



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.

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TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF
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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 Navsāri, 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 Navsāri 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 Gāhan-bār*, *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 Muenchen, who, during his stay in India (in 1860-66), often met Dastūr 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 Dīnkard, 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-ī-Dēnīk* (1848) is a Pahlavi treatise on various religious matters, resembling a *Rivāyat*, said to have been transcribed in 1754, from an Iranian MS. written in 1240 which the transcriber found in the Modī 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 Gujarāṭī translation of the Pahlavi *Kārnāmak* of Ardashīr Bābagān (1853) was criticised by prejudiced Parsis as misrepresenting some of the actions of so virtuous a prince as Ardashīr, forgetting that a successful Shāhanshāh 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 *Dīnkard*, giving the Pahlavi text, with a transliteration in Avesta characters and translations into Gujarāṭi 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 Jijibhāi 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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AVESTA LITERATURE,

FROM THE GERMAN OF

KARL F. GELDNER.

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL LITERATURE. — Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur, les Cérémonies du Culte Religieux qu'il a établi, et plusieurs traits importants relatifs à l'ancienne Histoire des Perses: Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend, par M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, 3 Vols. in 4°, Paris 1771. [Tome premier, première partie contains: l'introduction au Zend-Avesta, la relation du voyage du traducteur aux Indes Orientales, suivie du plan de l'ouvrage. Seconde partie: le Vendidad sadé (l'Izèschné, le Vispered et le Vendidad), la vie de Zoroastre. Tome second contains: Ieschts sadés, le Si rouzé, la Boundehesch; deux vocabulaires; l'exposition des usages civils et religieux des Parses, et le système cérémonial et moral des livres Zends et Pehlvis, table des matières.]

JOH. FR. KLEUKER, *Zend Avesta, Zoroaster's lebendiges Wort*, Riga 1776-1777, 3 Vols. in 4°. By the same author: *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Riga 1781-83, 2 Bände in 5 Theilen. — *Zend-Avesta im Kleinen* d. i., *Ormuzd's Lichtgesetz oder Wort des Lebens an Zoroaster dargestellt in einem wesentlichen Auszuge aus den Zend-büchern . . . von J. F. KLEUKER*, 3 Theile, Riga 1789. — *Ormuzd's lebendes Wort an Zoroaster, oder Zend-avesta im Auszuge von F. S. ECKARD*, Greifswald 1789.

M. HAUG, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, Bombay 1862. Especially in the Second Edition which WEST has edited, London 1878. Third Edition 1884. — E. W. WEST in the *Introductions to the Pahlavi texts*, SBE., Vols. V, XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII.

C. DE HARLEZ, *Avesta, Livre sacré des sectateurs de Zoroastre traduit du texte*, Liège, 1875-77, 3 vols. Second entirely re-edited edition: *Avesta, livre sacré du Zoroastrisme, traduit du texte Zend*, Paris 1881: Bibliothèque Orientale Vol. V (with a careful introduction).

A. Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, Paris 1880.

J. Darmesteter, *Introduction to the English Translation of the Vendidad*, Oxford 1880, Vol. IV of the SBE.—Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennees*, Paris 1883, 2 Vols.—*Le Zend-Avesta, traduction nouvelle avec commen-*

taire historique et philologique, par JAMES DARMESTETER, Paris 1892-93, 3 Vols. in 4°, published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, tome 21, 22, 24, [wherever DARMESTETER simply is quoted, the reference is always to this main work].

FR. SPIEGEL, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig 1871-78, 3 Vols. especially the third Volume.

M. DUNCKER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Vierter Band, 4 Aufl., Leipzig 1877.

ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Erster Band, *Geschichte des Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs*, Stuttgart 1884. [Das Avesta, pp. 501-510].

K. GELDNER, Article "Zend-Avesta" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIV, p. 775.—*Prolegomena zur Avesta-Ausgabe* (§ 11).

✓ W. JACKSON, *Introduction to Avesta Grammar*, Stuttgart 1892.

AWESTA.

§ 1. The Iranian nation, so far as it revered 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 Pâzend *avastā*. Neriosangh reproduces it in Sanskrit by *avistā* as in *avistāvāḥ* or *avistāvānī*, "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 *abaštām* (Beh. IV, 64⁵), 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 Zendavesta in the masculine. The neuter form, however, predominates.

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 altpersischen Keilinschriften*, 2nd ed., p. 103.

to the old form *upastā*, and thus signifies "foundation," "foundation-text" (like the Skr. *māla*).

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 Avesta 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, *avistāwānī vyākhyānam ca* "Avesta language and exposition"). The Parsi scholars of the present time also understand in this combination Avesta as the original text and Zand as the Pahlavi commentary.² The combination *Avistāk va Zand* occurs, however, not unfrequently in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta itself. In this case Zand signifies the traditional exposition of the Avesta 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 Avesta, was composed, an error which has asserted itself with great obstinacy since Anquetil's time.⁵

The Avesta 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. Dīnkard, VIII, 6, 1; 12, 1; 20, 69; IX, 32, 20.

² West, *Essays*², 119; so also Masudi 2, 126.

³ There the exposition is called *āzainti*, with which the Pahlavi word *zand* is connected.

⁴ Hyde, *Historia Religionis Veterum 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*,¹ 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."²

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* = *avēzak stāyīšn*, 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. *yazišn*, the modern *Izeshne*—in the Sanskrit of Neriosangh *ijisni*—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 *Parāhōm* (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 drawing 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 *resumés*. The *Yasna* is divided into 72 chapters, *hāiti*, named later *Hā*. 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 *Encyclopædia 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,¹ 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 formulæ 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 (*Zôt*) drinks the juice of the *Haoma* which has been prepared in the Paragra ceremony. Hā 11, 16 again introduces a new section, the confession of faith of the Mazdayasnians which extends from 11, 17 to the end of 13. This confession is, properly speaking, made up of several which are named from their opening words—namely, *fravarānē* 11, 16; *frastuyē* 11, 17—12, 8; and *āstuyē*² 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 *fraoreti* (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 *Bakān 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.

² *Cf.* the short "Description of the Gathas" in *Shāyast-lā-Shāyast*, translated by West, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, pp. 352 *seq.*

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 *Fšūšomāthra*, 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 *dahma āfriti*, "the blessing of the pious." It is a blessing pronounced on the Mazdayasnian house; joined with it is a form of exorcism (61) and the propitiation of fire (62). Then follows the *Āb-zōr*, "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 ratawō* "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 *Gahanbārs*.² The separate portions or chapters of the Vispered are called *Kardes* (properly "sections," from an Av. word *karoti*). 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 Gujerati 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, 8, in the

¹ This description in its essentials is based upon that given by Darmesteter I, LXXXI-LXXXVIII. An exhaustive description of the Paragra ceremony is given by West in his essays, pp. 394 seq. and a similar description of the Izeshne ceremony, pp. 403 seq.

² Darmesteter I, LXVII.

place of Yasna 1, 9 and 2, 9. Here we see clearly that these two Kardes are only a lengthy spinning out of the Gahanbār formulæ of the Yasna. Kardes 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 Vispered, Kardes 13-24, stands in very close relation to the Gathas or the Staota Yesnya (cf. the synopsis in § 12).

§ 6. VENDIDÂD (Av. *vīdāēvō dātəm*, "the law against demons," Phlv. *jāt-div-dāt* or *jāt-šēdā-dāt*) is originally an unliturgical work; it is the Leviticus of the Parsis, their ecclesiastical law-book which prescribes the priestly purifications, atonements and ecclesiastical penances. It formed originally the 19th *Nask* of the Sasanid Avesta. In its present 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 *Vendidad Sade*. 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 Vendidad. The summary list of contents of the Vendidad 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 *prasaktānuprasaktam*. 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 pome*, "in healing," with Fargard 11. These correspond to the standing *yaozdathāne* formula.

² Darmesteter (II, 165), endeavours, on the other hand, to make the existence of an old Pahlavi translation probable by referring to the words *Kaininō evatō puthrəm* 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 *aškāmō* 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 *Paitika* (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 Bahirám Fire (81-96) in Chap. 8. The *Barashnūm* 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 *Jahi* (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*.¹ But it is better to divide this into two groups, the *Yashts* with their appendices and what is included under the comprehensive 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 introduced 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. *yəstī*), 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 Masdayasnian 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 22² *Yashts* in the following fixed order:—1, *Yasht* of *Ahura Mazda* (*Hōrmazd*); 2, *Yasht* of the *Aməša Spənta* (*Haft Ameshāspends*); 3, *Yasht* of the *Aša Vahišta* (*Ardabahisht*); 4, of the *Haurvatāt* (*Khordād*); 5, of the *Ardevi Sūra Anāhita* (*Arduī sūr bānō*); 6, of the *Ivarəšačta* (*Khurshēd*); 7, of the *Māongha* (*Māh*); 8, of the *Tištrya* (*Tishtar*, also called *Tīr*); 9, of the *Drvāspa* (*Drvāsp*, also called *Gōsh Yasht*); 10, of the *Mithra* (*Mihir*); 11, of the *Sraoša* (*Srōsh Yasht*, from the *Hādhōkht*³); 11, a *Srōsh Yasht*; 12, the *Yasht* of the *Rašnu* (*Rashn*); 13, of *Fravaši* (*Fravardīn*); 14, of *Vərəthraghna* (*Babirām*); 15, of *Vayū* (generally called *Rām Yasht*); 16, of *Razišta Cīsta* (generally called *Dīn Yasht*); 17, of *Asi Vanguhi* (*Ard Yasht*); 18, of *Airyānām xvarəno* (generally called *Ashtād*

¹ Anquetil I, 1, ccccxxxvi; II, 1.

² That is, the same number as that of the chapter in the *Vendidad*. According to the opinion of the Parsis each of the *Ameshaspands* and *Izeds* once had its own special *Yasht*, cf. Anquetil II, 143.

³ Cf. below § 17.

Yasht); 19, Yasht of *Kavaēm xvarəno* (generally called Zamyād; in older MSS. also Kayān Yasht); 20, of *Haoma* (Hōm); 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 xvāstra*, which in Sīroze 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 formulæ 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 Hōm Yasht, in their full extent do not belong to the Yasht collection in the strict sense.

§ 9. The KHORDA AVESTA, "the Minor Avesta," is, so to speak, a short extract of the entire Avesta, 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

¹ For this cf. especially Roth, *Zeitschrift d. Morg. Gesellschaft* 34, 709. The Sīroze (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 Ādar-pād 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 (Khurshēd), Mithra, the Moon (Māh), to the genii of the Water (Arduīsūr bānō) and the Fire (Ātash ī Bahirām).¹ The Yashts of the corresponding Izēds, or portions of them, are partly inserted in the Nyāishes, *e. g.*, the entire Khurshēd Yasht in Nyāish 1, 10-17, the Māh Yasht in Nyāish 2, 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 retinue. In their entirety these are recited principally on the 30th day after the death of a man.²

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

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

(b) Āfrīngān 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.³

(c) Āfrīngān 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.

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, 575; West, Essays 225.

(d) *Āfrīngān ī Rapithwin*, 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 Avesta 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 *Nirangistān* (cf. § 17), an extensive ritual work in three Fargards based upon an old collection of *Avesta Nirangs*, i. e., ritual precepts in the Avesta language. This collection has been worked up in a large Pahlavi tract and commented on. The commentary quotes besides a great number of other *Avesta Nirangs* from a different source. These *Nirangs* are very fruitful sources for a knowledge of the ritual as well as for the enrichment of our Avesta vocabulary; unfortunately the text which has been handed down is very bad and the quantity of material in manuscripts very scanty.¹

The *Afrin ī Dahmān* named *Aogemadaēcā* from the first word of the first Avesta quotation is a Pahlavi tract interspersed with Avesta quotations the majority of which can no longer be traced in our Avesta.²

Larger connected fragments we have especially in the three Fargards from the *Hādōkht Nask*. 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 *Hādōkht*. Here we should add the *Āfrin ī Paighambar Zartusht*, a benediction for kings and the so-called *Vish-*

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

² *Aogemadaēcā* a Parsi tract in Pazend, Old-Bactrian and Sanskrit, edited, translated and explained with Glossary by W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878. Cf. also West. Essays, p. 99.

³ Erroneously reckoned as Yashts 21 and 22 by Westergaard. These pieces were published separately together with their Pahlavi translation by Haug and West as a supplement to the *Arda Viraf* (Bombay, London 1872). p. 269 seq.

tāsp Yasht,¹ 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,² and other Pahlavi works such as *Vijirkard ī Dinik* and *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* are rich in Avesta citations. Numerous shorter Avesta quotations are contained in the so called *Pārsishnihā*, a kind of catechism in Pahlavi. There are in all 124 Avestā quotations distributed over 58 sections.³ Many fragmentary texts, prayers and ūrangs have found their way into individual MSS. of the Khorda Avesta. The best known are the *Vispa Humata* and the *Airyama Işyō*.⁴ We must not omit to mention the so-called *Farhang ī Oim Khadāk*, 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.⁵ Darmesteter has published a text-piece which, according to the subscription, must have come from the lost Nask *Nikādūm*.⁶

Many of the liturgies are merely or almost entirely compilations of well-known texts and current formulæ, e.g., the *Darūn Bāj*, *Darūn Yasht*,⁷ *Mayā Yasht*⁸ (also named the *Mayā Zōhr*⁹), the *Cidak-avistāk ī gāsān*¹⁰ (a compilation of Gatha-stanzas), the numerous *Afringāns*

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 E₂ and M₂₁ contain many hitherto unknown incantations; cf. K.Z. 27, 587.

⁵ An old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary edited by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji, revised by Martin Haug, Bombay-Stuttgart 1867.—Herausgeg. von H. Reichelt, Wien 1900.

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 *Nask Nikādūm*, *Fargard Vāētha*. In Haug's collection a fragment of the *Vāētha* in No. 35, which is not identical with the portion of the text published.

⁷ The *Darūn 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 Mf₃. The *Mayā Yasht* begins with the words *nemas te sūma* (or *sīma*) *sarvīsta aradēt sūra ānāhita zšnaotlra ahurake mazdaō*.

⁹ So in Wilson's MS entitled No. 1.

¹⁰ See West, Essay, p. 98.

IDEA, CONTENTS AND ANALYSIS OF THE AVESTA, §§ 10-11. 15

and Khshnūmans,¹ a calendar of the months found in Persian MSS.² in imitation of the *Sirōze* and many others.

§ 11. EDITIONS OF THE AVESTA.

(a) In Europe.

J. OLSHAUSEN, *Vendidad, Zendavestae Pars XX*, adhuc superstes, P. I. Fargard I-V continens, Hamburg 1829.—*Vendidad Sadé* l'un des livres de Zoroastre lithographié d'après le Manuscrit Zend de la Bibliothèque Royale et publié par M. E. BURNOUF Paris 1829-1843, gr. fol.—*Vendidad Sade*, die heiligen Schriften Zoroaster's Yaçna, Vispered und Vendidad. Nach den lithographirten Ausgaben von Paris und Bombay mit Index und Glossar herausgeg. v. H. BROCKHAUS, Leipzig 1850.—*Zendavestae capita priora V*, ed. emend. CHR. LASSEN. Bonn 1852.—*Zendavesta or the religious books of the Zoroastrians*, ed. transl. by N. L. WESTERGAARD, Vol. I. The Zend texts (only so much appeared), Copenhagen 1852-54. This is up to date the completest edition.—*Avesta die heiligen Schriften der Parsen zum ersten Mal im Grundtexte sammt der Huzvaresch Uebersetzung herausgeg.* von FR. SPIEGEL, I. Band: der Vendidad, Wien 1853; II. Band: Vispered and Yasna 1858.—*Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, im Auftrag der. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien herausgeg. v. K. F. GELDNER, I. Teil: Yasna, Stuttgart 1886; II Teil: Vispered and Khorde Avesta, 1889; III Teil: Vendidad und Prolegomena, 1895. (Also in English under the title: *Avesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Stuttgart 1886-1895.)

(b) In India.

Kitāb i Jud Dīvdād, edited by Dastur IDALJI DARABJI SANJANA, Bombay, A.Y. 1200, large folio (cf. Brockhaus in the Preface VI).—The Yaçna of the Parsis in the Zand Language, but Gujarātī character, with a Gujarātī Translation, Paraphrase and Comment, according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians, by the late FRAMJI ASPANDIARJI and other Dasturs, Vol. I. 2. Lithograph. for the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society, by Appa Rama, 1843. The *Vandidād Sāde* of the Parsis, &c., 1-2, 1842. The Vispered of the Parsis in the Zand Language, but Gujarātī character, with a Gujarātī Translation, Paraphrase and Comment; according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians, by the late FRAMJI

¹ i.e., pieces with the standing formula *ānūmaine*.

² Z.B. in the Copenhagen MS. No. 38.

ASPANDIARJI and other Dasturs. Lithogr. 1843.—Avesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis, Part I, Yasna ba Nirang, from Westergaard's Edition of the Zēnd Avesta publ. (in Zēnd) by TEHMURAS DINSHAW ANKLESARIA, Bombay 1888.

Chrestomathies :—Schleicher, Indogermanische Chrestomathies, Weimar 1869.—C. DE HARLEZ, Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta ; Grammaire, Anthologie, Lexique, Paris 1878, 2e Ed. Paris 1882.—Handbuch 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 Gujarāṭi (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 Bhāṣhā 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 formulæ as they are actually employed in liturgical service. The MSS., on the other hand, which are accompanied by a translation, aim at greater brevity by omitting all superfluous 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 supplementary 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)¹ 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, K₁₁,² 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.³ The order of arrangement is quite fixed, and is set forth and made clear by the following synopsis:—

Yasna.*	Vispered.	Vendidad.	Yasna.	Vispered.	Vendidad.
1, 1—8			18		
	1		19		
1, 10 to end			20		
2, 1—8			21		
	2			9	
2, 10 to end			22		
3				10	
4				11	
5			(23)		
6			(24)		
7			25		
8			(26)		
9			27		
10				12	
11, 1—8					1
	3, 1—5				2
11, 9—15					3
	3, 6 to end				4
	4		28		
11, 17 to end			29		
12			30		
13				13	
(14)	5				5
(15)	6				6
16			31		11
17			32		
	7		33		
	8		34	14	

¹ Cf. Westergaard, Preface, p. 13, and above § 5.—The Vispered high office is celebrated, specially in the Gahanbār holidays, Darmesteter I, LXVII.

² With reference to the designation of the MSS. cf. the Prolegomena to Geldner's Edition.

³ Cf. also Darmesteter I, LXVII.

* The chapters placed within brackets are wanting in the Vendidad Sāde.

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Yasna.	Vispered.	Vendidad.	Yasna.	Vispered.	Vendidad.
		7 { III	51		
	15	8 {		20	15 { VII
35					16 {
to				21	
42				22	
	16				17 { VIII
	17				18 {
		9 { IV	52		
		10 {	53		
43				23	
to					19 { IX
46	18				20 {
		11 { V	54		
		12 {		24	
47					21 { X
to					22 {
50	19		55 ¹		
		13 { VI	to		
		14 {	71		

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 Vispered 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 Vispered. 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.²

§ 13. THE MANUSCRIPTS³ of the Avesta fall into two classes, the Indian and the Persian. Although the former ultimately entirely rest

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 Yaçna and Vispered is given first, then the eight fargards of Vishtāsp Yasht with the Gāthās and then the latter portion of Yaçna and Vispered. It is called the Vendidad of Ujairin gāh, because it is said that the Vishtāsp Yasht was recited in this part of the day as the Vendidad is recited even now, in the Ushahin 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 Minocheherji and the Mula Firuz 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 Kirmān 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 (Vilāyati) from Kirmān 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.¹ 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 unctuous 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 Sāde 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., 1, CCCXXVI.

(K₅) and by the MS., which, originally in the possession of Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp 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 Mitrō-āpān ī Kaī-Khūsrovō ī Mitrō-āpān ī Spend-dād ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān ī Bāhrām. K₅ was finished at Cambay on the 17th November 1323 A.D. and was, according to the subscription, copied from the MS. of Rustam ī Mitrō-āpān,² the great-great uncle of Mitrō-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 K₅ and J₂ as well as of K₁ and L₄ (see below), shews, however, that Mitrō-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 Mf₄, 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 Sīyāvakhsh. 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 ī Srōsh-aīyyār (about 1110 ?).

„ „ Māhpanāh ī Āzād-mard.

„ „ Mitrō-āpān ī Spēnd-dād (about 1280).

„ „ Hōshang ī Sīyāvakhsh (about 1478.)

Pt₄

The introduction records further that Farnbag composed his copy from two separate originals, the Avesta 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.

aiyyār and the Pahlavi text from the MS. of Māh-vīndād, son of Nare-māhān. The latter copied the Dīnkard in A. D. 1020.¹ 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.²

A second independent copy of the old Yasna of Hōshāng is Mf₁, and finally Mf₁, an Iranian MS. of Rustam Gūshāsp Ardashīr A.D. 1741. This last gives, however, only the Avesta text. Pt₁—Mf₁—Mf₁ represent, notwithstanding their later age, the best Yasna tradition. In which member the two families meet when traced back cannot be asserted with definiteness.³

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. S₁ and J₁. Of these only S₁ is a true representative of the Neriosangh text, J₁ being a later revision of S₁ and of less value. J₁ has been often copied. The Paris and Copenhagen Sanskrit Yasnas are copied from it.

Of the Pahlavi-Vendidad only one family of MSS. has been preserved, represented by the London and Copenhagen Vendidād L₁ and K₁ which stand to each other in a relation precisely similar to that of K₂ and J₂. Unfortunately, neither of them has been completely preserved. In L₁ 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 K₁ down to the 5th Fargard has been lost, and the middle portion from the 9th to the 18th Fargard completely destroyed.

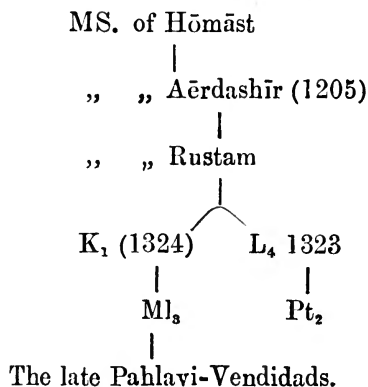
On the other hand, the Copenhagen MS. has a numerous progeny, which dates from the time when it was still perfectly preserved. The oldest copy taken direct from K₁ was formerly in the possession of a Teheran Parsi named Manekji Limji Hataria (Ml₁). It was written in Broach in A. D. 1594 and is a most careful copy. From Ml₁ have sprung, directly or indirectly, the Bombay, Paris, Munich and later Copenhagen Pahlavi Vendidāds. L₁ has only a small number of descend-

¹ West, SBE. XXXVII., Introd., p. 84.

² Addition made by the Author to this English Version [Trans.]

³ With reference to this the Prolegomena, which were not completed when this article was prepared, may now be consulted.

ants. The most important amongst these is the MS. Pt₂ written in A. D. 1787. It seems, however, not to have been taken direct from L₄. K₁ and L₄ come from the same Mitrō-āpān ī Kaī-Khūs-rōvō, 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 Seīstan, which Aērdashīr ī Vohūman copied in A. D. 1205. Māhyār brought Aērdashīr'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 Rustam 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 Rustam, 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 :—



The extant Vispered with Pahlavi translation rest entirely on an old Copenhagen Codex K₇. This MS. contains in its first part the oldest and best Vispered Sāde (with Nīrang), with a subscription of the copyist Rustam ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān¹ and as date A. D. 1278. With this is connected the Pahlavi Vispered, 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 Rustam MS. See Prolegomena XXXIX.

MS. of Vāhrōm, son of the Marzapān, who, in his turn, had copied the MS. of Khūs-rō-malkā, son of Auōshagrübāno (about 1585). K₁ is dated 26th July 1723.

The Vendidād 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, further, been strongly influenced by an inexact oral tradition. Amongst these Indian Vendidād Sādes two groups are to be distinguished, a superior one represented by the Copenhagen and a London Vendidād Sāde, K₁₀ and L₂, and an inferior one to which the bulk of the MSS. belongs. The archetype of the Vendidād Sādes, as also of the Yasna and Vispered Sādes, was probably originally composed from the Pahlavi Avesta for liturgical use. And thus it becomes clear why numerous quotations from the Avesta, belonging to the Pahlavi Commentary, have found their way into the text of the Vendidād Sādes. This archetype, we presume, must, however, after all be older than the oldest Pahlavi Avesta MSS. known to us. The Vendidād Sādes have not unfrequently preserved the better reading in contrast to the Pahlavi-Avesta MSS.

The Persian Vendidād Sādes, represented by Mf₂ and Jp₁, are favourably distinguished from the Indian copies. Jp₁ was copied by Frēdūn 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 Shatrōēyār Erdashīr (about 1516). Mf₂ was written in A. D. 1618 by Khūs-rōb 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 Mf₂ was copied from the MS. of Marzapān or Shatrōēyār. The Vendidād Sāde type is unmistakable in both; their arrangement of the text is that of the Indian Vendidād 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 Vendidād Sāde appears to have been made in Persia in the 16th century, or earlier, with the aid of other Pahlavi-Avesta MSS.

(which since then have disappeared), in which Persia has been richer than India.¹ The text which the Persian Vendidad Sâdes supply is free from many disturbing glosses with which the text of the Indian MSS. is laden.

The MSS. of the Yasna Sâde also presuppose an archetype which stood near to the Vendidad Sâde. 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-AWESTA 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 Bâj's), and the five Nyâishes. 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 (O_s) 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 Nyâishes, the 3 Âfringâns, the 5 Gâhs, 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-Avestas 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-Avestas similarly occupy a unique position. The favourite Yasht of these MSS. is Yasht 13, the Farvardin 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 F₂ 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 Vendidad. He further gives expression to the conjecture that the Yasna formed a part of the first and second Nasks (*Sétoudiescht* or *Sétoudguer*), that the Vispered was drawn from the fifteenth Nask (*Baghantāst*) and the Afrīgān Gāhaubār from the Hādōkht 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 K₁, (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 Jāmāsp Hakīm, therefore, made a copy in Persia of the Yasht in question (K₁,) 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 *nasko*, Yasna 9, 22. Attempted derivations in West's Essays, p. 125 note. Darmesteter III, XCIX note.

³ Anquetil I, 1, p. 479; I, 2, pp. 74, 75; II, 56. Anquetil gives a full account of the contents of the Nasks in the Journal des Sçavans, Juin 1769, page 361 (in the Essay, *Mémoire dans lequel on établit que les livres Zends . . . sont les propres ouvrages de Zoroastre*, in the place cited, pp. 336-372). He rightly calls in question (*ib.* p. 369) the trustworthiness of the list of Nasks given by Hyde; compare Hyde, *Historia Religiosa Veterum Persarum*, Oxford 1709, p. 339. According to Anquetil I, 1, p. 479 note, Henri Lord already divided the Zend-Avesta into three principal sections of seven chapters (*Hist. de la Relig. des Perses*, p. 176).

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 Dīnkard.¹

THE DĪNKARD, 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 Avesta must have been extant. The 8th book of the Dīnkard 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 Avesta text of the 5th Nask was extant; of the 11th Nask neither the Avesta 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 Avesta. This is, however, not equally true in regard to all the Nasks.

§ 16. SURVEY OF THE NASKS. The entire Avesta canon as re-edited under the Sasanids, the great Avesta with its Pahlavi translation, consisted of 21 books which are made to stand parallel with the 21 words of the *Ahūno Vairyo*, 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.

Dīnkard (the contents are given in brackets where they can be stated in a few words) :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Sūtkar. | 12. Čitradāt (History of human families, in especial of the Irānian royal families). |
| 2. Varštmānsar. | |
| 3. Bako. | 13. Spend (History of Zarathushtra). |
| 4. Dāmdāt (History of Creation). | 14. Bakān Yašt. |
| 5. Nātar. | 15. Nikātūm. |
| 6. Pājag (Ceremonial). | 16. Ganabā-sar-nijat (Criminal Law, Civil and Military Law). |
| 7. Rato-dāt-aitag (especially dealing with the priest's office). | 17. Hūspāram (Doctrine of the Priests). |
| 8. Bariš. | 18. Sakātūm (Law of Property and Family). |
| 9. Kaškīsrōbo. | 19. Vendīdāt. |
| 10. Vištāsp-sāsto (Conversion and Instruction of King Vishtāsp). | 20. Hātōkht. |
| 11. Vaštāg (lost). | 21. Stōt Yašt. |

The account given in the Dīnkard 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'Izeshne n'est pas un Nask, mais une portion de Nask," Anquetil in *Journal des Savans*, Juin 1769, p. 369. "Je ne crains donc pas de dire que, selon tout les Parses de Perse et de l'Inde, Zoroastre avoit composé 21 Traités, dont il n'est resté d'entier que le Vendidad; et que les autres morceaux Zends, indiqués à la fin de la liste du Ravaet 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 seq.

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 Avesta 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) Bakān 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 Yesnya* (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 Dīnkard 9,47, formed the first three Fargards of this Nask. The three chapters are still named in the MSS. of the Yasna Bakān and are called in the original text *baya ahunahe vairiye* (Y. 19, 21), *baya āšahe valīštahe* (20, 5), *baya yenghe hātām* (21, 5). Accordingly also the 55th Yasna, which according to the closing invocation, bears the title *baya staotanām yesnyanām* "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 Dīnkard (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 *fšūšō 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 Bakān Nask is represented by Yasna 57 (Srōsh Yasht).

¹ The Yasna and Vispered liturgy in the form which later became customary, is attested by the Varshtmānsar Nask itself according to the analysis given in the Dīnkard 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 Vispered 13 is discussed between Yasna 30 and 31, in the very same place which it comes to occupy in the Vendidad; compare also Dātistān ī Dinik 45, 6. The Yasna-ceremonial (*yazišn*) is further mentioned in Dātistān ī Dinik 23, 1; 28, 1 (*yazišn drōnō*), 4-7. Other passages with reference to the ritual are Dāt. 30, 1; 47, 1; 48, 1; Bundahish 30, 25, 28. Darmesteter (I, LXXXVIII; III, 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 Avesta which they called *Isned* (Yasna).

The Dīnkard (8, 15) gives the following short description of the Bakān Yašt Nask (i. e., the Nask of the Yashts addressed to the *baya* 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 Avesta are intended, and that these formed one part of the Bakān Yasht, 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. F₁ has preserved a reminiscence of its having formerly belonged to this Nask in beginning with every Yasht a new fargard from the 14th Yasht of our collection (the *Bahirān* Yasht) to the 19th or *Zamyād* Yasht. 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 Yashts 2-4 are wanting in the Yashts 1-19; the order is there the usual one; only the Khurshēd Yasht 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 F₁ and the number of the Yashts, and it becomes possible to reconstruct the arrangement of the old Bakān Yashts with exactness (the numbering of the fargard that is wanting in F₁ being given in brackets). The present arrangement is: 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,⁵ 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. The arrangement in the Bakān Yasht: (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 Yasht, are written in parts, in a very degenerate language; not less so, however, the

¹ Cf. *Aokhtānāmān* *Yasna* in the Yashts.

² SBE., XXXVII, p. 35 n., 470 n.

³ Darmesteter, II, XXVII.

⁴ West, in the passage referred to in Pref. XLV. n.

⁵ This is the second *Srēsh* Yasht, which is identical with that in *Yasna* 57.

extant first Yasht. The Hōm-Yasht (contained in full in Yasna 9-11, an extract of it in Yasht 20) could accordingly have had no place in the Bakān 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 17¹; so also the Pahlavi Rivāyet Dīn-Vijirgārd.²

Further, from the Hātōkht Nask have been taken the small Srōsh Yasht (Nr. 11), the supposed Yashts 21 and 22 as given by Westergaard and the Āfrīngān Gahanbār (cf. § 9); from the Vishtāsp-Sāsto, the Vishtāsp Yasht, and the Āfrīn Paighambar Zartusht (Yt. 23 in Westergaard). The ritual work Nīrangistān had its place in the Hūspāram Nask, and, indeed, corresponds to the first two sections of this Nask, the Aērpatistān and the Nīrangistān in the narrower sense.³ Darmesteter has besides assigned a series of Avesta fragments, with more or less probability, to this or that Nask.⁴ If, however, a not inconsiderable portion of our Avesta remains over, which cannot be recognised in the Analysis given in the Dīnkard, this is due to the vague and all too scant description which in some places is characteristic of the Dīnkard. 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 Avesta 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 Avesta are those which have comparatively suffered least loss. In particular the Great Avesta seems to have possessed no more of the Gathas proper than the Avesta of to-day.⁷

ELEMENTS AND CHARACTER OF THE AVESTA.

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

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.

gāsañ or Gathas; the second *dātik*, dealing with the *dāt* or Law; and the third *hātak-mānsarik*, with reference to the *hadha-māthra*. The first two classes are called also simply *gāsān* or *dāt* (Dīnk. VIII 1, 5). These classes divide the 21 Nasks as follows:—

Gāsānik :	Hātak-mānsarik :	Dātik :
1. Stōt Yašt.	1. Dāmdāt.	1. Nikātum.
2. Sūtkar.	2. Nātar.	2. Ganabā-sar-nijat.
3. Varšt-mānsar.	3. Pājag.	3. Hūspāram.
4. Bako.	4. Ratō-dāt-aītag.	4. Sakātūm.
5. Vašttag.	5. Bariš.	5. Vendidāt.
6. Hātokht.	6. Kaškīsrōbo.	6. Čitradūt.
7. Spend.	7. Vištāsp-sāsto.	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 *Hātak-mānsarik* is intended to include those teachings which lie midway between the first two (Dīnk., VIII, 15). However, the Dīnkard 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 Avesta as a whole and the Ahuna Vairya strophe regarded as the quintessence and original of the whole Avesta revelation.¹ Each of the three lines of this strophe is held to correspond to a branch of the literature—the first to the Gatha literature, the second to the Intermediate literature, and the third to the Law (Dīnk. 8, 1, 7)².

These three elements in the literature are already fully recognised in the Avesta. The expression *gāthwya* in the Avesta (Yasna 65, 14; 10, 19) corresponds to the *gāsānik*, and is applied in the latter passage to a quotation which has been borrowed only in part from our known Gathas. *Hātak-mānsarik* appears in the Avesta as *hadha-māthra*, and *dāt* is the well-known *dātem*. In the Vendidad-ritual, instead of Yasna

¹ This formula stands in Yasna 27, 13. It is as mysterious to-day as it was years ago. West translates the Pahlavi interpretation in SBE. XXXVII. p. 6 n. It plays the same rôle among the Parsis as the Gāyatri amongst the Hindus.

² In the Avesta itself the 3 lines (*af-man*) are made to run parallel with the three fundamental-ideas of Zoroastrian ethics *humata, hūkhta, hōrēta*, Yasna 19, 16.

1, 20, &c., "the Law", to which the Vendidad Nask is devoted, is invoked with the words:—*Dāta hadha-dāta vīdāēva Zarathushtri*. The Vīštāsp-ritual¹ substitutes, as has been shewn above, in place of the Vendidad the Vīštāsp Yasht, which has been borrowed from the Vīštāsp 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 Vīštāsp Yasht is introduced by the following parenthetical note:—*hadha-māthra zaini-paršta*. Now, if Darmesteter is correct in his interpretation (I, 9) of *dātəm hadha-dātəm* 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-sparam*² further divides the literature of the Law into two subdivisions—the law against Demons, represented by the Vendidad, and the law of Zartūsht, represented by the remaining Nasks. It subdivides similarly the Hadhamanthra into two:—the Manthra of the Appointer, represented by the Nasks *Pācīno* and *Raō-dāto-aito*, and the Manthra of the good signs, represented by the remaining Nasks. Beyond this, neither from the *Zāt-sparam* nor from the statements in the Dinkard 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 Avesta 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 Avesta texts, namely Hātōkht, Bakān 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. West³ 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

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 Stōt 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 Hadhamauthra 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, Vedāṅga and Smṛiti. 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 (*nmāna*) drags in that of the clan (*vīś*, 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 Naaks according to information derived from the Parsa: I. "Du premier Principe, de l'origine des êtres, de l'Histoire du Genre humain," &c.—2. "Sur la Morale et les Devoirs Civils et de Religion."—3. "La Médecine et l'Astronomie." Anquetil I, I, p. 479.

² E. g. Yasna 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,¹ 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.² Thereupon Ahura Mazda said," &c. The technical name for these instructive interviews between Ormuzd and Zoroaster is *Ahūriš frašnō* and *Ahūriš tkačšō* "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 interpellation³, 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 Vohu 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 formulæ. 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 Siroze 2, 1-2.

⁴ For a characterization of the book, compare also DENCKER, p. 74; ED. MEYER, p. 507.

⁵ The Rashn Yasht (12) was first distributed into Fargards by the later MSS. F. knows nothing of this division.

⁶ DARMESTETER, I., p. 79 n., and XCIX n.

that these writings have come to us re-edited and re-touched.¹ 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."² 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 Erekhsha³ 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 Dahāka and fire for the *hvarənō*, 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 (Hōshang) downwards to Vīštāspa (Gushtāsp), not seldom, indeed, set forth in richer form than in the Shāhnāme. On the other hand, many an obscure reference in the Avesta to the old tradition has been first brought into its true light by Firdusi.⁴

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 metricis partibus Zendavestae*, Halle, 1874.—GELDNER, *Ueber 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 Avesta had no idea of the metre of the later Avesta; but it forces itself on the reader unsought.

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

³ The *Ariak* of the later Persian myth. Compare Nöldeke in *Z.D.M.G.* 35, 445; DARMESTETER, *Et. Ir.*, II, p. 220.

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 Avesta and the Shāhnāme, in regard to the mythical history of Iran, compare especially SPIEGEL: *Avesta und Shāhnāme*, *Z.D.M.G.* 45, 187.

The chronology of the hero-traditions, the succession in the two mythical royal lines, the Paradhātas or Pēshdāds, and the Kavis or Kayāuians, with the various interregnums, as it lies at the basis of the epic portions of the Avesta, agrees in all essential points with the Shāhnāme.¹ 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 revered 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 hvarenō, 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 Avesta 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 Avesta 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 NÖLDEKE: *Kayanier im Awesta*, in *Z. D.M.G.* 32, 570; The writer in *K.Z.* 25, 379; DARMESTETER II, xxviii.

(*cf.* § 23). In a still narrower sense the Phlv. *gā's* designates the separate lines of a Gatha strophe which are called in the Avesta *af'smana*¹. The text of the Gathas had its place in the great Sasanid Avesta 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 discussions² (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 antiquity³ (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 Avesta (Dinkard 9, 47-68). WEST calls it "an analytical commentary."⁴ 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 *Airyama Ishyō* (Y. 54), one devoted to the three sacred prayers which were prefixed to the Gathas, and one to the Yasna Haptanghāiti. 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 Avesta the *Stōtān Yasnān* are called *Staota Yesnya*, 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

¹ WEST, Glossary, under the word *vēchast*, p. 249. HAUG, in "Die Ahuna-vairya-Formel", Sitzungsberichte der philos. philol. und Hist. Kl. der K. C. Akademie zu München, 1872, p. 97.

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 Rîg-veda *ṛcah* occurs, not as the name of a completed collection, but as a specific term for a particular kind of style. The *Staota Yesnya* 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 *Staota Yesnya* begin with the words *visāi vā aməšā spəntā*, 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 Rivayets the *Stōt Yasht* numbered 33 chapters.¹ This number cannot now be made out with certainty. According to my view the Gatha-dialect is indispensable for the *Stōt 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 Haptanghāiti*, 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 *Stōt Yasht* from which it received its name, the number 33 would work out as follows:—

Y. 14		Y. 34		Y. 45	
15 ²		35		46	
<i>Yathā ahā vairiyo</i>		36		47	
<i>Ašəm vohā</i>		37		48	
<i>Yenghē hātām</i>		38		49	
Y. 28		39		50	
29		40		51	
30		41		53	
31		42		54	
32		43		56	
33		44		58, 1-3 ³	
11	+	11	+	11	= 33

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 Staota 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 ahā vairiyo* (the *Ahuna Vairya*, *Honour* in ANQUETIL).

It is made up of the following seven Chapters¹:—

1. Ahyāsa Hāiti,	11 Strophes,	Y. 28
2. Xšmāvyā-gəuš-urva H.	11 „	Y. 29
3. At-tā-vaxšya H.	11 „	Y. 30
4. Tā-və-urvāta H.	22 „	Y. 31
5. Xvaētumaithya H.	16 „	Y. 32
6. Yathāišītha H.	14 „	Y. 33
7. Yā-šyaothana H.	15 „	Y. 34

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

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

1. Uštavaiti Hāiti,	16 Strophes,	Y. 43
2. Tat-thwā-pərəsa H.	20 „	Y. 44
3. At-fravaxšya H.	11 „	Y. 45
4. Kamnamačza H.	19 „	Y. 46

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

¹ The names are partly modelled after the later Avesta.

² On the metre of the Gathas, compare AUREL MAYR, *Resultate der Silbenzählung aus den vier ersten Gathas*, Wien 1871 (from the *Julihft der Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Kl. der K. Akademie d. W. zu Wien*, 1871).—Ch. BARTHOLOMAE, *Arische Forschungen*. Zweites Heft. Halle, 1886. pp. 1-32.

³ With the exception of 46, 15 where there are only four lines. With reference to this compare Shāyast lā-Shāyast 13, 51.

The third group is called the Spentā-mainyu Gatha (Y. 50. 12). To it belong the following four chapters:—

1. Spentā-mainyu Hāiti	6 strophes	Y. 47
2. Yezidha H.	12 „	Y. 48
3. At-māyava H.	12 „	Y. 49
4. Kat-mōi-urva H.	11 „	Y. 50

The Spentā-mainyu-strophe consists of four lines each of 4+7 syllables, and thus corresponds to the Indian Triṣṭubh. 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 Vohukhshathra Gatha with the Vohukhshathra Hāiti—22 strophes,—Y. 51, and the Vahishtëishti Gatha with the Vahishtëishti Hāiti—9 strophes,—Y. 53. The strophe of the former consists of three lines each of 7+7 syllables. The Vahishtëishti 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 Vahishtëishti 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 *Yenghē Hātām* (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 *Ašəm Vohā* 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-spāram*¹ 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 Avesta. The linguistic differences between the “Gatha-dialect” and the “later Avesta,” belong to the department of gram-

¹ SBE. XXXVII., pp. 403 seq.

mar. 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 Hātām* prayer.

The rest of the Avesta 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 Avesta, the sacred words *par excellence*. According to the *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* 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 Avesta language. Thus the line *taṭ thwā prəsā orəs mōi vaōcā Ahurā* 44, 1 is modernised in Vd. 19, 10 into *taṭ thwā prəsā arš mē vaōcā Ahura*; and 49, 7 *yə vərəzənāi vanguhīm dāt frasastīm* is varied into *yā mē vərəzənāi vanguhīm dāt frasastīm* Yasht 9, 26. Similarly in 71, 13 compared with 46, 6 and elsewhere.

Only the Gathas are held in the Avesta 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 Avesta and has given them their authority (Neriosangh before Yasna 28).

Every Gatha chapter (*Hāiti*) 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.¹ 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 Manō and Ahura Mazda, but not of his bodily temptations through the instrumentality of Ahriman. His relation to his patrons, especially to King Vishtāspa 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 DARMESTETER 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 (*vīduš*, *vaēdemuō*). 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 Brahmaus 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 Avesta, these would also presuppose a lost prose substratum of which the Gathas formed the introduction, resums and aperçus. Their peculiar composition, their generally uniform arrangement, the thread of

¹ Cf. PISCHEL in G.G.A. 1894, No. 6, p. 417.

² HÜBSCHMANN, 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.¹ 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 Zrathuštri* "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.² Unique in its style is Y. 29; they are the dialogue verses in the well-known myth of *Gōuš Urvan*. 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.³

§ 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 false-teacher shall not a second time destroy the world, the satanic tongue which confessed a false faith.

¹ See FISCHER and GELDNER, *Vedische Studien*, Vol. I., Stuttgart 1889, p. 287.

² For example, in the Zartūšt Nāme, *cf.* ANQUETIL I. 2, n. 33.

³ The Gathas have been edited particularly by CH. BERTHOLONÆ: *Dio Gathas*, Halle, 1879, 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 Manō. 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 one¹ shall attain to Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt through the working of the Vohu Manō," (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 Manō. 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 entreaty² 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 Manō, 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 Manō, O Asha !

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 Manō revealed that there shall be in His kingdom Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt, in His abode might and continuance.

11. To him therefore who in the future will condemn the Devs and the men who condemn 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 Vahishtem Manō and Khshathra and the wished for¹ (fem.) revealer² 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 beckonings³ 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 Vohu Manō the rules that they may be a right path for my tongue.

§ 27. YASNA HAPTANGHĀITI. 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 Haptanghāitiś*, 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 *taṭ 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 (*vēčast*) and metrical lines (*gāś*)⁵. Its

¹ Literally : " of the wish " = *īyā* 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 *yazamaide*-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 Shāyast lā-Shāyast 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.¹ 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 HAPTANGHĀITI, 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 he man 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

¹ Compare the exhaustive monograph by TM. BAUNACK: Die drei wichtigsten Gebete . . . und das siebenteilige Gebet, in den Studien, von JOH. und TH. BAUNACK, Leipzig 1888, p 451.

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 theo¹ we possess the best receiver and teacher from the side of Asha and Vohu Manō and the good Khshathra and from Thyself, O Ahura, in consequence of his¹ 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 AVESTA.

§ 29. The existence of a sacred literature of Iran before the Sasanid era is abundantly attested by Western writers. It suffices to cull a few notices from their accounts.² Herodotus notes only that the Magians sang the Theogony on the occasion of their sacrifices.³ 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.⁴ Nikolaus of Damascus⁵ and Dio Chrysostomus⁶ speak of the λόγια of Zoroaster which the Persians revered as sacred. The latter adds that the Magians had learned them from Zoroaster. We learn from Strabo⁷ and Pausanias⁸, 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 Supreme God.

¹ The Prophet Zarathushtra is meant.

² Compare the collections in KLEUKER, Supplement II, part 1, pp. 5 seq.—RAPP, Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen, Z.D.M.G. 19, 1 seq. Compare especially p. 35.—DÜNCKEL, Geschichte, pp. 40 seq. Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 504.

³ Herodotus I., 132.

⁴ Plinius, Hist. Nat. 30, 2; compare also Diog. Laert., De vita philos. proœm VI.

⁵ Kleuker, p. 8.

⁶ Dio Chrys. ed. Dind. 2, 60.

⁷ Strabo XV., 733.

⁸ Pausan., 5, 27, 3.

He adds that Ostanēs says the same in his Oktateuch.¹ Eusebius in the first century of the Sasanid dynasty speaks of a collection of sacred writings in which Zoroaster is represented as speaking.² Among later Arabian writers the notice given by Tabari is interesting, namely, that Zoroaster's writings covered 12,000 cow hides.³

§ 30. More valuable are the notices that come from the home of the Avesta, those given in the Pahlavi literature. The Dīnkard has preserved the quintessence of the Parsi tradition in the two-fold account, which it contains.⁴ The one account in the last chapter of the third book⁵ 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 Vishtāsp, 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 Ardashīr, the son of Pāpak, 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 collection⁶, and thus gave "a faithful reproduction of

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.

⁴ HAUG, Essay on Pahlavi (in the Pahlavi-Pazend Glossary, Bombay 1870) pp. 145 seq.; HAUG, Zend-Pahlavi Glossary, Introd. p. xxxvi; West, SBE. XXXVII., Pref. xxx., and p. 412; DARMESTER III., XXI, and SBE. IV., Introd. xxxii.

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 Pāpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irān, and the same scripture was brought from a scattered state to one place. The righteous Tōsar 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. DARMESTER, on the other hand, paraphrases it thus: "Quand Artakhshatr, Roi des Rois, fils de Pāpak, 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 Pōryōtkēsh, 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 *padtākih*, which HAUG translates by "publication," WEST by "exposition," and DARMESTER by "révélation."

the original light" Ardashīr 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 Dīnkard. King Vishtāsp, after his campaign against Arjāsp, had the scriptures of the Mazdayasna-religion collected. Dārā, the son of Dārā,¹ gave orders that the whole of the Avesta, with its explanation, should be preserved in two copies, the one in the treasury, the other in the Archives. Valkhash (Vologeses), the son of Ashkān, organized the careful collection and transcription from original sources of the entire Avesta 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. Ardashīr, the son of Pāpak, 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.² Ardashīr's son Shāhpūhr 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 Avesta, and a correct copy of both writings to be deposited in the treasury. Under King Shāhpūhr, son of Aūharmazd, a tribunal was summoned to investigate the religious controversies in the land. Before this tribunal Ādarpād submitted to the fire-ordeal (probably on behalf of the Avesta 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 Dīnkard, King Khosrau Parviz caused a new interpretation of the Avesta and Zend to be prepared by the most intelligent of the priests.³

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

¹ According to Bundahish 34, 8, the last Darius is meant.

² WEST read formerly "Tōsar," DARMESTETER reads "Tansar." With reference to an interesting letter of this Herbad, cf. DARMESTETER III., xxvii.; J.R.A.S. 1894, pp. 200, 502.

³ HAUG, Essay on Pahlavi, p. 147.

