This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world’s books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that’s often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book’s long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ Make non-commercial use of the files We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ Refrain from automated querying Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google’s system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ Maintain attribution The Google “watermark” you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ Keep it legal Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can’t offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book’s appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google’s mission is to organize the world’s information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world’s books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at [http://books.google.com/](http://books.google.com/)
THE
ENGLISH AND FOREIGN PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY is essentially the chief intellectual study of our age. It is proposed to produce, under the title of "THE ENGLISH AND FOREIGN PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY," a series of works of the highest class connected with that study.

The English contributions to the series consist of original works, and of occasional new editions of such productions as have already attained a permanent rank among the philosophical writings of the day.

Beyond the productions of English writers, there are many recent publications in German and French which are not readily accessible to English readers, unless they are competent German and French scholars. Of these foreign writings, the translations have been entrusted to gentlemen whose names will be a guarantee for their critical fidelity.

"THE ENGLISH AND FOREIGN PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY" claims to be free from all bias, and thus fairly to represent all developments of Philosophy, from Spinoza to Hartmann, from Leibnitz to Lotze. Each original work is produced under the inspection of its author, from his manuscript, without intermediate suggestions or alterations. As corollaries, works showing the results of Positive Science, occasionally, though seldom, find a place in the series.

The series is elegantly printed in octavo, and the price regulated by the extent of each volume. The volumes will follow in succession, at no fixed periods, but as early as is consistent with the necessary care in their production.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE ALREADY APPEARED:—

A HISTORY OF MATERIALISM.
By Professor F. A. LANGE.

Authorised Translation from the German by ERNEST C. THOMAS.
(Vols. II. and III. in the press).

"This is a work which has long and impatiently been expected by a large circle of readers. It has been well praised by two eminent scientists, and their words have created for it, as regards its appearance in our English tongue, a sort of ante-mortem reputation. The reputation is in many respects well deserved. The book is marked throughout by singular ability, abounds in striking and suggestive reflections, subtle and profound discussions, felicitous and graphic descriptions of mental and social movements, both in themselves and in their mutual relations."—Scotsman.

"Although it is only a few years since Lange's book was originally published, it already ranks as a classic in the philosophical literature of Germany. He was not only a
man of vast learning, but had a very rare power both of analysis and generalisation; and his style is singularly clear, strong, and graceful. Namely only a history of materialism, it is in reality very much more. It takes in the whole development of philosophical opinion, but with especial reference to materialism. So far as he has proceeded, Mr. Thomas has done his work with great spirit and intelligence. We have tested the translation at different points, and have always found that it reflects the original freely and accurately."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

"Every section of Dr. Lange's work is followed by a copious body of notes, abounding in references to authorities, and bearing ample testimony to the extensive reading of the author."—*Saturday Review*.

"We see no reason for not endorsing the translator's judgment that it is 'raised far above the level of ordinary controversial writing by its thoroughness, comprehensiveness, and impartiality.'—*Contemporary Review*.

"The 'English and Foreign Philosophical Library' could not be more worthily inaugurated than by a translation of Lange's great work."—*Mind*.

**Vol. IV.] In One Volume, post 8vo, pp. 366, cloth, price 10s. 6d.**

**NATURAL LAW: An Essay in Ethics.**

By EDITH SIMCOX.

"Miss Simcox deserves cordial recognition for the excellent work she has done in vindication of naturalism, and especially for the high nobility of her ethical purpose."—*Athenaeum*.

"A book which for the rest is a mine of suggestion."—*Academy*.

"The writer's highest skill is seen in bringing together aspects of ideas which limit one another, and even seem to conflict, in elucidating the paradoxical side of accepted propositions, and embodying acute perceptions in elaborate epigrammatic periods."—*Examiner*.

"This thoughtful and able work is in many respects the most important contribution yet made to the ethics of the evolution theory."—*Mind*.

**Vols. V. VI.] In Two Volumes, post 8vo, pp. 280 and 290, cloth, price 15s.**

**THE CREED OF CHRISTENDOM:**

ITS FOUNDATION CONTRASTED WITH ITS SUPERSTRUCTURE,

By W. R. GREG.

Fifth Edition, with a New Introduction.

"Professional reproaches against a book so manly and modest, so evidently truth-loving, so high-minded and devout as this of Mr. Greg's, are but a melancholy imbecility. . . . No candid reader of the 'Creed of Christendom' can close the book without the secret acknowledgment that it is a model of honest investigation and clear exposition, conceived in the true spirit of serious and faithful research."—*Westminster Review*.

"This work remains a monument of his industry, his high literary power, his clear intellect, and his resolute desire to arrive at the truth. In its present shape, with its new introduction, it will be still more widely read, and more warmly welcomed by those who believe that in a contest between Truth and Error, Truth never can be worsted."—*Scotsman*.

**Vol. VII.] In post 8vo, pp. xix.—249, cloth, price 7s. 6d.**

**OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION**

TO THE SPREAD OF THE UNIVERSAL RELIGIONS.

By O. P. TIELE,

Dr. Theol., Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Leiden.

Translated from the Dutch by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A.

"Few books of its size contain the result of so much wide thinking, able and laborious study, or enable the reader to gain a better bird's-eye view of the latest results of investigations into the religious history of nations. As Professor Tiele modestly says, 'In this little book are outlines—pencil sketches, I might say—nothing more.' But there are some men whose sketches from a thumb-nail are of far more worth than an enormous canvas covered with the crude painting of others, and it is easy to see that these pages, full of information, those sentences, cut and perhaps whole development dry, short and clear, condense the fruits of long and thorough research.'—*Scotsman*.
THE ENGLISH AND FOREIGN PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

EXTRA SERIES.

Two Volumes, post 8vo, pp. 348 and 374, with Portrait, cloth, price 21s.

LESSING: His Life and Writings.

By JAMES SIME, M.A.

"It is to Lessing that an Englishman would turn with readiest affection. We cannot but wonder that more of this man is not known amongst us."—THOMAS CARLYLE.

But to Mr. James Sime has been reserved the honour of presenting to the English public a full-length portrait of Lessing, in which no portion of the canvas is uncovered, and in which there is hardly a touch but tells. He has studied his subject with that patient care which only reverence and sympathy can support; he has attained the true proportion which can alone be gained by penetration and clear insight into motive and purposes. We can say that a clearer or more compact piece of biographic criticism has not been produced in England for many a day."—Westminster Review.

"In the meantime we would only add here our cordial appreciation of a really admirable piece of biographical and critical work. Although the fruit of minute and careful study, the style of the book renders it eminently readable, and it will be treasure-trove to all (and in these days they are legion) to whom German literature has attractions."—British Quarterly Review.

"An account of Lessing’s life and work on the scale which he deserves is now for the first time offered to English readers. Mr. Sime has performed his task with industry, knowledge, and sympathy; qualities which must concur to make a successful biographer."—Pall Mall Gazette.

"This is an admirable book. It lacks no quality that a biography ought to have. Its method is excellent, its theme is profoundly interesting: its tone is the happiest mixture of sympathy and discrimination: its style is clear, masculine, free from effort or affectation, yet eloquent by its very sincerity. It is not a page too long; and though the reader closes it with regret, the critic must own that it is not a page too short."—Standerd.

"Mr. Sime’s volumes embody the result of careful scholarship and independent reflection. He renders, on the whole, ample justice to the philosophical side of the subject."—Mind.

"He has given a life of Lessing clear, interesting, and full, while he has given a study of his writings which bears distinct marks of an intimate acquaintance with his subject, and of a solid and appreciative judgment."—Sotsman.

"For all arises sich der Verfasser als ein Mann vom freien, unbefangenem Geiste, von vielseitiger ernster Bildung."—Im neuen Reich.

"Sicher wird dieses Buch, das mit solcher Liebe und eingehenden Gründlichkeit sich an die Schilderung des Lebens eines so bedeutenden Geistes unserer Vergangenheit macht, und diese so schöne Aufgabe in einer so vortrefflichen Weise löst, sich nicht bloss in des Verfassers Heimathlande, sondern auch in der Heimat des Dichters liebe und viele Freunde erwerben."—Weste Zeitung.


Vol. I., post 8vo, pp. 264, cloth, price 7s. 6d.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE POLYNESIAN RACE

AND THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE TO THE TIME OF KAMEHAHA I.

By ABRAHAM FORNANDER, Circuit Judge of the Island of Maui, H.I.

"Mr. Fornander has evidently enjoyed excellent opportunities for promoting the study which has produced this work. Unlike most foreign residents in Polynesia, he has acquired a good knowledge of the language spoken by the people among whom he dwelt. This has enabled him, during his thirty-four years’ residence in the Hawaiian Islands, to collect material which could be obtained only by a person possessing such an advantage. It is so seldom that a private settler in the Polynesian Islands takes an intelligent interest in local ethnology and archaeology, and makes use of the advantage he possesses, that we feel especially thankful to Mr. Fornander for his labours in this comparatively little known field of research."—Academy.

[Vol. II. in preparation.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
THE ENGLISH AND FOREIGN PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

“To us the value of the book seems to consist in the condensed statement of what is certainly known of all the chief religions of the world up to the rise of Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, which are qualified as universal religions; and the opportunity which it thus affords to the student of making original and more minute investigations from a starting-point of unquestioned fact.”—Theological Review.

VOL. VIII.] In post 8vo, pp. 276, cloth, 7s. 6d.

RELIGION IN CHINA.

Containing a Brief Account of the Three Religions of the Chinese, with Observations on the Prospects of Christian Conversion amongst that People.

By JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., Peking.

“We confidently recommend a careful perusal of the present work to all interested in this great subject.”—London and China Express.

“Dr. Edkins has been most careful in noting the varied and often complex phases of opinion, so as to give an account of considerable value of the subject.”— Scotsman.

VOL. IX.] In post 8vo, pp. 216, cloth, 7s. 6d.

A CANDID EXAMINATION OF THEISM.

By PHYSICUS.

PREPARING FOR PRESS.

In post 8vo,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC.

A Popular Exposition of the General Theory of the Art, as based on the researches of HEMHOLTZ. Being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in February and March 1877.

By WILLIAM POLE, Mus. Doc. Oxon.

Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh.

The great and justly celebrated work recently published by Professor Helmholtz, of Berlin, “The Doctrine of the Perception of Musical Sounds, considered as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music,” consists of two parts, which may be called the Physical and the Musical Parts respectively. The former, containing the author's novel investigations and discoveries in the domains of Acoustics, has been already made familiar in this country by popular illustrative works; but the latter portion, which is the more interesting to the musical public, as containing the philosophical application of these investigations and discoveries to the Science of Music, has received, as yet, but little attention, and can only be studied in the elaborate form in which it exists in the author's treatise.

The object of the present publication is to explain the Philosophical Theory of Music, as based on Helmholtz's investigations, in a way which, it is hoped, will be intelligible to practical musicians, and to such of the general public as take an interest in the art. And it is thought that such an introduction to the subject may be particularly useful at the present time, when the Universities are beginning to insist on theoretical knowledge as an indispensable qualification for the musical honours granted by them.

In post 8vo, about 300 pages,


By GRANT ALLEN.

II. The Earliest Form of Vision.  VII. The Growth of the Colour Vocabulary.
III. The Colour Sense in Insects.  VIII. Colour in Printing.
IV. The Colour Sense in Vertebrates.  IX. Summary and Recapitulation.
V. The Colour Sense in Man.  [In preparation.]
TRÜBNER'S

ORIENTAL SERIES.

I.
Armagn et Albret. Leurs origines et leur histoire.
par James Darmesteter. Paris (1877)
ESSAYS
ON
THE SACRED LANGUAGE, WRITINGS, AND RELIGION OF THE PARSIS.

BY
MARTIN HAUG, PH.D.
LATE PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH.

EDITED BY
E. W. WEST, PH.D.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
1878.
[All rights reserved.]
TO

THE PARSIS OF WESTERN INDIA

THIS REVISION OF THE

FIRST ATTEMPT, IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE,

TO GIVE A CORRECT ACCOUNT OF THEIR

ANCIENT ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND LITERATURE,

Is Inscribed

IN MEMORY OF THE OLD TIMES

OF FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE ENJOYED

BOTH BY THE AUTHOR AND BY

THE EDITOR.
Hinduism, a worship of many gods, totally different from Monotheism, a worship of one God. Hinduism, a distinct deviation of all other gods, from Monotheism, a worship of many deities together, not separate from one Divine Truth.
PREFACE.

The author of these Essays intended, after his return from India, to expand them into a comprehensive work on the Zoroastrian Religion; but this design, postponed from time to time, was finally frustrated by his untimely death. That he was not spared to publish all his varied knowledge on this subject, must remain for ever a matter of regret to the student of Iranian antiquities. In other hands, the changes that could be introduced into this second edition were obviously limited to such additions and alterations as the lapse of time and the progress of Zoroastrian studies have rendered necessary.

In the first Essay, the history of the European researches has been extended to the present time; but, for the sake of brevity, several writings have been passed over unnoticed, among the more valuable of which those of Professor Hübschmann may be specially mentioned. Some account has also been given of the progress of Zoroastrian studies among the Parsis themselves.

In the second Essay additional information has been
given about the Pahlavi language and literature; but the
technical portion of the Avesta Grammar has been re-
served for separate publication, being better adapted for
students than for the general reader.

Some additions have been made to the third Essay,
with the view of bringing together, from other sources,
all the author's translations from the Avesta, except those
portions of the Gāthas which he did not include in the
first edition, and which it would be hazardous for an
editor to revise. Further details have also been given
regarding the contents of the Nasks.

Several additional translations, having been found
among the author's papers too late for insertion in the
third Essay, have been added in an Appendix after care-
ful revision, together with his notes descriptive of the
mode of performing a few of the Zoroastrian ceremonies.

Some apology is due to Sanskrit scholars for the
liberties taken with their usual systems of representing
Sanskrit and Avesta sounds. These deviations from
present systems have been made for the sake of the
general reader, whether English or Indian, who can
hardly be expected to pronounce words correctly unless
they are spelt in accordance with the usual sounds of the
letters in English. Probably no European language can
represent Indian consonants so easily as English; but
as every English vowel has more than one characteristic
sound, it is necessary to look to some other European
language for the best representation of Indian vowels. The system now generally adopted by Englishmen in India, and followed in these Essays, is to use the consonants to represent their usual English sounds, the vowels to represent their usual Italian sounds, and to avoid diacritical marks as much as possible, because they are always liable to omission. In applying such a system to the Aryan languages of India, Englishmen require very few arbitrary rules. They have merely to observe that $g$ is always hard and $ch$ always soft, that $th$ and $ph$ are merely aspirates of $t$ and $p$ (not the English and Greek $th$ and $ph$), and that $a$ represents the short vowel sound in the English words utter, mother, come, and blood. As this use of $a$ is often repugnant to Englishmen, it may be remarked that all the other vowels have to be appropriated for other sounds, and that it is also strictly in accordance with the Sanskrit rule that when one $a$ coalesces with another the resulting sound is $d$, which could not be the case unless there were a close relationship between the two sounds.

Some unfortunate representations of Indian sounds have become too inveterate to be lightly tampered with; so it is still necessary to warn the general reader that every $w$ in the Avesta ought to be pronounced like an English $v$, and that every $v$ in Sanskrit or the Avesta closely resembles an English $w$, unless it be followed by $i$, $t$, $e$, $ri$, or a consonant, in which case it has a sound
somewhere between $v$ and $h$. Again, Sanskrit has two
sets of letters represented by $t$, $th$, $d$, $dh$, $n$, $sh$; one set
is extremely dental (pronounced with the tip of the
tongue touching the extremities of the teeth, or as close
to them as possible in the case of $sh$), the other set is
lingual (pronounced with the tip of the tongue far back
upon or near the palate). The English $t$, $d$, $n$, $sh$ are
pronounced between these two extremes, but all natives
of India consider the sounds of these English letters as
decidedly lingual, so that they always represent them
by Indian linguals when transliterating English words.
Unfortunately, European scholars have been of the op-
posite opinion, and have represented the dental $t$, $th$, $d$,
$dh$, $n$ as unmodified, and the linguals as modified, either
by a diacritical dot (as in this work) or by using italics.
For the sake of uniformity, this practice has been here
extended to $sh$; but there can be no doubt that the
dentals ought to be modified and the linguals unmodified,
though neither group can be exactly represented by Euro-
pean sounds. Further, the letters $ri$ do not adequately
represent that peculiar Sanskrit vowel as pronounced in
Mahârâshâtra, where the Brahmans have been least dis-
turbed by foreign influences. They say there that the
correct sound is $ru$, and the tendency in colloquial
Marâthi is to corrupt it into $u$. The nearest European
approach to this sound appears to be the English $re$ in
pretty, which word is never pronounced petty when the
\( r \) is indistinctly sounded, but has a tendency to become pooty.

In Avesta words \( th \) has the same lisping sound as in English and Greek, \( n \) and \( \ddot{n} \) have the sound of \( ng \), \( q \) ought to be sounded like \( khv \), \( zh \) bears the same relation to \( sh \) as \( z \) to \( s \) (that is, it has the sound of \( s \) in \textit{pleasure}), and \( shk \) is pronounced \( sh \) by the Parsis. They also pronounce the other sibilants \( s \) and \( sh \) as written in this work, and there seems no sufficient reason for departing from their traditional pronunciation, which is corroborated, to a great extent, by Pahlavi and Persian words derived from the Avesta, such as \textit{Zaratusht}, \textit{ätash}, &c.

The author's principal object in publishing these Essays originally was to present, in a readable form, all the materials for judging impartially of the scriptures and religion of the Parsis. The same object has been kept in view while preparing this second edition, giving a larger quantity of such materials collected from a variety of sources, which I may now leave to the reader's impartial judgment.

\[ E. \ W. \ WEST. \]

\[ MÜNCHE, February 1878. \]
# CONTENTS

## ESSAY I.
**History of the Researches into the Sacred Writings and Religion of the Parsis**

- I.—The Reports of the Greeks, Romans, Armenians, and Mohammedans...
- II.—The European Researches...
- III.—Zoroastrian Studies among the Parsis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History of the Researches into the Sacred Writings and Religion of the Parsis</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.—The Reports of the Greeks, Romans, Armenians, and Mohammedans</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.—The European Researches</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.—Zoroastrian Studies among the Parsis</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## ESSAY II.
**Languages of the Parsi Scriptures**

- I.—The Language of the Avesta, erroneously called Zend...
- II.—The Pahlavi Language and Pazand...
- III.—The Pahlavi Literature Extant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages of the Parsi Scriptures</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.—The Language of the Avesta, erroneously called Zend</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.—The Pahlavi Language and Pazand</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.—The Pahlavi Literature Extant</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## ESSAY III.
**The Zend-Avesta, or the Scripture of the Parsis**

- I.—The Name of the Parsi Scriptures...
- II.—The Original Extent of the Zend-Avesta.—The Nasaks...
- III.—The Books now Extant and the supposed Zoroastrian Authorship...
- IV.—Yasna...
- V.—Gathas...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Zend-Avesta, or the Scripture of the Parsis</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.—The Name of the Parsi Scriptures</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.—The Original Extent of the Zend-Avesta.—The Nasaks</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.—The Books now Extant and the supposed Zoroastrian Authorship</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.—Yasna</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.—Gathas</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS.

VI.—GĀTHA AḤUNAVAITI

VII.—GĀTHA USHTAVAITI

VIII.—THE LAST THREE GĀTHAS

IX.—YASNA ḤAPTĀṅHĀITI AND THE MINOR TEXTS OF THE OLD YASNA

X.—THE LATER YASNA

1. Ḥōma yasht

2. Yasna xix.

3. —— Ivii.

XI.—VIPARĀD

XII.—YASHTS

1. Hormazd yasht

2. Ḥaptāṅ, Ardibahisht, and Khordād yashts

3. Abān yasht

4. Khurshād and Māh yashts

5. Tīr and Gōsh yashts

6. Mihir yasht

7. Srōsh Ḥādōkht and Rashnu yashts

8. Fravardin yasht

9. Behrām and Rām yashts

10. Dīn and Ashī yashts

11. Ashtād, Zamyād, and Vanant yashts

12. Two fragments of the Ḥādōkht nask; the Afrīn-i Paighambar Zaratusht, and Vishtāsp yasht

XIII.—SHORTER TEXTS (NYĀYISH, AFRINGĀNS, GĀHS, SIRŌ-ZAH)

XIV.—VENDĪDĀD

1. The first fargard

2. The second fargard

3. The third fargard

4. The fourth fargard

5. The fargards v.—xvii.

PAGE

146

154

167

170

174

175

185

189

191

194

195

195

197

199

200

202

205

206

213

215

215

217

224

225

227

230

235

237

240
CONTENTS.

6. The eighteenth fargard . . . . 243
7. The nineteenth fargard . . . . 252
8. The fargards xx.–xxii. . . . . 257

XV.—Brief Survey of Avesta Literature . . . . 257

ESSAY IV.

The Zoroastrian Religion as to its Origin and Development . . . . . . . 267

I.—The relationship between the Brahmanical and Zoroastrian religions . . . . . . . 267
1. Names of divine beings . . . . 267
2. Names and legends of heroes . . . . 276
3. Sacrificial rites . . . . 279
4. Religious observances, domestic rites, and cosmographical opinions . . . . . 285

II.—Origin of the Zoroastrian Religion.—Spitama Zarathushtra and his probable age . . . . 286
1. Traces of the origin to be found both in the Vedas and Zend-Avesta . . . . 287
2. Causes of the schism . . . . 292
3. Spitama Zarathushtra . . . . 294
4. The age when Spitama Zarathushtra lived . . . . 298

III.—Spitama Zarathushtra's Theology and Philosophy, and their influence on the development of the Parsi religion . . . . . . . 300
1. Zarathushtra's monotheism . . . . 301
2. Zarathushtra's two primeval principles . . . . 303
3. Development of Zarathushtra's doctrines of the Supreme Being.—The two supreme councils; Srosh and Boundless Time . . . . 305
4. The two intellects, two lives, heaven and hell, resurrection, and palingenesis . . . . 310
## CONTENTS.

APPENDIX.

I.—Translations from the Avesta ........................ 315

1. Vendidād, fargard iii. i–23 and 34, 35 ............ 315
2. " " iv. 44–55 ........................................ 319
3. " " v .................................................. 322
4. " " xix. 10–26 and 40–47 .............................. 333

II.—Translations from the Pahlavi Versions ................. 338

1. Pahlavi Yasna xxviii. ................................. 338
2. " " xxix .............................................. 341
3. " " xxx .............................................. 345
4. " " xxxi ............................................. 348
5. " " xxxii. i .......................................... 354
6. Pahlavi Vendidād i .................................. 355
7. " " xviii ............................................. 364
8. " " xix .............................................. 379
9. " " xx .............................................. 391

III.—Notes Descriptive of Some Parsi Ceremonies .......... 393

1. The ceremony preparatory to Ijashne ................. 394
2. The Ijashne ceremony ................................ 403
3. The Darûn ceremony ................................ 407
4. The Afrîngân ceremony .............................. 408

Index .................................................. 411
I.

HISTORY OF THE RESEARCHES INTO THE SACRED WRITINGS AND RELIGION OF THE PARSIS.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE PRESENT.
I.

HISTORY OF THE RESEARCHES INTO THE
SACRED WRITINGS AND RELIGION
OF THE PARSIS.

---

I.—THE REPORTS OF THE GREEKS, ROMANS, ARMENIANS, AND
MOHAMMEDANS.

In this Essay it is intended to give a brief outline of the
gradual acquaintance of the Western nations with the
Zoroastrian religion (now professed only by the small
Parsi community in India, and by a very insignificant
number which remain in their ancient fatherland in
Persia), and to trace the history of the scientific researches
of Europeans into the original records of this ancient
creed, where the true doctrine of the great Zoroaster and
his successors, buried for thousands of years, is to be
found.

To the whole ancient world Zoroaster’s lore was best
known by the name of the doctrine of the Magi, which
denomination was commonly applied to the priests of
India, Persia, and Babylonia.

The earliest mention of them is made by the Prophet
Jeremiah (xxxix. 3), who enumerated among the retinue
of King Nebuchadnezzar at his entry into Jerusalem, the
"Chief of the Magi" (rab mag in Hebrew), from which statement we may distinctly gather, that the Magi exercised a great influence at the court of Babylonia 600 years B.C. They were, however, foreigners, and are not to be confounded with the indigenous priests. In the Old Testament no account of their religion is given, and only once (Ezekiel viii. 16, 17) it is hinted at. The Persians, however, whose priests the Magi appear to have been, are never spoken of as adherents to idolatry; and the Persian kings, especially Cyrus (called Koresh in Hebrew, Kurush in the cuneiform inscriptions), favoured the Jews. In Isaiah this great king is called "the anointed (mashiakh in Hebrew) of the Lord" (xliv. 1), "the shepherd who carries out the Lord's decrees" (xliv. 28); he is the "eagle" called from the orient, the man appointed by the Lord's counsel" (xlvi. 11); he is "strengthened by the Lord to subdue the heathens" (xliv. 1). From these high terms, in which King Cyrus, who professed the religion of the Magi, is spoken of, we are entitled to infer that this religion was not so diametrically opposed to the Mosaic as the other ancient religions were; that Cyrus, at all events, was no idol-worshipper; a supposition we shall find confirmed by Herodotus, and by the sacred books of the Parsis themselves. The Zoroastrian religion exhibits even a very close affinity to, or rather identity with, several important doctrines of the Mosaic religion and Christianity, such as the personality and attributes of the devil,

---

1 The religious custom alluded to in Ezekiel undoubtedly refers to the religion of the Magi. The prophet complains that some of the Jews worship the sun, holding towards their face certain twigs. Exactly the same custom of holding a bundle of twigs in the hands is reported by Strabo (xv. 3. 14), as being observed by the Magi when engaged in prayer. It is the so-called Barsom (Beresima in the Avesta), still used by the Parsi priests when engaged in worship.

2 In Aeschylus's celebrated play "The Persians" the eagle is the symbol of the Persian empire (verses 205-10). The eagle was, as Xenophon reports (Cyropædia, vii. 1, 2), the ensign of the ancient Persians.

3 The Hebrew word goyim (literally "people"), used in the plural, as it is here, denotes the heathenish nations, the idol-worshippers, in their strictest opposition to the Israelites.
and the resurrection of the dead, which are both ascribed to the religion of the Magi, and are really to be found in the present scriptures of the Parsis. It is not ascertained whether these doctrines were borrowed by the Parsis from the Jews, or by the Jews from the Parsis; very likely neither is the case, and in both these religions they seem to have sprung up independently. In the Zend-Avesta we meet with only two words\(^1\) which can be traced to the Semitic languages, neither of them referring to religious subjects. In the later books of the Old Testament we find several Persian words and many names, but they have nothing to do with religion. The most famous of these Persian words in the Old Testament, now spread over the whole civilised world, is the word “paradise,” which means originally a park, a beautiful garden fenced in.\(^2\)

The name Magi occurs even in the New Testament. In the Gospel according to St. Matthew (ii. 1), the Magi (Greek magoi, translated in the English Bible by “wise men”) came from the East to Jerusalem, to worship the new-born child Jesus at Bethlehem. That these Magi were priests of the Zoroastrian religion, we know from Greek writers.

The earliest account of the religion of the Magi among the Greeks is to be found in Herodotus, the father of history (B.C. 450). In his first book (chap. cxxxi., cxxii.) we read the following report on the Persian religion:

I know that the Persians observe these customs. It is not customary among them to have idols made, temples

---

1 These are tanür, “an oven;” and hāra, “a mountain,” found only in the name Harō berezaiti, “high mountain,” considered to be the chief of all mountains; preserved now-a-days in the name Alborz. Tanür is evidently the same with the Hebrew tanûr (Gen. xv. 17; Isa. xxxi. 9), “an oven or furnace;” hāra is identical with hār in Hebrew, “a mountain.”

2 The original form of the word is pairī-dačza (in the Zend-Avesta), “circumvallation or enclosure;” in Hebrew we find it in the form par-des; in Greek as παραδίκης. Pairī is peri in Greek; dačza corresponds to deha in Sanskrit—i.e., enclosure, generally applied to the body. Of the same root is the English thick (very likely identical with S. digdha, past participle of the root dīh. “to besmear, pollute,” in a more comprehensive sense “to surround.”
built, and altars erected; they even upbraided with folly those who do so. I can account for that, only from their not believing that the gods are like men, as the Hellenes do. They are accustomed to offer sacrifices to Zeus on the summits of mountains; they call the whole celestial circle Zeus. They offer sacrifices to the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds, these elements originally being the only objects of worship; but they accepted from the Assyrians and Arabs the worship of Aphrodite, the Queen of Heaven, whom the Assyrians call Mylitta, the Arabs Alitta, the Persians Mitra.¹

The Persians offer sacrifices to the aforesaid gods in the following manner. They neither erect altars nor kindle fires when they are about to offer a sacrifice; they neither use libations, nor flutes, nor wreaths, nor barley; but when any one is willing to offer a sacrifice, he then carries the sacrificial beast to a pure spot, and after having twined round his turban a great many wreaths of myrtle, in preference to any other leaf, he invokes the deity. The sacrificer ought not to pray only for his own prosperity; he must also pray for the welfare of all the Persians, and for the king, because he is included among them. When he has cut the animal into pieces, he then boils its flesh, spreads the softest grass he can get, especially preferring clover, and places the pieces of flesh on it. After having made this arrangement, one of the Magi who is present sings a theogony,² as they call the incan-

¹ Here Herodotus has committed a mistake; not as to the matter, but as to the name. The Persians, in later times, worshipped a great female deity, who might be compared with the Mylitta of the Babylonians (the Ashtaroth or Astarte of the Old Testament), but she was called Anahita (in the Zend-Avesta and cuneiform inscriptions), and was known to the Arab and Greek writers by the name of Anaitis. She represented the beneficial influence of water. Mitra is the well-known sun-god of the Persians and a male deity.

² Herodotus, who exhibits throughout the whole report an intimate knowledge of the Persian sacrifices, means by theogony here, those sections of the sacred books which are called Yashts or invocations, containing the praises of all the deities achieved by the deity in whose honor the sacrifice is to be offered. See the third Essay.
'tation (which is used); without one of the Magi no 'sacrifice can be offered. After waiting a short time, the 'sacrificer takes off the pieces of flesh, and uses them as 'he likes.'

In the 138th chapter of the same book, the father of history says: 'Lying is regarded as the most discreditable 'thing by them; next to it is the incurring of debt, 'chiefly for this reason, that the debtor is often compelled 'to tell lies. If any one of the inhabitants of a town be 'affected with leprosy, or white spots (another kind of 'leprosy), he cannot enter the town, nor have any inter- 'course with the other Persians; they believe him to have 'that disease in consequence of having sinned in one way 'or other against the sun. All foreigners affected with 'these diseases are driven out of the country; for the same 'reason many expel even white pigeons. They neither 'make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands, in a river; 'nor will they allow any one else to do so; for they pay a 'high reverence to rivers.'

In another passage (iii. 16) Herodotus reports that the Persians believe Fire to be a god; wherefore Cambyses committed a great sin, as he says, in burning the corpse of King Amasis.

The chief Greek writers on the manners and religion of the Persians were KTÉSIAS (B.C. 400), the well-known physician to King Artaxerxes II., DEINON (B.C. 350), who is looked upon as a great authority in Persian matters by Cornelius Nepos (in the life of Konon), THEOPOMPOS of Chios (B.C. 300), and HERMIPPOS, the philosopher of Smyrna (B.C. 250). The books of all these writers being lost, save some fragments preserved by later authors, such

---

1 This custom is still maintained by the Parsees. The flesh (or any other sacrifice) to be offered is first consecrated by the priest, then for a short time left near the fire, and finally taken off by the sacrificer, to be used by him; but it is never thrown into the fire.

2 The name given to sinners against the sun is mithrê-drükâsh, i.e., one who has belied Mithras (the sun). Such diseases were believed to be the consequence of lying.
as Plutarch, Diogenes of Laerte, and Pliny, we cannot judge how far they were acquainted with the religion of the Magi. The two chief sources whence the Greeks and Romans derived information about the religion of the Magi were Theopompos's eighth book of the history of King Philip of Macedonia, which was entitled "On Miraculous Things," and specially treated of the doctrine of the Magi; and Hermippos, who wrote a separate book "On the Magi." We are left without information whether or not Theopompos derived his statements on the lore of the Magi from his intercourse with the Persian priests themselves; but Hermippos, who composed, besides his work on the Zoroastrian doctrine, biographies of lawgivers, the seven sages of Greece, &c., is reported by Pliny (Historia Naturalis, xxx. 2) to have made very laborious investigations in all the Zoroastrian books, which were said to comprise two millions of verses, and to have stated the contents of each book separately. He therefore really seems to have had some knowledge of the sacred language and texts of the Magi, for which reason the loss of his work is greatly to be regretted.

It is not intended to produce all the reports on the Zoroastrian religion and customs to be met with in the ancient writers, but only to point out some of the most important.

According to Diogenes of Laerte (Pro-œmium, chap. vi.), Eudoxos and Aristotle stated that in the doctrine of the Magi there were two powers opposed to each other, one representing the good god, called Zeus and Oromasdes (Ahuramazda, Hormazd), and the other representing the devil, whose name was Hades and Areimanios (Angrômainyush, Ahriman). Of this chief doctrine of the Magi Theopompos had given a further illustration. According to Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride) and Diogenes of Laerte (Pro-œmium, chap. ix.), he reported that Oromasdes ruled for three thousand years alone, and Areimanios for three thousand more. After this period of six thousand years
had elapsed they began to wage war against each other, one attempting to destroy the other; but finally (he says) Areimanius is to perish, mankind is to enjoy a blessed state of life; men will neither be any more in need of food, nor will they cast shadows; the dead are to rise again, men will be immortal, and everything is to exist in consequence of their prayers.

A brief but full account of Zoroaster's doctrine is to be found in Plutarch's book "On Isis and Osiris (chap. xlvii., xlviii.), which being in detail, seems to have been borrowed from a writer who was actually acquainted with the original texts. The philosopher Hermippos, abovementioned, being the only scholar of antiquity who can be supposed, with sufficient reason, to have had a real knowledge of the sacred language of the Zend-Avesta, we may regard him as the author of Plutarch's statements. These are as follows:—

'Oromasdes sprang out of the purest light; among all things perceived by the senses that element most resembles him; Areimanius sprang out of darkness, and is therefore of the same nature with it. Oromasdes, who resides as far beyond the sun as the sun is far from the earth, created six gods (the six Ameshaspents, now Amshaspends, "the archangels"); the god of benevolence (Vohu-manó, "good-mind," now called Bahman); the god of truth (Asha vahishta, or Ardibahisht); the god of order (Khshathra vairya, or Shahrivar); the god of wisdom (Armaîti, or Isfendarmad); and the god of wealth and delight in beauty (Haurvatát and Amravitát, or Khordâd and Amerdâd). But to counterbalance him, Areimanius created an equal number of gods counteracting those of Oromasdes. Then Oromasdes decorated heaven with stars, and placed the star Sirius (Tishtrya, or Tishtar) at their head as a guardian. Afterwards he created twenty-four other gods,1 and set them in an egg;

1 This statement seems at the first glance to be very strange. But one may easily explain it from the Avesta texts. This writer had evidently in
but Areimanios forthwith created an equal number of
gods, who opened the egg; in consequence of this, evil is
always mingled with good. Thus the good god and the
demon are engaged in a constant war. Of plants and
animals, some belong to the good, some to the evil spirit;
to the good one belong dogs, birds, and crabs; to the evil
one, water-rats. At the end, the time is to come when
Areimanios will perish and disappear, in consequence of
disease and famine, caused by himself. Then the earth
will become even and equal, and there will be only one
state and one language, and one and the same manner
of living to the happy men who then speak only one
language.

Strabo the geographer (B.C. 60) has given in the 15th
book of his celebrated Geography an account of the religion
and customs of the Magi, of which some passages may be
thus translated:—‘To whatever deity the Persians may
offer sacrifice, they first invoke fire, which is fed at their
sacred places with dried barkless pieces of wood, and is
never to be extinguished; they put fat over it, and pour
oil into it; if anybody happens to throw or blow into it
anything dirty or dead, he is to die; the fire is to be
kindled by blowing.’

In another passage (xi. 8, 4) he enumerates as Per-
sian deities Anaitis, Omanes, and Anadates or Anandates.¹

Pausanias, the celebrated Greek traveller (A.D. 180), has
the following report on the fire-worship of the Magi (v.
27, 3). ‘In the temples of the Persians there is a room
where ashes of another colour than those being burnt on
the altar are to be found.² To this room he first repairs,
THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

puts dry wood upon the altar, puts on the tiara, and then
sings the invocation of the god, reading it from a book,
in a language utterly unintelligible to the Greeks. The
wood is to be ignited on the ashes, without fire, and to
flame up into a bright blaze.'

Passing over DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS (A.D. 310), who has left
to us, in his sermons, some remarks on the theological
ideas of the Magi, as to their comparing the universe to
a chariot in continual motion, drawn by four horses; we
may notice an important passage of the historian AGA-
THIAS (A.D. 500) respecting Zoroaster. He says (ii. 24):
The present Persians almost entirely neglect their former
customs, and have even changed them, and observe some
strange and spurious usages, professing the doctrines of
Zoroaster, the son of Ormasdes. 1 The time when this
Zoroaster or Zarades (he is called by both these names)
flourished and gave his laws, is not to be ascertained.
The Persians now-a-days simply say that he lived at
the time of Hystaspes; but it is very doubtful, and the
doubt cannot be solved whether this Hystaspes was the
father of Darius, or another Hystaspes. At whatever
time he may have lived, he was at all events their pro-
phet, and the master of the Magic rites. After having
changed the ancient form of worship, he introduced
manifold and strange doctrines. For they (the Per-
sians) formerly worshipped Zeus and Kronos, and all
other gods celebrated by the Greeks, only under other
names, as for example they call Zeus, Bel, Heracles,
Sandes, Aphrodite, Anaitis, 2 and the others otherwise,

1 Plato (Alcibiades, i. 37) says the
same, calling Zoroaster a son of Or-
masdes, i.e., Ahuramazda, Hormazd.

2 In this report true and false
statements are mixed together. It
is true that the religion of the Parsis
anterior to Zoroaster was much
nearer to that of the Greeks than

mentioned here are those of the Dād-gāh
(Dāitya-gātush), or common hearth of
the temple (or any house), and of the
Atash-gāh, or place for the sacred fire,
which is fed with the greatest care.
By 'tiara' (a turban) the Penom (paiti-
dāna) is meant, a cloth used to cover
the lips to prevent the sacred fire
from being polluted. Pausanius well
describes here the divine service as
performed before the sacred fire.
The observance is still maintained.
THE REPORTS OF THE

as is reported by Berossos the Babylonian, and Atheneokles and Simakos, who wrote on the most ancient history of the Assyrians and Medes.

Before concluding this notice of the Greek records, and proceeding to those of the Armenians and Mohammedans, we may notice some passages of later Greek writers, who lived after Christ at the time of the Sasanians, on the supposed primitive principle of Zoroastrian theology, which will be treated of fully in the last Essay in this book.

The first Greek writer who alludes to it is Damascius. In his book "On Primitive Principles" (125th p. 384, ed. Kopp) he says, 'The Magi and the whole Aryan nation consider, as Eudemos writes, some Space, and others Time, as the universal cause, out of which the good god as well as the evil spirit were separated, or, as others assert, light and darkness, before these two spirits arose.'

On the same matter Theodoros of Mopsuestia writes as follows, according to the fragment preserved by the polyhistor Photios (Biblioth. S1): 'In the first book of his work (on the doctrines of the Magi), says Photios, he propounds the nefarious doctrine of the Persians which Zarastrades introduced, viz., that about Zarouam, whom he makes the ruler of the whole universe, and calls him Destiny; and who when offering sacrifices in order to generate Hormisdas, produced both Hormisdas and Satan.'

This opinion on the primitive principle of the Zoroastrian theology seems to have been current among the Christians at the time of the Sasanians, as we may learn more fully from Armenian writers of the fifth century, from after his time; but it is not true that the Persians at that time worshipped Bel, who was the chief god of the Babylonians, and entirely unknown to the Zend-Avesta.

By this name the Medes are to be understood. According to Herodotus their original name was Arioi.

He was a Christian.

He means Zarvan acharana, boundless time.'
EZNİK, who wrote a book against heretical opinions, and from ŒLISÆUS, who compiled a history of VARTAN, and the wars waged by the Armenians against the Persians. Eznik says, in his refutation of heresies (in the second book), containing a "refutation of the false doctrine of the Persians:"

"Before anything, heaven or earth, or creature of any kind whatever therein, was existing, Zeruan existed, whose name means fortune or glory.1 He offered sacrifices for a thousand years in the hope of obtaining a son, ORMİZT by name, who was to create heaven, earth, and everything therein. After having spent a thousand years in sacrificing, he began to deliberate: Are these sacrifices of mine to produce any effect, and will a son, Ormizt by name, be born to me? While he was thus deliberating, Ormizt and Arhmen were conceived in the womb of their mother, Ormizt as the fruit of his sacrifices, Arhmen as that of his doubts. When Zeruan was aware of this event he said: Two sons are in the womb; he who will first come to me is to be made king. Ormizt, having perceived his father's thoughts, revealed them to Arhmen, saying: Zeruan, our father, intends to make him king who shall be born first. Having heard these words, Arhmen perforated the womb, and appeared before his father. But Zeruan, when he saw him, did not know who he was, and asked him: Who art thou? He told him: I am thy son. Zeruan answered him: My son is well-scented and shining, but thou art dark and ill-scented. While they were thus talking, Ormizt, shining and well-scented, appeared before Zeruan, who, seeing him, perceived him at once to be his son Ormizt on account of whom he was sacrificing. He took the rod 2 which he had used in sacrificing, and gave it to Ormizt, saying: Hitherto this has been used by myself in offering sacri-

---

1 This interpretation is wrong. The word zarvan means simply "time" in the Zend-Avesta, and is preserved in the modern Persian zamán.

2 This is the so-called Barsom (Rezema, a bundle of twigs), always used by the Parsi priests when engaged in worship.
fices for thy sake; henceforth thou mayst sacrifice for my sake. When Zeruan handed over his rod to Ormizd, and blessed him, Arhmen approached him, saying: Hast thou not vowed to make that one of thy two sons king who should first come to thee? Zeruan, in order to avoid breaking his vow, replied to Arhmen: Oh thou liar and evil-doer! the empire is to be ceded to thee for nine thousand years; but I place Ormizd over thee as chief, and after nine thousand years, he will reign and do what he likes. Then Ormizd and Arhmen began the work of creation; everything produced by Ormizd was good and right, and everything wrought by Arhmen was bad and perverse.

From both these Armenian writers, Eznik and Elisaeus, we further learn that the Zoroastrians in their times (5th century A.D.) were split into two parties, inimically opposed to each other; the one was called Mog (Magi, Maghava), the other, Zendik.¹

Passing on to Mohammedan writers, who lived after the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans A.D. 650, we may notice some interesting passages.

Masudi, the celebrated Arabian historian and traveller (A.D. 950), has preserved to us the following notice of the sacred books of the Parsis.² 'The first book, made by Zeradusht, was Avesta. The Persians, not being able to understand it, Zeradusht made a commentary, which they called Zend; further he made a commentary to this commentary, and called it Pazend. After Zeradusht's death, the Persians made a commentary of the commentary, and an explanation of all the books just mentioned, and called it Yazdah.'³

¹ The Magi were chiefly spread over the West, in Media and Persia; the Zendiks over the East, in Bactria. The former seem to have acknowledged only the Avesta or original texts of the sacred writings; the latter followed the traditional explanation, called Zend.


³ He understands by that those pieces which are called Yashts, and are undoubtedly the latest productions in the Zend-Avesta.
In another passage, he has the following remark on the origin of the word Zendik, i.e., heretic in Persian: 'The Zend being only a commentary on what was formerly revealed from heaven (viz., the Avesta), the Persians called any one who put forward religious opinions opposed to the Avesta a Zendik, because he held his own interpretation (Zend) against that of the Avesta.'

On Zoroaster's age he remarks, that according to the Magi he lived 280 years before Alexander the Great (or about B.C. 610), that is, at the time of the Median king Cyaxares.

Shahrrastani, a celebrated Mohammedan writer, who died at Bagdad, A.D. 1153, has given in his highly valuable work "On Religious Sects and Creeds" (kitâbu-l-milâl wa na'hal) an account of the religion of the Magi, of which he had a better opinion than many other Mohammedan writers. Whilst Dimishqi (who died A.D. 1327), Ibn Fozlan, and others, identify the Magi with idolators and pagans, Shahrrastani brings them under the same head as Jews, Christians, and Musalmans, or those whose creed is founded on revealed books; and makes them diametrically opposed to those who follow their own imaginations and inventions (as many philosophers did), the Brahmans and Sabeans (star-worshippers). From his reports we further learn that the Magi were split into several sects, which very likely arose at the time of the Sasanians, such as the Mazdakyahs, who believed in the transmigration of souls, like the Brahmans and Buddhists (a doctrine which is altogether strange to the Zend-Avesta); the Kayomartiya, who believed in a revelation made by God to the first man, called Gayomard by the Parsis, corresponding to Adam of the Bible; the Zervanits who believed in Zervan Akarana, i.e., boundless time, as the supreme deity, which doctrines being altogether strange to the ancient books, were derived from other creeds.

Before taking final leave of these Mohammedan writers,

1 See Chwolson, Die Sabier, i. p. 281; ii. p. 690.
we may notice a peculiar circumstance which deserves attention. In several Mohammedan writings, especially in vernacular Persian dictionaries, we find ZOROASTER, or, as he is there called, ZARADUSHT, identified with ABRAHAM, the patriarch. The Magi are said to have called their religion Kēsh-i-Ibrāhīm, i.e., creed of Abraham, whom they considered as their prophet and the reformer of their religion. They traced their religious books to Abraham, who was believed to have brought them from heaven. This was altogether untrue, but the Magi, or Parsi priests, invented it for the purpose of escaping the persecutions of the Mohammedans, and that they might be tolerated to a certain extent; for only those creeds were tolerated by the Mohammedans, the followers of which were able to convince them of their possession of sacred books, connected in any way with the Jewish religion, whose prophets had been acknowledged by Mohammed.

II.—THE EUROPEAN RESEARCHES.

The nations of modern Europe came into contact with the adherents of the Zoroastrian religion in the western part of India, where they had settled when they left their fatherland, Persia, to escape the persecutions of the Mohammedans. Already, in the seventeenth century, manuscripts of the sacred books of the Parsis were brought to England as mere articles of curiosity, but were sealed books to every one. The first who attempted to give a complete description of the doctrines of the Magi was the celebrated Oxford scholar, HYDE. In his very learned work, "Historia religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum," the first edition of which was published in the year 1700, he displays a vast deal of information on the Parsi religion, derived from all the sources which were accessible to him; from Greek and Roman, as well as from Arabian and Persian writers; and tries his utmost to throw light on the religion of the Magi, so famous in antiquity;
but being utterly unable to read the original texts of the Zend-Avesta, though he himself was in possession of several manuscripts of them, he could not succeed in furnishing his readers with a real insight into that ancient creed. His work acted, however, as a stimulus to others to take more interest in the matter.

The first scholar who made Europeans acquainted with the contents of the sacred books of the Parsis was the celebrated Frenchman, ANQUETIL DUPERRON. His ardour and zeal are almost unparalleled in the history of scholarship. He happened once to see a facsimile of some pages written in Avesta characters, which was circulated as a mere curiosity. Actuated by the liveliest desire of earning the glory of first opening the Zend-Avesta to Europeans, he suddenly resolved upon setting out for Western India in order to purchase manuscripts of all the sacred books of the Zoroastrian religion, and to obtain a thorough knowledge of their contents, and of the religious customs of the Parsis from their priests. Being himself unable to afford the means required for carrying out his plan, he entered himself as a sailor in a ship of the French Indian Company, bound for Bombay, in the year 1754, where he safely arrived after a very protracted and dangerous voyage. All the hardships he had to suffer during his passage would have been endured in vain, and he would have ultimately failed in obtaining what he was aiming at, if the French Government had not granted him support. The Parsi priests, being full of distrust towards him, were not willing to sell him valuable manuscripts, and far less to teach him the language of their sacred books. Finally, the only means of obtaining the object wished for was money. He bribed one of the most learned Dasturs, Dastur Dārāb, at Surat, to procure

1 Since the Parsis and their priests have come more into contact with Europeans, this distrust has subsided to a great extent. The Dasturs will now readily converse about their sacred books and their religion, with any European scholar who really takes a benevolent interest in these matters; and are always willing to give him full explanations of rites and ceremonies, and even to lend him valuable and unique manuscripts, provided they are satisfied that he will not misuse the information he obtains.
him manuscripts, and to instruct him in the Avesta and Pahlavi languages. But to ascertain that he was not deceived by the Dastur, he opened an intercourse with some other priests (Kaus and Manjerj), and was very well satisfied at finding that the manuscripts he purchased first were genuine. When he thought himself proficient enough in the Avesta and Pahlavi, he set about making a French translation of the whole Zend-Avesta. He commenced that work in March 1759, and was engaged in it up to the time of his departure. He left for Europe in 1761, after six years' stay in different places in Western India. He had purchased about 180 manuscripts in different Oriental languages, among which were copies of the sacred books of the Parsees. When, after a long and painful passage, he arrived in Europe, he did not proceed at once to his fatherland, France, but went first to England to ascertain whether or not the Avesta manuscripts to be found there agreed with those in his own possession. Finding that they did not differ, he returned quite satisfied to France. All his manuscripts, together with the dictations of the Dasturs, were deposited in the National Library at Paris, where they may be still inspected and used by the student. Ten years after his departure from India he published (in 1771), as the fruit of his indefatigable zeal and industry, the following highly important work in French, Zend-Avesta, the work of Zoroaster, containing the theological, physical, and moral ideas of this lawgiver, the ceremonies of the divine service which he established, and several important traits respecting the ancient history of the Persians, translated into French from the Zend original, with Notes and several Treatises for illustrating the matters contained in it. By Anquetil Duperron. 2 vols. 4to.

This groundwork for Avesta studies in Europe created an immense sensation when it was published. A new world of ideas seemed to have been disclosed to European scholars; the veil which covered the mysteries of the famous founder of the doctrines of the Magi seemed to be lifted. But the philosophers found themselves soon greatly
disappointed. Kant, the great German philosopher, said, after a careful perusal of the whole work, that throughout the whole Zend-Avesta not the slightest trace of philosophical ideas could be discovered.

The chief question, however, was the authenticity of these books. Some contested, others advocated it. In England the opinion prevailed that the books were forged, and Anquetil imposed upon by the priests. The celebrated Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, published in 1771 a letter in French addressed to Anquetil Duperron (W. Jones’s Works, vol. x. pp. 403–99), where he tried to prove that the works translated by that scholar could not be considered as the composition of the celebrated Zoroaster. The chief reason alleged by him was, that their contents grossly contradicted common sense and all sound reasoning; the authority of these books as the chief source of information on the doctrines of Zoroaster was thus denied, and they were represented as the fictions of priestcraft brought forward as the works of Zoroaster. Richardson, the celebrated Persian lexicographer, tried to prove the spuriousness of the Parsi books translated by Anquetil, mainly from philological reasons. He held the opinion (in the preface to his “Persian Dictionary”) that the two languages Zend and Pahlavi, from which the learned Frenchman had translated them, were mere inventions, which had never existed in the provinces of the Persian Empire. His opinion was founded upon four reasons: (1) there is too great a number of Arabic words in both of them, which is a strong proof against their genuineness; (2) the harsh combinations of consonants are contrary to the genius of the Persian language; (3) there is no connection between them and modern Persian; (4) the contents of the books, besides, are so childish that they cannot be ascribed to the ancient Persians. All these reasons can be easily refuted in the present state of research into the Zend-Avesta; but it would be a mere waste of space and time to enter into a real discussion about the authenticity of the Avesta.
and Pahlavi. In these languages there are no Arabic words whatever; the Avesta is written in a purely Aryan dialect, the elder sister of Sanskrit, as can be easily seen on comparing it with the language of the Veda; in Pahlavi there are many Chaldee, but no Arabic words, and the greater part of the language has a close connection with modern Persian.

In France the authenticity of these books was not doubted, and the great merits of Anquetil were at once acknowledged. In Germany the opinions of scholars were at issue. Some, as Meiners and Tychsen, acceded to the proofs alleged against the genuineness of these books; but another renowned German scholar, Kleuker, not only admitted the authenticity of Anquetil's work, but translated the whole of it into German, and added several appendices, containing passages from ancient writers on the religion of the Magi. In advocating the authenticity of Anquetil's Zend-Avesta, he relied chiefly on the accordance of the reports of classical writers with those contained in these books.

For a long time the correctness of Anquetil's translation was not doubted by any one, for he had learned the languages from the most competent Parsi priests themselves, who were supposed to possess necessarily a thorough and profound knowledge of their sacred books. In Germany the work was thenceforth the standard authority for all researches into the ancient Persian religion, and the divines used it even for the interpretation of the Old Testament. In England it was laid aside as spurious, and not deserving any attention. The most comprehensive and best description of the Persian religion, chiefly according to the work of Anquetil, was compiled by Rhode, "The Holy Tradition of the Zend People" (1820).

Inquiries into the real nature of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages were not made until more than fifty years after Anquetil's work had appeared. The first who attempted to study this difficult subject was the great Danish scholar
Rask, who had himself been in Bombay, and had purchased many valuable Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts, which are now deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen. He wrote in 1826 a pamphlet "On the Age and Genuineness of the Zend Language." In this little book he proved the close affinity of the language of the Zend-Avesta to Sanskrit. This proof was sufficient to remove whatever doubts might have been entertained as to the genuineness of the Avesta language. If this language was a true and genuine sister to Sanskrit, then of course it could not be a mere invention of priests, who, moreover, would have been utterly unable to invent such a well-organised language as that of the Avesta really is. Although Anquetil had deposited all the rough copies of his work, together with the dictations of his Parsi teachers (they go by the name of "les brouillons d'Anquetil"), in the National Library at Paris, for the purpose of subjecting his translation to public examination, for a long time no examiner came forward. As Anquetil possessed neither grammar nor dictionary of the Avesta language (because they did not exist), there were, in fact, no means of subjecting his work to a rigid examination. First, the grammatical structure of this ancient language, and the etymology of its words, had to be discovered; but the only means of accomplishing this were by comparing it with Sanskrit, with which highly-finished language Europeans have become acquainted since the end of last century. Anquetil himself was thinking of acquiring a knowledge of this language from the Brahmans, and translating the Vedas, but he did not succeed. The study of Sanskrit spread rapidly from England to France and Germany; everywhere the high importance of this classical language was at once acknowledged. Scholars early discovered its close affinity to Greek and Latin, and as soon as attention was directed to the Zend-Avesta, the relationship of its language to Sanskrit could not but strike the inquirer as still closer, even at the first glance. As already mentioned,
Rask first proved this close affinity, but he gave only a few hints, tending to lead men of high talents to discoveries; so that Rask himself cannot be considered as one of the founders of Avesta philology. This honour was also reserved for a Frenchman.

The first who laid the foundation of a real Avesta philology was Eugène Burnouf, Professor of Sanskrit at the Collège de France at Paris, one of the most gifted and talented scholars of his time, a man of whom, as their countryman, Frenchmen have just reason to be proud. Being himself exceedingly well versed in the classical Sanskrit (not in that of the Vedas)—of his mastery over which language he has left us more than sufficient specimens in his translation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and his classical works on Buddhism—he applied his sound and critical knowledge of it to the discovery of the rudiments of Avesta grammar and etymology; and his laborious researches were crowned with success. He then first discovered the great incorrectness of Anquetil’s translation, the necessary result of a total want of acquaintance with anything like the grammar of the Avesta language. In making his researches he availed himself of Neryosangh’s Sanskrit translation of the greater part of the Yasna, or liturgy, but criticised it by means of comparative philology, chiefly with Sanskrit. Most of his researches he published in his excellent work entitled “Commentary on the Yasna” (1833–35), in which, starting from Neryosangh’s Sanskrit translation, he gave the translation, with too copious an explanation, of only the first chapter out of the seventy-two which make up the present Yasna, or liturgy. In several numbers of the “Journal Asiatique” (1844–46) he published a revised text, translation, and explanation of the ninth chapter of the Yasna, containing the praise of Homa (corresponding to the Soma of the Brahmans). He published, besides, lithographed, the fairest copy of a Vendidad Sādah (comprising the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad, without the Pahlavi translation)
which he found among the manuscripts brought to Europe by Anquetil. This was the first edition of Avesta texts which appeared in Europe (1829–43). After that publication he relinquished his Avesta studies, and engaged himself chiefly in researches into Buddhism. In 1852 a premature death put an end to his important discoveries in several branches of Oriental antiquities.

Before proceeding to trace the further course of Avesta studies, especially in Germany, we may briefly review the merits of the two Frenchmen who have just claims to be regarded as the founders of our investigations into the Zend-Avesta.

Anquetil Duperron furnished Europe with the materials for these researches, and by his translation introduced the literary world to the chief contents of the sacred books of the Zoroastrians. His work, although utterly incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless gives a notion of the whole of the Zoroastrian ideas. One could learn from his books the different names of the divine beings, the evil spirits, ceremonies, observances, doctrines, and the contents in general. The reader could see, for instance, that in the first chapter of the Vendidad the names of sixteen countries were enumerated, which being originally good, were spoiled by the bad creations of the devil; that in its second chapter, the story of Yima (Jamshêd) was treated; that the Yasna contains prayers of different kinds, addressed to different objects of worship; &c. But it is in the easier parts only that he could gain even an approximate knowledge of the contents; in the more difficult ones, such as the Gâthas, he could not attain even so much, because in them nearly all was translated by Anquetil Duperron according to his own fancy and imagination. Being utterly unable to distinguish cases, tenses, moods, personal terminations, &c., he was liable to the gravest errors and mistakes, which gave rise to wrong conceptions, not only of subordinate points, but of such as were of the highest importance to those interested in the Zoroastrian religion.
To enable the reader to judge of Anquetil's way of translating, we may take his translation of one of the most celebrated passages of the Vendidad (xix. 9, edition of Westergaard), which was supposed to prove Zarvan akaranana, "boundless time," to be the primitive being, and creator of the good and the bad spirits.

'Ahriman, master of the bad law! the being absorbed in glory has given (created) thee, the boundless Time has given thee, it has given also, with magnificence, the 'Amshaspends,' &c. According to this translation Hormazd and Ahriman are not the two primitive spirits, but they themselves were created by a supreme being called Zarvan akaranana, "boundless time." This doctrine being altogether strange to the Zend-Avesta, as we shall see hereafter, was merely interpreted into this passage by Anquetil according to the teaching of his masters, the Dasturs, in consequence of his ignorance of Avesta grammar. He translates the words zrani akaranem as a nominative case, whilst a very superficial knowledge of Avesta and Sanskrit grammars suffices to recognise both the forms as locatives; they are therefore to be translated only, "in boundless time," the subject of the sentence being spēnto mainyush, "the bountiful spirit" (a name of Hormazd); were it the nominative case, and the subject of the sentence, then we should expect to find zarva akaranem. The right translation is as follows:—

'O evil-knowing Angrōmainyush (Ahriman)! The bountiful spirit made (these weapons required to defeat the influences of the evil spirit) in boundless time, the immortal benefactors assisted him in making them.'

Although we may gather from this specimen that Anquetil's translation is nowhere to be relied upon, always lacking accuracy, yet we must thankfully acknowledge how

---

1 This verse concludes an old song, describing the devil's attacks upon Zarathushtra, and the conversation carried on between them. In the third Essay of this work the reader will find a translation of the whole.

2 That means only, at a time unknown, at a time immemorial, or in the beginning.
much we owe to him as the founder of all researches subsequently made into the Zend-Avesta. Whilst the translation itself is utterly inaccurate and erroneous, his descriptions of ceremonies and rites are quite correct, as the author can assure the reader from his intercourse with Parsi priests.\footnote{Anquetil was evidently a correct observer and an accurate describer of what he saw. His description of the cave-temples in Salsette could be read on the spot a century after his visit, as the only accurate account of them that had ever been published.} He was a trustworthy man in every respect, and wrote only what he was taught by the Parsi Dasturs.\footnote{The European reader will not be a little astonished to learn that Anquetil's work was regarded afterwards as a kind of authority by the Dasturs themselves. As, for instance, the late high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, Edalji Darabji Rustamji, who passed for the most learned priest of his time in India, quotes in his Gujarati work "Mujizât-i-Zartosht" (the Miracles of Zoroaster), p. 10, Anquetil as an authority in order to countenance his strange and quite erroneous explanation of the word stekrâzân-hem (decorated with stars), as meaning sadarâk, "the shirt" worn by the Parsis, an interpretation which contradicts the tradition as well as the contexts of the passages, and was consequently not acknowledged by other Dasturs.} These high-priests of the Parsi community, who are the only preservers of the religious traditions, and their interpreters, derive all their information about their religion not from the original Avesta texts themselves, but from the Pahlavi translation made of them at the time of the Sasanians. Considering that even this translation is not quite correct, and, moreover, that it is not understood by the Dasturs in a critical and philological way, how can Anquetil be expected to have furnished us with an accurate translation? In many instances also Anquetil misunderstood the Dasturs; so that his translation was tinged with errors of three kinds, viz., those of the Pahlavi translations, those of the Dasturs, and those of his own misunderstandings. His work, therefore, cannot stand the test of close examination, and from a critical point of view it can hardly be styled a translation; it is only a summary report, in an extended form, of the contents of the Zend-Avesta. But he cannot be blamed for that; at his time it was impossible for the most learned and sagacious scholars to do more than he
actually did. From the Dasturs he learned the approximate meanings of the words, and starting from this very rudimentary knowledge, he then simply guessed the sense of each sentence.

Burnouf, who first investigated, in a scientific way, the language of the Zend-Avesta, would never have succeeded in laying the foundation of Avesta philology without the aid of Anquetil's labours. Anquetil had left ample materials for future researches, and had furnished scholars with a summary of the contents of the Zend-Avesta. Burnouf, in making his researches, availed himself chiefly of a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, or liturgy of the Parsis, and found on closer inquiry that this work was more reliable than Anquetil's translation. The Pahlavi translation, upon which this Sanskrit one is founded, would have better answered his purposes; but as he did not take the trouble to study this very peculiar language, it was of no use to him. Neryosangh's Sanskrit translation was then, as to grammatical forms and etymologies, rectified by Burnouf by means of comparative philology, chiefly Sanskrit. But these aids did not prevent him from committing many errors. On the one side he relied too much on Neryosangh's imperfect work; on the other, he applied too often to Sanskrit etymologies. It is true he had made extensive preparations before he commenced his researches, for he compiled for his private use a vocabulary of the Avesta words with quotations from the Zend-Avesta, where each particular word occurs. In making his laborious inquiries into the meaning of any particular word, he quoted parallel passages, the broad ground on which the whole of modern philology, now so highly developed, rests. But there being at his disposal no printed editions of the Zend-Avesta, based on different manuscripts, and pointing out the various readings, he could not peruse the whole of it so carefully as would have been requisite to guard himself against mistakes, which he was otherwise unable to avoid; he was, therefore, often obliged to forego and overlook important
passages which would have guided him, in many instances, in ascertaining the exact meaning.

In his etymological proofs he was not always fortunate.\(^1\) He lacked, to a certain extent, the skill requisite for forming sound etymologies (which is really a very difficult task), and besides, his acquaintance with the most ancient forms and words in Sanskrit, as they are to be met with only in the Vedas, was too superficial. The Iranian languages, such as Persian (the application of which requires even greater skill and knowledge than in the case of Sanskrit), were but little attended to by him. Whilst Burnouf often failed in his etymologies, he was almost always successful in determining the grammatical terminations, their affinity to those in Sanskrit being too close not to be recognised at once by a good Sanskrit scholar. And notwithstanding some undeniable defects in his researches, he was the first who gave, not a mere paraphrase or approximate statement of the contents, but a real translation of two chapters of the Yasna (1st and 9th). That was a great step taken towards a sound philological interpretation of the whole Zend-Avesta. But this great scholar seems to have become, in the course of his studies, weary of spending many years in the explanation of only a few chapters, and did not pursue his inquiries further. After having simply pointed out the way, and partially paved it, he left it for others to follow in his tracks. His results refer chiefly to

---

\(^1\) Thus he says dhāktāīrya (Vas. ix. 14, Vend. x. 11) is derived from the Vedic root anj (to which he ascribes the meaning "to sing"), and may be taken in the sense of "made for being sung." This is utterly wrong. The root anj, to which he traces the word in question, never means in the Vedas "to sing," but "to smear, anoint" (being identical with the Latin unguo, "to smear"). The context of the passage, where the word in question occurs, besides, requires another meaning. Had he cast a glance only at Vend. x. 3, 7, he would have recognized the word as a numeral, meaning "four times" (literally, "till the fourth time"), and being composed of the preposition d (up to, till, as far as), and khtāīrya, "fourth" (comp. quatuor in Latin, keturi in Lithuanian, "four"). To the word karāfān (he writes the crude form wrongly karāfna, guessing it from the very frequent genitive plural, karāfnām), he ascribes the meaning "deaf," while it means, according to the Vedic language, a "performer of sacrifices," as we shall see in the fourth Essay.
grammatical points and the meanings of words, but very little to the general contents of the sacred books of the Zoroastrian religion, or to its origin and development. About these matters his knowledge went but little beyond that of Anquetil. He had no idea of the importance of the Gāthas; he neither knew that their language differs from the usual Avesta language of the other books, nor that they are metrical compositions, their metres agreeing with those of the Vedic hymns; so that he was unable to trace even an outline of the history of the Zoroastrian religion and its sacred writings. This task was, however, at his time, too difficult to be carried out; but he discharged his duties as the founder of the first outlines of Avesta philology with an accuracy, faithfulness, conscientiousness, and sagacity which endear him to every sincere reader, and make his premature death a matter of deep regret. He was really a master in scholarship and scientific investigations, and every page he wrote, even where he erred, bears witness to the truth of this statement.

Whilst the honor of having first opened the venerable documents of the Zoroastrian doctrines to the civilised world belongs to France, Germany and Denmark have to claim the merit of having further advanced this entirely new branch of philological and antiquarian studies.

The first German scholar who took up the study of the Zend-Avesta was Justus Olshausen, Professor of Oriental Languages at Kiel. He intended to publish an edition of the Zend-Avesta according to the manuscripts extant in Europe, chiefly at Paris and Copenhagen, and to furnish the learned public with a grammar and dictionary. He commenced his edition by publishing the first four chapters of the Vendidad, or religious code of the Parsis, in the year 1829; but after this first number had appeared he stopped his edition, and relinquished this extremely difficult, and in many respects thankless, branch of studies.

This fragment, published by Olshausen, and the edition of a copy of the Vendidād Sādah belonging to the National
Library at Paris, by Burnouf, were the only means available for German scholars who had a desire to decipher the language and teaching of the great Zoroaster. The utter insufficiency of these, in order to make any progress in these studies, was felt by all Oriental scholars in Germany. They were, therefore, driven to content themselves with the results arrived at by Burnouf.

The first who made an extensive and useful application of them, now and then adding some remarks of his own, was Francis Bopp, the celebrated compiler of the first comparative grammar of some of the chief languages of the Aryan stock. He tried to give an outline of Avesta grammar, chiefly according to the results arrived at by Burnouf, but nowhere made discoveries of so much importance in the Avesta language as that famous Frenchman had done. His sketch of Avesta grammar, scattered throughout his comparative grammar, although imperfect and incomplete as a first outline, was a valuable assistance to that increasing number of Oriental scholars who were desirous of acquiring some knowledge of the Avesta language, without taking the immense trouble of investigating the original texts themselves.

The first step to be taken by German scholars towards an advance in unravelling the mysteries of the Zend-Avesta, was to put themselves in possession of larger and better materials for their researches. There being no Avesta manuscripts of importance in any German library, students were obliged to go to Paris, Copenhagen, London, and Oxford, the only places where Avesta manuscripts of value were to be found in Europe. Among the German States the honor of having provided scholars with the necessary means to stay at these places in order to collect more ample materials belongs to Bavaria.

The Bavarian Government granted considerable sums for these purposes to two scholars of its country, to Marc Joseph Müller, afterwards Professor of Oriental Languages at Munich, and to Frederic Spiegel, now Professor...
of Oriental Languages at the Bavarian University of Erlangen. Müller went to Paris to copy the most important Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts, and seems to have been very busy during his stay at Paris; he himself, however, made but little use of the materials collected by him. He published only two small treatises, one on the Pahlavi language (in the French Asiatic Journal 1839), treating solely of the alphabet; and one on the commencement of the Bundahish (in the Transactions of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences). Both are valuable, but chiefly based on Anquetil's papers, which the author thankfully acknowledged. Müller, very likely deterred by the enormous difficulties, like many others, then gave up this branch of study, and handed most of his materials over to his younger and more energetic countryman, Frederic Spiegel.

This scholar intended to give the learned world the first critical edition of all writings in the Avesta language, commonly called the Zend-Avesta, to be based on a careful comparison of all manuscripts then extant in Europe. The materials left to him by Müller and Olshausen not being sufficient to achieve this task, he went, munificently supported by the Bavarian Government, to Copenhagen, Paris, London, and Oxford, and copied all the manuscripts which he required for his purpose. His intention was not only to publish all the original texts, together with the ancient Pahlavi translation, but also to prepare a German translation of them with notes, and to issue both at the same time. But before he was so far advanced as to be able to publish a part of his large work, an edition of the Vendidad Sādah (comprising the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad), in Roman characters, with an index and glossary, appeared in 1850 at Leipsic.

The author of this really very useful work, which made the original texts of the Zend-Avesta known to the learned public at large, was Hermann Brockhaus, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Leipsic. Not being in pos-
session of such extensive materials as Spiegel, he contented himself with a transcription, in Roman characters, of Burnouf’s edition of the Avesta, and pointed out in footnotes the various readings of Framji Aspandiarji’s edition published at Bombay in the years 1842–43 in Gujrati characters. To facilitate the researches of students, he added an index, indicating in alphabetical order the passages where each particular word occurs. In a glossary (distinct from the index) he collected the explanations of the Avesta words, so far as they had been given by Burnouf, Bopp, Spiegel, &c. It was a rudimentary Avesta dictionary, but of course very incomplete, the author confining himself only to those words which were already explained by other scholars. Now and then he corrected errors.

This useful book contributed largely towards encouraging Avesta studies in Germany. Burnouf’s edition and his commentary on the first chapter of the Yasna were too costly and comprehensive to become generally used among the students of German universities. But the work of Brockhaus formed a manual for those Sanskrit students who had a desire of making themselves acquainted with the sacred language of the Zend-Avesta. The German Sanskrit Professors began, now and then, to teach the Avesta, but their knowledge of this language being very limited, they could not succeed in training young men for this branch of study so successfully as they did in Sanskrit. The subject is really so extremely difficult, that any one who is desirous of acquiring a complete knowledge of it, is compelled to lay aside for many years nearly all other studies, and devote his time solely to the Avesta. The language could not be learned like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Æthiopic, Turkish, Chinese, &c. (all which languages are taught in German universities, but of course not always at the same place), from grammars and dictionaries; in fact, the Avesta language, before it could be learned, had first to be discovered.
But even to begin this task, a very comprehensive and accurate knowledge of several Oriental languages, as the starting-point for further inquiries, was indispensable.

In the meantime, the importance of the Avesta language for antiquarian and philological researches became more generally known, chiefly in consequence of the attempts made to read the cuneiform inscriptions found in Persia. The first language of these inscriptions (which are engraved at Persepolis and on the rock of Bisutún in three languages) is an Aryan one, and decidedly the mother of the modern Persian. Its very close affinity to the Avesta language struck every one at the first glance; hence the great importance of this language for deciphering these inscriptions was at once acknowledged. That circumstance removed many doubts which were still entertained, especially in England, about the genuineness of the Avesta language. The first work written in English which shows any acquaintance with the original Avesta texts was the Rev. Dr. Wilson’s book on the Parsi religion, published at Bombay in 1843, which, although it relies chiefly upon the results of Burnouf’s researches, also contains frequent indications of independent investigation.

Whilst Spiegel was preparing his critical edition of the Zend-Avesta, Westergaard, Professor at Copenhagen, announced another one also, prepared from the same materials as were at the former’s disposal. This great Danish scholar had the first claims to the publication of an edition of the Avesta texts, on account of the great trouble he had taken to collect additional materials for such a work. Not satisfied with the materials extant in Europe, he left for India and Persia in order to search after new ones. During his stay in India and Persia (1841–43) he unfortunately did not succeed in obtaining manuscripts of much value. There were, indeed, some old copies of the Avesta books extant in Gujrat, and even in Bombay, but it is very difficult to purchase them. In
EUROPEAN RESEARCHES.

Persia, no books, hitherto unknown, could be discovered by Westergaard, and even of those known to the Parsis in India, he found only very few copies. We must therefore consider Western India, but more particularly Gujrat, as the only place where any books, hitherto unknown, may be discovered. In the advertisement of his edition of the Zend-Avesta, Westergaard announced the addition of a complete dictionary, with a grammar of both the Avesta dialects, an English translation of the whole, and an account of Iranian antiquities according to the Zend-Avesta.

The first fruit of Westergaard's Iranian studies was, however, not an edition of the Zend-Avesta, but one of the Bundahish, or "original creation," still extant in Pahlavi, but not in the Avesta. It is a compendious description of much of the Parsi religion, but is not acknowledged by the Dasturs as a canonical book, like those styled Zend-Avesta; its contents agreeing so exceedingly well with the reports of Theopompos and Hermippos, mentioned above, that we are driven to assign to the original, or its sources, a date not later than the fourth century before the Christian era. Westergaard's edition (Copenhagen, 1851) contains, however, only a lithographed version of one very old codex of the Bundahish, extant in the University Library at Copenhagen. He added neither translation nor notes; the only addition he made was a transcript of two inscriptions of the Sasanians, found in a cave at Hâjâbâd, which were copied by him during his stay in Persia. This edition was reviewed by the writer of these Essays, and the review was accompanied by a short sketch of Pahlavi Grammar.¹

Before Spiegel issued the first number of his edition of the Avesta texts, he published a "Grammar of the Parsi Language" (Leipzig, 1851). He means by Parsi language that is now called Pázand by the Dasturs. It

¹ See 'Über die Pehlewisprache und den Bundeshesh,' in the 'Göttinger gelehrten Anzeigen,' 1854.
differs very little from modern Persian, except in the want of Arabic words, and is nearly identical with the language written by the great Persian poet Firdausi, A.D. 1000. We are, therefore, fully entitled to call it a somewhat obsolete form of modern Persian. Spiegel added some specimens of religious literature extant in Parsi, with a German translation. This book was also reviewed (in 1853) by the writer of these Essays, who found himself compelled to take an unfavorable view of the scholarship displayed by its author.

A short time after this grammar, the first number of his edition of the Zend-Avesta, comprising the Avesta text of about ten chapters of the Vendidad, appeared. It was printed with beautiful new type at the Imperial printing-office at Vienna (1851), and is really a masterpiece of typography. This number, containing the mere text, without either various readings or the Pahlavi translation, did not suffice to enable the reader to form a judgment of the way in which the text was edited; and the publication of the remaining portion of the Vendidad, together with the Pahlavi translation of the whole, was delayed till 1853. In the same year the first number of Westergaard’s edition, printed at Copenhagen, appeared. It comprised the text of the Yasna only, chiefly based on a very old codex (written A.D. 1323), but with footnotes indicating some of the more important various readings of other codices. This edition, although not printed with such beautiful type as that used by Spiegel, was very accurate, and made a much better impression upon the student than that of his rival. In this first number one could see that he had recognised the five Gāthas as metrical pieces. These first numbers of Spiegel’s and Westergaard’s editions, together with Spiegel’s translation of the whole Vendidad, were

---

1 This codex is probably the oldest Avesta manuscript in the world, and contains the Yasna alternating with its Pahlavi translation. Another copy of the same texts by the same writer, but dated twenty-two days later, is in the library of Dastur Jamaspji Minochiharji Jamaspasana in Bombay.
EUROPEAN RESEARCHES.

reviewed (1852-53) by one of the most distinguished and sagacious Sanskrit scholars in Europe, Theodor Benfey, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Göttingen, in Hanover. He showed that, by a comparison with Sanskrit, which corresponds very closely with the Avesta language, one might arrive at a much better understanding of the Zend-Avesta than had been attained by Spiegel, who appeared to have relied chiefly upon the Pahlavi translation and the information supplied by Anquetil. This Pahlavi translation, made at least thirteen hundred or fourteen hundred years ago, would be a great assistance to any modern translator who understands it thoroughly, take the first sentences of the Vendidad as an illustration. The original Avesta text, with a literal interlinear translation, is as follows:—

Mrsa-7 Ahurâ Mazda Spîtâmân Zarathushtrâ: Asem dadâm, Spîtâma Spake Ahuramazda to Spîtâma Zarathushtra: I created, O Spîtâma Zarathushtra! asê râmb-dâitim nôîd kudâd shâitil; yêidhi Zarathushtra! a place of pleasant formation not anywhere habitable; if zî azem nôîd dadâm, Spîtâma Zarathushtra! asê râmb-thên I not should have created, O Spîtâma Zarathushtra! a place of pleasant formation not anywhere habitable, all life existing into Iran vaçó frâshnâvido, the pure would have poured forth.

This passage is rendered in the Pahlavi translation, with explanatory phrases (here included in brackets), as follows:—' Ahûramazd said to ' Spîtâmân Zarâthushtr: I created, O Spîtâmân Zarâthushtr! a delightful ' creation of a place where no comfort ' fort was created [this is where man ' is, the place where he is born and ' they bring him up, seems good to ' him, that is, very excellent and ' comfortable; this I created]; for if ' I should not have created, O Spîtâ ' mân Zarâthushtr! a delightful crea ' tion of a place where no comfort ' was created, there would have been ' an emigration of the whole material ' world to Afrân-vêj (the earthly ' paradise), that is, they would have ' remained in the act, while their ' going would have been impossible; ' for it is not possible to go so far as ' from region (kêšvar) to region, ' except with the permission of the ' yazads (angels); some say that it is ' possible to go also with that of the ' demons).

Spiegel's translation of the same passage is as follows:—' Ahura Mazda said to the holy Zarathushtra: ' I created, holy Zarathushtra! a ' place, a creation of pleasantness, ' where nowhere was created a possi ' bility (for drawing near). For if, ' holy Zarathushtra! I had not created ' a place, a creation of pleasantness, ' where nowhere was created a possi ' bility, the whole world endowed ' with bodies would have gone to ' Airyana-vâçâ.'

In this translation Spiegel differs from the Pahlavi in two notable in-
as it contains much traditional information which would be vainly sought for elsewhere; but this information is given in a character and idiom not only very difficult to understand, but also particularly liable to be misunderstood. In many cases the Pahlavi translation fails to explain the original text, or evidently misinterprets it. Under these circumstances it can be safely used only as a supplementary authority, in confirmation or modification of results already obtained (after the manner of Burnouf), by a careful comparison of parallel passages, and search for Sanskrit equivalents; or, when these means fail, the Pahlavi translation may often afford valuable assistance, if used judiciously.

Before Spiegel published the second volume of his edition of the Zend-Avesta (1858), containing the Yasna and Visparad, with their Pahlavi translations, Westergaard succeeded in editing all the Avesta texts which are known as yet; and to him we owe, therefore, the first complete edition of the Zend-Avesta. The work is entitled Zend-Avesta, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited and translated, with a Dictionary, Grammar, &c., by N. L. Westergaard. Vol. I. The Zend Texts (Copenh., 1852–54); but of the two remaining volumes nothing has yet appeared. Westergaard knows too well the enormous difficulties with which the study of the Zend-Avesta is beset to come forward with a hasty translation, grammar,

stances, and, unfortunately, without sufficient reason. The first deviation is with regard to the word Spitama, which he translates "holy," in accordance with Burnouf's explanation, which was assented to by all European scholars for a long time. But in Pahlavi it is translated by the patronymical adjective Spitamân, "the Spitaman, or descended from Spitama" who was the ancestor of Zarathushtra in the ninth generation, as recorded in the Pahlavi books. The Dasturs' tradition confirms this explanation, and the word spitama never occurs in any other connection with the meaning of "holy." The other deviation is with regard to the word shâitém, which Spiegel translates "possibility," but the Pahlavi translates more correctly by âdâna, "comfort." It is derived from the root kheî, 'to reside,' and the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs, is that a place was made delightful which had previously been nowhere habitable. Spiegel now appears to prefer comparing shâitém with the Persian shâîd, "pleasure, joy," which is more in accordance with the Pahlavi.
and dictionary; he knows that none but he who spends many years in mere preparatory studies is able to give anything like a correct translation of even a portion of the Zend-Avesta. As a first edition of all the Avesta texts, Westergaard's work deserves much praise; he follows, in most cases, the best manuscripts; but if he finds their readings decidedly incorrect, he amends them according to sound philological principles. Compound words, so far as he could discover them, are always marked. From a careful perusal of his work, one may gather that Westergaard understood already a good deal of the texts, and had extensive collections of words, forms, various readings, &c., at his disposal. In every respect except typography, Westergaard's edition of the Avesta texts is far preferable to that of Spiegel, but he did not add the Pahlavi translations.

Passing over some small treatises by Spiegel, published occasionally in the Journal of the German Oriental Society and the Transactions of the Bavarian Academy, of which the best was his essay on the 19th Fargard of the Vendidad, we may now proceed to speak of the researches in the sacred writings of the Parsis made by the author of these Essays.

He commenced the study of the Avesta language in the autumn of 1852, shortly after the publication of the first number of Westergaard's edition of the Zend-Avesta containing the Avesta text of the Yasna. He was already acquainted with the results arrived at by Burnouf, which knowledge was chiefly due to Brockhaus's valuable compilation already noticed. But he was quite convinced, at the very outset of his studies, that, from all that had been hitherto written on the Avesta language and the Zend-Avesta, one could obtain little but merely elementary information on the subject. Actuated by mere love of these ancient records, and cherishing the hope of making some discoveries in this terra incognita, he set about the task of instituting inquiries into these sacred texts. He possessed no other aids than those which were accessible to all other
scholars, while Spiegel and Westergaard had all the manuscripts, or copies thereof, and the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations, at their disposal. Westergaard's edition of the Yasna enabled the author to commence this study, but it was soon apparent that unusual difficulties attended every step in this branch of philological study. He first directed his attention to the metrical portions of the Yasna, called the five Gāthas, or hymns, the explanation of which had never been attempted before by any Oriental scholar. It is true Spiegel first observed that their language is different from the usual Avesta language to be found in the Vendidad, Yashts, Visparad, and the other parts of the Yasna; but he rested satisfied with pointing out some of the most striking differences, such as the constant lengthening of final vowels, and had never undertaken to translate these hymns. The author first tried to make out the meaning of a few lines by means of Anquetil's translation, but was soon convinced of its utter insufficiency even as a guide for ascertaining the general meaning. In the Vendidad and the other books Anquetil may guide one in this respect, but not in the Gāthas. The chief reason is the peculiarity of these hymns as to language and ideas; they contain no descriptions of ceremonies and observances, like the Vendidad, nor any enumeration of the glorious feats of angels, like the Yashts, but philosophical and abstract thoughts, and they differ widely from all other pieces contained in the Zend-Avesta. As they have been unintelligible to the Parsi priests for more than two thousand years, we could not expect Anquetil to give even an approximate account of their general contents. As Anquetil's work afforded no assistance, it became necessary to take the trouble of collecting all the parallel passages throughout the Zend-Avesta, and arranging them alphabetically. The index of Brockhaus to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad was a considerable aid; but it was necessary to make an index to the Yashts, which form about one-half of all the Avesta texts extant, and were for the first time published
in Westergaard's edition. Being convinced, like Burnouf, that the language of the Vedas stands nearest of all Aryan dialects to the Avesta language, the author betook himself to the study of the sacred writings of the Brahmans, especially that section which is called the *Rigveda Samhita*, being a collection of rather more than a thousand very ancient hymns. Only one-eighth part of this large work being published at that time, it was necessary to copy out from a manuscript, kindly lent by Professor Benfey at Göttingen, the remaining seven parts. After that was done, an alphabetical index, at least to some portions of this extensive collection of hymns, had also to be made; but in this tedious work assistance was given by a friend, Gottlob Wilhelm Hermann (a young clergyman in Württemberg), who possesses a remarkable knowledge of Sanskrit. Not content with these aids, the author commenced the study of Armenian (which is affiliated to the Iranian languages), and also that of Pahlavi (being already acquainted with modern Persian). The study of Pahlavi, which language resembles a mixture of Persian and Chaldee, was much facilitated by his being acquainted, to a certain extent, with all Semitic tongues, which knowledge he owed chiefly to his great teacher, Professor Ewald, at Göttingen. After these preparations, the philological operations were commenced in the following manner:— First, all the other passages were examined where the word or form to be investigated occurred, in order to ascertain its approximate meaning. But the parallels referred to being often as obscure as the passage upon which they had to throw light, it was frequently necessary first to make out their meaning also by a reference to other parallels. The approximate meaning of the word being thus arrived at, in most cases after much trouble, it was confirmed or modified by means of a sound etymology; first applying to those words and forms of the Avesta language itself which there was reason to suppose to be cognate to the word in question, and then consulting the Vedas, especially the
hymns of the Rigveda. There being neither index nor glossary to these hymns, the same trouble had to be taken with them as with the Zend-Avesta, in order to ascertain from parallels the meaning of the Vedic word referred to. When no satisfactory result was obtained by these means, further search was made in modern Persian and Armenian, and now and then in Latin and Greek also. Modern Persian; especially in its older form, commonly styled Parsi, was of the highest value for such etymological researches. But an appeal to this genuine niece of the sacred language of the Zend-Avesta is in general more difficult, and subject to greater liability of error, than that to Vedic Sanskrit, which is an elder sister of the Avesta language. In modern Persian a good many Avesta words are preserved, but they have undergone such great changes as to make them hardly discernible by a somewhat inexperienced etymologist. Such corruptions of the ancient words are, however, reducible to certain rules, which, being only partially known as yet, had first to be discovered. To illustrate these remarks on the corruption of ancient words in modern Persian by some examples, we may take the Avesta zaredaya, "heart," which has become dil in modern Persian; sareda, "year," is sál; kerenaoiti, "he makes," is kunad; átarsh, "fire," is átash; &c. In Sanskrit, as the elder sister, the corresponding words are much easier to recognise: thus, zaredaya is hridaya, saredha is sharad¹ (in the Vedas), kerenaoiti is krinoti (the Vedic form, altered in classical Sanskrit into karoti), átar-sh is athar (preserved only in its derivative atharvan, "fireman, priest"), &c. Of the ancient grammatical forms, such as the distinctive terminations of cases, tenses, &c., nothing remains in modern Persian, but all are extant in Vedic Sanskrit.

¹ Spelt as pronounced; the letter ç, generally used by European Orientalists, misrepresents the sound of the palatal sibilant, which is that of sh in sheet, or ss in assure. The risk of leading to mispronunciation (which is by no means an imaginary evil) more than counterbalances any etymological advantage that can be gained by using k, g, and ç to represent palatal sounds.
From these remarks, it will be readily perceived that Sanskrit must be of much more use than modern Persian in deciphering the Avesta language.

The first fruit of these laborious researches was an attempt to explain the forty-fourth chapter of the Yasna (forming a part of the second Gāthā), which appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (1853–54). On account of the great difficulty of the subject, and the incompleteness of the intended preparations, at that early date it was impossible to be certain of many of the interpretations proposed. But being convinced, from this first attempt, that the Gāthas contained the undoubted teaching of Zarathushtra himself, as he imparted it to his disciples, the author thought it worth the trouble to pursue these studies six years longer, and published the results of his laborious investigations in a work entitled, "The Five Gāthāś or Collections of Songs and Sayings of Zarathushtra, his Disciples and Successors," edited, translated, and explained (2 vols., Leipzig, 1858–60). It contains the text, revised according to philological principles, and transcribed into Roman characters, a literal Latin translation, a free translation into German, and a complete critical and philological commentary, with introductions to each of the seventeen chapters, and concludes with an introduction to the whole. The basis of the whole work is the commentary, which gives, at full length, the results of a comparison of all parallel passages in the Zend-Avesta and the Veda, and the etymological researches in the Avesta and cognate languages, together with a partial review of the traditional explanations, so far as they were accessible in a bad transcript of Neryosangh’s Sanskrit translation of the Gāthas. Some portions of this work, much revised, will be hereafter submitted to the reader in the third Essay.

About six months after the publication of the first part of this work, SPIEGEL published a translation of the whole Yasna (including the Gāthas), together with the Visparadh. In this translation of the Yasna he appears to have relied
chiefly upon Neryosangh’s Sanskrit version, which, in its turn, is a mere echo of the Pahlavi translation. This is, no doubt, the traditional interpretation; but, unfortunately, the tradition goes but a short way back in the history of such ancient writings as the Gāthas, which had evidently become as unintelligible (from age or difference of dialect) in the time of the Pahlavi translators as they are to the Dasturs of the present day. Any translation based upon such imperfect tradition can claim little attention as a work to be relied on.

Spiegel had previously (in 1856) published his “Grammar of the Huzvâresh Language,” a term applied to Pahlavi, and usually written žvârish by Persian writers; it appears, however, to mean the peculiar mode of writing adopted in Pahlavi, in which Semitic words (or other obsolete forms) could be substituted by the writer for their Iranian equivalents, and would be read by the reader just as if the Iranian words had been written. This mode of writing is by no means peculiar to Pahlavi, for even in English we often write forms which are strictly analogous to Huzvârish, such as viz., i.e., e.g., lb., %, £ s. d., Xmas, &c., which we generally read as if they were written “namely,” “that is,” “for example,” “pound,” “per cent.,” “pounds, shillings, and pence,” “Christmas,” “et cetera.” Spiegel’s grammar was based upon the forms he found in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, and in the Bunda-hish; and so far as the collection and arrangement of these forms was concerned, it was very complete and useful; but he was unfortunate in his explanations of the Huzvârish forms, and so many of these explanations have since been disproved, that his grammar is practically obsolete, and likely to mislead.

In 1860 Spiegel published, as a second part of his Huzvârish grammar, a work on the traditional literature of the Parsis, illustrated by quotations from the original texts, with translations, and a glossary. This work contains many valuable notices of such Pahlavi texts as were acces-
sible to him, especially the Bundahish, Bahman Yasht, Minokhird, and the Pahlavi translations of the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad; together with some allusions to the Vajarkard-i-din, Ardâ-Virâf-nâmah, Sad-dar Bundahish, Zaratusht-nâmah, Changhraghâch-nâmah, Ulamâ-i-Islâm, Jâmâsp-nâmah, the Rivâyats, and a few minor writings. With some of the longest of the Pahlavi writings Spiegel was then unacquainted, and he was inclined to identify the Shâyast-nashâyast with the Sad-dar Bundahish, not being aware that it is the name applied to the Pahlavi Rivâyat by the Dasturs, and that there is also a Persian book of the same name extant.

Before proceeding to later researches, some other publications relating to the Zend-Avesta have to be mentioned. Lassen, the well-known Sanskrit scholar, published an edition of the Avesta text of the first five chapters of the Vendidad (Bonn, 1851); but he added neither translation nor explanatory notes.

Max Duncker, the author of a “History of Antiquity” which is highly valued in Germany, treated of the ancient Persian religion, its sacred books and prophets, in the second volume of his work. Although himself a mere historian, and no Oriental scholar, he succeeded in drawing a fine and correct general picture of ancient Iranian life, according to the reports of the Greeks and the modern researches in the Zend-Avesta.

Windischmann, a Roman Catholic clergyman of high position at Munich, published two valuable essays, one on the deity Anaitis worshipped by the ancient Persians, and mentioned, under the name Anâhita, in the Yashts (Munich, 1856); the other was a translation of the Mihir Yasht, with notes (Leipzig, 1857). His latest researches were published, after his premature death, under the title of “Zoroastrian Studies,” edited by Spiegel (Berlin, 1863). This work contains a very useful translation of the Bundahish, with extensive explanatory notes and essays upon several of its subjects, including a translation of the first
half of the Fravardin Yasht. His translations were a great improvement on those of Anquetil, being made on scientific principles. In the case of the Bundahish, he had really to rely upon the single text published by Westergaard, as previously mentioned; for Anquetil’s manuscript of the text was originally copied from the same codex, now at Copenhagen.

In 1864, Bleeck published an English translation of the Avesta, at the request of Seth Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama. This was merely a translation from the German of Spiegel, but the translator referred to the original text as a guide to his choice of words in many places, and in some instances he complains of the German version being quite as unintelligible as the Avesta text itself. This translation was intended for the information of the Parsis, but it has also been useful to that portion of the English public which takes an interest in Zoroastrianism, though unprepared to face the difficulty of foreign languages. It contains, of course, all the imperfections of Spiegel’s translations.

The further researches of the author of these Essays were greatly facilitated by his being appointed, in 1859, superintendent of Sanskrit studies in Poona College, near Bombay. He was thus brought into contact both with Brahmins and Parsi priests, the present possessors of all the traditional Vedic and Zoroastrian lore that has not been lost. After a short interval, employed in learning Marâthi, the vernacular language of that part of Western India, and in the further study of English, he began his observations of the native modes of study, and followed them up by close inquiries regarding their rites and ceremonies. He had, in the first place, to unlearn much that he had learnt in Europe; and to his readiness in accepting the fact that European scholarship must often stand corrected before Indian tradition was probably due his ever-increasing influence over the natives, which enabled him, in the end, to obtain fuller information regarding their ceremonies than had ever previously been given to a European.
The Parsis had gradually lost much of their reluctance to discuss religious matters with Europeans, which had been engendered or aggravated by their bitter controversy with the missionaries, some twenty years before, and which had been brought to a climax by the publication of the Rev. Dr. Wilson’s book before mentioned. They felt that this book was so far one-sided as to give a false idea of their religion, and they were naturally indignant at the sarcasms it contained.\(^1\) But the progress of time and education had dissipated this ill-feeling, and they were delighted to find a European scholar who understood so much of their religion as to appreciate its good points without dwelling too severely upon those which are doubtful or objectionable. With a feeling of growing confidence, the priests discussed their ceremonies and sacred books, and the laity were glad to receive, from a European scholar, explanations of their older scriptures which had hitherto been nearly sealed books to all. To meet this increasing demand for information, a public lecture, “On the Origin of the Parsi Religion,” was delivered on the 1st March 1861; and the first edition of these Essays was published in 1862.

In the cold season of 1863–64 the author undertook a tour in Gujrat, under Government patronage, to search for Avesta, Pahlavi, and Sanskrit manuscripts. During this tour he examined most of the Parsi libraries in Surat,\(^2\) Nāwsāri, Bhroch, and Balsār, and succeeded in purchasing several manuscripts for the Bombay Government, including

---

\(^1\) Any personal ill-feeling which Dr. Wilson may have occasioned by his book soon disappeared; but it was many years before his habitual kindliness, and conscientious efforts for the improvement of the natives of India, regained the confidence of the Parsis. On his death, however, in 1875, no one felt more deeply than the Dasturs themselves that they had lost one of their best friends, and that in his controversy with them he had only acted as his duty compelled him.

\(^2\) The only Parsi priest in Surat who knew anything of Anquetil Duperron was Dastur Kāi-Khusru Darab, who recollected hearing that Dastur Darab had taught Anquetil the Avesta, and shown him the sacred fire, when disguised as a Parsi.
a very old copy of the Avesta text of the Yasna, an old copy of the Vendidad with Pahlavi, and a Vendidad-sâdah written in 1626. Some other manuscripts were presented to him as tokens of personal respect on the part of their owners. Among these was a very old manuscript containing the Visparad with Pahlavi, Hâdôkht Nask, Pahlavi Rivâyat, Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmah, Bundahish, and several minor texts, written in 1397; also copies of the Nirangistân, Shikand-gumâni, &c. With regard to Sanskrit translations, he could find none of the Yasna extending beyond the Srôsh Yasht; and of the Vendidad, only Fargards viii. 79, 80, and ix. 1-4 (Westerg.), appear to have been ever translated into Sanskrit. He also saw a Sanskrit Sirozah and an incomplete Avesta-Sanskrit glossary. At Nâw-sâri he found two copies (one in Avesta and the other in Avesta with Pahlavi) of a book called the Vaêtha Nask, from its beginning with the word vaêtha; and other copies of it were seen elsewhere. Both its Avesta and Pahlavi were full of grammatical errors, and there is reason to believe that this work was fabricated by some Dastur more than a century ago, for the purpose of settling the inheritance of the children of a non-Zoroastrian wife, which it fixes at one-half the property, while the widow is to receive the other half. This is contrary to the opinion of most Parsi priests, who would consider such children not entitled to any share of the paternal property, although there appears to be nowhere, in the Avesta texts extant, any direct prohibition of intermarriages between Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians.

After his return to Poona, in 1864, the author recommended the Government of Bombay to employ Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji, a younger brother of the high-priest of the Parsis at Poona, to prepare editions of several Pahlavi works for publication; and he subsequently undertook to revise these works, and see them through the press, on his return to Germany in 1866. He also delivered a lecture, "On an Original Speech of Zoroaster"
(Yasna xlv.), before an almost exclusively Parsi audience, at Bombay, on the 8th October 1864, at their special request. And in pursuance of his schemes for encouraging Parsis in the study of their religious literature, the proceeds of this lecture were appropriated as prizes for the best translations, by Parsis, of two Pahlavi works, one of which, the Pandnámah of Adarpád Máraspend, was published in 1869.

Turning back to Europe, we find a young and industrious scholar, Justi, of Marburg, publishing a “Handbook of the Zend Language” (Leipzig, 1864), containing a dictionary (Avesta and German) of all words in the texts published by Westergaard, a grammar, and selections for reading, all printed in Roman type. This dictionary is a very useful compilation in a handy form, and, so far as arrangement is concerned, it leaves little to be desired; but having been prepared with too little study of the texts, it is often incorrect in its definitions, and is therefore likely to perplex the careful student, and mislead the unwary, unless it be used rather as a handy index than a complete dictionary. Many of these defects will probably disappear in a second edition, which ought also to include the Avesta words peculiar to the Zend-Pahlavi glossary and Nīrangistân; but the Avesta dictionary long ago promised by Westergaard would be more welcome, and be used with more confidence.

In 1868 Justi also published a translation of the Bundahish, with the Pahlavi text lithographed and transliterated into Persian characters, and a glossary, in which the Pahlavi words are printed in Persian type. From some misconception, he claims, on the title-page, to have published the Bundahish for the first time, whereas the lithographed text had been already published by Westergaard in 1851, and translations had been published by Anquetil in 1771, and by Windischmann in 1863. Justi had the advantage of collating another recension of the text, contained in a Pahlavi MS. at Oxford and a Pâzand
MS. in London, both of which have evidently been derived from the very old MS. written in 1397, and presented to the author of these Essays at Surat, as mentioned above. The translation is, therefore, more correct than its predecessors, though blunders are not unfrequent. Justi argues that the Bundahish is not older than the time of Ferdousi, and its statement about the accession of the Arabs cannot, of course, be more than three centuries older; but many of the other signs of late date which he relies on are fallacious. It seems plausible enough to argue that the more old forms of words a MS. contains, the older it must be; but when one finds old forms substituted in a modern MS. for later forms in a MS. five hundred years old (as often happens in Pahlavi), this argument evidently fails, and we have to suspend our judgment until the period when the later forms first arose has been historically ascertained. With regard to the Bundahish, it has probably been too hastily assumed that it is a single continuous work; it may be half-a-dozen fragments, either of the same or various works, thrown together in different orders by different writers, as the MSS. vary in arrangement, and the fragments constituting Anquetil's Chapters xxviii., xxix., xxx., and xxxii., have been hitherto found only in the MS. at Copenhagen, and its two modern copies. This fragmentary condition of the book is more consistent with the supposition of its antiquity than of its later origin; it also explains how some fragments may be much older than others. However this may be, the arrangement of the fragments in the Copenhagen MS. is probably that adopted in the latest edition, as it is most consistent with the idea of a continuous text.

