

THE AGE OF THE AVESTA

AND

ZOROASTER

From the German

OF

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AND

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BY

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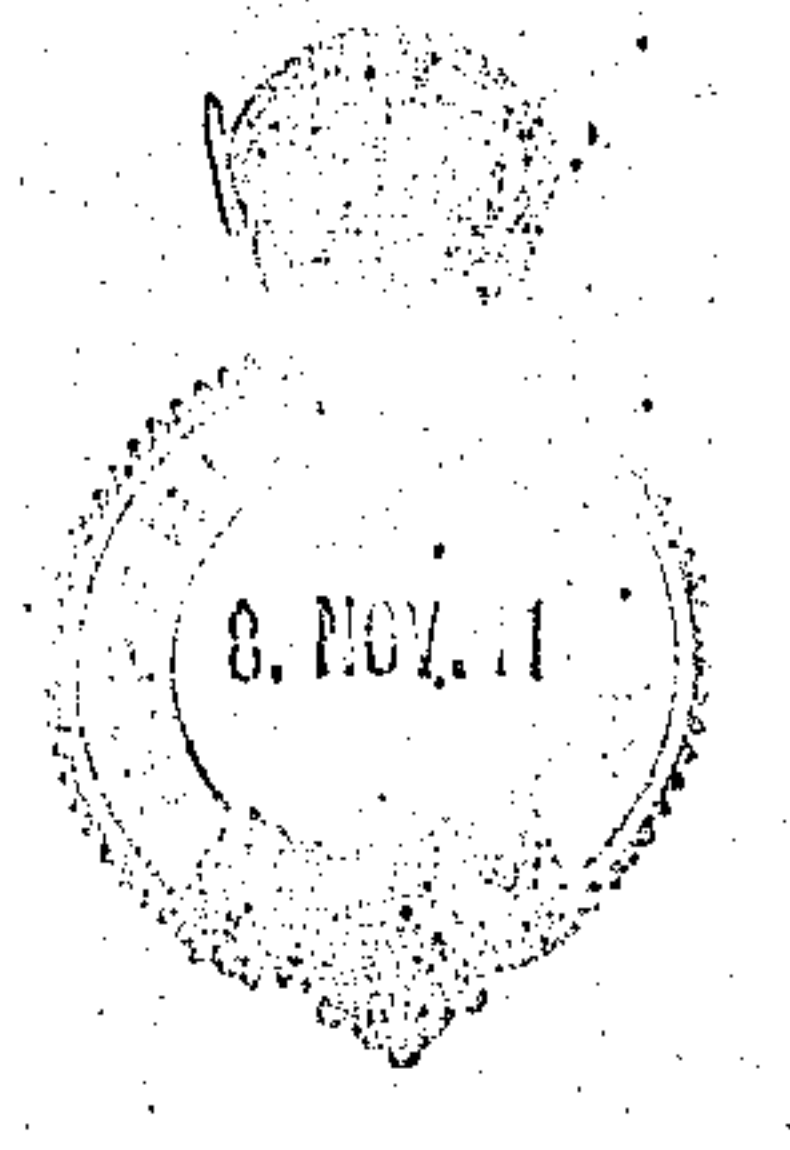


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THE AGE OF THE AVESTA

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ZOROASTER.

I.

ON THE HOME AND AGE OF THE AVESTA.

General Remarks.

IN writing my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians in Ancient Times," I did not devote a separate section to the question respecting the home and age of the Avesta. I believed that the list of geographical names occurring in the Avesta would suffice to show its Eastern Irānian origin, and that a description of the state of civilization it depicts would be enough to prove its great antiquity.

I have since been charged by my reviewers—with the exception of the criticism of M. Tomaschek, (*Ausland*, 1883, No. 42)—with over-estimating the age of the Avesta, and disregarding the important arguments in favour of its Median origin. I am, therefore, compelled to go more fully into the subject, in order to justify the view I have adopted. I shall begin with the two following statements:—

- (1) The country in which the civilization of the Avesta people took its rise, was really Eastern Irān.
- (2) It is a civilization of great antiquity, and dates back at least to a time antecedent to the Median and Persian kings.

I shall now make it my task separately to verify these two statements, and meet the arguments adduced on the opposite side.¹ I shall also endeavour not to overlook any of those arguments, claiming at the same time similar attention to all the reasons I may bring forward on my own side.

A few preliminary remarks before I begin—

1. The expression, "Home of the Avesta," is not quite precise. It may be asked whether it is meant to denote the territorial extent of Zoroastrianism and the home of the Avesta people, or the province to which the Avesta owes its origin. I take the expression in the former sense; for it is not evident whether the Avesta was originally composed in Sogdiana, Merv, or Ragha.² Even if we were to identify the home of Zarathushtra, the place where the Avesta was written would still remain uncertain. The

¹ I shall make use of the following abbreviations in quoting from writers to whom I shall have to refer often:—

1 Sp. 1. For Spiegel, *Vishtāspa oder Hystaspes und das Reich der Baktrer*; *Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. VIII. pp. 1 seq.

2 Sp. 2. For Spiegel, *Ueber das Vaterland und das Zeitalter des Avestā*; *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXXV. 1881, pp. 629 seq.

3 J. 1. For Justi's Review of my *Ostirān. Kultur*, "Civilization of the Eastern Iānians"; *Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 25th November 1882, No. 47.

4 II. 1. For C. de Harlez, *Avestā traduit*, 2nd ed. Paris, 1881; especially the "Introduction."

5 II. 2. For C. de Harlez, *Le calendrier Persan et le pays originaire du Zoroastrianisme*; *Bulletin de l'Athénée Oriental*, 1881, pp. 79-97, 159-183.

6 H. 3. For C. de Harlez, Review of my *Ostirānische Kultur im Alterthume*; *ibid*, 1883, pp. 217-225.

7 H. 4. For C. de Harlez, *Origine de l'Avesta et son interprétation*; *Le Muséon*, vol. I. 1882, pp. 494-505.

² I shall speak especially of Ragha at greater length further on.

question as to whether we can at all speak of an Eastern Irānian civilization is more practical. The difficulty lies in discovering whether the territory occupied by the Arians of the Avesta differed from that held by the Medes and Persians in historical times.

2. As regards the age of the Avesta, we cannot merely speak of it as "over-estimated." (J. 1, Sp. 1477). The question is simply this:—Is the Avesta of greater antiquity than Medo-Persian history? Is it of more recent date, or contemporary with it?

3. Dr. Spiegel (Sp. 2, pp. 639-640; cf. also Sp. 1, p. 11) says: "Now, as regards the theory of a Bactrian origin for the Avesta, only indirect proofs can be brought in support of it, for once only is Bactria directly mentioned by name." Again, Prof. C. de Harlez, (II. 1, p. xlv.): "*On affirme généralement que ce (i.e. the home of the Avesta) fut Bactriane.*" For my own part, as I have suggested in my first remark, I do not believe that the Bactrian country was the special home of the Avesta. I am much more inclined to be guided by the general contrast between Eastern and Western Irān, which appears to me inherent in the nature of the country, and which is so prominent a feature to this day in Persian history.

4. Finally, let me observe that, naturally, I do not look on the Avesta as it now exists as identical with the original Avesta. I entirely agree with Dr. Spiegel, who says (Sp. 2, 638):—"Our Avesta is a prayer-book abridged from the great Avesta for liturgical purposes." But what conclusion must we draw from this? Probably no more than that the Avesta, as we have it, is incomplete, and has even in many instances undergone much alteration; nevertheless its substance is entirely derived from the original. However, it is by no means certain, (though not impossible, or rather very probable, and in some cases evident), that in the compilation of this "Manual of Liturgy," much was

inserted in the text [*as mere explicative words or commentary*]. In order to distinguish the matter inserted we must discover certain signs. Let me point out some of them. If any phrase disturbs the metre, which would be otherwise regular, it may be regarded as an interpolation. Now the question also arises, whether such phrases are composed by the compiler, or are extracts from some other genuine texts of the Avesta. All isolated passages, and especially such words and expressions as have no proper connection with the context, must be carefully examined. They should only be brought to bear generally on questions concerning the history of civilization, where they in no way contradict the other statements of the Avesta. Above all, we must beware of attaching too great importance to brief and isolated observations. On the contrary, we must be always careful that any passage brought forward as proof can be supported by others. As a rule, the evidence of language is not to be relied on. We do not even know how far the language of the original sacred books was familiar to the compilers of the "Liturgy." That the time which elapsed between the writing of the original Avesta and the compilation of the "Liturgy," was a period of transformation of language, is, so far as I am aware, generally accepted. At best, it is only when grammatical and material evidences coincide, that we may fitly attach importance to the latter.

The Home of the Avesta.

After what I have said in my opening statement (1) the question may take this form: "What were the places inhabited by the Avesta people? In what country did the civilization represented in the Avesta take its rise and"

develop itself?" Every one will allow that the answer to these questions must be sought in the first place in the Avesta itself.

Dr. Spiegel (Sp. 3, pp. 639-640) says: "Moreover, it is incorrect to assert that the Avesta makes no reference at all to Western Irān; for not only is Lake Urumia (*Chai-chasta*) mentioned but also Babylon (*Bawri*). Thus it is familiar with the land west of the borders of Irān. Among the arguments in favour of an Eastern Irānian origin for the Avesta, particular stress is generally laid on the evidence of the register of lands in the first Fargard of the Vendidād, where only names of Eastern Irānian places occur. Without taking into consideration the fact that Ragha and Varena cannot be regarded as Eastern Irānian districts, and leaving out of account *Airyanem vaējağh*, we must nevertheless recollect that in Vendidād, I. 81, it is expressly stated that other places and towns existed whose names did not appear on the register. Besides this, I must confess that I consider the age of this first Fargard to be greatly over-estimated."

Prof. C. de Harlez agrees with the writer quoted above. (H. 3, p. 222):

"Puis nous considérerions le pays de l'Avesta comme l'Eran septentrional et non comme oriental. Une région qui s'étend jusqu'au Sud de la Mer Caspienne, ne peut être prise pour l'Orient de l'Eran."

As regards the latter remark it must be admitted that Ragha does not belong to Eastern Irān; it lies close to the natural bridge connecting Western and Eastern Irān. Now, if all the other places mentioned are in Eastern Irān, then surely, in spite of Ragha being mentioned, we are justified in speaking of an "Eastern Irānian civilization." It must also at the same time be accepted as a known fact that at this one point only it extended beyond the frontiers

of Eastern Irān. The very nature of the country sufficiently explains this circumstance ; for, when the Irānian people had reached the " Bridge of Khorāsān," they must necessarily have gone further westward, for deserts prevented their expansion towards the North and South.

At all events, it will be allowed that the name Eastern Irān is more appropriate than Northern Irān would be. To the latter must, however, belong Ātropātene, while it could never have included such places as *Haitumat*, *Harahvati*, *Pisana*, *Vaikerta*—pure Avesta names—which belong to modern Afghānistān.

Northern Irān, moreover, has no existence as a geographical division. Between the North and the South, whether towards the West (Media, Susiana, Persia), or towards the East (Afghānistān, Baluchistān), there is no natural boundary ; but the central desert of Persia divides the plateau of Irān into Eastern and Western districts. A line drawn from Asterābād, through Tebbes to Kirmān, nearly marks the division ; but North and South of the Persian desert the two halves meet again.

The main point of my argument is this:—that, in spite of the reference to Ragha in the Avesta, the greater part of Media, all Ātropātene, Susiana, and Persia, were outside the pale of the Avesta people. But these were the very countries, which, in historical times, were especially the nurseries of the civilization of nations.

Hitherto I have confined myself entirely to meeting the objections of Prof. C. de Harlez to the term " Eastern Irānian Civilization," on the ground that Ragha is mentioned in the Avesta. Let us now consider Dr. Spiegel's remark, against which a great deal may be urged.

1. Besides the register of countries in the Vendidad, I also base my theory of an Eastern Irānian origin for the Avesta on the juxtaposition of all the names of places

occurring in it, and on the very interesting passage, Yt. X.^o 13-14, where, speaking of Mithra, the *yazata* of the rising sun, it says :—

“ Who first, decked with gold,
Grasps the bright mountain-tops ;
Thence he looks over the whole land
Of the Arians, the glorious one where
navigable waters,
Broad with swelling waves, flow
To *Ishkata* and *Poruta*,
To *Moru*, *Haraiiva*, and *Gava*,
To *Sughdha* and to *Qārizem*.”¹

Dr. Spiegel does not refer to this passage ; and yet it is of special significance, for in it the name *airyō-shayana* is expressly used for the “Land of the Arians.” Of the seven names of places it mentions, two, viz., *Ishkata* and *Poruta*,² are unknown ; the others, without exception, are in Eastern Irān, and four of them appear also in the list of countries named in the Vendidad.

Here, then, we have a very important passage, analagous to the register of places often quoted, which indisputably adds to its value.

2. I do not see what arguments can be adduced to disprove the antiquity of the first Fargard of the Vendidad. This document need not be regarded only as an enumeration of tribes, but as a part of the Avesta itself ; and that it is of later

¹ Should any one be inclined to consider the words *ā ishkatem* to *qān izemcha* as an interpolation, the passage would in that case prove even more useful to my argument. The insertion would, of course, be of later date than the original text itself, and would serve as an additional proof that, even during a period later than that in which the Hymn of Mithra, (Yt. X. 13-14), was composed, the *airyō-shayana* was still confined to Eastern Irān.

² Haudez also situates them in Eastern Irān (II. 1, p. 448, note 1). *Ibid.* pp. xxiv. and xlv. with reference to the passage cited above from the Mithra Yasht.

date than any other part cannot be proved with certainty. If this were so, it would be even more striking, that, with the exception of Ragha, only names of Eastern Irānian places occur in it. Again, we must not be misled by the frequent use of the modern forms of these names, for this is sufficiently explained by the various revisions of the Avesta, during which it is easy to conceive the revisers would have preferred to exchange obsolete names for such as were popularly current, or which at least nearly resembled those in common use.

I may further observe that I do not ascribe to the transcribers of the Avesta the alteration of the names, which was doubtless the work of the revisers, to whom the old terms were, indeed, no longer familiar. Again, the loose grammar of many passages in the Avesta must not be ascribed to careless copying of the manuscript, but rather to the ignorance of editors adapting their own language to the text.

3. The concluding passage, "There are also other places, &c.," proves next to nothing. The places could equally well have been in Eastern Irān, so far as may be inferred from the tone of the writer. At all events it would seem very singular that a Zoroastrian of Western Irān should look on the districts of Eastern Irān only as God-created, thus entirely ignoring the claims of his own country.

