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Willard G. Oxtoby
Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M. A., Ph.D.

The late Parsee High Priest of Bombay.
AVESTA, PAHLAVI, AND ANCIENT PERSIAN STUDIES

IN HONOUR OF THE LATE
SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DASTUR PESHOTANJI BEHRAMJI SANJANA, M.A., PH.D.

FIRST SERIES.

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TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF

SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DASTUR PESHOTANJI BEHRAMJI SANJANA, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head Priest of the Parsees, Bombay, 1857—1898,
Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai Zarthoshti Madressa,
1862—1898,

Fellow of the Bombay University, 1866—1898,
Editor and Translator of the Pahlavi Dinkurt, Vols. I—IX,
Author, Pahlavi Grammarian and Translator,

This volume
is respectfully dedicated by the European contributors.
INTRODUCTION.

This Memorial Volume has been compiled in appreciation and commemoration of the persevering, judicious, and successful labours of the late Shams-ul-Ulamā Dastūr Peshotanji Behrāmji Sanjāna, M.A., Ph.D., in the wide and perplexing field of Iranian research. Belonging to the Sanjāna family, he was probably a descendant of one of the Parsi priests who accompanied the first fugitive immigrants from Persia and settled at Sanjān. At an early age he was adopted into the family of the well-known Dastur Edalji Sanjana’s only brother; and, after the death of that predecessor, in 1857, he was appointed high-priest of the Shāhānshāhi Parsis in Bombay, which dignity he worthily held till the day of his death (26th December 1898) at the age of 70 years.

His succession to the high-priesthood occurred at a time when the steady advance of European education, among the Parsis in Bombay, was making them dissatisfied with the limited knowledge of the priests supplied to them by the Dastūrs of Nāvsāri, by whom all such appointments were then made, and it was not till 1883 that Dastūr Peshotanji was able to overcome the opposition of the Nāvsāri priesthood, and to establish his right to initiate priests, and give them orders for practising as priests in Bombay. He published several pamphlets (such as his Tafsīr-i Gāh-i Gāsānī, Tafsīr-i Gāhanbār, Nīrang-i Javīt-dīnān, etc.) with the view of eliminating certain irregular practices and customs (some of which still continue) and of preserving the truth and purity of his religion. His success, in such controversial efforts, appears to have been chiefly due to his conciliatory firmness and his readiness to accept judicious compromise.
The late Professor Martin Haug of Muencben, who, during his stay in India (in 1860-66), often met Dastûr Peshotanji, had always a high opinion of his learning and his willingness to impart it to others. In 1874-76, when last in India, I also met him on several occasions, and formed the same opinion, having been much assisted by him in obtaining copies of many of the scattered folios of the Dinkard, and of another ancient MS. of miscellaneous texts, in his own library.

His works connected with Pahlavi literature were both numerous and important, all indicating as competent a knowledge of that complicated language as any contemporary scholar possessed. In most cases he has been the most advanced pioneer in his translations, well in advance of grammars and glossaries; and, though future translators may improve upon his work hereafter, it is doubtful whether any one could have done better at the same period.

His Vijirkard-i-Dênîk (1848) is a Pahlavi treatise on various religious matters, resembling a Rivâyat, said to have been transcribed in 1754, from an Iranian MS. written in 1240 which the transcriber found in the Modi library at Surat, and containing several Avesta quotations, which are not easy to trace to their original source. This book is remarkable as being an early specimen of printing from Pahlavi and Avesta type.

His Gujarâti translation of the Pahlavi Kârnâmâk of Ardashîr Bâbagân (1853) was criticised by prejudiced Parsis as misrepresenting some of the actions of so virtuous a prince as Ardashîr, forgetting that a successful Shâhanshâh has always considered himself as above the law.

His Pahlavi Grammar (1871) is a voluminous and well arranged work, displaying a wide acquaintance with the
Pahlavi language and literature. It was much admired by Professor Haug, especially on account of its numerous quotations from Pahlavi MSS. which were then but little known.

But his most important work was his Dinkard, giving the Pahlavi text, with a transliteration in Avesta characters and translations into Gujarati and English; of which nine volumes have been published between 1874 and 1900. The first two books of this valuable Pahlavi text have not been discovered; but his nine volumes contain the whole of the third, fourth, and fifth books; leaving four more books to be edited by his able successor, Dastur Darabji.

He also published the Ganj-i Shāyagān and three other short Pahlavi treatises, that occur in old MSS., in 1886, with translations.

He was universally respected as the most learned Dastūr of his time, and the government of Lord Reay selected him as the first recipient of the title of Shams-ul-Ulamā in the Parsi community, as an official appreciation of his learning. He was Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zartoshti Madressa, from its foundation in 1863 till his death. He was Fellow of the Bombay University from 1866, and was a member of the Committee appointed by that University for establishing a course of studies in Avesta and Pahlavi for the higher examinations in Arts. The German Oriental Society also elected him as Member in 1875. And all Pahlavi scholars would, no doubt, agree that these honours were well deserved.

E. W. WEST.
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**APPENDIX I.**

The Old Persian Text of the Inscriptions at Behistan, Columns I-V. By an Admirer

**APPENDIX II.**

First Series of the Pahlavi Text of the Selections of Zādsparan. Edited and transliterated by Dr. E. W. West
INTRODUCTION.


J. Darmesteter, Introduction to the English Translation of the Vendidad, Oxford 1880, Vol. IV of the SBE.—Darmesteter, Études Iraniennes, Paris 1883, 2 Vols.—Le Zend-Avesta, traduction nouvelle avec commen-
The Iranian nation, so far as it reverenced Ahura Mazda as its God and Zarathushtra as His prophet, was once possessed of an extensive sacred literature similar to the Veda of the Indians—the Avesta (masc. or neut.). There has never been unanimity in Germany as to the gender of the name.¹ The word comes to us from the Middle Persian which has no genders. The Pahlavi form is avistāk,² the Pūzend avastā. Neriosangh reproduces it in Sanskrit by avistā as in avistāvāk or avistāvāni, "Avesta-speech." The word can hardly be traced further back than the Sasanian era, Oppert is, however, of opinion that the word is already to be found in an inscription of the time of Darius in the form abaśtām (Beh. IV, 64³), but the identification is at least doubtful. The word has been variously derived. The conjecture of Professor Andreas, orally communicated, has most probability on its side, namely, that Avistāk or Avastāk is to be traced back

¹ Kleuker, Haug, and Weber use Avesta and Zendawesta in the masculine. The neuter form, however, preeminent.
² This reading is followed by West, while Darmesteter, on the other hand, has Apastāk, I, XXXIX, note.
³ Oppert, JA. 1872, XIX, 293; De Harlez, JA. 1876, VIII, 487; Spiegel, Die altperischen Keilinschriften, 2nd ed., p. 103.
to the old form upatā, and thus signifies "foundation," "foundation-
text" (like the Skr. mūla).

This explanation also accords with the facts, inasmuch as avistāk:
generally involves or expresses a contrast,¹ namely, the contrast
between it and the added Pahlavi translation or explanation (Zand),
which probably once was co-extensive with the whole Awesta literature,
and which, in the form in which we possess it, does not go further
back than the 6th Century A.D., and was thus probably edited
under the later Sasanids or soon after their era. The foundation-text
and the corresponding Pahlavi exposition were comprehended under
the composite designation Avistāk va Zand (NERiosangh, avistāvāni vyākh-
yānam ca "Awesta language and exposition"). The Parsi scholars of
the present time also understand in this combination Awesta as the
original text and Zand as the Pahlavi commentary.² The combi-
nation Avistāk va Zand occurs, however, not unfrequently in the Pahlavi
translation of the Awesta itself. In this case Zand signifies the
traditional exposition of the Awesta texts³ handed down by the
Schools, which served as the foundation of the Pahlavi translation
reduced to writing. Through a misunderstanding Anquetil, and, before
him, also Hyde,⁴ has turned this into Zendawesta, understanding
by Zend the language in which the sacred writing, the Awesta,
was composed, an error which has asserted itself with great obstinacy
since Anquetil's time.⁵

The Awesta literature was composed in a nameless dialect, in the
old sacred language of Iran, which it is now customary to call
"Awestic." Nothing which was not written in this language can
claim to be reckoned as part of the sacred writings of Iran. On the
other hand, there does not exist in this language any other kind of
documents, any inscription, or any profane literature. For the Parsi
scholars of to-day, as for the older Pahlavi authors, the language
and the scripture are completely identical ideas; they call the language

¹ Cf. Biukari, VIII. 6, 1; 12, 1; 20, 69: IX, 32, 20.
² West, Essays², 119 ; so also Masudi 2, 126.
³ There the exposition is called āvāinti, with which the Pahlavi word zand is
connected.
⁴ Hyde, Historia Religionis Veteran Persarum, 1700, p. 337. With reference to the
various forms of the name, see p. 332 of the same work.
⁵ Anquetil, II, p. 424.
itself in which these scriptures were written, Avesta. Since all conjectures as to the home of this language are in the highest degree uncertain, it will be well to introduce into Europe also this usage which has the advantage of being ancient, and to call the language of the scriptures of the Parsis simply Avesta.

West has already given an exhaustive definition of the expression in his Glossary to the Arda Viraf under the word Avistāk; when he explains it thus:—"Scripture, the sacred writings of the Parsis in their original language and hence applied to the language itself, which is commonly but erroneously called Zend; any quotation or text from the same scriptures."

The Avesta literature has suffered an unfortunate fate. Already in ancient times after the period of Alexander near its decay, it was once more revived and rejuvenated under the Sasanids. From the 9th or 10th Century of our era the number of the believers in Mazda was continually dwindling, and the extent of their sacred scriptures steadily diminished. The former, the so-called Parsis, number at present only a little over 80,000 souls. The portion of their sacred literature, which has been preserved to our time, is a mere fragment of that ancient literature, and, when reduced to book-form, attains the compass only of a single good-sized volume. This is the Avesta in the narrower sense.

IDEA, CONTENTS, AND ANALYSIS OF THE AVESTA.

§ 2. The Avesta, in the more restricted sense, is still in use amongst Parsis as Bible and Prayer-book at the present day. It contains the liturgies for the general sacrificial celebrations and the "Law" that is recited on such occasions, and, in addition, the solemn invocations addressed to individual saints and the forms of prayer prescribed for the various occasions in common life. It bears thus in its essential character a liturgical stamp. It is only in consequence of their direct or indirect relation to liturgy that these scriptures have been so long preserved. Those portions of the Avesta literature which were

1 p. 13.

2 Darmesteter, in the passage referred to, calls attention to an etymological play of words in the Bundahish. Avistāk = avēṣak stāyīn, is accordingly said to mean "a pure ascription of praise."
outside the liturgy were no longer copied as being unnecessary for priestly purposes, and have thus for the most part been lost. It is, however, probable that not everything which is found in the Avesta was intended absolutely only to serve such ends.

Although, as already indicated, the Avesta is of moderate extent, there is no MS. which contains the whole Avesta. This alone is sufficient to make clear the character of the book. It is not a whole in the sense of a unity, but a complex collection of writings. It divides itself into a number of individual books, each complete in itself, and of loosely connected rubrics. The books and rubrical forms which are extant may be classified under five main divisions:—Yasna, Vispered, Vendidad, Yashts and Khorda-Avesta.

§ 3. Yasna (=Skr. yajña), Phlv. yazishn, the modern Izeshne—in the Sanskrit of Neriosangh ījīsmi—the chief liturgical book which is recited in honour of all the divinities collectively. It was composed for the purposes of the high office of the Izeshne which, apart from a number of subordinate performances, consists chiefly in the ceremonial preparation and offering of the Parahōm (Aw. parahaoma), i.e., the juice extracted from the Haoma plant, mixed with consecrated water, milk and aromatic ingredients. At this ceremony the whole Yasna from beginning to end is recited. The high service of the Izeshne is preceded by a preparatory ceremonial entitled Paragra.

The text has only in part a real and original connection with the ceremonial act which it accompanies. The Yasna is a variegated mixture of monotonous drawling formulæ and of interesting and in part very ancient texts. These heterogeneous elements have, however, been skilfully knit together into one whole. The larger sections have appropriate introductions prefixed to them and close with longer or shorter resumès. The Yasna is divided into 72 chapters, hatti, named later Hāt. This subdivision is traditional, although the MSS. of the Yasna do not number the chapters consecutively, nor do they always clearly mark the close of each chapter. The sacred cord of the Parsis, which marks them out as belonging to a particular religious community, is woven with 72 threads, which are intended to represent the 72 chapters of the Yasna.¹ This number is reached by an artificial method, several chapters being simply repetitions of some of the others.

¹ A. Führer in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, XVIII, 325.
Thus Hā 5 is the same as 37; 18 the same as 47 with an introduction taken from 51, 7. In like manner Hās 63, 64, 66, 67 and 72 are simply made up of fragments of preceding texts. The Parsis divide the Yasna into two main sections, namely, 1-27, and 28 to the end. Also in the ritual of the Yasna offering there is a division of the ceremony at chapter 27. The whole book may, however, be better divided into three longer sections:—1-27; 28-55; 56-72.

§ 4. The content of the Yasna, in other words, the course of the Yasna high service is as follows:—The introduction consists of formal invitations to the offering addressed to all the divinities and genii in a definite order according to their rank (1-2); the offering of the main oblation (myazda) and other offerings preceded by similar formulae of invocation and consecration (3-7). This section ends at 8, 4. Then follows a prayer 8, 5-8. 8, 9 is an introduction to the interesting Hom-Yasht (Chaps. 9-11). In this the Haoma is glorified as a plant and as a divine being quite in the style which characterises the other Yashts (cf. §§ 8, 21). At the close the priest (Zōt) drinks the juice of the Haoma which has been prepared in the Paragama ceremony. Hā 11, 16 again introduces a new section, the confession of faith of the Mazdayasians which extends from 11, 17 to the end of 18. This confession is, properly speaking, made up of several which are named from their opening words—namely, fravarâne 11, 16; fraostuyé 11, 17—12, 8; and āstuyé2 12, 9 to the end of 13. The most interesting of these pieces is the quite ancient specialized confession of faith in Chap. 12, which, according to Y. 13, 8, is also named the fraostw (confession).

At Chapter 14 begin the Staota Yesnya which extend, with interruptions, probably as far as Chap. 58 (cf. § 23). They are interrupted by the invocation of the genii of the day (Chap. 16), of the times of the day and the seasons of the year, and the various forms of fire (17), by the homilies on the three most sacred prayers, known as the Bakân Yasht (19-21). Chaps. 22-27 contain an additional litany called Hōmāst Yasht, which accompanies the second preparation of the Haoma-juice which now begins. Chap. 27 at the same time forms the transition to the central part of the Staota Yesnya and to

1 Anquetil I. 2,73.
the Gāthās which are the centre and culmination of the whole Yasna, (vide § 22). These extend, with a few interruptions, from 28 to 54. Chap. 55 gives a short poetical resumé of them. Chap. 56, named “the small Srōsh Yasht,” is preparatory to the large and comprehensive Srōsh Yasht which is contained in 57. Chap. 58 contains the so-called Fsusomāthra, a glorification of prayer in general and the prayer to be uttered before the last judgment. This concludes the Staota Yesnya. Chap. 59 refers both to what precedes and to what follows and introduces the two next sections with renewed invocations. The first of these gives in Chap. 60 the so-called dāhma āfrīti, “the blessing of the pious.” It is a blessing pronounced on the Mazdayasianian house; joined with it is a form of exorcism (61) and the propitiation of fire (62). Then follows the Ax-zôr, “offering to the waters” (consisting of consecrated water) 63-68, containing an introduction (63-64), the praise of Anāhita the goddess of water (65), the consecration and offering of the sacred water (66-68). Then follow renewed invocations and the conclusion of the whole ceremony (69-72).¹

§ 5. Vispered (from Aw. vispe ratavō “all the chiefs,” cf. Yasht 10, 122) is not an independent connected book but a collection of supplements to the Yasna. The official recitation of the Vispered cannot be thought of without supposing that the Yasna was at the same time included. The Vispered high ceremony is the Yasna ceremony enlarged by the addition of the Vispered portions. It is celebrated especially at the seasonal feasts, the Gahanbârs.² The separate portions or chapters of the Vispered are called Kardes (properly “sections,” from an Av. word korditi). Here likewise the MSS. give us no help in fixing their number in so far as they do not number them consecutively. Anquetil divides the book into 27 chapters, so also Spiegel in his edition; Westergaard, on the other hand, reckons 23, and the Bombay Gujarati edition which I have followed 24 Kardes. So far as its contents are concerned, the Vispered presents only a little that is new and interesting. The most of it consists of formal invocation in the style of the Yasna. Kardes 1 and 2 are thrown in after Yasna 1, 8 and 2, 3, in the

¹ This description in its essentials is based upon that given by Darmesteter I, LXXXI—LXXXVIII. An exhaustive description of the Paragana ceremony is given by West in his essays, pp. 304 sqq. and a similar description of the Izeshne ceremony, pp. 403 sqq.

² Darmesteter I, LXVII.
place of Yasna 1, 9 and 2, 9. Here we see clearly that these two Karde
are only a lengthy spinning out of the Gahanbāīr formula of the
Yasna. Karde 3 and 4 fit into the ritual portions of Yasna 11. Karde
5 does duty for Yasna 14 of which it is only a variation; Karde 12 for
Yasna 27, 7. The second half of the Visered, Karde 13-24, stands
in very close relation to the Gathas or the Staota Yesna (cf. the
synopsis in § 12).

§ 6. Vendidād (Av. viḍadvō datom, "the law against demons," 
Phlv. jāt-dīv-dāt or jāt-śēdā-dāt) is originally an unliturgical work; it
is the Leviticus of the Parsis, their ecclesiastical law-book which pre-
scribes the priestly purifications, atonements and ecclesiastical penances.
It formed originally the 19th Nask of the Sasanid Avesta. In its pre-
sent form it contains 22 Chapters (Fargards) which the MSS. carefully
number. The 12th Fargard is wanting in the older MSS. which contain
the Pahlavi translation, and is found only in the so-called Vendidād
Sāde. The MSS. above referred to, reckon, however, the following
Fargard as the 13th. This omission cannot be explained by a mere gap
in the Pahlavi archetype. The whole Fargard looks like a fabrication
that is more modern than the rest of the Vendidād. The summary list
of contents of the Vendidād which the Dinkard (8, 44) gives (vide
below), deals minutely with all the Fargards except four; Fargard 12
is not referred to; Fargards 10 and 11 are at least touched in a couple
of words.1 The Fargard in question was thus either not before the
Pahlavi translator or not yet fully recognised.2

The individual Fargards are partly connected together in this
way that each supplies the answer to a question propounded in
the Fargard which precedes it. This is the form of presentation,
which is called in Sanskrit prasaktanuprasaktam. Fargard 10 is
a more detailed working out of 9, 46; 14 of 13, 51. The begin-

1 (cf. West, Sacred Books of the East, XXXVII, p. 161. The words "in smiting the
fiend" (Dinkard 8, 44, 51) are to be connected with Fargard 10 and answer to the
motto of the chapter, namely, the words paiti porme, "in healing," with Fargard 11.
These correspond to the standing yaozhdathune formula.

2 Darmesteter (II, 169), endeavours, on the other hand, to make the existence of an
old Pahlavi translation probable by referring to the words Kaminō zatō puthom in 12,7.
These, he suggests, are a gloss which has remained over from the former. The words are
also found in the Persian MSS. (cf. § 13). Avesta glosses occur, however, in other places
without any direct relation to the Pahlavi translation. I would point to the interesting
gloss dikōmō in Vd. 20, 1.
ing and end of the Vendidad are mythological in their contents, the kernel of 3-21 contains the priests' law proper.

§ 7. Contents of the Vendidad.—Fargard 1 relates the creation of the best known countries and their plagues at the hands of Ormuzd and Ahriman, respectively; Fargard 2 gives the history of Yima, his first and second call, the flood and Yima's paradise; Fargard 3 the joys and sufferings of the earth, the habitation, mode of life and end of the corpse-bearers, the praise of agriculture, the pollution of the earth by dead bodies; Fargard 4 contracts, their breach and relative expiations, bodily injuries and their expiations, education, perjury and ordeal; Fargards 5-9 the manifold uncleannesses of men and things through pollution by dead bodies and their relative expiations. Specially to be mentioned are the following:—The treatment of dead bodies in winter (10-14), the purification of the water of the whole world in the ocean Pātiika (15-20), praise of Zarathushtra's doctrine of purity (21-25), the woman with the still-born child (45-62) in Chap. 5. On the dakhmas or Towers of the Dead (44-51), in Chap. 6. Certificates of qualification and fees for physicians (36-44), consideration of the dakhmas (45-59) in Chap. 7. Disposal of the dead and sagdiš (driving out of the corpse-female-demon by the dog) 1-22, and the Bahirām Fire (81-96) in Chap. 8. The Barāshnām of the nine nights, i. e., the great purificatory ceremony in Chap. 9. Fargard 10 contains the Gatha verses to be repeated twice, thrice and four times for expelling demons; 11, the employment of Gatha verses for the purpose of purification; 12, mourning for the dead; 13, the dog, its kinds, its functions, the nourishment, diseases and praise of the dog, the otters; 14, expiation for the killing of an otter; 15, five mortal sins, new born children and dogs; 16, woman during the catamenia; 17, cutting of the nails and hair; 18 is the most interesting and the fullest chapter in the whole book. Amongst other things it treats of the true and the false priest, of the domestic cock that wakes men to prayer in the morning, and of the Jahā (the dissolute woman), and narrates a conversation between Sraosha and the Druj with regard to the propagation of the latter. Farg. 19 relates the temptation of Zarathushtra by Ahriman, the expiation of the desecrated Vohu Manō, the fate of souls after death. The last three chapters are devoted to priestly medicine. Chapter 20, the revelation of the art of healing by Mazda.
and an enumeration of diseases; 21, the healing power of water, and the
exorcism of a woman in childbirth; 22, narrative of the contagion
and healing of Mazda.

§ 8. The Yashts and the Khorda Avesta.—Anquetil includes
all besides the above that is extant of real Avesta texts under the title
Yasht Sāde. But it is better to divide this into two groups, the
Yashts with their appendices and what is included under the compre-
hensive name Khorda Avesta, i.e., the Small or Minor Avesta. The
dividing line is, however, not a very definite one in the MSS. inasmuch
as certain Yashts are necessary elements of a Khorda Avesta. Both classes
of MSS., the Yasht MSS. as well as the Khorda Avesta MSS., are intro-
duced by similar formulæ, and the Yasht and Khorda Avesta texts are
frequently combined in the MSS. to form one whole. Especially it is
to be remembered that the Khorda Avesta is not a book of uniform
content and fixed arrangement in the style of the Vendidad; the Khorda
Avesta MSS. are casual collections of varying extent.

Yasht (Aw., yeštī), like the word Yasna of allied root, signifies
originally worship, offering. It has, however, become a technical
expression. While the Yasna designates the general worship which
embraces the whole Mazdaeanian Pantheon, the Yashts are devoted to
the worship of individual divinities and indeed almost exclusively to
divine beings or Izeds (Aw. yazata), after whom the days of the month
are named. Our collection numbers 21 or 22 Yashts in the follow-
ing fixed order:—1, Yasht of Ahura Mazda (Hormazd); 2, Yasht of the
Aməsə Spentu (Haft Amesha-spends); 3, Yasht of the Aša Vahišta
(Ardabahisht); 4, of the Haurvatāt (Khordād); 5, of the Ardei Sūra
Anahita (Ardui sūr bānō); 6, of the Hvarvašaīta (Khurshād); 7, of the
Māongha (Māh); 8, of the Tištrya (Tishtar, also called Tīr); 9, of the
Drvaspa (Drvāsp, also called Gōsh Yasht); 10, of the Mithra (Mihir); 11,
of the Sraoša (Sroš Yash, from the Hādhōkht); 11, a Sroš Yash; 12,
the Yasht of the Rašnu (Rashn); 13, of Fravasī (Fravardin); 14,
of Vorštraya (Vorštraya); 15, of Vayu (generally called Rām Yasht);
16, of Razista Čista (generally called Din Yasht); 17, of Asī Vanguhi
(Ard Yash); 18, of Airyanam xwarōnō (generally called Ashtād

1 Anquetil I, 1, cccclxxxvi; II. 1.
2 That is, the same number as that of the chapter in the Vendidad. According
to the opinion of the Parsees each of the Amesha-spends and Izeds once had its own
special Yasht, cf. Anquetil II, 143.
3 Cf. below § 17.
Yasht); 19, Yasht of Kavaēm xvarono (generally called Zamyād; in older MSS. also Kayān Yasht); 20, of Ḥaoma (Hūm); 21, of Vanant (Vanand).

This arrangement is based upon the order of the days of the month in the Parsi Calendar.1 Eight of the genii of the days of the month have no Yasht to represent them; conversely there is no day of the month corresponding to the last two Yashts. In the Calendar the day of Vohu Manō occupies the second place; in the Yasht collection, however, the second place is occupied by that of the seven Amesha Spenta. In the case of Yashts 18 and 19 the connection with a corresponding day of the month is a forced one. In Yasht 19 only the first 8 sections are concerned with the genius of the earth (Zamyād). In the 18th Yasht there is absolutely no mention of the Ashtād. Several of the double names in the above list are explained by the fact that the proper hero of the Yasht is not one from whom the corresponding day derives its name, but a genius invoked along with him. Thus the 15th Yasht is named after the Rāma vrāstra, which in Siroze 1, 21; 2, 21 is invoked in the first place; it is, however, dedicated to Vayu, who there takes the second place. We find the same in Yashts 9 and 16.

Externally the Yashts are recognizable by their introductions and conclusions which run on the same lines. In respect of extent, age and contents they are, however, very unlike each other. The last two (20 and 21) consist for the most part only of Yasht formulae adorned with some quotations. The first four Yashts are for the most part a modern, ungrammatical manufacture. On the other hand, the middle and large Yashts (Nos. 5, 8, 14, 17 and, above all, 10, 13 and 19) belong to the most prominent documents of this literature. It has already been remarked in § 4 that several Yashts have been embodied in the Yasna which, like the Hūm Yasht, in their full extent do not belong to the Yasht collection in the strict sense.

§ 9. The Khorda Awesta, “the Minor Awesta,” is, so to speak, a short extract of the entire Awesta, intended for the use of the laity, a collection of the forms of prayer most required by the layman at the various seasons and in the various circumstances of his life. These are

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1 For this cf. especially Roth, Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellschaft 84, 708. The Siroze (vide § 9) contains a complete list of genii of the days with their attributes and followers.
by no means composed exclusively in the Avesta language, but to a great extent in Pāzend. Of the Yashts, especially the first (Hōrmazd) and the eleventh (Srōsh), are included in almost all Khorda Avesta MSS. The editing of the Khorda Avesta has been ascribed to Ādarpād Mahraspand under Shāpūr II. (310-379 A.D.). Besides a series of separate prayers and verses, the MSS. contain the following smaller collections of recitations:

1. The Nyāishes, five in number. These are brief prayers to the Sun (Khurshed), Mithra, the Moon (Māh), to the genii of the Water (Arduisūr bānō) and the Fire (Ātash ī Bahirūm). The Yashts of the corresponding Izēds, or portions of them, are partly inserted in the Nyāishes, e. g., the entire Khurshed Yasht in Nyāish 1, 10-17, the Māh Yasht in Nyāish 3, 2-9.

2. The Gāhs, addressed to the genii of the respective times of the day and recited at these times. Their number is accordingly five.

3. Sirōze (the thirty days), of which there are two, named the Minor and the Larger. These are two Prayer Calendars extending each to 30 paragraphs in which the genii of the day are invoked in succession together with their retinues. In their entirety these are recited principally on the 30th day after the death of a man.

4. The Āfringāns, words of blessing, which are accompanied by the gift of an offering and serve various ends. Generally four are quoted:

(a) Āfringān ī Dahmān, recited to honour departed pious people, a kind of mass for the dead.

(b) Āfringān ī Gāthā, recited on the last five days of the year, the so-called Gāthā days, on which the souls of the departed descend to the earth, thus as it were a kind of mass for souls.

(c) Āfringān ī Gahanbār, recited at the celebration of the six seasonal feasts, the so-called Gahanbār. This piece, however, contains not so much benedictions as precepts regarding the participation of the faithful in the six feasts.

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1 With reference to their special use, vide Anquetil II, 565; Darmesteter in the introductions to the different Nyāishes, II, 691 seq.
2 Anquetil II, 315, 573.
3 Anquetil II, 573; West, Essays 225.
(d) Āfrīṅgān i Rapithwīn, celebrated at the beginning and end of summer.

§ 10. FRAGMENTS. These five books or collections of texts pretty well exhaust the canon of the Parsis of the present day, but they are by no means the whole of the extant Awesta literature. A treasure store, still partly unexplored, is hidden in Pahlavi books in the form of quotations from lost texts. Larger fragments have been preserved together with the Pahlavi commentary or have been incorporated in more modern Pahlavi writings. First among these stands the Nīrāngistān (cf. § 17), an extensive ritual work in three Fargards based upon an old collection of Awesta Nīrang, i. e., ritual precepts in the Awesta language. This collection has been worked up in a large Pahlavi tract and commented on. The commentary quotes besides a great number of other Awesta Nīrangs from a different source. These Nīrangs are very fruitful sources for a knowledge of the ritual as well as for the enrichment of our Awesta vocabulary; unfortunately the text which has been handed down is very bad and the quantity of material in manuscripts very scanty.¹

The Afrīn i Dāhmān named Aogemādācā from the first word of the first Awesta quotation is a Pahlavi tract interspersed with Awesta quotations the majority of which can no longer be traced in our Awesta. ²

Larger connected fragments we have especially in the three Fargards from the Hādōkhšt Nāsk. The last two are eschatological in their contents; they narrate the lot of souls after death.³ A small fragment which Westergaard prints after Fargard 3 of this text as Yasht 22, 39-42 does not stand in immediate connection with the 3rd Fargard of the Hādōkhšt. Here we should add the Afrīn i Paīghambar Zartushhti, a benediction for kings and the so-called Vish-

¹ Published and translated by Darmesteter III, 78 seq.—Photographic copy published by Pastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1894.


³ Erroneously reckoned as Yashts 21 and 22 by Westergaard. These pieces were published separately together with their Pahlavi translation by Haag and West as a supplement to the Arda Viraf (Bombay, London 1872), p. 269 seq.
tāsp Yasht, an obscure text, grammatically quite corrupt and compiled from manifold sources without any inner connection, which has nothing to do with the ordinary Yashts.

The Pahlavi commentaries on the Vendidad and the Yasna, and other Pahlavi works such as Vijirkard i Dinik and Shāyast la-Šhāyast are rich in Avesta citations. Numerous shorter Avesta quotations are contained in the so called Parsīshnīhā, a kind of catechism in Pahlavi. There are in all 124 Avestā quotations distributed over 58 sections. Many fragmentary texts, prayers and aîraŋs have found their way into individual MSS. of the Khorda Avesta. The best known are the Vispa Humata and the Airyoma Iṣyō. We must not omit to mention the so-called Farhang i Oīm Khudāk, an Avesta-Pahlavi glossary which has preserved not merely many Avesta words but also certain phrases and quotations from Avesta books that have been lost. Darmesteter has published a text-piece which, according to the subscription, must have come from the lost Nāsk Nikādūm.

Many of the liturgies are merely or almost entirely compilations of well-known texts and current formulæ, e.g., the Darān Bāj, Darān Yasht, Mayā Yasht (also named the Mayā Zōhā), the Ciduk-avistāk i gāsdan (a compilation of Gatha- stanzas), the numerous Aîrangingas.

1 In Westergaard’s edition, pp. 300 and 302; translated in Darmesteter II, 660 and 663.
2 Collected by Darmesteter III, 29 seq. A large portion also in West SBE, XXXVII, pp. 471, 472, 474, 475, 484-487.
3 Published and translated by Darmesteter, III, 53.
4 See the collection of fragments in Westergaard, pp. 331 seq. The MSS E, and M contain many hitherto unknown incantations; cf. K.Z. 27, 587.
6 Darmesteter, Une page Zende inédite in JA. 1886, VIII, p. 182. The fragment refers to mixed marriages with women who were not Parsis. According to the subscription it professes to belong to the Nāsk Nikādūm, Farzard Vaētha. In Haug’s collection a fragment of the Vaētha in No. 35, which is not identical with the portion of the text published.
7 The Darān Yasht is composed of an introductory formula and portions of the Yasna with partially altered liturgical forms, namely Yasna 3, 5-18; Yasna 23, 4, 5, 6, 1-6; 11-15, 17. Y. 26,7,8, 1-8.
8 So in the Persian MS called Mf. The Mayā Yasht begins with the words nomas te sima (or sima) xvōstā avōdāi (or avōdāi) xōrāhītā ahurūhā ma đànā.
9 So in Wilson’s MS entitled No. 1.
10 See West, Essay, p. 98.
and Khshnúmans, a calendar of the months found in Persian MSS. in imitation of the Siróze and many others.


(a) In Europe.


(b) In India.

Kitab i Jud Divdád, edited by Dastur Idalji Darabji Sanjana, Bombay, A.Y. 1200, large folio (cf. Brockhaus in the Preface VI).—The Yaña of the Parsis in the Zand Language, but Gujarati character, with a Gujarati Translation, Paraphrase and Comment, according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians, by the late Framji Aspandiarji and other Dasturs, Vol. 1. 2. Lithograph. for the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society, by Appa Rama, 1843. The Vandidad Sade of the Parsis, &c., 1-2, 1842. The Vispered of the Parsis in the Zand Language, but Gujarati character, with a Gujarati Translation, Paraphrase and Comment; according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians, by the late Framji
Aspandiarji and other Dasturs. Lithogr. 1843.—Avesta, the Sacred
Books of the Parsis, Part I, Yasna ba Nirang, from Westergaard’s
Edition of the Zend Avesta publ. (in Zend) by Tehmurás Dinshaw
Anklesaria, Bombay 1883.

Chrestomathies:—Schleicher, Indogermanische Chrestomathies,
Weimar 1869.—C. De Harlez, Manuel de la langue de l’Avesta ; Gram-
maire, Anthologie, Lexique, Paris 1878, 2e Ed. Paris 1882.—Hand-
buch der Awestasprache, Grammatik, Chrestomathie, Wörterbuch von
W. Geiger, Erlangen 1879.—A. V. Williams Jackson, Avesta Reader:
First Series. Easier Texts, Notes and Vocabulary, Stuttgart 1893.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE AVESTA.
§ 12. Yasna, Vispered, and Vendidad. These three texts were
handed down in writing in different ways according as they were intended
to be studied and understood or to be simply mechanically learned
by heart and recited. In the former case the Avesta is accompanied
by a translation in Pahlavi, Sanskrit or Gujarati (see below); in the
latter only the Avesta text, often interspersed with ritual directions, is
given. If these ritual directions are composed in Pahlavi the technical
expression is Nirang; if they are given in Sanskrit or the Bhūshā they
are called Kriyā, Kiriā. The Nirangs are found specially in the MSS.
which had their origin in Persia. The pure text as opposed to that
which is intermingled with a translation has received the additional
name sāde “pure.”

The MSS. of the Avesta Sāde give the text in its greatest fulness
with all the appendices and formulae as they are actually employed in
liturgical service. The MSS., on the other hand, which are accom-
panied by a translation, aim at greater brevity by omitting all super-
fuous subsidiary additions and in the case of the numerous repetitions
make use of abbreviations and occasionally also of contractions
which are not at first sight and without the help of the Avesta Sāde
intelligible. The difference between these two modes of committing to
writing is most striking in the case of the Vispered.1

The Yasna Sāde is employed for the Yasna celebration in which only
the Yasna is recited. If the Yasna is celebrated with the supplemen-
tary portions of the Vispered, the celebration is called Vispered (high
service) after the portions of the Vispered which are added. For this the

1 A characteristic example of abbreviation is that of Vendidad 8, 82–96 in the
MSS. with translation.
Vispered Sāde (also called Vispered Gahanbār) is intended. In the MSS. of the Vispered Sāde only the Vispered is given in extenso; the Yasna chapters are only for the most part indicated. These MSS. are only supplementary MSS. to the Yasna Sādes. In some MSS., as for example, H₁, K₁₁, the Yasna Sāde is given first and as supplement thereto the Vispered with an abbreviated Yasna. Only rarely is the Yasna also in this case written out in full, e.g., in the Iranian MSS. Fl₁, Kh₁.

All the three texts are recited in the great and most solemn high office. This celebration is the Vendidad high office, and the book of texts appointed for it is the Vendidad Sāde in which the chapters of the Yasna, Vispered and Vendidad are intermingled. The order of arrangement is quite fixed, and is set forth and made clear by the following synopsis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yasna, 1-8</th>
<th>Vispered</th>
<th>Vendidad</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 1-8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1, 10 to end</td>
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<tr>
<td>2, 1-8</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2, 10 to end</td>
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<tr>
<td>11, 1-8</td>
<td>3, 1-5</td>
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<tr>
<td>11, 9-15</td>
<td>3, 6 to end</td>
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<td>11, 17 to end</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. Westergaard, Preface, p. 13, and above § 5.—The Vispered high office is celebrated, specially in the Gahanbar holidays, Darmesteter I, LXXVII.
2 With reference to the designation of the MSS., cf. the Prolegomena to Geil-ler's Edition.
3 Cf. also Darmesteter I, LXXVII.
4 The chapters placed within brackets are wanting in the Vendidad Sāde.
The Vendidad is accordingly distributed into 10 sections (one consisting of 4, the remainder of 2 fargards) and grouped around the most sacred part of the Yasna, the Gathas. Only chapters of the Vespered are incorporated with the first part of the Yasna, and these are either interpolated in the Yasna chapters or are added at the end. From chapter 27, that is, from the beginning of the Gathas, the Vendidad is also joined on to the Vespered. These interpolations entirely cease at the 55th Yasna, and only the Yasna is recited on to the end.

A variety of the Vendidad Sāde is the Vishtāsp Sāde in which in place of the 10 sections of the Vendidad the 8 fargards of the Vishtāsp Yasht (cf. §§ 10, 17, 18) are interpolated. The places occupied by the 8th and 10th Vendidad sections remain here blank.

§ 13. The Manuscripts of the Avesta fall into two classes, the Indian and the Persian. Although the former ultimately entirely rest

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1 Yasna 62, 1—6 comes in the Vd. Sāde immediately after Y. 59.
2 Dastur Jamaspji writes with reference to it:—"It is written exactly like the Vendidad Sāde, the first part of the Yaṣna and Vispens is given first, then the eight fargards of Vishtasp Yasht with the Gāthās and then the latter portion of Yaṣna and Vispens. It is called the Vendidad of Uṣhirin gāh, because it is said that the Vishtasp Yasht was recited in this part of the day as the Vendidad is recited even now, in the Uṣhirin gāh—but it is no longer recited now."—Letter of 5th June 1883.
3 The best and most complete collection of Avesta MSS. in Europe is that of Rask enriched by a second collection of Westergaard in the University Library at Copenhagen. Next to this comes the collection of De Guise in the India Office. The MSS. which Anquetil brought to Paris are mostly of inferior value. In India, the reverend Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji and the Mula Firis Library in Bombay possess the largest collection; the latter, the M. F. Library, especially numerous Iranian MSS.
on Persian originals, a marked contrast between the two traditions has been developed in the course of the century. The oldest Indian MSS. date from the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, the Persian MSS. do not go further back than the 17th. The Persian MSS. surpass considerably their Indian contemporaries in point of correctness and carefulness of execution. In Kirman and Yazd, the two Parsi communities in Persia, there must have existed as late as last century a distinguished school of dasturs, which even the learned Parsis of India regarded as their mother-school. The Persian dasturs often helped their Indian brethren with their learning and with MSS. Sometimes Indian Parsis studied in Persia, Persian dasturs journeyed to visit their brethren in the faith beyond the Indus in order to settle disputes and inspected at the same time their MSS. The journey, for example, of Dastur Jamasp (Vilayati) from Kirman to India is well known. He found there great ignorance, and the MSS. in a wretched condition, and established a small circle of disciples who worked in Surat, Nosari and Broach. The first disciple of Jamasp was Darab in Surat, the subsequent teacher of Anquetil. From the school of Jamasp has sprung a great number of copies of the Avesta. Externally the Persian MSS. are recognisable through their Iranian style of writing, through a very vigorous cursive and oblique handwriting, while the Indian manner of writing is rather straight and pointed. The Iranian style has, however, sometimes been imitated in India when the copyist had a Persian original before him. The better MSS. have, some of them, very full and uncouth colophons in which the writer names himself, gives his family tree, the original before him, and the date of the completion of the copy. Frequently the colophons of the original are copied word for word along with the original MS. itself.

The MSS. of the three texts in question fall in the first place into two great classes independent of each other—the MSS. accompanied by a translation, and the Sadé MSS. (cf. § 12). The former supply the foundation for all European editions; the MSS. belonging to this class being distinguished by their greater correctness and in part also by their higher antiquity.

The MSS. of the Yasna with Pahlavi translation form again two distinct families. One is represented by the Copenhagen Yasna No. 5

1 Cf. Anquetil I., I, CCCXXVI.
(K₃) and by the MS., which, originally in the possession of Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minecheherji Jamaspj Asana of Bombay, has now been presented by him to Oxford.¹ Both these MSS., which are in almost perfect preservation, sprang from the same copyist, namely, Herbad Mitro-āpān i Kai-Khūsrūvō i Mitro-āpān i Spend-dād i Mitro-āpān i Marzāpān i Bāhrām. K₃ was finished at Cambay on the 17th November 1323 A.D. and was, according to the subscription, copied from the MS. of Rustam i Mitro-āpān,² the great-great uncle of Mitro-āpān. J₂ was finished on the 26th January 1323. The copyist here remains silent regarding his original. From their agreement, however, in many characteristic mistakes, omissions, &c., it is clear that J₂ also must have been copied from the MS. of Rustam or its original. A comparison of K₃ and J₂ as well as of K₁ and L₄ (see below), shows, however, that Mitro-āpān did not bestow the care in detail that might have been desired in faithfully reproducing his original.

In respect of correctness, the second family of MSS. stands in many cases above the first, although the members of this family which are extant belong to a much later time. This family is represented chiefly by Pt₄ and Mf₃, both without date. Pt₄, the more correct and probably somewhat older MS. of the two, was, according to the family traditions of its former possessor, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana of Bombay, copied about 1780 A.D. from an old Iranian Yasna of Hōshāng, son of Siyāvakhsh. Pt₄ reproduces in the introduction the introduction of its original, by means of which we can trace the genealogy of the MS. several steps backwards. The genealogical tree is as follows:—

MS. of Farnbag i Šrosh-āiyyār (about 1110 ?).
   "  " Māhpanāh i Āzād-mard.
   "  " Mitro-āpān i Spēnd-dād (about 1280).
   "  " Hōshang i Siyāvakhsh (about 1478.)
      Pt₄

The introduction records further that Farnbag composed his copy from two separate originals, the Awesta text from the MS. of Māh-

¹ The photographic reproduction of this MS. is not accessible to me.
² He copied the Arda Viraf in Iran in 1269. Cf. West, Essays, p. 94, note.
niyyār and the Pahlavi text from the MS. of Māh-vīndād, son of Narem-bāhān. The latter copied the Dinkard in A. D. 1020. The same Māh-vīndād is several times cited as commentator in the Pahlavi Yasna. The final redaction of our Pahlavi translation of the Yasna may accordingly be due to Farnbag. A second independent copy of the old Yasna of Hūshāŋ is Mf, and finally Mf, an Iranian MS. of Rustam Gūstāsp Ardashīr A. D. 1741. This last gives, however, only the Awesta text. Pt,—Mf,—Mf, represent, notwithstanding their later age, the best Yasna tradition. In which member the two families meet when traced back cannot be asserted with definiteness.

A subordinate type of this class of MSS. are the MSS. with the Sanskrit translations of Neriosangh (see below § 48), represented by the two old MSS. S, and J,. Of these only S, is a true representative of the Neriosangh text, J, being a later revision of S, and of less value. J, has been often copied. The Paris and Copenhagen Sanskrit Yasnās are copied from it.

Of the Pahlavi-Vendidad only one family of MSS. has been preserved, represented by the London and Copenhagen Vendidad L, and K, which stand to each other in a relation precisely similar to that of K, and J,. Unfortunately, neither of them has been completely preserved. In L, the beginning down to the opening of the 9th Fargard is wanting. Only a few leaves, which extend from Vd. 3, 14 to 4, 29 are preserved; the portion which has been preserved is in places very much destroyed. The beginning of K, down to the 5th Fargard has been lost, and the middle portion from the 9th to the 18th Fargard completely destroyed.

On the other hand, the Copenhagen MS. has a numerous progeny, which dates from the time when it was still perfectly preserved. The oldest copy taken direct from K, was formerly in the possession of a Teheran Parsi named Manekji Limji Hataria (Ml,). It was written in Broach in A. D. 1594 and is a most careful copy. From Ml, have sprung, directly or indirectly, the Bombay, Paris, Munich and later Copenhagen Pahlavi Vendīdās. L, has only a small number of descend-
D. Mackichan, Geldner's Avesta Literature.

The most important amongst these is the MS. Pt, written in A. D. 1787. It seems, however, not to have been taken direct from L₁, K₁ and L₄ come from the same Mitrō-āpān ī Kaʾī-Khūṣrōvō, who twice copied the Pahlavi Yasna. In K₁ he adds to his own signature the two colophons of his predecessors, so that the family can also be traced tolerably far back. The foundation MS. is that of Hōmāst of Scīstān, which Āerdāshīr ī Vohūman copied in A. D. 1205. Māhyār brought Āerdāshīr's MS. to India. There it was copied by the well-known Rūstam ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān. K₁ is a copy of the MS. of Rūstam completed in Cambay, 17th May 1324. L₄ has lost the last leaf with the signature. But in Pt₂ the subscription of the copyist of L₄, namely, Mitrō-āpān, together with those of his two predecessors, is re-copied. These last agree exactly with those in K₁. L₄ must, therefore, have been copied from the MS. of Rūstam, and, indeed, some months before K₁. It was finished, according to the colophon in Pt₂, on the 28th August 1323, in Nosari. The genealogical tree of the whole family is then as follows:

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MS. of Hōmāst
  " " Āerdāshīr (1205)
  " " Rūstam
K₁ (1324)  L₄ 1323
  M₁₄  Pt₂
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The late Pahlavi-Vendidads.

The extant Vīspereds with Pahlavi translation rest entirely on an old Copenhagen Codex K₁. This MS. contains in its first part the oldest and best Vīspered Sāde (with Nīrang), with a subscription of the copyist Rūstam ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān¹ and as date A. D. 1278. With this is connected the Pahlavi Vīspered, manifestly by the same copyist. This is, therefore, the oldest Avesta MS. which has yet been discovered. The Vīshāsp Sāde is represented by the excellent Iranian codex K₄, copied in Kirmān by Vēh-mard, son of Frēdūn, from a

¹ That is of the writer of the draft of K₁, &c. But, perhaps, this MS. is an old copy of the Rūstam MS. See Prolegomena XXXIX.
MS. of Vāhrōm, son of the Marzapān, who, in his turn, had copied the MS. of Khūsrō-malkā, son of Anōshagrubānō (about 1585). K₄ is dated 26th July 1723.

The Vendīdād Sādes are widely distributed in India; they all go back in the last resort to one archetype. Only a few are older than the preceding century. They represent the vulgate-text of the three books, which has degenerated through frequent copying, and has, farther, been strongly influenced by an inexact oral tradition. Amongst these Indian Vendīdād Sādes two groups are to be distinguished, a superior one represented by the Copenhagen and a London Vendīdād Sāde, K₁₀ and L₂, and an inferior one to which the bulk of the MSS. belongs. The archetype of the Vendīdād Sādes, as also of the Yasna and Vishedda Sādes, was probably originally composed from the Pahlavi Awesta for liturgical use. And thus it becomes clear why numerous quotations from the Awesta, belonging to the Pahlavi Commentary, have found their way into the text of the Vendīdād Sādes. This archetype, we presume, must, however, after all be older than the oldest Pahlavi Awesta MSS., known to us. The Vendīdād Sādes have not unfrequently preserved the better reading in contrast to the Pahlavi-Awesta MSS.

The Persian Vendīdād Sādes, represented by Mf₁ and Jp₁, are favourably distinguished from the Indian copies. Jp₁ was copied by Fredūn Marzapān in A. D. 1638, and, indeed, from a MS. belonging to Marzapān, who, in his turn, had as his original a copy made by Shatruqeyār Erdashīr (about 1516). Mf₁ was written in A. D. 1618 by Khūsrōb Anōshirvān Rustam. The copyist, however, does not mention his original. In view of the close relationship of the two codices, it cannot, however, be a matter of doubt that Mf₁ was copied from the MS. of Marzapān or Shatruqeyār. The Vendīdād Sāde type is unmistakable in both; their arrangement of the text is that of the Indian Vendīdād Sādes almost without a change. But in individual readings they depart almost in every line from these last, while they agree sometimes with the other class of MSS., and sometimes offer readings entirely original which are not unfrequently confirmed as genuine by the Pahlavi translation. On the one hand, they might be supposed to stand considerably nearer the archetype of their class; on the other hand, a revision of the Vendīdād Sāde appears to have been made in Persia in the 16th century, or earlier, with the aid of other Pahlavi-Awesta MSS.
(which since then have disappeared), in which Persia has been richer than India. The text which the Persian Vendidad Sādes supply is free from many disturbing glosses with which the text of the Indian MSS. is laden.

The MSS. of the Yasna Sāde also presuppose an archetype which stood near to the Vendidad Sāde. The best MS. of the group is that belonging to Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona (H1).²

§ 14. Regarding the MSS. of the Yashts and the Khorda-Avesta there has not been, since ancient times, so well-defined a system as for those we have just described (cf. above, § 8). We divide the MSS. into three groups, according to contents:—(a) Pure Yasht codices. The oldest and most important representative is F1, belonging to the year 1591. The MS. begins quite in the usual style of the Khorda-Avesta with an alphabet, some forms of prayer (Nirangs and Bāj’s), and the five Nyāishes. The latter are inseparable in the MSS. from the Yashts. Then follow only the 22 Yashts in the usual order. These MSS. have served as source for the majority of the later Yasht codices, at least in part. (b) The Khorda-Avesta codices. The Oxford codex (O3) may be adduced as a specimen, as its contents may be taken as the average of this class. It contains in order:—the Avesta Alphabet, the 5 Nyāishes, the 3 Āfrīngāns, the 5 Gāhs, the Yashts 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, and numerous Nirangs. (c) The combined codices, Khorda-Avesta texts including all the Yashts. The chief representative of this class is Pt1, dated A. D. 1625. This MS. shews clearly that the writer proceeded eclectically. He took as his basis one or several Khorda-Awestas and supplied the missing Yashts from F1. Thus it happens that, for example, Pt1 in Yasht 19 follows F1 closely, while in Yasht 16 it represents a different and much inferior recension.

Persian MSS. containing all the Yashts have not yet been discovered. On the other hand, the Persian Khorda-Awestas similarly occupy a unique position. The favourite Yasht of these MSS. is Yasht 13, the Farvardīn Yasht, which, on the other hand, is wanting

1 Westergaard was able to make full use of only a later copy of Mf2, namely, K9 of this class.

2 Compare the introductions to Spiegel’s, Westergaard’s, and Geldner’s Editions.
in the Indian Khorda Avestas¹. The finest and most correct Persian Khorda Avesta is $F$, of A. D. 1726.

The text which the Avesta MSS. furnish is everywhere the same without variation so far as the order of the words, sentences and chapters is concerned, oversights of the copyist in the matter of omissions and repetitions being, of course, left out of account; only a very few fragments show traces of a double recension. On the other hand, the tradition and writing of individual words is often very uncertain and varying, and offers serious obstacles to the establishment of a correct text.

THE PRESENT AVESTA AND THE AVESTA UNDER THE SASANIDS.

§ 15. The Nasks. It is a well-known Parsi tradition that the Avesta once consisted of 21 Nasks (Nosks).² Already we find Anquetil reporting, on the ground of this tradition, that the extant “Zend books” are only a fragment of that great Avesta. He knows that only one Nask has been completely preserved, viz., the Vendidād. He further gives expression to the conjecture that the Yasna formed a part of the first and second Nasks (Sétoudiescht or Sétoudguer), that the Vipered was drawn from the fifteenth Nask (Baghantādëf) and the Airingān Gahanbār from the Hādokht Nask.³ The Parsi tradition of the 21 Nasks, which rests principally on the Persian Rivayets (Collections of the

¹ With this is connected a well-known history which the subscription to $K_1$ (an Iranian MS, with the Farvardin Yasht) relates. For a thousand years after their migration to India the Parsis had no genuine Haoma plant nor the Farvardin Yasht. (This means that in the Khorda Avestas this Yasht had disappeared.) Dastur Jamāl Hakim, therefore, made a copy in Parsi of the Yasht in question ($K_1$) and brought it personally in 1722 to Surat as a present to the Parsi priests there. (Cf. also Prolegomena VII.)

² The expression is already found in the Avesta in the form naski, Yasna 9, 22. Attempted derivations in West's Essays, p. 135 note. Darmsteter III. XCIX. 1696.

Teachings of the old Dasturs on Religion) has in recent times received a scientific foundation through West's comprehensive treatment of the literary sections of the Dinkard.¹

The Dinkard, the most comprehensive and the most learned work in Pahlavi literature, dating from the 9th century,² is occupied in the 8th and 9th books with a minute treatment of the Nasks. At this time almost the whole contents of the Sasanid Awesta must have been extant. The 8th book of the Dinkard gives a compressed survey of all the Nasks and an analysis of them expressed, however, in certain places in general phrases. This latter is very succinct and often conveys nothing so far as it deals with the Nasks 1-14 and 19-21; on the other hand, for the Nasks 15-18 it goes into great detail. The author in the 9th book returns again to the discussion of the first three Nasks and gives a quite exhaustive statement of their contents. According to his statement only the Awesta text of the 5th Nask was extant; of the 11th Nask neither the Awesta text nor the Pahlavi translation (Zand) had been preserved. In regard to both these Nasks he abstains from all remark regarding their content. It follows from this that he knew all the rest from personal inspection and that his account is based simply on the Pahlavi commentary. In his time, therefore, there were still 20 Nasks extant and the commentary on 19 of them. When one compares his analysis of the Vendidad (D. 8, 44) with the book, it becomes clear that he was in a position, through the medium of the Pahlavi translation, to give us a correct representation of the contents of the Awesta. This is, however, not equally true in regard to all the Nasks.

§ 16. Survey of the Nasks. The entire Awesta canon as re-edited under the Sasanids, the great Awesta with its Pahlavi translation, consisted of 21 books which are made to stand parallel with the 21 words of the Ahūno Vairya, the most sacred prayer. The following are the names (according to West's reading) in the order given in the

¹ SBE, vol. XXXVII. Particular details taken from this Parsi tradition are already to be found in Haug: "An old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary," by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay 1870, p. 165; West, Essays, p. 126.

² West, Introduction to the Dinkard, p. 33.
Dinkard (the contents are given in brackets where they can be stated in a few words):—

1. Sūtkar.
2. Varṣtmānsar.
4. Dāmdāt (History of Creation).
5. Nātar.
6. Pājag (Ceremonial).
7. Rato-dāt-aṅtag (especially dealing with the priest's office).
8. Barš.
10. Vištāsp-sāsto (Conversion and Instruction of King Vištāsp).
11. Vaštag (lost).
12. Čitrādāt (History of human families, in especial of the Iranian royal families).
13. Spend (History of Zarathushtra).
15. Nlkatum.
17. Hüspāram (Doctrine of the Priests).
19. Vendīdāt.
20. Hātōkht.

The account given in the Dinkard is supplemented, it is true, by the less trustworthy accounts of the various Rivayets. They give in the case of all the Nasks not only the exact number of chapters, but, in the case of some, also the pre- and post-Alexandrine content. Thus it is said of the Nasks 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, which, before the invasion of Alexander, contained 50, 60, 60, 60, and 22 chapters, respectively, that when they were subsequently collected they mustered only 13, 12, 15, 10 and 6 chapters. ¹

§ 17. THE REMAINING BOOKS BESIDES THE VENDIDAD.

At first sight one is struck by the fact that amongst the titles of the Nasks the remaining books of our Avesta have nothing answering to them as we find the Yasna has. The more recent researches of West and Darmesteter² have confirmed or corrected the conjecture of Anquetil.³

¹ West gives extracts from four Rivayets in SBE., pp. 418-438. The notices given above are taken from the Rivayet of Kāmāh Bahrah.

² "L'Irēshna n'est pas un Nōsk, mais une portion de Nōsk," Anquetil in Journal des Savants, Juin 1769, p. 393. "Je ne crains donc pas de dire que, selon tout les Parse de Perse et de l'Iude, Zoroastre avait composé 21 Traités, dont il n'est resté d'entier que le Vendidad; et que les autres morceaux Zendes, indiqués à la fin de la liste du Ravek du Destour Barzou, ne sont que des portions de quelques-uns de ces Traités," ib. p. 307. With reference to the list given in the Rivayet, see SBE. XXXVII, p. 437.

³ Darmesteter III, X seg.
The remaining texts were extant in the Nasks in their elements partly under somewhat different names or scattered over different Nasks. The books of the Awesta include these texts taken from the Nasks and in the particular arrangement which the Liturgy prescribed. 1

Several Nasks have portions of the Yasna. These portions which have been hitherto identified with tolerable certainty, distribute themselves over the following Nasks:— (a) Stōt Yašt, (b) Bako, (c) Hātōkht, (d) Bākān Yašt. The Stōt Yašt has passed completely into the Yasna, and forms its proper kernel. The Stōt Yašt was the collection of the so-called Staota Yasnya (see below, § 23), which, however, with interruptions, extended from Yasna 14-58. The Bako Nask is represented by Yasna 19-21, three homilies regarding the most sacred prayers, which, according to the account given in the Dinkard 9, 47, formed the first three Fargards of this Nask. The three chapters are still named in the MSS. of the Yasna Bākān and are called in the original text baya ahunahe vairyehe (Y. 19, 21), baya aśahe vaḥiṣtaha (20, 5), baya yenghe hāṭām (21, 5). Accordingly also the 56th Yasna, which according to the closing invocation, bears the title baya staotanām yesyanām “Homily of the Staota Y.” might have belonged to the Bako Nask, and have formed the conclusion of the 22nd Fargard. The analysis given in the Dinkard (9, 68) contains, however, no allusion to this, and it is not clear from 9, 69 what the writer may have had in view. Still it is just as possible that Yasna 55 belonged to the Stōt Yašt and there formed a kind of colophon to the Gathas. The Hātōkht Nask is represented by the fšūō māthrō hadhaokhtō (this is the name borne by the 58th chapter of the Yasna, cf. Y. 59, 33, perhaps specially only the section 58, 4-7); finally the Bākān Nask is represented by Yasna 57 (Srōšh Yasht).

1 The Yasna and Visheder liturgy in the form which later became customary, is attested by the Varshmānsar Nask itself according to the analysis given in the Dinkard 9, 43, 7 (cf. West on this passage), further by Shāyast lā-Shāyast (of the 7th century, West SBE., V, Pref. 65) 13, 5, where Visheder 13 is discussed between Yasna 30 and 31, in the very same place which it comes to occupy in the Vendidad; compare also Dāštān i Dīnīk 45, 6. The Yasna-ceremonial (yazīōn) is further mentioned in Dāštān i Dīnīk 23, 1; 28, 1 (yazīōn drōnī), 4-7. Other passages with reference to the ritual are Dāt. 30, 1; 47, 1; 48, 1; Bundahish 30, 25, 28. Darmesteter (I, LXXXVIII; II, XXXII) communicates a passage from Masudi, according to which since the time when Ardeshir Bābak ascended the throne, the custom had come in of reciting one of the chapters of the Awesta which they called Ined (Yasna).
The Dinkard (8, 15) gives the following short description of the Bakān Yašt Nask (i.e., the Nask of the Yashts addressed to the bayā or divinities) :—"The Bagān Yasht contains particulars, first, about the worship of Aūharmazd, the highest of the Baghas; and, secondly, of the worship of the angels and other invisible and visible worldly beings, out of whom are likewise the names of the days; also about their glory, power, triumph and marvellousness. Besides, also, many angels who are invoked by name1 at (the time of) their worship and the attention and obeisance due to them." Already West2 has drawn from this the evident conclusion that in this description the Yashts of the Awesta are intended, and that these formed one part of the Bakān Yašt, a conjecture which Darmesteter3 has worked out in greater detail. West found a confirmation of this view in a Persian Rivayet, according to which 16 specially named Yashts of our collection composed the Bakān Yašt.4 And Darmesteter rightly lays great stress on the fact that the oldest Yasht MS. F, has preserved a reminiscence of its having formerly belonged to this Nask in beginning with every Yašt a new fargard from the 14th Yašt of our collection (the Behirān Yašt) to the 19th or Zamyad Yašt. The number of the fargards does not, however, agree with our reckoning, but differs continually by 3. In the numbering given by the Rivayet the Yašt 2-4 are wanting in the Yašt 1-19; the order is there the usual one; only the Khurshed Yašt stands at the end. When it is put in its proper place, the result is a complete agreement between the numbering of the fargards in F, and the number of the Yašt, and it becomes possible to reconstruct the arrangement of the old Bakān Yašt with exactness (the numbering of the fargard that is wanting in F, being given in brackets). The present arrangement is: 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. The arrangement in the Bakān Yašt : (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The Yashts 2-4, which are wanting in the Bakān Yašt, are written in parts, in a very degenerate language; not less so, however, the

1 Cf. Aοκηθνάμα Υάσνα in the Yashts.
2 SBE., XXXVII, p. 33 n., 470 n.
3 Darmesteter, II, XXVII.
4 West, in the passage referred to in Pref. XLV, n.
5 This is the second Šrēth Yašt, which is identical with that in Yasna 57.
extant first Yasht. The Hom-Yasht (contained in full in Yasna 9-11, an extract of it in Yasht 20) could accordingly have had no place in the Baḵšuš Yasht. It is, however, to be remarked that the statements regarding its fargard-number vary. The Rivāyets of Kāmāh Bahrah, Narēmān Hōshang and Barzū Qiyāmu-d-dīn give it as 17; so also the Pahlavi Rivayet Dīn-Vijirgārd.²

Further, from the Hātōkht Nask have been taken the small Srosh Yasht (Nr. 11), the supposed Yashts 21 and 22 as given by Westergaard and the Aṅrīṅān Gahanbār (cf. § 9); from the Vishtāsp-Sūsto, the Vishtāsp Yasht, and the Aḵrīn Paighambār Zartusht (Yt. 23 in Westergaard). The ritual work Nirangistān had its place in the Hūspārām Nask, and, indeed, corresponds to the first two sections of this Nask, the Aērpatistān and the Nirangistān in the narrower sense.³ Darmesteter has besides assigned a series of Awesta fragments, with more or less probability, to this or that Nask.⁴ If, however, a not inconsiderable portion of our Awesta remains over, which cannot be recognised in the Analysis given in the Dinkard, this is due to the vague and all too scant description which in some places is characteristic of the Dinkard. Indirectly much has passed from the Nasks into the later Parsi literature.⁵

West estimates the contents of all the 21 Nasks of the Great Awesta at about 345,700 words.⁶ About 83,000 of these have been preserved to us, i.e. about one-fourth. There are many indications that the oldest elements of the Sasanid Awesta are those which have comparatively suffered least loss. In particular the Great Awesta seems to have possessed no more of the Gathas proper than the Awesta of to-day.⁷

ELEMENTS AND CHARACTER OF THE AWESTA.

§ 18. THE THREE CLASSES OF NASKS. The Dinkard (VIII. 1, 9-12) divides the Nasks according to their character into 3 classes, each consisting of 7. The first class is called gāsānik, with reference to the

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1 West, in the place referred to, pp. 426, 431, 436.
2 Ib., p. 444.
3 West, Ib., p 92.
4 Darmesteter, III, XVI, XVII, compare also p. 9, n. 8.
5 As specially valuable the collection entitled "extant fragments" in West, SBE., XXXVII, 451-488, is further to be mentioned.
6 West, SBE., XXXVII, Introduction, p. 45.
7 West, at the place cited, p. 42.
gāsān or Gathas; the second dātīk, dealing with the dāt or Law; and the third hāṭak-maṇṣarik, with reference to the hadha-māthra. The first two classes are called also simply gāsān or dāt (Dink. VIII 1, 5). These classes divide the 21 Nasks as follows:

Gāsānīk:  
1. Stōt Yašt.  
2. Sūtkar.  
3. Varṣṭmānsar.  
4. Bako.  
5. Vašttag.  
7. Spend.

Hāṭak-maṇṣarik:  
1. Dāmdāt.  
2. Nātar.  
3. Pājag.  
4. Rāto-dāt-aṅtag.  
5. Bariš.  
7. Vištāsp-sāsto.

Dātīk:  
1. Nikātum.  
2. Ganabā-sar-nijāt.  
3. Hūspāram.  
5. Vendidāt.  
6. Čitradāt.  
7. Bakān Yašt.

The Gātha literature, the gāsān, is meant to contain the higher spiritual knowledge and ethical code; the dāt, the law literature, the lower worldly knowledge and code of duty; while the Hāṭak-maṇṣarik is intended to include those teachings which lie midway between the first two (Dink., VIII, 15). However, the Dinkard itself admits that this distinction cannot be rigidly carried out, inasmuch as each of the three classes contains elements that belong to the other two (8, 1, 13). The classification from this standpoint is to some extent artificial, and springs from the endeavour to establish an exact analogy between the Awesta as a whole and the Ahuna Vairya strophe regarded as the quintessence and original of the whole Awesta revelation. Each of the three lines of this strophe is held to correspond to a branch of the literature—the first to the Gātha literature, the second to the Intermediate literature, and the third to the Law (Dink., 8, 1, 7).

These three elements in the literature are already fully recognized in the Awesta. The expression gāthwya in the Awesta (Yaśna 65,14; 10, 19) corresponds to the gāsānīk, and is applied in the latter passage to a quotation which has been borrowed only in part from our known Gathas. Hāṭak-maṇṣarik appears in the Awesta as hadha-māthra, and dāt is the well-known dātīm. In the Vendidad-ritual, instead of Yaśna

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1 This formula stands in Yaśna 27, 13. It is as mysterious today as it was 2000 years ago. Well translates the Pahlavi interpretation in SBE, XXXVII, p. 69. It plays the same role among the Parsis as the Gayāter amongst the Hindus.

2 In the Awesta itself the 3 lines (if we may) are made to run parallel with the three fundamental ideas of Zoroastrian ethics hōvāta, kāthā, āṇōzet, Yaśna 19, 16.
1, 20, &c., "the Law", to which the Vendidad Nask is devoted, is invoked with the words—*Dāta hadha-dāta vīdačeva Zaraθuṣhtri*. The Vishtāsp-ritual\(^1\) substitutes, as has been shewn above, in place of the Vendidad the Vishtāsp Yasht, which has been borrowed from the Vishtāsp Sāsto Nask, i. e., a Nask of the Hātak-mānsarik class, and is therefore to be assigned to the Intermediate class. Here at the same place (Y. 1, 20) the immediately following Vishtāsp Yasht is introduced by the following parenthetical note:—*hadha-māthra zaini-parṣaṭa*. Now, if Darmesteter is correct in his interpretation (I, 9) of *dātom hadha-dātom* as "the law and its appendix," *hadha-māthra* must be taken as an appendix to the *māthra* proper, the sacred word, the real kernel of the revelation.

