

The Colophons of Mihrābān Kayxusrō

About some corresponding dates of Pārsī and Hindū eras

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از: دیباجه آفرینگان^۱

Mihrābān Kayxusrō, a Pārsī teaching priest, at the instance of a Pārsī notable of Cambay (Guj. 𑀧𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀲), Čāhil Sangan, came to India (probably in A. Y.² 690/ A. D. 1321), and wrote several Avesta and Pārsīg manuscripts at Cambay, Thana (Mar. ठाणे), and Navsari (Guj. 𑀧𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀲). He also copied there the manuscripts copied by his great grand uncle Rustam Mihrābān. His literary activities are recorded up to the Pārsī year 720 (+ 20?) of Yazdegird.

Date equations

Four colophons of Mihrābān give the Pārsī *rōz-māh* side by side with the Hindu dates. As regards the double colophon in Pārsīg and Sanskrit at the end of MK, Anklesaria noticed that the Hindu and the Pārsī dates given do not correspond to each other; moreover, he said that “the language of the Sanskrit colophon is corrupt.”³ Hodivala tried to give a better reading and understanding of the Skt. colophon⁴. Kuka gave a new “calculation” (without success) for resolving the problem of the glaring discrepancy in the date equations. Katrak believed that Mihrābān “being an Iranian and newly come to India cannot be expected to have a fair knowledge of Sanskrit”⁵; besides, he was “unfamiliar with Hindu terminology”⁶.

We start with this controversial date equation in MK.

1 MK

¹ . MU I, 356.

² . *anno Yadegirdi*.

³ . *Pahlavi Texts*, Introduction, 7.

⁴ . Hodivala, 1920, « The Colophons of Mihrāpān Kaikhusru », 118-33.

⁵ . Katrak, 1980, 224.

⁶ . Katrak, 1980, 232.

The Pārsīg colophon of Mihrābān gives the Pārsī date thus: day Fravardīn (19), month Ādar, year 691. The date equation in the Sanskrit colophon is as under:

Samvat 1377, Śudi Kārtika 14, Wednesday: day Fravardīn, month Ādar, Pārsī year 690.

Notice that the Sanskrit colophon in MK “as appears from a strip of the folio, still sticking to ll. 7-11 of fol. 160b, contains some Sanskrit words which are now distinct.”⁷ For this reason, it is supplied from JJ and SP. It is possible that the copyist of JJ made some mistakes, mainly in transcribing the figures (for example 690 instead of 691).

First and foremost, we have to know what calendars were followed by Mihrābān. As we will see, he was flexible in using Pārsī calendars and Hindu pañcānga.

The Indian era used in the colophons is Vikrama, a lunisolar calendar, with Śukla pakṣa as the first phase of the month (Amānta system). It begins with the month Vaiśākha or (owing to the influence of the Śaka era) with the month of Caitra.

The two varieties of the Pārsī era are 365-day calendars with days which move within the year, and they have only one month of difference. Besides, the “old” custom of the Pārsīs of Persia was to place the five additional days of the year after the month Ābān.

In the second colophon of MK, Mihrābān speaks of *māh šahrever qadīm vihēzagīg* ‘the old moving month Šahrever’, that is the old system of the Pārsīs of Persia. It is natural that his next colophon in the same manuscript should be according to the same system:

rōz Fravardīn (19th day), māh Ādar (9th month, after the month Ābān and the five epagomena), year 691 corresponds to the 15th of September 1322 A.D., a Wednesday.⁸ The tithi, vāra (week-day), month, and year of the Vikrama era corresponding to this date are: Kārtika Śuddha 4 of the Vikrama year ×1378

⁷ . Anklesaria, 7.

⁸ . Anklesaria, considering the month given to be Šāhenšāhī, gives the date thus: “The day Fravardīn, month Ādar, 690 (1) A.Y., corresponds to 10th October 1321 (2) A.D.” 7-8. But the first date is a Saturday, and the second, a Sunday.

(1244 Śaka), vāra 4 (and 40 ghaṭi, and 59 pala), that is, a Wednesday.

We conclude that Mihrābān did not make any mistake in this date equation. The scribe of JJ, because of the bad state of the manuscript MK, did mistake in transcribing the figures: 690 instead of 691 (as we clearly see in the Pārsīg colophon of Mihrābān), Śudi 14 instead of Śudi 4. The accuracy of this date is proved thanks to the week-day or vāra mentioned in the Sanskrit colophon: *budha* ‘Wednesday’.

2 L 4

The double colophon of L 4 is lost; and some other Pārsī scribes have preserved it in their copies of the Vīdēvdād. The date equation in it is as under:

Samvat 1378, Śudi Āśvina 14, Saturday: rōz Hurdad (6th day), māh Ābān, sāl 692 of Yazdegird.

The more plausible year which fits this equation is 1322 A.D.⁹ Given the Šāhenšāhī rōzmāh, 6th Ābān 691 (corresponding to 28th August, 1322 A.D.) we find the tithi concurring with it (1244 Śaka, 1322 A.D.):

	Tithi	Vāra	A. D.
Mean tithi	165	0.041	M 181.041
True tithi		6.457	180.457

The required (Ujjain) mean tithi is 165th from the beginning, that is, the ending moment of Śudi Āśvina 15. Vāra 0 indicates that the tithi ended on a Saturday, corresponding to August 28. With the corrected anomalies of the Sun and Moon, we get vāra 6.457, that is, the tithi ended on a Friday (27 gh., 25 pa.), corresponding to August 27.

