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TWO MAZANDARANI TEXTS FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

RÉSUMÉ

L'article donne la transcription, la traduction et le glossaire pour deux textes écrits en 1889 à Bārforush, dans le Māzanderān, et publiés en facsimilé par Jacques de Morgan. La langue des textes, le mazanderani ou le tabari moderne, est pour l'essentiel similaire à celle parlée aujourd'hui par plus de trois millions de locuteurs dans la province iranienne du Māzanderān (au sud de la Caspienne). On note cependant plusieurs mots aujourd'hui disparus, ainsi que certains traits grammaticaux identifiables uniquement grâce à l'existence d'autres documents en mazanderani de la même période. La présentation de ces textes contribue ainsi à l'étude de la langue du Māzanderān, une langue iranienne nord-occidentale, aujourd'hui encore assez méconnue. Documents historiques, les textes donnent plus de détails que les autres sources sur certains événements. Les textes sont suivis des remarques historiques circonstanciées.

Mots clés : le tabari moderne ; le mazanderani ; dialectes caspiens ; langues iraniennes ; analyse textuelle ; manuscrits du XIX^e s. ; antisémitisme ; histoire iranienne.

SUMMARY

This article transcribes, translates, and compiles a glossary for two Mazandarani texts written in 1889 in the town of Barforush and published as facsimiles by Jacques de Morgan. The language of the texts, Mazandarani or New Tabari, is fundamentally similar to that spoken today by more than three million people in the Persian province of Mazandaran, located south of the Caspian Sea. However, there are several extinct words and grammatical traits in the texts, which could be identified only by drawing on other surviving Mazandarani documents of the same period. The texts are meant to contribute to the study of the largely understudied language of Mazandaran, a northwestern Iranian language. They may also serve as historical documents, for they relate certain events in such details not found in other sources. Ample historical remarks follow the texts.

Keywords: New Tabari; Mazandarani language; Caspian dialects; Iranian languages; textual analysis; nineteenth century manuscripts; anti-Semitism; Persian history.

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During the nineteenth century several European scholars, travelers, and diplomats collected ethnographic and linguistic data from the Caspian provinces of Māzandarān and Gilān in northern Persia. Among their works stands out Jacques de Morgan's five-volume *Mission scientifique en Perse*, with a wealth of information on the southern shores of the Caspian sea. Its fifth volume, dedicated to linguistics, covers several languages spoken in Persia, including Caspian dialects, for which a list of 877 glosses is tabulated for nine localities (Rehna, Bārforush, Semnān, Āmol, Kelārsak, Tonekābon, Kojur, Rasht, and Menāra-bāzār). This glossary is followed by the facsimiles of two Mazandarani manuscripts which have neither been translated nor commented upon since their publication. The first text is a local account of the town of Āmol, the old provincial capital of Mazandaran, relating its glorious past and its monuments. The second text provides valuable information on Bārforush (now Bābol), the largest and chief commercial town of Mazandaran at the time of the composition of the text. This latter text depicts the establishment of the town's historical monuments and holy shrines as well as two contemporary events, including a vivid account of a pogrom which occurred in the Jewish quarter of the town, and its consequences.

Apart from their contents, the texts are of considerable dialectological interest regarding the Mazandarani language, which remains greatly understudied in spite of its large number of speakers and long literary tradition that rivals that of New Persian in age. The language's peak can be found in the early Islamic centuries, when it thrived under the long reign of the independent and semi-independent provincial rulers of Tabaristān, commonly known as Ispahbads. Various eleventh- and twelfth-century works written in Tabari (the older form of Mazandarani), such as *Bāvand-nāma*, *Nēki-numa*, *Šakara*, and, perhaps, *Marzbān-nāma* are lost in the original language; only a number of poems and individual verses are but poorly preserved by means of Persian works connected to the province. From the post-Ispahbad era survives the word-by-word Tabari translations added interlineally to several manuscripts.¹ After several centuries of silence, a new series of Mazandarani documents emerges in the nineteenth century, thanks to the efforts of European travelers and diplomats who aimed at documenting the language. Their resulting works are considerable; from among them stands out *Kanz al-asrār*, several collections of verses attributed to the legendary Mazandarani poet Amir Pāzvāri,² compiled by

¹ For an overview of the sources and studies on Old Tabari, see Borjian 2004a.

² See Borjian and Borjian.

Boris Andreevich Dorn. Several other collections of popular poems and songs, as well as individual sentences and words, were published by Aleksander Borejko Chodźko (1842), Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin (1853), and G. V. Melgunov (1868a).³ Also from the mid-nineteenth century has survived a versified Mazandarani-Persian dictionary, which was edited by Sādeq Kiā (1947).⁴ Moreover, there are a few works of prose, the most valuable of which are the texts of the present study, and an account of the Babi-state conflict at Shaikh Tabarsi published by Dorn (1865).⁵ These prose texts are essential to the study of the language as it was spoken in the nineteenth century.

De Morgan provides no explanation on the texts he collected other than they both are written in the dialect of Bārforush. Each text, however, has a colophon in Persian stating that it was written in 1889 as requested by de Morgan, who was lodging at the residence of Mirzā Yusof Khān, *agent-e qonsul-e Rus*, i.e. the resident commercial consul of Russia (Texts I.51-56, II.125-135). The scribe introduces himself as Ḥajji Āqā, the secretary of the consul. The first text (pp. 248-251) is in *nasta'liq* pen and the second (pp. 252-260) in *naskh*, and both are vocalized by diacritic symbols. The manuscripts are composed of 13 to 16 lines per page, without any organization or punctuation.

Following are a transcription and translation of each text. The transcription recasts the texts in numbered paragraphs. The vertical bars signify the end of lines in the original script, and the numbers in raised parentheses refer to line numbers assigned on the facsimile of each text. The translation is meant to remain as close as possible to Mazandarani words and grammar. As the composition of the texts is not always self-explanatory, certain material is added in square brackets for clarification, while explanations are given in parentheses. The texts are followed by historical and linguistic commentaries and a glossary.

I. TEXTS (TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION)

I.1. *Text I*

1. ⁽¹⁾ Āmāl^e avvəlĖspe-kəlā [ə]. Ėspe-kəlā^e var Sabzə Məydun Mir Bəzərg bənā-e l qadim hassə. gənənə bənā-ye Šāh Abbās hassə.xub jā-yi hassə. tēmām^r-ə l ājer-e kāši dərəst hākərdə. xəd-e Mir Bəzərg^e

³ See Borjān 2006a ; id. 2006c.

⁴ See Borjān 2008.

⁵ See Borjān 2006b. Other Mazandarani prose works are those translated from Persian literature in *Kanz al-asrār* I, pp. 1-122; and the Mazandarani translation of a passage from *Tufān al-bokā*, in Berezin, II, pp. 72-79 (studied in Borjān 2005a).

var hūz dārnə l xale gat hassə. Sabzə Məydān-e var əttā qal'ə dārnə gənənə “Xandəq”.^{l(5)} az qərār-i ke gənənə māl-e Jemšid-e Jam biə.

2. yək pəl dārnə Āməl, dəvāzdah l pəllə dārnə. bənā-ye qadim hassə. yək nafər hāji daiə Mašāi biə. l in dəvāzdah pəllə-rə dah daf'ə dərəst hākərdə, ū bavərdə. un-vaqt l badiə pišraft nārnə, bā ešq-e dəvāzdah emām dərəst l hākərdə; on-vaqt ū navərdə.
3. pəl bə-on-var, qadim ke Āməl-rə ^{l(10)} ū bavərdə, al'ān zamin hassə. mardəm binj kənnənə. Ērāqi un l melk-^rə xarinnənə, vərə kannənə, ū vannənə, təlā, noqrə, mervārid, l ba'zi asbāb-e digər girmənə. vaqt-ē un zamin-rə l kannənə, xānə, hammām, masjəd, sardābə xāk^e [jā] dar-enə. l
4. Āməl Pā'in Gonbod dārnə. kār-e gonbod az ājər hassə. sə-tā ^{l(15)} gonbod dārnə. əttā gat hassə, do-tā kučək hassə. gonbod-e l dūr-ə-var har-jā-rə kannənə ājər dar-enə – ājər dərəst dar-enə. l
5. əttā masjəd dārnə az qadim hassə, Masjəd-e Emām Hasan mašhur l hassə. Āməl-rə sə daf'ə ū bavərdə, in masjəd-rə ū navərdə. l al'ān ke xəst-kan zamin-rə kannə – xəst bairən – xale ^{l(20)} kannə, ma'lum hassə sə daf'ə Āməl-rə ū bavərdə.
6. Āməl l gatə šahr biə. əttā sar-e Āməl Salhār biə. taraf-e l qeblə, jonub-e Āməl, Āləšə-rū biə. šəmāl-e Āməl Čāl-ə-lpəl biə. pā'in-e Āməl čahāršanbe-bāzār dārnə. l qadim Āməl xale gat biə, čahāršanbe ruz un-jə ^{l(25)} bāzār kərdənə. in-e vər, vərə gənənə “Čahāršanbe Bāzār”. l
7. čahār tan emāmzādə Āməl kat ə; əttā Emāmzādə Ebrāhim, l əttā Sayyəd Sə-tan, əttā Bibi Roqiye, attā Emāmzādə Ali l gənənə yā [?]. Emāmzādə Ebrāhim az ājər hassə, vəne sar-ruzə-e l dələ[-rə] garj^e həmrāh əspe hākərdənə. əttā āb-ənbār dārnə ^{l(30)} Mir Bəzərg-e var. hamān vaqt ke Mir Bəzərg-rə dərəst l kərdənə, vərə dərəst hākərdənə. bəhārəmāh vəne ū xale sard hassə. l təmām-e Āməl hamin ū-rə xərnənə.
8. Mir Bəzərg-e dələ *maqbarə-e bālā l təmām bā xatt-e kāši banəvešt ə. darun-e Mir Bəzərg vəne dūr l bā kāši xat naqš banəvešt ə; xatt-e dərəšt hassə. darun-e ^{l(35)} Mir Bəzərg təmām bā kāši naqqāši hākərdənə; ba'zi bar-ham l baxərdə – ba'zi dārnə. do-tā masjəd gat dārnə, do pahlu sahn l bālā hojrə dārnə – ba'zi xərāb ba'zi dārnə.
9. in Āməl-rə l əttā kijā ābād hākərdə, vəne esm-rə gənənə⁶ “Āmelə”. in l bā'es baiə ke esm-^rə beheštənə “Āməl”.
10. har kəjə-rə kannənə ^{l(40)} ājər dar-enə – ba'zi masjəd, ba'zi hammām, ba'zi xānə, ba'zi sardābə. l aksar-e jā āb-ənbār dar-enə. aksar-e jā

⁶ The word may also read as *gət-ənə* ‘they used to say’.

qabər dar-enə. l asbāb darə qabʳ-e dələ, šamšir, kārđ; māl-e zənhā l dastband-e təlā noqrə dar-enə. har kas Āmāl-rə jā dərəst kənnə – l zamin kannənə – xəšt dar-enə, jā dərəst kənnənə.

11. əttā ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Bāqəšāh dārnə Āmāl. az qadim ve Bāqəšāh biə. l nārənĵ, mərəkbat,⁷ hamə-jur-ʳə dāštə. əttā sāl l sərmā həkərdə; dār hamə-rə xəšk həkərdə. l alʼān mardəm vərə “bāq” gənənə.⁸
12. avvəl-e Āmāl l məsallā dārnə. qadəmgāh-e Xezr hassə. [vərə] “Gonbod-l⁽⁵⁰⁾ dār” gənənə. hamə čahāršanbe šū Xezr enə. nəmāz l xunnənə. in naqš-e gonbod-e Āmāl hassə.