The Zāt-spāram\(^2\) further divides the literature of the Law into two subdivisions—the law against Demons, represented by the Vendidad, and the law of Zartūsh, represented by the remaining Nasks. It subdivides similarly the Hadhamanthra into two:—the Mantra of the Appointer, represented by the Nasks Pāčino and Rato-dāto-aito, and the Mantra of the good signs, represented by the remaining Nasks. Beyond this, neither from the Zāt-spāram nor from the statements in the Dīnkard which are of the scantiest just at this point, can we get any tangible information regarding the proper character and contents of the Intermediate literature. This entire group has on the whole suffered the greatest amount of decay. Our Awesta of to-day appears to have preserved only a very small amount of Hadhamanthra literature. Those Nasks, which besides the Stōt Yasht, have the largest representation in the extant Awesta texts, namely Hātōkht, Bākān and Hūspāram, are reckoned the first to the Gāsānik Nasks, the two latter to the Dātiks. Our Yashts, accordingly, belong only to the literature of the Law or worldly literature. West\(^3\) conjectures with much plausibility that the Hadhamanthra literature was the semi-religious portion and occupied itself with philosophy and the sciences. The loss of it is, therefore, doubly regrettable, but also easily explicable. The Gatha literature was the theological literature in the proper sense of the term.\(^4\) It is so called not because it contains exclusively

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\(^1\) Cf. above § 12.
\(^2\) West, at the place cited, p. 402.
\(^3\) At the place cited, p. 4.
\(^4\) See Darmesteter III, x.
Gatha texts, but because the Gatha texts in the Stöt Yasht stand at the head and also because the whole literature is based essentially on these oldest portions. The Dātik literature was the worldly portion the knowledge of which was intended for the laity. It was so called because the Law formed an important part of it. The Hadhamanthra literature was the scientific literature which rested on theology and supplemented it. This tripartite division may have been analogous, mutatis mutandis, to the Indian classification into Veda, Vedānga and Smriti. Another passage compares the three classes of the literature with the three classes of men—probably the priests, philosophers and the laity.¹

§ 19. Vendidad. It follows from what has been said that this threefold division is no longer applicable to our Avesta. All that remains after deducting the Gathas in the proper sense and the law-book, the Vendidad, falls under two categories—the forms of prayer or litany, and the Yashts or religious poems of Iran. Of course, the entire Avesta, with the solitary exception perhaps of the Gathas, suffers from a certain formalism and schematism—the Yashts as well as the Vendidad. This lies in the character of the Zoroastrian religion. Everywhere there is the same tendency to follow certain ideas, wherever they occur, through the whole scale of their synonyms or the whole gradation of their relatives in order. The mention of the house (numa) drags in that of the clan (ris, consisting of 15 couples in the system), then that of the district (zantu), and finally that of the country (dainghu).² The theory and practice of the doctrine of the Vendidad on purification is often only a model casuistry classifying mechanically according to number, quantity and material. “Where is the first pleasantest thing on this earth, where the second pleasantest, and where the third and the fourth in the order of pleasantness? Where is the first unpleasantest thing on this earth, where the second, etc.? ” (Vend. 3.) “Whosoever throws on the earth the bone of a carcase as large as the last joint of his little finger, as large as the last joint of his middle finger, as large as the last joint of his largest finger, as long as a finger or a rib, as long as two fingers or two ribs, as long as an arm or leg, etc., receives 30, 50, 70, 90, 200, 400 stripes assigned in order.” (Vend. 6,

¹ West, at the place cited, p. 5 note; compare also the definition which Anquetil gives of the three classes of Nask according to information derived from the Parsis.


E. g. Yama 9, 28; 57, 14.
10-21). In many cases, however, the detailed classification of offences and punishments has a deeper significance, as for example when in prescribing purifications the distinction is conscientiously marked, whether the wood is hard or soft, whether the ground is solid or loose, the vessels are of gold, silver, iron, copper or stone, whether the water is stagnant, from a cistern, from a fountain, snow-water or river-water. But when (Vend. 15, 23) the Creator is asked for detailed information as to what is to be done with a bitch which litters in a camel’s, or horse’s, or cow’s or sheep’s stall or on a wall, in a cellar, or on a meadow and the law-giver each time gives the same answer, we have a striking instance of the mania for spinning out the same thought in endless variations. Also the external form of the teachings of the Law is stereotyped:—“Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: Ahura Mazda, holiest spirit, creator of all earthly beings, Holy one, when does the corpse-spirit spring on dead men.” Thereupon Ahura Mazda said, ”&c.
The technical name for these instructive interviews between Ormuzd and Zoroaster is Āhūrīnī śraṃā and Āhūrīnī takaśā “the Ahurian questioning and the Ahurian teaching” (Yasna 71, 12; 57, 24). The same form of outward expression is usual also in other books, e.g., in Yasht 1, 1; 14, 1. Even the Gathas are at certain points thought of as conversations between the two, e.g., 50, 2. Ormuzd is often introduced as speaking without any preceding interpellation, as in Vend, 1, 1; Yasht 8, 1; 10, 1; 13, 1, and in many other places. In Yasna 71, 1 not Zoroaster but Frashaoshtra is introduced as the questioner and Zoroaster is himself the teacher.

§ 20. The forms of prayer in the Avesta are long-winded ascriptions of praise without movement or content, sometimes a mere list of names and tables of gods, genii, and holy things, sometimes adorned with the usual adjectives. Their whole art and function lies in a circumstantial exhaustive recounting of the names and properties of the divine beings, their companions and helpers, and ideas related to them, according to the order supplied by rank, time, ritual, and the whole cosmological system of Zoroastrianism. The constantly recurring formula is yazamaide, “We worship the——,” or a similar one. “We here worship the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the pious. We reverence the Fravashis of all ancestors, teachers and pupils, pious

1 Vendidad 15, 23-42.  
2 Vendidad, 7, 1.  
3 Only the solemn address to Mazda is wanting: Vd, 5, 1; 6, 1; 8, 1; 13, 1; 15, 1.
men and pious women who died in this house. We worship the Fravashis of all pious teachers. We worship the Fravashis of all pious pupils. We worship the Fravashis of all pious men; we worship the Fravashis of all pious women."¹ We worship the holy Sraosha, we worship the high Lord, namely Ahura Mazda, who is the highest (Lord) of Asha, who is the most richly helpful Lord of Asha. We reverence all Zoroastrian words, and we reverence all good works, both past and future."² We reverence Ahura Mazda, the gloriously renowned; we reverence the Amesha Spenta whose kingdom is good, the benefactors. We reverence Vohn Manō, the Amesha Spenta; we reverence peace and victory, which is superior to the other creatures; we reverence the inherent Mazda-created wisdom, we reverence the Mazda-created wisdom that has been heard by the ear."³ These forms of prayer fill up a considerable part of the whole Avesta, and have given it, not unjustly, the discredit of being a dull insipid book.⁴

§ 21. The Yashts also are abundantly filled with such formulae. The smaller Yashts, indeed, consist mainly of such forms. The larger Yashts, on the other hand, which alone have a real claim to the name, bear a somewhat higher stamp. They are artistically arranged, and in their inward essence they are real poetry. The outward mark of a correct Yasht is the division into fargards with a standing introduction and refrain. This is confined to the following Yashts:—5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and the great Srōsh Yasht (Yasna 57).⁵ The second criterion is the preponderance of metre. For the most part they are composed in measured language, not merely in a rhythmic prose⁶, but in real metre, in the current eight-syllabled measure with lines of twelve syllables thrown in. The only metrical principle here followed seems to be the retention of the definite number of syllables. When the metre does not always come out quite correct, this is due in part to the somewhat later form of the language in the written texts, partly also to the want of a strict adherence to form on the part of the poets, but still more to the fact

¹ Yasna 26, 7-8.
² Yasna 70, 7.
³ Siiess 2, 1-2.
⁴ For a characterization of the book, compare also Dünckel, p. 74; E. Meyer, p. 507.
⁵ The Rāthin Yasht (12) was first distributed into Fargards by the later MSS. For knows nothing of this division.
⁶ Daehnert, I., p. 79 n., and XCIX n.
that these writings have come to us re-edited and re-touched. Also the religious poetry of the Iranians is predominantly sober and monotonous, only occasionally does a higher movement, the warm breath of natural vivacity, sweep through their compositions.

Anquetil defines the Yashts as "hymns of praise which set forth the principal characteristics of the genii, their relation to Ormuzd and His creation, their characteristics as the distributors of the blessings which Ormuzd has spread over Nature, and as the declared enemies of Ahriman and his servants." This definition reproduces only one side of the Yashts. The Yashts are composed of description and narrative; the former is for the most part copious and extended, the latter brief, lively and suggestive, like the history of the Aryan arrow-shooter Erekhshu in Yasht 8, 6, or the inroad of Ahriman upon the pure creation (Yasht 13, 77-78); only rarely worked out at length like the story, spiced with a certain humour, of the contest between Azhi Dahaka and fire for the heart of the Iranian king's splendour and the vain hunt of the Frangrasyan after it (Yasht 19, 46-64). These mythical episodes and characteristic touches, interspersed here and there, are the most precious pearls in the Yashts. They are taken from the heroic Epos of the ancient Iranians, and, since they are pretty abundant, they serve as a tolerable substitute for this lost epic. The entire hero-lore, which Firdusi celebrates at such length, is already contained in germ in the Yashts, from Haoshyangha (Hoshang) downwards to Vishtasp (Gushasp), not seldom, indeed, set forth in richer form than in the Shahnâmê. On the other hand, many an obscure reference in the Awesta to the old tradition has been first brought into its true light by Firdusi.

1 With reference to the metre, compare Westphal, Zur Vergleichenden Metrik der Indogermanischen Völker, K.Z. 9,437, especially 444 seq.—Roth in Z.D.M.G. 25, 215.—Toerpel, De metris partiibus Zendavestae, Halle, 1871.—Geldner, Uber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta, Tübingen, 1877.—F. Allen, Über den Ursprung des homerischen Versmasses, K.Z., 24, 556, especially p. 559 seq. The editors of the Awesta had no idea of the metre of the later Awesta; but it forces itself on the reader unsought.

2 Anquetil, II, 143. Another definition contained in the Dinkard was given above, § 17.


4 Darmesteter has worked in this direction especially with good result. Compare I, XLVI, and his translation of the Yashts. With reference to the agreement of the Awesta and the Shahnâmê, in regard to the mythical history of Iran, compare especially Spiegel: Awesta und Shahnâmê, Z.D.M.G. 45, 187.
The chronology of the hero-traditions, the succession in the two mythical royal lines, the Paradhātas or Pēshedās, and the Kavis or Kayānians, with the various interregnums, as it lies at the basis of the epic portions of the Awesta, agrees in all essential points with the Shāhnāme. In the Yashts 5, 9, 15, 17, the old heroes and kings of the Epos serve only as a foil. It is related how these reverenced the divinity in question and made sure of its help for particular ends. They are brought forward in the traditional succession, and numerous mythical features are interwoven in the narrative. On the other hand the most original of all the Yashts, the 19th, contains the history of the hvareno, we might say of the Iranian kingly crown, and sketches in broad outlines the entire history of old Iranian dynasties, their conflicts and the vicissitudes of their fortune. This is a real piece of epic writing. The list of the kings is here most complete. This Yasht, at least from para. 9, where also the division into fargards begins, down to its close, bears with much greater right the title Kayān Yasht attested in the oldest MS. than that which is usually given, the Zamyād Yasht (cf. § 8). The conclusion (89—96) is an apocalypse depicting the passing of the Iranian royal crown to Sōshyōs, the future Saviour, and the resurrection, the triumph of Sōshyōs and the final besieging of Ahriman. The epic of descriptive elements, and those which deal with forms, by no means exhaust the contents of the Yashts. They contain many other kinds of teaching, which stand in some connection or other with the particular Yazad, on the subject of charms, amulets, oracles, sacrifices, atonements and heresy. In this respect the 14th Yasht is the most copious.

THE GATHAS.

§ 22. Within the Awesta a small group of texts occupy a unique position by reason of the style of the language in which they are written. These are the so-called Gathas (gāthāo). Gāthā, Phlv. gās, plur. gāsān, is employed in a wider sense, especially in later usage, and designates the entire Gatha literature (vide § 18) of which the Gathas, in the narrower and strict sense, form the centre. Accordingly we are to include under the Gathas all those Awesta texts which are composed in the Gatha dialect. In its narrower and proper sense the term is restricted to the metrical portions of the former, i.e., to their five separate groups

1 Nördere : Kayanier im Awesta, in Z. D. M. G. 32, 570; The writer in K.Z. 25, 379; Darmesteter 11, xviii.
(cf. § 23). In a still narrower sense the Phlv. gaś designs the separate lines of a Gatha strophe which are called in the Awesta afsmanat. The text of the Gathas had its place in the great Sasanid Awesta in the first of the Gatha Nasks, in the Stōt Yasht. The next following three Nasks were, to judge by the preceding tests or from the statement of their contents given in the Dinkard, more modern productions which were related directly or indirectly to the Gathas—commentaries or homilies on them. They illustrated the Gathas theologically from various standpoints. The Sūtkar was only loosely connected with the Gathas. Its aim was to draw useful doctrines from the Gathas, to illustrate them by the aid of legends, and to append to them fuller discussions (Dinkard 9, 2-23). The Nask Varshtmānsar prefixed a chapter on the birth and call of Zarathushtra, the following 22 chapters contained, according to the analysis given in the Dinkard, a table of contents of the Gathas, besides discussions thereon and appendices thereto. The original text of this Nask must have contained the quintessence of the more ancient indigenous interpretation of those pieces that date from a hoary antiquity (Dinkard 9, 24-46). The character of the third Nask, the Bako, is most clearly seen in the three chapters of Yasna 19-21, by which it is represented in our Awesta (Dinkard 9, 47-68). West calls it "an analytical commentary." It appears to have adhered with greater closeness to the letter of the Gathas. In all the three commentaries there is a chapter devoted to one of the 17 metrical Gathas and the Airyana Ishyō (Y. 54), one devoted to the three sacred prayers which were prefixed to the Gathas, and one to the Yasna Haptinghāiti. The Sūtkar and Bako counted accordingly each 22 and the Varshtmānsar 23 Fargards.

§ 23. The Stōt Yasht was the collection of the texts named Stōtān Yasnān, from which it received its name. In the Awesta the Stōtān Yasnān are called Staota Yasnaya, and there designate this same collection incorporated in the Yasna (cf. Yasna 54, 2; 55, 3, 6, 7; 58, 8; 71 7, 18; Visp. 1, 3; 3, 7; 12, 3; 23, 1; Yasht 10, 122). They are

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2 West, SBE, XXXVII, p. 173 n.
3 Fuller information in Darmesteter I, CIV.
4 West, at the passage cited, p. 303 n.
called "the laws for the first life" (an allusion to Y. 33, 1). The expression occurs in a technical sense in a passage in the Gathas, somewhat in the same way in which in the Rig-veda *r̥c̥h* occurs, not as the name of a completed collection, but as a specific term for a particular kind of style. The Stot Yasnya seem to be somewhat more comprehensive than the Gathas properly so-called. On the other hand, they do not include everything that was written in the Gatha-dialect. The interesting chapter 12 of the Yasna, is not included in them. In the *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* 13, 1, we have the definite testimony that the Stot Yasnya begin with the words *visī ai va amaśā spantā*, i.e., with Yasna 14, 1. On the other hand they are named for the last time in the liturgical note added at the end of the chapter in 58, 8. They must, therefore, thus fall between 14-58, but not continuously. According to the Ravivets the Stot Yasht numbered 33 chapters. This number cannot now be made out with certainty. According to my view the Gatha-dialect is indispensable for the Stot Yasht. The chapters 16-17, 19-26, 52, 55 and 57 would have to be eliminated. Chapter 18 is only a liturgical repetition of 51, 7 and 47. If we assume that the three most sacred prayers, to each of which the three Nask Commentaries devoted a separate fargard, formed in the original Nask three separate pieces, and that, further, the Yasna Haptaungāti, although in the Commentaries it is gathered up into a unity (Dink. 9, 12, 35, 57), had retained its original division into chapters in the Stot Yasht from which it received its name, the number 33 would work out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y. 14</th>
<th>Y. 34</th>
<th>Y. 45</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yathā ahū vairyo</em></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aśēm vohū</em></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Yoghā hūlūm</em></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Y. 28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>58, 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>11 + 11 = 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 *West, SBE, XXXVII, p. 169 n.*
2 Not quite identical with Y. 51, 22.
3 The conclusion belongs to another Nask.
The Gathas occupy the largest space in these Stāta Yesnya. They are divided into five separate groups according to the five different metres or strophes employed. The individual groups are arranged in the descending order of their length. They are named from their initial words; similarly the individual chapters or Hāitis of a group have titles taken from their first and, in isolated cases, from their second word.

The first group is called the Ahunavaiti Gatha (34, 16) from the second word of the single strophe placed at the head of the group Yathā aha vairyā (the Ahuna Vairya, Honover in Anquetil).

It is made up of the following seven Chapters¹:

1. Ahyāsa Hāiti, 11 Strophes, Y. 28
2. Xāmāvya-gouś-urva H. 11 ,, Y. 29
3. At-tā-vaxšya H. 11 ,, Y. 30
4. Tā-va-urvāta H. 22 ,, Y. 31
5. Xvaētumalithya H. 16 ,, Y. 32
6. Yathāiśitha H. 14 ,, Y. 33
7. Yā-śya-nothana H. 15 ,, Y. 34

The strophe (vēcaust) of the Ahunavaiti Gatha, including the Ahuna Vairya, consists of 3 verses (gāṣ) of 7 + 9 or 7 + 8 syllables. A caesura occurs regularly at the end of the 7th syllable.²

The second group is the Uśtavaiti Gatha (Y. 46, 20). It consists of 4 chapters:

1. Uśtavaiti Hāiti, 16 Strophes, Y. 43
2. Tat-thwā-pāroṣa H. 20 ,, Y. 44
3. At-fravaxšya H. 11 ,, Y. 45
4. Kammamača H. 19 ,, Y. 46

The strophe of the Ushtavaiti Gatha consists of 5 lines³ of 4 + 7 syllables. The caesura occurs at the end of the fourth syllable.

¹ The names are partly modelled after the later Awesta.
³ With the exception of 46, 15 where there are only four lines. With reference to this compare Shāyast là-Shāyast 13, 51.
The third group is called the Spenta-mainyu Gatha (Y. 50. 12). To it belong the following four chapters:

1. Spenta-mainyu Hāiti 6 strophes Y. 47
2. Yezidha H. 12 " Y. 48
3. At-māyahava H. 12 " Y. 49
4. Kaṭ-mōi-urva H. 11 " Y. 50

The Spenta-mainyu-strophe consists of four lines each of 4 + 7 syllables, and thus corresponds to the Indian Tristubh. In individual cases the Jagati measure, 5 + 7 syllables, takes its place, especially in Y. 48, 5 and 6.

The last two groups comprise each one chapter; they are the Vohukhshatha Gatha with the Vohukhshatha Hāiti—22 strophes,—Y. 51, and the Vahishtoishṭi Gatha with the Vahishtoishṭi Hāiti—9 strophes,—Y. 53. The strophe of the former consists of three lines each of 7 + 7 syllables. The Vahishtoishṭi strophe is made up of two shorter and two longer lines, the former of 7 + 5 syllables with one cæsura, the latter of 7 + 7 + 5 syllables with double cæsura. To the last Gatha is attached, without being reckoned, one of the Gathas proper, a single strophe the Airyama Ishyō. The metre is that of the Vahishtoishṭi Gatha, although the traditional division of the lines does not entirely agree with this metre. Of the three most sacred prayers prefixed to the Gathas proper the Honover has been already mentioned. The Yenghe Hāṭām (complete in Y. 27, 15) consists of three lines of 11 syllables each. It is an imitation of the genuine Gatha strophe 51, 22. The Asōm Vohū prayer, which stands complete in Y. 27, 14, so oft quoted in its opening words, is, on the other hand, prose. The Shāyast lā-Shāyast (13, 50) gives an exact numerical reckoning of all the strophes, lines, words and syllables of the Gathas, and Zāt-sparam⁠ the symbolism of these numbers. Each chapter of the Gathas is provided with a separate note at the end in the style usual in liturgical forms.

§ 24. The Gathas are composed in an ancient richly developed language, which diverges largely both in form and vocabulary from the ordinary Awesta. The linguistic differences between the “Gatha-dialect” and the “later Awesta,” belong to the department of gram-

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1 SBE. XXXVII. pp. 403 seq.
The external characteristic of the Gatha-dialect is the uniform lengthening of the final vowel. In this respect it has many points of contact with the Old Persian of the Inscriptions. Further a distinction must be made between the genuine ancient Gatha-dialect and the imitated or mixed form of it. The latter is found, for example, in Y. 56 and largely in the confessions, also in the Yenghe Háitám prayer.

The rest of the Awesta confirms the conjecture suggested by the language of these texts, namely, that they are the oldest portions of the whole book. They are the source and original text for the later Awesta, the sacred words par excellence. According to the Sháyast lā-Sháyast 13, 3 they were formed out of the body of the holy man. They are often invoked as sacred things,1 quoted innumerable times as wonder-working charms (e.g. Vd. 8, 20; Farg. 10 and 11). They are the basis of manifold imitations and particular forms of speech. These imitations of the Gathas are often nothing more than a transference of the ancient dialect into the current modern Awesta language. Thus the line tat thata porosd orś moī vaocai Akhrā 44, 1 is modernised in Vd. 19, 10 into tat thata porosd arīs mē vaocai Akhura; and 49, 7 ya voroznāi vanguhim dāt frasastim is varied into yā mē vūroznāi vanguhim dāt frasastim Yasht 9, 26. Similarly in 71, 13 compared with 46, 6 and elsewhere.

Only the Gathas are held in the Awesta to be the immediate utterances of Zarathushtra, while the remaining books record his words more in the style of a report. They are called the Gathas of the holy Zarathushtra (Y. 57, 8). Legend imagines Zarathushtra speaking in the Gathas on solemn occasions (Y. 9, 1). Zarathushtra has communicated in the Gathas all the moral laws which have been revealed in the whole contents of the Awesta and has given them their authority (Neriosangh before Yasna 28).

Every Gatha chapter (Hâití) forms a complete whole in itself, the separate strophes of which are connected together, although often only loosely. In Yasna 44, every strophe, with the exception of the last, is introduced by the same question. Similarly, in Y. 43, strophes 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16 hang together; so also 45, 1-6. The exordium and conclusion are most distinctly marked. The first strophe

1 For example, Vend. 19, 38.
sometimes states the subject, e. g., in 30, 1. The concluding strophe is frequently an oratio pro domo of the prophet considered as speaker, e. g., 33, 14; 43, 16; 45, 11; 49, 12; 50, 11. Zarathushtra speaks of himself sometimes in the third person (28, 6; 33, 14; 43, 16; 46, 13; 49, 12; 51 12; 53, 1), sometimes in the first person (28, 7; 43, 8; 46, 19), sometimes in both together (50, 6; 51, 15); sometimes he apostrophizes himself (46, 14).

In the present imperfect state of the interpretation of the Gathas every judgment regarding these interesting texts must be accepted with great caution. A unique spirit, more profound than that which meets us in all the rest of the Avesta, speaks in the Gathas. Almost every strophe contains a pregnant thought. It is true that the Gathas always bring us back again to the fundamental ideas of the Mazda-religion; but these ideas appear constantly in a new and distinctive garb. The style of expression is almost entirely free from the influence of pattern and uniformity, such as we find in most of the other texts; nothing is commonplace or trivial, everything is measured and pithy. In their mystical obscurity and their compressed, often enigmatical, brevity they remind us in many ways of the old Upanishads. They deal much more with principles than details; but they are preponderatingly eschatological in character. The conflict of the two spirits, which is the meaning of this world, the final issue of this conflict, the eternal and temporal recompense of all deeds, the future judgment and trial by fire, the expected kingdom of Mazda,—these are the leading themes which ever recur in continual variation.

The essential distinction between the Gathas and all the other texts lies entirely in the personality of Zarathushtra. In the Gathas it presents itself in a much less legendary form, in a form brought much nearer to our humanity. Mention is made only of his being called and taught by Vohu Manó and Ahura Mazda, but not of his bodily temptations through the instrumentality of Ahriman. His relation to his patrons, especially to King Vishtáspa and his councillors, stands forth more vividly and more conspicuously. The subjective and personal element is predominant; the texts are rich in allusions to enemies and experiences and occurrences of which the rest of the Avesta knows

1 Compare also DARMESTÉDER I, XCVII seq., and Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris 1877, p. 311; De HARLEZ, AVESTA, CLXXXII.
nothing. In the second place the spirit-world of the Gathas is preponderatingly abstract, by which we by no means imply that the thoughts also of the Gathas are pure abstraction or speculation. The Haoma with its cult, the Fravashis, Mithra, and the entire concrete and naturalistic pantheon are unknown to the Gathas. In like manner also the ceremonial outward sacrificial worship gives place to the moral and spiritual element. From this silence of the texts it would, of course, not be legitimate to conclude that sensuous conceptions of the supernatural world and supernatural beings had been entirely banished from the older Mazda-religion,¹ and that the Gathas represent the primitive, the later texts the degenerate Mazda-religion as adapted to the spirit of the people². The Gathas reflect rather only one side of the same Mazda-religion, its esoteric doctrine. They are intended for the narrower circle of the initiated. The greatest emphasis is laid on the "knowing," and the "initiated" one (vādâv, vádemnā). He has a preferential right before the multitude (pourūš 47,6) to the best of Mazda's Revelation. Repeated allusion is made to the secret and higher doctrines (46, 3; 48, 3).³

§ 25. The expression Gatha is not simply to be interpreted etymologically as= hymn, or song. It is to be remembered that in India the expression gāthā is often used in a technical sense. It designates amongst the Brahmans as well as the Buddhists the verses scattered over narrative prose which either form an integral part of the narrative, or were tacked on to the prose, and in this case its contents recapitulated in a brief and easily remembered summary.⁴ By reason of their form they were quite peculiarly adapted for oral tradition, and were perhaps originally selected for this purpose. They have often become detached from the accompanying prose and have been preserved alone without the latter. If we might assume a similar position for the Gathas of the Awesta, these would also presuppose a lost prose substratum of which the Gathas formed the introduction, resumés and apercus. Their peculiar composition, their generally uniform arrangement, the thread of

² Hürschmann, Ein Zoroastrisches Lied, München 1872, p. 2.
³ With reference to the secret doctrines and sayings, which, in the later books, are recommended to special discretion, compare Yasht, 4, 9; 14, 46.
⁴ Compare Ed. Müller, Der Dialekt des Gathas der Lalitavistara, Weimar 1874, p. 3.
thought running through them even when the individual strophes are loosely connected, are all in favour of this supposition. Many strophes point to a lost context by a demonstrative which cannot be explained by anything in the preceding text (e.g., Yas. 30, 3.)

We may, therefore, well suppose that in the Gathas has been preserved for us the quintessence of the doctrinal teachings or sermons which the oldest tradition put into the mouth of the prophet and caused to be preserved in the circle of the faithful, his school and privileged followers. But whether a certain authenticity may be ascribed further to these Sravāo Zarathuštri "Zarathushtrian Utterances", is a question to which, in view of the fluctuating opinions with regard to Zoroaster's age and historical person, no definite answer can be given.

Each of the Gatha chapters seems to be related to a definite occurrence contained in the legends of the saint or to be conceived on the basis of some concrete situation, which indeed shines through in allusions, but in its entirety remains veiled from our view. Nearly every one of these 17 chapters, while it has its own peculiar stamp, is, as it were, tuned to a different key. The background is most distinct in Yasna 53; it is a family scene, an address to his relatives and the princes who were related to him by marriage, perhaps on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Pouruchīsta. Y. 47 might have been put in his mouth in view of the fire-ordeal, to which, according to the later legend, Zoroaster had to submit himself. Unique in its style is Y. 29; they are the dialogue verses in the well-known myth of Gāos Uren. Y. 30 is specially instructive in regard to the dualistic system of doctrine. Chapter 43 depicts his call by Mazda. Personal relations are touched especially in 46 and 51. Y. 32 may be considered the most obscure Gatha.

§ 26. Sample of a translation from the Gathas.—

1. Yasna 45, 1-11:—And I will speak, now listen, now hear ye who seek instruction from far and near; now all ye perceive Him, for He is manifest; the satanic tongue which confessed a false faith.

2 For example, in the Zarathuštra Name, cf. Aspelt 1. 2, n. 33.
3 The Gathas have been edited particularly by Chr. Bartholomae: Die Gathas, Halle, 1877, with a review of the metre and an index of words.
2. And I will speak of the two spirits in the beginning of the world, of whom the holy one thus spake to the evil one: "Neither our respective thoughts nor doctrines, nor knowledge, nor efforts, nor words, nor deeds, nor religions, nor souls, can harmonize."

3. And I will speak of the first (most important) thing in this life which Ahura Mazda the Knowing One has proclaimed to me. To those among you who do not fulfil it—the word—as I intend and say it, will the end of the world be sad.

4. And I will speak of the Best One of this world—from Asha have I learned, O Mazda! Who created it—of the Father of the active Vohu Mano. And His daughter is the good-working Armaiti. The all-seeing Ahura is not to be deceived.

5. And I will speak of that which the Holiest One has said to me, the word to hearken to which is the best for man: "Those who will always yield obedience to Me, this one shall attain to Haurvatat and Ameretatat through the working of the Vohu Mano," (so spake) He Ahura Mazda.

6. And I will speak of Him Who is the greatest of all, praising Him, O Asha! Who is the wisest of all. By His holy spirit shall Ahura Mazda hear it in Whose worship I was instructed by the Vohu Mano. According to His wisdom shall He teach me that which is best.

7. They shall desire the advantage of this, which brings reward, namely, those who live, who were and shall be. The soul of the pious rejoice in that which is a torture in eternity for the men of Satan. And this Mazda Ahura brings to pass by His Kingdom.

8. I seek how to bring Him to us with hymns of entreaty since now I long to see it before my eyes (the kingdom) of good thinking, good action, and good speaking, I, O Asha! who know the Mazda Ahura. And in paradise we will offer Him homage.

9. I seek Him that He may be graciously disposed to us, together with the Vohu Mano, Who can at His pleasure create for us comfort or discomfort. May Mazda, through His Kingdom, bring us to efficiency, and our cattle and people to prosperity, in consequence of the wisdom of Vohu Mano, O Asha!

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1 The Prophet.
2 Literally: "with entreaty."
10. Him will I glorify with the prayers of piety. Who in unchangeableness is called Mazda Ahura because His Asha and Vohu Mano revealed that there shall be in His kingdom Haurvatát and Amertatát, in His abode might and continuance.

11. To him therefore who in the future will contemn the Devs and the men who contemn him, and all others except the man who pays reverence to him, the Saoshyant, as Master, as Lord, will the holy religion be a friend, brother, or father, O Mazda Ahura!

Yasna 50, 4-6. And I will worship You praising You, O Mazda Ahura! together with Asha and Valishtem Mano and Khshathra and the wished for\(^1\) (fem.) revealer\(^2\) of the well-disposed, ye who wait for the faithful on the way to Paradise.

5. Since are fulfilled, O Mazda Ahura! O Asha! as soon as you are kindly disposed to your prophet with visible manifest help, your beckonings\(^3\) which transport us into Paradise.

6. When the Prophet Zarathushtra lifts his voice, O Mazda! as friend, O Asha! praying, may the Creator of wisdom teach him through Vohm Mano the rules that they may be a right path for my tongue.

§ 27. Yasna Haptanghaiti. In the midst of the Gathas proper, after the first group, according to the generally adopted principle of arrangement, a text of quite a unique character has been inserted, the so-called Seven-Chapter-Yasna (Yasna Haptanghaiti, cf. the subscription in Y. 41, 8). In the Sūtkar this portion is named simply the Yasna (Dink. 9, 12, 1), and is treated of in a single fargard; so also in the Varshtmānsar (9, 35) and Bako Nask (9, 57). The Haptanghāiti proper extends from yat at in 35, 3 to 41, 6. The introduction (35, 1-2) and the concluding chapter (42) bear the impress of a later date. In the Shāyast lā-Shāyast (13, 16), Y. 35, 2 also is reckoned as part of the Haptanghāiti. The Seven-Chapter-Yasna is, with a few exceptions, prose;\(^4\) although tradition following the analogy of the Yasnas proper has divided it into strophes (vēcast) and metrical lines (gyās)\(^5\).

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\(^1\) Literally: "of the wish" = 网投 in the distinct parallel 48, 8.

\(^2\) The Chinvat bridge which every one must pass over. Dink. 9, 20, 3.

\(^3\) Literally: "wish with the hand."

\(^4\) The usual eight syllable metre is found in chapter 40.

\(^5\) Compare Shāyast lā-Shāyast 13, 16 seq., and the remarks in Geldner's edition on chapter 35.
language is as ancient as that of the metrical Gathas, but the thoughts and expression are simpler. In parts the yazamaible-formula which later became customary, preponderates especially in chapters 37, 38, and 39. Each chapter is devoted to a special theme with regard to which Shâyast la-Shâyast in the place quoted may be compared. Chapter 36 was intended to treat of the six fire-ordeals (var). In reality it speaks of fire, especially of that which plays the chief part in the fire-test in the last judgment. Chapter 37 is defined as a thanksgiving for the good creations of Mazda. The definition of the remaining chapters is less appropriate. Chapter 38 treats of the earth and its genii as also of the waters; chapter 39 of animals, the souls of the pious and the Amesha Spentas; 40 and 41 of rewards in this world and the next. There seems to be no close connection between the separate chapters.

It is striking that the name of Zarathushtra does not occur in it. This is, however, only an accident; for Y. 35, 9 and 10 contains an unmistakable allusion to him. One might be tempted to see in some chapters, especially the first, replies to Zarathushtra's discourses from within the circle of his congregations, so that they thus form in some measure the complement to the metrical Gathas. Beyond this little can be asserted positively regarding their proper purpose and literary significance.

§ 28. Sample of a translation from the Yasna Haptanghâiti, Yasna 35, 3-10:

3. "And this will we choose for ourselves, O Mazda Ahura! O beautiful Asha! that we think, speak, and do them, namely those which are the best of all works for the world. 4. By reason of the rewards for these best works will we strive both learned and unlearned, rulers and servants, to give rest and fodder to the cattle. 5. Evermore will we, so far as in us lies, keep possession of and impart to others the rule of the best ruler and prepare it, namely, the rule of Mazda Ahura and Asha Vahishta. 6. And as any one knows clearly—be heman or woman—so shall he do for himself according to his best knowledge that which is good, and further teach it to those who should do it as the case may be. 7. Since we reckon as the best the paying of worship and homage to

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Ahura Mazda and the feeding of the cattle. That will we do and further teach it as far as we are able. 8. And in the rule of Asha and amongst the people of Asha there is for every man the best life as reward in both worlds. 9. And these (Thy) revelations, O Ahura Mazda! will we further teach with the best thought of Asha and in these we possess the best receiver and teacher from the side of Asha and Vohu Mano and the good Khshathra and from Thyself, O Ahura, in consequence of his hymns upon hymns, from Thyself, in consequence of his speeches upon speeches, from Thyself, in consequence of his offering upon offering."

HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE AWESTA.

§ 29. The existence of a sacred literature of Iran before the Sasanid era is abundantly attested by Western writers. It suffices to call a few notices from their accounts. Herodotus notes only that the Magians sang the Theogony on the occasion of their sacrifices. Hermippus of Smyrna (3rd century B.C.) is the earliest writer who knew of the writings of Zoroaster. Hermippus wrote a book on the doctrines of the Magians which, according to Pliny, contained a statement of the contents of the two million verses which Zoroaster had composed. Nikolaus of Damascus and Dio Chrysostomus speak of the λόγοι of Zoroaster which the Persians revered as sacred. The latter adds that the Magians had learned them from Zoroaster. We learn from Strabo and Pausanias, who report as eye-witnesses, that the Magians performed religious services in their fire-temples that lasted for hours, and that they read them from a book in a barbarous tongue. Philo of Byblus (about 80-130 A.D.) quotes a passage from a collection of the sacred writings of the Persians as the very words of Zoroaster, a philosophical poetical description of the Supremo God.

1 The Prophet Zarathushtra is meant.
3 Herodotus I., 132.
4 Plinius, Hist. Nat. 30, 2; compare also Diog. Laert., De vita philos., procem VI.
5 Kleuker, p. 8.
7 Strabo XV., 733.
8 Pausan. 5, 27, 3.
He adds that Ostanes says the same in his Oktateuch. Eusebius in the first century of the Sasanid dynasty speaks of a collection of sacred writings in which Zoroaster is represented as speaking. Among later Arabian writers the notice given by Tabari is interesting, namely, that Zoroaster's writings covered 12,000 cow hides.

§ 30. More valuable are the notices that come from the home of the Avesta, those given in the Pahlavi literature. The Dinkard has preserved the quintessence of the Parsi tradition in the two-fold account, which it contains. The one account in the last chapter of the third book asserts that the work before it, was based on the sacred revelation which Zoroaster imparted to his first disciple in answer to his questions. King Vishtasp, it says, had written down the original teaching, had deposited the original MS. in the royal treasury, and a copy of it in the archives, and had put further copies into circulation. When the great calamity of Alexander's usurpation came upon the monarchy the one copy was burned, the other fell into the hands of the Greeks and was translated by them into Greek. When King Ardashir, the son of Papak, restored the monarchy in Iran, he caused the scattered copies to be collected. At his order, his high priest Tansar completed and published (or explained?) this collection, and thus gave "a faithful reproduction of

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1 Philonis Bybl. frag. 9 in Müller III, 573, 9.
2 Euseb. praep. ev. 1, 10.
3 Hyde (1700) p. 314, (1760) p. 318. According to Masudi also there were 12,000 cow hides, Duncker, p. 40.
5 This account is published by Haug in Zand-Pahlavi Gl. XXXI; the second by Haug in his Essay on Pahlavi, p. 149.
6 West translates this important passage thus: "And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who was son of Papak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Iran, and the same scripture was brought from a scattered state to one place. The righteous Tarsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests, appeared with an exposition recovered from the Avesta, and was ordered to complete the scripture from that exposition," &c. Darmesteter, on the other hand, paraphrases it thus: "Quand Artakhshatar, Roi des Rois, fils de Papak, vint restaurer l'empire d'Iran, il réunit en un seul lieu toutes les écritures dispersées; et le Herbed des Herbeds, le saint Tansar, le Pûryôtêš, vint et incorpora une révélation de l'Avesta; et en donnant cette révélation au complet, il donna une image exacte," etc. The question is just what we are to understand by the Pahlavi yaddâkîsh, which Haug translates by "publication," West by "exposition," and Darmesteter by "révélation."
the original light" Ardashir also caused one copy to be preserved in the treasury and other copies to be distributed.

Still fuller is the second account given in the fourth book of the Dinkard. King Vishtasp, after his campaign against Arjasp, had the scriptures of the Mazdayasna-religion collected. Daru, the son of Daru, gave orders that the whole of the Awesta, with its explanation, should be preserved in two copies, the one in the treasury, the other in the Archives. Valkhash (Vologeses), the son of Ashkan, organized the careful collection and transcription from original sources of the entire Awesta so far as it had descended pure to that time, all of it that had been preserved in Iran, handed down in writing or by oral tradition, in a fragmentary state since the invasion of Alexander. Ardashir, the son of Papak, invited Tansar to his court and had the scattered original documents of the religion collected by him. He imparted canonical validity to his collection by proscribing as contrary to the religion all doctrines which did not proceed in this way direct from Tansar. Ardashir's son Shâhpûhr caused all the non-religious writings on astronomy, medicine, mathematics, and philosophy which were scattered in India, Greece and elsewhere to be collected and added to the Awesta, and a correct copy of both writings to be deposited in the treasury. Under King Shâhpûhr, son of Aûharmazd, a tribunal was summoned to investigate the religious controversies in the land. Before this tribunal Adarpâd submitted to the fire-ordeal (probably on behalf of the Awesta as restored to its pure form by him). He fixed the numbering of the Nasks, and the king declared that from henceforth, now that the true religion stood visible before men's eyes, he would no longer tolerate any false religion.

According to another passage in the Dinkard, King Khosrau Parviz caused a new interpretation of the Awesta and Zend to be prepared by the most intelligent of the priests.3

Another Pahlavi book, the Ardâ Virâf, relates in the introduction that the religion which Zoroaster had founded flourished in its purity for

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1 According to Balaladi, 34, 8, the last Darius is meant.
3 Hago, Essay on Pahlavi, p. 147.
300 years till Alexander burned the entire Awesta, which, written with
golden ink upon cow-skin (parchment), was preserved in the archives
at Persepolis. Thereafter anarchy in things secular and religious, unbelief,
sectarianism and ignorance of religion reigned in the land, and
diverse books of the law were current up to the time of the holy
Ādarpād, son of Mahraspand, who subjected himself to the ordeal of
fire.¹ The introduction to the Persian translation of the Ardā Virāf
supplements the account of King Ardashir by the statement that he
summoned all the Dasturs and Mobeds, who assembled to the number
of 40,000. He caused this great multitude to be continually sifted in
order to discover which of them remembered most of the Awesta. At
last only 40 remained, who had by heart the entire Awesta together
with its interpretation. From among these he chose the seven who had
the highest moral character.²

§ 31. When we set aside all the embellishments which we find
in these narratives, which to some extent have an unhistorical ring,
there remains, as the kernel of the tradition, the following:—the
existence of a religious book, an edited collection of sacred books before
the time of Alexander, the decay and scattering of this collection after
the time of Alexander, a first regathering of those writings under a
certain Vologeses, a new edition of the Awesta under Ardashir Pāpakān
(A. D. 226-240) by Tansar, a supplementary selection under Shāhpūhr
I. (240-271), a final revision by Ādarpād, and a proclamation of the
sacred canon under Shāhpūhr II. (310-379.), and a remodelling of the
Pahlavi translation under Khosrau I. (531-579).

Which of the five Vologeses is intended is quite uncertain.
Darmesteter conjectures that it was the most celebrated, Vologeses I.,
the contemporary of Nero, because Western historians bear testimony to
the pronounced Zoroastrianism of his relations.³ But in all probability
the later Vologeses were not less good Zoroastrians. From the middle
of the first century A. D. the Greek influence in Parthia was in decay
and nationalism in steady rise. From the time of Mithridates VI., the
contemporary of Trajan, Pahlavi inscriptions preponderate on the
coins.⁴ It would thus be more natural to identify Valkhash with one

¹ Ardā Virāf I, 1-16.
² HAUC, Introductory Essay to AV., p. xvi.
³ DARMESTETER, SBE. IV. p. xxxiv, and Le Zend-Avesta, III., xxiii.
⁴ GUTSCHEID in Encyclopaedia Britannica, XVIII. 601.
of the later Vologeses, and to place the first attempts directed towards the collection and preservation of the sacred writings, as precursors of the proper national religious revival under Ardashir, in closer connection in point of time with the latter. Vologeses III. might be thought of, whose long reign (148-191) was conspicuously peaceful in its internal affairs.

§ 32. Individual features in the domestic traditions may, as we have said, appear unhistorical or doubtful. The fanaticism of the priesthood ascribes immediately to Alexander the destruction of the sacred writings, whereas the neglect and partial loss of them was only a consequence of that religious and national decline which began with Alexander. The fact, however, remains that Alexander caused the royal fort in Persepolis to be burnt down (Diodor. 17, 72; Curtius 5, 7.) But the kernel of the Parsi tradition, regarding the history of the Avesta, seems thoroughly trustworthy. Its accounts disguise nothing, spare nothing. They confess, without reserve, that the Avesta of the Sasanids is no longer the ancient book. Another passage in the Dinkard says that all that could be discovered of the Avesta was not more than a single priest could conveniently carry in his head. And, in the second place, the account given agrees admirably with the structure of our Avesta, the disproportioned, unequal, and, in certain places, fragmentary character of the book. In point of language three classes of texts can be distinguished. In many portions the grammar is still handled with great certainty and correctness, in others loosely and uncertainly, and again other portions are in language and grammar quite barbarous. Such barbarism cannot be explained as corruptions resulting from careless tradition, because all the three classes of passages occur in the same book and the tradition is of the same kind throughout and, where the old MSS. are extant, it is on the whole very faithful. In a case in which we have to deal with the internal chronology of writings which are composed in a dead language, the language itself is a criterion which is not to be altogether rejected.

1 Dinkard 8, 1, 21.
2 It is sufficient to point to Vendidad 1, beginning and end, to Vendidad 22 where the conclusion is quite clearly lost.
3 For example, Yasna 9, 1-15.
4 For example, Vend. 1, 2, 1—5; Yas. 60, 11.
5 For example, Yasht 15, 48, 57; 10, 120; 2, 11; Yas. 23, 3; 68, 14.
We cannot, therefore, do better than adapt, as far as possible, our view of the Avesta to this Parsi tradition, which is both trustworthy in itself and in good agreement with the facts. The Avesta with the 21 masks, of which we now possess only a fragment, is a work of the Sasanian epoch, the result of the labours of the collectors and editors (diaskouasts) under King Ardashir with Tansar at their head. The way had been prepared by a more ancient collection of sacred texts which took place under a certain Vologeses. The text received its final form probably through the revision of Adarpād Mahraspand. The editing of the Khorda Avesta is specially ascribed to this Adarpād.

This Sasanid origin of the Avesta is, however, to be understood in this sense that the diaskouasts or editors composed a new canon out of remains and fragments which were still extant. They constructed a new building with old materials. It is impossible to determine, in regard to the whole or individual parts, what they found extant, or what new additions they made, how far they reproduced literally what they found or remodelled it. We may credit the diaskouasts with having fabricated not only the outward framework of many chapters and various connecting passages and supplements which the transformation of a number of fragments into one book rendered necessary, but also the formulae and typical portions according to extant patterns as they found necessary. The completing of the Avesta, of which the account given in the Dinkard speaks, consisted of work of this nature. These formal portions belong in respect of language chiefly to the second or third class of texts above distinguished. The parts of the Avesta which contain the real substance of the work, especially the Gathas and the central portion of the great and middle Yashts, might have been found by the first collectors in the form in which they have reproduced them. I have a less unfavourable opinion than West of the amount of learning possessed by the diaskouasts and of their knowledge of the sacred language, but I agree with him in essentials when he expresses the following view:—“How far they (the learned men of the Sasanids) may have been able to write ordinary Avesta text is more uncertain, but any such writing was probably confined to a few phrases for uniting the fragments of old Avesta which they discovered, or for interpolating opinions of their own.” — “That the Avesta texts

1 Ed. Meyer in his Geschichte, p. 503, has expressed this most clearly.
themselves were not written, to any great extent, in the Sasanian times, is shown by the quantity of Pahlavi commentary necessary to adapt them to the altered circumstances of those times."

Especially would I claim the metrical portions in their entirety for the more ancient and truly creative period as against the later period of imitation and restoration, of course, without excluding later imitations of these. Except in the case of the Gathas the learned men of the Sasanids had already lost all consciousness of having to do with metrical composition. Especially in the Vendidad the smaller metrical pieces stand out conspicuously from their surroundings and accordingly look as if they had been found as fragments by some later compiler and had been stuck by him at suitable points into his own monotonous composition and compilation. I refer especially to the interesting third fargard of the Vendidad. The fargard begins in the dry pedantic doctrinal style which is peculiar to the Vendidad. But from para. 24 onwards this is interrupted by a vivid spirited description of agriculture. The fruitful earth waiting cultivation is compared to a young bride, and almost the entire piece is metrical. Often, however, even in ancient contexts metre and prose may have been intermingled.

From what has been said it is clear that criticism would set up for itself an impossible goal if it aimed at paring down the extant Awesta until it arrived at so-called original Avesta, a pre-Sasanid Avesta. Old and new have been fused together in the book into an indissoluble unity. Critical efforts in this direction are as uncertain as in the Vedic field and lead only to the purest subjectivity.

§ 33. In like manner, it follows from what has been said that the question as to a definite age of the Avesta texts has been entirely

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1 West, SBE, XXXVII, Pref. XLII.
2 Any one who possesses a special taste for such textual criticism will still easily detect the hand of the interpolator in many passages, for example, when the text in Yas. 57, 14 thus runs:—

dārāt haśu aḥmāt nμnāt
dārāt haśu ainghāt viśat
dārāt haśu aḥmāt zanāat
dārāt haśu ainghāt dainghāna
eyo aŋkojaṃ vōsāna voṃnti
yenghe nμnāya srenosā aŋyo rervošaṇa, etc.
wrongly stated. The few chronological data which the Avesta itself offers have only a relative evidential value. Thus Kərəsānī in Yas. 9, 24 is represented in the Pahlavi translation by Kilisyaḵ. Darmesteter refers this to Alexander. Assuming the correctness of Darmesteter’s identification, no one could accept this passage as a proof of the post-Alexandrian origin of the entire Avesta. It would only prove that also after the time of Alexander writings were composed in Avesta, that Alexander is not to be associated with any interruption in literary production, that he does not mark the beginning of an interval destitute of literature. The latter supposition is in itself quite improbable according to Western accounts.

The period of the composition of the Avesta texts extends downwards to King Shāhpūhr II., backwards probably to the earliest times of the Zoroastrian Church. The earliest gems of the whole literature are to be conceived of after the analogy of Buddhistic and Christian sacred literature. Sayings and speeches (sermons) which tradition put into the mouth of the great prophet were first formulated and propagated in the priestly circles. Of this most ancient tradition only the Gathas have been preserved. In order to reach an approximate upper limit of time, it would be, above all, necessary to attain certainty and agreement as to the age of Zoroaster himself by whose historical personality I am disposed to stand fast. As against the extravagant

Here from the occurrence of nmānaya in the latter part it might be conjectured that originally in the former part only nmāna was mentioned and that a later hand had spun out the first verse after the well-known model (ris, santu, dainghu). But appearances may also deceive. I give up my own earlier attempts in this direction as failures.


2 DARMESTETER I, 80; III, XXXVIII. With reference to this passage compare also A. WEBER in the Ind. Str. 2, 429. Weber tries to see another allusion to Alexander in Yasht 19, 43, cf. A. WEBER, Die Griechen in Indien (Sitzungsberichte der K. Pr. Akademie der Wiss., zu Berlin 1890, p. 7 of the separately printed report.)

3 Not of course for the post-Alexandrian origin of the entire Hōm-Yasht since this does not present any such unity as the other Yashts. Cf. WEST in J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 660,
 chronology into which the Greeks fell,¹ the indigenous notes of time confine themselves within much more moderate bounds. Floigl, for example, rightly endeavours to vindicate the Parsi tradition also in this point as the more trustworthy. According to the Ardā Virāf (cf. § 30) Zoroaster taught about 300 years before the time of Alexander, according to the Bundahish (34, 8) 253 years before the collapse of the Achämenian dynasty. Zoroaster would accordingly be a contemporary of Cyrus and Vishtāspa of the Awesta identical with the historical Hystaspes.² What the later Awesta relates of Vishtāspa is East Iranian legend which from a kind of teleological conception of history connected Vishtāspa immediately with the Kayānian dynasty.

Accordingly 560 B.C. and 379 A.D. would be the extreme limits of the period within which the history of the development of the Awesta falls.³ The Achämenian, Arsacid and Sasanid epochs have probably an equal claim to the book. But no sure criterion has yet been discovered by which we can distinguish these periods within the Awesta itself. According to tradition the unity of the canon was lost during the Arsacid period down to a certain Vologeses. This does not exclude the possibility of many of our texts having been remodelled according to extant patterns during this epoch, while during the same period much of the old passed into oblivion.⁴

§ 34. Just as little are we entitled to speak of a distinct home of the Awesta or of a separate Awesta-people within Iran and a well-marked-off homogeneous period of civilization represented by it.⁵

¹ Cf. RAPP in Z.D.M.G. 19, 25.  
³ This estimate agrees substantially with the view of DE HARZEL: On a donc tout lieu de croire que la majeure partie de l’Avesta a été composée pendant les cinq derniers siècles de l’ère ancienne, Intr. CXCV.  
⁴ Compare also B. SAINT, Sur la composition des livres Zend, in ses Mélanges de Mythologie et de Linguistique, Paris 1877, pp. 207—215.  
⁵ The ideas and circumstances of the Iranian civilization as these appear in the Awesta, together with the geography of the Awesta, have been collected in a summary by W. LEIPZIG, Geschichte der Persischen Kultur im Alterthum, Erlangen 1882; English Translation by DARAN DASTUR PIRMOJAN SAHANA, “Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times”, London 1885. Compare also W. LEIPZIG, Le pays du peuple de l’Avesta dans ses conditions physiques in Le Monde, 1883, p. 84. On the calendar of the Awesta compare V. GUTSCHMID, Der. sächs. Ges. 1862; BEEZENBERGER, G.N., 1878, p. 251; RÖHR, 8
The geography of the Awesta which in part is legendary, points to the East as well as to the North-West, it gravitates, however, towards the East. The sea of Urumia (Çaçesta) points to the West and Airyanom Varjó (the later Arrañ between Kur and Aras̱) to the extreme North-West, to North Media and Hycania Ragha, Demavend (Arzūra), Alborz (Hera-lorenguīti). On the other hand, the Iranian legend of the kings has for the most part its scenes laid in the East; the homeland of the Kayānians is placed in Seistān. The mountains in Seistān (Ušidarmaj), the Parapanisos (Upāirisaēna) and Hindukūsh (Hindava gairi, Yasht 8, 32) are well-known. Yasht 19, 66 gives a poetical delineation of Seistān, a vivid description of the Helmeud river (Hlaetumant) and its tributaries. The Kāsava Lake, situated in Seistān, plays a great rôle in story and legend. In a similarly metrical passage (Yasht 10, 13) the homeland of the Aryans is described and there the regions named are almost entirely those of East Iran. In respect of climate the purifying beneficent effect of the south-wind is to be noted (Vend. 3, 42; Afriug. Rap. 6).

§ 35. Nor can the language be adduced as an evidence in favour of either a narrower home or a definite period for the origin of the Awesta, even if we possessed stronger evidence than mere conjectures with regard to the original home of the Iranian dialect. The language in which the oldest religious records of the Zoroastrian faith are composed, or a somewhat more modern development of it, remained the standard for all succeeding time as the sacred language of the

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1 Z.D.M.G. 34, 698; SPIEGEL, Z.D.M.G. 35, 642; 38, 433; De Harlez, Le calendrier avestique et le pays originaire de l'Awesta, Louvain 1882; DARMESTETER I, 33 seq.
3 See SPIEGEL, Commentar zum Awesta I, p. 10; FLOEL, at the place quoted, p. 16; DARMESTETER II, 5 n.
4 Cf. A. STEIN; "Afghanistan in Avestic Geography" in the Academy, 16 May, 1885.
5 Its origin is usually placed in Bactria and it is called "Bactrian" or "Old Bactrian." DARMESTETER formerly regarded it as Median, Et. Ir. 1, 10, but now hesitates between Media and Anachosia III, XC.
priests and became international within the boundaries of Iran. In this language men could teach, write and compose wherever an abode of priestly learning existed, and it was once understood as far as the Mazda-worship extended. It was thus to a certain degree raised above the limits of space and time. Taught and learned as a sacred language it would continue to lead an artificial life long after it had died out of the mouths of the people. It is to be placed side by side with the other artificially preserved "dead" languages, the Latin of the middle ages, the Hebrew of the Rabbinical schools and the Sanskrit of the Brahmanical schools. It is also natural that the knowledge of these Church languages should have gradually diminished, dried up and ultimately died out. We expressed our belief above that only from this latter point of view are we justified in taking the language of the Awesta as a criterion for the relative chronology of the different kinds of texts.

§ 36. Darmesteter's Theory.—The latest hypothesis of Darmesteter is much more radical than the view advanced above in § 33. According to him the entire body of the sacred writings, if indeed the Achiemenian period possessed such, was lost after Alexander's invasion of Persia and under Greek rule. The reformation which began under King Vologeses I (§ 31) produced in reality an entirely new book. As regards the subject-matter Darmesteter distinguishes two strata, an ancient pre-Alexandrian and a modern post-Alexandrian stratum; but not a single page of the old Awesta has been literally reproduced in the new. The Gathas are a type of the second class, the law sections of the Vendidad proper are a type of the first. The Gathas were written in the middle of the first century of our era, and, indeed, under the influence of Gnosticism. The idea of Vohu Mano, which plays the chief rôle in the Gathas, is probably borrowed from the School of Philo Judaeus or employed in imitation of that School.

1 Compare the excellent remarks of Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 504.
2 This of course assumes a most intimate acquaintance with the texts.
4 Darmesteter III, XCVII.
5 Ibid. III, XCI.
6 Ibid. LXXXVI.
7 Ibid. LVI.
8 Ibid. LVI, LXXXVIII.
This is not the place to subject to a thorough criticism this revolutionary hypothesis of Darmesteter. Further investigation as to whether any other points of contact can be found between the Gathas and Gnosticism is necessary. To me the two appear to be otherwise toto coelo distinct from each other. A certain resemblance between the Vohu mano and the λόγος δείος of Philo must be admitted. The fact that Strabo (p. 512) bears witness to the worship of the Persian divinity Ωμανω (i.e. Vohu-Mano)¹ and to having himself seen solemn processions of the image of Omanos (p. 738) is sufficient to disprove the theory that Vohu Mano was borrowed from Philo. In the time of Strabo the original abstraction of Vohu Mano had already been completely anthropomorphized. Strabo travelled over Western Asia before 29 B.C.; Philo was not born before 20 B.C. If now Darmesteter (p. lxxxviii.) says that Xšatrim Vairim only came into existence through the Gathas, the same must hold also of the Mazdayasnian Vohu Mano. The Gathas must thus have arisen distinctly before the time of Strabo. If an analogy between the λόγος δείος and the Vohu Mano really exists, so striking that the borrowing on one side is probable, even if it be only of individual features, then Philo, whose doctrine is a loose tissue full of contradictions, must have been the borrower. ³

¹ As Ahuramazda = Ωμανω. This identification, from which all doubt is excluded, was made by Haug-West, Essays, p. 10, and Ed. Meyer, p. 532.

² Vend. 19, 20-25, seems also to allude to such an image of Vohu Mano.


"Philo did not create his system, but reared it out of the materials of his time," ib. 3.—Kleuker gives a passing judgment with regard to this Gnosticism: "Oriental cosmogonies and the doctrine of spirits was their favourite subject and the basis of their entire Gnosis." Anhang zum Z. A. II., 1, p. 12. At any rate, the completed system of the Amesha Spenta with Vohu Mano and Ahom, the old ōtan, does not look like a stranger in the Mazda-religion.—Darmesteter (III., LXV.) is perfectly right in holding that Plutarch in the famous passage with regard to the Ameshaspands in De Is, et Os, 47, has not made use of Theopompos. The only question is as to the other writer, except Theopompos, who was his authority.—As a proof of the Arsacid origin of the Avesta Darmesteter (III., XL.) adduces the well-known territorial distribution, which beginning with mmāsa, ends with dainghu the province or country. There is wanting, he points out, the kingdom with the Shahlashān at its head (III., XL). But in Yashī 10, 87; Yasna 62, 5; 68, 5 over the dahyu stands the dainghushā, i.e., the kingdom, the imperium, and thus Darmesteter explains also in I., 388, note 20.—Darmesteter's conjecture that the chronological principle of arrangement in the Yashīs is borrowed from the Bible can scarcely be considered probable (III., XCII.).—According to Paulus Cassel: Zoroaster, sein Name und seine Zeit, Berlin 1886, also the name Zoroaster is to be explained as Jewish = son of the stars.
THE HISTORY OF AWESTA RESEARCH.

§ 37. The fame of having been always the first in Awesta research belongs to France. The three names, Anquetil, Burnouf, Darmesteter, mark each a new epoch. Long before the time of Anquetil individual travellers and English officers had drawn attention to the sacred books of their faith which the Parsis kept secret—the Zendawesta—as, for example, Henry Lord,\(^1\) Gabr. de Chinon,\(^2\) Car-\-din.\(^3\) But none of these succeeded in turning the attention of learned Europe to them and awakening an abiding interest in them. The first to attempt to explore the doctrine of the Magi by means of the Oriental, i.e., Arabic and later Persian, sources accessible to him was the celebrated Oxford scholar, Thomas Hyde.\(^4\) The Awesta itself, of which at that time already a number of MSS. were in England, remained to him a closed book, in spite of all his efforts to decipher it. The French Orientalist, Anquetil-Duperron, found himself dissatisfied and at the same time powerfully attracted by Hyde's researches. The repeated and fruitless attempts of Englishmen to penetrate the secret of these books, especially those of George Bourchier and Frazer who brought new MSS. to England, stirred the knightly Frenchman, who was as ambitious as he was eager for knowledge, to try to find himself the key to these books. An accident brought to a head his resolve to make a journey to India in order to learn the language of these books on the spot from the Parsi priests. In the year 1754 he had chanced to see in Paris some passages of the Oxford Vendidad Sade, then still chained up\(^5\) and hid from knowledge. "In that moment," he writes, "I resolved to enrich my fatherland with this rare treasure. I dared to contemplate a translation of it, and resolved to this end to

\(1\) Henry Lord, The Religion of the Parsis, 1630, p. 31. Henry Lord was pastor of the English Church in Surat.—Brisson, whose learned work on Persia (De regio Persarum principatu libri tres. Paris, 1590) is based upon the Western historians of antiquity, could have known nothing of the Zendawesta, since he himself was never in the East. The best information regarding the early history of Awesta research is to be found in Kleuker, Abhang II, 1, pp. 35 seq.; further in Hovelacque, L'Awesta, pp. 3 seq.; Darmesteter I, IX; West, Essays, pp. 16 seq.

\(2\) Kleuker, in the place quoted, p. 38.

\(3\) Ibid. p. 41.


learn the ancient Persian language in Guzarat or Kirman.  

Without means as he was, but too impatient to await the expected support of the Academy, he entered straightway the service of the Indian Company as a private soldier. He sailed on the 7th February 1755, landed at Pondicherry on the 10th August, and in 1758 after many adventures arrived in Surat, where he remained till 1761. The result of his sojourn in India, of which his narrative reads almost like a novel, is preserved in his chief work: Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre.

Although variously criticised at the time of its appearance, the work made a great stir in the whole learned world. Anquetil's translation of the Awesta rests on the foundation of the inadequate knowledge of Pahlavi and the still more inadequate knowledge of Awesta possessed by his teacher, Dastur Dārāb in Surat, whom he may often enough have failed to understand correctly. He was able, however, by the aid of his own lively imaginative faculty to get over these deficiencies. He did not make his way far into the knowledge of the original language. It would be an easy task at this time of day to pull to pieces his translation in detail and to prove its uselessness. But, on the whole, he reproduces the spirit and the ideas of the book correctly. And his learned supplementary contributions and notes, his description of the Parsi ritual, all based upon conscientious personal observation, oral Parsi tradition, and personal study, are full of instruction to-day and in their completeness unequalled.

§ 38. The succeeding period was occupied in the first instance not so much with the question as to the trustworthiness and correctness of Anquetil's translation as with that of the genuineness of the Awesta and the "Zend language." The discussion turned upon the question whether the book was in fact the ancient religious book of Zoroaster, and its language a language of the ancient Persian kingdom, or whether it was a dialect of Sanskrit, and the whole thing a modern fabrication. This controversy lasted for more than 50 years, and did not advance

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1 Anquetil I, I, 6.
3 Title and contents given under "General Literature" at the beginning.
4 Cf. Darmesteter I, XIII.
the knowledge of the original a single step. During all this time Anquetil's work remained the source and, for those who were convinced, the only authority. The Englishmen, Jones¹ and Richardson,² and the German Meiners,³ were the chief opponents of the genuineness of the book; the champions of the theory that "Zend" is to be derived from Sanskrit were Jones⁴ in one of his later writings, and especially John Leyden,⁵ Erskine,⁶ P. von Bohlen⁷ The defenders of Anquetil, on the other hand, were his German translator and editor Kleuker,⁸ further Tychsen,⁹ Paulinus a Santo Bartholomeo,¹⁰ and Rhode.¹¹ But no one prepared the way for the succeeding period more than the celebrated Danish philologist Rask. The fruit of the journey which he undertook by land to Persia and India, 1819-1822, was two-fold: the collection of the oldest and best Avesta MSS, which are preserved in the University Library at Copenhagen, and the pioneer-like brochure: "Om Zendsprogets og Zendavestas ældste og ældsted,"¹² in which "Zend" receives its proper place in the circle of the Persian languages, its relation to Sanskrit is defined, and at the same time its genuineness and that of the book finally demonstrated.

³ De Zoroastris vita, institutis et libris in "Novi Commentarii Societatis regiae," Göttingen, 1777-79.
⁴ Asiatic Researches II. p. 43. Calcutta 1790.
⁵ Asiatic Researches X., 282.
⁷ Commentatio de Origine linguae Zendicae et sanscrita repetenda Königsberg, 1831.
⁸ Cf. the "General Literature" at the beginning.
¹⁰ Fe antiquitate et affiliatione linguae Zendicae, samserodanteae et germanicae, Rome 1793.
¹¹ Die heilige Sage und das genannte Religionsystem der alten Baktire, Meder und Perser oder des Zendvolks, Frankfurt 1820.
¹² Kopenhagen, 1826. Translated into German by F. H. v. d. Hagen, under the title: "Über das Alter und die Religions der Zend-Sprache und des Zendavesta". Berlin 1826. Cf. also the "Gesammelten Aufsätze" of Rask II., 310, 315, III. 1,
§ 39. The great Frenchman Eugène Burnouf established the systematic decipherment of the Avesta itself. If from the time of Anquetil scholars had only busied themselves with general ideas and had fought with great watchwords, Burnouf began the laborious, gradual investigation of the book in detail. He went back to the sources, to the MSS. lying unused in Paris since the time of Anquetil, and to the genuine domestic interpretation of the book. He sought, by a comparison of the MSS., to establish a reliable text, and based his interpretation, in the first instance, on Neriosangh’s Sanskrit translation of the Avesta as the most ancient form of traditional Avesta interpretation available, at the same time bringing to light a Sanskrit translation hitherto known only by name. He follows it, however, by no means slavishly, but weighs it word by word and justifies or rejects it. Hand in hand with this proceeds the systematic examination of the texts, the collecting and sifting of the grammatical and lexical material of the language. Many of his points have remained incontrovertible. On the other hand, his labours in this field lack definiteness of conclusion. He was content to be the pioneer of the scientific method, and in his last years, before his premature death, he scarcely ever returned to this field of investigation.

Burnouf’s researches are preserved in his great Commentary on the Yasna. It suffers from its own peculiar cumbrousness. In the extensive quarto volume of the 72 chapters of the Yasna, only the first is explained. Of course side-lights are thrown in numerous excursus on many other passages and the general laws of the language are laid down. His later exposition of Yasna 9 is written under much stricter limitations. Burnouf bestowed little attention on the Gathas, and with fine tact he has kept clear of those general questions which gather around the Avesta.


About the same time as Burnouf, but with much scantier apparatus and from a different standpoint, Fr. Bopp began to occupy himself with the Awesta. The first part of the first edition of Bopp's Comparative Grammar appeared almost contemporaneously with Burnouf's Commentary. In the later parts and in the second edition Bopp rests largely on Burnouf. While for Burnouf the explanation of the religious book was an end in itself, Bopp aims at making it subserve the purposes of his Comparative Grammar. He regards the interpretation of the book essentially as an exercise in Sanskrit Philology. The comparison with Sanskrit decides matters essential for him. He has very little confidence in the translation of Neriosangh. Between Burnouf and Bopp there is already latent the opposition which led to the later separation of the schools.

§ 40. Soon after the death of Burnouf (1852) two critical editions of the Awesta began to appear,—Westergaard's complete edition of the text, and the edition of the Vendidad, Vispered and Yasna with Pahlavi Translation by Spiegel, the latter being also provided with a German translation of the entire Awesta. Now it was possible to go back to the oldest form of the vernacular interpretation of the Awesta. The apple of discord which long continued, was at the same time thrown into the science: "The Tradition," the value or worthlessness of the old Sasanid translation, the question as to whether there was really a genuine tradition, i.e., a continuity of interpretation reaching back to the time of the composition of the Awesta, or whether this tradition was only an artificial reconstruction and subjective opinion of the ancient Parsi scholars, and not objective truth. The traditional and the anti-traditional schools from this time forward developed a pronounced antagonism. Spiegel followed by Justi was the chief advocate of

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2 Ibid, X, n.
3 Cf. the literature given at § 11.
5 Handbuch der Zendlanguage, Leipzig 1864.
the genuineness and trustworthiness of tradition. According to them, the clue was to be found in tradition. Also Harlez¹ and Geiger² gave their adherence to this view although with much more moderation. Benfey³ and especially Roth⁴ accuse the tradition of manifold incoherence and inadequacy, and think that they are able to substitute for it a better and surer method of interpretation. Haug was in the beginning an enthusiastic follower of this latter view, but returned from India in part converted to the opposite views.⁵ Windischmann took up an intermediate position between the two sets of views.⁶


² W. Geiger, Das dritte Kapitel des Vendidad, Z.D.M.G. 34, 415 sqq.; cf. also Einleitung zum Aogamabhedh, p. 3.

³ Einige Beiträge zur Erklärung des Zend, Göttingen 1850. Weitere Beiträge zur Erklärung des Zend, Göttingen 1852-53 (both from the G.G.A.)


§ 41. Roth was followed in essentials by those linguists who, after
the death of Schleicher, returning to the example set by Bopp ad-
dressed themselves independently to the exegesis of the Avesta. A
great deal of printer’s ink was wasted over the question of transcription.
The enduring contribution, however, of linguistic science is a solid
scientific grammar of the Avesta language which no one can now
ignore with impunity. The labours, especially of Hübschmann,1
Bartholomae2 and Joh. Schmidt,3 contributed to this result. It
must, however, be distinctly noted that in relation to the tradition-ques-
tion Hübschmann represented an independent and, I may add, the only
correct standpoint.