300 years till Alexander burned the entire Avesta, 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 Ardashīr 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 Avesta. At last only 40 remained, who had by heart the entire Avesta 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 these writings under a certain Vologeses, a new edition of the Avesta under Ardashīr 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 Mithradates 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 HAUG, *Introductory Essay to AV.*, p. xv.

³ DARMESTER, *SBE.* IV. p. xxxiv, and *Le Zend-Avesta*, III., xxiii.

⁴ GUTSCHMID in *Encyclopædia 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 Ardashîr, 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.¹ And, in the second place, the account given agrees admirably with the structure of our Avesta, the disproportioned, unequal, and, in certain places, fragmentary character² 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,³ in others loosely and uncertainly,⁴ and again other portions are in language and grammar quite barbarous.⁵ 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 4, 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, 43, 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 nasks, 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 (*diaskeuasts*) 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 Ādarpād Mahraspand. The editing of the Khorda Avesta is specially ascribed to this Ādarpād.

This Sasanid¹ origin of the Avesta is, however, to be understood in this sense that the *diaskeuasts* 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 *diaskeuasts* 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 formulæ and typical portions according to extant patterns as they found necessary. The completing of the Avesta, of which the account given in the Dīnkard 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 *diaskeuasts* 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."¹

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 Avesta 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.²

§ 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

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 :—

dūrāt haēa ahmāt nmūnāt
dūrāt haēa ainghāt vīsat
dūrāt haēa ahmāt zantot
dūrāt haēa ainghāt dainghaot
ayāo ithyejāo rōiyānā yeintī
yenghe nmūnaya sraoēō aīyō rerethrajuō, etc.

wrongly stated.¹ The few chronological data which the Avesta itself offers have only a relative evidential value. Thus *Kərəsāni* in Yas. 9, 24 is represented in the Pahlavi translation by *Kilisyāk*. Darmesteter refers this to Alexander.² 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.³ 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 Shāhpūr 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 (*vis, zantu, dainghu*). But appearances may also deceive. I give up my own earlier attempts in this direction as failures.

¹ Compare with reference to this question as to age, especially DE HARLEZ, Introduction 192 : Das Alter und die Heimat des Avesta in BB. 12, 109 ; DÜNKER, Ueber die Zeit der Abfassung des Avesta, in the Monatsberichten der Kgl. Pr. Akademie der Wiss., zu Berlin 1877, pp. 517-27 (DÜNKER places the Avesta between 800 and 600 B. C. ;) SPIEGEL, Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Avesta, Z.D.M.G. 35, 629 ; 41, 280 ; GEIGER, Vaterland und Zeitalter des Avesta und seiner Kultur, in the Sitzungsberichten, der philos. philol. Klasse der b. Akademie, zu München 1884, pp. 315 seq., English Translation by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Vol. II, pp. 85-164, London 1886.

² DARMESTER 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) 258 years before the collapse of the Achæmenian dynasty. Zoroaster would accordingly be a contemporary of Cyrus and Vishtāspa of the Avesta identical with the historical Hystaspes.² What the later Avesta 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 Avesta falls.³ The Achæmenian, 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 Avesta 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 Avesta or of a separate Avesta-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.

² VICTOR FLOIGL, *Cyrus und Herodot, nach den neugefundenen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig 1881, p. 13. Compare also E. RÜTH, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, I, p. 376.

³ This estimate agrees substantially with the view of DE HARLEZ: *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. CXIV.

⁴ Compare also BRÉAL, *Sur la composition des livres Zends*, in his *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 Avesta, together with the geography of the Avesta, have been collected in a summary by W. GEIGER, *Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum*, Erlangen 1882; English Translation by DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA, "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times", London 1885. Compare also W. GEIGER, *Le pays du peuple de l'Avesta dans ses conditions physiques* in *Le Muséon*, 1883, p. 84. On the calendar of the Avesta compare V. GUTSCHMID, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1862; BEZZENBERGER, *G. N.*, 1878, p. 251; ROHM,

The geography¹ of the Avesta 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 (*Ūāččasta*) points to the West and *Airyanəm Vaējō* (the later Arrān between Kur and Aras²) to the extreme North-West, to North Media and Hyrcania Ragha, Demavend (*Arəzūra*), Alborz (*Hara-bərəzaiti*). 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.³ The mountains in Seistān (*Ušidarəna*), 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 Hēlmend river (*Haētumant*) and its tributaries.⁴ 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; Āfrīng.-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 Avesta, even if we possessed stronger evidence than mere conjectures with regard to the original home of the Iranian dialect.⁵ 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

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'Avesta*, Louvain 1882; DARMESTETER I, 33 seq.

¹ The well-known list of countries in the first fargard of the Vendidad gave rise to repeated discussions; on this see LASSEN, I. A.² I, 635 n.; HAUG in BUNSEN: *Egyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* V, II. p. 104; KIEPERT: *Ueber die geographische Anordnung der Namen arischer Landschaften im ersten Fargard des Vendidad*, Monatsber. der K. Pr. Ak. d. W. 1856, p. 621; SPIEGEL: *Das erste Kapitel des Vendidad*, München G. Anz. 1859, No. 43-46; BREAL, *De la Géographie de l'Avesta*, in *Mélanges de Mythologie*, etc., pp. 187-199; ED. MEYER *Geschichte* p. 527. Compare also RAPP in Z.D.M.G. 19, 3.

² See SPIEGEL, *Commentar zum Avesta* I, p. 10; FLOIGL, at the place quoted, p. 16; DARMESTETER II, 5 n.

³ Yasht 19, 65 seq.

⁴ Cf. A. STEIN; "Afghānistān 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. I, 10, but now hesitates between Media and Arachosia 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.¹ 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 Avesta as a criterion for the relative chronology of the different kinds of texts.²

§ 36. DARMESTETER'S THEORY.—The latest hypothesis³ 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 Achämenian period possessed such, was lost after Alexander's invasion of Persia and under Greek rule.⁴ 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 Avesta has been literally reproduced in the new.⁵ The Gathas are a type of the second class, the law sections of the Vendidad proper are a type of the first.⁶ The Gathas were written in the middle of the first century of our era, and, indeed, under the influence of Gnosticism.⁷ The idea of Vohu Manō, which plays the chief rôle in the Gathas, is probably borrowed from the School of Philo Judæus or employed in imitation of that School.⁸

¹ Compare the excellent remarks of ED. MEYER, *Geschichte*, p. 504.

² This of course assumes a most intimate acquaintance with the texts.

³ DARMESTETER III, LII. *seq.*, LXXXV *seq.*; cf. West in J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 654.

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 δέιος of Philo must be admitted. The fact that Strabo (p. 512) bears witness to the worship of the Persian divinity 'Ομνοῦ (*i.e.* Vohu-Manō)¹ and to having himself seen solemn processions of the image² of Omanos (p. 733) is sufficient to disprove the theory that *Vohu Manō* was borrowed from Philo. In the time of Strabo the original abstraction of *Vohu Manō* 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 *Xšathrēm Vairim* only came into existence through the Gathas, the same must hold also of the Mazdayasnian *Vohu Manō*. The Gathas must thus have arisen distinctly before the time of Strabo. If an analogy between the λόγος δέιος and the *Vohu Manō* 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 = 'Ορομάζης. 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 Manō.

³ A. GFRÖRER, Philo. und die alexandrinische Theosophie, Stuttgart, 1831, II., p. 1. "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 Manō* and *Ašəm*, the old *rtam*, does not look like a stranger in the Mazda-religion.—DARMESTER (III., LXV.) is perfectly right in holding that Plutarch in the famous passage with regard to the Amesha Spentas in de Is. et Os. 47, has not made use of Theopompus. The only question is as to the other writer, except Theopompus, who was his authority.—As a proof of the Arsacid origin of the Avesta, DARMESTER (III., XL.) adduces the well-known territorial distribution, which beginning with *nmāna*, ends with *dainghu* the province or country. There is wanting, he points out, the kingdom with the Shāhīnshāh at its head (III., XL.). But in Yasht 10, 87; Yasna 62, 5; 68, 5 over the *dahyu* stands the *dainghusasti*, *i. e.*, the kingdom, the imperium, and thus Darmesteter explains also in I., 388, note 20.—DARMESTER'S conjecture that the chronological principle of arrangement in the Yashts 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 AVESTA RESEARCH.

§ 37. The fame of having been always the first in Avesta 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 Zendavesta—as, for example, Henry Lord,¹ Gabr. de Chinon,² Chardin.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 Avesta 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 Bouchier 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 up⁵ 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 Zendavesta, since he himself was never in the East. The best information regarding the early history of Avesta research is to be found in KLEUKER, *Anhang II*, 1, pp. 35 *seq.*; further in HOVELACQUE, *L'Avesta*, pp. 3 *seq.*; DARMESTETER I., IX; WEST, *Essays*, pp. 16 *seq.*

² KLEUKER, in the place quoted, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.* p. 41.

⁴ HYDE, *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religio*, also under the title: *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum. Zoroastria vita etc.*, Oxonii, 1700. Cf. especially Chap. XXVI, pp. 337-342.

⁵ ANQUETIL I., 1, p. 458.

learn the ancient Persian language in Guzarat or Kirman."¹ 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,² is preserved in his chief work: *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre*.³

Although variously criticised⁴ at the time of its appearance, the work made a great stir in the whole learned world. Anquetil's translation of the Avesta rests on the foundation of the inadequate knowledge of Pahlavi and the still more inadequate knowledge of Avesta 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 Avesta 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

¹ Anquetil I, 1, 6.

² *Ibid.* I, 1, XXI—CCCCXXXVIII, also separately translated into German: Anquetils du Perron Reisen nach Ostindien nebst einer Beschreibung der bürgerlichen und Religionsgebräuche der Parsen, als eine Einleitung zum Zend-Avesta in das Deutsche übersetzt von JOH. GEORG PURMANN, Frankfurt a. M. 1776.

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 Böhlen.⁷ The defenders of Anquetil, on the other hand, were his German translator and editor Kleuker,⁸ further Tychsen,⁹ Paulinus a Santo Bartholomaeo,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 ælde og ægthed,"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.

¹ Lettre à M. Anquetil du Perron, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroaster, Londres s. a. (reprinted in the Works of Sir William Jones, Vol. X. p. 403, London, 1807.)

² A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations, as Introduction to "A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English," Oxford, 1777.

³ De Zoroastris vita, Institutis et Libris in "Novi Commentarii Societatis regiae," Göttingen, 1777-79.

⁴ Asiatick Researches II. p. 43. Calcutta 1790.

⁵ Asiatic Researches X., 282.

⁶ On the Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsis in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, 1819.

⁷ Commentatio de Origine linguæ zendicæ e sanscrita repetendæ Königsberg, 1831.

⁸ Cf. the "General Literature" at the beginning.

⁹ Commentatio prior Observationes Historico-criticæ de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et Placitis exhibens in: "Commentationes Soc. Reg." p. 112, Göttingen 1793.

¹⁰ De antiquitate et affinitate linguæ zendicæ, samscriticæ et germanicæ, Rome 1798.

¹¹ Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religionssystem der alten Baktrer, Meder und Perser oder des Zendvolks, Frankfurt 1820.

¹² Copenhagen, 1826. Translated into German by F. H. v. d. HAGEN, under the title: "Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zendavesta" . . . Berlin 1826. Cf. also the "Gesammelten Aufsätze" of RASK II., 310; 315. III. 4.

§ 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 Nériosangh'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.¹ It suffers from its own peculiar cumbersome nature. 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.² Burnouf bestowed little attention on the Gathas, and with fine tact he has kept clear of those general questions which gather around the Avesta.

¹ *Commentaire sur le Yaçna, l'un des Livres Religieux des Parses. Ouvrage contenant le texte Zend expliqué pour la première fois, les variantes des quatre manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale et la version Sanscrite inédite de Nériosangh, Vol. I, Paris 1838-35*—previously announced in *Nouv. J.A.*, Vol. III., p. 321.

² Appeared in various essays in the *J.A.* 1844-46. These, together with other essays also published separately under the title: "*Etudes sur la langue et sur les textes zends*," Vol. I., Paris 1840-50. Burnouf's revised text and translation of Yasna 9 are published by BROCKHAUS in his edition of the *Vendidad Sade*, pp. 407 *seq.*

About the same time as Burnouf, but with much scantier apparatus and from a different standpoint, Fr. Bopp began to occupy himself with the Avesta. 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.¹ The comparison with Sanskrit decides matters essential for him. He has very little confidence in the translation of Neriosangh.² 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 Avesta began to appear,—Westergaard's complete edition of the text, and the edition of the Vendidad, Vispered and Yasna with Pahlavi Translation by Spiegel,³ the latter being also provided with a German translation of the entire Avesta. Now it was possible to go back to the oldest form of the vernacular interpretation of the Avesta. 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 Avesta, 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. Spiegel⁴ followed by Justi⁵ was the chief advocate of

¹ Preface to the first edition (p. X in the reprint in the 2nd Edition).

² *Ibid.*, X, n.

³ *Cf.* the literature given at § 11.

⁴ F. SPIEGEL, *Commentar über das Avesta*, 1 Band, *Der Vendidad*. Leipzig 1864. II. Band, *Vispered, Yasna und Khorda Avesta*, 1868. By the same author: *Zur Interpretation des Vendidad*, Leipzig 1853. — *Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen*, I. Teil, *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Leipzig 1856; II. Teil, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, 1860. — Burnouf's *althakirische Forschungen und ihr Verhältniss zur Tradition* in Kuhn's *Beitr.* 7, 257. — *Arische Studien*, Leipzig 1874. — *Zur Erklärung des Avesta*, Z. D. M. G. 25, 297; 26, 697; 27, 649. *Zur Textkritik des Avesta*, Z. D. M. G. 36, 586. *Über d. 19. Frg. des Vend.*, *Abhandl. der bair. Akad.* Bd. VI—VII.

⁵ *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, 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

¹ C. DE HARLEZ: *De l'exégèse et de la correction des textes avestiques*, Leipzig 1883. — *Etudes éraniennes*, Paris 1880 (de l'alphabet avestique et de sa transcription, Métrique du Gatha Vahistoistis, etc.) — *Études avestiques* I. J.A. 1876, VIII, 487; II. 1877, IX, 97; III *ib.*, 289. Z.D.M.G. 36, 627. — Zur Erklärung des Avesta, Z.D.M.G. 37, 256. — L'Avestique Mada et la tradition persane *ib.* 38, 133. — Avestica, etc., in B.B. 13. 245; 15. 317; 16, 338. — Un fragment d'un commentaire sur le Vendidad, J.A. 1881, XVIII, 517. — Un frag. du Com. de M. Darmesteter as supplement to J.A. 1881, XVIII (also Louvain 1881). — Les observations de M. James Darmesteter sur le Vendidad, Louvain 1883.

² W. GEIGER, Das dritte Kapitel des Vendidad, Z.D.M.G. 34, 415 *seq.*; cf. also Einleitung zum Aogemadañcā, 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.)

⁴ R. ROTH, Ueber gelehrte Tradition im Alterthume, besonders in Indien, Z.D.M.G., 21, 1 (especially p. 8). — Beiträge zur Erklärung des Avesta I and II., Z.D.M.G. 25, 1; III, *ib.* 215. — Ueber Yaçna 31, Tübingen 1876. — Der Ahuna Vairya, Z.D.M.G. 38, 437.

⁵ M. HAUG, Das erste Kapitel des Vendidad übers. und erläutert, bei BUNSEN, *vide* § 34. — Die fünf Gathas oder Sammlungen von Liedern und Sprüchen Zarathustra's, seiner Jünger und Nachfolger. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von M. Haug. 1. Abteilung: Die erste Sammlung (Gatha Ahunavaiti), Leipzig 1859. 2. Abteilung: Die vier übrigen Sammlungen, Leipzig 1860. (In den Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes). By the same author, Ueber die Unzuverlässigkeit der Pahlaviübersetzung des Zendawesta in Z.D.M.G. 19. 578 *seq.* — Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Zend philologie, Stuttgart 1868. — Das achtzehnte Kapitel des Vendidad übersetzt und erklärt, in den Sitzungsberichten der K. bayr. Akademie der Wiss. zu München, Jahrgang 1868, Bd. II. (separate reprint: München 1869) — Die Ahuna-vairya-Formel, das heiligste Gebet der Zoroastrier, mit dem alten Zend-Commentar (Yasna 19) in den Sitzungsberichten der K. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1872, p. 89.

⁶ Die persische Anahita oder Anaïtis. Ein Beitrag, zur Mythengeschichte des Orients von FR. WINDISCHMANN, Abhandlungen der K. bayr. Akademie. d. W. I. Kl. VIII, Bd. 1, Abt., München 1856. — Mithra. Ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, von FR. WINDISCHMANN, Leipzig 1857. In the Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagen-geschichte des alten Iran, von F. W., published after the author's death by F. Spiegel. Berlin 1863. — WEBER is near the standpoint of Windischmann. Cf. Die Recensionen in den Indischen Streifen, Band 2, 421-493, especially p. 435.

§ 41. Roth was followed in essentials by those linguists who, after the death of Schleicher, returning to the example set by Bopp addressed 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-question 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 conducted 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. 24, 323 and elsewhere *passim* in K. Z.

² *Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte*, Leipzig 1883.

³ JOH. SCHMIDT *passim* in K. Z.—*Die Pluralbildungen der Indo-germanischen Neutra.*, Weimer 1889.

⁴ DARMESTETER I, XXVII; in another place: "l'école étymologique ou vélisante."

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 *Hamestakān* souls in Y. 33.1; BARTHOLOMAE in Z.D.M.G. 35, 157, and ROTH *ib.* 37, 223. (Contested by De HARLEZ Z.D.M.G., 36, 631; cf. also B.B. 9, 294). Even so *vγam* 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 Sanskrit¹. The start and beginning had

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 Avesta*¹. Darmesteter has given a new youth to the traditional school, and is the proper creator of what he calls the historical method of Avesta research. Darmesteter has accumulated an enormous quantity of material for the interpretation of the Avesta. How far he has succeeded in this, how far he has shot beyond the mark in detail, the sequel will shew.

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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 *Visperad*, together with an introduction based on the historical method; the second, the *Vendidad*, the *Yashts*, and the *Khorda Avesta*; 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. 1893, p. 654; BRÉAL, *Le-Zend-Avesta*, in the *Journal des Savants*, Dec. 1893, Jan. et Mars 1894.

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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 Avesta 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 Khūsroī Anōsharavān.

Only the Pahlavi translation of Yasna, Vispered and Vendidad, of the fragments of the Hātōkht Nask including the Srōsh Yasht, of Vish-tāsp Yasht, of Bahrām Yasht, and some smaller Yashts, namely Ormuzd, Haftān, Khūrshēd, and Māh Yasht, of Khūrshēd, Ātash and Ābān Nyāish, of the two Sīrōze and the Āfrīngān Dahmān, Gatha, Gahanbār, has been preserved². The Pahlavi reproduction of the Nīrangistān (cf. § 10) is something intermediate between a commentary and an independent work. The Pahlavi translation is inseparable in the MSS. from the Avesta text. The Avesta 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 ctut, iti bhāvaḥ*.

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 Spitāmān Zaratūst: I created, Spitāmān Zaratūst, 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 Spitāmān Zaratūst, the place for a joy-creation, where no pleasantness is sought, then would the whole corporeal world have wandered away to Airān Vēj.* 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.

Yasna 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.*¹ 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.*² *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 *usnām* and *vaēdhyā* are combined and represented by *xārsandih* "contentment," which is quite correct, since they signify: "fulfilment of the desires." In other cases the simple *usan* (neutr.= desire, pleasure) is reproduced by *xārsand* (Y. 44, 10) or *xārsandih* (45, 9).³ In Vend. 22, 7: *para-dūthi upa*

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 *aranavataēcā* is reproduced by *tarsa-kāstih kartār*, in 52, 3 however *āyayō aranavante* by *tarsakāstih vādūndōd* (Huzvāreh for *kartano*).

vazanguha ari nmānəm etc. only the first verb is translated by a verb, what follows being freely reproduced thus:—*barā sātān mīn 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, astūbo* “non-exhaustion,” in Y. 30, 7 and 44, 20; but in Y. 45, 10, by *šēmīh* (more accurately : with another name); *čōit* in Y. 12, 5, is paraphrased by *čīgūn gūft*, but in 60, 11 it is ignored. The etymological connection of allied words is often rightly felt by the translator, e. g. *dəng* 45, 11 : *dastōbar*; *dāstvām* (46, 7) : *dastōbarīh*. The Avesta word is not infrequently represented with instinctive correctness by the identical middle Persian word : *xvāthra*—*xvārīh*.

§ 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 Saṃkara 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 uzdhem gave varōthrom
gave xvarōthəm gave vastrom.

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 Hōm 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." *Nēmō* 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*—*madahyā* in Y. 48, 10; *kamərədhaḥa*, *kamərədhaēca* in V. 4, 49; *anguharəstātəm*, *hangharəstātəm* ib., *sayanəm* (shadow), *šaya. n* (dwelling) in Vd. 1, 9. The majority of the varying readings are, of course, connected with points of grammar or orthography (*mazdā*, *mazdāo*, *mazdāi*; *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 Avesta 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 Avesta 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

Avesta 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 Avesta 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 daēvəng aparō mašyāscā tarəməstā* are made to mean, "the devs have come and behind them the despising of men", or the words in 30, 1, *at tā vaxšyā išəntō yā mazdāthā*, are translated "so are both these speeches desirable which are Mazda's gifts", or Y. 50, 11 : *at və staotā arjāi mazdā anghācā* is translated "for me your praise is power," all philological principles are set at defiance¹. 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 Avesta text. It is just this great gulf that separates the original parts of the Avesta 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

¹ DARMESTER : Arrière les Daōvas et les hommes ! 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 West⁴ and Darmesteter⁵ 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 Avesta, 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" shewn at § 11. That of the three Fargards of the Hāyōkht Nask with an English translation by Haug and West as a Supplement to the Ardā Virāf (Bombay 1872), pp. 269 *seq.* That of some parts of the Khorda Avesta, namely Khurshed Nyāish, including Khurshed Yasht, Māh Ya-hi. Srōsh Yasht Hāyōkht by DARMESTER, *Ét. ir.* II., 275 *seq.* That of the first Yasht by C. SALEMANN: Ueber eine Parsenhandschrift, St. Petersburg 1879, p. 30. Portions of the Pahlavi Translation have been translated or paraphrased by HAUG-WEST, *Essays*, pp. 338-393. (namely: Pahlavi Yasna 28. 29. 30. 31. 32, 1; Vendidad I. 18. 19. 20). Vendidad 9, 1-36 translated by WEST in the treatise: *The Baresnūm 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. HÜBSCHMANN; see the "Literature" shewn above, § 41.—Further, GEIGER: *Die Pehlevi Version des ersten Capitels des Vendidad*, Erlangen 1877.—HOHN, *Uebersetzungen aus dem Pahlavi-Vendidad*, in Z.D.M.G. 43, 31; *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Pahlavi-Vendidad*: I., B.B. 17, 257.—L. H. MILLS, *A Study of the five Zarathushtrian Gathas with . . . the Pahlavi translation*, Parts I.—IV. Oxford 1892-94.—MILLS, Yasna 43, 1-10 with the Pahlavi text deciphered and translated, Z.D.M.G. 42, 439.

² ANQUETIL I, 2, V.

³ SPIEGEL, *Einleitung zur Ausgabe des Neriosangh*, p. 1.

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.¹ 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 Parsis, Neriosangh and Ormazdyār, son of Rāmyār² and cousin of Neriosangh. According to Darmesteter,³ this Ormazdyār is to be regarded as an incapable continuer of the work of Neriosangh. But this is impossible, for the continuer cannot have written before the year 1323, since he makes use of the MS. K⁵ for his continuation.⁴

At a still later period the older commentaries were translated into the generally known modern languages, Gujarāṭi and modern Persian.⁵

§ 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

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-Übersetzung des Yaçna, 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 Avesta in the *Ét. ir.* II., 256 *seq.* See also § 13 and Prolegomena XXXIII.

⁵ The Gujarati translation by Mobed Framji Aspandiarji is specially known. *Cf.* "Literature" shewn at § 11. Pahlavi-Avesta MSS. and Avesta-Sado 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."¹ 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 *advāo* Y. 31, 2 = *agūmānikih*, Ner. *asāšayatrena*; *ušuruyē* 32, 16 = *frāxū hōših* = *pr'ulačaitanyena*; *mānarōiš* 43, 10 = *avo li gabrā* "to my man"; *spayathrahyā* 30, 10 = *sipāh*; *yastā* 31, 7 = *maṭaš* = *prāpto ca*; *yastem* 46, 4 = *pavan zak i maṭ* = *prāpte*.

¹ Avesta Studien, von H. HÜBSCHMANN, in the Sitzungsberichten der philos. philol. Kl. der K. b. Akademie der Wiss., zu München 1872, Band II. I Zur Beurtheilung der traditionellen Uebersetzung des Avesta, pp. 639 seq.—ED. MEYER, Geschichte, p. 502, gives a purely objective and accurate criticism of these methods.

Such interpretations *à la Yāska* are, however, by no means the rule. The distinction between the Indian *nirukti*- and *rāḍi*- interpretation, which is not always sufficiently estimated, has its analogy in Iran. Here as there the *rāḍi*-interpretation is the better as resting upon genuine tradition. Such striking and immediately convincing *rudī*-interpretations are, e.g., *vyām* Y. 48, 7 = *navīd* "joyful tidings" (in *Neriosangh manojñam* is to read as an emendation for *manonyam*); *vanghu* 31, 19; 47, 6 = *vīžārīšn* "decision," *Ner. vyakti*; *ā-moyastrā* 30, 9 = *hanjumanīkīh* "assembly" (the assembly of the *satvāstarān*, of which *Bund.* 30, 10 speaks, is meant); *rāna* dual (31, 3. 9, &c.) = *patkār-dārān* = *prativādin*; *fsəratu* (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. *Ākāo* (Y. 48, 8; 50, 4) is explained as *āškārak* "clear," "manifest," *Ner. prakata*. In reality it is a substantive, and means the *revelation*, *manifestatio*, the clear distinguishing of the good and evil in the judgment. *Vīdīša* (this is the best attested reading) 58, 4, is literally explained by *barā dahišnih*¹ "bestowal." The distribution of reward and punishment is meant, cf. *vīdāiti* and *vyāda* in 38, 5; 60, 2. *vaidhyācā* (33, 7), *o* 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 *čaratušcā* is explained by *sart* "cold," while in reality this must be the meaning of the following word *aodərəšcā*.³ *Čaratušcā* 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,

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 *o* is nom. sing. of the root *a* = I, thou, or self; to it also belongs *asūt* 46, 18. Similarly *thua-* signifies not only "tuus," but also "thou thyself" (e.g. Y. 35, 10, cf. § 28), just as the Sanskrit *sva* signifies "suus" 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 Avesta research, for this reason alone that for more than a fourth part of the Avesta 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 Avesta 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. *Ūrnmāni mlātāni* "tanned skins" (R.V. 8, 55, 3) appears in the Avesta as *mrātəm čarəma* (Yasht 17, 12);¹ *pūyēd vā vi vā mṛityēd* (Çat. Br. 9, 5, 2, 14) as *fri-thyeitiča pūyeitiča* (Vend. 6, 28). Side by side with Gatha sentence: *Ke mē nā thrātā vistō anyō ašāt thwatčā* (Y. 50 1) may be placed: *na nas trātā vidyate vai tvaḥ anyah* (Mbh. 1, 232, 9.) In Sanskrit at a first meeting the question is *ko'si kasyāsi* (e. g. Mbh. 1, 131, 34), in Avesta *čiš ahī kahyā ahī* (Yas. 43, 7).

In order to shew, 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 *daṅghu-dasyu*, *daēva-deva*. The Avesta *mairya* 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. *nršasa*) 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. *mairya*, 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.

Avesta 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. *aruša*, Aw. *auruša*, where the Pahlavi *arūs*, Paz. *alōs* (Ner. *šveta*) shew that *auruša* means "white," not "reddish," as the Skr. *aruša* 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. Avesta philology sits as it were between two stools. The coming Sōshyōs, who will really explain the whole Avesta 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., 1, Pref. XVII.

DIE PARTHER.

1. NÂMEN.

Eine vollkommen sichere Erwähnung der Parther finden wir, wie OLSHAUSEN¹ richtig sagt, in den Inschriften des Darius. Dort findet sich *Parthava* am häufigsten als Bezeichnung des Landes; der Bewohner heisst ebenso und höchst wahrscheinlich ist Bh. II, 92 das Wort in der Bedeutung der Parther, der Bewohner der Landschaft Parthien zu fassen. Deutlicher tritt diese Doppelheit der Bedeutung hervor in der anarischen Uebersetzung. NR. 17 dieser Uebersetzung wird *Parthava* (nach OPPERT's Lesung) durch *Parçuva* wiedergegeben, dagegen Bh. II, 3 durch *Parçuvap*, wo *p* das Zeichen des Plurals ist, Bh. II, 69, 71, 75, 78 durch *Parçuvas* zumeist mit Vorsetzung des Zeichens, welches vor geographische Bezeichnungen gesetzt wird einmal II, 68 auch *Parçuvaspe*, wo *pe* wider den Plural ausdrückt. Wie man sieht, entspricht *Parçuvas* nicht genau der Form *parthava*, sondern eher einem *parthuwa* oder *perethwa* im Avesta. In der assyrisch-babylonischen Uebersetzung steht (nach von Bezold) meist *Pa-ar-tu-û*, einmal NR. 12 auch *Par-tu-û*. Die Griechen schliessen sich ziemlich genau an die persische Form an, doch hat Herodot III, 93, 117 und VII, 66 die kürzere Form Παρθοι, wie auch die Römer *Parthi* sagen. Wie Ktesias den Namen geschrieben haben mag, geht aus den uns erhaltenen Fragmenten nicht mehr mit Sicherheit hervor. In C. Müller's Ausgabe dieser Fragmente findet sich p. 14 (= Diod. II, 2) die Form Παρθων dagegen p. 42 (= Diod. II, 34) Παρθος, endlich p. 47 in den Auszügen des Photius Παρθιω Strabo schreibt Παρβαροι doch auch (XI, 524) Παρθοι Ptolemaeus Παρθαι Alle diese Abänderungen der Form in auswärtigen Schriften brauchen uns nicht

¹ Cf. OLSHAUSEN's Abhandlung in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1877: *Parthava* und *Pahlav*, *Mîda* und *Mâh*.

weiter zu kümmern, wir können sie nur als Umgestaltungen der ERÂNISCHEN Form *Parthava* ansehen, an die wir uns zu halten haben.

Ueber die Etymologie des Wortes *parthava* hat wohl zuerst I. OPPERT gesprochen (Inscr. des Achéménides, p. 29 des Sonderdrucks). Er leitet das Wort auf das avestische *parêthu*, griech. *παράτης* zurück, dem ein altpers. *parthu* entsprechen musste. Dem Worte *parthava* giebt er die Bedeutung "fort, héros, prince." Ich kann nicht sehen, wie man zu dieser Bedeutung gelangen kann. Das indische *pārthiva*, Krieger, Fürst, König geht auf sanskr. *prithivī*, die breite, die Erde zurück, ein Wort und eine Bedeutung, die für das Erânische nicht nachweisbar ist. OLSHAUSEN denkt an die Wurzel *pareth*, kämpfen, aus der ein *pareth-u*, Kämpfer abzuleiten wäre. SPIEGEL (Erân. Alterthumsk. III, 746 ff.) meint, dass *Parthava* die *Auswanderer*, die *Uebergesiedelten* bedeute. Dass dies die wahre Bedeutung des Wortes sei, bezweifle ich auch jetzt noch, vgl. Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft Bd. 42, S. 96, wo ich über *perethwa* gehandelt habe. Ausserdem ist noch LAGARDE, Lexikographie p. 57, Ges. Abh. p. 221 zu vergleichen. Mir scheint *Parthava* seiner Form nach nur ein Patronymicum eines Wortes *Parthu* sein zu können, das ich für einen Eigennamen halte und mit sanskr. *prithu* vergleichen möchte, wenn auch bei den Indern *Pārthava* RV. 468, 8 vorkommt.

Die anarische Form *Parçuvas* legtes nahe, an verschiedene andere Wörter zu denken, die der Form *Parthava* nahe stehen und sich hauptsächlich dadurch unterscheiden, dass sie *ç* 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

Frage nicht näher zu erörtern, die auch bereits OLSHAUSEN aufgeworfen und beseitigt hat, ob nämlich die *Parsua* identisch seien mit den Persern, den *Pârša* der Keilinschriften. Es versteht sich, dass dies nicht der Fall ist. Dagegen verdient das nahe Anklingen des indischen *parçu* an *Parthva*, *Pârša* und das anarische *Parçuvās* und *Parsua* Beachtung. RV. 626, 46 steht *parçu* als Name eines Mannes auch RV. 599, 1 will LUDWIG bei dem Worte *prithu-parçavas* die gewöhnliche Auffassung "breite Krummsäbel tragend, breitäxtig" verlassen und uebersetzen, die "PARTHER und PERSER" (Vgl. Kommentar zur Rigveda-Uebersetzung II. Teil, p. 547.) Nach Pān. V., 3. 117 wird als Name eines Kriegerstammes angeführt, im Sing. *pârçavah*, Dual *pârçavau*, Plural aber *parçavaḥ*, letztere Form deutet auf einen Singular *parçu*. Hiermit muss auch das Wort *pâraçava* zusammenhängen, der Name eines Volkes im Südwesten von Madhyadeça und auch Name einer Mischlingskaste, der Sohn eines Brahmanen mit einer Sudrafrau. Ueber ein Παρϋα (bei Ptol. VI, 18, 4 und 5) im Lande der Paropanisaden hat LASSEN (Ind. Alterthumsk. III, 135) gesprochen und die Stadt in dem heutigen PERSCH wiedergefunden. Zu beachten ist auch *Parsiana*=*Nadgil* am *Alingar* (Lassen l. I, p. 136). Hieraus ergibt sich soviel, dass an *Pârša* anklingende Namen wie *Parçavas*, *Pâraçava*, Παρϋα auch im Osten Erâns und noch darüber hinaus vorkommen und es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass Stämme oder Stammesabteilungen in verschiedenen Teilen Erâns dieselben oder doch fast identische Namen führten.

2. LAND.

Eine genaue Angabe der Grenzen Parthiens in alter Zeit, namentlich gegen Westen, liegt uns nicht vor. Aus den Keilinschriften Bh. II, 92 fg., wo die Parther mit den *Varkâna* oder Hyrkaniern zusammen genannt werden, lässt sich schliessen, dass sie wohl den letzteren benachbart sein konnten. Herodot nennt sie an verschiedenen Stellen seines Werkes mit andern Völkern vereinigt, aber wegen der Steuerverweigerung, wie III, 93 oder wegen der Heeresabteilung, wie VII, 66. Daraus folgt nicht, dass sie den mit ihnen

zusammengefassten Völkern benachbart sein mussten. Am wichtigsten ist die Bemerkung, dass der Fluss AKES durch das Gebiet der Parther fliesse. Da dies der ETREK ist, wie LASSEN gezeigt hat, so muss wenigstens ein Teil ihres Gebietes östlich vom kaspischen Meere gelegen haben. Arrian sagt Anab. III, 20, 2, dass Alexander nach Raghä gekommen sei, als der flüchtige Darius in die *πύλαι τῶν Κασπίων* gekommen war, die eine Tagereise von Raghä entfernt waren. Ebenda III, 20, 4 heisst es: *αὐτὸς θὲ ὥς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγε καὶ κῆ μὲν πρώτη πρὸς ταῖς Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε*, wonach man wohl annehmen darf, dass die kaspischen Thore schon zu Parthien gehörten und wahrscheinlich die westliche Grenze bildeten. Nach Arrian Parth. 3 waren die Parther unter Sesostriß aus Skythien in ihre späteren Wohnsitze eingewandert. Wo Arrian in der Anabasis von den Parthern spricht, da meint er augenscheinlich immer bloß den Stamm, den auch Darius als *Parthava* bezeichnet, auch an der letzteren Stelle redet er wohl von diesem, den er also aus Skythien hergezogen betrachtet. Ob dies mit Recht geschieht oder ob eine Verwechslung vorliegt, sind wir nicht mehr im Stande auszumachen, ebensowenig ob Arrian dadurch, dass er den Ursprung der Parther in Skythien sucht, sie zu Turaniern machen will.

Wie dem auch sein mag, sicher ist, dass von einigen Schriftstellern dieser Stamm *Parthava* von den Parthern selbst geschieden wird. Curtius, der diesen Partherstamm mit dem Namen PARTHIENI bezeichnet, sagt IV. 12, 17: *Parthienorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudabant agmen*. Nach Isidor von Charax liegt eine Provinz PARTHYENE jenseits des kaspischen Meeres und scheint einen viel kleineren Bezirk zu bilden als die alten Parthava besaßen: es ist das Land von Dehistân bis an die Grenze Margianas zwischen Jâjerm, Kabûcân und Meshhed. Nach einer leider etwas verdorbenen Stelle des Isidor lag dort PARTHAUNISA, wo die königlichen Gräber waren. Dieser Name kann nichts anderes bedeuten als: *Niederlassung der Parther*. Im Altpersischen würde ein *Parthava-nisâya* einem avest. *Parthao-nisâya* (cf. rao-ratha) entsprechen. *Nisa*, d. i. *nisâya*, das neupers. *nîs* bedeu'tet bloß *Niederlassung* und

kommt deshalb auch in verschiedenen Teilen Erâns vor. Es ist in diesem Parthynia, dass Strabo von Arsakes sagt XI, 515: *φείγοντα θέ την αἰξήσιν τῶν περὶ Διόδοτον ἀποστήσαι την Παρθυαίαν*, 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 DROYSSEN,¹ Alfred v. GUTSCHMID,² LASSEN³ und SPIEGEL⁴ 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 Sesostris, nach Erân aus Skythien eingewandert. Demnach wären sie ursprünglich Skythen gewesen und keine Erânier, und zwar

¹ Geschichte des Hellenismus. Gotha 1877. III², 358 ff.

² Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden. Tübingen 1888.

³ Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige. Bonn 1838 und Indische Alterthumskunde II, 277 ff., 352 ff., 811 ff. (1. Ausg.).

⁴ Erânische Alterthumskunde, 3 Bde. Leipzig 1871-78.

Die ältesten Werke neuerer Schriftsteller über parthische Geschichte sind: I. Foy *Vaillant*, *Arsacidarum imperium* (Paris 1728. 8^o), L. DU FOUR DE DE LONGUERUE, *Annales Arsacidarum*. (Strassburg 1732. 4^o). G.E.T. GUILHEM DE SAINTE-CROIX, *Memoire sur le gouvernement des Parthes* (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. L, 48 ff. 755 ff. Die Münzen erläutern die Werke von E. Q. VISCONTI, *Iconographie Grecque* III. p. 58 ff.; v. BARTHOLOMAEI, *Recherches sur la numismatique Arsacide* (Mém. de la soc. d'archéol. II., p. 1 ff.); A. de LONGPERIER, *Mémoires sur la chronologie et l'iconographie des rois Parthes Arsacides* (Paris 1853, 4^o); E. DROUIN, *Onomastique Arsacide, essais d'explication des noms des rois Parthes* (Revue Numism. 13, p. 360-88, 1895). Wichtig sind die Münzkataloge von: Le C^{te} PROKESCH-OSTEN, *Les monnaies de rois Parthes* (Paris 1871-75, 4^o), und PERCY GARDNER, *The Parthian Coinage* (London 1877, 4^o). Vgl. I. LINDSAY, *Ueber parthische Numismatik*. Ausserdem sind in neuerer Zeit Schriften über parthische Geschichte erschienen von: SCHNEIDERWIRTH, *Die Parther oder Das neupersische Reich unter den Arsaciden*. Heiligenstadt, 1874; G. RAWLINSON, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, or Geography, History, etc., of Parthia*, London 1873, DEMSELMEN, *Parthia in der "Story of Nations"*, London 1893; and Ferdin. JUSTI, *Geschichte Irans von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sāsāniden im "Grundriss der iranischen Philologie"* II, 480 ff., 1897.

schon jene Parther, die wir zur Zeit des Darius als Parthava innerhalb der Grenzen seines Reiches vorfinden. Hier fragt es sich nun erstens, ob damit gesagt sein soll, dass die Parther als Skythen anderer Herkunft waren als die Erânier, ob sie ursprünglich zu den turânischen Völkerschaften gehören, die wir jetzt im Norden Erâns vorfinden. Bekanntlich ist neuerdings diese Ansicht recht zweifelhaft geworden, dass sich schon im Alterthum diese turânischen Völker im Norden Erâns fest gesetzt hatten, man nimmt vielmehr jetzt an, dass ursprünglich auch die Nomadenstämme im Norden Erâns zu den érânischen Stämmen gehörten und dass erst seit dem 2. Jahrh. vor Chr. Turânier den Jaxartes überschritten und die Steppen im Norden Erâns in dauernden Besitz nahmen. Hiernach wäre es möglich, dass die Parther, trotz ihrer Einwanderung aus Skythien, von jeher zu den Erâniern gehört hätten. Es fragt sich aber auch zweitens, ob auf diese Nachricht Arrians über die ursprüngliche Einwanderung der Parther viel zu geben ist, ob es sich nicht bloß um eine unbegründete Ueberlieferung handelt, daraus entstanden, dass Arsakes mit den Parthern wirklich nach Parthyaia einwanderte und dort seine Herrschaft begründete. In der Zeit, in welcher dieses geschah, könnten turânische Völker bereits den Jaxartes überschritten und sich an den Grenzen Erâns festgesetzt haben. Darum wäre es nicht unmöglich, dass die PARNER, welche dem Arsakes zur Gründung seiner Herrschaft behilflich waren, zu den Turâniern gehörten. Ueber den Arsakes selbst sind zwei Ansichten vorhanden. Während ihn Strabo geradezu als ἀνὴρ Σκύθης bezeichnet, erwähnt er doch auch, dass Andere ihn für einen BAKTRER hielten. Aus diesen unsicheren Angaben lassen sich verschiedene Combinationen ableiten. Entweder: 1) Arsakes war ein Turânier, ebenso die Parner, mit deren Hilfe er sich in Parthyaia festsetzte, oder 2) Arsakes war zwar ein Erânier, bediente sich aber turânischer Hilfe. 3) Arsakes war ein Turânier, aber die Parner waren ein Stamm nomadischer Erânier. Endlich, 4) sowohl Arsakes als die Parner waren Erânier. Von diesen vier Möglichkeiten scheint mir die erste die wahrscheinlichere. Kein Zweifel ist übrigens, dass wenigstens die königliche Familie sehr bald in Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuchen an die Erânier sich möglichst

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 Erân und den benachbarten Gegenden überhaupt gebraucht wurde. Ohne Zweifel war PARTHAVA während der ganzen Herrschaft der Achämeniden als Name eines érânischen 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 Ueberlieferung. Bei Orientalen erscheint er von nun an nicht mehr, ausgenommen bei den Armeniern, die aber den Namen von den Griechen haben dürften. Auch fehlt es uns durchaus an einem Schlüssel zu der Verwirrung, die wir nun bei den abendländischen Geschichtschreibern finden. Dass man das neue érânische 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 Reiche 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 Erân bemächtigt hatte und nur nach und nach mit den Bewohnern dieses Landes verwuchs. 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 ASHKANIER 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

Arsakiden denken mag, das ist wohl sicher, dass ihr Stifter Arsakes nicht von der alten Königsfamilie der Achämeniden in Wirklichkeit abstammte, es ist aber begreiflich, dass später die Dynastie einen solchen Zusammenhang herzustellen suchte. Nach der Angabe des Synkellos (I, 539 ed. Bonn.) scheint man dazu den Namen ARSAKES benutzt zu haben, um eine Verwandtschaft mit Artaxerxes II. herzustellen, der vor seiner Thronbesteigung, wie Ktesias (c. 57) behauptet, diesen Namen führte. Spätere Nachrichten der Orientalen schweigen von dieser Verwandtschaft und wollen einen Anknüpfungspunkt für die Familie der Arsakiden in den mythischen Perioden finden, indem sie dieselben zu Nachkommen des KAI ARISH, des KAVA ARSHAN des Avesta, des zweitgeborenen Sohnes (oder Enkels) des KAIQOBÂD machen. Nach ihnen endet die Linie des erstgeborenen Sohnes mit KAI KHOSRAV, ihm folgt dann LONRASV, der auffallender Weise als Nachkomme des KAI PRSHIN, des dritten Sohnes des Kaiqobâd hingestellt wird, offenbar um den Kai Arish für die späteren Arsakiden aufzubewahren.

Eine nicht zu übersehende Wichtigkeit für die Frage, welche uns hier beschäftigt, haben die armenischen Geschichtschreiber. 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 éranischen 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 bestimmt geschieden werden und zwar als ganz verschiedene Völker oder als verschiedene Stämme desselben Geschlechts. Ueber die Pahlav spricht Moses II, 28, wo er sagt, dass der König ARSHAVIR drei Söhne hatte ARTASHES, KÂREN und SUREN und eine Tochter GOSHIN, die er an seinen *Aspahapet*, oder Oberfeldherrn

verheiratet hatte. Nach dem Vorschlage des Abgar sei festgesetzt worden, dass der älteste Artashes und seine Nachkommen regieren, die beiden andern aber den Titel '*Pahlav*' führen und zur Nachfolge berechtigt sein sollten, wenn die ältere Linie ausgestorben wäre. Ebenso die Nachkommen der Schwester, deren Mann den Titel '*Aspahapet Pahlav*' führen solle. Auch c. 91 wird Parthien als Reich und Pahlav als District bestimmt geschieden. Ebenso scheidet KORIUN (pag. 95 der französ. Uebersetz.) die Pahlav und die Parther.

Die Parther selbst gehen nach Moses von Khorni auf ARSHAK zurück, der von Abraham und der Qetûra abstammt. Arshak begründet ihr Reich und regiert in BAHĻ d. i. in Baktrien, im Lande der KHUSHAN. Auch Agathangelos (pag. 28) nennt die Khushan als Freunde und Verwandte der Parther, ebenso Faustus von Byzanz (V., 37). Diese Khushan zählt Elisaeus (pag. 21) zu den Hunnen, sie waren also keine Arier. Nach Ansicht der Armenier (Mos. Khor II., 72) bleibt der Hauptzweig der Familie, der sich *Vehsajan Pahlav* nennt, in Ostêrân zurück und residiert in Balkh, der Hauptstadt des Bezirkes Pahlav. Dieses alte Stammland verspricht nach Moses II. 74 ARDASHÎR BÂBEGÂN den Arsakiden in Persien wiederzugeben: das Vaterland Pahlav, die Residenz Bahl und das ganze Land Khushan. Etwas Anderes will gewiss auch Zenobius mit PARTAV nicht sagen.

Sehr verschieden lauten nun die Nachrichten, welche uns muhammedanische Schriftsteller geben aus Quellen, die noch in die Zeit der Sasaniden zurückreichen und die OLSHAUSEN schon grossenteils gesammelt hat. Während die Armenier auf das bestimmteste die Provinz PAHLAV nach dem OSTEN setzen und BALKH als die Hauptstadt derselben nennen, behaupten dagegen die Muhammedaner, dass die Landschaft FAHLA im WESTEN Brâns liege. So die auf den dieser Dinge so kundigen Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa zurückgehende Nachricht des Fihrist (pag. 13), der unter dem Namen *Fahla* die Gebiete von Ispâbân, Rai, Hamadân, Mâh-Nehâvand und Âdarbaijân versteht. Weniger zusageud ist eine andere Nachricht (bei OLSHAUSEN pag. 20), welche das Gebiet von Fahla noch weiter nach Westen ausdehnt, dafür

aber Rai und Ispâhân ausschliesst. Vielleicht gehört diese Begrenzung einer späteren Periode des Partherreiches an. Es fragt sich nun, wie man diese anscheinend so verschiedenen Nachrichten erklären soll. Sie haben meiner Ansicht nach nichts Unbegreifliches an sich, wenn man den verschiedenen Standpunkt der einzelnen Berichterstatter in Betracht zieht. Wir sind gewohnt unter dem Partherreiche einen einheitlichen, ganz ebenso unter EINZIGEN Dynastie stehenden Staat zu verstehen, welche der älteren Dynastie der Achämeniden vollkommen ebenbürtig war und zu der die verschiedenen Stämme Erâns ganz in demselben Verhältnisse standen wie zu dem früheren König der Könige, und so scheinen auch Griechen und Römer die Sache angesehen zu haben. Dies ist jedoch nicht die Ansicht der Orientalen, wie sie namentlich Hamza von Isfâhân und Andere entwickeln. Sie gestehen den Arsakiden nur einen gewissen Vorrang vor den übrigen Stammeskönigen zu und nennen die Zeit der Arsakiden die Zeit der Stammeskönige, im Gegensatze zu der geschlossenen Sasanidendynastie. In der That lässt sich auch für die Ansicht der Orientalen ein nicht unwichtiger Grund anführen. Die Münzen der parthischen Könige, die uns erhalten sind, zeigen allerdings, dass die Arsakiden ebenso wie die Achämeniden den Anspruch machen *die Könige der Könige* zu sein, wir finden aber andererseits auch in Baktrien Münzen, deren Träger denselben Anspruch erheben. Neben vielen fremdartigen Namen auf denselben begegnen wir auch rein parthischen wie ARSAKES und VONONES, die aber mit den Personen, welche uns bisher unter diesen Namen bekannt waren, nicht identisch sind. Eine andere Reihe von baktrischen Münzen, die nach dem Erlöschen der griechischen Könige zu setzen sind von AZES an, zeigt zwar fremde Namen, aber, wie SALLET richtig bemerkt, können es ebenso gut Parther wie Skythen sein. Wir werden durch diese Denkmale zu der Ansicht gedrängt, dass zur Zeit der Arsakiden zwei Reiche bestanden, von welchen ein jedes beanspruchte an der Spitze des Staates zu stehen. Griechen und Römer, sowie die Schriftsteller, welche aus den Berichten der Sasanidenperiode schöpfen, sprechen nur von dem WESTLICHEN Zweige der Arsakiden, die

Armenier dagegen von dem ÖSTLICHEN. Dieser letztere Zweig scheint auch unter den Sasaniden seine Ansprüche auf Erân nicht aufgegeben zu haben, daher die so häufigen Kriege der Sasaniden gegen die Khushan, die von Elisaëus, wie bereits bemerkt, entschieden zu den Hunnen gerechnet werden. Aus diesem Allen scheint mir mit ziemlicher Sicherheit hervorzugehen, dass die Armenier die von ihnen PAHLAV genannten Familien aus dem OSTEN Erâns, aus Balkh, herleiteten und dort den Ursitz ihrer Familie und zwar eine NICHT ERÂNISCHE annehmen. Abweichend davon ist die Ansicht der späteren Muhammedaner, deren Nachrichten aber frühestens aus der Sasanidenzeit stammen.