Translation

[Āmol]

1. The beginning of Āmol [is] Aspekālā, by which lays Sabza Maidan. [There] stands the old structure of Mir Bozorg’s [shrine]. They say: it is a building from [the time of] Shāh ‘Abbās, it is a fine place. He made it all from bricks and tiles.⁹ Right alongside Mir Bozorg lies a pool that is very big. Near Sabza Maidan there is a castle called Khandaq (‘moat’) which belonged to Jamshid the Yima.
2. Āmol has a bridge with twelve arches. It is an old structure. There was a *hājji*, from the Mashā’i [clan], who rebuilt these arches ten times, [but every time they were] destroyed by flood. When his efforts proved unsuccessful, he [finally] reconstructed [the bridge] for the love of the twelve [Shi’i] Imams – thus it survived torrents.
3. Beyond the bridge, where old Āmol was located [before] it was inundated, there is now [farm] lands, [where] people grow rice. [Once Persian] Iraqis buy that estate, plow and irrigate it, [and luckily] obtain gold, silver, pearls, and certain other items. When digging the land, there come out of the ground dwellings, bathhouses, mosques and burial chambers.
4. Āmol has Pāyin Gonbad (lit. ‘Lower Dome’). The dome is made from bricks; it has three domes – one is big and two are small. Round about the Dome, wherever they dig, there comes out brick – whole bricks come into view.
5. There is a mosque from the old times, known as the mosque of Imam Ḥasan. Āmol has been devastated by flood three times – and this mosque has survived [all disasters]. Now, when a digger excavates the

⁷ *Sic!* Cf. Pers. *morakkabāt*.

⁸ The word reads also *kannənə* ‘they dig’.

⁹ In the text: “brick tile”.

earth to obtain mud bricks, once he digs deep down, it becomes clear that Āmol has been flooded three times.

6. Āmol used to be a big town. One end of it was Salhār. In the direction of Mecca, to the south of Āmol, was the Ālashā River. To the north was Chālāpal. Below (i.e. north of) Āmol there used to be a Wednesday market. In olden times, [when] Āmol was big, a market was held there on Wednesdays; thus the name “Wednesday Market”.
7. There exist four shrines in Āmol: the shrines of Ebrāhim, Sayyed Setan, Bibi Roqiya, and the shrine of ‘Ali. [...] The shrine of Ebrāhim is made from bricks; the interior of its dome is whitened with plaster.¹⁰ It has a [endowed?] cistern towards the [shrine] of Mir Bozorg. It was built together with the latter. In the spring its water is very cold and is consumed all over Āmol.
8. Inside Mir Bozorg, above the shrine, it is covered with inscriptions on tiles. Inside the building there is work of tile calligraphy all around. Indoors, there are tile murals, partly lost, partly [still] there. It has two large mosques; on two sides there are upper chambers, parts of which are still standing.
9. Āmol was founded by a girl named Āmela; that is why it was named Āmol.
10. Anywhere they dig, there emerge bricks – from the [buried] mosques, bathhouses, dwellings, and burial chambers. At most sites come into view cisterns and there are tombs. In the graves there are implements [like] swords [and] daggers; and female items [like] gold and silver bracelets turn up. Whoever builds a house in Āmol, they dig up the ground, out come mud bricks [with which] the house is built.
11. There is a royal garden in Āmol; from olden times, it was a royal garden. It used to have every kind of orange and citrus [trees]. One year it turned so cold that all trees withered. Now the people call it a garden.
12. At the outer edge of Āmol there is a *Moşallā*. It is [founded on?] the footprints of Khidir (i.e. Elias). They call it “Gonbod-dār” (‘having a dome’ or ‘dome-tree’). Every Wednesday night Khidir comes and they read communal prayers. This is the sketch of Āmol’s dome (or: this is sketched on the Āmol’s dome).

¹⁰ Alternative reading: *Emāmzādā Ebrāhim az ājār hassā, vāne sar-ruş ā; dālā garj^e hāmrah āspe hākardānā* ‘The shrine of Ebrāhim is made from bricks; it has a dome, the interior is whitened with plaster.’

Facsimile Text I (after: de Morgan, 1894-1904, vol. V pp. 248-251).

LÉGENDES SUR LA VILLE D'AMOL.

[En mazandérani de Barfrouch.]

آمز ادلی اسبه کلا اسبه کلا در سبز میدان میر بزرگ بنا
 قدم هست کشته باریش: عباس هست خوب جانی هست تمام
 آخر کارش درشت خاکزده خد میر بزرگ در خوش دارنه
 خلیه کشت هست سبزه میدان در اتا قلعه دارنه کشته خند
 از دراریکه کشته مالی چشیدیم پنجه یک بر دارنه امیر وارده
 بجه دارنه باری قدم هست یک نفر حاضر دیش با بجه
 این وارده بجه رده دغه درشت خاکزده او بودده اولن
 وقت بدیه بشارت نازنه بوشق وارده امام درشت
 خاکزده ان وقت او نودده بنیان و قدم کمره
 او بودده آلاک رهن هست مردم بنبج کشته عرافه اولن
 یک خرینه وده کشته او وشته طلا نقره مردارینه
 بعضی اسباب دیگر کز کز نه وقت اون زمانه
 کشته خانه حاتم مشبه سردابه خاک رز این
 ان

(5)

(10)

Text I, continued (2).

آمري باین کنبند دارند لاکر کنبند از اعر هت سته تا
 کنبند دارند اناکت هت دونا لوجک هت کنبند (15)
 دور در هر جاره کنبند اعر در این اعر در است در این
 انا سبه دارند از قدیم است سبه ایام حسن مشهور
 است امر سته دفعه او بوده این سبه او بوده
 انا که خشت کن زمین رکته خشت بکر خلیه
 کنت معلوم هت سته دفعه امر او بوده امر
 کت شهر بیه انا ستر امر سلهاز بیه طرف
 قیبه جنوب امر آتش رو بیه شمال امر لیل
 بیه بیه باین امر چهار سبه بازار دارند
 قدیم امر خلیه کت بیه چهار سبه روزاوان
 بازار کردند اینیه در در کنبند چهار سبه بازار (25)
 چهار تن ایام زاده امر کت انا ایام زاده ایام
 انا سته ستن انا بی بی رفته انا ایام زاده علی

Text I, continued (3).

کنته یارایم زاده ابراهیم از اجرت هست دینه سر زو نه
 دله کتبخ همزه اسیمه خاکر دینه اتا آب انبار دارنه
 مریزک و ده بهان دقت که مریزک در دست
 کردنه در دست خاکر دینه بهار نامه دینه او خله سر دینه
 تمام امر همین اوره خرمنه مریزک دله مقبره بالله
 تمام با خط کاشش بنویشته ده رول مریزک دینه دور
 بالاش خط نقش بنویشته خط درشت هست درون
 مریزک تمام بالاش نقاش خاکر دینه بغیر هم
 مجده بغیر دارنه و نامستند کت دارنه و بهلوه
 بالله محره دارنه بغیر خراب بغیر دارنه این امر
 اتا کپما آباد خاکر دینه دینه اسم ز کنته به حاصله
 با عیت نبیه که اسم بهشته امر و کجه کنته
 اجر در این لغیر سجد بغیر حاتم بغیر خانه بغیر
 اکثر جا آب انبار در این اکثر جا قبر در این
 اسباب در قبر دله شمیر کارد مال زنهار
 است

I.2. *Text II*

Hekāyat-e sābeqa-ye Bārforuś

1. Bārforuś avvəl mašhur biə bə Bārforuś Deh – ke hamə jā jangəl biə. Āstunə o¹¹ Šohadā-bən āb-annān biə. asl-e šahr-e qadim l Āməl o Sāri biə.
2. xud-e Āstunə laləjār biə, ū dāštə. l dar miān-e ū əttā jā tappə biə. mardəm ke iamunə o šinə,¹² badinə ke əttā-xale kəlāj sar-e on tappə jam' ənə, qār-qār l kərdənə. mardəm hamə še xəd bə xəd gətənə, “čəči-e vāsse l in-jə kəlāj jam haiə?” tā-in-ke əttā mardī-rə xū-nəmā baiə ke l in-jə āstunə hassə. mardəm ke bašnussənə, biamunə in-ljə-rə qabr bəsātənə. kam-kam mardəm in dūr-ə-var biamunə l¹³ jam bainə xənə bəsātənə. on-vaqt šāh ke badiə l mardəm jam bainə xənə bəsātənə o in-jə-rə qabr dərəst l hakərdənə, šāh ham in qabr-e sar-rə gonbod bəsātə, l vənə num-rə beheštənə Kəlāj-ə-Mašhad. in qabr ə bārəgāh-^rə l dar həzār ə dah sāl-e piš dərəst hakərdənə. l
3. ¹⁵ avvəl Bābəl hamin šahr-e dələ biə. mardəm ke kam-kam l xənə jam bainə bəsātənə,¹² Bābəl-rə bavərdənə birun-e šahr l qərār hədānə.
4. on-vaqt in-jə Bāqəšāh nadāštə. l dar ahd-e Šāh Abbās hokəm baiə Sabzə Məydān-e var-^rə l əttā amārət bəsātənə. amārət-e dūr-ə-var-rə bakanninə,¹²⁰ Bābəl-e ū biārdənə¹³ amārət-e dūr-ə-var-rə ū davəssənə. l vənə num-rə beheštənə Dəzzək-ə-čāl. avvələ ke hanuz ū l navəssənə, Dəzzəkəčāl-e dələ-^rə əttā amārət-e digər bəsātənə. l hefdah tā mil-mil dərəst hakərdənə; vənə bālā-rə l əttā dast amārət bəsātənə. amārət ke təmūn l²⁵ baiə, on-vaqt vənə dūr-ə-var-rə ū davəssənə har l vaqt ke xāssənə burən on amārət-e dələ – nū l dāštənə *dāyəm ū-e dələ daiə – nū-rə səvār bainə l šinə on amārət. al'ān on amārət hamə l xərāb baiə hamun hefdah tā mil bamunəssə.
5. Sabzə-l³⁰ Meydun-e var šast-həftād sāl-e piš əttā l qand-ə-paj-xənə bəsātənə. jami'-e asbāb-e qand-paji-rə az Orusiyə l biārdənə. moddat-i dar Bālforuś qand bapətənə barutənə. vənə l sahāb ke bamərdə, hamə asbāb-e qandpaji-rə mardəm bavərdənə. l vənə xəšt ə čū-rə ham bavərdənə. al'ān ham ba'zi on asbāb l³⁵ hanuz kat ə; ke divon əsā zabt hakərdə.
6. Dəz'ək-čāl-e ū-e dələ har l sāl-e zəməstun hamə-jurə mərq ništ biə. mardəm hamə l šinə əškār kərdənə, vardənə xərdənə. on sāl l ke šāh biamuə Bārforuś, qarəq hakərdə ke mardəm tir l xāli nakənən; har kas-i tir xāli hakərdə vənə dast-e təfang-rə l⁴⁰ bairən. mardəm az tars digər

¹¹ Stands for the script form *va* 'and' throughout the text.

¹² The proper word order would be: *jam bainə xənə bəsātənə*.

¹³ For the written form <b^a-y-ā-r-d^a-n^a>.

təfəŋg nušānə. l əsā ham hamu-ti qarəq hassə, ammā xalvət əttā-əttā tir l xāli kənnənə.