Roth’s position was that, in the first instance, the Avesta should
be explained from and by itself, by searching out and comparing parallel
passages, similar grouping of words and related ideas, and in this
respect he has gone deeper than those who depended absolutely on the
tradition. It does not touch the kernel of the question when his
method is simply called the method of etymology.4 In the long run
all have worked with etymology, some more, some less, but all too
much. Roth availed himself of Sanskrit, the Sanskrit of the Vedas as
the chief aid, the key to the solution of the problem. The dogma of
the complete identity of Sanskrit and Avesta, in which the school
of Roth was supposed to believe, existed only in the imagination of the
traditionalists.5

The controversy with respect to the Pahlavi translation was con-
ducted on both sides in too theoretical a manner and with insufficient
materials. In particular points both sides have not by any means
remained true to their leading principle. In practice the anti-traditionalists have not denied all rights to tradition; indeed many a time
they have been able to secure justice for some misunderstood traditional
interpretation.6 As regards the Pahlavi translation for a long time

1 Iranische Studien, in K.Z. 34, 323 and elsewhere passim in K. Z.
2 Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte, Leipzig 1883.
3 Joh. Schmidt passim in K. Z.—Die Plural-bildungen der Indo-germanischen
Neben, Weimer 1889.
4 Darmesteter I, XXVII ; in another place: “l’école étymologique au véhante.”
5 It is Roth who always seeks to deduce the specific meaning of the Avesta word,
often, however, with insufficient means.
6 E. g., the Hamaestakān sounds in Y, 33, 1; Bartholomae in Z.D.M.G. 35, 157,
and Roth ib. 37, 233. (Contested by De Harlez Z.D.M.G., 36, 631; cf. also B.B.
9, 294). Even so yam in Yas. 48, 7; cf. K.Z. 30, 532.
it was a question of simple faith or simple unbelief. Its opponents were not able to refute nor its followers to convince, because Pahlavi research was itself still in its infancy. The too exclusive trust in the help of Sanskrit, the depreciation of the Pahlavi translation, proved fatal to Roth and his school. On this rock all our labours finally come to shipwreck.

The last decade has brought about a complete revolution, both in the field of the Avesta and the Veda, in the views taken of the indigenous tradition, and has made converts or adherents of those who in the beginning were opponents. Although unanimity has not yet been reached, the practical result of the whole controversy may be reduced to this: the defenders of the native tradition had more right on their side in theory; in method and in the practical carrying out of his principle, Roth was superior to his adversaries.

This revolution is the fruit essentially of the ever-growing study of Pahlavi. Haug's later labours were already devoted to Pahlavi, and proved fruitful. The real pioneer is E. W. West. His unequalled learning and accuracy have raised Pahlavi research from the lowest stage to that of a science, and to this extent West has become indirectly a reformer of Avesta research. It is Darmesteter who has, with equal sagacity and learning, made the right application of this knowledge to the advantage of the study of the Avesta. From the beginning a warm defender of the Sasanid translation, and possessed of a thorough knowledge of Pahlavi, he did not base his interpretation on this translation alone, but recognised that, in the midst of the controversy with regard to the best method, nothing but a comprehensive widening of our horizon would lead out of this fumbling and guessing to clearness and truth. His direct aids are the native traditions carefully utilized in detail and thoroughly studied as a whole—the entire body of learning accumulated in them. His indirect aids are the entire tradition from the Sasanid time to the present day, the entire Pahlavi and Pazend literature accessible to him, the Shāhnāme, the Arabian chroniclers, and the historical notices of ancient writers, the personal instruction received from living Parsis, their customs, views, the present ritual, which likewise is a piece of genuine tradition, and, on the side of language, the entire Iranian linguistic treasures in all stages of its development and dialectical ramifications, and also Sanskrit, especially Vedic Sanskrit\(^1\). The start and beginning had

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\(^1\) DARMESTETER I, XLIII.
been made in each department before his time, although imperfectly and with insufficient aids; Darmesteter has gathered them together and developed them further to a certain definite result. The ripest fruit of these efforts is his latest monumental work: Le Zend Awesta1. Darmesteter has given a new youth to the traditional school, and is the proper creator of what he calls the historical method of Awesta research. Darmesteter has accumulated an enormous quantity of material for the interpretation of the Awesta. How far he has succeeded in this, how far he has shot beyond the mark in detail, the sequel will shew.

**Literature.**


(b) Particular contributions: Paul de Lagarde, Beiträge zur bhatrischen Lexikographie, Leipzig 1865.—Armenische Studien, Göttingen, 1877.—Persische Studien, Göttingen, 1884.


1 The title is given more exactly under "General Literature" at the beginning. The first volume contains the translation and explanation of the Yasna and Visparad, together with an introduction based on the historical method; the second, the Vendidad, the Yashts, and the Khorda Awesta; the third, the fragments, together with a literary and religious historical introduction. Cf. with reference to this work, West in the J. R. A. S. 1883, p. 654; Breal, Le Zend-Avesta, in the Journal des Savants, Dec. 1883, Jan. et Mars 1894.


A. Bezzernberger: Einige avestische Wörter und Formen in G.N. 1878, p. 251.


W. Geiger: Le Mythe de Tishtrya et ses compagnons, Muséon, Louvain 1882, p. 204. Cf. also the literature given at § 34 and § 40.


E. Wilhelm: De la Critique du texte de l'Avesta, Muséon, 1884, p. 574.—Contribution à l'interprétation de l'Avesta, Muséon, 1885, p. 108. — Beiträge zur Lexikographie des Avesta, Z.D.M.G. 42, 81; B B. 12, 101.—Zum XII Fargard des Vend., B.B. 17, 155.


AIDS TO AVESTA RESEARCH AND ITS METHOD.

§ 42. THE PAHLAVI TRANSLATION.—At the time of the Dinkard there existed a translation or rather a commentary in Pahlavi to all the
Nasks, with the exception of the Nātar and the Vashtag Nask. Probably, the labours of the scholiasts went hand in hand with those of the diaskeuasts or editors of the texts, without, however, reaching definite completion contemporaneously with the revision of the Awesta under Ādarpād Mahraspand. The Pahlavi translation must have been again and again extended and supplemented after the time of Ādarpād.¹ The commentary to the Vendidad cannot have received its present form before 528 A.D., since it mentions, under Vend. 4, 49, the false teaching of Mazdak, the son of Bāmdād, who, in the year named, was condemned to death by King Khūsrōī Anōsharavān.

Only the Pahlavi translation of Yasna, Vispered and Vendidad, of the fragments of the Hātōḵht Nask including the Sṛōsh Yasht, of Vīsh-tāsp Yasht, of Bahram Yasht, and some smaller Yashts, namely Ormuzd, Haftān, Khūrshēd, and Māh Yasht, of Khūrshēd, Ātash and Abān Nyāish, of the two Sīrōze and the Āfrīṅgān Dahmān, Gatha, Gahanbār, has been preserved². The Pahlavi reproduction of the Nirangistān (cf. § 10) is something intermediate between a commentary and an independent work. The Pahlavi translation is inseparable in the MSS. from the Awesta text. The Awesta text is distributed into longer or shorter passages, and the Pahlavi translation directly attached to each.

§ 43. The character of the Pahlavi translation is that of an interlinear version. It consists generally of the rendering of the text, word for word, by means of a Pahlavi equivalent in the exact order of the original. In this lies at once the strength and the weakness of this scholiast work. The full sense of the whole passage often cannot be brought out in this way. This was felt by the translator or translators themselves, and they have tried to keep out the interpretation by means of numerous interpolated and appended glosses. In these the translation given is re-written³ according to the sense, supplemented or modified, and then attempts are made to render the sense and context of the whole clear, frequently the varying opinions of other teachers whose names are given are cited, and the interpretation established by quotations and all kinds of explanatory additions.

¹ West, SBE., XXVII, p. XXXLII.
² West, Essays, p. 98.
³ Like the Sanskrit ity arthaḥ, ity ca; iti bhāvaḥ.
AIDS TO AVESTA RESEARCH AND ITS METHOD, §§ 42-45. 73

Often the glosses extend to long learned disquisitions. Sometimes the translator excuses himself by saying that of some particular passage no interpretation has been handed down, and leaves the passage unexplained, for example, in Yas. 10, 11. This is of great importance for an estimate of the value of his work.

§ 44. Sample of Pahlavi Translation.—From Vendidad 1, 1 (the words of the translation proper are in italics): 1, 1. There spake Auharmazd to Spîtâmân Zarâtshht: I created, Spîtâmân Zarâtshht, the place for a joy-creation, where no pleasantness is sought. This means: that man considers the place where he is born, where he is brought up, to be beautiful, i.e., the best and most pleasant that I have created. Since if I had not created, O Spîtâmân Zarâtshht, the place for a joy-creation, where no pleasantness is sought, then would the whole corporeal world have wandered away to AIRÂN VÉJ. They would have failed in this attempt, since it would not have been possible for them to migrate, for it is not possible to go from one part of the earth to another without the help of the angels. Some say that it is also possible with the help of the devils.

YASMA 56, 1-2.—Attention must here be given to the offering of Auharmazd, i. e., may come to it, Who desires good deeds, He the holy Auharmazd. Who desires our happiness. As at the first I was meditating on this liturgy, so also at the last, so meditating will I perform its close. Here shall it be so. 2. Attention must here be given to the offering of the good waters and the holy Ferver who desire the happiness of our souls. As at the first so at the last shall we perform its close. The attending here is happiness at the offering of the good waters and the holy Ferver who desire the happiness of our souls.

§ 45. Sometimes, however, the translation is freer; several words of the original text are gathered together and reproduced by a single word. Thus in Yas. 10, 13 the words usnâm and váthya are combined and represented by zûrsandih “contentment,” which is quite correct, since they signify: “fulfilment of the desires.” In other cases the simple usan (neutr. = desire, pleasure) is reproduced by zûrsand (Y. 44, 10) or zûrsandih (45, 9). In Vend. 22, 7: para-didhi upa

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1 The conclusion of 56, 1, is not translated, as being a repetition.

2 These words have in the MSS. found their way into the following clause.

3 We have a converse case in Yas. 56, 3, where zvîrsandhikázâd is reproduced by hârsanda-kabzâth kâzâr, in 22, 3 however ahyâd oravanâa by târsakâth reduññâd (Hiuvârah for listâo.)
vazanguha avi nnānom etc. only the first verb is translated by a verb, what follows being freely reproduced thus:—bād sātan min latamman madam val tamman yīn mān “go away from here thither to your house.”

The whole is worked out with great care and consistency. The same word of the original text obtains in the Pahlavi translation the same equivalent. The rule is, however, not without exception. Ānman is translated by astūbīh, astūbō “non-exhaustion,” in Y. 30, 7 and 44, 20; but in Y. 45, 10, by šemīh (more accurately: with another name); ōït in Y. 12, 5, is paraphrased by čiğān gaft, but in 60, 11 it is ignored. The etymological connection of allied words is often rightly felt by the translator, e.g. dōng 45, 11: dastōbar; dāstevām (46, 7): dastōbarīh. The Awesta word is not infrequently represented with instinctive correctness by the identical middle Persian word: wāθhra—wārīh.

§ 46. The translations of the individual books can scarcely have proceeded from the same hand; their value is very various. The translation of the minor Yashts, Afrīngāns etc., seems to be less trustworthy and to be of later origin. The most solid and most important is the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad, although it is far from attaining to the monumental greatness of the Indian commentaries of a Saṅkara or Mallinātha or the Kāśikā. In learning, method and accuracy the Indian scholiasts are superior to the Persian.

The strength of the Pahlavi translation lies in its vocabulary and in its cursory glosses. In the latter as well as in the interpretation proper there has been preserved a store of ancient genuine school tradition. The glosses, although often awkwardly expressed, still contribute essentially to the true understanding of the meaning. I would point to Yasna 10, 20.

gave nēmō  gave nēmō
gave wēθhom gave vēθthrom

gave wēthetaθom gave vaθrom.

The Pahlavi commentator paraphrases this: “He who (gives) the cattle its request, water and fodder, to him (comes) from the cattle milk and calves. And to him from the cattle speech, to him from the cattle victory. And to him from the cattle nourishment and to him
from the cattle clothing. As is said in the Gathas: 'He who gives the cattle its request, obtains from the cattle his request'; so say I here: 'he who praises the Hóm becomes more victorious.'" (This refers to para. 19.) This explanation makes first clear the purpose of the quotation in its context and the antithesis in the quotation itself. The subject under consideration is the well-known relation of mutual obligation which in this case exists between man and beast. On the basis of the Pahlavi translation and following Darmesteter, we may translate: "The cow has a request and we have a request to the cow. The cow asks for friendly address and protection; the cow is asked to give nourishment and clothing." Nəmō is here, as in Vendidad 4, 1, a request in the sense of demand, a demand for what is due. Similar is the relation between the Haoma and its praiser; the former bestows upon him victory as the thanks due for the praise. For the thought compare Y. 65, 9.

The Pahlavi translation is also decisive in matters of textual criticism in cases where, by reason of a variation in the manuscript tradition, the meaning is left doubtful, as magahyā—maddahyā in Y. 48, 10; kamorodhaja, kamorodhaecā in V. 4, 49; angukarestātom, hangharestātom ib., sayanom (shadow), šāyu. n (dwelling) in Vd. 1, 9. The majority of the varying readings are, of course, connected with points of grammar or orthography (mazādā, mazādāo, mazādāi; abanghō, abangō). In such cases the Pahlavi translation is of no account. Nor is it always decisive in points of higher textual criticism. Especially in the Vendidad, where the MSS. with their translation, have come to us only in one family, not a few clauses together with their translation are wanting. If the text of the translation had been handed down as a book by itself, independent of the original text, it would have been an absolutely reliable witness. In most cases, however, it is natural to suspect that through the carelessness of the copyist the Awesta sentence has been left out, and that this oversight has involved also a similar omission in the translation. When one examines it more narrowly, there are omitted sometimes clauses which either in their beginning or end coincide with a neighbouring clause; cf. Vendidad 3, 27 (two sentences begin with bādha), 3, 34 (almost identical with the following para). In other passages the Awesta text, together with the translation of the preceding clause, has been left out, e. g. 13, 47; 15, 8. Again, in other passages, only the
Awesta clause has been omitted in the Pahlavi- Vendidad, e. g. 3, 32; 13, 48. In both such cases the presence of the translation is a sure evidence of the genuineness of the words.

For the rest, we must look to the future for the full use of the translation for the criticism of the text and an investigation of the text on the basis of which the Pahlavi editor worked, and its relation to the traditional text, when the requirement indicated in § 49 shall have been fulfilled. Meanwhile the two texts are sometimes irreconcilable. The translator leaves out, without any visible reason, an Awesta word, which all the MSS. unanimously preserve, or he seems to have had an entirely different word before him.

§ 47. The weaknesses of the Pahlavi interpreter are due to his want of grammatical training and the grammatical consciousness. In this respect the interpreter of the Yasna is inferior to that of the Vendidad. This alone is sufficient to shew the improbability of the translator having been a single person. It seems many a time as if the translator of the Yasna had no longer any idea of the declensions and conjugations of the language he was translating. In this respect he attempts things which no one can seriously defend. We could more easily excuse the etymological artifices and subtleties. But when, e. g., the words in Yasna 45, 11: yastā daēvā[n] aparā mašyāscā tarmāstā are made to mean, "the deva have come and behind them the despising of men", or the words in 30, 1, at tā vaaxyā īsontō yā mazdāθā, are translated "so are both these speeches desirable which are Mazda's gifts", or Y. 50, 11: at vaosta[ō] aṣjāi mazdā anghacā is translated "for me your praise is power," all philological principles are set at defiance. It would be false, in order to save the credit of the Pahlavi translator, to ascribe this indifference to grammar, which often degenerates into absolute lawlessness, to the Awesta text. It is just this great gulf that separates the original parts of the Awesta from the grammatical barbarisms of the translator, which proves that the distance in time between them cannot be so small as, e. g., Darmesteter assumes.

On the other hand, it must be said to the credit of the translator or translators that many of the defects which belong to their work

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1 DARMESTETER : Arrière les Daôvas et les hommes I Burnouf’s grammatical conscience would certainly have been roused against such explanations.
have their root in the nature of the Pahlavi language itself. Pahlavi is the most unsuitable language for a scholiast. As compared with Avesta, its vocabulary is defective and it wants logical and grammatical precision and definiteness. It thoroughly suppresses the grammatical consciousness. Instead of explaining, it stands itself often in need of explanation.\(^1\)

§ 48. In Persia Pahlavi remained until the last century the learned language of the Parsi theologians, at least, of course, in a greatly degenerated form. In India, on the other hand, this science fell much sooner into decay. Of the remains of the Pahlavi translation which were preserved, a part was translated into other languages. The most important of these translations is that of the Commentary on the Yasna into Sanskrit by Neriosangh, son of Dhaval. Anquetil remarks that this Neriosangh lived 300 years before his own time.\(^2\) According to the Parsi Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee (1852), Neriosangh must have lived about 500 years before.\(^3\) West and Darmesteter\(^4\) place Neriosangh about the year 1200 A.D., reckoning according to the genealogical tables. Besides the Sanskrit Yasna we possess a Sanskrit translation of the Khorda Awesta, which is likewise attributed to Neriosangh. According

\(^1\) The Pahlavi interpretation of the Vendidad, Vispered and Yasna has been edited by SPIEGEL, together with the Avesta text. Cf. "Literature" shown at § 11. That of the three Fargards of the Hāṣdāt Nask with an English translation by HAUN and WEST as a Supplement to the Arda Virān (Bombay 1872), pp. 260 seq. That of some parts of the Khorda Awesta, namely Khurshed Nyāish, including Khurshed Yasht, Māh Yasht, Srōsh Yasht Hāṣdāt by DARMESTETER, És. ir. Hi., 275 seq. That of the first Yasht by O. SALEMIANN: Uber eine Parsenhandschrift, St. Petersburg 1879, p. 30. Portions of the Pahlavi translation have been translated or paraphrased by HAUN-WEST, Essays, pp. 338-393, (namely: Pahlavi Yasna 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 1; Vendidad 1, 18, 19, 20). Vendidad 9, 1-56 translated by WEST in the treatise: The Barahmūm Ceremony, SBE, XVIII, pp. 431 seq. Yasna 19-21 translated by WEST, SBE, XXXVII, pp. 453 seq.—The Pahlavi version of Yasna 30 and 57 has been translated by H. HÜBCHMANN; see the "Literature" shown above, § 41.—Further, GEIGER: Die Pahlavi Version des ersten Capitels des Vendidad, Erlangen 1877.—HORN, Uebersetzungcn aus dem Pahlavi-Vendidad, in Z.D.M.G. 43, 31; Beiträge zur Erklärung des Pahlavi-Vendidad: L., B.B. 17, 257.—L. H. MILLS, A Study of the five Zoroastrian Gāthas with ... the Pahlavi translation, Parts 1.—IV. Oxford 1832-91.—Mills, Yasna 43, 1-10 with the Pahlavi text deciphered and translated, Z.D.M.G. 42, 439.

\(^2\) ANQUÉTIL I, 2, V.

\(^3\) SPIEGEL, Einleitung zur Ausgabe des Neriosangh, p. I.

\(^4\) Communicated by letter.

\(^5\) DARMESTETER I, CXIII.
to Anquetil, a Sanskrit Commentary of the first six fargards of the Vendidad is said to have existed. But no trace of it can any longer be found. Neriosangh was a thorough master of Pahlavi; his Sanskrit lays no claim to being classical. His rendering of the Pahlavi Commentary is free in various places; the author has added much from his own knowledge. For the understanding of the Pahlavi translation Neriosangh is of great value.

Neriosangh himself appears only to have got as far as Yasna chap. 48 in his rendering. From that point a second translator, whose knowledge of Pahlavi and Sanskrit was equally deep, has taken up the thread. This translator also did not reach the end; he breaks off at Yasna 57. From 54, however, his translation is only fragmentary, and the entire remainder is of no value. According to Anquetil, the Sanskrit rendering of the Yasna is ascribed to two Parsees, Neriosangh and Ormazdyar, son of Râmyûr and cousin of Neriosangh. According to Darmesteter, this Ormazdyar is to be regarded as an incapable continuier of the work of Neriosangh. But this is impossible, for the continuier cannot have written before the year 1323, since he makes use of the MS. K for his continuation.

At a still later period the older commentaries were translated into the generally known modern languages, Gujarâti and modern Persian.

§ 49. A correct method of Avesta interpretation must aim at uniting the two tendencies represented by Roth and Darmesteter respectively and at reconciling their contradictions. The traditional interpretation is not to be condemned in the lump because of the defects from which it suffers, nor are its mistakes to be accepted on simple trust. The Avesta must be explained as an Iranian religious

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1 Anquetil I, 2, 262.
2 Ibid. I, 2, 74.
3 Darmesteter I, CXII.
4 Neriosangh's Yasna has been edited by FR. SPIEGEL: Neriosangh's Sanskrit-Ubersetzung des Yaçaṇa, Leipzig 1861. Spiegel used as his MSS. a Paris and a Copenhagen MS., both of which are copies of the ancient MS. belonging to Dastur Jamaspji of Bombay. Darmesteter has edited some Sanskrit and also modern Persian translations of the Khorda Awesta in the Ét. ir. ii., 256 seq. See also § 13 and Prolegomena XXXIII.
5 The Gujarati translation by Mobed Framji Aspanderji is specially known. Cf. "Literature", shown at § 11. Pahlavi-Avesta MSS. and Avesta-Sudo MSS. have often an interlinear translation in modern Persian.
book, and not from the vague standpoint of Indo-German linguistics. A thorough study of Pahlavi is indispensable. Pahlavi literature is a true aid to the knowledge of the Avesta. On this side Darmesteter's labours must remain as our example. For detailed research, according to Darmesteter, a great field of activity remains. With the mere knowledge of the Pahlavi translation the knowledge of the original is not achieved, but it often, very often, proves a finger-post. At any rate, it deserves everywhere to be listened to. It is with the Pahlavi translation very much as with Sayana's Commentary to the Rig Veda. So long as Sayana was consulted only occasionally for this or that passage, he repelled rather than satisfied many. The result was that in the one case as in the other the prejudice against the scholiast became a fashion in learning. If we accustom ourselves to the systematic use of him, and to derive from this the practical sum-total of his aid, the original prejudice soon gives place to a growing appreciation. So also the Pahlavi translation must be worked upon and digested as a whole, and, as a necessary preliminary, made more accessible and more intelligible to science before the last word can be said regarding it. In essentials, however, the judgment, which Hübschmann in 1872 passed upon its value, in various ways, should remain: "The gain will, of course, be various: abundant for the Vendidad, satisfactory for the later Yasna, but scanty for the Gathas." In the difficult ancient parts of the Avesta the Parsi interpreter was often no longer able to grasp the meaning and the construction of the sentences. So far the result must be called scant. But for the fixing of the meaning of individual words and conceptions even his interpretation of the Gathas is very fruitful of result. Above all, we must endeavour to distinguish the cases in which a firm tradition was still in existence from those in which the scholiast, by combination or etymological analysis, endeavours to regain the lost or only dimly-guessed meaning of the words. To the latter class belong cases such as advão Y. 31, 2 = agumānīkīh, Ner. asāśayatvena; uśuryya 32, 16 = ṭrāṣa ḥāṣīḥ = prēvalāśaitanyena; mānarośi 43, 10 = avo li gubrā "to my man"; spayathrâyā 30, 10 = sipāh; yastā 31, 7 = maṭaḥ = prāpto ca; yastem 46, 4 = pavan zah i mat = prāpte.

Such interpretations à la Yāska are, however, by no means the rule. The distinction between the Indian nirukti- and rudi- interpretation, which is not always sufficiently estimated, has its analogy in Iran. Here as there the rudi-interpretation is the better as resting upon genuine tradition. Such striking and immediately convincing rudi-interpretations are, e.g., vyām Y. 48, 7 = navid “joyful tidings” (in. Neriosanāṅh manojñam is to read as an emendation for manonyam); vanghu 31, 19; 47, 6 = viḍāriṣṇ “decision,” Ner. vyakti; ā-moyastrā 30, 5 = hanjamanikih “assembly” (the assembly of the satvāstārān, of which Bund. 30, 10 speaks, is meant); rāna dual (31, 3, 9, &c.) = paktārdārān = prativādin; fsravatu (33, 12) = sardārīh = prabhutva.

The Sasanian interpreter often fails with the means at his disposal to make the meaning perfectly clear; he comes near to the truth without grasping it. Here the philological method of interpretation must come in to supplement his labours. Ākhā (Y. 48, 8; 50, 4) is explained as āskārak “clear,” “manifest,” Ner. prakata. In reality it is a substantive, and means the revolution, manifestation, the clear distinguishing of the good and evil in the judgment. Vidiśā (this is the best attested reading) 58, 4, is literally explained by barā dahiśnīh1 “bestowal.” The distribution of reward and punishment is meant, cf. vidāi and vyāda in 38, 5; 60, 2. āvidhyācā (33, 7), v in 29, 6 is said to be = pavan pāmman “with the mouth,” while it really, as elsewhere, means “personally,” “self.”2 That the recollection of the original meaning is often only a dim recollection, is shewn in Y. 51, 12, where ċarataścā is explained by sarṭ “cold,” while in reality this must be the meaning of the following word aodoroścā; ċarataścā is to be determined according to Vend. 13, 49.

The gain to be obtained from the Pahlavi translation will come in the first instance to the vocabulary of Avesta. A scientific dictionary is not possible till special indices have been prepared to the whole Pahlavi translation with corresponding Avesta equivalents, and to the Avesta texts with the corresponding Pahlavi equivalents. For the latter,

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1 It is a drawback to the Pahlavi translation that verbal compounds are rendered in a stereotyped fashion, and thus their specific meaning is often lost.

2 v in nom. sing. of the root a = I, thou, or self; to it also belongs aśī 46, 18. Similarly-then signifies not only “thou,” but also “thou thyself” (e.g. Y. 35, 10, cf. § 23), just as the Sanskrit sav signifies “thou” and “self.”

3 Cf. K.Z. 30, 524.
however, a new edition of the whole of the Pahlavi commentaries, with the aid of the actual materials which have considerably increased since Spiegel’s time, is an indispensable condition.

§ 50. Sanskrit, the living knowledge especially of the Veda literature, will be certain, next to the Iranian languages, always to exert an important influence on Awesta research, for this reason alone that for more than a fourth part of the Awesta texts no indigenous interpretation has come down to us, and because Sanskrit involuntarily compels a strict observation and following of grammatical rules, while those who depend unconditionally on the tradition still proceed rather loosely in this respect. No one will deny that Awesta and Sanskrit have preserved between them in common more linguistic store than any other two languages of different tribes of people. Their close relationship is not limited only to individual words, but entire combinations, even sentences are almost identical in the two. Ūārmāṇī mlätāni “tanned skins” (R.V. 8, 55, 3) appears in the Awesta as mṛātom cāroma (Yasht 17, 12);¹ pāyed vā vā mṛityet (Çat. Br. 9, 5, 2, 14) as frihytheyića pyeitīća (Vend. 6, 28). Side by side with Gatha sentence: Ke mne nā thrātā vistō anyō aśāt thwātā (Y. 50 1) may be placed: na nas trātā vidyate vaī tvad anyāḥ (Mbh. 1, 232, 9.) In Sanskrit at a first meeting the question is kośi kasyāsi (c. q. Mbh. 1, 131, 34), in Awesta ēśāh kāhāh aḥi (Yas. 43, 7).

In order to show, however, that the Iranian often took its own separate path in the evolution of meanings of words, and that quite the opposite of the Sanskrit, and that all etymology or comparison with Sanskrit must give way before clear facts or testimonies in the Iranian field, I do not require to bring anew into the field the examples often quoted of dāngku-dasyu, daēva-deva. The Awesta mārya has been attempted to be etymologically explained² as = “destructive,” “fatal” or “worthy of death.” Formally it is = Skr. mārya “a young man.” Its corresponding Pahlavi in which mar signifies “rogue,” “black-guard” (Nerios. mṛṣasa) decides the point.

The different development of idea in the two languages can be made clear a posteriori. Skr. mārya is “a young man” in the good sense with a touch of the erotic “the fellow or lover;” Aw. mārya, on the other hand, is “the young lad,” in the bad sense “the knave.”

¹ B.B. 17, p. 349.
² CF. JUSTI, Handbuch. s. v.: HAUG, das 18 Kap. des Vd., p. 5.
Awesta research must always take account of such Iranian peculiarities. Where Sanskrit and the later Iranian languages come in collision with each other the Iranian must decide, as in the case of Skr. aruṣa, Aw. aurusha, where the Pahlavi arūs, Paz. alūs (Ner. sveta) show that aurūša means "white," not "reddish," as the Skr. aruṣa signifies.

It will perhaps be difficult for any single interpreter to satisfy all the conditions above specified. Pahlavi assumes a complete acquaintance with modern Persian and a knowledge of the Semitic tongues. Awesta philology sits as it were between two stools. The coming Sōshyōs, who will really explain the whole Awesta to us, must unite in himself all these requirements. If Anquetil's prophecy holds true, we must, however, wait a long time for him.¹

D. MACKICHAN.

¹ Anquetil I., I, Pref. XVII.
**DIE PARTHER.**

1. NÄMEN.


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¹ Cf. OLSHAUSEN's Abhandlung in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1877: Parthava und Pahlav, Māda und Māh.
weiter zu kümmern, wir können sie nur als Umgestaltungen der Eränischen Form Parthava ansehen, an die wir uns zu halten haben.


Die anarische Form Par❝uwaς legt es nahe, an verschiedene andere Wörter zu denken, die der Form Parthava nahe stehen und sich hauptsächlich dadurch unterscheiden, dass sie θ statt th einsetzen. Olshausen hat schon über dieselben gesprochen. Er hat zunächst an die in assyrischen Inschriften vorkommenden Parsua erinnert, in welchen man vielleicht die Vorfahren der Parthava sehen könnte. Indessen hat er die Bedenken nicht verschwiegen, welche einer solchen Ansicht entgegenstehen, denn die Parsua der assyrischen Inschriften sind nicht in der Gegend zu suchen, in welcher die Parthava wohnten, sondern mehr nördlich von denselben nach Atropatene, wie Schrader gezeigt hat (Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung, p. 168 fg.). Mit Rücksicht auf diese Wohnsitze der Parsua brauchen wir auch die

2. LAND.

EUGEN WILHELM,


kommt deshalb auch in verschiedenen Teilen Eränis vor. Es ist in diesem Parthyaiia, dass Strabo von Arsakes sagt XI, 5 l: \( \delta \epsilon \theta \xi \alpha \mu \nu \tau \iota \nu \varepsilon \eta \) \( \delta \chi \sigma \) \( \pi \tau \iota \), \( \Delta \mu \omega \sigma \tau \iota \nu \) \( \delta \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma \iota \eta \iota \) \( \tau \nu \) \( \Pi \alpha \rho \nu \tau \alpha \iota \iota \nu \), dass also dort im Osten, in der Nähe Baktriens, das parthische Reich begann.

3. HERKUNFT.

Es ist äusserst schwer, über die Herkunft der Parther etwas Sicheres zu sagen, nach den Erörterungen der letzten Jahre scheint mir jedoch, namentlich nach dem, was Droysen,\(^1\) Alfred v. Gutschmid,\(^2\) Lassen\(^3\) und Spiegel\(^4\) über diese Sache gesagt haben, eine erneute Behandlung der Frage am Platze zu sein.

Nach der Angabe des Arrian Parth, 3 sind, wie bereits bemerkt, die Parther in unvordenklichen Zeiten, zur Zeit des ägyptischen Königs Sesosbris, nach Erän aus Skythen eingewandert. Demnach wären sie ursprünglich Skythen gewesen und keine Eränier, und zwar

\(^1\) Geschichte des Hellenismus. Gotha 1877. III\(^b\), 358 ff.
\(^3\) Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige. Bonn 1883 und Indische Alterthumskunde II., 277 ff., 352 ff., 811 ff. (1. Ausg.).
\(^4\) Eränische Alterthumskunde, 3 Bde. Leipzig 1871-78.

DIE PARTHER: § 3 HERKUNFT—§ 4 PAHLAV.

genau anschloss, die Parner aber werden sowohl zur Belohnung ihrer Dienste, wie auch als sichere Verbündete des Königs in dessen Nähe angesiedelt worden sein. Ist dies richtig, dann werden die Verhältnisse damals ähnlich gewesen sein wie gegenwärtig bei der KAGARENDYNASTIE und dem Stamm der AFSHAR.

4. PAHLAV.

Es würde uns sehr erwünscht sein zu erfahren, wie lange der Name Parther in Erán und den benachbarten Gegenden überhaupt gebraucht wurde. Ohne Zweifel war PARTHAVA während der ganzen Herrschaft der Achämeniden als Name eines äräischen Stammes im Gebrauche und wird dieselbe auch überdauert haben; wenn aber griechische Quellen auch in den folgenden Jahrhunderten fortwährend von Parthern sprechen, so folgen sie wohl mehr alten Gewohnheiten als einer bestimmten Überlieferung. Bei Orientalen erscheint er von nun an nicht mehr, ausgenommen bei den Armeniern, die aber den Namen von den Griechen haben dünften. Auch fehlt es uns durchaus an einem Schlüssel zu der Verwirrung, die wir nun bei den abendländischen Geschichtsschreibern finden. Dass man das neue äräische Reich als das PARTHISCHE bezeichnet, kann man ebensogut billigen, als wie man die beiden älteren Reiche als das MEDISCHE und PERSISCHE bezeichnet. Aber wir wissen gar nicht, ob in diesem neuen Reich der Stamm der Parther in derselben Weise an die Spitze getreten ist, wie früher die Meder und Perser, man scheint vielmehr unter Parthern etwas Fremdes zu verstehen, eine ausländische Regentenfamilie oder gar einen ausländischen Stamm, der sich der Herrschaft über Erán bemächtigt hatte und nur nach und nach mit den Bewohnern dieses Landes verwuchse. Leider geben uns einheimische Nachrichten über diese Dynastie ebenso wenig Aufschluss wie über den Namen des Volkes der Parther, das Wenige, was sie berichten, scheinen sie mir aus fremden Quellen erhalten zu haben. Die Dynastie wird die der ASHAKANIER genannt, was sich mit dem Namen der ARSAKIDEN deckt. Der Name ist vollkommen begreiflich, wenn man daran denkt, dass der Stifter derselben ARSAKES hiess. Wie man auch über die Herkunft dieser

Eine nicht zu übersehende Wichtigkeit für die Frage, welche uns hier beschäftigt, haben die armenischen Geschichtsschreiber. Zwar sind sie den Verhältnissen nicht gleichzeitig, sie stehen ihnen aber doch immer um einen Schritt näher als unsere anderen Quellen, denn die wichtigsten derselben lebten unter den Sasaniden, während die neueren eränischen Schriftsteller nicht einmal unter diesen, sondern noch später lebten und höchstens Werke benutzten, welche in die Zeit der Sasaniden zurückgehen. Zuerst müssen wir bemerken, dass es nicht richtig ist, wenn man annimmt, dass Parther und Pahlav identisch seien, Moses von Khorni nennt Parther und Pahlav an verschiedenen Stellen neben einander, so II, 71 und 72 und besonders c. 90, wo sie bestimmmt geschieden werden und zwar als ganz verschiedene Völker oder als verschiedene Stämme desselben Geschlechts. Über die Pahlav spricht Moses II, 28, wo er sagt, dass der König Arshavir drei Söhne hatte Artašês, Kären und Suren und eine Tochter Gosîm, die er an seinen Aspahâpet, oder Oberfeldherrn


Sehr verschieden lauten nun die Nachrichten, welche uns muhammedanische Schriftsteller geben aus Quellen, die noch in die Zeit der Sassaniden zurückreichen und die Olshausen schon grossenteils gesammelt hat. Während die Armenier auf das bestimmteste die Provinz Pahlav nach dem Östen setzen und Balkh als die Hauptstadt derselben nennen, behaupten dagegen die Muhammedaner, dass die Landschaft Fahlā im Westen Erāns liege. So die auf den dieser Dinge so kundigen Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa zurückgehende Nachricht des Führst (pag. 13), der unter dem Namen Pahlā die Gebiete von Ispāhān, Rai, Hamadān, Māh-Nehāvand und Adarbaijān versteht. Weniger zusagend ist eine andere Nachricht (bei Olshausen pag. 20), welche das Gebiet von Fahlā noch weiter nach Westen ausdehnt, dafür...

5. PAHLAVI.

Dieser Name findet sich zuerst bei den Armeniern in der Form PAHLAVIK und hängt ohne Frage zunächst mit dem Substantiv Pahlav oder Pahlau zusammen, welches eine Gegend Osträns bezeichnet, wie wir gesehen haben; Pahlavik sollte also einen Angehörigen dieser Gegend bezeichnen, wir finden aber, dass es von den armenischen Schriftstellern in einer eingeschränkteren Bedeutung gefasst wird, nämlich als ARSAKIDE, Angehöriger der asarkidischen Königsfamilie. So wird bei Moses II, 80 (Teridates) ein Pahlavik genannt; III, 34 ist von einem Pahlavik Alanaozan die Rede, der ein Verwandter des asarkidischen Königs von Armenien, Arshak war, ebenda III, 51 hören wir, dass der Katholikus Isaak geehrt wurde, weil er dem berühmten Stamme der Pahlavik angehörte und auf das Geschlecht des Suren Pahlav zurückgeht. Ebenso gebraucht findet man das Wort bei Faustus IV, 32 und IV, 38.

Eugen Wilhelm,

Sháh. (ed. Turner Macan) 237, 14 = Vull. 325, 5:


رُمُدَنَّ ارزٍ پهلوی‌نامور
دلور بی‌خور ناشنا در

Vergl. auch Sháh. 170, 8 = Vull. 238, 18; Sh. 173, 2 = V. 237, 9; Sh. 174, 10 = V. 239, 3; Sh. 577, 15 = Vull. 809, 5. Demnach würde پهلوی bedeuten: "von Helden herkommend, heldenmässig." Auch dies Wort gebraucht Firdausi recht häufig und wendet es für verschiedene Dinge an. Von der 'Gegend' gebraucht finden wir es Sháh. 708, 7 = Vullers 994, 7:

زنجده و شکی و از هندویی
زباقلاب و هری و از پهلوی

Oft begegnet uns der Ausdruck "Heldenkleid," z. B. Sh. 217, 6 = V. 297, 6; Sh. 478, 15 = V. 668, 6; Sh. 772, 16 = V. 1093, 13; in derselben Bedeutung auch پهلوی بریلویی Z. B. Sh. 543, 1., v. u. = Vullers 759, 10. Das "Heldenross" heisst Sh. 1142, 3 = V. 1606, 19 پهلوی بارگی. Einige Male wird das Wort auch von der Religion der alten Helden gebraucht, z. B. lesen wir Sh. 1070, 11, v. u. = Vull. 1503, 16 1248, 1 = Vull. 1756, 3 مین پهلوی کیشش دین و پهلویی Meistens wird aber der Ausdruck پهلوی بریلویی von der Sprache oder von der Schrift gebraucht, so in der Rodensart خخط پهلوی wo Schrift und Sprache zu gleicher Zeit gemeint ist, vergl. Sháh 22, 10 = Vull. 28, 9; Sh. 552, 1 = V. 772, 1; Sh. 636, 5 = V. 891, 13; Sh. 910, 6 = V. 1283, 10; Sh. ed. Turn. Mac. 1386, 13; allein von der Schrift Sh. ed. Turn, Mac. 1397, 12; 1501, 7; ebenso an den verschiedenen Stellen, wo von Pehlevibriefen (پهلوی نامه) die Rede ist. Gar nicht verschieden von
ist auch in Pehlevi So stehn beide Wörter GLEICHBEDEUTEND
die 1750, 11, 13. Vgl. ebengelegen von der Sprache 2041, 6 v. u. (Zeit
Khosrav II.), ferner Pehlevi 1766, 5 v. u. 1766, 4 v.
und Pehlevi Zyp D. 39, 11 = Vull. 51, 9; 39, 3 v. u. = V. 52, 5;
Vgl. 9 = V. 602, 5; cf. 921, 6 = V. 1233, 10; Sh. 2134, 13. Nach
FIRDAUSIS Ausdrucksweise wird dieses Pehlevi, oder Pehlevání sowohl
in der alten Heldenzeit, z. B. von Siyávalshk gesprochen als noch später
unter den Sasaniden. Es ist deutlich die alte Sprache, wie sie vor dem
Islam gesprochen wurde, andere Unterschiede keunnt FIRDAUSI nicht.
Man muss sich dieselbe dem Neupersischen ziemlich ähnlich denken,
wie schon OLSHAUSEN gesagt hat. Ob wir nun unter diesem gespro-
chenen und geschriebenen Pehlevi DIE Sprache verstehen sollen, die
wir in den Schriften der Parsen als Uebersetzung ihrer alten Texte
finden und die bekanntlich mit semitischen Elementen gemischt ist,
scheint mir nicht so ganz selbstverständlich zu sein, wie man
gewöhnlich annimmt. Sicher ist dass die von FIRDAUSI citierten
Pehleviwörter sämtlich INDOGERMANISCH sind, wie dies nachfolgende
Zusammenstellung zeigen wird.

Sháh. 22, 10 (Turner Macan) = Vullers 28, 9 lesen wir das
Pehlevi-zahlwort بیورسپ, dessen beide
Bestandteile auf die avestischen Wörter 10,000 und
Pferd zurückgehen. Sháh. 39, 1 i=Vullers 51, 9 erklärt FIRDAUSI
durch das arabische دجل, was der Name des Flusses Tiglis ist, das
Pehleviwort اردن, das nichts anderes ist als das im Avesta so häufig
gebrauchte snel, stark. Sháh. 39, 3 v. u. = Vullers
52, 5 begegnet uns der Ortsname اردن. Diese Pehleviwörter
überträgt FIRDAUSI durch die arabischen بيت الإمقد, Beits-ul-
quaddas oder das geheiligte Haus. Eine ältere Form اردن aus
dem Minókhired führt SPEGEL in seiner Parsigrmatik pag. 138, 169
an. Im ersten Teile nun dieses Ortsnamens erblicken wir das an zwei
Stellen des Avesta (Yt. 5, 54.57) und im Bundehesh oft vorkommende
 dieses mit dem کبیدز des Minókhired und dem Gangdiz des
Shāhnāme identisch sein dürfte und jedesfalls im Norden Erâns zu suchen ist, wo auch die Chinesen ein Reich Khañkiu kennen. Das Wort ُژد is sicherlich von der avestischen Wurzel ُژد aufhäufen, aufwörifen = Skr. ژd abzuleiten. Im Altpersischen deutet noch die Nominalform ژد, Festung auf die Wurzel hin, ebenso im Neupersischen ژد arx, castellum. Dass endlich ژده nichts anderes sein kann als das avestische ژده heiliges Wort, liegt auf der Hand. Weiter wird auch Shâh. 910, 6 = Vullers 1283, 10 die Stadt ژنر, eine jüngere Form des Namens, die wohl der älteren ژنر gleichzusetzen ist, als identisch mit der Stadt BAlkand in der Nähe von Bokhârâ erwähnt. Endlich weise ich noch hin auf eine Pehleviglosse aus dem Kampfe Rustems mit Kak, einer Episode, die nicht von FIRDâUSI herrührt, wo das Pehleviwort ژنک durch das arabische ژنک, locus munitus erläutert wird.


쁘ارسي ژپلر و پهلوی


EUGEN WILHELM.
THE PAHLAVI JAMASP-NĀMAK,

So far as it was extant in 1876 in a very old Manuscript belonging to the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana.¹

Pa-nām u kām u rām u paṅash-i Hīrmazd khudāi dādār-i vah kirfah-kar mīnūān gētiyān mahist ameshāssendān āvānī ēzdān-i mīnūān u ēzdān-i gētiyān ēdi ē nik u paṅerash u pīrūzgarash u dōstash u bēsh-
zanūşmash u hū-bānash u khārash u nīkash u hār vahān shnāyish u azbāyish ēn chī nīrāng u hamāīnīm vash u fīrūzkarash dādār Hīrmazd khudāi kirfah-kar mīnūān gētiyān mahist ażūnītum ameshāssendān khūdāyān hū-dāgūn ēn-i vah-i Māzdayānān ashōān vahān avāzārān avazūyān frōhar u hamā ēzdān-i mīnūān ēzdān-i gētiyān āvādash-i vah dādār Ṣormazd ashō ē hand.

Īn ashnuād-kar² Jāmāspī khwānānd pa ēn gāh navisht kīh Vishtāsp shāh dahiyūvad būd, azash ēn rivā jād, azash khudāi bi pa sparūk kard, azash āī hushmandān buzzurg kārīzār avā parsīsth khānānbūdī, azash Jāmāsp Ādarpādākān kīh vatarān rūdāstā chūn ēn pas az Zāratuṣṭh Astēntāmān mōbadān mōbad Jāmāsp būd, azashān Jāmāsp paidāyish khwānānd.

Ān az pas Vishtāsp shāh, pa zīvīshn-i Zāratuṣṭh, ēdūn guft : Man Ṣormazd rā fārmān Jāmāsp rā dānā kard, hamā dānād. Pas pēsh-i Vishtāsp shāh Jāmāsp rafī u ēdūn guft : Man hamā dānām az anōshbā-
rawān Zāratuṣṭh Astēntāmān, kū ē in chī dānā kū ē in yak ō damastān kīh

¹ As follos 1-16, 20-26, and 32 were missing in the DP. (Dastur Peshotanji’s) MS., the text, thus lost, is supplied from the Persian-Pûzand (or Pārșī) version in Hang’s MS. No. 7 (now No. 52 of the Zand Codices in Munich Staatsbibliothek). The smaller defects in DP. are also rectified in accordance with H7. This Parsī version contains several mistradings of the Pahlavi, such as kh for the abstract suffix fāh ; this error, and some others when noticed in the Parsī text, are Italicized, as well as defective words rectified in the Pahlavi text.

² For ayād-kār.
Edward William West,

آراد خاند سریشک، یک خاند، و زمین خاند، و داشت خاند، و داریا دادری، این چی دانید که پا پرداران و گفتار خاند، و شیکواف خاند، و پردار داراکند اندار گیهان است؛ این چی دانی که اسمانیی حرف را خاند یا یک حرف را پا تان خاند که که وش؛ این چی دانی که اندار رماهی گوسپندان و گوان، سیاه میث خاند و میث سافده اندار، میث شعمر همی دانم. نیزم دار خاند پرسرد گیهی گیهان تا سار (٣) جی پاسوک خاهرن.

پرسرد گوشتاسب شالکی: چی همای بیش، یا چی همای بیش، یا هست بیه گزاسی یا اکنار گوی؟

گفتاش یاماسب بیتاشکی: شین دابیاد، این چی همای بیشی جای حرم دار ورماحی، و ورماحی از نیزمد این بیش کش حرم دار ورماحی که وشید، اگی ازبیش دین دابیایش یا بیش آشیام همی بودش حرم بیش ورماحی، چونم منتی رامیدارش. امشاسفندن، یزدیان، اولینی یا خاندا و دایش وک و نظرهایی دری و ناصره و ورماحی، امیری که مری هماییان اندار ورماحی، یا دیگر چونم کرم ورماحی، امیری که مری اندار پور بهام بییش دست دشتم. امیری پارفرماه پار فراوانا، یا اگر چی زن گانمی منتی بیش، و یا لنو دامی داییش مسگرچی چیش گوی، تا نه هزیر سال، پا گمیزاش راوید، که ناه ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، آنگری میث خاند و ایک گیه ورد، امیری پا گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، ناه ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، و ناه یا ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، چونم میثی خاند و اولینی خاندا، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، ناه یا ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، و ناه یا ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، چونم میثی خاند و اولینی خاندا، و ناه یا ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، و ناه یا ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، چونم میثی خاند و اولینی خاندا، و ناه یا ایک گیه ورد، یا اگر چی زنی ورماحی و کرمیگی از ورماحی خالی وک وشمش دری و، و ناه یا ایک گیه ورد.

پرسرد گوشتاسب شالکی: حرم داریم که نخست آفرید، اینگی گوی نخست یا داد؟

گفتاش یاماسب بیتاشکی: حرم نخست داریم امشاسفندنان
dād, chi chūn gujastah Ahrīman andar tārīkī ō ham būd, Ormazd pa ān vah-minishnī vah-dānishnī avar minīd, az ān vah-minishnī Vohuman frāz dād, anāghrā Vohuman nām chi az vah-minishnī Ormazd bi-bud, Vohuman ashahī bi-sitāyad, az ān ashahī Vohuman bi-sitāyad Ardavahisht frāz būd; pas Ardībahisht ashahī bi-sitāyad, az ān sitāyishn Shahrīvar chūn hast minūn; Ormazd az Shahrīvar Asfandārmad, u az Asfandārmad Khurdād, u az Khurdād Amardād, yak az dādīgar, paīdā būd; yak az dūd hast bi-būd chi chirāgh az chirāgh girad, az ān chirāgh kam nah bēd, dūdīgar ān avazānī mad; azash ōshān ameshāsfa-denān, yak az dūd pa ān āyīn by-āvarēd; azash avīzahā kih dānā bīnā vazīdār u farzānah dād, ōshān nishāst havash dārad, guft kū : Bun-ī khudā u dāstūr kih sazad būdan; pas ameshāsfa-denān pa nām-chisht Ardībahisht guft yak jāvidānī ō hamā būd u hamā bēd, ān amā khudā u dāstūr yūhā1 dādār Hōrmazd ō mān rānīdār yūhī2 kat amā dād āfrīd az kwēsh-minishnī frārūm az-ēshān pa-ham dād stāyish yak avā dūd, Ormazd pa khudāyish bah minūd, u Ormazd vazārishnī in kih khudāī dānā, u kash khudāī khvēsh paīdā kard būd; azash az dām-i gēti nakhust āsmān, dūdīgar āv, sadīgar zamīn, chahārum aūrvār, panjum gospēnd, shashum mardām dād; azash mirād avā ravisīn-ī ameshāsfa-denān pa khūrīshnāk-i pur-rāmīshnāk bi-kard; azash gahanbār nūm nīhād; azash nakhust gāv, dūdīgar Gayōmārd dād; az padvand-i ān gāv dīvāsat u hashtād u dō sardāh stōr u gospēnd by-āfrīd kih patyārah ō dām mad; nakhust ōī gāv az ān gāvān hand sard az sard bi-būd, kih ōī Gayōmārd mad. Pūzar murd3 pa jāi mardum az tokhm-i Gayōmārd rawāyīsh kirfah az zamin āvar āmad : panjāh sāl ān būd, kih shān zanīsh u shavīshn na-būd; u navad u hasht sāl, u hasht māh, ān būd kih shān zanīsh u shavīshkard; az ēshān haft shīkān bāh farzand dōgānāh bi-zād, yak mūdāh u yak nar bi-būd; yak bah dadīgar pa zanīsh u shavīshn brād hand, u padvand rūbīshnī jānvarān gēti az ōshān āb bi-būd. Īn hast dām dābīshnāk u patyārah mad azash u dām guunikht bi-būd, tā ristākhēz tan-i pasīn ān pār-būd na shavad. Īn gōhar chunī guftash ashō Zaratusht jud dev in āyīn avāz ō ham

1 Pers. tā.  
2 Pers. tā hastī.  
3 Pers. mādī.
ایاد، انداز به کریستاران، ان چی که به آن پروراکه ان بیکرته پا ای خومناسد.

پورسید گوسِت‌اُم شاه ال یادسپ بِتاسح کُع: نُکهوست داهی‌وناد کُن ماد کیه بهد؟ یوشان کُن‌رایان یکه یاک راونش راونشن چی بهد؟ آز‌یشان دین و داد سالراش پادشُهَان چُن ماد، چُن کارد؟

گفت‌اش یادسپ بِتاسح کُع: نُکهوست کُن‌دایی گی‌نامرد شاه بهد، سیه حازقِ ساعان یاک دپَتی‌رَاش، و سیل پاتی‌رَاش یانش اش و حی لُکوشن انداش نارو ماد، هام چوی‌نامش پاتی‌رَاشِی اکد ماد پا یای مَرد آزاش پا ایمن انداز بَرداشناسُه ییچم کیه نِک چُن مان ای چام اسحله‌دُهیش رُه پاتی‌رَاه اکد ماد؛ آزاش تَکه‌م به‌اپِریار شُد، اَپِریار به‌نِبی‌رَافت، به‌ژامن شُد، الید نا پَزِی‌رَافت؛ سیل اندار ژامن بهد. پاس راونش کاری‌هان ای چِم‌یم‌یعتری، آز‌یشان نِکهوست زُد شاتید، ران ای‌زید، مارد و زان به‌اپِریار ویم ناه مَرد به‌اپِریار پا هَوشُنگ، مارد و زان زاد، چی‌حال سیل کُن‌دایی کارد اکد بُن مَفت. هَوشُنگ بهد پِک‌شرف، کیه دادِی کُن‌دایی‌یش پَش اکد وارِ وکارد، آزاش یاکم‌هیش مبتند، یاک یاقِرِئج اکد کارد. و از هَوشُنگ وِی‌گاْهان مارد و زان زاد؛ اوی وینگان‌هان بهد، اوی چُن مِکپا کارد، اش و دام‌ی‌یی‌دِیاًر فراز یاکیت. زاد کَک‌کیمِعَرَع، و آزاش چی اسکونق‌یار تاموراکس‌هان بهد زِد کَش‌گِادرد، یی پاداش اکد یاکم‌هیش کُن مَشفِی‌سیل که‌شِم‌ی‌یه رَانی‌‌ه‌یه یه‌کام‌‌مِه‌ری؛ سیل هَیچ‌یم‌یع‌نیا ناه تُوُن اکد کردان؛ آزاش یاکم‌هیش الید شاه و برگی اکد و سپاهیت‌یم چراً جاد؛ آزاش یاکم‌هیش الید یام‌ی‌یه وانش‌که‌سیل ای‌مانت کارد، پا‌اکد کارد، مانش‌که‌سیل کَرید‌یه‌که‌ل مانش‌که‌سیل اساییشیک کَم زیویشناش بهد یانش. وان ای جام کُن‌دایی‌یش یاه سرام‌ بهد، یاه گَرم‌هان، یاه زیویش‌انی یوة بهد؛ آزاش یاکم‌هیش‌یه یام‌ی‌یه وانش‌که‌سیل بهد کُن مامت‌یاه بهد یاه چی که ای کَر آورِ سیْدِیت داکدی یاه وی‌باش یاه‌یفت یاه‌یانش‌که‌سیل یاه‌یانش‌که‌سیل هَاش‌یانش‌که‌سیل وانش‌که‌سیل مَفت. آزاش یاکم‌هیش یاه پا ایک کُن یاه‌یانش‌که‌سیل راک‌ناد، یاه

1 *Pers. zūrātar.*  
2 *Pers. piri.*
paristārakān āfr stārakān kōkhšliānand, chashm jud az kīnān āvāni girift zīvandān kard, azash kīnān pa' yak chashm kūr kard, azash padmān az āshān avāj ēstād; azash sarmā u garmā har chish avāj padmān kard; azash gēhān parāvāntarî bi-kard pa bundaš haftsad sāl u hafdah sāl u haft māh andar ān-i khvēš chādār hū-sipās bi-būd; sad sāl parī nībān-rūbishnāsh andar daryā ṭaft, avā Jam rati; pas chi az ān chūn hū-sipās khvāst gavishn būd, zanish varj khurah azash āzār būd; āfr giriftārash mad gujistah Āzh-dāhāk, kih shān Bēvarāsp chi khvānand, avā spēdī dar khānah chi vas dōv chi andar girift pa ard burūd hazār tēgh, azash avar girift: khudāī-i Āzh-dāhāk sīh zavar,5 shash chashm, hazār zavastār,5 avar būm-i haft kishvar, avar dēvān u mardūmān, hazār sāl; azash vanāh u zīyān u anāghash pa mardūmān angān kard; azash har roz dō mard-i jāvān bi-girift, hājat-i ān da-mārāsh pa gārdan būd, azash māgh-z-i mardūmān sēr kard; pas khūd nān khūrd; azash anāghash angām numūdan, azat was adādish avēzaham jamā kunishnāsh pa-mardūmān angām kard andākht. U bundaš hazār sāl kam yak nīmroz, u Farīdūn Ātyān Jam dān khvēshhāndān shud; azash, pa kīn-i Jam, Bēvarāsp girift, pa ān shikuftsam band pa kōh-i Damāvand bast; khvēsh varj hand-ash tāgīsh Farīdūn khudāsī frāz girift ba-kishvar-i Khānirās, avar dēvān u mardūmān, pānsad sāl; azash Īrmazd dīn paźūraft, azash afsūn nīrang u dārmān az Īrmazd ūnūkht, vash dōstāsh u bēsh-zīvashnāsh pa dāmān-i Īrmazd kard, azash fārmūd, u āfr mardūmān kū mardūmān-ināk khvēsh zīvēd raveld pa khvēshkārash tukhshēd, aztū nĪst avā dēvān kār kardand, nāh khūrd nāh hamish nāh dushārmash avā khūd yāv dōām pa dūshārmash dādīstān hū-parastīsh zīvēd rūūnēd, dādī frārūn gīrēd, az ān-i avārūn bih varayēd,6 chī shumā avā dēvān chish chī kār nīst, gāh yak Māzandar, yak Hēzand daryā, u pa pā-i āfr dārad āfr kishvar-i Khanirās āmadand; az-ēshān mardūmān Hēzand giriftāh bast, u khūrd pas mardūmān bāh girzishn-i Māzandarān āfr pēsh-i Farīdūn āmad band az-ēshān guft kii: Āzh-dāhāk khudāī-i vatar būd az har aîsh; azash dushān mūrv āvāj dāshīt; āf dāshīn na-tavīl. Pas Farīdūn āfr nāzālī-i Māzandarān shud, azash āfr òshān guft kii: Mardum

1. Pers. farash. 2. Āzān dāhān. 3. mard zūr. 4. garmād.

1 Pers. andah. 2 bi-suft. 3 bi-zad.
karōšt vast, az-ēshān vas avazār chahār parhez yārash ;avānī minūān-i
vah zamīn az Afrāsyāb avāj sitad. Pas Mānashvyār Azō bin Tahmāspān
kard pauch sal; u Kai-Kubād-i Kayān sad sāl; u Kai-Kāus sad u
panjāh sāl; Kai-Khusrō Syāvakhshān shast sāl; u Kai Lahurāsp sad u
bist sāl; az Kai Lahurāsp khudāī ōī shumā by-āyad.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh ōī Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Ťōshān mardumān
pa Arzah, u Shavah, u Fradudafsh, u Vidadafsh, u Vōrūbarsht, u
Vōrūzarsht jud jud jud dād ravishn chi pa jam kih ēstad? Az-ēshān
khūrishn bar ham padūzan chūn? Az-ēshān zivanāsh chand mīrānd ō?
Ōī kih afganand az-ēshān ravān ō kih shavad?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Pa Arzah Shavah mardum damastān Srōsh
rā yazishn, pa ān pād-dahishn Srōsh avar ōshān khudāyāsh faristēd; az
-ēshān dād bahāsh u dīn pōryō-dkēshāsh ; az-ēshān zivanāshh vas vas
hast az-ēshān kih sī-sad sāl bi-zīvand : az shān kār bār nēkash az
murū māhi vas pa kām-i ōshān khudā sālār Srōsh ; ō kih
mīrānd ashō hand ; ō ān kih āwānī kishvar hast pa kōh-mānishn, u
hast aūrvar-mānishn, hast u yār hast u kīr hast u vahisht hast, u
dūzakh na-shavand.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū : Ťōshān mardumān kih pa Alburz, ān
-chi pa Alburz ōī ān kust mānand, ēshān dād u varzishn chi? ū zivishn
chi u chūn?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Ťōshān mardumān ēshān jāī rōshan-
khūsh har nēkash hast, azēshān zivanāshh vas khudā yār bahdnī ravān
dōst u dīn dōst hand, az ēshān khudā dahiūdav Srōsh, az ēshān
patyārah kam, kih mīrānd ashō hand.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū : Ťēshān mardumān bah Kangdizh, ān
chih pa Var-i Jāmkard, ān chih pa Īrān-vōj mānand, ēshān dād u dīn
u ravishn u zivanāshh u khūrishn chūn? ū kih mīrānd ravān ō kih
shavand?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Kangdizh gēhānāsh bāmī kard avar kamār-i
dēvān, azash rah-i vīrān1 pīrūmūh haft-sad farsang, azash haft firmast
1 khālis.
hast, nakhust ãhinîn, dödîgar ëyîn, sâdîgar pûlûdîn, chahârum burinjîn, panjum kûnsakûn, ¹ shashum simîn, haftum zarîn; azash kushk gãh simîn, azash kîh zarîn barham-ând; azash haft margh-zâr andar vas nêkash u parvar; azash haft rûd bûlî az andarûn by-äyad : ãn já hamîshah bahûr ëvâdî-chi darakht pa bûr; azash sarmû u garmû: ãstûd, nah bûd. Azash avânî patyârah kam mûnand u khûb zîvîshûn u yûr-i bûh-dûn hand; az-éshân dûd bâhsh, u dîn pöryöd-kêshash; az-éshân zîvandash vas kîh mûrûd ashû hand. Azshûn rad Pêshôtan-bâmi shûnû pûs, u khudû u sâlûr Khûsrûb; éshân gêhûn u mûrûdûn pa Var-i Jamkard hamû bûh-dûn, ravân-dôst, kirfah-kar hand; azshûn zîvandash vas hast si-sâd sül bi-zîvîd : pa har chîhal sül, az mard-c, u zan-c, farzand-c bi-zîyad; azshûn patyârah kam; andar ãn aê kîh Malkûs jîdû damastân aèdûn shîkûfû mûrûd bûd, mûrûdûn u avânî stûr u jûnvar pa-zûyast bi uftûnd, u mûrûdûn u avânû stûr u jûnvar az ãnô by-øjard, ãshân avûz khûrsand. U mûrûdûn pâh Irân-véj mûnand hamû yûr-i bûh-dûn: az-éshûn bar nêk, u dûd, dûm, mûrvûn, mûhin, gàû, u gospend vas; u dãh mûh injû damastûn u dû mûh hâmûn, u ãn chîh dô mûh sard; azshûn patyârah zamastân u mûr-i âvî vas bûd: kîh mûrûd ashû hand, u az-éshûn zîvandash haftûd sül.


Guftash Jâmâsûp kû : Hindûgûn shahar buzurg hast, u sard hast u garm hast, u târ hast u khûshk hast; dûr u darakht hast; kih dasht sakht hast, kih niyaz hast, kih ãshên zîvîshnash az barinj hast, u kih az shîr-i gàû hast, kih az tokhmûh khûrûd; azshûn, kêsh u dûd u ravîshn vas u hast pâh nîmah-i Aûrmazd u hast pâh nîmah-i Ahrûmân jâtûyash ãshkârû kunand; u kih mûrûd hast kîh andar zamûn nihûn kunand, u hast ãî ãv afganad, u hast pâh ãtash bi-sozand; u har kîh nah hû-dûn ãî dûzakh shavand. U Chînastûn shaharhû-i buzurg vâsî zar, vas muskh, vas gàhûr, vas ãn-chîsh andar band kard ãî nîz amûn bûr yak vînash estûd band, u but paristand; kih mûrûd darvand hand.
Tāzigān u Barbarigān shahar garm u khushk vyāvān, nīst bar o āv; dōd azshān khūrishn shīr u kharāstarān u mūsh u mār u gurbah u rūbūh u kafāt u avāni ānash anazdīsh1 parastīnand; az ēshān zīvishn ushtar u chahār-pāyāsh chish.


Guftash Jāmāsp kīh: Īshān mardumān pah zamin var-chashmān mānand, azshān ājī zamin-i paryān u parūs-nīshīn and; azash dār u darākht vas bēd, u gāō vas dārānd; azshān sālār khūdā ānast pah nīmah-i Ahrīman ēstād; ō kih mirand bi-khūrand, ba-har-yak kih ēshān ōį ātash afgānand, u andar miyānah pur bād zīvandash har jānvar ēshān khurah kārad bi-khūrand. Var-gōshān hamgūnāh, b-ēshān khūrish barg-i darakhtān va-giyāh (ሄ), u nah dād shināsānd, nah dīn; kih mirand darvand hand. U tash-tēzagān shahar Kūzī, u khwēsh chīh pah tan kanizak bah niz gūmān u zīr parastār band; bah nīmah-i Aūrmazd hand, u hamvārah avā var-gōshān pah gavishn vakhsash kārīzār ēstānd; u kih mirand hast ōi vahisht, hast ōi dūzakh shavad. Duvūlpāyān u sīh3-sarān varzīdār vasturg u rīman, nah dād, nah dīn, nah kīrfa, nah gunāh shināsānd; az-ēshān mah sālār nīst, u pah nīmah-i Ahrīman ēstād, u har chīh ashō hand bi-khūrand; u har kih shān azash bi-mīranda bi-khūrand; azshān pāk pākīzī nīšt; azshān ravān nīmah i Ahrīman, ōi dūzakh shavad.

Pursid Gūshotāsp shāh kīh: Ūi ēshān mardumān-i Sīlānī, u ān chīh andar zarah daryā mānand, az ēshān zīvishn vādārishn chīh? az ēshān khudaī sālār kīh? pa nīmah-i kih ēstād?

1 Perhaps: dūsh āuḏḏēsh. 2 Perhaps: kulbā-sarān. 3 For sug.

* Here the Pahlavi text, extant in D.P., begins with folio 17.
Edward William West,
بیله کرس چند سرسپهر زوال می‌داند و سپس این به‌طور کلی بی‌معنی است،

و چند لغت در پی واقعیتی ساخته می‌شود و سپس این به‌طور کلی بی‌معنی است،

در حقیقت با وارد این در پی واقعیتی ساخته می‌شود و سپس این به‌طور کلی بی‌معنی است،

و چند سفسه که این در پی واقعیتی ساخته می‌شود و سپس این به‌طور کلی بی‌معنی است،

و چند سفسه که این در پی واقعیتی ساخته می‌شود و سپس این به‌طور کلی بی‌معنی است،

و چند سفسه که این در پی واقعیتی ساخته می‌شود و سپس این به‌طور کلی بی‌معنی است.

۱ "Fear." Perhaps ۹۰۰
Zanān sākht, az ēshān zanān pah shalvār ustuvār hand, u marzishn vas kunand; az ēshān didan chih dār u chashm dūd, vas sard u vas garmtar band, az ēshān hamvār yak avā dūd vakhshash kūrīzār, u ān varzishn bēd; az ēshān margash khvār afsānd, andar chih ān kishvar hast, u kih az ū pasānd dād, īn kih padiraft ēstad, kisht varz āvādānash kūnand; kih mirand ūi bē-shak afganand, ū hast ūi bahisht, ū hast ūi düzakhī ū hamistakān shavand, ū kih nīst ēshān chih avāz azēshān minishn u varzishn avā mardumān bēd.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Tu īn kūdakash az chih kih chūn avar mad ēstad, chi-rā khudāyān dāhyūvādān īn kūdakash avar nah mad ēstad? haft īn kūdakash ī āgāhash ūi kas čāsid u guft tavān, ayā nah haft? nakhust ūi kard ayāft az ashkam-i mādur dāshtand? tu Jāmāsp

1 No. 7 has:—mar bud xevāshn.
2 Pahlavi Folios 20-26 are missing; the Parsi text that follows is supplied from Haug’s MS. No. 7.
انداز-آن زمان ب روان گراوتمانی، ایا ناه حالت هرگز داروگه گفت ایَوَ، ناه؟

غفتاش یاماسب کی: من این اگاهش از دین-ی ایرماد و زاراتیشت کوھش ماد گَسَتاد، و این کوکاکاش و زیراکاش اوی مان چیه آن مرد کیح ایی شمآ داهیِواد که‌دی‌ای‌ش گستاد؛ ایم ناه از پادار ناه از مادار\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) وان‌ادام بُه اوی کش چاوشیدان اوی کردان تاوِن ایم این کوکاکاش و اِگاهاش ائیدِن کوھش ماد گستاد، کیح این حار اهمان\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) ماردَم همآ رُز زاد و می‌راد، این کی چیه نَم، و کیح پُس، و از کادم تُکشم و چیه ایشان، و پاد کادم آکتَر یَر، و کادم اواکتَر هامیُمَل، از ایشان زان و فرَنْد و زبَن نکهُست، و که‌دی‌ای‌ش و پادشی‌اهاش چاند، چیه، چیه ایین، و این چیه تُ فراشاکارد و تان‌ی پاسُن دانم؛ ایم اوی داهیِوادان ماردِم‌ان چاوشیدان اوی کرد تُبَن، چیه مان یاماسب پَل‌ن آن زمان ب روان گراوتمانی، ایم هرگز داروگه نا-گفت، ناه چیه گوهَم.

