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Bundahišn’s Stemma Codicum & Codices’ Tradition

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I have written this work after my consulting Professor F. Thordarson's archive in Macerata, which has not been opened to the public yet. It contains about 2400 volumes on Iranistic and Classical Philology. With great pleasure, I listed 480 books on an inventory about Iranian languages and literature; some of them have been used in this work. This is the reason why I am particularly grateful to Mz. B. Vissani and Mz. C. Lovascio who allowed me to study the documents in the archive.

I hope that all of F. Thordarson's archive will be soon included in the Open Access catalogue of the Macerata University.

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Introduction

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“This I ask Thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who is by generation the Father of Right, at the first? *Who determined the path of sun and stars?* Who is it by whom the moon waxes and wanes again? This, O Mazda, and yet more, I am fain to know”.

Yasna 44, 3

In 1977, Walter Belardi wrote that if Iranian philology wanted to move on, it had to cope with the experiences other philologies went through¹. Nowadays there are many works about Iranian philology, but only few of them attempt to describe the written tradition of Avestan and Pahlavi texts². This paper has its origins in the seminar held by Professor G. Consolmano, director of the “*Specula Vaticana*”. The seminar was entitled “Studying Planets, from Medieval to Modern Times”. Starting from this point, this work aims at illustrating briefly the Iranian astronomical and astrological conceptions during the Sasanian period.

Unfortunately, there are no texts left from that time, but just texts written after the Islamic invasion. Specifically, this paper will focus on an important witness to the Persian cosmological *Weltanschauung*: the *Bundahišn*. Moreover, it was noticed that there is no complete illustration of *Bundahišn's stemma*

¹ «[La] filologia iranica, se vuole diventare adulta nel campo della critica testuale deve mettere a profitto anche le esperienze maturate da altre filologie in altri campi» (Belardi 1977c, p. 196).

² See (Cereti 2000; 2001).

codicum, because of the missing information conserved in the colophones of the manuscripts. The situation has changed since 1970, when the manuscripts TD₁ and DH were published in fac. by the Iranian Culture Foundation, but still there are no acceptable genealogical trees of the *Bundahišn*. This work aims at retracing the *stemma codicum* of the Pahlavi text, in line with the most complete tradition of the manuscript, which is still not considered by the scholars in this research area.

This paper deals with the lack of information, and it wants to strengthen the relations between the texts we have received. This is achieved by taking into account both the information contained in the colophones and the personal relationships between the copists and their social context, delving into the possibility of transmissions and contaminations from the work of copying.

In this paper, an analysis of the manuscripts was carried out, but it was decided not to draw up correspondence charts between them, which they can easily be found in the work of (Belardi 1977d). Moreover, it was preferred, where appropriate, to analyse the colophones, normally scarcely available, so that they could be examined in order to understand the genealogical reconstruction of the tree.

The texts in Pahlavi are presented without the original version, since the translations of (Anklesaria 1908) is accepted. As for the terminological comparison, it must be said that in this work there are no occurrences of the differences between the manuscripts.

In conclusion, this work proposes a close comparison between all the manuscript traditions, never before taken into consideration in their totality, including the incomplete passages in the tradition of other writings, like the ms. K_{43a}.

Chapter I: Astronomy and Astrology in Iran

1.1. *Sasanian Iran and Astronomy*

[Bausani 1962a; Hartner 1979; Nyberg 1929; Nyberg 1931; Nyberg 1932; Panaino 1990; Panaino 1992; Panaino 2004; Panaino 2009; Panaino 2016; Pingree 1989; Pingree-Brunner 1987; Raffaelli 2001; Zaehner 1961a; Zaehner 1961b].

Many discussions can be held on the presence of astronomy in Iran. As it is written in the Dēnkart:

Shahpuhr son of Ardashir king of kings collected together, from Hindustan [India], Arum [the Byzantine Empire], and other places where they had got scattered, writings other than those of the faith (i.e. other than those on prayer, worship, precepts, and law), (such as) those relating to medicine, astronomy, geography, minerals, the increase of the glory of the life-possessing kinds, the parts of the soul, and (writings relating to) other arts and sciences. And he ordered a correct copy of them after collocation with the Avesta to be deposited in the Ganj-i-Shaspigan [Royal Treasury]. And he ordered (the Dasturs and Mobeds) to deliver sermons and speeches to draw the faith of the people without religion to the Mazda-worshipping faith³.

Astronomical sciences had existed in Iran for a long time, maybe since the Achæmenids Empire. Probably, Dario's Empire promoted cultural exchanges between Greece and Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia itself

³ Dēnkard, Book 4, 19. All the texts from Dēnkard and Avestā come from *Avesta – Zoroastrian Archives* (avesta.org), which is an appreciable site if it is used with awareness of the situation.

seems to have influenced the uranographic models within the *Avestā*, that curiously have the same partition of the sky that can be found in Anaximander (V sec. a.E.V)⁴. The exchanges of astronomical science with India are interesting as well, moving on to the next points seems to be a better solution⁵.

Furthermore, famous in the Hellenic world, the existence of works written under the name of *Zartuxšt* (i.e. Zarathustra, av. *Zarathuštra*, gr. *Zoroastrēs*) is known from Zaehner. According to him, Pythagoras himself could have been the apprentice of Zarathustra whom he met in Babylon⁶. Could this be a proof that Zarathustra's texts (i.e. astronomical Iranian texts) contain some elements which make historians think that texts were somehow Pythagorean? It would surely be not a surprise. Indeed, very few elements of Iranian culture are originally Iranian. As Bausani writes:

Even the religious culture of Iran is far from being absolutely original, and it reflects many elements of ancient Mesopotamian origin: Mesopotamian is the representation of winged Ahura Mazdā that appears in the Achæmenians low reliefs, maybe even the Zoroastrian idea about the "celestial models" of objects is Sumerian, like the opposition between light and darkness etc.⁷

⁴ Cfr. Diels-Kranz 1951, p. 86.

⁵ For further informations see (Panaino 1992, 2004).

⁶ Cfr. Bidez-Cumont 1938, p. 33.

⁷ «Anche la cultura religiosa dell'Iran è lungi dall'essere originale in senso assoluto e riflette numerosi elementi di antica origine mesopotamica: mesopotamica è la rappresentazione di Ahura Mazdâ alato che compare dei bassorilievi achemenidi, forse addirittura sumera la idea mazdaica dei "modelli celesti" delle cose, e la contrapposizione luce-tenebre ecc.» (Bausani 1962a, pp. 31-32)

Granted this, nonetheless one can recognize that Iranian culture was as advanced as any of its time, and it would have produced its own interpretations of the scientific results of other nations. Therefore, what were the Iranian innovations?

1.2. *Three kinds of astrology*

[Bouché-Leclercq 1899; Buscherini 2009; Buscherini 2014; Cereti 2001; Neugebauer, van Hoesen 1959; Neugebauer, Parker 1960-1964; Panaino 1987; Panaino 1993; Panaino 1994; Panaino 2009; Pingree 1963; Pingree, Brunner 1987; Raffaelli 2001]

All the astrological doctrines spread in Iran during the Sasanian era, when a reinterpretation of the Greek and Indian elements occurred, in order to conform to the Zoroastrian doctrine, as Brunner writes.