4. Bawri cannot be mentioned by way of proof. So far as the question relates to the home of the Avesta people, we must confine ourselves to those districts only which are included in Irān. But Bawri was the home of the Dahāka, and therefore situated in a foreign country according to the Avesta. The power of Babylon may probably have been known to the old Irānians, but this is no reason for supposing that it was within the territory of the Avesta people.

5. It is by no means impossible that Chaichastā is Lake Urmia. If so, it forms a singular exception to the numer-

ous other localities mentioned in the Avesta. Perhaps, as in the case of Bawri, we may assume that it was situated beyond the district inhabited by the old Irānians, lying, as a matter of fact, at a considerable distance to the West of their territory. Perhaps it was at some later period that the name Chaichasta was given to Lake Urumia. But upon this I shall dwell further on.

I must now discuss the question in detail.

As regards the geographical names occurring in the Avesta, I must refer to the list of mountains given in Yasht, XIX. 11 *seq.* It is to some extent of no value, since their exact positions cannot be assigned to these mountains. With the help of the Bundehesh some information can be gathered concerning the following names. The *Ushidāo* and the *Ushidarna* stand in Segestān, and therefore in Eastern Irān, as does also *Upari-saina*.¹ The *Antar-kangha* and *Sichindava* are to be looked for in Kandiz, *i.e.*, on the frontier between Irān and China; *Syamaka* and *Vafraka* in Kābul. *Raiva* lies in Khorāsān and near it stand *Spentodhāta* and *Kadrva-aspa*, which, according to the Bundehesh, are situated near Tus (Meshed). Only the *Asnavāo* is situated in Ātropātene. Of the other mountains mentioned, the *Arsura*, *Mainakha*, *Vāti-gaisa*, and *Taira*, are well-known, and to these I shall revert further on. Finally, we must mention *Kauriva*, which is supposed by the Vedas to be situated in Irān.

To the geographical statements of the Bundehesh I attach little importance, since it sets up a world-system of which no trace is to be found in the Avesta. Nevertheless, if we rely on its authority, all those mountains, the geographical positions of which we can trace with its help, must be in Eastern Irān, with the single exception of the Asnavant.

The following are the other geographical names

¹ Cf. West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. pp. 36-37 note.

occurring in the Avesta:—*Aryana-vaija*; the rivers *Dātya* and *Darja*; *Sughdha* and *Gava*; *Qārixem*; the rivers *Rangha* (with the *Gaudha* or *Gudha*) and *Ardvi-sura-Anāhita*; the mountains *Hara-berzati* with the *Taira* and *Hukarya*; *Kangha*, *Vaiska*, and *Khshathrō-sauka*; the lake *Voru-kasha*; *Moru*; *Bākhdi*; *Nisaya*; *Haraiwa* (*Vāti-gaisa*); *Vaikerta*; *Urva*; *Harahvati*; *Haitūmat*; *Vehrkāna* (*Khñenta*); *Varna*; *Chakhra*; *Ragha*; *Pisina*; *Hapta-hindavo*; the lakes *Kansu*, *Chaichasta*, *Fraxdānava*, *Husrava*, *Vanghazda*, and *Awzhdānava*; the mountains *Ushida* and *Ushidarna*, *Arzura*, *Mainakha*, and *Erzifya*, and also the river *Vītanghvati*.

I need not here mention again *Bawri* and *Kvirinta*, since I have already stated my opinion regarding them; as also *Ishkata* and *Poruta*. Of *Ragha*, too, I have spoken already. Here the point in question only refers to those parts of Eastern Irān over which the Avesta people extended themselves. *Chakhra* and *Varna* mark the period of transition and are to be sought for, according to general belief, in *Tāberistān*. If, apart from this district, Eastern Irān was the scene of the civilization of the Avesta, are we not then amply justified in speaking of an Eastern Irānian civilization?

We may still further simplify our task. We may pass over the names *Vanghazda*, *Awzhdānava*, and *Vītanghvati*, as there is no means whatever of forming an opinion as to their situation. The same may also be said of the mountains *Mainakha*, *Erzifya*, and *Arzūra*. The *Aryana-vaija* forms a group with the *Dātya* and *Darja*. Therefore, wherever the latter were situated the *Aryana-vaija* must have been near them, and its position is never distinctly described; but the description includes that of the *Dātya* and *Darja*. The same is the case with the *Kangha*, *Vaiska*, *Khshathrō-sauka*, and *Hara-berzati* which includes the *Taira* and *Hukarya*. Again the *Sughdha* and *Gava*, the *Vehrkāna* and *Khñenta* form one group.

The Rangha, the Ardvi-sura, and the Voru-kasha, are generally considered by my critics to be mythical places, and, as far as I know, no one has been able with any certainty to locate them in Western Irān. Therefore, they are also useless for purposes of evidence.¹

As regards the remaining names, nine of them belong indisputably to localities in Eastern Irān (Sughdha, Qārīzem, Moru, Bākhdi, Haraiva, Harahvati, Haitumat, Vehrkāna, Pisina), since they exist there to the present day. The remaining eight, namely, Nisaya, Vāti-gaisa, Vaikerta, Urva, Hapta-hindavō, Kansu, and the mountains Ushida and Ushidarna,² are now generally recognized, even by my opponents, as having been situated in Eastern Irān. On four of the names or groups of names (Aryana-vaija, Ilara-berzati, Kangha, Frazdānava), no unanimous decision has yet been arrived at; nevertheless most writers, at least in the case of the two last mentioned, are inclined to locate them in Eastern Irān. Only two localities, viz., the Lakes Chaichasta and Husrava are looked for in Western Irān, and this without any definite reason.

He must be very hard to satisfy who is not convinced by the arguments set forth above. In my opinion they point so decidedly to Eastern Irān as the home of the Avesta people that further confirmation seems hardly necessary. Nevertheless, I hope to be able to prove that Aryana-vaija and Ilara-berzati should be sought in the East, or at least to show the insufficiency of the arguments

¹ In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians," pp. 34 *seq.* and pp. 45 *seq.*, I have explained the theory of the Rangha being the Jaxartes (Syr-daryā), the Ardvī-sura the Oxus (Amu-daryū), and the Voru-kasha Lake Aral or the Caspian Sea. Besides, this view is also shared by others.

² Doubts might certainly be raised as to the district of Nisaya, which means only "a settlement," nevertheless we have a passage in the Vendīdād (I. 8), where its situation is described. Cf. also M. Tomaschek, *Ausland*, 1883, pp. 822-823.

on which the theory of their situation in the West is based. Lake Chaichasta we must deal with later on.

In the first place, as regards Frazdānava, no one has as yet assigned it to Western Irān, but the whole testimony of tradition agrees in locating it in the Eastern province.¹ Dr. Spiegel's latest remark on the subject is indeed somewhat diffident:—"Frazdānu or Frazdānava is, according to the Bundehesh, a lake in Segestān; but M. Lagarde has (not unreasonably) traced its name in that of the Armenian river Irazdan, *which is possibly correct*" Every one will surely allow that the similarity between an Armenian and an Irānian name proves nothing at all as regards the identity of the places named, but rather renders such identity improbable. The Avesta mentions a river Haravati and the Rīg-veda a Sarasvati, but no one will venture to assert that these rivers were, therefore, identical.

Until quite recently, no difference of opinion existed concerning Kangha, Vaiska, and Khshathrōsauka. The Avesta places Kangha evidently in Tūrān,² which is always understood to be the country north of the Oxus. The testimony of the Bundehesh, the Minokhired, and of the "Book of Kings" by Firdūsī, agrees with that of the Avesta. Kangha is always referred to as a district in the far North-East. *Here we surely have a firm footing, which we should not fail to make good, unless we wish to*

¹ Cf. especially *Bahman-yasht*, ch. III. 13, West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 220. Aūharmazd spoke thus: "O Zarātūst, the Spitāmān, when the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of wrath, comes into notice in the Eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hūshēdār, son of Zarātūst, is born near lake Frazdān." Again, Bundehesh, ch. XXII. 5 (*ibid.* p. 86).

² Yt. V. 53-54, 57-58. Cf. *O. K. A.* pp. 52-54, 198-199. Windischmann, Bréal, Justi, De Harlez, are all agreed in locating Kanga in the East.

cut away the ground from under our own feet. And yet Dr. Spiegel starts a theory that Kangha was in the West, (Sp. I, p. 20); but apparently without any authority, and in direct opposition to the evidence of tradition which he at other times values so highly. His line of argument runs as follows:—Kangha was the home of the Hunus, the enemies of Vishtāspa. The Hvyāunas and the Vardhakas appear elsewhere in the Avesta as the foes of Vishtāspa. The latter may be identified with the Chionitae and Vartae, who dwell on the western shores of the Caspian. But this is not possible, if Eastern and not Western Irān was the scene of Vishtāspa's career. So Dr. Spiegel thinks fit to locate Kangha, too, in the West and to look there also for the Hunus, though at the same time acknowledging that "there is much evidence to show that it was in Eastern Irān," adding, however, "but the possibility always remains, that there were Hunus also on the western shores of the Caspian."

But Dr. Spiegel, who laboured after a "historical" explanation of the Avesta with so much determination and achieved his object with so much success, makes the following statement:—"The fact ought to be admitted that, as far as we can gather from native sources, Kangha was situated in the East." He ought certainly not to have sacrificed this fact for the sake of etymology. If it will not agree with the Chionitae, well and good; we must not try to identify the Hvyāunas with the latter, or else we must concede that Vishtāspa's activity extended to Eastern as well as to Western Irān. Can we not with justice use Dr. Spiegel's own words:—"The possibility remains that there were Hvyāunas (Chionitae) also on the western shores of the Caspian"?

Let us now consider the Chionitae and Vartae, whom Dr. Spiegel (Sp. I, pp. 16 *seq.*) would identify with the *Hvyāna* and the *Varedhaka* of the Avesta. The identity is purely etymological and not historical. Does the identity of

peoples follow from the identity of their names? The Mardoī, for instance, are said to have lived both in Persia and Hyrcania, and the Daai on the eastern shores of the Caspian, but at the same time beyond the Tanais-Jaxartes and in Persia.¹ Is it not rather probable that this similarity of names is only apparent? Even in external form the two words *Vardhaka* and *Vartae* are not alike. Dr. Spiegel² derives the word *Hvyaona* or *Iyaona* from the *haṇa* of the Avesta and from the Middle Irānian word *hayūn*. Dr. Geldner,³ on the contrary, is of opinion that the word should be derived from *hva-yaona*, meaning "one who goes his way, a wanderer, a vagabond." According to him it is not generally a proper, but a generic name. If this etymology be correct—and the passages in the Avesta seem to support it—then the identification of the Chionitae with the Hvyauna loses all value as historical evidence.⁴

But, now what do we know of the Chionitae? Ammianus says of them:—"*Datiano et Cereali consulibus cum universa per Gallias studio cautiore disponerentur formidoque praeteritorum barbaricos hebetaret excursus rex Persarum in confinis adhuc gentium extimarum, iamque cum Chionitis et Gelanis omnium acerrimis bellatoribus pignore icto societatis rediturus ad sua, Tamsaporis scripta suscepit, pacem Romanum principem nuntiantis poscere precativum.*" (17. 5. 1.)

¹ Cf. vol. I. pp. 38, 40-41, *O. K. A.* pp. 203-204, 200-201.

² Dr. Spiegel's reference to the *hayūn rūi* in Firdūsī, which might be explained by the change of meaning from the Old Irānian *haṇa* to the Middle Irānian *hayun*, is very ingenious. But the Syriac *hveenai* with its initial *hv* does not entirely suit this interpretation.

³ *Avestāstudien*, p. 83.

⁴ Spiegel's etymology of the names, Chionitae and Hvyauna, might of itself mark them as generic terms. As such *haṇa* is often enough employed in the Avesta, (*vide* vol. I. pp. 28-29; *O. K. A.* pp. 191-192.).

If we add to this another passage from Ammianus (18. 6. 22) to which Dr. Spiegel does not refer and wherein Grumbates, the king of the Chionitae, is mentioned with the king of Albania, we have the sum total of our knowledge of the Chionitae. From the latter being named with the Gelans, who must of course be understood to be the inhabitants of Gilan, and with the Albanians, it is indeed more probable that they dwell on the western shores of the Caspian. On such an uncertain basis, or at all events on the mere identification of the names Hvyana and Chionitae, does Dr. Spiegel ground his theory that Vishtāspa had his home in the West. Again, from the words, "This conquest of two nations¹ by Vishtāspa, in which Shapur II. was concerned " we gather that he assigns the origin of the Vishtāspa legend to the reign of King Shapur or still later. Now what can be his object in thus connecting it with Shapur? By so doing he deprives his argument of the last vestige of evidence. At least he cannot venture to assert that the original Avesta was written in the fourth century after Christ! If so, his conclusion would amount to this:—"The Vishtāspa legends of the Avesta bear a striking resemblance to the history of Shapur II., therefore, they are productions of that time." Thus, then, they would lose all value as evidence for determining the home of the Avesta people and the antiquity of their civilization; and we should have gathered only one argument in proof of the spuriousness [?] of a portion of the book, especially of the passages quoted by Dr. Spiegel from the Yashts.

Accordingly, the theatre of Vishtāspa's wars was

¹ " *Diese Besiegung zweier Völker durch Vishtāspa, mit welchen Schāpur II. zu thun hatte* " The second nation refers doubtless to the Vertae of Ammianus, i.e., the Vardhaka, but as far as I know we have no authority for supposing a conquest of the Vertae by Shapur; on the contrary, they appear to have been allies of the Persians (Amm. 19. 2. 3).

in the East; in the East we must endeavour to find the country of Kangha; and it was in the East that he fought with the Hvyāunas and Vardhakas, and, likewise, with the Huns. With regard to the latter I am inclined to draw attention to a paper of M. Tomaschek's (*Ausland*, 1883, vol. LVI. p. 824), according to which the Finnish accounts of the invasions of the Northern Hiin-yō from the Gobi date back to 1750 B. C. The mention made of them in the Avesta strengthens rather than weakens the claims of that book to a high antiquity.¹

If, in the last few pages I have been now and then, compelled to digress into matter that pertains to the second part of my treatise, I shall now confine myself to purely geographical questions in discussing the Hara-berzati.

