign of] Yazdgerd, the son of (9) Šahryār,³⁴⁰ descendant of Husraw, king of kings, [the son of] Ohrmazd. (10) I have written and launched <it> for my own possession³⁴¹ (11) and for my children in order that Ohrmazd, for progression of righteousness, (12) goodness and honesty, floods hope and desire to <this> servant.³⁴² May he do so. (13–14) Then at the age of thirteen, <my> father, Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm passed away happy and fragrant from the material world to the spiritual world and this servant became an orphan. (15) From (my) brothers to every benefactor, that I am with, may their religion (16) be in happiness. Everywhere I learned something. May Srōš be the helper of (17) Mēnōščihr ī Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh, and <his> brothers, which, (18) what they knew, all taught to <this> servant. (19) By the worthiness of Ohrmazd and Amahraspandān and through teachings of benefactors (20) and righteous people and good thinkers, I became Nawzōd. (21) At the age of eighteenth, I celebrated³⁴³ the Vidēwdād <and> Nō-nāwar and I did <it> for the immortality of the soul of <my> (22) father. And also, for my own immortality of soul, (23) I have written <this Vidēwdād>. And at the age of twentieth (24) I also wrote this Vidēwdād with the hope that with health <and> a good end, (25) by the favour of Ohrmazd, God, and Amahraspandān and other good people (26) <it> would be written correctly and would be completed. May all righteous and the people of the good religion (27–28) be participant in my [good] deed and may I be a participant in the reward of all the people of the good religion and the Kusti³⁴⁴ holders. Everybody who would recite <it>, or would teach <it> or (29) make a copy of it or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it, and would remember us in good name (30) and piety of the soul, then may he be of good famed body in the material world and (31) a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. And may <his soul> join to Sōšāns. (32) [And if] he wiped my name or changed it, may he be (33) of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and (34) I [would be] accuser in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāst(35)rān, son of Zartušt. I have written <it> in glory and victory, in the city of Kerman, in (36) the quarter of Dādgān³⁴⁵, in the house of Marzbān. May it be according to the will (37) of Yazdān <and> [Amahra]spandān. May it be so! May it be still more so! (38) There is only one way and that is of the righteousness. (39) [There is only one way of] pious and the other ones are heresy. (40) Happiness and the paradise soul, he would be glad (41) in body, who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world (42) [Čihromayān, son of Wīštās]p! May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion (43–44) attain goodness [through] religion. May everyone be able to live according to his wish. S/he has not (45–46) won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he (47) does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. May it be so according to the will of Ohrmazd, God.

340 Šahrīyārān could also mean ‘great king’.

341 The second possibility could be ‘for my relatives’.

342 The meaning of this part is quite uncertain.

343 Or ‘recited’.

344 Zoroastrian sacred girdle.

345 Quite uncertain.

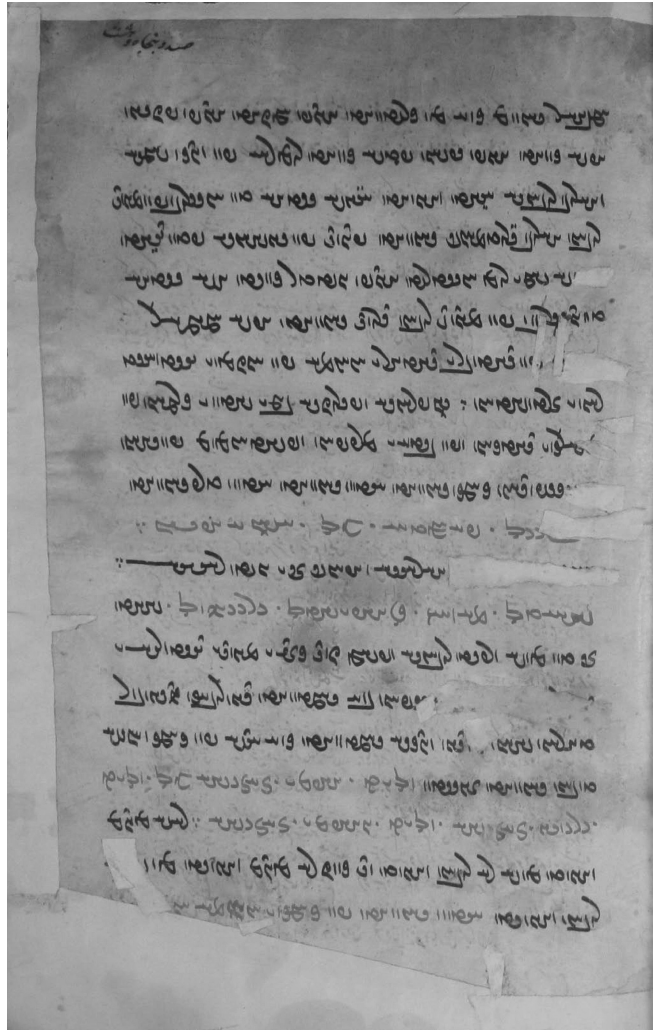


Image 13: MS. 4010, First Middle Persian colophon, third page

4.1.2.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (on pages 293v and 294r in ADA)

frazast pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāmišn pad nēk dahišn ud (2) xūb murwāg xojaštāg rōzgār abestāg ī yašt wisparēd ud jud-(3)dēw-dād abāg nērang <ud> restag³⁴⁶ yazišnihā. man ī dēn bandag, wāhrōm ī (4) marzbān frēdōn ī wāhrōm ī rustōm ī bundār ī šahmardān ī dēn-(5)ayār nibišt hom. frāz hišt hom az pačēn ī (6) pidar ud brādar ī xwēš. nibišt hom andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh rōz (7) srōš ud māk ī dēn³⁴⁷ sāl bar 978 pas az 20 be (8) yazdgerd ī šahryārān, nāfag be husraw ī šāhān šāh ī (9) ohrmazdān. nibišt hom ud frāz

346 A variation of *rastag* 'series'.

347 Meaning the month Dey.

hišt hom (10) az bahrīh hamāg xwēšīh ī xwēš rāy ud frazandān <ī> xwēš r[āy]. (11) nibišt hom kē tā 150 sālān kār pad ahlā[yīh] (12) yazišn framāyēm. pas az 150 sālān be ō³⁴⁸ ī frazand(13)zādagān ud frazand husraw <ī> dēn-burdār abespārēm ān man <ī> ahlaw.³⁴⁹ (14) har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēnīg az-iš (15) pad-iš kunād ayāb yazišnīg pad-iš kunād amā rāy pad (16) nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw-ruwānīh yād kunād, ēg-iš gētīh (17) tan-husraw, u-š pad mēnōg ruwān-ahlaw bawād. ēg-iš (18) nām <ī> man kē nibištār hom az-iš awestarēd kē awestarēd (19) u-š gētīh tan-dusraw u-š mēnōg ruwān-druwand bawād. (20) u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwar ī dādār ī ohrmazd pad hanjāman ī (21) īsadwāstrān ī zarduštān. andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh.<second page> (22) ...³⁵⁰ (23) [...³⁵¹ ē]dōn³⁵² nibišt hom [pad yaz]dān ud [amahraspandān] (24) kā[m]ag bawād. ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād ...³⁵³ (25) aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahe. ēk ast rāhīh (26) ahlāyīh ud abārīg ī jud-rāhīh. šātō. manā. (27) vahištō. uruuqñō., šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwānīh (28) xwēš. čand ahy ī mēnōg ī dastwarīh ī čihrogmayān³⁵⁴ (29) wištāspān bē rasād dēn rawāg dēn burdārān-šān (30) az [dēn] nēkīh rasād har kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš tuwān (31) [ba]wād zīwīstan. nōīt. ahmi. zazuša yō. nōīt. urune. (32) [zazu]ša. nōīt. čahmi. zazuša. nē-š čīš grift (33) [kē-š] nē ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē-š nē (34) [ruwān] gīrēd. ēdōn bawād pad kāmāg ī ohrmazd xwadāy. (35) pērōz bawād xwarrah ī abēzag wehdēn ī mahistān.

4.1.2.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate and (2) good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd Jud(3)jēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Wāhrōm (4) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dēn(5)ayār, have written and launched <it> from the manuscript of (6) my father and brother. I have written in glory and victory on the day (7) Srōš, the month Dey of the year 978, after the 20th (8) [year of the reign of], son of Šahryār, descendant of his majesty, Husraw, king of kings, (9) [the son of] Ohrmazd. I have written and launched <it> (10) for all my relatives and my children. (11) I have written <it> in order that we may use it 150 years with righteousness and (12) would perform Yazišn. After 150 years, I would leave <it> for the children and (13) grandchildren of Husraw, the leader of the religion, I, the righteous³⁵⁵. (14) Everybody who would recite <it>, or would teach <it> or (15) make a copy of it or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it, (16) and would remember us in good desire and piety of the soul, then may he be of (17) good famed body in the material world and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. If someone wiped (18) my name, I who am the scribe, so that (my name) would be wiped away, may he be of (19) ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and (20) I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence (21) of the assembly of Dastūran, son of Zartušt. In glory and victory. (22–23) I have written <it> May it be according to (24) the will of God and Amahraspandān. May it be so! May it be still more so! (25) There is only one way and that

348 A mistake for *ōy*.

349 Uncertain.

350 This part begins on page 294r (in ADA), and the first line has been altered.

351 This part has been altered.

352 Or maybe Wāhrōm Rustom Frēdōn.

353 This part has been altered.

354 In other manuscripts, *čihromayān*.

355 Uncertain.

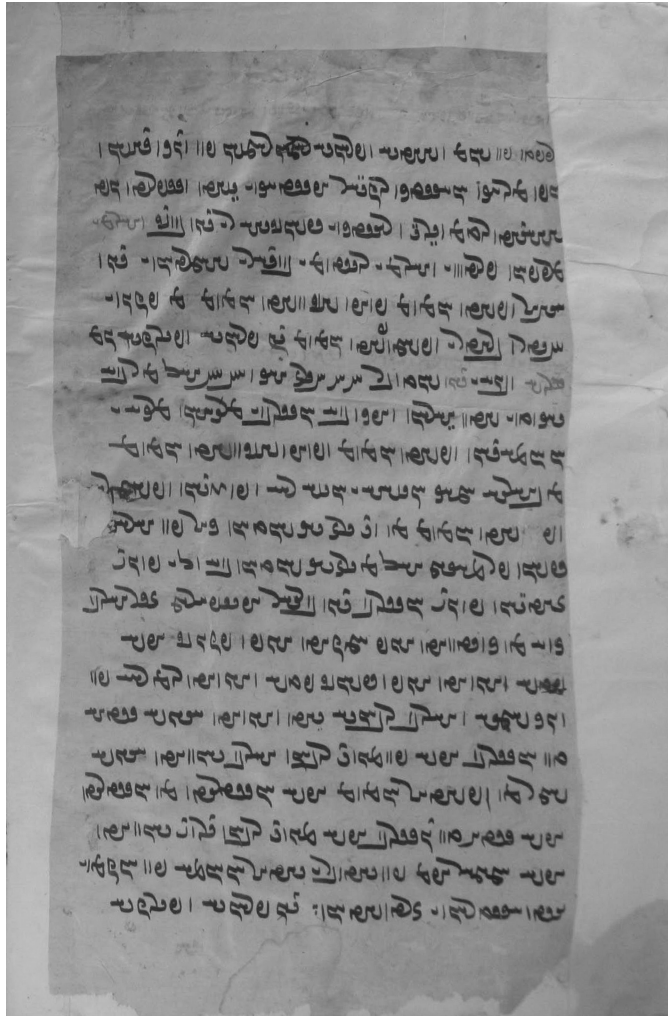


Image 14: MS. 4010: Second Middle Persian colophon, first page

is of the righteousness. There is only one way of (26) pious and the other ones are heresy. He would (27) be glad in body, who would improve (28) his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, (29) son of Wīštāsp! May the religion spread, and may the followers of the religion (30) attain goodness through religion. May everyone be able (31) to live according to his wish. S/he has not won anything (32–34) who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. May it be so according to the will of Ohrmazd, God. (35) May be victorious the glory of holy and good religion greatest (people).

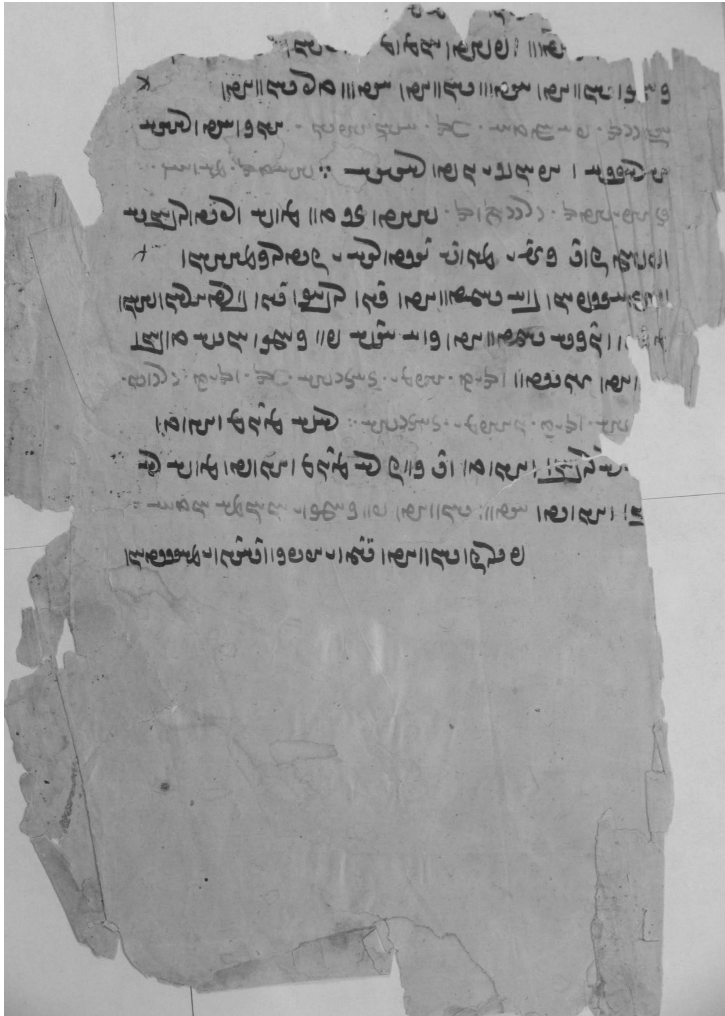


Image 15: MS. 4010: Second Middle Persian colophon, second page

4.1.2.5. Transcription and translation of the first Persian Colophon (p. 156v)

*be rūz-e goš o dar māj-e amordād
sane nohšad degar bod haft o haftād
ze fot-e yazdgerd-e šahriyārān*

*kojā bogzašte būd az rūzegārān
neveštam nesf-e vandīdād-e avval
resānidam be lotf-e haq be manzel*

On the day Goš, and the month Amordād,
in the year 977,
after the passing of Yazdgerd, the king of
kings,
which was many years ago,
I have written half of the first Vandīdād.
By the favour of God, I finished it.

*hame xānandegān bādand xoš-rūz
šabān o rūz-e-šān čon ruž-e norūz*

*čo xānand o biyāmōzand o dānand
ze bahr e man xodā-morzī resānand
har ān kū mīnevīsad-ham ze rūyaš
dahad yazdān omīd o ārezūyaš*

har ān kū mīkonad zīn rū yazešnī

fozūn bādā-š rūz az rūz-e jašnī

*galaṭ-hā-yī ke vāqe' qašte bāšad
degar harfī kojā aškaste bāšad*

*nekū mardī ke benmāyad dorost-aš
ze āxar rūz tā rūz-e naxost-aš
del-aš šād o ravān xorram čo xoršīd*

*be do gītī bīyābad kām o ommīd
kasī kū 'eyb jūyad bad fazāyad*

*basī man'-e nevīsande namāyad
rox-aš zard o del-aš nāšād bādā*

ḥasūdān rā be joz kūri mabādā

ze gostāxī kojā kardam to ma'zūr

bedār ey mard-e behdīn pāk-e dastūr

*agar xāhī ke nām-am bā to xānam
man-am bahrām o pūr-e marzbānam
nīyāy-e man fereydūn pūr-e bahrām*

bedān ey pāk mard-e nīk farjām

ke sāl-e sīzdah čon 'omr-e man raft

May all who read be blessed.

May all their days and nights be as joyous
as Norūz.

Anyone who recites it, teaches it, or learns it,
pray for my forgiveness!

Anyone who makes a copy of it,
may God grant them hope and fulfill their
desires.

For anyone who celebrates a Yazīšn ceremo-
ny with it,

May their day be even brighter than a fes-
tive one.

Any mistakes that may have been made,
and any letters that may have been written
incorrectly,

a good man, who would correct them,
from the last day to the first day,
may his heart be merry, and his soul bloom
like the sun!

May he find desire and hope in both worlds!

The one who only searches for errors and
adds mistakes,

or excessively criticizes the scribe,
may his face turn pale, and his heart be un-
happy.

May nothing but blindness befall the envi-
ous.

If I have committed arrogant words, excuse
me!

O, you who follow the good religion and the
holy Dastūr.

If you wish to know my name,

It is Bahram, son of Marzbān.

My grandfather was Fereydūn³⁵⁶, son of
Bahrām.

Know this, O you, the holy and fortunate
one!

When I turned thirteen years old,

356 The New Persian pronunciation of Frēdōn.

*marzbān-e fereydūn az vaṭan raft
be amr-e šāh dar qazvīn vaṭan sāxt*

čand māhī be-dīn bande naparxāxt

baʿd az ān dar xorāsān raft daryāb

*čon ke būd-aš dar ānjā hamdam-e āb
be andak moddaī āmad be kermān
aǰal āmad nabūd-aš hīč darmān
be sālī panǰe o haftom ze ʿālam
borūn raft o to bešno kār o ḥālam*

*čo gaštam bī-pedar rāyam bar in būd
ke ānče farz andar rāh-e dīn būd*

*bīyāmōzam ravān rā šād dāram³⁵⁷
be dīn-e behravān ābād dāram*

*ze har kas dāneš-ī āmūxtam man
ze xarman xūše rā andūxtam man
be loṭf-e īzād o rāy-e nekūyān*

be yomn o hemmat e dīn o ašūyān

be sāl e šānzdah nozūd gaštam

ze bahr-e bāb-e zende ravān³⁵⁹ be yaštam

*ze bahr-e xīš ham zende ravānī
be yaštam šādam az ān har za[mā]ni*

*be sāl-e bīstom man īn Vanīdād³⁶⁰
be loṭf-e ḥaq bekardam nīz bonyād*

Marzbān, son of Freydūn, left his homeland by the order of the king (and) Qazvin became his home.

For a couple of months, he did not take care of me.

After that, he moved to Xorāsān – pay attention!

There, he became a companion to the water.

After a short time, he came to Kerman,

There was no other choice; he passed away.

He passed away at the age of fifty-seven.

He went out and listen to my state and affairs!

Finding myself an orphan, I decided,

I sought out what was necessary in the path of the faith,

learning to uplift my soul,

and enhance my understanding through the religion of the good souls,

I gained knowledge from everyone

And with it, I cultivated wisdom.³⁵⁸

By the grace of God and the wisdom of good people,

and due to the auspice of the faith and the aspiration of the holy

I was initiated into Nozud at the age of sixteen.

I celebrated Yazīšn for my father's immortal soul,

and for my own soul's immortality.

I continue to celebrate Yazīšn and always find joy in it.

At the age of twenty, I, this Vandīdād

by God's favor, I penned [it].

357 Quite certain.

358 The metaphorical phrase "I saved wheat from harvest" implies the gathering of knowledge and wisdom.

359 If we read this word as *ravān*, the metre of the poem does not seem to be correct. If we want to keep the metre of the verse, we have to read the word as having the form *rūn*.

360 A short form of Vandīdād.

ke yazdān-e jahān kām-am bar ārad

mīyān-e hamsarān nām-am bar-ārad

be rāh-e rāst dārad xāter-e man

konad az har šar o ranjīm īman

ze man dastūr o behdīnān-e gītī

konad xošnūd o bāšam bā patītī

behān o mehtarān az man na³⁶¹ ranjand

agar darvīš agar jūyāy-e ganjand

ze man har kehtarī xošnūd bāšad

[hame]³⁶² nīkān kojā ahl-e ...

bovam ham bahre-ye īšān be kerfe

be rāh-e dīn ...³⁶³ behmān³⁶⁴ bād³⁶⁵ herfe³⁶⁶

pedar bā mādar az man gašte xošnūd

ze dast-e man bar āyad jomle behbūd³⁶⁷

barādarhā ze man gašte tasallī

behān xorram ze man dar har maḥalli

xodāvandā amānam deh dar īn dahr

ke az har nīkoyī yābam basī bahr

ke tā mohtāj-e ham jāme³⁶⁸ nabāšam

pasandand har kasī ṭab³ o ma³ āšam

In hopes that the God of this world would fulfill my desires,

That He would elevate my name among people,

guide my mind to the path of righteousness, and shield me from every evil and pain.

May all the Dastūrs and followers of the good faith in the world

derive happiness from me, and may I abide by the *patīt*.

May the good and superior people bear no offense towards me,

whether they are impoverished or seeking treasure,

may even those considered inferior be content with me.

To all the good people who are ...

may I also partake in their virtuous deeds

In the path of the good religion, I aspire to reach a level of professionalism

My father and mother would be satisfied with me

I would do all sort of goodness

My brothers can trust in me,

and the virtuous will find joy in me wherever I am.

O God, preserve my safety in this world,

so that I may reap abundant blessings,

and be independent of any other mortal.

May all appreciate my conduct and my way of life.

361 A reading such as *ze* 'from' is also possible, but its meaning does not fit the context. I therefore assume that the word is *na* 'not' and written as a separate word.

362 Simply a guess.

363 Uncertain.

364 Uncertain.

365 Uncertain, either *bād* with the meaning 'wind' or as verb with the meaning 'may be, would be'. The meaning of this part is uncertain.

366 Uncertain.

367 Uncertain.

368 *ham jāme* adj., perhaps 'symbiotic' (according to Dehxodā *ham jāme* = *ham zīst* 'symbiotic', and hardly with the meaning *ham jāme* = *ham bastar*, *ham raxtexāb* 'bedfellow' according to Farhang-e Loḡat-e 'amīd).

*mar-īn daftar resānam man be farjām
ze man rāzī behān³⁶⁹ dar sāl o ayyām*

*ze bahr e ān neveštam īn revāyat
ke tā har kas ke xānad īn hekāyat
be kāteb ū dahad az del xodāmorz*

*xodāvandā ravānam rā biyāmorz
mar-īn p...³⁷⁰ marā har kas ke xānīd
ravānam rā xodāmorzī resānīd
ṭama' dāram az ān behdīn ke xānand*

ke az būm-e anūšīrvān³⁷¹ ...

*be sāl e noḥṣad o haftād daryāb
ke dar gūtī be mīnū šod marā bāb*

be māh e farvadīn rūz e varahrām

borūn šod zīn jahān por dard nākām

*xodāvandā ravān-e ū biyāmorz
bedāraš dūr az tārī yo zeštī
be bābam har ke ū bedhad xodāmorz*

*xodāvandā ravān-e ū biyāmorz
agar če gofte-ye man rīšxand ast
be pīš-e bas kasānī nāpasand ast
az ān benvešte-am tā yādam ārand*

*moda' āy-e (?) ravān-e man bar ārand
fereydūn marzbān ben-e fereydūn
hame bā rāstī goftī hamīdūn
xodā-ye har do 'ālam bāšad āgāh*

I will complete this manuscript,
and the virtuous shall find everlasting satisfaction in me.

For this reason, I penned this narrative,
so that everyone who reads this story,
may bestow upon its scribe their prayers for forgiveness.

O God! Bless my soul!

Anyone who reads my work will,
I hope, also offer prayers for my forgiveness.
I wish that the virtuous person who recites
my book

and who hails from the land of Anūšag-
ruwān,³⁷²

be aware that in the year 970!

My father transitioned from the material
world to the spiritual realm.

It was in the month of Fravardīn, on the day
of Varahrām.

He left this world, full of pain and disap-
pointed

O God, may you place his soul in paradise.
Shield him from darkness and the grotesque.

Everyone who offers prayers of forgiveness
for my father,

O God, bless their souls!

If my words seem mocking,
or perhaps offensive to someone,
know that I wrote them with the hope that
they will remember me,

and pray for my soul!

Fereydūn, son of Marzbān, son of Fereydūn,
was always truthful.

The God of both worlds would know.

³⁶⁹ It can also be read as jahān 'world'.

³⁷⁰ yašt.

³⁷¹ Uncertain. Only slight traces are preserved, and they support this reading.

³⁷² This translation is quite doubtful.

be rāh-e rāstam na rāh-e gomrāh

bedīn ormazd o dād-e zartošt

kojā bā ān nīyākānam šod ham-pošt

bedān dīnam naxāham kažžī yo bad

nemīgardam³⁷³ man az dastūr o mūbad

daham sar dīn be nadham man az dast

yaqīnam man be dīn tā jān-e man hast

ze dastam jāste o karde manīde

ze gofte gar bovad ham az šenīde

ze farmūde ze har rāh-e kaž o kam

avāxš o zān pašīmān o pataftam³⁷⁴

karfe-sabz o gonāham xošk o kam bād

bar ahrīman šekast dam be dam bād

fozūn [yazdān]-e dādāram bebāyast

dahad bā man hame kām-e avāyast³⁷⁵

drūd az mā be-rūy-e pārsāyān

be behdīnān-e pāk o nīkrāyān

fozūn az šadhezār andar hezārān

fozūn az qaṭre bārān-e bahārān

I tread the path of righteousness, not the path of corruption.

I am a follower of the religion of Ormazd and the law of Zartošt.

I joined my forebears in unity.

I do not desire corruption or harm to befall my faith.

I will not deviate from the guidance of the Dastūr and the Mūbad.

Even if it costs me my head, I will not renounce my religion.

I will hold steadfast to my faith until the end of my life.

For any unintentional deeds or thoughts I may have had,

for any word spoken or thing heard,

for any command issued, or any misleading action or deficiency

I am remorseful and regretful, filled with sorrow.

May I be one who does good deeds, may my sins be few.

May Ahrīman be forever defeated.

May Yazdān, the creator,

fulfill all my desires...

We extend our greetings to the pious,

to the followers of the good faith and those who harbor good thoughts.

May their number exceed hundreds of thousands

outstripping even the droplets of the spring rain.

³⁷³ It is written as *nemīkardam*.

³⁷⁴ According to Dehxodā, this means 'penitent'.

³⁷⁵ Uncertain.

4.1.2.6. *Marginal notes***Sālmargs, p. 157r**

- *Vafāt-e Marzbān Fereydūn Dastūr Bahrām, rūz-e Varahrām, māh-e Farvardīn, sane-ye 970*
 ‘Death of Marzbān Fereydūn Dastūr Bahrām rūz-e Varahrām, on the day Varahrām, the month Farvardīn, the year 970 AY (1601 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Šahnāz Šahmardān, m³⁷⁶ Tīr, māh-e Bahman, sane-ye 987³⁷⁷*
 ‘Death of Šahnāz Šahmardān, on the day Tīr, the month Bahman, the year 987 AY (1618 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Nūšīrvān Marzbān, m Xordād, māh-e Xordād, sane-ye 1004*
 ‘Death of Nūšīrvān Marzbān, on the day Xordād, the month Xordād, the year 1004 AY (1635 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Fereydūn Marzbān, rūz-e Goš, māh-e Tīr, sane-ye 1004*
 ‘Death of Marzbān Fereydūn, on the day Goš, the month Tīr, the year 1004 AY (1635 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Rostam Nūšīrvān, m Šahrīvar, māh Tīr, Sane-ye 999*
 ‘Death of Rostam Nūšīrvān, on the day Šahrīvar, the month Tīr, the year 999 AY (1630 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Xosro Nūšīrvān, m Xordād, māh Ordībehešt, sane-ye 999*
 ‘Death of Xosro Nūšīrvān, on the day Xordād, the month Ordībehešt, the year 999 AY (1630 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Behbūd Ādarbād, m Sorūš, māh Xordād, sane-ye 1002*
 ‘Death of Behbūd Ādarbād, on the day Sorūš, the month Xordād, the year 1002 AY (1633 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Zarestūn Ādarbād, m Dey, māh Ordībehešt, Sane-ye 969*
 ‘Death of Zarestūn Ādarbād, on the day Dey, the month Ordībehešt, the year 969 AY (1600 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Zarestūn Marzbān, m Ormazd, māh Mordād, sane-ye 954*
 ‘Death of Zarestūn Marzbān, on the day Ormazd, the month Mordād, the year 954 AY (1585 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Behbūd Marzbān, m Šahrīvar, māh Šahrīvar, sane-ye ...³⁷⁸*
 ‘Death of Behbūd Marzbān, on the day Šahrīvar, the month Šahrīvar, the year ...’

³⁷⁶ Abbreviation of the Arabic word *yaom* ‘day’.

³⁷⁷ Upon closer examination, one can discern the year ‘985’, which seems to have been deliberately erased or removed.

³⁷⁸ The year has not been mentioned.

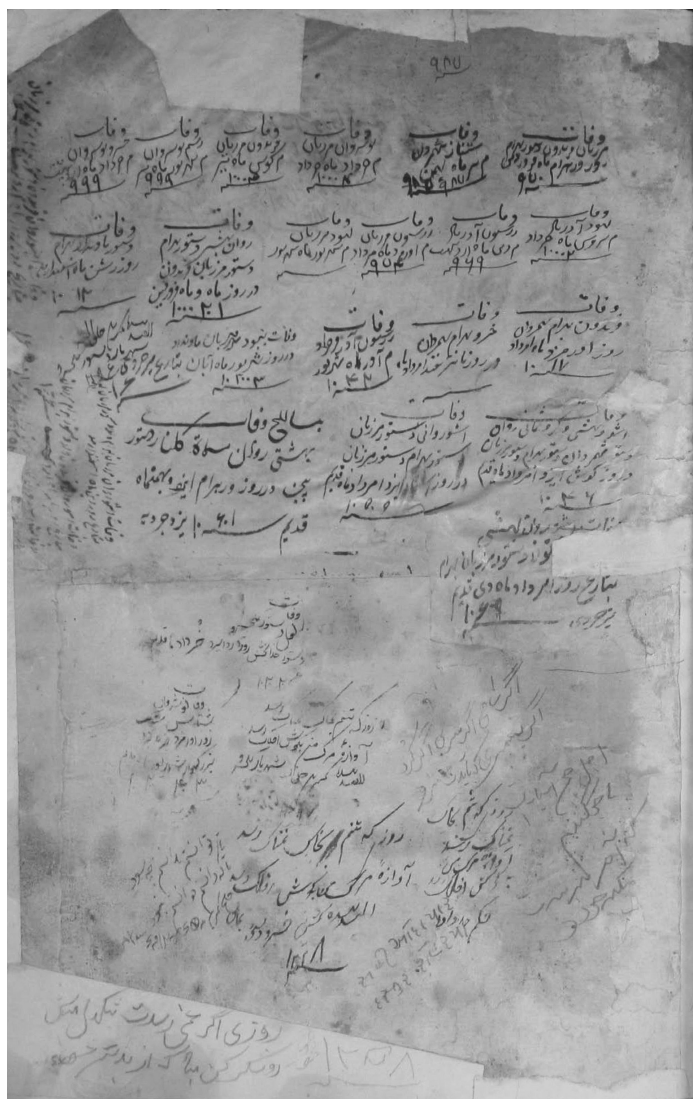


Image 17: MS. 4010, Sālmargs and verses, p. 157r

- *Vafāt-e ravānbeheštī Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān Fereydūn dar rūz-e Māh o māh-e Farvardīn 1021*
 ‘Death of the paradise soul, Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān Fereydūn, on the day Māh, the month Farvardīn, the year 1021 AY (1652 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Dastūr Māvandād Bahrām, rūz-e Rašn, māh-e Esfandārmaz, sane-ye 1012*
 ‘Death of Dastūr Māvandād Bahrām, on the day Rašn, the month Esfandārmaz, the year 1012 AY (1643 AD).’

- *Vafāt-e Fereydūn Bahrām Šahmardān rūz-e Ormazd, māh-e Amordād, sane-ye 1017*
‘Death of Fereydūn Bahrām Šahmardān, on the day Ormazd, the month Amordād, the year 1017 AY (1648 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Xosro Bahrām Šahmardān dar rūz-e Māntresfand, Amordād māh, sane-ye ...*³⁷⁹
‘Death of Xosro Bahrām Šahmardān, on the day Māntresfand, the month Amordād, the year ...’
- *Vafāt-e Zarestūn Ādar Farroxxād, m Ādar, māh Šahrīvar, sane-ye 1042*
‘Death of Zarestūn Ādar Farroxxād, on the day Ādar, the month Šahrīvar, the year 1042 AY (1673 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e Behbūd Marzbān Māvandād dar rūz-r Šahrīvar, māh-e Ābān, sane-ye 1023*
‘Death of Behbūd Marzbān Māvandād, on the day Šahrīvar, the month Ābān, the year 1023 AY (1654 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e ašo va beheštī va garoṣmānī ravān Dastūr Šahmardān Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān da[r] rūz-e Goš Īzad Amordād māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1046*
‘Death of holy and the paradise and garoṣmān soul, Dastūr Šahmardān Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān, on the day Goš Īzad, the old month Amordād, the year 1046 AY (1677 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e ašū ravanī Dastūr Marzbān Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān dar rūz-e Aštād Īzad Amordād māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1055*
‘Death of holy soul, Dastūr Marzbān Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān, on the day Aštād Īzad, the old month Amordād, the year 1055 AY (1686 AD).’
- *Be tārix-e*³⁸⁰ *vafāt beheštī ravān mesmāh*³⁸¹ *Golnār Dastūr panj...*³⁸² *dar rūz-e Varahrām Īzad Bahman māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1061 yazdġerdīyeh*
‘The date of death of the paradise soul, the selected, Golnār, (the daughter of) Dastūr pang..., on the day Varahrām Īzad, the old month Bahman, the year 1061 AY (1692 AD).’
- *Vafāt-e ašo ravān beheštī ...*³⁸³ *[Xā]tūn Dastūr Marzbān Bahrām be tārix-e rūz Amordād, māh-e Dey-e qadīm yazdġerdī 1069*
‘The death of holy soul, ... Xātūn Dastūr Marzbān Bahrām, on the date, on the day Amordād, the old month Dey, the year 1069 AY (1700 AD).’

(On the left side of this page):

- *Vafāt-e ašū ravān Marzbān Bahrām valad-e Dastūr Mazbān Bahrām be tārix-e rūz-e Dīn, māh-e Esfandārmad*³⁸⁴

³⁷⁹ The year has not been mentioned.

³⁸⁰ The reading *be-tārix* ‘with the date’ is quite uncertain, as the fourth letter can hardly be an ‘r’.

³⁸¹ *mesmāh* is an Arabic word meaning ‘nominee’. In this context, it seems to mean a ‘selected person’.

³⁸² The first letter is clearly a ‘p’, but the other letters are uncertain.

³⁸³ This part has been altered.

³⁸⁴ The year has not been mentioned.

‘The death of holy soul, Marzbān Bahrām, the son of Dastūr Mazbān Bahrām, on the date of the day Dīn, the month Esfandārmad.’

- *Vafāt-e ašū ravān Fereydūn valad-e Dastūr Bahrām Marzbān be tārix-e rūz-e bād*³⁸⁵, *māh-e Ordībehešt*³⁸⁶, *sane-ye 1066 AY (?)*³⁸⁷

‘The death of holy soul Fereydūn, the son of Dastūr Bahrām Marzbān, on the date, on the day Bād, the month Ordībehešt, the year 1066 AY (1697 AD)’

- *Vafāt-e ašū rawān*³⁸⁸ *Dastūr Bahrām Marzbān*³⁸⁹ *sane-ye 16...*³⁹⁰

‘The death of holy soul, ... Dastūr Bahrām Marzbān, ..., the year 16....’

- *Vafāt-e ašo rawān Fereydūn Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān be tārix-e rūz-e Mordād, māh-e Ordībehešt, sane-ye ...*³⁹¹

‘The death of holy soul, Fereydūn Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān, on the date, on the day Mordād, the month Ordībehešt, the year’

At the bottom of the main Sālmargs on this page:

- *Vafāt-e rāhel*³⁹² *Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Xodābaxš, rūz-e Ard Īzad, Xordād māh-e qadīm 1226*³⁹³

‘The death of the deceased, Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Xodābaxš, on the day Ard Īzad, the old month Xordād, the year 1226 AY (1857).’

- *Vafāt-e Nošīrvān Goštāsb*³⁹⁴ ...³⁹⁵ *rūz-e Ormazd ...*³⁹⁶ *Bozorgmehr*³⁹⁷ ...³⁹⁸ *1243*³⁹⁹

‘The death of Nošīrvān Goštāsb, ..., on the day Ormazd, ..., Bozorgmehr, ..., in the year 1243.’⁴⁰⁰

385 Uncertain.

386 Uncertain.

387 Only three digits, 1, 6, 6, can be recognized here. Probably the year 1066 AY.

388 This part has been altered.

389 This part has been altered.

390 This part has been altered.

391 This part has been altered.

392 This reading is uncertain. *Rāhel* meaning ‘late, leaving’ and commonly used to refer to a person who has passed away.

393 Possibly the Yazdgerdi era.

394 Written *Goštās*.

395 This part has been altered.

396 This part has been altered.

397 Uncertain.

398 Uncertain.

399 Probably Yazdgirdi era.

400 If the era were Hejri, it would mean 1828 AD.

MS. 4010: Persian Verses, p. 157r

rūz <ī> ke tanam be xāk-e namnāk resad

When my body meets the damp embrace of the earth,

āvāze-ye marg-e man be gūš-e aflāk resad

The news of my passing will echo to the heavens above.

Bande-ye kamtarīn, ...⁴⁰¹ Šahrīyār Keyxosro, Sane-ye ... ‘the humblest servant, ... Šahrīyār Keyxosro, the year ...’

rūzī ke tanam be xāk-e namnāk resad

When my body finds its rest in the damp earth

āvāze-ye marg-e man be gūš-e aflāk resad

The tidings of my demise will reverberate through the celestial spheres.

*Bande-ye Kamtarīn, Xosro Dastūr Bemān*⁴⁰², *sane-ye 1228* ‘the humblest servant: Xosro Dastūr Bemān, the year 1228’⁴⁰³.

tā tavānestam nadānestam če sūd

When I had the ability, I did not understand its value,

tā ke dānestam tavanestam nabūd

And when I finally understood, my ability had waned.

....⁴⁰⁴ kamtarīn ...⁴⁰⁵

agar šāhī, agar mīrī, agar kord

Be you a king, a lord, or a Kurd,

agar payğambarī ke bāyadat mord

Even if a prophet, death is assured

aḡal čo āsīyāb ast mā čon gandom

Death is akin to a mill, and we, the wheat,

ke āxar mībarandat mīkonand xord

Eventually, we’ll be caught and crushed beneath.

rūzī agar ḡamī resadat tangdel mabaš

Should you meet with sorrow, let not your heart be heavy;

*rov šokr kon mabādā ke az bad batar šavad*⁴⁰⁶

Give thanks instead, lest it deepens in severity.

MS. 4010: Persian Sālmargs, p. 157v

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ravān Šārbānū Dastūr Mehrabān Rostam dar rūz-e Māntresfand Bahman māh-e qadīm sane-ye 1080.*

‘The death date of holy soul, Šārbānū Dastūr Mehrabān Rostam, on the day Māntresfand, the old month Bahman, the year 1080 AY (1711 AD).’

⁴⁰¹ Uncertain.

⁴⁰² Uncertain.

⁴⁰³ The era is not clear; it is possibly Hejri.

⁴⁰⁴ Uncertain.

⁴⁰⁵ Uncertain.

⁴⁰⁶ This verse is from Ḥāfez.

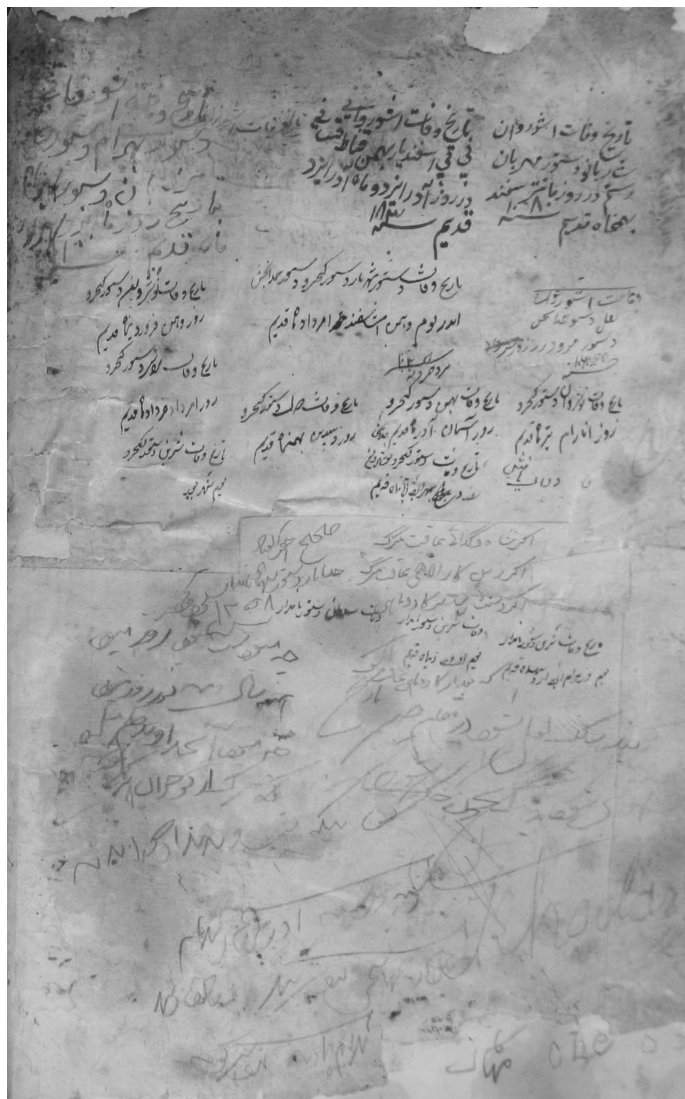


Image 18: MS. 4010, Sālmargs and verses, p. 157v

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e asū ravanī pī pī*⁴⁰⁷ *Esfandyār Bahman Qanāt-qestānī*⁴⁰⁸ *dar rūz-e Ādar Īzad o mäh-e Ādar Īzad qadīm sane-ye 1083.*⁴⁰⁹

‘The death date of holy soul, Bībī (?) Esfandyār Bahman Qanāt-qestānī, on the day Ādar Īzad, the old month Ādar Īzad, the year 1083 AY (1714 AD).’

407 According to Zolfaghari, possibly *Bībī*, a female personal name (Cantera et al. 2019).

408 A village near *Māhān*. The last Zoroastrian families of this village have left there, and most of them have relocated to Kerman or Tehran, or to different countries.

409 Written 183.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ...*⁴¹⁰
‘The death date of holy’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ravānī Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān Dastūr Bahrām be tārīx-e rūz-e Māh Īzad, Šahrīvar māh-e qadīm sane-ye ...*⁴¹¹
‘The death date of holy soul, Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Marzbān Dastūr Bahrām, on the day Māh Īzad, the old month Šahrīvar, the year’
- *Vafāt-e ašū ravanī ...*⁴¹² *Dastūr Xodābaxš Dastūr Forūd rūz-e Xordād*⁴¹³, *sane-ye 1060*⁴¹⁴
‘The death of holy soul ... Dastūr Xodābaxš Dastūr Forūd, on the day ..., the year 1060 (1691 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Dastūr Šahrīyār Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Xodābaxš andar yōm Vahman Amšāsfand Amordād māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1028*⁴¹⁵ *Yazdġerdīye*
‘The death date of holy soul Dastūr Šahrīyār Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Xodābaxš, on the day Vahman Amšāsfand, the old month Amordād, the year 1028 (1659 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Nūšervīn*⁴¹⁶ *Dastūr Keyxosro rūz Vahman Farvardīn māh-e qadīm*
‘The death date of Nūšervīn Dastūr Keyxosro, on the day Vahman, the old month Farvardīn.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Nūšīrvān Dastūr Keyxosro rūz-e Anārām, Tīr māh-e qadīm. vafāt yāftan*⁴¹⁷
‘The death date of Nūšīrvān Dastūr Keyxosro, on the day Anārām, the old month Tīr. Passing away.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Bahman Dastūr Keyxosro rūz-e Āsmān, Ādar māh-e qadīm, ...*⁴¹⁸
‘The death date of Bahman Dastūr Keyxosro, on the day Āsmān, the old month Ādar.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Dastūr Keyxosro Nūšervīn*⁴¹⁹ *rūz-e Dey-be-Mehr Īzad, Ābān māh-e qadīm*
‘The death date of Dastūr Keyxosro Nūšervīn, on the day Dey-be-Mehr Īzad, the old month Ābān.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Dolat*⁴²⁰ *Dastūr Keyxosro rūz-e Dey-be-Dīn, Bahman māh-e qadīm*
‘The death date of Dolat Dastūr Keyxosro, on the day Dey-be-Dīn, the old month Bahman.’

410 Uncertain.

411 Uncertain.

412 Uncertain, according to Zolafaghari La’l (Cantera et al. 2019).

413 Quite certain.

414 Quite uncertain.

415 Quite certain.

416 A variation of Nūšīrvān.

417 *vafāt yāftan* occurs on the next line. It is not clear whether it belongs to this Sālmarg.

418 Uncertain.

419 A variant of Nūšīrvān.

420 Quite uncertain.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Sorūš Dastūr Keyxosro, rūz-e Amordād, Xordād mäh-e qadīm*
‘The death date of Sorūš Dastūr Keyxosro, on the day Amordād, the old month Xordād.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Šīrīn Dastūr Keyxosro yōm Šahrīvar*
‘The death date of Šīrīn Dastūr Keyxosro, the day Šahrīvar.’

At the bottom of the page:

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e Šīrīn⁴²¹ Dastūr Nāmdār yōm Varahrām Īzad Ordībehešt-e qadīm*
‘The death date of Šīrīn Dastūr Nāmdār, on the day Varahrām Īzad, the old Ordībehešt.’
- *Vafāt-e Šīrīn⁴²² Dastūr Nāmdār yōm Ormazd, Dey mäh-e qadīm*
‘The death of Šīrīn Dastūr Nāmdār, on the day Ormazd, the old month Dey.’

MS. 4010: Persian Verses, p. 157v

agar šāh o gedāyī ’āqebat marg

Whether a king or beggar, death remains the fate

agar zīn kār alā hey⁴²³ ’āqebat marg

No matter what you become, death continues to await

agar dastat resad bar gāv o mähī

Reach for the cow or the fish, seek whatever you wish

ke ba’ d az gāv o mähī āqebat marg

Even after achieving all, death is still the ultimate date

ṣaḥīḥ, aḥqarol ’ebād⁴²⁴ Xodāyār Dastūr Šahrīyār⁴²⁵ Nāmdār, sane-ye 1258 Yazdgerdī

‘correct, the most humble servant, Xodāyār Dastūr Šahrīyār Nāmdār, the year 1258 AY (1889 AD).’

če mībūd šab nemībūd rūz mībūd

What if there were no nights, only days

hame sāl o mah-e norūz mībūd

And the whole year and month were always Norūz

če mībūd ān xodāvand ḥokm mīkard

What if God had decreed

ke marg az nojavān hargez nemībūd

That the young should never cease?

gūyand sang la’ l šavad dar maḡām-e šabr

They say patience turns mere stone into a ruby,

ārī šavad valī be xūn-e jegar⁴²⁶ šavad

Indeed, but only when the liver’s bathed in life’s bloody bounty

421 Quite uncertain.

422 Quite uncertain.

423 The meaning of these four words are uncertain.

424 Arabic expression for *bande-ye kamtarīn*, meaning ‘the humblest servant’.

425 Quite uncertain.

426 Literally ‘blood of liver’, with figurative meaning of much pain and sadness.

MS. 4010: Further Persian notes, p. 157v

• *Kasānī ke šab Vandīdād xāndand*: ‘Those who recite Vandīdād at the night.’
Rašīd Xorsand, Ormazdyār Bahrām, Ormazdyār jāhānbaxš, ..., ⁴²⁷ ..., ⁴²⁸ Bahrām Hamāvand... ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰

4.1.3. MS. 4020**4.1.3.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon**

(1) frazaft pad drōd <ud>šādīh <ud> rāmišn, man dēn bandag husraw (2) anōšagruwān Rostam šahryār māwandād wāhrom mihrb(3)ān nibišt ham <ud> frāz hišt ham az pačēn <ī>daftar (4) [second page] wahišt bahr, anōšagruwān sīyāvaxš šahryār ērdešēr (5) nibišt ham ke-š ruwān ahlaw bawād. har kē xwān(6)ād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēnīg az-iš kunād ayāb yazišn(7)īh pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk nāmīh <ud>ahlaw ruwānīg (8) yād kunād, ēg-iš gētih tan-husraw <ud>pad mēnōg ruwān (9) ahlaw bawād. ēdōn bawād, ēdōntar-iz bawād. pad (10) yazdān <ud>amahraspandān kāmāg bawād.

4.1.3.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and pleasure. I, the servant of religion, Husraw (2) Anōšagruwān Rostam Šahryār Māwandād Wāhrom Mirhrab(3)ān, have written and launched <it> from a copy of the manuscript of (4) the paradise soul, Anōšagruwān Sīyāvaxš Šahryār Ērdešēr. (5) I have written <it> in order that his soul would be righteous. And everybody who would (6) recite <it>, or would teach <it> or make a copy of it or perform (7) the Yazīšn ceremony with it, and (8) would remember us in good name and piety of the soul, may he be of good famed body in the material world and a (9) pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. May it be so, may it be still more so. May it be according to the will of (10) Yazads and Amahraspandān.’

4.1.3.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd <ud>šādīh ud rāmišn pad ^nēk^ dahišnīh (2) xūb murwāg u xujāstag rōzgār abestāg <ī>yast wispared (3) abāg jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang <ud>rastag yazišnīh. man <ī>dēn bandag (4) husraw anōšagruwān rustahm šahryār māwandād wāhrām (5) [has been altered: yazadyār] mihrbān anōšagruwān rustahm šahryār wāhrām [second page] (6) yazadyār⁴³¹ mirhrabān nibišt ham <ud>frāz hišt ham andar farrox (7) bām <ī>turkābād, velāyat <ī>yazd, gešwar <ī>xwanēras, nibišt ham andar rōz (8) ādur az māl-e ābān, sāl bar 987 (9) yazdgerd šāhān šāh nāfag bay ōy <ī>husraw <ī>šāhān šāh (10) ohrmazdān. xwāhišnīg⁴³² ham, har ke xwānād ayāb hammōzād (11) ayāb pačēnīg az-iš kunād ayāb yazišnīh pad-iš (12) kunād, amā rāy pad nēk nāmīh <ud>ahlaw ruwānīg yād kun(13)ād, ēg-iš gētih tan-husraw pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw (14) bawād. Ke-š nām ī man kē nibištār hom az-iš awestarēd (15) kē awestarēd u-š gētih tan dusraw <ud>ruwān druwand, u-š (16)

427 Unreadable on the photo, according to Zolfaghari (see Cantera et al. 2019), *Ardešīr Šahr* (?).

428 Unreadable on the photo, according to Ormazdyār Šahr (?).

429 Unreadable on the photo, according to Zolfaghari (see Cantera et al. 2019), *Ardešīr Kūhe* (?) or *Kūse* (?).

430 According to Zolfaghari (see Cantera et al. 2019), ‘As observed in Yazd, Vandīdād is recited at night by seven priests. The names occur in three pairs and once individually, and this recitation can be compared to the map of Yazīšnīgāh’ (Zolfaghari, see Cantera et al. 2019).

431 Quite uncertain. Compare to the colophon of K9 and the affiliation of *Husraw Anōšagruwān*. Alternatively, *īzadyār*.

432 Written *xwānišnīg* [KRYTWNšnyk], which is not correct.

hamēmāl ham pad dādwār dādār ohrmazd ham. man dēn bandag husraw (17) anōšag ruwān u-m ēn daftar jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang u-m (18) hadye⁴³³ kard ō dastwarān <ud> hērbēdān <ud> magūpadān <ī> gešwar <ī> hend (19) ūstān šahr⁴³⁴ tā pad ahlāyīh⁴³⁵ <ud> ērīh <ud> hūdēnīh⁴³⁶ kār framāyēnd (20) yazišn pad-iš kunand, amā rāy pad ahlaw ruwānīh yād (21) kunand. aēuuō. pantā. yō. ašahē. (22) ēk ast rāh <ī> ahlāyīh <ud> abārīg ān ī jud-rāhīh.

4.1.3.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure in good fate and (2) good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisperad (3) Judēwdād with Nērang and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, (4) Husraw Anōšagruwān Rustahm Šahryār Māwandād Wāhrām (5) Mihrbān Anōšagruwān Rustahm Šahryār Wāhrām (6) Yazadyār Mirhrabān, have written and launched <it> in the blessed (7) place of Turkābād in the district of Yazd of the land of Xwanēras. I have written on the day (8) Ādur, the month Ābān, the year 987 of (9) Yazdgerd, the king of kings, descendant of His Majesty Husraw, the king of kings, (10) son of Ohrmazd. I please everybody,⁴³⁷ who would recite it, or teach it, (11) or make a copy of it, or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it (12) and would remember us in good name and the immortal soul. (13) Then he may be of renowned body in the material world and of pious soul in the spiritual one. (14) Anybody who would erase my name, I who am the scribe, (15) in order to throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and (16) I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator. I, the servant of religion, Husraw (17) Anōšagruwān gave this manuscript of Jud-dēw-dād with Nērang as (18) a gift to the Dastūrs, Hērbēds and Magūpads of the land of (19) India, so that they may use it with righteousness, nobility and religiousness and perform (20) the Yazišn ceremony with it and (21) would remember us in the immortal soul. There is only one way and that is of the righteousness. (22) There is only one way of piousness and the other ones are heresy.’

4.1.4. MS. 4025

4.1.4.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (Fol. 271v)

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāmišn pad nēk dahišn (2) <ud> xūb murwāg xujastag rōzgār abestāg ī yašt wisparēd jud- (3) dēw-dād abāg nērang ud restag⁴³⁸ ī yazišnīgīhā. man ī dēn bandag wāhrōm ī (4) marzbān <ī> frēdōn ī wāhrōm ī rustōm ī bundār ī šahmardān ī dēn- (5) ayār nibišt hom andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh rōz anērān⁴³⁹ ud māj ī (6) mihr sāl bar 991 pas az 20 be yazdgerd ī šahr- (7) yārān nāfag be husraw ī šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān nibišt (8) hom frāz hišt hom az bahrīh hamāg pērozgarīh (9) mēnoščihr ī rustōm frēdōn gōpadšāh⁴⁴⁰ ud [effaced: brād]⁴⁴¹ bundār ī šahmardān ī (10) dēn-ayār nibišt hom kē

433 Persian word for ‘gift’, which is written partly in Dindabire. Compare to the Pahlavi colophon of K13.

434 The name of the city has not been mentioned.

435 Written ‘hlyh. Probably a mistake for ‘hl’yyh.

436 Written *hwdynwyh*. Probably a mistake for *hwdynyh*.

437 A mistake for *xwāhišnīg*. Compare to the colophon of V 4055.

438 A variation of *rastag*.

439 Probably a mistake for *anārām*.

440 The name of Gōpadšāh’s father ‘Rustom’ is missing here. The correct genealogy is ‘Mēnoščihr Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dēn-ayār’.

441 This part has been deleted. The scribe had started writing the word “*brādarān*,” but changed his mind after having already written “*brād*,”. In the first colophon of 4010, the same scribe used the word “*brādarān*” after

*tā sad <ud> panjāh sālān pad ahlāyīh kār (11) framāyēm pas az sad <ud> panjāh sālān be ō⁴⁴² ī frazand ud frazandzādagān (12) husraw ī dēn-bordār abespārād frazand pad sōšāns paywandād ud (13) har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn az-iš kunād (14) ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīh <second page> (15) ayād kunād ēg-iš gētīh tan-husraw <ud> pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw gard- (16) mānīg⁴⁴³ bawād frazand pad ^p^ sōšāns paywandād. ēg-iš nām ī amā ud man (17) awestarēd ayāb juddar kunēd u-š⁴⁴⁴ gētīh tan dusraw <ud> pad mēnōg (18) ruwān druwand bawād u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwar ī dādār ī (19) ohrmazd pad hanjaman ī isadwāstarān ī zarduštān. andar farroxīh ud (20) pērōzīh bīm⁴⁴⁵ ī šahr ī kermān pad mahalaḡ⁴⁴⁶ ī dādḡān⁴⁴⁷ ud pad xānag ī (21) marzbān nibišt hom.⁴⁴⁸ pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmag bawād. (22) ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād. **aēuuō. pantā. yō. (23) ašahe.** ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh ud abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh. (24) **šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuqnō.** šād ān (25) tan kē-š warzīd ruwānīh xwēš. čand ahy ī mēnōg <ud> dastwarīh ī (26) čihrogmayān wištāspān be rasād dēn rawāḡ dēn (27) burdārān-šān ^az dēn^ nēkīh rasād har kas pad kāmag ī xwēš (28) tuwān bawād zīwistan. **nōiḡ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōi** (29) **ḡ. urune. zazuša. nōiḡ. čahmi. zazuša.** (30) nē-š čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē čīš (31) girēd kē-š nē ruwān girēd. (32) ēdōn bawād pad kāmag ī ohrmazd xwadāy.*

4.1.4.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate (2) and good omen, and fortunate time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd (3) Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Wāhrōm (4) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dēn-(5)ayār, I have written in fortune and victory, on the day Anārām, the month of (6) Mihr, the year 991, after the 20th year of (the region of) Yazdgerd, son of (7) Šahryār, descendant of Husraw, king of Kings, son of Ohrmazd. (8) I have written <it> and launched <it> for all my relatives⁴⁴⁹ and my children. I have written for the always victor (9) Mēnōščihr Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh [Rustōm]⁴⁵⁰ Bundār Šahmardān (10) Dēn-ayār, I have written <it> in order that we may (11) use it 150 years with righteousness. After 150 years, may entrust <it> to the good fame and faithful children and grandchildren (12), and would the children join the Sošāns. (13) And everybody who would recite <it> or would teach <it> or make a copy of it (14) or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it, and would remember us in good name and piety of the soul, (15) he would be eternal, and may his children join Sošāns. If somebody (16) wiped our or my name so that (my name) would be wiped away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and (17) of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, (18) Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the

the name of Mēnōščihr ī Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh: “Har gēyāg-ē čīš-ē āmōxtom srōš-ayār bawād Mēnōščihr ī Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh ud brādarān kē har čīš kē dānist hēnd nimūdārīh bandag kard [hēnd]” (first colophon of 4010, line 17).

442 A mistake for *ōy*.

443 A variant of *garōdmānīg* ‘of paradise’.

444 Written [hš].

445 Probably Zoroastrian Dari form of *būm* ‘country’. The vowel *ū* is changed to *ī* in specific phonological contexts.

For example, Persian *nū* occurs as the form *nī* in Zoroastrian Dari.

446 Uncertain.

447 For comments on this word, see footnote 64 (The first colophon of 4010)

448 This part also occurs in the first colophon of V 4010.

449 Alternatively ‘for my own possession’.

450 This name is missing in the text.

assembly of Īsadvāstarān of Zardušt. In glory and (19) victory, I have written in the city of Kerman, the quarter of Dādgān, and in the house of (20) Marzbān. May it be according to the will of God and Amahraspandān. (21) May it be so! May it be still more so! **There is only one way and that is of the (22) righteousness.** There is only one way of the pious and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness (23) and the paradise soul.** He would be glad (24) in body, who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world (25) Čihromayān, son of Wištāsp! May the religion spread and may the (26) followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. May everyone (27) be able to live according to his desire. (28) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and (29) also now, s/he does not win anything, who (30) does not win anything for her/his soul. (31) May it be so according to the will of Ohrmazd, God.

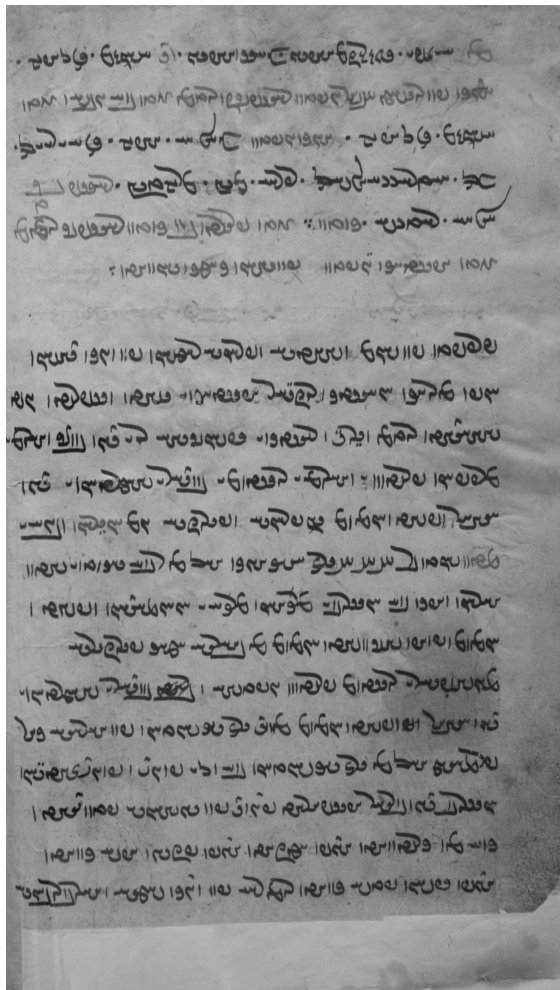


Image 19: Ms. 4025, first page of the first Middle Persian colophon

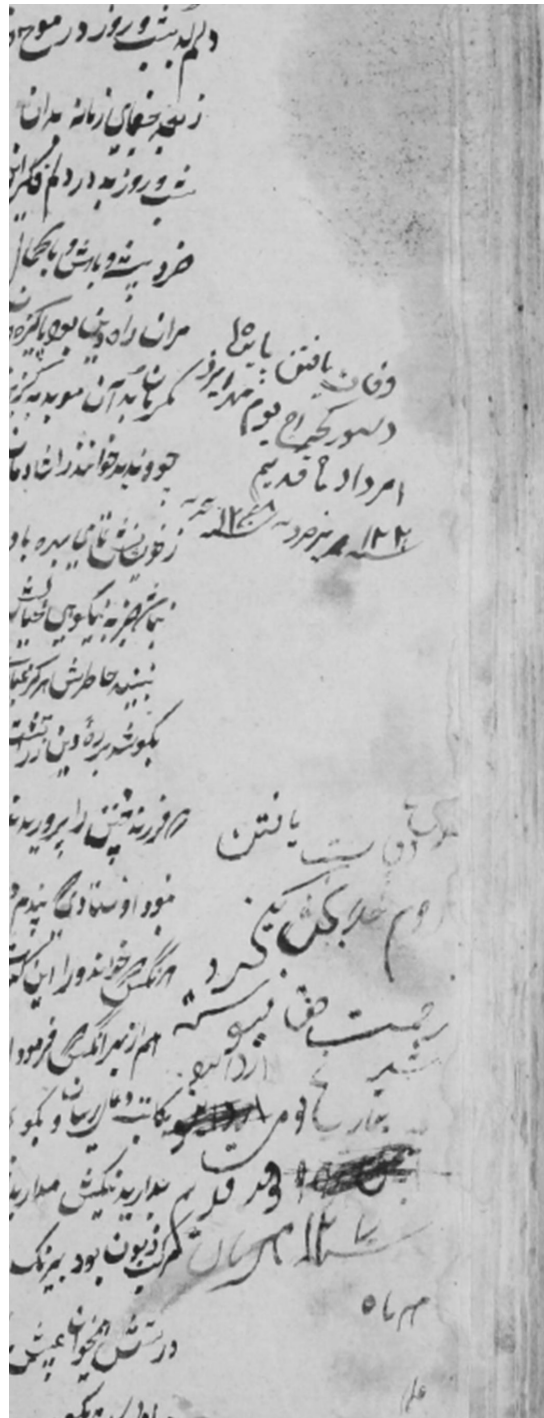


Image 20: Ms. 4025: Second page of the first Middle Persian colophon

4.1.4.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) *be*⁴⁵¹ *ayārīh ī ohrmazd ud pad ahy ī dēn ī weh ī abēzag ī r[āh]-* (2) *nimāyīh ī weh-dēnān pōryōtkēšān man dēn-bandag frēdōn [marz]-* (3) *bān ī frēdōn wāhrōm rustōm ēn frazaft*⁴⁵² *nibēsēm [be]*⁴⁵³ (4) *čāstag ī nibēsēndagān mānōščihr ī rustōm ī frēdōn ud be* (5) *čāstag ī wāhrōm ī marzbān ī frēdōn wāhrōm nibēsēm.* (6) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk* (7) *dahišnīh ud xūb murwāg xubastag*⁴⁵⁴ *rōzgār abestāg ī* (8) *yašt wisparēd jūd-dēw-dād abāg nērang ud restag*⁴⁵⁵ (9) *yazišnīgīhā. bahrīg nibišt ud frāz hišt dēn bandag* (10) *manhōščihr*⁴⁵⁶ *ī rustahm ī frēdōn ī gōpadšāh ī rust[ahm] ī* (11) *bundār ī šahmardān dēnayār. ud bahrīg nibišt ud frāz*⁴⁵⁷ (12) *hišt wāhrom ī marzbān frēdōn wāhrom ī rustahm ī bondār* (13) *šahmardān dēnayār nibištand ud frāz hištand* (14) *pad farroxīh ud pērōzīh dō sāl pēš az ēn kē man ēmrōz* (15) *nibēsēm. pad tand*⁴⁵⁸ *axtar ēn frazaft*⁴⁵⁹ *nibišt andar rōz amordād* (16) *māh ī ābān sāl bar 990.*⁴⁶⁰ *ān*⁴⁶¹ *rōz 4 ēmrōz*⁴⁶² (17) *kē man (h)am nibišt*⁴⁶³ *997*⁴⁶⁴ *yazdgerd šāhān* (18) *šāh ohrmazdān nāfag be* *ō*⁴⁶⁵ *ī husraw ī šāhān šāh* *t*⁴⁶⁶ (19) *nibišt hand ud frāz hišt hand kē tā har kē* (20) *xwānād ayāb hammōzād ay[āb yazi]šn pad-iš kunand* (21) *ayāb [pačēn pad-iš*⁴⁶⁷ *kunād ruwān]*⁴⁶⁸ *ī amā im*⁴⁶⁹ *-šān ...*

451 *bē* [BRA] means ‘except, but, out’. This word can also be read as *be* and used as a particle with verbs. It also occurs with *ō*, in which case it has a function that cannot be defined (MacKenzie 1971: 18). In this colophon, *be* is used with the meaning of New Persian *be* (Middle Persian *pad*) ‘to, through, according to’, as, for example, in the first line of *be ayārīh ī Ohrmazd* ‘through the help of Ohrmazd’ and in lines 3 and 4, in *be čāstag* ‘according to the doctrine of’.

452 The word *frazaft* or alternatively *frazift* meaning ‘colophon’.

453 This part has been altered.

454 A mistake for *xuǰastag*.

455 A variation of *rastag*.

456 Written [mnhwšcyhr].

457 Uncertain.

458 If the reading is correct, a variation of *tund* ‘sharp’. Unlikely *tang* ‘tight’.

459 Not clear whether it is written [frzyft] or [frzft]. As the word is attested once more in this colophon and appears there in the form [frzft], I chose the form *frazaft*.

460 Based on the information provided, it seems that there is a discrepancy in the dates mentioned in the colophons. The first colophon states that the date of the copy is 991, while the second colophon suggests a date that is one year older. There is a possibility that the word following 990 in the second colophon is not the ideogram of *ān* [ZK] but rather a mix of the Persian letter “y” (𐭩) and the Pahlavi letter “k,” resulting in “yak.” If this assumption is correct, then the date would indeed be 991, aligning with the date mentioned in the first colophon.

461 Ibid.

462 Uncertain. The meaning does not correspond to the context.

463 If this is to be read *man ham nibišt*, then it would be a typical ergative construction in Middle Persian and would mean ‘I have also written’. In this case, *ham* is an adverb and means ‘also’. If it is *man am-nibišt*, then it would be an instance of the influence of Zoroastrian Dari. The proclitic *am-* plays here the role of a subject marker in a post-ergative construction.

464 The reason is not clear to me for the occurrence of two different dates here. The date occurring in the first colophon is 991, while in the second colophon we have two dates, 990 (alternatively 991) and 997. It seems unlikely that the writing of this manuscript would have required six years.

465 A mistake for *ōy*.

466 Probably a mistake.

467 In other manuscripts, it is written *az-iš*.

468 Only the upper tip of these words is preserved. The traces strongly favour this reading.

469 Written [LZNE].

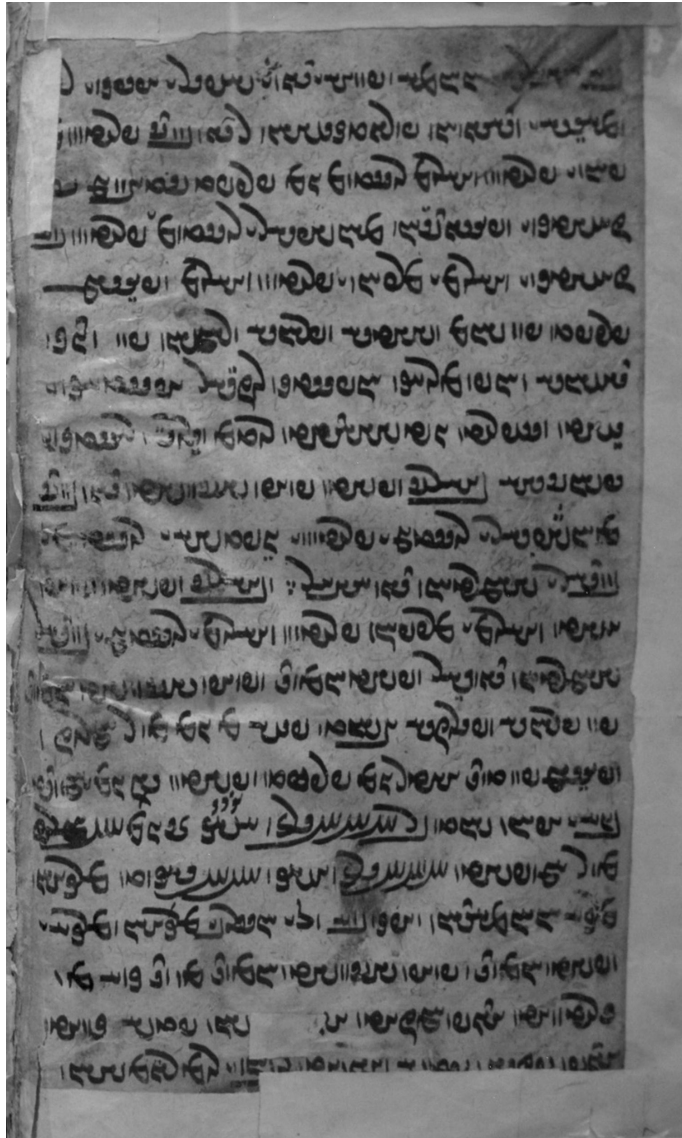


Image 21: Ms. 4025, second Middle Persian colophon

4.1.4.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) Through the help of Ohrmazd and through the first good and pure religion (which is) the (2) guide of the people of the good religion and the first teachers of the Mazdean religion, I, the servant of religion, Frēdōn Marz-(3)bān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm, write this colophon according to the (4) doctrine of scribes Mēnōščihr Rustōm Frēdōn and according to the (5) doctrine of Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm. (6) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good (7) fate and good omen, and fortunate time, (8) Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd

Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual (9) series. One part was written and launched by the servant of (10) the religion Mānōščihr Rustahm Frēdōn ī Gōpadšāh Rust[ahm] (11) Bundār Šahmardān Dēnayār. (12) Another part was written by Wāhrōm ī Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm ī Rustahm ī Bundār (13) Šahmardān Dēnayār. They have written and launched <it> (14) two years before today, that I am writing. (15) It was completed on the sharp star (?) and written on the day Amordād, (16) the month Ābān, the year 990.⁴⁷⁰ That day 4, today that I have written, (the year) 997 of Yazdgerd, the king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd, descendant and the lord Husraw, king of kings. (19) They have written and launched <it> in order that everyone who (20) would recite (this book), or teach <it> or perform the Yazīšn ceremony with it or make a copy of it, (they may) our soul ...

4.1.5. MS. 4030

4.1.5.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (p. 159v)

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk dahišnīh (2) xūb murwāg xujastag rōzgār abestāg yašt wispared jud-(3) dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag yazišnīhā man dēn bandag (4) wāhrom marzbān frēdōn wāhrom rostōm bondār šahmardān <second page> (5) dēn-ayār nibišt ud frāz hišt az pačīn daftar xwēš (6) pidar xwēš nibišt hēm frāz hišt az bahr (7) wayf dēn mazdyasnān kē tā dastwarān ud dastwar-zādagān ud dēn (8) rāyēnīdārān xwānand ud hammōzand ud yazišn pad-iš kunand o pačēn agar (9) az-iš kunand ruwān amā ruwān wāhrōm kayān ud sorxāb rustōm (10) zamān pad ahlāyīh ud ahlaw-ruwānī ayād kunād, ēg-išān (11) gētih tan husraw pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād. (12) agar nām nibištār o nām ī wāhrom kayān sorxāb awestarēd (13) ayāb abganēd ayāb yād nē kunēd u-š gētih tan-dūsraw (14) pad mēnōg ruwān šarmandagīh ud tabāh bawād. u-š hamēmāl u-m (15) pad dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd pad anjoman ī tsadwāstrān zartuštān (16) andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh, rōz ī astād, māh ī ābān, sāl bar (17) 992, pas az 20 be yazdgerd ī šahryārān, šāhānšāh nāfag (18) be ō⁴⁷¹ <ī> husraw šāhānšāh ohrmazdān pad yazdān kām bawād (19) ēdōn bawād, ēdōn tar-iz bawād aēuō pantā yō (20) ašahē. ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, abārīg ān jūd-rāh (21) īh. šātō manā vahištō uruūqnō, šād ān (22) tan kē-š warzīd ud ruwān xwēš. čand ahy mēnōg dastwar čihromayān (23) wištāspān bē rasād dēn rawāg dēn burdārān išan az dēn (24) nēkīh rasād har kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš tuwān bawād (25) zīwistan. nōiṭ ahmi zazuša yō nōiṭ urune <third page> (26) zazuša nōiṭ čahmi zazuša. nē čīš (27) grift kē-š nē ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē (28) nē ruwān gīrēd. naēčīš aḏa zaraθuštra s- (29) ūš yaθa hūm ādare mašīiāka. ēg-iš (30) az dēwān sūd nē bawēd spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az (31) ān ī wadag mardōm. čē agar-išān pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg- (32) išan sar zyān bawēd. ēdōn bawād pad kāmāg ī ohr- (33) mazd xwadāy. man dēn bandag wāhrōm ī marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm (34) bundār rustōm šahmardān dēnayār ēn daftar ī jūd-dēw-dād (35) az bahr ī wayf, framūdāg ī wāhrom kayān sorxāb rustōm zamān (36) nibištōm. kē-š bar-xwardār bawād gētih xwašīh ud dawlat pad (37) mēnōg ruwān ō ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād har dastwar ud dastwar- (38) zādag-ē kē xwānand man-iz ōy rāy hambahr kunand tā awēšān-iz ā-m pad (39) karbag ī hamāg hambahr bawēnd. čē karbag ud ahlāyīh mizd hagriz kem (40) nē bawēd, zyādag wēš bawēd.

470 Or alternatively 991, if we read the ideogram of ān [ZK] as ya, as a mix of Persian y 𐭪 and the Pahlavi letter k.

471 A mistake for ōy.

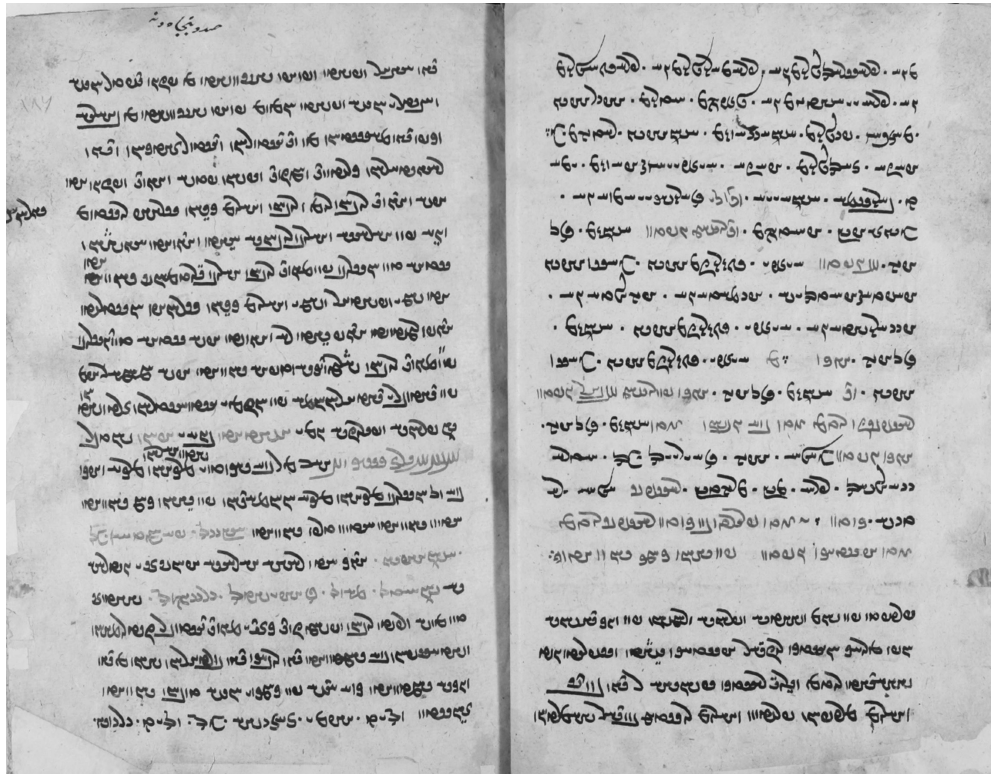


Image 22: MS. 4030, first Middle Persian colophon, first and second pages

4.1.5.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, (2) in good fate and good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wīspērād (3) Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, (4) Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān (5) Dēnyār, have written and launched <it> from my manuscript and the manuscript of (6) my father. I have written and launched <it> in order to (7) devote Zoroastrianism, so that Dastwars and the children of Dastwars, and the (8) leaders of the religion would recite it and teach it and celebrate ceremonies with it and (9) if they made a copy of it and reminisced about our soul and the soul of Wāhrōm Kayān Sorxāb, Rustōm (10) Zamān, as abstemious and pious soul, then (11) they may be of a good famed body in the material world and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. (12) If someone erased the name of the scribe and the name of Wāhrōm Kayān Sorxāb, (13) or threw it away or didn't reminisce, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, (14) and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and may destroy and I would be plaintiff (accuser) (15) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsatvāstar, son of Zartušt! (16) On the auspicious and victorious day Aštād, and the month Ābān of the year (17) 992 of the year 20 of Yazdgerd, king of kings, descendant of (18) the majesty of majesties (bay of Xodāyγān), Husraw, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd, may it be according to the will of Yazats. (19) May it be so! May it be more

so! There is only one way and that is of the (20) righteousness. There is only one way of the pious and the other ones are heresy. (21) Happiness and the paradise soul. He would be glad in (22) body, who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastwar of the spiritual world Čihromayān, (23) son of Wištāsp! May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness (24) through religion. May everyone be able to live according to his wish. (25–28) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. (29) And, O, Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit from the evil men. Furthermore, there is no benefit (30) from demons, O, Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from (31) the bad men. Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then (32) in the end there is injury (for) them. May it be so! May it be according to the will of Ohrmazd, (33) the God. I, the servant of religion, Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm (34) Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān Dēnyār, I have written this Juddēwdād manuscript (35) as endowment ordered by Wāhrōm Kayān Sorxāb Zamān, (36) may he have happiness and joy in the material world and (37) have a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual world. Anyone from Dastwarān or the children (38) of Dastwarān, who read it, would benefit me; they would also (39) benefit all my good deeds. Because the wages of the good deed and piety (40) will never be reduced but will be increased.

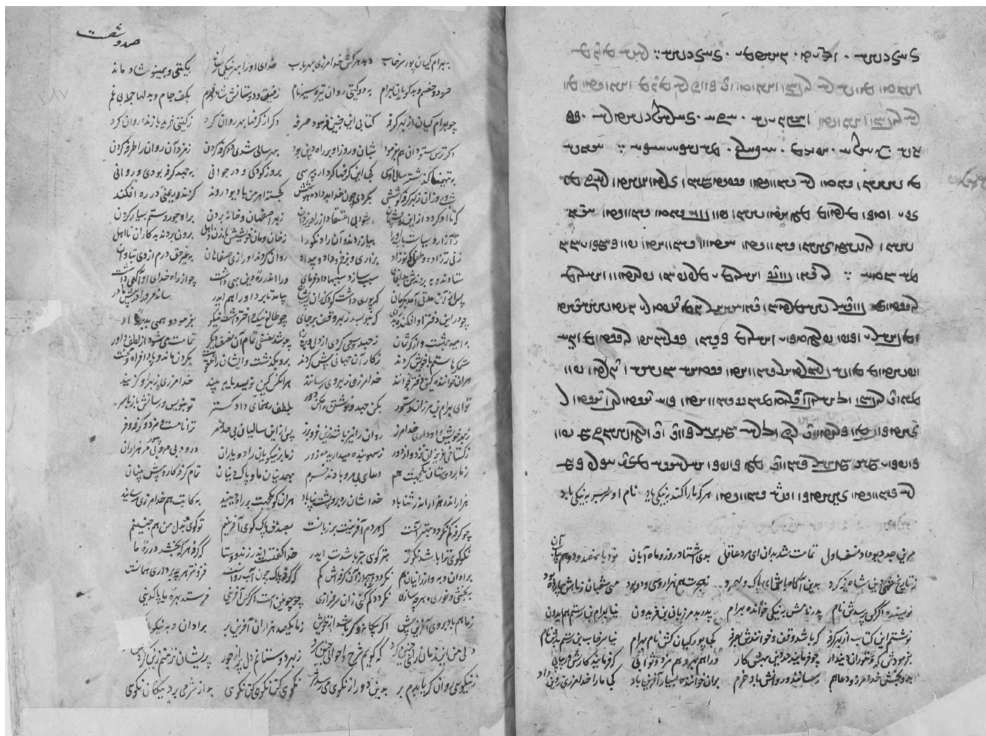


Image 23: MS. 4030, first Middle Persian colophon, third page and second Persian colophon

4.1.5.3. Transcription and translation of the first Persian Colophon (p. 138r)

sar-e nāme nām-e xodāy-e-jaḥān

*ke dā^cem bovad bar šomā mehrabān
sepāsam ze yazdān ke dīdam omīd*

*šab-e tīre^{am} gašt ruz-e sefid
delam bod šab o ruz dar moj-e xūn*

*ze gārgāb andar key āyam borūn
bodī moddat-e čahār sāl īn bayān
gozašte delam bod ze goše kabāb
ze ba^cd-e jaḥā-ye zamāne bedān
az ān vāste⁴⁷² gašte būdam gamān
ke nāgah bovad^c omr nāpāyedār*

*nabāšad zamāne hamī^c etebār
šab o ruz bod dar delam fekr-e īn*

*ke āyā nevešte šavad bar taqīn⁴⁷³
be-^cazz-e xodāvand-e firuzgar*

*ke hast ū nīkī-yo ham rāhbar
xerad pīše o bāhoš o bā kamāl*

konūn ey nekūnām-e farxonde fāl

*bīyā bešno asrār-e yek mūbedīn
soxandān-e bā dāneš o bā farīn
mar-ān rāh e dīn būd pākīze jān*

be-dīn-e behī bod be-del⁴⁷⁴ bīgomān

*delā tā tavānī be nīkī gerāy
ke nīkī bīyābī be har do sarāy
negar hān bedān mūbed-e beh gozīn*

At the beginning of this book, I honor the name of God,

Who is ceaselessly merciful to you.

I am grateful to the God from whom I found hope,

Transforming my dark night into a bright day.
Day and night, my heart was submerged in waves of blood,

When will I escape this swirling vortex?

Four years have passed,

My heart seared by the flames of grief.

Beware the torment of time,

I remain regretful due to that incident.

Life, I have come to realize, can quickly lose its stability,

And the world is not a reliable place.

Day and night, this thought plagued my heart,

Should this truly be penned down?

It was according to the will of the victorious God,

Who embodies goodness, who is the guide,

Who possesses wisdom, who is clever and perfect.

Now you, the distinguished and fortunate one,

Come and learn the secrets of a Mūbed,

Eloquent, full of knowledge and glory,

Prepared to lay down his life in the name of religion,

Harboring no doubts in his heart regarding the faith of the good.⁴⁷⁵

Oh, my heart, pledge allegiance to the good,

So you may find prosperity in both worlds.

Look at the discerning Mūbed,

⁴⁷² Probably a mistake for *vārede*.

⁴⁷³ Probably a mistake for *yaqīn*.

⁴⁷⁴ The reading of Jahanpour (2011), *bod bodan*, is not correct. She interprets it as a mistake for *būdan*.

⁴⁷⁵ *Dīn-e Behī* refers to 'Zoroastrianism'.

xarīd ū az-īn daftar dar rāh-e dīn

*nemūd ū be vaqf-e nīyākān-e xīš
pedar bā mādar jomle pākān-e xīš
čo vandīd xānand rā šādmān
ṣavābaš xodābaxš-e bahre rasān*

*bovad ham bahreʾaš mām va bāb-e ūy
be-dān korfa bovvad ū ham tarāzū
ze xīšānaš tamāmī bahre bād
har ānkaš bexānad konad īšān-rā be-yād
malāyek īn soxan gūyand har bār
ke bādā xodābaxš rā ḥaq negahdār
nabāšad joz be nīkūyī xīyālaš
be xoš-dānī nabāšad kas meṣālaš*

*bovad ū sarfarāz-e har do ʿālam
hamīše šādemān o dūr az ḡam*

*nabīnad xāṭeraš hargez ḡobārī
be-jōz ʿeyš o nešāṭ o kāmkarī
xodā dādash ū rā arjmandī
be faṣl-e ḥaq nemīyābad gazandī
bekūšad bar rah-e dīn-e zarātošt*

*xodā yār-ast o peyḡambar va-rā pošt
ke raḥmat bād keyxosro ebn-e mehrabān
ke dādaš⁴⁷⁶ ḥaq čenān farzand-e xoš-dān*

ke farzand-e čenīn rā parvarīdand

ze bahr-e ū be jannat āramīdand

*hamīn daftar-e vaqf-e vandīd nām
har ān-kū bexānad šavad šādmān*

*nabūd ūstādī ke pandam dahad
be dard-e delam nīz marham nahad*

Who acquired this booklet for the sake of his faith,

He bestowed it upon his ancestors,
His father, his mother, and all his pure kin.
When they read the Vidēvdād with joy,
May its reward reach Xodābaxš, the benefactor.

May his mother and father benefit from it.
May he receive a share of the good deed.
May all his relatives benefit from it.
May everyone who reads it remember them.
May the angels utter this word every time:
May God save Xodābaxš.

May he constantly think of goodness.
In perfect knowledge, there is none equal to him.

May he be proud in both worlds.
May he always be happy and free from sadness.

May his thoughts never be clouded by dust,
But filled with happiness, joy, and fortune.
God has bestowed excellence upon him.
By God's grace, he shall not be harmed.
May he strive on the path of the Zarathushtra religion.

May God and the prophet protect him.
Blessings to Keyxosro, the son of Mehrabān,
God has bestowed upon him such a wise child.

They have nurtured and raised a child of such caliber.

They shall find eternal bliss in paradise due to him.

This blessed book, the Vidēvdād,
Anyone who recites it shall experience happiness.

I had no master to guide me,
To heal the pains in my heart.

⁴⁷⁶ Jahanpour (2011) reads it as *dādash*, which is not correct.

*ze nādānī-ye xīš goftam man īn
vagarne bovad gardeš-e axtar īn*

*har ān kas ke xānad va-rā īn ketāb
xodā-yaš dahad kām-e omīd o āb
xodāmorz befrestīd az bahr-e māh⁴⁷⁷
ke tā šād bāšīd nazd-e xodā
ham az bahr-e ānkas ke farmūd īn
ferestand xodāmorzī ey-pākdīn*

dahīd-aš xodāmorzī az šedq o jān

*abā joft bā xīš qūmaš hamān
be kāteb do⁴⁷⁸ āyī rasān o begūy
xodāmorzī az bahr-e xīšān-e ūy
ze xīšān-e kāteb ze xīšān-e ūy*

*ke kardand jahdī be-kār-e nekūy
bedārīd nīkaš madārīd xār
ke tā xod be-mīnū bavīd rastegār*

*bedārīd ma⁴⁷⁹ zūr⁴⁸⁰ xānandegān
be pūšīd sahaš ze bahr-e ravān
morakab zabūn būd bīrang ham
na bod kāgāz⁴⁷⁹-e xūb o na bod qalam
ze bas xod-del eškaste būdam be kār
abar mehnat o goše-ye rūzegār*

*dorostaš hamī xān⁴⁸¹ eybaš be pūš⁴⁸⁰
makon rīšxandam abā bad makūš*

*agar nām-e kāteb xāhī ayān⁴⁸¹
bovad bāmaš ebn-e nūšeravān⁴⁸²
mabādā be kāteb begūyīd bad*

I spoke out of ignorance,
Otherwise, the stars would cease their rota-
tion.

To all who recite this book,
May God grant them hope and honor.
May God forgive us
and grant us happiness in his presence
is sent to those who have requested it.
May-God-forgive, O, the one who upholds
the holy religion!

Pray for his forgiveness with utmost honesty
and from the depths of my soul!

Also, for his wife and his relatives.

Pray for the scribe and say
may-God-forgive to his relatives
for the relatives of the scribe, for the rela-
tives of

those who attempted to do a good deed.

Keep it well and do not disrespect it!

So that you would be redeemed in the spir-
itual world.

Please excuse me, readers!

Conceal my mistakes for the sake of the soul!

The ink was weak and also colourless,

There was neither good paper nor pen,

I was heartbroken while working

due to the sadness and grief caused by des-
tiny.

Read it correctly and overlook its mistakes!

Do not mock me and do not resort to ill in-
tentions!

If you want to know, the name of the scribe
is Bāmas, son of Nushirvan.

So that you don't say that the scribe is bad!

⁴⁷⁷ Mistake for *mā*.

⁴⁷⁸ Mistake for *ma⁴⁷⁸ zūr*.

⁴⁷⁹ Mistake for *kāgāz*.

⁴⁸⁰ Mistake for *bepūš*.

⁴⁸¹ Mistake for *ayān*.

⁴⁸² According to the metre of the verse, I would expect *bovad bāmaš ebn-e anūšeravān*.

ke būdam del aškaste rūz-e abad

be-gītī-yo mīnū bavī šādmān

har ānkas ke rānad be nīkī zabān

Then, I will be heart-broken till the eternal day.

May everyone find happiness in both the material and spiritual worlds.

May everyone who speaks for goodness find happiness.

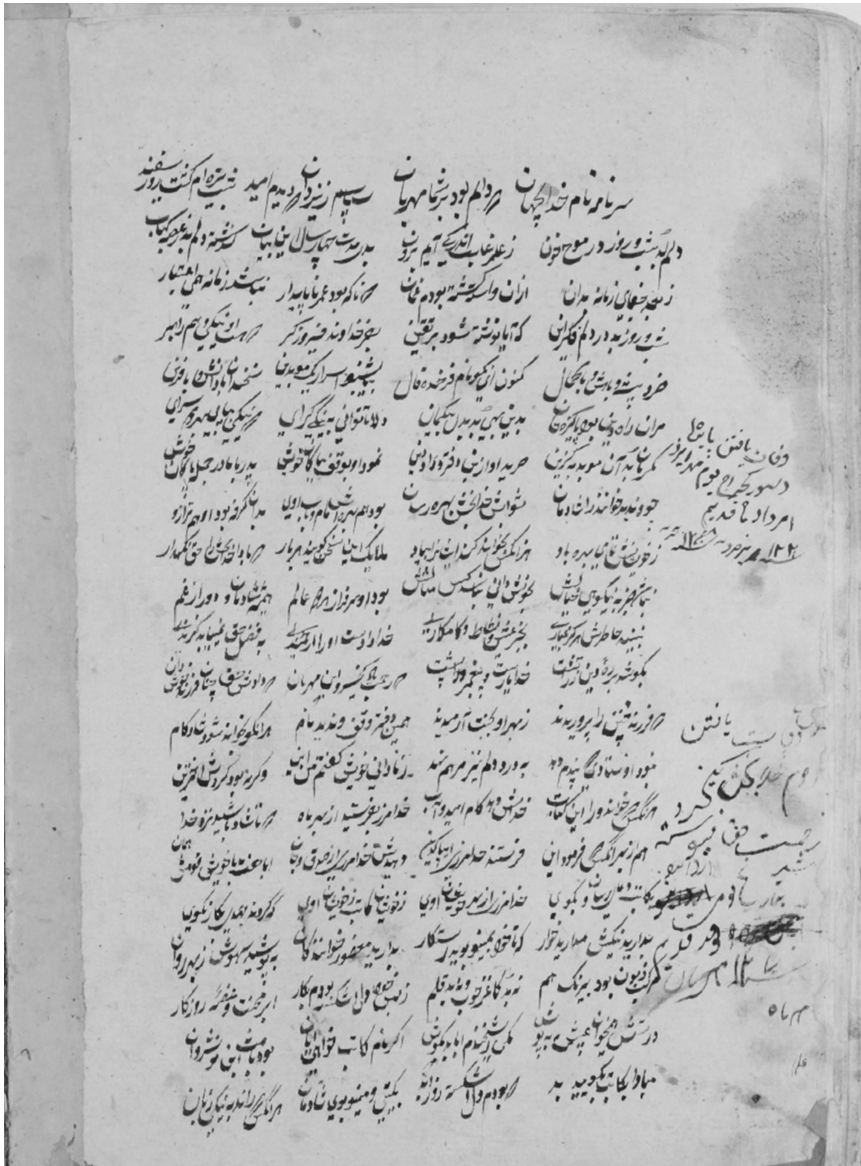


Image 24: MS. 4030, First Persian colophon

4.1.5.4. Transcription and translation of the second Persian colophon (p. 160v)

*marīn*⁴⁸³ *jad-dīv-dād nesf-e aval*
tamāmat šod bedān ey mard-e ʿāqel
bodī aštād rūz o māh-e ābān

*navad bā noḡṣad o do ham bīyāb ān*⁴⁸⁴

ze tārīx-e šāhī, dīn šāh-e yazgard

bedīn āgāh bāš ey pāk o behmard
ze hejrat ham hezār o sīy-o do būd

*mahy*⁴⁸⁶ *ša ʿbān ze māhaš čārda būd*

nevīsande agar kas porsadaš nām
*pedar nāmaš be nīkī xānde bahrām*⁴⁸⁷

pedar bod marzbān ben-e fereydūn
nīya bahrām ben roštam ham īdūn

neveštam īn ketāb az bahr-e karfe
ke bāšad vaqf o xānandaš be-šarfe
kojā pūr-e kīyān kaš nām bahrām
*nīyā sorxāb*⁴⁸⁸ *ben roštam bodaš nām*

befarmūdaš ke dastūrān-e dīndār
čo farmāyand dar dīn-e behaš kār
va-rā ham bahr o ham mozd o šavābī

*ke farmāyand kārāš var bīyābī*⁴⁹⁰

The first half of this Vidēvdād has been completed. Take note, O wise man!

It was the day of Aštād, in the month of Ābān,

in the year nine hundred and ninety-two, Take note of this!

From the kingly calendar, Yazdgerd, the king of religion.

Beware of that! O, the holy and good man!

It was the year one thousand and thirty-two after the Hejrat,⁴⁸⁵

In the month Šaʿbān, on the day of full moon.

If anyone should ask the name of the scribe, his father named him Bahrām, in all goodness.

His father was Marzbān, the son of Fereydūn, and his grandfather was Bahrām, the son of Rostam.

I wrote this book as a good deed.

to be endowed and read with benevolence.

The son of Kīyan, named Bahrām, whose grandfather was Sorxāb, the son of Rostam,

advised that the religious Dastūrān

strive for the good religion,⁴⁸⁹

involving him in their good deeds and rewarding him

for his work, if you understand its meaning

⁴⁹¹

483 Jahanpour reads it as *barīn*.

484 Unlikely *be-pāyān* [bp'y'n] as suggested by Jahanpour. The word is written as *bīyāb ān* [by'b 'n] بيباب آن.

485 The Hejrat of Moḡammad, the Prophet. The era is Hejri.

486 Less likely *hamī* [hmy].

487 Jahanpour reads *vahrām*, which is not correct (Jahanpour 2011: XVI).

488 The reading of *sorxab* suggested by Jahanpour is not correct.

489 Referring to Zoroastrianism.

490 Written *bīyāpī* [by'py]. Unlikely *payāpey*.

491 Quite uncertain.

*be-dū baxš-e*⁴⁹² *xodāmorz o do^c ā ham*
resānand o ravānaš bād xoram

bar-ān xānande besyār afarīn bād
kojā mārā xodāmorzī ze dīn dād

<second page>

be bahrām-e kīyān-e pūr-e sorxāb
*dahad har kas*⁴⁹³ *xodāmorzī be-har bāb*
xodāy ū rā be-har nīkī rasānad
*be-gītī-yo*⁴⁹⁴ *be mīnū šād mānad*

*ḥasūd o xašm o badgūyān-e*⁴⁹⁵ *bahrām*

*be do gītī*⁴⁹⁶ *ravān tīre, sīyah nām*

raftīq o dūstānaš šād o xoram
be-kaf jān o be-del-hā jomle bī ḡam

čo bahrām-e kīyān az bahr-e karfe
ketābī īn čenīn farmūd šarfe

degar az karfehā bahr-e ravān kard
*ze gītī*⁴⁹⁷ *xarīd bā zende ravān kard*⁴⁹⁸

*degar*⁴⁹⁹ *tars-e sotūdān ham befarmūd*
šabān o rūz, ū bar rāh-e dīn būd

be har sālī šodī dar karfe kardan
ze mozd-e ān ravān rā šarfe kardan

They will offer him forgiveness and prayer,
delivering these blessings so that his soul
may find happiness.

May many praises fall upon the reader,
who offers forgiveness in the name of reli-
gion.

To Bahrām Kayān, the son of Sorxāb,
may everyone offer forgiveness.

May God guide him to all goodness,
and may he find happiness in both the mate-
rial and spiritual world.

May those who harbor jealousy, anger, and
malice toward Bahrām

be branded with a dark soul and black name
in both worlds.

May his friends be happy and glad,
holding a grail in hand and hearts without
sorrow.

Bahrām Kīyān, in pursuit of good deeds,
commissioned this book for the benefit of
all.

He did also other good deeds for his soul,
he bought from material world and made his
soul alive,

Out of fear of the Tower of Silence,⁵⁰⁰
he followed the path of religion day and
night.

Every year, he performed good deeds,
refreshing his soul with their rewards.