Now we calculate the ending moment of Śudi Āśvina 14 of Śaka year 1244:

	Tithi	Vāra	A. D.
Mean tithi	164	6.057	M 180.057

⁹ . For the year 1323 A.D., the Hindu and Pārsī dates do not correspond to each other. 6th Ābān 692 of the Šāhenšāhī rōzmāh corresponds to 28th August 1323 A.D., a Sunday, and 6th Ābān of the “Old” rōzmāh to 29th July 1323. Moreover Samvat 1378 (/ Śaka 1245), Śudi Āśvina 14 corresponds to 16th of August 1323, a Tuesday.

True tithi 5.667 179.667

Mean date: 1322 A.D., August 27, Friday.

Corrected date: August 26 (40 gh., 1 pa.), Thursday.

There is a slight discrepancy between these two Pārsī and Hindu dates. The week-day Saturday makes sure that the pārsī date is correct, and this day corresponds to Āśvina Śudi 15 and not Śudi 14. “The mistake of one tithi is not uncommon in Hindu dates”.¹⁰

We conclude that: Mihrābān completed the manuscript of the Vīdēvdād on rōz Hurdad, māh Ābān, sāl 691 after Yadegird, corresponding to 1322 A. D., August 28, Saturday (full moon was on 27th of August).

3 K 5

The double colophon of K 5 states that: Mihrābān completed the copy of the Yasna with its Zand on rōz Asmān (27th day), māh Day, sāl ... (the year is only found in the Skt. colophon: 692), being the 8th day of Śudi Mārga, of the year 1379, a Wednesday.

The only possible date which satisfies rōz Asmān, māh Day, Mārga Śudi 8th, a Wednesday, in the years which Mihrābān sojourned in India is 1322 A.D., Nov. 17.¹¹ Indeed, this date corresponds to:

- 1) rōz Asmān, māh Day, sāl (Šāhenšāhī) 691 of Yazdegird;
- 2) Vikrama 1378 (Śaka 1244), tithi 248, Vāra 4.323, that is, the 8th of Śudi Mārgaśīrṣa, Wednesday (19 gh., 22 pa).

These two dates are in complete agreement with each other.

4 MK 2

A Persian note in MK 2 gives this date equation:

Samvat 1379, Śudi Jeth 3, Monday: rōz Day-ped-mihr (15th day), month Tīr, sāl 692 of Yazdegird.

¹⁰ . Kuka, 390.

¹¹ . According to Katrak « the Parsi and Hindu dates correspond to 17 November 1323 A.C.” 1980, 228. But Nov. 17, 1323, is a Thursday; moreover, this day belongs to the dark fortnight (full moon occurs on Nov. 13).

The Pārsī era is Šāhenšāhī; and the Indian era Vikrama beginning with the month of Caitra. Then we have:

1) 15th Tīr 692: 1323 A.D., May 9, Monday.

2) 1323 A.D., May 9: Saṃvat 1379 (Śaka 1245), Śudi Jyeṣṭhā 3, vāra 2.108 (Monday, 6 gh., 28 pa.).

As we see, the date equation preserved here does not present any problem.¹²

Colophons

K5

The Avesta Codex K 5 (N^o 5 of the collection of the Iranian manuscripts in the University Library of Copenhagen), containing the Yasna with its Zand, ends with colophons in Pārsīg and Sanskrit. On fol. 326v the first colophon runs as follows:

*rōz asmān māh day vihēzag kē an dēnbannag hērbedzād
mihrābān ī kayhusrō ī mihrābān ī spendyād ī mihrābān ī
marzbān ī bahrām دزوک /dazūk/¹³ rōstāg, cōn pahlumagān mard¹⁴
stāyišn x^vābar az ahlāyīh ahlavdum az yazdān hān ī meh
ohrmazd abar stāyišn x^vānam, kū-š az hān ī vēš stāyišn abar
kunam. vihēzag abar sāl ī šašsad navad do yazdegirdīg, šāhān
šāh ī ohrmazdān, an dēnbannag ī mihhrābān kē mad ham andar
hindūstān šahrestān کھمب آيات /khamb_hāyat/, <u-m> ēn kurāsag
az dast<-nibēg> ī hērbed rustahm mihrābān nibišt. az
x^vandārān <ī> ēn nibēg x^vāyišnīg ham kū¹⁵ amā rāy pas <az>
vidurd ped petiītīh¹⁶ āyād dārend, u-šān ruvān garōdmānīg
bavād.*

*aēvō paṇṭā yō ašahe vīspe anyaēšqm apaṇṭqm
aṇrahe mainyāuš [nasištqm] daēnqm daēvayasnanqm
parājītīm mašyānqm frākərəitīm.*

¹² . But, apparently, not for Katrak, 231-36. He supposes that śudi of the note is incorrect; besides he reads sīyūm ‘30th’ instead of seyūm ‘3rd’.

¹³ . Pers. دزوک.

¹⁴ . Cf. *mardān pahlum*.

¹⁵ . کھ /kē/.

¹⁶ . پتیتیت /petiītīg/.

^{327r} *ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyīh. harvisp anēšān arāhīh kē gennāg mēnōg ī dušdēn ud dēvesnān jādūg frāz ō mardōmān kīrrēnīd ēsted.*

‘On day Asmān in the moving month Day, I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān, son of kayxusrō, son of Mihrābān, son of Spēdyād, son of Mihrābān, son of Marzbān, son of Bahrām, (of) the village of Dazūk, like the best men, recite the praise of the beneficent, the most *ašavan* in *aša* among the Yazata, the great Ahura Mazdā, that is, I administer much more praise to him, in the year 692 of Yazdegird, king of kings, son of Ohrmazd, I, the servant of the religion, Mihrābān, who have come to India, to the city of Cambay, have written this book from the manuscript of priest Rustahm Mihrābān. I desire of the readers who may read this (sacred) writing that they shall remember us in the *petit* ceremony after our passing away, and may their souls be fit for Garō.nmāna!