پرسید گوشتی‌س شال کی: این همآ داهیِوادان و که‌دی‌ای‌ن این فی‌نْم گاه چاند سال نیشِنام؟ ایم‌ان کُر کرفا چیه پاد کهوش-کَرْتار سازاد فرآِز گیرفت کردان؟

غفتاش یاماسب کی: پا-کُر کرفا کردان تُکشم‌ش بَیاد فارمِدان\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) ائیدِن بُد ها پاد پادید بُد، و این\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) وان‌ادام ایرماد و زراتیشت پَدِرانت، پادش اَوِرتَر تکشم‌ش، و از حار وان‌یُه فرَوَد میناد، پَسُه پارْهَزِت؛ این حمآ ماردِم‌ان کیح شن شمَا اَوار کفدادو و پادش‌هُا بُد میناد و گاه اَوِی بَم دَاهِت، اشْهان\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) بِ-کَر-ی‌مادار-ی‌ن کیح هار ماردِم اندار گَتی بارْهَان آمادان، بارْهَان بِ-شِهاد؛ چیش چیه اَوِی بَه ناه بهِرَد، چُد از کُنیش‌ی‌ن نِک‌-ی‌شَمَا، چیه چاند تْاْوِن-هَا، کُر کرفا اَوْزی\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) مَا اوی هیَاد، چیه زَعد بُد، کیح تان پاد کرفا کردان کاْمَا اَفاد این زمان ناه بُد، چیه تان گوهَم؛ شمَا داهیِوادان کی پَسِه از یاک سال او وادیراناش و نِتْیِسات\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) راُساد.

پاس گوشتی‌س شلال، کاش اَن اَشْنُود،\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) وان‌ادام کُر کرد، وان‌ع-کَرْهَار مان اَزاش پَس و دَکْهْت از یا اَزاش زاده‌انه‌ان، و

\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) یاپت. \(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) پوشت. \(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) دِگار.
avānī b-ān bavishnān u farzandān kāsūn ān kār ashnūd, hamā pah ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ō tamām shavēd shudah hand. Ō kih Gushtāsp khurah, andar ōī girīftan, andūh afganand, u gūnāhgūr yak afganand, u kār girand.

Pas Jāmāsp farmān dād kū: Bar mā vashēd fardā frōd afgandan kash ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ mān hiland.

U pas Gushtāsp shāh, ham-chūn ۳۶ ۳۶ būd, ō Jāmāsp guft kū: Amā īn kih mān īn din-i avēzhah padīraft, andar gēhān rāvā kard, ō mān hand, u đēv drūj u ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ ۳۶ zadān avazadān az Īrān shahar bīrūn kard u Asfendyār, man farzand, avāj dāsht, u vas ham man sipāh u dāhan az bahar-i dīn rā avazadań avamān dāsht pah shān īn āvāyad būd, chūn hūbin ō pādīdā būd, u man, Vishtāsp az-in gāh u az-in gēhān pah süd rōzkār judū būd, man az-in brādarān u farzandān u mān bōshān u takht u khurah-i Kayān hand, stāyam dāvar vād Kayān.

U pas Jāmāsp guft kū: Ōshān ravan girād, in khurah-i Kayān pah shumā avar nīshastēd, mā āzārēd, u dard bahar ōī tan mā hīlēd, o pah yāzishn dāhishn khvēsh tan andar rāmishn dārēd, avā farzandān u brādarān b-ān bavistān mēzad kunēd, āyīn gūh u kūh pah rāmishn dārēd, chīh zīvandishn basīm nēk ī yak sāl nāh az hazār sāl andar abasīmash āvadān1 īn chīh gōyam kih mārg kash āvāz na-girēd, u zamān na dādēd, chīh Gayōmard būd Āurmazd-dād, kash zamān mad, Ahrīman pah marenčinīd, u dadīgar yak yak khudāyān pēšh būdah hand, kash ān zamān frāz mad, chīsh az kardān na-tavān, pa nāmchīst Tabmōrāp kash sī sāl Ahrīman bah bār dāsht, u chīh kash khvēsh frāz mad, khvēsh tan az khūsh avā dāsht na-tavān. U pas Gushtāsp, kih shān azash shīnīd, andar khvēsh tan ۳۶ ۳۶ padīraft, azash andar gēhān sipāsdārash kardān, u Jāmāsp āfrīn kard.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Az pas hamā dahyūvadān u khudāyān īn farāvān gūh kih kadām khudā dārād jud chīh? u kih pas az taklim kadām band? u har yak kishvar chand sāl dārēd? kih ān-i nēk, u

1 ākhar.
kih ān-i vatar? pas az mā chih angām u zamānah rasad? u din-i Māzdayasnān tā kī chand sāl ravad?


Pursid Gushtāsp shāh kū : Īn din-i avēzah chand sāl ravā bēd? u pas az ān chīh sūbām u zamān rasad?
Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Īn dīn hazār sūl ravā bēd, pas oshan mardumān andar ān hangām band, hamā āī mihr-drukhsī ēstānd, yak avā dūd nīvarash u dīrogh kumnand, u pah ān chīm Irān shahar āī Tāzīgān avaspāraud; u Tāzīgān har rōz pah rōz nīrōtar dahand, shahar shahar frāz girand, mardum hamā āī avārūnī dīrogh vardīnand, u har chish ān goyand u girand, azshān khvōsh tān sudmandtār, azshān ravishn-i frārūn azash āzār bēd, avēz sanast īn Irān shahar.1

1 Here begin the remaining folios 27 to 31 of the Pahlavi text extant in DP.
TIIK
I'AILAVT
JAMASP-NAMAK.

THE Pahlavi JAMASP-NAMAK.

113

[Text in Pahlavi script]

15
THE PAULAVI JĀMĀSP-NĀMAK.

115

کَدَسَ آَپِرَٰ بَلَیہ تَوَاَّسَ فِی حِلْمِ ۙاَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ اَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ اَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ اَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ اَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ اَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ اَنَّہَا رَقَبَتُهُوَ بِاَسْبَحَ مَیْتَوْ
Watford.

E. W. WEST.

1 Rest of Pahlavi is lost. The Persi version continues one line further, as follows:—
i daryā bār mard-ē Mihr Izad bah avazīd, Mihr Izad vas. . . .
and then breaks off in the middle of a sentence.
Zarathustra (Zoroaster), the founder of the Iranian religion of the invokers of light, received in antiquity such universal homage, that he was honoured not only by the Medes and Persians, who revered him as a Lawgiver and Teacher of religion sent from God, but also by their political enemies, the Greeks, who compared him to Zaleukos, Minos, Numa, and Lykurgos; and many of their own celebrated philosophers became students of Zoroaster and of the Magi, his followers.

The Zoroastrian religion was the first to reject the ancient Aryan heathenism as false doctrine, and in an age, when all the world knelt before Baal and Astaroth, shuddered at the demons with which they peopled nature, or worshipped trees and animals, it taught the existence of a higher being, presiding in perpetual light, who was too holy to accept bloody sacrifices, only demanding good thoughts, words, and actions, to enable the realm of truth and purity to become triumphant over falsehood and darkness.

To the imagination of the Jews, the Zoroastrian king of Persia, Kyros (the first conqueror of the world, who no longer allowed vanquished kings to be skinned alive and to have their eyes put out) appeared as the promised Anointed One, or Messiah, who, by direction of Jahweh, the God of heaven, commanded the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem; and tradition allows the Magi, or Median priests, to worship the child Jesus, whereby the Jewish Christian religion does not entirely reject the Zoroastrian faith which also expects the coming of a Saviour, so separating it from the Mythology of the Goyim ("Gentiles"), or Pagans.

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1 Zarathuṣtra is the exact pronunciation of this Ancient Median name; the Z has the soft hissing sound as in French, th has the same sound as the hard th in the English word through, and ū has a sound between u and sh.


3 The later Isaiah, xlv., 1.

4 Esra, 1, 2.

5 Matthew, 11, 1, 2.
No wonder that, 300 years ago, scholars began to collect every detail that antiquity had preserved about this remarkable man who, by his theories, that the cultivation of the land and the advancement of every kind of culture was an act of worship, stands out really as the founder of civilization in Iran.

Barnabas Brisson was the first to collect all records of antiquity relating to the Prophet. Thomas Hyde quotes the statements of Eastern authors on Zoroaster. Adolf Rapp has again worked all these ancient records into a collection that is well worth reading; and so is the collection of Arabic, Syriac, and other Eastern allusions to the prophet, edited, a few years ago, by R. Gottheil.

Professor Williams Jackson has rendered important service by his writings and treatises on the language of the Avesta, and by his comprehension of these sacred books; he has also written a shorter work on the same subject and has made such an exhaustive collection of notes, concerning Zoroaster, from the Ancients and Oriental sources, with name and subject index, that one is virtually relieved of the trouble of referring to the numerous works that he has used. This collection from the fountain-head, the contents of which are based partly on the Zoroastrian legend, and are partly a correction of the same, have been separated from the descriptive portion of the work and placed in the appendix.

He relates the life of the Prophet chiefly from the Pahlawi works, Dinkart and Zait-spam's Selections, written in the ninth century, and also from the Zartusht Namah, written in the thirteenth century, in

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8 Zeitschrift der Morgen. Gesell. XIX. (1865), 21 ff.


10 Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York; 1899; (with a splendid map).

the modern Persian language, which is chiefly based on the above-
mentioned works, and at the same time he submits the relation of the
legend to a comparison with the text of the Awesta.

As Jackson evidently intended to supply the complete material
for the investigation of the life of Zarathuṣtra, he presents the legend
to us with the suppression of all the positive incongruities quoted at
length; this one accepts with gratitude, but with the reserve that they
have no historical worth, and it only gives information of the manner
in which such an edifying work of exegetical essays can be put
together, by the help of ancient traditions preserved in the sanctuaries.

We could have wished that the author had laid more stress on the
unreliability of the legend, which he admits (p. 141); instead of
arousing the impression that he himself believed in the details.

There is surely no sense in tracing out plans of battles (pp. 120—
122) for which a poet, even were he Firdausi, had used a picture of
his own fancy for a basis; for Firdausi could not possibly know the
tradition of the battle with Arjāsp in Khorūsān (pp. 118, 119). It is
also hardly necessary, because of Pythagoras, to refer to the Desātir
written in 1818, and on account of the murder of the Prophet, to quote
authorities like Majdi (end of 16th century, p. 131.); neither he, nor
Firdausi, could supply a single historical note, if it were not in the
Awesta, for neither of them had any other source. Only to some
extent, impartial accompanying statements, particularly those that
contradict the legend, offer some certainty that they are not influenced
by it, and may have some historical character.

How much nonsense a complete collection of all the wisdom
produced by wiseacres about Zoroaster offers, appears, among the rest,
from the opinion, upheld by monkish narrow-mindedness and Jewish
presumption, that Zoroaster was Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah.
Tabari also notices this opinion (648, 10), and Bishop Jesudād (about
852), in a commentary on Mat. ii. 1, on the Magi, makes the remark,
that "this Jewish renegade wrote that vomit of Satan, the book of
Abhashtā." As Jackson remarks (pp. 165, 166), the similarity of the
Syriac name Ermayê (Jeremiah) and Urmiyä, the birthplace of Zarathuștra, has, no doubt, given rise to this discovery.

What is known of the conditions of life of the Prophet amounts to very little; his descent from Airyana-vaejô, his residence at the court of his protector Wištäspa, the names of a number of members of his family and of the prince’s court are noticed in the oldest parts of the Awesta, in the Gäthä poems, or metrical sermon- psalms, written in the Atropatenian dialect. The other portions of the Awesta describe him as already a saint, and can therefore be quoted for many facts in the history of the religion, but cannot be considered as a source for biographical details.

As Zarathuștra’s patron did not belong to the line of the Median great kings, it is difficult to fix the time of the founding of the religion; therefore one is surprised to find in Jackson’s work that he gives exact dates, not only for Zarathustra’s life in general but also of separate events, his missionary travels to countries not exactly defined geographically (p. 207), as also a battle of the religious war.

Dr. West, the chief expert in Säsänian Pahlawi literature (which Jackson compares to the Patristic literature of the Christian church), has lately examined the artificial holy chronology of the Parsi priests, that had been partly known for a long time in the Bun- dahishn (a cosmography), and which he has illustrated in a chronological table of holy events. According to it, the time of the founding of the religion was 300 years before the burning of Persepolis by Alexander, that is in the year 630 B.C. The figures are variously given, those derived from Pahlawi books, or authors instructed by the Magi of the time soon after the downfall of the Säsänian dynasty, even Tabari and Firdausi, give the years 300, 280 and 258. The variation may arise from this, that sometimes they had had the birth of Zarathuștra in their mind’s eye, sometimes the founding of the religion, and sometimes the conversion of Wištäspa, or the death of the Prophet.

12 Pahlavi Texts V, Oxford 1897, p. XXVII. seq.; Jackson, p. 179. See also on that date, Shriiarji D. Bharucha in Cama Memorial Volume, p. 1.
One cannot designate this chronology, as has been done lately, "a deplorable fabrication," for these figures make a fairly correct impression, as they are moderate, compared with the improbable estimates of time by other religions, and because the occurrence of the founding of the religion would then coincide with the culminating point of the Median dominion. It is quite possible that, at Alexander's time, people still possessed data for estimating the age of the religion; or, just as in Islam, the years were first counted from some definite event, and that this important knowledge was preserved till the construction of the holy chronology.

Already Hyde and Anquetil du Perron, and recently Geldner, have accepted the reckoning of the Magi as correct. For separate items this artificial system is untrustworthy; it is also suspicious that exactly 1,000 years after the proclamation of the religion, the Awesta was edited anew by command of Sapor II, and furnished with a complete translation in the Pahlawi language, under the direction of the supreme high-priest Atūrpāt (Atropates) Mahraspend, whose son Zarathuštra followed his father in his priestly office in the year 571 and could, therefore, pass as the Prophet Ukhshyad-ereta (Oshēdarbānā), appearing 1,000 years after the founding of the religion. Yet, at the same time, the idea would not lie far away that by the establishment of the strict doctrine of the Magi, the re-writing of the Awesta and its translation into the Sāsānian language, undertaken by the Sasanids, they had really had at first the intention to erect, in this great work, a landmark and memorial, just at the epoch of the end of the first and beginning of the second millennium.

The error, already noticed by Masu'di, that the Parthians have only 284 years in the chronicle is compensated for by the traditionally great length of the reigns of Wištāsp and his grandson Bahman. The

Muhammadan authors, particularly Al-Beruni, who is here of great authority, accept the Persian chronology as correct, and it is known that the Persians have been in possession of an exact calendar since 1075 (the era of Jelâl-ud-dîn Melekshâh), which proves their competence for such calculation.  

Greek and Roman references contain important statements conducive to a knowledge of the Zoroastrian religion and of its founder, and are particularly valuable, because the periods in which the writers lived are known, and their statements can, therefore, be applied to a temporary, definable phase of the religion; whereas among the present day professors of the religion, the Parsis in India, one finds their latest phases. We know, for instance, from many authors, that in Iran the dead were neither burnt or buried, but exposed on tower-like edifices to be devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey, as is still the case among the Parsis of to-day. That this custom prevailed at the time of the Sásâniâns, yea even of the Parthians, is authenticated by the contemporary works of Justinus, Prokopios and Agathias. On the other hand, we learn from the older writers, Herodotos, Xenophon, and Arrianos, that, till the time of Alexander, the Persians buried their dead, and only the Median Magi exposed them; that these statements are accurate, is proved by the fact of stone sepulchres existing among the Achaemenians, and the mention of burying and burning the dead in Arachosia and Khorâsân (Chakhra) in the Awesta. And from this we may draw the conclusion that the Median custom extended only by degrees over Iran, and was particularly propagated by the Sásâniâns who, by the help of the Magi (to whom their ancestor belonged), spread the strict observance of this custom through the kingdom.

16 Wendidad 1, 12 (48), 16 (66).
17 The prince of Ístakhâr (Persepolis) is called on pre-Sásâniâni coins Fratakara ("the Firemaker"). later, al-Hirbadh ("the Priest"), anno 638, 644, Tabari 2546, 17. Belâdhori, ed. J. deGoeje 388, 11.
All statements of the ancients, and of non-Zoroastrian eastern writers, are thrown into the shade by what the holy scripture of the Magi, the Awesta, declares, which has been gained for science only in modern times, and the manuscripts of which are chiefly in Bombay, Paris, Oxford and Copenhagen. It has been edited in Europe by Spiegel, Westergaard and Geldner, and translated by Spiegel, C. de Harlez, Darmesteter, Mills and others. As its oldest portion, the Awesta contains the already-mentioned Gāthās which, as the Awesta expressly mentions (Yasna 57, 8), and which is universally allowed, originated among the disciples of Zarathuṣtra. The other components of the Yasna and Wisperad, liturgical invocations of the higher beings, and the Wendidād or the Law, group themselves round the Gāthās, and become a book of the rules of worship and practice of sacrifices, but belong to a much later age. Still later appeared the Yashts or sacrificial prayers for household use, which point to a later form of religion with a leaning to polytheism, and contain, besides the hymns of praise to the genii and divine beings, many accounts of heroic myths, partly of Parthian and partly of Sāsānian times.  

Any one who wishes to use the legend of Zoroaster for an historical representation of the life of the Prophet, must investigate its relation to the Awesta, with which, as is usual in such literary works, it is connected partly by natural and partly by mystical interpretations. The legend only seldom touches the real meaning of the religion, when it mentions the cause of the introduction of a religious custom or the genesis of a doctrine, but engages itself more with the birth of the founder, which is related as an event that the Deity had prepared for the salvation of mankind, and arranged to take place with extraordinary circumstances and miracles. The new-born child laughs instead of crying, and his brain beats so violently that it repels a hand laid upon it; a token which is attested by Pliny already at the beginning of our era.

18 In Yasht XIII. 106, Atūrpāt is mentioned by the title of Rāṣtra-rājkhont; compare West, Pahlavi Texts V, p. XXXVI.

The spiritual development of the Prophet is effected not only by the natural cultivation of his talents, but also by inspiration for which he is prepared by ascetic exercises in the wilderness; just as in the book of Ardā-Wirāf, even so a narcotic (mang, "hemp") helps this holy man to the vision of heaven and hell.

How untrustworthy this legend (which has already been critically treated by Spiegel) is from an historical point of view, is shown by the attempt to connect Artaxerxes I (Ardashīr-dirāzdast) with Isfendiār, the son of Wištāspa; whereby it is sought to connect this prince, or Danghupaiti, in Media, with the dynasty of the Achaemenians, of whose glorious names the tradition of the Median priests, besides Ardashīr, has still preserved only the two Dārās, father and son (Darius I. and III). We, therefore, prefer to go back to the Awesta, the source of the Zartusht Nāmah, although we have to satisfy our thirst for knowledge with fewer, but more trustworthy statements; and the sacred book itself would be an exception to all writings of this class, if it did not separate the sacred from the profane impulse, and express mysteries in mythological symbols.

Not only the Karapan and Kawi, (the priests of the old religion and their followers the princes) mentioned in the Gāthās, already lay snares for the child, but also from wolves (often mentioned in the Awesta) and wild horses, and even danger from fire, the child is miraculously delivered; and in manhood Zarathuštra has to endure temptation by the devil himself. The legend exhibits the soul's struggle, which the renunciation of the faith of his fathers and the conviction of the truth of the new doctrine occasioned as outward occurrences of the appearance of the tempter, because religiously excited conditions could really produce visions of this kind.

The Book of the Law contains the oldest version, originally a portion of the Spend Nask (according to the classification of the whole Awesta into 21 Nasks, or books, which contained the history of

20 Livre d'Ardā-Virāf, trad. par Barthélémy XIX, 6, 147, 149.
21 Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 5 Jan. 1867.
22 Geldner, Grundriss der Iran. Phil., II, 17.
Zarathuštra. That this passage is, however, one of the latest portions of the Avesta follows from this, that to words out of the old books is attributed the witchcraft for scaring away the demons and that the language is already treated artificially, as the grammatical error at the very beginning reveals, where it is said: "Kill, O holy Zarathuštra!" instead of "the holy Zarathuštra." The vocative appears in nearly all the MSS., and is undoubtedly the original reading; the抄ist was used to the vocative, as it occurs hundreds of times in the conversational structure of the Book of the Law. A scholar, whom the error surprised, corrected it by using the nominative:25 "Kill, the holy Zoroaster." The incorrect use of the Median language is often apparent.

To give an example of the style of the original legend, the extract here translated may suffice: —

"From the north region, out of the north regions, rushed Angra-Mainyu (Ahriman), the death-fraught devil of devils (daēwa, Pers. diw). Thus spoke the evil-intending Angra-mainyu, the death-fraught one: 'Fiend! rush here, kill the holy Zarathuštra.' The fiend rushes around him, the devil Bûiti, the creeping destruction,25 the evil-intending.

"Zarathuštra recited the (prayer) Ahuna-Vairya ('as the desired guide,' etc.), 'honoured the good waters of the good Daitya,26 acknowledged the Mazdayasnian religion,'27 The fiend rushed away from him confounded, the devil Bûiti, the creeping destruction, the evil-intending.

"The fiend spoke to him: 'Thou tormentor, Angra-mainyu! I can see no death in him, the Spitama Zarathuštra. Much glory of light has the holy Zarathuštra.' Zarathuštra perceived in his mind: 'The fiendish demons are plotting my death.'

"Up started Zarathuštra, forward stepped Zarathuštra, uninjured by evil thought, through the severity of the malicious questions, holding

25 For the accusative.
26 Wendland XIX., i seq. Jackson, p. 81.
27 According to later opinion, istryeš (Pers. seš) is a demon who endeavours to bring destruction upon the house in which an infant lives; he flees from the crowing of a cock.
28 The river in Airyanem Waējō.
29 The religion that worships Ahura Mazda (Ormazd).
stones in his hands; stones as big as a house; he, the holy Zarathuštra, had received them from the Creator, Ahura Mazda: 'Where hadst thou them on this earth, the broad, round and far-ending, in the house of Pourushaspa, on the bank of the Dareji?'

"Zarathuštra replied to Angra-mainyu: 'O evil-intending Angra-mainyu! I will smite the creation produced by the devils, I will smite the corpse-phantom created by the devils, I will smite the Pairika (sorceress, fairy) who is worshipped(?), until the Saviour, the victorious, shall be born from the water of Kānsaoya from the eastern region, out of the eastern regions.'

'Thereupon answered him the lord of the evil creation: 'Destroy not my creatures, O holy Zarathuštra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa, by thy mother was I invoked; abjure the good Mazdayasnian religion, so that thou mayest gain the favour which the monarch Wadhaghna has obtained.'

'Him answered Spitāma Zarathuštra: 'I will not abjure the good Mazdayasnian religion, even if body, life, and consciousness be sundered.'

'To him retorted Angra-mainyu, the lord of the evil creation: 'With whose word wilt thou vanquish, with whose word wilt thou drive away, through what weapon (will) the good creatures (vanquish) the creatures of me, Angra-mainyu?'

'Spitāma Zarathuštra answered him: 'The mortar, cup, and haoma (the holy draught prepared in the mortar and poured into the

28 The Parsis explain this term as "a stone-weapon," and by sogara, which means a shepherd's crook with nine knots (?) that would imply Pers. nuk-girīk.

29 The construction and meaning of this sentence are difficult. Perhaps the writer meant to say: how camest thou from thy father's house, to conquer for thyself, with this stone-weapon, the whole world, over which the power of us demons is spread? According to the Bādābihshn and the Selections of Zāt-spāram, Dareji is the river in Airyana-vaējō, on whose banks the father of the prophet lived. The identification with the Darja-i-Urd (Darmesteter) rests on the error that took the j (= y) in Darja (Pers. for "river") for the French j; see Jackson, 193—5

30 The lake of Segestān (Sistān).

31 A name of the tyrant Dahāka, see 'The Dinā i Mainū i Khrat', edited by Darab Dastar Peshotan Sanjānā, Bombay, 1896, p. 89, 3. Iranisches Namenbuch, 332, 337.
cup) and the word spoken by Mazda are my best weapons; with this word will I vanquish, with this word will I drive away, with this weapon (will strike) the well-created ones (thy creations), O evil-thinking Angra-mainyu! (The word and weapon) the holy spirit created; he created them in boundless time; they were created by the holy immortals (Ameshaspends), the good rulers, the very wise ones.'

"Zarathuštra recited the prayer Ahuna-Vairya."

After a lengthy interpolation, this history of the temptation closes with the account of the disappearance of the evil spirits, as it is written in another place. "Thou causedst all the demons to hide themselves in the earth." "Thus spoke the evil-thinking Angra-mainyu, the death-fraught one: 'What shall we bring together, through collecting, we wicked devils, we evil-thinking ones, on the head (skull) of the Aresžra?"'

"Hither they rushed, they consulted the devils, the wicked evil-thinking ones; they lamented, they consulted the devils, the wicked evil-thinking ones; they cast the evil eye, the devils, the wicked evil-thinking ones.

'This will we bring together by collecting on the head of the Areytra. Born is, alas! the holy Zarathuštra, in the house of Pourushaspa; how may we procure his death? He will be a blow to the devils, an adversary of the devils, he the fiend's antagonist; down fall the devil's imps, the corpse-spectre (nasus) created by the devil, and the deceitfully-spoken lie.'"

If we look away from the mythical parts of the legend, then it is of particular importance that they state that Zoroaster was born and prepared for his prophetic career in Atropatene; but later let him take

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32 Yasa 19, 16 (46).
33 *The mountain at the entrance to hell on the Demawend."
34 Several expressions are used in this clause, which are only used for evil spirits: the devils do not walk, they rush; they do not speak, but howl; they have no head, no eye, no hand, but a skull, a squint, a paw, etc. Also, in ancient Persian, the word khašna ("state army") is related to the German Heer, but a hostile army is hāšna (Sanskrit *read*).
refuge with Wiśtāspa, the king of Bactria. This opinion stands midway between two others. In the beginning of these researches, when people still defended the hypothesis, although supported by no single historical tradition or anthropological fact, that the Indo-Germans had originated from Central Asia, Zoroaster passed for a Bactrian who lived in the year 1200, and his doctrine was said to have extended itself westward by degrees. The other opinion endeavours to prove the proposition that Zoroaster had never been in Bactria, and that the religion of the Zoroastrians, or Magianism, has proceeded from Media.

The evidence is, therefore, somewhat complicated, as the legend has transferred Wiśtāspa to Bactria, and, on account of the connection of his dynasty with the Achaemenian, even let him issue from Persis. The contradictions of facts, which the legend has not regarded, are so numerous that we are well enabled to discover the real circumstances.

The question of the origin of the religion of the Awesta is not only important for its own history, but also for the history of religion in general, as Zoroaster's achievement records an important and effective step for the development of religious thought in mankind, beyond the worship of nature, and other preliminaries of a pure understanding of God, onwards to a contemplation of a world of higher moral capacity.35

Man is no more called into existence by the caprice of a wrathful despot, to be shortly afterwards (according to the impulses that had been planted in him) condemned to everlasting ruin, or destined for eternal bliss which cannot be so to us as long as we know our brother is tortured by hell-fires. But he is, through the fulfilment of his duties, through founding a family, cultivation of the land, resistance of harmful violence in nature, through advancement of prosperity, and thereby rendering charity, intended for the partisan of the heavenly beings, which, under the guidance of the Creator, endeavour to remove the obstacles prepared by the evil ones for the coming of God's Kingdom.

The Persians have been educated, by the teacher of their religion, for rulers and heroes, not for slaves and monks. Yea, even in paradise that arises, on the earth itself, out of the ashes of a great universal fire, destroying sin and the devil, the pious Mazda-worshipper, with his relations, will wander in the unfading garden of trees (Paradise) that he once planted here on earth, and will enjoy other pleasures, to which he had himself laid the foundation during his earthly existence. The Persian religion, certainly like others, much injured in its purity by the people who hate the sublime, and by the rulers who make it useful for their own purposes, has once lent to the declining heathenism of the West a last support by their Mithra-mysteries; and, through the Gnostic dualism of Mānī, put the Christianity into excitement.

The following particulars are intended, partly to substantiate Jackson's views through some further details, partly, where he has hesitated between two opposing views, to indicate the right one.

Nobody now believes that Zoroaster may be a mythical figure, as was once affirmed. The names of his family, mentioned in the Avesta, have no religious or mythological signification, as would be the case if they were invented. Of the ancestors mentioned in his pedigree,30 Haechadaspa occurs in the Gāthās, Chakhshni and Pourušhaspa in other portions of the Avesta: the family is called Spitamāñihō in the Gāthās, which reminds one of the Median Spitamās, the husband of Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, who was probably a descendant of Zoroaster and the Zarathušhtrotema (Mas-i-Mughān), the great priest of Ragha, and by his high rank the son-in-law of the Median King.

These names show, firstly, the descent from Media (Atropatene); secondly, that the family belonged to the nobility, as only nobles, or Dihkans, bear names ending with aspa ("horse"). Zoroaster's name means "one possessing old camels" (or quiet camels, grown grey in service)37; it appears that the need was felt to give him a more

30 Jackson, seq. 18. Iranisches Namenbuch, 303
37 Bartholomae, Grundriss der Iran.Phil. i. 182. n. 44. Jackson, 12, 18.
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spiritual name, and they therefore called him Zoroastrēs, one half of which name would be the Greek pronunciation of Awesta zāvare (power, Persian zūr), the other half, a version of yashtār (the sacrificer): — "whose sacrifice has strength, or effect." Also the name Zathraustes, quoted by Diodoros, seems to contain another interpretation of the name: — Zāthra-wahishta (like Tithraustes = Chithra-wahishta), "the best by birth," with reference to his marvellous birth.

The country in which Zoroaster was born, and where he prepared himself for his ministry, is, according to the legend and the Awesta, Airyanem-vaējō, which comprises the countries between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and great Media. This name is the Awetic term for Atropatene (Pahlawi, Āturpātakān, now Ādharbaijān), a country called after Atropates, the prince of the Kadusians and Sakesines, who was said, as it seems, a descendant of Ātarepāta, the son of Wištāspa. Atropates was confirmed in the possession of his land by Alexander, and founded a dynasty, whose capital, during the summer, had become Phraaspa, or Shiz, and during the winter Gandzak (now Leilan); and whose last descendant, Artawazd (Aw. Ašhwazdah), after his father's dethronement (A. D. 10), died in Rome when 39 years old.

If the Awestic term should really describe the Aryan source, or mother-land (vaējō is explained by hān, "pit or mine")38, then the naming would agree with the oldest habitations of the Māda and Parsua at the time of the later kings of Assyria, and the scene of the founding of the kingdom of Media; for it might already have disappeared from their recollection that both nations had originally immigrated from further east. The name Ariana is still used by Apollodoros to designate the country contiguous to the land of the Kadusians (Gīlān)39.

By collecting all the accounts of the ancients (among which those that are not influenced by the legend are the most important), the

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38 Therefore the ' officina Ariorum,' comp. Jordaniis Getica, ed. Mommseii, IV, 25, p. 60. Spiegel, Commentar ueber das Awesta, t. 8. It cannot be the same thing as Pers. ūkh, "root."

39 Stephanos Byzant., s. v. Ariandria; comp. Strabo XV, 2, 8.
LIFE AND LEGEND OF ZARATHUSHTRA.

Zoroastrian writings of ancient and modern times, and those of the Muhammadan geographers and chroniclers\(^{10}\), who usually call Urmia the town of Zaradusht, Jackson has provided an overwhelming refutation of the formerly accepted view, that Zoroaster's descent and doctrine and the language of the Avesta had proceeded from Bactria. This view (now relegated to the lumber-room) about the founder of Magianism and the head of the Median priests, the moghu, ancient Persian magu, Armenian, from the Median, mog, whose official name was athrawa, "priest of fire," προαπείθης,\(^{41}\) arises from this, that the legend transfers to Balkh (Baktra) the residence of King Wištāspa, to whose court the prophet proceeds from Ātarpātakān. The reason of this will become evident later on.

That some ancient authors also speak incorrectly of Bactria appears from the fable of Ktesias, preserved by Diodoros, according to which Ninos and Semiramis defeated King Oxyartes of Bactria. Other writers (instead of the Oxyartes, father of Roxane, who first appeared in the text in Alexander's time) have the Zoroastres, or Zathraustes, intended by Ktesias, as well as Diodoros. A few writers add Magus to the names, to support the error.

Bactria is here chosen as the outermost land in the east (as Egypt and the land of the Scythians are in the west and north), and accepted by Ktesias to produce a really great impression. An Assyrian army never penetrated beyond the Caspian Gates, and neither a Ninos (the hero of the City of Nineveh, Greek Ninos),\(^{42}\) nor a Semiramis (the human form of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh), has reigned over Assyria.

Also the attempt, through a very uncertain reference to the campaigns of the Assyrian Shamsi-Adud, who (B. C. 820) captured the king of Gizilbunda, and defeated the Medes there, at the "white moun-

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\(^{10}\) Hamashāni (Bibloth. Geograph. Arab. V. 285, 3. 286, 3. Ibu Khurdā-lāh (ib. VI) 119, 17, 121, 13, note h.


\(^{42}\) Eusebios, see Jackson 243; comp. Gilmore, Ktesias. Lond. 1888, p. 20, 29 sqq.
tain" (shadi pîšı), the Kiz Kapân, westward from Takht-i Suleimān, or Shīz, and to Shammu-ranat, the wife of Adad-Nirari, B.C. 811—782 (who likewise made war in Media), to find an historical background for the Ktesian fable, would be to accord it too much honour.

Even an author so generally trustworthy as Ammianus Marcellinus, who, as participator in Julian’s campaign in Persia, would be able to make enquiries, says that the Bactrian Zoroaster has added much out of the secrets of the Chaldees to Magianism; but Hystaspes, the wise father of Darius, had appropriated, in India, the knowledge of the Brahmans about the path of the stars, and of the earth, and about prophecies; nevertheless Ammianus cannot have heard this from Persians, who never speak of a Bactrian Zoroaster, but only of Spitama, or ashava ("pure, holy") Zarathuštra, later of Zaradusht from Adharbaijān; but his words are only a reminiscence from Trogus.44

Moses of Khorni, who preserved many absurdities, is disconcerted by the passage, quoted from Africanus (and farther on by Kephalion), of the Berosian Sibylla, where Zradasht Mog arkay Baktriatsvots, is called king of the Bactrians, and adds, in explanation, "that is, of the Medes"; and again (I, 17) he calls Zoroaster a Magian and chief of the Medes (Markh), and states that he is made governor of Nineveh and Assyria by Semiramis, because she wishes to go for her recreation to Armenia, where she has built Shamiramakert, or Wan. As Zoroaster tries to make himself independent, the queen marches against him, but is defeated and slain by her son Ninyas.

The comment of Moses, whereby he here takes the Bactrians for Medes, might lead to the source of the original Ktesian error. The Persian Empire, or Airān-khshathr (Pers. Irān-shahr, Awesta. Airyanām khshathrem), was divided into four groups of provinces, or countries,

43 Billerbeck, das Sandschak Sulemania; Leipzig, 1898, p. 66.
44 Justinus, I, 1, 9. The Brahmans, besides the Magians, name him so; also Nearch in Strabo, 15, 1, 59, 61, 66. Arrian 6, 16, 5. Appianus, de bello civili II. c. 54.
45 Jackson, p. 187.
named after the four quarters of the heavens, and governed by four Spāhpets (ancient Persian, *spādhapati*), commanders-in-chief, or governing field-marshal. The northern of these provinces contained Media and Atropatene, and is called by Khurādbih and others that of Ādharbādhan, or Ādharbāijān; but, by Ibn Rosteh and Masudi, Bākhtar, "the north" (Pahlawi, *apākhtar;* Avesta, *apākhtara*). In the so-called geography of Moses are also mentioned "the Scythians who are Apāktarakh, that is, Turks." As Ktesias lived 17 years in Persia and understood the language, it might be thought that, in his cursory manner, he had taken Apāktara for Bākhta. Also to Moses, who lived in the time of the Sāsānians, when Armenia was under Persian rule, the expression for the "North," and its applicability to Media, must have been known and may have occasioned his remark. It is worthy of notice that Burnouf, by the name Bactra, refers to that Bākhtar.

Besides the literary evidences, fully collected and commented on by Jackson, there are also historical relations to consider. Without an impulse from outside, no religion usually changes much, or is replaced by another. Putting aside missions, which aim at the introduction of a new religion into foreign lands, religious opinions also spread unnoticed from land to land, by the intercourse of nations, and especially nations of lesser civilization accept, from their more important neighbours, useful knowledge, skill, instruction relating to the nature of things, and the religious views which were connected with these things in ancient times, because by these means they procure a pleasanter existence, and are able to gratify their curiosity about many phenomena in heaven and earth. The religion and mythology of the Greeks is inconceivable without their intercourse with Asia Minor and Egypt; how should the Medes, and still more the Bactrians, who were far

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removed, in ancient times, from the cultivated States which were making the history of the world, without having received such an impulse, have arrived at making an alteration in their old Aryan religion that had been sufficient for their social circumstances. In India the change of religion occurred indeed without foreign incitation, but went hand in hand with an immense convulsion of the people who were confined by the system of caste, and suffering under oppression by the priests. The Medes, and after them the Persians, already early in contact with the Assyrians and Susians, became, by their conquest, the heirs of the ancient Mesopotamian and Western Asiatic civilization, and it could not be long before the religions of the nations, conquered by them, also excited their attention.

The most ancient Great-King had already established a mighty empire, after the Assyrian model, by the union of small principalities, and surrounded the royal castle of Agbatana, in which he shut himself with a sevenfold wall, whose battlements were painted with the colours of the planets. This statement, even if it should be uncertain, proves that the Babylonian star-worship had spread out over Iran. And to that the Chaldæorum arcana of Ammianus could most appropriately refer.

In the Zoroastrian religion the reverence of stars is certainly not very conspicuous; in the cosmic system the planets are the enemies of the fixed stars, because, according to the dualistic view of the world, the army of heaven is drawn into the conflict of good and evil, and, exactly like the Persian empire and army, remains under four Spādhapatis, among whom Hapto-iringa, or "the seven stars," as Spādhapati of the North, is the opponent of the planet Mars (Wahrūm). This view, however, appeared late; in the oldest portions of the Avesta there is no occasion to mention any other astronomical events than the course of the sun and stars, and the waxing and waning of the moon.

49 Herodotus, I, 98.
50 Bundahishn (Westerg.), p. 7, l. 7; p. 12, l. 19.
51 Yasna, XLIV., 3.
The manner in which the Deity makes use of the mouth of a seer and prophet to impart revelations and holy laws to the faithful, is peculiarly developed with the Semites, though seers also appear in the Weda, whose words are inspired. The system of oracles, or the communication of the will of the gods, through dreams, signs and precepts to mankind, is an important religious institution with the Hellenes, but of which the Greeks themselves said, that the oldest oracle existed in Meroë in Nubia; yet the direct communication between God and the prophets is really a Semitic view, and Zoroaster reminds us of this when, in the Book of the Law, or Wendidād, he asks Ahura Mazda, and the latter, in his answers, communicates the Law to him. It certainly cannot be proved that this circumstance was very ancient, and in the anthems, originating from Zoroaster and his immediate followers, there is only one poem (Yasna XLIV) whose twenty strophes contain questions of Zoroaster to Ahura, which, however, are not answered, because every answer would repeat the thought that Ahura Mazda is the author of all things mentioned in the questions. Still it is not impossible, that the later favourite dialogistic form has been constructed on the model of this ancient poem.

As Spiegel has remarked, the doctrine of sin and holiness (in the first place cleanliness of the body, then freedom from moral contamination) also reminds one of Semitic ideas; and Hyde\(^2\) points to the resemblance of the Zoroastrian and the Christian Hierarchy. By these details one comes, however, no further onward than a general impression; and the Iranian religion is rooted too deeply in the nature of the country, and of the views about nature of its followers, and is far too peculiarly and independently developed to allow of the entry of strange elements.

"Great men are the children of their age. Heirs to the heritage of the past, they are charged with the stewardship of the possessions to be handed down to the future. Summing up, within the teaching of a

\(^2\) Veterum Persarum relig. hist., 354.
FERDINAND JUSTI,

prophet is the voice of the age in which he lives; his preaching is the echo of the heart of the people of his day. The era of a prophet is, therefore, not without its historic significance, it is an event that marks an epoch in the life of mankind.\(^5^3\)

Important, however, here is the cult of the sacred fire,\(^5^4\) which is characteristic of the Zoroastrian religion; while other Indo-Germans, indeed, worshipped, as holy, the hearth-fire (the Hestia or Vesta) burnt in the perpetual lamps of their temples, the Iranians, however, as is known, connected it with the naphtha springs which are found chiefly in the neighbourhood of Tiflis, Sāliān, Shemākhā, and Bākū,\(^5^5\) with the peninsula of Apscheron, and the island Swjatoi, therefore in Airyanem Waējō; even on the other side of the Caucasus, in the province of the upper Kuban, or Hypanis, in the country of the fire-worshippers the Sauromates,\(^5^6\) who came from Media; in Assyria, to the south of Arbela near Demetrias, where naphtha and petroleum springs are mentioned in the temple of the Nanaia to the north of the residence of Dareios I. Sadrakae (Tel Ser\(^5^7\)), also at Nimrud and at the other side in Sinn,\(^5^8\) at Tel-Fathah, where the river Tigris traverses the mountains of Hamrīn,\(^5^9\) at Kirkuk or Mennis and Kufri, at Tūz Khurmatu,\(^6^0\) between these two places, at Mendeli, to the east of Baghdad on the Pusht-i-Kuh,\(^6^1\) in Babylonia at Hit on the Euphrates,\(^6^2\) Zoroaster must have found the worship of fire as a holy spirit, to be already in existence in those parts and changed this into the doctrine, that fire, "the son of Ahuri Mazda," was the emanation and the earthly sign of the sacred spirit

\(^5^3\) Jackson, 150. Compare the grand account of the Jewish prophecy in Wellhausen’s Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte. Berlin 1895, 108.
\(^5^4\) Istitakhri (J. de Goeje, Geogr. Arab. I., 190.
\(^5^5\) Masūdi, Kitāb at-tanbih (ib. VIII.) 67, 13 seq.
\(^5^7\) Strabo 738, ed. Meineke, 1028, 20.
\(^5^8\) Map of Jones, Journ. Asiat. Soc. XV.
\(^5^9\) Chesney, Expedition to the river Euphrates, Map No. 6.
\(^6^1\) Petermann’s Mittheilungen, 1874, 1, Heft 9, p. 344. Comp. Brisson, III, 94.
\(^6^2\) Plutarch’s Alexander, Chap. XXXV. Comp. Mannsell, Proceedings, Geog. Soc. 9 (1897) 528.
of light, and in which he manifested himself to his worshippers, or, as Firdusi says, "Fire is not a God, but the Mihrab," or, according to the words of Nāzir Khusrav, "the Kiblah or prayer-niche of the Dīhkān." Bel'ami asserts, indeed, that the fire-cult comes from Atropatene, and Shahristāni, the historian of Oriental religions, agrees with Firdusi, that the fire-temples are more ancient than Zoroaster and that the Parsi books and Firdusi are not making an anachronism in stating that the pre-Zoroastrian kings built houses for the fire. The worship of fire by the Assyrians is shown by their monuments in the palace of Sanherib at Koyundjik, Nineveh. Samuel Johnson refers to the naphtha springs and calls Iran the fire-temple of the world, but at the same time considers Bactria as the home of Zoroaster and of the Avesta, and gives as his reason the limitation of sacred geography to the east, and the placing of the wicked in the west. In the same way that this fire-cult points to Atropatene and Media as the original seat of the Magian religion, the legends and traditions take this north Iranian land as their scene of action. At the time of the Kawi-dynasty mention is often made of the Dīws of Mazenderān (in Avesta: daewa mazainya), who were especially attacked by Kai Kāūs (Kawa Usā). Dīws are usually demons, also animals, like lions, wild-asses and locusts, also powerful enemies of man, often with the attributes of other races; Tuhmurath, the Tamer of Dīws, had himself been instructed by them in handwriting. Jamshīd made them build brick buildings, which points directly to the fact of the introduction of these things from foreign countries. Firdusi calls the King of the Slavs, Shāh-i Seklāb, but the Barzū-nāmeh calls him Dīw-i-Seklāb, and the Russians are called Khākāni Dīws or dīw-lashkerān or armies of devils. The Mazenderanis, the neigh-

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64 Tabari transl. by Zotenber, 3, 494.
65 Ed. Haarbrücke Haus, 1850, 1, 281, 298.
67 Oriental Religions, Persia. Lond. 1883, p. 24, 30, 123, 144.
68 Firdusi, 23, 44, 24, 34.
69 Dorn, Caspia (Mem. de l’Acad., Imp. XXIII), Petersburg, 1875, p. 305, 263.
bouring people to Atropatene, are a race that, like the Kadusians in ancient times, always defended their independence and whose country was protected by the high mountains of Alburz (Harav-berenjaiti) and the swamps of the lowlands. A mountain to the west of Amul was formerly crowned by a fortress, Ispīriz or Asprōz, whose commander, the Diw-i-sepid (the white devil) of Kūjūr was only conquered by Rustam after sustaining many dangerous adventures. If the dynasty had originally been considered to be in Bactria, one would have more probably let them take the war-path against the robber tribes in Paropanisos. Even the most ancient recollections and legends are connected with places in the mountainous countries to the south of the Caspian Sea: the hero Thraetaona (i.e., who possesses three-fold strength) is born at Warek Chathruqaosha (the four-cornered), that is in Warek, three Farsangs east of Sārī, which is also called Gosh. From the smith Kāweh of Ispāhān, who first goes to help Ferīdūn (Thraetaona), are descended the Kārin who rule over Tabaristān. Ferīdūn carries the conquered tyrant Zahhāk (Azhi-dahāka) to Shārehkwan; his grave is in Tammīsha, which was on the borders of Tabaristān and Gurgān, 16 Farsangs from Sārī in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea. His sons are buried in Sārī. That this is a very ancient account is proved by the fact, that no other place in Irān has claimed the honour, as is usually the case with saints and their bones. The Kai Kāūs fell from his balloon to earth at Amul

72 By Firdusi, 64, 48, Gōsh (manuscripts give the reading Kō-) is called the seat of Ferīdūn in Tamūsha; Zahir-ed-din, who quotes Firdusi’s Distichon, has Kūsh (Gōsh)
75 Melgunof, 165.
LIFE AND LEGEND OF ZARATHUSHTRA.

(Or at Sāri76). As the Dejokes castle is connected with Assyrian prototypes, or perhaps with the kindred Alarodian or old Armenian architecture, so the royal architecture of the Persians also sprang from the west. The tomb of Kyros shows the type of the Mesopotamian gradient temples with Greek outlines77; the tombs of the kings at Naksh-i Rustam are inspired by the Egyptian; the ground plan of the fire-temples as they appear in the quadratic buildings at Pasargadae, near Naksh-i Rustam, and in Naubandagan, as well as on the Persepolitan coins of the Fratakaras from Seleukidian times, is also developed in the Lykian town-towers of Pinara and stone sarcophagi as those at Phellos78; Assyrian, Greek and Egyptian Art has part in the composition of the Persepolitan pillars, the wall decorations are undoubtedly carved out by Greek sculptors, and has its prototype in Khorsābād, and, what is still more important for our subject, hieratic representations, like the winged figure of the divinity,79 or the representation of the Ahrimanian monster, or of Hades80 with a wolf's throat, a lion's forepaw, and bird-of-prey claws, so to speak a Paṭyāra or counter-creation to the winged Cherubim on the Palace gates,81 are borrowed from Babylonian and Assyrian plastic art, and it would be impossible if nothing from the contents and meaning of these representations had found an entrance into the Iranian religion. All this is not to be conceived in Bactria. Even Rudolf Roth, who was so much prepossessed by the Bactrian origin of the Awesta, allowed in a very

76 Firdusi, 412, 482. 1639, 2519.
77 George N. Curzon, Persia, II, Lond. 1892, 142. 190.
fine essay\textsuperscript{85} that the Calendar of the Awesta, computed on the climatic and agricultural conditions of Bactria, would also suit Media. Ch. de Harlez\textsuperscript{83} points out that the calendar of the Magi can only have originated in Media at a much later time.\textsuperscript{84} Even if a Bactrian kingdom had existed before the Achaemenian, which, face to face with the accounts of the battles of Kyros against the nomads of that district, is not probable, there would have been no occasion to alter the old Arian religion, especially as the customs of the Bactrians are still described in Alexander's time as rough.\textsuperscript{85} That the Bactrians were not only Arians in a broad sense, as perhaps a Sakian tribe, but Iranians, is shown by their armour, which Herodotus 7, 64, describes, and also from the especially Bactrian names, Oxyartes, Rōxānē, Spītamenes, Spīthobates, etc. That no tidings of the Bactrian kingdom was known in ancient times is shown by Strabo's words, which expressly state that Bactria only became known to the western nations by the wars of the Parthians.\textsuperscript{86}

The legend relates further that the revealed doctrine did not find any sympathy in Atropatene, therefore the disappointed Prophet preached at a far distance at the court of King Wishtūspa, and from there the doctrines again returned westwards. Zoroaster's emigration is proved by his own words in the Gāthā Ushtawaiiti (Yasnā 46, 1): \textit{Kām nemōi zām, kuthrā nemō ayēni}, "To what country shall I fly, whither can I turn?" A classical outcry which (Yasht, 22, 20) the soul of the dead sinner makes, when separated from the body, it wanders the first three nights and has terrible visions of all the sins committed during its life-time. The Prophet found no favour in his own country where the reigning house was hostile\textsuperscript{87} to him, and is called "the

\textsuperscript{83} Abhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten Congresses, 1: 82, 11, 2, 270.

\textsuperscript{84} Comp. Justi, Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 51, 250.

\textsuperscript{85} Strabo, 11, 11, 3 (ed. Meinecke 726, 9. seq.), Curtius, 4, 6, 3. Later authors, like he Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Eusebios, Ammianus, have the Hephthalian and other analogous nations in view.

\textsuperscript{86} Strabo, 1, 2, 1; 2, 5, 12 (after Apollodoros of Artemita).

\textsuperscript{87} Yā nā, 46, 11; 48, 10.
wicked rulers of the land”; only his nearest relations embraced his doctrines, and the divinity directs him to Wishtāsp, who does not live in Bactria, but in another part of Media, for the family Spitāma is related to the Huwogwa, to whom Wishtāsp’s Wezir Jāmāsp belongs, as he was the husband of Pouruchista, the Prophet’s daughter; so it is imagined that Wishtāsp, who supported the claims of his house Naotara to the kingdom, offered protection to the Prophet, who was persecuted by the Kawis. The Gāthās do not mention any of the royal family of Kawi; even the old King Yima, from whom the Kawi were descended, is counted with the sinners, from whom the Prophet wished to be separated. If Wishtāsp had been king of Bactria, Zoroaster would probably have never even known of his existence, as Bactria is so far distant and divided from Media by mountain passes and deserts, that Ibn Khurdādbih calculates the distance from Rai (Ragha) to Marw at 201 Farsangs or 34 days’ march, from Marw to Balch at 118 Farsangs, or 20 days’ march, which is about the same as the distance between Bombay to the borders of Assam, or from Hamburg to Naples; even the journey from Urmia over Shīz to Rai, Zoroaster’s later dwelling place, would mean a journey as far as from Bombay to Goa, or from Hamburg to Munich — and he would have had to undertake this journey on pure chance, as he was not invited to go and had first to legitimate himself by miracles.

The question is now how the connection of Wishtāsp with the Kawi is treated by the legend, and again how the statement in the Avesta compares with the history of the Median kings. The explanation is difficult because, as might be expected, the legend has altered according to the received bias. They were especially obliged to describe the ancient kings whom they considered as rulers of all Iran as being full of glory and pertaining to Zoroaster, and even the pro-Zoroastrian

88 Ibid. 16.
89 Ibid. 14.
90 Ibid. 17. Perhaps Zoroaster’s son-in-law is a second Jāmāsp, the son of a shew of the Wezir.
kings are described as being devoted to a stepping-stone of the Mazdayas-
nian religion. The Kawi dynasty, according to the early conception, 
overthrew the dynasty of the Median race Naotara. It is stated that 
the founder Kawi-Kawāta was adopted by the last Naotara, Zaw, son of 
Xaudhar (Naotara), and according to the Shāhnāmeh, Kobād (Kawāta) 
was considered a prince sent from God; but of Naotora’s race still live 
Tusa and Wistakhma (Tūs and Gustehem in Firdūsi), who have, however, 
lost the khwarenū, or royal majesty. Easily the fall of a dynasty may 
be traced here, and Wishtāspa descended from the race of Naotara must 
be looked upon as the conqueror of the Kawi dynasty, whose title 
he adopts; but, as the Awesta testifies, in spite of belonging to the Nao-
tairyan family, he was also related, through his father Lohrāsp, son of 
Kai Ogī, the son of Manus, to Kawi Pisina, who ruled in Fārs, and 
was a brother of Kawi Usa, the successor of Kawāta. The fall of the 
Kawi dynasty, which is probably in connection with the introduction 
of the Zoroastrian religion, because, as Spiegel shows, the priestly 
legend at this time is inserted into the tradition, is as much veiled as 
its commencement. The last of the Kawi, Khusrau, weary of govern-
ing, is said to have abdicated at the end of his long and glorious reign, 
and in the face of energetic resistance to have resigned the kingdom 
to Wishtāspa’s father Lohrāsp, and then to have been taken up to 
heaven in secret in a snow-storm. But the Awesta mentions a son 
of Khusrau, Akhrūra, who by this means was probably moved out 
of the way. The title Kawi lost its hostile meaning, since Wishtāspa, 
as successor of the ancient kings, used it for himself; the priests 
changed in the old songs the sense of kawi "hostile king" in 
that of blind" (Pers. kōr) to the good doctrine, a meaning

92 Iranisches Namenbuch, 295.
93 Compare Samuel 1, 16, 14.
94 Yalul, 5, 98; 15, 35. West, Pahlavi Texts, V. 80). Jackson, 70, 192.
95 A King Fāsin of Dārābgerd in Fārs was conquered by the founder of the Sasanian 
dynasty; comp. Iranisches Namenbuch, 895.
96 Firdusi, 1437 seq.
97 Perhaps Akhrūra (with short a), Skr. Akrūra.
that contradicts in a curious manner the etymological meaning of the word, which originally means "seeing, wise" (Greek κοιφωμ, ετος-κιος; Germ. schauen), while the Karapans, who are mentioned with the Kawis, the old priests of the idols (Sanskrit kalpa, rite, custom), are now become the "deaf ones," as Pers. kar has this meaning. If the Kawi dynasty reigned in Zoroaster's home, Wishtâspa may have chosen Ragha, the ancestral home of his race, to be the seat of his government. The Median great-king could not allow the remains of small principalities to exist; by the extension of his power across north-east Media and Atropatene fell the Dinghupaiti Wishtâspa. We may, therefore, perhaps continue the connection further. If after the conversion of Phraortes to the Zoroastrian religion, when he assumed the important name of the "confessor" in the Median language (fruoraetâ), the priesthood of Ragha remained under Zoroaster, then under Spentodâta, as a priestly principality, we may presume that Spîtanâs was at the head of it at the time of Kyros. Thus, therefore, may the much-debated passage from Yasna 19, 19 (50 sqq.) be explained: "Who are the rulers? the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the head of the tribe, the prince of the country, the fifth is Zarathustra, namely, in the countries outside the Zarathustrian dominion. Four lords has the Zarathustrian Ragha. Who are the lords? the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the head of the tribe, the fourth is Zarathustra." Outside Ragha, stands (according to the priests) above the prince of the country, the representative of the church; in Ragha itself Zoroaster combines the priestly dignities with those of the ruler of the land.


The verb især (related to the German wahr, Russian wjera, faith), from which fruoraetâ is derived, is used at the commencement of the Zoroastrian creed, and the chapters Yasna 13 and 14 are called the creed (fruoreta).

The Zoroaster in Ragha, taken as the successor to the Prophet in the priestly dignities, is called also Zarathushtrotema, the head Zoroaster.\textsuperscript{101} This passage also settles the question where Zoroaster died. One asks the question, why did not Balkh become the seat of this priestly principality, especially as Isfendiār, Wishtāspa’s son, whose name Sphendadates is borne by the Magian Gaumāta in Ktesias, and who, according to Tabari, 683, 7, receives Rai as his seat of government, and appears as a fighting monk and missionary. A Parsi book says that Zartusht finally returned to Ērān Wēj, and western traditions say that he was removed by a heavenly fire.\textsuperscript{102} He most certainly died at his priestly see in Ragha, and the death by the sword of Arjasp, that he is supposed to have suffered in Balkh, is a fable to Median make him appear a martyr.

Jackson considers that Atropatene has been proved to be Zoroaster’s native place, but still seems inclined to the opinion of the Iranian and Mohammedan authors (that is to say the legend) that Wishtāspa ruled over Balkh, but leaves the question undecided.\textsuperscript{103} We should, therefore, like to endeavour to prove that the Bactrian hypothesis is untenable, and to show what caused tradition to place the princes in Bactria.\textsuperscript{104}

The Avesta never mentions Wishtāspa in connection with Bactria, even the country and its capital are only once mentioned, and then with the adapted Avestan Pahlawi form of the name Bākhliām (accusative, Wendidād 1, 6), in the Pahlawi translation Bākh, that is, Bākh, from which the modern name Balkh is derived; the dh seems to take the place of the missing l in the Avestan language, that has arisen from dhr, old Persian tr in Bākhtris, and without mentioning either

\textsuperscript{101} Spiegel, das, 631. Mill’s. The Zend-Avesta (Sacred Books of the East, XXXI.), Oxford, 1887, 265. Jackson 203. Comp. Preussische Jahrbücher, 88, p. 260. Among the sāsānians the high-priest (Manpatān-Manpat) was the first man after the King, Masūdi Kitab at-tanbih, 103, 15.

\textsuperscript{102} Spiegel, 1, 706, 707.

\textsuperscript{103} Jackson, 171, 172, 177. 218, 225.

\textsuperscript{104} Comp. Spiegel Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 41, 250.
Zarathushtra or Wishtāspa. The epithet srīra (the beautiful) is still given to the town by Persian and Arabic writers (al-husnā by Tabari and Masūdi), and its second adjective credhvādrafsha "with waving banner," is thus explained, that a green silk banner waved from the Naubehār, which is not a Pyreum, but a Buddhist cloister, Naw-wihāra "the new cloister." The Buddhists usually placed banners on the Stūpas or Topes. Barmek, the ancestor of the renowned Barmekides, was the head of this cloister in the 8th century, which allows one to conjecture a unity or a syncretism of the religions. Buddhism appears in Bactria as early as the time of Autiochos Theos (261—247), and by the 1st Century B.C. has become established there. The well-known coins of Kanishka, with the image of Buddha and of the Zoroastrian genii, show that this prince inclined towards both religions. To this time may belong the much-discussed Gaotema in the later Yasht 13. At this prime of Buddhism in Bactria occurred perhaps the promotion of Wishtāspa to Balkh (Baktra). As the Iranian element felt itself confined to the eastern provinces of the former empire, it looked for a centre of religious life; that was offered to it at Bactria, the seat of the Greek kings, and from whence Greek culture radiated as far as India. By appealing to the defender of the founder of the religion and adversary of his enemies, one was able at the same time to raise old claims for the possession of Bactria, which after the Greek kings had again passed to non-Iranian rulers. Bactria was undoubtedly the greatest capital, and, at the time of the Achaemenians, the grandest seat of the Satraps, which was held by the king's brothers Tanyoxarkes, Masistes, Hystaspes, and Dareios (later king, the second...
of this name), and lastly Bessos (an Achaemenian, whose relationship is not defined). Bactria was chosen by Alexander for the wedding festivities at his marriage with Roxane, and thus became the capital of the immeasurable kingdom that united Asia and Europe. Characteristic of the relationship between Buddhism and Parseeism is the legend of the holy cypress-tree which Gushtasp planted before the house of the fire Mihr-burzin, and which must have been originally a Ficus religiosa which appears in the Buddha legend. As Wishtāspa appears here, not in Bactria, but in Khorāsān, a province of the Parthians, so in the Avesta he comes forward in the west, in Atropatene: according to Yasht 5, 108, berezaidhish Kawa Wishtāspa, “the highly wise Kawi Wishtāspa” sacrificed at the back of the water Frazdanawa, and his brother Aspāyaodhō Zairiweairīsh, “the horse champion Zariadres” at the back of the water Dāitya, to Ardwi Sūra Anāhīta, that she may give them the victory over Arejadaspō Wain-daremainish, and this also implores, but without success, for victory over the brothers at the Sea Wourukasha. As this last is the Caspian Sea (in the cosmographical and mythical Geography it also means the ocean which flows round the Karshware Khwaniratha or the central portion of the world), and the Dāitya flows in Airyanem Waējo, so Frazdanawa must be a river, not a lake in Segestān, as one tradition says, and in fact the Armenian Hrazdān, which flows by Eriwan and through the Sewanga or Gelam lake to the Araxes, in the province of Waraznūni. In other accounts Wishtāspa offers a sacrifice on the Dāitya for victory over the Hwyaona (Khionian) Arejadaspā, and over the Hunu, from whom he liberated the religion. In the Gāthās he is called Kawā Wishtāspō Yāhī, “the victorious,” and

109 Curtius, 8, 4, 25. 10, 3, 12.
111 Moshe Choren. 1, 11. Indjidijian, Geography of Old Armenia, 457; compare. Jackson, 211. 220.
112 Yasht 9, 29; 13, 100; 17, 49, 61; 19, 86.
113 Yasna, 46, 14.
the sentences that somewhat point to war and shedding of blood in
the Gāthās,114 may have reference to the downfall of the Kawi dynasty
which was connected with the introduction of the religion. Zoroaster
himself prays to Ardwi Sūra Anāhita at Airyanem Waējō, that she will
allow him to accomplish the king’s conversion.115 If he had been
thinking of the king as in a far distant land, surely the Prophet would
have waited with his prayer until he had seen the towers of Bactria.
These citations are among some of the latest in the Awesta. As in
the quoted 5th Yasht, Verse 130, Huwāfrita occurs, which is identical
with Behāfrid, one of the last kings in the Persian lists of the Arsakides
or Parthians, and probably Vologeses III., who is here glorified,
because, according to the Dinkart, he had distinguished himself by the
maintenance of the Awesta and the revival of the religion; so we
must place the Yasht under his reign (148—190). The citation can-
not have been interpolated, as it is necessary to the disposition of the
Yasht. The author having praised Anāhita and her rule of the world,
firstly calls the goddess herself, who, after sacrifice in Airyanem Waējō,
utters the wish, that Zarathushtra may be gained for the religion, and
adds to this the prayers of the mythical kings and heroes for her favour.
Then follows the continuation of the song of praise to the goddess,
and her discourse with Zarathushtra, after which the figures of the
Zoroastrian circle, the Prophet, Wishtāspa, Zairiwairi and Arejadaspa,
are brought forward. A third song of praise has a very interesting
description of her personal appearance (after her idol in the temple),
and with this introduces the prayer of sacrifice of Huwāfrita, with a
passage that seems to describe the king at the head of the Parthian
horsemen. At this date, however, the legend had long been developed
that the author, purposely or by chance, does not mention Bactria, is
a strong proof of the correctness of his views concerning the geogra-
phical position of Wishtāspa’s kingdom. Besides which, the mention
of the Khwyaonas and the Gelaniens and Huns brings us still further

114 Yasna, 31, 18, 32, 10, 44, 14, 15, 53, 8.
115 Yasht, 5, 105. Dastur Phishotan Debrarajee Sanjana, The Dinkart VI.—Bombay,
1260 (1891), 376. Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, 139, 140.
down to the time of the Sāsānians, as the Huns or Massagetes (in the Armenian text of Agathangelos stands the name Mazkhuth, perhaps the Moshians of the ancients, but in the Greek Huns) invaded the kingdom of Persia in the year 504; by Faustus Byzantinus (Bizanites) 3, 6 (12, 33), appears as the leader of Honkh, the Arsakidian king of the Mazkhuth Sanaan, against the Armenian king, Khosrow II. (316—325); the Hunnian king, Urnayr, as well as Grumbates, the king of the Khionians, are in the train of Sapor II. in the year 359. The wall of Derbend, Tshor pahak, by Prokopios τροφόρος, is also called the Albanian gate or bulwark of the Huns, pahak Honats. The poet of the Shāhnāmeh even places Arjasp in his own time, calling him Paighawnizhād, “of the race of the Paighaw (Pēghū),” and causing him to write with Paighaw characters. The Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna had, as did his father Sabuktegin (in 997), to fight against the Tatars, who had penetrated as far as Balkh, but were repulsed by him. These Tatars were the forerunners of the Seljuks, who certainly were not conquered by Mahmud till after the poet’s death, but before that had already vanquished many generals, and at last overthrew the dynasty of Ghazna. Paighaw is a town in Tatary, and a Seljukian word or name, among the bearers of which are called Mūsā Paighaw (Pēghū), son of Seljūk (in 1030), the son of Dukāk, the son of Jaghrī-Beg, and Paighaw, a brother’s son of Mūsā. The wars against Tūrān are laid in the Shāhnāmeh in the country of the Oxus or Weh-rōt, and, according to Firdūsi, the heroes of Irān sometimes penetrated as far as Gulzarrium or Yaxartes, like Kyros who there built the fortress of Kyreshata, and Bactria seems to be the sally-port. Even the legend has accounts of battles to relate that took place on the western side of the Caspian Sea, or in the interior of Iran; and
even if, as is usual with legends, quite late events had been placed in ancient days, the oldest and correct opinion, that Wishtāsp's kingdom lay to the south of the Caspian Sea, would still shine through. Tradition relates that the king's father, Luhrāsp, before he removed his residence from Istakhr (Persepolis) to Bakhth, made war against the Alans in the Caucasus, a deed, which, in the Kitāb al-pulkūr translated from the Pahlawi, has been assigned to his nephew Isfendiār. A tradition preserved by Kāziwi (1849) relates that Gushtāsp-bin-Luhrāsp the Kayānian caused a great network of canals to be dug between Araz and Kur at Sālīān, the seat of the Shirwānshāhs, which was destroyed by the Mongolians, 1258. Isfendiār, son of Gushtāsp, is thrown a prisoner into the fortress of Gumbadhān by his pious father after the Mojmilu'ttawūrīkh. This castle, as Spiegel remarks, is the same as the castle of the Mulhids (Ismā'ilians or Assassins), Girdkōh, above the place Dihdājeb, to the west of Dāmghān. The choice of this castle has only sense if Wishtāsp lived in Media and had sent his son away from his Court to the mountains of Tabaristan; in Bactria he would have had fortresses nearer at hand at his disposal. The war against Arjasp played itself out in Khorasan, to which distance Wishtāsp's power could only have reached, if he had, according to the fiction of the legend, ruled all Irān from Baktria.

120 In the Avesta he is called with the epithet of the sun, Aurdvādasp, "driving with fast horses," his father is Oji, a name by which Ormazd is known (Aojī), whose father is Manuš, called after his ancestor Manušchahtra. Luhrāsp means "who possesses red horses."

121 Kal Kānās reiga in Iskakhr, where Gushwād of Isfāhān, father of Gudarz, also has a castle (Kākh). Firdān, 750, 1221. Tabari, 597, 17 says : in Bakhth.

122 Firdān, 1432, 2973.


125 Jackson, 118, 131. Firdān, 1550, 956, 1705, 1194. 1649, 2577.


128 Jackson, 123.
A further statement of the legend contained in the genealogy of, the Kawis in Tabari's Chronicle 1, 617, points also to Media: the sons of Apiwanghu receive portions of the kingdom as inheritance; Arshan becomes king of Khûzistân, Pisina of Pars, Byarshan of Kermân; for Usa (Kai Kâüs, the eldest and chief ruler) remains Media. How uncertain all these accounts are is shown by Wishtûspa being descended from Pisina, which was arranged to connect the Naotarides with the Kawis (Kayanides), and that Kai Kâüs was living in Balkh, while this town was supposed to be founded only by Luhrasp.

Even Afrâsiâb, who, according to the epos, appears as ruler of Turkistan and neighbour of the Emperor of China, and whose name and the names of his heroes are Iranian, does not come to a place in Turkistan during his flight, but, like the Scythians in the time of Kyaxares, from the Caucasus to Berdá in the plain of Kur, on the Teter, where he hides in a cave, called after him Hang-i Afrâsiâb; driven from there, he hid himself on the lake of Chaichasta, that is, the lake of Urumia, where he is taken prisoner and killed by Kai Khusrau, the predecessor of Gushtûsp. Hither must Khusrau pilgrimage from Pars (Istakhr) to the fire Gushnasp, to find out through higher suggestion the hiding place of his enemy. By the taking of the fortress of Bahman, near Ardabil, as a youth he proved himself to be a worthy heir for the disputed throne, and plants the sacred fire on this castle which before was given over to devils and sorcerers (gods and priests of the heathen religion). Ardabil has been cited incorrectly. Firdûsi had no exact knowledge of the place. The town was probably only built by the Sásânian Përöz, after whom it was called Bûdân.