492 The reading of *baxšī* suggested by Jahanpour does not seem to be correct because of the occurrence of the verb *rasānand* ‘they deliver’ (Jahanpour 2011: 369).

493 Written *kaš*. In this colophon, all letters *g* are written as *k*.

494 Written *kītī*.

495 Written *badkūyān*.

496 Written *kītī*.

497 Written *kītī*.

498 The metric of the verse is not correct. The meaning of this part is not clear.

499 Written *dekar*.

500 That is ‘fear of death’.

be tanīhā⁵⁰¹ gozašte sāl-e ū sī
kojā īn karfshā kard ar beporstī

be rūz-e kūdakī yo dar javānī
be jahd-e karfe būdī-yo ravānī

šab o rūzān ze bahr-e karfe kūšaš
bekardī čon xodā bed⁵⁰² dāde hūšaš

gojaste ahreman bā dīv e darvand
gazand⁵⁰³ o reymānī dar rah afkand
ke tā ū gardad⁵⁰⁴ az īn rah⁵⁰⁵ pašīmān

šavad bī e^c teqād az rāh-e yazdān

ze bahr-e esfahān o xāne bordān⁵⁰⁶

bar ū jor o setam besyār kardan

ze āzār o sīyāsāt bāb-e ū rā

bīyāzordand o ān rād-e nekū rā

ze xān o mām-e xīšaš bā zan o ahl

borūn bordand badkārān-e nā ahl
zanī tarzāde o ʔeffī ke nozād

be-zārī yo be-zaxm o dād o bīdād
ravān kardand ū rā zī šafāhān

He was only thirty years old,
 when he did these good deeds, if you were
 to ask.
 During his childhood and youth,
 he constantly sought to perform and spread
 good deeds,
 day and night, he strived for good deeds,
 motivated by the intelligence God had gifted
 him.
 The wicked Ahreman and the sinful demon
 threw obstacles and deceptions in his path,
 intending for him to regret his journey and
 stray from God's path,
 in order that he would become unfaithful to
 the path of God.
 Because of Isfahān and his subsequent re-
 location,
 they inflicted much oppression and violence
 upon him.
 Due to this violence and political manipula-
 tions,
 they mistreated his father, a generous and pi-
 ous man.
 From his home, along with his wife and resi-
 dents,
 these evil and bad people drove them out.
 A mother after giving birth and a new-born
 baby,
 amidst tears, violation, and outcry,
 were sent to Isfahān.

501 My reading is simply a guess. If the reading is correct, the adverb *tanīhā* 'alone' is a Middle Persian word. The word is not read by Jahanpour.

502 Written *bed* (and not *bedū* as suggested by Jahanpour).

503 Written *kazand*.

504 Written *kardad*.

505 Less likely *rū*.

506 This part refers to the forced resettlement of Zoroastrians to Isfahān and the suffering of the Zoroastrians during the rule of Shah Abbas the Great (1587–1628 AD). In a letter dated Bahman Rooz, Ardibehesht Mah, 1005 Yazdgardi (1015 Hijri), the Zoroastrians of Sharifābad, Yazd wrote to the Parsis of India: 'In the year 977 Yazdgardi (987 Hijri) the agents of Shah Abbas came to Yazd to confiscate our religious books. They murdered two Mobeds who refused to surrender them. In Turkabad, many Mobeds who refused to surrender the books were killed. The agents plundered and destroyed many scriptures here.'

be ġeyr-e ĥaq deram az vey be-tāvān

*setādand o be bordandaš be-dānjāy
sabab sāzad sababhā dād farmāy
varā andar rah-e dīn-e behī dāšt
čo az rāh-e xodāy ū āgahy dāšt
pas az ān modatī āmad be kermān
ke pūrī dāšt kūdak zān parīšān
bīyāmad tā barad ū rā ham īdar
resānad marv rā dar pīš-e mādar
čo dar īn daftar ū afkande bod rāy
ke benvīsad ze bahr-e vaqf bar jāy
čo tāle^c nīk o axtar dāšt nīkū*

befarmūd o hamī bod bar rah-e⁵⁰⁷ ū

*be omīd-e behešt o az garotmān⁵⁰⁸
ze jahd o sa^cy kardī az del o jān
čo šod nešfī tamām, ān nešf-e dīgar⁵⁰⁹*

*tamāmat mīšavad az lotf-e dāvar
setamgarhā⁵¹⁰ setam bā xīš kardand*

*ze kār-e ān jahānī pīš kardand
ba-rū bogzašt o īšān rā^c oqūbat⁵¹¹
be gardan mānd o pādāfrāh o mehnat
har ān xānande kīn daftar bexānand
xodāmorzī ze bahr-e vey resānand
har ān kas kīn nevīsad yā be bīnad⁵¹²
xodāmorzī ze bahr-e ū gozīnad⁵¹³
to ey bahrām ben marzān-e⁵¹⁴ dastūr*

Unjustly, they confiscated Dirham from
them as a penalty,
and sent them there.

Proclaim the reasons for this!

It was because he was a Zoroastrian,
that he was aware of the path of God.

After that, he came to Kerman for a while.

Concerned about his son, his child,
he went to fetch him as well,
intending to bring him to his mother,
because he had decided to write this book.

He wrote it as an endowment.

Upon finding a fortunate horoscope and the
right position of the stars,
he issued an order and everything fell into
place.

With hopes of paradise,

he strived and struggled,

As you've completed the first half, the other
half,

will be finished with the grace of God

The oppressors brought suffering upon
themselves,

usurping the matters of the world.

He weathered it, but for them, punishment,
retribution, and suffering remained.

May all who read this book
send him a 'may-God-forgive.'

May everyone who copies or sees this
also send him a 'may-God-forgive.'

O you, Bahrām, son of Dastūr Marzbān

⁵⁰⁷ *bar rah-e* is not read by Jahanpour.

⁵⁰⁸ Written *karotmān*.

⁵⁰⁹ Written *dīkar*.

⁵¹⁰ Written *setamkarhā*.

⁵¹¹ *oqūbat* is not read by Jahanpour.

⁵¹² Unlikely *māye bīnad*, as read by Jahanpour. The subjunctive prefix *be-* is written separately here and has not been prefixed to the present stem.

⁵¹³ Written *kozīnad*.

⁵¹⁴ Used instead of *marzbān* because of the metre of the verse.

*bokon jahd o neveštan rā makon dūr
be loṭf-e rahnamāy-e dādgostar
to benvīs o rasānaš bāz bā sar
ze bahr-e xīš o ū dārī xodāmorz*

*ravān rā nīz bāšad zīn far o borz
pas az īn sālīyān-e bī ḥad o marz
to-rā nāmast o mozd o korfe o far*

*ze gostāxī ‘azīzān nazd o az dūr
ze sahv-e bande mīdārīd ma‘zūr
ze mā bar nīkūyān rād o yārān*

*dorūd bī mar o bī mar hezārān⁵¹⁵
ze mā bar dūstāne yek-jāhat ham
do‘ā-ye bī mar o bādand xoram
be hamdīnān-e mā o pāk dīnān*

*tamām-e korfe-kār o pīšbīnān
hezār andar hezār andar ṣanā bād
xodā-šān rah bar o pošt o panā bād
har ān kū yek-jāhat bar rāh-e dīnīd*

*be kāteb ham xodāmorzī resānīd
čo korfe kam nagardad behtar ānast
ke har dam āfarīnat bar zabānast
be-šedq-e pāk gūī āfarīnam*

*to gūī o be-del man ham čenīnam⁵¹⁶
nekū gūī to-rā bāšad nekūtār
batar gūī batar bāšadat īdar
xodā goftast andar zand o vastā
ke korfe har ke baxšad dar rah-e mā*

*be-rādān o beh o arzānīyān ham
nagardad hīč az ān korefe-aš kam*

Keep trying and do not abandon writing!
With the grace of the leader and judge,
write and bring it to the end!

because of this, you have a ‘may-God-for-give’.

Your soul will know glory and greatness,
and after this, endless years
of fame, rewards, good deeds, and glory
await you.

O dear ones, near and far,
forgive my boldness and mistakes.

From us to the pious, generous ones, and
friends,

come numerous and countless greetings.

To our friends on the same path,
we offer numerous prayers and happiness.

To the followers of our religion and the sa-
cred,

all virtuous people, and foretellers,
thousand of thousands of praises,
May God guide and protect them.

Everyone who is steadfast on the path of our
shared religion,

also send a ‘may-God-forgive’ to the scribe.

To not diminish virtue, it is better
that you always have praise on your tongue.
Deliver praise with a sincere and pure heart,
and I will reciprocate in kind.

You deliver it, and I am the same in the heart.

Speaking well may be better for you,
and speaking ill may be worse for you.

God has said in the Zand and Avesta,
that whoever performs good deeds in our
path

for generous, good and valuable people
their good deeds will not decrease at all.

515 The word *bīvar* (Middle Persian *bēwar* ‘ten thousand’) is written over *bī mar*. It is probably a correction.

516 Written *janīnam*.

*ke korfe pāk, čon āb-e ravānast
fozūntar har če bardārī hamānast
be baxšī-yo xorī-yo har če sāzī*

nagardad kam, konī⁵¹⁷ zān sarfarāzī

*čo čūnīn ast agar kas āfarīnī
ferestad bahre-ye mā pākdīnī
ze mā ham bād bar vey āfarīn bīš
agar bīgāne o gar bāšad az xīš
ze mā yekšad hezārān āfarīn bar*

*be-rādān o be nīkūyān-e ...⁵¹⁸
del-e man īn zamān rāy-e čenīn kard
ke gūyam šarḥ o aḥvāl-e čenīn mard*

ze bahr-e dūstānam, del por az jōr

*parīšān tar manam zīn gardeš-e [dōr]⁵¹⁹
ze nīkūyī ravān gar yābadam bar
be-dīn dōr az nekūyī mīresad šar*

nekūyī kon, nekūyī kon, nekūyī

bad az šar mībarad nīkān nekūyī

Pure good deeds are like running water,
the more you take, the more there is.

If you donate, if you consume, or if you create anything,

it does not diminish; you can take pride in that!

So, if someone praises us,

a person of the sacred religion,

we will respond with even more praise,

whether they are a stranger or a relative.

From us, come hundreds of thousands of praises,

to the generous and the good ...

In this moment, my heart is compelled to narrate the story and the biography of this man,

for my friends, though my heart is full of pain.

I am deeply concerned about bad events.

If my soul can profit from good deeds, these bad events will be mitigated by goodness.

Do good deeds, do good deeds, do good deeds.

Good deeds remove the badness from pious people.

4.1.5.5. Transcription and translation of the third Persian colophon, end paper

*nevīsande rā ey xodā-ye ʿalāh⁵²⁰
bīyāmorz rūz-e qīyāmat gonāh*

*xodāyā az ān šaxṣ āmorz kon
be har do jahānaš ...⁵²¹*

...⁵²²

O, Great god,

forgive the sins of the scribe on Judgement Day.

O God, bless that person

... in both worlds!

...

517 Read *kasī* by Jahanpour, which is not correct.

518 This part is damaged.

519 This part is damaged, probably *dōr*, as also suggested by Jahanpour (Jahanpour 2011: 370).

520 Probably a mistake for *allāh*, as also suggested by Jahanpour (2011: XXII).

521 Read *bar do jahān* by Jahanpour (2011: XXII), which does not correspond to the rhythm of the verse.

522 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

be kāteb resānad xodāmorz yā

ke rūḥ o ravānaš be janat resād

xodāyā bīyāmorz gūyande rā

be baxš⁵²³ kon[...] ...⁵²⁴

...⁵²⁵ marā nām bād⁵²⁶

be gītī va mīnū va-rā kām bād

bede yā rab az lotf ḥājāt-e māh⁵²⁷

to nefrīn⁵²⁸ ...⁵²⁹

...⁵³⁰

[da]ḥt⁵³¹ dar do gītī sarafrāzī am

xodāyā to az lotf dastam begīr

...⁵³²

agar če k[onam] ...⁵³³

...⁵³⁴

... [...] ⁵³⁵-gāh

nadārīm ġeyr az to faryādras

to ...⁵³⁶

...⁵³⁷

... bā⁵³⁸ afarīn

...⁵³⁹

May everyone who offers a ‘may-God-for-give’ to the scribe,

find their soul reaching paradise!

O, God! Bless the deliverer

and forgive ...

... would be my name

May it bring achievement of desires in both the material and spiritual worlds for him.

God! Fulfill our needs with your kindness!

damn ...

...

You grant me honor in both worlds.

O, God, take my hand with your kindness

...

although I would do ...

...

...

we do not have any other helper

you ...

...

... with praise

...

523 Unlikely *janat* as read by Jahanpour.

524 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

525 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

526 This part has not been read by Jahanpour (2011: XXII).

527 Maybe a mistake for *mā* ‘we’.

528 Quite uncertain.

529 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

530 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

531 If the reading is correct, the form could be an abbreviation of *vāngahy* ‘after all’. Alternatively, it can be read as *hamī* ‘always’. See the reading *dahy* by Jahanpour (2011: XXII).

532 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

533 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

534 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

535 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

536 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

537 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

538 Alternatively *yā*, as read by Jahanpour.

539 This part of the sheet has been cut off.

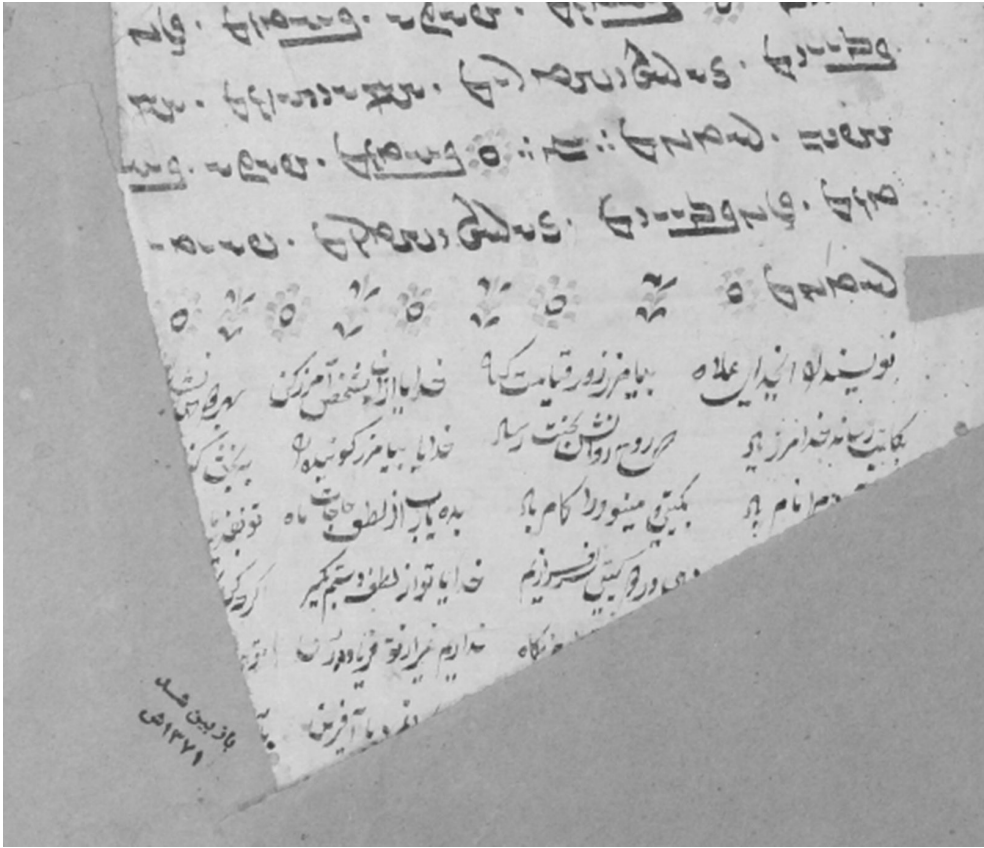


Image 25: MS. 4030, third Persian Colophon, end paper

4.1.5.6. Persian prayer, fol. 81v

- *Yā dādār-e vehe⁵⁴⁰ afzūnī, yā šāh varahrām īzad, madad.*
‘Oh, Creator, enhancer of goodness. O, Šāh Varahrām Īzad! Help us!’

⁵⁴⁰ A mistake for *vēh* or *vēhīh*.



Image 26: MS. 4030, Persian prayer

MS. 4030: Persian verse, fol. 84v

to ham bāmaš-e nūš rā yād kon
 be-āmorzešī ruḥ-e man šād kon
 to ham ey-ḵavānmard-e bā āfarīn
 be-āmorzešī yād kon kamtarīn
 yā al-ḥājāt⁵⁴¹

Remember Bāmaš, the son of Nōšīrvān,
 with a blessing, make my soul happy.
 You too, O generous man, with praise
 with a blessing, remember this humble one
 O, Fulfiller of Needs!

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg, fol. 111r

Hova,⁵⁴² vafāt yāftan-e beheštī ravān, dastūr keyxosro, valad-e marḥūm dastūr mehrabān,
 ben-e-marḥūm dastūr rostam, andar yōm sefandārmaz, aḡ farvardīnmāh-e qadīm, har kas
 xodā bīyāmorzī bedahad, xodāvand bar haftād pošt-e ošān ōmorzīde bī,⁵⁴³ Saneye 1242
 Yazdġerdīyeh, Saneye 129[0]

⁵⁴¹ This must be yā [qāzī] al-ḥājāt 'O, [Fulfiller] of Needs'.

⁵⁴² Meaning 'god'.

⁵⁴³ Quite uncertain. If the reading is correct, ōmorzīde bī is a Zoroastrian Dari form from āmorzīde bāšad. According to the context, a form such as bīyāmorzād 'may forgive, may bless' might occur.

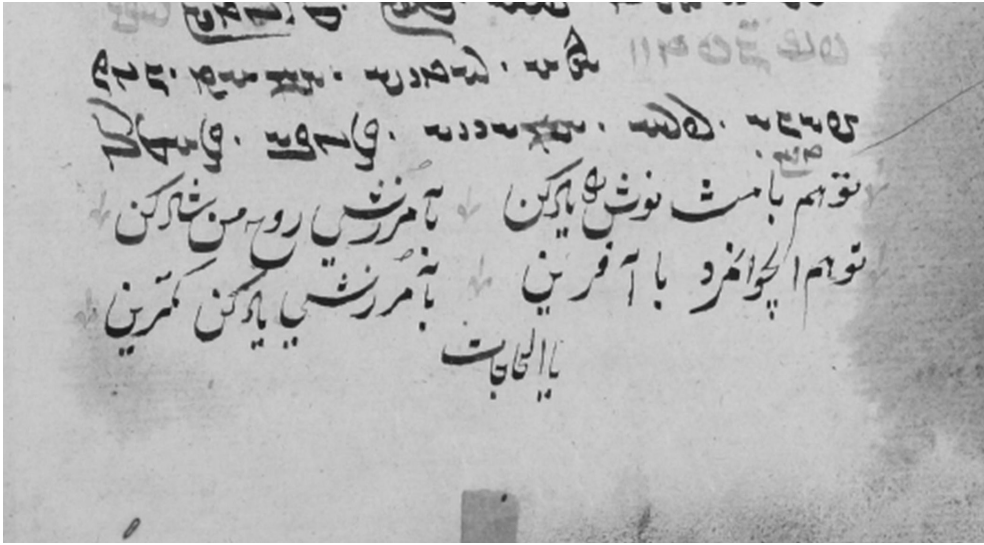


Image 27: MS. 4030, Persian verse

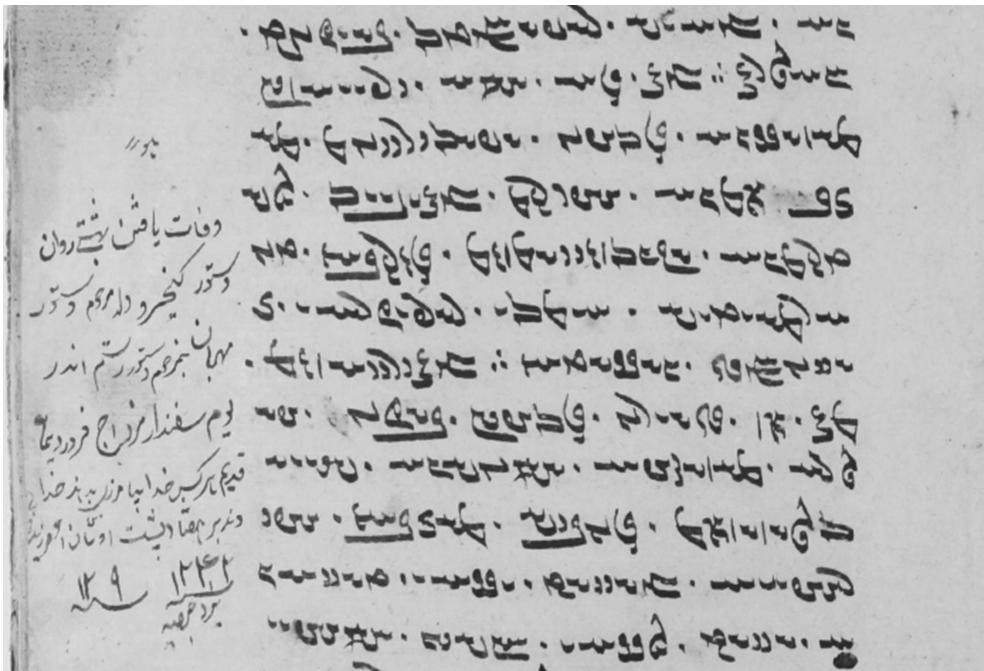


Image 28: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmarg

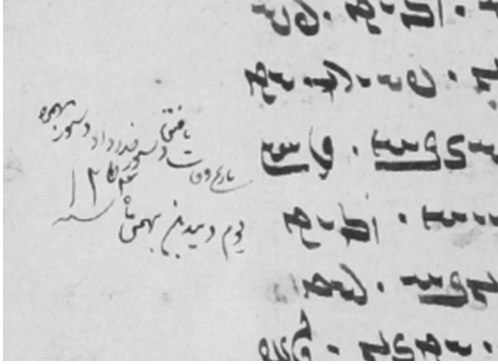


Image 29: MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg

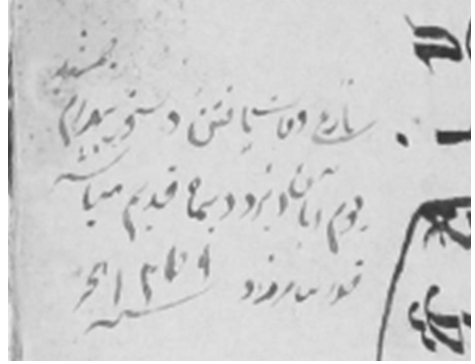


Image 30: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmarg, margin

‘He, the death of the paradise soul, Dastūr Keyxosro, the son of the deceased Dastūr Mehrabān, the son of the deceased Dastūr Rostam, on the day Sefandārmaz, from the old month Farvardīn. Everybody, who delivers a may-God-forgive, may God bless seventy generations of his ancestors, the year 1242 AY, the year 1290 Hejri.’

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg, fol. 113r

- *Tārīx-e vaḡāt yāftan-e dastūr xodādād, dastūr bahman, yōm deybedīn bahman māh, saneye 1254*⁵⁴⁴

‘The death date of the Dastūr Xodādād, Dastūr Bahman, the day Deybedīn, the month Bahman, the year 1254.’

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg, fol. 116r

- *Tarīx-e vaḡāt yāftan-e dastūr bahrām jamšīd, yōm ābān īzad, deymāh qadīm mībāšad. xodā bīyāmorzād 1279*⁵⁴⁵ *hejriyeh*

‘The death date of the Dastūr Bahrām Jamšīd, the day Abān Īzad, the old month Dey. May God forgive him. 1279 Hejri.’

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg, fol. 136r

- *Vaḡāt yāftan-e*⁵⁴⁶ *marḡūm mūbed xodā[baxš]*⁵⁴⁷ *mūbed keyxosro andar yōm ard īzad*⁵⁴⁸ *aḡ māh-e qadīm ābān māh, raḡmat-e ḡaq peyvaste šod. saneye 1270 hejriye, 1222 yazdġerdīye*

‘The death of the deceased Mūbed Xodā[baxš], Mūbed Keyxosro, the day Ard Īzad, from the old month Ābān, he passed away. The year 1270 Hejri, 1222 AY.’

⁵⁴⁴ The era has not been mentioned; it is probably the Hejri era.

⁵⁴⁵ Quite uncertain. Alternatively, 1259.

⁵⁴⁶ A mistake for *yāftan*.

⁵⁴⁷ Unlikely *xodādād*.

⁵⁴⁸ Not read by Jahanpour (Jahanpour 2011: XXIV).

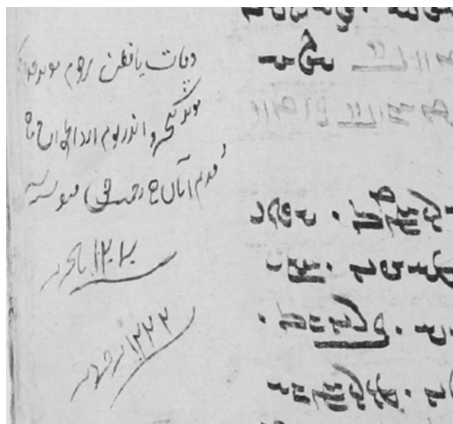


Image 31: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmarg

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg and birth dates, margin, fol. 138r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt yāftan-e gohar dastūr keyxosro, yōm vahman, ābān-māh, saneye 1240*
‘The death date of Gohar (daughter of) Dastūr Keyxosro, the day Bahman, the month Ābān, the year 1240.’⁵⁴⁹
- *Tārīx-e vafāt yāftan-e dastūr xodādād dastūr behmard, yōm deybedīn, bahman-māh saneye 1254*
‘The death date of Dastūr Xodādād Dastūr Behmard, the day Deybedīn, the month Bahman, the year 1254.’⁵⁵⁰
- *Hova, motavaled šodan-e farangīs bent-e mūbed xodābaxš, ben-marhūm mūbed keyxosro mūbed xodādād behmard, andar yōm āsmān, az xordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 12041 Yazdgerdīyeh, vasalām*
‘He. Born Farangīs, the daughter of Mūbed Xodābaxš, the son of the deceased Mūbed Keyxosro Mūbed Xodādād Behmard, on the day Āsmān, from the old month Xordād, the year 1241 AY. The end.’
- *Be-tārīx vafāt yāftan-e xodādād dastūr keyxosro dastūr behmard,⁵⁵¹ yōm amordād, farvardīn-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1221 Yazdgerdī*
‘The death date of Xodādād Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Behmard, the day Amordād, the old month Farvardīn, the year 1221 AY.’
- *Saneye 12308 Yazdgerdīyeh. Be tārīx-e vafāt-e beheštī ravān, dastūr keyxosro mūbed xodādād mūbed behmard ... andar yōm gūš īzad⁵⁵² aj bahman-māh-e qadīm dar bandar-e mombay⁵⁵³ be-raḥmat-e ḥaq rafte, xodā bīyāmorzād. Saneye 12308 yazdgerdīyeh*

549 The era has not been mentioned; it is probably Yazdgerdī.

550 The era has not been mentioned; it is probably Yazdgerdī.

551 Read *bahman* by Jahanpour (Jahanpour 2011: XXX).

552 Not read by Jahanpour (2011: XXX).

553 Uncertain. Not read by Jahanpour (2011: XXX).

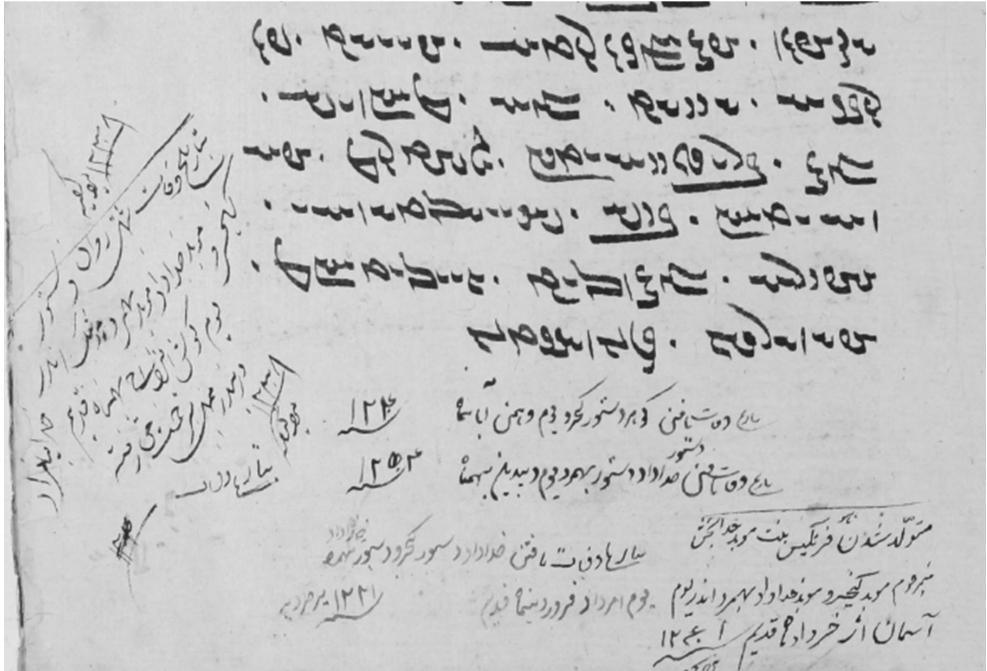


Image 32: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmarg and birth dates

‘The year 1238 AY. The death date of the paradise soul, Dastūr Keyxosro Mūbed Xodādād Mūbed Behmard ...⁵⁵⁴ on the day Gūš Īzad, from the old month Bahman, in the port of Mumbai he has passed away to the mercy of God, may God bless him. The year 1238 AY.’

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmargs, margin of first Persian colophon

- *Vafāt yāftan-e pāyande*⁵⁵⁵ *dastūr keyxosro*,⁵⁵⁶ *aḡ yōm mehr īzad, amordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 1220 Yazdġerdiye, saneye 1268 Hejriyeh*

‘The death of eternal Dastūr Keyxosro, on the day Mehr Īzad, the old month Amordād, the year 1220 AY, the year 1268 Hejri.’

- *Vafāt yāftan-e marhūm xodābaxš keyxosro. Raḥmat-e ḥaq peyvaste šod. Be tārix-e yōm-e ard īzad [ābān māh-e]*⁵⁵⁷ *qadīm, saneye 1270. Mehr māh*

‘The death of deceased Xodābaxš Keyxosro. The date, the day Ard Īzad, from the old [month Ābān]. The year 1270, the month Mehr.’

⁵⁵⁴ Uncertain.

⁵⁵⁵ Quite uncertain.

⁵⁵⁶ *Keyxosro* is quite uncertain.

⁵⁵⁷ This part is effaced, and the month *Mehr* is added at the end of the Sālmarg, which is not correct. The same Sālmarg occurs on page 136 recto and shows the month *Ābān*.

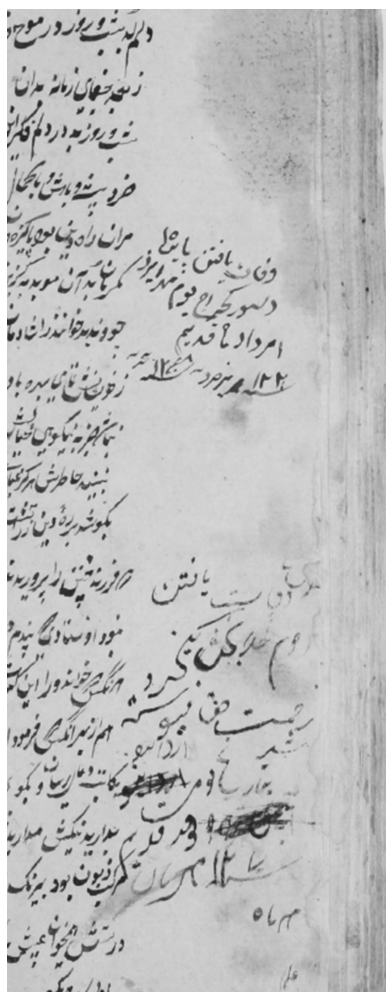


IMAGE 33: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmarg, margin of first Persian colophon

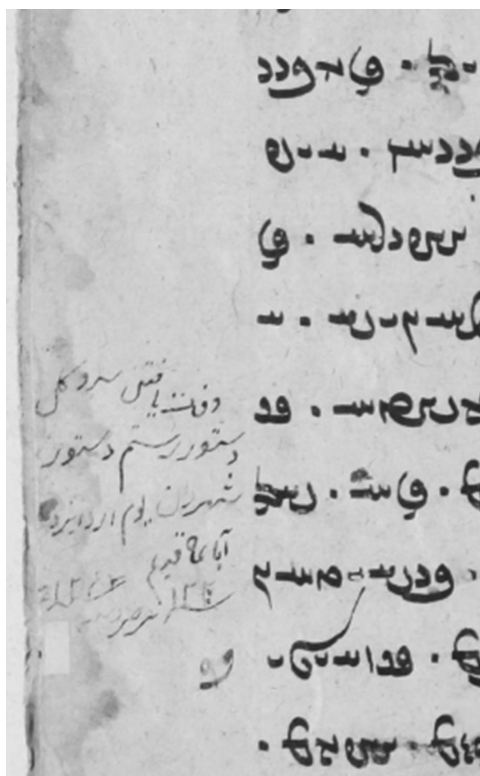


IMAGE 34: MS. 4030, marginal notes

MS. 4030: Sālmarg, margin of fol. 111r

- *Vafāt yāftan Sarv-e Gol dastūr rostam dastūr šahmardān, yōm ard īzad, ābān-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1267, saneye 1220 yazdġerġyeh*
‘The death of Sarv-e Gol, Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Šahmardān, the day Ard Īzad, the old month Ābān, the year 1267, the year 1220 AY.’

MS. 4030: Persian notes before the seventh Fragard

- *Yā šāh varahrām īzad-e firūzgar! Bar hame-ye mūbedān āsān bekon!*
‘O, Šāh Varhrām Īzad, the victorious! Make it easy for all Mūbeds!’

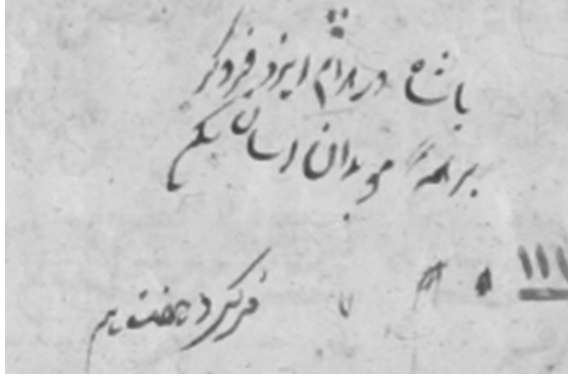


Image 35: MS. 4030, Persian notes before 7th Fragard

MS. 4030: Gahanbār notes in Persian, fol. 161v

- *Gahanbār dar*⁵⁵⁸ *sāl ke mā dar ...*⁵⁵⁹ *rasm ...*⁵⁶⁰ *būd*
‘Gahanbār in the year that we in ... was a tradition of ...’
- *Gahanbār čehre-ye maidh-yo-zarem-gāh*⁵⁶¹, *yōm ... ordībehešt māh, bāšam*⁵⁶² *rostaṁ goštāsb*
‘The time of the Gahanbār of Maidh-yo-zarem, the day ..., the month Ordībehešt, I am Rostaṁ Goštāsb.’
- *Gahanbār yōm zāmyād va mehr māh.*⁵⁶³ *Bāšam mūbed šahmardān*⁵⁶⁴ *mūbed rostaṁ*
‘Gahanbār of the day Zāmyād and the month Mehr. I am Mūbed Šahmardān Mūbed Rostaṁ.’
- *Yōm gūš īzad, ordībehešt māh.*⁵⁶⁵ *Bāšam mūbed xodābaxš mūbed rostaṁ*
‘The day Gūš Īzad, the month Ordībehešt. I am Mūbed Xodābaxš Mūbed Rostaṁ.’

Saneye 992 yazdgerdīyeh

‘The year 992 AY.’⁵⁶⁶

MS. 4030: Xodāmorzī note in Persian, fol. 161v

- *Be-xaṭ-e mūbed ōrmazdyār*⁵⁶⁷ *mūbed bahrām. Har kas xodā bīyāmorzī bedahand,*⁵⁶⁸ *xodāvand bar ōšān bīyāmorzād. 1243.*

⁵⁵⁸ Only a guess.

⁵⁵⁹ Uncertain.

⁵⁶⁰ Uncertain.

⁵⁶¹ *gāh* is quite uncertain.

⁵⁶² Only a guess.

⁵⁶³ *mehr māh* is quite uncertain.

⁵⁶⁴ Can hardly be read as *mehrabān*.

⁵⁶⁵ Clumsily written and almost illegible.

⁵⁶⁶ This date is written with a different handwriting and colour below the Gahanbar dates. It is not clear if it demonstrates the correct date of these notes.

⁵⁶⁷ Can hardly be read.

⁵⁶⁸ In a number of notes such as this example, *har kas* ‘everybody’ occurs with a plural verb.

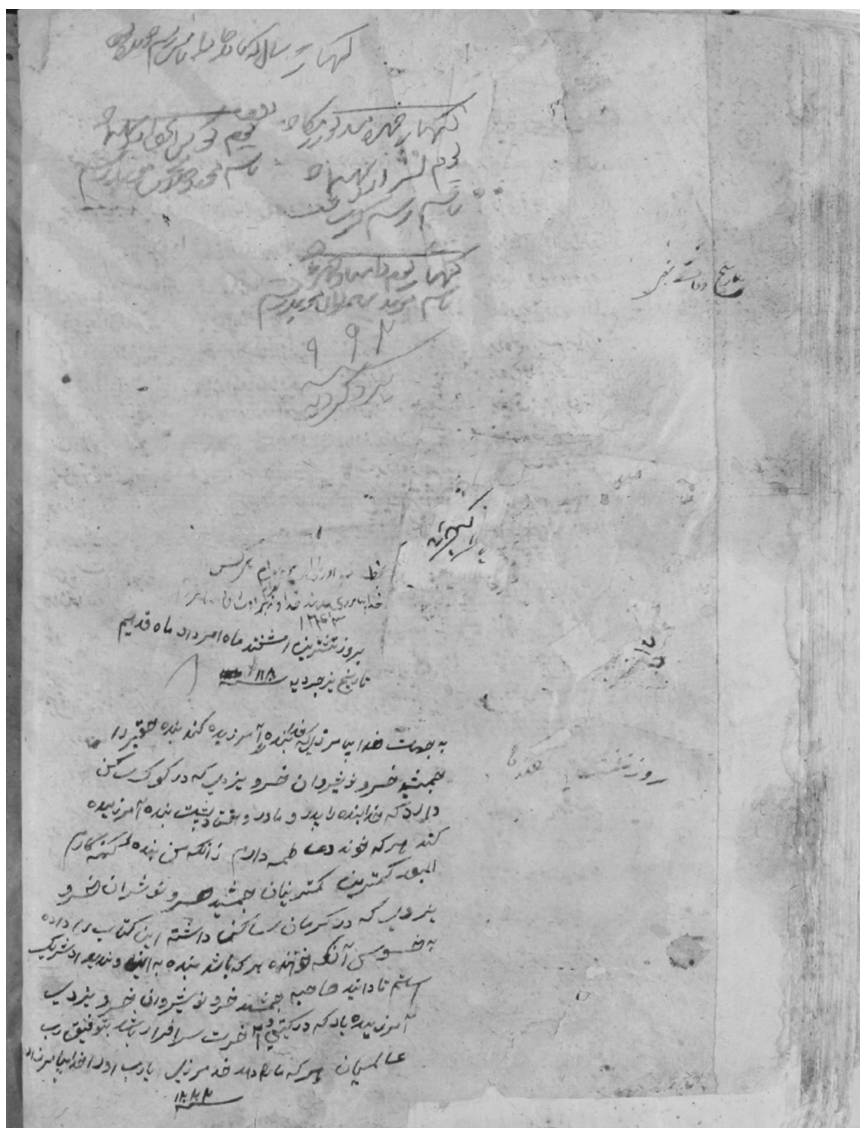


Image 36: MS. 4030, Gahanbar and Xodāmorzī notes

‘Written by Mūbed Ōrmaždyār Mūbed Bahrām. To everyone who prays for his forgiveness, may God bless them. The year 1243.’

- *Be-rūz-e taštārīn amšāsfaṇd, māh Amordād māh-e qadīm, tārix yazdgerdiye, saneye 1180*

‘On the day Tīštār Amšāsfaṇd, the month Amordād, the old month, Yazdgerdi era, the year 1180.’

- (1) *Be jahāt-e xodā bīyāmorzī, ke xodā bande rā āmorzīde konad, bande-ye haqīr rā, (2) jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro yazdī ke dar kūk sāken (3) dārad, ke xodā bande rā, pedar va mādar va haftād pošt-e bande āmorzīde (4) konad. har ke xunad⁵⁶⁹ do‘ā tame⁵⁷⁰ dāram, zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram. (5) Al ‘abd, kamtarīn kamtarīnān, jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro (6) yazdī ke dar kermān sāken dāšte, īn ketāb rā dāde (7) be xosūs⁵⁷¹ ānke xānande har ke bāšad bande be īn vandīdād šarīk (8) astam, tā dānīd, šahebeh-e⁵⁷² ān jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro yazdī (9) āmorzīde bād ke dar gītī va āxerat sarafrāz bāšad be-toftq-e rab-e (10) ‘ālamīyān. har ke mā rā dahad xodamorzī, yārab ū rā xodā bīyāmorzād. (11) Saneye 1222.*

‘In need of God’s forgiveness, may He pardon this servant, this humble servant, Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro from Yazd, residing in Kūk.⁵⁷³ May God bless me, my father and mother and any lineage spanning seventy generations. To all who read this, I request your prayers, for I am a sinful servant. The servant of all servants, Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro, from Yazd, currently living in Kerman, has donated this book. No matter who the reader may be, know that I have personally invested in this Vandīdad. Understand that the owner of this is Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro from Yazd. May God bless him and grant him honor in this world and the hereafter, according to His will. May God bless those who bless us. The year 1222.

MS. 4030: Prayers and verses in Persian, fol. 199r

- *Yā šāh varahrām īzad, peyqambar⁵⁷⁴ ašū zarātošt!*
‘O, Šāh Varahrām Īzad, O holy prophet Zarathushtra!’

dar pošt-e⁵⁷⁵ ketāb bar ān bāšad

The blank sections of the book are available for

har ke var dārad nešān bāšad⁵⁷⁶

anyone who has something to write.

‘amal-e bande-ye kamtarīn mūbed ...⁵⁷⁷ bahrām, valad-e marhūm mūbed ...⁵⁷⁸ mībāšad

‘It is the deed of the humble servant Mūbed ... (son of) Bahrām, the son of the deceased Mūbed ...!’

569 Probably the Dari form of *xānad*.

570 Probably the Dari form of *tama* طمع.

571 Written خسوس, a mistake for *xosūs* خصوص.

572 A mistake for *šāheb-e*.

573 It is not clear whether this place is a village or a quarter. In another part of this text, the scribe mentioned that he lived in Kerman; for this reason, Kūk, if written correctly, must be a village or a quarter in Kerman, which is no longer known.

574 A mistake for *payqambar*.

575 The exact meaning of the word *pošt* is not clear in this context. The word *pošt* generally means ‘back’ but it can also refer to the empty pages of a document. As these texts are not written on the back of the Avestan manuscripts, it can be imagined that the *pošt* refers here to the empty part of the Avestan manuscripts, for example, an empty page usually left before the ninth Fragrad and after colophons.

576 A similar verse occurs on Videvdād 11 of the Pouladi collection: *pošt-e daftar ze bahr-e ān bāšad* / The back of the notebook is there / *tā ze har kas be-dū nešān bāšad* / so that everyone can leave a mark in it. / *yādegārī ke dūst benvisad* / A memento written by a friend / *behtar az melk-e jāvdān bāšad* / is better than an everlasting kingdom!

577 This part has been deleted.

578 This part has been deleted.

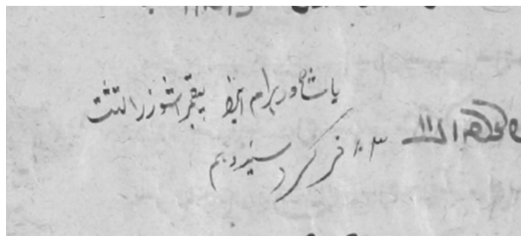


Image 37: MS. 4030, prayers and verses in Persian

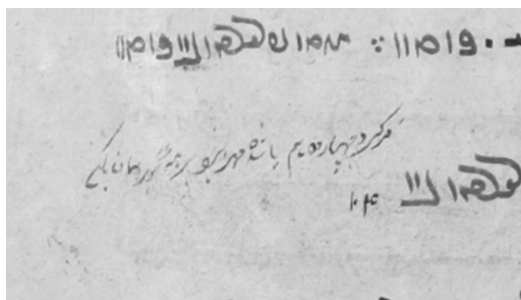


Image 39: MS. 4030, Persian prayers

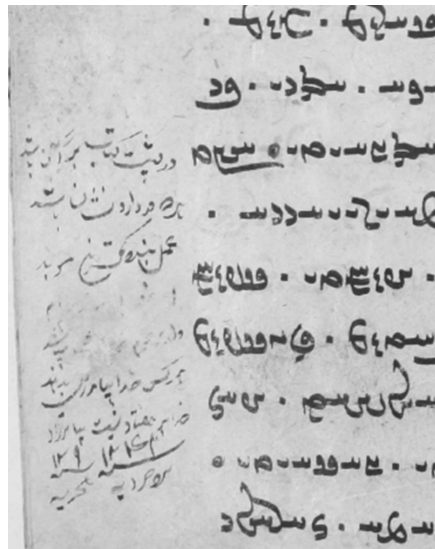


Image 38: MS. 4030: Prayers and verses in Persian

*har kas xodā bīyāmorzī bedahand*⁵⁷⁹
xodā bar haftād pošt bīyāmorzād

Everyone who offers prayers for forgiveness
 may God bless their seventy generations of
 ancestors.

Saneye 1242 yazdġerġyeh, saneye 1290
heġrġyeh

The year 1242 AY, the year 1290 Hejri

MS. 4030: Persian prayers, fol. 208r

- *Yā šāh mehr īzad! Bar hame-ye mūbed[ān]⁵⁸⁰ āsān⁵⁸¹ kon!*
 ‘O, Šāh Mehr Īzad! Make it easy for all Mūbeds!’

MS. 4030: Persian prayers, fol. 215v

- *Yā šāh aštād īzad! Bar hame-ye Mūbedān āsān⁵⁸² kon!*
 ‘O, Šāh Aštād Īzad! Make it easy for all Mūbeds!’

On page 221 recto, and at the beginning of the 16th Fragard, we find this short text:

- *Yā dādar⁵⁸³ ormazd-e pāk* ‘O, the holy Ormazd, the creator!’

⁵⁷⁹ In this manuscript, *har kas* often occurs with a plural verb and not with a singular verb as in Persian.

⁵⁸⁰ Not read by Jahanpour.

⁵⁸¹ Highly unlikely to be *hamān*, as suggested by Jahanpour (2011: XXXI).

⁵⁸² The word *āsān* is illegible. In comparison with similar texts, we can conclude that it might be *āsān*. Read *hamān* by Jahanpour (2011: XXXI).

⁵⁸³ A mistake for *dādār*:

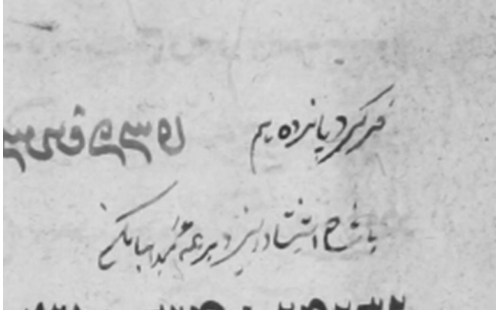


Image 40: MS. 4030, Persian prayers

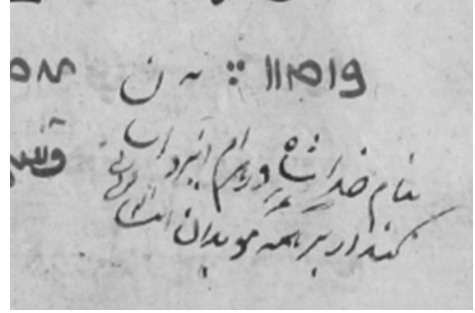


Image 41: MS. 4030, Persian prayers

MS. 4030: Persian note, fol. 226r

- *be-nām-e xodā* ‘In the name of God’

MS. 4030: Persian prayers, fol. 228v

- *Be-nām-e xodā. Šāh varahrām īzad āsān konad ū bar hame-ye mūbedān, enšāllāh ta‘ālā*⁵⁸⁴

‘In the name of God. May Šāh Varahrām Īzad make <it> easy for all Mūbeds. If the great God wills!’

MS. 4030: Persian note, fol. 258r

- *Tamām šod* ‘*omr-e došman* ‘The life of the enemy was over.’

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg, fol. 262r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e janat makānī, beheštī ravān, mūbed xodādād, xalf-e-marḥūm mūbed xodābaxš mūbed keyxosro, yōm dey-be mehr īzad, aḡ āzar māh-e qadīm, dar ḥasanābād*⁵⁸⁵ *be raḥmat-e ḥaq peyvaste šod. Saneye 1247 Yazdgerdīyeh.*

‘The death date of the paradise resident, the paradise soul, Mūbed Xodādād, the son of the deceased Xodābaxš Mūbed Keyxosro. (He) passed away to the mercy of God (on) the day Dey be Mehr Īzad, from the old month Āzar, in Ḥasanābād. The year 1247 AY.’

MS. 4030: Persian Sālmarg, fol. 263r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e janat makān,*⁵⁸⁶ *beheštī ravān, farangīs, bent-e marḥūm mūbed xodābaxš, marḥūm mūbed keyxosro, yōm, az dey māh-e qadīm dar raḥmat ābād-e tafti be-raḥmat-e ḥaq peyvaste šod. Saneye 1254 yazdgerdīyeh.*⁵⁸⁷

‘The death’s date of the paradise resident, the paradise soul, Farangīs, the daughter of the deceased Mūbed Xodābaxš, deceased Mūbed Keyxosro. She passed away to

⁵⁸⁴ Only a guess. Not read by Jahnepour (2011: XXXII).

⁵⁸⁵ The word *ābād*, which can be read easily, shows that the word could be the name of a village. The traces of the word before *ābād* appear to be closely similar to the word Ḥasan, which may refer to Ḥasan Ābād, a Zoroastrian village nearby Yazd. This is simply a guess. Another possibility would be Faṭḥ Ābād. Since there is no Zoroastrian village with this name, it is very unlikely that this reading is correct.

⁵⁸⁶ *makānī* is partly effaced and corrected as *makān*.

⁵⁸⁷ At the end of this Sālmarg, the capital letter *M*, is written six times as that which could be the first letter of the name of the scribe of the Sālmarg.

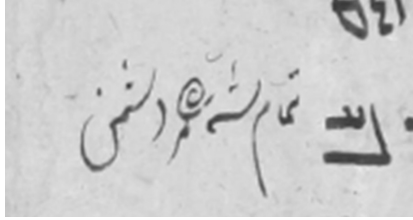


Image 42: MS. 4030, Persian prayers

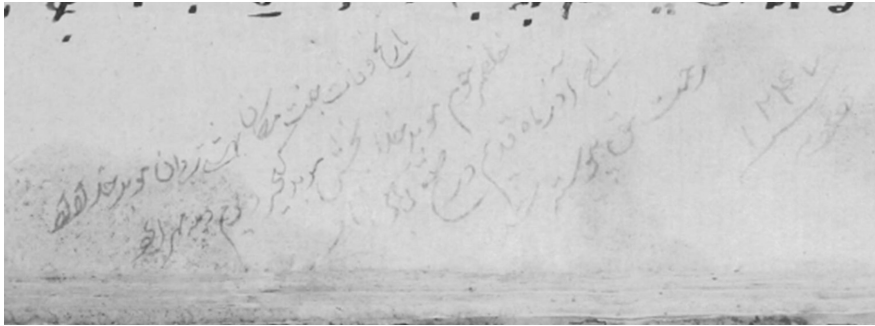


Image 43: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmargs

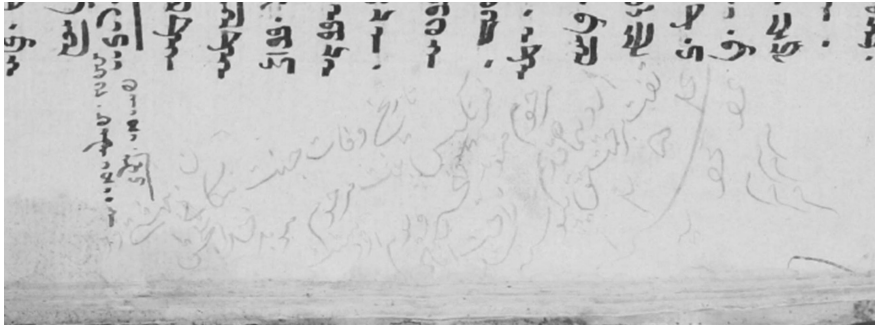


Image 44: MS. 4030, Persian Sālmargs

the mercy of God (on) the day Ordībehešt, the old month Dey in (the quarter) Rāḥat Ābād⁵⁸⁸ of (the city) Taft. The year 1254 AY.⁵⁸⁹

‘The death date of Dastūr Rostam Nūšervān ..., the old month ...’

⁵⁸⁸ Rāḥat Ābād is one of the Zoroastrian quarters in the city of Taft near Yazd.

⁵⁸⁹ The birthday date of the Farangīs was written on page 138 recto, and according to that reference as well as to this Sālmarg, she might have died at the age of 13.

4.1.6. MS. 4040

4.1.6.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (162v of ADA)

(1) frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud farroxīh rāmišn pad nēk dahišn xūb murw(2)āg ud xujastag rōzgār abestāg yašt wispared, jud-dēw-dād (3) abāg nērang rastag yazišnīhā. man dēn bandag frēdōn gōpadšāh rustōm (4) frēdōn gōpadšāh rustōm bundār šāhmardān dēnyār; nibišt hom (5) az bahr ī xwēš ^ ih ī hamāg^ pērōzgar ērdēšīr mihr ^ēb^ ān⁵⁹⁰, xwarrah-e ī sīyāvaxš.⁵⁹¹ (6) nibištōm kē tā 150 sālān kār pad ahlāyīh yazišn framāyēd⁵⁹² (7) pas az 150 sālān [be] ō frazandān ud frazand husraw [ī] dēn(8)bordār abespārēd. har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayā- (9)b pačēnīg⁵⁹³ az-iš kōnād ayāb yazišnīg pad-iš kunand, amā (10) rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīh yād kunād, ēg pad gētīh tan husraw (11) u-š pad mēnōg ruwān-ahlaw bawād. pad farrōxīh ud pērōzīh (12) rōz dēn pad ādur, az māh vahuman sāl bar (13) 1001 yazdgerd šāhānšāh nāfag be ō⁵⁹⁴ <ī> husraw šāhānšāh⁵⁹⁵ <second page> (14) **aēuuō. pantā. yō. ašahē.** ēk ast rāhīh (15) ahlāyīh abārīg ān ī jud-rāhīh. **šātō. manā. vahi(16)štō. uruuqnō,** šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān xwēš. (17) čand ahy mēnōg dastwarīh čihromayān wīštāspān bē ras(18)ād. dēn rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nēkīh rasād. har (19) kas⁵⁹⁶ pad kāmagīh xwēš tuwān bād zīwistan. **nōīg. ah- (20)mi. zazuua.597 yō. nōīg. urune. zazuua. nōīg. čah(21)mi. zazuša.** nē-š čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān grift. (22) tā nūn-īz nē čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān gīrēd. **naēčīš. ida.598 zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. ādare. mašīiāka.** (23) ēg-iš az dēwān sūd nē bawēd spitāmān zartušt nē-z az (24) ān ī wadag mardōm. čē agar-išān pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg- išan (25) sar zyān bawēd. ēdōn bawād. man ēn daftar az dastwar ī [partly effaced: Vīzan]⁵⁹⁹ [Margin: mānōščihr ī rustōm ‘amūy-e⁶⁰⁰ ī xwēš], (26) [partly effaced: šahryār]⁶⁰¹ az hamporsagīh ī [partly effaced: Gīv⁶⁰² spandyād⁶⁰³ Gīv], ^pēdar ī xwēš^ nibišt hom kē-šān ruwān garōdmānīg bād. ēdōn bawād, ēdōntar-iz ud pad (27) yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmag bād.

590 Written *mtr* ‘yp’n’ [Mīhrbān] instead of Mīhrbān. Read as *mehrbān* by Mazdapour (2010: 247).

591 Highly unlikely to be a mistake for *dast yazdānīg* ‘hand of God’. Unlikely *gēhānīg* as read by Cantera. See: <http://ada.usal.es/colofones/view/274>

592 Written *plmytyt*. In V 4025 *framāyēm* instead of *framāyēd*.

593 In 4010, also *pačēnīg*. In other manuscripts, we find *pačēn*.

594 A mistake for *ōy*.

595 After this word begins the second page of the colophon (fol. 163 r).

596 Written *AYŠ*.

597 In all manuscripts, *zazuša*, with exception of V 4025 and 4062, in which we find the same form as in this manuscript, i.e., *zazuua*. A question arises here whether the form *zazuua* demonstrates a connection between these manuscripts.

598 In 4063 and Vyt 5020 (K4), it is likewise *ida*. In 4030 and 4045, it is *ađa*.

599 Read by Cantera (ibid.).

600 Persian word *عمّ* meaning ‘uncle’. Unlikely a word with the meaning ‘teacher’ as suggested by Cantera (ibid.) or *ham pēdar* as read by Mazdapour (2010: 248).

601 Read by Cantera (ibid.).

602 Written [gwn]. Unlikely *gawr*, meaning ‘Zoroastrian’ and ‘man’ in Zoroastrian Dari.

603 Probably a mistake for *šfandyār*.

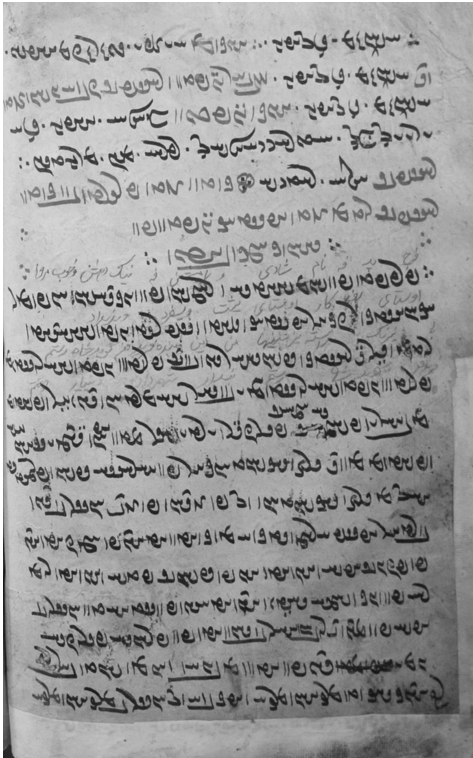


Image 45: MS. 4040, first Middle Persian colophon, first page

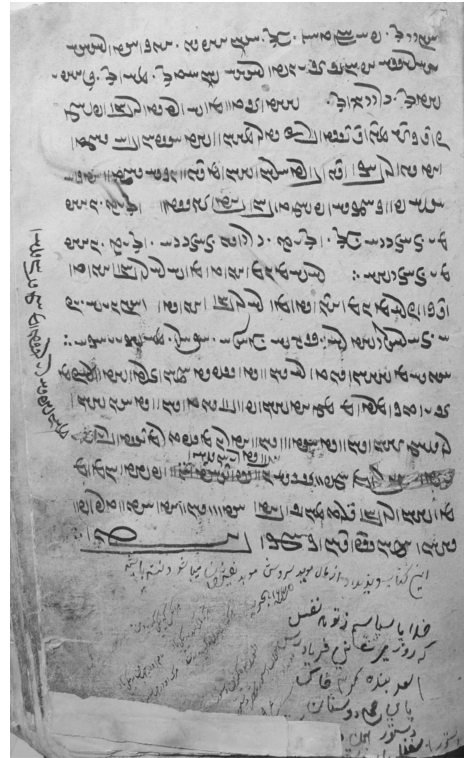


Image 46: MS. 4040, first Middle Persian colophon, second page

4.1.6.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy, glory, pleasure and in good fate and good (2) omen, and blessed time, The Avesta of Yašt Wīspərəd Juddēwdād (3) with Nērangs and ritual series.⁶⁰⁴ I, the servant of religion, Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustōm (4) Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustēm Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnyār have written <it>. I have written <it> (5) for the possession of the eternal, victorious Ērdēšīr Mihrābān, having the glory of Sīyāvaxš, (6) in order that one celebrates Yazišn ceremony with it with righteousness for 150 years, (7) and after 150 years entrusts it to his good famed and faithful (8) children. Everybody who would recite it or teach it or make a (9) copy of it or celebrate a ceremony with it and remember us (10) in good name and righteous soul, may he be of good famed body in the material world (11) and of pious soul in the spiritual world. In joy and victory, (12) on the day Day pad Ādur of the month Wahman of the year (13) 1001 of Yazdegird, king of kings, the grandson of Husraw, King of Kings. (14) **There is only one way, and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way (15) of piety, and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and the paradise** (16) soul, s/he would be glad in body, (the one) who would improve her/his soul. (17) May he reach <it> as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wīštāsp! (18) May the

604 These are ritual directions.

religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. (19) May everyone be able to live according to his wish. (20–22) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. (22–23) And, **O Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit from evil inside men.** Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, O Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from (24) the bad men. Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then in (25) the end there is injury (for) them. May it be so! I have written this book⁶⁰⁵ from (the book of) Dastūr Vīžan Šahryār [Margin: Mānōšcihr Rustōm, his own uncle] (26) in dialog with Zo-roastrian man Sfandyād ^his own father^ whose soul might be in the paradise. May it be so! May it (be) still more so. May it be (27) according to the will of Yazats and Amahrspands!’

4.1.6.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (295v–296v of ADA)

(1) frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk dahišn(2)īh xūb murwāg ud xujastag⁶⁰⁶ rōzgār abestāg yašt wispared, (3) jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag yazišnīhā. man dēn bandag (4) frēdōn gōpadšāh rustōm frēdōn gōpadšā rustōm bundār (5) šāhmardān dēnyār, nibištōm frāz hištōm az pačēn ud daftar-e (6) šahryārīh ērdēšīr ērēz rustahm ērēz kabād nibištōm (7) frāz hišt andar az xwēšīh [ī] hamāg⁶⁰⁷ pērōzgarīh ē^rdē^ šīr mehrbān √ērdēšīr⁶⁰⁸ <second page> (8). [... kē tā 150 sālān pad ah]lāyīh yazišn framāyēd (9) pas [az 150 sālān be ō⁶⁰⁹ frazandān ud frazand hus]raw dēn-burdār abesp(10)ār[ēd. har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayā]b pačēnīg az-iš kōnād (11) ay[āb yazišnīg pad-iš kunand, amā rāy pad nēk]nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīh (12) yā[d kunād, ēg pad gētih tan husraw u]-š pad mēnōg ruwān-ahlaw (13) [bawād. kē-š nām-e man kē nibištā]r hom az-iš awestarēd (14) ay[āb judtar kunēd ...] awestarēd u-š gētih (15) tan[dusraw ud pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād u-š] hamēmāl ham pad dādwar ī (16) dā[dār Ohrmazd. pad hanjāman īsawdāstarān] zarduštān. pad farrōxīh (17) ud p[ērōzīh rūz ī ... ud māh ī ... sāl] bar 1002 ^pas az 20 be ō⁶¹⁰ ī ^ yazdgerd šāhān-(18)šā[h nāfag be ō⁶¹¹ <ī> husraw šāhānšāh] ohrmazdān pad yazdān (19) kām[ag bawād ēdōn bawād, ēdōn tar-i]z bawād. (20) aē[uuō pantā yō ašahē]. ēk ast rāhih (21) ah[lāyīh, abārīg ān jud-rāhih. šātō] manā vahīš(22)tō uruuqnō, šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān [ī] xwēš (23) čand ahy mēnōg dastwar čihromayān wīštāspān bē rasād dēn (24) rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nēkih rasād har kas pad kāmāgīh (25) xwēš tuwān bawād zīwistan. nōiṭ ahmi zazuša yō (26) nōiṭ urune zazuša nōiṭ čahmi zazuša. nē-š č-(27)īš grift kē-š nē ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē čīš gīrēd kē nē ruwān <third page>, (28) gīrēd. naēčīš aḏa z[araθuštra sūš ya]θa h(29)ūm ādare mašīiaka. [ēg-iš az dēwān sūd nē bawēd] (30) spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az [ān ī wadag mardōm. čē agar-iš]ān pad bun sūd (31) bawēd, ēg-išān sar zyān [bawēd. ēdōn bawād man ēn daf]tar az dast-(32)war ī [partly effaced: Vīžan šahryār] ^mānōšcihr ī rustōm ^am[ūy ī xwēš]^, az ham[porsagīh ī ...] nibišt ho-(33)m kē-šān ruwān garōdmān[īg bād. ēdōn bawād, ēdōntar-iz ^bād^ ud pad (34) yazdān ud amahrspandān [kāmāg bād].

605 Translated *daftar* by Cantera as ‘colophon’ (ibid.). *Daftar* means ‘book, manuscript’.

606 Written *hwpystik*’.

607 Written *hm*’yyg.

608 The second *ērdēšīr* appears to be only a repetition.

609 A mistake for *ōy*.

610 A mistake for *ōy*.

611 A mistake for *ōy*.

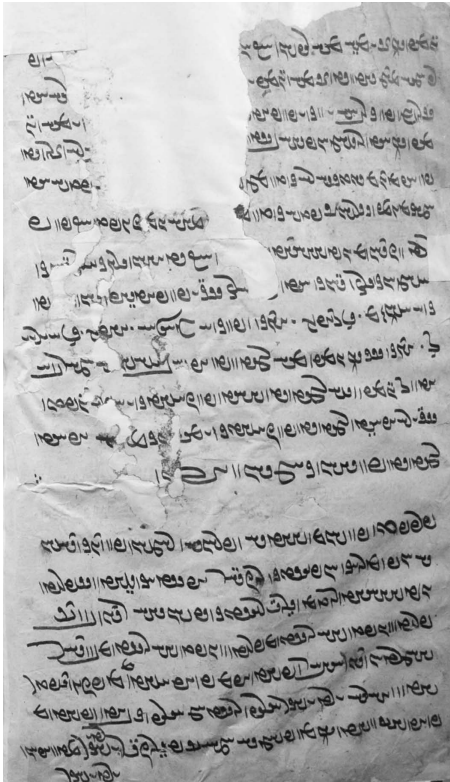


Image 47: MS. 4040, Second Middle Persian colophon, First page

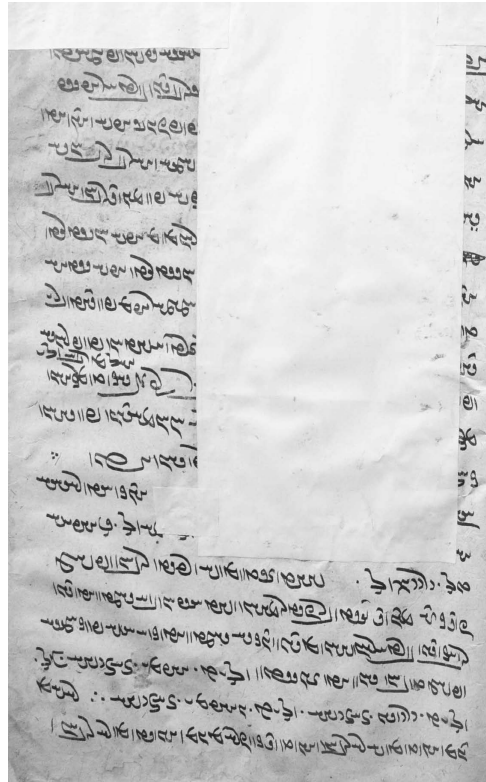


Image 48: MS. 4040, Second Middle Persian colophon, second page

4.1.6.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy, glory, pleasure and in good fate (2) and good omen, and blessed time, the Avesta of Yašt Wīspərəd (3) Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series I, the servant of religion, (4) Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustōm Frēdōn Gōpadšāh Rustēm Bundār (5) Šāhmardān Dēnyār have written and launched⁶¹² <it>. I have written and launched <it> from a copy of the manuscript of (6) Šahryār Ērdēšīr Ērēz Rustahm Ērēz Kabād for the possession of the eternal and (7) victorious Ērdēšīr Mehrbān,⁶¹³ in order that (8) one celebrates Yazīšn ceremony with it with righteousness for 150 years, (9) and after 150 years entrusts it to his good famed and faithful children. (10) Everybody who would recite <it> or teach <it> or make a copy of it (11) or celebrate a ceremony with it and remember us (12) in good name and righteous soul, may he be of good famed body in the material world and of pious soul in the spiritual world. (13) Anybody who would erase my name, I who am the scribe, or throw it away, ... (14) (and) remove it, may he be of (15) ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of (16) the judge,

612 Translated 'sent' by Cantera (ibid.).

613 In the first colophon of this manuscript, the adjective *dast yazdānīh* is used with Ērdēšīr Mehrbān.

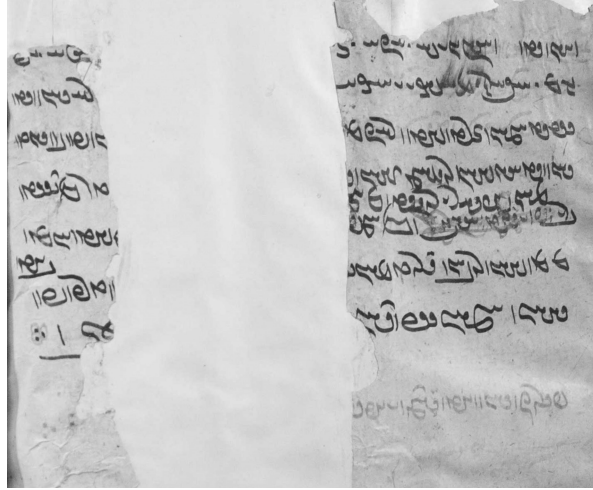


Image 49: MS. 4040, Second Middle Persian colophon, third page

Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstarān.⁶¹⁴ In joy (17) and victory, on the day ... of the month ..., the year 1002 of the year 20 of Yazdegird, king of kings, the grandson of Husraw, King (18) of Kings, the son of Ormazd. It would be according to the will of Yazdān. (19) May it be so! May it be still more so! (20) **There is only one way, and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of (21) piety, and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and (22) the paradise soul**, s/he would be glad in body, (the one) who would improve her/his soul. (23) May he reach <it> as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wīštāsp! (24) May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. May everyone (25) be able to live according to his wish. (26–28) S/h has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. (28) And, **O Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit (29) from evil inside men.** Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, (30) O Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from the bad men. Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, (31) then in the end there is injury (for) them. May it be so! I have written this book for (32) Dastūr Vīzan Šahryār ^Mānōšcihr Rustōm, his own uncle^ in dialog with ...⁶¹⁵ (33) I have written <it> in order that their soul will be of the paradise. May it be so! May it (be) still more so. May it be according to the will of (34) Yazats and Amahrspands!’

4.1.6.5. Persian ownership note and verses, fol. 162v

- *Īn ketāb-e vandīdād az māl-e mūbed sorūš mūbed nūšīrvān mībāšad, daneste bāšīd. 1635 hejriyeh*

⁶¹⁴ Īsadwāstar, the son of Zoroaster, was the mythological ancestor of Mūbeds. At the end of the world all human beings will gather in the assembly of Īsadwāstar (Bahar 1996: 286).

⁶¹⁵ By comparison with the first colophon, it can be posited that the missing part would be ‘Zoroastrian man Sfandyād, his own father’.

‘This book of Vandīdād belongs to Mūbed Sorūš Mūbed Nūšīrvān. You might know.
1635 Hejri.’

*xodāyā sepāsam ze to har nafas
ke rūzī resānī yo faryādras*

O, God! I thank you for each breath
because you are generous and helper

Al-^c abd bande-ye kamtarīn xāk-e pāy-e jam^c-e dūstān. Dastūr bahman ...dastūr esfand[yār]

...

‘The servant, the humble servant, the dust beneath the feet of all friends. Dastūr Bahman ...
Dastūr Esfandyār ...’

*Har ānkas ke nīkī konad yād-e man
sarafrāz [bādā be har] anjoman⁶¹⁶*

Everyone who remembers me kindly,
may they stand proud in every gathering

Hova

He!

*har ke mārā konad be nīkī yād
nām-e ū dar jahān be nīkī bād
har ke rā be dēl bad gūyad bad andīšad*

Everyone who remembers us kindly,
may their name be esteemed in this world.
For anyone who speaks or harbors ill will
towards us

marg-e ū dar jahān ...⁶¹⁷

may their end in this world be...

*Al-^c abd bande-ye kamtarīn dastūr ...⁶¹⁸ mehrabān⁶¹⁹ dastūr ardešīr⁶²⁰ dastūr ...⁶²¹ māvandād
san[eye] ...⁹⁶⁶²²*

‘The servant, the humble servant, Dastūr ... Mehrabān Dastūr Ardešīr Dastūr ... Māvandād,
the year ...96.’

MS. 4040: Persian Sālmargs and Nozūdi notes, fol. 294r

- *Vafāt nemūdan, xodā bīyāmorzī-ye dastūr ardešīr dastūr mehrabān⁶²³ dastūr ... dastūr
sīyāvaxš az rūz-e māntresfand ... āzarmāh-e qadīm, saneye 187 hejriye[^]*

‘The late Dastūr Ardešīr Dastūr Mehrabān Dastūr... Dastūr Sīyāvaxš passed away on
Māntresfand, ... , during the old month of Āzar, in the year 1870⁶²⁴ Hejri.’

616 This part is almost illegible. However, the traces favour this reading. This verse can also be found in the Persian colophon of V 4025.

617 The rest of this verse has been covered by the restored part.

618 This word is below the restored part.

619 Quite certain.

620 The traces of the letters favour this reading.

621 This word is under the restored part.

622 The two first digits are under the restored part.

623 Quite certain.

624 Quite uncertain.

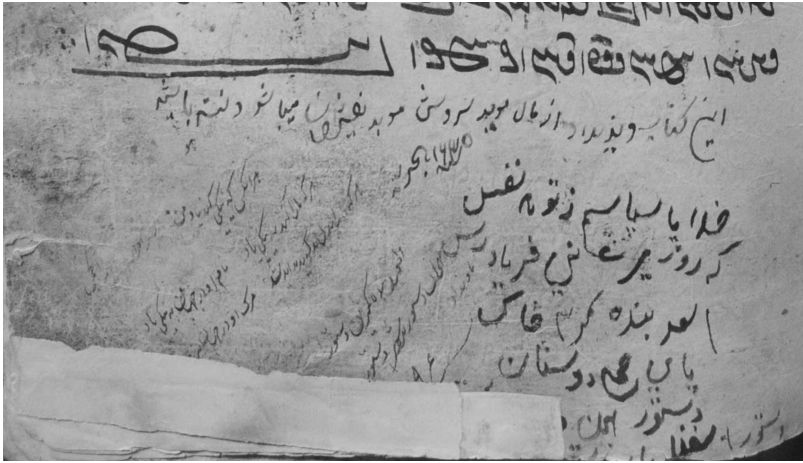


Image 50: MS. 4040, Persian ownership note and verses

- *Vafāt nemūdan, xodā bīyāmorzī-ye bānū dastūr sorūš be-tarīx-e yōm ōrmazd bozārgvār*,⁶²⁵ *aʃ esfand māh-e qadīm, berahmat-e*⁶²⁶ *haq peyvaste šode. har kas xodā bīyāmorzī be ān marhūm bedahand xodā bar haftād pošt-e ōšān bīyāmorzād*,⁶²⁷ *saneye 1239 yazdġerdīyeh.*

‘Bānū Dastūr Sorūš passed away on the day of Ōrmazd, the generous, in the old month of Esfand, and went to God’s mercy. Anyone who blesses the deceased may God bless seventy generations of their ancestors. The year is 1239 AY.’

- *Az dast xaṭ-e*⁶²⁸ *haqīr mūbed nūšīrvān mūbed sorūš vaqī ke nozād šode. saneye hezār devīst*⁶²⁹ *čehel o čahār*⁶³⁰ *būde. dānīd. dīgar*⁶³¹ *xoda negahdārī xodā bīyāmorzī bedahad*.⁶³² *xodā v vand-e v ālamīyān bar haftād pošt-e šomāyān morzād, saneye 1244*

‘From the hand of the humble Mūbed Nūšīrvān Mūbed Sorūš, at the time of his Nozūd. The year was 1244. Be aware and extend God’s protection and blessings. May the God of the world bless seventy generations of your ancestors. The year 1244.’

⁶²⁵ A mistake for *bozorgvār*.

⁶²⁶ Written رحمت instead of rahmat رحمت.

⁶²⁷ Written *bīyāmorzād*.

⁶²⁸ Only a guess.

⁶²⁹ It appears that the next word after *devīst* and before *čehel* has been effaced.

⁶³⁰ It is illegible. At the end of this text, the year occurs in numbers, and this number and last digit would be understood as *čahār*. But here, it is likely *do* ‘two’.

⁶³¹ Uncertain.

⁶³² Probably a mistake for *bedahy d*.

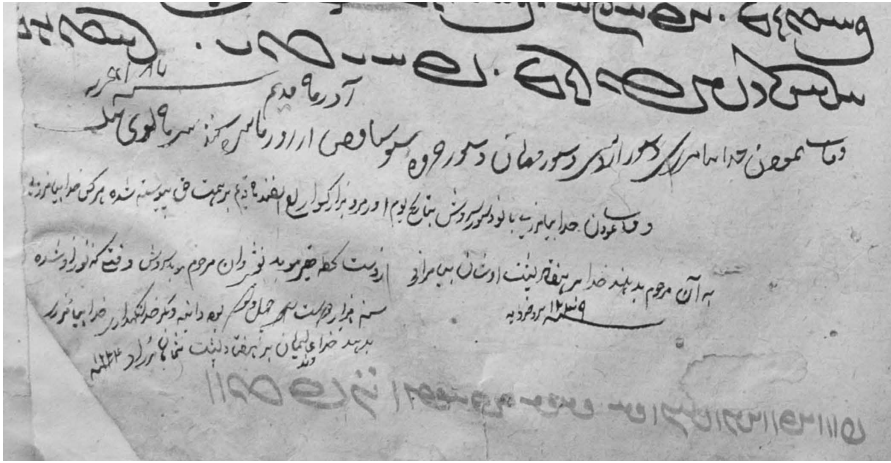


Image 51: MS. 4040, Persian Sālmarg and Nozūdi notes

4.1.7. MS. 4045

4.1.7.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud farroxīh ud šādīh ud rāmišn, pad nēk (2) dahišn ud xūbmurwāg xuḡastag rōzgār; abēstāg yašt, (3) wisparēd, juddēwdād abāg nērang, rastag yazišnīhā (4) man [ī] dēn bandag mihrebān⁶³³ anōšagruwān wāhrōmšāh ī ērdēšīr (5) ī wāhrōmšāh nibištōm frāz hištōm az pačēn <second page> (6) hamāg pērozgarīh rōstahm anōšagruwān wahōman-ayār kē tā (7) 150 sālān pad ahlāyīh ud yazišn kār fram[āyād](8) kē⁶³⁴ tā dastwarān ud dēnyārān dastwar zādagān kē xwānand ayāb (9) hammōzand ayāb pačēn-īg az-iš kunand ayāb ayāzišnīg⁶³⁵ pad-iš kunand (10) amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw ruwānīg ayād kunād. ēg-iš (11) gētih tan husraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. kē-(12)š nām ī man kē nibištār hom az-iš awestarēd kē awesta-(13)rēd u-š gētih tan dusraw ā-š⁶³⁶ pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād (14) u-š hamēmāl ham pad dādwar dādār ohrmazd. andar farrōxīh (15) pērōzīh, rōz srōš, māh wahoman, sāl bar 1004, pas (16) az sāl 20 be yazdgerd, šāhān šāh nāfak be o⁶³⁷ husraw (17) šāhānšāh ohrmazdān, pad yazdān kāmag bawād, ēdōn (18) [bawā]d, ēdōntar-iz bawād. **aēuuō paḡtā yō a(19)[ša]hē.** ēk ast rāhīh⁶³⁸ ahlāyīh, abārīg ān ī jud(20)[rā]h. **šātō. manā. vahištō. uruuq(21)[nō].** šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān xwēš. čand ahy mēnōg (22) [dast]warīh čihromayān wištāspān bē rasād dēn (23) rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nēkih ī⁶³⁹ rasād; har ...⁶⁴⁰ (24) nē-š čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān grift, tā nūn-iz nē čīš

633 Written *mtr* 'yp 'n'

634 From this part the colophon is written by the second hand.

635 A mistake for *yazišnīg*.636 A mistake for *u-š*.637 A mistake for *ōy*.638 A mistake for *rāh ī*.

639 Must be deleted.

640 This part is omitted: *kas pad kāmag ī xwēš tuwān bawād zīwistan. nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuša. nōiṭ. cahmi. zazuša*

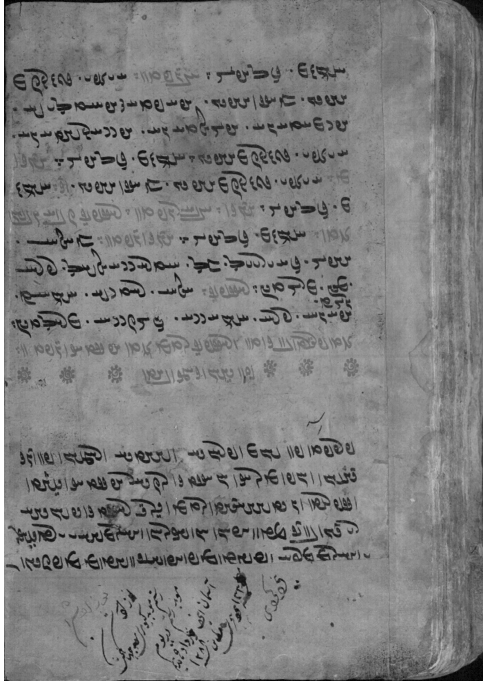


Image 52: MS. 4045, Middle Persian colophon, first page

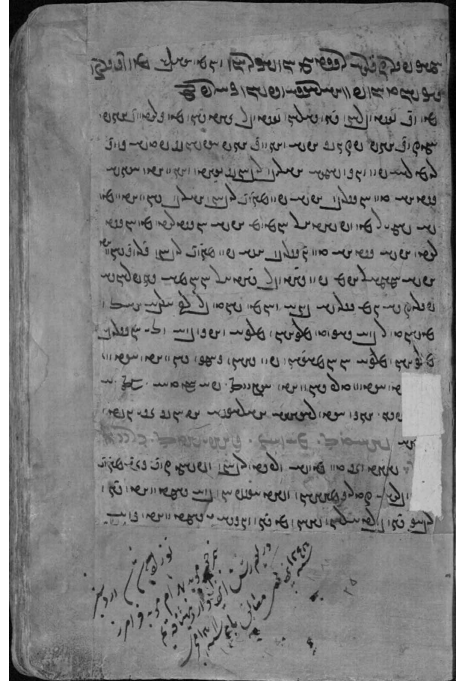


Image 53: Middle Persian colophon, second page

(25) *gīrēd kē nē ruwān gīrēd. naēciš. iḏa. zaraθ(26)uštra. sīš.641 yaθa. hīm.642 ādare. maš(27)iiāka. ēg-iš az dēwān sūd nē bawēd spētēmān*⁶⁴³ (28) *zarāhtaxšt*⁶⁴⁴ *nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm. čē agar-šān pad bun* (29) *sūd bawēd ēg-šān sar zyān bawēd. ēdōn bawād* (30) *pad kāmagīh ohrmazd xwadāy.*

4.1.7.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy, happiness and pleasure, in good (2) fate and good omen, and blessed time Yašt of Avesta, (3) Wīšperad, Juddēwdād, with Nērang, ritual series, has been written and completed (4) by me, the servant of the religion, Mihrēbān Anōšagruwān Wāhrōmšāh (5) Ērdēšīr Wāhrōmšāh, from a manuscript of (6) all victory of Rustahm Anōšagruwān Wahoman-ayār, in order that it be used (7) 150 years with righteousness. (8) In order that when Dastūrs or Dēnyārs or the children of Dastūrs read it or (9) teach it or make a copy of it or celebrate ceremonies (with it), (10) should remember us with good name and righteous soul. Then, (11) they should have a good famed body in the material world and a righteous soul in that world. (12) Anybody who would erase my name, I who am the scribe so that he would throw it away, (13) may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of

641 A mistake for *sūš*. The confusion of *ī* and *ū* can be found in various Safavid manuscripts.

642 Instead of *hūm*. Ibid.

643 Written *spyty'm* 'n.

644 Written *zr'htxšt*.

ashamed soul in the spiritual world, (14) and I would be the plaintiff in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd. On the auspicious and (15) victorious day, Srōš, the month Wahoman of the year 1004, (16) after the 20th (year) of the reign of his Majesty Yazdgerd, (17) king of kings, descendant of Husraw, king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd. May it be according to the will of the Yazdān. May it (18) be so, may it be more so! **There is only one way, (19) and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of piety and the other ones are (20) heresy. **Happiness and the paradise soul, (21)** he would be glad in body, (the one) who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world (22) Chihromayān, son of Wištāsp! May the religion (23) spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. May everyone ... (24) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, (25) who does not win anything for her/his soul. **And, O Spitāmān (26) Zardosht, there is no benefit from evil inside (27) men.** Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, (28) O Spitāmān Zarathushtra, and no benefit from the bad men. Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, (29) then in the end there is injury (for) them. May it be so! (30) May it be according to the will of Ohrmazd, God!’

4.1.7.3. *Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon, fol. 160r*

...⁶⁴⁵yam aval be nām e xōda

First, in the name of God

pas āngah konam qeše ra ebtedā

Then I begin the story

ze man bešno ey āqel-e nāmvar

O wise and renowned, hear from me!

ke gūyam man īn qeše rā sar be sar

For I will tell this story completely:

...⁶⁴⁶īn daftar az bahr-e kīst

Who does this book belong to, you may ask?

begūyam ke ān mard rā nām čīst

I would tell you the name of that man,

yekī mard-e šādast o rōšan ravān

A man of happy and bright soul.

xodaš rostam⁶⁴⁷ o bāb nūšīrvān

His name is Rostam and his father is Nušīrwān,

[nīyā]⁶⁴⁸ rā⁶⁴⁹ nām bod bahmyār⁶⁵⁰

His grandfather was named Bahmanyār,

nekū mard o dastūr o parhīzgār

a good man, a Dastūr, and a chaste man.

pedar bar pedar mūbed o pārsā

Both his father and grandfather were priests and pious.

645 Because of the restoration of the spine of the book, the first word at the beginning of each line is not visible.

646 This part has been altered.

647 His name and the date of his death have been recorded among the Sālmargs of this manuscript: ‘The death date of holy soul, Dastūr Rostam Nūšīrvān Bahmanyār, on the day Ard Īzad, the month Xordād, the old month, the year 1054 AY (1685 AD), on Ša’bān 22, the year 1096 Ghamari.’ According to this Sālmarg and the Persian colophon of the manuscript, we find out that he died fifty years after the end of scribing this manuscript.

648 Quite certain. On account of *nīyā* meaning ‘grandfather’ and according to the Sālmargs of this manuscript, we know that Bahmanyār was the grandfather of Rostam.

649 Only two last letters *rā* of the first word have remained.

650 An abbreviation of Bahmanyār, the grandfather of Rostam. Among the Sālmargs of this manuscript, we find also the name and the death dates of another member of the Bahmanyār family, Māvandād Dastūr Rostam Nūšervān Bahmanyār, deceased on the day Ormazd, the month Tīr, the old month, the year 1047 AY (1678 AD).

hame rûze dar zêkr o fekr-e xodâ
 ...⁶⁵¹ *în mard-e pâk e' teqâd*
ma râ goft ey âqel-e pâkzâd
yekî nosxe benvîs az bahr-e man
ke mânâd ze man nâm dar anjoman
[nevešta]m man in daftar az dîn o dâd

ke nâm-e va râ hast jad-dîv-dâd
sepâs az xodavand-e parvardegâr
ke çandân amân dîdam az rûzegâr
 ...âm⁶⁵² *în ketâb az nahâd*
ze bahr-e çenân mard-e pâk e' teqâd
ke har lahze o har zamân xânâd-aš
ravân o xerad râ bar afrûzad-aš
 ...âl⁶⁵³ *xânâd be 'eyš o be nâz*
pas ânke sepârad be farzand bâz
omîdam ke farzand e û hamçenîn
sepârad be farzand az râh-e dîn

 ...nâ⁶⁵⁴ *sîyâvšâns-e firûzgar*

sepârand in nosxe bā yekdegar
elâhî ke in nām bordār mard
mabînad hargez qam o ranj o dard
 ...⁶⁵⁵ *xandân lab o šādmân*
be šādî čo gol beškofad har zamân⁶⁵⁶
har ânkas bovad dûstaš šad bād

hamîše ze ranj o qam âzād bād

[har ân ka]s ke in mard râ došman ast
be joz xāk-e tîre mabād-aš nešast

Every day he was consumed with thoughts
 of God,
 Such was this holy believer.
 He told me, 'O wise one, of holy birth,
 Scribe a manuscript for me,
 So that my name may live on in society.'
 I have written this book about religion and
 laws,
 its name is Videvdâd
 Thanks be to God, the Creator,
 That to that extent we may be safe from fate.
 This book I scribe from the basis
 For such a devout man,
 So that he may read it at every moment,
 It ignites his soul and wisdom,
 May he read it with joy and pleasure,
 And pass it on to his child.
 I hope that his child too,
 May pass it on to his children, in the way of
 religion,
 And may they be victorious like the
 Sîyâvšâns
 This manuscript is entrusted to each other
 Oh, God! may this prominent man
 never see sorrow or pain!
 May he always be cheerful and happy,
 flourishing like a flower.
 May all who are friends with him also be
 happy,
 and may he always be free from pain and
 sorrow.
 As for those who oppose this man,
 may they find no seat but the dark soil.

651 This part has been altered.

652 Only the two last letters *âm* of the first word have remained.

653 Only the two last letters *âl* of the first word have remained.

654 Only the two last letters *nâ* of the first word have remained.

655 The first word is not visible.

656 Quite certain.

del-e dūstān-aš čo xorram bahār

del-e došmanān-aš por az nūk-e xār

[*badandī*]⁶⁵⁷ *o badxāh-e ū kūr bād*
hame sāle az dard ranjūr bād
*har ānkas ke badxāh-e rostam*⁶⁵⁸ *bovad*
elāhī hamīše be mātām bovad

*čo*⁶⁵⁹ *xānī to īn daftar ey rūzbeh*
be mā o be rostam xodāmorz deh

*har ān kas ke īn nosxe āmōzad-aš*⁶⁶⁰
ke az rūy-e īn nosxe benvīsad-aš
...⁶⁶¹ hame sāle šād
be nīkī biyārānd kāteb be yād
agar nām-e kāteb nadārī ʾayān
pedar xānde nām marā mehrabān
...⁶⁶² nām-e bābam anūšīrvān
tan-aš šād bād o anūšah ravān

nīyā-am bod-aš nām bahrāmšāh
*elāhī bovad ...aš*⁶⁶³ *jāyghāh*
[neveštam man] īn daftar az bahr-e ān
ke mānad ze man nām andar jahān
čo mūbed yazešnī konad zīn ketāb
ma rā bahre bersānad ū az šavāb
[neveš]tam man īn xat ke tā rūzegār
barāyad bemānad ze man yādegār
yaqīnam ke gītī nadārād baqā
bovad beh ke benvīsam har jā do ʾā

May the hearts of his friends be like a blooming spring,

while the hearts of his enemies be filled with the tips of thorns.

May those who wish him ill become blind, suffering pain each year.

Whoever bears malice towards Rostam
 Oh, God! – let him be perpetually in mourning.

When you read this book, Oh, fortunate one! deliver us and Rostam a prayer for forgiveness.

Everyone who teaches this manuscript or makes a copy of that may be happy each year.

May they remember the scribe kindly.
 If you do not know the scribe's name my father named me Mehrabān and his name was Anūšīrvān.

May his body be happy and his soul immortal.

My grandfather was named Bahrāmšāh -
 Oh, God! let his place be...

I wrote this book so that my name would remain in this world
 When a Mūbed celebrates Yazīšn with it, he may share the reward with me.

I wrote this manuscript, to remain after my time is over.

I am certain that the world will not last, so, it's better that I write prayers everywhere.

657 Quite uncertain.

658 Probably Rostam Nūšīrvān Bahmanyār (?).

659 Quite certain.

660 It seems that the enclitic pronoun –aš is a subject marker and refers to *har ān kas* 'everybody'.

661 This part has been altered.

662 This part has been altered.

663 Uncertain. Highly unlikely x-t-š because it would lack meaning.

[*be far*]⁶⁶⁴ *inke rūzī magar īn savād*

bexānand o ārand mā rā be yād

be nīkī har ān kas konad yād-e man

*sarafrāz bādā be har anjoman*⁶⁶⁵

[*har ānk*]*as ke mārā bīyārad be yād*

be gītī va °oqbā bīyābad morād

har ān kas ke mā rā xodāmorz dād

ze mā ham bedū šad xodāmorz bād

[*har ānk*]*as be zeštī barad nām-e man*

bovad xašm-e ū dāvar-e zolamman

har ān kas konad ġeybatam dar nahān

*elāhī bovad rūšīyah*⁶⁶⁶ *dar jahān*

... sar afkande o šarmsār

bovad šarmsār az bar-e kardegār

ze xānande dāram ṭama° īn qadar

ke āmorzešam xāhad az dādgar

[*ze xā*]*nandegān hast īn xāhešam*⁶⁶⁷

ke az haq bexāhand āmorzešam

agar sahv bīnad bedīn xaṭ-e man

bepūšad be har majles o anjoman

...š konad sahvā-ye ketāb

bedīn korfehā bād ū ham šavāb

har ān kas konad sahv-e īn xat dorost

negahdār-e ū dāvar-e zand-dōst

[*agar*]⁶⁶⁹ *če por-e sahv o °eyb o xaṭāst*

Given that this manuscript will be read one day,

they will read it and remember us.

Everyone who remembers me kindly may stand proud in every gathering.

Anyone who remembers us, may find desire in this world and the next.

Everyone who delivers us a prayer for forgiveness,

from us too, a hundred prayers for forgiveness to them.

Everyone who speaks ill of me, may the God of beneficence be their adversary.

Everyone who speaks behind my back, Oh, God – let them bear guilt in the material world,

let them feel shame and embarrassment, especially in the presence of God.

To the reader, I ask that you would seek my forgiveness from God.

I expect of the reader

my forgiveness from God.

If you find any errors in my manuscript, please overlook them in every assembly and association.

... the errors of the book

You will be rewarded for this good deed.

Anyone who corrects the errors of this manuscript,

may their protector be God, the lover of Zand⁶⁶⁸

Even though it is full of errors, problems, and mistakes,

664 Uncertain.

665 Anjoman means 'society, community, association'.

666 Literally 'black face'.

667 This part has been damaged.

668 Probably here the word means 'Avesta' and not commentaries and translations of the Avesta's texts.

669 Uncertain.

‘aḡab nīst bī ‘eyb yektā xodāst
magīr ‘eyb bar xaṭam ey hošyār

ke būdam del āzorde az rūzegār
delam ġūte mīxord dar baḡr-e xūn
az ān ast gar hast⁶⁷⁰ īn xat zabūn
bedārīd ma‘zūr xānandegān
ze gostāxī-ye bande ey bexradān

har ān kas ke nām-e marā esparīd⁶⁷¹
va yā xod ze daftar konad nāpadīd
hamālam⁶⁷² ū rā be pūl-e šerāṭ
ġam o dard bīnad be jāy-e nešāṭ

tamat saneye 1004 yazdġerdīye

No wonder, only the unique God is flawless
Do not find faults with my manuscript, Oh
wise one!

For I have been beleaguered by the world,
my heart immersed in a sea of blood,
therefore, this manuscript is imperfect.
I ask for your understanding, readers
and forgiveness for my insolence, Oh wise
ones!

If anyone removes my name,
or erases it from the manuscript,
I will complain at the Šerāṭ bridge.⁶⁷³
They may find sorrow and pain instead of
happiness.

This was finished in the year 1004 AY.⁶⁷⁴

670 Uncertain.

671 Uncertain.

672 Uncertain.

673 Al-Širāṭ Bridge (correspond to čīnwad pohl in Zoroastrianism), according to Islam, is the bridge that is narrow as a hair and the one on which every Muslim must pass on the ‘Day of Judgment’ to enter paradise; below this bridge are the fires of hell.

674 1635 AD.

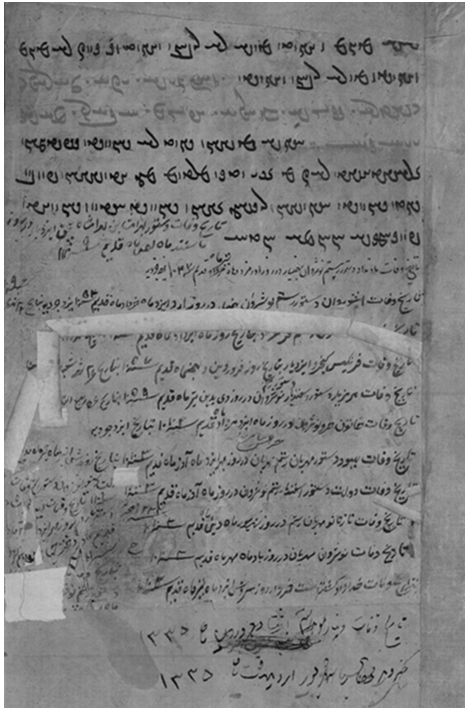


Image 54: MS. 4045, Middle Persian colophon, third page and Sālmargs



Image 55: MS. 4045, Persian colophon and Sālmargs

4.1.7.4. Persian Sālmargs, front end paper

- 25 Sālegī,⁶⁷⁵ *vafāt-e dīnyār mūbed rostam, yōm aštād, farvardīn mäh, saneye 1336.*⁶⁷⁶
‘At the age of 25. The death of Dīnyār Mūbed Rostam, the day Aštād, the month Farvardīn, the year 1336.’
- *Vafāt-e hormozdyār mūbed jahānbaxš, yōm ...,*⁶⁷⁷ 38 sālēgī, *saneye 1335*
‘The death of Hormozdyār Mūbed Jahānbaxš, the day ..., at the age of 38, the year 1335.’
- 7 Sālēgī, *haft sālēgī, vafāt-e xosro mūbed hormazdyār, yōm ordībehešt [effaced: Xord], šahrīvar mäh, saneye 1336*
‘At the age of 7, at the age of seven, the death of Xosro Mūbed Hormazdyār, the day Ordībehešt, the month Šahrīvar, the year 1336.’
- *Vafāt-e ardešīr bahrām ..., yōm-e farvardīn, farvardīnmāh, saneye 1327, 30*⁶⁷⁸ sālēgī
‘The death of Ardešīr Bahrām ..., the day Farvardīn, the month farvardīn, the year 1327, at the age of 30’

675 The occurrence of the age of the deceased person can only be found in this manuscript.

676 The era has not been mentioned.

677 The name of the day has not been written.

678 Unlikely 20.

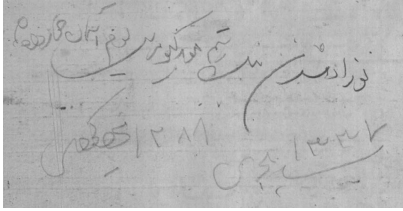


Image 56: MS. 4045, Persian Nozūdī date

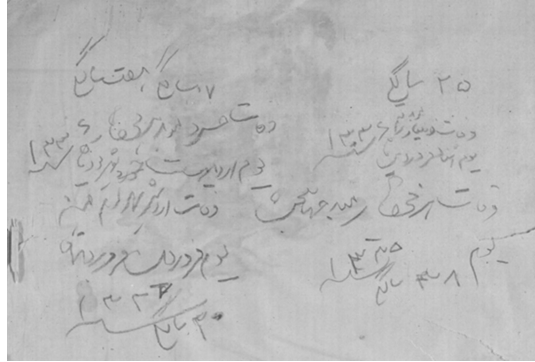


Image 57: MS. 4045, Persian Sālmargs

MS. 4045: Persian Nozūdī date, fol. 13v

- *Nōzād šodan-e bande*⁶⁷⁹ *rostan mūbed kīyūmars yōm āsemān xordād māh, saneye 1337 hejrī, 1288 yazdgerdī*

‘Nozūdī of me, Rostam Mūbed Kīyūmars, the day Āsemān, the month Xordād, the year 1337 Hejri, 1288 AY.’