I believe I may refer, in entering upon this subject, principally to my "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," (pp. 42-45), in which I locate that mountain-range in the East, since the Avesta itself does so. When the Avesta says of Mithra, that he rises before the sun, as well as the moon and the stars over the Hara-berzati, it clearly proves that, for the author of such a passage, the Hara-berzati must have been situated in the East.² It is, therefore, impossible to identify that range with the Alburz mountains, lying on the southern shores of the Caspian, in spite of their names being identical. The Alburz lay exactly to the

¹ As, for instance, Justi, (J. 1, Sp. 1476), has done: "He hesitates to recognize this people (the Huns) in the Hunu, because they belong to a time more modern than the writing of the Avesta"; he should rather have concluded that the passage, in which the Huns are mentioned, was of comparatively recent insertion. In my opinion Tomaschek has now arrived at the right conclusion, and dispelled my doubts.

² Again, it necessarily follows hence that the important part played by the Alburz in the world-system of the Bundesh, is entirely unknown to the Avesta.

West as regarded Moru and Bākhdi, &c., and to the North with respect to the inhabitants of Ragha; but never with regard to any of the territories, in the East or South-East, mentioned in the Avesta.

Facts point the other way. I believe Hara-berzati to have been more than a local name. To such a range of mountains as those mentioned above, it is quite suited on account of its general meaning of "High Mountains." The conjecture is also confirmed by the fact that the name was not merely confined to the Alburz of the Caspian, but extended also to the Caucasus. The name Alburzond given by the Ossetes to the Elbrus, is evidently the same old Avesta word.

Since we have found the name Hara-berzati applied to two quite distinct mountain-ranges, may it not possibly have belonged likewise to a third? In the last we must, of course, recognize the great central highland of Asia, the Pāmīr, the Phianshan, and the Alai, which must have seemed to the Irānians of the Avesta to coincide exactly with the eastern boundary of their world.

Finally, we come to Aryana-vaija and the rivers Dātya and Darja.

It is now, I believe, generally agreed that Aryana-vaija is known to the Avesta itself only as a semi-mythical land. This I have never denied; on the contrary, I have laid some stress upon it.¹ Hence two results may be deduced:—

¹ Cf. my *O. K. A.* p. 30: "As to the Irānians of the Avesta, Aryana-vaija had already, so far as they were concerned, passed out of the domain of history into the region of legend." Cf. also p. 32, where the reasons are given for its having been chosen by the Avesta as the home and dwelling of Zoroaster. Like Ahura Mazda and Yima he is called *srūō-airoyonē-vaōjahī*, (Ys. IX. 14); and the place of his birth is pointed out on the Darja, (Vd. XIX. 4. 11), where the house of his father Pourushaspa stood. Zarathushtra, therefore, belonged to the East, if, as I hope to

firstly, that from the references to Aryana-vaija we must draw no elaborate historical conclusions; secondly, that it must have been a country beyond the true frontiers of the Irānian people, known to them more by tradition, verbal or written, than by personal experience, bearing almost the same relation to them as the *Rasā* did to the Arians of the Rīg-veda. We must satisfy ourselves, therefore, with a somewhat general indication of the situation of Aryana-vaija.

The semi-mythical character of Aryana-vaija is revealed by the fact that in the Avesta it is reputed to be the "home of Ahura Mazda."¹ There he makes known to Anāhita his will that Zarathushtra shall remain faithful to Him, and think, speak, and act according to His commandments. There, too, Ahura Mazda holds his meeting with the legendary king Yima; and Zarathushtra is likewise spoken of as the "renowned one in the country of Aryana-vaija."²

The Avesta is, and must always remain, the "earliest

be able to prove, Aryana-vaija must be assigned to that quarter. We need not be hampered by the comparatively modern evidence to the contrary. All the best Occidental testimony also goes to prove that Eastern Irān was the home of Zoroaster. "By far the majority of the old writers, moreover, describe Zoroaster as a Bactrian If against their statements it should be remarked that they are all modern, we might respond by saying that the accounts which call Zoroaster a Mede, are proved to be still later and less numerous." (Sp. I, p. 3.)

¹ [This fact does not necessarily prove the admixture of any mythical element in the Avesta description of Aryana-vaija; it rather confirms the Zoroastrian belief that the primitive land of the early *Mazdayasna* was the abode of all piety and blessings, where man was himself a spiritual power exulting in the glorification of the divine government, and, inspired with supernatural thoughts, was, in the moments of intense devotion, in communion with the Creator and the good genii.]

² Yt. V. 17-18; cf. Yt. XV. 2; Vd. II. 21; Ys. IX. 14. Hauma, too, offers up his prayer to Anāhita in Aryana-vaija. (Yt. V. 104).

source of information, and it is a help to us in ascertaining the position of Aryana-vaija; and here again we have to consider the evidence afforded by the register of countries in the Vendidād. If the antiquity of the register is disputed, at any rate no one will deny that it is of earlier date than the traditional Parsee writings, than the Bundesh or the Minokhired; and at the time of its translation it was even regarded as an integral portion of the Parsee Scriptures and was translated, commented on, and interpreted in the same way as every other fragment of the great Avesta.

Again in Vd. I. 3 we find:—

“As the first of the lands and as the best dwelling-place, I, Ahura Mazda, created the *Aryana-vaija* (the country) situated on the good Dātya. Thereupon Angra Manyu, who is full of death, counter-created the water-serpents and a winter produced by the demons.”

From this we gather two conclusions:—that Aryana-vaija was on the Dātya, and that it suffered from very severe winters. But more important still is the order in which the countries are enumerated in the Vendidād and the positions which each of them holds. Aryana-vaija heads the list, and is followed by Sughdha, Moru, Bākhdi, Nisaya, Haraiva, indisputably following the course from North to South. Hence it follows almost certainly that Aryana-vaija was further North than Sughdha. No objection can, therefore, be taken, *if we locate it in Upper Ferghanāh.*¹

¹ Even Justi is forced to admit that Aryana-vaija is represented by the Vendidād as the country furthest to the North-East (J. 1, Sp. 1473), and I have as yet never come across any attempt to account for the extraordinary interpretation of the sequence in the register, which would be necessary if we were to identify Aryana-vaija with Arzan! I might once more refer to the attempt

But, then, is this supposition at variance with the rest of the evidence afforded by the Avesta? By no means. I have collected all the passages in which Aryana-vaija is mentioned, *but in none* (with the exception of Vd. I. 4) *is there any direct evidence as to the situation of that country.* Hence I cannot find any warrant for what Dr. Justi says: "Other traditions of the Avesta and of more modern works *positively locate in the West* the primitive land of the Avesta people, and thus probably also the home of Zoroaster." As far as Aryana-vaija and the Avesta are concerned, it is an assertion without any convincing evidence.

Again, the Avesta never alludes to the geographical situation of the Dātya. We only know that on its banks Zari-vari and Vishtāspa offered their prayers for success in battle.¹ Besides, it is only mentioned in the register of countries side by side with Aryana-vaija.

I have made in my *O. K. A.* pp. 3-6, 76-78, to explain this order of names, which has met with the approval of Dr. E. W. West, who says: "It appears from these details (given by Dr. Geiger) which are illustrated by a carefully-drawn map of the whole region described, that the apparent irregularities in the arrangement of the names of these lands are quite consistent with the assumption that they are mentioned in the order in which their inhabitants accepted the Avesta religion. And as half the names are readily identified with the names of places mentioned by Darius in his Cuneiform Inscriptions, or by Greek writers, and still in use, it seems most probable that the other half are also old names of lands still existing on the earth's surface, and are mythic only in so far as our present knowledge is insufficient to identify them with absolute certainty." (*Vide the Indian Antiquary*, Dec., 1882, pp. 349-350). It is not proper to plead simply the geographical ignorance of the author. How is it then possible that we can attach importance to the very regular sequence in isolated groups?

¹ Yt. V. 112; IX. 29; In the same way, the two passages in the Avesta in which the Darja is mentioned (Vd. XIX. 4 and 11), are of less value in determining its distinct geographical situation.



But, now, what has led Dr. Justi¹ to identify *Aryana-vaija* with the country of Arran on the Lower Araxes near *Ātropātene*? A passage in the Bundehesh, which says: "Aīrān-vēj lies at the side of Atrōpatkān."² He professes to find this confirmed by another passage: "The Dāitīk river (Dātya) rises in Aīrān-vēj and flows through Gurjistān (Georgia)." But Gurjistān is simply a conjecture of his own, elegant though it may be. The latest translator, Dr. West, retains the manuscript reading, which is simply an inaccuracy in the Pāzand transcription of the word meaning generally "mountain-land" (Kohistān).³ Nor should any importance be attached to the name Arrān. The ancient *Airyana* corresponds rather with the Middle and Modern Irānian *Ērān* or *Irān* than with *Arrān*. Only compare *Airyaman* of the Avesta with the Pahlavi and Modern Persian *Ermān*.

Accordingly, I have set the scattered references of the Bundehesh side by side with the Avesta, and I do not think that it will be difficult to decide between the two.⁴ Here I may remark that the obscurity of the statements of the Bundehesh with regard to *Aryana-vaija* and the country belonging to it, may also be proved. That the Vara of Yima was situated close to *Aryana-vaija* is shown by the second chapter of the Vendidād and expressed in clear

¹ *Beitrage zur alten Geographie Persiens*, "Contributions to the Geography of Ancient Persia," p. 18.

² *Bdh.* XXIX. 12 (Justi, p. 70. 10). By-the-by, I must observe that it is impossible that Ariān should have been regarded as a mythical place during the last centuries before Christ, in which, according to the view of my opponent, the Avesta must have been composed; since at that time it lay exactly within the pale of Irānian history and civilization.

³ West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 79, note 1.

⁴ Again, Duncker says (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. IV. p. 24, note 4): "It still appears to me advisable to look for *Aryana-vaija* in the country lying near the sources of the Oxus."

words in the sixty-second chapter (para. 15) of the Minokhired.¹ Yet the Bundeshesh locates it in Pars.²

But our view is further confirmed by the fact that the Minokhired,³ which is at least not less trustworthy than the Bundeshesh, looks for Aryana-vaija in the East, and locates it on the borders of Kandiz, which belongs to the "country of the East," and which Dr. Justi himself describes as being in the far North-East.

1. Thus we have now arrived at the conclusion that all the geographical testimony of the Avesta points to Eastern Irān, save that Ragha is near the western frontier, and that there is no other place known to the present day, which lay further than Ragha to the West or South-West.

We must now turn to Lake Chaichasta. There is no doubt that, according to the Bundeshesh, this lake was situated in Ātropātene, and, therefore, it can only be identified with Lake Urumia.⁴ But it might be asked whether we have not here again another instance of the transfer of a name to a later period. • Of course this view can be nothing more than a conjecture; but, nevertheless, something may be said in its favour.

¹ *Vide* West, "Pahlavi Texts," part III. p. 109, "(12) The spirit of wisdom answered (13) thus: 'Kangdez is entrusted with the eastern quarter, near to Satavāyūs, (14) on the frontier of Airān-vêgō.'" The Minokhired contains no such references to the rule of the Arabians in Persia, as are to be found in the Bundeshesh. Thus the former seems to lay claim to a higher antiquity than the latter.

² *Bdh.* XXIX. 14, (following West's Translation).

³ *Mkh.* LXII. 13-14. Here we are only struck by the statement: "Near to Satvās," since the Star Satavaisa is elsewhere described as the ruler of the West.

⁴ West ("Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 85, note 4), states that Lake Urumia is called Khejest or Chechest by Hāmdullāh Mustāfi.

It was near Lake Chaichasta, that Frangrasyan (Afrāsīāb) was defeated and taken prisoner by Husrava.¹ Moreover, that the scene of the struggle between the Irānians and Tūrānians was the North-Eastern frontier of Irān, can scarcely be disputed. The Oxus forms the boundary between the two kingdoms, and, according as the one or the other gained the supremacy, so Khorāsān on the rivers Kūse and Shehd, Khvārizem (Khīwa), Dighistān, Soghd on the Gulzarriūn, or Kang-bihisht became the scene of conflict. The fact, that at this time the residence of the Irānian kings was placed by Firdūsī in Istakhr or in some other western town, is absolutely unimportant. This would be an anachronism. Here the whole question is only concerning the great opposition between Irān and Tūrān, which occupied all the early legendary epoch, and this hostility found vent in North-Eastern Irān.

We would, therefore, feel inclined to seek Chaichasta in the North-East. Anyhow, we must not admit that the history of the end of Afrāsīāb, related in the "Book of Kings," along with the abovementioned wars, wherein the Tūrānian king was driven to the North-East, appears inconsistent. If the name Chaichasta was transferred to Lake Urumia in the time of Firdūsī, then the story of Afrāsīāb's wanderings and of his discovery is easily explained. The later localizing of this legend on the shores of Lake Urumia, would have necessitated its being brought into harmony, for better or for worse, with the other narratives which place the scene of conflict exclusively in the North-East. The conclusion best in accord with the most ancient accounts, and certainly the simplest and most trustworthy one, would be that Afrāsīāb, after he had been driven further and further away by Khosraw, at length fell into the hands of his enemies near Lake Chaichasta.

¹ Yt. IX. 18, 21; XVII. 41. Cf. Yt. V. 49.

Is it not possible that it may have been Lake Issyk-kul? This conjecture—for naturally it is nothing more—was suggested to me by M. Tomaschek.¹

2. That such a transference of names, as I would assume in the case of Lake Chaichasta, occurred in some instances, is not to be disputed. No one will maintain that the Rangha of the Avesta meant the Tigris, and yet this river is meant by the Arang of the Bundesh. Dr. Spiegel has already directed our attention to the migration of the names, Kur and Araxes. The transference of the name Hara-berzati I have pointed out above. Now the question arises whether, in these cases, a migration from East to West or one from West to East is the more probable. When we consider that we can prove almost to a certainty that all the Indo-Irānian tribes lived in territories lying to the North and South of the Hindu-kush, we may at once admit the fact of a migration of the Irānian names of places westward, concurrently with the extension of that tribe in that direction, just as we may observe a southeasterly advance of Indian names. The theory of a migration of geographical designations from West to East would presuppose a perfectly artificial conformation of the many streams of migrating tribes opposed to one another.

3. I would now draw attention to the numerous names of places mentioned in the Avesta. Without exception they all lie within the boundary indicated by the (Avesta) register of countries. None of them, as we have observed, leads us further westward than Ragha. Can this be a mere accident? Should we then make an exception in the case of Chaichasta, an exception by no means authorized by the Avesta, (which contains no

¹ *Ausland*, 1883, p. 824. In determining the position of Lake Chaichasta we determine also that of Lake Husrava. If the former is the Issyk-kul, the latter is doubtless the Sson-jöl. If, on the contrary, the former is Lake Urumia, then the latter must be Lake Van.

allusion to its geographical position), but only founded on a far later application of the name? Will not this *only* name be overborne, so to speak, by the weight of the rest? Does not the complete picture presented by all the geographical references in the Avesta concerning the home of the ancient Irānians, compel us to place Chaichasta also within the limits of Irān?