7. hamān vaqt ke Bāqəšāh-rə dərəst l kərdənə, rāstə-e bāzār-e dələ ruxənə bəsātənə; l ajər-e jā farš hakərdənə. hamə sālə ke zəməstun l⁽⁴⁵⁾ biə, Bābəl-e jā ū sar dānə, də māh dərəst l tu-ye bāzār ū kašīə šīə, mardəm-e čəlū sard l biə. tāvəstun on čəlūhā-ye ū xale sard biə. əsā l on bāzār rū bar-ham baxərdə, Šahrū dərəst hakərdənə. l əsā hamə sālə Šahrū-rə ū vannənə, mardəm-e čəlūhā hamə l⁽⁵⁰⁾ dar zəməstun ū šunə. tābəstān mardəm hamə on čəlūhā-e l ū-rə xərnənə. xale sard hassə.
8. Bālfəruš nazdiki-e Āqərū l əttā məsallā ham dārnə. har-vaqt vārəš nakərdə, l pišnəmāz šunə on məsallā;¹⁴ əttā-xale mardəm vəne həmrāh l šunənə, on-jə nəməz xunnənə – vārəš kənnə.
9. Bālfəruš l⁽⁵⁵⁾ əttā məsjəd dārnə ke māl-e qadim hastə. vəne nūmə¹⁵-rə gənənə l Maqbəre. on-jə *xāssənə on məsjəd-rə bəsāzənd.¹⁶ də-sə l daf'ə bəsātənə, vəne qeblə kaj baiə. xāssənə ke l qeblə-rə rāst dar-biārənd,¹⁷ natunəssənə. āxər-sar l beheštənə. sə-čahār ruz ke begzeštə, badinə vəne l⁽⁶⁰⁾ dəvāzdah tā pāyehā hamə bəsāt ə; vəne qeblə ham əti l rāst hastə ke mi sar nazənnə. hamə gənənə ke in l dəvāzdah pāyə-rə dəvāzdah emām kār beh'štə bəsātə ke l qeblə rāst dar-biamu.
10. Bālfəruš əttā Yahudi mahallə l dārnə; həftād-həštād xānə bunə. dar bist sāl-e l⁽⁶⁵⁾ *piš əttā Ērāqi mardī^c qarib biə; biamu^u Bārfəruš l manzəl hakərdə. əttā kijā dāštə. faqir binə. əttā tikkə l kələ-piše yərāq əttā Yahudi-e jā baxriə še kijā-e l vāsse. še manzəl ke bavərdə, yərāq-rə vəne kijā badiə l zāye' hassə. kijā [o] vəne per har də-tā bavərdənə Yahudi l⁽⁷⁰⁾ mahallə. on mardī-rə xiāl biə ke Yahudihā-ye sərə yək-sar l navenə dələ burdən. še darəsar-e Yahudi hərəssā^o, l še kijā-rə sərə^c dələ rāi hakərdə.
11. bə-qadr-e nim sāat l darəsar hərəssā^o, badiə vəne kijā birun nīlumu^o; sərə^c darun vəne kijā-e nārə-nārə enə.¹⁷⁵ yək-daf'ə on Yahudi-e sərə^c dələ burdə. badiə l Yahudihā vəne kijā-rə lu zannənə, davəndi-e l kijā-rə zannənə, kijā darə mirnə. kijā-rə duš haitə on sərə^c jā l birun biārə də bavərdə še manzəl. vəne manzəl l ham məsjəd-e Kāzem-beyk biə. tā

¹⁴ Note incompatibility of tenses: *nakərdə* 'did not, would not' vs. *šu-nə* 'he goes, he will go'.

¹⁵ Formally *num* 'name'. The appenthesis -ə is added arbitrarily and has no morphological value; e.g. *ketāb-ə hāde* or *ketābə-rə hāde* 'give the book!'

¹⁶ *bəsāz-ənd* 'that they build'; the final *d* is superfluous for the 3rd person plural subjunctive ending in Mazandarani.

¹⁷ *biār-ənd* for the Mazandarani *biār-ən* 'that they bring'. Again, the final *d* is added under Persian influence.

manzəl bavərdə kijā-e l⁽⁸⁰⁾ vənī^e var o vəne dohun^e var xun em. hantā bənə l kijā-rə beheštə, kijā bamərdə.

12. mardəm on šū jam'iyət hakərdənə. l badinə Yahudihā kijā-rə bəxud bakuštənə. fardā səvāhi l ham^o-e Bālfəruši jam hainə, yək-sar dakəlessənə Yahudi [mahallə-e] l dələ. az səvāhi tā nahār-e vaqt čahārdah nafər zən ə l⁽⁸⁵⁾ mard-e Yahudi-rə bakuštənə; har-či dāštənəl nadāštənə, hamə-rə tārāj hakərdənə. vəšunə l sərə-xənə-rə taš hədānə. Dāniāl Yahudi-rə l hamun vəne sərə dələ¹⁸ vəne ləhāf-rə naft bazunə, l Dāniāl-rə vəne dələ dapitənə, taš hədānə. har-či vərə l⁽⁹⁰⁾ gətənə, “te pil kəjə darə?” gətə, “me kəng-e dələ darə”. āxər l bəruz nədā^o.
13. Yahudihā ətī batərsinə; hamə fərār hakərdənə l burdənə mardəm-e sərə-xənə dakəlessənə, az tars gətənə, l “əmā Məsəlmān baimi!” bə qadr-e haft-hašt mäh Məsəlmun l bainə.¹⁹ Məsəlmunhā ham vəšun-rə va'də git'nə. l⁽⁹⁵⁾ tā-in-ke šāh hokm hakərdə ke har kas māl o pil-e l Yahudihā-rə bavərdənə, pas hadeən. az divon l ma'mur biamu^o. avvəl sarešmār²⁰ hakərdənə; sar-ē²¹ dah təmən, l bist təmən, tā sad təmən hai[tə]nə. gətənə, tā l čehel həzār təmən sarešmār²² haitənə.
14. Yahudihā l⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ badinə ke vəšun-rə komək hakərdənə, inhā l ke Məsəlmun bainə,²³ ay biamunə burdənə Yahudi l bainə. əsā, Yahudihā sərə-xən^o-e xub-i az ājər l bəsātənə; hamə-ə gač-e jā əspe-kāri hakərdənə. l al'an hamə təjāət kənnənə.
15. piš az Yahudi əttā mardi daiə l⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ vəne num-rə gətənə Qāsəm Aliābādi. ve luti o²⁴ kallə-šaq l biə. [əttə] Mirzā Masih daiə, vazir-e Māzəndərun biə. Qāsəm l Aliābādi vəne nūkər biə. mardəm hamə vəne jā tarsinə. l šū šiə, mardəm-e darəsar dar zuə, gətə, “fəlun qadər pil l hade! mən xāmmə”. mardəm az tars vərə pil dānə; vəne esm l⁽¹¹⁰⁾ bəruz nadānə. mardəm az dast-e ve tang biamunə.
16. tā-in-ke l Šāzdə-e Yaminoddowlə Bālfəruš biamu^o Qahhārqoli Xān-e l ətāq manzəl hakərdə. əttā šū in Qāsəm Aliābādi l arəq baxərdə biə,²⁵

¹⁸ Spelled <d^a-l^e>.

¹⁹ *bainə* ‘they became’. The expected form is *binə* ‘they were’.

²⁰ Written <s^a-r^e-š^a-m-ā-r>, it was adjusted regarding another occurrence two lines down. Alternative reading: *sərə šəmār* ‘house counting’.

²¹ *sar-ē* ‘each head/person’. It may also be read as *sərə-e* ‘each house’.

²² Here *sarešmār* seems to be used as an adverb, meaning ‘via census’.

²³ Should read *bai binə* ‘they had become’; note that no periphrastic form is found in the texts.

²⁴ Written *luti-e va*.

²⁵ Spelled <b-y-yy-h>.

xātun²⁶-e var [jā] dāštə šio vazir-e l sərə. əttā səyyəd-e Lāləvāi dāštə
 šio še manzəl.^{l(115)} Qāsem Aliābādi Əfrādārebən əttā sang-^rə baitə l
 bazuə Səyyəd-e sar-rə. Səyyəd bamərdə.

17. Šāzdə hokm hakərdə l bə vazir, ke hokman Qāsem Aliābādi-rə
 xāmmə. həzār ma'rəkə-šivə l bazunə, Qāsem-^rə baitənə biārdənə
 Šāzdə-rə hədānə.l
18. Šāzdə xāssə bakuše; Qāsem-e mansubun biamunə; čahārsad təmən
 dānə ^{l(120)} šāzdə-rə ke Qāsem Aliābādi-rə nakuše. qabul nakərdə vərə,l
 on fardā səvāhi hokm hakərdə mirqazəb vərə bakuštə.l farrāšhā
 Qāsem-^rə luš bakəšinə bavərdənə Šohadā-bən l čəlū-e piš dəpətininə.
 sə ruz Yahudiā kašik l bakəšinə. ba'd az sə ruz vənə mansubun
 baitənə ^{l(125)} dafn hakərdənə.

Translation

An account of the history of Bārforush

1. Bārforush, originally known as Bārforush village, was all [surrounded by] woods. [The quarters of] Āstāna and the Shohadā-ban used to be a water reservoir. [In Mazandaran, only] Āmol and Sāri were old towns.
2. Āstāna used to be simply a marshland with water; in the middle stood a hill. People who went back and forth would see (lit. 'saw') a lot of crows assemble on top of the hill, crowing. People would ask themselves, why the crows gathered round here. Eventually a man had a dream that this place was a shrine. Upon hearing this, people came here and built a tomb. Gradually people gathered in the area and built houses. Then, when the king realized that people gathered and built houses and erected a tomb, he constructed a dome on the mausoleum, which was named the Kalāj Mashhad ('tomb of crows'). This splendid mausoleum was built 1,010 years ago.
3. Originally the Bābol [river] would flow through the present town. When the people gradually gathered and built houses, the Bābol [river] was diverted around the town.
4. At that time there was no Bāghshāh (royal garden) here. During the reign of Shah 'Abbās a decree was issued to build a structure near Sabza Maidan. They excavated round about the building and flooded it with the water brought from the Bābol river. It was named Dazzak-chāl. Before it was flooded, another structure was laid out within

²⁶ *xātun* '(the) 'lady', is recorded in the text as *xavātun*, which can be a pseudo-historical orthography (*x'ātun*). The word can also be understood as a proper name of a woman or a brothel.

Dazzakchāl. Seventeen piles were erected and a building was built on top [of them]. Once the construction was done, the surrounding area was flooded. Every time they wished to go to that building – a boat was always kept on the water – they would launch the boat to go to the building. Now the building is completely wrecked and only the seventeen piles are left.

5. A sugar mill was built near Sabza Maidan some sixty to seventy years ago. All the machinery was imported from Russia. For a while sugar cubes were made (lit. cooked) in Bārforush and put on the market. When its owner died, people looted (lit. took away) all the sugar-making apparatus. They even took its (i.e. the defunct mill's) materials. Now there still lie around some equipment that was confiscated by the government.
6. Every winter Dazzakchāl's water is the habitat of every kind of wild bird. Everybody used to go shooting prays and take [home] and consume [the birds]. In the year that the king visited Bārforush, he set a reservation policy preventing people from shooting [birds]; whoever fired a rifle would have his gun confiscated. People, scared, did not open gunfire any more. At present the preservation policy is still in force, but bullets are [still] fired occasionally in retired places.
7. At the same time as Bāghshāh was being built, a waterway was built along [a] line of the bazaar and was paved with bricks. Every year when the winter would arrive, water would be driven from the Bābol river and, for exactly two months, water would flow down into the [canal along the] bazaar, [so] the people's cisterns would be cold. In summer [too] the water of those wells would be very cold. At the present time that bazaar's canal is no longer operating, [another canal named] Shahru has been built. Every year they run water into the Shahru and the water flows into all private wells in the winter. In summertime people drink water from those wells; it is very cold.
8. In the vicinity of [the quarter of] Āqru, Bārforush also has a *mosallā*. Every time it doesn't rain the imam goes there, [and] a large procession follows him. They say their prayers – it rains.
9. Bārforush has a mosque that is historical. It is called Maqbara. [When] they planned to build the mosque there, having built two or three times, it did not face the *qebla*. They failed [as] they tried to fix it and eventually quit. After three or four days they noticed that its twelve pillars were all erected and its direction was aligned to the precision of a hair. Everyone says that it was the twelve Imams who placed these twelve pillars so that the alignment became right.

Facsimile Text II (after: de Morgan 1894-1904, vol. V, pp. 252-260).