The author of these Essays, after his return to Germany in 1866, revised and published, for the Government of Bombay, some of the Pahlavi works prepared by Dastur Hoshangji, as mentioned above. The first of these was the "Old Zend-Pahlavi Glossary," which is found in two of the oldest Pahlavi MSS. extant. The text was printed
in the original character, with an interlinear transliteration in italics, and accompanied with an introduction, English translation, and alphabetical index to the Avesta words, arranged as an Avesta glossary. The introduction treated, first, of the age and origin of Pahlavi; and, secondly, of the age and value of the glossary; and it contained the first systematic attempt to connect the Pahlavi of the Sasanian inscriptions with that of the Parsi books. This glossary was published in 1867, and was followed in 1870 by the "Old Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary," of which the text and index had likewise been prepared by Dastur Hoshangji. The index, which was arranged as a Pahlavi-English glossary, was considerably enlarged by the addition of all the Pahlavi words in the "Zend-Pahlavi Glossary." And the work was preceded by a long and important introductory essay on the Pahlavi language, in which the nature of that language was, for the first time, fully and critically examined, and a sound basis laid for future investigations. This essay began with a history of the researches in Pahlavi literature, inscriptions, and numismatics which had been made in Europe. It then proceeded to discuss the meaning of the terms Pahlavi and Huzvârish, identifying Pahlavi with Parthian or ancient Persian, and explaining Huzvârish as the mode of writing Pahlavi with a large intermixture of foreign or obsolete words. It next deciphered several Sasanian inscriptions, and compared their language with that of the Parsi books, with the view of determining the character of Pahlavi, which it defined as a Semitic language, with an admixture of Iranian words, and a prevailing Iranian construction, if we look only to the way it is written (all the pronouns and particles, and most of the common words, being usually Semitic); or as a purely Iranian language if we consider only the way in which it is read; and to this practice, of reading the Iranian equivalents of the written Semitic words, it attributed the total disappearance of these Semitic words in modern Persian as soon as
the writers began to write as they spoke. The essay con-
cluded by discussing the origin and age of Pahlavi, and
showed that traces of that language can be discovered in
some short inscriptions of the fourth and seventh centu-
ries B.C. Although this glossary was originally published
by Anquetil in his Zend-Avesta in 1771, it was in such a
modified form that it remained for a century practically
useless.

Shortly after the publication of the first of these glos-
saries, the author of these Essays was appointed Professor
of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of
Munich, where he continued to publish, from time to time,
short essays on subjects connected with Parsi literature;
among them an essay “On the Present State of Zend Phi-
lology” (1868), in which he sought to correct the mis-
apprehensions of other scholars with regard to the mean-
ings of certain Avesta words. Also a translation of the
eighteenth Fargard of the Vendidad, with a commentary
(1869); and an essay on the Yathā-ahū-vairyō, one of the
most sacred formulas of the Parsis, with a translation of
its commentary in Yasna xix. (1872).

The last of his works connected with the Parsi religion
was the revision and publication of Dastur Hoshangji’s
edition of “The Book of Arđā-Vīrāf” (1872), and its glos-
sary (1874). In the preparation of these works, and also
in the Pahlavi-Pāzand glossary, he was assisted by an
English friend, E. W. West, whose attention had been first
directed to Pahlavi by the discovery of inscriptions in that
language at the old Buddhist caves of Kanheri, about
twenty miles north of Bombay. To the Pahlavi text and
transliteration of the book of Arđā-Vīrāf were added the
texts and transliterations of the tale of Gōsht-i Fryānō
and the Hādōkht Nask, with English translations of all
three texts, and introductory essays describing the manu-
scripts used, the system of transliteration adopted, and the
contents of the texts. The glossary, which was prepared
by West from the original texts and from materials sup-
plied by Dastur Hoshangji, was arranged in the alphabetical order of the Pahlavi characters, as compared with their modern Persian equivalents. It forms a complete index to the three texts, and to some Pahlavi fragments which had been published, but not glossarised, in the introductions and notes to the previous glossaries. It would be a great assistance to scholars if other Pahlavi texts were published in a similarly complete manner, but the labour of doing so, with sufficient accuracy, is alarmingly great. To the glossary was added an outline of Pahlavi grammar.

Besides assisting in the publication of Dastur Hoshangji’s works, West had also published “The Book of the Mainyö-i-khard” (1871) which professes to give the utterances of the Spirit of Wisdom on many of the doctrines and details of the Parsi religion. In this work the Pâzand text and Neryosangh’s Sanskrit translation were printed in Roman type, and accompanied by a glossary of all the Pâzand words, with an outline of Pâzand grammar.

Passing over some short essays, such as Sachau’s “Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsi Literature,” and also larger works of more pretension, such as Spiegel’s “Iranian Antiquities,” this account of European researches may be concluded by a short notice of some French works.

A new French translation of the Avesta is in the course of publication by C. de Harlez, Professor at the University of Louvain, in Belgium. The first volume (1875) contains a translation of the Vendidad, with an introductory historical account of Zoroaster and the Avesta, and some details regarding Zoroastrian doctrines and ceremonies. The second volume (1876) contains translations of the Visparad, Yasna, Hâdôkht Nask, and the first ten Yashts of Westergaard’s edition of the texts. These translations are based not only upon Spiegel’s translations, but also upon the works of all other scholars hitherto published, which have been carefully compared with the original text by M. de Harlez, who has selected the most satisfactory explanations, or modified
them in accordance with his own researches. He has endeavoured to give the meaning of the text without being slavishly literal in his translation, because the French language, in his opinion, does not tolerate strictly literal translation where the meaning is obscure. This is unfortunate, as there are many obscure passages into which it would be very hazardous to import more meaning than the original text implies. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that French writers, like Orientals, cannot tolerate that strict accuracy of translation which seems so desirable to Teutonic scholars.

With regard to the Vendidad, it may be noticed that all translators have been misled into admitting Avesta quotations, made by the Pahlavi commentator, as integral portions of the Avesta text. This mistake has arisen from the Avesta text being printed separate from the Pahlavi, instead of alternating with it as in the original manuscripts. Neither the writers of the Vendidad Sādah, nor the European editors of the texts, have been always able to distinguish these quotations from the original text; nor is it sometimes easy to do so; but Vend. i. 4 (i. 2, Westerg.) consists of four such quotations which form part of the Pahlavi commentary.

A young French scholar, James Darmesteter, has recently engaged in the study of the Avesta texts in a strictly scientific manner, and has published several essays of considerable importance. Among these may be mentioned his "Zend Notes," and "Notes on the Avesta," in which he traces the philological relations of many Avesta words, for the purpose of fixing their meanings. His essay on "Haurvatâd and Ameretâd" (1875) traces the history of these two ideas, health and immortality, as they first became personified as archangels who oppose Tauru and Zairicha, the demons of sickness and death; secondly, as these archangels acquired the attributes of protectors of water and vegetation, and their opponents became the demons of hunger and thirst; and finally, as their names
became corrupted into Khurul and Murd, when there appeared a tendency to treat them as titles of fire and the angel of death. This account of these two Ameshaspentas is ably supported, and to a great extent substantiated, by quotations from the Avesta and Veda.

His latest work is an exhaustive essay "On Ormazd and Ahriman" (1877), in which he has applied the method of comparative mythology to explain the myths, equally with that of comparative philology to explain the texts. The conclusion he arrives at is, that Mazdayasnicism was originally a dualism which taught that the universe was created by two beings, Ahuramazda, who is luminous and good, and Angra-mainyu, who is gloomy and bad; and the history of the universe is a history of their struggles for supremacy. Ahuramazda can be traced back to Asura, the supreme god of Indo-Iranian times, and is the representative of Varuna, Zeus, or Jupiter. But Angra-mainyu is a later idea of the Iranians only, although he takes the place of the Indo-Iranian serpent-demon who fought with the fire-god in storms. This dualism satisfied the popular mind, but philosophers found it necessary, in the end, to set up a First Cause, whom they called Boundless Time, or Destiny, and from whom they imagined that both the creative beings proceeded. These conclusions, so far as the primary dualism is concerned, will hardly be accepted by the Dasturs as a correct view of Zarathushtra's teachings. The Parsis are now strict monotheists, and whatever may have been the views of former philosophical writings, their one supreme deity is Ahuramazda. Their views of Angra-mainyu seem to differ in no respect from what is supposed to be the orthodox Christian view of the devil. Whether Darmesteter's conclusions regarding the dualism can be fully maintained is rather doubtful; the question depends rather upon the exact meaning of a few difficult passages in old writings, which are confessedly mere fragments, than upon the wide generalisations of comparative mythology, which may easily mislead.
III.—ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES AMONG THE PARSIS.

Before concluding this Essay, we may briefly notice the efforts of the Zoroastrians themselves to preserve and elucidate their ancient religion and literature.

The Persian cuneiform inscriptions inform us that the Achaemenian kings believed in Ahuramazda, and that their language was closely allied to that of the Avesta; in fact, the period of their rule appears to have been the Augustan age of Zoroastrian literature, when it was completed and arranged in twenty-one books, called Nasaks, each indexed by one of the twenty-one words composing the sacred \textit{Yathd-ahd-vairyo} formula. This period is approximately mentioned in the book of \textit{Arda-Viraf}, when it states that for “three hundred years the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts.”

We know from classical writers that Alexander, in a drunken frolic, burnt the citadel and palace of the Achaemenian kings at Persepolis, in which one of the two complete copies of the Zoroastrian literature had been deposited; thus one copy was burnt, and the other is said to have been plundered by the Greeks. Any other copies, more or less partial, must have suffered greatly during the next 550 years, while the Zoroastrian religion received little support from either Greeks or Parthians, although the fourth book of the Dinkard mentions that Valkhash (Vologeses) the Ashkanian ordered all extant writings to be collected and preserved.

The earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty collected and rearranged the scattered writings, and the more peaceable of the later kings encouraged literary pursuits; but the Mohammedan conquest of Persia, and the troubled times which followed, swept away nearly all these writings, notwithstanding two or three attempts of leading Zoroastrians to preserve what was still extant. Of these attempts it is recorded, at the end of the third book of the Dinkard, that
Adarpād-i Adarfrobag-i Farukhzādān collected all the old writings he could find; and this collection falling into decay, was again copied by Adarpād-i Admitān, and arranged in the form of the Dīnkard, the fourth and fifth books of which appear to contain the sayings of Adarfrobag-i Farukhzādān, and those he selected from the religious books. Of the subsequent fate of the Dīnkard more will be said in the next Essay.

The Zoroastrian fugitives who settled on the western shores of India found it difficult to preserve all their religious ceremonies and literature, and frequently applied to their persecuted brethren in Persia for information during the first ten centuries after the Mohammedan conquest. Parsi writers may probably exaggerate the ignorance of their forefathers in India, as it was during these dark ages that one of their priests, the famous Neryosangh Dhaval, was able to translate several of their religious books from Pahlavi into Sanskrit. Among these books are the Shikand-gumānī, Mainyō-i-khārd, and the greater part of the Yasna, the translations of which exhibit a knowledge of the original Pahlavi that is hardly yet surpassed by modern Dasturs. Neryosangh appears to have aimed at popularising the obscure Pahlavi texts by transliterating them into Pāzand; but why he should have added a Sanskrit translation is not so apparent, unless it were for the information of strangers, or as a somewhat unnecessary stepping-stone to a Gujrati version. As manuscripts of the early part of the sixteenth century are still extant, which have descended from Neryosangh’s writings, it is evident that he must have lived as early as the fifteenth century; and judging from their genealogies, the present Dasturs are inclined to think that he flourished about that time.

The Parsis are also indebted, to some priests of these dark ages, for the successive copies of their sacred books which have preserved their religious writings from total destruction. The oldest of these copyists whose manu-
scripts still survive was Mihrāpān-i Kaṭ-Khusro-i Mihrāpān-i Spendyād-i 1 Mihrāpān-i Marjpān-i Bahram, who appears to have been a voluminous though rather careless copyist, as we find his name in many colophons dated about 550 years ago. He seems to have completed the book of Ardā-Virāf and Gōšt-i Fryānō (copied in K20 now at Copenhagen) on the 18th of the tenth month A.Y. 690; the first part of the so-called Pahlavi Shāhnāmah (now in the library of Dastur Jamaspji at Bombay) on the 11th of the sixth month A.Y. 691, and the latter part on the 19th day of another month in the same year; the Yasna with Pahlavi (now at Copenhagen) on the 27th of the tenth month A.Y. 692; another copy of the same (now in the library of Dastur Jamaspji at Bombay) on the 19th day of the eleventh month A.Y. 692; the Vendidad with Pahlavi (now at Copenhagen) on the 24th day of the fourth month A.Y. 693; the Shāyast-lā-shāyast (copied in K20 now at Copenhagen) on the 9th day of the seventh month A.Y. 700; and the Hā́dokht Nask (copied in the same) on the 18th day of the ninth month A.Y. 720; also the Vendidad with Pahlavi (now in the India Office Library at London) seems to be in his handwriting, but the colophon is lost. Of these eight manuscripts, four are still extant in Mihrāpān’s handwriting; three we know only from copies taken about five hundred years ago, and now contained in the manuscript K20 at Copenhagen; and the handwriting of the Pahlavi Shāhnāmah is so like that of K20, that it may be a similar copy from Mihrāpān’s manuscript. Three of his books were copied at Kambāyat from manuscripts (yadman nīpēk) written by Rustam-i Mihrāpān-i Marjpān-i Dahishnāyr, who may have been his great-grand-uncle.

Passing on to later times, we find the arrival of the Iranian Dastur Jamasp (surnamed Wilāyati, “foreign”) giving a considerable impulse to the study of religious literature among the Indian Parsis. He is reported to have left Persia on the 27th November 1720, and to have

1 Once written Spendyār.
given the Dasturs at Nawsari, Surat, and Bhroch much information regarding the customs and learning of the Zoroastrians in Persia. The chief Dastur at Nawsari, Jamasp Asa, became celebrated for his learning, and at his death, about 125 years ago, left a large library of manuscripts, which has become much scattered among his posterity, now in the fifth generation. The visit of Dastur Jamasp Wilâyati appears to have first called the attention of the Indian Parsees to the fact that their calendar was exactly one month behind that of their Persian brethren. This was a matter of some importance, as it would, in their opinion, destroy the efficacy of their prayers if the wrong month were mentioned, and it altered the date of all their festivals. It was not, however, till after further inquiries in Persia, and the arrival of another priest therefrom, that several Indian Parsees determined to adopt the Persian calendar, which they did on the 17th June 1745, corresponding to the 29th day of the ninth month A.Y. 1114 of the Persian reckoning, which they styled qādīm, “ancient,” while the old Indian reckoning, which has been retained by the majority of the Parsees, is styled rasmi, “customary,” or shāhanshāhī, “imperial;” the term qādīm, however, when found in older documents, is said to mean the old reckoning of the Indian Parsees.

This alteration in the calendar, and several small alterations in ritual in accordance with Persian usage, such as pronouncing voḥī for voḥū, constituted a complete schism requiring a distinct priesthood, and occasioned much controversy. The old-calendar party accounted for the difference in reckoning by supposing that the people in Persia had forgotten to insert an intercalary month which their fugitive brethren had remembered to do shortly after their flight from the Mohammedans: if this were the case, it is difficult to understand why the intercalary month was not again inserted every 120 years, according to the supposed practice. To support this theory it became necessary to prove, from the religious books, that such an
intercalary (kalîsah) month was therein enjoined, and this led to the kalîsah controversy, in which the chief advocates for the intercalation were Dastur Aspandiarji Kâm-dinji of Bhroch, who published a book on the subject in 1826, and Dastur Edalji Dârâbji of Bombay, who published the book of the Khoreche-Vêhîjak in 1828. Their chief opponent was Mullâ Firûz, who published the Avîjeh-Dîn, in 1830, to refute Dastur Edalji’s views. Much of the controversy turns upon the meaning of one or more Pahlavi words, generally read vêhâjakîk, which Dastur Edalji translates as “intercalary,” and Mullâ Firûz explains as referring to new-year’s day, or the beginning. In some cases the word cited means evidently “additional,” but none of the passages quoted seem to bear much on the question of an intercalary month, either one way or the other, although Dastur Edalji has mistranslated one obscure passage so as to prove his case. That there must have been some mode of keeping the calendar in accordance with the sun in former times appears evident from the Bundahish (p. 59, Westerg.), where two of the gahanbâr festivals are made coincident with the longest and shortest days respectively; but there seems to be no account in the Parsi books of the mode adopted for the rectification of the calendar.

The growing demand among Parsis for further information regarding the contents of their sacred books was met, to some extent, by the publication (in 1843) of the Yasna text in Gujarati characters, with a Gujarati translation, by Aspandiarji Framji; and a similar translation of the Vendidad was made about the same time. These translations are noteworthy as being the latest Parsi works of this nature which are free from European influence, and can therefore be consulted by European scholars as the last embodiment of pure traditional information.

The foremost of the Parsi writers who represent the period of transition from confidence in old traditions to reliance on European scholars, is Dastur Peshotanjî
PARSI WRITINGS.

Behramji Sanjâna, the present high-priest of the Bombay Parsis of the predominant sect. In 1848 he published the Pahlavi text of the Vajarkard-i-dinî, from a modern copy of an old manuscript at Surat: this is probably the first book printed with Pahlavi type. In 1853 he published a Gujrati translation of the Pahlavi Kârnâmâk-i Ardashîr-i Pâpakân, which is a fairly good specimen of correct translation. Before the publication of his "Grammar of the Pahlavi Language" (in Gujrati, 1871), Dastur Peshotanji had ample opportunity to study the views of European scholars; and his grammar, which is very complete, though rather too voluminous, is a great improvement upon the one or two Pahlavi grammars previously published by Parsi writers. He thinks that the pronunciation of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi in Sasanian times has been correctly handed down by tradition, and that its variations from Chaldee are due to corrupt pronunciation when the words were first adopted, and not to mere mis-reading of the characters after the correct pronunciation was lost. This opinion, however, is not confirmed by reference to the inscriptions of Sasanian times; thus, the word traditionally pronounced jânûn, "become," is found inscribed yahvân in unambiguous Sasanian characters, exactly as had been anticipated by European scholars, whose proposed readings of several other Huvvârish words are fully confirmed by the Sasanian inscriptions. In some cases the inscriptions have contradicted the views of European scholars, so Parsi writers exercise a wise discretion in not departing from their traditional readings too hastily.

The latest work of Dastur Peshotanji, of which the first volume appeared in 1874, is the Dînkard, in which he gives the Pahlavi text with a transliteration in Avesta letters, a Gujrati and English translation, and a glossary of some selected words. This first volume contains about one-eighth part of the extant portion of the Dînkard, or about one-eighth of the third book, which is the least
interesting part of the work, and perhaps the most difficult to translate. Many improvements in the translation might be suggested, but it gives the meaning of the original as nearly as can be expected in a first translation of a difficult text. The second volume, published in 1876, completes the first tenth part of the extant text, and fully maintains the character of this edition of the Dinkard for accuracy.

The works of Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji have already been mentioned (p. 48–51) as having been revised by the author of these Essays, and published under his supervision. In their original state they displayed a very considerable knowledge of Pahlavi on the part of Dastur Hoshangji, who had disposed of many of the chief difficulties which might otherwise have troubled the reviser; most of the corrections required were due to additions, and to the progress of knowledge in the interval between the first preparation and the publication of the works. Dastur Hoshangji has also prepared an edition of the Pahlavi and Pâzand texts of the Shikand-gumânî, with a glossary of the Pahlavi words; and also an edition of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Vendidad, with a glossary of the Pahlavi words; but neither of these works are yet published.

In 1866 a prize was offered by Seth Khurshedji Rustamji Kâmâ for a new Gujarati translation of the Vendidad, with a complete glossary of the words in the Avesta text. This translation was supplied, three years afterwards, by Kavasji Edalji Kanga, but was not published till 1874. It is based upon Westergaard’s text and the best European translations which had appeared, and the writer has added, in many places, a good deal of explanatory commentary. This is likely to remain the standard translation for the use of the Parsi community, and it is to be regretted that its author has not avoided the mistake of translating Avesta quotations, made by the Pahlavi commentator, as part of the Avesta text, which
has been already noticed (p. 52) as a general error of translators. In addition to the quotations admitted into the text by M. de Harlez, he has translated the five quotations which constitute Vend. ii. 6 (Westerg.), and finds considerable difficulty in adapting them to the text, as might be expected. If he had consulted a manuscript of the Vendidad with Pahlavi he would have seen at once that these five sentences are merely quoted by the Pahlavi commentator to prove the correctness of his assertions. The fact that these Avesta quotations form no part of the text is noticed by Dastur Hoshangji in his manuscript edition of the texts of the Vendidad.

In concluding these remarks upon the progress of Zoroastrian studies among the Parsis, it may be mentioned that Dastur Jamaspji Minochiharji Jamaspasana of Bombay has been engaged for many years in collecting materials for a Pahlavi dictionary, the first part of which is now in the press. This dictionary is likely to be exceedingly useful, being by far the largest collection of Pahlavi words hitherto made; and these are arranged in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, which is convenient for a people speaking Gujarati. It will adhere strictly to traditional readings and interpretations, of which it ought to form a permanent record, valuable to all parties in these times of progressive transition.

Thus much had to be noticed regarding the general course of researches into the sacred writings of the Parsis. Slowly the ideas of past ages, buried for thousands of years in documents written in a language more or less unintelligible, begin to be unfolded; but many years and many laborers will be required to make this new field for antiquarian and philological research yield much fruit. The Dasturs, who are most concerned, and other younger, talented, and well-to-do members of the Parsi community, ought to consider it their duty to collect and multiply correct and unimproved copies of all the oldest manuscripts extant, and to supply themselves with all the
means (such as a knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Chaldee, &c.) now required for a successful investigation of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages, in order that they may study the contents of their manuscripts, and learn the foundations on which their religion rests. Let them not be discouraged if the results be not so flattering to their self-love as they anticipated. So far as their researches disclose what is good and proper in their religion, they must strengthen the belief in its divine origin; and so far as they disclose what is bad and improper, they merely indicate the corruptions introduced by human tradition. Such corruptions can be neither concealed nor defended with safety; but when discovered, they must be rejected as mere human inventions and superstitious errors. All religions have passed through human minds and human hands, and are therefore likely to abound with human errors; so that the man who believes in the infallibility of a book is but one step removed from the superstition of him who believes in the infallibility of a high-priest; he merely removes the idea of verbal inspiration from the broad daylight of the present, where its improbability would be too obvious, into the dim obscurity of the past, where difficulties become lost in the misty shadows of antiquity. Whatever is true in religion will bear the fullest investigation and most searching criticism; it is only error that fears discussion.
II.

LANGUAGES OF THE PARSİ SCRIPTURES.
II.

LANGUAGES OF THE PARSİ SCRİPTURES.

The languages of Persia, commonly called Iranian, form a separate family of the great Aryan stock of languages which comprises, besides the Iranian idioms, Sanskrit (with its daughters), Greek, Latin, Teutonic (with English), Slavonian, Letto-Lithuanian, Celtic, and all allied dialects. The Iranian idioms arrange themselves under two heads:—

1. Iranian languages properly so called.
2. Affiliated tongues.

The first division comprises the ancient, mediæval, and modern languages of Iran, which includes Persia, Media, and Bactria, those lands which are styled in the Zend-Avesta aіrydō dāāhāvō, "Aryan countries." We may class them as follows:—

(a.) The East Iranian or Bactrian branch, extant only in the two dialects in which the scanty fragments of the Parsi scriptures are written. The more ancient of them may be called the "Gātha dialect," because the most extensive and important writings preserved in this peculiar idiom are the so-called Gāthas or hymns; the later idiom, in which most of the books of the Zend-Avesta are written, may be called "ancient Bactrian," or "the classical Avesta language," which was for many centuries the spoken and written language of Bactria. The Bactrian languages seem to have been dying out in the third century B.C., and they have left no daughters.

(b.) The West Iranian languages, or those of Media and
Persia. These are known to us during the three periods of antiquity, middle ages, and modern times, but only in the one dialect, which has, at every period, served as the written language throughout the Iranian provinces of the Persian empire. Several dialects are mentioned by lexicographers, but we know very little about them. Of the ancient Persian a few documents are still extant in the cuneiform inscriptions of the kings of the Achæmenian dynasty, found in the ruins of Persepolis, on the rock of Behistun, near Hamadan, and some other places in Persia. This language stands nearest to the two Bactrian dialects of the Zend-Avesta, but exhibits some peculiarities; for instance, we find $d$ used instead of $z$, as adan, “I,” in the Avesta azen; dast, “hand,” in the Avesta zast. It is undoubtedly the mother of modern Persian, but the differences between them are nevertheless great, and in reading and interpreting the ancient Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Sanskrit and the Avesta, although they be only sister languages, have proved more useful than its daughter, the modern Persian. The chief cause of this difference between ancient and modern Persian is the loss of nearly all the grammatical inflexions of nouns and verbs, and the total disregard of gender, in modern Persian; while in the ancient Persian, as written and spoken at the time of the

1 In Seyyid Husain Shâh Hakkat’s Persian grammar, entitled Tahfutu-l’Ajam, there are seven Iranian languages enumerated, which are classed under two heads, viz. (a) the obsolete or dead, and (b) such dialects as are still used. Of the obsolete he knows four; Sughâst, the language of ancient Sogdiana (Sughâna in the Zend-Avesta); Zâult (for Zâult), the dialect of Zâbulistân; Sukzt, spoken in Sajastân (called Sakustene by the Greeks); and Hiriwt, spoken in Herat (Hârânu in the Zend-Avesta). As languages in use he mentions Pârst, which, he says, was spoken in Istakhar (Persepolis), the ancient capital of Persia; then Dâr, or language of the court, according to this writer, spoken at Balkh, Bokhara, Marv, and in Badakshân; and Pahlevâ, or Pahlavân, the language of the so-called Pahlav, comprising the districts of Rai (Raghâ in the Zend-Avesta), Isphahan, and Dînsr. Dâr he calls the language of Fir-dausi, but the trifling deviations he mentions to prove the difference between Dâr and Pârst (for instance, ashkm, “belly,” used in Dâr for shikam, and abd, “with,” for bd), refer only to slight changes in spelling, and are utterly insufficient to induce a philologist to consider Dâr an idiom different from Pârst.
IRANIAN LANGUAGES.

Achæmenians (B.C. 500-300), we still find a great many inflexions agreeing with those of the Sanskrit, Avesta, and other ancient Aryan tongues. At what time the Persian language, like the English, became simplified, and adapted for amalgamating with foreign words, by the loss of its terminations, we cannot ascertain. But there is every reason to suppose that this dissolution and absorption of terminations, on account of their having become more or less unintelligible, began before the Christian era, because in the later inscriptions of the Achæmenians (B.C. 400), we find already some of the grammatical forms confounded, which confusion we discover also in many parts of the Zend-Avesta. No inscription in the vernacular Persian of the Arsacidans, the successors of the Achæmenians, being extant, we cannot trace the gradual dissolution of the terminations; and when we next meet with the vernacular, in the inscriptions of the first two Sasanian monarchs, it appears in the curiously mixed form of Pahlavi, which gradually changes till about A.D. 300, when it differs but little from the Pahlavi of the Parsi books, as we shall shortly see.

The second chief division of the Iranian tongues comprises the affiliated languages, that is to say, such as share in the chief peculiarities of this family, but differ from it in many essential particulars. To this division we must refer Ossetic, spoken by some small tribes in the Caucasus, but differing completely from the other Caucasian languages; also Armenian and Afghanic (Pashto).

After this brief notice of the Iranian languages in general, we shall proceed to the more particular consideration of the languages of the Zend-Avesta and other religious literature of the Parsis.

I.—THE LANGUAGE OF THE AVESTA ERRONEOUSLY CALLED ZEND.

The original language of the Parsi scriptures has usually been called Zend by European scholars, but this name has
never been generally admitted by Parsi scholars, although it may have been accepted by a few on European authority, which is apt to be treated with too much deference by Oriental minds. We shall see, hereafter, that this application of the term Zend is quite inconsistent with its general use in the Parsi books, and ought, therefore, to be discarded by scholars who wish to prevent the propagation of error. At present we need only observe that no name for the language of the Parsi scriptures has yet been found in the Parsi books; but whenever the word Zend (zánd) is used alone, it is applied to some Pahlavi translation, commentary, or gloss; and whenever the word Avesta (avistádák) is used alone, it is applied to the Parsi scriptures in their original language. The language of the Zend, therefore, is Pahlavi, and this is a sufficient reason for not applying that term to another language, with which its connection is probably slight. For want of a better term, we may follow the example of most Parsi scholars in using the term Avesta for the language of the Avesta; and to avoid confusion, we must discard the word Zend altogether when speaking of languages; although, for reasons given hereafter, we may still use Zend-Avesta as a general term for the Parsi scriptures.

The general character of the Avesta language, in both its dialects, is that of a highly developed idiom. It is rich in inflexions, both of the verbs and nouns. In the latter, where three numbers and eight cases can be distinguished, it agrees almost completely with Vedic Sanskrit, and in the former it exhibits a greater variety of forms than the classical Sanskrit. We find, besides, a multitude of compound words of various kinds, and the sentences are joined together in an easy way, which contributes largely to a ready understanding of the general sense of passages. It is a genuine sister of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic; but we find her no longer in the prime of life, as she appears rather in her declining age. The forms are not always kept strictly distinct from each other, as is the
case in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin; but are now and then confounded, much less, however, in the verbs than in the nouns, where the dissolution first began. The crude form, or original uninflected state of the word, is often used instead of the original inflected forms; thus, we find daēva, "demon, evil spirit," which is really the crude form of the word, employed as the instrumental singular, which ought to be daēvēna, or at least daēvā, and as the nominative plural, which ought to be daēvāonghō or daēvā. The long vowels ā and ē are out of use in the nominative feminine, so that the gender is not so easily recognised from the termination alone as in Sanskrit; thus we have daēna, "creed, belief," instead of daēnā; moreover, the forms of the dative and instrumental are often confounded, especially in the plural. These deviations from the regular forms, and the confusion of terminations, are far more frequent in the classical Avesta than in the Gāthā dialect, where the grammatical forms are, in most cases, quite regular.

Notwithstanding these symptoms of decay, the relationship of the Avesta language to the most ancient Sanskrit, the so-called Vedic dialect, is as close as that of the different dialects of the Greek language (Æolic, Ionic, Doric, or Attic) to each other. The languages of the sacred hymns of the Brahmans, and of those of the Parsis, are only the two dialects of two separate tribes of one and the same nation. As the Ionians, Doriains, Ætolians, &c., were different tribes of the Greek nation, whose general name was Hellenes, so the ancient Brahmans and Parsis were two tribes of the nation which is called Aryas both in the

1 This is distinct from the usual Sanskrit, which alone is studied nowadays by the Brahmans. The most learned Pandits of the present Brahmanic community, who are perfectly acquainted with the classical Sanskrit language, are utterly unable to explain the more ancient portions of the Vedas, which consist chiefly of hymns, and speculations on the meaning of ceremonies, their effects, &c. They learn them parrot-like by heart, but care nothing about understanding their prayers. If they are asked to explain the meaning, they refer to a commentary made several hundred years ago by a highly celebrated Brahman (Śāraṇa), which often fails to give a complete insight into Vedic antiquity.
Veda and Zend-Avesta; the former may be compared with the Ionians, and the latter with the Doriens. The most striking feature perceptible when comparing both Avesta dialects with Sanskrit is, that they are related closely to the Vedic form of Sanskrit, but not to the classical. In verbal forms, especially moods and tenses, the classical Sanskrit, though very rich in comparison with modern languages, is much poorer than the more primitive dialect preserved in the Vedas; thus it has lost various forms of the subjunctive mood, most tenses of all moods except the indicative (the imperative and potential moods preserving only the present tense), the manifold forms expressing the infinitive mood,\(^1\) &c.; whereas all these forms are to be found in the Vedas, Zend-Avesta, and Homeric Greek, in the greatest completeness. The syntactical structure in Vedic Sanskrit and the Avesta is simple enough, and verbal forms are much more frequently used than in classical Sanskrit. There can be no doubt that classical Sanskrit was formed long after the separation of the Iranians from the Hindus.

The differences between Vedic Sanskrit and the Avesta language are very little in grammar, but are chiefly of a phonetical and lexicographical nature, like the differences between German and Dutch. There are certain regular changes of sounds, and other phonetic peculiarities perceptible, a knowledge of which enables the philologist to convert any Avesta word easily into a pure Sanskrit one. The most remarkable changes are as follows:—

Initial \(s\) in Sanskrit is changed in the Avesta into \(h\); thus \textit{soma} (the sacred juice used by the Brahmans) = \textit{huoma}; \textit{sama}, “together, the same,” = \textit{hama}; \textit{sa}, “that, he,” = \textit{ha}; \textit{sach}, “to follow,” (Lat. \textit{sequi}) = \textit{hach}. In the middle of a word the same change takes place, as in \textit{asw}, “life,” = \textit{anhu}; except now and then in the last syllable, as in Av. \textit{yazdaesha}, “thou shalt worship,” where \(sh\) is pre-

\(^1\) In the Vedic dialect eleven such forms can be found, which are reduced to one in classical Sanskrit.
served. At the end of a word śh remains unless preceded by a, in which case the termination ash is changed into ċ, except when followed by the enclitic conjunction cha, when the sibilant is preserved; thus asura-s, “living,” becomes ahurā, instead of ahurash, but we find ahurashcha, “and the living.”

The Sanskrit ḥ, when not original, but only a derived sound, never remains in the Avesta. It is generally changed into z, as in ẓā, “then, therefore,” = S. hi; zima, “winter,” = S. hima; zē (root), “to invoke,” = S. ḫve. The Avesta z is also sometimes equivalent to a Sanskrit j, as in zan, “to produce,” (Pers. zādan) = S. ḫan (Lat. gigno); hizva, “tongue,” = S. jihva.

In comparing Avesta with Sanskrit words, we often observe a nasal in the former which is wanting in the latter; this nasal is usually followed by h, as in anhu, “life,” = S. asu.

Instead of Sanskrit śhv we find sp in the Avesta, as in aspa, “horse,” = S. ashva (Lat. equus, Gr. hippos); vīspa, “all,” = S. vishva; ṣpā, “dog,” = S. śhvā.

In place of Sanskrit rīt, besides the regular change into āret,1 we find ash as an equivalent in the Avesta, as in mashya, “man,” = S. martya (Lat. mortalis, Gr. brotos); asha, “right, true,” = S. rīta.

Instead of Sanskrit sv the Avesta has a peculiar guttural aspirate represented by g, and corresponding in sound probably to qu in Latin and khv in Persian, as in qafna, “sleep,” = S. svapna (Lat. somnus, Gr. hypnos, Pers. khwābd).

These are the most remarkable phonetic differences between Sanskrit and Avesta words. By attending to them it is very easy to find the Sanskrit word corresponding to one in the Avesta, and we can thus discover a large number of words and forms similar to those in the Vedas. There are, of course, now and then (as is always the case in the

1 The Sanskrit vowel ō is always represented by arc or are; rīt itself is a corruption of arīt.
dialects of every language) peculiar words to be found in
the Avesta, but these are always traceable to Sanskrit
roots.

A comparison of the grammatical forms in the Avesta
and Sanskrit can be dispensed with. They are so very
similar, even when not quite identical, that they are
readily recognised by any one who has a slight knowledge
of Sanskrit. The strongest proof of the original identity
of Sanskrit and Avesta grammatical forms is their harmony
even in irregularities. Thus, for instance, the deviations
of the pronominal declension from that of the nouns are
the same in both languages, as ahamā, "to him," = S.
asmā; kahmā, "to whom," = S. kasmā; yaēshām, "of
whom" (pl.), = S. yeshām. Also in the declension of
irregular nouns we find span, "dog," = S. shvan,* sing.
nom. spā = S. shvā, acc. spānem = S. shvānam, dat. sānē =
S. shune, gen. sānō = S. shunas, pl. nom. spānō = S. shvānas,
gen. sānām = S. shunām; likewise pathān, "path," = S.
pathin, sing. nom. paāta = S. panthās, inst. patha = S. pathā,
pl. nom. paātānā = S. panthānas, acc. pathō = S. pathas,
gen. pathām = S. pathām.

The extremely close affinity of the Avesta language to
Vedic Sanskrit can be best seen from some forms of the
present tense, in which the classical Sanskrit differs from
the Vedic. Compare, for instance, Av. keronāmi, "I make,"
with Ved. kerinomi and S. karomi; Av. jamaiti, "he goes,"
with Ved. gamati and S. gachchhati; Av. geryunjāmi, "I
take," with Ved. grihunjāmi and S. grihnāmi.

With regard to the differences between the two dialects
of the Avesta, the language of the Gāthas and the classical
or ordinary Avesta, we can here only discuss their relation-
ship to each other in a general way. The chief question
is, whether they represent the same language at two
different periods of time, or whether they are two con-
temporary dialects, spoken in two different provinces of

* Spelt as pronounced, ō representing the palatal sibilant, and ā the
cerebral sibilant.
THE AVESTA LANGUAGE.

the ancient Bactrian empire. Our knowledge of the
dialects of the Iranian languages and the periods of their
development, previous to the Christian era, is so limited,
that it is extremely difficult to decide this question in a
satisfactory manner.

The differences between these two dialects are both of a
phonetical and grammatical nature. Were the deviations
merely of the former kind, we should be fully entitled to
ascrIBE them to two different ways of pronouncing certain
vowels and consonants, as generally happens in different
districts with nations speaking the same language; but
should we discover in one dialect fuller and more ancient
forms, and in the other evidently later and more con-
tracted ones, then the difference between the Gātha
language and the ordinary Avesta must be ascribed to
their being written at different periods.

The phonetical differences of the Gātha language from
that of the other books are, at a first glance, so considerable
as to induce one to trace them to different localities of the
same country, and not to different ages. But on closer
inquiry we find that several of these phonetical peculiarities,
such as the constant lengthening of final vowels, and the
severing of one syllable into two (as of the nom. pl. n. of
the relative pronoun yā into ēēā), are attributable to the
original chanting of the Gāthas and other shorter pieces,
constituting the older Yasna, and are not to be traced to
dialectical differences. These writings are the most im-
portant and holiest prayers used in the Zoroastrian divine
service, and the way of chanting them was, very likely,
alogous to that in which the Brahmans (originally near
relations of the Parsis) used to chant the verses of the
Sāmaveda at the time of solemn sacrifices, and which is
kept up to this day on such occasions. On hearing a
Sāmaveda priest chant some verses of this Veda, one
notices that he lengthens the final vowels of the words,
even when they are short. In Sanskrit, where the
grammar was fixed by rules, the texts were not altered
according to the mode of chanting them; while in the Avesta, where nothing regarding the grammar and pronunciation was settled, these peculiarities produced by chanting the Gâthas and some other pieces crept into the manuscripts, which were generally written from memory only, as is still often the case. Besides these phonetical changes which can be explained as the result of chanting, there are a few other changes of vowels, such as that of a final ō or initial a into ē, as in kē = kō, ‘‘who?’’ and ēmavat = amavat, ‘‘strong;’’ also some changes of consonants, as that of t into s in stavas = stavat, ‘‘praising,’’ and the softening of harsh consonants, as in ādṛēṅ = ādhrēs (acc. pl. of ātar, ‘‘fire’’). These deviations are suggestive of dialectical differences, but they are of no great importance, and no great weight can be attached to them; they are merely such differences as might exist between the idioms of neighbouring towns in the same district. That these peculiarities, notwithstanding their insignificance, have been preserved so well, and not been dissolved and changed into the current Bactrian language, which is preserved in the largest portion of the Zend-Avesta, indicates the great reverence in which these hymns were held by the Zoroastrians. Considering that the Gâthas contain the undoubted teaching of Zarathushtra himself (without advertings to other reasons), we do not hesitate to believe that the peculiar language used in the Gâthas was the dialect of his own town or district.

As to grammatical forms, the Gâtha dialect exhibits not a few deviations from the ordinary Avesta language. Most of these differences evidently represent a more primitive state of the Bactrian language, nearer to its Aryan source; but some might be considered as merely dialectical peculiarities. The genitive singular of masculine nouns in ā ends, nearly throughout the Gâthas, in ahyā, which corresponds exactly with the Śanskrit genitive termination asya, while in the ordinary Avesta we always find ahē, apparently a contraction of ahyā, thus Gâth.
daēvahya, "of a demon," = Av. daēvahē = S. devasya. Again, the first pers. sing. imperative, expressing intention or volition, requires only the termination ā or āi in the Gāthas, whereas in the ordinary Avesta the derived termination áni prevails, and this is also used in Sanskrit; the usual infinitive formation in the Gāthas is that in dyāi which is also extremely frequent in the Vedic dialect, while it is nearly unknown in the ordinary Avesta, and wholly so in classical Sanskrit. In the pronouns, especially, the language of the Gāthas exhibits more ancient forms than we find in any other part of the Zend-Avesta, as for example maḥyā, "to me," which ancient form, agreeing so well with Sans. mahyam and Lat. mihi, is nowhere to be found in the ordinary Avesta; observe also mahyā, m. maqyā, f. "of my," &c. The frequent use of the enclitic pronominal particles ē, ēm, ēm, &c. (which is a peculiar feature of the Vedic dialect, distinguishing it from classical Sanskrit), and the great freedom with which prepositions are separated from their verbs (a chief characteristic of Vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Greek), indicate a more ancient stage of language in the Gātha dialect than we can discover in the ordinary Avesta, where these traces of a more varied and not quite settled form of expression are much fewer, and only met with, occasionally, in poetical pieces.

Judging from these peculiarities, there seems no doubt that the dialect of the Gāthas shows some traces of a higher antiquity than can be claimed for the ordinary Avesta. But the differences are not so great as between the Vedic and classical Sanskrit, or between the Greek of Homer and that of the Attic dialect, the two dialects of the Zend-Avesta being much closer to each other. They represent one and the same language, with such changes as may have been brought about within the space of one or two centuries. The Gātha dialect is, therefore, only one or two centuries older than the ordinary Avesta language, which was the standard language of the ancient Iranian empire.
Much of the difficulty of understanding the Zend-Avesta arises, no doubt, from grammatical defects in the texts extant, owing to the want of grammatical studies among the ancient Persians and Bactrians. Had the study of grammar, as a separate science, flourished among the ancient Mobads and Dasturs, as was the case with Sanskrit grammar among the ancient Brahmans, and had Iran produced men like Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali, who became lawgivers of the classical Sanskrit language, we should have less ground to complain of the bad condition of the texts, and have found fewer difficulties in explaining them than we have now to encounter. There is every reason to believe that the grammar of the Bactrian language was never fixed in any way by rules; thus the corruptions and abbreviations of forms, which gradually crept from the popular and colloquial into the written language, became unavoidable. In Sanskrit the grammarians built, by means of numerous rules, under which every regular or irregular form in that language was brought, a strong bulwark against the importation of forms from the popular and vulgar language, which was characterised by them as Prākrit. Grammar became a separate branch of study; manuscripts were then either copied or written in strict accordance with the rules of grammar, but always

1 One must not, however, lose sight of the fact that a language is not made by grammarians, but by the common people whom they despise. The work of grammarians is merely to take the language as they find it, and try to ascertain what rules they can manufacture to account for the various forms and idioms used by the people around them. So long as such rules are laid down merely as explanations of existing facts, they will be useful to the scholar, and will not impede progress; but once let them be enunciated as inflexible laws, unalterable as those of the Medes and Persians, and then they hinder progress, ossify thought, and stop discovery. Grammar is no exception to the general rule that laws are hurtful unless subject to constant revision; for a law that cannot be altered becomes a dogma, an impediment to discussion, progress, and improvement, whether it be grammatical, medical, legal, scientific, social, or religious. Whether the stoppage of Hindu progress in knowledge beyond a certain point be not due to the excessive systematising adopted by their writers when they approached that point, is a matter worth consideration. Arrived at a certain amount of progress, they ceased to look forward, but contented themselves with surveying and arranging what they already knew.
with attention to phonetical peculiarities, especially in Vedic books, if they had any real foundation. To these grammatical studies of the Brahmans, which belong to an age long gone by, we chiefly owe the wonderfully correct and accurately grammatical state of the texts of the Vedas and other revered books of antiquity. In Iran almost all knowledge of the exact meaning of the terminations died out at the time when the ancient Iranian languages underwent the change from inflected to uninflected idioms. Books were extant, and learnt by heart for religious purposes, as is still done by the Parsi priests. But when the language of the Zoroastrian books had become dead, there were no means for the priests, who cared more for the mere mechanical recital of the sacred texts than for a real knowledge of their meaning, to prevent corruptions of the texts. Ignorant of anything like grammar, they copied them mechanically, like the monks of Europe in the middle ages, or wrote them from memory, and, of course, full of blunders and mistakes. On this account we find the copies now used by Mobads and Dasturs in a most deplorable condition as regards grammar; the terminations are often written as separate words, and vowels inserted where they ought to be omitted, in accordance with the wrong pronunciation of the writer. The best text, comparatively speaking, is to be found in the oldest copies; while in Vedic manuscripts (if written for religious purposes) there is not the slightest difference, whether they are many centuries old or copied at the present day. Westergaard has taken great trouble to give a correct text, according to the oldest manuscripts accessible to him, and his edition is, in most cases, far preferable to the manuscripts used by the priests of modern times. If older manuscripts than those used by Westergaard be known to the Dasturs, they should consider it their bounden duty to procure them for the purpose of collation with Westergaard's valuable edition, so that they may ascertain all preferable readings for their own information and that of other scholars. Why will they
remain behind the Brahmins and the Jews, who have preserved their sacred writings so well, and facilitated modern researches to so great an extent? The era for a sound philological explanation of the time-hallowed fragments of the Zoroastrian writings has come, and the Dasturs, as the spiritual guides of the Parsi community, should take a chief part in it. The darkness in which much of their creed is enshrouded should be dispelled; but the only way of obtaining so desirable a result is by the diffusion of a sound and critical knowledge of the Avesta language.

II.—THE PAHLAVI LANGUAGE AND PAZAND.

It has been already noticed (p. 67) that after the five centuries of obscurity, and probable anarchy, which followed the death of Alexander, when we next meet with the vernacular language of Western Iran, it has assumed the form of Pahlavi, the name generally applied to the language of the inscriptions of the Sasanian dynasty, whether on rocks or coins.

Various interpretations of the word Pahlavi have been proposed. Anquetil derives it from the Persian pahlā, "side," in which case Pahlavi would mean "the frontier language;" but although this opinion has been held by some scholars, it can hardly be correct, as it is difficult to imagine that a frontier language could have spread over a vast empire. It has also been connected with pahlav, "a hero," but "the hero language" is a very improbable designation. Native lexicographers have traced Pahlavi to the name Pahlav of a town and province; that it was not the language of a town only, is evident from Firdausi's statements that the Pahlavi traditions were preserved by the dīkhdān, "village chief;" it may have been the language

1 In the Kārnāmāh of Artakhsāhir-i Pāpakān it was written that after the death of Alexander of Rūm, there were 240 small rulers of the country of Ahrān. The warriors of Fārs and the borders adjacent to it were in the hands of a chieftain of Ardāvān. Pāpak was governor and sovereign of Fārs, and was appointed by Ardāvān.—Kārnāmāk-i A. P.
of a province, but the province of Pahlav is said to have included Ispahan, Raï, Hamadan, Nihavand, and Adarbaijan, and must have comprised the ancient Media, but that country is never called Pahlav by Persian and Arab historians. Quatremère was of opinion that Pahlav was identical with the province Parthia, mentioned by the Greeks; he shows, by reference to Armenian authors, that pahlav was a royal title of the Arsacidans. As the Parthians regarded themselves as the most warlike people of the Orient, it is not surprising that pahlav and pahlavan in Persian, and palhav or pahlav, and pahlavig or palhavig in Armenian, became appellations for a warrior; the name thus lost its national meaning altogether, and became only a title for bold champions of old. It spread beyond the frontiers of Iran eastwards to India, for we find the Pahlavâs mentioned as a mighty foreign nation in the Râmâyana, Mahâbhârata, and the Laws of Manu, and we can only understand them to have been the Persians. Regarding the origin of the word, we may compare it with pahlâm, "excellent," but cannot derive it therefrom.

As the name of a nation, we can discover it only in the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, which is the Parthia of the Greeks and Romans. The change of parthva into pahlav is not surprising, as l is not discoverable in the ancient Iranian tongues, where r is used instead, and th in the middle of an ancient Iranian word generally becomes h in Persian, as in Av. mithra = Pers. mihir. It may be objected that the Parthians were not Persians but probably a Scythic race, and that Pahlavi could not have been the language of the Parthians. This objection, however, will not hold good when we consider that the Parthians were the actual rulers of Persia for nearly five hundred years, and made themselves respected and famous everywhere by their fierce and successful contests with the mightiest nation of the ancient world, the Romans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the name which once struck such terror into the hearts of Roman generals and emperors
was remembered in Persia, and that everything connected with antiquity, whether in history, religion, letters, writing, or language, was called pahlavi, or belonging to the ancient rulers of the country, the Parthians. Pahlavi thus means, in fact, nothing but "ancient Persian" in general, without restriction to any particular period or dialect. This we may see from the use made of the word by Mohammedan writers; thus, Ibn Hauqal, an Arab geographer of the tenth century, when describing the province of Fârs, the ancient Persis, states that three languages were used there, viz. (a) the Fârsî (Persian), spoken by the natives when conversing with one another, which was spread all over Persia, and understood everywhere; (b) the Pahlavi, which was the language of the ancient Persians, in which the Magi wrote their historical records, but which in the writer's time could not be understood by the inhabitants of the province without a translation; (c) the Arabic, which was used for all official documents. Of other languages spoken in Persia he notices the Khûzî, the language of Khûzistân, which he states to be quite different from Hebrew, Syriac, or Fârsî. In the Murjilu-t-tawârîkh there is an account of "Pahlavi" inscriptions at Persepolis, but the writer evidently means those in cuneiform characters.

From all this we may clearly see that the name Pahlavi was not limited to any particular period or district. In the time of Firdausi (A.D. 1000), the cuneiform writing as well as the Sasanian inscriptions passed for Pahlavi characters; and the ancient Persian and Avesta were regarded as Pahlavi, equally with the official language of the Sasanian period, to which the term has been now restricted, since the others have become better known. The term Pahlavi was thus, in fact, never used by the Persians themselves in any other sense than that of "ancient Persian," whether they referred to the Sasanian, Arsacidan, Achaemenian, Kayanian, or Peshdadian times. Any reader of the Shâhnâmeh will arrive at this conclusion. This
misapplication of a more recent name to earlier historical facts is analogous to the misuse of the appellation Arāmāk, "Roman," which the Parsi writers apply to Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror, because he entered the Persian empire from the quarter where the Roman armies appeared in later times.

However loosely the term Pahlavi may have been formerly applied, it has long been practically restricted to the written language of Persia during the Sasanian dynasty, and to the literature of that period and a short time after, of which some fragments have been preserved by the Parsis, in a character resembling that of the Avesta, but very deficient in distinct letters. These Pahlavi writings are of a very peculiar character: instead of presenting us with a pure Iranian dialect (as might be expected in the language of a period commencing with the purely Iranian ancient Persian, and ending with the nearly equally pure Iranian language of Firdausi), it exhibits a large admixture of Semitic words, which increases as we trace it further back, so that the earliest inscriptions of the Sasanian dynasty may be described as being written in a Semitic language, with some admixture of Iranian words, and a prevailing Iranian construction. Traces of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi can be found on coins of the third and fourth century B.C., and possibly on some tablets found at Nineveh, which must be as old as the seventh century B.C.; so there is some reason to suppose that it may be derived from one of the dialects of the Assyrian language, although it differs considerably from the language of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions. Practically, however, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions of the first Sasanian kings on rocks and coins.

Since the Mohammedan conquest of Persia, the language has become greatly mixed with Semitic words from the Arabic, but this Semitic admixture is of a totally different character to that we find in Pahlavi. The Arabic element in modern Persian consists chiefly of substantives and
adjectives, referring to religion, literature, or science; few particles or verbs have been adopted, except when whole phrases have been borrowed; in fact, the Arabic words, although very numerous, are evidently borrowed from a foreign language. The Semitic element in Pahlavi writings, on the contrary, comprises nearly all kinds of words which are not Arabic in modern Persian; almost all pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and common verbs, many adverbs and substantives in frequent use, the first ten numerals, but very few adjectives, are Semitic; while nearly every Arabic word in modern Persian would be represented by an Iranian one in Pahlavi writings. It is optional, however, to use Iranian equivalents for any of these Semitic words when writing Pahlavi, but these equivalents are rarely used for some of the pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions; so rarely, indeed, that the orthography of a few of them is uncertain. Notwithstanding the Semitic appearance of the written Pahlavi, we find that all traces of Semitic inflexions have disappeared, except in a few of the earliest Sasanian inscriptions, written in a peculiar character and dialect, called Chaldæo-Pahlavi, in which the Chaldee plural suffix īn is still often used, as in malkīn malkā, "king of kings," instead of malkān malkā in the ordinary Sasanian Pahlavi inscriptions of the same age, where the Iranian plural suffix ān is used. Besides this Iranian suffix to nouns, we find the verbs appearing in one unchangeable Semitic form, to which is added certain Iranian suffixes, except in the earliest inscriptions in Sasanian Pahlavi, where these suffixes are wanting. In addition to these indications of Iranian grammar, we also find a prevailing Iranian construction in the sentences, as much in the older inscriptions as in the later writings.

The explanation of this extraordinary compound writing, fundamentally Semitic in its words and Iranian in its construction, is that it never literally represented the spoken language of any nation. The Iranians must have inherited their writing from a Semitic people, and although
they were acquainted with the separate sounds of each of
the letters, they preferred transferring the Semitic words
bodily, so as to represent the same ideas in their own Ir-
man language, and each Semitic word, so transferred, was
merely an ideogram, and would be read with the sound of
the corresponding Iranian word, without reference to the
sounds of the letters composing it; thus the Persians wrote
the old Semitic word malkā, "king," but they pronounced
it shāh. When the Semitic words had more than one
grammatical form, they would, for the sake of uniformity
be usually borrowed in one particular form, and probably
in the form which occurred most frequently in the Semitic
writings. As these ideograms were to represent an Iranian
language, they would be arranged, of course, according to
Iranian syntax. For certain words the writer could find
no exact Semitic equivalent, especially for Iranian names
and religious terms; to express them he had recourse to
the alphabet, and wrote these words as they were pro-
nounced; thus laying the foundation of the Iranian element
in the Pahlavi. As the Semitic ideograms remained un-
changed,1 it was necessary to add Iranian suffixes to indicate
the few grammatical forms which survived in the spoken
language; these additions appear to have been only gra-
dually made, for the sake of greater precision, as some of
them are not found in the older inscriptions. In later
writings we find a few other Iranian additions to Semitic
words, used generally to indicate some modification of the
original word; thus abā = pād, "father," is altered into
abīdar = pīdar; am = mād, "mother," into amīdar = mādār;
&c. In these later writings, we also find the proportion
of the Semitic element considerably reduced, being confined
to the representation of some three to four hundred of the
commonest words in the language, while all other words
are Iranian, written as they are pronounced.

1 The only exceptions extant seem to be a few Semitic plurals in -na found in the Chaldaean-Pahlavi inscrip-
tions before mentioned (p. 82); but even these are used in phrases of Iran-
As a proof that the Persians did not use the Semitic words in speaking, we may quote the statement of Ammi-
 anus Marcellinus (xix. 2, 11). When referring to the war
 between the Roman Emperor Constantius and Shahpūhar
 II., about a.d. 350, he says that the Persians used the
 terms saansaan and pyrosen, meaning "king of kings" and
 "conqueror." Both these terms are Iranian, the first being
 shahdān-shāh, and the latter pīrāz, "victorious," and show
 conclusively that the Persians of those times did not pron-
 ounce malkān malkā, although they wrote those words,
 but they both wrote and pronounced pīrāz, which has no
 Semitic equivalent in Pahlavi. More than four centuries
 later, Ibn Muqaffa, a Mohammedan writer of the latter half
 of the eighth century, states that the Persians ‘possess a
 kind of spelling which they call zavārist; they write by
 it the characters connected as well as separated, and it
 consists of about a thousand words (which are put toge-
 ther), in order to distinguish those which have the same
 meaning. For instance, if somebody intends to write
 gūsht, that is lākhm (meat) in Arabic, he writes bīśrā, but
 reads gūsht; and if somebody intends to write nān, that
 is khubz (bread) in Arabic, he writes lāhmā, but reads
 nān. And in this manner they treat all words that they
 intend to write. Only things which do not require such
 a change are written just as they are pronounced.' It
 appears from this that the Persians of the eighth century
 did exactly as a Parsi priest would do at the present
 time; when they came to a Semitic word while reading
 Pahlavi, they pronounced its Persian equivalent, so that
 their reading was entirely Persian, although the writing
 was an odd mixture of Semitic, Persian, and hybrid words.
 It was always optional to write the Persian word instead
 of its Semitic equivalent, and it was only necessary to make
 this the rule, instead of the exception, to convert the old
 Pahlavi into pure Persian. This final step became com-
pulsory when the Persians adopted a new alphabet, with
 which the old Semitic ideograms would not amalgamate,
but which facilitated the adoption of Arabic terms introduced by their Mohammedan conquerors. Hence the sudden change from Pahlavi to modern Persian was rather a change in writing than an alteration in speaking. The spoken language changed but slowly, by the gradual adoption of Arabic words and phrases, as may be seen from a comparison of the language of Firdausi with that of recent Persian writers.

Ibn Muqaffa uses the term *zavārish* for the Semitic element in Pahlavi, and this is the term usually employed in Persian, although written occasionally *azvārish* or *uзвārish*; in Pahlavi it is written *huzvārish* or *auzvārish*, but it is doubtful if the word occurs in any very old writings. Several attempts have been made to explain its etymology, but as its correct form is by no means certain, it affords very little basis for trustworthy etymology. The term Huzvārish is applied not only to the Semitic ideograms, but also to a smaller number of Iranian words written in an obsolete manner, so as to be liable to incorrect pronunciation; these obsolete Iranian written forms are used as ideograms in the same manner as the old Semitic words. The habit of not pronouncing the Huzvārish as it is written must have tended to produce forgetfulness of the original pronunciation of the words; this was to some extent obviated by the compilation of a glossary of the Huzvārish forms, with their pronunciation in Avesta characters, as well as their Iranian equivalents. When this glossary was compiled is uncertain, but as the pronunciation of some of the Huzvārish words is evidently merely guessed from the appearance of the letters, we may conclude that the true sounds of some of the words were already forgotten.

It has been already noticed (p. 68) that Pahlavi translations of the Avesta are called Zand, and we may here further observe that the Iranian equivalent of Huzvārish is called Pāzand, reserving further explanation of these terms for the third Essay. This Pāzand may be written in Pahlavi characters, as happens when single Pāzand words
are substituted for their Huzvârîsh equivalents in a Pahlavi text; or it may be written in Avesta characters, which happens when the whole text is so transliterated, and is then called a Pâzand text; or this Pâzand text may be further transliterated into the modern Persian character, when it is still called Pâzand, and differs from the Iranian element of modern Persian only in its frequent use of obsolete words, forms, and construction. It would be convenient to call this Persian form of Pâzand by the name Pârsî, but it is not so called by the Parsis themselves, nor in their books; with them, Pârsî or Pârsî means simply modern Persian, more or less similar to Firdausi's language.

It has been mentioned above that it would be easy to forget the pronunciation of the Huzvârîsh words, and it is now necessary to explain how this could be. The Pahlavi alphabets, being of Semitic origin, have not only all the usual deficiencies of other Semitic alphabets, but also some defects peculiar to themselves, so that several sounds are sometimes represented by the same letter; this ambiguity is greatly increased, in Pahlavi books, by the union of two or more of these ambiguous letters into one compound character, which is sometimes precisely similar to one of the other single letters; the uncertainty of reading any word, therefore, which is not readily identified is very great. No short vowels are expressed, except initial a, but it is presumed they are to be understood where necessary, as in all Semitic alphabets.

Two or three of the earliest rock inscriptions of the Sasanian kings record the names and titles of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân and his son Shahpûhar I. (A.D. 226–270) in three languages, Greek and two dialects of Pahlavi. The Pahlavi versions are engraved in two very different characters, one called Chaldæo-Pahlavi, from some resemblances to Chaldee in letters and forms, the other called Sasanian Pahlavi, as being more generally used by the Sasanian kings in their inscriptions, both on rocks and coins. This latter character changes by degrees, on the coins of the
later Sasanian kings, till it becomes nearly identical with the Pahlavi character in the manuscripts still extant; while the Chaldæo-Pahlavi appears to have gone out of use before A.D. 300. Two more inscriptions, of greater length, are engraved in both these Pahlavi dialects, but without any Greek translation; of one of these inscriptions only a few fragments are yet known, but the other is complete, and we may take it as a specimen of the Pahlavi writings of the early Sasanian times, as it refers to King Shahpūhar I. (A.D. 240–270).

This inscription is engraved on two separate tablets (one for each dialect), cut on the rock-wall at the entrance of a cave near the village of Hájiábād, not far from the ruins of Persepolis. Copies of the two versions were published by Westergaard at the end (pp. 83, 84) of his lithographed edition of the text of the Bundāhish. Plaster casts of the whole of the Chaldæo-Pahlavi, and of the first six lines of the Sasanian Pahlavi version, are preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere; and a photograph from one set of these casts was published by Thomas in the “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” new series, vol. iii. From a comparison of these copies with the photograph we obtain the following texts, the words of one version being placed immediately below those of the other for the sake of convenient comparison, and short vowels being introduced where they seem necessary.

**TEXTS OF THE PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS AT HáJIÁBĀD.**

[Sasanian Pahlavi.]—Togalāht zenman<sup>1</sup> li mazdayan bagh Shahpūhārī, [Chaldæo-Pahlavi.]—Karzāvārī zēnman lī mazdayān alāhā Shahpūhārī, malkān malkā Ārdān va Ātrān, minō-chitrī min yastān, barman maz-malkān malkā Āryān va Anāryān, minō-shīhār min yāzītan, barī maz-

---

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *man* is represented by a single letter in both characters, which evidently corresponds with the common Pahlavi termination *man*, as we find it here in the common Pahlavi words *zenman* (= *denman*), *barman*, *ragelman*, *valman*, *tamman*, *hōman*, *tanman*, and *yadman*, as well as in the uncommon forms *godmatman*, *atarman*, and *panman*. In *tamman* the syllable *man* corresponds to *mān* in Chaldee, but in other words we must suppose it to represent an original *vān*, *vain*, or *ān*. Thomas reads
THE Pahlavi Language.

dayaen bagh Artakhshatar, malkdn malkd Aırdn, mino-chitri min yazdn, dayam alah artakhshatar, malkdn malkd Ayrdn, mino-shitar min yaztan, nept bagh Pāpak malkd; afan amat zemman khitayd shadṯ-pahan pahar bag Pāpak malkd; va amat lan zemman khireray d shaṯ- tun, adin ant levnt shatradarun va barbīdun va vacharkun va āzatan dtb, qadmatman khshatradarun, barbīdun, rabūn va āzatan shadṯun, afan ragelman pavan zemman dtk hankhetun, afan khitayd shadṯ, nagarun patan zemman vem haqālmūt, va khireray lechad d ztk chttdk bard ramūtun, bard vaman vaydk atk khitayd ramā(lehad1 lehū shitt lebarā ramūt, bish tamman anu khireray naflat tun, tamman vaydk zak ayrūn la yehūn, atk hū chttdk chtt ṭūmūn, adin lehavīn, atarman la yehūt, atk ak shitt banīt havindū, kal būndī patydk yehūn ṭūmūn; akhar lanman framū: Minō lebarā shadḵār āksāt yehūt havindū; adin lan āqadīšāt: Minō chittdk aʿurundīrī chtt, mino yadman ketab ṭūmūn, zak ragelman shitt paman satar banīt, avat minō yadā kedāb havindū, nagarun pavan zemman dtk ay̱ ṭūmūn, va khitayd val ztk chttdk ay̱ ṭūmūn patan zemman vēm hūp haqālmūd, va khireray kal hū shitt hīp shadṯun, akhar minō khitayd val ztk chttdk ramūtun; vaman yadman shadḵū, minō khireray kal hū shitt yāmsūd; lehūp yadā ketab, kedāb havindū.

A few words in this inscription are not quite intelligible, but by comparing one version with the other, which corresponds closely in all but two or three phrases, we can arrive at the meaning of most of the obscure passages, and translate as follows:—

‘This is an edict of me, the Mazda-worshippig divine ‘ being Shahpūhar, king of the kings of Iran and non-Iran, ‘ of spiritual origin from God; son of the Mazda-worshippig ‘ divine being Ardahār, king of the kings of Iran, of spiritual ‘ origin from God; grandson of the divine being Pāpak, the ‘ king. And when this arrow 2 was shot by us, then it was ‘ shot by us in the presence of the satraps, grandees, mag-

the letter ṣ, because it resembles ṣ in some old alphabets. For a similar reason Andreas reads it ḍ. Thomas points to the correspondence of bar- man, in one dialect of our text, with bard in the other. Andreas points to a similar correspondence of yadman with yadd; he also shows that the reading ḍ overcomes many etymolo- gical difficulties. We adhere to the traditional man on the authority of the Chaldee tammn, and because we do not see why there should be a second ḍ in the alphabet. ¹

¹ Andreas reads this word lechad, as the ḍ is peculiarly formed, and may perhaps represent the letter tsud, or ch in Pahlavi.

² The form of the word is plural, but used probably for the singular.
nates, and nobles; and our feet were set in this cave, and
the arrow was shot out by us towards that target; but
there where the arrow would have dropped was no place
(for it), where if a target were constructed, then it (the
arrow) would have been manifest outside; then we or-
dered: A spirit target is constructed in front, thus a spirit
hand has written: Set not the feet in this cave, and shoot
not an arrow at that target, after the spirit arrow shot at
that target; the hand has written that.’

Comparing the two versions of this inscription with the
Pahlavi of the manuscripts, it will be noticed that though
the Chaldæo-Pahlavi differs most, it still corresponds with
the manuscripts to the extent of about one-third of the
words, amongst which the preposition kal, “to, at,” explains
the manuscript ghal, which has been often read ghan or
ghû, and is used for either val or valman. The construc-
tion of the Chaldæo-Pahlavi resembles generally that of
the manuscript Pahlavi, but it does not suffix the pronoun
to the initial conjunction or adverb in each phrase, which
is a peculiarity of Pahlavi as compared with modern Per-
sian. Furthermore, the Chaldæo-Pahlavi has begun to use
Iranian terminations to Semitic verbs, as t in haqāmût,
yehût, havînt; ð in lehavînd, haqāmûd, yâmzûd; and the
conditional dé in havîndé. The Sasanian version has not
advanced to that stage in which it adopted Iranian ter-
minations to Semitic verbs, although they are freely used in
other inscriptions some twenty or thirty years later; but
in all other respects the Sasanian approaches much closer
than the Chaldæo-Pahlavi to the language of the manu-
scripts, about two-thirds of the words being identical, and
the construction of the sentences precisely the same. Thus
we find the pronoun suffixed to the initial conjunction or
adverb in some phrases, as in afam and adîn, only the
pronominal suffix is Semitic; but in later Sasanian inscrip-
tions we find Iranian suffixes, as in afam and afash. This
inscription leaves the question of the origin of the idhâfat,
or relative particle, very uncertain. This particle is nearly
always expressed in Pahlavi writings, and not merely understood, as it is generally in modern Persian. In this inscription several words, in both versions, end in ṭ, but as this vowel termination cannot be the idhāfat in some cases, it may not be so in any. Thus in the Sasanian version the final ṭ may be an idhāfat in bagī, Shahpūharī, napī, Pāpakī, levīnī, and possibly in chitṛē, but it cannot be so in dīkī, birūnī, and chātākī, and an idhāfat is wanting after malkā, barman, Artakshatar, and lechadā. In the Chaldæo-Pahlavi version the final ṭ may be an idhāfat in Shahpūharī, bārī, and pūharī, but it cannot be so in shāṭī and ākastī, and an idhāfat is wanting after alahā, malkā, Artakshatar, pūhar, bag, Pāpak, and lehad, and perhaps after shīhar and qadmatman. The omission of an idhāfat after malkā is most significant, as it is a position in which it would be expressed even in modern Persian; it is, therefore, very doubtful whether any final ṭ is intended as an idhāfat. In inscriptions a few years later we find the idhāfat in the form of the Semitic relative zi.

To compare with the early Sasanian Pahlavi of the inscriptions, we may take, as a specimen of the manuscript Pahlavi, a passage from the Kārnāmak-i Ardashīr Pāpakān, in which the Semitic ideograms are given in italics, and a complete Pāzand version, in Neryosangh’s orthography, is interlined; so that the upper line gives the text as it is written, and the lower as it is pronounced:—

[PAHLAVI].—Pāpak amatsh nāmak diḍ andūkūn yeherūnd, afash pavan [PĀZAND].—Pāpak kash nāma diḍ andūugin būq, vash pa pasukhō vūl Ardakhshīr kard nipisht aṣīk: Lak tā dānakylīsh kard, amat pasukh o Ardashīr kard navasht ku: Thō nē dānāhā kard, ka pavān mīndavam-ī mān ziyān tā afash shāyast būdana, levatman vajūrgān pa this-e ke zā nē azash shāyast būdana, awā guzurgān stējaq yebrāntaño milayā drūṣht-advājīsh aūbash guft. Kevan būjāhūn stēzha burdan sakhun durusht-āwāzihā hāvash guft. Nuñ bōzhesḅḥ

1 A few exceptions to this general rule, besides unintentional omissions, may be discovered, especially in manuscripts from Persia.

2 Derived from other works, as no version of the Kārnāmak by Neryosangh is known.
THE Pahlavi LANGUAGE.

yemadatun, pavan pedit-mandak\(^1\) angar; moman danakan gutte yekubamun\(^2\) go, pa pashehmn\(\) asigar; chi dana\(\) gutte ested

aykh: Dushman pavan dushman zak la tu\(\)van vakhdantano mun\(^2\) ash\(\) mard ku: Dushman pa dushman a ne tu\(\)a griftan ke ash\(\) mard min kunishn\(\)i nafshman sa\(\)hash rase\(\). Denmanich gutte yekubamun\(\)aykh: ezh kunehn\(\)i qes\(\)h havash rase\(\). In-cha gutte ested ku:

Min zak a\(\)kh m\(\)a\(\)sta\(\)var\(\)m\(\)ad al yekubum\(\)h mun ja\(\)v\(\)at min valman la vijar\(\). Ezh a kas musta\(\)var\(\)m\(\)ad ma bash ke jaq ez\(\)h oj ne guzar\(\). Va lak benafshman dan\(\)e\(\)kh Ardavan madam li va lac va khabdan U tho ga\(\)d dana\(\)c ku Ardavan awar men u tho u vasan ansh\(\)ul\(\)a den go\(\)han pavan tan\(\)a va khayd va chad\(\)an va khvastak k\(\)ak\(\)m\(\)\(\)k\(\)\(\)tar mar\(\)dum-i a\(\)ndar g\(\)ekh pa tan u j\(\)an u khir u q\(\)\(\)sta k\(\)ak\(\)m\(\)\(\)tar pa\(\)jahkhsh\(\)al atto. Va kevanich andarj\(\)i li va lac denman sakhttar, a\(\)ykh pa\(\)dishah hast. U nu\(\)n-cha andarz\(\)h-i men o tho in sakhttar, ku kh\(\)addak\(\)\(\)n\(\)ak\(\)kh va farman-burdur\(^4\) vaddan\(\)a nafshman-tan\(\)u varz va at\(\)e\(\)n e\(\)\(\)eg\(\)an u farma-burdar kun qes\(\)h-tan varz o avin-bud\(\)\(\)lh al avas\(\)p\(\)ar, bud\(\)\(\)lh ma avas\(\)p\(\)ar.

This passage may be translated as follows:—‘Papak, ‘when he saw the letter, became anxious, and he wrote in ‘reply to Ardashir thus: Thou didst unwisely, when, to ‘carry on a quarrel with the great, in a matter from which ‘there need be no harm, thou spakest words fierce and ‘loudly about it. Now call for release, and recount with ‘sorrow; for the wise have said that an enemy is not able ‘to take that, as an enemy, to which a righteous man ‘attains by his own actions. This also is said: Be not an ‘antagonist of that person, away from whom you depart ‘not. And thou thyself knowest that Ardavan is a very ‘despot sovereign over me and thee and many men in ‘the world, as to body and life, property and wealth. And ‘now also my advice to thee is most strongly this, that ‘thou practise conciliation thyself, and act obediently, and ‘yield not to want of foresight.’

It will be noticed that many of the words in this Pahlavi

---

\(^1\) A doubtful word, and pashemant is merely a guess.

\(^2\) All MSS. have kardanomun, and no doubt some old copyist has read vaddantano (= kardan) instead of vakhdantano (= griftan), there being no difference between these words in Pahlavi writing.

\(^3\) Plural used for the singular.

\(^4\) So in all MSS., but the text is either corrupt, or the construction peculiar.
text, such as *dīḍ, kard, nipisht, &c.*, are Pâzand, although they have Semitic or Huzvârish equivalents, such as *khadītānd, vaddānd, xektīvānd, &c.*, which might have been used. This is generally the case in Pahlavi manuscripts, as it is quite optional for the writer to use either the Huzvârish word or its Pâzand equivalent, except perhaps in the case of some of the particles and detached pronouns, which are hardly ever used in their Pâzand form in Pahlavi writings. It is necessary to observe that the proportion of Huzvârish words in a manuscript is no criterion of its age, but merely an indication of the style of its writer, for it is not unusual for a manuscript of yesterday to contain more Huzvârish than one of the same text written five hundred years ago; though sometimes the case is reversed. The reason for this uncertain use of Huzvârish is obvious; the copyist either knows the text by heart, or reads it from a manuscript, but in either case he repeats it to himself in Pâzand, so that he has nothing but frequent reference to the original to guide him in the choice between Huzvârish and Pâzand modes of writing, and for want of frequent reference he will often substitute one for the other, or even use a wrong equivalent (if he does not quite understand his text) when there are two Huzvârish forms with nearly the same Pâzand, or when he has misread a Huzvârish form which has two meanings. Thus we often find the Huzvârish *amat,* "when," confounded with *mān,* "which," because the Pâzand of both is *ka* or *ke;* and sometimes the Huz. *aḏb,* "that," is similarly confounded, owing to its having been read *ki* instead of *ku;* on the other hand, as the Huz. *vakhdānd,* "taken," cannot be distinguished from *vaddānd,* "done," they are both liable to be read and written either *kard* or *grift,* according to the knowledge or ignorance of the copyist.
Pahlavi writings may be divided into two classes: first, translations from the Avesta; and, secondly, writings of which no Avesta original is known. The translations are always written in sentences of moderate length, alternating with those of the Avesta text; they are extremely literal, but are interspersed with short explanatory sentences, and sometimes with long digressions, serving as a commentary on the text. The Pahlavi writings without an Avesta original are nearly entirely of a religious character, though a few are devoted to historical legends. Pâzand versions of some of these writings, as well as of the translations, exist both in the Avesta and modern Persian characters. Sometimes the Pâzand, when written in the Avesta character, alternates with a Sanskrit or Gujarati translation; and when written in the modern Persian character, in which case we may call it a Pârsî version, it is usually accompanied by a Persian translation, either alternating with the Pârsî sentences or interlined; in the latter case, it is a literal translation, and in the former it is more of a paraphrase. Some writings are found only in Persian, and this is more especially the case with the Rivâyats or collections of memoranda and decisions regarding ceremonial observances and miscellaneous religious matters; these are generally very free from Arabic words, but some of them contain nearly as much Arabic as is used in Mohammedan Persian writings. These Rivâyats also contain metrical Persian versions of some of the more popular Pahlavi and Pâzand books; these distant imitations of the Shâhnâmâmah are generally from two hundred to three hundred and fifty years old.

Having thus taken a brief survey of the Pahlavi writings and their connection with Parsî literature generally, we may now proceed to give further details of such works as
are known to be still extant, beginning with the translations from the Avesta.

The Pahlavi Vendidad is probably the most important of these translations, and extends to about 48,000 words. Each sentence of the Avesta text is continuously followed by a literal translation, or attempted translation, in Pahlavi, interspersed with short explanations of unusual words, and often concluding with an alternative translation, introduced by the phrase, "There is (some one) who says." In many places the translation of a sentence winds up with a longer commentary, containing Avesta quotations, and citing the opinions of various old commentators who are named, but regarding whom very little is known. As the next sentence in the Avesta text follows without break of line, it is often difficult to distinguish it from one of the Avesta quotations before mentioned. In the translation there are probably fragments of various ages, as some of the commentaries bear traces of translation from Avesta originals, while many of the shorter explanations appear more modern, but they must have been brought together in their present form before the Mohammedan conquest. All the known extant copies of the Vendidad with Pahlavi appear to have descended from a manuscript of herbad Hōmāšt, from which a copy was made in Sistān in A.Y. 554 (A.D. 1185) by Ardashīr Bahman, and taken to India by herbad Māhyār Māh-mihīr, who had been passing six years with the herbads of Sistān, whither he had come from the town of Khūjak on the Indus. After the arrival of this MS. in India it was re-copied by Rūstam Mīhirāpān, who has forgotten to mention the year, and from his copy the oldest manuscript now extant was copied by herbad Mīhirāpān Kai-Khūsrō (who was probably his great-grand-nephew) in

1 In estimating (more or less accurately) the number of words in each of the works he has examined, as the best standard of their length, the editor has not included the conjunction va and idhāfāt i; and he has counted compounds as either one or two words according to the usual mode of writing them.
2 He copied the Aṣ̄la-Vīrāf nāmak in A.Y. 618 (A.D. 1249), and had visited Persia.
A.Y. 693 (A.D. 1324) in the town of Kambay. This manuscript is now in the University Library at Copenhagen, but is very defective; the first portion of the manuscript (Vend. i. i–v. 78, Sp.) having fallen into other hands, probably on some division of property among brothers; and nearly half the remainder is so much damaged, by the ink corroding the paper, that it is almost useless. Another manuscript, which appears to be in the same handwriting, but the colophon of which is missing, is in the India Office Library in London; this is also defective, as the folios containing Vend. i. i–iii. 48 and iv. 82–viii. 310 have fallen into other hands, and have been replaced by modern writing; the folios containing Vend. iii. 49–iv. 81, and a few others, are also damaged by the corrosive action of the ink used by Mihirâpân Kaï-Khûsrô. From a comparison of these two manuscripts, we can ascertain the state of the text 553 years ago, except with regard to Vend. i. i–iii. 48 and a few other short defective passages, for which we must refer to other old manuscripts. One of these was formerly in the library of Dastur Jamasp Asa at Nawsari, and is said to have been transferred from Bombay to Teheran in Persia some twenty years ago. It was copied, probably from the Copenhagen MS., in A.Y. 963 (A.D. 1594), by herbad Ardashir Zivâ, in the town of Bhroch; it is rather carelessly written, and many of the later copies are descended from it. 1 Another old manuscript, now in the University Library at Bombay, was obtained at Bhroch; it corresponds very closely to the one last mentioned, and is probably about the same age, but its colophon is lost. The Pahlavi Vendidad was printed at Vienna separate from the Avesta text, and was published by Spiegel in 1853, but his text can be much improved by careful collation with the old manuscripts above mentioned. None of these MSS. contain the twelfth fargard of the Vendidad, so that the Pahlavi translation of

1 The descent of manuscripts can generally be traced by their copying errors, which have been insufficiently erased; or by their misreading ill-shaped letters; but it is hazardous to argue on the authority of only one such blunder.
this fargard, which occurs in a few modern MSS., is prob-
ably the work of some Dastur in India. It is difficult to
account for the omission of the twelfth fargard in the old
MSS., as the fargards are all numbered, so that any acci-
dental leap from the eleventh to the thirteenth ought to
have been soon discovered; and it is unlikely that the
twelfth fargard would have occupied exactly the whole of
any number of folios which may have been lost from some
original manuscript before it was copied.

The Pahlavi Yasna contains about 39,000 words, ex-
clusive of the kiriya or introductory prayers. It is written
alternating with its Avesta, in the same manner as the Vend-
dad, but the long interpolated commentaries are much less
common, and fewer commentators are quoted; so it may
be suspected of containing less old matter than the Pahlavi
Vendidad. For the oldest manuscripts of this text we are
again indebted to herbad Mihirâpân Kai-Khûsrû, who
copied at Kambay a manuscript of the Yasna with Pahlavi
(now in the University Library at Copenhagen) in A.Y. 692
(a.d. 1323) from a manuscript written by Rustam Mihir-
âpân; in the same year he also wrote a second manuscript
of the same, which is now in the library of Dastur Jamaspjî
Minochihrjî in Bombay, and is dated only twenty-two
days later than the first, but it does not mention whence
it was copied. Both these manuscripts begin with a series
of introductory prayers in Avesta and Pahlavi, of which
the commencement is lost; some of the folios are also
damaged in both by the corrosive action of the ink used
by the writer; and one folio in the middle of the Bombay
copy is lost, and many others are worm-eaten. Several
more modern manuscripts of the Yasna with Pahlavi exist,
but they are less common than those of the Vendidad.
The Avesta and Pahlavi texts were printed separately at
Vienna, and published by Spiegel in 1858, but his text
would be improved by collation with the old manuscript
in Bombay.

The Pahlavi Vîsparad contains about 3300 words, and
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT.  97

resembles in character the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna. Probably the oldest copy of this text extant is contained in a manuscript of miscellaneous texts brought from India by the author of these Essays; this copy was written by Pêshyôtan Râm Kâmdîn at Bhroch in A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397). The Avesta and Pahlavi texts were printed separately at Vienna, and published by Spiegel, along with the Yasna texts, in 1858.

The Hâdôkht nask in Pahlavi is a mere fragment, containing about 1530 words, and consisting of three fargards which were probably not consecutive in the original Nask. The first fargard details the value of reciting the Ashem-vohu formula under different circumstances, and is probably an extract from the first division of the Nask. The second and third fargards describe the fate of the souls of the righteous and wicked respectively during the first three days after death; but their contents do not agree very well with the description of the Nask in the Dinkard, where it is stated to have consisted of three divisions containing 13, 102, and 19 sections respectively. The oldest copies of the text known to be extant are contained in the manuscript of miscellaneous texts written in A.D. 1397, which includes the Visparad, as mentioned above; also in a very similar manuscript in the University Library at Copenhagen, which must be about the same age. The Avesta and Pahlavi texts, alternating as in the manuscripts, were printed at Stuttgart, and published with the Ardâ-Virâf Nâmak in 1872, and a translation of the Avesta text will be found in the third Essay.

The Vishtâsp yasht is found with a Pahlavi translation of about 5200 words, but only one manuscript has been examined; this is in the library of Dastur Jamaspî in Bombay, and is said to have been written some thirty-five years ago. The Avesta text is probably descended from the Kirman manuscript used by Westergaard, and now at

---

1 The total number of sections is given as 133; so there must be an error of one in some one of these four numbers.
Copenhagen, and the Pahlavi text has the appearance of a modern translation.

Pahlavi translations of other Yashts also exist; such as those of the Ādharmazd yasht, about 2000 words; the Khârshêd yasht and Mâh yasht, each about 400 words; the Šrôsh yasht hâdôkht, about 700 words; the Haptân yasht, Behrâm yasht, and probably others which have not been examined. In these, as in all the other translations, the Pahlavi alternates with the Avesta; and there seems little doubt that most of these Yasht translations are old.

Among the remaining translations are the Pahlavi texts of the Ātash nyâyish, about 1000 words; the Khûrshêd nyâyish, about 500 words; the Abân nyâyish, about 450 words; the Afrîngân gâthâ, the Afrîngân gahanbâr, the Afrîngân dahmân (Yasna, lix. 2–15 Sp.), the last containing about 450 words; the Afrîn myazd, also called Afrîn Zaratusht; the štrôzâh in both its forms, containing about 530 and 650 words respectively; and many short extracts from the Yasna which are much used in the Khurda V Avesta, such as the Ashem-vohu, Yathâ-ahû-vairyo, and Yehê-hâtêm formulas; Yasna, v. 1, 2; xxxv. 4–6, 13–15; i. 65–67, Sp.; &c.

The Chîdâk avistâk-i gdsân, or selection from the Gâthas, is an old miscellaneous collection of short passages, sometimes merely single lines, from various parts of the Gâthas, alternating with the usual Pahlavi translation. Altogether 76 lines are quoted from the Avesta, and the Pahlavi translation of about 1100 words does not differ materially from that given in manuscripts of the Yasna. Several copies of this selection exist, but the oldest seems to be that in the manuscript of miscellaneous texts written in A.D. 1397, as mentioned above.

Intermediate between the translations and the purely Pahlavi works, there are those which contain many Avesta quotations, which are often translated, but do not in themselves form any connected text, as the bulk of the work is Pahlavi. The following three are of this class:
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT.

The Nirangistân contains about 30,000 words, including the Avesta quotations, many of which are no longer extant in the Zend-Avesta. It consists of three fargards, and treats of a great number of minute details regarding rites and ceremonies, and precautions to be adopted while performing them. Its contents correspond very closely with the description of the second section of the Hâspâram Nask, as given in the Dînkard; and the name of that section was Nirangistân. The opinions of many of the old commentators mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad are also often quoted in this work. A manuscript of the Nirangistân was brought from Persia to India by Dastur Jamasp Wilâyati, A.D. 1720; this was copied from a manuscript dated A.Y. 840 (A.D. 1471), but whether it still exists is uncertain; it was re-copied by Dastur Jamasp Asa of Nawsâri in A.Y. 1097 (A.D. 1727), and this copy is now in the library of the Khân Bahâdar Dastur Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona. Several later copies exist, but owing to the text being difficult and little known to copyists, their variations from the original are unusually numerous.

The Farhang-i əm khwadâk, or vocabulary of Avesta and Pahlavi, so called from its first words being əm khwadâk, consists of about 3300 words, including the Avesta, and contains several words and phrases which are no longer extant in the Avesta texts. Very old copies of this vocabulary exist in two manuscripts of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, one brought from India by the author of these Essays, and written in A.D. 1397, and the other at Copenhagen, written about the same time. Dastur Hoshangji’s edition of this vocabulary, printed at Stuttgart, and published in 1867 with the title of "An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary," could probably be improved by collation with these old copies of the text.

The Afrîn-i dâhmân, including the aogemadaêcha Avesta quotations, contains about 2000 words. The first of the quotations is Yasna, vii. 60 Sp., but most of the others are no longer extant in the Avesta. They are also found with
alternating Pāzand and Sanskrit translations, and without the introductory sentences of the Afrīn.

We may now proceed to notice the purely Pahlavi works, which contain but few quotations from the Avesta, and those are generally references to the proper texts to be recited on particular occasions. There is much diversity in the style of these compositions, some being merely descriptive, in which the language is easy and the construction simple; while others are more philosophical, and their language difficult and obscure.

The Vajarkard-i dīnī, containing about 19,000 words, might almost be classed with the preceding, as the latter part of it contains several quotations from the Avesta. It is a very miscellaneous collection of injunctions and details regarding religious matters, resembling a Rivāyat, and divided into three chapters, professing to have been written by Mēdyômāh, one of the old commentators quoted in the Pahlavi translations and other works. An old manuscript of the work, written in Kirmān, A.Y. 609 (A.D. 1240), is said to have been brought to India and deposited in the library of the Mody family in Surat, where it was copied A.Y. 1123 (A.D. 1754) by an uncle of the late high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay; from this copy the text was edited by Dastur Peshotanji, and printed in Bombay in 1848, as already mentioned (p. 59). This work includes three or four of the minor texts hereafter mentioned, as will be noticed when we come to them.

The Dīnābard is the longest Pahlavi work extant, although the first portion of it, containing the first and second books, is missing; the latter part of the work, consisting of books iii.–ix., contains about 170,000 words. The third book consists of a series of explanations of religious matters and duties, for general information and removal of doubt, concluding with a description of the solar and lunar years, and a legendary history of the Dīnābard which is evidently identified with that of the Nasks generally; this book contains 73,000 words. The fourth book contains various
statements selected from the religious books by Adarfro-bag-i Farukhzâdân, the original editor of the Dinkard (see p. 55), extending to about 4000 words; these statements commence with the characteristics of the Ameshâspends, and in discussing those of Shatrovair, the third Ameshâspend, an account is given of the endeavours of various sovereigns, from Vishtâsp to Khûsrô-i Kayân (Nôshir-vân), to collect and preserve the national literature. The fifth book contains the sayings of the same Adarfrobag from a book called Sîmrâ, and his replies to many questions on obscure and difficult matters in history, astrology, and religious customs, extending to about 6000 words. The sixth book contains the opinions of the pôryôgléshân (professors of the primeval religion of Zarathushtra) on all matters of tradition, customs, and duties, with many sayings of Adarpâd-i Mâraspendân; the whole extending to about 23,000 words. The seventh book contains an account of the wonders, or miracles, of the Mazdayasnian religion from the time of Gâyômard, the first man, to that of Sôshân, the last of the future prophets; including many details of the life of Zaratûsht, and extending to about 16,000 words. The eighth book contains an account of the twenty-one Nasks, giving a short description of each, but going into more details of the four Nasks xv.–xviii. which constitute the majority of the seven "legal" Nasks; this book consists of about 20,000 words. The ninth book contains a much more detailed account of the contents of each fargard of the first three Nasks, concluding with some remarks upon selections from the whole Yasna, and extending to about 27,000 words. The work concludes with colophons to the extent of nearly 1000 words, which relate that this latter part of the Dinkard was copied at the place where it was found, Khûshkand in Asûristân, from an original which had been written by elders of the family of Adarpâd-i Mâraspendân, by Mâhvandâd Narimahân Behnâm Mîhirâpân, and finished on the 24th day of the 4th month.

1 There are, of course, many other ways of reading this name.
A.Y. 369 (7th July A.D. 1000). From this copy others dated A.Y. 865, 1009,¹ and 1038 have descended, and the last appears to have been brought from Persia to Surat in A.Y. 1152 (A.D. 1783) by Mullâ Bahman, and about four years afterwards some copies of the manuscript of A.Y. 1038 (A.D. 1669) were spread among the Parsis; but before any of these copies were made, the manuscript from Persia had been lent to various parties, and more than one-sixth of the whole had been abstracted, so that all the manuscripts are now deficient to that extent; but out of 69 folios missing, 64 have been discovered, though they still remain in various hands. The manuscript itself is in the library of Dastur Sohrabji Rustamji, the high-priest of the Kadmi sect of Parsis in Bombay. Dastur Peshotanji is publishing an edition of the text, with Gujrati and English translations, as has been already mentioned (p. 59), but it will be many years before he can complete his task.

The name Dâdistân-i-dînî is usually confined to a work of about 30,000 words, written by Dastur Minochihar Yûdân-damân, who was high-priest of the Mazdayasnians in Fârs and Kirmân about A.Y. 350² (A.D. 981). It consists of 92 questions and answers about religious duties, customs, and legends; the last of these answers seems to be incomplete, so that a portion of the original work may have been lost. The oldest manuscript of this text that has been examined was written in Kirmân by Marjpân Frêdûn in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572); his writing was to supply the deficiencies in a still older manuscript, of which only 28 folios now remain; and his manuscript has, in its turn, had its deficiencies supplied from later copies. In this manuscript the text of the Dâdistân-i-dînî is preceded and followed by other somewhat similar writings by the same Dastur, and by Zâd-spam-i Yûdân-damân, who appears

¹ These dates no longer exist in the manuscript brought from Persia, but are taken from the copies and from the account given by Mullâ Firâz in his Avîjeh-Dîn.
² Altered to 250 in the old manuscript written by Marjpân Frêdûn, but whether the alteration was made by the original writer or not is uncertain.
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT.  

... to have been his brother. The first part of these extra writings contains about 23,000 words, and the last part about 30,000 words, of which 5000 are lost; if these writings be taken as part of the Dâdîstân-i-dînî, the whole work contains about 78,000 words extant. The author of these Essays recommended the Parsis, twelve years ago, to have this work translated, and it is said that a translation was prepared, but has not been published. If the non-appearance of this translation be due to any of the opinions of the old Dastur of Kirmân differing from those of Parsis of the present day, it is to be regretted, as the proper course in such a case would be to publish a correct translation, and point out the probable cause of the original writer's errors in notes; this is all the more necessary as none of the Pahlavi books are free from statements which would be considered heterodox nowadays. Thus, whenever they give details regarding khvêtûk-dâs, or next-of-kin marriage, they describe it as applying to closer relationships than present customs tolerate; but whatever may have been the reasons for the establishment of this custom when the Zoroastrian faith was in power,1 it is evident that when the faith was held merely by a persecuted remnant of the Persian people, their priests advocated the custom as a specially meritorious act, with the view of discouraging intermarriages with their Mohammedan neighbours, which would have led to the final extinction of Zoroastrianism. That the present customs of the Parsis are not quite the same as those of eight or ten centuries ago is not surprising, when we consider that it was the usual practice of all Christian sects who had sufficient power, two or three centuries ago, to put heretics and witches to death by burning or otherwise; such practices were then not only legal, but were considered highly meritorious; now they would be called judicial murders.

1 They had probably something to do with the dislike of Eastern nations to any absolute alienation of family property; a feeling which led even the Jews to adopt stringent exceptional marriage laws, in case of a failure in direct heirs.
The Shikand-gumânî vijâr is a controversial work of about 18,000 words, written by Marḏân-farukh-i Aḏharmazd-dâd, who acknowledges the instruction he has received from the Dínkard of Adar-frobag-i Farukhzhâdân, which contained a thousand chapters (dar), as well as from the Dínkard of Adarpâdyâvand, a work no longer known, unless it be the book of the Mainyô-i-khard, mentioned hereafter. The writer begins by answering some questions of Mihiryâr-i Mâhmâdân of Ispâhân regarding the existence and work of the evil spirit being permitted by Aḏharmazd; he then proceeds to prove the existence of God, and to disprove the arguments of atheists, and of those who disbelieve in the evil spirit, and attribute both good and evil to God; and he concludes by criticising the doctrines of the Jews, Christians, and Manichaæans. Most of the manuscripts of this work are incomplete, and only the first 3600 words are found in the Pahlavi character; the more complete manuscripts are in Pâzand with Neryosangh’s Sanskrit translation, but there are evident indications of the Pâzand text having been originally transliterated from Pahlavi. An edition of the Pahlavi and Pâzand texts has been prepared by Dastur Hoshangji, but is not yet printed.

The Bundahish calls itself ‘the Zand-âkâs 2 (zand-knowing, or tradition-informed), which is first about Aḏharmazd’s original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, and afterwards about the nature of the creatures ‘from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence, just as it is revealed by the religion of the

---

1 The Mulla Furch library in Bombay contains two modern Persian manuscripts, named respectively Dinkard and Dinkhird; these were written by Mulla Furch to describe his voyage to Persia and the answers he obtained to seventy-eight questions proposed by the Indian Dasturs. These Persian works must not be confounded with their namesakes in Pahlavi.

2 The word min, “from,” with which many of the manuscripts commence, appears to be a later addition, as it is not found in the Copenhagen manuscript, and has evidently been added by a later hand in the only other manuscript of equal age mentioned in the text.
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT.

105

'Mazdayasnians.' The contents of this book are too well known to require further description; it contains about 13,000 words, but the manuscripts do not agree either in extent or arrangement. The most complete and best-arranged text, but not the most accurately copied, is that in the manuscript of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts at Copenhagen, which is about five hundred years old, and has lost one or more folios in the middle of the text of the Bunda-hish, but contains more sections (chaps. xxviii., xxix., xxx., and xxxii. of Anquetil) than are found in other independent copies. The text is found differently arranged, without those sections, but more accurately copied, in the similar manuscript of miscellaneous texts brought from India by the author of these Essays, and written in 1397. Most of the manuscripts in India seem to have been copied from the latter of these two old manuscripts, but they sometimes vary further in their arrangement. The Copenhagen text was lithographed in facsimile and published by Westergaard in 1851; a French translation was published by Anquetil in 1771, and German translations by Windischmann in 1863, and by Justi in 1868.

The Mīnōk-i'khārd, called in Pāzand Mainyō-i'khārd, or Spirit of Wisdom, consists of sixty-two answers given by the said Spirit to the inquiries of a wise man regarding the tenets, legends, and morals of the Mazdayasnian religion. It contains about 12,000 words, but the text ends abruptly, as if incomplete; and its introduction bears some resemblance to that of the Shikand-gumānī, so as to lead to the suspicion that it may be the first portion of the Dīnkharḍ consulted by the author of that work. An old manuscript of the Pahlavi text was brought by Westergaard from

1 This word, which is traditionally read mādānad, has been pronounced mīnavad, or mānavad, and traced to a supposed ancient Persian form, māniyāvat. Whether such a form actually existed is not known, and if it did, we should expect to find its final letter represented by ḍ = t in Pahlavi, and not by ḍ. On the other hand, the Persian mīnō must have been mīnōk in Pahlavi; this would be liable to be written mīnōg, and the addition of circumflexes (all the uses of which, in Pahlavi, are not thoroughly understood) changes this word into the traditional mādānad.
Persia, but the Pahlavi versions in India are probably merely translations from the better-known Pāzand text which generally alternates with Neryosangh's Sanskrit translation; a manuscript of this Pāzand-Sanskrit text, written in A.D. 1520, is preserved in the India Office Library in London. A few fragments of the Pāzand text were published, with a German translation, by Spiegel in his "Grammar of the Parsi Language" (1851) and his "Traditional Literature of the Parsis" (1860); and the whole text, both Pāzand and Sanskrit, was published by West, with an English translation, in 1871.

The Shāyast lā-šāyast, or Pahlavi Rivāyat, contains about 10,000 words, and treats of sins and good works, the proper treatment of corpses and other kinds of impurity, with the proper modes of purification, the proper use of the sacred thread and shirt, other customs and rites, with the reasons for reciting each of the Gāthas, and details of the extent of those hymns; all subjects which are generally explained in the Persian Rivāyats; but here the statements are enforced by quotations of the opinions of several of the old commentators, and by references to some of the Nasks no longer extant. The oldest extant copies of this work are contained in the two manuscripts of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written about five hundred years ago, which have been already mentioned. In these manuscripts the text appears in two detached portions of about 7500 and 2500 words respectively.

The Ardaš Vīrāf nāmak, or book of Ardaš Vīrāf, contains about 8800 words, and describes what was seen by a chosen high-priest in a vision of the other world, where he was shown the rewards of the righteous, the punishments of the wicked, and the neutral state of stationary expectation of those who belong to neither extreme. It is stated in this work that Ardaš Vīrāf was called Nikhshāpūr

1 Sometimes written Ardrā, which should perhaps be read Ardrāk, having been altered into ardyā, which is not distinguishable from ardyā. It is no doubt merely a title meaning "righteous;" the Parsis say, however, that it is also a name.
by some; this is not only the name of a town, but is also that of one of the old commentators, sometimes quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and very often in the Nirangistân; it is possible, therefore, that this commentator may have written the book of Arîâ Virât. Copies of this text are found in the two old manuscripts of miscellaneous texts written about five hundred years ago, which have been already mentioned. A manuscript of a Pâzand and Sanskrit version, written A.D. 1410, was also brought from India by the author of these Essays; and Persian versions, both in prose and verse, are likewise extant. The Pahlavi text was printed at Stuttgart, and published, with an English translation, in 1872.

The Mâdîgân-i Gîshât-i Fryânô, of about 3000 words, is a tale of the evil Akhtya of the Ābân Yasht (81–83), propounding thirty-three enigmas to Yôishtô-yô-Fryananânâm, to be solved on pain of death; after this is done he has to solve three enigmas in his turn, but fails and is destroyed. The enigmas are generally of a very trivial character, and nine of them seem to be omitted. This text accompanies that of the book of Arîâ Virât in the two old manuscripts before mentioned, and was published with it in 1872.

The Bahman yasht, of about 4200 words, professes to be a revelation from Âharmazd to Zaratûshtr of the sufferings and triumphs of the Mazdayasnian religion, from his time to the end of the world, apparently in imitation of part of the Sûâkar Nask. As it mentions the Mûsalmânûs, and gives many details of the sufferings occasioned by them, it must have been written a considerable time after the Mohammedan conquest. It details how the power of the Mazdayasnian religion is to be restored by the victories of Vahirâm-i Varjâvand, a prince (kaît) of the Kayân race, who at the age of thirty is to put himself at the head of Indian and Chinese armies, whose power will be felt as far as the banks of the Indus, which is called the country of Bambo. Foreigners should be careful not to confound this
name with Bombay, which is merely a European corruption, through the Portuguese, of Mumbaí; a corruption which native writers still avoid when writing in the vernacular languages. The Pahlavi text of this work is found in the old manuscript of miscellaneous texts at Copenhagen, and its two copies, one of which is at Paris, but no other copies have been met with; a Pâzand version is, however, common in India. Spiegel has given a German translation of extracts from the Bahman Yasht in his "Traditional Literature of the Parsis."

In the same old manuscript at Copenhagen is the Andarj-i Hudâvar-i dândâk, containing about 1800 words, of which one-third have been lost, as two folios are missing. This admonition (andarj) is given in reply to questions asked by his disciple (ashâkard). No other copy of this work has been met with, but it will be found, of course, in the two copies of the Copenhagen manuscript.

In the same manuscript is also a copy of the Mâdîyân-i gujastak Abâlish, containing about 1200 words. The accursed Abâlish appears to have been a zandâk or heretic, who relied upon later corrupt traditions in preference to the true faith. In the presence of Mâmûn, the commander of the faithful (amîr-i mâminûn) at Bagdad, he proposes seven questions to a Mobad, who replies to the satisfaction of Mâmûn and the confusion of Abâlish himself. The writer concludes by blessing Adarfrobag-i Farukhzâdân (the author of an old edition of the Dînkard) for having destroyed Abâlish; and he could not have written this work before A.D. 830, as Mâmûn was living at that time. Many copies of it exist in Pahlavi, Pâzand, and Persian.