Fewer definite results are to be obtained from an examination of the ethnographical statements of the Avesta than by determining the geographical names. Here I may confine myself to a brief recapitulation of what I have already said on the subject in my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians," (*vide Ostîrân. Kultur*, pp. 193 seq).

I have already observed that the reference to the Hunus points to Central Asia and not to Western Irān. Similarly, I have discussed the names, Hvyāuna and Vardhaka. Again, we must look for the Tūra in Central Asia, since the Oxus is actually mentioned as the boundary between their territory and that of the Irānians. The Dāhas, too, were divided from the Irānians by the Oxus. Indeed, Herodotus mentions a tribe of the Daai as inhabiting Persis, as well as the Mardoï and Sajartae. Moreover, we must assign the country of this nomadic tribe to the eastern shores of the Caspian, that is to say, the land of the Turcomans of the present day. Here their name is also preserved in the Middle Irānian expression *Dāhistān*.¹ Little need be said regarding the Sarima and the Sāni, since neither word seems to be a proper name, but rather a generic term. Thus Sarima might be traced in the modern Sarmatia without justifying any supposition as regards an identity or relationship between the two tribes. I would adhere to my explanation of *Maredha* = the Mardoï and *Derwika* = the Derbikes, although Dr. Justi opposes this

¹ Besides, the word *Dāha* meaning simply "enemy" may well have been applied to quite different races.

view. Again, the identification of *Barvara* with the appellation *Barbar* for the Hindu-kush tribes is not quite improbable. However, from these names we cannot infer anything that will help us to determine the home of the Avesta, as they are invariably spoken of as the plague of special districts, viz., Moru, Haraiva, and Bākhdi.¹

We must now turn to the question of the age of the Avesta.

On the Age of the Avesta.

I.

We begin with a *documentum e silentio*. The Avesta must have been in existence in a pre-Achaemenian, most probably in a pre-Median epoch. I.—Because the Avesta does not speak of any of the towns famous during the latter period, with the exception of Ragha, the high antiquity of which is thereby established. II.—The Avesta does not mention any of the names of nations that were commonly known at a later period. Neither does it allude to the Persians, Parthians, nor Medes, but simply to the Arians. III.—The Avesta contains no historical statement concerning the battles between the Medes and the Babylonians, the rise of the Persians, the prosperity and downfall of the Persian empire under the Achaemenian dynasty, the invasion of Alexander the Great, which agitated and reorganized the whole of the Orient, the states which rose on the ruins of the empire of Alexander, and the dominion of the Arsacidae.

Who will believe that a work so copious as the Avesta could thus ignore all contemporary (or antecedent) events

¹ Vd. I. 6, 9, 7.

and circumstances? This would be conceivable, if it were merely a book of laws and ritual. But the Avesta frequently treats even of external events. It speaks of the inroads of hostile troops. The Yashts describe the battles waged with foreign nations. Attention is constantly drawn to the national antagonism between Arians and non-Arians, and likewise to the economic antagonism between the nomads and the agriculturists. The tribal constitution pre-eminently appears from the testimony of the Avesta. Princes ruling over the separate districts and particularly powerful personages unite the different Arian kingdoms under their own sovereignty—of whom Kavi-Husrava is especially remarkable. Is it possible that there could have been not even a single event of sufficient importance to induce the writers of the Avesta to make mention of kings among the Achaemenidae or the Arsacidae, who possessed still greater power? ¹

One can search the Avesta through and through, without finding a single statement to which all that we possess of Irānian history would give a clue. What is more natural than the assumption that it dates from a time in which there was no other trustworthy history of Irān. *As a matter of fact, by such a supposition, I think, much less is imposed upon our "faith" than by the assertion that this utter absence of historical allusion is purely "accidental."*

Such an accident is quite incredible, indeed, if we regard Western Irān as the home of the Avesta; but it is equally inconceivable if we place it in Eastern Irān. Read, for instance, Prof. Max Duncker's *Outlines of the History of the Kingdom of Bactria*² at the time of the Achaemenidae

¹ I have here only recapitulated, in order not to repeat myself, the several points which I have already treated at length in my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 176-210, pp. 425 seq.

² *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. IV. pp. 15 seq.

and of the Greco-Bactrian Princes: "At no time was the Eastern part of the kingdom so shut off and isolated that it would have remained untouched by events passing round it."

Dr. Spiegel writes:—"Following the example of Prof. Rhode, it (*i.e.*, the first Fargard of the Vendidād) has often been compared with the list of tribes in Genesis; and, as a proof of its great antiquity, the fact has been adduced of the absence in the Vendidād of the name Ekbatana, which, therefore, was probably not built when the Fargard was written. This is surely a proof of a peculiar nature.* May we not equally well conclude that Ekbatana had already lost its early importance." The proof would be singular, indeed, if it were confined to Ekbatana. But the question here refers, not merely to the Median capital, but also to all the important towns which were famous after the Median period. Not only is Ekbatana ignored but also Susa, Pasargadae, Persepolis, Istakhr, Hecatompylos and Seleucia. The several Alexandrias and such towns as Markanda, Cyropolis, &c., are not even once mentioned. How significant, therefore, is the fact that, of all the cities of the West, only ancient Babylon is named in the Avesta! The renown of that powerful city spread even to the rugged highlands of Eastern Irān.

To the second reason also, which I have adduced in proof of the great antiquity of the Avesta—namely, the absence of all names of nations, such as Medes, Persians, Parthians, &c.,—we may attach no small importance, since they are in fact the names by which the Irānian races were universally known in historical times. It must seem doubly striking to those who endeavour to identify the Āthravans of the Avesta with the Magi of the Medes; for the religious and political conflict between the latter and the other tribes belonging to the Irānian empire, particularly the Persians, must inevitably have caused that name to be mentioned at least once. Let us see what

evidence Herodotus furnishes and consider the passage in which he says: "The Medes were also called Arians." Even this statement supports my argument. It runs as follows: ἐχάλεοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοί. Thus in πάλαι they were called "Arians." In the time of Herodotus, *i.e.*, in the fifth century B. C., the name was already antiquated, or at least its use was restricted. In the Avesta, on the contrary, *airya* is the only recognized and universal designation of the people.¹

It must not, however, be inferred that by the name "Arian" the Avesta people are brought into close connection with the Arians of the Rig-veda. In the case of the latter also, and especially in all ancient writings, the name *Ārya* is an ethnographical designation, which, in later times, when the conquest of the habitable territory was finally accomplished, sank to the level of a mere class-name comprising the members of the three higher castes. In Irān, likewise, we find the name *Ārya* used only in the Avesta; but in later times, when the original nation had broken up into distinct tribes, the name entirely disappeared, giving place to the names of individual tribes.

In endeavouring to find positive proofs of the great age of the Avesta, we must look chiefly to internal evidence.

Here I refer principally to the economic conditions of the Avesta people, a feature of their civilized life to which I have devoted particular attention in my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians," but which unfortunately has not as yet been sufficiently studied.

The existence, at every period of history, in Irān, and particularly in Eastern Irān, of nomadic tribes, side by side with those who pursued agriculture, and the continuance of this discordant feature down to the present day, are explained by the nature of the country. We need not, therefore,

¹ Cf. my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 168-169.

deduce the great age of the Avesta from the traces of nomadic life we may find in it. But the fact assumes quite a different aspect, when the Avesta takes us back to a period, wherein parts or sections of the people in general make a first attempt to change their wandering life for a settled one, to a period in which the discordant element, which afterwards became historical, makes its first appearance. It makes an immense difference whether primitive economic conditions appear only incidentally or whether they occupy the whole life and form the highest and essential interests of the people; whether, in short, religious and economic reforms go hand in hand.

I would here ask those who seek to identify the *Āthravans* of the Avesta with the *Magi* of the Achaemenian and pre-Achaemenian periods, whether they can discover in those periods that warm interest on the part of the priests in agricultural matters, that eager support and encouragement of agriculture and cattle-breeding which are so prominently displayed in the Avesta? For my part, I cannot imagine such a thing; for it hardly seems possible that, at a time when political feeling and party spirit ran so high, the *Magi* should have earnestly busied themselves with the laying out of fields, the planting of trees, and the digging of wells and canals. If we bear in mind the intrigues with which they were concerned after the death of Cambyses, we can no longer recognize in them the spirit of a simple and homely tribe, of herdsmen and peasants, such as are the people described in the Avesta, which we are asked to regard as the Sacred Code of these very *Magi*!

This matter, however, requires to be somewhat more closely studied, in connection with the highly important question of the age of the *Gāthās* and the relation they bear to the rest of the Avesta.

II.

While I hold the Gāthās to be by far the oldest part of the Avesta, I do not entirely ground my belief upon the evidence of their language. Although it bears many marks of great antiquity, still it is not quite free from later and more polished forms of expression. Again, the language of the Gāthās is essentially a distinct dialect, the difference of which from that of the rest of the Avesta may be easily explained by its having belonged to a different country.

Nor do I lay stress upon the fact that the Gāthās are quoted in other parts of the Avesta; for these quotations may, as I believe, have been inserted in later revisions. They testify more to the great reputation than to the great age of these sacred hymns. At the same time it is not improbable that their reputation may have been due to their priority in point of time.

This assumption is corroborated by another fact. The metre of the Gāthās, although not so simple as that of the later books of the Avesta, has evidently remained comparatively undisturbed. Like the rest of the Yasna, the Gāthās have not during their revision been, so to say, remodelled; they were rather inserted in the Avesta as a book complete in itself. The Vendidūd was handled in the same way, but was at first somewhat violently recast and varied with copious insertions. Evidently, therefore, the Gāthās were considered as more sacred than the Vendidūd; the reason of which was probably that they were attributed to Zarathushtra himself or his immediate disciples. There must have been some ground for such a belief. I am not quite ready to accept the theory entirely as it stands; however, it has always appeared to me to bear some marks of probability.

We have more valuable evidence of the age of the Gāthās, in the fact that the personages who speak and act in them appear as the contemporaries of the poet, whilst in the rest of the Avesta they are represented as belonging to a remote past. I do not know why this feature has been so long ignored. This circumstance, which gives, so to speak, its present and actual character to the Gāthās, constitutes the chief difference between them and the other parts of the Avesta, and necessitates the theory of a great difference in age.

For instance, Zarathushtra is addressed in person in the passage, (Ys. XLVI. 14):—

“O Zarathushtra, who is thy pious friend
In thy great work? Who is it, that wishes to announce it?
It is he himself Kavi Vishtāspa, the armed-for-battle,
And whomsoever, O Ahura Mazda, Thou chooseth
from the settlers:
Them will I extol with the holy sayings of the pious mind.”

And Zarathushtra himself utters the words, (Ys. XLVI. 19):—

“Whoever in piety shows me truly good deeds,
To me, Zarathushtra, to him shall be granted
As a reward yonder next world, of all worlds the most
worthy to be aspired to.”

In a similar manner Frasha-ushttra, (Ys. XLVI. 16) and Jāmāspa, (Ys. XLVI. 17; XLIX. 9), who belong to the race of the Hvogvids, are personally addressed in the Gāthās. In other passages Frasha-ushttra or Vishtāspa is placed side by side with the poet who says: “To Vishtāspa and to me,” “For Frasha-ushttra and also for me.” (Ys. XXVIII. 8 and 9; Ys. XLIX. 8; cf. also, Ys. LI. 16-18). Likewise, Poruchistā, the daughter of Zarathushtra, is personally addressed (Ys. LIII. 3).

This personal character is common to all the Gāthās. They seldom refer to Zarathushtra's work as a reformer. The poet mostly explains his own views, himself reveals the truth of his religion to the people and utters maxims of worldly wisdom or biology. The teaching of Zoroaster does not yet appear as a complete creed, but it is in course of forming and developing. The poet also frequently dwells upon the events—of which I shall speak further on—passing around him, as, for instance, the persecution of the Zoroastrian community.

It is, I believe, incorrect to suppose that in the Gāthās we have only to deal with purely imaginary personages who utter or listen to the words of the Prophet. Why should we make such an assumption only regarding the Gāthās and not the rest of the Avesta? The former are subjective poems, the latter on the contrary is merely a later compilation, wherein we only meet with the words of Zarathushtra and his teaching as quoted on his authority. *

I now come to the main point.

Whoever studies the historical and economical conditions of the old Irānian people, as they are described in the Gāthās and in the other parts of the Avesta, must necessarily perceive that a substantial difference existed between the two. This has been already pointed out by me; but it is necessary that I should do so here again, as hitherto all the facts have not been entirely considered. ¹

In the Gāthās the cow is the central object of Irānian economy. How important a part this animal plays in the sacred hymns, every one knows who has read even a few lines of them. This can only be satisfactorily explained by assuming that the cow was probably esteemed and cared for by the Irānian people in the age of the Gāthās, just as

¹ Cf. my *Ostiranische Kultur*, pp. 177-179; 403-406; 465-468.

it was by the Arians of the Rig-veda, and that great and special attention was paid to its breeding and rearing.¹

The fruits of agriculture, the ploughing of the land, the sowing of seed and the harvest are all, indeed, mentioned in the Gāthās; nevertheless they are treated as subordinate to the care of the cow.

We thus find the people of the Gāthās in a particular phase of civilization, which will be recognized by every one who is familiar with the laws of the early economic development of nations. I mean the first transition from the life of the nomad to that of the settler, which is so closely bound up everywhere with the breeding of cattle. A people who have devoted themselves to cattle-breeding and have experienced how much more difficult it is to keep herds of large cattle than flocks of sheep and goats, become naturally inclined to greater stability and more permanent settlements in one place. Stronger and more lasting dwellings are erected; fields are cultivated with greater care and more systematically than by nomads, who support themselves only by reckless *raubbau*.²

That I am drawing a real, and not merely a fanciful picture of the economic conditions of the Gāthā people, may be demonstrated by innumerable passages. It is asserted, in express terms, that it is the cow which is the giver of permanent homes; which means that by cattle-breeding lasting settlements are occasioned and developed, (Ys. XLVIII. 6). And, since continuous dwelling in one and the same place must naturally lead to a systematic tilling of the soil, the breeding of cattle is accompanied with the development of agriculture. This is expressed in the Gāthās (Ys. XXXI. 10) in the following wise:—'The cow decides in favour of the active labourer; among agriculturists alone she finds the care and attention she requires. This explains

¹ Cf. Ys. XXVIII. 1; XXIX. 4-10; XXXI. 9-11, 15; XXXII. 12, 15; XXXIII. 3, &c.

what Dr. Roth has already remarked:—"The two verses, 9 and 10, express the singular idea that the cow, the creation of which was a sign of God's special favour towards mankind, has, despising other masters, allowed herself to be as it were the property of the peasant."

