

IRANICA

BY

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A) *The Death of Cambyses* [DB I,43: uvāmaršiyuš]

Cambyses,¹ the son of Cyrus the Great, is the tragic figure not only in the early history of the Achaemenid dynasty, but also in ancient history as a whole. His severe religious policy—also attested by an Egyptian text²—very soon provided him with a bad reputation, even if it undoubtedly is an exaggeration, when the Elephantine letter from the year 407 B.C. maintains that he destroyed “all temples of the Egyptian gods” (אגורי אלהי מצריין) (כל).³ Against this speaks, though as an isolated evidence, the Uzahorsutennet text (in the Vatican) stressing Cambyses’ restoration of the cult in Sais (translation p. 15 ff. in Justin V. Prášek, *Kambyses* [Der Alte Orient XIV,2, Leipzig 1913], that altogether indicates a rehabilitation of this Achaemenid). What, however, stayed on was the dark picture drawn by Herodotus. Thus Diodorus pointed out Darius, who led a “mild and pious life”, as forming a contrast to Cambyses, and in as late a period as the 2nd century A.D. the Apologist Theophilus of Antioch finds it natural to ascribe to him the crime of Astyages (cf. Herodotus I,119) saying that Cambyses “had the sons of Harpagus (in He-

¹ Old Persian Kam̄būjīya, Greek Καμβύσης. No certain etymology has yet been found, cf. Jarl Charpentier, *Der Name Kambyes*, ZII II, 1923, p. 140–152, and H. H. Schaeder, *Das persische Weltreich*, Breslau 1941, p. 37, note 9.

² Eduard Meyer, *Ägyptische Dokumente aus der Perserzeit*, SPAW 1915, XVI, p. 306 ff.

³ Arthur Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, p. 3 (I,14).

rodotus Harpagus has only one son) butchered and served them as food for their father" (Ad Autolyicum III,5).

Cambyses made a political plan and carried it out, even if it involved the murder of his full brother Bardiya (cf. DB I,30: hamātā hamapitā, "having the same mother and father"), and yet this plan came to nothing. A deed presumably causing great psychological difficulties resulted in political chaos and brought disaster. The Magian Gaumāta rose up in rebellion⁴ and made the people of "Persia and Media and the other countries" (DB I,41) desert Cambyses. It is thus highly understandable that Cambyses according to Herodotus on hearing the name of Smerdis (Bardiya) being mentioned realized the catastrophic failure of his policy and in a tumult of mind wanted to hurry to Susa in order to attack the Magian.⁵ "But as he springing mounted the horse, the cap fell off the sheath of his sword, and the sword being uncovered pierced his thigh" (Herodotus III,64,3: Καί οἱ ἀναθρόσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθέν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παῖει τὸν μηρόν), and "after that, as gangrene came to the bone, and mortification of the thigh set in, Cambyses the son of Cyrus died" (ibid. III,66,2: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ οστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου; cf. Ktesias, Persika 12: "as he (i.e. Cambyses) for his own amusement was carving a small piece of wood with his knife, it pierced his thigh to the muscle, and eleven days afterwards he died" (ξέων ξυλάριον μαχαίρᾳ διατριβῆς χάριν, παῖει τὸν μηρόν εἰς τὸν μῦν, καὶ ἑνδεκαταῖος τελευτᾷ). This happened at Ecbātana

⁴ Old Persian ud- + pat-, "fly" (cf. Greek πέτομαι), about an irregular movement, used in malam partem of an act of a usurper (e.g. Gaumāta, Martiya, Vahyazdāta etc. in DB). This use is attested in the Avesta, where the word belongs to the so-called daevic vocabularies, i.e. words exclusively used of demoniacal creatures. The odious meaning of the word is something particularly Iranian and unknown in Indian (e.g. in the Rigveda). Cf. H. Güntert, Über die ahurischen und daevischen Ausdrücke im Awesta, SHAW 1914, 13. Abh., p. 12, L. H. Gray, The "Ahurian" and "Daevian" Vocabularies in the Avesta, JRAS 1927, p. 433 and 436, and E. Benveniste, TPS 1945, p. 64 f. The second example of a false Bardiya (Vahyazdāta, DB III, 22 f.) seems to confirm that the uncertainty and the mystery connected with the death of Bardiya that is emphasized by tradition, is historically indisputable.

⁵ Μάρδος in Aeschylus, *Persae* 774.