MS. 4045: Persian Nozūdī date, fol. 159v

- *Nōzād šodan-e Rostam mūbed kīyūmars mūbed jahānbaxš mūbed rostan dar yōm āsemān īzad, xordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 133[7] hejrī, moṭābeq-e saneye 1288 yazdgerdī*

‘Nozūdī of Rostam Mūbed Kīyūmars Mūbed Jāhānbaxš Mūbed Rostam, the day Āsemān, the old month Xordād, the year 1337 Hejri, in accordance with 1288 AY.’

MS. 4045: Persian Nozūdī date, fol. 159r

- *Nozād šodan-e ardešīr, ben-marḥūm mūbed bahrām mūbed farāmarz dar yōm rašn īzad va ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1263 yazdgerdī moṭābeq bā saneye 1311 hejrī*

‘Ardešīr, the son of the late Mūbed Bahrām Mūbed Farāmarz, became Nozūd on the day of Rašn Īzad, during the old month of Ordībehešt, in the year 1263 AY, which corresponds to 1311 Hejri.’

MS. 4045: Persian Sālmargs, fol. 160v

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr bahrāmšāh, ben bahrāmšāh, ben*⁶⁸⁰ *īzadyār, dar rūz-e esfand*⁶⁸¹ *māh*⁶⁸², *bahman māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 11109*⁶⁸³

‘The death date of Dastūr, Bahrāmšāh, son of Bahrāmšāh, son of Īzadyār, on the day Esfand, the month Bahman, the old month, the year 1109 AY⁶⁸⁴ (1740 AD).’

⁶⁷⁹ Quite certain. If the reading is correct, Rostam Mūbed Kīyūmars himself wrote this Sālmarg.

⁶⁸⁰ Quite uncertain.

⁶⁸¹ Written *Māsfand*.

⁶⁸² Probably a mistake for Esfand.

⁶⁸³ Quite uncertain. Less likely 11209, that is, 1129.

⁶⁸⁴ Probably the Yazdgerdi era.

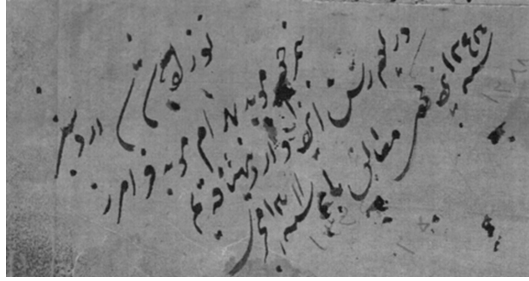


Image 58: MS. 4045, Persian Nozūdi dates

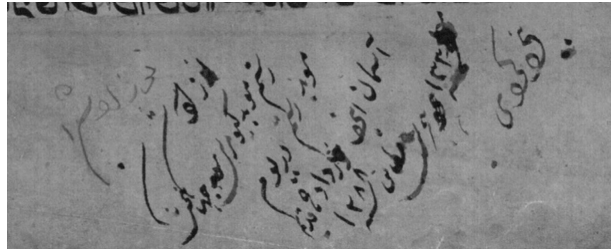


Image 59: Persian Nozūdi date

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e māvandād dastūr rostam nūšervān bahmanyār, dar rūz-e ormazd, māh tīr*⁶⁸⁵ *māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1047 yazdġerdīye*
‘The death date of Māvandād Dastūr Rostam Nūšervān Bahmanyār, on the day Ormazd, the month Tīr, the old month, the year 1047 AY (1678 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ravān dastūr rostam nūšīrvān bahmanyār, dar rūz-e ard īzad, māh xordād māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1054 yazdġerdīye be tārīx-e 22 š[aʿbān], sane-ye 1096*⁶⁸⁶
‘The death date of the holy soul, Dastūr Rostam Nūšīrvān Bahmanyār, on the day Ard Īzad, the month Xordād, the old month, the year 1054 AY (1685 AD), on Šaʿbān 22, the year 1096 Ghamari.’
- *Tār[īx-e vafāt-e ... rosta]m*⁶⁸⁷ *faroxzād*⁶⁸⁸ *be tārīx-e rūz-e māh īzad, ābān māh-e qadīm, sane-ye ...*⁶⁸⁹
‘The death date of Rostam Faroxzād, on the day Māh Īzad, the old month Ābān, the year ...’

685 Xordād has been corrected to Tīr māh.

686 Ghamari era.

687 Quite uncertain.

688 Quite certain.

689 This part has been altered.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e farangīs keyxosro īzadyār be tārīx-e rūz-e farvardīn va bahman māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1057, be tārīx-e 26, šahr⁶⁹⁰-e šaʿbā[n] [sane-ye 1099]⁶⁹¹*
‘The death date of Farangīs Keyxosro Īzadyār, on the day Farvardīn, the old month Bahman, the year 1057 AY (1688 AD), on 26, the month Šaʿbān, the year 1099 Ghamari.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e hormozyār dastūr esfandyār dastūr rostam⁶⁹² nūšervān dar rūz-e dey-be-dīn, Tīr māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1059, be tārīx-e šahr⁶⁹³ rabīʿ al-šā[nī] [sane-ye 1101]*
‘The death date of Hormozyār Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Rostam Nūšervān, on the day Dey-be-Dīn, the old month Tīr, the year 1059 AY (1690 AD), In the month Rabīʿ al-sani, the year 1101 Ghamari.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e xātūn xosro nūšervān dar rūz-e māh īzad, mordād māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 10102 be tārīx-e īzadjerdīye*
‘The death date of Xātūn Xosro Nūšervān, on the day Māh Īzad, the old month Mordād, the year 1102 AY (1733 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e behbūd dastūr mehrabān⁶⁹⁴ rostam mehrabān dar rūz-e mehr īzad, māh āzar māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 10103*
‘The death date of Behbūd Dastūr Mehrabān Rostam Mehrabān, on the day Mehr Īzad, the month Āzar, the old month, the year 1103 AY (1734 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dolat dastūr esfandyār rostam nūšervān dar rūz-e māh, āzar māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 10103*
‘The death date of Dolat Dastūr Esfandyār Rostam Nūšervān, on the day Māh, the old month Āzar, the year 1103 AY (1734 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e nāzbānū⁶⁹⁵ mehrabān rostam dar rūz-e šahrīvar, māh dīn, māh⁶⁹⁶ qadīm, sane-ye 10103⁶⁹⁷*
‘The death date of Nāzbānū Mehrabān Rostam, on the day Šahrīvar, the month Dīn, the old month, the year 1103 AY (1734 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e nūšervān mehrabān dar rūz-e bād, māh-e mehr, māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1103*
‘The death date of Nūšervān Mehrabān, on the day Bād, the month Mehr, the old month, the year 1103 AY (1734 AD).’

690 Arabic word for ‘month’.

691 This part has been altered.

692 Dastūr Rostam written over the Dastūr Esfandyār.

693 Quite uncertain.

694 Above this name is written *xodāyaš bīyāmorzād* ‘God may bless him.’

695 Probably a mistake for *Nāzbānū*.

696 *māh* is written over *Dīn*.

697 Over 10103 another date occurs, which is in the Hejri era. The date is quite uncertain. Probably 1222 or 1322.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e xodādād goštāsp xosro*⁶⁹⁸ *dar rūz-e sorūš īzad, māh-e Tīr, māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 10102*⁶⁹⁹
‘The death date of Xodādād Goštāsp Xosro, on the day Sorūš Īzad, the month Tīr, the old month, the year 1102 AY (1733 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dīnyār mūbed rošam aštād*⁷⁰⁰, *fravardīn māh 1335*
‘The death date of Dīnyār Mūbed Rostam, on (the day) Aštād, the month Fravardīn, 1335 Shamsi (1956 AD).’
- *Xosro*⁷⁰¹ ...⁷⁰² *šahrīvar*⁷⁰³, *ordībehešt māh 1335*⁷⁰⁴
‘(The death date of) Xosro ..., (on the day) Šahrīvar, the month Ordībehešt, (the year) 1335 Shamsi (1956 AD).’

On the left side of the main Sālmarg of this page:

- *Be tārīx-e rūz-e rašn īzad, māh-e Tīr, māh-e qad[īm], [do]lat dastūr nūšervān dastūr rošam, vafāt sane-ye 1101*⁷⁰⁵
‘On the day Rašn Īzad, the month Tīr, the old month, [Do]lat Dastūr Nūšervān Dastūr Rostam, death in the year 1101 AY (1732 AD).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ...*⁷⁰⁶ *esfandyār dar rūz-e mehr īzad [māh] Tīr māh-e*⁷⁰⁷ *qadīm, mādar doxtar-e čx...*⁷⁰⁸, *sane-ye 1101*⁷⁰⁹
‘The death date of ... Esfandyār, on the day Mehr Īzad, the month Tīr, the old month, the mother of the daughter ..., the year 1101 AY (1732 AD).’
- *Be tārīx-e v[afāt] ...*⁷¹⁰ *dastūr rošam nū[šervān] ...*⁷¹¹, *māh-e ...*⁷¹² *q[adīm] ...*⁷¹³
‘The death date of Dastūr Rostam Nūšervān ..., the old month ...’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ... dastūr bahmanyār nūšervān dar rūz-e āsmān māh-e ordībehešt māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 11109*
‘The death date of ... Dastūr Bahmanyār Nūšervān, on the day Āsmān, the month Ordībehešt, the old month, the year 1119 AY (1750 AD).’

698 Quite certain.

699 Quite certain.

700 *rūz* has not been mentioned.

701 Quite uncertain.

702 Can hardly be read as *Fravahr Mahyār*.

703 *rūz* has not been mentioned.

704 Hardly the Yazdgerdi era.

705 Quite uncertain.

706 This part has been altered.

707 Quite certain.

708 Can hardly be read as *čahār*.

709 Probably the Yazdgerdi era.

710 This part has been altered.

711 This part has been altered.

712 This part has been altered.

713 This part has been altered.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ardešīr dastūr nūšervān roštam nūšervān dar rūz-e farvardīn māh-e āzar-e qadīm, sane-ye 1127*
‘The death date of Ardešīr Dastūr Nūšervān Rostam Nūšervān, on the day Farvardīn, the old month Āzar, the year 1127 AY (1758 AD)’.
- *Be tārīx-e vafāt ... dastūr...yaom anārām⁷¹⁴ ādarmāh⁷¹⁵-e qadīm 1173⁷¹⁶*
‘The death date of ... Dastūr, the day Anārām, the old month Ādar, the year 1173 AY (1804)’.
- *Be tārīx-e vafāt bahrām⁷¹⁷ dastūr ... yaom ūrmazd ...⁷¹⁸*
‘The death date of Bahrām Dastūr, the day Ūrmazd ...’.
- *Be tārīx-e vafāt-e jahānbaxš dastūr ...⁷¹⁹ yaom dīn va māzdyasnān sfandārmaz māh-e qadīm 1176.*
‘The death date of Jahānbaxš Dastūr ..., the day Dīn and Māzdyasnān, Sfantārmaz, the old month, the year 1176’.
- *Be tārīx vafāt-e ... dastūr ... yaom ... šahrīvar ... saneye 11??*
‘The death date of ... Dastūr ..., the day Šahrīvar ... the year 11??’.
- *Be tārīx-e vafāt-e behbūd bondār dar rūz-e varahrām īzad, māh-e ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm 1119.*
‘The death date of Behbūd Bondār, on the day Varahrām Īzad, the old month Ordībehešt, (the year) 1119.’

MS. 4045: Persian verses, fol. 192r

xaṭ neveštam tā bemānad yādegār

I have penned this manuscript, so it will endure.

man namānam, xaṭ bemānad yādegār

I may not remain, but my manuscript will persist.

MS. 4045: Yašt-xānī date, fol. 270v

- *Tārīx-e [effaced: yašt] yašt,⁷²⁰ rūze-h ard, māh, šahrivar māh, be-dast ofīāde ke dar sāl-e dīgar be-hamīn r[ūz] zemn nevešte šode, bokonand.*
‘The date of the Yašt ceremony falls on Ard, during the month of Šahrivar. It should be celebrated next year on the same day as indicated here.’

⁷¹⁴ Uncertain.

⁷¹⁵ Uncertain.

⁷¹⁶ Uncertain.

⁷¹⁷ Uncertain.

⁷¹⁸ Uncertain.

⁷¹⁹ Uncertain.

⁷²⁰ Meaning Yašt-xānī, a ceremony performed in the past both for the sick and the deceased. Today it is performed only for those who are dead. In today’s Iran, this ceremony is performed thirteen times a year (personal conversation with Mūbed Mehraban Pouladi, 19.04.2018).

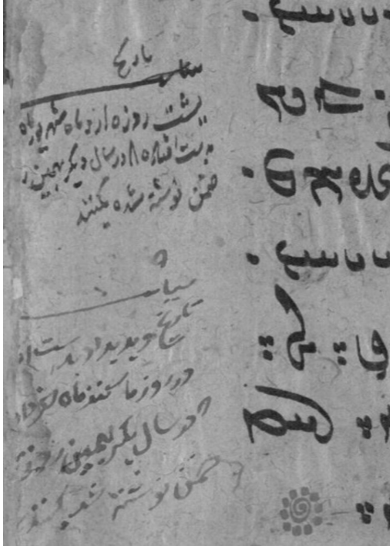


Image 60: Yašt-xānī date

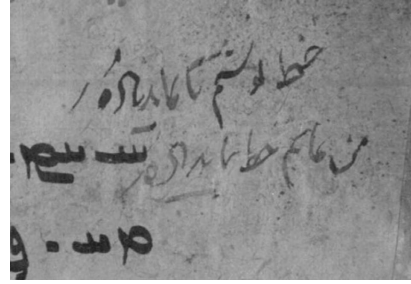


Image 61: Persian verses

- *Yašt, tārix-e vīdī[v]dād be-dast of[tāde] dar rūz-eh⁷²¹ esfand, māh-e xordād ke dar sāl-e [d]īgar be-hamīn rūz žemn nevešte šode be-konand*
 ‘Yašt. The date of the Wandīdād ceremony falls on the day of Esfand, during the month of Xordād. It should also be celebrated next year on the same day as indicated here.’

MS. 4045: Nozūdī note on the broken back paper and partly on fol. 159r

- *Moṭavaled⁷²² šodan. Be-nām-e yazdān-e rūzī dahande-ye jāndārān va āmorzande-ye nīkūkārān. Nūzād šodan. Ardešīr ben-marhūm mūbed bahrām farāmarz dar yōm rašn rāst va ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1263 yazdgerdī, moṭābeq bā saneye 1311 hejri*
 ‘Birth. In the name of Yazdān, generous to living creatures and the forgiver of good men. Nozūdī of Ardešīr the son of the late Mūbed Bahrām Farāmarz, on the day of Rašn, Rāst, in the old month of Ordībehešt, the year 1263 AY, corresponding to 1311 Hejri.’

Below this text two calculations regarding the Yazdgerdi and Hejri eras occur.

$$1263-1287=24$$

$$1311-1336=25$$

⁷²¹ Instead of *rūz-e*.

⁷²² A mistake for *motavaled* متولد. Written مطولد. Here it means Nozūdī.

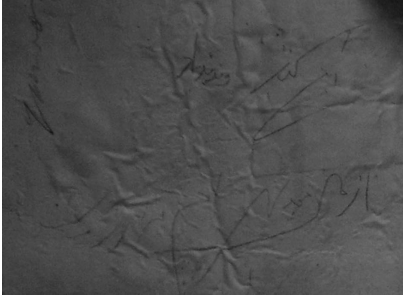


Image 62: MS. 4045, Ownership note

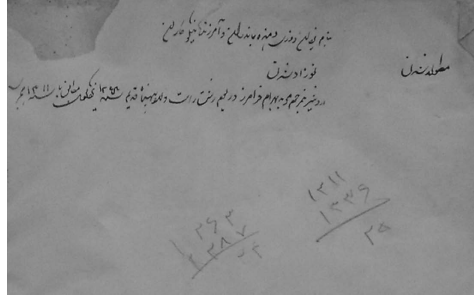


Image 63: Nozūdī note

MS. 4045: Ownership note, back end paper

- *Īn ketāb-e vandīdād az māl-e mūbed bahrām farāmarz mībāšad*
'This book of Vandīdād belongs to the Mūbed Bahrām Farāmarz.'

4.1.8. MS. 4050**4.1.8.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon**

(1) *xuǰastag rōzgār abestāg yašt wisparēd ǰud-dēw-dād abāg nērang* (2) *rastag yazišnīhā man dēn bandag mehrābān*⁷²³ *anōšag-ruwān, wāhrōmšā* (3) *ērdēšīr wāhrōmšāh nibištōm ud frāz hišt az pačēn ērdēšīr* (4) *anōšag-ruwān spandyād*⁷²⁴ *kē-š ruwān pad pahlom axwān rōšn ō garōdmān* (5) *bērasād nibištōm az bahrīh xwēšīh hamāg pērozgarīh spandyād* (6) *anōšag-ruwān ādūr wāhrōm ādūr kē tā 150 sālān pad ahlāyīh* (7) *yazišn kār framāyēd pas az 150 sālān ō frazandān ud frazand* (8) *husraw <ī> dēn-burdār abespārād , ān man ahlaw.*⁷²⁵ *har kē xwānād ayāb* (9) *āmōzād ayāb pačēn-īg az-iš kōnād ayāb yazišn-īg pad-iš kunād* (10) *amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīh yād kunād ēg-iš gētih* (11) *tan-husraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. kē-š nām man kē* (12) *nibištār hōm az-iš awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gēti tan-* (13) *dusraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād u-š hamāmāl ham pad* (14) *dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd. pad farroxī ud pērōzīh, rōz <ī> spēndmad māh* (15) *dēn sāl bar 1009*⁷²⁶ *yazdgerd, šāhānšāh nāfag be ō*⁷²⁷ *ī* (16) *husraw šāhānšāh ohrmazdān. pad yazdān kām bawād. ēdōn* (17) *bawād, ēdōn tar-iz bawād. šātō manā vahištō* (18) *uruuqnō. šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān xwēš. čand ahī mēnōg* (19) *dastwar čihromayān wīštāspān bē rasād dēn rawāg dēn burdārān ...*⁷²⁸

⁷²³ Written *Mehrābān* and not *Mehrabān*.

⁷²⁴ Probably a mistake for *Spandyār*. In the Persian colophon of the present manuscript, the correct form of this personal name, that is, *Sfandyār*, is attested. It is interesting to know that in all Pahlavi colophons, this name occurs as *Spandyād*.

⁷²⁵ Uncertain.

⁷²⁶ In the Persian colophon, the year of the copy is 1008.

⁷²⁷ A mistake for *ōy*.

⁷²⁸ The rest of the colophon is missing.

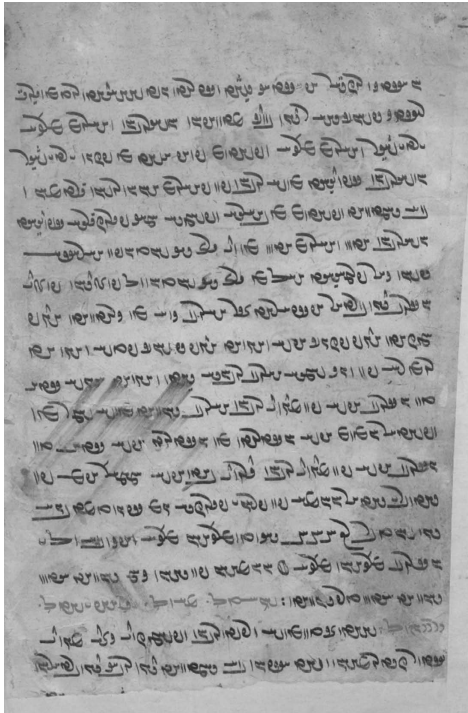


Image 64: MS. 4050, First Middle Persian colophon

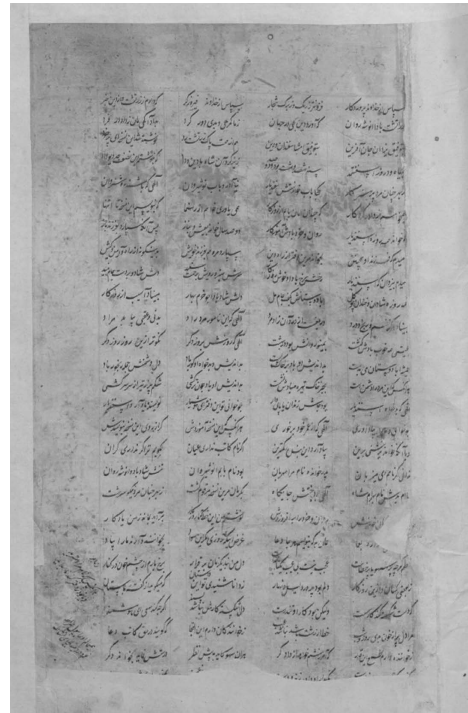


Image 65: MS. 4050, Persian colophon

4.1.8.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) fortunate time, the Avesta of the Yašt Wisparēd juḍ-dēw-dād (with) Nērangs (2) and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Mehrābān Anōšag-ruwān, Wāhrōmšā (3) Ērdešīr Wāhrōmšāh, have written and launched <it> from a copy of the book of Ērdešīr (4) Anōšag-ruwān Spandyār. May his soul reach for ever that best world, the shining Garōtmān. (5) I have written <it> for the possession of the ever-victorious, Spandyār (6) Anōšag-ruwān Ādūr Wāhrōm Ādūr, that he may use it 150 years with righteousness for (7) performing the Yazīšn ceremony. After 150 years, May <it> reach to the children and grandchildren of (8) Husraw, the leader of the religion, I, the righteous. Anybody who would recite <it> (9) or would teach <it> or make a copy of it or perform the Yazīšn ceremony with it, and (10) would remember us in good name and piety of the soul, then may he be of renowned body in the material world (11) and of pious soul in the spiritual one! Everybody who would erase my name, (12) I who am the scribe, may he be of ill-famed body in the material world (13) and of ashamed soul in the spiritual one! And I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of (14) the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator. It was written in auspiciousness and victory (on) the day Spēndmad of the month (15) Dēn, the year 1009 (of) the king of kings Yazdgerd, son of Šahriyār, (16) descendant of his Majesty Husraw, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. May it be according to the will of Yazats. May it be so! (17) May it be still more so! **Happiness and the paradise** (18) **soul**. He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as

possible, (19) Dastwar of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wištāsp! May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion ...’

4.1.8.3. Persian colophon

*sepās az xodāvand-e parvardegār
fozūntar ze rīg o ze barg-e šajār
sepās az xodavand-e firūzgar
ke dāram ze zartošt o az dīn xabar*

*zarātošt bādā anošah-rawān
ke āvard dīn-e behī dar jahān*

*ze mā gomrahī yo badī dūr kard
bedād āgahī-mān ze dādār fard⁷²⁹*

*be tofīq-e yazdān-e jān-āfarīn
be tofīq-e amšāsfandān o dīn*

ham az hemmat-e pāk-e zartošt-e rad⁷³⁰

nevešte šod īn nosxe-ye por xerad

be dey māj o dar rūz-e espantfmad

*sane haššad o hašt būd o do šad
ze yazgerd ān šāh-e bā dīn o dād*

*ke benveštam īn nesf-e jad-dīv-dād
ze bahr-e čenān mard-e parhīzgār
kojā bāb xānadstaš Esfandyār
nīyā ādar o bāb nūšīrvān*

*elāhī ke bāšand rōšan ravān
hamī xāham az dāvar-e kerdegār
ke čandān amān yābam az rūzegār*

Thanks be to God, the Creator,
greater than pebbles and the leaves of trees,
thanks be to God, the Victorious,
for I am acquainted with Zarathushtra and
his faith.

May Zarathushtra’s soul be immortal,
he who brought the religion of goodness to
the world,
he dispelled evil and corruption from us,
and granted us knowledge of the one true
God.

With the aid of God, the Giver of Life,
with the assistance of the Amšāspandān and
the faith,
and through the benevolent efforts of Zarahushtra.

This manuscript, brimming with wisdom,
was penned
in the month of Dey, on the day of
Spandārmazd,
in the year 1008
of the Yazdgerd era, under the rule of that
faithful and just king.

I have inscribed this half of the Videvdā
for such a pure man,
a man named Esfandyār by his father,
his grandfather being Ādar and his father,
Nūšīrvān,

O, God! May their souls be enlightened,
I constantly implore the mighty judge
that I may find much peace from the passage
of time,

729 The meaning of *fard* is quite uncertain in this context.

730 An abbreviation of *rād* (also in MP. *rād* “generous”).

hamī yāvarī xāham az rahnamā
ke benvīsam īn nosxe tā entehā
ke xānad hame rūze esfandyār
ravān o xerad bād-aš āmōzgār
do šad sāl xānad be ʿeyš o be nāz
pas ān ke sepārad be farzand bāz
omīdam⁷³² ke farzand-e ū hamčēnīn
bexānad mar īn daftar az rāh-e dīn
sepārad ma-rū ham be farzand e xīš
be-dīn guṇe az rāh o āyīn o kīš
omidam⁷³³ be yazdān ke esfandyār
rox-aš sorx bādā o xoš rūzegār
sar-aš sabz o rūy-aš be raḥmat sefid
del-aš šād o bar dast jām-e nabīd
hame rūze šādān o xandān čo gol
abā dūstānaš be kaf jām-e mol
del-aš šād bādā čo xorram bahār
mabīnād āsīb az rūzegār
mabīnād hargez gam o ranj o dard
darīg-ast az dard-e ān zādmard
elāhī ke īn nāmvar mard-e rād
be donnī-yo ʿoqbī bīyābad morād
be gītī hame xūb bād-aš konešt

I continually seek assistance from the
 guide,⁷³¹
 that I may complete this manuscript to the
 end,
 so that Esfandyār may recite it daily,
 and may it serve as a teacher for his soul and
 intellect,
 may he recite it for two hundred years in
 happiness and prosperity,
 and afterwards may he entrust it to his child,
 I hope that his child, too,
 may recite this manuscript of mine in the
 path of faith,
 and may he pass it on to his own child,
 thus continuing in accordance with the path,
 ritual, and religion.
 My hope is with God, that Esfandyār,
 may his face glow red, and may he be joyful,
 may his head be verdant, and his face white
 from kindness,
 may his heart be content, and may the jug of
 wine be in his hand,
 may he be joyful and cheerful every day,
 like a blooming flower,
 may he hold the jug of wine in hand amongst
 his friends,
 may his heart be as joyful as the blooming
 spring,
 may he never suffer harm from fate,
 may he never know sorrow, distress, and
 pain,
 alas for the suffering of that noble man!
 O, God! May this distinguished and gener-
 ous man,
 achieve his desires in this world and the
 hereafter,
 in this world, may all his deeds be righteous,

731 That means "God".

732 This words first letter, *alef*, has been altered.

733 This words first letter, *alef*, has been altered.

be mīnū ravān-aš bovad dar behešt

*elāhī ke rūz-aš be rūz-e degar
nekūtar az īn rūz rūz-e degar
hamīše abā dūstān mey be dast*

*badandīš-e ū bād bar xāk-e past
badandīš o badxāh-e ū kūr bād
del-e došman-aš jomle ranjūr bād
har ān kas ke īn mard rā došman ast
be jōz xāk-e tīre mabād-aš nešast
badandīš-e ū bād čon tarkešt⁷³⁴
šekam por ze tīr az sar-e sarkešt
elāhī ke badxāh-e esfandyār
bovad jāš zendān yā pāy-e dār*

čo xāni to īn daftar ey hūšyār

*nevīsande yād ār o esfandyār
čo xānī yo mā rā be yād avarī
elāhī ke az ‘omr-e xod barxorī
har ān kas ke īn nosxe āmōzad-aš
ke az rūy-e īn nosxe benvīsad-aš*

*va yā ānke xānad yazišnī bar īn
be yād ārad īn bande-ye kamtarīn
agar nām-e kāteb nadārī ‘ayān
begūyam to rā gar nadārī gerān
nadāni agar nām-am ey mīzbān*

*pedar xānde nām-e ma rā mehrabān
bovad nām e bāb-am anūšīravān
tan-aš šād bād o anūšah ravān*

*nīyāyam bod-aš nām bahrāmšāh
elāhī bovad janat-aš jāygāh
be kermān mar in nosxe marqūm gašt*

may his soul reside in paradise in the spiritual world,

O, God! May each of his days
be better than the last,

may he always be amongst friends with
wine in hand,

may his enemy dwell on inferior soil,
may his foe and the malicious be blinded,
may the heart of his enemy know pain,

anyone who opposes this man,
may they have no place but the dark soil,
may his foe be as a quiver,

his stomach filled with arrows of rebellion,

O, God! May the enemy of Esfandyār...

May his place be either in jail or on the gallows,

when you recite this manuscript, O wise one!

Remember the scribe and Esfandyār.

If you recite it and remember us,

may you reap benefits from your life.

Everyone who teaches this manuscript,

everyone who makes a copy of this manuscript,

or performs Yazīšn upon it,

and remembers me, the humblest servant,

if you do not know the name of the scribe,

I will tell you, if you do not take offense,

if you do not know my name, O, you the host!

My father named me Mehrabān,

my father's name is Anūšīravān,

may his body be joyous and his soul everlasting.

My grandfather's name was Bahrāmšāh,

may his place be in paradise.

This manuscript was scribed in Kerman,

734 That means "quiver", an archer's portable case for holding arrows.

ze bahr-e čenān mard-e nīkū serašt
...⁷³⁵gān xāndanaš
ravān o xerad rā bar afrūzad-aš
neveštam man īn xaṭ ke tā rūzegār

barāyad bemānad ze man yādegār
...⁷³⁶nadārad baqā
hamān beh ke benvīsam har jā do'ā
ğaraž īnke rūzī magar īn savād

bexānand o ārand mā rā be yād
xaṭ-am gar če por sahv yā por xaṭāst
'aḡab nīst bī 'eyb yektā xodāst
del-e man nabod yek zamān barqarār
be rox bāram az čašm xūn dar kenār
ze ba'zī kasān o az īn rūzegār
del-am būd por dard layl o nahār
ze dānā šenīdī to īn dastān
ke mīgūyad az gofte-ye bāstān
ke dast-e šekaste konad kār sost
valīkan bovad kār-e ū tandorost
del eškaste kār-aš nabāšad pasand
agar če konad sa'y ey hūšmand
marā del por az xūn bodī rūz o šab
xaṭ ar zešt bāšad nabāšad aḡab
ze xānandegān dāram īn eltejā
ke gūyand dar ḡaq-e kāteb do'ā
ze xānande dāram ṭama' īn qadar
ke āmorzeš-am xāhad az dādgar
har ān sahv kāyad be pīš-e naẓar
dorost-aš namāyad bexānad degar

for such a good-natured man,
 ... Recite it,
 it ignites his soul and wisdom.
 I scribed this manuscript so that, after my
 death,
 it would remain as a memorial from me,
 ... Has no survivor,
 it is better that I write prayers everywhere.
 The reason being that maybe one day this
 manuscript,
 they will recite it and remember us.
 If my script is full of mistakes and errors.
 It's no wonder, only God is flawless.
 Not a moment was my heart calm,
 I cry blood from my eyes
 because of certain people and this period.
 Day and night, my heart was full of pain.
 Did you hear this story from the wise?
 Who tells of ancient tales,
 that a broken hand works lazily,
 yet still works well.
 The work of a broken heart is not apt,
 despite its efforts, O wise ones!
 Day and night, my heart was full of sorrow.
 If my handwriting is poor, it's no surprise,
 I implore the readers,
 to pray for the scribe.
 What I ask of the readers is only this,
 that they seek my forgiveness from God.
 If they should find any errors,
 may they correct them and read it in the cor-
 rect way.

735 This part has been altered.

736 This part has been altered.

4.1.8.4. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (ADA fol. 305r)

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh <ud> rāmišn, pad nēk-dahišn ud xūb-murwāg (2) xujastag rōzgār, abēstāg yašt wisparēd, jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang (3) rastag yazišnīgīhā man dēn bandag mihrēbān anošagruwān wāhrōmšāh (4) ērdēšīr wāhrōmšāh nibištōm frāz hišt az pačēn frēdōn marzbān (5) frēdōn, kē-š az bahrih xwēšīh hamāg pērōzgarīh rustōm mihrēbān (6) wāhrōm ādur nibištāg bawēd, ke-sān ruwān pad pahlom axwān rōšn ō (7) garōtmān be-rasād. nibištōm az bahrih xwēšīh hamāg pērōzgarīh (8) spandyāt anošagruwān ādur wāhrōm ādur kē tā sad <ud> panjāh sālān pad ahlāyīh (9) yazišn kār framāyēd pas az sad <ud> panjāh sālān ō frazandān <ud> frazand <ī> husraw <ī> (10) dēn-burdār abespārād, ān man <ī> ahlaw. har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād (11) ayāb pačēn-īg az-iš kōnād ayāb yazišn-īg pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad (12) nēk-nāmīh <ud> ahlaw ruwānīh yād kunād ēg-iš gētīh tan-husraw (13) u-š pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. kē-š nām <ī> man kē nibištār hōm (14) az-iš awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gētī tan-dusraw (15) u-š pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād⁷³⁷ u-š hamēmāl ham pad dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd. (16) pad farroxī <ud> pērōzīh, rōz <ī> šahrēwar, māh xwardad, sāl bar 1009⁷³⁸ (17) yazdgerd šāhānšāh nāfag be ō⁷³⁹ ī husraw šāhānšāh.

4.1.8.5. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy, and pleasure, in good fate and good omen, and (2) blessed time, (this) Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd, Juddēwdād, with Nērang (3) (and) ritual series, has been written and completed by me, the servant of the religion, Mīhrēbān Anōšagruwān Wāhrōmšāh (4) Ērdēšīr Wāhrōmšāh, from a manuscript of Frēdōn Marzbān (5) Frēdōn, who had written it for the possession of all victorious Rustōm Mīhrēbān (6) Wāhrōm Ādur. May his soul reach for ever that best world, the shining (7) Garōtmān. I, the righteous, have written (it) for the possession of all victorious (8) Spandyāt Anōšagruwān Ādur Wāhrōm Ādur, in order that he may use it 150 years with righteousness (9) for performing the Yazišn ceremony. After 150 years, (and) entrust (it) after 150 years to the children and grandchildren of Husraw, (10) the leader of the religion. Everybody who would recite <it> or would teach <it> (11) or make a copy of it or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it and would remember us in (12) good name and piety of the soul, then may he be of renowned body in the material world (13) and of pious soul in the spiritual one! If somebody erases my name, (I who am) the writer, in order to be removed, (14) may he be of ill-famed body in the material world (15) and of wicked soul in the spiritual one! And I shall be his plaintiff (accuser) before the judge, Ohrmazd, the Creator. (16) It was written in auspiciousness and victory (on) the day Šahrēwar, the month Xwardad, the year 1009 (17) (of) Yazdgerd, the king of kings, descendant of his Majesty Husraw, the king of kings.’

⁷³⁷ Written *b* *ī*!

⁷³⁸ In the Persian colophon, the year of the copy is 1008.

⁷³⁹ A mistake for *ōy*.

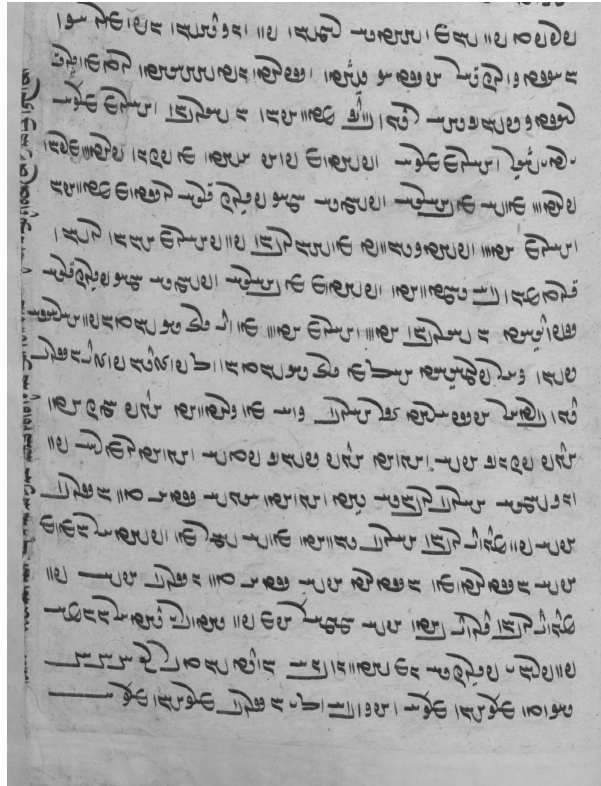


Image 66: MS. 4045, second Middle Persian colophon

4.1.9. MS. 4055

4.1.9.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk dahišn (2) [xū]b murwāg⁷⁴⁰ <ud> hupastag⁷⁴¹ rōzgār abestāg yašt ud wisparēd <ud> jūd-(3) [dēw-dād abāg nērang ras-tag ī yazišnīgīhā. man dēn bandag mihrabān <second page> (4) anōšērwan wāhrōmšāh ērdēšēr wāhrōmšāh nibišt ud frāz hišt (5) pad farroxīh <ud> pērōzīh rōz ī wahoman, māh ī spandmad, sāl bar 1014 (6) pas az sāl ī 20 be ō⁷⁴² ī yazdgerd šāhān šāh šahr(7)yārān nāfag be ō⁷⁴³ ī husraw ī šāhān šāh ohrmazdān. nibištēm (8) az pačān ^ēn^ wah[iš]t bahr an[ō] šadruwān frēdōn marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm (9) rustōm bundār nibišt az bahrīh xwēšīh pērōzīh sandal (10) sīyāvaxš wāhrōm kē tā dastwarān ud dastwarzādagān ud dēn-rāyēnēdārān (11) xwānand, hammōzand, yazišn pad-iš kunand, pačēn ^az-iš⁷⁴⁴ kunand, amā rāy pad nēk (12) nāmīh ahlaw-ruwānīh yād kunand, ēg-iš gētī tan husraw u-š pad (13) mēnōg ruwān ahlaw <ud> garōdmānīg bawād. agar nām ī man, kē nibištār hom, (14) awestarēd ayāb jūdar

740 Written ml[w]k instead of mw[w]k.

741 A mistake for xujastag.

742 A mistake for ōy.

743 A mistake for ōy.

744 Written ʾš. A mistake for ʾcš.

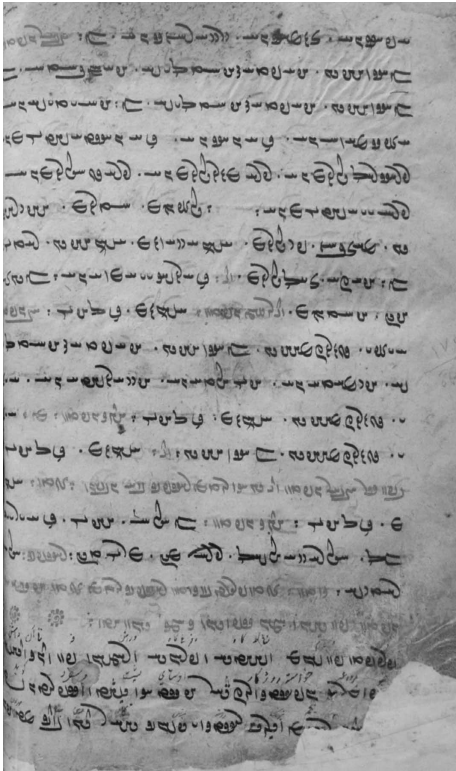


Image 67: MS. 4055, Middle Persian colophon, first page

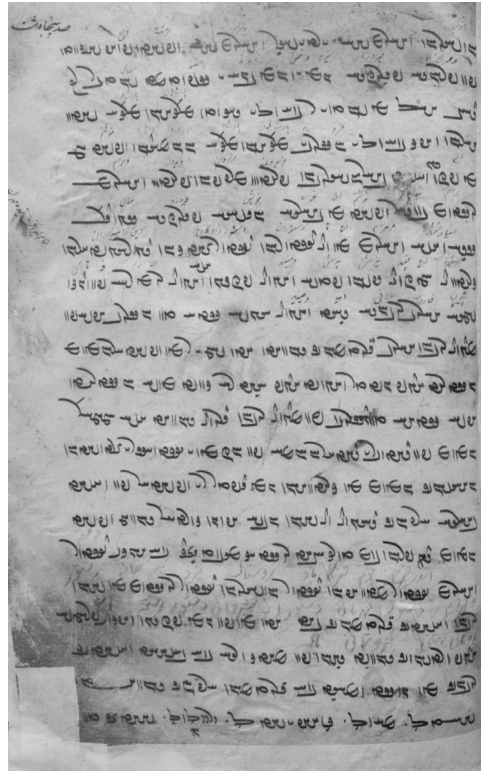


Image 68: MS. 4055, Middle Persian colophon, second page

kunēd ayāb ayād nē kunēd <ud> az-iš awastarēd (15) *u-š gētīh tan dusraw* <ud> pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād *u-š*⁷⁴⁵ hamēmāl (16) *hom pad dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd* <ud> pad hanjāman ī īsdwāstar ī zarduštān. (17) *xwāhīšnīg hom az xwānišn*⁷⁴⁶ <ī> ēn daftar <ī> man ī nibištār pad wahišt (18) *bahrīh arzānīg dārand. tā-šān awiš āfrīn kardār*⁷⁴⁷ bawēm. nibišt (19) *hom andar farrōx būm* <ī> tūr-kābād, rustāg <ī> meybod <ī> yazd, bē xānag-ē dastūr (20) *wāhrōm dastūr mihrabān dastūr anōšērwan dastūr rustōm kē-šān* (21) *ruwān, wahištīg* <ud> garōdmānīg bād. *agar kē pad ēn pačēn vāzag-ē frāmōš* (22) *ayāb wardištīg bawēd, pad mādagwarīh bē baxšād. wahištīg* (23) *ruwānīg, kē drust nimāyēd, bē garōdmān arzānīg bawād.* (24) *šātō. manāō. wahištō. uruu* √q√nō. *šād ān tan* [kē-š warzīd ruwān xwēš].

4.1.9.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate (2) and good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd Jud- (3) dēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Mihrabān (4) Anōšērwan Wāhromšāh Ērdešēr Wāhromšāh have written and launched <it> (5) in fortune and victory, on the day Wahoman, the month Spandmad, the

⁷⁴⁵ Written 'š.

⁷⁴⁶ Written KRYTWNyšn' instead of KRYTWNšn'.

⁷⁴⁷ Written kwl'r instead of kl'r.

year 1014, (6) after the year 20 of His Majesty Yazdgerd, king of kings, the great king, (7) descendant of His Majesty Husraw, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. I have written (8) from a copy of, may he be participant of the paradise, immortal soul, Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm (9) Rustōm Bundār. I have written <it> for the possession and victory of Sandal (10) Siyāvaxš Wāhrōm, in order that Dastūrs and the children of the Dastūrs, the leaders of the religion (11) would recite it, teach it, celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony with it and make a copy of it and may remember us in (12) (prayers for) good name and piety of the soul. And then may he be of renowned body in the material world and of pious soul in (13) the spiritual one and have his residence in the Garōdmān. (But) if he erases my name, I who am the scribe, (14) or throws it away, or does not remember and alters it (15) may he be of ill-famed body in the material world and of wicked soul in the spiritual one and (16) I will be his accuser in the presence of the judge, the Creator and the assembly of Īsdwāstar, the son of Zardušt. (17) I plead that (the readers) wish for me, the scribe, in recitation of this book, (18) to reach the paradise. May we perform such praiseworthy deeds. I (20) have written in the blessed land of Tūrkābād, the village Meybod of Yazd, in the house of Dastūr Wāhrōm Dastūr Mihrabān Dastūr Anōšagruwān Dastūr Rustōm. May their (21) soul (reach) the paradise and Garōdmān. If I forgot a word in this manuscript (22) or wrote false, may he excuse it principally and may his soul reach the paradise, (23) who corrects it, may he be worthy of Garōdmān. (24) **Happiness and the paradise soul.** He would be glad in body [who would improve her/his soul.]'

4.1.10. MS. 4056

4.1.10.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh <ud> rāmišn ud farroxīh pad nēk dahišn ud xūbmurwāg ē (2) xujastag rōzgār. awastāg⁷⁴⁸ yašt wispard⁷⁴⁹ jūd-dēw-dād abāg nērang (3) rastag yazišnīhā. man dēn bandag mehryār xosrow⁷⁵⁰ spandyār siyāvaxš (4) nibištōm <ud> frāz hištōm pad frarroxīh pērōzīh rōz fravardīn māh adur-ē (5) sāl bar 1014 pas az 20 be 0⁷⁵¹ yazdgerd šāhānšāh šahrīyārān (6) nāfag be 0⁷⁵² ī husraw šāhānšāh ohrmazdān. nibištōm az pačēn-ē (7) daftar ahlaw garōdmānīg ruwān frēdōn marzbān frēdōn wāhrom rustōm (8) bundār. man ēn daftar nibišt-hom az bahr ī xwēšī[h] <ī> hamāg pērōzgarīh (9) aspandyār adurbād wāhrōm-šāh ērdēšīr wāhrōm-šāh ērdēšīr wāhrōm- (10) šāh. be moblaq⁷⁵³ 6 hazār dīnār xriđh⁷⁵⁴ ast kē-š (11) barxordār bād tā sad <ud> panjāh sālān pad ahlāyīh kār framāyād u pas (12) az sad <ud> panjāh sālān be 0⁷⁵⁵ ī frazandān ud frazand <ī> husraw dēn-burdār abespārād (13) har kē xwānād ayāb āmōzād ayāb pačēn az-īš kunād ayāb yazīšn (14) pad-iš kunād, ōy rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw ruwānīh yād kunād, ēg-iš (15) gētī tan husraw ud pad mēnōg ahlaw garōdmānīg bād. agar nām <ī> amā (16) rāy awestarēd kē-š awestarēd u-š pad gētīh tan dusraw <ud> pad mēnōg (17) ruwān druwand bawād, agar juddar kard bawēd u-š hamēmāl hom pad (18) dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd pad hanjaman <ī> īsadwāstar zardušdān (19) **aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahē.** ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyīh, (20) abārīg jūd-rāh[īh]. **šātō. manō.**

748 In other manuscripts, *abestāg*.

749 Written *wsprī*!. In other manuscripts, *wisparēd* [wspryt].

750 Above this part, the name is written again in Pāzand.

751 A mistake for *ōy*.

752 A mistake for *ōy*.

753 Probably the Zoroastrian Dari pronunciation for *mablaq* 'price', which is written in Pāzand.

754 The words *be moblaq-e šaš hazār dīnār xriđh* are written in Pāzand.

755 A mistake for *ōy*.

vahištō. uruuqnō, <second page> (21)⁷⁵⁶ *šād ān tan kē-š warzīd*⁷⁵⁷ *ruwān <ī> xwēš. čand ahy mēnōg dastwar čihromayān-ē* (22) *wištāspān be ū*⁷⁵⁸ *rasād, dēn rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nekīh* (23) *rasād har kas pad kāmag ī xwēš tuwān bād zīwistan. pad yazdān kāmag* (24) *bād*.

4.1.10.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and pleasure and glory, in good fate and good omen, (2) and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wispard Juddēwdād with Nērangs (3) and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Mehryār Xosrow Spandyār Sīyāvaxš have written (4) and launched <it> with glory and victory on the day Fravardīn, the month Ādur, (5) the year 1014 after the 20th (year) of the reign of Yazdgerd, the king of kings, the (great) king, (6) descendant of Husraw, king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd. I have written <it> from a copy of (7) the manuscript of pious heavenly soul,⁷⁵⁹ Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm (8) Bundār. I have written this manuscript for his own possession⁷⁶⁰ and (for) children, and for all victory (9) of Aspandyār Adurbād Wāhrōm-šāh Ērdēšīr Wāhrōm-šāh Ērdešīr Wāhrōm- (10) šāh.⁷⁶¹ He has bought⁷⁶² it for 6000 Dīnār. May he (11) have it and use it for 150 years with righteousness, and may he entrust it after (12) 150 years to the children and (to) the good famed⁷⁶³ and faithful child. (13) Everybody who would recite it or teach it or make a copy of it or celebrate (14) with it, then he may be of a good famed body in (15) the material world and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. If someone wiped our name, (16) so that (our name) would be wiped away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in (17) the spiritual world. If he removed (my name), I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of (18) the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstarān of Zardušt. (19) **There is only one way, and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of piety and the (20) other ones are heresy. **Happiness and the paradise soul.** (21) he would be glad in body, (he) who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, (22) son of Wištāsp! May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. (23–24) May everyone be able to live according to his desire. May it be according to the will of Yazdān.’

756 The second page of the colophon, page 138v.

757 Alternatively, *warzēd*.

758 Written ‘w.

759 Or ‘having his place in Garōdmān’.

760 Alternatively ‘relatives’.

761 Or maybe only *Aspandyār Adurbād Wāhrōm-šā Ērdēšīr Wāhrōm-šā* (?).

762 Less likely as ‘it has been bought’.

763 Unlikely *Husraw* as a personal name.

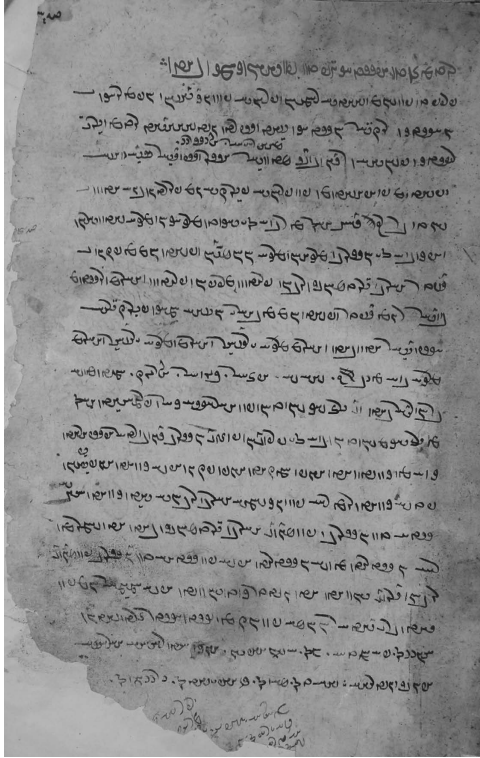


Image 69: MS. 4056, Middle Persian colophon

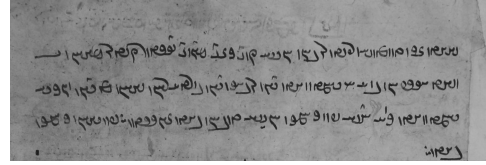


Image 70: MS. 4056, Second page of the Middle Persian colophon

4.1.10.3. Marginal notes

Treaty, fol. 160v

*pad nām-e dādār Ohrmazd*⁷⁶⁴

(1) *be-tārīx-e rūz-e bahman amšāsband va ābān-māh-e qadīm saneye 1039 yazdġerdīyeh eqrār nemūd dastūr goštāsb ebn-e dastūr* (2) *esfandyār adurbād*⁷⁶⁵ *kē ketāb-e jad-dīv-dād xoġaste bonyād rā be-rūy-e šedq va šalāh nešār*⁷⁶⁶ *nemūd*⁷⁶⁷ *va xarīd*⁷⁶⁸ *yaštan*⁷⁶⁹ *va* (3) *nozūd*⁷⁷⁰ *dastūr bahrām āzar kayxosro va men baʿd dast o daʿvī nadāde va mālek-e ketāb-e ketāb-e mazbūr dastūr bahrām būde ast.*⁷⁷¹ (4) *be šarṭī ke har kas az xīš va bīgāne azīn daftar yazišn xānand ayā āmūzand ayā fajīn*⁷⁷² *aj*⁷⁷³ *-aš gīrand nīyākān va gozaštegān* (5)

⁷⁶⁴ Only this part is written in Pahlavi. The rest of the colophon is in Persian.

⁷⁶⁵ Quite uncertain.

⁷⁶⁶ Quite uncertain.

⁷⁶⁷ Quite uncertain.

⁷⁶⁸ Uncertain. Maybe *xīstan* 'self, own'.

⁷⁶⁹ Uncertain.

⁷⁷⁰ Uncertain.

⁷⁷¹ Uncertain.

⁷⁷² MP *pacēn*.

⁷⁷³ MP/NP *az*.

*dastūr goštāsb va vāled va dastūr esfandyār ādurbād*⁷⁷⁴ *rā be-do' āy-e xeyr va xodā-bīyāmorz yād konand va vāḡebāt-e rāh-e dīn rā farāmūš nakonand va az ... (6) be-dīn-mazmūn rāzī va šākerand va ketāb-e mazkūr māl-e dastūr bahrām ādar keyxosrost va be-dīgarī ta' alloq nadārad. be tāīx-e*⁷⁷⁵ *... foq ...*

Translation:

(1) On the date of the day Bahman Amšāsband, the old month Ābān-māh, (the year) 1039 AY, Dastūr Goštāsb, the son of Dastūr (2) Esfandyār Ādurbād declared that he gives the blessed book Jaddīvdād with righteousness and interest, ... for Yazīšn and (3) Nozūdī ceremony of Dastūr Bahrām Āzar Kayxosro and hereafter he has no claim and argument. And the owner of the present book has been Dastūr Bahrām, (4) under the condition that, everybody from relatives to strangers, who would recite this book of Yazīšn, or would teach <it>, or make a copy of it, may remember the ancestors of (5) Dastūr Goštāsb and his father Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād with a may-God-forgive and good prayer. May they not forget the obligations of the religious path and they would be satisfied and happy (6) with this content ... and the present book belongs to Dastūr Bahrām Ādar Keyxosrost and does not belong to others. On the date ... following'

*Mehrabān*⁷⁷⁶ *Rostam Dastūr Nūšīrvān, Dastūr Faroxzād, Dastūr Bahmanyār Faroxzād ... bande Goštāsb Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād 'I, Goštāsb Dastūr Esfandyār Ādurbād'*

Treaty, fol. 160v

*dar ...*⁷⁷⁷ *ruz-e šahrīvar va āzar-māh-e qadīm 1055 yazdērdīyeh, hāzer āmad dastūr bahrām ādur*⁷⁷⁸ *... dar hožūr-e*⁷⁸⁰ *jamā' at-e*⁷⁸¹ *mazkūr ke ketāb-e mazbūr rā be-šīqe-ye tohfe va hedye be-dastūr bahmanyār ardešīr mazbūr ...*⁷⁸² *kard va dastūr bahmanyār panj hezār dīnār ... kard haq alhadāye ketāb-e meymūn maāb*⁷⁸³ *taslīm-e dastūr bahrām ...*⁷⁸⁴ *nemūd*
'On the day Šahrīvar, the old month Āzar, (the year) 1055 AY, Dastūr Bahrām Ādur was present and he gave the present book in the presence of the mentioned people, as a gift, to the present Dastūr Bahmanyār Ardešīr ...⁷⁸⁵ and Dastūr Bahmanyār⁷⁸⁶ gave 5000 Dīnars (for) the blessed book, as a gift, to Dastūr Bahrām ...⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁷⁴ Quite uncertain.

⁷⁷⁵ Quite uncertain.

⁷⁷⁶ Less likely *jahān*.

⁷⁷⁷ Three or four words are illegible.

⁷⁷⁸ Doubtful.

⁷⁷⁹ Not clearly written and illegible.

⁷⁸⁰ Doubtful.

⁷⁸¹ Doubtful. Not clearly written.

⁷⁸² Not clearly written.

⁷⁸³ Doubtful.

⁷⁸⁴ Not clearly written and illegible.

⁷⁸⁵ Not clearly written and illegible.

⁷⁸⁶ Not clearly written and illegible.

⁷⁸⁷ Not clearly written and illegible.

Treaty, p. 160v

- *har kasī dar ...⁷⁸⁸ bā dastūr bahrām va dastūr goštāsb da‘vī namāyad az⁷⁸⁹ ...⁷⁹⁰ va ketāb ... dastūr bahmanyār*
 ‘Anybody who would argue with Dastūr Bahrām and Dastūr Goštāsb from and book Dastūr Bahmanyār ...’

Treaty, fol. 160r

hova

(1) *forūxt be bay‘ šaḥīḥ mo‘tabar-e dīnī, dastūr bahrām ādur keyxosro, be-dastūr bahmanyār ardešīr bahrām dā[d]* (2) *be mablaḡ-e pañ-hezār dīnār tabrizī⁷⁹¹ men ba‘d bā xodva farzandān-e mālek dast va da‘vā nadāšte bāšand. har* (3) *kas az-īn ma‘nī ḥarf begūyad, be-la‘nat-e xodā va nefrīn-e fereštegān va xālq-e ‘ālam gereftār šavand. peymān šekanī-ye* (4) *rāh-e dīn-e yazdān bāšand. īn čand kalame jahat-e bay‘ nevešte šod. be tārix-e rūz-e šahrīvar amšāsand, āzar* (5) *māh-e qadīm, sane 1054 yazdērdīyeh.*

be-dīn moḡeb ast dastūr bahrām mazkūr. be-ḥożūr būd dastūr keyxosro āzar. be-ḥożūr būd dastūr ardešīr rostam behmard. be-ḥożūr būd dastūr ardešīr mehrabān.

Be-ḥożūr būd dastūr bahman keyxosro. be-ḥożūr būd ardešīr mūbed⁷⁹²fereydūn zarīsf.⁷⁹³ be-ḥożūr būd dastūr faroxzād bahmanyār. be-ḥożūr būd dastūr āzar dastūr keyxosro.

He. (1) It was sold, in a correct and valid religious sale (manner), by Dastūr Bahrām Ādur Keyxosro and (he) gave <it> to Dastūr Bahmanyār Ardešīr Bahrām, (2) in the amount of (or with the price) five thousand of Tabrizi Dinars. After this, they should not have any argument with him and his children and any claim (from him and his children). Any- (3) body, who discusses this matter, may he receive the God’s and angels’ damnation and (he) would be a traitor in the religious (4) way of Yazdān. These are some words written for the purpose of the sale. The date: on the day Šahrīvar Amšāsand, (5) the old month Āzar, the year 1054 AY.

To confirm this, there is present Dastūr Bahrām. Dastūr Keyxosro Āzar was present. Dastūr Ardešīr Rostam Behmard was present. Dastūr Ardešīr Mehrabān was present.

Dastūr⁷⁹⁴ Bahman Keyxosro was present. Ardešīr Mūbed Fereydūn Zarīsf was present. Dastūr Faroxzād Bahmanyār was present. Dastūr Āzar Dastūr Keyxosro was present.

Ownership note, fol. 160r

- (1) *Eqrār ē‘terāf nemūd dastūr ros[tam] ...* (2) *ke īn ketāb-e yazišn-e jad-dīv[dād] ...*
 (3) *nošervān ḥakīm šolḥ nemūd va dīgar das[t] ...* (4) *da‘vā nadārad īn īn čand kalame jah[at-e] ...* (5) *nāme qalamī šod be-tārix-e rūz ... [māh-e]* (6) *qadīm, saneye 1164. bedīn moḡeb ast.*

Translation:

Dastūr Rostam ... admitted and declared, (2) that this Jaddīvdād book (3) Nošervān Ḥakīm reconciled and has (4) no claim and argument. These few words are written be-

⁷⁸⁸ Unlikely *pačīnī*.

⁷⁸⁹ Alternatively *īzad*.

⁷⁹⁰ This part is damaged.

⁷⁹¹ *Tabrizi Dinar* was one of the official currencies of Iran during the Safavid and Qajar periods.

⁷⁹² Not clearly written.

⁷⁹³ Uncertain, unlikely *zartošt*.

⁷⁹⁴ Written by another person.

cause of (5) The letter was written on the date, the day ..., (6) the old month ..., the year 1164.⁷⁹⁵ It is because of this.

Verses, fol. 160r

dar pošt-e ketāb-e avestān-e xod
benevīs beyādgarī
šāyad ke be-dīn bahāne rūzī
bar xaṭ ... ke yādam ārī

Inscribe this on the back of the Avesta book
 as a memento!
 Perhaps, one day,
 You might remember me due to this... inscription.

Verses, fol. 160r

pošt-e daftar ze bahr-e ān bāšad
tā ze har kas be-dū nešān bāšad
yādegārī ke dūst benvīsad
behtar az melk-e jāvdān bāšad

The back of a book can serve
 as a space for memorials from everyone.
 A commemoration penned by a friend
 could surpass any lasting possession.

Sālmargs, fol. 160r

- *Vafāt-e ašū ravān rošam dastūr nošervān ḥakīm ardešīr be-tārīx-e rūz-e māh īzad va ordī behešt-māh-e qadīm yazdġerdīyed 1117, hejriyeh 110601*
 ‘The death of holy soul, Rostam Dastūr Nošervān Ḥakīm Ardešīr, on the date, on the day Māh Īzad, the old month Ordībehešt, the year 1117 AY, 1161 Hejri (1748 AD)’

⁷⁹⁵ The era is here Hejri; that is, 1114 AY (1745 AD).

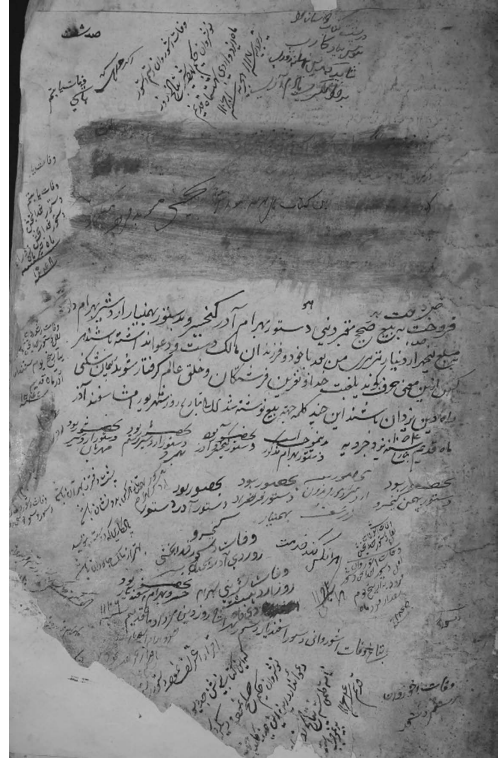
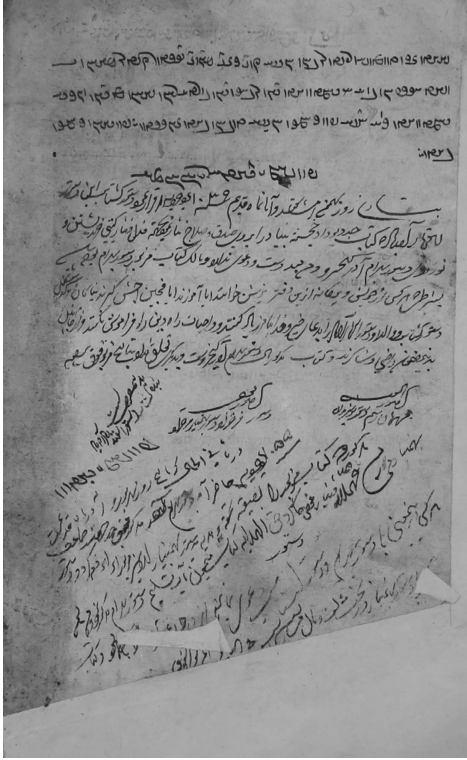


Image 71: MS. 4056, second page of the colophon and other notes including treaties

Image 72: MS. 4056, treaties and Sālmargs

- *Vafāt yābtan*⁷⁹⁶ *dastūr xodābaxš rūz-e ... māh Tīr māh saneye 1248*
 ‘The death of Dastūr Xodābaxš, on the day ..., the month Tīr, the year 1248’⁷⁹⁷
- *Vafāt-e ašū ravān la’l dastūr xodābaxš das[tūr] ... betārix-e yōm sfandār[maz], āzar māh-e qadīm, saneye 12045*
 ‘The death of holy soul, the jewel,⁷⁹⁸ Dastūr Xodābaxš Dastūr ..., on the date, on the day Sfindārmaz, the old month Āzar, the year 1245’⁷⁹⁹
- *Vafāt-e ašū ravān la’l dastūr xodābaxš, vafāt-e ašū ravān la’l dastūr xodābaxš dastūr forūd betārix-e yōm sfandārmazd, māh ..., saneye 1245*⁸⁰⁰
 ‘The death of holy soul, the jewel, Dastūr Xodābaxš, the death of holy soul, the jewel, Dastūr Xodābaxš Dastūr Forūd, on the date, on the day Sfindārmazd, the month ..., the year 1245’

⁷⁹⁶ Quite uncertain.

⁷⁹⁷ The era has not been mentioned, probably Yazdgerdi.

⁷⁹⁸ Alternatively *La’l*, a fem. personal name.

⁷⁹⁹ The era has not been mentioned, probably Yazdgerdi.

⁸⁰⁰ This Sālmarg is repeated and written by another scribe for the second time on this page.

- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ravānī dastūr esfandyār dastūr bahrāmšāh, rūz-e dīn, mordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 1116*
‘The death of holy soul, Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Bahrāmšāh, the day Dīn, the old month Mordād, the year 1116’⁸⁰¹
- *Vafāt-e šīrīn*⁸⁰² *bahrām rūz-e ordībehešt, dey māh, saneye 1192*⁸⁰³
‘The death of Šīrīn Bahrām, the day Ordībehešt, the month Dey, the year 1192’
- *Vafāt-e dastūr xodābaxš, rūz-e dey, āzar ...*⁸⁰⁴
‘The death of Dastūr Xodābaxš, the day Dey, (the month) Āzar, ...’

4.1.11. MS. 4060

4.1.11.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk-dahišnīh⁸⁰⁵ (2) xūb-murwāg ud xujastag-⁸⁰⁶rōzgār abestāg yašt <ī> wisparēd ud jud-dēw-(3)dād abāg nērang rēstag⁸⁰⁷ yazišnīgīhā. man dēn bandag mihrabān anōšērwan (4) wāhrōmšāh ērdēšēr wāhrōmšāh nibištōm <ud> frāz hišt az pačēn (5) ruwān garōdmānīg frēdōn marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm bundār šāhmardān (6) kē-š az bahrīh nām gānag <ī> zarēr rustōm anārōn nibištāg bawēd kē-šān <second page> (7) ruwān pad pahlom axwān rōšn garōdmān be-rasād. har kē ēn (8) daftar xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn-īg az-iš kunād ayāb yazišn-īg (9) pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw ruwānīh yād kunād (10) ēg-iš gēfī tan-husraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. kē-š (11) nām <ī> man kē nibištār hom awiš awestarēd ayāb abganēd ayāb yād (12) nē kunēd, ēg-iš nē ahlaw-dād, u-š gēfī tan dusraw u-š (13) pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād, u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwar ī ud (14) dādār ohrmazd. pad hanjāman ī īsdwāstarān ī zartuštān. pad farroxīh <ud> (15) pērōzīh rōz dēn-pad-mihr, māh fravardīn, sāl bar 1016 yazdgerd (16) šāhān šāh, nāfag be ō⁸⁰⁸ ī husraw ī šāhān šāh ohrmazdān (17) pad yazdān kām bawād. ēn daftar marzbān sandal husraw dād az (18) bahrīh kirbag ud mizd ud ahlāyīh <ī> ruwān <ī> xwēš framūd kē tā-z dastwarān (19) dastwar zādagān ud dēn-rāyēnīdārān kardan, kē xwānand, ayāb yazišn pad-iš (20) kunand ayāb pačēn az-iš kunand, ruwān <ī> marzbān abāg wehagān hambahr (21) kunand tā xwadāy šān be āmurzād⁸⁰⁹, anōšag⁸¹⁰-šān be ō⁸¹¹ ī ruwān rasād, (22) paywand⁸¹² pad sōšāns paywandād, tā 150 sālān har dastwarīg pad (23) ahlāyīh kār framāyēnd. nibištōm andar farrōx būm <ī> turkābād, rustāg

801 The era has not been mentioned, probably Yazdgerdi.

802 Written *šīrīnī*.

803 It is not clear whether this year belongs to this Sālmarg. On account of the similarity in the colour of the ink, I think that this is the year of the death of Šīrīn Bahrām.

804 Not clearly written.

805 The traces of another word, which has been altered, are found in the form of a ‘w’ at the beginning of *dahišnīh*.

806 Written *hupēstag* [hwpystk], which is not correct.

807 Written *rystk*.

808 A mistake for *ōy*.

809 Written ‘*mlc*’*d* and not ‘*mwlc*’*d*.

810 Written ‘*nšk*’.

811 A mistake for *ōy*.

812 Written *pwnd* instead of *ptwnd*.

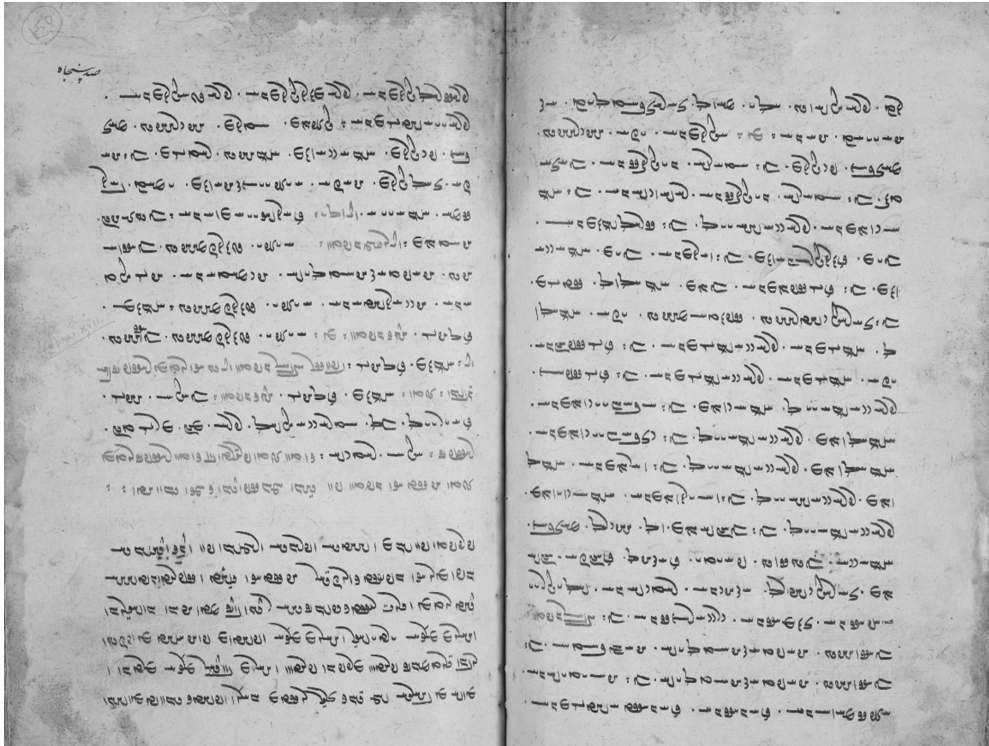


Image 73: MS. 4060, Middle Persian colophon, first page

meybod <𐭠> (24) *yazd*, *be xānag* <𐭠> *dastūr wāhrōm dastūr mihrabān dastūr anōšērwān dastūr* (25) *rustam kē-šan ruwān ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād pad yazdān ud amahraspandān* (26) *kām. ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bād. agar kē pad ēn pačēn vāzag-ē* (27) *frāmōš bawēd ayāb wardišnīgīyān, pad mādagwarīh be baxšāyēd.* <third page> (28) *wahištīg ruwānīg, kē drust nimāyēd, be garōdmān arzānīg bawād.* (29) **aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahē. ēk ast rāhīh** (30) *ahlāyīh ud yazad ud abārīg ān ī jud-rāhīh. šātō. manō. vahi* (31) **štō. uruunqñō.** *šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān ī xwēš. čand ahy* (32) *mēnōg dastwar ī čihromayān ī wištāspān be rasād, dēn rawāg dēn* (33) *burdārān-šan az dēn nēkīh rasād. har kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš* (34) *tuwān zīwīstan. pad yazdān kām bād.*

4.1.11.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate and (2) good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisperēd Judēw-(3) dād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Mihrabān Anōšērwān (4) Wāhrōmšāh Ērdēšēr Wāhrōmšāh have written and launched <it> from a copy of (5) Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Bundār Šāhmardān, having the heavenly soul, (6) which has been scribed for the remembrance of Zarēr Rustōm Anārōn. May their (7) souls reach that best world, the shining Garōdmān. Everybody who (8) would recite this book or teach it or make a copy of it or celebrate a ceremony (9) with it and remember us in good name and righteous soul, (10) may he be of good famed body in

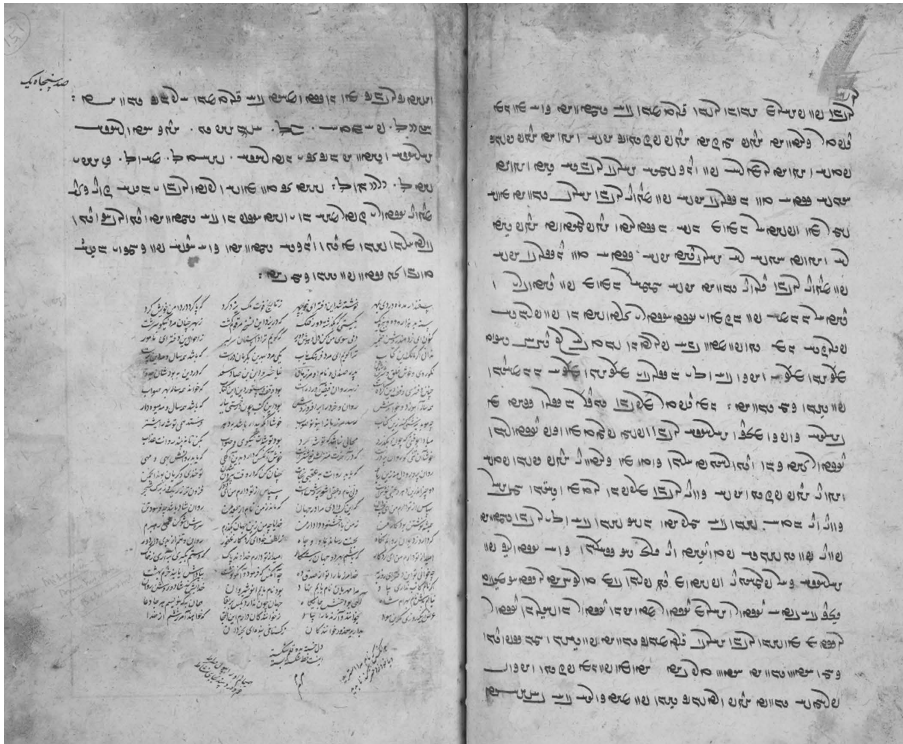


Image 74: MS. 4060, Middle Persian colophon, second and third page and Persian colophon

the material world and of pious soul in the spiritual world. In joy and victory. If (11) someone erases my name, I who am the scribe, so that he would throw it away, or does not remember it, (12) then may he not be of righteous deed, and may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul (13) in the spiritual world. If he removed (my name), I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, (14) Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadvāstrān of Zartušt. In glory (15) and victory, on the day Dēn-pad-mihr, the month Fravardīn, the year 1016 of Yazdgerd, (16) king of kings, descendant of Husraw, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. (17) May it be according to the will of Yazdān. This book has been ordered by Marzbān Sandal Husraw-dād (18) as a good deed and reward and for the righteousness of his own soul, to be made, in order that the Dastūrs and (19) the children of Dastūrs and the leaders of the religion recite it or make Yazīšn (20) and make a copy of it, and make the soul of Marzbān and other pious people (21) participant in that, may their God forgive them and may the immortality reach their souls and (22) may (their souls) join Sōšāns and may the Dastūrs use it for 150 years with (23) righteousness. I have written in the blessed land of Turkābād, the village Meybod of (24) Yazd, in the house of Dastūr Wāhrōm Dastūr Mihrabān Dastūr Anōšērwān Dastūr (25) Rostam. May their soul be pious and heavenly. May it be according to the will of yazads and Amahraspandān. (26) May it be so. May it be still more so. If a word has been forgotten in (27) this manuscript or (there were) some mistakes, may he excuse it principally and may his soul reach the paradise, (28) who corrects it, may he be worthy of Garōdmān. (29) **There is only one way and that is of the righteousness.**

There is only one way of (30) the pious and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and the paradise** (31) **soul**. He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible Dastūr of (32) the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wištāsp. May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion (33) attain goodness through religion. May everyone be able to live (34) according to his wish. May it be according to the will of yazads.’

4.1.11.3. *Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon*

sefandārmad māh, dar dey be mehr;

nevešte šod īn daftar ey xūb-čehr.

*ze tārix-e fot-e malek yazdgerd
ke pā kard dar dāman-e xīš gerd
sane bod, hezār o dah o pañ o yak,
be-gūtī ke bogzašte dōr-e falak.*

*ke dar yazd īn nosxe marqūm gašt
ze bahr-e čenān mard-e nīkū serašt
konūn ey xeradmand-e rōšan žamīr
damī sūy-e man kon del o hūš o vīr
ke gūyam to-rā dāstān sar be-sar
ze aḥvāl-e īn daftar, ey nāmvar!*

*nadānī agar mālek-e īn ketāb
to-rā gūyam, ey mard-e farhang yāb.
yekī mard-e Behdīn be-kermān dar ast
ke bāšad hame sāl o mah dīn parast*

nekū rūy o xoš xolq o šīrīn zabān

pedar šandal o nām-e ū marzbān

nīyā, xosrō, ebn-e ben šād sa’d

*ke dar dīn be būdšān jed o ...*⁸¹⁵

In the month Sefandārmad,⁸¹³ on the day
Dey-be-mehr,

this manuscript was written, O, the fine-na-
tured one!

From the era of King Yazdgerd’s death,
who wrapped his leg in his skirt⁸¹⁴
the year was 1016

in this world, as seen from the circle of fir-
mament

when this manuscript was written in Yazd,
for the possession of that good-natured man.

Now, O wise man, bright soul,
lend me your attention for a moment!

So that I can tell you the whole story
about the background of this manuscript, O
well-famed one!

If you do not know the owner of this book,
I will tell you, O sophisticated man.

There is a Zoroastrian man in Kerman
throughout the years and months, a firm be-
liever in the religion.

He has a beautiful face, is good-tempered,
and speaks mellifluously.

(His) father (is) Šandal and his name,
Marzbān

(his) grandfather was Xosro, the son of Ben
Šād Sa’d

who were diligent and ... in the religion.

813 In the Middle Persian colophon of this manuscript, the name of the month is Farvardīn. Here, it is Esfand. There is a one-month difference between the date of the Middle Persian and New Persian colophon in this manuscript. The day in both manuscripts is Dey-be-Mihr.

814 Meaning “he died”. Wrapping the legs was a part of the interment of a corpse during the Zoroastrian funeral ceremony (personal communications with Mūbed Mehraban Pouladi, February 7 2019).

815 The last word is missing. We can find only the traces of the first letter, probably a *h* or *g*.

čēnīn daftarī vaqf-e dīn karde ast
ze bahr-e ravān feyḏ āvarde ast
bovad vaqf-e dastūr-e dīn, īn ketāb

ke xānad hame sāle bahr-e šavāb

hame sale āmūzad o xānad-aš
ravān o xerad rā barafrūzad-aš
bovad īn ketab⁸¹⁶ čon deraxtī be-bār
kē bāšad hame sāl o mah, mīve-dār

če mūbed yazīšnī konad zīn ketāb

resad marzbān rā be-no no šavāb
xoša ān-ke bīdār bāšad be dahr

ferestad hamī tūše rā bīštar

mabādā be-vaqtī ke čon bogzarad
majālī nabāšad ke tūše barad

bovad tūše-at nīkovī o šavāb

bokon, tā na bīnad ravānat ẓāb
xoša ān tanī, kū ravān parvar ast
ke dar āxerat, manzel-aš xoštar ast

xoša ān-kas ke dārad be-dīn āgahī

ke yābad ravān-aš, behī yo mahī

ravān parvar o del maneh zīn rabāt

ke yābad ravānat be 'oqbā nejtāt

čēnān kon, ke dar vaqt-e bīrūn šodan

He has endowed this manuscript for the sake
 of the religion,
 bringing it forth for the grace of the soul.
 This book is an endowment to the Dastūrs of
 the religion.
 He recites it every year for the sake of the
 heavenly reward.
 (He) teaches it and recites it yearly.
 It inflames his soul and wisdom.
 This book is like a tree with fruits,
 which becomes fruitful every year and
 month.
 Every time a Mūbed performs Yazīšn with
 this book,
 the heavenly reward newly reaches Marzbān.
 Blessed is the one who remains awake in the
 world,
 and sends more provisions to the spiritual
 world.
 Lest when the time passes,
 there would be no time left to gather provi-
 sions.
 Your provisions should be goodness and
 good deeds,
 so that your soul would not see torment.
 Blessed is the one who improves his soul,
 for his place will be more pleasant in the
 hereafter.
 Blessed is the one who is aware of the reli-
 gion.
 and his soul can find goodness and great-
 ness.
 Improve your soul and do not place your
 heart in this caravanserai,⁸¹⁷
 so that your soul may be saved in the other
 world.
 Do so, that during the time that you are leav-
 ing (this world),

816 Abbreviation of *ketāb*. Unlikely plural form *kotob*.

817 Means “this world”. The world is likened to a caravanserai.

*to xandī yo geryān bovand anjoman
do čīz andar-īn dahr o 'oqbā xoš ast*

donī nām o oqbā ašū parvaš⁸¹⁸ ast

*sepās az to dāram man ey dādgār
fozūn tar ze rīg o ze barg-e šājar
sepās az tū dāram man ey qeyb dān
ke īn kasb dādī ma-rā dar jahān
ke mānad ze man nām az ba 'd-e man
ravān šād bāšad če farsūd tan*

*hamīše neveštan bovad kār-e man
ze man bād xošnūd dādār-e man
xodāyā če man zīn jahān bogzaram*

*sorūš-e ašū kon hamī rahbaram
ke dārad, ze dīvān, ravānam negāh*

be janat, resānad be-mā, dād [o] jāh

ze loṭf-e xod-e, ey, kerdegār-e qafūr

*ravān o tanam az badī dār dūr
omīd az to dāram man ey kerdegār
ke bāšam be har do jahān rastegār
omīd az to dāram xodāvand-e pāk
ke dastam begīrī, barārī ze xāk*

če xānī to īn daftar, ey rūzbeh

*xodāmorz-e mā rā to az šedq deh
če ān-kas ke farmūd o ān-kū nevešt*

be-pādāš, yāband, xorram behešt

you would laugh and the assembly cry.

Two things are pleasant in the material and the other worlds.

In this world, the name, and in the hereafter, the immortality.

I thank you, O, the Judge!

more than pebbles and leaves of the trees.

I thank you, O, clairvoyant!⁸¹⁹

that you gave me this job in the world;

because my name will remain after me;

(and) my soul will be happy, while the body is decomposed.

My occupation is always writing.

May my creator be always happy with me.

O, my God, when I pass away from this world;

make the holy Sorūš my leader!

so that he would protect my soul from the Demons

and would give me justice and place in the paradise.

From your mercy, O, the creator, and the for-giver!

keep my body and soul away from badness!

I have hope in you, O, the creator!

that I would be successful in both worlds.

I have hope in you, O, the pure God,

that you hold my hand and elevate me from the soil!

When you read this book, O, the fortunate one!⁸²⁰

Deliver us a may-God-forgive with honesty!

Because the one who ordered and the one who scribed,

they will reach the cheerful the paradise as reward.

818 Quite uncertain.

819 The term "clairvoyant" is an attribute of God.

820 Unlikely the personal name *Rūzbeh*.

agar nām-e kâteb nadārī be-yād

ma-rā mehrabān, nām, bābam nahād

bovād nām-e bābam anūšīrvān

xodāy-aš konad šād o rōšan ravān

nīyā-am, bod-aš nām, bahrām šāh

elāhī bovād janat-aš jāygāh

jahān čon nadārad be-kas bar baqā

hamān beh ke benvīsam har jā do 'ā

garaz īnke rūzī magar īn savād

bexānand o ārand mā rā be-yād

ze xānandegān dāram īn eltejā

ke xāhand āmorzešam az xōdā

bedārīd ma'zūr xānandegān

ze gostāxī-ye bande, ey bexradān!

har ān-kas ke nām-e marā estarīd

va yā xod ze daftar konad nābedīd

hamīmāl-am ū rā be-pūl-e šerāt

gam o dard bīnad be-jāy-e nešāt

del xaste bod o qalam šekaste

īnast xaṭ-e šekaste baste

m, m, m

If you do not remember the name of the scribe,

My father called me Mehrabān.

The name of my father is Anūšīrvān.

May God make him happy and illuminate his soul!

The name of my grandfather was Bahrāmšāh.

May his place be the paradise!

Since the world is not immortal for anybody, it is better that I write prayers everywhere!

Given that maybe this writing one day, (they) read (it) and remember our name,

I beg the readers,

that they pray to God to forgive me

Please excuse me (you) readers!

for my insolence, O, the wise ones!

Anyone, who erases my name

or removes it from the manuscript

I will be accuser during (passing) from the bridge of Šerāt

May he see sadness and pain instead of happiness

My heart was tired, and my pen was broken,

This is the broken closed⁸²¹ handwriting.

Completed.

821 *šekaste baste* is an adjective phrase which means 'something which is hastily knocked together'.



Image 75: MS. 4060, Persian colophon

4.1.12. MS. 4062

4.1.12.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk-dahišn* (2) *xūb-murwāg ud xujastag-rōzgār abestāg yašt wisparēd* (3) *jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag yazīšnīhā. man dēn-* (4) *bandag marzbān wāhrōm marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rustōm* (5) *bundār šahmardān dēn-ayār nibištōm ud frāz hišt az* (6) *pačēn pidar*⁸²² *pidar ī xwēš anōšagruwān wahīštīg-bahr* (7) *marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm kē-š az bahr ī xwēšīh ī xwēš* (8) *ud frazandān xwēš nibištāg bēd*⁸²³ *ō az pačēn šahryār* (9) *ērdēšīr ērīz*⁸²⁴ *rustōm kē-š az bahrih pērōzgarīh* (10) *wāhrōm rustōm bundār šahmardān nibištāg bawēd, kē-* (11) *šān ruwān pad pahlom axwān rōšn ō garōdmān be* <second page> (12) *rasād. man pačēn az-iš kard ham pad sōg*⁸²⁵ *ī dastwar span* (13) *dyād anōšagruwān ādūr, kē tā dastwarān ud dēndārān ud dastwar-* (14) *zādagān xwānand ud hammōzand ud pačēn az-iš kunand ud yazīšn* (15) *pad-iš kunand. ruwān* <ī> *rustōm* <ī> *husraw, rustōm zamān ud mah-* (16) *hūxtān,*⁸²⁶ *rustōm dārāb rāy hambahr ku-*

⁸²² In the Persian transcription of *barādar*, which is not correct. *ABYtl* is an ideogram for *pēdar*.

⁸²³ Written *bēd* [byt] instead of *būd*.

⁸²⁴ Alternatively *ērēz*.

⁸²⁵ Meaning ‘use, profit’, unlikely *dēn*.

⁸²⁶ Quite uncertain.

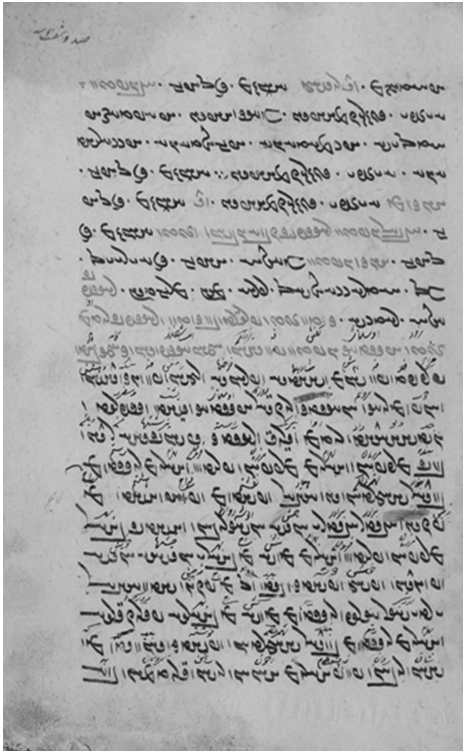


Image 76: MS. 4062, Middle Persian colophon, first page

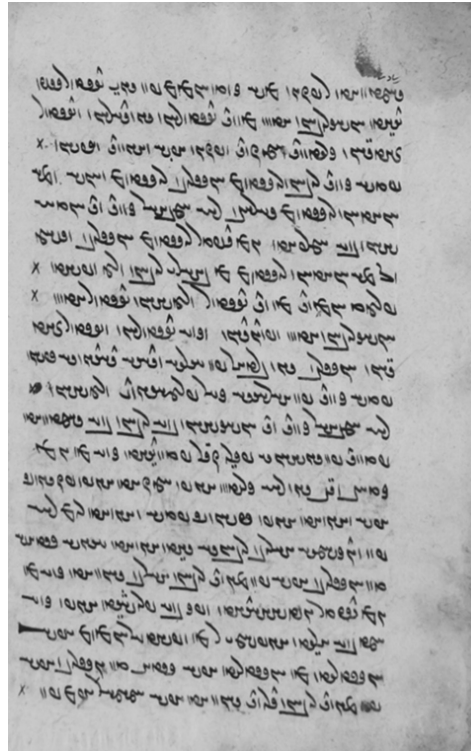


Image 77: MS. 4062, Middle Persian colophon, second page

nand tā xwadāy- (17) šān be āmarzād. ēn daftar rostōm husraw zan (18) ō mah-hūxtān⁸²⁷ rustōm az bahr ī ruwān <ī> ōy nibištān⁸²⁸ (19) framūd hand kē tā dastwar ōy-šān, dastwar ādūr (20) anōšagruwān ādūr ud frazandān ud har dastwarān ud dastwar-zāda- (21) gān husraw dēn-burdār pad ērīh <ud> wehīh dahišnīh, yazīšn (22) pad-iš kunand pad ahlāyīh kār framāyēnd, ōy-šān (23) rāy hambahr kunand tā anōšagīhān⁸²⁹ be ruwān berasād, (24) pawand pad sōšāns <ī> pērozgar paywandād. har kē ēn (25) ketāb <ī> gab-dēn rāy xwānād⁸³⁰ ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn-īg (26) az-iš kunād ayāb yazīšnīg pat-iš kunād, amā rāy (27) pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw-ruwānīh yād kunād ēg-iš gētīh (28) tan-husraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. har kē (29) ēn daftar⁸³¹ ī jud-dēw-dād <ī> wafk⁸³² be-frōšēd ayāb har (30) kē⁸³³ be-xarēd,⁸³⁴ ayāb nām ī man kē nibištār hom az-iš (31) awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gētīh tan dusraw u-š (32) pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād, u-š hamēmāl ham pad (33) <third page>

⁸²⁷ Quite uncertain.

⁸²⁸ Alternatively *nibišt*.

⁸²⁹ Unlikely *anōšag-šān*. The word *anōšagīhān* is plural of *anōšagīh* ‘immortality’.

⁸³⁰ Written *xwānd*.

⁸³¹ Written *dēftar*.

⁸³² Persian/Arabic *wafk* ‘habous or mortmain property’.

⁸³³ Written *ka* [AMT] ‘if, when’, which is not correct.

⁸³⁴ Written *xarēd* [hryt] and not *xwarēd* [hwryt].

dādwar ī dādār ohrmazd. pad farroxīh ud pērōzīh, (34) rōz ī dēn ⁸³⁵ *pad mihr ī pērōzgar ud māh ī amōrdad, sāl bar (35) 1022 yazdgerd, šāhān šāh nāfag be ō ī husraw ī šāh(36)ān šāh ohrmazdān pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kām (37) bād.* ⁸³⁶ *ēdōn bawād, ēdōntar-iz bawād. aēuuō. p(38)anṭā. yō. aṣahe. ēk ast rāhīh (39) ahlāyīh jād,* ⁸³⁷ *abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh. šātō. (40) manō.838 vahištō. uruuqnō. šād ān tan (41) kē-š warzēd ruwān <ī> xwēš. čand ahy mēnōg dastwar čihro(42)mayān wištāspān be rasād, dēn rawāg ud dēn burdā(43)rān-šān az dēn nēkīh rasād har kas pad kāmāg ī (44) xwēš tuwān bawād zīwistan. nōiṭ. čahmi.839 z(45)azu-ua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazauua.840 nōiṭ. č(46)ahmi. zazuša. nē-š čīš grift kē-š nē ruwān (47) grift tā nūn-iz nē čīš grift kē nē ruwān gīrēd. (48) naēčīš. zaraθuštra. sūš. yaθa. ādare (49) mašīiāka. ēg-iš az dēwān sūd ne bawēd spēt(50)āmān zardušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm. čē agar-šān (51) pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg- išan sar zyān bawēd. ēdōn (52) bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād pad yazdān ud amahraspandān (53) kāmāg bawād, kāmāg weh-dēnān bawād.*

4.1.12.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate (2) and good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd (3) Juddēwdād with Nērangs and series of ritual. I, the servant (4) of the religion, Marzbān Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm (5) Bundār Šahmardān Dēnyār, have written and launched <it> from (6) a copy of the father of my father, immortal soul, having the paradise as his residence, (7) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm, who wrote <it> for his relatives⁸⁴¹ (8) and children from a copy of Šahryār (9–10) Ērdēšīr Ērīz Rustōm, which was written, and for the victory of Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār Šahmardān. (11) May their souls reach forever that best shining world, Garōdmān. (12) I have written it for the use of the Dastūr Spandyād (13) Anōšagruwān Ādūr, so that Dastūrs and the leaders of the religion and the children (14) of Dastūrs, would recite it and teach it and make a copy of it and celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony (15) with it. May (they) make participation (with) the soul of good-name Rustōm, Rustōm of the time, great good speech, (16) Rustōm Dārāb, so that may God (17) forgive them. This manuscript by the wife of Rustōm Husraw, (18) for great good speech Rustōm, for his soul, (19) was ordered so that their Dastūrs, Dastūr Ādūr Anōšagruwān (20) Ādūr and the children of Dastūrs and every Dastūr and the children (21) of Dastūrs, and the good name and faithful (children), would perform the Yazīšn ceremony (22) with it with humility and good omen. May they use <it> with righteousness and (23) make them participants in that, so that immortality would reach their soul and (24) may they join Sōšāns. Everyone who would recite this (25) book, the speech of the religion, and teach it or make a copy (26) of it, or perform the Yazīšn ceremony with it, and may he remember us (27) in good name and piety of the soul, then may he, in the material world, (28) be of a good famed body and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. Anyone who (29) would sell this endowed Juddēwdād or (30) buy or erase my name, I who am the scribe, (31) so that he would throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, (32) and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be the plaintiff (accuser) in (33) the presence of the

⁸³⁵ Written in red.

⁸³⁶ Written *b' t*.

⁸³⁷ The term *jād* 'portion' does not occur in this passage as in other manuscripts.

⁸³⁸ In a number of manuscripts, such as in 4010, *manā*.

⁸³⁹ In many manuscripts, *ahmi*. In the second colophon of the manuscripts 4063 and 4000, *čahmi*.

⁸⁴⁰ In a number of manuscripts such as 4010, 4030, 4063, *zazuša*.

⁸⁴¹ The word *xwēšīh* also means 'possession', in which case the translation would be 'for his own possession'.

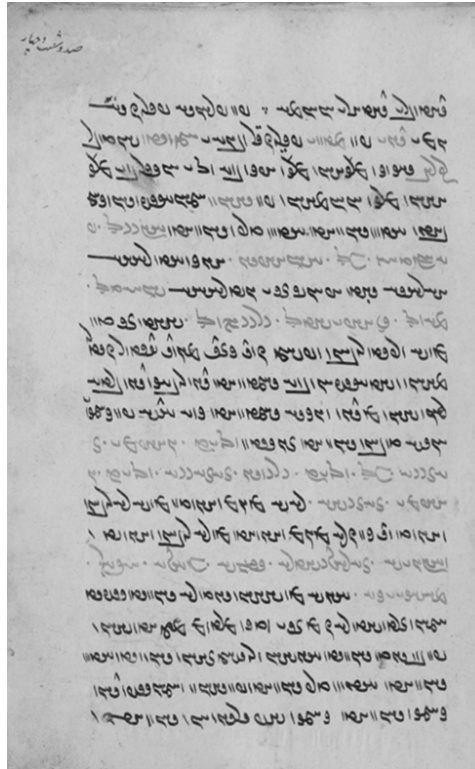


Image 78: MS. 4062, Middle Persian colophon, third page

judge, Ohrmazd, the creator. On the auspicious and victorious (34) day Dīn pad Mehr, and the month Amordād of the year (35) 1022 (of) the king of kings Yazdgerd, descendant of his majesty Husraw, king of kings, (36) son of Ohrmazd, may it be according to the will of God and Amahraspandān. (37) May it be so! May it be still more so! **There is only one** (38) **way, and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of (39) piety, and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness** (40) **and the paradise soul**, he would be glad in body, (41) (the one) who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, (42) son of Wištāsp! May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion (43) attain goodness through religion. May everyone be able to live according (44) to his wish. S/he has not won anything (45–47) who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. (48) And, **O Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit from** (49) **evil inside men.** Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, O Spitāmān (50) Zartušt and no benefit from the bad men. Because if (51) there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then in the end there is injury (for) them. May it (52) be so! May it be still more so, according to the will of Amahraspandān and Yazads. (53) May it be according to the will of Behdīns.’

4.1.12.3. Verses, front end paper

šekaste ... dāram ey por honar

If I have made any mistakes, O (you), full of art, forgive them!

be baxšāy tagšīram ey tāj-e sar

Excuse my errors, O (you), pinnacle of excellence!

ṭama^c dāram az jomle Behdīnhā

I long for the goodwill of all Behdīns,

čo xānand xaṭam resānand do^c ā

May they read my writings and pray for me.

ze mā bād bar nīk xāhān dorūd

From us, heartfelt greetings to well-wishers,

ke bāšand ...⁸⁴² xānand⁸⁴³ ...⁸⁴⁴

Who are ... and read

- *Šahrīyār esfandyār ...,⁸⁴⁵ al^c bad ...⁸⁴⁶ kamtarīn-e xalqollāh ta^c ālā, xodādād xodābaxš, saneye ...⁸⁴⁷*

‘Šahrīyār esfandyār, the servant ... the humblest of the God’s creatures, the great. Xodādād Xodābaxš, the year ...’