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131 Firdusi, 1386, 2241. 2243.
132 The same, 1391, 2317. Tabari 616, 12 (instead of bir read bi-bar, at the lake (ghadir) Châst).
133 Firdusi, 756. 1321.
Pērōz, as Firdūsi remarks himself.  

According to Parsee writings, Khusrau destroys the heathen temple on the lake of Chaichasta and assigns to the fire Gushnasp, that had clung to the mane of his stallion and illuminated the scene of the battle (from which it received the name "the stallion's fire"), a seat on the mountain Asnawant, with the wonderful blue lake Aswast in the same province from which the town takes its name Chis or Chīz, Arabic Shīz, from Chaichasta or Chich-est. The waters of this lake, according to the Bundahishn, will be brought to awake the dead at the last day; and its waters form the river of Airyanem Waējō, the Dāitja, which corresponds to the Balarathos of Theophylaktos, where Bahram Chōbīn was defeated by the Romans, the Armenian Wararat, the present Sārūk and Jaghatū. That Kai Khusrau, as Wishtāspa's predecessor, reigned over Media or Atropatene after the original tradition, is shown by the scene of the legend; but it identifies Wishtāspa's nephew Bahman with Artaxerxes I., places his daughter Khumānī's (Humai) residence in al-Madāin, the Parthian Ktesiphon, and so connects that Median dynasty to the more important Achaemenians and Parthians. Already Kai Kāüs and Kai Khusrau are considered to have lived in Persepolis, from where the latter was to go to far distant Atropatene, just as his successor Luhrāsp

134 Firdusi, ed. Mohl, VI., 94, 39.
135 Bundahishn, 41, 16. Spiegel, Eran. Alterth. I., 664; comp. G. Hoffmann, Syr. Märtyr. 292; Bartholomae, Grundriss d. Iran. Phil. I., 56, note 6. The name of the fire Adhar Gushnasp (from which has arisen by the clipping of the last syllable, Adharkash, not by speaking, but by careless copying of the manuscripts), Armen. hrani Washnasp (corrupted Washamb, Wnasp), Arabic nār or ādhar Jushnas, seems also to be contained in the corrupted names in the manuscripts Bān Sis for nār(Ju)nas, at the source of the Isbīlīnāh, ibn Rosteh (Bibl. Geogr. Arab. VII.) 89, 19; Sīmad in Masuli, 62, 13; ibā (nār) Sefis, Sis. Dorn, Bulletin de l'Acad. T. VI. Nov. 1871, p. 655, 662, 686. In Arabic letters all these variations may have arisen from nār Jushnas, in the same manner as (he variation for the names Bahram Gushnasp, B. Sis occurs. It might also be nār Shīz, the fire of Shīz. The Ispātrūd or Kizil Uzen rises to the north of Shīz, the river that receives the outlet of the lake, is the Srāk, an affluent of the Jaghatū.
has to remove his residence to Balkh. Even Wishtāspa is once called an Achaemenian, probably because of some reminiscence of Darcios, son of Hystaspes, and deposits in Istakhr, in the castle of writings or the archives (Diz-i Nubisht) the Awesta that has been written down on parchments made of 12,000 (?) calf-skins. This archive is also mentioned in the Dīnakart, but the king is more correctly called Dārā-i Dārāyān (Darcios III.), and he is said to have presented another copy to the Shapikān, that is the sacristy, where the priests' robes were kept. What a chaos has arisen by dragging in Nebucadnezar and the doubtful figures of Darius the Mede, Daniel and others, can be studied at length in Tabari.

The Greek and Roman authors, whether they accept Zoroaster as a Bactrian king or as a Median magian, never say that Hystaspes was his patron. Only Ammianus mentions him as a wise king and successor to Zoroaster, but means the father of Darius; and Agathias, who, as he says himself, repeats the Persian legend, places Zoroaster under Hystaspes, of whom he is doubtful if he be the father of Darcios or another, but no mention of Bactria. That king Wishtāspa or Hystaspes is always placed in Media, not in Bactria, is shown by Justinus Martyr and Lactantius, according to whom, Hystaspes was "an ancient king of the Medes," who had prophesied the great World-fire, that is, the fire Harmushtin, "the all-destroying," of the Bundahishn, which at the last day will cleanse the earth from sin. Again, before all, from the often-quoted tale of Chares of Mytilene, a companion of Alexander's, in which the sons of Adonis and Aphrodite (Mithra and Anūhita), namely Hystaspes who ruled over Media and the country below probably the plain of Urumia and the Araxes, Atropatene), and Zariadres, over the country of the Caspian Gates (eastward of Ragha) as far as the Tanaīs,
therefore, over Khorásân and the plain of the Oxus. Zariādates marries Odatis, the daughter of the king of the Marathes Homartes (perhaps Homarges or Amorges) in the same way as Gushtasp, in the Shāhnāmeh, wins the hand of the emperor's daughter in Byzanz. The tale of Chares is older than the Awesta, excepting its most ancient parts, and Bactria is not to be thought of. The Marathes are otherwise not mentioned, therefore it was wished to put a better known race like the Sarmates or the Maiōtes in their place. But here is erroneously assumed that Tanais were the Don, as in Herodotus, whereas at Alexander's time the Jaxartes or Orxantes was called Tanaïs, as it was thought to be in connection with the Don. The tradition in the Shāhnāmeh lets Hystaspes take his brother's place as being more important to the legend; and the wedding journey, therefore, is not taken to the Amyrgian Sakes, but to Byzanz, from which the latter form of the tradition can be traced in Firdūsi, which has also used reminiscences of Xerxes' campaign against Hellas, but has already knowledge of the Khazar prince Eiliās. That the latter tradition had not even thought of a kingdom of Bactria, is shown by the (naturally otherwise worthless) account that only Luhrāsp founded Balch. The coin mentioned by Jackson with the legend Ἀποκάταστο cannot allude to Luhrāsp, it belongs to Kanērki, who reigned in north-western India in 78 A.D., but did not reside in Bactria. The representation on the coin is a man with a horse, and the legend answers to the Avestan Arvadaspa, a surname of the genius Apām-napāt. The reason that the field of action has been removed in the legend from Atropatene or Media and from Pars to Bactria may be sought in historical circumstances.

118 Jackson 208. He has called the town al-Husnā, that is the beautiful, Awestan ʿarwa, Tabari 1, 415, 12.
When the whole of Western Iran and the remainder of India was under the sway of Alexander's successors, the legends and traditions were placed partly in the eastern province which was still in the possession of the Arians, where the Greek-Bactrian kings and the Parthians ruled, without interfering with the religion of their vassals. The Iranian tradition suffered many changes and extensions during the five hundred years' sway of the Arsakides, and the Iranian princes endeavoured to write their names in the Book of Kings. Rustam, in the Awesta Sāma Keresāspa, appears as the embodiment of the princely house, who since the first century ruled in Sakastān (so called since 140 B.C., from the Sakas who settled there) and Arachosia, and to which the mighty Hyndopheres, one of the Magi who adored the child Jesus, Hyrkodes and others belonged,\textsuperscript{138} and the figure of the Parthian Gotarzes lives on in that of Gōdarz of Ispāhān; and Meherdotes (Mithradates V. 107—113) in Mīlād, son of Gurgēn (Firdusi).\textsuperscript{139} It is related of Yezdegerd III., that when flying before the Arabs he took the sacred fire from Rai and placed it at Marw.\textsuperscript{150} The sacred fire Khurrah was at the wish of Zoroaster conveyed by King Wishtāsp from Khwārizm (Khiva), where it had been worshipped by the mythical king Jamshēd (by some accounts, only by Anosharawān, 531—579), to al-Kāriān in the district of Dārābgerd in Pārs (not, as the Bundahishn says, to Kābul). When the Arabs broke into the land, the sacred fire was divided and taken more into the interior partly to Pasū and partly to al-Baidhā to the west of Persepolis.\textsuperscript{151} The fire Gushnasp was taken to Sagastān (Seistān)\textsuperscript{152} and so the origin of the Kawi-dynasty was transplanted from Atropatene to that place.

\textsuperscript{138} Comp. Grundris d. iran. Philol. II. 506, 507.
\textsuperscript{139} Marquart, Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Ges. 49, 634, 641.
\textsuperscript{150} Tabari 3682, 3. Tabari transl. by Zotenberg 3, 503.
\textsuperscript{152} Baihaki in Yākūt 3, 588. Hoffmann 297. Jackson 44, 45, 212. A Tribe in Seistan, the Kiani, pretend to descend from the Kawi-dynasty: George N. Curzon, Persia I, 228, note.
Sagastān was probably conquered by Bahrām II. (275—293), and Bahrām III. (293) and Hormizd III. (457) were Sagānshāhs before they became great kings.

By degrees the whole of the Eastern Iranian Parthian kingdom rose to attack the Greek powers in Western Irān, in like manner as the movement against the Arabic Khalifat began in Khorāsān, Segestān and Transoxania. If we notice the names of the first Parthian kings, Arshaka, Frahāta, Friyapita and Mithradāta, we observe they have distinctly old Persian and Awestan forms; it is, therefore, easy to imagine that the old Median language was employed artificially in the Parthian period, as the other dialect of the sacred literature, the Pahlawi, has been still used for centuries after the modern Persian language had been developed.

In the Yashts, that may be placed in the times of the late Parthians, places in Western Iran are seldom mentioned, as Babel (Bavri, that is, Bavli, the Aramaean form of the name), Kwirinta, the district and lake of Chaichasta, and others, but the province of Sakastān and the basin of the Hilmand are more often mentioned and with many details and names of towns, rivers and mountains. The geographical chapter already mentioned, which is prefixed to the Wendīdād or Book of the Law, seems like the letterpress to a map of Ariana in the time of Eratosthenes. Only at the beginning Zoroaster's home is stated to be Airyanem-waējö, and at the end it is said, there might be other (besides the quoted places) regions, plains and countries. This very innocent religious-geographical account of the countries which at that time were already taken away from the Seleukidean dominion, probably dates from the year 129 B.C., and by the mistaken interpretation of the first part and of the purpose of the chapter, as if it had been a most ancient document about the immigration of the Arians into Irān, it has added greatly to the mystification of the part that Bactria has played in the Zoroastrian religion.

153 Yasht 10, 13, 14, 19, 60, 67.
154 Preussische Jahrbücher 88 (1897) 62, 63.
Bactria was conquered by Kyros, without a kingdom of the Bactrians, or even the name of these people being mentioned with that of the Sakes, Masagetes, Derbikes and Dahas; according to Ktesias the Bactrians surrendered voluntarily. At the time of Dareios' accession to the throne, when all the provinces revolted, no mention is made of a pretender as in Media, Persis, Susiana, Arachosia, and the Satrap Dādarshi of Bactria could unconcernedly leave his province to quell the insurrection in Margiana which belonged to Bactria. Xerxes could augment his enormous army with Bactrian and Sakian warriors under his brother Hystaspes, and lead them against Hellas, without having to fear a hostile attack in the north-east. After Alexander Greek kings ruled Bactria; when the Hephthalites (Haitāl or Yučchi, sometimes called Huns) allied with the Tokhārs destroyed the Greek-Bactrian kingdom and made Balkh their capital (128 B.C.), the duty of defending the north-eastern frontier fell to the Parthians. The Sāsāniyānians vainly tried to retake Bactria under Bahrūm V. and under Pērōz. They were even obliged to pay tribute to the Haitāl after Pērōz's defeat by Yu-chin or Khushnawāz (484). Khusrau I. gained in 557 a victory over this people, who were already hastening towards decay, and which was soon after wiped out by the Turks. The victory enlarged for the first time, since the days of Dareios III., the frontiers of the Iranian Kingdom to the Oxus and reminded the Persians of the heroic deeds of Kai Khusrau in the legend, who had conquered and killed Afrāsiāb, and whose figure is much worked up according to the pattern of his Sāsānian name-sake. Since then the warfare that is pictured in the Shāhnāmeh did not cease, until Mongolians and Tatars razed the frontier walls to the ground, and Irān was taken from the Persians, who had long since changed the religion of the old Persians for that of Islam and had become subjected to Turkish dynasties.

155 Herod. 7, 64.
The Parsi tradition has presented us with a portrait of the Prophet, and Jackson supports the view that the well-known relief of Tak-i-Bostān, which represents the king standing by a figure with a halo, receiving a ring of government from Ahuramazdā, is a Sāsānian representation of the Zoroastrian legend, and that the Zoroaster-figure may more correctly be Ahuramazdā.\(^{157}\) The Parsis have often used this so-called likeness of the Prophet as a frontispiece for religious works; for example, in the edition of the Awesta in Gujarati writing by Bahdīn Dadabhoy Kavasji, Bombay, 1240 (1871), in a lithographed edition of the Shāhnāmeh, Bombay, 1846, p. 567, at the head of the song beginning on p. 1067 of the edition by Turner Macan.

The relief undoubtedly represents Ardashir I., the ancestor of Saper III., who had the grotto decorated, in the act of receiving the wreath or circle of rule from Ōrmazd. Both figures are standing over Artāban V., the last of the Parthians, who is prostrate on the ground; this follows from the comparison with the first relief at Naksh-i Rustam,\(^{153}\) where the God and the king are mounted, and in the inscriptions on their horses are mentioned by name. The genius who, with a club in his hands and a halo round his head, stands on a star-lotus flower\(^{159}\) (an old symbol of the Sun-worshippers on account of its Heliotropism), is the sun-god Mithra. He appears with the same halo on the coins of the Turushka kings and with the inscription of his name,\(^{160}\) and most prominently on the relief at Nimrod-dāgh, where he is giving his hand\(^{161}\) to Antiochos I. of Kommagene, the descendant of the Achaemenians and Seleukides (69-34). In the Mihir Yasht Mithra stands: “holding with the hand the club, with 100 knots and 100

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\(^{157}\) Jackson, 288, 292, 293 (with three cuts).

\(^{158}\) The seventh in Carzoon’s Persia II., 125.

\(^{159}\) The sun-god of the Hindus also loves the lotus, Meghadūta 40.

\(^{160}\) Percy Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings. Plate XXVI, 10; XXVII, 4, 24. Aurel Stein, Zoroastrian Deities (Oriental and Babylonian Record, 1887) 8, 2; also in the excellent work on Mithra by Franz Cumont, Brussels, 1896, 186. Le Comte Goblet de Alviella, Ce que l’Inde doit à la Grèce. Paris, 1897, S. 30.

blades, a powerful one, heros-down-throwing, mounted with yellow brass, strong, golden, the strongest of the weapons, the most victorious of the weapons, before which is afraid Aëshma, the evil-thinker, the sinful one, of whom are frightened all invisible devils and the Warenian evil ones.”

 Likewise Sraosha carries a club and also Ahuramazdā in the Sāsānian sculpture.

Ferdinand Justi.

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162 Yasht 10, 26; comp. 6, 5.
163 Wendidād 18, 39.5(71).
KHSHATHRA VAIRYA,
One of the Zoroastrian Archangels.

'Thy Kingdom come' is one of the petitions in the first and best prayers that we Christians as children are taught to utter at our mother's knee. It is interesting, therefore, to find that this conception of a divine kingdom and its establishment, so familiar to us in Christ's teaching, and one of the ideals of the ancient faith of Judaism, may be traced in a somewhat parallel manner also in Zoroastrianism. The conception is contained in the Avestan Khshathra Vairya, 'the Wished-for Kingdom,' Vohu Khshathra, 'the Good Kingdom,' or Khshathra Ishtoish, 'the Kingdom of Desire.' And as the notions of an earthly and a spiritual empire blend together in the older Jewish conception and gradually become more exalted and idealized, so it seems to be possible to recognize a sort of shading between the symbolic and the material application, or interpretation, of the word khshathra in the sense of sovereignty or kingdom and as the genius presiding over metals.

In the court of Ahura Mazda, Khshathra Vairya stands as one of the Amshaspands, or Archangels, before the throne. The arrangement of this celestial council in order of rank about the Supreme Being, as I have shown in Archive für Religionswissenschaft I. 363 seq., is as follows:—

Ahura Mazda

Vohu Manah  Spenta Armaiti

Asha Vahishta  Haurvatāt

Khshathra Vairya  Sraosha  Amhretāt
But before proceeding further with the discussion of Khshathra in detail, a word may be said with reference to the radical theory propounded by Darmesteter in his great translation of the Avesta, which appeared shortly before his death. This hypothesis, which ascribes the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas to the influence of the Neo-Platonic ‘Ideas,’ and regards Vohu Manah as a reflex of Philo’s Θείος Δύος (Theios Logos), and argues that parallels to the other Amshaspands are to be found in the Philonic Δυναμεις (Dunameis) cannot be said to have met with favor among Avestan scholars generally. So much has been written on the subject by specialists—and that most ably—that there remains little to add but to repeat again that the doctrine of the Amshaspands can be shown to be at least a century older than Darmesteter would place the Gāthās, and it is undoubtedly as old as Zoroaster himself. Strabo (c. B. C. 63-A. D. 25), who lived nearly a century earlier than Plutarch, mentions Ameretat under the Greek form Αμάθαρας (Anádatos), i.e. Αμάθρας (Amárdatos), and he refers also to Αμάνις (Omanís) i.e. Vohu Manah (see Strabo 11, p. 512c, cf. Windischmann, Anahita, p. 86, München 1856). Asha, moreover, is not only admitted to be an equivalent of the Vedic rta, but the designation as a concept is found in many Old Persian names under the form Arta, as well as in the Bactrian name Ὀξυάρτας, Oxyartes, which apparently corresponds, etymologically at least, to Avestan Ukhshyat-ereta. See, for example, the long list of Arta-names in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 31—40, 485. The same is true of Vohu Manah, Vohúman, or Bahman, the name of the Amshaspand given to Artaxerxes, whom tradition calls the son of Isfendiar, that valiant hero who gave up his life in defence of the Zoroastrian creed. The comparatively frequent occurrence of these names based on the names of the Amshaspands, as I have noted in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, proves that the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas must have existed, and was current, at the close of the Achemenian period. These names presuppose that doctrine just as much as our own proper names Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael,
 presuppose the Archangels of the Bible. It may be added, moreover, that the whole Zoroastrian system from the beginning to the end, from the Gāthās to the latest Ravāyats, postulate the existence of the Amshaspands as a cardinal tenet of the faith.

So much of a digression was allowable by way of criticism, and we now approach our subject when we mention, 'oxadzēpons, or Oxathres, as a Bactrian name in early times; for this name we know contains khshathra, whether the form be Hu-khshathra or Vohu-khshathra, or otherwise. The name itself, therefore, appropriately leads us back to the idea of the Kingdom (Khshathra) according to Zoroastrianism.

In Avesta Khshathra Vairya means 'Wished-for Kingdom,' or 'Kingdom to be Desired.' It is found in Pahlavi as Kshatravēr or Shatravēr; in Persian as Shahrēvar. The Sanskrit paraphrase of the Yasna by Neryosangh has saharēvar, as a sort of transcription, or it gives rājya, svāmitva as paraphrases. Consult for example Ys. 29, 3; 45, 10; 49, 8, &c., and see Geiger, Handbuch der Avestasprache, p. 224. The Greek rendering which Plutarch gives in his list of the six divinities that answer to the Amshaspands (Is. et Os. 47) is eινομία (eu-nomia), 'good rule, good order,' which corresponds precisely to Vohu Khshathra. This is all that need be said for the moment with reference to the form of the name. More important is the idea which the words convey.

Briefly stated, this personified abstraction in its spiritual sense represents an embodiment of Ahura Mazda's might, majesty, dominion, and power, or that blessed reign whose establishment on earth will mean the annihilation of evil and will accompany the millennium¹. The Bündahishn and the Dīnkart serve to supplement the Avestan texts on this point as I have noted in my monograph on the Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life (Biblical World, Chicago, 1896). In short, Khshathra, with its various attributes, denotes the rule of Ormazd, the kingdom of heaven hereafter, or, as is said in the

¹ See Ys. 31. 4; 51. 1; Bd. 30. 19–35; Dīnkart 2. 81. 6; cf. also Castellini, Mazda Religion, trans. p. 200.
Haptanghā̄ni, 'may we attain to thy Good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda, for all eternity' (Ys. 41, 2 vohu khshathrem toi mazda ahurā āpūēna vispāi yavē). In the Gāthās this hallowed sovereignty is sometimes called simply khshathra 'Kingdom, Rule, Power'; sometimes it is vohu khshathra 'the Good Kingdom,' as opposed to 'the Kingdom of the Wicked One' (i.e., Ahriman); or it is 'the Kingdom of Desire,' 'the Realm where the sun (ever) shines,' 'the Mighty Rule,' 'the Wished-for Sovereignty' which belongs to Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah.

In general it may be said that Khshathra Vairya as an archangel is far more abstract than either Vohu Manah or Asha Vahishta to whom he ranks next in order but still vivid enough as a figure. The whole Zoroastrian tendency to personification is in fact remarkable, considering its antiquity. It can but recall such later day personifications of abstract virtues, or the like, as are found in the early European mora-

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2 e.g. Ys. 30. 7. For convenience Justi's transcription is adopted in this article.
3 Cf. Ys. 31. 22; 51. 1; 48. 8. See also Ys. 37. 5 and Vsp. 20. 1.
4 Ys. 31. 15 Pērēšā avat yā maunish yē dregrāte khshathrem hunā̄ti 'I ask this, what is the punishment for him who advances the Power of the Wicked.' A noteworthy contrast between the sovereignty of good and of evil rulers upon earth, will be found in the Dinkart, translated by Dastur Pe[sho]tan Behramjee Sanjana, VI. 422-3; viii. 466; viii. 468.
5 Ys. 51. 2 dādēši mōi ishtōsh khshathrem, which Nerayosangh plainly renders by 'grant me the desired power,' dēši mahan vānchitaṁ rōyjam — see Spiegel, Neriosengeh's Yaṇa, p. 312. The Pahlavi has isht pavan khunayith, cf. Mills, Gāthās, p. 343. Compare also Ys. 48. 8.
6 Lit. 'in the sun-seeing kingdom' (ɡēνg-dare-ōi khshathrōī), which the gloss of Neriosangh (kīla, sūryapadō prasādō 'stī) also refers to Paradise. On the sun in relation to the other world, see the Great Iranian Būndahishn passage translated by Darmesteter, Le Z.A. ii. 314.
7 Ys. 31. 4 Khshathrem Anjōṅghvaṭ.
8 For example see Ys. 30. 8 mazdā taibyō khshathrem 'thy Kingdom, O Mazda'; Ys. 32. 6 thwahmi vē mazdā khshathrōī ashahdā 'in thy Kingdom, O Mazda, that is, yours and Asha's'; Ys. 34. 10 thwahmi mazdā khshathrōī ā 'in thy Kingdom O Mazda'; Ys. 48. 9 thwahmi ā khshathrōī yawī vispāi 'in thy Kingdom for al eternity' ; Ys. 51. 4 thwā khshathrā mazdā 'through thy Kingdom, Mazda'; Ys. 30. 8, mazdā taibyō khshathrem vohū manañhā vōtīdāṭī 'thy Kingdom, O Mazda, Vohu Manah' (instr. as nom.) shall establish,' cf. Bartholomae, Grundriss der iran. Philol. i. § 128. ; cf. also Ys. 31. 6 mazdā araj khshathrem huyat hōi vohu vahšaṭ manañhā 'that Kingdom, O Mazda, which Vohu Manah advances for him. Furthermore, Ys. 41. 2
lity dramas, or the images that rise above the crest of that allegorical
wave which swept over England and culminated in Spenser's Faerie
Queene. As a specimen of Zoroaster's graphic portraiture of Khshathra
Vairya with the other Amshaspands, we may refer to Ys. 33. 11. In pro-
phetic vision the inspired seer lifts up his eyes, calling upon Khshathra
to join with Ahura and the celestial host in hearkening to his prayer and
granting favor to his petition: 'May the most beneficent Ahura Mazda
and Armaity (Harmony) and Asha (Righteousness), that promotes the
world, and Khshathra (Kingdom) give ear unto me and show favor to me
at the giving of every reward.' Somewhat similar is the plastic con-
ception of Khshathra, as Power, joining with the other Archangels, in
the defence of newly created man, Gaya Maretan, when assailed by the
forces of evil: 'And to his side came Khshathra and Vohu Manah
(Good Mind) and Asha (Righteousness).'' One is almost reminded of
the angels at the opening of the old morality play, Castle of Persever-
ance, or the similar striking scene in Marlowe's Faustus.

But more often, perhaps, Khshathra is passive rather than active,
a medium rather than the agent, the sway or rule through which
Ormazd 'shall make the world regenerate according to wish,' or
again a realization of 'the Sovereignty which Vohu Manah (Good
Mind) shall establish for Mazda.' The idea of this rule of universal
weal accounts, no doubt, for the association of Khshathra with

9 Ys. 33. 11. Ye seriisdo akurô maždâsca ārmaitishcâ așhemcâ frâdaq-goθhem
manascâ vohû kshâthremenâ srota môy marehâdâ tô môy ādâ khegayîcît paît. The word
ādâ, a cardinal one in the Gâthâs, denotes not only 'gift, reward, recompense,' but
also the final reward or retribution given at the Day of Judgment. See Geldner,
Bezenberger's Bôîraîge, xv. 238.

10 Ys. 30. 7 ahañcâ kshâthra jameñ mañashâ vohû așhâcâ. By ahañcâ Gaya
Maretan is meant. Notice again the instrumental case kshâthra as nominative; see
Celsius and Geldner in Kshân's Zeitschrift, xxxi. 259, 323.

11 Ys. 34. 15 kshâmâkâ kshâthreñ akurô fersêm cañmâ haîthêm dâv ahâm 'by
your Kingdom, O Ahura, thou wilt make the world regenerate according to wish.'
Compare also Ys. 30. 8-9, at mazdâ taîbyô kshâthrem . . . . at tâî vañm ayamâ
yôi im fersêm kerañm akhêm.

12 Ys. 30. 8 at mazdâ taîbyô kshâthrem vohû mañashâ vôïvidâîî.
A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON,

Marezhdika, or 'Mercy which careth for the poor.'\(^{13}\) The two are invoked side by side in the Avesta; and the great Iranian Bundahishu adds that 'the function of Shahhrêvar is to intercede with Ahuramazd in behalf of the poor.'\(^{14}\) It is this same sort of uprightness and compassion that should rule in the hearts of kings as we may infer from incidental allusions in later Zoroastrian texts.\(^{15}\) It is this that contributes to the good rule on earth.

In the world of material things Khshathra Vairya has a special duty or charge as an Amshaspand; it is the oversight and guardianship of metals.\(^{16}\) This function is recognized in the Avesta itself, as is shown by the pious utterance 'we worship Khshathra Vairya, the Amesha Spenta; we worship the Molten Metal; we worship Mercy that careth for the poor.'\(^{17}\) The usual explanation, and also the traditional interpretation of Khshathra Vairya's association with metal is in connection with regal wealth, or precious metals as symbolic of sovereignty and metallic weapons as an instrument of power. This is

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\(^{13}\) Yt. 2, 7 marezhdikem thrêyô-drîghûm yazamaide 'we worship Mercy that careth for the poor'; cf. also Yt. 2, 2. Add perhaps the last line of the Ahuna Vairya formula: khôshhreimô ahôrû a im drîgyô dadaî vûstûren.

\(^{14}\) See the passage from the Gt. Iran. Bd. translated by Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, ii. 313.

\(^{15}\) See references under Note 4 above and compare Sad Dar 3, 6 transl. West, Sacred Books of the East, 24. 261. [Add also the interesting passage from the Ravâyâts, translated by Ervad E. K. Antia, Cama Memorial Volume, p. 162: 'The function of Khshathra Vairya is to guide sovereigns on the path of justice. He is always on the watch that sovereigns may act with justice. He is the friend of just rulers. A just ruler lives long. He is the protector of gold, silver, as well as other metals, and it is he who brings about an abundance of metals in mines. It is Khshathra Vairya, who bestows livelihood to Derwishes in this world, and recommends them for a sublime place in the next world.']

\(^{16}\) Cf. Gt. Iran, Bd. transl. Darmesteter, Le ZA. ii. 313; Sls. 13. 14, and especially 15. 14—19, 'metal is a counterpart of Shatvairô himself in the world; and whosoever propitiates melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the glory of Ahuramazd becomes his own in heaven' (after West's translation, S.B.E. v. 376). See also Zsp. 22. 8, where the archangel Shatvêr assigns to Zoroaster the care and keeping of metals, cf. Jackson, Zoroaster the Prophet, p. 47; West, S.B.E. xlvii. 161; and Wilson, Parsei Religion, p. 497.

\(^{17}\) Yt. 2, 7.-Khoshtrem vairim ameshem spontem yazamaide, ayôkhshudem yazamaide, marezhdikem thrêyô-drîghûm yazamaide. Cf. also Vsp. 20. 1.—ruhn khoshtrem yazamaide, khoshtrem vairim yazamaide, ayôkhshudem yazamaide.
clearly implied in the Iranian Bundahishn and elsewhere. Riches, authority, and power should go hand in hand with compassion or mercy and generosity.

But, perhaps, there is even something more back of this association of Khshathra 'Kingdom' with ayah Khshusta 'Molten Metal.' In an article published in Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1890, p. lvi, seq., I tried to show that the connection between the two was as old as the Gāthās (cf. Ys. 51. 9; Ys. 30. 7; Ys. 32. 7), and that according to Zoroaster's teaching the coming of the Kingdom, khshathra or khshathra vairya, was to be accompanied by a fiery flood of 'molten metal,' in which the wicked should be punished and the good purified, as described in full in the Bundahishn (Bd. 30. 19). If this view be right, it would make clearer the connection between the Amshaspand as a personification, and his duties as a presiding divinity in charge of the metal kingdom. In any case, the interchange between the ideas is possible; and even if it be argued that the material notion may have been old, we may still recall that Haurvatat and Ameretat are not only the genii presiding over waters and plants, but in a spiritual sense, more particularly, they are the archangels of Saving Health and Immortality. For that reason, and for others, we may safely concede that Zoroaster's idealizing tendency has, at all events, lifted this conception of Khshathra Vairya out of the domain of material things into the realm of the spirit. He has exalted the symbol of earthly sovereignty, riches, and power, if so we are to interpret it, into the dominion and empire which Ahura Mazda shall establish to banish evil from the world—or, to use the Prophet's own words—'that Kingdom which beholdeth the Sun,' which is synonymous with Paradise.

However that may be, and whatever may be the direct or indirect connection between the two ideas in question, there can be no disputing the fact that the association of khshathra and ayah khshusta, or 'King-

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19 See Note 6 above.
Dom' and 'Molten Metal' is as demonstrable in the Gāthās as in ayōkhṣuṣṭa of the Younger Avesta (Vsp. 20. 1; Yt. 2. 7; Yt. 17. 20). In a couple of Younger Avestan passages, moreover, it is perfectly evident that khshathra vairya means simply metal (see Yt. 10. 125 and Vd. 16. 6—both of them prose passages—cf. de Harlez, Avesta Traduit, p. xciii); and in one place in the Vendidad (Vd. 9. 9) the words are employed as a synonym for a metallic instrument, of knife (see also Kanga, Avesta Dictionary, s. v.).

In conclusion, it may be stated again, as was stated at the outset: Khshathra Vairya, 'the Wished-for Kingdom, the Good Kingdom, the Kingdom of Desire,' in Zoroaster's teaching denotes, in a spiritual sense, that dominion which puts an end to evil and brings ideal rule, whether it be on earth by regal power and authority, or in the realm of Ormazd, the kingdom of heaven; and, secondly, in the realm of material things Khshathra Vairya presides over the kingdom of metals and minerals, which stand as a sign or symbol of power.
MEDIEVAL GREEK REFERENCES TO THE AVESTAN CALENDAR.

The most important source for our knowledge of the Avestan Calendar is undoubtedly the sacred text itself, which is supplemented by most helpful information furnished by the Pahlavi books. There are, however, other allusions to this chronological system which must be considered if our collection of data is to approximate completeness. The best known of these references are in Persian or Arabic, but while much attention has been given to them in the study of the ancient Parsi Calendar, little notice has been paid to the Byzantine accounts. Yet these medieval Greek accounts, too, have their importance, and as they are both few in number and scattered in books which are not easy of access, the translations of them may be of interest to the Parsi public. These translations are presented as a tribute to the memory of Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjana, one of their most distinguished priests and scholars.

It is to be noted that the earliest non-Parsi allusion to the ancient Iranian chronology is found in Quintus Curtius Rufus, a Latin historian of the first century A.D., who writes in his History of Alexander III, 3, 10: "There followed the Magi 365 youths, clad in scarlet robes, equal in number to the days of all the year, for the year of the Persians is divided into so many days." There are no other references in the Latin authors to the Iranian Calendar, so far as I am aware, and the earliest Greek allusion known to me is the treatise of Georgios Chrysokokkes, written in 346. This author tells us of his sources of information and gives us an impression of his honest wish to gain the truth. The text of Chrysokokkes, so far as it has been published, is found in Hermann Usener’s study entitled, Ad historiam astronomiae
symbola, Boun, 1876, pp. 27-37. The translation of the portion of the Greek text which concerns us here is as follows:

"Long ago, as you know, my dearest Johannes, I pursued the investigation of this Persian matter before us, and had as a teacher a priest named Manuel, of the city of Trebizond. You, too, were often with me and took pleasure in what was said, and, so far from being averse to the acquisition of this subject, you embraced the science and urged me to set forth in more ordered fashion the words which had been spoken. Listen to me, then, as I describe the mere outlines of this chronology, and recollect, as far as I can, my teacher’s words. In the first place we must recall how this system was brought from Persia and by whom it was translated into the Greek tongue. Manuel told me that one Chioniades had been bred in Constantinople, and had acquired all the sciences, but that he longed for yet another subject of study whereby he might get wisdom and practise the healing art with skill. Thus when he heard from some friends that he would not be able to attain his wish unless he went to Persia, he counted all as naught and hasted thither as fast as he might. On the way, however, he stopped at Trebizond, and there associated for a considerable time with the Great Comnenus. Revealing to this prince his purpose, he received from him the utmost consideration, and proceeded to Persia with much honor. Chioniades soon became skilled in the ways of the Persians and was made a friend of their king, whose esteem he enjoyed. When, however, he was minded to learn astronomy he found none to teach him, for it is a law in Persia that they who will

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2 One of the Greek emperors of Trebizond, probably Alexios II., who reigned from 1297 to 1320. See the list of this dynasty given by Krumbacher, p. 1146, and consult Usener, p. 23.
may acquire all sciences but that Persians alone may pursue astronomy. Now when he had inquired the reason for this prohibition and learned that an ancient prophecy prevailed among the Persians to the effect that their kingdom would be destroyed by Romans acquainted with the science of astronomy, the rudiments of which they should have previously learned from the Persians, he knew not how to gain the knowledge he desired. However, after much toil and many services to the king, he succeeded, though with difficulty. According to the royal command, Chioniades was admitted by the teachers, and shortly became great among the Persians and was counted worthy of their king's favor. After he had acquired much wealth and gained many pupils he came again to Trebizond, bearing with him many books of the science of astronomy. These he rendered into Greek, as he thought best, and produced a work worthy of remembrance. There are also other books of the system of the Persians which he translated into Greek, as having in their first part detailed accounts of the chronology. This was the only system, however, which he rendered in Greek without a commentary, for he regarded it as plainer and more accurate than any other system, according to what my teacher said. Herein Manuel was correct, it would seem, since Chioniades had received it in this fashion—interpreted only by word of mouth by the Persians. This, then, is the way this system, which is called the Manual, was acquired. We set forth in the first place the chapters of which we shall discuss the interpretation below.

"This Zezi 3 or method was made for longitude 72 in the district of Chazaria which is called Tibene. The entire longitude from west to east, or from the extreme commencement of one sea to the other, is 180 degrees.

3 Arab دیج Persian ذیج.

4 Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Leipzig, 1866, p. 231, and Dümener, p. 17, identify Tibene or Tybene with the Armenian city of Dwin or Tovin near the modern Erivan (Lynch, Armenia, London, 1901, i., p. 201.).
"The year of the Persians was determined in the time of Iasdakerdes Sariar. The beginning of this year was Tuesday, the beginning of the months was Pharbadin. When Iasdakerdes sat upon the throne this year was determined in two ways, one according to their religion, which is Pasita, or non-bissextile. In both chronologies there are always 365 days, and 30 days in a month, and at the end of Asphantar they add five epagonal days. According to the other year the determination was for the occupations of the four seasons, and the commencement of the occupations, and this is called Kapisa, or bissextile. Now, each month of this, too, has thirty days, but six days are added at the end of the year, for when the Kapisa year comes round there is an additional day. When these epagonal days are combined, there is an extra month every hundred and twenty years. Therefore the excess of the solar year over the lunar year is comprised in this period, which is thirty days. Every 1,460 years there is an extra year, and the first month Pharbadin is found in its proper place, and the entrance of the sun into Aries occurs on the first of Pharbadin. If we wish to calculate the Persian year, we take the years from the creation of the world and subtract from them 6,139, and the remainder is their year, reckoning from the first part of October with which the Persian year begins.

"The year of the Sultan Melixa. A decree was issued by this Sultan that they should date the journals by his year, according to the commencement of the time of his year, when the sun begins to

5 Cf. Persian يزد جرد بن شهيربار
6 Scaliger, Can. Isag., p. 250, argues that Chrysokokkes translated from an Arabic original, and that he should have said: "This year is of two kinds" (with intercalation and without).
7 This should have been rendered, according to Scaliger, "equality."
8 Arab. (ستم) بسیطة
9 Literally, "furtive, stolen," a translation of the Arabic مسغورة
10 Rather "usage," Arab. استعمال in Scaliger's opinion.
11 Arab. (ستم) کبدة
12 The famous Jalāl ud-Din Malik Shāh ibn Alp Arslan the Seljuk.
enter Aries. Moreover, the commencement of each month occurred when the sun passed from one sign of the zodiac to another. The beginning of this year was Sunday. If 6,586 be subtracted from the number of years from creation of the world, the remainder is the year of Melixa. . . . Therefore the beginning of the year of the Sultan Melixa is when the sun enters Aries, and it enters now on the thirteenth of March."

A full translation of the text of Chrysokokkes, as it is given by Usener, in his book entitled *Ad Historiam Astronomiae Symbola*, would be of little interest here. The treatise of Chrysokokkes consists mainly of intricate rules for the reduction of Persian dates to Greek, and it will be sufficient, in my judgment, to cite two passages which seem above its general level. These selections treat of the reckoning of months and days, and are as follows:—"On the calculation of the time of the months and days of the Persians. You must know that in the year 378 of the Persians their year began when the sun entered Aries. If then we wish to calculate the months and days of the Persians, we proceed as follows: Taking the required temporal period of the Persians, we subtract, according to the prescribed method, the years already mentioned, or 378. We take a quarter of the remainder, and this number comprises the days from the commencement of the year of the Persians until the equinox, which falls on the thirteenth of the month of March. Reckoning backward the days which have been calculated we find in which one of our months the beginning of the Persian year falls. We reckon the months as having thirty days, and take the days below thirty, and in this way is found on what day of the Greek months the day of the commencement of the Persian year falls. Furthermore, the first of the Persian year is the month Pharbadin."

13 See Usener's text, pp. 30-35. The passage from Theodoros Meleteniotes (cf. Usener, pp. 8-9, 19-21, Krumbacher, p. 623) published by Usener, p. 18-19, is also devoted to chronological formulas.
14 Usener, pp. 31, 32, 33.
"Example.—We subtract 378 from the 714th year of the Persians, and the remainder is 336, of which a quarter is 84. These are the days of the Persians from the beginning of their year till the equinox. Sixty days we give to the two months Pharabardin and Ardempeest, and the remaining twenty-four to Chortat. The twenty-fourth of Chortat was found to coincide with the third of March. Take, then, 84 days from the beginning of the equinox. Thus the beginning of the year of the Persians is found to occur on the twentieth of December, for then the number is completed."

The second passage reads thus:—"On the calculation of the Persian day according to the required Greek month. We must observe on what day of the Greeks the beginning of the Persian year falls, and proceed from this day to the day of the required month. Adding the number of the days of the Greek year which have elapsed since the beginning of the Persian year, we divide it by thirty, and as many times as thirty is contained in it, so many months of the Persians do we count off, beginning with Pharabardin, and give the days left over to the following month.

"Example.—We desired to find to what month and day of the month of the Persians, the eighth of March corresponds in the Persian year 715. The beginning of the Persian year at this time has been found to fall on the twentieth of December. We take the number of days which are left in this month, that is, twelve, also thirty-one days of January, and twenty-eight of February, if it is not leap-year (if it were, we would take twenty-nine), and eight of March, total, seventy-nine. Dividing this by thirty, we have a remainder of nineteen. We then give the two periods of thirty days to Pharabardin and Artipees, and the remainder of nineteen to Chortat. In this way Chortat is found to have nineteen days on the eighth of March. The five or six epagongal days, as has been said in the section on the years and months of the Persians, are placed at the end of Asphantaremat."
The second Greek authority on the Iranian calendar is Isaakos Argyros, a Byzantine monk, who wrote about a quarter of a century after Chrysokokkes. He composed an explanation of the Persian chronology, from which the old scholar Fredrick Sylburg copied a portion. This section of the treatise of Argyros is found in Jacob Christmann’s edition of al-Farghani (Muhamedis Alfragani Arabis Chronologica et Astronomica Elementa), Frankfort, 1590, pp. 218-219. The translation of the passage from Argyros, which forms an interesting pendant to the account given by Chrysokokkes, is as follows:

“The method of the Persian canons were drawn up by the mathematicians of that country, according to the first year of lasdagerd Sarien Mastre, king of the Persians, and their calculations were based upon the Persian year. This year falls 6,139 years after the creation of the world, and begins at midday on the new moon of the Persian Pharouartes, and is calculated according to the meridian through the Persian city of Tybene, which is 72 degrees distant from the Ntzaer Chalitat, or, as the Persians say, from the extreme western sea. According to the Persians the months are named as follows: Pharouartes, Artipeest, Chortat, Tyrma, Mertat, Sachriour, Mecherma, Apanma, Aderma, Dema, Pechman, Asphandarmat, and the Masiaracha, which the Greeks call epagonal. Among the Persians, as among the Egyptians, the year consists of only 365 days, and in each month of their reckoning there are thirty days and five are epagonal. It thus necessarily follows that the Persian year gains one day over the Roman, every four years, because every four years the Roman year has 366 days. Furthermore, every 1,460 years there is a gain of an entire Persian year, and once more the Persians and the Romans

15 For further information on Argyros see Fabricius, iv., p. 155, xi., p. 126-130, Usener, p. 21, Krumbacher, p. 623, and compare Lagarde, pp. 230-232.
16 Argyros evidently misread كسرى (sia) for مسخر (Masika) for cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 17.
17 Arab. جزایل خا لدات "the Islands of the blessed," whence the Arabs, following Ptolemy, reckoned longitude, cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 17.
18 Lagarde, p. 231, correctly notes that we should read Masitaracha (Arab. مسخرة مسخرة).
make the beginning of their years coincide. After the lapse of four years, however, the Persians again begin to gain one day over us, and so on regularly. The revolution of 1,460 years was determined at a point of time 307 years before the beginning of the reign of Iasdagerd, so that from that time the Persians again began to gain one day over us every four years."

The brief account of the Persian calendar given us by an anonymous author who wrote in 1443 is of particular interest in one respect. It furnishes us exact equivalents for four days of the year of Yezdagird 812 in terms of the Byzantine year 6951 which corresponds to 1443 A. D. We thus learn that in this year March eleventh corresponded to Terma seventeenth, June twelfth to Mecherma twentieth, September fourteenth to Dema twenty-fourth, and December twelfth to Farvadin eighteenth. The passage under consideration is found in Joseph Scaliger's Canones Isagogicae, Paris, 1658, pp. 314-315, and in Denis Petau's work De Doctrina Temporum, Paris, 1703, ii., p. 213, and reads as follows:

"Aries was chosen, and it was found that at the end of the year 6951 from the creation of the world and at the beginning of 6952 the sun commenced to enter Aries on the eleventh of the month of March at 8, 20: 40 A. M. Then 813 years of the Persians were completed, and the eleventh of March was the seventeenth of the Persian month Terma. In the same year on the twelfth of June at 2, 20: 8 P. M. the sun began to enter Cancer, for then 813 years of the Persians were completed, and the twelfth of June was the twentieth day of the Persian month Mecherma. Moreover, on the fourteenth of the following September, when the year 6953 began and 6952 was completed, the sun commenced to enter Libra at 1, 24: 28 A. M. of the same day. It was then the Persian year 813, and the fourteenth day of Septem-

20 Scaliger corrects to 812. Consult also the rules given by Ideler, pp. 520-522, or the reduction of dates A. Y. to dates A. D.
ber was the twenty-fourth of the Persian Dema. On the twelfth of December of the same year at 7, 41: 16 A. M. the sun began to enter Capricorn. Then 814\(^{21}\) years of the Persian were completed, and the twelfth day of December was the eighteenth of Pharanarden, the first Persian month. In this fashion the four seasons of the year are determined, that is, the two equinoxes and the two solstices are chosen, as it is in the Persian manual, according to the year which has been described above.\(^{17}\)

It is almost certain that there were several more references to the ancient Parsi system of time. These allusions are either lost or exist in inedited manuscripts. William Burton, in his Leipsana Veteris Lingue Persica, Lubeck, 1720, p. 6, refers to a manuscript at Lambeth, which has since disappeared.\(^{22}\) The names of the Persian months, as Burton copied them from this source, are as follows: Pharphardin Ardempas, Chortat, Tourma, Mertat, Mechrir, Apan, Afer, Ntai,\(^{23}\) Mpachman, Auphantar. Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Graeca, iv, pp. 147-148, 151, 152, mentions as writers on Persian chronology Achmet and Mazunates (both probably Greek translations from Persian or Arabic), and Astrampsychos.\(^{24}\) Whether their work is of value would be hard to say. In view of the treatises of Achmet and Astrampsychos which have already been edited, their reliability would seem doubtful. But the passages which I have rendered from the Greek of Chrysokokkes, Argyros, and the anonymous author seem to me to be well worth the attention of that noble community who preserve unsullied the ancient creed of their holy prophet, Zarathushtra.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

\(^{21}\) Scaliger corrects to 813.

\(^{22}\) Consult also Lagarde, pp. 229-230.

\(^{23}\) The combination \(nt\) is to be pronounced \(d\), and \(mp\) is equivalent to \(b\) as in Modern Greek.

\(^{24}\) See further Krumbacher, p. 630, Usener, pp. 24-26, and the passage from the Greek translation of Samps Mponchares (apparently Shams ud-Din as-Samarqandi—not al-Bukhari, cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 16) edited by the latter scholar, p. 22.
THE LITERAL WORDING OF THE GĀTHAS.

These hymns, being unique, epoch making and also unrivalled in the richness of their historical connection, should be learned carefully by all Parsis, for their difficulties lie chiefly in matters of close interpretation, there being a mass of important meaning in them which is not disputed among respectable scholars. One of the first, as well as one of the most useful duties of a close critic is to turn their consecutive words into Sanskrit. Many years ago I had completed such a translation, and I contributed one chapter of it to a memorial volume of an importance surpassing that of most works of the kind.

My translation of Yasna XXVIII, into Sanskrit will be found at page 153 of the Festgruss to the late Professor Rudolph von Roth the editor of the Vedic portion of the Great St. Petersburg Sanskrit dictionary.

It is now several years old for it was offered upon the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his doctorate. It might be improved here and there, but it possesses unusual authority owing to the place where it appeared; I having also received the special thanks of the great vedist for it in a letter.

Professor Oldenberg in citing it in his Vedic Religion, (see 37 note), remarks that it recalls an ancient Indian piece.

And he notes that the Avesta language is nearer to the Indian Sanskrit, than some of the various dialects of Greece are to each other. I append the Zend equivalents to two of these strophes so that the Parsis may see how near their ancient language is to that of their primeval kinsman. The chief difference to the eye is that all or many of the 'S' sounds of Sanskrit are 'h' in the Zend, just as so many of the sibilant sounds in French, Italian, etc. are 'h' sounds in Spanish. I gave a simple text omitting the accents as the latter can be added by any reader for himself; and, I not being in Germany at the moment, I could not have corrected the proof-sheets so easily.
The text is also simply pada. The sandhi was omitted in order to show the real forms; it can be read like the accents by every scholar for himself. Here are my Indian equivalents for strophe 6.

   Rshvāis tvam ukthāīs [su-]medhas Jāratuṣṭrāya (sic) ojasvat
   rābhās [ūṇi-dām]
   Asmabhyaṃ ca asura yena dvēśiṇas3 dvēśāṃsi tūrvema.

Here is the original Gātha:—

Vohu gaidi manauḥā dādī aśā-dāo dar(e)gāyū
Eresvaiś tū ukhduśai mazdā zarathuṣṭrāī aojōūvāt raf(e)nō.
Ahmaibyāca ahurā yā d(ai)bīshvato dvaēśāo taurvayāmā.

Here is strophe 7 in the Sanskrit.

Dehi [he] rta tām ṛtīm [iti kīla phalam punyam] vāsos
   [phalāni] āptāṃ manasas
Dehi tvam aramate Viṣhṭāpāya (sic) isham māhyam ca
Dās tvam [su-]medhas kshaya4 ca yena vas mantrāṃ5 gru-yaṃ6 radhaṃs.

And here is the Gātha:—

dādī ashā tām aśāṃ vaḥcūṣ āyaptā manauḥō
dādī tū ār(a)maite viṣṭāspāī aēṣem maibyācā
ādoṣtū, mazdā kshayācā, yā vē māθrā srevaṇmā rādānō.

I also contributed the Sanskrit equivalents of Yas. 44 to the Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists at Paris in 1897 which will be followed, as soon as I can in any manner secure the time, by Sanskrit equivalents for the other chapters long since standing in manuscript.

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1 Asha-dāo auch Voc. Sg.
2 Velleicht sollte das Neutr. dīrghāyútvam stehen, es fehlte aber dann das notwendige ca.
3 Oder vielleicht *dvēśhātās.
4 Imperativ von kāhī "verfuge" oder ein Vocativ im Sinne von "regierend."
5 Sonst = mantrāvatkād (mantrā)
6 Andere lesen vasyam ā rādā [sic]
Shakspere's vivid image of 'heaven's cherubim horsed on the sightless, couriers of the air' presents a picture that few readers of Macbeth will forget, whether or not some remote lines of the Psalms may possibly have suggested the simile. In general the conception of celestial chargers is familiar elsewhere. We need only recall the horses that draw the chariot of the sun in all mythologies, from India onward, or the old Germanic conception of the steeds of the Valkyries. Mithra, Sraosha and Anahita have their care in the Avesta. Herodotus, or is it Xenophon that alludes to this belief among the Persians. Dio Chrysostom (Bor. Orat. 36) tells of Zoroaster as chanting the praise of the chariot of the supreme god of the universe. The Pahlavi Bûndahishn pictures the Fravashis, or guardian spirits, as mounted 'on war horses' when they fought against Ahriman at the beginning of the world. But the conception of the archangelic Amshaspands as mounted or driving is one to which attention has not been called in detail, and yet the idea is old.

The mere mention of the subject naturally brings at once before the mind the representation of the Lord God Ormazd on the Sassanian bas-reliefs, where the divinity is portrayed as mounted on a charger and presenting the crown to Ardashir. The figure is familiar to all Iranian students.¹ But this is not all. In the Chapter on the conversion of King Vishtasp, in my 'Zoroaster' (p. 65), I have given the traditional account of how three of the Amshaspands, or Archangels, came from heaven to the palace of the king as witnesses from Ormazd himself to

the divinely-inspired message of the prophetic priest. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahist and the Propitious Fire (Bûrzhin-Mitrô, or Spênisht, Av. Spēnishta). Their glorious effulgence is so great that the palace of the king seems aflame with a blinding light; the courtiers trembled and all were filled with dread (cf. Dk. 7. 4. 76; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7). This part of the narrative is further colored by the later Persian Zartusht Nâmah which graphically describes the messengers as majestic knights on horseback, in cavalier style, bristling with armor and clad in green (Zt. N. p. 510, Wilson; so also the Dabistan, tr. Shea and Troyer, p. 257). The Zartusht Nâmah is late, but I now believe that this conception of the Archangels as mounted on horses, or driving, is as old as the Gâthâs themselves, if I rightly interpret a certain passage. I believe also that the Sassanian sculptor made no innovation, forced by art, when he represented Ormazd on horseback to match the figure of the king.

The passage in the Gâthâs to which I allude is Ys. 50. 7. The text in Geldner’s edition runs:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{at ve } yaojâ \quad ze \ v i \ š t y \ e \ ŋ \quad a u r v a t ô \\
& ja \ y ô \ i \ ř s \ p e r e l h u s \ v a h m a h yä \ yüšmäkahiä \\
& mazlã \ ašã \ ugrêng \ vohä \ mahañhã \\
& yäš azâthã \ mahmäi \ hyâlhã \ avanåhè
\end{align*}
\]

The three stanzas which directly precede this contain the Prophet’s devout appeal to Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas to bestow the longed-for revelation which shall guide the faithful to Paradise, to grant him their visible aid and manifest sanction (aili-doroštä dîrîyä avanåhã zastäištä) as well as to direct his tongue.

The old reading for aurvatô jayäš was urvatô jyäitô (Sp. Wg.). Professor Roth with his keen insight was the first to see that at least aurvatô was the better reading (ZDMG. xxv. 219; cf. also Millst Gâthâs p. 590). Professor Geldner’s edition of the Avesta proves this to have been right as his text and manuscript variations show. The reference is to horses, as Roth saw; and zevisṭyêng aurvatô means
A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON,

'favorite steeds, beloved chargers.' But in my judgment the allusion is not to be interpreted through the Veda alone, as Roth interpreted it, but rather through direct Zoroastrian tradition. The bas-relief of stone and the inscribed page of the later Persian book with its twisted letters must also be our commentary. The verse adds a new link to the chain of unbroken Iranian tradition. It shows us that the Prophet for the moment used not a general metaphor, but actually thought of these holy angels as mounted knights, or as driving, and this conception is the one that is later repeated. The rendering in this light would be:

'Your favorite steeds—the stocky, sturdy ones—I shall yoke up by speeding my prayer to you, O Ahura, Mazda, Asha and Vohu Manah, with which (steeds) ye shall drive hither. To my aid may ye come.'

As for details and single words, the adjective zevīštēyāŋ is rendered as elsewhere in accordance with the Pahlavi which connects with the word the idea of 'friendship, favor, etc., the attribute being a derivative from a root zu-, which I have mentioned elsewhere; for the formation compare Skt. yāvīstha.

The special term aurvātō, under consideration, is given in the Pahlavi by arvand; Neriosengh's Sanskrit version shows vēgēna 'with speed' (cf. Mills, Gāthās, p. 334). There can be little doubt any longer that Av. aurvānta has here the meaning 'horses'; we need only compare such passages as Ys. 57. 27 aurvānta, Yt. 10. 42 aurvānta aspa, or a half dozen other instances in Justi's Handbuch—see especially Ys. 11-2 aurvātāṃ yūkhtā 'a yoker of swift steeds'. The Pahlavi gloss there explains the word as 'war-horse' (cf. Spiegel, Neriosengh, p. 74, n. 8). Note also there the presence of the verbal root yuj-, in connection with aurvānt.

The instr. jayaś (for such is the oldest and best reading) is from a stem jaya- akin to Skt. hayā- from hi- a root which is used specially of urging on horses (e.g. R. V. 3. 53. 24), and then of sending forth a hymn (e.g. R. V. 2. 19. 7; 1. 184. 4). Prayers and praises shall be
the impulse to the divine beings to yoke their steeds. We must take yāṃmākahya objectively.

For perethāḥ one naturally thinks of Skt. prithū- which Roth rendered ‘breit,stämmig’ i.e., ‘broad, stocky, sturdy’—taking it as an attribute of the horses like ẓugrēṅ and ẓevīštēṅg. The Pahlavi version, it is true, sees in the word the meaning ‘bridge’ (vatarg). The variant readings of the Avestan manuscripts actually show also ẓerēṅ—see Geldner's footnotes. This can hardly be an allusion to the Chinvat Bridge; the plural and the sense speak against it, although attempts have been made to support both. If the ‘bridge’ notion be insisted on one might perhaps think of the word as being used metaphorically, or adjectivally, the horses being means of transferring from one place to another (cf. Skt. tarani-‘transferring,’ and then ‘raft boat, transport’) — but this seems far-fetched.

From the syntactical standpoint it remains only to add that aṣā and volū manaṅhā are cases of the special usage of the instrumental familiar in the Gāthās, and with yāiš we must understand aurvatīs.

At all events the interpretation of the passage in the way suggested above makes everything simple. Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentās have their steeds on occasions as well as the angels of the Yashts or the Fravashis in the Bûndahishn. The Zartusht Namah helps to clear up the Gāthās; the Sassanian bas-relief with its equestrian statue of Ormazd was not far astray. The picture which must have arisen before Zoroaster in his mind's eye as he chanted the Gāthā verse is clear; the godhead and the archangels seemed mounted, or ready to drive to his aid, as did the Fravashis of old on their chargers in the primeval war against Ahriman. The stanza itself would give a scene for the brush of an artist. Zoroaster, too, saw visions of heaven's cherubim horsed on the sightless couriers of the air!

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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF THE PAHLAVI VERSION OF YASNA XXXII,
The Fifth Chapter of the First Gātha.

INTRODUCTION.

The most trustworthy MSS., containing the Pahlavi text of the Gāthas, that still remain accessible, according to Geldner's researches, are those which he names K5 and its cousin J2, both written A.D. 1323, together with the brother MSS., Pt. 4 and Mf. 4, both copied about 1780, from an Iranian MS. written about 1178. These latter two MSS. may be roughly described as second cousins, once removed, of the former two, so far as our information extends.

The Pahlavi text for this transliteration and translation of the Gāthic Hā XXXII, has been obtained from Spiegel's edition, which represents K5, collated with the other three MSS. And, in the foot-notes, the letters S, J, P, M severally represent the MSS. K5, J2, Pt.4, Mf.4. When more than two of these four authorities agree in any reading, it is adopted, unless there be any special reason to the contrary, such as inconsistency with the Avesta text.

All the explanatory Pahlavi glosses are distinguished by being enclosed in parentheses; and the marginal notes of the original MSS., regarding the supposed speakers, are printed in italics, as headings to the stanzas, or the particular metrical lines, to which they appear to refer; but when the same marginal note is repeated, with reference to successive stanzas or lines, the unnecessary repetitions are not given. The age of these marginal notes is quite uncertain, but they must have existed in some common ancestor of the four MSS., most probably in the twelfth century; or they may have been introduced at the last real revision of the Pahlavi version, in the time of Khusrû Nôshirvân, probably about A.D. 530. In the translation, words that are merely understood but inserted to complete the sense, are also printed in italics; and when

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1 See his Avesta, Prolegomena, pp. XXIV—XXXIV.
the original Pahlavi word is quoted, its translation is often appended in italics, and marked as a parenthetical quotation.

It should be noticed that this is only a translation of the Pahlavi version, and is intended to show exactly how far the Persians understood the Avesta text in Sasanian times. For an admirable French paraphrase of the Avesta text itself, the reader should refer to Darmesteter's Zend-Avesta in the Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. XXI, pp. 234-242, which was prepared from the same authorities as I have used.

As the Südkar, Varshtmansar, and Bako Nasks were commentaries on the Gāthas, they might be expected to explain difficult passages; and the last two do often refer to, or quote from, the Pahlavi version, as may be seen on reference to Dinkard IX, chaps. XXXII and LIV, in S. B. E., vol. XXXVII.

E. W. WEST.
TRANSLITERATION OF PAHALVI YASNA XXXII.

KHVETUMAITO HATO BUN.
Fràz gòbîshnîh-i Zarâtûshhtar.

1. a. Zak-i jân-i valâ1 pivan khvêshîh bavîhûnast2, zak-i4 valâ5 vârûnih levatâ airmânîh ; (zak6 mozd-i7 Aûharmazd nafshâ shêdayû-c8 pavan denâ, aégh vûrûn9 va10 airmân11-i lak12 havâm, ashân ghâl13 bevhûnast14)


c. Lak16 góbâk yehvûnêm (aëgh, râyînitâr-i lak yehvûnêm17); 18 valâshûn9 yakhseenunêm mûn lekûm bêshûnêd (aëghshûn19 min20 lekûm lakhvûr yakhseenunêm).

2. a. Avo21 valâshûn (shêdâân) Aûharmazd pavan sardûrîh-i Vohûmanô22 (amatash Vohûmanô23 pavan tano mähmân yehvûntô24),

b. Min Khshatrover barâ pasukhvo gûfto26 va-Äharâyih-ic27 khûpo 28 hamkhîk-i nêvak kardo, (afôsh pavan tano mähmân29 yehvûnd, 30

Dôshishno-i Ameshôspendân-i sûd-aûmandân.

c. aëgh) Spendarmâd lekûm râi shapir dôshêm (bôndag-minishnih) 31 zak-i landâ aîto (aëghmân pavan tano mähmân32).

Pasukhvo-góbishnih-i Aûharmazd.

3. a. Aêdûno lekûm33 harvîspô34 (mûn35) shêdû havâdêd (atân36 min37 Akômanô (aito) tôkhmako38 (aëghtânô tôkhmako39 min tamâ aëgh Akômanô-c).
TRANSLATION OF PAHLAVI YASNA XXXII.

Beginning of the Chapter relating to Kindred.
Statement of Zarathushtr.

1. a. That life of his is begged for Kindred, that life of his for Serfdom with Confederacy; (that reward of Aûharmazd's own even the demons begged, for this reason, because "we are thy serf and confederate").

b. The demons of his are fancying as to me (thus: "our thought is as virtuous as Zarathushtr"), and that Joyfulness of Aûharmazd (is begged by them):

c. "We shall become thy testifiers (that is, we shall become thy promoters); we shall hold those who offend you (that is, we shall keep them away from you").

2. a. To those (demons) Aûharmazd, through the influence of Vohûmanô, (when Vohûmanô ("Good thought") became lodging in his body),

b. owing to Khshatrover ("desirable authority") exclaimed in reply, and made even the excellent Aharayih ("righteousness") a good companion (who also became lodging in his body,

Love of the Ameshôspends, the benefactors.

c. and thus he spoke:— "On your account we love the good Spendarmazd (complete mindfulness), her who is ours (that is, she is lodging in our bodies).

Reply speech of Aûharmazd.

3. a. "So, of all you (who) are demons (your) lineage (is) from Akômanô ("Evil-thought"), (that is, your lineage is from there where Evil-thought is also)."

22 It is just possible to read zak-1 and 1 va, "so much of his," but the authors of the Pahlavi version probably supposed that Avesta aqyâ bore much the same relationship to aônz as daqyu bore to daâhù.

22 S. omits o and va.
23 J. adds o.
24 S. adds yevvûnâd.
25 J. omits.
27 S. J. omits -le.
29 S. yehvuntò; J. bûdù.
31 S. J. inserts mûn.
32 S. J. adds tâno.
33 S. omits o.
Frāz-gobishnīk-i Auḥarmanzād.

b. Mūn-ic lekūm (shēdāān) kābed yezbekhūnēd, dōjānōtār va-avar-minishntar (yehvūnēd) ;

c. Sagītūnīnēd mān min akharīh-i zak frādivishno, (aēghmān Zarātūshṭar yehbūnd), mūntāno asrāyishnīh (yehbūnd) pavan būmī VII.

4. a. Mūn mīn zak ayūjishno (zak-i frārūno-ih yekavimūnēd) pavan zak-i kolā 2 mindavam minōg va-stīh) ash frāz minishno vardīnēd (aēghash bārā frēved; afash minishno barā avo vinās kārāno vardīnēd) anshūtā sarītar dānishno yehvūnēd (-tūshākās).

b. Mūn yemalelūnd zak shēdāān dēshūdo (aēgh, mindavam pavan avāyast shēdāān yemalelūnd) ashāno Vohūman sīshd (aēghshān mīn rakhīk).

c. 22Zak-i Auḥarmanzād khirado nasīnēnd va-aharāyīth-ic (aēgh, tapāh bārā vabīdūnānd).


b. Mūn lekūm sarītar minishno, mūn shēdayāv hāvāč, atāno sarītar minishno,

c. aftān sarītar kūnishno va-gōbishno mūn frāz cāshūdo (avo aishāno aēgh : Min āno ) druvand (gōnak minēg) pādōkhshāyīh.

Frāz-gobishnīh-i Zarātūshṭar.

6. a. Kābed kōnigān kēno bevīhūnī-alt (aēgh, vināskārān pādāfrās vāvidūnūn) mūn srūdo yekavimūnēd (mūn gūst yekavimūnēd aēgh) : amat valāshān asār ; (aēgh, pādāfrās pavan zak demāno bōndak bārā vābidūnānd, amat rūbīn lakhvār avo tān yehbūnd).

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1 S. adds o. 2 S. drūjūtar. 3 S. omits va. 4 J. adds o.
5 J. adds i. 6 J. fradītār. 7 J. dādo. 8 P. M. aēghtān.
9 P. M. place these three words after yehbūnd.
10 J. zak-i ; P. M. omit. 11 P. M. omit i. 12 J. adds o.
13 J. omits i. 14 J. var’zinēd. 15 J. marādūm ; P. adds i.
TRANSLATION, §§ 3.6—6.1.  

Further speaking of Aůharmazd.

b. "Whoever, too, worships you (demons) much (becomes) more lying and more arrogant;

c. and makes us go away from the consequence of that deceit, (that Zaratusht produced for us), which (occasions) a want of listening to you, in the land of the seven (regions).

4. a. As to him who is of that assembly, (his virtue remains in the affairs of both the spiritual and worldly existences); his thoughts you further change, (that is, you quite deceive him ; you also pervert his mind into committing sin), and the man (who is ill-informed) becomes worse-informed.

b. "As to them who speak what is loved by the demons (that is they speak anything by desire of the demons), Vohumanô ("Good-thought ") is abandoned by them, (that is, far from them).

c. "They drive away the wisdom of Aůharmazd and Righteousness also, (that is, they shall complete their own destruction).

5. a. "As to both these you deceive mankind, as to virtuous living and immortal progress, (that is, you speak to mankind thus: 'When living is desirable, there will be no absence of life in our way.' )

b. "Whatever is the very evil thought of you, who are the demons is worse thought through you.

c. "and your very evil deed and speech, which you proclaim (to others thus: as 'owing to his), the wicked, (smiting spirit's) predominance.' "

Further speaking of Zaratusht.

6. a. Vengeance on many malicious ones is demanded (that is, inflicting the punishment of sinners), which is recited (which is said to be thus) : when they are eternal (that is, they shall fully inflict punishment at the completed time, when they give back the soul to the body.)
b. Āshkārako āmārīnīdār, Āuhrāmazdā! (aēgh, pavan vinās va-
kirfako2 āmār valādanyēn2)4 va-zak-i pāhlūm ākās-i pavan Vohūmano5 (mozd khavītūnēd, aēgh, avo mūn avāyedo6 yehabūntan6).


7. a. Valāshān kēnīg lā mindavam ākās havād zakh15 zanishno rōshanā (aēgh, pādafrās pavan rūbān16 mā cand lā khavītūnd).

b. Mūn17 zanishno āmūkhtēnd (zakh15 miudavam āmūkhtēnd zishān pavan rūbān16 zanishno yehvūnēd16) mūn srūdo yekavīmūnēd (aēgh): “Pavan zakī18 and asīno (ashān gazzēd.5)”


8 a. Valāshān shēdāān, kēnīg vināskār zak-i Vīvagḥānān Yim srūdo20,

b. mūnash21 avo22 anshūtāān čašūdā25 (aēgh) : “Lanākān26 bīsravā pavan banjīshno25 vashtamūnēd26 (ham-āzako23 anshūtā27 pavan sinok-23 masā29 bāzā-masāi).”

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1 J. omits va.
2 S. omits o.
3 P. vahīdānūnād.
4 P. omits va.
5 S. omits o.
6 P. M. adds o.
7 P. ḡanā, M. ānā.
8 J. P. M. omits o.
9 P. M. adds i.
10 P. M. pādōkshāyīh.
11 S. adds 1.
12 M. adds o.
13 P. M. amat.
14 S. J. adds o.
15 J. adds i.
16 P. M. amat.
17 P. M. omits.
18 S. riftak, J. riftak, P. M. riftako; but the Avesta word is irīkhtem, which indicates the Pahlavi term airikhtak, applied to persons incrūminated by suffering injury while undergoing an ordeal.
b. Manifest is the accountant, O Aûharmazd! (that shall prepare the account, as to sin and good works), and he who is best aware, who exists in Vohûmanô; (the reward he knows, that is, to whom it is necessary to give it).  

7. a. Those who are malicious are not aware of anything elucidating that infliction (that is, they do not know what, or how much, punishment is for the soul).

b. They who explain the infliction (teach the thing which constitutes an infliction for their own souls), which is recited (thus):—"In so much melted iron (he tortures them)."

c. Which of them is really he who is incriminated thou art aware, O Aûharmazd! (that is, thou knowest the punishment even of him who is very sinful).