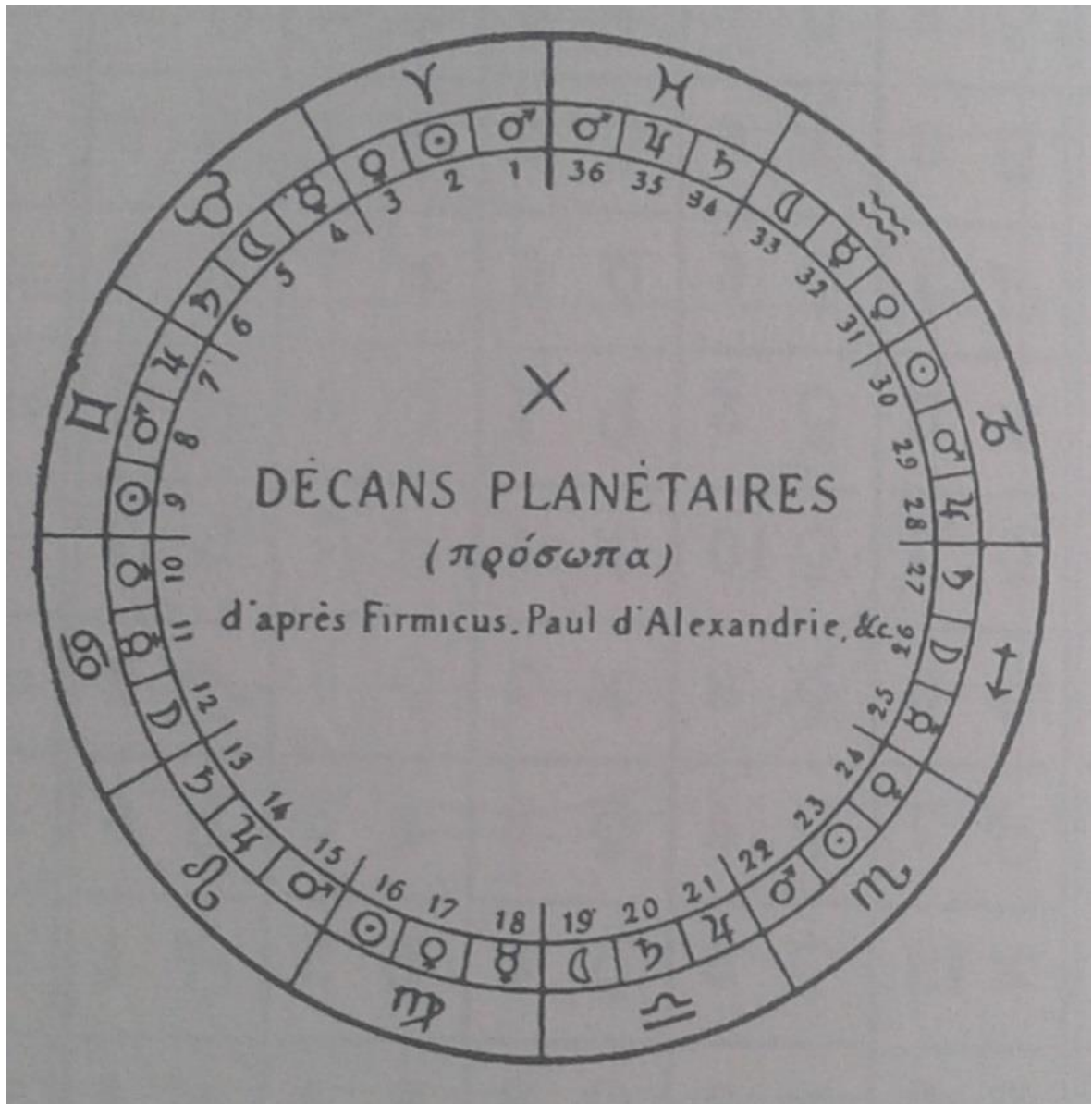
As far as astrological knowledge in Sasanian Iran is concerned, the reading of (Raffaelli 2001, pp. 17ss.) is highly suggested. Perhaps, the Zodiac itself was already known in Iran even during the Achæmenids, and it is significant that Persians used only one word to mean either astronomy and astrology: *star-gōwišnīh*. The Zodiac was divided into parts in many ways. There are four systems of representing it.

One is called "Egyptian", and it is the one that Dorotheus of Sidon used (see the picture in the next page)⁸.

⁸ All the pictures in this paragraph come from (Bouche-Leclercq 1899).

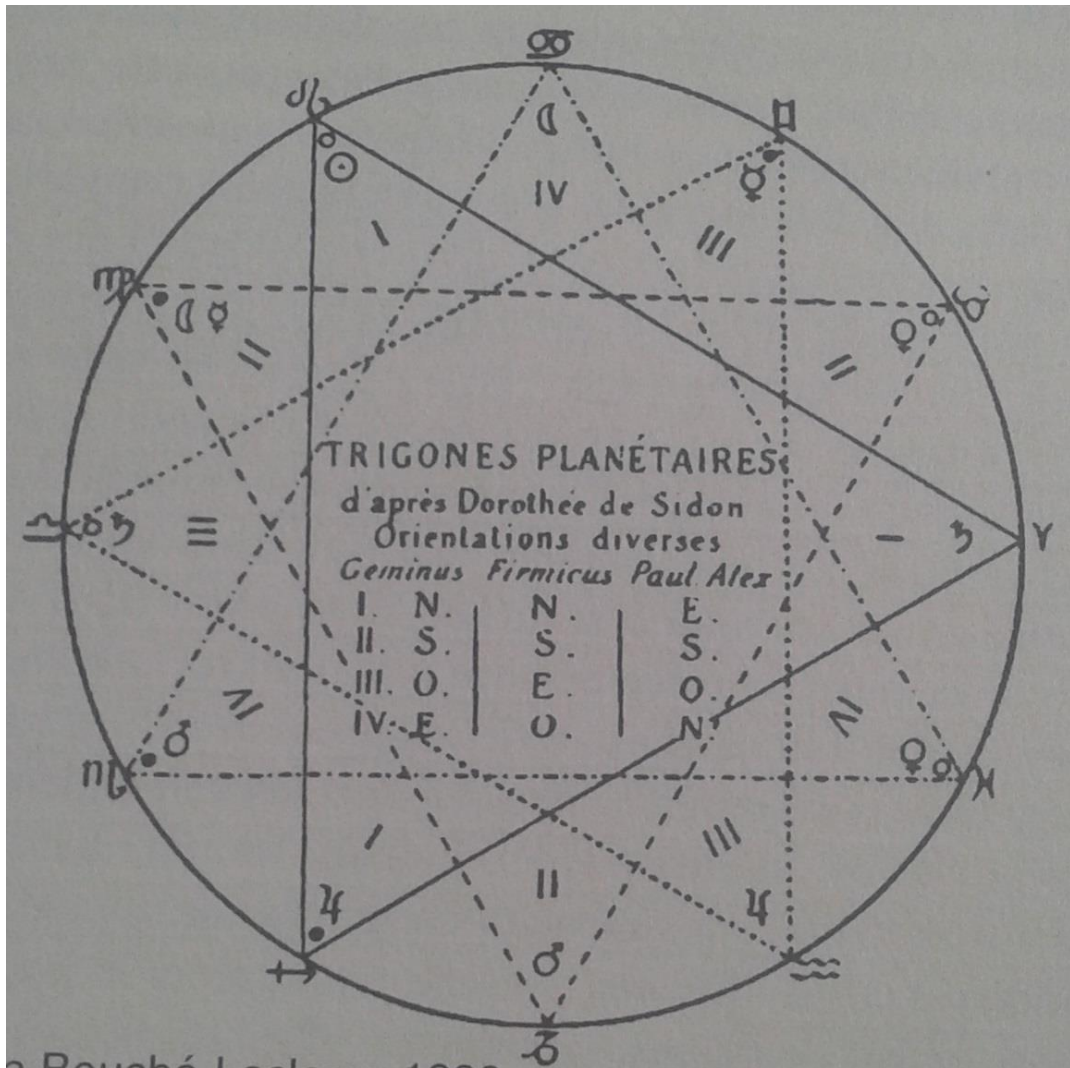
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♒	♆ 7	♀ 6	♃ 7	♂ 5	♁ 5	= 30
♓	♀ 12	♃ 4	♆ 3	♂ 9	♁ 2	= 30

The second one is called *dekanói*, because it derives from an ancient Egyptian tradition where the system has thirty-six decanes (see next page).



The third way to describe the Zodiac can be found in a passage of the *Bundahišn* (V A, 9)⁹. It is represented by a Greek system called *trígonon* (see the picture in the next page).

⁹ «Each one of these Planets has found in the Firmament, in the twelve abodes of the Constellations, its enemy's abode, its exaltation and fall, a conjunction giving profit, joy, and affliction. And many other kinds of abitation of its own; as all the operations of Time have connection with the Constellations, as is visible to the eyesight, they destroy, lower the high and increase what is diminished; their motion too is not like that of the constellations; for there is a time when they are swift, there is another



when they are slow, there is a time when they are retrograde, there is another when they are stationary; their being named 'apa-akhtar' is owing to this that they are 'not akhtar;' this light of theirs, visible from them, is also the Ohrmazdean Light, similar to the wicked who put on the dress of the soldier. There are benefits therefrom just as from the light in the eyes of the noxious creatures: one is this that they can do little harm, on account of putting on the light; and one is, this that men may see them and not be afraid of them; the illustration of these Planets is like darkness; for they are devs, producing decrepitude and injury. When they run in the Firmament, the Light becomes visible, twinkling in the Firmament». (Anklesaria 1956; from avesta.org).