- *Al-^cabd bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalqollāh xodādād valad-e xodā baxš, saneye 1266 hejriye*

‘The servant, the humblest of the God’s creatures, Xodādād, the son of xodābaxš, the year 1266 Hejri.’

- *Al-^cabd ...⁸⁴⁸ kamtarīn-e xalqollāh ta^c ālā ...*

‘The servant the humblest of the God’s creatures, the great...’

- *Al-^cabd bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalqollāh kīyāmarš jamšīd*

‘The servant, the humblest of the God’s creatures, Kīyāmarš Jamšīd’

Verses, fol. 75

agar xāhī ke bāšī dar ferāḡat

If you seek tranquility,

makon bā ādam-e nādān refāḡat

avoid forming friendships with those lacking intelligence.

Verses, fol. 76r

be qabrestān gozar kardam kam o bīš

Sometimes, I passed by the cemetery,

842 Illegible.

843 Quite uncertain.

844 Illegible.

845 Illegible.

846 Illegible.

847 It is effaced.

848 Illegible.

<i>be-bod xāk-e dolatmand o darvīš</i>	Where there were graves of both rich and poor alike.
<i>na darvīš bī kafan dar xāk bordand</i>	Neither was the poor buried without a shroud,
<i>... dolat mand ū rā ... yek kaṣṣ⁸⁴⁹</i>	Nor did the rich possess an extra shoe.

Verses, fol. 96r

<i>har kas īn ketāb-rā ṭama^c konand</i>	May those who greedily covet this book
<i>be-ātaš-e dūzax ū rā kabāb konand</i>	Be engulfed by the hellfire.
<i>elāhī ōmīd⁸⁵⁰</i>	Amen, O God!

Verses, fol. 115r

<i>ṣaḥeb-e īn ketāb por⁸⁵¹ šav[ad]</i>	May the owner of this book attain greatness,
<i>došman-e ū ze qam ašīr⁸⁵² šavad⁸⁵³</i>	And may their adversaries perpetually dwell in sadness.

Prayers, fol. 121r

- *Yā šāh varahrām īzad-e pāk ‘O, holy šāh varahrām īzad!’*

On the left margin of this page is written:

- *Al ‘abd bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalq ollāh, xodādād behmard hūšang, saneye 1246.⁸⁵⁴*
‘The servant, humblest servant among the God-created people, Xodādād Behmard Hūšang, the year 1246.’

MS. 4062: Sālmargs fol. 165v

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr zāde⁸⁵⁵ e^c zām⁸⁵⁶ ekrām⁸⁵⁷ dastūr nūšīrvān dastūr ādar nūšīrvān ādar dar rūz-e gōš, māh-e farvardīn-e qadīm, sane-ye 1034*
‘The death date of the son of Dastūr, the great, Dastūr Nūšīrvān Dastūr Ādar Nūšīrvān Ādar, on the day Gōš, the old month Farvardīn, the year 1034 AY (AD 1665).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e rošam bahrām yazdān dar rūz-e ādar dey-e qadīm yaz[d]jerdīye sane-ye 1047*

849 In the original verse: *be qabrestān gozar kardam kam o bīš* / I passed cemetery sometimes / *be dīdam qabr-e dolatmand o darvīš* / I saw the graves of both rich and poor people / *na darvīš bī kafan dar xāk rafte* / neither poor was buried without shroud / *na dolatmand borde yek kafan bīš* / nor rich took one shroud more.

850 Probably a mistake for *elāhī āmīn* ‘O! God Amen’.

851 Quite uncertain.

852 Quite uncertain.

853 This verse is repeated and written again by another hand on this page.

854 The era has not been mentioned.

855 Quite uncertain.

856 The word *e^c zām* is Arabic and means ‘respecting’.

857 The word *ekrām* is Arabic and a synonym of *e^c zām*, meaning ‘commemorating’.

‘The death date of Rostam Bahrām Yazdān, on the day Ādar, the old month Dey, the year 1047 AY (AD 1678).’

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e marḥūm mūbed ardešīr ben-e marxūm*⁸⁵⁸ *jamšīd xodābaxš, rūz-e zāmyād, va mehr māh-e, sane-ye 1262 yazdgerdī*
 ‘The death date of the deceased Mūbed Ardešīr, the son of the deceased Jamšīd Xodābaxš, on the day Zāmyād, the month Mehr, the year 1262 AY (AD 1893).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e marḥūm mūbed keyxosro ben-e marḥum mūbed ardešīr, yōm xeyr, va tīr māh-e qadīm sane-ye 1282 yazdgerdī*
 ‘The death date of the deceased Mūbed Keyxosro, the son of the deceased Mūbed Ardešīr, on the day Xeyr, and the old month Tīr, the year 1282 AY (AD 1913).’
- *Vafāt yāftan-e marḥum mūbed xosro mūbed bahman be tārīx-e yōm dey-be-ādar īzad fī*⁸⁵⁹ *ādar māh e qadīm be hemmat-e ḥaq nevešte*⁸⁶⁰ *šode, sane-ye 1284 hejriye*
 ‘The death of the deceased Mūbed Xosro Mūbed Bahman, on the date, on the day Dey-be-Ādar Īzad, the old month Ādar, by the favour of God, it has been written, the year 1284 Hejri (AD 1868).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e sītī mandkār*⁸⁶¹ *rūz-e rām, bahman māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 177*⁸⁶²
 ‘The death date of Sītī Mandkār (?), on the day Rām, the old month Bahman, the year 1077 AY⁸⁶³ (AD 1708).’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e sītī mandkār, rūz-e rām, bahman māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 147*⁸⁶⁴
 ‘The death date of Sītī Mandkār (?), on the day Rām, the old month Bahman, the year 1047⁸⁶⁵ AY (AD 1678).’⁸⁶⁶

MS. 4062: Verses, fol. 165v

<i>Rūzegārānī ke yārān-e bā ham būde-īm</i>	Those days, when we were such close friends,
<i>hamrafiq-e hamdam-e hamrāz bā ham bude-īm</i>	Friends, companions, and confidants of one another.
<i>ey falak čandīn amānam deh ke yek bār-e degar</i>	O! Firmament, grant me enough time to once more
<i>bāz bīnam rūy-e yārānī ke bā ham būde-īm</i>	See the faces of those friends with whom we were together.

858 Quite uncertain.

859 Arabic word meaning ‘in’.

860 Quite certain.

861 Uncertain.

862 Probably 1077.

863 Possibly Yazdgerdi era.

864 Probably 1047.

865 Probably Yazdgerdi era.

866 On this page, two different dates of death for this name are mentioned: (1) 1047 and (2) 1077, both probably the Yazdgerdi era.

*Al ʿabd, bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalq ollāh, šahrīyār keyxosro*⁸⁶⁷, *1198 yazdġerdīye*
 ‘The servant, humblest servant among the God-created people, Šahrīyār Keyxosro, 1198 AY (AD 1829).’

<i>do morġ az marġzāri kard farvāz</i> ⁸⁶⁸	two birds flew from a meadow
<i>be sūy-e ʿrš bālā mīfarīdand</i> ⁸⁶⁹	towards the sky they flew
<i>yekī rā sar borīdand lang gardīd</i>	the head of one of them was cut, he became lame
<i>yekī rā pāh borīdand gašt bī sar</i>	the foot of one of them was cut, he became headless ⁸⁷⁰
<i>agar xāhī ke bāšī dar ferāġat</i>	If you seek tranquility,
<i>makon bā ādam-e nādān refāqat</i>	avoid forming friendships with unintelligent individuals.

Al ʿabd, bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalq ollāh, xodādād behmard
 ‘The servant, humblest servant among the God-created people, Xodādād Behmard.’

MS. 4062: Names and dates, fol. 165v

- *Al ʿabd, bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalq ollāh, šahrīyār keyxosro, 1197 yazdġerdīye*
 ‘The servant, humblest servant among the God-created people, Šahrīyār Keyxosro, 1197 AY (1828 AD).’⁸⁷¹
- *Al ʿabd, bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalq ollāh, xodādād behmard, 1233 hejriye*
 ‘The servant, humblest servant among the God-created people, Xodādād Behmard, 1233 Hejri (1818 AD).’
- *ʿamal-e kamtarīn-e xalq ollāh, šahrīyār keyxosro, sane-ye 1223*
 ‘Done by the humblest among the God-created people, Šahrīyār Keyxosro, 1223’⁸⁷²
- *ʿamal-e kamtarīn xalq ollāh, šahrīyār keyxosro, sane-ye 1243 hejriye*
 ‘Done by the humblest among the God-created people, Šahrīyār Keyxosro, 1243 Hejri (1828 AD).’

867 Quite certain.

868 Instead of parvāz.

869 An Arabic pronunciation of *mīparīdand*.

870 This verse is a riddle (Persian *ġīstān*) and has a double meaning. The answer to the riddle contains two Persian words: *šāne-be-sar* ‘hoopoe’ and *kolang* ‘pick’.

871 His name occurs four times on this page: (1) In 1197 AY (1828 AD) (2) as the scribe of this verse: *rūzegārānī ke yārān-e bā ham būde-īm* ..., which was written in 1198 AY (1829 AD), (3) In 1223, probably the Hejri era, that is, 1809 AD and (4) In 1243 Hejri (1828 AD).

872 Probably the Hejri era (1809 AD).

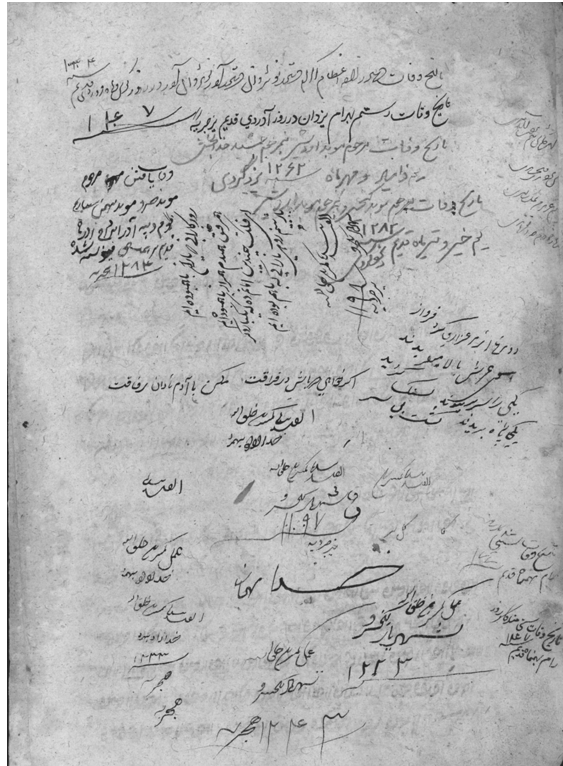


Image 79: MS. 4062, Sālmargs and verses, page 165v

MS. 4062: Sālmargs, birthdays and further notes, fol. 165r

- *Be nām-e xodā. tārix-e āmadan-e šīrīn dastūr keyxosro*⁸⁷³ *dastūr xodādād dastūr behmard rūz-e vahman amšāsfand, šahrīvar mäh-e qadīm. xodā rūzegār-e xūb bedahešān. sane-ye 1240*⁸⁷⁴ *hejriye.*

‘In the name of God. The birthday date of Šīrīn Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Xodādād Dastūr Behmard, on the day Vahman Amšāsfand, the old month Šahrīvar. May God give them a good life. The year 1242 Hejri (1827 AD).’

- *Tārix-e vafāt-e marhūm e‘zām, dastūr ašūravān dastūr adar dastūr nūšīrvān dastūr adar, dar rūz-e dey-be-dīn, āzar mäh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1000*⁸⁷⁵ *505 xodāy-aš bīyāmorzād har kas be-gūyad xodā bīyāmorzād ...*

‘The death date of the deceased, with respecting, Dastūr Ašūravān Dastūr Adar Dastūr Nūšīrvān Dastūr Adar, on the day Dey-be-Dīn, the old month Āzar, the year 1055. May God bless everybody, who says, ‘may God bless.’

873 Quite uncertain.

874 Meaning 1242.

875 Means 1055.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e marhūm e'zām dastūr rostam dastūr ādar dastūr nūšīrvān dastūr ādar, dar rūz-e dey-be-ādar, sefandārmad mäh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1000504. xodāš bīyāmorzād. šād ašū ravān bād*
 'The death date of the deceased, with respecting, Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Ādar Dastūr Nūšīrvān Dastūr Ādar, on the day Dey-be-Ādar, the old month Sepandārmad, the year 1054. May God bless him. May his soul be happy and holy.'
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ravān mādar-e mosammāt zarestūn dastūr fereydūn dastūr ādar dar rūz-e dey-be-mehr īzad sefandārmad mäh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1000504. xodāš bīyāmorzād. ašū ravān bād*
 'The death date of holy soul, the mother of lady, Zarestūn Dastūr Fereydūn Dastūr Ādar, on the day Dey-be-Mehr Īzad, the old month Sefandārmad, the year 1054 AY⁸⁷⁶ (1685 AD). May God bless her. May her soul be holy.'
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e mosammāt šārbānū dastūr bahrām dastūr īzadyār, dar rūz-e anārām, bahman mäh-e qadīm, sane-ye 10042*
 'The death date of the lady, Šārbānū Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Īzadyār, on the day Anārām, the old month Bahman, the year 1042 AY⁸⁷⁷ (1673 AD).'
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e šāh-soleymān dar rūz-e āsmān, dey mäh-e qadīm, sane-ye 100043. xodāyaš bīyāmorzād. šād ašū ravān bād*
 'The death date of Šāh-Soleymān, on the day Āsmān, the old month Dey, the year 1043 AY⁸⁷⁸ (1674 AD). May God bless him. May his soul be happy and holy soul.'

*har ke mā rā dahad xod[ā]morzī
 yā rab ū rā xodā bīyāmorzād
 har ke bad gūyad o bad andīšad
 marg-e ū dar jahān be zūdī bād*

To all who seek God's forgiveness for us,
 O, God! Bless their souls.
 To all who speak and think ill of us,
 May their time in this world come to a swift
 end.

- *Šāhebe⁸⁷⁹ jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro yazdī ke dar kermān sāken būd ba' d dar kūk⁸⁸⁰ sāken dārad⁸⁸¹. az xonande⁸⁸² tavaqoh⁸⁸³ dāram ke xodā bīyāmorz be xodam va pedaram, mādaram, haftād poštām, xodā bīyāmorz behem bedahad.*
 'The owner, Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro Yazdī, who resided in Kerman and later in Kuk, anticipates from the readers of this book to bestow upon me, my father, my mother, and my last seven ancestors their prayers for God's forgiveness.'

876 Probably Yazdgerd era.

877 Probably Yazdgerd era.

878 Probably Yazdgerd era.

879 Uncertain.

880 Uncertain.

881 *Sāken dārad* seems to be false here. Maybe *soknā dārad*.

882 Probably a Zoroastrian Darī (also known as Behdīnī, Gavrī, Gavrūnī) pronunciation.

883 Instead of *tavaqo* 'expectation'.

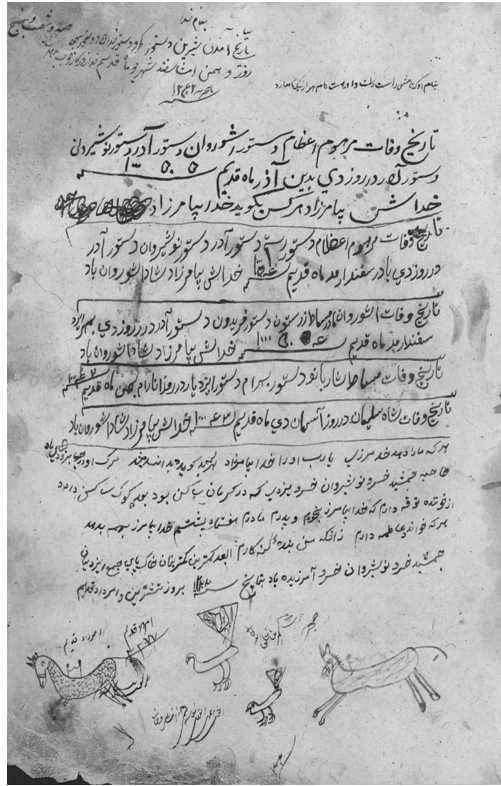


Image 80: MS. 4062, Sālmargs, birthdays, and verses

har kē xānad do'ā tamah dāram

From everyone who reads this book, I request prayer,

*zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram*⁸⁸⁴

For I am a servant burdened with sins.

Al' abd, kamtarīn-e kamtarīnān, xāk-e pāy-e hame-ye īzadīyān. jamšīd xosro nūšīrvān xosro āmorzīde bād be tā[r]īx-e, sane-ye 12202, be rūz-e taštārīn va amordād-e qadīm

‘The servant, the most humble of the most humble, the dust beneath the feet of all the followers of Īzad. Jamšīd Xosro Nūšīrvān Xosro, may God bless him. In the year 1222, on the day of Taštārīn, the old [month] of Amordād.’

⁸⁸⁴ This verse occurs in other manuscripts, for example, in Suppl. pers. 29 (see Colophon 3a in Unvala 1940: 7).

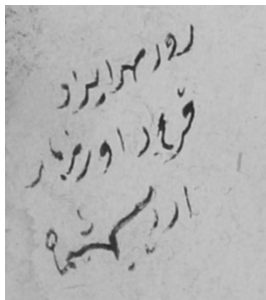


Image 81: MS. 4062, Name and date

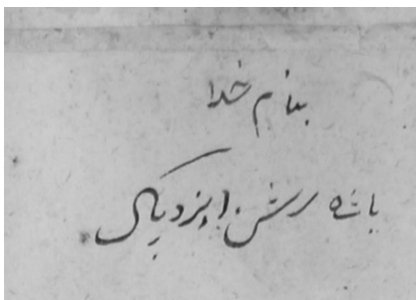


Image 82: MS. 4062, Note

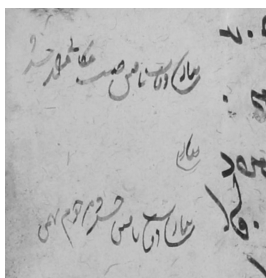


Image 83: MS. 4062, Sālmarg

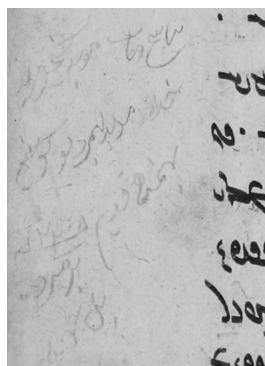


Image 84: MS. 4062, Sālmarg

Note, fol. 176r

- *Be-nām-e xodā. yā šāh rašn īzad-e pāk.*
‘In the name of God. O, the holy Šāh Rašn Īzad!’

Name and date, fol. 176r

- *Rūz-e mehr īzad, farhād ormazyār. ordībehešt māh.*
‘The day Mehr Īzad, Farhad Ormazyār, the month Ordībehešt.’

Sālmarg, fol. 180r

- *Be-tārix-e vafāt-e mūbed keyxosro mūbed xodādād mūbed behmard, yōm gōš, bahmanmāh-e qadīm, saneye 1235 yazdgerd, ben⁸⁸⁵ šahryār.⁸⁸⁶*
‘The death date of Mūbed Keyxosro Mūbed Xodādād Mūbed Behmard, on the day Gōš, the old month Bahman, the year 1235 of Yazdgerd, the son of Šahrīyār.’

Sālmarg, fol. 197r

- *Be-tārix-e vafāt yāftan-e janat makānī mūbed xosro ...*

⁸⁸⁵ Uncertain. If the reading is correct, it means Yazdgerd, the son of the king.

⁸⁸⁶ It is not clear whether *ben šahrīyār* belongs to the year or is the name of the scribe of this Sālmarg.

‘The death date of the paradise place, Mūbed Xosro ...’

- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt yāftan-e xosro marḥūm bahman*

‘The death date of Xosro (the son of the) deceased Bahman ...’

On the following pages we find a number of dates, names and other notes:

Dates and names, fol. 223r

- *Rūz vahman amšāsfand, rostam nūš javānmard, ābān māh*

‘The day Vahman, the Amahraspand, Rostam Nūš Javānmard, the month Ābān.’

- *Rūz vahman amšāsfand, bemān⁸⁸⁷ bahrām, ābān māh*

‘The day Vahman, the Amahraspand, Bemān Bahrām, the month Ābān.’

Dates and names, fol. 228r

- *Rūz-e šāh varahrām īzad, vahmanmāh rūze, xoršīd ardešīr*

‘The day Šāh Varahrām Īzad, the fasting month of Vahman, Xoršīd Ardešīr.’

Xodāmorzī note, p. 231r

- *Rūz-e šahrīvar, šahrīvar māh, dastūr ōrmazdyār be-raḥmat-e ḥaq raft. Xodāyaš bīyāmorzād*

‘On the day Šahrīvar, the month Šahrīvar, Dastūr Ōrmazdyār passed away. May God bless him.’

Name and date, fol. 242r

- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt yāftan dastūr bahman dastūr keyxosro, yōm ard īzad, amordād māh, saneye 1250⁸⁸⁸*

‘The death date of Dastūr Bahman Dastūr Keyxosro, the day Ard Īzad, the month Amordād, the year 1250.’

On the same page:

- *Xodā nīk. be nām-e xodā⁸⁸⁹* ‘God (is) beautiful. In the name of God!’

MS. 4062: Verses, fol. 243r

*Be-nām-e xodā, be-nām-e xodā
elāhī šavad amr-e došman tabā[h]*

In the name of God, in the name of God,
O, God! May the intentions of our enemies
be thwarted

⁸⁸⁷ Quite uncertain.

⁸⁸⁸ The era has not been mentioned. The third digit is likely 5.

⁸⁸⁹ *Be-nām-e xodā* has been written four times.

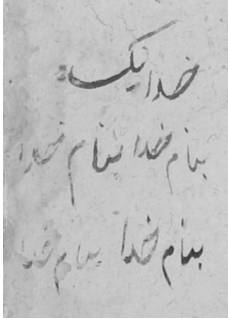


Image 85: MS. 4062,
Name and date

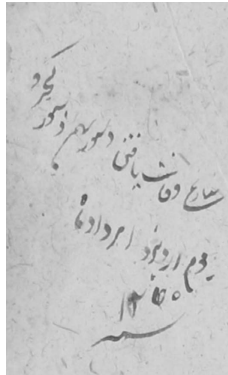


Image 86: MS. 4062,
Name and date

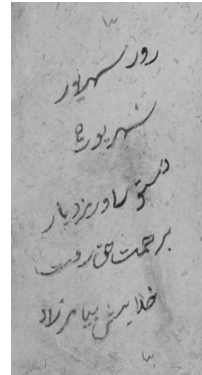


Image 87: MS.
4062, Xodāmōrzi
note

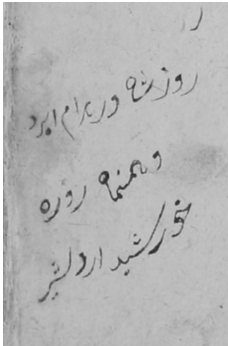


Image 88: MS. 4062,
Dates and names

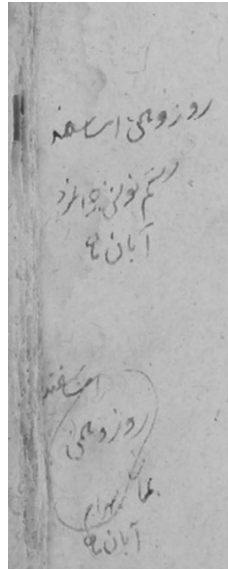


Image 89: MS. 4062,
Dates and names

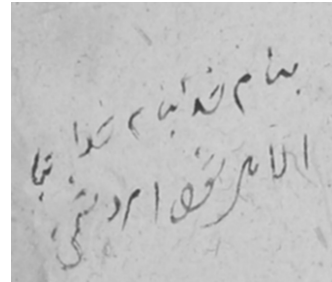


Image 90: MS. 4062, Dates and
names

Sālmarg, fol. 253r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt yāftan-e dastūr xodādād dastūr bahman, rūz-ī deybedīn pāk ōrmazd, bahmanmāh 1252.*⁸⁹⁰

‘The death date of Dastūr Xodādād Dastūr Bahman, the day Deybedīn, the holy Ōrmazd, the month Bahman, the year 1252.’

⁸⁹⁰ The era has not been mentioned.

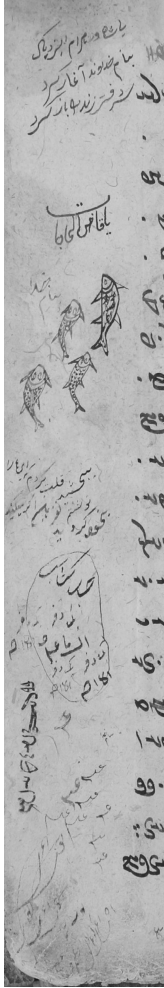


Image 91: MS. 4062, Sālmarg

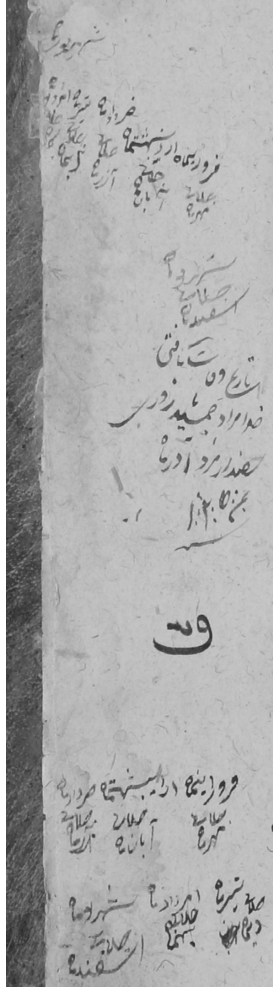


Image 92: MS. 4062, Sālmarg

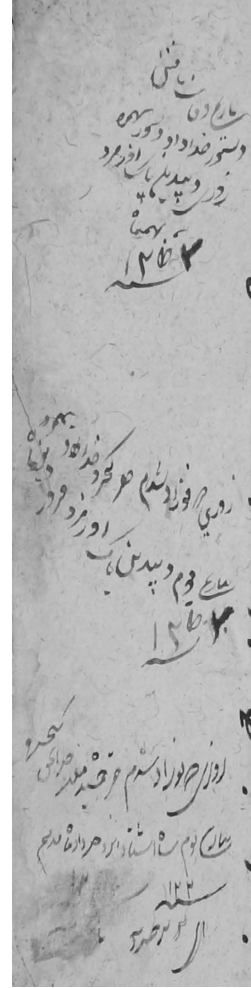


Image 93: MS. 4062, Sālmarg

- Rūz ī ke nōzād šodam, ḥaqīr, keyxosro xodādād behmard, be-tārīx yōm dey-be-dīn, pāk ormazd, farvardīn māh 1252.*

‘The day I became Nozād, the humble Keyxosro Xodādād Behmard, the date on the day Dey-be-dīn, the holy Ormazd, the month Farvardīn, (the year) 1252.’
- Rūz ī ke nōzād šodam, ḥaqīr jamšīd mūbed xodābaxš keyxosro, be-tārīx yōm šāh aštād īzad, xordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 122 yazdgerdīye*

‘The day I became Nozād, the humble Jamšīd Mūbed Xodābaxš Keyxosro, the date, on the day Šāh Aštād Īzad, the old month Xordād, the year 1220 AY.’

Sālmarg, fol. 258r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt yāftan-e xodāmorād jamšīd, rūz-ī sfandārmaz, āzarmāh-e qadīm, sa-neye 1254*⁸⁹¹

‘The death date of Xodāmorād Jamšīd, the day Sfandārmaz, the old month Āzar, the year 1254.’

List of months, fol. 258r

<i>Farvardīnmāh</i>	<i>Ordībehešt māh</i>	<i>Xordādmāh</i>	<i>Tīrmāh</i>	<i>Amordādmāh</i>	<i>Šahrīvar māh</i>
<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>	<i>Jalālī</i>
<i>Mehrmāh</i>	<i>Ābānmāh</i>	<i>Āzzarmāh</i>	<i>Deymāh</i>	<i>Bahman māh</i>	<i>Esfand māh</i>

Verses, fol. 266r

yā šāh varahrām īzad-e pāk.
be-nām-e xodāvand āgāz kard
sar-e daftar-e zand rā bāz kard

O, Šāh Varahrām, the holy Īzad,
 They began with the name of God,
 And opened the book of Zand

Other notes, fol. 266r

- *Yā qāzī ol-ḥājāt*
 ‘O, the Fulfiller of Needs.’
- *Bebaxšīd qalat*⁸⁹² *kardam īn hā ra neveštam. nefrīn agar mikonīd, bīxodkardīd.*
 ‘Excuse me. I did wrong that I wrote these (things). If you curse me, you do badly.’

Sālmarg, fol. 269r

- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt yāftan dastūr šahr dastūr keyxosro, yōm vahman, amordād māh, 1250*
 ‘The death date of Dastūr Šahr Dastūr Keyxosro, the day Vahman, the month Amordād, (the year) 1250.’

Prayers, fol. 270v and 270r

- *Īzad madad.*⁸⁹³
 ‘O, God. Help (us)!’ (9 times repeated)

Verses, fol. 271r

agar xāhī ke bāšī dar ferāgat
*makon bā ādam-e nādān refāgat*⁸⁹⁴
kāteb be-ḥorūf, bandeye kamtarīn ...

If you want to be at ease,
 Do not make friends with the ignorant.
 This note is scribed by the humblest servant

891 Or 1256. The last digit could also be 6 instead of 4.

892 A mistake for ḡalat. Written *galat* غلط instead of غلط.

893 On page 270 recto, it is repeated several times.

894 A mistake for *refāgat*. Written رفاغت instead of رفاقت.

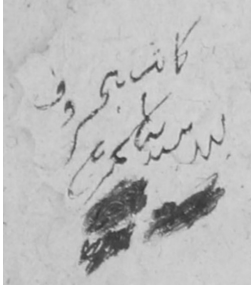


Image 94: MS. 4062,
Scribe name

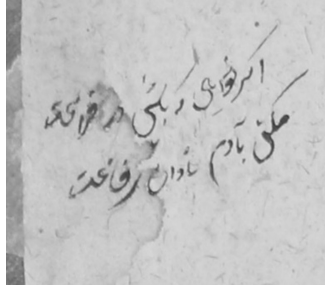


Image 95: MS. 4062, verses

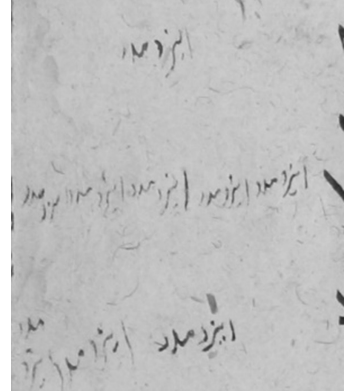


Image 96: MS. 4062, prayers

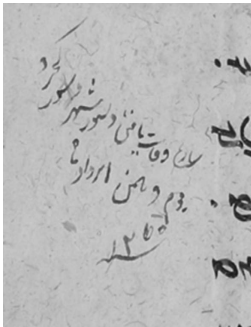


Image 97: MS. 4062,
Sālmarg

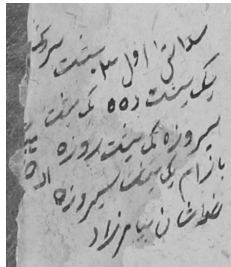


Image 98: MS. 4062,
List of prayers

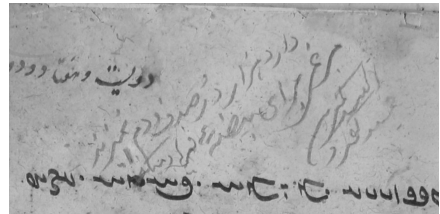


Image 99: MS. 4062, Proverb

Proverb, fol. 272r

dārad hezār dorr; šadaf o dam nemīzanad

A shell, with thousands of gems inside, remains silent,

*morqī barāye beyze ī faryād mīkonad*⁸⁹⁵

A bird cries out for a mere single morsel.

Al-ʿabd kamtarīn jamšīd xosro

Signed by the humble servant, Jamšīd Xosro

List of prayers, fol. 275r

- *Sadāš aval 3 yašt-e sorūš, yek yašt dah, yek yašt sīrūze, yek yašt rūze, bazām yek yašt sīrūze ..., xodāšān bīyāmorzād*

‘... first 3 times, Yašt of Sorūš, one Yašt of Dah, one Yašt of Sīrūze, one Yašt of Rūze, again one Yašt of Sīrūze... May God forgive them!’

⁸⁹⁵ Another version of this proverb is: *dārad hezār dor; šadaf o dam nemīzanad* / A shell has thousands of gems inside and says nothing / *yek beyze morq dārad o faryād mīkešad* / The bird has only one testicle and shouts always.



Image 100: MS. 4062,
Date and name

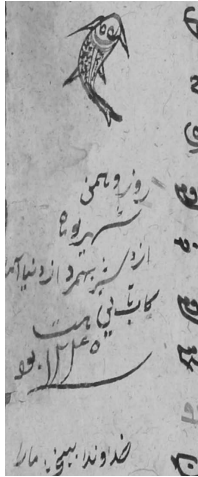


Image 101: MS.
4062, Date and
name

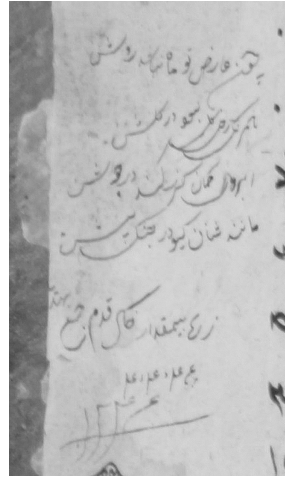


Image 102: MS. 4062, Verses

Verses, fol. 276r

čon ʿārež-e to, māh nabāšad rōšan
hamrang-e roxat gol nabovad dar golšan

The moon is not as bright as your face.

There is no flower in the garden the color of
your face.

abrūy-e kamān gozar konad dar jošan
mānand-e šenān-e⁸⁹⁶ gīv dar jāng-e pašan

Your arched eyebrow penetrates armor,

Like Giv's spear during the Pashan war.

... *bī-meqdār, xāk-e qadam-e jam^c*
behd[īnān]

I am the humble one, the dust beneath the
feet of the assembly of the Behdins.

Sanye 1244

The year 1244

Date and name, fol. 285r

- *Rūz-e vahman, šahrīv[ar] māh, ardešīr behmard az donyā āmad.⁸⁹⁷ kātāb⁸⁹⁸ yī⁸⁹⁹ hast.*
sanye 1245⁹⁰⁰ būd

‘The day Vahman, the month Šahrīvar, Ardešīr Behmard came from the world.’⁹⁰¹
There is a scribe. The year was 1245.’

- *Xodāvandā bebaxš mārā*
‘O, God, forgive us.’

⁸⁹⁶ A mistake for *senān* بسان. Written شان.

⁸⁹⁷ It is not clear, whether this is a birth date or death date. If it is a birth date, it should be *ardešīr behmard be donyā āmad*. If it is a death date, then *az donyā āmad* means ‘he left the world’.

⁸⁹⁸ Quite uncertain; perhaps a variation of *kāteb* in Zoroastrian Dari form.

⁸⁹⁹ Instead of *ī*, it should be ‘a, one’.

⁹⁰⁰ The era has not been mentioned.

⁹⁰¹ It is not clear, whether this is a birth date or death date. If it is a birth date, it should be *ardešīr behmard be donyā āmad*. If it is a death date, then *az donyā āmad* means ‘he left the world’.

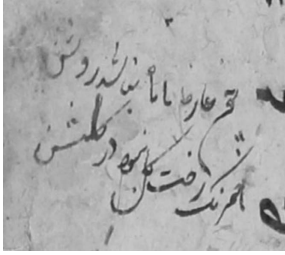


Image 103: MS. 4062, Verses

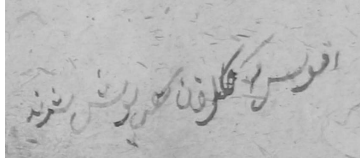


Image 104: MS. 4062, Verses

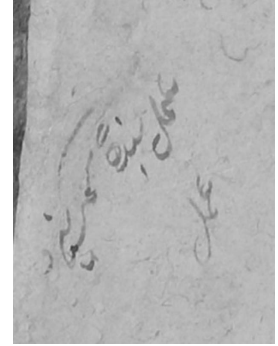


Image 105: MS. 4062, Note

- *Rūz-e vahman, šahrīvar māh, ardešīr behmard ... , saneye 1245*
‘The day Vahman, the month Šahrīvar, Ardešīr Behmard ... The year 1245.’
- *Rūz-e ardīzād, ābānmāh, ardešīr ... , saneye 1244*
‘The day Ardīzād, the month Ābān, Ardešīr ..., the year 1244.’

Note, fol. 286r

- ‘*amal-e bandeye kamtarīn, ... ‘amal-e ...*
‘done by the humblest servant ... done ...’

Verse, fol. 288r

- *Afsūs ke golroxān kafanpūš šodand*
‘Alas that flower faces⁹⁰² became shrouded.’

Verses, fol. 295r

<i>čon ‘ārež-e mā,⁹⁰³ māh nabāšād rōšan</i>	The moon is not as bright as our face
<i>hamrang-e roxat gol nabovad dar golšan</i>	like the colour of your face, there is not any flower in the garden.

4.1.13. MS. 4063

4.1.13.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (fol. 142v)

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk dahišn* (2) *ud xūb murwāg xujastag rōzgār abestāg yašt wisparēd* (3) *jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag yazišnīhā. man dēn* (4) *bandag šahmardān wāhrōm marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rustahm* (5) *bundār šahmardān dēn-ayār nibištōm ud frāz- <second page>* (6) *hišt hom az pačēn ud daftar pidar ī xwēš wāhrōm marzbān frēdōn* (7) *tā fragard <ī> šašom az pačēn daftar amūy xwēš frēdōn marzbān* (8) *az fragard <ī> šašom tā sar yasn nibištōm kē-šān rūwān* (9) *pad pahlom axwān rōšn ō garōdmān bē-rasād. har kē ēn* (10) *ketāb xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn-īg aziš kunād* (11) *ayāb yazišn-īg pad-iš kunand amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw* (12) *ruwānīh yād kunād ēg-iš tan-*

902 Meaning ‘martyrs’.

903 On page 276 r, *iō* should be used instead of *mā*.

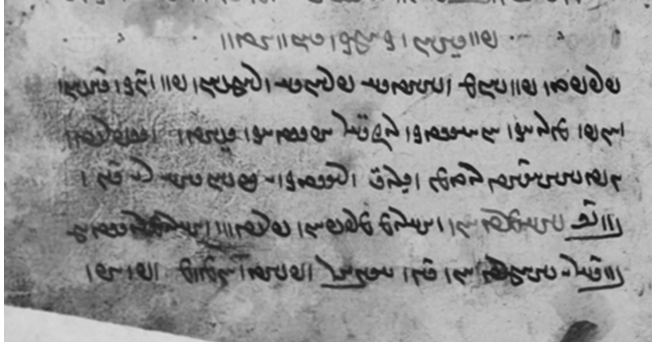


Image 106: MS. 4063, First page of the Middle Persian colophon

husraw u-š pad (13) mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. kē-š nām ī man kē nibištār hom (14) az-iš awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gētiḥ tan-dusraw u-š (15) pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād u-š hamēmāl ham pad dādwar ī (16) dādār ohrmazd. pad hanjāman īsdwāstarān zarduštān (17) bawēd. nibišt hom andar farrōxiḥ ud pērōziḥ rūz ī gōš ud māh ī (18) amordad sāl bar 1025 pas az 20 be yazdgerd ī sahr- (19) yārān, šāhānšāh nāfag be ō ī husraw šāhānšāh ohrmazdān. pad (20) yazdān kāmag bawād ēdōn bawād, ēdōn tar-iz bawād. (21) *aēuuō. pantā. yō. ašahē. ēk ast rāhiḥ* (22) *ahlāyih, abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhiḥ. šātō. manā. vahi(23)štō. uruuqnō, šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ud ruwān xwēš. čand* (24) *ahy mēnōg dastwarīḥ čihromayān wištāspān be ras-(25)ād, dēn rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nekīḥ rasād* (26) *har kas pad kāmag-ih ī xwēš tuwān bawād zīwistan.* <third page> (27) *nōiṭ. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōiṭ. urune. za(28) zuša. nōiṭ. čahmi. zazuša. nē-š čiš grift* (29) *kē-š nē ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē čiš grift kē nē* (30) *ruwān girēd. naēčīš. ida. zaraθuštra. sūš. ya(31)θa. hūm. ādare. mašīiāka. ēg-iš az dēwān sūd* (32) *nē bawēd spitāmān zartuxšt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm.* (33) *čē agar-šān pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg-išān sar zyān baw-(34)ēd. ēdōn bawād pad kāmag ī ohrmazd xwadāy, yazdān mēnōgān ud* (35) *yazdān gētiyān.*⁹⁰⁴

4.1.13.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate (2) and good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd (3) Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, (4) the servant of the religion, Šahmardān Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustahm (5) Bundār Šahmardān Dēnyār, have written and launched <it> (6) from a copy and book of my father, Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn (7) until the 6th Fragard. I have written from the copy of the book of my uncle Frēdōn Marzbān, (8) from the 6th Fragard until Yasn. May their souls (9) reach for ever that best world, the shining Garōdmān. Everyone who would recite this (10) book, or teach it or make a copy of it (11) or celebrate the Yazišn ceremony with it, and may he remember us in good name and piety (12) of the soul, then he may be of a good famed body in the material world and a pious heavenly soul (13) in the spiritual life. If someone erased my name, I who am the scribe, (14) so that he would throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and (15) of ashamed soul in the spiritual world, and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of (16) the judge Ohrmazd, the creator and in the presence of the assembly of Dastūran, son of Zartušt. (17) I have written in fortune and victory, on the

904 Instead of *gētiyān*.

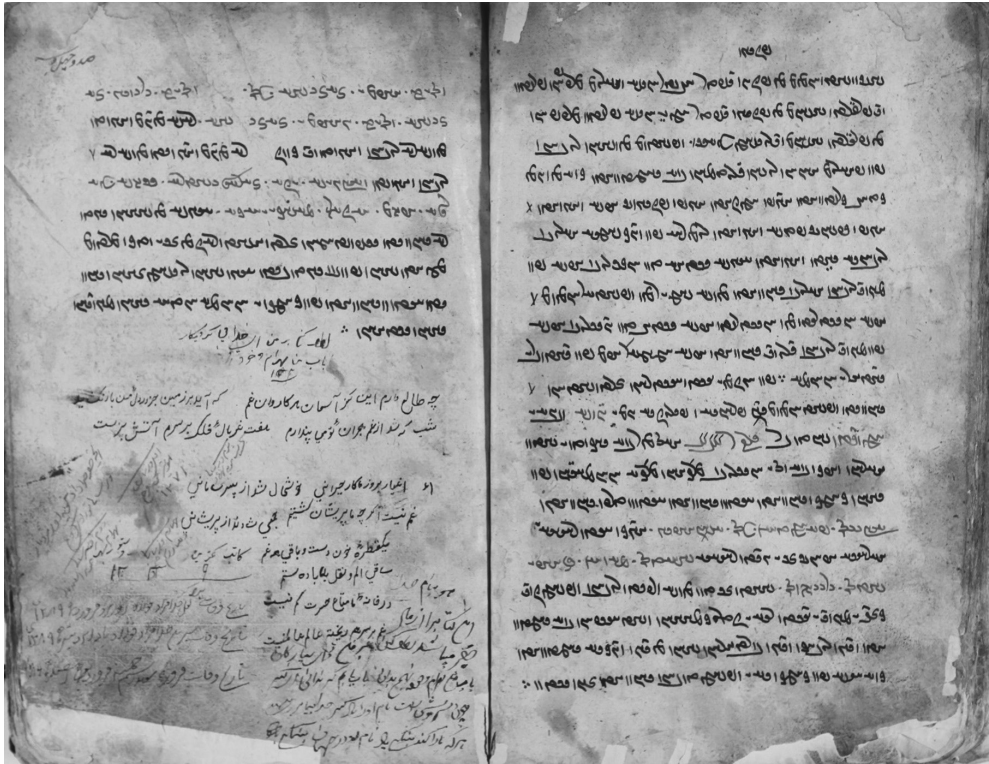


Image 107: MS. 4063, Second and third page of the first middle Persian colophon

day Gōš, the month of (18) Amordād, the year 1025, after 20 of Yazdgerd, the king, (19) the king of kings, descendant of Husraw, the lord, king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd. (20) May it be according to the will of the Yazdān. May it be so, may it be so more! (21) **There is only one way, and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of (22) the pious and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and (23) the paradise soul.** The body would be happy, which works on his own soul. (24) May he reach as soon as possible Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wištāsp. (25) May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. (26) May everyone be able to live (34) according to his wish. (27–29) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. And, (30) **O, Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit (31) from the evil men.** Furthermore, there is no benefit (32) from demons, O, Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from the bad men. (33) Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then in the end there is injury (for) them. (34) May it be so! May it be according to the will of Ohrmazd, God and the spiritual Yazats, (35) as well as the worldly Yazats.⁹⁰⁵

905 If the reading *yazdān mēnōgān u yazdān gētiyān* is correct.

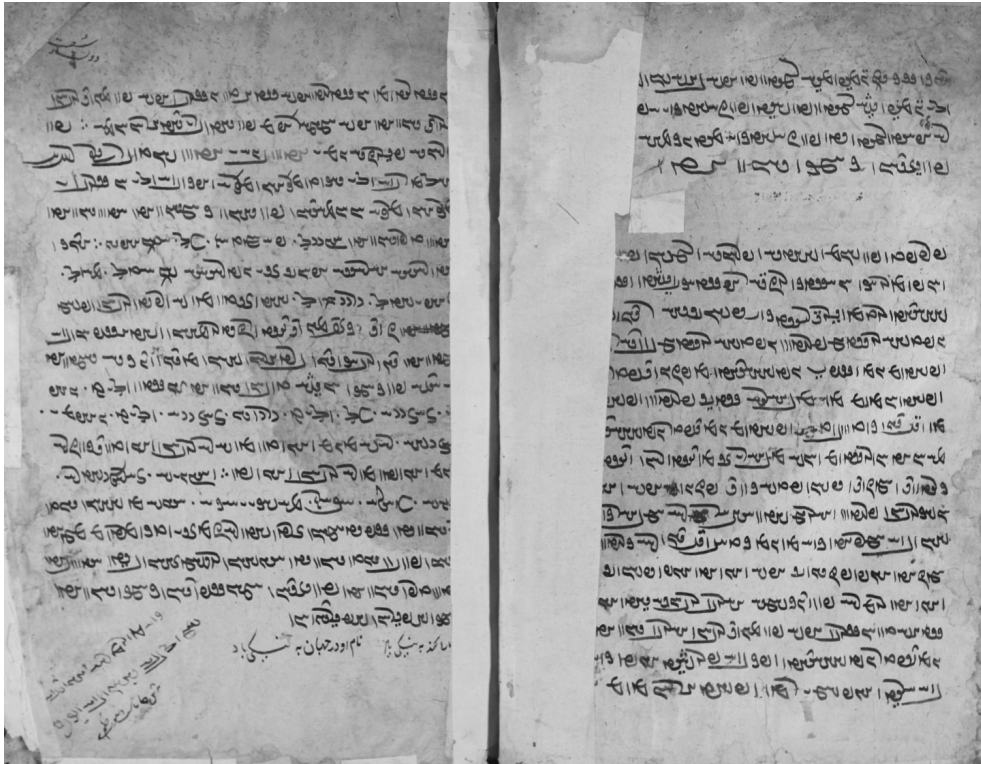


Image 108: MS. 4063, Second Middle Persian colophon

4.1.13.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (fol. 260r):

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh farroxīh ud rāmišn pad [nēk-dahišn] (2) ud xūb-murwāg xujāstag rōzgar abestāg yašt wiš[parēd juḏ]-(3) dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag-ē yazišnīhā. man dēn[bandag frēdōn]⁹⁰⁶ (4) gōpadšā rustēm frēdōn gōpadšā rustēm bundār [šahmardān dēnyār] (5) nibištōm ēn wisp-ē juḏ-dēw-dād az pačēn ud daftar [...] (6) nibištōm kē az bahrīh gētīg⁹⁰⁷ frēdon nibišt[om ...] (7) kē waqf⁹⁰⁸-ē dēn kard būd. nibištōm ēn daftar juḏ-dēw-dād ... (8) mah-hūxtān⁹⁰⁹ (?), rustōm zamān⁹¹⁰ az bahrīh ān kē dastwarān ud das[twarzādēgān] (9) xwanēnd ud hammōzēnd ud yazišn pad-iš kunēnd, pačēn az-iš ku[nēnd ...] (10) anōšag-ruwān frēdōn wāhrōhm šahryār rāy hambahr ku[nād ...] (11) -šān bē āmorzād. har kē ēn ketāb waqf-ē dēn rāy xwān[ād ayāb] (12) hammōzād ayāb pačēnīg az-iš kunād, ayāb yazišnīg [pad-iš] (13) kunād, amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw ruwānīh yād k[unād ēg-iš] (14) gētīh tan-ħusraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. [har kē] (15) ēn daftar juḏ-dēw-dād [ī] waqf bē frōšēd ayāb [har kē] (16) bē-xarēd, ayāb nām ī man kē nibištār hom [az-iš] <second page>

906 As this part of the page is damaged and later repaired by patching with a piece of paper, we cannot see the word/ words after dēn, which is probably *bandag frēdōn*. Frēdon Gōbedšāh is the scribe of V 4040.

907 Very unlikely *sidīg* 'third'.

908 Unlikely *naqd* 'criticism'. *Waqf* occurs sometimes in the form [wpk].

909 Only a guess.

910 Probably a mistake for *zamān* [ODNA].

(17) *awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gētih tan dusraw u-š pad mēnōg rūwān* (18) *[d]ruwand bawād, u-š hamēmāl u-m pad dādwārī dādār ohrmazd. pad* (19) *[f]arroxih ud pērōzih, rōz ī ādūr mäh ī ādūr sāl bar 1025* (20) *pas az 20 be ō ī yazdgerd, šāhānšāh nāfag be ōy ī husraw ī* (21) *šāhānšāh ohrmazdān. pad yazdān kām bawād. ēdōn bawād, (22) ēdōn tar-iz bawād. aēuuō. pantā. yō. ašahē. ēk* (23) *[a]st rāhih ahlāyih, abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhih. šātō. manā.* (24) *[v]lahištō uruuqnō, šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān xwēš. (25) [effaced: rasād] čand ahy mēnōg dastwar čihromayān wištāspān be- (26) rasād dēn rawāg dēn burdārān-šān az dēn nekīh rasād* (27) *[har] kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš tuwān bawād zīwistan. nōiṭ. čah* (28) *[mi].⁹¹¹ zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuua. nōiṭ. čahmi. (29) [za]zuša. nē-š čiš grift kē-š ne ruwān grift tā nūn-iz nē* (30) *[č]iš grift kē nē ruwān girēd. naēčīš. zaraθuštra. (31) sūš. yaθa. ādare. mašīiāka. ēg-iš az dēwān sūd* (32) *nē bawēd spitāmān zartušt nē-z az ān ī wadag mardōm. čē agar-(33)išān pad bun sūd bawēd, ēg-išān sar zyān bawēd. ēdōn bawād* (34) *ēdōntar-iz bawād pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmāg bawād* (35) *kāmāg wehān, weh-dēnān.*

4.1.13.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate (2) and good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisperēd Juddēwdād (3) with Nērangs and ritual series. I, [the servant] of the religion [Frēdōn] (4) Gōpadšā Rustēm Frēdōn Gōpadšā Rutēm Bundār [Šahmardān Dēnyār], (5) wrote this complete Wisperēd Juddēwdād from a copy of the book ... (6) I wrote for the possession of the worldly Frēdōn, (7) which (he) had endowed (it) to the religion. (8) I wrote this book of Juddēwdād (for) the great good speech Rustōm of time,⁹¹² in order that Dastūrs and the children of Dastūrs (9) recite and teach <it> or celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony with it (or) make a copy of it, (10) and make the eternal soul, Frēdōn Wāhrēm Šahryār, participant (in this virtue). (11) May God forgive them! Everybody, who would recite this endowed book of the religion or (12) would teach <it> or would make a copy of it or would celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony with it (13) and would remember us in good name and piety of the soul, then (14) he may be of a good fame body in the material world and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. (15) If someone sold this endowed Juddēwdād or (16) buy it or erase my name, I who am the scribe, (17) so that he would throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in (18) the spiritual world, and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator.⁹¹³ With (19) glory and victory, the day Adūr, the month Adūr of the year 1025 (20) after the 20th (year) of the reign of his Majesty, Yazdgerd, the king of kings, descendant of His Majesty Husraw, (21) king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd. May it be according to the will of the Yazats. May it be so! (22) May it be still more so! **There is only one way and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one (23) way of the pious and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and (24) the paradise soul,** He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul. (25) May he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wištāsp! (26) May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion attain goodness through religion. (27) May everyone be able to live according to his wish. (28–30) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does

911 A mistake for *ahmi*. In 4063, we find again the same mistake.

912 Unlikely that *zamān* is a personal name. *Rustōm Zamān* occurs only in the manuscripts of Bahrām Marzbān and his sons Šahmardān and Marzbān.

913 This part is very similar to the colophon of V 4062, which was written by Marzbān Bahrām, brother of the scribe of the first colophon of this manuscript, Šahmardān.

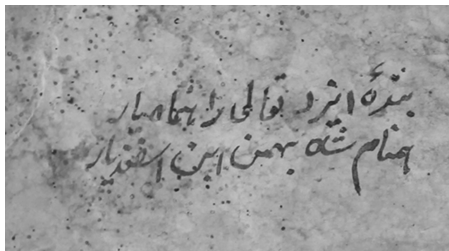


Image 109: MS. 4063, verse, front end paper

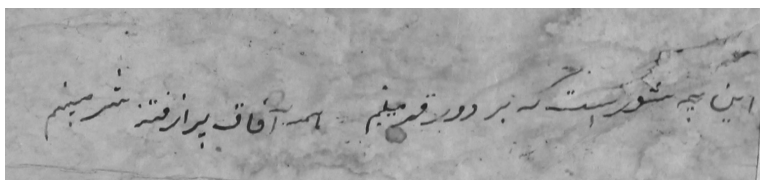


Image 110: MS. 4063, verse, front end paper

not win anything for her/his soul. (30) And, **O, Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit (31) from the evil men.** Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, (32) O, Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from the bad men. Because if (33) there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then in the end there is injury (for) them. May it be so! (34) May it be still more so. May it be according to the will of Yazats and Amahraspandān. (May it be) according to (35) the will of pious people and Behdīnān.’

4.1.13.5. Marginal notes

*bande-ye īzad ta‘ālā rāhnamāh-e*⁹¹⁴ *yār*

The servant of the great God, the guide of the friend

hamnām-e šāh bahman, ebn-e esfandyār

having the same name (as) Šāh Bahaman, son of Esfandyār

īn če šūrīst ke bar dōr-e qamar mībīnam

what is this chaos, that I see in the moon cycle⁹¹⁵

hame āfāq por az fetne [o] šar mībīnam

I see all horizons full of strife and evil.

Date, fol. 44r

- *Rūz-e šahrīvar, dūst (?)*⁹¹⁶ *bahman*

‘The day Šahrīvar, friend,... Bahman.’

914 Instead of *rāhnamā-ye yār*.

915 Meaning “fate”.

916 Only a guess.

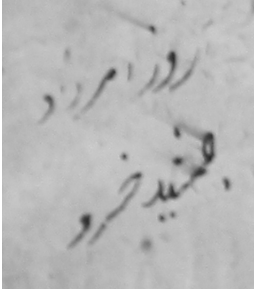


Image 111: MS. 4063,
date and name

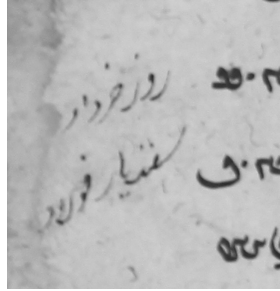


Image 112: MS. 4063: Date,
date and name

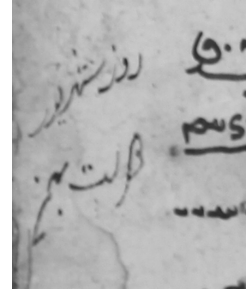


Image 113: MS. 4063:
Date, date and name

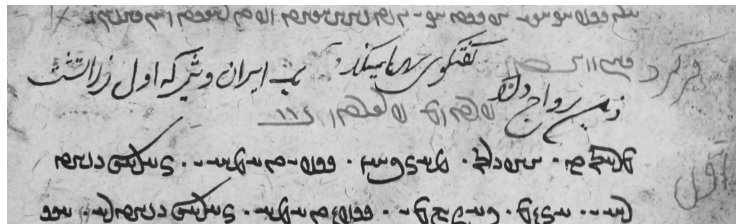


Image 114: MS. 4063,
Title of the first Fragard

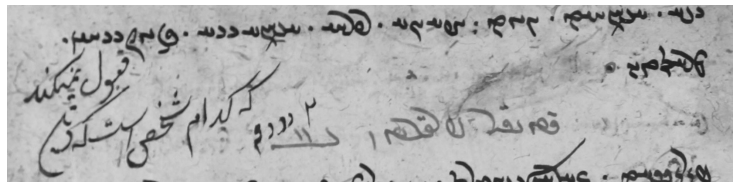


Image 115: MS. 4063,
Title of the second Fragard

Date, fol. 50r

- *Rūz xordād, esfandyār fūlād*
‘The day Xordād, Esfandyār Fūlād.’

Date, fol. 52r

- *Rūz amordād, jamšīd xosro*
‘The day Amordād, Jamšīd Xosro.’

Title of the first Fragard, fol. 55r

- *Goftegū-ye šahrhā mīkonad. yek īrān vēž ke aval zarātošt zamīn ravāj dād*
‘(This part) talks about the lands. First, Irānvēž, the first land that was created by Zarātošt.’⁹¹⁷

Title of the second Fragard, fol. 57r

- *Ke kodām šaxs ast ke dīn qabūl nemikonad*
‘Which person does not follow the religion?’

⁹¹⁷ See the footnote above.

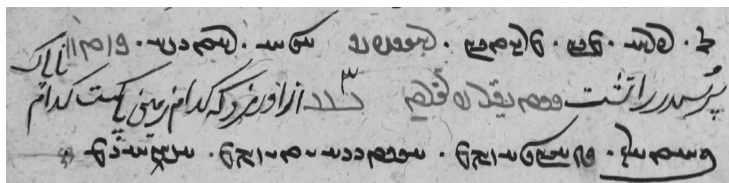


Image 116: MS. 4063,
Title of the third Fragard

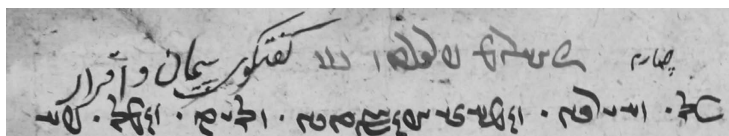


Image 117: MS. 4063,
Title of the fourth Fragard

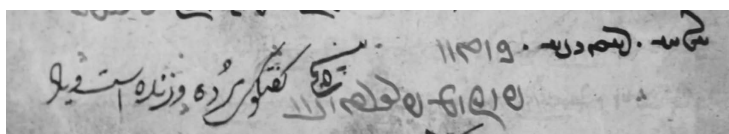


Image 118: MS. 4063,
Title of the fifth Fragard

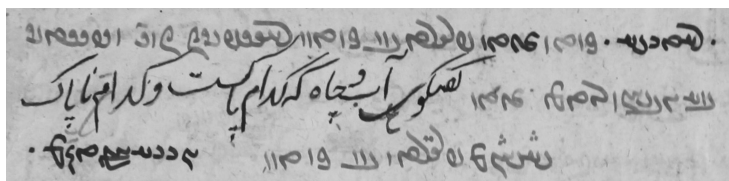


Image 119: MS. 4063,
Title of the sixth Fragard

Title of the third Fragard, fol. 63v

- *Porsīd zarātošt az ūrmazd ke kodām zamīn pāk ast, kodām nāpāk?*
‘Zarātošt asked Ohrmazd: Which earth is pure and which one (is) impure?’

Title of the fourth Fragard, fol. 69v

- *Goftegū-ye peymān va eqrār*
‘The dialogue on contract and confession.’

Title of the fifth Fragard, fol. 81r

- *Goftegū-ye morde va zende ast va yād*⁹¹⁸
‘The dialogue is about the living and the dead, as well as memory.’

Title of the sixth Fragard, fol. 91v

- *Goftegū-ye āb va čāh ke kodām pāk ast va kodām nāpāk*
‘The dialogue about water and well, and which one is pure and which one (is) impure?’

⁹¹⁸ The function and the exact meaning of *yād* is not clear here. Generally, the word means ‘remember, memory.’

Image 120: MS. 4063,
Title of the seventh Fra-
gard

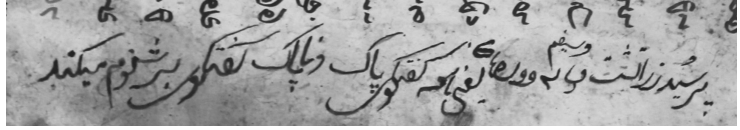


Image 121: MS. 4063,
Title of the eighth Fra-
gard

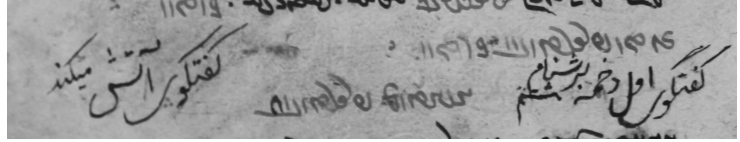
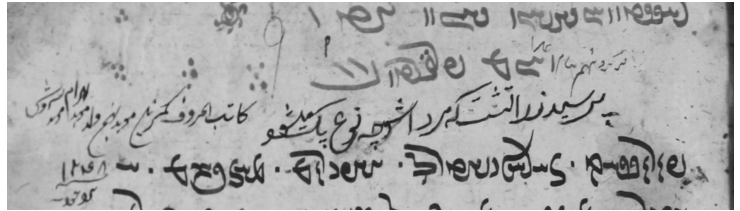


Image 122: MS. 4063,
Title of ninth Fragarad
and scribe note, fol.
145r



Title of the seventh Fragarad, fol. 104v

- *Porsīd zarātošt vīsfem ya' nī nāsu, goftegū-ye pāk va nāpāk, goftegū-ye barešnūm, mīkonad.*

‘Zarātošt asked about Vīsfem, meaning Nāsu. (This part) talks about purity and impurity, as well as Barešnūm.’

Title of the eighth Fragarad, fol. 115r

- *Goftegūy-e aval: daxme barešnām, goftegū-ye ātaš mīkonad.*

‘The first dialogue (is) Barešnūm of Daxme and talks about fire.’

Title of the ninth Fragarad, fol. 145r

- *Porsīd zarātošt ke mard-e ašū če no' pāk mīšavad?*

‘Zarātošt asked: How does the righteous man become pure?’

- *Kāteb ol-ḥorūf, kamtarīn, mūbed bahman valad-e mūbed bahrām mūbed sorūš, sa-
neye 1248 yazdġerdīyeh*

‘The scribe of letters, the humblest, Mūbed Bahman the son of Mūbed Bahrām Mūbed Sorūš, the year 1248 AY.’⁹¹⁹

Title of the tenth Fragarad, fol. 155r

- *Porsīd zartošt ke ṭan-e⁹²⁰ ādam če ṭarz pāk mīkonad?*

‘Zartošt asked: How can the human body be purified?’

919 This colophon shows that the Persian titles at the beginning of each Fragarad have been written by Mūbed Bahman Mūbed Bahrām Mūbed Sorūš in 1248 AY.

920 Written طن, instead of tan تن.

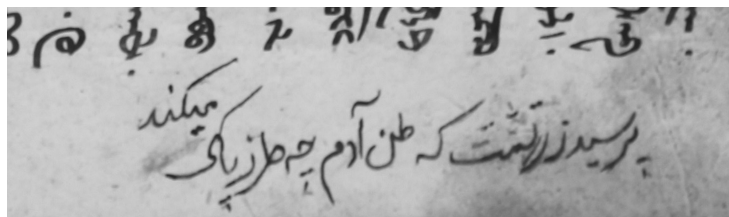


Image 123: MS. 4063,
Title of the 10th Fragard

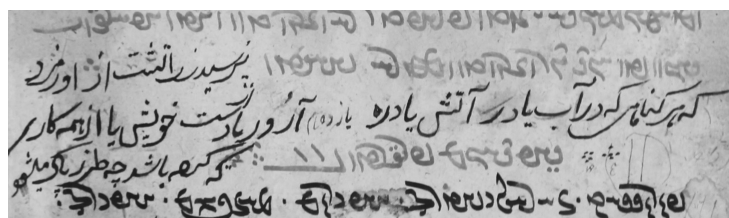


Image 124: MS. 4063,
Title of the eleventh
Fragard

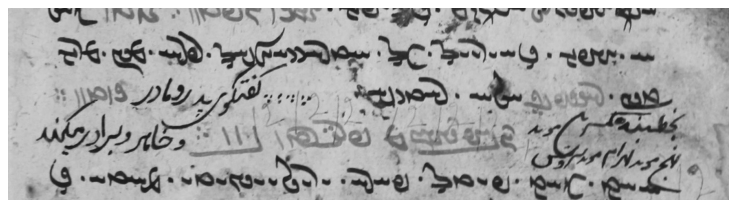


Image 125: MS. 4063,
Title of the twelfth Fra-
gard and scribe note

Title of the eleventh Fragard, fol. 169v

- *Porsīd zarātošt az ōrmazd ke har gonāhī ke dar āb yā dar ātaš yā darre āro var⁹²¹ yā az dast-e xš yā az hame kārī ke korfe bāšad, če tarz pāk mišavad?*
'Zarātošt asked Ōhrmazd: How shall each sin be purified in the water, in the fire, in the valley, ..., as well as (sin) from one's own hand and the action which is the good-deed?'

Title of the twelfth Fragard, fol. 172v

- *Goftegū-ye pedar va mādār va xāhar va barādar mīkonad*
'It talks about father, mother, sister and brother.'⁹²²
- *be-xaṭ-e bande-ye kamtarīn, mūbed bahman mūbed bahrām mūbed sorūš.⁹²³*
'Written by the humblest servant, Mūbed Bahman Mūbed Bahrām Mūbed Sorūš.'

Title of the thirteenth Fragard, fol. 181v

- *Goftegū-ye jomandegān⁹²⁴ ke nīst mīkonand. kodām korfe bištar dārad?*
'It talks about the animals, which kill. Which one has more virtue?'

⁹²¹ Uncertain.

⁹²² This Fragard is about the *Upaman* and how long it lasts for different relatives.

⁹²³ The same text occurred also on page 145 verso. Here the year is missing.

⁹²⁴ A variation/mistake of *jombandegān*, meaning 'animals'.

Image 126: MS. 4063,
Title of the thirteenth
Fragard

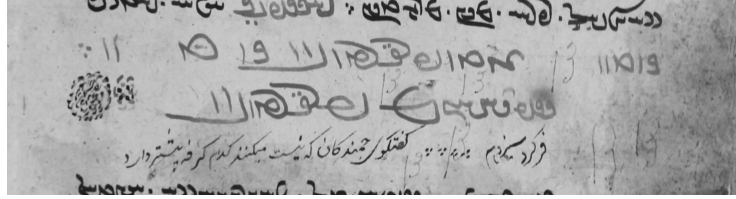
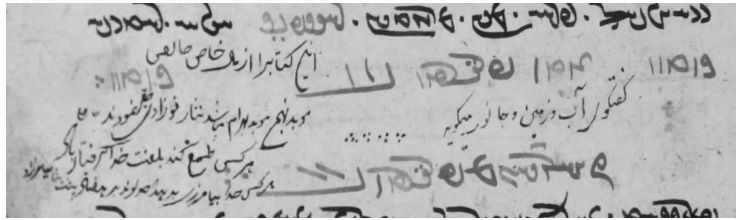


Image 127: MS. 4063,
Title of the fourteenth
Fragard and ownership
note



Title of the fourteenth Fragard, fol. 189r

- *Goftegū-ye āb va zamīn va jānevar mīgūyad*
‘It talks about water, ground and animals.’

Ownership note, p. 189r

- *Īn ketāb-rā az māl-e xāš-e xāleš mūbed bahman mūbed bahrām mībāšad. nešār-e nozādī haqīr nemūdand.*
‘This book belongs to this special and faithful Mūbed Bahman Mūbed Bahrām. It was donated for⁹²⁵ Nozūdī of the humble.’⁹²⁶

har kas tamaʿ konad be-laʿnat-e xodā gereftār bād

May divine condemnation befall anyone who harbors greed for this book.

har kas xodābīyāmorzī bedahad xodāvand bar haftād pošt-aš bīyāmorzād

Conversely, may God bless those who give with His blessing, extending His grace to seventy generations of their ancestors.

Title of the fifteenth Fragard, fol. 195r

- *Goftegū ke tan-e ādam če noʿ pāk mīšavad. panj čīz zan rā pāk mīkonad. aval arīšt, doyōm heyž, seyōm čele zan, az xorešn pāk mīšavad. mordār az yazišn pāk mīšavad.*
‘It talks about how the body shall be cleansed. Five things cleanse the woman. First damsel, second (the woman) having menstrual cycle, third four months (pregnant) woman is cleansed through food. Carrion is cleansed through Yazīšn.’

⁹²⁵ *haqīr* refers to the writer.

⁹²⁶ For the third time, Mūbed Bahman Mūbed Bahrām writes his name on this manuscript and emphasizes that this book belongs to him and he is the scribe (of the texts before the Fragards).

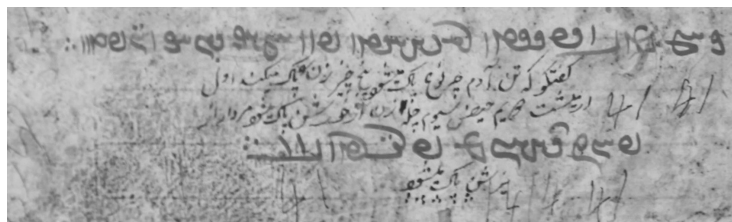


Image 128: MS. 4063,
Title of the fifteenth
Fragard

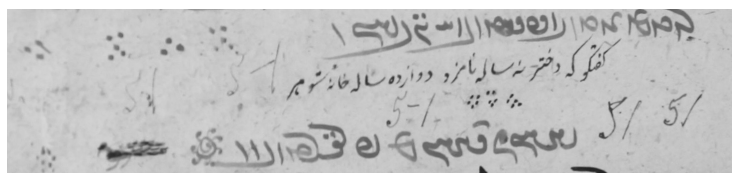


Image 129: MS. 4063,
Title of the sixteenth
Fragard

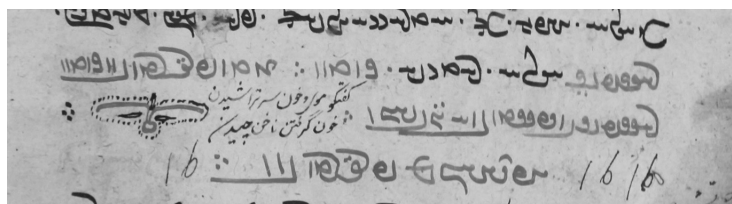


Image 130: MS. 4063,
Title of the seventeenth
Fragard

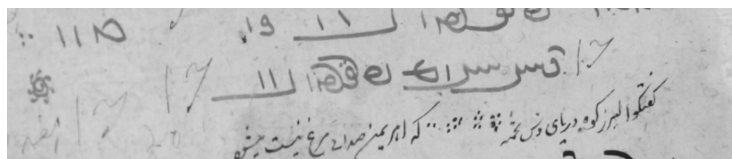


Image 131: MS. 4063,
Title of the eighteenth
Fragard

Title of the sixteenth Fragard, fol. 201r

- *Goftegū ke doxtar-e noh sāle nāmzad va davāzdah sāle xāne-ye šohar*
‘It talks about how the nine-year-old girl (shall be) engaged and the twelve-year-old (shall go) to the husband’s house.’

Title of the seventeenth Fragard, fol. 207r

- *Goftegū-ye mūy va xūn, sar tarāšīdan, xūn gereftan, nāxon čīdan*
‘Dialogue about hair, blood, shaving the head (hair), blood taking, disposing nails.’

Title of the eighteenth Fragard, fol. 208r

- *Goftegū alborz kūh [va] daryā-ye vas toxme, ke ahrīman šedā-ye morğ-e nīst mišavad*
‘Dialogue about the Alborz Mountain and how the Vas Toxme see that Ahreman becomes the voice of the bird of death.’

Image 132: MS. 4063,
Title of the nineteenth
Fragard

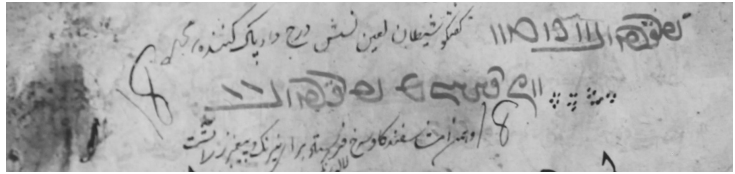


Image 133: MS. 4063,
Title of the twentieth
Fragard

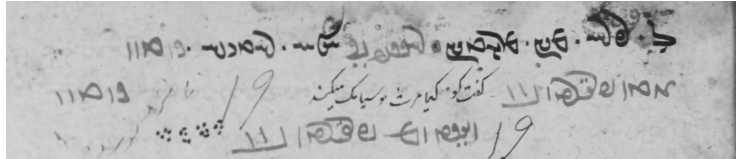
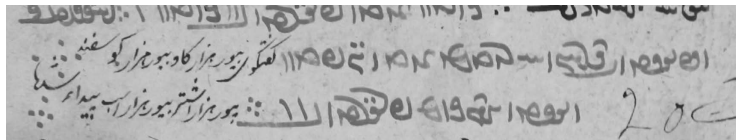


Image 134: MS. 4063,
Title of the twenty-first
Fragard



Title of the nineteenth Fragard, fol. 219r

- *Goftegū-ye šeytān la'eyn nasaš dorōj va ū⁹²⁷ pāk konande, vahman amšāsband, gāv-e sorx √lāle rang √ferestād barāy-e neyrang va peyqambar zarātošt*
‘Dialogue about the damned Devil, Dorūj-e Nasū,⁹²⁸ and its cleaner, Vahman Amah-raspand sent the red cow √tulip colour√ as a trick, and prophet Zarātošt...’

Title of the twentieth Fragard, fol. 226r

- *Goftegū kīyāmarš va sīyāmak mīkonad*
‘It talks about Kīyāmarš and Sīyāmak.’

Title of the twenty-first Fragard, fol. 229v

- *Goftegū-ye bīvar hezār gāv, bīvar hezār gūšband, bīvar hezār šotor, bīvar hezār asb paydā šod*
‘Dialogue about ten thousand thousands cows, ten thousand thousands sheep, ten thousand thousands camels, ten thousand thousands horses, which were found.’

Title of the twenty-second Fragard, fol. 231r

- *Goftegūye ahrīman az xod dūr kon. manšresband mūbed-e bozorg savār ast*
‘The dialogue about ‘Get Ahrīman away from you! Manšresband, the great Mūbed is riding.’

927 Quite uncertain.

928 Name of the female Zoroastrian demon (daeva) of corpse matter.

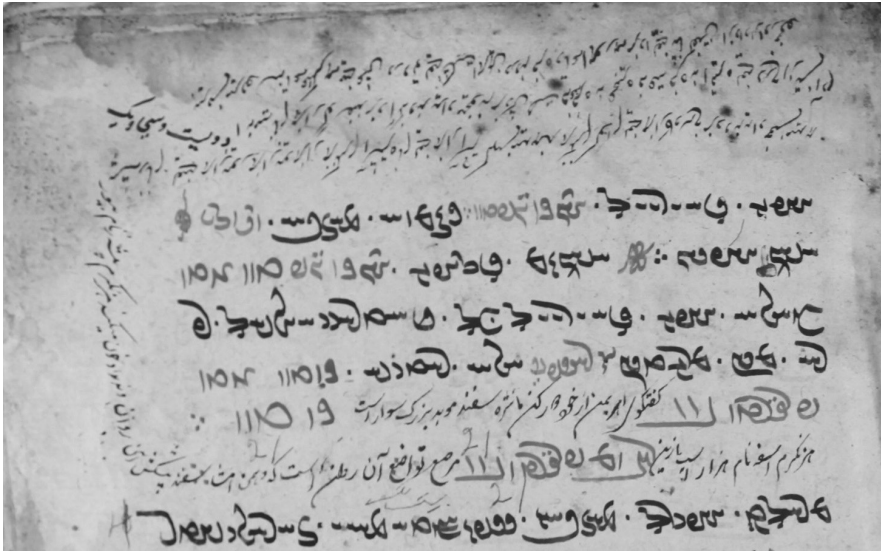


Image 135: MS. 4063, Title of the twenty-second Fragard

The following text follows the title:

*Hazangrem esfah*⁹²⁹ nām, hezār asb bā zīn-e moraša^c, tavāzo^c-e ān ravān ast ke vahman amšāsfaṇd pīškeš-e īn ravān-e vandīdād xūn⁹³⁰ mīkonad. Hazangrem baešezaṇām bīvar baešezaṇām⁹³¹ ya^c nī hezār bīvar hezār bīv[ar] hezār. Hazangrem āštreh nām ya^c nī hezār āštar-e kohan mī-dahand. Hazangrem gavām ya^c nī hezār gāv-e sorx, mozd-e vandīdād xūn mīdahad. Anemīya nām hezār gūsfand mozd-e ānke vandīdād mīxūne. Mozdāš šašt⁹³² ... ya^c nī dorōj az tan-e ādam bīrūn mīravad⁹³³ ya^c nī šekast ahrīman-e deravand farre⁹³⁴ ... ahūrahe mazdā ya^c nī šanā goftan az dādār ōrmazd.

‘Hazangrem esfah nām, (refers to) a dedication of a thousand saddled and inlaid to the soul of the Vandīdād reciter made by Vahman, the Amahraspand. Hazangrem baešezaṇām bīvar baešezaṇām means a thousand ten-thousand thousand ten-thousand thousand. Hazangrem āštreh nām means the gift of one thousand old camels. Hazangrem gavām means the gift of one thousand red cows as wages to the Vandīdād reciter. Anemīya nām signifies the gift of one thousand sheep as wages for the reciter of Vandīdād. The wages were sixty... It means that Dorōj will depart from the human body, indicating the destruction of the sinful Ahrīman and the praising of Ohrmazd, the creator.’

929 Avestan *hazaṇrēm aspanqəm*.

930 Spoken form of *vandīdād xān* ‘who recites Vandīdād’.

931 In Avestan: *hazaṇrēm. baešazanqəm. baēuuarə. baešazanqəm*

932 Quite uncertain.

933 Unfortunately, I had no access to the original manuscript, and I only received a copy of images, which are not of good quality. When I enlarged these images, many words became illegible.

934 The meaning of *farre* ‘glory’ does not fit this context.

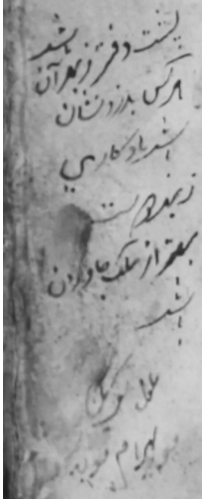


Image 136: MS. 4063, Verse

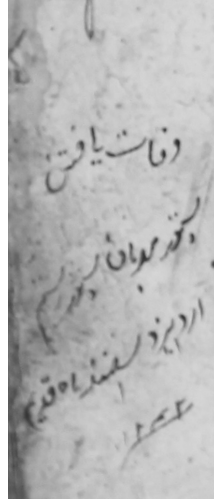


Image 137: MS. 4063, Sālmarg

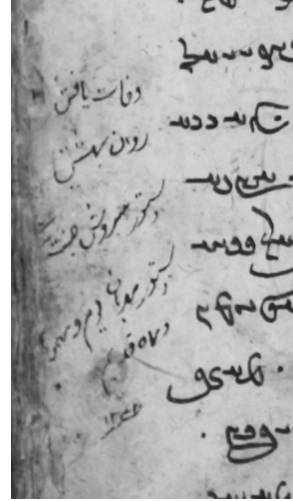


Image 138: MS. 4063, Sālmarg

MS. 4063: Sālmarg, fol. 77r

- *Vafāt yāftan-e ravān beheštī, dastūr sorūš, ʔannat [makānī]⁹³⁵ dastūr mehrabān, yōm dey-be-mehr, deymāh-e qadīm, saneye 1242.*⁹³⁶

‘The death of the paradise soul, Dastūr Sorūš, the paradise resident, Dastūr Mehrabān, the day Dey-be-mehr, the old month Dey, the year 1242.’⁹³⁷

Sālmarg, fol. 79r

- *Vafāt yāftan-e dastūr mehrabān dastūr rostam, ard īzad, esfand māh-e qadīm, saneye 1242*

‘The death of Dastūr Mehrabān Dastūr Rostam, (the day) Ard Īzad, the old month Esfand, the year 1242.’⁹³⁸

Verse, fol. 81r

*pošt-e daftar ze bahr-e ān bāšad
har kas bod zū nešān bāšad
yādegārī ze bahr-e dūst ...
behtar az molk-e ʔavdān bāšad*⁹³⁹

The back side of the book is for that
to include the trace of anybody
the memorial, which is written by a friend
would be better than any eternal property

935 Quite uncertain.

936 Or maybe 1247 or 1246. The last digit is illegible. The era is not clear.

937 The Sālmarg by the same person occurs again on the page 140v: *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr sorūš, dastūr mehrabān, yōm Dey*[...].

938 The Era has not been mentioned.

939 This verse with few differences occurs also on page 160 verso V 11 of the Pouladi collection. *Pošt-e daftar ze bahr-e ān bāšad* / The back of the book is for that / *tā ze har kas be-dū nešān bāšad* / to include a trace from everybody / *yādegārī ke dūst benvisad* / the memorial, which is written by a friend / *behtar az melk-e ʔavdān bāšad* / is better than any eternal property. A similar verse appears on page 199 recto of V 4030: *dar pošt-e ketāb*

amal-e kamtarīn mūbed bahrām mūbed Done by the humblest, Mūbed Bahrām
*key[xosro]*⁹⁴⁰ Mūbed Key[xosro] (?).

Verses, fol. 143r

lotf kon bar man ey xodā-ye kardīgār O, God! The creator! Oblige me!
*bāb-e man bahrām o xod[ormazdyār]*⁹⁴¹ My father is Bahrām and I (am) [Ormazdyār]
*Saneye 132*⁹⁴² The year 1320 (?)⁹⁴³

*če tāle^c dāram īn kaz āsemān har*⁹⁴⁴ What fortune I possess! All sorrow descend-
kārevān-e qam ing from the heavens to the earth
*ke āyad bar zamīn joz dar*⁹⁴⁵ *del-e man bār* shall find no destination other than my heart.
nagšāyad

šab ke šod az qam-e hejrān-e to mīpendāram At night, as I lament our separation, it feels
as though
*haft qarbāl-e falak bar saram ātaš pazast*⁹⁴⁶ the seven layers of heaven are ablaze above
my head.

ağyār be-rūz-e mā kār heyrānī Strangers are often surprised by our emo-
tional state,
xošhāl šod az bī-sar sāmānī finding joy in our turmoil.
qam nīst agar če mā parīšān gaštīm It's not sorrowful, even though we are dis-
turbed;
jam^c ī šādand az parīšānī many seem to derive happiness from our
disturbances!

yek-qatṛe-ye xūn ast o bāqī hame qam There is but a single drop of blood and the
rest is sorrow
sāqī alam o naql bā mā bāde setam Oh Saki! Did we not ask for the wine of op-
pression and grief?
dar xāne-ye mā matā^c -e ḥasrat kam nīst Within our home, the goods of remorse are
in no shortage

bar ān bāšad / The back side of the book is for that / *har ke var dārad nešān bāšad* / everybody who lifts it
would have a trace.

940 Quite uncertain.

941 This part has been deleted and is illegible. However, the name of the scribe occurs on the next page and accord-
ing to that, we can reconstruct his name here.

942 The second digit can hardly be read.

943 Only a guess.

944 In some editions of this verse, *yēk* instead of *har*.

945 In some editions of this verse, *bar* instead of *dar*.

946 Quite uncertain.

*qam bar sar-e ham*⁹⁴⁷ *rīxte* *‘ālam* *‘ālamīst* Such a world, where sorrow accumulates in such abundance!

*Hova. be nām-e xoda. īn ketāb rā az māl-e ...*⁹⁴⁸ *mībāšad. lotf kon ġeyr-e man ...*⁹⁴⁹ *sayāregān bāb-e man bahrām o xod... bedān ...čon sorūšīst nām-e ū rā yād konīd, xodābīyāmorzī be-dahad*

‘He, in the name of God. This book belongs to Do a favour and apart from me.... the planets. My father (is) Bahrām and I (am). Know <it>! Since he passed away remember him and give him a may-God-forgive.’

har ke mārā konad be nīkī yād everybody who would remember us in good manner

*nām-e ū dar jahān be nīkī bād*⁹⁵⁰ may their name be remembered in good manner in this world

*Kāteb-e kamtarīn, dastūr [ormazdyār],*⁹⁵¹ *dastūr bahrām, saneye 1239*⁹⁵² ‘The humblest scribe, Dastūr Ōrmazdyār, the son of Dastūr Bahrām, the year 1239.’

Sālmargs, fol. 143r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e la*⁹⁵³ *xodāmorād fūlād ōrmazd, farvardīnmāh, 1289 y.*
‘The death date of La‘l, Xodāmorād, Fūlād, (the day) Ōrmazd, the month Farvardīn, 1289 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e šīrīn xodāmorād fūlād, bād īzad, Tīrmāh 1289 y.*
‘The death date of Šīrīn Xodāmorād Fūlād, (the day) Bād Īzad, the month Tīr 1289 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e fīrūze mūbed rostam jamšīd, farvardīn, esfand māh 1289 y*⁹⁵⁴
‘The death date of Fīrūze Mūbed Rostam Jamšīd, (the day) Farvardīn, the month Esfand, 1289 AY.’

Verse, fol. 145v

tā az bar-e man ravāne gaštī, gaštī Since you left me,
*xūn raft be har do češm, gaštī gaštī*⁹⁵⁵ my eyes have shed tears like blood. You departed, you departed.
az bas ke zadam āh o fağān zātaš-e hejr The pain from the fire of separation has been immense.

...

947 Unlikely *saram* ‘my head’.

948 Unlikely *jāfar*, a personal name for muslims.

949 This word is illegible.

950 This verse, sometimes with few differences, occurs in various Avestan manuscripts.

951 The name of the scribe occurs on the next page again and can be read easily there.

952 The era has not been mentioned.

953 Unlikely an adjective for *Xodāmorād*.

954 Quite certain.

955 Quite uncertain. Unlikely *koštī* ‘you killed’.

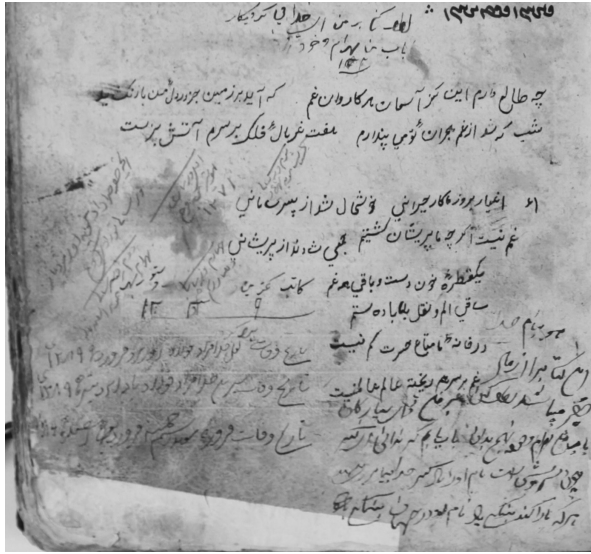


Image 139: MS. 4063, Verses and Sālmargs

Sālmargs, fol. 145v

- *Hova. be-nām-e xodā. xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr esfandyār dastūr baxt āfarīn. xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr ōrmazdyār dastūr bahrām, xodā bīyāmorzād, saneye 1239 yajdġerdīyeh*

‘He. In the name of God. May God bless Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Baxt Āfarīn. May God bless Dastūr Ōrmazdyār Dastūr Bahrām. May God bless, the year 1239 AY!’

- *Vafāt-e dastūr mūbed šāh rostam fereydūn borzīn,⁹⁵⁶ rūz-e ābān, esfand māh-e qadīm saneye 181⁹⁵⁷*

‘The death of Dastūr Mūbed Šāh Rostam Fereydūn Borzīn, the day Ābān, Esfand, the old month Esfand, the year 1081.’

- *Vafāt-e ... dastūr fereydūn rostam manūčeħr; rūz-e xordād, Tīrmāh-e qadīm, saneye 181⁹⁵⁸*

‘The death of ... Dastūr Fereydūn Rostam Manūčeħr, the day Xordād, the old month Tīr, the year 1081.’

- *Vafāt-e behbūd dastūr manūčeħr rostam, rūz-e mehr īzad, deymāh, saneye 1084⁹⁵⁹*

‘The death of Behbūd Dastūr Manūčeħr Rostam, the day Mehr Īzad, the month Dey, the year 1084.’⁹⁶⁰

⁹⁵⁶ Quite uncertain.

⁹⁵⁷ Quite uncertain.

⁹⁵⁸ Quite uncertain. The era has not been mentioned.

⁹⁵⁹ Quite uncertain.

⁹⁶⁰ The era has not been mentioned.

- *Vafāt-e behbūd dastūr fereydūn rostam borzīn, rūz-e dey be dīn, tīr māh-e qadīm, saneye 11303*⁹⁶¹
 ‘The death of Behbūd Dastūr Fereydūn Rostam Borzīn, the day Dey-be-Dīn, the old month Tīr, the year 1133.’
- *Vafāt-e zarestūn dastūr fereydūn rostam borzīn, rūz-e farvardīn, saneye 11303*⁹⁶²
 ‘The death of Zarestūn Dastūr Fereydūn Rostam Borzīn, the day Farvardīn, the year 1133.’
- *Vafāt-e ašū ravān dastūr fereydūn rostam fereydūn borzīn, rūz-e dey-be-ādar, ābān māh-e qadīm, saneye 11304*
 ‘The death of holy soul Dastūr Fereydūn Rostam Fereydūn Borzīn, the day Dey-be-ādar, the old month Ābān, the year 1134.’
- *Vafāt-e farangīs dastūr manūčehr bahrām, rūz-e mehr īzad, bahman māh, saneye 192*⁹⁶³
 ‘The death of Farangīs Dastūr Manūčehr Bahrām, the day Mehr Īzad, the month Bahman, the year 1092.’
- *Vafāt-e dastūr fereydūn rostam ferydūn borzīn, rūz-e dey be ādar, ābān māh-e qadīm, saneye 11303*
 ‘The death of Dastūr Fereydūn Rostam Ferydūn Borzīn, the day Dey-be-Ādar, the old month Ābān, the year 1133.’
- *Vafāt-e šahnāz dastūr ardešīr rostam ardešīr, rūz, rūz-e ādar, dey-māh-e qadīm, saneye 11308*
 ‘The death of Šahnāz Dastūr Ardešīr Rostam Ardešīr, the day Ādar, the old month Dey, the year 1138.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ašū ravān dastūr baxt āfarīn garoṣmā[nī] dar rūz-e bād īzad, māh ordībehešt-māh. xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr ōrmazdyār dastūr bahrām dastūr sorūš. Xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr baxt āfarīn dastūr sorūš, xodā bīyāmorzād*
 ‘The death date of holy soul Dastūr Baxtāfarīn of the paradise, on the day Bād Īzad, the month Ordībehešt. May God bless Dastūr Ōrmazdyār Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Sorūš. May God bless Dastūr Baxt Āfarīn Dastūr Sorūš, May god bless!’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e ravān garoṣmānī, kāteb-e īn daftar-e jad-dīv-dād, dastūr esfandyār dastūr baxt āfarīn*
 ‘The death date of the paradise soul, the scribe of this book of Jaddīvdād, Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Baxtāfarīn.’

961 The era has not been mentioned.

962 The era has not been mentioned. The month has not been mentioned either.

963 Quite uncertain.

lotf kon bar man ey xodā-ye kardīgār O, God, The creator! Oblige me!
bāb-e man bahrām o xodōrmazdyār my father is Bahrām and I (am) Ōrmazdyār
kamtarīn dastūr ōrmazdyār valad-e dastūr the humblest, Dastūr Ōrmazdyār, son of
*bahrām*⁹⁶⁴ Dastūr Bahrām

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e mūbed rostam mūbed jamšīd rostam andar yōm ordībehešt, esfand māh, 1270 yazdgerdī*
 ‘The death date of Mūbed Rostam Mūbed Jamšīd Rostam, on the day Ordībehešt, the month Esfand, the year 1270 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e marhūm bahman mūbed rostam jamšīd, yōm māntre sfand, ābān māh 1266 yazdgerdī*
 ‘The death date of the deceased Bahman Mūbed Rostam Jamšīd, the day Māntre-Sfand, the month Ābān, the year 1266 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e marhūm jamšīd mūbed rostam jamšīd, aštād īzad, xordād māh 1274 yazdgerdī, tehrān. √Tehran√*
 ‘The death date of the deceased Jamšīd Mūbed Rostam Jamšīd, (the day) Aštād Īzad, the month Xordād, 1274 AY. (In) Tehran.’

Another note occurs on this page:

- *Vaqt-e 1288 xeylī saxt gozašt. Gandom...*⁹⁶⁵
 ‘At the time of (the year) 1288, we had a very hard time. Wheat ...’
- *Tārīx-e marhūme la’l xodāmorād fūlād, ōrmazd, farvardīnmāh 1289*⁹⁶⁶
 ‘The (death) date of the deceased lady La’l Xodāmorād Fūlād, (the day) Ōrmazd, the month Farvardīn, the year 1289 (AY).’
- *Tārīx-e marhūme šīrīn xodāmorād fūlād, bād īzad, tīr māh, 1289 yazdgerdī*
 ‘The (death) date of the deceased lady Šīrīn Xodāmorād Fūlād, (the day) Bād Īzad, the month Tīr, the year 1289 AY.’
- *Xodā bīyāmorzād dastūr ōrmazdyār dastūr bahrām xodā bīyāmorzād*
 ‘May God bless Dastūr Ōrmazdyār Dastūr Bahrām. May God bless!’

Verse, fol. 267r

[hr ke] mā rā konad be nīkī yād Everyone who remembers our name kindly
nām-e ū dar jahān be nīkī bād may his name be well-famed in the world

⁹⁶⁴ The year of death has not been mentioned.

⁹⁶⁵ The last two words are illegible.

⁹⁶⁶ The era has not been mentioned, but from the other Sālmargs, we can conclude that the era is Yazdgerdi.

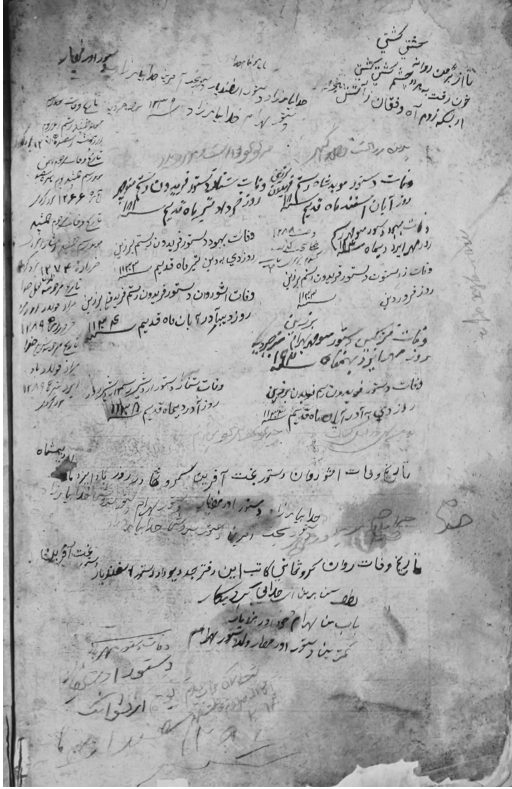


Image 140: MS. 4063, Sālmargs, verses and other notes

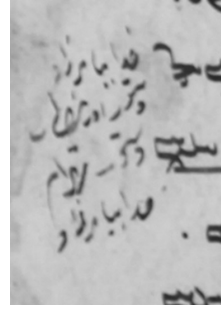


Image 141: MS. 4063, Xodāmorzī note

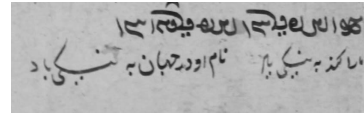


Image 142: MS. 4063, Xodāmorzī note

MS. 4063: Verses in Middle Persian, back-end paper

pad nām yazad

In the name of God.

har kē amā rāy kard bē nekī⁹⁶⁷ yād

Everybody who remembered our name in good manner

nām ōy dar gēhān bē nekī bawād

may his name be well-famed in the world

har kē amā rāy be di⁹⁶⁸ bē guft wad

May those who harbor ill will towards us receive just punishment and suffer the consequences of their malevolent thoughts

kū mar-ū⁹⁶⁹ rāy wad o jazā be dahād

the servant Jāmāsb Hakīm

bandag jāmāsb ha[kīm]

Verse, back-end paper

parastīdan-e dādgar pīše kon

Engage yourself in praising God!

⁹⁶⁷ ī written in Persian – not in Middle Persian-form.

⁹⁶⁸ Written *LBBE* instead of *LBBME* 'heart'.

⁹⁶⁹ Quite uncertain. Probably Persian form *mar ū*.

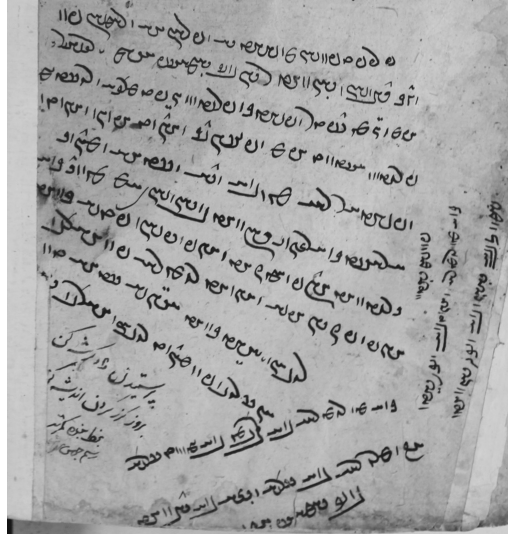


Image 143: MS. 4063, Back-end paper

*be rûz-e gozar*⁹⁷⁰ *kardan andîše kon*

Contemplate the day of departing from this world!

*be-xaṭ-e bande-ye kamtarîn rostam ...*⁹⁷¹

This was penned by the humblest servant, Rostam ...