5. PAHLAVÎ.

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 Ostrêâns 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 AERAKIDE, Angehöriger der asarkidischen Königsfamilie. So wird bei Moses II, 80 (TIRIDATES) 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.

In einem viel weitern Sinne werden diese Wörter bei FIRDAUSÎ gebraucht, dem ältesten Schriftsteller, auf den wir zurückgehen können. Das von ihm gebrauchte Wort پهلوی müssen wir auf پهلو zurückführen, das in der Bedeutung: 1 "Königsburg, Residenzstadt," 2 "Held" noch oft genug vorkommt. In der ersten Bedeutung steht es z. B.: —

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

چو زال سپهبد ز پهلو برفت
دمادم سپه روی بنهاد تفت

Ebenso Shâh. 298, 12 = Vull. 410, 8 ; Sh. 402, 7 = V. 558, 13. Dass an den genannten Stellen dem Wort پهلو die Bedeutung, " *Residenzstadt* " zukommt, hat RÜCKERT in der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Bd. X, 242 ff. sehr richtig nachgewiesen. Die Bedeutung ' *Held* ' hat das Wort recht häufig, z. B. Shâh. 169, 1 = Vullers 232, 4 :

رمیدند ازان پهلوانامور
دلاور بیامد بنزدیک در

Vergl. auch Shâh. 179, 8 = Vull. 238, 18 ; Sh. 173, 2 = V. 237, 9 ; Sh. 174, 10 = V. 239, 3 ; Sh. 577, 15 = Vull. 809, 5. Demnach würde پهلو 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 Shâh. 708, 7 = Vullers 994, 7 :—

ز چینی و شکنی و از هندوی
ز سقلاب و هری و از پهلوی

Oft begegnet uns der Ausdruck جامهٔ پهلوی " *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 برپهلوی Z. B. Sh. 543, I, 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, II, v. u. = Vull. 1503, 16 پهلوی کیش und 1248, 1 = Vull. 1756, 3 پهلوی دین Meistens wird aber der Ausdruck پهلوی von der SPRACHE oder von der SCHRIFT gebraucht, so in der Redensart خط و پهلوی wo Schrift und Sprache zu gleicher Zeit gemeint ist, vergl. Shâh 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 ; 1561, 7 ; ebenso an den verschiedenen Stellen, wo von Pehlevibriefen (پهلوی نامه) die Rede ist. Gar nicht verschieden von

پهلوی ist auch پهلوانی So stehn beide Wörter GLEICHBEDEUTEND Sh. 1750, 11. 13. Vgl. ابرپهلوانی von der SPRACHE 2041, 6 v. u. (Zeit Khosrav II.), ferner پهلوانی سخن 1766, 5 v. u. دفتر پهلوانی 1766, 4 v. u. und پهلوانی زبان Sh. 39, 11 = Vull. 51, 9; 39, 3 v. u = V. 52, 5; 432, 9 = V. 602, 5; cf. 921, 6 = V. 1233, 10; Sh. 2134, 13. Nach FİRDAUSI'S Ausdrucksweise wird dieses Pehlevî, oder Pehlevânî sowohl in der alten Heldenzeit, z. B. von *Siyâvalshsh* gesprochen als noch später unter den Sasaniden. Es ist deutlich die alte Sprache, wie sie vor dem Islâm gesprochen wurde, andere Unterschiede kennt FİRDAUSI nicht. Man muss sich dieselbe dem Neupersischen ziemlich ähnlich denken, wie schon OLSHAUSEN gesagt hat. Ob wir nun unter diesem gesprochenen und geschriebenen Pehlevî 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 FİRDAUSI citierten Pehlevîwörter sämtlich INDOGERMANISCH sind, wie dies nachfolgende Zusammenstellung zeigen wird.

Shâh. 22, 10 (Turner Macan) = Vullers 28, 9 lesen wir das Pehlevi-zahlwort بیور und den Königsnamen بیورسپ, dessen beide Bestandteile auf die avestischen Wörter **سپند** 10,000 und **سپند** *Pferd* zurückgehen. Shâh. 39, 11 = Vullers 51, 9 erklärt FİRDAUSI durch das aräbische **دجلة**, was der Name des Flusses TIGRIS ist, das Pehleviwort **اروند**, das nichts anderes ist als das im Avesta so häufig gebrauchte **سرایند** *schnell, stark*. Shâh. 39, 3 v. u. = Vullers 52, 5 begegnet uns der Ortsname **گنگ دز هوخت** Diese Pehlevîwörter überträgt FİRDAUSI durch die arabischen **بيت المقدس**, Beit-ul-muqaddas oder das geheiligte Haus. Eine ältere Form **وسپردند** aus dem Minôkhired führt SPIEGEL in seiner Parsîgrammatik 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 **وژند**, das mit dem *Kaündizh* des Minôkhired und dem *Gangdiz* des

Shâhnâme identisch sein dürfte und jedesfalls im Norden Erâns zu suchen ist, wo auch die Chinesen ein Reich *Khañkiu* kennen. Das Wort دژ ist sicherlich von der avestischen Wurzel. *دژ* *aufhäufen, aufwerfen* = Skr. *dih* abzuleiten. Im Altpersischen deutet noch die Nominalform *didâ*, Festung auf die Wurzel hin, ebenso im Neupersischen دژ *arw, castellum*. Dass endlich هوجت = *هوجت* nichts anderes sein kann als das avestische *هوجت* *heiliges Wort*, liegt auf der Hand. Weiter wird auch Shâh. 910, 6 = Vullers 1283, 10 die Stadt کندژ, eine jüngere Form des Namens, die wohl der älteren *Kañdizh* gleichzusetzen ist, als identisch mit der Stadt BAIKAND in der Nähe von BOKHÂRÂ erwähnt. Endlich weise ich noch hin auf eine Pehlevîglosse aus dem Kampfe Rustems mit Kak, einer Episode, die nicht von FIRDAUSÎ herrührt, wo das Pehlevîwort کنگ durch das aräbische حصن, *locus munitus* erläutert wird.

Die Ausdrücke پهلوی und پارسی als Bezeichnung zweier Sprachen NEBEN EINANDER habe ich nur einmal gefunden, nämlich Shâh. 2029, 10, wo dem Wächter des KHOSRAV II. befohlen wird, er solle nur in seiner Gegenwart Jemanden mit dem Shâh reden lassen, es möge PEHLEVÎ oder PARSÎ sein.

اگر پارسی گوید ار پهلوی

Diese Stelle scheint allerdings darauf hinzudeuten, dass man in jener Zeit am persischen Hofe bald in der einen, bald in der andern Sprache verkehrte. So wird von FIRDAUSÎ auch schon ein Schreiben in PARSÎ von der Hand des KHOSRAV I. erwähnt Shâh. 1798, 7 Nirgends geht aber aus den Andeutungen persischer Schriftsteller hervor, dass PEHLEVÎ etwas anderes als eine ERÂNISCHE Sprache gewesen sei.

EUGEN WILHELM.

THE PAHLAVI JĀMASP-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 panāsh-i Hōrmazd khudāi dādār-i vah kīrfah-kar mīnūān gētiyān mahist ameshāsfendān āvānī īzdān-i mīnūān u īzdān-i gētiyān didī nīk u parānash u pīrūzgarash u dōstash u bēsh-zanūshnash u hū-bāmash u khārash u nīkash u har vahān shnāyish u azbāyish ān chi nīrang u hamānīm vash u firūzkarash dādār Hōrmazd khudāi kīrfah-kar mīnūān gētiyān mahist afzūnūtum ameshāsfendān khudāyān hū-dāgān dīn-i vah-i Māzdayasnān ashōān vahān avazārān avazūnyān frōhar u hamā īzdān-i mīnūān īzdān-i gētiyān āvādāsh-i vah dādār Ōrmazd ashō hand.

Īn ashnād-kar² Jāmāspī khwānand pa ān gāh navisht kih Vishtāsp shāh dahyūvad būd, azash dīn ravā jad, azash khudāi bī pa sparūk kard, azash ōi hushmandān buzurg kārīzār avā paristāsh khānānbūdi, azash Jāmāsp Ādarpādakān kih vatarān rūdastā chūn pas az Zaratusht Asfentamān mōbadān mōbad Jāmāsp būd, azashūn Jāmāsp paidāyish khyānand.

Ān az pas Vishtāsp shāh, pa zīvishn-i Zaratusht, ēdūn guft : Man Ōrmazd rā farmān Jāmāsp rā dānā kard, hamā dānad. Pas pēsh-i Vishtāsp shāh Jāmāsp raft u īdūn guft: Man hamā dānam az anōsbah-rawān Zaratusht Asfentāmān, kū īn chi dānā kū īn yak ō damastān kih

¹ As folios 1-16, 20-26, and 32 were missing in the DP. (Dastur Peshotanji's) MS., the text, thus lost, is supplied from the Persian-Pāzand (or Pārsi) version in Haug'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 Pārsi version contains several mis-readings of the Pahlavi, such as *sh* for the abstract suffix *ih*; this error, and some others when noticed in the Pārsi text, are italicized, as well as defective words rectified in the Pahlavi text.

² For *ayād-kār*.

ārad chand srishk, u kōh chand, u zamīn chand, u dasht chand, u daryā davārīd, in chi dānēd kih pa ōrvarān u gūfah chand, u shīkūfah chand, u ōrvar darakht andar gēhān ast; in chi dānā kū āsmān star rā chand har yak star rā pa tan chand kih khwēsh; in chi dānā ku andar ramah-i gōspendān u gāvān, siyāh mūī chand u mūī safēd chand, mūī shumār hamā dānam. Ōrmazd rā farmān pursīd gāh-i gēhān tā sar (3)-i pāsukh chahārum.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Chi hamā bēd, u chi hamā būd, u hast bah guzasht u akanār gūī?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Shinū dahyavad, ān chi hamā būd āwāj Hōrmazd andar rōshanāī, u rōshanāī az Ōrmazd ān bēd kash Hōrmazd andar khvānēd, chi azash dīn rabāyishn būd; azash zamān hamā būdash Ōrmazd būd, chūn hast mīnū rāīnidārash. Ameshāsfendān, izdān, āwānīchi har dām u dahishn-i vah Ōrmazdāfrīd bakhshīd, bah āvēzhash frāz dād vīnīd az rōshanī u tārīkī būd; Ahrīman chi kirm humānā andar tārīkī, ēdūn chūn kirm andar pur ba-ham būsēd; Ahrīman pa farjām pa avasāyad, u agar chi zan Ganā-mīnū bēd, nah ānō dāmī dahishn anāghrā chish-i gētī, tā nuh hazār sāl, pa gumīzash ravēd, chi nah az yak gōhar hand, chi az rōshanī u tārīkī az rōshanī hū-bandash vakhshash har nekash rāmishn. Az tārīkī har anāghash kih hand, jud-gōharī rā, yak ō dūd hamēstār u hamīshasni hand, chūn sardī awā garmī u gandagī awā hū-bōī, u tārīkī awā rōshanī, āwānīchi har vatārī awā bahī, az chi in awā shāyad dānēd kih nah ham-nīruī ham-gōhar hand, chi ham-gōhar nah chūnash gōhar hamēstār, nah pa avazivanīdār nīrōī chi dādār band, ēdūn chūn aj kih ōī aj rasad, vād kih ōī vād rasad, ātash kih ōī ātash rasad, ham gōhar rā yak dūdīgar rā afzāyish girēd, anāghrā chi jud gōhar hand; rōshanī kih ōī tārīkī, hū-bōī kih ōī gandī, garmī kih ōī sardī, u khushkī kih ōī tarī rasad ū rashīd kunam kunēd.

Pursid Gushtāsp shāh kū: Hōrmazd dām kih nukhust āfrīd, azash gētī nukhust chi dād?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Hōrmazd nukhust dām ameshāsfendān

dād, chi chūn gujastab Ahrīman andar tārīkī ō ham būd, Ormazd pa ān vah-minishnū vah-dānishnū avar minīd, az ān vah-minishnū Vohuman frāz dād, anāghrū Vohuman nām chi az vah-minishnū Ōrmazd bi-bud, Vohuman ashaḥī bi-sitāyad, az ān ashaḥī Vohuman bi-sitāyad Ardavahisht frāz būd; pas Ardībahisht ashaḥī bi-sitāyad, az ān sitāyishn Shahrīvar chūn hast minū; Ōrmazd az Shahrīvar Asfandārmad, u az Asfandārmad Khurdād, u az Khurdād Amardād, yak az dadīgar, paīdā būd; yak az dūd hast bi-būd chi chirāgh az chirāgh gīrad, az ān chirāgh kam nah bēd, dūdīgar ān avazānī mad; azash ōshān ameshāsfendān, yak az dūd pa īn āyīn by-āvarēd; azash avīzhah kih dānā bīnā vazīdār u farzānah dād, ōshān nishast havash dārad, guft kū : Bun-i khudā u dastūr kih sazad būdan; pas ameshāsfendān pa nām-chisht Ardībahisht guft yak jāvidānī ō hamā būd u hamā bēd, ān amā khudā u dastūr yūhā¹ dādār Hōrmazd ō mān rānīdār yūhī² kat amā dād āfrīd az kwēsh-minishnū frūrūn az-ēshān pa-ham dād stāyish yak avā dūd, Ormazd pa khudāyish bah minīd, u Ormazd vazārishn īn kih khudāi dānā, u kash khudāi khvēsh paīdā kard būd; azash az dām-i gēti nakhust āsmāu, dūdīgar āv, sadīgar zamīn, chahārum aūrvar, panjum gōspend, shashum mardum dād; azash mīrad avā ravishn-i ameshāsfendān pa khūrishnash-i pur-rūmishnash bi-kard; azash gahanbūr nām nihād; azash nakhust gāv, dūdīgar Gayōmard dād; az padvand-i ān gāv dvīsat u hashtād u dō sardah stōr u gōspend by-āfrīd kih patyārah ō dām mad; nakhust ōi gāv az ān gāvān hand sard az sard bi-būd, kih ōi Gayōmard mad. Pūsar murd³ pa jāi mardum az tokhm-i Gayōmard rawāyish kirfah az zamīn avar āmad: panjāh sāl ān būd, kih shān zanish u shavīshn na-būd; u navad u hasht sāl, u hasht māh, ān būd kih shān zanish u shavīsh kard; az ēshān haft shikanbah farzand dōgāuah bi-zād, yak mādah u yak nar bi-būd; yak bah dadīgar pa zanish u shavīshn brād hand, u padvand rūbīshn-i jānvarān gēti az ōshān āb bi-būd. Īn hast dām dahīshnash u patyārah mad azash u dām gumīkht bi-būd, tā ristākhēz tan-i pas-īn ān pālūd na shavad. Īn gōhar chunīn guftash ashō Zaratusht jud dēv īn āyīn avāz ō ham

¹ Pers. *tūi*.² Pers. *tū hasti*.³ Pers. *murd*.

āyad, andar būd khrāstarān, ān chi kih bah ān pīrūzash ān būkhtash pa ān hamāvandash.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh az Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū : Nukhust dahyūvad khudāi kih būd ? Ōshān khudāyān yak yak ravishn ravishn chi būd ? Az-ēshān dīn u dād sālārash pādshāh chūn būd, u chūn kard ?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū : Nukhust khudāi Gayōmard shāh būd, sih hazār sāl andar apatyārash, u sī sāl patyārash hand ash zivast, azash kār dādīstān chunān būd, az dīn paīdā dānist narm būd, ham chunīnash patyārash avar mad pa jāi murd azash pa zamān andar bapadīrashnash ēdūn kū nēk chūn man az kam ashahī dahish rā patyārash avar mad ; azash tokhm bah aūrvar shud, aūrvar bah na pazīraft, ba zamīn shud, zamīn na pazīraft ; sī sāl andar zamīn būd. Pas ravāsh karfah az zamīn abrūst, az-ēshān nakhust zād shatīd, ran az avīd, mard u zan bah paivand sīm nah murd bah paivand pa Hōshang, mard u zan zād, chihal sāl khudāi kard avar būm haft. Hōshang būd pēshdād, kih dad-i khudāyish pēsh avar Vākard, azash haft hēshm bi-zad, u yak drūj avar kard. U az Hōshang Vīvīgahān mard u zan zād ; ōi Vīngahān būd, ōi chūn parī būd, ash pa dām-i dādār frāz girift. zād Kakhkhumūrap, u azash chi Spendīvar Tahmuras būd zād kash gardad, īn padash avar haft kishvar sī sāl Kheshm-i Ahriman pa bārā-ē humānā azīr rānī dāsht, sī sāl bīch gunah na tavūnast kardan ; azash vash zad shāh u parī u dēv ; azash shāh az hamī rasnash u ham nishastash-i mardumān judā kard. Az Vīvīgahān mard u zan zād, Jam u Jamī zād, u Jamshēd-i hūram būd, pur khūrah u rajāvand tagīsh¹ parvāvān pīrōzgarash ; azash avar girift haft kishvar pa khudāyish avar mardumān u dēvān haftsad sāl u hafdah sāl u haft māh ; pa ān rōzgār abar u vād u vārān andar farmān-i ō būd ; azash shāh-i dēv u drūj pa parīstīshūn bandah ōi mardumān dād, dēvān kard, mardumān khīrd-i mardum andar āsāyish-i kām zīvīshnash bud hand. Pa ān Jam khudāyish nah sarmā būd, nah garmā, nah zarmā,² nah margash, nah arīshk būd, dēvān dād īn hamā būd hand bah ōi kih az kār avāj dāsht īstādah hand. Azash haft parī kih pa star kū rōshan ravad, az

¹ Pers. *zūrāvar*.

² Pers. *pīri*.

paristārakān ōi stārakān kōkhshinānd, chashm jud az kīnān āvānī
 girift zivandān kard, azash kīnān pa yak chashm kūr kard, azash
 padmān az ōshān avāj ēstad; azash sarmā u garmā har chish avāj
 padmān kard; azash gēbān parāvāntar¹ bi-kard pa bundash haftsad
 sāl u hafdah sāl u haft māh andar ān-i khvēsh dādār hū-sipās bi-būd;
 sad sāl parī nihān-rūbishnash andar daryā raft, avā Jam ratī; pas chi
 az ān chūn bū-sipās khvāst gavishn būd, zanish varj khurah azash
 āzār būd; ōi giriftārash mad gujistah Azh-dahāk, kih sbān Bēvarāsp
 chi khvānand, avā spēdī dar khānah chi vas dēv chi andar girift pa
 ard burīd hazār tēgh, azash avar girift; khudāi-i Azh-dahāk sih zavar,²
 shash chashm, hazār zavastār,³ avar būm-i haft kishvar, avar dēvān
 u mardūmān, hazār sāl; azash vanāh u ziyān u anūghash pa mardumān
 angām kard; azash har roz dō mard-i javān bi-girift, hājat-i ān da-
 mārash pa gardan būd, azash maghz-i mardumān sēr kard; pas
 khūd nān khūrd; azash anūghash angām numūdan, azat was adādīsh
 avēzbah jamā kunishnash pa-mardumān angām kard andākht. U bundash
 hazār sāl kam yak nīmroz, u Farīdūn Ātyyān Jam dān khvēshbāndān
 shud; azash, pa kīn-i Jam, Bēvarāsp girift, pa ān shikuftum band pa
 kōh-i Damāvand bast; khvēsh varj hand-ash tāgīsh Farīdūn khudāsh
 frāz girift ba-kishvar-i Khanīras, avar dēvān u mardumān, pānsad sāl;
 azash Ōrmazd dīn pazīraft, azash afsūn nīrang u darmān az Ōrmazd
 āmūkht, vash dōstash u bēsh- zivashnash pa dāmūn-i Hōrmazd kard,
 azash farmūd, u ōi mardumān kū mardumān-inak khvēsh zivēd ravēd
 pa khvēshkārash tukhshēd, aztān nīst avā dēvān kūr kardand, nah
 khīrd nah hamīsh nah dushārmash avā khūd yak avā dōam pa
 dūshārmash dādīstān hū-parastīsh zivēd rānēd, dād-i frārūn girēd,
 az ān-i avārūn bih varavēd,⁴ chi shumā avā dēvān chish chi kūr nīst,
 gūh yak Māzandar, yak Hēzand daryā, u pa pā-i ōi dārad ōi kishvar-i
 Khanīras āmadand; az-ēshān mardumān Hēzand giriftāh hast, u khīrd
 pas mardumān bah girzishn-i Māzandarūn ōi pēsh-i Farīdūn āmad
 hand az-ēshān guft kih: Azh-dahāk khudā-i vatar būd az har aīsh;
 azash dushman mūrēv āvūj dāsht; tū dāshtan na-tavūn. Pas Farīdūn
 ōi nazdīk-i Māzandarūn shud, azash ōi ōshān guft kih: Mardum

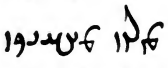
¹ Pers. *farukh*.² *zabān dahān*.³ *mard zūr*.⁴ *garavēd*.

az-în kishvar mâ girêd, pa avêzbah dānîsh bi-shayêd. Ōshân guft ku : Ēmā az îdar bih na shavîm, nah chi îdar zîvand hilam. U Farîdûn kash pa ân âyîn shinîd pa varj khurah ân aîsh az yazad avar mad êstād, andwā¹ avar shud ; azash vîni pazaft,² azash az har kûst yak vîni sang yak chand hazār min afzûntar har yak chand kôh yak avar ōshân afgand ; îshân Māzandarān hūras³ az-în kishvar apêdā bûd hand. U az Farîdûn zād sih pûs, Salm u Tûr u Īrach nām bûd hand ; azash har sih ōi pêsh khwând, ōi ōshân yak yak guft kû : Gêhân avar shumā hamā ba-khashm har yakê ân âtân vah shahîd khwâbêd tâ tân navash dahan ; Salm vash sêj bûsh, Tûr tagî, u Īrach az-ân chînash khurah kyāu avar bûd dād dîn khwâst. Farîdûn guft kû : Ēdûn chandān khwâst, atân ham-gunah ba-rasād. Zamîn-i Arûm, tâ ōi daryā u bār, ōi Salm dād ; u Turkistân ba-vahāj, tâ ōi daryā bār, ba Tûr dād ; Irân shahar u Hindugān, tâ daryā bār, ōi Īrach mad. Farîdûn andar zanān anāgh ō sitāyam az sar-i khwêsh êstad, pa ân Īrach sar hand, guft kû : Nîst ân-i man khûrah pa ân-i Īrach sar tâ hāvanān pursî kard kardārash hamā zîvandash-i tû farzandān-i tû avar farzandān-i Salm u Tûr, u khudāyash u pādshāhash bād, Salm u Tûr kih shān pa ân ān dîd, guft kû : Īn chih bûd Farîdûn pad-i amā kard, kash sālārash na ōi farzand-i mas, na ōi farzand-i miyānah dād, bah ōi farzand-i kas dād. Az-êshân Īrach, brād-i khûd, avazad, farzandān-i hūbakhtagūn ba-kanîzak yak, Vîrak nām, tâ hieh zîvand bah nah halam. Pas Farîdûn ân kanîzak bah nihān hamā parvard ; az padvand-i ân kanîzak andar kôh pinhān mānad sîhşad u sî sāl, sî hazār mardum bi-shud ba-sālārash-i Mānashvyār u farmān-i Neryōsang ōi Īrân shahar āmad hand ; az êshân bahār Īrach khvâst, az êshân Salm u Tûr avazad. Mānashvyār Īrach pa khudāyash-i Īrân shahar, azshân Mānashvyār anāghrā nām kard, ebish chihar pa ân Īrach mānast ; az êshân guft kû : Mānand bah chihar pa chiharah-i Īrach, azash kard, u sad u bîst sāl khudāyash andar khudāyash-i ō gêhân āvādān, pur-nêkash, avî-bîm bûd. Andar vahān khudāyash-i Mānashvyār, āvānī Afrāsyāb-i Tûr jādū dvāzdah sāl pādshāhî êstadi Mānashvyār, āvānī Īrach andar kôh-i Padashkhwārgar zîvishnah bûdah hand. Pas Sfindārmad ōi gêt-i

¹ Pers. *andûh*.² *bi-suft*.³ *bi-zad*.

karōsh vast, az-ēshān vas avazār chahār parhēz yārash jāvānī mīnūān-i vah zamīn az Afrāsyāb avāj sitad. Pas Mānashvyār Azō bin Tahmāspān kard panch sāl; u Kai-Kubād-i Kayān sad sāl; u Kai-Kāūs sad u panjāh sāl; Kai-Khusrō Syāvakhshān shast sāl; u Kai Lahurāsp sad u bist sāl; az Kai Lahurāsp khudāi ōi shumā by-āyad.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh ōi Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Ōshān mardumān pa Arzah, u Shavah, u Fradadafsh, u Vīdadafsh, u Vōrūbarsht, u Vōrūzarsht jud jud dād ravishn chi pa jīm kih ēstad? Az-ēshān khūrishn bar ham padmūzan chūn? Az-ēshān zīvandash chand mīrand? Ōi 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 khudāyash faristēd; az-ēshān dād bahash u dīn pōryō-dkēshash; az-ēshān zīvandash vas vas hast az-ēshān kih sī-sad sāl bī-zīvand; az shān kār bār nēkash az  mūrū māhī vas pa kām-i ōshān khudā sālār Srōsh; ō kih mīrand ashō band; ō ān kih āwānī kishvar hast pa kōh-mānishn, u hast aūrvar-mānishn, hast u yār hast u khīr hast u vahisht hast, u dūzakh na-shavand.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ōshān mardumān kih pa Alburz, ān-chi pa Alburz ōi ān kust mānand, ēshān dād u varzishn chi? u zīvishn chi u chūn?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Ōshān mardumān ēshān jāi rōshan-khūsh har nēkash hast, az-ēshān zīvandash vas khudā yār bahdīn ravān dōst u dīn dōst hand, az ēshān khudā dahyūvad Srōsh, az ēshān patyārah kam, kih mīrand ashō band.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ēshān mardumān bah Kangdizh, ān chih pa Var-i Jamkard, ān chih pa Īrān-vēj mānand, ēshān dād u dīn u ravishn u zīvandash u khūrishn chūn? u kih mīrand ravān ō kih shavand?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Kangdizh gēhūnash bāmī kard avar kamār-i dēvān, azash rah-i vīrān¹ pīrāmū haft-sad farsang, azash haft firast

¹ *khālis*.

hast, nakhust āhinīn, dōdīgar rūyīn, sadīgar pūlādīn, chahārum burīnjīn, panjum kāusakīn,¹ shashum sīmīn, haftum zarīn; azash kushk gāh sīmīn, azash kih zarīn barham-and; azash haft margh-zār andar vas nekash u parvar; azash haft rūd bālā az andarūn by-āyad: ān jā hamīshah bahār āvādī-chi darakht pa bār; azash sarmā u garmā: ēstād, nah bēd. Azash avānī patyārah kam mānand u khūb zīvishn u yār-i bah-dīn hand; az-ēshān dād bahish, u dīn pōryōdkēshash; az-ēshān zīvandash vas kih mirand ashō hand. Azshān rad Pēshōtan -bāmi shumā pūs, u khudā u sālār Khusrōb; ēshān gēhān u mardumān pa Var-i Jamkard hamā bah-dīn, ravān-dōst, kirfah-kar hand; azshān zīvandash vas hast sī-sad sūl bi-zīvēd; pa har chihal sūl, az mard-ē, u zan-ē, farzand-ē bi-zāyad; azshān patyārah kam; andar ān aē kih Malkūs jādū damastān aēdūn shikuft mīrad bēd, mardum u avānī stōr u jānvar pa-zāyast bi uftēnd, u mardum u avānī stor u jānvar az ānō by-āzard, ēshān āvāz khursand. U mardum pah Īrān-vēj mānand hamā yār-i bah-dīn: az-ēshān bar nek, u dād, dām, mūrvān, māhīn, gāō, u gōspend vas; u dah māh ānjā damastān u dō māh hāmīn, u ān chih dō māh sard; azshān patyārah zamastān u mār-i āvi vas bēd: kih mīrand ashō hand, u az-ēshān zīvandash haftād sāl.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ōshān mardumān pah Hindūgān u Chīnyān u Turkistān u Tāzīgān u Barbaristān, jud jud, dād u ravishn chih? Azshān zīvandash nekash chūn? Kih mīrand ō kih afganad? Azshān ravān ō kih shavand?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Hindūgān shahar buzurg hast, u sard hast u garm hast, u tar hast u khushk hast; dār u darakht hast; kih dasht sakht hast, kih niyaz hast, kih ēshān zīvishnash az barīnj hast, u kih az shir-i gāō hast, kih az tokhmā khurand; azshān, kēsh u dād u ravishn vas u hast pah nīmah-i Aūrmazd u hast pa nīmah-i Ahrīman jādūyash āshkārā kunand; u kih mīrand hast kih andar zamīn nihān kunand, u hast ōi āv afganand, u hast pah ātash bi-sozand; u har kih nah hū-dīn ōi dūzakh shavand. U Chīnastān shaharhā-i buzurg vasī zar, vas muskh, vas gōhar, vas ān-chish andar band kard ōi nīz amān bār yak vinash estād band, u but paristand; kih mīrand darvand hand.

¹ *kusah*.

andar-ān zamān ravān Garōthmānī, ayā nah haft hargiz darōgh guft ayāō, nah?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Man īn āgāhash az dīn-i Aūrmazd u Zaratusht khūsh mad ēstad, u īn kūdash u zīrakash ōi man chūn ān mard kih ōi shumā dahyūvad khūdāyash ēstad; avam nah az padar nah az mādar ^۱ vandādam bah ōi kas chāshīdan ōi kardan tavān avam īn kūdash u āgāhash aēdūn khūsh mad ēstad, kih īn har āhanah² mardum hamā rōz zād u mīrad, īn kū chih nām, u kih pūs, u az kadām tukhm u chih ēshān, u pah kadām akhtār yār, u kadām avakhtār hamīmāl, az ēshān zan u farzand u zubān nakhust, u khudāyash u pādshāhash chand, chūn, chih āyīn, u ān chih tā frashakard u tan-i pasīn dānam; avam ōi dahyūvadān mardumān chāshīdan ōi kard tūbān, chūn man Jāmāsp pah ān zamān ravān Garōthmānī, avam hargiz darōgh na-guft, nah chih gōyam.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Īn hamā dahyūvadān u khudāyān īn frāvān gāh chand sāl nishīnam? avmān kār kīrfah chih pah khoēsh-kārtar sazaḍ frāz girift kardan?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Pa-kār kīrfah kardan tukhshash bāyad farmūdan ^۳ aēdūn būd hā pah padīd bēd, u ān ^۴ Aūrmazd u Zaratusht padīraft, padash avīrtār tukhshīd, u az har vanāh frōd minad, pēsh parhēzēd; īn hamā mardumān kih shān shumā avar khudāi u pādshāh hū mīnad u gāh avī bīm dāsht, azshān ^۵ bē-kār-i mādar-i mā chih har mardum andar gēti barhān āmadan, barhān bi-shavad; ebish chih avā bah nah barēd, jud az kunishn-i nek-i shumā, chih chand tawān-hā, kār kīrfah avāzī^۶ mā ōi hilad, chih zūd bēd, kih tān pah kīrfah kardan kāmū avad ān zamān nah bēd, chih tūn gōyam; shumā dahyūvadān kū pēsh az yak sāl ō vadīrānash u natīstas^۷ rasad.

Pas Gushtāsp shāh, kash ān ashnūd, ^۸ kār kard, andūh-khvār man azash pūs u dukht az si azash zūdah hand, u

^۱ yāft.^۲ تحقیق.^۳ pusht.^۴ dgar.^۵ ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰۰ (?)

avānī b-ān bavishnān u farzandān kasūn ān kār ashnūd, hamā pah 𐬔𐬀 ō tamām shavēd shudah hand. Ō kih Gushtāsp khurah, andar ōī giriftan, andūh afganand, u gunāhgār yak afganand, u kār girand.

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

U pas Gushtāsp shāh, ham-chūn 𐬔𐬀 būd, ō Jāmāsp guft kū: Amā īn kih mān īn dīn-i avēzhah padīraft, andar gēhān ravā kard, ō mān hand, u dēv drūj u 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬎 zadan avazadan az Īrān shahar bīrūn kard u Asfendyār, man farzand, avāj dāsht, u vas ham man sipāh u dahan az bahar-i dīn rā avazadan avamān dāsht pah shān īn āvāyad būd, chūn hūbīn ō paidā būd, u man, Vishtāsp az-īn gāh u az-īn gēhān pah sūd rōzkār judā būd, man az-īn brādarān u farzandān u mān bōshān u takht u khurah-i Kayān hand, stāyam dāvar vad Kayān.

U pas Jāmāsp guft kū: Ōshān ravān girād, īn khūrah-i Kayān pah shumā avar nishastēd, mā āzārēd, u dard bahar ōī tan mā hilēd, o pah yazishn dahishn khvēsh tan andar rāmishn dārēd, avā farzandān u brādarān b-ān bavistān mēzad kunēd, āyīn gāh u khūb pah rāmishn dārēd, chih zīvandishn basīm nēk u yak sāl nah az hazār sāl andar abasīmask avadān¹ īn chih gōyam kih marg kash avāz na-girēd, u zamān na dādēd, chih Gayōmard būd Aūrmazd-dād, kash zamān mad, Ahriman pah marechinīd, u dadīgar yak yak khudāyān pēsh būdah hand, kash ān zamān frāz mad, chish az kardan na-tavān, pa nāmchist Tahmōrap kash sī sāl Ahriman bah bār dāsht, u chih kash khvēsh frāz mad, khvēsh tan az khūsh avā dāsht na-tavān. U pas Gushtāsp, kih shān azash shinīd, andar khvēsh tan 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬎 padīraft, azash andar gēhān sipāsdāras^h kardan, u Jāmāsp āfrīn kard.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Az pas hamā dahyūvadān u khudāyān īn farāvān gāh kih kadām khudā dārad jud chih? u kih pas az tukhm kadām band? u har yak kishvar chand sāl dārēnd? kih ān-i nēk, u

¹ ākhar.

kih ān-i vatar? pas az mā chih angām u zamānah rasad? iū dīn-i Māzdayasnān tā kī chand sāl ravad?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū : Tān gōyam, pas az shumā az īn frāvān gāh ōi Ardībahisht Asfendyūr rasad, u dārad kishvar pah khudāyash sad u dvāzdah sāl, avā dām, kash Chihar-āzād chih khvānand, sī sāl khudāyash bi-gīrad. Dārāi Dārāyān sēzdah sāl khudāyash bi-gīrad. Pas az kih ōi Askandar-i Rūmī sēzdah sāl. Pas bah ō tukhmī u dād rasad, ō Khusrō ba-Ardavān rasad, u az panand dovīst u hashtād u dō sāl. Pah ōshān khudāyān sar anūkash andak andak pas āyad, u nēkash sapar¹ yak, u kishvar andar āvādūnash avībimash, u mardum andar kūmah-zīvishnash dāsht ēstad band. U pas khudāyash ōi Ardashīr Būbakūn rasīd, dārad kishvar pah khudāyash chahārdah sāl. Shāpūr Ardashīr bīst sāl. Shāpūr Shāpūrān yak sāl. Aūrmazd dōd yak sāl u dō māh. Bahrām Bahrāmyān, yash khvāuand Sīkān shāh, chahal sāl. Narsī, Bahrām brādar, nuh sāl. Shāvar² Aūrmazdūn haftād u dō sāl. Ashādvarān haftād u panj sāl. Bahrām Shāvarān, khvānand Karmānshāh, yāzdah sāl. Shakūt Shādvarān³ bist u yak sāl u panj māh. Varahrām Shakūtān, kash Bahrām-gōr khvānand, bīst u sih sāl u dah māh. Shakūt⁴ Varahrām panjdah sāl u chahār māh. Pīrōz Shakūtān bīst u dō sāl. Līs⁵ Pīrōzān chahār sāl. Kobūd Pīrōzān avā sāl chihal dō. Jāmāsp Khāmīst chihal u haft sāl u haft māh u haft rōz. Aūrmazd Khusrōān duvāzdah sāl. Khusrōb Aūrmazdān, Avarvēc⁶ shāh sī u haft sāl. Kabūd Khusrōb, kash Shīrūyah khvānand, nuh sāl. Ardashīr, khūd vūstar-i Kabūdān, yak sāl u panj māh. Shakūt⁷ Shaharyār bīst sāl az ān frāz na-panand, ōshān khūd pah khūd bah avasīnand; pas pah āimand-i Tāzīgān avazārād varas az tukhmī hēshm u pah andak zūr u zūvār Irān shahar frāz gīrand sī-sad u hashtād u dō sāl u nuh māh u haft rōz u chahār sāl^{at}.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū : Īn dīn-i avēzah chand sāl ravā bēd ? u pas az ān chih aūbām u zamān rasad?

¹ ākhar.² Shāpur.³ Yazdakard i Shāpurān.⁴ Yazdakard.⁵ Palāsh.⁶ Parvēc.⁷ Yazdakard.

15

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THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF ZARATHUSHTRA.¹

Zarathuštra (Zoroaster), the founder of the Iranian religion of the invocers 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.²

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,³ who, by direction of Jahweh, the God of heaven,⁴ commanded the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem; and tradition allows the Magi, or Median priests, to worship the child Jesus,⁵ 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.

¹ Zarathuštra is the exact pronounciation 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 *thumb*, and *š* has a sound between *s* and *sh*.

² Mills: *The Initiative of the Avesta*. Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1899, p. 273.

³ The later Isaiah, xlv., 1.

⁴ Ezra, i. 2.

⁵ Matthew, ii., 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 Brisson⁶ was the first to collect all records of antiquity relating to the Prophet. Thomas Hyde⁷ quotes the statements of Eastern authors on Zoroaster. Adolf Rapp,⁸ 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.⁹

Professor Williams Jackson¹⁰ 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 subject¹¹ 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 Zât-spāram's Selections, written in the ninth century, and also from the Zartusht Nāmāh, written in the thirteenth century, in

⁶ *De regio Persarum principatu libri III.* Paris, 1590; with notes and index. New edition by Friedr. Sylburg, 1595 and 1606; also with Latin translation of the Greek citations, and revised index by I. Heinr. Lederlin. Strassburg 1710. Lib. II. Cap. 57 seq.

⁷ *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia.* Oxford 1700.

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

⁹ *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature* (in *Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler*), New York, 1894.

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).

¹¹ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xv., xvi., xvii.

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 Zarathuštra, 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 Khorāsān (pp. 118, 119). It is also hardly necessary, because of Pythagoras, to refer to the Desātīr 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. Tabarī also notices this opinion (648, 10), and Bishop Jesudādh (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

ابھاشتا = اوستا
ابھاشتا = اوستا

Syriac name Ermayē (Jeremiah) and Urmiyā, the birthplace of Zarathuštra, 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-vaējō, his residence at the court of his protector Wištāspa, the names of a number of members of his family and of the prince's court are noticed in the oldest parts of the Avesta, in the Gāthā poems, or metrical sermon-psalms, written in the Atropatenian dialect. The other portions of the Avesta 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 Zarathuštra'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 Sāsānian 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 Bundahishn (a cosmography), and which he has illustrated¹ 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.² 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 Sāsānian 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 Zarathuštra in their mind's eye, sometimes the founding of the religion, and sometimes the conversion of Wištāspa, or the death of the Prophet.

¹² Pahlavi Texts V, Oxford 1897, p. XXVII. *seq.* ; Jackson, p. 179. See also on that date, Sheriarji 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,¹⁵ 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 Avesta 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 (Ātropates) Mahraspēd, whose son Zarathuštra followed his father in his priestly office in the year 571 and could, therefore, pass as the Prophet Ukhshyad-ereta (Oshēdar-bāmī), appearing 1,000 years after the founding of the religion.¹⁶ 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 Avesta 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 Masūdi, 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

¹⁵ Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, II, 37. Compare Spiegel, Iranische Alterthumskunde, I, 193. Zeitschrift der morgenländ. Gesellschaft, XLV, 202. Justi, Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung, München, 11. Nov. 1888.

¹⁶ West, Pahlavi Texts V., p. XXXVII. On Atūrpāt see Livre d'Arda-Viraf traduit par M. A. Barthélemy, Paris 1887, p. 143.

Muhammadan authors, particularly Al-Bērūni, 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 Jelāl-ud-dīn Melekshāh), which proves their competence for such calculation.¹⁵

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 Irān 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 Sāsānians, 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 Achæmenians, and the mention of burying and burning the dead in Arachosia and Khorāsān (Chakhra) in the Awesta.¹⁶ And from this we may draw the conclusion that the Median custom extended only by degrees over Iran, and was particularly propagated by the Sāsānians who, by the help of the Magi (to whom their ancestor belonged),¹⁷ spread the strict observance of this custom through the kingdom.

¹⁵ Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, II, 524. Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Thomas, *Useful Tables*, p. 142. West, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, p. 121. Hyde, *Veter. Pers. Relig. Historia*, p. 194.

¹⁶ Wendidad I, 12 (48), 16 (66).

¹⁷ The prince of Istakhr (Persepolis) is called on pre-Sāsānian coins Fratakara ("the Firemaker"), later, *al-Hirbadh* ("the Priest"), anno 638, 644, Tabari 2546, 17. Belādhori, 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 Avesta, declares, which has been gained for science only in modern times, and the manuscripts of which are chiefly in Boubay, 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 Avesta contains the already-mentioned Gāthās which, as the Avesta expressly mentions (Yasna 57, 8), and which is universally allowed, originated among the disciples of Zarathuštra. 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.¹⁸

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 Avesta, 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 Pliny¹⁹ already at the beginning of our era.

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

¹⁹ Plinius, Hist. Nat. 7, 15.

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.²⁰

How untrustworthy this legend (which has already been critically treated by Spiegel)²¹ is from an historical point of view, is shown by the attempt to connect Artaxerxes I (*Ardashīr-dirāzdest*) with Isfendiār, the son of *Wīštāspa*; whereby it is sought to connect this prince, or *Danghupaiti*, in Media, with the dynasty of the Achæmenians, 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 Nāmāh*, 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,²²) which contained the history of

²⁰ *Livre d'Ardā-Wirāf*, trad. par Barthélemy 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 copyist 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 : — ²⁴

“ From the north region, out of the north regions, rushed Angra-Mainyu (Ahriman), the death-fraught devil of devils (*daēuua*, Pers. *div*). 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 Būiti, 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 Dāitya,²⁶ acknowledged the Mazdayasnian religion. ’²⁷ The fiend rushed away from him confounded, the devil Būiti, 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 Wendidad XIX., 1 *seq.* Jackson, p. 51.

²⁷ According to later opinion, *ithyeja* (Pers. *sej*) 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, stones²⁸ 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?'²⁹

"Zarathustra 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 Kānsaoya³⁰ 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 Wadhaghna³¹ 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 *nogara*, which means a shepherd's crook with nine knots(?) that would imply Pers. *nuh-girih*.

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 Būdabishn and the Selections of Zāt-spāram, Dareji is the river in Airyana-vaejō, on whose banks the father of the prophet lived. The identification with the Darjā-i-Urd (Darmesteter) rests on the error that took the j (= y) in Darjā (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 Dīnā ī Mainū ī Khrat', edited by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjānā, Bombay, 1895, p. 80, 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.³² "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 Arezūra?'"³³

"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 Arezūra. 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.'"³⁴

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

³² YASNA IX, 16 (46).

³³ The mountain at the entrance to hell on the Demāwend.

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 squinter, a paw, etc. Also, in ancient Persian, the word *kāra* "state-army") is related to the German Heer, but a hostile army is *haina* (Sanskrit *śenā*).

refuge with Wištāspa, 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 Wištāspa to Bactria, and, on account of the connection of his dynasty with the Achæmenian, 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 Avesta 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 "hich 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.

³⁵ Compare Mills' copious essay in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, p. 273.

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 (Paradeisos) 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,³⁶ Haēchadaspa occurs in the Gāthās, Chakhshni and Pourušhaspa in other portions of the Avesta: the family is called *Spitamāwihō* 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 Zarathušhtrotēma (*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

³⁶ Jackson, *seq.* 18. *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 393

³⁷ Bartholomae, *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.* 1, 182, n. 44. Jackson, 12, 13.

spiritual name, and they therefore called him Zōroastrēs, one half of which name would be the Greek pronunciation of Avesta *zāvare* (power, Persian *zār*), 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 Avesta, *Airyanem-vaējō*, which comprises the countries between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and great Media. This name is the Awetic term for Atropatene (Pahlawi, *Aturpātakān*, 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 Shīz, and during the winter Gandzak (now Leilan); and whose last descendant, Artawazd (Aw. *Ashawazdah*), 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 *kān*, "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

³⁸ Therefore the 'officina Ariorum,' comp. Jordanis *Getica*, ed. Mommsen, IV, 25, p. 60. Spiegel, *Commentar ueber das Awesta*, I. 8. It cannot be the same thing as Pers. *oakh*, "root."

³⁹ Stephanos Byzant. s. v. Ariana; comp. Strabo XV, 2, 8.

Zoroastrian writings of ancient and modern times, and those of the Muhammadan geographers and chroniclers⁴⁰, who usually call Urmiah 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 *athrava*, "priest of fire," *πέραιθος*,⁴¹ arises from this, that the legend transfers to Balkh (Baktra) the residence of King Wištāspa, to whose court the prophet proceeds from Āturpātākān. 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-

⁴⁰ Hamadhāni (Biblioth. Geograph. Arab. V. 285, 5. 286, 3. Ibn Khurdādhbih (ib. VI) 119, 17, 121, 12, note h.

⁴¹ Rapp. Zeitschrift der Morgenl. Ges. 19, 21. C. de Harlez, Verhandl. d. Berliner Orientalisten Congresses, Berlin, 1862, II, 2, 272.

⁴² Eusebios, see Jackson 243; comp. Gilmors. Ktesias. Lond. 1888, p. 20, 29 seq.

tain" (*shadi pīši*), the Kiz Kapān, westward from Takht-i Suleimān, or Shīz,⁴³ and to Shammuramat, 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 Ādharbaijān; 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 further on by Kephalion), of the Berosian Sibylla,⁴⁵ 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*, Avesta. *Airyānām khshathrem*), was divided into four groups of provinces, or countries,

⁴³ Billerbeck, das Sandschak Suleimania; 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 Spāhpetš (ancient Persian, *spādhapati*), commanders-in-chief, or governing field-m Marshals. The northern of these provinces contained Media and Atropatene, and is called by Khurdadbih and others that of Ādharbādhakān, or Ādharbaijān;⁴⁶ but, by Ibn Rosteh and Masudi, *Bākhtar*, "the north"⁴⁷ (Pahlawi, *apākhtar*; Avesta, *apākhtara*). In the so-called geography of Moses are also mentioned "the Scythians who are Apakhtarkh, 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 Apākhtara for Bākhtara. 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,⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁶ Tabari 894, in Nöldeke, Tabari's History of the Persians, 155. J. de Goeje Biblioth. Geograph. Arab. VI, 118.

⁴⁷ J. de Goeje, Bibl. VII, 103, 22. VIII, 31, 6.

⁴⁸ Commentaire sur le Yaçna. Paris, 1835. Notes, p. cxii.

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.⁴⁹ This statement, even if it should be uncertain, proves that the Babylonian star-worship had spread out over Iran. And to that the *Chaldaeorum 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 (Wahrām).⁵⁰ 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 moon⁵¹.

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 Mazdā, 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 Hyde⁵² 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

⁵² *Veterum Persarum relig. hist.*, 354.