One is the path, that of *aša*. The others are all non-paths.

The *daēnā*, the best (means of) destruction of the Evil Spirit, the triumph over the Daēva-worshippers, the accomplishment of the mortals.’

The next Pārsīg colophon¹⁷ on fol. 327v runs as follows:

frazaft ped drod ud šādīh ud rāmišn.

frazāmēnīd ēn kurāsag az bahr <ī> واكلسور واکلسور /cāhil sangan kumbāyatīg/ nibišt. x^vāstār ham az x^vandārān ī ēn nibēg <kē> abar x^vānend cāhil rāy ped anōšag ruvān arzānīg واکلسور /dārānd/. cāhil az x^vēš <x^vāstag> uzēnag pediš kird, ud an nibištār ham. az bahr <ī> ruvān <ī> hō anōšagruvān cāhil sangan, az bahr ī ruvān ī pidar ī x^vēš kū-š vahišt bahr anōšag jāyēdān ruvān garōdmānīg bavād.

rōznāmag bē nibēsam az bahr ī cāhil kumbāyatīg <ud> niyāgān <ī> hō. harv kē ēn واکلسور /nibēg/ x^vāned <ud> واکلسور /dāred/ avēšān ahlav kunānd.

māh amurdad rōz fravardīn sangan cāhil rōzag.

māh day rōz fravardīn cāhil vahman rōzag.

¹⁷ . « most probably in a later hand » (Unvala).

ādur māh fravardīn rōz vahman bahrām rōzag.

ādur māh fravardīn rōz bahrām ādur cāhil rōzag.

māh tīr rōz anērān dārag cāhil rōzag.

māh day rōz ādur mālən sangan rōzag.

‘Completed in peace, joy and pleasure.

Finished. (I) have written this book for the sake of Čāhil (son of) Sangan of Cambay. I desire of the readers who may read this (sacred) writing that they shall consider Čāhil as worthy of an immortal soul. Čāhil paid the expenses for it from his own money, and I have written it for the sake of the soul of the immortal-souled (i.e., the late) Čāhil Sangan, and for the sake of the soul of my own father –may his lot be the Best (Existence) and his soul, immortal and eternal, fit for Garō.nmāna.

I shall write down the calendar (of anniversaries) as regards Čāhil of Cambay and (his) ancestors. Everyone who may read this book or may keep it, may (the Yazata) render him *ašavan*.

Month Amurdad, day Fravardīn, anniversary of Sangan Čāhil.

Month Day, day Fravardīn, anniversary of Čāhil Vahman.

Month Ādur, day Fravardīn, anniversary of Vahman Bahrām.

Month Ādur, day Fravardīn, anniversary of Bahrām Ādur Čāhil.

Month Tīr, day Anērān, anniversary of Dārag Čāhil.

Month Day, day Ādur, anniversary of Mālən Sāṃgan.’

Then follows this Sanskrit colophon on fol. 328r:

संवत् १३७९ वर्ष मार्ग शुदि ८ बुधि पारसी सं. ६९२ वर्ष माह दइ। रोज आस्मान
। आद्यहं शुभतीर्थे सुलतान श्री गयासदीने राज्यं परिपंथयती । यवं काले
एरानजमीनदशात् समायात् पारसीज्ञातीय आचार्य कइखुर्वसुत आचार्य
मिहिरवानस्य बहुतइं मानं कागलं लिखापनंच प्रदाय पारसी थव (धव?) ॥
सांगणसुत थव (धव?) चाहिलेन पुण्यार्थं एतस्य पाश्चार्त इदमं पुस्तकं लिखापितं ।

इर्यस्त्रिजंदांम् । यः कोऽपि पुस्तकंमिदं रक्षति । पठति । तन द्यव (धव?)

चाहिलस्य पूर्वजानां मुक्तात्मनां तथा एतस्यानिमित्तं पुण्यं करणीयं ॥

‘In the year Saṃvat 1379, on the 8th day of Śudi Mārga (the bright fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa), on Wednesday, (corresponding to) the Pārsī year 692, the month Day, the day Asmān, today, here in the auspicious sacred place, when his majesty Sultān Ġyāṭadīn was extending his kingdom, the priest Mihiravāna, of the Pārsī race, son of Kaikhusrava, who had come from the country of Ērān-zamīn, on a written letter couched in very respectful terms, wrote this book, called the Yasna (with its) Zand, for the merit of the Pārsī lord Čāhil, son of Sangan. May whoever may keep this book and whoever may read it remember the *fravaṣi* of the ancestors of lord Čāhil.’

J2

This manuscript of the Yasna with its Pārsīg version, known as J 2 (Jamaspji M. Jamasp-Asa), is now in the possession of the Bodleian Library. Mills notices that Mihrābān in his colophon omitted to name any original from which the Ms. J 2 was copied, whereas in the case of his other work, K 5, he did not fail to state what its original was. He concludes that: “The present codex may therefore be considered as an edition (if such an expression be allowable) rather than a copy.”¹⁸

There is no Sanskr̥t colophon. The Pārsīg colophon on fol. 383v runs as follows:

<rōz>¹⁹ vahman māh fravardīn // sāl šašsad navad do yazdegirdīg, man dēnbannag hērbēdzād mihrābān ī kayhusrav <ī> mihrābān ī spendyār ī mihrābān <ī> marzbān hērbēd nibišt. ped yazdān kāmag bavād.