Sālmargs, back-end paper

- *Vafāt-e dastūr rostam dastūr fereydūn borzīn dar rûz-e dīn, mäh-e ābān, saneye 10103,*⁹⁷² *saneye 1061*
‘The death of Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Fereydūn Borzīn, on the day Dīn, the month Ābān, the year 1013 AY, 1061 Hejri.’
- *Vafāt-e dastūr bahrām manūčeḥr rostam fereydūn borzīn, rûz-e mordād, Tīrmāh-e qadīm, saneye 1071 yazdĵerdī*
‘The death of Dastūr Bahrām Manūčeḥr Rostam Fereydūn Borzīn, the day Mordād, the old month Tīr, the year 1071 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e saṭnāz bent-e dastūr fereydūn bahrām šahmardān, rûz-e šahrīvar va farvardīnmāh-e qadīm, saneye 1067.*
‘The death date of Saṭnāz, the daughter of Dastūr Fereydūn Bahrām Šahmardān, the day Šahrīvar, the old month Farvardīn, the year 1067.’

⁹⁷⁰ A mistake for *gozar* گزر.

⁹⁷¹ The rest is illegible.

⁹⁷² This era could only be Yazdgerdi and the second era Hejri. However, according to other Sālmargs after this one, we assume 1061 to be Yazdgerdi. Between the Hejri and Yazdgerdi eras, there is a difference of 48 years.

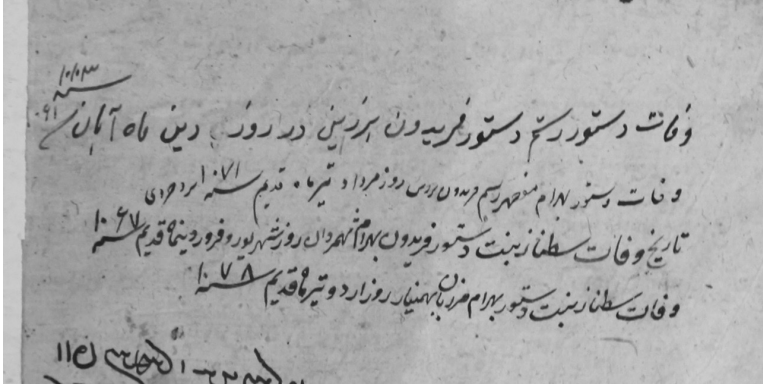


Image 144: MS. 4063, Sālmargs, back-end paper

- *Vafāt-e saṭnāz bent-e dastūr bahrām marzbān bahmanyār, rūz-e ard va tīr māh-e qadīm. saneye 1078*

‘The death of Saṭnāz, the daughter of Dastūr Bahrām Marzbān Bahmanyār, the day Ard, the old month Tīr, the year 1078.’

4.1.14. MS. 4065

4.1.14.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh <ud> farroxīh <ud> rāmišn pad nēk dahišnīh <ud> (2) xūb murwāg hupestag⁹⁷³ rōzgār abestāg ud yašt wisparēd (3) jud-dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag yazišnīgihā. man ī dēn <second page> (4) bandag wāhrōm šāh jāmāsb anōšagruwān wāhrōm šāh (5) ērdešīr wāhrōm šāh nibištōm frāz hišt az pačēn (6) <ī> amū mihrebān anošagruwān wāhrōm šāh ka-š⁹⁷⁴ az bahrīh (7) nām-gānag <ī> nōg-rūz⁹⁷⁵ marzbān nibištāg bēd.⁹⁷⁶ kē-šān rūwān pad (8) pahlom axwān rōšn <ō> garōdmān be-rasād. har kē ēn (9) ketāb xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn-īg az-iš kunād (10) ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunād amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ahlaw (11) ruwānīh yād kunād, ēg-aš gētīh tan-husraw u-š (12) pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. ka-š nām <ī> man kē nibištār (13) hōm awiš⁹⁷⁷ awestarēd kē awestarēd u-š gētīg tan (14) dusraw u-š pad mēnōg ruwān druwand bawād u-š hamēmāl (15) ham pad dādwar dādār ī ohrmazd. pad farrōxīh <ud> pērōzīh (16) rōz srōš māh spandmad sāl bar 1025 yazdgerd (17) šāhānšāh nāfag be ō ī husraw ī šāhānšāh (18) ohrmazdān. pad yazdān kām bād. man ēn daftar nibištām az (19) bahr <ī> nām-gānag <ī> garšāsb dastān rustōm ka (20) brādar <ī> rustōm dastān ēn daftar <ī> jud-dēw-dād az (21) bahrīh kirbag <ud> mizd <ud> ahlāyīh ī ruwān ō⁹⁷⁸ framūd kē tā (22) dastwarān <ud> dastwar-zādagān hangām kē xwānand, ayāb (23) hammōzand ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunand ayāb pačēn az-iš

973 A mistake for *xuṣtag*.

974 The conjunction *ka* means ‘when, if, since’ and here is used mistakenly instead of *kē* ‘that’.

975 Written *nōg* [nwk]. Probably a mistake for *nēk* [nywk].

976 Written *bēd* [byt] instead of *būd*. The same mistake occurs in V 4062, line 8.

977 Only in this colophon and in the colophon of 4060 *awiš* is attested, which might be a mistake. In V 4010, 4020, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4062, 4063, 4065, 4070 (K9) *az-iš* is attested.

978 A mistake for *ōy* ‘he’.

*kunand, ruwān (24) <ī> garšāsb dastān ud rustōm dastān hambahr kunand tā xwadāy-šān <third page> (25) be āmurzād ud anōšag-šān be ruwān rasād, paywand pad sōšāns (26) paywandād, tā 150 sālān har dastwar-ē pad ahlāyih (27) kār framāyand. nibištōm andar farrōx būm <ī> šahr <ī> kermān. agar kē pad (28) ēn pačēn vāzag-ē frāmōš bawēd ayāb wardišnīgīyān (29) pad mādagwarīh be baxšēd. wahištīg ruwānīg, kē drust nimāyēd, (30) be garōdmān arzānīg bād, be yazdān kām bād. **aēuuō. pañtā. (31) yō. ašhē ašahē. ēk ast rāhīh ahlāyih <ud> abārīg ān jud (32) rāhīh. šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuōnō. šād ān tan (33) kē-š warzīd ruwān <ī> xwēš. čand ahy mēnōg dastwar ī čihromayān ī (34) wištāspān be rasād, dēn rawāg dēn burdārān az dēn nēkīh (35) rasād. har kas pad kāmāgīh <ī> xwēš tuwān bād zīwīstan. **nōiṭ. (36) čah [mi]. 979 zazuua. yō. nōiṭ. urune. zazuua. nōiṭ. čah (37) mi. zazuša. nē-š čīš grīf kē-š nē ruwān grīfand. (38) nūn-iz nē čīš gīrēd kē nē ruwān gīrēd.*****

4.1.14.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate and (2) good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd (3) Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, (4) Wāhrōm Šāh Jāmāsb Anošag-ruwān Wāhromšāh (5) Ērdešīr Wāhrom Šāh have written and launched <it> from the manuscript of (6) <my> uncle Mihrēbān Anošagruwān Wāhrōm Šāh, which was written as the memorial of blessed life⁹⁸⁰ Marzbān. May their souls reach (8) that best world, the shining Garōdmān. Everybody who may recite (9) this book or teach <it> or make a copy of it (10) or perform Yazīšn with it, and remember us in good desire and piety of (11) the soul, may he be of a good-famed body in the material world (12) and a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life. And if somebody (13) wiped my name, in order that (my name) would be wiped away may he be of ill-famed (14) body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world and (15) I would be accuser in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator. I have written <it> in glory and victory, (16) the day Srōš, the month Spandmad, the year 1025 <from the era of> Yazdgerd (17) king of kings, descendant of Husraw, king of kings, (18) son of Ohrmazd. May it be according to the will of Ohrmazd. I wrote this manuscript (19) as a memory for Garšāsb Dastān Rustōm, that <his> (20) brother Rustōm Dastān ordered this manuscript of Juddēwdād (21) as a (21) good deed <and> reward <and> for righteousness of his soul in order that (22) when Dastūrs and the children of the Dastūrs would recite <it> or (23) teach <it>, or celebrate the Yazīšn ceremony with it, or make a copy of it, make the soul of (24) Garšāsb Dastān and Rustōm Dastān participant <in that> in order that may God (25) forgive them and may the immortality reach their souls. May (their souls) (26) join Sōšāns and may each Dastūr use it for 150 years with righteousness. (27) I have written in the blessed city of Kerman. If (28) If a word has been forgotten in this manuscript or (there were) some mistakes, (29) may he excuse it principally and may his soul reach the paradise, who corrects it, (30) may he be worthy of Garōdmān. May it be according to the will of Yazdān. (31) **There is only one way and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of the pious and (32) the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and the paradise soul.** He would be glad in body, (33) who would improve his soul. May he reach as soon as possible Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, (34) son of Wištāsp. May the religion spread and may the followers of the religion (35) attain goodness through religion. May everyone be able to live according to his will. (36–37) S/he has not

979 A mistake for *ahmi*. In 4063, we find the same mistake again.

980 I think *nēkrōz* is an adjective for Marzbān and can not be a personal name.

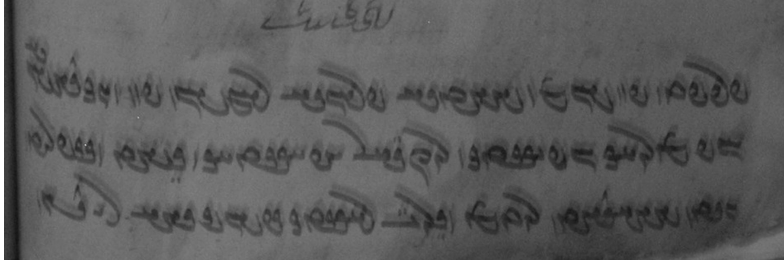


Image 145: MS. 4065, Middle Persian colophon, first page

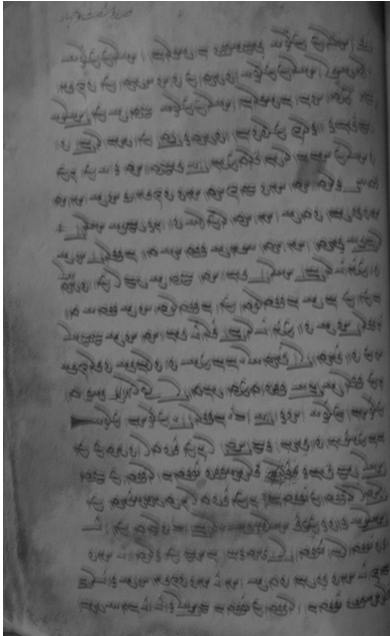


Image 146: MS. 4065, Middle Persian colophon, second page

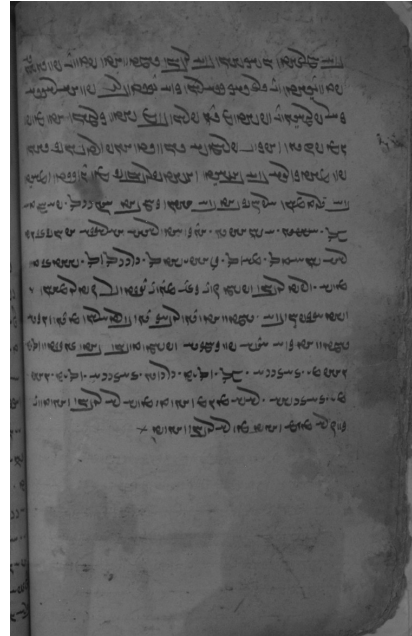


Image 147: MS. 4065, Middle Persian colophon, third page

won anything who has not won (anything)⁹⁸¹ for her/his soul (38) and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul.

4.1.15. MS. 4070 (K9)

4.1.15.1. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud rāmišn pad nēk dahišnīh (2) xūb murwāg ud xuǰastag rōzgār abestāg ud (3) yašt ud wīspared abāg juddēwdād ud abāg (4) nērang, rastag yazīšnīh man dēn bandēh <second page> (5) magupad dārāb dastwar-zādēh ^sohrāb bin^ dastwar waho-

⁹⁸¹ Alternatively, 'He has not acquired anything, who has not acquired (the possession over his) soul', as translated by Cantera. See: <http://ada.usal.es/colofones/view/274>.

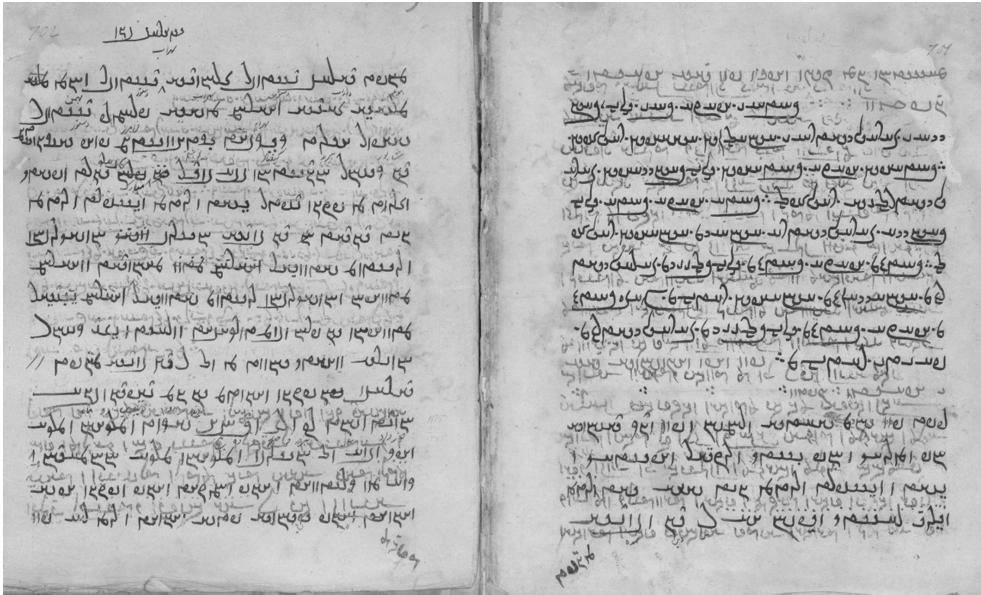


Image 148: MS. 4070, Second Middle Persian colophon, first and second pages

man (6) *hērbed-zādēh wāhrām hērbed frāmurz dastwar* (7) *šāpur hērbed kaykabād nibištēm frāz hištēm* (8) *andar kišwar hindustān dar bandar dar*⁹⁸² *farrox ^mubarak^ sūrat nibištāg* (9) *šud az pačēn daftar yašt abāg wīspared abāg* (10) *jud-dēw-dād ān dēn bandēh husraw anōšagruwān* (11) *rustōm šahryār wāhrām mihr(ēbān)*⁹⁸³ *māhwindād wāhrām* (12) *mihrēbān anōšagruwān rustōm šahryār wāhrām yazdyār* (13) *mihrēbān andar farrox būm turkābād wilāyat yazd, kešwar* (14) *xwanīras niwištāg būd. az ō man dēn bandēh magupad* (15) *dārāb pačēn kardam andar rōz dē-pa-dēn ud māj* (16) *xwardad ud sāl 1115 yazdgerd šāhān šāh* (17) *nāfag be ō husraw šāhān šāh ohrmazdān ud* (18) *har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn az-iš* (19) *kunād ayāb yazīšnīh pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad <third page>* (20) *nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīg yād kunād ēg-iš gētīh* (21) *tan husraw pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw bawād. kē-š* (22) *nām ī man kē niwištār ham az-iš awestarēd ud kē* (23) *awestarēd u-š gētīh tan dusraw ud [pad mēnōg] ruwān druwand* (24) *u-š hamēmāl u-m pad dādwar dādār ham.* (25) *man dēn bandēh magupad dārāb pus ī garōdmānīg soxrāb.* (26) *aēuuō. pantāi. yō. ašahe. ēk ast* (27) *rāh ahlāyīh abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhīh.* (28) [In Persian] *tamām šod īn ketāb-e jad-dīv-dād.*

4.1.15.2. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and pleasure, good fortune, (2) and good omen, and at the blessed time, (3) Yašt of Avesta, Wisparēd with Juddēwdād including (4) Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, (5) Magupad Dārāb Dastūr-born Sohrāb son of Dastūr (6)

⁹⁸² Alternatively, *dēn*.

⁹⁸³ In the original genealogy of Xosrow Nūšīrwān is given in the second colophon of 4020, Wāhrām Mihr(ēbān) does not occur, and this is a mistake: *Xosrow Nūšīrwān Rostam Šahryār Māwandād Bahrām Mihrabān Nūšīrwān Rostam Šahryār Bahrām Yazadyār Mihrabān*.

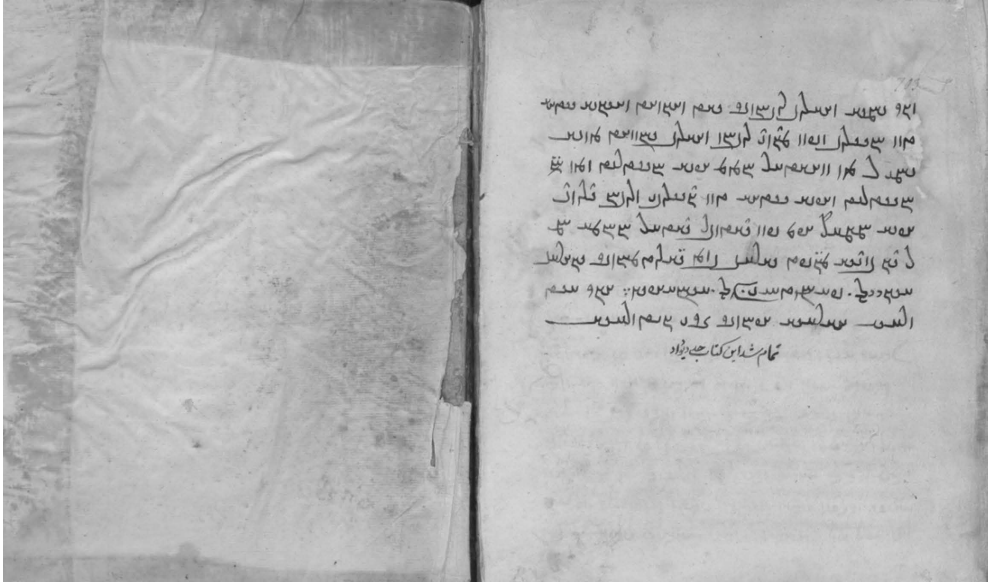


Image 149: MS. 4070, Second Middle Persian colophon, third page

Wahoman Hērbed-born Wāhrām Hērbed Frāmurz Dastūr (7) Šāpur Hērbed Kaykabād, wrote and launched it (8) in the land of India, in the blessed port of Surat. It was written (9) from a copy of the book of the Yašt with Wisparēd and (10) Jud-dēw-dād, which was written by the servant of the religion Husraw Anōšagruwān (11) Rustōm Šahrayār Wāhrām Mihr(ēbān) Māhwindād Wāhrām (12) Mihrēbān Anōšagruwān Rustōm Šahryār Wāhrām Yazdyār (13) Mihrēbān in the auspicious land of Turkābād in the city of Yazd of the land of (14) Xwanīras. From that, I, the servant of religion, Maqupad (15) Dārāb, have made a copy on the day Dēy-pa-dēn and the month (16) Xwardad, the year 1115, of Yazdgerd the king of kings, (17) descendant of his Majesty Xusrō, the king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. (18) And everybody, who would recite it, or teach it, or make a copy (19) of it, or celebrate the Yazišn ceremony with it, should remember us in (20) good name and (for) the immortal soul. And then may he be of (21) renowned body in the material world and of pious soul in the spiritual one. If somebody (22) erased my name, I who am the scribe, so that he would (23) throw it away, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul in the spiritual world! (24) I will be his plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator. (25) I, the servant of religion, Dārāb, son of Sohrāb, may his place be in Garōdmān. (26) **There is only one way and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one (27) way of the pious and the other ones are heresy. (28) This book of Jaddīvdād is completed.'

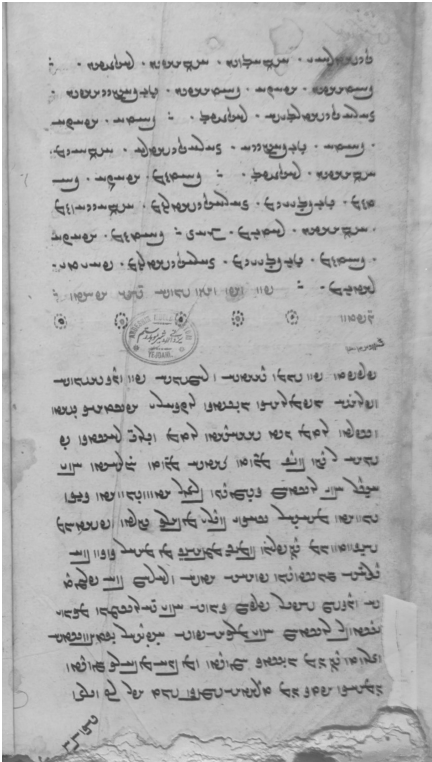


Image 150: MS. 4080, Middle Persian colophon, first page

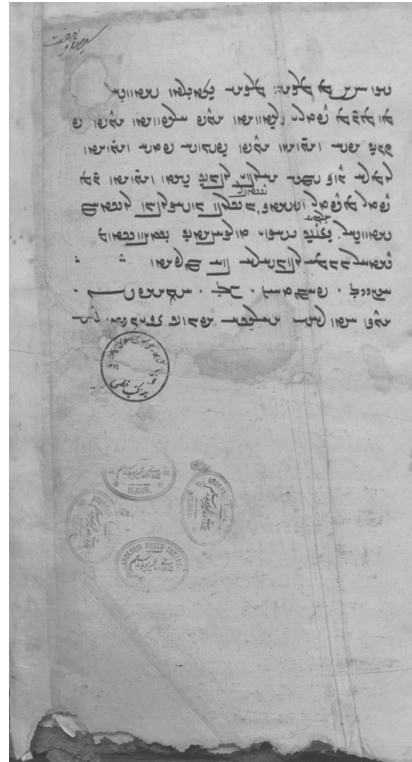


Image 151: MS. 4080, Middle Persian colophon, second page

4.1.16. MS. 4080

4.1.16.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazāft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišnīh pad nēk-dahišnīh* (2) *ud farroxīh* <ud> *xūb-murwāg ē xuǰastag rōzgārī(h). abestāg yašt* (3) *wisparēd abāg ǰud-dēw-dād abāg nērang rastag yaz-* (4) *išnīh. man dēn bandag maguwat zādēh maguwat xwaršēd abn-ī*⁹⁸⁴ (5) *ēdar; abn-ī*⁹⁸⁵ *rustahm kayāmudēn barzūr ādurbawād*⁹⁸⁶ *kay(6)bawād*⁹⁸⁷ *māhyār; sākan-ī bandar* *ī mubārak* <ī> *sūrat. nibištōm* (7) <ud frāz> *hištōm andar farrox būmī mambāyīg*⁹⁸⁸ *az mehr*⁹⁸⁹ *kardan*⁹⁹⁰ *be* (8) *dargāh-e amahraspandān* <ud> *panāhīh ātaxš* <ī> *warahrām be farmūd-* (9) *aš nēknām, weh frazām, kāwēh ebn-ī garōdmān makānī* (10) *dastwar rustahm ebn-ī šāpus īzadyār. nibištēh*⁹⁹¹ (11) *šud andar rōz* <ī> *xuǰastag amordad ud az mäh*

984 A variant of *ebn* 'son'.

985 A variant of *ebn* 'son'.

986 Apparently, a variant of *ādurbād*.

987 Apparently, a variant of *kaykavād*.

988 Written *mmb* 'yyk.

989 Quite uncertain.

990 Quite uncertain. Written *kwkwn*.

991 Written *YYTYBWNyh* instead of *YTYBWNyh*.

<ī> mubārak <ī> amordad (12) rōzašg haftag rōz ...⁹⁹² nāmīg sāl abar 1157 <second page> (13) az šāhān šāh yazdǰird šahryār. [har] (14) kē az ēn daftar ī xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb [pa-] (15) čēnīg az-iš kunād ayāb yazišnīh pad-iš kunād, (16) amā rāy <pad> nēk nāmīh <ud> ahlaw ruwānīg yād kunād. ēn (17) daftar az daftar ī nibištāg ī ^dastwar^ husraw anōšagruwān rustahm (18) šahryār ^ērānīg^ yazdīg sākan-ī turkābādīg nibištom. (19) dādār ohrmazd ruwān-aš-rā be āmurzād. (20) **aēuuō. pañtā. yō. ašahē.** (21) ēk ast rāh <ī> ahlāyīh, abārīg ān ī jūd-rāhī[h].

4.1.16.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and pleasure in good fate (2) and happiness and in good omen and blessed time. Yašt of Avesta, (3) Wisparēd Juddēwdād with Nērangs and ritual series. (4) I, the servant of religion, the son of Maguwat, Maguwat Xwaršēd, the son of (5) Ēdar, the son of Rustahm Kayāmudēn Barzūr Ādurbawād Kaykbawād (6) Māhyār, inhabitant of the blessed port of Sūrat. I wrote (7) and launched <it> in the blessed city of Bombay for the respect (8) in the presence of Amahraspandān and protection of the Warahram fire. It was ordered (9) by well-famed, good-fortune, Kāwēh, the son of Dastur Rustahm, residing in the paradise, (10) the son of Šāpus Īzadyār. It was written (11) in the blessed day Amordād and the blessed month Amordād (12) Year 1157 (13) from (the era of) Yazdǰerd, king of kings, the king. Everybody (14) who would recite it or teach it or make (15) a copy of it or celebrate with it, may remember (16) us in good name and pious soul. I wrote (17) this book from the book written by Dastur Husraw Anōšagruwān Rustahm (18) Šahryār, from Iran, from Yazd, inhabitant of Turkābād. (19) May Ohrmazd, the creator, forgive his soul. (20) **There is only one way, and that is of the righteousness.** (21) There is only one way of the pious and the other ones are heresy.

4.1.16.3. Purchase note and Sālmargs, fol. 267r

- *Īn ketāb-e vandīdād az māl-e ardešīr ebn-marḥūm mūbed rostam jamšīd rostam key-Xosro mībāšad.*
‘This book of Vandīdād belongs to Ardešīr the son of the deceased Mūbed Rostam Jamšīd Rostam KeyXosro.’
- *Dar molk-e bamba’ ī xarīde šode, be-tārīx-e ormazd, ordībehešt-māh-e 1274 yazdgerdī.*
‘It has been bought in the city of Bombay on the date, the (day) Ormazd, the month Ordībehešt, the year 1274 Yazdgerdi (AD 1905).’

Sālmargs

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e katāyūn mehr-..., yōm dey-be-mehr, le⁹⁹³ ābān-māh*
‘The death date of Katāyūn (the daughter of) Mehr-..., the day Mehr, in the month Ābān.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e marḥūm jamšīd mūbed rostam keyxosro, dey-be-ādar, deymāh*
‘The death date of the deceased Jamšīd Mūbed Rostam Keyxosro, (the day) Dey-be-Ādar, the month Dey.’

⁹⁹² Unreadable word.

⁹⁹³ If read correctly, Arabic *le-* means ‘to’.

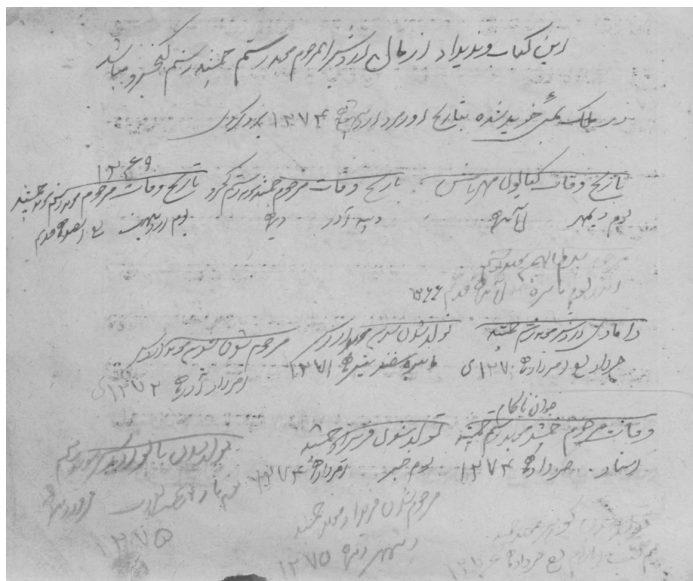


Image 152: MS. 4080, Purchase notes and Sālmargs

- *Saneye 1269, tārix-e vafāt-e marḥūm mūbed rostam mūbed jamšīd, yōm ordībehešt, aḡ esfand-māh-e qadīm*
‘The year 1269. The death date of the deceased Mūbed Rostam Mūbed Jamšīd, (the day) Ordībehešt, from the old month Esfand.’
- *Marḥūm bahrām bahman mūbed rostam, andar yōm mantra, le⁹⁹⁴ ābān māh-e qadīm 1266⁹⁹⁵*
‘The deceased Bahrām Bahman Mūbed Rostam, on the day Mantra, in the old month Ābān, the year 1266.’

Other dates:

- *Dāmādī-ye ardešīr mūbed rostam jamšīd, xordād aḡ amordād māh, 1270 Y.*
‘Becoming groom of Ardešīr Mūbed Rostam Jamšīd, (the day) Xordād, from the month Amordād, the year 1270 AY.’⁹⁹⁶
- *Tavalod šodan-e šīrīn mūbed ardešīr, māntre-sfand tūr māh 1271.⁹⁹⁷*
‘The birth of Šīrīn, (the daughter of) Mūbed Ardešīr, (the day) Mantresfand, the month Tūr, (the year) 1271.’

⁹⁹⁴ Uncertain.

⁹⁹⁵ Yazdgerdi era.

⁹⁹⁶ AD 1901.

⁹⁹⁷ Yazdgerdi era.

- *Marḥūm šodan-e šīrīn mūbed ardešīr, amordād, ādar māh, 1272 Y.*
‘The death of Šīrīn, (the daughter of) Mūbed Ardešīr, (the day) Amordād, the month Adar, (the year) 1272 Y.’⁹⁹⁸
- *javān-e nākām, vafāt-e marḥūm jamšīd mūbed rostam jamšīd, aštād,⁹⁹⁹ xordād māh, 1274.*
‘Failed young, the death of the deceased Jamšīd (the son of) Mūbed Rostam Jamšīd, (the day) Aštād, the month Xordād, (the year) 1274.’¹⁰⁰⁰
- *Tavalod šodan-e farīzād jamšīd, yōm xeyr, amordād māh, 1274.*
‘The birth of Farīzād Jamšīd, the day Xeyr, the month Amordād, the year 1274.’¹⁰⁰¹
- *Marḥūm šodan-e farīzād mūbed jamšīd, dey-be-mehr, dey māh, 1275.*
‘The birth of Farīzād Jamšīd, (the day) Dey-be-Mehr, the month Dey, (the year) 1275.’¹⁰⁰²
- *Tavalod šodan-e bānū ardešīr mūbed rostam, yōm bād, 4 ...,¹⁰⁰³ farvardīn-māh, 1275.*
‘The birth of bānū (the daughter of) Ardešīr Mūbed Rostam, the day Bād, fourth of ..., the month Farvardīn, (the year) 1275.’¹⁰⁰⁴
- *Tavalod šodan-e gohar mūbed jamšīd, nīm-e šab-e anārām, aḡ xordād māh, 1276.*
‘The birth of Gohar (the daughter of) Mūbed Jamšīd, at midnight of Anārām (day), from the month Xordād, (the year) 1276.’¹⁰⁰⁵

On 268v:

- *Hova*
Be-mobārakī va meymanat va farxondegī, 3 sā^c t va 3 rob^c az šab-e aštād īzad, le-ābān māh-e qadīm 1277 gozašte, moṭābeq-e 4 rabī^c ol aval 1326. jamšīd, valad-e ardešīr; motavaled šode, be ṭāle^c -e nīkū, moṭābeq-e qōs, šāheb-e ṭāle^c -e moštari ast, sa^c d-e ak-bar¹⁰⁰⁶ enšāllāh ta^c ālā xoš ṭāle^c va meymūn ast. omraš pāyande bād, be-rab ol-^c ebād.
‘God. In happiness, festivity and cheerfulness, 3 hours and 3 quarters passed from the night of Aštād Īzad, in the old month Ābān, (the year) 1277, in accordance with fourth of Rabī^c ol-Aval (of the year) 1326. Jamšīd, the son of Ardešīr, is born in a good horoscope, in accordance with Sagittarius¹⁰⁰⁷, he possesses the horoscope of Jupiter. May the horoscope of Jupiter be good and blessed according to the will of the great God. May his life be eternal through the will of the Lord of servants.’

998 AD 1903.

999 Written *šn 'd* اسناد.

1000 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1905.

1001 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1905.

1002 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1906.

1003 Illegible.

1004 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1906.

1005 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1907.

1006 Means Jupiter.

1007 The ninth astrological sign.

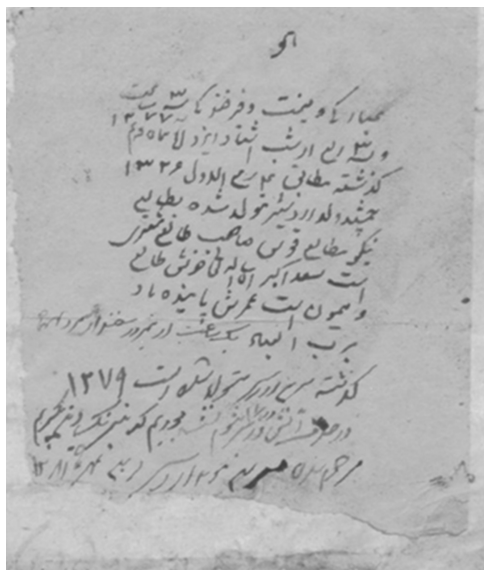


Image 153: 4080, First Birth note

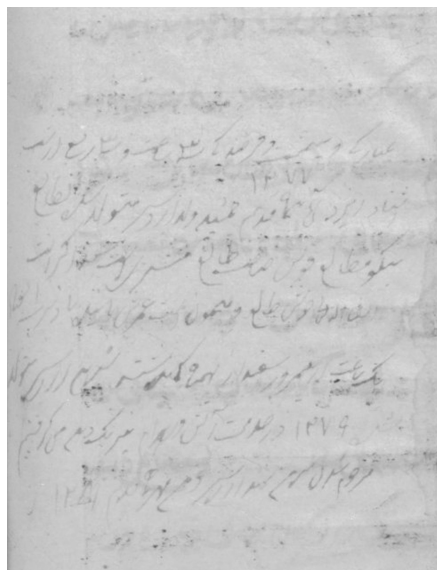


Image 154: 4080, Repetition of the first Birth note

- *Yek sa' at az nīmrūz sefandārmazd bahman-māh gozāste, šīrīn ardešīr motavaled šode ast 1279*
'One hour passed from noon of Sefandārmazd (day), the month Bahman. Šīrīn Ardešīr is born, 1279.'¹⁰⁰⁸
- *Dar xedmat-e ātaš-e varahrām ašū nešaste būdīm ke neyrang-e dīn begīrīm.*
'We sat in the presence of the holy Varahrām fire, in order to perform Neyrang-e dīn.'
- *Marhūm šodan-e šīrīn mūbed ardešīr, dīn, be-mehrmāh 1281.*
'The death of Šīrīn (the daughter of) Mūbed Ardešīr, (the day) Dīn, the month Mehr, (the year) 1281.'¹⁰⁰⁹
- *Be-mobārakī va meymanat (va) nīk-farjāmī, andar rūz-e māh īzad, aḡ deymāh-e qadīm 1281, xordād māh-e jalālī, moṭābeq bā rūz-e sešanbe sevom-e šahr-e jamādī ol-ṣānī, nīm sā' at ... az rūz bālā āmade tavalod-e bahman dastūr ardešīr dastūr rostan jamšīd šode. be-īnjenāb¹⁰¹⁰ ʔolū'-e haft daraḡe-ye borj-e jōzā būd va šāheb-e borj-e ʔāṭārod ast. borj-e zohreh īnbār xoš ʔāle' va qadam-aš meymūn va mobārak ast. allāh ol'-aḡīm.¹⁰¹¹*

1008 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1910.

1009 Yazdgerdi era. AD 1912.

1010 Quite uncertain.

1011 Quite uncertain.

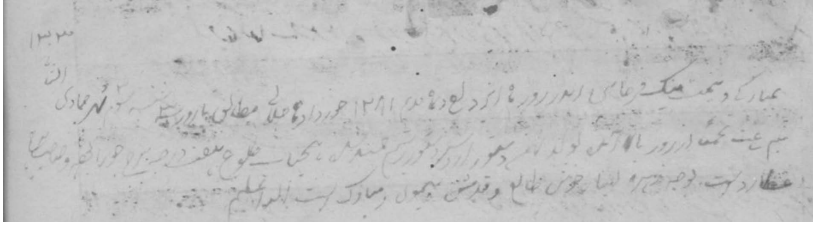


Image 155: Ms. 4080, second Birth note

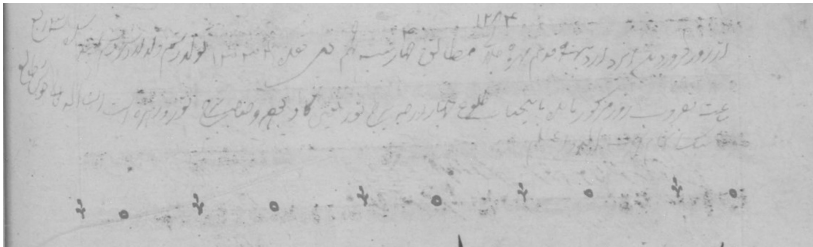


Image 156: MS. 4080, third Birth note

‘In happiness, festivity and good end, on the day Māh Īzād of the old month Dey, (the year) 1281,¹⁰¹² the month Xordād of Jalālī (calendar), in accordance with Tuesday third of Jamādī ol-Sānī month, half hour has passed from the rising of the sun, Bahman Dastūr Ardešīr Dastūr Rostam Jamšīd is born. He has the 7-grade rise of Gemini and possesses the horoscope of Mercury. Venus is a good horoscope, and may his birth be happy and blessed. God is great.’

- 1284, az rūz-e farvardīn īzād, ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm, mehr māh-e jalālī, moṭābeq-e čahāršanbe, nohom-e zī-qa‘de 1332, tavalod-e rostan valad-e ardešīr rostan ...¹⁰¹³ šod se rob‘-e sā‘at be-ğorūb-e rūz-e mazkūr¹⁰¹⁴ mānde, be-īnjenāb ʔolū‘-e čahār daraje borj-e šōr; ya‘nī gāv būd va šāheb-e borj-e šōr va zohre ast, enšāllāh ta‘ālā xoš tāle‘, nīk anjām ast. allāh ol-‘azīm.

‘(The year) 1284,¹⁰¹⁵ the day Farvardīn Īzād, the old month Ordībehešt, the month Mehr of Jalālī (calender), in accordance with Wednesday, the ninth of Zī-qa‘de of 1332¹⁰¹⁶. Rostam the son of Ardešīr Rostam is born, three quarters left to the sunset of the current day. It was the 4-grade rise of Taurus, that means Bull and he possesses the horoscope of both Taurus and Venus. According to the will of God, he has a good horoscope and will have a good end. God is great.’

¹⁰¹² Yazdgerdi era. AD 1912.

¹⁰¹³ Unreadable.

¹⁰¹⁴ A mistake for *mazkūr*.

¹⁰¹⁵ Yazdgerdi era. AD 1915.

¹⁰¹⁶ AH 1332.

4.1.17. MS. 4090

4.1.17.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon

*sepāsam ze yazdān-e rūzī-resān*¹⁰¹⁷
fozūntar ze rīg o barg-e razān

fozūntar ze bārān-e vaqt-e bahār
fozūn az gīyāh o hame sang o xār
be-gītī va mīnū joz ū nīst kas

be joz ū degar nīst faryādras
be-ḥokmaš ravānast čarx-e ravān

hame ens o jens,¹⁰¹⁸ *az zamīn tā zamān*¹⁰¹⁹

hame axtarān o šomār-e sepehr
hamān tīr o nāhīd o bahrām-o mehr
samā o samak tā ze keyvān o māh

abar ḥokm-e ūyand, ū pādešāh
konad nīst rā hast o ham hast, nīst

ke bālātar az dast-e ū dast nīst
sepāsam ze yazdān ke jān āfarīd
zamīn o zamān o makān āfarīd
ke dānā o bīnā xodāyast o bas
be-har do sarā ū hast faryādras
*čenān dān to ey yār-e besyār hūš*¹⁰²⁰
*delat rā be man dār o īn rā benūš!*¹⁰²¹

yekī mard bod mehr rostam nām

ke dārad vaṭan ra be-taft ū maqām

My thanks to the generous God,
 more than pebbles and leaves of the grape
 trees,

more than the spring rain,
 more than plants and all granites,
 There is no one in the material and spiritual
 worlds, but him.

There is no helper, but him.

The wheel of (this world) is running accord-
 ing to his command.

All humans and groups, from every corner
 on earth and every period of time.

All stars and celestial bodies;
 Mercury, Venus, Mars, and the Sun;
 from the sky and Arcturus to Saturn and the
 Moon;

all are under his rule, and he is the king.

He transforms the existent into the non-ex-
 istent, and the non-existent into the existent.

There is no power higher than his power.

I thank God, the creator of life;

The creator of earth, time, and place.

Only God is wise and all-seeing.

He is helper in both worlds.

Beware, O, intelligent friend!

Give me your heart and listen to this!

There was a man, (his) name was Mehr Ros-
 tam

He is resident of Taft

1017 The first ten verses of this colophon are similar to the Persian colophon of V 4100.

1018 In V 4100 *ens* instead of *ens o jens*. The term *ens* means “human” and *jens* means “jinns”. In this case *hame ens o jens* could mean “all humans and jinns”.

1019 The meter of this part is not correct.

1020 In V 4100 *čenān dān to ey mard-e hošyār hūš* “Be aware, O, intelligent man!”

1021 Written *nayūš* [nywš], which does not fit the context. In 4100 *benūš* “Listen!”

pedar būd rostam, mehr-aš nām

*xoǰaste xarām ū bodī nām o kām
be-dād-e zarātošt o dīn-e xodā*

*hamī dāšt ū jān-e xod rā fadā
ravānaš be ǰannat sarafrāz bād
ze xīš o tabāraš hame sar be sar*

*sorūš-e ašū-šān bovad rāhbar¹⁰²²
degar mehr rostam bā nām o kām*

*elāhī bemānād mar īšān be-kām
yekī doxtar-aš būd šahrox nām
elāhī sarafrāz bād ū ǰanat maqām
ke ǰahdī bekard o neveštan ketāb
ke bahr xodāmorzī o az šavāb*

yekī nāderas būd ǰahān rā be-nām

ke bod doxt-e bondār bahrām nām

Second Page

*mar-ān mard-e behdīn-e pāk e¹ teqād
hame rūze yābad ze yazdān morād
agar nām-e kāteb xāhī bedān
ke dastūr tīrān nāmam bexān
ke dastūr rostam bābam bovad
elāhī ravānaš be-ǰanat bovad
ke dastūr ǰāmāsb nīyāyam bovad
elāhī ke ǰannat baqāyaš bovad
ke hastam nevīsandeye īn ketāb
be ǰoz¹⁰²³ az xodāmorzī o az šavāb*

(His) father was Rostam and his name was Mehr

Both his name and wish were blessed.

In the path of Zarātošt's justice and God's religion,

He consistently risked his life.

May his soul take pride in Paradise!

May all his relatives and ancestors share this fate.

May the holy Sorūš lead them!

And may Mehr Rostam be both well-re-nowned and fortunate.

O, God! May he be fortunate!

He had a daughter, whose name was Šahrox.

May she take pride and dwell in Paradise,

For she undertook the task to write this book,

For God's forgiveness and the reward of Heaven.

There was a woman named Jahān in this world,

She was the daughter of a man named Bondār Bahrām.

May that pure-belief Behdīn man

Receive his wishes from God every day.

If you wish to know the name of the scribe, call me Dastūr Tīrān.

My father is Dastūr Rostam,

O, God! May his soul rest in Paradise.

and my grandfather is Dastūr Jāmāsb,

O, God! May he continue in Paradise.

And I am the scribe of this book,

In addition to seeking God's forgiveness and heavenly reward.

1022 A similar prayer is attested in other Persian colophons, for example in V 4060: *sorūš-e ašū kon hamī rah-baram* "make the holy Sorūš my leader!"

1023 Quite uncertain.

*sepāsam ze yazdān ke čandān omīd¹⁰²⁴
bedīdam man az dor-e vārūn, zamān
ze patyāre o mehnat-e rūzegār*

*qažā rā bodam daftarī man be-dast
neveštam garam bod maǰāl-e nešast
ke būdaš varā nām vandīdōst
omīd ke gardad tamām o dorost*

*šab o rūz nālam be-pīš-e xodā
morādam dahad qāder-e rahnamā*

*dahad ronaq-e kār-e man īn qadar
nabāšad marā hīč xof o xatar
ke šāyad ke daftar resad bā tamām
del o jānam az qam rahānad modām*

*xodāvand dādaš morādam tamām
ke benveštam īn nesf-e daftar be-kām*

*bodaš rūz-e Ormazd rūz-e kazīn
sefandārmazd māh ey pākḏīn*

*ke tā har ke xānad dar rāh-e dīn
nīyākān-e mā rā konand āfarīn*

*nīyākān ān behdīn konand āfarīn
ke tā har ke xānad dar rāh-e dīn
...¹⁰²⁵īn daftar ey xūb kīš*

begūyam man aḥvāl rā kam o bīš

*varīn kār andīše bastam del
xodāyā bokon raḥm, 'omram be-hel
ke īn nesf-e daftar be-pāyān resad
del o jān-e man zīn ḡamān bogzarad*

My gratitude to God for such a hope,
To witness this world and the passing time.
and from illness and misfortune of the des-
tiny.

Fortuitously, I had a book at hand,
I penned its lines when time did so demand.
Its name was Vandīdād,
I hope it's fulfilled, its completion makes me
glad.

Nights and days, I groan before God's gaze,
May the Almighty and leader grant my
pleas.

May He bless my work with prosperity,
Banishing my fears, all uncertainty,
That the book may be completed,
Setting my heart and soul free from sorrow,
as anticipated.

God fulfilled my wish entirely,
I've written half this book according to my
decree.

It was on Ormazd's day, a day
in the month of Sefandārmazd, O, the faith-
ful, I say!

So that all might read it in the path of faith,
May they praise our ancestors with each
breath.

Ancestors will laud that Behdīn,
As all read it in the path of faith again.
This book, O faithful one, brings you de-
light,

I'll recount the story, both the brief and
slight.

In this work, I decided with my heart,
O, God! Forgive me, let life's journey start,
Until this book's half is completed,
And my heart and soul have these concerns
defeated.

1024 A mistake for amān. It has also been corrected by pencil in the text.

1025 The first word has been deleted.

Third Page

dorūdām bar ān kas ke mārā be yād
bīyārad va-rā dāyeman šād bād
har ān kas besāzad qalaṭ rā dorost
negahdār ū rā ze zand o ze vost
ke dastūr šahrom bovad nām-e man
ke dastūr rostam bovad bāb-e man

Greetings to the one who will remember,
 may they always find joy!
 To all who would rectify mistakes,
 may Zand and Avesta protect them!
 My name is Dastūr Šahrom,
 and my father is Dastūr Rostam.

4.1.17.2. Marginal notes

MS. 4090: Sālmargs:

- *Vafāt yāftan-e ābnahūr*¹⁰²⁶ *rostam goštāsp aṣ esfand māh, rūz-e šahrīvar 1230.*
 ‘The death of Rostam Goštāsp, from the month Esfand, the day Šahrīvar, (the year) 1230’¹⁰²⁷
- *Vafāt yāftan-e dastūr xodābaxš marḥūm šervīn, rūz-e zāmyād īzad, māh, šahrīvar māh-e qadīm, sane 1266.*
 ‘The death of Dastūr Xodābaxš (son of) deceased Šervīn, the day Zāmyād Īzad, the month, old month Šahrīvar, the year 1266.’
- *Vafāt yāftan-e dastūr šervīn, marḥūm ardešīr, yōm māntre sfand, gahanbār-e tīr māh, tīr māh, sane 129.*
 ‘The death of Dastūr Šervīn, (son of) deceased Ardešīr, the day Māntre-Sfand, Gahanbār of the month Tīr, the month Tīr, the year 1290’¹⁰²⁸
- *Vafāt yāftan-e dastūr šahrīyār valad-e janat ravānī, beheštī dastūr rostam be-tārīx-e rūz ahnūd, ... sane ...349.*
 ‘The death of Dastūr Šahrīyār, son of the paradise soul, from the paradise, Dastūr Rostam, the date, the day Ahnūd,¹⁰²⁹ ... the year 1349’¹⁰³⁰
- *Vafāt yāftan-e mūbed ... valad-e ravān beheštī ... be-tārīx-e yōm māntre sfand ... sane-ye 1256*
 ‘The death date of Mūbed ... the son of the paradise soul ... the date, the day Māntre-Sfand, the year 1256.’

Page 303r:

- *Vafāt yāftan-e behrūz mūbed mehrabān mūbed xosro, sane-ye 1240.*
 ‘The death date of Behrūz Mūbed Mehrabān Mūbed Xosro, the year 1240.’

1026 Written *ābnūr*. A rare feminine name among Zoroastrians.

1027 The year’s era has not been mentioned.

1028 The year’s era has not been mentioned.

1029 *Ahnūd* is the first day of *Pangē*.

1030 The year’s era has not been mentioned.

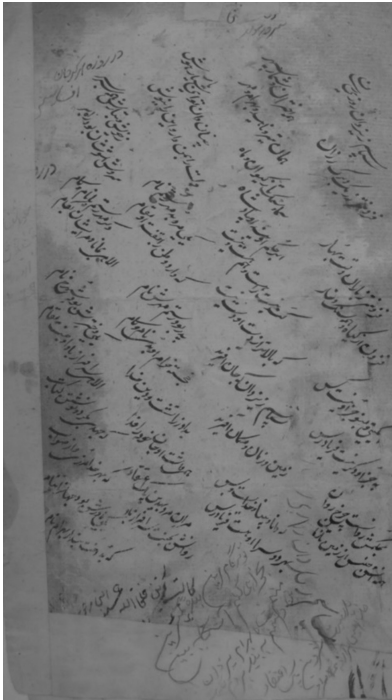


Image 157: MS. 4090, Persian colophon

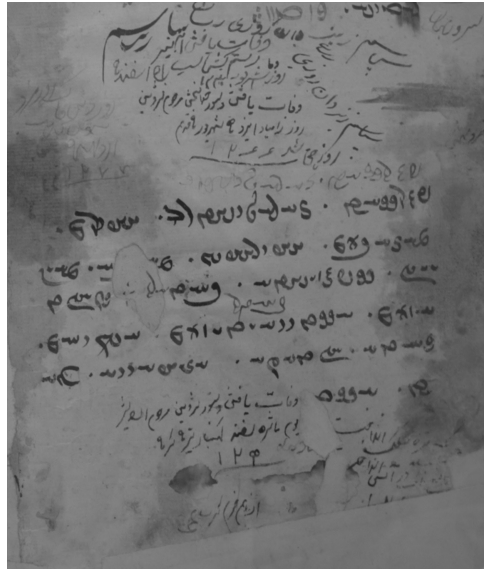


Image 159: MS. 4090, Marginal notes

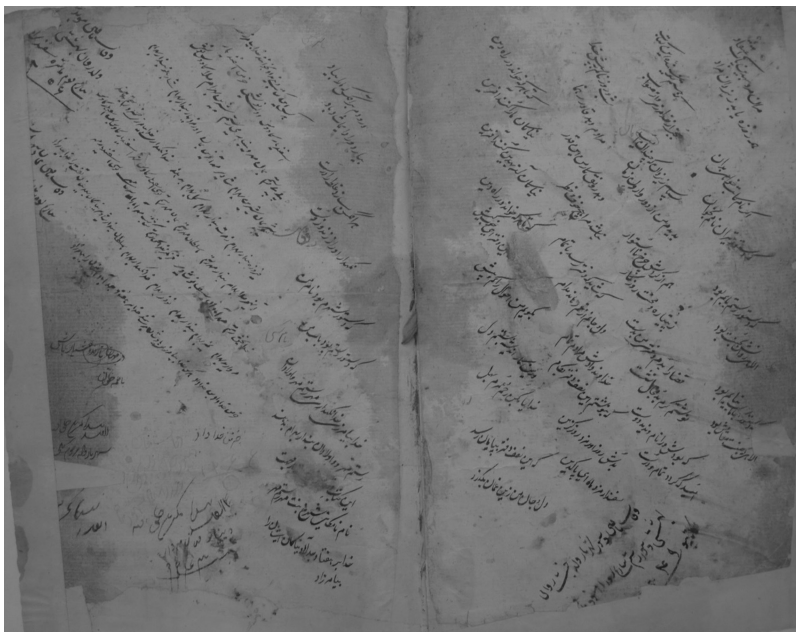


Image 158: MS. 4090, Persian colophon

- *Vafāt yāftan-e mūbed xodābaxš sorūš rūz zamyād īzad aǰ šahrīvar mäh-e qadīm, sa-ne-ye 1264 Hejri.*

‘The death date of Mūbed Xodābaxš Sorūš, the day Zamyād Īzad from the old month Šahrīvar, the year 1264 Hejri.’

Xodāmorzī note I:

(1) *Xodābīyāmorzī, xodā negahdārī, mehr rostam mehr va ōlādān* (2) *rostam mehr va ōlādān-e bondār bahrām bedahand.* (3) *īn ketāb-e [vaqf-e ...] az jahat-e* (4) *nām [va] nāmḡānī-ye šahrox bent-e mehr rostam mehr.* (5) *xodā bar haftād jad-o ābād-e nīyākān-e īšān rā bīyāmorzād.*

‘(1) May (the readers) send A may-God-forgive and God protection to Mehr Rostam Mehr and (his) children, (2) Rostam Mehr and the children of Bondār Bahrām. (3) This (endowed) book of (...) for the name and in the remembrance of Šahrox, the daughter of Mehr Rostam Mehr. (5) May God forgive seventy generations of their pious ancestors.’

Xodāmorzī note II:

(1) *Har kas īn ketāb-e vandīdād bexānand, xodā bīyāmorzī* (2) *esfandyār kāvūs, dōlat nūšīn, xarman esfandyār* (3) *pīpī¹⁰³¹ rostam, bemān mehr dīnyār mey¹⁰³² rostam, šīrīn bahrām molā kāvūs nūš* (4) *∨mūbed ∨ nīvšīr bemān šīrīn bahrām šāvīr mah-āfarīn bemān ōrmazdyār bondār bahrām šārbānū bondār bahrām* (5) *fīrūze bondār bahrām zomorrot bondār bahrām gol bahrām bedahand. xodā negahdārī, xodā bīyāmorzī xosro rostam bedahand.* (6) *ābnahīr molā bahrām, bondār mehr rostam, soltān mehr rostam, bemān mehr rostam, nūšīn¹⁰³³ esfandyār kāvos šahr esfandyār kāvos behī¹⁰³⁴ esfandyār kāvos* (7) *xodābaxš rostam mehr ābādān bašt-bānū šāvīr farangīs xodābaxš rostam goštāsb mehr ābādān sorxāb mehr nūšīn¹⁰³⁵ esfandyār mehr* (8) *morvārīd bahrām, namīr bahrām, bondār bahrām, nozar bahrām, xodā negahdār bahrām, soltān bondār šāvīr nīyākān [va] behdīnān-e taft rā xodā bīyāmorzād.* (9) *xarman xodādād ben xodādād. har kas xodā bīyāmorzī be-ōšān beresānand xodā bar haftād jad [o] ābād-e īšān rā bīyāmorzād.*

‘(1) Everybody who recites this book of Vandīdād, may send A may-God-forgive (to the soul of) (2) Esfandyār Kāvūs, Dōlat Nūšīn, Xarman Esfandyār (3) Bībī Rostam, Bemān Mehr Dīnyār Mey Rostam, Šīrīn Bahrām Molā Kāvūs Nūš (4) ∨Mūbed∨ Nīvšīr Bemān Šīrīn Bahrām Šāvīr Mah-Āfarīn Bemān Ōrmazdyār Bondār Bahrām Šārbānū Bondār Bahrām (5) Fīrūze Bondār Bahrām Zomorrot Bondār Bahrām Gol Bahrām. May they send God protection and A may-God-forgive to (the soul of) Xosro Rostam (as well as the soul of) (6) Ābnahīr Molā Bahrām, Bondār Mehr Rostam, Soltān Mehr Rostam, Bemān Mehr Rostam, Nūšīn¹⁰³⁶ Esfandyār Kāvūs Šahr Esfandyār Kāvūs Behī¹⁰³⁷ Esfandyār Kāvūs (7) Xodābaxš Rostam Mehr Ābādān Bašt-bānū Šāvīr Farangīs Xodābaxš Rostam

1031 A variation of *Bībī*.

1032 Quite uncertain.

1033 Uncertain.

1034 Uncertain.

1035 Uncertain.

1036 Uncertain.

1037 Uncertain.

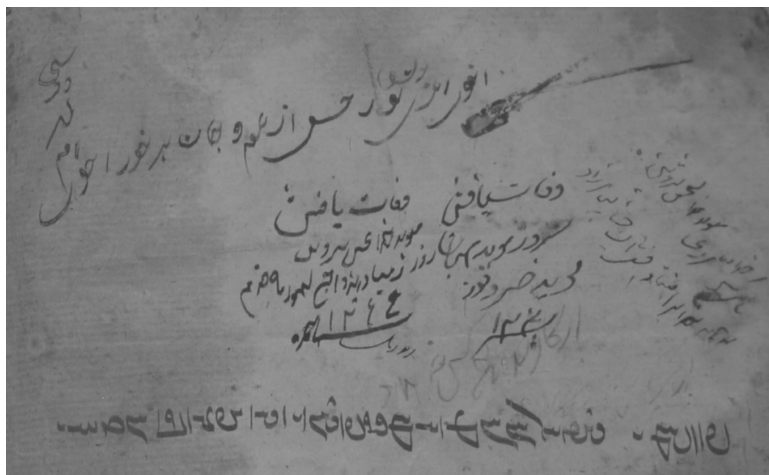


Image 160: MS. 4090, Persian colophon

Goštāsb Mehr Ābādān Sorxāb Mehr Nūšīn¹⁰³⁸ Esfandyār Mehr (8) Morvārīd Bahrām, Namīr Bahrām, Bondār Bahrām, Nozar Bahrām. May God protect Bahrām, Solṭān Bondār Šāvīr and may God forgive all pious (people) and Behdīns of (the city of) Taft (9) (and) Xarman Xodādād, son of Xodādād. Everybody who would send them God's forgiveness, may God forgive seventy generations of her/his ancestors.'

4.1.18. MS. 4100

4.1.18.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon, fol. 161r

be zāmyād¹⁰³⁹ rūz-e ābān-mah, ey nīknām!

Greetings on the day Zāmyād, the day Ābān,
O renowned one!

tamāmat šod in nesf-e daftar be kām.

This half of the book was pleasantly completed.

sane rā bodī čon bar šomār¹⁰⁴⁰

The year was counted as

hezār o devīst bar čehēl¹⁰⁴¹

1240.

hamī xāham az dāvar-e kerdegār,

I always implore the mighty judge¹⁰⁴²

ke čandān amān yābam az rūzegār,

to grant me safety from fate¹⁰⁴³

ke īn nesf-e dīgar be pāyān baram

that I can complete this second part,

ke mānād ze man nām, čon bogzaram

and so that my name may live on after my death.

¹⁰³⁸ Uncertain.

¹⁰³⁹ A mistake for *zāmyād*.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The metre of this part is not correct.

¹⁰⁴¹ The metre of this part is not correct.

¹⁰⁴² Meaning 'God'.

¹⁰⁴³ Meaning 'in that extent could live'.

*konūn bešno aḡvāl-e vaṣf-e ketāb
ke benveštām az bahr-e vaqf-o šavāb.*

*yekī¹⁰⁴⁴ oratī būd zomorrot nām
ke bod doxt-e xosro šahr mazrān kām*

yekī doxtarī dāšt, dar xeyrš be-nām

*ke bod doxt-e bahrām bemān nām¹⁰⁴⁴
ke doxtar be mādar begoft īnčēnīn
ke xāham¹⁰⁴⁵ nevīsand ketāpī az rāh-e dīn¹⁰⁴⁶*

*ke az man bemānad čēnīn yādegār
ke donyā o¹⁰⁴⁷ oqbā bovām man sarfarāz¹⁰⁴⁷*

*ke jā o makān-šān būd dar taft¹⁰⁴⁸
ke manzel-šān būd az sardeh¹⁰⁴⁹
ke hejrat¹⁰⁵⁰ bedādand ošān neveštām ketāb
ke az bahr-e xīšān, qōmān o bāb
sepāsam ze yazdān-e rūzī-resān
fozūntar ze rīg o barg-e razān*

*fozūn az gīyā, hame sang-e xār¹⁰⁵¹
fozūntar ze bārān-e vaqt-e bahār
be-gītī va mīnū joz ū nīst kas*

*be joz ū degar nīst faryādras
be-ḡokmaš ravān ast čarx-e ravān*

hame ens az zamīn tā zamān¹⁰⁵²

hame axtarān o šomār-e sepehr

Now, listen to the story of the book,
that I copied for endowment and heavenly
reward.

There was a woman named Zomorod,
she was the daughter of Xosro Šahr Marzān
Kām.

She had a daughter, renowned for her good
deeds,

she was the daughter of Bahrām Bemān.

The daughter told her mother:

I desire that a book be written in the path
of faith;

so that it may serve as a memorial for me,
so that I may take pride in both this world
and the next.

Their residence was in Taft,
their home was in Sardeh.

They paid me to write the book,
for (their) relatives, family and father.

My thanks to the generous God,
more than pebbles and leaves of the grape
trees,

more than plants and all granites,
more than rain in spring,
in the material and spiritual worlds, there is
no one but him.

There is no helper but him.

The wheel of (this world) is running accord-
ing to his command.

All humans and groups, from every corner
on earth and every period of time.

All stars and celestial bodies;

1044 The metre of this part is not correct.

1045 Written خواهم instead of خاهم.

1046 The metre of this part is not correct.

1047 The rhyme of this part is not correct.

1048 The metre and rhyme of this part are not correct.

1049 The metre and rhyme of this part are not correct.

1050 A mistake or a dialectal variation of *ōjrat*.

1051 The metre of this part is not correct.

1052 The metre of this part is not correct.

*hamān tīr o nāhīd, bahrām-o mehr
samā o samak tā ze keyvān o māh*

*abar hokm-e ūyand o ū pādešāh
konad nīst rā hast o ham hast, nīst*

*ke bālātar az dast-e ū dast nīst
sepāsam ze yazdān ke jān āfarīd
zamīn o zamān o makān āfarīd
begūyam yekī yamšma¹⁰⁵³ nāpasand
ke šāyad konad mard-e dānā pasand
ze nādānī-ye xod basī ḥarf čand
soxan rā magīrīd¹⁰⁵⁴ bar rīšxand
ke dānā o bīnā xodāyast o bas
be-har do sarā ūst faryādras
čenān dān to ey mard-e hošyār hūš
delat rā be man dār, īn rā benūš!
be yazd andarān būd mā rā vaṭan
ze xīšān, nīyākān-e mā tan be tan*

*ke būdand dastūr bā dād o dīn
hame rūz o šab bar zabān āfarīn*

*xodāyā to-šān dār šād o ašū
ke az ba¹dešān mānde nām-e nekū
xodāyā čenān kon to mārā čenīn
bemānad be mā nām-e nīkū yaqīn
be-joz nām-e nīkū degar hīč čīz
naxāham bordan be xod yek pašīz
ke nām-e nekū behtar az melk o māl*

*bovad māl-e ālam sarāsar vabāl
xodāyā čenān kon ke īn dīn-e pāk
bemānad be mānā, ke gardīm xāk
ravān-e zarātošt-e esfantmān
ašū bād o dar jānnat ū šādmān*

Mercury, Venus, Mars, and the Sun;
from the sky and Arcturus to Saturn and the
Moon;

all are under his rule, and he is the king.

He transforms the existent into the non-ex-
istent, and the non-existent into the existent.

There is no power higher than his power.

I thank God, the creator of life;

The creator of earth, time, and place.

I mention one unpleasant ...

Perhaps the wise might find it pleasing.

How many words from one's ignorance,

Do not deride this speech!

Only God is wise and all-seeing,

He is the helper in both worlds.

Beware, O wise man!

Lend your heart to me and listen!

Our home was in Yazd.

The home of our relatives, ancestors, and all
of us;

Who were the just and religious Dastūrs;

And who recited the Āfarīn all day and
night.

O God! Keep them happy and holy!

For a good name remains after them.

O God! Do the same for us;

Surely a good name will remain for us.

Nothing is better than a good name,

Not even a single penny.

For a good name is better than wealth and
property,

Worldly property brings only suffering.

O God! Allow this holy religion

To endure after we return to the soil.

May the soul of the holy Zarātošt,

Be blessed and joyous in paradise!

1053 Uncertain.

1054 Written *mīgīrīd*, which is probably a mistake.

*sepās az xodāvand-e rūzī-resān
ke bar dīn-e zarātošt-e esfantmān*

*nadārīm šohbe bē peyğambarīš
be-dīn rāh o īn rasm o ān o kīš
degar noḥṣad o navad o noh hezār*

*ravān-e ašūyān-e pākīze-kār
tamāmī ravānšān bīyāmorz bād
be-nazdik-e dādār bāšand o šād*

*dahad korfe-šān qāder-e kerdegār
be-mīnū ravānš[ān] bovad rastegār*

Margin on the left side

*be-mā ham konad raḥm īzad konūn
ravān mān be-mīnū bovad šādmān¹⁰⁵⁵*

*sepāsam ze yazdān ke čandīn amān
bedīdam man az dōr-e vārūn zamān*

ham az gardeš-e čarx-e nā ostovār

ze patyāre o meḥnat-e rūzegār

*qazā rā bodam daftarī man be dast
neveštam gar-am bod majāl-e nešast
ke būdaš varā nām vandīdovost
omīdam ke gardad tamām o dorost*

šab o rūz nālam be pīš-e xodā

morādam dahad qāder-e rahnamā

Margin on the right side

dahad ronaq-e kār-e man īnqadar

Thanks be to the generous God;
For we are certain of the religion of the holy
Zarātošt,

And his prophecy,
as well as this path, tradition, and faith.

And also, gratitude to the souls of nine hun-
dred and ninety-nine thousand

Holy and pious people.

May all their souls be forgiven!

May they be close to God and find happi-
ness!

May the mighty God reward them!

May their souls thrive in the spiritual world.

Now, may God have mercy on us!

May our souls find happiness in the spiritual
world!

I thank God, that to such an extent,

I have found safety in this unpredictable cy-
cle of time;

And also, within the cycle of the unstable
wheel,

And from the illness and misfortune of des-
tiny.

Fortuitously, I had a book at hand.

I wrote in it whenever I found time to sit,

Its name was Vandīdād.

I hope it will be completed and accom-
plished correctly.

Night and day, I lament in the presence of
God,

May the Almighty and Leader fulfill my
wish.

May He grant such prosperity to my work,
so that

1055 The rhyme of this part is not correct.

*nabāšad marā hīč qōf*¹⁰⁵⁶ *o xatar*
ke šāyad ke daftar resad bā tamām
del o jānam az ġam rahānad be-dām

xodāvand dādaš morādam tamām
ke benveštam īn nesf-e daftar be-kām

bodaš rūz-e zāmyād, rūz-e kazīn
*bodī māh-e ābān mah ey pākdīn*¹⁰⁵⁷

čō xānī to xod īn ketāb rā konūn
*begūyam ke tā bar to gardad ‘ayān*¹⁰⁵⁸

ke vaqf ast īn dafatr ey xūb kīš

begūyam man aḥvāl rā kam o bīš
agar nām-e īn šāḥeb-e vaqf rā

ayā ānke kardast īn rā banā

there may not be any fear or peril for me,
 And in order for the book to be completed,
 So that it may permanently free my heart
 and soul from sadness.

God fulfilled my wish completely,
 So that I was able to write half of this book
 according to my will.

It was the day of Zāmyād,
 And it was the month of Ābān, oh, you who
 adhere to the holy religion!

If you now read this book,
 I will tell you about it, so that everything
 will become clear to you.

This book is a donation, oh, you of good re-
 ligion!

I will tell you the story, both more and less.

If you want to know the name of the person
 who donated it,

And the one who has made it.

1056 Likely a mistake for *xōf* ‘fear’.

1057 Written *bodī māh-e ābān mah māh ey pākdīn*, which is not correct. According to the metre, the second *māh* should be omitted.

1058 The rhyme of this part is not correct.



Image 161: MS. 4100, Persian colophon

Second Page, fol. 162 v (main part)

ke būdī yekī ʿorat-e nīk zād
*be-donyā bīyābd*¹⁰⁵⁹ *kām o ʿoqbā morād*

There was a noble lady;
 may her wishes be fulfilled in this world and
 the next.

ke nāmaš zomorrot e xosro bedān

Know that her name is Zomorrot, daughter
 of Xosro.

*elāhī ke jāyaš bovad ū ze janat makān*¹⁰⁶⁰

O, God! May her place be in paradise!

bovad vaqf īn daftar īdūn bedān

Know that this book is a donation;

ke xānand hame mūbedān o radān

for all Mūbeds and elites to recite!

čo mūbed yazešnī konad īn ketāb

When Mūbeds perform Yazišn with this
 book,

resānand ōšān ze mozd o šavāb

they send me heavenly wages and rewards;

ke mānad ze man nām az baʿd-e man

so that my name may live on after me.

ravān šād bāšad, čo farsūde tan

The soul will be happy when the body de-
 cays.

hamīše neveštan bovad kār-e man

May writing always be my task.

1059 Abbreviation of *bīyābad*.

1060 The metre of this part is not correct.

ze man bād xošnūd dādār-e man
 xodā[yā] čo man zīn jahān bogzaram
 sorūš-e ašu kon hamī rahbaram
 ke dārad ze dīvān ravānam negāh
 be-ĵanat resānad be-mā dād-o jāh
 ze loṭf-e xod ey kerdegār-e ġafūr
 ravān o tanam az badī dār¹⁰⁶¹ dūr
 omīd az to dāram man ey kerdegār
 ke bāšam be-har do jahān rastegār
 čo xānī to īn daftar ey rūzbeh
 xodā morzī-ye mā to az šedq deh
 čo ānkas ke farmūd o ān-kū nevešt

čo ān šaxs andar resad dar behešt
 agar nām-e kāteb xāhī ‘ayān
 ke nāmam ze dastūr šahrom bedān
 ke dastūr rostam bovad bāb-e mān
 maḡāmaš bovad ū be ĵanat makān¹⁰⁶²
 nīyāyam bovad nīz jāmāsb rā
 elāhī beheštaš bovad jāyḡāh
 ke hastam nevīsandeye īn ketāb
 be-ĵoz az xodāmorzī yo az šavāb

xat-e man basī nokte mībāyadaš
 basī pathā¹⁰⁶³ gofte mībāyadaš
 agar sahv kardam dorostaš konīd
 nabāyad ke īn pathā bad konīd
 tama‘ dāram az ĵomle-ye mūbedhā
 čo xānand xatam resānand do‘ā
 ze mā bād bar nīk xāhān dorūd
 ke hastand o men ba‘d xāhand būd
 ġaraž īnke rūzī magar īn savād

bexānand o ārand mā rā be yād

May my creator, God, be pleased with me.
 O, God! When I pass from this world;
 make the holy Sorūš my guide,
 so that he can protect my soul from demons,
 and grant me justice and a place in paradise.
 From your mercy, O Creator and Forgiver,
 keep my soul and body away from harm!
 I have hope in you, O Creator,
 that I will be successful in both worlds.
 When you read this book, O fortunate one,
 send us a sincere prayer for forgiveness,
 for both those who commissioned and wrote
 it,
 so that these individuals may reach paradise.
 If you wish to know the name of the scribe;
 my name is Dastūr Šahrom.
 Dastūr Rostam is my father.
 May his residence be in paradise.
 My grandfather is also Jāmāsb.
 May his place be in paradise!
 I am the scribe of this book.
 In addition to prayers for forgiveness and
 heavenly rewards,
 there are many points in my writing,
 many pieces of advice.
 If I made a mistake, correct it!
 Do not worsen the advice given.
 I ask all Mūbeds;
 when you recite my writing, pray for me.
 Greetings from us to all the benevolent,
 who still exist and who will exist after this.
 The reason being, that perhaps one day this
 writing,
 will be recited and my name remembered!

1061 Written dārad, which does not correspond to the metre.

1062 The metre and rhyme of this part are not correct.

1063 Quite uncertain. Maybe a variation of *pandhā* ‘advice’.

bedārīd ma' zūr¹⁰⁶⁴ xānandegān

*ze gostāxī-ye bande ey bexradān
xodāmorz ferestand az bahr-e mā*

gahī šād bāšand be-nazd-e xodā

ham az bahr-e ānkas ke farmūd īn

ferestad xodāmorzī, ān pākdīn

ke ojrāt bedād o neveštām ketāb

*az¹⁰⁶⁵ bahr-e xodāmorzī o az šavāb
dahand-aš xodāmorzī az šedq o jān
abā joft o bā xīš o qomaš hamān*

*har ānkas ke dārad ḥaqī nazd-e ū
bīyāband pādāš bāšand ašūy
be-kāteb do' āyī¹⁰⁶⁶ resān o begū
xodāmorzī az bahr-e xīšān-e ū*

*bedān kīn ketāb vaqf bāšad yaqīn
bedārīd nīkūyaš az bahr-e dīn
bedārīd nīkīš¹⁰⁶⁷ madārīd xār
ke tā xod be-mīnū bavīd rastegār*

be-dān kīn bovad vaqf o natvān forūxt

*har ānkas ke befrūxt rūḥaš besūxt
ravānaš bemānad be-šarmandegī
tanaš dar tab o ranj dar zendegī
magīrīd 'eyb az čenīn ḥarfḥā
be-har čand šod gofte nāgofthā
dorost-aš hamī xān o 'eybaš bepūš*

Please forgive my presumptions, O wise readers!

May you pray for our forgiveness.

May you find happiness in the presence of God.

As well as for the one who ordered this book,

may they receive prayers for forgiveness, the one who follows the holy religion!

The one who provided the wages, for whom I wrote this book

for prayers of forgiveness and for heavenly rewards.

May prayers for his forgiveness be sincerely and heartily delivered, and also to her husband and relatives.

Everyone who shares in her life, will find a reward and be sanctified.

Send a prayer to the scribe and say a prayer for the forgiveness of his relatives

Know that this book is assuredly a donation Keep it well for the sake of religion!

Protect it well and do not disrespect it!

So that you may be saved in the spiritual world.

Beware, this is a donation and cannot be sold.

If anyone sells it, his soul will burn; his soul will be shamed; his body in pain and fever in life.

Do not fault these words!

The unsaid has been said.

Read it correctly and overlook its errors!

1064 A mistake for ma' zūr معذور.

1065 Ze corresponds more clearly to the metre.

1066 Written do' āyī دعای.

1067 A mistake for nīkaš.

<i>makon rīšxandam ayā bad makūš</i>	Do not mock me or resort to malice!
<i>dorū[da]m bar ān-kas ke mā rā be-yād</i>	My greetings to the one who remembers me,
<i>bīyārad, xodā xod morādaš dahād</i>	may God fulfill their wishes!
<i>be-gītī va mīnū bovad šādmān</i>	May they be happy in both this world and the next,
<i>har ānkas ke rānad be nīkī zabān</i>	everyone who utters words of goodness.
<i>ze ostād o ‘āmū o ham az pedar</i>	Master, uncle, as well as father;
<i>ze xīšān o bīgānegān sar be sar</i>	also, relatives and all strangers,
<i>bozorg o ham az kūčak o mard o zan</i>	all old and young people, as well as men and women;
<i>xodāmorzešān deh hame tan be tan</i>	may they all receive God’s forgiveness!

Other notes relating to the colophon on 161r:

- *Har mūbedī ke īn ketāb-e vandīdād be-xānad, xodānegahdārī, xodā bīyāmorzī, zomorrot xosro xātūn, ōlādān-e xosro šahr, ōlādān-e bemān-e keyqobād bedahand. xodā be-jaḥd¹⁰⁶⁸ ābād, īšān āmorzīde bād. xodānegahdārī, xodā bīyāmorzī, bahrām, valad-e bemān kayqobād bedahand.*

īnqadr tavaqo‘ be-xedmat-e mūbedān dāram ke har gāh sahvī, ḡalatī šode bāšad dorost namāyand, dar pīš-e xodāvand-e ‘ālamīyān zāye‘ naxāhad šod. xodā negahdārī, xodābīyāmorzī dastūr rostam ōrmazdyār ...¹⁰⁶⁹ dastūr jamšīd, valad-e dastūr rostam bedahand.

‘Each Mūbed, who recites this book of Vandīdād, may send ‘May God support’ and God-forgiveness to Zomorrot Xosro Xātūn, daughter of Xosrošahr, son of Bemān-e Keyqobād. May God forgive their ancestors. May they (also) send God-support and God-forgiveness to Bahrām, son of Bemān Kayqobād.

I expect of the Mūbeds that if there have been made any mistakes and errors, they correct them. This (good deed) will not be dismissed in the presence of God. And they may deliver God-protection and God-forgiveness to Dastūr Rostam Ōrmazdyār ...¹⁰⁷⁰ Dastūr Jamšīd, son of Dastūr Rostam.’

1068 Apparently a mistake for *jad*. The term *jad-o-ābād* means ‘ancestors’.

1069 This part is damaged.

1070 This part is damaged.

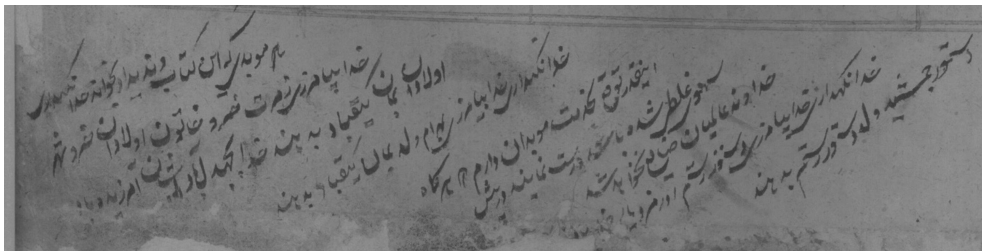


Image 162: MS. 4100, A Note below colophon



Image 163: MS. 4100, Persian colophon, second page

4.1.19. MS. 4114

4.1.19.1. Transcription of the first Persian colophon (before the first fragard)

*Pad nām-ī dādār ohrmazd*¹⁰⁷¹

(1) *Be-tārīx yōm-e farrox dey be-dīn īzad aẓ esfand māh-e qadīm, saneye yek-hezār o devīst o čehel o noh-e yazdgerdī, šahanšāh, īn farxonde ketāb rā mosamāt*¹⁰⁷² *solṭān bent-e marḥūm bahrām (2) xosro mehr dārāb-e yazdī az mūbed rostam ebn-e mūbed marzbān šahmardān be-jaḥat-e*¹⁰⁷³ *aḡr o ʕavāb-e āxerat-e xod va nīyāgān-e xod vaqf nemūd va tolīyat-e ān-rā mofavaẓ nemūd be-mūbed saʿ ādat (3) qarīn mūbed bahman valad ol-ṣedq, mūbed keyxosro marḥūm mūbed manūčehr ke hame sāl dar rūz-e sfantmd aẓ māh-e kātabīyū*¹⁰⁷⁴ *yek dorūn va āfarīngān-e gahanbār; mūbed bahman-e maẓbūr be esm-e solṭān-e maẓbūr be-xānad. (4) be-hamrāh-e gahanbārī ke az jadd-e xod dar rūz-e sfantmad dārad bexānad va rūḥ-e mosamāh solṭān rā bā nīyākān yād o šād sāzad va ṭalab-e āmorzeš az jaḥat-e hamsar-e solṭān bahrām ke māndegār-e xodābande bahrām (5) jamšīd va pedar-e mosamāh solṭān ke bahrām xosro mehrdārāb bāšad va vālede-aš mosamāh sorūr bahrām pīr va barādaraš marḥūm ẓāl bahrām xosro mehr dārāb bā jamīʿ-e nīyākān benamāyand (6) va eltemās va vaṣīyat-e mosamāh-e mazbūre īnast ke īn farxonde ketāb dar ʿavaẓ-e farzand va amlāk o yādegārī, nām o nešān-e ū va hamsar-e ū hast. mūbed bahman-e maẓbūr jedd o jahd (7) benamāyad ke ketāb rā xūb o pākīze negāh dārad va moḥāfeẓat namāyad va be-dast-e kasān-e bī*¹⁰⁷⁵ *ḥefāẓ, bī salīqe va bī-maṣraḡ nadahad ke nābūd va xarāb šavad. hame sāle ke az rūye īn ketāb bexānad ṭalab-e (8) maḡferat be-jaḥat-e vāqef va pedar o mādar o farzand o hameye nīyākān benamāyad va hamčēnīn be-dast-e farzand o farzand zāde mūbed bahman maẓbūr baʿd az vaḡāt seporde ast ke behamīn rasm dar sīyōm-e panje (9) tā īn ketāb bāqī ast bexānand baʿd az sālḥā-ye derāz har gāh ōrāq yā mondares šavad šaḥḥāfi va dorost nemūde ke bemānad va xarāb našavad, xodāvand bar ḥaftād pošt va nīyākān-e ān-kas bīyāmorzād va dar donyā va āxerat (10) rū sefid va saraḡrāz bemānand. albate dar har sālī az rūzegār dar-īn ketāb har vaqt ke šaḥḥāfi yā dorost kardanī lāzem bešavad, benamāyand, albate darīn ʕavāb šarīk vahre ast.*

4.1.19.2. Translation of the first Persian colophon

‘In the name of Ahura Mazda, the Creator,

(1–2) On the blessed day Dey-be-Dīn Īzad of the old month Esfand, in the year 1249 Yazdgerdī, king of kings, this blessed book, which belongs to Mūbed Rostam, son of Mūbed Marzbān Šahmardān, was endowed by Lady Solṭān, the daughter of the deceased Bahrām Xosro Mehr Dārāb. It was given as a heavenly wage and reward for her afterlife and for her ancestors. She entrusted its trusteeship to Mūbed, may he find happiness, (3) Mūbed Bahman, the true son of Mūbed Keyxosro, who was the son of the deceased Mūbed Manūčehr.

The aforementioned Mūbed Bahman is to recite one Dorūn and Āfarīngān-e Gahanbār every year on the day Sfantmd of the month Kātabīyū in the name of the aforementioned Solṭān. (4) During the Gahanbār of the day Sfantmad, in remembrance of her grandfather, he should

1071 In Middle Persian.

1072 Written مسماة a female name meaning ‘named’.

1073 Written بجهت in the whole colophon and not as به جهت.

1074 *Kātabīyū* or *Gātabīyū* refers to the days during Panjī or Hamaspathmaēdaya Gahanbār at the end of the month of Esfand.

1075 Written *pī* instead of *bī*.

recite the aforementioned and remember the soul of Lady Solṭān and her ancestors to bring them happiness. He should ask for God's forgiveness for the husband of Solṭān, Bahrām, who is the son of Xodābande Bahrām (5) Jamšīd, as well as for the father of lady Solṭān, who is Bahrām Xosro Mehrdārāb, and her mother, Sorūr Bahrām-pīr and his deceased brother Zāl Bahrām Xosro Mehr Dārāb and all ancestors.

(6) The plea and will of the aforementioned lady are that this blessed book serves as the memorial and symbol of her and her husband, in place of children and estate. The aforementioned Mūbed Bahman should strive (7) to keep the book clean, good, and preserved, and should not entrust it to careless, uncouth, and unskilled people, lest it be damaged. Every year, when they recite this book, they should seek God's forgiveness (8) for the dedicator, her father, mother, children, and all ancestors. After his death, she will also entrust it to the children and grandchildren of the aforementioned Mūbed Bahman, so that they may continue to recite this book, as long as it exists, following the same tradition during Siyōm-e Panje. (9) And after many years, if the folios become damaged or old, they should restore it so that it is preserved and not destroyed. May God forgive her seventy generations and ancestors, and may they find joy and pride in this world and the hereafter. (10) And certainly, in each year and every time that a restoration is needed, if they undertake this task, they will surely partake in this heavenly reward.

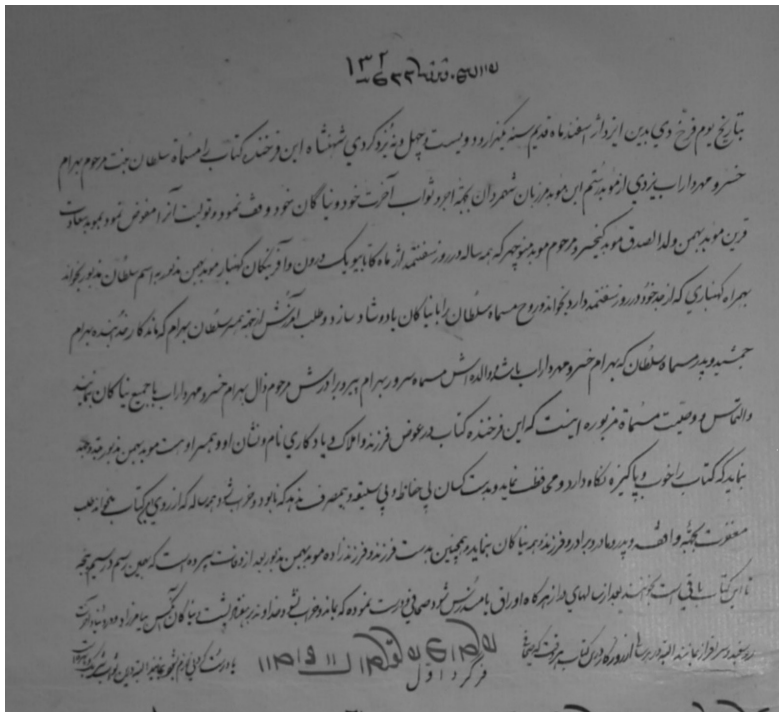


Image 164: MS. 4114, First colophon (before first fragard)

4.1.19.3. Transcription and translation of the second Persian colophon, fol. 317

*be-nām-e kasī kū xerad āfarīd
ham andīše-ye xūb o bad āfarīd
do gītī padīdār ze hastī-ye ūst
xor o māh peydā ze hastī-ye ūst
hame xosravān čāker-e dargahāš
namānad sarī nīst kū bardaraš*

*zamān o makān o jahān āfarīd
zamīn o boland āsemān āfarīd
ke būdast o bāšad hamīše be-jāy
hame bandegān-rā bovad rahnamāy
tavānā o ham ba ravān āfarīd
be-mehr o xerad bandegān āfarīd
hame bandegān-rā nīyāyeš bedūst
hame mardomān rā setāyeš bedūst
be dargāh-e ū nātavān āmadīm
az ān bod ke bā rūḥ o jān āmadīm*

*har ān-č-at ōmīd dārī be-dūst
hame nām o ham kāmyārī bedūst
ferestāde peyḡambarān bīšomār
abar bandegān xod jahān kerdegār*

*bevīže zarātošt-e esfantmān
ke bar har do gītī šod kāmrān
be peyvastegān-aš hezār āfarīn
ke ham pāk jānand o ham pākdīn
hame rāstīhā bovad dīnešān
dorostī bovad nīz āyīn sān
ke goftār o kerdārešān sar be sar
hame peyrovān-šān šode tājvar*

*hame peyrovān-šān sarafrāz o rād
be-gītī nabāšad joz az dād šād*

hame rād o ham rāst kārān bodand

In the name of the One who created wisdom,
and also created both good and bad thought.

He is the creator of two worlds.

He is the creator of the sun and the moon.

All kings are servants in His court.

No one can survive if they do not bow their
heads in His presence.

He created time, place, and the world.

He created the earth and the high sky,

He has always existed and will always exist.

He is the leader of all servants.

He created them mightily and with souls.

He created servants with love and wisdom.

All servants worship Him.

All servants praise Him.

We approach His presence humbly.

The reason we came is with our soul and
life.

All your hope is in Him,

all your fame and success are from Him.

He has sent many prophets

to His servants, the mighty ones of the
world.

Especially, the holy Zarātōšt

who became fortunate in both worlds.

Thousands of praises to his followers,

who possess both holy life and holy religion.

Their religion is truthfulness,

Their belief is rightfulness.

Their words and deeds, in their entirety,

have led all their followers to become
crown-bearers.

All followers were honest and upright.

They find happiness not in worldly posses-
sions, but in the pursuit of justice.

All were valiant and pious in their demean-
or.

hame jōd¹⁰⁷⁶ o baxšeš šo^ˆārān bodand

hame^ˆ ahd o peymān o dīnšān dorost

*bejōz rāhešān nīst rāhī dorost
pas az šokr-e dādār o na^ˆt o sepās*

*yekī dāstān bešno ey dīnšenās
yekī zan javān būd, na sālward
ke dar rāh-e dīn kūšeš o sa^ˆy kard
hame dar pey-e kār-e^ˆ oqbā bodī*

hame dar pey-e xarj-e vostā bodī

pas az farzīyāt-e avestā tamām

*yekī vaqt āmad be jahdī tamām
ke man zīn jahān kām na¹⁰⁷⁷ borde-am
be-dīn xākdān šoharī karde-am
ke bod nām-e ū mandegār-e javān
xodābande bahrām bābaš bedān*

be-rūz-e javānī halāk āmadaš

*tan-e nojavān bahr-e xāk āmadaš
ze čašm-e zamāne¹⁰⁷⁸ pas az marg-e ū
begūyam ke čūn būd az marg-e ū
be-češmān-e ū čašm zaxmī resīd
ke dīgar jahān rā do čašmaš nadīd
šab o rūz az dāg-e ān nojavān*

*bodī īn jahān ham be-čašmaš nahān
šab o rūz dar mehnat o gām bodī
hame sāl o mah šādīš kam bodī*

Forgiveness and pardon stand as the motto for each of them.

All their contract, pact, and religion (are) correct.

There is no right path, but their path.

After praising, eulogizing, and thanking God,

listen to a tale! O, scholar of religion!

There was a young woman, not an older one, who toiled greatly on the path of religion.

She was devout in the pursuit of the life hereafter.

She spent her resources on the Avesta writings.

After completing all tasks related to the Avesta,

she came forth, resolute and determined.

She said that I found no joy in this world.

In this land, I married a man

whose name was Mandegār-e Javān.

Know that his father was Xodābande Bahrām!

In the prime of his youth, death came for him.

His young body returned to the earth.

From the gaze of destiny after his passing,

I will recount the nature of his death.

His eyes were afflicted by the evil eye,

such that he could no longer see the world.

Day and night, from the pain of losing the young man,

she was unable to see the world herself.

She lived in perpetual sadness and sorrow.

Her joy dwindled with each passing month and year.

1076 *jōd* means “forgiveness”.

1077 The rhyme of this part is not correct.

1078 Quite uncertain.

hame zaḥmat o kasb-e bad kār-e ū

šab o rūz meḥnat bodī yār-e ū

ze kasb o ze meḥnat, ze kār-e ḥalāl¹⁰⁷⁹

be-kard ū ke yābad šamar māh o sāl

konūn dād ān vajh o daftar xarīd

be-rāh-e behī dīn čenān čon sezīd

mar īn daftar andar jahān gašt vaqf

ke čarx-e zamāne bedīn gūne gašt

ke bāšad hamīše mīyān-e radān

be-xānand hame šab hamī mūbedān

namānand tā ānke bīgah šavad

bexānand no‘ī ke aḡraš bovad

be-ādāb o ā‘īn-e īn pāk dīn

bexānand tā bāšadaš bahre zīn

be-har jā ke xānand yādaš konand

be donyā o ‘oqbā če šādaš konand

ze bahr-e vey o xīš o peyvand-e ū

ṭalab karde āmorzeš az pand-e ū

ṭalab karde āmorzešaš az xodāy

bovad jāy-e ū behtarīn pāk jāy

be-donyā nadārad če peyvand-e ū

be gūī nadārad če farzand-e ū

be-donyā o ‘oqbā sarafrāz bād

har ān-kas be nīkī varā kard yād

ravānaš bovad hamrah-e rāstān

Her work did not prosper and only brought hardship.

Day and night, sorrow was her constant companion.

From work and from sadness, through all her lawful endeavors, she did everything possible to see results over time.

Finally, she managed to amass enough to purchase the manuscript.

In the path of the holy religion, as it was deserved.

So, this manuscript was endowed in this world,

The wheel of fate turns as such, that it remains among the leaders of the religion,

and the Mobeds recite it night after night.

They do not wait until it's late, but recite it in the way it deserves.

According to the rules and rituals of this holy faith,

they may recite it, profiting from its wisdom. Wherever they recite it, they will remember her,

bringing her joy in this life and the hereafter.

For her, her family, and her kin, they seek forgiveness in accordance with her guidance.

They ask for God's mercy, may her final resting place be a holy one!

Even though she has no relatives or children in this world, may all take pride in his memory in this life and the next.

May anyone who remembers her fondly, find their soul among the righteous.

1079 A mistake for ḥalāl.

bovad dar behešt hamrah-e bāstān

hamīše bovad dar jahān šādmān

be donyā o 'oqbā bovad kāmrān

če az molk o asbāb čīzī nadāšt

seyom panje ū gahnbarī gozāšt

be-nām, ū če¹⁰⁸⁰ soltān bahrām būd

be-gītī nabūdaš kasī tār o pūd

ke īn daftar az jān negahdāradā

če dar rāstī bahr-e dīn xānada¹⁰⁸¹

dorostaš dārand o ham pāk o xūb

be-^ē ezzat namāyand o ādāb-e xūb

namānand bar dast-e nākārdān

ke nadhand bar dast-e bīhūde xān

no āmūz kas rā nadhand basī

nabāyad konad bī¹⁰⁸² tamīzī kasī

ke gardad xaṭ-e ū be-zūdī xarāb

abar kāgāz-e ū narīzand āb

na bīkār dārand dar sāl o māh

be-xānand šabhā be-sāl-o be māh

pas az sālhā-ye derāz-e jahān

če ū gardad ōrāq o bī jeld ān

be-zūdī be-jeld o be-šīrāzeāš

konand bāz ṣaḥḥāf, ham tāze-aš

be-har ḥāl abar nām o parhīz o kām

May they share company with the ancients
in paradise,

and find eternal joy in this life.

May they find success in this life and the
hereafter.

Even though she did not have any worldly
possessions,

she organized a Gahanbar on the third day
of Panje.

In memory of Solṭān Bahram,
a man without kin in this world.

May they cherish this book wholeheartedly,
and recite it correctly for the sake of the
faith.

May they safeguard it, keeping it clean and
well-maintained!

May they respect it and treat it with care!

Let it not remain in the hands of the inca-
pable!

Do not entrust it to those who read without
understanding!

Do not give it to novices!

Everyone must strive to keep it pristine.

As its handwriting could easily deteriorate,
do not let water touch its pages!

Let it not lie idle over the months and years!

May they recite it during the nights through-
out the year!

Even after many years,

when it becomes worn and loses its cover,
may they swiftly restore its cover and head-
band,

rebinding it and restoring its former glory!

In any case, let them protect its name and
prevent damage, following the wishes of the
scribe.

1080 Quite uncertain.

1081 Quite uncertain.

1082 Unlikely *pey* “base”.

be-dārand o bāšand bā kām o nām
konand xīštan rā če bā bahre zīn
bīyābad ze dādār bas āfarīn

xodāvand ū rā dahad nām-e nīk
be-gītī-yo mīnū, saranjām-e nīk

be-vīže ke dar rūz-e panje bovand

be-xānand gahanbār o hamrah bovand

dorūn-e gahanbār o āfarīngān

 √ *bexānand* √ *be-nām o nešān hamčenān*
ke soltān bodī nām o bahrām bāb
nīyā xosro e mehrabān bāb-e bāb
ke dārāb bod čāromīnaš nīyā
ke bāšad ravānaš be-mīnū be-jā

bodī mādaraš sarvar-e šahr nām
ke rafte be-mīnū be-nākām o kām

ke bod hamsaraš māndegār-e javān
xodābande bahrām nāmaš bedān
seyom būd bahrām-e jamšīd nīz
borūn rafte zīn ālam-e por setīz
barādarš bod nojavān zāl nām
ravānaš be jannat resānīde kām
ke nāgāh ū dar javānī be-mord
ke jānaš be-češm-e badān dar sepord
har ānkaš ke xānad xodāmorzešān
resānand yek yek ze nām o nešān

har ān-kas ke zīšān konad nām-o yād
ravānaš xodāyā be jannat resād
bemānad īn daftar-e nāmdār
basī sālā dar jahān yādegār

May they find success and renown!
 May they be rewarded for this!
 May they receive abundant blessings from God!
 May God give them a good reputation
 and a prosperous end in both the material
 and spiritual realms!
 Especially when they observe the day of Panje,
 may they recite the Gahanbar and be present.
 They should also recite the Dorun of Gahanbar and Afringan,
 with the name and lineage of
 Soltān, whose father is Bahram,
 her grandfather being Khosro Mehraban,
 and Darab as her fourth grandfather.
 May her soul find solace in the spiritual realm.
 Her mother's name was Sarvar Shahr,
 who departed this world without finding pleasure,
 her husband being Mandegār-e Javān.
 Remember his name as Xodābande Bahrām!
 The third was also Bahram Jamshid,
 who left this restless world.
 Her young brother was named Zal.
 May he find pleasure in paradise,
 for he died unexpectedly in his youth,
 his life stolen by the evil eye.
 Everyone who recites from this book,
 may they offer prayers of forgiveness for them all.
 Everyone who remembers their names,
 may God guide their souls to paradise!
 May this well-renowned book endure,
 a memorial in this world for many years.

ze farzand čon dast-e yek yek nahī

*ke būdast vāḡeb be-dīn-e behī
namānde az-išān kasī yādegār
ke bāšand dar šafḡe-ye rūzegār
be-nāčārī yo sa'y o kūšeš basī*

be-kerdār mānad az išān kasī

*če az xīš o peyvande-šān kas nabūd
ke sāzad sotor¹⁰⁸³ dastres zū nabūd
če īn daftar ū kard vaqf az jahān*

*ke bāšad be-gītī az ū yek nešān
yekī xoš-maneš mūbedī bargozīd
ke xānad šabān ū be-rūy-e sefid*

*ke bod nām-e ū bahman-e deh manešn
ke keyxosro-aš bāb-e ān beh-konešn*

bebāšad be-nazdaš hamīše čenān

*be-onvān-e vaqf-e gahanbār dān
be-xānad gahanbār-e har sāle rā
namānad ke mānad yazešn-aš bejā
konad dar jahān ū hame sāle īn*

ke yābad be-mīnū hamī āfarīn

*ke īn deyn bar gardan-e ū bovad
soal o javābaš be-mīnū bovad*

*če xānad mar īn daftar az rāstī
nabāšad be mīnū vara kāsī
xodāvand ajšraš dahād az behešt*

If you pass it on to your children, one after the other,

it fulfills an obligation in the Dīn-e Behī.

No one remains as their memory,
alive on the pages of life!

Out of necessity, with great effort and perseverance,

may some semblance of them remain in conduct!

Because they had no relatives left,
there was no one to create...

For this reason, she bequeathed this manuscript to the world,

to serve as a token of her existence.