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."⁵³

Important, however, here is the cult of the *sacred fire*,⁵⁴ 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, Sālīān, Shemākhā, and Bākū,⁵⁵ with the peninsula of Apsheron, and the island Swjatoi, therefore in Airyanem Waejō; 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,⁵⁶ 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 Ser⁵⁷), also at Nimrud and at the other side in Sinn,⁵⁸ at el-Fathah, where the river Tigris traverses the mountains of Hamrīn,⁵⁹ at Kirkuk or Mennis and Kufri, at Tūz Khurmatu,⁶⁰ between these two places, at Mendeli, to the east of Baghdād on the Pusht-i-Kuh,⁶¹ in Babylonia at Hit on the Euphrates.⁶² 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 Mazdā," was the emanation and the earthly sign of the sacred spirit

⁵³ Jackson, 150. Compare the grand account of the Jewish prophecy in Wellhausen's *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, Berlin 1895, 108.

⁵⁴ Istakhri (J. de Goeje, *Geogr. Arab. I.*, 190.

⁵⁵ Masūdi, *Kitāb at-tanbih* (*ib. VIII.*) 6, 13 *seq.*

⁵⁶ Clemens. Alex., ed. Frid. Sylburg. *Augd. Batav.* 1616, p. 32, l. 37.

⁵⁷ Strabo 738, ed. Meineke, 1028, 20.

⁵⁸ Map of Jones, *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* XV.

⁵⁹ Chesney, *Expedition to the river Euphrates*, Map No. 6.

⁶⁰ Curtius, 5, 1, 16. Ker Porter. *Travels*, 440. Rich, *Koordistan* 1, 22. 31. 2, 277.

⁶¹ Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1874, Heft 9, p. 344. Comp. Brisson, III, 94.

⁶² Plutarch's *Alexander*, Chap. XXXV. Comp. Maunsell, *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 Nāeir Khusrau, "the Kiblah or prayer-niche of the Dihkân."⁶⁵ Bel'ami⁶⁴ asserts, indeed, that the fire-cult comes from Atropatene, and Shahrastāni,⁶⁵ the historian of Oriental religions, agrees with Firdūsi, that the fire-temples are more ancient than Zoroaster and that the Parsi books and Firdūsi 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.⁶⁶ Samuel Johnson⁶⁷ 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 Māzenderān (in Avesta : *daewa māzaīnya*), who were especially attacked by Kai Kāūs (*Kawa Usa*). 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. Jamshēd made them build brick buildings, which points directly to the fact of the introduction of these things from foreign countries.⁶⁸ 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 *diw-lashkerān* or armies of devils.⁶⁹ The Mazenderanis, the neigh-

⁶⁵ Firdūsi, 1386, 2235. Ethé, Göttinger Nachrichten, 1882, 149, 14.

⁶⁴ Tabari transl. by Zotenberg, 3, 494.

⁶⁵ Ed. Haarbrücker Halle, 1850, 1, 281, 298.

⁶⁶ Layard, Nineveh and its remains, II, 441, 467. Monuments of Nineveh II, 24.

⁶⁷ Oriental Religions, Persia. Lond. 1825, p. 24, 30, 125, 144.

⁶⁸ Firdusi, 22, 44, 24, 34.

⁶⁹ Dorn, Caspia (Mem. de l'Acad., Imp. XXIII), Petersburg, 1875, p. 305, 56 %.

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 (*Hara-berzeaiti*) and the swamps of the lowlands. A mountain to the west of Āmul was formerly crowned by a fortress, Ispīrīz or Asprōz, whose commander, the Dīw-i-sepīd (the white devil) of Kūjūr was only conquered by Rustam after sustaining many dangerous adventures.⁷⁰ 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 Warena Chathrugaosha (the four-cornered), that is in Warek, three Farsangs east of Sāri,⁷¹ which is also called Gosh.⁷² 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 Zahbāk (Azhi-dahāka) to Shērchwān⁷³; his grave is in Tammīsha, which was on the borders of Tabaristān and Gurgān, 16 Farsangs from Sāri in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.⁷⁴ His sons are buried in Sāri.⁷⁵ 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 Āmul

⁷⁰ Firdusi, 325, 163, 327, 196. Rustam's Journey to Māzenderān is the prototype of Ispendīār's Adventures to the bronze castle (*Diz-i-rūn*) or Paikand in Tūrān (Marquart, Zeitschrift Morgenl. Gesellsch. 49, 639). Comp. Zahir-ed-dīn ed. Dorn, 136, 5. 10. Dorn, Caspia, 83. Melgunof, the Southern Shore of the Caspian Sea, 212.

⁷¹ Melgunof, 171. Warek, Zahir-ed-dīn, 11, 11.

⁷² By Firdusi, 64, 48, Gōsh (manuscripts give the reading Kōsh) is called the seat of Ferīdūn in Tammīsha; Zahir-ed-dīn, who quotes Firdusi's Distichon, has Kōsh (Gōsh)

⁷³ To the south of Demāwend, Firdusi, 60, 513. Zahir-ed-dīn, 291. 9. 6. Comp. Marquart, Zeitsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 49, 665.

⁷⁴ Firdusi, 64, 47. Zahir-ed-dīn, 12, 16. 266, 2. Yākūt, 3, 547, 14, 17. Melgunof 216. Tomaschek, historische Topographie von Persien, Wien, 1883, 60. 83. Spiegel, Iran, Alterth. 1, 544. Dorn, Caspia, 127b. 131b.

⁷⁵ Melgunof, 165.

(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 shews the type of the Mesopotamian gradient temples with Greek outlines⁷⁷; the tombs of the kings at Naksh-i Rostam are inspired by the Egyptian; the ground plan of the fire-temples as they appear in the quadratic buildings at Pasargadae, near Naksh-i Rostam, and in Naubandagān, 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 Ahrimanic monster, or of Hades⁸⁰ with a wolf's throat, a lion's forepaw, and birds-of-prey claws, so to speak a Patyāra 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 Avesta, allowed in a very

⁷⁶ Firdusi, 412, 482. 1639, 2519.

⁷⁷ George N. Curzon, *Persia*, II, Lond. 1892, 142, 190.

⁷⁸ Fellows, *Account of Discoveries in Asia Minor*, 112. Beudant und Niemann Reise in Lykien, Wien, 1884, 54, 109. Tab. 37. Justi, *Geschichte der Oriental. Völker* 412, 414, 453. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, Lond. 1882, 60.

⁷⁹ Sam. Johnson, *Oriental Religions*, I, 29. Blochet, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 38, 1898, p. 31.

⁸⁰ On Hades and Ahriman: Rapp, *Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellch.* 19, 1865 pp. 60, 79.

⁸¹ Observe the Nergal or Hades on the bronze plate from Palmyra: Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue Archéolog.* XII. Dec. 1879. Pl. XXV. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, I, 1895, 691. The figure walking: Dieulafoy, *Acropole de Susa*, repeated by Alwin Schultz, *Allgemeine Kunstgeschichte*, 1, 145.

fine essay⁸² that the Calendar of the Awesta, computed on the climatic and agricultural conditions of Bactria, would also suit Media. Ch. de Harlez⁸³ points out that the calendar of the Magi can only have originated in Media at a much later time.⁸⁴ Even if a Bactrian kingdom had existed before the Achæmenian, 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.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, Rōxanō, Spitamenes, Spithobates, 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.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 Wishtāspa, and from there the doctrines again returned westwards. Zoroaster's emigration is proved by his own words in the Gāthā Ushtawaiti (Yasna 46, 1): *Kām nemōi zām, kuthrā nemō ayēnī*, "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 hostile⁸⁷ to him, and is called "the

⁸² Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesell. 34, 715.

⁸³ Abhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten Congresses, 1882, II., 2, 270.

⁸⁴ Comp. Justi, Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 51, 250.

⁸⁵ Strabo, 11, 11, 3 (ed. Meineke 726, 9. seq.). Curtius, 4, 6, 3. Later authors, like the Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ, Eusebios, Ammianus, have the Hephthalian and other analogous nations in view.

⁸⁶ Strabo, 1, 2, 1; 2, 5, 12 (after Apollodoros of Artemita).

⁸⁷ Ya na, 36, 11; 48, 10.

wicked rulers of the land"; only his nearest relations embraced his doctrines,⁸⁸ and the divinity directs him to Wishtāspa,⁸⁹ who does not live in Bactria, but in another part of Media, for the family Spitāma is related to the Huwogwa, to whom Wishtāspa's Wezir Jāmāspa belongs, as he was the husband of Pouruchista, the Prophet's daughter⁹⁰; so it is imagined that Wishtāspa, 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.⁹¹ If Wishtāspa 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 Wishtāspa 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.* 15.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 14.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 17. Perhaps Zoroaster's non-in-law is a second Jāmāspa, the son or nephew of the Wezir.

⁹¹ Yasna, 32, 8. *FRÜRS. Jahrbücher*, 1897, p. 236.

kings are described as being devoted to a stepping-stone of the Mazdayasnian 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 Naudhar (Naotara),⁹² and according to the *Shāhnāme*h, Kobād (Kawāta) was considered a prince sent from God; but of Naotara's race still live Tusa and Wistakhma (Tūs and Gustehem in Firdūsi), who have, however, lost the *khwarenō*, or royal majesty.⁹³ Easily the fall of a dynasty may be traced here, and Wishtāspa descended from the race of Naotara⁹⁴ must be looked upon as the conqueror of the Kawi dynasty, whose title he adopts; but, as the Avesta testifies, in spite of belonging to the Naotairyan family, he was also related, through his father Lohrāsp, son of Kai Ogī, the son of Manus, to Kawi Pisina,⁹⁵ who ruled in Pārs, 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 governing, 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.⁹⁶ But the Avesta mentions a son of Khusrau, Ākhrūra,⁹⁷ 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*, 395.

⁹³ Compare Samuel I. 16, 14.

⁹⁴ *Yasht* 5, 98; 15, 35. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, V. 80. Jackson, 70, 192.

⁹⁵ A King Pāsīn of Dārābgerd in Pārs was conquered by the founder of the Sasanian dynasty; comp. *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 395.

⁹⁶ Firdusi, 1437 *seq.*

⁹⁷ Perhaps Akhrūra (with short a), Skr. Akhrūra.

that contradicts in a curious manner the etymological meaning of the word, which originally means "seeing, wise" (Greek *κοίω*, *εὖος-κόος*, *ἱππο-κόων*; 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.⁹⁸ If the Kawi dynasty reigned in Zoroaster's home, Wishtāspa 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* Wishtāspa. 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 (*fraoretā*),⁹⁹ the priesthood of Ragha remained under Zoroaster, then under Spentōdāta, as a priestly principality, we may presume that Spitāmās was at the head of it at the time of Kyros.¹⁰⁰ Thus, therefore, may the much-debated passage from Yasna 19, 18 (50 *seq.*) 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.

⁹⁸ Comp. Barthélemy, *Gujastak Abalish* (Bibl. de l'École des hautes études, 69) Paris, 1887, p. 57.

⁹⁹ The verb *war* (related to the German *wahr*, Russian *verja*, faith), from which *fraoretā* is derived, is used at the commencement of the Zoroastrian creed, and the chapters Yasna 13 and 14 are called the creed (*fraoretī*).

¹⁰⁰ Spiegel, *Zeitschrift der Morgenl. Gesellsch.* 35, 629. C. de Harlez, l. c. 275. Marquart, *Zeitschrift. d. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 49, 662. *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Ges. d. Wiss.*, III, 2, 127.

The Zoroaster in Ragha, taken as the successor to the Prophet in the priestly dignities, is called also Zarathushtrötema, the head Zoroaster.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.¹⁰² He most certainly died at his priestly see in Ragha, and the death by the sword of Arjāsp, 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.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.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 Bākhdbīm (accusative, Wendidād 1, 6), in the Pahlawi translation Bākhr, that is, Bākhī, 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

¹⁰¹ Spiegel, das. 631. Mills. The Zerd-Avesta (Sacred Books of the East, XXXI.), Oxford, 1887, 265. Jackson 203. Comp. Preussische Jahrbücher, 88, p. 260. Among the Sāsānians the high-priest (*Maupātān-Maupāt*) was the first man after the King, Masūdi Kitāb at-tanbih, 103, 15.

¹⁰² Spiegel, I, 706, 707.

¹⁰³ Jackson, 171, 172, 177. 218, 225.

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 *eredhvōdrafsa* "with waving banner," is thus explained, that a green silk banner waved from the Naubehār, which is not a Pyreum, but a Buddhist cloister, Nawawihāra "the new cloister."¹⁰⁵ The Buddhists usually placed banners on the Stūpas or Topes. Barmek, the ancestor of the renowned Barmekides, was the head of this cloister¹⁰⁶ 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 Antiochos 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.¹⁰⁷ To this time may belong the much-discussed Gaotema in the later Yasht 13.¹⁰⁸ 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 Achæmenians, the grandest seat of the Satraps, which was held by the king's brothers Tanyoxarkes, Masistes, Hyastaspes, and Dareios (later king, the second

¹⁰⁵ Garrez, *Journal Asiatique*, VI., 13, 179, 180. Justi, *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, 88, p. 62. *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.*, II., 403. A banner on the stupa is shown on a relief in Buddha Gaya. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, I., 9, Plate VI.

¹⁰⁶ Iran. *Namenbuch*. 64b; Al-Hamadhani (*Bibl. Geograph. Arab. V.*) 332, 13—324, 10. *Yakūbi* (*ib.* VII.) 288, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* 2, 1075. Spiegel, I., 1. 671; III., 717. Hertzberg, *Geschichte von Hellas und Rom*. Berlin, 1879 (*Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte*) 604. Jackson, 177.

¹⁰⁸ Comp. Blochet, *Revue*, 1898, XXXVIII, 27.

of this name), and lastly Bēssos (an Achæmenian, whose relationship is not defined). Bactria was chosen by Alexander for the wedding festivities at his marriage with Rōxanē, and thus became the capital of the immeasurable kingdom that united Asia and Europe.¹⁰⁹ Characteristic of the relationship between Buddhism and Parsecism is the legend of the holy cypress-tree which Gushtāsp planted before the house of the fire Mihr-burzīn, and which must have been originally a *Ficus religiosa* which appears in the Buddha legend.¹¹⁰ As Wishtāspa appears here, not in Bactria, but in Khorāsān, a province of the Parthians, so in the Awesta 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 Frazdānawa, and his brother *Aspāyaodhō Zairiwairish*, "the horse champion Zariadres" at the back of the water Dāitya, to Ardwi Sūra Anāhita, that she may give them the victory over *Arejadaspō Wan-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 Frazdānawa 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 Waraznūnik.¹¹¹ In other accounts¹¹² Wishtāspa offers a sacrifice on the Dāitya for victory over the Hwyaona (Khionian) Arejadaspa, and over the Hunu, from whom he liberated the religion. In the Gātbās¹¹³ he is called Kawā Wishtāspō Yāhi, "the victorious," and

¹⁰⁹ Curtius, 8, 4, 25. 10, 3, 12.

¹¹⁰ Jackson, 97. Firdusi, ed. Vullers, 1499, 75. Spiegel, Eran. Alterth. 1, 704. Hoffmann, Akten Syr. Märt. 297. Lefmann, Geschichte v. Indien (Onoken's Allgem Geschichte), 794.

¹¹¹ Mose Choren. 1, 11. Indjidjean, 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 Avesta. 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 Avesta and the revival of the religion; so we must place the Yasht under his reign (148—190). The citation cannot have been interpolated, as it is necessary to the disposition of the Yasht. The author having praised Anūhita 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 geographical position of Wishtāspa's kingdom. Besides which, the mention of the Khwyaonas and the Gelanians and Huns brings us still further

¹¹⁴ Yasna, 31, 18, 32, 10, 44, 14, 15, 53, 8.

¹¹⁵ Yasht, 5, 105. Dastur Peshotan Behramjee 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 Sanesan, 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 359.¹¹⁶ The wall of Derbend, Tshor pahak, by Prokopios *ῥοός*, is also called the Albanian gate or bulwark of the Huns, pahak Honats.¹¹⁷ The poet of the Shāhnāmeh even places Arjasp in his own time, calling him Paighawnizbād, "of the race of the Paighaw (Pēghū)," and causing him to write with Paighaw characters.¹¹⁸ The Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna had, as did his father Sabuktegīn (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 Seljūks, 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 Tatory, and a Seljūkian word or name, among the bearers of which are called Mūsā Paighaw (Pēglū), son of Seljūk (in 1030), the son of Dukāk, the son of Jaghrī-Beg, and Paighaw, a brother's son of Mūsā.¹¹⁹ 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 Gulzarriūm 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

¹¹⁶ Langlois, *Collection des Histor. Armén.* 2, 34a. Comp. Nöldeke's *Tabari*, 479, note. *Zeitschrift d. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 36, 686. *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akademie CXXVI.* (1892), 2. Wilhelm, *Zeitschrift Morgenl. Ges.* 42, 96 seq.

¹¹⁷ Prokop. *Bell. Goth.* 4, 3. *Grundriss d. Iran. Philol.* II, 535.

¹¹⁸ Firdusi, 1506, 187. 1537, 734. Comp. Abdulqādiri, *Lexicon Shahnam.*, ed. Car. Salemann. Petropoli, 1895, p. 50.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Athir, *Chronie.*, ed. Tornberg 9, 267, 18. 312, 17.

even if, as is usual with legends, quite late events had been placed in ancient days, the oldest and correct opinion, that Wishtāspa's kingdom lay to the south of the Caspian Sea, would still shine through. Tradition relates that the king's father, Luhrāsp,¹²⁰ before he removed his residence from Istakhr (Persepolis¹²¹) to Balkh, made war against the Alans in the Caucasus,¹²² a deed, which, in the Kitāb al-paikār translated from the Pahlawi, has been assigned to his nephew Isfendiār.¹²³ A tradition preserved by Kazwīni (1349) relates that Gushtāsp-bin-Luhrāsf the Kayānian caused a great network of canals to be dug between Aras and Kur¹²⁴ at Sāliān, 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 father¹²⁵ after the Mojmilu'ttawārīkh.¹²⁶ This castle, as Spiegel remarks, is the same as the castle of the Mulhids (Ismāīlians or Assassins), Girdkōh, above the place Dihdājah, to the west of Dāmaghān.¹²⁷ The choice of this castle has only sense if Wishtāspa 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,¹²⁸ to which distance Wishtāspa'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, Aurwada-spa, "driving with fast horses," his father is Ōji, a name by which Ormazd is known (Aoji), whose father is Manus, called after his ancestor Manushelithra. Luhrāsp means "who possesses red horses."

¹²¹ Kai Kāūs reigns in Istakhr, where Gushwād of Isfāhān, father of Gōlarz, also has a castle (Kākh). Firdusi, 750, 1221. Tabari, 597, 17 says: in Balkh.

¹²² Firdusi, 1432, 2973.

¹²³ Marquart, Zeitschr. Morgent. Gesell. 49, 639.

¹²⁴ Khanikov, Bulletin de l'Acad., IX., 1852, 266. Dorn, Mémoires de l'Acad., VI. 7, 511, 549. Barbier de Meynard, Dict. Géogr. 489.

¹²⁵ Jackson, 118, 131. Firdusi, 1550, 956, 1565, 1194, 1643, 2577.

¹²⁶ Mohl, Journal Asiat., III., 11, 353, 1.

¹²⁷ Yākūt, 2, 539, 17, 366, 5. Zahir ed-din, 84, 15, 18, 86, 6, 7, 11, 265, 10, 11. Comp. Quatremère, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, Paris 1836, p. 278. Häntzsche Zeitschrift Morgent. Ges. 16, 530. Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire Géogr. 223.

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 Apiwanghu¹²⁹ receive portions of the kingdom as inheritance; Arshan becomes king of Khūzistān, Pisina of Pārs, Byarshan of Kermān; for Usa (Kai Kāūs, the eldest and chief ruler) remains Media. How uncertain all these accounts are is shown by Wishtāspa being descended from Pisina, which was arranged to connect the Naotarides with the Kawis (Kayanides), and that Kai Kāūs was living in Balkh, while this town was supposed to be founded only by Luhrāsp.

Even Afrāsiāb, 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 Berdā in the plain of Kur, on the Tarter,¹³⁰ where he hides in a cave, called after him Hang-i Afrāsiāb¹³¹; driven from there, he hid himself on the lake of Chaichasta, that is, the lake of Urumia, where he is taken prisoner¹³² and killed by Kai Khusrau, the predecessor of Gushtāsp. 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,¹³³ 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. Firdūsi had no exact knowledge of the place. The town was probably only built by the Sāsānian Pērōz, after whom it was called Bādān

¹²⁹ Comp. Nölleke, Zeitschr. Morg. Gesell. 32, 570.

¹³⁰ Armen. Partav in Sakasene or Uti; comp. Indjidjean, Armen. Geography, 341 342.

¹³¹ Firdusi, 1386, 2241. 2243.

¹³² The same, 1391, 2317. Tabari 616, 12 (instead of *bir* read *bi-bar*, at the lake (ghadīr) Chāst).

¹³³ Firdusi, 756. 1321.

Pērōz, as Firdūsi remarks himself.¹³⁴ 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 Chīs or Chīz, Arabic Shīz, from Chaichasta or Chich-est.¹³⁵ 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 corresponds¹³⁶ to the Balarathos of Theophylaktos, where Bahrām Chōbīn was defeated by the Romans, the Armenian Wurarat, 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 Khumāni's (Humai) residence in al-Madāīn, the Parthian Ktesiphon,¹³⁷ and so connects that Median dynasty to the more important Achæmenians and Parthians. Already Kai Kāūs 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 Lubrūsp

¹³⁴ Firdusi, ed. Mohl, VI., 94, 39.

¹³⁵ Bundahishn, 41, 15. Spiegel, Eran. Alterth. I, 654; comp. G. Hoffmann, Syr. Märtyr. 292; Bartholomæ, 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, Adharakhsh, not by speaking, but by careless copying of the manuscripts), Armen. bratn Wshnasp (corrupted Washamb, Wnasp), Arabic nār or ādhar Jusnas, seems also to be contained in the corrupted names in the manuscripts Bān Sis for nār (Ju)snas, at the source of the Isfīr rūdh. Ibn Rosteh (Bibl. Geogr. Arab. VII.) 89, 19; Sisar in Masudi, 62, 13; Pa (nār) Setis, Sis. Dorn, Bulletin de l'Acad. T. VI. Nov. 1871. p. 656, 662, 666. In Arabic letters all these variations may have arisen from nār Jusnas, in the same manner as (the variation for the names Bahrām Gushnasp, B. Sis occurs. It might also be nār Shis Shiz), the fire of Shiz. The Isfīr rūdh or Kizil Uzen rises to the north of Shiz, the river that receives the outlet of the lake, is the Sārūk, an affluent of the Jaghatū.

¹³⁶ West, Pahl. Texts, V., 161, n. 9. Theophyl. Simocatta, Histor. libri VIII., ed. I. Bekker, 223, 11. Sebēos, ed. Patkanean, 37, 8. Rawlinson, Journ. Geogr. Soc. X., 1841, 47. 75 (with maps). Houtum-Schindler, Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde, XVIII., 327.

¹³⁷ Masūdī, Kit. at-tanbih 106, 4. 107, 7; comp. Abdulkādirī, Lex. v. Istakhr.

has to remove his residence to Balkh. Even Wishtāspa is once called an Achæmenian, probably because of some reminiscence of Dareios, 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.¹³⁸ This archive is also mentioned in the Dīnkart, but the king is more correctly called Dārā-i Dārāyān (Dareios III.), and he is said to have presented another copy to the Shapikān, that is the sacristy, where the priests' robes were kept.¹³⁹ 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,¹⁴⁰ who, as he says himself, repeats the Persian legend, places Zoroaster under Hystaspes, of whom he is doubtful if he be the father of Dareios 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,¹⁴¹ a companion of Alexander's, in which the sons of Adonis and Aphrodite (Mithra and Anāhita¹⁴²), 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 Raghā) as far as the Tanaïs,

¹³⁸ Jackson, 97. 224, note 2. Comp. Tabari 676, 3. 5. Mirkhond I. 180, 8.

¹³⁹ Hyde, *Vet. Pers. relig. hist.* 303 *seq.* 322. Barthélemy, *Lièvre d'Ardā virāf*, Paris 1887, 137, 138, 140. Fr. Müller, *Wiener Zeitschrift f. K. d. M.* V. 1891, 64.

¹⁴⁰ Jackson, 248.

¹⁴¹ Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 575a (ed. Kaibel 3, 267).

¹⁴² Comp. Spiegel, *Zeitschr. d. Morg. Ges.* 52, 189.

therefore, over Khorāsān and the plain of the Oxus. Zariāadres marries Odatis, the daughter of the king of the Marathes Homartes (perhaps Homarges or Amorges) in the same way as Gushtasp, in the *Shāhnāme*, wins the hand of the emperor's daughter in Byzanz. The tale of Chares is older than the Avesta, 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.¹⁴³ But here is erroneously assumed that Tanaïs 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.¹⁴⁴ The tradition in the *Shāhnāme* 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 late 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 Eliās.¹⁴⁵ 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.¹⁴⁶ The coin mentioned by Jackson with the legend *Ἀρσασπιο* 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 *Aurwadaspa*, a surname of the genius Apām-napāt.¹⁴⁷ 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.

¹⁴³ Lutæ Holstenii notæ in Stephani Byz. *Ethnica*. Lugd. Bat. 1684, 196^a.

¹⁴⁴ Diodor. 18, 5, 4. Arriani *Exped. Alex.* 3, 33, 8. 4, 1, 4. 5, 25, 5. Q. Curtius 6, 6, 13, 7, 4, 6. 32. 6, 12. 7. 1. Comp. Niese, *Geschichte d. griech. u. makedon. Staaten* 115, n. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Comp. Rapp, *Zeitschrift d. Morg. Ges.* 20, 65. Spiegel, *Altherth.* 1, 665. Jackson 73. Firdusi 1481, 664.

¹⁴⁶ Jackson 208. He has called the town al-Husnā, that is the beautiful, Avestan *srira*, Tabari 1, 645, 12.

¹⁴⁷ A. v. Sallet, *die Nachfolger Alexander's* 189. Percy Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. XXVI, 7. Hoffmann, *Syr. Geschichten pers.* Mkt. 150. Aurel Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities*, London: 1887, 4^a.

When the whole of Western Irān 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 Avesta *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,¹⁴⁸ and the figure of the Parthian Gotarzes lives on in that of Gōdarz of Ispāhān; and Meherdotes (Mithradates V. 107—113) in Milād, son of Gurgēn (Firdusi).¹⁴⁹ It is related of Yezdegerd III., that when flying before the Arabs he took the sacred fire from Rai and placed it at Marw.¹⁵⁰ The sacred fire Khurrah was at the wish of Zoroaster conveyed by King Wishtāspa from Khwārizm (Khiwa), 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 Pasā and partly to al-Baidhā to the west of Persepolis.¹⁵¹ The fire Gushnasp was taken to Sagastān (Seistān)¹⁵² and so the origin of the Kawi-dynasty was transplanted from Atropatene to that place.

¹⁴⁸ Comp. Grundris d. iran. Philol. II. 506, 507.

¹⁴⁹ Marquart, Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Ges. 49, 634, 641.

¹⁵⁰ Tabari 3682, 3. Tabari transl. by Zotenberg 3, 503.

¹⁵¹ Hamadhani (Bibl. Geograph. Arab. ed. J. de Goeje) 246, 8. Masudi, les Prairies d'or, ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille 4, 75. Shahrastāni, transl. by Haars brücker 1, 299. Hoffmann, Syrische Märtyrerakten 285.

¹⁵² Baihaki in Yākūt 3, 958. Hoffmann 297. Jackson 44, 45, 212. A Tribe in Seistan, the Kaiani, 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, Frāhāta, Friyapita and Mithradāta, we observe they have distinctly old Persian and Avestan 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 Aramæan 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.¹⁵³ 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-waējō, 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.,¹⁵⁴ 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 Darcios' 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 augment¹⁵⁵ 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 Yuëchi, 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 Sāsānians vainly tried to retake Bactria under Bahrām 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.¹⁵⁶ The victory enlarged for the first time, since the days of Darcios 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.

¹⁵⁶ Compare with F. von Richthofen, *China* II., 439. Vasconcellos-Abreu in *Le Muséon* T. II., No. 2, p. 165. Specht, *Journal Asiat. Dez.*, 1883, 319 *seq.* Drouin, *Revue archéol.* II. 6, 142.

The Parsi tradition has presented us with a portrait of the Prophet, and Jackson supports the view that the well-known relief of Tāk-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 Avesta 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 Rostam,¹⁵⁸ 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-lotos flower¹⁵⁹ (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 hand¹⁶¹ to Antiochos I. of Kommagene, the descendant of the Achæmenians and Seleukides (69-34). In the Mihir Yasht Mithra stands : " holding with the hand the club, with 100 knots and 100

¹⁵⁷ Jackson, 288. 292. 293 (with three cuts).

¹⁵⁸ The seventh in Curzon's *Persia* II., 125.

¹⁵⁹ The Sun-god of the Hindus also loves the lotos, *Meghalūta* 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.

¹⁶¹ Humann und Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1890. Taf. XXVIII., 2. Cumont 138.

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."¹⁶² Likewise Sraosha carries a club¹⁶³ and also Ahuramazdā in the Sāsānian sculpture.

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¹⁶² Yasht 10, 96 ; comp. 6, 5.

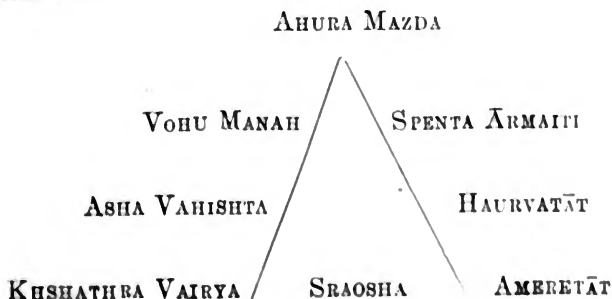
¹⁶³ Wendidād 18, 30.2(71).

KSHATHRA VAIRYA,

One of the Zoroastrian Archangels.

'THE 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 Ishtōish, '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 *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* I. 363 seq., is as follows :—



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 Θεῖος Λόγος (*Theios Logos*), and argues that parallels to the other Amshaspands are to be found in the Philonic Δυνάμεις (*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 Ameretāt under the Greek form Ἀνάδατος (*Anādatos*), i.e. Ἀμάρθατος (*Amhrdatos*), and he refers also to Ὀμανής (*Ōmanēs*) i.e. Vohu Manah (see Strabo 11, p. 512c, cf. Windischmann, *Anāhita*, p. 86, München 1856). Asha, moreover, is not only admitted to be an equivalent of the Vedic ṛta, but the designation as a concept is found in many Old Persian names under the form *Arta*, as well as in the Bactrian name Ὀξυάρτης, *Oxyartes*, which apparently corresponds, etymologically at least, to Avestan *Ukshhyat-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, Vohūman, 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 Achæmenian 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, 'Οξάτρης, 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 *Khshatraver* 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*, *svāmitra* as paraphrases. Consult for example Ys. 23, 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 *εὐνομία* (*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 Būdahishn 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, 19-33; Dīnkart 2, 81, 6; cf. also Casartelli, *Mazda Religion*, transl. p. 200.

Haptanghāiti, 'may we attain to thy Good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda, for all eternity' (Ys. 41, 2 *vohū khshathrem tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yavē*). In the Gāthās this hallowed sovereignty is sometimes called simply *khshathra* 'Kingdom, Rule, Power';² sometimes it is *vohu khshathra* 'the Good Kingdom',³ as opposed to 'the Kingdom of the Wicked One' (*i. e.*, Ahriman);⁴ or it is 'the Kingdom of Desire',⁵ 'the Realm where the sun (ever) shines',⁶ 'the Mighty Rule',⁷ 'the Wished-for Sovereignty' which belongs to Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah.⁸

In general it may be said that Khshathra Vairyā 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-

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 *Peresā avat yā mwinish yē dregvāitē khshathrem hunāiti* 'I ask this, what is the punishment for him who advanceth 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 Peshotan Behramjee Sanjana, VI. 422—3; vii. 466; viii. 468.

⁵ Ys. 51. 2 *dōishī mōi ishtōish khshathrem*, which Nerayosangh plainly renders by 'grant me the desired power,' *dēhi mahyām vāñchitam rājyam* — see Spiegel, *Neriosengh's Yaçna*, p. 219. The Pahlavi has *isht pavan khutāyih*, *cf.* Mills, *Gāthās*, p. 343. Compare also Ys. 48. 8.

⁶ Lit. 'in the sun-seeing kingdom' (*qēūg-dare-ōi khshathrōi*), which the gloss of Neryosangh (*kila, sūryapadē prasūdō 'sti*) also refers to Paradise. On the sun in relation to the other world, see the Great Iranian Būndahishn passage translated by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 314.

⁷ Ys. 31. 4 *Khshathrem Aojōnghvat*.

⁸ For example see Ys. 30. 8 *mazdā taibyō khshathrem* 'thy Kingdom, O, Mazda'; Ys. 32. 6 *thwahrī vē mazdā khshathrōi ashāicā* 'in thy Kingdom, O Mazda, that is, yours and Asha's'; Ys. 34. 10 *thwahrī mazdā khshathrōi ā* 'in thy Kingdom, O Mazda'; Ys. 48. 9 *thwahrī ā khshathrōi yavōi vīspāi* 'in thy Kingdom for all eternity'; Ys. 51. 4 *thwā khshathrā mazdā* 'through thy Kingdom, Mazda'; Ys. 30. 8. *mazdā taibyō khshathrem vohū manāhā rōivīdāiti* '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 avat khshathrem hyat hōi vohū vakhshat manāhā* '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 prophetic 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 Armaiti (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.'⁹ Somewhat similar is the plastic conception 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).'¹⁰ One is almost reminded of the angels at the opening of the old morality play, *Castle of Perseverance*, 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,'¹¹ or again a realization of 'the Sovereignty which Vohu Manah (Good Mind) shall establish for Mazda.'¹² The idea of this rule of universal weal accounts, no doubt, for the association of Khshathra with

⁹ Ys. 33. 11. *Yé serishho ahurō mazdōscā ārmaitishcā ashemcā frādat-gaōthem manascā vohū khshathremcā sraotā mōi marezhdātā mōv ādā kahyāicīṭ paiti*. The word *ādā*, a cardinal one in the Gāthās, denotes not only 'gift, reward, recompense,' but also the final reward or retribution given at the Day of Judgment. See Geldner, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xv. 258.

¹⁰ Ys. 30. 7 *ahmāicā khshathrā jasaṭ manānhā vohū ashācā*. By *ahmāi* Gaya Maretan is meant. Notice again the instrumental case *khshathra* as nominative; see Caland and Geldner in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxi. 259, 323.

¹¹ Ys. 34. 15 *khshmakā khshathrā ahūrā ferashēm rasnā haithyīm dāo ahūm* 'by your Kingdom, O Ahura, thou wilt make the world regenerate according to wish.' Compare also Ys. 30. 8-9, *aṭ mazdā taibyō khshathrem . . . aṭ tōi raōm qyāmā yōi im ferashem kerenāun ahūm*.

¹² Ys. 30. 8 *aṭ mazdā taibyō khshathrem vohū manānhā vōividāiti*.

Marezhdika, or 'Mercy which careth for the poor.'¹³ The two are invoked side by side in the Avesta; and the great Iranian Bundabishn adds that 'the function of Shahrēvar is to intercede with Auharmazd 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

¹³ Yt. 2. 7 *marezhdikem thrāyō-drighūm yazamaide* 'we worship Mercy that careth for the poor'; cf. also Yt. 2. 2. Add perhaps the last line of the Ahuna Vairya formula: *khshathremō ahurā ā im drigubjō dada! vātārem*.

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 Ravāys, 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 Shatvairō himself in the world; and whosoever propitiates melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the glory of Auharmazd becomes his own in heaven' (after West's translation, *S.B.E.* v. 376). See also Zsp. 22. 8, where the archangel Shatvēr assigns to Zoroaster the care and keeping of metals, cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 47; West, *S.B.E.* xlvii. 161; and Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 497.

¹⁷ Yt. 2. 7.—*Khshathrem vairim ameshem spentem yazamaide, ayōkhshustem yazamaide, marezhdikem thrāyō-drighūm yazamaide*. Cf. also Vsp. 20. 1.—*rohu khshathrem yazamaide, khshathrem vairim yazamaide, ayōkhshustem yazamaide*.

clearly implied in the Iranian Būdahishn and elsewhere.¹⁸ 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 *ayōkhshusta* 'Molten Metal.' In an article published in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1890, p. lviii. 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 Būdahishn (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 Haurvatāt and Ameretāt 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.¹⁹

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-

¹⁸ Gt. Iran. Bd. transl. Darmesteter, Le ZA, II. 313, and cf. Note 16 above.

¹⁹ See Note 6 above.

dom' and 'Molten Metal' is as demonstrable in the Gāthās as in *ayōkhsusta* 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.

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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 1346. 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 astronomie*

symbola, Bonn, 1876, pp. 27-37. The translation of the portion of the Greek text which concerns us here is as follows¹ :—

“ 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.² 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

¹ For further information on Chrysokokkes see Weidler, *Historia astronomia*, Witemberg, 1741, p. 286; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, ed. Harless, Hamburg, 1790-1809, iv., pp. 153-154, xii., pp. 54-57; Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1897, p. 622; Usener, p. 23. Portions of the text here translated have also been edited by Ismael Boulliau, *Astronomia, philolaica*, Paris, 1645, pp. 211-214; Joseph Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Geneva, 1629, pp. 522, 526-527; *Canones Isagogicæ*, Amsterdam, 1658, pp. 247, 249, 315; Denis Petau, *De doctrina temporum*, Antwerp, 1703, xi., p. 55.

² One of the Greek emperors of Trebizond, probably Alexios II., who reigned from 1297 to 1330. 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 Zezi³ or method was made for longitude 72 in the district of Chazaria which is called Tibene.⁴ The entire longitude from west to east, or from the extreme commencement of one sea to the other, is 180 degrees.

³ Arab ذبيج Persian ذبك.

⁴ Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 231, and Usener, p. 17, identify Tibene or Tybene with the Armenian city of Dvin 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 Sariat.⁵ 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,⁶ one according to their religion,⁷ which is Pasita,⁸ 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 epagonal⁹ days. According to the other year the determination was for the occupations¹⁰ of the four seasons, and the commencement of the occupations, and this is called Kapisa,¹¹ 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.¹² 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 یزدجرد بن شهریار

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. بسطة (سنه)

⁹ Literally, "furtive, stolen," a translation of the Arabic مسفرة

¹⁰ Rather "usage," Arab. استعمال in Scaliger's opinion.

¹¹ Arab. كبسة (سنه)

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 Astronomicæ Symbola*, would be of little interest here.¹³ 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 passages¹⁴ 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, pp. 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 Ardempeesti, 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 Pharbardin, 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 Pharbardin 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 epagonal 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,¹⁵ 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 Iasdagard Sarien Mastre,¹⁶ 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 Chalit, ¹⁷ 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 Masiarcha,¹⁸ 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 *مستري* (sio) for *كسرى* cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 17.

¹⁷ Arab. *جزايلر خالدا* "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 *Mastarcha* (Arab. *مسترقه*).

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 Iasdagird, 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.¹⁹ 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 Farvadiu 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, 29 : 40 A. M. Then 813²⁰ 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 813²⁰ 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-

¹⁹ To reduce Byzantine years to dates A. D., subtract 5508 from the Byzantine number, thus 6951—5508=1443, cf. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Berlin, 1826, ii., pp. 459-461.

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 814²¹ years of the Persian were completed, and the twelfth day of December was the eighteenth of Pharouarden, 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."

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 Linguae Persicae*, 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: Pharpardin Ardenpeas, Chortat, Tourma, Mertat, Sarebar, Mechir, Apan, Adler, 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 Mpouchares (apparently Shams ul-Din as-Samarqandi—not al-Bukhari, cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 15) 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.

6. *Vasund* [ā] *gadhi manasā dehi* [he] *ṛta-dās*¹ *dirghāyo*²
Rshvāis tvam ukthāis [su-] *medhas Jarathushṭrāya* (sic) *ojasvat*
rabhas [ūti-dam]
*Asmabhyam ca asura yena dveshiṇas*³ *dveshānsi tūrvema*.

Here is the original Gātha:—

Vohū gaidi manañhā dāidī aśā-dāo dar(e)gāyū
 Eresvaiš tū ukhdhāiš mazdā zarathuštrāi aojoihvaṭ raf(e)nō.
 Ahmaibyāca ahurā yā d(ai)bishvatō dvaçšāo taurvayāmā.

Here is strophe 7 in the Sanskrit.

Dehi [he] *ṛta tām ṛtim* [iti kila phalam puṇyam] *vasos*
 [phalāni] *āptāni manasas*
Dehi tvam aramate Viśhṭācpāya (sic) *isham mahyam ca*
Dās tvam [su-] *medhas kshaya*⁴ *ca yena vas mantrān*⁵ *gru-*
*yāma*⁶ *radhodās*.

And here is the Gātha:—

dāidī aśā tām aśīm vañhēuš āyaptā manañhō
 dāidī tū ār(a)maitē vištāspāi ačšem maibyācā
 dāostū, mazdā khshayācā, yā vē māthrā srevaçmā rādāo.

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 Vielleicht sollte das Neutr. *dirghāyutram* stehen, es fehlte aber dann das notwendige *ca*.

³ Oder vielleicht **drishvatas*.

⁴ Imperativ von *kshī* "verfuge" oder ein Vocativ im Sinne von "regierend."

⁵ Sonst = *mantravaktā* (*mantri*).

⁶ Andere lesen *svaryam ā rādā* [*aiēm*].

AVESTAN ZEVĪŠTYEŅG AURVATŌ, YS. 59-7.

A Contribution concerning Zoroastrian Angelology.

Shakspeare'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 Anāhita 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 Būdahishn 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 Ardashīr. The figure is familiar to all Iranian students.¹ But this is not all. In the Chapter on the conversion of King Vishtāspa, 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

¹ See Ed. Thomas, 'Sassanian Inscriptions' in *JRAS*, New Series, vol. iii., p. 269 and p. 267, note 3; K. D. Klash, *Ancient Persian Inscriptions*, p. 121; G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 606; Curzon, *Persia*, ii., 125 (the same cut being reproduced in my 'Ormazd, or the Ancient Persian Idea of God,' in *The Monist*, Chicago, Jan., 1899.)

the divinely-inspired message of the prophetic priest. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahist and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhin-Mitrō, or Spēnisht, 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 Nāmāh 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 Nāmāh is late, but I now believe that this conception of the Archangels as mounted on horses, or driving, is as old as the Gāthās 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 Gāthās to which I allude is Ys. 50. 7. The text in Geldner's edition runs:

aṭ vé yaojā z e v i š t y é ñ g a u r v a t ō
ja y ā i š perethuš vahmahyā yūšmākahyā
mazdā ašā ugréñg vohū manāñhā
yāš azāthā mahmāi hyātā avañhē

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 (*aibi-dereštā ārīšyā avañhā zastāišlā*) as well as to direct his tongue.

The old reading for *aurvatō jayātīš* was *urvātō jyātīš* (Sp. Wg.). Professor Roth with his keen insight was the first to see that at least *aurvatō* was the better reading (ZDMG. xxv. 219; cf. also Millst Gāthās 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 *zevištyēng aurvatō* means

‘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 *zevištyéñg* 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. *yáviṣṭha*.

The special term *aurvatō*, 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. *aurvañta* has here the meaning ‘horses’ ; we need only compare such passages as Ys. 57. 27 *aurvañta*, Yt. 10. 42 *aurvañta aspa*, or a half dozen other instances in Justi’s *Handbuch*—see especially Ys. 11-2 *aurvatām yūkhta* ‘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 *aurvant*.

The instr. *jayāiš* (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 *yāsmākahya* objectively.

For *perethūš* one naturally thinks of Skt. *prthū-* which Roth rendered 'breit, stämmig' i.e., 'broad, stocky, sturdy'—taking it as an attribute of the horses like *ugrēñg* and *zevištyēñg*. The Pahlavi version, it is true, sees in the word the meaning 'bridge' (*vatařg*). The variant readings of the Avestan manuscripts actually show also *peretūš*—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 *ašā* and *vohū manaiñhā* are cases of the special usage of the instrumental familiar in the Gāthās, and with *yāiš* we must understand *aurvañbis*.

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 Būndahishn. The Zartusht Nāmah 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 Gâtha.

INTRODUCTION.

The most trustworthy MSS., containing the Pahlavi text of the Gâthas, that still remain accessible, according to Geldner's researches,¹ are those which he names K 5 and its cousin J 2, 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 1478. 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 Gathic Hâ XXXII, has been obtained from Spiegel's edition, which represents K 5, collated with the other three MSS. And, in the foot-notes, the letters S, J, P, M severally represent the MSS. K 5, J 2, 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 Khusrô Nôshirvân, probably about A.D. 530¹. In the translation, words that are merely understood but inserted to complete the sense, are also printed in italics; and when

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 *Sûdkar*, *Varshtmânsar*, and *Bako Nasks* were commentaries on the *Gâthas*, 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.

KHYÊTUMAÎTO HÂTO BÛN.

Frâz gôbishnih-i Zaratûshtar.

1. a. Zak¹ jân-i valâ² pivan khvêshih bavîhûnast³, zak-i⁴ valâ⁵ vârunih levatâ aîrmânih ; (zak⁶ mozd-i⁷ Aûharmazd nafshâ shêdayyâ-c⁸ pavan denâ, aêgh vârun⁹ va¹⁰-aîrmân¹¹-i lak¹² havâcêm, ashân ghal¹³ bevîhûnast¹⁴)

b. Zak-i⁴ valâ shêdâân pavan li-minishnih (aêghmân¹⁴ ¹⁵minishno aêdûno frârûno cigûn Zaratûshtar, zak-î Aûharmazd aûrvâkhmauôih (ashân ghal bevîhûnastô).

c. Lak¹⁶ gôbâk yehvûnêm (aêgh, râyînidâr-î lak yehvûnêm¹⁷); ¹⁸valâshân⁹ yakhsenunêm mûn lekûm bêshînênd (aêghshân¹⁹ min²⁰ lekûm lakhvâr yakhsenunêm).

2. a. Avo²¹ valâshân (shêdâân) Aûharmazd pavan sardârîh-î Vohûmanô²² (amatash Vohûmanô²³ pavan tano mâhmân yehvûntô²⁴),

b. Min Khshatrover barâ pasukhvo gûftô²⁶ va-Aharâyih-ic-î²⁷ khûpo ²⁸hamkhâk-i nêvak kardo, (afôsh pavan tano mâhmân²⁹ yehvûnd, ³⁰

Dôshishno-î Ameshôspendân-i sîd-aûmandân.

c. aêgh) Spendarmað lekûm râi shapir dôshêm (bôndag-minishnih) ³¹zak-î land aîto (aêghmân pavan tano mâhmân³²).

Pasukhvo-gôbishnih-i Aûharmazd.

3. a. Aêdûno lekûm³³ harvispô³⁴ (mûn³⁵) shêdâ havâcêd (atân³⁶ min³⁷ Akômanô (aîto) tôkhmako³⁸ (aêghtânô tôkhmako³⁹ min tamâ aêgh Akômanô-c).

¹ J. zak-î.² S. J. âno.³ P. adds o.⁴ P. M. omit î.⁵ J. âno.⁶ S. J. zak-î.⁷ J. P. omit î.⁸ S. J. shêdâân⁹ S. adds o.¹⁰ J. omits va.¹¹ J. adds o.¹² S. adds î.¹³ J. avo.¹⁴ S. J. add o.¹⁵ S. prefixes va.¹⁶ J. aêgh.¹⁷ P. M. bûvêm.¹⁸ P. M. prefix va.¹⁹ P. M. omit, ; S. adds o.²⁰ S. mûn.²¹ S. J. valâ, for val.²² P. M. omit ô.²³ S. P. M. omit ô.²⁴ P. M. yehvûnêd.

TRANSLATION OF PAHLAVI YASNA XXXII.

*Beginning of the Chapter relating to Kindred.**Statement of Zaratûsht.*

1. a. That life of his²⁵ 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 Zaratûsht"), 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 Aharâyih ("righteousness") a good companion (*who* also became lodging in his body,

Love of the Ameshôspends, the beneficers.

c. and thus *he spoke*):—"On your account we love the good Spendarmad (*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).

²⁵ It is just possible to read *zak-i and-i valâ*, "so much of his," but the authors of the Pahlavi version probably supposed that Avesta *aqyd* bore much the same relationship to *ânhu* as *dagyu* bore to *dânhu*.

²⁶ S. omits o and va.

²⁹ J. adds o.

³² S. adds *yehvânâd*.

³⁵ J. omits.

²⁷ S. J. omit *-ic-i*.

³⁰ S. *yehvuntô*; J. *bûdo*.

³³ S. J. insert *mân*.

³⁶ S. J. *atâno*.

³⁸ S omits o.

²⁸ S. inserts *va*.

³¹ J. inserts *va*.

³⁴ S. P. M. *harvîsto*.

³⁷ P.M. omit.