We observe a difference in the later books of the Avesta. Herds still play an important part; but here agriculture and cattle-breeding are held in *equal* honour. Let us read only the third Fargard of the Vendidad, which is devoted entirely to inculcating the duty of cultivating the land, of raising cattle and attending to all things connected therewith, and we are at once struck by this fact, that agriculture had at least become equal in importance to cattle-breeding. One need only compare the list of the meritorious works which delight the Spirit of the Earth:— I.—Piety and a law-abiding course of life. II.—The founding of a permanent household. III.—The cultivation of grain, of fodder for cattle, and the planting of trees. IV.—The breeding of sheep and cows (Vd. III. 1-5). Agriculture has, likewise, reached a comparatively high state of technical development. The land is artificially irrigated and drained. Ditches, wells, and canals are made; in short the Old Irānian knows how to assist sparing nature by means of art.

Moreover, along with the economic change, a religious revolution is plainly observed in the Gāthās, and the most noteworthy feature is, that they are both intimately connected. The new doctrine is often represented as being oppressed and endangered. At first it is slowly gaining ground among the Arian people. The teaching of Zarathushtra finds followers among the peasants, while the nomads keep aloof from it. It recommends the keeping of herds and extols the founding of permanent settlements, and Zarathushtra is described in the twenty-ninth chapter of the Yashna, as the one chosen by the Almighty and His Amesha-spands to protect the cow from the oppres-

sion of the wicked.¹ Zarathushtra then, perhaps a name representing an entire epoch in the history of the civilization of the Avesta people, appears before us as the reformer equally of the economic and of the religious life.

We turn to the later Avesta and quite a different view unfolds itself before us. While the Gāthās exhibit an *ecclesia militans* (a church militant), here, on the contrary, we find the church firmly established. The direction of the people is in the hands of a favoured class. The Āthravans, whose name never occurs in the Gāthās,² form the first order. The religious struggle for existence has ceased. There are, it is true, the wicked ones, the unbelievers and the false prophets. These are cursed, denounced, punished, but not feared. The doctrine of Zarathushtra is finally established. Sacrifices, ceremonies, customs, laws, and also such precepts as relate to daily life occupy considerable space.

But, although from what was simple in the beginning a mature system has developed, the later parts of the Avesta still deal with the simple and homely lives of peasants and shepherds. Here also religion is quite inseparable from the punctual fulfilment of the professional duties of the peasantry.³ But at the same time other passages are not wanting, in which the meritoriousness of cattle-breeding and agriculture is extolled, where the divine agencies are implored to grant the possession of happy homesteads and innumerable herds of horned cattle and horses.⁴

¹ Moreover, this hymn must have been composed at the time of some specially grievous disaster; for the Soul of the Cow even doubts the possibility of its protection by Zarathushtra. The other passages, which point to the struggle for existence of the new religion and its close connection with the economic revolution, are Ys. XXVIII. 6; XXX. 2; XXXI. 1, 11-12, 18; XXXII. 3-7, 10; XLIV. 9; XLV. 1; XLVI. 14, &c.

² Comp. my *Ostirān, Kultur*, p. 465.

³ Let us read only Vd. III. 23-33.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Ys. LX. 2-3; Ys. XI. 1-2; Yt. VIII. 19; X. 3, 18; V. 86, 98 and *passim*.

Finally, I refer in this place to Dr. Roth's excellent paper on the "*Calendar of the Avesta and the Gāhanbars*,"¹ which, I believe, safely expounds the theory that the Avesta calendar was intended for a nation composed of agriculturists and herdsmen, whose annual feasts coincided respectively with the incidents of a farm life. Besides the festivals celebrated at the summer and winter solstices, there were also other feasts at the seasons of mowing, gathering the harvest, and driving the herds into summer-quarters. Moreover, the Avesta calendar, as I have already shown, bears the character of an essentially lunar chronology, which could only be conceivable in a highly primitive stage of civilization.²

Two conclusions may be deduced from the above facts:—

I. The character of the entire Avesta shows clearly that the civilization it describes was simply a civilization of agriculturists and herdsmen. It cannot be supposed that under a mighty empire, such as that founded by the Achaemenides, the priesthood could have maintained such close relations with rural affairs, and that religious duty and the fulfilment of *agricultural* pursuits could have had such intimate reciprocal action, as even to be regarded as identical.

II. In the Avesta itself we find clear proofs of domestic and social progress. The Gāthās carry us back to a very early epoch, when portions of the Avesta people made the first attempts to introduce cattle-breeding together with

¹ *ZdmG.* vol. XXXIV. p. 698.

² This seems to me to be a very important argument in favour of the great age of the Avesta. It is impossible to conceive that a primitive rural calendar could have found a place in the writings of the priests at the time of the Achaemenidae or even later, when the Iranians were in the closest communication with the Chaldeans. As specially archaic traits of the calendar I note the following:—1.—Time was reckoned simply from one lunar phase to another. 2.—The week consisted, therefore, of fifteen days, as we may gather clearly from the intervals between

the formation of permanent settlements. In the later Avesta, agriculture and cattle-breeding go hand in hand, and it even seems that prominence is given to the former. Again, in the Gāthās, we see Zoroastrianism struggling for existence, while in the rest of the Avesta it appears victorious and firmly established. The Gāthās, therefore, were composed earlier than the other portions of the Avesta.

III.

The primitive and antique conditions of the Avesta people, however, are revealed by a series of particular facts, which seem deserving of special notice.

I.—The Avesta people do not seem to have yet known of salt and its uses.

II.—Glass was unknown.

III.—Coined money was not in circulation. Payment was made in kind.

IV.—The working of iron was unknown.

The Avesta nation is still in the bronze period.

If I succeed in establishing these four points, or even one of them, it must, I believe, be admitted that we can no longer think of assigning the composition of the Avesta to the latest centuries before our era.

the periods of the festivals. 3.—The variability of the synodic month was compensated by the insertion of an additional or 15th day in each half, which could evidently be omitted at the beginning if required. Comp. *Ostirān. Kultur*, pp. 314 seq. Prof. C. de Harlez is of opinion that the calendar of the Avesta was simply an invention of the priests (II. 2, pp. 165 seq.). This, however, is only true of the names of the days and months. Dr. Roth has pointed out how, in the same way, the Gāhānbars are intimately connected with the life of the citizen (*Ziādm G.* vol. XXXIV. pp. 698 seq.).

On the first point I may be brief; for in support of our view, we can adduce an argument, than which none can be better, namely, the fact that salt is nowhere mentioned in the Avesta. However striking this must appear—for in the lists of eatables there would have been many opportunities for mentioning this most important of condiments—it cannot be supposed that this absence of any reference to salt is to be attributed to a mere accident. I should have left this subject almost untouched, had it not been worth while to give prominence to the curious coincidence that in the Rig-veda, too, salt is never mentioned.¹ The question, therefore, forces itself upon us, whether in this point, as in many others, we should not recognize a close analogy in the conditions of the Vedic and the Avesta Arians during the progress of their civilization. Allowing this to be only a possibility, or, at most, a probability, it must, at any rate, serve to strengthen other arguments. If we can otherwise prove that the civilization of the Avesta bears marks of great antiquity, we can no longer look upon this absence of any name for salt as a mere accident, but a highly characteristic mark of the nature of that civilization.²

That glass was unknown to the Avesta people can be proved with almost absolute certainty.

¹ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 54.

² Cf. my *Ostiränische Kultur*, pp. 149-150. [It is, indeed, very curious that salt and its use were not well known to the Avesta people as well as to the Arians of the Rig-veda, notwithstanding the existence of salt lakes and salt-steppes in Central Asia and near the Indus. It seems, therefore, that the Indo-Irānian people made little or no use of salt, but that, according to M. Hehn (*Das Salz*, p. 17), its uses became known to the European section of the Indo-Germanic tribe after its emigration from the fatherland? That there were salt lakes in Irān does not necessarily argue in favour of Prof. de Harlez's theory that salt was not unknown to the Avesta nation.]

In the eighth Fargard of the Vendidad we find an enumeration of manufactures in which fire is employed. In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,"¹ I have rendered the expressions *Khumbat-hacha-Zemāni-pachikūt* and *Khumbat-hachat-Yāmo-pachikūt* "the burning of tiles," and "the burning of pottery." Dr. Spiegel has, in the first volume of his "Commentary on the Avesta," (p. 264), identified *yāma* with *jām* and translated it "glass." Dr. Justi also writes in his Review of my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,":—"In page 390 our author translates *yāma* by 'crockery,' to distinguish it from 'earth' or 'clay' (Av. *Zemāni*) of the preceding sentence. The Pahlavi translation does not throw any light on the meaning, since the same words are somewhat erroneously used in rendering both the passages. But to the second passage there is added a gloss which we might read *dōsīnkarān* and translate 'plaster-worker,' (Mod. Pers. *dos* 'flowers worked in plaster,') while the gloss on the first passage is obscure. The Riwāyets give for *Zemāni*, the Mod. Persian word *khum* ('earthenware vessel, tile-work'), whilst for *yāma* they give tile-furnace.' Dr. Geiger is right in his identification of this word with the Mod. Persian *jām*, but *jām* does not mean an earthen vessel, but a glass-bowl, a glass. He is of opinion that glass was unknown to the early Irānians; nevertheless glass slag must have been familiar to the potters and bronze-workers. Glazed tiles were made in Mesopotamia long before the time of Zarathushtra, and we have an Egyptian glass bottle of the seventeenth century before Christ, showing that the art of glass-painting and the use of the grinding-wheel were already known. Again we have the celebrated picture of the glass-blower on the grave of Beni-Hasan. It is a remarkable fact that the Persian word *abacacīn* (Mod. Pers. *ābgīnāh*) was known to the Copts, and that the

¹ Vide *Ostirānische Kultur*, p. 390.

Abha-stone is mentioned under Thothmes III. Although the Avesta may be a very old record, yet it is inconceivable that such a valuable substance as glass should have been unknown to the people it describes."

If we consider the question concerning the identification of the word *yāma* with the Mod. Pers. *jām*, the difficulty lies probably in the meaning "goblet." The particular rendering "glass-bowl" is only a secondary development. The authority of tradition, as Dr. Justi has justly remarked, is uncertain; however, it is generally admitted that tradition has never recognized either *semāni* or *yāma* as glass. From the glass slag familiar to the potter and the bronze-worker to the fashioning of glass vessels is a considerable step. As regards the knowledge of glass-making among the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, it cannot supply any argument as to the acquaintance of the Avesta people with that art.

It will be conceded to me that Dr. Justi's whole argument rests on this truth, that, if it were possible from the Avesta to show that as a fact glass was unknown, the great antiquity of this record together with the isolation of its people and the seclusion of their trade, would be proved beyond question. But such a proof can be actually adduced.

Wherever the Avesta treats of the purification of polluted vessels, it enumerates the materials of which the vessels used are made. They are—1, gold; 2, silver; 3, brass; 4, copper; 5, stone; 6, clay; 7, wood.¹ Here glass is not named. Moreover, it is clear that, had there been vessels of glass, they would have been subject to cleansing and would have required cleansing just as much as vessels of metal, stone, or earthenware.

We now come to the question respecting the use of coined money.

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We now come to the question respecting the use of coined money.

Again Dr. Justi differs from me, saying:—"Also in

¹ Vd. VII. 73-75.

consequence of over-estimating the age of several passages in the Avesta, our author is led to doubt the existence of money. Even supposing that *shaeta* does not mean 'money,' but only 'possessions, wealth,' yet the expression *asperena*, which means a *dirhem*, according to the Pahlavi Translation and the Zend-Pahlavi Farhang, points to the fact that in Mesopotamia a system of regular coinage and weights was not unknown."

According to Dr. Justi's representation, it appears that I treat the great age of the Avesta as a kind of dogma, and on the ground of it reject entirely the possibility of coined money having existed in its time. In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,"¹ I have pursued a diametrically opposite course. The basis of my argument is the text itself, and I quote three passages from the Avesta, all of which, as far as I know, treat of the question of payments, and which Dr. Justi never mentions. But in all these passages cattle (asses, oxen, horses, camels, sheep) are expressly mentioned as the medium of payment.

These passages occur in the following connections:—

(a) Where the Avesta speaks of the payment of fees by a patient to a doctor. Here it is noteworthy that the very smallest fee is to be paid in kind, viz., in bread or milk, (Vd. VII. 41-43).

(b) In treating of the atonement for a broken promise, or of the giving of a pledge on settling an agreement (Vd. IV. 2 *seq.*)²

(c) Where reference is made to paying down the appointed fees to a priest after the ceremony of purification has been performed (Vd. IX. 37-39).

Is it at all possible for anybody to believe seriously that the Magi of the later Achæ-

¹ *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 396-397.

² For explanation *cf. ibid.*, pp. 454-455.

menian period or even of the Seleucian or Parthian epoch, would have consented to receive payments in sheep, oxen, or horses?

On the authority of these three passages, we are, I believe, justified in forming an opinion as to money transactions among the Avesta people; and thus it only remains to explain the terms *shaeta* and *asperena*.

M. Tomaschek is of opinion that *shaeta* may possibly have designated also coined money, since in the Persian language we find the feudal term *shait* used for a rouble.¹ This hardly seems to me to be a valid argument. The etymology of the word *shaeta* or *khshaeta* and its use in different passages prove that in the Avesta language the word signifies nothing more than "fortune, possessions." With *shaeta*, (*i.e.*, with cows, sheep, or horses), a deed of blood is expiated.² A warlike hero protects his *khshaeta*, that is, his goods and chattels from thieves and robbers.³ Ardvi-sura grants prosperity to the *shaeta*. She multiplies the possessions of her adorers.⁴ I will return further on to the passage in which *shaetavat*, "the opulent man," is contrasted with the *ashaeta*, "the pauper."

So in every case *shaeta* has only a general meaning; and, if we hold firmly to the view that the word means "possessions," it becomes quite easy to explain how in later times, after coined money had come into use, the name *shaeta* came to be applied to it. A change of meaning perfectly analogous is exemplified in the Latin word *pecunia*, which originally meant simply "the possession of cattle," then came to mean "fortune"

¹ *Ausland*, 1883, p. 825, (rouble = '86 shilling).