She chose a Mobed of good character,
may he who recites this book through the night shine with a bright countenance,

His name being Bahman Deh Manešn,
and the father of this benefactor was keyxosro.

Know that this book will always accompany him,

as the endowment of Gahanbar.

He will recite the Gahanbar annually,
ensuring his Yazīšn is never forgotten.

He will perform this duty each year in this world,

so that he receives praise in the spiritual realm.

This will be his responsibility,
and judgement regarding this duty will be in the spiritual world.

If he recites this manuscript sincerely,
he will lack nothing in paradise.

May God reward him from the bounty of paradise,

1083 Meaning uncertain.

*ke īn toxm-e nām-e ū be-gūtī bekešt*¹⁰⁸⁴

hamīše bovad šādmān, jāvdān

sarafrāz bādā be-har do jahān

hamīše konad dar jahān yād-e ū

*naxānand hargez apī*¹⁰⁸⁵ *yād-e ū*

ke tā bahre o vaqf andar jahān

bemānad mīyān-e behān o radān

bovad ostovān dar behī dīn-e ū

be-şedq o şafā bāšad āīn-e ū

pas az sālḥāy-e derāz az jahān

ke gardad hamī pīr o ham nātavān

dahad ū be-farzand yā vīžegān

ke xānand gahanbār bahr-e ravān

ke bāšad baṣī sālḥā īn be-pāy

ke bāšad abar dast-e īšān be-jāy

for he has planted the seed of his name in this world.

May he always be joyful and eternal, taking pride in both worlds.

May his name always be remembered in this world,

and never shall they recite this manuscript without mentioning his name!

Thus, the reward and the endowment in this world,

will remain among the pious and the religious leaders.

He will be steadfast in his Dīn-e Behī,

and may this religion be his belief, upheld with honesty and righteousness.

After many years in this world,

when he becomes old and incapable,

he may entrust it to his children or his chosen successor,

so they may recite the Gahanbar for his soul.

May it endure for many years,

and may it remain in their hands!

1084 The metre of the poem does not seem to be correct in this part.

1085 *apī* may be a variation of *abī* “without”.

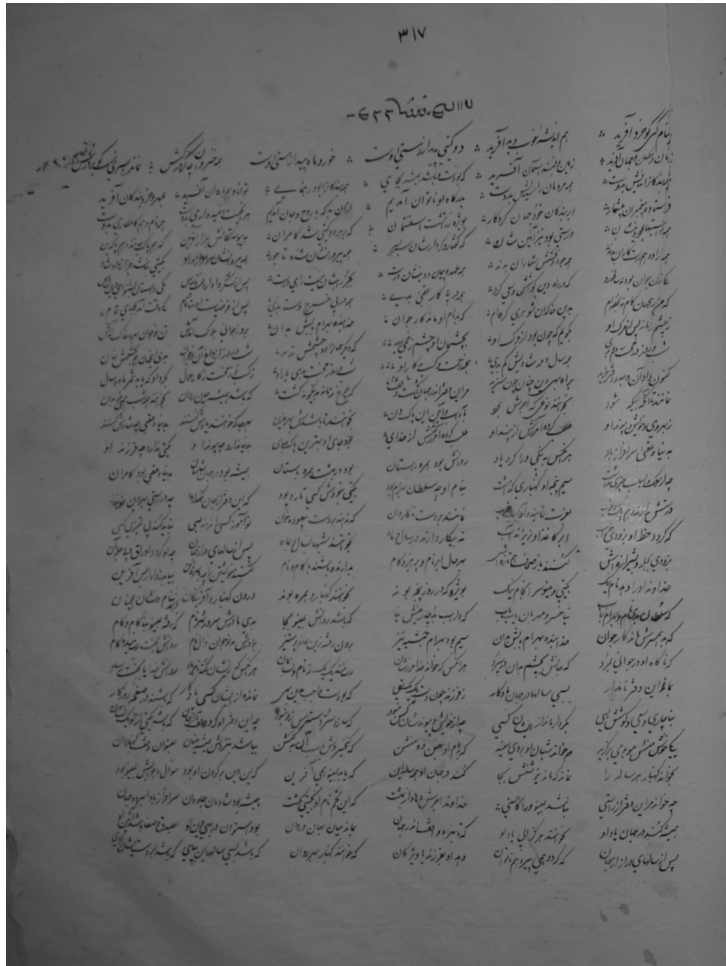


Image 165: MS. 4114, Second colophon

4.1.19.4. Transcription of the third Persian colophon

(1) *Anjām yāft ketāb-e moqaddas-e zand be ʿown va yāvarī-ye dāvar-e bī mānand dar yōm-e farxonde dādār ormazd bī-čūn o čand aẓ māh-e farvardīn-e arjmand, sāl bar hezār o devīst o (2) sī-yo noh-e yazdgerdī movāfeq bā rūz-e došanbe čahārdahom-e šahr-e jamādīy-ol olā sane-ye 1286 hejri moṭābeq bā yōm yāzdahom-e ābmāh-e romī sane-ye 2179 eskandarī molāšeḡ bā rūz-e (3) bīst o seyōm āw¹⁰⁸⁶ māh-e farānse sane-ye 1869 ʿīṣawī ḡṣab-ol-farmūde mūbed-e nīk āyīn, ṣāʿ ādat qarīn, patet goftār, setāyeš va nīyāyeš kerdār; mūbed Rostam-e xalf-ol-šedq mūbed marzbān <second page> pad nām ī dādār Ohrmazd¹⁰⁸⁷ (4) ben mūbed šahmardān-e kermānī-ol-aš sāken-e qanāt ḡṣān¹⁰⁸⁸ be yadāqal ʿebād-ollāh*

1086 The name of the month is mentioned in French *août* "August".

1087 *pad nām ī dādār Ohrmazd* is written in Pahlavi at the top of this page.

1088 Qanāt ḡṣān was among the Zoroastrian-inhabited villages surrounding Kerman. This village, situated a few kilometers south of Kerman near Mahan, no longer has any Zoroastrian inhabitants.

šāhrox ben-marhūm mollā eskandar ben mollā goštāsb monajem-e kermānī semat (5) etmām pazīrof. Ommīd ke maqbūl va marzī-ye ṭabaʿ-^e mūbedān-e zamān gardad, čon mūbed Rostam-e mazbūr dar neveštan-e īn jad-dīv-dād ʿajalan tākīd nemūd le-hāzā be sorʿat va šetāb (6) taḥrīr yāft. Aknūn tamanā-ye īn bande-ye šarmande az kāfe anām va xānande-ye īn bargozīde kalām ānast ke agar sahvī yā xaṭāyī dar neveštan-e ḥorūf-aš be naẓar biyāvarand az (7) rāh-e nīk ṭīnatī xīš be ešlāḥ-e ān kūšīde va dīde az ʿoyūb-e vey pūšīde va be-čašm-e xorde bīnī va eḡmāz nangarand va ṭalab-e amorzeš az jahat-e ravān-e nīyākān-e pedar (8) va jad va abjad-e mūbed Rostam va īn bande-ye ʿāšī benamāyand va hamvāre ān mošārol elayh rā bā īn kamtarīn be-doʿāye xeyr va nām-e nīk yād-āvar sāzand. Enšāllāh ravān-e raftegān-e xānandegān rā nīz xodāvand raḥmat konad. Saneye 1239 yazdgerdī.

har ke xānad doʿā ṭamaʿ dāram

zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram

Har ānkas be nīkī konad yād-e man

sarafrāz bādā be har anjoman

4.1.19.5. Translation of the third Persian colophon

(1) The holy book of Zand has been completed with the grace and assistance of the divine power on the blessed day of Ohrmazd, without any doubt, in the magnificent month of Farvardin, (2) in the year 1239 of the Yazdgerdi era, corresponding to Monday, the fourteenth of the month of Jumada al-Ula, the year 1286 of the Hijri calendar, and corresponding to the eleventh of the Roman Aban month, year 2179 of the Alexandrian era and corresponding to the twenty-third day of the month of August, in the year 1869 of the Christian calendar. It is ordered by the upholder of good religion and bearer of happiness, devoted to repentance, preaching and teaching, and a supporter of righteousness and justice. Mubed Rostam, the defender of truth, son of Mubed Marzban, ^ (Second page) In the name of the Creator Ahura Mazda, ^ (4) son of Mubed Shahmardan from the original Kermani lineage, the resident of Qanat Ghassan. It is completed by the humble and servant of God, Shahrokh, son of the late Molla Eskandar, son of Molla Gōštāsp, a distinguished astrologer from Kerman. (5) It is hoped that the acceptable and desired temperament of the priests of the time will become evident. Because the mentioned Mubed Rostam emphasized that the book should be written quickly, (6) it was written with speed and haste. Now, the wish of this humble servant is that if there are any mistakes or errors in the writing of these letters, the readers and pious people are brought to attention (7) for correction, in order to rectify the faults and deficiencies, and they do not look with disdain at visible flaws and ambiguities, and to seek forgiveness for the soul of the ancestors of Mubed Rostam and this sinful servant. (8) May they remember Mubed Rostam and this humble plea in goodness and with virtuous names. God willing, may the departed souls of the readers receive mercy from the Almighty. Year 1239 of the Yazdgerdi era.

From everybody who reads (this book) I long for good wishes

because I am a sinful servant

Everyone who remembers me kindly,

may they stand proud in every gathering.

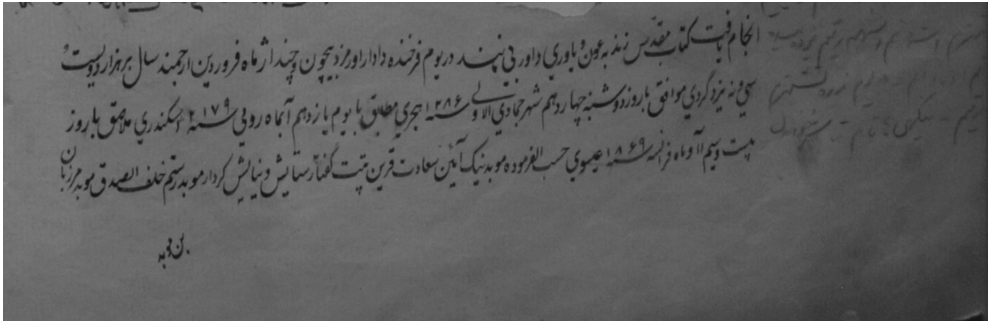


Image 166: MS. 4114, Third colophon, first page

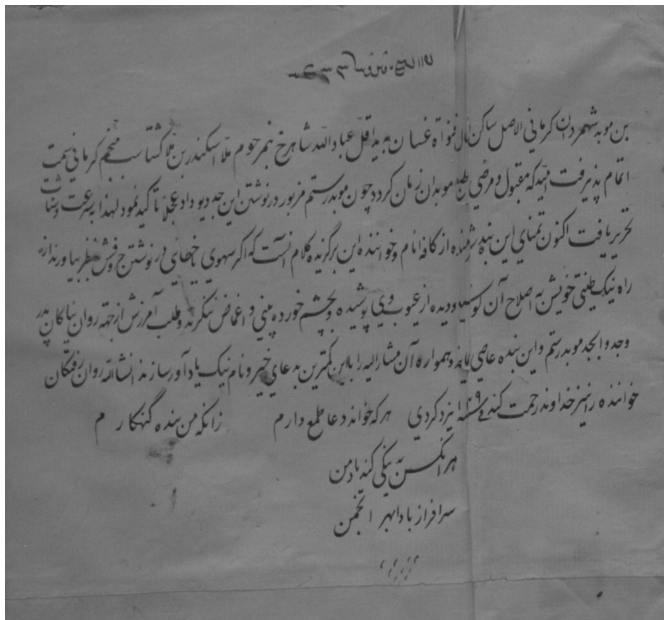


Image 167: MS. 4114, Third colophon, second page

4.1.20. MS. 4121

4.1.20.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon

The colophon is in verse form:

be nām-e xodāvand-e jān āfarīn
ḥakīm-e soxan bar zabān āfarīn
xodāvand-e jān o xodāyī ravān

In the name of God, the giver of life,
 the wise bestower of speech upon the tongue,
 he is the God of life and the God of soul,

<i>xodāvand-e hastī deh-e mehrabān</i>	the deity who bestows existence and shows kindness.
<i>naxostīn be nām-e jahān āfarīn</i>	First and foremost, in the name of the world's creator,
<i>zamīn o zamān, axtarān āfarīn</i>	the originator of earth, time, and stars.
<i>yekī mūbed-ī būd, ardšēr-e rōšan ravān</i> ¹⁰⁸⁹	There lived a Mobed named Ardašīr, a bright soul.
<i>bodī pūr-e marḥūm xodādād jahān dāvarān</i>	He was the son of the late Xodādād, the world's judge.
<i>pedar be</i> ¹⁰⁹⁰ <i>-pedar būd sarafrāz o nīkū ravān</i>	His ancestors were proud and possessed good souls,
<i>sarīrān-e hame mūbedān-e farrox ravān</i>	he was the leader of all glorious-souled Mobeds.
<i>be-nīkū nežādān toxm-e zartošt asfatmān</i>	From a noble lineage, descended from the holy Zartošt,
<i>eviže manešnān, mīyān baste zonnār-e peyḡambarān</i>	he was of special nature and wore the belt of prophets.
<i>har ān kas ke xaṭ-e marā xānad, do‘ā va sanā jān</i> ¹⁰⁹¹	Everyone who reads my handwriting, pray for my soul,
<i>pas begūyīd</i> ¹⁰⁹² <i>zān āfarīn</i>	then say: well done!
<i>be-tārix-e yazdġerd ben-e šahryārān-e zamān</i>	In the calendar of Yazdġerd, the son of the king of time,
<i>hezār do šad būd pañjāh se zān</i>	it was the year 1153, according to that calendar.
<i>ṣḥḥ</i> ¹⁰⁹³ <i> mūbed ardašīr ben-e marḥūm xodādād</i>	Confirmed by Mobed Ardašīr, son of the late Xodādād,
<i>1000-200-50-3 yazdġerd</i>	1253 Yazdġerdi.

4.1.20.2. Marginal notes

At the bottom of this page, we find a Sālmarg:

- *Vafāt-e marḥūm mūbed mehrabān, ben-marḥūm mūbed rostan mūbed xodādād, dar yōm šāh mehr īzad, aj*¹⁰⁹⁴ *ordībehešt māh-e qadīm vafāt šod. saneye 12077*¹⁰⁹⁵
‘Death of the deceased Mūbed Mehrabān, son of the deceased Mūbed Rostam Mūbed Xodādād. On the day Šāhmehr īzad, from the old month Ordībehešt, passed away, the year 1277.’

1089 The metre of the poem does not seem to be correct here nor in the next parts.

1090 Instead of bar.

1091 Uncertain. It does not correspond to the rhythm of the verse.

1092 Uncertain.

1093 Arabic *ṣaḥḥaḥa* means “to redress, to correct”.

1094 Probably *aj*. The Persian form is *az* ‘from’.

1095 It seems that 7 has been corrected and changed to 9.

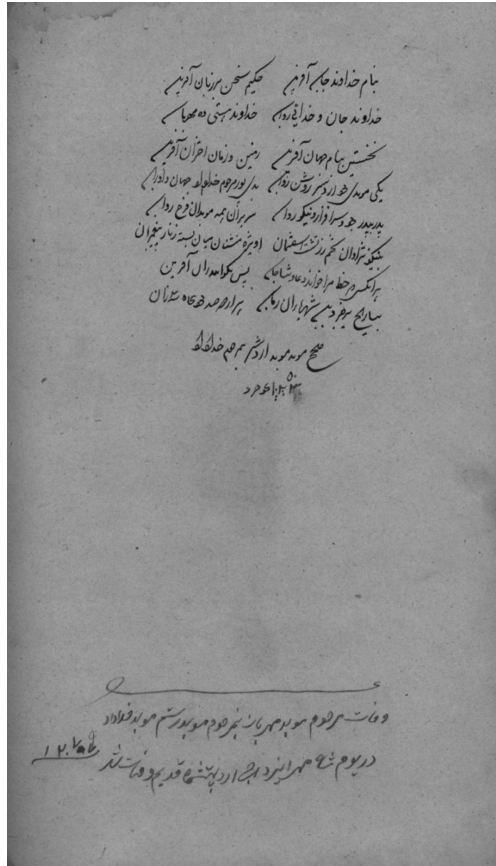


Image 168: MS. 4121, Persian colophon and Sālmarg

On the next page, we find another Persian colophon that was likely scribed by the scribe of the first colophon:

- In ketāb-e vandīdād, az māl-e marḥūm mūbed xodādād ben-marḥūm mūbed ardešīr mībāšad. har kas ṭama^c konad be-la^c nat-e xodā gereftār bād, be-ḥaq-e rab ol^c ebād. be tārix-e yōm rām īzad, aḡ tīr-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1000-200-50-3¹⁰⁹⁶ yazdġerd, 1000-300-1 hejrtīyeh, ṣḥḥ,¹⁰⁹⁷ mūbed ardešīr ben-marḥamat šāh-e behešti ravān xodādād. bē nām-e xodā nevešte šod dar dār ol^c ebād-e yazd, dar makān-e marḥūm abavī-ye xodādād.*

‘This Vandīdād book belongs to the late Mobed Xodādād, the son of Mobed Ardešīr. May anyone who covets it be cursed by God, Amen! This statement was made on the day of Rām Īzad, in the old month of Tīr, in the year 1253 Yazdġerdī, and 1301 Hejrtī.,

1096 This is a common system for writing the numbers in the years in the Persian colophons of the Avestan manuscripts.

1097 Arabic *ṣaḥḥaḥa* means ‘to redress, to correct’.

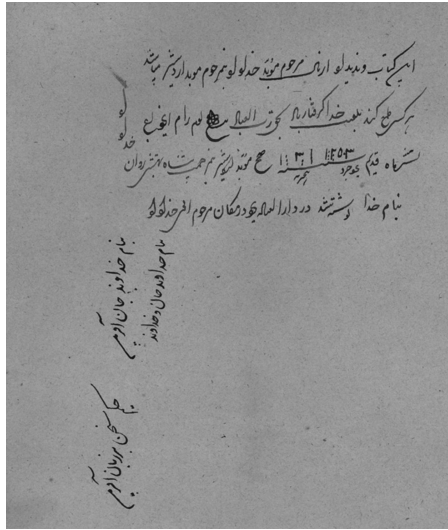


Image 169: MS. 4121, Ownership and scribe note

corrected¹⁰⁹⁸ Mobed Ardešīr, son of the late king Xodādād, whose soul may rest in paradise. In the name of God, it was scribed in the city of worshippers, Yazd, in the house of the late father of Xodādād.’

4.1.21. MS. 4155

4.1.21.1. Transcription and translation of the Persian colophon

(1) *Nevešte šod be-xaṭ-e bande-ye kamtarīn zare-ye bī-meqdār mūbed bahrām ebn-marḥūm, beheštī ravān, mūbed hormozdyār; (2) mūbed jamšīd, mūbed xodābaxš, be-ḥasab ol-farmāyeš-e mūbed jamšīd, ebn-marḥamat panāh, beheštī ravān, mūbed rostam zohrāb (3) enšāllāh¹⁰⁹⁹ tandorostī xošḥālī kār farmāyand, baʿd az šad o panjāh sālān be-farzandzādegān (4) bespārad. be-tārīx-e yōm ōrmazd-e bozorg govār va aḡ esfandmāh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1321 hejri, sane-ye 1272 Yazdgerdī*

(1) It is written by this humble servant, the valueless atom, Mūbed Bahrām son of the deceased, may his soul be in the paradise, Mūbed Hormozdyār, (2) Mūbed Jamšīd, Mūbed Xodābaxš, following the order of Mūbed Jamšīd, son of the deceased, may he be in the mercy of God, may his soul be in paradise, Mūbed Rostam Zohrāb. (3) By the will of God, they may use <it> with health and happiness and (4) entrust it to the grandchildren after 150 years. In the date of the day Ormazd, the great, from the old month Esfand, the year 1321 Hejri, the year 1272 Yazdgerdī.

¹⁰⁹⁸ If it is the reading *ṣaḥḥaḥa*, then the meaning ‘to redress, to correct’ would be correct.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Quite uncertain.

(5) *nevīsande rā ey xodā-ye allāh*
bīymorz rūz-e qīyāmat gonāh
xodāyā az ān šaxš āmorz kon

(6) *be har do jahān-aš sarafrāz kon*
be-kāteb resānad xodāmorz bād

ke rūḥ o ravānaš be janat resād
 (7) *xodāyā bīyāmorz gūyande rā*
be baxšā gonāh-e nevīsande rā
bemānad marā nām tā jāh vedān¹¹⁰⁰

(8) *[namānad] nahān nāmam andar jahān*
čo mūbed hame sāl xānad ketāb

barande resad dah yekī az šavāb¹¹⁰¹
 (9) *neveštam¹¹⁰² man īn daftar-e rāh-e dīn*
ke har kas ke xānad konad āfarīn

xodāyā sepās az to dāram modām
ke īn nāme šod pīš az ‘omr[am] tamām

hezārān dorūd o hezār āfarīn

(10) *ze mā bād zarātošt-e pāk dīn*

O God! Forgive
 the scribe on the day of Judgment!
 O God, exalt him
 and make him renowned in both worlds!
 May they deliver God's forgiveness to the
 scribe,
 so that his soul may reach paradise.
 O God, forgive the deliverer
 and pardon the scribe's sins!
 May my name endure eternally
 and not be obscured in the world.
 When the Mobed recites this book through-
 out the year,
 they will receive one reward out of ten.
 I wrote this book for the path of religion,
 so that everyone who recites it may pray for
 me.
 O, God! I thank you ceaselessly,
 because this book was completed before my
 life ended.
 Thousands of greetings and thousands of
 praises from us to Zarathushtra,
 the bearer of the holy religion!

1100 A mistake for *jāvedān*.

1101 ثواب is a mistake for صواب "heavenly reward".

1102 From this part on the text is written in margins.

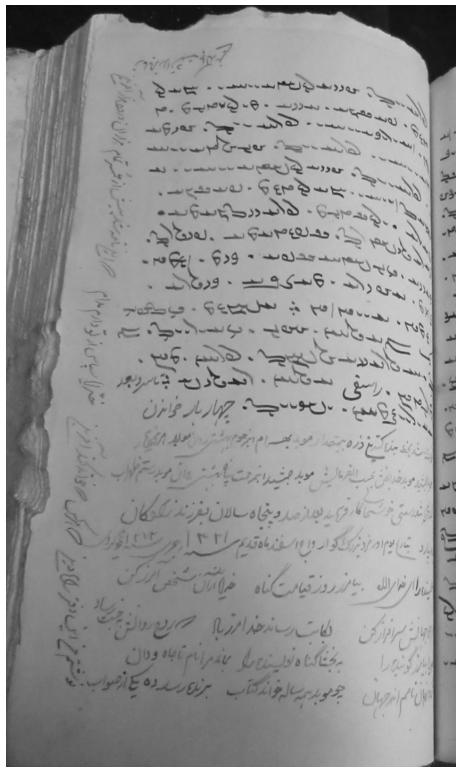


Image 170: MS. 4155, Persian colophon

4.1.22. MS. 4158

4.1.22.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (fol. 287)

(1) *frazaf̄t pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh* <ud> *rāmišn pad nēk dahišn* (2) *xūb-murwāg xujastag*¹¹⁰³ *rōzgar abestāg yašt wisparēd*¹¹⁰⁴ *ud ŋud*-(3) *dēw-dād abāg nērang rāstag*¹¹⁰⁵ *ī yazišnīhā man dēn bawandag mihrgān* (4) *magupad sīyāvaxš frēdōn xwadābaxš husraw nūšagruwān hakīm*¹¹⁰⁶ (5) *nibišt hom andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh rōz anērān ud māh mihr* (6) *sāl bar 1288 pas az 20 be yazdgerd ī šahrīyārān.*

4.1.22.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy, glory, pleasure and in good fate and (2) good omen, and blessed time, The Avesta of Yašt Wisparēd and Jud- (3) dēwdād with Nērang and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Mihrgān (4) Magupad Sīyāvaxš Frēdōn Xwadābaxš Husraw Nūšagruwān Hakīm. (5) I have written <it> with glory and victory on the day Anērān, the month Mihr, (6) the year 1288 after the 20th (year) of the reign of the king Yazdgerd.’

1103 Written *xw'stg*, which is not correct.

1104 Written *wspryt*.

1105 A variation of *rastag*.

1106 Written *h'kym*.

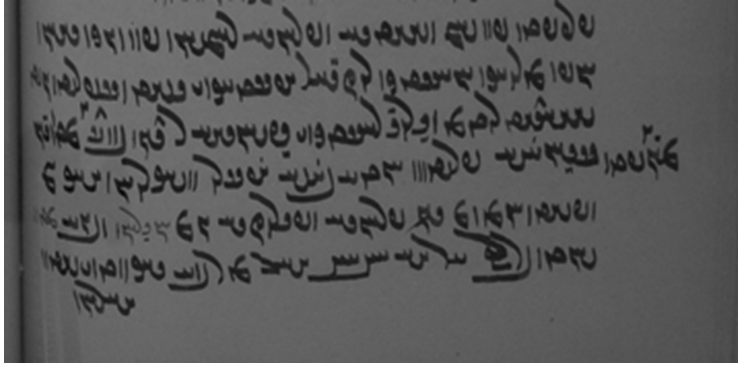


Image 171: MS. 4158, Middle Persian colophon

4.1.22.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (fol. 557)

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāmišn pad nēk (2) dahišn xūb murwāg xujāstag¹¹⁰⁷ rōzgār abestāg ī yašt (3) wisparēd ud jūd-dēw-dād abāg nērang ud rāstag ī yazišn- (4) īgīhā man dēn bawandag mihrgān¹¹⁰⁸ sīyāvaxš frēdōn (5) xodābaxš¹¹⁰⁹ husraw nūšagruwān hakīm¹¹¹⁰ nibišt andar rōz xwardad, (6) māh dēn¹¹¹¹ sāl bar 1288 pas az 20 be (7) yazdgerd ī šahryārān nāfag be husraw ī šāhān šāh ī (8) ohrmazdān nibišt hom ud frāz hištom (9) az bahrih hamāg pērōzgarīh jamšīd bahman wāhrōm¹¹¹² (10) xodābaxš¹¹¹³ husraw nūšagruwān hakīm¹¹¹⁴ nibišt hom kē (11) tā 150 sālān pad ahlāyīh kār framāyēm pas (12) az 150 sālān be ō ī frazand ud frazandzādagān hu- (13) sraw dēn burdār abespārād paywand pad sōšāns payvan- (14) dād. har kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn (15) az-iš kunād ud ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunād, amā rāy pad nēk (16) nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīh ayād kunād, ēg-iš gētih (17) tan husraw ud pad mēnōg ruwān ahlaw ud garōdmānīg bawād (18) paywand pad sōšāns payvandād. ēg-iš nām ī amā r[āy] (19) awestarēd ayāb judtar kunēd u-š gētih tan dusraw ud pad mēnōg (20) ruwān druwand bawād, u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwar ī (21) dādār ī ohrmazd pad hanjāman ī īsdwāstarān ī zarduštān. <second page> (22) pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmāg bawād. ēdōn bawād, (23) ēdōntar-iz bawād. aēuuō. pañtō. yō. ašahē. (24) yek ast rāh-e ašāyē avar ān jōd rāh.¹¹¹⁵ šātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqnō. (25) šād ān tan ka-š varzīd rūbān¹¹¹⁶-e xīš.

1107 Written *xw'stg*, which is not correct.

1108 In the first colophon *magupad* occurs before *sīyāvaxš*. This word is written in the margin next to this line; it was probably added by a later reader.

1109 Written *xd'bxš*. In the first colophon *xwadābaxš* is attested.

1110 Written *h'kym*.

1111 Written *dynb*, namely *dēn-ē*.

1112 The word *magupad* is written in the margin next to this line; it was probably added by a later reader.

1113 Written *xd'bxš*.

1114 Written *h'kym*.

1115 This section is written in Persian, but it's heavily influenced by Middle Persian. For instance, instead of the word اشایی 'pious', we find اشاهی harkening back to the Middle Persian term *ašāyīh*. Similarly, in place of *abārīg* 'other', we encounter the word *avar*.

1116 Written *rw'b'n*, which either refers to the Middle Persian form or is a mistake for the Persian form *ruwān* 'soul'.

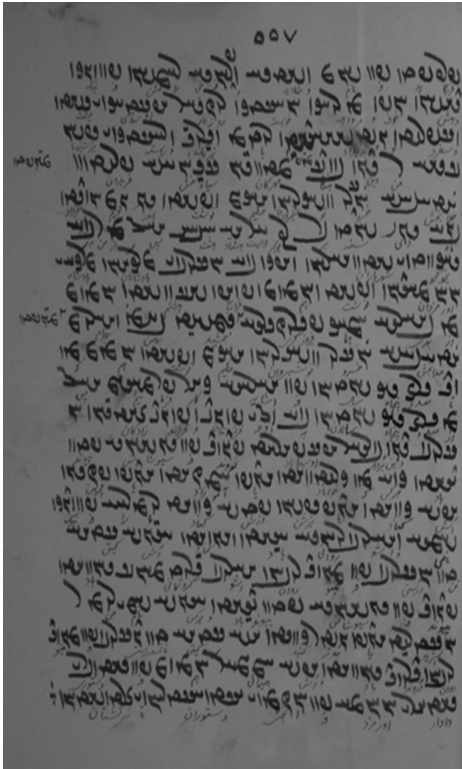


Image 172: MS. 4158, First page of the second Middle Persian colophon

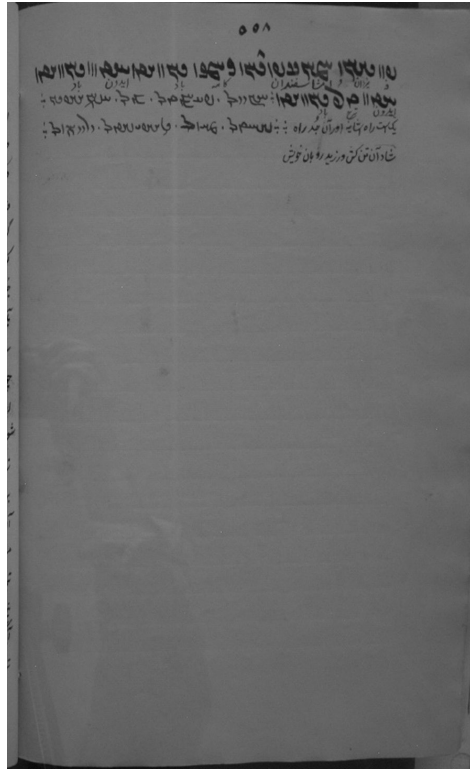


Image 173: MS. 4158: Second page of the second Middle Persian colophon

4.1.22.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good (2) fate and good omen, and blessed time, Yašt of Avesta, (3) Wisparēd and Wisparēd with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Mihrgān Sīyāvaxš Frēdōn (5) Xodābaxš Husraw Nūšagruwān Hakīm, have written on the day Xwardad, (6) the month Dēn, the year 1288, after the year 20 of (7) Yazdgerd, king of kings, descendant of Husraw, king of kings, (8) son of Ohrmazd. I have written and launched <it> (9) for the ever-victorious Jamšīd Bahman Wāhrōm (10) Xodābaxš Husraw Nūšagruwān Hakīm. I have written <it> in order that I use it (11) 150 years with righteousness and after (12) 150 years entrust <it> to the children and grandchildren of Hu- (13) raw, the leader of the religion. May (their soul) (14) join Sōšāns. Everybody who would recite (this book) or teach <it> or make a (15) copy of it or celebrate a Yazīšn with it and remember us in good (16) name and righteous soul, may be of (17) good famed body in the material world and of pious soul in the spiritual world. In joy and victory. (18) May (his soul) join Sōšāns. If someone removed (19) my name, or he erased <it>, may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of ashamed soul (20) in the spiritual world. If he had removed (my name), I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence (21) of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstrān of Zartušt. (22) May it be according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān. May it be so. (23) May it be still more so. **There is**

only one way and that is of the righteousness. (24) There is only one way of the pious and the other ones are heresy. **Happiness and the paradise soul.** (25) He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul.’

4.1.23. MS. 4161

4.1.23.1. Sālmargs, fol. 150r

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr mehrabān*¹¹¹⁷ *dastūr behmard*¹¹¹⁸ *dar rūz-e mehr īzad māh ordībehešt-e qadīm saneye 10207 yazdgerdīyeh*¹¹¹⁹
‘The death date of Dastūr Mehrabān Dastūr Behmard, on the day Mehr Īzad, the old month Ordībehešt, the year 1027 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e sīmāh*¹¹²⁰ *golčehr*¹¹²¹ *dastūr ...*¹¹²² *faroxzād dar rūz-e dey be-āzār īzad, māh-e ordī behešt, saneye 10207 yazdgerdīyeh*
‘The death date of Sīmāh Golčehr, (daughter of) Dastūr ... Faroxzād, on the day Dey-be-āzār Īzad, the month Ordībehešt, the year 1027 AY.’
- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt yāftan-e janat makān ...*¹¹²³
‘The death date of the paradise resident ...’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr goštāsb*¹¹²⁴ *dastūr mehrabān dastūr behmard dar rūz-e ābān īzad, māh-e mordād qadīm, saneye 10207 yazdgerdīyeh*
‘The death date of Dastūr Goštāsb Dastūr Mehrabān Dastūr Behmard, on the day Ābān Īzad, the old month Mordād, the year 1027 AY.’

Verse, fol. 150v

yekī zand-e vastā abā barsamat

Bring your Barsam and a copy of Zand Avesta.

*be-zamzam yekī pāsoxī porsamat*¹¹²⁵

While you recite the Zamzam,¹¹²⁶ I will pose a question for you to answer.

*kāteb al-‘abd rā be-do‘ā-ye xeyr yādāvarī
be-namāyad*

May one remember the scribe with good prayers!

Saneye 1126 Hejri

The date is 1126 Hijri.¹¹²⁷

1117 Only a guess. The ink is practically colourless and makes the exact reading very difficult.

1118 Only a guess.

1119 Since this manuscript has no colophon, the dates occurring in the Sālmargs are of particular importance for estimating the approximate date of the manuscript. This Sālmarg shows that the manuscript is older than 1027 AY.

1120 Can hardly be read. Maybe *sīmāh* (*sīmā*), a female name.

1121 Uncertain. Can hardly be read. If the reading is correct, *sīmā golčehr* is a female name.

1122 The word is illegible. Unlikely *jī*.

1123 This Sālmarg is incomplete.

1124 This word is damaged, but the remnants of the letters favor this reading.

1125 This verse is repeated on this page and on page 151 recto.

1126 Zamzam is a Zoroastrian Prayer recited during washing the body or eating.

1127 1078 AY.

- *Īn ketāb-e jad dīv vandīdād*¹¹²⁸ *az māl-e kamtarīn mūbed bahrām valad-e mūbed farāmarz ...*¹¹²⁹ *mībāšad, tame*¹¹³⁰ *konande be la'nat-e [xodā gereftār] bād.*¹¹³¹
 'This Vandīdād book belongs to the humblest, Mūbed Bahrām the son of Mūbed Farāmarz. May the greedy person be damned by God.'

Purchase note, fol. 249v

- ...*forūxt*¹¹³² *bahrām māvandād* 92¹¹³³
 'was bought by Bahrām Māvandād, 92.'

Note, fol. 267v

- *Nevešte šod be-daste*¹¹³⁴ *xat-e bande-ye xodā, xāk-e pāy-e jam'-e dūstān, mūbed rostam valad-e dastūr behzād*
 'It is written in the handwriting of the God's servant, the dust beneath the feet of friends, Mūbed Rostam the son of Dastūr Behzād.'
- ...*dar yōm šahrīvar aḡ māh-e šāh mehr īzad qadīm šod. saneye 1295 hejriyeh*
 'On the day Šahrīvar from the old month Šāh Mehr Īzad. The year 1295 Hejri.'
- *Az māl-e xāš-e xāleš dastūr bahrām ben-marḥūm dastūr falāmarz mībāšad. tame*¹¹³⁵ *konande be la'nat-e xodā gereftār bād.*
 "This book belongs to the esteemed and sacred Dastur Bahram, son of the late Dastur Faramarz."¹¹³⁶ May the one who covets be engulfed by God's curse!"

Ownership note, fol. 268v

- *Kīyūmars-e jahānbaxšī, [mā]lek* 'Kīyūmars Jahānbaxš, the owner.'

4.1.24. MS. 4162

4.1.24.1. Marginal notes

Birth notes and Persian verses page 162r:

- *Be-nām-e xodā. motavaled šodan-e mehrabān mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām, yōm bād īzad az mehr māh-e qadīm, šab-e jom'e 10 hūt 23 rajab čahār sā' at o nīm be-šobh mānde. ṭāle'-e movallad avāxer-e borj-e mīzān va xālī az har gūne vabāl ast. nām-e molūd mehrabān. besyār mobārak ast.*
 'In the name of God. Mehraban, the son of Mubed Ardeshir Mubed Bahram, was born on the day of Bad Izad in the old month of Mehr, on the night of Friday, the 10th day of Hut, the 23rd of Rajab, four and a half hours before dawn. The newborn's

1128 The scribe mixes the Middle Persian *Jud-dēv-dād* and Persian form *Vandīdād* and creates a new form *jad dīv vandīdād*.

1129 Illegible. Maybe *bemān*.

1130 A mistake for *ṭama'* طمع 'greed'.

1131 This part of the sheet is damaged and is illegible.

1132 Only a guess.

1133 It is not clear whether this number refers to a date or price.

1134 A mistake for *dast*.

1135 A mistake for *ṭama'* طمع 'greed'.

1136 A variation of the name *Farāmarz*.

horoscope is at the end of Libra and far from any misfortune. The newborn is named Mehraban. Many congratulations!’

- *Tavalod-e movlūd-e farangīs mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām. yōm mehr īzad az āzar māh-e qadīm 1295, šab-e jom‘e, dovom-e šūr va dovom-e ordībehešt-e bāstānī 1305, pañj sā‘at be gorūb mānde, be-ṭāle‘ nīme-ye borj-e asad ast va besyār xoš-qadam barāye pedar o mādar*

‘The birth of the newborn Farangīs, daughter of Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Bahrām, occurred on the day of Mehr Izad in the old month of 1295, on the night of Friday, the 2nd day of Šūr and the 2nd day of Ordībehešt in 1305 Bastani, five hours before dawn. The newborn’s horoscope is in the middle of Leo and it brings great fortune for both the father and the mother.’

- *Vafāt yāftan-e farangīs-e mūbed ardešīr; mūbed bahrām, yōm anārām īzad, az āzarmāh-e qadīm, 1295 Yazdgerdī*

‘The death of Farangīs (daughter of) Mūbed Ardešīr, Mūbed Bahrām, the day Anārām Izad, the month Āzar, the old month, 1295 AY.’

These birthdays and Sālmarg occur again on the back page of the manuscript.

This page also contains Persian verses:

<i>hamčūn xošat da‘ vī-ye xūnrīz konad</i>	Your joy incites such a bloody conflict,
<i>kaš kāb-e to šamšīr-e aḡal tīz konad</i>	your influence sharpens the sword of death.
<i>bīmār agar šehḡat-e xod mūṭalabad</i>	If the ailing wish for recovery,
<i>bāyad ke ze dīdār-e to parhīz konad</i>	they should avoid your presence.
<i>bande-ye kamtar xāksār sīyāvaxš dastūr</i>	In humble obedience, Sīyāvaxš Dastūr
<i>ādarbād</i>	Ādarbād.
<i>... xodāyān raftand</i>	... -gods went.
<i>bīgāne nešīn ke āšenāyān raftand</i>	Sit alone because the friends have departed.
<i>[h]engām-e xazān resīd o golhā hame rīxt</i>	Autumn has arrived, and all the flowers have
	fallen.
<i>dar šaḡn-e¹¹³⁷ čaman naqme sarāyān raf-</i>	The musicians have left the meadow.
<i>tand</i>	
<i>bande[-ye] kamtarīn sīyavaxš dastūr ādar</i>	The humblest servant Sīyavaxš Dastūr Ādar
<i>bād</i>	Bād.

The back page of this manuscript contains the following birth dates and Sālmargs:

- *Tavalod šodan-e bahman-e mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām yōm aštād, ābān-māh-e qadīm, saneye 1296*

1137 Written *šahn* صهن instead of صحن.

‘Birth of Bahman, (the son of) Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Bahrām, the day Aštād, the old month Ābān, the year 1296’

- *Tavalod šodan-e fereydūn-e mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām yōm xeyr īzad, az dey-māh-e qadīm, 1297, moṭābeq-e āsmān, ordībehešt-māh, 1297 [corrected to] 1307 šamsī.*¹¹³⁸

‘Birth of Fereydūn, (the son of) Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Bahrām, the day Xeyr Īzad, the old month Dey, (the year 1297), corresponding to Āsmān, the month Ordībehešt, the year 1307.’

- *Vafāt-e fereydūn-e mūbed ardešīr mūbed bahrām, yōm bād, az ordībehešt-māh-e qadīm, 1298, moṭābeq-e yōm-e tīr, mehr-māh 1297 [corrected to] 1307 šamsī.*¹¹³⁹

‘The death of Fereydūn, son of Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Bahrām, occurred on the day Bād of the old month Ordībehešt, 1298, corresponding to the day Tīr, the month Mehr, the year 1307 Šamsī.’

- *Vafāt-e bahman-e mūbed ardešīr, mūbed bahrām, yōm aršvāng, bahman-māh-e qadīm, 1296*

‘The death of Bahman (the son of) Mūbed Ardešīr, Mūbed Bahrām, the day Aršvāng, the old month Bahman, 1296.’

There is a verse in Persian at the end of the manuscript:

šokr-e xodā ke īn name be etmām resīd

pīštar az ‘omr be-pāyān resīd

pāk xodāyī ke dar-īn tīre xāk

kard īn ayān¹¹⁴⁰ īn hame asrār-e pāk

ganj-e xosro bar del-e ādam nahād

tāj-e karam bar sar-e ḥātām nahād

gohar-e ādam be soxan kard pāk¹¹⁴¹

Thanks be to God that this book has been completed,

achieved before the end of life drew near!

The holy God, who formed us in this dark soil,

and revealed these profound holy mysteries.

Who placed the treasure of Xosro in the heart of man,

and set the crown of generosity on the head of Ḥātām,

and purified the essence of humanity through speech!

¹¹³⁸ Šamsī is uncertain.

¹¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁰ A mistake for yān.

¹¹⁴¹ The last mešra’ is missing.

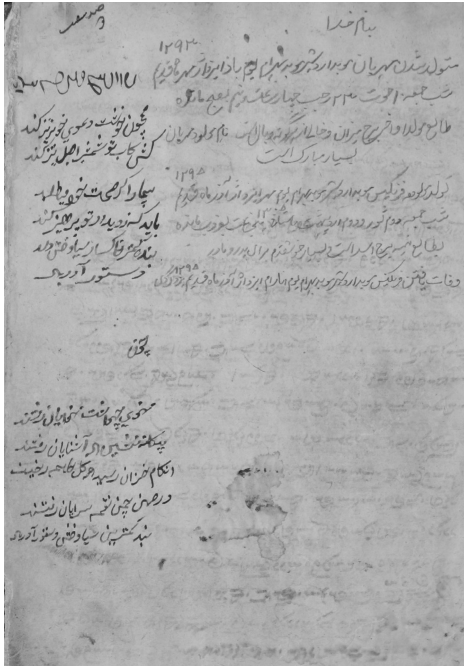


Image 174: MS. 4162, Birth notes and Persian

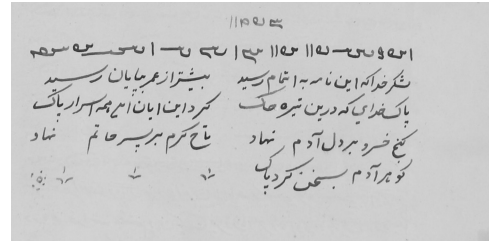


Image 175: MS. 4162, Persian verses on the last page

4.1.25. MS. 4164

4.1.25.1. Marginal notes

Sālmargs:

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e šārbānū frēdōn sačan dar rūz-e ard īzad māh-e xordād, san[e-ye ...]*¹¹⁴²
‘The death date of Šārbānū Frēdōn Sačan on the day Ard Īzad, the month Xordād, the year ...’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr šahrīyār dastūr keyxosro ...*
‘The death date of Dastūr Šahrīyār Dastūr Keyxosro’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr bahrām, dastūr ferēydūn, dastūr šahrīyār, dar rūz-e aštād īz[ad], māh-e sefandārmad-e qadīm, saneye 10015 yazdġerdiye.*
‘The death date of Dastūr Bahrām, Dastūr Ferēydūn, Dastūr Šahrīyār, on the day Aštād Īzad, the old month Sefandārmad, the year 1015 AY.’
- *[Tārīx-e vafāt]-e dastūr ferēydūn dastūr rostam dastūr behmard dar rūz-e ābān, māh-e šahrīvar-e qadīm, saneye 10019 yazdġerdiye.*
‘The death date of Dastūr Ferēydūn Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Behmard, on the day Ābān, the old month Šahrīvar, the year 1019 AY.’

¹¹⁴² This part has been altered.

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr ferēydūn roštam behmard be-tārīx-e rūz-e ābān, māh-e šahrīvar[r-e qadīm, saneye] 10019 [yazdžerdīye].*¹¹⁴³
‘The death date of Ferēydūn Rostam Behmard, the date, the day Ābān, the old month Šahrīvar, the year 1019 AY.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr ādar roštam behmard, be-tārīx-e rūz-e dey be-mehr īzad, māh-e šahrīvar-e qadīm, saneye 10019.*
‘The death date of Dastūr Ādar Rostam Behmard, the date, the day, Dey Be-mehr Īzad, the old month Šahrīvar, the year 1019 AY.’
- *[Tārīx-e] vafāt-e farangīs dastūr šahrīyār, be-tārīx-e rūz-e gūš va māh-e šahrīvar-e qadīm, saneye 1019.*
‘The death date of Farangīs Dastūr Šahrīyār, the date, the day Gūš and the old month Šahrīvar, the year 1019 AY.’
- *[Tārīx-e vafāt-e] dastūr fereydūn, dastūr bahrām, behmard be-tārīx-e rūz-e āsmān, māh-e šahrīvar-e qadīm, saneye 1019.*
‘The death date of Dastūr Fereydūn, Dastūr Bahrām, Behmard, the date, the day Āsmān, the old month Šahrīvar, the year 1019 AY.’
- *[Tārīx-e] vafāt-e dastūr sorūš dastūr mehrabān, dar rūz-e vahman, deymāh-e qadīm, saneye 12602.*¹¹⁴⁴
‘The death date of Dastūr Sorūš Dastūr Mehrabān, on the day Vahman, the old month Dey, the year 1262.’
- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e dastūr mehrabān, dastūr [so]hrāb*¹¹⁴⁵ *rūz-e ormazd ...*¹¹⁴⁶
‘The death date of Dastūr Mehrabān, Dastūr Sohrāb on the day Ormazd ...’

Another Sālmarg

- *Tārīx-e vafāt-e zarbānū roštam ardešīr; rūz-e [mān]sfand, māh-e xordād sane-ye 11207*¹¹⁴⁷
‘The death date of Zarbānū Rostam Ardešīr, the day Mānsfand, the month Xordād, the year 1127 Hejrī.’

A poem:

hova, be-nām-e xodā

In the name of God, remember me, Keyxosro

*to āyī*¹¹⁴⁸ *keyxosro-v-am yād kon*

when you arrive, remember me, Keyxosro.

1143 This Sālmarg is just a repetition of the previous Sālmarg. The only difference is the omission of the title Dastūr.

1144 The era has not been mentioned, probably Yazdgerdi.

1145 Alternatively *zohrāb*.

1146 The rest of this Sālmarg is missing.

1147 If the reading 1127 is correct, it means the year 1715 in Gregorian Calendar.

1148 Written as *mwyy*, which is probably a mistake.

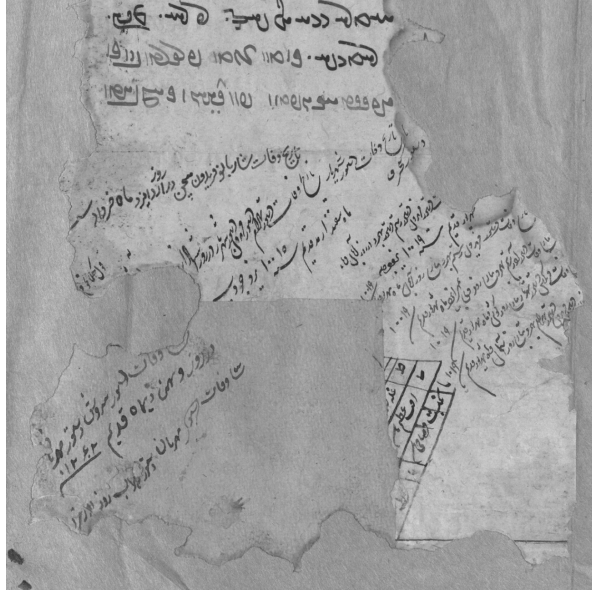


Image 176: MS. 4164, Sālmargs

be-āmorzešt rūh-e man šād kon

Delight my soul with a prayer for God's forgiveness.

to ham ey jāvānmard-e bā āfarīn

You too, O generous one, remember this humble one with praise and a blessing.

*be-āmorzešt yād kon kamtarīn*¹¹⁴⁹

If you do not know the name of the scribe in the holy religion of Zarātošt,

agar nām-e kāteb nadārī ʿayān

I am the priest of the Yazīšn ceremony, a pious man.

be-dīn-e zarātošt-e esfantmān

ke mūbed yazešnīm bā dīndār

[*ke*]¹¹⁵⁰ *bahrām bābam xod ormazdyār*

My father is Bahrām and I am Ormazdyār as willed by God, the creator.

be tofīq-e yazdān-e farvardegār

May we not witness evil in life.

*bad [...] na bīnīm*¹¹⁵¹ *dar rūzegār*

be xaṭ-e dastūr ormazdyār valad-e dastūr
bahrām, saneye 1291 Hejriye

This was written by Dastūr Ormazdyār, son of Dastūr Bahrām, in the year 1291 Hejri.

Eqrār-nāme¹¹⁵² 'acknowledgement'

1149 The last three *Mešraʿ* appears also in V 4030 on page 84v.

1150 Quite uncertain.

1151 Written *bebīnīm*.

1152 *Eqrār-nāme* has another meaning, namely 'letter of confusion' in Persian. However, in Avestan manuscripts this term refers to the acknowledgement of the possession status of the manuscript, contracts, purchase story, etc.

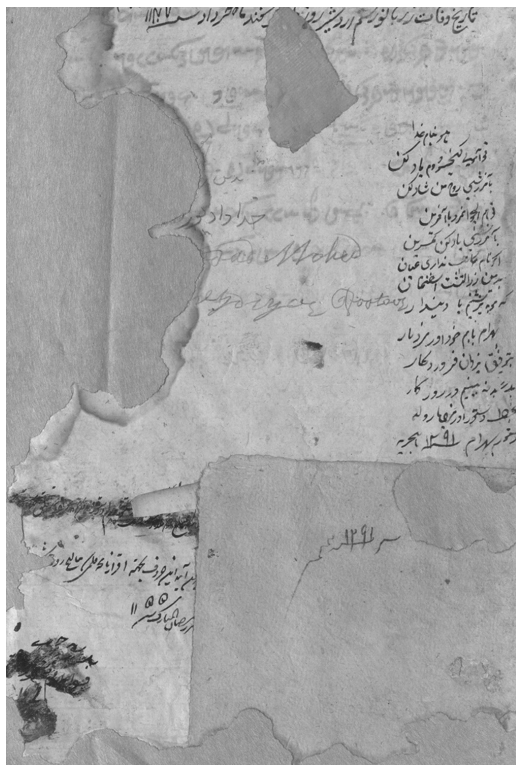


Image 177: V 4164 , Poem and Eqrār nāme

The main part of Eqrār-nāme has been scratched. Only the following part remains:

- ... āyad īn ḥorūf be-jāhat-e eqrār nāme be qalamī ke be-tārīx-e rūz-e ..., [šah]r-e ramažān ol-mubārak, saneye 1155¹¹⁵³

‘... These words are written as an acknowledgement on the date, the day ..., in the holy month of Ramežān, the year 1155.’

V 4164 : The second poem

lotf kon bar man ey xodā-ye kerdegār

Bāb be man bahrām, xodormazdyār

*‘amal-e bande-ye kamtarīn mūbed
ormazdyār valad-e mūbed bahrām mūbed
sorūš*

har kas bexūnad, xodā bīyāmorzī bedahad

saneye 1243 yazdgerdīye

Oblige me, O God, the Creator!

My father is Bahrām, and I am Ormazdyār.

This is the deed of the humblest servant,
Mūbed Ormazdyār, son of Mūbed Bahrām,
who is the son of Mūbed Sorūš.

May everyone who reads this, offer a prayer
for God’s forgiveness.

The year is 1243 AY.

1153 The era is Hejri.

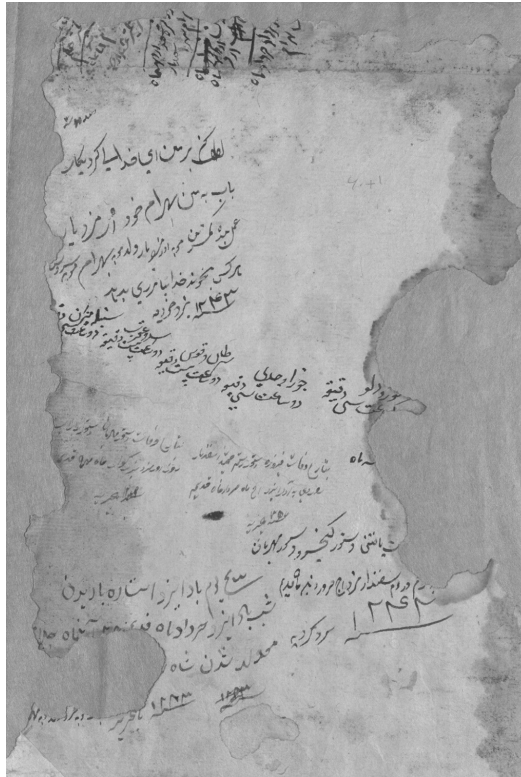


Image 178: V 4164, Poem, Sālmargs and birthday date

V 4164: Sālmargs and birth date:

- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt firūze dastūr rostam jamšīd esfandyār, rūz dey be ādar īzad, aḡ māh-e mordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 1256¹¹⁵⁴ hejrīye*
 ‘The death date of Firūze Dastūr Rostam Jamšīd Esfandyār, the day Dey-be-Ādar Īzad, the old month Mordād, the year 1256 Hejri.’
- *Be-tārīx-e vafāt dastūr mehrabān dastūr dārāb, rūz-e ormazd bozorgvār, māh-e mehr, māh-e qadīm, saneye 1245¹¹⁵⁵ hejrīye*
 ‘The death date of Dastūr Mehrabān Dastūr Dārāb, the day Ormazd, the great, the month Mehr, the old month, the year 1245 Hejri.’
- *[vafā]t yāftan-e dastūr keyxosro dastūr mehrabān ... dar esfandārmazd aḡ farvardīn māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1242 yazdgerdīye*
 ‘The death of Dastūr Keyxosro Dastūr Mehrabān ..., the day Esfandārmazd from the old month Farvardīn, the year 1242 AY.’

1154 The reading is uncertain.

1155 The reading is uncertain.

- *Be tārīx-e yōm-e bād īzad, estāre bā dīdan-e šab-e bād īzad, xordād māh-e qadīm, ābānmāh-e jadīd,*¹¹⁵⁶ *motavaled šodan-e šāh ..., saneye 1243*¹¹⁵⁷ *hejriye*
‘The date, the day Bād Īzad, the star has been seen on the night of Bād Īzad, the old month Xordād, the new month Ābān, born Šāh...,¹¹⁵⁸ the year 1243 Hejri.’

4.2. Yasna manuscripts

4.2.1. MS. 8

4.2.1.1. Marginal notes

A note on page 99r of ms. 8:

(1) *emrūz yašt jahat-e mūbed māhyār mīxānīm ke fardā šobh bā haqīr jamšīd mūbed rostam zoḥrāb, yōm vahman,* (2) *az tīr māh-e qadīm, saneye 1277 ravāne-ye bambaī šavīm pey-e qazā-ye kerdegār.*

‘Today, we recite Yašt for Mūbed Māhyār, in order that tomorrow morning together with the humblest (servant) Jamšīd Mūbed Rostam Zoḥrāb, on the day Vahman from the old month Tīr, the year 1277, we would move to Bombay to follow (our) fate (according to the will) of God.’¹¹⁵⁹

4.2.1.2. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn* (2) *wuzurg urwāhmanīh pad nēk-dahišnīh* <ud> *xūb murwāg ud* (3) *xujastag rōzgār abestāg* <ī> *yašt abāg nērang* <ī> (4) *rēstag*¹¹⁶⁰ *yazišnīgīhā. nibištām andar rōz amordat* (5) *az māh ādur sāl bar 1106*¹¹⁶¹ *pas az 20 bay* (6) *yazdgerd šāhān šāh ī šahryārān nāfag be* *ō*¹¹⁶² *ī* (7) *husraw ī [šāhān] šāh ī ohrmazdān. kē nibišt ham* (8) *man ī dēn bandag rustahm gōštāsp ērdēšīr gōštāsp* (9) *nibišt ham* <ud> *frāz hišt ham az bahr* <ī> *xwēšīh ī* (10) *hamāg pērōzgarīh mard ī abarmānīh, xūb nērōgīgīh* (11) *tan, wēh xēm, ahlaw ruwān, šībā*¹¹⁶³ *uzwān ud* (12) *xūb gōhr* <ī> *yōjdahr*¹¹⁶⁴ *tan, nēk xōg, frārōn menišn* (13) *rāst*¹¹⁶⁵ *gōwešn, nēk kunišn māvandād wāhrōm ī* (14) *māvandād rustahm ī anōšagruwān rustahm magupadān* (15) *magupad ī ērān ud dastwar ud*¹¹⁶⁶ *xānag ī ādur bawād* (16) *mānspandān turkābādīg, rōtstāg*¹¹⁶⁷ *ī meybod* (17) <ī> *yazd. nibišt ham kē tā 150 sālān pad* <second page> (18) *frārōnīh ud ērīh ud nēkīh ud wēh-dēnīh kār* (19) *framāyād*

1156 The reading is uncertain.

1157 The reading is uncertain.

1158 Maybe *Šāhbahrām*.

1159 It is not clear whether this group was planning to move to Bombay from Iran or from another city in India.

1160 A mistake or a variant of *rastag*.

1161 Probably 1000 *sd* 6. According to the date of other manuscripts written by this scribe, namely, 1090 and 1096, the year 1106 seems to be possible.

1162 Mistake for *ōy*.

1163 Uncertain, maybe a variant of *šīvā*. This adjective is usually used with the word ‘tongue’. Unlikely a mistake for DKYA *pāk*.

1164 Written *ywsd’ sl*, meaning ‘pure’.

1165 Maybe a mistake for ZDQ’.

1166 Probably a mistake for *ī*.

1167 A variant of *rōstāg* ‘village’.

of Ohrmazd, that (8) I, the servant of religion, Rustahm Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr Gōštāsp, (9) have written and launched <it> for the possession of (10) the ever-victorious, the noble man, having a strong (11) body, of good nature, of a holy soul, of a fluent language, and (12) of good race and of pure body, of good character, of good behavior, (13) of true words, of good deed, Māvandād Wāhrōm (14) Māvandād Rustahm Anōšagruwān Rustahm, the Mūbed (15) of Mūbeds of Iran, the priest of the house of Ādurbawād (16) Mānspondān, from Turkābād, the village of Meybod (17) of Yazd. I have written in order that (they) use it for 150 years [second page] (18) with honesty, nobility, righteousness and piety (19) and may entrust it after that to the children and child of (20) Husraw, the upholder of the religion, (who is) holy. Everybody (21) who would read it or teach it or make a copy of it (22) or perform Yažišn with it and remember me, I who am the scribe, (23) in good name and in holy soul (24). May my power be in repentance. And in good deeds (25) that they do, may they make me participate. Then I would be thankful (26) for that. May they be of (27) such a body in the material world and may they be of fortunate soul in spiritual world. (28) May this Avesta be of good omen and of good fate! May it be according to the will of God! (29) **There is only one way, and that is of the righteousness.** There is only one way of the pious and the other ones are (30) heresy. The righteousness is the best freedom. (31) May it be according to the will of God. (32) Everybody who remembers me in good manner, may he be proud in every assembly!'

4.2.2. MS. 15

4.2.2.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

Pad nām ī dādwar ī ohrmazd

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāwmišn¹¹⁷² pad nēk* (2) *dahišn ud xūb murwāg xūb frazāmag awastāg <ī> drustag¹¹⁷³ rō-* (3) *zgār awastāg ī yašt rast yazišnīg. man dēn bandag dastwar* (4) *aspandār nūšāwrān¹¹⁷⁴ dastwar aspandār dastwar ar<d>šīr ādur* (5) *sīstānīg. nibištōm <ud> frāz hišt hom az pad dēnīg* (6) *yazišn kardan hamē man yašt nibištōm az bahr <ī> dēn ke tā 150* (7) *sālān be nēk frazīm¹¹⁷⁵ <pad> frazandzādagān ī husraw ī dēn-bu-* (8) *rd<ār> abespārad. nēk pad farroxīh <ud> perōzag¹¹⁷⁶ rōz ard māh amō-* (9) *rdād sāl bar 1000 ud 100 ud haštād ud panj šāhān šāh nāfag* (10) *b-ō ī husraw ī šāhān šāh ohrmazdān. pad yazdān kāmag bād.*

4.2.2.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

In the name of Ohrmazd, the creator

‘(1) Completed in welfare and joy and glory <and> pleasure, (2) in good fate and good omen, and good end, <this> Avesta of (3) blessed time, the Avesta of Yašt <with> ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Dastūr Aspandār Dastūr Ar<d>ašīr Ādur (5) Sīstānīg, have written and launched <it> for performing (6) Yažišn according to the religion. Thus, I have written <this> Yašt for the religion, in order that <it will be used> until 150 (7) years with good end and <after that> would be entrusted to the grandchildren of Husraw, the (8) leader of the religion.

1172 Written *r'wmšn*!

1173 A mistake for *xuřastag*.

1174 above the line after *nūšāw* appears *p*.

1175 A variation of *frazām*.

1176 Written *ptwck*.

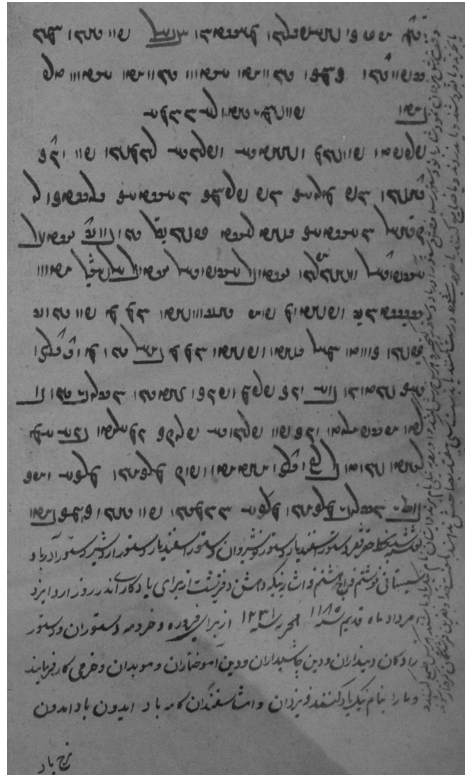


Image 182: MS. 15, Middle Persian and New Persian colophon

<It was completed> in goodness, glory and victory, the day Ard, month Amō-(9)rdād, the year 1185, king of kings, descendant (10) of Husraw, king of kings, [the son of] Ohrmazd. May it be according to the will of God.'

4.2.2.3. Transcription of the Persian colophon

(1) *nevešte šod be-xaṭ-e haqīr-e faqīr, dastūr esfandyār dastūr nūšīrwān dastūr esfandyār dastūr ardešīr dastūr ādarbād* (2) *sīstānī. neveštām farāj haštām fe ašāye nīke dahišn, daft-ar-e yašt az barā-ye yādegārī andar rūz-e ard īzād* (3) *amordād māh-e qadīm sane-ye 1185 hejṛīye 1231 az barā-ye firūzeh va xorromeh dastūrān va dastūr* (4) *zādegān dīndārān va dīn čāšīdārān va dīn āmūxtārān va mūbedān va xorramī kār farmāyand* (5) *va mārā be-nām-e nīk yād konand fe yazdān va amšāsfandān kāmē bād eydūn bād eydūn-tar-ej bād.*

[At the margin] *vaqf-e yazeš-e yazdān nemūd šārbānū dastūr sīyāvaxš dastūr ādarbād dastūr keyxosro. har kas yazeš konand va ū rō be nīkī nām barand va īšān nām-e nīk yād bāšand. har kas ṭamaḥ konand va yā be-xarand va yā be-forūšand va yā be-dozdand va yā žāyeḥ konand yā xarōb šavad, dorost nakonand yā be-dast-e kasī bīyoftad be-šāheb-aš nadahand be-laḥ nat-e xodā va nefrīn-e fereštegān gereftār šavand.*

4.2.2.4. Translation of the Persian colophon

‘(1) It was written by the humblest poor, Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Nūšīrwān Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Ardešīr Dastūr Ādarbād (2) Sīstānī. I wrote and launched <it> in goodness and good fortune, this book of Yašt, as memorial on the day Ard Īzad (3) month Amordād, the old month, the year 1185 <Yazdgerdī>, 1231 Hejri for the victory and happiness of Dastūrān and the children of Dastūrān (4), the leaders of the religion and the teachers of the religion and the scholars of the religion and the Mūbeds in order that they use it in happiness and (5) remember us in good name. May it be according to the will of God and Amšāsfindān. May it be so. May it be still more so!

[At the margin] It was donated for the Yazeš of God by Šārbānū Dastūr Sīyāvaxš Dastūr Ādarbād Dastūr Keyxosro. Everybody who performs Yazeš and remembers her in good name, may their name be remembered in good manner. Whoever is greedy <about this manuscript> or would purchase it, sell, steal or damage <it> or if it is damaged, would not restore <it>, or whoever finds it and would not give it to its owner, may s/he be damned by God and angels!’

4.2.3. MS. 29

4.2.3.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon

(1) *Farjām yāft andar rūz-e¹¹⁷⁷ firūzi va farroxī va xorramī rūz-e aršvānak īzad vāj*, (2) *tūr māh-e qadīm*, 1239 *hejriye*, az *bahr-e ašā-ye varzīdār xosro*, *valad-e dastūr ardešīr* (3) *jānnat makāni*, *dastūr-e zende*, *dastūr jamšīd dastūr jāmāsb*, *ke har kas xānand* (4) *ayā āmūzand īšān va kamtarīn rā be yād-e xeyr va āmorzeš farāmūš nakonand*, *va har gāh* (5) *sahv-e šēkaste dāšte bāšad*, *az rāh e loṭf va šafaqat dorost namāyand*, *ke īšān* (6) *rā xodā biyāmorzād*. *kāteb ol-ḥorūf*, *bande-ye kamtarīn*, *zare-ye bī-meqdār*, *dīnyār*, *valad-e marḥūm* (7) *dastūr nūšīrvān*, *valad-e ravān beheštī*, *dastūr bahrāmšāh dastūr nūšīrvān dastūr* (8) *mehrabān*.

4.2.3.2. Translation of the Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, glory, and joy, on the day Aršvānak Īzad Vāj, the old month (2) Tir, the year 1239 Hejri, for the pious Xosro, the son of Dastūr Ardešīr, (3) may the paradise be his residence, the living Dastūr, Dastūr Jamšīd Dastūr Jāmāsb, in order that everyone who would recite <it> (4) or teach <it>, may remember them and me, the humblest servant, in good desire and forgiveness. And when (5) there is a broken mistake, may (s/he) correct it out of mercy and kindness, so that (6) God may bless them! I (am) the scribe of these words, the humblest servant, and valueless atom, Dīnyār, son of the deceased (7) Dastūr Nūšīrvān, son of the paradise soul Dastūr Bahrāmšāh, Dastūr Nūšīrvān Dastūr (8) Mehrabān.’

har ke xānad, do’ ā ṭama’ dāram

I implore everyone who reads this to pray for me,

zānke man bande-ye gonahkāram

for I am a sinful servant.

(9) *har ān kas be nīkī (konad) yād-e man*

Everyone who remembers me kindly

sarafrāz bādā be har anjoman

may they find honor in every assembly

1177 The word *rūz-e* must be deleted here.

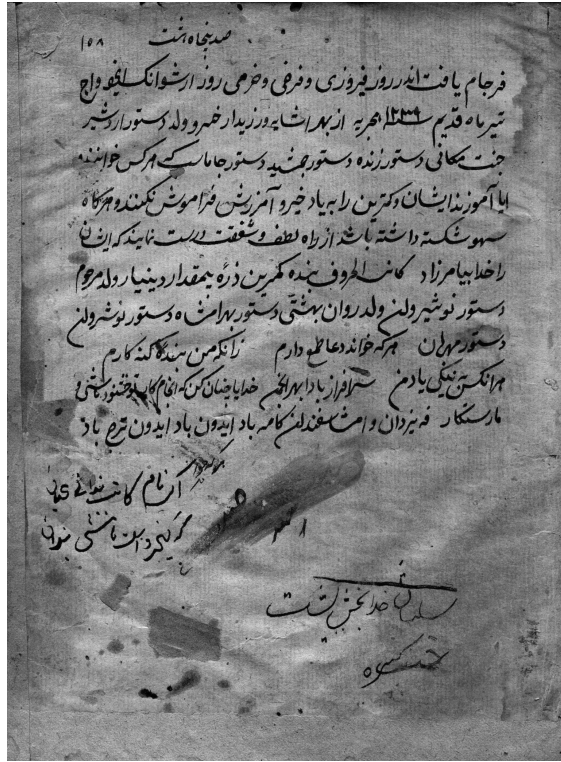


Image 183: MS. 29: Persian colophon

xodāyā čenān kon ke anjām-e kār

O God, may you be pleased at the end of
our labors

to xošnūd bāšī yo (10) mā rastegār

and may we find redemption.

fe yazdān va amšāsfindān kāme bād

May it be according to the will of Yazdān
and the Amšāsfinds.

īdūn bād, īdūntar-ĵ bād

So be it, and even more so!

4.2.4. MS. 32

4.2.4.1. Persian colophon

(1) jahān bar āb nahādast o ādamī bar bād,

The world is founded on water, and mankind
on the wind;

*golām-e hemmat-e ānam ke del bar ū
nanhād.*¹¹⁷⁸

I serve those who do not surrender their
hearts to the world.

1178 The first verse of a famous *qasideh* قصیده is entitled *dar nasihat va setāyesh* ‘regarding advice and praise’ from Sa’di. Instead of *zendegi*, the word *ādami* is used in this colophon.

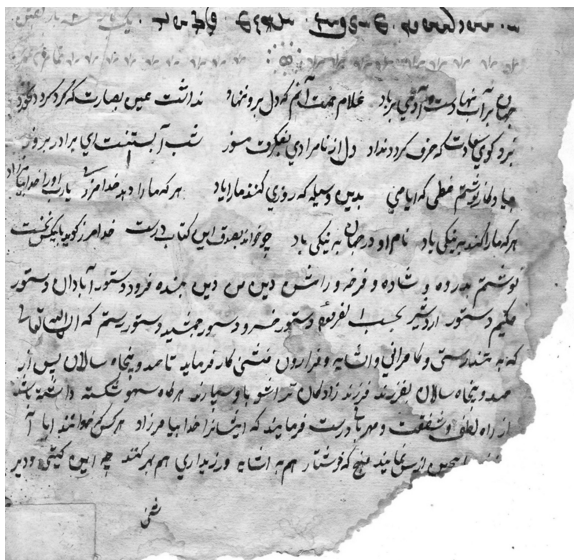


Image 184: MS. 32: Persian colophon, first page

- nadāšt ʿayn-e*¹¹⁷⁹ *beṣārat, ke gerd kard o* Lacking insight is he who hoards but never
naxord,¹¹⁸⁰ uses,
- (2) *nabord gūy-e saʿādat, ke šarf kard o* unfortunate is she who spends but never
nadād.¹¹⁸¹ gives.
- del az nāmōrādī be fekrat masūz!* Do not fear failures, if you possess wisdom!
- šab ābestanast ey barādar be rūz.* The night is pregnant with the day, O brother!
- (3) *be yādegār neveštam, xaṭī, ke ayyāmī,* I have penned this script as a memorial, so
that one day,
- beḏīn vasīle ke rūzī konand mārā yād.* people may remember us through it.
- har ke mā rā dahad xodāmōrzī,* To everyone who offers me a prayer of for-
giveness,
- (4) *yārab ū rā xodā biyāmōrzād.* O God! May You forgive them!
- har ke mārā konad be nīkī yād,* To everyone who remembers us kindly,
nām-e ū dar jahān be nīkī bād! may their name be celebrated in this world!
- čo xānad be šedq īn ketāb-e dorost,* When someone reads this righteous book
with honesty,
- xodāmōrz jūyad be īn kas naxost* may their first words be a prayer of forgive-
ness for me.

1179 Arabic word ʿyn ʿeye. In Saʿdī's *qasideh*, the Persian word *chashm* for 'eye' is used.

1180 Literally meaning 'One did not have the eye of knowledge, who (only) gathered and did not eat'.

1181 The last verse of the same *qasideh*.

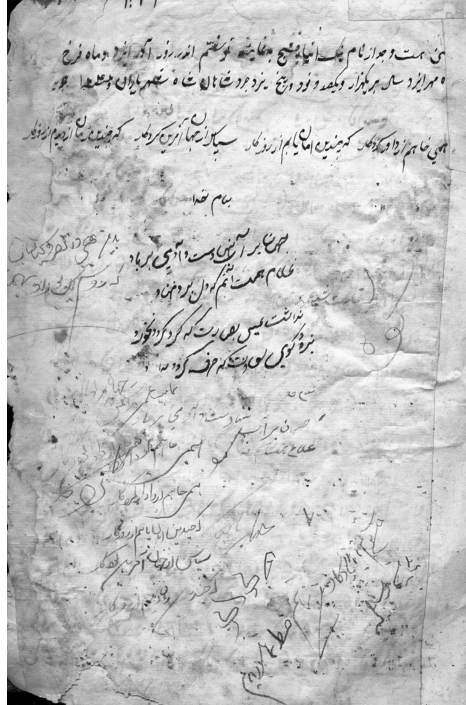


Image 185: MS. 32, Persian colophon, second page

(5) *neveštam be dorūd o šādī yo farroxeh va rāmeš-e dīn, man-e dīn bande, forūd dastūr ābādān dastūr* (6) *hakīm dastūr ardešīr, be ḥasab ol-farmūde-ye dastūr xosro dastūr jamšīd dastūr rostam, ke enšāallāh ta'ālā,* (7) *ke be tendorostī va kāmranī va ašāye*¹¹⁸² *va farāron manešnī kār farmāyad. tā šad o panjāh sālān pas az* (8) *šad o panjāh sālān be farzand [va] farzandzādagān tar*¹¹⁸³ *ašū be-ū sepārand. har gāh sahv-e šekaste*¹¹⁸⁴ *dāšte bāšad,* (9) *az rāh-e loṭf va šafeqqat va mehrabānī dorost farmāyand, ke išan rā xodā bīyāmorzād. har kas ke xānand ayā ā-* (10) *[mūzand ayā], pačīn az-aš namāyand, man-ej ke neveštār ham, be ašāyeh varzīdārī ham bahr konand, če īn gītī vadēr- <second page>* (11) *ēšnī hast va jod*¹¹⁸⁵ *az nām-e nīk anyā*¹¹⁸⁶ *be man-ej be-namāyand.*¹¹⁸⁷ *neveštam andar rūz-e ādar īzad va māh-e farrox-e* (12) *... mehr īzad, sāl bar yek hezār o yek- šad o navad o pang-e yazdjerd šāhān šāh šahryārān, sane-ye 1242 hejriye.*

1182 Instead of *ashāyi*.

1183 Middle Persian term *tar* 'over, through'.

1184 Very unlikely to mean 'broken' in this context.

1185 Instead of *jod*. In this colophon, we find strong influence of the Middle Persian colophon on the text and pronunciation of the words.

1186 Uncertain. Probably the Middle Persian word *anyā* 'other'.

1187 This part has been damaged and is illegible.

(5) I wrote it in welfare, joy and glory, and pleasure of the religion, I, the servant of religion, Forūd Dastūr Ābādān Dastūr (6) Ḥakīm Dastūr Ardešīr, with following the order of Dastūr Xosro Dastūr Jamšīd Dastūr Rostam. In order to use it, if the great God wills, (7) in health and happiness and righteousness. And may entrust it to the children and grandchildren 150 years, (8) after 150 years through righteousness.¹¹⁸⁸ When (the manuscript) had a broken mistake, (9) they may correct it out of mercy, kindness, and compassion, so that God may bless them. Everybody who would read it or teach (10) <it> or would make a copy of it, may participate (make participation) (with) me, I who am scribe, in (my) good deed. Because the material world is (11) passing and besides a good name, nothing remains for me.¹¹⁸⁹ I wrote on the day Ādar Īzad and the glory month (12) ... Mehr Īzad, the year 1195 of the Yazdgerd, king of kings, the year 1242 Hejri.’

4.2.4.2. Marginal notes

At the bottom of the Persian colophon some other verses are written, probably by other scribes.

<i>hamī xāham az dāvar-e kerdegār,</i>	I ask from the judge, the creator
<i>ke čandīn amān yābam az rūzegār.</i>	that I may find some peace from life's trials.
<i>sepās az jahān āfarīn kerdegār,</i>	I give thanks to the mighty Creator of the world
<i>ke čandīn zamān az¹¹⁹⁰ dīdam¹¹⁹¹ az rūzegār.</i>	for allowing me to witness this much time in life.

Below these verses, two verses from the beginning of the Persian colophon are repeated by another scribe and written here again:

<i>jahān bar āb nahādast o ādamī bar bād,</i>	The world is founded on water, and mankind on the wind.
<i>golām-e hemmat-e ānam ke del bar ū nanhād.</i>	I choose to serve those who do not surrender their hearts to the world.
<i>nadāšt ‘eyn bešārat ke gerd kard o naxord,</i>	He who hoards without using lacks the eye of insight,
<i>bebord gūy-e sa‘ ādat ke šarf kard o nadād.</i>	and she who spends without donating misses out on true happiness.

1188 Another possible translation, which seems unlikely to me, would be ‘with the command of the Dastur Xosro Dastur Jamšīd Dastur Rostam, whose name belong to the names of God. May they use it with health and happiness and with good deed and good behavior for 150 years and after 150 years.’

1189 The text has been altered, and the meaning is therefore unclear.

1190 Probably a mistake. The word *az* is not necessary here.

1191 In V 4045, *ke čandān amān dīdam az rūzegār*.

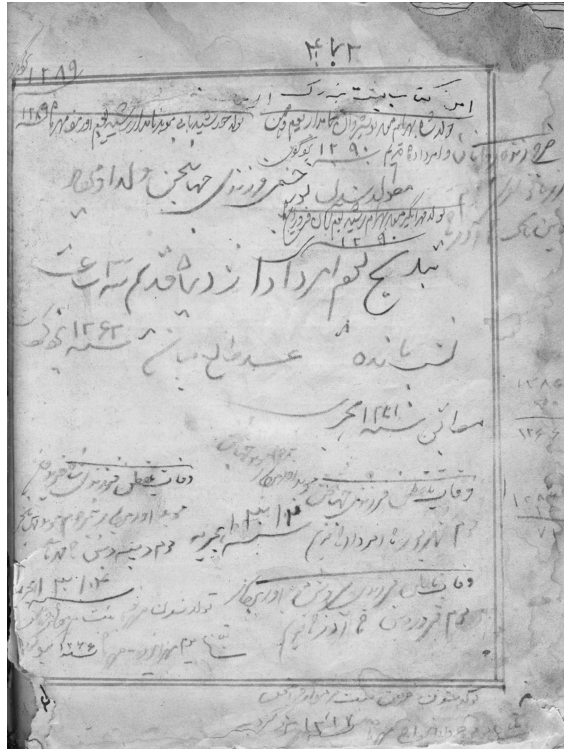


Image 186: MS. 35: Sālmargs and birthday dates

4.2.5. MS. 35

4.2.5.1. Marginal notes

Sālmargs and birth dates

On the final page of the manuscript, page 473, we find a number of Sālmargs and birth dates.

Notes and dates:

- *Īn ketāb-e yašt-e bozorg az ...*¹¹⁹²
'this book of great Yašt belongs to ...'
- *Tavalod-e šāh bahrām mūbed nūšīrvān nāmdār; yōm vahman, amordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 1290 yazdgerdī*
'The birth of Šāh-bahrām Mūbed Nūšīrvān Nāmdār, the day Vahman, the old month Amordād, the year 1290 AY.'
- *Tavalod-e xoršīd bānū*¹¹⁹³ *mūbed nāmdār rašīd, yōm ōrmazd, mehr māh, saneye 1289 yazdgerdī.*

¹¹⁹² This part has been deleted.

¹¹⁹³ Uncertain. Unlikely *bāqī* 'eternal'.

‘The birth of Xoršīd Bānū Mūbed Nāmdār Rašīd, the day Ūrmazd, the month Mehr, the year 1289 AY.’

- *Farrox zende ravānšād, zarbānū ... , yōm dīn, ... āzarmāh ...*
‘blessed, alive and happy soul, Zarbānū, the day Dīn, ... the month Āzar.’
- *Moṭavaled šodan ... farzandī jahānbaxš, valad-e ūrmazdyār*
‘The birth of ... the son of Jahānbaxš, the son of Ūrmazdyār.’
- *Tavalod-e mehrangīz, mūbed bahrām rašīd, yōm ābān, farvardīn māh, saneye 1290*¹¹⁹⁴
‘The birth of Mehrangīz, Mūbed Bahrām Rašīd, the day Ābān, the month Farvardīn, the year 1290.’
- *Be-tārīx-e yōm amordād az dey māh-e qadīm, se 3 sā^c at šab mānde, ‘asad’¹¹⁹⁵ ṭāle’ mīyān, saneye 1262 yazdgerdī, moṭābeq 1231 hejri.*
‘The date: the day Amordād, the old month Dey, 3 hours left to the night, in the middle of Leo¹¹⁹⁶, the year 1262 AY, in accordance with 1231 Hejri.’
- *Vafāt yāftan-e farzand-e jahānbaxš, mūbed ūrmazdyār, ben-marḥūm mūbed jahān[baXš], yōm šahrīvar, māh amordād māh-e qadīm, saneye 13012 hejriyeh.*
‘The death of the son of Jahānbaxš, Mūbed Ūrmazdyār, the son of the deceased Mūbed Jahānbaxš, the day Šahrīvar, the old month Amordād, the year 1312 Hejri.’
- *Vafāt yāftan-e farzandī šāh fereydūn, mūbed ūrmazdyār, ben-marḥūm mūbed jahānbaxš, yōm dey-be dīn, mehr māh, saneye 130104 hejriyeh.*
‘The death of the son of Šāh Fereydūn, Mūbed Ūrmazdyār, the son of the deceased Mūbed Jahānbaxš, the day Dey-be Dīn, the month Mehr, the year 1314 Hejri.’
- *Vafāt yāftan-e farzandī sorūš ūrmazdyār, yōm farvardīn, aḡ¹¹⁹⁷ āzar māh-e qadīm.*
‘The death of the son of Sorūš Ūrmazdyār, the day Farvardīn, the old month Āzar.’
- *Tavalod šodan-e mehrbānū,¹¹⁹⁸ bent-e marḥūm jahānbaxš, be-tārīx-e yōm mehr īzad, mehr māh, saneye 1266 yazdgerdī*
‘The birth of Mehrbānū, the daughter of the deceased Jahānbaxš, on the date, the day Mehr Īzad, the month Mehr, the year 1266 AY.’
- *Tavalod šodan-e xarman, bent-e marḥūm jahānbaxš, be-tārīx-e yōm xordād īzad, aḡ mehr māh, saneye 1217¹¹⁹⁹ yazdgerdī.*
‘The birth of Xarman, the daughter of the deceased Jahānbaxš, the date: the day Xordād Īzad, the month Mehr, the year 1217 AY.’

1194 Likely the Yazdgerdi era.

1195 A mistake for *asad* اسد.

1196 Leo is the fifth astrological sign of the Zodiac.

1197 A variant of *az* ‘from’.

1198 Quite uncertain.

1199 Or 1317 Yazdgerdī.

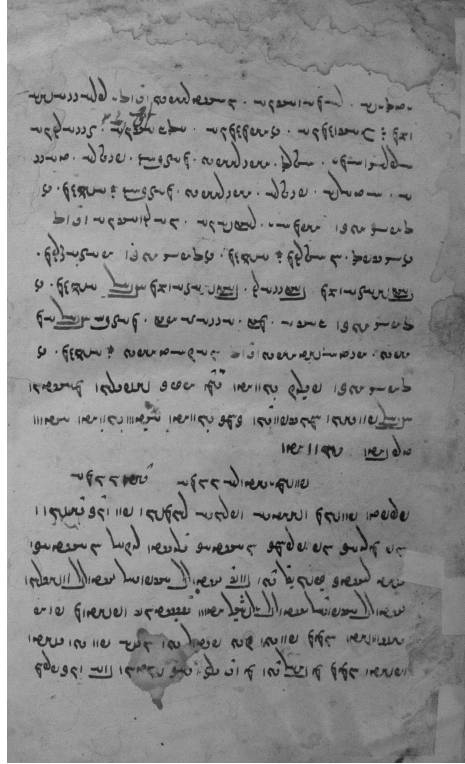


Image 187: Middle Persian colophon of Y 82

4.2.6. MS. 82

4.2.6.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

Pad nām ī dādwarī ohrmazd dād<ār> ohrmazd

(1) frazaft pad-drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāwmišn¹²⁰⁰ ud pad nēk-dahišn ud (2) xūb murwāg xūb frazāmag awāstāg <ī> drust rōzgār awāstāg ī (3) yašt rāstag yazīšnīg. man dēn bandag dastwar¹²⁰¹ aspandār dastwar nūšīrān (4) dastwar aspandār dastwar ēr<d> šīr ādur sīstānīg. nibīštom <ud> frāz (5) hišt hom pad dēn <ī> čīyōn pēdar <ud> dēn <ī> xwēš <ud> pad dēn, yašt (6) nibīštōm az bahr <ī> dēn ke tā 150 sālān bē nēk frazām¹²⁰² ...

4.2.6.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

In the name of Ohrmazd, the creator

Ohrmazd, the creator

‘(1) Completed in welfare and joy and glory <and> pleasure, in good fate and (2) good omen, and good end, <this> Avesta of (3) good time, the Avesta of Yašt <with> ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Dastūr Aspandār Dastūr Nūšīwrān Dastūr Aspandār Dastūr Ēr<d>šīr

1200 Written *r’wmšn*¹

1201 Written *dastwar bar*, which is a mistake, similar to the colophon of ms. 90 of the Ataš Varahrām collection.

1202 Written *plcym*.

Ādur Sīstānīg, wrote and launched <it> according to the religion of my father and my (9) own and the religion. I wrote (this) Yašt for the religion in order that [it will be used] for 150 years with good end...’

4.2.7. MS. 90

4.2.7.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

Pad nām <ī> dādar ohrmazd

(1) frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāw(2) mišn¹²⁰³ pad nēk dahišn ud xūb murwāg <ud> xūb √frazāmag√ <second page> (3) frazāmag. awāstāg drust rōzār¹²⁰⁴ awās-(4)tāg yašt rēstag yazīšnīg. man dēn bandag das-(5)twar¹²⁰⁵ aspandyār dastwar¹²⁰⁶ nūšīrān¹²⁰⁷ (6) dastwar aspandyār dastwar ēr<d>šīr (7) ādur <ī> sīstānīg. nibīštom <ud> frāz hi-(8)št hom pad dēn <ī> čiyōn pēdar <ud> dēn <ī> (9) xwēš, pad dēn, yašt nibīšt hom.

4.2.7.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and (2) pleasure, in good fate and good omen und (3) good end, the Avesta of good time, (4) the Avesta of Yašt with ritual series. I, the servant of religion, Dastūr Aspandyār, Dastūr Nūšīrān (6) Dastūr Aspandyār Dastūr Ēredšīr (7) Ādur, from Sīstān, wrote and launched <it> (8) according to the religion of my father and my (9) own. I wrote (this) Yašt according to religion.’

4.2.7.3. Marginal notes

Vaqf Nāme ‘donation document’

Vaqf nāme ast

(1) Vaqf nemūd dīn dār, dīn čāšīdār, dīn āmūxtār, patet gofiār, (2) setāyeš and nīyāyeš kerdār, dastūr esfandyār, ebn-e ašūye ravān garūšmānī (3) makān, dastūr fereydūn, dastūr nūšīrvān ādar sīstānī neveštām (4) farāj īnke, ke har kas mīxānad xodā bīyāmorzī be-dastūr esfandyār berasānand. xodāmorzī <second page> (5) xodāmorzī be-dastūr esfandyār īzadyār berasānand. xodāmorzī be-dastūr goštāsb (6) dastūr esfandyār berasānand. xodāmorzī be pīptī¹²⁰⁸ dastūr esfandyār berasānand. (7) xodāmorzī be šārbānū dastūr esfandyār berasānand. xodāmorzī be farīzād (8) dastūr esfandyār berasānand. har ke mīxānad xodāmorzī be navad o nohšad o noh hezār¹²⁰⁹ (9) ašavān, farahvahrān berasānand va har kas ṭama‘ konad yā bedozdad yā bedarrad (10) yā xarāb konad yā sīyāh kunand, be-la‘ nat-e xodā va nefrīn-e malāyeke gereftār šavand. (11) āmīn yā rab al-‘ālamīn. har kas ke bar īn ketāb nežāre konad, šad pāre šavad (12) gar varaqī pāre konad. har ānkas be nīkī konad yād-e man, sarafrāz bādā behar anjoman. (13) va dīgar xodāmorzī be farangīs dastūr (14) fereydūn berasānand. xodāmorzī

1203 Written *rāwmišn* instead of *rāmišn*.

1204 A mistake for *rōzgār*.

1205 Written *dastwar bar*, which is a mistake.

1206 The orthography of the word *dastwar* is unusual in this colophon. It occurs in the form *dastwarwar/ dastwar-bar* [dstwbl̥].

1207 Written *nūšīrān* instead of *nūšīrvān*.

1208 A variant of *bībī*.

1209 A mistake for *nohšad o navad o noh hezār*.

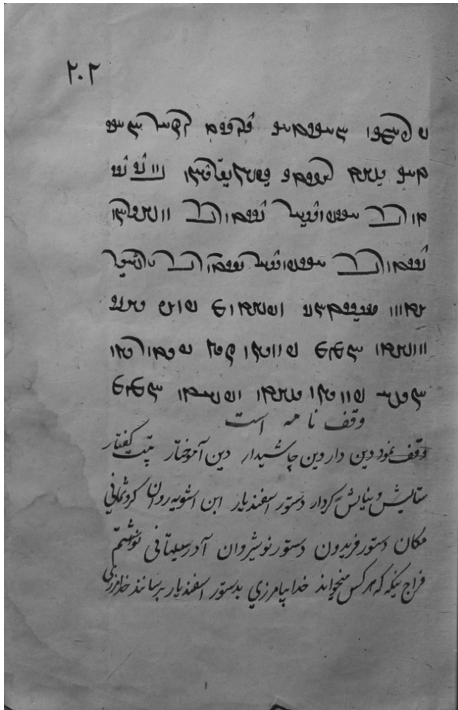


Image 188: Ms. 90, Donation note, first page

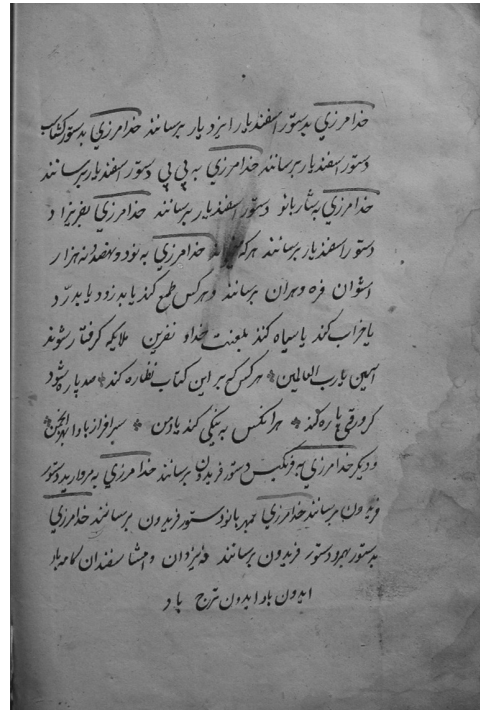


Image 189: Ms. 90, Donation note, second page

*be-mehrbānū dastūr fereydūn barasānand. xodāmōrzi (15) be-dastūr behmard dastūr fereydūn
berasānand. fe yazdān va amšāsfandān kāmē bād. (16) īdūn bād. īdūntar-i-j bād.*

‘(1) It was endowed by faithful, the religion teacher, the religion learner, the repentant speech, (2) his deeds deserve prayer and praise, Dastur Esfandyār, the son of holy soul, may his place be Garotmān, (3) Dastur Fereydūn, Dastūr Nūšīrvān Ādar Sīstān. I wrote (4) (and) launched <it> (in) goodness, in order that everybody who recites it, deliver a may-God-forgive to Dastur Esfandyār. A may-God-forgive <second page> (5) deliver a may-God-forgive to Dastūr Esfandyār Īzadyār. May s/he (also) deliver a may-God-forgive to Dastūr Goštāsb (6) Dastūr Esfandyār. May s/he (also) deliver a may-God-forgive to Bībī Dastūr Esfandyār. (7) May s/he (also) deliver a may-God-forgive to Šārbānū Dastūr Esfandyār. May s/he (also) deliver a may-God-forgive to Farīzād (8) Dastūr Esfandyār. Everybody who recites it, may deliver a may-God-forgive to the nine hundred ninety-nine thousand (9) pious Fravahrs. Anyone who would be greedy about (it), or would steal (it), or would tear it apart (10) or would destroy it or make (it) black, may be damned by the God and the angels. (11) Amen! O, God of both worlds! Everybody, who would look at this book, may (s/he) become a hundred pieces (12) if s/he tore up a paper. Everybody who would remember me in good manner, may s/he be proud everywhere. (13) And may s/he deliver a may-God-forgive to Farangīs Dastūr (14) Fereydūn. May s/he deliver a may-God-forgive to Mehrbānū Dastur Fereydūn. May s/he deliver a may-God-forgive (15) to Dastūr Behmard Dastūr Fereydūn. May it be according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān. (16) May it be so. May it be still more so!!’

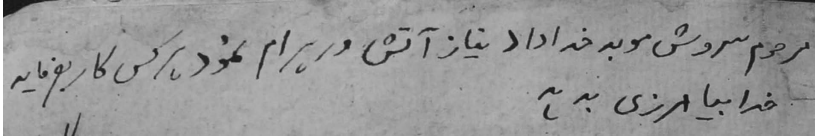


Image 190: MS.90, Donation note

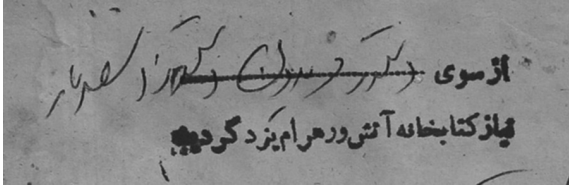
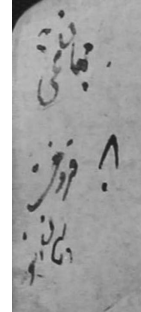
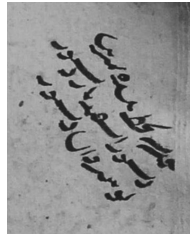


Image 191: Ms. 90, Donation note on the end paper

Image 192:
MS. 90, Sell
noteImage 193:
MS. 90,
scribe note

Donation note on page 70r of ms. 90:

- *Marhūm sorūš mūbed xodādād, nīyāz-e ātaš-e varahrām nemūd. har kas kār befarmāyad (2) xodā bīyāmorzī bedahad.*

‘(1) The deceased Sorūš Mūbed Xodādād, endowed (this manuscript) to the Varahrām Ataš. Everybody who would use it, (2) deliver a may-God-forgive (to him)!’

Donation note on the end paper of Yasnā 3:

- *Az sūy-e dastūr freydūn dastūr esfandyār; nīyāz-e ketābxāne-ye ātaš-e varahrām-e yazd gardīd.*

‘(this book) was offered by Dastūr Freydūn Dastūr Esfandyār to the library of Ataš Varahrām in Yazd.’

Note on sale on page 80r:

*jahānbaxš forūxt be pīrān*¹²¹⁰ *dastūr* ‘Jahanbaxš sold it to Dastūr Pīrān.’

Note on scribe on page 129v:

nevešte šod be-xaṭ-e bande-ye kamtarīn

dastūr esfandyār; dastūr

nūšīrvān dastūr ...

¹²¹⁰ Suggested by Abbas Zarei Mehrvarz.

‘Written by the humblest servant, Dastūr

Esfandyār, Dastūr Nūšīrvān Dastūr ...’

4.2.8. MS. 251

4.2.8.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn. abe-*(2)*stāg ud yašt abāg nērang purr yazišn baw-*(3)*ād. nibišt hom ud frāz hištom* (4) *andar rōz ī zāmyād*¹²¹¹ *az māh <ī> tūr sāl* (5) *bar ...*¹²¹² *pas az sāl ī 20 be* (6) *ōy ī yazdgerd šāhān šāh šāhryārān.* (7) *nibišt hom man ī dēn band-*(8)*ag maguvat zād-* (8)*ēh maguvat xwaršēd ebn ī ēdar ebn ī ru-*(9)*stahm kyāmu-dīn barzūr ādūrbād*¹²¹³ (10) *kaykōbād*¹²¹⁴ *māhyār, sāken- ī bandar ī mu-*(11)*bārak <ī> sūrat. nibišt hom* *<ud frāz> hištom* (12) *andar farrox būmīg mambaīg*¹²¹⁵ *az mēhr kū* (13) *nūn be dargāh <ī>* *amahraspandān ud panāhīh* (14) *ātaš warahrām be framūdēh. nēk-nām <ud> weh frazām.*

4.2.8.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare and joy and pleasure. May (this) (2) Avesta of Yašt with Nērang be (used) a lot for Yazīšn. I wrote and launched (this book) (4) on the day Zāmyād of the month Tūr, the year (5) ..., after the year 20 (6) of Yazdgerd, king of kings, the great king. (7) I wrote (it), the servant of the religion, the son of Mūbed (8) Mūbed Xwaršēd the son of Ēdar, the son of Rustahm (9) Kyām-ud-dīn Barzūr Ādūrbād (10) Kaykōbād Māhyār, the resident of the blessed (11) port Sūrat. I wrote and launched (this book) (12) in the blessed city of Bombay. Now, because of love (13) to the presence of Amahraspandān and support of (14) the Warahrām fire, (the book) was ordered. (May it be) good fame and good end.’

There is another text in Pahlavi after the Nērang, which was likely written by the scribe of the Nērang:

(1) *kāteb ī horūf, man dēn bandag kyāvos ebn ī rustahm ebn ī* (2) *šāhpūr šahryār <ī> brōčīg nibištangīh andar moqām*¹²¹⁶ *mambaīg.*¹²¹⁷

‘(1) The scribe, I, the servant of religion, Kyāvos, the son of Rustahm, the son of (2) Šāhpūr Šahryār, from Bharuch,¹²¹⁸ it was written in the city of Bombay.’