<...> vihēzag kē an dēnbannag bē <ō> būm <ī> hindūgān mad ham, u-m (andar) sāl šašsad navad do yazdegirdīg man dēnbannag hērbēdzād mihrābān ī kayhusrav ī mihrābān ī spendyād ī mihrābān ī marzbān hērbēd nibišt az bahr <ī> cāhilag sangan ī cāhil ī vahman <ī> vahrām kumbāyatīg nibišt. x^vāstār ham az x^vandārān ī ēn nibēg kē abar x^vānend cāhil rāy ped anōšag ruvān arzānīg dārānd. cāhil az x^vēš <x^vāstag>

¹⁸ . L. H. Mills, viii.

¹⁹ . Cf. K 5.

uzēnag pediš kird, ud an nibištār ham. az bahr ī ruvān <ī> (hō) anōšagruvān cāhil sangan, ud az bahr ī ruvān ī pidar <ī> x^vad kū-š vahišt bahr ud anōšag jāyēdān ruvān garōdmānīg bād.

‘On the day vahman of the month Fravardīn, in the year 692 of Yazdegird, I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān kayxusrō, (son of) Mihrābān, (son of) Spendyār, (son of) Mihrābān, (son of) Marzbān the priest, have written (this book). Deo Volonte!

<It was on the day ... of> the moving <month ...> that I, the servant of the religion, have come to the land of India. In the year 692 of Yazdegird, I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān kayxusrō Mihrābān Spendyād Mihrābān Marzbān the priest, have written (this book) for the sake of Čāhil Sangan and Čāhil Vahman Vahrām of Cambay. I desire of the readers of this (sacred) writing ...²⁰.

L4

Mihrābān made two copies of the Vīdēvdād, known as L 4 (L 4 in de Guise’s collection in the India Office) and K 1, out of one manuscript signed by Rustahm Mihrābān. A transcript of the missing colophons of L 4 is found in PB (Pt 2), Bh 11, and E 10. These colophons have nearly the same wordings as K 5.²¹

*an ī dēnbannag hērbedzād mihrābān ī kayhusrav ī mihrābān
ī spendyād ēn kurāsag ī juddēvdād abāg zand andar rōz ī
hurdad ī māh ī ābān vihēzag abar sāl ī šašsad navad do pas az
sāl yazdegirdīg, ī šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān, yazdegird šahriyār,
nibišt ham. hamē (هم /hamāg?/) x^vānānd, ud harv kē
x^vāned, kār (pediš) framāyed ud dāred. amāh-iz rāy kē nibišt
x^vāyīšnīg hem az x^vandārān ī ēn nibēg abar x^vāne_nd amā rāy ped
āyādkird arzānīg dāre_nd. u-š ped gētīg tan husrav u-š ped
mēnōg ruvān ahlav bavād.*

‘I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān, son of kayxusrō, son of Mihrābān, son of Spendyād, have written this book of Juddēvdād with its Zand on day Hurdād in the moving month Ābān, in the year 692 of Yazdegird, king of kings, (a descendant of) of Ohrmazd, Yazdegird Šahriyār. May they (all) read it, and he who may read it, direct according to it

²⁰ . Cf. K 5.

²¹ . Dārāb D. P. Sanjāna (xlv-xlvi) has given these colophons from the Ms. PB.

and preserve it. I also who have written it, desire of the readers who may read this (sacred) writing, that they shall consider us worthy of remembrance. May their body (person) be of good repute in the world of life, and their soul be *ašavan* in the world of thought.’

andar sāl ī haftsad-vīst-do pārsīg an dēnbannag hērbedzād mihrābān andar būm ī hindūgān mad ham. u-m andar šahr<estān> ī nōgsārīg ēn kurāsag az bahr ī cāhil sangan kumbāyatīg nibišt. x^vāstār ham az x^vandārān ī ēn nibēg (abar) x^vānend andar cāhil rāy ped anōšag ruvān arzānīg dārānd. cāhil az x^vēš x^vāstāg uzēnag pediš kird, ud an nibištār ham. az bahr <ī> ruvān <ī> hō anōšagruvān cāhil ī sangan, ud az bahr <ī> ruvān ī (pidar ī) x^vad kū-š vahišt bahr anōšag ud jāyēdān ruvān ī garōdmānīg (bavād). harv kē dārād ud harv kē x^vānād ōy kē framūd nibištān ud ōy kē nibišt vahišt bahr arzānīg dārānd.

aēvō paṇṭā yō ašahe vīspe anyaēšqm apaṇṭqm: ēk-ē ast rāh ī ahlāyīh. harvisp anēšān arāhīh.

nē-š tis gīred kē<-š> nē ruvān grift. az-iz nūn frāz nē tis gīred kē nē ruvān gīred.²²

ašəm: ahlāyīh.

‘In the Pārsī year 722, I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān came to the land of India and wrote this book in the city of Navsārī, for the sake of Čāhil (son of) Sangan of Cambay. I desire of the readers who may read this (sacred) writing that they shall consider Čāhil as worthy of an immortal soul. Čāhil paid the expenses for it from his own money, and I am the writer who (have copied) it for the sake of the soul of him, the immortal-souled (i.e., the late) Čāhil Sangan, and for the sake of the soul of my own father –may his lot be the Best (Existence) and his soul, immortal and eternal, fit for Garō.nmāna. Everyone who keeps it and everyone who reads it, he who ordered for writing it, and he who wrote it, may they be worthy of the lot of the Best (Existence).