There is another system named *chará* (lat. *gaudium*); it describes the point where the planet is located compared to a point where it "rejoices". All these systems were used by a form of astrology that is called "genetic astrology", which attempted to determine one's lifetime. Other forms of astrology were the "continuous astrology" and the "historical astrology"¹⁰. The first one «consisted in doing prophecies taking into consideration not only one's birthday but every moment of one's life¹¹», while the second «considered the years and the brief-and-long periods of the life of the world, foreseeing historical and political events. [...] Very important were the Jupiter-Saturn conjunction: they were divided into small ones (occurring every 20 years), middle ones (every 240-260 years) and big ones (960-980 years)¹²».

1.3. *The Bundahišn*

[Andreas 1882; Anklesaria 1956; Bailey 1933; Belardi 1977c; Belardi 1977d; Boyce 1968; Cereti 2001; Duchesne-Guillemin (1970b); Filippini-Ronconi 2007; Gnoli 1994b; Henning 1942; Hultgård 1990, 1992; MacKenzie 1964; MacKenzie 1990; de Menasce 1983; Okunishi 1983; Pagliaro 1968; Panaino 2016; Tavadia 1956; West 1880; West 1896-1904]

¹⁰ Other forms of astrology were the "interrogative astrology" and the "military astrology".

¹¹ «Essa consisteva nel trarre profezie prendendo in considerazione non solo il momento di nascita dell'individuo, ma anche altri momenti della sua vita». (Raffaelli 2001, p. 28).

¹² «L'astrologia storica prendeva in considerazione gli anni e i periodi brevi e lunghi di esistenza del mondo, effettuando previsioni su eventi storici o politici. [...] Fondamentale importanza avevano poi le congiunzioni Giove-Saturno. Esse erano suddivise in piccole (ricorrenti ogni 20 anni), medie (ogni 240-260 anni) e grandi (960-980 anni)». (Raffaelli 2001, p. 29). See also (Buscherini 2009, 2014).

The *Bundahišn* is «a cosmological text, directly written in Middle Persian, but compiled starting from a rigorous knowledge of the Avestan texts¹³». There exist two versions of this masterpiece: the *Iranian* (or *Greater*) *Bundahišn*, which contains about 30.000 words; the second one, namely *Indian Bundahišn*, has no more than 13.000. Of course, the adjectives "Iranian" and "Indian" don't mean the original provenience of the texts, which is actually unknown. The adjective "Iranian" was used because the *Greater Bundahišn* came from Iran. Nowadays, there are no critical editions of the *Bundahišn* (or, as it is also called, *Zand-āgāhīh*, which means “knowledge of the Zand”).

It was Farrbay, son of Ašwahišt, who put into writing the above-mentioned text. From what can be learnt from the *Bundahišn*, this writer lived in the same period as Zādspram, the priest who had written the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*. The first translation of the text was done by Anquetil Duperron, from a codex copied in 1734 A.D. from K₂₀ by his master, Dastur Dārāb. It will be Rasmus Rask, a famous Danish linguist, who bought about 50 years later the codices K₂₀ and K_{20b}¹⁴.

1.4. *About an interesting comparison between some different manuscript's astronomical charts*

[DH; Raffaelli 2000; Raffaelli 2001; TD₁; TD₂]

¹³ «Il *Bundahišn* è un'opera cosmologica, redatta direttamente in mediopersiano, ma compilata sulla base della conoscenza dettagliata delle fonti avestiche». (Cereti 2001, p. 87).

¹⁴ A deeper analysis about the codices will be debated on in the next chapter. For other informations about the *Bundahišn*, please see the texts under the title of the paragraph.

Within the *Iranian Bundahišn* it can be found an astronomical chart (see pictures 5, 6, 7), absent in all the manuscripts but in the DH, TD₁ and TD₂. It must be said that there are no other Pahlavi texts containing an astrological chart. This consists in the «division of a square through two horizontal parallel lines and two vertical ones into nine squares of equal dimensions; the four angular squares are divided into two small squares by a cross-line. The result is a figure portraying twelve sectors enclosing a central one. These ones represent the twelve “houses” of the *thema mundi*¹⁵».

What is the *thema mundi*?

Talking about astrology in the *Bundahišn*, it is about exposing the horoscope of the world or *thema mundi* (i.e. the position of stars and planets at the beginning of the world) or that of the first man, Gayōmart. *Thema mundi* is also known as the Caldean or Babylonian one, according to which the planets were all in the state of astrological exaltation, i.e. in the position of their absolute power¹⁶.

The transliterations of the charts is displayed underneath; for the commentary, see (Raffaelli 2000; 2001, pp. 97-99). The pictures are taken

¹⁵ «Tale schema consiste nella suddivisione di un quadrato, mediante due parallele orizzontali e due verticali, in nove quadrati di uguali dimensioni; i quattro quadrati angolari sono a loro volta divisi in due da una linea trasversale. Vengono così a formarsi dodici settori che circondano un settore centrale. Questi rappresentano le dodici case del tema». (Raffaelli 2001, p. 97).

¹⁶ «Quando si parla di *Bundahišn*, si tratta di esporre l’oroscopo del mondo o *thema mundi* (cioè la posizione degli astri al principio del mondo) o quello del primo uomo, Gayōmart. Il *thema mundi* è essenzialmente quello noto come caldeo o babilonese, secondo il quale i pianeti erano tutti nello stato di esaltazione astrologica, vale a dire nella posizione della loro maggior potenza». (Duchesne-Guillemin 1970b, pp. 603-604).

from the book of E.R. Raffaelli, *L'oroscopo del mondo. Il tema di nascita del mondo e del primo uomo secondo l'astrologia zoroastriana*, Mimesis, Milano 2001, pp. 72-74.

TAV. I: TD1

šgl hwšk	klcng 'whrmzd	dwptyl gw TWRA m'h
tl'cwk kyw'n		wlk' mtr'
gcdwm nym'sp gwlcyh'l	whyk wlhl'n	m'hyk tyl dwl

TAV. II: TD2

šgl tyl hwšk'	klcng 'whrmzd	dwptyl kl TWRA m'h
tl'cwk kyw'n'	MYA zmyk	wlk mtr'
gcdwm nym'sp	whydk wlhl'n	mhydk gwlcyh'l dwl

TAV. III: DH

šgl tyl hwšk	klycng 'whrmzd	dwp'rk1 TWRA m'h
tl'cwk kyw'n	MYA zmyk	wlk' mtr'
gcdwm nym'sp	whydk wlhl'n	m'hyk gwlcyh1 dwl tyl hwšk

Chapter II: The Bundahišn's Stemma Codicum: Cereti and Belardi

[Andreas 1882; Anklesaria 1908; Anklesaria 1956; Bailey 1933; Belardi 1977c; Cereti 2001; Choksy 1986; DH; Henning 1942; Justi 1868; K₂₀ & K_{20b}; K_{43a}; MacKenzie 1964; Molé 1963; Okunishi 1983; Raffaelli 2001; TD₁; TD₂; Unvalla 1897; West 1880; Westergaard 1851; Windischmann 1863]

According to some sources, the first thirty chapters of the *Bundahišn* belong to the late Sasanian period. The existing manuscripts of the *Indian Bundahišn* derive all from two codices of Pahlavi texts, K₂₀ and H₆, and from K_{20b} consisting of 19 folios. The order of the chapters is different between the two codices; K₂₀ has the same order as the manuscripts, while H₆ is ordered according to the following scheme: XV-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV; the chapters XXVIII, XXIX and XXXI are missing. Moreover, manuscript H₆ is now called M₅₁ (see the bibliography). According to (West 1896-1904, pp. 98ss.), M₅₁ was copied by an unknown manuscript that probably was in a state of decay since the 1397 A.D. According to him, all the other manuscripts of the *Indian Bundahišn* derive from M₅₁ and K₂₀, as well as the fragments in K_{20b}.