The Jâmâsp nâmâk consists of Jâmâsp’s replies to King Gushtâsp’s questions regarding creation, history, customs of various nations, and the future fate of the religion. The most complete manuscript examined contains about 5000 words, but seems unfinished. The Pahlavi text is rare. A very old manuscript in Dastur Peshotanji’s library in

1 This name may also be read Khâshvar-i, or otherwise.
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT.

Bombay contains about one-fourth of the text, but no other copy has been met with. The Pāzand and Persian versions are found in many manuscripts.

A very old manuscript in the library of Dastur Jamaspji in Bombay has been called the *Pahlavi Shāhnāmak*, as it contains several short tales connected with the kings of Persia. Its colophon states that it was finished in India, in the town of Tānāk,1 on the 19th day of some month Ḡ. Y. 691 (A.D. 1322), by Mihirāpân Kaf-Khūsrō, the copyist who wrote the oldest manuscripts of the Yasna and Vendidad that are still extant. The handwriting, however, more nearly resembles that of the old manuscript of miscellaneous texts at Copenhagen, which contains several copies of Mihirāpân’s writings, with his colophons attached; so that the Pahlavi Shāhnāmak may also be a copy of his manuscript, but, like that at Copenhagen, it is certainly about five hundred years old. This manuscript is much wormeaten, but a copy of it exists at Teheran, made one hundred and ten years ago, before the original was much damaged, which will probably supply most of the deficiencies in those texts of which no other copies are known to exist.

Of the texts contained in this old manuscript and its single complete copy, the following are not known to exist elsewhere in Pahlavi:—(1.) *Yaḏḵār-i Zarḵrān*, of about 3000 words, containing an account of the war between King Vishtāsp and Arjāsp. (2.) *Cities of the Land of Iran*, about 880 words, giving their names and a very brief account of each. (3.) *Wonders and Prodigies of the Land of Sīstān*, in about 290 words. (4.) *Khūsrō-i Kavāḏān* (Nōshirvān) and the Slave-boy, who replies to the king’s thirteen inquiries as to what things are the most pleasant, about 1770 words. (5.) *Admonitions* to Mazdayasnians in six separate paragraphs, about 940 words. (6.) *Andarj-i*

---

1 In another colophon, in the middle of the manuscript, this place is called Tāmūk in Jazfrak (or Gujfrak) zilah, the date being the 6th day of the sixth month Ḡ. Y. 691.
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT.

Khûsrû-i Kavâdân (Nûshirvân), about 380 words, said to contain the dying injunctions of that monarch. (7.) Sayings of Adarfrobag-i Farukh-zâdân and Bakht-âfrîd, about 320 words.

The following texts, contained in this old manuscript, are also found in Dastur Peshotanji’s old manuscript, which has been already mentioned as containing part of the Jâmâsp-nâmak; but they are not known to exist elsewhere in Pahlavi:—(1.) Mûdâqân-i šî rûz, about 460 words, is a statement of what ought to be done on each of the thirty days of the month; at the end it is called an admonition (andârû) of Adarpâd-i Mâraspendân to his son, which leads one to suspect that it may be a detached portion of his Pandnâmak. (2.) Dirakhî-i Asûrûk, about 800 words, is a debate between a tree and a goat as to which of them is the more worthy. (3.) Chattrang nâmak, about 820 words, relates how a chessboard and chessmen were sent by Dêvasârm, a great king of India, to Khûsrû-i Anôsûkh-rûbân (Nûshirvân), with a request for an explanation of the game, which was given by Vajûrg-mîhir-i Bûkhtakân, who afterwards takes the game of Nîv-Ardashir to India, as an effectual puzzle for the Indian sages. (4.) Injunctions given to men of the good religion, about 800 words. (5.) The Five Dispositions of priests, and Ten Admonitions, about 250 words, which also occur in the Vajârkard-i-dinî (pp. 13–16 of Dastur Peshotanji’s edition). (6.) Dârûk-i khûrsanûb, about 120 words. (7.) Anecdote of King Vahirâm-i Varjâvand, about 190 words. (8.) Advice of a certain man (fulûn gâbrû), about 740 words. Of the following texts contained in the two old manuscripts of Dastur Peshotanji and Dastur Jamaspji, a third copy exists in the library of the latter Dastur:—(1.) Forms of Letters to kings and great men, about 990 words, found also in the Vajârkard-i-dinî (pp. 102–113 of Dastur Peshotanji’s edition). (2.) Form of Marriage Contract, dated A.Y. 627 (A.D. 1258), about 400 words. (3.) Vâchak âechand (some sayings) of Adarpâd-i Mâraspendân, about
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT. 111

1270 words. (4) Stâyishn-i drôn va sipâslârî-i myazdpân, about 560 words.

Of the following texts contained in Dastur Jamaspji’s old manuscript many copies exist:—(1) Pandnâmak-i Zarât üst, about 1430 words, contains admonitions as to man’s duties. A copy of three-fourths of this text exists in the University Library at Copenhagen. (2) Andarj-i Adarpâd-i Mûraspendân, about 1700 words, is sometimes called his Pandnâmak, and contains his advice to his son Zarât üst; but the last quarter of the text is missing in the old manuscript, and the end is very abrupt in other manuscripts, which makes it probable that the next text in the old manuscript, the Mâdîyân-i sî rôz, may have been originally the conclusion of this, as has been already noticed. This Pahlavi text was printed in Bombay, and published, with a Gujarati translation, by Shahryârji Dadabhâi in 1869; and an English version of this Gujarati translation, by the Rev. Shapurji Edalji, was published in 1870, but being a translation of a translation, it differs considerably from the meaning of the original. (3) Kâr-nâmak-i Artakhshîr-i Pâpakân, about 5600 words, records many of the actions of King Ardashîr and his son Shahpûhar, beginning with the discovery of Sâsân, the father of the former, among the shepherds of Pâpak, and ending with Aûharmazd, the son of the latter, ascending the throne; but this is not the original work, as it begins with the phrase, ‘In the Kârnâmak of Artakhshîr-i Pâpakân it was ‘thus written.’ A Gujarati translation of this text was published by Dastur Peshotanji in 1853. (4) Pandnâmak-i Vajârg-mihar-i Bûkhtakân, the prime minister of King Khûsrû Nôshirvân, contains about 1690 words, but seems to be merely a fragment of the work, as it ends very abruptly. This text is also called the Ganj-i shâdîyân, because it states that it was placed in the royal treasury (ganj-i shâhakân in the old manuscript).

The other old manuscript in Dastur Peshotanji’s library, which includes some of the above-mentioned texts, likewise
contains the following:—(1) Māḏīgān-i šā yazādān, about 80 words, stating the one special quality of each of the thirty Yazads who give their names to the days of the month. Another similar statement, in the old manuscript of miscellaneous texts brought from India by the author of these Essays, specifies different qualities in most cases. (2) Māḏīgān-i māh Fravaronīn rōj-i Horowad, about 760 words, which details all the remarkable occurrences said to have taken place, at different periods, on the sixth day of the first month of the Parsi year. A Persian version of this text is found in the Rivāyats. (3) Another Māḏīgān-i šā rōz, about 1150 words, detailing the proper business and duties for each of the thirty days in the Parsi month and the five Gāthā days at the end of the Parsi year. This text is also contained in the Vajarkard-i Dīnt (pp. 113–125 of Dastur Peshotanji’s edition).

Copies of the remaining texts are numerous both in Pahlavi and Pāzand. The Māḏīgān-i haft ameshāspend, about 990 words, contains a detail of the various duties of the seven Ameshāspends, as revealed by Aūharmazd to Zaratūsht. The Andarj-i dāndār mard, about 520 words, details the advice of a wise man to his son.

The Pahlavi-Pāzand farhang, about 1300 words, is the glossary of Huzvārisht and Pāzand edited by Dastur Hoshangji and published in 1870. It is called the Mārīknāmak-i Astūrī, or Assyrian vocabulary, by Dastur Peshotanji in the list of Pahlavi works given in the introduction to his Pahlavi Grammar; but the origin of this name requires explanation, as it appears to be unknown to the Dasturs generally.

The Patīt-i Adarpād-i Māraspend, about 1490 words, is a form of renunciation of every possible heinous sin, to be recited by the sinner. The Patīt-i khwād, about 1000 words, is a similar form of renunciation, but somewhat abbreviated. Āvar chīm-i drōn, about 380 words, regarding the symbolism of the ceremonial wafer-cakes, and the use of them in the myādād, or sacred feast. The Pahlavi
THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE EXTANT. 113

Ashirvād, or marriage blessing, about 460 words. The Nām-stāglichvād, or praise of Aūharmazd, about 260 words. The Afrīn-i "tā pēshgāh-i khwādā," so called from its first words, about 190 words. And other benedictions and prayers which have not been examined.

A Pahlavi version of the Saḍḍar Bundahish is also said to exist, but must be a modern translation, for the Sad-dar itself, although often written in Avesta characters, seems to be rather Persian than Pāzand, as it contains many Arabic words. Dastur Peshotanji mentions a few more Pahlavi texts, some of which may be included among those described above, but under different names. There are also several Persian texts, such as the book of Dādār bin Dād-dukht, &c., which may have originated in Pahlavi.

From the above details we may form some idea of the probable extent of the scanty remnants of Pahlavi literature. Without making any allowance for works which remain unexamined or have escaped observation, it appears that the extant Pahlavi translations from the Avesta exceed 104,000 words, and the other Pahlavi works exceed 413,000 words, making a total of upwards of 517,000 words in all the extant Pahlavi writings which have been examined. This total is nearly eleven times the extent of the Pahlavi Vendidad, or forty times that of the Bundahish.

The Parsi community has been doing a good deal, of late years, for the preservation of the last remnants of their national literature, but it would be better if their efforts were of a more systematic character. Before much more is done for encouraging the publication of isolated texts, a systematic inquiry for manuscripts should be set on foot, for the purpose of ascertaining which are the oldest and best manuscripts, so as to avoid the error of editing texts without reference to the best materials. Influential members of the Parsi community, assisted by the Dasturs, ought to have but little difficulty in inducing all possessors of manuscripts to supply a properly organised committee with complete catalogues of their collections. Such cata-
logues need only be lists of the names of the works, with the names and dates of the copyists when these are recorded; but all undated manuscripts supposed to be more than a century old should be specially noted. From such lists the committee could easily prepare a statement of all extant texts and of the owners of several of the more valuable manuscripts of each text. Possessed of this information, the next step would be to obtain a copy of the oldest manuscript of each text, beginning with the rarest works, and have it collated with one or two of the next oldest manuscripts (not being copies of the first). These collated copies, if correctly made without any attempt at emendation, would form standard editions of the texts, and should be carefully preserved in some public institution accessible to all members of the Parsi community, such as the Mullâ Firûz Library.

It can hardly be expected that Westergaard's edition of the Avesta texts can be much improved from any manuscripts to be found in India; although copies from Yazd or Kirmân, in Persia, might afford valuable emendations coming from an independent source, but it is generally understood in India that there are very few such manuscripts still existing in Persia. Justi's Old-Bactrian Dictionary is a tolerably complete collection of the Avesta words, but requires to be supplemented by the addition of many words contained in the Nirangistân, Farhang-i oïm khadûk, and Aogemadaêcha; and the meanings attached to the words want careful revision.

With regard to Pahlavi texts, it would be important to discover any Pahlavi Vendidad or Yasna descended from any other source than the manuscripts of Mihirâpân Kal-Khûsrô, also to find the first three fargards, missing from his manuscripts in Europe, in his own handwriting. The first two books of the Dînkard, the Pahlavi text of the latter part of the Shikand-gumânî, chaps. xxviii.–xxx. of the Bundahîsh, and a complete Pahlavi version of the Jâmâsp-nâmak, are all desiderata regarding which some
information might be obtained by a systematic inquiry for manuscripts. Hitherto the Parsees have had to rely upon Europeans for all explanations of their literature, beyond the merely traditional learning of their priesthood; they may always rely upon some European being ready to carry on such investigations, provided the materials be forthcoming; and Europeans, in their turn, ought to be able to rely on the Parsees for the discovery of all existing materials, and for rendering them accessible.
III.

THE ZEND-AVESTA;

OR,

THE SCRIPTURE OF THE PARSIS.
III.

THE ZEND-AVESTA; OR, THE SCRIPTURE OF THE PARSIS.

In this Essay it is intended to give a brief statement of the contents of the whole Zend-Avesta, together with translations of some important or interesting passages contained therein, which will enable the reader to form some judgment of the true character of the sacred books of the Parsis. After some preliminary remarks about the name, extent, and preservation of the sacred books, the separate parts of the present Parsi scriptures will be described in detail, and finally, an attempt will be made to give a short, critical, and historical sketch of this religious literature.

I.—THE NAME OF THE PArSI SCRIPtURES.

The sacred writings of the Parsis have usually been called Zend-Avesta by Europeans, but this is, without doubt, an inversion of the proper order of the words, as the Pahlavi books always style them\(^1\) \textit{avistâk va Zend} (Avesta and Zend), and this order is confirmed by the traditional, as well as the critical and historical, explanation of both terms. In the opinion of the present Parsi priests, \textit{Avesta} means the original text of the sacred books, and \textit{Zend} denotes the Pahlavi translation. This view is correct to a great extent, as many passages may be quoted.

\(^1\) Only one exception has been noticed in many hundred occurrences of the phrase.
from the Pahlavi books in which Zend means simply "translation," or "commentary;" thus the old Farhang-i ʿelm khodāk commences (in the old manuscripts) with the words: Mādām barā-shinākhtano-i wāj va mārīkāno-i Avistāk, aṭghash Zend māman va chīgān, 'on fully understanding the words and phrases of the Avesta, that is, 'the nature and quality (lit. the what and the how) of its 'Zend.' But it is probable that the term Zend was originally applied to commentaries written in the same language as the Avesta, for in the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna, when the scriptures are mentioned, both terms, Avistāk va Zend, are used, as if of equal authority, which would have been an instance of gross self-conceit on the part of the translator, if he meant his own translation by the term Zend. From this use of the denomination Avesta and Zend by the Pahlavi translators, we are fully entitled to conclude that the Zend they mentioned was a commentary on the Avesta already existing before they undertook their translation; and as they considered it sacred, this Zend was probably in the same language as the original Avesta. There are many traces, in the Avesta quotations and other phrases of the Pahlavi translations, of much of this old Zend having been replaced by the new Zend of the Pahlavi translators; but there are also traces of a good deal of it remaining incorporated in the present Avesta text, as will be pointed out from time to time in the translations which follow. The term Avesta and Zend, or Zend-Avesta, cannot be considered, therefore, as wholly inappropriate when applied to the Parsi scriptures in their original language, although the word Zend is improperly used when applied to that language itself, as it is much more commonly employed as a name for Pahlavi commentaries.

From the above remarks, it will be seen that the term

---

1 See Yasna, xxx. 1, xxxi. 1, where the Avesta and Zend of both sayings, or both blessings, are specified in the Pahlavi translation. Neryosangh generally renders the word Zend by artha, "meaning," in his Sanskrit translation of the Yasna.
Avesta was originally confined to the sacred texts ascribed to Zarathushtra and his immediate disciples; but in the course of time this term has been gradually extended to all later explanations of those texts written in the same language, till at the present time it includes all writings in that language, whatever their age. All these writings, having become unintelligible to the majority of the Zoroastrians, came to be regarded as equally sacred.

The word Avesta does not occur in the sacred texts themselves with the meaning now attached to it, and it must not be confounded with the Sasanian apistân, engraved on gems in the phrase apistân val yazdân, as this phrase is also found in the Pahlavi texts, with the meaning of "prayers to God," whereas the Pahlavi apistâk, or avistâk (Avesta), is a distinct word, never used in that sense, which, indeed, would be inapplicable to nine-tenths of the Avesta. So far as the form of the Pahlavi avistâk is concerned, it might be best traced to ava + stâ, in the sense of "what is established," or "text," as was proposed by M. J. Müller in 1839; but such a meaning, though it might be fairly applicable to most of the Avesta now extant, would hardly describe the very miscellaneous contents of the Nasks which have been lost, and which are all said to have had both Avesta and Zend. A more satisfactory meaning can be obtained by tracing avistâk to dâ + vista (p. p. of vid, "to know"), with the meaning "what is known," or "knowledge," corresponding nearly with vedâ, the name of the sacred scriptures of the Brahmins. It may be objected to this etymology that the first syllable of avistâk is written like ap, and an Avesta v does not usually change into a Pahlavi p; this is only true, however, when the p would be initial; in other cases, such as vi = Pahl. apt, the change is common.

With regard to the term Zend, we see that its application varied at different times. Originally it meant the

1 More literally, "what is announced," or "declaration;" approaching the meaning of "revelation."
commentaries made by the successors of Zarathushtra upon the sacred writings of the prophet and his immediate disciples. These commentaries must have been written in nearly the same language as the original text, and as that language gradually became unintelligible to all but the priests, the commentaries were regarded as a part of the text, and a new explanation, or Zend, was required. This new Zend was furnished by the most learned priests of the Sasanian period, in the shape of a translation into Pahlavi, the vernacular language of Persia in those days; and in later times the term Zend has been confined to this translation.

The word Zend may be traced in dzaiñtsh (Yas. lvi. 3, 3 Sp.) and is to be referred to the root zan, “to know,” Sans. jnd, Gr. γνω, Lat. gno (in agnosco and cognosco); so that it has the meaning of “knowledge, science.” What passages in the present Avesta may be supposed to be remnants of the old Zend will be pointed out whenever they occur in the translations we propose to give further on.

The term Pâzand, which is met with frequently in connection with Avesta and Zend, denotes a further explanation of the Zend, and is probably a corruption of parti-zañti, which must have meant “re-explanation;” this word does actually occur (Yas. lix. 2 Sp.), but with a more general meaning. Some passages in the present Avesta will be pointed out, in the translations further on, which may be supposed to represent an old Pâzand in the Avesta language; but at present the term Pâzand (as has been already shown in the second Essay) is applied only to purely Iranian versions of Pahlavi texts, whether written in the Avesta or Persian characters, and to such parts of Pahlavi texts as are not Huzvârish.
II.—THE ORIGINAL EXTENT OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE NASKS.

From the ancient classical writers, as well as from the tradition of the Parsees, we learn that the religious literature of the ancient Persians was of considerable extent, though the Zend-Avesta, in its present state, is a comparatively small book. This circumstance necessarily leads us to the conclusion, that the sacred literature of the Zoroastrians has suffered very heavy losses. Thus Pliny reports, on the authority of Hermippos, the Greek philosopher (see page 8), that Zoroaster composed two millions of verses; and an Arab historian, Abu Jafir Attavari, assures us that Zoroaster’s writings covered twelve hundred cowhides (parchments). These reports might appear, at the first glance, to be exaggerations, but for the enormous extent of the sacred books of other Oriental nations, which affords us sufficient reason for believing that the number and extent of the books ascribed to Zoroaster by his followers may have been very considerable.

The loss of most of these writings, known to the ancient Greeks, is ascribed by the Parsees mainly to the ravages attendant upon the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. Thus it appears from the third book of the Dinkard, that at the time of Alexander’s inroad there were only two complete copies of the sacred books (a term which the Dinkard seems to identify with itself); one of these was deposited in the royal archives at

1 Hyde, De Religione Veterum Persarum, p. 318.
2 Thus, for instance, the text of the sacred books of the southern Buddhists of Ceylon, Birma, &c., according to Turnour’s computation, comprises 4500 leaves, each page being about two feet long and containing nine lines. The text being written without any spaces between the words, we may conclude that each line must contain as much as ten lines of any ordinary poetical measure. Thus, $4500 \times 2 \times 9 \times 10 = 810,000$ lines of ordinary measure. Again, the commentary extends to a greater length than the text, so that there must be nearly $2,000,000$ lines in the whole of these sacred books.
Persepolis, which were burned by Alexander, and the other, which was deposited in another treasury, fell into the hands of the Greeks, and was translated into their language. The Arḍā-Vīrāf-nāmak mentions only the one copy of the Avesta and Zend of the religion, which was deposited in the archives at Persepolis, and burned by Alexander; but it also mentions that he killed many of the priests and nobles. Both these accounts were written ages after the events they describe, so they merely represent the tradition that had been handed down, probably in writing, or otherwise it would have been more exaggerated; but as these accounts appear to have been written before the Mohammedan conquest, they cannot have confounded Alexander's ravages with those of the Mohamme-
dans, for details of which we may refer to the Bahman Yasht. But although these accounts must be founded upon tradition, they are singularly confirmed by the ac-
counts given by classical writers. Thus we find from Diodorus (xvii. 72) and Curtius (v. 7), that Alexander really did burn the citadel and royal palace at Persepolis, in a drunken frolic, at the instigation of the Athenian courtesan Thais, and in revenge for the destruction of Greek temples by Xerxes. Arrian (Exped. Alex., iii. 18) also speaks of his burning the royal palace of the Persians. This act of barbarous folly was evidently the result of hasty impulse, and was probably committed at night, when the palace was full of attendants, courtiers, and priests; the last, who had special charge of the archives, would naturally attempt to save their treasures, and would certainly be opposed by the intoxicated Greeks, at the cost of many lives. The sacred books would be burned with the archives, in which they were deposited, and many Persians, priests and others, would lose their lives in the confusion. Such would be the natural consequences of the facts mentioned by the Western writers, and such are the traditional statements of the Parissis.

But besides the official copies of the sacred books, there
must have been other copies of many portions of them, which would be indispensably necessary in all cities where priests and judges had to perform their duties; and the copies of the sacred books, which the first Sasanian monarchs collected, were no doubt derived from these scattered copies. Notwithstanding the long interval of 550 years of foreign domination and domestic anarchy, which had intervened between Alexander and Ardashir Pâpakân, the Sasanian kings were able to collect a large proportion of the old writings, if we may believe the details given of the contents of the books in their days; and it is, therefore, to the later ravages and persecutions, occasioned by the Mohammedans, that we must attribute the final loss of most of the writings. No doubt the books, as restored by the Sasanians, were chiefly collections of fragments; but some portion of nearly every book seems to have been recovered by them, and the total disappearance of most of the books must be traced to recent times.

The names of all the books are, however, extant, together with short summaries of their contents. According to these reports, the whole scripture consisted of twenty-one books, called Nasks, each containing Avesta and Zend, i.e., an original text with a commentary on it. The number 21 was evidently an artificial arrangement, in order to have one Nask to each of the 21 words of the most sacred formula of the Zoroastrians, which are as follows:—

\[
\text{Yathâ ahû vaityô, athâ ratush, ashãd êhãd hachã,}
\text{Vânhêush dazdê manavhô, shkyaothnanâm anhêush mazdãi,}
\text{Khshathreamchã akurâś d, yim dragubyô dasdaçt vâstârem.}
\]

Each of the Nasks was, as it were, indexed under one particular word of this formula; and in the same manner

---

1 This word occurs in the Zend-Avesta itself (Yas. ix. 73 Sp.) in the compound naskh-frasudôhê, “studying the Nasks,” that is to say, the different parts of the scripture. It seems to be of foreign origin, and is probably identical with the Assyrian nusku, and the Arabic nuskhû, pl. nusakh.
as this formula consists of three lines or verses (gās), so also the Nasks were divided into three classes, according to their subjects to some extent, but not very strictly so.

Several descriptions of the contents of these Nasks are extant. The longest of these accounts forms the eighth and ninth books of the Dīnkard, as has been already noticed (p. 101), and goes into many details with regard to about one-third of the Nasks, though noticing the others much more superficially. Another Pahlavi description of the Nasks is found in the Dīnī-vajarkard, and this does not differ much from those given in the Rivāyats. Persian descriptions of the same are found in the Rivāyats 1 of Kāmah Bahrah, Barzū Qiyāmu-d-dīn, and Narīmān Hōshang; these differ but little, except in small details. The following statement of the contents of the Nasks is taken from the Dīnī-vajarkard, 2 except where otherwise noted, but their names and the order in which they stand are corrected from the Dīnkard.

1. Sādkar, "conferring benefits," corresponding to the Avesta word yathā in the Yathā avā vairyō formula, and called Stūdgār, or Istūdgār, in the Rivāyats and Dīnī-vajarkard, consisted of 22 sections. It contained advice to mankind as to prayer and virtue, the performance of good actions and meditation, producing harmony among relations, and such-like matters. In the Rivāyats and Dīnī-vajarkard this Nask is the second, as their lists begin with the twenty-first Nask, which removes all the others one step lower down; this error appears to have been occasioned by the Dīnkard giving two lists, one dividing the Nasks into three classes, 1 yāsānīk, ēddāk-

1 The Rivāyats are miscellaneous collections of information and decisions regarding the religion, made by various old Dasturs, chiefly in Persian, but also containing translations of passages from religious books, both in Persian verse and Pāzand.

2 This must be a different work from the Vajarkard-i-dīnī described in p. 100, but it has not been examined. The passage referring to the Nasīs was extracted from a manuscript in the library of the Khān Bahādar Dastur Nōshīrvānji Jāmāspji, at Poonā.
mánsarík (or yushtak-mánsarík), and dādít; ¹ the other recapitulating the names in their proper order, which is preserved in the after descriptions of their contents. The first or classified list begins with the twenty-first Nask on the general list, and this may have led the writers of the Riváyats to consider it the first Nask. That the second list in the Dínkard is correct, appears from its placing the Vendidad nineteenth on the list, which is confirmed by Rústam-i Mihirápán’s colophon in the old Vendidad with Pahlavi at Copenhagen; whereas the Riváyats and Dín-vajarkard make it the twentieth.

2. Varshtamánsar, corresponding to Av. ahū in Y. a. v., and called Vahisht-mánsrah (or māntar) in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 22 sections. It contained reasons for being trustful and heedful of the Mazdayasnian religion, for attending to religion, and using the benedictions and praises of the blessed Zarátush; also all events before Zarátush which were manifestly good, and all events which are to be after Zarátush until the future existence; the benefits of this world, and such-like matters.

3. Bakó, corresponding to Av. vairyó in Y. a. v., and called Bagh in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 21 sections. It contained an explanation of the Mazdayasnian religion and the ideas which Aůharmazd taught to men; the exercise of reverence, heedfulness, law, and judgment; the performance of the proper duty and good actions of a magistrate; stopping the admission of the evil spirit into one’s self, attaining spiritual existence for one’s self, and such-like.

4. Dámdád, corresponding to Av. athā in Y. a. v., and called Dvázdah-hámāst (or homāst) in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 32 sections. It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which Aůharmazd produced in water,

¹ The seven gásintik are Nasks 21, 1, 2, 3, 11, 20, 13; the seven húdak-mánsarík are Nasks 4-10; and the seven dādít are Nasks 15-19, 12, 14.
fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the Chin vad bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence,¹ and such-like explanations.

5. Nādar, corresponding to Av. ratush in Y. a. v., and called Nādlūr in D.v., consisted of 35 sections. It contained explanations of the stars, both fixed and planetary, the good and evil (influence) of each star, the course of all the planets in the signs of the zodiac and lunar mansions. It is translated into Arabic and Persian, and they named the book Būtāl; in Persian it is named Kapūmajān.²

6. Pājāk, or Pājī, corresponding to Av. ashāq in Y. a. v., and called Pājam in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 22 sections. It contained explanations of the slaughter of quadrupeds and sheep, and how they are to be slaughtered; which quadrupeds it is lawful to eat, and which kinds are not lawful; how he who slaughters should strike at the time the sheep is expiring.³ The more that is spent upon a Gahanbār,⁴ so much the more

¹ The text appears to be va madam vindāskārān pādisafrā-i yekhvāntāvat pāvan tanī-pāst in the Dini-vājar-kard. If the meaning be that the punishment is to endure during the future existence, which is not quite certain, the D.v. differs from the orthodox view; it is not, however, a book of any authority, as the text is evidently a mere translation of modern Persian.

² The Rivāyats are quite uncertain how to read these names, but they prefer Bawatāl and Fawāmsubhān, but Fawāmjasān, Fawāmikhšān, and even Khawāsahān, occur in different copies. The Dinkard knows nothing about the contents of the Nādar Nask, so that the Rivāyats must have had other sources of information.

³ The slaughtering is performed by cutting (peshkāntra), but the animal must be finally killed by a blow, as explained by Dastur Hoshangji.

⁴ One of the six season festivals which are held on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year, which commences now on the 20th of September according to Indian Parsi reckoning, or on the 21st of August according to Persian reckoning, but retrogrades one day every leap-year. These periods, which seem originally to have been the six seasons of the year, came to represent, in later times, the six periods of creation. See section xi. of this Essay.
is the reward; how much it is needful to bestow upon Dasturs, Mobads, and Herbads, and upon the unwavering doers of good works in the good religion; to every one who celebrates a Gahanbâr, and consecrates a dress\footnote{Or “a cup,” the text being \textit{va jâm-i pavan râbân yezechkád.}} for a (departed) soul, what happens in the last times and in heaven, and what merit accrues to him; the giving of a dress in charity for righteous relatives, using mediation on the part of the righteous, the five greater and lesser Fravardigân\footnote{The last five days of the old year and the first five of the new one. During these ten days the \textit{frôhars} (\textit{fravashi, fravarti}), or spiritual representatives, of the deceased are believed to come to the houses; and the days are, therefore, called Fravardigân.} days; and the performance of good works on these ten days is enjoined in this Nask; all men should read this book, with good and wise understanding, who would become fully aware of its explanations.

7. \textit{Ratôshtâtêl}, corresponding to \textit{Av. chôd} in \textit{Y. a. v.}, and called \textit{Ratushtât} in the \textit{Riv.} and \textit{D.v.}, consisted of 50 sections until the accursed Alexander burnt the Nasks, but after that only a fragment containing 13 sections came to hand, as the rest no longer existed. It contained explanations of performing service, giving orders, and remaining at the command of kings, high-priests, and judges; the means of preserving cities is declared; the commands of religion, and means of taking reptiles, birds, cattle, and fish; \textit{everything which is a creation of Aûhar-mazd and Ahriman}; accounts of all seas, mountains, and lands; and matters similar to those mentioned.

8. \textit{Barish}, corresponding to \textit{Av. hachâ} in \textit{Y. a. v.}, consisted of 60 sections at first, but after the accursed Alexander’s (time only) 12 remained. It contained information as to how kings should rule, and what should be the orders and decrees of the judges of the religion; the preservation and protection of the world; making every new city flourish; accounts of false-speaking men, sinners, and such-like are given in this Nask.
9. Kashkšrwódó, corresponding to Av. vanhēush in Y. a. v., and called Kashkasřrah or Kashsrōb in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 60 sections formerly, but after the accursed Alexander's (time only) 15 remained. It contained accounts of wisdom and knowledge, the cause of childbirth, teaching guides to wisdom, performance of purification, speaking truth, bringing mankind from evil to good, bringing them from impurity and filth to purity; greatness and promotion are for men near kings; and in what manner men become tellers of falsehood to relatives and kings, and such-like.

10. Vishtâsp-sâstó, corresponding to Av. dazdâ in Y. a. v., and called Vishtâsp-shāh or Vishtâsp in the Rivâyats, and Vishtâspád in D.v., consisted of 60 sections, but after the accursed Alexander's (time only) 10 remained. It contained an account of the reign of Gushtâsp; that Zaratâsht-i Spîtâmân brought the religion from Aûharmadz, and King Vishtâsp accepted it and made it current in the world; and such-like.

11. Vashâh or Dādak, corresponding to Av. manânhô in Y. a. v., and called Khasht in the Rivâyats, and Khâstå in D.v., consisted of 22 sections originally, but after the accursed Alexander's (time only) 6 remained (called juzwa, "portion, bundle of folios," in the Rivâyats). The first portion was about understanding the attributes of Aûharmadz, being without doubts about the religion of Zarathâsrâ, all the duties and good works which are enjoined in the religion, and such-like. The second portion was about accepting service, the truth of religion, and all commands, from kings; and withholding one's hand from evil doings, so that it may be far from vice. The third portion was about debt to virtuous disputants, the advantage and merit of the last deliverance from hell, and such-like. The fourth was about the creation of the

1 Chîm-i pēdâk-yehcvântano min amīdar in the original text.
2 The Rivâyat of Barzâ Qiyâmu-d-din says "eight."
3 It is doubtful whether the first letter in one of the lists be part of the name, or merely the conjunction va.
world, the practice of agriculture, the cultivation of trees, the date-tree and all fruit-trees; whence is the chief strength of men and cattle; on the obedience of the doers of good works and the virtuous, on obedience to Dasturs, and such-like. The fifth portion was on the ranks of men; all are mentioned whose knowledge is great, as kings, judges, and the learned in religion; in the second rank are all who take care of the country and attack the enemy; in the third rank are those who are called vāstryōshān, “agriculturists;” the fourth rank is said to be those of great skill, market dealers of diligence and volubility to avoid loss, giving one-tenth to the Dastur and king, offering praise on their hardened knees, and whose last reward is that they obtain in heaven. The contents of the sixth portion are not stated.

12. Chīdrashtō, corresponding to Av. shkyaotknaṇām in Y. a. v., and called Jirasht in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 22 sections. This Nask was sent by Ahūarmazd to manifest to men what are the details of that science through which mankind is born;¹ how many individuals are still-born, and how many will live; then, how many men become kings, and how many perform the mission of prophesy and high-priesthood, how many men are very great, and how many are very small men, and how this happens; from first to last the time men are born, and all those details are in this Nask. The numbers of all the preceding Nasks, as given in the Rīvāyats and Dīnī-vajarkard, have been one in excess of those given in the Dinkard, their order being in both cases the same; but this Nask and the next one have changed places (and so have the 16th and 17th Nasks) in the Riv. and D.v., which make this the 14th Nask.

13. Špend, corresponding to Av. anvēusūk in Y. a. v., and called Sfend in the Rīvāyats, consisted of 60 sections,

¹ Maman chēm zak dānishm-i man serkhānēd in the original text, mean-
marzām min aškōmbo-i mā’do bard ing “midwifery.”
which are valuable to great men, productive of virtuous actions, and cause attention to the great and religious. It contained accounts of Zarathushtra from his being brought forth by Dughdu till his tenth year. Every Dastur and Mobad, who shall reverentially recite this Nask for several days in purity and by heart, shall obtain every wish for himself, or any favour he may request for others. This is the 13th Nask according to all authorities.

14. Bakdad-yastô, "worship of divinities," corresponding to Av. mazdâi in Y. a. v., and called Baghân-yasht in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 17 sections. It contained accounts of Aûharmazd the lord, the knowledge of his attributes, the service and sublimity of Aûharmazd, when is the time of every Gâh (time of prayer) till the future existence, what duty is to be performed, the offering praise for every benefit from Aûharmazd, obtaining benefits from him; the appearance (chîtar) of the Ameshâspends, and knowing in the future existence what is such-and-such an appearance of such-and-such an Ameshâspend. This Nask, made in homage of Aûharmazd and the Ameshâspends, is very fine.

15. Nikolâm, corresponding to Av. khshathremchâ in Y. a. v., and called Niyûrum in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 54 sections. It contained details about preserving wealth and placing it out, bargaining and measuring by the cubit and handful; everything the creator Aûharmazd has ordained as innocent; deliverance from hell, and how to walk in the path of reverence and worship; what is in the mind of man, and everything which is in the body of man, and similar matters to those mentioned.

16. Dâdîsrûd, or Dâdâsrûd, corresponding to Av. ahurâi in Y. a. v., and called Dvâsrûjad, Dvâsrûnjad,

---

1 D.v. says 18, but this is probably a copyist's error.
2 Evidently a modern Persian blunder, as r and d are very similar in that alphabet.
3 The Dinkard prefixes dâdû to this form of the name, but this is probably a copyist's blunder; the second form is evidently reproduced in the last Rivâyat form, which would be dâdû if it were not wrongly pointed.
Dvásrûb in different Riváyats, and Dvásrûzd in D.v., consisted of 65 sections. It contained accounts of kkvétâkñas (next-of-kin marriage), forming connections among relatives, and such-like. In the Riv. and D.v. this is the 18th Nask, having changed places with the next one, as has been already noticed in the remarks on the 12th Nask.

17. Hásparām, corresponding to Av. a in Y. a. v., and called Aspâram in the Riváyats, and Aspârum in D.v., consisted of 64 sections according to the Riváyats (one of them says 60), or 65 according to D.v. It contained religious matters which all people know well, the punishment suffered by sinners which they receive in their last career; everything which is innocent is allowable, and what is not innocent is not allowable; the stars which preside over the destiny of men, and such-like. This is the 17th Nask according to all authorities.

18. Sakādām, corresponding to Av. yim in Y. a. v., and called Askāram in the Riváyats, and Askārum in D.v., consisted of 52 sections. About giving orders and exercising authority, practising wisdom in everything; causing the resurrection, by which every man who has passed away is made living again, and the malformations of Ahriman and the demons are destroyed; and the like.

19. Vik-dévdād, Vik-shédâ-dād, or Javîd-shêddâ-dâd, corresponding to Av. dregvûyô in Y. a. v., and called Vândidâd, or Jûd-dêvd-dâd, in the Riváyats and D.v., consists of 22 sections. About what preserves men from evil and impurity, and will restrain them from all kinds of pollution. Of all the 21 Nasks, the Javîd-dêvd-dâd has remained complete; while several remained scattered by the wretched accursed Alexander, this Vendîdâd remained in hand, and from its elucidation the Mazdayasnian religion exists now.

20. Hâdôkštō, corresponding to Av. dadaḏ in Y. a. v., and called Hâdûkht in the Rivâyats, consisted of 30 sections. It contained much goodness and much gratifica-
tion. Every one who recites this Hadôkht, drives the evil Ahriman far from him, and approaches and comes near to Aûharmazd. This is the 21st Nask according to the Rivâyats and D.v., which remove all the Nasks, except the 12th, 13th, 16th, 17th, and 21st, one step lower on the list.

21. Stûd-yastô, corresponding to Av. vástârem in Y. a. v., and called Stûd-yasht in the Riv. and D.v., consisted of 33 sections. It contained the praise and reverence of Aûharmazd and the Ameshâspends, and thanksgivings. Aûharmazd sent this Nask into the world that every one should recite it from memory; and to every Dastur who recites both the Avesta and Zend of this Nask three times accurately the Ameshâspends will come near; he knows this without doubt. This is the 1st Nask in the Rivâyats and D.v., as has been previously mentioned.

III.—THE BOOKS NOW EXTANT, AND THE SUPPOSED ZOROASTRIAN AUTHORSHIP.

Of these twenty-one Nasks, which have been enumerated, only the nineteenth, the Vendidad, is preserved complete; of a few of the others, such as the Vishtásp-sástô and Hadôkhtô, and perhaps the Bakô, some fragments only are extant; but by far the larger number of these ancient sacred books have been lost for ever. There are, however, in the Zend-Avesta, as used by the Parsi priests nowadays, other books extant besides the Vendidad, which are either not mentioned in the foregoing list, as the Yasna and Visparad, or not clearly indicated, as the Yashts. These last, as well as the shorter prayers (Nyâyish, Afringân, Gâhs, Sirôzâh), were very probably contained in the 14th and 21st Nasks.

1 In the library of the Khân Bahâdar Dastur Noshirvanji, at Poona, there is a small fragment said to belong to this Nask, and referring to the treatment of a dead body and the fate of the soul immediately after death; but Dastur Hoshangji is doubtful about its authenticity.
As to the *Yasna* and *Visparad*, they are not to be found in any of the twenty-one Nasks, if we examine the statements of their contents. They were probably separate from them altogether, occupying in regard to the Nasks the same rank as the Vedas, in the Brahmanical literature, do in reference to the Shāstras and Purāṇas. That the Yasna is the most sacred book of the whole Zend-Avesta may be easily ascertained by perusing and comparing it with the other books contained in the scripture of the Parsis nowadays, where (as in the Vendidad) many verses from it are quoted as most sacred and scriptural.

The difference between the *Yasna* and the *Avesta-Zend* said to have been contained in the twenty-one Nasks is about the same as that between the five Mosaic books (Pentateuch), which were always believed by the Jews to be the most sacred part of the Old Testament,¹ and the other books of the Old Testament together with the different parts of the extensive Talmud.² There is no doubt (and the present state of the only Nask now completely extant, viz., the Vendidad, seems to prove it,) that by far the larger bulk of the various contents of these books contained Zend, or the explanation of an ancient sacred text called Avesta. A good deal of the contents of these Zend books is in all probability extant in the Pahlavi literature, as yet very imperfectly known in Europe.

From the contents of the Nasks, as given above, we clearly see that they must represent the whole religious and scientific literature current throughout the ancient Persian Empire; for they treated not only of religious topics, but of medicine, astronomy, agriculture, botany, philosophy, &c. That the contents of those Zoroastrian books which were known to the Greeks and Romans,

¹ The Samaritan Jews acknowledge, to this day, only the five books of Moses as scripture.
² Some portions of this enormous large work, which may be said even to surpass the original extent of the twenty-one Nasks, especially those called Ḥalakah, "rule," are as authoritative for the Jews as the Thorah (Pentateuch) itself.
were of such a various character, undoubtedly follows from the reports which have reached our time. Indexes of them, like the catalogues of the ancient literature known to Parsi priests nowadays, were extant at the time of Alexander the Great; because Hermippus (see p. 8) is said to have read and perused such a catalogue. This extensive ancient literature, which in all probability was already complete in B.C. 400 (see the last section of this Essay), shows the great activity and scientific interest exhibited by the priests of the Zoroastrian religion in olden times. So comprehensive a literature was of course the work of centuries, especially if one takes into consideration the scarcity and expense of writing materials, the clumsiness of the ancient characters used (in all probability a kind of cuneiform), and the long time which Orientals require for original composition. The composition of the sacred literature of the Jews, from the time of Moses (B.C. 1300 to 1500) down to the close of the Talmudic literature (A.D. 900), occupied a period of about 2400 years. Were we to apply the same calculation to the Zoroastrian literature, its beginning would have to be placed as early as B.C. 2800, which would not in the least contradict the statements made by the Greeks, about the age in which the founder of the Parsi religion was believed by them to have lived. At all events, this much seems to be certain, that at least a thousand years must have elapsed before a sacred literature so various and extensive could have grown up out of the seeds sown by the great founder of the Parsi creed, Spitama Zarathushtra.

1 They used cowskins, which were prepared for the purpose. In the fragments of the ancient literature, extant in the Zend-Avesta, no word meaning "to write" is anywhere to be found. This is merely fortuitous, because systematic books on scientific matters can never be composed without the aid of writing. That the art of alphabetical writing, as practised now by European nations, was perfectly understood by the Persians in the sixth century before the Christian era, we know now from the inscriptions of the kings of the Achaemenian dynasty, such as Cyrus and Darius.

2 See the fourth Essay.
As to the authorship of these books, they were ascribed by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and are so by the present Parsis, to Zoroaster himself. This opinion being so old as to have been known to the Greeks several centuries previous to the commencement of the Christian era, we may presume that it is not without foundation; though, on the other hand, it is impossible for a modern critic to believe that so extensive a literature as this, treating of such various topics, was the work of a single man. The Parsi tradition, it is true, gets over this difficulty by asserting that all the twenty-one Xasks were written by God Himself, and given to Zoroaster, as his prophet, to forward them to mankind. But such assertions being inadmissible in modern criticism, which tries to solve problems by appeal to reason, not to miracles of the most extraordinary character, we must dispense with them entirely, the more so as such claims to God's immediate authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta are never made in any of the books which are now extant. They lay claim to divine revelation (only the Yasna, not the Vendidad), but not in such a form as to exclude all activity on the part of the receiving prophet. As to the nature of this revelation, the reader may best learn it from the second Gâtha, of which a translation will be given in the 7th section of this Essay. He will see that the prophet was believed to have held conversations with God Himself, questioning the Supreme Being about all matters of importance, and receiving always the right answers to his questions. The prophet accordingly, after having been instructed, communicated these accounts of his conversations with God to his disciples and the public at large. Who wrote them down is quite uncertain; for in the old books no mention of this circumstance is made. The scanty texts which can be traced to the founder himself were very likely not written down by him, but learned by heart by his disciples, as was the case with the numerous Vedic hymns which
for centuries were handed down orally only. To the European reader it may be somewhat astonishing to hear that such large works as the Vedas could be faithfully and accurately retained in the memory for centuries; but considering that at the present day thousands of Brahmins exist who are able to recite parrot-like with the greatest accuracy, even as to accents, the whole of one of the Vedas, we are driven to admit that the same might have been the case in those early times to which we must trace the origin of the Zoroastrian religion. As long as the language of the hymns or prayers repeated was a living one and perfectly intelligible, there was no need of committing them to writing; but as soon as it had become dead, the aid of writing was required in order to guard the sacred prayers against corruption and mutilation. That was, in all probability, the case already a thousand years before the beginning of our era.

To revert to the supposed Zoroastrian authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta, believed by the ancient Greeks as well as by the modern Parsis, the solution of the difficulty is simple, if we take the name "Zarathushtra" (Zoroaster), not as the proper name of only one individual, but as the general title of the spiritual heads of the religious community of the ancient Persians. That this was really the case the reader will see from the fourth Essay. The founder is distinguished by the name "Spitama." The high-priest of the whole Parsi community was believed to be the successor of the great founder, Spitama Zarathushtra, and to have inherited his spirit. His sayings and decisions, therefore, were listened to with the greatest reverence, and in the course of time believed to be as sacred and divine as those which are with reason to be ascribed to the founder alone. The meaning of the supposed Zoroastrian authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta is that the scripture is the joint work of the high-priests in the ancient Persian Empire and other priests nearest to them in rank, compiled in the course of centuries.
This circumstance throws light upon the fact, that only the Dasturs, or present high-priests, are required to understand the meaning of the Zend-Avesta, and no one who has not thoroughly studied it can be acknowledged as a real Dastur.

The texts extant now, and collected for the first time in Westergaard’s valuable edition, comprise the following books:—YASNA, VISPARAD, VENDIDAD, and twenty-four sections called YASHTS, including fragments of the Hádókht Nask (No. 22 in Westergaard’s edition) and Vishtásp Nask (No. 24); to these are added some short prayers of different kinds, called APRINGAN (3), NYAYISH (6), GAH (5), with some miscellaneous fragments (9), and the SİROZAH (thirty days) or calendar. We shall treat of each of them successively in detail.

IV.—YASNA.

The word yasna¹ corresponds exactly to the S. yajna, “sacrifice,” and does not signify only mere prayers, like the Nyâyish, but prayers referring to sacrificial rites, and includes the performance of the latter. The solemn recital of the Yasna before the fire is always connected with ceremonies, to which several of the prayers contained in the Yasna allude. Thus they require consecrated water (zaothra), a kind of bread (garetem, “food”), butter (gáush hudháó), fresh milk (gáush jíva), meat (myaza),² the branches of the Homa plant together with one of the pomegranate (hadhânaépáta), the juice of the Homa plant (para-haoma), hair of an ox (varasa), and a bundle of twigs (baresma, nowadays barsom) which are tied together

¹ Yajishn (sometimes ōtjishno) in Pahlavi, transliterated into Íjashne in Gujrati; the root is yaz, yas, “to worship by means of sacrifices and prayers;” na forms abstract nouns in the Avesta, and in Pahlavi īshn answers the same purpose.
² The Dasturs nowadays understand it to mean “fruit,” which they use when performing the Íjashne ceremony. But originally it meant “fish,” as may be clearly seen from the cognate Armenian mis, “meat.” (comp. Sans. mānsa) being identical with “meat.”
by means of a reed. Without these implements, which are evidently the remnants of sacrifices agreeing to a certain extent with those of the Brahmans, as we shall see in the fourth Essay, no Ijashne can be performed by the priest. All these things must be in readiness, except the prepared Homa juice, and placed on a table of marble opposite to the fire of the Dādyāh, or the common hearth of the temple (not before the sacred fires Adarān or Behrām), before the Ijashne ceremony can be commenced.

The Yasna at the present time comprises seventy-two chapters, which number (6 times 12) is probably to represent the six gahanbārs, or seasons, during which Ahuramazda is said to have created the world. At all events, the extension of the several sections of the Yasna, called Ḥā (from Av. hāta), to the number of seventy-two, is not accidental, but was purposely made, as we may guess easily from the fact that several chapters occur twice within the compass of those seventy-two. For instance, the 61st and 72d chapters are the same, and the 18th contains nothing but verses from the Gāthā portion of the Yasna.

On closer inquiry, we find the Yasna really consists of at least two different parts, distinguishable by considerable differences in language and contents. One part we may call "the old," the other "the later Yasna." The old Yasna is written in a peculiar dialect, styled the Gāthā dialect in the second Essay, where its chief peculiarities have been pointed out.

All parts written in this peculiar dialect formed originally a separate book, which was believed to be sacred even at the time of the composition of the other books contained in the present Zend-Avesta. The original name of this collection was, in all probability, māthra speñta, "bene-

---

1 These are the five Gāthas:—Yas. xxvii.–xxxiv.; xliii.–xlvi.; xlvii.–l.; lii.; Yasna haptanhati (Yasna of seven chapters), xxxv.–xli., and some other smaller pieces, as Yas. iv. 26; xi. 9, 17, 18; xii.; xiii.; xiv.; xv. 2, 3; xxvii. 13, 14; lvi.; lviii. All references made to the Avesta, in this Essay, are to Westergaard’s edition of the texts, unless otherwise noted.
ficent ritual” (called Mānsarspend in Persian writings), which is several times mentioned in the Vendidad (iv. 44) with the meaning of “Scripture.” Its different parts were known by different names, as Gāthas or hymns, Yasna haptanhaiti or the Yasna of seven chapters, which are often quoted in the other books, as in Yas. lvii. 8 (where the angel Srosh is said to have first recited the five Gāthas of Spitama Zarathushtra), Yas. lxxi. 11, 12, 18 (where the Gāthas, the sacrificial prayers, and Yasna haptanhaiti, are distinguished, and a collection of all prayers is mentioned besides). In the Vendidad, especially in its tenth chapter, many sacred prayers are quoted, which are all to be found in the old Yasna, written in the peculiar Gātha dialect.

In the first chapter of the Visparad we find a series of sacred prayers (or rather their angels) invoked. This passage being of the greatest importance for the history of the Avesta literature, I shall point out here all that refers therein to this matter. As sacred prayers and sacred literature in general, the following writings are there enumerated:—1. The three most sacred short formulas, viz., Yathā ahā vairoyā (Yas. xxvii. 13), ashem vohu (Yas. xxvii. 14), and yēnēhā hātām. 2 (Yas. iv. 26); 2. the Gātha for the sake of righteousness, (to be) the giver of the good thoughts, of the actions of life, towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor. The Ashem vohu formula, which is even more frequently used than the Ahunavairya, may be translated as follows: — ‘Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness towards Asha-vahishta (perfect righteousness).’ It is to be understood that “righteousness,” here and elsewhere where it translates ashem, means “what is right or meritorious” in a ritualistic or materialistic sense, and does not necessarily imply holiness, any more than the Sans. purgyām does.

1 According to Zoroastrian ideas, everything in the good creation, whether animate or inanimate, is presided over by an angel, as the reader will learn from the 11th section of this Essay.

2 These three formulas are very short; it is, therefore, somewhat hazardous to venture upon a translation of them. The words themselves do not offer much difficulty, but the context does. The text of the first has already been given (p. 125); it is usually called Ahunavairya, and hence the first Gātha is called Ahunavaiti, as it is written in the same metre and follows this formula, which may be translated as follows: ‘As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide),
ahunavaiti (Yas. xxviii.-xxxiv.); 3. Yasna haptanhausti (Yas. xxxv.-xli.); 4. Gātha ushtavaiti (Yas. xliii.-xlvi.); 5. Gātha spenīd-maīnyā (Yas. xlvii.-1); 6. Gātha vohukhshathra (Yas. li.); 7. Gātha vahishtōishti (Yas. lii.); 8. Dahmī vāyuhi and ēfrīti (the Dahmān Afrinān, Yas. ix., the principal prayer for deceased pious Zoroastrians, called dahma); 9. Airyama iblyō (Yas. liv., a short prayer now used at the time of the solemnisation of a marriage); 10. Pshōshō-māthra (Yas. lviii., a prayer for prosperity); 11. Berezō hadakhdha (perhaps Yas. xv.); 12. the conversations with and teaching of Ahuramazda, as imparted to the ruler and chief high-priest (Zarathushtrōtemō, "the highest Zarathushtra") of a whole country, by which a book like the Vendidad is to be understood, as we shall see afterwards.

In Vendidad xviii. 51, three classes of sacred writings are enumerated in the following order:—Gāthas, Yasna (by which very likely the Yasna haptanhausti is to be understood), and a sacred tradition in a conversational form (called paitiparshtō-sravēnem), which appears to have been a work like the present Vendidad.

From these passages we may gather with certainty that the old Yasna, i.e., that part of the present Yasna which is written in the peculiar Gātha dialect, is the most ancient of the whole Zend-Avesta, being known as scripture already to the later Yasna, the Visperad, and Vendidad. All other parts of the Yasna, written in the ordinary Avestan language, are evidently of a later date; they may, therefore, be called the later Yasna. We shall first examine the contents of the chief parts of the old Yasna, the Gāthas.

V.—GATHAS.

The Gāthas, five in number, are comparatively small collections of metrical compositions, containing short prayers, songs, and hymns, which generally express philosophical and abstract thoughts about metaphysical sub-
jects. The name "Gāthā," which is also well known in Sanskrit and Pāli literature, means "song" (especially a stanza which contains allusions to historical facts, as preserved in the mouths of the ancient bards), from the root gai, "to sing." That they were sung is not to be doubted, as we may learn from Greek reports (see p. 11), and from their beingmetrical compositions, the recital of which is always designated by a separate word: *frasrāvayēti.* At present, the priests do not make any distinction as to the way of repeating the different parts of the Zend-Avesta; they recite them equally in a singing tone. That is not to be wondered at, the different constituents of the Yasna being unknown to the present priests, which was not the case in ancient times.

As to the metres used in the Gāthas, we find them of the same nature as those which are to be found in the Vedic hymns. No rhyme is observed, only the syllables are counted, without much attention being paid to their quantity. The five collections into which the Gāthas have been brought exhibit each a different metre. Verses of the same metre were put together, irrespective of their contents. So the first Gātha contains verses, each of which consists of forty-eight syllables; in the second, the metre is of fifty-five syllables; in the third, of forty-four, &c. The number of syllables is not always strictly observed; we find, now and then, one less or one more. To give the reader an idea of this poetry, some specimens

---

1 There are three expressions used for the recital of the sacred texts, viz., *mar,* "to recite," *dṛṇj* (or *frarna*), "to recite in a low tone," and *srāvay,* *frasrāvay,* "to recite with a loud voice and observing musical accents." The first expression conveys the most general meaning, viz., "to repeat from memory" (*mar = S. *smar,* "to recollect"), which was very likely done in the same way as the Brahmans repeat the verses of the Rigveda, observing the accents in general. *Dṛṇj* means evidently a peculiar kind of recital; it is chiefly applied to spells, and may be compared to the recital of the verses of the Yajurveda, which is done with a low voice, and monotonously. *Frasrāvay* is the solemn recital in the form of a very simple tune, comparable to the way of singing the Sāma-veda by the Brahmans. This expression is pre-eminently applied to the Gāthas. Compare Yas. xix. 6, Vend. iv. 45, Yt. xiii. 20
are here quoted. In the first Gātha (called ahunavaitī, from the Ahuna-vairyā formula which precedes it), each verse consists of three lines, each comprising sixteen syllables, as may be seen from the following example (Yas. xxxi. 8):—

Ad thwā mēhē paourvām maxāt yastm stī mananāhā
so thee I thought first Mazda great in creation in mind
Vaprēush pōrēm mananāh hyā thwā hēm chashmaini heṅgrabem
of the good father mind therefore thee together in the eye I seized
Haitīm ashahyā dāṁtm avrēush ahurem shkyaothanālaşhā.¹
true of righteousness creator of life Abura in actions.

In this verse the cesura is after the seventh syllable; the second half of each line comprises, therefore, nine syllables. Were the cesura after the eighth syllable, and if the whole verse comprised only thirty-two syllables, instead of forty-eight, this metre would correspond to the Sanskrit shloka, consisting of four half-verses (pādās) each comprising eight syllables, which metre is preserved in some fragments of epic songs in the Zend-Avesta, as we shall see hereafter. It stands nearest to the Gāyatri metre, which consists of twenty-four syllables, divisible into three pādās, each comprising eight syllables.

In the second Gātha (called ushtavaitī, from its first words, ushtā ahmāi, “hail to him!”) there are five lines in each stanza, each consisting of eleven syllables, for instance (Yas. xliv. 3):—

Ta’d thwā pereśā cresh mōi vaoc'hā ahwāl
That thee I will ask right me tell Ahura!
Kasnā sāhā pētā ashahyā paourvāgh
What man creator father of righteousness first?
Kasnā gēng starochemā dādā advēnēm
What man sun and stars made path?
Kē yā mōo ukhshyētī nerefsaitē thwād?²
Who that the moon increases wanes besides thee?
Tāchitā maxāt vasemā anyāhā atvāgh.
such things Mazda! I wish and other to know.

¹ See a freer translation further on. ² The meaning dent on kē (kē), who? The meaning "besides, else," here absolutely re-
This metre is very near to the Vedic trishtubh, which is sacred to the god Indra, and consists of four pādas, each comprising eleven syllables, which make forty-four in all. The Ushtavaiti Gātha only exceeds it by one pāda of eleven syllables. In the third Gātha, called spēitā-mainyā, however, the trishtubh is completely represented, as each verse there comprises four pādas, each of eleven syllables, in all forty-four, just as many as the trishtubh is composed of.¹ To obtain the number of syllables which is required for each pāda or foot, in the specimen quoted above (taḍ thaḍa preyā), as well as in other verses of the Gāthas, the sound ere, corresponding to the Sanskrit vowel ri, makes only one syllable; and the short e (in vasemī, S. vashmi, "I want, wish"), being a mere auxiliary vowel, and u in vidyē (instead of vaḍyē) being of the same nature, are not to be counted. The syllables va and ya, yē, are often made liquid, as is the case in the Vedic metres also, that is to say, they are pronounced as two syllables like wa, ia, iyē. The verse quoted above is, therefore, to be read as follows:—

Taḍ thaḍa prezā erś mi voćhā ahurā!
Kasā śāthā pīḍa ashaḥyṛd pauryā!
Kasā gēṛg stāremchā dāḍa adūnṃ?
Kē yā māo ukhaḥyṛṛtī nesfrāit thwāt?
Tāḍā māa saṃt anyāca vīḍyē.

In the fourth Gātha each stanza comprises three verses, required for a translation into modern languages, lies implied in the context; vidyē is a peculiar infinitive form of the root vid, "to know."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agni</th>
<th>naya</th>
<th>supathā ṛyge</th>
<th>asmān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O fire god!</td>
<td>bring</td>
<td>on the good way to wealth</td>
<td>us;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viṣvedni</td>
<td>deva</td>
<td>vaṣṇṇi</td>
<td>viṣṇu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>O god!</td>
<td>arts</td>
<td>knowing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuvadhy</td>
<td>asmaj</td>
<td>juhurānam</td>
<td>eho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remove</td>
<td>from us</td>
<td>wrath kindled</td>
<td>sin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhuṣyāḥṣḍḥām</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>nama-uktim</td>
<td>vidhema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utmost</td>
<td>on thee</td>
<td>worship-hymn</td>
<td>let us bestow!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Agni! provide us with riches through good fortune, O thou god, who knowest all arts of obtaining wealth! Remove from us all faults at which thou hast felt angry with us; let us prepare for thee a most excellent hymn for thy worship.)
or six pādas or feet, each consisting of seven syllables, which make in all forty-two. In the fifth Gātha, various metres are used.

The five Gāthas are expressly designated as the "five Gāthas of Zarathushtra" (Yas. Ivi. 8), in order to distinguish them from other Gāthas or hymns, as, for instance, those devoted to the praise of Homa (Yas. x.) That they really contain the sayings and teaching of the great founder of the Parsi religion, Spitama Zarathushtra himself, cannot be doubted, as the reader will perceive from a perusal of the larger portion of them, which will be found in the following sections.

VI.—GATHA AHUNAVAITI.1

This Gātha is divided into seven chapters 2 (Yas. xxviii.—xxxiv., Westerg.), which comprise 101 verses, all of them being composed in the same metre, described above (p. 144). As to its contents, it resembles more a collection of scattered verses than one continuous whole. It is even doubtful whether the author is always the same, the style being now and then different. But in consequence of one and the same spirit pervading the whole Gātha, we must admit that it all belongs to the same age. We have in it, in all probability, the sayings and songs of Zarathushtra himself, mixed with those of his disciples Jámāspa, Vīsh-tāspa, and Prashaoshtra. Thus, for instance, the following verse (Yas. xxviii. 7) must be considered as the composition of one of the disciples of the prophet:—

'Come with the good mind, grant prosperity for life long, by means of thy mighty words, O thou Mazda! give both Zarathushtra and us thy powerful assistance to put down the assaults of our enemy.'

Here Zarathushtra being spoken of in the third, and the

To the explanation of this Gātha the whole of the first volume of the author's German work on the Gāthas (containing 246 pages) is devoted. 2 The chapters of the Yasna are called Hāa, which is a corruption of the Avesta word hāta.
GATHA AHUNAVAITI.

author in the first person, we are fully entitled to ascribe the verse to one of his followers, not to himself.

The heading of this Gātha, 'The revealed thought, the revealed word, the revealed deed of the righteous Zarathushtra; the archangels first sang the Gāthas,' is of high interest, because it does not refer to this Gātha alone, but to all five indiscriminately. These introductory remarks are written not in the peculiar Gātha dialect, but in the common Avesta language, which circumstance shows clearly that they proceed not from one of the authors, but from a subsequent collector of these sacred verses. We learn from them that the Gāthas were believed to contain all that has been revealed to Spitama Zarathushtra; that he learnt them from the choir of the archangels, who sang them to his mental ears when, in a state of ecstasy, his mind was raised to heaven.

Translations of some parts of this Gātha will be presented to the reader. In its second section (Yas. xxix.) it is related that the Gēush urvā, the soul of the animated

1 A full explanation of this heading is given in the author's German work on the Gāthas, vol. i. pp. 41-46.

2 The term in the original is yānīn, which does not signify "good, happy," as the Dasturs think, but anything seen when in a state of ecstasy. This meaning is even preserved in the modern Persian word yān, "a reverie of a fanatic, a trance." The literal meaning is "a walk," as may be seen from its use in the Vedic Sanskrit (root yel, "to go"), but applied to the gesticulations of a prophet or seer when in ecstasy, it means what he perceives with his mental eye in such an extraordinary frame of mind. The word "to see" is really used in reference to revelation in the Gāthas (see Yas. xliii. 5, xxxi. 8, xxviii. 6). This application of the word is wholly in accordance with its meaning in the Vedas, where it is stated that the sacred songs (māntra) have been seen by the Rishis.

3 In the Parsi or Pāzand language, the name is corrupted into pāshāvr, "nature." According to the tradition, it was the first animated creature, in the shape of an ox, from which, after having been killed and cut into pieces, the whole living creation is said to have sprung. The slaughterer of this primary ox, the supposed ancestor of the whole animal kingdom, is often alluded to by the name gēush testa, "cutter of the ox." Who was the killer of this ox is not stated in the Zend-Avesta, but tradition charges this murder, of course, to Anuvrīmainush, the devil. This legend about the origin of the animated creation apparently refers to sacrificial rites, the creation of the world being considered by several ancient nations as a sacrifice; by the Brahmanas as that of Brahma himself; by the ancient Scandinavians, the people of the Elda, as that of the primary giant Bör.
creation," was crying aloud in consequence of attacks made upon its life, and imploring the assistance of the archangels. The murderer, frightened by this cry, asked one of the archangels, Asha (Ardibahisht), as to who had been appointed to protect this soul of the earth. Asha referred him to Mazda, who is "the most wise, and the giver-of-oracles." Mazda answered that Gēush urvd was being cut into pieces for the benefit of the agriculturist. Mazda now deliberated with Asha as to who might be fit to communicate this declaration of the heavenly council to mankind. Asha answered that there was only one man who had heard the orders issued by the celestial councillors, viz., Zarathushtra Spitama; he, therefore, was to be endowed with eloquence to bring their messages to the world.

Gēush urvd means the universal soul of earth, the cause of all life and growth. The literal meaning of the word, "soul of the cow," implies a simile; for the earth is compared to a cow.1 By its cutting and dividing, ploughing is to be understood. The meaning of that decree, issued by Ahuramazda and the heavenly council, is that the soil is to be tilled; it, therefore, enjoins agriculture as a religious duty. Zarathushtra, when encouraging men by the order of Ahuramazda to cultivate the earth, acts as a prophet of agriculture and civilisation. In this capacity we shall also find him afterwards.

In the third section of this Gâtha (Yas. xxx.) one of the most important sections of the Gâtha literature is presented to us. It is a metrical speech, delivered by Spitama Zarathushtra himself, when standing before the sacred fire, to a numerous attended meeting of his countrymen. The chief tendency of this speech is to induce his countrymen to forsake the worship of the devas or

---

1 Gēus has in Sanskrit the two meanings "cow" and "earth." In Greek γῆ, "earth," is to be traced to this word. In the Vâmadeva hymnus (fourth book of the Rigveda), the Ḫêshûs (comparable to the elves of the Teutonic mythology), who represent the creative powers in nature, are said to "have cut the cow and made fertile the earth." The term evidently refers to the cultivation of the soil.
There are some few monothistic hymns in the Avesta, which are among theogonic (Rv. x. 31. 3) in their form. They begin with the words:  "Then the Maker of all things, which were placed in the path of all beings, Nuru, a wise, knew him who created these things; somewhere the Mazda within him, 

**Gatha Ahunavaiti.**

Who is he whom we worship? Be he the almighty, god of all the gods, i.e., polytheism, to bow only before Ahuramazda, and to separate themselves entirely from the idolators. In order to gain the object wished for, he propounds the great difference which exists between the two religions, Monotheism and Polytheism, showing that whereas the former is the fountain of all prosperity both in this and the other life, the latter is utterly ruinous to mankind. He attempts further to explain the origin of both these religions, so diametrically opposed to each other, and finds it in the existence of two primeval causes, called "existence" and "non-existence." But this merely philosophical doctrine is not to be confounded with his theology, according to which he acknowledged only one God, as will be clearly seen from the second Gatha. The following is a translation of the whole of this inaugural speech of Zarathushtra.

**Yas. xxx. 1.** I will now tell you who are assembled here the wise sayings of Mazda, the praises of Ahura, and the hymns of the good spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames.

2. You shall, therefore, hearken to the soul of nature (i.e., to plough and cultivate the earth); contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind! Every one, both men and women, ought to-day to choose his creed (between the Deva and the Ahura religion). Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us (i.e., to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment)!

(The prophet begins to deliver the words revealed to him through the sacred flames.)

3. In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base!

4. And these two spirits united created the first (the

---

1 *Gēukhr urvd,* see p. 147-8. It is here evidently an allusion made to the legend mentioned above.
material things); one, the reality, the other, the non-reality. To the liars (the worshippers of the devas, i.e., gods) existence will become bad, whilst the believer in the true God enjoys prosperity.

5. Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit. Some may wish to have the hardest lot (i.e., those who will not leave the polytheistic deva-religion), others adore Ahuramazda by means of sincere actions.

6. You cannot belong to both of them (i.e., you cannot be worshippers of the one true God, and of many gods at the same time). One of the devas, against whom we are fighting, might overtake you, when in deliberation (what faith you are to embrace), whispering you to choose the worst mind. Then the devas flock together to assault the two lives (the life of the body and that of the soul), praised by the prophets.

7. And to succour this life (to increase it), Armaiti came with wealth, the good and true mind; she, the everlasting one, created the material world; but the soul, as to time, the first cause among created beings, was with Thee.

8. But when he (the evil spirit) comes with one of these evils (to sow mistrust among the believers), then thou hast the power through the good mind of punishing them who break their promises, O righteous spirit!

9. Thus let us be such as help the life of the future. The wise living spirits are the greatest supporters of it.

---

1 *Akem mand* (superlat. *achishtem mand*) means literally "evil mind." It is a philosophical term applied by Zarathushtra to designate his principle of non-existence, non-reality, which is the cause of all evils.

2 She is the angel of earth, and the personification of prayers.

3 That is to say, those who give to-day the solemn promise to leave the polytheistic religion and to follow that preached by Zarathushtra, will be punished by God should they break their promise.

4 In this passage we have the germ of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead; see the author's German work on the Gāthas, vol. i. pp. 109-112.

5 These are the archangels (Amszaspends).
The prudent man wishes only to be there where wisdom is at home.

10. Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (the evil spirit). All perfect things are garnered up in the splendid residence of the Good Mind (Vohu-manö), the Wise (Mazda), and the Righteous (Asha),¹ who are known as the best beings.

11. Therefore, perform ye the commandments which, pronounced by Mazda himself, have been given to mankind; for they are a nuisance and perdition to liars, but prosperity to the believer in the truth; they are the fountain of happiness.

In the fourth section of the first Gātha (Yas. xxxi.) we have a collection of urvātatas, “sayings,” of Ahuramazda, revealed to his prophet Zarathushtra, for the purpose of protecting the good creation from the attacks of wicked men and evil spirits. The chief means of checking evil influences is the cultivation of the soil. Some of these verses are here translated.

Yas. xxxi. 7. He (Ahuramazda) first created, through his inborn lustre,² the multitude of celestial bodies, and through his intellect the good creatures, governed by the inborn good mind. Thou Ahuramazda, the spirit who art everlasting, makest them (the good creatures) grow.

8. When my eyes beheld Thee, the essence of truth, the Creator of life, who manifests his life in his works, then I knew Thee to be the primeval spirit, Thou Mazda, so high in mind as to create the world, and the father of the good mind.³

9. In Thee was Armaiti (spirit of earth), in Thee the very wise fertiliser of the soil,⁴ O Ahuramazda, Thou

¹ Three names of archangels.
² Qāthrá, “by means of his own fire.” Ahuramazda, as the source of light, which most resembles him, and where he appears to his prophet, is called qāthrá, “having his own light” (not borrowed).
³ Vohu-manö. He represents the life in men and animals, the principle of vitality. If Ahuramazda is called the father of Vohu-manö, it means that all vital powers in the animated beings have sprung out of him, as the supreme being.
⁴ Literally, “the cutter of the cow” (gēush-tashā), see p. 147.
spirit! when Thou hast made her paths that she might go from the tiller of the soil to him who does not cultivate it.1

10. Of these two (the agriculturist and the herdsman), she chose the pious cultivator, the propagator of life, whom she blessed with the riches produced by the good mind. All that do not till her, but worship the devas (false gods), have no share in her good tidings (the fruits produced by her, and the blessings of civilisation).

11. When Thou madest the world with its bodies, and (gavest them) motions and speeches, then Thou hast created at first through Thy mind the gāthas (enclosures), and the sacred visions (daēndō), and intellects.2

18. Do not listen to the sayings and precepts of the wicked (the evil spirit), because he has given to destruction house, village, district, and province. Therefore, kill them (the wicked) with the sword.

The fifth section (Hā) of this Gātha (Yas. xxxii.) is one of the most difficult pieces of the whole Yasna. It depicts, in glowing colours, idolatry and its evil consequences. The prophet directs his speech against the devas, or gods, in the following manner:—

Yas. xxxii. 3. Ye devas have sprung out of the evil

---

1 The meaning is, that Armaiti, the spirit of earth, is wandering from spot to spot to convert deserts and wildernesses into fruitful fields. She goes from the agriculturist to the shepherd, who still adheres to the ancestral nomadic life, to call upon him to cultivate the soil also.

2 By gāthas, frequently mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, the ancient settlements of the Iranian agriculturists are to be understood. Ahuramazda is constantly called their creator, which means, that these settlements belong to a very remote antiquity, and that they form the basis of the Ahura religion, or the religion of the agriculturists. The daēnas are the revelations communicated to the prophets through visions. The root of the word is da, "to see" (preserved in the modern Persian āidan, "to see"); it is related to the Sanskrit root dhayāi, "to think," thinking being considered to be a seeing by means of the mental eyes). Afterwards it passed into the more general meaning of "religion, creed," and is retained in the form dīn down to this day in Persian, whence it was incorporated into Arabic, like many other Iranian words, at a time anterior to Mohammed. This word is also to be found in the Lithuanian language (a link of the Aryan stock) in the form dainā, meaning "a song" (the mental fiction of the poet).
spirit who takes possession of you by intoxication (Shoma), teaching you manifold arts to deceive and destroy mankind, for which arts you are notorious everywhere.

4. Inspired by this evil spirit, you have invented spells, which are applied by the most wicked, pleasing the devas only, but rejected by the good spirit; but the wicked perish through the wisdom and righteousness of Ahuramazda.

5. Ye devas and thou evil spirit! ye by means of your base mind, your base words, your base actions, rob mankind of its earthly and immortal welfare by raising the wicked to power.

Of the sixth and seventh Ḥās (Yas. xxxiii. xxxiv.) a few verses are here translated.

Yas. xxxiii. 2. Whoever are opposed, in their thoughts, words, and actions, to the wicked, and think of the welfare of the creation, their efforts will be crowned with success through the mercy of Ahuramazda.

3. Whoever of two lords, of two yeomen, of two bondsmen, behaves himself well towards a righteous man (an adherent of the Zoroastrian religion), and furthers the works of life by tilling the soil, that one will be in the fields of the righteous and good (i.e., in paradise).

4. But by means of prayer I will remove from Thee (from thy community), O Mazda! irreligiousness and wickedness, the disobedience of the lord, and the falsehood of the servant belonging to him and his yeoman, and frustrate the most wicked designs plotted for destroying the fields.

14. Among the priests Zarathushtra maintains the opinion that the peculiar nature of each body (living creature) subsists through the wisdom of the good mind,

---

1 The term in the Avesta is asti, "existence." It is the consequence of adherence to the good principle.
2 These three names of the members of the ancient Iranian community are very frequently used in the Gāthas, but not in the other books of the Zend-Avesta. The word for lord is gaētu, "owner;" that for yeoman, airyama, "associate, friend;" that for bondsman, veresêna, "workman, labourer."
through righteousness of action, and the hearing of, and keeping to, the revealed word.

Yas. xxxiv. i. Immortality, righteousness, wealth, health, all these gifts to be granted in consequence of (pious) actions, words, and worshipping, to these (men who pray here), are plentiful in Thy possession, O Ahuramazda!

VII.—GATHA USHTAVAITI (Yas. xliii.—xlvi.)

Whilst the first Gâtha appears to be a mere collection of fragments of hymns and scattered verses, made without any other plan than to transmit to posterity what was believed to be the true and genuine sayings of the prophet, in this second Gâtha we may observe a certain scheme carried out. Although its contents, with the exception of a few verses only (xlvi. 13–17), are all sayings of Zarathushtra himself, yet they have not been put together, as is the case in many other instances, irrespective of their contents, but in a certain order, with the view of presenting the followers of the prophet with a true image of the mission, activity, and teaching of their great master. In the first section of this Gâtha (Yas. xliii.), his mission, by order of Ahuramazda, is announced; in the second (Yas. xliv.), he receives instructions from the Supreme Being about the highest matters of human speculation; in the third (Yas. xlv.), he appears as a prophet before a large assembly of his countrymen, to propound to them his new doctrines; and in the fourth or last section (Yas. xlvi.) we find different verses referring to the fate of the prophet, the congregation which he established, and his most eminent friends and supporters.

As this Gâtha is the most important portion of the whole Zend-Avesta for giving an accurate knowledge of Zarathushtra's teaching and activity, a translation of the

1 See the text, with a literal Latin translation, in the author's German work on the Gâthas, vol. ii. pp. 2–18, and the commentary on it, ibid., pp. 59–154.
whole of it is submitted to the reader in the following pages.

1. (Yas. xliii.)

1. Blessed is he, blessed is every one, to whom Ahuramazda, ruling by his own will, shall grant the two everlasting powers (health and immortality). For this very good I beseech Thee (Ahuramazda). Mayest Thou through Thy angel of piety, Armaiti, give me happiness, the good true things, and the possession of the good mind.

2. I believe Thee to be the best being of all, the source of light for the world. Every one shall choose Thee (believe in Thee) as the source of light, Thee, O Mazda, most beneficent spirit! Thou createdst all good true things by means of the power of Thy good mind at any time, and promisedst us (who believe in Thee) a long life.

3. This very man (Sraosha) may go (and lead us) to Paradise, he who used to show us the right paths of happiness both in the earthly life and in that of the soul, in the present creations, where Thy spirit dwells, the living, the faithful, the generous, the beneficent, O Mazda!

4. I will believe Thee to be the powerful benefactor, O Mazda! For Thou givest with Thy hand, filled with helps, good to the righteous man, as well as to the wicked, by means of the warmth of the fire\(^1\) strengthening the good things. For this reason the vigour of the good mind has fallen to my lot.

5. Thus I believed in Thee, O Ahuramazda! as the furtherer (of what is good); because I beheld Thee to be the primeval cause of life in the creation, for Thou, who hast rewards for deeds and words, hast given evil to the bad and good to the good. I will believe in Thee, O Ahura! in the last (future) period of creation.

6. In whatever period of my life I believed in Thee, O Mazda, munificent spirit! in that Thou camest with

---

\(^1\) The fire is supposed in the Zend-Avesta and the Vedas to be spread everywhere as the cause of all life.
wealth, and with the good mind through whose actions our settlements thrive. To these (men who are present) Armaiti\textsuperscript{1} tells the everlasting laws, given by Thy intellect, which nobody may abolish.

7. Thus I believed in Thee, O Ahuramazda! as the furtherer (of what is good); therefore he (Sraosha) came to me and asked: Who art thou? whose son art thou? How dost thou at present think to increase and improve thy settlements and their beings (to increase the power of the good mind in all thy territories where thou appearest)?

8. I replied to him: Firstly, I am Zarathushtra. I will show myself as a destroyer to the wicked, as well as be a comforter for the righteous man. As long as I can praise and glorify Thee, O Mazda! I shall enlighten and awaken all that aspire to property (who wish to separate themselves from the nomadic tribes and become settlers in a certain country).

9. Thus I believed in Thee, O Ahuramazda! as the furtherer (of what is good); therefore he came to me with the good mind (and I asked him): To whom dost thou wish the increase of this life should be communicated? Standing at Thy fire amongst Thy worshippers who pray to Thee, I will be mindful of righteousness (to improve all good things) as long as I shall be able.

10. Thus mayest Thou grant me righteousness. Then I shall call myself, if accompanied by the angel of piety, a pious obedient man. And I will ask in behalf of both of us\textsuperscript{2} whatever Thou mayest be asked. For the king will, as it is only allowed to mighty men, make Thee for Thy answers a mighty fire (to cause Thy glory and adoration to be spread over many countries like the splendour of a large blazing flame).

11. Thus I believed in Thee, O Ahuramazda! as the furtherer (of what is good); therefore he (Sraosha) came to

\textsuperscript{1} The spirit of earth.
\textsuperscript{2} This refers to Zarathushtra and Kava Vishtâspa, for whose welfare
and renown the prophet is here praying.
me with the good mind. For since I, who am your most obedient servant amongst men, am ready to destroy the enemies first by the recital of your\(^1\) words, so tell me the best to be done.

12. And when Thou camest to instruct me, and taughtest me righteousness; then Thou gavest me Thy command not to appear (before large assemblies as a prophet), without having received a (special) revelation, before the angel Sraosha, endowed with the sublime righteousness which may impart your righteous things to the two friction woods (by means of which the holiest fire, the source of all good in the creation, is produced) for the benefit (of all beings), shall have come to me.

13. Then I believed in Thee, O Ahuramazda! as the furtherer (of what is good); therefore he came to me with the good mind. Let me obtain the things which I wished for; grant me the gift of a long life: none of you may detain it from me for the benefit of the good creation subject to Thy dominion.

14. Therefore (Sraosha), the powerful proprietor (of all good), communicated to me, his friend, knowledge of Thy helps (Thy powers); for endowed with all the gifts granted by Thee, as to the various kinds of speech, like all other men who recite Thy prayers, I was resolved upon making my appearance (in public as a prophet).

15. Thus I believed in Thee, O Ahuramazda! as the furtherer (of what is good); therefore he came to me with the good mind. May the greatest happiness brightly blaze out of these flames! May the number of the worshippers of the liar (evil spirit) diminish! may all those (that are here present) address themselves to the priests of the holy fire!

16. Thus prays, O Ahuramazda! Zarathushtra and every holy (pure) man for all that choose (as their guide) the most beneficent spirit. May vitality and righteousness

\(^1\) This refers to Ahuramazda and the archangels forming the celestial council.
(the foundations of the good creation) become predominant in the world! In every being which beholds the sun’s light may Armaiti (the spirit of piety) reside! She who causes all growth by her actions through the good mind.

2. (Yas. xliv.)

1. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! whether your friend (Sraosha) be willing to recite his own hymn as prayer to my friend (Frashaoshtra or Vishtâspa), O Mazda! and whether he would come to us with the good mind, to perform for us true actions of friendship.¹

2. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How arose the best (present) life (this world)? By what means are the present things (the world) to be supported? That spirit, the beneficent (Vohu-manô) O righteous Mazda! is the guardian of the beings to ward off from them every evil; He is the promoter of all life.

3. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Who was in the beginning the father and creator of righteousness? Who created the path of the sun and stars? Who causes the moon to increase and wane but Thou? This I wish (to know), O Mazda! besides what I know (already).

4. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Who is holding the earth and the skies above it? Who made the waters and the trees of the field? Who is in the winds and storms that they so quickly run? Who is the creator of the good-minded beings, O Mazda?

5. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Who created the lights of good effect and the darkness? Who created the sleep of good effect and the activity? Who (created) morning, noon, and night, reminding the priest always of his duties?

¹ The meaning is, the prophet would make communications to his wants to ascertain from Ahuramazda, (the prophet's) friend, whether or not the angel Sraosha
6. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Whether these (verses) which I shall recite, are really thus? (a) Armaitem doubles righteousness by her actions. (b) He collects wealth with the good mind. (c) For whom hast thou made the imperishable cow Rânyô-skêreti?  

7. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Who has prepared the Bactrian (berêkhêha) home with its properties? Who fashioned, by a weaving motion, the excellent son out of the father? To become acquainted with these things, I approach Thee, O Mazda, beneficent spirit! creator of all beings! 

8. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! What soul (what guardian angel) may tell me good things, to perform five times (a day) the duties which are enjoined by Thyself, O Mazda! and to recite those prayers which are communicated for the welfare (of all beings) by the good mind. Whatever good, intended for the increase of life, is to be had, that may come to me. 

9. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How shall I bless that creed which Thy friend (Sraosha), who protects it with a true and good mind in the assembly (of the heavenly spirits), ought to promulgate to the mighty king? 

10. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! The faith which, being the best of all, may protect my possession, and may really produce the good things, by means of the words and actions of Armaitem (the spirit of earth). My heart wishes (it is my lively desire) that I may know Thee, O Mazda! 

---

1 Here are quoted the first phrases of three ancient prayers which are no longer known.

2 This is a mythological name of the earth, to be found in the Gáthas only. It means "producing the two friction woods (two wooden sticks, by means of rubbing which fire was produced)." See the author's work on the Gáthas, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.

3 This refers to the production of fire by the friction of two wooden sticks, which was in ancient times the most sacred way of bringing into existence the fire, commonly called 'Ahuramazda's son.' See the author's work on the Gáthas, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.

4 The so-called five gáhs: Havané, from 6 to 10 A.M.; Râpithwina, 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.; Uzayéirina, from 3 to 6 P.M. (sunset); Aiwisrâthrena, from 6 to 12 P.M.; Ushahina, from 12 P.M. to 6 A.M.
11. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How Armaiti \(^1\) may visit those men to whom the belief in Thee, O Mazda! is preached? By those I am there acknowledged (as a prophet); but all dissenters are regarded as my enemies.

12. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Who is the righteous man and who the impious, after whom I wish to inquire? With which of the two is the evil (spirit), and with which the good one? Is it not right to consider the impious man who attacks me or Thee to be an evil one?

13. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How shall we drive away the destruction (destroyer) from this place to those who, full of disobedience, do not respect righteousness in keeping it, nor care about the thriving of the good mind (that it may be diffused all over the earth)?

14. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How shall I deliver the destroyer into the hands of truth, to be annihilated by means of the hymns for Thy praise? If Thou, O Mazda! communicateth to me an efficacious spell to be applied against the impious man, then I will destroy every difficulty and every misfortune.

15. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! When or to whom of the lords givest Thou as proprietor this fat flock (of sheep), two armies being gathered for a combat in silence, by means of those sayings which Thou, O Mazda! art desirous of pronouncing?

16. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! Who killed the hostile demons of different shapes, to enable me to become acquainted with the rules established for the course of the two lives (physical and spiritual)? So may the angel Sraosha, assisted by the good mind, shine for every one towards whom Thou art propitious.

---

\(^1\) This refers to the wanderings of Armaiti, the spirit of earth, by which is to be understood the progress of agriculture and the arts of a more civilised life.
17. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How may I come, O Mazda! to your dwelling-place (that of God and the angels) to hear you sing? Aloud I express my wish to obtain the help of (the angel of) health, and that of immortality, by means of that hymn which is a treasure of truth.

18. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How shall I, O Righteous! spend this gift, ten pregnant mares and a camel,¹ to obtain in future the two powers of health and immortality, in the same way as Thou hast granted them to these men (to others known to the prophets)?

19. That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura! How is the first intellect² of that man, who does not return (what he has received) to the offerer of this gift,³ of him who does not grant anything to the speaker of truth? For the last intellect of this man (his doing) is already known to me.

20. What, O good ruler Mazda! are the Devas (evil spirits)? Thus I might ask Thee for those who attack the good existence (the good beings), by whose means the priest and prophet of the idols expose the earth (the cultivated countries) to destruction; and (I wish to know besides) what the false prophet has gained by doing so. Do not, O Righteous! grant him a field to fence it in (to make it his own property).

3. (Yas. xlv.)

1. All ye, who have come from near and far, should now listen and hearken to what I shall proclaim. Now the wise have manifested this universe as a duality. Let

¹ This refers to a sacrifice. Sacrifices of animals were customary in Zarathushtra’s time.

² The first and last intellects are notions of the Zoroastrian philosophy; see the fourth Essay. The first intellect is that which is innate in the soul, which came from heaven; the last is that one which man himself acquires by experience.

³ That is to say, ‘who is ungrateful towards God.’
not the mischief-maker destroy the second life, since he, the wicked, chose with his tongue the pernicious doctrines.

2. I will proclaim the two primeval spirits of the world, of whom the increaser thus spoke to the destroyer: Do not thoughts, do not words, do not wisdoms, nor doctrines, do not speeches, nor actions, do not meditations, do not souls follow us?

3. I will proclaim the primeval (thought) of this life which Ahuramazda, who knows it, spoke unto me; for those of you who do not carry my word into practice so as I think and speak it, the end of the life will come.

4. I will proclaim the Best in this life. Mazda knows it in truth, who created it as the father of the Good Mind who is working (in the minds); its daughter is Devotion (Armaity) with good works. The Lord (Ahura) who is giving all (good things) cannot be deceived.

5. I will proclaim the word which the Most Beneficent (the source of all prosperity) spoke to me, which is the best for men to hear. All those who give a hearing to this my word, will be free from all defects and reach immortality. Mazda is Lord through the instrumentality of the Good Mind.

6. I will proclaim, as the greatest of all things, that one should be good, praising only righteousness. Ahuramazda will hear those who are bent on furthering (all that is good). May He whose goodness is communicated by the Good Mind, instruct me in his best wisdom.

7. All that have been living, and will be living, subsist by means of His bounty only. The soul of the righteous attains to immortality, but that of the wicked man has everlasting punishment. Such is the rule of Ahuramazda, whose the creatures are.

8. Him whom I wish to extol with my praises I now behold with (my) eye, knowing him to be Ahuramazda, the reality of the good mind, deed, and word. Let us thus

1 Literally, "who are good with the increasing (beneficent) spirit."
set down our gifts of praise in the dwelling-place of the heavenly singers (angels). 1

9. Him I wish to adore with my good mind, Him who gives us fortune and misfortune according to His will. May Ahuramazda make our progeny (and) cattle thrive, that of the master as well as that of the servant, by producing in them the good qualities of the Good Mind.

10. Him I wish to extol with the prayers of my devotion, who calls himself Ahuramazda, that is, 2 He knows with his true and good mind, and gives to this world the freedom from defects and immortality, which are in His possession, as two permanently active powers.

11. Whoever thinks the idols and all those men besides, who think of mischief only, to be base, and distinguishes such people from those who think of the right; his friend, brother, or father is Ahuramazda. This is the beneficent revelation of the supreme fire-priest.

4. (Yas. xlvi.)

1. To what land shall I turn? whither shall I go in turning? owing to the desertion of the master (Zarathushtra) and his companion? None of the servants pay reverence to me, nor do the wicked rulers of the country. How shall I worship Thee further, O Ahuramazda?

2. I know that I am helpless. Look at me being amongst few men, for I have few men (I have lost my followers or they have left me); I implore Thee weeping, O Ahura! who grantest happiness as a friend gives (a present) to his friend. The good of the good mind is in thy own possession, O Righteous! 3

4. The wicked man enjoys the fields of the angel of truth who is protecting the earth in the district as well as

---

1 The meaning is that our prayers, offered here, may go up to heaven, to be heard before the throne of God.
2 What follows is an explanation of the meaning of the name Ahuramazda.
3 These two verses (1, 2) refer evidently to Zarathushtra's persecution. The third verse, consisting of several sentences which seem not to be connected with each other, is omitted. See the author's work on the Gathas, vol. ii. pp. 130, 131.
in the province; but by choosing evil, instead of good, he cannot succeed in his deeds. Whoever drives him out of his dominion, or out of his property, O Mazda! he is going further on the paths of good intellect.  

5. If in future a ruler takes hold of one who trespasses the law, or if a nobleman takes hold of one who violates the bonds of friendship, or if a righteous man, living righteously, takes hold of a wicked man: he shall then, having learned it, inform the master; into distress and utter want he shall be thrown to be unhappy.  

6. But whoever, although he may be able, does not go to him (the chief of the community), he may, however, follow the customs of the untruth now prevailing. For he is a wicked man whom another wicked one considers to be the best, and he is a righteous man whose friend is a righteous one. Such sayings of old hast Thou revealed, O Ahura!  

7. Who is appointed protector of my property, O Mazda! when the wicked endeavour to hurt me? who else, if not Thy fire, and Thy mind, through whose operation Thou hast created rightful existence (good beings), O Ahura! Tell me the power necessary for upholding the religion.  

8. Whoever spoils my estates, and does not choose me by bowing before my fire (the symbol of the deity), retribution may be made to him for his person in the same way. He shall be excluded from every good possession, but not from a bad one filled up with evils, O Mazda!  

9. Who is that man, who whilst supporting me, made

---

1 It is considered to be a good work to destroy the enemies of agriculture, because by laying waste the cultivated soil they cause great damage to the good creation.

2 This and the following verses refer to the breaking of solemn promises (called mithra, see Vend. iv.) and apostasy.

3 The meaning is that a man, who does not assist in punishing such crimes as apostasy and promise-breaking, is himself an infidel and no more to be recognised as a member of the Zoroastrian community.

4 This verse is one of the most celebrated prayers used by the Parsees now-a-days. It is the so-called Srosh bej.
me first acquainted with thee as the most venerable being, as the beneficent righteous Lord?\footnote{This refers very likely to the \textit{gathā} \textit{wir}, \textit{the soul of earth}, to whose oracles the prophet was constantly listening.} The true sayings revealed by the maker of the earth\footnote{Lit. \textit{"the cutter of the cow,"} see p. 147.} come to my hands by means of thy good mind.

10. Whatever man, or woman, \textit{O} Ahuramazda! performs the best actions, known to thee, for the benefit of this (earthly) life, promoting thus the truth for the angel of truth, and spreading thy rule through the good mind, as well as gratifying all those men, who are gathered round me, to adore (the heavenly spirits): all these I will lead over the bridge of the gatherer (heavenly bridge\footnote{None can enter Paradise without having first passed the \textit{"bridge of the gatherer" (\textit{Chinvat})}, the passing of which can be facilitated to the deceased by prayers recited for him.} to Paradise).

11. The sway is given into the hands of the priests and prophets of idols, who by their (atrocious) actions, endeavour to destroy human life. Actuated by their own spirit and mind, they ought to avoid the bridge of the gatherer, to remain for ever in the dwelling-place of destruction (hell).

12. When after the defeat of the enemy Fryâna the true rites (fire-worship and agriculture) arose amongst the (Iranian) tribes, and their allies, thou fencedst with stakes the earth’s settlements. Thus Ahuramazda, having fenced them all, assigned them to those men (his worshippers) as property.

13. Whoever amongst men pays reverence zealously to Spitama Zarathushtra, such a one is fit to deliver in public his lore. To him (Zarathushtra) Ahuramazda entrusted life (the existence of all good beings to protect them); for him he established through the good mind the settlements; him we think to be your good friend (that is, of thyself and thy angels), \textit{O} Righteous!

\footnote{Here the origin of the \textit{gațthas}, \textit{"possessions, estates,"} so frequently alluded to in the Zendavesta, is described. We must understand by them the original settlements of the Iranians exposed to constant attacks on the part of nomadic tribes.}
14. Zara.thushtra! Who is thy sincere friend (to assist in performing) the great work? Or, who will deliver it in public? The very man to do it, is Kavâ Vishtâspa. I will worship through the words of the good mind all those whom thou hast elected at the (heavenly) meeting.

15. Ye sons of Hêchad-aspa Spitama! to you I will speak; because you distinguish right from wrong. By means of your actions, the truth, (contained) in the ancient commandments of Ahura, has been founded.

16. Venerable Frashôshtra! Go thou with those helpers whom we both have elected for the benefit of the world (the good beings), to that field where Devotion resides, attended by Righteousness, where the stores of the Good Mind may be acquired, where is the dwelling-place of Ahuramazda (i.e., Paradise).

17. Where from you only blessings, not curses,1 venerable wise Jâmâspas! are to be heard, always (protecting) the goods of the leader and performer of the sacred rites, namely of Ahuramazda himself, endowed with great intellectual power.

18. For him, who bestowed most favours on me, I collect all the best of my goods (acquired) through the Good Mind. But to their last shifts I will put all those, Mazda, O righteous! who have put us to them. I will beseech you to assist me. Such is my decision conceived according to my intellect and understanding.

19. Whoever makes this very life increase by means of righteousness, to the utmost for me, who am Zara.thushtra myself, to him the first (earthly) and the other (spiritual) life will be granted as a reward, together with all goods to be had on the imperishable earth. Thou art the very owner of all these things to the greatest extent, thou who art my friend, O Mazda!

---

1 When on earth, they used to pronounce curses as well as blessings. But in Paradise only good, no bad, words can be heard from them. They were celebrated Magi (magavas).
THE LAST THREE GATHAS.

viii.—THE LAST THREE GATHAS (spenta-mainyu, Yas. xlvii.—l.; vohu-khshathrem, Yas. li.; vahishtoishthi, Yas. liii.)  

These three collections of ancient hymns are much smaller than the first two; the fourth and fifth consist only of one Hā (chapter) each. Merely a short account of them will be given, with a translation of a few verses. The several chapters, except the last of the third Gāthā (Yas. l.), form nowhere a whole as regards composition, but are generally mere collections of detached verses, which were pronounced on different occasions, either by Zarathushtra himself, or by his disciples. While in the first two Gāthas the majority of the verses can be traced to Zarathushtra himself, in these last three Gāthas most of the verses appear to be the work of the master’s disciples, such as Jâmâspa, Frashôshtra, and Vishtâspa, and some verses are perhaps the work of their pupils, as they themselves are therein spoken of (especially in Yas. li.) with great reverence.

Yas. xlvii. 1. Ahuramazda gives through the beneficent Spirit, appearing in the best thought, and in rectitude of action and speech, to this world (universe), perfection (Haurvatāt) and immortality (Ameretāt), wealth (Khšathra) and devotion (Armaiti).  

2. From his (Ahuramazda's) most beneficent spirit all good has sprung in the words which are pronounced by the tongue of the Good Mind (Vohu manō), and the works wrought by the hands of Armaiti (spirit of earth). By means of such knowledge Mazda himself is the father of all rectitude (in thought, word, and deed).

Yas. xlviii. 4. He who created, by means of his wisdom,
the good and evil mind in thinking, words, and 
deeds, rewards his obedient followers with pro-
sperity. Art Thou (Mazda!) not he, in whom the 
final cause of both intellects (good and evil) exists?

10. When will appear, O Mazda! the men of vigour 
and courage to pollute that intoxicating liquor (the 
Soma)? This diabolical art makes the idol-priests 
so overbearing, and the evil spirit, reigning in the 
countries, increases (this pride).  

Yas. xlix. 4. Those poor (wretches) who, instigated by 
their base minds, cause mischief and ruin to the 
wealthy (settlers) through the spells uttered by 
their tongues, who are devoid of all good works and 
find delight in evil doings only; such men produce 
the demons (devas) by means of their pernicious 
thoughts.

5. Mazda himself, and the prayers (offered by men), 
and every one who is a truly noble son of Armaini, 
(the earth), as well as all that are in Thy dominions, 
O Ahura! will protect this faith (Zoroastrian reli-
igion) by means of the good (inborn) mind.

11. The spirits (of the deceased) are fighting against 
the wicked, evil-minded, evil-speaking, evil-doing, 
evil-thinking, disbelievers (in the true god, Ahura-
mazda). Such men will go to hell!

Yas. l. 6. Zarathushtra is the prophet who, through his 
wisdom and truth, utters in words the sacred 
thoughts (mantras). Through his tongue he makes 
known to the world, the laws given by my intellect, the mysteries hidden in my mind.

1 This verse refers to the Brahmanic 
Soma worship, which, as the cause of 
so much evil, was cursed by Zar-
athushtra. See the second section of 
the fourth Essay.

2 In the original urváné, "souls." 
In the other books the common name 
of the spirits of the deceased pious 
Zoroastrians, who are fighting against 
the attacks made by the hellish em-
pire upon the kingdom of light and 
goodness, is fravashi, "guardian spirit," which name is, however, 
ever to be met with in the Gāthas.

3 Lit. "through mazda" which 
word is, now and then, used in the 
appellative sense "wisdom."

4 The speaker in this verse, as well 
as in the whole 50th chapter, is the 
gēush urvd.
10. All the luminaries with their bright appearances, all that is endowed with a radiant eye by the good mind, stars and the sun, the day's foreteller, wander (in their spheres) to Thy praise, O righteous Ahuramazda!

Yas. li. 6. Ahuramazda bestows, through His power, the best of all upon him who brings offerings to please Him; but the worst of all will fall to the lot of him who does not worship God in the last time of the world (when the good is engaged in a hard struggle against the bad).

7. Thou who hast created earth, water, and trees, give me immortality (Ameretât) and prosperity (Haurvatât), O Mazda, most beneficent spirit! Those everlasting powers I will praise with a good mind.

15. Zarathushtra assigned in times of yore, as a reward to the Magavas ¹ the Paradise where first of all Mazda Himself had gone! You (O Amesha-spentas!) have in your hands through your good and true mind those two powers ² (to obtain everlasting life).

16. Kavâ Vishtâspa obtained, through the possession of the spiritual power (maga), and through the verses which the good mind had revealed, that knowledge which Ahuramazda Himself, as the cause of truth, has invented.

17. Frashôshtra, the noble, wished to see my Highlands (berekhdha kehrpa, i.e., Bactria), to propagate there the good religion. May Ahuramazda bless this undertaking! cry aloud that they may aspire after truth!

18. The wise Jâmâspas, the noble, the illustrious, who have the good mind with truth, prefer the settled

¹ This word is the original form of “Magi,” which name was given in later times to all the Persian priests. Its form in the cuneiform inscriptions is magush. According to this verse it seems to have denoted the earliest followers of Zarathushtra.

² These are Ameretât, and Haurvatât, the last two of the seven archangels in the Parsism of later times.
life,¹ saying: Let me have it, because I cling to Thee, O Ahuramazda!

Yas. liii. 1. It is reported that Zarathushtra Spitama possessed the best good; for Ahuramazda granted him all that may be obtained by means of a sincere worship, for ever, all that promotes the good life, and he is giving the same to all those who keep the words, and perform the actions, enjoined by the good religion.

IX.—YASNA HAPTANHAIITI, AND THE MINOR TEXTS OF THE OLD YASNA.