One is the path, that of *aša*. The others are all non-paths.

²². Cf. the Avesta fragment D 3: *nōišt cahmi zazva yō nōišt urune zazva nōišt cahmi zazuš yō nōišt urune zazuš.*

Cf. also MX 1.28-30.

He has not acquired anything, who has not acquired the soul.
Likewise, from now on he does not acquire anything, who does
not acquire the soul.

Aṣəm.ʹ

The following Rōznāmag is appended to the second colophon
of Mihrābān²³:

*rōznāmag bē nibēsam az bahr <ī> cāhil kumbāyatīg <ud>
niyāgān ud x^vēšāvand<ān> rāy. harv kē x^vāned ud dāred avēšān
ahlav kunānd.*

māh ī amurdad ud rōz ī fravardīn sangan cāhil rōzag.

māh ī day ud rōz ī fravardīn cāhil vahman rōzag.

ādur māh ud fravardīn rōz vahman bahrām rōzag.

ādur māh ud fravardīn rōz vahrām ādur cāhil rōzag.

māh ī tīr rōz ī anērān dārag²⁴ cāhil rōzag.

māh ī day ud rōz ī ādur mālən sangan rōzag.

At the end there is the following Sanskr̥t colophon
corresponding to the first Pārsīg colophon:

संवत् १३७८ वर्षे अश्विन शुद्ध १४ शनौ पारसी सने ६९२ वर्षे माह आवां रोज
आविर्दाद अधि स्तंभतीर्थे श्रीनागसारिकायां सुलतान श्री गयसुदीने राज्यं
परिपन्थयती त्वेवं काले एरानजमीनदशात् समायात् पारसीज्ञातीय आचार्य
कैशुश्रवौतः आचार्य मिहिरवानस्य बहुतरं मानं कागलं लिखापनंच प्रदाय पारसी
थव सांगनसुत थव चाहिलेन पुण्यार्थ एतस्य पार्श्वत इदं पुस्तकं लिखापितं
ज्वदेवदाद् जंदनामायं कोऽपि पुस्तकमिदं रक्षति पठति तेन थव चाहिलस्य पूर्वजानां
मुक्तात्मनां तथा एतस्य निमित्तं पुण्यं करणीयम्.

‘In the year Saṃvat 1378, on the 14th day of Śuddha Āśvina,
on Saturday, (corresponding to) the Pārsī year 692, the month
Ābān, the day Hurdād, in Stambhatīrtha at Navsārī, when his

²³ . Cf. K 5.

²⁴ . 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 PB.

majesty Sultān Ġyāṭadīn was extending his kingdom, the spiritual preceptor Mihiravāna, of the Pārsī race, son of the spiritual preceptor Kaikhuśrava –who is worthy of more esteem – who had come from the country of Ērān-zamīn, on a written letter (of invitation) couched in very respectful terms, wrote this book, called the Jud-Dēv-Dād (with is) Zand, for the merit of *thava* Čāhil, son of *thava* Sāṃgana. May whoever may keep this book and whoever may read it remember the fravaši of the ancestors of the ancestors of *thava* Čāhil.’

K1

Mihrābān completed in Cambay another copy of the Vīdēvdād with its Pārsīg version. He copied the colophon of his model (Rustam’s manuscript), and added his own colophon. The Ms. K1 was completed by Mihrabān’s son, Kayxusrō.

^{339v} *an ī dēnbannag hērbedzād mihrābān ī kayhusrav ī mihrābān ī spendyād ī mihrābān ī marzbān ī bahrām kē ped ēn būm <ī> hindūgān mad ham, u-m ēn peccēn az dastnibēg ī hērbed rustahm ī mihrābān nibišt. az bahr ī cāhil 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 /sangan/ kumbāyatīg nibišt. az bahr ī ahlāyīh <ud> ruvān dōšārm rāy nibišt. cōn ped vihēzag vināh vizārišn ud kirbag mizd ud ruvān dōšārm rāy nibišt, harv kē x^vānād ud harv harv kē dārād <ud> harv kē kār azišn kunād <ud> harv kē peccēn aziš kunād, amāh kē nibištār hem x^vāyišnīg az ham x^vandārān ī ēn nibēg abar x^vāne_nd amā rāy ped vahišt bahr arzānīg dārānd [ōy kē framūd]. nibišt ham ēdōn cōn guft. anōšag 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 /ruvān/ bād hērbed kayhusrav kē-š framān dād ped nibištān. harv kē x^vānād ōy rāy ped anōšag ruvān arzānīg dārānd. harv kē ēn kurāsag dārād ^{340r} ud harv kē x^vānād [cāhil sang_{am} kumbāyatīg] rāy ped vahišt bahr arzānīg dārānd, kē-m az bahr <ī> ahlāyīh dōšārm rāy [framūd] nibištān.*

u-m šud ud ēn kurāsag andar rōz dēn māh tīr abar šašsad-navad-se yazdegirdīg šāhān šāh ī ohrmazdān, yazdegird šahriyār, nibišt andar būm ī hindūgān andar šahr<estān> ī kumbāyat. man dēnbannag kayhusrav (nāmīg)dum hērbedzād mihrābān ī kayhusrav ēn kurāsag rāyēnīd ud drust kird az bahr ī ahlāyīh ruvān dōšārm rāy.

nāismī daēvō: nigānam²⁵ dēv abāg dēvtōmagān.