Approximately in 1870 A.D. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria found the manuscript TD₁ in Iran; ten years later he also found TD₂, in Yazd, dated 1626 A.D. In TD₁ it can be noticed that some folios at the beginning and at the end are missing, so its date can be only approximately estimated: according to West the manuscript dates back to around 1530 A.D. in the city of Kermān, consequently it is the oldest manuscript known in this manuscript tradition. In 1843 A.D. Westergaard brought from Iran another manuscript, named K₄₃, whose first folios (K_{43a}) contain some passages of the *Bundahišn*; it also

contains a part of the last chapter of the *Iranian Bundahišn*, with a colophon written in 1587 A.D.

Along with this manuscript tradition, the DH is another manuscript of the *Iranian Bundahišn*. It was written in 1597 A.D. and it has 16 folios missing. Unusually, the variants of DH were printed in the introduction. TD₁ remained unknown to the public until both it and DH were published in fac. in Teheran in 1970 A.D. That is the reason why in 1977 Belardi wrote that «*the problem of the relationships between the codices has not been posed yet*. And it can't be posed before 1970 A.D. since the codices TD₁ and DH were not accessible in the Western world¹⁷». As a result of this, two manuscripts of the *Indian* one seem to have survived: M₅₁, K₂₀ (and the fragment K_{20b}) that are also the most ancient; plus, there are four manuscripts of the *Iranian Bundahišn*: TD₁, TD₂, DH and K_{43a}¹⁸.

According to Modi, the manuscript TD₂ was written by Marzapān, who copied from Frēdūn, who copied from Vāhrōm, from Rūtastam, from Būndār, from Malkā-mardān, from Dīn-ayār in 1577 A.D.

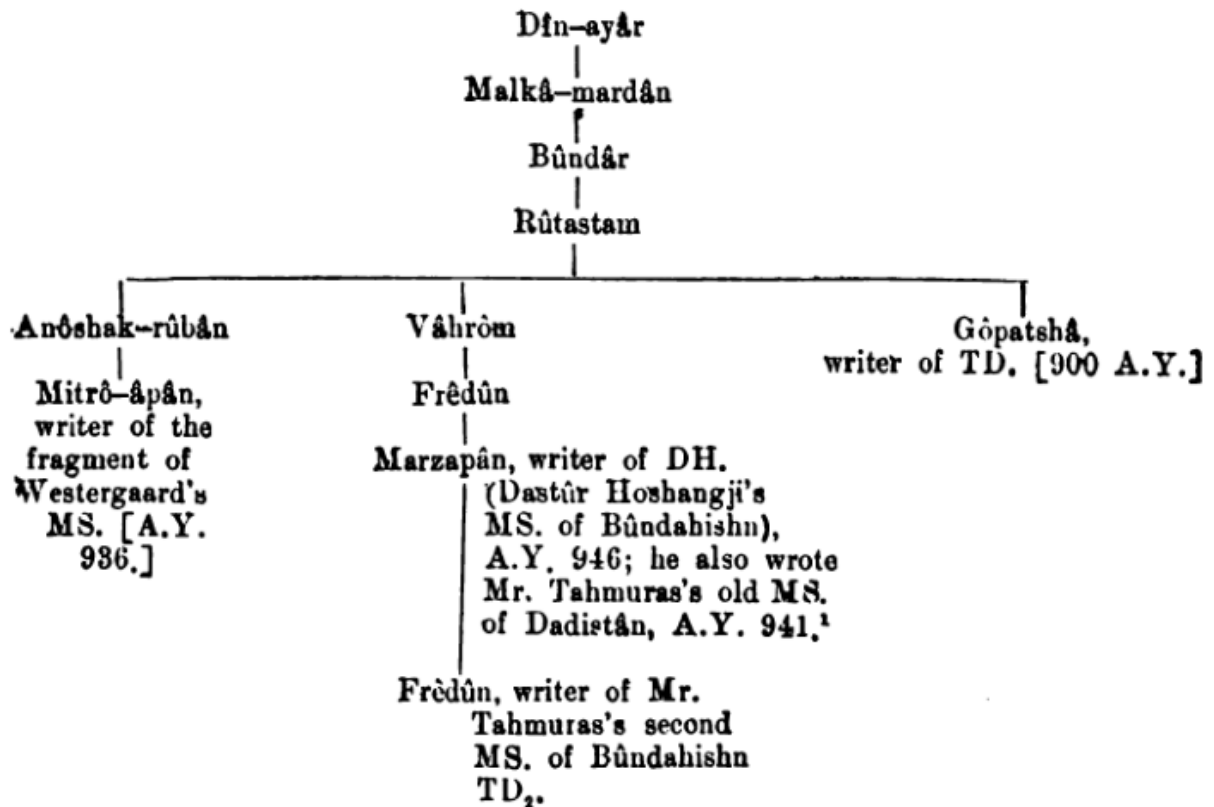
Dr. West speaks of an old fragment of the Būndahishn brought from Persia by Prof. Westergaard. That fragment is now in Europe it is dated 936 A.Y. (1567 A.C.), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm. The full genealogical line does not seem to have been supplied to Dr. West. But as the date is 936 A.Y., it is possible that Mitrô-âpân the

¹⁷ «*Il problema dei rapporti dei codici fra di loro non è stato ancora mai posto*. E non poteva essere posto prima del 1970, quando ancora i codici TD₁ e DH non erano accessibili in Occidente». (Belardi 1977c, p. 190).

¹⁸ According to (Cereti 2001, p. 89), the text of the *Bundahišn* has been transmitted by six independent manuscripts: three for the *Indian* one (K₂₀, K_{20b}, M₅₁), and three for the *Iranian* one (TD₁, DH, K_{43a}). Where is TD₂? Cereti says that it is “surely copied from DH, with some pieces and corrections from TD₁”. Nevertheless, probably it is an independent copy, like Belardi showed in (Belardi 1977c, 1977d).

writer of this manuscript, also belonged to the above family and was a nephew of Gōpat-shā¹⁹.

According to Modi's genealogical table (see also Belardi 1977c, p. 187) the author of TD₁ is Gōpatəšāh, even though any colophones of him are left, so it is not known whom he has copied the manuscript from²⁰. The attempt of Modi to represent the genealogical descendency of the manuscript is displayed underneath.

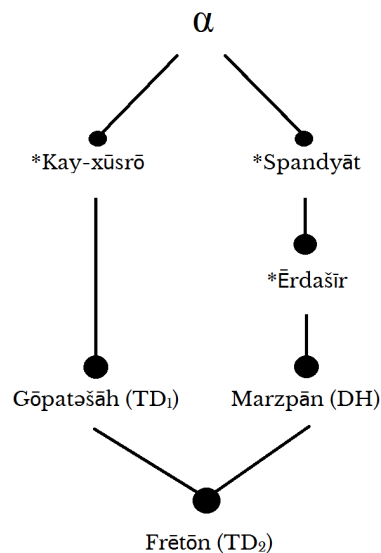


Concerning the origin of DH, Bode wrote that Marzpān copied it from Ērdašīr, who copied his version from Spandyāt. Being things so, Frētōn's

¹⁹ From the Modi's Preface in TD₂, p. IV.