(Aghátana) in Syria, possibly Hamath, on his way from Egypt "before he reached his territory".⁶

In order to describe Cambyses' way of dying the Behistūn Inscription (I,43) employs the words *wāmaršiyuš amariyatā*, lit. "died self-dying, died his own death". The Elamite version gives *hal-pi du-hi-e-ma hal-pi-ik*, "by his own death was dead", thus slavishly following the Old Persian expression.⁷ The exact understanding of this phrase has both historically and philologically been the object of much discussion, not least after the publication of W. Schulze's monograph "Der Tod des Kambyses" in 1912.⁸ On the basis of the passage from Herodotus and the Accadian version that, however, rather ought to be considered a slavish and not fully understood rendering of the Old Persian text, most scholars have translated: "—died by his own hand" or "by committing suicide"⁹ and rejected the translation "sua morte mori" of Schulze, which he formed by bringing to light semantic parallels from other Indo-European languages¹⁰ and rendered

⁶ Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 308.

⁷ Rendered by *mitātu ramannišu mīti* in the Accadian version, see George G. Cameron, *The Elamite Version of the Bisitun Inscriptions*, JCS XIV, 1960, p. 62–63.

⁸ SPAW 1912, p. 685–703.

⁹ See Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven 1953, p. 177, sub *wāmaršiyu-*. Now also especially H. S. Nyberg, *Historia Mundi III*, 1954, p. 75, M. A. Dandamaev, *Iran pri pervyx axemenidax*, Moskva 1963, p. 160 f., and Wilhelm Brandenstein und Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 149–150 and the literature listed there.

¹⁰ Greek, Pali, Lithuanian, Polish, Czech, Latin, Italian, Serbian, Russian, etc. An additional, very convincing example from the Greek is given by Franz Altheim und Ruth Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achämeniden*, Lieferung 1, 1963, p. 86, note 41: — κατηνέχθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴππου καὶ ἐκλάσθη κακῶς καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ.

In the writings of Tolstoj and Gogol there are some important examples, in the latter e.g. (Taras Bul'ba) *stiškom staryx ne bylo na Seči, ibo nikto iz zaporožsev ne umiral svoeju smerl'ju*, "there were not very many old ones at the river Seč, for none of the Zaporogs used to die their own death" (*Sobranie sočinenij T. 2*, Moskva 1959, p. 61), cf. E. Dickenmann, review of M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I–III*, Heidelberg 1953, in *Rocznik Slavistyczny T. XXI*, 1960–1963, p. 138 f. (for invaluable help in all matters Slavonic I am in a great debt of gratitude to my friend cand. jur. et mag. art. William Thorndahl).

In the *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, 18. bind, København 1939, col. 1030,

—for want of a more accurate expression and knowing that the identity was not complete—by the German phrase “natürlichen Todes sterben”.

Other Iranian texts, however, prove that Schulze was on the right way. In a Buddhist text in Sogdian,¹¹ in which the pious writer warns against the eating of meat and the drinking of alcohol, one finds a list of ten kinds of meat that to the disgust of the Buddhist world are maintained to be suitable for eating, provided that the meat comes from an individual that “self-dies” (γwty myrty, 3. pers. sing., line 323–324), is “self-dead” (γwty mwrty, line 337). This is more precisely explained by the help of some examples: “Self-dead” is the correct expression, when a creature dies from old age (čnn zrwyh, line 324), from a disease (čnn r’βyh, line 325), when it is exposed to an attack¹² and succumbs (rty myrty, line 326), when it perishes in water or fire (’pyh, ’try, line 327 and 328), when it is killed by a wolf (wyrky, line 330), when creatures kill (ptyw’y-, line 331) each other,¹³ fall down dead (’npt myrty, line 333), or are still-born (mwrtyk znty, line 334). And the word employed is quite correct, “for it (the creature) is “self-dead”, and a human being has not killed it” (p’rZY γwty mwrty L’ ZY šw ZK mrtym’k ptywstw δ’rt, lines 336–338).

But as the extant Sogdian literature almost exclusively is a literature of translation, the thought might justly occur that the translator has been bound by the text and been so anxious to give a word-for-word rendering of it that he has done violence to his Iranian mother tongue. That is, however, by no means the case.

other examples are listed under *Selvdød* (both noun and adjective), e.g. “Dør jeg ikke af mig selv, saa skyder jeg mig! Naturligvis skete ingen af Delene, hverken Selvdød eller Selvmord” (“If I do not die of myself, I shoot myself. Of course neither happened, neither self-death nor suicide”).