² Vd. IV. 44. Cf. my *O. K. A.* p. 396, note 3, and p. 452, n. 2.

³ Yt. XIII. 97. Cf. *hush-hām-beretem-shaetem* in Yt. XVIII. 1.

⁴ *Shaetō-frādhana* occurring side by side with the somewhat synonymous expressions *vāthvō-frādhana* and *gaethō-frādhāna* in Yt. V. 1; XIII. 4.

generally, and finally, in spite of its etymological signification, strictly denoted "coined money."

With respect to the meaning of *asperena* I must express myself somewhat more fully, since we here come to a point which is of paramount importance in determining the age of the Avesta.

As a matter of course I admit that *asperena* is used to express "value," and that a very trifling one. The word occurs twice in our text. We first find, in the fourth Fargard of the Vendidād (48), the expression, *asperenō-mazō*, "anything that has the value of an *asperena*," in a rather obscure context, in connection with the terms *anumayō-mazō*, *staorō-mazō*, and *vīrō-mazō*. The second time it occurs, in the fifth Fargard of the Vendidād (60), in a prohibition against the throwing away of a piece of old clothing, even if it be only of the value of an *asperena* or of an *avachina*. Besides, I also admit that *asperena* has the appearance of being a borrowed word introduced into the Avesta language and might be traced, according to Prof. C. de Harlez,¹ to the Semitic root *saphar*, or, according to Prof. Halóvy, to *ἀσπερον*. Dr. Justi seems to suggest the Turkish word *asper*.

Now what conclusion may we deduce from what has been said above? The three passages quoted by me from the Avesta—and they are the only ones which directly refer to payments—show clearly that cattle served the Avesta people as a standard of value, and as a medium of barter. If then *asperena* really denotes a coin,¹ those passages should not, on that account, be ignored in explaining the text. They retain their value and significance, and we

¹ But it is also possible that the *asperena* were small rough pieces of metal or some other kind of money (rings or the like), used in barter to make up differences in value. So it is well known that in ancient Rome, when people were still wont to make payments in kind, small pieces of copper were for the same purpose weighed out and circulated.

must own that we are here face to face with a paradox, which it is our task to solve. However, we would not be warranted in basing an argument on the expression *asperena* alone, and therefore assigning a recent date to the Avesta; for, it would be quite surprising that this mode of payment in kind should have been preserved as a regular practice side by side with payment in current money. It would, likewise, seem strange that the *asperena* should have been the only coin in use, and that we should hear nothing as to other coins, viz., Dariks and Drachms. At least there is not sufficient ground here to speak of a system of coinage, since such a system must necessarily comprise various coins of different values. Even if we agree to what Dr. Justi believes concerning the word *asperena* and its meaning, yet the passage (48) in the fourth Fargard of the Vendidad, most certainly proves that the *asperena* was used only along with cattle, as a standard of value.

The inconsistency, therefore, does not lie in the employment of cattle as a medium of payment, but in the mention of the *asperena* in the Avesta. If this word is really as modern as it is supposed to be, may we not assume that it was perhaps inserted in the text in a later revision of the Avesta? The motive is easy to understand. In making payments in cattle, the smallest measure of value, the sheep, was after all considerably high. People, therefore, thought it necessary to introduce articles of smaller value, and adopted not only foreign coins, but also their foreign names. This may probably have happened also in old times. The word *asperena*, I believe, must therefore be traced to *sāphar*. Thus we have in *asperena* an instance of a civilized custom adopted by the Irānians from their Semitic neighbours which was almost similar to the old Indian *manā*.¹ Although this idea, which had of course its origin among the Semites, is mentioned in the Rig-veda, it has never occurred to anybody

¹ Comp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 50-51.

to doubt for that very reason the antiquity of the civilization of the Vedic Arians. Moreover, if relations may be proved to have existed between the Babylonians and the Vedic Indians, it is not to be wondered at if similar relations also existed with the Irānians, who had pushed their way into the district of Ragha.

However that may be, the term *asperena* must not at all be allowed to interfere with the type of civilization, which otherwise appears so conspicuously in the Avesta. If, in this respect, some authors have deduced conclusions of too sweeping a kind, it only indicates how dangerous it is to rely upon an isolated word, ignoring all undoubted passages which afford an unquestionably authentic explanation.

We may also observe that neither of the passages, in which the word *asperena* is found, occurs in a succinct context. In both cases, the word or expression might be struck out, without in any way affecting the sense of the whole. The suspicion of a recent insertion is here much more justifiable than in any of the three passages, Vend. IV. 2 *seq.*; VII. 41 *seq.*; and IX. 37 *seq.*

I must now discuss another matter which seems to be important. Other foreign words have been discovered in the Avesta, some of which are supposed to be Aramaic, and some of Greek origin. Prof. Halóvy has been kind enough to communicate to me his views on this point, explaining briefly the ideas expressed in his paper read before the *Société de Linguistique*, wherein he refers to the following expressions:—

I. Words of Aramaic origin:	<i>Tanūra</i>	= תנורה
	<i>Naska</i>	= נוסחא
	<i>Gudha</i>	= גידא
	<i>Guñda</i>	= גונדא
II. Words of Greek origin:	<i>Gaəsu</i>	= γαῖσον
	<i>Asperena</i>	= ἄσπερον
	<i>Danare</i>	= δανάριον
	<i>Khwasa</i>	= χως

Surprising as this list of foreign words may appear, its significance diminishes considerably on closer scrutiny.

In the first place, the word *gudha*—occurring only once in Yasht, XV. 27—seems to be a proper name in the Avesta. Moreover, it belongs apparently to the river district of the Rāgha, the Jaxartes. Hence it seems unwarrantable to assert that this word owes its origin to the Semites. Again, some of the manuscripts give the form **gaodha*, instead of *gudha*, which could not be derived from גודא. I am inclined to trace the etymology of the word to the root *gudh*, “to hide.”¹ It is most probable that the name would then designate a river which loses itself entirely in the sand, as occurs very often in Eastern Irān.

The origin of the word *naska* is, likewise, not so well ascertained as would at first sight appear. Its derivation from the Semitic is on the authority of Dr. Spiegel or Dr. Haug.² M. Burnouf, on the contrary, would derive the word from the root *nas*, “to annihilate,” or, better still, from *naz*, “to unite, to sew.” In the latter case we can compare it in meaning with the Sanskrit word *sutra*. So we have here one hypothesis opposed to another, and nobody will assert that the one has greater authority than³ the other. The same may be said respecting the word *guṇḍa*. Dr. Fr. Müller assigns to it the meaning

¹ The Eastern Irānian words *guz* and *gud* would then be related to the Sanskrit *guh*, just as *vaz* and *vad* to *vah*. That the modern *h* was originally a dental, is proved by the Greek *χυδ*, *χρύδω*. The latter can be traced to its primary form *kudh*, which Fick, too, considers to be identical with *guh* (*Wtb.* vol. I. p. 30). Moreover, it should be remembered that the word *gudhra*, “hidden,” is preserved in the Zend-Pahlavi Glossary (Fick, *ibid*, p. 315).

² Comp. Fr. Justi, *Handbuch der Zend-sprache*, *sub voce*.

³ *Naska* occurs only once in the compound form *naskō-frasañh*, but in a passage where it is essential to the metre (Ys. IX. 22). Thus it can, no doubt, be proved from the original text of the Avesta.

"plenty," and identifies it with the Armenian *gound*. Prof. Halévy relies on Dr. Müller's theory. But this meaning of "plenty" does not agree with the context. We, therefore, adhere again, as I believe is generally done, to the explanation given by Dr. Spiegel (*Comm.* vol. I. p. 102), who compares it to the Modern Persian words *ghund* and *ghundah* "*massa farinaria*." Thus with this etymology of *guñda*, too, we may rest confidently within the pale of the Irānian languages.

The identity of *tanūra* with the Hebrew *תנור* and the Arabic *tannūr*, is beyond question. But must we, on the ground that this word occurs in our text, assign a later origin to the Avesta itself? Certainly not, on any account. It is as difficult to find a satisfactory derivation of the word in Semitic as in Irānian. I, therefore, believe that it is a word as foreign to the one as to the other stock of languages. When we consider that before the progress of the Arian and Semitic civilization, a so-called Turānian one had developed in Anterior Asia, and that these Turānian tribes possessed peculiar skill in the art of working metals, we are justified in assuming that the expression *tanūr*, meaning originally a "smelting furnace," owed its origin to their language and was inherited as a technical term, together with the art of smelting itself, as well by the Irānians as by the Semites. Even granting that *tanūra* can only be explained as a Semitic word, we have still no reason to doubt the great antiquity of the Avesta; for it is not impossible that some civilized intercourse may have existed, though in no considerable degree, in pre-Median times between Mesopotamia and the plateau of Irān.

We must now turn to the words of Greek origin. Of the identity between *ἀσπερον* and *asperena* I have spoken already. The comparison between *khvasha*, or rather I believe *khavsha* or *khavzha*, and *χὼς*, is at least very daring. Since, as a rule, every foreign word retains its original form, we should rather expect *khūshū*. Moreover, an apparent etymology

for this word is found in the Arian language, and one which, I believe, is universally adopted by Zend scholars. In Sanskrit *khubja* means "crooked." *Khavsha*, then, must have originally meant "the crooked vessel." That this is the correct derivation is proved by the Mod. Persian words *kāz* and *kūzah*, which still mean "crooked" and at the same time mean "can," "jug," or "bowl."¹

The word *gaesu* has already been very often discussed. Let me refer to Dr. Justi's *Handbuch* as well as to M. Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, pp. 327-328. The Greek term γαῖσον is itself a loan-word of Celtic origin; but it cannot, therefore, be shown that, as a foreign word, it has again passed from the Greeks to the Irānians. It is more probable—and this view is held by no less an authority than M. von Hehn²—that the word *gaesu* is originally Irānian; but at the time of the Celtic migration to Asia Minor, it passed from the Irānians to the Celts and may have, finally, been introduced into Greece at the time of the expedition of Brennus. In support of the priority of this Irānian word one might adduce the fact that M. Tomaschek has discovered an equivalent to *gaesu* in the Sirikuli dialect, in the word *gisk* meaning "club," "cudgel," and that, according to M. Bickell, that word may be akin to the Latin *vern*.³ By no means, then, does it bear the character of a foreign word; on the contrary, it seems to have belonged to the old Irānian language from remote antiquity.

The assumption that the Avesta word *danare* is a paraphrase of δηνάριον and *denarius*, may also be questioned. The very form of the word might rouse suspicion, when we consider that in Modern Persian the last word appears as *dīnār* which, I believe, was originally *dīnnār*. We

¹ Cf. Spiegel, *Commentar*, vol. I. p. 252; Justi, *Handbuch*, *sub voce*; Vulleis, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, *sub voce* *kuz*.

² Vide *Culturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 352.

³ Tomaschek, *Pamirdialekte*, p. 65; Bickell, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. XII. pp. 438 *seq.*

would expect *dīnūra* or *daēnūra*, rather than *danare*. But the Denar is nevertheless a coin, and, as far as I can gather from Dr. Vullers, the Mod. Persian word *dinār* is also used only in this sense. As a measure of weight it never occurs, as is the case with Dirhem. In the Avesta, however, *danare* must designate a dry measure, or perhaps also a weight; and it is only once mentioned in the Vendidād, XVI. 7. In this passage we find the rule laid down that a menstruating woman shall receive (daily) *dva danare tāyūininām aeva danare khshāudranām* as food. Dr. Spiegel has latterly noticed (*Comm.* vol. I. p. 363) the similarity between *danare* and *δηνάριον*, but he, at one time at least, rejected it. He reminds us of the fact that this word is naturally allied to *dāna*, "corn," "wheat," and equivalent to the Sanskrit *dhāna*, Mod. Pers. *dānah*.

Thus we observe that in all cases, where a Greek or Aramaic derivation is assigned to any word, the result is hypothesis opposed to hypothesis. In some instances weighty objections may be raised against the assumption of such derivations. This I must here regard as the principal question. Granted that it were possible to establish an indubitable etymology, still it would constitute no proof against the great age of the Avesta as a whole. Since our record has frequently undergone revisions, all we can do is to draw a special conclusion as to the age of the isolated passages in question. I have already suggested this occasionally in discussing the question concerning the word *asperena* as well as under my fourth preliminary remark; and it is surely of peculiar importance when the words concerned are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, as is the case, e.g., with *gudha*, *guṇḍa*, *khwaṣha*, and *naska*. But, even if these words denote measure or weight, we must not ignore the possibility of their having been intentionally altered and adapted to the later conditions of things. I repeat, then, that we ought to be careful not to draw elaborate conclusions as to the history of Irānian civilization from

isolated words or passages alone ; but we should always see that they do not disagree with other passages in the text.

Now, as regards our last point, that iron was unknown to the early Irānians. So far as I know, none of the scholars who doubt the antiquity of the Avesta, have touched upon this subject. None of them seem to have considered how close an affinity it indicates between the civilization of the Avesta and that of the Rig-veda, between the civilization of the Eastern Irānians and that of the Indians of the Panjāb. And yet the importance of the subject must be evident to all.

The word employed in the Avesta for the metal most commonly in use is *ayaǵh*, corresponding to the Old Indian *ayas*, to the Latin *aes*, and to the Gothic *aiz*. Dr. Zimmer has proved in his *Altindisches Leben* (pp. 51 seq.), that the Vedic *ayas* denotes "brass," i.e., copper-brass, bronze; and, as I believe I have already proved,¹ the corresponding word in the Avesta must have had the same meaning. This is quite apparent from the appellations in which *ayaǵh* is used, and which are strikingly in accord with the Homeric epithets applied

¹ *Vide Ostirānische Kultur*, p. 148 :—"The mountain-ranges lying in Central Asia are rich in iron mines, which, according to the testimony of the Avesta, existed, likewise, within the *IIara*. From the fact that the metal called *ayaǵh* in the Avesta, was in use for making weapons and chattels, we are not to conclude that here iron alone was meant; rather copper-brass or bronze, which is an alloy of copper and zinc, is referred to. That epithets such as 'brilliant' or 'yellow,' 'flame-coloured,' nay even 'golden,' would ever have been applied to iron or steel, is, indeed, scarcely possible; on the contrary, these appellations are quite appropriate in the case of bronze. Likewise, the corresponding word *ayas* in the Rig-veda does not denote iron, but copper-brass, which was far more in use among the Vedic Arians. Copper was also in favour with the Achilians of the Homeric period. Their weapons and vessels were also made of brass which is described, just as in the Avesta, as red and glittering." •

to χαλκός. Names of metals are constantly alluded to in the Avesta, but among them all none, except *ayañh*, could possibly be taken to mean iron. The working of this metal, therefore, was unknown to the Arians of the Avesta. But, is it possible for anybody to maintain that in the latest centuries before Christ the Irānians used as weapons, swords, helmets, clubs, and arrow-heads made of bronze?