²⁰ Framroze Ardeshir Bode writes: «From the colophon it can be deduced that it [TD₂] is a descended from the copies of Gōpatshā and Marzpān, the writers of TD₁ and DH, the former of whom wrote from a copy of Kaēkhūsrow Siyāvakhsh». (Belardi 1977c, p. 186).

manuscript (TD₂) should be considered as an apographal. Belardi does not agree with Bode, writing that «the colophon inside TD₂ folio 354r.3-354v.10, whereof Bode collects information concerning Frētōn’s copied exemplars, does not refer to the writing of the *Bundahišn*, whose colophon is in fo. 122r.8-13, but to the *Vičīrīhā i vēh i Mazdēsān* (fo. 213v.9-218r), to a *Comment to Pahlavi Vidēvdāt* (fo. 218v-327v.3) and to a series of the *Pursišnīhā* (fo. 327v.4-354r.2)²¹». Obviously, all these problems are due to the fact that Frētōn does not give further information about the copies he has used. According to Mode’s erroneous interpretation, the *stemma codicum* should be the following one:



To sum up, four complete codices of the *Bundahišn* are left: K₂₀ (*Indian*), TD₁, TD₂, DH (*Iranian*). As far as the *Iranian* one is concerned, it must be underlined that TD’s manuscripts come from Yazd, while DH has been

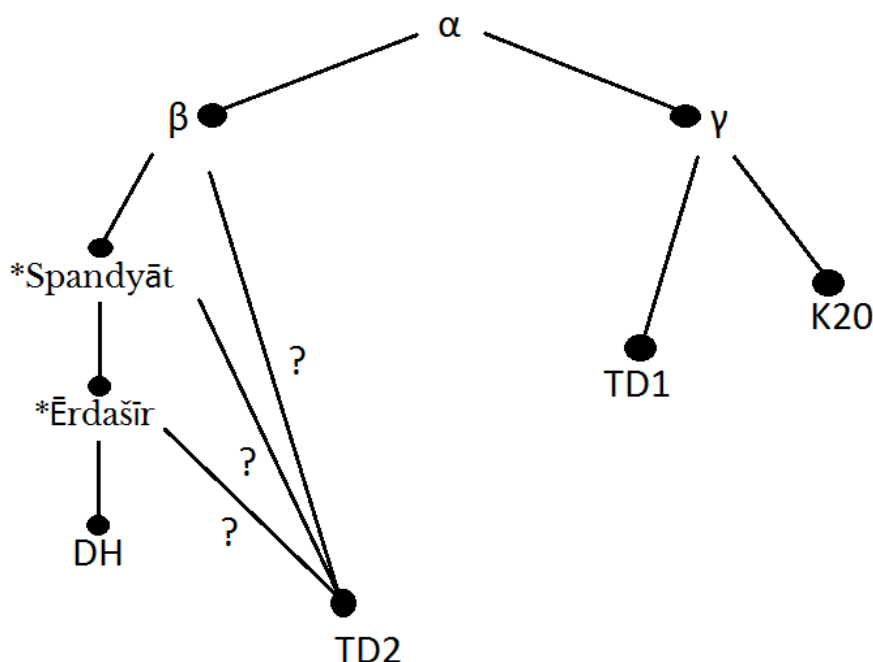
²¹ «Il colofone contenuto in TD₂ foglio 354r.3-354v.10, da cui F.A. Bode trae notizie sugli esemplari ricopiati da Frētōn, non si riferisce alla scritturazione del *Bundahišn*, il cui colofone è nel fo. 122r.8-13, ma ai *Vičīrīhā i vēh i Mazdēsān* (fo. 213v.9-218r), a un *Commento al Vidēvdāt pahlavico* (fo. 218v-327v.3) e a una serie di *Pursišnīhā* (fo. 327v.4-354r.2)» (Belardi 1977c, p. 187).

written in Kermān. All the three amanuenses belonged to the Būndār family. The chronology of the *Iranian's* manuscripts is approximately the following one:

- TD₁ = 1530 A.D. ca.
- DH = 1577 A.D. ca²².
- TD₂ = 1606 A.D. ca.

The analysis of the passages carried out by Belardi in (Belardi 1977, 1977b) suggests that K₂₀, the most ancient manuscript of the *Bundahišn* (1300-1400 A.D. ca.), and TD₁ come from one sub-archetype. In the same way, also TD₂ and DH come from another sub-archetype, and these sub-archetypes are copies of an original archetype. The brilliant work of Belardi consisted in gathering all the variants between these manuscripts (see Belardi 1977c, pp. 191-193).

The situation is portrayed underneath.



²² According to Anklesaria, DH should be originally written in A.Y. 900. (Anklesaria 1908, p. IX).

Chapter III: Retracing the Tree: some conclusive annotations

[Anklesaria 1908; Bartholomae 1915; Belardi 1977c; Belardi 1977d; Cereti 2001; DH; K₂₀; K_{20b}; K_{43a}; M₅₁; Okunishi 1983; TD₁; TD₂; West 1880; West 1896-1904]

As Walter Belardi wrote (1977, p. 219) the conditions of the codices of the manuscripts «leads us to reject the hypothesis of a tree with two branches: the Indian branch on the one side (in particular K₂₀ and versions in pāzand) and the Iranian one on the other (TD₁, DH, TD₂), as it can clearly be noticed that DH and TD₂ go back to a subarchetype different from the subarchetype to which both TD₁ and the so called “Indian branch” has to be referred to». In addition to what Belardi affirmed, also Anklesaria agrees on the same point, writing about the manuscripts in the Fac-Simile editions of TD₂ version. Nevertheless, no tree is clear enough to shed light on the situation of the MSs; Belardi as well didn't mention anything about M₅₁ (also known as H₆), K_{20b}, and the same can be said about an other *Iranian* MS.: K_{43a}.

Consequently, all these MSs should be reconsidered; in order to do this, all the colophones are displayed underneath, starting from what Anklesaria says about the DH manuscript, together with the colophon above-mentioned:

It is a MS. $9\frac{3}{8}$ " * 7", written 21 lines to the page, of wich 137 folios are found. The first 159 folios are missing. Fol. 160 to fol. 230b, l. 12 contain the Būndahishn. Of these folios, fols. 192-199 and 202-209 in all 16 folios are missing. Fol. 230a, l. 13 to 230b, l. 12 contains the following long colophon:
“[Pahlavi text] Completed with rejoicings and delight and gladness on the day Dadû (Daê or Dîn?), month Khurdat, year 946, twenty years after the Emperor Yazdakart.

“[Pahlavi text] I, servant of the Faith, Marzpân Farîtûn Vahârôm Rûtastam Būndâr Malkâ-martân Dîn-ayîbâr, wrote from the copy of Êrdashîr

Vahârâmshât Rûstêm Vahârâmshâ; he wrote from the copy of Spendyât Mazdîn-khvâst of Zâtspâram, descended from a priestly family and of immortal soul; may their holy souls abide in paradise! May it be so! I wrote it and left it. May he (?) use it for a hundred and fifty years, to intelligent, faithful children. May he live on earth according to the desires of his material existence, in the spiritual world according to the desires of the soul. Of those who may read it or learn it, of him who may have taken or might take a copy of it, of the readers who might thus become ennobled and liberal-hearted, I pray that they may consider me worthy of prayer for forgiveness, after my passing away. I, who have written it, have written it for my own possession and for my children; may they use it for a hundred and fifty years just as I mentioned above.

“[Avestan text] ‘There is one path which is of piety, all others are no paths’:
“[Pahlavi text] ‘There is one path of piety, all others are no paths (arâs).
“Aêrpat Êrdashîr Vahârâm-malkâ Rûstahm Vahârôm-malkâ completed this in the city of Kermân, which they call Patashkhavârgar in the religious texts. He wrote the Nask ‘Jâmâspa admonishes unto Vishtâspa’.” (Anklesaria 1908, pp. IX-XII).

In addition, the description of the TD₁ MS. is the following:

The codex TD₁ was brought from Yazd to Bombay, about 38 years ago [1870 A.D. ca.], by the late Mobad Khudâbakhsh Farûd Âbâdân for my father Ervad Tahmuras, along with the Dâtistân MS., both written by Gôpatshâ Rûstahm Bûndâr. It is a MS. $9\frac{1}{4}$ " * 7", containing two recent folios at the commencement, - written on European-made paper, replaced instead of the first missing folio, - 101 original folios, numbered from 2 to 102, written on Iranian paper, and one loose folio at the end, undoubtedly written at a later date on Iranian paper. Of the first two later folios, fol. 1a is left blank, fols. 1b and 2a are written 15 lines to the page, and fol. 2b has only seven lines written over it, the remaining half being left blank. The original fols. 2-102 are written 17 lines to the page. The upper portions of

the first 52 have changed their colour owing to damp, but the handwriting has not faded. The final loose folio contains the last five lines of the text written later on by Dastûr Rûstahm-î Gûshtâsp Êrtashîr, a note of five lines made by him as regard the writer of the MS. and another note of about six lines added by Dastûr Jêmsîh Dastôbar Jâmâsp Dastûr Hakî. Dastûr Rûstahmi-î Gûshtâsp Êrtashîr notes:

“[Pahlavi text] I, servant of the Faith, Dastûr Rûstahmi-î Gûshtâsp Êrtashîr, saw this book which is written by Gôpatshâ Rûstahm Bûndâr. I liked it, I put it in order, so that any who may read it may pray for the immortality of his soul. May it be so!”