¹¹ Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale III. Textes Sogdiens. Édités, traduits et commentés par E. Benveniste, Paris 1940, Text 2, lines 323–338, p. 17–18. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, ZDMG 95, Leipzig 1941, p. 453.

¹² On the correct understanding of *rnβ-*, “to attack”, Parthian *raf-*, see W. B. Henning, The Sogdian Texts of Paris, BSOAS XI, 1946, p. 719, and H. W. Bailey, *Analecta Indoiranica*, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume p. 1–2.

¹³ On the 8th item (γwnγw ZKZY čwz’kk ZK mryy znty (sic)) cf. W. B. Henning, *op. cit.* p. 719.

For instance the Ossetic *xædmæl*, "dead, carcass", and *xædmælxor*, "necrophagous"¹⁴ bring to full evidence the justice of giving *γwty mwrty* such a wide meaning, as has been done by the Sogdian scribe. If *xædmæl*, *γwty mwrty* really meant "dead by suicide", vultures, ravens etc. had a long time ago to be classed among the category of extinct animals. In addition a similar use of the word is known from other Iranian languages. Thus one finds in a Balōči text published by M. Longworth Dames¹⁵ the expression *wad-mīrī*, "self-dying", used about cattle and paralleled with disease, and in Pašto *pa xpul marg muṛ na šu*, "he died not a natural death" (cf. Middle Indian *svamaraṇṇena mariṣyati*, about camels,¹⁶ brought to light by Georg Morgenstierne¹⁷ and quoted—together with a considerable number of examples from other languages—by H. H. Schaeder.¹⁸

Most conclusive, however, are the hitherto ignored parallels in New Persian. They occur rather frequently especially in Classical prose texts.¹⁹ According to, e.g., the *Fārsnāme*, "The Book of (the Province of) Fārs, Persis"²⁰ Gayōmart made Hōšang successor to the throne and thereafter died a natural death: "- - and Hōšang, who was his descendant of the fourth generation, he made successor to the throne and passed away by his own death in the middle of his kingship",

و هوشهنگ کی چهارم بطن بود از فرزندان او ولی عهد گردانید و بمرگ خویش
کناره شد در میان پادشاهی

¹⁴ Wsewolod Miller, *Ossetisch - Russisch - Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A. Freiman, Leningrad 1934, Vol. III, p. 1504. The dictionary quotes *xalon xædmælxor u*, "the raven is necrophagous".

¹⁵ *Popular Poetry of the Baloches* I, p. 6, and II, p. 6, line 45, London 1907.

¹⁶ H. Lüders, *Zu und aus den Kharoṣṭhī-Urkunden*, AO 18, 1939, p. 43.

¹⁷ In a review of F. W. König, *Relief und Inschrift des Königs Dareios I am Felsen von Bagistan*, AO 17, 1938, p. 237-238.

¹⁸ H. H. Schaeder, *Des eigenen Todes sterben*, NAWG 1946-1947, p. 29-35.

¹⁹ I owe many thanks to Professor Kaj Barr for several references.

²⁰ *The Fārsnāma of Ibnu l-Balkhī*. Edited by G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series I, 1921, p. 27, lines 3-5.

And about Tahmūrāṭ it is said in the historical survey Muǰmilu' t-tawāriḡ (ed. J. Mohl, JA 3. Ser., Tome XI, 1841, p. 292, lines 11–12)²¹ that “he went out of the world by his own death”,

و از جهان بمرگ خود برفت

In all these cases suicide is out of the question.

When the examples here mentioned, then, are compared, the real use and meaning of “self-dead” is evident. With the exception of murder and suicide it can indicate any way of dying, any “natural” way of dying. Thus nothing is a hindrance to concluding that the version given by Herodotus (and Ktesias) of the death of Cambyses in the main is historically fully reliable.