1211 Written *z ‘my’yt*.

1212 Unfortunately, the year is missing.

1213 Written *‘twr’ YHWWN’t*, namely *ādūr-bawād*.

1214 Written *kykw YHWWN’t*, namely *kaykōbawād*.

1215 Alternatively, *mombaīg*.

1216 Written *mwk’m. moqām* is an Arabic word which means ‘locality, seat’.

1217 Alternatively, *mombaīg*.

1218 Bharuch, formerly known as Broach, is a city in Gujarat in western India.

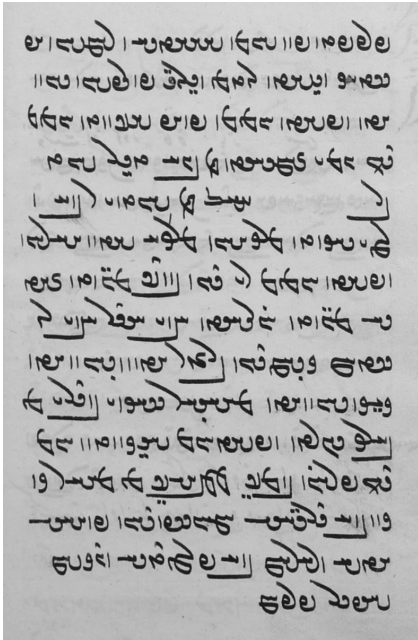


Image 194: MS. 251, Middle Persian colophon

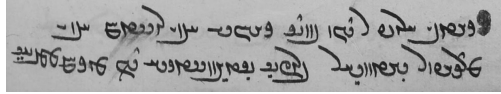


Image 195: MS. 251, Pahlavi note after Nērangs

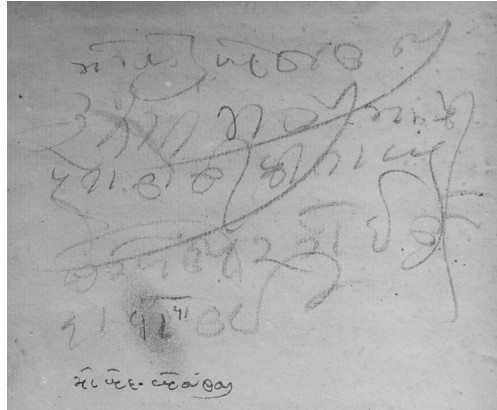


Image 196: MS. 251, Marginal notes

4.2.8.3. Marginal notes

On the end paper of the manuscript, we find an ownership note in Gujarati:

m _____ *bejanjī*

Rostamji _____ *jājī*

hate _____ *nī kītāb*

che e upar koīno

dāv(o) nai

-mobed bejanji

‘This (handwritten?) book belongs to (Mobed) Bejanji Rostamji —ji... on it no one has a claim.

- Mobed Bejanji’¹²¹⁹

1219 Transcription and translation by Kerman Daruwalla.

4.2.9. MS. 252

4.2.9.1. Marginal notes

(1) *hova*, (2) *ze-ebtedā*¹²²⁰ *dōr-e ādam tā be-‘ahd-e pādešāh* (3) *az bozorgān ‘afv būdast az forūdastān gonāh* (4) *al-‘abd bande-ye kamtarīn-e xalqollāh* (5) *šahrīyār valad-e dastūr keyxosro*, 1220 *yazdgerdī*, 1248 *hejriye*

Translation:

‘(1) He,

(2) from the beginning of mankind’s history until the (present) king,

(3) forgiveness has been (the characteristic) of the superiors and committing sin (has been the characteristic of) inferiors.

(4) The servant, the humblest of God’s creatures

(5) Šahrīyār, son of Dastūr KeyXosro, 1220 AY, 1248 Hejri’

The text of the memorial tablet of a building, written on the back-end paper of Y 252

(1) *Dar ‘ahd-e šāhanšāh-e kīyānī kolāh, jamšīd jāygāh, moẓaffar ol-dīn šāh-e qājār, xalladolāh mulkuhu*,¹²²¹ *bānī-ye īn ‘emārat xodābaxš va jamšīd, valadān-e* (2) *marḥūm mūbed keyxosro be-jaḥat-e āmorzeš-e ravān-e barādar-e nākām bahman, pūr-e mūbed xodāmorād-e behmard va hamsaraš mehrbānū mūbed bahrām. sāxte va pardāxte šod* (3) *be-jaḥat-e nešīman-e dastūrān va mūbedān. har gāh dastūrān va mūbedān ḥāẓer*,¹²²² *nabāšand jamā‘ at-e zardoštī, nešīman gozīnad* (4) *va az yazdān-e āmorzešgar, āmorzeš-e ravān-e marḥūm mūbed bahman va hamsaraš mehrbānū va mūbed keyxosro mūbed xodādād va hamsaraš farangīs mūbed xodābaxš va* (5) *mūbed ardešīr mūbed jamšīd va gohar mūbed xodābaxš va ābā va aḡdādešān xāstār āyand. nevīsande-ye dar o dīvar va xarāb konande-ye īn ‘emārat* (6) *va šekanande-ye īn loḥ be saxt-e*¹²²³ *īzadī gereftār bād. anjām yāft rūz-e xordād va farvardīnmāh-e qadīm* 1271 *yazdgerdī*, 1320 *hejri*.

‘(1) In the time of the king, (possessor of) Kīyānī crown,¹²²⁴ (the Successor of) Jamšīd, Moẓaffar ol-Dīn, the Qājār king, may God immortalize his kingdom. The founders of this building are Xodābaxš and Jamšīd, sons of (2) the deceased Mūbed Keyxosro. (They built this building) for the forgiveness of the soul of the failed brother, Bahman, son of Mūbed Xodāmorād Behmard and his wife Mehrbānū (daughter of) Mūbed Bahrām. (3) (This building) was built and prepared as a place for Dastūrs and Mūbeds. If the Dastūrs and Mūbeds aren’t present, the Zoroastrian community can use it (4) and (they would) want from the forgiver God, forgiveness of the soul of the deceased Mūbed Bahman and his wife Mehrbānū

1220 Meaning *ze ebtedā* ‘from the beginning’.

1221 The phrase *xalladolāh mulkuhu* ‘May God immortalize his kingdom’ is also found on a silver medal in memory of Moẓaffar Al-Dīn Qajar, visit to Brussel, Mint dated 1318 Hejri (1900 AD).

1222 A mistake for *ḥāẓer*.

1223 The term *saxt* is apparently used here as a synonym for *la‘nat* ‘Damn’.

1224 The Kīyānī Crown was the traditional coronation crown, made of red velvet with thousands of gems on it, and used during the Qajar dynasty (1796–1925).

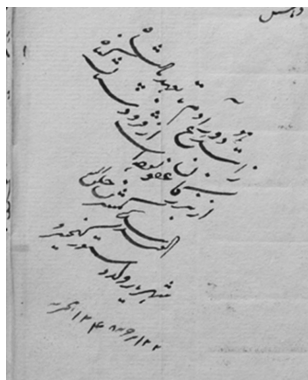


Image 197: MS. 251, A poem written by Šahrīyār son of Dastūr Keyxosro

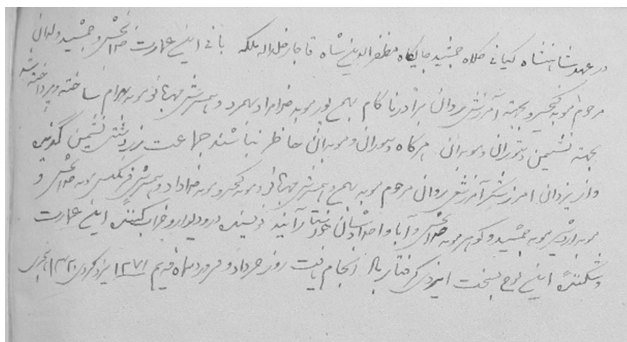


Image 198: The text of a memorial tablet of a building on the back-end paper of Y 252

and Mūbed Keyxosro Mūbed Xodādād and his wife Farangīs Mūbed Xodābaxš and (5) Mūbed Ardešīr Mūbed Ĵamšīd and Gohar Mūbed Xodābaxš and their ancestors. May God damn the writer on the door and wall (of this building) and destroyer of this building (6) and the breaker of this tablet. Completed on the Day Xordād and in the old month Farvardīn, the year 1271 Yazdgerdī, 1320 Hejṛī.¹²²⁵

4.2.10. MS 300

4.2.10.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud farroxīh rāmišn andar rōz (2) ohrmazd, mäh ī ābān, sāl bar 976, (3) pas az 20 be yazdgerd šāhānšāh man ohrmazdān man dēn (4) bandag wāhrōm marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rostan bundār (5) šāhmardān dēn-ayār nibišt hēm ud frāz (6) hišt hēm andar farroxīh būm kermān [kē tā dastwarān ud dastwarzādagān ud dēnburdārān yazišn]¹²²⁶ az bahrīh hamāy (8) xwēšīh ī xwēš rāy nibišt hēm kē tā 150 sālān (9) kār pad ahlāyīh framāyēm ud pas az 150 sālān be (10) ōy ī frazandān ud frazandzādagān husraw ī dēnburdār abes- (11) pārem har dastwar kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb (12) pačēn aziš kunād ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunand amā (13) rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw ruwānīh yād kunād ēg-(14) šān ruwān ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād, paywand pad sō-(15) šāns paywandād. ēg man rāy yād nē kunēd ayāb (16) nām ī man awestarēd u-š hamāmāl hēm pad dādwarī (17) dādār ohrmazd pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmāg (18) bawād ēdōn bawād ēdōntar bawād pad (19) kāmāgi ohrmazd xwadāy.

4.2.10.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, on the day (2) Ohrmazd, and the month Ābān in the year 976, (3) after the 20th (year) of the reign of Yazdgerd, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. I, the servant of religion, (4) Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rostam Bundār (5) Šāhmardān Dēnayār, I wrote and launched <it> (6) in glory in the region of Kerman [so

1225 The year 1902 AD.

1226 This part has been deleted.

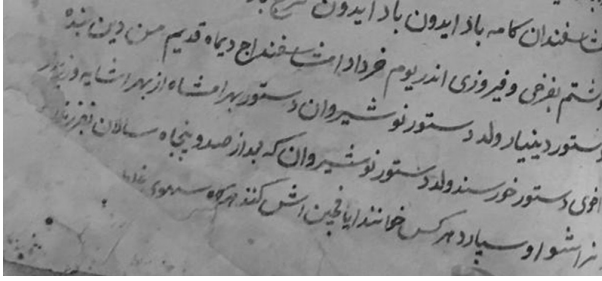


Image 199: Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39195), Persian colophon, first page

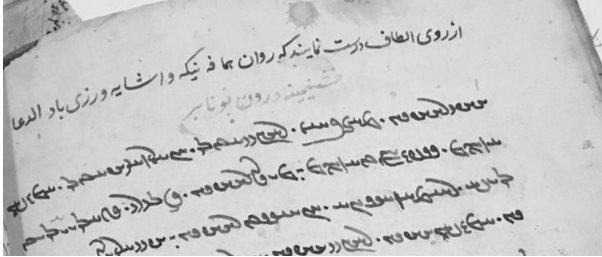


Image 200: Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39195), Persian colophon, second page

that Dastūrs and the children of Dastūrs, and the leaders of the religion perform Yazīšn with it]¹²²⁷, I wrote it for (8) my relatives, we may use it 150 years (9) with righteousness. And after 150 years, (10) I would leave <it> for the children and grandchildren of Husraw, the leader of the religion. (11) Each Dastūr who would recite <it>, or would teach <it> or (12) make a copy of it or perform Yazīšn with it, (and) would remember us (13) in good desire and piety of the soul, then (14) may he be of a pious heavenly soul in the spiritual life and may join Sošāns. (15) If he did not remember my name or (16) erased my name, I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of (17) the judge, Ohrmazd. May it be so according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān! (18) May it be so! May it be still more so (19) according to the will of Ohrmazd, God!

4.2.11. Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39195)

4.2.11.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon

(1) *neveštam be-farroxī va fīrūzī andar yōm xordād amšāsband aḡ deymāh-e qadīm, man-e dīn bande* (2) *dastūr dīnyār, valad-e dastūr nūšīrvān, dastūr bahrāmšāh, az bahr-e ašāye varzīdār* (3) *axavī dastūr xorsand valad-e dastūr nūšīrvān, ke ba'd az šad o pañjāh sālān, be-farzand[ā]ne* (4) *ašū ūspārād. har kas xānand ayā fačīn aš konand har gāh sahvī gālaḡ[ī dāšte bāšad]* <second page> (5) *az rūy-e alḡāf dorost namāyand ke ravān-e hmā¹²²⁸ fe nīke va ašāye varzī bād, al-do'ā.*

4.2.11.2. Translation of the Persian colophon

‘(1) I wrote in glory and victory, on the day Xordād Amšāsband, from the old month Dey, I, the servant of religion, (2) Dastūr Dīnyār, son of Dastūr Nūšīrvān, Dastūr Bahrāmšāh, for the pious (3) brother, Dastūr Xorsand, son of Dastūr Nūšīrvān, in order that after 150 years

¹²²⁷ This part has been deleted.

¹²²⁸ A variation/mistake of *amāh* ‘we’.

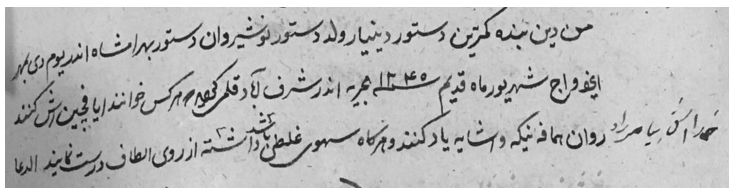


Image 201: Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39196), Persian colophon

one may entrust <it> to the (4) pious children. Anyone who would recite <it> or would make a copy of <it>, if there is an error (or) a mistake, (5) may they correct it out of kindness, in order that our soul would be in goodness and piety. Pray (for me)!'

4.2.12. Yasnā Šahrīyārī (Sig. 5-39196)

4.2.12.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon

(1) *Man-e dīn bande-ye kamtarīn, dastūr dīnyār; valad-e dastūr nūšīrvān, dastūr bahrāmšāh, andar yōm dey-be-mehr* (2) *īzad va aḡ, šahrīvar māh-e qadīm, sane-ye 1245 hejriye, andar šaraf ābād qalamī gardīd, ke har kas xānand, ayā fačīn-aš konand* (3) [in the margin added: *xodā aš bīyāmorzād*] *ravān-e hmā¹²²⁹ fe nīke va ašāye yād konand va har gāh sahvī ḡalaṭī bāšad dāšte, az rūy-e alṭāf dorost namāyand, al-do'ā.*

4.2.12.2. Translation of the Persian colophon

(1) I, the servant of religion, the humblest, Dastūr Dīnyār, son of Dastūr Nūšīrvān, Dastūr Bahrāmšāh, on the day Dey-be-Mehr (2) İzad and from old month Šahrīvar, the year 1245 Hejri, in Šaraf Ābād¹²³⁰ have written. In order that everyone who reads <it>, or makes a copy of it (3) [added in the margin: may God forgive him!], may remember us in good manner and piety, and when there is an error (or) a mistake, may correct it out of kindness. Pray (for me)!'

4.3. Visperad manuscripts

4.3.1. MS. 2007

4.3.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon, fol. 36r–37v

(1) *frazaft pad drōd šādīh ud farroxīh <ud> rāmišn andar rōz* (2) *ohrmazd māh ī abān sāl bar 976* (3) *pas az 20 bay yazdgerd šāhān ud šāh ohrmazdān. man dēn* (4) *bandag wāhrōm marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rustōm bundār* (5) *šāh mardān dēnayār nibišt ham ud frāz* (6) *hišt hom andar farroxīh būm kirmān* [effaced: *kē dastūrān* (7) *dastūr zādagān ud dēn burdārān yazišn*] *az bahrīh hamāg* (8) *xwēšīh-ē xwēš rā nibišt ham kē tā 150 sālān* (9) *kār pad ahlāyīh framāyēm ud pas az 150 sālān be <second page>* (10) *ō¹²³¹ ī frazandān ud frazand-zādagān husraw dēnburdār abes-* (11) *pārēm har dastwar-ē kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb* (12) *ud pačēn az-iš kanād¹²³² ayāb ayazišn¹²³³ pad-iš kunand amā* (13) *rāy pad nēk-nāmīh ud ahlaw*

1229 A variation/mistake of *amāh* 'we'.

1230 A variation of Šarīf Ābād. A village in Yazd province.

1231 A mistake for *ōy*.

1232 Instead of *kunād*.

1233 Instead of *yazišn*.

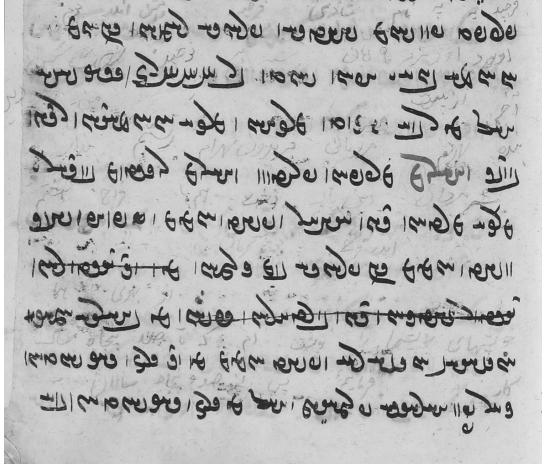


Image 202: MS. 2007,
First Middle Persian
colophon, first page

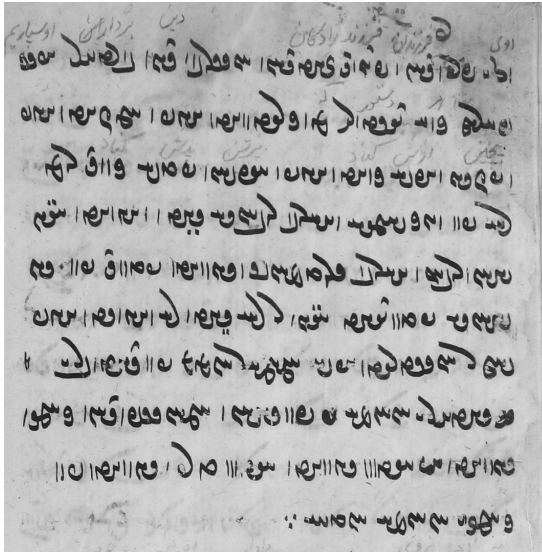


Image 203: MS. 2007,
First Middle Persian
colophon, first page

ruwānīh yād kunād, ēg-(14)šān ruwān-ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād pawand pad sō-(15)šāns paywandād. ēg-mān rāy yād nē kūnēd ayāb (16) nām <ī> man awastarēd u-š hamēmāl ham pad dadwar ī (17) dādār ī ohrmazd pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmag (18) bawād ēdōn bawād a¹²³⁴ ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād pad (19) kāmag ī ohrmazd xwadāy.

4.3.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon:

(1) Completed in welfare, joy, glory and pleasure on the day (2) Ohrmazd, the month Ābān, the year 976 (3) of the Era of the year 20 of Yazdegird, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd. I, the servant of religion, (4) Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār (5) Šāh mardān

1234 Ibid.

Dēnayār, wrote and launched (this book) (6) in the blessed place Kerman [effaced: in order that Dastūrs (7) and children of Dastūrs and the followers of the religion (perform) yazišn]. For the possession of myself (8) I wrote (this manuscript) in order to use it 150 years (9) in goodness and entrust <it> after 150 years to (10–11) the good famed and faithful children and grandchildren. And each Dastūr who would recite <it>, or would teach <it> (12) or would make a copy of it or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it, and (13) would remember us in good name and piety of the soul, (14) may he be in piety of the soul in the spiritual world and may he join Sōšāns. (15) If somebody didn't remember me (16) and erased my name, I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of (17) the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator. May it be according to the will of Yazdān and Amahraspandān. (18) May it be so! May it be still more so! May it be according (19) to the will of Ohrmazd, the God.

4.3.2. MS. 2010

4.3.2.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn ud* (2) *wuzurg urwāhmanīh nibišt hom yašt wisparēd* (3) *abestāg abāg nērang ud yazišnīg. bawād andar* (4–5) *rōz wahoman az mäh ī xwardat sāl bar 996 az 20 be yazdgerd šāhānšāh ohr-*(6) *mazdān. man dēn bandag mānōšcihr ērdēšēr ī* (7) *wāhrōm spandyār ērdēšēr nibišt ud frāz hišt* (8) *az bahrīh xwēšīh hamāg pērōzgarīh frēdōn* (9) *marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rustēm šahmardān.* <second page> (10) *ēn daftar wištāsp-yašt u* (11) *yašt vispārēt yēzišnihā* (12) *dastaōrān u hīrwiđān maōwiđ-*(13) *ān bihdaēnān i kirmān rawān ha-*(14) *mē nēmāyēnd bi bihdaēnān u tum-*(15) *āmī dastaōrān maōwiđān u yak* (16) *jīhatān daēni vahi mazdayas* (17) *nān ki dar kēšvar i hēnd u tav-*(18) *ābē sākēn h[a]nd fārēstāda* (19) *šūt. tā bē asnāi u ye[zišn]* (20) *kār farmāyēnd himāi bih-*(21) *daēnān hambahri kirpa[g] u mizdiy-*(22) *asnāi bēnd u har kē xwānād ayāb* (23) *hamōzād ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunād ayāb* (24) *pacēn az-iš kunād amā rāy pad nēk-nāmīh yād kunād* (25) *pad yazdān <ud> amahraspandān kāmāg bawād.*

4.3.2.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy, glory, pleasure and (2) great delight. I have written (3) the Avesta of the Yašt Wisparēd, with Nērang and with ritual series. It may be (4–5) in the day Wahoman and the month Xwardat and the year 996 of the era of the year 20 of Yazdegird, king of kings, son of (6) Ohrmazd. I, the servant of religion, Mānōšcihr Ērdēšēr (7) Wāhrōm Sfandyār Ērdēšēr, have written it and launched it (8) for the possession of myself and of ever-victorious Frēdōn (9) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustēm Šahmardān. (10) This book of Vištāspyašt and (11) the Yašt Wisparēd with Yazišnihā (12) Dasturs and Herbeds and Magūpads (13) Behdīns of Kerman, (14) are sending to the Behdīns and all (15) Dasturs and Magupads and (16) it has also been sent to the Zoroastrians, (17) who are inhabitants of Hindustan and (18) its surrounding areas, (19) to righteously use it in performing the Yasna ceremony, (20) and to involve all Zoroastrians (21) in acts of goodness and the religion of Mazdayasna. (22) Everybody who would recite <it>, or (23) would teach <it> or perform the Yazišn ceremony with it, (24) or would make a copy of it remember us in good name. (25) May it be according to the will of Ohrmazd, the God.

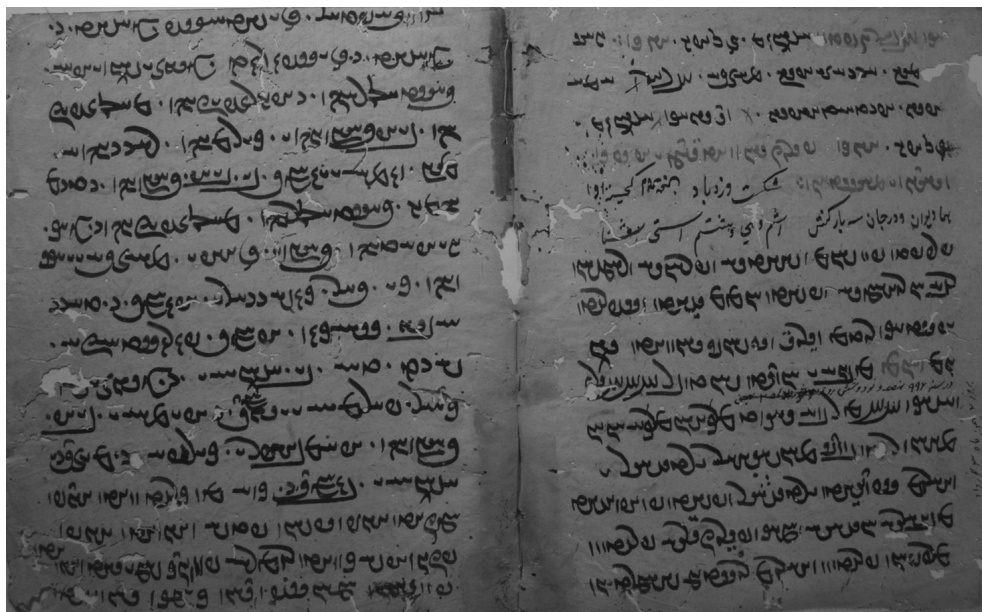


Image 204: MS. 2010, Second Middle Persian colophon

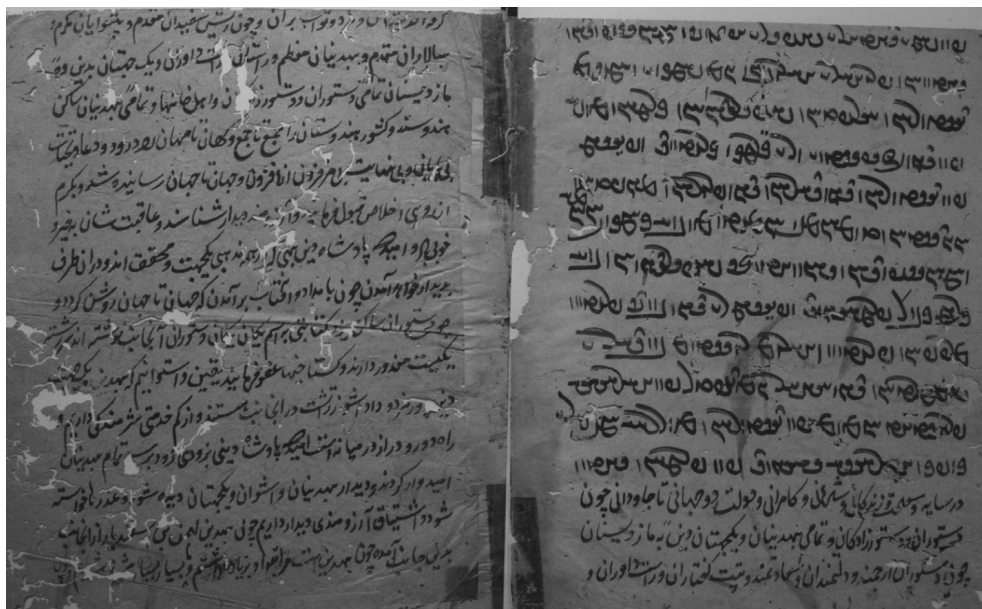


Image 205: MS. 2010, Second Middle Persian colophon, Persian colophon, first and second pages

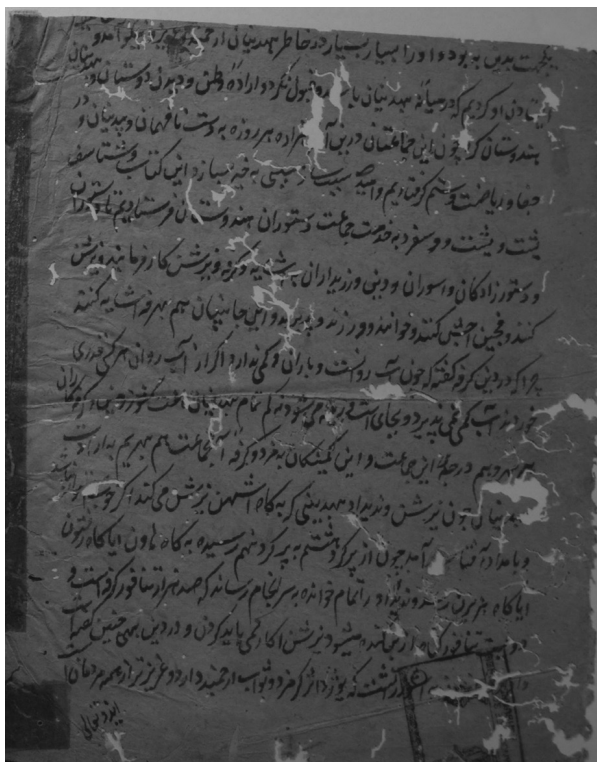


Image 206: MS. 2010, Persian colophon, third page

4.3.2.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (fol. 263v.)

(1) *pad nām ī dādār ī weh ī abzōnīg ud amahraspandān ud* (2) *yazdān ud fravahr ī ahlawān. ēn nāmag ī nāmīg az* (3) *dastwarān ud hērbadān ud wehdēnān <ī> kirman kē-š* (4) *pad dēn bājeyast ī war ī garmag xwānand nibēsēm.* (5) *pad dastwarān ud dēn-dārān dēn-parwarān ud magupadān* (6) *hindūstān, ud tumām ummēd kē bē kāmāg ī ohrmazd* (7) *ud amahraspandān bawād. ān weh-dēnān bē* (8) *karēm qabūl framāyēnd. nibēsēm man ī dēn bandag frēdōn* (9) *marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rustōm bundār ī* (10) *šahmardān dēnayār ēn daftar pad ahlāyīh* (11) *frēštād hom kē pad dastwarān kē man rāy hambahr ī* (12) *karbag ud ahlāyīh dārand pad framān ī yazad.*

4.3.2.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) In the name of the good and bountiful creator, Amahraspandān, (2) Yazads and the souls of the pious. This famous book belongs to the (3) Dastūrs, Herbeds and Behdīns of Kerman which (4) they call ‘bājeyast ī war ī garmag’ in the religion. I write it (5) for the Dastūrs, holders of the religion, promoters of the religion of (6) India. And all hope that it may be according to the will of Ohrmazd and (7) the Amahraspandān. May those people of good religion accept it (8) with benevolence. I, the servant of religion, Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustōm Bundār son of (10) Šahmardān Dēnyār, write it in righteousness and (11) sent this

book to the Dasturs, so that they make me participant of (12) the good deeds and righteousness according to the command of Yazad.’

4.3.2.5. Transcription of the Persian colophon

(1) *Dar sāye va maslahat va zendegāni va šādmānī va kāmrānī va dolat-e do jahānī tā jāvdānī* čon (2) *dastūrān va dastūrzādegān va tamāmī-ye behdīnān va yek-jahatān-e dīn be māzdayasnān* (3) *čon dastūrān-e arjmand va dolatmandān va sa’adatmand va patet goftārān va rāst dāvarān va* (4) *korfe andīšān va mozd va savāb barān va čon rīšseftdān-e moqadam va pišvāyān-e mokaram va* (5) *sālārān-e moqadam va behdīnān-e mo’azam va rāstān va rāst dāvarān va yek jahatān bedīn va* (6) *māzdayasnān, tamāmī-ye dastūrān va dastūrzādegān va ahl-e xānehā va tamāmī-ye behdīnān-e sāken-e* (7) *hend o send va kešvar-e hendūstān rā jam’ tā jam’ va kahān tā mahān be dorūd va do’ā va taḥnīyāt-e* (8) *bī pāyān va bīnahāyat ... az afzūn va jahān tā jahān rasānīde šod va be-karam* (9) *az rūy-e exlāš qabūl farmāyand va ... dīdār šenāsand va ‘aqebatešān be xeyr va* (10) *xūbī bād va omīd ke pādešāh-e dīn-e behī ke az hame maḡhabī yekjahat va moḡhaqeq and va dar ān ṭaraf* (11) *bedīdār-e ū xāhad āmadan, čon bāmdād va āftāb bar āmadan ke jahān tā jahān rošan gardad va* (12) *čon dastūrān-e sāken-e yazd ketābatī be esm-e yekān yekān-e dastūrān-e ānjāneb nevešte and sar rešte* (13) *yekīst mā’zūr dārand va gostāxīhā ‘fv farmāyand. Yaqīn va ostovānīm ke behdīn va yek jahat* (14) *dīn-e ormazd va dād-e ašū zarātošt dar ānjāneb hastand, va az kam xedmatī šarmandegī dārim va* (15) *rāh-e dūr va derāz dar miyāne ast. Omīd ke pādešāh-e dīnī bezūdī-ye zūd beresad va tamām-e behdīnān* (16) *omidvār gardand. va dīdār-e behdīnān va ašovān va yekjahatān dīde šavad va ‘ozrhā xāste* (17) *šavad va eštīyāq-e ārezūmandī-ye dīdār dārim. Čon behdīn bahman ben esfandyār az ānjāneb* (18) *bedīn jāneb āmade čon behdīn ast ... be zīyād dāštīm va besyār besyār ... dāštīm va čon* (19) *yekjahat bedīn-e beh būd va ū rā besyār besyār dar xāter-e behdīnān arjmand va bevīže nīkū āmad va ...* (20) *īstādan-e ū kardīm ke dar miyāne-ye behdīnān bāšad. Va qabūl nakard va erāde-ye vaṭan va dīdan-e dūstān va behdīnān-e* (21) *hendūstān kard. Čon īn jamā’ atān darīn ā...zāde, har rūz be dast-e nāfahmān va bī-dīnān va dar* (22) *jaḡfā va rīyāzat va setam gereftārīm va omīd ke sabab sāz, sababī be xeyr besāzad. Īn ketāb-e vaštāsf* (23) *yašt va yašt-e vesferad be xedmat-e jamā’ at-e dastūrān-e hendūstān ferestādīm, tā dastūrān* (24) *va dastūr zādegān va asūrān va dīn varzīdārān be ašāyeh va korfe va yazešn kār farmāyand va yazešn* (25) *konand va faḡjīn aḡješn konand va xānand va varzand va paḡzīrand va īnjānebān ham bahr fe ašāyeh konand* (26) *čerā ke dar dīn korfe gofte ke čon āb-e ravānast va bārān va kamī nadārad, va agar az āb-e ravān har kasī qadrī* (27) *xorand, āb kamī nemīpaḡzīrad va be jāy ast va ... mišavad va na kam. Tamām-e behdīnān-e haft kešvar ... va korfekārān* (28) *... daraḡe dar īn jamā’ at va īn kamīnagān, be mozd va korfe-ye ān jamā’ at, ham bahrīm. Be erādat-e* (29) *behdīnān, čon yazešn-e vandīdād, behdīnī ke be gāh-e ašhan yazešn mīkonad, agar xūb ostovār nabāšad,* (30) *va bāmdād, āftāb bar āmad, čon az pargard-e haštom be pargard-e nohom reside, be gāh-e hāvan yā gāh-e raftūn* (31) *yā gāh-e hazīran resad, vandīdād rā tamām xānde, be sar anjām resānad ke šad hezār tanāḡūr korfe ast va* (32) *devīst tanāḡūr gonāh az bon kande mīšavad va yazešn akār kamī bāyad kardan. Va dar dīn-e behī čenīn gofte ast* (33) *... be ašū zarātošt ke yoždāsrar mozd va savāb-e arjmand dārad va ‘azīztar az hame-ye mardomān ast. Īzad ta’ālī.*

4.3.2.6. Translation of the Persian colophon

(1) Under the auspices of wisdom, life, happiness, success, and prosperity in both worlds forever, to all (2) high priests and the descendants of high priests and all Zoroastrians and individuals who are devoted to the Mazdayasni religion, (3) and to all esteemed high priests, wealthy people, the fortunate people, those who speak the truth, as well as the just judges, and (4) good-thinkers and those deserving reward and blessings, and to all respected elders and revered leaders, (5) the prominent chiefs, the great and righteous Zoroastrians, the just judges, and those who are devoted to (6) the Mazdayasni religion and to all high priests and their descendants, the householders, and all the Zoroastrians residing in (7) India and Sindh and the land of Hindustan, are collectively and extensively blessed and congratulated (8) endlessly and boundlessly... spreading from world to world and graciously (9) accepted out of sincerity... may they be recognized, and may their outcomes be good and (10) prosperous. And hoping that the king of the good religion, who is unbiased and scholarly in all religions, and on that side, (11) their appearance is like the dawn and the rising sun, illuminating the world from one end to the other. (12) The high priests residing in Yazd have written individually in the name of each high priest there, (13) one is mentioned and forgiveness is requested. We are certain and steadfast that the good and righteous (14) religion of Ahura Mazda and the justice of the holy Zarathustra exist there, and we are ashamed of our little service, (15) and a long and difficult path lies in between. Hoping that the king of religion arrives soon and all the Zoroastrians (16) become hopeful. And the meeting of the Zoroastrians, the righteous, and the devoted to the religion is seen and their tiredness (17) is relieved and we have the eager desire to meet. When the Zoroastrian Bahman son of Esfandiyar came from there (18) to this side as a Zoroastrian... we greatly cherished and very much... appreciated, and as (19) he was devoted to the good religion, he was very much respected and especially appreciated by the esteemed Zoroastrians, and... (20) we intended that he stay among the Zoroastrians. But he did not accept and chose to return to his homeland and see his friends and the Zoroastrians of (21) Hindustan. As these communities in this..., every day are caught by the ignorant and irreligious, and in (22) oppression and hardship, we hope that a cause for good is created. (23) We have sent this book, containing the Vishtasp Yasht and the Yasht of Visperad, to the community of high priests in Hindustan. (24) This is to enable the high priests, their descendants, and all devoted and strong believers to rightly perform the Yasna ceremony with it. They are encouraged to perform with it and (25) make copies, recite, and embrace its teachings, thereby involving us in its righteousness. (26) Because it is said in the religion that good deed is like flowing water and rain and does not diminish, and if everyone drinks a little from the flowing water, (27) the water does not decrease and remains in place... and becomes sufficient and not less. All the Zoroastrians of the seven countries... and benevolent people (28) ... rank in this community and these humble ones, for the reward and good deed of that community, are also part of it. By the will of (29) the Zoroastrians, when the Yašt of Vendidad is performed by a Zoroastrian at the time of Ašhan, if it is not properly steadfast, (30) and at dawn, the sun rises, from the eighth Fragarad to the ninth Fragarad, reaches the time of Hāvan Gāh or the time of Rapithwan Gāh (31) or the time of Uzirin Gāh, completes reading the Vendidad, and concludes it so that a hundred thousand of Tanāfūr is the reward, and (32) two hundred Tanāfūr of sin are removed, and a little Yazišn must be done. And in the good religion, it is said (33) ... to the holy Zarathustra, that Yoždāsr̥gar has the highest reward and blessing and is more beloved than all people. God is exalted.

4.3.3. MS. 2030

4.3.3.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk-dahišnīh* (2) <ud> *xūb murwāg ud xujastag ī rōzgar nibišt hom abestāg ī yašt* (3) *wisparēd abāg nērang purr yazišn bawād. nibišt ud frāz hišt* (4) *hom man ī dēn bandag dastwar rustahm gōštāsp ērdēšīr gōštāsp* (5) *ērdēšīr andar rōz ī aštād ī frahīxtār az māh ī artavahišt* (6) ... *sāl bar 1000 ud 70 ud šas*¹²³⁵ *pas az sāl ī 20 be ō*¹²³⁶ (7) *yazdgerd šāhān šāh, šahryārān kē nibišt hom az bahr ī* [at margin: *nām-gānag ī wāhrōm ī rustahm gōštāsp ī ērdēšīr*] (8) *kē tā har kē xwānēd ayāb hammōzēd ayāb pačēn az-iš kunēd*, (9) *ayāb yazišnīg pad-iš kunēd, yādag amā rāy pad patēt bawēd* (10) *ruwān ī ^wāhrōm ī rustahm gōštāsp^ pad yazišn*¹²³⁷ *hambahr kunēd, tā-šān awiš āfrīn kardār* (11) *tar bawem. nibišt hom andar waxšišn ud ahlāyīh, nirfsišn*¹²³⁸ *drōj* (12) *abdīh yazdān abē-gumānīh pad astīh* <ī> *dādār ohrmazd ud* (13) [am] *ahraspandān abārīg yazdān ud wēh-dahišnān* <ud> *dēn ī wēh* <second page> (14) <ī> [mazdayast] *ān* <ud> *pēdāambarīh* <ī> *yazat fravahr ī zarduxšt spitāmān* <ī> (15) [ahlaw] *fravahr. abē-gumānīh ka ohrmazd hamāg dāmān* <ī> *xwēš* (16) [dā] *d kē awiš framān burdār bawand. pad wēhīh, rāh* (17) [namāyīg] *bawēd. amā-iz mardōmān ōy hamāg dāmān nēkīh* (18) [abāyē] *d xwāstan tā-mān ō xwēš-iz rasād xwāstanišnīg* (19) [h] *om pad xwānān* <ī> *ēn daftar kē agar pad ēn pačēn vāzag-ī* (20) [frā] *mōš bawēd ayāb wardišnīg, drust nimāyēd-šān pad* (21) *mādagwarīh be waxšad, garōdmān arzānīg bawēd.* (22) [š] *ātō. manō. vahištō. uruuqnō. čiyōn hōm* (23) [wahi] *št menišn kāmāg ruwān. tāčī. mōi. sqs.* (24) [t] *juuēm. mazdā. vaēdištō.*¹²³⁹ *ān čī man hunsandīh* (25) *kē pad dēn ī tō āgāh hom ohrmazd.*

4.3.3.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) completed in welfare, happiness, joy and pleasure, in good fate and (2) good omen, and fortunate time. I have written this Avesta of Yašt, (3) Wisparēd with the instructions, so that it would be (used) a lot for Yazīšn. I have written and launched <it> (4) I, the servant of religion, Dastūr Rustahm Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr Gōštāsp (5) Ērdēšīr, on the day Aštād, the wise, from the month Artavahišt (6) ... the year 1076 after the 20th year of <the region of> (7) Yazdgerd, king of kings, the great king, that I have written in [in margin: memory of Wāhrōm Rustahm Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr] (8) in order that everybody who would read <it> or teach it or make a copy of it (9) or perform Yazīšn with it, then (they should) remember us in forgiveness and make the (10) soul of ^Wāhrōm Rustahm Gōštāsp^ participate in the reward of Yazīšn, in order that I would praise them (11) more for that. I have written <it> for the growth of righteousness and decrease of Drōj, (12) <this book> is wonder of Yazdān, it (will be) without doubt about the existence of the Ohrmazd, the creator, and (13) Amahraspandān and other Yazads and good creations, as well as [second page] the good religion of (14) Mazda-worshippers and the prophethood of the adorable Fravahr of (15) holy Zardušt and certainly about all his creatures, (16) who are obedient to him. May (this book) be a (17) guide for goodness. We also should desire goodness for all creatures, (18) so that it reaches back to us. I ask of (19) the readers of this book, if I forgot a word in this manuscript (20) or wrote false, may they

1235 Written ŠBA, which is likely a mistake for ŠTA <šas> ‘six’.

1236 A mistake for ōy.

1237 Written ‘yžšn’!

1238 This part is similar to the colophon of BK (oder K35) and occurs rarely in other colophons.

1239 This Avestan phrase is a passage from Y46.19.

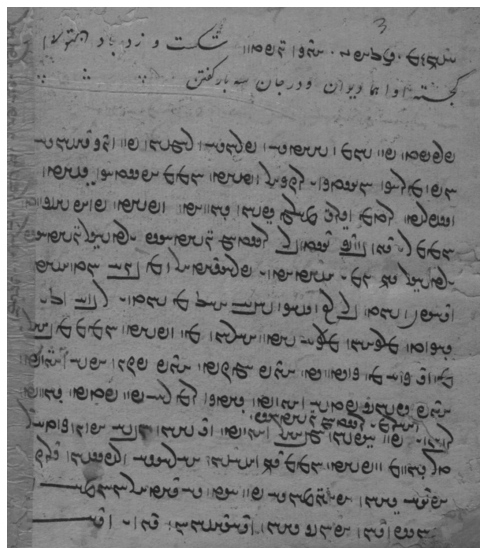


Image 207: MS. 2030, Middle Persian colophon, first page

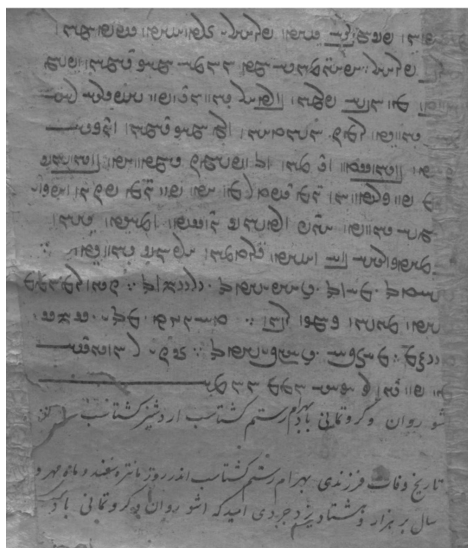


Image 208: MS. 2030, Middle Persian colophon, second page

correct it and excuse it (21) principally and may their soul reach the paradise. (22) **Happiness and the paradise soul.** So, I will be immortal and of (23–25) the paradise behavior and successful soul. What makes me satisfied is that I am aware of your religion, <O> Ohrmazd.’

4.3.4. MS. 2038

4.3.4.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

Pad nām ī dādwar ī¹²⁴⁰ ohrmazd

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn. pad nēk <ud> weh* (2) *dahišn ud xūb murwāg <ud> xūb jāstag rōzgār. abestāg ī* (3) *yašt wisparēd, abāg nērang rastag yazišnīgihā man dēn* (4) *bandag dastwar waspanyār¹²⁴¹ dastwar anūšīrān¹²⁴² dastwar waspanyār¹²⁴³* (5) *dastwar ērdšīr [ādur ī]¹²⁴⁴ sīstānīg nibišt <ud> frāz hišt pad* (6) *farroxīh <ud> pērōzīh rōz wād mäh fravardīn sāl bar* (7) *1000 ud 100 <ud> haftād¹²⁴⁵ ud panj pas az sāl ī 20 bar be* (8) *ō¹²⁴⁶ ī yazdger-* (9) *d šāhānšāh šahryārān nāfag be* (10) *ō¹²⁴⁷ ī husraw* (9) *šāhān šāh ohrmazdān nibišt ham faraj¹²⁴⁸ bahr [ī] xwēš rō¹²⁴⁹* (10) *šahr bōnū dastwar sīyāvaxš dastwar wātārbād¹²⁵⁰*

¹²⁴⁰ Written *d'tw'r'*.

¹²⁴¹ Written *wspny'r*, a Yazdi Zoroastrian Dari form of Espandyār (colloquial form).

¹²⁴² Written *'nwšyr'n'*.

¹²⁴³ Written *wspny'r*, a Yazdi Zoroastrian Dari form of Espandyār (colloquial form).

¹²⁴⁴ This part of the genealogy has not been mentioned in this colophon.

¹²⁴⁵ Written *hppt'ī'*.

¹²⁴⁶ A mistake for *ōy*.

¹²⁴⁷ A mistake for *ōy*.

¹²⁴⁸ Written *pwč*.

¹²⁴⁹ Quite uncertain. In other colophons the phrase *az bahr ī xwēšīh-e* appears.

¹²⁵⁰ A Yazdi Zoroastrian Dari variation of Ādārbād.

nibištām bahr(11)īh xwēšīh <ud> pērōzīh sēndal kē tā yazišn dastwarān ud dastwar-(12) zādagān dēn-rāyēnīdārān xwānand <ud> hammōzand <ud> yazišn pad-iš kun-(13)and, pačēn a-š¹²⁵¹ kunand amā rāy pad nēk nāmīh <ud> ahlaw-ruwān-(14)īg yād kunand, ēg-iš gētih tan husraw u-š pad kū (15) mēnōg ruwān ahlawān <ud> garōdmānīg bawād. agar nām <ī> man kē (16) nibištār hom awestarēd ayāb juddar ayāb ayād nē ku-(17)nēd kē-š awestarēd u-š gētih tan-dūsraw, pad mēnōg (18) ruwān <druwand> bawād a-š¹²⁵² hamēmāl hom. hom¹²⁵³ kē kard yād kard¹²⁵⁴

4.3.4.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare and joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate <and> good (2) omen, and blessed time, (3) <this> Avesta of Yašt Wisparēd, with Nērangs and ritual series. I, (4) the servant of the religion, Dastūr Spandyār Dastūr anūšīrān Dastūr Spandyār (5) Dastūr Ērdšīr [Ādur ī] Sīstānīg, have written and launched <it> (6) in joy and victory, on the day Vād, month Fravardīn, the year (7) 1175, after the 20th [year of the reign of] majesty (8) Yazdg-erd, king of kings, the son of Šahryār,¹²⁵⁵ descendant of Husraw, (9) king of kings, [the son of] Ohrmazd. I wrote and launched <it> for immortal soul (10) Šahrbonū Dastūr Sīyāvaxš Dastūr Wātarbād. I have written <it> for (11) the possession and success of Sēndal, so that Dastūrs and the children (12) of Dastūrs, and the leaders of the religion recite Yazīšn with it <and> teach <it> and (13) perform Yazīšn with it and make a copy <of it>, and remember us in good name and in pious soul (14). Then may they be of a good-famed body in the material world and a pious heavenly (15) soul in the spiritual life and their place be the paradise. If somebody wiped my name, I who am (16) the scribe, or removed <it>, or (17) didn’t remember and erased <it> may he be of ill-famed body in this world, and of (18) ashamed soul in the spiritual world and I would be accuser’¹²⁵⁶

4.3.4.3. Transcription of the Persian colophon

Pad nām ī dādār ohrmazd [in Middle Persian]

Yazdgerdīye sane-ye 1179, hejriye sane-ye 1225.

(1) nevešte šod be-xaṭ-e haqīr-e faqīr; bande-ye dastūr esfandyār dastūr nūšerwān dastūr esfandyār dastūr esfandyār¹²⁵⁷ dastūr (2) [ar]dešīr dastūr ādar sīstānī. neveštām farāj haštām fe nīkī, rāmišn va xoš¹²⁵⁸ az barā-ye firūzgar¹²⁵⁹ farzand[ā]n ... (3) [šahr]bānū dastūr sīyāvaxš dastūr ādarbād va ū vaqf nemūd az barāye farzandī <va> xīš-e dastūr sīyāvaxš (4)

1251 An abbreviation of *az-iš*.

1252 A mistake for *u-š*.

1253 This part is uncertain. At this passage, we expect the phrase *pad hanjaman ī īsadwāstarān ī zarduštān*. If the second *hom* [HWEwm] is a misreading of *hanjaman*, the word after *kē* could be a misreading of *zarduštān*.

1254 This part is uncertain. Maybe the scribe misread this part of the original copy and reproduced the phrase *pad hanjaman-e zardōštān* in this form. In other colophons at this passage, we find *pad hanjaman ī īsadwāstarān ī zarduštān*. If this theory is correct, the end part of the colophon means ‘in the presence of the assembly of <Īsadwāstarān> of Zardušt.’

1255 Šahryārān could also mean ‘great king’.

1256 The last part is uncertain, see also footnote 13.

1257 Dastūr Esfandyār is repeated, which is a mistake. The Middle Persian colophon provides us with the correct genealogy.

1258 A mistake for *xošī*.

1259 A mistake for *firūzgarī-ye*.

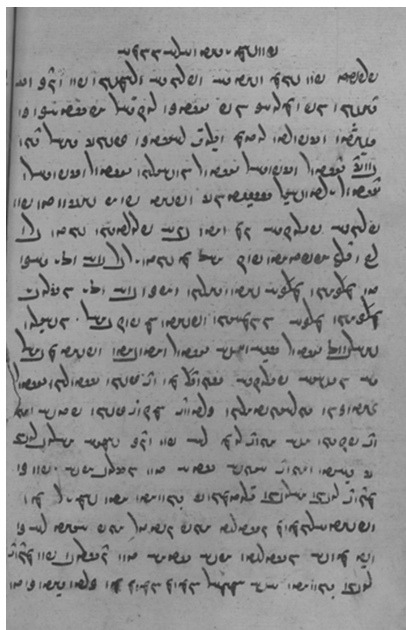


Image 209: MS. 2038, Middle Persian colophon

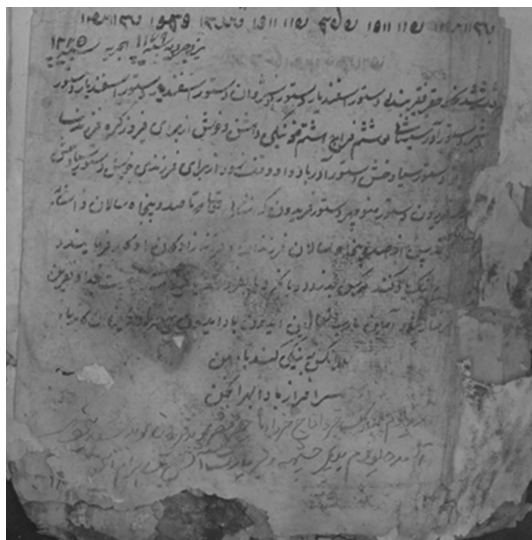


Image 210: MS. 2038, Persian colophon

dastūr fereydūn dastūr manūchehr dastūr fereydūn ke enšāllāh ta'ālā tā šad o panjāh sālān fe ašāye (5) *va pas az šad o panjāh sālān farzandān va farzandādegān-e ū kār farmāyand va* (6) *marā nīk yād konand. har kas bedozdad va yā bexarad, yā beforūšad yā ṭama' konad be-la' nat-e xodā va nefrīn* (7) *gereftār šavad. āmīn yā rab al-'ālamīn. eydūn bād, eydūn tar bād, [be yazdān kām]¹²⁶⁰ bād*

(8) *har ān-kas be nekī konad yād-e man*

(9) *sarafrāz bādā be-har anjoman*

4.3.4.4. Translation of the Persian colophon

‘In the name of Ohrmazd, the creator

The Yazdgerdi year 1179, The hejri year 1225.

(1) It is written by me, the humble and poor servant, Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Nūšerwān Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr (2) [Ar]dešīr Dastūr Ādar Sīstānī. I have written and launched <it> in goodness, in pleasure and joy for the success of the children of (3) [Šahr]bānū Dastūr Sīyāvaxš Dastūr Ādarbād. And she donated it to the child and relatives of Dastūr Sīyāvaxš (4) Dastūr Fereydūn Dastūr Manūchehr Dastūr Fereydūn. May he, if God, the great will, use it for 150 years in goodness and (5) after 150 years entrust it to the children and grandchildren (6) and may they remember me in goodness. Anyone who would steal or purchase or sell the manuscript or would be greedy <about it>, may [s/he] be cursed by God.

¹²⁶⁰ Quite uncertain.

(7) Amen, O, God of two worlds. May it be so! May it be still more so! May it be according to the will of God.

(8) Everybody who remembers me in good manner,

(9) may s/he be proud in every assembly!’

4.3.5. MS. 2040

4.3.5.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk* (2) *dahišn ud xūb murwāg <ud> xūb jastag <ī> rōzgār, abestāg yašt <second page>* (3) *wisparēd, jūd nērang rastag ī yazišn dādār ...*¹²⁶¹ (4) *aspanyār dastwar anūšīrwān dastwar aspanyār wāhr[ōm]* (5) *ardšīr ādur sīstānīg nibišt <ud> frāz hišt pad farrox[īh ud]* (6) *pērōzīh rōz dēn māj ādur sāl bar 1000 ud 100 ud haštād ud 2 pas* (7) *az sāl ī 20 be ō*¹²⁶² *ī yazdgerd šāhānšāh šahryārān nāfag* (8) *be ō*¹²⁶³ *ī husraw šāhān šāh ohrmazdān nibištēm frāz* (9) *tā dastwarān ud dastwarzādagān dēn-rāyēnīdārān xwānand <ud> hammōz-*(10) *and <ud> yazišn pad-iš kunand, pačēn a-š kunand amā rāy pad nēk* (11) *nāmīh <ud> ahlawānīh ruwānīh yād kunand, ēg-iš gētīh tan ...*¹²⁶⁴

4.3.5.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare and joy and glory and pleasure, in good (2) fate <and> good omen, and blessed time, <this> Avesta of Yašt Wisparēd, apart from Nērangs and ritual series... [I], (4) Aspanyār Dastūr Anūšīrān Dastūr Aspanyār Wāhr[ōm] (5) Ardšīr Ādur Sīstānīg, have written and launched <it> in joy and (6) victory, on the day Dēn, month Ādur, year 1182, after (7) the 20th [year of the reign of] majesty Yazdgerd, king of kings, the son of Šahryār, (8) descendant of Husraw, king of kings, [the son of] Ohrmazd. I wrote and launched <it> (9) so that Dastūrs and the children of Dastūrs, and the leaders of the religion recite <and> (10) teach <it> and perform the Yazīšn ceremony with it and make a copy <of it>, and remember us in good (11) name and in pious soul. Then may they be of a [good-famed] body in the material world ...’

4.3.5.3. Transcription of the Persian colophon

(1) [*nevešte šod*] *be-xaṭ-e faqīr-e ḥaqīr, dastūr esfandyār dastūr nūšerwān dastūr* (2) [*ar*] *dešīr dastūr ādar sīstānī. neveštam farūj haštam fe ašāyeh, xorameh va* (2) *fīrūzeh rūz-e dey fe ādar, ādar māj-e qadīm, yazdgerdīyeh sane-ye 1182 hejryeh sane-ye 1228. fe yazdān kāmē bād.*

(3) *sepāsam bedān īzād-e nīknām*
ke gardīd īn daftār-e mā tamām
har ānkas bexānad be-šedq o dorost

(4) *ke mā rā be nīkī konad yād vost*
har ānkas be nīkī barad yād-e man
be nīkī sezavār dar anjōman

1261 The corner of the paper is missing, and the text cannot be read.

1262 A mistake for ōy.

1263 A mistake for ōy.

1264 The colophon ends here and the Persian colophon begins.

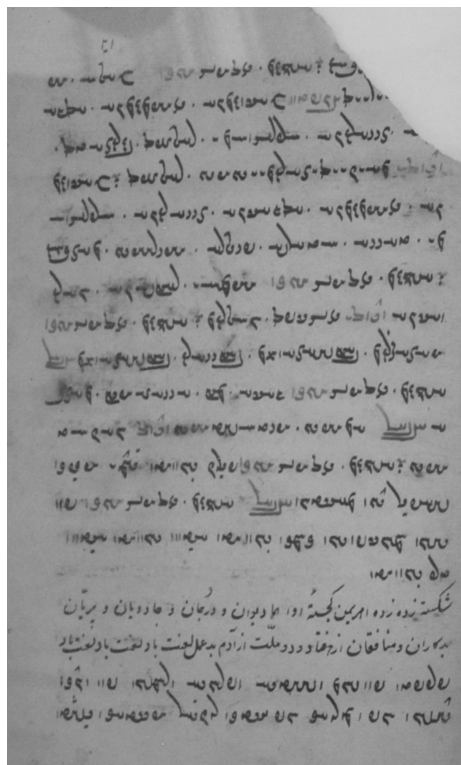


Image 211: MS. 2040, Middle Persian colophon, first page

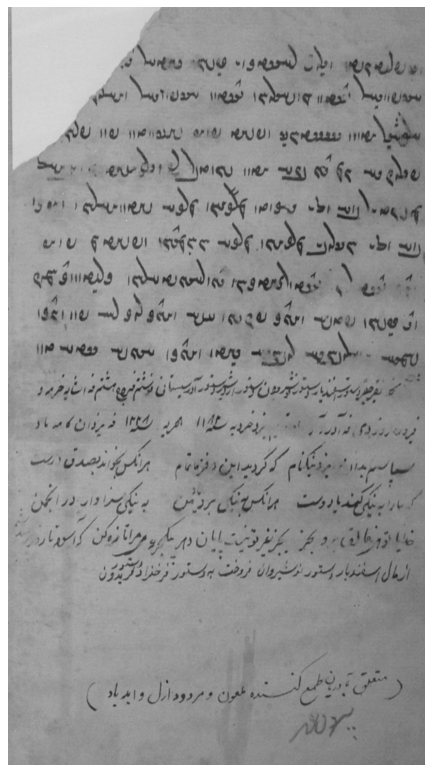


Image 212: MS. 2040, Second page of the Middle Persian colophon, first page of the Persian colophon

(5) *xodāyā toyī xāleq-e bar o baḥr*
be joz xeyr-e tō nīst pāyān-e dahr
 ... *marā tāze kon*
ke āsūde tā rūz-e ...

(6) *az māl-e esfandyār dastūr nūšīr-wān forūxt be dastūr farroxzād dastūr fereydūn*

4.3.5.4. Translation of the Persian colophon

‘(1) It is written by me, the poor and humble, Dastūr Esfandyār Dastūr Nūšerwān Dastūr (2) Ardešīr Dastūr Ādar Sīstānī. I have written and launched (it) in goodness, in joy and success, on the day Dey, the month Ādar, the old month Ādar, the year 1182 Yazdgerdi and the year 1228 Hejri. May it be according to the will of God.

(3) I give thanks to God for the good repute,
 for my book has now been completed.
 To everyone who reads it correctly and with honesty,

(4) and who remembers our Avesta with kindness,
 and to everyone who remembers me kindly,

may they be remembered kindly in every community.

(5) O God, You are the creator of earth and sea!

Life has no end except for Your goodness.

Please renew my ...

so that I may be at peace until the ... day

(6) It belongs to Esfandyār Dastūr Nūšīrwān, who sold (it) to Dastūr Farroxzād Dastūr Fereydūn.’

4.3.6. MS. 2109

4.3.6.1. Marginal notes

According to the Pahlavi introduction at the beginning of the manuscript, the text is abestāg yašt visparēd, that is, a Yasnā Visperad.

On the outer margin of page 41r, the following verse from Ḥāfeẓ appears:

<i>na dolat-e donyā be setam mī-arzad</i>	Neither is the rulership of the world worth the cost of oppression,
<i>na leẓat-e¹²⁶⁵ hasī be alam mī-arzad</i>	nor is the joy of existence worthwhile in the face of its pain.
<i>na haft-hezār sāle šādī-ye jahān</i>	Not even seven thousand years of joy in this world
<i>bā¹²⁶⁶ meḥnat, panj¹²⁶⁷ rūze ǧam mī-arzad</i>	can outweigh the suffering of five days of sadness.
<i>kamtarīn xosro dastūr bahman</i>	I am the humblest Xosro, Dastūr Bahman

On the outer margin of page 48r, the following notes appear:

- *Bande-ye kamtarīn* ‘I, the humblest servant ...’
- *Goštāsb ardešīr andar r[ūz]* ‘Goštāsb Ardešīr on (the day).’
- *Tāstar īzad mehr māh-e q[adīm]* ‘Tir Īzad, the [old] month Mehr.’
- *Sāl bar hezār haštā[d]* ... ‘the year 108[?].’
- *Yazdgerdi sane-ye 1109¹²⁶⁸* ‘Yazdgerdi era, the year 1109.’

On the outer margin of page 50v, the following note appears:

- *Vafāt-e dastūr bahrām dastūr mehrabān be-tārīx-e rūz-e āzar īzad aǧ ābānmāh-e qadīm 1193*
‘the death date of Dastūr, Bahrām, Dastūr Mehrabān, on the day Azar Īzad, the old month Aban, the year 1193.’

1265 This is written *lezat* لزت, which is a mistake.

1266 In Hafez’s collection of poems, *in* ‘this’.

1267 In Hafez’s collection of poems, *haft* ‘seven’.

1268 Or 1159.

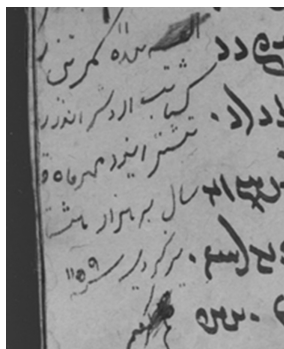


Image 213: MS. 2109, Outer Margin

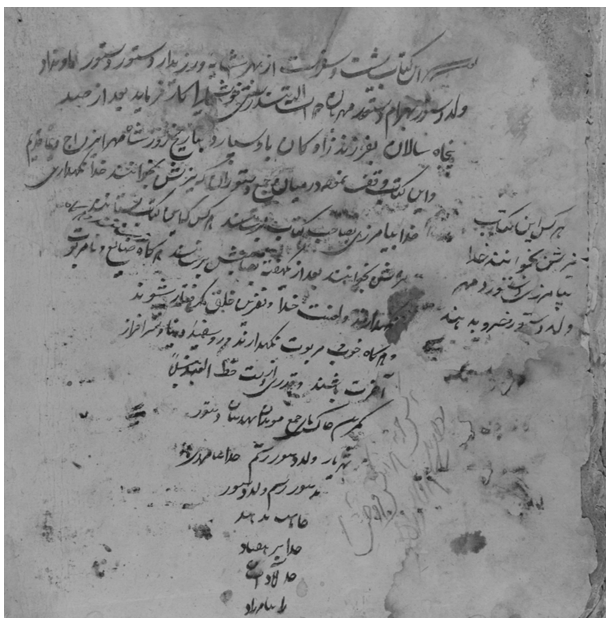


Image 214: MS. 2109, Outer Margin

xodāyā, xodāvand-e jān āfarīn!
ravānaš ravān kon behešt-e barīn.
...čēnīn būd az sarnevešt
ke rūz-e xošī ū ravad dar behešt
xodāyaš nabūd raḥmat-e īzādī¹²⁶⁹
bīyamorzād¹²⁷⁰ ...¹²⁷¹
afsūs kardan¹²⁷²
dastūr¹²⁷³ behmar(d)ān¹²⁷⁴

O God, the life-creating God!
 Send his soul to the supreme paradise!
 Such was his fate:
 To enter paradise on a day of joy.
 Should he lack God's mercy,
 May blessings ensue...
 Regrets...
 Dastūr Behmardān...

On page 109r, a birth date appears:

- *Motavaled šodan-e fereydūn mūbed faroxzād¹²⁷⁵ andar yōm-e aštād īzad ordībehešt māh 1262 yazdgerdī*
 'The birth of Fereydūn Mūbed Faroxzād, on the day Aštād Īzad, the month Ordībehešt, the year 1262 AY.'

1269 The meaning of this part is not clear.

1270 Uncertain.

1271 This part is incomplete.

1272 Uncertain.

1273 Uncertain.

1274 Uncertain.

1275 Uncertain. This part has been altered.

On page 172r, the newer part of the manuscript with Nērangs in Persian, we find the following verses:

šenīdam ke jamšīd-e farrox-serešt

I heard that Jamshid, the blessed-natured one,

*be sar češme-ye sang bar, bar nevešt*¹²⁷⁶

wrote on a stone on a fountain:

basā tūr o deymāh o ordībehešt,

Maybe when Tūr, Dey or Ordībehešt

bīyayad ke mā xāk bāšīm o xešt

come, we will be soil and clay.

... *bande-ye kamtarīn fereydūn [bahman] mūbed rostam jamšīd andar yōm sorūš ašū*

The humblest servant, Fereydūn [Bahman] Mūbed Rostam jamšīd, on the day holy Sorūš,

Faraj farvardīn īzad 1322 hejriyeh

blessed Farvardīn, īzad, 1322 Hejri

4.3.6.2. Transcription of the Persian colophon

The end paper of the manuscript contains a New Persian colophon:

(1) *īn ketāb yašt-e vesfaret az bahr-e ašāyeh varzīdār, dastūr dastūr māvandād* (2) *valad-e dastūr bahrām dastūr mehrabān. Enšāllāh tandorostī xoštī rā kār farmāyad. baʿd az šad [o]* (3) *panjāh sālān be farzandzādegān be-ūspārad. be-tārīx-e rūz-e šāh mehr īzad aḡ deymāh-e qadīm* (4) *va īn ketāb vaqf nemūd dar mīyān-e jamʿ-e dastūrān ke yazeš bexānand, xodānegahdārī,* (5) *xodābīyāmorzī be-šāheh-e ketāb berasānand. har kas ke īn ketāb besetānand,* (6) *yazišn bexānand, baʿd az yek-hafte be-šāheh-aš beresānand. har gāh ^naresānand va har gāh ^žāye va nāmarbūt*¹²⁷⁷ (7) *negahdārand, va*¹²⁷⁸ *laʿnat-e xodā va nefrīn-e xalq gereftār šavand!* (8) *va har gāh xūb va marbūt*¹²⁷⁹ *negahdārand va rūsefid-e donyā va sarafrāz-e* (9) *āxerat bāšand. va qadrī az dast xat-e al-aʿbd, bande-ye* (10) *kamtarīn, xāk-e pāy-e jamʿ-e mūbedān, behdīnān. dastūr* (11) *šahryār, valad-e dastūr rostam. xodā bīyāmorzī* (12) *be-dastūr rostam, valad-e dastūr* (13) *jāmāsb bedahand.* (14) *xodā bar haftād* (15) *jad-e ōlād-e*¹²⁸⁰ *īšān* (16) *rā bīyāmorzād.*

4.3.6.3. Translation of the Persian colophon

‘(1) This Visperad book is written for the righteousness of Dastūr Dastūr Māvandād, (2) the son of Dastūr Bahrām Dastūr Mehrabān, ... of God. May he use it in good health and pleasure and pass it down to his grandchildren after 150 years (3). The date is the day of Šāh Mehr īzad, in the old month of Dey. (4) He has bequeathed this book to the Dastūrs, so they may perform Yazišn with it, and convey may-God-protect-him and (5) may-God-forgive-him blessing to the owner of the book. Anyone who borrows this book (6) to perform the Yazišn ceremony should return it to the owner after one week. If they fail to do so, or if they damage it (7) or mishandle it, may they be cursed by God and people. (8) If they treat it with care, may

1276 A mistake for *be sar-češme ī bar be sangī nevešt*. The first two lines are from Saʿdi.

1277 A mistake for *nāmarbūt*.

1278 It seems that in this colophon, the conjunction *va* sometimes functions as a comma.

1279 A mistake for *marbūt*.

1280 Quite uncertain.

they enjoy good fortune in this world and take pride in (9) the world hereafter. The following are excerpts from the writings of the humblest servant, (9) the dust beneath the feet of all the Dastūrs, and Behdīnāns, Dastūr (10) Šahryār, the son of Dastūr Rostam. May they send God's forgiveness (11) to Dastūr Rostam, the son of Dastūr (12) Jāmāsb. May God forgive seventy (13–14) generations of their ancestors.

On the right side of the Persian colophon, we find this sentence:

- *har kas in ketāb-e yazišn bexānand*¹²⁸¹ *xodāmorzī dastūr damhar valad-e dastūr xosro bedahand.*

‘Everybody who recites this book of Yazišn, may deliver God-forgiveness to Dastūr Damhar, the son of the Dastūr Xosro.’

4.4. *Wištāsp Yašt manuscripts*

4.4.1. MS. 5020 (K4)¹²⁸²

4.4.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud farroxīh ud rāmišn pad nēk-dahišnīh* <ud> *xūb murwāg* (2) *xujastag ī rōzgār abestāg* <ī> *wištāsp yašt ud yazišn* [abāg nērang ī] *rāstīg*¹²⁸³ *ud yazišnīgīhā.* *man dēn-bandag* (3) *dastwar wēhmard frēdōn wēhmard frēdōn wēhmard*¹²⁸⁴ *gōpadšā Rostam bundār šahmardān dēnyār* (4) *nibištōm frāz hištōm az pačēn* <ī> *daftar ī wāhrōm marzbān frēnōn*¹²⁸⁵ *Rostam bundār* (5) *kē-š az bahr* <ī> *xwēšīh* <ī> *xwēš nibištāg būd* *ō*¹²⁸⁶ *az pačēn* <ī> *daftar ī husraw-šāh* (6) *anōšag-ruwān Rostam nibištāg būd. kē-šān hamē ruwān pad* *ō*¹²⁸⁷ *ān ī pahlom ax[w]ān* (7) *rōšnīh garōdmān rasād. man kē nibištōm az bahr* <ī> *xwēšīh* <ī> *hamē pērgōzar ī wuzurg-zādag ī* (8) *wēh-dēnān* <ī> *kišwar* <ī> *ērān xānīg, ohrmazdyār ēbn ī firdōs ī barēn āšyān, šahryār* (9) *ī qarīb*¹²⁸⁸ *ud xwāhar-zādag u-š jamšēd ēbn ī ruwān-wahištīg-iyād, kaykōbād* <ī> *yazdīg* (10) *kē tā magōpadān ud dastwarān ud hērbedān ī kišwar ī handawān dar bandar ī mubārak ī sūrat ud pad* (11) *ahlāyīh kār framāyēnd ud pad rāh* <ī> *dēn ī wēh ī mazdayastān nām-gānag waqf bawād ud* (12) *kē har kas yazišn pad-iš kunād nēk nāmī[h] ud ahlaw-ruwānī[h] yād* <ī> *ohrmazdyār ud jamšēd* (13) *ī framūdār ras[ān]ād pad kirbag ud mizd* <ī> *ahlāyīh ham-bahr kunād. ēg kas-īg ēn* (14) *daftar rāy bar rāh* <ī> *dēn* <ī> *dastwarān kē yazwānišn*¹²⁸⁹ *kunand ayāb pačēn az-iš kunand maxwftīg* (15) *dārād, pad tan rēman* <ud> *pad ruwān druwand bawād. ēdōn bād ud ān nar ī ahlaw kē ēn* (16) *daftar xwānād ayāb hammōzād ayāb yazišn pad-iš kunād ayāb pačēn az-iš kunād amā rāy* (17) *pad nēk nāmī ud ahlaw-ruwānīg yād kunād ud ēg-iš gētīh tan husraw pad mēnōg ruwān* (18) *ahlaw bawād. ēg nām ī man* <ī> *nibištār ud ān wuzurg zādagān framūdār*

1281 An interesting characteristic of this colophon is the use of a plural verb with *har kas*. In Persian, this pronoun is always used with a singular verb.

1282 The colophon of this manuscript has been published in Unvala (1940: 123–127, colophon no. 122a).

1283 A mistake for or a variant of *rastag*.

1284 This should be omitted.

1285 A mistake for *frēdōn*.

1286 A mistake for *ōy* ‘he’.

1287 A mistake for *ōy* ‘he’.

1288 Written [qlyyb].

1289 A mistake for *yazišn*. Written [yzb’nwšn].

rāy awastarēd (19) *ayāb yād nē kunēd ayāb juddar kunēd u-š pad gēth tan dusraw ud pad mēnōg ruwān* (20) *druwand bawād u-š hamēmāl hom pad dādwar dādār ī ohrmazd pad hanjaman ī tsadwāstar* (21) *ī zarduštān andar farroxīh ud pērōzīh rōz* <ī> *mubārak* <ī> *wahoman az mäh* <ī> *farrox wahoman sāl bar ēk hazār* (22) <ud> *nawad* <ud> *dō*¹²⁹⁰ <ī> *yazdgerd šāhān šāh ī šahryārān. nāfag be dō*¹²⁹¹ *ī husraw ī* (23) *šāhān šāh* <ī> *ohrmazdān nipištāg šud andar kišwar ī ērān be šahr* <ī> (24) *kirmān. aēuuō. pəntā. yō. ašahe.* (25) *ēk ast rāh* <ī> *ahlāyīh* <ud> *abārīg ān ī jud-rāh. šātō. manō.* (26) *vahištō. uruuqnō. šād ān tan kē-š warzīd ruwān ī xwēš. čand* (27) *ahy mēnōg-ē dastwar ī čadrōg-mayān wištāspān be rasād ud dēn rawāg* <ud> *dēn* (28) *burdārān šān az dēn nekīh rasād har kas pad kāmāg ī xwēš tuwān bawād* (29) *zīwistan. nōit. ahmi. zazuša. yō. nōit. urune. zazuša.* (30) *nōit. čahmi. zazuša. nē-š čīs grift kē-š ne ruwān* (31) *grift tā nūn-iz nē čīs gīrēd kē nē ruwān grift. naēčīs.* (32) *iōa. zaraθuštra. siš.*¹²⁹² *yaθa. hīm. ādare mašiiāka.* (33) *ēg-iš az dēwān sūd nē bawēd spitiāmān zardušt ud nē-z az ān ī wadag* (34) *mardōm. čē agar šān pad bun sūd bawād,*¹²⁹³ *ēg šān sar zyān bēd ud ēdōn* (35) *bawād ēdōntar bawād pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmāg bawād, ud pērōz bawād xwarrah* <ī> *abēzag* (36) *ī wēh dēn* <ī> *mazdyastān.*¹²⁹⁴

4.4.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy, glory, pleasure and in good fate and good omen, (2) and blessed time, the Wištāsp Yašt and Yazīšn with Nērangs and ritual series. I, the servant of religion, (3–4) Dastūr Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard Frēdōn Gōpadšā Rostam Bundār Šahmardān Dēnyār wrote and launched it from a copy of the manuscript of Wāhrōm Marzbān Frēnōn Rostam Bundār, (5) who had written it for his own possession and written from a copy of the manuscript of Husraw-šāh (6) Anōšag-ruwān Rostam. May their souls reach that best world, (7) the shining paradise. I wrote <it> for the possession of the ever-victorious, of a noble family (8) among Behdīns, residing in the country of Iran, Ohrmazdyār son of Šahryār (9) son of *unknown*¹²⁹⁵, may he be resided in the supreme paradise, and his sister’s son Jamšēd, son of Kaykōbād, may he be remembered as having a soul worthy of the paradise, from Yazd. (10) So that the Mūbeds and Dastūrs and Hērbeds of the land of the Indians in the blessed port of Surat, (11) may use <it> with righteousness and may it be the endowment in the path of the good religion of Mazda-worshippers (12) that when anyone celebrates the Yazīšn ceremony with it, may they remember Ohrmazdyār and Jamšēd for good fame and for the pious soul, (13) may they make (them) participate in good deed and the reward of righteousness. If somebody conceals this (14) book from the way of Dastūrs of the religion, who celebrates the Yazīšn ceremony (with it) or makes a copy of it, (15) may he be impure in body and sinful in soul. May it be so! And that pious man who (16) recites this book, or teaches or celebrates Yazīšn with it, or makes a copy of it and remember us (17) in good fame and pious soul may he be of good famed body in the material world and of pious soul in the

1290 Written [TLYN].

1291 A mistake for *ōy*.

1292 A mistake for *sūs*.

1293 A mistake for *bawēd*.

1294 A variant of *mazdayasnān*.

1295 The term *qarīb* قَرِيب, read by Unvala (1940: 126, footnote no. 2) and translated as ‘relation’, seems out of context. It’s more plausible that the term is actually *garīb* غَرِيب. This adjective frequently appears in religious contexts, generally in reference to a holy person who has died or been killed in anonymity and solitude. The term serves as an expression of empathy for the deceased individual. Given this usage, it seems unlikely that *garīb* would form part of a personal name.

spiritual world. (18) If somebody erases my name, I who am the scribe, and (the name) of those nobles, the patrons (of this book) (19) or (if s/he) does not remember or remove (them), may s/he be of notorious body in the material world and of sinful soul in the spiritual world. (20) And I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the presence of the judge, Ohrmazd, the creator, and in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstarān, (21–22) of Zardušt. In joy and victory, on the blessed day Wahoman, from the blessed month Wahoman, the year 1092, from Yazdgerd, king of kings, the great king, the descendant of Husraw, (23) king of kings, son of Ohrmazd, was written in the country of Iran, in the city of (24) Kirmān. **There is only one way and that is of the righteousness.** (25) There is only one way of the pious and the other ones are heresy. Happiness and the (26) paradise soul. He would be glad in body, who would improve his soul. May (27) he reach as soon as possible, Dastūr of the spiritual world Čihromayān, son of Wištāsp! May the religion spread and may the followers (28) of the religion attain goodness through religion. May everyone be able to live according to his desire. (29–31) S/he has not won anything who has not won (anything) for her/his soul and also now, s/he does not win anything, who does not win anything for her/his soul. And, (32) **O, Spitāmān Zartušt, there is no benefit from the evil men.** (33) Furthermore, there is no benefit from demons, O, Spitāmān Zartušt and no benefit from the bad (34) men. Because if there is benefit (for) them in the beginning, then in the end there is injury (for) them. (35) May it be so. May it be still more so. May it be according to the desire of God and Amahraspandān. May the glory of the holy (36) and good religion of Mazda-worshippers be victorious!

4.4.1.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon¹²⁹⁶

(1) *Man ī dēn bandag jāmāsb hakīm ī ardēšīr anōšag-ruwān ū-m ēn daftar ī wištāsp-* (2) *yašt ū-m dīd ū-m pasandīd ud ū-m āfrīn kard bar nibištār ud framūdār: be framūdag ī* (3) *dastwar ī abēzag-xūm*¹²⁹⁷ *wēhmard nibištār <ī> daftar ān wuzurg-zādag framūdār <ī> daftar ēn frazaft* (4) *nibišt hom. ōmēd dārom kē har kē xwānād amā rāy pad nēk-nāmī ahlaw-ruwānī* (5) *yād kunād. pad dādār ohrmazd kāmag bawād. [In Persian] ēdōn bād.*

4.4.1.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) I, the servant of religion, Jāmāsb Hakīm Ardēšīr Anōšag-ruwān saw this book of Wištāsp (2) Yašt and liked it and bestowed praise to the scribe and patron (of this book). (3) I wrote this colophon with the command of Dastūr, the holy nature, Wēhmard, the scribe of this book and that noble patron of this book. (4) I hope that everybody who recites this book, may remember us in good fame and pious soul. (5) May it be according to the desire of Ohrmazd. May it be so!’

4.4.2. MS. 5040

4.4.2.1. Transcription of the first Persian colophon

(1) *Nevešte šod be-dast-e bande-ye kamtarīn behzād* (2) *dastūr mehrabān dar rūz-e ādar īzad amšāsfand māh day-māh-e qadīm, saneye yazdgerdī sane-ye 1059,* (3) *hejriye sane-ye 1124, har kas ke marā dahad xodāmorzīd*¹²⁹⁸ *yārab ū [rā] xodā bīyāmorzād.*

1296 Colophon no. 122b by Unvala. I have used the Pahlavi text by Unvala (1940: 124–125).

1297 A mistake for *xēm* ‘nature’.

1298 A mistake for *xodāmorzī*.

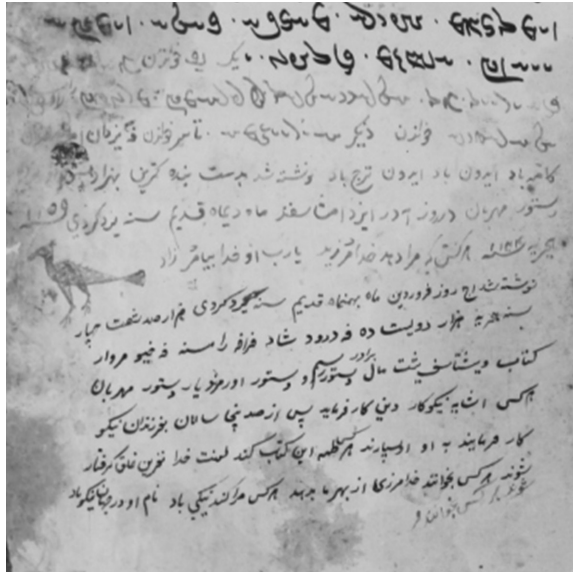


Image 215: Ms. 5040, Persian colophon

4.4.2.2. Translation of the first Persian colophon

‘(1) Written by the humblest servant Behzād (2) Dastūr Mehrabān, on the day Ādar Īzad, the month Amšāsfaṇd, the old month, the Yazdgerdī year 1059, (3) the Hejri year 1124. Every-body who gives me God-forgiveness, may God forgive him.’

4.4.2.3. Transcription of the second Persian colophon

(1) *nevešte šod aḡ rūz-e farvardīn, māh, bahman-māh-e qadīm, sane-ye yazdgerdī hazār* <ud> *šad* <ud> *šašt* <ud> *čahār*, (2) *be-sane-ye hejriye hazār* <ud> *devīst* <ud> *dah*, *fe*¹²⁹⁹ *drōd*, *šād*,¹³⁰⁰ *farāxī*,¹³⁰¹ *rāmisne*¹³⁰² *fe*¹³⁰³ *xēv*¹³⁰⁴ *murwār*¹³⁰⁵ (3) *ketāb-e vīštāsf yašt, māl-e* ^*barādar*^ *dastūr rostaṃ va dastūr ormazdyār dastūr mehrabān* (4) *har kas ašāye nīkūkār dīn kār farmāyad, pas az šad* <ud> *panjāh sālān be-farzandān nīkū* (5) *kār farmāyand be ū ūspārānd. har kas ṭama*^*-e*¹³⁰⁶ *īn ketāb konad, la*^*nat-e xodā, nefrīn-e xalq gereftār* (6) *šavand, har kas bexānand, xodāmorzī az bahr-e mā bedahand. har kas marā konad nīkī yād*,¹³⁰⁷ *nām-e ū dar jahān nīkū bād.*

1299 Middle Persian *pad*, Persian *be* ‘to’.

1300 A mistake for *šādīh*.

1301 Written *fr*^*xh*. A mistake for/variation of *farroxīh*.

1302 A mistake for *rāmišnīh*.

1303 Middle Persian *pad*, Persian *be* ‘to’.

1304 A mistake for/variation of *xūb*.

1305 A mistake for *murwāg*.

1306 Written *ṭmh*.

1307 Written *b*^*d*.

4.4.2.4. Translation of the second Persian colophon

‘(1) It is written on the day Farvardīn, the month, the old month Bahman, the Yazdgerdī year thousand hundred sixty four,¹³⁰⁸ (2) the Hejri year thousand two-hundred ten,¹³⁰⁹ in welfare, joy and glory and pleasure, in good fate, the book Vīštāsf Yašt, belongs to ^brother^ Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Ormazdyār Dastūr Mehrabān. (4) May everybody use it in righteousness and piety of religion [and] after 150 years (5) may use it for the pious children [and] entrust <it> to them. Anyone who is greedy about this book, God’s and people’s damnation on him/her. (6) Everybody who recites <it>, may give us God-forgiveness. Everybody who remembers me, may her/his name be good in the world.’

4.5. Xorde Avestā

4.5.1. Xorde Avestā 1243 AY (Poulādī collection)

4.5.1.1. Transcription of the Persian colophon

Tārīx nāme

(1) *anjām yāft ketāb- zand va pāzand xorde avestā az jahat-e behdīn, sa’ādat qarīn, dīn čāšīdār* (2) *setāyeš va nīyāyeš kerdār, mollā bahrām xalaf-marḥamatešān frēydūn dar yōm māntresfand aḡ ābānmāh-e qadīm sane-ye 1243* (3) *yazdgerdī moṭābeq-e yōm-e joma’e bīst o nohom-e šahr šafar al-moṣaffār sane-ye 1291 hejriye ke tā šad o panjāh sālegān* (4) *be-salāmātī va zoq va jāh o jalāl moṭāle’e namāyad va ba’d az šad o panjāh sālān be-farzand va farzandzādagān be-ūsepārad* (5) *omīd ke agar sahv va xaṭāī rafte bāšad čašm-e ‘aḡv pūšīde be ešlāh āvarand va īn kamtarīn rā be-do’ā-ye xeyr yād namāyand* (6) *čon ba’d az šahanšāh yazdgerd īn šahrīyār ke āxar-e molūk-e ‘aḡam būd az kešrat-e zolm va jōr-e ‘arab va moḡol va tork* (7) *va aḡqān rūzegār bar behdīnān tabāh gašt va mūbedān va dānešmandān va dastūrān va dānāyān ke az tafsīr* (8) *va ma’nī-ye zand xabar dāšte košte va parākande šodand be morūr-e ayām tafsīr va loḡat-e zand az mīyān raft, balke nāyāb gašt* (9) *dar īn hengām īn zarre-ye bīvaqār va za’īf xāksār behrūz ebn-e eskandar monaḡjem-e kermānī bā voḡūd-e ‘adam-e rabī* (10) *dar har jā tafāḡoš nemūde joz’ī az tafsīr ba’zī xorde avestā ke dar īn ketāb ast be-dast āvarde, va nīz ketābhā-ye* (11) *loḡat-e fors va farhangāt-e alfāz-e zand va pahlavī rā moṭāle’e nemūde, tafsīr-e har yek rā kalām kalām dar zeyl-e har kalame ma’rūz dāšt (?)* (12) *tā bar ahl-e kamāl āsān bāšad. elāhī ke xodāvand qovatī be dīn-e behī kerāmat farmāyad va del-e hamegī rā be-ham šāf* (13) *va mehrabān gardānad va qarz-e hamgī rā adā namāyad be-ḡaq-e anbīyāy-e mo’aḡam va ōlīyāy-e mokarram va sī-y-o se amšāsḡandān-e pāk,* (14) *tammāt al-ketāb zand va pāzand.*

4.5.1.2. Translation of the Persian colophon

‘(1) The book of Zand and Pāzand of Xorde Avesta was completed for Behdīn, may he be happy, the religion teacher, his deeds deserve prayer and praise, Mollā Bahrām, son of the late Frēydūn, on the day of Māntresfand from the old month Ābān, in the year 1243 (3) of the Yazdgerdī era, this corresponds to Friday, the 29th of the month Šafar, the victorious, the year 1291 Hejri, so that they read (this book) with health, taste and fame for up to 150 years (4) and entrust <it> to the children and grandchildren after 150 years. (5) Hopefully if there

1308 1164 AY.

1309 1210 AY.

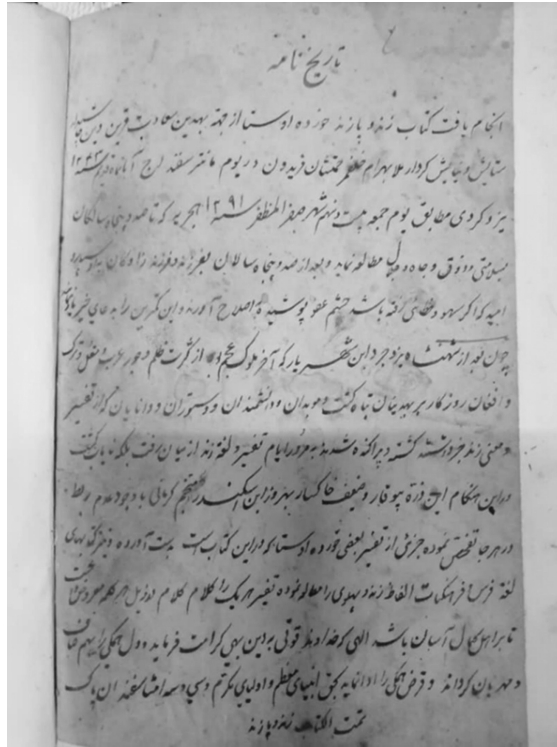


Image 216: Xorde Avestā 1243 AY (Poulādī collection)

are mistakes and errors, they would forgive (them) and correct (them) and may remember this humble in prayer with kindness. (6) After Yazdgerd,¹³¹⁰ king of kings, who was the last king of the Iranian kingdom, the life of the Behdīns and Mūbeds was ruined because Arabs, Mongols, Turks (7) and Afghans had committed a lot of oppression and cruelty. Scholars, Dastūr, and wise men who were aware of Zand's interpretation (8) and meaning were either killed or dispersed. After a while, Zand's interpretation and language died and even became rare. (9) During this time, this poor and weak person, this humble Behrūz, son of Eskandar Monajem-e Kermānī, searched everywhere, although without reference (10), and found the translation of the part of the Xōrde Awestā contained in this book. I also read the books (11) Loqat-e Fors and the dictionaries of the words of Zand and Pahlavi and wrote the meaning of each word underneath (12) so that it would be easy for people with high demands. May God give Dīn-e Behī strength and make everyone's hearts pure (13) and kind to each other and help everyone to pay off (her/his) debts. Under the righteousness of great prophets and friends of God and thirty-three holy Amšāsfands. (14) The book of Zand and Pāzand has been completed.'

1310 A variation of Yazdgerd.

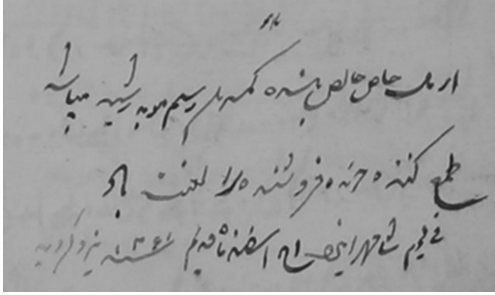


Image 217: Ownership note on page 46 of the miscellaneous codex

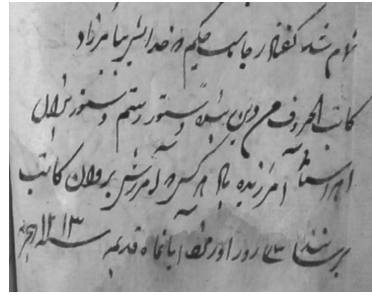


Image 218: Miscellaneous codex, short Persian colophon at the end of Goftār-e jāmāsb

4.6. Miscellaneous Codex

4.6.1. Miscellaneous codex Xorde Avesta, Goftār-e Jāmāsb-e Ḥakīm, Anūšīrvān and Abūzarjomehr

4.6.1.1. Marginal notes

The Xorde Avesta contains no colophon, but on page 46, we find a note in Persian regarding the possession of the manuscript:

- (1) *az māl-e xāš-e xāleš, bande-ye kamtarīn, rostam mūbed rašīd mībāšad.* (2) *ṭamaʿ konande, xarande va forūšande rā laʿnat bād.* (3) *Fe yōm šāmehr īzad, aḡ esfand māh-e qadīm, saneye 1261 yazdgerdīye.*

‘(1) (This book) belongs to the special, pious and humble servant, Rostam Mūbed Rašīd. (2) Damnation to purchaser, seller and greedy (person)!

(3) On the day Šāmehr-īzad, from the old month Esfand, the year 1261 AY.’

4.6.1.2. Persian colophon

On page 5 of the Persian part of the manuscript, namely, at the end of Goftār-e jāmāsb, we find a short colophon in Persian:

(1) *Tamām šod goftār-e jāmāsb-e ḥakīm ke xodāyaš bīyāmorzād.* (2) *kāteb ol-ḥorūf, man-e dīn bande, dastūr rostam, dastūr tīrān* (3) *ahrāstānī. āmorzīde bād har kas ke āmorzeš be-ravān-e kāteb* (4) *berasānand. be-tārīx-e rūz-e ūrmazd, ābānmāh-e qadīm, saneye 1213 hejriye.*

‘(1) completed (the book) of Goftār-e jāmāsb-e Ḥakīm. (2) I, the scribe, the servant of the religion, Dastūr Rostam, Dastūr Tīrān, (3) from Ahrestan. May everybody be forgiven who (4) sends A may-God-forgive to the soul of the scribe. The date: the day Ūrmazd, the old month Ābān, the year 1213 Hejri.’

4.7. *Pahlavi manuscripts:*4.7.1. *DH*4.7.1.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (fol. 230r–230v)¹³¹¹

(1) *frazaft pad* (2) *drōd* <ud> *šādīh ud rāmišn andar rōz ī dēn mäh* <ī> *xordad*¹³¹² *sāl bar nō sad* (3) <ud> *čehel* <ud> *šaš pas az wīst bay*¹³¹³ *yazdgerd šāhān šāh. man dēn-bandag marzbān* (4) *frēdōn wāhrōm rutstam bundār šāhmardān dēnayār nibištām* (5) *az pačēn* <ī> *ērdešīr wāhrāmšā*¹³¹⁴ *rustēm wāhrāmšā* ō¹³¹⁵ *az pačēn* <ī> (6) *anōšāg-ruwān hērbed-zād spandyād mazdēn-xwāst ī zādspāram* (7) *kē-šān ruwān ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād. ēdōn bawād. nibēštām*¹³¹⁶ (8) *frāz hišt tā sad* <ud> *panjāh sāl pad ērīh* <ud> *wēhīh u wēh-dēnīh* (9) *kār framāyēd* ^tā^ *pas az sad* <ud> *panjāh sāl ō frazandān ī āsnīdag*¹³¹⁷ *ud* <second page> (10) *dēn-burdār abespārād, ū-š pad gēīh čiyōn tan kāmāg, ū-š pad* (11) *mēnōg čiyōn ruwān kāmāg. kē xwānād ayāb hammōzād u-š čiyōn* (12) *pačēn az-iš kard ayāb kunād, man rāy kē xwāhišnīg hom az* (13) *xwānīdārān kē pad-iš xwābar ud hu-wīr bawand,*¹³¹⁸ *pad petītīgīh*¹³¹⁹ (14) *pas az widardan arzānīg dārānd.*¹³²⁰ *man kē nibištām*¹³²¹ *az xwēšīh* <ī> (15) *xwēš rāy, frazandān* <ī> *xwēš rāy nibištām tā sāl sad* <ud> *panjāh* (16) *sālān čiyōn pad pēš guftām. aēuuō pañt-* (17) *ā. yō. ašahe. wīspe anyaešqm. apa9-* (18) *nqm.*¹³²² *ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyīh har-wisp ōy-šān a-rāh.*¹³²³ (19) *andar kirmān-šahr, ka*¹³²⁴ *š pad dēnīg padīšxwārgar gōwand.*¹³²⁵ *hērbed* [this part is effaced] *ērdešīr wāhrāmšā rustahm wāhrōmšā*¹³²⁶ *frazāmēnīd, u-š jāmāsp ō wištāsp sahist nask, andar nibišt.*

4.7.1.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in (2) welfare, joy and pleasure on the day Dēn, the month Xordād, the year 946, (3) after (the year) 20 of his majesty Yazdgerd, the king of kings. I, the servant of religion, Marzbān (4) Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rutstam Bōndār Šāhmardān Dēnayār, wrote from (5) the manuscript of Ērdešīr Wāhrāmšā Rustēm Wāhrāmšā, and he (wrote) from (6) the manuscript of immortal soul, from a priest family, Spandyād Mazdēn-xwāst Zādspāram, (7) may their righteous souls be (worthy) of the paradise. May it be so! I wrote (8) and launched <it>, so that (he) uses it for 150 years with devotion and righteousness and good religion. (9) And after 150 years he entrusts <it> to the wise and (10) faithful children. May (he live) according

1311 This colophon has been transcribed by Pakzad (2005: 415–416) and translated by Anklesaria (1956). For a translation of the colophon of DH, see also DH, Preface.

1312 Alternatively *xardad*, written [xwyt’].

1313 Written *wuzurg* by Parzad. For further discussions on his reading, see Pakzad (2005: 415, footnote 9).

1314 A mistake for *wāhrāmšā*.

1315 A mistake for *ōy*.

1316 Alternatively *nibištām*, written [npyštām]. Read *nibištām* by Pakzad (2005: 416).

1317 The word *āsnīdag* ‘wise’ occurs only in this colophon.

1318 Read *bawēnd* by Pakzad (2005: 416).

1319 Meaning ‘penitence’.

1320 Read *dārēnd* by Pakzad (2005: 416).

1321 Read *nibištām* by Pakzad (2005: 416).

1322 These two last Avestan words occur only in this colophon.

1323 Written *ahlāyī*, which is probably a mistake for *a-rāh* as also mentioned by Pakzad (2005: 416).

1324 Written [AMT].

1325 Read *gōwēnd* by Pakzad (2005: 416).

1326 Pakzad edited all personal names in this colophon, however I kept their original form and did not change or edit them. These varieties could show the Zoroastrian Dari pronunciation of the personal names.

to the desire of his body in the material world, and in (11) the spiritual world according to the desire of his soul. Everybody who may recite it or teach it, (12) or made or makes a copy of it, may consider me, who asks (13) the readers to be beneficent and careful with it, worthy of my penitence (14) after my passing away. I, who wrote <it>, wrote it for my (15) own possession and for my children, so that they use it for 150 (16) years, as I have already mentioned. **There is only one path (17) and that is of the righteousness, all others are no paths.** (18) There is one path of the righteousness, and all others are no paths. (19) Hērbēd Ērdešīr Wāhrāmšā Rustahm Wāhrōmšā completed this in the city of Kerman, which they call Padišxwārgar in religious (texts) and he wrote the Nask of ‘Jāmāsp advised¹³²⁷ Wištāsp.’