IV.

Let me now recapitulate the reasons which seem to me to prove the great antiquity of the Avesta.⁶ It must be conceded that these are only special arguments, based on isolated passages. But then these are not such passages as do not at the same time form an integral portion of the whole text, and such as might possibly be considered to be a gloss. The majority of my arguments are based upon the Avesta as a whole, and I do not think that the etymology of an isolated word can ever afford sufficient evidence, from which to draw conclusions as to the history of the civilization of a people.

1. The Avesta does not contain any historical description whatever.
2. None of the names of tribes, otherwise in general use, are to be found in it.
3. It contains no allusion to any of the cities of Eastern or Western Irān, celebrated in historic times properly so called, with the exception of Ragha.

4. The economical conditions of the Avesta people are those of a pastoral tribe and of a rural population; and even the priests shared in agricultural pursuits. That such conditions were most highly characteristic of the entire civilized life of the Old Irānian, may be gathered from the general tenor of the Avesta, especially from that of the Gāthās, and more particularly from the nature of the calendar.
5. The primitive character of the Avesta people is evident from their ignorance of the use of (a) salt, (b) glass, (c) coined money, and (d) iron.

Finally, I must now notice some other arguments, from which it might perhaps be inferred that the Avesta was composed in a late period. Of these, the most noteworthy have been adduced by Prof. C. de Harlez in his excellent "Introduction" to the second edition of his translation of the Avesta (H. 1, pp. cxcii. seq.; cf. H. 4, pp. 494-495):¹

I. The modern forms of the names of places mentioned in the first Fargard of the Vendidād. Here we find *Bākhdi* for *Bākhtri*; *Mouru* for *Marghu*. Prof. Harlez also refers to *Bawri* for *Babiru* and *Raji* for *Ragha*. As regards the last two, Bawri need not be taken into account, for, being a name, it is quite possible that it may have

¹ This book is unfortunately very little known in Germany. In size and contents, it forms a work by itself, an encyclopædia of the Avesta. I only regret that I did not make use of it while writing my *Ostiranische Kultur*.

been incorrectly written.¹ *Rajōit* occurs only in Yasna, XIX. 18. Since, without exception, we meet with the regular form *Ragha* in other passages, and since even in the passage quoted it immediately follows *Rajōit*, I believe I am right in conjecturing that this form is an appellative, possibly meaning "kingdom, dominion"; otherwise, its spelling should be altered.

However, an argument based on the modern character of forms of geographical names occurring in the Avesta, is not very cogent. In its general aspect the Avesta, as few have it, does not seem to be the work originally written by some of the first Zoroastrians, but a transcript bearing very plain traces of revision. What, therefore, is more probable than that, in such a revision, the geographical names in the original should have been adapted to the forms of those names then current?²

Even Dr. Spiegel says: "I have often had occasion to remark that I attach no importance to any linguistic proofs; for, even granting that we can prove that its language is primeval, one might nevertheless endeavour to find an expedient and must assume that the book was written after the language had ceased to be used, since internal evidence obliges us to ascribe to the book a comparatively later date." We may certainly say with equal justice: since the internal evidence of the Avesta is in favour of its high antiquity, while the language often exhibits some modern forms, we must assume a revision of the Avesta after its language had ceased to be spoken.

¹ Halévy informs me through a letter that *Bawri* might correspond to the Aramaic *ܒܒܪܝ*. In that case this word, like *Mouu*, must be regarded as an adaptation of the old to the modern form of the name due to a later revision of the Avesta.

² *Bākhāzi*, at least, must be regarded as a corrupt form, since there was no period in the history of Irānian languages, when the *r* could have dropped out of the name *Baktra*. Even to the present day the city is called Balkh.

II. In the fourth Fargard of the Vendidād (47 seq.) abstemiousness, homelessness, celibacy, and prohibition against eating flesh are inveighed against. This passage must have been directed against the gradual encroachments of Buddhism, the representative of which is the Gautama mentioned in Yasht, XIII. 16.

Now, let me request Zend scholars to examine the passage which bears upon this question. Nobody will assert that we can with certainty regard it as a polemic against Buddhism. We could at best, and with all due reservation, consider this view as a mere conjecture, on the basis of which it would be quite dangerous to form any conclusion as to the history of Irānian civilization.

The text runs thus:—

*Adhacha · uiti · nāirivaitē · zi · tē · ahmāt · pourum · fram-
raoimī · Spitama · Zarathushtra · yatha · maghavo-fra-
vākhshōi, vīsānē · ahmaī · yatha · evīsāi, puthrānē · ahmaī ·
yatha · aputhrāi, shaētavatō · ahmaī · yatha · ashaētāi, hāucha ·
ayā · narā · vohu · manō · jāgerebushtarō · aēhat · yō · gēush ·
uruthware · hāmpafrāitī · yatha · hāu · yō · nōi · itha.*

Prof. Harlez himself translates it:—¹

“Je proclame pour toi qui a une épouse, ô saint Zoroastre, la priorité sur celui qui n'en use point; pour le chef de maison, sur celui qui n'en possède point; pour le père de famille, sur celui qui n'a pas d'enfants; pour le possesseur de terres sur celui qui n'en a point. Celui qui

¹ *Avesta traduit*, 2nd ed. p. 48: “I proclaim for you who have a spouse, O holy Zoroaster! the priority over him who has none; for the head of a household, over him who possesses none; for the *pater-familias*, over him who has no offspring; for the owner of land, over him who owns no piece of ground. He who nourishes and develops (his body) by eating meat, acquires the good mind, far better than he who does it not.” (Vd. IV. 47-48).

nourrit et developpe (son corps) en mangeant de la viande, obtient le bon esprit bien mieux que celui qui ne le fait pas."

First let me remark that the whole passage, and especially the connection with what follows, is obscure. Prof. Harlez has certainly translated the concluding portion of the passage incorrectly. According to his opinion, *geush* ought to be considered as instrumental; however, it is not possible. It could often be rendered "he who fills the body of the cattle," i.e., whoever feeds them.¹ This passage, therefore, implies a meaning common in the Avesta, viz., that cattle-breeding is a meritorious work. And such is the clear interpretation of the passage:—"Such a man possesses more of the good-mind (*vohu-manō*) than one who does not do it." *Vohu-manō*, the genius of the good-mind, is, according to the Zoroastrian teaching, also the protector of herds.

Again, the beginning of the passage, which contains the antithesis, *nāirivat* and *maghavō-fravākhshi*, is not quite clear. At all events this much seems to be manifest, that the man, who lives in lawful marriage, should be preferred to any one who satisfies his desires in other ways. According to the whole tenor of the Avesta, it cannot seem strange that a man who lives in a village community, who brings up children, makes for himself a household and becomes the possessor of fields and herds, is more deserving in the eyes of a Zoroastrian than one who fails to do so. Let us only bear in mind how the possession of children is always looked upon as a direct blessing of God,² and compare therewith what I have already said with reference

¹ *Uruthware* translated "body, stomach." If, according to Harlez, this word signifies "growth," the passage implies: "Whoever furthers the growth of cattle." Thus the meaning is not changed. Here Geldner agrees with me (*Kide Studien zum Avesta*, p. 5).

² Cf. my *O. K. A.* pp. 234-236.

to the meritoriousness of a settled country-life according to the testimony of the Avesta.

What conclusion, then, must we draw from Vendidād, IV. 47-48, without doing violence to its meaning? Simply this, that the Avesta frequently alludes to the contrast between civilized and uncivilized life, especially between the life of settled herdsmen and peasants and that of nomads. That this is the correct interpretation is emphatically shown by the use of the antonymous words *vīsānē* and *evīsāi*. The peasant and the herdsman live in permanent villages (*vīsō*), the nomad on the contrary knows no settled life.

Moreover, as regards *Gaotama*, who is supposed to be the representative of Buddhism, which forced its way into Irān, the name only occurs once in Yt. XIII. 16. Prof. Westergaard, however, reads *gaotema*, and gives also the variant *gaotuma* in two other MSS., but never *gaotama*. This is important, since Prof. Harlez expressly says:—*La forme gaotama est le produit d'une transcription faite à l'ouïe et non d'une dérivation naturelle.*¹ Thus *gaotama* might certainly be regarded as a simple misspelling of the Indian name, *Gaotama Buddha*; but *Gaotema* is purely Irānian.²

To this it is to be added that the passage cited above is obscure. Prof. C. de Harlez himself observes (*Avesta Traduit*, 2nd ed. p. 481): "*phrase entièrement obscure.*" Again, the translations of the passage do not at all agree. Passing over Dr. Spiegel's, I shall quote here Prof. Geldner's version (*Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, pp. 80-81): "Through their power and greatness a man is born

¹ "The form Gaotama is due to a transcription based on sound and not to any indigenous derivation."

² As far as I know, it was Haug who first started the theory that Yasht, XIII. 16 contained an allusion to Buddhism (cf. "Essays on the Parsis," 2nd ed. by West, p. 208, note).

skilled in counsel, an adviser, whose words are heard with willingness, who is looked to for instruction, who hears complacently the request of his weaker proteges."

But, if, in spite of the "*phrase entièrement obscure*," we were to regard Prof. Harlez's translation: "*L'homme né, intelligent, manifestant ses pensées, entendant bien ce que l'on dit, en qui est déposée l'intelligence, qui échappe aux questions de méchant Gaotama*,"¹ as correct, what could we reasonably gather from the passage? This certainly, that the Fravasis will allow one to be born, who is to be a match for a certain Gautema in argument. Now, if we consider that learned controversies were evidently not unknown to the Avesta priests—for instance in the legend of *Yāsta Fryāna* and his dispute with *Akhtyā* in Yt. V. 83;—if we, again, consider that the name *gaotema* is purely Irānian and can be clearly traced to the remotest Arian period, since the Rig-veda, too, speaks of a singer *gotama*, the passage is divested of all possible reference to Buddhism.

III. In Yt. XIX. 18, Ragha is called a city, in which the Athravans were possessed of temporal power. But such a sovereignty of the Magi existed in Irān only after the close of the dominion of the Selcucidae. Consequently, this passage must have been written only at that period.

This brings us to a very important question. There is no doubt that even Dr. Spiegel (Sp. 1, pp. 9-10, Sp. 2, pp. 629-635), has, on the authority of this passage, formed a peculiar theory concerning the home as well as the age of the Avesta, the only ground for which lies in the fact that the passage has been variously interpreted so as to lose its original meaning.

¹ "The man is born intelligent, manifesting his thoughts, well understanding what is said, in whom is placed the intelligence that solves the questions put by the perverse Gaotama."

I must here consider Prof. Harlez's Introduction, which thoroughly explains the relation of the Avesta *Āthravans* to the Magi known to us from history.

This learned translator of the Avesta maintains, in the first place, that the Achaemenian kings were not familiar with the Avesta religion. On the contrary, all that we know about the Magi allows us to assert that their doctrines and their customs were perfectly identical with those which we find recorded in the Avesta. To this must also be added that Khosru Parviz (531-579 A.D.) in a proclamation given in the Dinkard, says:—"*que Vishtāspa fit réunir tous les ouvrages écrits en la langue des Mages pour acquérir la connaissance de la loi mazdéene.*"¹ Since it seems hardly possible that a country of so little importance as Bactriana should have given to the West a sacred language and religion, Prof. C. de Harlez concludes: "*La solution la plus simple et la plus naturelle serait d'attribuer l'Avesta aux Mages et à la Médie.*"² (H. I, p. xlvi.)

The assertion that Bactriana was "*toujours soumise et peu important*"³ can hardly be correct. The large revenue obtained from this province in the time of the Achaemenian kings, proves at least that it was highly prosperous.⁴ That its population formed no inconsiderable

¹ "That Vishtāspa caused all the works written in the language of the Magi to be collected in order to acquire the knowledge of the Mazdian law."

² "The solution would be the simplest and most natural if we should ascribe the Avesta to the Magi and to Media."

³ "Always subject to a foreign ruler, and of little importance."

⁴ Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. IV. ch. 5, pp. 18-19. *Vide* Eng. ed. bk. VII. ch. II. pp. 23-24: "The nations and condition of Eastern Irān can be ascertained more clearly from the inscriptions of Darius. According to his inscription at Behistun, his empire in that direction comprised the Parthians, Sarangians, Arcians, Chorasmians, Bactrians, Sogdiani, Gandarii, Sattagydae, Arachoti, and Sacae; and to these the Idhus, *i.e.*, the

part, but rather the main portion, of the Irānian people, is most clearly proved by the energetic opposition offered to Alexander the Great precisely in the North-Eastern provinces of the Persian empire. Moreover, I must here repeat that, in determining the home of the Avesta religion generally, the question is not one respecting Bactria alone but the whole of Eastern Irān.

Again, we cannot attach much value to the statement that Khosru Parviz characterizes the Avesta language as the language of the Magi. There is no doubt that under the Sassanidae the Magi were the representatives of the Zoroastrian priesthood; but by this time the Avesta language had long been dead and had been succeeded in general use by the Middle Irānian. If, then, the Magi alone still understood this language, if they used it in their daily ceremonies, prayers, and recitations, and if it completely swayed the *cult* upheld by the Magi, it might well be called, for the sake of convenience, the "language of the Magi." Consequently, it is characterized as the language

Indians on the right bank of the upper course of the Indus, are added in the inscriptions of Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam. Further information is preserved by Herodotus with respect to the tribute imposed by Darius on these nations. As these statements are undoubtedly derived from Persian tribute-lists, they serve to throw a side-light on the state of civilization existing in the East of Irān at the division of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The Bactrians, the twelfth satrapy of the empire, paid (yearly) 360 (Babylonian) talents into the treasury of the king. These sums, which do not include the whole of the burdens of the provinces, but are only the land-taxes which they had to pay—in addition tolls were levied and contributions in kind to the court of the king and the satraps, as well as for the maintenance of the army—show that at the time of Darius agriculture and wealth had proceeded far beyond the earliest stages in the eastern districts of Irān. The Babylonian silver talent amounted to more than 2,000 thalers (6,000 shillings)."

of a single order, not as that of a nation, just as Latin in the Middle Ages might be called the language of *literati* or Modern French the language of diplomacy.