Dastûr Jêmsîh Dastôbar Jâmâsp Dastûr Hakî notes:

“[Pahlavi text] I, servant of the Faith, Dastûr Jêmsîh Dastôbar Jâmâsp Dastûr Hakî, saw this book which is written by Gôpatshâ Rûstahm Bûndâr. I read it, I liked it; on the day Amûrdat, month Artavahisht, year 1113 after the Emperor Yazdakart.”

From these two notes we find that Gôpatshâ Rûstahm Bûndâr, the writer of my father’s MS. of the Dâtistân wrote this codex. The date of the codex cannot be ascertained, as Gôpatshâ’s own colophon is missing; and he has not given any date in his colophon of the Second Book of Zâtsparam contained in my father’s Dâtistân MS., written on fol. 282b, ll. 16-17 and fol. 283a, ll. 1-4. The colophon runs thus:

“[Pahlavi text] Completed with rejoicings and delight and gladness. I, servant of the Faith, Gôpatshâ Rûstôm Bândâr Malkâ-martân, wrote it and left it. I wrote it in the auspicious land of Germân; I wrote it for the appropriation of my child Farîtûn. May it be useful as long as religion exists! May it be according to the desire of God!”

[...] The codex TD₁ is the oldest existing MS. of the great Bûndahishn, and it is possible that it was written about A.Y. 900 [1531 A.D.]. The writer of it seems to have been a hasty scribe, but the handwriting is clear and legible. I should consider it an almost perfect copy but for the loss of the first and the final original folios. Its edges are torn and worn out, but the text is intact.

Moreover, what has been said about the TD₂ MS. must also be taken into consideration. Anklesaria's text is presented underneath:

The codex TD₂, the facsimile of the first 122 folios of which, containing the Būndahishn, is a photo-zincographed, was brought from Yazd to Bombay by Dastūr Tīrandāz for my father. In Persia it was in the possession of the late Dastūr Sheheriār Nāmdār. It is a MS. $9\frac{1}{2}$ " * $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", written 15 lines to the page. The first folio is missing. It was possibly left blank by the writer; so also is fol. 2a on which more recent owners have written lines of Persian poetry. Fol. 2b commences with the Būndahishn. The numbers of the first 16 folios are torn off, the upper margins being worn out. The Būndahishn ends at fol. 122a.

Fol. 122a, ll. 8-14, contains this short colophon at the end of the Būndahishn: "[Pahlavi text] Completed with rejoicing and delight and gladness, on the day Āshtāt and month Tīr, year 975, twenty year after Yazdakart, king of kings. I, servant of the Faith, Farītūn Marzpān Farītūn Vahārōm-ī Rūstōm Būndār Malkā-martān Dīnayībār wrote this and left it for the possession and eternal success of Rūtastahm Farkhō-zāt Yēzt-ayībār-ī Vīzan."

[...]

"[Pahlavi text] I wrote these 'Decisions of the Mazda-worshipping Religion', according to the will of God, from a manuscript volume of him who serves God, who is much blessed with intelligence, a great increaser of glory, of very famous name, a great believer in religion, my father, servant of the Faith, Marzpān Farītūn-ī Vahārōm Rūstōm Būndār Shāmartān. He wrote from the copy of the Leader of the holy religion, of happy soul, Gōpatshā-ī Rūstōm Būndār; and he wrote from the copy of Kaĉkhûsrôv Sīyāvakhsk-ī Shatrīyār-ī Bakht-āfrīt-ī Shatrīyār of immortal soul and good name. They are the copyists; may their souls individually attain to the best existence, the shining Garōtmān of eternal happiness.

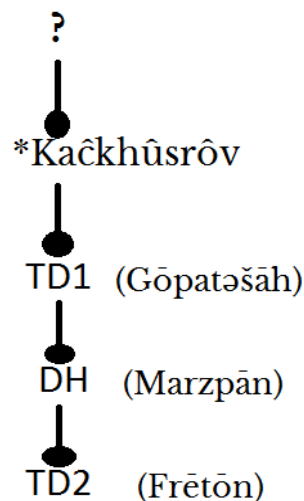
"May I, Farītūn Marzpān Farītūn, who wrote the copy, have a good name on earth; and may I have immortality of the soul in the spiritual existence! And may the faithful believers in religion be co-sharers in my good deeds,

and may I be worthy of being a co-sharer in their good deeds! With the help of Aûhrmazd and the Archangels, the Fravahars of the righteous and the righteous Fravahars, may I be a co-sharer also in the reward of good deeds and in the righteousness of the good believers on the seven kingdoms of the earth!

“I wrote it and left it on the day Fravartîn, month Âwân, Pârsî year 978, twenty years after Yazdakart, king of kings, son of Shatrîyâr, descendant of Khûsrôb, king of kings, son of Aûhrmazd.

“I wrote and left it forth for the possession and eternal success of Rûstôm-î Farkhô-zât-î Yêztyâr-î Vîzan; may he use it with righteousness for a hundred and fifty years! May it be according to the will of God!” (Anklesaria 1908, pp. XII-XV).

According to the colophon above-mentioned, the situation should be the one portrayed in the picture underneath. Frêton does not give any further information about the copies he analysed in order to write the MS. On the contrary, he mentions the copies he used for the *Viçîrîhâ-î vêh-î Mazdēsñān* (Decisions of the Mazda-worshipping Religion).



Contrarily, the colophon in DH describes the following situation.

?
 |
 ●
 *Spandyāt
 |
 ●
 *Ērdašīr
 |
 ●
 DH (Marzpan)

There is also another MS. concerning the *Iranian Bundahišn*: K_{43a}. Its colophon is the following one:

“[Pahlavi text] Completed with rejoicing and delight and gladness, on the day Tîr and the month Âtûr, and the Pârsî year 936, twenty years after His Majesty Yazdakart, king of kings, son of Shatr-ayîbâr. I, Mitr-Āwân Anûshak-rûbân Rûstahm wrote this volume of many details, with careful observation. I have written it for my own possession, and I left it. May he use it with devotion, goodness and faithfulness for a hundred and fifty years! And may he entrust it after a hundred and fifty years to pious descendats with innate wisdom! May he live on earth according to the desires of his material existence, in the spiritual existence according to the desires of the soul! May he who reads and learns it and makes a copy of it, pray for the good name and pious soul of myself and of Gadman-pîrûz (A)spândâr Khûr-pîrûz for whom I copied! Hence may they be famous on earth during their material existence and may their souls be righteous in the spiritual existence.”

As it is evident in this colophon, Anklesaria affirmed that it seems that Mitr-Āwân has copied the text from the copy of Dastôbar Gadmanpîrûz Aspândâr-î Gadman-pîrûz, who copied from Dastôbar

Yêzt-ayîbâr Vîzan-î Khûsrûishâ's copy, who again copied from the original of Mâh-vindât-î Naremâhân.

Moving on to the analysis of the MSs M₅₁, K₂₀ and K_{20b}, Anklesaria does not mention these MSs in the introduction of the TD₂. Notwithstanding, a general overview of them can be found in (Cereti 2001, pp. 88-90). The codices K₂₀ and K_{20b} were bought by Rasmus Rask, just before the end of the eighteenth century, and in 1851 A.D. Westergaard made lithographed copies of them.

K₂₀ has three colophones, dated 690, 720 and 700 A.Y. (which are 1321, 1351 and 1331 A.D.), that is why the great majority of the philologists used to think it had been finished before the 1397 A.D. According to West, the MS. K_{20b} was written by Mihrâbân, son of Kayhusraw (!), who had written the MSs K₁ and K₅. The manuscript is almost incomplete, but it is important because this is not linked to both K₂₀ and M₅₁.

In conclusion, the tradition usually divides the *Bundahišn* in two main editors: *Indian* one (K₂₀, K_{20b}, M₅₁, the latter also known as H₆) and *Iranian* one (TD₁, DH, TD₂, K_{43a}). From Belardi's studies (Belardi 1977c, 1977d) it can be concluded that, as a result of the erroneous interpretation of the presented colophon, TD₂ is not a copy of DH and TD₁, contrary to what Cereti claims (Cereti 2001). According to what Anklesaria affirmed (Anklesaria 1908), an acceptable genealogy of the manuscript DH can be not only drawn, but also compared with (West 1896-1904), who considers respectively *Ērdašîr the later copy and *Spandyât the oldest one. These are the copies wherefrom Marzpan then wrote, finishing his text approximately around 1597 A.D. The analysis of Belardi shows that TD₂ is probably the result of a copying where both *Ērdašîr and *Spandyât were used. These MSs are lost, except for a β -subarchetypal copy. Starting from the α -archetype, this first branch is indeed the most undisputable and documented.