B) *Some Rare Words in Salmān from Sāwe's Mathnawī “Jamšīd u Huršīd” (14th Century).*

The words to be dealt with in this modest contribution to Persian lexicography are by no means unknown. But they are rare, and with one or two exceptions exact “Belegstellen” are to be found nowhere. Even if New Persian as a literary language on the whole has undergone no violent changes for about one thousand years, it is only natural that semantic alterations or modifications should occur, so that the conciseness of a word may be lost. By putting the words into their context a certain possibility is at hand of determining the terminus post or ante quem of the coming into force of such alterations. The quotations given in what follows are based on a manuscript from the British Museum (Add. 27134²²) and, if of importance, compared with the corresponding renderings in the India Office Library manuscript I. O. Ethé 1243: I. O. 407,²³ and the Jewish-Persian incomplete version Add. 17 in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

²¹ Also JA 3. Ser., Tome XII, 1841, p. 525, line 13 (Ardašīr), p. 527, line 5 (Šāpūr), p. 527, lines 17–18 (Hōrmuzd), and p. 528, line 5 (Bahrām).

²² Charles Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, 1881, p. 624 ff. (17th cent., probably written in India).

²³ H. Ethé, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Vol. I, 1909, p. 718 (“clear Nasta‘liq”, no date).

- 1) *banāmīzād*, Add. 27134, fol. 30 a, line 13, בנאמיזד, Add. 17, fol. 14 a, line 3, "in the name of God", used as an exclamation. Listed in the *Burhān-i qāṭi'* (ba-nām-i ḥudā, ed. M. Mu'īn, Vol. I, p. 304, Teheran 1330/1951.²⁴
- 2) *darā*, "bell".²⁵ Of the two forms (*darā* and *darāy*) referred to by the dictionaries only *darā* is given in the *Salmān* manuscripts:

جلاجل را دهان پر مرچبا بود همه کوه در آواز درا بود

(Add. 27314, fol. 18 a, line 14 = I. O. MS. fol. 278 b, line 11, which, however, in verse b has *hame šaḥrā pur-i āwāz-i darā būd*, "the whole desert was full of the sound of the bell"). Add. 17, fol. 2 a, line 15:

גלאגל הא דהאן פ'ר מרחבא ב'ד המה כוה ודר א'אז דרא בוד

"The mouth of the bells²⁶ was full of "bravo".—Every mountain and valley was (full of) the sound of the bell". Fol. 28 b, line 5:

نفیر مرچبا می آمد از شهر همه بانگ درا می آمد از شهر

"The sound of "bravo!" went up from the town, all bell sound went up from the town".

The old form of this word has been preserved in Jewish-Persian Bible texts. In the Isaiah text published by Paul de Lagarde²⁷ *דראג* is used (in the plur.) in chapter 3,16 in the

²⁴ Ioannis Augusti Vullers *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum I*, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1855, p. 264. In a *Hāfiẓ* quotation in M.A. Adīb Ṭūsī, *Farhang-i luḡāt-i adabī* [Glossaire des mots littéraires (Contenant des mots et des termes extraits des textes classiques persans)], Tabriz 1345/1967, p. 91.

²⁵ *Burhān-i qāṭi'*, ed. M. Mu'īn, Vol. II, Teheran 1331/1952, p. 829 (*darā*), and p. 831 (*darāy*), M.A. Adīb Ṭūsī, op. cit. p. 254 (*Manūḏīhrī* quoted), Vullers, op. cit. p. 822, Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, p. 370, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie I,2*, Strassburg 1898–1901, pp. 26, 46, 175, and 412, Paul Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p. 84 (nr. 373).

²⁶ Arabic plur. *jalājil*, from *ḡulḡul*, apparently taken as sing. by the Jewish-Persian scribe.

²⁷ *Persische Studien*, Göttingen 1884, p. 5 and 6.

full expression אֲשֶׁנּוּאֹנְאָן אִוְאוּ בְדֵרְאֹגָהּ (“those letting sound be heard by the help of bells”) in order to translate the denominated Pi‘el imperf. הָעֵפְסָנָה (“sich mit Fussspangen schmücken, oder damit klirren, um Aufsehen zu erregen (eine auch im Korân [Sur. 24,32] gemissbilligte Koketterie”), Gesenius-Buhl, 1949, p. 585), and in 3,18 to render the Hebrew plur. of עֵבֶס.²⁸ The latter word occurs once more in the Old Testament, viz. Prov. 7,22, as a textual crux in a difficult context. By the Jewish-Persian version MS. Hébreu 117 of the Bibliothèque Nationale²⁹ (written before A.D. 1505) it is here interpreted as a metathesis form of כַּעַס, “indignation, anger” and accordingly translated by דָּשָׁם (wčwn ḥšm bpnd n’d’n, “and like anger because of the admonition of a fool”).