Frâz-gôbîshnîh-i Aûharmazd.

b. Mûn-ic lekûm (shêdâân¹) kabed yezbekhûnêd, drôjanôtar² va-³ arar-mînishntar (yehvûnêd⁴) ;

c. Sagîtûninêd mân min akharîh-î zak⁵ fradîvishno,⁶ (aêghmân Zaratûshtar yehabûnd⁷), mûntâno⁸ asrâyishnîh (yehabûnêd) pavan bûmî VII.⁹

4. a. Mûn min zak¹⁰ ayûjishno (zak-î¹¹ frârûno-ih yekavîmûnêd¹² pavan zak-î¹¹ kolâ 2 mindavam-î¹³ mînôg va-stîh) ash frâz mînishno vardînêd (aêghash barâ frêvêd ; afash mînishno barâ avo vinâs kardano vardînêd¹⁴) anshûtâ¹⁵ sarîtar dânishno¹⁶ yehvûnêdo (-î¹⁷ dûshâkâs).

b. Mûn yemalelund zak-î¹⁸ shêdâân dôshîdo¹⁹ (aêgh, mindavam pavan avâyast-î²⁰ shêdâân yemalelûnd) ashâno²¹ Vohûman sîshd (aêghshân min rakhîk).

c. ²²Zak-î Aûharmazd ²³khirâdo nasînênd²⁴ va-aharâyîh-ic (aêgh, tapâh barâ vabîdûnânêd).

5. a. Pavan zak²⁵ kolâ 2 frêvêd anshûtâân,²⁶ pavan hû-zîvishnîh va-amarg-rûbîshnîh (aêgh, avo anshûtâân²⁷ yemalelûnêd aêgh : ²⁷ Amat zîvastano shâyedo¹⁹ apa-gayêhê lâ yehvûnêd pavan râs-î land).

b. Mûn lekûm sarîtar mînishno, mûn shêdayyâ havâêd,²⁶ atâno sarîtar mînishno,

c. aftân²⁸ sarîtar kûnishno va-gôbîshno mûn frâz câshêdo¹⁹ (avo aîshâno aêgh : Min âno ²⁹) druvand (gônâk ³⁰ mînôg) pâdôkhshâyîh. ³¹

Frâz-gôbîshnîh-i Zaratûshtar.

6. a. Kabed kênîgân ³²kêno bevîhûnî-aît (aêgh, vinâskârân²⁶ pâdafrâs vabîdûnân) mûn srûdo³³ yekavîmûnêd²⁶ (mûn gûft yekavî-mûnêd²⁶ aêgh) : amat valêshân asâr ; (aêgh, pâdafrâs pavan zak damâno bôndak barâ vabîdûnânêd, amat rûbân lakhvâr avo ³⁴tano yehabûnd).

¹ S. adds o.² S. drûjôtar.³ S. omits va.⁴ J. adds o.⁵ J. adds-î.⁶ J. fradîftâr.⁷ J. dàdo.⁸ P. M. aêghân.⁹ P. M. place these three words after yehabûnd.¹⁰ J. zak-î ; P. M. omit.¹¹ P. M. omit î.¹² J. adds o.¹³ J. omits î.¹⁴ J. var'zinêd.¹⁵ J. mar'dûm ; P. adds î.

Further speaking of Auharmazd.

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 Zaratûst 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), Volûmanô ("Good-thought") is abandoned by them, (that is, far from them).

c. "They drive away the wisdom of Auharmazd 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 Zaratûst.

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.)

¹⁶ S. dahishno.

²⁰ J. P. M. o.

²⁴ S. naeinând.

²⁸ S. adds o.

³² J. P. add o.

¹⁷ S. dênô-l; J. P. M. omit.

²¹ P. omits o.

²⁵ S. J. omit.

²⁹ P. M. vald.

³³ P. M. omit o.

¹⁸ S. omits l.

²² P. inserts va.

²⁶ J. adds o.

³⁰ P. M. ganâk.

³⁴ J. ghal.

¹⁹ S. omits o.

²³ S. inserts va.

²⁷ P. M. omit.

³¹ S. shallitâh.

b. Āshkārako âmârînîdâr, Aûharmazd ! (aêgh, pavan vinâs va¹-kîrfako² âmâr vabîdunyên³) ⁴va-zak-î pâhlûm âkâs-î pavan Vohûmanô⁵ (mozd khavîtûnêd, aêgh, avo mûn avâyedo² yehabûntan⁶).

c. Pavan aê-î⁷ lak,⁸ lekûm, Auharmazd ! khûdâyîh zak-î Aharâyîh âmûkhtagâno barâ khavîtunî-aito (amatlekûm pâdakhshâyîh¹⁰ bôndak¹¹ barâ yehvûnêd,¹² kolâ aîsh¹⁵ pavan frârûnîh âkâs barâ yehvûnêd¹⁴).

7. a. Valâshân kênîg lâ mindavam âkâs havêd zak¹⁵ zanishno rôshanô (aêgh, pâdafrâs pavan rûbân¹⁶ mâ cand lâ khavîtûnd).

b. Mûn¹⁷ zanishno âmûkhtênd (zak¹⁵ mindavam âmûkhtênd zîshân pavau rûbân¹⁶ zanishno yehvûnêd¹⁶) mûn srûdo yekavîmûnêd (aêgh): “Pavan zakî¹⁸ and asîno (ashân gazêd.⁶)”

c. Mûn valâshân lak, Aûharmazd ! valâ-c-î airikhtak¹⁹ âkâs havâih (aêgh, valâ-c-î vinâskârtar pâdafrâs khavîtunîh).

8. a. Valâshân shêdâân, kênîg vinâskâr zak-î Vîvaghânân Yim srûdo²⁰,

b. mûnash²¹ avo²² anshûtâân câshîdo²⁵ (aêgh) : “Landân²⁴ bisrayâ pavan banjishno²⁵ vashtamûnêd²⁶ (ham-âzako²⁵ anshûtâ²⁷ pavan sînôk-²⁸ masâi²⁹ bâzâi-masâi).”

¹ J. omits va.

² S. omits o.

³ P. vabîdûnââd.

⁴ P. omits va.

⁵ J. P. M. omit o.

⁶ P. M. add o.

⁷ P. hanâ, M. âno.

⁸ S. adds i.

⁹ P. M. prefix va.

¹⁰ P. M. pâdêkhshâyîh.

¹¹ M. adds o.

¹² S. yehvûnd.

¹³ S. adds l.

¹⁴ S. J. add o.

¹⁵ J. adds i.

¹⁶ J. adds o.

¹⁷ P. M. amat.

¹⁸ M. omits.

¹⁹ S. friftak, J. riftak, P. M. riftako ; but the Avesta word is irikhtem, which indicates the Pahlavi term airikhtak, applied to persons *incriminated* 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*).

c. Through these of thine, the sovereignty of you, O Aûharmazd ! *and* that of those instructed by Righteousness, is fully known ; (when your predominance becomes quite complete, every one becomes fully acquainted with virtue).

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 Yin, him who *was* son of Vivanhâo,

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)".

²⁰ S. J. omit o.

²¹ P. M. mân.

²² M. vald.

²³ S. omits o.

²⁴ S. landigâno.

²⁵ S. nabjishno ; J. P. M. bajishno.

²⁶ J. adds o.

²⁷ S. va-anshûtââno ; P. M. mardûm.

²⁸ S. sind.

²⁹ P. M. prefix va.

³⁰ Probably referring to the legend of King Jamshêd and the demon beggar with an insatiable appetite ; told in the Persian Rivâyat of Dârab Hormazyâr, folios 347-8 of the copy in the Bombay University Library.

Dôshishno-i Zaratûshtar.

c. Valâshân-ic bèn (zak-î¹ Gâsânô²-i) li (pavan Gâsânîgîh barâ dôshîdo³) lak, Aûharmazd! barâ vijîdo⁴ akhar (aêgh, lak-ic, pavan khûp⁵ dâshto).

Gar'zishno-i Zaratûshtar.

9. a. Pavan dûsh-âmûjishnih-î⁶ srôbô (ashân) merencînîd (shêdân⁷) valâ (mûn zak-î) zivishn-aûmand khirado âmûkhto (avo aîshân). (Aîto mûn aêdûno yemalelûnêd⁸-aê :) "srôbô (ashân) merencînîdo⁹ valâ."

b. (mûnshân) barâ¹⁰ zak-î li ishti¹¹ avôrdô¹² (padmânô-î¹³ kardô¹⁴ dâshto-î¹⁵ khvâstako⁴-î pavan dastôbar-î li avâyedo¹⁶ dâstano-î amat shâyedo¹⁶ dâstano, pavan zak râs shâyedo⁴ dâstano)-î âr'zûko⁴ aîto¹⁰ pavan Vohûmanô⁴, (aêgh, amat pavan frârûnoîh¹² yakhsenund avâyishnîg).

c. Pavan valâshân milayâ-î minôgihâ, Aûharmazd-î Ashavahishtô⁴ avo lekûm gar'zîd¹⁷ (aêgham gâsânîgîh¹⁸ lâ rûbâk; li-c gar'zam).

10. a. Valâ¹⁹ gabrâ avo denê-î²⁰ li srôbô merencînishno yehabûnd²¹ (aêghash arûbâkîh²² avo dênô yehabûnd) mûnash sarîtar pavan²³ vênishno yemalelûntô²⁴;

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

c. ³¹Amat-ic-ash vâstar viyâpânînd³² (aêghash tapâh barâ kardô, afôsh merencînishno³² yehabûnd³; amat-ic-ash, pavan pêdlâkîh, khandahgânô⁴ yehabûnd⁸ avo aharûbân³³ aêghash âshkârako⁴ avo³⁴ khvâsto³⁵-aûmand afôsh merencînishno yehabûntô).

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

Love of Zaratúshtr.

c. Those, too, among (them, who thoroughly loved) my (Gâthas, as Gâthic lore) *are* selected afterwards by thee, O Aûharmazd ! (that is, *are* considered, even by thee, as good).

Complaint of Zaratúshtr.

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 Vohûmanô, (that is, when they maintain *him* with propriety, *it* is desirable).

c. As to those words which spiritually, O Auharmazd ! *are* Ashava-hishtô's *it is* complained to you (that my Gâthic 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).

¹⁶ S. J. omit o.

²⁰ S. omits l ; J. has o.

²⁴ S. omits o ; P. M. gûfto.

²⁸ P. M. dâshto.

³² J. omits o.

¹⁷ P. M. add o.

²¹ S. adds o.

²⁵ J. as.

²⁹ S. omits.

³³ S. adds o.

¹⁸ S. omits lh.

²² J. omits lh.

²⁶ S. l.

³⁰ J. P. add o.

³⁴ P. M. ghal.

¹⁹ S. ano.

²³ J. omits.

²⁷ P. prefixes va.

³¹ M. prefixes va.

³⁵ P. M. omit o.

11. a. Valđshân-ic¹ avo (denđ-î)² li merencinishno yehabûnd (aêgh, arûbâkih avo (dênô yehabûnd) mûn zîvishu-aûmandîh³ (yemalelûnd aêgh amat⁴ zîvastano shâyedo pavan rās-î land) va-drevand havād va⁵-pavan masîh⁶ kâhinêud, vatarîh-ic⁷ (aêgh, pavan⁸ pêshûpâyîh⁹ va-pasûpâyîh¹⁰ vinās vabîdûnâñd).¹¹

b. Kadak-khûđâi, gabrâ nêshâ (yemalelûnd, aêgh : “Mânpatâno¹² mânpat¹³ havâém); va-avôrênd¹⁴ zak-î rêkhen-ic¹⁵ vindishno¹⁶; (aêgh anshûtâ pavan staham vakhdûnd,¹⁷ aêgh khvâstak barâ avo hamîh yehabûnêd¹⁸).

c. Mûn zak-î valđ-î¹⁸ pâhlûm aharûbo; Aûharmazd! ash¹⁹ barâ hinkhitûnd; ash râđîh rêshînênd-î pavan Vohûman²⁰ (aêgh, nihâđako-î²¹ shapîrân, pavan frârûnoîh¹⁶ hinkhitûnd barâ ramîtûn-î²² aharmôk.

12. a. Mûn rêsh srâyênd, pâhlûm kûnishno avo anshûtâân²³ (sâstârâno¹⁶ apadmân-kûshishnîh);

b. Avo valđshân, Aûharmazd zanishno gûfto²¹ mûn min zak-î²⁴ gôspendân⁴ merencinishno²¹ aûrvâkhmanîh,²⁵ yemalelûnd, va-zîvishn-aûmandîh.

c. Valđshân, Grehmako²¹ min Aharâyîh dôshaktar, mûn Karapo (havâd; aêghshân²⁶ khvâstako²¹ shapîr medamâunêd⁴ aêgh kâr va²⁷-kîrfako); va²⁷- khûđâyîh bavîhûnd pavan drûjishno²⁸ (pavan avârûnîh).

13. a. Mûn khûđâyîh pavan Grehmako²¹ bavîhûnêd⁴ (aêgh, pâđakh-shâyîh²⁹ pavan pâraکو bavîhûnêd) ash zak-î¹⁸ sarîtar bēn demôn pavan minishno, (aêgh pavan aê³⁰ mînishno bavîhûnêd⁴ aêgh : “100 barâ yehabûnam,³¹ va³²-200 lakhvâr yansebûnam³³-ê).

¹ S. has mđ for ic.

² J. omits î.

³ S. omits îh.

⁴ J. adds o.

⁵ J. omits va.

⁶ S. masâi.

⁷ S. adds î; J. omits ic.

⁸ S. omits o.

⁹ S. J. have a for û.

¹⁰ S. paspâih; J. omits y; P. M. pasâûpâyîh.

¹¹ Compare Dinkard, VII. viii. 34, 35.

¹² P. M. mânpatô.

¹³ P. M. mēsnakpatô.

¹⁴ P. M. va-shavacrûnd.

¹⁵ P. M. raêkhn.

¹⁶ P. M. omit o.

¹⁷ S. vagdûnd; J. vakhdûnâñd.

¹⁸ S. omits î.

¹⁹ P. M. omit.

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).³⁴

b. To the householder, man or woman, (they speak thus: "We are the over-house-owners," and) they appropriate that acquirement ³⁴ of property 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 tyrants³⁵) ;

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").

³⁰ S. J. dend.

³¹ S. omits o.

³² M. ramtund.

³³ J. adds o ; P. M. add ac.

³⁴ P. M. omit i.

³⁵ J. has ishno for ih.

³⁶ S. adds o.

³⁷ S. omits va.

³⁸ J. drôjinishno.

³⁹ S. shallâtâh ; P. M. pādôkshâyih.

⁴⁰ P. M. hanâ.

⁴¹ J. omits.

⁴² S. J. omit va.

⁴³ J. P. M. omit â.

⁴⁴ Compare Dinkard VII, viii. 36.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 37.

b. Ahvân¹ merenciûdâr havâd (aêgh, gâs-i² tamâ barâ tapâhûnênd), mun (pavan zak-i valâ³) zak-ic-i Aûharmaçd (zanishno) ⁴gar'zishno kâmak⁵; (aêgh, pavan zak shalîtâih⁶ zyash⁷ aîto, ashân⁸ zak avâyedo,⁵ amat anshûtâ,⁹ aêvako levatâ tanê, ghal kûshênd).

c. Mûn pavan aê-i¹⁰ lak¹ mânsar gôbâk havâd, (aêgh, pêshûpâi¹¹⁻ⁱ pavan dênô havâd) valâshânash¹² pâyênd¹³ min nikêzishno-i Aharâyih; (aêghashaharmok,¹⁴ min kê va-kirfako⁵ kardano, ghal pâdirânînênd.¹⁵).

14. a. Valâ (mûn¹⁶) pavan Grehmak¹⁴ masih, barâ pavan zak-i Kêvighân¹⁷ khirado, barâ yehabûnêd¹ (mûn shalîtâih⁶ pavan¹⁸ pârak yehabûnêd¹ pavan khirado-i¹⁹ valâshân²⁰ mûn, pavan mindavam-i²¹ shân,²² kûr va-kar).²³

b. Pavan zak-i² var'jâvân (avârûn¹⁴ dânâkân²⁴) va-frêh-dêvânân²⁵, (mûn, pavan avârûnih, hanband-i²⁶ pavan²⁷ babâ²⁸ yakhsenund); va-amat-ic padîrênd âno²⁹ drevandân aîyyârih, (ac pavan khirado-i valâshân yehvûnêd¹.)

c. Va-amat-ic³¹ avo tôrâ zanishno gûfto: "mûnash³² zak-i³³ bên, zak-i dûrâôsh gûfto³⁴ avo³⁵ aîyyârih" (ac pavan khirado-i³⁶ valâshân yehvûnêd³⁷).

Fraz-gôbishnîh-i Zaratûstâr.

15. a. Anyâtûnishnîh³⁸ râi (amat barâ avo denâ dênô lâ yâtûnd) barâ aûbêno³⁹ yehvûnd, mûn Kîg⁴⁰ va-Karapo havâd;

¹ J. adds o.

² S. omits i.

³ J. âno.

⁴ P.M. prefix va.

⁵ S. omits o.

⁶ P. M. pâdîkshâyih.

⁷ J. ash.

⁸ S. J. ash.

⁹ P. M. marâm.

¹⁰ P. M. hanâ-i.

¹¹ S. pêshvîh; J. pêshupâi.

¹² P. M. omit ash.

¹³ P. M. netrûnd.

¹⁴ P.M. add o-

¹⁵ J. S. pâdirânênd.

¹⁶ P. M. omit.

¹⁷ S. Kîgâno; J. Kîgâno.

¹⁸ S. P.M. omit.

¹⁹ J. omits i.

²⁰ P.M. insert yehvûne.

²¹ S. J. P. omit i.

²² S. adds o.

²³ P. M. have kar va kûr. ²⁴S. J. add o. ²⁵So J.; P.M. have dêvânâc; S. reads dînâ "decision," and substitutes its synonym dâdîstâno, but both these words require an

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 Aûharmazd, (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 Kêvîs ; (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 occur really through their astuteness).

Further speaking of Zaratûst.

15. a. On account of not coming (when they do not come into this religion), but become heedless, they who are Kîgs and Karaps ;

additional ân for the plural. Compare Pahl. fradîrîshno, for Av. divanem, in Yas. XXXI, 20 a. Here we might read frêh-divânân, " those of many deceits," as a mere transcript of the Av. fradîvâ, but the Pahlavi writer more probably thought divâ was a mere variant of daêvâ. ²⁹ P. M. hanbandag, " fellow-servant " (P). ²⁷ S. omits.

²⁸ P. M. bûn. ²⁹ S. vald. ³⁰ Orit might be " deceits, or frauds " (see note 25); but this meaning is not confirmed by the glosses.

³¹ S. adds i. ³² P. prefixes va. ³³ J omits ; S omits i. ³⁴ S. omits o.

³⁵ M. omits. ³⁶ S. J. omits i ; S. repeats khrado-i. ³⁷ J. adds o.

³⁸ S. omits i ; J. substitutes o. ³⁹ S. aûbâno. ⁴⁰ S. Kigo ; M. Kiv

b. aêdûno valâshân madam amat bevîhûnd¹ (aêghshân² dend mindavam³ avo⁴ nafshê yehabûnd²) mûnshân⁵ lâ zîndagîh pavan shalitâîh kâmak⁶ (aêghshân⁷ pavan shalitâî nafshê zîndagîh-î aîshân² lâ avâyed).

c. Avo valâ-î lak⁸ valâshân² kolâ 2 debrûnând⁹ (avo valâ-î¹⁰ lak asrûn Khûrdado¹¹ Amûr dad¹²) bên zak-î Vohûmanô¹³ demôn (bên Garôdmânô¹⁴.)

16. a. Ham-aêdûno, cîgûn pâhlûm pavan farâkhû¹⁵ hûshîh (pavan dânâk hûshîh) âmûkhtishno¹⁶ zakî dâhm shâe (î¹⁷ vêh mard shâe),

b. Pavan shalitâîh¹⁸-î Aûhar mazd amat, pavan zak-î valâ¹⁹ (damâno²⁰) zak-î li (bâvishto) âshkârako¹¹ (yehvûned²¹ zak-î²²) pavan gûmânîgîh²³;

c. Amat kêno¹¹ avo drevandân (aêgh, vinâskârâno²⁰ pâdafrâs²⁴ valâdûnând, valâ-î pûmê khvâstâr (mûn²⁵ avistâk²⁶ va-zand yemale-lûnêd²) ar'jânîgîh²⁷ (aêghash mozd yehabûnd).

¹ P.M. yehabûnd. ² J. adds o. ³ M. adds f. ⁴ J. ghal.

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 zîndagîh-î.

⁸ J. has valâ va-avo lako. ⁹ S. J. debrûnd; P. debrûnyôn.

¹⁰ J. omits f.

¹¹ S. omits o. ¹² J. adds o; M. prefixes va.

¹³ P. M. omit o.

b. Thus, though they petition²⁸ (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 *Khûrdađ* and *Amûrdađ* 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 *Aûharmazd*, 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 suppliant (who recites the *Avesta* and *Zand*) *there* is requital (that is, they give him a reward).

¹⁴ P. *Gârôdmân* ; M omits final o.

¹⁷ M. omits *î*.

²⁰ P. M. omit o.

²³ J. *gumânîgîh*.

²⁶ P. M. *aristâk*.

¹⁵ S. *farâkhvo*.

¹⁸ P. M. *pâdôkshâyîh*.

²¹ J. adds o.

²⁴ P. M. *pâdôfrâs*.

²⁷ P. M. add *î*.

¹⁶ S. prefixe *va*.

¹⁹ J. *ânô*.

²² S. M. omit *î*.

²⁵ J. *âgh*.

²⁸ Alluding probably to the begging for eternal life, mentioned in § 17.

It will be seen from this translation, that the Pahlavi translators had a fairly practical knowledge of the Gâthic 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 Gâthas ; 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 Gerêhmô, 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, Gerêhmo 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.

AVESTA *VAREMA*.

In Yasna 10, 14 of my edition I have written *vārem acaire*. It would have been better if I had written *vārema caire*, 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-a* "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 *vāreman* (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 *vāróm* or *vālóm*, and implies in a gloss that a portion of the human body is meant by the word. This *vālóm* is found again in the sixth book of the Dinkard, cf. West in *Sacred Books*, XVIII., p. 270, note 3. From the context *vāróm* must there signify 'heart' and a gloss in one MS. actually adds the word *Jo dil* '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. *hṛd* in meaning. Now in the Veda *hṛd* 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 kratuṃ Varuno apsu agnim

divi sūryam adadhāt sōmam adrau.

"Vāruṇa 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 Vanuhi: *uta hé ásnem khra-tím ava-baraiti várema* "and she places natural understanding in their hearts (*i. e.*, of the Saoshyants)."

In the second place (2) in the Veda *hr̥d* 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 *somáso hr̥tsu pítá-sah*, *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:—

hr̥tsu pításo yudhyante
durmadāso na suráyām
údhar 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 cold¹).'²

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

má mé yatha gáush drafshô
ásitô várema caire,
frasha frayañtu té madhó;
verezyanuháonhó jaseñtu.

'Do not go to my heart (*i.e.* stomach) too quickly like the cow as liquid² (*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 *yói aēshma haciñte khrvīm drvó* (Yas. 10, 8).

K. F. GELDNER.

¹ *údhar* = *átar*, Naigh. 1, 7. Here it designates still more precisely the cold night; it answers to Avesta *aodare* in Yasna 51, 12.

² In the same manner *mām (gām) hr̥stām* 'me (the cow) when boiled' (Yas. 11, 2) is equivalent to 'my milk when boiled.' For *hr̥sta* see Vend. 5, 82, and Nīrangistān 87.

VENDIDAD XVIII.

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

2. "Mit Unrecht führt den Ungeziefer-Töter, wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, fälschlich 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, fälschlich 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, fälschlich 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 fälschlich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

¹ Das sonst *aspahe ashtra* genannte Instrument. *mairim* (Adv. von *mairya*) ist eine durch den Zusammenhang gebotene Steigerung von *ainm* (= Skt. *anyethā* 'fälschlich ungebührig, unerlaubt' vgl. *Das'akumārācār.* p. 164, 24 *tām asāc anyathābhyamanyata* 'jener trug unerlaubte Gelüste nach ihr.')

² Den Abriman. 'Wachet 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 gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

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

9. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: "Der falsche Glaube von einem Lehrer,³ o Spitama Zarathushtra, der während eines Zeitraums von drei Lenzen die heilige Schnur nicht umlegt, nicht die Gâthâs aufsagt, nicht den guten Wassern opfert."

10. "Und wer mir diesem Mann, wenn er in Noth gerathen ist, wieder zum Wohlergehen verhilft, der thut kein bessres Werk, als wenn er ihm die Kopfhaut aufweitete."⁴

¹ "Die Brücke wird für den Gerechten so weit, als die Höhe von neun Specren beträgt, und für den Bösen wird sie so schmal wie die Schneide eines Rasirmessers" Dâdistân-î Dînîk 21, 5.

² *Kâ* nom. sg. fem., weil dem Fragenden bereits die Antwort—*agha daēna* in 9 vorschwebt.

³ Auch hier ist die Grammatik ganz korrekt; P. V.: durch den Lehrer des falschen Glaubens; zu *diēya* Lehrer, vgl. *daēnō-diō daēnayāi* Y. 57, 23. Mit *disyāt* ist unmittelbar das folgende *yō* 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. *pōst pahnâ kamâr kart*, was wörtlich in Ardâ Virâf 21, 2 als *kamâr pōst pâhnât vâdând* 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 verwunschen sich selbst.¹”

12. “Wer einem einzigen bösen, unfrommen Irrlehrer von dem zubereiteten Haoma giebt, oder von den Weihbroten, die für ein Liebesmahl bestimmt sind, der thut kein besserer Werk, als wenn er eine Horde von tausend Reitern in der Mazdagläubigen Dörfer führter, die Männer tötete und das Vieh als Beute fortführte.”

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.”

14. Es fragte Zarathushtra den Ahura Mazda: “Ahura Mazda segensreichster Geist, Schöpfer der irdischen Wesen, gerechter! Wer ist der Gerichtsbote des Sraosha, des dem Asha zugethanen, tapferen, der das verkörperte heilige Wort ist und dessen Waffe in Schrecken setzt, des dem Herren ergeben?”

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

wiesen wird, sowie die grausame Proceedur mit dem greisen Leichenträger in Vend. 3, 20 findet ihre Erklärung durch *Shâyast 14 Shâyast* 8, 6. Dort heisst es, dass wenn bei einem Todsilnder der Hohenpriester das Kopfabachneiden befiehlt, derselbe auf der Stellegerecht wird und von der Strafe der drei Nächte bewahrt bleibt. Ueber diese Strafe der drei Nächte sieh West zu Bund. 30, 16 und P. V. zu Vend. 7, 136 Sp. Es handelt sich um die drei Nächte unmittelbar nach dem Tod vor dem Beschreiten der Richterbrücke, von denen das Avestafragment aus dem Hâdokht Nask handelt.

¹ *Zânu drâjdo* heisst wörtlich: ‘wobei Verlängerung des Knies stattfindet’ *hizu drâjdo* ‘wobei Verlängerung der Zunge stattfindet’; vgl. Vend. 13, 48. Der Sinn ist: wenn man einem solchen Irrlehrer begegnet, so giebt man ihm statt des Segensgrusses einen Fusstritt, zweien streckt man mit mehr Vorsicht nur die Zunge heraus, bei dreien unterlässt man am besten jede Beleidigung, und bei vierten ist das überhaupt nicht nöthig, denn vier Irrlehrer sind niemals einträchtig, sondern beschimpfen sich gegenseitig.

16. "Stehet auf ihr Menschen, lobt das beste Asha, verwünscht die Devs! Jene Bûshyâsta mit den langen Pfoten kommt zu euch — sie ist es, die die ganze irdische Welt mit einem Mal, wann die Sterne erwachen (am Abend) einschlâfert — (mit den Worten¹): "Sohlafe lang, o Mensch, deine Zeit ist noch nicht um."²

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 Hilfe!⁴ stehe auf, o Hausherr! Ziehe deine Kleider an, wasche deine Hände, hole Brennholz, lege es für mich an und zünde mich an reinem Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Âzi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreißen wolle."⁵

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 zünde

¹ Diese Worte spricht die Bûshyâsta, die Dämonin der Schläfrigkeit, am Morgen.

² Ueber *sacaite* vgl. Kuhn's Zeitschrift 28, 301.

³ Dies ist die Fortsetzung der Rede des Hahns, nicht der Bûshyâsta. Ueber *aiwithyô* nom-pl. von *aiwi-si* vgl. Kuhn's Zeitschrift 27, 230.

⁴ Par. 22 zeigt deutlich, dass *arainhe* gegen die P. V. zu der Rede des Feuers zu ziehen ist.

⁵ *pairithna* (von *pairi-tan*) ist das Band, das Leib und Seele verknüpft, der Lebensfaden. Vd. 19, 28 *pasca para-iristahe mashyehe pasca frasakhtake mashyehe pasca pairithnem derenenti* 'nachdem der Mensch gestorben ist, nachdem der Mensch (die drei Nächte, während deren die Seele noch in unmittelbarer Nähe des Körpers weilen muss) ueberstanden hat, so schneiden sie alsdann den Lebensfaden ab.' Yasht 8, 54 *vispae ainheush astvatô parôit pairithnem aînhrâm aca hisidhyât* 'sie würde der ganzen, bekörperten Welt die Seele vom Lebensfaden los schneiden'. *parôit* mit Acc. = los von, weg von.

mich an reinem Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Âzi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen wolle.”

22. Und für das dritte Drittel der Nacht bittet mein, des Ahura Mazda, Feuer den dem Asha ergebnen Sraosha: “Zu Hilfe (komme), o dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Dann legt für mich irgend Jemand in der bekörperten Welt reines Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Âzi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen wolle.”

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

24. “Stehet auf, ihr Menschen, lobt das beste Asha, verwünscht die Devs! Jene Bûshyâsta mit den langen Pfoten kommt zu euch — sie ist es, die die ganze irdische Welt mit einem Mal, wann die Sterne erwachen, einschläfert — (mit den Worten): “Schlafe lang, o Mensch, deine Zeit ist noch nicht um.”

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

26. Dann wird, während sie auf dem Pfühl liegen, ein Freund von seinem Freund ermahnt¹: Stehe du auf, er treibt mich heraus. Wer von uns beiden zuerst aufsteht, wird glücklich hinüber² ins Paradies gelangen. Wer von uns beiden zuerst dem Feuer des Ahura Mazda reines Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen zubringt, dem wünschet zufrieden und freundlich das Feuer Wohlergehen:

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

¹ *aoshete* = Skt. â-ucyate.

² über die Cinvat 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 beschienenes (d. h. abgelagertes) und aus dem Wunsch nach Rechtschaffenheit gereinigtes."

28. "Und wer mir diese Vögel, Spitama Zarathushtra,— ein Pärchen, Männchen und Weibchen—einem frommen Mann aus dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt, der darf glauben, er habe ein Haus geschenkt mit hundert Säulen, tausend Balken, zehntausend Vorhängen¹ und zehntausend Fenstern."

29. "Und wer mir Fleisch von der Körpergrösse dieses Vogels Parôdarsh schenkt,² den werde ich niemals ein zweites Wort fragen,³ ich Ahura Mazda, (sondern sagen :) du darfst getrost weitergehen ins Paradies."

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 bekörperten Welt ohne Befruchtung?"

31. Darauf erwiederte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebener, schöner Sraosha! Durchaus nicht gebäre ich in der ganzen bekörperten Welt ohne Befruchtung. Ich habe jederzeit vier Männer.

32. "Die belegen mich ebenso, wie alle andern Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber 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 erwiederte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebener, 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 löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt.

¹ *Mishta* stelle ich zu neupers. *misht* 'seidenes Gewand.'

² P. V. "Einige erklären, dass er Fleisch in dieser Grösse einem frommen Mann giebt."

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 er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

37. Darauf antwortete ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebener, schöner Sraosha! Folgendes ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen. Wenn der Mann auch nur das geringste von seinen Bekleidungsgegenständen einem frommen Mann ohne dessen Bitte aus dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt.

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 ergebener, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der zweite dieser meiner Männer, wenn Jemand über den Vorderfuss hinaus eine Vorderfusslänge weiter pisst.¹

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 wegzubringen?"

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

¹ Man musste im Hocken genau zwischen die Füsspitzen pissen; vgl. *abrāhmaṇo yam yas tiṣṭhan mātrayati*, *Mahābhāṣya* ed. Kielhorn I, 411, 22.—*paurea* ist nach P. V. Praeposition=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 Ashem betet, zweimal *humatanām*, dreimal *hukhshathrótemāi*, und darauf vier Ahuna Vairya hersagt und das *Yenhe hátām* 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 Ârmaiti auf: "Segensreiche Ârmaiti: Diesen Mann übergebe ich dir, diesen Mann gib mir heraus an der Segen bringenden Auferstehung, als einen, der die Gâthâs 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: Âtredâta oder Âtrecithra oder Âtрезantû oder Âtredahyu oder irgend einen mit Âtre 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 Druj: "Dem Asha ergebener, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der vierte von diesen meinen Männern, wenn ein Mann nach dem fünfzehnten Jahr als liederliches Weibsbild geht: ohne heilige Schnur oder das heilige Hemd.¹

55. "Nach dem vierten Schritt fahren wir Devs sogleich nachher allesammt² in seine Zunge und ins Fleisch. Solche sind dann im Stande die irdischen Geschöpfe des Asha zu verderben wie die Zauberei treibenden Ketzler die Geschöpfe des Asha verderben können."

56. 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?"

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

58. "Wenn ein Mann nach dem fünfzehnten Jahr als liederliches Weibsbild geht: ohne heilige Schnur und ohne das heilige Hemd.

59. "So fahren wir Devs nach dem vierten Schritt sogleich nachher allesammt in seine Zunge und ins Fleisch. Solche sind dann im Stande die irdischen Geschöpfe des Asha zu verderben, wie die Zauberei treibenden Ketzler die Geschöpfe des Asha verderben können."

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 Zarathushtra u. s. w.: "Wer kränkt dich, den Ahura Mazda mit der grössten Kränkung, wer ärgert dich mit dem grössten Aerger?"

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 *vazhd dābārišnik* und Darmeseter's Note zu der Stelle. Obige Uebersetzung wahrt die Grammatik.

² *hakat*, ist Skt. *śakam*.

62. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: "Das Scortum¹, welches den Samen von Heiligen und Unheiligen, von Devaanbetern und Nichtdevaanbetern, von Verdammten und Nichtverdammten zusammenkommen lässt, o frommer Zarathushtra.

63. "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.

64. "Einem Drittel der segensreichen Ârmati (Erde) raubt es die Decke durch seinen Blick, o Zarathushtra. Dem frommen Mann, der einen Ueberschuss² von guten Gedanken, guten Worten und guten Werken hat, raubt es ein Drittel von seiner Stärke und von seiner Wehrkraft und von seiner Rechtschaffenheit durch seine Begegnung, o Zarathushtra.

65. "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."

66. "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."

67. Es fragte Zarathushtra u. s. w.: "Wer einer Frau, die ihr blasses Aussehen und ihr Unwohlsein und Blutung hat, beiwohnt, (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 *yô*!

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, beiwohnt (den Thatbestand) kennend, im Bewusstsein (der Sünde) und mit Ueberlegung (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 Herzteile² mit Weihwasser dem Feuer im löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen, die Vorderfüsse soll er den guten Wassern darbringen.

71. "Tausend Traglasten hartes, trocknes, ausgesuchtes Brennholz soll er dem Feuer in dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen. Tausend Traglasten weiches Brennholz vom Sandelbaum, Benzoin, Aloe, oder Granatbaum³ oder von irgend einem der wohlriechenden Bäume soll er dem Feuer im löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen.

72. "Tausend Büschel Barsom soll er binden, tausend Weihwasserspendern samt Haoma und Milch, geläutert und abgeseiht, von einem heiligen Mann (Dastur) geläutert und abgeseiht, mit einem Zusatz von dem Baum, der Granatbaum heisst, soll er den guten Wassern im löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen.

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

¹ In Gestalt nützlicher Werke.

² Die Stelle haben Haug und Darmesteter klar gestellt. Die Bedeutung von *asmanirdō* ergibt sich aus *Shâyast 11-6hâyast 11, 4*.

³ Nach Haug.

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 entstandnen, finsternen."

K. F. GELDNER.

DAS VOLK DER KAMBOJA BEI YĀSKA.

Die merkwürdige Stelle in Yāska's Nirukta 2, 2, in welcher von den Kamboja die Rede ist, wurde, nachdem sie in R. Roth's Erläuterungen zum Nirukta, p. 17 f., (vgl. auch sein Buch *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda*, p. 67), die wünschenswerte Aufklärung nicht gefunden hatte, zuerst von A. Weber, *Akademische Vorlesungen ueber indische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 169¹—194² im wesentlichen richtig gedeutet und kurze Zeit darauf von Max Müller, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 7, 373—377 unter *Heranziehung der Parallelstelle des Mahābhāṣya* eingehender erörtert; auch ist Weber, nachdem er in den *Indischen Studien*, 4, 379, und in den *Indischen Streifen*, 2, 493, den Gegenstand flüchtig berührt hatte, nochmals in den *Indischen Studien*, 13, 363, auf die beiden Stellen zurückgekommen. Trotzdem bleibt an Yāska's Notiz noch einiges klar zu stellen, was daher im folgenden versucht werden soll.

Der Wortlaut ist mit Hinweglassung einer verunglückten Etymologie des Namens Kamboja folgender: *śavatir gatikarmā kambojeṣu eva bhāṣyate . . . vikāram asyāryeṣu bhāṣante śava iti*, d. h. in wörtlicher Uebersetzung: "śavati mit der Bedeutung 'gehen' wird bei den Kamboja gesprochen, dessen Ableitung śavas spricht man beiden Ārya." Yāska will damit, wie allgemein anerkannt wird, sagen, dass śavati beiden Kamboja als Verbum gebraucht wird, während die Ārya nur die Ableitung śavas kennen. Was ist aber unter śavas zu verstehen? Der Commentator des Mahābhāṣya, Kaiyaṭa, bei Müller, p. 376, deutetes als Nominativ von śava "Leiche" in Uebereinstimmung mit der abweichenden Lesart seines Textes (*vikāra eva enam āryā bhāṣante*), indem er *vikāra* durch *jivato mṛtāvasthā* erklärt, wozu man die Bemerkungen von O.A. Danielsson, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 37, 39 vergleichen mag; ähnlich der Commentator des Nirukta, Devarājayaṣvan, in Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's Ausgabe des Nirukta, Vol. 2, 161 f. Besser wird man mit Weber und Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, Vol. 1, 241 an das Neutrum śavas "Kraft" denken, dessen verbale Verwandte bei W. D. Whitney, *Die Wurzeln u. s. w. der Sanskrit Sprache*, p. 175 f. s. v. çū verzeichnet sind.

Die meisten Stellen, an welchen die Kamboja oder Kāmboja sonst in der Sanskrit Literatur vorkommen und welche man in O. Böhlingk's und R. Roth's Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, 2, 79f. 229 übersichtlich beisammen findet, rühmen ihre Pferdezeit und die Rājataranginī, 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 ist.) 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 païle traduite du russe par St. Guyard*, p. XVII, Anm. 1 hervorgehobenen Verse (The Jataka ed. V. Fausböll, Vol. 6, 208):

kiṭṭa paṭaṅgā uraḡā ca bhekā hantvā kimim sujjhati makkhikā ca |
ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā kambojakānaṃ vitathā bahunnaṃ ||

d. h. "Insekten, Schmetterlinge, Schlangen, Frösche, Würmer und Fliegen tödend wird man rein: solche verkehrte Vorschriften nicht arischer Art haben viele (oder die vielen) Kambojaka." Hier wird also das Töten schädlichen Gewürms als eine religiöse Pflicht der Kamboja bezeichnet; sie waren also zweifellos Anhänger der zoroastrischen Religion — wie denn schon Weber Iranier in ihnen vermutete — und werden wir ihre Wohnsitze irgendwo in dem durch seinen Pferdereichtum ausgezeichneten Osten Irans (W. Geiger, *Ostfiranische Kultur im Altertum*, p. 355) zu suchen haben. Damit löst sich das letzte Rätsel bei Yāska: sein Kamboja-Verbum ist nichts anderes als das avestische *śavaiti* oder *śavaite*, welches — durchaus ohne etymologischen Zusammenhang mit einem Skr. *śavati* — nur in der Aussprache mit ihm zusammenfällt.

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 translation¹ 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 *e* and *e*, as, unlike the other vowels, it will be understood that (unless otherwise indicated by *ē*, *ō*) they are always written *plena* (Phl. 𐬀 and 𐬁), 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 *lacunæ* as indicated by Peshotan in his printed text.

¹ *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*; Leide, Brill, 1896, pp.41—43.

SITĠGAR PŪRSĠTO AKVĀNI.

PŪrsġt AkvĀn-i druj karġk¹
pavan gġsako² aharmoko aigha :

.
.³ va-atġshġno hurvarġno
bġlġsto-i girġno va zag-i zofar
rġstak⁴ zag-i
Aġharmazd dġno dahishhġkġn⁵
mas gabrġ-i aharġbġ-c
lġ zag mas zavġr-i min aharġbġ
akhġ-i Aharġbġ min gabrġġn-i
. dġno kġtak va
patash yashtġr-i Aġharmazd
homanam barġ
. kġtak yġkhsġnġto
li pavan zag-i mas nikġhġto.*

PġSUKHO:
. -ishnġk zak madam
darvandġh frġz nimġtano zagash
dġno
amġkhtano va kġnishno-i Ganġk
Minoi varġġto va-akhġ-c Aharma-
nakġk yġmla-
lġnġt va stġh hġdġtġn homand
dahishnġn-i Auharmazd
. ahġo pavan sar-

THIRD QUESTION* OF AKVĀN.

AkvĀn, the detestable (?) drġj
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 Aġharmazd 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 Aġharmazd (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 Ganġk Minġi worked
and the Ahrimanic nature. . . .
said and the creatures of Aġhar-
mazd are the material world
of good creation
nature in the supremacy over

¹ Cf. Arab. كَرِيه 'detestable'. But probably for كَرِيه, kġrġk, 'warlike, hostile.

² دَاسَاق, but more likely for دَاسَاق dahġġno ('mouth')—'by the mouth of a heretic'.

³ Evidently, from the latter part of the chapter, 'waters' (آب o آب) to supplied.

⁴ al rġtak. For meaning see Phl. Vend. V, 1. 'gorge between two mountains,' de Harlez.

⁵ Litt. plural of an adj. formed from dahishno, 'creation.'

* Litt. 'thirdly A. asked.' The subsequent chapters employ the substantial form pġrsġhno.'

dârîh-i dâmân cîgûn martûm
 va afash tano-mâtââno⁶ . . .
 . . . aiyârîh-i anshûtâ cîgûn
 gospënd va^x rûbâno-mâtââno
 hûrûbâno . . .
 va tano-mâtââno hûtano zîvarîh
 nîrûkîh avîrtar . . .
 . . . -shnîk val martûm
 rûbâno avîrtar pavan avoritano
 zagshâno . . .
 val gospënd tano avîrtar pavan-
 shân tano zîvarîh⁷ . . .
 [? mâ] yenîtano rîmônîh cîgûn
 drûjîh mëndavam va min drûjo
 . . . mâhmântar⁸
 rîmônîh vêsh drûjo yîn
 martûm pavan kushashno .
 . . . [nî-] rûkîh-i
 rûbâno râi mâhmântar gâs
 pavan tano vakhdûnît . . .
 drâyînâsh-i anshûtâ zîvandik
 tano hûrâyishno . . .
 . va vitarto tano homant
 rûbâno aharûbû zagac-i val
 rubâno pavan . . .
 . . yêkavîmûnâto lakhvâr
 val tano nêflûnît va tano rîmônîh
 yehevûnît . . . rûbâno
 arêkht afash val doshahû kashît
 . . . tar yêmlalûnem

living-creatures, as man; and
 hence (beings) of corporeal es-
 sence. . . . the assistance
 of man, as cattle; and (beings) or
 spiritual essence (endowed with)
 good souls. . . . and (those)
 of corporeal essence with good
 bodies, adornment(?), strength
 superior. . . -ic 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

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

⁷ *zîvarîh* of Pers. زبور, 'jewel, ornament'; but we might rather expect here and below *zîvârîh* 'strength,' as used in the original objection (*mas savâr.*)

⁸ The MS. MM. has here *vîrâshîto*.

va yîn gōspēndāno pavan kūsh-
 ashno sījākīh
 va-tano vazīnarih mīnoī-rāī gās
 pavan yîn tano karto
 . . . zinīk drūjo va-āzīnīk
 vāto-c kamīni⁹ va anshūtā tano
 i min māmāno
 drūjo patēshīh hūshmorto val .
 [aha] rūbāno
 va aharūbyāno¹⁰ lak pavan
 bēshishno va-istārīh-i
 rīmono zavār madam
 val mayāh va atāsh madam val
 bālisto-i girāno madam val zak
 zofar-i rūstāk aharmokīhā kartak
 āito lā dāto āito
 dūr min Aūharmazd dīno andarjo.
 Zak-i gōspēndāno zavār zak
 rīmonīh loītīh
 . . . dīno nīrūkīhā vīrāyishīto
 zakac hucārak va bahār-¹¹i
 min paityārak homandīh patash
 afash. barā kartārīh
 vad-kashīsh¹¹ cand stīh dāto
 shāyīto bandak gās patēshīh .
 . . . pavan frāz būrto-i val
 atāshāno avāno aharūbāno
 aharūbyān¹² va afzūn-i dāmān
 dānā
 dastobarīh-i Aūharmazd dīno

soul and drags it to hell . . .
 -er we utter,
 And in cattle through the strug-
 gle perishableness
 and the advancement
 (improvement) of the body
 on account of the spirit a place
 made in the body
 the living drūj and the lifeless
 wind meanness (?) and man's
 body from the in-
 dwelling drūj 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 fa-
 shion hast made. (It is) not the
 law Far from the
 religion of Aūhurmazd is the
 doctrine.

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

⁹ *Of.* Pers. کمین 'mean, base, despicable.' But there is also Arabic کمین '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. *ashaonīs* if *ashavan*.

¹¹ Lit. 'portion, lot, share.'

¹² Pers. کشش 'attraction, allurement.'

¹³ See above.

va hamdâtastânîh-ac-i amur-
akâno martum patash.

upon from it
accomplishment unto attraction(?)
inasmuch as the material
creation must be a place of sla-
very, an attack.
carried forward upon fires,
waters, holy men, holy women,
and the excellent know[ledge]
of living-creatures.
the priesthood of Aûharmazd,
religion and the unanimous agree-
ment of innumerable men upon
it.

The name **اڪوان** in the superscription of the chapter seems written 'Akvând'; 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 'Akouavîrai. In DK., Vol. V, chap. 198, § 2, **اڪوان واد** is read by Justi 'Krisiâkik Akwân,' i.e., 'the Christian Akwân' (contrary to Peshotan's interpretation, 'religious guide of the apostate ruler Karisâk'). Perhaps even the form **اڪوان** in our text may be an abbreviation or an error for **اڪوان واد** 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 Auharmazd's creatures, 'âdash va mayâ va zamîk va hurvâr va gospënd . . . va anshûtâ,' praise is offered to the Creator 'mano ash *mas karto min kolâ stihdahishuâno martûm*'—i.e., made man greater than all material creatures.) But, says the heretic, the just man is no

stronger or more powerful (*mas zavâr*) than the followers of another religion. Were I to become a worshipper of Aûharmazd, 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' (*sardârih*) — 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 *drûj*, 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 Vendidad.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE IRANIAN HINDŪKUSH DIALECTS CALLED MUNJĀNĪ AND YŪDGHĀ.

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 *Wakhī*, *Shughnī* and *Saryq-qolī* as well as with the more isolated *Yaghnōbī*, and we had also a general idea of the *Yūdghah* or rather *Yūdghā*, the only dialect of the Pamir group spoken south of the Hindūkush. But as to the dialects *Munjānī* (or *Mungī*) and *Sanglichī*, which are closely connected with *Yūdghā*, all our knowledge consists of a very short list of words, and the *Ishqāshamī*, which seems to be related to the *Wakhī*, 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 *Munjānī* grammar, a translation of the parable of the prodigal son into *Munjānī* and a piece of folklore in the same dialect. The *Yūdghā* 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 *Munjānī* to give some hints regarding the place of that dialect among the Pamir group of languages.

¹ *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie* I, 2, pp. 288-344.

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. *bāza*; M. *zhinka*, Yd. *zhinko* "woman" = Sh. *zhin*, Aw. *jaini*; M., Yd. *zhia* "to beat" = Aw. *jan*; M. *ghāva*, Yd. *ghāvo* "cow" = W. *ghū*. Instead of *dh* for original *d* we have *l* in both dialects, as also in Pashto: M. *lu* or *le*, Yd. *loh* "two" = Aw. *dva*; M. *legħda*, Yd. *logħda* "daughter" = Aw. *dughdar*, Pashto *tur*; M. *lera*, Yd. *turo* "far" = Aw. *dūra*, Pashto *lire*. A medial *ch* is also softened and turned into *zh*, as in M. *zhe* "from" = Yd. *zhe* (not *ze*!) = Aw. *hacha*, Pers. *ج*! The resemblance of the two dialects is also seen in changing initial *thr* into *sh* in M. *sherai*, Yd. *shurai* "three" = Aw. *thrāyō*, and in eliding the *th* of the medial group *thr*, as in M., Yd. *pūr* "son" = Aw. *puthra* and M. *yūr*, Yd. *yūr* "fire" = Aw. *āthr*-, Pashto *ōr*. Both dialects soften the group *ft* (Aw. *pt*) into *vd*: M. *avde*, Yd. *avdo* "seven" = Aw. *hapta*, Pers. *هفت*.