The Yasna haptanhaiti, or as its name indicates, the Yasna of seven Hās (comprising the sections from Yas. xxxv. to xli.), though written in the Gāthā dialect, is to be distinguished from the Gāthas. It is undoubtedly very old, but there is no sufficient evidence to trace it to Zarathushtra himself. Its contents are simple prayers, in prose, which are to be offered to Ahuramazda, the Amesha-spentas, and the Fravashi; to the fire, as the symbol of Ahuramazda who appears in its blazing flame (Yas. xxxvi. 1); to the earth and other female spirits (called gendā, “wife,” Greek, gynē, see Yas. xxxviii. 1), such as the angel presiding over food (iždā, corresponding to īlā, a name of the earth in the Veda), devotion, speech, &c.; to the waters, to the animating spirit of creation, and to all beings of the good creation. Compared with the Gāthas, they represent the Zoroastrian religion not in its original unaltered, but in a somewhat developed and altered state. The high philosophical ideas which are laid down in Zarathushtra’s own hymns, are partially abandoned, and partially personified; and the philosophical, theological, and

¹ This can be understood only, if one bears in mind, that the Zoroastrian religion arose at the time of transition from pastoral life to agriculture. The kindred Brahmanical tribes, who were inimical to this new mode of life, continued to lead the pastoral life of their ancestors. Agriculture was considered as a religious duty by the ancient Zoroastrians.
moral doctrines have given way to the custom, which has lasted to the present time, of addressing prayers to all beings of a good nature, irrespective of their being mere abstract nouns (such as Ḡsha, "rightfulness, truth," or Vohánā, "good thought"), or real objects (such as waters, trees, or fire). The formula, with which here and in the later Yasna (for which the Yasna haptanhaiti has undoubtedly furnished the model) the prayers begin, viz., yazamaïdē, "we worship," is entirely strange to the Gāthas, as well as the invocation of waters, female spirits, &c.; even the name Ameshapsenta (except in the heading of Yas. xxviii. 1, see p. 147) as the general term for the highest angels, and the term Fravoshi, which is so extremely frequent in the later Avesta literature, are never to be met with in those metrical compositions.

Although the Yasna haptanhaiti is more recent than the Gāthas, still it has just claims to be considered as more ancient and original than the sections of the later Yasna. A very striking proof, besides the difference of dialect, is that the objects of worship are much fewer than in the later prayers; thus, for instance, the six seasons, the five divisions of the day, the five Gāthas, Zoroaster, the sacred twigs (Barsom), the sacred drink (Homa), &c., are never mentioned in the Yasna of seven chapters. It formed originally a separate book, and was very likely composed by one of the earliest successors of Zoroaster, as it stands intermediate between the Gāthas and the later Yasna, in point of style.

The following are some extracts from it:—

Yas. xxxv. 1. We worship Ahuramazda the righteous master of righteousness. We worship the Ameshapsenta (the archangels), the possessors of good, the givers of good. We worship the whole creation of the righteous spirit, both the spiritual and earthly, all that supports (raises) the welfare of the good creation, and the spread of the good Mazdayasnian religion.
2. We praise all good thoughts, all good words, all
good deeds, which are and will be (which are being
done and which have been done), and we likewise
keep clean and pure all that is good.

3. O Ahuramazda, thou righteous happy being! we
strive to think, to speak, and to do, only what of
all actions may be best fitted to promote the two
lives (that of the body and that of the soul).

4. We beseech the spirit of earth by means of these
best works (agriculture) to grant us beautiful and
fertile fields, to the believer as well as to the un-
believer, to him who has riches as well as to him
who has no possession.

Yas. xxxvii. 1. Thus we worship Ahuramazda, who
created the spirit of earth and righteousness, and
who created the good waters and trees, and the
luminaries, and the earth, and all good things.

2. Him we worship by the first prayers which were
made by the spirit of earth, because of his power
and greatness and good works.

3. We worship him in calling him by the Ahura
names which were chosen by Mazda himself, and
which are the most beneficent. We worship him
with our bodies and souls. We worship him as
(being united with) the spirits (Fravashis) of righte-
ous men and women.

4. We worship righteousness, the all-good (Ashem
vahishtem), all that is very excellent, beneficent,
immortal, illustrious, every thing that is good.

Yasna xii. is written in the Gāthā dialect, and contains
a formula, by which the ancient Iranians, who were weary
of worshipping the Devas (Brahmanical gods) and of the
nomadic life, were received into the new religious com-
unity established by Zarathushtra Spitama.

1 The words verezhammanāmchā and
vērezhammanāmchā are evidently
only an explanatory note on the rare
words, yadachā “(yet) now,” and
anyadachā, “not now,” i.e., either in
the future, or in the past.
1. I cease to be a Deva (worshipper). I profess to be a Zoroastrian Mazdayasnian (worshipper of Ahuramazda), an enemy of the Devas, and a devotee of Ahura, a praiser of the immortal benefactors (Amešha-spenta), a worshipper of the immortal benefactors. I ascribe all good things to Ahuramazda, who is good, and has good, who is righteous, brilliant, glorious, who is the originator of all the best things, of the spirit of nature (gdūša), of righteousness, of the luminaries, and the self-shining brightness which is in the luminaries.

2. I choose (follow, profess) the beneficent Armaïti, the good; may she be mine! I abominate all fraud and injury committed on the spirit of earth, and all damage and destruction of the quarters of the Mazdayasnians.

3. I allow the good spirits, who reside on this earth in the good animals (as cows, sheep, &c.), to go and roam about free according to their pleasure. I praise, besides, all that is offered with prayer to promote the growth of life. I will cause neither damage nor destruction to the quarters of the Mazdayasnians, neither with my body nor my soul.

4. I forsake the Devas, the wicked, bad, wrongful originators of mischief, the most baneful, destructive, and basest of beings. I forsake the Devas and those like Devas, the sorcerers and those like sorcerers, and any beings whatever of such kinds. I forsake them with thoughts, words, and deeds; I forsake them hereby publicly, and declare that all lie and falsehood is to be done away with.

5. 6. In the same way as Zarathushtra, at the time when Ahuramazda was holding conversations and meetings with him, and both were conversing with each other, forsook the Devas, so do I forsake the Devas, as the righteous Zarathushtra did.

7. Of what party the waters are, of what party the trees, and the animating spirit of nature; of what party Ahuramazda is, who has created this spirit and the righteous man; of what party Zarathushtra, and Kavâ Vishtâspa,
and Frashôshtra, and Jâmâspa were; of what party all the ancient fire-priests (Sôshyañtô), the righteous spreaders of truth, were—of the same party\(^1\) and creed (am I).

8. I am a Mazdayasnic, a Zoroastrian Mazdayasnic. I profess this religion by praising and preferring it to others (the Deva religion). I praise the thought which is good, I praise the word which is good, I praise the work which is good.

9. I praise the Mazdayasnic religion, and the righteous brotherhood which it establishes and defends against enemies, the Zoroastrian Ahuryan religion, which is the greatest, best, and most prosperous of all that are, and that will be. I ascribe all good to Ahuramazda. This shall be the praise (profession) of the Mazdayasnic religion.

X.—THE LATER YASNA.

This part of the Yasna, which is written in the common Avesta language, is of much less importance, as regards the history of the Zoroastrian religion, than the older Yasna. Its contents are, however, of various natures, and consist evidently either of fragments of other books, or of short independent writings. Thus, for instance, the chapters i.–viii. contain the preliminary prayers to the Ijashne ceremony (see p. 139); chapters ix.–xi. refer to the preparation and drinking of the Homa juice; chapter lvii. is a Yasht, or sacrificial prayer, addressed to the angel Srosh; chapters xix.–xxi. are commentaries (Zend) on the most sacred prayers, Yathâ ahû vairyô, Ashem vohu, and Yeûhê hâtâm.

Refraining from giving a full account of it, we shall notice here only some remarkable passages, and translate a few extracts.

In Yas. viii. 5–8 there is a short prayer, concluding with a benediction by the high-priest, the two last verses

\(^1\) The word used is varana, varena, lit. "choice" (zər, "to choose"); it is, then, applied to religion.
of which are of particular interest. The high-priest, who calls himself Zarathushtra (see p. 188), addresses all the heads of the various divisions of the Iranian empire as follows:

7. I, who am Zarathushtra, exhort the heads of houses, villages, towns, and countries to think and speak and act according to the good Zoroastrian Ahuryan religion.

8. I bless the splendour and vigour of the whole rightful creation, and I curse the distress and wretchedness of the whole wrongful creation.

I.—Hôma Yasht.

Chapters ix. and x., which compose the so-called Hôma Yasht, are, strictly speaking, no part of the Yasna, but belong to that extensive class of Avesta literature which is known by the name of Yashts, or sacrificial invocations of a special spiritual being, and which we shall describe hereafter. As to style, these two chapters contain no prose, but on close inquiry we find they consist of verses, and at the end (Yas. x. 19) they are even called gāthāo, “hymns.” The metre itself is near the Sanskrit Anuśṭubh (four times eight syllables, with the cesura in the middle of every half verse), which has given origin to the common Shlokas, but it is apparently often irregular. Each half verse consists of seven to nine syllables, the normal measure being limited to eight.

To give the reader an idea of this ancient metre, the commencement of this Yasht is here subjoined:3—

---

1 The word used is fratema (S. prathamā) “first.” It is one of the Persian words which are to be found in the Old Testament. Its form there is portemīn (tn is the Hebrew plural suffix), by which the grandees of the Persian empire are meant. In the sense of “head, chief,” the word ratu is more usual in the Avesta.

2 For blessing and cursing one and the same word is used, āvīnāmī. The same peculiarity is to be observed in the old Hebrew word bērēḵ, to give a blessing, and to curse.

3 ē is to be read as a single syllable, and the short ē does not generally constitute a separate syllable.
HOMA YASHT.

Hāvanāṃ ā ratāṃ āmorning prayer at time at
dātem pairiavaḥdatheītem(who was) fire everywhere cleaning
ā dim pereud Zarathushtrā: Him asked Zarathushtra: vispahē aṃhēk astvāt of the whole life having bodies gayēkē guvatā ameshahē? body, brilliant, immortal?
Huomē ashavā dāmasō: Hōma righteous death-removing: Huomē ashavā dāmasō: Hōma righteous death-removing; hrē mām hūmaṇā qaretē; me squeeze out to taste (me); yathā mā aparachid as me- the other all
Huomē upāid Zarathushrem Hōma came to Zarathushtra gāthdoseka sravasvatītem. and hymns singing. Kē nare ahi yin azen Who, man, art thou? whom I sravasvatītem dādāreṣa gahē the best I have seen of his own daē mē abm paitī-akhtā Then to me that one answered Azen ahmī Zarathushtra! I am O Zarathushtra! dā mām yāsānuḥa Spitama! to me bring worship, O Spitama! avī mām stauymāni stādīkhi, on me in praising praise, saohkātō stavān. fire-priests praised.

The word Hōma, which is identical with the Vedic word Soma, is used in two senses in the Zend-Avesta. First it means the twigs of a particular tree, the juice of which is extracted and drunk before the fire; secondly, they understand by it a spirit who has poured his life and vigour into that particular plant. There were many stories current in ancient times about the miraculous effects of the drinking of the Hōma juice (a panacea for all diseases), which led to the belief, that the performance of this ceremony (which is only the Soma worship of the Brahmans, very much reformed and refined) proves highly beneficial to body and soul. These stories were embodied in a hymn (preserved in Yas. ix.), which contains an enumeration of the miracles effected by Hōma, composed in his honour.

The following is a translation of the first part of this Yasht:—

Yas. ix. 1. In the forenoon (Hāvan Gāh) Hōma came to Zarathushtra, while he was cleaning around the fire,

1 The Dasturs obtain them from Persia in a dried state. For their preparation, see section I. 3, of the fourth Essay.

2 Meaning, probably, that he was averting evil from the fire by feeding it around with fuel.
and chanting the Gâthas. Zarathushtra asked him: Who art thou, O man? I who appearest to me the finest in the whole material creation, having such a brilliant, immortal form of your own.  

2. Thereupon answered me Homa the righteous, who expels death: I am, O Zarathushtra! Homa the righteous, who expels death. Address prayers to me, O Spitama! and prepare me (the Hom juice) for tasting. Repeat about me the two praise hymns, as all the other Soshyants repeated them.

3. Then spake Zarathushtra: Reverence to Homa! Who was the first who prepared thee, O Homa! for the material world? What blessing was bestowed upon him? What reward did he obtain?

4. Thereupon answered me Homa the righteous, who expels death: Vîvanâhô was the first man who prepared me for the material world; this blessing was bestowed upon him, this reward he obtained, that a son was born to him, Yima-khshaêta (Jamshêd) who had abundance of flocks, the most glorious of those born, the most sun-like of men; that he made, during his reign over her (the earth), men and cattle free from death, water and trees free from drought, and they were eating inexhaustible food.

5. During the happy reign of Yima there was neither cold nor heat, neither decay nor death, nor malice produced by the demons; father and son walked forth, each fifteen years old in appearance.

1 Some MSS. of the Yasa without Pahlavi insert here the phrase: Mithrê saydê Zarathustrem, “may Mithras favour Zarathushtra.” This is evidently an Avesta phrase formerly existing in the Pahlavi commentary, but now translated into Mîtvêk khâpo atto Zarattshhtar, and the commentary implies that this was a friendly salutation proffered by Homa on his arrival. Here we have a distinct trace of a commentary, or Zend, in the Avesta language, which has been translated into Pahlavi, the usual language of the present Zend.

2 The phrase amerczâ gayêhê stânæ, “O imperishable pillar of life,” concludes the commentary on this sentence, and is another fragment of the original Zend.

3 Reading staomainê, instead of staomainê. The two hymns may be the two chapters of this Yasht (Yas. ix. and x.), or the two Homa rituals (Yas. i. to xi. and xii. to xxvii.).
HOMA YASHT.

6. Who was the second man who prepared thee, O Homa! for the material world? What blessing was bestowed upon him? What reward did he obtain?

7. Thereupon answered me Homa the righteous, who expels death: Athwyas was the second man who prepared me for the material world; this blessing was bestowed upon him, this reward he obtained, that a son was born to him, Thraētona (Frēdūn) of the hero tribe,1 (8.) who smote the Serpent (Aṣṭi) Dahāka which had three mouths, three heads, six eyes, a thousand spies,2 which was of enormous strength, a fiendish destroyer, an evil, a devastator of the Gaēthas3 (settlements), a nuisance which was a destroyer of most enormous strength, and (which) Angrōmainyush produced in the material world for the destruction of the settlements of righteousness.4

9. Who was the third man who prepared thee, O Homa! for the material world? What blessing was bestowed upon him? What reward did he obtain?

10. Thereupon answered me Homa the righteous, who expels death: Thrita the most useful (of the family) of the Sâmas was the third man who prepared me for the material world; this blessing was bestowed upon him, this reward he obtained, that two sons were born to him, Urvākhshaya and Keresâspa; the one was a judge administering justice, the other a youthful hero who wore a sidelock5 and carried a club, (11.) who slew the serpent Srvara6 which devoured horses and men, which was

---

1 This is the literal translation of elō straydo which may, however, be the name of a locality. The Pahlavi translation is aṣār-vašt, “of a village of resources;” and it explains aṣār-vašt by “his house became numerous from the continued residence of his forefathers, and was retained by the oppression of Dahāk; and his authority was that he preserved the relatives who had disappeared.”

2 In Pahlavi hasār vajāstār adād-ako pāve nāgarako, “a thousand inquirers unjust in disposition.”

3 Reading gaēthd-vayd, in accordance with several old MSS.

4 The Pahlavi commentary contains the imperfect Avesta phrase: kē thrāmd yēin Ahurem mazām, “who (worshipped) thee who art Ahuramazda?” probably.


6 Pronounced Srūra.
poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth high. On which Keresâspa cooked a beverage in a caldron at the mid-day hour, and the serpent scorched, hissed, sprang forth, away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water; Keresâspa Naremânão fled aside frightened.

12. Who was the fourth man who prepared thee, O Homa! for the material world? What blessing was bestowed upon him? What reward did he obtain?

13. Thereupon answered me Homa the righteous, who expels death: Pourushaspa was the fourth man who prepared me for the material world; this blessing was bestowed upon him, this reward he obtained, that thou wast born to him, thou O righteous Zarathushtra! of the house of Pourushaspa, (who art) opposed to the demons, and of the Ahura religion. (14.) Famous in Airyana-vaêjô thou, O Zarathushtra! first recitedst the Ahuna-vairya four times, with pauses between the verses, each successive time with a louder recitation. (15.) Thou madest all the demons hide themselves beneath the earth, who formerly flew about the earth in human shape, O Zarathushtra! who wert the strongest, firmest, most active, swiftest, and most triumphant of the creatures of the two spirits (Spentô-mainyush and Angriô-mainyush).

16. Then spake Zarathushtra: Reverence to Homa! good is Homa, well-created is Homa, rightly created, of a good nature, healing, well-shaped, well-performing, successful, golden-coloured, with hanging tendrils, as the

---

1 The Pahlavi says, “as high as a horse;” it also quotes the following Avesta phrase: khshaâpaya vairaiti barenush, “the angry one (?) strikes by darting.”

2 The epithet vi-berethvaratrem is from the root bar = Sans. bhû = hri, “to take.” In the Brahmanical ritual viharati (originally vikharati) is a technical term for pausing after each pada, while reciting verses, literally taking asunder the verses.

3 This practice of gradually raising the voice with each successive recitation, is also observed in the Hotrî ritual of the Brahmans.

4 The Pahlavi translation has narm-tîk, “with soft tendrils;” but nim-yêsush must be traced to the root nam, “to bend downwards.”
best for eating and the most lasting provision for the soul.¹

17. O yellow (Homa)! I keep in thee by my word² (thy power of giving) knowledge, strength, victory, health, healing, advancement, growth, vigour to the whole body, understanding of subjects of every kind. I keep in (thee by my word) that (power) that I might wander freely in the world, putting an end to troubles (and) annihilating the destructive powers (of the enemies of the good creation). (18.) I keep in (thee by my word) that (power) that I might put down the troubles caused by those whose very nature is to give troubles, such as the demons and (bad) men, the sorcerers and witches, the oppressors, wizards, and idol-priests, the criminals with two legs, the apostates with two legs, the wolves with four legs, of the army with a wide front, shouting and flying (in the air).³

19. On this first walk⁴ I ask from thee, O Homa! who expellest death, the best life (paradise) of the righteous, the splendid, the all-radiant with its own brilliancy. On this second walk I ask from thee, O Homa! who expellest death, the health of this body. On this third walk I ask from thee, O Homa! who expellest death, the long life of the soul.

¹ The term pāthmaṁya means "remaining on the way," hence provisions for a journey.
² The words niḥ mṛgya, "I call down," are here used technically in the sense of binding by calling together, so that none of the powers may be dissipated. In the Brahmanical Soma ritual this is done by reciting eight mantras before the juice is extracted from the Soma twigs.
³ The term davaithyado must be traced to the root du, "to talk (as an evil being)," and is very appropriate to this flying host of evils which is analogous to the band of Odin among the Scandinavians, the Wodan's heir of the ancient Germans, and the host of Marutas of the Veda, sweeping through the air, who are all represented as shouting and making a noise.
⁴ That the word yānom has here its primitive meaning of "walk" (from yd, "to go") is clear from the practice of the Parsi priests who, during the Homa ceremony, walk about six times round the sacred fire with the Hom, and each time a distinct blessing seems to be asked for. Nearly the same ceremony is performed by the Brahmans, when they put the Soma twigs on a cart, and carry them round the sacrificial area in the six directions: east, west, south, north, up, and down (according to an ancient Aryan division).
HOMA YASHT.

20. On this fourth walk I ask from thee, O Homa! who expellest death, that I may stand forth at will, powerful (and) successful upon the earth, putting down troubles (and) annihilating the destructive powers. On this fifth walk I ask from thee, O Homa! who expellest death, that I may stand forth as victor (and) conqueror in battle upon the earth, putting down troubles (and) annihilating the destructive powers.

21. On this sixth walk I ask from thee, O Homa! who expellest death, that we may first become aware of a thief, murderer, (or) wolf; may no one else become aware (of him) sooner! may we become aware of everything first!

22. Homa grants strength and vigour to those who, mounted on white horses, wish to run over a race-course. Homa gives splendid sons and righteous progeny to those who have not borne children. Homa grants fame and learning to all those who are engaged in the study of books.

23. Homa grants a good and rich husband to those who have long been maidens, as soon as he (Homa), the wise, is entreated.

1 The verb takāshēti is a desiderative form of the root tach, “to run;” crendam is explained as “a horse” by the Pahlavi translator, but this can be merely a guess; it must be traced to the root ar = Sans. ri, “to move, go, instigate,” and is here taken as “a race-course.”

2 So the Pahlavi translator understands the word dzanditibish, but in that case the prefix d must be miswritten for the privative a.

3 This is the only occurrence, in the extant Avesta, of the word naskō which is applied, in later writings, to the twenty-one books, or divisions, of the Zoroastrian writings; here, however, it is probably used in the general sense of “book,” and even nowadays Parsi writers sometimes apply the term to any Avesta writing. It has been probably borrowed by Arabic, in the forms nuskhat, “a copy” (pl. nusakh), and naskh, the name of Arabic writing; for these words can have no real connection with the Arabic root nasakha, “he obliterated, abrogated.” The application of a general term for “book” to sacred writings in particular, is common to many religions; thus the Brahmans use the word grantha, which denotes any literary composition, for the Vedic writings, and in Mahārāṣṭra the compound dushagranti, “one who knows the ten Granthas by heart,” refers solely to the Vedic writings; for the ten Granthas are the Sañhitā, Pāda, Brāhmaṇām, Āraṇa (always used there for Aranyaka by the Brahmans), and the six Vedāṅgas.
24. Homa deposed Keresānī from his sovereignty, whose lust of power had so increased that he said: No āthrava's (fire-priest's) repetition of the apām āvīśkṛtih 2 ("approach of the waters") shall be tolerated in my empire, to make it prosper; (and) he would annihilate all that are prosperous, (and) put down all that are prosperous by destroying them.

25. Hail to thee who art of absolute authority through thy own strength, O Homa! hail to thee! thou knowest many sayings rightly spoken. Hail to thee! thou askest for no saying but one rightly spoken.

26. Mazda brought to thee the star-studded, spirit-fashioned girdle (the belt of Orion) leading the Paurvas [[Pāṇḍ] the good Mazdayasni religion]; then thou art begirt with it, (when growing) on the summit of the mountains, to make lasting the words and long accents 4 of the sacred text (māthra).

1 It is evident, from the context, that Keresānī is the name of some enemy of the Āthrava religion, and there can be little doubt that he is the Krīśānū of the Vedic books, who appears as the guardian of the Soma in heaven (Āitareya Brāhm. iii. 26); he is represented as an archer (Rigveda ix. 77, 2; x. 64, 8; iv. 27, 3), and identified with fire (Vājasaneyi saṁhitā v. 32, Śāṅkhāyana shrautasūtras vi. 12, Raṅguvānsa ii. 49). As a personage Krīśānū appears to represent "lightning," and perhaps a particular kind of it.

2 These words are evidently a technical name for the Āthrava-veda Śāṅhitā which commences, in some manuscripts, with the mantra: saṁhitā no devīrākṣitah yajya apo bhavantu vilaye, in which both words occur; this mantra is omitted at the commencement of the printed edition, but is given in i. 6, 1, where it also occurs again in the manuscripts alluded to. That the Āthrava-veda actually commenced with these words about 2000 years ago, is clearly shown by Patanjali's quotation of the initial words of the four Vedas, in his introduction to the Mahābhāṣya, where the words: saṁhitā no devīrākṣitah represent the Āthrava-veda.

3 In the word Pauva we readily recognise the Persian name of the Pleiades, which is variously written parā, pārvah, pārkā, and pārtā; this pārtā is given as the name of the third and fourth lunar mansions in the Baudhāṇī (p. 6, Westerg.), corresponding to the Indian Nakṣaṭras kṛṣṇī (Pleiades) and rohini (Aldebaran and Hyades); the fifth Nakṣatra is mrigaśīra (in the head of Orion), over which Soma (=: Homa) is presiding deity (Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa iii. 1, 2, 3); hence the constellation Orion is in advance of the Pauva on the moon's path, and the epithet "leading the Pauva" is appropriate for Orion's belt. The idea of Homa being begirt with Orion's belt, implies that the Homa plant was supposed to be specially under the sidereal influence of the constellation Orion.

4 The term āvīśkṛtih must be equivalent to Saus. abhīśhānā,
27. O Homa! (thou) lord of the house, lord of the clan, lord of the tribe, lord of the country, (thou) successful physician! I further invoke thee for strength and prosperity for my body, and for the attainment of much pleasure. (28.) Keep far from us the vexations of (our) enemies! divert the mind of (our) abusers! Whatsoever man in this house, in this clan, in this tribe, in this country, may injure (us), take strength from his feet! darken his intellect! disorder his mind!

29. May he be paralysed in the feet! may he be palsied in the hands! may he not see the earth with (his) eyes! may he not see nature with (his) eyes! who injures our mind, or injures our body.

30. Strike a deadly blow, O yellow Homa! at the yellow blackish serpent, emitting poison for destroying the body of the righteous man. Strike a deadly blow, O yellow Homa! at the murderer who has wrought mischief, who angrily inflicts wounds for destroying the body of the righteous man.

31. Strike a deadly blow, O yellow Homa! at the impious tyrant in human form, who has a darting at the head for destroying the body of the righteous man. Strike

"name, appellation, word;" and the reading garāḍkṣa (preferable to grāḍkṣa) gives garu, which represents Sans. guru, "a long vowel," a very noticeable feature of the Gāthas.

1 Literally, "master of physicians (or doctor of medicine) through beneficence;" valīhyā here must be equivalent to Sans. vaidya, "a physician," or vaidyā, "a drug."

2 Thrīma must be traced to the root tar = Sans. tr, "to pass over, attain;" and bāoḥšknaḥdē is to be taken in the same sense as bāoḥšnāsccha in Yt. iv. 1, i.e., "pleasure, enjoyment," compare Sans. blūj, "to enjoy."

3 More literally, "May he not be able to progress with the feet! may he not be able to work with the hands!"

4 Sima is here taken as equivalent to Sans. shyāma, "dark-coloured," from the root shyai, some derivatives of which change shyā into shī.

5 The construction kehrem nāshemnāś ashaonē is literally "for the righteous being made to lose (his) body;" compare drīše viśhvāya vār-γam, "that all should see the sun" (Rigveda, i. 50, 1); kehrem is not governed by paṭi, but by nāshemnāśi, and is to be regarded as the accusative of the object which retains its original case when the active construction is changed to a passive one.

6 This appears to be an allusion to Zohak and his troublesome serpents.
a deadly blow, O yellow Homa! at the body of the disturber of righteousness, the impious, who destroys the life of this (Zoroastrian) religion, by proposing thoughts and words, but not carrying them into action, for destroying the body of the righteous man.

32. Strike a deadly blow, O yellow Homa! at the body of the bewitching courtezan who causes madness, who acts as procuress, whose mind is unstable as a cloud driven by the wind, for destroying the body of the righteous man. Strike a deadly blow, O yellow Homa! at whatever serves for destroying the body of the righteous man.

Yas. x. 1. Let the water-drops fall here for the destruction of the Devas and Devīs. May the good Sraoša slay (them)! May Aspi-vānūhi (the spirit of fortune) take up her abode here! May Aspi-vānūhi grant happiness here, in this sacred abode of Homa, the transmitter of righteousness.

2. I accompany thy preparation, at the beginning each time, with words of praise, O intelligent! when he (the managing priest) takes thy twigs. I accompany thy preparation, in each successive act by which thou art killed through the strength of a man, with words of praise, O intelligent!

3. I praise the cloud and the rain which make thy body grow on the summit of the mountains. I praise the high mountains where thou hast grown, O Homa!

4. I praise the earth, the wide-stretched, the passable, the large, the unbounded, thy mother, O righteous Homa! I praise the earth that thou mayest grow, spreading fast (thy) fragrance, as thou growest on the mountain, O Homa! with the good Mazdian growth; and that thou mayest thrive on the path of the birds (i.e., on high), and be, in fact, the source of righteousness.

5. Grow! through my word, in all stems, in all branches, and in all twigs.

6. Homa grows when being praised. So the man who
praises him becomes more triumphant. The least extraction of Hom-juice, the least praise, the least tasting (of it), O Homa! is (sufficient) for destroying a thousand of the Devas.

7. The defects produced (by the evil spirit) vanish from that house, as soon as one brings, as soon as one praises, the healing Homa's evident wholesomeness, healing power, and residence in that village.

8. For all other liquors are followed by evil effects, but this which is the liquor of Homa is followed by elevating righteousness, (when) the liquor of Homa (is in him who) is grieved. Whatever man shall flatter Homa, as a young son, Homa comes to the aid of him and his children, to be (their) medicine.

9. Homa! give me (some) of the healing powers whereby thou art a physician. Homa! give me (some) of the victorious powers whereby thou art a victor. &c.

From the contents of this Homa Yasht one may clearly see, that the Homa worship was not instituted by Zarathushtra, but was known at a much earlier period. Zarathushtra is only said to have adopted it. But in the second division of the fourth Essay, we shall see that he was fighting against the Brahmanical Soma worship and trying to overthrow it.

2.—Yasna xix.

This chapter, written in prose, is a kind of theological commentary on the most sacred formula, Akhuna-vairya (Honovar). The following is a translation of this chapter:—

1, 2. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O Ahuramazda! most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Which was the word, O Ahuramazda! that thou spakest unto me, (which was) before

1 Literally, "by the cruel Aśhiba" (Wrath, one of the demons).
2 Literally, "by Aśha who is carrying up."
3 Or perhaps, "the liquor of Homa exhilarates."
the heavens, before the water, before the earth, before the animals, before the trees, before the fire, son of Ahuramazda, before the righteous man, before the demons and savage men (cannibals), before the whole material world, before all good things created by Mazda, that are of rightful origin?

3, 4. Then said Ahuramazda: This was the parts of the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathushtra! which I spake unto thee, (which was) before the heavens, before the water, &c. (as before).

5. These my parts of the Ahuna-vairya, when recited without mistake (and) without mispronunciation, are equal, O Spitama Zarathushtra! to a hundred of the other principal stanzas (Gāthas), recited without mistake (and) without mispronunciation. Even recited with mistakes (and) mispronunciation (they are) equal to ten other principals.

6. And whoever, in this my world supplied with creatures, O Spitama Zarathushtra! shall recall (mentally) one part of the Ahuna-vairya, or in the course of recalling shall mutter it, or in the course of muttering shall chant it, or in the course of chanting prays to it, his soul will I, who am Ahuramazda, carry all three times over the bridge to paradise (Vahishtem ahlem, "the best life," Bahisht in Pers.), [(Pāzand), to the best life, to the best righteousness, to the best luminaries.]

7. And whoever in this my world supplied with creatures, O Spitama Zarathushtra! takes off in muttering a part of the Ahuna-vairya, either a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth of it, his soul will I, who am Ahuramazda, separate from paradise, to such a distance in width and breadth as the earth is, [(Pāzand) and the earth has the same width as breadth].

8. And I spake for myself this saying, about the heavenly

---

1 Here the different ways of recital are mentioned; see p. 143. After chanting, or reciting, sacred verses one prays to them (the verse, or hymn, being considered a being) with the formula: Yasamaidié (we worship, pray to) Ahunem vairim (the Ahuna-vairya formula).
lord (aḥu), and earthly master (ratu), before the creation of the heavens, before the water, before the earth, before the trees, before the creation of the four-footed animals, before the birth of the righteous biped man, before the sun-composed matter for the creation of the archangels (Ameshaspentas).

9. The more beneficent of my two Spirits has produced, by speaking it, the whole rightful creation, which is, and was, and will be, through the operation of the actions of life towards Mazda.

10. And this is the highest saying of those sayings which I have spoken, and do speak, and (which) are to be spoken; for the nature of this saying is such that if the whole material world had learned it, being preserved by reciting it, it would escape liability to destruction.

11. And this our saying I proclaimed, and repeated, and counted (the repetitions), as it is for every being for the sake of the righteousness which is best.

12. As he (who recites it) has here said that he has appointed it as heavenly lord (aḥu) and earthly master (ratu), so he recognises him who is Ahuramazda as prior to the creatures, the first being the Mind. As he acknowledges it as the greatest of all things, so he acknowledges the creatures are (due) to it.

13. That the good beings are (works) of Mazda he shows by reciting the third phrase (beginning with) van-hēush (“of the good”). (With the words) dazdā mananḥō (“the giver of mind”) he acknowledges it (the Ahuna-vairya) from the first as the Mind. As (the word) mananḥō thus makes it the producer for the Mind, he then makes it the heavenly lord of actions (shkyaotthnanām aḥām).

14. As he acknowledges it for the creatures through

1The two spirits united in Ahuramazda, as the one God, are speaker mainyush, "the beneficent spirit," and speaker mainyush, "the hurtful spirit."

2These words (shkyaotthnanām aḥām) are quoted from the second line of the Ahuna-vairya formula, and are again referred to in verses 13, 14.
Mazda, so (he does) this, that the creatures are his. (The phrase) khshathrem Ahurdi (“the dominion is for Ahura”) acknowledges it as thy dominion, O Mazda! (The phrase) dregubyô vdstârem (“protector for the poor”) acknowledges, as a friend to Spitama, the five phrases, the whole recital of the saying, the complete saying of Ahuramazda.

15. The most excellent Ahuramazda proclaimed the Ahuna-vairya; the Most-excellent, the Eternal, caused it to be repeated (after him). Owing to a pause Evil originated, but he restrained the Wicked One with this interdict: Neither our thoughts, nor sayings, nor intellects, nor creeds, nor words, nor deeds, nor creative ideas, nor souls, agree.

16. And this saying, uttered by Mazda, has three verses (lines), the four classes, the five chiefs, (and) a conclusion with liberality.¹ How (arose) its verses? (Through the words) well-thought, well-spoken, well-done.²

17. Through what classes? The priest, warrior, agriculturist, (and) artizan, through the whole duty pertaining to the righteous man, to think rightly, to speak rightly, to act rightly, to appoint a spiritual guide, (and) to fulfil religious duties, through which works the earthly settlements advance in righteousness.

18. Which are the chiefs? (Those) of the house, of the village, of the tribe, of the province, (and) Zarathushtra as the fifth in those countries which are distinct from the Zarathushtrian Ragha.³ The Zarathushtrian Ragha has

¹ This is an allusion to the words dregubyô vdstârem, “protector for the poor,” in the last phrase of the Ahuna-vairya, which evidently imply liberality.
² These words, humatem kâhtem kwesthrem, contain the fundamental principles of Zoroastrian morality, and are repeated habitually on many occasions.
³ The word Raghiô is the ablative of a crude form Reji, a softer form of Râqhi, which variant of Ragha seems to have been used, as we find traces of more than one form of the name in Greek writings. That one form should be used here, and the other in the next phrase, is owing, no doubt, to the next phrase being a later addition to the text. It is also possible that the regular ablative of Ragha, which would be Raghayôd or Raghayûd, might become Raghiô by the change of aya into ayê, ë, ëi, which change would probably occasion the softening of ãh into j.
four chiefs. Which are its chiefs? (Those) of the house, of the village, of the tribe, (and) Zarathushtra as the fourth.

19. What is "well-thought"? The righteous original Mind. What is "well-spoken"? The munificent Word. What is "well-done"? (That done) by the praising creatures, first in righteousness.

20. Mazda proclaimed. What did he proclaim? The righteous (Ahuna-vairyā) both spiritual and earthly. What was he who proclaimed the recital (of the Ahuna-vairyā)? The best ruler. As what (did he proclaim it)? As true perfection, but not despotic authority (i.e., subject to the ruler).

3.—YASNA LIVII.

This chapter is devoted to the praise of the angel Sraosha (Srosh), and is, therefore, called the Srosh Yasht. He is the personification of the whole divine worship of the Parsis. This Yasht is to be recited at the commencement of the night-time.

2. We worship (the angel) Srosh, the righteous, the beautiful, the victorious, who protects our territories, the true, the master of truth, who of Ahuramazda's creatures first worshipped Ahuramazda by means of arranging the sacred twigs (Barsom), who worshipped the Ameshaspentas (the archangels), who worshipped the two masters, the two creators 1 (thvōreshtarā) who create all things.

3. For his splendour and glory, for his power and victory, for his praying to the angels (in our behalf), I will worship him with an audible prayer and with the offering of consecrated water (saothra). May he come to help us, he, the victorious, righteous Srosh!

6. He who first arranged the bundle of sacred twigs (Barsom), that with three, that with five, that with seven, and that with nine stalks, those which were as long as to

1 These are the two spirits spentā-mainyush and angrō-mainyush, mentioned in the note to Yas. xix. 9.
go up to the knees, and those which went as far as the middle of the breast, (he arranged them) to worship, to praise, to satisfy, and to extol the archangels.

8. He who first sang the five Gāthas of the righteous Spitama Zarathushtra according to their stanzas and their sentences, distinguishing their high and low tones.

10. He who wounds after sunset with his drawn sword the cruel demon Aēshemô (i.e., attack, rapine).

15–18. He who slays the demon of destruction (devī-drukhs), who prevents the growth of nature, and murders its life. He who is the guardian and protector of the whole world here below. He who, never slumbering, preserves by vigilance the creatures of Mazda. He who, never slumbering, protects by vigilance the creatures of Mazda. He who guards, with his sword drawn, the whole world supplied with creatures after sunset. He who never enjoyed sleep since the two spirits, the beneficent and the hurtful, created (the world); he is watching the territories of the good creation and fighting, day and night, against the Devas (demons) of Mazenderan. He is never frightened nor runs away when struggling with the demons; but all the demons must flee from him and hide themselves in darkness.

21. He who has a palace with a thousand pillars erected on the highest summit of the mountain Alborz. It has its own light from inside, and from outside it is decorated with stars. He whose victorious sword is the Ahunavairya formula, the Yasna of seven chapters (see p. 170), the victorious Fshūsha-prayer (Yas. Iviii.), and all the sections of the Yasna.

24. He who walks, teaching the religion, round about

---

1 In the original fravōska (see the same in Yt. x. 103), which has the same origin as the modern Persian fard, farād, "down, downwards." The Pahlavi translators (who have frōkī, "forth, forwards") misunderstood this rare word.

2 In the original māzanāya. These Mazanian Devas, several times alluded to in the Zend-Avesta, are evidently the Divs of Mazenderan, so well known to the readers of the Shāh-nāmah.

2 In the Avesta harō bereswāti "the high mountain."
the world. Ahuramazda, Vohu-manê, Ashem-vahishtem, Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-ârmaiti, Haurvatát, Ameretât,  
the Ahuryan question, and the Ahuryan creed (i.e., their 
respective angels) believed in this religion.

25. Protect our two lives, that of the body and that 
of the soul, O Srush! against death, against the attacks 
of evil spirits. &c.

XI.—Visparad.

The name Visparad (Av. vîṣpē ratavô) means "all 
chiefs, or heads." By this name a collection of prayers, 
composed of twenty-three chapters, is understood. They 
are written in the usual Avesta language, and bear a great 
resemblance, as regards their contents, to the first part of 
the later Yasna (chap. i.—xxvii.). They refer to the same 
ceremony, as does that part of the Yasna, viz., to the prepa-
ration of the sacred water, and the consecration of cer-
tain offerings, such as the sacred bread, the twigs of Homa, 
with a twig of the pomegranate-tree, and the juice 
obtained from them (called Parahoma), fruits, butter, 
hair, fresh milk, and flesh, which are carried round about 
the sacred fire, and after having been shown to it, are 
eaten by the priest, or by the man, in whose favour the 
ceremony is performed. These offerings, which are 
nothing but a remnant of the ancient Aryan sacrifices, 
so carefully preserved to this day by the Brahmans (see 
the fourth Essay), represent a meal, given to all the heads 
or chiefs (called ratus) of both the visible and invisible 
world, who are all severally invoked. In the first chapter 
of the Yasna, there are a good many more enumerated 
than in the first chapter of the Visparad. In the Yasna 
the enumeration of "the heads" begins with Ahuramazda 
and the archangels, while in the Visparad the invitation 2

1 The six names after that of Ahu-
ramazda are those of the archangels.
2 The formula is nivâdhyâmi hañ- 
kâryâmi, "I invite and prepare for " 
(I prepare a meal and invite to it). 
With nivâdhyâmi compare the vai-
vedya of the Brahmans, i.e., the food 
given to the gods. The Brahmans
commences with the heads of the spiritual (mainyava) and terrestrial (gaêthya) world, the chiefs of all that is in the water, in the sky, born out of eggs, of what is walking on its face (quadrupeds), and of water crabs.\footnote{Chapraphtách, "who follow (the species) changra," Pers. changra, "a crab." That crabs are creatures of Ahuramazda, is reported by Plutarch; see p. 10.} In this rough division of created living beings (of the good creation only) the whole animal kingdom is comprised. The primary type of each class is its respective ratu or chief. After the chiefs of the animals, the six chiefs of the year, or the six seasons,\footnote{The ancient name for "season" was the word ratu itself, which is preserved in the corresponding Sanskrit ritu (the six seasons, as representatives of the Creator Prajápáti or Brahma, are often mentioned in the Vedic writings). But after the employment of this word in a more general sense, yāre was used for "season," being evidently identical with "year."} are enumerated, which are now called Gahanbârs. These are believed to have been instituted by Ahuramazda in commemoration of the six periods, during which, according to the Zoroastrian doctrine, the world was created, and they are strictly observed by the Parsis to this day. The names of these six seasons are:—

1, Maidhyô-zaremya (now 3d November); 2, Maidhyô-shëna (now 2d January); 3, Paitish-hahya (now 18th March); 4, Ayûthrema (now 17th April); 5, Maidhyô-dirya (now 6th July); 6, Hamaspahmaédaya (now 19th September), the season at which great expiatory sacrifices were offered for the growth of the whole creation\footnote{This the name implies, and also its epithet arêtô-korēthana, "killer of enemies," by which animals of the bad creation, as frogs, lizards, serpents, are to be understood. In the Bundahish this season is said to be about the vernal equinox, while Maidhyô-darya is made to correspond with midwinter, and Maidhyô-shëna with midsummer; but since the disuse of intercalary months, the season-festivals have receded to the dates given in the text according to the Indian Parsi reckoning, or thirty days further back according to the Persian Parsis.} in the two last months of the year.\footnote{In the first period heaven was created, in the second the waters, in the third the earth, in the fourth the trees, in the fifth the animals, and in the sixth man.}

After the six seasons, the chiefs of all the sacred prayers begin all their ceremonies with the words, ahâm karîshye, "I shall perform a ceremony."
(which are believed to be angels), including more especially
the Gāthas, are invited, together with the female spirits
(ghena), "who give abundance of all things, and especially
posterity;" also Ardvi Sūra Anáhita (the heavenly water,
see the Abán Yasht), the mountains, the angels Behram,
Mithra, Râma-qâstar (presiding over food), the ruler of
the country, the Zarathushtrôtenma (supreme high-priest or
Dastûr-i-Dastûrân), &c.

After this general invitation of the spirits of all orders
to come to the meal prepared for them, the water and Bar-
som (sacred twigs) are presented to them as a welcome
(chap. ii.). Several other invocations follow (chap. iii.). The
chief priest, who superintends the whole ceremony, the
Zaota (called Hota in the Vedas), orders his subordinate
priest Rathwi (now Râspi, Adhvaryu in the Vedas) to sum-
mon the different orders of priests, the representatives of
the three castes (priests, warriors, cultivators), the heads of
houses, villages, towns, and districts, the ladies of houses,
other respectable women, &c. Very likely all chiefs of the
Iranian society of a whole district were, if possible, obliged
to be present at the time of the celebration of the Gahan-
bârs, for which the Visparad seems to be particularly in-
tended, and on which occasions it must be used even now.

This whole assembly then praises all good things (chap.
iv.), after which the chief priest (Zaota) says, that he is
the praiser and worshipper of Ahuramazda and the
archangels, and that he is worshipping them with words
and ceremonies (chap. v., vi.). Then the members of the
congregation invoke several spirits, as Sraosha, Mithra, &c.
(chap. vii.).

After these introductory prayers, the principal parts of
the meal, Homa with a branch of a pomegranate tree, but-
ter, fresh milk, bread, fruits, and flesh, are consecrated and
presented to the chiefs of the whole creation (chaps. ix.—xii.).
After the whole meal has been offered in a solemn way,
the ritual concludes with a series of prayers and invoca-
tions, in which, however, nothing remarkable occurs.
XII.—YASHTS.

The name Yasht (γέοθι, "worship by prayers and sacrifices") is applied to certain collections of prayer and praise, of which there are twenty extant, which have been collected and published for the first time in Westergaard’s edition of the Zend-Avesta (pp. 143–293). Their chief difference from the prayers of the Yasna and Visparad is, that each of them is devoted to the praise and worship of one divine being only, or of a certain limited class of divine beings, as Ahuramazda, the archangels (Amshaspends), the heavenly water Ardi Vatre Anahita, the sun (Mithra), the star Tishtrya, the Fravashis, &c., whereas in the Yasna and Visparad all these beings are invoked promiscuously. The majority of these beings are called Yasatas1 (now Izads) or angels.

The devotee endeavours, by an enumeration of all the glorious feats achieved by the particular angel, and the miracles wrought by him, to induce him to come and enjoy the meal which is prepared for him, and then to bestow such a blessing upon the present worshipper, as had been bestowed by the angel upon his devotees in ancient times.

These praises are often highly poetical, and on close inquiry we find they really contain, in several cases, metrical verses. They are to be traced to the songs of the Median bards, who are mentioned by Greek historians, and were the primary sources of the legends contained in the Shâhnâmah. For the legendary history of the ancient Iranians, and especially for a critical inquiry into the celebrated Shâhnâmah, the Yashts are the most important part of the Zend-Avesta.

In the following pages a brief summary of them is given, and occasionally some extracts are translated from the more interesting parts.

1 Corresponding to the Vedic Ya-

jata, "a being which deserves wor-

ship." The modern Persian Yezdân,

"God," is the plural of this word

Yazata.
I. Hormazd Yasht.

Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda for the most effectual spell (māthra) to guard against the influence of evil spirits. He was answered by the Supreme Spirit, that the utterance of the different names of Ahuramazda protects best from evil. Thereupon Zarathushtra begged Ahuramazda to communicate to him these names. Ahuramazda then enumerates twenty names. The first, for instance, is ahmi, “I am;” the fourth, asha-vahishta, “the best righteousness” (the name of the archangel Ardibahisht); the sixth, “I am the wisdom;” the eighth, “I am the knowledge;” the twelfth, ahura, “living;” the twentieth, “I am who I am, 1 Mazda” (ahmi yad ahmi mazdā). Ahuramazda says then further: “If you call me by day or at night by these names, I will come to assist and help you, the angel Srosh will then come to assist and help you, the spirits of the waters and the trees, and the spirits of deceased righteous men will come to assist you.” For the utter defeat of the evil spirits, bad men, sorcerers, Paris 2 (pairika), &c., a series of other names of Ahuramazda are suggested to Zarathushtra, such as protector, guardian, spirit, the holiest, the best fire-priest, &c.


In the Haptān Yasht (i.e., the praise of the seven supreme spirits) Ahuramazda and the six archangels, who constitute the celestial council, are invoked. The greater part of it is of no particular interest. At the end (Yt. ii. 11) there is a short spell, such as we find now and then in the Zend-Avesta. It is composed of short verses, each consisting of six or seven syllables, in the following manner:—

1 Compare the explanation of the name Jehovah, as given in Exod. iii. 14; chyeh asher chyeh, “I am who I am.”
2 The Paris, i.e., fairies, so well known to the readers of modern Persian poetry, are evil spirits in the Zend-Avesta, because they seduce men by their beauty.
HAPTAN, ETC., YASHTS.

Ydtu zī Zarathushtra, may he come then Zarathushtra,
Koi nmānakē, bāda who (are) in the house, soon
Vēspa drukkhā jānāitē, every evil spirit is slain,
Yāha haonāoiti when he hears

vanaḍ daeva masyā may he destroy the devils and bad men
Spitama Zarathushtra! Spitama Zarathushtra!
Vēspa drukkhā nāshāitē, every evil spirit goes away,
alshām vachām. these words.

In the Ardibahisht Yasht, Ahuramazda requests Zarathushtra to protect and promote the asha vahishta (now Ardibahisht), “the best righteousness,” by praising, invoking, inviting (to sacrificial meals), worshipping, singing, &c., in order to keep up the splendour and light of the luminaries, which is indispensable for the growth of the good creation.

Zarathushtra is ready to obey the divine command, but he first wants to know the appropriate words which would have the effect proposed by Ahuramazda. The chief māthra for this purpose is the Aīryēmā ishyā prayer (Yas. liv.). Some spells follow, which are intended to remove diseases and evils of every kind, like the spells found in the Atharvaveda, and those used down to the present time by wizards in Europe, as, for instance, “Go away, diseases! Go away, death! Go away, ye devils!” &c.

Then the killing of the “serpent seed” (aśhi-chithra), i.e., all noxious creatures, such as wolves, frogs, mice, ants, snakes, &c., which are believed to be the mere disguises of evil spirits, is enjoined as meritorious, and contributing largely towards the growth of nature and preservation of light, which are both represented by the archangel Ardibahisht. The last sentences of this Yasht occur also in Vend. viii. 21.

The Khordād Yasht is devoted to the archangel Khordād (Hauvatād in the Avesta), which name signifies “completeness, wholesomeness, health.” Ahuramazda says to Zarathushtra: “I created the Hauvatāds for the righteous men, and aids so that the archangels come to help them.”

1 Addressed to Aīryēmā, an angel men, and in possession of numerous who is a friend and assistant of pious resources.
As a chief means of preserving the Haurvatâd, or the same good condition in which every being of the good creation has been created by Ahuramazda, the recital of māthrās is recommended, together with the Barashnom ceremony (described in Vend. ix.; see section xiv. 5). The māthrā, which is intended to drive away the evil spirits, is hardly intelligible in a grammatical point of view; the grammar of this and the two preceding Yashts being extremely bad. At the end Zarathushtra is strictly ordered by Ahuramazda not to communicate this effective spell to any other man than to a son, or brother, or relative, or to a priest of one of the three orders (thrâyava, i.e., Herbads, Mobads, and Dasturs). Such interdictions of divulging māthrās, or spells, are not unfrequent in the Yashts.

3. ABAŅ YASHT.

This Yasht, which is of considerable length (thirty sections containing 132 verses in all), is devoted to Ardvi Sūra Anâhita (now called Arduisur), the mighty goddess Anaitis of the ancient Persians, corresponding to the Mylitta of the Babylonians, and the Aphrodite (Venus) of the Greeks. Her name Anâhid is even still preserved in modern Persian, and well known to the readers of Hafiz. In this Yasht she is always called by the three names just mentioned, which are only epithets. Ardvi means “high, sublime,” sūra “strong, excellent,” and anâhita “spotless, pure, clean,” which terms refer to the celestial waters represented by her. The contents are as follows:—

i. Ahuramazda calls upon Zarathushtra to worship Anâhita, who rolls under bridges, who gives salubrity, who defeats the devils, who professes the Ahura religion, who is to be worshipped and praised in this living world. She, as the giver of fertility, purifies the seed of all males, and the wombs of all females, and provides the latter at the right time with milk. Coming from one of the summits of the mountain Alborz, she is as large as all other waters taken together, which spring out of this heavenly source. When she discharges herself into the sea Vouru-kasha,
then all its shores are widened. This heavenly fountain has a thousand springs and a thousand canals, each of them forty days’ journey long. Thence a channel goes through all the seven kēshvārs, or regions of the earth, conveying everywhere pure celestial water. She was created by Ahuramazda himself for the benefit of the house, village, town, and country.

iii. Her chariot is drawn by four white horses, which defeat all the devils.

From the fifth section, nearly to the end, all the praises which Anāhita has received, and the rewards which she has granted to her devotees, are enumerated.

v. Ahuramazda himself is said to have worshipped her, in order to secure her assistance in inducing Zarathushtra to become his prophet. She readily granted his request.

vi. Haoshyanha (Hōshang in the Shāhnāmah) sacrificed to her a hundred horses, a thousand cows, and ten thousand young animals. She gave him strength to conquer all the demons and men, and to establish an empire.

vii. Yima Khshaēta (Jamshēd) asked the same blessing from her which she readily granted, while she refused (viii.) to grant Azhi dahāka's (Zohak, an incarnation of the devil) prayer for strength to kill all the men on the surface of the earth. (ix.) But she assisted Thraētaona (Frēdūn), who had worshipped her also, to destroy this tyrant. Besides these heroes, a good many others are mentioned as worshippers of Anāhita, such as Kava Us (Kai Kavus in the Shāhnāmah), Kava Husrava (Kai Khusrō), &c. The example set by Ahuramazda himself and the great heroes and sages of Iranian antiquity, of worshipping Anāhita in order to obtain blessings from her, was followed, of course, by Zarathushtra and his royal disciple Kava Vīshṭāspa (Kai Gushtāsp in Sh.), who are always represented as having respected the ancient forms of worship.

In sections xxi. and xxx. two short hymns are preserved, on the recital of which Anāhita was expected to appear. The first is ascribed to Ahuramazda himself. It commences as follows:
KHURSHēD AND MAḤ YASHTS.

The first of these Yashts is devoted to the sun, which is called in the Avesta hwarē khshaēta, “sun the king” (preserved in the modern Persian khurshēd, “sun”); the second is devoted to the moon, called mānī (in modern Persian māh).

The prayer addressed to the sun commences as follows:—

“We worship the king sun, the immortal, brilliant. When he burns with his rays, then all the heavenly spirits rise by hundreds and by thousands to spread his splendour, to send it down to the earth, created by Ahuramazda, for protecting the cultivated fields (gaēthāo) and their bodies.2 When the sun rises, then he purifies the earth, created by Ahuramazda, he purifies the flowing water, as well as that of springs and lakes, he purifies all the creatures of the beneficent spirit. As long as the sun has not risen, all the demons are endeavouring to spread havoc throughout the

1 It is nom. pl. From this passage one may clearly see that ahūra is not a title confined to the Supreme Being, but can be applied to men also. The same is the case with the Hebrew word elohēm, “God,” which is now and then used in the sense of “judges,” Exod. xxi. 6 (according to the ancient Chaldaic translator Onkelos), and in that of “kings” (see Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6).

2 In this passage, as well as in many others in the Yashts and the Vēnuti-dad, some interpolations have been made in later times to illustrate phrases which were considered hardly intelligible. Thus, for instance, hām-bāreyēiti (anvāntan, “to fill” in Pers.), “they carry everywhere,” is explained by nīvārayēiti, “they make pass down (everywhere).”
seven regions of the earth, and none of the heavenly spirits withstands and slays them, whilst all the living creation is drowned in sleep.”

At the end the conjunction of sun and moon is particularly mentioned as the luckiest of all conjunctions. The word for “conjunction,” hakhedhrem, is of particular interest, because it is preserved in the modern Persian akhtar, “star,” whose original meaning “conjunction” may still be found in some phrases, such as akhtar-i-dânish, “Jupiter and Mercury” (literally, the conjunction foreboding wisdom).

In the Mâh Yasht the moon is invoked by the epithet gaochithra, which means “cow-faced.” All the immortal benefactors (archangels) rise and spread the moonlight over the surface of the earth created by Ahuramazda, then the light of the moon shines through the tops of the golden-coloured trees; and gold-like it rises from the earth (i.e., it is reflected by her). The new moon and the full moon are especially alluded to.

5. Tîr and Gôsh Yashts.

The Tîr Yasht is devoted to the praise of the star Tish-trya, “Mercury” (tashtar in Parsi, tîr in modern Pers.). He is called the giver of wealth (bakhta shôithrahê); his lustre is red, and of great beauty. His most significant epithet is afsh-chithra, “waterfaced” (of one and the same nature with the water), because he brings the waters from the celestial ocean, Vouru-kasha, down on the earth to fertilise the soil. He discharges this duty, which is assigned to him, with the utmost quickness, being “as swift as the river Tighrish, which has the swiftness of an arrow, and is the swiftest of all Aryan (rivers) when it falls from the

1 This seems to be in contradiction to the Srosh Yasht, where Srosh is said to fight at night-time against the evil spirits. But one has to bear in mind that Srosh is not one of the Yaziitas, or angels, but of a higher order; he is the representative of the religion itself; if it were not for him the world would fall a prey to the demons during the night-time.

2 The reflection of moonlight is called patidâlî, “what looks against.”
Khshaota mountain down to the Qanvat mountain.” (Yt. viii. 6.)

He defeats and expels the fairies (pairika = pari in Pers.), who “fall as star-worms (i.e., glow-worms) between earth and heaven into the sea Vouru-kasha (to prevent the waters from coming out).” But Tishtrya enters this sea in the shape of a horse, and by swelling it, makes it overflow its shores, and so carries its waters, as showers, over the “seven regions of the earth.”

His worship was compulsory at the time of a drought; for unless the prayers of men were addressed to him, he was powerless to defeat the evil spirits, who kept back the waters in the sea. If men invoke him, says he, as they invoke other angels, then he proceeds from his magnificent palace to the Vouru-kasha. He steps into the sea in the shape of a red horse with yellow ears. There the Deva Apaoshd, in the shape of a black horse with black ears and tail, encounters him. Both fight for three days and nights; at length he is defeated by the Deva. Tishtrya then leaves the sea, crying aloud: “I am lost, the waters are lost, the trees are lost, the Mazdayasnian religion is destroyed. Men do not worship me as they worship other angels. If they would worship me, I would gain the strength of ten horses, ten camels, ten oxen, ten mountains, ten navigable rivers.” When men then come to aid him by their prayers, and consequently his strength increases, he descends for a second time into the sea, attacks the Deva again, and defeats him. After having conquered him, he proclaims the victory, gained by him, to the whole good creation. He makes the waters of the sea then flow over its borders, and fertilises the soil. In the midst of the sea there is a mountain called Hendva (very likely the Hindu-kush range of mountains is to be understood), over which the clouds gather together. The winds carry them rapidly off, and they then discharge their watery load upon the thirsty and parched soil.

The Gôsh Yasht is devoted to a female spirit who is
called here Drvâspa, i.e., one who keeps horses in health. The name Gosh, "cow," which was given her in after times, refers to gēush urvē, the universal soul by which all living beings of the good creation are animated. From the terms in which Drvâspa is spoken of in this Yasht, she was believed to preserve the life of the good animals. In heaven she represents the Milky-way, and in this respect is described as having many spies (eyes), having light of her own, having a far way, and a long constellation (dareghō-hakhedhrayana).

She was worshipped by the heroes of antiquity, such as Haoshyanha Paradhāta (Hoshang the Peshdadian in the Shâhnâmah), Yima (Jamshêd), Thrâtaona (Frêdûn), Kava Vishtâspa, Zarathushtra himself, &c., and different favours were asked of her, such as, to give strength for defeating enemies, to rid the creation from the evils of heat and cold, to propagate the good religion, &c.

6. MIHIR YASHT.

In this long Yasht, which comprises thirty-five sections (146 verses in Wester.), the angel presiding over, and directing the course of the sun, who was called Mithra, "friend" (mihir in Persian), is invoked and praised. His worship was widely spread, not only in ancient Persia itself, but far beyond its frontiers in Asia Minor, and even in Greece and Rome.

In the first section of this Yasht, Ahuramazda says to Spitama Zarathushtra: "I created Mithra, who rules over large fields (vouru-gaoyaoitish), to be of the same rank and dignity (as far as worship is concerned) as I myself am. The wretch who belies Mithra,\(^1\) spoils the whole country. Therefore, never break a promise, neither that contracted with a fellow-religionist, nor that with an infidel. Mithra gives those who do not belie him, swift horses; the fire,

\(^1\) Mithra has several meanings, viz., "angel of the sun, sun, friend," and "promise, contract." Promise-break- ing, or lying, or not paying debts which have been contracted, is called Mithrō-drůkkhah, "belying Mithra."
Ahuramazda's son, leads such men on the straightest way, the Frohars (Fravashis) give them children of superior qualities."

Near the end of the first section there is a short hymn by which Ahuramazda is said to call him. It consists of verses, each of about eight syllables, and commences as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ādē} & \quad \text{nē} & \quad \text{jamvād} & \quad \text{avanē}, \\
\text{Hither to us may come to help,} & \\
\text{ādē} & \quad \text{nē} & \quad \text{jamvād} & \quad \text{ravanē}, \\
\text{Hither to us may come to face (before us),} & \\
\text{ādē} & \quad \text{nē} & \quad \text{jamvād} & \quad \text{rusnaē}, & \quad \text{do.} \\
\text{Hither to us may come to joy, &c.} & \\
\text{uhrō} & \quad \text{aiwātē} & \quad \text{ysmēd}, & \quad \text{vahyē}, & \quad \text{onaiwēdrēkē}, \\
\text{the strong conqueror deserving worship,} & \text{deserving praise,} & \text{not to be believed,} & \\
\text{vēpēm} & \quad \text{ā} & \quad \text{anukē} & \text{astvaitē,} \\
\text{all in the life supplied with bodies (i.e., in the creation),} & \\
\text{Mithrō} & \quad \text{yā} & \text{vouru-gooyaoitish.} \\
\text{Mithra who rules over large fields.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

"Mithra, who always speaks the truth, has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, and is always watching, without falling asleep, over the welfare of the creation" (ver. 7).

"He, first of the celestial spirits, crosses the mountain Harō-berezaiti (Alborz, the supposed centre of the world) on its eastern side, where the immortal sun with his swift horses is stationed; he first, covered with gold, reaches the summits of that mountain, and thence overlooks the whole of Iran. Through him the rulers build their high fortresses, through him the high mountains, with their many pasturages, produce food for the animals, through him the deep wells have abundance of waters, through him the large navigable rivers run swiftly through Aish-kata,\footnote{A locality not yet identified.} Pouruta (Parthia, Parthava in the cuneiform inscriptions), Mouru (Marv), Harōyō (Herat), Gau Sughāha (Sogdiana, Samarkand), and Qādirizem (Khawaresm). He brings light to all the seven regions (the whole earth); victory resounds in the ears of those who, by their know-
ledge of the appropriate prayers and rites, continuously worship him with sacrifices.” (Yt. x. 13–16).

He protects those who do not break their promises when in distress and misery; but inflicts severe punishments upon those who sin against him by lying and promise-breaking; he makes their arms and feet lame, their eyes blind, their ears deaf (ver. 23). The same idea is embodied in the short hymn which forms the 11th section (vers. 47–49). The verses consist of eight syllables, as in the following specimen:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dad yad} & \text{ Mithrō fravazaiti} \quad \text{avi khaṇayādo} \quad \text{khvātshyēš}, \\
\text{Then when} & \text{ Mithra drives} \quad \text{in the two armies ready for battle,} \\
\text{avi} & \text{ kām-yanta} \quad \text{rūmāyō} \quad \text{aštare dāhku-pāperēnd,} \\
\text{against they encounter in two battle lines} & \text{in order for the country (each other) to fight,} \\
\text{aṭhra narām} & \text{ mithrō-duyām} \quad \text{apāsh gavā} \quad \text{daresayēti,} \\
\text{then of the men} & \text{ who break away the hand he binds, promise} \\
\text{pāri} & \text{ dāma} \quad \text{vārayēti, &c.} \\
\text{round} & \text{ the face he covers, &c.}
\end{align*}
\]

i.e., at the time of a battle taking place between two hostile armies, and both being arrayed in battle lines against each other, in order to fight for a country, Mithra drives in his chariot to the battlefield, and punishes all those who were formerly sinning against him by breaking promises; he causes some to be made prisoners, and dooms others to lose their eyes, or their feet, or their ears.

The residence of this mighty angel, the punisher of rascals and scoundrels, is on the mountain *Hrvō-berevaiti* (Alborz), where Ahuramazda himself has built a palace for him, where is “no night, no darkness, no cold wind, nor hot, no smoke, no putrefaction, no fogs,” which is the model of an Iranian paradise (ver. 50).

All the demons (*devas*) flee from him when he, as the ruler of the whole earth, drives in his chariot on her right side. On his right side he is followed by Sraosha, the angel ruling over the whole of the divine service, and by Rashnu rāzīhta (Rashnu rāst), the angel of justice, and the spirits of the waters, trees, &c. (vers. 100, 101).
In verse 104 mention is made of the eastern and western Hindus (ḥiṅdvō = sindhavas, i.e., the (seven) rivers in the Vedas, the ancient name of India).

Ahramazda paid his respects to him. He drives out from paradise (garōdemānu) in a splendid chariot, drawn by four white horses. He carries with him weapons of all kinds for the destruction of the Devas; among them is the vazra, the most powerful.

7. Srosh Hādōkht and Rashnu Yashts.

The former Yasht, which is now particularly used at the time of initiating priests (chiefly of the lower grade, the Herbads) into their office, is dedicated to the angel Sraosha, of whom we have already given an account (see p. 189). An analysis of this Yasht would, therefore, afford no particular interest.

In the Rashnu Yasht the angel Rashnu razishta, "the rightest righteousness," who is believed to preside over the eternal laws of nature, as well as morality (corresponding to the idea of Themis among the ancient Greeks), is invoked and worshipped. He is everywhere, and represents, to a certain extent, the omnipresence of the divine being. He is particularly distinguished by firmness and the greatest hatred of disorder and immorality of every kind. His devotee, in paying reverence to him, by placing various sweet fruits and oil before the sacred fire, invokes and praises him wherever he may be, whether in one of the seven regions (karshvare), or in different parts of the sea Vouru-kasha (the ocean surrounding the earth), either on the large tree, bearing all kinds of fruits at the same time, which is planted in its middle, or on its shores, or in its depths. He is further praised whether he be on the ends of the earth, or on the celestial mountain Harō-berezaiti (Alborz), or in one of the stars, such as

1 Gurz, "a club, battleaxe," in "thunderbolt," in the Vedas, where Persian is identical with vazra, it is Indra's weapon.
Churil's Wain (Ursa major) called Haptōrinī, or in the water stars, or vegetation stars, or in the moon, or sun, or in the luminaries which were from the beginning (anaghra raochāo), or in paradise.

8. Fravarin Yasht.

This Yasht, comprising thirty-one chapters, which are divided into 158 verses, is the longest of all. It is dedicated to the praise of the Frohars, Fravashi in the Avesta (preserved in the name Phraortes, which is Fravartish in the ancient Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions), which means "protector." These Frohars or protectors, who are numberless, are believed to be angels, stationed everywhere by Ahuramazda for keeping the good creation in order, preserving it, and guarding it against the constant attacks of fiendish powers. Every being of the good creation, whether living, or deceased, or still unborn, has its own Fravashi or guardian angel who has existed from the beginning. Hence they are a kind of prototypes, and may be best compared to the "ideas" of Plato who supposed everything to have a double existence, first in idea, secondly in reality. Originally the Fravashis represented

1 In modern Persian haftwarang. This word is highly interesting from its identity with the ancient Vedic and Greek names of the same constellation. The original form in the Vedas is rikāna, "a bear" (which is found only once in the hymns of the Rigveda, i. 24, 10) = Greek arktos. According to an account in the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 2, 4 (second part of the white Yajurveda) this name was changed afterwards into that of Sapatā rikṣayān, "the seven Rishis," by which name the stars of Ursa major are called in the later Vedic hymns (see Rigveda x. 82, 2,Atharvaveda vi. 40, 1) and in the classical Sanskrit writings. The sounds of rikṣa, "bear," and rishi, "seer, prophet," were so near to one another, that at the time when they commenced to deify these great founders of Brahmanism, nothing was more natural than to assign to them a place in the sky, and make them one of the brightest and most beautiful constellations. In the Iranian languages, however, the old name "the seven bears" was faithfully preserved.

2 The ideas are the models (para-deigmata) of everything existing; the realities (or, according to Plato, non-realities, because only the ideas have a real existence according to his doctrine) being only imitations thereof. The ideas are unborn, eternal, invisible, imperishable, but their imitations, the substances, are subject to all changes. See Parmenides, p. 132, d. Steph. Timaeus, 48, c. 52 a. According to Aristotle (Metaphysics, i.
only the departed souls of ancestors, comparable to the pitaras, "fathers," of the Brahmans, and the Manes of the Romans. The following extracts are translated from the Fravardin Yasht:

1-7. Ahuramazda spoke to Spitama Zarathushtra: To thee alone I shall tell the power and strength, glory, usefulness, and happiness of the holy guardian-angels, the strong and victorious, O righteous Spitama Zarathushtra! how they come to help me, [(Zend) how they give me assistance]. By means of their splendour and glory I uphold the sky which is shining so beautifully, and which touches and surrounds this earth; it resembles a bird which is ordered by God to stand still there; it is high as a tree, wide-stretched, iron-bodied, having its own light in the three worlds (thriskeva); on which (the sky) Ahuramazda, together with Mithra, Rashnu, and Spenta Armaiti, puts a garment decked with stars, and made by God in such a way that nobody can see the ends of its parts.

By means of their splendour and glory, I uphold the high, strong Anâhita (the celestial water) with bridges, the salutary, who drives away the demons, who has the true faith, and is to be worshipped in the world, and to be praised in the world; the righteous who furthers life, the righteous who increases wealth, the righteous who increases property, the righteous who makes the fields thrive, the righteous who makes the countries thrive; who purifies the seed of all males, who purifies the wombs of all females to make them fit for conception, who makes all pregnant females bear fine offspring, who provides females at the right time with milk; the praised, the far-renowned, who is as large as all the waters which flow over the earth, who runs with might from the celestial heights into the sea.

\[9, 2\], Plato imagined as many "ideas" as there are things really existing. Such celestial, or invisible, prototypes of terrestrial things are mentioned also in the Bible; see Heb. ix. 23; Exod. xxv. 9, 40.

\[1\] Barātā would be according to Sanskrit the first person dual, but this meaning does not agree with the structure of the sentence; it is evidently put for baraiti ra, "it is for both."
Vouru-kasha. All its shores are then overflowing from its very centre, when those waters fall into it, when the high, strong Anâhita pours them forth into their channels. She has a thousand springs, a thousand channels; each of these springs and each of these channels is of the circuit of a forty days’ journey for a well-mounted messenger.

11. By means of their splendour and glory, I keep, O Zarathushtra! the embryos alive in the pregnant females, to be formed out of a formless inanimate mass, to obtain a living soul, bones, form, consistency, growth of the faculty of walking, and speaking.

12. If the strong guardian-angels of the righteous would not give me assistance, then cattle and men, the two best of the hundred classes of beings, would no longer exist for me; then would commence the devil’s power, the devil’s reign, the whole living creation would belong to the devil.

13. Between earth and heaven may the devilish spirit take up his residence! [(Zend) between earth and heaven may the devil reside!]; but he (the devil) will not be able to destroy entirely (the influence) of the beneficent spirit (Ahuramazda).

14. By means of their splendour and glory, the waters flow straight forward in inexhaustible sources; by means of their splendour and glory, trees grow out of the earth; by means of their splendour and glory, the winds blow, carrying with them vapours from inexhaustible sources.

15. By means of their splendour and glory, the females are getting with children; by means of their splendour and glory, they produce good offspring; by means of their splendour and glory, there will be descendants.

16. By means of their splendour and glory, that ingenious man (Zarathushtra), who spoke such good words, who was the source of wisdom, who was born before Gotama had such intercourse (with God, obtained reveala-

---

1 Gautama (in the original) is the proper name of Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. Its Sanskrit form is Gautama. That Buddhism existed at Balkh is well known.
tion). By means of their splendour and glory, the sun goes on his path; by means of their splendour and glory, the moon goes on her path; by means of their splendour and glory, the stars go on their path.

17. These guardian-angels of the righteous give great assistance in great battles (to be fought against the devilish empire). The guardian-angels of the righteous among the believers in the old religion, or those of the prophets (Saoshyaññô) to come, for making perpetuation of life, are the strongest of all; then the guardian-angels of the living righteous men are stronger than those of the dead.

18. When a man living, who is the ruler over all the estates of a country, supports well the guardian-angels of the righteous, then each of his dominions will be well populated [(Zend) who supports well your good friend (the sun, milhra) with his far-extended dominions, and the probity which is protecting and sheltering estates].

19. Thus I tell thee, holy Spitama! the power, strength, glory, support, and delight of the strong, victorious guardian-angels of the righteous, as they come to assist me, [(Zend) as the strong guardian-angels of the righteous bring me assistance].

20. Ahuramazda said to Spitama Zarathushtra: When in this world, O Spitama Zarathushtra! thou hast to pass mischief-bringing, bad, baneful ways, and thy life is threatened, then shalt thou recite these words, [(Zend) then shalt thou speak these victorious words, O Zarathushtra:]:

21. I praise, invoke and extol the good, strong, beneficent, guardian-angels of the righteous. We praise those who are in the houses, those who are in the villages, those who are in the towns, those who are in the countries, those who are in the Zoroastrian communities, those of the present, those of the past, those of the future righteous, all those invoked in countries where invocation is practised.

22. Who uphold heaven, who uphold water, who uphold earth, who uphold nature, &c.

49. 50. We worship the good, strong, beneficent, guardian-
angels of the righteous, who come to the village in the season called Hamaspathamæda. Then they roam about there during ten nights, wishing to learn what assistance they might obtain, saying: Who will praise us? who will worship (us)? who will adore (us)? who will pray (to us)? who will satisfy (us) with milk and clothes in his hand, with a prayer for righteousness? whom of us will he call here? whose soul is to worship you? To whom of us will he give that offering in order to enjoy imperishable food for ever and ever?

51, 52. Then the man who worships them with milk in his hand, and with clothes, and the prayer for righteousness, upon him the pleased (with this sacrifice), favourable, not-hurting, strong guardian-angels of the righteous bestow blessings. In this house (where they are worshipped in such a way) there will be abundance of cows and of men (posterity); there will be a swift horse and a well-fastened carriage; there will be found a prudent man who will worship us (in future) with milk and clothes in his hand and with the prayer for righteousness.

82–84. We worship the good, strong, beneficent guardian-angels of the righteous, those of the immortal benefactors (Ameshaspentas), the rulers with their watchful eyes, the high, powerful, swift, living ones of everlasting truth. All seven are of the same mind, speak the same words, perform the same actions; [(Zend) they have the same mind, the same words, the same action, and the same master and ruler, the Creator Ahuramazda]. One looks into the soul of the other, considering about good thoughts, considering about good words, considering about good deeds, considering about the best life, that the prayer may go up to their brightly shining paths.

85. We worship the good, strong, beneficent guardian-angels, that of the blazing, beneficent, penetrating fire, and that of Sraosha, the righteous, swift, self-speaking, swiftly-running, the living, and that of Nairyosanha (the angel).

86. That of the rightest righteousness (Rashnu razishta),
that of Mithra with his far-extended dominions, that of the holy word (Māthra speṅta), that of the day, that of water, that of earth, that of the trees, that of nature, that of existence, that of the two righteous worlds (visible and invisible, earthly and spiritual).

87. We worship the guardian-angel of Gayō-marathan (Gayomard, Kayomars, the Adam or Manu of the Iranians), the righteous, who first listened to Ahuramazda’s thoughts and sayings; out of whose body he (Ahuramazda) formed the central mass (nāfō, “navel”)\(^1\) of the Aryan countries, the surface of the Aryan countries.

88–94. We worship the rule and the guardian-angel of Zarathushtra Spitama, who first thought good thoughts, who first spoke good words, who first performed good actions, who was the first priest, the first warrior, the first cultivator of the soil, the first prophet, the first who was inspired, the first who has given (to mankind) nature and truth and words, and hearing of words, and wealth and all good, created by Mazda, of rightful appearance. Who first made turning the wheel among gods and men,\(^2\) who first was praising the righteousness of the living creation, and destroying idolatry, who confessed the Zarathushtrian worship of Mazda, the religion of Ahura opposed to the demons. Who first spoke the word opposed to the demons,\(^3\) being the religion of Ahura in the animated creation, who first promulgated the word opposed to the demons, being the religion of Ahura in the animated creation. Who first spoke the whole of what is given by the demons in the animated creation, and what is neither to be worshipped nor invoked (it is profane), that is the strong, blessed, old religion of the countries (the ante-Zoroastrian, Deva religion).\(^4\) Through whom the whole true and revealed word

---

\(^1\) Compare the Greek appellation of Delphi: Omphale get, “navel of the earth,” i.e., its centre.

\(^2\) This is a Buddhistic expression, meaning “established and propagated the good religion.”

\(^3\) That is to say, the Vendidad.

\(^4\) This means that Zarathushtra is the originator of all religious thoughts, both those current after, and those current before his time.
was heard, which is the life and guidance of the world, the praises of the righteousness which is the greatest, best, and most excellent, and the promulgation of the best religion of those existing. Whom all Ameshaspentas, together with the Sun, worship with believing inquiry in the mind, for the duration of life, as the patron spirit and religious preceptor of the world, as praiser of the righteousness which is the greatest, best, and most excellent, and the promulgator of the best religion of those existing. Through his knowledge and speech the waters and trees become desirous of growing; through his knowledge and speech all beings, created by the beneficent Spirit, are uttering words of happiness. For our welfare the fire-priest (āthrava), Spitama Zarathushtra, was born, he offered sacrifice for us, and arranged the holy twigs. Thus comes forth from the waters (i.e., from its source) the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, spreading over all the seven regions of the earth.

95. There the friend of the waters (the sun), ruling over far-extended dominions, produced all virtues of the countries by their means, and makes them play when overflowing; there the son of waters, the strong fire, produced all virtues of countries, and appeases them when overflowing.

We worship the virtue and the guardian angel of Maidhyō-māṇōhā, the disposer (of the good faith), who first heard Zarathushtra’s speech and sayings.

99. We worship the guardian-angel of Kavi Vishtâspa, the bold, who speaks his own verses, the attacker of the demons, the believer in Ahura, who defiled, for the benefit of the good creation, the face of the devil and the witches, [(Zend) who cleft the face of the devil and the witches, that is to say, who was the arm and support of the Zoroastrian belief in Ahura]; (100.) who carried away from the

---

1 The “praise of righteousness” is the Pahlavi technical name of the Ashem-vohu formula.
2 The words from yō druja, to vās-trahēcha, contain fragments of an old epic poem in honour of Kavi Vishtāspa, with some interpolations. The metre is the Shloka.
Hunus\(^1\) the standard [(Zend) which was tied], and deposed it in the impregnable fortress Maidhyôishådha, shielding cattle and fields, [(Zend) favourable to cattle and fields].

104. We worship the guardian-angel of Hushkyaothna, son of Frashaoshtra, that of Qâdaéna, son of Frashaoshtra, that of Hânhaurvat, son of Jâmåspa, that of Vareshan, son of Hânhaurvat, that of Vohu-nemañh, son of Avåraoshtra, to ward off the mischief done by nightmares, by ghosts disguised as black-coloured animals, by demons, and by witches.

105. We worship the guardian-angel of Simacôzi, the reciter of spells, the Herbad, who slew most of the Usaghas, who polluted the bodies and disturbed righteousness, who were irreligious, acknowledging neither patron spirit nor religious preceptor, who were charmers, frustrating the help of the guardian-angels to resist the hostilities which were crushing the righteous.

129. We worship the guardian-angel of Astvaç-ereta who is called the victorious Saoshyåns. He is called Saoshyåns, as he will conduce (såvåyåd) to the welfare of the whole animated creation. He is called Astvaç-ereta, as he is keeping up the animated creation, guarding it against destruction, especially against the destruction caused by the two-legged Drukhsh (the personification of destruction), caused by the hatred of (the demons) who annihilate rightful things.

9. BEHRAM AND RAM YASHTS.

The Behram Yasht is devoted to the angel Behram. The original form of this name is Verethraghna, which means "killer of enemies," i.e., conqueror, and is to be identified with Indra's name Vritraåd to be found in the Vedas. He is the giver of victory, and appears personally before his

---

\(^1\) This nation is mentioned by the name of Hânsa in Indian writings also. See Vishnu Puråna, translated by H. H. Wilson, pp. 177, 194. They were hostile to the Iranians, who seem to have often been engaged in war with them. They were the white Huns who were once the terror of Europe.
devotee in such different forms as he may choose to assume. He appears in the form of a wind, in that of a cow, in that of a horse, in that of a camel, in that of a boar (vārđza, Sans. vardha), in that of a boy aged fifteen, in that of a warrior, &c. Zarathushtra worshipped him, and was rewarded by the angel with strength in his arms and vigour in his whole body.

Zarathushtra once asking Ahuramazda in what way the angel Behrām should be worshipped, is answered in the following manner: The Aryan countries (i.e., their inhabitants, the Iranians, ancestors of the Parsis) shall consecrate water (called zaotra), arrange the sacred twigs called Barsom, and kill an animal of a reddish or yellowish colour, the flesh of which is to be cooked. Of this meal of Behrām, which is prepared occasionally to this day, neither a criminal, nor a courtezan, nor an infidel who is an enemy of the Zoroastrian religion, is allowed to eat. Should that happen then the Aryan countries will be visited by plagues, and devastated by incursions of hostile armies.

The Rām Yash is devoted to the angel Rām, who is, however, never mentioned in it by this name, but is called vayush 1 upard-hairyd, i.e., the wind whose business is above (in the sky), the celestial breath; or he is simply invoked by the names of Apā, “who is far, remote,” and Bagha,2 “destiny.” He is described as being everywhere (on all sides), and as the primary cause (dākshtā) of the whole universe. From these remarks we may gather that he represents that very fine and subtle substance which is called ether, and known to the Indian philosophers as dāksaṇa.

He was worshipped by Ahuramazda and the great heroes and sages of antiquity, such as Haoshyanha, Takhma-uṟupu (Tahmāras), Yima, &c. Old maids beg him to grant them husbands.

In the last (eleventh) section his manifold names are

1 This name seems to be connected with the Vedic god Vāyu, “the wind,” the original long ā having been shortened to a.

2 See the first section of the fourth Essay.
explained. *Vayush* is there traced to the root *vi*, "to go, penetrate," and to *va*, "both," and explained by "I go to both creatures, those of the beneficent, and those of the malevolent spirit." By this and other names he is to be invoked at the time of worship. He has then the power of defeating hostile armies.

**10. Din and Ashi Yashts.**

In the *Din Yasht* the *daena mazdayasnish*, or the Zoroastrian religion, is invoked as an angel. She was, of course, pre-eminently worshipped by Zarathushtra. The way in which he invoked her is described in a short hymn commencing as follows:—

_Yt. xvi. 2._ Rise from thy place! go out from thy house! thou wisdom, created by Mazda! which is the rightest; if thou art in the front (of the house), put up with me; if thou art behind it, return to me.

_Ashi_ is a female angel whom the Dasturs at present compare with _Lakshmi_, the Hindu goddess of wealth. But the Yasht devoted to her does not countenance this opinion. Her full name is _Ashish vanuh_ (now corrupted to Ashishang), which means "the good truth." She is called a daughter of Ahuramazda, and a sister of the Amesha-spentas or archangels. She makes the wisdom of all prophets continue, and inspires them in their turn with the heavenly (lit. original) wisdom. She comes to help all that invoke her from far and near. The ancient heroes and sages, Yima, Thraetaona, Zarathushtra, Kavâ Vishtâspa, &c., worshipped her, and to all she granted what they were praying for, such as wealth, victory, or children.

**II. Ashtâd, Zamyâd, and Vanant Yashts.**

The name *Ashtâd*, which is to be traced to the Avesta word *Arshtâd*, "height," does not occur in the Yasht bearing this name. The glory of the Aryan countries (i.e., their riches and wealth in trees, cows, sheep, and all other things of the good creation, which are the most effective means for destroying the works of the demons, and for pre-
serving everything in its original rectitude), and the Ashi vanuhi berezaiti (the good, high truth) are invoked in this Yasht. The glory (qarende) being chiefly the subject of the Zamyâd Yasht, and the Ashi Vanuhi that of the preceding Ashi Yasht, we cannot ascribe any independent value to this Ashtâd Yasht, which is only an appendage to those two others. The name Ashtâd, by which the Dasturs understand the height of mountains, was given to this short chapter only to distinguish it by a separate name from the two other Yashts.

The name Zamyâd refers to the earth. She is not directly invoked in this Yasht, which is chiefly devoted to the praise of the "glory" (qarende) above mentioned. Its first section, which describes the origin of all mountains out of the heart of the central and primeval mountain Alborz (Harâ berezaiti), stands separate. Several names of mountains are particularly mentioned, such as Ushidhâdo (creator of light), Ushi-darenem (district of light), &c. The number of all the mountains is said to be 2244.

In the following sections of this Yasht we find always invoked "the mighty glory which was peculiar to the Kavis" (the chiefs of the Iranian community in ancient times, mostly before Zoroaster). Ahuramazda produced it at the time of creating all that is good, bright, shining, and propagating life. It attached itself generally to one of the great heroes of antiquity, such as Thraêtaona, Yima, &c., and enabled him to achieve great feats. This heavenly glory is essential for causing the dead to rise at the end of the world. About this resurrection of the dead, which is a genuine Zoroastrian doctrine, we find in this Yasht two very interesting passages, which are almost identical (Yt. xix. 11, 12 and 89, 90). The following is a translation of the second passage:

1 Here we find the peculiar form haraiti baresh, in which haraiti is an abstract noun, meaning "mountain range," and baresh, bares (in the Vedas brhast) "elevated, high." Its heart (zaredhâdo) is here regarded as a separate mountain, surrounded by its vast mountain ranges.

2 To express the word "mountain" we find here two words used: giri and parvata, which are both to be found also in Sanskrit (giri and parvata).
THE HADÔKHT NASK.

This splendour attaches itself to the hero (who is to rise out of the number) of prophets (called Saoshyantó) and to his companions, in order to make life everlasting, undecaying, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, for ever existing, for ever vigorous, full of power (at the time) when the dead shall rise again, and imperishableness of life shall commence, making life lasting by itself (without further support). All the world will remain for eternity in a state of righteousness; the devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the righteous man in order to kill (him); and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction.

The Vanant Yasht is a very short prayer addressed to the star Vanant (by which the Dasturs understand the Milky-way, or Kâh-î-kashân in Persian), to kill all disturbers of the good creation. This constellation is said to stand directly over hell in order to frighten the demons.¹

12. TWO FRAGMENTS OF THE HADÔKHT NASK; THE AFRIN-I PAIGHAMBAR ZARATUSHT AND VISHTÅSP YASHT.

These four texts conclude the collection of all the Yashts extant, in Westergaard’s edition.

In the first fragment of the Hadôkht Nask, the praise of Ashem or righteousness is recommended by Ahuramazda to Zarathushtra as one of the most meritorious works. By this praise we can understand only the recital of the sacred formula, Ashem vohu, which is called, in Pahlavi, “the praise of righteousness.” The larger or smaller amount of merit, resulting from repeating this prayer, depends on the time and occasion when it is done. Thus, for instance, the merit is far greater if the praise is uttered at night than if uttered in the day-time.

The second fragment treats of the fate of the soul immediately after death, till it reaches either heaven or hell on

¹ The D asturs are of opinion, that this constellation is the weapon (cazra) which is constantly aimed by Mithra at the head of the Devas, as stated in the Khurshêd Yasht.
the fourth morning (inclusive of the day of death), according as its good words, or its sins, have preponderated during life. The following is a translation of these fragments:—

Yt. xxi. 1. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O Ahuramazda! most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! in whom alone is thy word, the enunciation of all good, of all that is of rightful origin!

2. Ahuramazda answered him: In the Ashem-reciter, O Zarathushtra!

3. Whoever recites the Ashem, with believing inquiry (remembrance) in his mind for the continuance of life, he praises me who am Ahuramazda, he praises the water, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the trees, he praises all good, created by Mazda, that is of rightful origin.

4. For this saying, O Zarathushtra! being recited correctly (in addition) to the saying Ahuna-vairya if outspoken, is for strength and victory in the soul and religion so benefited.

5. For one recital of the Ashem, or one eulogy of a righteous man, is worth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! a hundred sleep-(prayers), a thousand (prayers) when eating meat, a myriad (of prayers) for the conception of bodies occurring in the primary existence.

6. What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

7. Ahuramazda answered him: That, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! which a man recites as the Ashem for Haurvatâd and Ameretâd when eating, praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

8. What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth

---

1 Reading kahmya, which in the Avesta character is very like kahmây the form given in all the manuscripts.

2 Ashem-stâth, taken here as a locative, seems to be a genitive.
a hundred of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

9. Ahuramazda answered him: That, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! which a man recites as the Ashem after swallowing of the out-squeezed Homa, praising good thoughts, &c. [as in ver. 7].

10. What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

11. Ahuramazda answered him: That, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! which a man recites as the Ashem, starting up from sleep and going to sleep again, praising good thoughts, &c. [as in ver. 7].

12. What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a myriad of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

13. Ahuramazda answered him: That, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! which a man recites as the Ashem, awaking and rising from sleep, praising good thoughts, &c. [as in ver. 7].

14. What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth the whole region of Qaniratha, with cattle and with wealth in humankind,¹ in greatness and goodness and excellence?

15. Ahuramazda answered him: That, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! which a man recites as the Ashem at the extreme end of life, praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, renouncing all evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

16. What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth all this which is in the earth and in the sky, and this earth, and those luminaries, and all good things created by Mazda (and) of rightful origin?

17. Ahuramazda answered him: That, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! when one forsakes evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

¹ Or perhaps “with chiefs among men.”
mazda! most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! when a righteous man passes away, where dwells his soul that night?

2. Then said Ahuramazda: It sits down in the vicinity of the head, chanting the Gâtha Ushtavaiti, imploring blessedness (thus): Blessed is he, blessed is every one to whom Ahuramazda, ruling by his own will, shall grant (the two everlasting powers). That night the soul experiences as much of pleasure as all that which (it had) as a living existence (i.e., when living in this world).

3. Where dwells his soul the second night?

4. Then said Ahuramazda: &c. [as in ver. 2]. That night, too, (the soul perceives) as much of pleasure, &c. [as in ver. 2].

5. Where dwells his soul also the third night?

6. Then said Ahuramazda: &c. [as in ver. 2]. And that night, too, (the soul perceives) as much of pleasure, &c. [as in ver. 2].

7. On the passing away of the third night, as the dawn appears, the soul of the righteous man appears, passing through plants and perfumes. To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more southern side, from the more southern quarters, a sweet scent more sweet-scented than other winds.

8. Then, inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of the righteous man considers: Whence blows the wind, the most sweet-scented wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils?

9. Advancing with this wind there appears to him what is his own religion (i.e., religious merit), in the shape of a beautiful maiden, brilliant, white-armed, strong, well-grown, erect, tall, high-bosomed, graceful, noble, with a dazzling face, of fifteen years, with a body as beautiful in (its) limbs (lit. growths) as the most beautiful of creatures.

1 These phrases constitute the first two lines of the Gâtha Ushtavaiti. See p. 155.

2 Or "of brilliant origin."
10. Then the soul of the righteous man spoke to her, asking: What maiden art thou whom I have thus seen as yet the most beautiful of maidens in form?

11. Then answered him his own religion: I am, O youth! thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds, (and) good religion, who (am) thy own religion in thy own self. Every one has loved thee for such greatness and goodness and beauty and perfume and triumph and resistance to foes, as thou appearest to me.

12. Thou hast loved me, O youth! the good thoughts, good words, good deeds, (and) good religion, with such greatness, &c. [as in ver. 11] as I appear to thee.

13. When thou chancedst to see another performing burning (of the dead) and idol-worship, and causing oppression, and cutting down trees, then thou wouldst sit down, chanting the Gāthas, and consecrating the good waters and the fire of Ahuramazda, and extolling the righteous man coming from near and far.

14. Then (thou madest) me being beloved, more beloved, (me) being beautiful, more beautiful, (me) being desirable, more desirable, (me) sitting in a high place thou wouldst seat in a still higher place, through this good thought, through this good word, through this good deed. Then men afterwards worship me, Ahuramazda, the long-worshipped and conversed-with.

15. The soul of the righteous man first advanced with a step he placed upon Humata (good thought); the soul of the righteous man secondly advanced with a step he placed upon Hûkhta (good word); the soul of the righteous man thirdly advanced with a step he placed upon Huvarshhta (good action); the soul of the righteous man fourthly advanced with a step he placed on the eternal luminaries.¹

16. To him spake a righteous one, previously deceased, asking: How, O righteous one! didst thou pass away? how, O righteous one! didst thou come away from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the procreative

¹ These four stages are the four grades in heaven.
birds? from the material life to the spiritual life? from the perishable life to the imperishable life? how long was it for thee in the blessing? 1

17. Then said Ahuramazda: Ask not him whom thou askest, who has come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path which is the separation of the body and soul.

18. Of the nourishments brought to him (is some) of the Zaremaya oil; 2 that is the food, after decease, of a youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion; that is the food, after decease, for a woman of very good thoughts, of very good words, of very good deeds, well-instructed, ruled by a master, (and) righteous.

19. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: &c. [as in ver. 1] when a wicked man dies where dwells his soul that night?

20. Then said Ahuramazda: There, indeed, O righteous Zarathushtra! in the vicinity of the head it runs about, chanting the Gāthā Kām-nemōi-zām, the saying: To what land shall I turn? whither shall I go in turning? 3 That night the soul experiences as much of discomfort as all that which (it had) as a living existence (i.e., when living in the world).

21, 22. Where dwells his soul the second night? &c. [as in ver. 20].

23, 24. Where dwells his soul the third night? &c. [as in ver. 20].

25. On the passing away of the third night, O righteous Zarathushtra! as the dawn appears, the soul of the wicked man appears, passing through terrors and stenches. To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more northern side, from the more northern quarters, a stench more foul-smelling than other winds.

26. Then, inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of

1 That is, "how long wast thou reciting the Gāthā Ushtavaiti?" See ver. 2.

2 A cupful of this beverage is said to be given, by the archangel Vohu-
man, to the soul of a righteous person before it enters paradise. By drink-
ing it the soul is supposed to become oblivious of all worldly cares and con-
cerns, and is thus prepared for eternal happiness.

3 These phrases constitute the first line of the fourth section (Yas. xlvi.) of the Gāthā Ushtavaiti. See p. 163.
the wicked man considers: Whence blows the wind, the most foul-smelling wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils?

27–33. [This passage, which must have been the converse of ver. 9–15, is omitted in all known manuscripts as far as] the soul of the wicked man fourthly advanced with a step he placed on the eternal glooms.¹

34. To him spake a wicked one, previously dead, asking: How, O wicked one! didst thou die? how, O wicked one! didst thou come away from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the procreative birds? from the material life to the spiritual life? from the perishable life to the imperishable life? how long was thy distress?

35. Angrô-mainyush shouted: Ask not him whom thou askest, who has come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path which is the separation of the body and soul.

36. Of the nourishments brought to him (are some) from poison and poisonous stench; that is the food, after death, of a youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion; that is the food, after death, for a harlot of very evil thoughts, of very evil words, of very evil deeds, ill-instructed, not ruled by a master, (and) wicked.²

The Afrîn-i Païghambar-Zaratusht contains the blessing, by which the high priest (Zarathushtra) of the Iranians used to bless a governor or king. It is said to have been bestowed by Spitama Zarathushtra on his royal friend Kavi Vishtâspa. The high priest wishes the king to have children, to be as victorious as the hero Frêdun, as brilliant as Kai Kaus, as radiant as the sun, as shining as the moon, as just as the angel of justice himself, as free from disease and death as Kai Khusro; and that, hereafter, he (the blessed) may enjoy the happy life of the blessed in the

¹This is the fourth and lowest grade in hell; the first three grades being dushmanâ, “evil thought,” dus-kâkhâ, “evil word,” and dusk-varshkâ, “evil deed.”

²The remaining sentences, appended in Westergaard’s edition, do not belong to the Hâdûkht Nâsk.
land of light and splendour. The blessing concludes by the words "so it shall happen 1 as I bless you."

The Vishtâsp Yasht, the first chapter of which is partly identical with the preceding text, is so corrupt in its grammatical forms that we may refrain from examining its contents, which, besides, do not appear to be particularly interesting. It is divided into eight chapters, of which the last is nearly identical with part of the second fragment of the Hādokht Nask (Yt. xxii. 1-18); but the whole composition seems to be of comparatively late date.

XIII.—SHORTER TEXTS (NYAYISH, AFRINGANS, GAHS, SIROZAH).

These writings, which are comparatively very short, contain the prayers most commonly used by the Parsis nowadays; but their contents, which are all taken from other parts of the Zend-Avesta (chiefly from the Yasna and Yashts), are of no particular interest either for the history of Avesta literature, or for that of the Parsi religion.

The five Nyâyishes or praises are devoted to the Sun (khurshèd), the Angel of the sun (Mithra, Mihir), the Moon (mâh), Waters (âbân), and Fire (âtash). The prayers addressed to the Sun and Mithra, are to be repeated thrice every day by every pious Parsi. Habitual neglect of this prevents the soul from passing the bridge Chinvaḏ after death. Thrice every month the praise addressed to the moon is absolutely necessary. The repetition of the praise of the waters and fire is meritorious, but not so indispensable as that of the three other Nyâyishes.

Afringâns are blessings which are to be recited over a meal consisting of wine, milk, bread, and fruits, to which an angel or the spirit of a deceased person is invited, and in whose honour the meal is prepared. After the

1 Atha jamyaḏ in the Avesta; this phrase corresponds to our amen at the end of prayers and blessings.
consecration (which only a priest can perform) is over, the meal is eaten by those who are present.

The performance of these Afringânâns is required of every pious Parsi at certain fixed times during the year. These are the six Gahanbârs, each lasting for five days (at the six original seasons of the year), for which the A프ingân-Gahanbâr is intended; the five Gâtha days (the five last days of the year), during which the A프ingân Gâtha must be used; and lastly, the third day (Ardibahisht) of the first month (Fravardin) in the year, at which the performance of A프ingân Rapithwin, devoted to the spirit presiding over the southern quarter (who is the guardian of the path to paradise), is enjoined to every Parsi whose soul wants to pass the great bridge Chinvašt after death.

The five Gâhs are the prayers which are devoted to the several angels who preside over the five watches, into which the day and night are divided (as detailed above in the note on p. 159). These prayers must be recited every day at their respective times.

The Strozah, referring to the thirty days, is extant in two forms. It is nothing but a calendar enumerating the names and attributes of the thirty spiritual beings, each of whom is supposed to preside over one of the thirty days of the month, and by whose names the days are called. It is chiefly recited on the thirtieth day after a man’s death.

XIV.—VENDIDÂD.

The Vendidâd,¹ which is the code of the religious, civil, and criminal laws of the ancient Iranians, consists, in its present state, of twenty-two chapters, commonly called fargards (exactly corresponding to the word pericope), i.e., sections. The style of its constituent parts is too varied to admit of ascribing it to a single author. Some parts are

¹ This name is a corruption of ša-dâxâd-dâtem, “what is given against the demons,” i.e., to guard against their influence. In Pahlavi it is usually translated literally by javid-shâd-dâf.
evidently very old, and might be traced to the first centuries subsequent to the prophet; but the greater bulk of the work contains (like the Talmud) too minute a description of certain ceremonies and observances to allow a modern critic to trace it to the prophet, or even to one of his disciples. The Vendidad as a whole (some of its parts seem to be lost, especially those containing the original texts, or the Avesta, of the old laws) is apparently the joint work of the Zarathushtras, or high-priests, of the ancient Iranians during the period of several centuries. They started with old sayings and laws (Avesta), which must partially have descended from the prophet himself, and interpreted them in various ways, often contradicting each other. These interpretations, the so-called Zend, became in the course of time as authoritative as the Avesta, or the original text, of the scripture itself, and in many cases, seem to have superseded it. This Zend was then capable of further explanation, which was less authoritative and went by the name "Pázand." That we can actually discover these three different stages in the present Vendidad, the attentive reader will learn from a perusal of the following pages, where they will be separated from each other as much as possible.

The Vendidad may, as to its contents, be divided into three parts. The first (fargard i.–iii.) is only introductory, and formed very likely part of a very ancient historical or legendary work of a similar kind to the Shâhnâmah. It contains an enumeration of sixteen Aryan countries, over which the Zoroastrian religion was spread (farg. i.), the legends of King Yima (farg. ii.), and strong recommendations of agriculture as the most useful and meritorious work (farg. iii.). The second part (farg. iv.–xvii.), forming the groundwork of the Vendidad, treats of laws, ceremonies, and observances, without keeping to any strict order. The third part (farg. xviii.–xxii.) is apparently an appendix treating of various subjects. Several extracts from this

1 Compare for instance Vend. iv. with Yas. xlvi. 5 (see p. 164).
text are here translated, and a summary is given of the contents of the remainder.

1. THE FIRST FARGARD OF THE VENDIDĀD.

The First Sixteen Settlements of the Iranians.

Avesta.

1. Ahuramazda said to Spitama Zarathushtra: I created, O Spitama Zarathushtra! a delightful spot (which had been previously) nowhere habitable; for if I had not created, O Spitama Zarathushtra! a delightful spot (which had been previously) nowhere habitable, all earthly life would have poured forth towards Airyana-vaējō (the earthly paradise).¹

3. As the first best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Airyana-vaējō of good capability. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrō-mainyush, the deadly, formed a mighty serpent and frost caused by the Devas.

Zend.

4. Ten months of winter are there, two of summer;² and these (the latter) are cold as to water, cold as to earth, cold as to plants;³ then, as the snow falls around, then is the direst disaster.

Avesta.