*aēvō paṇtā yō aṣahe vīspe anyaēšqm apaṇtqm: ēk-ē ast rāh ī
ahlāyīh. harvisp anēšān arāhīh.*

aṣəm: ahlāyīh.

‘I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān, son of Kayxusrō, son of Mihrābān, son of Spēdyād, son of Mihrābān, son of Marzbān, son of Bahrām who have come to the land of India, have written this copy from the manuscript of the teaching priest Rustahm, son of Mihrābān. I have written it for the sake of Čāhil (son of) Sangan of Cambay. It is written for the sake of *aṣa* and on account of the love of the soul. As it is written for the absolution of sins and reward of good deeds after “death” (lit. ‘move’) and for the love of the soul, whoever will read it, who will make use of it, who will keep it, who will make a copy from it, I also who am the scribe desire of the readers of this (sacred) writing that they shall consider us as worthy of Heaven’s lot (and him who ordered it written). I have written it just as I said. May <Čāhil> be immortal-souled who ordered the teaching priest Kayxusrō for writing it. May whoever who shall read it, consider him as worthy of an immortal soul. May whoever who shall keep this book and whoever who shall read it, consider Čāhil Sangan of Cambay as worthy of Heaven’s lot, who for the sake of *aṣa* (and) for the love (of the soul) ordered me to write it.

I went to the land of India, in the city of Cambay, and wrote this book (completed) on the day of Dēn of the month of Tīr in the year 693 of Yazdegird, king of kings, (a descendant) of Ohrmazd, Yazdegird Šahriyār.

I, the servant of the religion, Kayxusrō, son of the most (famous) teaching priest by birth, Mihrābān, son of Kayxusrō, have arranged and adjusted this book for the sake of *aṣa* and the love of the soul.

I scorn the Daēva.

One is the path, that of *aṣa*. The others are all non-paths.

Aṣəm.’

²⁵ . Cf. Y 12.1 *nigōham*.

K20

K 20 comprises miscellaneous Pārsīg texts and some Avesta texts with their Pārsīg versions. The name of the actual writer of K 20 is unknown –there is no colophon belonging to it. However it contains three colophons belonging to the first seven texts, that give the dates A. Y. 690, 720, 700: Ardā virāz nāmag, Mādayān ī jōšt ī fryān, col. fol. 38r; Sāyag ī nēmrōz, az Hādōxt Nask, az Ohrmazd Yašt, Drāyišn ī xēšm ō ahrmen (gāhāmbār myazd, etc.), col. fol. 51; Šāyist nē-šāyist, col. 74r. West infers that the colophons must have been copied by the writer of K 20 from the original manuscripts which he was copying; and the writer of the manuscripts, from which the articles 1-7 were copied, was Mihrābān Kayxusrō.²⁶

^{38r} *frazaft. frazāmēnīd ēn mādayān jōšt ī fryān abāg ēn ardā virāz andar rōz <ī> rašn ud māh <ī> day, sāl ī šašsad navad yazdegirdīg. man dēnbannag hērbēdzād mihrābān kayhusrav <ī> mihrābān <ī> spendyād ī mihrābān ī marzbān az dastnibēg ī hērbēd mihrpanāhag ī srōšiyār ī vēšābūr ī hērbēd nibišt. ped yazdān kām bavād.*

‘Finished. completed this Text-book of Yōšt Fryān (MJF) and this (Book of) Ardā Virāz (AVN) on day Rašn, in month Day, in the year 690 of Yazdegird. I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān Kayxusrō Mihrābān Spendyād Mihrābān Marzbān have written (these books) from the manuscript of the teaching priest Mihrpanāhag, son of Srōšiyār, son of Vehšābuhr the teaching priest. May it be according to the will of God!’

^{51r} *andar rōz rašn māh ādur pērōzgar sāl haftsad vīst pārsīg andar vīst ō yazdegird šāhān šāh ohrmazdān, man dēnbannag*
^{51v} *hērbēdzād mihrābān ī kayhusrav ī mihrābān ī spendiyād <ī> mihrābān <ī> marzbān ī spendiyād ī mihrābān ī marzbān andar hindūstān ped šahrestān ī kumbāyat nibišt. <ped> yazdān kāmāg bavād. harv kē x’ānād ud hamōzād u-š kār aziš kunād u-š peccēn aziš kunād. amāh // kē nibištār hem ped nekīh nām barād, ud ped vahišt bahr arzānīg dārād. u-š ped gētīg tan husrav, u-š ped mēnōg ruvān garōdmānīg bavād. ēdōn dād, ēdōndar bād!*

aēvō paṇṭā yō aṣahe: ēk-ē ast rāh kē ahlāyih.

²⁶ . The Book of Ardā Vīrāf, ... Introductory Essays, vii.

‘(Completed) on the day of Rašn, in the month of the victorious Ādur, in the Pārsīg year 720, (still) 20 (years) to Yazdegird, king of kings, (descendant) of Ohrmazd. I, the servant of the religion, priest by birth, Mihrābān, son of Kayxusrō son of Mihrābān, son of Spendyād, son of Mihrābān, son of Marzbān, // son of Spendyād, son of Mihrābān, son of Marzbān// <son of Bahrām>, wrote (them) in India, in the city of Cambay. May it be according to the will of God! May whoever reads and learns it, makes use of it, and copies it, remember me, who am the scribe, graciously, and consider me worthy of Heaven’s lot! May his body (person) be of good repute in the world of life, and his soul be *ašavan* in the world of thought! May it be so! May it be still more so!

One is the path, that of *aša*.’