- 3) *kaval* (= kabal), “skin”.³⁰ In the plur. (*kavalhā*) in the I.O. MS. fol. 263 a, line 5 b:

کولها بر پلنگ و شیر پوشد

This verse is omitted by the British Museum MS. and belongs to the part not preserved by the Jewish-Persian version. The word is also found in several dialects, e.g. Kurdish *kewl*.³¹

- 4) *kunām*, “dwelling, den, pasture”:³² (British Museum MS. fol. 19 b, line 1 = I.O. MS. fol. 279 b, line 14)

سراسر بيشه و کوهست و دريا کنام اژدهای و جای عنقا

“All is forest and mountain and sea—the dwelling of the dragon and the place of ‘Anqā”.

²⁸ The word is also mentioned by Paul Horn in *Zu den jüdisch-persischen Bibelübersetzungen*, Indogermanische Forschungen II, 1893, p. 139.

²⁹ See H. Zotenberg, *Catalogues des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris 1866, p. 12.

³⁰ *Burhān-i qāṭi‘*, ed. M. Mu‘in, Vol. III, 1332/33 – 1953/54, p. 1735, Vullers II, 1864, p. 920.

³¹ Mu‘in, loc. cit., Taufiq Wahby and G. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1966, p. 75.

³² Mu‘in III, p. 1700, *Luyāt-i furs*, ed. Paul Horn, Berlin 1897, p. 90, Wolff, op. cit. 665, Vullers II, p. 892.

In a metaphorical sense (fol. 21 b, line 1 = fol. 281 b, line 13), about beautiful eyes, "the two gazelles", whose dwelling or pasture is "the place of magic":

چمان اندر گلستانش دو آهو کنام آهوانش جای جادو

In the first case the Jewish-Persian copyist has chosen the more familiar מקאם, maqām (Add. 17, fol. 3 a, line 16 b), evidently a guess, though quite correct, based on the parallelismus membrorum of the half-verse, whereas he in the second case (fol. 5 a, last line) reveals his unawareness of the exact meaning of the word:

בנאם אהויאנש גאי ונאדו³³.

- 5) *lālā*, "eunuch, major-domo".³⁴ The meaning of the word in Salmān supports the suggestion of Fritz Meier³⁵ that "um 700/1300 scheint die Bezeichnung *lālā* im allgemeinen den engeren Sinn "Eunuch" gehabt zu haben": (Add. 27314, fol. 30 a, line 10, with the same *taj'nīs-i tām*m as in the rubā'ī quoted by Meier³⁶)

رسانید آن سخن را مرد لا لا بگوش شاه چون لؤلؤ لا لا

"The eunuch brought that word—like a shining pearl—to the ear of the king".

And *ibid.* fol. 35 b, line 15:

کنیزان را بدھلیز حرم برد بلالا یان آن درگاہ بسپرد

"He took the maid-servants to the vestibule of the harem, entrusted (them) to the eunuchs of that court".

The Jewish-Persian text has resp. מרד באלא *mard-i bālā*, and לאלאיאן (fol. 13 b, line 17 and fol. 19 b, line 9).

³³ בנאם could of course be a mistake for a כנאם of a *Jewish-Persian* "Vorlage", but even so the ך before *fādū* causes difficulty.

³⁴ Mu'īn III, p. 1879, Vullers II, p. 1073.

³⁵ Fritz Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers*, Band I, Wiesbaden 1963, p. 188.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

In the Samak-i 'Ayyār (ed. P. N. Ḥānlārī, Vol. I, Teheran 1338, p. 41, line 4) the *lālā* is ordered by the emperor of China (*faɣfūr*) to go "*pīš-i duḡtar-i man*".³⁷ The word gradually took over the general sense of "servant, butler", as nowadays Tājiki *лоло*, "*slugá, dvoréckij*".³⁸

6) *muškōy*, "the princesses' apartments".³⁹ Fol. 30 a, line 4:

غلامی چند با خود کرد همراه بیامد تا در مشکوی آن ماه

"He took some slaves with him (and) came to the door of the apartment of that moon".

The India Office Library MS. has (fol. 290 a, line 15) -g- instead of -k-, and the Jewish-Persian version obviously did not understand the word and wrote "the musky door" (*דרי* *משכין*, fol. 13 b, line 11).