LÉGENDES SUR LE MAZANDÉRÂN ET BARFROUCH.

(En mazandérâni de Barfrouch.)

حکایات سابقه بارزول

بارزول اول شهریه بارزول ده که همه جا جنگل بود
 استون و شهید بن آب آناک بیه اصل شهر قدیم
 آمد و سامری بیه خور استون لاله جان او داشته
 در میان او آنا جان بیه مردم که ایمونه و شیشه
 بد بینه که آنا خله کلایه سیران بیه جمعه نازان
 کردند مردم همه شیشه خد بخند کتنه جبهیه و آینه
 اینجه کلایه جمعه نازا اینک آنا مردن خور ناز بیه که
 اینجه استون هست مردم که بشنوند بشوند این
 جز قبر بماند کم کم مردم این دور و دور
 خیم بینه خد بماند آفتاب شاه که بدیه
 مردم هم بینه خد بماند و این قبر در دست
 حکم دند شاه هم این قبر سر کنبه بانه
 و نه نوز بهشت کلایه شهید این قبر بارگاه
 در هزار ده نالی پیش در دست حکم دند
 اول بابل همین شهر دله بیه مردم که کم کم
 خند

(5)

(10)

(15)

Text II, continued (2)

خَنَ جَم بِنَه بَسَانَه بَابَلَر بَوَر دَنه بِسِرُونِ شَهَرِ
 دَر اَرَهْدَانَه اَلْوَقْتِ اِنِجَه بَاغْشَاه دَنَاشَه
 دَر عَهْدِ شَاه عَبَّاسِ حُكْمِ بِنَه سَبَر مِيدَانِ
 اَنَا عَامَرَت بَسَانَه عَامَرَت دُور وَر اَوْدَسَنَه
 بَابِلِ اَو بِيَامَر دَنه عَامَرَت دُور وَر اَوْدَسَنَه
 وَنِه نُوْمَرِ بَهْشَتَنَه دَر تَرَك جَالِ اَوَّلِ كِه هُوْنَر اُو
 نُوْسَنَه دَر تَرَك جَالِ فَهَر اَنَا عَامَرَت دُور وَر اَوْدَسَنَه
 هِفْدَه نَا مِيلِ مِيلِ دَر مَنَتِ هَكِرَه وَنِه بِاللَه اَنَا
 اَنَا دَسْتِ عَامَرَت بَسَانَه عَامَرَت كِه تَمُومِ
 بِنَه اَلْوَقْتِ وَنِه دُور وَر اَوْدَسَنَه
 وَنَتِ كِه خَوَانَسَنَه بُوْمَرَن اَن عَامَرَت دَلَه نُو
 دَاشَتَنَه دَايِمِ اَو دَلَه دَبِيَه نُوْمَرِ سَوَارِ بِنَه
 شَبِنَه اَن عَامَرَت اَللَه اَن عَامَرَت هَمَه
 خَرَابِ بِنَه هَمُوْنِ هِفْدَه نَا مِيلِ مِيلِ بُوْنَسَه سَبَر
 مِيدُونِ وَر شَهْتِ هَضَارِ سَالِ بِشِ اَنَا

(20)

(25)

(30)

Text II, continued (3)

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ÉTUDES LINGUISTIQUES.

قَسَدًا يَخْتَصُّ لِبَاسًا فَهِيَ أَصَابُ قَسَدًا يَخْتَصُّ لِبَاسًا
 بِمَا تَرَدَّدَتْ مَدَّةً دَرَّ بَالُ فَرُوشِ قَسَدًا بِرَبِّتِهِ مَرُوقَةً وَفِي
 تَعْمَاتٍ كَرَمَرَدَ هَمَّ أَصَابُ قَسَدًا يَخْتَصُّ لِبَاسًا فَرُوشِ قَسَدًا
 وَفِي خَشْتِ جُورٍ هَمَّ تَوَرَّدَتْ أَلَلٌ لَمْ يَخْفُضْ أَصَابُ
 هُنُوتٍ كَنَّهُ كَرْدُونَ أَسَافُطَ حَكْرَةٍ دَرَّكَ جَالِ أَوْدَلَهَرِ
 مَسَالِ مَرْمَسُونَ هَمَّ جُورٍ مَرَّغِ نِشْتَبِيَّةٍ مَرْدَمِ هَمَّ
 شَيْبَه أَشْكَامِ كَرْدَنَه وَتَرَدَّدَتْ حَرْدَنَه أَلَّ سَالِ
 كِي شَاهِ بِيَمُودَ بَامَ فَرُوشِ قَرَنِ حَكْرَةٍ كَرْدَمِ تَبَرِ
 خَالِ نَكْنِ هَرِ كَسِ تَبَرِ خَالِ حَكْرَةٍ وَفِي دَسْتِ نَفْكَتِ
 بَسَرِ مَرْدَمِ اَنَمَرِشِ دِيكِرِ نَفْكَتِ لُوشَانَه
 أَسَاهَمِ هَمُودِ قَرَنِ هَمَّ أَمَّا خَلُوتِ اَنَامَا
 خَالِ كَنَنَه هَمَّانِ وَفَتِ كِي بَاغْشَاهَرِ دَسْتِ
 كَرْدَنَه مَرَامَتِي بَامَ مَرْمَدِ وَخَسَنَه لِبَاسَانَه
 أَجَرِ جَا فَرُوشِ حَكْرَدَنَه هَمَّ مَسَالَه كَرْمَسُونِ
 بِيَتِه بَابِلِ جَا أَوَسَرْدَانَه دِمَاهِ دَرَامَتِ
 لُورِ بَاغْشَاهَرِ اَوَكْسِيَّةِ شَيْبَه مَرْدَمِ جُورِ

Text II, continued (4)

بِيَّه تَاوَسْتُون اُنْ جَلُوهاي اُو خَلِه مَرْد بِيَه اَسَا
 اُنْ بَابِه اَمَر مَرُو بَر هَم بَجَزْد مَشَه مَرُو دَر مَسْت حَكْرَدَنَه
 اَسَا هَه سَالَه مَشَه مَرُو اُو دَنَنَه مَرْدَم جَلُوهاي هَه
 دَر مَسْتُون اُو شُونَه تَا بَسَاك مَرْدَم هَه اُنْ جَلُوهاي
 اُو مَر خَرَنَدَه خَلِه بَسَر دَهْت بِالْفَرْدَش مَرْدَم اَفَر
 اَنَا مَصَلَه اَم دَا مَرَه هَر وَفَت وَا مَر مَرْدَه
 بِيَشَنَاه شُونَه اُنْ مَصَلَه اَنَا خَلِه مَرْدَم وَنِه هَرَه
 شُونَدَه اَلْجَه تَمَاه خُونَدَه وَا مَر مَرْدَم كَنَنَه بِالْفَرْدَش
 اَنَا مَسْعِد دَا مَرَه كِه مَالِ تَدِيم هَسَه وَنِه نُو مَر كَنَنَه
 مَقْبَرَه اُنْ خَانَسَه اُنْ مَسْعِد مَر لَبَسَانَدَه دَسَه
 دَفَعَه لَبَسَانَنَه وَنِه فِيلَك كَج بِيَّه خَانَسَه كِه
 فِيلَه مَر مَرَسْت دَر بِيَا مَرَدَه فَسُولَنَه اَخَر مَر
 بِيَشَنَه مَس جِهَان مَرُو كِه بَكْدِشَنَه بَد بَنَه وَنِه
 دَوَانَرَه تَا يَا يَه هَا هَه لَبَسَانَه وَنِه فِيلَه هَم اِي
 مَر مَسْت هَسَه كِه مَر مَر مَرْدَه هَه كَنَنَه كِه اِي

(50)

(55)

(60)

Text II, continued (5)

ÉTUDES LINGUISTIQUES.

دوانده پاتیر دوانده امام کانه پشته لبسانده که
 قبله ماست دتر میوود بالفروش انا یهودی محله
 دانه هفتا هشتاد خانه لونه دتر بیت سال
 بیش انا عراقی مردی غریب بیه میوود بانه
 منزل مکرده انا کجا دشته فقر بیه انا نیکه
 کله پیشه بران انا یهودی جا بخریه شیه کجا
 وایه شیه منزل که بومد بران سر وید کجا بدیه
 مانع هست کجا وید بر هر دتا بومد بیه
 محله انتر دیر خیال بیه که یهودیها سر یک
 لونه دله بومدن شیه دتر سر یهودی هر تها
 شیه کجا سر دله رای حکره بقدر نیم شست
 دتر سر هر تها بدیه وید کجا بیرون نی
 میوود سر درون وید کجا ناره ناره اند
 لکن نه ان یهودی سر دله بومده بدیه

(65)

(70)

(75)

Text II, continued (6)

يهوديها وينه كيماره لونه ننه دوندي كيماره ننه
 كيماره ميره كيماره دوش هينه ان سرجا
 بيرون بيارده بورد، شيه منزل وينه منزل
 هم مسجد كاخم بيك بيه تامنزل بورد كيماره
 وني دمه ووينه دهون ورا خون انه هتايته (80)
 كيماره يهينه كيماره مردم ان شو جيت جگونده
 بدنيه يهوديها كيماره به خود بگوشته فردا سواحي
 همه بالفرديش هم هينه بگوشته دگوشته يهودي
 دله ان سواحي تا نهار وقت چهارده نهار
 نهان مرد يهودي بگوشته هر خبر داشته (85)
 نداشتنه همه تا پنج حكردنه وشوي
 سرجينه ر تش حدانه دايال يهودي
 همون وينه سرجه ديه كاخ نطق نهاده
 دايالتر وينه دله ديشته تش حدانه هر چي در

Text II, continued (7)

٩٠ و سَ كَنَنَ يَه پيل كِه دَر كَنَنَ مِه كَنَنَ دَل دَه اَخر
 بَر و نَر دَا يَهُودِيَهَا اَبِي بَتَر سِنَنَ هَمَه خَا رَ كَنَنَ
 بَوَر دَنَه مَر دَم بَر خَنَه دَكَلَنَنَه اَنَر تَر مِ كَنَنَه
 اَمَا مَسَلَمَان بَتَبِي بَقَد رَهفَت هَشْت مَاه مَسَلَمُون
 بَتَبِي مَسَلَمُون هَا مَر و شُونَر و عَدَه كَنَنَه
 ٩٥ تَا اَنِيكِه شَاه حَكَم حَكَمَد كِرَهَر كَنَنَ مَالِ و بِل
 يَهُودِيَهَا رَ بَوَر دَنَه بَتِي حَي تَن اَنَر دَلُون
 مَامُور بَتَبُو اَوَّل بَر شَاه حَكَمَد مَر دَه تَن
 بَتَبِي تَن تَامَد تَن هَتَنَه كَنَنَه تَا
 چهل هزار تَن بَر شَاه هَتَنَه يَهُودِيَهَا
 ١٥٠ دَل بَتَبِي كِرَهَر و شُونَر مَلِك حَكَمَدَنَه اَنِيَهَا
 كِرَهَر مَسَلَمُون بَتَبِي اَي بَتَبُونَد بَوَر دَنَه يَهُودِيَهَا
 بَتَبِي اَسَا يَهُودِيَهَا بَر خَنَه خُونِي اَز اَجَر
 بَسَا تَنَه هَمَر كِي جَا اَسَبَه كَارِي حَكَمَدَنَه

Text II, continued (8)

الَّذِينَ هَمَّ تَجَارَتَ كَنْتَهُ يَشِي إِذَا هُوَ دِي إِذَا مَرَدِي قِيَّة
وَنِي نَوْمَ كَنْتَهُ قَاسَمَ عَلَى أَبَادِي وَ لَوْ لِي وَ كَلَّ شَقَّ (105)