8. a. Of those demons, a malicious sinner heard Yim, him who was son of Vivaûhâo,

b. by whom it was explained to men (thus): "He eats the meat of our people in portions (equally greedy with the lapfuls and armfuls of mankind 30)."

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20 S. J. omit o.  
21 P. M. mân.  
22 M. vâld.  
23 S. omits o.  
24 S. landğânô.  
25 S. nabişhâno; J. P. M. bajishno.  
26 S. omits o.  
27 S. va-anshâtâno; P. M. mardâm.  
28 S. sinô.  
29 P. M. prefix va.  
30 Probably referring to the legend of King Jamshûd and the demon beggar with an insatiable appetite; told in the Persian Rivâyat of Dârâb Hormazyâr, folios 347-8 of the copy in the Bombay University Library.
Doshishno-i Zaratâshtr.

c. Valâshân-ic bên (zak-i¹ Gâsânînô-i) li (pavan Gâsânînîh barâ dôshîdo³) lak, Aûharmazd! barâ vijîdo⁴ akhar (aêgh, lak-ic, pavan khûp⁵ dâshto).

Gar’ishno-i Zaratâshtr.

9. a. Pavan dûsh-âmûjishnih-i⁶ srôbô (ashân) merencînîd (shêdàan⁷) valá (mûn zak-i) zîvishn-aûmand khirado âmûkhto (avo aûshân). (Aîto mûn aêdûno yemalelûnêdʰ⁸-aê :) “srôbô (ashân) merencînîdo⁹ valâ.”

b. (mûnshân) barâ¹⁰ zak-i li ishti¹¹ avôrdô¹² (padmânô-i¹³ kardo¹⁴ dâshto-i¹⁵ khvástako²-i pavan dastôbar-i li avâyedo¹⁶ dâshtano-i amat shâyedo¹⁶ dâshtano, pavan zak râs shâyedo⁴ dâshtano)-i âr’zûko⁴ aîto¹⁰ pavan Vohûmanô,⁴ (aêgh, amat pavan frârûnîh¹² yakhsenund avâyishnit).

c. Pavan valâshân milâyâ-i minogîhâ, Aûharmazd-i Ashavahishtô,⁴ avo lekûm gar’zid¹⁷ (aêgham gâsânînîh¹⁸ là rûbâk; li-e gar’zam).

10. a. Valâ¹⁹ gabrâ avo dên-i²⁰ li srôbô merencînishno yehabûnd²¹ (aêghash arûbêkîh²² avo dênô yehabûnd) mûnash sarîtâr pavan²³ vênishno yemalelûntô²⁴ ;

b. gôspend pavan kolâ 2 az ash,²⁵ va²⁶-khûshêdo-c;²⁷ amat-ic-ash dahishno²⁸ avo drevandân yehabûnd²⁹ (afôsh merencînishno yehabûnd³⁰).

c.³¹ Amat-ic-ash vâstär viyâpânînîd (aêghash tapâh barâ kardo, afôsh merencînishno³² yehabûnd³³; amat-ic-ash, pavan pêdàkîh, khandahgânî yehabûnda³⁴ aho aharûbân³⁵ aêghash âshkârako⁴ avo³⁴ khvâsto³⁵-aûmand afôsh merencînishno yehabûntô).

¹ P. M. omit i. ⁴ S. omits o. ⁷ P. M. shêdâ-c. ¹⁰ J. omits. ¹³ S. omits i; P. M. omit o. ² P. M. omit o. ⁵ P. adds o. ⁸ J. adds o. ¹¹ J. ishto. ¹⁴ P. M. kardano. ³ S. J. M. dôshidano. ⁶ J. omits i. ⁹ M. omits o; S. has i. ¹² M. omits o. ¹⁵ P. omits o-i.
Love of Zarathushtra.

c. Those, too, among (them, who thoroughly loved) my (Gāthas, as Gāthic lore) are selected afterwards by thee, O Aūharmazd! (that is, are considered, even by thee, as good).

Complaint of Zarathushtra.

9. a. Through the evil teaching of assertion, that faith is destroyed (by them, the demons, which the) wisdom (that is) living, taught (to others). There are some who would state thus: "assertion, that faith is destroyed (by them),"

b. (by whom) that property of mine is snatched away (the agreement made is maintained, which is the needful that is necessary for the maintenance of my highpriest, whom, when it is possible to keep, it is proper to maintain in that way) which is desired by Vohūmanō, (that is, when they maintain him with propriety, it is desirable).

c. As to those words which spiritually, O Auharmazd! are Ashavāhishto's it is complained to you (that my Gāthic lore is not progressive; I, too, complain).

10. a. That man produced destruction to this word of mine, (that is, want of progress is produced for the religion by him) who is called very evil in his look;

b. at cattle with both of his eyes, and even at the sun; also when a gift is presented by him to the wicked, (and destruction is produced thereby).

c. Also when pasture is made a desert by him, (that is, its devastation is accomplished, and destruction is produced thereby); also when, in publicity, jeers at the righteous are produced by him, (that is, publicly, at any one petitioning him, and destruction is produced thereby).

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15 S. J. omit o. 17 P. M. add o. 18 S. omits ih. 19 S. anc.
20 S. omits l; J. has o. 21 S. adds o. 22 J. omits l. 23 S. l.
24 S. omits o; P. M. gâfto. 25 J. as. 26 J. P. add o. 27 P. prefixes va.
28 P. M. gâh. 29 S. omits. 30 S. M. prefixe va. 31 J. omits.
32 P. M. omit o.
11. a. Valdšan-ic\(^1\) avo (den-d\(^2\))\(^2\) li merencinishno yehabûnd (aêgh, arûbâkih avo (dênô yehabûnd) mûn zivishu-aûmandih\(^3\) (ymalelûnd aêgh amat\(^4\) zivastano shâyedо pavan râs-i lanûd) va-drevand havad va\(^5\)-pavan masih\(^6\) kâhinênd, vatarîh-ic\(^7\) (aêgh, pavan\(^8\) pêsêhûpâyîh\(^9\) va-pasûpâyîh\(^10\) vinås vabdûnûnd).\(^11\)

b. Kadak-khûdâi, gâbrâ nêshâ (ymalelûnd, aêgh : "Mânpatâno\(^12\) mânpat\(^13\) havâdèm); va-avôrênd\(^14\) zak-î rêkhen-ic\(^15\) vîndishno \(^16\); (aêgh anshûtâ pavan staham vakhdund,\(^17\) aêgh khvâstak badra avo hamih yehabûnêd\(^4\)).

c. Mûn zak-î valê-î\(^18\) pahlûm aharûbo; Aûharmazd\(^19\) ash\(^20\) barâ hinkhitûnd; ash râdîh rêsêhûnênd-i pavan Vohûman\(^21\) (aêgh, nihâdako-i\(^22\) shapîrân, pavan frârûnoîh\(^16\) hinkhitûnd barâ ramîtûn-i\(^22\) aharmôk.

12. a. Mûn rêsî srâyênd, pahlûm kûnishno avo anshûtâan\(^25\) (sästärâno\(^16\) apadmân-kûshishnih); 
b. Avo valdshân, Aûharmazd zanishno güfto\(^21\) mûn min zak-î\(^24\) gôspendân\(^*\) merencinishno\(^21\) aûrvâkhmanih,\(^25\) ymalelûnd, va-zivîshn-aûmandih.

c. Valdshân, Grehmako\(^21\) min Aharâyih dôshaktar, mûn Karapo (havâd; aêghshân\(^26\) khvâstako\(^21\) shapîr medamûnêd\(^3\) aêgh kâr va\(^27\)-kîrfako); va\(^27\)-khûdâyîh bavîhûnd pavan drûjishno\(^28\) (pavan avârûnîh).

13. a. Mûn khûdâyîh pavan Grehmako\(^21\) bavîhûnêd\(^4\) (aêgh, pâdakhshâyih\(^29\) pavan párako bavîhûned) ash zak-î\(^18\) sarîtar bên demôn pavan minishno, (aêgh pavan aê\(^30\) minishno bavîhûnêd\(^4\) aêgh : "100 barâ yehabûnâm,\(^31\) va\(^32\)-200 lakhvâr yansebûnâm\(^33\)-ê).

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11. a. Those, too, produce destruction for (these of) mine (that is, they produce want of progress for the religion) who (say that) the possession of life is (“when it is possible to live in our way”), and they are wicked and reduce in superiority, even through iniquity (that is, they would commit sin in leadership and vassalage).  

b. To the householder, man or woman, (they speak thus: “We are the over-house-owners,” and) they appropriate that acquirement also, (that is, they seize the person with violence, so that he gives up the wealth to their hoard).

c. Whatever is his who is perfectly righteous, O Aûharmazd! (is fully established by him; his liberality,) which is through Vohûman, they render harmful; (so that the decision of the good, settled through virtue, is the casting away of the apostate).

12. a. Whoever assert that wounding is the best work for human beings, (the immoderate fighting of tyrants);  

b. for them Aûharmazd announced punishment. Also for those whose joyfulness and possession of life, they say, is (owing to) the slaughter of cattle.

c. Also for those who (are) Karaps, Grehmako (“Greed”) is dear than Righteousness (that is, wealth seems to them better than duty and good works), and they seek authority through falsehood, (through wickedness).

13. a. Also for him who seeks authority through Greed, (that is, seeks predominance through a bribe), that which is very evil is in residence in his mind (that is, in this mind, he claims that “I shall give up 100, and I should take back 200”).

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20 S. J. deud.  
23 J. adds o; P. M. add ac.  
25 J. has ishno for lb.  
28 J. drûjinishno.  
30 P. M. hanâ.  
33 J. P. M. omit ã.  
31 S. omits o.  
22 M. ramltund.  
23 P. M. omits 1.  
26 S. adds o.  
29 S. shalltíûh; P. M. pôdôkhabâyih.  
31 J. omits.  
28 S. J. omit va.  
26 Compare Dinkard VII, viii. 36.  
25 Íbid., 37.
b. Ahvân¹ mercençinidâr havâd (âegh, gâs-i² tamâ barâ taçâmânênd), mun (pavan zak-i valâ)³ zak-ie-i Aûharmabd (zanishno)⁴ gâr'zishno kâmako⁵; (âegh, pavan zak shalitâîh⁶ zyash⁷ aîto, ashân⁸ zak avâyedo⁹ amat anshûtâ,⁹ aêvako levatê tanê, ghal kûshênd).

c. Mûn pavan âc-i¹⁰ lak¹ mûnsar gôbâk havâd, (âegh, pêshûpâî¹¹-i pavan dêno havâd) valâshânash¹² päyênd¹³ min nikêzishno-i Aharâyîh; (âeghshaharmok,¹⁴ min kûr va-kirfakô-karênd, ghal pûdirânênênd.¹⁵).

14.  a. Valê (mûn¹⁶) pavan Grehmak¹⁷ masîh, barâ pavan zak-i Kêvîghân¹⁷ khûrado, barâ yehabûnêd¹ (mûn shalitâîh⁶ pavan¹³ pârak yehabûnêd¹ pavan khîrado-i¹⁹ valâshân²⁰ mûn, pavan mindavam-i²¹ shân,²² kûr va-kur).²³

b. Pavan zak-i² vari-javân (âavûn¹⁴ dânâkân²⁴) va-frêh-dévânân²⁵, (mûn, pavan âavûnish, hanband-i²⁶ pavan²⁷ babû²⁸ yakhsenund); va-amat-ie pûdirênd âno²⁹ drevandân aîyyârîh, (ac pavan khîrado-i valâshân yehvûnêd¹.)

c. Va-amat-ie³¹ avo tôrâ zanishno güftô: "mûnash³² zak-i³³ bên, zak-i dûraôsh güftô³⁴ avo³⁵ aîyyârîh" (ac pavan khîrado-i³⁶ valâshân yehvûnêd³⁷).

Fraz-gôbîshnih-i Zaratûshhtar.

15.  a. Anyâtûnishnih³⁸ râî (amat barâ avo dêno lâ yâtûnd) barâ aûbêno³⁹ yehvûnd, mûn Kîg⁴⁰ va-Karapo havâd;

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1 J. adds o.  
2 S. omits i.  
3 J. âno.  
4 P. M. prefix va.  
5 S. omits o.  
6 P. M. pûdôkshâyih.  
7 J. ash.  
8 S. J. ash.  
9 P. M. marûm.  
10 P. M. hanâ-i.  
11 S pêshvihi; J. pêshupâî.  
12 P. M. add o.  
13 P. M. netûnd.  
14 S. Kûgân; J. Kûgân.  
15 S. P. M. omit.  
16 P. M. omit.  
17 J. omit i.  
18 P. M. insert yehvûnei.  
19 S. J. P. omit i.  
20 S. adds o.  
21 S. J. add o.  
22 S. ash.  
23 P. M. have kar va kûr.  
24 J.; P. M. have dûvâa; S. reads dûvâa.  
25 J. adds o.

1 J. adds o.  
2 S. omits i.  
3 J. âno.  
4 P. M. prefix va.  
5 S. omits o.  
6 P. M. pûdôkshâyih.  
7 J. ash.  
8 S. J. ash.  
9 P. M. marûm.  
10 P. M. hanâ-i.  
11 S pêshvihi; J. pêshupâî.  
12 P. M. add o.  
13 P. M. netûnd.  
14 S. Kûgân; J. Kûgân.  
15 S. P. M. omit.  
16 P. M. omit.  
17 J. omit i.  
18 P. M. insert yehvûnei.  
19 S. J. P. omit i.  
20 S. adds o.  
21 S. J. add o.  
22 S. ash.  
23 P. M. have kar va kûr.  
24 J.; P. M. have dûvâa; S. reads dûvâa.  
25 J. adds o.
b. They are destroying existence, (that is, they cause the complete ruin of yonder world), whose desire is the (oppression and) lamentation of those even of Ahîarmaed, (through those who are theirs; that is, in that dominion which is his, it is convenient for them, when the people fight together, one with the other).

c. Whoever are testifying as to this sacred text of thine (that is, are leading in religion), they exclude such a one from the exposition of Righteousness; (that is, they hinder its apostate from performing duty and good works).

14. a. He (who) gives away greatness through Greed, has only the wisdom of the Kêvis; (whoever gives predominance for a bribe is, as regards wisdom, one of those who are blind and deaf in their affairs).

b. As to those who are conspicuous (those wickedly wise) and those of many demons, 30 (a collection of which they keep at the door for wickedness); and even when they accept the assistance of those wicked ones (it occurs really through their astuteness).

c. And also when, at the slaughter of an ox, it is said "whoever be he that is about it, he who is called 'death-preventing' is for assistance" (it occurs really through their astuteness).

Further speaking of Zaratûshtr.

15. a. On account of not coming (when they do not come into this religion), but become heedless, they who are Kgâs and Karaps;
E. W. West, Transliteration, §§ 15.b.—16.c.,

b. aëdûno valâshân madam amat bevihûnd\(^1\) (aëghshân\(^2\) denâ mindavam\(^3\) avo\(^4\) nafshâ yehabûnd\(^5\)) mûnshân\(^6\) là zîndagih pavan shalitaâh kâmak\(^6\) (aëghshân\(^7\) pavan shalitaâi nafshâ zîndagih-i aîshân\(^2\) là avâyed).

c. Avo valâ-i lak\(^8\) valâshân\(^2\) kolâ 2 debrunând\(^9\) (avo valâ-\(^{10}\) lak asrûn Khûrdado\(^11\) Amûr dad\(^12\)) bèn zak-i Vohûmanô\(^13\) démon (bèn Garûdmanô\(^14\)).

16. a. Ham-aëdûno, cîgûn pâhlûm pavan farâkhû\(^15\) hûshîh (pavan dânâk hûshîh) âmûkhtishno\(^16\) zakh dâhâm shâe (\(^{17}\) vêh mard shâe),

b. Pavan shalitaâi\(^19\) Amûhrmazd amat, pavan zak-î valâ\(^19\) (damâno\(^20\)) zak-î li (hâvishto) âshkârako\(^11\) (yehvûned\(^21\) zak-\(^{22}\)) pavan gûmûnigîh\(^23\);

c. Amat këno\(^11\) avo drevandân (âcgh, vinâskârâno\(^20\) pâdafrâs\(^24\) valîdûnând\(^\prime\), valâ-î pûnâ khvâstâr (mûn\(^{25}\) avistâk\(^{26}\) va-zand yemale-lûnêd\(^2\)) ar'janigîh\(^27\) (aëghshân mozd yehabûnd).

\(^1\) P.M. yehabûnd. \(^2\) J. adds o. \(^3\) M. adds t. \(^4\) J. ghâl.
\(^5\) P. amatshân. \(^6\) J. adds o; P.M. omit the word.
\(^7\) S. adds o; P. M. omit this and the four following words, including zîndagih-i.
\(^8\) J. has valâ va-avo lako. \(^9\) S. J. debrûnd; P. debrûnyûn.
\(^10\) J. omits f.
\(^11\) S. omits o. \(^12\) J. adds o; M. prefixes va.
\(^13\) P. M. omit o.
b. Thus, though they petition\(^*\) (that this thing be given to their own), whose desire is no life in their dominion, (yet, in their own dominion, the life of others is not necessary for them).

c. As to him who is thine, they shall, both of them, convey him (attaching Khûrdad and Amûr dad to him who is thine) into the dwelling of Vohûmanô, (into Garôdmânô, "the supreme heaven ").

16. a. So likewise, as the best in wide intellect (in wise intelligence) is the teaching which should be the devotee's (which should be the good man's),

b. through the authority of Aûharmâzd, when, at the (time) of his, that (disciple) of mine (becomes) revealed, (he who is) in privacy;

c. when retribution is for the wicked (that is, they shall inflict the punishment of the sinner); and for him: whose mouth is a supplicant (who recites the Avesta and Zand) there is requital (that is, they give him a reward).

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\(^*\) Alluding probably to the begging for eternal life, mentioned in § 1.7.
It will be seen from this translation, that the Pahlavi translators had a fairly practical knowledge of the Gāthic dialect of the Avesta. Their usual mode of proceeding seems to have been, first to divide each metrical line into two or three phrases which they could understand; each of these they then translated into a Pahlavi sentence, to which they generally appended a Pahlavi paraphrase, to make the meaning clearer, for which purpose they also inserted occasionally some additional Pahlavi words, not expressed in the Avesta text. Now and then, an alternative translation is introduced by such words as "there are some who would state thus:" implying either difference of opinion, or subsequent revision. These alternative translations are very rare in the Pahlavi Gāthas; one occurs above in § 9 a, and another will be found in Yasna XXIX, 11 c; but they are much more frequent in the Pahlavi Vendidad; difference of opinion on matters of ritual being more usual than on matters of doctrine.

As most sentences in Pahlavi can be translated in more than one way, the paraphrases are very useful for determining the correct meaning of the Pahlavi text; but, even with their assistance, and that of the Avesta text, it is difficult to avoid errors in an English translation, although the meaning of nearly every word in the Pahlavi version is well-ascertained.

The Avesta word Gerehmo, which occurs thrice in this chapter, is merely transcribed into its Pahlavi form Grehmako, and is variously explained by the Pahlavi glosses. In § 12 c it is defined as a wish for "wealth" to be obtained by the use of unlawful authority. In § 13 a it is explained as "bribe given" to obtain authority for extortionate usury. And in § 14 a it is interpreted as "a bribe accepted" for giving such authority. In all three cases, therefore, Gerehmo was understood by the Pahlvi translator as a desire to obtain illicit or extortionate gain. The best English word for expressing this desire seems to be "Greed," and this appears to agree with the probable etymology of the Avesta word. It was twice translated as "a devouring" in SBE. vol. XXXVII, p. 259.

E. W. WEST.
Avesta Vārema.

In Yasna 10, 14 of my edition I have written vārem acaire. It would have been better if I had written vārema acaire, although the difference between the two readings is only slight. According to the metre, vārema is trisyllabic, thus vārem-a, not vār(e)ma. The a is the shortened preposition ā which serves here either as a verbal prefix or as a postposition: thus vārem-ā or vārem ā-stands for vārem ā or vārem ā-(prefix ā). The a in vārema is analogous to that in nmānay-ā "in the house," i.e. nmāne ā; but in acaire it is analogous to that in ā-vazaiti (Jackson, An Avesta Grammar, §239 and 18 Note 1). In any case the stem of the word is not vāremen (Justi) but vāra, and our form vārema in Yasna 10, 14 is not to be separated from vārema in Yasht 17, 2. Some future scholar who is so fortunate as to solve the riddle of the difficult passage Yasht 5, 130 will probably identify the word vārema which occurs there with both the other instances.

The Pahlavi Translation paraphrases vārema or vārem in Yasna 10, 14 by vārōm or vālōm, and implies in a gloss that a portion of the human body is meant by the word. This vālōm is found again in the sixth book of the Dinkard, cf. West in Sacred Books, XVIII., p. 270, note 3. From the context vārōm must there signify 'heart' and a gloss in one MS. actually adds the word Jādil 'heart' in the margin as West kindly informs me. This gives the key to vārema, and the Veda corroborates in this case what the Parsi tradition teaches. Avesta vāra answers to Skt. hṛḍ in meaning. Now in the Veda hṛḍ is conceived of (1) as the seat of understanding. In the fine Varuṇa hymn, for example, we read in the second strophe (Rv. 5, 85, 2)

*hṛtsu kratuīn Varuno āpsu agni
divi sūryam udadhāt sōman ̀ādron.

"Vāruna has placed the understanding in the heart, he has placed Agni in the waters, the sun in heaven, and Soma on the mountain."
Similarly in Yasht 17, 2 it is said of Ashi Vaũuhi: uta hē āsnem khra-tām ava-baraiti vāremā “and she places natural understanding in their hearts (i. e., of the Saoshyants).”

In the second place (2) in the Veda ḥṛd is used in a more anatomical sense as the place of the draughts of Soma that have been taken into the stomach. We have frequent mention of the soma ṣaṭo ṣītā vak-ha, e.g. Rv. 1, 168, 3, 179, 5; also 8, 48, 12. Especially interesting is a verse that has been constantly misunderstood. I refer to 8, 2, 12:

hrīṣo ṣītā ṣudhyante
durmaddāso na surāyām
ūḥhar na nagnā jarante

“The soma draughts that have been quaffed contend with each other in the heart (= stomach) just like people who are very drunk from brandy; they (the soma draughts) keep active (wakeful) like naked persons all the night (from cold).”

I now attempt once more to render the difficult passage, Yasna 10, 14, varying somewhat from the Pahlavi translation.

mā me yatha ṣaṭo ḍrafshe
āsitā vāremā caile,
frasho frayāntu te madhó;
verezyaṇuḥdapañhō jaseṇu.

‘Do not go to my heart (i.e. stomach) too quickly like the cow as liquid (i.e., the milk); but let thy inspiring effects reach farther; let them come with a good conscience.’ The good conscience of the haoma-drinker is the consciousness of having fulfilled a good work, namely, the pure ecstasy which the haoma produces in contrast to the wretched intoxication, the evil effects and remorse (‘moralischer Katzenjammer’) which the other drinks produce yōi aṣhma hacīnte ḥṛvām ḍrō (Yas. 10, 8).

K. F. GELDNER.
VENDIDAD XVIII.

1. "Denn es gibt vielerlei Leute," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra; (darum merke dir:) mit Unrecht trägt den Penom, wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, falschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."


3. "Mit Unrecht trägt den Baum(zweig), wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, falschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

4. "Zum Schaden handhabt die Geissel,1 wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, falschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

5. "Wer die ganze Nacht über schläft, ohne den Yasna zu beten oder (die Gāthās) herzusagen, ohne zu memorieren oder zu amtieren ohne zu lernen oder zu Lehren, um den zu besiegen, der nach dem (ewigen) Leben trachtet2, der nennt sich falschlich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

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1 Das sonst aspaka ashtā genannte Instrument. mairəm (Adv. von mairya) ist eine durch den Zusammenhang gebotene Steigerung von ainti (= Skt. anyathā 'falschlich ungehört, unerlaubt' vgl. Daśakumārāca, p. 161, 21 tām asdv anyathābhya-manayata 'jener trug unerlaubte Glaste nach ihr'.)

2 Den Ahriman. 'Wacht und betet, dass ihr nicht in Anfechtung fallet,' Matthäus 26, 41.
6. "Den sollst du Priester nennen," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra, der die ganze Nacht über die rechte Wissenschaft zu Rathe zieht, die vor der Enge bewahrt und die Richterbrücke weit macht,1 die ein gutes Gewissen giebt, die zum (ewigen) Leben, die zum Asha und zum besten (Ort) im Paradies führt.''

7. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegnet er werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst.''

8. Es fragte Zarathushtra den Ahura Mazda: "Ahura u. s. w. gerechter, was2 ist der schleichende Verderber''? 


10. "Und wer mir diesen Mann, wenn er in Noth gerathen ist, wieder zum Wohlergehen verhilft, der thut kein bessres Werk, als wenn er ihm die Kopfhaut aufweltete.''

1 "Die Brücke wird für den Gerechten so weit, als die Höhe von nunmehr Specren beträgt, und für den Bösen wird sie so schmal wie die Schneide eines Rasirmessers" Dádistân-i-Dinik 21, 5.

2 Kâ nom. sg. fem., weil dem Fragenden bereits die Antwort—aghâ daéña in 9 vorschwebt.

3 Auch hier ist die Grammatik ganz korrekt; P. V.: durch den Lehrer des falschen Glaubens; zu disya Lehrer, vgl. daéna-disó daénáyâi Y. 57, 23. Mit disyô ist unmittelbar das folgende yô zu verbinden.

4 D. h. er erweist ihm eine ebenso grosse Wohlthat, als wenn er ihm die Kopfhaut abzöge, wörtlich — seinen Kopf zu einem machte, dessen Haut aufgeweitet wird. P. V. pêt pahnâ kamôr kart, was wörtlich in Ardâ Virât 21, 2 als kamôr pêt pahnâ vádûnâ wiederkehrt. West: the skin of whose head they widen out, that is, they flay his head. Schon Anquetil du Perron bezog Vend. 18, 10 sowie die ähnlichen Stellen Vend. 3, 20 und 9, 49 auf das Abziehen der Haut. Die sonderbare Wohlthat, die hier dem Irrlehrer er-
11. "Denn für einen einzigen bösen, unfrommen Irrlehrer ist der Gruss ein Kniestoss, für zwei die herausgestückte Zunge, für der gar keiner, vier verwunsten sich selbst."


13. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."


15. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: Der Vogel, der da Paródarsh (Hahn) heisst, o Spitama Zarathushtra, den die übelredenden Menschen Kahrkatás (Kikeriki) nennen. Und dieser Vogel erhebt seine Stimme um das zunehmende Frühroth:


1 Zánu drójďa heisst wörtlich: 'wobei Verlängerung des Kniest stattfindet' hínu drójďa 'wobei Verlängerung der Zunge stattfindet'; vgl. Vend. 13, 48. Der Sina ist: wenn man einem solchen Irrlehrer begegnet, so giebt man ihm statt des Segensgrusses einen Fußtritt, zweiem streckt man mit mehr Vorsicht nur die Zunge heraus, bei dreiem unterlässt man am besten jede Beleidigung, und bei vierem ist das überhaupt nicht nötig denn vier Irrlehrer sind niemals einträchtig, sondern beschimpfen sich gegenseitig.

17. "Verschlafet³ nicht die drei besten Dinge, gutgedachten Gedanken, gutgesprochenes Wort, gutgethanes Werk, verschlafet die drei schlimmsten Dinge, bösegedachten Gedanken, bösegesprochenes Wort, bösegethanes Werk!"

18. Und für das erste Drittel der Nacht bittet mein, des Ahura Mazda, Feuer den Hausherrn: 

19. "Zu Hilfe¹! stehe auf, o Hausherr! Ziehe deine Kleider an, wasche deine Hände, hole Brennholz, lege es für mich an und ziehe mich an reinem Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Azi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen skulle.⁴"

20. Und für das zweite Drittel der Nacht bittet mein, des Ahura Mazda, Feuer den Viehbauern:

21. "Zu Hilfe, stehe auf, o Viehbauer! Ziehe deine kleider an, wasche deine Hände, hole Brennholz, lege es für mich an, und ziehe..."
mich an reinem Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Azi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen wolle."


23. Darauf weckt der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha den Vogel Namens Parōdarsh, o Spitama Zarathushtra, den die übelredenden Menschen Kahrkatás benennen. Und dieser Vogel erhebt seine Stimme um das zunehmende Frühroth:


25. "Verschlafet nicht die drei besten Dinge, gutgedachten Gedanken, gutgesprochenes Wort, gutgethanes Werk, verschlafet die drei schlimmsten Dinge, bösegedachten Gedanken, bösegesprochenes Wort, bösegethanes Werk!"


27. "Möge dir eine Herde Vieh und eine Schar von Söhnen zu Teile werden, möge dir ein wohlthätiger Sinn und ein wohlthuendes Gewissen zu Teile werden, mögest du ein Leben mit frohem Gewissen

1 aosophet = Skt. a-ucyate.  2 über die Chinvat Brücke.
leben die Nächte (Tage), die du leben wirst!" Dies ist der Segenswunsch des Feues für den, der ihm Brennholz bringt, trocknes, von den Sternen beschienneses (d. h. abgelagertes) und aus dem Wunsch nach Rechtschaffenheit gereinigtes.'


30. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er seine Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte. "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Du gebierst doch allein in der ganzen bekörpertten Welt ohne Befruchtung?"


32. "Die belegen mich ebenso, wie alle andern Männer ihren Samen in die Weber legen."

33. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er seine Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der erste von diesen deinen Männern?"

34. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der erste dieser meiner Männer, wenn jemand auch nur das geringste von seinen Bekleidungsgegenständen einem frommen Mann auf dessen Bitte nicht aus dem lüblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt.

1 Mïhta stelle ich zu neupers. mïhta 'seidenes Gewand.'
2 P. V. "Einige erklären, dass er Fleisch in dieser Grösse einem frommen Mann gibt."
3 An der Richterbrücke.
35. "Der belegt mich ebenso, wie alle andern Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

36. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzu bringen?"


38. "Der bringt mich ebenso um die Leibesfrucht, als ob ein vierbeiniger Wolf das Kind aus dem Mutterleib risse."

39. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der zweite von diesen deinen Männern?"

40. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der zweite dieser meiner Männer, wenn Jemand über den Vorderfuss hinaus eine Vorderfusslänge weiter pisst."

41. "Der belegt mich ebenso, wie alle anderen Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

42. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzu bringen?"

43. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Folgendes ist das Mittel, es wegzu bringen. Wenn der Mann, sobald er aufsteht und drei Schritte (weitergeht), dreimal das Ashem betet, zweimal humatanām, dreimal hukhsathrotēmāii und darauf vier Ahuna vairya hersagt und das Yeinha hātām betet.

1 Man musste im Hocken genau zwischen die Fuss spitzen pissen; vgl. uhrāh mano yam yas tiṣṭhaṇ maṭrayata, Mahābhāṣya ed. Kielhorn I., 411, 22.—paurea ist nach F. V. Praposition vor.
44. "Der bringt mich ebenso um die Leibesfrucht, als ob ein vierbeiniger Wolf das Kind aus dem Mutterleib risse."

45. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der dritte dieser deiner Männer?"

46. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebener, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der dritte dieser meiner Männer, wenn Jemand im Schlaf Samen vergiesst.

47. "Der belegt mich ebenso, wie alle anderen Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

48. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

49. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebener, schöner Sraosha! Folgendes ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen. Wenn der Mann, sobald er vom Schlaf erwacht ist, dreimal das Asbem betet, zweimal humatanām, dreimal hukhshathrotēmāi, und darauf vier Ahuna Vairyā hersagt und das Yeīhe hātām betet.

50. "Der bringt mich ebenso um die Leibesfrucht, als ob ein vierbeiniger Wolf das Kind aus dem Mutterleib risse."

51. Darauf fordert man die segensreiche Årmaiti auf: "Segensreiche Årmaiti: Diesen Mann übergebe ich dir, diesen Mann gieb mir heraus an der Segen bringenden Auferstehung, als einen, der die Gāthās kennt, der den Yasna kennt, der die heilige Schrift studiert hat, als einen belehrten, geschickten, der das heilige Wort verkörpert.

52. "Und man soll ihm einen Namen geben: Åtredātā oder Åtreithra oder Åtrezantu oder Åtredahyu oder irgend einen mit Åtre gebildeten."

53. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der vierte von diesen deinen Männern?"
54. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Draj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der vierte von diesen meinen Männern, wenn ein Mann nach dem fünfzehnten Jahr als lieberliches Weibsbild geht: ohne heilige Schnur oder das heilige Hemd."


56. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Draj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Draj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

57. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Draj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Es gibt kein Mittel, es wegzubringen."


60. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

61. Es fragte Zara-thushtra u. s. w.: "Werkränkt dich, den Ahura Mazda mit der grössten Kränkung, wer ärgert dich mit dem grössten Aerger?"

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1 Das Gehen ohne das heilige Hemd oder ohne die heilige Schnur galt als ein Entblößt-Gehen, daher der Vergleich mit der jahika, vgl. West, Glossary unter rekhakha dárárishnik und Darmeseter’s Note zu der Stelle. Obige Uebersetzung wahr die Grammatik.

2 hakat, ist Skt. zákam.

"Ein Drittel der in Flüssen fließenden frischen Wasser lässt es durch seinen Blick abstehen, o Zarathushtra. Einem Drittel der spriessenden schönen goldfarbigen Pflanzen raubt es ihr Wachsthum durch seinen Blick, o Zarathushtra.


"Und ich sage dir, o Spitama Zarathushtra: diese sind tödlicher als die flinken Schlangen, oder als die schädlichen Wölfe oder als eine die Steppe bewohnende Wölfin, wenn sie in die Ansiedelung einbricht, oder als ein tausendlaichender Frosch, wenn er ins Wasser springt."

"Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfen, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergeben, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

Es fragte Zarathushtra u. s. w.: "Wer einer Frau, die ihr blasses Aussehen und ihr Unwohlsein und Blutung hat, bewohnt, (den Thatbestand) wissend, im Bewusstsein (der Sünde) und mit Ueberlegung (der schlimmen Folgen), während auch sie (den Thatbestand) weiss und (der Sünde) sich bewusst ist und (die schlimmen Folgen) bedenkt.

1 Jahi scheint hier wie lat. scortum sowohl das männliche wie das weibliche Individuum zu bezeichnen, daher ɣō.
2 Nämlich über die bösen Gedanken u. s. w.
68. "Was ist dafür die Vermögensbusse, was ist dafür die Leibesstrafe, was für Leistungen soll er im Bewusstsein seiner Schuld noch dagegen aufbringen?"

69. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: — "Wer einer Frau, die ihr blasses Aussehen und ihr Unwohlsein und Blutung hat, bewohnt (den Thatbestand) kennend, im Bewusstsein (der Sünde) und mit Überlegung (der schlimmen Folgen), während auch sie (den Thatbestand) kennt, und (der Sünde) sich bewusst ist und (die schlimmen Folgen) bedenkt,

70. "So soll er tausend Stück Kleinvieh schlachten und von allen diesen Thieren die Herzteile mit Weihwasser dem Feuer im lüblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen, die Vorderfüsse soll er den guten Wassern darbringen.


73. "Tausend Schlangen, die auf dem Bauch kriechen, soll er töten, zweitausend andere, tausend atmhende (auf dem Land lebende) Frösche soll er töten, zweitausend Wasserfrosche, tausend Körner stehlende Ameisen soll er töten, zweitausend andere.

1 In Gestalt nützlicher Werke.
3 Nach Haug.
KARL F. GELDNER, VENDIDAD XVIII, §§ 74-76.

74. "Dreissig Stege soll er legen über einen Kanal, er soll tausend Geisselungen bekommen mit der Pferdepeitsche, zweitausend mit der Ruthe.

75. "Dies ist dafür die Vermögensbusse, dies ist dafür die Leibesstrafe, das soll er im Bewusstsein seiner Schuld noch an Leistungen dagegen aufbringen.

76. "Wenn er sie leistet, so wird er nach der Welt der Frommen abreisen, wenn er sie nicht leistet, so wird er nach der Welt der Gottlosen abreisen nach der aus Finsternis bestehenden, aus Finsternis entstandenen, finstren."

K. F. GELDNER.
DAS VOLK DER KAMBOJA BEI YĀSKA.


Die meisten Stellen, an welchen die Kamboja oder Kamboja sonst in der Sanskrit Literatur vorkommen und welche man in O. Böhtlingk's und R. Roth's Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, 2, 79f. 229 übersichtlich beisammen findet, rühmen ihre Pferdezucht und die Rājaṭarangini, 4, 165 f. setzt sie in die Nachbarschaft der Tukhāra (so die von M. A. Stein in den Text aufgenommene Lesart gegenüber dem Bukhāra anderer Handschriften und der älteren Ausgaben, welchen Chr. Lassen in der Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 2, 56 gefolgt it.) Danach sind sie also nordwestlich von Indien ansässig, was durch ihre häufige Verbindung mit den Yavana, d. h. den baktrischen Griechen (Weber, Indische Streifen, 2, 320 f., 3, 353 f., Indian Antiquary, 4, 244), durchaus bestätigt wird. Dazu kommen weitere Stellen in der Pali-Literatur und zwar erwähnen die in D. Andersen's Index to the Jātaka, p. 25, verzeichneten gleichfalls in erster Linie die Pferde und Maultiere der Kamboja, am wichtigsten aber sind die schon von F. Minayef, Grammaire pale traduite du russe par St. Guyard, p. XVII, Anm. 1 hervorgehobenen Verse (The Jataka ed. V. Fausböll, Vol. 6, 208):

kiṭā paṭaṅgā uragā ca bhekā hantvā kimim sujḥati makkhiḥā ca |
ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā kambojakānaṃ vitathā bahunnam ||


ERNST KUHN.
A FRAGMENT OF THE DINKART.

Book III., Chap. IX. 3.

Three years ago I attempted in the Festgruss, published at Leyden in honour of my esteemed master, C. de Harlez, since deceased, a translation of what is left of the earliest part of the Dinkart text, viz., the second question of the third book, which, like the subsequent questions up to the eighth inclusive, are so worm-eaten in the unique original MS. as to be only partly legible, and consequently very difficult to make any sense of. My attempt was of course based upon the printed text as published by the late esteemed High-Priest, the regretted Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana. It seems appropriate, therefore, that the present very modest contribution to a memorial volume in honour of this laborious scholar, who has certainly merited well of all students of Pehlevi literature, by whom his name and memory will ever be held in the highest respect, should take the form of a similar attempt to unravel the meaning, as far as we can ascertain it from so broken a context, of the following question proposed by the heretic or apostate, who in the present case is quoted by his name, as will be noted below.

I have added but few notes to the transliteration and attempted translation. Several of the words which do not occur in the usual Pehlevi Vocabularies (West's, de Harlez's, Peshotan's, etc.) will easily be deduced from the verbal stems or uncompounded forms of which they are derivatives. I have not thought it necessary to trouble the printer by marking a circumflex over o and e, as, unlike the other vowels, it will be understood that (unless otherwise indicated by ā, ō) they are always written pleno (Phl, ā and ī), whether long or short.

Of course, in so damaged a text it is impossible to obtain anything like a consecutive construction, except here and there; hence much of an attempt like this must be little better than guess-work, especially in dealing with a script and a construction so obscure as Pehlevi. I have tried to carefully keep the relative proportions of the lacuna as indicated by Peshotan in his printed text.

1 Melanges Charles de Harlez; Leide, Brill, 1890, pp. 41—43.
Sitīqar Pūrsīto Akvānī.

Pūrsīto Akvān-i druj kārīk pāvan gāsako aharmoko aigha:

va-āshāhāno hurvarāno bālīst-o girāno va zag-i zofar rūstak . . . . zag-i Āūharmazd dīno dahishhīkān mas gabrā-i aharūbū-c . . .
lā zag mas zavā-r-i min aharūbū akhū-i Aharūbū min gabrān-i . . . dīno kūtak va patash yashtār-i Āūharmazd homanam barā . . . .

kūtak yēkhsūnto li pāvan zag-i mas nikūhīto.*

Pāsukho: . . . .

-ishnīk zak madam darvandīth frāz nimūtano zagash dīno . . . . . . .

emūkhtan-o va kūnishno-i Ganāk Mīnoī varjīto va-akhū-c Aharmanakīk . . . yēzmā-
lūnt va stīh hūdātān homand dahishmān-i Āūharmazd . . . .

ahūo pāvan sar-

Third Question* of Akvān.

Akvān, the detestable (?) drūj in the shape of a heretic, asked thus: . . . . . . .

and fires, trees, the loftiest of the mountains, and the deep mountain-gorge . . . .

(of) these creatures of the religion of Āūharmazd the greatest is the just man, but . . . .

the just one is not stronger on account of his holy nature than men who . . . . inferior religion. Consequently were I a worshipper of Āūharmazd (I) should . . . . . . . . .

considered inferior; in this I (should be) more despised.*

Answer: . . . .

-ic to proclaim this in impiety and this his religion.

. . . . . . . . . to teach and the deeds of Ganāk Mīnoī worked and the Abrimanic nature.

said and the creatures of Āūharmazd are the material world of good creation . . . .

nature in the supremacy over

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1 Cf. Arab. kārīk, ‘warlike, hostile.
2 p. 109, but more likely for dāhāno (‘mouth’)—‘by the month of a heretic’.
3 Evidently, from the latter part of the chapter, ‘waters’ (\*nīk o \*pī) to supplied.
4 rūstak. For meaning see Phl. Vend. V, 1. ‘gorge between two mountains,’ de Harlez.
5 Litt. plural of an adj. formed from dāhishnī, ‘creation.’
6 Litt. ‘thirstily A. asked.’ The subsequent chapters employ the substantial form pārshīhno.'
A FRAGMENT OF THE DINKART, BK. III, CHAP. IX., 3. 217

Darîh-i dâmân cîgün martûm va afash tano-mâtââno⁶... ... aîyarîh-i anshûtâ cîgün gospênd va rûbâno-mâtââno hûrûbâno... ... va tano-mâtââno hûtano zîvarîh nîrûkhîr avîrtar... ... -shnîk val martûm rûbâno avîrtar pavan avoritano zagshâno... ... val gospênd tano avîrtar pavanshân tano zîvarîh⁷... ... [? mà] yenîtano rîmûnîh cîgün drûjîh mîndavam va min drûjo... ... màhmûntar⁸ rîmûnîh vêsh drûjo yîn martûm pavan kushashno... ... [nîrûkh-i rûbâno râî màhmûntar gâs pavan tano vakhdûnît... ... drâyînâsh-i anshûtâ zîvandîk tano hûrâyishno... ... va vitarto tano homant rûbâno aharûbû zagac-i val rûbâno pavan... ... yêkavîmûnàto lakhvâr val tano nêflûnît va tano rîmûntar yehevûnît... ... rûbâno arêkht afash va doshâhû kashît... ... tar yêmîlânûmêm living-creatures, as man; and hence (beings) of corporeal essence. . . . . the assistance of man, as cattle; and (beings) of spiritual essence (endowed with) good souls. . . . . and (those) of corporeal essence with good bodies, adornment (?), strength superior. . . . . for man the soul is superior in the producing of these things . . . . for cattle the body is superior for the adornment (?) of their body . . . . to measure the impurity as something diabolical . . . . and from the drûj . . . . more permanent impurity, abundantly the drûj in man in the struggle . . . . power on account of the soul, occupies a more permanent place in the body. . . . . crying out that the good-development of iman's living body . . . . and the dead body when the just soul and what unto the soul in . . . . . remains, falls back upon the body and the body becomes more polluted . . . . poured (upon) the

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⁶ màdî must be, I suppose, the same as màsâh (Darmesteter, Etudes, I. 70) and màto (D. K., Vol. IV., 157, § 22, see my Médecine Mazdéenne, Louvain, 1886, p. 32, n. The meaning seems to be 'mother-nature,' essence: tano-màdî and rûbâno-màdî would be compounds.

⁷ ٢٦٥٠ ٢٦٥٠ of. Pers. jîrj 'jewel, ornament'; but we might rather expect here and below ٢٦٥٠ ٢٦٥٠ 'strength,' as used in the original objection (max savâr.)

⁸ The MS. MM, has here vûshûtto.
va yin gospendano pavan kushashno sijakih va-tano vazinarih minol-rai gas pavan yin tano karto zinik druyo va-azinik vatoto-kamini va anshutata tano i min mahmano druyo pateshih hushmorto va.

[aha] rubano va aharubyanono lak pavan beshishno va-istarih-i rimono zavir madam val mayah va atash madam val balisto-i girano madam val zak zofar-i rustak aharomikhah kartak aito la dato aito dur min Aûharmazd dino andarjo.

Zak-i gospendano zavir zak rimonih loijeh dino nirukihavirayishito zakac hucarak va bahar-10i min paityarak homandih patash afash. barakartarih vad-kashish11 cand stih dato shayito bandak gas pateshih pavan fraz burito-i val atashano avano aharubano aharubyanan va afzan-i daman dana dastobarih-i Aûharmazd dino soul and drags it to hell -er we utter. And in cattle through the struggle perishableness and the advancement (improvement) of the body on account of the spirit a place made in the body the living druj and the lifeless wind meanness (?) and man's body from the indwelling druj the attack is estimated unto just men and just women. Thou in the distressfulness and stagnation impure force upon water and fire, upon the loftiest of the mountains, upon the deep mountain-gorge, in heretical fashion hast made. (It is) not the law. Far from the religion of Aûhurmand is the doctrine.

The strength of cattle, this pollution, non-existence. religion in a powerful manner sets in order and this succour and advantage which is from the being opposed, there-

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9 Cf. Pers. کوس 'mean, base, despicable.' But there is also Arabic کوس 'ambush; which would seem suitable here.

10 Unusual as this distinction of gender is, I cannot see any other likely explanation. The form seems modelled on the Avestic fem. ashaoni, pl. ashaoniz if ashavan.

11 Lit. 'portion, lot, share.'

12 Pers. کوش 'attraction, allurement.'

13 See above.
A FRAGMENT OF THE DINKART, BK. III, CHAP. IX., 3. 219

va hamdâstânîh-ac'i amur-akâno martum patash. upon from it . . . . accomplishment unto attraction(?) inasmuch as the material creation must be a place of slavery, an attack. . . . . carried forward upon fires, waters, holy men, holy women, and the excellent knowledge[ledge] of living-creatures. . . . . the priesthood of Aûharmazd, religion and the unanimous agreement of innumerable men upon it.

The name  in the superscription of the chapter seems written ' Akvân '; but Akvân is a well-known name of a heretic or div, see Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, s. v. ' Akwân' p. 12. The div Akwân was slain by Rustam (Shahnameh iii. 270). There was a Manichaean leader named Akwân, who had followers called 'AkowavIrai. In DK., Vol. V, chap. 198, § 2,  is read by Justi 'Krisidakik Akwân,' i.e., 'the Christian Akwân' (contrary to Peshotan's interpretation, 'religious guide of the apostate ruler Karisâk'). Perhaps even the form  in our text may be an abbreviation or an error for  as above.

As far as I am able to make out, Akwân's objection would seem to be this: You say that the just man is the greatest (mas) of all Aûharmazd's creatures,—greater than the waters, trees, mountains, etc. (This claim, by the way, is implicitly made for man in general in a later chapter, ch. 81, § 3, where, after enumerating Aûharmazd's creatures, 'âtash va mayâ va zamîk va hurvâr va gospênd . . . va anshûtâ', praise is offered to the Creator 'mano ash mas karto min kolâ stîhdahishnáno martum' — i.e., made man greater than all material creatures.) But, says the heretic, the just man is no
stronger or more powerful (mas zavār) than the followers of another religion. Were I to become a worshipper of Aūharmazd, therefore, I should not gain anything in esteem or otherwise.

The casuist in his reply seems to point out that man's superiority—literally, to use a very modern expression, quite familiar at the present moment, owing to recent political events, 'sirdarship' (sardārih)—over the rest of creation is due to his soul or the intellectual part of his nature, which enables him to assist and develop the non-spiritual creatures, such as domestic animals. He then goes on to explain how impurity in defilement is brought upon man by the drūj, especially as proceeding from the dead body, both as regards man and animals, and how it is thence transmitted to water, fire, trees, &c.,—pretty much on the lines of the similar exposition in the fifth fargard of the Vendīdād.

L. C. CASARTELLI.
THE IRANIAN HINDUKUSH DIALECTS CALLED MUNJÂNI AND YÛDGHÂ.

Although I know that many an Iranian scholar does not agree with me, I still believe that the fatherland of the Avesta and its civilisation is to be sought in the Eastern parts of Iran. If this is true, an exploration of the countries on the upper Oxus river and its tributaries will be of special importance. The inhabitants of those countries, the so-called Ghalchas, are no doubt a very interesting branch of the Iranian race, and the various dialects spoken by them deserve, I think, every Iranist's attention. I had myself the opportunity to study the Ghalcha dialects and to draw the outlines of their grammar from a scientific point of view.1 We can say now that we are sufficiently acquainted with the Pamir dialects called Wakhi, Shugnî and Saryq-qoli as well as with the more isolated Yaqhnöbi, and we had also a general idea of the Yûdghâ or rather Yûdgha, the only dialect of the Pamir group spoken south of the Hindûkush. But as to the dialects Munjâni (or Mungi) and Sanglichî, which are closely connected with Yûdgha, all our knowledge consists of a very short list of words, and the Ishqâshami, which seems to be related to the Wakhi, is only known by name. That want is now partly supplied by the excellent work of G. A. Grierson, 'Specimen Translations in the Languages of the North-Western Frontier', Linguistic Survey of India, Calcutta, 1899. We find here, on pp. 196-202, a short sketch of the Munjâni grammar, a translation of the parable of the prodigal son into Munjâni and a piece of folklore in the same dialect. The Yûdgha is treated in the same manner on pp. 205-214, and on pp. 219-221 we find a list of words and phrases in both dialects.

I shall confine myself chiefly to Munjâni to give some hints regarding the place of that dialect among the Pamir group of languages.

1 Grundriss der Iran. Philologie 1, 2, pp. 238—344.
The result is, as we expected, that the difference between Munjānī and Yūdghā is only very slight, and that they must be taken as two branches of the same dialect.

As to phonology, the soft consonants, as in all Pamir dialects and in Pashto, are changed into aspirants, e.g., M. wuza "goat" = Sh. waz, Aw. baza; M. zhinku, Yd. zhinko "woman" = Sh. zhin, Aw. jaini; M., Yd. zha "to beat" = Aw. jan; M. ghāva, Yd. ghāvo "cow" = W. ghō. Instead of dh for original d we have l in both dialects, as also in Pashto: M. lu or le, Yd. lōh "two" = Aw. dva; M. leghdu, Yd. loghdu "daughter" = Aw. dughdar, Pashto tur; M. lera, Yd. turo "far" = Aw. dara, Pashto līr. A medial ch is also softened and turned into zh, as in M. zhe "from" = Yd. zhe (not ze!) = Aw. hacha, Pers. j! The resemblance of the two dialects is also seen in changing initial thr into sh in M. sherai, Yd. shurai "three" = Aw. thrayō, and in eliding the th of the medial group thr, as in M., Yd. pār "son" = Aw. puthra and M. yār, Yd. yār "fire" = Aw. āthr-, Pashto ār. Both dialects soften the group ft (Aw. pt) into vd: M. avde, Yd. avdo "seven" = Aw. hapta, Pers. هف.

Te pronoun 1st pers. sg. is M. ze, Yd. zo = Aw. azem, Pashto za, but in all the other Pamir dialects waz or waZ. The pron. 2nd pers. pl. is in M. and in Yd. māf, but in W. saīst in Sh. tamā, in Sq. tamash, in Ygh. shumāx.

As to inflections it may be sufficient to give a paradigm of the declension of a noun and of the present and past of a verb, to show the close connection of the two dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Munjānī</th>
<th>Yūdghā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nom. tāt, &quot;father&quot;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen. zhe-tāt-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat. nā-tāt-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abl. zhe-tāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td>Nom. tāte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen. zhe-tāt-af</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat. no-tāt-af</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abl. zhe-tāt-af</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the explanation of the terminations -an and -af, -ef, compare Grundriss 1, 2, pp. 314 and 315, § 43, 1, 2. The plural termination is to be compared, as I suggest now, to the Pashto termination -ə; it originally belonged to nouns of feminine gender (e.g. M. leghde, Yd. loghde "daughters"), but was afterwards transferred also to such of masculine gender.

I finally add the present and past tense of the verb "to beat."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Munjani</th>
<th>Yudgha</th>
<th>Munjani</th>
<th>Yudgha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pres.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Proto.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. duhum</td>
<td>deham</td>
<td>dehe</td>
<td>1. zhiem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dehi</td>
<td>dehi</td>
<td>dehe</td>
<td>2. zhiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dehi</td>
<td>dehi</td>
<td>dehe</td>
<td>3. zhiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pres.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Proto.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. deham</td>
<td>deham</td>
<td>dehe</td>
<td>1. zhiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dehaf</td>
<td>dehaf</td>
<td>dehe</td>
<td>2. zhiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dehaf</td>
<td>dehaf</td>
<td>dehe</td>
<td>3. zhiat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs ("the horse has been beaten by the man" for "the man beat the horse") is not so well preserved in Munjani and Yudgha as in other Pamir dialects (cf. Grdr. 1, 2, pp. 324 and 325, § 63), but the forms zhiet, zhit and zhief, zhief can only be explained as compositions of the old past participle (Aw. jata), with the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd person: 'beaten by thee, by you'. And I quote, to show the construction, the following sentence:

Munjani: to hech-kella yu channä-men che-li-at.

Yudgha: to hech-kelan yu chennä-men chi-liit.

English: 'Thou, any time one kid to me not (was) given by thee' = 'You never gave me a kid.'
SOME INSCRIPTIONS ON SASSANIAN GEMS.

The department of Sasanian gems is only a small one in ancient Persian art, nevertheless, it is highly interesting, and is by no means unimportant. That, for instance, Sasanian people had such long names as Bapäturmitribäbag we should not know without the gems, and that here were such functionaries as an Erän Andarâkpat or a Nasän-ándémângârân sardâr (see below), could only be learned from them. I have had the opportunity of studying the engraved Pahlavi stones of all except one of the known public collections, viz., those of the Royal Museum in Berlin, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Imperial Museum at Vienna, the Royal Museums in Copenhagen and at the Hague, the Grandducal Library in Gotha (in this collection there is only one specimen, but that is a lion, the famous amethyst of Devonshire), and the Mayer Museum in Liverpool. The collection not accessible to me was the Imperial Hermitage in St. Petersburg. There seems to be reason for believing that this collection is a large one, but the little encouraging civility of the director Mr. Kieseritzki towards me, made me give up the intention of examining the publicly exhibited gems when I walked through the splendid room of coins in that palace. At Florence I was not able to find any trace of the former collection of the Tuscanian Granddukes, from which Dr. A. D. Mordtmann published some specimens.

Besides impressions of the Sasanian gems of all the above mentioned accessible collections, I owe casts in wax or plaster to the kindness of many private possessors. Since I published my two papers on the subject (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 44, pp. 650-673, see also Vol. 45, pp. 429-431, and Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der Königlichen Museen in Berlin, Vol. IV.) in the years 1890 and 1891, numerous other casts have been sent to me. I shall select from them some of the most interesting as a modest contribution to this volume, dedicated to the memory of Das- tur Peshotan Behramji Sanjânâ, the revered high-priest of the Parsees.
1. The British Museum in 1898 acquired the following seal—
Bust of a bearded man looking to the right; the gem is of large size and admirably worked out, copied in Lajard, Le Culte de Mithre, LXV., No. 137.

Shâhôe zî magû zî Khur(r)akân zî nasân-andémângârân sardâr 'Shâhôe the Magian, the son of Khurra, the chief of the corpse-carriers.'

We learn from this gem, that the guild of the corpse-carriers had a Magian as their head, a fact that is not surprising, but until now the title of this functionary was not known. In the Pahlavi texts we have for 'dead body' only the form nasâî, for which I have proposed to read nasîh (Nom. abstract.); here we find for the first time the regular nas without an ending, that was to be expected. Andêmângâr occurs with the meaning 'receiving, carrying' (see my Grundriß der neupersischen Etymologie, No. 596). West translates, in his Shik. Gum.Vig., andémân 'domestically serving,' andemânî 'household service.'

One sees that this gem is of high value for more than one reason.

2. Professor Maxwell Sommerville of the University of Pennsylvania possesses a number of Sasanian gems, of which he has kindly sent me impressions. It is unfortunate that the latter are not all decipherable without consulting the originals. Some bear the common inscription Apastân'âl Yazdân 'Confidence in God,' viz., No. 1421S, a monogram in the centre, No. 523S, a lion attacking a zebu from the front. Of the others I notice—

A.—No. 1333S. This fine piece has already been published by me in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 44, p. 675, No. 140.

Shâhpuhr-i râbâ-ê' Shahpuhr the Great, viz., the nobleman, a member of the second class of nobility in the Sasanian Empire.

1 I read with Dr. F. C. Andreas this ending in Pahlavi as ê, see Grundriß der iranischen Philologie, Vol. I., Part II., p. 109, § 49.
On an impression from the collection left by the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, I find another rabā, viz., Barz-ī rabā-ē Apastán ’al Yazdán ‘Barz the nobleman. Confidence in God’ (kneeling zebu with a human head).

B.—No. 511S. Mitr Shahpuhré Apastán ’al Yazdán ‘Mitr Shahpuhr. Confidence in God’—a bird on a fire-altar not lighted.

C.—No. 1744B. Tihé ‘Tir’; with a half circle at the beginning and end of the inscription. The inscription runs round a monogram.

C.—No. 1788B. This piece bears only an inscription and no image. The word nearest the centre is barah ‘son,’ followed by Apastán ’al Yazdán. Unfortunately the names of the possessor and his father are not legible.

3. For some years Professor N. Ogden Rood of Columbia University in New York has provided me regularly with beautiful electro-types of the gems in his own possession and others which pass through him. These magnificent casts are the pride of my collections. Even two original Sasanian seals I owe to his extraordinary kindness (see A and B below). If I am right, King’s collection was sold to America, and several of Prof. Rood’s electro-types are taken from pieces once belonging to it.

A.—Recumbent lion.

Gushnaspándát or perhaps Gushtaspándát (the shn or sht is a little injured). The name means ‘Given to the descendant of Gushnasp, viz., to the Gushnaspanide.’

B.—Head of a man en face.

Apastán Wánd(ā)t ‘Confidence (in God) Wándat.’ Might this not perhaps be Apastán ’a(l) Yazd(ā)n-ā(ā)t as a name meaning ‘Given for confidence in God’?

C.—Recumbent zebu.

Arwand Shahpuhr-ē Nawân-p(ā)t(ā)n shát(ī)st(ā)n ‘Arwand Shahpuhr, the son of Nawânpat. Joyfulness’.
Another (?) Arwand Shahpuhr was the owner of the seal in Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges., Vol. 44, p. 660, No. 61.

D.—Recumbent fallow-deer.

Warahrán (N. propr.).

E.—Head of a zebu with wings.

M(i)trát.

The same contracted form, instead of Mitrdát, is to be found on a seal in Paris (Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Mithradáta No. 52), and below (H); a later development of Mitrát is Milád, as J. Marquart has shown.

F.—Recumbent stag.

Bápúké.

A name formed from Báp, Páp with the suffix -úk.

G.—Recumbent wild goat.

Wéké zi Wakhshikán ‘Wék, the son of Wakhshik.’

Wék (or Wayak) may be derived from Aw. vayu- ‘air,’ Justi in his Namenbuch notes a Dihgán Wik. Wakhshik belongs to Wakhshi (see Justi).

H.—Head of a man.

M(i)tr(á)t.

See above under E. Prof. Rood writes me concerning this piece as follows. It is made of lapis lazuli and came recently from Bagdad. It has not at all the ordinary form, but is shaped as indicated in the two sketches (which I cannot reproduce here), and might pass for a grotesque attempt at a frog. It is in my collection, and is the only one of the kind I have ever seen.

I.—Fire-altar.

Áturshusrdost magú ‘The Magian Áturshusrdost.’
I hope that this reading is correct. The \( r \) has, as sometimes the shortened shape of a \( y \); in dost we miss one hook of the letter \( s \). \( \text{Aturshusr} \) would be in Awesta \( \text{Atarekhshudhra} \), cf. \( \text{Atarecithra} \).

K.—Head of a man.

\( P(\dot{a})k(\dot{t})chd(\dot{a})t \) (Nom. propr.). Some letters behind the head are illegible.

L.—Naked Greek goddess with a bunch of grapes in one hand.

\( \text{Nētaki} \). Name of a woman(?)

Compare \( \text{Nūtāturffarnbag} \) on a seal in the British Museum, \( \text{Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges., Vol. 44, p. 655, No. 25} \); of course also \( \text{Nartaki} \) might be read.

M.—Monogram.

\( \text{Gabrē zi magū 'The Magian Mardoe.'} \)

N.—Head of a bearded man looking to the right.

\( \text{Mārsand-ī magū zi Dātshap(ī)rhuwā(m).} \) The inscription is distinctly engraved, but, as I suppose, with some faults. \( \text{Mārsand, e.g., clearly stands for Māraspand, and instead of zi there is wi} \) (\( \text{Widāt} \) would be impossible). Dātshapīr is Persian Dātwēh, \( \& \) \( \text{ζ} \)

O.—Wild goat and crab.

\( \text{Nēkē ; with the same meaning as shapūr (Zeitft. d. deutsch. morg. Ges., Vol. 44, p. 669, No. 107.)} \)

P.—Recumbent zebu.

\( \text{Rāstē 'right.'} \)

The same inscription is to be found on some other stones, as well as the well-known \( \text{Apastān'āl Yazdān} \).

4. Mr. D. Z. Noorian in New York possesses the following stones:

A.—Bearded head looking to the right.
Some Inscriptions on Sasanian Gems.

Bar Shabaté zi Bar Nabúd barah 'Bar Shabá, the son of Bar Nabúd.' The Syrian name Bar Shabá has the Pahlavi ending è.

B. Standing female holding up a child.

Ohrmazdè khwat(á)h-i farsandán 'Hormizd, the lord of children.'

This is a curious inscription. Firstly, because the common Pahlavi form for Mod. Pers. khudá is khwatá, modern khudáh occurs in Bukhárá and Tokharistán. Hormizd is again not especially the protector of children, the Frawashis, Mithra or Ardwisúra Anáhita, and others give children according to the Awesta. But I do not know how the curious words khwat(á)h and farsandán can be otherwise read and understood. Both seem to be dialectical (farsand instead of farzand as well as Arab. sausanjird, Mod. Pers. جرز 'needle' and others). Or does farsand belong to the same stem as Mod. Pers. ضند?

5. In the possession of Prof. Dr. M. Hartmann in Berlin.

Monogram.

M(i)tráturshámwáré zi Turáchán 'Mitráturshámwár, the son of Túrach'.


Standing female with flowers in the hands.

Ométdukht. Aparstán 'al Yastín Ométdukht. Confidence in God'.

One might also read Admétdukht or Êmétdukht (see Justi Namenbuch p. 5 : Admét), the letter being written in cursive.

7. In the Lázarew Institute for Oriental languages in Moscow.

Standing goat.

Désch Warahrán (Nom. propr.).
8. In 1896 I received from Bagdad an impression with the
inscription Atur Ohrmazdê, ' Atur Ohrmazd' (bearded head). The
same name is to be found on a similar stone in Berlin (No. 1017).

9. In the possession of Mr. C. M. Trelawny Irving in London.
Two figures, between them a tree.

Hamáwarté-i Zikán, 'Hamáwart, the son of Zik'.

The name Hamáwart (Mod. Pers. 𐭪𐭫𐭪𐭫 'rival') occurs also on a
seal (bust of a bearded man) published by E. Thomas in the Journal of
the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII, p. 417, No. 10 (perhaps even so
Hamáwarté-i Zik. . . . . ). For Zik compare Justi, Namen-
buch, p. 385.

Of course forgeries have also been sent to me, e.g., from Calcutta
and from Sultánábad in Persia. Even some of the above-mentioned
gentlemen have been deceived with forged stones. But I shall not
make unhappy the owners by enumerating such fabrications. Gener-
ally they are easily detected with some practice.

I hope that this short communication may show that the Sasanian
gems are worthy of being collected together in one corpus.

PAUL HORN.
THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS
AT BEHISTAN.

PREFACE.

As the method of transcription in Kossowicz's edition of the Five Behistan Inscriptions dates from the year 1872, it seemed to me better to substitute for it a more modern one, which should take account of the advances which have been made since then. As the old Persian cuneiform signs form a very imperfect system of writing, there are numerous uncertainties as regards the real form and pronunciation of many words. This slight contribution is designed for the use of beginners, and consideration therefore could not be taken of subtleties. Therefore I have, if I may say so, transcribed roughly kdra(h), ima(h) (H)utana(h), aniya(h)uwa, ba(n)aka(h), abara(n), ndma(n), etc., i.e., I have added the h's or n's that probably still existed in the language when these inscriptions were engraved upon the rocks of Mount Behistan. But I have written neither Zura(h)ara(h), drauga(h)di, Daraya(h) va(h)us, māya(h)mām, etc., nor martiyd(h)—nom. plur.—or martiyd(n) —acc. plur.—, but only Zurakara(h), draugadi, Dārayava(h)us, māya-mām, martiyā, etc. Likewise the a at the end of words, which is often lengthened without etymological reason according to the principle of writing, has not been altered; or the reader will find transcribed with ri-vowel vrkāna (op. aw. Vehrkāna, Modern Persian Gurgān), but not Artvrdiya (op. aw. venerya). My transcription is only intended to give the student an idea of the problems involved in cuneiform writing, to decide definitely in every case which is right is still impossible; but I have inserted the alterations that seemed to be necessary.

For the glossary the latest publications on the subject, especially Weissbach and Bang's new edition of the text and the contributions scattered through various scientific journals, particularly those by Bartholomew, Justi and Foy, have, of course, been consulted.

PAUL HORN.
INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS HYSTASPES.

COLUMN 1.

1. Adam¹ Dārayava(h)uś² kšāyaṭiya(h)³ vazra(k)a(h)⁴, kšāyaṭiya(h) kšāyaṭiyānām, kšāyaṭiya(h) pārsa(y)⁵, kšāyaṭiya(h)†dhyunām⁶, Vistāspahyā putra(h)⁷, Aršāmahyā⁸ napā⁹, Hakhāmanisīya(h)¹⁰.

² adam pron. 1st pers. ‘1’ (Aw. nām); acc. mām (Aw. mām), yathā mām kāna(h) ḍha(h), ‘as my desire was,’ enclit. mātyamām ‘that me not;’ gen. manā (Aw. mana, Mod. Pers. man), enclit. maim (Aw. mē). e.g. A(h)uramasūūdmany, utū-māi, dāhyaūūdmany, also for the dative; ablaut. enclit. mā(h) in hacāma(h) ‘from me’ (Aw. maṭ); plur. nom. vaṭam ‘we’ (Aw. vaṭm); gen amākham (Aw. ahmākem, Mod. P. mā).

³ Dārayava(h)u-, m., sg. nom. -a(h)uṣh, gen. -a(h)uṣh ‘Darius’. Līndner’s explanation of this name, published twenty-one years ago—‘holding, possessing goods,’ Aw. Dārayavho(h)u—has been recently confirmed by an Aramaic-Egyptian papyrus in the Strassburg Library, dated the 14th year of King Darius, where the word is distinctly with h written.

⁴ kšāyaṭiya-, sb., m., sg. nom. -a(h), gen. -a(h)through, plur. nom. acc. -ā, gen. -ānām ‘king,’ Mod. P. shah; Kšāyaṭiyānām Kšāyaṭi(h) ‘the King of Kings,’ Mod. P. shāhshāh.

⁵ vazraka-, adj. ‘great,’ Mod. P. buzurg; nom. sg. -a(h).

⁶ pārsa-, m. (1) ‘Persian (adj.), ‘a Persian’ (subst.)—2. ‘Persia.’ sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, loc. -a(h); Mod. P. Pārsi ‘Pārsi-Zoroastrian’ (the inhabitants of Persia also called themselves Irānīyān ‘Aryans’).

⁷ dāhyu-, sb. f. ‘region, province, country,’ Aw. dāhyu, Mod. P. dih ‘village’ (Pahlv. deh), Sg. nom. -dūsh (cp. Aw. uzbāūsh, Gāth. hithūsh), acc. -dūum (cf. Aw. nāsūum), loc. -dūvā; pl. nom. acc. -dvā(h), gen. -dūm, loc. -dūvād.

⁸ Vistāspahy-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, gen. -a(ha); name of King Darius’ father (Aw. Vistāspah; Mod. Pers. Gushtāsp).

⁹ putra-, sb. m. ‘son,’ Aw. puthra, Mod. P. yusur; nom. sg. -a(h).