5. As the second best of regions⁴ and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Gāu, in which Sughdha is

¹ The disconnected phrases which constitute ver. 2 are evidently fragments of an old Avesta commentary, either quoted by the Pahlavi translator, or left untranslated by him, and must be read as portions of the commentary, not as part of the text. The Pahlavi commentary, which contains these Avesta phrases, is rather obscure, but evidently refers to the general arrangement of the after part of the fargard, as well as to the details of the first sentence.

² The Pahlavi translator adds: “and afterwards also hapta heiti hāminō maŋid, paŋcha zayana (seven are the summer months, five the winter) is declared.”

³ The phrase adha zimahē maidhām, adha zimahē zaredaēm (then is midwinter, then is the heart of winter), not being translated by the Pahlavi commentator, appears to be merely quoted by him from some older Avesta commentary.

⁴ That is, “second of the best regions.”
situated. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed a pestilence which is fatal to cattle great and small.

6. As the third best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Môuru (Marv), the strong, the righteous. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed war and pillage.

7. As the fourth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced fortunate Bâkhdhî (Bactria), with the lofty banner. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed buzzing insects and poisonous plants.

8. As the fifth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Nisâî (Nissea), [(Zend) which is between Môuru and Bâkhdhî]. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed the curse of unbelief.

9. As the sixth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Harôyu (Herat), the water-diffusing. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed hail and poverty.

10. As the seventh best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Vaêkereta, in which Duzhaka is situated. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed the witch (pairika, “malevolent fairy”) Khnâthaiti, who attached herself to Keresäsapa.

11. As the eighth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Urvá, abounding in pasture. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed the curse of devastation.

1 The Pahlavi translation has kûrako mên, “a swarm of locusts.”
2 The Pahlavi translator calls it “the village-deserting; and its village-desertion is this, where we keep the periods of nine nights and a month, they desert the house as evil, and go away:” that is, they deserted polluted houses altogether, and did not believe in their becoming purified after a certain lapse of time. Herat is called Hariva in the cuneiform inscriptions.
3 Probably Sajastán; though the Pahlavi translator identifies it with Kabul.
4 Perhaps Kabul.
5 Perhaps “evil invasions.”
12. As the ninth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Khneñta,\(^1\) in which Vehrkána is situated. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angró-mainyush, the deadly, formed the evil, inexpiable deeds of pæderastism.

13. As the tenth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced the fortunate Haraqaiti,\(^2\) Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angró-mainyush, the deadly, formed the evil, inexpiable deeds of burying the dead.

14. As the eleventh best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Haétumat,\(^3\) the brilliant, the glorious. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angró-mainyush, the deadly, formed evil sorceries.

**Zend.**

15. And this was its essential token, this (its) essential appearance; as wherever they attained the sorcery of incantation, then are the worst sorceries, then those even arise which are for murder and wounding the heart; they are capable of any blights and potions.\(^4\)

**Avesta.**

16. As the twelfth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Ragha with the three races.\(^5\) Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angró-mainyush, the deadly, formed the curse of over-scepticism.

17. As the thirteenth best of regions and countries, I,

\(^1\) Possibly Kandahar.

\(^2\) The Haravati of the cuneiform inscriptions, and Arachosia of the classics.

\(^3\) The modern Hilmand, and Etymanber of the classics.

\(^4\) These phrases are evidently the remains of an old Zend in the Avesta language, the first portion of which is given by the Pahlavi translator only in Pahlavi, while he gives these phrases in both languages. This old Zend, or commentary, as translated into Pahlavi, states that 'sorcery is this, that although they desire it not, yet it happens, and then it is said that it is in a way not allowable,' &c. [as in ver. 15 in the text].

\(^5\) The Pahlavi explains the three races as the three original classes of the community: the priests, warriors, and husbandmen. The extra phrase vašitanāš nōd uzōsh is to be taken probably in connection with the end of the Pahlavi commentary.
who am Ahuramazda, produced Chakhra, the strong, the righteous. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-
mainyush, the deadly, formed the evil, inexpiable deeds of burning the dead.

18. As the fourteenth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced Varena, which is four-
cornered;¹ at which was born Thraëtaona (Fréâtû), the slayer of the destructive serpent (Azhi-Dahâk). There-
upon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, formed untimely menstruations, and non-Aryan plagues of the country.²

19. As the fifteenth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced (the land) of the seven
rivers (India).³ Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-
mainyush, the deadly, formed untimely menstruations, and irregular fever.

20. As the sixteenth best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahuramazda, produced those who dwell
without ramparts on the sea-coast. Thereupon, as an opposition to it, Angrô-
mainyush, the deadly, formed frost caused by the Devas, and hoar-frost as a covering of the land.

Zend.

21. There are also other fortunate regions and countries, valleys and hills, and extensive plains.

2. The Second Fargard.

(Yima, or Jamshêd, the King of the Golden Age.)

Avesta.

1. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O Ahuramazda!

¹ Varena is probably Ghîlân; but the Pahlavi translator states that some say it is Kîrmân, and that it was
called four-cornered because it had either four roads, or four gates.
² Perhaps “non-Aryan invasions of the country.”
³ Hapta Hindu is the saûpta-sind-
lavas of the Vedas, a name of the

Indus country, or India. The addi-
tional phrase: hauha ushastara
Hîndûva avi daoshaterem Hîndum,
“from the eastern (lit. more morn-
ing) Hindu to the western (lit. more
evening) Hindu,” is merely an Avesta
phrase quoted by the Pahlavi trans-
lator.
most munificent Spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! with what man didst thou, who art Ahuramazda, first converse, besides me, who am Zarathushtra (i.e., before me)? [(Pâzand) to whom didst thou teach the Ahuryan, Zoroastrian faith?]

2. Then said Ahuramazda: With Yima, the fortunate, the rich in flocks, O righteous Zarathushtra! with him I, who am Ahuramazda, conversed first among men, besides thee (i.e., before thee), who art Zarathushtra. [(Pâzand) to him I taught the Ahuryan, Zoroastrian faith.]

3. Then I said to him, O Zarathushtra! I, who am Ahuramazda: Become, O fortunate Yima Vivanghana! my promulgator and bearer of the faith (the Zoroastrian religion). Then he, the fortunate Yima, answered me, O Zarathushtra! Neither am I fit, nor known, as promulgator and bearer of the faith.

4. Then I said to him, O Zarathushtra! I, who am Ahuramazda: If thou, O Yima! wilt not become my promulgator and bearer of the faith, then enclose my settlements; then thou shalt become the conservator and the herdsman and the protector of my settlements.

5. Then he, the fortunate Yima, answered me, O Zarathushtra! I will enclose 1 thy settlements; I will become the conservator and the herdsman and the protector of thy settlements; in my empire there shall be no cold wind nor hot, no fog, no death. 2

7. Then I, who am Ahuramazda, brought forth his implements, a golden sword 3 and a goad decorated with gold. Yima is to bear the royal dignity.

8. Then the sway was given to Yima for three hundred winters (i.e., years). Then his earth was to be filled with

---

1 Or "enlarge, extend."
2 The phrases which constitute ver.
3 are merely Avesta passages quoted by the Pahlavi commentator in support of his statements, and form no part of the text.
4 In Pahlavi sūlāk-hōmand, "having holes, a sieve," which supports the view that sufrā=Sans. shūrpa, "winnowing tray." A ploughshare would be sūlak (not sūlāk) in Pahlavi.
VENDIDAD, FARGARD II.

cattle, oxen, men, dogs, birds, and red blazing fires. They
found no room therein, the cattle, oxen, and men.

9. Then I made known to Yima: O fortunate Yima Vivanghana! the earth is to be filled with the assemblage
of cattle, oxen, men, dogs, birds, and red blazing fires. They find no room therein, the cattle, oxen, and men.

10. Then Yima went forth towards the stars on the
sun’s noonday path;¹ he touched this earth with the
golden sword, he pierced into it with the goad, speaking
thus: Extend, O bounteous Armaiti! enlarge and spread,
O bearer of cattle and oxen and men!

11. Then Yima made the earth expand herself by one-
third larger than she was before; there the cattle and
oxen and men walk according to their own will and
pleasure, [(Pâzand) just as it is their pleasure].

Zend.

12–15. Then the sway was given to Yima for six
hundred winters, &c. [as in ver. 8–11, but substituting
“two-thirds” for “one-third”].

16–19. Then the sway was given to Yima for nine
hundred winters, &c. [as in ver. 8–11, but substituting “to
three-thirds” for “by one-third”].²

Avesta.

21. An assembly was held with the heavenly angels by
Ahuramazda, the creator, the renowned in Airyana-vâêjô
of good qualities.

Zend.

An assembly was held, with the best men, by Yima, the
king, rich in flocks, the renowned in Airyana-vâêjô of good
qualities. To this assembly, with the heavenly angels,
came Ahuramazda, the creator, the renowned in Airyana-
vâêjô of good qualities.

¹ That is, towards the south; rûpithæa means the time called gûth
rûpîthawan, lasting from 10 A.M. to
3 P.M.

² The phrases constituting ver. 20
are merely Avesta passages quoted by
the Pahlavi commentator, and form
no part of the text.
To this assembly, with the best men, came Yima, the
king, rich in flocks, the renowned in Airyana-vaējō of good
qualities.

22. Then spake Ahuramazda to Yima: O fortunate
Yima Vivanghana! unto the material world the evil of
winter will come, and consequently a strong, deadly frost.

Unto the material world the evil of winter will come;
consequently much driving snow will fall on the highest
mountains, on the summits of the heights.

23. From three places, O Yima! the cows should go
away, when they are in the most baneful of places (deserts),
and when they are on the tops of the mountains, and when
in the gorges of the valleys, into the well-fastened cottages.

Before the winter the produce of this country was
pasturage; the water used before to overflow it, and after-
wards the melting of the snow, and pools would occur
there, O Yima! in the material world, where the footprints
of cattle and their young would appear.

25. Then make that enclosure the length of a riding-
ground on each of the four sides; bring thither the seeds
of cattle, oxen, men, dogs, birds, and red blazing fires.

Then make that enclosure the length of a riding-ground
on each of the four sides, for a dwelling-place of men; the
length of a riding-ground on each of the four sides, as a
field for cows (a cattle-run).

26. There collect the water into a channel the size of a
Hāthra;¹ there fix land-marks on a gold-coloured spot

¹ A measure equivalent to a Farsang of one thousand footsteps of two
feet; see Bund. p. 63.
(provided) with imperishable food; there erect houses (composed of) mats and poles and roofs and walls.

\textit{Zend},

27. Thither bring the seeds of all men and women who are the greatest and best and finest on this earth. Thither bring the seeds of all kinds of cattle which are the greatest and best and finest on this earth.

28. Thither bring the seeds of all plants which are the tallest and most odoriferous on this earth. Thither bring the seeds of all foods which are the most eatable and most odoriferous on this earth. Make pairs of them unceasingly, in order that these men may exist in the enclosures.

\textit{Avesta},

29. There shall be no overbearing, no low-spiritedness, no stupidity, no violence, no poverty, no deceit, no dwarfishness, no deformity, no monstrous teeth, no leprously overspreading the body, nor any of the other signs which are the badge of Angró-mainyush, and are laid upon men.

30. In the uppermost part of the country make nine bridges, in the middle six, in the lowermost three. To the bridges in the uppermost part bring the seeds of a thousand men and women, to those of the middle part six hundred, to those of the lowermost part three hundred; and compass them in the enclosures with the golden sword,\footnote{If this implement be a plough it would surround them with a furrow, winnowing-tray, they are to be covered over with it.} and furnish a door to the enclosure, (and) a self-lighting window from the inside.

31. Then Yima considered: How shall I make the enclosure as Ahuramazdā told me? Then Ahuramazdā spoke to Yima: O fortunate Yima Vivanghana! distend this earth with the heels, rend it with the hands, like as men now separate the earth in cultivating.

32. Then Yima did so as Ahuramazdā desired; he dis-
tended this earth with the heels, he rent it with the hands, like as men now separate the earth in cultivating. 1
33-38. Then Yima made the enclosure, &c. [corresponding to ver. 25-30].

Zend.

39. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Which then are those lights, O righteous Ahuramazda! which shine there in those enclosures which Yima made?

40. Then spake Ahuramazda: Self-created lights and created ones. [(Pâzand) All the eternal lights shine up above, all created lights shine below from inside.] Once (a year) one sees there the stars and moon and sun rising and setting.

41. And they think that a day which is a year. Every forty years two human beings are born from two human beings, [(Pâzand) a pair, female and male]. So also with those which are of the cattle species. Those men enjoy the greatest happiness in these enclosures which Yima made.

42. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Who propagated there the Mazdayasnian religion in these enclosures which Yima made? Then spake Ahuramazda: The bird Karshipta, O Spitama Zarathushtra!

43. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Who is their heavenly lord and earthly master? Then said Ahuramazda: Urvatâd-narô, O Zarathushtra! and thou who art Zarathushtra.

3. The Third Fargard.

(The Holiness of Agriculture, Vend. iii. 24-33.)

Avesta.

24. For this earth is not a place which is to lie long un-

1 This verse is found only in the Vendidâd Sâdah, and is probably an addition made by the Zendist.
cultivated. She is to be ploughed by the ploughman, that she may be for them (men) a habitation of a good (kind). Then the beautiful woman (the earth), who long goes childless, so (produces) for them male progeny (bulls) of a good (kind).

_Zend._

25. Whoever cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him she bears fruit; in like manner as a loving man does to (his) beloved, she stretched on the connubial couch [(Pâzand) lying on a place] brings forth to him a son [(Pâzand) or fruit].

26. Whoever cultivates this earth, O Spitama Zarathushtra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, then speaks the earth to him: O man! who cultivatest me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, (27) I will, indeed, prosper the countries here, I will, indeed, come to bear all nourishments here; [(Pâzand) may they (the fields) yield a full crop besides barley].

28. Whoever does not cultivate this earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, then speaks the earth to him: O man! who dost not cultivate me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, (29) here thou standest, indeed, at another's door obtaining victuals [(Pâzand) among the beggars], and victuals are brought to thee, sitting outside, indeed, in driblets. [(Pâzand) They are brought to thee by those who have abundance of goods.]

30. Creator, &c., [as in ii. 39]: What causes the growth of the Mazdayasian religion? Then said Ahuramazda: Whatever is efficacious in the cultivation of barley, O Spitama Zarathushtra!

---

1 The words _gâtush_ sayamnâ are an explanation of the older phrase _svâîlavê_ starcâ; _gâtush_, "place," explaining _svâîlavê_, and _starcâ_, "stretched," corresponding to _say-amnâ_. _Vaîtâ_ evidently appertains to _vaîta_, which is defined as "a virtuous woman" in the _Farhang-i Olm-khadûk_.

---
31. Whoever cultivates barley, he cultivates righteousness, [[Pazand he promotes the Mazdayasnian religion], he extends this Mazdayasnian religion as by a hundred resistances (against the demons), a thousand offerings, ten thousand prayer-readings.\(^1\)

*Avesta.*

32. When barley occurs,\(^2\) then the demons hiss; When thrashing occurs, then the demons whine; When grinding occurs, then the demons roar; When flour occurs, then the demons flee.

*Zend.*

So the demons are driven out from the place [[Pazand] in the house for this flour]; they shall burn their jaws, whereby it happens that the greater number are fellow-fugitives when barley becomes plentiful.

33. Then may he (the cultivator), therefore, recite the text:

*Avesta.*

There is no strength in those who do not eat,
Neither for vigorous righteousness,
Nor for vigorous husbandry,
Nor for vigorous begetting of sons.

[[Pazand] For by eating all living beings exist; without eating they must die.]

4. THE FOURTH FARGARD.

*(Civil and Criminal Laws.)*

*Avesta.*

1. Whoever does not return property to the owner of the property, becomes a thief of the property, taking it by

---

\(^1\) Cultivation of barley, or wheat, is equivalent, so far as the destruction of the bad creation (the duty of every Zoroastrian) is concerned, to 100, 1000, and 10,000 other meritorious works.

\(^2\) The original is in metrical verses, which contain even rhymes.
force, if he seize for his own out of anything of theirs agreed upon, whether by day or by night.

Zend.

2. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! how many such agreements (mithra) are thine, who art Ahuramazda? Then said Ahuramazda: Six, O righteous Zarathushtra! The first by words, the second by offering the hand, the third by (depositing) the value of a sheep, the fourth by (depositing) the value of an ox, the fifth by (depositing) the value of a man (slave), the sixth by (depositing) the value of a district [(Pâzand) of a well-thriving, fenced-in, walled-in, well-arranged, prosperous district].

3, 4. The word makes the first agreement (promise). After that, the offering of the hand is marked, [(Pâzand) the offering of the hand takes place after that among friends]; after that, that of a sheep’s value is marked, [(Pâzand) that of a sheep’s value takes place among friends]; after that, that of an ox’s value is marked, [(Pâzand) that of an ox’s value takes place among friends]; after that, that of a man’s value is marked, [(Pâzand) that of a man’s value takes place among friends]; after that, that of a district’s value is marked, [(Pâzand) that of a district’s value takes place among friends].

5. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! What punishment has the breaker of an agreement, made by words, to undergo? Then said Ahuramazda: He has to pay a fine of 300 pieces to the next kinsmen (of the defrauded one).

(The fine varies from 300 to 1000 pieces; the breaking of the second class of agreement is fined by 600, that of the third by 700, that of the fourth by 800, that of the fifth by 900, and that of the sixth by 1000 pieces of atonement money.)

¹ The phrase yaŋ nā kasvikāmehana translator, and forms no part of the is merely quoted by the Pahlavi text.
Pâzand.

11. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Whoever violates an agreement made by words, what is his punishment? Then said Ahuramazda: One may give him three hundred blows with a horse-goad [(later Pâzand) three hundred with a whip].

(According to this Pâzand the number of blows varies from three hundred to one thousand, exactly in the same order as in the Zend above.)

Avesta.

17. When a man's weapon rises, that is his attempt (āgereptem); when it assails, that is his assault (avavoirishtem); when it penetrates any one with evil intention, that is his perpetration (of manslaughter, areдуш); at the fifth perpetration the man forfeits himself (his life).

What follows (ver. 18–42) is Pâzand, which, as to its character, is completely in accordance with the Pâzand in ver. 11–16. The Zend or old explanation of this criminal law is lost, but from this Pâzand it may be seen that the distinctions regarding the degree of guilt in attempted or accomplished murder, have become in course of time much more numerous. In the old text or Avesta, as quoted above (ver. 17), there are only three degrees distinguished, namely, āgereptem, or attempt; avavoirishtem, or assault; and areдуш, or perpetration. In its Zend or commentary there were probably more distinctions made, and different degrees of punishment mentioned, as we may infer from the Zend following ver. 1. In this Avesta capital punishment is ordered only when areдуш has been committed five times. In the Pâzand or sub-commentary there is a detailed list of punishments, consisting of blows with a horse-goad or whip, varying from five to two hundred in number.

Towards the end of the fourth Fargard (ver. 44–54), we have only Avesta without Zend or commentary. This
Avesta, which is certainly very old, and refers apparently to various subjects, is so very obscure in style as to be the most difficult passage of the whole Vendidad. In its beginning there is an ancient law, enjoining the greatest friendship and equality among the members of the Zoroastrian community. It runs as follows: 'And when men of the same (Mazdayasnian) religion should come here, either brothers or friends, seeking a field, or seeking a wife, or seeking wisdom, if they should come seeking a field, they may acquire their field here, if they should come seeking a wife, you may make some of the women marry; if they should come seeking wisdom, you may recite the beneficent texts.'

5. THE FARGARDS V.-XVII.

From the fifth to the eighth Fargard, we find very minute and detailed precepts for the treatment of a dead body, the construction of Dakhmas or "towers of silence," and the purification of men or things brought into contact with a corpse. The idea pervading the whole is the utter impurity of a dead body, and the extreme purity and sacredness of earth, fire, and water. No impure thing can, therefore, be thrown upon any one of these elements, because it would spoil the good creation by increasing the power and influence of the daevas or demons, who take possession of the body as soon as a man is dead. The corpse is, therefore, to be carried on to the barren top of a mountain or hill, and to be placed on stones (or iron plates), and exposed to dogs and vultures, so as to benefit in this way the animals of the good creation. A man who touches a dead body, the contagious impurity of which has not been previously checked by holding towards the corpse a peculiar kind of dog,\(^1\) is said to be at once visited by a

---

\(^1\) Which is called "the four-eyed dog," a yellow spot on each of its eyelids being considered an additional eye. He has yellow ears, and the colour of the rest of his body varies from yellow to white. To his eyes a kind of magnetic influence is ascribed.
spectre, representing death itself. This is called ārulhshnasush, “the destructive corruption.” To get rid of this annoyance he is to be sprinkled with water on the different parts of his body, as described with the greatest minuteness in the eighth Fargard.

In the same Fargard (vers. 73–96) the preparation of the sacred fire is described. Fires from sixteen different places are required, which, after having been purified by praying over them, must be brought to one and the same hearth (called dārtyó-gátush, now Dādgāh). The fire in which a dead body is being burnt is indispensable; although it be the most impure of all, it is believed to have absorbed the fire (heat or electricity) which was in the animal body. It is called nasudpāka, and its obtainment and purification by putting it into a certain number of holes called haṇḍureza (Persian andázah, “a measure”), which requires much trouble, are more minutely described than the acquisition of the other fires (those of dyers, potters, glassworkers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, &c.). The collective fire obtained in this way represents the essence of nature, the fluid pervading the whole earth, the cause of all growth, vigour, and splendour, and it is, therefore, regarded with great reverence by the Parsis.

In the ninth Fargard there is a very detailed description of the great purification ceremony, called the “Barashnom of nine nights,” which lasts for nine days (or rather nights). It is intended for the removal of any impurity whatever, and is practised chiefly by priests. The person who has to undergo the ceremony must drink the urine of a cow, sit on stones within the compass of certain magic circles, and while moving from one heap of stones to another he must rub his body with cow’s urine, then with sand, and lastly wash it with water. This custom has descended from the most ancient times, when a purifying and healing influence

1 To burn a dead body is, according to the spirit of the Zoroastrian law, one of the greatest crimes.
was ascribed to the urine proceeding from so sacred an animal as the cow was to the ancient Aryans.\footnote{Cow’s urine was probably a metaphorical name for “rain-water” originally—the clouds being cows metaphorically.}

In the tenth and eleventh Fargards prayers are enumerated, which were believed to have the power of removing the impurity caused by contact with a dead body. All these prayers are to be found in the older part of the Yasna.

The twelfth Fargard treats of the duration of mourning for the death of the head of a family, and of relations in different degrees. For those who die as righteous men by the law of nature (who are called dahtmas) only half as much time of mourning is required as for those who die by their own hands, or are executed (who are called tanupereaths).

The thirteenth and fourteenth Fargards treat of dogs and water-dogs (udra, “otter”), which are not to be badly treated, wounded, mutilated, starved, or killed. Should a man be found guilty of such charges, he is to be severely punished. The killing of an otter is especially regarded as a horrible crime, since this animal is believed to contain the souls of a thousand male and a thousand female dogs. A man who commits this crime has to receive ten thousand lashes with a horsewhip, according to the later interpretation; or he must kill ten thousand animals of the bad creation, such as snakes, mice, lizards, frogs, &c., and carry ten thousand loads of wood to the fire, &c.

In the fifteenth Fargard various topics are treated, such as the sins called peshōtanu (i.e., such actions as are not of themselves considered specially hurtful or injurious, but which may under certain circumstances cause damage or injury), the crime of procuring abortion in the case of an illegitimate child,\footnote{This is strictly prohibited, and if it be committed, the seducer, the girl, and the nurse, are equally guilty of the murder.} and the treatment of pregnant dogs.

The whole sixteenth Fargard is devoted to the treatment of women at the time of their menstruation.
In the seventeenth Fargard precepts are given how to treat hair and nails which have been cut. The demons must be prevented from using the cuttings for doing injury to the good creation.

6.—THE EIGHTEENTH FARGARD.

The commencement of this Fargard is probably lost, as it appears to begin now in the middle of a subject; and its contents are of a very miscellaneous character, as may be seen from the following translation:—

1. For many a man—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra! wears another mouth-veil (padom, though) unclothed with religion; falsely he is termed a fire-priest; thou shouldst not call him a fire-priest,—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra!2

2. He carries another vermin-killer (khrafstraghna, though) unclothed with religion; falsely he is termed a fire-priest; thou shouldst not call him a fire-priest,—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra! 4

3. He carries another plant (as barson, though) unclothed with religion; falsely he is termed a fire-priest; thou shouldst not call him a fire-priest,—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra!

4. He wields the deadly poniard (for sacrificing, though) unclothed with religion; falsely he is termed a fire-priest;

1 That is, not the kind of mouth-veil used by priests. The pastidana, "a putting-on, a mouth-veil" (Pahl. padam, Pz. pendom), consists of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the pendom by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.

2 The extra words ba-be-ruzu-frath-ankhm, "two fingers' breadth," are merely an Avesta quotation, made by the Pahlavi translator, with reference to the extent of the Penon.

3 That is, not the kind used by priests. The khrafstraghna was some implement that has now gone out of use.

4 The two additional phrases are quoted by the Pahlavi translator.

5 This seems to refer to the use of twigs of any improper plant for the sacred barson.
thou shouldst not call him a fire-priest,—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra!

5. Whoever lies the whole night through without praying, without reciting (the Gáthas), without repeating (the short prayers), without performing (any ceremony), without studying, without teaching, in order to acquire a soul fit for the Chinvañ (bridge), falsely he is termed a fire-priest; thou shouldst not call him a fire-priest,—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra!

6. Thou shouldst call him the fire-priest—so said Ahuramazda: O righteous Zarathushtra!—who, the whole night through, would interrogate a righteous understanding, free from anxiety (or defect), fit for the widening (and) gratifying Chinvañ bridge, (and) obtaining the life, righteousness, and perfection of the best life (paradise).

7. Inquire, O just one! of me who am the Creator, the most munificent, the wisest, and the readiest replier to questions; so will it be better for thee, so wilt thou be more beneficent, if thou wilt inquire of me.

8. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O Ahuramazda! most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! through what is one a criminal worthy of death?

9. 10. Then said Ahuramazda: By teaching an evil religion, O Spitama Zarathushtra! Whoever, during three spring seasons, does not put on the sacred thread-girdle (*kusti*), does not recite the Gáthas, does not reverence the good waters, and whoever sets this man, delivered into my custody, again at large, thereby performs no better

---

1 Or, perhaps, "without studying the accents, and without intoning them:" comp. Sans. *shikshá*.

2 That is, a soul so good that it will find the Chinvañ bridge wide enough to allow it to pass over it to heaven. If the soul be wicked it is said to find the bridge too narrow for it to pass over.

3 Or, perhaps, "assisting," "serviceable."

4 The Parsis wear the *kusti* as an indispensable symbol of their religion; it is formed of seventy-two fine woollen threads twisted together.

5 Who neglects his duties as before stated, and so incurs punishment or tribulation.
work than if he should cut the extent of the skin off his head.\(^1\)

11. For the prayer of one heretical, evil, unrighteous (man) lengthens the chin; (that) of two lengthens the tongue; of three there is no (such prayer) whatever; four invoke themselves.\(^2\)

12. Whoever gives of the out-squeezed Hom-juice, or of the consecrated meats, to one heretical, evil, unrighteous (man), thereby performs no better work than if he should lead a troop of a thousand horse into the Mazdayasnian villages, should slay the men, and should drive away the cattle as booty.

13. Inquire, O just one! &c. [as in ver. 7].

14. Zarathushtra asked, &c. [as in ver. 8, to] righteous one! who is the dutiful attendant (*sraošhávareza*) of Srosh the righteous, the mighty, the embodiment of the sacred word, the impetuous runner?

15–17. Then said Ahuramazda: The bird named Paródarsh, O Spitama Zarathushtra! which evil-speaking men call by the name Kahrkatás.\(^3\) Moreover, this bird raises (its) voice at the approach of dawn\(^4\) (thus): Arise ye men! praise the righteousness which is most perfect; repulsed are the demons; this one oppresses you, Bûshyâsta\(^5\) the long-handed, she lulls to sleep the whole living creation after it is awakened by the light (saying): Sleep long, O man! it befits thee not (to rise); trouble not about the three best things, the well-considered thought, the well-spoken word, and the well-done action; (but) trouble about the three worst things, the ill-considered thought, the ill-spoken word, and the ill-done action.

18, 19. Moreover, for the first third of the night, my fire

---

\(^1\) That is, should scalp him.

\(^2\) The meaning of this verse is very obscure, and the text may be defective.

\(^3\) A nickname of the domestic cock.

\(^4\) The term *nshâm sârâm* is given as a name for the third quarter of the night in the Farhang-i Olm-khadûk.

\(^5\) The demoness personifying unseasonable sleep and lethargy.
of Ahuramazda\(^1\) entreats the master of the house (saying): Arise to help, O master of the house! put on thy clothes, wash thy hands, fetch firewood, bring it to me, with washed hands make me blaze again by means of purified firewood; the demon-formed Azi (covetousness) may get at me, he seems clinging around (my) life.

20, 21. Then for the second third of the night, my fire of Ahuramazda entreats the husbandman (saying): Arise to help, O husbandman! put on thy clothes, &c. [as in ver. 19].

22. Then for the third third of the night, my fire of Ahuramazda entreats Srosh the righteous (saying): Arise to help, O righteous, handsome Srosh! does one bring to me any of the purified firewoods of the material world with washed hands? the demon-formed Azi may get at me, he seems clinging around (my) life.

23–25. Then he, Srosh the righteous, wakes the bird named Paró-darsh, &c. [as in vers. 15–17].

26. Then speaks each of two companions lying on a bed: Do thou arise! he (the cock) drives me away; whichever of the two rises first will attain to the best life (paradise); whichever of the two brings to the fire of Ahuramazda (some) of the purified firewoods with washed hands, him will the fire, pleased (and) unharmed, bless in the following manner:

27. May a herd of cattle accompany thee! (and so) may a multitude of men (sons)! may an active mind and an active life attend thee! mayst thou subsist with an existence of the nature of (this) blessing, so many nights as thou shalt live! This is the blessing of the fire for him who brings dry firewood, selected for burning, (and) purified by the utterance of the Ashem (-vohu formula).

28. And whoever had given away, with perfect rectitude, these my birds, O Spitama Zarathushtra! in a pair, male and female, to a righteous man, may consider his

\(^1\) That is, my sacred fire, often called the son, or offspring, of Ahuramazda.
gift a mansion with a hundred columns, a thousand girders, ten thousand rooms,\(^1\) (and) ten thousand windows.

29. And whoever had given a morsel\(^2\) of flesh to this my bird Parô-darsh, I who am Ahuramazda shall never be asking him a second word, forth I will depart to the best life (paradise).

30. The righteous Srosh, with lowered club, asked the Drukhsh: O Drukhsh, inglorious (and) inactive! dost thou then alone of all the living creation engender without cohabitation?

31, 32. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drukhsh answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! I do not alone of all the living creation engender without cohabita-
tion: indeed I have even four paramours; they cohabit with me just as any other males cohabit with females for progeny.

33. The righteous Srosh, with lowered club, asked the Drukhsh: O Drukhsh, inglorious (and) inactive! who is the first of these thy paramours?

34, 35. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drukhsh answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! that, indeed, is the first of these my paramours, when a man gives not the merest trifle of unused clothes to a righteous man (when they are) begged for with perfect rectitude, he cohabits with me just as, &c. [as in ver. 32].

36. The righteous Srosh, with lowered club, asked the Drukhsh: O Drukhsh, inglorious (and) inactive! what is the extermination of (the result of) this?

37, 38. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drukhsh answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! this is the extermination of it, when the man gives even a trifle of unused clothes to a righteous man (when they) are not begged for with perfect rectitude, he destroys my concep-

---

\(^1\) The exact meaning of the words translated “rooms” and “windows” is very uncertain.

\(^2\) The words \textit{tanu mazô} may be otherwise translated, but hardly so as to make sense out of all parts of the sentence. The flesh would pollute the cock if he ate it.
tions just as a four-legged wolf would utterly tear a child out of the womb.

39. The righteous Srosh, with lowered club, asked the
drulksh: O Drulksh, inglorious (and) inactive! who is
the second of these thy paramours?

40. 41. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drulksh
answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! that, indeed,
is the second of these my paramours, when a man makes
water an instep's length beyond the toes; 1 he cohabits
with me just as, &c. [as in ver. 32].

42. The righteous Srosh, &c. [as in ver. 36].

43, 44. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drulksh
answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! this is the
extermination of it, when the man, after he shall stand
up, 2 shall repeat, three steps off, the Ashem (-vohu formula)
thrice, the Hūmatanām (Yas. xxxv. 2) twice, the Hukhs-
shathrotēmāi (Yas. xxxv. 5) thrice, shall then recite the
Ahuna-vairyā (Yas. xxvii. 13) four times, (and) shall pray
Yēhē-hatām (Yas. vii. 27); he destroys my conceptions,
&c. [as in ver. 38].

45. The righteous Srosh, with lowered club, asked the
Drulksh: O Drulksh, inglorious (and) inactive! who is
the third of these thy paramours?

46. 47. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drulksh
answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! that,
indeed, is the third of these my paramours, when a man
asleep emits semen; he cohabits with me just as, &c. [as
in ver. 32].

48. The righteous Srosh, &c. [as in ver. 36].

49-52. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drulksh
answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! this is the
extermination of it, when the man, after waking from
sleep, shall repeat the Ashem (-vohu formula) thrice, &c.

1 Literally: 'the length of the measure equivalent to a hand's-
fore-part of the foot beyond the breadth.'
2 From the squatting position (rest-
(Sans. aprayata), "the fore-part ing merely on the soles of the feet) of
of the foot," is understood to be a which is customary in such cases.
VENDIDAD, FARGARD XVIII.

[as in vers. 43, 44]. Then he speaks to the bountiful Armaiti (spirit of the earth): O bountiful Armaiti! I commit to thee this progeny (lit. man), mayst thou restore this progeny to me at the triumphant renovation (of creation, at the resurrection)! as one knowing the Gāthas, knowing the Yasna, attending to the discourses, intellectual, experienced, embodying the sacred word. Then thou shouldst announce his name as Fire-produced (ātare-dāta), or Fire-offspring (ātare-chithra), or Fire-race (ātare-sāntu), or Fire-land (ātare-daqqtu), or any other name of (those) formed with (the word) Fire.²

53. The righteous Srosh, with lowered club, asked the Drukhsh: O Drukhsh, inglorious (and) inactive! who is the fourth of these thy paramours?

54, 55. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drukhsh answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! that, indeed, is the fourth of these my paramours, when a man, after (his) fifteenth year, frequents a courtezan, ungirdled or uncovered,³ then at the fourth departing step, immediately afterwards, we who are demons, at once we occupy (his) tongue and marrow; afterwards the possessed ones destroy the settlements of righteousness (which are) supplied with creatures, as the spells of sorcerers destroy the settlements of righteousness.

56. The righteous Srosh, &c. [as in ver. 36].

57-59. Thereupon, she who is the fiendish Drukhsh answered him: O righteous, handsome Srosh! there is no extermination whatever of it; when a man, after (his) fifteenth year, &c. [as in vers. 54, 55].

60. Inquire, O just one! &c. [as in ver. 7].

61. Zarathushtra asked, &c. [as in ver. 8, to] righteous one! who offends thee, who art Ahuramazda, with the

---

¹ Or "conversations," referring probably to such conversations between Ahuramazda and Zarathushtra as are common in the Vendidad.

² The same kind of names, according to Dastur Hoshangji, ought to be used for still-born children, who must all be named.

³ That is, without sacred thread-girdle (kustî) or sacred shirt (sadarañ); anabadātō is a contraction of anahiti-dātā.
greatest offence? [(Zend) who annoys (thee) with the greatest annoyance?]

62. Then said Ahuramazda: Truly the courtezan, O righteous Zarathushtra! who commingles the seed of the pious and impious, of idolaters and non-idolaters, of self-destroying sinners and non-self-destroying sinners (i.e., those whose sins are heinous and mortal and the reverse).

63. With a look, O Zarathushtra! she stagnates one-third of the mighty waters flowing in streams. With a look, O Zarathushtra! she destroys one-third the growth of the up-shooting, flourishing, golden-coloured 1 trees.

64. With a look, O Zarathushtra! she destroys one-third the coverings (crops) of the bountiful Armaiti (spirit of the earth). With a leer, O Zarathushtra! she destroys one-third of the strength, and success, and righteousness of a righteous man of very good thoughts, of very good words, of very good deeds.

65. I tell thee, O Spitama Zarathushtra! these females are also more destructive than darting serpents, or than howling wolves, or than a she-wolf suckling her young 2 (who) rushes into a (sheep-) fold, or than a frog spawning thousands (who) dives into the water.

66. Inquire, O just one! &c. [as in ver. 7].

67, 68. Zarathushtra asked, &c. [as in ver. 8, to] righteous one! whoever, knowingly (and) intentionally cohabits with a menstruous woman (who is) conscious, knowing, and informed (of it), what is his punishment? what is his atonement? what works performed in compensation for this may the culprit execute?

69, 70. Then said Ahuramazda: Whoever, knowingly, &c. [as in ver. 67, to] informed (of it), he shall furnish a thousand young cattle, and he should offer, with perfect rectitude, the fat of the kidneys 3 of all these cattle to the

---

1 Perhaps “green-coloured, verdant.”
2 This translation of the epithet ard-daishām is only a guess; perhaps “seeing a goat” might also be suggested, but the meaning is very uncertain.
3 All the old MSS. read asmanīvdo (not asmanīvdo), and the Pahlavi translation quotes, as an explanation,
priest for the fire; he should offer (it) to the good waters with (his) arm.

71. He should offer with perfect rectitude a thousand loads\(^1\) of hard firewoods, well-hewn, (and) selected (as dry), for the fire; he should offer, with perfect rectitude, a thousand loads of soft firewoods of the sandal-wood (\textit{urd\=asna}), or benzoin (\textit{voh\=\=a-gaona}), or aloe-wood (\textit{voh\=\=a-kereti}), or pomegranate (\textit{hadi\=na\=\=epata}),\(^2\) or any other of the most odoriferous trees, for the fire.

72. He should lop off a thousand loppings\(^3\) for the sacred twigs (Barsom). He should offer, with perfect rectitude, to the good waters, fallen twigs of the shrub which is called pomegranate, for a thousand consecrated waters (\textit{zaothra}) with Homa and milk, (which are) purified, examined (as to purity), purified by a pious man (a priest, and) examined by a pious man.

73. He should kill a thousand serpents gliding on their bellies, (and) two thousand others. He should kill a thousand land-frogs, (and) two thousand water-(frogs). He should kill a thousand ants carrying away corn, (and) two thousand others.

74. He should erect thirty bridges across navigable waters.\(^4\) One should strike (him) a thousand blows with a horse-goad, two thousand with a scourge (\textit{sraosh\=o-charana}).

75, 76. That is his punishment, that is his atonement, such are the works, performed in compensation for this, the culprit may execute. If he shall execute (them) he shall attain that life which is for the righteous, (but) if he shall

---

1 That is, loads for a man's back.
2 Such are the traditional explanations of these terms for odoriferous woods.
3 That is, he should supply the material for the Barsom. The verb 

\textit{frastairyd\=d} cannot refer to the preparation or final arrangement of the Barsom, which can be performed only by a priest. The same remark applies to all the other offerings here mentioned, which must be brought to a priest for him to offer.

4 That is, he should form foot-bridges across streams which are not fordable with safety.
not execute (them) he shall attain that life which is for the wicked (and is) gloomy, originating in darkness, (and) dark.1

7.—THE NINETEENTH FARGARD.

FRAGMENT OF AN OLD EPIC SONG, VERS. 4, 6–9.

(The devil's attempts to frustrate Zarathushtra's doings.)

The verses 1–3 are introductory to the ancient song, and evidently intended as some explanation of the contents of this ancient text. In this introduction is described how Drukhsh, one of the evil spirits in Ahriman's service, came forth from the northern regions at her master's command, to destroy Zarathushtra. The prophet frustrated all such attempts to ruin him by simply repeating the sacred formula Yathá-ahá-vairýá. Drukhsh, having been thus defeated, told the chief of the evil spirits, Angró-mainyush, that it was impossible to do any mischief to the prophet.

Zarathushtra perceived the snares laid for him, and thought about escaping them. This is described in the verses of the old song, which were undoubtedly current in the mouths of the Iranian people. The song is composed in the heroic metre of the ancient Aryans, the Anushțubh, which has given rise to the common Shloka.2

1 It is probable that this sentence in this world, as well as in the futuro refers to rewards and punishments existence.
2 The original ballad is here subjoined in its metrical form, its translation being given in the text.

\[ Uzhishhta \text{ Zarathushtra} \quad \text{asaret} \quad \text{aka} \quad \text{mananja} \]
\[ khrushdyastr \quad \text{qbaškho parshtanám} \quad \text{asán} \quad \text{zasta} \quad \text{drashimńō.} \]

DEFECTIVE.

\( \text{(4)} \)

\[ Paiti \ ahmá \ adavata \quad \text{duśhádá} \quad \text{Ayró} \quad \text{mainyush; \quad Móh \ mé \ dámá \ měreńchańuha, \quad \text{asháum Zarathushtra \quad Tám \ ahi \ Pourushaspuhí} \quad \text{puthrí \ bārethryá} \quad \text{hachá} \]
\[ \text{Záwíshí; \ apa-stavańuha} \quad \text{vaśúšm \ daénám \ mazdayasástm, \quad Vihádá \ yáñem \ yathá \ vindaź} \quad \text{Vashárańó \ dańhupaitisz.} \]

\( \text{(7)} \)

\[ Paiti \ ahmá \ avashata \quad \text{yó Spítańó} \quad \text{Zarathushtra; \quad Nóló hó apastaváné} \quad \text{vaśúshm \ daénám \ mazdayasástm, \quad Nóló asta nóló ushitánem} \quad \text{nóló bāodhascha \ urvisyád.} \]
1. From the northern quarter [(Pâz.) from the northern quarters], Angrô-mainyush, the deadly, the demon of demons, rushed forth. Thus spoke the evil-doing Angrô-mainyush, the deadly: Drukhsh (demon of destruction)! rush forth and kill the righteous Zarathushtra. Then the Drukhsh rushed about him, the demon Bûiti, the destroyer intending to kill.

2. Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna-vairya (formula); he invoked the good waters of good qualities, he confessed the Masdayasnian religion. Drukhsh was overthrown by it; the demon Bûiti, the destroyer intending to kill, ran away.

3. Drukhsh then replied: Impostor Angrô-mainyush! I do not think about doing any harm to Spitama Zarathushtra [(Pâz.) the all-glorious, righteous Zarathushtra]. Zarathushtra perceived in his mind that the wicked, evil-doing demons were laying snares for him.

Song.

4. Zarathushtra arose [(Pâz.) Zarathushtra went forward] uninjured by the hostile intentions of the evil spirits, holding a stone (?) in his hand, [(Zend) as large as a cottage]. The righteous Zarathushtra was praying to Ahuramazda the creator: Wherever thou touchest this wide, round, far-extended earth, incline to support Pourushaspa’s house.

5. Zarathushtra informed Angrô-mainyush: Evil-doing Angrô-mainyush! I will destroy the creatures produced
by the demons, I will destroy death produced by the
demons, I will destroy the witch Klnăthaiti for whose
(destruction) the triumphant Soshvăns will be born out of
the water Kăsoya from the eastern quarter [(Paz.) from
the eastern quarters].

6. To him spoke Angrô-mainyush the creator of evils:
Do not destroy my creations, O righteous Zarathushtra!
Thou art Purushaspa’s son, from birth thou invokest.
Curse the good Mazdayasnian religion, (then) thou shalt
obtain fortune such as King Vadhaghana obtained.

7. To him replied Spitama Zarathushtra: I will not
curse the good Mazdayasnian religion, not (if my) body,
not (if my) soul, not (if my) life should part asunder.

8. To him spoke Angrô-mainyush the creator of evils:
With whose words wilt thou smite? with whose words
wilt thou suppress my creatures (who am) Angrô-
mainyush? (and) with what well-made weapons?

9. To him replied Spitama Zarathushtra: The mortar
and dish and Homa, and the words pronounced by Mazda
are my best weapons; with these words will I smite, with
these words will I suppress, with these well-made weapons;
O evil-doing Angrô-mainyush! The beneficent spirit
made (them), he made (them) in boundless time, the
immortal benefactors (Ameshaspentas), the good rulers
and good arrangers, co-operated.

(The fate of the soul after death, vers. 27–32.)

27. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures,
righteous one! What are the events [(Paz.) what events
happen? what events take place? what events are met
with?] (when) a man shall give up his soul in this world
of existence?

28. Then said Ahuramazda: After a man is dead [(Paz.)
after a man has departed, when the running evil-doing
demons make destruction (of his life)], at daybreak after
the third night, [(Paz.) when aurora is shining], he reaches

1 Probably an idol-worshipper in Kandahar, or thereabouts.
Mithra, rising above the mountains resplendent with their own rightful lustre [(Pâz.) when the sun rises].

29. The demon Vīazareshō by name, O Spitama Zarathushtra! carries the soul bound towards the country of the wicked Deva-worshipping men.\(^1\) It goes on the time-worn paths, which are for the wicked and which are for the righteous, to the Chinvad bridge, created by Mazda, and right, where they ask the consciousness and soul their conduct in the settlements (i.e., world) [(Pâz.) what was achieved in the world of existence].

30. She, the beautiful, well-formed, strong, (and) well-grown, comes with the dog, with the register, with children, with resources, with skilfulness.\(^2\) She dismisses the sinful soul of the wicked into the glooms (hell). She meets the souls of the righteous when crossing the (celestial mountain) Harô-berezaiti (Alborz), and guides them over the Chinvad bridge [(Pâz.) the bridge of the heavenly spirits].

31. Vohu-manô (the archangel Bahman) rises from a golden throne; Vohu-manô exclaims: How hast thou come hither to us, O righteous one! from the perishable life to the imperishable life?

32. The souls of the righteous proceed joyfully to Ahuramazda, to the Ameshaspentas, to the golden throne, to paradise (Garô-nemâna) [(Pâz.) the residence of Ahuramazda, the residence of the Ameshaspentas, and the residence of the other righteous ones.]

(Fragment not connected with the preceding.)

33. The righteous man being purified, the demons, the wicked evil-doers, are so frightened at (his) scent, after death, as a sheep encompassed by wolves is frightened by a wolf.

\(^1\) The country of the deva-worshippers is India.

\(^2\) The dog is requisite to be looked at by a man at the last gasp, but the meaning of the two following epithets is very uncertain. This passage evidently refers to the maiden who is a personification of one's actions during life, and is said to meet the soul after its third night’s separation from the body. Compare the Hâdôkht Nask (Yt. xxii. 9, p. 220).
34. The righteous men assemble, Nairyô-sanha assembles. Say: Ahuramazda's friend is Nairyô-sanha; thyself invoke, O Zarathushtra! this creation of Ahuramazda.

35. Zarathushtra said unto me the words: I praise the rightful creation, formed by Ahuramazda; I praise the earth created by Ahura, the water created by Mazda, the rightful vegetation; I praise the sea Vouru-kasha (i.e., having distant shores); I praise the brightly-shining sky; I praise the eternal luminaries (the fixed stars), the self-created.  

36. I praise the best life (paradise) of the righteous, (which is) resplendent (and) all-glorious; I praise the house of song (garô-nemâna, equivalent to "paradise"), the residence of Ahuramazda, the residence of the Ameshaspentas, the residence of the other righteous ones; I praise the bridge Chinvât (bridge of the gatherer), created by Mazda, in the self-created intermediate region (between heaven and hell).

37. I praise good fortune, the wide-eyed; I praise the strong guardian-angels (Fravashis) of the righteous, benefiting all creatures; I praise Behram created by Ahura, the bearer of splendour created by Mazda; I praise the shining, glorious star Tishtar (Tr, Mercury), with the body of a golden-horned ox.

38. I praise the beneficent hymns (the five Gâthas), ruling over the (five) periods (of the day), the righteous ones. I praise the Ahunavaiti Gâtha; I praise the Ushvaiti Gâtha; I praise the Spentâ-mainyu Gâtha; I praise the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha; I praise the Vahishtôishti Gâtha.

39. I praise the region (Karshaware, or Keshvar) Arezahi (and) Savahi; I praise the region Fradadhafshu (and) Vidadhafshu; I praise the region Vouru-bareshti (and) Vouru-jareshti; I praise the region Qaniratha; I praise the splendid Hêtumat (Hilmand), the shining, the glorious. I praise the good wealth (Ashi); I praise the good science,
I praise the rightest science. I praise the glory of the Aryan countries; I praise the glory of Yima the king, rich in flocks.

3. The Pargards xx.–xxii.

These last three Pargards of the Vendidad seem to have belonged originally to some medical book. They contain spells for curing diseases, which resemble very much the mantras which are intended for the same purpose in the Atharvaveda. Thrita is said to have been the first physician who relieved mankind from the distress and misery caused by diseases. The angel, presiding over the medical art, is called Airyaman, to whom even Ahuramazda despatches his messenger Nairyō-sanha (Neryosangh).

XV.—Brief Survey of Avesta Literature.

Having described, and illustrated by selected specimens, the various branches of the sacred literature of the Parsis, we may conclude this Essay with a brief summary and survey of the whole.

At the head of this literature undoubtedly stand the five Gāthas, which we must regard as the work of Spitama Zarathushtra himself and his disciples, as any one can easily convince himself by a careful perusal of the numerous passages, translated above from these hymns, and by comparing them with those extracted from other parts of the Zend-Avesta. Besides the internal evidence, which is strong and convincing enough, some external reasons may be alleged to corroborate the opinion that these Gāthas contain the undoubted teachings and sayings of the celebrated Zoroaster himself. While the other parts are nowhere said to be the work of Spitama Zarathushtra himself, he is distinctly and expressly mentioned, in the Srosh Yasht, as the author of these ancient and sacred songs (see p. 141). Whereas in the other parts of the Zend-Avesta Zarathushtra is spoken of in the third person, and even occasionally invoked as a divine being—in the Gāthas he...
speaks of himself in the first person, and acts throughout as a man who is commissioned by God to perform a great task. We find him placed among men, surrounded by his friends, Kava Vishtâspa, Jâmâspa, and Frashaoshtra, preaching to his countrymen a new and purer religion, exhorting them to forsake idolatry and to worship only the living God.

The Gâtha literature was, in ancient times, certainly not confined to the scanty fragments which are now extant. There existed, no doubt, a much larger collection of the hymns and sayings of Spitama Zarathushtra and his disciples, including those of the ancient prophets called Šaoshyantî, which are now and then alluded to in the Yasna. Out of this larger collection those verses were selected, which were believed to be most efficacious for putting down the evil influences of the hostile Devas and their priests (the Brahmans), and for increasing the welfare of the Zoroastrians; and these only have been preserved. The collection of the Gâthas, extant now-a-days, may be well compared to the Sâmaveda, which contains detached verses, selected from the Rigveda, intended only for being sung at the celebration of the great Soma sacrifices. While the Brahmans preserved their complete Rigveda, or entire collection of hymns, irrespective of their liturgical application, the ancestors of the Parsis, who were apparently more careless of their sacred literature than their Brahmanical brethren, lost it almost entirely.

Next to the Gâthas in rank stands the Yasna of Seven Chapters (see p. 170). For reasons pointed out above, we cannot regard it as a genuine work of Spitama Zarathushtra himself. It appears to be the work of one of the earliest successors of the prophet, called in ancient times Zarathushtra or Zarathushtrôtema (see sect. ii. 3, of the fourth Essay), who, deviating somewhat from the high and pure monotheistic principle of Spitama, made some concessions to the adherents of the ante-Zoroastrian religion by addressing prayers to other beings than Ahuramazda.
BRIEF SURVEY OF AVESTA LITERATURE. 259

The first part of the Yasna, styled above the LATER YASNA, is certainly of a far later date than even the "Yasna of Seven Chapters." The high-priests seem to have tried to conciliate the men of the old party (called pavoiryô-thaêshô, "of the old creed"), who were unwilling to forsake the ancient polytheistic religion, and its time-hallowed rites and ceremonies. The old sacrifices were reformed, and adapted to the more civilised mode of life of the Iranians. The intoxicating Soma beverage was replaced by a more wholesome and invigorating drink, prepared from another plant than the original Soma plant, together with twigs of the pomegranate tree, and without any process of fermentation (water being merely poured over them); but its name in the Iranian form, Haoma, remained, and some of the ceremonies also, as we shall see in the fourth Essay; the solemn sacrificial cakes of the Brahmans (purodâsha) were superseded by the sacred bread called draonô (Darûn). New invocations, addressed to those divine beings who occupied the places of the ancient Devas or gods (branded by Spitama Zarathushtra as the originators of all evil and sin), were composed and adapted for the reformed Soma sacrifice (Homa ceremony). These new prayers form the substance of the later Yasna which was to represent the formulas of the Brahmanical Yajurveda.

If we compare this later Yasna with the Gâthas, we find (irrespective of the difference of dialect) such a vast difference in their contents, that it is quite impossible for a conscientious critic to assign them to one author. While in the Gâthas we never find mentioned either Homa, Barsom, or gods like Mithra and Anâhita, or even Amesha-spenta, the general name for the heavenly councillors, we meet with their names in nearly every page of the later Yasna. Here naturally arises the question why the author of the Gâthas, in propounding his new religious doctrines, entirely overlooked the things which were considered in after times as the most indispensable implements of divine
service, and why he disregarded those gods and divine beings whom it was afterwards held very sinful to neglect? The only answer is, that he neither believed in them, nor thought them to be an essential part of religion.

In the same rank as the later Yasna may be classed the Visparad (see p. 191). It was composed by one of the later high-priests for the celebration of the Gahnbârs.

While the Yasna and Visparad represent the Vedas among the Parsis, their Vendidad corresponds exactly to the Smritis, or collections of customs, observances, laws, penalties, and fines, which form the groundwork of the so-called Dharma-Shâstra. Its different constituent parts have been noticed above (p. 225), and every thinking man can convince himself of the impossibility of ascribing the whole to Spitama Zarathushtra himself. The book only professes to give the conversations, which Zarathushtra is unanimously said (even in the Gâthas) to have held with God himself; and that there was, in very ancient times, a work in existence purporting to contain such conversations, follows undoubtedly from the notice of such a work to be found in the Visparad and Vendidad itself (see p. 142).

If we compare Zarathushtra's conversations with Ahuramazda, as contained in the Gâthas, with those which are reported in the Vendidad, we find a considerable difference between the two. In the Gâthas there is never any allusion made to the numerous ceremonies and observances which were deemed absolutely necessary for a pious Hormazd-worshipper. Thus, for instance, among the questions put by Spitama Zarathushtra to Ahuramazda in Yasna xlv. (see p. 158), about the true religion and its observance, there is not a single one which refers to the treatment of the dead body, one of the most important things in the time of the Vendidad, or to the great purification ceremony (see p. 241), deemed so essential for the welfare of the Iranian community. Very likely Spitama Zarathushtra himself never gave any direct precepts about
the customs and usages which already existed in his time. Had he done so we should expect him to allude to them, especially in those verses where he mentions the means of checking the evil influences exercised by the Devas (demons); but all he mentions are the splendour of fire, the mighty words revealed to him by Ahuramazda, the cultivation of the soil, and purity in thought, word, and deed. From his never mentioning the ceremonies enjoined in the Vendidad, it undoubtedly follows that, though he might know them, he did not attach much weight to their observance.

Only on one point we find the laws given in the Vendidad corroborated by the Gâthas. These are those which refer to the sacredness of a promise or contract, called Mithra, as one may learn from comparing Vend. iv. (see p. 238) with Yas. xlvi. 5 (see p. 164). These seem to have originated from Spitama Zarathushtra himself, when he called into existence a new religious community, to be founded on the principle of inviolable faith and truth.

From a careful consideration of these and other circumstances which are pointed out above (p. 226), we cannot regard the Vendidad as a work of Spitama Zarathushtra himself, but as the joint work of his successors, the supreme high-priests of the Iranian community. That the chief high-priests, together with the kings, were believed to stand in direct communication with Ahuramazda himself, and to receive from him answers to their questions, we may see distinctly from VISP. i. 9 (quoted above, p. 193). The chief high-priest is there called Zarathushtrôtemâ, which word literally means "the greatest Zarathushtra, or high-priest" (tema being the superlative suffix). His communications are held sacred in this passage, and placed on a level with the Gâthas. From this circumstance we may distinctly gather that the works of the Zarathushtrôtemas were held in ancient times to be about equally sacred with those of Spitama Zarathushtra himself. If we then consider the Vendidad as their joint work, compiled during
several successive centuries, it is not to be wondered that we find it so highly revered by the Zoroastrians even to the present day.

Of the three stages which we can discover in the present Vendidad, the Avesta, no doubt, is very old, and perhaps partially traceable to oral sayings descended from the prophet himself. Even the Zend, which makes up by far the larger portion of the present Vendidad, belongs to a very early age, and seems to be at least as old as the later Yasna. The Pazand is comparatively recent, and seems to be more of a literary and learned character than of practical consequence.

In the Yashts (see p. 194), which correspond partially to the Purânic literature of the Brâhmans, one may distinguish generally two classes of works, firstly, hymns, and secondly, conversations with Ahuramazda.

The metrical pieces or hymns represent the fragments of the ancient epic poetry of the Iranians, as living in the mouths of their bards, and are not only to be found in the properly so-called Yashts, but are scattered throughout the whole Zend-Avesta (see Yas. ix., x.; Vend. xix.). In their present form the Yashts, together with the shorter prayers, such as Afringâns, Gâhs, &c. (see p. 224), are evidently the most modern pieces of the Zend-Avesta, and have not the slightest claim to have been composed by Zarathushtra, or even by his earlier successors. This kind of literature grew up at a time when the Zoroastrian religion had already very much degenerated, and its original monotheism had partially given way to the old gods, who had been stigmatised and banished by Spitama Zarathushtra, but were afterwards transformed into angels. The songs of the bards, which we find introduced into the Yashts, may be old and genuine, but, strictly speaking, they have very little concern with the Zoroastrian religion. The Zoroastrian conversations with Ahuramazda, which we often find in the Yashts, may be the work of the later high-priests,
but they seem to be entirely foreign to all that we know of Spitama.

The tendency of the authors of these Yashts was to raise the dignity of the angels, such as Mithra, Tishtrya Anâhita, &c., to that of Ahuramazda, with whom they are said even to have equal rank (see p. 202). Therefore Ahuramazda himself is called, now and then, their worshipper. Zarathushtra is also reported to have paid them great reverence, but not the slightest trace of this can be discovered in his own Gâthas.

This kind of literature has, no doubt, largely contributed towards the deterioration of the religion founded by Spitama Zarathushtra, and has partially re-established what the prophet endeavoured to destroy. As to its age, there is happily a certain historical hint to be found in the Fravardin Yasht, where mention is made of Gautema (Gautama Buddha), the founder of Buddhism (see p. 208). That Buddhism was spread over Bactria, at a very early time, we know from other sources. Buddha entered Nirvâna (died) in B.C. 543; and before his lore could spread in Bactria, at least one or two centuries must have elapsed after the master’s death. Thus we arrive at a date, between B.C. 450 and B.C. 350, for the Fravardin Yasht; and there is no difference, in language and ideas, between it and the others. A later date than this cannot be reasonably assigned to the majority of the Yashts, because their language had already begun to die out before the commencement of the Christian era, and most of the Yashts are written in comparatively correct language, without more grammatical errors than abound in some parts of the Vendidad. There is, besides, another reason for attributing the principal Yashts to the fifth century before the Christian era. At that time, as we learn from two inscriptions of King Artaxerxes Mnemon,¹ the worship of Mithra and Anâhita was spreading through all the dominions of

¹ See Benfey, “Persische Keilinschriften,” p. 67; Norris, “Memoir on the Scythic version of the Behistun Inscription,” p. 159.
the Persian Empire, which was not the case at the time of Darius Hystaspes, who never mentions these deities in his numerous inscriptions. This new form of worship called into existence a new appropriate sacred literature, which is partially preserved in the Yashts.

The question as to the age of the other and older parts of the Zend-Avesta is closely connected with the determination of the period at which Spitama Zarathushtra himself lived. As we shall see in the fourth Essay, we cannot place his era at a much later date than B.C. 1200; and if we assign this date to the Gâthas, as the work of Spitama Zarathushtra and his disciples, then we must fix the age of the larger portion of the Vendidad at about B.C. 1000–900, and that of the later Yasna at about B.C. 800–700. The Pâzand portion of the Vendidad is very likely not older than B.C. 500, and at the same time the collection of its different parts may have taken place.

If we date the commencement of the sacred literature of the Parsis from B.C. 1200, and place its close at B.C. 400, we allow a period of about 800 years, which is, in comparison with other sacred literatures, such as those of the Jews and Brahmans, rather too short than too long.
IV.

THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION

AS TO ITS

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.
IV.

THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AS TO ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

In this Essay it is intended to give a summary view of the origin of the Zoroastrian religion, its general character and development, so far as they can be ascertained from the original Avesta texts. The reader being furnished, in the preceding Essay, with translations of a good many passages referring particularly to this subject, the conclusions to be drawn from them can be here condensed into comparatively

I.—THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BRAHMANICAL AND ZOROASTRIAN RELIGIONS.

Before we can properly discuss the question of the origin of the Zoroastrian religion, and the time when its founder flourished, certain traces of an originally close connection (which the attentive reader of both the Vedas and Zend-Avesta will readily perceive to exist) must be pointed out between the Brahmanical and Zoroastrian religions, customs, and observances.

I.—Names of Divine Beings.

The most striking feature, in this respect, is the use which we find made, in both the Vedas and Zend-Avesta, of the names, deva and asura (ahura in the Avesta). Deva

1 This subject has been already briefly treated in the author's "Lecture on the origin of the Parsi religion," delivered on the 1st of March 1864, at Poona; and more fully in the Essay appended to his German work on the Gāthas, vol. ii. pp. 231-259.
is in all the Vedas, and in the whole Brahmanical literature, the name of the divine beings, the gods who are the objects of worship on the part of the Hindus to the present day. In the Zend-Avesta, from its earliest to its latest texts, and even in modern Persian literature, deva (Pers. dēw) is the general name of an evil spirit, a fiend, demon, or devil, who is inimical to all that comes from God and is good. In the confession of faith, as recited by Parsis to this day, the Zoroastrian religion is distinctly said to be vi-daēvō, “against the Devas,” or opposed to them (see Yasna xii. 1, p. 173), and one of their most sacred books is called vi-daēvō-dāta (now corrupted into Vendidad), i.e., what is given against, or for the removal of, the Devas. The Devas are the originators of all that is bad, of every impurity, of death; and are constantly thinking of causing the destruction of the fields and trees, and of the houses of religious men. The spots most liked by them, according to Zoroastrian notions, are those most filled with dirt and filth, especially cemeteries, which places are, therefore, objects of the greatest abomination to a true Hormazd-worshipper.

Asura is, in the form Ahura, the first part of Ahuramazda (Hormazd), the name of God among the Parsis; and the Zoroastrian religion is distinctly called the Ahura religion (see Yasna xii. 9, p. 174), in strict opposition to the Deva religion. But among the Hindus Asura has assumed a bad meaning, and is applied to the bitterest enemies of their Devas (gods), with whom the Asuras are constantly waging war, and not always without success, as even Hindu legends acknowledge. This is the case throughout the whole Purānic literature, and as far back as the later parts of the Vedas; but in the older parts of the Rigveda Saññhitā we find the word Asura used in as good and elevated a sense as in the Zend-Avesta. The chief gods, such as Indra (Rigveda i. 54, 3), Varuṇa (Rv. i. 24, 14), Agni

1 In the quotations from the Rigveda, the first number refers to the ten), the second to the hymn, and the third to the verse.
(Rv. iv. 2, 5; vii. 2, 3), Savitri (Rv. i. 35, 7), Rudra or Shiva (Rv. v. 42, 11), &c., are honoured with the epithet "Asura," which means "living, spiritual," signifying the divine, in its opposition to human nature. In the plural, it is even used, now and then, as a name for all the gods, as for instance in Rv. i. 108, 6: "This Soma is to be distributed as an offering among the Asuras," by which word the Rishi means his own gods whom he was worshipping. We often find one Asura particularly mentioned, who is called "Asura of heaven" (Rv. v. 41, 3; heaven itself is called by this name, Rv. i. 131, 1), "our father, who pours down the waters" (Rv. v. 83, 6); Agni, the fire god, is born out of his womb (Rv. iii. 29, 14); his sons support heaven.

In a bad sense we find Asura only twice in the older parts of the Rigveda (ii. 32, 4; vii. 99, 5), in which passages the defeat of the "sons or men of the Asura" is ordered, or spoken of; but we find the word more frequently in this sense in the last book of the Rigveda, (which is only an appendix to the whole, made in later times), and in the Atharvaveda, where the Rishis are said to have frustrated the tricks of the Asuras (iv. 23, 5), and to have the power of putting them down (vi. 7, 2).

In the Brāhmaṇas, or sacrificial books, belonging to each of the Vedas, we find the Devas always fighting with the Asuras. The latter are the constant enemies of the Hindu gods, and always make attacks upon the sacrifices offered by devotees. To defeat them all the craft and cunning of the Devas were required; and the means of checking them was generally found in a new sacrificial rite. Thus the Asuras are said to have given rise to a good many sacrificial customs, and in this way they largely

1 In the Purāṇas the Asuras are fighting not with the Devas, but with the Suras. The latter word is a mere fiction of later times, and not to be found in the Vedas. A false etymology has called this new class of gods into existence. The bad sense attached to Asura was thought to lie in the negative prefix a, and therefore their opponents should appear without it, in the form Sura.
contributed towards making the Brahmanical sacrifices so complicated and full of particular rites and ceremonies. To give the reader an idea of the way in which the battles between the Devas and Asuras are said to have been fought, a translation of a passage, taken from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (i. 23)\(^1\) of the Rigveda, is here given:

‘The Devas and Asuras waged war in these worlds. The Asuras made these worlds fortified places (*pur*, i.e., *polis*, town), and made them as strong and impregnable as possible; they made the earth of iron, the air of silver, and the sky of gold. Thus they transformed these worlds into fortified places (castles). The Devas said: These Asuras have made these worlds fortified places; let us thus build other worlds in opposition to these (now occupied solely by them). They then made out of her (the earth) a seat, out of the air a fire-hearth, and out of the sky two repositories for sacrificial food (these are called *Havirdhāna*). The Devas said: Let us bring the *Upasads*;\(^2\) by means of a siege (*upasadā*) one may conquer a large town. When they performed the first Upasad, then they drove them (the Asuras) out from this world (the earth); when they performed the second, then they drove them out from the air; and when they performed the third, then they drove them out from the sky. Thus

---

\(^1\) An edition and translation of the whole work (in two volumes) was published by the author in 1863, giving full information regarding the Brahmanical sacrifices, which were previously little known to European Sanskrit scholars, as it is scarcely possible to obtain a knowledge of them without oral information from professional sacrificial priests. But they are too essential a part of the Vedic religion (now chiefly preserved by the so-called *Agnihotrias*) to be overlooked by those who are inquiring into the Brahmanical religion and its history.

\(^2\) This is a particular ceremony which is to take place immediately after the great *Pravargya* ceremony, during which the priests produce for the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) a golden celestial body, with which alone he is permitted by the gods to enter heaven. When in this way the sacrificer is born anew, he is to receive the nourishment appropriate for an infant’s body, and this is milk. The chief part of the Upasad ceremony is, that one of the priests (the *Adhvaryu*) presents milk to him in a large wooden spoon, which he must drink. Formerly it had to be drunk from the cow which was to be milked by the Adhvaryu. But this custom has now fallen into disuse.
they drove them out from these worlds. The Asuras, thus driven out from these worlds, repaired to the Ritus (seasons). The Devas said: Let us perform Upasad. The Upasads being three, they performed each twice (that makes six in all, corresponding with the six seasons). Then they drove them (the Asuras) out from the Ritus. The Asuras repaired now to the months. The Devas made twelve Upasads, and drove them out from the months. After having been defeated here also, they repaired to the half-months. The Devas performed twenty-four Upasads and drove the Asuras out of the half-months. After having been defeated again, the Asuras repaired to the day and night; the Devas performed the Upasads and drove them out. Therefore, the first Upasad ceremony is to be performed in the first part of the day and the other in the second part of the day. He (the sacrificer) leaves thus only so much space to the enemy as exists between the conjunction of day and night (that is, the time of twilight in the morning and evening).

That the Asuras of the Brahmanical literature are the supreme beings of the Parsis (Ahuramazda with his archangels) is, according to these statements, hardly to be doubted. But there exists, perhaps, a still more convincing proof. Among the metres, used in the Yajurveda, we find seven which are marked by the epithet āsūrī, such as Gāyatrī āsūrī, Uśnīh āsūrī, Pankti āsūrī. These Asura metres, which are foreign to the whole Rigveda, are actually to be found in the Gāthā literature of the Zend-Avesta, which professedly exhibits the doctrines of the Ahura (Asura) religion. The Gāyatrī āsūrī consists of fifteen syllables, which metre we discover in the Gāthā Ahunavaiti (see p. 144), if we bear in mind that the number of sixteen syllables, of which it generally consists, is often reduced to fifteen (compare, for instance, Yas. xxxi. 6, and the first two lines of xxxi. 4). The Uśnīh āsūrī, consisting of fourteen syllables, is completely extant in the Gāthā.

1 See the "White Yajurveda," edited by A. Weber, vol. i. p. lx.
Vohu-khshathra (Yas. li.), each verse of which comprises fourteen syllables. The Pankti āsūrī consists of eleven syllables, just as many as we found (p. 144) in the Gāthas Ushtavaiti and Spentā-mainyū. This coincidence can certainly not be merely accidental, but shows clearly, that the old Gātha literature of the Zend-Avesta was well known to the Rishis who compiled the Yajurveda.

Of great importance, for showing the original close relationship between the Brahmanical and Parsi religions, is the fact that several of the Indian gods are actually mentioned by name in the Zend-Avesta, some as demons, others as angels.

Indra, the chief god of the Brahmans in the Vedic times, the thunderer, the god of light and god of war, for whom pre-eminently the Rishis, the ancient founders of Brahmanism, squeezed and drank the intoxicating Soma beverage, is expressly mentioned in the list of the Devas or demons which we find in Vend. xix. 43.¹ He is there second only to Angrō-mainyush (Ahriman), the arch-fiend who is sometimes designated daēvanām daēvā, “demon of demons” in the Avesta, but “god of the gods” in Sanskrit.

Next to Indra stands Šāurva daēva, whom we discover in one of Shiva’s names Sharva (see the White Yajurveda, xvi. 28). In Nāonhaithya daēva we readily recognise the Nīsatyas of the Vedic hymns, which name is there given to the two Ashvins, the Dioskuri of the Indian mythology.

Some names of the Vedic Devas are, however, used in a good sense, and are transformed into Yazatas or angels in the Zend-Avesta. The most noticeable is Mithra, the Sanskrit form being Mitra. In the Vedic hymns he is generally invoked together with Varuna (identical with the god Uranos of the Greeks), the ruler of heaven and master of the universe;² but in the Zend-Avesta he was

¹ This passage is omitted in two of the oldest manuscripts.
² In later times he was believed to preside over the waters only; but in the Vedic hymns he occupied a much higher position. The whole universe is subject to his laws.
everywhere separated from his ancient companion. However, there is one hymn in the Rigveda (iii. 59, mitra jandn ydtagat) in which Mitra alone (as the sun) is addressed in the following way:—

‘Mitra calls men to their work; Mitra is preserving earth and heaven; Mitra looks upon the nations always without shutting his eyes. To Mitra bring the offering with ghi!

‘O Mitra! that man who troubles himself to keep thy order (rule), O son of eternity (aditya)! shall have abundance; he, protected by thee, shall neither be slain nor defeated; no distress befalls him, neither from near, nor from far.’

In comparing these verses with the extracts given above from the Mihir Yasht, one may easily be convinced of the complete identity of the Vedic Mitra and the Persian Mithra.

Another Vedic deity, Aryaman, who is generally associated with Mitra and Varuna (Rv. i. 136, 2), is at once recognised in the angel Aairyaman of the Zend-Avesta. Aryaman has in both scriptures a double meaning, (a) “a friend, associate” (in the Gâthas it chiefly means “a client”); (b) the name of a deity or spirit who seems particularly to preside over marriages, on which occasions he is invoked both by Brahmans and Parsis (see p. 142). He seems to be either another name of the sun, like Mitra, Savi, Pûshan, &c., or his constant associate and representative. In the Bhagavad Gîta (x. 29) he is mentioned as the head of the pitaras, “manes, or ancestral spirits.”

Bhaga, another deity of the Vedas, belonging to the same class as Mitra and Aryaman (to the so-called Adityas), is to be recognised in the word bâgha of the Zend-Avesta, which word is, however, not employed there as a name of any particular divine being, but conveys the general sense of “god, destiny”1 (lit. “portion”).

1 This word is to be found in the Slavonic languages (Russian, Polish, &c.) in the form bog as the common name for “God.” The ancient Slavonic mythology knew a biebog or white god, and a cerny bog or black god.
That the Vedic god Bhaga (compare the adjective baghod-bakhta, "ordained by fate," which is to be found in both the Veda and the Zend-Avesta) was believed to be a deity, presiding over the destiny and fortune of men, may be clearly seen from some passages in the Rigveda, of which Rv. vii. 41, 2, is here quoted: 'Let us invoke the victor in the morning (i.e., the sunlight which has defeated the darkness of night), the strong Bhaga, the son of Aditi (imperishableness, eternity), who disposes all things (for during the night all seemed to be lost). The poor and the sick, as well as the king, pray to him, full of trust, saying: Give us our portion.'

Aramati, a female spirit in the Vedas, meaning: (a) "devotion, obedience" (Rv. vii. 1, 6; 34, 21), (b) "earth" (x. 92, 4, 5), is apparently identical with the archangel Armaiti, which name has, as the reader will have learned from the third Essay, exactly the same two meanings in the Zend-Avesta. In the Vedas, however, her name is of rare occurrence, being found in some hymns of the Rigveda only.1 She is called a virgin who comes with butter offerings in the morning and evening to Agni (Rv. vii. 1, 6), a celestial woman (gand, see p. 170) who is brought by Agni (Rv. v. 43, 6).

Narāshansa (see Yāska's Nirukta, viii. 6), an epithet of several Vedic gods, such as Agni, Pūshan, and Brahma-naspati (but especially of Agni), is identical with Nāiryō-sayha (Neryosangh), the name of an angel in the Zend-Avesta, who serves Ahuramazda as a messenger (see Vend. xxii.), in which capacity we find Agni and Pūshan in the Vedic hymns also. The word means "one praised by men," i.e., renowned.

The Vedic god Vāyu (wind, especially the morning wind), "who first drinks the Soma at the morning sacrifice," is to be recognised in the spirit Vayu of the Zend-Avesta, who is supposed to be roaming everywhere (see

---

1 See, about Aramati and Armaiti, the German Oriental Society, vol. the author's article in the journal of viii. (1854) p. 769-771.
the Râm Yasht above, p. 214). He is the only Vedic deity who is mentioned by name (vayô) in the Gáthas (Yas. liii. 6), but, of course, not called a devu, which word has always a bad meaning in the Zend-Avesta.

Vṛitrahā, "killer of Vṛitra (a demon)," one of the most frequent epithets of Indra in the Vedic books, is to be recognised in the angel Verethraghna (Behram, see the Behram Yasht above, p. 213). It looks rather strange at the first glance, that we should find one and the same Vedic god, Indra, with his proper name "Indra" entered in the list of demons, and with his epithet "Vṛitrahā" worshipped as a very high angel. But the problem is very easily solved if one bears in mind that Vṛitrahā is applied in the hymns of the Rigveda not exclusively to Indra, but also to another deity, Tītā, who occupied in the most ancient times the place of Indra as thunderer and killer of the demons of the air (Rv. i. 18, 71). That this Tītā is identical with Thraētaona (Frēdûn) in the Iranian legends, we shall soon see.

A very remarkable coincidence, as to the number of divine beings worshipped, is to be found between the statements of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta. In the Vedas, especially in the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas, the gods number thirty-three (trayas-trīṁśad devāḥ) in all. Although the passages do not vary as to the number, they do not throughout agree as to the names of the individual gods by which the number is made up. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (iii. 22, p. 67, of the author's edition) they are enumerated in the following order: eight Vasavas, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, one Prajāpati, and one Vāshaṭkāra. Instead of the last two we find Dyāvā-Pṛithivī (heaven and earth) enumerated in the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa (forming part of the white Yajurveda), iv. 5, 7, 2. In another passage (xi. 6, 3, 5) of the same work,

1 This is a personification of the formula Vasuha, "may he (Agni) carry it up!" which is pronounced with a very much lengthened sound by the sacrificial priest, when throwing the offering into the fire. When personified, the efficacy of the sacrifice is to be understood.
we find Indra and Prajāpati mentioned as the last two. In the Rāmāyaṇa (iii. 2, 15) the two Ashvins are mentioned instead of them.¹ In the Atharvaveda (x. 7; 13, 22, 27), all the thirty-three gods are said to be included in Prajāpati (Brahma) as his limbs.²

With these thirty-three Devas of the Vedas we may compare the thirty-three ratus, or chiefs, for maintaining the best truths, as they are instituted by Mazda, and promulgated by Zarathushtra (Yas. i. 10). From their not being expressly enumerated according to their several classes, as the thirty-three Devas are in the Vedas, we may gather, with some certainty, that the “thirty-three ratus” was only a time-hallowed formula for enumerating the divine existences, the bearing and import of which was no longer understood by the Iranians after their separation from the Brahmans.

2.—NAMES AND LEGENDS OF HEROES.

There is not only a great similarity between, and even identity of, names of divine beings in both the Veda and Zend-Avesta, but a similar close resemblance extends also to the legends of heroic feats related in both scriptures. But, at the very outset, we can discover, notwithstanding this similarity, a striking difference between the Iranian and Brahmanical notions regarding these legends. The Brahmans attribute them generally to gods, the Iranians partly to great heroes and partly to angels. The following are some of the most striking resemblances:—

Yima khshaētu (Jamsēd) and Yama rājā. The names

¹The later tradition, as laid down in the Purāṇa, has increased the Vedic number of thirty-three deities to thirty-three koṭis, or 330 millions. This fact is a striking instance how unscrupulously and ridiculously the statements of the Vedas have been expanded and exaggerated in later times, which has contributed towards bringing Hinduism into the deplorable state in which we find it now.

²This tendency towards establishing a kind of monotheism is, now and then, to be discovered in the ancient Vedic hymns. Compare, for instance, the celebrated passage, Rigveda i. 164, 46, where it is said that “the wise men understand by the different gods only one being.”
AND ZOROASTRIAN RELIGIONS.

and epithets are the same; Yima is identical with Yama, and kāshaeta means "king," the same as rājā. The family name of both is the same: Vīvānḍo or son of Vīvānghvat in the Zend-Avesta (see the second fargard of the Vendidad above, p. 231), and Vāvāsvata or son of Vīvāsvat in the Veda. In the Zend-Avesta Yima gathers round him men and animals in flocks, and fills the earth with them; and after the evils of winter had come over his territories, he leads a select number of the beings of the good creation to a secluded spot, where they enjoy uninterrupted happiness. According to the hymns of the Rigveda, 'Yama, the king, 'the gatherer of the people, has descried a path for many, 'which leads from the depths to the heights; he first 'found out a resting-place from which nobody can turn 'out the occupants; on the way the forefathers have gone, 'the sons will follow them' (Rigveda x. 14, 1, 2). Yama is here described as the progenitor of mankind; as the first mortal man he first experienced death, and first went up from the low valley of this earth to the heights of heaven, where he gathers round him all his descendants, who must follow in his track by the law of nature, and rules over all who have entered his dominions, which are full of bliss and happiness. This happy ruler of the blessed in paradise has been transformed, in the modern Hindu mythology, into the fearful god of death, the inexorable judge of men’s doings, and the punisher of the wicked. In the legends of the Iranians, as extant in the Zend-Avesta and Shāhnāmah, he was the king of the golden age and the happy ruler of the Iranian tribes.

Thrīta, Thrāṭāna (Frēdān) and Thrīta, Thrāṭāna. Thrīta, one of the Sāma family (from which the great hero Rustam sprang), is in the Zend-Avesta (see p. 257) the first physician, the curer of the diseases created by Ahriman; an idea which we find also attached to Thrīta in the Vedas. He is said, in the Atharvaveda (vi. 113, 1), to extinguish illness in men, as the gods have extinguished it in him; he must sleep for the gods (xix. 56, 4). He
grants a long life (Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Black Yajurveda, i. 8, 10, 2). Any evil thing is to be sent to him to be appeased (Rigveda viii. 47, 13). This circumstance is hinted at in the Zend-Avesta by the surname Sāma, which means “appeaser.” He is further said to have been once thrown into a well, whence Brihaspati rescued him (Rv. i. 105, 17). The Indian tradition makes him a Rishi, and ascribes several hymns of the Rigveda to him (as for instance Rv. i. 105). There are some traits discoverable in the ancient hymns which make him appear rather like a god than a mortal man. He drinks Soma, like Indra, for obtaining strength to kill the demon Vṛitra (i. 187, 1), and, like him, he cleaves with his iron club the rocky cave where the cows (the celestial waters) are concealed (i. 52, 5).

Thraētaoma (Frēdān) is easily recognised in the Vedic Traitana, who is said to have severed the head of a giant from his shoulders (Rv. i. 158, 3). His father is called Ațhvyaō, which corresponds exactly with the frequent surname of Trita in the Vedas, viz., Aptya. Trita and Traitana seem to have been confounded together in the Veda, whereas originally they were quite distinct from one another. Trita was the name of a celebrated physician, and Traitana that of the conqueror of a giant or tyrant; the first belonged to the family of the Sāmas, the latter to the Aptyas. In the Zend-Avesta the original form of the legend is better preserved (see about Thraētaoma, p. 178).

Kava Us (Kaṭkērōs in the Shāhīnhāmah) and Kāvya Ushanas. He is one of the great heroes of the Iranians, and believed to have been a ruler over Iran. In the later Indian literature, he is identified with Shukra, the planet Venus, and said to have been during his lifetime the Guru (prophet or teacher) of the Daityas or Asuras, the enemies of the gods. But he is not viewed in this light in the ancient Vedic hymns. There he is associated with the god Indra, who calls himself Kāvya Ushanā (Rv. iv. 26, 1), and is invoked by the name Kavi Ushanā (Rv. i. 130, 9).
AND ZOROASTRIAN RELIGIONS.

This Kâvya Ushanâ (meaning "Ushandô, son of Kavi") installed Agni as a high-priest for mankind (Rv. viii. 23, 17); he led the heavenly cows (the clouds) to pasturage (Rv. i. 83, 5), and made Indra's iron club, by which the god killed his enemy Vṛitra. In the Bhagavad Gîta (x. 27) he is considered as the first of the poets, wherefore Krishna, who calls himself the first in every particular branch, identifies himself with Ushanas. According to the Mahâ-bhârata (i. 2544) he has four sons, who offer sacrifice to the Asuras. In the Iranian legend he does not appear as blameless; he is said to have been so proud and self-conceited as to endeavour to fly up to heaven, for which arrogance he was then severely punished.

The name Dânava is given, both in the Vedas and Zend-Avesta, to enemies with whom wars are to be waged. Compare Yt. v. 73, and Atharvaveda iv. 24, 2. In the Rigveda it is often a name of the archdemon Vṛitra, with whom Indra is fighting.

In the legend of Tishtrya (see p. 200) some of the particulars relating to Indra and Brihaspati in the Vedas may be recognised. Tishtrya cannot bring the rain from the sea Vouru-kasha over the earth, if not assisted by the prayers of men. In the same way Indra cannot release the celestial cows (the clouds) from the rocky cave, whither they have been carried by demons, without the assistance of Brihaspati, who is the representative of the prayers sent up by men to the gods, and the personification of their devotion and meditation.

3.—Sacrificial Rites.

Although sacrifices are reduced to a few rites in the Parsi religion now-a-days, we may discover, on comparing them with the sacrificial customs of the Brahmins,¹ a great

¹ Most of the Vedic sacrifices are still in use. Those Brahmins, who perform all the sacrifices required for going to heaven, according to the Vedic system, are called Agnihotris. Their number was very large at the time of the Peshwas, and is even now considerable in some of the native states, as for instance, in the dominions of the Gaikwar at Baroda.
similarity in the rites of the two religions. Some of the most striking of these resemblances will be here pointed out.

At the very outset the attentive reader of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta will observe the identity of a good many terms referring to priestly functions. The very name for “priest” in the Zend-Avesta, āthrava, is to be recognised in the atharvan of the Vedas, by which term a priest of Fire and Soma is meant. The Vedic words ishti (a series of invocations of several deities, accompanied by the offering of the sacrificial cakes, the so-called Puroḍāsha) and āhuti (the invocation of one deity with the offering, within the limits of the ishti) are to be recognised in the īśhti and āḍhūti of the Zend-Avesta, where the original peculiar significations are lost, and only the general meanings “gift” and “invocation or praise” have survived. The particular names of several officiating priests, at the time of performing a solemn ceremony, are the same in both religions. The Hotā, or reciter of the mantras of the Rigveda, is identical with the Zaota priest, while the Adhvaryu or managing priest, who has to prepare everything for the Hotā, is the same with the Rathvi (now called Raspi), who is only the servant of the Zaota or chief priest. In the Śraoṣṭavareça, who represents the angel Srosh, the Pratipprashtatā of the Brahmanical sacrifices may be recognised, because this priest holds in his hand a wooden sword, during the time of sacrifice, to drive away the evil spirits, which weapon is constantly ascribed to Srosh for the same purpose (see p. 190). In the Atrevaśaksho, who has charge of the vessel in which the performance of the manifold sacrifices enjoined to the Agnihoṭris, or the strict followers of the Vedic religion, entails too much expense upon an individual to be performed by many without public support. The Peshwas used to support them. Among all the Agnihoṭris (about twelve or fifteen) who presented themselves at the Dakṣiṇa meeting at Poona, between the 15th November and 15th December 1861, only one could be found (and he was from Satara) who had performed all the numerous sacrifices, some of which require from six to twelve days for their performance and an outlay of many thousands of rupias.
fire is, we find the *Agnidhra* (who holds the fire) of the Brahmans.

The Yajishn or Ijashne ceremony, as performed by the Parsi priests now-a-days (see p. 139), contains all the elements which constitute the different parts (four or seven) of the *Jyotishṭoma* cycle of sacrifices, the prototype of all the Soma sacrifices. The *Agnishṭoma* (*i.e.*, praise of Agni, the fire), which is the opening sacrifice of this cycle and indispensable for every Agnihoṭri to gain the object wished for, viz., heaven, bears a particular resemblance to the performance of Ijashne. Of course, the whole ceremony is much shortened, and the rites changed in accordance with the more enlightened and humane spirit of the Zoroastrian religion. In the *Agnishṭoma* four goats must be killed and their flesh is partly offered to the gods by throwing it into Agni, the fire, who is the mediator between gods and men, and partly eaten by the sacrificer and the priests. During the Ijashne ceremony no animal is killed; only some hair of an ox is placed in a small vessel and shown, together with the other things, to the fire. This is now-a-days the only remnant of animal sacrifice on this occasion, but formerly they used a piece of meat besides. The *Puroḍāsha* of the Brahmans, or the sacrificial cakes, which must be offered to different deities in a certain order, during the recital of two mantras for each deity, is changed into a flat kind of bread (similar to a very small pancake), called *Darān*. The fresh milk, required at the time of performing the Upasad ceremony (see p. 270), is to be recognised in the *gāush jīvyā* (see p. 139). Ghī, butter, &c., required for less important ceremonies at the time of the *Agnishṭoma* (when making the so-called *Prayājas* for the six seasons) are represented by the *gāush hūdhāo* (see p. 139). The *Zaothrā* or consecrated water is required at the commencement of the Brahmanical sacrifices also, where it is called *udaka śánta*.

The most important part of the offerings in both the *Jyotishṭoma* sacrifices and the Ijashne ceremony, is the
juice of the Soma plant. In both the twigs of the plant itself (the Brahmans use the stalks of the Pūtika, which is a substitute for the original Soma, and the Parsis use the branches of a particular shrub which grows in Persia) in their natural state are brought to the sacred spot, where the ceremony is to take place, and the juice is there extracted during the recital of prayers. The contrivances used for obtaining the juice, as well as the vessels employed, are somewhat different, but, on closer inquiry, an original identity may be recognised. The Brahmans beat the stalks of the plant, which are placed on a large flat stone, with another smaller stone till they form a single mass; this is then put into a vessel and water is poured over it. After some time this water, which has extracted the greenish juice, is poured through a cloth, which serves as a strainer, into another vessel. The Parsi priests use, instead of stones, a metal mortar with a pestle whereby the twigs of the Homa plant, together with one of the pomegranate tree, are bruised, and they then pour water over them to obtain the juice, which is strained through a metal saucer with nine holes. This juice (Parahaoma) has a yellow colour, and only very little of it is drunk by one of the two priests (the Zaota) who must be present, whereas all the Brahmanical priests (sixteen in number), whose services are required at the Jyotishtoma, must drink the Soma juice, and some of the chief priests (such as the Adhvaryu and Hotā) must even take a very large quantity. The Parsi priests never throw any of the juice into the fire, but the Brahmans must first offer a certain quantity of the intoxicating juice to different deities, by throwing it from variously-shaped wooden vessels into the fire, before they are allowed to taste "the sweet liquor." The Parsi priests only show it to the fire, and then drink it. Afterwards the juice is prepared a second time by the chief priest (Zaota) and then thrown into a well. These two preparations of the Homa juice correspond to the morning libation (prātāh savana) and mid-day libation (madhyandina
savanna) of the Brahmans; for the third, or evening libation, there was no opportunity in the Parsi ritual, because no sacrificial rites are allowed to be performed in the evening or night time.

The Barsom (Baresma), or the bundle of twigs which is indispensable at the time of reciting Ijashne, is to be traced to one of the sacrificial rites at the great Soma sacrifices. It has hitherto been erroneously identified with the Barkis or sacred grass (Kusha grass is used) of the Brahmans, which they spread at their sacrifices as a seat for the gods who are expected to come. But the close connection of the Barsom with the Ijashne ceremony, and the circumstances that wood (branches of a particular tree) and not grass is taken, and that these branches are laid on a stand, not spread on the floor, lead to the conclusion that it does not represent the seat for the divine beings, as the Kusha grass does. It refers, in all likelihood, to a peculiar rite at the great Soma sacrifices, which is as yet little known, but about which the author had an opportunity of obtaining oral information. At the time of the Soma libation (called Savana), which is to be performed three times on the same day, from 8–12 A.M. (morning libation), 1–5 P.M. (mid-day libation), 6–11 P.M. (evening libation), the three Sâmaveda priests, the Udgâtâ, the Prastotâ, and the Pratihartâ, require a certain number of wooden sticks to be placed in a certain order when chanting the sacred Sâmans (verses of the Sâmaveda). They use for this purpose the wood of the Udumbara tree, and call them kusaha, which name is generally given to the sacred grass. In the Agnistoma fifteen such sticks are required at the morning libation, seventeen at noon, and twenty-one in the evening; in other sacrifices, such as the Âporyama, even a much larger number of such sticks is required. The three singers must then chant successively, one by one, in a very solemn manner, the five parts,¹ into which every

¹ Such Sâmans are called panchabhaktika, i.e., divided into five parts, viz.: Prastâva (prelude), Udgatha (the principal part, to be chanted by
Sāman or verse adapted for singing is divided at certain sacrifices, while putting some of the sticks into a certain proper order. This ceremony is considered to be most essential, and unless observed and properly performed, all the effect of the Sāmans (which are believed to carry the sacrificer up to heaven, the most important of all being called Rathantaram, "carriage") is lost.

At the same time there is another peculiar custom to be observed, which may be traced in the Yasna also. As soon as the singers have chanted their verse, one of the Hotās must repeat a series of mantras from the Rigveda (not in the usual way of repetition, but in one approaching the recital of the Yajurveda), in order to praise and extol the Sāman, which ceremony is called Shestram. At the end of the different Hās of the Yasna, especially its Gāthā portion, verses of these hymns are often invoked as divine beings, and in Yas. xix. 6 (p. 186) we have seen that it is considered very meritorious to worship the Ahuna-vairya formula after having repeated it.

With regard to the division of the Sāmans into five parts, it may be remarked that the Ahuna-vairya formula, which is as important for the Parsis as the Rathantaram Sāman was for the Vedic Brahmans, was also divided into five parts (see p. 188).

In the Ahringān ceremony of the Parsis (see p. 224) there may be discovered a trace of the Brahmical Apri ceremony (see Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, p. 28, of the author’s edition), which is preparatory to the killing and offering of the sacrificial goats. The name is the same: ḍ-prā in Sanskrit, ḍ-frā in the Avesta (the formula used being ḍfrēndmī), which literally means to "invite;" with which invitation the name of the being or beings, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, must always be mentioned. The Parsis mention the name of a deceased person, or of an angel; the Brahmans insert the names of

the Udgātā, Pratihāra (response), (great finale), to be chanted by all Upadrava (little finale), and Nidhana three.
different deities (there are eleven invocations), who are expected to come and enjoy the meal prepared for them. These solemn invitations being accompanied with a blessing, the Parsis understand by this ceremony a benediction, which form it seems to have assumed at a very early time.

The *Darsha pûrṇama iṣṭi* (new and full moon sacrifice) seems to correspond with the *Darûn* ceremony of the Parsis. Both are very simple; the Brahmans use chiefly the Purodâsha, or sacrificial cakes, the Parsis the sacred bread (Darûn), which corresponds to the Purodâsha.

The *Châtūrmdśya iṣṭi*, or the sacrifice offered every four months or two seasons, corresponds to the Gahanbâr ceremony of the Parsis, which is celebrated six times a year. Sacrificing animals was essential for the proper performance of these ceremonies among the Parsis until recent times; so it is with the Brahmans also. But as to animal sacrifice, there is always a great difference between the Brahmanical and Zoroastrian rites. The Brahmans must throw some parts of the slaughtered animal, such as the *vapā* (peritoneum), into the fire; while the Parsis simply consecrate the flesh and eat it as a solemn meal, without throwing anything into the fire. On such occasions even the Brahmans now-a-days also eat some of the flesh.

4.—Religious Observances, Domestic Rites, and Cosmographical Opinions.

Although there are a good many similarities to be discovered in respect to observances, domestic rites, &c., we must confine our remarks to a few of the most striking points of coincidence.

The great purification ceremony (see p. 241), by means of cow’s urine (called *gômēz*), as practised by the Parsis to this day, may be compared with a similar observance of the Brahmans. The latter use, in order to remove all

---

inward impurity from the body, the so-called Panchagavyam, or five products of the most sacred animal, the cow, one of which is her urine. This custom comes from the most ancient times, when this liquid was regarded as a very effective remedy against any disorder of the bodily organs. Such remedies as cow-dung and cow's urine have been used even on the continent of Europe by peasant physicians down to our times.

To the Parsis, as well as to the Brahmans, the investiture with the sacred thread (called kusti by the Parsis, ariwyanhanem in the Zend-Avesta) is enjoined as a religious duty. As long as this ceremony has not been performed, one is no real member of either the Brahmanical or Zoroastrian community. The time for performing it lasts among the Brahmans from the eighth to the sixteenth year (see Yājnavalkya, i. 14, 37); the Parsis are invested with the Kusti in their seventh year.

With regard to the funeral rites of both religions some similarities may be pointed out. After the death of a man, Brahmans as well as Parsis must pray to raise the soul of the deceased up to heaven, which is the so-called third-day's ceremony of the Parsis. On the tenth day after the death, the Parsis perform a certain ceremony (Ijashne is read), and the Brahmans use the important ceremony of Kākasparsha, that is, they expose a ball of rice to be taken by a crow.

As to cosmographical opinions the Brahmans divide the whole world into seven dvāpas, the Parsis into seven kēshvars (karshvare in the Avesta), i.e., zones or regions. Both acknowledge a central mountain, which is called by the former Meru, by the latter Alborz (Harō berezaiti in the Avesta).

II.—ORIGIN OF THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.—SPITAMA ZARATHUSHTRA AND HIS PROBABLE AGE.

After having established, in the preceding section, the fact that a close and intimate connection once existed
between the religion of the Parsis and that of the Brahmans, we may now proceed to trace the origin of the Zoroastrian religion, and characterise the period at which it must have arisen.

I.—Traces of the Origin to be Found both in the Vedas and Zend-Avesta.

In the Vedas, as well as in the older portions of the Zend-Avesta (see the Gāthas), there are sufficient traces to be discovered that the Zoroastrian religion arose out of a vital struggle against the form which the Brahmanical religion had assumed at a certain early period. Both creeds are known as diametrically opposed to one another in both their scriptures. One is called the belief of the Asuras (Ahura in the Avesta), the other that of the Devas. This circumstance cannot be merely accidental, the less so, as we find the word Asura used in the older Vedic hymns (see p. 268) in a perfectly good sense, and as a name of several Devas themselves, which fact clearly shows that there must have been once a vital struggle between the professors of the Deva and those of the Ahura religion, in consequence of which the originally good meaning of Asura was changed to a bad one.

Although it is, therefore, impossible to deny the existence of the original close connection between the Deva and Asura religions, some might still be inclined to doubt whether the adherents of the Deva religion were actually the direct ancestors of the present Brahmans. It is true the word deva¹ and the cognate word dyaus are found in most of the Aryan languages with the meaning of "heaven," or "divine being," and the Deva-worshippers, combated by the Zoroastrians, might be another kindred tribe of the Aryan stock, different from the Brahmans. But the fact that several of the Brahmanical Devas are mentioned by

¹ Best preserved in the Lithuanian dievas, "god," and in Latin deus. The cognate dyaus, "heaven," is extant in the Greek Zeus, gen. Dios, and the name of an ancient Teutonic god Tiu, preserved in the word "Tuesday" (in Anglo-Saxon: Tiwes dag).
name in the Zend-Avesta, leaves no doubt whatever that the opponents of the Ahura religion actually were the ancient Brahmans; for the names of the Devas, mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, such as Indra, Sharva, Nâsatya, are purely Brahmanical, and unknown to any other nation of the Aryan stock.

We have seen above that the names of the Indian Devas or gods were not all entered in the list of the Zoroastrian Devas or demons, but some of them retained their old dignity by being transformed, in accordance with the new spirit of the Zoroastrian religion, from gods into angels (Yazatas). The names of these are also identical with those of some Vedic deities, such as Aryaman, Mitra, Aramati, &c.

Some of the ancient gods occur with one name in the list of angels, and with another in that of the demons. Thus, for instance, the Zoroastrian demon, Indra, has become, under his other name, Verethragha (Vritrâhâ), one of the mightiest angels, as has been shown above (p. 275).

These facts throw some light upon the age in which that great religious struggle took place, the consequence of which was the entire separation of the ancient Iranians from the Brahmans, and the foundation of the Zoroastrian religion. It must have occurred at the time when Indra was the chief god of the Brahmans. This was the case at that early period to which we must assign the composition of the majority of the Vedic hymns, before the Brahmans had immigrated into Hindustan Proper. In the post-Vedic period, whose events called into existence the great epic poems Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana, we find Indra’s place at the head of the gods occupied by the Trimûrti of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, which idea is utterly foreign to the Vedic hymns. The Trimûrti never being alluded to in the Zend-Avesta, we must assign to the religious struggle a much earlier date.

Before proceeding to fix the probable age of the origin
of the Zoroastrian religion, some facts derived from passages in the Vedas and Gāthas may be adduced, which throw much light upon this difficult subject.

The priests and prophets of the Devas are mentioned by the names kavi, karapān, and usikhsh in the Gāthas (see Yas. xxxii. 14; xliv. 20; xlvi. 11; xlviii. 10; li. 14). The first is of very frequent occurrence in the Vedic hymns, the third is also occasionally met with there, and the verb (kalpayati)\(^1\) and noun (kalpa) connected with the second name are very frequently employed. Kavi, which means “poet” in the classical Sanskrit, is the name of seers and priests in the Vedic hymns (Rv. i. 128, 8; 142, 8; 188, 1); by drinking the “delicious,” but intoxicating, Soma juice, the power of Kavi is attainable (Rv. i. 91, 14); the term is, therefore, applied to the Soma priest (Rv. ix. 37, 6; 72, 6); these Kavis or seers, being believed to be in possession of divine revelation and secret wisdom, were consulted as prophets (Rv. i. 164, 6; vii. 86, 3). The gods themselves, especially Agni, are called by this name (Rv. ii. 23, 1; iii. 14, 1), which circumstance clearly shows that it was a high title, which could be given only to the heads and spiritual guides of the ancient Brahmanical community.

Synonymous with this name is uṣṭiy, which exactly corresponds to usikhsh (nom.) in the Gāthas (Yas. xliv. 20). It means “a wise, intelligent man,” as one may see from such passages as Rv. ii. 21, 5; x. 46, 2, and Shāṅkhāyana’s Grihya Śūtra vi. 12, 19, where it changes places with kavi, as is the case in Yas. xliv. 20, also.