بِيَّة مَرَّ نَامِشِج دِيَّة وَ نَمِشِج مَانَدَ مَرَدَن بِيَّة قَاسَم
عَلَى أَبَادِي وَ نِي دُكْرَ بِيَّة مَرَدَم هَمَّ وَ نِي جَانِ سِيَّه
شُو شِيَّه مَرَدَم دَمَ مَرَدَمَ دَمَ مَرَدَمَ كَنْتَهُ نَلُون مَرَدَمَ
حَدِي مَرَدَمَ خَامَه مَرَدَمَ مَرَدَمَ سِي وَ مَرَدَمَ دَانَه وَ نِي اِسْتَم
بَرُونَه دَانَه مَرَدَمَ اَزْدَشْتِ وَ نَلَبَ بِيْمُونَه نَالِي (110)

شَانَدَه بِيْمُونَه اَلَدَلَه بِالْفَرْوَشِ بِيْمُونَه قَهَامَ قَلِي خَانِ
اَلْمَانِ مَرَدَمَ حَكْرَدَه اَنَا شُو اِسْتَم عَلَى بَادِي
مَرَدَمَ مَجْرَدَ بِيَّة خَوَانِ وَ مَرَدَمَ دَانَشْتَه شِيَّه وَ نَمِشِج
مَرَدَمَ اَنَا سَتِيدَ لَدَرَوَانِي دَانَشْتَه شِيَّه شِيَّه مَرَدَمَ
قَاسَمَ عَلَى بَادِي اَفْرَا دِيرَجَه اَنَا مَسْكَبَتَه (115)

بَرُونَه مَسْكَبَتَه مَرَدَمَ سَتِيدَ مَجْرَدَ مَشَانَدَه حَكْمَ حَكْرَدَه
بَرُونَه كَلَمَا قَاسَمَ عَلَى بَادِي خَامَه مَرَدَمَ مَرَدَمَ شُو
بَرُونَه قَاسَمَ بِيَّة بِيَّة دَانَه شَانَدَه مَرَدَمَ حَكْمَ
مَشَانَدَه خَامَه بَلُوشِي قَاسَمَ مَشُونَه بِيْمُونَه خَامَه دَانَه

Text II, cont. and end (9).

(120) دانه شانه در کز قاسم عی بادیه نگوشتی قبول نگردد و
 ان فراداسوامر حکم حکم د من غضب و ما بگوشت
 فراداسها قاسم لوش بکشینه لوم دنه شهید
 جلوه پیش دپوشینه سه رونه بهودیه کشتیک
 بکشینه بعد از سه رونه و نه منسوب بینه
 دقن حکم دنه بحب الفرمایش مالیه بلند جا لکاه
 (125) مسمومونان صاحب کدرب دولت خانه
 سرکار علمت مدار مقرب الفا فان لای اقامه
 یوسف خان الیظ فونولکری دولت فیشولکری
 دام اقباله العالی منزلی داشتند به شیار
 اقل حاجی اقا ملایم و منشیر سرکار علمت
 (130) صدایر خان الیظ انحریر یافت
 فی هضم شهر جمادی الاول
 مطابق سنه
 اودیل خت
 کلین

10. Bārforush has a Jewish quarter that comes to seventy to eighty houses. Twenty years ago a man from [Persian] Iraq (i.e. the Iranian plateau) came to live in Bārforush. He had a daughter, and they were poor. He bought a piece of hat's front-lace (?) for his daughter from a Jewish individual. As he took [it] home, his daughter noticed that the lace was defective. Both the girl and her father took [the lace back] to the Jewish quarter. The man assumed that one ought not to go inside a Jew's house uninvited. He stood at the doorway and sent his daughter inside the house.
11. Having waited some half hour at the gateway, he saw that his daughter did not come out; [but] he heard his daughter's groans. Suddenly he went to the Jew's house and saw the Jews were (lit. 'are') kicking and beating his daughter who was tied up, and the girl was about to die. He put the girl on his shoulder, took [her] out of that house and carried [her] to his [own] house. His residence was at Kāzembek mosque. While taking [her] home, blood was (lit. 'is') running from the girl's nose and mouth. As soon as he laid her on the floor, the girl died.
12. That night people assembled and noticed that the Jews [had] killed the girl for no good reason. Next morning all Bārforushis gathered round and all of a sudden swarmed into the Jewish quarter. From morning till noon (?) they killed fourteen Jews of both sexes, plundered whatever they possessed, and set to fire their houses. Daniel the Jew [was attacked] inside his house; they put gasoline on his quilt, wrapped Daniel in it, and set it to fire. Whatsoever they would ask him, "Where is your money?" he replied, "It's in my butts." To the end he did not disclose [where it was].
13. The Jews were somewhat frightened; they all ran away and swarmed into people's houses, and fearfully they would say, "We have become Muslims!" They were (lit. 'became') Muslims for seven or eight months. Muslims in return would invite them over. Finally, the Shah sent a verdict [stating] that "whoever has taken the Jew's properties [must] return [them]." Officials came from the court. First, a census was taken; from each they collected ten, twenty, and up to hundred tumans. They say the collection [?] was up to forty thousand tumans.
14. When the Jews realized that they were supported, those who had become Muslims returned to being Jewish. Currently, Jews have built fine brick houses; they are whitewashed all over with plaster. Now they all are doing business.

15. Before the Jewish [incident], there was a man named Qāsem ‘Aliābādi. He was rogue and bullheaded. There was [a certain] Mirzā Masiḥ who was the vizier of Mazandaran; Qāsem ‘Aliābādi was his servant. Everybody was afraid of him. At night he would knock on the people’s doors, saying: “Give me such amount of money! I want [it].” Out of fear, people would give him money [but] would not report his name. People were fed up with him.
16. Finally, Prince Yamin-al-Dowla came to Bārforush and stayed in Qahhārqoli Khān’s residence. One night Qāsem ‘Aliābādi, having gotten drunk, was going [from] the lady’s [place?] to the vizier’s house. A *sayyed* from Lalevā was on his way home. At Afrādārban, Qāsem took a stone and crashed [it] into the *sayyed*’s head. The *sayyed* died.
17. The prince commanded the vizier, demanding Qāsem. [Only] after using a thousand tricks was Qāsem captured and handed over to the prince. The prince wanted to kill [him]. Qāsem’s relatives came [forward] to offer the prince 400 tumans to stop the execution. The prince refused it, and in the next morning upon his order the executioner killed him. The servants carried Qāsem’s corpse on their shoulders and tossed it in front of Shohadā-ban’s cistern. The Jews guarded [the dead body]; after three days his relatives buried [it].

II. HISTORICAL REMARKS

The major towns of nineteenth-century Mazandaran were Āmol, Bārforush, and Sāri, all located on the East-West highway traversing the province and situated some 20 miles from one another. Sāri was still the provincial seat, though it had lost its ancient magnificence. Āmol, the other old capital, had also experienced a sharp decline in modern times. Bārforush, on the contrary, had emerged in the late seventeenth century and expanded rapidly as a major trade center with Russia. By the early nineteenth century, Bārforush had grown to one of the largest towns in Persia, with a population of some 100,000. In 1831, however, a plague, transmitted from Russia, ravaged the south Caspian littoral and, together with a subsequent outbreak of cholera, cut Bārforush’s population to less than a third. Nonetheless, the town recovered gradually, so well indeed that by 1887 (i.e. two years before our narratives were composed) it had regained its pre-plague population and became, once again, the commercial hub of the southeast Caspian.²⁷ Its inhabitants were engaged in business and trade, and there was a Russian consul of trade in the town. Much

²⁷ Kazembeyki 2003, pp. 14-20.

of the merchandise was imported from Mashhad-sar (later Bābolsar), the port of Bārforush, at the mouth of the Bābol river.

II.1 *Text I*

§1. The most important monuments of Āmol were situated around Sabza Maidan, near Aspekālā, i.e. one of the eight quarters of the town (cf. Rabino 1928, p. 36). A prominent landscape was the shrine complex of Mir(-e) Bozorg, a title for Mir Qavām-al-Din Mar‘ashi (r. 760-781/1359-1379), the founder of a dynasty of the *sādāt*, who reigned in Mazandaran from 760/1359 to ca. 989/1581.²⁸ The present structure of the shrine was erected by the Safavid Shah ‘Abbās I (r. 995-1038/1587-1629), a matrilineal descendent of Mir-e Bozorg (Sotuda 1987, pp. 91-101). The fortification nearby is described by several travelers, including Fraser (Fraser 1826, part 3, p. 195). It was known for its huge moat (*khandaq*), constructed in the late fourteenth century (Zāhir-al-Din, p. 271).

§2. The historical bridge spans the Harāz (see Sotuda 1987, pp. 61-63; illustrated in de Morgan 1894, I, p. 172). The Mashā’is (incorrectly spelled *Mašā’i*, with an ع) were one of the “ten clans” of Āmol (Rabino 1928, p. 36), whose summer abode was the valley of Mashā in the highland district of Lārijān, south of Āmol (Kazembeyki 2003, p. 16). Gmelin, in 1771, cited the *Mashā’i-maḥalla* as one of Āmol’s eight quarters (Gmelin 1770-84, III, p. 115). The Ḥājji Mashā’i cited in the passage could be Āqā ‘Ali Ashraf Mashā’i, who, according to Rabino (1928, p. 37), rebuilt in 1225/1810 the western part of Āmol’s congregational mosque, which had been destroyed in an earthquake (apparently the earthquake of 1809; cf. *EnIr.* VII, p. 637). Additionally, Rabino (1928, p. 156, n. 56) reports that the twelve-arch bridge was built originally by a former Sheykh al-Eslām of Āmol at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that it was rebuilt in the early nineteenth century by Mirzā Shafi‘, the vizier of Fath ‘Ali Shāh Qājār.

§3. The town was originally located on the western bank of the Harāz, as shown in a topographic sketch by de Morgan (1894, I, p. 172). The appearance of underground structures due to flooding and washed-away soil has an old history: as early as 606/1209-10, Ebn Esfandiār (I, pp. 71f.) alludes to the resurfacing of structures and graves apparently due to a deluge. There were also excavations by treasure diggers all around Āmol (E‘temād-al-Saltāna, I, p. 6). Cf. excavations in 1860 of Gonbad-e Moḥammad-e Āmoli, from which numerous burial chambers were discovered (Melgunov 1868b; Rabino 1928, pp. 39f.). “Iraq”, or more

²⁸ On this dynasty, see Calmard 1988.

properly ‘*Erāq-e ‘Ajam* “Persian Iraq”, was a super-province corresponding to the medieval *Jebāl* and ancient Media Major. The Caspian author of the text appears to have used the word “Iraq” to mean the entire plateau beyond the Alborz range.

§§4-5. Pāyin Gonbad appears to be the Gonbad-ben area in the quarter of Pāyin Bāzār (cf. Sotuda 1987, pp. 48ff.). According to Rabino (1928, p. 39), the old structure of the Emām Ḥasan mosque was believed to have been built under the caliph Hārūn al-Rashid, but as Imam Ḥasan was reported to have been seen praying there, the mosque was named after him. Āmol was flooded repetitively, breaching the levees constructed at various times (Sotuda 1987, IV, p. 63).

§6. The size of Āmol was drastically reduced after the outbreak of pandemics of 1831-33, causing its population to shrink from *ca.* 35-40,000 before the plague to some 8,000 in the 1880s (Kazembeyki 2003, pp. 14f.). The text refers to the outskirts of the old town that had been deserted by the late nineteenth century: Salhār (Cf. Sotuda 1987, p. 29; cited as “Chillar” in Abbott ed. 1983, p. 7); Ālāšā-rū, which appears to be the “Ali-sherood” (Abbott ed. 1983, pp. 7, 11) and Šahr-rud (Sotuda 1987, pp. 29, 61); and Chālapal, which I could not identify in or near Āmol, but there is a Chālapal bridge at Ashraf (Rabino 1928, p. 62, 122; Sotuda 1987, p. 679). Mazandarani use the word *pāyin* ‘below’ to signify ‘north’, as the land slopes down northward towards the Caspian sea.