74r ادر رور ادر ماه مهر بیور کر سال هفتصد پارسی من دین بنده هیربذاد مهربان
کیحسرو مهربان^x مرزبان

‘On the day of Ādur, in the month of the Victorious Mihr, in the Pārsī year 700, I, the servant of the religion, priest-born, Mihrābān Kayxusrō Mihrābān Marzbān, (wrote this book of the ŠnŠ).’

At the head of folio 83v we read thus :

مهربان کی حسرو پکام یزدان

‘Mihrābān Kayhusrō. Deo volonte!’

MK

The manuscript MK contains a number of Pārsīg texts collected by Mihrābān from different sources.

From the colophon written at the end of the first text, a fragment of the Parthian lore called the *Āyādgār ī zerīrān* (or, the *Šāhnāma_g ī Guštāsp*), we learn that Rustam Mihrābān copied it from a manuscript of Dēnpanāh, son of Ādurbād; and Mihrābān Kayxusrō made a copy from the manuscript of Rustam. There is no date in this colophon.

frazaft ped drod šādīh ud rāmišn.

vahišt-bahrag bavād vištāsp šāh puhr luhrāsp, anīz zerīr ud bastvar^x ud spendiyād, ped hamēvēn frašāvard ī jāmāspān

(vištāspān?), ud grāmīkkird puhr jāmāsp, pādhusrō, 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣
 /pādsēn?/, kē x^vad burd-nām hend. harvīn + vāspuhragān, gavān,
 ud ēraxtārān ×gāh 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /farrox/ bavād! ped vahišt bāmīg ped
 asar-rōšnīh nišēm <ī> varzāvandān. harvīn abzōn bavād, kū
 ruvān anōšag bavād! kū dēnpanāh nibišt ēd <āyādgār> šād
 pērōz bavād 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /šādān zād/ (šāhzād?) puhr šādān dārād!
 farrox bavād dā hazārān sālān yad ō rōz fraškird! ābād //
 mēhan ud mān, 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /x^vāstag?/ ud xīr abzōn bavād! kū-tān x^vad bē
 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /ramed²⁷/ 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /arzān?²⁸/ (dagr?) kē x^vāned farrox nibēg, ped
 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /anōšāyādīh/ rustahm mihrābān nām āyādēned kē-š
 peccēn nibištāg būd.

man dēbannag mihrābān kayhusrav nibišt. kē x^vāned, amāh
 ped nekīh nām āyādēned. ped tandrustīh ped im gētīg ābād, bē
 ped viderān ī tan nišēm <ī> varzāvandān. 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /u-m/ 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣
 /aburnāy/ az 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /dēnīg dibīrān/ būd ham nibištār andar
 im gētīg ābād. veh(ān) pērōz bavāy, vattar 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /pazdēm/
 (pazdām)!

pērōz ud pērōz(ag) bavād dādār ohrmazd ! namāz zardušt ī
 spitāmān kē āvurd dēn ī veh mazdesnān abēzag <ud> ravāg
 <bē kird> ped ayyārīh ī vištāsp šāh ud zerīr ud spendiyād !

The next eighteen texts also are copied from the « original »
 manuscript of Dēnpanāh. We learn from the colophon at the end
 of the *Nihišn ī tis ī gētīg*, that Dēnpanāh completed these texts
 (“memoranda”) for Šāhzād on day Day-ped-ādar, in month
 Vahman, in the (Pārsī) year 324²⁹. His manuscript was found in
 a fire-temple at Broach³⁰:

ēn āyādgārīhā nibištāg būd ēstād ped māh ī vahman andar
 sāl sesad vīst cahār rōz day-ped-ādur. dagr-zīvād dēnpanāh ī
 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /ādurbāy/ ī dēnpanāh az bahr ī dagr-zīvād sāhzād ī
 šādān farrox ohrmazd rāy, kē-šān ruvān anōšag bavād! andar 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣
 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 /baruc/ būd ped ātaškadag.

²⁷ . ram- ‘to rejoice’.

²⁸ . Cf. FP 26.

²⁹ . West conjectures 624.

³⁰ . See also Supplément persan 2044, 68-69.

*frazāmēnīd ēn nibēg ped hindūgān ped šahr tānag ped
 ātašxānag (ātaškadag) andar rōz <ī> fravardīn ud māh <ī>
 ādur vihēzag abar sāl šašsad³⁴ navad ēk man dēnbannag
 hērbedzād mihrābān ī kayxusrō ī mihrābān ī spendyād ī
 mihrābān ī marzbān ī bahrām nibišt. harv kē x^vānād ud
 hamōzād, u-š kār aziš kunād, u-š peccēn aziš kunād, man kē
 nibištār ham ped nekīh arzānīg dārād; ud pas az vidurd ped
 petitīg<īh> arzānīg dārād! u-š ped gētīg tan husrav u-š ped
 mēnōg ruvān ahlav bavād! ēdōn bavād! ēdōndar bavād! farrox
 bavād!*

*nē-s³⁵ tis gīred kē-š nē ruvān grift. ud az 𐬵𐬀 /nūn/ frāz nē tis
 gīred kē nē ruvān gīred.*

ped hādōxt gyāg-ē pēdāg kū: ohrmazd ō zardušt guft kū:

*aēvō paṇṭā yō aṣahe vīspe anyaēšqm apaṇṭam: ēk ast rāh ī
 ahlāyīh. harvisp anēšān arāhīh.*

‘This (sacred) writing was finished in India, in the district of Thana, in the fire-temple, on the day Fravardīn, in the moving month Ādar, in the year 691. I, the servant of the religion, a teaching priest by birth, Mihrābān, son of kayxusrō, son of Mihrābān, son of Spendyād, son of Mihrābān, son of Marzbān, son of Bahrām, wrote it. May whoever will read and study it, and will make use of it, and will copy it, consider me, who am the writer, worthy of bliss, and worthy of compensation after death! May his body be of good repute in the world of life, and his soul be *ašavan* in the world of thought. May it be so! May it be so even more! May it be fortunate!