In a notice about the second branch – shown in the figure in the previous chapter – Belardi considers γ a further subarchetype, then branched off into

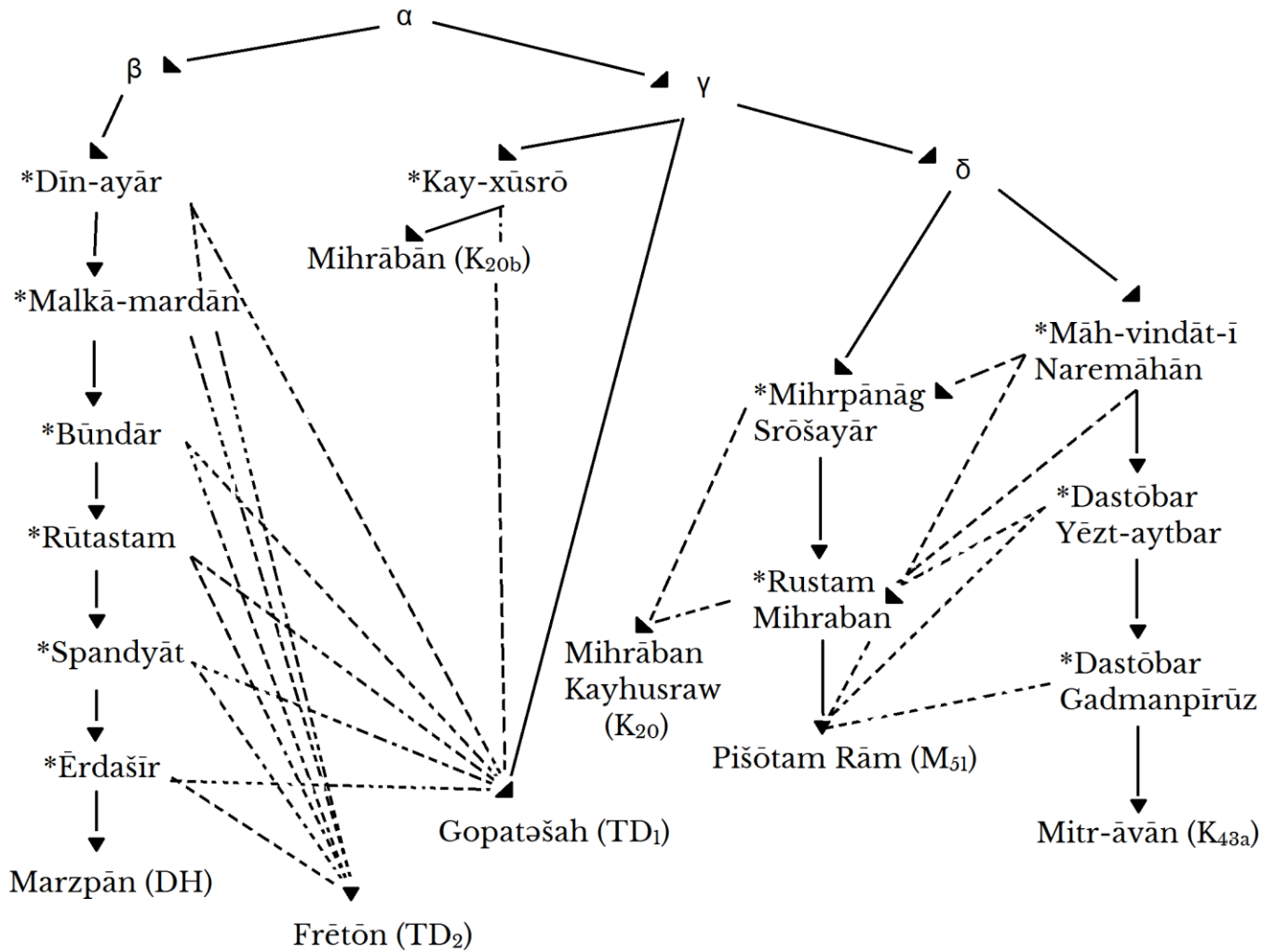
MSs K₂₀ and TD₁, leaving out intentionally K_{20b}, M₅₁, K_{43a}. As far as TD₁ is concerned, it seems that it was written by Gopatəšah in 1531 A.D., but there is a lack of information concerning the copies he had. However, the chronology of the writing contained in the colophon of TD₂ is the one of *Vičīrīhā-ī vēh-ī Mazdēsnañ*, which has its original in Kačkhūsrov. Kačkhūsrov is that Kay-xūsro mentioned by Belardi in reference to the preface of Bode. Relying on West's declaration (West 1880, p. XXIVss.), followed by Westergaard's consent, the K_{20b} manuscript could have been written by Mihrābān, son of Kayhusraw. Therefore, one solution should be the following: the above-mentioned Kayhusraw is the Kay-xūsro in the colophon of TD₂ Belardi talks about. If Mihrābān is indeed the author of K_{20b}, then it can be assumed that within his family he had that manuscript, from which probably Gopatəšah drew on the writing of TD₁. This does not eliminate, however, the similarities between TD₁ and K₂₀, highlighted by Belardi, and that let suppose a further γ -subarchetype. It is therefore possible to support the existence of TD₁ as a result of the comparison between this subarchetype and K_{20b} or of another manuscript within the family of Mihrābān from which the content was concisely summarised. It should be reminded that K_{20b} is traditionally considered a redaction of the *Indian* edition and, therefore, considerably shorter than TD₁. From γ would derive the possible copy *Kay-xūsro, from which again K_{20b} would derive, and, mediated by comparison with this tradition and probably with the original subarchetype, TD₁, as well as the further δ -subcode.

In fact, it must be underlined that Belardi does not mention neither M₅₁, nor K_{43a}, in addition to the before-mentioned K_{20b}. According to Anklesaria, K_{43a} would have been written by Mitr-Āvān in 1587 A.D., copied from the manuscript belonging to Dastōbar Gadmanpīrūz, in turn copied by *Dastōbar Yēzt-aytbar, who had copied from *Māh-vindāt-ī Naremāhān. This last lost manuscript derives from δ , as well as M₅₁ and K₂₀. M₅₁ would have been written in 1397 A.D., then much earlier than K_{43a}, copied by Pišōtan Rām, who would have copied it from the lost manuscript *Rustam Mihraban, which in

turn was the result of copying from a manuscript held by Mihrpānāg Srōšayār. The latter would be the last form, together with *Māh-vindāt-ī Naremāhān, before the δ -subcode. As it turns out, Rustam Mihrabanis the great-uncle of Mihrāban Kayhusraw, author in 1331 A.D. of the K₂₀ MS. Given the similarities in the content between the latter and M₅₁, it is therefore possible, and even probable, that both had the same copy available, which Pišōtan Rām would later have changed in the arrangement of the chapter for catechetical reasons.

Despite the fact that a complete picture of the situation of the manuscripts was not provided, the lack of reference to an *Indian* version of the *Bundahišn* is evident, since the supposed manuscripts testifying it would have bene disseminated almost in every attested branch. Therefore, they represent the incomplete forms of the most complete *Iranian* version, which would be the one-and-only true *Bundahišn*. Indeed, it must be considered that the presence of manuscripts related to the *Indian* version is inscribed within those traditions derived from the γ -subarchetype. Nevertheless, a so widely overspread of copies does not allow a rigorous stabilisation, such as to be able to speak of an *Indian Bundahišn*.

The aim of this paper was to highlight this philological situation above all the further studies in this field, stating that it deserves to be once again one of the protagonists of the philological research area of studies. The shortness of the work doesn't allow the comparison between all the manuscripts, but in a philological work these occurrences are necessary; however, the work on the colophones should be considered the starting point for a more in-depth analysis. Therefore, this paper provides the most complete model obtained, thus leaving this *stemma codicum* the possibility to complete the analysis carried out.