4.7.1.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (241v, lines 9–15)

(1) *man dēn bandag marzbān frēdōn wāhrām nibištōm az* (2) *pacēn hērbēd ardešīr*¹³²⁸ *wāhrāmšā rustahm wāhrāmšād nibišt* (3) *andar būm [ī]*¹³²⁹ *šahr <ī> kirmān. man ham andar šahr <ī> kirmān nibištōm xūb frazām* (4) *bawād. ēdōn bawād, ēdōn tar-iz bawād. pērōz bawād xwarrah ī* (5) *abēzag <ud> wēhdēn ī mazdayastān pad yazdān ud amahraspandān kāmāg bawād* (6) *ašəm. vohū.*¹³³⁰ *vahištəm. astī. ahlāyīh āzādīh*¹³³¹ (7) *<ud> pahlom ast.*

4.7.1.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) I, the servant of religion, Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrām, (2) wrote from the manuscript of Hērbēd Ardešīr Wāhrāmšā Rustahm Wāhrāmšā, who wrote (3) in the city of Kerman. I also wrote in the city of Kerman. (4) May it be a happy end. May it be so. May it be still more so. May the glory of (5) the holy and good-religion of the Mazdayasns be victorious. (6) **Piety is the best good.** Piety is freedom (7) and best.’

4.7.2. BK¹³³²

4.7.2.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd <ud> šādīh ud rāmišn. man dēn bandag*¹³³³ *marz[b]ān frēdōn wāhrōm* (2) *rustohm bundār šāh-mardān dēn-yār nibištōm <ud> frāz hišt andar waxšīšn ī* (3) *ahlāyīh, [ni]rfsiznīh*¹³³⁴ *<ī> drōj <ud> handōzišn [i] kirbag hanbār. kē az xwahišnān ud saxwanān* (4) *pahlom dārād, u-š yazdān abē-gumānīh ī pad astīh ī dādār orhmazd* (5) *<ud> amahraspandān abārīg-iz yazdān wēh-dahišnān <ud> dēn <ī> wēh <ī> mazdayastān*¹³³⁵ *<ud> pēdāmbārīh ī* (6) *yašt*¹³³⁶ *fravahr ī zardušt spitāmān ī ahlaw <ud> abē-gumānīh az hamāg dāmān ī* (7) *xwēš kē awīš framānburdār bawand. pad wēhīh ī*¹³³⁷ *rāh namāyī bawēd. (8) amā-iz mardōmān ō hamāg wēhān nēkīh abāyēd xwāstan tā-mān ō* (9) *xwēš-iz rasēd. az rōz ī āsmān, az māh <ī> amōrdad, sāl ī nō sad [o]* (10) *čehel [o] yak pas az 20 yazdg-*

1327 The term *sahist* meaning ‘seem, proper’ (MacKenzie 1971: 73), or ‘escape’ (Dehkhoda). None of these meanings fit the context. Translated as ‘admonish’ by Anklesaria (1956).

1328 Or *ardašīr*.

1329 Alternatively, *u*.

1330 Written *vohī*.

1331 Not *ābādīh*.

1332 The colophon of this manuscript has been transcribed and translated by Anklesaria (1958: 195–197).

1333 Written *bawandag* [bwndg].

1334 A mistake for *nirfsišnīh* ‘decrease’. Written [lpsznyh].

1335 A mistake for *mazdayasnān*. This mistake occurs often in the colophons.

1336 Quite uncertain.

1337 The ezafe particle *ī* seems to be unnecessary.

*erd šāhān šāh abāz*¹³³⁸ *ō husraw ī šāhān* (11) *šāhān ohrmazdān kē nibištōm man marzbān frēdōn andar farroxī*¹³³⁹ *būm* (12) *german*¹³⁴⁰ *dar mahalag*¹³⁴¹ *ī dādīgān*.¹³⁴² *pad xwēših <ud> hamāg*¹³⁴³ *ī pērōzgar xwēš* (13) *frazandān xwēš rāy nibišt hom tā sad <ud> panjāh sāliyān u*¹³⁴⁴ *kār* (14) *pad ahlāyih framāyēm*¹³⁴⁵ *pas az sāl [sad <ud> panjāh]*¹³⁴⁶ *ō* (15) *husraw <ud> dēn burdār abespārēnd. har kē xwānand [ayāb hammōzand ayāb pačēn]* (16) *aziš kunēd ...*

4.7.2.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and pleasure. I, the servant of religion, Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm (2) Rustohm Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnyār wrote and launched <it> for the growth of (3) righteousness and decrease of Drōj and for the gathering of good deeds. Everybody who may hold excellent the desires and words (of this book), (4) it (will be) without doubt about Yazdān and the existence of the Ohrmazd, the creator (5) and Amahraspandān and other Yazads and good creations, as well as the good religion of Mazda-worshippers and the prophethood of (6) the adorable Fravahr of holy Zardušt son of Spitāmān, and certainly about all his creatures, (7) who are obedient to him. (The book) will be a guide for goodness. (8) We also should desire goodness for all people and all faithful (ones), so that it (9) reaches back to us. (It was) the day Āsmān, the month Amōrdad, the year 941, (10) after (the year) 20th of Yazdgerd, king of kings, the descendant of Husraw, king of kings, (11) the son of Ohrmazd, that I Marzbān Frēdōn wrote in the blessed city of (12) Kerman, in the quarter of Dādīgān. I have written <it> for my own possession and for all victory of me and (13) my children, so that we use it with righteousness for 150 years (14) and after 150 years entrust it to the good famed and (15) faithful (children). Everybody who may recite it [or may teach it or make a copy] (16) from it, ...’

The second colophon of TD4 is a copy of the colophon of BK. For a transcription and translation of both colophons of TD4 see Gōpadšāh.

4.7.3. IM¹³⁴⁷

4.7.3.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd ud šādih u rāmišn. man dēn bawandag* (2) *marz[b]ān frēdōn wāhrōm Rostam bundār nibištām ēn fragard ī* (3) *nohom ī jud-dēw-dād az pačēn ī šahryārīh*¹³⁴⁸ *ērdaxšīr* (4) *ērīz rustahm ī ērīz. ō*¹³⁴⁹ *az pačēn ī anošag ruwān* (5) *wīzan wāhrām-šāh wīzan*

1338 In other colophons, in the same context the word *nāfag* occurs.

1339 A mistake for *farrox*.

1340 A variant of *kirmān*.

1341 Read *mubārak* by Anklesaria (1958: 196), which is not correct. The word occurs two times in this colophon, once in the main text in the form [mhlk y] and in a second instance, it is written at the bottom of the first occurrence in the form of [m'hlk y]. Both forms favour the reading *mahalag* ‘quarter’, which also occurs in the colophons of V 4025 and V 4010.

1342 Read *dehkān* by Anklesaria (1958: 196). In both V 4025 and V 4010, the word is attested and clearly written in the form [d'tk'n].

1343 Written [hma'yk].

1344 The conjunction *u* seems to be unnecessary here.

1345 Read *framāyēnd* by Anklesaria (1958: 196). Written [flm'yym].

1346 After the word *sāl* [ŠNT], only the letter *s* is written.

1347 I have used the text of Pahlavi colophons published by Jamasp 1907, Band I: xxv–xxx.

1348 A mistake for *šahryār ī*.

1349 A mistake for *ōy*.

hamē kird. kē-šān ruwān hamāg (6) ahlaw garōdmānīg bawād. handarz hamē kunam be ō (7) ān ī xwēš frazandān kē bawand ud ān-iz ī xwēš abārīg (8) mazdayastān kē ēn abestāg <ī>zand pad hu-dēn-ē¹³⁵⁰ dārand, pačēn (9) kunand, pad ahremangān nē dahand. kē-šān ruwān ahlaw (10) bawād. andar rōz dēn pad dēn az māh šadīwar¹³⁵¹ sāl bar nō sad [o] čehel [o] čahār.

4.7.3.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and delight. I, the servant of religion, (2) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rostam Bundār, wrote this ninth Fragard (3) of Juddēwdād from the manuscript of Šahryārīh Ērdaxšīr (4) Ērīz Rustahm Ērīz. He copied from the manuscript of immortal soul, (5) Wīzan Wāhrām-Šāh Wīzan. May their souls be (6) holy and heavenly. I give advice to (7) my own children, and even to all other (8) Mazda-worshippers, who may preserve this Zand of Awesta with faithfulness (and) copy it, (9) they should not give it to the evil-followers. May their souls be holy. (10) On the day Dēn-bē-Dēn, from the month Šadīwar, the year 944.’

4.7.3.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon

(1) frazaft pad drōd <ud> šādīh <ud> rāmišn. ēn kurāsag¹³⁵² pad (2) māh <ī> tīr sāl bar panj sad <ud> panjāh <ud> čahār;¹³⁵³ rōz srōš (3) farrox kē nibišt estād ardašīr wahoman ī rōzweh (4) šā-borzīn ī šēmard¹³⁵⁴ wahišt bahr. kē-š ruwān anōšag (5) bawād. az dast-nibīg <ī> anōšag ruwān hērbed humāst wahišt (6) bahr šādān ohrmazd andar šahr <ī> sīstān nibištāg būd (7) az framān ud framānišnīh hamāg ōstād hamāg hunar meh ..., wēh (8) gōhar ī saze¹³⁵⁵ ī stāyišnīg. kē-š ruwān anōšag bawād. (9) māhdād ud adūr-iz-wēh dēnyār az ān ī xwēš xwāstāg ōzīnag. (10) pad-iš kard būd pad māhyār māh-mihr hērbed az handōgān (11) az ōjenag pad-iš šahr ī kē pad kanārag ī āb¹³⁵⁶ ī sīnd kē (12) pad dēnīg wēh-rōd xwānand. sāl bar šas sad, pad yazdgerd šāhān šāh.

4.7.3.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and delight. This manuscript¹³⁵⁷ was written in (2) the month Tīr, the year 554, the blessed day Srōš (3) by Ardašīr Wahoman Rōzweh (4) Šā-borzīn Šēmard, may the paradise be his residence. May his soul be immortal, (5) from the manuscript of immortal soul, Hērbed Humāst, (the son of) Šādān Ohrmazd, may the paradise (6) be his residence, which was written in the city of Sistan (7) at the commend and will of the great master, having all skill, great ..., good nature (8) and (who) deserves praise, may his soul be immortal. (9) Māhdād Adūr-iz-wēh¹³⁵⁸ Dēnyār (desired it) for his own property and power.¹³⁵⁹ (10) It was made for Māhyār Māhmihr Hērbed of India, (11) of (the region of)

1350 A mistake for *hū-dēnīh* ‘religiousness, faithfulness’.

1351 Persian *šahrīvar*.

1352 This word occurs also in manuscripts 4000, K5, L4, K1 and MK.

1353 Written [ALBA].

1354 A mistake for or a variation of *šahmard* or *sāmard*.

1355 Written [szyb].

1356 Written *āb* [MYA] ‘water’ and not *rōd* [YMA] ‘river’.

1357 The term *kurāsag* has been translated ‘colophon’ by Jamasp (1907: xxix), which is not correct. This word should be translated as ‘manuscript’ according to this passage in the colophon of L4: *ēn kurāsag ī juddēwdād* ‘this manuscript of Juddēwdād’.

1358 Quite uncertain. Written [’twwcwyh]. Read *Ātra-cha-vēh* by Jamasp (1907: xxix).

1359 This part has been translated ‘out of his own wealth and possession’ by Jamasp (1907: xxix).

Ōjenag¹³⁶⁰ in a city, which (12) is in the margin of the river of Sind, which is called Wēh-Rōd in the religious texts. The year 600, the era of Yazdgerd, king of kings.’

4.7.3.5. Transcription of the third Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd* <ud> *šādīh* <ud> *rāmišn. ēn kurāsag* (2) *nibišt hom andar rōz* <ī> *warahrān az māh* <ī> *mihr pērōzgar* (3) *sāl bar nō sad* <ud> *čehel* <ud> *čahār kē nibišt man dēn bawandag* (4) *marzbān frēdōn wāhrōm rustam bundār šahmardān dēn ayār* (5) *nibištom andar farrox būm* <ī> *kirmān xwēšīh* <ī> *xwēš rāy* <ud> *frazandān* <ī> (6) *xwēš rāy. tā sad ud panjāh sālagān pad ahlāyīh* (7) *ud frārōnīh kār framāyēd. ud pas az sad* <ud> *panjāh* (8) *sālagān ō frazandān frazēnd*¹³⁶¹ *husraw-nām* <ud> *ahlaw* (9) *abespārēnd kē-šān paywand pad ērīh ud wēhīh be* (10) *ōy sōšāns pērōzgar paywandahēd*.¹³⁶² *ud har kē xwānād* (11) *ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn az-iš kunād amā rāy pad* (12) *wahišt bahrīh arzānīg dahād. ū-š gēit*¹³⁶³ *čiyōn tan* (13) *kāmag ū-š mēnōg ruwān garōdmānīg bawād. ud agar nām* <ī> *man kē* (14) *nibištār hom awes[ta]rēd ayāb abganēd nē ahlaw yād*¹³⁶⁴ *az-iš* (15) *pad mēnōgān hanjaman* <ī> *īsadwāstarān hamēmāl hom. har čand* (16) *ahytar xwadāy dēnīg be rasād, dēn-burdārān* (17) *-šān az dēn nekīh rasād. ēdōn bawād. ēdōntar-iz bawād.* (18) *az pačēn ī daftar* <ī> *šahryār ērdaxšīr ērīz Rostam* (19) *ērīz kabād ērānšā ke-š az bahr ī xwēšīh* <ī> *ādur* (20) *gōšnabš dādayār wīzan wāhrōmšā nibišt bawēd. a-š*¹³⁶⁵ (21) *az pačēn* <ī> *daftar* <ī> *wīzan wāhrāmšā wīzan kard bawēd. kē-šān* (22) *anōšag be ruwān bawād. kē az pačēn ī daftar ī ērdaxšīr* (23) *wahoman ī rōzweh šāborzīn ī šahmard kū andar sāl ī* (24) *panj sad* <ud> *panjāh* <ud> *čahār nibištāg bawēd pad rōz* <ī> *srōš wahišt* (25) *bahr: kē-š ruwān anōšag dah!*¹³⁶⁶ *ō*¹³⁶⁷ *az pačēn* <ī> *anōšag ruwān* (26) *hērbed humāst wahišt bahr šādān ohrmazd* (27) *sīst[ān] nibištāg būd az ... framānišnīh ... hunar meh* (28) *ahy wēh gōhar sazē stāyišn. ... anōšag bawād.* (29) *māhdad adūr-iz-wēh dēnyār az ... xwēš xwāstāg ōzīnag.* (30) *pad-iš kard bawēd mehīh*¹³⁶⁸ *meh*¹³⁶⁹ *mihr hērbed az handōgān* (31) *[pad-iš kard] az ōjenag šahr ī*¹³⁷⁰ *kē pad kanārag ī āb* <ī> *sīnd* (32) *kē-š pad dēnīg wēh-rōd xwānand. sāl bar šaš sad, pad* (33) *nazdīg hērbedistān*¹³⁷¹ *bawēd. u-š dēn čīš-ē hammōxt ō* (34) *handugān mad. u-š ēn daftar* <ī> *jud-dēw-dād abāg zand* (35) *pad ēn kust ... u-š az ānōh saxwan*¹³⁷² *az ahl[a]w-dād* (36) *windād ēstād. ān hand*¹³⁷³ *ān kustag kē ān rōz būd hand.* (37) *spēhbed šahmard māhyār ērīz šahmard ī māhyār* (38) *šahzād-ē ... ēdōn bawād.* (39) *ēdōntar-iz bawād. pērōz bād*¹³⁷⁴ *xwarrah ī abēzag* <ī> *wēhdēn ī* (40) *mahistān hamēšag purr xwānišn ud purr pačēn bawād.*

1360 A place name.

1361 Written [frzynd].

1362 Written [ptwnddhyt].

1363 Written [gytyb].

1364 Unlikely *ahlaw-dād* ‘charity’.

1365 A mistake for *ū-š*.

1366 A mistake for *bawād*. Written [YHBWN] instead of [YHWWN].

1367 A mistake for *ōy*.

1368 Written [myhyh], corrected to [m’hy’r] by Jamasp (1907: xxviii).

1369 Written [myhyh], corrected to [m’h] by Jamasp (1907: xxviii).

1370 Written as *dādand* [d’twnd] which does not fit this context. Probably a mistake for [štr’y] *šahr ī* ‘the city of’.

1371 Corrected to *hērbedān ī sīstān* by Jamasp (1907: xxviii), written [’ylptst’n] in the text.

1372 According to Jamasp, it is better omitted (ibid).

1373 Quite uncertain.

1374 The word *bād* is written in Persian.

4.7.3.6. Translation of the third Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and glory. I wrote this manuscript (2) on the day Warahrān from the month Mihr, the victorious, (3) the year 944, that I, the servant of religion, (4) Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rostam Bundār Šahmardān Dēn-ayār (5) wrote in the blessed city of Kerman for my own possession and for (the possession of my) children, (6) so that they use <it> for 150 years with righteousness and (7) goodness and after 150 years (8) (they) entrust <it> to the well-famed and righteous children of the children, (9) so that they, with nobility and goodness, (10) join Sōšāns, the victorious,. Everybody who may recite <it> (11) or teach <it> or make a copy of it and respect us through (12) wishing the paradise may be our residence. In the material world may (s/he live) according to the desire of her/his body (13) and in the spiritual world may her/his soul be heavenly. And if somebody erases my name, (14) I who am the scribe or delete <it>, may s/he not be remembered (15) in righteousness, and I would be plaintiff (accuser) in the spiritual world in the presence of the assembly of Īsadwāstarān. The sooner (16) the sovereignty would reach the religion, (the better) would profit the faithful (people) of the religion. (17) May it be so! May it be still more so!

(18) It has been written from a copy of the manuscript of Šahryār Ērdaxšīr Ērīz Rostam (19) Ērīz Kabād Ērānšā, who had written <it> for the possession of Ādurgōšnab (20) Dādayār Wīzan Wāhromšā and (21) he had written it from a copy of the manuscript of Wīzan Wāhrāmšā Wīzan, may their (22) souls be immortal, and it was written from a copy of the manuscript of Ērdaxšīr (23) Wahoman Rōzweh Šāborzīn Šahmard in the year (24) 554, on the day srōš, may the paradise be his residence. (25) May their souls be immortal. He had written it from a copy of immortal soul, (26) Hērbed¹³⁷⁵ Humāst, may the paradise be his residence, Šādān Ohrmazd (27) (in the city of) Sistān, at the command of ... skill, the great, (28) first good nature, which deserves praise, may (he) be immortal, (29) Māhdad Adūr-iz-wēh Dēnyār, from his own wealth and possession. (30) It was made for Māhyār Māh-Mihr, a Hērbed from India (31) of the city of Ōjenag, which is in the margin of the Sīnd River, (32) which is called Wēh-Rōd in the religious texts. (He) was in the year 600, near (33) Hērbedistān. He learned something about the religion and (34) came back to India. He has obtained this manuscript of Juddēwdād with Zand, (35) as a donation, in this side¹³⁷⁶ from there. (36) These are (the people), who lived there in those days: (37) Spēhbed Šahmard Māhyār Ērīz Šahmard Māhyār (38) Šahzād of ... May it be so. (39) May it be still more so! May be victor the holy glory of the good religion of the great (40) people. May it be always recited a lot and may many copies (of it) be made.’

4.7.4. TD2¹³⁷⁷

4.7.4.1. Transcription of the Middle Persian colophon

(1) *ēn wizīrīh ī dēn ī mahistān pad* (2) *yazdān kām nibīštom az pačēn ī daftar <ī> yazdān pahtār* (3) *hunar borzišnīgtar, xwarrah abzāyišnīgtar, nām husrawtar* (4) *dēn astōbārtar pēdar ī man dēn bandag marzbān frēdōn ī* (5) *wāhrōm Rostam bundār šahmardān ō az pačēn ī dastūr ī* (6) *abēzag-dēn šād-ruwān gōpadšāh ī Rostam bundār* (7) *kū az pačēn ī anōšag-*

1375 *Hērbed* is a title and means ‘from a priest family’.

1376 If *kust* is correct.

1377 An Iranian Bundahišn and a Rivāyat-i Ēmēt-i Ašvahištān. For the colophon, see pages 726–727 of the second volume.

ruwān nēk-nām kayxosro sīyāvaxš ī (8) šahrayār ī baxt āfrēd ī šahrīyār az-šān nibištāg (9) bawēd, kē-šān ruwān čō ān ī pahlom axw rōšn garōdmān <ī> (10) hamāg xwarīh nōg nōg be rasād. man kē ī-m¹³⁷⁸ nibišt (11) frēdōn marzbān frēdōn pad gētih ham bād nēk nām ī¹³⁷⁹ (12) ud pad mēnōg ī-m bād anōšag ruwānīh ud hu-dēnān ud dēn burdārān (13) pad kirbag ī¹³⁸⁰ man hambahr ud amā pad kirbag <ī> ōy-šān hambahr, ud xwarēm <second page> (14) pad ayārīh ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān ahlawān, fravahr ud (15) fravahr <ī> ahlawān man-iz hambahr pad kirbag ud mīzd ud ahlāyīh ī (16) wēhān ud wēh-dēnān <ī> haft kēšwar¹³⁸¹ zamīg. nibištōm ud frāz (17) hišt hom andar rōz ī fravardīn māh ī ābān sāl (18) bar nō sad o haftād o hašt <ī> pārsīg pas az wīst bay yazdgerd (19) šāhān šāh ī šahrīyārān nāfag be ōy ī husraw ī šāh(20)ān šāh ī ohrmazdān. ī-m nibišt ud frāz hišt (21) az bahrīh xwēšīh <ud> hamāg pērōzgarīh Rostam ī farrox- (22)zād ī yaz(a)dyār ī wēzan kē tā sad <ud> panjāh sālān pad (23) ahlāyīh kār framāyād. pad yazdān kāmāg bawād.

4.7.4.2. Translation of the Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) I wrote this description of religion of the greatest (people), according to (2) the will of God, from a manuscript of Yazdān Pahtār, (3) in skill higher (than others), in glory more increasing (than others) (his) name, more famed (than any other names), (4) in the religion more steady (than others), my father, the servant of the religion, Marzbān Frēdōn (5) Wāhrōm Rostam Bundār Šahmardān from the manuscript (6) of the pure-religion and blessed-soul Dastūr Gōpadšāh Rostam Bundār, (7) which was written from a manuscript of immortal soul, good famed Kayxosro Sīyāvaxš (8) Šahrayār Baxtāfrēd Šahrīyār, (9) so that their souls may reach to that excellent world, Garōdmān of (10) all-victories, constantly. I, who wrote this, am (11) Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn, may (my) name be well-famed in the material world (12) and in the spiritual world, gain immortality of soul, and the people of good-religion and faithful (ones) (13) be partaker in (the reward of) my good deed and may we be partaker in (the reward) of their good deed and also happy (14) through the help of Ohrmazd and Amahraspandān and the pious people and Fravahr and (15) Fravahr of pious people. May I also be partaker in the good deed and reward and goodness of (16) the great people and the people of good religion of the seven regions of the earth.¹³⁸² I wrote and launched <it> (17) on the day Fravardīn, the month Ābān, (18) the year 978 of Pārsīg (era), after (the year) 20 of his majesty Yazdgerd, (19) the king of kings, the great king, descendant of Husraw, king of kings, (20) son of Ohrmazd. I wrote and launched <it> (21) for the sake of the ownership and (for) all victory of Rostam Farroxzād (22) Yaz(a)dyār Wēzan, so that they may use it for 150 years (23) with righteousness. May it be according to the will of God.’

1378 Written [ZYm].

1379 The term *nēk nām ī* is probably a mistake for *nēk nāmīh*.

1380 Written [ny]. Unlikely *nē*, because it does not fit the context.

1381 The term *haft kēšwar* occurs only in the colophons of Frēdōn Marzbān. It also appears in the second colophon of V 4000.

1382 The term *haft kēšwar* (seven regions) was the usual geographical division of the world in Iranian tradition. According to this tradition, the world was divided into seven (circular) regions (Shahbazi 2002).

4.7.5. TD4a

4.7.5.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon (fol. 572, line 16 – fol. 573, line 4)

(1) *frazaft pad drōd* <ud> (2) *šādīh ī rāmišn, man dēn bandag gōpadšāh Rostam* (3) *bāndār*¹³⁸³ *marā*¹³⁸⁴ *šāh mardān nibišt ud frāz hišt andar* (4) *farroxān būm* <ī> *germān ud nibišt az bahr ī xwēšīh frazand* (5) *frēdōn rāy nibišt hom tā dēn ī framāyād* *ī*¹³⁸⁵ (6) *pad yazdān kām bād*.

4.7.5.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, (2) joy and pleasure. I, the servant of religion, Gōpadšāh Rostam (3) Bōndār Šāhmardān, wrote and launched <it> in (4) the blessed city of Kerman and I wrote <it> for the possession of my own child (5) Frēdōn, so that he may use it for the religion. (6) May it be according to the desire of God.’

The second colophon of TD4a introduces the name of Marzbān Frēdōn as the scribe of the manuscript. This colophon seems to be a copy of the colophon of BK:

4.7.5.3. Transcription of the second Middle Persian colophon (fol. 614, line 4 – fol. 615 line 4)

(1) *frazaft pad drōd* <ud> *šādīh ud* (2) *rāmišn. man dēn bandag*¹³⁸⁶ *marz[b]ān frēdōn wāhrōm rustohm bundār šāh-(3)mardān dēn-yār nibištōm* <ud> *frāz hišt andar waxšīšn ī ahlāyīh*, (4) *[ni]rfsiznīh*¹³⁸⁷ <ī> *drōj* <ud> *handōzišn [ī] kirbag hanbār. kē az xwahišnān ud saxwanān* (5) *pahlom dārād, u-š yazdān abē-gumānīh ī pad astīh ī* (6) *dādār orhmazd* <ud> *amahraspandān abārīg-iz yazdān wēh-dahišnān* <ud> *dēn* <ī> (7) *wēh* <ī> *mazdayastān*¹³⁸⁸ <ud> *pēdāambarīh ī yašt*¹³⁸⁹ *fravahr ī zardušt sp-(8)ētāmān ī ahlaw* <ud> *abē-gumānīh az hamāg dāmān ī xwēš kē awīš* (9) *framānburdār bawand. pad wēhīh ī*¹³⁹⁰ *rāh namāyī bawēd. amā-iz* (10) *mardōmān ō hamāg wēhān nēkīh abāyēd xwāstan tā-(11)mān ō xwēš-iz rasēd. az rōz ī āsmān, az māh* <ī> *amōrdad, sāl ī* (12) *nō sad [o] čehel [o] yak pas az 20 yazdg-erd šāhān šāh abāz*¹³⁹¹ *ō husraw ī* (13) *šāhān šāhān ohrmazdān kē nibištōm man marzbān frēdōn* (14) *andar farroxī*¹³⁹² *būm germān*¹³⁹³ *dar mahalag*¹³⁹⁴ *ī dādgān.*¹³⁹⁵ *pad xwēšīh* <ud> *hamāg*¹³⁹⁶ *ī* (15) *pērōzgar xwēš frazandān xwēš rāy nibišt hom tā sad* <ud> (16) *panjāh*

1383 A variant or a mistake of *bōndār*.

1384 Probably a mistake and should be omitted.

1385 Must be omitted or a mistake for *u*.

1386 Written *bawandag* [bwndg].

1387 A mistake for *nirfsiznīh* ‘decrease’. Written [lpsznyh].

1388 A mistake for *mazdayasnān*. This mistake occurs often in the colophons.

1389 Quite uncertain.

1390 The ezafe particle *ī* seems to be unnecessary.

1391 In other colophons, the word *nāfag* occurs in the same context.

1392 A mistake for *farrox*.

1393 A variant of *kirmān*.

1394 Read *mubārak* by Anklesaria (1958: 196), which is not correct. The word occurs two times in this colophon, once in the main text in the form [mhlk y], and in a second instance, it is written at the bottom of the first occurrence in the form of [m’hlk y]. Both forms favour the reading *mahalag* ‘quarter’, which also occurs in the colophons of V 4025 and V 4010.

1395 Read *dehkān* by Anklesaria (1958: 196). In both V 4025 and V 4010, this word is attested and clearly written as the form [d’tk’n].

1396 Written [hma’yk].

*sālīyān kār pad ahlāyīh framāyēm*¹³⁹⁷ *pas az sāl* (17) [*sad u panjāh*¹³⁹⁸ *ō*] *husraw <ud> dēn*
burdār abespārēnd. (18) *har kē xwān[ād*¹³⁹⁹ *ayāb hammōzād ayāb pačēn]* *aziš kunād ...*

4.7.5.4. Translation of the second Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and (2) pleasure. I, the servant of religion, Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrōm Rustohm Bundār Šāhmardān (3) Dēnyār wrote and launched <it> for the growth of righteousness (4) and decrease of Drōj and for the gathering of good deeds. Everybody who may hold excellent the desires and words (of this book), (5) it (will be) without doubt about Yazads and (about) the existence of (6) Ohrmazd, the creator and Amahraspandān and other Yazads and good creations, (7) as well as the good religion of Mazda-worshippers and the prophethood of the adorable Fravahr of holy Zardušt son of Spētāmān (8) and certainly about all his creatures, who are obedient to him. (9) (The book) will be a guide for goodness. We also (10) should desire goodness for all people and all faithful, so that (11) it reaches back to us. (It was) the day Āsmān, the month Amōrdad, the year (12) 941, after (the year) 20 of Yazdgerd, king of kings, the descendant of Husraw, (13) king of kings, the son of Ohrmazd, that I, Marzbān Frēdōn, wrote (14) in the blessed city Kerman, in the quarter of Dādgān. I wrote for my own possession and for all (15) victory of me and my children, so that (16) for 150 years we use it with righteousness and after (17) 150 years entrust it to the good famed and faithful (children). (18) Everybody who may recite it [or may teach it or make a copy] from it, ...’

4.7.6. *Vičītakīhā-i Zātasparam*¹⁴⁰⁰

The colophon of this manuscript is identical with the first colophon of TD4a.

4.7.6.1. Transcription of the first Middle Persian colophon

(1) *frazaft pad drōd <ud> šādīh ī*¹⁴⁰¹ *rāmišn. man dēn bandag* (2) *gōpadšā Rostam bāndār*¹⁴⁰² *šāh mardān nibišt <ud> frāz hišt*. (3) *andar farroxān būm german nibišt. az bahr ī xwešīh* (4) *frazand frēdōn rāy nibišt hom tā dēn ī ...* (5) *framāyād. pad yazdān kām bād*.

4.7.6.2. Translation of the first Middle Persian colophon

‘(1) Completed in welfare, joy and pleasure. I, the servant of religion, (2) Gōpadšā Rostam Bāndār Šāhmardān wrote and launched <it>. (3) I wrote <it> in the blessed city Kirman. I wrote and launched <it> for the possession of (4) (my) child Frēdōn, so that he may use (it for) the religion. (5) May it be according to the desire of God.’

1397 Read *framāyēnd* by Anklesaria (1958: 196). Written [flm’yym].

1398 After the word *sāl* [ŠNT], only the letter *s* is written.

1399 Written [KYTTWN], a mistake for [KRYTTWN].

1400 I have used the image of this colophon published in Anklesaria (1964: 134).

1401 A mistake for *u*.

1402 A mistake for *bōndār*.

APPENDIX: LIST OF AND BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE MANUSCRIPTS MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME

List of mentioned manuscripts with ADA numbers

- **6** (Private collection of Vahid Zolfaghari in Yazd): This text pertains to an illuminated liturgical Yasna manuscript, likely the oldest extant Iranian Yasna manuscript. Interestingly, this manuscript lacks a colophon. Based on paleographical and orthographic analysis, the manuscript appears to have been copied by Mehrābān Anōšagruwān. For further details, see Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **8** (Ataš Varahrām Fire Temple in Yazd): This liturgical Yasna manuscript, according to its Middle Persian colophon, was penned by Rustahm Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr Gōštāsp for Māvandād Wāhrom Māvandād Rustahm Anōšagruwān Rustahm, a high priest from Turkābād in Yazd. Refer to Gholami (2020: 44–48) for a description.
- **10 [Mf1]** (K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mulla Firuz collection, D 83, 3799): This miscellaneous codex comprises twenty-two texts, including a liturgical Yasna, and dates back to 1090 AY. The manuscript, highly regarded by Geldner (1896: xi), features in his edition. For more details, see Hintze (2012: 246).
- **15** (Muze-ye Zartoštiyān and Fire Temple in Kerman): This illuminated liturgical Yasna manuscript, created by Dastur Esfandyār Dastur Nušīrwān, includes an incomplete colophon from 1185 AY/1816 AD. Refer to Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: 3.2.1.1.1) for a description.
- **20** (Ketābxāne-ye Maḡles-e Šorāy-e Eslāmi, Tehran, Signature 15284): This Iranian liturgical Yasnā manuscript, authored by Dastūr Forūd Ābān Ḥakīm Ardešīr, dates before 1192 AY/1823 AD. More details can be found in Mazdapour (2010: 5; 2012: 169ff.) and in Hintze (2012: 246).
- **60** (Ketābxāne-ye Maḡles-e Šorāy-e Eslāmi, Tehran, Signature 15285): This Iranian liturgical Yasnā manuscript, likely written in Yazd before 1262 AY/1893 AD, is based on a Sālmarg. The name of the scribe is not mentioned. For descriptions, see Mazdapour (2010: 6; 2012: 172) and Hintze (2012: 247).
- **29** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): The manuscript, a liturgical Yasnā, was written by Dīnyār Dastūr Nōšīrvān Dastūr Bahrāmšāh Dastūr Nōšīrvān Dastūr Mehrabān in 1239 Hijri (1824 AD). Unlike other manuscripts, this one was written on blue paper. A detailed description is available in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 7ff.).
- **32** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): The manuscript, a liturgical Yasnā, displays varying styles of calligraphy, suggesting the involvement of multiple scribes. It comprises Nērangs in both Pahlavi and Persian and concludes with a Persian colophon. The colophon reveals that the manuscript was copied in 1195 AY/1826 AD by Forūd Dastūr Ābādān Dastūr Ḥakīm Dastūr Ardešīr under the instruction of Xosraw Dastūr Jamšīd Dastūr Rostam. Refer to Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 13–16) for a detailed description.
- **35** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This manuscript is a liturgical Yasnā. The name of the book, given on the final page (p. 473), is Yašt-e bozorg. Page 472 indicates the completion date of the manuscript as Šā Mehr Izad's day, in the Xordād month of the year 1242 AY (AD 1873). However, the scribe's name remains unmen-

- tioned in the colophon. Further, the manuscript's final page, p. 473, includes a series of Sālmargs and birth dates. For a detailed description, refer to Moradiyan (2013) and Gholami and Pouladi (2019).
- **82** (Muze-ye Zartoštiyān and annexed Fire Temple in Kerman): This Yasnā liturgical text is attributed to Dastur Esfandyār Nušīrwān. Regrettably, the final section of the colophon and the associated date have not survived. A detailed examination of this manuscript can be found in a forthcoming publication by Martínez-Porro, specifically in section 3.2.1.1.1.
 - **83** (Private collection in Xāne-ye Sedāqat in Yazd): This liturgical Yasna manuscript does not contain a colophon. Although the scribe of the manuscript is unknown, Martínez-Porro (forthcoming 3.1.2.3) placed this manuscript within the zone of influence of the manuscripts by Rōstam Gōštāsp based on some palaeographical characteristics, including punctuation marks and the word agreement in Y9.
 - **84** (Niknam's private collection, Tehran): This Yasnā liturgical text, transcribed in the year 1942, or 1321 Šamsī in the Iranian solar calendar, lacks a colophon. Presently, no description or details pertaining to this manuscript can be found in the available catalogues.
 - **86** (Private collection of Vahid Zolfaghari, also known as Sābahrām Dorost, in Yazd): This Yasna liturgical manuscript lacks a colophon. The preserved portion of the text commences from Y48.5, indicating that the majority of the original document has been lost. Detailed analysis and commentary on this manuscript can be found in the forthcoming work by Martínez-Porro, specifically in section 3.2.2.5.
 - **88** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This liturgical Yasna does not contain a colophon. Based on palaeographical and orthographic analyses, Martínez-Porro hypothesised that the scribe of the manuscript was Rōstam Gōštāsp (Martínez-Porro forthcoming: 3.1.2.3). A brief description of the manuscript is available in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 5ff.).
 - **90** (Ataš Varahrām Fire Temple in Yazd): This Iranian Yasnā contains an (undated) Middle Persian colophon and a Vaqf-Nāme 'donation letter' on 202r and 220v. The manuscript was written by Dastūr Aspandyār Dastūr Nōšagruwān Dastūr Aspandyār Dastūr Ērdešīr Ādur Sīstānīg, and was donated to the Ātaš Varahrām temple in Yazd by Dastūr Frēdōn Dastūr Esfandyār. A description is available in Gholami (2020: 40–44).
 - **251** (Ataš Varahrām Fire Temple in Yazd): On the first page of this Indian liturgical Yasnā, the introduction is in Pahlavi, and the title of the manuscript is given as *abestāg yašt hādoxt abāg nērang barsam*. The Nērang is written in Pahlavi red ink, and have a Persian interlinear transcription. The Pahlavi colophon in this manuscript shows that the manuscript was copied in Bombay by Mūbed Xwaršēd Ēdal Rustahm, a resident of Surat, although the year is missing in the colophon. A description is available in Gholami (2020: 36–38).
 - **252** (Ataš Varahrām Fire Temple in Yazd): On the first page of the manuscript and in the Pahlavi introduction in this Indian liturgical Yasnā, the title of the manuscript is given as *abestāg yašt hādoxt abāg nērang barsam*. Ms. 251 and ms. 252 are extremely similar in structure, and ms. 252 appears to be a copy of ms. 251; alternatively, both may have been copied from the same manuscript. However, the palaeographical fea-

tures provide evidence that the scribe of each manuscript was not the same person. A description is available in Gholami (2020: 38–40).

- **300 (in 300 + 2007)** (Vaziri Library in Yazd): This liturgical Yasna ī Rapithwin is the first part of a collective codex. The colophon appears at the end of the Frawardīn Yašt, and mentions Bahrām Marzbān as the scribe and 976 AY/1607 AD (+20=1627 AD) as the date of the copy. Descriptions are available in Hintze (2012: 252), Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.1), Martínez-Porro (2014b: 77ff.) and Andrés-Toledo (2015: 31ff.).
- **510 (K5) (Copenhagen Library)**: This manuscript in addition to J2 is the oldest Pahlavi Yasna manuscript and was written in 1323 AD in Cambay in Gujrat by Mehraban. The manuscript contains three colophons, two in Pahlavi and one in Sanskrit. A facsimile of this manuscript is available in (Ferrer-Losilla 2015). For a translation of the colophons of K5 see Unvala (1940: 128–30). For a recent translation of the Sanskrit colophon of K5 see Goldman (2018: 5).
- **682** (Ketābxāne-ye Mellī in Tehran, Signature 5_19222): This manuscript is an Indian Yasna in Pahlavi and Sanskrit; it contains various illuminations, but no colophon. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 4.5.3).
- **683** (Ketābxāne-ye Mellī in Tehran, Signature 5_19221): This manuscript is an exegetical Yasna manuscript with a Sanskrit translation, but does not contain a colophon. A brief description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 4.3.4).
- **2000 [K7a]** (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen): This manuscript is a Visperad Dō Hōmāst, copied in Anklesvar and completed in 637 AY (1288 AD) by Rōstam Mihrābān. The facsimile was published by Christensen (1944) and described by Geldner (1896, pp. vi–vii) and Martínez-Porro (2014, p. 77) and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 4.1).
- **2005** (The Central Library and Documentation Center of the University of Tehran, Signature 9345M): This is a liturgical Visperad that does not contain a colophon; however, according to the palaeographical and orthographic analyses, it can be hypothesised that the scribe was Frēdōn Marzbān. The manuscript was donated to the library by Rostam Xodabaxši on the 21st of February 1976. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014a: 77).
- **2007** (in 300 + 2007) (Vaziri Library in Yazd): This is a collective codex that contains a Visperad Sāde (52r–283). The colophon occurs in fol. 282r, and states that the manuscript was completed by Dastur Mehrābān Bahman in 1066 AY/1697 AD. Descriptions are available in Hintze (2012: 252), Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.1), Martínez-Porro (2014b: 77ff.) and Andrés-Toledo (2015: 31ff.).
- **2010** (in 5010 + 2010, Meherji Rānā Library in Navsari): This is a Visperad in a collective codex; the colophon mentions that the manuscript was copied by Mānušcihr Ardašīr in 996 AY/1627 AD in Kerman for his own sake and for the sake of Frēdōn Marzbān. Another colophon, written in the same hand, states that Frēdōn Marzbān sent this manuscript to the Dasturs, Mobeds and Behdīns in India. A detailed description of this manuscript is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.5.2).
- **2030** (Ketābxāne-ye Mellī in Tehran, Signature 5_19206): This liturgical Visperad manuscript was completed by Dastūr Rustahm Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr in 1076 AY/ 1707 AD. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014: 78).

- **2035** (Sorušīyān collection in Tehran): According to a note on the first page of this manuscript, it was purchased in Kerman by Arbāb Jamšīd Soruš Sorušīyān in 1341 AY. The manuscript has no colophon. According to Boroumand (2013), the scribe of this manuscript, Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsb, was also the scribe of manuscript V 4090 (see Nr. 49). The entire manuscript has been published in facsimile by Mazdapour (2011).
- **2038** (House of Dinyar Oshidari in Kerman): This illuminated liturgical Visperad manuscript was copied by Esfandyār Anōšīrwān Esfandyār in 1179 AY/1810 AD. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014: 78).
- **2040** (Muze-ye Zartošīyān and annexed Fire Temple in Kerman, Collection of Dastūr Rashid Rostami): This illuminated liturgical Visperad was written by Dastūr Esfandyār Anōšīrwān Esfandyār on the day of Dēn in the month of Ādur in the year 1182 AY/1813 AD. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014: 78ff.).
- **2060** (Sāzmān-e Javānān-e Zartoštī-ye Tehran, Signature 29X18): This manuscript contains a Middle Persian colophon. The scribe of the manuscript was Esfandyār Frēdōn Wāhrom Esfandyār, who wrote it in 1206 AY/1837 AD.
- **2101** (Private collection of Vahid Zolfāghari in Yazd): This liturgical Visperad manuscript has no colophon but, based on a palaeographical and orthographic analysis, Martínez-Porro established similarities to ms. 2030, which was written by Dastūr Rustahm Gōštāsp Ērdēšīr. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014: 80).
- **2102** (Private collection of Vahid Zolfāghari in Yazd): This liturgical Visperad manuscript does not contain a colophon. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014: 80).
- **2104** (Muze-ye Zartošīyān and annexed Fire Temple in Kerman): This liturgical Visperad manuscript does not contain a colophon. Based on the palaeographical and orthographical characteristics, it can be assumed that it was written by Isfandyār Nōšīrwān, and is probably the only non-illuminated manuscript that was copied by Isfandyār Nōšīrwān. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2014: 80).
- **2109** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This liturgical Visperad manuscript does not contain a colophon. The manuscript was located in 2016 and is currently kept in the Pouladi Collection in Yazd, and not as Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.5.2) mentioned in the Atash Varahrām in Yazd. Based on a number of palaeographical elements and some orthographic features, Martínez-Porro suggested that the calligraphy resembled that of one of the Marzbān siblings (Martínez-Porro forthcoming: § 3.1.1.5.3). A description of the marginal illustrations in this manuscript is available in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 48–55).
- **2510** (at an unknown location, as a facsimile published by the Pahlavi University Press): This manuscript is a Visperad with a Pahlavi translation. Based on orthographic and palaeographical analyses, it was copied by Mehrābān Anōšagruwān. A description is available in the facsimile by Jamasp Asa and Nawabi (1978) and in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **4000** (The Central Library and Documentation Center of the University of Tehran, Signature 11263). This Videvdād Sāde is the oldest Iranian manuscript written by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn discovered to date, and was written in 976 AY in Šarīf Ābād in Yazd. The manuscript has been registered on UNESCO's Memory of the World Programme list (Nr. 1016). Mazdapour (2003a) published an article and presented this

manuscript for the first time. In 2013, the manuscript was published in facsimile by Afshar and Mazdapour (2013).

- **4010** (Private collection of Vahid Zolfaghari, also known as Šābahrām Dorost, in Yazd): This Videvdād Sāde was written by Vāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn in 977/978; the manuscript contains two Middle Persian colophons, one Persian colophon in verse and a large number of important Sālmargs, amongst them the Sālmargs of the members of the Marzbān family. A description of the manuscript is available in Browne (1893: 392ff.) and in Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 209). The manuscript was also recently published in facsimile by Cantera et al. (2019).
- **4020 [Mf2]** (Cama Oriental Institute in Bombay): This liturgical Videvdād manuscript contains two Middle Persian colophons; Geldner used this manuscript as Mf2 in his edition, and it is probably a copy of the manuscript written by Xosro Anošagruwān in Turkābād (Yazd) in 987 AY/1618 AD. Descriptions are available in Dhabhar (1923: 13ff.), Geldner (1896: xi), Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 209) and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **4025** (Library of Mārkār Orphanage in Yazd): This Videvdād Sāde was copied in 991 AY/1622 AD, the first part by Wāhrom Marzbān for Manuščih Rostum Frēdōn Gōpatšāh Bōnyār Šāhmardān, and the second part by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn. The manuscript was indexed and published by Ferrer-Losilla (2014).
- **4030** (Āstān-e Qods Library in Mašhad, Signature 26288): This manuscript is an Iranian Videvdād Sāde that was written by Wāhrom Marzbān Frēdōn and Bāmaz Nōšīrvān in Kerman in 992 AY/1623 AD, and contains both Middle Persian and Persian colophons. Descriptions are available in Jahanpour (2011, 2012), Mazdapour (2012: 166–167) and Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 209).
- **4040** (Niknam’s private collection in Tehran): This manuscript is an Iranian liturgical Videvdād and was copied by Frēdōn Gōpatšāh Rōstam in 1001 AY/1632 AD from a manuscript by Šahryār Irdešīr. The manuscript has been described by Mazdapour (2012, p. 167), Andrés-Toledo & Cantera (2012, p. 210) and indexed by Gholami (2014) for ADA.
- **4045** (The Central Library and Documentation Center of the University of Tehran): This liturgical Videvdād manuscript was completed in 1004 AY/1635 AD. The colophon before the ninth Fragard states that Mihrēbān Anōšagruwān Vahromšāh copied this manuscript from a manuscript by Rostam Nūšīrwān Bahmanyār. Descriptions are available in Gholami (2012) and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **4050** (Ketābxāne-ye Majles-e Šorāy-e Eslāmi, Tehran, Signature 16226): This illuminated liturgical Videvdād manuscript was copied in 1009 AY/1640 AD; it contains two Middle Persian and one Persian colophon. According to the first Middle Persian colophon, Mehrābān Anōšagruwān Wāhromšā Ērdešīr Wāhromšāh, copied this manuscript from a copy by Ērdešīr Anōšag-ruwān Spandyār for Spandyār Anōšag-ruwān Ādūr Vāhrōm Ādūr. The second part of the manuscript, according to the second Middle Persian colophon, was copied from a manuscript by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn, who had written it for Rustōm Mehrēpān Vāhrōm Ādūr. Descriptions are available in Mazdapour (1999 [1378]: 5, no. 4), Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 210) and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3). M. Á. Andrés-Toledo indexed this manuscript for ADA.

- **4055** (Rashid Rostami collection, Fire Temple of Kerman): This illuminated liturgical Videvdād manuscript was copied in Turkābad in 1014 AY/1645 AD. The scribe of the manuscript, Mihrabān Anōšagruwān Wāhromšā Ērdēšēr Wāhromšā, copied the manuscript from a copy by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Rostam Bōndār for Sandal Sīyāvaxš Wāhrom. According to Martínez-Porro, a second writer replaced the fragment from VVrS3.6 to VVrS9.7; this might be old and related to the other tradition of Old Iranian manuscripts (Martínez-Porro 2017: 103ff.). A description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **4056** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This liturgical Videvdād contains a Middle Persian colophon, which was added to the manuscript later and was written by Mehryār Xosrow Spandyār Sīyāvaxš in 1014 AY. In addition to the colophons, the manuscript contains valuable ownership notes and treaties. I purchased this manuscript for the Pouladi Collection from a dealer in Yazd in 2017, and a description of this manuscript is available in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 27–33, see Nr. 11).
- **4060** (British Library in London, Signature RSPA 230): This illuminated liturgical Videvdād manuscript was copied in Turkābad in 1016 AY/1647 AD, and contains a Middle Persian colophon and a Persian one, both before the ninth Fragard. According to the Middle Persian colophon, the manuscript was copied by Mihrabān Anōšagruwān Wāhromšā Ērdēšēr Wāhromšā from a copy by Frēdōn Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom Bōndār Šāhmardān. Descriptions are available in Sims-Williams (2012: 190), Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 211) and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **4062** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This illuminated Videvdād manuscript was written by Marzbān Vahrom Marzbān Frēdōn Rustom Bundār in 1022 AY/1653 AD, and is the only illuminated manuscript by the Marzbān family. An illustration of two deer, two birds and a plant occur at the beginning of the Videvdād before the first Fragard. The manuscript contains a Middle Persian colophon and a large number of Sālmargs and marginal notes. A description of this manuscript is available in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 16–23).
- **4063** (Private collection of Hosseini in Mashhad): This liturgical Videvdād contains three colophons; the first part of the manuscript was copied by Šāhmardān Vahrōm Marzbān in 1025 AY/1656 AD, while the second colophon mentions the name of [Frēdōn] Gōbedšā Rustēm Frēdōn Gōbedšā Rutēm Bōndār as the scribe. In the third colophon, the name of Jāmāsb Hakīm Ardēšīr, whose name was also mentioned in the second colophon in Vyt 5020 (K4), appears and the colophon states that this manuscript was written by Frēdōn Gopadšāh Rostam Frēdōn. A description is available in Jahanpour (2014).
- **4065** (Private collection of Vahid Zolfaghari, also known as Sābahrām Dorost, in Yazd): This liturgical Videvdād manuscript was copied in 1658 CE (1027 YE), and contains one Middle Persian colophon, according to which Wāhromšāh Jāmāsb Anošag-ruwān Wāhromšāh Ērdešīr Wāhromšāh copied the manuscript from the manuscript by his uncle Mihrēbān Anošag-ruwān Wāhromšāh, which was written as a memorial to Marzbān. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.3).
- **4070 [K9]** (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen): This Videvdād Sāde contains two Middle Persian colophons, according to which the manuscript was copied by Mobed

Dārāb Dastur Sohrāb Dastur Bahman Hērbēd Bahrām Hērbēd Frāmrōz Dastur Šābuhr Hērbēd Kaykōbād in the port of Surat from a copy by Husraw Anōšag-ruwān Rostam Šahryār Wāhrām Mihr(ēbān) Māhwindād Wāhrām Mihrēbān Anōšag-ruwān Rostam Šahryār Wāhrām Yazdyār Mihrēbān, which was copied in Turkābād in Yazd. Only the second colophon in fol. 701f. has been edited and translated by Unvala (1940, p. 134f.). The first colophon is missing in his book (for the transcription and translation of the second colophon, see above). Descriptions are available in Geldner (1886–1896, I, p. vii) and in Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 211).

- **4075** (Mehregani House, Mahalle-ye Dastūrān in Yazd): This Videvdād Sāde was written by Behzād Dastūr Ormazdyār during the reign of Karim Khan Zand in 1126 AY/1757 AD; it was located by Mehraban Pouladi and digitised by myself. No description is available.
- **4080** (Ketābxane-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 5_06211): This liturgical Videvdād manuscript contains a colophon that mentions that Mobed Xwaršēd Ēdar Rustahm Kayāmudēn Barzūr Ādurbawād Kaykbawād Māhyār copied the manuscript in Surat in 1157 AY/1788 AD. This manuscript is also a direct or indirect copy of ms. 4020. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.2.1).
- **4085** (Behmardi family in Yazd): This Videvdād Sāde, which belonged to the Dastūr Behmardi family from Yazd, was written by Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsb in 1163 AY/1794 AD. No pictures or descriptions of this manuscript are available.
- **4090** (Yegānegī Library, Tehran): This Videvdād Sāde was written by Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsb and copied in Taft (near Yazd) at end of the eighteenth century or at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The date is missing in the colophon. For this manuscript and its dating, see Tīrān Rostam Jāmāsp and Šahrām Rostam Jāmāsp. A description is available in Boroumand Amin (2013).
- **4100** (The Central Library and Documentation Center of the University of Tehran, Signature 15283): This manuscript is an Iranian Videvdād Sāde that was written by Šahrām Rostam Jāmāsb in Yazd in 1240 Hejri Qamari at the request of the daughter of Zemorrod Xosro Xātūn, an inhabitant of the Sar-deh quarter in Taft in Yazd (Mazdapour 2010: 6). A description is available in Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 211).
- **4411** (The Central Library and Documentation Center of the University of Tehran, Signature 11597M): This manuscript is an Indian Videvdād Sāde that was written by Mehrabān, the son of Frēdūn-jī, who was the son of Edala-jī, in 1808. No description is available.
- **4114** (Muze-ye Zartoštiyān and annexed Fire Temple in Kerman, collection of Manučīhr Rostami): This manuscript, which was written by Mūbed Rostam Molla Iskandar Molla Goštāsb Monājem-e Kermani, is dated 1249 AY/1880 AD.
- **4115** (Ketābxane-ye Melli in Tehran, Sig. 5_06210): This manuscript is a Videvdād Sāde that was written in 1250 AY/1881 AD. The name of the scribe is not mentioned in the colophon. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.2.2.7).
- **4121** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This liturgical Videvdād manuscript concludes with a colophon in Persian, which was written by Ardešīr Xodādād in 1253 AY/1884 AD. The Sālmargs occur before the ninth Fragard. A description is available in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 12ff.).
- **4125** (Private house in Maryam Ābād): This Videvdād was written by Bahrām Nāmdār Bahrām Mehr in 1257 AY/1888 AD. No pictures of this manuscript are available.

- **4130** (Muze-ye Zartoštiyān and annexed Fire Temple in Kerman): This Videvdād Sāde, dated 1263 AY/1894 AD, contains a colophon in Persian. No further description is available.
- **4150** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Sig. 3_5_06212): This manuscript is a Videvdād Sāde that does not contain a colophon; however, as a comment before VS9 mentions the date 1257 AY/1888 AD, the manuscript must have been written at some point prior to this date. A brief description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.2.1.3).
- **4155** (Private collection of Kavusi in Yazd): This liturgical Videvdād manuscript was written by Bahrām Hormazdyār Jamšid Xodābaxš in 1272 AY/1903 AD and belonged to Rostam Kavusiyan Zadeh, an inhabitant of Yazd. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.2.1.4).
- **4158** (Library of Mārkār Orphanage): This Videvdād Sāde was written by Mehragān Syāvaxš Frēdōn in 1228 AY/1859 AD.
- **4160** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 6_5_24455): This manuscript is a Videvdād Sāde that was written by Bahrām Hormazdyār Jamšīd, the scribe of V 4155, based on the palaeographical and orthographic characteristics. A brief description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.2.1.4).
- **4161** (The Central Library and Documentation Center of the University of Tehran): This Videvdād Sāde does not contain a colophon, but we find the date 1027 AY/1658 AD in the Sālmargs in this manuscript, which indicates that the manuscript would have been written before this date. The manuscript belonged to the priestly Jahanbaxši family. The entire manuscript was published in facsimile by Cantera and Mazdapour (2015), and a brief description is also available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.5.2).
- **4162** (Pouladi's private collection in Yazd): This liturgical Videvdād does not contain a colophon. Based on a palaeographical analysis, Martínez-Porro (2017) concluded that this manuscript was clearly old, and was extremely likely to have been written by Xōsrō or Mihrābān Anōšagruwān. A description of this manuscript is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.5.2) and in Gholami and Pouladi (2019: 8–11).
- **4280** (Malek Library in Tehran, Signature 6459): This manuscript is an Indian Videvdād that was written by Dārāb Rōstām Xoršēd in Navsārī in 1102 AY. In the nineteenth century, Samuel Guise, an English surgeon and collector, transported this manuscript to London from India. It was sold in 1812, and was in the possession of various collectors until 1998, when Malek's National Library purchased the manuscript. The manuscript has three colophons in Pāzand, Guajarati and Persian. Mazdapour (2010) discussed this manuscript briefly in addition to other newly discovered manuscripts in Iran. A more detailed introduction has been published in Mazdapour and Dalvand (2011).
- **4425** (Ketābxāne-ye Maḡles-e Šorāy-e Eslāmi, Tehran, Signature 9661): This manuscript is a Videvdād Sāde that was written by Rōstām Dārāb Frāmōrz Minōčīhr in Bombay in 1178 AY/1809 AD.
- **4456** (Mar'aši Najafi Library in Qom): This Indian Videvdād was copied in 1203 AY/1834 AD. No further description is available.
- **4485** (Mar'aši Najafi Library in Qom): This Indian Videvdād was copied in 1230 AY/1861 AD by Sohrāb Pašotan Kuyā Sohrāb Pašotan Limjii Mehreji Šahryār

- Narīmān Rostam. A brief description is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 4.4.3).
- **4510** (Ketābxāne-ye Majles-e Šorāy-e Eslāmi, Tehran, Signature ML630): This liturgical Videvdād does not contain a colophon. A description is available in Andrés-Toledo and Cantera (2012: 219).
 - **4520** (Adriyān of Tehran): This manuscript is an Indian Videvdād that was written by Mūbed lū lā dā rū, the son of Mūbed Mūnočir, the son of Maṇik, the son of Nuraoz Lakbi Baṇḍārā in 1197 AY/1828 AD.
 - **4600 [L4]** (British Library in London, Meherji-Rānā Library in Navsari): The manuscript is an exegetical Vidēvdād manuscript with a Pahlavi translation. It was copied by Mihrābān Kayxōsrō in 692 AY/1323 AD in Navsari. The first part of the book, which contains 29 folios (ff. 4–32) has recently appeared at the Meherji-Rānā Library and has been designated as G151 (Martínez-Porro forthcoming: § 4.2). The remainder of the manuscript, known as L4–L4a, is housed at the British Library and has been described previously by Geldner (1896: ix), Sims-Williams (2012: 184), Andrés-Toledo & Cantera (2012: 220), and Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 4.2).
 - **4610 [K1]** (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen): The manuscript is an exegetical Vidēvdād with Pahlavi translation and copied by Mihrābān Kayxōsrō in Khambay in 693 AY/1324 AD. A description of the manuscript is published by Westergaard (1846a, p. 111), Geldner (1896, p. vi), Andrés-Toledo & Cantera (2012, p. 220) and (Martínez-Porro forthcoming: § 4.2).
 - **5102** (House of a merchant in Yazd): This liturgical Wištāsp Yašt manuscript does not contain a colophon. Based on palaeographical and orthographic characteristics, Martínez-Porro suggested that it was written by Bahrām Hormazdyār. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2013: 75).
 - **5010 [in 5010 + 2010]** (Meherji Rānā Library in Navsari): This Wištāsp Yašt is included in a collective codex, which contains three colophons. The first colophon after the Wištāsp Yašt states that the manuscript was copied from an original by Xōsrōšāh Anōšagruwān Rōstām Xōsrōšāh (1324/1344 AD). A description of this manuscript is available in Martínez-Porro (forthcoming: § 3.1.1.5.2).
 - **5107** (Sāzmān-e Javānān-e Zartoštī-ye Tehran): This manuscript is an Iranian Wištāsp Yašt Sāde that does not contain a colophon.
 - **5020 [K4]** (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen): This liturgical Wištāsp Yašt was copied in Kerman in 1092 AY/1723 AD. According to the colophon, it was copied by Dastūr Wēhmard Frēdōn Wēhmard from a copy of the manuscript by Vāhrōm Marzbān Frēdōn Rostam Bōndār, who had written it based on a copy of the manuscript by Husraw-šāh Anōšag-ruwān Rostam to send it to the Parsis in India. Descriptions are available in Geldner (1896: vi) and Martínez-Porro (2013: 74).
 - **5040** (Private collection of Hosseini in Mashhad): This manuscript is an Iranian Wištāsp Yašt Sāde that was written by Behzād Ormazdyār in 1159 AY. A description is available in Martínez-Porro (2013: 74).
 - **6135** (Yegānegi Library Tehran, Sig. YL2-17–02233). This Xorde Avesta was written by Rostom Goštāsp Erdašīr in 1723 AD (1072 AY+ 20). A description is available in König (2021).
 - **6187** (Muze-ye Zartoštīyān and annexed Fire Temple in Kerman): This Xorde Avesta was written by Esfandyār Nūšīrwān Esfandyār Bahrām Ardešīr Ādur Sīstānīg in

1172–1173 AY/1804–1805 AD, and contains a brief Middle Persian and a Persian colophon. A description is available in Mazdapour (2010: 5) and in König (2021).

Manuscripts without ADA numbering

- **Farvardīn Yašt** (Library of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature, Signature 44037): This Indian Farvardīn Yašt from the Tafazzolli collection does not contain a colophon, and no description is available.
- **Gāhanbāre** (Library of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature, Signature 62751): The Āfarīngān Gahanbār, an Indian manuscript, belonged to Mehdi Gharavi until at least 1985 according to a stamp and a note on the front cover page of the manuscript. According to a note in the margin of the same page, Mehdi Gharavi appears to have purchased the manuscript in Bombay in August of 1972. No description is available.
- **IM** (The current location is unknown): The manuscript was written by Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrom in 954 AY/1585 AD. He was the scribe of manuscript IM, which was copied in Kerman in 944 AY (1575 CE) from the copy by Šahryār Ardešīr Ērīz Rostam Ērīz Kavād Ērānšāh, who in turn copied it from the manuscript by Vižan Vahrāmšāh Vižan for Ādurgašasp Yazdayār Vižan Vahrāmšāh. This manuscript was transported to India by Syāvaxš Ohrmazdyār Syāvaxš Rostam Ohrmazdyār (Jamasp 1907: p. xxiv; Sims-Williams 2012: 188–190), who presented it as a gift to the ‘wealthy noble’ Manekji Sohrabji Kavusji Ashburner in 1853 CE, who then donated it to Dastūr Hōšang Jāmāsp of Pune (Hintze 2017: 152). However, Dastūr Hōšang used it for his edition of the Pahlavi version of the Videvdād and recorded its variant readings. He also reproduced the three colophons in IM in the original Pahlavi script, accompanied by an English translation (Hintze 2017: 152, Jamasp 1907: pp. xxiv–xxxi. For the colophons, see Cantera 2012b: 323; for the genealogy of IM, see Mirza 1987: 331, and Cantera 2014: 135–137).
- **Miscellaneous codex** (Ataš Varahrām Fire Temple in Yazd): The manuscript contains a Xorde Avesta in Dindabire, Goftār-e Ġāmāsb ‘Ġāmāsb’s speech’, and an Anūšīrvān and an Abūzarġomehr in Persian. The Xorde Avesta part does not contain a colophon, but there is a note in Persian dated 1261 AY in folio 46 that indicates that the manuscript belonged to Rostam Mūbed Rašīd. At the end of the Persian section, namely Goftār-e Ġāmāsb, we find a short colophon in Persian that contains the name of the scribe Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Tīrān from Aharestan and the date 1213 Hejrī. A description is available in Gholami (2020: 34–35).
- **Miscellaneous codex** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 5_17541): This manuscript contains different texts. The first part is a Persian Mēnōg ī Xrad, which was written by Hērbēd Rostam, the son of Bahrām Sanjāne, in the port of Sūrat in 1150 AY. It also includes the beginning of a Yasna, which is also in Pahlavi. According to the Persian colophon, this interpretation of the Avesta was written by Hērbēd Kavūs Dastūr Sohrāb Dastūr Rostam Dastūr Mānek from the lineage of Māhyār, the son of Rānā (who was the son of the copyist of Suppl. pers. 1186) in 1147 AY. On page 239, we find another colophon that was written by the scribe of the first colophon, Rostam Bahrām Sanjāne, in 1143 AY. He referred to this manuscript as Avestā-ye Zand in his

colophon. The images are available online at the following site: <http://dl.nlai.ir/UI/bbd3e560-3624-422f-89f2-1db069737407/Catalogue.aspx>

- **Suppl. pers. 27 [P1 or PVS]** (Bibliothèque nationale de France): The manuscript is an Indian Videvdād copied by Dārab Rōstəm Xuršēt Aspəndyārīn in 1083 AY/1714 AD in Surat. The manuscript was described in Blochet (1900, vol. I, 117, p. 133; P1 or PVS.). For the colophon see (Unvala 1940: 4).
- **Suppl. pers. 29 [P3]** (Bibliothèque nationale de France): The manuscript is a Yazīšn with its Sanskrit version written by Šāpur ibn-e Mānak ben Bahrām in 1100 AY/1731 AD. The manuscript was described in Blochet (1900, XVII, 183, p. 139; P3). For the colophons see (Unvala 1940: 7–9).
- **Suppl. pers. 39 [P5]** (Bibliothèque nationale de France): The manuscript is a Videvdād with its Pahlavi version written by Dastur Dārab in 1127 AY/1758 AD in Surat. The manuscript was described in Blochet (1900, VI, 179; P5). For the colophons see (Unvala 1940: 13–14).
- **Suppl. pers. 1079** (Bibliothèque nationale de France): The manuscript is a Videvdād Sāde written by the hands of Dastur Dārab Pahlān, who probably was Anquetil-Duperron’s teacher in 1104 AY/1735 AD in Nawsari. The manuscript was described in Blochet (1900, III 175, p. 133). For the colophons see (Unvala 1940: 35–37).
- **Suppl. pers. 1186** (Bibliothèque nationale de France): This manuscript is a Pahlawi Škand Gumānīg Wizār with its Pāzand version copied by Sohrāb Rustam Mānak in 1124 AY/1755 AD in Nusari. The manuscript was described in Blochet (1900, XXXI 190, p. 155). For the colophons see (Unvala 1940: 37–38).
- **Yasnā Šahrīyāri** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 5_39196): This manuscript has a Persian colophon on page 160v; the manuscript was copied by Dastūr Dīnyār Dastūr Nōšīrvān Dastūr Bahrāmšāh in 1245 Hejri (AD 1830) in the village of Šarīf Ābād. No description is available.
- **Yasnā Šahrīyāri** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 5_39195): This manuscript is another copy by Dastūr Dīnyār Dastūr Nōšīrvān Dastūr Bahrāmšāh. The year of the copy is not mentioned in the colophon, which appears on pages 162r and 163v. No description is available.
- **Yasnā** (Ketābxāne-ye Majles-e Šorāy-e Eslāmi, Tehran, Signature 15292): This manuscript was written by Dastūr Xodābaxš Forūd before 1211 AY, and was donated to the library of the parliament, but this donation was later cancelled on October 7, 2002.

Xorde Avestas without ADA numbers¹⁴⁰³

- **Xorde Avesta** (Pouladi’s private collection in Yazd): This manuscript does not contain a colophon, but has one Sālmarg dated 1308 AY/1939 AD.
- **Xorde Avesta** (Niknam’s private collection in Tehran): This manuscript does not contain a colophon, is relatively small in size (approx. 16 x 10 centimetres) and consists of 144 folios. The Nerangs and prayers are in Persian.
- **Xorde Avesta** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 5_19218): This manuscript was written by Jamšīd Xoršīd Kāwus Jamšīd Mānek from the lineage of Neryosang in 1209 AY/1840 AD. The Nerangs and prayers are in Gujarati.

¹⁴⁰³ I was not able to obtain the ADA numbers for these manuscripts.

- **Xorde Avesta** (Ketābxāne-ye Melli in Tehran, Signature 5_24454): This Xorde Avesta was written before 1201 AY/1832 AD.
- **Xorde Avesta** (Sorūšīyān collection in Tehran): This manuscript was written by Mollā Behruz Eskandar in Kerman in 1226 AY/1857 AD. The entire manuscript has been published by Mazdapour (2006).

List of Pahlavi manuscripts

DH = The Codex DH. Being a Facsimile Edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht and Parts of Denkard. Volume 89 of Enteshārāt-e Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān.

MK (Private collection of Dastur Dr Kaikhusroo M. Jamasp Asa): The manuscript is a Pahlavi miscellaneous codex with a wide selection of andarz texts written by Mēhrabān Kayxosro in 691 AY/1322 AD. For a facsimile edition see (Jamasp Asa and Hintze 2015). The manuscript is also discussed in (Hintze 2021).

TD1 = The Bondahesh. Being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1. Tehran: Iranian Culture Foundation, o. J. [Iranian Culture Foundation, 88].

TD2 = Iranian Bundahišn and Rivāyat-i Ēmēt-i Ašavahištān, etc. Part 1. Edited by K. M. Jamasp Asa - Y. M. Nawabi - M. Tavousi. Published by Linguistic Department (Asia Institute) Shiraz University. The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, vol. 54). Shiraz, 1978.

TD2 = Ms. TD2 Iranian Bundahišn and Rivāyat-i Ēmēt-i Ašavahištān etc. Part 2. Edited by K. M. Jamasp Asa – Y. M. Nawabi - M. Tavousi. Published by Linguistic Department (Asia Institute) Shiraz University. The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, vol. 55). Shiraz, 1979.

TD2 = The Būndahishn: Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript, n.º 2. Brought from Persia by Dastur Tīrandāz and now preserved in the late Ervad Tahmuras' Library, edited by the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria with an introduction. Bombay, 1908.

TD4a = The Pahlavi Rivāyat, Dātistān-i Dinīk, Nāmākīhā-i Manushchihir and Vichītakīhā-i Zātasparam etc. Ed. K. M. Jamasp Asa / Y. M. Nawabi / M. Tavousi. Published by Linguistic Department (Asia Institute) Shiraz University. The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, vol. 52). Shiraz, 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdollahī, R. 1996: *Tārīx-e Tārīx dar Irān* [The history of date in Iran]. Tehran: Amīrkabīr.
- Afshar, I. & Mazdapour, K. 2013: *Vendidad (Avesta 976 T) scribed by Fareidoun Marzban of Kerman*. Tehran: Fravahr.
- Andreas, F. C. 1903: 'Die Entstehung des Awesta-Alphabetes und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert.' In: *Verhandlungen des XII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses in Hamburg 1902*. Leiden.
- 1882: *The book of the Mainyo-i-khard; also, an old fragment of the Bundehesh, both in the original Pahlavi; being a facsimile of a manuscript brought from Persia by Westergaard and now preserved in the university-library of Copenhagen*. Kiel: Lipsius and Tischer.
- Andrés-Toledo, M. Á. 2015: 'Ceremonies in the Xorde Avesta Manuscripts: the Drōn Frawardīn Yašt.' In: A. Cantera & J. Ferrer-Losilla (Eds.), *Estudios Iranios y Turanios: aṭ ciṭ bā nāmō haōmāi. Homenaje a Éric Pirart en su 65º aniversario*. Vol. 2, pp. 29–42.
- Andrés-Toledo, M. Á. and Cantera, A. 2012: 'Manuscripts of the Wīdēwdād.' In: Alberto Cantera (ed.): *The Transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 207–243.
- Anklesaria, P.K. 1958: *A Critical Edition of the Unedited Portion of the Dādestān-i Dīnīk*. London.
- Anklesaria, B.T. 1964: *Vichitakiha-I Zatsparam with Text and Introduction*. Part I, transl. by B. T. Anklesaria. Bombay: Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties.
- Anklesaria, T.D. 1908: *The Būndahishn. Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2 brought from Persia by Dastur Tīrandāz and now preserved in the late Ervad Tahmuras' Library*. With an Introduction by B. T. Anklesaria. Bombay.
- Anquétil-Duperron, A. H. 1771: *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, traduit en François sur l'Original Zend, avec des Remarques; et accompagné de plusieurs Traités propres à éclaircir les Matières qui en sont l'objet*. Paris.
- Asa, M. J., et al. 1979: *The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches 55: MS. TD2: Iranian Bundahišn and Rivāyat-i Ēmēt-i Ašavahištān etc.* Part 2. Shiraz: Shiraz University.
- Bahar, M. (1376/1996): *Pažūhešī dar asāṭīr-e Irān* (lit. A Study about Iranian Myths), Tehran: Agah publication.
- Bartholomae, Ch. 1904: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg: Verlag Karl J. Trubner.
- Bartholomae, Ch. 1915: *Die Zendhandschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*. München: Palm'sche Hofbuchhandlung.
- Bayevsky, S. 1999: 'Farhang-e Jahāngīrī.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 1999, available at: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/farhang-e-jahangiri> (accessed on 10 May 2021).
- Birke, D. & Christ, B. 2013: 'Paratext and Digitized Narrative: Mapping the Field.' In: *NARRATIVE* 21:1, 65–87.
- Bloch, E. 1870–1937: *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*. T. Ier. Nos. 1–720. – Paris.
- Boroumand Amin, B. 2013: 'dastnevīs-e avestā-ye mūbed hūšangī ketābxāne-ye yegānegī va šenāsāyī-ye kāteb-e dastnevīs-e yasnā-ye ketābxāne-ye jamšīd sorūšīyān.' [The Avestan manuscript of Mūbed Hūšangī of Yeganegi Library and the identification of the scribe of

- the Yasna manuscript of the library of Jamšīd sorūšīyān] In: *Name-ye Bahārestān*, Payīz-e 1992, dore-ye jadīd, Nr. 20, pp. 118–131.
- Boroumand Amin, B 2007: 'Kātebān e nosxehāye pahlavi va avestāyi az xāndān e Marzbān.' [Scribes of Avestan and Pahlavi manuscripts from the Marzbān family] In: *Nāme-ye Bahārestān*, year 6, Nr. 1, 2, daftar 11–12, pp. 126–117.
- Boyce, M. 1979: Zoroastrians. *Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London.
- Boyce, M. 1966: 'The fire-temples of Kerman'. In: *Acta Orientalia* 30, S. 51–72.
- Browne, E. G. 1893: *A year amongst the Persians*. London: Adam and Charles Black.
- Buzi, P. 2005: *Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta: Studio storico e tipologico*. Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori in Pisa.
- Cantera, A. 2015: 'Vendīdād ii. Transmission of the Vīdēvdād in India.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2015, available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/vendidad-02-transmission-india> (accessed on 9 March 2015).
- Cantera, A. 2015a: 'The Zoroastrian long liturgy. The transmission of the Avesta.' In: *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* © COMSt 2015, ISBN (Hardcover) 978-3-7323-1768-4, pp. 377–381.
- Cantera, A. 2014: *Vers une édition de la liturgie longue zoroastrienne: Pensées et travaux préliminaires*. Cahiers de Studia Iranica, 51.
- Cantera, A. 2012a: 'Building trees: genealogical relations between the manuscripts of Videvdād.' In: Alberto Cantera (ed.): *The transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 279–346.
- Cantera, A. 2012b: Iranian Ms. Indian manuscripts of the Zoroastrian long liturgy, the hand-out in the first International Conference of Iranian Languages and Dialects: Past and Present, Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopaedia, Tehran June 2012.
- Cantera, A. 2012c: 'Why do we Really Need a New Edition of the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy?' In: *The transmission of the Avesta*. Harrassowitz, pp. 439–478.
- Cantera, A. 2010: 'Lost in transmission: the case of Pahlavi-Wīdēwdād manuscripts.' In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 73: pp. 179–205.
- Cantera, A. 2005: 'Remarks on the colophon of the Avestan manuscripts Pt4 and Mf4.' In: *Studia Iranica* 34, pp. 31–42.
- Cantera, A. 1998: *Estudios sobre la traducción páhlavi del Avesta: las versiones avéstica y páhlavi de los cuatro primeros capítulos de Videvdad*. (PhD), Universidad de Salamanca.
- Cantera, A., Ferrer-Losilla, J., Zolfaghari, D. 2019: *The Liturgical Vīdēvdād manuscript 4010 (Ave977–978)*. Sociedad de Estudios Iranios y Turanios: Girona.
- Cantera, A., & Mazdapour, K. (Eds.). (2015): *The Liturgical Vīdēvdād manuscript ms 4161 (Vandīdād-e Jahānbaxši)*. Salamanca; Tehran: Sociedad de Estudios Iranios y Turanios.
- Carter, J. 1952: *ABC For Book Collectors*. 2nd edition, Oak Knoll Press, London.
- Cereti, C. G. 2009: 'Middle Persian Literature I: Pahlavi Literature.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2009, available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/middle-persian-literature-1-pahlavi> (accessed on 28 March 2022).
- Ciotti, G. & Lin, H. 2016: *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts. Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, 7. De Gruyter.
- Chardin, J. S. 1711: *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*. Amsterdam.
- Chardin, J. S. 1927: *John Chardin's Travels in Persia*. London: Argonaut Press.

- Choksy, J. K. 2015: 'Zoroastrianism ii. Historical Review: from the Arab Conquest to Modern Times.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2015, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zoroastrianism-02-arab-conquest-to-modern> (accessed on 16 May 2018).
- Christensen, A. 1936: *The Pahlavi codex K 43: containing a fragment of the great Bundahishn, the Dādhastān ī Mēnoghē-Khradh*. Copenhagen.
- Dalvand, H. 2015: 'Revāyāt-e Farsī-ye Zartoštī' [The Zoroastrian Persian Rivāyats]. In: *Dam mazan tā bešnavī zān āftāb. jašn-nāme-ye ostād doktor moḥammad taqī rāšed moḥašel. Be kūšeš-e Mehdī 'alāyī*. Tehran: Pažūhešgāh-e 'olūm-e ensānī va moṭāle'āt-e farhangī, 1394Š, pp. 177–233.
- Darmesteter, J. 1960: *Le Zend-Avesta. Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1994: *Ergativity* [Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 69]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Dhabar, E. B. N. 1923: *Descriptive Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library*, Navsary. Bombay: Commercial Printing Press.
- Dhabar, E. B. N. 1932: *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz*. Bombay: The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.
- Dresden, M. J. 1966: *Dēnkart. A Pahlavi Text. Facsimile edition of the manuscript B of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay*, Wiesbaden.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. 1985: 'Anquetil-Duperron.' In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Available online at <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/anquetil-duperron-abraham>
- Eckhart, M.; Weiss, K.; Sturlese, L.; Fischer, H.; Koch, J. (1936): *Die lateinischen Werke*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- Ferrer-Losilla, J. J. 2015: *The Avestan Manuscript 510 (K5), Pahlavi Yasna, of the Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen)*. Avestan Digital Archive Series 79. ISBN 978-84-606-9784-8. Available online at <https://ada.geschkult.fu-berlin.de>.
- Ferrer-Losilla, J. J. 2014: *The Avestan manuscript 4025 (Ave991), Iranian Vidēvdād Sāde, of the Parvarešgāh-e Mārkar (Yazd)*. Avestan Digital Archive Series 58. ISBN 978-84-606-9721-3.
- Ferrer-Losilla, J. J. 2012: *The Avestan manuscript Ave977/978 [and Ave977/978a] 4010, Iranian Vidēvdād Sāde, of the private collection of Vahid Zolfeghari or Shabāhram Dorost, from Yazd*. Avestan Digital Archive Series 40. ISBN-13 978-84-695-7773-8; ISBN-10 84-695-7773-5.
- Ferrer-Losilla, J. J. & Martínez-Troya, D. 2016: *The Avestan manuscript 84 (Nik2), Iranian Yasna Sāde of the Private Collection of Kourosh Niknam (Tehran)*. Avestan Digital Archive Series 81.
- Figuerola, G. 1667: *L'Ambassade de Don Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse. Traduit de l'espagnol par M. de Wicquefort*. Paris: Chez L. Billaine.
- Firby, N. K. 1988: *European Travellers and Their Perceptions of Zoroastrians in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. AMI, Ergänzungsband 14, Berlin.
- Gacek, A. 1987: 'Ownership Statement and Seals in Arabic Manuscripts.' In: *Manuscripts of the Middle East 2*, 88–95.
- Gameson, R. (2002): *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*. H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 12. Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge.

- Geldner, K. F. 1886: *Avesta, The sacred books of the Parsis*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Genette, G. 1982: *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Ghanbari, O. 2008: *Zendegīnāme va xadamāt-e 'elmī va farhangī-ye šādravān arbāb k keyx-osro šāhrox* [Biography and Scientific and Cultural Services of Arbāb Keyxosro Šāhrox]. Tehran: Anjoman-e āšār va mafāxer-e farhangī.
- Ghereghlou, K. 2017: 'On the margins of minority life: Zoroastrians and the state in Safavid Iran.' In: *Bulletin of SOAS*, pp. 1–27.
- Gholami, S. 2023: 'The Zoroastrian Manuscripts of the Rostam Jāmāsb's Family and a New Dating of Videvdād 4100.' In: *DABIR: Digital Archive of Brief notes & Iran Review* 9 (2022), 1–16. DOI: 10.1163/29497833-20230001.
- Gholami, S. 2020: 'The collection of Avestan manuscripts of the Ataš Varahrām in Yazd.' In: *Estudios Iranios y Turanios* 4, Año 2020, pp. 31–49.
- Gholami, S. 2018a: 'Remnants of Zoroastrian Dari in the Colophons and Sālmargs of Iranian Avestan Manuscripts.' In: *Iranian Studies*, 51:2, pp. 195–211.
- Gholami, S. 2018b: 'Pronominal Clitics in Zoroastrian Dari (Behdīnī) of Kerman.' In: Gholami, S. (ed.). *Endangered Iranian Languages*. Reichert, pp. 111–122.
- Gholami, S. 2017: 'Colophons, more than a scribe's memorial.' In: Bagheri, M. and Azarandaz, A.: *Proceedings of the International Seminar of Ancient Iranian Languages* (Kerman, October 20 to 21, 2015). Bahonar University of Kerman, pp. 13–29.
- Gholami, S. 2016: 'Zoroastrians of Iran vi. Linguistic documentation.' In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zoroastrians-in-iran-06> (accessed on 8 February 2021).
- Gholami, S. 2015: 'The death of Zoroastrian Dari in Kerman.' In: *The Middle East in London*, SOAS, University of London, 11:5, 7–8.
- Gholami, S. 2014: *The Avestan manuscript 4040 (Ave1001), Videvdad Iranian Sade of the Private Collection of Kourosh Niknam*. Avestan Digital Archive Series 76.
- Gholami, S. 2012: 'Dāstān-e Vandidād-e 1004.' In: *Fravahr* No. 453 (1391), pp. 29–31.
- Gholami, S., & Farahmand, A. 2016: *Zoroastrian Dari (Behdīnī) in Kerman*. Girona: Estudios Iranios y Turanios.
- Gholami, S. and Pouladi, M. 2019: Colophons and Marginal Notes of the Avestan Manuscripts of the Pouladi's Collection in Yazd. In: *Iranian Studies* Volume 52, 2019 Issues 1–2, pp. 3–59.
- Gippert, J. 2015: 'Secondary Life of Old Georgian Manuscripts.' In: *Manuscript Cultures* 8, 2015, pp. 99–137.
- Goldman, L. 2018: *The Sanskrit Yasna Manuscript S1: Facsimile Edition*. Brill: Leiden, Boston.
- Görke, A. & Hirschler, K. (eds.) 2011: *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.
- Hāšemī, S. 2002: Tarqīmeḥā, Mohrehā va 'arāz dīdehā (majmū'e-ye mAgālāt-e konferāns-e nosxe šenāšī pākeštān 1994). In: *Nāme-ye Bahārestān*, Sāl-e sevom, Šomāre-ye 5, pp. 241–252.
- Hintze, A. 2012: 'Manuscripts of the Yasna and Yasna ī Rapithwin.' In: A. Cantera (ed.): *The Transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 244–278.
- Hintze, A. 2017: 'Scribes and Their Patrons: on the Merit of Copying Manuscripts in the Zoroastrian Tradition.' In: Almut Hintze and Alan Williams (eds.), *Holy Wealth: Account-*

- ing for This World and the Next in Religious Belief and Practice*. Festschrift for John R. Hinnells. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2017, pp. 145–164.
- Hintze, A. 2021: ‘Edward William West and the Pahlavi codex MK.’ In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 31, Issue 3, July 2021, pp. 545–557, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186321000225>.
- Hodivala, S. S. 1916: ‘Some Parsi-Sanscrit Colophons.’ In: *Journal of the Iranian association*, V/10, 1916, pp. 305–326.
- Hodivala, S. S. 1920: ‘The colophons of Mihirāpān Kaikhusru.’ In: S. S. Hodivala: *Studies in Parsi History*. Bombay, pp. 118–133.
- Hoffmann, K. 1968: ‘The Avesta Fragment FrD.3.’ In: *Indo-Iranian Journal* 10.4: pp. 282–288.
- Hoffmann, K. 1975, 1976, 1992: *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Hoffmann, K. 1987: ‘Avestan Language i–iii’, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/1, pp. 47–62, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/avestan-language> (accessed on 27 March 2022).
- Hoffmann K. and Narten, J. 1989: *Der Sasanidische Archetypus: Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Humbach, H. 1973: ‘Beobachtungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Awesta.’ In: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 31: 109–122.
- Hušang, E. (undated): *The Codex DH, Being a Facsimile Edition of Bondaresh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht and Parts of Denkard*.
- Jackson, A. V. Williams 1906: *Persia Past and Present: A Book of Travel and Research*. New York: Macmillan.
- Jahanpour, F. 2014: ‘A new Wīdēwād Manuscript of Marzabān Family Collection.’ In: *Estudios Iranios y Turanios* 1, pp. 35–41.
- Jahanpour, F. 2012: ‘The Vendidad Manuscript of the Astan-Qods Library.’ In: Alberto Cantera (ed.). *The Transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 195–196.
- Jahanpour, F. 2011: *The Vandidād of the Āstān-e Qods Library*. Tehran: Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopaedia.
- Jamasp Asa, Kaikhusroo M. and Hintze, A. 2015: *The Pahlavi Codex MK: Facsimile Edition* (Iranica). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- JamaspAsana, J. M. 1913: *The Pahlavi Texts. Contained in the Codex MK copied in 1322 A.C. by the Scribe Mehr-Āwān Kā-khōsrō*, 2 vols, Bombay, 1897–1913; repr. in 1 vol., Tehran, n.d.
- Jamasp, D. H. 1907: *Vendidād. Avesta, Text with Pahlavi Translation and Commentary, and Glossarial Index*. Band I. Bombay: Government Central Book Depot.
- Jügel, T. 2009: ‘Ergative Remnants in Sorani Kurdish?’ In: *Orientalia Suecana*, Vol. LVIII (2009): pp. 142–158.
- Kellens, J. 1998: ‘Considérations sur l’histoire de l’Avesta.’ In: *Journal Asiatique*, 286.2, pp. 451–519.
- Katrak, J. C. 1941: *Oriental treasures being a condensed tabular descriptive statement of over a thousand manuscripts and of their colophons written in Iranian and Indian languages and lying in private libraries of Parsis in different centres of Gujarat*. Bombay.

- Khanizadeh, M. 2012: 'Mo'refi-ye dast-nevešte-ye mojūd dar sāzmān-e jāvānān-e zatoštī-ye tehrān, avestā-ye sāl-e 1206 yazdgerdī.' [Introduction of an extant Avestan manuscript in the Organization of the young Zoroastrians in Tehran, The Avesta of the year 1206 AY]. In: *Fravahr* 451 (Xordād va Tīr-e1391), pp. 10–15.
- König, G. 2021: 'Remarks on the Iranian Xorde Avesta Sāde manuscripts 6135 (YL2–17) and 6187 (MZK6) (Notes on the Xorde Avesta VIII)' In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186321000262>.
- König, G. 2014: 'Die Pahlavi-Literatur des 9./10. Jh. und ihre frühe Kodex-Überlieferung (II). Die Pahlavi-Kodices der Bundār ŠāhmardānFamilie'. In: *Estudios Iranios y Turanios I*, pp. 43–73.
- Kotwal, F. M. 2012: 'A Treasury of Zoroastrian Manuscripts: The First Dastoor Meherjirana Library, Navsari.' In A. Cantera (ed.), *The Transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 197–206.
- Kotwal, F. M. and Hintze, A. 2008: *The Khorda Avesta and Yašt Codex EI*. Facsimile edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Iranica 16).
- Kuka, M. N. 1917: 'The Date Equations in the Colophons of Mihrāpān Kaikhusro, and the calendar followed by him.' In: *Journal of the Iranian Association*, V/10, 1917, pp. 389–394.
- Lorimer, D. L. R. 1916: 'Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian.' In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, pp. 423–489.
- Mackenzie, D. N. 1971: *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London Oxford University Press.
- Madan, D. M. 1911: *The complete text of Pahlavi Dinkart*, Bombay.
- Malandra, W. W. 2007: *Jackson, Abraham Valentine Williams*. In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Available online at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jackson-abraham-valentine-williams> (accessed on 13 June 2018).
- Malcolm, N. 1908: *Five Years in a Persian Town*. New York, 1905; repr., London.
- Martínez-Porro, J. (Forthcoming): *The orthography and the recitation in the Avestan manuscripts*. Doctoral thesis, Institut für Iranistik, Freie Universität Berlin.
- Martínez-Porro, J. 2017: 'The Avestan Manuscript 4162 of the Pouladi Collection. Is it the Eldest Iranian Videvdād Sāde Manuscript?' In: A. Cantera and J. J. Ferrer (eds.): *Fērā aməšā spəntā gāθā° gə-uruuāin. Homenaje a Helmut Humbach en su 95 aniversario*, Estudios Iranios y Turanios 3, pp. 99–117.
- Martínez-Porro, J. 2014a: 'Los manuscritos avésticos de la ceremonia Visperad.' In: *Estudios Iranios y Turanios*, 1, pp. 75–94.
- Martínez-Porro, J. 2014b: *The Avestan manuscript AQ1, containing the Frawardin Yašt, the abbreviated Yasna ī Rapithwin (n° 300) and the Visperad Iranian Sāde (n° 2007) of the Vaziri Library in Yazd*. Avestan Digital Archive Series 73. pp. 556. ISBN 978-84-606-9733-6.
- Martínez-Porro, J. 2013: 'La ceremonia zoroástrica de Wištāsp Yašt y sus manuscritos.' In: *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Iranología*, 2, pp. 69–80.
- Martínez, J. and de Vaan, M. 2014: *Introduction to Avestan*. Brill Introductions to Indo-European Languages, Series Editors: Michiel de Vaan and Alexander Lubotsky. Volume 1. Leiden: Brill.
- Mazdapour, K. 2012: 'Twelve Newly Found Avestan Manuscripts in Iran.' In: A. Cantera (ed.). *The Transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 165–172.

- Mazdapour, K. 2011: *Yasna and Visperad (Yasht Vesfarad), from the Library of Jamshid Soroush Soroushian*. Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Central Studies.
- Mazdapour, K. 2010: 'Vandidād e dastur Rawāniyān (Avesta 1001).' [The Videvdād of Dastur Rawāniyān] In: *Nāme-ye Bahārestān*, year 10, daftar 15, pp. 252–245.
- Mazdapour, K. 2008–2009: 'Čand dastnevis e no-yafteye Avesta' [Some newly discovered Avestan manuscripts]. In: *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 8 (1387Š), nos. 1–2, pp. 3–19.
- Mazdapour, K. 2006: *Xorde Avestā, be xaṭ-e mollā behrūz*. Tehran: Pažūheškade-ye zabān va gūyeš dar pažūhešgāh-e sāzmān-e mīrās-e farhangī.
- Mazdapour, K. 2003a: 'no yāftehā ye kohansāl.' [Old new findings] In: *Jahān e Ketāb*, year 7, Nr. 7, 8, pp. 10–12.
- Mazdapour, K. 2003b: 'bon neveštehā ye kohan.' [The ancient colophons] In: *Nāme-ye Bahārestān*, year 3, Nr. 1, daftar 5, pp. 253–258.
- Mazdapour, K. 1997: 'sarāghāz e yazišn.' [The beginning of Yazīšn] In: *Farhang*, year 9, Nr. 1, payāpay 17, pp. 71–83.
- Mazdapour, K. & Dalvand, H. 2011: 'Vandīdād-e sāde, dast-nevīs-e avestāyī-ye ketābxāne-ye mellī-ye malek-e tehrān.' [Videvdād Sāde, an Avestan manuscript of the National Library of Malek in Tehran] In: *Zabān Šenāxt*. Sāl-e dovom, šomāre-ye dovom, Pāyīz a Zemestān-e 1390, pp. 39–58.
- McLean, B. H. 2002: *An introduction to Greek epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman periods from Alexander the Great down to the reign of Constantine. (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)*. University of Michigan Press.
- Mirza, H. K. 1987: *Outlines of Parsi History*. 2nd edition. Bombay.
- Modī, J. J. 1903: *Jāmāspi, Pahlavi, Pāzend and Persian Texts. With Gujarāti Transliteration of the Pahlavi Jāmāspi, English and Gujarāti Translations with Notes of the Pahlavi Jāmāspi, Gujarāti Translation of the Persian Jāmāspi, and English Translation of the Pāzend Jāmāspi*. Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press.
- Moradiyan, B. 2013: 'dast-nevešte ī no-yāfte az awestā.' [A new discovered Avestan manuscript] In: *ranj va ganj, arj-nāme-ye doctor Zohreh Zaršenās* [Festschrift for Dr. Zohreh Zarshenas]. Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, pp. 405–410.
- Moreen, V. B. 1981: The Status of Religious Minorities in Safavid Iran 1617–61. In: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (April 1981), pp. 119–134.
- Muhammad, H. A. 2017: 'Jalali Calendar.' In: Cenap Çakmak, *Islam: A Worldwide Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, pp. 862–864.
- Oshidari, J. 2011: 'čegūnegī-ye eskān-e zartoštīyān dar ḥāšīye-ye kavīr-e lūt' [The conditions of the settlement of the Zoroastrians on the Lut Desert.] In: *Čehrenamā, našrīye-ye markaz-e zartoštīyān-e kālīfornīyā*. Sāl-e bīst o haštom, šomāre-ye 158 [Čehrenamā, The Journal of the Zoroastrian Center of California. Year 28, Nr. 158].
- Pakzad, F. 2005: *Bundahišn. Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie. Band I: kritische Edition; Ancient Iranian Studies Series*, 2. Teheran: Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopaedia.
- Panaino A. 2012: La datazione del 'più antico' colophon avestico e altre questioni di cronologia nella tradizione manoscritta mazdaica, in: A. Agud, A. Cantera, A. Falero (et al.), *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2012, pp. 611–639.
- Péri, Benedek 2018: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Series: Islamic Manuscripts and Books*, Volume: 16. Brill.

- Petermann, H. 1865: *Reisen im Orient*, 2 vols. Leipzig. 1860–1861 (2nd ed., 1865).
- Redard, C. 2019: 'Y72.11: un final qui n'en est pas un!' In: *Iranian Studies in Honour of Adriano V. Rossi*. Edited by Sabir Badalkhan, Gian Pietro Basello and Matteo De Chiara, pp. 757–768.
- Reynhout, L. 2006: *Formules latines de colophons*, 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Sanjana, D. P. 1895: *The Zand ī javīt shêda dād. The Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad*. Bombay, Education Society's Steam Press.
- Schiegg, M. 2016: 'Scribes' Voices: The Relevance and Types of Early Medieval Colophons.' In: *Studia Neophilologica* (Taylor & Francis, The British Library Board) 88, no. 2 (2016): 129–147.
- Schmitt, R. 2015: 'WESTERGAARD, NIELS LUDVIG.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2015, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/westergaard-niels-ludvig> (accessed on 16 June 2018).
- Semnan, Sh. and Rashtiyani, G. 2019: *Moḥaqeq-al-Tārīx. Tārīx-e kermān va pādešāhī-ye sāsānīyān* [Moḥaqeq-al-Tārīx. The History of Kerman and the Sasanian Empire]. Tehran: Fravahr.
- Shahbazi, Shahpur 1999: 'Ferdowsī Abu'l-Qāsem iii. Mausoleum.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. IX, Fasc. 5, pp. 524–527, online edition, 1999, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ferdowsi-iii> (accessed on 28 March 2020).
- Shahbazi, Shahpur 2002: 'Haft Kešvar.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/5, pp. 519–522, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/haft-kesvar> (accessed on 23 May 2018).
- Šahmardān, Rašīd 1970: *Tārīx-e Zartoštīyān, Farzānegān-e Zartoštī* [History of Zoroastrians, Zoroastrians' Prominent]. Tehran: Fravahr.
- Shastri, Kharshedjee Manekjee 1918: *Dastur Meherji-Rana and the Emperor Akbar being a complete collection of the editorials and contributions relating to his controversy conducted in the Indian press*. K.N. Sailor Press, Bomba.
- Sims-Williams, U. 2012: 'Zoroastrian manuscripts in the British Library, London.' In A. Cantera (ed.), *The Transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 173–194.
- Sims-Williams, U. 2009: 'The Strange Story of Samuel Guise: An 18th-Century Collection of Zoroastrian Manuscripts.' In: *Bulletin of the Asia Institute New Series*, Vol. 19, Iranian and Zoroastrian Studies in Honor of Profs Oktor Skjærvø (2005), pp. 199–209.
- Sorūšīyān, J. S. 1991: *Tārīx-e Zartoštīyān-e Kermān dar īn čand sade* [History of Zoroastrians in Kerman in these recent centuries]. Kerman: Sorūšīyān.
- Sykes, P. M. 1902: *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia: Or, Eight Years in Iran*. London: Murray.
- Taqīzādeh, S. Ḥ. 1971: *MAġālāt-e Taqīzādeh* [The articles of Taqīzādeh]. Vol.1. Iraġ Afšār (ed.). Tehran.
- Tavernier, J. 1684: *Collections of travels through Turkey into Persia, and the East-Indies. Giving an account of the present state of those countries*. London: printed for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Pauls Churchyard, M.DC.LXXXIV.
- Tremblay, X. 2012: 'Ibant obscuri uaria sub nocte: Les textes avestiques et leurs recensions des Sassanides au XIIIe s. ad en particulier d'après l'alphabet avestique. Notes de lecture avestiques VIII.' In: A. Cantera (ed.): *The transmission of the Avesta* [Iranica 20]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 98–1135.

- Unvala, J. M. 1940: *Collection of colophons of manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some libraries of Europe*. Bombay: Trustees of the funds and properties of the Parsi Panchayet.
- Unvala, E. M. R. 1922: *Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat* Vol. II. Bombay: British India Press.
- Della Valle, P. 1670: *Les fameux voyages de Pietro della Valle* V. II. Paris.
- Vitalone, Mario 1987: *The Persian Revâyats: A Bibliographic Reconnaissance. Etnolinguistica dell'area iranica, 1*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- West, E. W. 1892: *Pahlavi texts*. Part IV, Oxford.
- Westergaard, N. L. 1852: *Zendavesta, or the religious books of the Zoroastrians*. Copenhagen.
- Windfuhr, G. L. 1989: 'Behdīnān Dialect.' In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV/1, 1989, pp. 105–108; online edition, 1989, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Behdīnān-dialect>.
- Zetzel, J. E. G. 1973: 'Emendavi ad Tironem: Some Notes on Scholarship in the Second Century A.D.' In: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 77 (1973): 225–243.
- Žožuā, T. 2014: 'Saros cixis aḡmšeneblis Vače Gvirgvinais žis daḡvetit gadacerili 1120–1150-iani c. lebis otxtavi (H-372) da misi XII–XVI saukuneebis anderž-minacerebi / Tetraevangelion H-372 (1120–1150). Commissioned by Vache Gvirgvinais Dze, Ktetor of the Saro Fortress, and its Colophons (12th–16th cc.)', *Saistōrio krebuli* 4: pp. 342–381.