The pronoun 1st pers. sg. is M. *ze*, Yd. *zo* = Aw. *azem*, Pashto *za*, but in all the other Pamir dialects *waz* or *wūz*. The pron. 2nd pers. pl. is in M. and in Yd. *māf*, but in W. *saīsht* 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.

	Munjānī.	Yūdghā.
Sg. Nom.	<i>tāt</i> , "father"	<i>tat</i>
Gen.	<i>zhe-tāt-an</i>	<i>wa-tat</i> or <i>zhe-tat-n</i>
Dat.	<i>nə-tāt-an</i>	<i>ne-tat-n</i>
Abl.	<i>zhe-tāt</i>	<i>zhe-tat-n</i>
Pl. Nom.	<i>tāte</i>	<i>tate</i>
Gen.	<i>zhe-tāt-af</i>	<i>wa-tat</i> or <i>zhe-tat-ef</i>
Dat.	<i>nə-tāt-af</i>	<i>no-tat-ef</i>
Abl.	<i>zhe-tāt-af</i>	<i>zhe-tat-ef</i> .

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 *-e*; it originally belonged to nouns of feminine gender (e.g. M. *legħde*, Yd. *logħde* "daughters"), but was afterwards transferred also to such of masculine gender.

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

	Munjānī.	Yūdghā.		Munjānī.	Yūdghā.
Sg.	1. <i>duhum</i>	<i>deham</i>	Sg.	1. <i>zhiem</i>	<i>zhim</i>
Pres.	2. <i>dehi</i>	<i>deho</i>	Pret.	2. <i>zhiet</i>	<i>zhīt</i>
	3. <i>dshi</i>	<i>dehe</i>		3. <i>zhia</i>	<i>zhio</i>
Pl.	1. <i>deham</i>	<i>deham</i>	Pl.	1. <i>zhiam</i>	<i>zhiam</i>
Pres.	2. <i>dehaf</i>	<i>dehaf</i>	Pret.	2. <i>zhiaf</i>	<i>zhief</i>
	3. <i>dehat</i>	<i>dehat</i>		3. <i>zhiat</i>	<i>zhiet</i>

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 Munjānī and Yūdghā as in other Pamir dialects (cf. Grdr. 1, 2, pp. 324 and 325, § 63), but the forms *zhiet*, *zhīt* and *zhiaf*, *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:

Munjānī: *to hech-kella yu channā-men che-lī-at.*

Yūdghā: *to hech-kekan yū chennā-men chī-lit.*

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

WILHELM GEIGER,
Erlangen.

SOME INSCRIPTIONS ON SĀSSĀNIAN 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 *Bápâturmitrbútbag* we should not know without the gems, and that here were such functionaries as an *Erán Anbárakpat* or a *Nasán-andémángarán sardár* (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. 650-678, 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 Dastur 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.

Sháhóé zí magú zí Khur(r)akán zi nasán-andémángarán sardár
 'Sháhóé 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 *nasái*, for which I have proposed to read *nasih* (*Nom. abstract.*); here we find for the first time the regular *nas* without an ending, that was to be expected. *Andémángár* occurs with the meaning 'receiving, carrying' (see my *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, No. 596). West translates, in his *Shik. Gum.Viç.*, *andemán* 'domestically serving,' *andemáni* '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 *Apastán'al Yazdán* '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. 1383S. This fine piece has already been published by me in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 44, p. 675, No. 140.

*Shahpuhr-i rabá-é*¹ '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 *é*, 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 *rabá*, viz., *Barz-i rabá-é 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. *Tiré 'Tir* ; with a half circle at the beginning and end of the inscription. The inscription runs round a monogram.

C.—No. 1738B. 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(á)t 'Confidence (in God) *Wándat*.' Might this not perhaps be : *Apastán 'a(l) Yazd(án)-d(á)t* as a name meaning 'Given for confidence in God'?

C.—Recumbent zebu.

Arwand Shahpuhr-i Nêwánp(ā)t(ā)n shát(i)st(ā)n 'Arwand Shahpuhr, the son of Nêwánpát. 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 *Mitr dát*, 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 zí Wakhshíkán 'Wék, the son of Wakhshik.'

Wék (or *Wayak*) may be derived from Aw. *vayu-* 'air,' Justi in his *Namenbuch* notes a *Dihgún Wik*. *Wakhshik* belongs to *Wakhsh* (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 *Aturshusrdost*.'

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*. *Āturshusr* would be in Avesta *Ātarekhsšudhra*, cf. *Ātarecithra*.

K.—Head of a man.

P(á)k(i)chd(á)t (Nom. propr.). Some letters behind the head are illegible.

L.—Naked Greek goddess with a bunch of grapes in one hand.

Nútakí. Name of a woman(?)

Compare *Nútáturfarnbag* on a seal in the British Museum, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 44, p. 655, No. 25 ; of course also *Nartakí* might be read.

M.—Monogram.

Gabróé zí magú 'The Magian Mardoe.'

N.—Head of a bearded man looking to the right.

Mársand-í magú zí Dátshap(i)rchuwá(n). The inscription is distinctly engraved, but, as I suppose, with some faults. *Mársand*, e.g., clearly stands for *Máraspand*, and instead of *zí* there is *wí* (*Wídát* would be impossible). *Dátshapír* is Persian *Dátwéh*, *داتوه*.

O.—Wild goat and crab.

Néké ; with the same meaning as *shapír* (*Zeitft. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 44, p. 669, No. 107.)

P.—Recumbent zebu.

Rústé 'right.'

The same inscription is to be found on some other stones, as well as the well-known *Āpastún'al Yazdán*.

4. Mr. D. Z. Noorian in New York possesses the following stones :—

A.—Bearded head looking to the right.

Bar Shabáté zî Bar Nabúd barah 'Bar Shabá, the son of Bar Nabúd.' The Syrian name Bar Shabá has the Pahlaví ending *é*.

B. Standing female holding up a child.

Ohrmazdê khwat(á)h-i farsandán 'Hormizd, the lord of children.'

This is a curious inscription. Firstly, because the common Pahlavi form for Mod. Pers. *khudái* is *khwatái*, 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 Avesta. 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. *سوزن* 'needle' and others). Or does *farsand* belong to the same stem as Mod. Pers. *پسند*?

5. In the possession of Prof. Dr. M. Hartmann in Berlin.

Monogram.

M(i)tráturshámwáré zî Túrachán 'Mitráturshámwár, the son of Túrach'.

The name Shám is to be found on the gem in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 45, p. 430. With Túrach compare Mod. Pers. *ايرج* Eraj.

6. In 1894 in the possession of Mr. A. von Butkowski-Glinka in Paris.

Standing female with flowers in the hands.

Ómédukht. Apastún 'al Yazdín 'Omédukht. Confidence in God'.

One might also read Admétdukht or Émétdukht (see Justi *Namenbuch* p. 5 : Admét), the letter being written in cursive.

7. In the Lazarew Institute for Oriental languages in Moscou.

Standing goat.

Désh Warahrán (Nom. propr.).

8. In 1896 I received from Bagdad an impression with the inscription *Ātur Ohrmazdē*, '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.

Hamāwartē-i Zikān, 'Hamāwart, the son of Zīk'.

The name Hamāwart (Mod. Pers. *دورم*, '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 *Hamāwartē-i Zik*. . . .). For Zīk compare Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 385.

Of course forgeries have also been sent to me, *e.g.*, from Calcutta and from Sultānābād 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. Generally 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 *kāra(h)*, *ima(h)* (*H*)*utāna(h)*, *anīyā(h)uvd*, *ba(n)daka(h)*, *abara(n)*, *nāma(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 *Zūra(h)kara(h)*, *drauga(h)dīs*, *Dāraya(h)va(h)us*, *mātya(h)mām*, etc., nor *martiyā(h)*—nom. plur.—or *martiyā(n)*—acc. plur.—, but only *Zūrakara(h)*, *draugadīs*, *Dārayava(h)us*, *mātyamām*, *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* (cp. aw. *Vehrkāna*, Modern Persian *Gurgān*), but not *Artavrđiya* (cp. aw. *verezya*). 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 Bartholomæ, Justi and Foy, have, of course, been consulted.

PAUL HORN.

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS HYSTASPES.

COLUMN I.

1. Adam¹ Dārayava(h)uš² kšâyatiya(h)³ vazraka(h)⁴, kšâyatiya(h) kšâyatiyânâm, kšâyatiya(h) Pārsaiy⁵, kšâyatiya(h) dahyunâm⁶, Vištāspahyā putra(h)⁷, Arsāmahyā⁸ napā¹⁰, Hakāmanishiya(h)¹¹.

¹ *adam* pron. 1st pers. 'I' (Aw. *azem*); acc. *mām* (Aw. *mām*), *yathā mām kāmā(h) āha(h)*, 'as my desire was,' enclit. *mātyamām* 'that me not;,' gen. *manā* (Aw. *mana*, Mod. Pers. *man*), enclit. *maiyy* (Aw. *mē*), e.g. *A(h)uramazdāmaiyy, utā-maiyy, dahydušmaiyy*, also for the dative; ablat. enclit. *-ma(h)* in *hacā-ma(h)* 'from me' (Aw. *-maŋ*); plur. nom. *vayam* 'we' (Aw. *vaēm*); gen. *amākham* (Aw. *ahmākem*, Mod. P. *mā*.)

² *Dārayava(h)u-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)ush*, gen. *-a(h)aus̥h* 'Darius'. Lindner's explanation of this name, published twenty-one years ago—'holding, possessing goods,' Aw. *Dārayavrohu*—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.

³ *Kšhâyathiya-*, sb. m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyā*, plur. nom. acc. *-ā*, gen. *-ānām*; 'king,' Mod. P. *shāh*; *Kšhâyathiyanām Kšhâyathiya(h)* 'the King of Kings,' Mod. P. *shāhanshāh*.

⁴ *vazraka-*, adj. 'great,' Mod. P. *buzurg*; nom. sg. *-a(h)*.

⁵ *Pārsa-*, m. (1) 'Persian' (adj.), 'a Persian' (subst.)—2. 'Persia.' sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, loc. *-aiy*; Med. P. *Pārsī* 'Pārsi-Zoroastrian' (the inhabitants of Persia also called themselves *Irānīyān* 'Aryans').

⁶ *dahyu-*, sb. f. 'region, province, country,' Aw. *dahyu*, Mod. P. *dih* 'village' (Pahlv. *dēh*). Sg. nom. *-āush* (cp. Aw. *uzbāzāush*, Gāth. *hithāush*), acc. *-āum* (cf. Aw. *nasāum*), loc. *-auwā*; pl. nom. acc. *-āva(h)*, gen. *-unām*, loc. *-ushuvā*.

⁷ *Vištāspa-* m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, gen. *-ahya*; name of King Darius' father (Aw. *Vištāspa*, Mod. Pers. *Gushtāsp*).

⁸ *putra-*, sb. m. 'son,' Aw. *puthra*, Mod. P. *pusar*; nom. sg. *-a(h)*

⁹ *Arshāma-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyā*; name of the grandfather of King Darius.

¹⁰ *napāt-*, sb. m., sg. nom. *-ā* (Aw. *napādo*) 'grandson'; Mod. P. *navada*, etc.

¹¹ *Hakhāmanishiya-*, adj., sg. nom. *-ah*; pl. nom. *ā*; 'the Achæmenidæ.'

2. *Tâtîy*¹ *Dârayava(h)uš* *kšâyatiya(h)*: *Manâ pitâ*² *Vištâspa(h)* *Vištâspahyâ pitâ Aršâma(h)*, *Aršâmahyâ pitâ Ariyârâmnâ(h)*³, *Ariyârâmnahyâ pitâ* [*Caišpiš*.] *Caišpâiš*⁴ *pitâ Haġâmaniš*.

3. *Tâtîy* *Dârayava(h)uš* *kšâyatiya(h)*: *Avahyarâdiy*⁵ *vayam* *Haġâmanišiyâ tathyâmahy*, *hacâ pruviyata(h)*⁶ *âmâtâ(h)*⁷ *amaby*⁸, *hacâ pruviyata(h)* *hyâ amâġam taumâ*⁹ *kšâyatiyâ âha(n)*.

¹ *thah* verb 'to say, speak,' Aw. rt. *sañh*. Pres. conj. *thâhy* 'thou mayest say,' indic. *thâtiy* 'he says' (both being contracted from *thahâhy*, *thahatiy*); imperf. *athaham* 'I said,' *athaha(h)* 'he said,' *athaha(n)* 'they said.' Passiv. pres. *thahyâmahy* 'we are called' (with active ending), aorist. *athahy* 'it was said' (or perhaps *athahya(h)* imperf. with active ending). Inf. *thastanaiy*.

² *pitar* sb. m. 'father,' Aw. *pitar*, Mod. P. *pidar*; nom. sg. -â.

³ *Ariyârâmnâ*-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), gen. -ahyâ; name of the great-grandfather of King Darius ('making happy the Aryans').

⁴ *Caišpi*-, m., gen. sg. -âish, Teispes. (son of Achæmenes).

⁵ *ava*-, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava*, Mod. P. *ô*. Sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyarâdiy*; pl. nom. acc. *araiy*, gen. *avaishâm*; neut. sing. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avaf*), *ava-parâ* 'by, past that' ('he went past that'); *râd*- in *avahyarâdiy* (loc. sg.) 'for this reason' (adverb); Mod. P. -*râ* (*barây*).

⁶ *pruviyata(h)* adverb, with *hacâ* 'from early times,' from adj. *pruviya*, Aw. *pourrya* with suffix -*tah*, comp. Aw. *hvatô* 'by himself.'

⁷ *âmâtâ*-, adj. 'proved, fit,' nom. pl. -â; Aw. *âmâta*, Mod. P. *âmâda* (orig-

inally part. pret. from rt. *mâ* and *â*.

⁸ 1. *ah* 'to be,' with genet. 'belong to' (*khshatram amâkham taumâ-yâ âha(h)* 'the kingdom was 'belonging to our family'). Pres. ind. *amiy* 'I am' (Aw. *ahmi*, Mod. P. -*am*); *ahy* 'thou art' (Aw. *ahî*); *astiy* 'he is' (Aw. *asti*, Mod. P. *ast*); *amahy* 'we are' (Aw. *mahî*); *ha(n)-tiy* 'they are' (Aw. *henti*, Mod. P. *and*); conj. *ahatiy* 'he may be' (Aw. *Gâth. aňhaitî*); imperf. indic. *âham* 'I was' (Skr. *âsam*); *âha(h)* 'he was'; *âha(n)* 'they were' (Skr. *âsan*); middle *âha(n)td* 'they were.'

⁹ *taumâ*-, sb. f. perhaps *tau(h)mâ*, Aw. *taokhman*, Mod. P. *tukhm*; 'race, family,' nom. sg. -â: *yâvd taumâ ahatiy* 'as long as race (i.e. mankind) is (i.e., exists),' *utâtiy t. mâ biyâ(h)* 'thou mayest not have posterity'; gen. -*âyâ* (Aw. -*ayâo*, Skr. -*âyâ*); VIII. *mand t.* 'the eighth of my family,' *ġa(n)bujiya(h) amâkham t.* 'K. of our family,' *khshatram amâkham t. âha(h)* 'the kingdom belonged to our family,' *amâkham t. kushciy* 'any one of our f.,' *Khshathrita(h)* (*H*) *uvakhshatrahdyâ t.* 'Kh. of H's f.,' abl. -*âyâ(h)* (Aw. -*ayât*): *khshatram tya(h) hacâ amâkham taumâ-yâ(h) parâbrtam âha(h)* 'the kingdom that was taken away from our family.'

4. *Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś Kśāyatiya(h)*: VIII *manā taumāyā tyaiy¹ paruvam² kśāyatiyā āha(n)*, adam navama(h) IX *duvitātranam³ vayan Kśāyatiyā amahy*.

5. *Tātiy Dārayava(h)uś Kśāyatiya(h)*: *Vasnā⁴ A(h)uramazdāha(h)* adam *kśāyatiya(h)* amiy. *A(h)uramazdā Kśatram⁵ manā frābara(h)*.⁶

6. *Tātiy Darayava(h)uś Kśāyatiya(h)*: *Imā⁷ dahyāva(h) tyā manā*

¹ *tya-*, relat. pron. 'who' (m., f.) 'what,' Skr. *tya-*, (nom. sg. *syā*), but Aw. only *ya-*; also as article e.g. *Gaumāta(h) hya(h) magush*, *Gaumātām tyam magum* 'G., the Magian.' Masc. sg. nom. *hya(h)*, acc. *tyam*, plur. nom. *tyaiy*, acc. *tyaiy-patiy*, gen. *tyaiśhām*; fem. sg. nom. *hyā*, acc. *tyām*, pl. nom. acc. *tyā*; neutr. sg. nom. acc. *tya(h)*, pl. acc. *tyā*, *tyālish*, but also *tyā-nā (manā dātā)* 'whatever my laws (were)' with shortened *ā* as in *avadashim*, etc.

² *paruvam* adverb 'before,' *paruvamciy*; Aw. *pourva*.

³ *duvitātrnam* adv. 'of old,' cp. Lat. *diuturnus* (W. Foy).

⁴ *vashna-*, sb. m. 'wish, grace'; instr. sg. -ā 'by the grace (of Ahuramazdā)'; Aw. *vasna*.

⁵ *khshtra-*, sb. n. nom. acc. sg. 'rule, kingdom'; Aw. *khshathra*, Mod. P. *shahr* 'country' (older), 'city.' *khshatrapāvan-*, sb. m., nom. sg. -ā 'satrap'; from *khshatra* and rt. *pā* 'protect.'

⁶ *bar* verb 'bear, carry,' Aw. rt. *bar*, Mod. P. *baram*; imperf. act. *abaram avam (h)ubrtam* 'I bore him well-supported,' *abara(h) upastām* 'he bore aid,' middle *abara(n)tā 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 Gaumāta(h) vitham tyām amākham naiy parābara(h)*, 'when G. had not yet borne away (i.e., put aside) our family'; part pret. *parābrta-*: *khshatram tyā(h) haxā amākham taumāyā parābrtam āha(h)* 'the kingdom that had been borne away from our race,' *tya(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. *ima*, Mod. P. *im-shab*, *im-rôz*, sing. acc. m. *imam* (Aw. *imem*), f. *imām* (Aw. *imam*); plur. nom. acc. m. *imaiy* (Aw. *imē*), f. *imā* (Aw. *imāo*); neutr. nom. sg. *ima(h)*, (Aw. *imaf*), acc. plur. *imā*.

patiyâisa(n)¹, vainâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) adamsâm² kšâyatiya(h) âham : Pârsah, (H)uvja(h)³, Bâbiru⁴, Aturâ⁵, Arabâya(h)⁶, Mudrâya(h)⁷, tyâiy drayahyâ, Sparda(h)⁸, Yaunâ⁹, Mâda(h)¹⁰, Armina(h)¹¹, Katpatuka(h)¹², Partava(h)¹³, Zara(n)ka(h)¹⁴,

¹ *i* verb 'go,' Aw. rt. *i*, Mod. P. *ây-am* (with prefix *â*). Pres. indic. *aitiy* 'he goes' (Aw. *aiti*) sigmatic aorist *âish* 'he went' *âisha(n)* 'they went';

with *atiy* 'pass by, go past,' *atiy-âish* 'he passed by';

with *apariy* 'go behind, follow,' 3rd plur. imperf. *apariy-âya(n)* : *ima dahyâra(h) tyand mand dâtâ ap-* 'these countries followed my laws,' i.e., 'they submitted to my laws' (Bartholomæ reads *a(h)apariyâya(n)* 'they respected' and compares Skr. *saparyâti*), perhaps *upariyâya(n)* should be read;

with *upariy*, *upariy abashâtam upariy-âyam* 'I went upon the law,' i.e., 'I acted according to the law';

with *niy*, *niy-âyam* (corrected from *nijâyam*) 'I went away, marched off';

with *patiy*, *patiy-âisha(n) manâ* 'they came to me,' i.e., 'they became subject to me';

with *para*, imperf. *parâya(h)* 'he marched away'; imperative *para-idiy* 'go, march out' (Aw. *idhi*), plur. *para-itâ*; part. pret. *para-ita-*, nom. plur. *-â*.

² *-sha* enclitic pronoun 'he, it' (Aw. the same, Mod. P. *-ash*); sg. gen. dat. *-shaiy* (Aw. *-shê*) in *adam-shaiy*, *avathâ-shaiy*, *utâ-shaiy*, *tyai-shaiy*, *pasâva-shaiy*; ablat. *-sha(h)* in *hacâ avadâ-sha(h)* 'from there, away from

it' (pleonastically); plur. gen. *shâm* in *adam-shâm*, *avathâ-shâm*, *avam-shâm*, *utâ-shâm*, *tya-shâm*, *yathâ-shâm*, *hya-shâm*.

³ (H)urja-, m. 'Susiana,' Mod. P. *Chûzistân*; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, loc. *-aiy*.

⁴ Bâbiru-, sg. nom. *-ush*, acc. *-um* gen. (abl.) *-aush*, loc. *-aur*; 'Babylon.'

⁵ Athurâ-, f., sg. nom. *-â*, loc. *-âyâ*; 'Assyria.'

⁶ Arabâya-, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Arabia.'

⁷ Mudrâya-, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, 'Egypt' (Hebr. *Miṣrayim*).

⁸ Sparda-, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Lydia' (cp. Sardes, the capital of Lydia).

⁹ Yauna-, m. 'the Ionian'; plur. nom. *-â*.

¹⁰ Mâda-, m; Mod. P. *Mâh* (1) adj. 'Median'; (2) subst. 'the Median'; (3) 'Media'; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, loc. *-aiy*, pl. instr. *-aišh*, loc. *aishuvâ*.

¹¹ Armina-, m., sg. nom., *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, loc. *-aiy*, 'Armenia.'

¹² Katpatuka-, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Cappadocia.'

¹³ Parthava-, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Parthia'; Mod. P. *pahlav* 'hero' (originally 'Parthian').

¹⁴ Zara(n)ka-, or Zra(n)ka-, m. sg. nom. *-a(h)*; 'Drangiana.'

Haraiva(h)¹, (H)uvârazmiya(h)², Bâktrîs³, Suguda(h)⁴, Ga(n)dâra(h)⁵, Saka(h)⁶, Tâtagus⁷, Hara(h)uvatis⁸, Maka(h)⁹; fraharvam¹⁰ dahyâva(h) XXIII.

7. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kâyaṭiya(h) : Imâ dahyâva(h), tyâ manâ patiyâisa(n) vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) manâ bad(n)akâ¹¹ âha(n)tâ, manâ bajim¹² abara(n)tâ tyasâm, hacâma(h) afahy kâpavâ¹³ raucapativâ¹⁴ ava¹⁵ akunavaya(n)tâ.¹⁶

¹ *Haraiva-*, m., sg. -a(h), 'Herât' (Mod. P. Harê).

² *Huvârazmiya-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h), 'Chorasmia'; Aw. *Hvârizáo*, Mod. P. *Khvârazam*.

³ *Bâkhtri-*, f., sg. nom. -ish, loc. -iyâ 'Bactria'; Aw. *Bâkhdhî*, Mod. P. *Balkh*.

⁴ *Suguda-*, m., sg. -a(h) 'Sogdiana'; Aw. *Sugdhā*, Mod. P. *Soghd*.

⁵ *Ga(n)dâra-*, m., nom. sg. -a(h). Name of a country near the Indus, Greek *Gandaritis* or *Gandarikê*.

⁶ *Saka-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h); 'Scythia'; Mod. P. *Sagistân*.

⁷ *Thatagu-*, m., nom. sg. -ush 'Sattagydia.'

⁸ *Hara(h)uvati-*, f., nom. sg. -ish, acc. -im, loc. -iyâ, 'Arachosia'; Aw. *Harahvaiti*.

⁹ *Maka-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h); the country of Makrân.

¹⁰ *fraharvam*, adverb 'altogether'; op. *haruva* 'all.' Aw. *haurva*.

¹¹ *ba(n)daka-*, sb. m. 'servant,' Mod. P. *bandah*; sg. nom. -a(h), pl. nom. -â (or fem. adj. 'they were subject to me').

¹² *bâji-*, sb. f., acc. sg. -im, 'tribute,' Mod. Pers. *bâz*.

¹³ *khshap-*, sb. f., acc. pl. *khshapavâ* *raucapativâ* 'during nights or days'; Aw. *khshap* or *khshapan*; Mod. P. *shab*.

¹⁴ *raucah-*, sb. n. 'day,' Aw. *raocah* 'light,' Mod. P. *rôs* 'day'; sg. nom. *rauca(h)*, plur. acc. *rauca-pativâ* 'or during days' (instead of *raucâpa-*

tivâ as *avadashim*, *tyand* with shortened a), instr. -*abish*.

¹⁵ *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava-*, Mod. P. *â*; sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyârdiy*; plur. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaishâm*; neutr. sg. acc. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avat*), *avapard* 'by, past that,' ('he went past that').

¹⁶ *kar*, verb 'make' (Aw. rt. *kar*, Mod. P. *kardan*), pres. conj. *kunavâhy*, 'whatever thou mayest do' (Aw. *kerenavâhi*); imperat. *kunautuv* (Skr. *krñôtu*) 'he shall do'; imperf. act. *akunavam* 'I made,' *akunaush* 'he made' (with *sh* from the sigmatic aorist), *akunava(n)* 'they made' (Aw. *kerenâun*), middle *akunavatâ* *avam mathishtam* 'they made him chief,' *akunavaya(n)tâ* (causative), 'they did'; aorist act. *akumâ* 'we made,' middle *akutâ (h)uvâi-pashiyam* 'he made self-government' (Skr. *âkṛta*); part. pret. *kṛta-* 'made, done' (Aw. *kereta*), neutr. sg. -am; inf. *cartanaiy* (with *c* instead of *k*, as Aw. *cahyâ* 'whose?' near *kahyâ*); perf. optat. *cakhriyâ(h)*; *kashciy hya(h) avam khshatram ditam cakhriyâ(h)* 'somebody who would have made him deprived of the kingdom'; with *â*, imperat. pass. *âkariya(n)tâm uzmayâpatiy* 'they shall be empaled' (Skr. *kriyântâm*); with *pariy* 'guard' (Skr. 'adorn, prepare'), pres. conj. (1st class) *parikarâhy* or *parikarâh(i)dish* 'thou mayest guard them,' *parikard* the same (cp. Aw. *barâhi* and *paydô*).

8. Tâtiy Dârayav(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : A(n)tar¹ imâ dahyâva(h) martiya(h)² hya(h) dauštâ³ âha(h) avam (h)ubrtam abaram. hya(h) araika(h)⁴ âha(h) avam (h)ufrastam⁵ aprsam. Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) imâ dahyâva(h) tyanâ manâ datâ⁶ apariyâya(n); yatâšam⁷ hacâma(h) ašahy, avatâ⁸ akunavaya(n)tâ.

9. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : A(h)uramazdâ manâ kšatram frâbara(h), A(h)uramazdâmay upastâm⁹ abara(h), yâtâ¹⁰ ima(h) kšatram adâry.¹¹ Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) ima(h) kšatram dârayâmiy.

¹ *a(n)tar* prepos. with accus. 'within,' Aw. *antare*, Mod. P. *andar*; *a(n)tar imâ dahyâva(h)* 'within these countries,' *a(n)tar didâm* 'within the fortress,' *a(n)tar imâ hamaranâ* 'within these battles.'

² *martiya*-, sb. m. 'man,' Mod. P. *mard*; sg. nom. -*a(h)*, acc. -*am*, plur. nom. acc. -*â*, instr. -*aibish*.

³ *dauštar*, sb. m. 'friend,' Mod. P. *dôstâr*; sg. nom. -*â*; A(h)uramazdâ *tuvdm d. biyâ(h)* 'A. may be friend to thee,' *avaiy mâ d.* (sc. *biyâ*) 'to him be not a friend.' Aw. *zaoshatar*.

⁴ *araika*-, adj., sg. nom. m. -*a(h)* 'hostile,' Aw. *araêka* (epithet of the ant, not clear), Mod. P. *rêgh* 'hate,' 'enmity.' Also *arika* may be read Skr. *ari* 'enemy.'

⁵ *pars* verb, Aw. rt. *peres*, Mod. P. *pursidan*, 'inquire,' i.e. 'punish,' imperf. *aprsam avam (h)ufrastam* 'I punished him severely,' conj. pres. *pršd* 'thou mayest punish,' *avaiy ahifraštdâiy pršd* 'punish them with capital punishment.'

with *patiy* 'read (an inscription),' conj. pres. *pati pršdhy* 'thou mayest read,' *patipršdâiy* 'he may read.'

⁶ *dâtâ*-, sb. n. 'law,' Aw. *dâta*, Mod. P. *dâd*; plur. nom. -*â*.

⁷ *yathâ*, Aw. *yatha* (1) adverb 'as,' *yathâ—arathâ* 'as—so.' (2) conj. (a) 'when' with indic. preter.; (b) 'because,' *yathâ naiy araika(h) dham* 'because I was not hostile.'

⁸ *avathâ* adverb 'thus': Aw. *avatha*.

⁹ *upastâ*-, sb. f. sg. acc. -*âm* 'help'; Aw. *upastû*.

¹⁰ *yâtâ* conj. (1) 'when, while, with indic. preter. *yâtâ arđjanam* 'when I killed,' *yâtâ adam Bâbiraur dham* 'while I was in Babylon.' (2) 'until' with indic. preter., *yâtâ ima(h) khshatram adâry* 'until this kingdom was held,' *yâtâ adam arasam* 'until I arrived,' *yâtâ arđstâyam* 'until I put in its place.' *citâ—yâtâ* 'as long—until.'

¹¹ *dar* verb 'hold,' Aw. rt. *dar*, Mod. P. *dâram*, *dâshtan*; (1) 'hold, possess,' *ima(h) khshatram dârayâmiy* 'I hold this kingdom,' *kâra(h) Tigrâm adâraya(h)* 'the army held the Tigris,' *avathâ adâraya(h)* 'there he held,' (i.e., he held that city as the king's officer); aor. pass. *basta(h) adâriy* 'he was held bound,' *yâtâ ima(h) khshatram adâry* 'until this kingdom was held (i.e., occupied).' (2) 'stand ground,' *adakaïy naiy adâraya(h)* 'at that time he did not stand his ground.'

10. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uš Kšāyatiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam, pasāva(h) yatâ Kšāyatiya(h) abavam.¹ Ka(n)buiya(h)² nāma(n)³ Kūraus⁴ putra(h), amākam taumâyâ, hauv paruvam idâ⁵ Kšāyatiya(h) âha(h); avahyâ Ka(n)buiyahyâ brâtâ⁶ Bardiya(h)⁷ nāma(n) âha(h). hamâtâ⁸ hamapitâ⁹ Ka(n)buiyahyâ, pasāva(h) Ka(n)buiya(h) avam Bardiya avâja(n).¹⁰ Yatâ Ka(n)buiya(h) Bardiya avâja(n), kârahyâ¹¹ naiy azdâ¹² abava(h) tya(h) Bardiya(h) avajata(h). Pasāva(h) Ka(n)buiya(h) Mudrāyam¹³ ašiyava(h).¹⁴ Yatâ Ka(n)buiya(h) Mudrāyam ašiyava(h).

¹ bū verb 'be, become,' Aw. rt. bū, Mod. P. būtan; imperf. abavam kshâyathiya(h) 'I became king,' abaca(h) 'he was, became,' abava(n) 'they were, became'; pres. optat. biyâd(h) 'may he be.'

² Ka(n)buiya-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, abl. -â(h), gen. -ahyâ, 'Cambyses.'

³ nāman-, sb. n., 'name,' Aw. nāman, Mod. P. nām. The two forms we meet with are nāma and nāmâ, which occur only after proper names in the meaning 'N. N. by name,' nāmu with masc. and neutr., nāmâ with feminines. Nāma probably is the acc. nāma(n). Nāmâ with feminines may be an old Persian new formation on the model of the frequently occurring â- stems.

⁴ Kūru-, m., gen. sg. -aush 'Cyrus.' The length of the first u is proved by the Greek Kyros.

⁵ idâ adverb 'here'; Aw. idha.

⁶ Brâtâr, sb. m. 'brother'; sg. nom. â; Aw. brâtâr, Mod. P. birâdar.

⁷ Bardiya- (perhaps Brdiya-), m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am 'Smerdis'; cp. Aw. barezah 'height,' Mod. P. bāld.

⁸ hamâtâr-, adj., sg. nom. -â 'having the same mother' (instead of hamamâtâ).

⁹ hamapitar-, adj., sg. nom. -â 'having the same father' (Aw. hama 'the same').

¹⁰ jan verb. 'smite, put to flight,' Aw. jan, Mod. P. zanam, zadan. — Pres. imperat. jadiy 'smite' (Aw. jaidhi), plur. jatâ 'smite'; imperf. ajanam 'I smote'; aja(n) 'he smote';

with ava 'kill' (also Aw. and Pahlv.) imperf. avâjanam 'I killed,' avâja(n) 'he killed,' avâjana(n) 'they killed'; part. pret. ava-jata- : tyah Bardiya(h) avajata(h) 'that B. (was) killed.'

¹¹ kâra-, sb. m., nom. sg. -a(h), acc. -am, instr. -â, gen. -ahyâ. 1 'army,' 2 'people,' comp. Mod. P. kâri 'warrior,' kâr-zâr 'battle, field of battle.'

naiy adverb 'not'; Aw. nōit, Mod. Pers. nah or nai.

¹² azdâ-, sb. f., sg. nom. -â 'knowledge,' kârahyâ naiy azdâ abava(h), 'the army had no knowledge'; Aw. azdâ, Pahlv. azd.

¹³ Mudrāyu-, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, 'Egypt' (Hebr. Miṣrayim).

¹⁴ shiyu-, verb 'go,' set out,' Aw. rt. shu, shavaitē 'go,' Mod. P. shudan, shavam 'go, be'; imperf. ašiyavam 'I went, marched,' ašiyava(h) 'he went, marched,' ašiyava(n) 'they went, marched.'

pasâva(h) kâra(h) araika(h) abava(h), pasâva(h) dranga(h)¹ dahyauvâ vasiy² abava(h), utâ Pârsaiy utâ Mâdaiy utâ aniyâ(h)uvâ³ dahyusuvâ.

11. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) I martiya(h) Magu⁴ âha(h) Gaumâta(h)⁵ nâma(n). Hauv ndapatatâ⁶ hacâ Paisiyâ(h)uvâdâyâ,⁷ Arakadris⁸ nâma(n) kaufa(h)⁹ hacâ avadaša(h),¹⁰ Viyaknahya¹¹ mâhyâ XIV raucabiš takatâ¹² âha(h) yadiy¹³ ndapatatâ. Hauv kârahyâ avatâ

¹ *drauga-*, sb. m., 'lie,' Aw. *draogha*, Mod. P. *durôgh*; sg. nom. -a(h), abl. -â(h).

² *vasiy* adverb 'much,' originally 'according to wish,' Mod. P. *bas*.

³ *aniya-* pron. 'another' (not 'enemy'), Aw. *anya*; *aniya* — *aniya* 'the one — the other.' Sing. nom. -a(h), acc. -am, gen. -ahyâ, neutr. *aniyash-ci-y*; plur. nom. acc. m. f. -â, loc. f. -â(h)urâ.

⁴ *Magu-*, sb. m. 'the Magian'; sg. nom. -ush, acc. -um; Mod. P. 'Mugh, Môbat' (Pahlv. *Magôpat*).

⁵ *Gaumâta-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am; name of the false Smerdis ('cow-expert').

⁶ *pat*, verb 'to fall,' Aw. *pat*, Mod. P. *u-ft-âlan*; middle with *ul* 'revolt,' imperf. *ul-apatatâ* 'he revolted'; *ul* verbal prefix 'out' (Skr. *ud*) with *pat*.

⁷ *Paisiyâ(h)urâdâ-*, f., sg. acc. -âm, gen. -âyâ; name of a city or region.

⁸ *Arkadri-*, sg. nom. -ish; name of a mountain.

⁹ *kaufa-*, sb. m., sg. nom. -a(h) 'mountain'; Aw. *kaofa*, Mod. P. *kôh*.

¹⁰ *avadaš*, adverb (Aw. *avadha*) 'there' (never 'thither'); before

a following enclitic pronoun the *â* is shortened, e.g. *avadashim*, *avadashish*, *hacâ avadasha(h)* 'from there' (see *sha-*).

¹¹ *Viyakhua-*, m., sg. gen. -ahya. Name of a Persian month, (according to Justi 'without ice,' Mod. P. *yakh*).

¹² *thakatâ*, a much discussed word. It occurs always in the following construction: Name of a month in genitive, e.g., *Viyakhnahya mâhyâ* x (a numeral) *raucabiš thakatâ âha(h) yadiy* or *urathâ*, 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 *thakatâ* would be the loc. sg. of a subst. f. *thakati-* 'the course' ('cp. Aw. rt. *sac* 'to pass'), and *raucabiš* the instrumental of duration of time. If the first day of a month is meant, we find in the text *rauca(h)* 'one day was in the course.'

¹³ *yadiy* conj., Aw. *yēzi*; (1) 'if' always with a following conjunctive; (2) 'when,' *âha(h) yadiy ndapatatâ* 'it was when he rose up.'

adurujiya(h)¹ : adam Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûraus putra(h), Ka(n)bujiyahyâ brâtâ. Pasâva(h) kâra(h) haruva(h)² hamitriya(h)³ abava(h), hacâ Ka(n)bujiyâ(h) abiy⁴ avam asiya(n), utâ Pârsa(h) utâ Mâda(h) utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h), ksatram hauv agrbâyatâ.⁵ Garmapadahya⁶ mâhyâ IX raucabiš takatâ âha(h) avatâ ksatram agrbâyatâ. Pasâva(h) Ka(n)bujiya(h) (h)uvâ-mršiyus⁷ amriyatâ⁸.

12. Tâtîy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h) : Aita(h)⁹ ksatram tya Gan-mâta(h) hya Magns adinâ¹⁰ Ka(n)bujiyam, aita(h) ksatram hacâ pruviyata(h)

¹ *duruj* verb 'lie, tell a lie,' Aw. *druj*, Pahlv. *drujtan* : imperf. *adurujiya(h)* *arathâ kârahyâ* or *kâram*. 'he belied the people thus,' *adurujiyasha(n)* *kâram* 'they belied the people'; part. pret. *durukhta-* 'not true, false,' neutr. *hashiyam naiy durukhtam* 'true, not false,' with *rt. man* 'to regard as a lie.'

² *haruva-* adj., 'whole, entire,' *kâra(h)* *haruva(h)* 'the whole army.' Aw. *haurva*, Mod. P. *har*.

³ *hamitriya-*, adj. 'rebellious,' masc. sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, plur. nom. instr. *-aibîsh*, fem. plur. nom. acc. *-â*, *ha* 'away from' and *mitra* (Aw. *mithra* 'contract').

⁴ *abiy*, prepos. with accusative (Aw. *aiwi*, Mod. P. pref. *af-rôkhtan*, etc.); 1, 'to, towards' with *rt. shiyu* 'go over to,' *rt. nî* 'lead to,' *rt. ish* and *fra* 'send to'; 2, 'against' with *rt. shiyu* 'march against,' *rt. ish* and *fra* 'send against'; *ashuaiy âham abiy (H)urjam* 'I was on the march against or towards Susiana.'

⁵ *garb* verb 'seize, grasp,' Aw. *rt. gerew*, Mod. P. *giriŋtan*. Imperf. indic. act. *agrbâyam* 'I seized (Babylon and that Nadintabaira),' *agrbâya(h)* 'he seized,' *agrbâya(n)* 'they seized'; middle *agrbâyata* 'he seized (for himself)'; pass. *Fravartish*

agrbâyatâ 'Fravartish was seized.' (cp. Aw. *gēurrāin*, i. e., **gerewāyen*, Skr. *grbhâyāti* 'he seizes.')

⁶ *Garmapada-*, m., gen. sg. *-hyâ*. Name of a Persian month ('having hot traces').

⁷ *huvâmrshiyu-*, adj., nom. sg. *-ush*, 'committing suicide' (Aw. *huvâmerethyu*).

⁸ *mar* verb 'die,' Aw. *rt. mar*, Mod. P. *murdan*; imperf. (pass.) *amriyatâ* 'he died,' *â* nominal 'hither, unto, in' (e.g., *âpadana*, *ârahanu*) or verbal prefix (with *rt. kar*, *rt. yas*), also *ara â*, *patiy â*; Aw. *â*, (Mod. Persian *âmadan*, etc.)

⁹ *aita(h)*, demonstr. pron. neutr. 'this,' *aita(h)* *khshatram* 'this kingdom,' Aw. *aētat*.

¹⁰ *dî* verb 'to take away,' Aw. *rt. zi (zyâ)*, Pahlv. *zinîtan* (a Median form or only an Avestan transcription); imperf. act. *adinam khshatram-shim* 'I took the kingdom from him,' *khshatram adinâ(h)* 'he seized the kingdom,' *adinâ(h)* *Ka(n)bujiyam utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam* 'he took from Cambyzes both Persia and Media,' *tyâdish adinâ(h)* 'which he had taken away from them' (cp. Aw. *zinât* conj. pres.); part. preter. *dita-*, *avam khshatram ditam cakhriyâ(h)* 'he would have made him deprived of the kingdom.'

amâkam taumâyâ âha(h). Pasâva(h) Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Magus adinâ Ka(n)bujiyam, utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h), hauv¹ âyasatâ² (h)uvâipashiyam³ akutâ, hauv kšâyatiya(h) abava(h).

13. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h) : Naiy âha(h) martiya(h)⁴ naiy Pârsa(h) naiy Mâda(h) naiy amâkam taumâyâ kašciy,⁵ hya(h) avam Gaumâtam tyam Magum kšatram ditam cakriyâ(h) ; kârasim hacâ darsam⁶ atrsa(h) ;⁷ kâram vasiy avâjanîyâ(h) hya(h) paranam⁸ Bardiyam adânâ(h).⁹ Avahyarâdiy kâram avâjanîyâ(h) mâtyamâm¹⁰ kšnâsâtiy¹¹ tya(h) adam naiy

¹ *hauv* pron. pers. masc. and fem. 'that' (Aw. *hâu*); fem. *hauvmaiy hashitiyâ abara(h)*, 'she (a land) became rebellious to me.'

² *yas*, verb (inchoative stem to rt. *yam*), Aw. the same with *â* 'seize upon,' imperf. middle *âyasatâ*: *utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h) hauv âyasatâ*, 'he seized upon both Persia and Media as well as the other provinces;' *avam kâram â* . . 'he seized upon the army'; *kâram â* . . 'he seized upon the troops.'

³ *(h)uvâipashîya-*, sb. n. 'self-government'; acc. *-am*, *akutâ* 'he practised self-government' (i.e. sovereignty): cp. Aw. *hvaēpaithya*.

⁴ *martiya-*, sb. m. 'man,' Mod. P. *marđ*; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, plur. nom. acc. *-â*, instr. *-atish*.

⁵ *ka-*, originally interrog. pron. 'who, what?' (Aw. *ka*, Mod. P. *kih*); with *ciy* indef. pron. 'every, any.' *Kašciy*, (Aw. Gâth. *kaš-cit*)

hya(h) 'any one who'; enclit. *-kaiy* in *adakaïy* (q. v.), likewise *tucam kâ* *hya(h)* 'thou who (wilt be king)' — *-kaiy* and *kâ* were originally cases.

⁶ *daršam* adv. 'strongly, very' (*atrsa(h)* 'he feared' *patiya(h)* *uvâ* 'protect thyself.')

⁷ *tars*, verb 'fear,' Aw. rt. *tars*, Mod. P. *tarsidan*; imperf. *atrsa(h)* 'he feared,' *atrsa(n)* 'they feared' (cp. Aw. *teresaiti*).

⁸ *paranam*, adverb 'formerly': cp. Skr. *purāṇa* 'former.'

⁹ *dâ*, (rather rt. *dan*, Aw. *zan*; Mod. P. *dānam*) verb 'know,' imperf. act. *adânâ(h)*, (comp. Aw. Gâth. *zānotâ*) 'he knew' (had known).

¹⁰ *mâtya(h)* conj. 'that not, least'; with conj. *mâtyamâm kshnâsâtiy* 'that he might not know me,' *mâtya(h) maniyâhy, rikanâhy maniyâtiy, thadayâtiy*.

¹¹ *kshnâs*, verb 'know' (inchoative stem); conj. pres. *mâtyamâm kshnâsâtiy* 'that (the people) might not know me,' Mod. P. *shinâsam* 'I know.'

Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûraus putra(h). Kašciy naiy¹ adršnaus¹ cišciy taštana²iy pari³y Gaumâtam, tyam Magum, yâtâ adam arasam.⁴ Pasâva(h), adam A(h)uramazdâ⁵m patiyâvahi⁶iy A(h)uramazdâmai⁶ upastâm abara(h). Bâgayâdais⁵ mâhyâ X raucabis takatâ âha(h), avatâ adam hadâ⁶ kamnaibis⁷ martiyaibis avam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam utâ tyaisai⁸iy fratamâ martiyâ anuši⁹yâ âha(n)tâ. Šikaya(h)uvatis⁸ nâmâ didâ⁹ Nisâya¹⁰ nâmâ dahyâus Mâdaiy, avadašim¹¹ avâjanam, kšatramšim adam adinam. Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) adam kšâyatiya(h) abavam : A(h)uramazdâ kšatram manâ frâbara(h).

14. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h) : Kšatram tyâ(h) hacâ amâkâm tanmâyâ(h) parâbtrm âha(h). ava(h) adam patipadam¹² akunavam, adamšim

¹ *darsh*, verb 'dare,' Aw. rt. *darsh* ; imperf. act. *adršmaush* *thaštana²iy* 'he dared to say.'

² *ci-* originally interrog. pron. 'who?' Aw. *ci* ; neutr. acc. sg. *cish-ci³y* 'anything'; (Mod. P. *ciz*); enclit. neutr. *-ci³y* : *kash-ci³y* (Aw. Gâthâ, *kas-ei³t*) *na²iy adršmaush cish-ci³y thaštana²iy* 'any one did not dare to say anything.' *aniyash-ci³y* (Skr. *anyācid*) 'something else,' *paruram-ci³y* 'formerly also.' See also *ci³tâ*.

³ *pariy* prepos. with accusative 'against' (Skr. *pâri*) *pariy Gaumâtam* '(any one did not dare to say anything) against G.'

⁴ *ras* verb 'arrive,' Mod. P. *rasûdan* ; imperf. *arasam* 'I arrived' (*Mâdam arasam* 'I went to Media'); with *para*, 'arrive,' imperf. *parâ-rasam Mâdam* 'I came to Media,' *parârasa(h) Arminam* 'he came to Armenia,' *abiy Vishtâspam* 'to Vishtâsp.'

⁵ *bâgayâdi-*, sg. gen. *-aish* ; name of a Persian month ('the month of the worship of the gods').

⁶ *hadâ* prepos. 'with' with instrumental ; Aw. *hadha*,

⁷ *kamna-*, adj., 'little, few' (Aw. *kamna*, Mod. P. *kam*) ; instr. plur. *-aibish* ; adverb *-am* : *kâra(h) kamnam âha(h)*, 'the army was small in number.'

⁸ *Šikaya(h)urati-*, f., sg. nom. *-ish* ; name of a fortress in the district of Nisâya.

⁹ *didâ-*, sb. f. 'fortress,' sg. nom. *-â*, acc. *-âm* ; not identical to Mod. P. *diz*, *dizh* 'fortress,' which rather belongs to Aw. *daēza* in *pairidaēza*.

¹⁰ *Nisâya-*, m. sg., nom. *-a(h)* ; name of a district in Media.

¹¹ *-shi-* enclit. pronoun 'he, it' ; sg. acc. *-shim* in *adam-shim* (once neut. sc. *khshatram*), *avadâ-shim*, *âpishim* (from *âpish-shim*), *utâ-shim*, *kâra-shim*, *khshatram-shim*, *pasâva-shim*, *haruva-shim* ; pl. acc. *-shish* in *avala-shish*.

¹² *patipada-*, adj. 'being in its place' ; neutr. sg. acc. *-am khshatram akunavam* 'I put the kingdom (back) in its place,' i.e., 'I restored it'; *patipadam* may also be an adverb *patiy* and accus. sg. *padam* from *pad*, 'foot,' cp. *nîpadiy*).