§§7-8. The shrines of Āmol are numerous, mostly in ruins, with vegetation growing abundantly on their typically octagonal domes (see Rabino 1928, pp. 37-40; *idem*, texts, pp. 12-14; Sotuda 1987, pp. 48ff., 73ff.; for illustrations, see Hutt and Harrow 1978, pl. 100). The shrine of Mir-e Bozorg (see also §1) is illustrated in de Morgan 1894, I, pp. 173-175; Hutt and Harrow 1978, pl. 102.

§9. Āmela/Āmola is spelled in the Arabic form *عالمه* ‘maker, builder’ for semantic justification. The old historians of the province (Ebn Esfandiār, I, p. 71; *idem*, English tr., pp. 20 f., ll 5; Zahir-al-Din, p. 20) have mentioned Āmola, the daughter of Ashtād, as the founder of Āmol. See also Rabino 1928, p. 33; Markwart 1931, p. 136.

§10. Regarding the underground structures, see de Morgan 1894, I, pp. 172 f. There is a similar statement about the availability of construction materials: “There is no need to procure construction materials for those who attempt to build houses in Āmol ... old bricks surface in sufficient amount while digging for the foundation” (E‘temād-al-Saṭāna, I, p. 6). A type of excavated brick was locally known as *gabri*

“Zoroastrian” (Rabino 1928, p. 40). This term was used also for old monuments of uncertain origin, especially for many of the conical towers in Āmol (Rabino 1928, p. 37; E‘temād-al-Salṭana, I, p. 6).

§11. The Royal Garden (Bāghshāh) appears to be the one built by Shāh ‘Abbās I (Sotuda 1987, p. 64). In 1844, Holmes reports that the structure existed no more (Holmes 1845, p. 162). Shāh ‘Abbās I (see §1 above) annexed the province in 1005/1597 and showed a particular liking for it; he constructed several palaces there.

§12. The ‘footprints of Khidir’ was a tower which stood near the Sabza Maidan in a cemetery known as Mosallā’ ‘the place of public prayer or oratory’ (Rabino 1928, p. 39; Sotuda 1987, pp. 39, 70f.). It is likely to be the old Mosallā’ of Āmol, as cited by the medieval historians of Mazandaran (Zāhir-al-Din, p. 222; Owliā’-Allāh, p. 80).

II.2. Text II

§§1-3. The present town of Bārforush was founded in the early sixteenth century on the site of the old city of Māmtir. Until the late seventeenth century, however, it was still a village called Bārforushi-deh, which then rapidly expanded in the ensuing century (Zaryāb 1992; Sotuda 1987, pp. 175ff.). Āstāna (lit. ‘shrine’) and Shohadā-ban (lit. ‘martyr-place’) were two quarters of the town (cf. *Darb-e shohadā*²⁹ in Rabino 1928, pp. 157f., n. 69), which were built in the place of a former water reservoir (for which, see Šāleḥ, pp. 100f.). The hill in the midst of the swamp can be compared with the mount Azraq Dun, described by Zāhir-al-Din as having been the site of the house of Azraq, from the Kiā Jalālīd clan, who ruled Mazandaran for a short period in the mid-fourteenth century (Rabino 1928, p. 46). Kelāj Mashhad (‘tomb of the crows’), first cited by Mir Timur (*passim*), was also a quarter of Bārforush (Melgunov 1868b, p. 132). The structure (illustrated in de Morgan 1894, I, p. 162) has not survived (Sotuda 1987, p. 185). Thus, the statement by the author of the text claiming that the shrine was 1,010 years old (corresponding to the year 297/909-10) is not supported by the historical documents available to me.

§4. Bāghshāh stood on an island in the middle of a lake known as Dazzakchāl or Baḥr-e Eram. The latter was linked to the Bābol river in the South-East of the town. As was the Bāghshāh of Āmol (see above, I. §11), the royal garden of Bārforush was built by Shah ‘Abbās I. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, only a few stone pillars of the Safavid man-

²⁹ We may infer by comparing *Darb-e shohadā* ‘matyrs’ gate’ with *Shohadā-ban* that the latter may have originally been *Shohadā-bar*, where *bar* ‘door’, the authentic NW Iranian word, has been replaced in Mazandarani by Persian *dar* ‘door’.

sion had survived (Holmes 1845, p. 171). The structure cited in the text (illustrated in de Morgan 1894, I, p. 171) belonged to the earlier Qajar period and was used as an inn by the royal family (Stuart 1854, p. 274; Holmes 1845, pp. 171 f.; Mirzā Ebrāhim, pp. 11 9f.; Nāṣer-al-Din Shāh, pp. 227f.; Rabino 1928, pp. 11 9-121). In 1930, the encircling lake was drained and filled, and it eventually became a residential quarter of Bābol (Sotuda 1987, p. 196).

§5. The sugar refinery was one of several industrial projects sponsored by the Persian government in the Caspian provinces during the nineteenth century. The plant was established in the early 1850s³⁰ to process raw sugar from sugarcane, a major staple crop of the province. Its machinery was imported from Saint Petersburg. As the plant failed to be profitable, it was leased to local merchants, but was eventually shut down some time between 1864 and 1874 (Kazembeyki 2003, pp. 78-80; cf. Mahjuri, IV, p. 208).

§6. The lake Dazzakchāl (see above, §4) was a place for fishing and shooting birds (*Bābol*, p. 164). Nāṣer-al-Din Shāh visited Bārforush in 1864 and 1875 (Nāṣer-al-Din Shāh, pp. 227ff.).

§7. The water of Bārforush came from the Bābol river through a canal which branched out into cisterns located under residential houses. During wintertime, the water would be flown through this canal until it filled up the cisterns. The stored water would be consumed throughout the year (Moḥammad-Taḳī Khān Kalim, apud *Bābol*, p. 175). The canal Shah-ru(d)³¹ (lit. 'royal/great canal') branched off from the left bank of the Harāz (Sotuda 1987, p. 29).

§8. Āqrū or Āqārūd was an eastern tributary of the Bābol river as well as a large quarter of Bārforush (Melgunov 1868b, p. 132; Rabino 1928, p. 157, n. 69; Kazembeyki 2003, p. 20). A *moṣallā* is a public praying field where, for the festival ('*id* or '*eid*) prayers and prayers for rain, the whole population of the town may gather for communal worship (*Concise Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. C. Classe, London, 1989, p. 289).

§9. The Maqbara ('mausoleum') mosque could be the recently constructed mosque/mausoleum of Sa'id-al-'olamā (Sotuda 1987, p. 206; cf. Ṣāleḥ, p. 241), the renowned local clergy who cooperated with the authorities in suppressing the Babi uprising of the mid-nineteenth century; or else, it might be the mausoleum beside the mosque of Kāzembek (Sotuda 1987, pp. 227ff.).

³⁰ The decade of 1820s is inferred from the text.

³¹ Cf. Text I, note §6.

§§10-14. The Jewish community thrived in Bārforush as a result of trade expansion. According to the unpublished manuscript of Capitan F. Mackenzie (*Report on the Persian Caspian Provinces*), in 1859 the town had over 700 Jewish residences, whose chief (*kadkhodā*) believed that his colony had been founded by descendants of the Jewish colonies established in Mazandaran by Shah ‘Abbās I, who settled many Armenians and Jews in the province (*apud* Rabino 1928, p. 13).³² Curzon believed that the Jewish community dominated the commerce of Bārforush (*apud* Levi 1984, p. 765). In the early twentieth century, of the 25,000 inhabitants of the town, 750 were Jews (Rabino 1928, p. 45). The Jewish population began to diminish after the Second World War due to immigration to Israel (*Bābol*, p. 173). In the mid-1970s there were still two synagogues in Bābol (Sotuda 1987, p. 244).

The pogrom is reported to have occurred in 1287/1870-71 (*Bābol*, p. 173)³³ and 1281/1864 (Levi 1984, p. 641). There are two brief accounts of the incident in Jewish sources, which report the number of casualties – 18 and 60 –, and name Dāniāl Mokhtār as one of the casualties (Levi 1984, pp. 641, 699-700). They report also that the shah’s decree concerning restoration of the Jewish community in Bārforush was influenced by the British and French embassies in Tehran (*ibid.*).³⁴

§§15-18. All we know about the antagonist of the story, Qāsem, is his hometown ‘Aliābād, renamed Shāhi in the twentieth century, and later Qā’emshahr. Other localities mentioned in the passages are Lālavā, perhaps a local village, and Afrādārban, a quarter of Bārforush (Sotuda 1987, p. 180). In the Qajar period, Mazandaran was a royal governorate often ruled by a prince-governor, who would be accompanied by a vizier (in charge of collecting taxes) and a financial officer (*mostowfi*) (cf. Kazembeyki 2003, p. 233). Prince Yamin-al-Dowla appears to have been the province’s governor. The vizier, Mirzā Masiḥ Mostowfi (see Fig. 1), was also the owner of several *boluks* of Sāri at Kalijān-rostāq (Mirzā Ebrāhim, p. 100; Nāṣer-al-Din Shāh, p. 146). Qahhārqli Khān was the ruler of Bārforush (Nāṣer-al-Din Shāh, pp. 226, 233). The involvement of the Jews in safeguarding the dead body of a criminal is not clear; apparently, it is a groundless statement meant to disgrace the Jewish community of the town.

³² In 1859, there were fifty Jewish households, 2 synagogues, and a Jewish school in Bārforush (Mirzā Ebrāhim, p. 118). According to a Jewish source, 150 Jewish households lived in Bārforush in 1864 (Levi 1984, p. 641).

³³ Corresponds to the date calculated from the text : 1307 - 20 = 1287.

³⁴ I am grateful of my colleague Ms. Haideh Sahim who brought the Jewish sources to my attention.

Fig. 1: Mirzā Masiḥ Mostowfi, the vizier of Mazandaran (Text II.15), photographed in 1890s, probably by Sami'-al-Dowla the photographer of the Qajar court, Tehran
(© Courtesy of Mr. Fakhr-al-Din Surtiji)

III. LINGUISTIC NOTES

Mazandarani is the mother tongue of three to four million people in the province of Mazandaran. Historically, Mazandarani belongs to the north-western branch of Iranian, and, together with Gilaki, Talyshi, and the ring of dialects around Semnān forms the so-called Caspian *Sprachbund*. The dialects of Mazandarani are, by and large, mutually intelligible, at least in Mazandaran proper, but none is considered to be the standard or formal Mazandarani. The dialectal continuum varies in two geographical directions: east-west (valley variation) and north-south (lowland vs. highland). Almost every locale has its own subdialect, and even those of neighboring

villages may exhibit substantial phonological differences. The lexicon, however, is fairly uniform throughout the province (Borjian 2004a).

Judging by the style and linguistic traits of the texts, one comes to the conclusion that both belong to central-western Mazandaran, but that a different individual composed each narrative. The second text is less Persia-nized; it contains the authentic Mazandarani traits lacking in the first text, such as the reflexive pronoun *še* (occurring seven times), the ablative marker *jā* (six times), and the postposition *vāsse* (twice). Nevertheless, certain Mazandarani characteristics, such as the plural marker *-un*, are absent in both texts (with the exception of *mansubun* ‘relatives’ in II.11 9, 124). Furthermore, the texts differ in certain linguistic features, e.g. the preverb *hā-* and the demonstrative pronoun *un* in the first text correspond to *ha-* and *on* in the second text, respectively. This demonstrates dialectal differences between the two texts, which are said by de Morgan to have belonged to the town of Bārforush; but one must not forget that Bārforush, in those days, was a trade center and that, hence, its inhabitants were not necessarily indigenous.