By the karapāṇa, who are mentioned together with the kāvayās in the Gāthas, we must understand specially the sacrificial priests, the performers of the sacrifices, those men who are known nowadays to the Brahmans by the name of Shrotriyas. As to its grammatical formation, this word is derived from a root karap, which corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit root kalp, “to perform a cere-

\(^1\) The sound ū, being completely unknown in the Avesta language, is there always represented by r.
mony,” whence the word kalpa, “the ritual, or the doctrine of the ceremonies,” is derived. Karapanō, therefore, means really “performers of sacrificial rites.”

These two names, kavi and karapan, designate in the fullest sense all the spiritual guides of the professors of the Deva religion, who tried to put down the adherents of the Ahuramazda religion, and we necessarily find, therefore, a bad meaning attached to them in the Gāthas. This appears the more strange, as the word kavi itself forms part of the names of highly celebrated personages of Iranian antiquity, such as Kavi Husrava (Kai Khusro), Kavi Kavāta (Kai Kabâd), Kavi Vishtâspa (Kai Gushtâsp), &c., and has become, in its derived adjectival form “Kayanian,” the designation of a whole dynasty of the ancient Bactrian rulers.

Here the question naturally arises, how could a designation, which distinguished the bitterest enemies of the Zoroastrian religion, be applied to kings who were, like Kavi Vishtâspa, believed to be its staunchest friends and protectors? The only reasonable answer is, that before the outbreak of the schism, when the Iranians and Brahmans lived peacefully together, the Kavis were at the head of both communities; and that, on account of their violent opposition to the religious and social reforms which were adopted by some of the Aryan tribes, such as the Iranians, their very name was branded, and became a word of abomination with the Zoroastrians. But the designation having been already closely connected with their ancient history, and having become the constant epithet of some of their greatest heroes and kings, it was difficult, nay, impossible, to expunge it entirely in its good and high sense from the language. The adversaries of the Kavis, therefore, had to rest satisfied with a slight change of the hateful word when they wished to use it with a good meaning. Thus we actually find this word in the old texts, when forming part of the names of the great Iranian heroes and kings, changed from its only true and original
form Kavi into Kavā, as, for instance, Kavā Viśhīṣṭāspa, instead of Kavi Viśhīṣṭāspa.¹

Now this word Kavā became a party name, denoting the opponents of the Deva religion. And in this sense we find it unmistakeably employed in the ancient Vedic hymns. Kaṇdivkaḥ or Kavārī or Kaṇvatna, which all mean "followers of Kavā or adherents of Kava," are names, given to the enemies of Indra and the despisers of his sacred drink (Soma). In one passage (Rv. v. 34, 3) Kaṇdivkaḥ is even called a māghāvā, by which name the disciples and earliest followers of Zarathushtra are denoted in the Gāthas (see p. 169). Indra is there said to turn out the Māghava, who follows the Kava party, from his possession, which refers to the settlements (gațhas) of the Iranians.

That Zarathushtra's attacks were really directed against the Soma sacrifices of the Brahmins, undeniably follows from several passages of the Gāthas (see Yas. xxxii. 3; xlviii. 10). This is not to be wondered at, if we bear in mind that the Indian tribes, as described in the ancient hymns of the Vedas, never engaged themselves in their frequent predatory excursions for stealing cows, horses, sheep, &c., without having previously secured the assistance of Indra by preparing for him a solemn Soma feast. The Karapans dressed it in due manner, and the Kavis composed or applied those verses which were best calculated to induce Indra to accept the invitation. The Kavis were believed to recognise by certain signs the arrival of the god. After he had enjoyed the sweet beverage, the delicious honey, and was supposed to be totally inebriated, then the Kavis promised victory. The inroads were undertaken, headed by those Kavis who had previously intoxicated themselves, and they appear to have been in most cases successful. The Iranian settlers, who had to suffer so much from these attacks (see p. 173), ascribed the success to those Soma sacrifices, which, therefore, must

¹ See further particulars in the author's work on the Gāthas, i. p. 179, 180, and ii. p. 238-41.
have been objects of abomination and horror to them. But the belief in the great efficacy of such a ceremony, as the solemn squeezing and preparing of the Soma juice, being too deeply rooted in the minds of the Iranians, as well as in those of the ancient Indians, the Iranians forsook only the old Aryan fashion of preparing the sacred drink, and invented one of their own, which was more in accordance with the spirit of their new religion (see p. 282). As we have seen, Spitama Zarathushtra himself never mentions this reformed Homa (Soma) ceremony in the Gâthas; it is doubtful, therefore, whether it existed in his time, or, if so, whether he approved of it. It is true, legends were afterwards circulated, to the effect that he himself had given his sanction to this ceremony, as the reader will have learned from the Homa Yasht (see p. 176).

Having established now, beyond any reasonable doubt, the fact that the Zoroastrian religion arose in consequence of a serious conflict of the Iranians with those other Aryan tribes which emigrated into Hindustan Proper, and whose leaders became in later times the founders of Brahmanism, the questions as to the cause of this religious schism, the leader of the seceding party, and the time at which this great event happened, have to be decided.

2.—Causes of the Schism.

The causes, which led to the schism, may be readily learned from the more ancient parts of the Zend-Avesta, especially from the Gâthas. They were of a social and political as well as of a religious nature. The Aryan tribes, after they had left their original home, which was in all likelihood a cold country (see the allusions to it in the first and second Fargards of the Vendidad), led mainly a pastoral life, and cultivated only occasionally some patches of land for their own support. In this state we find the ancient Aryan community throughout the earlier Vedic period, and the Brahmanical tribes were given to this nomadic life as long as they occupied the upper part
of the Panjâb, whence they afterwards emigrated into Hindustan Proper. Some of these tribes, whom we may style the Iranians proper, became soon weary of these constant wanderings, and after having reached such places between the Oxus and Yaxartes rivers and the highland of Bactria as were deemed fit for permanent settlements, they forsook the pastoral life of their ancestors and their brother tribes, and became agriculturists. In consequence of this change the Iranians estranged themselves from the other Aryan tribes, which still clung to the ancestral occupation, and allured by the hope of obtaining booty, regarded those settlements as the most suitable objects for their incursions and skirmishes. How frequent these attacks of the Deva-worshippers upon the property of the Mazda-yasnians must have been, the reader can learn from the formula, by which the Deva-worshippers abjured their religion, and entered the community of the Iranians (see p. 173), and from some verses of the Gâthas (especially Yas. xxxii. and xlvi.).

The success of the attacking Deva-worshippers was, as we have seen, mainly ascribed to spells (mantras) and sacrificial skill. Their religion, therefore, must have become an object of hatred in the eyes of the Iranians, although the latter were well aware that it was closely related to their own, or even to a certain extent identical with it. Their own religion, therefore, had to be totally changed, in order to break up all communication whatever with the devastators of their settlements. The Deva religion was branded as the source of all mischief and wickedness, and instead of it, the Ahura religion of agriculture was instituted, which separated them thenceforth for ever from their Brahmanical brethren.

If we ask who instituted this Ahura religion, we can hardly believe that it was the work of a single man only, though it is not to be denied that the peculiar form which it assumed was mainly due to one great personage, Spitama Zarathushtra.
3.—Spitama Zarathushtra.

In the Gāthas we find Zarathushtra alluding to old revelations (Yas. xlvi. 6), and praising the wisdom of the Saoshyanē, "fire-priests" (Yas. xlvi. 3; xlviii. 12). He exhorts his party to respect and revere the Âṅgara (Yas. xliii. 15), i.e., the Angiras of the Vedic hymns, who formed one of the most ancient and celebrated priestly families of the ancient Aryans, and who seem to have been more closely connected with the ante-Zoroastrian form of the Parsi religion than any other of the later Brahmanical families. These Angiras are often mentioned together with the Atharvans or fire-priests (which word, in the form âthrava, is the general name given to the priest caste in the Zend-Avesta), and both are regarded in the Vedic literature as the authors of the Atharvaveda which is called the Veda of the Atharvāngiras, or the Athارvâna, or Angirasa veda, i.e., the Veda of the Atharvans or Angiras.¹ This work was for a long time not acknowledged as a proper Veda by the Brahmans, because its contents, which consist chiefly of spells, charms, curses, mantras for killing enemies, &c., were mostly foreign to the three other Vedas, which alone were originally required for sacrifices. On comparing its contents with some passages in the Yashts and Vendidad, we discover a great similarity.

Although a close connection between the ante-Zoroastrian and the Atharvana and Angirasa religion can hardly be doubted, yet this relationship refers only to the magical part, which was believed by the ancient Greeks to be the very substance and nature of the Zoroastrian religion.

In all likelihood, as the names Atharvana and Angirasa, or fire-priests, indicate, the worship of fire was a characteristic feature of this ancient religion.

The Saoshyanē, or fire-priests, who seem to be identical with the Atharvans, are to be regarded as the real predecessors of Spitama Zarathushtra, who paved the way for

¹ See Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 448.
THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

the great religious reform carried out by the latter. It is distinctly said (Yas. liii. 2) that the good Ahura religion was revealed to them, and that they professed it in opposition to the Deva religion, like Zarathushtra himself and his disciples (Yas. xii. 7; see p. 173). We must, therefore, regard these ancient sages as the founders of the Ahura religion, who first introduced agriculture and made it a religious duty, and commenced war against the Deva religion.

The struggle may have lasted for several centuries before Spitama Zarathushtra appeared in Iran, professedly by divine command, to strike a death-blow at idolatry, and to banish it for ever from his native soil. But however this may have been, the decisive step of completely separating the contending parties from one another, and establishing a new community governed by new laws, was taken by Spitama Zarathushtra. He has, therefore, many claims to be regarded as the founder of the true Mazdayasnian or Parsi religion, which absorbed the old Ahura religion of the ancient fire-priests. He himself was one of the Saoshyantō or fire-priests, because we find him, when standing before the sacred fire, delivering his speeches and receiving answers from Ahuramazda out of the sacred flames.

The events of his life are almost all enshrouded in darkness, to dispel which will be for ever impossible, should no authentic historical records be discovered in Bactria, his home. The reports regarding him, given by the Greeks and Romans (see the first Essay), are as unhistorical and legendary as those found in the majority of the Avesta books themselves. In the Vendidad and the Yashts (see p. 212) he is represented to us not as a historical, but as a dogmatical personality, stripped of nearly everything that is peculiar to human nature, and vested with a supernatural and wholly divine power, standing next to God himself and being even elevated above the archangels. The temptations of the devil, whose whole empire was
threatened by the great prophet, form a favourite subject of the traditional reports and legends. He was the concentration of all wisdom and truth, and the master and head of the whole living creation (see p. 211).

The only source whence we may derive some very scanty historical facts is the older Yasna. In this part of the scriptures only, he appears before our eyes as a real man, acting a great and prominent part in the history of his country, and even in the history of the whole human race in general. He was a member of the Spitama family, which name is given to the Haēchādaspas also (Yas. xlvi. 15), who seem, therefore, to have been his nearest relations. His father’s name was Pōwrushaspa, according to the later Yasna and Vendidad. Of his children only his daughter Paowruchista (Yas. liii. 3) is mentioned by the two names Haēchādaspānā Spitāmē, which can be interpreted only as “belonging to the Spitama family of the Haēchādaspa lineage.” He was distinguished by the surname Zarathushtra, which the Greeks corrupted to Zarastrades or Zoroastres, and the Romans to Zoroaster, by which name alone he is known to Europeans, while the Persians and Parsis changed it to Zardosht. Although the original meaning of this name is uncertain,¹ yet it can hardly be doubted that it was not merely the proper name of the founder of the Parsi religion, but denoted a certain high dignity, that of the high-priest of the country. This follows clearly from Yas. xix. (see p. 188), where the Zarathushtra is mentioned as the fifth chief, in those countries where there are four others of an inferior order, and as the fourth, where there are only three others below him; and it is also evident from the title Zarathushstrōtemē. This

¹ See the author’s work on the Gāthas, ii. p. 245-46, note 1, where the different explanations of the name hitherto given are mentioned and refuted. The most probable meaning of “Zarathushtra” is not “the most excellent poet,” as the author suggested formerly, but “senior, chief” (in a spiritual sense), and the word may be traced to the Sanskrit satā, which means in compounds “old;” ushrā is then equivalent to ulla, “superior, excellent.”
THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

297

title must mean, according to grammar (tema being the superlative suffix), “the greatest or highest Zarathushtra,” which denomination can be understood only if we assume the existence of several contemporaneous Zarathushtras, at whose head he was placed. The name “Zarathushtra” must, therefore, have conveyed in ancient times nearly the same meaning as the word “Dastur” does nowadays: it must have meant the spiritual guide and head of a whole district, or even province. The Zarathushtronemō is, therefore, to be compared with the Dastur-i-Dasturān or chief high-priest. Even according to the notions of the modern Parsis, a Dastur occupies a very high rank among them; he is a ratu or chief in the living creation, and in his praise and honour even ceremonies may be performed.

A clear proof that the word “Zarathushtra” itself was not alone deemed sufficient to distinguish the prophet from other men, is that his family name “Spitama” is generally prefixed when he is spoken of. This circumstance implies distinctly that there were other Zarathushtras besides the one who was distinguished by the name “Spitama,” and who alone was regarded as the real founder of the Mazdayasnian religion.

= His home seems to have been in Bactria, which is called Berekhāra darmoiti in the Gāthas, and Bākhulhi (a corruption of the former) in the Vendidad. In his own works he calls himself a māthran, “reciter of mantras,” a dāta, “messenger,” sent by Ahuramazda, a speaker (maretan); he listens to the oracles given by the spirit of nature (gēush urvā), and sacred words are revealed to him by Ahuramazda through the flames.

= His doings are best learned from the Gāthas, extracts from which have been given above (see pp. 149–170), so we

1 In a similar manner each of the present Dasturs introduces the title, Dastur, between his own name and that of his father, so that his own name is prefixed to the title, as, for instance, Peshotan Dastur Behramji Sanjana (see the title-page of that learned Dastur’s edition of the Dīn-kard).
may here confine ourselves to a few remarks as to the probable age in which he lived.

4.—The Age when Spitama Zarathushtra Lived.

The accounts given of the time when he is said to have flourished, differ so widely from one another, that it is impossible to fix exactly the era when he was living. The Greeks and Romans make him very ancient. Xanthos of Lydia (B.C. 470), the earliest Greek writer who mentions Zoroaster, says that he lived about 600 years before the Trojan war (about B.C. 1800). Aristotle and Eudoxus place his era as much as 6000 years before Plato, others say 5000 years before the Trojan war (see Pliny, Historia Naturalis, xxx. 1-3). Berosos, the Babylonian historian, makes him a King of the Babylonians, and the founder of a dynasty, which reigned over Babylon between B.C. 2200 and B.C. 2000.

The Parsis believe that their prophet lived at the time of Darius's father, Hystaspes, whom they identify with the Kava Vishtâspa of the Zend-Avesta, or Kaî Gushtâsp of the Shâhnâmah, and place his era accordingly about B.C. 550. But the groundlessness of this supposition may be seen on comparing the names of the predecessors of Hystaspes with those of the ancestors of Vishtâspa. The lineage of Vishtâspa or Hystaspes, according to the Bisutûn cuneiform inscription of Darius, and the statements of Herodotus, is as follows:—Haķhâmanish (Achemenes), Châishkîsh (Teispes), Aריyârâmna (Ariaramnes), Arshâma (Arsames), Vishtâspa (Hystaspes), Dârayavush (Dareios). But the lineage of Vishtâspa or Gushtâsp, according to the Avesta and Shâhnâmah, is as follows:—Kavi Kavâta (Kaî-Kabâd), Kava Usa (Kaî-Kâûs), Kava Husrava (Kaî Khusruû), Auvvâdaspa (Lahurâsp), Kava Vishtâspa (Kaî Gushtâsp). From these genealogies it will be seen that the names of the ancestors of the Vishtâspa mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (called Hystaspes by the Greeks), are totally different from those of the ancestors of the
Vishtâspa celebrated in Zoroastrian tradition (the Gushtâsp of the Shâhnâmâh). We must, therefore, conclude that the Vishtâspa of Iranian tradition was a totally distinct person from the Hystaspes of the Greeks, the father of Darius. That the Persians themselves, in the time of the Sasanians, were quite uncertain as to when the former Vishtâspa lived, appears clearly from the testimony of the historian Agathias, quoted in p. 11.

On comparing the accounts of the Greeks about the early era of Zoroaster, with the researches into the original texts of the Parsi scriptures, we must believe their concurrent testimony to be much more trustworthy and reliable than the opinions held by the modern Parsis. There can be no doubt whatever that Spitama Zarathushtra, the founder of the Parsi religion, lived at a very early period, because the great religious movement, of which he was the chief leader, is even alluded to in the earlier portions of the Vedas. Of his high antiquity at least two significant traces may be discovered in the present Zend-Avesta. Firstly, as we have seen in the fifteenth section of the third Essay, his writings stand at the head of the extensive Avesta literature, which required centuries for its growth, and which was already complete about B.C. 400. Secondly, he is expressly called "the famous in Airyana vaêjō" (Yas. ix. 14), which means, "the famous in the Aryan home," whence the Iranians and Indians emigrated in times immemorial. This title would certainly not have been given to him had his followers not believed him to have been living at that early time. Under no circumstances can we assign him a later date than B.C. 1000, and one may even find reasons for placing his era much earlier and making him a contemporary of Moses. Pliny, who compares both Moses and Zoroaster, whom he calls inventors of two different kinds of magic rites, goes much further in stating that Zoroaster lived several thousand years before Moses (Historia Naturalis, xxx. 2). The confusion of opinions regarding his age was,
no doubt, mainly caused by his appellation "Zarathushtra" or high-priest, which was afterwards taken as the proper name of the prophet. The assertion that he was born at Ragha (Ra'ah near Teheran) is owing to the circumstance that, according to Yasna xix. (see p. 188), this large town seems to have been governed by the Zarathushtras themselves; it was, therefore, pre-eminently the Zoroastrian country.

III.—SPITAMA ZARATHUSHTRA'S THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY, AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE Parsi RELIGION.

Having shown in the preceding section the historical origin of the Zoroastrian religion, we may proceed next to consider the new ideas, theological and philosophical, which Spitama Zarathushtra introduced into the world, and in consequence of which he may be said to have become the founder of a new religion, and to have exercised a lasting influence on the history of the human mind.

His real doctrines, untouched by the speculations of later ages, can be learned only from the older Yasna, chiefly from the Gāthas. The leading idea of his theology was Monotheism, i.e., that there are not many gods, but only one; and the principle of his speculative philosophy was Dualism, i.e., the supposition of two primeval causes of the real world and of the intellectual; while his moral philosophy was moving in the Triad of thought, word, and deed. Having regard to the early period at which he must have lived, long before the Greeks were acquainted with anything like philosophical speculation, we cannot expect him to have established a complete and developed system of philosophical thoughts, which cannot even be said of Plato; but the few philosophical ideas which may be discovered in his sayings, show that he was a great and deep thinker, who stood far above his contemporaries, and even above the most enlightened men of many subsequent
centuries. The great fame he enjoyed, even with the ancient Greeks and Romans who were so proud of their own learning and wisdom, is a sufficient proof of the high and pre-eminent position he must once have occupied in the history of the progress of the human mind.

I.—Zarathushtra’s Monotheism.

That his theology was mainly based on monotheism, one may easily ascertain from the Gāthas, especially from the second (see pp. 155–160). His predecessors, the Saoshyantō, seem to have worshipped a plurality of good spirits, whom they called Ahuras, “the living ones,” who were opposed to the Devas. Spitama, not satisfied with this indistinct expression of the Divine Being, reduced this plurality to unity. The new name, by which he called the Supreme Being, was Ahurō mazdāō, which means, “the Ahura who is called Mazdāo.” Mazdāo, which has been compared with the Vedic medhās, “wise” (or when applied to priests, “skilful, able to make everything”), means either “joint creator,” or “creator of all.”¹ Those Ahuras who were regarded as creative powers might have been already called by the name mazdāo (we find the plural, mazdāonhō, in Yas. xlv. 1) by the Saoshyantō; but these old fire-priests had no clear conception of the nature and working of this creative power. Although Spitama combined the two names (which were formerly used separately, and not intimately connected with one another) into one appellation, Ahurō-mazdāo, yet they were still not considered as a compound, because we find both con-

¹ That mazdāo is phonetically identical with Sans. me dhās, is not to be denied, but its original meaning is not “wise.” Were this the case, we ought to suppose it to be a contraction of maiti-dhāo, “producing wisdom;” but maiti, “thought, wisdom,” (Sans. maiti) is generally affixed, not prefixed, to another word, as in tarb-maiti, “pervasive thought, disobedience.” But the word maq, “with,” is very frequently prefixed to other words; and if prefixed to dhāo, “creating,” the compound must be changed, according to phonetical laws, into mazdāo. The general meaning of maq being “together with, all” (see Visp. xiv. 1), the word mazdāo must mean either “joint creator,” or “creator of all,” as may be clearly seen from Yas. xlv. 1.
stituent parts subject to inflection (e.g., ahurá mazdái in the dative, not Ahura-mazdái); one part, Mazdáo, was the chief name; the other, ahura, was an adjectival epithet. But in consequence of their being jointly employed to express the name of the Supreme Being, they were afterwards considered a compound, as we may distinctly see from the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings, where the Supreme Being is generally called Aşramazdá, and only the latter part of the word is subject to inflection, except in a few instances where both words are inflected. In the Sasanian times the name was changed to Ashkar-
mazdá, and in modern Persian to Hómazd or Ormazd, which forms are used by the Parsis nowadays. In the Gáthas we find the two words frequently separated, and indiscriminately employed to express the name “God,” as no difference of meaning is attached to either. In translating them, Ahura may best be rendered by “living” or “lord,” and Mazdáo by “wise” or “creator of the universe.”

Spitama Zarathushtra’s conception of Ahuramazda as the Supreme Being is perfectly identical with the notion of Elohím (God) or Jehovah, which we find in the books of the Old Testament. Ahuramazda is called by him “the Creator of the earthly and spiritual life, the Lord of the whole universe, in whose hands are all the creatures.” He is the light and source of light; he is the wisdom and intellect. He is in possession of all good things, spiritual and worldly, such as the good mind (vohu-mandó), immortality (ameretád), health (haurvatád), the best truth (asha vahishta), devotion and piety (durmaiti), and abundance of every earthly good (khshathra vairya). All these gifts he grants to the righteous man, who is upright in thoughts, words, and deeds. As the ruler of the whole universe, he not only rewards the good, but he is a punisher of the wicked at the same time (see Yas. xliii. 5). All that is created, good or evil, fortune or misfortune, is his work

1 See especially Yas. xlvii. 1 (p. 167).
ZARATHUSHTRA'S THEOLOGY.

(Yas. xlvi. 4. p. 167, and li. 6. p. 169). A separate evil spirit of equal power with Ahuramazda, and always opposed to him, is entirely foreign to Zarathushtra's theology; though the existence of such an opinion among the ancient Zoroastrians can be gathered from some of the later writings, such as the Vendidad.

2.—Zarathushtra's two Primeval Principles.

The opinion, so generally entertained now, that Zarathushtra was preaching a Dualism, that is to say, the idea of two original independent spirits, one good and the other bad, utterly distinct from each other, and one counter-acting the creation of the other, is owing to a confusion of his philosophy with his theology. Having arrived at the grand idea of the unity and indivisibility of the Supreme Being, he undertook to solve the great problem which has engaged the attention of so many wise men of antiquity, and even of modern times, viz., how are the imperfections discoverable in the world, the various kinds of evils, wickedness, and baseness, compatible with the goodness, holiness, and justice of God? This great thinker of remote antiquity solved this difficult question philosophically by the supposition of two primeval causes, which, though different, were united, and produced the world of material things, as well as that of the spirit; which doctrine may best be learned from Yas. xxx. (see pp. 149-151).

The one, who produced the "reality" (ga\-yo\), is called vohu-man\-d, "the good mind," the other, through whom the "non-reality" (a\-

=\-diti\) originated, bears the name akem man\-d, "the evil mind." All good, true, and perfect things, which fall under the category of "reality," are the productions of the "good mind;" while all that is bad and delusive, belongs to the sphere of "non-reality," and is traced to the "evil mind." They are the two moving causes in the universe, united from the beginning, and therefore, called "twins" (y\-em\-d, Sans. yama\-nu). They are present everywhere; in Ahuramazda as well as in men.
These two primeval principles, if supposed to be united in Ahuramazda himself, are not called vohu-manoe and akem manâ, but speîô mainyush, "the beneficent spirit," and angré mainyush, "the hurtful spirit." That Angré-mainyush is no separate being, opposed to Ahuramazda, is to be gathered unmistakeably from Yas. xix. 9 (see p. 187), where Ahuramazda is mentioning his "two spirits," who are inherent in his own nature, and are in other passages (Yas. Ivii. 2, see p. 189) distinctly called the "two creators" and "the two masters" (pâyû). And, indeed, we never find Angré-mainyush mentioned as a constant opponent of Ahuramazda in the Gâthas, as is the case in later writings. The evil against which Ahuramazda and all good men are fighting is called druiksh, "destruction, or lie," which is nothing but a personification of the Devas. The same expression for the "evil" spread in the world, we find in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, where, moreover, no opponent of Ahuramazda, like Angré-mainyush is ever mentioned. God (Aûramazdâ), in the rock records of King Darius, is only one, as Jehovah is in the Old Testament, having no adversary whatsoever.

Spentô-mainyush was regarded as the author of all that is bright and shining, of all that is good and useful in nature; while Angré-mainyush called into existence all that is dark and apparently noxious. Both are as inseparable as day and night, and though opposed to each other, are indispensable for the preservation of creation. The beneficent spirit appears in the blazing flame, the presence of the hurtful one is marked by the wood converted into charcoal. Spentô-mainyush has created the light of day, and Angré-mainyush the darkness of night; the former awakens men to their duties, the latter lulls them to sleep. Life is produced by Spentô-mainyush, but extinguished by Angré-mainyush, whose hands, by releasing the soul from the fetters of the body, enables her to rise into immortality and everlasting life.
3.—Development of Zarathushtra's Doctrines of the Supreme Being. The Two Supreme Councils; Šrosh and Boundless Time.

Such is the original Zoroastrian notion of the two creative spirits, who form only two parts of the Divine Being. But in the course of time, this doctrine of the great founder was changed and corrupted, in consequence of misunderstandings and false interpretations. Spentô-mainyush was taken as a name of Ahuramazda himself, and then, of course, Angrô-mainyush, by becoming entirely separated from Ahuramazda, was regarded as the constant adversary of Ahuramazda; thus the Dualism of God and Devil arose. Each of the two spirits was considered an independent ruler endeavouring to destroy the creation of the other, and thus both waged constant war. This Dualism is best perceived in the first fargard of the Vendidad. After the sovereignty and independence of these two spiritual rulers was once acknowledged by some of the most influential leaders of the congregation founded by Spitama Zarathushtra, each of them was then supposed to have, like terrestrial rulers, his own council and court. The number of councillors was fixed at six, who were regarded as the actual governors of the whole universe, each ruling over a separate province assigned to him by his spiritual ruler. To Ahuramazda, or Spentô-mainyush, no other power was left but to preside over the celestial council. We often find him even included in the number of the celestial councillors, who are then called "the seven Ameshaspentas" (now corrupted to Amshaspends), i.e., immortal benefactors.

The several names, by which we find the Ameshaspentas called, viz., Vohu-manô, Asha-vahishta, Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-Armaiti, Haurvatâd, and Ameretâd, are frequently mentioned in the Gâthas, but they are, as the reader may clearly see from the passages (see Yas. xlvii. 1) as well as from etymology, nothing but abstract nouns and ideas,
representing all the gifts which Ahuramazda, as the only Lord, grants to those who worship him with a sincere heart, by always speaking truth, and performing good actions. In the eyes of the prophet they were no personages; that idea being imported into the sayings of the great master by some of his successors.

Vohu-Mano (Bahman) is regarded as the vital faculty in all living beings of the good creation. Originally, his name was nothing but a term for the good principle, as emanating from Ahuramazda, who is, therefore, called the father of Vohu-manô. He pervades the whole living good creation, and all the good thoughts, words, and deeds of men are wrought by him.

Asha-Vahishta (Ardibahisht) represents the blazing flame of fire, the light in luminaries, and brightness and splendour of any kind whatever, wherever it may exist. The first part of the name, asha (plural of ashem), has various meanings, such as “rectitude, righteousness, truth,” and its epithet vahishta means originally “most splendid, beautiful,” but was afterwards used in the more general sense of “best.” Light being of the nature of Ahuramazda, and being believed to pervade the whole good creation, Asha-vahishta represents the omnipresence of the Divine Being. Light maintaining the vitality of the whole creation; animate and inanimate, and being the cause of all growth, Asha-vahishta is the preserver of all life and all that is good. He represents, in this respect, God’s Providence.

Khshathra-Vairya (Shahrivar) presides over metals and is the giver of wealth. His name means simply “possession, wealth,” afterwards it was applied to metal and money. Wealth is considered as a gift from Ahuramazda.

Spenta-Armaiti (Spendarmad or Isfendarmad), “the bountiful Armaiti,” represents the earth. The original meaning of Armaiti, as we have seen above (see p. 274), however, is “devotion, obedience.” She represents the pious and obedient heart of the true worshipper of Ahura-
mazda, who serves God alone with body and soul. When
the name is applied to the earth, it means that she is the
servant of men, who, if well treated (i.e., cultivated), will
yield abundance of food.

Haurvatad and Ameretad (Khordád and Amardád)
preside over vegetation, and produce all kinds of fruits;
but this is very likely not their original meaning. As the
names indicate (Haurvatad means "completeness, health,"
and Ameretad, "immortality"), they represent the preser-
vation of the original uncorrupted state of the good cre-
ation, and its remaining in the same condition as that in
which it was created by God. They are generally both
mentioned together, and express, therefore, a single com-
pound idea.

Quite separate from the celestial council stands Sraosha
(Srosh), who is, however, regarded as an archangel vested
with very high powers. While the Amesaspentas in
Zarathushtra's eyes represented nothing but the qualities
and gifts of Ahuramazda, Sraosha seems to have been con-
sidered by him as a personality. He is the angel who
stands between God and man, the great teacher of the
good religion who instructed the prophet in it. He shows
the way to heaven and pronounces judgment on human
actions after death (for further information see the Srosh
Yasht, p. 189). Originally his name meant "hearing" (from
the root srú to hear), which, taken in a religious sense,
means the sacred tradition. In this respect we may best
compare the word with the Sanskrit Shruti, by which
name the Brahmans understand the sacred tradition, as
laid down in the various parts of the Vedas, especially in
that which treats of sacrificial rites. All that is said of
Srosh, in the Srosh Yasht, fully agrees with this meaning
of his name. We must, therefore, regard him only as the
personification of the whole divine service, including the
prayers as well as the sacrificial rites. When he is said
to be the guardian of the whole creation, and that without
his protection the world would fall a prey to the demons,
it is meant that men must offer up prayers to God and worship him; and should they fail to do so, the good mind (Vohu-manô) within them becomes powerless, and the bad mind (A kém-manô) takes entire possession of them, instigating them to commit sins and crimes, in consequence of which they will become utterly cast away, both in this life and in that to come. Srosh fights chiefly against the Devas. This means, that the Zoroastrian divine service is destined to counterbalance the mischief which the Indian Devas were supposed to be doing to the good creation.

Like Ahuramazda, his adversary Angrô-mainyush was, in later times, supposed to be also surrounded by a council. This idea is completely foreign to the older texts, and is evidently only an imitation of the celestial council. The number of councillors of the infernal kingdom was likewise fixed at six (not in the Avesta texts, but only in the Bundahish), who were called pre-eminentiy Devas and headed by A ngrô-mainyush, who, for this reason, was called Daevanâm Daevô, or archdemon. The first in rank after A ngrô-mainyush was Akem-manô, which means the "evil mind," and is nothing but Zarathushtra’s philosophical term of the second principle, the "non-reality." He produces all bad thoughts in men, and makes them utter bad words and commit sins. His influence is checked by Vohu-manô, the good mind. The second seat in the infernal council is occupied by the King of the Vedic gods, Indra; the third place is assigned to Saurva, the Shiva of the Hindus. Fourth in rank is Na onihatthya, the collective name of the Indian Ashvins (Dioskuri); the fifth and sixth places are occupied by two personifications, Darkness and Poison (see the Bundahish, edited by Westergaard, p. 5).

There are a good many other names of Devas to be found in the Zend-Avesta; but almost all are nothing but personifications of vices and evils. Thus, for instance, A ešema means "rapine, attack," Drivish is "poverty," Daiwish, "deceit," &c. While the celestial council is
always taking measures for promoting life and spreading truth, the infernal councillors are constantly plotting designs for the destruction of life, and endeavouring to spread lies and falsehood everywhere. The Zoroastrian idea of the Devil and the infernal kingdom coincides entirely with the Christian doctrine. The Devil is a murderer and father of lies according to both the Bible and the Zend-Avesta.

In consequence of this entire separation of the two parts of Ahuramazda, and the substitution of two independent rulers governing the universe, the unity of the Supreme Being was lost, and Monotheism was superseded by Dualism. But this deviation from, and entire change of, the prophet's doctrine could not satisfy the minds of all the divines and philosophers in ancient Persia. It was very likely only the innovation of an influential party or sect, probably that which was called Zendik, i.e., following the interpretation (Zend), and which was opposed to that of the Magi (see p. 14). That Dualism was actually the doctrine of the Zendiks, we best learn from the commencement of the Bundahish, which book purports to expound the lore of this party. The Magi seem still to have clung to the prophet's doctrine of the unity of the Supreme Being. But to refute the heretical opinions of the Zendiks, which were founded on interpretations of passages from the sacred texts, a new and fresh proof of the unity of the Supreme Being was required. This was found in the term Zarvan akravana, “boundless time,” which we meet with occasionally in the Zend-Avesta. The chief passage, no doubt, was Vend. xix. 9 (see pp. 24 and 254); but the interpretation for proving that Zarvan akravana means the Supreme Being, out of whom Ahuramazda and Angrômainyush are said to have sprung, rests on a grammatical misunderstanding, as we have seen above (p. 24). This interpretation, however, must be very old; for all the present Dasturs believe in it as an incontrovertible fact.

That this doctrine of Zarvan akravana was commonly believed in Persia, during the times of the Sasanians, may
be distinctly seen from the reports quoted above (pp. 12–14). The true meaning of the expression, that “the beneficent Spirit made (them) in boundless time,” is that God (Ahuramazda) is from eternity, self-existing, neither born nor created. Only an eternal being can be independent of the bounds of time to which all mortals are subject.

4.—The Two Intellects; Two Lives; Heaven and Hell; Resurrection; and Palingenesia.

In the Gāthas we frequently find “two intellects” (khratu) and “two lives” (ahu) spoken of. These notions, therefore, formed undoubtedly part of Spitama Zarathushtra’s speculation. The two intellects are distinguished as the “first” and “last.” From the passages where they are mentioned (Yas. xlv. 19, xlviii. 4), their meaning cannot be ascertained with certainty. But happily we find them mentioned in later Avesta writings (see Yt. ii. 1) by more expressive names; one of the intellects is called āsnō khratu, “the original intellect or wisdom,” which we can best identify with the “first” in the Gāthas; the other is styled gaoshō-srūtō khratu, “the wisdom heard by the ear,” which corresponds to the “last.” Another name of the “first” is maingyu khratu (mānō khrīrd), “spiritual or heavenly wisdom.” Now we cannot be mistaken as to the meaning of these two intellects. The “first intellect” is not from earth, but from heaven; not human, but divine. The “last intellect” represents what man has heard and learned by experience. The wisdom gained in this way is, of course, inferior to the heavenly wisdom. Only the latter can instruct man in the higher matters of life, as we see from a later book called “Minōkhird,” which is written in Pāzand (see p. 105).

The “two lives” are distinguished as astvat, “bodily,” or pārāhu, “prior life,” and as manahya, “mental,” or daibitya, “the second” (see Yas. xxviii. 3; xliii. 3; xlv. 1; xlvi. 19). Their meaning is clear enough, and requires no further comment; they express our idea “body and soul.”
To be distinguished from these "two lives," are the "first" and the "last lives," which mean this life and that hereafter.

The idea of a future life, and the immortality of the soul, is expressed very distinctly already in the Gāthas, and pervades the whole of the later Avesta literature. The belief in a life to come is one of the chief dogmas of the Zend-Avesta. See the passages about the fate of the soul after death, translated in the third Essay (pp. 220, 254).

Closely connected with this idea is the belief in Heaven and Hell, which Spitama Zarathushtra himself clearly pronounced in his Gāthas. The name for Heaven is Garô-demâna (Gurotmân in Persian), "house of hymns," because the angels are believed to sing hymns there (see Yas. xxviii. io; xxxiv. 2), which description agrees entirely with the Christian idea as founded on Isaiah vi. and the Revelation of St. John. Garô-demâna is the residence of Ahuramazda and the most blessed men (Yas. li. 15). Another more general name for Heaven is ahu vahishta, "the best life," afterwards shortened to vahishta only, which is still extant in the modern Persian bahisht, "paradise."

Hell is called Drôjô demâna, "house of destruction," in the Gāthas. It is chiefly the residence of the poets and priests of the Deva religion, the Rîshis of the Brahmans (Yas. xlv. 11). The later name is Duzanâha (Yasht xix. 44), which is preserved in the modern Persian Dûzâkâh, "hell."

Between Heaven and Hell is Chinvat Peretu (Chinvat-pâd), "the bridge of the gatherer," or "the bridge of the judge" (Chinvat can have both meanings), which the soul of the pious alone can pass, while the wicked fall from it down into Hell. It is mentioned, as we have seen, already in the Gāthas (Yas. xlv. io, 11).

The belief in the Resurrection of the body at the time of the last judgment also forms one of the Zoroastrian dogmas, as the reader will have learned from the passage
quoted above (p. 217). In consequence of Burnouf's inquiries into the phrase *yavaēcha yavaatēcha* (which had been translated by Anquetil “till the resurrection,” but which means nothing but “for ever and ever”), the existence of such a doctrine in the Zend-Avesta was lately doubted. But there is not the slightest reason for doubting it, as any one may convince himself from the passage quoted in p. 217, where it is clearly stated that the dead shall rise again. That the resurrection of the dead was a common belief of the Magi, long before the commencement of our era, may be learned from the statement of Theopomplos (see pp. 8, 9). Now the question arises, had Spitama Zarathushtra already pronounced this doctrine, which is one of the chief dogmas of Christianity, and of the Jewish and Mohammedan religions, or is it of later, perhaps foreign, origin?

Though in the Gāthas there is no particular statement made of the resurrection of the dead, yet we find a phrase used which was afterwards always applied to signify the time of resurrection, and the restoration of all life that has been lost during the duration of creation. This is the expression *frashem kerenaon ahūm* (*Vas.* xxx. 9, see p. 150), “they make the life lasting,” i.e., they perpetuate the life. Out of this phrase the substantive *frashō-kereti*, “perpetuation” of life, was formed, by which, in all the later Avesta books, the whole period of resurrection and palingenesis at the end of time is to be understood. The resurrection forms only a part of it. That this event was really included in the term of *frashō-kereti* one may distinctly infer from Vend. xviii. 51, where Spenta-Armaiti (the earth) is invoked to restore “at the triumphant renovation” of creation, the lost progeny, in the form of one “knowing the Gāthas, knowing the Yasna, and attending to the discourses” (see p. 249).

According to these statements, there can be no doubt

1 A full explanation of it is to be found in the author's work on the Gāthas, vol. i. pp. 109-112.
that this important doctrine is a genuine Zoroastrian dogma, which developed itself naturally from Spitama Zarathushtra's sayings. There is not the slightest trace of its being borrowed from a foreign source. Besides these direct proofs of its forming a genuine and original part of Zoroastrian theology, it agrees completely with the spirit and tendency of the Parsi religion. All life of the good creation, especially that of man, bodily as well as spiritual, is a sacred pawn intrusted by God to man who must keep his body free from impurity, and his soul from sin. If death destroy the body (in the natural course),\(^1\) it is not the fault of man who falls to an inexorable fate; but it is considered as the duty of God, who is the preserver of all life, to restore all life that has fallen a prey to death, to destroy this arch-enemy of human life, and so make life everlasting. This is to be done at the time of the resurrection.

A detailed description of the resurrection and the last judgment is contained in the 31st chapter of the Bundahish (see pp. 70–77 Westerg.), which is, no doubt, founded on original Avesta sources which are now lost. In it an old song is embodied, the purport of which is to show that, though it appears to short-sighted mortals impossible for the body (when once dissolved into its elements, and those elements scattered in every direction) to be restored again, yet nothing is impossible for the hand of the Almighty, who created heaven and earth, endows the trees with sap, gives life to embryos in the womb, &c.

For awakening the dead bodies, restoring all life destroyed by death, and holding the last judgment, the great prophet Sosyosh (Saoshyās in the Avesta) will appear by order of Āhuramazda. This idea is already to be found in the Avesta texts, only with the difference, that sometimes several (see p. 217), sometimes only one Soshyās is men-

---

\(^1\) Suicide is, according to the Zoroastrian religion, one of the most horrible crimes, belonging to the class of margs-arez, or "deadly" sins. To the same class belongs adultery. The committal of such sins leads straight down to hell, whence no Ijashne can release the soul.
tioned (see p. 254). The later Parsi legends distinguish three great prophets who will appear before the end of the world. These are the men who will perpetuate life (who will produce frashô-kereti), men of the same stamp as the ancient prophets and fire-priests, and bearing the same name, viz., Saoshyantô. They will be commissioned to check the influence of the devil, which increases at the time when this world is verging towards its end, by restoring truth and faith and the good Zoroastrian religion. Their names are poetical and imply a simile; the dark period of wretchedness and sin, in which they appear, being compared to night, and the era of eternal bliss, they are endeavouring to bring about, being likened to the brilliant day. The first of these prophets is called Hukhshathra Mâo (Hushêdar-mâh), “the moon of happy rule;” the second is Hukhshathra Bâmya (Hushêdar-bâmî), “the aurora of happy rule;” and the third and greatest is called Saoshyâs (Sosyosh). He is believed to be a son of Spitama Zarathushtra, begotten in a supernatural way. This means, that just as Spitama Zarathushtra was the greatest prophet and priest in ancient times, so will Sosyosh be the greatest of those to come. Therefore, he alone brings with him a new Nask of the Zend-Avesta, which was hitherto unknown, and reveals it to mankind.
APPENDIX.

Some further translations from the Zend-Avesta, prepared at various times by the author, but not hitherto published, together with his notes descriptive of the mode of performing some of the Parsi ceremonies, are here added in the form of an Appendix to the foregoing Essays.

I.—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE AVESTA.

These translations, which were written by the author in German, supply the following additions to the passages already given in the third Essay:

1. —Vendidad, Fargard III. i-23, and 34. 35.

1. Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Where is the first most pleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, a righteous man shall pray,² O Spitama Zarathushtra! holding the firewood, holding the Barsom, holding the milk-offering (gāush jīrya), holding the Homa-mortar. [(Pāzand) Recite the words containing ākheshti ³

¹ Or "Where is the first (spot) most pleasing to this earth," according to the Pahlavi translator.
² So understood by the Pahlavi translator, who uses the word frānd-mēd; compare also Yas. lxii. 1. This Pahlavi word can, however, also be read fravāmēd, "goes forth."
³ This appears to refer to the word ākheshti in the Afringān Dahmān (see Yas. lx. 5). The passage containing this word is the most sacred part of the Afringān, during the recital of which some sandal-wood is thrown into the fire, and it must occur in all Afringāns.
with religion; they may invoke both Mithra, ruling over wide fields, and Râma-qâstrâ.  

2, 3. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the second most pleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, a righteous man has built a house provided with fire, with cattle, with a wife, with a son, with plenty. Thenceforward the cattle of this house are in abundance, the righteousness in abundance, the pasture in abundance, the dog in abundance, the wife in abundance, the child in abundance, the fire in abundance, the whole good creation in abundance.

4. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the third most pleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, one cultivates, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the most corn, and pasture, and fruit-bearing trees; either where one provides water for unwatered (land), or where one provides drainage for watery (land).

5. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the fourth most pleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, cattle and draught beasts are born most.

6. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the fifth most pleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, cattle and draught beasts void most urine.

7. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the first most unpleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: What is on the ridge of Arezûra,† O Spitama Zarathushtra! on which the demons congregate out of the pit of destruction (hell).

8. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the second most unpleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, both dead dogs and dead men are most lying buried:

9. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the third most un-

---

1 This passage is here taken either as a Pâzand interpolation, or as an Avesta quotation in the Pahlavi translation. It has reference to the Dir-Mihir or Agiari, where Mithra and Râma-qâstrâ (the angel Râm, see p. 214) are supposed to dwell, and where they must be invoked. Some MSS. have “I will invoke,” in which case the passage may perhaps be taken as an exclamation of the righteous man.

2 Some MSS. and the Pahlavi translation have “clothing.”

3 The five most pleasing spots on the earth (or most pleasing to the spirit of the earth, if we accept the Pahlavi interpretation) are, therefore, the fire-temple, the house of a pious Zoroastrian, cultivated lands, stables, and pastures.

4 A mountain said to be situated at the gate of hell.
VENDIDAD, FARGARD III.

pleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, vaulted tombs are most constructed, in which dead men are deposited.

10. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the fourth most unpleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, there are the most holes (of the creatures) of Angrômainyush.

11. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where is the fifth most unpleasing (spot) of this earth? Then said Ahuramazda: Wherein, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the wife or child of a righteous man shall travel the devious path, (and) he brings forth wailing words coupled with dust and with sand.

12. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Who first rejoices this earth with the greatest joy? Then said Ahuramazda: When, indeed, he most digs up where both dead dogs and dead men are lying buried.

13. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Who secondly rejoices this earth with the greatest joy? Then said Ahuramazda: When, indeed, he most demolishes the vaulted tombs in which dead men are deposited.

14. No one is carrying alone what is dead. For if he should carry alone that which is dead, the Nasush would indeed defile (him) from the nose, from the eye, from the tongue, from the chin, from the sexual part, from the anus. This Druklish Nasush falls upon them (on such carriers), on their speech, and afterwards they are impure for ever and ever.

1 Covered tombs are forbidden to the Zoroastrians, as the corpse must remain exposed to the light of the sun, and not be laid in any closed sepulchre.
2 The Dasturs understand by varaitkhi paštâm the forbidden or perilous path of death, and consider this passage as a direct prohibition of all lamentations and outward signs of mourning for the dead. The Pahlavi commentary is obscure, but appears to describe the path as grievous, but to return upon it as still more gloomy or impracticable.
3 No corpse can be carried by less than two men, according to the religious laws of the Zoroastrians.
4 The druklish yâ nasush, or demon of corruption, issues from the corpse and settles upon the man who is carrying it improperly. It seems likely that the text means to state that the Nasush issues from all the nine openings of the body, but in that case the doubtful word paštîsh-gârena must be “ear” (not “chin” or “jaw”); it is equivalent to a Sanskrit form pratišvâraṇa, which would not be an impossible term for an “ear.”
5 This is the traditional explanation, which seems probable enough.
15. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Where should be the place of this man who is an īristō-kasha\(^1\) (single carrier of the dead)? Then said Ahuramazda: Where there may be the most waterless and treeless (spot) of this earth, with the most ground fit for the purification ceremony and the most dry land; and the cattle and draught beasts shall go least forth on the paths, and (there are least) fire of Ahuramazda, and Barsom rightly arranged, and men who are righteous.

16. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. How far from fire, how far from water, how far from the Barsom to be arranged, how far from righteous men?

17. Then said Ahuramazda: Thirty steps from fire, thirty steps from water, thirty steps from the Barsom to be arranged, three steps from righteous men.

18, 19. There the Mazdaansians should enclose for him an enclosure of this earth. Then for victuals they who are Mazdayasnians shall provide—then for clothes they who are Mazdayasnians shall provide—(some) among the very hardest and foulest. These victuals let him eat, these clothes let him wear, always till when he shall become an aged man, elderly or impotent.\(^2\)

20, 21. Then when he shall become an aged man, elderly or impotent, the Mazdaansians should afterwards, in the most effectual, most rapid, and most skilful manner, strip the extent of the skin, the support of the hair,\(^3\) off his head. To the most voracious of the beneficent spirit’s carnivorous creatures, the birds (and) vultures, one should deliver over the body, speaking thus: These depart with him, all (his) evil thoughts, and evil words, and evil deeds. And if other wicked deeds were perpetrated by him, his atonement is through patita (renunciation of sin); moreover, if other wicked deeds were not perpetrated by him, the patita of that man is (completed) for ever and ever.

22. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Who thirdly rejoices this

---

\(^1\) The īristō-kasha is one who carries the dead in an improper manner, and must be carefully distinguished from the nasu-kasha (Vend. viii. 11, 13), who is the lawful carrier.

\(^2\) According to the Pahlavi translation, and the Farhang-i Om-khadūk (p. 5, ed. Hoshangji), the hando, “aged man,” is one seventy years old; the zsururā, “elderly man,” is one of fifty; and the pairishād-khahudrē, “impotent or decrepit man,” is one of ninety years.

\(^3\) The Pahlavi translator says: “He is detained on a summit, on the top of a hill,” till they scalp or behead him.
earth with the greatest joy? Then said Ahuramazda: When, indeed, he most destroys the holes of (the creatures) of Angrömainyush.

23. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Who fourthly rejoices this earth with the greatest joy? Then said Ahuramazda: When, indeed, he cultivates, O Spitama Zarathushtra! the most corn, and pasture, and fruit-bearing trees; either where he provides water for unwatered (land), or where he provides drainage for watery (land).

24-33. [See the translation in pp. 235-237.]

34. 35. Creator, &c. [as in ver. 1]. Who fifthly rejoices this earth with the greatest joy? Then said Ahuramazda: When, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! he shall labour on this earth, (and) gives with righteousness and goodness to a righteous man. When, indeed, O Spitama Zarathushtra! he shall labour on this earth, (and) gives not with righteousness and goodness to a righteous man, one should thrust him out of the bountiful earth (Armaiti) into darkness, and distress, and the worst existence, and he must submit to all thorns.

36-42. [Not translated.]

2. — Vendidad, Fargard IV. 44-55.

44-46. And 1 when men of the same (Mazdayasniian) religion should come here, either brothers or friends, seeking property, or seeking a wife, or seeking wisdom; if they should come seeking property, they may acquire their property here; if they should come seeking a wife, you may let a woman marry; if they should come seeking wisdom, you may recite the beneficent text 2 both early in the daytime and late, both early in the nighttime and late, for the increase in wisdom of the learner 3 for the

1 Ver. 44 has been already translated in p. 240, but it is so closely connected with the following verses that it is necessary to repeat it here.

2 The Pahlavi translation adds: "That is, its words are to be taught."

3 The Pahlavi version is: "When it may have increased his wisdom (that is, when it may be made quite easy to him) and he may have repeated (?) it through righteousness (that is, he may have quite understood what is declared by it)." The Avesta word vendedorahé ("of the learner") occurs nowhere else, and is here explained by bará darád in Pahlavi, which is equally obscure, but the general sense indicated by the Pahlavi is that of "learner or pupil." It may, however, be remarked that if vendedorahé be traced to vi-dru we ob-
sake of righteousness; and with righteousness and reverence he sits at home for increase in wisdom. In the middle of both day and night he may sleep, by day and by night, always till when they should recite those sayings which the Herbals had previously recited. They (the sayings) are adapted for men (who are) like boiling water (through zeal). Not for meat, not for clothes, (but) unrewarded, must he (the teacher) utter the chapters (Hās).

47. And, moreover, I tell thee thus, O Spitama Zarathushtra! verily the priest (magava) must recite from it sooner for the married man than for thee, for him with a house than for him without a house, for him with a son than for him without a son, for him with property than for him without property.

48. And of these two men he shall be more possessed of the good mind (Vohu-manō) who shall promote the growth of meat (or cattle) than he who does not. So he being dead, he is as much as an asperena, he is as much as a young animal, he is as much as a draught beast, he is as much as a man (in weight).

tain a meaning ("of the fugitive or refugee") which would also suit the passage, as the men seem to have come as exiles from their own homes. The anomalous Pahlavi word darād can also be read girikht, which suggests girikht, "fled" (although this is generally written virikht); and the Pahlavi phrase would then mean: "and he may have fled on account of righteousness." The explanatory phrases of the Pahlavi translation, given above in parentheses, are probably latter interpolations. The phrase "to make easy" is a Pahlavi and Persian idiom for "to learn by heart."

1 The Pahlavi version is: "In awe of God and thankfulness towards God that wisdom increases which is made easy to him, (and) he is constant in exertion that he may retain it by labour and the grace of God." That yonem (which is here rendered by Pahl. ayāṭishn, "exertion") means "home, place," is plain from the passage, Vend. xxi. 4: hām yavādxāh yagomēchā avi zāmchā avi yagomēchā, "(the waters) striving towards home and the earth, towards the earth and home (in the sea Youru-kasha)."

2 The Pahlavi version adds the name of Adarpād Māraspendān.

3 The Pahlavi version is: "Thou shouldst not speak of the non-giving of meat nor of clothes which should be thine; always say: No! and afterwards even, at the time, say: A little!"

4 The Pahlavi version renders yathā magavā fravīkhshūst by: "as (one) who has progressed in the Mughāt (the Barashnom ceremony), that is, has no wife;" alluding to the fact that a man undergoing that ceremony must live separate from his wife.

5 A weight equivalent to a dirham.

6 Probably referring to the weight of his good works.
49. For this man, on meeting, fights with Astó-vdlhótu.\(^1\) Whoever fights an arrow shot by himself, whoever fights Zemáka (the Winter demon, and) wears scanty clothing, whoever fights a wicked man, a tyrant, and (strikes him) on the head,\(^2\) whoever fights an unrighteous apostate (and) starvation;\(^3\) (any) of these deeds being performed a first time, is not (to be done) a second time.

50. That such as are in this material world may here understand (the agony) of this exploit there,\(^4\) one should cut away to the bones with iron knives; verily, it is greater than any such (agony) of his mortal body.\(^5\)

51. That such as are in this material world may here understand (the agony) of this exploit there, one should tear away to the bones with iron pincers; verily, it is greater than any such (agony) of his mortal body.

52. That such as are in this material world may here understand (the agony) of this exploit there, one should fall involuntarily into a pit (deep as) a hundred men; verily, it is greater than any such (agony) of his mortal body.

53. That such as are in this material world may here understand (the agony) of this exploit there, one should stand involuntarily on an extreme verge (of a precipice).\(^6\)

---

\(^1\) The demon of death, who is said, in later writings, to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven. Perhaps the grammatical difficulties of this sentence may be best overcome by the following translation:—“For this one, Astó-vdlhótu, on meeting men, fights.”

\(^2\) The Pahlavi version says: “A beheader like Zarhándán.”

\(^3\) If \(\text{aska}\) be taken in its primitive sense of “right,” this phrase may merely mean: “whoever fights mischievous and unusual hunger.” The Pahlavi version, instead of “starvation,” has: “a tyrant like Mazdak(-i Bándádán who ate his own liver, and it was given to him in anguish and death);” but the passage in parenthesis is not found in the oldest MSS. In the Pahlavi each clause of the sentence is also wound up by stating that “his fight is with Astó-vdlhótu,” that is, at the risk of death.

\(^4\) That is, of the conflict of the soul with Astó-vdlhótu in the other world. Possibly \(\text{aštadha}\) (here translated “here”) may be taken as the missing noun “agonies;” compare \(\text{aštaháhu, “through terrors,” Yt. xxii. 25, see p. 222.}\)

\(^5\) The translation of this difficult passage has been much revised, so as to correspond more closely with the text without introducing additional words, which are always hazardous suggestions.

\(^6\) The Pahlavi translator misunderstands this verse as referring to sexual enjoyment.
54. That such as are in this material world may here understand (the agony) of this exploit there, one knowing a lie should drink up the beneficial, golden, intelligent water with denial of the truth (Rashnu) and breach of promise (Mithra).\(^1\)

55. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. Whoever knowing a lie should drink up, &c. [as in ver. 54]; what is his punishment? Then said Ahuramazda: One may strike seven hundred blows with a horse-goad, seven hundred with a scourge.\(^2\)

3.—Vendidad, Fargard V.

1. A man dies there in the depths of the valleys; thereupon a bird flies aloft from the summits of the hills into the depths of the valleys; it feeds upon the body of the dead man. Then the bird flies aloft from the depths of the valleys to the summits of the hills; it flies on to a tree, either of the hard or of the soft (kinds). It (the nasush, “dead matter”) is vomited on it, is voided on it, is dropped on it.

2. A man goes forth there from the depths of the valleys to the summits of the hills; he goes up to the tree where that bird was; he wants faggots for the fire; he fells it, he hews it, he splits it, he kindles it in the fire, the offspring of Ahuramazda. What is the punishment for this?

3. Then said Ahuramazda: No dead matter (nasush) brought by a dog, none brought by a bird, none brought by a wolf, none brought by the wind, none brought by a fly, pollutes a man.

---

\(^1\) This refers to an ordeal in which a cup of water is drunk after solemnly invoking curses upon one’s head if one has not told the truth. The water is prepared with great solemnity, and contains various sacred substances, among them some Homa juice, which is referred to in the Pahlavi version by the epithet gôkardhômunâd for suukéntavaitin, “beneficial;” and a little gold is added, which accounts for the second epithet in the text. See the Saugand-nâmah.

\(^2\) The Pahlavi version adds: “Whoever performs an ordeal (var) his punishment—says a voice—is this.”

\(^3\) The additional words, dâyata dândyâ-pairishâta, “it was kept lawfully inspected,” appear to be merely an Avesta quotation in the Pahlavi translation. This inspection is afterwards more fully noticed in the long Pahlavi commentary to ver. 4, where it is stated that firewood must be rejected if contaminated with dead matter, or if decayed, or from a gallow, or mixed with grease, or polluted by a menstruous woman, except in case of death or distress; the burning of such firewood is a tânâ-pâkar sin, but burning greasy wood is a mortal sin.
4. If, indeed, the dead matters which are brought by a dog, and brought by a bird, and brought by a wolf, and brought by the wind, and brought by a fly, are the dead matter (which) would be polluting a man, speedily my whole material world would overthrow (its) essential righteousness (or regularity, and be) distressing the soul (and) ruining the body, through the multitude of these dead matters which have perished upon this earth.

5. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. A man pours water on to a corn-field; he shall go into the water-channel (vāīdhitām) through it, into (it) a second time, into (it) a third time, and after the fourth time they drag dead matter in, (be they) dog, or fox, or wolf. What is the punishment for this?

6. Then said Ahuramazda, &c. [as in ver. 3].

7. If, indeed, the dead matters, &c. [as in ver. 4].

8. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. Does the water destroy a man? Then said Ahuramazda: The water does not destroy a man. Astō-vidhōtū binds him; the flying demon (Vayô) conveys him bound; the water carries (him) up, the water carries (him) down, the water casts (him) away; the birds (Vayô) then devour him. There he then proceeds, through fate he then departs.

9. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. Does the fire destroy a man? Then said Ahuramazda: The fire does not destroy a man. Astō-

---

1 In Pahlavi jāt, “a rivulet.”
2 The Pahlavi commentary on this passage states: “It is declared by the Avesta, the dry channel of a rivulet (jōt khāšk ēurd, Pers. ēurd) is to be inspected for dead matter. Yēzi vasi Mazdayasna zām raodha-yen (‘If the Mazdayasians wish they may irrigate the land.’) It then proceeds to say that a man before admitting the water must descend three times into the channel and inspect it carefully, to see that it is free from impurity, and after a fourth inspection he may allow the water to enter. Further provisions are made in the case of the inspection being impracticable, and as to the merit acquired by diverting the water from any impurity in its way. Most of this commentary is omitted in Spiegel’s edition of the Pahlavi text, but will be found in the old MS. at the India Office Library in London, mentioned in p. 95.
3 Vug-i surdār, “the evil Vû,” in the Pahlavi version; this is the Vâe-i-vatar of the Mainyû-i-khard (ii. 115), where he is one of the demons who oppose the soul’s progress towards heaven.
4 That is, to the other world. The Pahlavi version has: “When he sets out back from thence (that is, shall come) fate will convey him back (that is, she is in the leading path when he shall come).”
vīdhōtu' binds him; the flying demon (Vagō)\(^1\) conveys him bound; the fire consumes the bones and vitality. There he then proceeds, through fate he then departs.\(^2\)

10. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. They pass out of summer, then in winter how should they act, who are Mazdayasnians? Then said Ahuramazda: In every dwelling, in every neighbourhood,\(^3\) they shall erect three Katas for any one when dead.

11. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. How large are these Katas for any one when dead? Then said Ahuramazda: So that he may not strike his head against the upper part,\(^4\) nor the further end with the feet, nor across with the hands; verily, this is a lawful Kata for any one when dead.

\(^1\) The Pahlavi version adds: "That is when, as some say, the good Vayū will ever receive him." This refers to the Vaē-veh of the Mainyō-ī-kharā (ii. 115), where he is one of the angels who assist the soul’s progress to heaven. He is identical with the angel Rām, the Vayū of the Rām Yasht, see p. 214.

\(^2\) The Pahlavi commentary on this passage is: "Worldly (benefits are acquired) through fate, spiritual through action; some say that wife, child, wealth, authority, and life are through fate, the rest through action. The happiness which is not destined for a man he never attains to; (this) is evident from the passage (beginning): uairi-manō ahkō ētēkē ("thou mightest be mountain-sized of this"); that which is destined for him, and which will come before him through exertion, is anyō arvedē zērō gareṇō ("the other persistent glory"), and it was through his sinfulness when trouble happens to him. Aay gareṇō frapairiyētī ("then glory delivers") and the misfortune destined for him he is able to avert by proper exertion; pouru-gareṇo-ō ashava Zarathushtra ("full of glory (he is) O righteous Zarathushtra "); and his sinfulness ever anew destines it (misfortune) for him. Aēzhāmecha narōm ("and of these men ") one man, when through the destiny of another man it was necessary for him, had died when through the destiny of that dead one it was still improper, but he (the first one) was able to do it so that, through the slaying of that innocent one, justice (raēē) should well deal with this quarrel." This commentary is a fair specimen of the mode in which Avesta quotations are used in the Pahlavi version of the Vendidad. In the above quotations the word gareṇa, "glory, brilliance," is probably used for bâkhta, "fate, destiny," which would obviously be more appropriate in meaning. Both these words would be equivalent to the same Huzvārīsh logogram, gadman, and this fact might lead to the one word being substituted for the other, provided we assume that the Avesta quotations had been, at one time, written in Pahlavi.

\(^3\) The oldest Pahlavi MSS. have merely, Mān vi khānāk khudāk dast kuṭo, explaining mān by khānāk, "a house," and vi's by dast-i kuṭo, "group of huts."

\(^4\) The Pahlavi MS. version has: "So much as, when standing (that is, living) the head strikes not against the limits (dhān), nor when the foot is forth (that is, when the foot is extended), nor when the hand is unmoved (that is, his hand is held back)."
12. There shall they deposit his lifeless body for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the (time) when the birds shall fly forth, the plants shall shoot out, the descending (floods) shall run off, (and) the wind shall dry up the ground.

13. Then when thus the birds shall fly forth, the plants shall shoot out, the descending (floods) shall run off, (and) the wind shall dry up the ground, the Mazdayasnians should now set his body viewing the sun.

14. If the Mazdayasnians should not set this body viewing the sun for the length of a year, thou shalt order as much punishment as for murdering a righteous man (a Zoroastrian), in order that the corpses (be) attended to, the Dakhmas attended to, the impurities attended to, and the birds gorged.

15. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. Wilt thou, who art Ahuramazda, release the water from the sea Vouru-kasha, together with the wind and clouds?

16. Wilt thou convey (it) to a corpse, thou who art Ahuramazda? Wilt thou convey (it) on to a Dakhma, thou who art Ahuramazda? Wilt thou convey (it) on to impurity, thou who art Ahuramazda? Wilt thou pour (it) forth on a bone, thou who art Ahuramazda? Wilt thou conduct (it) forth unnoticed, thou who art Ahuramazda? With those (impurities) wilt thou conduct (it) forth to the sea Puitika?

17. Then said Ahuramazda: Verily it is so, O Zarathushtra! as thou sayest, O upright one! I who am Ahuramazda will release the water from the sea Vouru-kasha, together with the wind and clouds.

18. I will convey (it) to a corpse, I who am Ahuramazda; I will convey (it) on to a Dakhma, I who am Ahuramazda; I will convey (it) on to impurity, I who am Ahuramazda; I will pour

---

1 What are "lying low" or "directed downwards," as implied by the word nydoñchö, must be guessed from the context, and floods, streams, icicles, and snow might be suggested. The Pahlavi equivalent of nydoñchö is ambiguous, even in the old MSS., and may be read either vashñyñ تحت, "a clearing off, an open sky," or nishñyñ تحت, "solidification, congelation;" the latter might be preferred, as the Pahlavi translator adds, "the adversity of winter shall depart;" but these readings are too irregular in form to be relied on.

2 The term hikhra, "impurity," is applied to any bodily refuse or excretion from mankind or dogs, including saliva, skin, hair, nail-parings, &c. In this passage it appears to refer to exudations from a corpse.
(it) forth on a bone, I who am Ahuramazda; I will conduct (it) forth unnoticed, I who am Ahuramazda; with those (impurities) I will conduct (it) forth to the sea Pūtika.

19. There exist streaming currents\(^1\) in the inner part of the sea for purifying, (and) the waters flow from the sea Pūtika to the sea Vouru-kasha,\(^2\) to the tree Hvāpa;\(^3\) here grow all my trees of every kind.\(^4\)

20. I rain these down together,\(^5\) I who am Ahuramazda, both as food for the righteous man and fodder for the well-yielding ox. Man shall eat my corn, and fodder is for the well-yielding ox.

21. This is better, this is more excellent, than thou, upright one! sayest. By this speech the righteous Ahuramazda rejoiced him, the righteous Zarathushtra: Mayst thou purify for man the best (things) for procreation.\(^6\) This which is the Mazdayasnian religion is pure, O Zarathushtra! He who purifies himself by good thoughts and good words and good deeds.\(^7\)

22. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. How much greater, better, and more excellent is this Zarathushtrian Provision against the

\(^1\) Or perhaps "splashing waves;" the Pahlavi translation is obscure, but seems to say: "they remain in a water-skin (āv kẖāṭāk, Pers. kẖāṭ) and bucket (dāłād) kept full."

\(^2\) The Pahlavi version adds: "Towards the southernmost side, and it (the water) stays behind in mist (pavān kẖir, or kẖir), and the blue (kavud) body of (the sea) Satavāesa stays behind around it. Pūtika stands away from the shore of Satavāesa, this is a fact, but from which shore it stands away is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavāesa through the bottom (pēkkh); some say that it traverses a fissure (kẖafāk)."

\(^3\) The Pahlavi version adds: "Afarg says the root of a tree; Mēlḵ-māh (says) a forest."

\(^4\) Some MSS. add the Avesta: "by hundreds, by thousands, by myriads of myriads;" and the Pahlavi version adds: "among species, chaitī heiti urvavamān sarebha ("how many are the kinds of trees?") that is the principal species." Either a list of species is omitted, or chaiti here merely means "many," as the Pahlavi ekand often does.

\(^5\) That is, both waters and plants. The Pahlavi commentary ascribes this to Tishtar, according to the later tradition, thus: "he who is Tishtar takes the water (that) they may take it in the wells of waters it comes to."

\(^6\) This is a quotation from the Veda (Yas. xlviii. 5) which continues as follows: "for the ox mayst thou nourish that of those labouring for our food." It forms part of an address to Armaštī, the spirit of the earth.

\(^7\) The Pahlavi version adds the note that, "aṅkānaṁ (life, self) and daenām (instuition, religion, self) are both the same."
Devas¹ above the other traditions in greatness and goodness and excellence.

23. Then said Ahuramazda: Verily, one may consider, O Spitama Zarathushtra! this Zarathushtrian Provision against the Devas above the other traditions in greatness and goodness and excellence, as the sea Vouru-kasha is above the other waters.

24. Verily, one may consider, &c. [as in ver. 23], as the greater water overpowers the lesser waters.² Verily, one may consider, &c. [as in ver. 23], as the greater tree overshadows the lesser trees.³

25. Verily, one may consider, &c. [as in ver. 23], as it has been both on and around this earth.⁴

Let the judge (ratu) be nominated, let the executor of the sentence (sraoshavareza) be nominated, on a Draona (consecrated cake) being uplifted or not uplifted, on a Draona being offered or not offered, on a Draona being delivered or not delivered.⁵

26. Afterwards this judge is able to remit for him a third of this punishment. And if other wicked deeds were perpetrated by him, his atonement is through patita (renunciation of sin); moreover, if other wicked deeds were not perpetrated by him, the patita of that man is (completed) for ever and ever.⁶

¹ The Vendidad, which is a corruption of vīduvdvā-dātem, see p. 225.
² The Pahlavi version has: "as the great water when it advances upon the little water, bears (it) away when it falls into the chihkha" (perhaps equivalent to chākh, "a pit").
³ The Pahlavi adds an obscure phrase which may perhaps, in the old MSS., be: sarrvān malka dā-akhē-sak-ad, "the king of cypress is one (growing) in a marsh."
⁴ The Pahlavi version in old MSS. has: "as it will travel (bard bēminēd) to this earth and over the sky, that is, ever in all (places)." Then follows a commentary which seems to refer to the succeeding sentence, thus: "some say this about Nasush, and that in the eighth (fargard) about decision and judgment, is that in the Hāspārām (Nask) about the formula (nīrang) of worship." There is evidently a change of subject here.
⁵ The Pahlavi commentaries on this passage are: "The Dastur considers, (the Sraoshavareza) accuses of sin." And with reference probably to the offender, the Dastur considers: "what was in his thoughts but not committed, and not in his thoughts but committed; what was promised him was not brought, and not promised was brought; what was his intention but not performed, and unintended but performed." This, however, throws little light into the obscurity of the Avesta text.
⁶ This passage has occurred also in iii. 21, and perhaps "his atonement is through patita," and "acquittal" be read instead of the second "patita."
27. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. When men happen to be in the same place, on a rug together, or on a mat together, and others are on it; there may be two men, or five, or fifty, or a hundred; (and) the same of women;¹ (and) then one of these men shall die; how many among the men does this Drukhs Nasush (the destroyer, Corruption) reach with impurity and rottenness and filth?

28. Then said Ahuramazda: If he be a priest (who dies), verily, O Spitama Zarathushtra! this Drukhs Nasush rushes forth; if she reaches the eleventh she pollutes indirectly to the tenth. If, however, he be a warrior, verily, O Spitama Zarathushtra! this Drukhs Nasush rushes forth; if she reaches the tenth she pollutes indirectly to the ninth. If, however, he be a husbandman, verily, O Spitama Zarathushtra! this Drukhs Nasush rushes forth; if she reaches the ninth she pollutes indirectly to the eighth.

29. Moreover, if it be a shepherd’s dog (pasush-haurva), verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the eighth she pollutes indirectly to the seventh. If, however, it be a house-dog (vish-haurva), verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the seventh she pollutes indirectly to the sixth.

30. If, however, it be a bloodhound (vohunasega), verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the sixth she pollutes indirectly to the fifth. If, however, it be a young (tauruna) dog, verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the fifth she pollutes indirectly to the fourth.

31. If, however, it be a sukuruna² dog, verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the fourth she pollutes indirectly to the judges’ own; when it shall be the judges’ own it will be allowable to remit the whole of it.”¹

¹ The Pahlavi version misinterprets hām nārinām by “in fellowship (and) in contact.”
² What description of dog or animal is meant by this epithet, or any of the three succeeding, is quite uncertain. The Pahlavi version merely transcribes the Avesta words, and owns that the last three are not intelligible.
the third. If, however, it be a jāzhu dog, verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the third she pollutes indirectly to the second.

32. If, however, it be an aîwizu dog, verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the second she pollutes indirectly the first. If, however, it be a vīzū dog, verily, &c. [as in ver. 28]; if she reaches the first she pollutes indirectly the first.

33. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. If, however, the dog be a fox (urwpi), how many of the creatures of the beneficent spirit does the dog which is a fox pollute directly? how many does it pollute indirectly? 1

34. Then said Ahuramazda: This dog, which is a fox, does not pollute directly (any) of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, nor does it pollute indirectly, any other than he that smites and kills (it). To him it adheres for ever and ever.

35. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. Moreover, if he (who dies) be a miscreant, a two-legged unbeliever (drvāo), 2 as an unrighteous apostate is, how many of the creatures of the beneficent spirit does he pollute directly? how many does he pollute indirectly?

36. Then said Ahuramazda: Like any toad 3 dried up (and) over a year dead; for living, O Spitama Zarathushtra! a miscreant, a two-legged unbeliever, as an unrighteous apostate is, pollutes directly (any) of the creatures of the beneficent spirit; living he pollutes (them) indirectly.

37. Living it (the toad) spoils the water, living it quenches the fire, living it drives the cattle mad, living it strikes the righteous man a blow depriving of consciousness (and) cutting off life; not so (when) dead.

38. So, living, O Spitama Zarathushtra! a miscreant, a two-legged unbeliever, as an unrighteous apostate is, plunders the

---

1 Hām raṭhvayāditī means that it contaminates or communicates contagion by direct contact, and païti-raṭhvayāditī means that it infects or spreads infection through an intermediate person or thing.

2 Or “a two-legged, unbelieving serpent.”

3 Strictly speaking, vaṣaghā is a poisonous lizard.
righteous man of a profusion of food and clothing and wood and carpet and iron; not so (when) dead.

39. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. When we bring together, O righteous Ahuramazda, in the dwellings in this material world, the fire and Barsom and cups and Homa and mortar, (and) afterwards either a dog or a man of this dwelling shall die, how should they act, they who are Mazdayasnians?

40. Then said Ahuramazda: Off from these dwellings, O Spitama Zarathuوها! they should carry the fire and Barsom and cups and Homa and mortar, off from (them) the dead one. They may think of it as the lawful man (that) is both brought to the lawful (place) and devoured.

41. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. How should these Mazdayasnians bring the fire back again to this dwelling where the man had died?

42. Then said Ahuramazda: Nine nights should they who are Mazdayasnians hesitate in winter, but in summer a month long; afterwards these Mazdayasnians may bring the fire back again to this dwelling where the man had died.

43. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. And if these Mazdayasnians should bring the fire back again to this dwelling where the man had died within the space of the nine nights, (or) within the space of the month long, what is the punishment for this?

44. Then said Ahuramazda: One may inflict on the vitiated body of such a one two hundred blows with a horse-goad, two hundred with a scourge.

45. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. When in this Mazdayasnian dwelling a woman shall go with child for one month, or two months, or three months, or four months, or five months, or six months, or seven months, or eight months, or nine months, or

---

1 The word anāhūṣ, "of the world," although it would suit the sense well enough, appears to be a corruption since the time of the Pahlavi translation. Some MSS. have hānkūṣ, others hānkūhūṣ, and the Pahlavi version translates the word by avarth, "endlessness" (ear, "head," is always applied to the "end" in Pahlavi, bán, "root, origin," being the "beginning"). In Yas. liii. 4, hānkūṣ is translated in Pahlavi by sārēh, "repletion," which is an approximation to the meaning of avarth, while neither word can be used for "world."

2 In Pahlavi nānāq, Pers. namād.

3 Alluding both to the dead body being taken to the Dakhma to be devoured by birds, and also to the Homa juice, considered as a creature to be consumed by a righteous man in the consecrated place.
ten months, and then this woman shall be delivered in child-
birth of something lifeless, how should they act, they who are
Mazdayasniens?

46–48. Then said Ahuramazda: Where there is in this Maz-
dayasniian dwelling especially the most ground fit for the puri-
fication ceremony, and the most dry land, &c. [as in iii.
15–17].

49. There the Mazdayasniens should enclose for her an en-
closure of this earth. Then for victuals they who are Mazdayas-
nians shall provide, then for clothes they who are Mazdayasniens
shall provide.

50. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. What food should this woman
first eat?

51. Then said Ahuramazda: Ashes with bull's urine, three
draughts, or else six, or else nine; these she should pour (by
drinking)¹ on the receptacle of the dead within the effusing
womb.

52. Then, afterwards, (she may swallow some) of the warm
milk of mares and cows and sheep and goats, of (the fruits) with
rind (and) without rind, and cooked meat undiluted, and true
corn undiluted, and honey undiluted.

53. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. How long should they hesi-
tate? how long does she remain in seclusion, eating meat and
corn and honey?

54. Then said Ahuramazda: Three nights they should hesi-
tate; three nights does she remain in seclusion, eating meat and
corn and honey. Then, moreover, after the three nights she
should wash over (her) body, freed from clothing, with bull's
urine and water, on the nine stones (magha); so they should
purify (her).

55. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1]. How long should they hesi-
tate? how long does she remain in seclusion after the three
ights, in a separate place, with separate food, with separate
clothing, apart from the other Mazdayasniens?

56. Then said Ahuramazda: Nine nights they should hesi-
tate; nine nights does she remain in seclusion after the three

¹ So understood by the Pahlavi
translator and modern Parsis, but
the Avesta may perhaps refer here
rather to outward purification, pre-
paratory to drinking the milk, than
to drinking itself.
nights, in a separate place, with separate food, with separate clothing, apart from the other Mazdaansians. Then, moreover, after the nine nights she should wash, &c. [as in ver. 54].

57. Creator, &c. [as in iii. 1], Are those clothes, set apart after purifying (and) washing, for the Zaota, or for the Hâvanân, or for the Atarevakhsha, or for the Frabaretar, or for the Aber-cta, or for the Aasnâtar, or for the Râchtthwîshkara, or for the Sraôshâvareza, or for the priest (who is) a man, or for the warrior, or for the husbandman?

58. Then said Ahuramazda: Those clothes, set apart after purifying (and) washing, are not for the Zaota, &c. [as in ver. 57, but substituting everywhere "not" for "or").

59. When in this Mazdaansian dwelling there shall be a menstrual woman, or when there is a place marked by defloration (and) stained by intercourse, here she remains in it, and a rug and mat should cover (her) up, always so that she may frequently put out (her) hands together.

60. For I, (who am) Ahuramazda, allow no defiling of unused clothes, not the size of an asperena, not even so much as the infinitesimal quantity this damsel would defile.

---

1 These appear to be names of eight officiating priests in the ceremonies of ancient times, of whom only two are now employed, the Zaota, who is the chief officiating priest, and his assitant, the Rathwi, who takes the place of the remaining seven. These seven are now considered as spirits who are summoned by the Zaota when beginning to recite Visp. iii. (after finishing Yas. xi.), and the Rathwi answers in the name of each as he stands successively in their proper places. According to a diagram, given in some MSS., the Zaota's station being near the northern end of the Arvis-gâd, or ceremonial space, as he looks southwards towards the fire he has one of the spiritual priests facing him from beyond the fire, and a line of three of them stationed along each side of the Arvis-gâd. The stations of the eight priests, real and ideal, are as follows: 1, Zaota, on the north side; 2, Hâva-nân, at the north-west corner; 3, Atarevakhsha, at the south-west corner; 4, Frabaretar, at the north-east corner; 5, Abereta, at the south-east corner; 6, Aasnâtar, on the west side; 7, Râchtthwîshkara, on the east side; 8, Sraôshâvareza, on the south side. From the word maâshyââ, “mortal, man,” being put in opposition with atâkaurunâ, the general term for “priest,” which follows the enumeration of the officiating individuals in the text, it may be suspected that these latter were not considered as mortals even at the time this text was written.

2 The meaning is that such clothes cannot be used by any respectable person, but only by the very lowest classes.

3 What is immeasurably small, an indivisible atom; the word iaâ-vimâam, not avâ-mân. An asperena is a dir-ham.
VENDIDAD, FARGARD XIX.

61. And if these Mazdaansians should cast over the dead one an infinitesimal quantity, such as the infinitesimal quantity this damsel would defile, none (of them) living shall be righteous, none (of them) dead has a share of the best existence (paradise).

62. He shall have that life of the wicked which is gloomy, originating in darkness, and dark. Verily, the wicked, through their own deeds, through their own tradition, shall depart that life for the worst existence (hell).

4.—Vendidad, Fargard XIX. 10-26, and 40-47.

10. Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna-vairya (formula, thus): As a (heavenly) lord is to be chosen, &c. The righteous Zarathushtra uttered (the hymn): That I shall ask Thee, tell it me right, O Ahura!

11, 12. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O Ahuramazda! most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! (I am) waiting for (what are) to be fixed on the roof (as protection) for Ahuramazda, for the good well-thought (Vohumanô), for perfect rectitude (Asha-vahishta), for suitable wealth (Khshathra-vairya), for bountiful devotion (Spenta-ârmaiti). How shall I defend them from that Drukhs, from the evil-doing Angrô-mainyush? How shall I exorcise the direct pollution, how the indirect pollution, how the corruption (nasush), from that Mazdaansian home? How shall I purify the righteous man? How shall I bring the righteous woman purification?

1 For verses 1-9, see pp. 253, 254.
2 See p. 141, note 2.
3 Yas. xliv., see pp. 158-162.
4 This refers to what is mentioned in Zarathushtra's address to Ahuramazda in ver. 4 (see p. 253), which would be better translated as follows:—"Where dost thou keep (any) of this (ašândô?) on this wide, round, far-compassed earth, to be fixed on the roof of the dwelling of Pourushaspa?" The word pâiti-zbaraхи can only be the locative of pâtî-

zbaraхи, equivalent to Sans. prati-

hvaras, which would mean "a curving towards, a lean-to," a significant term for a roof which is actually used, in the latter form, in English technical language; and in Sanskrit prati-hvara (Rv. vii. 66, 14) is a term for the vault of the sky. Darâjia has been mistaken for the river Dârâjia mentioned in the Bundahish (pp. 53, 58, W.) as having the house of Pourushaspa on its bank; but it is evidently only a gerund of the verb dârç= dârci, "to fix." Some Dâzsturs understand by ašândô (in ver. 4) the nayûrak, or "nine-jointed" staff used by Zarathushtra as a defence against the demons; they also understand zbaraхи as the same "weapon" (comp. Pers. zbar, a "shield ").
13. Then said Ahuramazda: Do thou invoke, O Zarathushtra! the good Mazdayasian religion. Do thou invoke, O Zarathushtra! that the Ameshaspentas may keep guard over the seven-regioned earth. Do thou invoke, O Zarathushtra! (the spirits) of the self-sustained universe, of boundless time, of the upper-working air (vayu). Do thou invoke, O Zarathushtra! the mighty wind created by Mazda, (and) the bountiful one (Armaiti), the lovely daughter of Ahuramazda.

14. Do thou invoke, O Zarathushtra! the Spirit (fravashi) of me who am Ahuramazda, that which is the greatest and best and most excellent, and strongest and wisest and most beautiful, and most pervaded by righteousness, whose soul is the beneficent text. Do thou thyself invoke this creation of Ahuramazda.

15. Zarathushtra proclaimed my word (thus): I invoke the rightful creation, created by Ahuramazda. I invoke Mithra of the wide cattle-pastures, the well-armed, with most glorious missiles (rays), with most victorious missiles. I invoke Srosh the righteous, the handsome, holding a sword in both hands against the head of the demons.

16. I invoke the beneficent text (māthrov speñtō) which is very glorious. I invoke (the spirits) of the self-sustained universe, of boundless time, of the upper-working air. I invoke the mighty wind created by Mazda, (and) the bountiful one (Armaiti), the lovely daughter of Ahuramazda. I invoke the good Mazdayasian religion, the Zarathushtrian Provision against the Devas (Vendidad).

17. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O giver of good, 1 Ahuramazda! with what ceremony shall I reverence, with what ceremony shall I propitiate, this creation of Ahuramazda?

18. Then said Ahuramazda: Thou shalt go, O Spitama Zarathushtra! to (one) of the growing trees, a handsome, full-grown, strong (one, and) recite this saying: Reverence (to thee) O good tree, created by Mazda (and) right! righteousness is the best good, &c. [as in p. 141, note 2].

19. One may carry off the Barsom (twigs) from it, a span long, a barley-corn thick. Thou mayst not clip its clipped Bar-

---

1 The reading dātō-avnken is doubtful; it has been altered to dātō avken in the old MSS., and is rendered in the Pahlavi version by dādār awdād hōmande, “Creator, mayst thou be (or may they be) prosperous!”
som, they should be righteous men (priests who do that). (One should be) holding (it) in the left hand, reverencing Ahuramazda, reverencing the Ameshaspentas, and the golden-hued Homa, the exalted,¹ and the handsome (spirits), and the gifts of Vohumanō (saying to the Barsom): O good one, created by Mazda (and) right! (thou art) the best.

20. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: Omniscient Ahuramazda! thou art sleepless, unstupefied, thou who art Ahuramazda! a good-minded man pollutes himself directly, a good-minded man pollutes himself indirectly, from a person who is stricken by a demon, he pollutes himself directly with a demon; may the good-minded man become purified?

21. Then said Ahuramazda: Thou shouldst procure, O Zarathushtra! bull's urine lawfully formed by a young entire bull. Thou shouldst bring out the purified things² on the ground created by Ahura. The man who is a purifier (priest) should score around (it) a surrounding furrow.

22. He should mutter a hundred praises of righteousness (thus): Righteousness is the best good, &c. [as in p. 141, note 2]. Twice (as often) he should recite aloud the Ahuna-vairya (thus). As a (heavenly) lord is to be chosen, &c. [as in p. 141, note 2]. With four washings he should wash with bull's urine of (that) supplied by the bull, twice with water of (that) created by Mazda.

23. Purified shall they be, the good-minded man; purified shall they be, the man (who polluted him). The good-minded man shall draw on (his clothes) with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left. Then thou shouldst expose the good-minded man to the power-formed luminaries, that (some) of the stars appointed by destiny may shine upon him, always till when his nine nights shall elapse.

24. Then after the nine nights thou shouldst bring consecrated waters (saothra) to the fire, thou shouldst bring (some) of the hard firewoods to the fire, thou shouldst bring (some) of the benzoïn incense to the fire, (and) the good-minded man should have himself fumigated.

¹ Perhaps the grammatical irregularities would be diminished by taking this as a verb, and assuming that the priest's speech is addressed to the Homa, and not to the Barsom. ² Or, perhaps, "the purifier," if we suppose the nominative to have been substituted for the accusative, which is not an unusual irregularity in this fargard.
25. Purified shall they be, &c. [as in ver. 23, to] and the left. The good-minded man shall exclaim: Reverence to Ahuramazda! reverence to the Ameshaspentas! reverence to the other righteous ones!

26. Zarathushtra asked Ahuramazda: O omniscient Ahuramazda! shall I arouse the righteous man? shall I arouse the righteous woman? shall I arouse the frontier of the turbulent Deva-worshipping men? (that) they may consume the land created by Ahura, (that) they may consume the flowing water, the crops of corn, (and) other of its superfluities? Then said Ahuramazda: Thou mayst arouse them, O righteous Zarathushtra!

27–39. [See the translation in pp. 254–257.]

40. Srosh the righteous, prayed to (and) invoked, is pleased (and) attentive, the handsome, triumphant Srosh, the righteous! Thou shouldst bring consecrated waters (zaothra) to the fire, thou shouldst bring (some) of the hard firewoods to the fire, thou shouldst bring (some) of the benzoin incense to the fire. Thou shouldst propitiate the fire Vāzishta, the smiter of the demon Spenjagha. Thou shouldst bring cooked victuals (and) plenty of sweetmeats.¹

41. Thou shouldst propitiate Srosh the righteous, (that) Srosh the righteous may destroy the demons Kunda (stupidity?), Banga (drunkenness, and) Viṅga² (dead drunkenness). He attacks the frontier of the wizards, the turbulent Deva-worshipping men, from the nearest³ country having the purification ceremony. One should persevere in the practice, (and) should cultivate sheep's food (and) food for cattle in the pastures.

42. I invoke the Kara⁴ fish (which is) in the water at the

¹ Very probably “gravy;” the idea of sweetness is based upon the Pahlavi version, which is not, however, altogether unambiguous.

² The Pahlavi version explains Viṅga as “drunk without wine,” or inherently drunk; vi must be used here as an intensive prefix.

³ From this point to the name Angrō-mainyush in ver. 44, both text and Pahlavi translation are omitted in all MSS. of the Vendidad with Pahlavi, except one or two which seem to have been amended from the Vendidad Sādah. The word daēdō, which occurs in the MSS. before navāshād, belongs to the Pahlavi version of the preceding clause.

⁴ The chief of the water creatures. Ten of these fish, according to the Bundahish, are constantly employed in guarding the Hom tree, in the midst of the sea Vouru-kasha, from the assaults of a poisonous lizard sent by Angrō-mainyush to injure it.
bottom of deep lakes. I invoke the primeval self-sustained boundary, most resisting the creatures of the two spirits. I invoke the seven illustrious in fame, they are aged men, sons, (and) descendants.

43. He shouted (and) countershouted, he considered (and) re-considered, (did) the deadly Angró-mainyush, the demon of demons, (with) Indra the demon, Saurva the demon, Naonhaithya the demon, Tauru, Zairicha, Aéshma the impetuous rusher, Akatasha the demon [(Pázand) he causes frost produced by the demons, deadly decay, (and) old age ill-treating the fathers], Bütti the demon, Driwi the demon, Daiwi the demon, Kasvi the demon, Paitisha the demon, the most demoniacal demon of the demons.

44. Thus shouted he who is the evil-causing Angró-mainyush, the deadly: Why do the demons, the turbulent evil-originators, assemble in an assembly on the summit of Arezûra?

45. The demons rushed, they shouted, the turbulent evil-originators; the demons howled, they shouted, the turbulent evil-originators; the demons displayed an evil eye, the turbulent evil-originators: We must assemble in our assembly on the summit of Arezûra.

46. Born, indeed, is he who is the righteous Zarathushtra, at the dwelling of Pourushaspa. How shall we procure his death? he is the smiter of the demons, he is the opponent of the demons, he is the destroyer of destruction (or falsehood); downcast is

---

1 This appears to be a fragment of an old hymn in octosyllabic metre, which, with some irregularities, can be traced through the greater part of verses 43-45; it begins as follows:

Pradavata vidavata
Pramanyata vimanyata
Angró mainyush pouru-mahrkô.

2 See pp. 272 and 308.

3 The demons of disease and decay, compare Sans. tura = ðtura, “diseased,” and jaras, “decay.” (See Darmesteter’s Haurvatát et Amandat, pp. 33, 34.)

4 The demon of Anger or Wrath (khashm in Persian). This Aéshma daevô appears to be the Asmodeus of the Apocryphal book of Tobit iii. 8.

5 Compare Sans. bhûta and the vernacular bhût, the general name for goblins or evil spirits in India.

6 These three demons are respectively Poverty, Deceit, and Dwarfishness; see Vend. ii. 29, p. 234.

7 The word daevô is taken as the last of this verse, and not as the first of the next one.

8 Here ends the omitted passage mentioned in p. 336, note 3.

9 The mountain said to be situated at the gate of hell.
the Deva-worshipper, (with) the impurity (*nasush*) produced by
the demons, lying, (and) falsehood.

47. The demons shouted, they rushed, the turbulent evil-originators, to the bottom of the world of darkness which is the raging hell.

II.—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PAHLAVI VERSIONS.

Excepting the first fargard of the Vendidad, these translations
were written by the author in English. In revising them use
has been made of collations of Spiegel’s edition of the texts
with Dastur Jamaspji’s old MS. of the Pahlavi Yasna (see p. 96),
with the London and Teheran MSS. of the Pahlavi Vendidad
(see p. 95), and with Dastur Hoshangji’s unpublished edition of
the same.

The Pahlavi versions of the Avesta throw but little light upon
the obscure passages in the original text, which are generally
rendered by a slavishly literal translation, or even transliteration,
with some faint attempt at explanation, more or less unfortunate
in its result. The chief value of these versions consists in the
longer commentaries which are often interpolated, especially in
the Vendidad. They also indicate how the original Avesta was
understood in the later Sasanian times,¹ and how it is under-
stood by the present Dasturs, who rely almost entirely upon the
Pahlavi version.

I.—Pahlavi Yasna XXVIII.

Happy was the thought, happy the word, and happy the deed,
of the righteous Zarathushtra. [On account of proper thought
and word and deed he was estimable in virtue.]² The Ames-
aspends held forth the Gāthas, [that is, they were kept forth
in the world by them]. Devotion to you, O righteous Gāthas!

1. (a) I beg the reward of him who is Aūharmazd himself,
through devotion, when I make intercession (with) God (for) the

¹ To which the last thorough re-
vision of the Pahlavi texts may pro-
bably be referred, whatever date we
may assume for their original com-
poition.

² Explanations interpolated by the
Pahlavi translators are enclosed in
brackets, to distinguish them from
the words inserted by the present
translator, which are given in pare-
theses.
good, uplifting the hand (and) the mind also with its own joy. 

(b) In spirituality Aûharmazd is first, in the Gâtha-lore 1 is the increase of righteousness which (should) be in every action, [that is, actions are all to be performed through the Gâtha-lore].  

(c) In that which is His wisdom, in the original wisdom, is the satisfaction of Gôslûrûn, 2 [that is, the care of cattle is to be undertaken with judgment].

2. (a) When I shall attain unto you, 3 O Aûharmazd! through good thought (Vohuman), [that is, perfect in rectitude I shall have come unto your own possession]; (b) give ye to me in both lives, (that) which is material and (that) which is spiritual, the happiness which is here (in this world) and that also which is there (in the other world). (c) Prosperity is owing to the assistance of righteousness, [that is, you give me through rectitude the abundance 4 which you give to that gladdener], and it is necessary to cause glory through joy.

3. (a) When I shall be your own, O Ashavahisht (and) Vohuman, who is first! [that is, I shall remain in your possession]; (b) and I shall be also Aûharmazd’s own, through whose unweakened acquisition is their dominion, [that is, his sovereignty over the Ameshapsends is strict]; (c) and of her also who is the giver of increase, Spandarmad, I shall be her own, she comes to me with joy through calling; when I shall call unto you, come on towards me with joy.

4. (a) Whoever gives (his) soul into paradise (garûdmânô, it is) through the assistance of good thought (Vohuman), [that is, every one who gives has given it through the assistance of Vohuman]. (b) And his respect for the doers of deeds who dô for him what is proper, is evidenced by that of Aûharmazd and the religion of Aûharmazd. (c) As long as I am a supplicant and wealthy, so long I have learned 5 the requirements of righteousness, duty and good works.

5. (a) O Ashavahisht! When do I see thee through the in-

1 Or “psalmody” or “hymnology,” but gâdânâkith can hardly mean Gâtha-chanting here.

2 The Pazand term for gêvsh urvâ, “the soul of the ox or earth.”

3 Observe that “you” and “thou” are not used indiscriminately in the Gâthas; “ye” or “you” always refers to the whole celestial council of the Ameshapsends, including Aûharmazd.

4 Reading pâdîkhtît = Paz. pâdiqî, see Mainyo-i-khârd ii. 2, xlix. 6.

5 Or “taught,” or “am taught.”
struction of good thought (Vohuman)! this I (would) know, [that is, I see thee at the time when every one is intelligent through rectitude, when will it be?] (b) When do I see also the place of Ašāhrmazd, who is a seeker of worth? that place is known through Srosh, [that is, when they have a Dastur he ought to know what happiness is from that place]. (c) That is the greatest text; he whose understanding is confounded by its belief and maintenance, he also whose understanding is confounded by the tongue, for him this one thing is excellent, when they shall form a priestly assembly (aehrpatistân).

6. (a) Grant the coming of good thought (Vohuman) to the body of others (and) the giving of long life to me, O Ashavahisht! [that is, may he not grant that thing which, in the future existence, they would require again to destroy]? (b) Through the true word he has shown thee, O Ašāhrmazd! to Zaratâšht; it is owing to him who is Thy powerful Vishtâsp that I am Thy delight, [that is, I am carrying Thee forth in goodness to the rulers]. (c) And my people (mantkân) also, O Ašāhrmazd! my disciples, are also carrying Thee forth in goodness. The distress of the distressers is when they shall thus take injury, [that is, the distress owing to them becomes inoperative].

7. (a) Grant me, O Ashavahisht! the reverence which is in plenteousness of good thought (Vohuman), [that is, may he so grant me reverence which, in the future existence, they shall not require again to destroy]? (b) And do thou grant me, O Spendarmad! that which is to be requested from Vishtâsp, the mobadship of the mobads (the high-priesthood); and my people also, my disciples, grant them the mobadship of the mobads. (c) And grant me a sovereign praiser, O Ašāhrmazd! Vishtâsp who when they chant this your text, [that is, they shall speak your tradition (dên)], furnishes the arrangements so that they may make (it) continuous (they may propagate it).

8. (a) When thy excellence and thy religion, which is the best of other things, are in the best righteousness (Ashavahisht), let me enjoy it through rectitude. (b) Let me obtain by prayer, O Ašāhrmazd! the man who is Frashôšhtar, [that is, give up Frashôšhtar into my discipleship]; give Frashôšhtar my people also in his discipleship. (c) To them also then be liberal

1 Reading ghal ham-dôshâtê.
as long as all are in good thought (Vohuman), [that is, ever cause thereby the happiness of Frashōshtar and the disciples of Frashōshtar till the future existence].

9. (a) Because of not coming to you, O Aūharmazd! I may not do this, [that is, I shall not come to you]; and Ashavahisht too I trouble not about happiness, I ask not even a single happiness which Ashavahisht deems undesirable. (b) Vohuman also, the excellent, I trouble not him, who is he who gives you this your infinitude, the praisers, [that is, he will bring Hūshēdār, Hūshēdār-māh, and Sōshāns to your conference]. (c) You are propitious through the prayer of a beneficial sovereignty, [that is, you will be pleased with a beneficial sovereignty, and will give].

10. (a) When thus I shall be acquainted with righteousness, and that also which is the gift of good thought (Vohuman), [that is, I shall have become fully acquainted with truth and rectitude], (b) which is proper, O Aūharmazd! may ye fulfil my desire with them! [that is, cause my happiness thereby]. (c) When thus, by what is useless to you, food and clothing are obtainable,² by that chanting, when it is not useful in your worship, let him obtain food and clothing.

11. (a) When I shall guard righteousness by observance, and good thought (Vohuman) also unto everlasting, [that is, I shall cause the protection of truth and rectitude], (b) teach Thou forth to me what is Aūharmazd, that is Thyself, in words. (c) Spirituality is the Gāthā-lore which is declared from this by Thy mouth, and till it is declared by that Thou wilt speak by Thy mouth, which was the first in the world, [that is, He who was first, His law became the Gāthā-lore].

2.—Pahlavi Yasna XXIX.

1. (a) To you, O Ameshaspends! Gōshūrūn complained, [some say³ the lord Bull spoke towards the direction of Aūharmazd],⁴ thus: To whom am I allotted as to feeding (and) keep-

---

1 Reading əkda hōmanānet.
2 Reading vīndviniṭhak, "caused to obtain."
3 This frequent phrase for introducing alternative interpretations in the Pahlavi version is literally: "there is (one) who thus says."
4 The oldest reading is kāhjāt-gāshī gāšt val Aūharmazd rāno.
PAHLAVI YASNA XXIX.

ing? For whom am I formed? [that is, for whom am I created?] (b) This is he I (have): Wrath who smites me with anger and is oppressive, [that is, he harasses me utterly], who is torturing, [that is, my immoderate beating disfigures me perpetually], and also a tearer away, [that is, he accomplishes the destruction of my life], and a plunderer too, [that is, he utterly robs me]. (c) There is no well-wisher (vāsnīdār) for me besides you, [that is, I know not any one from whom my welfare so (proceeds) as from you], so let one prepare for me what is good pasture.

2. (a) So he who is the former of cattle, Aûharmazd, asked thus: O Ashavahisht! who is the master of thy cattle? [that is, how is thy opinion of this as to who is the master of cattle?] (b) Who is given this authority to feed (and) to keep? who is it gives them pasture, and is also diligently promoting the cattle creation? [that is, gives it pasture, and thereby indicates its one cattle-guardian who will increase cattle]. (c) What is that lordship with goodness which, when they provide no nourishment, feeds it with authority? Who gives this reply to the non-Iranian devastation of wicked Wrath, that they may make him stupefied?

3. (a) To him who (has) the guardianship of the bodies of cattle Ashavahisht spoke the reply: (He is) not without distress, for (he is) in distress, [that is, they shall effect his punishment]. (b) They are not aware of the peace of Rashn the just, and may they not know what (and) how much punishment they shall inflict upon the soul of a wicked one! (c) Of beings he is the more powerful, [that is, the strength of him is that which is more effectual], who comes into action on calling to him, [that is, when they call him thus: Perform duties and good works! he does (them)].