*gâfava¹ avâstâyam,² yatâ paruvameiy avatâ adam akunavam. Ayadanâ³ tyâ Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš viyaka(n)⁴ adam niyatrârayam⁵ kârahyâ abâcaris⁶ gâifâmcâ,⁷ mâniyamecâ,⁸ viñaiñiscâ,⁹ tyâdiš Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš adinâ(h). Adam kâram gâtvâ avâstâyam Pârsamecâ Mâdamcâ utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h), yatâ paruvameiy avatâ adam tya(h) parâbrtam patiyâbaram, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) ima(h) adam akunavam. Adam hamataksaiy¹⁰ yâtâ viñam¹¹ tyâm amâkam gâtvâ avâstâ.

¹ *gâthu-*, sb. m., 'place'; loc. sg. *gâthavâ avâstâyam* 'I put in (its) place.'

² *stâ* verb 'stay,' Aw. *stâ*, Mod.P. *istâdan* (older *êstâdan*); imperf. middle *a(h)ishtatâ avadd* 'there it (the army) stood'; with *avâ* 'put down'; imperf. *avâstâyam gâthavâ* 'I put in its place'; with *niy* 'command, order,' imperf. *niyashâtâyam* (with *sh* instead of *st*) *uzmayâpatiy âkariya(n)tâm* 'I ordered that they shall be empaled.'

³ *âyadana-*, sb. n., 'place of worship' (not 'temple'), pl. acc. -â; from rt. *yad*, Aw. *ya-* 'worship' and prefix *â*.

⁴ *kan*, verb 'dig,' Aw. rt. *kan*, Mod. Pers. *kanlan*,—with *ava*: *adam kâram ma . . kâ(h)uvâ avâkanam* 'I dug down (i.e. I divided) my army in two parts (?); with *niy*: *avataiy A(h)uramazdâ nika(n)tuw* 'A. may destroy it to thee'; with *viy* nominal or verbal prefix, 'asunder' (Aw. *vi*, Mod.P. *gudhâshstan*, etc.); *viyaka(n)* 'he had destroyed' (the places of worship), pres. conj. *mâtya(h) vikanâhy* 'thou mayest not destroy,' *yadiy vikanâh(i)dish* 'if thou destroyest them.'

⁵ *trâri-*, verb (reduplicated intensive form); with *niy* 'restore,' pret. *niy-atrârayam* 'I restored,' comp. Aw. *nierârayáo* 'thou shalt restore.'

⁶ *abâcarish* or *abicarish*, the reading being quite uncertain. There are plenty of interpretations (e.g. 'market-places, commerce'—Pahlv. *vâcâr* does not allow a comparison with Mod.P. *bâzâr*—'pasture-ground, resources, waterworks, liberty'), but none of them is convincing.

⁷ *gâithâ-*, sb. f., sg. acc. -âm 'possession, fortune, estate'; Aw. *gaêthâ*.

⁸ *mâniya-*, sb. n., sg. acc. 'the house'; Mod. P. *mân* 'house.'

⁹ *vitha-*, pron. 'all, every' (also *visa*, a Median form in contrast to *vispa*); plur. instr. *vithaibish-câ* 'and altogether' (Bartholomae).

¹⁰ *takhsh* verb, Aw. rt. *thwakhsh*, 'be active,' Mod. P. *takhshâ* 'energetical';

with *ham* 'endeavour, be active' imperf. middle *ham-atakhshaiy* 'I endeavoured,' *ham-atakhshatâ manû vithiyâ* 'he was active on the side of my family,' *ham-atakhsha(n)tâ* 'they were active as my followers.'

¹¹ *vith-*, sb. f., 'race, tribe, family' (Aw. *vis*); sg. acc. -am *tyâm amâkham* 'our family,' instr. *vithâ-patiy kâra(h) hya(h) âha(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. *vithiyâ*; *hya(h) hamatakhshatâ manû* v. . . , 'who was active on the side of my family.'

yam, yačâ paruvameciy avatâ adam hamataksâiy, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâba(h) yačâ Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš vitam tyâm amâkam naiy parâbara(h).

15. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, pasâva(h) yačâ kšâyatiya(h) abavam.

16. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Yačâ adam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam. Pasâva(h) I martiya(h) Âtrina(h)¹ nâma(n), Upadara(n)mahyâ² putra(h), hauv udapatatâ (H)uvjaiy, kârahyâ avatâ ataha(h): Adam (H)uvjaiy kšâyatiya(h) amiy. Pasâva(h) (H)uvjiyâ hamitriyâ abava(n), abiy avam Âtrinam ašiyava(n); hauv kšâyatiya(h) abava(h) (H)uvjaiy. Utâ I martiya(h) Bâbiruviya(h),³ Nadi(n)tabaira(h)⁴ nâma(n), Ainarahyâ⁵ putra(h), hauv udapatatâ Bâbiraun, kâram avatâ adurujiya(h): Adam Nabukdracara(h)⁶ amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahyâ⁷ putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) hya(h) Bâbiruviya(h) haruva(h) abiy avam Nadi(n)tabairam ašiyava(h), Bâbiru⁸ hamitriya(h) abava(h); kšatram tya(h) Bâbiraun hauv agrbâyatâ.

17. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam (kâram) fraišayam⁹ (H)uvjam. Hauv Âtrina(h) basta(h)¹⁰ anayatâ¹¹ abiy mâm, adamsim 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 *Âta-redâda* or the like with the suffix *-ina*.

² *Upadara(n)ma-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of a Susian (*Ukpâtaranma*).

³ *Bâbiruviya-*, adj. (1) 'Babylonian'; (2) 'the Babylonian'; nom. sg. *-a(h)*.

⁴ *Nadi(n)tabaira-*, m, sg. nom. *-a(h)*; acc. *-am*, gen. *-ahyâ* 'Nidin-tubêl' (a Babylonian).

⁵ *Ainara-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of Nadintabaira's father; Babyl. 'Aniri.'

⁶ *Nabukdracara-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Nebukadrezar' (the Babylonian king).

⁷ *Nabunaita-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ* Nabuna'id' (the last Babylonian king).

⁸ *Bâbiru-*, sg. nom. *-ush*, acc. *-um*, gen. (abl.) *-aush*, loc. *-anv*; 'Babylon.'

⁹ *ish* (Aw. the same), causative stem with *fra* 'to send'; imperf. *fraišayam* 'I sent,' *fraišaya(h)* 'he sent.'

¹⁰ *ba(n)d* verb 'bind,' (Aw. rt. *band*, Mod. P. *bandan*); part. pret. *basta-*, nom. sg. *-a(h)*, plur. *-â*.

¹¹ *nî*, verb 'conduct, lead,' Aw. rt. *nî*, Pahlv. *nîtan*. Imperf. act. *anaya(h)* 'he led (him),' pass. *anayatâ* 'he was led'—perhaps it would be better to read *ânaya(h)* and *ânayatâ* (with prefix *â*);

with *patiy* and *â* 'to bring forward,' *aniyahyâ aspâ patiy-ânayam* 'to the other (part) I brought forward horses,' i.e., I gave them horses.

18. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)nš kšâyatiya(h) : Pasâva(h) adam Bâbirum ašiyavam abiy avam Nadi(n)tabairam, hya(h) Nabuk(u)dracara(h) agaubatâ.¹ Kâra(h) hya(h) Nadi(n)tabirahyâ Tigrâm adâraya(h), avadû a(h)ištata² utâ abiš³ nâviyâ⁴ âha(h). Pasâva(h) adam kâram ma . . kâ(h)uvâ avâkanam,⁵ aniyam . . šabârim akunavam aniyahyâ aspâ patiyâ-nayam. A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) Tigrâm viyatarayâma.⁶ Pasâva(h) avadâ kâram tyam Nadi(n)tabairahyâ

¹ *gub* verb, 'speak,' middle 'to call himself, to be called,' Mod. P. *guftan*. Pres. indic. *gaubataiy* (*kâra(h) hya(h) manâ naiy*) 'the army which does not call itself mine,' (*kâram hya(h) Dârayava(h)-aush khshdyathiyahyd*) 'the army which calls itself of Darius the king'; conj. *gaubdtaiy* (only once, perhaps erroneously instead of the indicative); imperf. sg. *agaubatâ* (*hya(h) Nabukudracara(h)*) 'who called himself N.,' (*hya(h) Mâdaiy khshdyathiya(h)*) 'who called himself king in Media,' (*hya(h) Bardiya(h)*) 'who called himself B.,' imperf. pl. *agauba(n)tâ Fravartaish* 'they called themselves of Fravartish (i.e. his followers).'

² *stâ* verb 'stay,' Aw. *stâ*, Mod. P. *istâdan* (older *êstâdan*); imp., middle *a(h)ištata* *avadâ* 'there it (the army) stood'; with *ava* 'put down'; imperf. *avâstâyam gâtharâ* 'I put in its place';

with *niy* 'command, order,' imperf. *niyashâyam* (with *sh* instead of *st*) *uzmayâpatiy âkariya(n)-tâm* 'I ordered: they shall be empaed.'

³ *abish*, adverb 'thereby'; as *patish* from *patiy*.

⁴ *nâviyâ*-, sb. f. 'squadron (of ships)'; sg. nom. *-â utâ abish âha(h)* 'and thereby was a squadron'; Aw. cp. *nardza* 'navigator,' Mod. P. *nâr*. 'boat,' *nâkhuud* 'shipmaster.'

⁵ *kan* verb 'to dig,' Aw. rt. *kan*, Mod. P. *kandan*;

with *ava*: *adam kâram ma . . kâ(h)uvâ avâkanam* 'I dug down (i.e. I divided) my army in two parts' (?);

with *niy*: *avataiy A(h)uramazdâ nika(n) tuv*: 'May A(h)uramazda destroy it to thee';

with *viy*: *viyaka(n)* he had destroyed' (the places of worship), pres. conj. *mâtya(h) vikanâhy* 'thou mayest not destroy,' *yadiy vikanâh(i)dish* 'if thou destroyest them.'

⁶ *tar* verb, Aw. rt. *tar* 'cross';

with *fra* 'conduct, lead' (Skr. tr. *tar + pra*), part. pret. *fratva(h)* [*âha(h)*] *hacâ yadiyâ(h)* 'the army was led astray from reverence,' i.e. 'it broke its oath of allegiance';

with *viy* 'cross' (a river), *viy-atarayâma Tigrâm* 'we crossed the Tigris': Mod. P. *gudastan*, *guzaram*.

adam ajanam vasiy. Âtriyâdihya¹ mâhyâ XXVI raucabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâ hamaranam akumâ.

19. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšayatiya(h) : Pasâva(h) adam Bâbirum âsiyavam. Abiy Bâbirum yatâ naiy upâyam, Zazâna(h)² nâma(n) vardanam³ anuv⁴ Hufâtuvâ,⁵ avadâ hauv Nadi(n)tabaira(h), hya(h) Nabuk(u)dracara(h) agaubatâ, aiš hadâ kârâ patiš⁶ mâm hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasâva(h) hamaranam akumâ, A(h)uramazdâmai upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâba(h) kâram tyam Nadi(n)tabairahyâ adam ajanam vasiy. Aniya(h) âpiyâ⁷ ahyatâ⁸ âpišim parâbara(h). Anâmakahya⁹ mâhyâ II raucabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâ hamaranam akumâ.

¹ *Âtriyâdihya*, -m., gen. sg. -ahyâ; name of a Persian month ('the month of the worship of the fire').

² *Zazâna*-, m., sg. nom. -a(h); name of a city near Babylon.

³ *Vardana*-, sb. n., sing. nom, -am 'city' (not Mod. P. *barzan*). [Pers. وردان].

⁴ *anuv* prepos. with locative 'along, by'; Aw. *anu*.

⁵ *Hufâtuvâ*-, Old Persian form of the river Frât (Euphrates); loc. sg. -auvâ (*anuv*) 'along the Euphrates.'

⁶ *patish* prepos. with accusative 'against'; Mod.P. *pesh*. 'before, in front,' is to be derived from Aw. *patisha* 'in front.'

⁷ *âpi*-, sb. f., 'water' (Aw. *âp*-, Mod. P. *âb*), sing. nom. *âpish* in *âpishim* (from *âpishshim*), loc. *âpiyâ* : *aniya(h) âpiyâ dhyatâ âpishim parâbara(h)*, 'the other (remaining part) was thrown into the water, the water bore it away.'

⁸ *ah* rt. 'throw'; 3rd. sing. pret. pass. *dhyatâ* 'he was thrown' (Skr. *asyatâ*).

⁹ *anâmakâ*-, 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 *ânâmakâ*).

COLUMN II.

1. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) Nadi(n)tabaira(h) hadâ kamnaibiš asabârîbiš¹ abiy Bâbirum asiyava(h). Pasâva(h) adam Bâbirum asiyavam: vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) utâ Bâbirum agrbâyam, utâ avam Nadi(n)-tabairam agrabâyam. Pasâva(h) avam Nadi(n)tabairam adam Bâbirauv avâjanam.

2. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Yâtâ adam Bâbirauv âham imâ dahyâva(h) tyâ hacâma(h) hamitriyâ abava(n): Pârsa(h), (H)uvja(h) Mâda(h)², Atorâ, Mndrâya(h), Partava(h).³ Marguš, Tâtaguš, Saka(h).

3. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): I martiya(h) Martiya(h) nâma(n), Ci(n)cikrâiś⁴ putra(h), Kuganakâ⁵ nâma(n) vardanam Pârsaiy, avadâ adâraya(h), hauv udapatatî (H)uvjaiy, kârahyâ avatâ atâha(h): Adam Imaniś⁶ amiy (H)uvjaiy kšâyatiya(h).

4. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Adakaiy⁷ adam ašnaiy⁸ âham abiy (H)uvjam. Pasâva(h) hacâma(h) atrsa(n) (H)uvjiyâ avam Martiyam agrbâyam, hyašam mačišta(h)⁹ âha(h), utâšim avâjana(n).

5. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): I martiya(h) Fravartiś nâma(n) Mâda(h), hauv udapataâ Mâdaiy, kârahyâ avatâ atâha(h): Adam kšâtrita(h)¹⁰ amiy (H)uvakštrahyâ¹¹ taumâyâ. Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Mâda(h) hya(h) v(i)čâpatiy âha(h), hacâma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h) abiy avam Fravartim asiyava(h); hauv kšâyatiya(h) abava(h) Mâdaiy.

¹ *asabârî-*, sb. m. plur. instr. *-ibîsh*, 'horseman'; Pahlv. *asbâr*, i.e., *asvâr*, Mod. P. *savâr*.

² *Parthava-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Parthia'; Mod. P. *pahlav* 'hero,' (originally 'Parthian').

³ *Martya-*, nom. sg. *-a(h)*; name of a Susian rebel.

⁴ *Ci(n)cikhrî-*, m., gen. sg. *-âish*; father of the rebel Martiya (the Babylonian text has *Sinsakhrish*).

⁵ *Kuganakâ-*, f., nom. sg. *-â*. Name of a city in Persia.

⁶ *Imani-*, m., nom. sg. *-ish*; name of a Susian rebel (the Susian form of the name is *Ummanish*).

⁷ *adakaiy* adverb 'then, at that time,' Aw. *adha* and *kaiy* (see *ka-* above).

⁸ *az* verb 'march' Aw. rt. *a:* 'drive, go'; *ashnaiy* infinitive locative 'on the march.'

⁹ *mathista-*, adj. 'greatest, leader,' Aw. *masydô* 'greater,' Mod. P. *mahist* 'worthy'; sg. som. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*.

¹⁰ *Khshathrita-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*. Name of a Median king; abbreviation from *Khshatrâdâra*, or the like, with the suffix *-ita*.

¹¹ *(H)uvakshatra-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyd* 'Cyaxares'; the *tr* (instead of *t**) belongs to another dialect than *khshatra*, etc.

6. *Ṭātiy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyatiya(h)* : *Kāra(h) Pārsa(h) utā Māda(h), hya(h) upā¹ mām āha(h), hauv kamnam āha(h). Pasāva(h) adam kāram frāišayam. Vidarna(h) nāma(n) Pārsa(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), avamšām mafīštām akunavam, avatāšām ataham* : *Paraitā, avam kāram tyam Mādam jatā, hya(h) manā naiy gaubataiy. Pasāva(h) hauv Vidarna(h) hadā kārā ašiyava(h). Yatā Mādam parārāsa(h),² Maruš³ nāma(n) vardanam Mādaiy, avadā hamaranam akunauš hadā Mādaibiš. Hya(h) Mādaišuvā matišta(h) āha(h), hauv adakaiy naiy adārāya(h). A(h)urmazdāmaiy upastām abara(h), vašnā A(h)uramazdāha(h) kārā(h) hya(h) Vidarnahyā⁴ avam kāram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Anāmakahya māhyā XXVII rancābiš fakatā āha(h), avatāšām hamaranam krtam. Pasāva(h) hauv kārā(h) hya(h) manā-Ka(n)-pada(h)⁵ nāmā dahyānūs Mādaiy-avadā mām citā⁶ amānaya(h),⁷ yātū adam arasam Mādam.*

7. *Ṭātiy Dārayava(h)uš kšāyatiya(h)* : *Pasāva(h) Dādaršiš⁸ nāma(n) Arminiya(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), avam adam frāišayam Arminam, avatāšaiy ataham* : *Paraidiy, kārā(h) hya(h) hamitriya(h) manā naiy gaubataiy avam jadiy. Pasāva(h) Dādaršiš ašiyava(h) : yatā Arminam parārāsa(h) pasāva(h) hamitriyā hagmatā, paraitā patiš Dādaršim hamaranam cartanaiy. Zuza(h) nāma(n) āvahanam⁹ Armaniyaiy, avadā hamaranam akunava(n).*

upā 1, prepos. with accusative 'on with,' *upā mām* 'with me'; 2, nominal prefix in *upastā*; Aw. *upa*, Mod. P. prefix *ba-* in *bāyad* 'it is necessary' from Old P. *upāyatiy*.

² *ras* verb 'arrive,' Mod. P. *rasīdan* : imperf. *arasam* 'I arrived' (*Mādam arasam* 'I went to Media'); with *para*, 'arrive,' imperf. *parārasam Mādam* 'I came to Media,' *parārāsa(h) Arminam* 'he came to Armenia,' *abiy Vištāšpam* 'to Vištāšp.'

³ *Maru-*, sg. nom. *-uš*; a city in Media (there is a Marg between Kermānshāhān and Holwān).

⁴ *Vidarna-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyā*, name of one of the seven conspirators against the false Smerdis ('preserver').

⁵ *Ka(n)pada-*, m., sg. nom., *-a(h)*; a district in Media (Kermānshāhān)

⁶ *citā* conj., *citā — yātā* 'as long—until': *avadā mām amānaya(h) yātā adam arasam* 'there he awaited me until I arrived.'

⁷ *man* verb 'expect,' Aw. rt. *man* Mod. P. *māndan*; imperf. *amānaya(h) mām citā* 'he expected me until I arrived.'

⁸ *Dādarshi-*, m., sg. nom. *-ish*, acc. *-im*; name of an Armenian and of a Persian commander of King Darius. Perhaps *Dādrshi*, cp. Skr. *dādhrshi* 'courageous, bold.'

⁹ *āvahana-*, sb. n., sg. nom. *-am* 'place, village'; Armen. *van* 'market-town, borough' (?), Skr. rt. *ras* 'dwell' and prefix *ā*.

A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kêra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kêram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Tûravâharahya¹ mâhyâ VIII rancabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam.

8. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Patiy dūvitiyam hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiš Dâdarsim hamaranam cartanaiy. Tigra(h)² nâmâ didâ³ Armaniyaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kêra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kêram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Tûravâharahya mâhyâ XVIII rancabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam.

9. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Patiy tritiiyam hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiš Dâdarsim hamaranam cartanaiy. Uhyâma(h) nâmâ didâ Armaniyaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kêra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kêram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Tâigracaiš⁴ mâhyâ IX rancabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam. Pasâva(h) Dâdarsis citâ mām amânaya(h) a . . . yâtâ adam arasam Mâdam.

10. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) Va(h)umisa(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)da(h), avam adam frâisayam Arminam, avatâšaiy afaham : Paraidiy, kêra(h) hya(h) hamitriya(h), manâ naiy gambataiy, avam jadiy. Pasâva(h) Va(h)umisa(h) ašiyava(h). Yatâ Arminam parârasa(h), pasâva(h) hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiš Va(h)umisam hamaranam cartanaiy. Yzituš nâmâ dahyâuš Afurâyâ, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kêra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kêram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Anâmahya mâhyâ XV rancabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam.

11. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Patiy dūvitiyam hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiš Va(h)umisam hamaranam cartanaiy. Autiyâra(h)⁵ nâmâ dahyâuš Arminaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kêra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kêram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Tûravâharahya mâhyâ . . . iyanamam patiy, avatâšâm hamaranam krtam. Pasâva(h) Va(h)umisa(h) citâ mām amânaya(h) Arminaiy, yâtâ adam arasam Mâdam.

¹ *Thûravâhara-*, sb. m., gen. sg. -ahya; name of a Persian month ('the month of the sublime spring'; Aw. *sûra* and Mod. P. *bahâr*).

² *Tigra-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h); name of a fortress in Armenia.

³ *didâ-*, sb. f. 'fortress,' sg. nom. -â, acc. -âm; not identical with Mod.

P. *diž*, *dizh* 'fortress,' which rather belongs to Aw. *daēza* in *pairi-daēza*.

⁴ *Thâigraci-*, gen. sg. -aish. Name of a Persian month (according to Justi 'the month of the garlic-gatherers': *thigra*, Mod. P. *sîc* and *ci* 'gatherer' Mod. P. *cidan*).

⁵ *Autiyâra-*, m., nom. sg. -a(h); 'name of a district in Armenia.'

12. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uš Kšāyatiya(h) : Pasāva(h) adam niyāyam hacā Bābirauš asiyavam Mādam. Yafā Mādam parārasam Ku(n)duruš¹ nāma(n) vardanam Mādaiy, avadā hauv Fravartiš, hya(h) Mādaiy Kšāyatiya(h) agau-batā, aiš hadā kārā patiš mām hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasāva(h) hamaranam akumā. A(h)urmazdāmai y upastām abara(h), vašnā A(h)uramazdāha(h) kārām tyam Fravartaiš adam ajanam vasiy. Ādukanaiš² māhyā XXVI raucabiš takatā āha(h), avatā hamaranam akumā.

13. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uš Kšāyatiya(h) : Pasāva(h) hauv Fravartiš, hadā kamnabiš asabāribiš, amuta(h)³ Ragā⁴ nāmā dahyāuš Mādaiy avadā asiyava(h). Pasāva(h) adam kārām frāišayam tyaipatiy, Fravartiš agrbāyatā, anayatā abiy mām. Adamšaiy utā nāham⁵ utā gaušā⁶ utā (h)izuvam frājanam utāšaiy cašma avajam. Duvarayāmai⁷ basta(h) adāriy haruvašim⁸ kārā(h) avaina(h).⁹ Pasāva(h) adam Hagmatānaiy¹⁰ uzmayāpati¹¹

¹ *Ku(n)duru-*, nom. sg. *-ušh*. Name of a city in Media, probably the modern Kundur near Qazwīn.

² *Ādukanai-* gen. sg. *-aišh*; name of a Persian month (according to Justi 'the month of canal-digging,' Aw. compare *ādhu-frādhana* 'furthering the canals').

³ *amuta(h)*, adverb 'thence'; Skr. *amútaḥ*.

⁴ *Ragā-*, f. sg. nom. *-ā*, gen. abl. *-āyā*; old name of the district of Rai.

⁵ *nāh-*, sb. m. 'nose,' sg. acc. *-am*; Aw. *nāōnhā*.

⁶ *gaušā-*, sb. m., dual acc. *-ā*, 'ears'; Aw. *gaosha*, Mod. P. *gōsh*.

⁷ *duvar-*, sb. m. 'door, court' Aw. *dvar*, Mod. P. *dar* 'door'; sg. loc. *-ayā-maiy* 'at my court.'

⁸ *haruva-*, adj., 'whole, entire,' *kāra(h) haruva(h)* 'the whole army'; Aw. *haruva*, Mod. P. *har*.

⁹ *rain* verb 'see,' Aw. rt. *raēn*, Mod. P. *bīn-am*; pres. conj. *raināhy* 'thou mayest see,' imperf. *avaina(h) haruvashīm kārā(h)* 'the whole people saw him.'

¹⁰ *Hagmatāna-*, loc. sg. *-aiy*, 'Ecbatana,' Mod. P. *Hamadān* ('the place of coming together.')

¹¹ *uzam-*, sb. f., lit. 'a thing protruding from the earth' (*ud* and *zam* 'earth') i.e. 'a post, pale'; sg. loc. *uzmayāpati y oram akunavam*, 'I made him on a pale,' i.e. 'I empaled him,' *ākariya(n)tām* 'they shall be empaled.'

akunavam, utâ martiyâ tyaisaiy frata¹mâ anusiya²â(h)a(n)tâ, avaiy³ Hagmatâ-naiy a(n)tar didâm frâha(n)jam.⁴

14. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h): I martiya(h) Citra(n)takma(h)* nâma(n) Asagartiya(h),⁵ hauvmai⁶ hamitriya(h) abava(h), kârahyâ avatâ afaha(h): Adam kšâyatiya(h) amiy Asagartaiy (H)uvakštrahyâ taumâyâ. Pasâva(h) adam kâram Pârsam utâ Mâdam frâišayam. Takmaspâda(h)⁶ nâma(n) Mâda(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h) avamšâm matištam akunavam, avatâšâm afaham: Paraitâ, kâram tyam hamitriyam hya(h) manâ naiy gaubâtiy avam jatâ. Pasâva(h) Takmaspâda(h) hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h), hamaranam akunauš hadâ Citra(n)takmâ. A(h)uramazdâmai⁷ upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n), utâ Citra(n)takmam agrbâya(h), auaya(h) abiy mâm. Pasâvasaiy adam utâ nâham ntâ gaušâ frâjanam, utâšaiy cašma avajam. Duvarayâmai⁸ basta(h) adâriy, haruvašim kâra(h) avaina(h). Pasâvašim Arbairâyâ uzmayâpatiy akunavam.

15. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h): Ima(h)tya manâ krtam Mâdaiy.

16. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyatiya(h). Parfava(h) utâ Vrâkana(h)⁷ hamitriyâ abava(n) utâ Fravartaiš agauba(n)tâ. Vištâspa(h) manâ pitâ hau Parfava⁸iy âha(h) kârašim nvâra(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h). Vištâspa(h) hadâ kârâ hya(h) anusiya(h) parâya(h). Vispa(h)uzatiš nâma(n) vardanam Parfava⁹iy, avatâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmai⁷ upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) Vištâspa(h) kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) easiy, Viyaknahya mâhyâ XXII raucabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam.

¹ *anushiya-*, sb. m., 'follower'; plur. nom. -â. From *anuv* with the suffix -*shiya* (Aw. -*thya*, Skr. -*tya*).

² *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava*, Mod. P. *ô*; sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyârâdiy*; plur. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaišâm*; neutr. sg. acc. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avaf*), *avaparâ* 'by, past that' ('he went past that').

³ *ha(n)j* verb with *fra*, imperf. *frâha(n)jam avaiy Hagmatânaiy a(n)tar didâm* 'I hanged them up at Ecbatana in the fortress,' Skr. rt. *sañj* 'hang'; *a(n)tar* seems to be a false restoration, Foy therefore proposes *para(h)* 'before,' Aw. *parô*,

Skr. *puras* 'I hanged them up in Ecbatana before the fortress.'

⁴ *Citra(n)takhma-*, m., nom. sg. -*a(h)*, acc. -*am*, instr. -*â*. Name of a Sagartian rebel ('strong with regard to the offspring,' *citram* being accusative neutr., cp. Greek Tritan-tuikhmês); Mod. P. *cîhr-tahan* (Aw. *Cîthrat* and *takhma*).

⁵ *Asagartiya-*, sg. nom. -*a(h)*, 'Sagartian.'

⁶ *Takmaspâda-*, m., nom. sg. -*a(h)*; name of a commander of King Darius ('having a strong army'; Aw. *spâdha*, Mod. P. *siptâh*).

⁷ *Vrâkana-*, m., sg. nom. -*a(h)*, 'Hyrcania'; Mod. P. *Gurgân*.

COLUMN III.

1. Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kšāyatiya(h) : Pasāva(h) adam kâram Pârsam frâisayam abiy Vištāspam hacā Ragūyā. Yatā hauv kâra(h) parârasa(h) abiy Vištāspam, pasāva(h) Vištāspa(h) āyasatā¹ avam kâram ašiyava(h). Pati-grābanā² nâma(n) vardanam Partavaiy, avadā hamaranam akunauš hadā hamitriyaiḥ. A(h)uramazdāmai upastām abara(h), vašnā A(h)uramazdāha(h) Vištāspa(h) avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Garmapadahya mālhyā I rauca takatā āha(h), avatāšām hamaranam krtam.

2. Tatiy Dārayava(h)us kšāyatiya(h) : Pasāva(h) dahyâus manā abava(h), ima(h) tya(h) manā krtam Partavaiy.

3. Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kšāyatiya(h) : Margus³ nāmā dahyâus, hauvmaiḥ hašitiyā⁴ abava(h). I martiya(h) Frāda(h)⁵ nâma(n) Mārgava(h), avam matīstam akunavatā. Pasāva(h) adam frâisayam Dādaršis nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), Bāktriyā⁶ kšatrapāvā, abiy avam avatāšaiy ataham : Parai-diy, avam kâram jadyi hya(h) manā naiy gaubataiy. Pasāva(h) Dādaršis hadā kârā ašiyava(h), hamaranam akunauš hadā Margayaiḥ. A(h)uramazdāmai upastām abara(h), vašnā A(h)uramazdāha kâra(h) hya(h) manā avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Ātriyādiyahya⁷ mālhyā XXIII raucabiš takatā āha(h), avatāšām hamaranam krtam.

4. Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kšāyatiya(h) : Pasāva(h) dahyâus manā abava(h), ima(h) tya(h) manā krtam Bāktriyā.

5. Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kšāyatiya(h) : I martiya(h) Vahyazdāta(h)⁸ nâma(n), Tāravā⁹ nâma(n) vardanam Yutiya¹⁰ nāmā dahyâus Pârsaiy, avadā

¹ *Āyasatā*, imperf. middle, rt. *yas* (incohortive stem to rt. *yam*), Aw. the same; with *ā* 'seize upon': *utā Pârsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva(h) hauv āyasatā* 'he seized both Persia and Media as well as other provinces,' *avam kâram āyasatā* 'he seized the army.'

² *Patigrabanā*-, f., nom. sg. -ā; name of a city in Parthia.

³ *Margu*-, sg. nom. -ush, acc. -um 'Margiana, Merw'; Aw. *Mouru*.

⁴ *hashitiya*-, adj., 'rebellious,' sg. nom. -ā; *ha* 'away from' and *shiti* Skr. *kṣhiti* '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 *Bāktrī*-, f., sg. nom. -ish, loc. -iyā 'Bactria,' Mod. P. *Balkh*.

⁷ *Ātriyādiya*-, 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 *Yutiya*-, f., nom. sg. -ā; name of a district in Persia.

adâraya(h). Hauv duvitiyam¹ ndapatatâ Pârsaiy, kârahyâ avatâ afaha(h) : adam Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûraus putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Pârsa(h) hya(h) viçâpatiy hacâ yadâyâ(h)² fratrtâ(h). Hauv hacâma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h) abiy avam Vahyazdâtam âsiyava(h), hauv kšâyatiya(h) abavah Pârsaiy.

6. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam kâram Pârsam utâ Mâdam frâisayam, hya(h) upâ mâm âha(h). Artavardiya(h)³ nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avamsâm mafištâmakunavam, hya(h) aniya(h) kâra(h) Pârsa(h) pasâ manâ âsiyava(h) *Mâdam, Pasâva(h) Artavardiya(h) hadâ kârâ âsiyava(h)* Pârsam. Yatâ Pârsam parâvasa(h), Rakâ⁴ nâma(n) vardanam Pârsaiy, avadâ hauv Vahyazdâta(h) hya(h) Bardiya(h) agaubatâ, âis hadâ kârâ patiš Artavardiyam hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasâva(h) hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmai upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahya aja(n) vasiy. Tura-vâharahya mâhyâ XII raucabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam.

7. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) hauv Vahyazdâta(h) hadâ kamnaibiš asabâribiš amuta(h) âsiyava(h) Paisiyâ(h)uvâdâm, hacâ avada-ša(h) kâram âyasatâ hyâparam⁵ âis patiš Artavrdiyam hamaranam cartanaiy. Prga(h)⁶ nâma(n) kaufâ(h), avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmai upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahya aja(n) vasiy. Garmapadahya mâhyâ VI raucabiš takatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam, utâ avam Vahyazdâtam agrbâya(n), utâ martiyâ tyaisaiy frata-mâ anusi-yâ âha(n)tâ agrbâya(n).

8. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam avam Vahyazdâtam utâ martiyâ tyaisaiy frata-mâ anusi-yâ âha(n)tâ, (H)uvâdaicaya(h)⁷ nâma(n) vardanam Pârsaiy, avadašis uzmayâpatiy akunavam.

¹ *duvitiya-*, numeral 'the second'; *duvitiyam* or mostly *patiy duvitiyam* 'a second time'; perhaps *duvitiya*, cp. Skr. *dr̥itiya*.

² *yadâ-*, sb. f., 'reverence'; sg. ablat. *kâra(h) hacâ yadâyâ(h) fratrtâ(h) âha(h)* 'the army was led astray from reverence'; from rt. *yad*, Aw. rt. *yaz* 'adore'; originally *yadâ* may have had the meaning 'worship,' as Mod. P. *namâz* originally meant 'worship' and then 'obedience.'

³ *Artavardiya-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h), acc. -am; name of a commander of

King Darius ('right working'; Aw. *ashaverezya* would be Old P. *Artavrdiya*).

⁴ *Rakhdâ-*, f., sg. nom. -â; name of a city near the border of Persia and Susiana (Ammian has Arakha).

⁵ *hyâpara-*, 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. *Forj* in Lâristân.

⁷ *Huvâdaicaya-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h); name of a city in Persia,

9. *Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kśāyatiya(h)*: Hauv Vahyazdāta(h), hya(h) Bardiya(h) agaubatā, hauv kāram frāisaya(h) Hara(h)uvatiṃ, Vivāna(h)¹ nāma(n) Pārša(h) manā ba(n)daka(h), Hara(h)uvatiyā kśatrapāvā, abiy avam, utāśām I martiyam maṭiṣṭam akunaus, avatāśām atāha(h): Paraitā, Vivānam jatā, utā avam kāram hya(h) Dārayavahaus kśāyatiyahyā gaubataiy Pasāva(h) hauv kāra(h) aśiyava(h) tyam Vahyazdāta(h) frāisaya(h) abiy Vivānam 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) vasiy. Anāmakahya māhyā XIII raucabiś fakatā āha(h), avatāśām hamaranam krtam.

10. *Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kśāyatiya(h)*: Patiy hyāparam hamitriyā ha-gmatā, paraitā patiš Vivānam hamaranam cartanaiy. Ga(n)duṭava(h)³ nāmā dahyāus 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) vasiy. Viyaknahya māhyā VII raucabiś fakatā āha(h), avatāśām hamaranam krtam.

11. *Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kśāyatiya(h)*: Pasāva(h) hauv martiya(h), hya(h) avahyā kārahyā maṭiṣṭa(h) āha(h), tyam Vahyazdāta(h) frāisaya(h) abiy Vivānam, hauv maṭiṣṭa(h) hadā kamnaibiś asabāribiś aśiyava(h). Arśādā⁴ nāmā didā Hara(h)uvatiyā avaparā⁵ atiyāiś. Pasāva(h) Vivāna(h) hadā kārā nipadiy tyaiy aśiyava(h), avadāśim agrbāya(h), utā martiyā tyaiśaiy fratamā anuśiyā āha(n)tā avāja(n).

12. *Tātiy Dārayava(h)us kśāyatiya(h)*: Pasāva(h) dahyāus manā abavah; ima(h) tya(h) manā krtam Hara(h)uvatiyā.

¹ *Vivāna-*, m. sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*; name of a satrap in Arachosia (or perhaps *Vivāhana*, cp. Aw. *Vivādhādhō*).

² *Kāpiśhakāni-*, f., nom. sg. *-iśh*. Name of a fortress in Arachosia.

³ *Ga(n)duṭava-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; a district in Arachosia. Perhaps *Ga(n)duṇava(h)*, according to Justi, 'land of wheat,' comp. Skr.

gôdhūma 'wheat,' Mod. P. *gandum*, but Aw. *gantuma*, Nīrang, p. 39, l. 5 from below, Pahlv. *gantum(?)*.

⁴ *Arshādā-*, f., nom. sg. *-ā*; name of a fortress in Arachosia.

⁵ *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava*, Mod. Pers. *ô*; sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyā*, comp. *avahyarādiy*; plur. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaishām*, neutr. sg. acc. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avaf*), *avaparā* 'by, past that' ('he went past that').

13. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Yâtâ adam Pârsaiy utâ Mâdaiy âham, patiy davitiam Bâbiruviyâ hamitriyâ abava(n) hacâma(h). I martiya(h), Araġa(h)¹ nâma(n) Arminiya(h), Halditahya² putra(h), hauv udapatatâ Bâbirauv. Dubâla³ nâmâ dahyâuš hacâavadaša(h) hauv udapatatâ, avatâ adurujiya(h): Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahyâ putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Bâbiruviya(h) hacâma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h), abiy avam Araġam ašiyava(h). Bâbirum hauv agrbâyatâ, hauv kšâyatiya(h) abava(h) Bâbirauv.

14. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam kâram frâiša-yam Bâbirum. Vi(n)dafarnâ^{*} nâma(n) Mâda(h) manâ bâ(n)daka(h), avam mašistam akunavam, avatâšâm ataham: Paraitâ, avam kâram tyam Bâbirauv jatâ, hya(h) manâ naiy gaubataiy. Pasâva(h) Vi(n)dafarnâ hadâ kârû ašiyava(h) abiy Bâbirum. A(h)uramazdâmaiyy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) Vi(n)dafarnâ Bâbirum agrbâya(h) *Margazana*hya mâhyâ XXII rancabiš šakatâ âha(h), avatâ avam *Araġam hya(h) Nabukudracara(h) agaubatâ agrbâya(n)*, utâ martiyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anusiyâ âha(n)tâ agrbâya(n)tâ, utâ bastâ abava(n). *Pasâva(h) niyaštâiyam Bâbirauv uzmayâpatiy âkriya(n)tâm*.

¹ *Arakha-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*; name of an Armenian (Alarodian) rebel in Babylon.

² *Haldita-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ*; an Armenian.

³ *Dubâla-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; name of a district in Babylonia

(there is a place *Dubêla* on the Euphrates).

^{*} *Vi(n)dafarnah-*, sg. nom. *-â* (cp. *Aw. Haosravâo*). Name of two men. (*Aw. Vindahwarena* 'obtaining majesty').

COLUMN IV.

1. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam Bâbirauv.

2. Tātiy Dārayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavani, vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) âha(h) hamahyâyâ farda(h).¹ Pasâva(h) yatâ Kšâyatiya(h) abavam, adam XIX hamaranâ akunavam, vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) adamsâm ajanam, uta IX Kšâyatiyâ agrbâyam. I Gaumâta(h) nâma(n) Maguš âha(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Bardiya(h) amiy, hya(h) Kuraus putra(h). Hauv Pârsam hamitriyam akunaus. I Atrina(h) nâma(n) (H)uvjiya(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Kšâyatiya(h) amiy (H)uvjaiy. Hauv (H)uvjam hamitriyam akunaus manâ. I Nadi(n)tabaira(h) nâma(n), Bâbiruviya(h) hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Nabukdracara(h) amiy hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Hauv Bâbirum hamitriyam akunaus. I Martiya(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h) hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Imanis² amiy (H)uvjaiy Kšâyatiya(h). Hauv (H)uvjam hamitriyam akunaus. I Fravartiš nâma(n) Mâda(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Kšâfrita(h)³ amiy, (H)uvaKštrahya taumâyâ. Hauv Mâdam hamitriyam akunaus. I Citra(n)takma(h) nâma(n) Asagartiya(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Kšâyatiya(h) amiy Asagartaiy, (H)uvaKštrahya taumâyâ. Hauv Asagartam hamitriyam akunaus. I Frâda(h) nâma(n) Margava(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Kšâyatiya(h) amiy Margauv. Hauv Margum hamitriyam akunaus. I Vah-yazdâta(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Bardiya(h) amiy, hya(h) Kuraus putra(h). Hauv Pârsam hamitriyam akunaus. I AraKa(h) nâma(n) Arminiya(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avatâ afaha(h) : Adam Nabukdracara(h) amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Hauv Bârirum hamitriyam akunaus.

¹ *thard-*, sb. f. 'kind, sort, manner' ; sg. acc. -am, gen. -a(h) ; *hamahyâyâ tharda(h)* 'of every kind' ; Aw. *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.

3. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h): Imai IX kšâyatiyâ adam agrbâ-yam a(n)tar imâ hamaranâ.

4. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h): Dahyâva(h) imâ tyâ hamitriyâ abava(n), draugadiš¹ hamitriyâ akunauš tya(h) imaiy kâram adurujiyâsa(n). Pasâva(h) diš² A(h)uramazdâ manâ dastayâ³ akunauš; yafâ mâm kâma(h),⁴ avatâ di[š akunavam].

5. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h): Tuvam kâ Kšâyatiya(h) hya(h) aparam ahiy, hacâ draugâ(h) daršam patipaya(h)uvâ. Martiya(h) hya(h) draujana(h)⁵ ahatiy avam (h)ufrastam prsâ, yadiy avatâ maniyâhy: Dahyâušmaiy duruvâ⁶ ahatiy.

6. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) hamahyâyâ farda(h) akunavam. Tuvam kâ hya(h) aparam, imâm dipim⁷ patiprsâhy, tya(h) manâ krtam vrnavatâm⁸ fuvâm; mâtya(h) duruktam maniyâhy.

7. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš Kšâyatiya(h): A(h)uramaz . . . taiyiya yafâ ima(h) hasiyam⁹ naiy duruktam adam akunavam hamahyâyâ farda(h).

¹ *drauga-*, sb. m., 'lie,' Aw. *draogha*, Mod. P. *drôgh*; sg. nom. -a(h), abl. -â(h).

² *di-* enclitic pronoun 'he,' Aw. di-; pl. acc. -diš in *tyâdish adinâ* 'which he took away from them,' *draugadiš* 'the lie made them rebels,' *naiydish* 'not them,' *parikardh(i)dish* 'thou mayest guard them,' *vikandh(i)dish* 'thou mayest destroy,' *avathâdish akunavam* 'thus I did to them.'

³ *dasta-*, sb. m. 'hand,' Aw. *zastu*, Mod. P. *dast*; loc. sg. -ayâ; *dish manâ d. akunaush* 'he made them in my hand.'

⁴ *kâma-*, sb. m., nom. sg. -a(h) 'wish, desire'; Aw. *kâma*, Mod. P. *kâm*.

⁵ *draujana-*, m., sg. nom. -a(h) 'liar.'

⁶ *durura-*, adj., nom. sg. f. -â *dahyâush* 'settled'; Aw. *drea*.

⁷ *dipi-*, sb. f. 'inscription,' sg. acc. -im, loc. -iyâ: *ava(h) ahyâyd dipiyâ naiy nipishtam* 'that has not been inscribed in this inscription.' Elemic word.

⁸ *rar* verb 'convince,' Aw. rt. *rar* 'believe,' Mod. P. in *bâvar* 'belief,' *gîravidan* 'to believe'; pres. conj. *vrnavâtîy (naishim)* 'it may not convince him,' (i.e. it may seem incredible to him) imperat. middle *vrnavatâm thurâm tya(h) manâ krtam avathâ* 'it may convince thee of what has been done by me, thus (as I have narrated, it really has been').

⁹ *hasiya-*, adj., 'true'; sg. nom. neutr. -am, Aw. *haithya*.

8. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyafiya(h): Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) . . . maiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy krtam, ava(h) ahyâyâ dipiyâ naiy nipištam.¹ Avahyarâdiy naiy nipištam mâtya(h) hya(h) aparam imâm dipim patiprsâtiy, avahyâ paruv fadayâtiy,² tya(h) manâ krtam naišim vrnavâtaiy duruktam maniyâtiy.

9. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyafiya(h): Tyaiy paruvâ kšâyafiya yâtâ âha(n), avaišâm naiy astiy krtam yafâ manâ, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h), hamahyâyâ farda krtam.

10. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyafiya(h): nûram fuvâm vrnava-tâm, tya(h) manâ krtam, avafâ avahyarâdiy mâ apagaudaya.³ Yadiy imâm ha(n)dugâm* naiy apagaudayâhy, kârahya fâhy: A(h)uramazdâ fuvâm dauštâ⁵ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ vasiy biyâ(h), utâ drgam⁶ jivâ⁷.

11. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyafiya(h): Yadiy imâm ha(n)dugâm apagaudayâhy, naiy fâhy kârahya: A(h)urmazdâtaiy jatâ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ mâ biyâ(h).

12. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyafiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, hamahyâyâ farda(h), vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) akunavam; A(h)urmazdâmai y npastâm abara(h), utâ aniyâ bagâha(h)⁸ tyaiy ha(n)tiy.

13. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)us kšâyafiya(h): Avahyarâdiy A(h)urmazdâ npastâm abara(h) utâ aniyâ bagâha(h) tyaiy ha(n)tiy; yafâ naiy araika(h)

¹ *pis* verb, with *niy* 'write,' Mod. P. *nu-vêšam*, *ni-vishtan* (Aw. from the same root *añku-paesemñao*); imperf. *niyapisham* 'I wrote, have written,' part. pret. *ni-pishtam* *avahyâ dipiyâ* 'written in this inscription.—*aparam* adverb 'afterward,' Aw. *aparem*.

² *thad* verb 'appear,' with gen. of the person; pres. conj. *thadayâtiy* *avahyâ paruv* 'lest it may appear to him much' (*i. e.*, too much); Aw. rt. *sad*, Pahlv. *sahastan* 'think.'²

³ *gud* verb 'hide,' Aw. rt. *guz*; with *apa* 'hide,' pres. conj. *apagaudayâhy* '(if) thou mayest hide' as imperative *mâ apagaudaya* 'do not hide.'

* *ha(n)dugâ-* sb. f., sg. acc. *-âm*, 'edict.'

⁵ *dauštâr-*, sb. m. 'friend,' Mod. P. *dôstâr*; sg. nom. *-â*: A(h)uramazdâ *thuvâm d. biyâ(h)* 'A. may be friend to thee,' *avaiy mâ d. biyâ(h)* 'to him be not a friend.'

⁶ *drga-*, adj. 'long,' Aw. *daregha*, Mod. P. *dér* (from transposed *dagra*, *dayra*); neutr. acc. *-am* adverb 'long time' (thou mayest live).

⁷ *jiv* verb 'live,' Aw. rt. *jiv*, Pahlv. *zivastan*, Mod. P. *zistan*, Pres. conj. *jivâhy* 'as long as thou mayest live,' *jivâ dargam* 'thou mayest live long,' (ep. Aw. 2 sg. conj. *barâhi* near *payâo*).

⁸ *bagâ-*, sb. m. 'god,' Aw. *bagha*, Mod. P. *Bagh-dâd*; pl. nom. *-dha(h)* (Aw. comp. *aspdonhō*), instr. *-aibish*.

âham, naiy draujana(h) âham, naiy zurakara(h)¹ âham naiy adam naimaiy taumâ. Upariy âbastâm² upariyâyam naiy šakaurim* huvatam zura(h)³ akunavam. Martiya(h) hya(h) hamataksatâ⁴ manâ viçiyâ, avam (h)ubrtam abaram, hya(h) avam (h)ufrastam aprsam.

14. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Tuvam kâ kšâyatiya(h) hya(h) aparam ahya, martiya(h) hya(h) draujana(h) ahatiy, hyavâ. zûrakara(h) ahatiy, avaiy mâ dauštâ, avaiy ahifraštâdiy⁵ prsâ.

15. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Tuvam kâ hya(h) aparam imâm dipim vainâhy, tyâm adam niyapišam, imaivâ patikarâ⁶ mâtya⁷ vikanâhy, yâvâ⁸ jivâhy avâ avaiy parikarâ.⁹

16. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Yadiy imâm dipim vainâhy, imaivâ patikarâ, naiydis vikanâhy utâmai yâvâ taumâ ahatiy parikarâh(i)diš, A(h)uramâzdâ êuvâm dauštâ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ vasiy biyâ(h), utâ dargam jivâ, utâ tya(h) kunavâhy A(h)urmazdâ kunautuv.

17. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Yadiy imâm dipim imaivâ patikarâ vainâhy, vikanâh(i)diš, utâmai yâvâ taumâ ahatiy naiydis parikarâhy, A(h)uramazdâtaiy jatâ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ mâ biyâ(h), utâ tya(h) kunavâhy, avataiy A(h)uramazdâ nika(n)tuv.

18. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Imai martiyâ tyaiy adakay avadâ âha(n)tâ yâtâ adam Gaumâtam, tyam Magum, avâjanam, hya(h)

¹ *zûrakara-* adj. 'wrong-doer,' sg. nom. *-a(h)* naiy âham 'I was no wrong-doer' (Mod. P. *zûrgar*).