As one may expect of a non-written language, the orthography of the texts is far from being accurate. The Mazandarani texts are written in a vocalized Perso-Arabic script, but the diacritic symbols (*harakāt*) are used neither completely nor consistently. Many words are spelled variously, e.g. *اون* <’-v-n> and *آن* <o-n>, corresponding, respectively, to the possible pronunciations *un* and *on* ‘that’; *do* and *da* ‘two’; *ajər* and *ājər* ‘brick’; <j-m-’> and <ja-m>, representing *ja(:)m* (with a choice of short or long vowel) ‘assembly’; *maydun* and *maydān* ‘square’ (but not the expected Mazandarani *midun*!); the name of the town Bārforush is spelled variously, including *Bālafaruš*, a local pronunciation (cf. Holmes 1845, pp. 168f.). There is a pointless handling of the Arabic letter ح in the Mazandarani words such as *حاکردن* ‘to do’.

No attempt was made to render a consistent spelling in the transcription; instead, individual cases of corrections and reconstructions are explained in the footnotes. Yet my transcription includes two Mazandarani phonemes absent in the manuscripts: (1) *g*, in contradistinction with *k* (the scribe followed the obsolete Persian orthographic tradition that merges the two phonemes into the letter ك <k>); and (2) *ə*, formally a mid-low, front-center vowel, but with a broad allophonic range within and among dialects; its pronunciation varies throughout Mazandaran: while the phoneme is perceived as a *kasra* [e, ε] in eastern Mazandaran, the Babolis find it more relevant to render it a *fathā* [a,æ] when writing their vernacular. Hence, the *fathā* mark in the text corresponds to two distinct phonemes: *a* and *ə*, as transcribed in *baxriə* for the spelling <b^a-x-r-y^a-h> ‘he bought’.

The form كَنَنَ <k^a-n^a-n^a-h> is transcribed, according to context, as *kannānā* ‘they dig’, *kānnānā* ‘they do’, or *gānānā* ‘they say’.

The texts are presented, as far as possible, in a normal phonemic transcription that seemed most likely to represent the central-western Mazandarani, in which the accounts are written. As the texts are from more than a century ago, they exhibit certain differences with the dialect as spoken today. Many textual problems – phonological, morphological, and lexical – were tackled by drawing on the other nineteenth-century texts from Mazandaran. Moreover, there are cases where a plain phonemic transcription would disguise or conceal morphological processes. When an essential phoneme is unrealized, a superscript recovers it. Thus, *beh^eštānā* indicates a pronunciation *be:štānā*, but arises from a combination of the morphemes *be-(h)ešt-ānā* ‘they let’; *biamu*³⁵ ‘he came’ represents a pronunciation *biamu*, where the morpheme *-ə*, the 3rd person singular ending, is arbitrarily but predictably omitted. The superscript presents, also, the essential phonemes missing in the script, mostly the oblique marker *-e*. Moreover, when *i* in verb stems is realized as a phoneme, it is retained in the transcription even when *i* turns to *y* due to verb stress shift, e.g. *baitā* [bæ^hit₃, ‘bæjt₃] ‘he grabbed,’ *baitān* [bæjt₃n] ‘to grab,’ *bai(r)* [‘bæj^h] ‘grab!’ This rule generally holds for the verbs ‘to be,’ ‘to be in,’ and ‘to become,’ the pronunciation of which is a matter of choice, e.g. *dai^e*³⁵ [‘dæj₃, ‘dæij₃, ‘dæjj₃] ‘it was in’.

IV. GLOSSARY

This glossary excludes most words which are the same as Persian or have pronunciation only slightly different than in the Persian, namely those differing only in

ə for *o*, *a*, *e*: *dərəst* for *dorost* ‘complete’, *dərəšt* for *dorošt* ‘thick’, *zəməstun* for *zəməstān* ‘winter’, *mərq* for *morq* ‘bird’, *bənā* for *banā* ‘construction’, etc.;

u or *o* for *ā* before nasals: *num* for *nām* ‘name’, *divon* for *divān* ‘administration’, etc.;

ū for *ow*: *hūz* for *howž* ‘pool’, *dūr* for *dowr* ‘around’, *nūkər* for *nowkar* ‘retainer, soldier’.

Verbs are listed under present and/or past stems, separated by a semicolon, followed by the conjugations attested in the texts. Numbers in parentheses refer to text paragraphs.

³⁵ In *iə*, *ie*, *ia*, *io*, *iu*, and *iā* the euphonic glide *y* between the two vowels is implied.

Abbreviations

aux.	auxiliary verb	pron.	pronoun
comp.	compound	sg.	singular
pers.	person(al)	v.	verb
postp.	postposition	v. c.	causative verb
p. p.	past participle		

āb-annān pond, pool (II. 2).

ašnuss- (v.) listen – **b-ašnuss-ənə** they listened (II. 8).

āstunə sacred place, shrine (II. 8); also a toponym (II. 2, 3).

ay then again (II. 101).

bai- → *bu-*.

bait- → (*g*)*ir-*.

bašnuss- → *ašnuss-*.

bəhār-ə-māh spring (I. 31).

-bən (postp.) under, by, beside – used here as a suffix in the toponyms *Šohadā-bən* (II. 2, 122), *Əfrā-dār-e-bən* ‘under/by the maple tree’ (II. 11 5).

bənə ground (II. 80).

bə-on-var across, far side of (I. 9).³⁶

bəxud/bexud (adv.) for no good reason (II. 82).

bi- (v.) be – **bi-ə** was (I. 5, 6, 21–24, 45, II. 1–4, 15, 36, 45, 47, 65, 70, 79, 106, 107, 11 3); cf. *hass-*, *dar-*.

biamu- → *e-*.

biār(d)- → *iār-*.

binj rice (I. 10).

bu-; **bai-**, **hai-** (v.) become – **bu-nə** it becomes (II. 64); **bai-ə** it became (I. 39, II. 7, 18, 25, 29, 57), **bai-mi** we became (II. 93), **bai-nə** they became (II. 10, 11, 16, 27, 94, 101, 102), *jam hai-ə* it came together (II. 7), *jam hai-nə* they gathered (II. 83). See also *na-venə*.

bur-, **šu-**; **burd-**, **ši-** (v.) go – **šu-nə** it goes (II. 50, 53), **šu-nənə** they go (II. 54), **bur-ən** that they go (II. 26); **burd-ən** to go (II. 71), **burd-ə** he went (II. 75), **burd-ənə** they went (II. 92, 101), **ši-ə** he would go (II. 101).

³⁶ Cf. *bə-yur* ‘the other side, across’, the antonym of *bə-yər l̥yer* ‘this side’ (Kiā 1947, no. 852; Amirkolāyi 2002).

46, 108), **ši-nə** they would go (II. 4, 28, 37), **dāštə ši-ə** he was going (II. 11 3, 11 4; see also *dār-*).

čəči what (II. 6).

čəl-ū water-well, cistern (II. 46, 47, 49, 50, 123).

čū wood (II. 34).

dā- → *de-*.

da-, də- (preverb) → *kəlass-, pit-, vann-, dapətunni-*.

dai- → *dar-*.

dapətuni- (v.) hurl – *dapətuni-nə* they threw (away) (II. 123).³⁷

dār tree – in the toponym *Əfrā-dār-e-bən* ‘under/by the maple tree’ (II. 11 5).

dar-; dai- (v.) be in, exist – **dar-ə** it is in (I. 42, II. 90); **dai-ə** there was (I. 6, II. 27, 104, 106); **dar-ə mir-nə** (aux.) he is dying (II. 77); cf. *bi-, hass-*.

dār-; dāšt- (v.) have – **dār** (pres. participle) in *gonbod-dār* ‘having a dome’ (I. 49 f.); **dār-nə** it has (I. 3-6, 14, 15, 17, 23, 29, 36, 37, 45, 49, II. 52, 55, 64), **nār-nə** it has not (I. 8); **dāšt-ə** he had (I. 46, II. 3, 66, 11 3), **na-dāšt-ə** he had not (II. 17), **dāšt-ənə** they had (II. 27), **dāštənə-nadāštənə** (II. 85) they had [or] had not; **dāštə šiə** (aux.)³⁸ he was going (II. 11 4).

dar-biamu- → *dar-e-*.

dar-biār- → *iār-*.

dar-e-; dar-iamu- (v. comp.) come out – **dar-e-nə** it comes out (I. 13, 16, 40, 41, 43, 44), **dar-biamu-ə** it came out (II. 63); see also *e-*.

darəsar gate, doorway (II. 71, 73, 108).

-darun (postp.) inside (II. 74).

dāšt- → *dār-*.

davəndi → *vand-*.

de-; dā- (v.) give – **ha-de** give! (II. 109), *pas ha-de-ən* that they give back (II. 96); **nə-dā-ə** he gave not (II. 91), **dā-nə** they would give (II. 109, 11 9), **na-dā-nə** they would not give (II. 11 0), *sar dā-nə* they

³⁷ The stem is obscure, but the form can be scanned as **dapət-und-i-nə*, with the causative morpheme *-Vn(d)-* and the past-stem formant *-i-*; cf. Bārforushi <daptounien> *daptuni-ən*, Semnāni <daftounien> ‘abaisser’ (de Morgan 1904, V, p. 226, no. 581), <dabtānien> ‘jeter’ (Melgunov 1868a, p. 201), *daftuni-nə* ‘they threw (away)’ (in Dorn 1865, p. 390, line 11), *dāpartuni-yə* ‘he shot (an arrow) at’ (in *Kanz al-asrār*, I, p. 25, line 7).

³⁸ Persianized form for Mazandarani *daiə šiə*, where the auxiliary verb is *dar-*; *dai-* (q.v.) ‘be in, exist’.

- would make flow (II. 45), **hə-dā-nə** they gave (II. 87, 89, 118), *qərār* **hə-dā-nə** they placed (II. 17).
- dələ** (adv.) inside (II. 71).
- dələ/-dələ** (postp.) inside (I. 29, 32, 42, II. 15, 22, 26, 27, 35, 72, 75, 84, 88-90).
- də-sə** (lit. ‘two-three’) a few (II. 56).
- di-** (v.) see – **ba-di-ə** he saw (I. 8, II. 10, 68, 73, 75), **ba-di-nə** they saw (II. 5, 59, 82, 100).
- dohun** mouth (II. 80).
- dūr-ə-var** round about, in the vicinity of (I. 16, II. 9, 19, 20, 25).
- e** oblique marker (*passim*); *ežāfa* marker (*passim*).
- ē** one, each (I. 12, II. 97); cf. *-i*.
- ə** → *hass-*.
- ə** and (II. 13, 14, 34, 84); cf. *o*, *-ə-*.
- ə-** connective in compound words: *bəhār-ə-māh* (q.v.), *dūr-ə-var* (q.v.), *dar-ə-sar* (q.v.), *qand-ə-paj-xənə* (q.v.), *Čāl-ə-pəl* (I. 22f.), *Kəlāj-ə-Mašhad* (II. 13), *Dəzək-ə-čāl* (II. 21, 22), *Āq-ə-rū* (II. 51); cf. *ə*, *o*.
- e-**; **iamu-** (v.) come – **e-nə** comes (I. 50, II. 74, 80), **iamu-nə** they would come (II. 4), **b-iamu-(ə)** it came (II. 38, 65, 97, III), **n-iamu-^ə** she came not (II. 73), **b-iamu-nə** they came (II. 8, 9, 101, 110, 119); see also *dar-e-*.
- əmā** (pers. pron.) we (II. 93).
- ənə** → *hass-*.
- əsā** now (II. 35, 41, 47, 49, 102).
- əškār** game, prey (II. 37).
- ešmār** → *sarešmār*.
- əspe** white (I. 29); compounded in *əspe-kāri* whitewashing (II. 103) and in the toponym *Əspe-kālā* (I. 1).
- ešt-** → *hešt-*.
- əti** this way (variant of *inti*) (II. 60); a bit (II. 91).
- əttā** one, few, little (*passim*); also **əttə** (II. 52).
- əttā-əttā** one by one (II. 41).
- əttā-xale** a lot of (II. 5, 53).
- garj** plaster (I. 29); but also *gač* (II. 103).
- gat** big (I. 4, 15, 24, 36); also **gatə** (I. 21).

gə-; gət- (v.) say – **gə-nənə** they say (I. 2, 4, 5, 21, 25, 28, 38, 48, 50, II. 55, 61); **gət-ə** he said (II. 90, 108), **gət-ənə** they said (II. 6, 90, 92, 98, 105).

gʷzešt- (v.) pass, elapse – **be-gzešt-ə** it went by (II. 59).