4. (a) Aûharmazd is a computer of words, that he may form an account as to the sin and good works (b) which were done by them, demons and men, both formerly and also what they practise hereafter. (c) He is the deciding Lord, [that is, he determines action and law], so we are as is His will, [that is, even (what) is wanted by us is what He (wants)].

1 This is the sin of bōhēk-awēl, which is defined in modern times as that of selling men or cattle, whether stolen or one's own property, into misery; also the sin of spoiling good clothes or food.

2 Or "unmanly."
PAHLAVI YASNA XXIX.

5. (a) So (rather) than you, O Ameshapsends! I diligently reverence, with uplifted soul (and) mental uplifting of hands, Him (who is) Aûharmazd, [that is, I reverence one thing more than the Ameshapsends, I reverence the things of Aûharmazd more, and I do (them)];¹ (b) that my soul may be with the bull Az, [that is, may I give my soul a reward²], (and) may I consult him who is Aûharmazd (about) that which is in doubt! [that is, (about) that of which I may be doubtful may it be possible for me to inquire of Aûharmazd]! (c) For the upright liver is no utter ruin, [that is, whoever lives with uprightness, in his soul is no ruin], nor for the increaser,³ [that is, for the increaser who possesses anything through rectitude it is not so as (afore-said), except him who is wicked, for to the wicked one it happens.

6. (a) Thus with his mouth said Aûharmazd intelligently: Destruction is to be avoided, [that is, wisely was it said by him that there is a remedy for the mischief from the evil spirit]. (b) No such lordship is to be admitted, [that is, in that place it is not possible to effect a remedy because they do not even consider the Lord as lord], no mastership whatsoever, for the sake of righteousness, is to be given, [that is, a Dastur even, such as it is necessary to introduce, they do not possess]. (c) So for him who is an increaser, who is a tiller, thou art destined and art formed, [that is, for him who is diligent (and) moderate thou art given].

7. (a) That which is copiousness in the text Aûharmazd (gives) to that worker who is in friendliness with righteousness, [that is, they give the reward revealed by the text to him who shall perform duties and good works]. (b) Aûharmazd makes the cattle grow, [that is, he will increase them], for the eaters, that one may eat in moderation; that which is plentiful Aûharmazd taught (one to eat) by the lapful and armful.⁴ (c) Who is this good thought (Vohuman) of thine? [that is, this one who leads to thee], who gives the reciters (and) priests a mouth with all the Avesta and Zand?

¹ This explanatory clause appears to be in great confusion in all MSS.
² As the Persian mazd is both “a reward” and “a he-goat,” this may possibly be an attempt to explain Az, which resembles a Pahlavi word for “goat.”
³ Or “cultivator.”
⁴ Literally: “by the bosom size and arm size.”
8. (a) This my ¹ gift he obtained, [that is, that (which is) so, this one obtained], to that teaching of ours this one is he who was listening: (b) Zaratusht the Spitaman, for him is our will of Aûharmazd and righteousness also, [that is, a desire for complete duty and good works]. (c) He chanted also a counterspell,² [that is, he uttered a remedy for the destroyer (drâj) in the world], through which saying one gives unto him a good place, [that is, on account of the excellence of the saying he utters they give him there, in heaven, a good place which is excellent].

9. (a) So too Goshrûn complained thus: It is owing to the non-applicant I am powerless, O Zaratusht! unseemly thinking (comes) through what is illiberal giving, when they will not bestow on it copiously, (b) owing to the insufficiency of the words even of those men, when the religion is not fully current, whose desire is a demand for our³ sovereignty, [that is, owing to them a mobadship of the mobads is necessary for me]. (c) How does that gift ever exist? [that is, does that time ever come?] when it is given to him through the aid of powerful supplication, to him who is Zaratusht.

10. (a) And ye give assistance to them, O Aûharmazd, and Ashavahisht, and Khshatvër! that Zaratusht and the disciples of Zaratusht may thereby practise virtue. (b) So also Vohuman, the good mind which gives him a place of pleasant dwelling there (in the other world) and likewise joy. (c) I too am he, O Aûharmazd! that Zaratusht, by him something is first to be obtained from Thee, [that is, his virtue is first from Thee].

11. (a) Where is the gift, O Ashavahisht, and Vohuman, and Khshatvër! which thus ye send to me, the speech of Zaratusht? [that is, (in) what place remains that reward?] (b) Ye reward me much, O Aûharmazd! by this arch-Magianship, [that is, they would effect my reward by this pure goodness].⁴ (c) O Aûharmazd! now our desire is (that) what is liberality towards us (shall be) from you; now when I know more of your wondrousness, benefits from you are more desired by me; [some said that

¹ The word “my” is accidentally omitted in the old MSS.
² Literally: “a remedy-making.”
³ So apparently in Dastur Jamaspji’s MS.
⁴ The mas-maght or arch-Magianship is here explained as “pure goodness,” and in the Farhang-i Olm-khâdûk (p. 25) magta is also explained by avâjak, “pure.”
now when the religion (has) become quite current, I and the disciples (have) a desire for benefits and reward from Thee].

3.—Pahlavi Yasna XXX.

1. (a) So both those sayings are to be desired, which are the Avesta and Zand given by Aûharmazd, (by) whomsoever is intelligent, [that is, the priestly studies are to be performed 1 by him (who is) wise]. (b) Which (sayings) are the praise of Aûharmazd and the reverence of good thought (Vohuman) revealed by those which are the Avesta and Zand. (c) Whoevery is a virtuous thinker through righteousness, even he who thinks of virtuous things, his good work is as great as a religious ceremonial (yazishn), (he it is) whose happiness (consists) in looking into their light, 2 [that is, when they see their spiritual worship it becomes their joy].

2. (a) The listening to what is heard by the ears, [that is, the ear listened to it (and) became glad], they will call the extension of the best, [that is, his performance of priestly study], and whatever is not affording him vision (becomes) what is light through the mind, [that is, the light of the priests is dark to him]. (b) Desires are to be discriminated by us who are men (and) women, for our own selves, [that is, proper things are to be discriminated from those which are improper, and those which are improper are not 8 to be accomplished by us]. (c) As, besides, in that great performance through the consummation in the future existence they announce a reward for what is our teaching, [that is, on account of our teaching proper things they will provide a reward].

3. (a) So both those spirits, Aûharmazd and the Evil one, first proclaimed themselves (as) those who are a pair, [that is, they declared themselves (as) sin and good works]. (b) Of what is good, and also of what is bad 4 of the thought, speech, and deed of both, one thinks, speaks, and does that which is good, and one that which is bad. 4 (c) From them choose ye

---

1 Or perhaps “a priestly assembly is to be formed.”
2 Or possibly “into the light of the Yazads (angels).” There is considerable doubt about the proper application of the pronouns in many places.
3 This negative is omitted by mistake in most MSS.
4 Literally “worse” or “very bad.”
out rightly him who is wise in good, Aûharmazd, not him who is wise in evil, the Evil spirit.

4. (a) So also both those spirits have approached together to that which was the first creation, [that is, both spirits have come to Gayomard]. (b) Whatever is in life is through this purpose of Aûharmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; and whatever is in lifelessness is through this purpose of the Evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that it may occur even to men of another [race]. (c) The utter depravity of the wicked and the devastation owing to Ahriman and the wicked are fully seen, and so is the righteous perfect thoughtfulness which accompanies Aûharmazd everlastingly.

5. (a) Of the two spirits that (one) is liked, by him who is wicked, who is the evil-doing Ahriman, he who was desirous of evil-doing. (b) Righteousness likes the spirit of righteousness, the fostering Aûharmazd; by whom also the hard-pot-covered sky likewise is completed around the earth through this purpose, that is, so that righteousness may become current. (c) Whoever also satisfies Aûharmazd, and his desire is that of Aûharmazd, is for Aûharmazd through public action, [that is, he should come to Aûharmazd with that desire and action].

6. (a) They who are demons do not allow (one) to discriminate rightly in any way, [that is, the demons would not do anything proper], even (one) whom they deceived; whom the demons have deceived can form no right desire. (b) For inquiry they have come on, [that is, there is a consultation of them with the demons], (they) by whom the worse in thought is liked. (c) So they (the demons) have run in together with Wrath, and the lives of men are weakened by them, [that is, with Wrath they disfigure men].

---

1 Of course “the wicked” include all unbelievers in Zoroastrianism as well as the mere transgressors.

2 As the Avesta word is 𐗽 it is probable that 𐗽, “when,” ought to be 𐗽, “whom,” the substitution of one of these words for the other being a common blunder of transcribers.

3 Or perhaps “hard-shell-covered.” This epithet is evidently based upon a rather eccentric etymology of the Avesta word khroašdishtēŋ, which the Pahlavi translator divides into three parts, namely, khroašh, which he represents by sakhī, “hard;” dish by dīq, “a pot” and tēŋ by nīḥēft, “covered;” reminding one of some European attempts at etymologising the name of Zarathushtra.
7. (a) To him\(^1\) comes Khshatvēr, and Vohuman and Ashavahisht also come up to him to work. (b) And so Spendarmad gives him a powerful body without lethargy, [that is, whilst it is his he is not stupefied]. (c) They are thine, [that is, they come thus to that person], whose coming is such as the first creation, [that is, his desire and action are those of Gayomard].

8. (a) So also hatred comes into the creation, in the future existence, to those haters and sinners, [that is, they shall execute their punishment]. (b) So, O Aūharmazd! whoever is for thy sovereignty Vohuman will give him the reward. (c) Through their teaching of Aūharmazd, in the religion of Aūharmazd, when (given) to him who (has) righteousness, [that is, he is instructed in proper things], the destroyer is given into his hand, and the mischief (ārdj) of infidelity.

9. (a) So also we who are thine, [that is, we are thine own], by us this perpetuation (frashakard) is to be made in the world. (b) Also the whole congregation of Aūharmazd and likewise the bringing of Ashavahisht, [that is, an assembly about the future existence is always to be formed by them]. (c) Whosever thought is endless, [that is, thought in priestly authority (dastō-barīh) is the life (or guardian angel) which he possesses], his knowledge is there (in the other world), [that is, he will know the end of things through rectitude], in (his) place.

10. (a) So in the creation in the future existence he who is a destroyer, the evil spirit, is in discomfiture, when his things shall stand still for weakness, and (his) army is shattered. (b) So they swiftly spring to seize the reward, that which is in the good dwelling of Vohuman, when they have continued in rectitude. (c) To Aūharmazd and Ashavahisht too they spring who establish what is good renown, [that is, that person goes to seize the reward who is well-famed].

11. (a) Both those benedictions are to be taught which Aūharmazd gave to men, (b) and whose heedless\(^2\) teaching is

---

1 The other, who prefers righteousness.

2 This is merely a guess. The text in the Copenhagen MS. (as published by Spiegel) is here unintelligible, and the obscurity is only partially removed by Dastur Jamaspji's MS., which runs as follows: mànīch qin āmāktishno zak mindāram, &c., with ahink written over qin either as a gloss or as an addition to that doubtful word. It is possible that instead of Pāzand qin we should read the similarly written Pahlavi aēn, "un-
the thing that should not be during my celebration of worship; whose lasting injury also (arises) from such celebration by the wicked. (c) And (they are) also an advantage of the righteous, [that is, as it is necessary to perform (them) so afterwards they are beneficial], when that advantage (has) become complete.

4.—Pahlavi Yasna XXXI.

1. (a) Both those benedictions which I recite unto you, the Avesta and Zand, we teach him who is no hearer of the infidel, by speaking; in a doubtful matter (varhōmandīh) he is to be told three times, and one time when (one) knows without doubt (aḵvar) that he learns. (b) They who, by benediction of the destroyer of righteousness, utterly devastate the world, when they maintain the destroyer by benediction, (c) then even they may be excellent when they shall be causing progress in what is Āūharmazd's, [that is, of even those infidels this one thing may be excellent, when they shall make current the religion of Āūharmazd].

2. (a) Whoever does not believe through observation is in what is to him no doubtfulness when he is not even doubtful or God in anything, [that is, assertion about existence is good when they exhibit it by an estimate of the world]. (b) So all come to you, [that is, every one will come into your possession], when thus they become aware of the mastership of Āūharmazd, [that is, they shall know the miraculousness of Āūharmazd]. (c) From Āūharmazd, from them (the Amesha-spends) it is to come when I live with the aid of righteousness; from the Amesha-spends is this benefit for me, from Āūharmazd, when I live on with the duties and good works which are mine.

seeing, heedless," which suits the sense very well; the Pāzand gloss aḵinh must then be read awina, which would be very similar in form, and would confirm the meaning "heedless" here adopted.

1 It is not certain from his language that the Pahlavi translator did not mean the Avesta and Zand of both benedictions.

2 As the sentence stands in the old MSS. it ought to be translated: "we teach him who is no hearer, the infidel," &c.

3 Referring probably to the incantations of sorcerers.

4 Dastur Jamaspji’s MS. has iḏ- yazishnāh, "irreverence, non-worship," instead of nikizishnāh. It cannot be said that this explanatory clause throws much light on the subject.
3. (a) What the fire and Ashavahisht gave by spirituality, and was explained by Thee to the disputants, (was) understanding, [that is, the purified and the defiled were made known by Thee].  
(b) And by Thee, who gave a desire of benediction to the interpreters of numbers (arithmancists), was given the rite of ordeal (\textit{mātrang-ī var}); tell it to us intelligibly, O Aūharmazd! wisely, that rite of ordeal.  
(c) Through Thy tongue, in (my) mouth all kinds of living creatures believe, and afterwards it is said of it that I speak.

4. (a) When in the creation in the future existence I shall be an invoker of Ashavahisht and Aūharmazd also, [that is, let me have such a virtue that it may be possible for me to invoke Aūharmazd and Ashavahisht]; (b) and I shall be an invoker of her also who is the submissive Spendarmad, I pray for excellence, the gift of good thought (Vohuman).  
(c) (May) the authority of my people also, my disciples, be from him who is powerful, [that is, give them sovereignty from Soshāns], through whose bravery, [that is, through his own resources he is able to do it], the destroyer (\textit{dvīj}) is beaten, [that is, I know this, that at that time it is possible to make the destroyer confounded].

5. (a) Speak decided to me, speak clear, where is that reward? how ought one to make (it) one's own? which (comes) to me through righteousness when duty and good works are performed by me, the good gift, [that is, the giving of that good reward to me].  
(b) Grant me the gift of understanding through good thought (Vohuman), [that is, talk wisdom through excellence], which is mine through the good judgment (\textit{hā-vārūh}) which is his, [that is, through the excellence of that wisdom it is possible for me to give a reply of good judgment].  
(c) Aūharmazd speaks that also which does not exist by means of that which exists, [that is, by means of the Gātha-lore which exists he says where it does not exist].

6. (a) He is the best who would speak intelligently to me (what is) manifest and clear, [that is, the priest is better than the disciple], (b) the text which is all-progressive, [that is, all creatures by way of the text come back into the possession of Aūharmazd], which when they preserve it with righteousness is working well, (and) one's immortal progress arises therefrom in

\footnote{Assuming that \textit{amat} has been substituted for \textit{mān}, see p. 346, note 2.}
the fifty-seven years.\(^1\) (c) The dominion of Áûharmazd is so long as good thought (Vohuman) grows in one, [that is, his sovereignty in the body of a man is so long as good thought (Vohuman) is a guest in his body].

7. (a) His promise came first who mingled His glory with the light, who is the Áûharmazd who did this, [that is, the goodness which is His here (in this world) is with Him there (in the other world); this thing has happened to Him so that his Gāthā-lore may return to Him]. (b) His are the creatures, [that is, the proper creatures are His own], who possesses righteousness through wisdom and perfect thinking, [that is, he considers with uprightness and propriety]. (c) Both those (creations) Áûharmazd causes to grow through spirituality, [that is, he will increase spiritual and worldly things], (He) who is also now the Lord for ever.\(^2\)

8. (a) Thus I thought, O Áûharmazd! regarding Thee, that Vohuman might be the first among Thy offspring, and when I saw Vohuman I thought thus, that (he) was Thy child. (b) Art Thou Vohuman’s father? Thou art the father of Vohuman when thou art taken in altogether by my whole eyesight, [that is, Thou art seen by both my eyes], so I thought that Thou art the father of Vohuman. (c) Manifest are the creatures of righteousness, (and) clear, [that is, Thy proper creatures are created]; through deeds in the world Thou art Lord, [that is, they shall form an account with sin and good works].

9. (a) Thine is Spendarmad, [that is, Thine own], with Thee is that which is the fashioner of cattle, wisdom. (b) Through spirituality, O Áûharmazd! a path is given to her by Thee, [that is, the path of that place (the other world) is given to her by Thee]. (c) Whoever is in activity comes, [that is, his duty and good works are performed], whoever is no worker is not allowed by Thee.

10. (a) So both the origin and produce are assigned by Thee to that (one) of those men who is a worker (and) acquirer of wealth,\(^3\) [that is, the source and produce of cattle are given by

---

\(^1\) In the Bundahish (p. 72) it is also stated: “In fifty-seven years Soshaans (and his companions) prepare all the dead; all men arise, both (those) who are righteous and (those) who are wicked.”

\(^2\) Reading mán kevanich hamát khróšát.

\(^3\) The terms used seem to imply “an agriculturist and cattle-breeder.”
PAHLAVI YASNA XXXI.

Thee to him who is diligent (and) moderate. (b) The lord is righteous whose wealth ¹ (comes) through good thought (Vohu-
man), [that is, they should exercise the ownership of cattle with propriety]. (c) Aūharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much re-
ward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.²

11. (a) When for us, O Aūharmazd! the world was first formed by Thee, and religion, (they were) given by Thee through this wisdom of Thy mind. (b) When life was given by Thee to the possessors of bodies, [that is, life was given by Thee to the body of Gayomard], it, too, was given through this wisdom of Thy mind. (c) When work (and) instruction were given by Thee, [that is, work (and) proper instruction were given by Thee], (they), too, were given through this wisdom of Thy mind. And when (there is one) whose desire is for that place (the other world), by Thee his desire was granted, [that is, that which he requires when he shall come to that place, this which is so required by him is given by Thee, in that way he will come to that place], it, too, was granted through this wisdom of Thy mind.

12. (a) There the voices are high, that of the teller of lies, the Evil spirit, and that of the teller of truth, Aūharmazd, (b) that of the intellectual Aūharmazd and that of the unintel-
lectual Evil spirit, in the solicitation for the heart and mind of Zarätušt, [that is, while we shall solicit them ³], (c) who, through complete mindfulness as to what the spirit communi-
cated by the religion of the spirit, (has) his abode there (in the

¹ That is, wealth in cattle.
² This appears to refer to a passage in the Spend Nask, which the Shā-
yast-lā-shāyast quotes thus: "As in the Spend Nask it was shown to Zarat-
tušt, concerning a man, that the whole body was in torment and one foot was outside. Zaratstušt asked Aūharmazd about the matter. Aū-
harmand said that he was a man Davâns by name; he was ruler over thirty-three provinces, and he never practised any good work, except one time when he conveyed fodder to cattle with that one foot." In the Arđa-Virāf-nāmak (ch. xxxii.) a similar tale is told of "a lazy man whom they called Davân's," whose right foot is treated with the same exceptional mercy, which is not granted to the infidel or apostate in ch. xlvii. There seems little doubt that this Davâns is a representation of the davâs translated "hypocrite" in the text.
³ Literally "it" or "him."
other world), [whoever shall quite mindfully perform priestly studies, his place is there (in the other world)].

13. (a) Whoever converses with what is public must perform public good works, O Aūharmazd! whoever converses with what is secret sin may commit much secret sin. (b) Whoever in what is a small quarrel tries (adāmāyād) that which is great, for the sake of deliverance, [that is, they would commit a small sin and, afterwards, they would commit a large one, so that it may not be apparent], (c) it is he who would be in both (Thy) eyes, [that is, Thou seest], in that combination Thou art Lord, [in sin which is mingled with good works], over righteousness Thou art also Lord, and Thou seest over everything.

14. (a) Both those I ask of Thee, O Aūharmazd! what has come? (and) what yet comes? (b) Whoever gives a loan of what is from lenders to him who is righteous, (gives) of that which is such as is necessary to give, O Aūharmazd! (c) And whoever (gives) to the wicked as they are, so the settlement is this, that is: What is the decree? tell me what is the decree?

15. (a) Thus it should be asked him: Would his punishment in that perdition be well inflicted who would provide a dominion for him who is wicked, (b) who is evil-doing, O Aūharmazd! who does not announce life even through a reward? [that is, when they give him a bribe he would not release a man who is yet alive]. (c) He also persecutes the agriculturist who is averting destruction among cattle and men, [that is, even a good man who well preserves mankind and cattle, him he regards with malice].

16. (a) Thus it should be asked him: Would his reward be

---

1 Or perhaps "form a priestly assembly."
2 This part of the verse is omitted in Spiegel's edition.
3 Evidently referring to Ahriman, who is here represented as incorruptible in his adherence to evil. The idea of a being wicked enough to be bribed to betray an evil cause to which he still remains devoted, appears to be a refinement in evil of later date than either Ahriman or the devil.
4 The forms of some of the verbs in this and the preceding verse are rarely used, such as parat-yad, parst hof, "there should be an asking, or it should be asked;" yekhaban-td, "there would be a giving, or it would be given;" and the form which can be only doubtfully read sadtan-yen-it, "it would be done or inflicted." This last form looks like the phrase "there is a sadtan-yen, or there is a they-would-do," a clumsy way of saying "it would be done," if that be the origin of the form.
well given in whose dwelling (demân) He who is wise in goodness is Lord? [that is, Aûharmazd through spirituality is made lord within his body]. (b) And in the town which is in His country he who is (engaged) in the propagation of righteousness is no chastiser, [that is, in His world that one is lord who, when they would perform duty and good works, does not chastise]. (c) Such are Thine, O Aûharmazd! in whose actions it is even so.

17. (a) Which convinces more, the righteous or the wicked? [that is, does he who is righteous (among) people convince more thoroughly, or he who is wicked?]. (b) Speak information for him who is intelligent, and become not him who is ignorant thereafter while I shall speak to thee. (c) Apprize us, O Aûharmazd! [that is, fully inform us], and mark us out by good thought (Vohuman), [that is, furnish us with a badge through rectitude].

18. (a) So no one of you should hear the teaching of the text from that wicked one, [that is, hear not the Avesta and Zand from the infidels]; (b) for in the dwelling, village, town, and country he produces evil proceedings and death, he who is an infidel; (c) so prepare ye the sword for those infidels.

19. (a) The listening in which is discretion (and) righteousness is thus acquainted with both worlds, O Aûharmazd! [that is, he in whom is discretion (and) righteousness understands the working of spiritual and worldly affairs]. (b) Rightly spoken speech is that which is authorised, which is fearless in tongue persuasion, [that is, for his speech which is true and proper (one's) wishes are to be renounced]. (c) This Thy red fire, O Aûharmazd! will give a decision to disputants, that they may fully make manifest the certain and the undecided (agirâd).\(^1\)

20. (a) Whoever comes to the righteous with deceit his lamentation is behind him, [that is, it becomes lamentation in his soul], (b) and long is his coming into darkness, [that is, he must be there a long time], and bad feeding, [that is, they give him even poison], and he says (it is) an unjust proceeding, [that is, it has happened to him unjustly]. (c) To the world of darkness, ye

\(^1\) This evidently refers to the ordeal by fire, one form of the ntrâny-iva var.
who are wicked! the deeds which are your own religion lead you, (and) must do (so).

21. (a) Aûharmazd gave Horvadaô and Amerôdâd the perfect to him who is righteous, [him by whom duty and good works are performed]. (b) And His own authority (patîh) is in the domination (savdarth) of him who is lord, [that is, the sovereignty which is His He maintains in the Dastur], (c) whose munificence is of the good thought (Vohuman), [that is, the reward which Vohuman gives he also gives], which is for him who is a friend of his own spirit through deeds.

22. (a) Manifestly he is well-informed when he gives (and) thinks according to his knowledge, [that is, in thought he minds him who is spiritual lord (ahô) of his Dastur]. (b) Good is the lord who would practise righteousness in word and in deed; (c) he whose body is a conveyer of Thee, O Aûharmazd! [that is, Thy lodging in the world is in his body].

5.—Pahlavi Yasna XXXII.

1. (a) He who is in possession of his life begged what is its productiveness together with submissiveness, [that which is a reward the demons (begged of) Aûharmazd himself in these (words): That we may be productive and submissive to Thee! By them it was begged]. (b) They who are his3 demons are of my (way of) thinking, [that is, our thinking is as excellent as Zaratuûsh], he who is Aûharmazd’s delight. [By them it was begged]: (c) That we may be testifying! [that is: May we become Thy promoters!] we hold those who harass you, [that is, we hold them back from you].

2–16. [Not translated.]

1 Probably referring to the traditional hag who is said to meet the souls of the wicked on the fourth morning after death, and is a personification of their evil religion and deeds (see Arû-Virâf-nâmak, xvii. 12). The original description of this being in the Hâdokht Nask (Yasht xxii. 27–33) is lost (see p. 223).

2 So in Dastur Jamaspji’s MS, otherwise “he minds those who are his guardian angel and Dastur” would be a preferable reading.

3 Probably meaning those who are called demons by Zaratuûsh; but this verse is by no means free from obscurity.
6.—Pahlavi Vendidad I,1

1. (1) Aûhārmazd said to Spîtâmân Zaratûsht: (2) I created, O Spîtâmân Zaratûsht! the creation of delight of a place where no comfort was created; (a) this is where man is, the place where he is born (and) they bring him up seems good to him, [that is, very excellent and comfortable]; this I created. (3) For if I should not have created, O Spîtâmân Zaratûsht! the creation of delight of a place where no comfort was created, (4) there would have been an emigration of the whole material world to Afîrân-vêj, (a) that is, it would have remained in the act, while their going would have been impossible, for it is not possible to go so far as from region (kêshvar) to region, except with the permission of the angels (yazadân); some say that it is possible to go also with that of the demons.

2. (4) (b) Asî râmô-dâîtêm ("a pleasure-creative place"), nêîd ("not") aojô-râmîshûm ("most pleasing in strength").

1 For the Pahlavi text of the first part of the Vendidad we have to rely upon MSS. which are only secondary in point of age, as has been already noticed in p. 95. This is all the more to be regretted as the first fargârd contains many rare words and obscure phrases which one would wish to have, as nearly as possible, in their original form. Fortunately these second-rate MSS. are still 283 years old, and were therefore written before the mania for "improving" old texts set in (some time last century), which has induced some copyists to adapt the text to their own limited knowledge, in preference to raising their knowledge to some comprehension of the text as they found it.

2 The paragraphs are numbered to correspond with Westergaard's edition of the Avesta text and its translation in pp. 227-230 of these Essays; but the subdivisions of Spiegel's edition, which correspond with those of the Pahlavi MSS., are also numbered in parentheses. For the further indication of the Pahlavi commentaries and their subdivision by the letters (a), (b), (c), &c., the present editor is responsible.

3 The meaning appears to be, that whatever creates delight in a place was created by Aûhârmazd, as more fully detailed in the sequel.

4 The writer seems to use the usual present form of this verb for the past. See "remained" in (4 a).

5 It is doubtful whether yazadân is to be taken in its original sense of "angels," or in its later meaning "God." In the Bundahish (p. 21 W.) we are told, "It is not possible for one to go from region to region;" and the Mainyô-i-khâr'd (ix. 6) says, "It is not possible to go from region to region otherwise than with the permission of the yazads or the permission of the demons," which corresponds closely with the statement in the text.

6 This seems to be a critical remark on the foregoing Avesta text, and implies that there had been some doubt whether asî râmô-dâîtên (the reading adopted) should not have been aojô-râmîshûm. It may be noted that the two phrases are more alike when
the effect would be one (the same), the effect would be "the delight of a place;"¹ some say it is also (sakôsî) "the delight which (arises) from industry." (e) Paôrîm ("the first") is bîlûm ("the second"); this enumeration is that first the work of the law was produced at a place, and the second at that place, till the spirit of the earth arranged the whole in connection;² is the work of opposition. The place where he mentions two—one, that in the original creation, and one, that which is after—is daô ahê pâîyârem ("thereupon, as an opposition to it").³ (d) Every one of the following places and districts is the joint production of both; some say that a "place" (jîndêk) is that place whereon mankind do not dwell, and a "district" (rûsták) is that place whereon mankind dwell. (e) Mashâmêrawa shahêhâm haitêm ("he has proclaimed the existing destruction");⁴ this is revealed in this fargard, (and) every place is mentioned. Some say Auî-hômênd ("material") is also a river.⁵

3. (5) The first of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (6) Aîrân-vêj, where the good Dâftîh ("organisation") is; (a) and its good Dâftîh is this, that the place sends out even our Dâft while they perform work (agriculture?) with the avâlpaêm ("stream"); some say that it comes out in a stream unless they perform the work of the

written in Pahlavi characters than they are in sound. The remarks which follow, if their meaning has been correctly caught, imply that either phrase would be suitable.

¹ Two other readings of this obscure phrase may be suggested: first, "one thing is 'an army' (hûnak), one thing is 'the delight of a place;'
"secondly, "the work is of two kinds (dû aûnak), one work is 'the delight of a place.'" The reading koldô dô for kôr de is a modern guess.

² Or "gave up the whole into one hierarchly," according as we read khadê-kadêkîdîh, or khadêk radêkîdîh. Most of this latter part of the commentary refers to what follows in the text.

³ These are the words which introduce each Avesta account of the evils produced by the evil spirit, as detailed in the following verses.

⁴ Mashâmêrawa is here supposed to be for mashmrâwâ, which is taken as the perf. third sing. of a root shwîs = mru, "to speak;" compare maw = Sans. spîr. The reading ash mdrâwâ, "very deadly," has also been proposed, which would be synonymous with pûrû-mahrê, the usual epithet of the evil spirit.

⁵ This is evidently a later supplementary comment, and refers to the word auî-hômênd, "material," in (4); this would be auî-hômênd in Huzvârîsh, and has reminded some commentator of the river thus described in the Bundahish (p. 52 W.): "The Auî-hômênd (Hêtumend) river is in Sîstân, and its sources are from Mount Apârîn; this is distinct from that which restrained Frâslâv." See also p. 229, note 3.
Pahlavi Vendidad I.

place.1 (7) And in opposition to that were formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (8) both the Rudik ("river") serpent (which) becomes numerous, and the winter, produced by the demons, (which) becomes more severe.

4. (9) Ten months are winter there, and two months summer; (a) and afterwards also hapta heiti haminoda moomka, painha zayana ("seven are the summer months, five the winter") is declared.2 (10) Those, too, have cold water, cold earth, (and) cold vegetation, those ten months; some say the two months; (11) adha simakhe maitlom, adha simakhe zurelhaem ("then is midwinter, then is the heart of winter"), (a) in that manner the month Vohuman is the month Shatvor, which is the heart of winter, [that is, it would be more severe (compared) even with this that is ever severe; and afterwards also, at that time, it

---

1 This is the traditional interpretation which describes Daiti as a river; thus the Bundahish (p. 51 W.) says, "The Daitik (Daiti) river is the river which comes out from Afiran-vaj, and goes on by the mountain of Panjastha; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it is said, the Daiti river is full of noxious creatures." It may be guessed from the text that the river came from snowy mountains, and therefore flowed most freely in the spring and summer; hence the idea that its flowing was dependent upon the tillage of Afrom-vaj, which produced either more than the natural drainage or less, according to the view taken by the commentator. Traditionally, awelaldj is a "subterranean channel or drain," and it can be easily explained as "a stream." Its identification with the Pazard awelom, "fearless," is merely a guess of later times, ingenious but hazardous. If it were adopted, and the material river were idealised into "organisation or law," we should have to translate somewhat as follows: "And its good organisation is this, that the place sends out even our organisation (or splendour) while they perform work (or duty), as it were, fearlessly (steadfastly); some say that it comes out, as it were, fearlessly, unless they perform the duty of the place." It is, however, far safer to assume that the Pahlavi commentator takes the most material view of every passage. Many MSS. have rdd, "the river," instead of tanman, "our;" and it may be noticed that the latter Pahlavi word, when badly written, can be easily read as the former, but the converse mistake is not so easy.

2 The word ashekare is merely the Pahlavi dshkaret, "declared, manifest," written with the Pazard termination -e instead of the Pahlavi -ak. This commentary on the alteration in the relative lengths of summer and winter agrees with the Bundahish (p. 60 W.), which states that the months from Fravarshin to Mitro (the first seven months of the year) are summer, and from Avan to Spendarmad (the last five months of the year) are winter. It must be observed that the Persian Parsi calendar has not corresponded with that described in the Bundahish since the eleventh century (say A.Y. 400); but as that book describes the year as always corresponding with the sun, it implies that some mode of intercalation was employed, so that it may have been written at any earlier date.
becomes more severe]. 1 (12) Then when the winter falls off, [that is, goes], then is the frāšetā vōghnē (“chief disaster”), 2 [that is, the opposition winter ever goes off with it; some say that annihilation enters thereby].

5. (13) The second of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aūharmazd, was (14) Gavā, which is the Sūrīk dwelling, [that is, the plain of the Sūrīk dwelling-place; the characteristic thereof is no disturbance]. (15) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (16) a swarm of locusts (kārūko mēg) which even destroys (yakēd-īch) the cattle, and is deadly; (a) this locust comes forth, (and) corn that is without blade comes up; to tie up the ox is not necessary, (and) it becomes the death even of the sheep.

6. (17) The third of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aūharmazd, was (18) Marūn, of resources combined with the work of the law, and active, [that is, they do much in it]. (19) And in opposition to that were formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (20) inquisition (and) privacy (gōšhak); 3 [inquisition, that is, they would make an inquisition of friends there; and privacy, that is, solitary incontinence is there].

1 The meaning is, that the summer was as cold as winter, and the winter still colder. As the months stand in the text, they would answer very well for the present time, when the gādīm month Bahman occurs in June–July, and Shahrivar in January–February; but we find the same months given in MSS. written 283 years ago, when the Parsi months were seventy days later in the year, and we have every reason to believe that they were also given in MSS. written 553 years ago, when the months were 138 days later in our year than they are at present. It seems hazardous to assume that the Parsi months were allowed to retrograde continuously during Saasanian times, otherwise we might suppose that this commentary was written about 1460 years ago, when the months would have been in their present position. But it is more probable that some copyist has reversed the position of the two months in the text, as Vohūman is a winter month, and Shatvērō a summer one, in the Bundahish (p. 62 W.).

2 There seems here to be some perception of the disastrous consequences of a sudden thaw in snowy regions. But one of the commentators seems to understand frāšetā vōghnē as “gone forth to destroy,” misled perhaps by the Persian ūrdad, “sent.”

3 Modern tradition suggests dāshak, “evil;” but as dāsh, “evil,” is already an adjective, the form dāshak is doubtful. If it were adopted the sentence might be thus translated: “Commerce (lit. reckoning) and evil commerce, [that is, the commerce which friends would practise there is evil, that is, unnatural intercourse is there].” This, however, would be taking advantage of an ambiguity in the English word “commerce,” which the Pahlavi āmār does not possess.
7. (21) The fourth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aḵarmazd, was (22) Bukhārā the handsome in appearance, with uplifted banner, [that is, they keep a banner elevated; some say that they dominate over a multitude, that is, they overwhelm it]. (23) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (24) an ant-hill (which) becomes numerous; [some say that a place furrowed by a plough till it springs up will become an ant-hill].

8. (25) The fifth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aḵarmazd, was (26) Nisāḥ, which would be between Marvūn and Bukhārā; [I mention that since there is also the other]. (27) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (28) scepticism; [in the concerns of the angels (or God) they are doubtful whether they exist;] some

1 Or it may be Bākhar or Bāhl.
2 Some MSS. have "come with," others "bring."
3 Some modern MSS. have "they slaughter the enemy."
4 This clause presents several difficulties to the translator, and the text is probably corrupted. In all probability the word *nurtu* or *nuruts* (Dastur Hoshangji mentions *nūt*), which ends the Avesta version in the printed editions, is really a Pāzand word beginning the Pahlavi version, and the missing equivalent of the Avesta *bra-varəm*. It might be taken for the Persian *naward*, "combat," but this is *naparto* in Pahlavi. Possibly the *t* is a corruption of *nāt* (see p. 357, note 2), and the whole word a blunder for a Pahlavi form, *vurmān* or *barmār*, "a bee;" but this is a mere guess. The word *gālchakād* (one old MS. gives *dār̄chakāt* as a gloss) is traditionally understood as "an ant which carries off corn," the *mōr-i dān-kash* of Vend. xiv. 14 and xviii. 146 Sp.; but how tradition arrived at this conclusion is not obvious. Here *chakād* is taken in its usual sense of "summit, hill," and *gāl* is assumed to be a corruption of *mōr*, "ant." (n inverted being *k*, an error which sometimes occurs, and *kōr* being practically equi-

valent to *gāl* in writing). The Teheran MS. has *gālak-chakād* in one instance, which would lead up to the translation "porcupine mound" were it not that the porcupine or hedgehog is specially an animal of the good creation (because it destroys ants), and could not have been produced by the evil spirit. Darmesteter's suggestion (Revue Critique, No. 33 of 1877, p. 90) of *jārdh-kād* for *jārdāk-kād*, "greedy of corn," is hardly admissible, as no old Pāzand writer would be likely to use *dh* for a final *d*. If we were to throw aside the tradition altogether, and assume that the Pahlavi translator was better acquainted with the meaning of the original Avesta word *usadhas* than the traditionalists were, we might take *gāl-chakād* as the name of some noxious weed which sprang up all over the country; *gāl* or *gālak*, "flower," being frequently used as the first member of the name of a plant. The reading adopted for the phrase, "a place furrowed by a plough till it springs up," is *jīnūk sālak-dāg* (or *sāl-kiāht*) *vād bārā khūmbēy,*

5 Or "since it still exists."
6 More literally, "that is, if they should not be."
PAHLAVI VENDIDAS I.

say that they are (so) also in those of the demons whether they exist.

9. (29) The sixth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (30) Harib (or Harâv) the village-deserting; (a) and its village desertion is this, where we keep the periods of nine nights and a month, they desert the house as evil (khânak pavan vâdak) and go away. (31) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (32) the mosquito 2 whose cry of long-continued annoyance (dër-sêjalkîli) would be this: I am hungry! 3 [some say that they may perform with a drum].

10. (33) The seventh of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (34) Kâvûl the evil-shadowing; (a) and its (evil) shadowing is this, that the shadow of the trees on the body is bad; some say that of the mountains. (35) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (36) a longing for witches, the adoration of idols, with whom Kereshaspô associated, [that is, he practised it, and they also would practise not according to the law].

11. (37) The eighth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (38) Uûrû full of pasture (and) grandees, 5 (a) and its full pasturage is this, that there is

1 Dastur Hoshangji observes that these periods refer to the time which places once defiled remain unclean, which varies according to the season of the year.

2 The word sarchû or sarchakh is here assumed to mean "a gnat or mosquito," in accordance with the traditional meaning of the phrase. It may, however, be only the Pâzand form sardha, "sort, kind," in which case we should have to read a "kind of long-continued annoyance whose cry would be this," &c., referring perhaps to beggars. It is singular that the Pahlavi translator should have missed using the Persian words sârkshk, "a gnat," for the Avesta sraske; and Dastur Hoshangji observes, very justly, that sarchû-î may be merely a miswriting of sarchask, which might well be a copyist's transposition of sarak-ich.

3 Or "a dagger," according as we read yushnak or dashnak.

4 It seems singular that a place when made perfect should still have an evil shadow, and no doubt we can read Kâvûl-î vêh-sêyâko instead of Kâvûl-î dash-sâyako, and can translate as follows: "Kâvûl the well-shadowing, and its shadowing is this, that the shadow of the trees is on a bad body which is called that of the mountains." But as the Pahlavi translator found dushakû in the Avesta text, he could hardly avoid translating it by dêsh, "evil." As the Pahlavi version differs here, in its translation of Av. shayanem, from (14) and (42) Dastur Hoshangji suggests shayanem as the correct reading.

5 Or we may read mâyân, "fogs," (Pers. mâyûh); or perhaps vistûr-mâyûn, "forage-gatherers" (compare Pers. mâyûdân, "to gather").
plenty of corn and pasturage in it. (39) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (40) the worst of residences when its grandees dwell on it.

12. (41) The ninth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aūharmazd, was (42) Khuān, the abode of wolves, [that is, the Khūnān river is the habitation of wolves; the characteristic thereof is disturbance]. (43) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (44) the vile sin of those who cannot pass the bridge, which is intercourse with men, [that is, sodomy]; (a) this they should not perpetrate according to the law of the angels (or God).

13. (45) The tenth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aūharmazd, was (46) Harakhmōnd the handsome in appearance. (47) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (48) the vile sin which cannot pass the bridge, which is burying the dead; (a) this is heathenish (ak-dīn-hōmand), and according to their law.

14. (49) The eleventh of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aūharmazd, was (50) Hēt-hōmand the illustrious (and) glorious; (a) busy and diligent is the spirit which it subdued, some say that of the Vēh river. (51) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (52) that which is vile, [that is, sorcery], which is ever evil; (a) some say that of the Frāṣāyāvān; they were able to perform that, and were not able to abandon it. (b) Some say that sor-

1 The old MSS. have dāshak, but compare the end of (14).

2 For whom the bridge Chinvad, which leads to paradise, is impassable; this is neatly expressed by the single Pahlavi word andāpāhalakān, "those not for the bridge," or those whose sirs are inexpiable.

3 Reading t sikast (for t shikast); or it may be t kasist, "the smallest." Some modern MSS. alter the word into Sīstān because the Hētumand river is in Sīstān, see p. 356, note 5. The whole clause seems doubtful.

4 The Vēh (or good) river is one of the two chief rivers of the world according to the Bundahish, which states (p. 49 W.) that "these two rivers flow forth from the north part of the eastern Alborz, one towards the west, that is the Arang, (and) one towards the east, that is the Vēh river." The spirits of the two rivers are also mentioned (Bund. p. 50), and further particulars are given, thus (Bund. p. 51): "The Vēh river passes by on the east, goes through the land of Sind, (and) flows to the sea in Hindūstān, and they call it there the Mehrā river;" and in p. 53 it is stated that the Vēh river is also called the Kāsak in Sind.

5 The descendants of Frāṣīyāv the Turanian, the Afrāṣīyāb of the Shāhnāmah.
cery is this which although they desire (it) not, yet it happens easily (narm), then it is said that (it is) in a way not allowable.¹

15. (53) This also is the token of its manifestation, which I call the practice of the thing; (54) and this also, its manifestation, is through examination; when they observe it becomes manifest. (55) As wherever they come (there) is evidently an outburst (jasto) of sorcery, (56) so also they are most addicted to extreme sorcery; (57) so also they bring up snow and hail, [that is, they would occasion even them]; (a) some say that the snow and hail will so arise from them where sinfulness, through them, becomes excessive. (58) Whosoever is sick (mudak) and whosoever is again impotent (are so through the deeds of such sorcerers).²

16. (59) The twelfth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (60) Râk of the three races of Atarôpâtakân; (a) some say Râf; and its triple race is this, that its priest, warrior, and husbandman are virtuous and belong to it. (b) Some say Zaratahsht belonged to that place, and it was his government (patth) of all these three which was called Râf;³ its triple race is this, that his union of these three arose and issued from that place: vadhanhô nôiô uzôish (“of knowledge, not of conjecture”). (61) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (62) the vilest overscepticism,⁴ [that is, they are doubtful themselves, and will also make others doubtful].

17. (63) The thirteenth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (64) Chakhar of resources, the grand doer.⁵ (65) And in opposition to that was

¹ The author's translation of this fargard ends here.
² As already noticed (p. 229, note 4), the whole of this paragraph seems to be translated from an old commentary in the Avesta language. The last sentence is translated here as it stands in the printed text, but it will probably be discovered hereafter that the word tân in the Avesta text is part of the Pahlavi translation; and that the final words lakhrâr artâ are altogether corrupt.
³ This seems to be a pun on the name Râf, which can be divided, in Pahlavi, into the two words tî 3, “my three.”
⁴ Perhaps “active scepticism” or “rampant unbelief” would express the meaning better, though not the words.
⁵ Perhaps mazân, taken here as “grand,” may be for mazânâ, “a balance,” or mazdân, “selling,” or mazdār, “a labourer.”
formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (66) the vile sin of those who cannot pass the bridge, by whom dead matter was cooked; (a) this is not according to the law of the angels (or God), yet they cook many (things), such as the fox and weasel.1

18. (67) The fourteenth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (68) Varen the four-cornered, subduing Mount Paðashkhvâr,² some say Kîrmân; (a) and its quadrangularity is this, that it stands upon four roads; some say that its city has four gates. (69) At which (place) Frêdân was born for the destruction of Azli Dahâk. (70) And in opposition to that were formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (71) both the unnatural menstruation (which) becomes more violent, and dwelling on non-Aryan territories, (during) the winter of (him) who says Mount Paðashkhvâr (and) the autumn of (him) who says Kîrmân.⁴

19. (72) The fifteenth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (73) (that of those) who are the seven Hindus (Hîndûkân); (a) and its seven-Hinduism is this, that the chief rulers are seven; yet I do not say this, that there are not seven, since (it is) from the Avesta lâcâ ushastara Hêndôw evi daoostarem Hêndum (“from the eastern Hindu to the western Hindu”).⁵ Some say that there is one to each region (kêshvâr).⁶ (74) And in opposition to that were formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly; (75) the unnatural menstruation which becomes more violent, (and) the unnatural heat which is beyond measure.

20. (76) The sixteenth of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Aûharmazd, was (77) on the waters of

---

1 Probably the ichneumon or Indian mongds.
2 The old MSS. have kîr = pîr, “seizing;” otherwise we might read sar, “the chief,” meaning the metropolis or seat of government of Mount Paðashkhvâr.
3 According to the Bundahîsh (p. 23 W.), “the Paðashkhvârgar mountain (or range of Mount Paðashkhvâr) is that in Tapristân and that side of Gilân.”
4 Such appears to be the meaning of the commentator, as Paðashkhvârgar being chiefly a cold country, and Kîrmân chiefly a hot one, it would be natural for the inhabitants to quit the former in the winter and the latter in the autumn or hottest season. Perhaps we should read amât, “when,” for mân, “who,” and translate “when it is the winter of the said Paðashkhvârgar, when it is the autumn of the said Kîrmân.”
5 The commentator probably means to say that the doubt about there being seven Hindus is not his own, but is occasioned by an Avesta text which mentions only two.
6 Of which there are seven.
Arangīstān, which is Arūm, (78) whose residences are unwalled (adivār), so that they soon retreat; (a) some say they have no ruler in authority. (79) And in opposition to that was formed by the evil spirit, who is deadly, (80) even the winter, produced by the demons, (which) becomes very severe.

21. (81) There are also those famous places and districts which remain unmentioned, which are handsome in appearance, profound in the work of the law, desirable, (that is, suitable), . . . (that is, they would appoint many as chiefs), splendid, (that is, having fame, some say flourishing as Fārs the pure is splendid).

7.—Pahlavi Vendidad XVIII.

1. (1) Many are the men—this way spoke Aūharmazd—O righteous Zarātšāšt! (that is, the men in the world are many; some say that they who are like these are many) (2) (who) wear the other mouth-veil (though) universal in religion, (that is, he has not performed its ceremonial; some say that he does not mentally abide by the religion). (3) Owing to the deceit which he utters to others, the priesthood is his own, (that is, he says: O man! I am a good man). (4) Don't say of that that

1 That is, the country of the Arang river, one of the two chief rivers of the Iranian world, see p. 361, note 4.

2 The eastern empire of the Romans.

3 The second clause of the Avesta sentence is not translated by the Pahlavi commentator, but that it forms a part of the Avesta text is shown by the enclitic conjunction chu occurring in both clauses.

4 The equivalent of the Avesta word frašhadoccha seems to be omitted in all old MSS., which give only its explanation. Some modern MSS. have, therefore, altered the text to the following: "inquisitive, (that is, they make much inquiry)," which is simply absurd as an epithet of a place.

5 Reading šem-hōmand. The Teheran MS. has dām-hōmand, probably for bōm-hōmand; and modern MSS. improve this into gadman-hōmand, "glorious."

6 This word is doubtfully read vakhshāk, for vakhshāk, "growing." In the Farhang-i Olim-khādāk (p. 6, ed. Hosh.) we probably have the same word in the phrase bāmtik chūyān vēsāk, which it may perhaps be compared with Pers. vēshidāk, "exalted."

7 See p. 243, note 1. A layman has to veil his mouth and nose when performing the Abān and Atash Nyāyishes, Patit, or any Namāz.
(it) is priesthood—this way spoke Aûharmaezd—O righteous Zarátšht! (a) The mouth-veil (paddm) may be of any stuff, (and) while it keeps back on the mouth it must be two fingers beyond, (as) is clear from the passage, baê erezu frathamkhem ("two fingers' breadth"). (b) The two ties (jo-vand) of a mouth-veil project as ringlets (pavan gurs); it should be double (dô-bât) and it should be perfect; some say that one fastening (dâslâr) is behind, [it is said that all there are should be (so)], (and) it should be stronger¹ than that which even the kûstî requires. (c) With a mouth-veil once (tied) which is single² (and) strong,¹ while it is not allowable to pray for the Darûn yet un-presented for tasting,³ it is allowable to perform the ceremony (yasîshn).

2. (5) He carries the other vermin-killer [snake-killer] (though) unversed in religion. (6) Owing to the deceit which he utters to others is (his) priesthood.⁴ Don't say of him that (he) is a priest—this way spoke Aûharmaezd—O righteous Zarátšht! (a) A mouth-veil may be of any stuff, (and) while it comes back on the mouth it must be two fingers beyond, (as) is declared by the passage, baê erezu ãi ashâvam Zarathushtra ("two fingers, O righteous Zarathushtra!").⁵ (b) The snake-killer⁶ may be of anything; a leathern (one) is good, (as) is declared by the passage⁷ (beginning with) Vohû manânha janaitî apanchíd Anû

1 Reading tuskôk; compare Pers. tâhê, "strength."
2 Reading paddm 1-rûn-i khadhâ-vâk. The whole clause is difficult to translate.
3 The word atasôd (compare Pers. tast, "feast") is probably the same as occurs in the following sentence from the Farhang-i Olm-khâdûk (p. 38, ed. Hosh.): "Atasî-dad is that when one keeps food and drink away (from him) in whom is hunger and thirst."
4 This sentence is omitted in the Pahlavi version of the old MS. in London, which abbreviates many repetitions in the text.
5 This is evidently clause (4a) repeated by mistake, owing to the preceding sentence being the same in both places. It contains, however, some variations from that clause.
6 The priests used to recite the following formula as often as they performed the meritorious work of killing any creature of the bad creation: Shâkanom, vânom, nizâr kunom kôl-bud-i shumâ, dêvân va drûjân va zâdûn va faryân, pa hûm va bársom va din-i râst va dûrust ke man châshid ("I break, smite, and make withered the bodies of you demons and demonesses and sorcerers and witches, through the hûm and bârsom and the true and correct religion which is taught me"); compare Mainyô-i Kharq lvii. 28.
7 This Avesta quotation is evidently incomplete, and probably only the first few words are given, which is the usual Eastern mode of quoting passages.
mainyush ("whichever water Angrô-mainyush shall smite, by Vohumanô," &c.).

3. (7) He carries the other plant [Barsom, some say kûtino \(^1\)] (though) unversed in religion. (8) Owing to the deceit, &c. (as in (3) and (4), which are not repeated here in Pahlavi by the old MS. in London).

4. (9) He uses the goad and the miscreant \(^2\) so that he groans [and some say that he passes away], (though) unversed in religion. (10) Owing to the deceit, &c. (as in (3) and (4), which are not repeated here in Pahlavi by the old MS. in London).

5. (11) Whoever lies \(^3\) ever throughout the night a non-prayer and a non-chanter, [that is, he does not utter the Avesta residing in the chanting of the service], (12) a non-reciter, a non-performer, speechless, and wishing for his mourning in life; \(^4\) (13) owing to the deceit, &c. (as in (3) and (4), which are not repeated here in Pahlavi by the old MS. in London).

6. (14) Say of him that (he is of) the priesthood—this way spoke Aûharmazd—O righteous Zarátush! (15) Who all through the night consults the wisdom of the righteous, [that is, forms a priestly assembly \(^5\) so that he may learn (or teach) rightful things], (16) which is preservation from difficulty, \(^6\) the expander of the intellect, the giver of good existence on the Chinvad bridge [stout-heartedness on the Chinvad bridge], (17) deserving spiritual lords (ahûdn), deserving the place of righteousness, and

---

\(^1\) Probably the name of some plant improperly used for the Barsom. It may be an adjetival form meaning "made of kût or karp."

\(^2\) The reading of the old MS. in London is asktar u var kâmêd. The asktar, "goad," is the usual implement mentioned in the Vendidad for the punishment of criminals (see p. 239), and seems to have been specially used by the priests and their assistants.

\(^3\) This is the correct meaning of the Huvvârish verb shêkkhânâstân, which is variously given by different authorities. In Dastur Hoshangi's edition of the Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary (p. 15, line 11), the Pâzand vindidân should be omitted, and then both shêkkhânâstân and kilmûkûtân would be correctly explained by khâftan, "to lie down, to sleep."

\(^4\) According to the old MS. in London, which has asdâkhôn afaš val shivān kâmâk pavan khâyâ. The writer of a modern MS., not understanding that the Pahlavi translator meant to express the Av. chinvâd by kâmâk, has added the words makkhî-tâmêd naâžâši Chinvâd-pâthal, "destroys the benefit of the Chinvad bridge."

\(^5\) Or perhaps "performs priestly studies."

\(^6\) Reading ð min tangîth. The old MS. in London has amsfrâgth, "freedom from ailmant," which would suit the sense well enough, but is not a good equivalent of the Av. dâzô, which is usually translated by tangîth.
deserving the paradise of duty and good works, the reward (and) recompense in the better world.

7. (18) Ask 1 again of me, O pure one! [that is, the question was the last, and He hereupon considered whether something might not yet remain] (19) of me who am the Creator, [that is, I created the creatures], the most developing, [that is, from one thing I know 2 many things], the most intelligent, [that is, by calculation I know much], the best replier to questions, [that is, of those from whom they would make inquiry I give the best reply]. (20) For so it is good (for thee, so mayst thou become prosperous, if thou askest again of me.

8. (21) Zaratašht inquired of Aûharmazd thus: O Aûharmazd, favouring spirit! creator of the material world, righteous (one)! 3 in whom is the secretly-progressing destruction? [that is, in whom is its lodging? and owing to whom is its progress most?]

9, 10. (22) And Aûharmazd said to him thus: In him (who is) the guide of a vile religion, O Spîtâmân Zaratašht! the infidel who is a deceiver. (23) Whoever does not put on the sacred string-girdle (for) three spring seasons, [that is, does not have a sadarah (and) kûstî 4 (for) three years], (a) some say that who-

---

1 Here begin a series of dislocations in the text of the old MSS., which is fully described and accounted for in the introduction (p. 4) to Westergaard's edition of the Avesta texts. Some MS. from which the oldest now existing (and through them all later ones) have descended, must have consisted of bundles of ten folios each; but the bundle containing most of the remainder of this farghad had its folios displaced, so that they stood in the following order: 3–8, 2, 9, 1, and folio 10 was lost. In Spiegel's edition this displacement has only so far been rectified as to put the complete sentences right, while any fragment of a sentence with which one folio ended is left (as in the old MSS.) in connection with the fragment of another sentence with which the next misplaced folio began. Thus, in this sentence (18) the old MSS. give the first two words (which Spiegel omits) here, namely, lakhvâr min, but for the next words we have to turn over several pages (equivalent to the eight folios (3–8, 2, 9) to p. 206, line 6, of Spiegel's text, where we find the rest of the sentence, namely, it avâzak pûrs, &c. We must then turn back again to find sentence (19) in its right place.

2 So all MSS., but a slight alteration in the form of one letter would give us hankhtûnam, “I place or dispose.”

3 This opening sentence is not given in Pahlavi by the old MSS. here, as it has so often occurred in previous farghads.

4 The muslin shirt and string girdle worn by Parsis of both sexes, except young children, as enjoined by their religion.
ever does not put on the sacred string-girdle (for) those three spring seasons is the third year an outcast, forsaken below and forsaken above; (it is) according to the law of such that it is not necessary to have a sadar as (and) kāstī. (And whoever) does not chant the Gāthas (and) does not consecrate the good water. (Whoever) also has taken him, who is my man, into confinement, [that is, has taken him (as above) described nipašītak into it]. (And) delivers him up to liberty, [that is, makes him an exile], (does no better by that) act than though he had forced the extent of the skin (off) his head, [that is, had cut the head and had made it alive again].

II. (27) For the blessing of one unrighteous, vile infidel is a curse the length of his jaw; of a second, the length of a tongue; of a third, nothing; a fourth progresses himself, [that is, becomes himself].

II. (29) Whoever gives an unrighteous, vile infidel the out-squeezed Hom-juice, and the priesthood (ziṭth), (and) then the consecrated feast (myāz) [this is said because with him are the good and worthy of the feast], (does no better by that act than though the enemy's army), having a thousand horse [five hundred men with two horses (each) from the professed warriors], should be conveyed by him on to a village of the Mazdayasnians, (and) he should slay the people (and) they should drive away

---

1. Dastur Hoşangji suggests that the first two letters of this word have changed places, and that we should read tasām, “fourth,” instead of the unusual sitām, “third.”

2. Reading aravastō frōmya avartē, and taking aravastō as a variant of aravistō, “most wrong, most erring.” The literal meaning is probably “most wrongful, escaping from what is below, and escaping from what is above,” that is, from both the world and heaven.

3. The old MSS. add the Avesta quotation yāxh yavaiti (“with which he performs ceremonies”).

4. That is, has taken such a one as just described into custody. Most modern MSS. attempt to alter nipish-tak, as their writers have failed to see that the word can be taken in its literal meaning.

5. The old MS. in London has karō homande argh roshman, &c.

6. Here we have the second dislocation of the text, as described in p. 397, note 1; and for the remainder of sentence (28) we have to turn to the end of (98) on p. 205, line 10, of Spiegel’s edition. The additional words in the old MS. in London are lā mindavem, tasām nafshman sitānēd, argh nafshman yekevāned. The incoherence in this sentence is due to the Avesta original. See p. 245.

7. Or “he would say the good and worthy are in his feast.”

8. So in the old MS. in London, but the persons are reversed in Spiegel’s edition.
the cattle as plunder.\(^1\) (a) That is, when\(^2\) one gives him the priesthood (zōtē) (it is) a tanāpāhar\(^3\) (sin), and when\(^2\) they shall do it frequently (it is) a mortal sin (margarjān).

13. (32) Ask again of me, &c. (as in ver. 7 (18–20) above).

14. (33) Zarātūshtr asked, &c. (as in ver. 8 (21) to) righteous (one)! who is he (belonging to) Srosh the righteous, the mighty, the self-subduing, [that is, he keeps (his) body in God’s control], the admirably-armed, the lord (khūdā) of the brōḥkrōtačhem\(^5\) ("sharp battle-axe") frashusaiti Sraosḥō askyō ("the righteous Srosh goes forth"), (who is he) the Sroshavarezō? [that is, who is his stimulator of the world]?  

15–17. (34) And Aūharmazd said to him thus: The bird whose name is Parōdārsh, O Špitāmān Zarātūshtr! (a) This Parōdārsh would be "prior indication" (pēsh-dakhshakīh), and its prior indication is this, that first it flaps (its) pinions, [that is, wings], (and) then utters a cry.\(^6\) (35) On whom men, in disparagement, bestow the name of fowl, some would say the cock; (a) though (if) they did not say (so) it would be possible for him to do better. (36) That bird raises an outcry during the preparation of dawn,\(^7\) which arises at midnight,\(^8\) (37) thus: Rise up! be men! praise the righteousness which is perfect! and overthrown are the demons, [that is, when righteousness is praised by them the demons are overthrown by them]; (38) for this (one) who has run to you is Būshāsp the long-talking,\(^9\) [some say thus: This (one) has run to you, Būshāsp the long-pawed]\(^9\) (39) who by prosy chatting (frāj-gōp-lāyishkīh) with the whole

---

1 Or perhaps "in a drove."
2 Perhaps mān, "whoever," should be read for amat, "when."
3 A sin which prevents the soul from passing over the Chinvād bridge to paradise.
4 The author adds here "the ruler in the Arezah and Savahā (kāshvar)," a gloss taken from a modern MS. Such modern glosses are, however, mere guesses, of no authority.
5 Mentioned in the Srosh Yasht (Yas. Ivii. 31).
6 The same explanation of parōdārsh is given in the Pahlavi translation of the fragment in Westergaard’s Yasht xxii. 47, as follows: afash Parōkdarshīh aē, afashāsh fratām parān skīkāvēd, va akhar vāŋg vi-dāndēd.
7 This aāsh afzār is defined in the Farhang-i Olīm-khadāk (p. 42) as the third quarter of the night, in which the Ushahina Gāh begins.
8 The third dislocation of the text, as described in p. 367, note 1, occurs after the first Avesta word in clause (37); but being in the Avesta text, it has been properly corrected in Spiegel’s edition.
9 It is doubtful whether these two epithets, dērāng-gōhō and dērāng-gīk, are not both intended to mean "long-handed" or "long-pawed."

---

2 A
material world, when every one ought to be free from sloth (bushāsp), lulls it off to sleep. (40) This she says: Sleep a long time (dardegānīh) ! be men ! for there is nothing which requires you,¹ [that is, your work of the law² will not stop]. (41) And let not the three perfections be over yourselves, good thought in the mind, good words in speech, (and) good deeds in action; [(a) some say that the religion asserts that Bushāsp speaks for this reason, lest the three perfections should be over yourselves, good thought in the mind, good words in speech, (and) good deeds in action]. (42) But let the three turpitudes (vadtradānīh) be over yourselves, bad thought in the mind, and bad words in speech, and bad deeds in action.

18, 19. (43) Then the first third of the night my fire, (who am) Aûharmazd, begs the householder of the house³ for assistance, thus: O householder of the house,⁴ rise up! (44) put on (your) clothes; wash (your) hands thoroughly! request that they may bring me firewood! illumine my molester (pattyārak)⁵ with firewood purified (by) thoroughly-washed hands. (45) For it seemed to me (it was) Az, produced by the demons, with forward-glinging coils, who tore out (my) life.⁶

20, 21. (46) Then in the second third of the night my fire, who am Aûharmazd, begs the husbandman for assistance, always (with) the same phrase (hamishak kār-1), thus: O husbandman, rise up! (47) (as in (44) and (45), which are not repeated here, in Pahlavi, by the old MS. in London).

22. (48) Then the third third of the night the fire of Aûharmazd begs Srosh the righteous for assistance, thus: O Srosh the righteous, the handsome! (49) then let any firewood of the material world be brought⁷ unto me, purified (by) thoroughly-

¹ Literally "for (there is) not that which suits you."
² The old MS. in London has kār va dīnā, "work and religious duty," that is, secular and religious duties. This phrase is generally written kār dīnā, and it may be doubted whether the conjunction va or the relative tī is to be understood as connecting the two words.
³ The old MS. in London has mānuḥ mā prospects in both places.
⁴ So in the old MSS., and pāṭīrāk seems no improvement.
⁵ The old MS. in London has here mānum barā lii dzāš shēdān-dādāi khāmil pēsh-tejishnīr ahi barā sed-kāmā medammanast, but in (50) it has the following variations: li dzāš shēdān-dādāi mayā; ahi; and medammanāt.
⁶ The old MS. in London has ded-rânyān-gādā, but modern MSS. of course alter the termination to a form better understood by their writers, without much attention to the meaning.
⁷ The old MS. in London has here mānum barā lii dzāš shēdān-dādāi khāmil pēsh-tejishnīr ahi barā sed-kāmā medammanast, but in (50) it has the following variations: li dzāš shēdān-dādāi mayā; ahi; and medammanāt.
washed hands. (50) For there seems the water of Az, produced by the demons, flowing forward on me, which is a tearing away of life.¹

23–25. (51) Then Srōsh the righteous upbraided (frāj-gōp-lāqād) the bird whose name is Parōdarsh, O Spītāmān Zaratūṣht! (52) (as in (35) to (42), which are not repeated here, in Pahlavi, by the old MS. in London).

26, 27. (53) Then speaks a friend to his friend, they who shall lie on a bed, (54) thus: Do thou rise up! for I am driven away. (55) Either one who shall rise up beforehand, his progress is towards the best existence (paradise), (a) so that they proclaim that even with a good work of three srōshō-charanām² it is possible to attain to the best existence. (56) Either one who (shall have) brought beforehand, up to the fire of Aūharmazd, firewood purified (by) thoroughly-washed hands, (57) him the fire blesses, when pleased, uninjured, (and) satisfied, (58) thus: May the herd of cattle attain (ākhtād) unto thee! [that is, may it be thine!] (59) besides the full continuance of men [much progeny]! (60) May a desire in the mind for the will of thy (heavenly) lord (aḥād) attain unto thee! [that is, may that something be in thy mind which should be thy (heavenly) lord and high priest!] (61) and may the well-pleased lord (aḥād) live in (thy) life!³ so that the nights when thou shalt live thou mayst live in joy. (62) This is the blessing which the fire always offers him, [that is, (it is) ever (for) him], who (has) brought to it firewood which is dry (and) inspected according to rule (rōshanāh), (63) on account of a wish for rectitude [on account of a desire for duty and good works], (and) which is purified, [that is, pure].

28. (64) Whoever gives that bird of mine, which is Parōdarsh, O Spītāmān Zaratūṣht! female and male together, to a righteous man with perfect rectitude, (65) thinks of it thus: It will produce me a dwelling; (a) when they give him the reward (and) recompense, he considers about it thus: When a dwelling like a

¹ Translated here differently from (45), in accordance with the variations in the old MS. in London, but the reading moyād, “water,” for khamīh, “coiling,” is very improbable.
³ The old MS. in London has ra nārīvakhsht (or hō-rāvakhdād) ahrō pavan khyād zīddād.
372 PAHLAVI VENDIDAD XVIII.

palace¹ shall be given to me it may even be large; (66) (with) a hundred columns, a thousand corridors,² a myriad large (and) a myriad small (rooms).

29. (67) (Of him) who gives that bird of mine, which is Parôdarsh, small morsels of meat,³ along with ṗilāv,⁴ some say cumin seed,⁵ [(a) some say that he gives out meat in that quantity to a righteous man], (68) of him, the ever-bringing,⁶ I who am Aḏḥarmazd would not be an inquirer for his second statement, [(a) once I shall ask ⁷ everybody], (69) for he proceeds onwards to the best existence (paradise).

30. (70) Srosh the righteous asked of the Druj, of Disgrace,⁸ [(a) some say that (it is) of Wrath; some, of the evil spirit], (71) without the accompaniment of a club, [that is, he put down his club, (a) so that he might intimate that confession (khaštâk̄̄) through fear is not to be considered as confession], (72) thus: O Druj, who art inglorious, [that is, thou hast no benefit whatever from it ⁹], (and) inactive! [that is, thou dost nothing which is proper]! (73) art thou thus conceiving without cohabitation of the whole living creation? [that is, when they do not cohabit with thee dost thou become pregnant?]

31, 32. (74) And she who is the demon Druj exclaimed (in) reply to him, thus: O Srosh the righteous, the handsome! (75) I do not conceive without cohabitation of the whole living crea-

¹ It is assumed here that gâñ bârâ is a corruption of gâñbâd, "a dome," which is usually written gâñbâd. The reading gôr, "a tomb," is hardly probable.
² This is a guess at the meaning of fâs, compare frasp, frastâp, "a beam or lintel."
³ This is translated in accordance with the view taken of the Avesta text in p. 247, but a more literal translation of the Pahlavi would be: "(Of him) who gives (away) meat the size of the body of that bird of mine," &c. The Pahlavi transliterator evidently considered the whole passage as referring to the meritorious work of charity.
⁴ The old MS. in London has pilî, a way of writing pilâv, an Eastern dish in which boiled mutton or fowl is smothered in rice, and garnished with hard-boiled eggs, onions boiled and fried, raisins, almonds, and spices.
⁵ Assuming that zârak means zârâk.
⁶ Perhaps akrâs-var should be corrected into akrâs.
⁷ Or "they have inquiry made of."
⁸ Reading khudâk for Pers. khudâk; a similar Pahlavi form occurs in Vend. v. 153, where it must be read khudâk =Pers. khûdâh, "truth," as it is the equivalent of Av. ashem.
⁹ Meaning probably from the divine glory. But the word ajâsh ought perhaps to be omitted, as it is an addition to the text in the old MS. in London, and we should then read "thou hast no goodness whatever."
tion. (76) There are even (for) me too four males. (77) They impregnate me just as any other male, when the semen is in the females it impregnates, [that is, I become pregnant].

33. (78) Srosh the righteous, &c. (as in (70) to (72), which are not repeated here in Pahlavi by the old MSS.) : Which is the first of those thy males?

34, 35. (79) And she who is the demon Drúj exclaimed (in) reply to him, thus: O Srosh the righteous, the handsome! (80) even that (zuk-ich) is the first of those my males, (81) when a man gives even a trifle of his hoard of wealth, when he lived (zist), [that is, exists], to a righteous man with perfect rectitude. (82) He impregnates me, &c. (as in (77) above).

36. (83) Srosh the righteous, &c. (as in (70) to (72), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.) : What is a counteraction of the effect of that?

37, 38. (84) And she who is the demon Drúj exclaimed (in) reply to him, thus: O Srosh the righteous, the handsome! (85) it is a counteraction of the effect of that, (86) when the man gives even a trifle of his hoard of wealth, when not alive (lā zist), to a righteous man with perfect rectitude. (87) He will so destroy my pregnancy as a four-legged wolf when it tears out a son from the womb by tearing. (a) This is evident from the Avesta: it happens so when the former (valman) is (one) who is impure (mūn pālisht), and the latter (va le-denman) is in want through dissemination of good; when he gives up such wealth to such a man he will destroy the Drúj; even when he gives up the wealth to that man the Drúj is destroyed, although that man also should give up the same wealth lest (al hat) it should likewise be contaminated; some say that she is destroyed afterwards.3

39. (88) Srosh the righteous, &c. (as in (70) to (72), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.) : Which is the second of those thy males?

1 The most probable reading is hōmand-ich li-ch 4 gūshān.
2 Meaning probably that he arranges by will for a charitable distribution of his property after death, which appears to be a misunderstanding of the language of the Avesta.
3 This commentary would be hardly intelligible without the corrections supplied by the old MS. in London. The form le-denman is occasionally used for denman, of which it was probably an almost obsolete form at the time when the commentator wrote.
PAHLAVI VENDIDAD XVIII.

40, 41. (89) (She) who is the demon Drûj exclaimed (in) reply to him, thus: O Srosh the righteous, the handsome! (90) even that is the second of those my males, (91) when a man, through sinfulness, makes water an instep's length beyond the front of the instep. (92) He impregnates me, &c. (as in (77), which is not repeated here, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.).

42–44. (93–95) (As in (83–85), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.), (96) when the man, after standing up three steps (off), [some say beyond 1 the three steps], (97) having repeated three (praises of) righteousness, 2 and two Humatánâms (Yas. xxxv. 2), and three Hukhsahtrôtemâis (Yas. xxxv. 5), recites aloud four Ahunavars (Yas. xxvii. 13, and) prays aloud the Yênhê-hâtâm (Yas. vii. 27), (98) he will so destroy, &c. (as in (87) above). (a) This is evident from the Avesta: it happens so when a man, through sinfulness, makes water an instep's length beyond the front of the instep; for him (it) is the beginning of a tanâpûhar (sin), and he atones for it by the Avesta. 3 When he makes water standing up it is the beginning of a tanâpûhar (sin) for him, and he does not atone for it by the Avesta. It is in front, 4 it is not backwards. It is as to that which proceeds from the body 5 (that) chvâd yâd hé kasishtâhe erevô fratemem dhrâshîsh (“as much as the extremity of his smallest finger is an offence”); that amount of distance, (when) bent together, is suitable for every soul action. 6 Gôgô-shasp 7 said that for the sake of preserving the clothes it is allowable to make water far off. (b) When (one) accomplishes the action lawfully (and) well, when he squats down, one Yathû-ahû. Vairîô is to be uttered by him. Sôshâns 8 said that, in case of

1 It appears in the sequel that bârd min must mean “beyond,” that is, “more than” the three steps off; but according to its usual meaning it would be “without” taking three steps backwards.
2 That is, three Ashem-vohû formulas. See p. 141, note 2. 3 By reciting the Avesta passages above prescribed.
4 Probably “in front of the toes” is meant. The whole of this commentary is difficult to divide correctly into separate sentences.
5 The word bârd is given by the old MS. in London, but is omitted by Spiegel and most later MSS.
6 Reading zâk-ê dûrak âmâr hâm-khêt vish khêrak ghal kánishâ ûrdâ. There are many difficulties in the sentence, and the traditional explanation is different, but decidedly erroneous.
7 The name of one of the old commentators who is often quoted in the Pahlavi version of the Vendidad and other works.
8 The name of another old commentator.
haste (aūshādāp), when he utters (it) on a road it is also allowable. (c) And when he stands up the Avesta is all to be uttered by him within the three steps; some say beyond the three steps, and on his walking ¹ apart, the Avesta is ever to be uttered, [this walking is when he goes on from the three steps], or the Avesta is taken inwardly by him.² (d) When he accomplishes the action lawfully (and) well, (but) through sinfulness does not utter the Avesta, it is not clear to me (whether it is) one (or) two ³ srōshō-charanāms of a tanāpūhar (sin). Gōgōshasp said that when he accomplishes the action lawfully (and) well, he also (utters) three Ashem-vohūs.⁴

45. (99) Srosh the righteous, &c. (as in (70) to (72), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.): Which is the third of those thy males?

46, 47. (100) And she, &c. (as in (89) above): even that is the third of those my males, (101) when a man asleep has an emission of semen, [that is, his semen comes out]. (102) He impregnates me, &c. (as in (77), which is not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.).

48–50. (103–105) (As in (83–85), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.), (106) when the man, after arising from sleep, extols righteousness, [that is, recites three Ashem-vohūs], (107) two Humatanāms, (and) three Hukhshathrötemāis, and prays aloud four Yathā-ahū-vairyrōs (and) Yênhē-hâtām,⁵ he will so destroy, &c. (as in (87) above).

51. (108) Then this (man) speaks to Spandarmadh thus: O Spandarmad! (109) I deliver up to thee this man, and do thou deliver this man back to me, (110) on the production, by skill,

---

¹ Traditionally, chamishn is "making water" (compare Pers. chamīn, "urine"), but here it is otherwise explained by the commentary itself.
² That is, it is muttered in a low tone of voice.
³ So in the old MS. in London. This mode of translation is in accordance with the idea of "the beginning of a tanāpūhar" mentioned in (a), as a tanāpūhar is equivalent to a great number of srōshō-charanāms.
⁴ The fourth dislocation of the text, as described in p. 357, note 1, occurs after the words ashem vohū (the last having been the catchword at the end of a folio in the original MS.); the remaining words, vohū rahish-tem 3, are found attached to the first word (uschikta) of the Avesta of (37) in MSS., and have been omitted by Spiegel. The last eight Pahlavi words added to (58) really belong to (28), as noticed in p. 358, note 6.
⁵ The same prayers as those enjoined in (97).
of the reorganisation in the future existence, (i11) knowing the Gāthas and knowing\(^1\) * * *

55. (i15) * * taking (the fourth step), quickly afterwards, we who are demons, at once we injure him by disease of the tongue. (i16)\(^2\) Khshayamna paschaēta mereghentē gaēthāo astvaitēk ashaēh yatha randa yatmentea merenchantē gaēthāo ashaēh (“afterwards the possessed ones destroy the settlements of righteousness, supplied with creatures, as the spells of sorcerers destroy the settlements of righteousness”). (a) So that up to the fourth step it is not more than (than)\(^3\) three srōshō-charanāṃs, and at his fourth step it amounts to the beginning of a tanāpūhar, [some say that (he is) within what is permitted him in going the three (steps)]. When he walks on very many (steps) it is also not more than a tanāpūhar, all that\(^4\) remains over from the beginning.

56–59. (i17, i18) (As in (83–85), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.), (i19) (not given, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.). (i20, i21) (As in (i15, i16), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS.).

60, 61. (i22) (As in (18–21), which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS. to) righteous one! (i23) Who persecutes thee, thee who art Aūharmazd, with the greatest persecution, and annoys with the greatest annoyance? [that is, (does) all this another time].\(^5\)

62. (i24) And Aūharmazd said to him thus: The courtezan,

---

\(^1\) The fifth dialegment of the text, as described in p. 357, note 1, occurs after the words va ādās, where there is a break in the text owing to the loss of a folio in the original MS. This is all the more to be regretted as it is evident, from the small quantity of missing text, that the lost folio must have contained a long commentary. The remaining eighteen Pahlavi words attached to (i11) really belong to (i8), as noticed in p. 367, note 1; the word min being repeated because it was the catchword at the end of a folio.

\(^2\) There seems little doubt of this being merely an Avesta quotation belonging to the commentary, which has been accepted as part of the Avesta text both here and in (i21), see p. 249. It is not translated into Pahlavi, and the commentary which follows it belongs to the preceding sentence in the Avesta text.

\(^3\) It is doubtful whether we should not read "not more than (at) a srōshō-charanām."

\(^4\) Assuming that we may read mān instead of amat, see p. 346, note 2. This phrase seems to mean that he only completes the tanāpūhar, already begun, by walking beyond the fourth step; but the phrase is obscure.

\(^5\) Or perhaps "does all this at one time."
PAHLAVI VENDIDAD XVIII.

O righteous Zarathush! who mingles together the seed of the pious and impious, the idolaters and non-idolaters, the tanapahar-sinners and also the non-tanapahar-sinners, (a) and it is not her business; for when cohabitation is three times conceded by her (she is) worthy of death (marg-arjân). Gogoshasp said that this is a courtezan who is within bounds (vîmand). 1

63. (125) Of one-third the waters flowing from the mountains the power is exhausted by her gazing on (them), O Zarathush! (126) Of one-third the trees which are growing, graceful, and golden-hued, the growth is exhausted by her gazing on (them), O Zarathush!

64. (127) Of one-third of Spendarmad (the earth) the freedom from scarcity (atangîh) is carried off by her walking on (it), O Zarathush! (128) Of one-third the excellent thoughts, the excellent words, the excellent deeds of a righteous man she abstracts the strength and dignity (shukûthih), the success, fame (khanîthih), and even righteousness, through agitation (levatman naftûnishn), O Zarathush!

65. (129) Concerning such (females) also I say unto thee, O Spitamân Zarathush! that they are more destructive than a darting serpent (az), [some say a darting snake (mår)], (130) than a raving (shûth) 2 wolf, (131) than a jungle-bred 3 wolf when it rushes into enclosures upon the sheep, (132) than a frog spawning thousands when it plunges into the water, 4 [that is, it drops at once into the water; some say from the male to the female].

66–68. (133) (As in 18–21) which are not repeated, in Pahlavi, by the old MSS. to) righteous one! (134) whoever observantly, [that is, he sees that (she) is menstruous], knowingly, [that is, he knows that (it) is a sin], (and) risking penalty, [that is, he would say thus: I will incur the penalty], cohabits with a woman suffering from any kind of menstruation, 5 with that observation and knowledge and risk of penalty, (135) what is (his)

---

1 Meaning perhaps “in bondage,” but the sense is rather uncertain. The word âkîd, which follows in the old MSS., is probably only the Pahlavi ašt, “is,” or hûd, “would be,” in a Fâzand form, and ought to end this sentence.  
2 Or perhaps yahêd, “who destroys.”
3 This epithet is very doubtful; and “jungle” is to be understood in its wide Indian meaning of “wilderness,” not in its limited European sense of “forest.”
4 Thereby polluting it.
5 This is merely a free translation.
penalty in cash (khvāstak)? and what is it (at) the bridge with the goad (and) scourge (srōshō-charanām)? How does he remove the penalty for the perpetration of that action? [that is, how should he atone?]

69, 70. (136) And Aūharmazd said to him thus: Whoever observantly, &c. (as in (134) above), (137) he should search out a thousand young (cattle), (138) and of all those cattle, of those which are suitably decorated, and (consecrated) with holy-water, yau d aitare veredhka asma reja, ("what is in the kidneys, the kidney fat"), he should carry forth for the fire with perfect rectitude; (139) (his) arm should carry (it) forth for the good water.

71. (140) A thousand back-loads of hard firewood, dry and inspected, he should carry forth for the fire with perfect rectitude. (141) A thousand back-loads of soft firewood emitting fragrance, or benzoin, or aloe-wood, or pomegranate, or any other of the most sweet-scented of trees, he should carry forth for the fire with perfect rectitude.

72. (142) He should (have) a thousand Barsoms arranged in (their) arrangement. (143) A thousand consecrated waters, with Hom (and) with flesh, which are purified, [that is, pure], watched, [that is, they are kept by a chief (priest)], purified by a holy man, [that is, prepared by a holy man], and watched by a holy man, [that is, a holy man kept (it) as chief (priest)], in connection with which are those plants which are called fire along with pieces of sandal-wood and pomegranate twigs.

1 At the Chinvañ bridge where the soul has to account for its actions in this life.

2 Grammarians should notice that the conditional in these sentences (137-140) is formed by prefixing (instead of affixing) the auxiliaries dé, ê, or hana, to the indicative present.

3 Reading vurdž vurdž = Pers. burdz burdz; this is, however, doubtful, as the oldest reading is grind vudź vurdž, all in Pāzand, and may perhaps be some part of an animal.

4 The words asma reja look more like "stone and gravel," but the phrase is traditionally understood as referring to fat smeared on splinters of wood which are thrown into the

5 To ascertain that it is free from impurity.

6 The haddhānapata, being classed here among odoriferous substances, can hardly have been the pomegranate shrub, as assumed by tradition.

7 The zaota, or chief officiating priest at all important ceremonies, must be intended by sārdār here.

8 That is, by a priest, which must be the meaning of dāhmān here.

9 Assuming that ham-gāmik stands for ham-gānāmik. The oldest reading is ham-gānamik, which might be a miswriting of ham-gānakik, "the same manner" (an inverted k being m in Pahlavi).
pomegranate, he should carry (all these) forth for the good water with perfect rectitude.

73. (144) A thousand serpents who are created erect (lālā-
dāhāsthmo) he should destroy, two thousand of those other female snakes (mār-lānāk). (145) A thousand land-frogs he should destroy, and two thousand of those of the water. (146) A thousand ants carrying off corn (dān-kāsh) he should destroy, two thousand of those other venomous ones (dahārāk).

74. (147) He should throw thirty over-bridges across navigable water (and) streams containing water, with arches (dāhan). (148) He is to be beaten with a thousand blows of a horse-goad, (or) two thousand srōsho-charanāms.

75. (149) That is his penalty at the bridge; that is his penalty in cash (khvāstak), that is his (penalty at) the bridge, with the goad (and) scourge (srōsho-charanām); and so he should remove the penalty for the perpetration of that action, [that is, he should atone].

76. (150) If he removes (it) he gathers for the better world of the righteous, [that is, his gathering is made for that place]. (151) If he does not remove (it) he gathers for the world of the wicked, [that is, his gathering is made for that place]. (152) of those deserving gloom, [that is, their desert is for that place], of gloomy origin, [that is, the Drūj who makes a man wicked originates from that place], (and) gloomy, [that is, a dark place].

8.—Pahlavi Vendidad XIX.

1. (r) From the northern direction of the directions, from the northern direction of the place, from the direction of the demons, the evil spirit rushed forth, the deadly demon of the demons; (2) and thus exclaimed he, the evil spirit, the deadly: (3) Rush on, O Drūj! and destroy him, the righteous Zarathūštra. (4) On to him they rushed, the Drūj, the demon Bût, and secret-moving Destruction, the deceiver.

1 That is, who stand partly erect when prepared to strike their prey or enemy, like the cobra and many other snakes.
2 Assuming that dahārāk (the oldest reading) stands for zāhārāk, "poisonous."
3 This is merely a guess.
4 See p. 378, note 1. This first clause appears to be superfluous, but occurs in the oldest MSS.
5 That is, he accumulates a store of good works, or sin, as the case may be. The meaning can hardly be "he is gathered to," although the phrase might perhaps be so translated without doing much violence to grammar.
2. (5) Zaratūšht chanted aloud the Ahuna-vairya (formula), [those two Yathā-ahū-vairyōs which stand before hushiti (Yas. lxviii. 14)], and he consecrated the good water which is of good creation,1 and the Mazdayasnian religion was professed by him, [that is, he uttered the fravarānē, (Yas. i. 23)]. (6) The Drūj was confounded by that; away they rushed, the demon Būt and secret-moving Destruction, the deceiver.

3. (7) The Drūj exclaimed (in) reply to him thus: Thou art a misleader, O evil spirit! this thou art, [that is, anything unlooked for, which it is not possible for thee to do thyself, thou orderest us (to do)]. (8) The ruin of him, who is Spītāmān Zaratūšht, is not contemplated by us, (9) owing to the full glory [owing to the great diligence] of the righteous Zaratūšht; (a) so that they announce that whoever remains in activity, on him less affliction comes. (10) Zaratūšht perceived in (his) mind thus: The wicked demons, astute in evil, consult together about my ruin.

4. (11) Up rose Zaratūšht, forth went Zaratūšht, (12) from the extinction of evil thought (Akōmanō) [when the evil thought in his body is extinguished] by severely distressing questions, [by those questions, so severe, which are proposed to it]; (a) some say that evil thought is extinguished by him when it asks what is severely distressing.2 (13) And he held a stone (sag) in his hand, which was the size of a hut, the righteous Zaratūšht! [the rocky stone,3 some say, is the spirit of the Yathā-ahū-vairyō], (14) who thus besought the creator Āhūrmaždā: (15) Where is that kept on this wide, round, far-traversed (earth, which is) to be fixed on the roof4 in the dwelling of Pōrūshasp? (a) Some say it is kept on this earth, so wide, round, (and) far-traversed, and the place which is kept for it is fixed on the roof in the dwelling of Pōrūshasp.

1 The “good Dāšt” would probably be identified, by the Pahlavi translator, with the river of that name, see p. 357, note 1.

2 It is not clear whether the Pahlavi translator means to personify Akōmanō as a demon existing independent of the mind or not.

3 Or “the stone of three kinds,” if we read sag-i 3-gānō instead of sag-i suginō. As sag (not sang) is the usual word for “stone” in the Pahlavi Vendidad, there seems little doubt that a stone is meant, though tradition prefers to understand the phrase as “the thrice three,” applicable to the nauviprāh, or “nine-jointed” staff of Zaratūšht, see p. 333, note 4.

4 The words darīk šāh, being merely a transcription of the Avesta, are translated in accordance with the meaning adopted in p. 333, note 4.
5. (16) Zaratūshtra proclaimed aloud, [that is, he openly (patīlīd) conveyed], to the evil spirit, thus: O evil spirit, astute in evil! (17) I destroy the creatures produced by the demons; I destroy the corruption (nasūsh) produced by the demons. (18) I destroy the desire for witches, [the worship of idols], until the triumphant Sadārmanād ("beneficial one") is brought forth by the water of Kāshōsā; [(a) both I destroy and my disciples destroy thee; and after he arrives he will annihilate thee by his own deeds], (19) from the eastern direction of the directions. (a) (From) the place where the sun comes up on the longest day to the place where it comes up on the shortest day is the east; from the place where it comes up on the shortest day to the place where it goes down on the shortest day is the south; from the place where it goes down on the shortest day to the place where it goes down on the longest day is the west; and the remainder is the north. Some say that the north is an abyss.¹

6. (20) (In) reply to him exclaimed the evil spirit, astute in evil, (21) thus: Destroy not these my creatures, O righteous Zaratūshtra! (22) Thou art the son of Pārūghasp, and thou art from the conception of thy mother's womb, I know thee, [(a) some say that I had the worship of thy ancestors, and do thou also worship me]. (23) Curse the good religion of the Mazdayans, (and) obtain happiness as Vōghnō, the king, obtained it.

7. (24) (In) reply to him spoke he who is Spītāmān Zaratūshtra, (25) thus: I curse not that which is Ahihrmazd's own, the good religion of the Mazdayans; (26) not for love of body nor life, not for much result and not for good result, not on account of the parting of body and soul, [that is, although they cut off my head yet I curse not].

8. (27) (In) reply to him exclaimed the evil spirit, astute in evil: (28) With what words dost thou smite me? [that is, wouldst thou make me confounded?] and with what words wilt thou molest me? [that is, wouldst thou force me apart from the creatures?] with (what) well-formed implement, (from) these creatures of me who am the evil spirit?

9. (29) (In) reply to him spoke he who is Spītāmān Zara-

¹ Reading tīh-r, "a bottom," as hell is supposed to be in the north. But the word may be also read tār, "a summit," which might refer to the mountain Arewāra at the gate of hell, see p. 316, note 4, and p. 337, note 9.
tāšt, (30) thus: With the Homa-mortar and dish and Homa, even the words Aûharmazd pronounced, the Avesta, (31) are my best implements. (32) With those words I smite thee, [that is, I would make thee confounded], with those words I molest thee, [that is, I would force thee apart from the creatures], with those well-formed implements, O evil spirit, astute in evil! (33) which were given to me by him, the beneficent spirit, and were given to him in boundless time, [some say thus: which were given to me by him, the beneficent spirit, and were given to me by him in boundless time], (34) and were given over to me by them, the Ameshaaspends, the good rulers and good arrangers, [that is, they have been assisting in the giving by them].

10. (35) Zarātūšt chantèd aloud the Ahûnâ-vairyâ, [that is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô]; (36) the righteous Zarātūšt spoke out thus: That which I ask of thee Thou tellest to me right, O Aûharmazd! (37) I am firmly of opinion, [some say thus: Right is what Thou tellest to me].

11. (37) Through what is to be fixed on the roof where Aûharmazd (and) the good one [Vohuman] of good estimation are stationed (âhist), [this “estimation” (stands) for Vohuman again], (38) (with) Ashvahâhsht, Shatvâr, (and) Spendarmad.

12. (39) How should I act with them (to defend) from that Dvîî who is from the evil spirit, astute in evil? [that is, how should I make her quite confounded?] (40) How when it has become polluted directly, how when it has become polluted indirectly, how shall I dispossess the corruption (nâsâk) from the residence (vîk) of Mazdayasnians? (41) How do I purify a righteous man? How do I bring purification on a righteous woman?

13. (42) And Aûharmazd said to him thus: Thou mayst call, O Zarâtûšt! upon the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,

---

1 These words, “by them,” lead one to suspect that the Pahlavi translator considered “boundless time” as much an individual as “the beneficent spirit,” and that we ought to read “by boundless time” (the Pahlavi pâwan being both “by” and “in”). The rare forms midânamâsh, afvanâsh, and afvamshtân (for afvamshtân) in these sentences, are of interest to grammarians, as they show that two pronominal suffixes can be added to one particle.

2 Yas. xlv., see pp. 158-161.

3 The Pahlavi translator omits the usual opening invocation of the Creator, see the translation of the Avesta text, p. 333.

4 See p. 380, note 4.
[that is, celebrate a Vendidad]. (43) Thou mayst call, O Zaratuštra! upon the Amesha speaks in invisible concealment on the seven regions of the earth, [that is, although thou seest them not they are to be propitiated]. (44) Thou mayst call, O Zaratuštra! upon the self-sustained universe, [its self-sustainment is this, that through the energy which is within it nothing from without is wanted within it], and boundless time, (and) the upper-working air (vât). (45) Thou mayst call, O Zaratuštra! upon the swift wind created by Aūharmazd, and also call Spandarmad, the graceful daughter of Aūharmazd.

14. (46) Thou mayst call, O Zaratuštra! upon the spirit (fravashi) of me who am Aūharmazd, (47) which is (of the creations) of Aūharmazd the greatest in body, the best in worth, the most excellent in appearance, the most formidable [strongest], the most sagacious [wisest], the best-shaped, [that is, the limbs most adapted one for the other], the highest in righteousness, (48) the soul of which is the beneficent text. (49) Thou shouldst thyself, O Zaratuštra! call these creatures of Aūharmazd, [that is, do not surrender (it) from (thy) hand].

15. (50) Zaratuštra considered 1 my words, [that is, he hearkened to them]; (a) some say that Zaratuštra considered my words, [that is, he believed about them that it would be necessary to keep (and) hear (them)]; (51) (and said): I call upon the righteous Aūharmazd, the creator of creatures. (52) I call upon Mitró of the wide cattle-pastures, the well-armed, glorious with missiles, 2 the most victorious of missiles, [that is, these are good (and) more (than) those of the angel Vâhrâm]. (53) I call upon Srosh the righteous, the handsome, when he holds a sword in (his) hand over the head of the demons, at that time I call him most.

16. (54) I call upon the beneficent text which is very glorious. (55) I call upon the self-sustained universe, boundless time, and the upper-working air. (56) I call upon the swift wind created by Aūharmazd; Spandarmad, the graceful daughter of Aūharmazd, I also call. (57) I call upon the good religion

---

1 This sentence is corrected by comparing it with (114) further on.
2 Reading satyāno, "arms, missiles," but the word is ambiguous, and might be read zakhšūno, "emanation, radiation."
of the Mazdayasnians; the law against the demons, the law of Zarathush, I also call.

17. (58) Zarathush inquired of Ahuramazd thus: Thou art a generous creator, O Ahuramazd! [that is, the benefit from him is much]; (59) with what words do I reverence, with what words do I worship Thee? (and do) my disciples and these creatures of Ahuramazd?

18. (60) And Ahuramazd said to him thus: When thou comest up to a growing tree, O Spitamân Zarathush! (61) which is fine, well-grown, (and) strong, recite these words: (62) Salutation to the good tree created by Ahuramazd (and) righteous! Righteousness is the best prosperity, [a store of these is good, duty and good works]; (6) virtuous is righteousness, virtuous is he who is a right-doer through perfect righteousness, [that is, he performs duty and good works].

19. (63) Thou mayst carry off Barson for that ceremony a span long, a barley-corn thick. (64) Thou shouldst not cut up the Barson with over-attention, [that is, thou shouldst leave (it) to] men become righteous, and it is held by them in the left hand; (65) and Ahuramazd is prayed to by them, and the Ameshaspends are prayed to by them. (66) Homa, too, the golden-hued, the exalted, and they also who are excellent, Vohuman and good liberality created by Ahuramazd, the righteous (and) best, are prayed to likewise by them.

20. (67) Zarathush inquired of Ahuramazd thus: Thou art omniscient, O Ahuramazd! (68) Thou art sleepless, O Ahuramazd! and unintoxicated, thou who art Ahuramazd! (69) A

---

1. The Vendidad.
2. Or it may be translated as in p. 334, note 1.
3. Dastur Hoshangji observes that when a Parsi priest goes nowadays up to a pomegranate tree to cut the urvarâm he does not use these words, but washes his hands and the knife with consecrated water, thrice reciting khshaamathra Ahurâh Mazdâo, ashem-wohû, and cuts a twig from the pomegranate tree for the urvarâm, and a leaflet from the date tree for the aieydonxuma, or girdle of the Barson. The instructions in the text, however, refer to the cutting of the Barson itself, which is now hardly ever done, as they generally use metal wires instead of twigs.
4. This Pahlavi translation of the Ashem-wohû formula is omitted by Spiegel, but is given by the old MSS.
5. The word avar-nikîrînshith is not a correct equivalent of the Avestan pâiri-kerešem, but it is hazardous to alter it into avar-kurîmînshith.
6. Or “thou shouldst break (it) off for,” if shîkun-de be read instead of sheïkûn-de.
7. That is, priests.
good-minded man is mingled in direct pollution with him (val), a good-minded man is mingled in indirect pollution with him (val) whose body is stricken by the demons and defiled, and the demons mingle him with it, [that is, they would make (him) completely defiled]; did the good-minded (one) become purified?

21. (70) And Aūharmazd said to him thus: Seek for bull’s urine, O Zaratūšt! of a young, entire bull, lawfully inaugurated.1 (71) Thou mayst carry on the purification on the land created by Aūharmazd, [that is, they may perform (it) in a wild spot of navā vīlāva drājō (“nine fathoms length”).] (72) With a surrounding furrow he should score (it) around, the man who is purifying.

22. (73) One hundred praises of righteousness are to be recited (thus): Ashem vohû, (&c., and) (74) two hundred (Yathâ-aḥū-vairyôs).2 (75) With four times thorough washing he is washed over, (by) the man who is purifying, with bull’s urine produced by bulls, twice with water which should be created by Aūharmazd,3 which should be well-formed.

23. (76) Purified becomes the good-minded man, purified becomes the man who shall come with him.4 (77) The clothing of the good-minded (one) is to be taken up by the left arm with the right, and by the right arm with the left, with the assistance of one another. (78) Then the good-minded (one) is to be called out5 in the light produced by skill, that we may brighten his star given by destiny, (79) always till those nine nights shall elapse over the man.

24. (80) After the nine nights thou mayst carry forth consecrated water to the fire, thou mayst carry forth the hard firewood to the fire, thou mayst carry forth sweet-scented incense to the fire, (81) (and he) who is good-minded should fumigate his clothes.

---

1 The bull whose urine is employed for such purposes has to be once properly consecrated by a certain ceremony, when he becomes dāityō-kerektō, and can then supply lawful urine for the rest of his life.
2 The words yathā aḥū vairyō vad vāstārena, which have been taken into the Avesta text (see p. 335), belong, no doubt, to the Pahlavi translation. 3 Probably meaning pure water. In the old MSS. the conditional ád occurs twice, as here translated. 4 Or “who shall come in contact with him.” 5 So all unaltered MSS., but Das-tur Hoshangji suggests that shari-tān āhm, “is to be opened or exposed,” should be read instead of karitānāhān.
25. (82) Purified becomes the clothing of the good-minded (one), purified becomes the man who holds the clothing. (83) The clothing, &c. (as in (77) above). (84) The good-minded (one) exclaims thus: Salutation to Aûharmazd! salutation to the Ameshaspends! salutation to those other righteous ones! (a) Afarg\(^1\) showed from this passage that he whose hands are not washed should not reverence the sun, and should not engage in silent prayer (\(v\dot{a}d\)).

26. (85) Zarâtûshť inquired of Aûharmazd thus: Thou art omniscient, O Aûharmazd! (86) Shall I raise the righteous man? shall I raise the righteous woman? shall I raise the wicked and the idolaters, the men who are polluters?\(^2\) (87) The giving up\(^3\) removes away the earth created by Aûharmazd; the giving up removes away the flowing water, the grown corn, and the other wealth. (88) And Aûharmazd said to him thus: Thou mayst raise (them), O righteous Zarâtûshť!

27. (89) Creator of the material world, righteous one!\(^4\) Where are those events\(^5\) in lodgment? where do those events proceed? [that is, where is the place of their coming and going?] wherewith are those events in connection? where do those events come back to the same place for a man whom they give up to his own soul in the material life of mankind?\(^6\)

28. (90) And Aûharmazd said to him thus: After the passing away of men, after the proceeding forth of men, [that is, when their proceedings in the world are completed], after the tearing away of the life from the former body by the demons, the wicked ones astute in evil, [that is, of everyone they most tear away that from which unseparated (\(i\) \(\dot{a}b\dot{a}r\)) he does not die]; (91) on the complete up-lifting of the third night, when the dawn glows, the beaming, (92) on the mountain of the

---

\(^1\) The name of one of the old commentators.

\(^2\) The reading of the old MSS. is certainly \(g\(\ddot{u}\ddot{a}h\)u\(\dot{o}\)-\(z\)ah\(\dot{i}\)\(h\)n\(\dot{a}\)n, a misinterpretation of the Av. \(m\)erczuj\(\dot{\dot{a}}\)m.

\(^3\) Taking \(b\(\ddot{a}\)r\) \(\ddot{a}h\)ab\(\dot{a}\)h\(\ddot{a}\)nt\(\dot{a}\)n\(\dot{a}\)n (which the old MSS. append to both clauses of the sentence) as the nominative. It might be translated "result," but the passage seems to refer to the resurrection, or to the soul’s entrance into its separate spiritual life, as detailed in the following verses.

\(^4\) This opening sentence is abbreviated in the old MSS.

\(^5\) The traditional meaning of \(d\(\ddot{a}\)s\(\dot{a}\)r\) is "destiny."

\(^6\) As the meaning is not very clear it is safest to give the literal translation.
glory of righteousness where it\(^1\) arouses Mitrô the well-armed, (93) and the sun rises up there in (its) ascent.

29. (94) The demon Vizarsh by name, O Spítámán Zarastušt! carries off the soul bound, the wicked (and) the idolaters, the men who are polluters. (\(a\)) That is, with a halter (\(band\)) which falls upon the neck of every one when he dies; when righteous it falls off from his neck (\(ash\ min\ chavarmân\)), when wicked they will drag him with that same halter to hell. (95) He comes to the time-worn path, whoever is wicked (and) whoever is righteous. \((a)\) Every one will come to that place to behold Aûharmazd (and) Ahriman; he who is righteous to offer prayer, (but) he who is wicked is unable to offer prayer and becomes repentant, and by his repentance they restore the dead again. (96) (To) the Chinvaṇ bridge created by Aûharmazd, where they clear away (\(barû\ zadênd\)) the worldly portion of the consciousness (and) soul, (97) which was given to them in the material world.