¹⁰ Arshāma-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), gen. -a(h); name of the grandfather of King Darius.

¹¹ napā-, sb. m., sg. nom. -d (Aw. napād) ‘grandson’; Mod. P. nava, etc.

¹² Hakhāmanisīya-, adj., sg. nom. -a(h); pl. nom. -d ‘the Achaemenid’.
2. Tātiyē Darayava(h)uṣ kṣāyaṭiya(h): Manā pītā. Vištāspa(h) Vištāspahyā pītā Arṣāma(h), Arṣāmahiya pītā Ariyārāmna(h), Ariyārāmnaḥyā pītā [Caṣpiā,] Caṣpiāṣ pītā Haṟkāmanis.

3. Tātiy Darayava(h)uṣ kṣāyaṭiya(h): Avahyarādiyjango vayam Haṟkāmanisīyaḥ tāhāmahiya, haca pruviyat(h)āḥām(h) athah α(‘it was said’, ‘they said’). Passiv. pres. thahyamaḥy ‘we are called’ (with active ending), aorist. athahy ‘it was said’ (or perhaps athahya(h) imperf. with active ending). Inf. thastanaiy.

2 thah verb ‘to say, speak’, Aw. rt. saḥḥ. Pres. conj. thāhy ‘thou mayest say’, indic. thātiy ‘he says’, (both being contracted from thahāhy, thahatiy) ; imperf. athaham ‘I said’, athaha(h) ‘he said,’ athahana(h) ‘they said’. Passiv. pres. thahyamaḥy ‘we are called’ (with active ending), aorist. athahy ‘it was said’ (or perhaps athahya(h) imperf. with active ending). Inf. thastanaiy.

8 pitar sb. m. ‘father’, Aw. pitar, Mod. P. pītar; nom. sg. -ā.  

3 Ariyārāmnaḥ, m., sg. nom.-a(h), gen. -ahyā; name of the great-grandfather of King Darius (‘making happy the Aryans’).

Caṣpiā-, m., gen. sg. -āish, Teispest. (son of Achāmenes).

5 aca-, demonstr. pron. ‘that,’ Aw. aca, Mod. P. ṣ. Sing. acc. aram, gen. avahyā, comp. avahyārdiy; pl. nom. acc. avaiyā, gen. avaiṣṭhum; neut. sing aca(h), (Aw. aca!), aca-paṟā ‘by, past that’ (‘the went past that’); rādi in avahyārdiy (loc. sg.) ‘for this reason’ (adverb) ; Mod. P.-rā (harāy).

pruviyata(h) adverb, with hacha ‘from early times’ from adj. pruviya, Aw. pūṛṛya with suffix -tah, comp. Aw. hataḥ ‘by himself,’

amāta-, adj. ‘proved, fit,’ nom. pl. -ā; Aw. amāta, Mod. P. amāda (orig-
4. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭiya(h) : VIII manā taumāyā tyaiy
duruvam kaśāyaṭiṇā āha(n), adam navama(h) IX duvitātranaṃ
evaṃ kṣāyaṭiṇā amahy.

5. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭienda(h) : Vaśnā A(h)uramazdaḥ
dam kṣāyaṭienda(h) amiy. A(h)uramazdaṃ kṣatram manā frābara(h).

6. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭiṇa(h) : Imā' dahiṭva(h) tyā manā
duḥṣātrasūryaṃ kṣatram.

1 tyā-, relat. pron. 'who' (m., f.), 'what,' Skr. tyā-, (nom. sg. sya),
but Aw. only ya-; also as article e.g. Gaumāṭa(h) hya(h) maguṣ,
Gau-
māṭam tyam magum 'G., the Mag-
ian.' Mase. sg. nom. hya(h), acc.
tyam, plur. nom. tyaiy, acc. tyaiy-
patiyi, gen. tyaiṣhām; fem. sg. nom.
hyā, acc. tyām, pl. nom. acc. tyā;
neutr. sg. nom. acc. tyā(h), pl. acc.
tyā, tyāliṣh, but also tyā-na (manā
dāṭa) 'whatever my laws (were)' with shortened ā as in avadashim,
etc.

2 paruvam adverb 'before,' paruvamcyi ; Aw. pourva.

3 duvitātrnaṃ adv. 'of old,' cp. Lat, diuturnus (W. Foy).

4 vashna-, sb. m. 'wish, grace'; instr. sg. -ā; by the grace (of Ahura-
mazda)' ; Aw. vasna.

5 khshtra-, sb. n. nom. acc. sg.
'rule, kingdom'; Aw. khshathra,
Mod. P. shahr 'country' (older), 'city.'
khshatrāpaṇaṃ-, sb. m., nom. sg. -d
'satrap'; from khshatra and rt. pā
'protect.'

6 bar verb 'bear, carry,' Aw.
rt. bar, Mod. P. baram; imperf. act.
abaram avam(h)ubram 'I bore him
well-supported,' abara(h) upastāṃ 'he
bore aid,' middle abara(n)ā manā
bājim 'they bore tribute to me';

with patiy and ā, 'bring back,'
imperf. patiyābaram 'I brought
back';

with parā 'bear away'; āpishim
parābara(h) 'the water bore it
away,' yathā Gaumāṭa(h) vilam tyām
amākham naiy parābara(h), 'when
G. had not yet borne away (i.e., put
aside) our family'; part pret.
parābrta- : khsharatram tyā(h) hač
amākham taumāyā parābrtam āha(h)
'the kingdom that had been borne
away from our race,' tyā(h) parābrtam
'that which had been borne away';

with fra 'deliver, hand over,'
imperf. frābara(h) manā khshatram
'he handed over to me the kingdom.'

7 ima-, demonstr. pron. 'this,' Aw.
im(a), Mod. P. im-shab, im-rōz, sing. acc.
m. imam (Aw. imem), f. imām (Aw.
imam); plur. nom. acc. m. imāiy
(Aw. imē), f. imd (Aw. imdo) ; neutr.
nom. sg. ima(h), (Aw. imaI), acc.
plur. imd.
patiyāsā(n), vaṣaṇā A(h)uramazdāha(h) adāmām, ezāyasīya(h) āham: Parsah, (H)uvja(h), Bābīrās, A(f)urās, Arabāya(h), Mudrāya(h), tyātīy drayahyā, Sparda(h), Yaunā, Māda(h), Armina(h), Katpatuka(h), Parša(h), Zar(a)(n)ka(h).

1 i verb 'go,' Aw. rt. i, Mod.P. dy-am (with prefix d). Pres. indic. aittīy 'he goes' (Aw. ātīi) signmatic aorist ādiš 'he went' aīshā(n) 'they went'; with aitiy 'pass by, go past,' aītyādiš 'he passed by';

with apanyi 'go behind, follow,' 3rd plur. imperf. aparyi-āyu(n): ima dahydra(h) tyand mand dātā ap- 'these countries followed my laws,' i.e., 'they submitted to my laws' (Bartholomae reads a(h)aparyiāyu(n) 'they respected' and compares Skr. aparyadyati), perhaps uparyiāyu(n) should be read;

with apariy, aparyi abashtām uparyi-āyu(n) 'I went upon the law,' i.e., 'I acted according to the law'; with niy, niy-āyu(n) (corrected from niyāyam) 'I went away, marched off';

with patiy, patiy-ādiša(n) manā 'they came to me,' i.e., 'they became subject to me';

with para, imperf. para-yā(h) 'he marched away'; imperative para-idiy 'go, march out' (Aw. idhi), plur para-itā; part. pret. para-ita-, nom. plur. -ā.

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2 -sha enclitic pronoun 'he, it' (Aw. the same, Mod. P. -ash); sg. gen. dat. -shoīy (Aw. -shē) in adām-shoīy, avathā-shoīy, udā-shoīy, tyat-shoīy, paśāva-shoīy; abl. -sha(h) in hocē avada-sha(h) 'from there, away from

it' (pleonastically); plur. gen. shām in adām-shām, avathā-shām, avam-shām, utā-shām, tyā-shām, yathā-shām, hya-shām.

3 (H)uvja-, m. 'Susiana,' Mod. P. Chūzištān; sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, loc. -aīy.

Bābīrās-, sg. nom. -us, acc. -um gen. (abl.) -auh, loc. -av; 'Babylon.'

Athūrā-, f., sg. nom. -ā, loc. -āyā; 'Assyria.'

Arabāya-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) 'Arabia.'

Mudrāya-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc.-am, 'Egypt' (Hebr. Miṣrayim).

Sparda-, m., sg. nom. -a(h)'Lydia' (cp. Sardes, the capital of Lydia).

Yaunā-, m. 'the Ionian'; plur. nom. -ā.

Māda-, m.; Mod. P. Mēth (1) adj. 'Median'; (2) subst. 'the Median'; (3) 'Media'; sg. nom. -a(h), acc.-am, loc.-aiy, pl.instr.-aibāh, loc. aishvā.

Armina-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc.-am, loc.-aiy, 'Armenia.'

Katpatuka-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) 'Cappadocia.'

Parthara-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) 'Parthia'; Mod. P. pahlav 'hero' (originally 'Parthian').

Zara(n)ka-, or Zra(n)ka-, m., sg. nom. -a(h); 'Drangiana.'
Haraiva(h)², (H)uvārazmiya(h)⁴, Bāêtriś, Suguda(h)⁵, Ga(n)ḍāra(h)⁹, Saka(h)⁴, Tātaguś, Hara(h)uvatī⁸, Maka(h)⁷; fraharvam¹⁰ dahyāva(h) XXIII.

7. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uṣ kāṣaya(h) : Īmā dahyāva(h), tā manā pātyāiṣa(n) vaśnā A(h)uramazdā(h) manā bad(n)akā¹¹ āha(n)ta, manā bajim¹² abara(n)ta tyāsām, hacāma(h) aṭahy kṣāpavā¹² raucaaptivā¹² ava¹² akunavaya(n)ta.¹⁶

¹ Harāiva-, m., sg. -a(h), 'Herāt' (Mod. P. Harē).
² Huvārazmiya-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), 'Chorasmia'; Aw. Hvārisāo, Mod. P. Khevaṇum.
⁴ Suguda-, m., sg. -a(h) 'Sogdiāna'; Aw. Sugdāha, Mod. P. Soghā.
⁵ Ga(n)ḍāra-, m., nom. sg. -a(h).
⁶ Name of a country near the Indus, Greek Gandāritis or Gandarikē.
⁷ Saka-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) ; 'Scythia'; Mod. P. Sagistān.
⁸ Thatagū-, m., nom. sg. -uṣhi 'Satagydiān.'
⁹ Hara(h)uvatī-, f., nom. sg. -iṣṭ, acc. -iṃ, loc. -iṣṭā 'Arachosia'; Aw. Harakahcñti.
¹⁰ Maka-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) ; the country of Mākrān.
¹¹ fraharvam, adverb 'altogether'; op. harvva 'all.' Aw. haurva.
¹² ba(n)ḍaka-, sb. m. 'servant,' Mod. P. bandah ; sg. nom. -a(h), pl. nom. -ā (or fem. adj. 'they were subject to me').
¹⁴ kṣhapa-, sb. f., acc. pl. kṣhapsa-pāvī raucaaptivā 'during nights or days;' Aw. kṣhapa or kṣhapan; Mod. P. chab.
¹⁵ raucaah-, sb. n. 'day,' Aw. raocah-'light,' Mod. P. rõ 'day' ; sg. nom. rauca(h), plur. acc. rauca-pāvā 'or during days' (instead of rauca-pāvā as aradashīm, tyānā with shortened a), instr.-abish.
¹⁶ ava-, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. ava-, Mod. P. ā; sing. acc. avam, gen. avahyā, comp. avahyarādiy; plur. nom. acc. avaiy, gen. avaiśād; neut. sg. acc. ava(h), (Aw. avat), avapard 'by, past that;' (he went past that).
¹⁷ kar, verb 'make.' (Aw. rt. kar, Mod. P. kardān), pres. conj. kunavāh, 'whatever thou mayest do' (Aw. kerenaḵvēh); imperat. kunautu (Skr. kṛṇātu) 'he shall do'; imper. act. akunavam 'I made,' akunavah 'he made' (with ūh from the sigmatic aorist), akunavah(n) 'they made' (Aw. kerenaḵvēn), middle akunavatā avam mathiśtam 'they made him chief,' akunavya(n)ta (causative), 'they did;' aorist act. akumā 'we made,' middle akutā (h)uvā-paṣhil- yam 'he made self-government' (Skr. ākṛta); part. pret. kṛta- 'made, done' (Aw. kereta), neutr. sg. -am ; inf. cārtaṇaṇ (with c instead of k, as Aw. cahyā 'whose? near kahyā); perf. optat. cakhrīyā(h); kashiya hya(h) avam kṣhahram ditam cakhrīyā(h) 'somebody who would have made him deprived of the kingdom;' with ā, imperat. pass. ākariya(n)taṃ uṣmayapatiy 'they shall be emplaced' (Skr. kriyāntām); with pari 'guard' (Skr. 'adorn, prepare'), pres. conj. (1st class) pari-karāh or pari-karāh(i)dish 'thou mayest guard them,' parikārād the same (cp. Aw. barāhī and payā).
8. Tātiy Dārayav(h)uš kšāyatiya(h): A(n)tar imā dahiyāva(h) martiya(h) 2 hya(h) dautā, 3 āha(h) avam (h)ubrātām abaram, hya(h) araika(h) 4 āha(h) avam (h) ufrastām 5 aprsam. Vaśnā A(h) uramazdāhā(h) imā dahiyāva(h) tyanā manā dātā 6 apariyāya(n); yatāsām 7 hacāma(h) aṭahy, avatā 8 akunavya(n)tā.

9. Tātiy Dārayav(h)uš kšāyatiya(h): A(h) uramazdā manā kšatram trābara(h), A(h) uramazdāmaitu upastām 9 abara(h), yatā 10 ima(h) kšatram adāry. 11 Vaśnā A(h) uramazdāhā(h) ima(h) kšatram dārayāmiy.

1 a(n)tar prepos. with accus. 'within,' Aw. antare, Mod. P. andar; a(n)tar imā dahiyāva(h) 'within these countries,' a(n)tar didām 'within the fortress,' a(n)tar imā hamarānā 'within these battles.'

2 martiya-, sb. m. 'man,' Mod. P. mard; sg. nom. -a(h), acc.-am, plur. nom. -ā, instr. -aibish.

3 dauštār, sb. m. 'friend,' Mod. P. dōstār; sg. nom. -ā; A(h) uramazdā ādām d. biya(h) (1) 'A. may be friend to thee,' avaiy mā d. (sc. biya) 'to him be not a friend.' Aw. azošhtar.

4 araika-, adj., sg. nom. m. -a(h) 'hostile;' Aw. araēka (epithet of the ant, not clear), Mod. P. rēga hāte, 'enmity.' Also araika may be read Skr. ari 'enemy.'

5 pars verb, Aw. rt. peres, Mod. P. puršdān, 'inquire,' i.e. 'punish,' imperf. aprsām (h) ufrastām 'I punished him severely,' conj. pres. āpādi 'thou mayest punish,' avaiy ahihrāštāidiy āpādi 'punish them with capital punishment.'

with pati:y 'read (an inscription),' conj. pres. pati: pādāhī 'thou mayest read,' pati:prādāhī 'he may read.'

6 dātā-, sb. n. 'law,' Aw. dāta, Mod. P. dātā; plur. nom. -ā.

7 yathā, Aw. yatha (1) adverb 'as,' yathā—avathā 'as—so;' (2) conj. (a) 'when' with indic. preter.; (b) 'because,' yathā naiy araica(h) dāham 'because I was not hostile.'

8 avathā adverb 'thus'; Aw. avatha.

9 upastā-, sb. f. sg. acc.-ām 'help;' Aw. upastā.

10 yatā conj. (1) 'when, while, with indic. preter. yatā avājanam 'when I killed,' yatā adām Bābirauv dāham 'while I was in Babylon.' (2) 'until' with indic. preter., yatā ima(h) kšhatram adāry 'until this kingdom was held,' yatā adām arasām 'until I arrived,' yatā avāstāgam 'until I put in its place.' citā—yatā 'as long—until.'

11 dar verb 'hold,' Aw. rt. dar, Mod. P. dāram, dāshton; (1) 'hold, possess,' ima(h) kšhatram dārayāmiy 'I hold this kingdom,' kāra(h) Tigrām adāraya(h) 'the army held the Tigris,' avadā adāraya(h) 'there he held,' (i.e., he held that city as the king's officer); aor. pass. basta(h) adāry 'he was held bound,' yatā ima(h) kšhatram adāry 'until this kingdom was held (i.e., occupied).'

(2) 'stand ground,' adākāy naiy adāraya(h) 'at that time he did not stand his ground.'
10. Tātiyā Dārayava(h)uṣ kāṣāyatiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) manā krtam, pasāva(h) yata kāṣāyatiya(h) abavam. Ka(n)bujiya(h) nāma(n) Kāraus6 putra(h), amāžam taumāyā, hauv paruvam idā kāṣāyatiya(h) āha(h); avahyā Ka(n)bujiyahyā brātā Bardiya(h) nāma(n) āha(h), hamātā hamapitā Ka(n)bujiyahyā, pasāva(h) Ka(n)bujiya(h) avam Bardiya m avāja(n). Yatā Ka(n)bujiya(h) Bardiya avāja(n), kārahyā11 naivy azdā12 abav(h) tya(h) Bardiya(h) avajata(h). Pasāva(h) Ka(n)bujiya(h) Mudrāyam13 asiyava(h). Yatā Ka(n)bujiya(h) Mudrāyam asiyava(h).

1 bā verb 'be, become,' Aw. rt. bā, Mod. P. bādan; imperf. abavam kāṣāyatiya(h) 'I became king,' abav(h) 'he was, became,' abava(n) 'they were, became' ; pres. optat. bīyā(h) 'may he be.'

2 Ka(n)bujiya-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, abl. -ā(h), gen. -aḥyā, 'Cambyses.'

3 nāman-, sb. n., 'name,' Aw. nāman, Mod. P. nām. The two forms we meet with are nāma and nāmā, which occur only after proper names in the meaning 'N. N. by name,' nāma with masc and neutr., nāmā with feminines. Nāma probably is the acc. nāma(n). Nāmā with feminines may be an old Persian new formation on the model of the frequently occurring ā- stems.

4 Kūr-, m., gen. sg. -aUSH 'Cyrus.' The length of the first 1 is proved by the Greek kyros.

5 idā adverb 'here'; Aw. idha.

6 Bṛdrār-, sb. m. 'brother'; sg. nom. ā; Aw. bhrār, Mod. P. bīrālar.

7 Bardiya- (perhaps Bṛdiya-), m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am 'Smerdis'; cp. Aw. bāresah 'height,' Mod. P. bālā.

8 hamātār-, adj., sg. nom. -ā 'having the same mother' (instead of hamāmātā).

9 hamapitār-, adj., sg. nom. -ā 'having the same father' (Aw. hāma 'the same').

10 jan verb. 'smite, put to flight,' Aw. jan, Mod. P. zānam, zādan. — Pres. imperat. jaṭiy 'smite' (Aw. jaiḥi), phr. jatā 'smite' ; imperf. ujanam 'I smote'; ajā(n) 'he smote'; with awa 'kill' (also Aw. and Pahliv.) imperf. awājanam 'I killed,' awājā(n) 'he killed,' awājana(n) 'they killed'; part. pret. awā-jata: tyah Bardiya(h) awajata(h) 'that B. (was) killed.'

11 kāra-, sb. m., nom. sg. -a(h), acc. -am, instr. -ā, gen. -aḥyā. 1 'army,' 2 'people,' comp. Mod. P. kāri 'warrior,' kār-zār 'battle, field of battle.'

naivy adverb 'not'; Aw. nōit, Mod. Pers. nāh or nāi.

12 azdā-, sb. f., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, 'Egypt' (Hebr. Migrayim).

13 Mudrāyau-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, 'Egypt' (Hebr. Migrayim).
pasāva(h) kāra(h) araika(h) abava(h), pasāva(h) drauga(h)1 dahyauvā vasiyā
abava(h), utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy utā aniya(h)uvā2 dahyauvā.

11. Ťātiy Dārāyava(h)us ēšiyatiya(h): Pasāva(h) I martiya(h) Maguśa
āha(h) Gammāta(h)3 nāma(n). Hanv udapatata4 hacā Paśiyah(h)uvādāya,'
Arakadriś5 nāma(n) kauna(h)6 hacā avadaṣa(h),10 Viyaḵnahya11 māhyā
XIV raučabiś takaṭa12 ḍha(h) yadiy13 udapatā. Hanv kārahyā avata

1 drauga-, sb. m., 'lie,' Aw. draughha, Mod. P. durogh; sg. nom.
-ā(h), abl. -ā(h).
2 vasiy adverb 'much,' originally 'according to wish,' Mod. P. bas.
3 aniya- pron. 'another' (not 'enemy'), Aw. aniya; aniya — aniya
'the one — the other.' Sing. nom.
-ā(h), acc. -am, gen. -ahyā, neutr. aniyaš-ey; plur. nom. acc. m.
-ā, loc. f. -ā(h)urā.
4 Magu-, sb. m. 'the Magian';
sg. nom. -ush, acc. -um; Mod. P.
'Magh, Mōbał' (Pahlv. Magōpat).
5 Gammātu-, m., sg. nom. -a(h),
acc. -am; name of the false Smerdis
('cow-expert').
6 pat, verb 'to fall,' Aw. pat,
Mod. P. u-Jt-ātān; middle with ud
'revolt,' imperf. ud-apatatā 'he
revolted;' ud verbal prefix 'out'
(Skr. ud) with pat.
7 Paśiyah(h)uvādā-, f., sg. acc.
-ām, gen. -ahyā; name of a city or
region.
8 Arkadriś-, sg. nom. -ish; name
of a mountain.
9 kaunā-, sb. m., sg. nom. -a(h)
'mountain'; Aw. kana, Mod.P. kōh.
10 avadā, adverb (Aw. avadha)
'there' (never 'thither'); before
a following enclitic pronoun the
ā is shortened, e.g. avadashim, ava-
dashish, hacā avadasa(h) 'from
there' (see shā-).

11 Viyaḵaha-, m., sg. gen. -ahyā.
Name of a Persian month,(according to
Justi 'without ice,' Mod.P. yakh).

12 thakatā, a much discussed
word. It occurs always in the fol-
lowing construction: Name of a
month in genitive, e.g., Viyaḵnahya
māhyā x (a numeral) raučabish
thakatā ḍha(h) yadiy or waṭhā, etc.
The meaning evidently is 'it was on
such and such a day of such a month,
when'; but the construction is less
clear. Literally we may translate
'with x days of the month y, in the
course (of time or the month) it was,
when.' Then thakatā would be the
loc. sg. of a subst. f. thakati- 'the
course' (‘cp. Aw. rt. sac ‘to pass’),
and raučabish the instrumental of
duration of time. If the first day of a
month is meant, we find in the text
rāuva(h) 'one day was in the course.'

13 yadiy conj., Aw. yēzi; (1) 'if
always with a following conjunctive:
(2) 'when.' ḍha(h) yadiy udapatā
'it was when he rose up.'
adurujiya(h)\(^1\) : adam Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kārāuš putra(h), Ka(n)bujiyayahyā brātā. Pasāva(h) kāra(h) haruva(h)\(^2\) hamitriya(h)\(^3\) abava(h), haça Ka(n)bujiyā(h) abiy\(^4\) avam āsiyaya(n), utā Parsa(h) utā Mādā(h) utā aniyā dahiya(h), kṣatram hav agrbāyata,\(^5\) Garmapada(hyā)\(^6\) māhya IX raucaibiš takaṭā āha(h) avatā kṣatram agrbāyata. Pasāva(h) Ka(n)bujiyā(h) (h)uvāmrṣiyuṣ\(^7\) amriyata.\(^8\)

12. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyačiya(h) : Aita(h)\(^9\) kṣatram tya Gau-māta(h) hya Magnus adinā\(^10\) Ka(n)bujiyam, aita(h) kṣatram hacā pruviyata(h)

\(^1\) duruj verb ‘lie, tell a lie,’ Aw. druj, Pahlv. druṣṭan ; imperfect. adurujiya(h) uṣṭhā kārasyā or kāram. ‘he believed the people thus,’ adurujiyashā(n) kāram ‘they believed the people’; part. pret. durukhta- ‘not true, false,’ neutr. hashiyam naiy durukhant ‘true, not false,’ with rt. man ‘to regard as a lie.’

\(^2\) haruva- adj., ‘whole, entire,’ kāra(h) haruva(h) ‘the whole army.’ Aw. haruva, Mod. P. har.

\(^3\) hamitriya- adj., ‘rebellious,’ masc. sg. nom.-a(h), acc.-am, plur. nom. instr.-aibish, fem. plur. nom. acc.-a, ha‘away from and mitra(Aw. mitra ‘contract’).

\(^4\) abiy, prepos. with accusative (Aw. aivi, Mod.P. pref. a-robhātan, etc.) ; 1, ‘to, towards’ with rt. shiigu ‘go over to,’ rt. ni ‘lead to,’ rt. ish and fra ‘send to’; 2, ‘against’ with rt. shiigu ‘march against,’ rt. ish and fra ‘send against’; askhavīy dhām abiy (II) urjam ‘I was on the march against or towards Susiana.’

\(^5\) garb verb ‘seize, grasp,’ Aw. rt. gereev, Mod. P. giristān. Imperf. indic. act. agrbāyam ‘I seized (Babylon and that Nādintābāira),’ agrbāya(h) ‘he seized,’ agrbāya(n) ‘they seized’; middle agrbāyata ‘he seized (for himself)’; pass. Fravartish agrbāyata ‘Fravartish was seized.’ Cp. Aw. gērawdān, i.e., \(^*\) gerewāyen, Skr. gṛbhāyāti ‘he seizes.’

\(^6\) Garmapada-, m., gen. sg. -hyā. Name of a Persian month (‘having hot traces’).

\(^7\) huvāmrṣiyuṣ- adj., nom. sg. -ush, ‘committing suicide’ (Aw. kuvmerethyā).

\(^8\) mar verb ‘die,’ Aw. rt. mar. Mod. P. mōrdan ; imperfect. (pass.) amriyata ‘he died.’ ā nominal ‘hither, unto, in’ (e.g., ayadana, avahana) or verbal prefix (with rt. kar, rt. yas), also aca ā, patiy ā; Aw. d, (Mod. Persian anadan, etc.)

\(^9\) aita(h), demonstr. pron. neutr* ‘this,’ aita(h) kḥshatram ‘this kingdom,’ Aw. aṭat.

\(^10\) di verb ‘to take away,’ Aw. rt. zi (zyd), Pahlv. zintān (a Median form or only an Avestan transcription); imperfect. act. adinām kḥshatram-shim ‘I took the kingdom from him,’ kḥshatram adinā(h) ‘he seized the kingdom,’ adinā(h) Ka(n)bujiyam utā Pārsam utā Mādām ‘he took from Cambyses both Persia and Media,’ tyādīsh adinā(h) ‘which he had taken away from them’ (cp. Aw. zināt conj. pres.); part. preter. dita-, avam kḥshatram dītam cakhriyā(h) ‘he would have made him deprived of the kingdom.’
amākam taumāyā āha(h). Pasāvā(h) Gaumāta(h) hya(h) Maguš adinā
Ka(n)bujiyam, utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniāyā dahyāva(h), hauvā
āyasatā  (h)uvāpaśiymā akutā, hauv ēśāyatiyā(h) abava(h).

13. Tātīy Dārayava(h)uṇ ēśāyatiyā(h) : Naivy āha(h) martiyya(h)  
naivy Pārsam(h) naivy Māda(h) naivy amākam taumāyā kaścīy,  
yha(h) avam Gaumātam tyam Magum ēśatram ditam caṇriyā(h) ; kāraśim hacā darśam  
aṭra(h) ; kāram vasiy avājaniyā(h) hya(h) paramān  
Bardiyam adānā(h). Āvahyarādīy kāram avājaniyā(h) mātyāmān  
kānāsatiy  

hauv  pron. pers, masc, and fem.  
that’ (Aw. hū); fem. hauvmai  
hositiyā abara(h), ‘she (a land) became rebellious to me.’

yas, verb (inchoative stem to rt. yam), Aw. the same with d  ‘seize  
on,’ imperf. middle āyasatā: utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniāyā dahya(vu)(h) hauv āyasatā,  
‘he seized upon both Persia and Media as well as the other provinces ; avam kāram d ;  
‘he seized upon the army’; kāram d . . . ‘he seized upon the troops.’

(h)uvāpaśiyma, sb. n.  ‘self-

government’; acc. -am, akutā ‘he  
practised self-government’ (i.e.  
sovereignty); cp. Aw. huvāpāithya.

martiyya, sb. m.  ‘man,’ Mod. P.  
mard; sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, plur.  
nom. acc. -ā, instr. -aibish.

ka-, originally interrog. pron.  
‘who, what ?’ (Aw. ka, Mod. P.  
kih); with ciy indef. pron. ‘every,  
any.’ Kashei, (Aw. Gāth, has-eit)

hya(h) ‘any one who’; enclit. -kaiy  
in adakaiy (y. v.), likewise tvam kā  
hya(h) ‘thou who (wilt be king)’—  
-kaiy and kā were originally cases.

darśam  adv. ‘strongly, very’  
(atra(h) ‘he feared’ pātigava(h)-  
uvā ‘protect thyself.’)

tars, verb ‘fear,’ Aw. rt. tars.  
Mod. P. tarśaṇa; imperf. atra(h)  
‘he feared,’ atra(h) ‘they feared’  
(cp. Aw. teresaṭiti).

paramān, adverb ‘formerly’;  
ep. Skr. purāṇ ‘former.’

da, (rather rt. dan, Aw. zan;  
Mod. P. dānam) verb ‘know,’  
imperf. act. adānd(h), (comp. Aw.  
Gāth, zānątā) ‘he knew’ (had  
known).

mātyā(h) conj. ‘that not, least’;  
with conj. mātyāmān khshnāsatiy  
‘that he might not know me,’  
mātya(h) maniyāhy, vikanāhy  
maniyātiy, thadāyātiy.

khshnās, verb ‘know’ (inchoative  
stem); conj. pres. mātyāmān khshnā- 
satiy ‘that (the people) might not  
know me,’ Mod. P. shināsam ‘I know.’
Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûruaš putra(h). Kašciey naïy adriansauš cišciy ūstanaïy pariy Gaumātam, tym Magum, yātā adam arasam.* Pasāva(h), adam A(h)uramazdām patiyāvahaiy A(h)uramazdāmai upastām abara(h). Bāgayādaïśi māhyā X raucabiš takatā āha(h), avaatā adam haduš kannabiš martiyaibiš avam Gaumātam tym Magum avājanam utā tyašiñy fratamā martiya anišiñy āha(n)tā. Šikaya(h)uvatiš namā didā* Nisāyā namā dañhānaus Mādaïy, avadašim1 avājanam, kšatramsīm adam adinam. Vašna A(h)uramazdāh(a) adam kšayañiya(h) abavam: A(h)uramazdā kšatram manā frubara(h).

14. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kšayañiya(h): Kšatram tya(h) hacā amākam tanmāy(h) parābṛtam āha(h), ava(h) adam patipadam12 akunavam, adamāśim

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1 darsh, verb 'dare,' Aw. rt. darsh; imperf. act. adhrshmuș thotanaïy 'he dared to say.'
2 ei- originally interrog. pron. 'who?' Aw. ei; neutr. acc. sg. ciẖciy 'anything'; (Mod. P. ciz); enclit. neutr. -oiy: kash-ciy (Aw. Gathā, kas-oit) naïy adhrsmuș ciẖciy thotanaïy 'any one did not dare to say anything,' aniñash-ciy (Skr. anyāccid) 'something else,' parwam-ciy 'formerly also.' See also citā.
3 pariy prepos. with accusative 'against' (Skr. pāri) pariy Gaumātam (any one did not dare to say anything) against G.
4 ras verb 'arrive,' Mod. P. rasiṇām; imperf. arasam 'I arrived' (Mādām arasam 'I went to Media'); with pari, 'arrive,' imperf. parārasam Mādām 'I came to Media,' parārāsia(h) Armānām 'he came to Armenia,' ahīy Vishtāspam 'to Vishtāsp.'
5 bāgayādil-, sg. gen. -aish; name of a Persian mouth ('the mouth of the worship of the gods').
6 hoddā prepos. 'with' with instrumental; Aw. hadda,
7 kamna-, adj., 'little, few' (Aw. kamna, Mod. P. kam); instr. plur. -aibish; adverb -am: kāra(h) kamnam āha(h), 'the army was small in number.'
8 Sikaya(h)urati-, i., sg. nom. -ish; name of a fortress in the district of Nisāya.
9 didā-, sb. f. 'fortress,' sg. nom. -ā, acc. -ām; not identical to Mod. P. diz, dizh 'fortress,' which rather belongs to Aw. doêza in pairidōêza,
10 Nisāyā-, m. sg. nom. -a(h); name of a district in Media.
11 -shī- enclit. pronoun 'he, it'; sg. acc. -shim in adam-shim (once neut. sc. khashtram), avarād-shim, úpishim (from úpish-shim), utā-shim, kāra-shim, khashtram-shim, pasāva-shim, harva-shim; pl. acc. -shish in avada-shish.
12 patipada-, adj. 'being in its place'; neutr. sg. acc. -am kshhatram akunavam 'I put the kingdom (back) in its place,' i.e., 'I restored it'; patipadā may also be an adverb patiy and accus. sg. padam from pad, 'foot,' ep. nipodiy).
'gācāval avāstāyam, yatā paruvanciy avatā adam akunavam. Ayadanā tyā Gaumāta(h) hya(h) Magnus viyaka(n)4 adam niyatrārayam kārāhyā abācariṣṭ gaṅāmīcā, māniyamcā, viyābīścā, tyādiś Gaumāta(h) hya(h) Magnus adinā(h). Adam kāram gācāvā avāstāyam Pārsamecā Mādamcā uta aniyā dahyāva(h), yatā paruvanciy avatā adam tyā(h) parābrtam patīyābaram, vaśnā λ(h)uramazdāhā(h) insa(h) adam akunavam. Adam hamataksaiy10 yatā viṭām11 tyām amākam gācāva avāstā.

1 gāthu-, sb., m., ‘place’; loc. sg. gāthavā avāstāyam ‘I put in (its) place.’
2 stā verb ‘stay,’ Aw. stā, Mod.P. istādan (older ēstādan); imperf. middle ah(h)ishtatā avudd ‘there it (the army) stood’; with aed ‘put down’; imperf. avāstāyam gāthavā ‘I put in its place’; with niy ‘command, order,’ imperf. niyastāyam (with sht instead of st) avudd patiyādyā(y)adā na(h)nām ‘I ordered that they shall be emplaced.’
3 āyadanā-, sb., n., ‘place of worship’ (not ‘temple’), pl. acc. -ā; from rt. yad, Aw. yac ‘worship’ and prefix ā.
4 kan, verb ‘dig,’ Aw. rt. kan, Mod. Pers. kanānan, with aca: adam kāram ma... kā(h)uravā avākānām ‘I dug down (i.e. I divided) my army in two parts (?)’ with niy: avataiy A(h)uramazdā nika(n)tw ‘A. may destroy it to thee; with viy nominal or verbal prefix, ‘asunder’ (Aw. vi, Mod.P. guṭhaṣṭan, etc.); viyaka(n) ‘he had destroyed’ (the places of worship), pres. conj. māya(h) vikaṇāth ‘thou mayest not destroy,’ yadiy vikanā(h)i’dish ‘if thou destroyest them.’
5 trāri-, verb (reproduced intensive form); with niy ‘restore,’ pret. niy-atrārayyem ‘Restored,’ comp. Aw. niṣrārayāo ‘thou shalt restore.’

ābācariṣṭ or abācariṣ, the reading being quite uncertain. There are plenty of interpretations (e.g., ‘market-places, commerce’—Pahlv. vācār does not allow a comparison with Mod.P. bācār—‘pasture-ground, resources, waterworks, liberty’), but none of them is convincing.

5 gaṭhā-, sb., f., sg. acc. -ām ‘possession, fortune, estate’; Aw. gaṭhā.
6 māniya-, sb., n., sg. acc. ‘the house’; Mod. P. mān ‘house.’
7 viṭā-, pron. ‘all, every’ (also vis-a, a Median form in contrast to vispa); plur. instr. viṭābīścā ‘and altogether’ (Bartholomae).
8 tukhār verb, Aw. rt. thukhāh, ‘be active,’ Mod. P. tukhāh ‘energetical’;
with ham ‘endeavour, be active’ imperf. middle ham-atukhāshaīy ‘I endeavoured,’ ham-atukhāshaīd mana viṭiyā ‘he was active on the side of my family,’ ham-atukhāsha(n)ād ‘they were active as my followers.’
9 viṭh., sb., f., ‘race, tribe, family’ (Aw. viś); sg. acc. -ām tyām amākh ‘our family,’ instr. viṭhā-patiy kār(h) hya(h) aha(h) ‘the army that was at home (there),’ i.e., the army formed by the natives of the province, this being a principle of king Darius; loc. viṭhryā; hya(h) hamataksaiy manār... ‘who was active on the side of my family.’

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yam, yatâ paruvamciy avatâ adam hamatakâsaiy, vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) yatâ Gaumâtâ(h) hya(h) Maguś vitam tyâm amâkam naïy parâbara(h).

15. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyaṭiyâ(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunam, pasâva(h) yatâ kšâyaṭiyâ(h) abavam.

16. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyaṭiyâ(h): Yaâ adam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam. Pasâva(h) I martiya(h) Âtrina(h)² nâma(n), Upadâra(n)maḥyâ² putra(h), hauv udapatâtâ (H)uvjaïy, kârahyâ avatâ atâha(h) : Adam (H)uvjîyâ kšâyaṭiyâ(h) amiy. Pasâva(h) (H)uvjîyâ hamitriyâ abava(n), abiy avam Âtrinam aśiyava(n); hauv kšâyaṭiyâ(h) abava(h) (H)uvjaïy. Utâ I martiya(h) Bâbiruviyâ(h),³ Nâdi(n)tabaira(h)⁴ nâma(n), Ainaraḥyâ³ putra(h), hauv udapatâtâ Bâbirauv, kâram avatâ aduvjaïyâ(h) : Adam Nabukudracara(h)⁵ amiy, hya(h) Nabunaituhyâ⁷ putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) hya(h) Bâbiruviyâ(h) haruva(h) abiy avam Nâdi(n)tabairam aśiyava(h), Bâbiruṣ⁸ hamitriyâ(h) abava(h) ; kšatram tya(h) Bâbirauv hauv agrbâyatâ.

17. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyaṭiyâ(h): Pasâva(h) adam (kûram) frâšyam⁹ (H)uvjîm. Hauv Âtrina(h) basta(h)¹⁰ anayat¹¹ abiy mâm, adamâsim avâjanam.

¹ Âtrina-, m. sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am. Name of a Susian rebel; notwithstanding that the name is Persian, it is an abbreviation from Šàtreduâ or the like with the suffix -ina.
² Upadâra(n)ma-, m. gen. sg. -ahyâ; name of a Susian (Ukpâtârârma).
³ Bâbiruviyâ-, adj. (1) ‘Babylonian’; (2) ‘the Babylonian’; nom. sg. -a(h).
⁴ Nâdi(n)tabaira-, m. sg. nom. -a(h); acc. -am, gen. -ahyâ ‘Nidintubêl’ (a Babylonian).
⁵ Ainara-, m. gen. sg. -ahyâ; name of Nadintabaira’s father; Babyl. ‘Anîri.’
⁶ Nabukudracara-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) ‘Nebukadrezer’ (the Babylonian king).
⁷ Nabunaita-, m., sg. gen. -ahyâ Nabuna’îd’ (the last Babylonian king).
⁹ ish (Aw. the same), causative stem with fra ‘to send’; imperf. frâšhâyam ‘I sent,’ frâšhaya(h) ‘he sent.’
¹⁰ ba(n)â verb ‘bind,’ (Aw. rt. band, Mod. P. bandan); part. pret. basta-, nom. sg. -a(h), plur. -â.
¹¹ ni, verb ‘conduct, lead,’ Aw. rt. ni, Pahlv. nitan. Imperf. act. anaya(h) ‘he led (him),’ pass. anayat ‘he was led’—perhaps it would be better to read ânaya(h) and ânâyat (with prefix d); with patiy and d ‘to bring forward,’ aniyâyâ aspât patiy-ânayañ to the other (part) I brought forward horses,’ i.e., I gave them horses.
18. Ḍārayava(h)uš ḵšayatiya(h) : Pasāva(h) adam Bābirum ašiyavam abiy avam Nadi(n)tabairam, hya(h) Nabu(uk(udracara(h) agaunbatā.1 Kāra(h) hya(h) Nadi(n)tabirahyā Tigrām adāraya(h), avadā a(h)štāta2 utā abīs3 nāviyā4 āha(h). Pasāva(h) adam karam ma... kā(h)uvā avākanam.4 aniyaṃ... sabārim akunavam aniyaḥyā aspā patiyaḥ-nayam. A(h)uramazdānmiyi upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāha(h) Tigrām viyatarayāma.5 Pasāva(h) avadā kāram tym Nadi(n)tabairahyā

1 guh verb, 'speak,' middle 'to call himself, to be called,' Mod. P. guftun. Pres. indic. gaukadaiy (kāra(h) hya(h) manā nāyi) 'the army which does not call itself mine,' kāram hya(h) Dārayava(h)-aush khshayatihiya(h) 'the army which calls itself of Darius the king'; conj. gaukadaiy (only once, perhaps erroneously instead of the indicative) imperf. sg. aguvalatā (hya(h) Nabu(ukudracara(h) ) 'who called himself N., (hya(h) Mādaiy khshayatihiya(h) 'who called himself king in Media,' (hya(h) Bardiyya(h) 'who called himself B.,' imperf. pl. aguvalu(h)td Fravartaish 'they called themselves of Fravartish (i.e. his followers).

2 stā verb 'stay,' Aw. stā, Mod.P. istādan (older ēstādan); imp., middle a(h)ishtāta avadā 'there it (the army) stood'; with neva 'put down'; imperf. avāstāyam gāthaed 'I put in its place';

with niy 'command, order, imperf. niyashtāyam (with sht instead of st) usmayāpatiyyākariya(n)-tām 'I ordered: they shall be empaled.'

3 abīs, adverb 'thereby'; as patish from patiyyā.

4 nāviyā-, sb. f. 'squadron (of ships);' sg. nom. -ā utā abīs āha(h) 'and thereby was a squadron'; Aw. cp. mēdu 'navigator,' Mod. P. nēr. 'boat,' nākhudd 'shipmaster.

5 kān verb 'to dig,' Aw. rt. kān, Mod. P. kandān;

with ava: adam karam ma... kā(h)uvā avākanam 'I dug down (i.e. I divided) my army in two parts (?)

with niy: avatāiy A(h)uramazdā nika(u) bēv: 'May A(h)uramazda destroy it to thee';

with viy : viyaka(u) he had destroyed ' (the places of worship), pres. conj. mēlyā(h) vikanahy 'thou mayest not destroy,' yudīy vikanah(i)dish 'if thou destroyest them.'

6 tar verb, Aw. rt. tar 'cross;'

with fru 'conduct, lead' (Skr. tr. tar + pra), part. pret. fratrūt(h) [āha(h)] hamburg 'the army was led astray from reverence,' i.e. 'it broke its oath of allegiance';

with viy 'cross' (a river), viyatarayāma Tigrām 'we crossed the Tigris'; Mod. P. gudāshātan, gusavam.
adam ajanam vasiy. Átriyádiyahya¹ máhyá XXVI raucabíš takatá áha(h), avaţã hamaranam akumã.

19. Tátiy Dárayava(h)uš kšayačiya(h) : Pasáva(h) adam Bábirum ašiyavam. Abiy Bábirum yata naíy upáyam, Zazána(h)² náma(n) vardanam³ anuv*Hufrátavá,⁴ avadã háy Nadi(u)tabairà(h), hya(h) Nábuk(u)dracara(h) agaubatá, aíš hadá kárà patiš⁵ mám hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasáva(h) hamaranam akumã, A(h)uramazdámai upastán abara(h), vásnã A(h)uramazdáha(h) káram tyam Nadi(n)tabairahyá adam ajanam vasiy. Aniya(h) ápiyá⁶ ahyatá⁷ ápišim parábara(h). Anámakahya⁸ máhyá II raucabíš takatá áha(h), avaţã hamaranam akumã.

¹ Átriyádiya-, m., gen. sg. -ahyá; name of a Persian month (‘the month of the worship of the fire’).
² Zazána-, m., sg. nom. -u(h); name of a city near Babylon.
³ Vardana-, sb. n., sing. nom, -am ‘city’ (not Mod. P. barzan).
⁴ [Pers. sála;]
⁵ anuv prepos. with locative ‘along, by’; Aw. anu.
⁶ Hufrátavu-, Old Persian form of the river Frát (Euphrates); loc. sg. -avá (anuv) ‘along the Euphrates.’
⁷ ápi-, sb. f., ‘water’ (Aw. āpi-, Mod. P. āb), sing. nom. āpišh in āpišim (from āpišshim), loc. ápiyá: aniya(h) ápiyá ahyatá ápišim párbar(h), ‘the other (remaining part) was thrown into the water, the water bore it away.’
⁸ ah rt. ‘throw’; 3rd. sing. pret. pass, ahyatá ‘he was thrown’ (Skr. asyatá).
⁹ anámaka-, m., gen. sg. -ahya; name of a Persian month (not ‘the nameless’ which would be the intercalary month, but ‘the month of the nameless,’ i. e., of the Highest God—therefore perhaps anámaka).
COLUMN II.

1. Tat'iy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyaṭiya(h): Pasāva(h) Nādi(n)tabaira(h) hadā kammābiš asabāribiš⁴ abiy Bābirum ašiyava(h). Pasāva(h) adam Bābirum ašiyava(h): vašnā A(h) uramadaža(h) utā Bābirum agrbāya(h), utā avam Nādi(n)tabaira(h) agrbāya(h). Pasāva(h) avam Nādi(n)tabaira(h) adam Bābiruav avājanam.

2. Tat’iy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyaṭiya(h): Yātā adam Bābirauv ąham iniḏahāva(h) tyā hacāma(h) hamitriya abava(n): Pārsa(h), (H)uvja(h) Māda(h)⁶, Ačurā, Mudrāya(h). Partava(h),⁸ Marguš, Tataguš, Saka(h).

3. Tat’iy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyaṭiya(h): I marṭiya(h) Marṭiya(h) nāma(n), Ci(n)cikraś⁵ putra(h), Kuganakā⁶ nāma(n) vardanam Pārsaiy, avadā adārāy(h), hauv udapatai(h) (H)uvjaiy, kārahyā aṭaha(h): Adam Imaniš⁸ amiy (H)uvjaiy kšāyaṭiya(h).

4. Tat’iy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyaṭiya(h): Adakaivy⁷ adam ašnaiy⁶ ąham abiy (H)uvjam. Pasāva(h) hacāma(h) atrsa(n) (H)uvjaiy avam Marṭiya(h) agrbāya(n), hyaśām maṭista(h)⁶ āha(h), utaśim avājanana(h).

5. Tat’iy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyaṭiya(h): I marṭiya(h) Fravartiš nāma(n) Māda(h), hauv udapatai Mādaiy, kārahyā aṭaha(h): Adam kṣaṭrita(h)¹⁰ amiy (H)uvakšrahyā¹¹ taumāya. Pasāva(h) kāra(h) Māda(h) hya(h) vi(i)patiya āha(h), hacāma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h) abiy avam Fravartim ašiyava(h); hauv kšāyaṭiya(h) abava(h) Mādaiy.

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1 asabāri-, sb. m. plur. instr. -ibish, 'horsemanship'; Pahlv. asbār, i.e., asdār, Mod. P. asdār.
2 Parthava-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) 'Parthian'; Mod. P. pahlav 'hero,' (originally 'Parthian').
3 Marṭiya-, nom. sg. -a(h); name of a Susian rebel.
4 Ci(n)cikraš-, m., gen. sg. -aśiḥ; father of the rebel Marṭiya (the Babylonian text has Sinsakhrish).
6 Imaniš-, m., nom. sg. -iṣiḥ; name of a Susian rebel (the Susian form of the name is Ummanish).

7 udakaiy adverb 'then, at that time;' Aw. utha and kaiy (see ka-above).
8 az verb 'march;' Aw. rt. az 'drive, go'; ashnaiy infinitive locative 'in the march.'
9 mathista- adj. 'greatest, leader.' Aw. masydō 'greater,' Mod. P. mabist 'worthy'; sg. som. -a(h), acc. -am.
10 Khshathrita-, m., nom. sg. -a(h). Name of a Median king; abbreviation from Khshatraddra, or the like, with the suffix -ita.
11 (H)uvakshatra-, m., sg. gen. -aḥyā 'Cyaxares'; the tr (instead of tr) belongs to another dialect than Khshatra, etc.
6. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uā kṣāyaṭiya(h) : Kāra(h) Pārsa(h) utā Māda(h),
hyā(h) upā 1 mām āha(h), hauv kamnam āha(h). Pasāva(h) adām kāram
frāśiyam. Vidarna(h) nāma(n) Pārsa(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), avamśām
maṭīṣam akunavam, avatāśām atāham : Paraitā, avam kāram tymān Mādam
jāta, hya(h) manā naiy gaubataiy. Pasāva(h) hauv Vidarna(h) hadā kārā
āsiyava(h). Yatā Mādam parārāsa(h), Māruś nāma(n) vardanam Māda, avādā
hamaranam akunauś hadā Mādaibiś. Hyā(h) Mādaibiśuā maṭīṣa(h)
āha(h), hauv adakaiy naiy adāraya(h). A(h) urmazdānaiy upastām abara(h),
vānā A(h) urmazdāha(h) kāra(h) hya(h) Vidarnāḥya a(h) avam kāram tymān
hamitriyām aja(n) vasiy. Anāmakahya māhyā XXVII raucaibiś tākatā āha(h),
avatāśām hamaranam krtam. Pasāva(h) hauv kāra(h) hya(h) manā-Ku(n)-
pada(h)2 nāmā dahyānitalic Mādaīy-avādā mām citā 3 amānyaya(h),4 yātā adām
aranam Mādam.

7. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uā kṣāyaṭiya(h) : Pasāva(h) Dādarshiī 5 nāma(n)
Arminiya(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), avam adām frāśiyam Arminam, avatāśāiy
atāham : Paraidiy, kāra(h) hya(h) hamitriyā(h) manā naiy gaubataiy avān
jādiy. Pasāva(h) Dādarshi asiyava(h) ; yatā Arminam parārasa(h) pasāva(h)
hamitriyā hagmatā, paraitā pātiś Dādarśim hamaranam cartnaiy. Zuza(h)
nāma(n) ārahanam 6 Arminiyaī, avādā hamaranam akunava(n).

\[upā 1, prepos. with accusative
\]
\[on with', upā mām 'with me'; 2, nominal prefix in upastā; Aw. upā,
\[Mod. P. prefix ba- in bāyad 'it is necessary' from Old P. upāyātiy.
\][rus verb 'arrive,' Mod. P. rasī-
\[dan ; imperfect. arasam 'I arrived'
\[(Mādam arasam 'I went to Media'); with para, 'arrive,' imperfect. parā-
\[rasam Mādam 'I came to Media,' parārāsa(h) Arminam 'I came to
\[Armenia,' abhi Vishtāspam 'to Vishtāsp.'
\][Māruś, sg. nom. -ush; a city in
\[Media (there is a Marg between
\[Kermānshāhān and Holwān).
\][Vidarna-, m., sg. nom. -a(h),
\[gen. -ahya, name of one of the seven
\[conspirators against the false Smerdis
\['preserver'].
\][Ka(n)pada-, m., sg. nom.,-a(h); a
\[district in Media (Kermānshāhān)
\][citā conj., citā — yātā as
\[long—until': avadā mām amā-
\[nyaya(h) yātā adām arasam 'there he
\[waited me until I arrived.'
\][man verb 'expect,' Aw.
\[rt. man Mod. P. māndan; imperfect.
\[amānyaya(h) mām citā 'he expected
\[me until I arrived.'
\][Dādarshi-, m., sg. nom. -ish,
\[acc. -im; name of an Armenian and of
\[a Persian commander of King Darius,
\[Perhaps Dāderši, ep. Skr. dādhrshi
\['courageous, bold.'
\][ārahanā, sb. n., sg. nom. -am
\['place, village; Armen, van 'market-
\[town, borough.' (?), Skr. rt. cas
\['dwell' and prefix d.}
A(h)uramazdāmaiyy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Turavāharahya¹ māhyā VIII rucabiś taktā ḳa(h), avatāśām hamaranam krtam.

8. Tātiy Darayava(h)uṣ kṣāyaṭiy(h): Patiy dvitiyam hamitriyā hagmatā paraītā patīś Dādārśim hamaranam cartanaiy. Tigra(h)² nāma didā³ Armaniyaī, avadā hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdāmaiyy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Turavāharahya māhyā XVIII rancabiś taktā ḳa(h), avatāśām hamaranam krtam.

9. Tātiy Darayava(h)uṣ kṣāyaṭiy(h): Patiy tritiyam hamitriyā hagmatā paraītā patīś Dādārśim hamaranam cartanaiy. Uhyāma(h) nāma didā Armaniyaī, avadā hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdāmaiyy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Tiṣigracaiś⁴ māhyā IX rancabiś taktā ḳa(h), avatāśām hamaranam krtam. Pasāva(h) Dādārśiś citā mām amānaya(h) a... yātā adham arasam Mādam.

10. Tātiy Darayava(h)uṣ kṣāyaṭiy(h): Pasāva(h) V(h)umisa(h) nāma(n) Pārsa(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), avam adham frāiśayam Arminam, avatāśaī afaham: Paraīdiy, kārā(h) hya(h) hamitriy(h), manā naiy gan-bataiy, avam jadiy. Pasāva(h) V(h)umisa(h) aśiyava(h). Yācā Arminam parārāsa(h), pasāva(h) hamitriyā hagmatā paraītā patīś V(h)umisam hamaranam cartanaiy. Yzitā nāma dahyānā Aṭurāyā, avadā hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdāmaiyy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Anāmakahya māhyā XV rancabiś taktā ḳa(h), avatāśām hamaranam krtam.

11. Tātiy Darayava(h)uṣ kṣāyaṭiy(h): Patiy dvitiyam hamitriyā hagmatā paraītā patīś V(h)umisam hamaranam cartanaiy. Aṭiṣigrā(h)⁵ nāma dahyānā Arminaiy, avadā hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdāmaiyy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Turavāharahya māhyā... iyamanam patiy, avatāśām hamaranam krtam. Pasāva(h) V(h)umisa(h) citā mām amānaya(h) Arminaiy, yātā adham arasam Mādam.

¹ Thūravāharā-, sb. m., gen. sg. -ahya; name of a Persian month ('the month of the sublime spring'; Aw. sarā and Mod. P. bāhār).
² Tigra-, m., sg. nom. -a(h); name of a fortress in Armenia.
³ didā-. sb. f. 'fortress,' sg. nom. -dā, ace. -ām; not identical with Mod. P. diz. disk 'fortress,' which rather belongs to Aw. daeza in pariđara.
⁴ Thūṣigraci-, gen. sg. -oṣk. Name of a Persian month (according to Justi 'the month of the garlic-gatherers'; thigra, Mod. P. sir and cit. 'gatherer,' Mod. P. cīrān).
⁵ Aṭiṣigrā-, m., nom. sg. -a(h); 'name of a district in Armenia.'
12. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaCiya(h) : Pasāva(h) adam nīyayam haec Bābirāṁś aṣījavam Mādam. Yaṭā Mādam parārasam Ku(n)duraś nāma(n) vardanam Mādaiy, avadā hauv Fravartīṣ, hya(h) Mādaiy kṣāyaCiya(h) agau-batā, niś hadā kārā patiś mām hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasāva(h) hamaranam akumā. A(h)urmanzāmaiy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāha(h) kāram tyam Fravartaiś adam ajanam vasiy. Ādukanaśa māhyā XXVI raucabiś takaṭā āha(h), avaṭā hamaranam akumā.

13. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaCiya(h) : Pasāva(h) hauv Fravartīṣ, hadā kamaibisī asabāribisī, amuta(h)§ Ragā* nāmā dahyaṇaś Mādaiy avadā aṣīya-va(h). Pasāva(h) adam kāram frāśayam tyai-patiy, Fravartīṣ ngrābyatā, anaṭā abiya mām. Adamśaiy utā nāham vta guasha* uta(h) izuvam frāja- nam utāsaiy cašma avajam. Duvaryāmaiy basta(h) adāriy hanuvāsim kāra(h) avaina(h). Pasāva(h) adam Hagmatānaiy¹⁰ uzmayāpatiy¹¹

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¹ Ku(n)duraś, nom. sg. -neh. Name of a city in Media, probably the modern Kundur near Qazwin.

² Ādukani- gen. sg. -aish; name of a Persian month (according to Justi 'the month of canal-digging,' Aw. compare āhku-frādhana 'furthering the canals').

³ amuta(h), adverb 'thence'; Skr. amātah.

⁴ Ragā-, i. sg. nom. -ā, gen. abl. -āyā; old name of the district of Rai.

⁵ nāh-, sb. m. ‘nose,’ sg. acc.-am; Aw. nāoñha.

⁶ gañsha-, sb. m., dual acc.-ā, ‘ears’; Aw. gañsha, Mod. P. gōsh.

⁷ dvar-, sb. m. ‘door, court’ Aw. dear, Mod. P. dar ‘door’; sg. loc. -ayā-maīy ‘at my court.’

⁸ haruva-, adj. ‘whole, entire,’ kāra(h) haruva(h) ‘the whole army’; Aw. haruc, Mod. P. kor.

⁹ vain verb ‘see,’ Aw. rt. vaen, Mod. P. bīn-aw; pres. conj. vaināhy ‘thou mayest see,’ imperf. avaina(h) haruvashim kāra(h) ‘the whole people saw him.’

¹⁰ Hagmatāna-, loc. sg. -aiy, ‘Ecbatana,’ Mod.P. Hamaidān (‘the place of coming together’).

¹¹ uzam-, sb. f., lit. ‘athing protruding from the earth’ (ud and zam ‘earth’) i.e. ‘a post, pale’; sg. loc. uzmayāpatiy oram akumāvam, ‘I made him on a pale,’ i.e. ‘I empaled him,’ dhariya(h)tām ‘they shall be empaled.’
akunavam, utā martyrā tyaiśaiy fratamā anushiyā1 āhā(nte), avaiy2 Hagmatānaiy a(n)tar didām frāhā(nte)jam.3

14. Tātiyī Darayava(h)nū kīśāyaṭiiya(h): I martyrā(h) Citra(h)taκīna(h)4 nāma(h) Asagartiiya(h),5 hanvniyā hamitriyā(h) abava(h), kārahāyā avatā añtāfrīda(h)'jam a(nte): Adam kīśāyaṭiiya(h) amiy Asagartiiya(h)uvaḵāṭihrāyā taumāyā. Pasāva(h) adam kāram Pārsam utā Mādam frāišayām. Takḥmospāda(h)6 nāma(h) Mād(a)h manā ba(n)daka(h) avamṣām maṣīṭam akunavam, avatāśām añtāhām: Pārātya, kāram tyam hamitriyam hya(h) manā nayi gaubāṭaiy avam jatā. Pasāva(h) Takḥmospāda(h) hadā kārā aṣīyaṇa(h), hamaranām akunānā hadā Citra(n)taκīmā. A(h)uramazdāmāy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) kāra(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n), utā Citra(n)taκīmān aṁhrāyā(h), avan(h) abiyy mām. Pasāvaśaiy adan utā nāham utā gauśā frājanām, utāśaiy caṃsa avajām. Duvarayāmāiy bastā(h) adāriy, haruvaśiṃ kārā(h) avaina(h). Pasāvaśiṃ Arbaiyāy uzmayāpātiy akunavam.

15. Tātiyī Darayava(h)nū kīśāyaṭiiya(h): Ima(h)tya manā krtam Mādaiy.

16. Tātiyī Darayava(h)nū kīśāyaṭiiya(h). Partava(h) utā Vrkana(h)7 hamitriyā abava(n) utā Fravartaiś agaṅba(n)ta. Viṣṭāspa(h) manā pitā ha涣 Part’avaiy āḥa(h) kārāśīm avārdāḥ(h) hamitriyā(h) abava(h). Viṣṭāspa(h) hadā kārā hya(h) anushiyā(h) parāya(h). Viṣpa(h)uẓatiś nāma(n) vardanām Part’avaiy, avadā hamaranām akunavana(h). A(h)uramazdāmāy upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) Viṣṭāspa(h) kāram tyam hamitriyam ajo(n) vasiy, Viyaṅkhaṇya māhyā XXII rancabīś ūḥatū āḥa(h), avatāśām hamaranām krtam.

1 anushiya, sb. m., 'follower'; plur. nom. -d. From ṣuṇu with the suffix -ṣiya (Aw. -ṭhya, Skr. -ṭya).
2 avaiy, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. āva, Mod.P. ā; sing. acc. avam, gen. avahyā, comp. avahyādīy; plur. nom. acc. avaiy, gen. avaiyadham: neutr. sg. acc. ava(h), (Aw, avat), avaiyadham 'by, past that' ('he went past that').
3 ha(n)/ verb with fṛa, imperfect. ṣa(n)ṭam avaiy Hagmatānaiy a(n)tar didām 'I hanged them up in Ecbatana in the fortress.' Skr. rt. saṅi 'hang'; a(n)tar seems to be a false restoration, Foy therefore proposes para(h) 'before,' Aw. para,

Skr. puvas 'I hanged them up in Ecbatana before the fortress.'

4 Citra(n)taḥkma-, m., nom. sg. -a(h), acc. -am, instr. -d. Name of a Sagartian rebel ('strong with regard to the offspring,' citram being accusative neutr., ep. Greek Tritantaišmēs); Mod. P. eχr-taḥam (Aw. Cithrai and takhma).

5 Asagartiiya-, sg. nom. -a(h). 'Sagartian.'

6 Takḥmospāda-, m., nom. sg. -a(h); name of a commander of King Darius ('having a strong army'; Aw. spādha, Mod. P. spādh).

7 Vrkana-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), 'Hyrcania'; Mod. P. Gurgaw.
COLUMN III.

1. Tātiy Dārāyava(h)us kāśāyaṭiya(h) : Paśāva(h) adām kārām Pārsam fraiśayam abiy Viṣṭāspam aicā Rāgīyā. Yatā hauv kārā(h) parārasa(h) abiy Viṣṭāspam, paśāva(h) Viṣṭāspa(h) āyasatā\(^1\) avam kārām aśiyava(h). Pati-grābanā\(^2\) nāma(n) vardanam Partāvaiy, avadā hamaranam akunau hadā hamitriyabiś. A(h)uramazdāmai upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā(h) Viṣṭāspa(h) avam kārām tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vaisi. Garmanpadahā māhyā I ranca fakata āha(h), avatāsām hamaranam krtam.

2. Tātiy Dārāyava(h)us kāśāyaṭiya(h) : Paśāva(h) dahyauś manā abava(h), ima(h) tyā(h) manā krtam Partāvaiy.

3. Tātiy Dārāyava(h)us kāśāyaṭiya(h) : Margu\(^3\) nāma dāhyauś, hauvmaiy haśitiyā\(^4\) abava(h). I martiya(h) Frāda(h)\(^5\) nāma(n) Mārgava(h), avam maḥiṣṭam akunavatā. Paśāva(h) adām fraiśayam Dādarśiś nāma(n) Pārsā(h) manā ba(n)dak(h), Bāktriyā\(^6\) kātrapāvā, abiy avam avaṭāsāiy afāhām: Parai-diy, avam kārām jadīy hya(h) unānaiy gaubātaiy. Paśāva(h) Dādarśiś hadā kārā aśiyava(h), hamaranam akunau hadā Mārgayaibiś. A(h)uramazdāmai upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdāhā kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kārām tyamhamitriyam aja(n) vaisi. Ātriyaḍiyāhīya\(^7\) māhyā XXIII ruacabiś fakata āha(h), avatāsām hamaranam krtam.

4. Tātiy Dārāyava(h)us kāśāyaṭiya(h) : Paśāva(h) dahyauś manā abava(h), ima(h) tyā(h) manā krtam Bāktriyā.

5. Tātiy Dārāyava(h)us kāśāyaṭiya(h) : I martiya(h) Vahyazdāta(h)\(^8\) nāma(n), Tāravā\(^9\) nāma(n) vardanam Yatiyā\(^10\) nāma dāhyauś Pārṣaiy, avadā

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\(^1\) Āyasatā, imper. middle, rt. yas (incohative stem to rt. yam), Aw. the same; with ā ‘seize upon’: utā Pārsam utā Mādām utā unīyā dahyā-va(h) hauv āyasatā he seized both Persia and Media as well as other provinces,' avam kārām āyasatā he seized the army.

\(^2\) Patigrābanā-, f., nom. sg. -ā; name of a city in Parthia.

\(^3\) Margu-, sg. nom. -ush, acc. -um ‘Margiana, Merw’; Aw. Momn.

\(^4\) haśitiyā-, adj., ‘rebellious,’ sg. nom. -d; ha ‘away from’ and shiti Skr. ḍhāṭhi ‘dwelling place,’ therefore, originally, ‘one who deserts from his dwelling place.’

\(^5\) Frāda-, m. nom. sg. -a(h) Name of a rebel in Margiana.

\(^6\) Bāktriyā-, f., sg. nom. -iśh, loc. -iya ‘Bactria,’ Mod. P. Baṭh.

\(^7\) Ātriyaḍiyā-, m., gen. sg. -ahya; name of a Persian month (‘the month of the worship of the fire’).

\(^8\) Vahyazdāta-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, gen. -ahyā; name of a Persian rebel (‘given by the best,’ i.e. by Hormuzd).

\(^9\) Tāravā-, f., sg. nom. -ā; name of a city in Persia.

\(^10\) Yatiyā-, f., nom. sg. -ā; name of a district in Persia.
adâraya(h). Hauv dvitiyam; udapatată Pârsaiy, kârâhyâ avata asâha(h): adam Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûranâ putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Pârsa(h) hya(h) viṭâpati hyâcâ yadâyâ(h) fratrtra(h). Hauv hacâma(h) hamitîrya(h) abava(h) abiy avam Vahyazdâtam ašiyava(h), hauv kâśâyaCiya(h) abavah Pârsaiy.

6. Tâtiy Dârayava(h) nîś kâśâyaCiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam kâram Pârsam utâ Mûdam kâlâyam, hya(h) upâ mâm âha(h). Artavardiyâ(h) nâmâ(n) Pûrsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avamsâm mafištam akunavam, hya(h) aniyâ(h) kâra(h) Pûrsa(h) pasâ manâ âsiyava(h) Mûdam. Pasâva(h) Artavardiyâ(h) hadd kâra ašiyava(h) Pûrsam. Yaçâ Pûrsam parâvasa(h), Rakâ nâmâ(n) vardinam Pârsaiy, avada hauv Vahyazdâta(h) hya(h) Bardiya(h) aganbatâ, âsî hadd kâra patiś Artavardiyam hamaranam cartanaîy. Pasâva(h) hamaranam akunavam(n). A(h) uramazdâmai upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h) uramazdâ(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahy aja(n) vasiy. TûravâharaHy máhyâ XII rancabiś tatakâta âha(h), avataśâm hamaranam krtam.

7. Tâtiy Dârayava(h) nîś kâśâyaCiya(h): Pasâva(h) hauv Vahyazdâta(h) hadâ kannabiś asaśârbiś amuṭa(h) âsiyava(h) Pâisiyâ(h) uvâdam, hail avadsâ(h) kâram âyasatâ hyâparâm âsî patiś Artavrdiyam hamaranam cartanaîy. Prga(h) nâmâ(n) kaufa(h), avada hamaranam akunavam(n). A(h) uramazdâmai upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h) uramazdâ(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahy aja(n) vasiy. GarmapadahaHy máhyâ VI rancabiś tatakâta âha(h), avataśâm hamaranam krtam, utâ avam Vahyazdâtam agrâbâya(n), utâ marthiś tyaiśaiy fratamâ anusîyâ âha(n)tâ agrâbâya(n).

8. Tâtiy Dârayava(h) nîś kâśâyaCiya(h): Pasâva(h) adham avam Vahyazdâtam utâ marthiś tyaiśaiy fratamâ anusîyâ âha(n)tâ, (H) uvâdaiçaya(h) nâmâ(n) vardinam Pârsaiy, avadsâśi uzmâyâpatiś akunavam.