(g)ir-; (g)it- (v.) get – **gir-nənə** they take (I. 12), **ba-ir-ən** that they get (I. 19, II. 40); **git-ʷnə** they would get (II. 94), **ba-it-ə** he took (II. 11 5), **ba-it-ənə** they took (II. 11 8, 124), **ha-it-ə** he took (II. 77), **ha-it-ənə** they took (II. 98, 99).

gonbod dome.

ha-, hā-, hə- (preverb) → *bu-, de-, (g)ir-, kən-, hərəssā-*.

hamə-jur(ə) every kind of (I. 46, II. 36).

hamu-ti likewise (II. 41).

hantā as soon as (II. 80).

hass-, ø- (v.) be – is (*passim*; but also **hast-ə** (II. 55, 61), **-ə** is (I. [1], 26, 33, 34, II. 35, 60),³⁹ **-ənə** they are (II. 5); cf. *bi-, dar-*.

hərəssā- (v.) stand – **hərəssāʷ** he stood (II. 71, 73).

hešt- (v.) put – **be-hʷšt-ə** he placed (II. 62, 81), **be-hešt-ənə** they put (I. 39, II. 13, 21, 59).

-i a(n), one (I. 5, II. 32, 39, 102); cf. *-ē*.

iār-; iārd- (v.) bring – **b-iārd-ə** he brought (II. 78), **b-iārd-ənə** they brought (II. 20, 32, 11 8); **dar-biār-ən_d** that they render/make (II. 58).

in-jə here (II. 7, 8, 9, 11, 17).

ir-, it- → *gir-*.

-jā (postp.) from (II. 45, 67, 77, 103, 107), with (II. 44).

kan-; kanni-⁴⁰ (v.) dig – **kan-nə** he digs (I. 19, 20) **kan-nənə** they dig (I. 11, 13, 16, 39, 44); **ba-kanni-nə** they dug (II. 19).

kaši-/kəši- (v.) pull, drag (or aux.) – **kaši-ə** it would pull (II. 46) **ba-kəši-nə** they dragged (II. 122, 124).

kat- (v.) fall – **kat** (p. p.) fallen (in *kāt ə* it lies, there is) (I. 26, II. 35).

kəjə where (I. 39, II. 90).

-kəlā (toponymic suffix) place – in *Espe-kəlā* (I. 1).

kəlāj crow (II. 5, 7, 13).

kəless- (v.) pour – **da-kəless-ənə** they swarmed (II. 83, 92).

³⁹ In all cases the copula *-ə* appears after a past participle: *kat ə* (I. 26, II. 35), *banəvešt ə* (I. 33, 34), *bəsāt ə* (II. 60).

⁴⁰ The secondary past stem formant *-i-* is added to the old past stem *kann-* (<*kand-*) to avoid confusion with the present stem when the endings are employed.

kən-; **kərd-** (v.) do (mostly used as an auxiliary verb, e.g. *binj kənnənə* ‘they cultivate rice’ I. 10) – **kən-nə** does (I. 43, II. 54), **kən-nənə** they do (I. 10, II. 42, 104), **na-kən-ən** that they do not (II. 39); **na-kərd-ə** it would/did not (II. 52, 120), **kərd-ənə** they would do (I. 25, 31, II. 6, 37, 43), **hā-kərd-ə** he did (I. 3, 7, 9, 38, 47), **ha-kərd-ə** he did (II. 35, 38, 39, 66, 72, 95, II 2, II 6, 121), **hā-kərd-ənə** they did (I. 29, 31, 35), **ha-kərd-ənə** they did (II. 12, 14, 23, 44, 48, 81, 86, 91, 97, 100, 103, 125).

kəng anus (II. 90).

kərd- → *ken-*.

kijā girl, daughter (I. 38, II. 66, 68, 69, 72-74, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82).

kuš-; **kušt-** (v.) kill – **ba-kuš-e** that he kills (II. 11 9), **na-kuš-e** that he kills not (II. 120); **ba-kušt-ə** he killed (II. 121), **ba-kušt-ənə** they killed (II. 82, 85).

lalə-jār reed-bed, marsh (II. 3).

lu kick (II. 76).

luš corpse (II. 122).

mardi man (II. 7, 65, 70, 104).

me (pers. pron.) my (II. 90).

mən (pers. pron.) I (II. 109).

mərd- → *mir-*.

mi hair (II. 61).

mir-; **mərd-** (v.) die – **darə mir-nə** he is dying (II. 77), **ba-mərd-ə** (s)he died (II. 33, 81, II 6).

munəss- (v.) stay – **ba-munəss-ə** it stayed (II. 29).

nārə shout (II. 74).

na-venə (v. modal) should not (II. 71) (precedes the infinitive *burdan*).
Cf. *bu-*.

nəvešt- (v.) write – **ba-nəvéšt** (p. p.) written (I. 33, 34).

ništ seat, abode (II. 36).

nū boat (II. 26, 27).

núšā-nə (v.) they would/did not open (a gunfire) (II. 40).⁴¹

o and (I. 3, 4, II. 2, 80, 95, 105); cf. *ə*, *-ə*.

on that (II. 5, 26, 28, 34, 37, 47, 49, 50, 53, 56, 70, 75, 77, 81, 121); also **un** (I. 12).

⁴¹ The past stem can be *bušā-* or *vešā-* (Cf. Chodzko 1842, p. 577, no. 15; Kiā 1947, nos. 366, 794).

on-jə there (II. 54, 56); also **un-jə** (I. 24).

on-vaqt then (I. 9, II. 10, 17, 25); also **un-vaqt** (I. 7).

paj-; **pət-** (v.) cook – **-paj-** (pres. stem) in the compounds *qand-ə-paj-xənə*, *qand-paji* (qq.v.); **ba-pət-ənə** they cooked (II. 32).

pəllə arched span of a bridge (I. 6, 7).

per father (II. 69).

pət- → *paj-*.

pil money (II. 90, 95, 108, 109).

-piš (postp.) near, by, beside, in front of (II. 123).

pit- (v.) wrap – **da-pit-ənə** they wrapped (II. 89).

qand-ə-paj-xənə sugar factory (II. 31).

qand-paji sugar refining (II. 31, 33).

rāi traveler (II. 72).

(-r)ə (postp.) direct object marker (*passim*); indirect object marker: *Šāzdə-rə hədānə* ‘they gave [him] to the Prince’ (II. 11 8), *bazuə Səyyəd-e sar-rə* ‘he struck [the stone] on the man’s head’ (II. 11 3f.); note also *on mardī-rə xiāl biə ke ...* ‘that man thought that ...’ (II. 70).

rū stream, creek, canal (II. 48, 49); also in the hydronyms *Ālāšə-rū* (I. 22), *Šah-rū* (II. 48, 49), and *Āqə-rū* (II. 51); see also *ruxənə*.

rut- (v.) sell – **ba-rut-ənə** they sold (II. 32).

ruxənə canal (II. 43); see also *rū*.

-sar (postp.) above, over (II. 12).

sar-ešmār census (II. 97, 99).

sar-ruzə dome (I. 28) (*ruzə* < Ar.-Pers. *rawza*?).

sāz-; **sāt-** (v.) make – **bə-sāz-ən_d** that they build (II. 56); **bə-sāt-ə** he built (II. 12, 62), **bə-sāt-ənə** they built (II. 9-II. 16, 19, 22, 24, 31, 43, 57, 103), **bə-sāt** (p. p.) built (II. 60).

še (pers. and reflexive pron.) self, his (II. 6, 67, 68, 71, 72, 78, 11 4); cf. *xəd*.

səre house (II. 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 88, 11 4).

səre-xənə house (II. 87, 92, 102); see also *xənə*.

səvāhi morning (II. 82, 84, 121).

ši-, **šu-** → *bur-*.

šū night (I. 50 II. 81, 108, 11 2).

tarsi-/tərsi- (v.) be afraid – **tārsi-nə** they would be scared of (II. 107), **bā-tərsi-nə** they were afraid (II. 91).

taš fire (II. 87, 89).

tāvəstun summer (II. 47).

te (pers. pron.) your (sg.) (II. 90).

tunəss- (v.) be able to – **na-tunəss-ənə** they would not be able to (II. 58).

ū water (I. 7, 9-11, 18, 20, 31, 32, II. 3, 4, 20, 21, 25, 27, 35, 45, 46, 48-51).

un- → *on*; *on-jə*; *on-vaqt*.

vann-; **vəndi-**, **vəss-** (v.) bind, tie; flood (when preceded by *ū* ‘water’) – *ū* **vanⁿ-nənə** they flood (the land) (I. 11, II. 49); **da-vəndi** (p. p.) wrapped (II. 76), *ū* **da-vəss-ənə** they flooded (II. 20, 25), *ū* **na-vəss-ənə** they did not flood (II. 22).

-var (postp.) by, toward, at (I. 1, 3, 4, 30, II. 18, 30, 80, 113).

vard-/vərd- (v.) carry (also aux.) – **vard-ənə** they would take (II. 37), **ba-vərd-ə** it took (I. 7, 10, 18, 20, II. 68, 78, 79), **na-vərd-ə** it took not (I. 9, 18), **ba-vərd-ənə** they took (II. 16, 33, 34, 69, 96, 122).

vārəš rain (II. 52, 54).

-vāsse (postp.) for (II. 6, 68); cf. *-vər*.

ve (pers. pron.) he, she, it (I. 45, II. 105, 110); **vəro** (*ve/və + rə*) (I. 11, 25, 31, 48, II. 89, 109, 120, 121); cf. *vəne*.

venə → *navenə*.

vəne (pers. pron.) his, him, its (oblique case of *ve*) (I. 28, 31, 33, 38, II. 13, 21, 23, 25, 32, 34, 39, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 78, 80, 88, 89, 105, 107, 109, 124).

vəni nose (II. 80).

-vər (postp.) for; *in-e vər* therefore (I. 25); cf. *-vāsse*.

vəss- → *vann-*.

vəšun (pers. pron.) they (II. 94, 100).

vəšúne (pers. pron.) their (II. 86).

xā-; **xāss-** (v.) want – **xā-mmə** I want (II. 109, 117); **xāss-ə** he wanted (II. 119), **xāss-ənə** they wanted (II. 26, 56, 57).

xále many (I. 4, 19, 24, 31 II. 47, 51); see also *əttā-xale*.

xarin-; **x^ori-** (v.) buy – **xarin-nənə** they buy (I. 11); **ba-x^ori-ə** he bought (II. 67).

xəd self (reflexive pron.) (I. 3, II. 6); but also **xud** (II. 3); cf. *še*.

xənə house (II. 10, 11, 16); see also *sərexənə*, *qandəpajxənə*, *ruuxənə*.

xər-; xərd- (v.) eat, drink – **xər-nənə** they drink (I. 32, II. 51); **xərd-ənə** they would eat (II. 37), *bar-ham* **ba-xərd-ə** (aux.) it is destroyed (I. 35f., II. 48), *arəq* **baxərdə biə** (past perfect tense) he had drunk vodka, or *arəq*-**baxərdə biə** (p. p., adjective) he was drunk (II. 11 3).

xud → *xəd*.

xun- (v.) read – *nəmāz* **xun-nənə** they pray (I. 51, II. 54).

xū-nəmā dream (II. 7).

zan-/zən-; zu- (v.) hit (or aux.) – **zan-nənə** they are hitting (II. 76), **na-zən-nə** it does not hit (II. 61); **zu-ə** he would knock (II. 108), **ba-zu-ə** he struck (II. 11 6), **ba-zu-nə** they hit (II. 88, 11 8).

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