30. (98) She who is graceful in appearance, well-formed, [that is, it is not necessary to do anything to her],\(^2\) strong, [that is, powerful],\(^3\) well-developed, [that is, she has grown in excellence], comes (99) with a dog, [that is, protection is with her], with discrimination, [that is, it is evident who is who and which is which], with replies,\(^4\) [that is, with goodness and crime],\(^5\) willing, [that is, as a man requires], (and) provided with skill. (100)\(^6\) . . . . She supports the soul of the righteous across Alborz. (101) They pass across by the Chinvaṇ bridge whose two extremities (\(2-satîh\)) are their own heavenly angels; (\(a\)) one stands at Chakād-i Dāštīh,\(^7\) and one at Alborz.

---

\(^1\) Probably the dawn.

\(^2\) Literally: "it is not necessary to perform an operation upon her."

\(^3\) Assuming that \(kîk\ aîgh\ tûban\), the reading of the old MSS, in London, stands for \(tâkîk\ aîgh\ tûbân\).

\(^4\) The oldest reading is \(pâsûkho-hônand\), but Dastur Hosangji suggests reading \(pûsûn-hônand\), "having sons."

\(^5\) Probably meaning that she has the replies both of the good and the bad. The oldest reading is \(vâsîh\ va\ lajak\), and \(vâsîh\) is very like \(vêkîh\);

Dastur Hosangji suggests reading \(vâsh\ bachak\), "many children."

\(^6\) The old MSS. omit the Pahlavi translation of the first clause of this sentence in the Avesta: "She dismisses the sinful soul of the wicked into the glooms" (see p. 255). This is, no doubt, a blunder, as there is no reason to suppose that this clause is an Avesta quotation introduced by the Pahlavi translator.

\(^7\) The Dundahush (p. 22, W.) states that the mountain "Chakād-i Dāštīh is that of the middle of the world,"
31. (102) Vohuman shall rise up from a throne made of gold, (a) where he transacts the affairs of the dominion of the eternal ones.¹ (103) Vohuman exclaims thus: How hast thou come up here? O righteous one! tasting immortality (anōsh-vashtamān), (104) from that perishable world which is afflicted, unto this imperishable world which is unafflicted?

32. (105) Contented the soul of the righteous goes on from Vohuman (106) up to Āūharmazd and up to the Ameshapsends and up to the throne made of gold, (107) up to Garōdmān, the abode of Āūharmazd, the abode of the Ameshapsends, the abode of those others who are also alike (hamīch) righteous ones.

33. (108) Owing to the purified state of that righteous (one), [owing to the protection² of purity in the soul], after passing away, the wicked demons, astute in evil, are frightened away by its scent, (109) as a sheep molested by wolves when it is frightened off by the scent of a wolf.

34. (110) The righteous men come together³ every one; (a) some say Hushēdar, Hushēdar-māh, and Sōshyāns; (111) and Nēryōsang brings them together. (112) The messenger⁴ of Āūharmazd call Nēryōsang; (113) thou shouldst thyself, O Zaratsūst! call upon these creatures of Āūharmazd, [that is, do not surrender (it) from (thy) hand].⁵

35. (114) Zaratsūst considered my words, &c. (as in (50) above); (115) (and said): I call upon Āūharmazd the righteous, the wise.⁶ (116) I call upon the earth created by Āūharmazd, the water created by Āūharmazd, and the rightful vegetation. (117) I call upon the sea which is made wide.⁷ (118) I call upon the sky, the handsome-formed, [that is, it is formed well-vaulted].⁸ (119) I call upon the endless light, the self-sustained, the height of a hundred men, on which the Chinvaql bridge stands, and they take account of the soul at that place.⁹

¹ Reading avidumānkarīno, “those acting without time,” but this is liable to the objection that avī ought to be otherwise written.
² The word pārākāth seems to have been written by mistake in the old MS. in London, and to have been corrected by a marginal gloss into pākāth; later copyists give both words in the text, as here translated.
³ The old MSS. are here, for once, more corrupt than the modern ones.
⁴ Traditionally, “the friend.”
⁵ This is a repetition of (49), and the subject now returns to the point it left when interrupted by the inquiries in (58).
⁶ This is a misinterpretation of the Avesta, see p. 256.
⁷ A free translation of Vouruksha, which is always Farąkh-karūd in Pahlavi.
⁸ So in the old MSS., but “vaulted together” in later ones.
[that is, its self-sustainment is this, that they make every one its own for itself].

36. (120) I call upon the better world of the righteous, of all-glorious light. (121) I call upon Garōlmān, the abode of Aūharmazd, and the abode of the Ameshaspends, and the abode of those other righteous ones. (122) I call upon the constantly advantageous place, the self-sustained, [its constant advantageousness is this, that when it once became (so) all of it became thereby ever-advantageous]; the Chiinvañ bridge, created by Aūharmazd, I also call.

37. (123) I call upon good-fortune the wishful-eyed, the favouring, the spirit of favour (kā-chashmāh). (124) I call upon the valiant guardian-angels of the righteous, who benefit all creatures. (125) I call upon the victorious angel Verehrān (Behrām), created by Aūharmazd, who bears the standard of the glory created by Aūharmazd. (126) I call upon the star Tishtar, the brilliant, the glorious; at the time when (it is) in the form of a bull with golden horns I call it most.

38. (127) I call upon the propitious Gāthas, ruling the chiefs (of the creation, and) righteous; [their rulership of the chiefs is this, that it is proper to pray to any of the others through them]. (128) I call upon the Ahunavaiti Gātha; I call upon the Ushtavaiti Gātha; I call upon the Spentā-mainyū Gātha; I call upon the Vohu-khshathra Gātha; I call upon the Vahish-tōishti Gātha.

39. (129) I call upon the region (kēshvar) of Arezahi and of Savahi; I call upon the region of Fradafshu (and of) Vidadafshu; I call upon the region of Vouru-bareshti and of Vourujareshti; I call upon the region of Qaniratha the splendid; (a) this they assert as they are stationed (ākist) in this (one). (130) I call upon Hēt-hōmand the illustrious, the glorious. (131) I call upon the good Ashishang. I call upon the most rightful (rajistak), the learned, the good. (132) I call upon the

---

1 The fixed stars, which produce their own light.
2 This Hamishak-sādak gās appears to be the place of the Hamishakān of the later books, the intermediate place, between heaven and hell, reserved for those souls whose good works exactly counterbalance their sins, and where they remain in a stationary state till the final resurrection.
3 See Vend. i. (50), p. 361.
4 See p. 215.
glory of the Iranian countries. I call upon the glory of Jamshéd the rich in flocks.

40. (133) When Srosh is satisfied with the three nights' worship, and (has) recognised, [that is, completed (its) consideration], and accepted (it), Srosh the righteous! the handsome, triumphant Srosh, the righteous! (134) consecrated water is to be carried forth to the fire; thou shouldst carry forth hard firewood to the fire, (and) thou shouldst carry forth sweet-scented incense to the fire. (135) The fire Vâzisht is to be propitiated, which smites the demon Spenjagar. (136) Cooked food is to be carried forth, full of dried sugar-plums.

41. (137) Thou shouldst propitiate Srosh the righteous; (138) Srosh the righteous who destroys the demons, who are stupid, drunk, and causelessly drunk, [that is, drunk without wine]. (139) He hurls them down to the Drâj of Askân, the wicked (and) the idolaters, the men who are polluters, back to Vîzarsh the demon.

44. (140) (The evil spirit exclaimed) thus: Why do we assemble in an assembly, O wicked demons astute in evil! on the summit of Aрезûr? [that is, when we go back what report (srôbâk) do we carry back?]

45. (141) They rushed and they shouted the cries of demons, they became worse about the matter, the demons, the wicked ones astute in evil. . . . (142) (For) this we assemble in an assembly on the summit of Aрезûr.

1 Meaning the three nights after a death, during which ceremonies in honour of Srosh are to be performed. After the third day and night ceremonies commence in honour of the Ardâd Fravard or righteous guardian angels. The word meaning “the three nights” is traditionally pronounced sêûsh or sadis (see Mainyô-i-khard xxi. 10; lxxiii. 7), and is sometimes confounded with Srosh; but it seems to be nothing but satah, “a triplet,” (compare Pers. satâ).

2 The oldest reading looks like bârâ khushkîd shakarpâk, but should probably be read bârâ khushkîd shakar-pâk.

3 The oldest reading is drâj-i as-kâno, but the meaning is uncertain. It seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta drujâsakanâm.

4 The word daêvô (which although in Avesta letters seems to belong to the Pahlavi text) is omitted by Spiegel. A long passage (see pp. 336, 337) is here omitted in the old MSS. with the Pahlavi translation. This omission has evidently been caused by the loss of a folio in some original MS., whence they have all descended.


6 Two clauses of this sentence (see p. 337) are omitted in the old Pahlavi translation.
46. (143) Because the righteous Zaratušht is born in the dwelling of Pûrûsbasp. (144) Where (can) we procure his death? for he is the smiter of the demons, and he is the adversary of the demons. (145) He restrains the destroyer from destroying, [that is, he takes away his oppressiveness], he puts down idolatry, [that is, he makes (it) powerless]. (146) He proclaims avoidance of the corruption (nastâh) produced by the demons; the falsehoods of Mûtôkht (the liar) he also makes powerless.

47. (147) The demons shouted, the demons fled, the wicked ones astute in evil, to the bottom of the world of darkness which is the grievous hell, and back to constant smoke.

9.—Pahlavi Vendidad XX.

1. (1) Zaratušht inquired of Aûharmazd, &c. (as in Vend. xviii. (21), p. 367, to) righteous one! Who was the first of the men who are careful ones, 2 [who know well how to take care of the body, such as Spendyâd ; 3 some say that a sword 4 made no effect upon (him)], (2) (who are) accomplished ones, [sages, such as Kât-Us], (3) (who are) willing ones, [such as Jamshâd], (4) (who are) fortunate ones, [and powerful ones, such as Pâtsrôb], 5 (5) (who are) brilliant ones, [and skilful ones, such as Zaratušht], (6) (who are) valiant ones, [such as Keresâspa], (7) (who are) those of the early law (pêshûddân), [such as Hôshâng; this early law was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty], (8) (and) by whom disease was kept 6 to disease, and death was kept to death by him, [that is, they could not escape from his control (band)]; (9) he kept (back) the drawn dagger, 7 [that is, it was stopped by him on the way], (10) and the scourging of fire was kept by him away from the bodies of men?

1 Reading aîrâng: compare Pers. daîrg. The Dasturs prefer reading aîrâg, which they translate "stinking."

2 Said to mean those rendered secure or invulnerable by means of spells.

3 The Pahlavi form of Isfendyâr, a son of Vishtâsp, who conquered Arjâsp.

4 Or a battle-axe, according as we compare tiš in Pers. tîsh, or tîshâh.

6 Traditionally identified with Pîâ-khûsrô, but this seems only a guess. It is more probable that Pîâ-khûsrô is meant, who is said to have been a brother of Vishtâsp in the Pahlavi Shâhûrûmah.

6 Reading dâhk in all the phrases (as suggested by Dastur Hoshangji) instead of the ask dâdq of the MSS.; the Pahlavi letters being the same in both cases.

7 This is merely a guess.
2. (11) And Aûharmazd said to him thus: Srît 1 was the first, O Spîtâmân Zaratûsht! of the men who are careful ones, &c. (as in (1–10) above). (a) That is, Srît of the Sâmâns, not Srît of the Sêrjâns, 2 (at) the place where he had come he was able to act. (b) Some say that he was Yim, and his Srîtship was this, that he was the third ruler. 3

3. (12) He begged (and) obtained a weapon (vîshkîthar) from Shahrivar, [(a) some say that it was obtained through Shahrivar, so that its top (and) bottom might be bound with gold], 4 (13) for withstanding disease, for withstanding death, for withstanding pain, for withstanding fever, (14) 5 for withstanding aghish 6 the putrid, the disfigurer, the malignant eye which the evil spirit formed in the bodies of men; [every one is good as to his own (and) evil as to others].

4. (15) Then I who am Aûharmazd brought forth healing plants; (16) many and many hundreds, and many and many thousands, and many and many myriads; (17) and therewith one Gûkerenô, the Homa which is white. 7

5. (18) The inviter to work of every kind, the commander (and) Dastur of every kind, the possessor of every kind of blessing, [that is, it provides healthiness of life], for the bodies of men. 8

7. (19) Disease! I say unto thee: Flee away! Pain! I say

1 The Avesta Thrûta, see pp. 178, 277.
2 So spelt in the old MS. in London; later MSS. alter it into Šêrjân. The nearest Avesta equivalent appears to be the sârjâd of Yas. xxix. 3; but perhaps the allusion is to Thrûtê aûû-sûrjâdô in Yasht xiii. 125, as Sêrjân can also be read Šurjân, and the Pahlavi ch = j is a letter of practically the same form as the Av. dh.
3 This is an attempt to connect the name Thrûta with Av. thrîtva, "third," as Hôshâng has already been mentioned as the first sovereign (see (7) above) Yima would be, of course, the third.
4 Because Shahrivar is the arch-
5 The names of eight diseases are here left untranslated by the Pahlavi version.
6 The name of this disease or evil is written, in Avesta characters, aghâish here and in (24), and aghish in (20), in the old MS. in London.
7 This is the tree of life which is said to grow in the sea Vouru-kashâ, where it is carefully preserved from the evil spirit, in order that it may furnish immortality at the end of the world. See Bundahish (p. 42, W.).
8 Verse 6, which is a repetition of (13) and (14), is not translated in the Pahlavi version.
unto thee: Flee away! and Fever! I say unto thee: Flee away!
(20) Aghish! I say unto thee: Flee away!

8. (21) What is vanquished by the vigour of that Homa is the Drûj, and the vigour of that Drûj is vanquished (by) its resources. (22) What is the strength of its dominion is I who am Aûharmazd.

9. (23) I counteract disease, I counteract death, I counteract pain, I counteract fever, (24) I counteract aghish the putrid, the disfigurer, the malignant eye, which the evil spirit formed in the bodies of men, [every one is good as to his own (and) evil as to others].

10. (25) I counteract every disease and death, every sorcerer and witch, and every wicked courtezan.

11. (26) The longing for Aîrmân is for me the arrival of joy, [that is, it is necessary for thee to come with joy], (and) they compel (him) to act for the men and women of Zaratûsht. (27) Vohuman is joyful, [that is, it is necessary for thee also to come, that they may compel thee to act with joy]. He who is desirous of religion becomes worthy, with the reward here (in this world) and that also there (in the other world). (28) The reverent supplication for righteousness is Ashavahisht, [that is, my reverence is through him]; may he become the dignity of Aûharmazd, [the mobadship of the mobads].

12. (29) The longing for Aîrmân destroys every disease and death, every sorcerer and witch, and every wicked courtezan.

III.—Notes Descriptive of Some Parsi Ceremonies.

These notes were written by the author in German, merely as memoranda of what he noticed during the performance of the ceremonies, and of such information as the priests communicated. It is to be regretted that the author confined his notes almost entirely to the ceremonies connected with the celebration

1 The exorcism of the eight other diseases is here left untranslated by the Pahlavi version, as in (14).
2 The Avesta of the latter part of this verse is a paraphrase of Yas. xxxi. 45.
3 The names of four other diseases or evils are here left untranslated by the Pahlavi version. The concluding verses (9–12, W.) of this fargard occur again as the conclusion of each of the fargards xxii. and xxii.
4 The names of the eight diseases, omitted in (14) and (20) are here again left untranslated by the Pahlavi version.
5 The angel Airyaman, see p. 273.
of the Yasna or Ijashne; but he probably relied upon Anquetil’s description of the commoner ceremonies being a sufficient memorandum, as he had found his statements quite correct on such matters (see p. 25).

The editor’s revision of these notes has been confined to such further explanation as seemed necessary for making the rough memoranda intelligible to the reader. If any Parsi priest should notice errors in these notes, he will confer a favour by pointing them out in a letter to the editor through the publishers.

1.—The Ceremony preparatory to Ijashne.

This preparatory ceremony is called pargannah or paragnah, and commences with the arrangement of the various ceremonial vessels and materials in the arvīs-gāh or ceremonial area. This arrangement is shown upon p. 395.

The ceremonial vessels and apparatus are made of metal, generally brass or copper, but more valuable metals can be used. They consist of several round-bottomed cups (about the size of tea-cups) and saucer-like dishes, besides other vessels of a more special character.

The fire burns on a bed of ashes in a vase-like vessel placed on a stone near the southern end of the Arvīs-gāh where the Rathwi (Rāspī) or assistant priest is stationed, facing the Zota or chief officiating priest, who sits cross-legged on a low stone platform near the northern end of the Arvīs-gāh, but facing the fire. Both priests wear close-fitting trousers instead of the usual loose pyjamas, so as to avoid touching any of the apparatus with their clothes; they also wear the penōm or mouth-veil (see p. 243, note 1).

Some spare aēsma or firewood (in the form of chips of sandalwood) and bōtī or incense (benzoin) are laid alongside the fire to the Rāspī’s left; and small fire tongs and an incense ladle are similarly laid to his right.

The Zota has a supply of water in a large metal water-vessel to his right, which also contains the pestle and strainer for the Homa; and before him the remaining apparatus is arranged on a low stone platform called the takht-i ālāt. Besides the cups and saucers mentioned above, the following apparatus (p. 396) stands on this platform.
**ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARVIS-GAH.**

**SOUTH.**

- **Rasp's station.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongs</td>
<td>Incense ladle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fire in a vase on a stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spare firewood and incense.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EAST.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spare Homa-juice in cup with saucer cover.</td>
<td>Darun and butter saucer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barsom knife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homa juice cup.</td>
<td>Homa mortar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WEST.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homa and pomegranate twig saucer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NORTH.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varas cup with cover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Large water vessel containing strainer and pestle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zor cup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milk saucer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barsom laid on its stands.</td>
<td>Zor cup.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The barsom-dān or stand for the Barsom, consisting of two separate stands with upright stems and crescent-shaped tops, hence called māh-rā, “moon-faced.” The Barsom, when arranged, is laid resting on the two crescents. The kārd-i barsom-chūn, or knife for cutting the Barsom, &c., is also laid on the tākhā.

The hāvanām or Homa mortar is generally shaped like a wine-glass, with foot and stem, but much larger; and the pestle or dastah, chisel-shaped at one end, is kept till wanted on one side in the large water-vessel. The Homa strainer or tashīta bā-sārākh is one of the saucers with nine small holes, arranged diamond-fashion about half an inch apart, in its bottom; this also lies on one side in the water-vessel.

The darūn (iTRAONA) or ceremonial wafer-bread is a small, tough, flexible pancake (about the size of the palm of the hand), made of wheaten flour and water, with a little melted butter (gḥā), and fried. A frasast is a similar pancake marked on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with the finger-nail while repeating the words humat hākkht hervarsht thrice, one word to each of the nine cuts. Any Darūn or Frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. A small piece of butter, called ḡEVSh-hudhāo, generally accompanies the Darūn. Other ceremonial apparatus is sufficiently explained in the following notes.

The aiwyāonhanem is the girdle or tie with which the Barsom is to be tied together. It is prepared from a leaflet of the date-palm, which is cut from the tree by the priest after he has poured consecrated water over his hand, the knife, and the leaflet.1 When brought to the Arvis-gāh in the water-goblet the leaflet is split longitudinally into thread-like ribbons. Six of these leafy threads are then laid together, three one way and three the other,2 and are all tied together in a knot at one end. One triplet is then twisted tightly together with a right-handed twist, and the other triplet with a left-handed twist, so that when laid together the two triplets twist together into a single string, by partially untwisting, and they are then secured together by a

---

1 A twig is cut in the same manner from a pomegranate bush to form the urvārām. And the Barsom twigs were also similarly cut in former times, before metal wires were used.
2 That is, the ends belonging to the base of the leaflet are at one end of one triplet, and at the other end of the other triplet.
knot at the other end. The Aiwyåññhanom is now ready for use, and is laid upon the Barsom-dâu.

The varosa consists of three, five, or seven hairs from the tail of a white bull, which are tied to a gold\(^1\) ring, as large as a thumb-ring. The ring has a gap in its circumference, as the metal wire of which it is formed does not quite meet. This Varasa, when once prepared, can be used as long as the bull lives, whose hair has been taken. But as often as it is used it must be consecrated by the recital of the 101 names of God, that is, by ten repetitions of the 101 names, which are all that are now known.

The zvôthra or Zor is water consecrated in the following manner:—The priest takes two metal cups in his hands, and recites askem-vohu thrice, fravarândè (Yas. iii. 24, to) frasastayaècha, aîwyô vavuhìyô (as in Frag. vii. 1, p. 333, W. to) frasastayaècha, and yathô aîh vairô (Yas. iii. 25, omitting W.’s second line). Then reciting the words frô tê staomândê he fills both cups with water, and continues reciting yathô aîh vairô twice, yasнемечa vahmemècha aojæcha zavæcha òfrînâmi (Yašt i. 23), and aîwyô vavuhìyô (as before, to) tava ahûrândè ahurâhê. These last three words must be recited twice, once aloud and once muttered as a bâj. The water is now Zor, and the cups are placed on the takht, one over the other, with a saucer between them.

The Barsom consists of a number of slender rods or tâî, formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these tâî depends upon the nature of the ceremony to be celebrated. For Ijashne (yazishrn) alone 21 tâî are required, for Ijashne with Vendidad and Visparad 33 tâî, for Yasht-i Rapithwin 13 tâî, for Darûn Bâj five tâî, or seven when a priest becomes a herbad.\(^2\) Besides these tâî, which form the actual Barsom, two other tâî are required, one to lie across the saucer which contains the milk or gâush jîvéya, and the other to lie on the projecting feet of the

\(^1\) Or silver, copper, or brass.
\(^2\) According to other information the Darûn Bâj requires seven tâî of double thickness, or nine if performed in the house of a king or chief high-priest. In the Nirangistan it is stated that the Barsom twigs may be cut from any tree whose trunk is sound, and that they should be from one to three spans in length and a barley-corn in thickness, and their number either 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 21, 33, 60, or 551, according to the circumstances of the ceremony.
two māh-rā which form the Barsom-dān; the first of these tāt is called the jivām, the other the frāgām. At first the Frāgām is laid at one end of the bundle of tāt forming the Barsom, so that it projects beyond the rest, as the priest takes the bundle in his left hand and the Jivām in his right; the Aiwyāōnham being laid upon the two, māh-rā. The priest then recites ashem vohu thrice, fravarānē (Yas. iii. 24, to) frasastayaēcha, khshathrāhē, &c. (Siroz. i. 4), khshnaothra yasnāichā vaḥnāichā khshnaothrāichā frasastayaēcha, y. a. v. (Yas. iii. 25, omitting W.'s second line, to) mraotā, ashem a. v., y. a. v. twice, yasnemcha (Yt. i. 23, to) ḫṝnāmēi, khshathrāhē, &c. (Siroz. i. 4), a. v. thrice, and fravarānē (Yas. iii. 24, to) frasastayaēcha. Then while reciting the words Ahurahē mazādō raevatō garenāhaftō the priest proceeds to tie the Barsom together with the Aiwyāōnham in the following manner:—The Jivām being held in his right hand, and the Frāgām projecting from the Barsom held in his left hand, he prepares to pass the Aiwyāōnham thrice round the middle of the Barsom and to tie it with knots, in the same way as the kustē or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman. But, first, the above formulas, from khshnaothra to mraotā, must be again recited, and then ashem a. v. thrice. Each time the words ashem ashem vohu are uttered the Barsom must be dipped in water and again taken out. This water, which is not Zor, and will be used in the Homa ceremony, is called apem haomyām. The Barsom is now tied together with two double knots in the Aiwyāōnham, one above and the other below, while reciting y. a. v. twice; and the two

1 Formerly, before wires were used, only the words Ahurahē mazādō raevatō garenāhaftō were used.

2 Henceforth yathā aha vaivrayō will be contracted into y. a. v., and ashem vohu into a. v. In all cases the whole formula is to be understood, when it is not otherwise stated.

3 Wherever ashem a. v. is used it indicates that the first word (ashem) of the formula is spoken twice.

4 This is done as follows:—The middle of the string, being taken in the hands, is applied to the waist (outside the sadarūk or muslin shirt) in front, and the ends passed round the waist by the hands meeting behind, changing ends there, and bringing them round again to the front, so that the string has then twice encircled the waist. The long hanging ends are then tied loosely together in front, first with a right-handed knot and then with a left-handed knot; and the long loose ends are finally passed backwards, the third time round the waist, and tied again behind with a similar double knot.

5 Formerly, four times.
projecting ends are cut to an equal length with the knife, each time reciting y. a. v., and a single knot is tied in each end; after these two y. a. v. must follow yasnemicha, &c. (as before). The priest then says Ahurahê mazdâo ruēvâto aloud, and lays the properly-arranged Barsom on the two Mâh-rû while muttering the same words as a Bâj. After the Barsom is thus laid on the Barsom-dân he takes out the Frâgâm, and lays it upon the projecting feet of the two Mâh-rû.

The Homa twigs must next be purified. These twigs are brought from Iran by traders, and are, therefore, considered impure until they have been purified, laid aside for a year, and again purified. The purification is accomplished by water and formulas. The priest takes the Homa twig (one is sufficient) in his right hand, holding a copper goblet of water in his left, from which he pours water, at intervals, over the twig as he thrice recites khshnaothra Ahurahê mazdâo, &c., and a. v. He then takes the Jîvâm in his left hand and recites a. v. thrice, fravarrânê (Yas. iii. 24, to) frasastayaêcha, haomahê ashavasânêhô (Yas. x. 1, but only these two words), khshnaothra, &c. (as in p. 398, lines 8–10 above, to) mraotô, and ashem a. v. thrice, each time dipping the Jîvâm and Homa, which he holds one in each hand, into the water. Then follow y. a. v. twice, yasnemica (Yt. i. 23, to) âfrînâmî, and haomahê ashavasânêhô; these last two words must be first spoken aloud, and then repeated in a low voice as a Bâj. The Homa twig is now laid in its place, in a metal saucer on the takht.

The priest takes three small pieces of the Homa and one of the Ûrvârâm (the hadhânaepsilon pomegranate twig), and lays them on the Hâvanîn or Homa mortar which is placed, upside down, upon the takht. When the Varasa is to be laid in its place, in a cup on the takht, after being consecrated, it must be held below between the fingers.

The Homa juice is now to be prepared. The priest takes the Varasa and Jîvâm 1 in his hands, and recites a. v. thrice, fravarrânê (to) frasastayaêcha, and Zarathushtrahê Spitâmahê (to) mraotô. He then dips the Varasa into a cup full of water, utters the word ashem twice (once aloud and once in a low voice as a Bâj), and then lays the Varasa in its proper place.

1 Some call this the Zor tit. 
The priest then recites Yas. xxiv. 1–9 as far as the words mananoḥ shīkyaṁtī, but he must omit the clause containing the words gām jīvyāṁ (in vers. 1 and 6), because the milk is not yet in its place on the takḥt. He must then recite yādoscha utti (Yas. iv. 4–8, to) rāmano qāstrahē, and next invoke the angels of the day and the month in which the ceremony is being celebrated; for instance, if the ceremony be performed on the day of Spendarmad in the month of Ardibahisht, he must recite spēntayāo vanahyāo admatōish y. v. kh. f. dād dīsh avāēdhayamahē, and then ashahē vahishtahē sraēshtahē y. v. kh. f. dād dīsh avāēdhayamahē. Then follow tavā āthrō (Yas. iv. 17–22, to) dād dīsh avāēdhayamahē, Zarathushtraḥē (Yas. iv. 23, to) dād d. d., ashaananām (Yas. iv. 24, to) dād d. d., vispaēbyo vanahyāo dīhābyō (Yas. iv. 25, to) vahishtād, and Yas. xxv. 1–3 (omitting the clause containing the words gām jīvyāṁ in ver. 1, as before). While reciting the words amēsā spēntā (Yas. xxv. 1), the priest knocks the Hāvanīm thrice upon the takḥt; at the words imem haomem ashaya uzāṭem yazamāidē he puts the small pieces of the Homa twig into the Hāvanīm, and at the words imāmchā urvarām hadhānāepatām he puts in the small piece of the Urvarām (the dīrakht-i anār or pomegranate twig). He pours a little of the consecrated water from the upper Zor cup into the Hāvanīm while uttering the words aiwyō vanahybūḥ imāo zaathrāo (&c., to) yaz; and also more water (apem haomyām) from the large vessel to his right (which contains the pestle and strainer) while uttering the words aiwyō vanahybūḥ apemchā haomyām yaz. After Yas. xxv. 3, there follows Zarathushtraḥē (Yas. xxvi. 5, to) yaz, on the recitation of which the priest bows to the Varasā. He then takes the strainer out of the water in the large vessel to his right, and places it upon a cup (the Homa-juice cup) before him while reciting īrstanām urvānō (Yas. xxvi. 11, to) fravashyō, followed by yēnhē hāṭān (&c., to) tāoschā yaz. Then, while reciting aṭhā ratush ashaḍchāḥ hačcha frō ashaya viṇṭvāo mrazātā, he takes the pestle out of the water, holding it so as to touch, with the lower part of its side, the north-eastern part of the rim of the large water-vessel, and

1 When Nīrang-din (gomēz) or Varasā is to be prepared (each of which requires a formal Ijashēne with Homa), a small piece of the sandal-wood and incense lying near the fire is now thrown into it. This is not done, however, in the ordinary Ijashēne.
passes it all round in contact with the rim (N. W. S. E.) to the same point again. With the pestle in his hand he recites āktaq (Yas. xxvii. 1, to) dādēyāt udāmcha (he knocks the lower end of the pestle on the takht) ratamcha (he knocks its upper end on the takht) yīm Ahurem mazdām (he bows to the fire). Continuing the recitation of Yas. xxvii. 1, the Devas are beaten by striking sonorous blows with the pestle on the outside of the mortar in the following manner:—With a blow on the eastern side he recites snathāi Anrāhē manjēush drevatā, with a blow on the southern side he recites snathāi Aēshmahē hrvi-draosh, with a blow on the western side he recites snathāi Māzainyanām daēvanām, with a blow on the northern side he recites snathāi vīspanām daēvanām, with three more blows on the northern side he recites daēvanām varenianāmcha drevatām. The priest then recites in a low voice, as a Bāj, the Pāzand formula shikasta Gand-mainyē, &c., and fradathāi ahurahē (Yas. xxvii. 2, to) ashaonām aloud, and then begins to pound the Homa and Urvarām in the mortar while reciting y. a. v. four times; during the first three he pounds with the pestle on the bottom of the mortar, but during the fourth he strikes it against the sides, so as to produce a ringing sound. He continues the same practice during four recitations of mazdā aḏ mōi (Yas. xxxiv. 15, to) ahūm, and four recitations of ʿAīryēmā ishyō (Yas. liv. 1, to) mazdāo, pounding on the bottom during the first three, and against the sides, with a ringing sound, during the fourth. He next takes the upper Zor cup in his hand, recites a. v. thrice, and pours a little Zor into the mortar each time he utters the word ashem. Then, he recites haoma pairī-haveshaṅtē (Yas. xxvii. 6, 7, to) vachām in eleven portions; during the recital of each portion he passes the pestle once round (N. W. S. E.) in contact with the inside of the mortar rim. He then takes the fragments of Homa and Urvarām out of the mortar, and, holding them between his fingers and thumb, he touches with them the Barsom at the word athā (Yas. xxvii. 7), the saucer for the milk at the words ʾē nē, the Homa cup at the word humāyō, the Arvīs-gāh at the word tara, and throws them back into the mortar at the word anhen. He next takes the upper Zor cup in

1 Some Mobads repeat the formulas for beating Angrē-mainyush and the Devas without striking blows upon the mortar; but they strike them while reciting the formula fradathāi, &c. (Yas. xxvii. 2).
his left hand, and continues to pound the Homa with his right hand, while reciting four y. a. v. in the following manner:—During the first y. a. v. at the word athā he pours a little Zor into the mortar with his left hand, and continues to pound with his right; at the word yim he passes the pestle once round (as before) in contact with the inside of the mortar rim; and at the last word, vāstārem, he pours the whole contents of the mortar (Homa, Urvarām, and water) into the strainer, whence all the liquid portion of the contents runs through into the Homa-juice cup below it (see p. 400, line 30). The solid portion remaining in the strainer is then thrown back into the mortar, and the pounding is resumed while the second y. a. v. is recited to the word ashād, when more Zor is poured into the mortar and the after proceedings are similar to those connected with the first y. a. v. A similar routine is adopted in connection with the third and fourth y. a. v., the Zor being poured into the mortar at the word huchā in the third, and at the word dazdā in the fourth. By means of these four successive dilutions, poundings, and strainings, all the properties of the Homa juice are supposed to be extracted. The solid remains of the twigs, out of which the liquid has been well squeezed by the fingers in the strainer, are laid aside to dry thoroughly; and the pestle is washed and returned to its place.

The priest then takes the strainer off the Homa-juice cup while reciting yō sevishā (Yas. xxxiii. 11, to) paitā thrice, and at the final repetition the last words, ālāi kāhyāichād paitā, must be recited thrice. The strainer is now washed and laid upon the mortar; the Varasa is put into the strainer so that the knots in the hairs are upwards, and the priest recites us mōi uzāreshat (Yas. xxxiii. 12–14, to) kshathremchā, followed by a. v. twice, once aloud and once in a low voice as a Bāj. He then pours all the Zor which remains in the upper Zor cup into the strainer, through which it runs into the mortar; and the upper Zor cup is then placed near the lower one, instead of over it as heretofore. He next takes the strainer, containing the Varasa, in his right hand, and the Homa-juice cup in his left, and proceeds to recite humata hākhta hvarśta in a low voice, as a Bāj. When

1 When thoroughly dry, they are put into the fire at the time of Atash Nyāyish.
he mutters the word *humata* he pours a few drops of the Homa juice through the strainer on to the Arvis-gāh; when he mutters the word *hākhtā* he pours a few drops, in a similar manner, into the upper Zor cup, which has just been emptied; when he mutters the word *hvarshtā* he pours a few drops, in a similar manner, into the mortar; and he does this thrice. The Homa-juice cup is now put in its proper place, the strainer containing the Varasa is placed upon it, all the liquid in the mortar is poured into the strainer, through which it flows into the Homa-juice cup, and the mortar is put into its proper place. The *gūrūsh-šīya* or milk-saucer is also put into its proper place near the two Mâh-rû. The priest then takes the Varasa in his left hand and recites *y. a. v.* twice, *yasnamcha* (Yt. i. 23, tu) *ājīrīnāmī,* and *Zarathushtrahē Spītāmahē ashaonō fravashtē* twice, once aloud and once in a low voice. He then dips the Varasa into the Zor, and puts it into its proper place. The strainer is also put back into the large water-vessel, and the Jivām is laid upon the milk saucer. The priest must now leave the *Arvis-gāh* and go outside, reciting *a. v.* once, *ahmāī rāshcha* (Yt. i. 33), *hazanrem, jasa mē,* and *kerfe moza* (Pāz.). He must then perform the Kustī ceremony, and the preparatory ceremonial is complete.

2. *The Ijashne Ceremony.*

After the Paragnah is completed, the Zota and Râspī go to the *takhī* on which all the necessary things (Homa juice, &c.) have been placed, and each of them repeats *a. v.* once; that is, they take the Bāj inwardly in this manner. They then recite *y. a. v.* several times, the number depending upon the nature of the Ijashne. If it be celebrated for Rapithwin, twelve are necessary; if for Hormazd, ten; if for the Frôhars, eight; if for Srosh, five; and if for all the Yazads, seven.

The Zota then takes the consecrated water in his hand, and goes to the stone on which the fire-vase stands, where he recites *nemalē ūtārsh* (Atash Nyâyish 4, to) *yazata,* *a. v.,* and washes the stone, walking round it; he then washes his hands (by pouring the water over them) and returns to his place.

He then mutters *humata hākhtā hvarshtā* in a low voice, as a Bāj, and announces for whom the Ijashne is being celebrated by

---

1 If any incense happens to be at hand, it may now be thrown into the fire.
NOTES DESCRIPTIVE OF

reciting in khshnmman (of so-and-so) be rasd (iec., to) patit hom. Then follow frastuyé (Yas. xi. 17, 18), a. v. thrice, and fravardnê, &c.; then the khshnmman (according to the Sirozhâ) of each of the angels in whose honour the Ijashne is being celebrated; then y. a. v. (iec., as in Yas. iii. 25, omitting W.'s second line); and then a. v. thrice, and y. a. v. four times; the last time the final words, dada vstarem, must be uttered thrice.

The Zota now takes the Barsom in his hand, and both priests begin to recite niиваâdhaâhâemî (Yas. i. 1, 2, to) ameshanâm spêntanâm. The Zota then continues to recite alone Yas. i. 3–23.

Continuing to recite Yas. ii., at the words zaotro ayèsê, &c. (ver. 1), the Zota takes the Barsom in both hands and holds it upon the two Mâh-rû; at the words ahmya zaotro, &c. (ver. 2), he lays his hand upon the Mâh-rû, and continues to recite as far as Yas. vii. 25 without further action; but while reciting y. a. v. twice (in ver. 25) a little sandal-wood and incense are thrown into the fire by the Râspû.

The Zota continues to recite as far as Yas. viii. 1, and at the word paiti-jumyâd more sandal-wood and incense are thrown on the fire by the Râspû, who then advances towards the Zota and says qaratâ narô (Yas. viii. 2, to) frēreticha. The Zota then continues reciting amesha spēnta (Yas. viii. 3, 4, to) jasaiti, and a. v. thrice. He then takes a very small piece of the Darûn and eats it, afterwards washing his mouth with water.

The Zota then recites Yas. viii. 5–7, and both priests continue the recitation of Yas. viii. 8–ix. 1, as far as the word Zarathushtr-em. The Zota then recites the Homa Yasht to the words vish apâm (Yas. x. 1), when he pours water over the Barsom, and continues reciting to Yas. x. 20.

Yas. x. 21—xi. 8 is recited by both priests. The Râspû then pours water over his hand, takes the Homa-juice cup in his hand, and goes to the fire, into which he throws some sandal-wood and incense. He then returns to the Zota and says yô nô aevô (Yas. xi. 9, to) yaêthma, handing the Homa-juice cup over to the Zota, who recites pairi-ê (Yas. xi. 10, 11, to) vâhishtem asti, and then drinks the Homa juice, continuing to recite alone as far as râvascha (compare Yas. viii. 8), whenceforward both priests recite to the end of Yas. xi. 18.

The recitation is then continued by the Zota alone. From
y. a. v. (four times recited) in Yas. xiii. 7, to the end of yēkhē ĥātām (ver. 8) he sprinkles the Barsom with some of the milk (gāush āvya). At the words sustīcha vaštācha (Yas. xv. 1) he pours half the milk into the cup which he emptied when drinking the Homa juice. And at the words Ahurem maẓdām (Yas. xvi. 1) he puts the mortar into the large water-vessel standing to his right.

Both priests recite Yas. xviii. 2, 3 twice, and each time the Zota sprinkles the Barsom with the milk. He then continues the recitation alone, and at the words ahunem vairīm yaz. (Yas. xviii. 9) he stretches out his legs (hitherto crossed), lays the right toes upon the left, and sprinkles the Barsom with the milk. While reciting Yas. xxii. 1–3, and 20–27, he again sprinkles the Barsom with the milk.

When the Zota commences Yas. xxiv. he takes the mortar out of the large water-vessel, sets it again upon the takht upside down, and at the beginning of Yas. xxv. he knocks it thrice upon the takht and turns it right side upwards. At the words imem haomem (Yas. xxv. 1) he puts a small piece of the Homa twig into the mortar, and proceeds exactly in the same manner as in the Paragnah ceremony (see p. 400, lines 17–29), except that while reciting the clause containing the words gām āvya (which is omitted in the Paragnah) he pours a little of the milk into the mortar. When he recites Yas. xxvi. 7, he takes the strainer out of the large water-vessel and places it upon the Homa-juice cup on the takht. Just before Yas. xxvii. comes atkhā ratush ashādchiḥ hachā frā ashava vidhata mraotā (see Yas. vii. 28), when the Zota takes the pestle into his hand, and proceeds with the pounding of the Homa and the recitation of Yas. xxvii. exactly in the same manner as in the Paragnah ceremony (see pp. 400, 401).

The recitation of the Gāthas is now commenced. The first verse ahyā yāsā, &c. (Yas. xxviii. 1, Sp.), is recited twice by both priests while the Zota sprinkles the Barsom with the milk. And at the end of each Hā of the Ahunavaitī Gātha (Yas. xxviii.—xxxiv.) the same verse (ahyā yāsā, &c.) is again twice recited while the Zota sprinkles the Barsom with the milk. When Yas. xxxi. 5 and 22 are recited the Zota pounds the Homa, also at the words bāmyō āhaftātīh (Yas. xxxii. 3) and
yē ʾish pāq (Yas. xxxii. 13), and at the words nāsidhiṭām drujem (Yas. xxxiii. 4) and ṣā ṁā (Yas. xxxiii. 7); this pounding is of two kinds, the first time in each ḫā the pestle strikes upon the bottom of the mortar, but the second time it strikes against the sides so as to produce a ringing sound. When Yas. xxxiii. 10 is recited, the contents of the mortar are poured into the strainer, and the liquid runs through it into the Homa-juice cup below. The mortar is then set down, upside down, and the cup with the Homa juice (parāḥōm) is placed upon it.

In the other four Gāthas the first verse of each Gātha is recited twice, and again repeated twice at the end of each ḫā the Gātha contains. And each time these first verses are recited, the Zota sprinkles the Barsom with the milk, as in the first Gātha.

When Yas. lxi. 31 is recited by the Zota, he pours some Zor and milk (gāush ḫīnyā) into the milk saucer standing near the two Māh-rū. After the words stavaḥ asḥā, &c. (Yas. lxi. 5), he takes the Barsom from the two Māh-rū, and, standing up and looking at the fire, he recites Yas. lxii. (the ḫāsh nyāyish). At the word yaozulāṭām (Yas. lxii. 10) he sits down again; and at the beginning of each of the three a. v. which follow, he pours a little more Zor into the milk saucer. While reciting Yas. lxiii. 1, he sprinkles the Barsom with Zor. After the word avanḥē (Yas. lxiv. 3 = l. 7) he lays down the Barsom, and after the words ṣvaṃ ḥārshōtemm (Yas. lxiv. 7) he turns the mortar right side upwards.

At the beginning of Yas. lxv. the Zota pours some Zor into the mortar, at the word perethā-ḥrācām he pours in the Homa juice, and at the word baḥshāyzām he pours in some of the milk. He then stands up, turns towards the large water-vessel, and recites the remainder of Yas. lxv. l-15 (the ḫān nyāyish). At the words yēnuḥē mē asḥāq (ver. 16) he sits down again, and sprinkles the Barsom with Zor, and continues to do so while reciting Yas. lxvi. and lxvii.

The Zota then takes the Zor cup in his hand and waves it around the mortar during the recitation of Yas. lxviii. 1-19. While reciting ver. 20, he mixes the water in both Zor cups. The words vanuḥēm ʾidhāq (ver. 21, to) apaschā vāo are recited thrice, and each time he says apaschā vāo he pours some Zor into the mortar. At the word jauḥkimnāo he pours the whole of the
milk (gāush jīvya) into the mortar. At the words nemō Ahurām mazdā (ver. 22) he stands up and turns towards the east; and the three phrases, vohu ukhshyā (ver. 23, to) ushū̄-tanām, imā raochāō barezištēm barezēmānām, and yahmi (to) jash, are all recited thrice. At the words nemō vē gāthāō (ver. 24) the Zota sits down again and sprinkles the Barsom with Zor.

The recitation is then continued to Yas. lxxi. 25, where, at the words gavē addiš, the Zota takes the Barsom in his hand and touches the takht twice with each end of it. At the words yē huddā yīi heṇit (Yas. lxxii.) he gives the Barsom to the Rāspī, recites two y. a. v., yasnemēcha, &c., and so gives up the Bāj. The Rāspī lays the Barsom on the two Māh-ṛu, and both priests go out of the Arvis-gāh. They perform the hamāzōr, and both give up the Bāj again by reciting yasnemēcha vaḥmēmēcha (to) ahrīnāmi. They both perform the Kustī ceremony, and the Ijashe is ended.

The Zota goes with the Rāspī to a well and pours the Homa juice and milk out of the mortar into the well. When he does this he recites one y. a. v. and one a. v.

3.—The Darūn Ceremony.

Any priest who wishes to perform this ceremony must either undergo the nine nights’ purification of the Barashnōm ceremony, or must still retain some of its purifying influence.

The small flat cakes, called Darūn (draona) and Frasast (see p. 396) are the chief materials for the ceremony, and are arranged as shown on p. 408.

The two Darūns are placed by the priest upon the left side of the low table before him, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gāush huddhāō) upon it. The two Frasasts are placed upon the right-hand side of the table, the further one having a pomegranate twig (urvarām) upon it, and between this and the further Darūn is placed an egg.

The formulas used in consecrating the Darūns are to be found in the Darūn-yashtan. First, a dībhāja is recited in Pāzand: humata hākhtē hvarshta, &c.; then comes barezmana paiti-bardāta

1 This is a formula for solemn greetings at festivals, &c., as follows: the greeter (says): Yāzdān panāk bād! (the greeted answers): Dēr-zīrā shād bād! (both say): Hamā zōr hamā askō bād.
(Yas. iii. 1—viii. 4). Variations are introduced according to the particular object of the ceremony; and the name of him in whose honour the ceremony is performed must be mentioned after the khshnāmainē, whether he be an angel or a deceased person. After the consecration, pieces are broken off the Darūns by the officiating priest, and eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests.

4.—The Afrīngân Ceremony.

At all the great festivals, and on solemn occasions, the Darūn ceremony is followed by the Afrīngân, but on other occasions the Afrīngân can be celebrated alone. Like the Darūn ceremony, it is performed in honour of some angel or deceased person.

A tray containing wine and fruits is placed before the fire, and flowers are laid to the left of the tray. The ceremony begins with a dībāja spoken by the Zota: pa-nām-i Izad-i bakhshā-yandah, &c., followed by y. a. v. several times repeated; if the ceremony be in honour of Hormazd, the y. a. v. must be recited ten times; if in honour of Srosh, five times; and on other occasions in proportion. Then follow a. v. thrice,

1 In which case the Afrīngân is recited by both the Zota and Rāspī.
and the actual Afrîngân (see Westergaard's Zend-Avesta, pp. 318–324). And the Zota concludes the consecration with the Afrîn: hama sôr ham ashô bêd, &c. Afterwards the fruit is eaten and the wine drunk in the same manner as the Darûn is eaten.

When a person eats or drinks the consecrated objects, he recites Yas. xxxvii. 1, followed by a. v. thrice. After all is eaten and drunk there are recited a. v. four times, y. a. v. twice, a. v. once, and then ahmâî raēshcha (Yas. lxviii. 11).
INDEX.
# INDEX

| ABA\LISH | 108 |
| A\b\n ny\a\b\i\a\h | 98, 224, 364, 406 |
| —— yash't | 107, 197 |
| A\b\r\e\r\a | 332 |
| A\b\r\a\m\a | 16 |
| A\b\h\u Ja\f\r \A\t\a\v\a\r\i | 123 |
| A\c\c\h\e\m\e\n\e\n\e\n\e\n | 208 |
| A\c\c\h\e\m\e\n\e\n\a\n\i\a\n | 54, 66, 80, 136, 302 |
| A\c\c\h\e\m\e\n\e\n\a\s | 67 |
| A\d\a\m | 15, 211 |
| A\d\a\r\b\a\l\j\à\n | 79 |
| A\d\a\r\f\r\o\b\a\g-i | 55, 101, 104, 110 |
| A\d\a\p\d-i A\d\a\r\f\r\o\b\a\g-i | 55 |
| —— A\d\i\t\à\n | 55 |
| —— M\a\r\a\s\p\a\n\d\à\n | 101, 110, 111, 320 |
| A\d\a\r\p\à\d\j\à\v\à\n\d | 104 |
| A\d\i\v\à\r\y | 193, 270, 280, 282 |
| A\d\i\t | 274 |
| A\d\i\y\a\s | 273, 275 |
| A\d\i\v\e\r\a\c\e | 110 |
| A\f\h\i\l\a\u\s \l | 4 |
| A\f\h\m\a | 185, 190, 308, 337 |
| A\f\h\m | 204 |
| A\f\h\i\l\i\a | 69 |
| A\f\g | 386 |
| A\f\g\h\a\n\i\c | 67 |
| A\f\r\a\l\i\y | 361 |
| A\f\r\i\n\g\à\n | 134, 139, 284, 408, 409 |
| —— d\a\h\m\à\n | 98, 142, 315 |
| —— g\a\h\a\n\à\r | 98, 225 |
| —— g\à\tha \l | 98, 225 |
| —— r\a\p\i\t\w\i\n | 225 |
| A\f\r\i\n\g\à\n-i | 224, 225, 252, 315 |
| A\f\r\i\n-i d\a\h\m\à\n | 99 |
| —— m\y\a\r \l | 98 |
| —— t\u \p\e\s\i\g\h\à\h-\i \k\h\u\d | 113 |
| —— Z\a\r\a\l\u\i\l \l | 98, 223 |
| A\f\h\i\l\h-\c\h\i\h\r | 200 |
| A\g\a\th\i\a | 11, 299 |
| A\g\e\r\e\r\e\p\e\m | 239 |
| A\g\i\a | 392, 393 |
| A\g\i\r | 316 |
| A\g\n | 145, 268, 269, 274, 275, 279, 281 |
| A\g\n\i\d\h | 281 |
| A\g\n\i\h\o\r\i | 281 |
| A\g\n\i\h\o\t\t\i | 270, 279, 280 |
| A\g\n\i\h\o\t\t\o\m\a | 261, 283 |
| A\b\r\i\m | 8, 24, 53, 129, 133, 134, 254, 277, 349, 352, 387 |
| A\h | 187, 354, 371 |
| A\h\u\n-a\v\i\r\y | 141, 144, 179, 185-190, 218, 248, 253, 333, 335, 374, 380, 382 |
| A\h\u\n-a\v\i\r\y | See G\d\h | |
| A\b\r\u | 71, 141, 144, 149, 152, 155, 158-164, 166, 168, 172, 173, 179, 188, 197, 199, 211, 212, 256, 267, 268, 271, 287, 288, 293, 295, 302, 333, 335, 336 |
| A\h\u\r-a\m \d | 8, 10, 11, 35, 53, 54, 149, 142, 148-159, 163, 163, 165-174, 185-189, 191-200, 202-211, 214-222, 227-236, 238, 239, 243-247, 249, 250, 253-258, 268, 271, 274, 290, 295, 297, 302-311, 313, 315-319, 322-339 |
| A\h\u\r-a\s | 301 |
| A\h\u\r-o \m\d\à\n | 301 |
| A\h\u\r-y\a\n | 174, 175, 191, 231 |
| A\h\u-ti | 280 |
| A\r\i\n | 78, See Iran |
| A\r\i\n-\v\e\l | 355-357 |
| A\r\i\m | 393 |
| A\r\i\y-a\m | 153, 196, 257, 273, 393 |
| A\r\i\y-a\r\u-\v\à\j | 179, 272, 273, 288, 299 |
| A\r\i\y-em \i\h\y \l | 142, 196 |
| A\i\h\k-a\n \l | 203 |
| A\i\t-a\r-e\r-a-b\r-h\a\m | (quoted) | 270, 271, (referred to) 182, 275, 284 |
| A\i\t-b\h-o\n | 356 |
| A\i\w\i\r\u\b\r-h\r-e\r-m \g \h | 159 |
| A\i\w\i\z | 329 |
| A\i\w\y-a\n-ha\n-\n \l | 286, 384, 396-398 |
| A\k-a\n-ta\n-a | 337 |
| A\k-e\m | 150, 303, 304, 308, 380 |
| A\k-ta | 200 |
| A\k\h-t\y-a | 107 |
INDEX.

Alborz, 5, 190, 197, 203-205, 216, 235, 286, 361, 364, 387
Aldebaran, 182
Alexander the Great, 15, 54, 78, 81, 123-125, 129, 130, 133, 136
Anais, 7
Amerdād, 9, 307
Ameretād, 9, 10, 52, 167, 169, 191, 218, 302, 305, 307
Amērōdād, 354
Amēshaspēnd, 101, 132
Amēshaspēnta, 259
Anē, 364
Anmianus Marcellinus, 84
Amshaspēnd, 9, 24, 159, 194, 305
Anāhid, 197
Anāhīta, 6, 10, 43, 107-119, 207, 208, 259, 263. See Ardvī
Anaitis, 6, 10, 11, 43, 197
Anandates, 10
Andar-i Ādar-pād-i Māraspendan, 111
—— dānak mard, 112
—— Hūdāvar-i dānak, 108
—— Khāzāl-i Kavādān, 110
Andreas, 88
Angiras, 294
Anglo-Saxon, 287
Angra-mainyu, 93
Anquetil Duperron, 17-26, 28, 35, 38, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 78, 105, 314, 394
Ante-Zoroastrian, 258, 294
Anushahab, 175, 252
Aogmadaech, 99, 114
Apā, 214
Apasaoh, 201
Aparsēn, 356
Apem haomāyān, 380, 400
Aphrodite, 6, 11, 197
Apīstān val yazdān, 121
Apri, 284
Aptotyāma, 283
Aptuṣa, 278
Araḥ, 6, 80, 123
Arahi, 14, 16
Arap, 19, 20, 31, 34, 80-82, 84, 85, 93, 113, 125, 128, 152, 181
Arāb, 6, 48
Arachosia, 229
Ararat, 274, 288
Aravan, 181
Arang, 361, 364
Arangštān, 364
Aranyak, 181
Ardat Fravard, 390
Ardatshir-i Pāpakān, 86, 88, 90, 91, 111, 125
Ardašir, 78, 91
Arda Vīrāṭ, 106, 107
—— nāmaḥ, 43, 46, 50, 54, 56; 94, 97, 106, 124, 351, 354
Ardašīhāšt, 9, 148, 195, 196, 225, 306, 400
—— yashī, 196
Ardašīva Anāhīta, 193, 194, 197, 199. See Anāhīta.
Ares, 239
Aretim, 8-10
Aretzah, 250, 269, 389
Arēsān, 319, 337, 381, 390
Arēmen, 13, 14
Ariaramnes, 298
Aristote, 8, 280, 298
Ariyārāma, 298
Arjāp, 106, 391
Arkto, 206
Armenian, 39, 40, 67, 79, 139
—— writers, 12-14
Arrian, 124
Arscandin, 67, 79, 80
Araśanes, 298
Arshāma, 298
Arštād, 215
Artaxerxes, 7, 263
Arūm, 304
Avestān-gāh, 339, 394-396, 401, 403, 407
Aryan, 273, 288
Aryans, 242, 252, 294
Aryas, 69
Asia, 148, 151, 171, 185
Ashem, 217-219
Ashem vahishtem, 172, 191
Ashem-vahishtem, 97, 98, 174, 212, 217, 248, 248, 274, 375, 384, 385, 397-399, 401-404, 405-409; (translated) 141
Ašk, 215, 250
Ašhrvād, 113
Aṣhī-mahā, 215, 389
Ašī-vānū, 184, 215, 216
Ašī yashī, 215, 216
Aškānān, 54
Aštād yashī, 215, 216
Ašvins, 272, 276, 308
Asia Minor, 202
INDEX.

Askārum, 133
Asmodeus, 337
Aṣanāt, 332
Aṣpandārjī Frāmji, 58
Aṣpārum, 133
Aṣpērena, 380, 332
Aṣyyrīan, 81, 112, 125
Aṣyyrians, 6, 12
Aṣtāre, 6
Aṣṭi, 153
Aṣṭō-vidhōtu, 321, 323
Aṣṭvakṣera, 213
Aṣura, 53, 71, 267-269, 271, 287
Aṣuras, 268-271, 278, 279, 287
Aṣūristān, 107
Aṭārevakshū, 280, 332
Aṭārūpāṭkān, 302
Aṭāsh-gāh, 11
Aṭāsh-ī ādarān, 140
—— Behrūm, 140
Aṭāsh naṭāyish, 98, 224, 354, 402, 403, 406
Atha jāmyād, 224
Aṭhārvan, 280, 294
Aṭhārvaveda, 182, 196, 206, 257, 269, 275-277, 279, 294
Aṭhenokles, 12
Aṭhārva, 182, 212, 280, 294
Aṭhīwya, 179, 278
Aṭtie dialect, 75
—— yasht, 98
Aṭharmazdi, 302
Aṭuramazdā, 302, 304
Aṭurva-aspa, 298
Avaorishthem, 239
Avān, 357
Avāyaštār, 213
Avar chīm-i drūn, 112
Avesta, pāzērā; (defined) 14, 15, 67, 68, 119-124, 226, 239, 262; dictionary, 31, 47, 114; glossary, 49, 99; language, 67-78, 177, 289; manuscripts, 18, 21, 29, 30, 45; (ordinary), 65, 72-75, 142, 147, 174, 191; (passages noted), 227-240; quotations in Pahl. trans., 52, 60, 61, 94, 98-100, 120, 177-179, 227, 229-232, 235, 238, 243, 251, 316, 322, 324, 355-358, 362, 363, 365, 368, 386, 374, 376, 378, 385; studies, 18-42; translations (English) 44, (French) 18, 51, 52, (German) 20, 34, 47, 48, (Gujarati) 58, 69
Avesta and Zend, 119-122, 124, 125, 134, 135, 343, 345, 348, 353
Avesta-Sanskrit glossary, 46
Avijēh-dīn, 58, 102
Avyāhrema, 192

Az, 343, 370, 371
Azhi-chithra, 196
Azhi-Dāhaka, 178, 198, 230, 363
Azi, 246
Azūtī, 280

BABYLON, 298
Babylonia, 3, 4
Babylonians, 6, 12, 197, 298
Bactria, 14, 65, 169, 228, 263, 293, 295, 297
Bactriān, 65, 66, 73, 74, 76, 139, 200
Balkhāshān, 66
Bagdad, 15, 108
Bagha, 214, 273
Baghān yasht, 132
Bagh nask, 127
Baghō-bakhta, 274
Bahisht, 311
Bāhī, 359
Bahman, 9, 255, 306, 358
—— yasht, 43, 107, 108, 124
Bājī, 397, 399, 401-403, 407
Bakān-yastō nask, 132
Bākhar, 359
Bākhi, 228, 297
Bakō nask, 127, 134
Bakht-dāfrād, 110
Balkh, 66, 208
Balshār, 45
Bambo, 107
Bang, 336
Barashnūm, 197, 241, 320, 407
Barhis, 283
Barish nask, 129
Baroda, 279
Barsom-dān, 396-399
Barzū Qiyāmu-d-dīn, 126, 130
Bavaria, 29
Behistūn, 66, 263. See Bisutūn
Behrūm, 193, 213, 214, 256, 275, 389
—— yasht, 98, 213, 214, 275
Bel, 10, 12
Benfer, 35, 39, 263
Berekhūdā ārmaitī, 209
Berezō-hadhākhuḍān, 112
Berosos, 12, 298
Bethlehem, 5
Bhaga, 273, 274
Bhīgavat-gītā, 273, 270
Bhīroch, 45, 57, 58, 95, 97
Bible, 5, 15, 207, 309
Birma, 123
Bisutūn, 32, 298. See Behistūn
Bleek, 45
Bōdōk-zēd, 342
INDEX.

Bog (God), 273
Böl, 394
Bokhara, 66
Bombay, 17, 21, 3l, 32, 44, 47, 50, 56,
58, 59, 61, 95-97, 100, 104, 108,
109, 111; government, 45, 46, 48
Bopp, 29, 31
Bor, 147
Boundless time, 12, 15, 24, 53, 382
Brahma, 147, 192, 276, 288
Brahmanam, 181
Brahmanas, 269, 275
Brahmanaspati, 274
Brahmanical, 135, 170, 172, 179, 180,
185, 258, 259, 267, 268, 270-272,
276, 281, 282, 284-286, 292-294
Brahmanism, 206, 272, 292
Brahmans, 15, 21, 22, 39, 44, 69, 73,
76-78, 121, 138, 140, 143, 147, 176,
179-181, 191, 207, 258, 259, 262,
264, 272, 273, 276, 279, 281-291,
294, 307
Brahmaspati, 278, 279
British Museum, 87
Brookhaus, 30, 31, 37, 38
Buddha, 208, 263
Buddhism, 22, 23, 208, 263
Buddhist caves, 50
Buddhist, 211
Buddhists, 15, 123
Bhûti, 253, 257
Bukhâr, 359
Bundahish, 30, 33, 42-44, 46-48, 58,
104, 105, 113, 114, 182, 192, 233,
308, 309, 313, 333, 337, 350, 355,
358, 361, 363, 364, 387, 392
Burnouf, 22, 26, 29, 31, 36, 37, 39,
312
Bûshâp, 359, 370
Bûshyâsta, 245
Bûtt, 379, 380
Bûtâl, 128

CALENDAR (Parsi), 57
Cambyseus, 7
Caucasia, 67
Celtic, 65
Ceylon, 123
Châshpish, 208
Chakâl-i-dâttîb, 307
Chakhra, 390, 392
Chaldask-Pahlavi, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89,
90
Chaldâie, 199
Chalde, 20, 31, 39, 59, 62, 82, 86-88
Changhraghâh-nâmah, 43
Chamnanhâch, 192
Chattrang-nâmak, 110
Chûturmâyâ ishtî, 285
Chûlak avistâk-i gâsân, 98
Chûdhrashtâ nask, 131
Chinese, 31, 107

ChiûvaÂd bridge, 128, 165, 224, 225,
244, 255, 256, 311, 361, 366, 369,
378, 387-389
Christian, 12, 53, 103, 309, 311; era,
67, 73, 137, 263
Christianity, 4, 312
Christians, 12, 15, 104
Churh's wain, 206
Chvolsohn, 14, 15
Cities of the land of Iran, 109
Constantius, 84
Copenhagen, 21, 28-30, 33, 34, 44,
48, 56, 95-99, 104, 105, 108, 109,
111, 127
Cornelius Nepos, 7
Cuneiform inscriptions, 6, 32, 54, 66,
79-81, 169, 206, 298, 302, 304
Curtius, 124
Cyaxare, 15
Cyrus, 4, 136

Dâdak nask, 130
Dâdar bîn Dâd-dâkht, 113
Dâd-gâh, 11, 140, 241
Dâdîstân-i dînî, 102, 103
Daenåo, 152
Dâvânâm daevô, 308
Dâhmân afîngân, 98, 142, 315
Dahmas, 242
Dahma vaqtîbî, 142
Dâtilh, 356, 357, 380
Dâtiyas, 278
Dâwish, 308, 337
Dakhmas, 240, 325
Dakhshîna, 280
Damascius, 12
Dâmdâd nask, 127
Dânava, 279
Danish writers, 20, 21, 32-34, 36, 37
Dârâja, 333
Dârayavush, 298
Darî, 66
Darîus, 11, 136, 264, 298, 304
Darmesteter, 59, 53, 337, 359
Darshâ pîrmâna ishtî, 285
Darûk-i khûrsandi, 110
Darûn, 259, 281, 285, 365, 395, 396,
404, 407-409. See Draonâb.
— [aîj, 397
Dastah, 396
Dastur, 18, 46, 96, 103, 131, 132, 134,
139, 297, 327, 328, 340, 343, 354,
392
— Aspendâîrjî Kâmdînîjî, 58
— Dârâbî, 17, 45
— Edaljî Dârîbîjî, 25, 58
— i dastarân, 103, 207
— Hoshangji Dâmâpûjî, 46, 48-51,
60, 61, 99, 104, 112, 128, 134, 249,
338, 359, 360, 368, 384, 385, 387,
391
— Dâmâp Asâ, 57, 95, 99
INDEX.

Dastur, Jâmâspji Minoohiarji, 34, 56, 61, 96, 97, 109-111, 336, 347, 348, 354
— Jâmâsp Wilâyati, 56, 57, 99
— Kai-Khuwâ Dârâb, 45
— Minoohiar Yûdân-damân, 102
— Noshirvânji Jâmâspji, 59, 126, 134
— Peshtanji Behramji, 58, 59, 100, 102, 108, 110-113, 297
— Sohrâbji Rustamji, 102
Davân, 351
Deîn, 7
Delphi, 211
Denmark, 28
Dêva, 201, 207, 268, 275; religion, 149, 174, 211, 268, 287, 290, 291, 293, 295; worshippers, 173, 338; worshippers, 287, 293; worship, 555, 336
Dêv, 50, 150, 152, 153, 161, 168, 172, 173, 184, 185, 190, 204, 205, 217, 227, 230, 238, 259, 261, 268-272, 276, 287-289, 301, 304, 308, 347, 334, 401
Dêvastâr, 110
Deví-drukhâsh, 190
Devîl, 4, 53
Dêvîs, 184
Dharmashâstra, 260
Dîbâjâ, 407, 408
Dimishqui, 15
Dînê vaîjârând, 126-134
Dînakard, 54, 55, 59, 63, 97, 99-101, 104, 114, 123, 128, 131, 132
Dînkarãnd, 104, 105
Dînîr, 66
Dîn yash, 215
Dîo Chrysostomos, 11
Diodorus, 123
Diogenes of Laerte, 8
Diszkuri, 272, 308
Dîrakhtî-î Aûsûrîk, 110
Dirham, 320, 332
Dir Mîhir, 310
Dîrans, 69, 70
Draînâ, 259, 327, 396, 407. See Dêrvân
Dreî, 143
Driâsh, 308, 337
Drejî, 349, 372-374, 379, 380, 384, 390, 393
Druj-demâna, 311
Druskhâsh, 213, 247-249, 252, 253, 304, 333
— nusarat, 241, 317, 328
Draîsâpa, 202
Dualism, 53, 300, 303, 305, 309
Dûbâsrûd or Dûbâsrûd, 132
Dughda, 132
Duncker, 43
Dushmata, 223
Dûta, 297
Dutch, 70
Duzhaka, 228
Duzhanha, 311
Duzhûkhta, 223
Duzhzvuhrsha, 223
Dîvâsrûb or Dîvâsrûz, 133
Dîvâsrûzâd or Dîvâsrûzjak, 132
Dîvâsrûzâh hâmâ, 127
Dîvipsa, 286
Dyaus, 287
Dyaîvâ-prithiva, 275
Edda, 147
Eliaus, 13, 14
Elohim, 159, 302
England, 16, 18-21, 32
English, 5, 32, 44, 50, 65, 67; translation, 33, 44, 49, 50, 59, 102, 106, 107, 111, 338
Erlangen, 30
Etruscan, 229
Eudemos, 12
Eudoxos, 8, 298
Europe, 16, 18, 23, 29, 30, 32, 44, 49, 77, 114, 135, 196, 213, 286
Europeans, 17, 21, 45, 115, 119
Ewald, 39
Ezkiel, 4
Eznik, 13, 14
Farâkh-i Khârâd, 388
Farhang-i im-khuâdûk, 99, 114, 120, 236, 245, 318, 344, 354, 365, 399
Pārâ, 78, 80, 102, 304
Parsang, 233
Fürst, 80, 86
Firdausi, 34, 48, 66, 78, 80, 81, 85, 86
Five dispositions of priests, 110
Form of marriage contract, 110
Forms of letters to kings, 110
Formula for destroying demons, 365
Frabaretar, 332
Frahda, 248
Pradash, 256, 389
Prâgam, 398, 399
Prâmji Aspeündârîjî, 31
Pramru, 143
France, 18, 20, 21, 28
Frasast, 396, 407, 408
Frâsâyân, 361
Frashnakar, 347

2 D
INDEX.

Frashaoštāra, 146, 158, 166, 167, 169, 174, 213, 258
Frashō-sērēti, 312, 314
Frashōštār, 349, 341
Frāsīyāv, 350, 361
Frāsīvay, 143
Fravardīgān days, 139
Fravardin (month), 225, 357
— yasht, 44, 206–213, 263
Fravartish, 205
Fravashi, 168, 171, 206, 334, 383
Fravashis, 170, 172, 194, 203, 206, 256
Frēlūn, 178, 198, 202, 223, 230, 275, 277, 278, 363
French, 17–19, 51, 52; translation, 18, 51, 105
Frōšara, 129, 203, 206, 403
Frōşana, 165
Feshūshō-māthra, 142, 190
Gaēthas, 152, 165, 178, 199, 291
Gahanbār, 58, 128, 129, 285
Gahanbārs, 140, 192, 193, 225, 260
Gāthās, 134, 139, 159, 225, 262
Gaikwar, 279
Ganj-i šāhīgān, 111
Gaochithra, 200
Gaozema, 208, 263
Gāro-demāna, 205, 311, 339, 388, 389
Gāro-nemāna, 255, 256
Gāthā, 41, 137, 149, 143–149, 151, 152, 154, 167, 222, 238, 271, 272, 406; (defined) 143; dialect, 65, 69, 72–75, 140–142, 147, 170, 172; lore, 339, 341, 349, 350; metres, 143–146
— abunavaiti, 142, 144, 146–154, 236, 271, 338–354, 389, 405
— days, 112, 225
Gāthāo, 175
Gāthās śpētā-mainyū, 142, 145, 167–169, 256, 272, 389
— ushtavaiti, 142, 144, 145, 154–166, 220, 222, 256, 272, 389
— vahistōištī, 142, 170, 256, 389
— vohō-khōsthāra, 142, 169, 170, 256, 272, 389
Gēu, 203, 227
Gau, 173
— hudhāo, 139, 281, 396, 407
— jīvya, 139, 281, 315, 397, 405–407
— Gautama, 208, 263
— Gavā, 358
— Gāyatri, 144
— āśrā, 271
— Gayō-marashan, 211
— Gayomard, 15, 102, 211, 346, 347, 351
— Gēnā, 170
— Gērmans (ancient), 180
— Germany, 20, 21, 23, 28, 29, 31, 46, 48
— Gēush tashā, 147, 151
— urvā, 147–149, 165, 168, 202, 297, 339
— Gēna, 193
— Ghlān or Gīlān, 230, 363
— Gnā, 274
— Gōgōshasp, 374, 375, 377
— Gōkerenō, 392
— Gōmēz, 285, 400
— Gōsh, 202; yasht, 201, 202
— Gōsh-i Frōšana, 50, 56, 107
— Gōshōrūn, 147, 339, 341, 344
— Gotama, 208
— Gothie, 68
— Graitha, 181
— Greece, 8, 202
— Greek, 5, 12, 16, 21, 40, 65, 68, 69, 86, 87, 123, 124, 143, 148, 188, 194, 206, 211, 287, 289; dialects, 69; (Homeric) 70, 75; writers, 6–12
— Greeks, 5, 8, 11, 54, 60, 79, 123, 124, 135–138, 197, 205, 272, 294, 295, 298–301
— Gujrāt, 39, 33, 45
— Gujrāti, 31, 55, 58, 59, 61, 139; translation, 58–60, 93, 102, 111
— Guru, 278
— Gushthāp, 108, 130, 298, 399
— Hā, 140, 152, 167, 405, 406. See Hōs
— Hades, 8
— Hadhānaṇāpata, 139, 251, 378, 399
— Hālōkhtā nask, 45, 50, 51, 55, 97, 133, 134, 139, 217–224, 354
— Ḥeċchaḥandpāsa, 290
— Ḥeṭumāt, 229
— Ḥāfīz, 197
— Ḩājīḥabād, 33, 87
— inscriptions, 87–89
— Hakhāmanish, 298
— Hakhheidrem, 300
— Hamadān, 65, 79
— Hāmaspāthmaṇḍaya, 192, 210
— Hamāzūr, 407
— Hamīstakān, 389
— Hādīzareza, 241
INDEX.

Hanhaurvat, 213
Haoma, 70, 259
Haoshyantha, 198, 202, 214
Haptán yasht, 98, 195
Haptúrīrāgh, 206
Harakhmound, 361
Haraqītī, 229
Harauvati, 229
Harib, 350
Hariva, 228
Harles, 51, 61
Haró berasaitī, 5, 190, 203–205, 216, 255, 266
Haróyu, 65, 203, 228
Hāā, 146, 153, 170, 320
Hāhā, 233
Haurvatād, 9, 52, 167, 169, 191, 196, 197, 218, 302, 305, 307
Hāvanān, 328
Hāvanāqān, 159, 176
Hāvanām, 396, 399, 400
Havirdhāna, 270
Hebrew, 4, 5, 31, 80, 175, 199
Hēdha dasap Spitama, 166
Hellenes, 6, 69
Hendva, 201
Heraldes, 11
Herät, 66, 203, 228
Herbad, 213, 397
Herbades, 129, 197, 205, 320
Hermann, 39
Hermippus, 7–9, 33, 123, 136
Herodotus, 4–7, 298
Hōt-hōmand, 361, 389
Hētumand, 356, 361
Hētumat, 256
Hikhra, 325
Hilmān, 229, 256
Hindu, 215, 230, 268, 269, 277, 363
Hinduism, 270
Hindu-kush, 201
Hindus, 70, 205, 268, 363
Hindūstān, 288, 292, 293, 361
Hīndvō, 205
Hiriwi, 66
Homāst (herbad), 94
Honovar, 185. See Ahuna-vairya
Hormazd, 8, 10, 11, 24, 268, 302, 403, 408; worshipper, 260, 268; yasht, 195
Hormidēs, 12
Horvadad, 254
Hōshang, 198, 202, 391, 392

Hotā, 193, 280, 282
Hotri ritual, 179
Hukhahathrōtemāi, 248, 374, 375
Hūkhtā, 221
Humata, 221
Humatanām, 248, 374, 375
Humus, 213
Hushōdār, 341, 388
— hāmā, 314
— māh, 314, 341, 388
Hushykyaoutha, 213
Hūspāram nask, 99, 133, 337
Huvaratha, 221
Huvavāriś, 42, 49, 59, 85, 86, 92, 112, 124, 344, 359
Hvāpa, 326
Hvare khaṣāṣa, 199
Hyades, 182
Hyde, 16, 123
Hystaspea, 11, 264, 298

Ibn Fozlan, 15
— Haugval, 80
— Muqaffa, 84, 85
Idhāfat, 89, 90, 94
Ijasine, 139, 140, 174, 281, 283, 286, 313, 394, 397, 400, 403–407
Incense, 335, 336, 339, 394, 403, 404, 408
India, 3, 16–18, 32, 33, 45, 55, 79, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 105–110, 112, 114, 205, 250, 255
Indians, 197, 205, 212, 192, 213, 214, 272, 278, 288, 292, 377
Indians, 292, 299
Indo-Iranian, 53
Indra, 145, 213, 268, 272, 275, 276, 278, 279, 288, 291, 308, 337
Indus, 107, 230
Injunctions to bahlins, 110
Ionians, 69, 70
Iran, 65, 76–79, 88, 203, 295, 399; (western) 78
Irish, passim; antiquities, 51; construction, 49, 81–83; dastur, 56; equivalents, 42, 49, 82, 85; languages, 27, 39, 85–87, 73, 77, 206
Iranians, 53, 70, 82, 165, &c.
Iristo-kasha, 318
Isaiah, 4, 311
Isfendarmad, 9, 306
Isfendiyār, 391
Iṣḥā, 280
Ispahān, 66, 79, 104
Istakhr, 60
Istādgar nask, 126
Izids, 194. See Yazuds
Izā, 179
INDEX.

Jāmāspas, 166, 169
Jāmāsp nāmah, 43, 108, 110, 114
Jamsūd, 23, 177, 198, 202, 230, 276, 391
Jāvīl-dēv-dād, 133
Jāvīl-shēd-dād, 133, 225
Jażhū, 329
Jehovah, 302, 304
Jeremiah, 3
Jerusalem, 3, 5
Jesus, 5
Jewish religion, 16, 312
Jews, 4, 5, 15, 78, 103, 104, 135, 136, 264
Jirāshī nask, 131
Jivām, 398, 399, 403
Jones (Sir W.), 19
Jud-dēv-dād, 133
Jupiter, 53
Justi, 47, 48, 105, 114
Jyotishānta, 261, 282

KABISAH controversy, 58
Kābul, 228
Kadmī sect, 102
Kāh-i kashān, 217
Khurkatās, 245
Khul Gouhtāsp, 198, 290, 298
—— Kabād, 290, 298
—— Kāds, 223, 278, 298
—— Kavus, 198
—— Khusrū, 198, 223, 290, 298, 391
Us, 391
Kākasparsa, 286
Kāmāh Bahrān, 126
Kambay, 95, 96
Kambāyāt, 56
Kām nemī zām, 222
Kandahār, 229, 254
Khānīrī, 50
Kant, 19
Kapāmājan, 128
Kara fish, 336
Karapān, 289–291
Kārmānak-i Ardashir-i Pāpakān, 59, 76, 90, 111
Karshipta, 235
Karshvārān, 295, 296, 286
Kāsāk, 361
Kashkastira, 130
Kashkirībō nask, 130
Kashkūdāl, 381
Kashkūrō, 130
Kāsāya, 254
Kavī, 337
Kata, 324
Kātyāyana, 76
Kaus, 18
Kava, Kavā, or Kavi, Vishtāspa, 156, 166, 169, 173, 198, 202, 212, 215, 223, 258, 290, 298
Kavārī, 291
Kavāsakhā, 291
Kāvasaj Edalji Kanga, 60
Kavastūt, 291
Kavis, 216, 290, 291
Kavāl, 360
Kāvya Uṣhanas, 278, 279
Kavānīn, 80, 290
Kavān race, 107
Kayomas, 211
Kayomartiyah, 15
Keresānī, 182
Keresās, 178, 179, 228, 391
Kereshashpā, 360
Kāsh-i Tbrāhīm, 16
Kāshvars, 198, 256, 286, 355, 363, 360, 389
Khashī nask, 130
Khān, 361
Khānāhāta, 228, 254
Khūneīta, 229
Khurdād, 9, 53, 307
—— yasht, 190
Khorehe vēhījāk, 58
Khowersmīn, 203
Khūrṣtraghna, 243
Khūshoctha, 201
Khūshathra, 167
—— varya, 9, 191, 302, 305, 306, 333
Khūshatzr, 344, 347
Khūshnumān, 404, 408
Khurdah Avesta, 98
Khurshēdī Rustamjī Kāmā, 60
Khurshēdī nyāyīsh, 98, 224
—— yasht, 98, 199, 217
Khūshkand, 101
Khursā-i Andsah-robān, 110
—— Kavādān, 101, 109, 110
—— Nāshīrīwān, 111
Khūstā nask, 130
Khūzī, Khūzistān, 80
Khvētāk-dās, 103, 133
Kirman, 97, 100, 102, 103, 114, 230, 363
Kleuker, 20
Krishnān, 182
Krishna, 279
Krittikā, 182
Kronos, 11
Ktesia, 7
Kunda, 336
Kusha, 283
Kustī, 244, 249, 286, 367, 368, 398, 403, 407
Lahurasp, 298
Lakshmi, 215
Lassen, 43
INDEX.

Latin, 21, 40, 47, 65, 68, 69, 71, 154, 287
Leipzig, 30
Letto-Lithuanian, 65
Lithuanian, 27, 152, 287
London, 29, 30, 48, 56, 95, 106, 338
Louvain, 51

Mādīgān-i Gujastak Ahalish, 108
— Gaḥt-i Frayānū, 107
— Ḥaft ansīshaspand, 112
— māḥ Fravardīn rūj-i Horvadād, 112
— sl rūj, 110-112
— sl yasadān, 112
Magyars, 156, 169
Maghsa, 231, 344
Maghāva, 14, 201, 320
Magi, 3-8, 10-12, 14-16, 18, 20, 80, 166 169, 399, 412
Magic rites, 14, 299
Magush, 169
Mahābhārata, 79, 279, 288
Mahābhāṣyā, 182
Mahāraṣṭra, 181
Māh nyāyīshih, 224
Māh-rū, 396, 398, 399, 403, 404, 406, 407
Māhvandār Narimahān, 101
Māh yashī, 98, 200
Maidhyāirya, 192
Maidhyo iṣhādā, 213
— maṃona, 212
— ṣhema, 192
— ṣaremya, 192
Mainyō-i khārd, 51, 55, 104, 105, 323, 324, 339, 355, 365, 390
Māmūn (khalif), 108
Manes, 207
Manicheans, 104
Manjēr, 18
Mānsāspend, 141
Mantras, 293, 297
Manu, 79, 211
Mar (to recite), 143
Marāthī, 44
Marburg, 47
Mardīn-farkhād Āharmazd-dād, 104
Maretan, 297
Marg-arjān, 313, 369, 377
Mārāk-nāmāk-i Aṣṭārīk, 112
Marāpān Frēdūn, 192
Marutas, 180
Marv, 358, 359
Marv, 66, 203, 228
Masudi, 14
Māthra, 182, 195-197
Māthra, 297
Māṭhra-Sepēktā, 140, 211, 334
Matthew, 5

Māzānian dévas, 190
Māzāda, 88, 141, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151-158, 155, 156, 158-162, 164, 166-169, 172, 182, 185-190, 195, 211, 215, 218, 219, 254-256, 276, 334, 335
Mazdak-i Bāmdādān, 321
Mazdakya, 15
Muzdāo, 301, 302
Mazyāyanaism, 53
Mazyāyanians, 105, 109, 173, 212, 293, 318, 323-325, 339-333, 368, 381, 382, 384
Mazdian, 184
Māzenderān, 190
Medes, 12
Medhās, 301
Meda, 14, 65
Medīš, 194
Mērdā, 361
Meiners, 20
Mercury, 200, 256
Meru, 286
Mesr, 264
Metros, 144, 145, 176, 196, 199, 237, 252, 253, 337
Mihirāpān-i Kal-Khind, 56, 94-96, 109, 114
Mihir nyāyīsh, 224
Mihiryrār-i Māhmādān, 104
Mihir yasht, 43, 202-205, 273
Milky-way, 202, 217
Minōkhird, 43, 310
Minā-ke hārd, 105
Mithra, 7, 177, 193, 194, 202-204, 207, 209, 211, 217, 224, 255, 259, 263, 272, 273, 316, 334; (promise)
164, 202, 239, 261, 322
Mithrō-drushī, 7, 202
Mitōkht, 391
Mitra, 6, 272, 273, 288
Mitro, 357, 383, 387
Mobad, 108, 132
Mobāda, 76, 77, 129, 197, 401
Mog, 14
Mohammed, 16
Mohammedan conquest, 54, 55, 81, 94, 107, 124; religion, 312; writers, 13-16, 84
Mohammedans, 12, 14, 16, 57, 124, 125
Monotheism, 149
Monoteists, 53
Mosaic, 4, 135
Moses, 135, 136, 299
Mōru, 203, 228
Mūgāshūra, 192
INDEX.

Mujizät-i Zartosht, 25
Mujmüh-t-tawārikh, 80
Mullá Bahman, 102
—— Fīrūz, 58, 102, 104, 114
Müller (Max), 285, 294
—— (M. J.), 29, 30, 121
Mumbai, 108
Muncherjee Hormuzjee Cama, 44
Munich, 29, 43, 50
Murūdād, 53
Musalmāns, 15, 107
Myādā, 112, 368
Myazda, 139
Mylitta, 6, 197
Nādar or Nādur nask, 128
Nairiyō-sanha, 210, 256, 257, 274
Nakhastrās, 122
Namāz, 364
Nānānāthiyā, 272, 308, 337
Narāshāfisa, 274
Naremanānā, 179
Narimān Hoshang, 126
Nāsūsta, 272, 288
Nask, 97, 125-135, 314, 351
Naskū, 181
Naskās, 54, 100, 101, 106, 121, 125, 135, 137; (contents of) 126-134
Nasupākā, 241
Nasūsh, 241, 317, 322, 327, 333, 381, 382
Nāwāsāri, 45, 46, 57, 95, 99
Nebuchadnezzar, 3
Nēryōsangh, 22, 26, 41, 42, 51, 55, 90, 104, 106, 120, 257, 274, 388
New Testament, 5
Nīshāna, 284
Nīhāvdānd, 79
Nīkādūm nask, 132
Nikhsāhpūr, 106
Nineveh, 81
Nirang, 327; dīn, 400; i var, 349, 353
Nirangistân, 46, 47, 99, 107, 114, 397
Nirukta, 274, 285
Nivānā, 263
Nisasa, 228
Nisâl, 228, 359
Nīv (Nīle?), 364
Nīv-Ardashir, 110
Nīyārum, 132
Non-Aryan, 363
—— Iran, 88
—— Zoroastrian, 46
Korres, 253
Noshuvān, 101, 109–111
Nyāyish, 134, 139, 224
Ohnín, 180
Old Testament, 4–6, 20, 135, 175, 302, 304
Olshausen, 28, 30

Omane, 10
Onkelos, 159
Ordeal, 322, 349, 353
Orion, 282
Ormād, 53, 302
Ormizd, 13, 14
Ormād, 53, 302
Ormāz, 8, 9
Osetis, 67
Oxford, 16, 29, 30, 47
Oxus, 293

Pāda, 181
Pādām, 243, 365
Pādashkhvār, 363
Pahlav, 66, 78, 79
Pahlavān, 66
Pahlavā, 79
Pahlavi, passim; (explained), 20, 49, 78–86; abhirvād, 112, 113; characters, 86, 87, 356; commentaries, 355; dictionary, 61; farhang or glossary, 47–50, 59, 60, 112, 365; grammar, 33, 51, 59, 112; inscriptions, 80 (see Sasanian); literature, 93–113; manuscripts, 21, 30, 45, 46, 48, 56, 94–114; rare forms, 352, 370, 378, 382; rivāyat, 43, 46, 100; šahnmāh, 56, 109, 391; suffix -man, 87; texts, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 55, 59, 60, 97–114; translations, 25, 26, 30, 34–36, 42, 68, 85, 94–98, 100, 113, 119, 120, 178, 179, 318–328, 338–393; Vendidad, 94–96, 99, 107, 113, 114, 338, 355–393; Visparad, 95, 97; Yasna, 96, 114, 328–354
Païrika, 105, 201, 228
Paitiparshthi-srasvanam, 142
Paitisha, 337
Paitish–hahya, 192
Pājak, Pāja, or Pāji nask, 128
Pāli, 143
Panchagavyām, 286
Pandnāmak-i Adar-pād Māraspend, 47, 110, 111
—— Vajjir–Mihir, 111
—— Zarattāsh, 111
Pāni, 76
Panja, 293
Panjāstā, 357
Pankti astri, 271, 272
Ppiovy–kaēshō, 259
Psouruchista, 295
Pāpak, 78, 88, 90, 91, 111
Paradise (pāvī–dāēdē), 5
Paraguhā, 394, 403, 405
Parahaoma, 139, 191, 282, 406
Paris, 18, 21, 28–30, 108
Paris, 195. See Païrika
Parmenides, 266
Paro-dersh, 245–247, 369, 371, 372
INDEX.

Parsi, passim; calendar, 57, 58, 112, 124, 257, 258; libraries, 34, 45, 57, 97, 99, 103, 102, 108, 109, 111, 126, 134; writers, 58-61, 181
Parsi (language), 33, 34, 40, 66, 86, 93, 147; (grammar of), 33, 106
Parsism, 167, 169
 Parsia, passim
Parthava, 203
Parthia, 79, 203
Parthian, 49
Parthians, 54, 79, 80
Parthys, 79
Pashtu, 67
Pasush-haurva, 328
Patanjali, 76, 182
Patit, 364
Patita, 318, 327
Patit-Adarpul Maraspend, 112
— khud, 112
Pât-khânsâ, 391
Pâtsrâb, 391
Paurvas, 182
Pausanias, 10, 11
Pâzand, 47, 51, 55, 60, 90, 92, 93, 100, 104-109, 112, 113, 117, 239, 348, 357, 359, 360, 377, 401, 407; (defined) 14, 33, 34, 85, 86, 122, 226, 262, 264; grammar, 51; passages, 182, 185, 231, 232, 235-239, 233-235, 316
Penîm, 11, 243, 394
Pentaenuch, 135
Persopolis, 33, 54, 65, 80, 87, 124
Persian, passim; calendar, 57; customs, 5-10; empire, 19, 66, 123, 135, 138, 178, 264; rivâyat, 106; words in Bible, 5
— (ancient) 49, 66, 80, 81, 105, 206
Persians, 4-7, 10-15, 79, 80, 83, 84, 124, 136, 296, 299; (ancient) 19, 76, 80, 123, 138, 197
Persia, 80
Peshhdâian, 80
Peshó-tanu, 242
Peshwas, 279, 280
Peshyotan Râm Kâmdin, 97
Photios, 12
Phraortes, 206
Pitaras, 207, 273
Plato, 11, 206, 207, 298, 300
Pleiades, 182
Pliny, 8, 123, 258, 299
Plutarch, 8, 9, 192
Polish, 273
Polytheism, 149
Pomegranate, 139, 251, 282, 378, 379, 384, 396, 399, 400, 407
Poono, 44, 46, 99, 126, 134, 267, 280
Portuguese, 108
Pùrushaspa, 179, 253, 254, 256, 333, 337, 380, 381, 391
Purauta, 203
Póryódkhâwân, 101
Prajâpati, 192, 275, 276
Prakrit, 76
Prastâva, 283
Pratotâ, 283
Pratiharâ, 283
Pratihârtâ, 283
Pratâpurâstâhâtâ, 280
Pravargya, 270
Prayâjas, 261
Pûtika, 325, 326
Pûrânas, 135, 269, 276
Pûrânîc, 262, 268
Pûrodâsha, 259, 281, 283
Pûshân, 273, 274
Pûtika, 282
Qâdadâna, 213
Qadim reckoning, 57, 358
Qadmi. See Kudmî
Qaenâ, 133
Qârizem, 203
Qandâlâr. See Kandahâr
Qanirâtha, 219, 256, 389
Qanvat, 201
Qarenâ, 216
Qaretem, 139
Quatremère, 79
Raethwishkara, 332
Râgâh, 66, 188, 229, 300
Râghuvârsha, 182
Rai, 66, 79, 300, 362
Râk, 362
Râm, 214, 316, 324
Râmâ-Qâstâr, 193, 316
Râmâyana, 276, 288
Râm yasht, 214, 275, 324
Rânyô-skereti, 159
Râpitîwîn, 397, 403
Râpitîhwîna gâh, 139, 232
Râshnu, 204, 205, 207, 210, 322, 342
— yasht, 205, 206
Râsk, 21, 22
Rasmî reckoning, 57
Râsûl, 193, 280, 394, 395, 403, 404, 407, 408
Râthanâtaram, 284
Râthwî, 193, 280, 332, 394
Râtôshhâtîtî nask, 129
Râtu, 175, 187, 191, 192, 297, 327, 328
Râtras, 276
Ratuashâtî nask, 129
Resurrection, 5, 162, 216, 311
Revelations, 311
Rhode, 20
INDEX.

Tanuperethas, 242
Tanúra, 5
Tapristán, 363
Tauru, 54, 337
Tauruna, 328
Teheran, 95, 109, 300, 338, 359, 364
Tempes, 268
Ten admonitions, 110
Teutonic, 54, 65, 148, 287
Thais, 124
Themis, 205
Theodoros, 12
Theopompus, 7, 8, 33, 312
Thomas, 87, 88
Thorah, 135
Thrácians, 178, 198, 202, 215, 216, 230, 275, 277, 278
Thrída, 178, 257, 277, 392
Tigris, 200
Tir, 256
—— yašt, 200
Tisztrár, 9, 256, 289
Tishtyra, 9, 194, 200, 201, 263, 279
Traítana, 277, 278
Tríμúrti, 288
Tríśtubh, 145
Triá, 275, 277, 278
Trojan war, 298
Turanian, 391
Turkish, 31
Turnour, 123
Tychásen, 20

Udaka shránta, 281
Udgátá, 283, 284
Udgítha, 283
Udára, 242
Udumbara, 283
‘Ulamá‘i islám, 43
Upárdra, 284
Upásad, 270, 271, 287
Urános, 272
Uré, 260
Urša major, 206
Urupí, 329
Urvá, 226
Urvákháshya, 178
Urváná, 168
Urvárám, 306, 399-402, 407
Urvášana, 251
Urvatát-nará, 235
Urvátás, 151
Usághanas, 213
Usáhína gáh, 159, 369
Usáhm súrám, 245
Usáhanas, 278, 279
Usáhidaremén, 216
Usáhiáhó, 216
Usáhíasz, 271
Usáhtavaití. See Gátha
Usákshá, 289
Usáyëirína gáh, 159

Speñita ārmaítí, 191, 305, 306, 312, 333
Speñitá-maínuy. See Gátha
Speñító mainyush, 24, 179, 187, 189, 304, 305
Spéitos (Gpéton?), 364
Spítámán, 355, 367, 369, 371, 377, 380, 381, 384, 387, 392
Sraohá, 155-160, 184, 189, 193, 204, 205, 210, 307
Sraohávareša, 245, 280, 327, 332, 359
Sraohó-charana, 251
Sravyá, 143
Srt, 392
—— bái, 164
—— yasht, 46, 189-191, 200, 257, 307, 309
Sróshó-charanánám, 371, 375, 376, 378, 379
Srírava, 178
Srůyáish-i drón, 111
Strabo, 4, 10
Súdgar násh, 126
Súd-yash násh, 134
Stuttgart, 97, 99, 107
Súd-hománd, 381
Súdkar násh, 107, 126
Sughíha, 203, 228
Sughdí, 66
Suíside, 313
Sukuruna, 328
Sura, 269
Surák, 364
Surát, 17, 45, 48, 57, 59, 100, 102
Súrık, 358
Syríax, 31, 80

Taítítirá bráhmaña, 182
—— sañhitá, 278
Takhma urupa, 214
Tákhít, 394, 397, 399-401, 405
Talmud, 135, 226
Talmodic literature, 136
Támúk ot Tának, 109
Tanátpáhar, 322, 369, 374-377
| Page 426 |

**INDEX.**

Vāchak aśchand, 110  
Vadhagnâna, 254  
Vēh-i vatar, 323  
--- vēh, 324  
Vāchereta, 228  
Vādcḥa nakṣ, 46  
Vahirām-i varjāvand, 107, 110  
Vahishta, 311  
Vahishtehm ahīm, 186  
Vahishta-māṃsrāh nakṣ, 127  
Vahishtōishti. See Gētha  
Vahrām, 383  
Vairavatā, 277  
Vajārkard-i dīnī, 43, 59, 100, 110, 112, 126  
Vājasaaneīya sāhīhitā, 182  
Vajjīr-mīhir, 110, 111  
Valkhash, 54  
Vāmadeva hymns, 148  
Vanan, 217; yasht, 217  
Vandūdād, 133. See Vendidad  
Vapā, 205  
Varasa, 139, 395, 397, 399, 400, 402, 403  
Varāz, 214  
Varina, 230, 363  
Vareshan, 213  
Varṣhtamānkar nakṣ, 127  
Varuṇa, 53, 268, 272, 273  
Vasavas, 275  
Vashakārā, 275  
Vashti nakṣ, 130  
Vasishthas, 178  
Vayu, 274, 275, 324, 334  
Vāyu, 214, 274  
Vayush, 214, 215  
Vazagha, 329  
Vāziha, 336, 390  
Vazrā, 205, 217  
Veda, 20, 41, 53, 70, 73, 170, 180, 184, 276, 286, 294  
Vedāṅgas, 181  
Vedic, 27, 40, 44, 69, 70, 77, 145, 170, 192, 194, 214, 270, 272–276, 278–280, 284, 288, 291, 294, 301, 302; hymns, 28, 137, 143, 206, 272, 274, 276, 278, 287–289, 291, 294; Sanskrit, 49, 70, 72, 75, 147  
Vēhījakīk, 58  
Vēhı rivert, 301  
Vēhīrkīna, 299  
Venus, 107, 278  
Verehrān, 389  
Verethragna, 213, 275, 288  
Veresēna, 153  
Vibhang, 326  
Vidabhāṣa, 256, 389  
Vienna, 34, 95–97  
Vik-dēv-dād nakṣ, 133  
Vik-shēdā-dād, 133  
Vish-haurva, 328  
Vishnu, 288  
--- purāna, 213  
Vishāśap, 101, 109, 130, 340, 391  
Vishāśapa, 146, 156, 158, 167, 298, 299  
Vishāśapād, 130  
Vishāśap nakṣ, 139  
--- sāhī, 130, 134  
--- shāh, 130  
--- yasht, 97, 224  
Visparad, 22, 30, 36, 38, 41, 43, 51, 96, 97, 134, 135, 139, 141, 142, 191–194, 260, 397; with Pahlavi, 46  
Vivangha, 231–234  
Vivanhā, 177, 277  
Vizareshū, 255, 387, 390  
Vizuh, 399  
Vōghnō, 381  
Vohu-gaona, 251  
--- kereti, 251  
--- khašhatra. See Gētha  
Vohumanā, 328  
Vohumanāl, 213  
Vohugees, 54  
Vouru-bareshī, 256, 389  
--- jāreshī, 256, 389  
--- kasha, 197, 200, 201, 205, 208, 296, 297, 320, 328–329, 338, 388, 398  
Vīțra, 275, 278, 279  
Vīțrālā, 213, 275, 288  

**WEBER, 271**  
West, 50, 51, 105  
Western India, 16–18, 33, 44, 55  
Wilson (Rev. Dr.), 32, 45  
--- (Prof. H. H.), 213  
Windischmann, 43, 47, 105  
Wodan's beer, 180  
Wonders of the land of Sistān, 109
INDEX.

Xanthos of Lydia, 298
Xenophon, 4
Xerxes, 124

Yūnlār-i Zarrūn, 109
Yajamāna, 270
Yajishn, 130, 281. See Yajishn
Yājñavalkya, 280
Yajurveda, 143, 206, 259, 271, 272, 275, 278
Yama rājā, 276, 277
Yashī, 174-177, 185, 189, 194
Yaśkya, 274, 285
Yaśna, 22, 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35-38, 41, 43, 44, 47, 59, 54, 55, 58, 97-99, 101, 109, 134, 135, 137, 139-143, 140, 171, 174, 175, 177, 190, 191, 249, 258-260, 304; (described) 139-142; (translated) 174-175, 189-191, 194-217; (Pahl. translations) 98
Yaśaka, 274, 285
Yaśnavalkya, 280
Yashts, 6, 14, 38, 43, 51, 98, 134, 139, 224, 262-264, 204, 295; (translated) 175-185, 189-191, 194-217; (Pahl. translations) 98

Zābulistān, 66
Zēdā-param-1 Yūdān-dāman, 101
Zāriucha, 54, 337
Zāmyāl yasht, 216
Zand, 85. See Zend
Zand-ākā, 104
Zandik, 108
Zoūtā, 193, 280, 282, 332, 378
Zaṭhūrā, 139, 189, 214, 251, 281, 335, 397
Zarad, 11
Zaradustā, 14, 16
Zarastrades, 12, 296

Zarathushtra, 24, 35, 36, 41, 53, 74, 101, 121, 122, 138, 146-151, 153
154, 155, 157, 161, 163, 165-170
Zarathushtras, 226
Zarathushtrian, 188, 211, 226, 237, 334
Zarathustrōtemō, 142, 193, 258, 261, 296, 297
— nāmā, 43
Zardosht, 206
Zarema, 222
Zarhūndād, 321
Zarouman, 12
Zarvan, 13
— akarana, 12, 15, 24, 309
Zāūlī, 66
Zavārīsh, 84, 85
Zemaka, 321
Zend, 19, 21, 47, 50, 58, 124, 125, 131
135, 177, 239 (see Avesta); (defined) 14, 15, 67, 68, 116-128, 226, 262, 309; (original) 174, 177, 227, 229, 233, 362; (passages noted) 207-210, 212, 213, 227-230, 232-238, 250, 253
Zend-Avesta, 18, 36, 68, 119, 120
Zendik, 14, 15, 309
Zendist, 235
Zend-Pahlavi glossary, 47-49, 99
Zeruan, 13, 14
Zervanitas, 15
Zeus, 6, 8, 11, 53, 287
Zohāk, 183, 198
Zor, 395, 397, 398, 400-403, 406, 407
Zoroaster, 3, 9, 11, 19, 29, 46, 51, 123, 157, 168, 171, 216, 295; (his age) 15, 298, 299; (his writings) 123, 257
Zoroastrian, passim; studies, 43
Zoroastrianism, 44, 103, 346
Zoroastrians, 11, 23, 46, 54, 57, 71, 121, 123, 125, 168, 170, 238, 262, 287, 290, 303
Zota, 394, 395, 403-409
Zvārīlā, 42

PRINTED BY HALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

DEC 7, 1917
fire, 157

indulgence, 165, 193, 229, 238

pastoral v. agricultural, 170, 292

fire ceremonial, 140, 234, 394, 404

harem, 210, 242, 246

trees for the fire, 257, 289, 397

spice of the saint plant, 282

wine of the cow, 286, 335
NON CIRCULATING