7) *rōd*, "child, son":⁴⁰ (Add. 27314, fol. 18 b, line 1)

سرشگ از دیده باران گفت کای رود ز مادر تا قیامت باش بدرود

"With tearful eyes she said: Oh my son, from your mother farewell to the last day".

Add. 17, fol. 2 b, line 2 has *אי ר'ד*

In the ghazal

زگریه مردم چشم نشسته در خون است

Hāfiz uses the word punning on *rūd*, "river" ("the river of *Ĵayḡūn*") and hinting at the expression *ba-ḡayḡūn nišastan*, i.e. "to weep":

از آن دمی که ز چشم برفت رود عزیز کنار دامن من همچو رود جیحون است

³⁷ Cf. Meier, loc. cit.

³⁸ M. V. Raximi and L. V. Uspenskaja, *Tadžiksko-Russkij Slovar'*, Moskva 1954, p. 207.

³⁹ Mu'īn, Vol. IV, 1334/35 – 1955/56, p. 2015 (*Nizāmī*), Vullers II, p. 1187, Wolff, op. cit. p. 774 (*muškō*).

⁴⁰ Mu'īn Vol. II, p. 969 (i.e. *farzand*), Adīb Ṭūsī, op. cit. p. 301, Vullers II, p. 65.

Georg Morgenstierne deals with the word and its etymology in *Persian Etymologies* [NTS V, Oslo 1932, p. 56] quoting Baḥt. *rūd* and Kumzārī *rōr*. Also in Kurdish and Hawrāmī it is well-known.⁴¹

- 8) *sundus*, "brocade, silk wrought with gold or silver" (Stein-gass).⁴² In Zamakhsharī's *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* it is interpreted as "thin (*tunuk*) brocade, tissue":⁴³

سندس دیبای تنک ۲ دیبایه تنک

Thus *sundus* contrasts with *istabraq*, another Iranian loanword mentioned by Zamakhsharī in the same connexion and explained as "thick, coarse (*sitabr*) brocade". The word was borrowed by the Armenians (*sndus*)⁴⁴ from Western Middle Iranian and used to render the $\psi\psi$, $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\pi\tau\omicron\nu$ (silk with threads fine as a hair) of Ez. 16,10. It is attested in Man. Sogd. in a text (M 133) brought to light by W. B. Henning:⁴⁵

m'yδ m'nwq xčyy xw[w] γrβ'ky' č'nw š[yr]ng'ryy
xwp šwmnyy kyy 'xšywnymy[č] sndws nγw[δn]

"thus wisdom is like a pious (cf. Ilya Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford 1954, p. 9)

skilful tailor who [makes] a royal Sundus-garment".

In Salmān (Add. 27314, fol. 21 a, line 14) *sundus* appears together with *istabraq*:

چو جنت سندس و استبرقش فرش بر استبرق چو سندس تکیه عرش

⁴¹ See Kaj Barr, *Kurdische Dialekte*, p. 330, in *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen*, aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas zusammen mit Kaj Barr und W. Henning bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Arthur Christensen, Berlin 1939, and D. N. MacKenzie, *The Dialect of Awroman (Hawrāmān-i Luhōn)*, København 1966 (*Hist. Filos. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 4, no. 3), p. 106 and 119.

⁴² Wolff, op. cit. p. 527, M. A. Adīb Ṭūsī, op. cit. p. 382 (*sundusī* in Sanā'ī).

⁴³ Samachshari Lexicon Arabicum Persicum --, ed. Dr. Ioannes Godofredus Wetzstein, Lipsiae 1843, p. 62, line 3, *Pishro-ve-adab I*, ed. S. Mohammad Kazem Emam, Tehran 1963, p. 355.

⁴⁴ Heinrich Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, p. 238.

⁴⁵ A List of Middle-Persian and Parthian Words, BSOS IX, 1937, p. 87, and *Sogdica* (James G. Forlong Fund Vol. XXI), London 1940, p. 17. Cf. Geo Widengren, *Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, and his Ascension* (King and Saviour V), Uppsala Univ. Årsskr. 1955:1, p. 190 f.

The India Office Library MS., however, only has the two words in verse b, verse a reading (fol. 281 b, line 10): *čū jannat gustarīde gūne-gūn farš*. In the Jewish-Persian version *sundus* in both cases has been left out and replaced by *מסנוד*, *masnad*, “throne”, whereas *istabraq* is kept, but written *אסתרבק* (fol. 5 a, line 14).