² *âbastâ-*, sb. f., 'law' (by no means the Avesta); acc. sg. *-âm*.

* *šakaurim*, unknown word.

³ *zûrah-*, sb. n., sg. acc. *-a(h)* 'wrong, injustice,' Aw. *zurô-jata*, Mod. Pers. *zûr*; *zura(h)* *akunavam* 'I did (not) wrong.'

* *takhsh* verb, Aw. rt. *thwakhsh* 'be active,' Mod. P. *tukhshâ* 'energetic'; with (h)am 'endeavour,' 'be active,' imperf. middle *ham-atakhshaiy* 'I endeavoured,' *ham-atakhshatâ manâ viçiyâ* 'he was active on the side of my family,' *ham-atakhsha(n)tâ* 'they were active as my followers.'

⁵ *ahifrashti-*, sb. f., loc. sg. *-âdiy*, i.e., *ahifrashtâ adiy* lit. 'sword-questioning,' i.e. 'punishment with the sword'; *avaiy ahifrashtâdiy prsâ* 'punish them with capital punishment.'

⁶ *patikara-*, sb. m., pl. acc. *-â* 'picture'; Mod. P. *paikar*.

⁷ *man* verb 'think,' Aw. rt. *man*, Pahlv. *mênûtan*; pres. conj. *maniyâhy* (*yadiy arathâ*) 'if thus thou mayest think,' *mâtya(h)* *durukhtam maniyâhy* 'lest thou mayest think it false,' *durukhtam maniyâditiy* 'he may think it false.'

⁸ *yârd* conj. 'as long as': *jirâhy* 'thou mayest live,' *taumâ ahatiy* 'as long as mankind exists.'

⁹ See page 236, note 16.

Bardiya(h) agaubatâ. Adakaiy imaiy martiyâ hamatakša(n)tâ annsiyâ manâ: Vi(n)dafranâ nâma(n), Vayaspârahyâ¹ putra(h), Pârsa(h); (H)atâna(h) nâma(n), Tûkrahyâ² putra(h) Pârsa(h); Gaubrûva(h)³ nâma(n), Marduniyahyâ⁴ putra(h), Pârsa(h); Vidarna(h) nâma(n), Bagâbignahyâ⁵ putra(h), Pârsa(h); Bagabukša(h)⁶ nâma(n), Dâduhyahyâ⁷ putra(h), Pârsa(h); Ardumaniš⁸ nâma(n), Vahukahyâ⁹ putra(h), Pârsa(h).

19. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyâtiya(h) : Tuvam kâ kšâyatiya(h), hya aparam ahy, tyâmâ vidâm martiyâ . . tya(h) Dârayava(h)auš akunavam

¹ *Vayaspâra-*, m. gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of a Persian.

² *Thukhra-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of a Persian ('the red one,' Aw. *sukhra*, Mod. P. *surkh*).

³ *Gaubrûva-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*, 'Gobryas' ('having the eyebrows of a bull').

⁴ *Marduniya-*, sg. gen. *-ahyâ* 'Mardonios.'

⁵ *Bagâbigna-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ*; name of a Persian (according to Justi 'having splendour from God').

⁶ *Bagâbuksha-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; one of the seven conspirators, 'Megabyzos' ('redeemed by God').

⁷ *Dâduhya-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ* one of the seven conspirators against the false Smerdis.

⁸ *Ardumani-*, m., sg. nom. *-ish*; one of the seven who killed the false Smerdis ('of upright disposition').

⁹ *Vahuka-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ*. Name of a Persian (from *vahu* 'good').

COLUMN V.

1. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam mâ ra fardam tâ kšâyatiya(h) . . . vajanam dahyâuš hauv hacâma(h) hamitriyâ abava(h). I martiya(h) . . . imaima(h) nâma(n) (H)uvjiyâ, avam matîstam akunava(n). Pasâva(h) adam kâram jrâišayam (H)urjam. Martiya(h) Gaubruva(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h), mand ba(n)daka(h), avamšâm matîstam akunavam. Pasâva(h) hauv Gaubrûva(h) hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h) (H)urjam, hamaranam akunauš hadâ hamitriyaibis. Pasâva(h) . . . utâšaiy marda utâ avam . . imaimam agrbâya(h) utâ anaya(h) abiy mâm . . . dahyâuš . . . âvahanam avadašim avâjanam.

2. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : A . . . utâ dahyâûm A(h)uramazdâ mand dastayâ akunauš ; vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) yatâ kâma(h) âha(h) avatâdiš akunavam.

3.* Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : Hya aparam imam ya . . hatiy, utâ jivahyâ . . .

4. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : ašiyavam abiy Sakâm . . . Tigrâm baratya . . . iy abiy darayam avam â pisâ viyatara . . . âjanam aniyam agrbâyam . . . abiy mâm utâ Saku(n)ka nâma(n), avam agrbâyam . . . avadâ aniyam matîstam . . . âm âha, pasâva(h)da . . .

5. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(h) : mâ naiy A(h)uramazdâm yadiy vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) . . . akunavam.

6. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyatiya(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* : 'Aváðaros (*Análatos*), i.e. 'Amápðaros.
 „ l. 17, „ (*Amardatos*) *för* (*Amhrdatos*).
 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* : *merzdatā*.
 „ 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* : 'But, 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* ذبيج and ذبيج for ذبيج and ذبيج.
 P. 170, ll. 3, 16 and 17, *read* : Pharbardin (throughout);
 „ n. 8, 11, *read* سنة
 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 ueber den altirānischen Kalender*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI, pp. 468-472.
 P. 234, § 6, *read* : Dārayava(h)uš.

A Memorial of Darius Hystaspes.



COLUMN I.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

† Omitted in the B. Inscriptions.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

[illegible]

COLUMN III.

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

ሩ.ጠ. ላ. ጠ.ላ.ሸ.ፋ.ሸ.ጸ. ላ. ሩ.ላ.ጠ. ላ. -ሃ.ጠ.-ሃ. ላ. ዩ.ጠ.
-ሃ. ላ. ጠ.-ሃ.ፋ.ጠ. ላ. ጸ.ሃ.ሸ... ላ. (ll. 33—36).

5. ላ.ጠ.ፋ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ሸ.ጠ.ጸ.ሩ.-ሃ.ፋ.ሸ.ጸ. ላ. <ሃ.ጸ.ጠ.ሩ.
ላ. ሸ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ሃ.-ሸ.-ሃ.ፋ.ሸ. ላ. ዩ.ጠ. ላ. <ሃ.ጸ.ጠ.ሩ.ላ.ሸ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ.
ፋ.ሩ. ላ. ጠ.ጸ.ጸ.ሃ.ሃ. ላ. ጠ.ፋ.ሩ. ላ. ፋ.ሸ.-ጠ. ላ. ሸ.ጸ.ሸ.
ላ. ሸ.ጸ.ሸ.-ሃ. ላ. ጸ.ሃ.ሸ.ጸ.ሩ.ሸ.ሃ.ፋ.ጠ. ላ. -ሃ.ጸ.
ፋ.ሸ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ፋ.ሩ. ላ. ሸ.ጸ.ሸ.-ሃ.ፋ. ላ. ጠ.ፋ.ፋ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ጠ.
-ሃ.ሃ. ላ. ሸ.ላ.ፋ.ፋ.ሃ.ፋ.ሃ.ሃ. ላ. ጸ.ሃ.ሃ.ፋ. ላ. ሩ.ጸ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ.
ጠ.-ሃ.ፋ.ጠ. ላ. -ሃ.ሃ.ፋ.ሸ.ሩ.ጠ.ፋ.ሩ. ላ. ሸ.ፋ.ሩ.ጠ.ሸ.ጸ.
-ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. <ሃ.ሸ.-<ሸ.-ሃ.ፋ.ጠ. ላ. ጠ.ፋ.ፋ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. (ll. 36—40).

6. ላ.ጠ.ፋ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ሸ.ጠ.ጸ.ሩ.-ሃ.ፋ.ሸ.ጸ. ላ. <ሃ.ጸ.ጠ.
ሩ.ላ.ሸ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ሸ.-ሃ. ላ. ፋ.ሃ.ሩ. ላ. ጠ.ሸ.-ሃ. ላ. ጠ.ላ.ሸ.ፋ.
-ሃ.ሃ. ላ. -ሃ.ጸ.ጸ.ፋ.ጠ. ላ. ጠ.ሸ.ጸ.ሃ.ሃ.ሃ.-ሸ.ጠ.ፋ. ላ. ፋ.
-ሃ.ሸ.ፋ.ሩ.ጠ.ሩ.ጠ. ላ. ላ.ጸ.ሃ.ሸ. ላ. ጠ.ላ.ሸ.ፋ.-ሃ.ሃ. ላ.
ሃ.ሸ.-ሸ.-ሃ.ሃ. ላ. ዩ.ጠ. ላ. ፋ.ሩ. ላ. ጠ.ጸ.ጸ.ሃ.ሃ. ላ. ሸ.
-ሃ.ጠ.-ሃ. ላ. ጸ.ሃ.ሸ.ጸ.ሸ.-ሃ. ላ. ጸ.ሃ.ሸ.ጸ.ጸ.ሃ.ፋ.ሩ. ላ.
ፋ.ሃ.ሩ. ላ. -ሃ.ሃ.ፋ.ጠ. ላ. ዩ.ጸ.ፋ.ሃ.ሃ. ላ. -ሃ.ጸ.ፋ.-ሃ.
ፋ.ሃ.ጠ.-ሃ. ላ. ላ.ሸ.-ሃ.ፋ.ጠ.-ሃ. ላ. -ሃ.ጠ.ፋ.ሃ.ሃ. [ሸ.], ላ. <ሃ.ሸ.
-<ሸ.-<ሃ.ፋ.ሃ.ሃ.ሃ. ላ. -ሃ.ሃ.ፋ.ሸ.ሩ.ጠ.ፋ.ሩ. ላ. (ll. 40—43).

7. ላ.ጠ.ፋ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ሸ.ጠ.ጸ.ሩ.-ሃ.ፋ.ሸ.ጸ. ላ. <ሃ.ጸ.ጠ.ሩ.
ላ. ሸ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. ጠ.ሸ.ጸ.ሃ.ሃ.ሃ.-ሸ.ጠ. ላ. ፋ.ሃ.ሸ.ሩ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ.
ሩ.ላ.ጠ. ላ. ሸ.-ሃ. ላ. ፋ.ጸ.ሸ.ሸ.ሩ.-ሃ. ላ. ፋ.ሸ.ሩ. ላ. <ሃ.ሸ.-<ሸ.ላ.ሸ.

[illegible]

afash pavan Ahûnavar 3 âyûînako khûbîh numûdo :—13. Frâtûm aêgh kolâ mindavam zag frârûno-î Aûharmazd kâm mindavam pêdâko, aêgh amato zag frârûn-î Aûharmazd, kâm pêdâko, aêgh mindavam aito-î lâ bèn kâm-î Aûharmazd, âzârîgo min bûn dahî-aito, vinûg-î gvîdo gôhâr. 14. Dadîgar denâ, aêgh mûn zag valîdûnyên-î Aûharmazd kâm ash mozd pâdâdahishno khvêshîgo, va-valâ mûn lâ zag valîdûnyên mûn Aûharmazd kâm ajash pûhar pâdafrâh nafsbd-î min denâ numâi-aito ; kîrfakogarân mozd vinâskârânô pâdofrâh va-mâdîgânô-i vahishtô dâshahvô ajash. 15. Sadîgar numûdo aêgh khûdâyîh-î Aûharmazd valâ afzâyînêdo-î val daregûshân, vijâri-aito pâftiyârako-aûmandih zyash numûdo aêgh aito cabunânô val niyâzîg cabunân niyyâr

1 The MSS. have २.

² Possibly aûbash.

³ The MSS. have ~~fr~~ hūman, "well-meditating."

טַפְּסָא. חַמְשָׁא לִסְפָּד' אִי טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא. טַפְּסָא.
 עַד לִקְדָּם חַמְשָׁא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא וְעַד לִקְדָּם וְעַד לִקְדָּם.

20. עַד לִקְדָּם חַמְשָׁא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא לִסְפָּד' אִי טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.
 טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא טַפְּסָא.

dâman, ayôro levatâg va-min ham-aîyyârîh ham-sipâhîh; sipâhîh
 pîrûzîh-î madam dûshmanô yehvûnêdo-î nafshâ frashakardo.

20. Pavan denâ gôbishno stardo yehvûntô lakhvâr val tom aûf-
 dîdo; Aûharmazd dâm tano-aûmandîhâ barâ val stîsh yehabûntô; fratûm
 âsâmân, va-dadîgar mayâ, sadîgar zamîgo, 4-ûm aûrvar, va-5-ûm
 gôspend, 6-ûm anshûtâ. 21. Âtakhsh bân vispô yehvûntô, pargandago
 kâdmôn pavan 6 gôhârako-î kolâ gôhârak-aê darvand-î pavan madam
 yehabûntô and bûdo; gûfto yegavîmûnêdo, cand mîzo-aê-î amat aêvako
 pavan tanê frôdo hankhetûnd.

22. 3,000 shnato dâm tano-aûmand va-anâf-raftâr yehvûntô;
 khûrshêdo va-mâh starâno yegavîmûnâdo havâd. 23. Bân dûbâristan-î

¹ Levatâg, "accompanying."

² MSS. טַפְּסָא.

³ MSS. טַפְּסָא.

⁴ MSS. טַפְּסָא.

מִן־הַיָּשֵׁן לִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן וְלִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן. כֹּה מִן־הַיָּשֵׁן
 לִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן וְלִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן. 24 מִן־הַיָּשֵׁן
 לִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן וְלִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן. 25 מִן־הַיָּשֵׁן
 לִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן וְלִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן. 26 מִן־הַיָּשֵׁן
 לִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן וְלִפְנֵי הַיָּשֵׁן.

hanjishnîgo pavan zamânako sar, Aûharmazd nigîrîdo aêgh: "Mâ sûdo
 aîto-î min yehabûntan-î dâm amato apôîshnîgo-î arûbishnîg han-
 jishnîgo?" 24. Afash pavan aîyyârîh-î spîhâr Zôrvân dâm frâzo brêhî-
 nîdo; va-Zôrvânô atanko yehvûnêdo, aêghash dâm-î Aûharmazd
 rûbâko kardo barâ min rûbâkoîh-î Aharmanô dâm, mâ bun-gashtânô¹,
 aêvako val tanê, vizâyishnîgo² padîrako îstishnîgo bûdo havâd. 25.
 Afash far'jâm-nikîrîhâ afzâr-l-î min benafshâ gôhâr-i târîgîh, mûnash
 vîrûnako-î Zôrvânîgo padash padvastako, pôsto âyûînako-î zag dago
 siyah va-âtûr-astar-gûn, frâzo val Aharmanô bûrdo.

26. Afash pavan frâzo-burishnîh gûfto aêgh: "Pavan valûshânô zâê

¹ "Original evolutions," meaning Aûharmazd and Aharmanô, see S. B. E.
 Vol. XXIV., pp. 5, 135, 146, 234.

² "Detrimental"; compare Pers. gazây.

1. $\text{אם } x \text{ ו} y \text{ הם מספרים טבעיים, אז } x + y \text{ הוא מספר טבעי.}$
2. $\text{אם } x \text{ ו} y \text{ הם מספרים טבעיים, אז } x - y \text{ הוא מספר טבעי.}$
3. $\text{אם } x \text{ ו} y \text{ הם מספרים טבעיים, אז } xy \text{ הוא מספר טבעי.}$
4. $\text{אם } x \text{ ו} y \text{ הם מספרים טבעיים, אז } \frac{x}{y} \text{ הוא מספר טבעי.}$
5. $\text{אם } x \text{ ו} y \text{ הם מספרים טבעיים, אז } \frac{x}{y} \text{ הוא מספר טבעי.}$

1. Madam bēn yātūntô-î Aharmanô val dām pavan dēnô āngūn pēlāko aēgh, bīrakh Fravardīno, yōm Aūharmazd pavan nīmōrj, frāzo val vīmōnd-i āsmāno mado. 2. Asmān vēnēdo va-gōhārīh rāī āngūn barā tarsēdo eīgūn mēsh min gūrg lar'zēdo ; Aharmanô tāvishnigo sōjishnigo padash madam yātūntô. 3. Akhar val mayā mado-î azīr zamigo nīvādo, afash tārīgīh gvīdo mijak-aē madam būdo ; va-pavan mīyāno-i zamigo madam yātūntô, eīgūn mār hamāk akumbo min sūrāko-aē madam yātūnēdo ; va-hamāko zamigo

² Compare Pers. *kunbīdan*, "to leap."

٤ کد ویاژت سح فم صمرواوا وایست سوا.
کسرد وک مسمرو فم ووا کد مرملاوژت صمرواوا ژلاواوا:.

٥ سبک وک مملک فوا. دوا صوا ووا صواوا. فوا سبک
دواژت لاس وسمکد وسمرواوا وک س-ط. س- ووا ووا
کد مملکوا س د-ک-صوا ووا وک ژیت-د فسمرواوا س
واوا. ووا س و- و- و- س-وا:.

٦ سبک وک صواوا فوا صواوا سبک وک
س-مرواوا ووا وک س-د- س-فسمرواوا س
س- ف- س-مرواوا^٢ کس-د دواژت وک وواوا. ف
وک س-د- س-فسمرواوا ووا س- صواوا. وواژت
کسرواوا ووا د- س-: ٧ دوا وک س-فسمرواوا

bên yegavimûnâdo. 4. Zag vidarg aêgh madam yâtûntô benafshâ aîto, râs-i val dûshahvô mûn pavan zag-i dûbârînend shêdânô drevan-dânô.

5. Akhar val aûrvar mado, cigûn aêvako bûn yehvund, mûnash bâlâi cand pâi-aê, va-anazg va-apôstako va-tar shîrîn; afash vispô sardako zôr-i aûrvarâno bên cîhar dâstano pavau nazdigîh-i miyânako-i zamîgo bûdo; va-pavan ham-vidauâ barâ khûshko.

6. Akhar val tôrâg mado-i aêvak-dâdo, cigûnash bâlâi cigûn Gâiyôkmardo pavan bâr-i mayâ-i Dâitih miyânako-i zamîg îstâdo; afash min Gâiyôkmardo rakhîgîh cand bâlâi-i nafshâ yehvûntano, min-ic bâr-i mayâ-i Dâitih pavan ham padnâno rakhîg yehvûntô; va-nekeb spêdo rôshanô bûdo cigûn mâh. 7. Cigûn paîtîyârako madam mado Aûharmazd

¹ MSS. ١٢٠.

² MSS. add ج.

אִדְּנָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 אִפְּנֵי-בָּרָהּ. שֶׁכֵּן אִפְּנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ. וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ. שֶׁכֵּן אִפְּנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ.

8 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ
 וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ וְלִפְנֵי-בָּרָהּ

mang-i bang-ic karitunî-aito pavan vashtamûntan yehabûnd, va-
 pêsh-i aind bang mûstano, aêgh min zanishno-i vazakoân ashâdakîh
 kam yehvûnêdo; nizâr va-vîhâr yehvûntô, pavan dashin kharako
 aûfîdo tavrâtano.

8. Pêsh min frâzo madano-i val Gâiyôkmardo-i adîno eigûn
 3-o aê³-i Zarâtûkhsht bâlâi-i yehvûntô, rôshanô yehvûntô eigûn
 khûrshêdo, Âûharmazd min khvâê brâhînêdo pavan gabrâ kerpo-i
 15 sâlako-i rôshanô-i bûlônd, afash madam shedrunêdo val
 Gâiyôkmardo; afash khvâê madam aûbashî deprûnêd-ic darânâi cand
 Yat-abû-vaîryôki-1 madam yemalehuni-aito. 9. Amato min khvâê
 frâzo yehvûntô, afash cashm madam dâshto, ash khadîtânto

¹ BK 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, K 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, but 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 in Bund. iii., 18.

² Tavrâtano, for tartavâno, compare Pers. tartabân, "trembling."

³ Or 3 nâi, "3 reeds" = 14 feet (see S. B. E. XVIII., pp. 48, n. 5; 142, n. 1.)

⁴ So MSS., but better omit 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, or transpose into 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

⁵ MSS. transpose into 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, but see Bund. iii., 19. ⁶ Corrected from 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

דסססו ססס ססססו וססו דססו לטס. סו סססו ססס ססס' עסססו
 אכס וסס' סססו סססססו. ¹ דסססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו
 סססו סססססו ססססו. ססס ססס ססססו ססססו ססססו דסס' ססס
 ססס ססס ססס ססס ססס ססס ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו.
 10 ססססו ססססו ססס סססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו
 ססססו ססססו. וסס' סססססו ססס ססס ססס ססס ססססו
 ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו. וססססו ססססו ססססו
 ססססו. 11 ססס ססס וסס' ססססו ססס. וסססו ססס ססס ססססו.

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CHAPTER III.

1 וסססו סססו וסססו ססססו ססססו ססססו ססססו.

gēhāno amat tārigo būdo cigûn lēlyā ; pavan hamāk zamīg mār,
 gēzdūmbo, vazag, va-kabed gūnako khrestarāno¹ ; cahārpāāno avārīg
 āyūinako andarūno khasāno² āngūn-istā'o havānd ; hām zamīgo mado-
 mad³ hūmānāko cand sōzan⁴ tēkh lā mānd zyash lā dūbārishno-i khraf-
 starān padash yehvūntō. 10. Madano-î apākhtarigo pavan ham-
 dvādih-î apākhtarīg va-māh va-4-āno 5-ān apākhtarān ; kabed tār-
 kerpāno pavan cīhar va-gēs-î Azo Dahāko bēn vāhamih-î Auīrān-āc
 tōjishno dāshto ; shkifto būdo karītūnishno dregvadāno-i miu ashavan.
 11. Afdūm barā val ātakhsī mado, va-tārigo dūd bēn gumikhto.

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CHAPTER III.

1. Va-Gōsh-aūrva, cigūn benafshā yehvūnd rūbān-î tōrāg-i acvak-dādo,

¹ For "khrestarāno."

² "Reptiles" (see the older Persian dictionaries).

K gives also "as an alternative."

³ Pers. āmad-āmad.

⁴ Sōzan, "needle"; MSS. qoz.

[illegible][illegible]

zavâro¹ zyash bûdo barâ val âhûkoînishno-î dâmân mado; afash bûn-î âsmâno cand 3 aêvako-aê-î val frôdo rûno, pavan bandago giriftô dâdîh vakhdûntô, ângun aêgh hamâko târîgo barâ min rôshanôîh, mâ benafshâ yehvûntô, bèn yâtûntan-î hamâestâr, dûshman bèn kûkhshishnoîhâ-î val dâdako. 2. Va-denâ âito padîrako frashakardârih, mâ mahistô-î drûj, amat bèn yâtûntô, avârîg kolâ afzâr, min ham bûn vanîrûk denâ yôm, bèn khvâpishno-î frashakardârih, ²zag amat dûshmanô-î pavan bèn yâtûntan bandag va-lakhvâr yakhsenunî-âito.

3. Mîyâno dend kolâ kûkhshishno gûmêzako râyînishnihâ-i Aharmanô, aêgham “bûnyago mađo pîrûzîh, mâm shkâfto âsmâno

¹ Av. zâvare.

* Some word seems missing here.

³ MSS. f. 2.

* Probably shkafto "split"; BK, 14040, K 14040.

וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע וְעַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .

4. אִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .
 וְאִתְּמַר עַל הַיָּמִים וְעַל הַחֳמִשָּׁה וְעַל הַשָּׁבָע .

va-âhûkînîdo pavan tôm va-târ, afam vakhdûntô pavan drupûshtoîh ;
 afam âhûkînîdo mayâ, afam sûfto zamîko vinâsîdo pavan târîgîh, afam
 khûshînîdo aûrvar, afam margînîdo tôrâ, afam vîmârînîdo Gâiyôk-
 mardo, afam padîrako vardishnâno¹ nivârdo târân va- apâkhtarâno ;
 afam vakhdûntan vashtano lâ mând aîsh bân razm min Aûharmazd, va-
 zamîgo barâ aêvako gabrâ mûn aêvatâgibâ, mâ shâyerdo kardano ? ”

4. Afash madam shedrunêdo Astô-î-vidâdo, levatâ 1000 aûzvârâ-
 no yasgâno-î benafshâ havâd, vîmârîh-î gûnako gûnako, aêghash vîmârî
 nênd margînênd. 5. Gâiyôkmardo azshâno lâ vindârdo, va-cârako
 mâ vijîr yehvûntô-î barînogar Zôrvâno pavan bûn-î bân yâtûntan-î

¹ Probably for *vardishnâno*, “those revolving” ; apparently the signs of the zodiac.

² BK, inserts ۱۱., but these two strokes merely fill up the end of a line in K.

ט.ל.ח. ש. ח. ו. לו פ.ע.ל.ח. ט.ט.ו.ל.ח. ו. ח. ט. ט.
 ו.ל.ח. ט.ט.ו.ל.ח. : ט. ט. ט. ט. ט. ט. ט. ט. ט. ט.
 ט.
 ט.

[illegible]

Aharman, aêgh : " Madam val 30 zimâstân' Gâi'yôkmar do vad tég va-
zag-i khayâ bôjishno frâzo brâhînam." 6. Afash pavan spîhâr yehvûnd
pêdâkîh pavan bakhshishno-i min kirfako bajakgarâno gûmâzishn
râyînishnânô, afshânô pavan zag cim vad hanjîdako-i 30-o shnato lâ
ayâfto cârak.

7. *Má pavan bún ângûn barâ yehabûnd, aêgh Aûharmazd stârako zivandagîh lecado dâm, lâ nafshâ-gôhârîhâ, barâ bêu band-î rôshanâno yehvûntan râi; va-Kêvân margîh lecado dâm.* 8. *Kolâ 2, pavan bún-i dâm, pavan nafshâ bâlist yehvûntô havâd, êgûn Aûharmazd pavan Galacang pavan lâlâ yâtûntan, ân-î Jivân-ic karî tunî-âito, mâ zivâk âito zyash*

¹ For ~~For~~ Simastan.

* MSS. 1157.

• BK ၄၇၀.

¹ MSS. 170-61014.

כמנענע נפשו מלפניו. ומסרו שוה נפשו שוה חט טייל
 קט. וְאֵל וְאֵלֶּיךָ כְּמֵלֶךְ אֶלְדֵּי נִפְשׁוֹ וְנִפְשׁוֹ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.
 9 וְאֵלֶּיךָ וְאֵל מִן רֵשׁ וְאֵלֶּיךָ לֵד. טַעַם מִלְּפָנֶיךָ שוה וְאֵלֶּיךָ
 כמנענע רֵשׁ וְאֵל מִן רֵשׁ לֹא טַעַם וְאֵלֶּיךָ לֵד וְאֵל
 וְאֵלֶּיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ לֵד חט. 10 וְאֵל כֵּן טַעַם
 וְאֵל שוה וְאֵל מִלְּפָנֶיךָ. מִלְּפָנֶיךָ שוה וְאֵל כֵּן.
 וְאֵלֶּיךָ וְאֵלֶּיךָ וְאֵלֶּיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ לֵד. טַעַם
 חט שוה מִן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְאֵלֶּיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ כֵּן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.

zîvandagîh padash khelkunî-aîto; Kêvâno pavan Tarâzûko pavan mas
 azîr zamîg, vad benafshê zôharî¹ va-margîh padash pêdâktar va-
 pâdakhshahitar. 9. Va-yehvûntô-î kolâ 2 barâ bâlisto lâ, Gâiyôk-
 mardo pavan nafshâ zîvandagîh barâ kardano bûdo-î 30 shnato Kêvâno
 lakhvâr val bâlist-î aîto Tarâzûko lâ mado. 10. Va-pavan zag gâs amat
 Kêvâno pavan val Tarâzûko mado, Aûharmazd pavan Vâhîg bûdo,
 zyash nafshâ nishîrak va-aparvêzîh-î Kêvâno madam Aûharmazd râi,
 Gâiyôkmardo pavan ân-î khalakoân-îc yâtûnd vurd² va-madam padî-
 rako astishno, astishnoîh-î zag âhûkînishno-î Aharmanô madam
 Aûharmazd dâmâno debrûnyên.

¹ For זָהָרִיךְ zahrîh, "venom."

² MSS. וְאֵלֶּיךָ.

³ MSS. לֵד.

⁴ For בָּרִיד bârid, "endured, suff red."

CHAPTER V.

1. *Amat ham va-ham-patīyârigo⁵, cigûnash dāmāno âbûkîni⁶do,*
adīnosh pavan zag ham-drûjânîlano nafshâ rabâ-gadâlih numûdo, mâ
cigûn andarûno âsmân yâtûntô, adīno mainôg-i âsmāno aratêstâr
hûmânâko-i arkand³ mûn ayôkshûstīno zrâh padmûkhtô yakhsenunêl;
âsmâno ash pavan bâr'jo ân-i stafto⁶ drôg-sakhûn gâfto val Aharmanô
aêgh: "Kevan amat bēn yâtûad havâlih-ae, ato lakhvâr lâ shed-
gûnam;" barâ nīvarîdo⁷ vad amat Âûhar-mazd pīramûno âsmāno
akharan drupûstîh-l-i sakhttar barâ nīvarîdo, Ashôk-âkâsîh karitunî-
aito.
 2. *Afash ashôkâno fravâhar-i aratêstârâno pīramûno zag dru-*
pûstîh, aspô-bârako va-nêzako-yadê, ângûn barâ nīvârdo cigûn vars

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pûstîh, aspô-bârako va-nêzako-yadê, ângûn barâ nīvârdo cigûn vars

1 MS. 2 K has 3 Pers arghand. 4 K

5 Or ham-padisârigo. 6 Compare Pers. chitâftan. 7 Compare Sans nivr.

מַעֲלֵא דְלִמְרָא. כְּהוּ כְּטִי-נִרְחֵא וְכִדְעֵא לְכָּן שְׂמֵא ' שְׂאֵ וְוִסְאֵ-טִי-נִרְחֵא
 שְׂרָ לֵא וְטֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא לֵא וְכֵא לֵא וְכֵא לֵא וְכֵא לֵא. שְׂרָ לֵא וְכֵא לֵא
 מִלְּשָׁנָא שְׂרָ לֵא לֵא. 2 דְּלֵא לֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא. מִלְּשָׁנָא שְׂרָ לֵא
 שְׂרָ לֵא לֵא. כְּהוּ כְּטִי-נִרְחֵא שְׂרָ לֵא לֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא לֵא.

3 וְכֵא-טִי-נִרְחֵא שְׂרָ לֵא וְכֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא וְכֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא. שְׂרָ לֵא וְכֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא
 וְכֵא לֵא לֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא. וְכֵא לֵא שְׂרָ לֵא וְכֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא. וְכֵא לֵא לֵא
 לֵא וְכֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא לֵא. 4 לֵא שְׂרָ לֵא וְכֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא
 שְׂרָ לֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא. שְׂרָ לֵא. מִלְּשָׁנָא שְׂרָ לֵא. 5 וְכֵא לֵא וְכֵא לֵא
 לֵא לֵא טִי-נִרְחֵא וְכֵא לֵא. שְׂרָ לֵא וְכֵא לֵא לֵא וְכֵא לֵא
 מִלְּשָׁנָא לֵא. 6 כְּטִי-נִרְחֵא לֵא. 7 כְּטִי-נִרְחֵא לֵא וְכֵא לֵא מִלְּשָׁנָא

aspô-i Galacêng, mûn mayâtûmako Tishtar; ham-âvîgo-i¹ Atrak
 âkarîtuuî-âito abar frâzo yehabûntô pavan yôm frôdo vazlûntô;
 no pêdâko cîgûn avlâ-madân-i dâm rûbâkîh. 2. Galacang akhtar
 yehvûntô; âito akhtar-i 4-ûm harâ râî, mâ Tîr bîrakh 4-ûm bîrakh-i
 min shnato âito.

3. Va-Tishtar yêdo val aîyyârîh bavîhûnasto, afash ajash
 Vohûmanô va-Hôm pavan parvânakîh, va-Bûr'jo-i âvânô va-âvo
 pavan ham-dârîh, va-Ardâî Fravardo pavan padmânô-dârîh² levatê
 ham-gâri-âito havând. 4. Pavan 3 gerp vashto-i âito gabrâ
 gerpo, tôrâ gerpo, aspô gerpo³; va-kolâ kerpo-aê pavan 10 lêlyâ
 bèn rôshanôîh vanjêdo, afash lêlyâ vârên pavan zanishno- i kbrafs-
 tarân⁴ madam shedgûnyên. 5. Srishkânô bûdo havând gvîdo gvîdo

¹ MSS. כְּטִי-נִרְחֵא.

² Or, perhaps, gârîh.

³ Yasht VIII, 13, 16, 18.

⁴ K מִלְּשָׁנָא

1. $\frac{1}{x^2} = x^{-2}$ $\frac{d}{dx} x^{-2} = -2x^{-3} = -\frac{2}{x^3}$
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[illegible]

rabâ têshtô¹ mûn mayâ madam âhanji-âito; va-pavan zag madam barâ
makhtuni-hasto havând, vispâno khrafstarâno nesûnd² barâ min
khasandagâno mûn bân gîlîgo-î zamîgo bân vazlûnd havând.

6. Akhar mañuôg-i vâdô, pavan marlô âyûînakô, pavan zamîgo pêdlâko bûdô; rôshanô bûlônd âyûînakô-î mûkvo-âc-î dârînô pavan riglâ dâshto; eigûn khayâ amat tano barâ jumbînêdo, tano pavan ham-zôharîh frâzo raftâr yehvûnêdo, zag mañuôg-i vâdo bân eiharîg vâdô-î andarvâyîg frâzo jûmbînêdo, hamâk zamîgo âcva-kardakîbâ vâdô frâzo aito, afash mayâ pavan mûshto ajash barâ val kustâno-i zamîg ramîtuntô, afash zarâh-î Farâkhû-kardô ajash bûdo.

¹ For tashtō .

^a Probably for *širāy* kesānd, without prefix *yl*, see Haug's *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 105. The MSS. place the following *ay* before this verb.

³ Eo K., with 𐎧𐎡𐎹 above; BK 𐎧𐎡𐎹.

[illegible]

zamîgo barâ gûmîkhto, zag vish barâ makhâtuntan râi Tîshtar bèn
zarâh frôdo vazlântô; afash Apâôsh⁵ shêdâ padîrako barâ tajido,
va-fratâm ârdîg stûbîh madam pard¹ Tîshtar yehvântô. 10. Afash
madam pati-shîdo⁶ val Âlhammazd-i zôr ângûn madam Tîshtar
bûrdo pavau khshnû va-niyâyishno va-shem-burishnih barâ mado,
va-zôr ângun madam val Tîshtar cand 10 aspô-i gûshno, 10 aushar-i
gûshno, 10 tôrâ-i gûshno, 10 kôfô amat ramîtund, va-10 rûdo-i nâvêtako⁴
amat pavan akvayôv frâzo khvâhênd. 11. Afash barâ stûbîh barâ
rânînîdo Apâôsh shêdâ, afash lakhvâr dâshto min cashmakâno-i zarâh.

¹ Pers. bard, "terror."

2 BK. 1500 1500

³ Yasht VIII., 13, 16, 18.

* *Ibid.* 25. MSS. 14-१५, which might mean "single-streamed," but the original is *Av. nāvaya*, "navigable."

* Yasht VIII., 21, 22.

* Av. paititish.

[illegible]

Puítig¹ va-Kamîrido² va-Gêhâno-bûn.³ 15. Min valâshâno Puítigo benafshâ mayâ-î sûr aîto, mûnash pûr avakâr⁺ padash yehvûnêdo; afash band-î pûr va-avakâr padvast val mâh, afash hamâi vardîshno, pavan lâlà yâtuntano frôdo vazlûntan, ân-î mâh padash pêdâkoi-aito. 16. Va-Farâkhû-kardo pavan kûstako-î nîmrôjô pavan Albûr'z frâzo yegavîmûnêdo, afash Pûítigo ham-sâmâno yegavîmûnêdo, afash miyâno var-î Satavês, mûn band val Satavês, mûn kûstako-i-nîmrôjô. 17. Vazarâh bân khvêshkârîh, va-mâh, mûn vardîshno-i kolâ Aîrâno, bân afzâyîshno va-kâhîshno pûr avakâr havâd; gajak dûnbag min levîno-i mâh 2 frâzo tajênd, bân Satavês mânîshto yakhsenund; acvako

¹ २९१० Pātig in Bd. XIII, 7-10 ; Av. Pātika.

² रज्जु, Kamrūd, *ibid*, 7, 18

⁵ ൬-མ, *ibid.*

* Compare Sans. *ava-kṛ*.

3 BK. 210, K 2101.

⁶ MSS. f.

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lâlâ âhang, aêvako frôd-âhang ; pavan zag-î lâlâ-âhang yehvûnêdo pûr,
 pavan zag-î frôdo-âhang yehvûnêdo avakâr. 18. Va-Satavêš var
 aîto benafshâ va-pâhlûko-î zarâh-î Farâkhû-kardo, mâ ayôshdâsarih
 stavarih-î min dariyâvo-î sûr, amat bèn val Farâkhû-kardo hamâi
 vazlûnêdo, pavan vâdo-î rabâ-î buland-l, lakhvâr makhîtunedo ; vad
 zag-î roshanô pavan dagyâh ben val Farâkhû-kardo cashmakâno-i
 Arêdvisûr vazlûnêdo. 19. Gvîdo min denâ 4,⁴ zarâh-î kas.

20. Afash akhar, tajînîdo min Albûr'zo, min apâkhtar kanârako, 2
 rûdo-î va⁵-Arvand aîto va-Diglîto (tajo-î val⁶ rûdo val frôd yehvundân)
 va-Vêh val⁶ rûdo val khûr avlâ-madân yehvûntô ; pavan 2 sрубô sakhto

¹ So MSS. but Bd. XIII, 13 has و سہو, compare Pers. âhanjîdan ; the two dots are easily corrupted into a circumflex.

² The MSS. have و سہو, by some old transposition of letters.

³ The MSS. have و سہو.

⁴ The ocean and the three seas mentioned in § 14.

⁵ Va means "both" here.

⁶ For و سہو valâ.

[illegible]

3. Ângûn pêdako aêgh, pêsh min aibijado val dâm madano, pavan 1000 shnato gôhâr-i kôfô bân zamîg yehabûntô yegavimûnâdo, nâmcišht eîgûn paîtiyârako barâ zamîgo mado, pavan vazandago barâ nishto, madam zamîgo madam yâtûntô eîgûn dirâkhito hûmânâko, tâko val madam vakhshîdo, afash rîshako val azîr. 4. Rîshako-i kôfano aêvako val tanê barâ vidârî-hast, pavan ham-bandîh barâ nivârî-aito, afash râs vidarg-i mayâ; azîr val madam, padash barâ yehabûnî-basto, aêghash mayâ padash ângûn hûmânâk tajênd eîgûn khûno bân rakân, min hamâk tano val dîl, zôhar-i nihân-î yakhsenund. 5. Va-pavan 600¹ shnat-ic kâdmôn hamâko kôfân-i gvîd min Albûr'zo far'jamîg bâdo havâd. 6. Albûr'zo vad 800 shnat hamâz² rustô;

¹ This 600 is more likely than the 18 in Ind. Bd. VIII, 5 : XII, 1; although this 18 is confirmed by Irân. Bd. IX, XIX.

* BK, omits hamai

۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط
 ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط
 ۷ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۷ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۷ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۷ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط
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۸ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۸ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۸ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۸ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط
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 ۱۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۰ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط
 ۱۱ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۱ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۱ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط ۱۱ مِلّی سَمِیو اِو اِط

pavan 200 shnato vad val star pâhyago, pavan 200 shnato vad
 val mâh pâhyag, va-200 shnat vad val khûrshêdo pâhyag, 200 shnato
 vad val âsmân rûstô. 7. Akhar Albûr'zo Aparsênô kôfô mêh, cîgûn
 Avar-rôyishn-ic kôfô karîtonî-âito, mûnash bûn pavan Sagistâno afash
 sar pavan val Pârs val Cînîstâno.

8. Denâ-e pêdâk, aêgh :—Akhar min vârâno-î rabâ-î pavan bûn-i
 dâm, barâ mûshtano-î vâdo mayâ val zarûh, zamîgo pavan 7 pâra-ko an-
 dag-aê-î azvar, cîgûn ham-tano zamîg, akhar min vârâno, pavan aêvâzo
 va-vâdô zîvâko zîvâko barâ sedgûnî-âito. 9. Pâra-ko-aê barâ, cand nê-
 makoaê hamâk zamîgo, min miyânak, va-Sagistâno-î hând pîramun
 pavan 6 pâra-ko ; barâ Sagistân hând padmâno karîtonî-hasto-î kêshvar,

¹ For ۱۰۰ hâvand.

jûrdâi va-12 sardako-i aûrvar-î bêshaz min anâm anâm vakhshîdo havând
 cîgûn vênând aêvak aêvako aêgh min kadâr andâm, bèn Dâmdâdo
 pêdâko. 2. Va kolâ aûrvar min andâm-ê vakhshîdo afzâyînêdo-î zag
 andâm, cîgûn zag-î gufto aêgh; tamâ tôrâ val zamîg mazg barâ fash
 dâdo, akhar jûrdâê lâlâ rûstô, galolag¹ va-shamag, alûn² va-mashûko³;
 cîgûn shamag, mazg cîharako râi, benafshâ mas aîto-î afzâyînâko-i
 mazg. 3. Va-zag-ic yemaleluni-aîto aêgh min khûno gaduko mas
 (cîgûn âs benafshâ khûno aîto) aîto-i aûrvarîgo-î val dûrêst cîharîh-i
 khûno aîyyârtar. 4. Va-zag-î yemaleluni-aito aêgh min vînîgo mâîsh⁵
 mûn dônako karîtunî-aîto, va-gûnako-i shamagah yehvûntô, tanê
 vînîg râi. 5. Va-zag-ic-î yemalelûni-aîto aêgh min sûshân sipandâno⁶

⁶ MSS מִשְׁכָּרֵי אֶרֶץ, but some herbs (like rue) are meant, as shown by the context.

13. *afash akhar barâ val bâharâno khelkuntô, cigûn girido-
 sâmbînâno aêvako, hamâko aspô karitunî-aito ; va-dôkânako-sûmboâno
 kated, cigûn aûsthar va-tôrâ, mêsh va-bûz, arârîg dôkânako-sûmbo-
 ân ; 5-cang kalbâ, khargôsh, va-mûshko, samûr arârîg ; akhar mûrûv,
 akhar mâhîg.* 14. *Afash akhar barâ val sardako khelkuntô, cigûn
 aspô 8 sardako, khamarâ¹ 2 sardako, tôrâ 10 sardako, mêsh 5 sardako
 va-bûzo 5 sardako, kalbâ 10, khargôsh 5, samûr 8, mûshko 8,*

13. *afash akhar barâ val bâharâno khelkuntô, cigûn girido-
 sâmbînâno aêvako, hamâko aspô karitunî-aito ; va-dôkânako-sûmboâno
 kated, cigûn aûsthar va-tôrâ, mêsh va-bûz, arârîg dôkânako-sûmbo-
 ân ; 5-cang kalbâ, khargôsh, va-mûshko, samûr arârîg ; akhar mûrûv,
 akhar mâhîg.* 14. *Afash akhar barâ val sardako khelkuntô, cigûn
 aspô 8 sardako, khamarâ¹ 2 sardako, tôrâ 10 sardako, mêsh 5 sardako
 va-bûzo 5 sardako, kalbâ 10, khargôsh 5, samûr 8, mûshko 8,*

*sûrâko-mânishnâno rûbishnâno ; khayînîg haîmôg-gûn mûrvâno ;
 farâkhû-raftâr vîdo-î râi jasto va-hamôkûnân-ic ; carag-ar'jânigâno kolâ
 mâ pavan ramako carako yakhsenunî-aito.*

13. *Afash akhar barâ val bâharâno khelkuntô, cigûn girido-
 sâmbînâno aêvako, hamâko aspô karitunî-aito ; va-dôkânako-sûmboâno
 kated, cigûn aûsthar va-tôrâ, mêsh va-bûz, arârîg dôkânako-sûmbo-
 ân ; 5-cang kalbâ, khargôsh, va-mûshko, samûr arârîg ; akhar mûrûv,
 akhar mâhîg.* 14. *Afash akhar barâ val sardako khelkuntô, cigûn
 aspô 8 sardako, khamarâ¹ 2 sardako, tôrâ 10 sardako, mêsh 5 sardako
 va-bûzo 5 sardako, kalbâ 10, khargôsh 5, samûr 8, mûshko 8,*

¹ Or it may stand for *gamlâ*, "the camel"; see § 17.

הָלַל לַאֲדָוָה וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 שָׁמַר מִלְּפָנָיו שָׁמַר מִלְּפָנָיו שָׁמַר מִלְּפָנָיו שָׁמַר מִלְּפָנָיו שָׁמַר מִלְּפָנָיו
 מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו מִלְּפָנָיו

15 הָלַל לַאֲדָוָה וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ

16 הָלַל לַאֲדָוָה וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּנוּ

mûrv 110, va-mâhîg 10; aîto mûn khûkân râi aûshmûrdo, va-pêdâko hamân apêdâko hamân kâdmon, 282 sardako; levatâ sardako bèn sardako-1 1000 âyûinako.

15. Mûrvâno pavan 8 rîstako² barâ yehabûnd, va-min zag-î rabâtarîn vad zag-î kûcakotar ângûn barâ vâlinîdò cîgûn gabrâ mûn jûrdâc hamâi zerkhûnêdo, va-fratûm stavar-sang frâzo parkênêdo, va-akhar zag-î mîyânako, akhar zag-î kûco.

16. Va-min ham sardakoîhâ cîgûn pavan Dâm-dâdo dôkâno aûshmûrdo, afam bèn nipîg-i Tôkhm-aûshmûrishnîh-i hangardîgo nipishto (denâ marâk³ hangardîgo-ac) aîto-î numâi-aîto, madam sardako-î aspâno, fratûm Tâzîgo, afshâno rad

¹ MSS. מִלְּפָנָיו.

² Compare Pers. rishtah.

³ Chald. mârâ, "lord," or mârâ, "full," both of which end with *aleph*; the addition of the Pahl. suffix *k* to a Semitic final *aleph* is incorrect, but not uncommon.

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

spêtô zardo-gôsh, va-dadîgar Pârsîg, va-astar, va-khamarâ, va-gôr
 va-asp-î âvîg, va-avârîgo. 17. Âûstûr mâdakvar 2, dashto,
 kôfô-i 2-kânako-kôfô. 18. Bèn sardako-î tôrâ spêtô va-hashgûn
 sûkhar va-zardo, siyah va-pésago, va-gôvâzano, gâô-mêsh,
 va-aûstûr-gâô-palang, va-tôrâ-mâhîg, va-avârîgo. 19. Bèn
 mêsh zag-î dûmbo-aûmand va-zag-î adûmbo, va-mêsh-î tagal-iz 3
 va-kûrûshko-i, cigûnash kôfô-khabâyih, srubô-i rabâ, va-pavan-ic
 pârkîh shâyado, bârako yehvûnto-î Mânûsheihar. 20. Bèn bûzo
 kharbûz, Tâzîgo, varîgo, 6 tibâ, 7 pâzîno. 21. Bèn samûr kâkûm-î
 spêtô, va-siyah samûr, sinjâdo, va-khaz, va-avârîgo. 22. Mûshko-î
 ndfako aêvako bîsh mûshko (mûn bîsh zâhar vashtamûnêdo, afash

1 MSS. 1000.

2 MSS. 1000.

3 For 1000 tughal-ic; compare Pers. tughal, "sheepfold."

4 Kurishk in Bd. XIV, 15.

5 Compare Arab. fârih.

6 Pers. barah

7 Ohald. tabyâ, "the gazelle."

8 Pers. pâzan.

[illegible]

padash lâ yemîtnêdo, va-pavan zag-î mas súdoih yehabûnî-hasto
aêgh bêsh vashtamûnâdo, barâ val zâharîh-î dâmâno kam yehamtûnâdo),
aêvako mûshk-aê-i gûnako-i sîyah, mûn valâshâno mûn gar'zako-î khâr
cîgûn gar'zako-i mako¹ -i kôfôlgo karîtunî-aito-î bèn kûstako-î darîydu
vêsh yehvûnêdo) frâzo gazîdo ayûfto²; ham bèn val val khûrishno
ramîtnêdo, mûn vashtamûnêd, adînosh gar'zako bèn tano yehvûnêdo,
amat zag gar'zako zag hangâm-î jasto, ham-bandaggâno-î gar'zako
padash madam mêzêdo, va-min zag vimârîh dakyâ barâ yehvûnêdo.

23. Bèn mûrvân 2 gvîd-cîharako barâ yehabûntô min avârîg, va-ân-î aîto sênô-mûrv va-shôbâko,³ mun pûmâ vun⁴-i kakâ yakhsenund, pavangôspendshîrm in pistâno parvarend bôcâno.⁵

24. Va-dená yehvûnêdo 5-âm ardîgo pavan gôspend.

³ Pers. shabân.

* Compare Pers. *bacagân*.