“He has not acquired anything, who has not acquired the soul. Likewise, from now on he does not acquire anything, who does not acquire the soul.”

In the Hādōxt there is a passage where it is revealed that:

“Ahura Mazdā said to Zaraθuštra thus: One is the path, that of *aša*. The others are all non-paths.”

The above colophon is followed by another short colophon and a Rōznāmag³⁶:

³⁴ . SP : haftsad.

³⁵ . SP : nē.

rōz <ī> day-ped-mihr māh <ī> tīr ēn kurāsag az bahr <ī>
cāhil nibišt ham. harv kē dāred, harv kē x'āned, hō rāy <ud>
niyāgān <ī> hō rāy vahišt bahr arzānīg dāred.

rōznām<ag> + nibēsam:

māh amurdad rōz fravardīn sangān cāhil <rōzag>.

māh day rōz fravardīn cāhil vahman <rōzag>.

ādur māh fravardīn rōz vahman bahrām <rōzag>.

ādur māh fravardīn rōz bahrām ādur cāhil <rōzag>.

māh tīr rōz anērān dārag cāhil <rōzag>.

māh day rōz ādur mālān sangān <rōzag>.

‘I wrote this book for Čāhil on the day Day-ped-mihr, in the month Tīr. May whoever keeps it and may read it, consider him and his ancestors worthy of heaven’s lot. ...³⁷’

MK must have contained a Sanskrit colophon. Here is the Skt colophon taken from SP³⁸:

∴ ॥ शवत् १३७७ वरुषे कार्तिके शुद्धि १४ बुधे पारसीसने १६६
। वै माह आदरसे ज करुअरदीन् आघहणो वेलाकले सु-
लतान् श्री गेयासदीन् राज्ञे परिपंथयति त्वेन काले एसां न
ऊं प्री दे गाम् समायात् पारसी आचार्ये मिहिरवानस्य बहु
मानले स्वापनं कागलं च प्रदाय पारसी व्यवसांगत सुतव्य
नचोहिलेन पुण्यार्थे एतस्य पाथीत् पुस्तकमिदं लिखापितं
शहनामा गुस्तास्य पंदनामा आदरबाद मासस्पंदनामायः के
५ मि पुस्तकमिदं सति पठति कालेने व्यवचाहिलस्य पूर्वज्ञानं
मुक्तात्मानं तथा एतस्य निमनं पुण्य करणीयं ॥ ६६ ॥ ∴ ॥

‘In the year Saṃvat 1377, on Wednesday, on the 14th day of Śudi Kārtika, (corresponding to) the day Fravardīn of the month

³⁶ . According to Anklesaria “this colophon and the Rōznāmag following it are possibly written by another scribe, who may have copied this Ms. for Čāhil”, Pahlavi Texts, 168. SP omits the Rōznāmag.

³⁷ . For the list of days to pray for Čāhil’s ancestors see K 5.

³⁸ . SP 150. See also Jamasp-Asana, Pahlavi Texts, 169.

Ādar of the Pārsī year 690, today, here in Thana, on the seashore, when his majesty Sultān Ġyāṭadīn was extending his kingdom, a Pārsī priest Mihiravāna, who had come from the country of Ērānzamīn (Persia), on a written letter couched in very respectful terms, wrote this book of Šāhnāmāg ī Guštāsp and the Pandnāmag ī Ādurbād ī Mahrspendān, for the merit of the Pārsī lord Čāhil, son of Sangan. May whoever may keep this book and may read it remember the *fravaši* of the ancestors of lord Čāhila.’

MK 2 (Katrak 803)³⁹

MK 2 is a collective codex of fourteen different Avesta, Pārsīg, Persian (and Urdu) texts. It includes the Hōm Stōd (Y 9–11) with its Zand and the Srōš Yašt Hādōxt (Yt 11) and the Srōš Yašt Vadi (Y 57) in Avesta with Pārsīg version. At the end of the Srōš Yašt a colophon in Persian states that the copy of the Srōš Yašt completed by Frāmarz Rustam X^v aršēd Hōšang Sanjāna, inhabitant of Bulsar, on day Tīr, month Farvardīn, year 1137. Frāmarz himself has written this note in Persian after the colophon:

کتاب یزشن با معنی پهلوی به کتابخانه دستور جاماسپ آساجی روز دیبمهر ماه تیر
سنه ششصد و نود و دو یزدجردی موافق سیوم جت شد ماه هندی سموت سیزده صد و
هفتاد و نه روز دوشنبه مقرر است

‘The book of Yazišn (/ Yasna) with Pārsīg version which is (now) in the library of Dastōr Jāmāsp-Āsāji, (its date) is day Day-ped-mihr, month Tīr, year 692 of Yazdegird, corresponding to the 3rd day of Śudi Jeth (month), Indian Saṃvat 1379, day Monday.’

Katrak believes that the writer of the manuscript of Yazišn referred to in the above Persian note cannot be any other than our scribe Mihrābān.⁴⁰

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³⁹ . See Katrak, 1941, 187 ; 1980, 230-32.

⁴⁰ . Katrak, 1980, 231.

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