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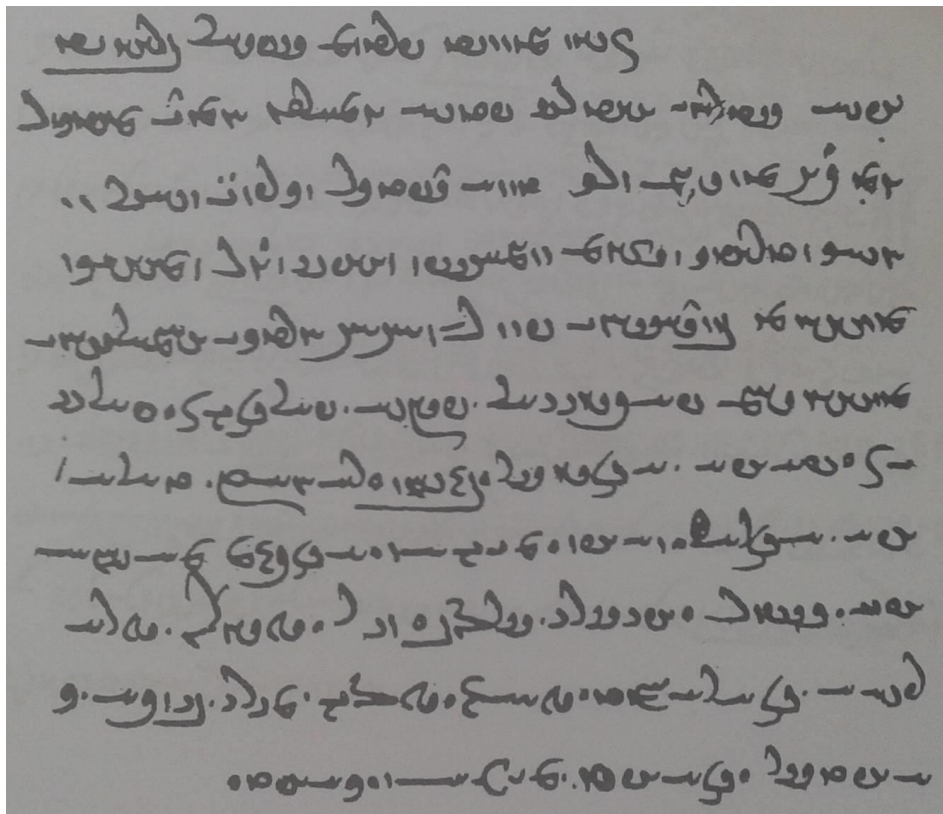
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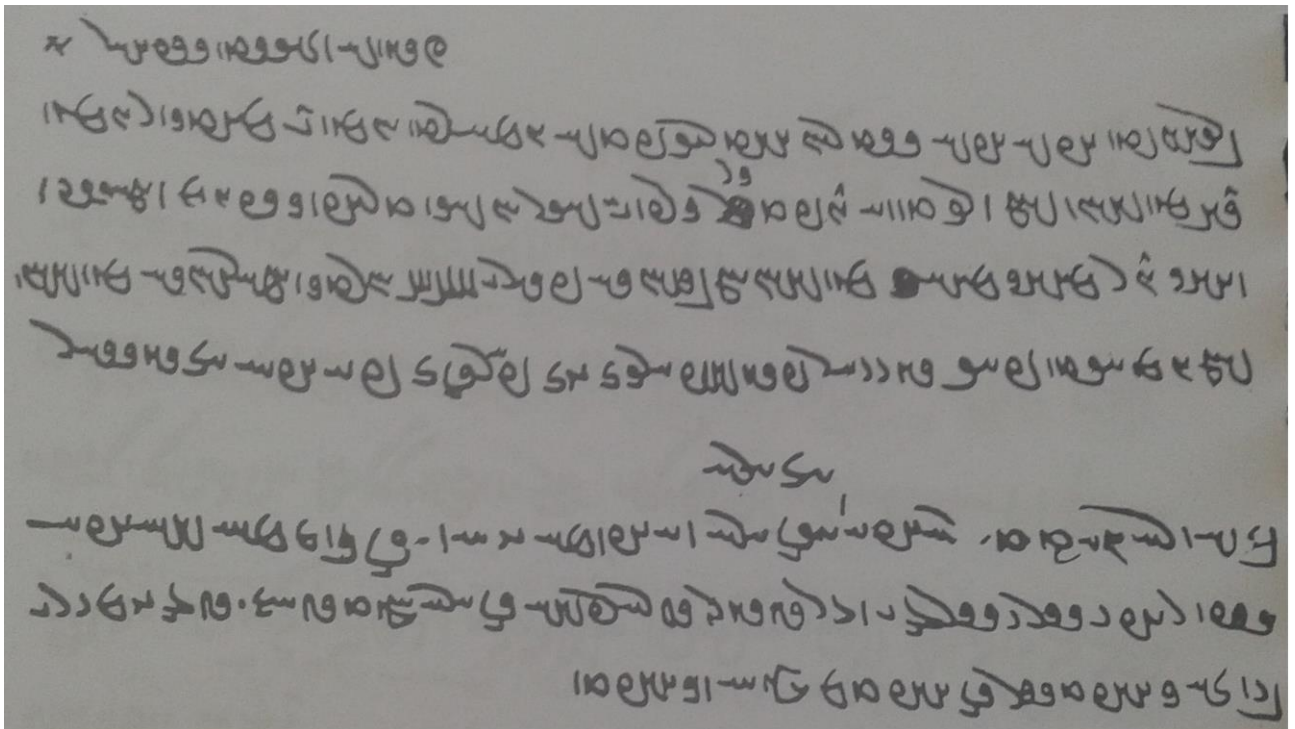
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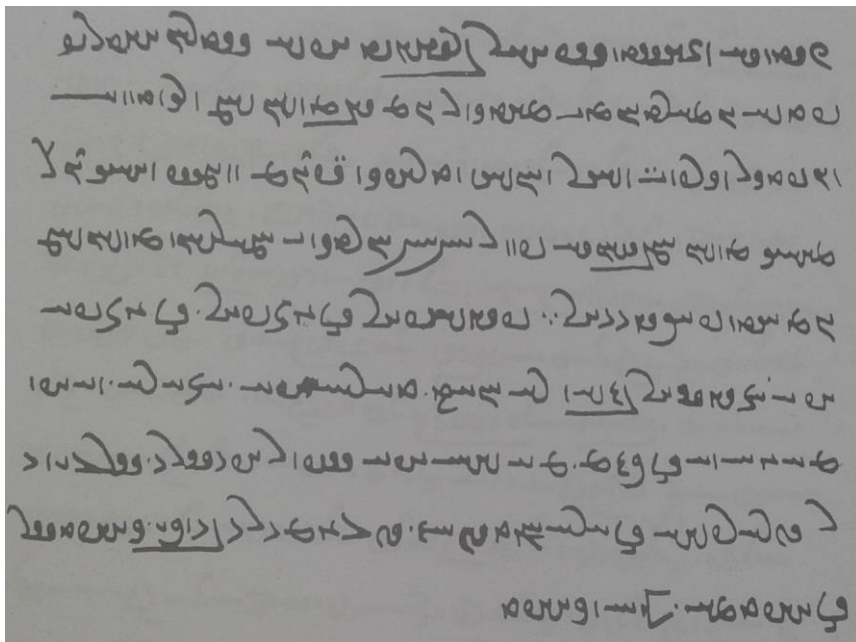
The pictures come from W. Belardi, *Studi mithraici e mazdei*, Istituto di glottologia della Università e Centro Culturale Italo-Iraniano, Roma 1977, pp. 221ss.; E.G: Raffaelli, *L'oroscopo del mondo. Il tema di nascita del mondo e del primo uomo secondo l'astrologia zoroastriana*, Mimesis, Milano 2001, pp. 197ss. The two maps of Sasanian Empire are taken by R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia: The pre-Islamic History of One of the World's Great Civilizations*, The New American Library, New York 1963; it. trad. p. 333.



I : Bundahišn II, 2; cod. K20 p. 178 5-15



2 : Bundahišn II, 2; cod. DH p. 12.17-13.3.



3 : Bundahišn II, 2; cod. TDI p. 22.17-23.8.

Handwritten text in the Bundahišn script, consisting of approximately 10 lines of text.

4 : Bundahišn II, 2; cod. TD2 p. 25.9-26.3.