1 *dvitiyam*, numeral *the second,* *dvitiyam or mostly patiy dvitiyam* *a second time*; perhaps *dvitiyam*, ep. Skr. *dvitiyâ.*

2 *yaïdâ, sb. f., 'reverence'; sg. ablat. kâra(h) hacâ yaïdâ(h) fratrta(h) âha(h) 'the army was led astray from reverence'; from rt. *yaïd, Aw. rt. yas 'adore'; originally yaïd may have had the meaning 'worship,' as Mod.P. *namâz* originally meant 'worship' and then 'obedience, as Mod.P. *namâz* originally meant 'worship' and then 'obedience.'

3 *Artavardiyâ,* m., sg. nom. *-a(h), acc. -am; name of a commander of King Darius ('right working'); Aw. *ashaveremya* would be Old P. *Artavrdiyâ.*

4 *Rakha, f., sg. nom. -d; name of a city near the border of Persia and Susiana (Ammian has Arakha).*

5 *hyâparâ, adv., acc. hyâparam, from hya, and apara, 'after this,' 'afterwards,' 'again.'

6 *Prga, m., nom.sg. *-a(h). Name of a mountain in Persia; cp. the name of the city *Purg, Arab.Farj* in Lâristân.*

7 *Huvâdaiçaya, m., sg. nom. -a(h); name of a city in Persia.
9. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš kšāyaśīya(h): Hauv Vahyazdāta(h), hya(h) Bardiya(h) agaubata, hauv kāram frāśaya(h) Hara(h)uvatiy, Vivāna(h)1 nāma(n) Pārsa(h) manā ba(n) daka(h), Hara(h)uvatiyā kšatrapāvā, abiy avam, utāśām I martiya maćištam akunaṣ, avaṭāśām ataha(h): Paraitā, Vivānām jatā, utā avam kāram hya(h) Darayavahaun kšāyaśīyāhyā gauabataiy Pasāva(h) hauv kāra(h) aṣiyya(h) tyam Vahyazdāta(h) frāśaya(h) abiy Vivānām hamaranam cartanaiy; Kāpiśakāniś2 nāmā didā, avadā hamaranam akunava(n). A(h) uramazdāmai upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h) uramazdāha(h) kāra(h), hya manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vaisiy. Anāmakahya māhyā XIII raucabiś ṭakata āha(h), avaṭāśām hamaranam krtam.

10. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš kšāyaśīya(h): Patiy hyāparam hamitriyā hagmatā, paraitā patiś Vivānām hamaranam cartanaiy. Ga(n) dutava(h)3 nāma dāhyauś avadā hamaranam akunava(n). A(h) uramazdāmai upastām abara(h), vaśnā A(h) uramazdāha(h) kāra(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vaisiy. Viyākñahya māhyā VII raucabiś ṭakata āha(h), avaṭāśām hamaranam krtam.

11. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš kšāyaśīya(h): Pasāva(h) hauv martiya(h), hya(h) avahyā kārahya maćišta(h) āha(h), tyam Vahyazdāta(h) frāśaya(h) abiy Vivānam, hauv maćištā(h) hadā kamaibibī asabāribibī aṣiyya(h). Arṣāda* nāmā didā Hara(h) uvatiyā avaparā* atiyāis. Pasāva(h) Vivāna(h) hadā kāra nipadiy tyaiy aṣiyya(h), avadāśim agrbāya(h), utā martiyā tyaiśaivy fratamā anuśīyā āha(n)tā avāja(n).

12. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš kšāyaśīya(h): Pasāva(h) dāhyauś manā abavah; ima(h) tya(h) manā krtam Hara(h) uvatiyā.

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1 *Vivāna*, m. sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am; name of a satrap in Arachosia (or perhaps Vivāhana, cp. Aw. Vivādānā).

2 Kāpiśakāniś, f., nom. sg. -išh. Name of a fortress in Arachosia.

3 Ga(n)dutava, m., nom. sg. -a(h); a district in Arachosia. Perhaps Ga(n)dumava(h), according to Justi, ‘land of wheat,’ comp. Skr. godhūma ‘wheat,’ Mod. P. gantum, but Aw. gantuma, Nirang, p. 39, l. 5 from below, Pahlv. gantum(?).

* Arṣādā-, f., nom. sg. -ā; name of a fortress in Arachosia.

* avar-, demonstr. pron. ‘that,’ Aw. ava, Mod. Pers. ʾ; sing. acc. avam, gen. avahyā, comp. avahyarādiy; plur. nom. acc. avaiy, gen. avaišām, neutr. sg. acc. ava(h), (Aw. avat), avaparā ‘by, past that’ (‘he went past that’).
13. Ṭātiy Dārayava(h)uš kāḍāyātiya(h): Yātā adam Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy āham, patiy dnvitiyam Bābiruviyā hamitriyā abava(n) hacāma(h). I martiya(h), Araŋka(h)\(^1\) nāma(n) Arminiya(h), Halditahya\(^2\) putra(h), hauv udapattatā Bābirauv. Dubāla\(^3\) nāmā dahyānš hacā avadasā(h) hauv udapatatā, avafā adurujīya(h): Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Pasāva(h) kāra(h) Bābiruviya(h) hacāma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h), abiy avam Arakam aśiyava(h). Bābirum hauv agraBYātā, hauv kāḍāyātiya(h) abava(h) Bābirauv.

14. Ṭātiy Dārayava(h)uš kāḍāyātiya(h): Pasāva(h) adam kāram fraišā- yam Bābirum. Vi(n)دافنā\(^4\) nāma(n) Māda(h) manā bī(n) daka(h), avam maṭištam akunam, avafāśām aśaham : Paraitā, avam kāram tyam Bābirauv jatā, hya(h) manā naiy gaubataiy. Pasāva(h) Vi(n)دافنā hadā kārā aśiya(h) abiy Bābirum. A(h)uramazdāmāiy upastām abara(h), vaśna A(h)uramazdāhā(h) Vi(n)دافن Bābirum agraBYā(h) ...... Marga-zanahya māhyā XXII rauncabīš takaṭā āha(h), avafā avam Arakam hya(h) Nabukudracara(h) agaubaṭā agraBYā(h), utā martiyaī tyaišaya fratamā anuśiyā āha(n) tā agraBYā(h) tā, utā bastā abava(n). Pasāva(h) niyaśtāyam Bābirauv uzmayēpatīy ākJīya(n)tām.

\(^1\) Araṅka-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am; name of an Armenian (Abarodian) rebel in Babylon.

\(^2\) Haldīta-, m., sg. gen. -ahyā; an Armenian.

\(^3\) Dubāla-, m., sg. nom. -u(h); name of a district in Babylonia

(there is a place Dubāla on the Euphrates).

\(^4\) Vi(n)دافن-, sg. nom. -d (ep. Aw. Haosravādo). Name of two men. (Aw. Vindaheurena ‘obtaining majesty’).
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COLUMN IV.

1. Tatîy Darayava(h)uš Kšâyațiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam Bâbirauv.

2. Tatîy Darayava(h)uš Kšâyațiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, yaññâ A(h)urmaizdâha(h) āha(h) hamahyâyâ targa(h).1 Pasâva(h) yatâ Kšâyațiya(h) abavam, adam XIX hamaranâ akunavam, yaññâ A(h)urmaizdâha(h) adamsâm ajanam, uta IX Kšâyațiya agrbâyam. I Gaumâta(h) nâmâ(n) Maguś āha(h), hauv adurujhya(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Bardiya(h) amiy, hya(h) Kuraus putra(h). Hauv Pârsam hamitriyam akunauš. I Atrina(h) nâmâ(n) (H)uvjiya(h), hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Kšâyațiya(h) amiy (H)uvjiya. Hauv (H)uvjam hamitriyam akunauš manâ. I Nâdi(n)tabaira(h) nâmâ(n), Bâbiruviya(h) hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Hauv Bâbirum hamitriyam akunauš. I Martiya(h) nâmâ(n) Pârsâ(h) hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Imani2 amiy (H)uvjiya Kšâyațiya(h). Hauv (H)uvjam hamitriyam akunauš. I Fravartiš nâmâ(n) Mâda(h), hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam KšaCrita(h)3 amiy, (H)uvakśstrahya taumâyâ. Hauv Mâdam hamitriyam akunauš. I Citra(n)taKma(h) nâmâ(n) Asagartiya(h), hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Kšâyațiya(h) amiy Asagartaiy,(H)uvakśstrahya taumâyâ. HauvAsagartam hamitriyam akunauš. I Frâda(h) nâmâ(n) Margava(h), hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Kšâyațiya(h) amiy Margauv. Hauv Margum hamitriyam akunauš. I Vahyazdâta(h) nâmâ(n) Pârsa(h), hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Bardiya(h) amiy, hya(h) Kuraus putra(h). Hauv Pârsam hamitriyam akunauš. I Araqâ(h) nâmâ(n) Arminiya(h), hauv adurujija(h) avatâ afâha(h) : Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Hauv Bârirum hamitriyam akunauš.

1 thard-, sb. f. 'kind, sort, manner' ; sg. acc. -am, gen. -a(h) ; hamahyâyâ tharda(h) 'of every kind' ; Av. saredha 'kind,' Pahlv. sartak, i.e., sardak (a Median form).

2 Imani, m., nom. sg. -ish ; name of a Susian rebel (the Susian form of the name is Ummanish.)

3 Khshathrita-, m., nom. sg. -a(h) ; name of a Median king ; abbreviation from Khshathradâra-, or the like, with the suffix-ita.
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3. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš ḵšāyatiya(h): Imaiy IX ḵšāyaṭiyā adām agrpāyam a(n)tar imā hamaranā.

4. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš ḵšāyatiya(h): Dahyāva(h) imā tyā hamitriyā abava(u), draugadīshī hamitriyā akunauš tyā(h) imaiy kāram aduruiyāša(u). Pasāva(h) diśa A(h)uramazdā manā dastayā akunauš; yaṭā mām kāma(h), avaṭā di[∫ akunavam].

5. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš ḵšāyatiya(h): Tuvam kā ḵšāyaṭiyā(h) hya(h) aparam ahīy, hacā draugā(h) daršām patipaya(h)uvā. Martiya(h) hya(h) draujama(h) ahatiy avam (h)ufrastam prsā, yadiy avaṭā maniyāhy: Dahyāuṃsiyā durtavā ahatiy.

6. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš ḵšāyatiya(h): Ima(h) tyā(h) adām akunavam, vaṣuṇā A(h)uramazdā(h) hamahyāyā fard(h) akunavam. Tuvam kā hya(h) aparam, imām dipim patiprsāhy, tyā(h) manā krtam vrnavatām tūvām; mātya(h) durtkam maniyāhy.

7. Tātiy Darayava(h)uš ḵšāyatiya(h): A(h)uramaz . . . taiiya yaṭā imā(h) hadiyam naiy durtkam adām akunavam hamahyāyā fard(h).

1 drauγa-, sb. m., ‘lie,’ Aw. draugha, Mod. P. durōgh; sg. nom. -a(h), abl. -a(h).

2 dī- enclitic pronoun ‘he,’ Aw. di-, pl. ace. -ish in tyādīsh adīnā ‘which he took away from them,’ draugadīšī the lie made them rebels, naibdīsh ‘not them,’ parikuradī(i)dish ‘thou mayest guard them,’ vikanadī(i)dīsh ‘thou mayest destroy,’ arathadīsh akunavam ‘thus did I do to them.’

3 dastu-, sb. m. ‘hand,’ Aw. zastu, Mod.P. dast; loc. sg. -ayā: dish manā d. akunauš ‘he made them in my hand.’

4 kāma-, sb. m., nom. sg. -a(h) ‘wish, desire’; Aw. kāma, Mod. P. kām.

5 draujana-, m., sg. nom. -a(h) ‘liar.’

6 duruva-, adj., nom. sg. f. -ā daḥydāsh ‘settled’; Aw. derva.

7 dipi-, sb. f. ‘inscription,’ sg. acc. -im, loc. iyā: ova(h) ahyāyā dipiyā naiy nipīstām ‘that has not been inscribed in this inscription.’ Elenitic word.

8 var verb ‘convince,’ Aw. rt. var ‘believe,’ Mod. P. in bāvar ‘belief,’ giravidān ‘to believe’; pres. conj. vrnavatīy (nāmikim) ‘it may not convince him,’ (i.e. it may seem incredible to him) imperat. middle vrnavatām thuved tya(h) manā krtam avathā ‘it may convince thee of what has been done by me, thus (as I have narrated, it really has been’).

9 haṣṭiya-, adj., ‘true’; sg. nom. neutr. -am, Aw. haṭhyā.
8. Tātiy Darayava(h)nš kšāyašiṭya(h): Vašnā A(h)uramazdā(h) . . . maïy aniyašciyi vasīy astiy krtam, ava(h) ahāyā dipiṭā naïy nipiṣṭam.1 Avahyarādiy naïy nipiṣṭam māṭya(h) hya(h) apaṭram imām dipim pāṭiprātiṭy, avahyā paruv fadāṭyāti,2 tya(h) manā krtam nāśīm vrnavāṭaiy durūktaṃ maniyaṭiy.

9. Tātiy Darayava(h)nš kšāyašiṭya(h): Tyaiy paruvā kšāyaṭiyā yātā āha(n), avaiśāṃ naïy astiy krtam yatā manā, vaśnā A(h)uramazdā(h), hairahyāyā ārda krtam.

10. Tātiy Darayava(h)nš kšāyašiṭya(h): . . . . . nūram ēnvāṃ vrnavāṭam, tya(h) manā krtam, avaṭā avahyarādiy mā apagandaya.3 Yadiy imām ha(n) juggām4 naïy apagandayāhyā, kārāhyā ēḥyā: A(h)uramazdā ēnvāṃ dāuṣṭā5 biyā(h), utātaīy taṃmā vaṣyā biyā(h), utā ṅrām6 jvāṛ.

11. Tātiy Darayava(h)nš kšāyašiṭya(h): Yadiy imām ha(n) juggām apagandayāhyā, naïy ēḥyā kārāhyā: A(h)uramazdāṭaiy jatā biyā(h), utātaīy taṃmā mā biyā(h).

12. Tātiy Darayava(h)nš kšāyašiṭya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, hamahyāyā ārda(h), vaśnā A(h)uramazdā(h) akunavam; A(h)uramazdāmāi yupāṭam abara(h), utā aniyyā bagāhā(h)5 tyaīy ha(n)tiy.

13. Tātiy Darayava(h)nš kšāyašiṭya(h): Avahyarādiy A(h)uramazdā yupāṭam abara(h) utā aniyyā bagāhā(h) tyaīy ha(n)tiy; yatā naïy araka(h)

1 pis verb, with niy ‘write,’ Mod. P. nu-rēsam, ni-visṭam (Aw. from the same root aṅku-paṃemnd); impert. niypisham ‘I wrote, have written,’ part. pret. ni-pishṭam avahyā dipiṭā ‘written in this inscription,—aparam adverb ‘afterward,’ Aw. aparam.

2 thed verb ‘appear,’ with gen. of the person; pres. conj. thaduyāṭiy avahyā paruv ‘lest it may appear to him much’ (i.e. too much, Aw. rt. sad, Pahlv. sahastan ‘think,7’

3 gud verb ‘hide,’ Aw. rt. gūz; with apa ‘hide,’ pres. conj. apagandayāhy ‘if thou mayest hide’ as imperative mā apagandaya ‘do not hide.’

4 ha(n) juggā- sb. f., sg. acc. -ām, ‘edict.’

5 daushtar- sb. m. ‘friend,’ Mod.P. dūstār; sg. nom. -ā : A(h)uramazdā thvām d. biyā(h) ‘A. may be friend to thee,’ awaiy mā d. biyā(h) ‘to him be not a friend.’

6 drγa-, adj. ‘long,’ Aw. daryāḥ, Mod. P. dēr (from transposed ṭagra, ṭayār); neutr. acc. -aṃ adverb ‘long time’ (thou mayest live).

7 jīv verb ‘live,’ Aw. rt. jīv, Pahlv. zīvastan, Mod. P. zīstan, Pres. conj. jīvāhy ‘as long as’ thou mayest live,’ jīvā ṅrām ‘thou mayest live long’ (ep. Aw. 2 sg. conj. bardhī near pagāḍo).

8 baga-, sb. m. ‘god,’ Aw. bagha, Mod. P. Bagh-īdā ; pl. nom. -āha(h) (Aw. comp. aspānḥo), instr. -aibish.
Tuvam, naiy draujana(h) āham, naiy zurakara(h) āham naiy adam naimaiy taumā. Upariy ābāstām* upariyāyam naiy sākaurim*... huvatam zura(h)* akunavam. Martiya(h) hya(h) hamatakståtā* manā vitiyā, avam(h)ubrtam ābaram, hya(h)..... avam(h)ufrastam aprsam.

14. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭīya(h): Tuvam kā kṣāyaṭīya(h) hya(h) aparam ahy, martiya(h) hya(h) draujana(h) ahatiy, hyavā. zurakara(h) ahatiy, avaiy mā daunštā, avaiy ahifraṭādiy* prsā.

15. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭīya(h): Tuvam kā hya(h) aparam imām dipim vaināḥy, tyām aham niyapiṣam, imaiyv patikara* matya' vikānāḥy, yāvā jivāḥy avā avaiy parikara.9

16. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭīya(h): Yadiy imām dipim vaināḥy, imaiyv patikara, naiydiś vikānāḥy utāmaiy yāvā taumā ahatiy parikarāh(h)diś, A(h)ramāzvilī ēvām daunštā biyā(h), utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā(h), uta dargam jivā, uta tyā(h) kunavāḥy A(h)urmazdā..... kunautuv.

17. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭīya(h): Yadiy imām dipim imaiyv patikara vaināḥy, vikanāḥ(h)diś, utāmaiy yāvā taumā ahatiy naiydiś parikarāh. A(h)urmazdātaiy jatā biyā(h), utātaiy taumā mā biyā(h), uta tyā(h) kunavāḥy, avatai(h) A(h)urmazdā nika(n)tuv.

18. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś kṣāyaṭīya(h): Imaiy martiya tyaiy adakay avadā āhā(n)ta yatā adam Gaumātām, tyam Magum, avājanam, hya(h)

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1 zurakara- adj. 'wrong-doer,' sg. nom.-a(h) naiy āham 'I was no wrong-doer' (Mod. P. zūrgar).
2 ābāstā-, sb. f., 'law' (by no means the Awesta); acc. sg. -ām

* shakaurim, unknown word.
3 zūra-, sb. n., sg. acc. -a(h) 'wrong, injustice,' Aw. zūrū-jata, Mod. Pers, zūr: zura(h) akunavam 'I did (not) wrong.'
4 tukhsh verb, Aw. rt. thawakksh 'be active,' Mod. P. tukhshā 'energetic'; with (h)am 'endeavour,' 'be active,' imperf. middle ham-atukhshāi 'I endeavoured,' ham-atukhshatā manā vitiyā 'he was active on the side of my family,' ham-atukhshā( freedoms) 'they were active as my followers.'

5 ahifrashti-, sb. f., loc. sg. -ādiy, i.e., ahifrashtā adiy lit. 'sword-questioning,' i.e. 'punishment with the sword'; avaiy ahifrashtādiy prsā 'punish them with capital punishment.'
6 patikara-, sb. m., pl. acc. -ā 'picture'; Mod. P. paikar.
7 man verb 'think,' Aw. rt. man, Pahl. mēntān; pres. conj. maniyāh (yadiy avaratā) 'if thus thou mayest think,' mātiyā(h) durukhtam maniyāh 'lest thou mayest think it false,' durukhtam maniyātī 'he may think it false.'
8 yādē conj. 'as long as': jirāh 'thou mayest live,' taumā ahati 'as long as mankind exists.'
9 See page 236, note 16.
Bardiya(h) agaubatá. Adakaiy imaiy martiyä hamatakšä(n)tä annšiyä manä: Vi(n)dafranä náma(n), Vayaspāra-hä putra(h), Pārsa(h); (H)utana(h) náma(n), Ṭukrāhyä putra(h) Pārsa(h); Gaabrūva(h) náma(n), Marduniyāḥyä putra(h), Pārsa(h); Vidarna(h) náma(n), Bagābignahyä putra(h), Pārsa(h); Bagabukša(h) náma(n), Dāduhyahyä putra(h), Pārsa(h); Ardmaniś náma(n), Vahukahyä putra(h), Pārsa(h).

19. Ṭatiy Dārayava(h)uś kšāyāciya(h) : Tuvam kā kšāyāciya(h), hya aparam ahy, tyāmā vidām martiyā .tya(h) Dārayava(h)uś ........ akunavam ......

1 Vayaspāra-, m. gen. sg. -ahyā; name of a Persian.
2 Thukrā-, m., gen. sg. -ahyā; name of a Persian (‘the red one,’ Aw. sukhra, Mod. P. surkh).
3 Gaabrūva-, m., nom. sg. -a(h), ‘Gobryas’ (‘having the eyebrows of a bull’).
4 Marduniya-, sg. gen. -ahyād ‘Mardonios;’
5 Bagābigna-, m., sg. gen. -ahyā; name of a Persian (according to Justi ‘having splendour from God’).

6 Bagābukhša-, m., nom. sg. -a(h); one of the seven conspirators, ‘Megabyzos’ (‘redeemed by God’).

7 Dāduhyā-, m., gen. sg. -ahyā; one of the seven conspirators against the false Smerdis.

8 Ardmaniś-, m., sg. nom. -ish; one of the seven who killed the false Smerdis (‘of upright disposition’).

9 Vahuka-, m., sg. gen. -ahyād. Name of a Persian (from vahu ‘good’).
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COLUMN V.

1. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyačiya(h) : Ima(h) tyâ(h) adam akunavam... mā ra... tardam... tâ kšâyačiya(h)... vajnam... dahyâns hauv hacâma(h) hamitriyâ abava(h). I martiya(h)... imaima(h) nāma(n) (H)uvjiyâ, avam maṭištam akunava(n). Pasâva(h) adam kâram fâdiśayam (H)uvjam. Martiya(h) Gaubruva(h) nāma(n) Pârsa(h), manâ ba(n)daka(h), avamâdâm maṭištam akunavam. Pasâva(h) hauv Gaubrâva(h) hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h) (H)uvjam, hamaranam akunauš hadâ hamitriyâbîš. Pasâva(h)... utâšaiy marda... utâ avam... imaimam agrambvây(h) utâ anaya(h) abiy mâm... dahyâns... awâhanam avadâšim avâjanam.

2. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyačiya(h) : A... utâ dahyâm A(h)urâmażdâ manâ dastayâ akunauš; vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) yâtâ kâma(h) âha(h) avarâdiš akunavam.

3.* Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyačiya(h) : Hya aparam imam ya... hatiy, utâ jivahyā... 

4. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyačiya(h) :... ašiyavam abiy Sakâm... Tigrâm baratyâ... iy abiy darayam avam... à pisâ viyatara... âjanam aniyam agrbâyam...abiy mâm utâ... Saku(n)ka nāma(n), avam agrbâyam... avadâ aniyam maṭištam... âm âha, pasâva(h)da... 

5. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyačiya(h) :... mā naiy A(h)uramazdâm yadiy vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h)... akunavam.

6. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyačiya(h) :... A(h)uramazdâm yadâtâ... utâ jivahyâ, utâ...

* The rest of the inscription (§§ 3-6) is too much decayed to allow us to restore a running text.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 160, l. 16, read: 'Ἀνάδαρος (Ἀνάδατος), i.e. Ἀμάράρος.
   ,, l. 17, ,, (Ἀμάρατος) for (Ἀμάρδατος).

P. 161, l. 3, ,, postulates for postulate.
   ,, l. 16, ,, Geiger for Geiger.

P. 162, l. 12, ,, but is still vivid enough as a figure.

P. 163, l. 1, ,, or in the images that rise upon the Crest . . .
   ,, l. 18, ,, an agent for the agent.
   ,, N. 9, l. 2, read: merezdātu.
   ,, N. 10, l. 2, ,, Khshathrā.

P. 164, l. 8, read: Khshathra Vairya, as an Amshaspand, has a special duty or charge.

P. 165, l. 4, read: 'Büt, perhaps, back of this association of Khshathra 'Kingdom' with ayokhshusta 'Molten Metal,' there is even something more.

P. 166, l. 13, add: or by eternal supremacy in the realm of Ormuzd.

P. 168, n. 1, l. 2, read: Wittenberg.
   ,, n. l. 5, ,, Astronomia philolaica.
   ,, n. l. 8, ,, Antwerp, 1703, II, p. 55.

P. 169, n. 3, read: $\tilde{z}$ and $\tilde{j}$ for $\tilde{z}$ and $\tilde{j}$.

P. 170, ll. 3, 16 and 17, read: Pharbardin (throughout);
   ,, n. 8, 11, read: $\S_1$.

P. 171, l. 4, read: from the creation of the world.

P. 173, l. 10, read: was drawn up.

P. 174, l. 16, read: Antwerp for Paris;

P. 175, n. 24, l. 3, add at the end:—also my article, Zu den byzantinischen Angaben ueben den altiranischen Kalender, in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XI, pp. 468-472.

P. 234, § 6, read: Dārayava(h)uś.
APPENDIX I.

THE OLD PERSIAN TEXT

OF THE

INSCRIPTIONS AT BEHISTĀN,

A Memorial of Darius Hystaspes.

COLUMN I.

    -HIE.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.
    =KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.

2.  KK.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.EI.A.-HIE.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.
    -HIE.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.
    =KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.

3.  KK.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.EI.A.-HIE.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.
    -HIE.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.1.  MM.R.X.K.KK.l.KK.

† Omitted in the B. Inscriptions.
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

4. 

5. 

6. 

(q. 6—8).

(q. 9—11).

(q. 11—12).
COLUMN I, §§ 4-9.

7. [Text starts here...]

8. [Text continues...]

9. [Text concludes...]

(II. 13—17).

(II. 17—20).

(II. 20—24).
10. קְמַּלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְמַלְm.
COLUMN I, §§ 10-12.

11. [Text in ancient script]

12. [Text in ancient script]
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

13. [Inscriptions text]
COLUMN I, §§ 13-14.

14 $\text{KL}_7\text{M}-\text{KL}_7\text{M}. \quad \text{KL}_7\text{M}=\text{KL}_7\text{M}. \quad \text{KL}_7\text{M}=\text{KL}_7\text{M}. \quad \text{KL}_7\text{M}=\text{KL}_7\text{M}. \quad \text{KL}_7\text{M}=\text{KL}_7\text{M}. \quad \text{KL}_7\text{M}=\text{KL}_7\text{M}. \quad \text{KL}_7\text{M}=\text{KL}_7\text{M}.$
THE PESHESTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

(II, 61-71).
COLUMN I, §§ 14-16.

15. 

16. 

* Words mutilated in the Old Persian text are here marked by asterisks.
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

17. (II. 72—81).

18. (II. 81—83).
COLUMN I, §§ 17-19.

\[\text{§§ 17-19.}\]

\[\text{m. K. = l. vi. \ 1. \ \text{m.} \text{n.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}.}\]

\[\text{cm. l. \ \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}.}\]

\[\text{I. \ \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}.}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}.}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}.}\]

\[\text{(l. 83—90).}\]

\[\text{19. K. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{m. \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.} \text{m.}}\]

\[\text{(l. 90—96).}\]
COLUMNS II.

1. \[\text{Text not clearly visible.}\]

2. \[\text{Text not clearly visible.}\]

3. \[\text{Text not clearly visible.}\]
COLUMN II, §§ 1-5.


(II. 11—13).
The Behistun Inscriptions.
COLUMN II, §§ 6-7.

7. [Greek text follows]
THE BEHISTAN INSRIPTIONS,

(II. 29—37).

8. \[\text{transcribed script}\]

(II. 37—42).

9. \[\text{transcribed script}\]
COLUMN II, §§ 8-10.

10. [Text not legible]
THE BAHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

(II. 49-57).

11. KM.M.M.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.M.M.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.K.M.M.M. 1. KM.M.M.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.

(II. 57-63).

12. KM.M.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.M.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
    KM.M.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.E.M. 1. KM.E.M.E.M.
11. [Text in Latin]

12. [Text in Latin]

13. [Text in Latin]
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

14. (II. 70–75).
15. [Text not legible]

16. [Text not legible]
xxii

THE BAHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

ll. 92–98.
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

ll. 9–10).

3. 

(ll. 10–19).
4. \[ \text{Column III, §§ 3-6.} \]

5. \[ \text{(II. 19-21).} \]

6. \[ \text{(II. 21-23).} \]
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

COLUMN III, §§ 6-8.

8. [Text continues...]

(11. 40—59).
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

(II. 52—63).
COLUMN III, §§ 9-11.

10. [Text continues with characters and symbols from an ancient script]

11. [Text continues with characters and symbols from an ancient script]

(11. 63—68).
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,

12. [Numerous lines of cuneiform script with descriptions and analysis of the inscriptions follow.]

13. [Similar to 12, with more detailed analysis and possible translations or interpretations of the inscriptions.]
COLUMN III, §§ 12-14.

14. (II. 75—82).

(II. 82—91).
COLUMN IV.


THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS,
COLUMN IV, §§ 3-7.

5. .xxxv

6. XXXV

7.
8. 1. 

9. 1. 

10. 1. 

1. suggested by Gray.
2. Jackson maniyātiy.
3. So Weissbach and Bang. Jackson reads ādātā (Av. āzāta) or āmiṭā.
XXXviii

14. [...] (ll. 61—67).

15. [...] (ll. 67—69).

1 Jackson reads „huvatam.
18. 兹彼游人。(字迹不清)

19. 兹彼游人。(字迹不清)
COLUMN V.

1. [illegible text]

COLUMN VI.

2. [illegible text]
THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTIONS.

3. (ll. 15—18).

4. (ll. 21—31).

5. (ll. 31—34).

6. (ll. 34—36).

An Admirer.
APPENDIX II.

FIRST SERIES

OF THE

SELECTIONS OF ZÁD-SPARAM.

CHAPTER I.

Dená aiyãdkár nípishtako Cidakihá-i Zâd-sparam-i Yûbân-Yimân¹ Karitund.

CHAPTER I.

0. Shnáyishno-i dâdâr Aûharmazd va-vispân Yâzdáno, hamák Yâzdân-i mainógán va-Yazdân-i stîhán, góbishno-i aérpato Zádosparam-i Yûbân-Yimâné, ae-i nîmrûjó, madam gûmêzishno-i spênak mainóg gônâg mainóg.


¹ Perhaps for ñûsínêmân. ² K. omits 3

5. Páspáníh min drúj ráí, mainógihá bén dúbárásto, mainó-i

1 The MSS. have ١٩٢.
2 The MSS. have ١٩٣.
The Selections of Zád-sparam, Chapter I, §§ 2—9. xlv

7. Aúharmazd pásukhóinido aég: "Lâ, drúj! harvispó kardár haváih."


9. Aúharmazd pavan mainőg-i khír+dóih khazitúntó aég, zag-ico

¹ The MSS. again insert ुि. ² K. ेिि.
Aharman pato-istādano tūbáníg pavan kardano, yèdo là burin-aʿlmand zamánako-i kūkhshishno. 10. Afash barû ajash vidaná bará val aiyyārīh bavihûnasto, māsh khadīṭūntō aēgh Aharmanō pavan miyānjīgīh-i aēc gūshānān madam là yegavīmūnēd, va-zamán aīto kōlā 2 khūpo ham-aiyyārīh rāst rāyīnīdārīh āūbash ayāvo; afash pavan 3 zamānō vabīdūntō-i kōlā zamān-1 3 hazārákak. 11. Aharmanō madam yegavīmūnād, va-Aḥārmāzd khadīṭūntō aēgh, amato Aharmanō frōstako kardano là shāyedo, hamāi amato bavihūnēdō lākhvār val nafshā bavihūnastō-i tārīgīh vazlūnēdō, ac5 zāhar-i vēsh ārāī aīto afarjām patkār yehvūnēdō.

12. Afash akhar min zamānō vabīdūntō Ahūnavar frāzo debrund,

---

1 The MSS. have 2WAYJ but burin-aʿlmand zamánako-i, "appointed time of," is a more probable reading.

2 The MSS. have 2WAYJ.

3 May be ac, "also, moreover," or ʿAz, "the serpent demon of Greed" (compare § 26) or, possibly, ʿaj, "from"; but this last is rarely found, except in compounds.
Selections of Zād-sparam, Chapter I, §§10—15. xlvii


1 The MSS. have r-.
2 Possibly aūbash.

3 The MSS. have hūmān, "well-meditating."
yehvúnishno; cigún ákás dahishnáno val anákásasagáno, haman-
aedúno túbáníng khvástako-áno val niýdzígo, khvástakán rádihá
yehabúntó-i naʃ́há. 16. Va-farhakhhto dasto-i Áhxarmad dámáno
eaʃ́vako val tané bén khókhshishnígo árdígo, cigún frashakardáríh
pavan déna 3 mindavam sháyedo yehvúntano. 17. Aito frátúm rásto-
dénói-i benafshá, astúbáníh-i madam gabrá bún-dáshtóih pavan zag
rástako nau-barbán, a灰色 Ahxarmad hamák shapíríh asarírih,
afash kám kám-i visp-fraráno; Aaḥmanó vispó-i sarírih asapíríh.
18. Dadígar, aemédú-i mozd pátádaʃ́hishno-i kirfako, giráno bím-i
min púhar páfafaʃ́h-i bajako, giráno tükhsídan-i pavan kirfako,
páhréktntán-i min vinás. 19. Sadígar, ham-aʃ́yárih yehvúntan-i

1 Naų-barbán, “good news, or glad tidings”; compare Pers. naų barbán and naų rahán.
The Selections of Zād-sparam, Chapter I, §§ 16—23. xlix

dāmān, ayōvo levatāg va-min ham-āffyāriḥ ham-sipāhīḥ; sipāhīḥ pīrūzīḥ-i madam dūshmanā yehvūnēdo-i nafshā frashakardo.

20. Pavan denē gōbishno starīdo yehvūntō lakhvār val tom aṭif-dido; Aūharmaṣḍ dām tano-aūmandīhā barā val stīsh yehabūntō; fratūm āsāmān, va-dādīgār mayā, sadīgār zamīgo, 4-ūm aūṛvar, va-5-ūm gōspend, 6-ūm anshūṭā. 21. Ātakshsh bēn vispō yehvūntō, pargandago kādmān pavan 6 gōhārako-i kolā gōhārak-aē darvand-i pavan madam yehabūntō and būdo; guftō yegavīmūnēdo, cand mīzō-aē-i amat āevako pavan tanē frōdo hankhetūnd.

22. 3,000 shinato dām tano-aūmand va-aːndf-rafīr yehvūntō; khūrštēdo va-māh starānīo yegavīmūnādō havād. 23. Bēn dūbāristan-i

\(^1\) Levatāg, "accompanying."
\(^2\) MSS. 
\(^3\) MSS. 
\(^4\) MSS. 
\(^5\) MSS. 


avâkih-i Azo, hanâ-i lak bâra dûkhto-i khûdo, pavan dênô frôdo yemitunêdo; va-yêl pavan sar-i 9000 shnato, cîgün gûfto istêdo ni-pishto, madam kardano vidanâ, madam vâtîünêdo, là far’jâmûnêdo.

27. Pavan ham vidanâ Aharman min ham Zôrvânô bâra val kâdmôn, bâra val star-pâhyago3 yâtûnto; band-i âsmâno pavan starpâhyago višûdô-i numûdo, mât frôdo val tanhâîgih hîsht, nirûg bûnddâdo-i4 rôshanânvo va-târâno, zivâk-i ârdigo mônash tajishno-i kolâ 2-ân padash. 28. Aflash târigih levatâ nafshâ dâshtano bên val âsmâno yâîtyûnto. âsmân ângûn val tom hîshto, âêgh andarûnog sâko pavan âsmâno cand 3aêvako-aê ojvar star-pâhyag bâra yehamûnêdo.

1 Komîta 2. 2 MîSs. 3r. 3 A mîss-peâllîng of 18âe pêyago.
4 Perhaps “communication of” : or possibly bûn-gashtan-i, “original evolution of.”
5 MîSs. 3r 1477.
CHAPTER II.

1. Madam bēn yātūntō-i Aharmanō val dām pavan dēuō āngūn pēdāko aēgh, birakh Fravardīno, yōm Aūharmanzd pavan nīmrōj, frāzo val vīmond-i āsmāno mado. 2. Aṣmān vēṇēdo va-gōhārīh rāi āngūn barā tarsēdo cīgūn mēsh min gūrg larzēdo ; Aharmanō tāvīshnīgo sōjīshnīgo padash madam yātūntō. 3. Akhar val mayā mado-i azīr zamigō nīvārdo, afash tārīgīh gvidō mijak-āē madam būrdo ; va-pavan mīyāno-i zamīgo madam yātūntō, cīgūn mār hamāk akumbo min sūrīko-āē madam yātūnēdo ; va-hamāko zamīgo

1 MSS. گچی
2 Compare Pers. kunbidan, "to leap."

bèn yeğavimùnàdo. 4. Zag vidarg aêgh madam yâtûntò benafshâ alto, rûs-i val düshahvô mûn pavan zag-i dûbârinend shêdâno drevândânô.

5. Akhar val aûrvar mado, cigûn aêvako bûn yehvund, mûnâsh hâlâtî cand pâî-aê, va-anazg va-apôstako va-tar shîrîn; afash vispò sardako zôr-i aûrvarâno bèn èhar dâshânto pavan naźdîgîh-i miyânako-i zamûgo bûdo; va-pavan ham-vidanà bârâ kluâshkô.

6. Akhar val tòrâg mado-i aëvak-dûdo, cigûnash hûlâtî cigûn Gàïyôkmârdo pavan bâr-i mayâ-i Dàîtih miyânako-i zamûg istûdî; afash min Gàïyôkmârdo rakhihî cand hûlâtî nafshà yehvûntano, min-iè bâr-i mayâ-i Dàîtih pavan ham padmânà rakhîg yehvûntò; va-nekeb spêdî rôshanô bûdo cigûn mâh. 7. Cigûn pâltiârako madam mado Ànharmazd

1 M88. 2 M88. add 3.
mang-i bang-ic karituni-aito pavan vashtamūntan yehabūnd, vapēsh-i ainā bang mūshtano, aēgh min zanishno-i vazakoān ashūdakih kam yehvunēdo; nizār va-vimār yehvuntō, pavan dashin kharako aυfdido tavratano.

8. Pēsh min frāzo madano-i val Gāiyōkmaro-i adino eiqūn 3-o aē3-i Zaratūksht bālāi-i yehvuntō, rōshanō yehvuntō eiqūn khurshēdo, Aḏharmād min khvāē brāhīnēdo pavan gabra kerpo-i 15 sālako-i rōshanō-i būlōnd, afash madam shedrunēdo val Gāiyōkmaro; afash khvāē madam aubash debrūnēd-ic darānāi cand Yat-ahū-vairyōki-1 madam yemataluni-aito. 9. Amato min khvāē frāzo yehvuntō, afash cashm madam dāshto, ash khadītuntō

1 BK setDefault, K.setDefault (but J/default in Bund. iii., 18.

8 Tavratāno, for tartavāno, compare Pers. tartabān, "trembling."

3 Or 3 nāf, "3 reeds" = 14 feet (see S. B. E. XVIII., pp. 48, n. 5; 142, n. 1.)

4 So MSS., but better omit yaūyūth, or transpose into yaūyūth-

5 MSS. transpose into ḫūf, but see Bund. iii., 19. 9 Corrected from qūnāj.

CHAPTER III.

gehāno amat tārīgo būdo cigūn lēlyā; pavan hamāk zamīg már, gezdāmbo, vazag, va-kabed ginako khrastarāno; cahārpāāno avārig āyūnakō andarūno khasındā angūn-istādī havānd; hām zamīgō madomadī hūmānako cand sōzan tēkh lā mānd zyash lā dūbārishno-i khrastarān padash yehvūntō. 10. Madano-i apākhtārīgo pavan hamdvādīh-i apākhtārig va-māh va-4-īno 5-ān apākhtarān; kaved tārkarpāno pavan cihar va-gēs-i Azo Dahāko bēn vāhamih-i Anīrān-āč tōjishno ūdāshto: shkipto būdo karitūnishno dregvadāno-i min ashavan. 11. Afdūm bara va-ātakhsh mado, va-tārīgo dād bēn gumikhto.

CHAPTER III.

1. Va-Gōsh-aūrva, cigūn benafshā yehvūnd rūbān-i tōrāg-i āevak-dādo,

1 For ܡܠ rxām khrastarāno.
2 "Reptiles" (see the older Persian dictionaries).
3 Pers. āmad-āmad.
4 Sōzan, "needle"; MSS. .GPIO.
CHAPTER IV.

amat tòrág barâ vidőrdo, min tòrâ birùno yâtûntû, eïgûn rûbân-ic min vidôrdûno tano, pavan zag hûmânâko gar’zishno-i wâng val Aûharmazd bûrdo eïgûn zag-i hazârákânako sipâh, amat pavan akvayòv madam gar’zênd. 2. Va-Aûharmazd min pêsh-i Gâiyök- mardo pàspânînîdan avîrtar tûbânô bûdân gûmikhtako dâmûno rûi, min zamîg madam val âsmûno vazlûntû. 3. Afash Gôshaûrvan min akhar gar’zâno hamûî vazlûntû, afash wâng bûrdo aûghato sardâriîh-i pavan dâmûno pavan mûn barû shedgûnî -ên ?
zaváro¹ zyash budo bará val āhūko'inishno-i dāman mado; afash būn-i āsmáno cand 3 aēvak-o-ā-ī val frōdo rūno, pavan bandago girifto dādih vakhdūntō, āngun āēgh hamāko tārīgo barā min rōshanōlh, mā benafshā yehvūntō, bèn yātūntan-ī hamācestār, dūshman bèn kūkhshishnoihā-ī val dādako. 2. Va-denā aīto padārkako frashakardārih, mā mahistō-i drūj, amat bèn yātūntō, avārig kolā afzār, min ham būn va-nirūk denā yōm, bèn khvāpishno-i frashakardārih, 3zag amat dushmanō-i pavan bèn yātūntan bandag va-lakhvār yakhsununī-aīto.

3. Miyāno denā kolā kūkhshishno gūmēzako rāyinishnīhā-ī Aharmanō, āēgham "būnyago mado pīrūzih, mām shkāfto āsmāno

¹ Av. zāvāro.
² Some word seems missing here.
³ MSS. ⁴ ⁵.
etween most likely means "split"; BK, ⁵ ⁶ ⁷, K ⁸ ⁹.
va-ahūkinīdo pavan tôm va-tār, afam vakhdūntō pavan drupūshtoīh; afam ahūkinīdo mayā, afam sūfto zamīko vināsidō pavan tārigīh, afam khūshinīdo aūrvar, afam marginīdo tōrā, afam vimārinīdo Gāiyōkmardo, afam padīrako vardishnāno1 nivārdō tārān va- apākhtarānā; afam vakhdūntān vashtānā lā mānd aīsh bēn razm min Aūharmāzā, va-zamīgo bārā aēvako gabrā mūn aēvatāgihā, mā shāyedō kardānā?

4. Afash madam sheđrunēdo Astō-i-vidādo, levatā 1000 aūzvārārā-no yasgānō-i benafshā havād, vimārīb-i gūnako gūnako, aēghash vimārī nēnd marginēnd. 5. Gāiyōkmardo azshāno lā vindādō, va-cārako mā vijīr yehvūntō-i barinogar Zōrvānō pavan būn-i bēn yātūntān-i

1 Probably for Šēnašēhā vardishnāno, "those revolving"; apparently the signs of the zodiac.

2 BK inserts 71., but these two strokes merely fill up the end of a line in K.
THE SELECTIONS OF ZĀD-SPARAM, CHAPTER IV, §§ 4—8. lxx

Aharman, aēgh: "Madam val 30 zimāstān1 Gāiyōkmardo vad tēg va-
zag-i khayā bójishno frāzo brāhinam." 6. Afash pavan spihār yehvūnd
pēdākīh pavan bakhshishno-i min kirfako bajakgarāno gūmēzishn
rāyinishnāno, afshāno pavan zag cim vad hanjādako-i 30-o shnato lā
ayāfto cārak.

7. Mé pavan būn āngūn barā yehabūnd, aēgh Āuḥarmazd
stārako zivandagīh lecado dām, lā nafshā-gōhārihā, barā
bēn band-i rōshanāno yehvūntan rāi; va-Kēvān margīh lecado
dām. 8. Kolā 2, pavan būn-i dām, pavan nafshā bālist
yehvūntō havād, eigūn Āuḥarmazd pavan Galacang pavan lālā
yātūntan, ān-i Jivān-ic karītunī-ātto, mé zīvāk ātto zyash

1 For ɾræ=settings.
2 MS. 1367).
3 BK 1367.
4 MS. 1367.)
زیوانداغی پاداش خلکونی-ایتو؛ کِوَنِنو پاوان تاراژُکو پاوان ماس‌آزر زامیغ، واد بِنافش‌آ زَهاری۱ وامارگی پاداش بَی‌مئیکِر واپاداکلشاختار. ۹. ِیاه‌یوینتو-یا کولا ۲ بارا بالیستو لا، گایی‌یوک‌ماردو پاوان نافش‌آ زیوانداغی ایس بارا کاردَانو بَیدو-ی ۳۰ شناتو کِوَنِنو لَکِحوار واد بَی‌مئیکِر ایتو تاراژُکو لا مادو. ۱۰. ِیا‌پاوان زَج‌غاز امات کِوَنِنو پاوان واد تاراژُکو مادو، اُهارمازد پاوان وَامیغ بَیدو، زیاش نافش‌آ نیشیترک وا-اپاروْگی‌زی-ی کِوَنِنو مادام اُهارمازد رَی، گایی‌یوک‌ماردو پاوان این-ی کَلِاکَوْان-یِ یّاتُنَد وُرد١ وامادام بَیدرَکِو استیشحو، استیشنویی-ی زاغ اَه‌کنیشحو-ی اهارمانو مادام اُهارمازد دَامانو دِبَرَنی‌ید.

۱ اُنیل ۱۵۰۰ کُزَر‌شَی، "عُومَنَم.

۲ مَسَس. لَک. ۳ مَسَس. لَک. ۴ اُنیل ۱۵۰۰ "بَید، "عَمَدْرَد، عَمَدْرَد.”
CHAPTER V

1. Amat ham va-ham-patīyārīgo, cigūnash dāmāno āhūkiniḍo, adinosh pavan zag ham-drājānūhāno nafshā rābā-gaddīhī numūdo, ma cigūn andarānuo āsmān yātuntō, adino mainōg-i āsmāno aratēshṭār hūmānāko-i arkan5 mun ayōkshūstīno zrāh padmāukhto yakhshūnumēl; āsmāno ash pavan būr’jo ān-i staftō drōg-sakhūn ġifto val Aharmanō aēgh: “Kevan amat ben yātūnd havāih-ae, āto lakhvār lā shed-gūnam;” barā nivarīdo7 vad amat Aḥharmanād piramūno āsmāno akharān drupūshtīh-l-i sakhttār barā nivāri lō, Ashōk-ākāśīh karutunīnito.

2. Afash ashōkāno fravāhar-i aratēshṭārāno piramūno zag drupūshtīh, aspō-bārako va-nēzako-yadd, āngūn barā nivārdo cigūn vars

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1 Mēs. 2 K has ḫī above ġī. 3 Pers. arghand. 4 K āēg. 5 Or ham-padīsārīgo. 6 Compare Pers. ḫītāftan. 7 Compare Sans. niv.
madam rôçshâ; hûmânákhî-i zîndâno-pânân mûn min birûno zîndâno netrûnend, va-dûshmanûnûn min andarûn neflûnast sâmânâno-i birûno là shedgûnyên, yatûntû.


1 Haun-gûno-aê, "such a manner that;" K. transposes into dûshmanû, BK. dûshmanû.
2 It may be $6 \times 10^3$ (aû-hazê) = 6000 years, the period then remaining; or it may be the whole of the 9000 years agreed upon.
3 Quoted from Pahlavi Yasna XXX, 4, in §§ 4—6.
THE SELECTIONS OF ZAD-SPARAM, CHAPTER V, § 3—VI, § 1. lxiii

CHAPTER VI.


7. Va-dená yehvúntó frátám ardígo-i ãsmáno levátá Aharmanó.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Va-dígín dadi gar val mayá mado, zag ham-dená-i bén dúbárist.

¹ MSS. 3060.
² MSS. omit šag șe no.
³ MSS. apînga iżi.

"Penance." In the Gāthā it is varied by different MSS. into šrōcσ=š, šrōcσ=š or šrōcσ=š "destruction, annihilation."

⁵ For Pers. ham-l.
aspó-i Galacêng, mún mayátûmako Tishtar; ham-ávico-i ¹ Arrak ákarîtuñi-añto abar frázo yehabûntô pavan yóm frûdo vazlûntô; no pêdêko cigûn avlû–madân-i dâm rûbâkîh. 2. Galacæang akhtar yehvûntô; añto akhtar-i 4-ûm hará râi, mà Tir birakh 4-ûm birakh-i mûn shnato añto.

3. Va-Tishtar yêdo val aîyyarîh bavihûnasto, a_UPDATE

¹ MSS. ² Or, perhaps, gârih. ³ Yaît VIII, 13, 16, 18.
THE SELECTIONS OF ZĀD-SPARAM, CHAPTER VI, §§ 2—6. Ixv

rabā tēshtō¹ mūn mayā madam āhanjī-āīto; va-pavan zag madam barā makhūtuni-hasto havānd, vispāno khrafstarīno nesūnd² barā mūn khasandagāno mūn bēu ēlīgō-ī zāmīgō bēn vāzlānd havānd.


¹ For nēxōr tāshō.

² Probably for sīxāi kesūnd, without prefix yī, see Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, p. 105. The MSS. place the following -yī before this verb.

³ So K., with nēxōr above; BK nēxōr.
7. Yakhsenunood 8 aëvako-î denû zamigo, afash ën barâ yakh-
senunishno 1000 cashmako khânoig, and var karitûnî-aito; 1000 ârê 
khanig, mânuñ mayâ min zarûh, min var madam yâtûnêdo frâzo 
aëbâsh réjoî-aito. 8. Va-kola var nû 1 va-kola ârê khâni-aê rabâîh 
ångûn cand amat asubârih-aê-i takîgo, pavan aspó-aê-i Tâziç, 
pîramûno hamâî gardédo va-tajêdo 5 pavan 40 yôm barû, ayâvêdo-î 
vehwunêdo 1600² parasang-î akarih-² kolû parasang-ë kamisîo 20,000 
pâïg. 6

9. Va-akhar khrañtrâño-î yemitunto havând, va-vish-î ajash ën

1 MSS. ܝܫܥܵܬܵܐ.

2 So K.; BK. alters each ܐ into ܒ. This seems to indicate 1900 parasangs in 40 
days, which do not give an even number of parasangs daily. The K 20 Bundahish, 
XIII, 2, has 1700 which also give a fractional amount daily. We should probably read 
1600 parasangs, or 40 daily. And if we take ܕ aê = 5 the number of hundreds 
would really be six times one = 6. The error in K. 20 has arisen from writing ܒ for 
ܐ.

3 For ܫܠܝܚ akarih-ì.  5 A "source, feeder."  6 Av. tâc.

4 As the foot was about 10½ inches, this long parasang was 17,500 English feet, r 
nearly 3½ miles.
The Selections of Zâd-Sparam, Chapter VI, §§ 7—11. lxvii

zamigo barâ gûmikhto, zag vish barâ makhîtuntan rái Tishtar bén zarâh frôdo vazlûntô; afash Apâôsh² shêdâ padîrako barâ tajido, va-fratâm ârdîg stûbîh madam pard¹ Tishtar yehvûntô. 10. Afash madam patî-shûdo⁵ val Añharmazd-i zôr ângûn madam Tishtar bûrâdî pavan khshnû va-niâyîshno va-shem-burishnih barâ mado, va-zôr ângûn madam val Tishtar cand 10 aspô-î gûshno, 10 aûshîtar-i gûshno, 10 tôrâ-î gûshno, 10 kôfo amat ramîtund, va-10 rûdo-î nàëvtâko⁴ amat pavan akvayôv frûzo khvâhénd. 11. Afash barâ stûbîh barâ rûmînîdo Apâôsh shêdâ, afash lakhvâr dáshto min cashmakâno-î zarâh.

¹ Pers. bard, "terror."
² BK. 3923 23f
³ Yasht VIII., 13, 16, 18.
⁴ Ibîd. 25. MSS. 14=787, which might mean "single-streamed," but the original is Av. návaya, "navigable."
⁵ Yasht VIII., 21, 22.
⁶ Av. paltîtish.
12. Afash pavan jām va-gûmb-i padmānīgo, mūn fravāhar-i
dāshto khvēshkārīh, cand vēsh dasto mayā hākht, va-cand shīkīfttar
pavan zanîshno madam¹ vārânīnīd srīshkān-ī cand gabrā rōēshē
ta-tōrāg rōēshā, mas va-kas. 13. Va-bēn zag avar va-vārāno
yehvūntō tōjishno paţkavishno-ī Tīshtar va-ātakhsh-ī Vāzīshtō pavan
hamēstārīn-ī Apāōsh; vispō-vijir ātakhsh-ī Vāzīshtō pavan ātakhshāṇo
vazar bārā makhītuntō, vispō-vijir bēn kēbarāno.

14. 10 yōm shapāno vārāno yehvūntō, afash partāv shadītunīh-ī
khraftarān; akhar vādō rānīnīdo val kanārako-ī zarāh-ī Farākhū-kardo,
va-val 3 bārā khelkūnī-hasto, afash 3 zarāh ajash būdo, kavītunī-ālto

¹ So MSS., but it should probably be *zv avar,* “a cloud,” (see § 13), and not
*avar* = madam, “upon, down.” Tīshtar “made the cloud rain.”

² Partāv, "darting, spurting.” MSS. VertexArray.
Puitig\(^1\) va-Kamirido\(^2\) va-Gehano-bun.\(^3\) 15. Min valashano Puitigo benafshâ mayâ-i sûr aîto, mûnash pûr avakâr\(^4\) padash yehvûnêdo; afash band-i pûr va-avakâr padvast val mâh, afash hamâî vardishno, pavan lâlâ yatuntano frôdo vazlîntan, ân-i mâh padash pêdâkoî-aîto. 16. Va-Farâkhû-kardo pavan kûstako-i nimrûjô pavan Albûr'z frâzo yegavimûnêdo, afash Puitigo ham-sâmâno yegavimûnêdo, afash miyâno var-i Satavês, mûn band val Satavês, mûn kûstako-i nimrûjô. 17. Vazarâh ben khvêshtkarîh, va-mâh, mûn vardishno-i kolâ Airâno, ben afzâyishno va-kâhishno pûr avakâr havâd; gajak dûnbag min levino-i mâh 2 frâzo tajênd, ben Satavês mâlshîto yakhsenund; aëvako

\(^1\) Puitig in Bd. XIII, 7-10; Av. Pûtika.
\(^2\) Kamûd, ibid., 7,15
\(^3\) ibid.
\(^4\) Compare Sans. ava-kr.
\(^5\) BK. \(\text{\textit{I}}\)=10, K \(\text{\textit{I}}\)=101.
lālā āhang, aēvako frōd-āhang; pavan zag-i lālā-āhang yehvūnēdo pūr,

20. Afast akhar, tajindād min Albūr'zō, min apākhtar kanārako, 2 rūdo-i va5 Arvand aito va-Dīglīto (tajo-i val6 rūdo val frōd yehvūndān) va-Vēh va6 rūdo val khūr avlā-madān yehvūnto; pavan 2 sruβo sakhto

1 So MSS. but Bd. XIII, 13 has 3, compare Pers. āhanjālān; the two dots are easily corrupted into a circumflex.

2 The MSS. have 3, by some old transposition of letters.

3 The MSS. have 4. 4 The ocean and the three seas mentioned in § 14.

5 Va means "both" here. 6 For 3 valō.
21. Akhar min valāshāno 18 rūdu-ī rabā min ham Albūr'zo barā yātūn havānd; denā 20 rūdu, mūnshāno bān khān pavan Albūr'zo, bēn zamīgo frōdo vazlūnd va-bēn Khvanīras2 yehamūnd.

22. Akhar 2 cashm-i zarāh barā val zamīgo sharitūnī-hasto-i karitun-i-aīto Čečasto (var-ī là sarmāko vādo yakhṣenūndo, mūnash pavan bār-ē yetibūnūndo ātūrū-ī Gushtaspū-ī pīrūnūr), va-dadīgar Sōvar mūn kolā stavarih barā kūstāno ramitunīyēn, va-nafshā sūrāgvar rōshanō pāko yakhṣenūndo, mā andāzako hūmanāko-i cashm i-aīto, mūn kolā darāhī va-kolā rimanoī barā val kūstāno ramitunūndo; afash zōfārīh rāī barā val būn

1 The MSS. have 10.
2 BK. inserts چیزکاریه یا dp khwēshkārīh, K. inserts چیزکاری-speaking.
3 The MSS. have 31 for 5.
4 MSS. 147.
5 MSS. 152.
6 MSS. 153.
CHAPTER VII.


1 MSS. ۱۱۸.

2 Possibly for افراد avārād, but doubtful.

3 Va means "both" here.
The Selections of Zâd-Spâram, Chapter VI, § 23—VII, § 6. Ixxiii

3. Āngūn pēdāko āēgh, pēsh min aibijado val dām madano, pavan 1000 shnato gōhār-i kūfo bēn zamīg yehabūnto yegavimūnado, nāncisht cigūn paīṭyārako barā zamīgo mado, pavan vazandago barā nīshto, madam zamīgo madam yāṭūnto cigūn dirākhto hūmānāko, tāko val madam vakhshūdo, afash rīshako val azīr. 4. Rishako-i kōfāno aēvako val tanē barā vidārī-hast, pavan ham-bandīh barā nivārī-aīto, afash rās vidarg-i mayā; azīr val madam, pudash barā yehabūnī-hasto, aēghash mayā padsh āngūn hūmānāk tajēnd cigūn khūno bēn rakāu, min hamāk tano val dil, zōhār-i nīhān-i yakhṣenund. 5. Va-pavan 6001 shnat-ic kādmūn hamāk kōfān-i gīvīd min Albūr'ző far'jāmīg būdo havād. 6. Albūr’ző vad 800 shnat hamālī2 rūstō;

1 This 600 is more likely than the 18 in Ind. Bd. VIII, 5 : XII, 1; although this 18 is confirmed by Irān. Bd. IX, XIX.
2 F.K. omits hamālī
pavan 200 shnato vad val star păhyago, pavan 200 shnato vad val mâh păhyag, va-200 shnat vad val khûrshëdo păhyag, 200 shnato vad val âsmân rûstô. 7. Akhar Albûr’zo Aparsëno kôfô mëch, cîgûn Avar-rûyisìn-iq kôfô karûnûn-ai tô, mûnâsh bûn pavan Sagistânû afash sar pavan val Pûrs val Cînîstânû.

8. Denâ-e pêdâk, âêgh :- Akhar min vârânûn-i râbû-i pavan bûn-i dâm, barâ mâshtano-i vàdö mayâ val zarûh, zamûgo pavan 7 pâráko andag-aê-i azvûr, cîgûn ham-tano zamûg, akhar min vârânû, pavan aêvûz va-vâdö zîvâko zîvako barû sedgûnûn-ai tô. 9. Pâráko-aê barû, cand nêmakoaê hamûk zamûgo, min miyânû, va-Sagistânû î hûnd pîramûn pavan 6 pâráko; barû Sagistûn hûnd padmûno karûnûn-hasto-i këshvâr,
The Selections of Zâd-Sparam, Chapter VII. § 7—VIII. § 1. lxxv

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Cigun cahárum val aúrvar mado, zyash pavan ham aúrvar padiráko kúkhshí-aíto, md zag aúrvar bará khúshko, Amúrdado,

pavan zag cím pavan késh aévako min tané péddako yehvúntó. 10. Miyáno Khvaníras-i min Pârs miyánako aíto, va-zag 6 késhvar aéisar húmnák. 11. Bâhar-aé min zaráh-i Farákhú-kardo piramun zag gashto, miyáno zag 6 késhvar; zag kástako-i nímrój zaráh va-véshako bará vakhduñtó, zag-i apákhtarígo kóf-í bûr’zo bará rûstó, aégh vad, aévako min tané, gvido yehvúnto và-apéddako.3

12. Dêné yehvúntedo sadigår ardigo madam zamígo.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Cigún cahárum val aúrvar mado, zyash pavan ham aúrvar padiráko kúkhshí-aíto, md zag aúrvar bará khúshko, Amúrdado,
مُناسح اوروار فرش دکھشلکو مدام وکھدانتو، افسح خُردو بَرَاء کَوست، افسح لَوَاتَ تیشتاریگو مایَ-ی وارَانیگو بَرَاء گْنیمکِئدو. 

2. اکمار من وَرَانو هامِکو زمیگو وکھشیشْنَو-ْگْن پُدُکی-ْهَاستو، وا 10،000 سَردَکو-ی مَعَداکِوار وا-100،000 لَوَاتَ سَردَکو ْآنْگُن وکھشیل هاَوَانَد چیگْنَو مین کُلَا ْگُنَکو ْایْیَنَکو؛ افسح زاغ 10،000 سَردَکو بَرَاء ۵ اَوَدَو-ْداریشْنیل-ی ۱۰،۰۰۰ وِیمَاریلَی پادرَاستو.

3. اکمار من زاغ 100،۰۰۰ سَردَکو اوروار تْوکِم مِدام وکھدانتو، مین هامِی-ی تْوکِم وَانُو-ی هارویسپ-ْتْوکِم، میِیانو-ی زارُی-ی فاراکْحُو-کاردو، بَرَاء یهابَوتو، مُناسح هامِک سَردَکو اوروارَانو ایجِش هامِی وکھشْهِند. ۴. افسح سَنِئو مُرُعو

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1 MSS. ۱۲۱۲.  
2 This cipher usually means 1,000, but see Bd. IX, 4.
3 BK inserts ۱۲۱۲۱۲.  
4 MSS. ۲۱۲.  
5 For یو پَوان.
6 MSS. ۲۱۲، but see Bd. IX, 4.  
7 MSS. ۲۱۲۱۲۱۲.
CHAPTER IX.

1. Cigün 5-üm val gòspend mado, zyash pavan ham gòspend padirako kûkhasildo, va-ham cigün tòrag-i aëvakkâdo-i barah vidîrdo, min zag cígûnhî ciharako-i aûrvarig dâshto, 55¹ sandakoi

5. Aftash pavan nazdîgîh lag vanò barah yehâbînto Hûm-i spêdô, hamêstârîhî-i zarmânî, zîvandaggar-i murdakân, anoshakgar-i zîvandagân.

6. Denô yehvûnto tasûm arîdî madam aûrvarîno.

¹ So in Bd. X, 1; XIV, 1; XXVII, 2; but here the MSS. have 57.
jûrûdâ va-12 sardako-i aûrvar-i bêshaz min anâm anâm vakhshîdo havând cigûn vênând aêvak aêvakî aêgh min kadâr andâm, bên Dâmâdâdo pêdâko. 2. Va kolâ aûrvar min andâm-ê vakhshîdo afzâyînêdo-i zag andâm, cigûn zag-i gûfto aêgh; tamâ tóra val zamîg mazg barâ fash dâdo, akhar jûrûdê lâla rûstô, galolag¹ va-shamag, alûn² va-mashûkô³; cigûn shamag, mazg cîharako rûi, benafshê mas aîto-i afzâyînêko-i mazg. 3. Va-zag-îc yemalûni-aîto aêgh min khûno gaduko mas (cigûn âs benafshê khûno aîto) aîto-i aûrvarîgo-i val dûrêst cîharîh-i khûno aîyyârtar. 4. Va-zag-îc yemalûni-aîto aêgh min vînîgo mâîsh⁴ mûn dônako karîtûni-aîto, va-gânako-i shamagah yehvûntî, tanê vînîg rûi. 5. Va-zag-îc-i yemalûni-aîto aêgh min sûshân sipandûno⁶

¹ Perhaps for Pers. ghallah. ² Pers. alûm, or arzan.
³ Pers. mashû, or mashang. ⁴ MSS. 
⁵ Pers. mashê. ⁶ MSS  """, but some herbs (like rue) are meant, as shown by the context.
The Selections of Zād-sparam, Chapter IX, §§ 2—9. Ixxix

6. सेवन। क्षेत्र एकूणः प्रेयसिते लिंगेः । कृपा। ।

7. नेहाण। अभयार्यते नरसिम्हा रुद्रसिद्धान्तकोर्मणि। कर्म करोरिः ।

8. स्वभावम्। अभयार्यते श्रीमतादिसिद्धान्तकोर्मणि। कर्म करोरिः ।

9. बेषाजिनेद्, वा-गोस्पेनानां सुशिग विमारिह रूपं। 6. देनं, मियानि-दील बुनो, अविशानि-वहुमानं बारं आवज-इतिश्यनि-ि जाग-ि अकोमानं गंड, वा-जाग-ि मिन शताकानो वा-आसागानो रूपं आजस्तं।

7. अक्षरं, तोक्मं रोशानिह, बेन जोर मिन तोक्मं मादम वाह्कुंतो-ि तोरं बुद्रो, आजस्तं देब्रान्यं, रोशानिहं वल मां येजतो अवास्पादो; पवानं गंस पदाश्तं मिन तोक्मं पवानं रोशानिहं-ि माहं बत्रं पालुंदो, आफशं पवानं कबेद चिहराकोइंहं बत्रं विरास्तो, आफशं फनवार-अमोंदं बत्रं कार्दो। 8. मिन तमं फ्राजोः वल आरां-वेजोः ब्राह्मुंदो, फरतुमं 2 तोरं युक्तको, वा-जेगर वा-नेखेब; अक्खरं आवरिग सार्दाकोइंहं वाद वल बुंदागिहं-ि 282 सार्दाक; वा-जामिगो अउद्धं 2 गलसं दराणक-ि आक्रुरं पेदाको येहुंजं झवंशं। 9. चेहरपाणो पवानं जमिगं फ्राजोः सागितुंतो खवंशं, वा-माहिंगं बेनं मायां
shnávido havánd, múrvání andarváko vajído havánd; 22 paván han-gámí-khásh-khvárih ham-dóshagído áv-dahíñ ajash búbó, va-adásíh va-zerkhúnishno.


1 MSS. 2 Compare Pers. kháyah, "egg." 3 Arab. sammúr, "the sable"; see §§ 13, 14, 21.
The Selections of Zâd-spâram, Chapter IX, §§ 10—14. lxxx

sûrâko-mânishnâno rubishnâno; khayînîg haimôg-gûn mûrvâno; farakhû-raftâr vido-i râî jasto va-hamôkânûn-ic; carag-ar’jânîgâno kolâ mà pavan ramako carako yakhsenunî-âîto.

13. Afash akhar barâ val bâharâno khelkuntô, cigûn girdo-sûmbiûnâno âévako, hamâko aspô karituni-âîto; va-dokânako-sûmbo-ân kaped, cigûn aûshtar va-tôrâ, mêsîh va-bûz, avârig dokânako-sûmbo-ân; 5-cang kalbâ, khargôsh, va-mûshko, samûr avârig; akhar mûrûv, akhar mâhîg. 14. Afash akhar barâ val sardako khelkuntô, cigûn aspô 8 sardako, khamarâ 1 2 sardako, tôrâ 10 sardako, mêsîh 5 sardako va-bûzo 5 sardako, kalbâ 10, khargôsh 5, samûr 8, mûshko 8,

1 Or it may stand for ג' 71 gâmîâ, "the camel"; see § 17.
mûrv 110, va-mâhûg 10; aîto mûn khûkân râi aûshmûrûdo, va-pêdûko hamân apêdûko hamân kâdmûn, 282 sardako; levâtû sardûko bën sardûko-î 1000 âyûnûnako.

15. Mûrvâno pavan 8 rîstako² barû yehabûnû, va-min zag-î rabûtarûn vad zag-î kûcakotar ângûn barû vâlinûdû ûyûnûn gabrû mûn jûrdû gêmû hamû kûrkhûnûdo, va-fratûm stavar-sang frûzû parkênûdo, va-akhar zag-î miyânûnako, akhar zag-î kûcû.

16. Va-min ham sardûkoîhû ûyûnûn pavan Dâm-dûdû dûkûnûn aûshmûrûdo, asâm bên nîpîg-î Tûkhm-aûshmûrûshûnû-î hangadarûgo nîpîshto (denû marûk.³ hangadarûgû-îe) aîto-î numûl-î aîto, madam sardûko-î aspûnû, fratûm Tûzîgû, aîshûnû rad

¹ MSS. 165.
² Compare Pers. rishtah.
³ Chald. mârû, "lord," or mûdû, "full," both of which end with aleph; the addition of the Pahl. suffix â to a Semitic final aleph is incorrect, but not uncommon.
The Selections of Zàd-spàram, Chapter IX \S\S 15—22.


24. Va-denā yehvūnēdo 5-īm ardīgo pavan gōspend.

1 Pers. magh. 2 Compare Pers. yūbidan. 3 Pers. shabān.
4 Pers. bun, or būn. 5 Compare Pers. bağağān.