Moreover, I generally accept the view of Prof. Harlez: The Achaemenian kings, and for the most part the Persian nation itself, did *not* profess the Zoroastrian religion. It is represented in historical times by the Median Magi, through whose influence it strove to gain ground among the majority of the Persians under the sovereignty of the Achaemenidae. But hence it has been inferred only of late, that the Magi composed the Avesta known to us, and that Zarathushtra himself was a Magus. This is only one of three possibilities. Besides this there are two other credible suppositions:—(a) The Magi adopted the doctrine of the Zoroastrian priests, thus representing a later phase in the development of the Avesta religion. (b) The Zoroastrian priests are the heirs of the Magi.

The last possibility we may briefly dismiss. We can trace the history of the Magi down to the Sāssānian period. But nowhere do we find any reference to a belief that they had delegated their peculiar office to another religious corporation, which revered the Zoroastrian doctrine and perhaps only transferred the scene of their labours to a different field.

As regards Prof. Harlez's theory that the Avesta was composed by the Magi and in Media, a very important fact seems to contradict it. The Avesta priests are not strictly called *Maghu* but *Āthravans*. In all passages where the priests are mentioned, they invariably bear this name; and such passages are not few in number. Their testimony would lead us to infer that "*Āthravan*," and in fact this title exclusively, served as the official designation of the priesthood. Why then should the Magi in their own writings have given to themselves any other name than that by which they were universally known to the world?

Now, in a passage in the Avesta (Ys. LXV. 6) there, indeed, occurs the expression *moghu-tbīsh* and this must be taken into consideration.¹ But what does it prove? At the very most, only this, that, at the time when this passage was composed, the term *Maghu* was not unknown and perhaps was almost synonymous with *Āthravan*. The fact that *Āthravan* was the *real title* of the Avesta priesthood, is not in the least affected by the use of the term *Maghu*. Had the Magi really been the authors of the Avesta, their own title, instead of appearing only in a single isolated passage, and that the least important, would have been used throughout the work.

Moreover, it seems quite possible that, in the passage referred to, *Maghu* bears a purely generic meaning. If we compare it with the Sanskrit *maghavan*, the word can be translated "protector, or feudal lord, prince, nobleman." *Moghu-tbīsh* occurs especially in Ys. LXV. 6, side by side with *hashē-tbīsh*, *varesānō-tbīsh*, *nāfyō-tbīsh*, "the hatred of friends, free commoners or countrymen, and of relations." These expressions are all generic terms, and we must of course admit that the context does not compel us to adopt the rendering of "priest" for *Maghu*, which is possible, though not always exclusively appropriate.

But we may ask, which of the two designations *Maghu* or *Atharvan* (*Āthravan*) seems to be the older one? *Atharvan* admits of a direct connection with the Vedic civilization. In the Rig-veda, too, we find the word *Atharvan* used to mean "a fire-priest," as well as the name of a mythical character, the Prometheus of the Indians, who brings down fire from heaven, and is thus the prototype

¹ Cf. H. 2, p. 171; also my *O. K. A.* pp. 489-492. It will be observed that I have altered the views expressed in my *Ostirānische Kultur*, since I have there attempted to adopt a middle course.

of all fire-priests on earth.¹ The title *Atharvan* may, consequently, be traced to the remote Arian period; at the same time we can only discover Indian words, indeed analogous to *Maghu*, but not quite identical with it.

Thus all evidence goes to show that *Atharvan* was the oldest and most original title of the Zoroastrian priesthood. Gradually, as the centre of gravity of the Irānian nation moved from East to West, as the Indian tribe of the Magi assumed the direction of religious matters, its name, which had an ethnographical significance at first, became at the same time the title of the priesthood formed by that tribe.

The Avesta, therefore, does not recognize the term *Maghu* as the title of the Zoroastrian priests; it never designates them by any other name than that of *Āthravans*. On this point, even at the present day, a futile attempt is made to urge another passage from our text in support of the Median and Magian origin of the Avesta. This much-disputed passage (Ys. XIX. 18) runs as follows² :—

“Who are the chiefs? The master of the house, the lord of the village, the president of the tribe,

¹ Comp. my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 464-465. It cannot, however, be proved that the title *Āthrauan* is strictly meant by the name *πύραιδοι* by which, according to Strabo (p. 733, where also the Cappadocians are specially mentioned), the Magi are supposed to have called themselves. Nevertheless, it does not do away with the fact that *Maghu* is unknown to the Avesta as the title of its priesthood (H. 2, p. 171).

² Spiegel has discussed this passage in his *Irānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III. p. 563; also Sp. 1, pp. 9-10; Sp. 2, pp. 630-632. But, I believe, he is wrong, when, in connection with this passage, he quotes the epithet *thrizañtu*, which Ragha receives in Vd. I. 16. *Zañtu* cannot possibly mean “order.” It means always “tribe, race,” and *thrizañtu* must imply that three Irānian tribes had settled in the district (*dañhu*) of Ragha.

the country-prince, the fifth is the *Zarathushtra*. (So it is) excepting the *Zarathushtrian Ragha*. Who are (here) the chiefs? The master of the house, the lord of the village, the president of the tribe, the fourth is the *Zarathushtra*."

What we may safely infer from the above passage is, that, at the time it was written, a kind of Zoroastrian papacy existed in Irān. To the High-priest was then assigned a rank higher than that of the country-princes. In Ragha he evidently possessed temporal as well as spiritual dignity. The High-priest of Ragha was at the same time its prince.

In the first place, however, it may be observed that the passage contains no personal reference to Zarathushtra; accordingly, it cannot serve as an argument in support of the theory that the Avesta was composed by the Medes. Apparently, *Zarathushtra* here is not a proper name but a generic term; it is the title of the head of the Zoroastrian priesthood. In the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta we find *Zaratushtum*, "the highest Zarathushtra."

Secondly, we must not bring the contents of the passage in Yasna, XIX. 18, to bear on the whole period of the civilization of the Avesta people. Moreover, there are many other passages¹ besides this, which enumerate the different lords, but in none of them is the *Zarathushtrōtema* directly mentioned.² The superiority of the priesthood over the two other orders of warriors and farmers appears so

¹ Cf. Yt. X. 18, 83; Vd. X. 5; Vsp. III. 2, &c.

² Gāh, IV. 6-7. Here we meet with the following expressions in invocations and hymns of praise:—*Zarathushtrōtema*, *sarathushtra*, *āthravan*, *rathaeshtar*, *vāstrya-fshuyās*, *nmānō-paiti*, *vīspaiti*, *zāntu-paiti*, *dañhu-paiti*. From this we should gather that *Zarathushtra* as well as *Zarathushtrōtema* was a priestly title.

very conspicuously throughout the Avesta, and so much attention is drawn to it by its author, that it is hardly possible he could have failed to emphasize the rank of the high-priest of Ragha beyond that of the tribal chiefs and the country-princes.

But it is quite unwarrantable to identify the temporal power of *Zarathushtra* in Ragha with the dignity of the Grand Magus in Rai, (Sp. 2, pp. 629-630). Such a theory fails in the most important point of our argument; the Avesta speaks only of the *Āthravans* and not of the Magi. It calls the high-priest of Ragha, *Zarathushtra* or *Zarathushtrōtema*, a title which is never given to the *Masmaghāns*. To this it must be added that the only authorities for the dignity of the Grand Magus in Rai, are Albērūnī and Yāqūt, and that the period in which it originated cannot, therefore, be ascertained. In determining the age of the Avesta, the reference to the *Masmaghān* must, in any case, prove of little value. For, if the Magi were the heirs and successors of the Zoroastrian *Āthravans*,—a fact which must at least be generally admitted as possible—the *Masmaghān* to a certain extent would be a later development of the *Zarathushtrōtema* whose dignity might then be traced probably to the pre-historic epoch.

But I believe that we are not justified in laying too much stress on the passage, Ys. XIX. 18. We must not suppose that during the greatest part of the Avesta epoch, there existed any such half-spiritual, half-temporal power in Ragha. Who knows when this isolated passage was composed and when it was introduced into the text? Had Ragha really played so important a part in the Zoroastrian commonwealth, it is strange that this city is named only in two passages in the whole Avesta, viz., (1) in the passage cited above, and (2) in the list of countries enumerated in the Vendidad. *Haitumat* is mentioned three times; *Haraiva* and *Moru* twice; whilst such places as *Aryana-vāija*, the *Hara-berzati*, the *Ārdōi-sura*, and also the *Rangha*,

are frequently mentioned. Surely nobody will be inclined to assert that in the Avesta opportunities could not have offered themselves for mentioning Ragha and the high-priest residing in it.¹

IV. The Avesta commends next-of-kin marriage as a meritorious institution. But this practice, according to Herodotus, III. 34, was only introduced by Cambyses. The Avesta, therefore, cannot have been composed until after Cambyses.

I believe that we should not press too far this assertion of Herodotus, which has the air of an anecdote. It is of course improbable that such an institution could have been introduced, in an age of relatively high civilization, by the mere edict of a single individual, and even obtain recognition as a moral law. How could the Median Magi have reconciled themselves to the thought of adopting such an innovation, in opposition to their usual practice, at the time when, as Prof. Harlez assumes, they were opposed to the Persians? It is, however, far more probable that they would have used such an innovation as a ground of opposition to the king. The statement of Herodotus has, apparently, no other object than to give an explanation of some kind or other for an existing custom naturally unfamiliar to him. It certainly has no historical value. Moreover, it must be added that Herodotus expressly says :—*οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώδεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοιχέειν Πέρσαι.* At the most we can only consider the innovation of Cambyses as affecting the Persians, a fact which cannot in the least influence the question whether the Median Magi had

¹ Other passages of the Avesta have been pointed out (*cf.* *O. K. A.* pp. 489-490) from which we can infer that the Āthravans "came from afar" and led a wandering life. This may be true even of several districts, and of certain portions of the Zoroastrian priesthood; but it does not follow hence that the Āthravans were identical with the Magi and had emigrated from West to East.

already in olden times recognized and approved of the marriage of relations.

I can dispose with equal ease of the next objection set forth by Prof. Harlez.

V. The fifth Yasht could not have been written before the introduction of the *cult* of the *Anaiti* by Artaxerxes Mnemon. The description which comprehends the outward figure and garments of that *yasata* in the Yasht, seems to be exactly that of a statue of *Anaiti*.

This conclusion is evidently erroneous. Granted that Artaxerxes II. (404-361) had actually introduced the cult of the *Anaiti*, his action could have reference to Persia alone. Again, the Median Magi, who, according to Prof. Harlez, endeavoured during the sovereignty of the Achæmenidae to propagate their religion over the whole of Irān, might have worshipped their *Anāhita* many centuries before. But, as far as I know, it is nowhere asserted that Artaxerxes II. first instituted this cult. Berosus alone relates that Artaxerxes II. was the first to set up images of the Aphrodite *Anaiti* in different towns, and that before this the divine beings were never represented in Irān in any shape whatever.¹ Thus we have here only a question of the erection of statues and especially of that of Aphrodite *Anaiti*, that is, of a female deity in whose worship the old Irānian conceptions were blended with Semitic ideas.

Then, as regards the description of *Anāhita* given in the fifth Yasht (par. 126-129), it is more probable that the later images of *Anāhita* were adapted to such frequent delineations, than the reverse. Every image must, however, first exist in the mind before it can receive material expression. Again, Prof. Harlez's theory is not justified by the opening words *yā hishtaiti* "which stands in a certain place." This is sufficiently manifest from the

¹ Clemens Alex. *Admonit. Adv. Gentes*. Comp. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II. p. 56, note 1.

glowing character and internal evidence of the whole description, which is an effort to describe in life-like terms the form of that *yazata*.

VI. I have already spoken briefly of the linguistic evidence adduced by Prof. Harlez in the sixth passage. Dr. Spiegel, too, admits that we are not justified in laying any stress upon it. We should also reject it on the ground that the Avesta, as we have it, cannot be supposed to be exactly in its original condition. And, in fact, this is confirmed not merely by the Zend Grammar in which many forms adapted from modern dialects may be often observed, but also by the mere form and spelling of the words.¹

VII. The persecutions alluded to in the Gāthās refer to the persecutions of the Magi by king Darius.

This view is opposed by the whole tone and tenour of the Gāthās. Prof. Harlez has overlooked the fact that the opposition here described does not merely imply the conflict between two different religious factions or sects, but at the same time that between two different epochs of the economic history of the Avesta people. On the dispute between Darius and the Magi hinged, however, the question of legal power and not that of economical grievances. Let us only read the twenty-ninth chapter of the Yasna. In fact, I do not understand how the cow can become the representative of the Magi and pray for them to Ahura Mazda for their deliverance from the oppressions of Darius. Nor can I conceive how the appearance of Zarathushtra could be the promised help they had in view. That would be true, however, for the

¹ In this respect the circumstance that the Avesta, as it seems to be assumed generally, was originally written in a different and ambiguous alphabet, similar to the Pahlavi, must have had a peculiarly injurious effect on the form of the text. We may thus account for the vagueness in the nature and constitution of the vowels, for the different ways of writing the *guna* forms, and the interchange of long and short vowels, &c.

Magi of the Achaemenian period *tempi passati*. Moreover, all this is easily explained on the supposition that the hymn in question relates to the herdsmen and agriculturists of Eastern Irān, who were oppressed by the nomads of the steppes, and was composed in the age of Zarathushtra.¹ The Prophet may have been honoured as the principal defender of the menaced peasantry or country-people.

How can we account for the absence of all historical references in the Gāthās which allude to so many incidents of real life? Are we to suppose that the author must have taken special care to avoid every hint which might enlighten the reader or the hearer as to what is particularly referred to? The names of opponents, however, could not have been omitted, nor the honourable mention of the most faithful of the Magi. But the reverse is the case in the Gāthās. Here there is only a general record of the opposition between what is good and what is evil, between the believing and the unbelieving, so that we can obtain no definite knowledge of the personages concerned; or, where the narrative treats of real life, the object of all enmity, all care, prayers and apprehensions is nothing else than the cow.

As the last argument in support of the modern

¹ I cannot at all conceive why Zarathushtra should not be regarded as a historical personage; historical, of course, in the sense in which Lycurgus is historical. Much less can I believe in a "mythological" connection with the Rig-veda, which Dr. Spiegel believes he has established by deriving the name *Spitama* from the root *spīt*, and by identifying it with the Vedic *ṣvītā*. But all this proves only an etymological affinity, as well as the use of the root *ṣvīt* by Indians and Irānians in the formation of proper names; but certainly nothing more. The name Spitama can be traced historically in Irān. Let us only consider the name Spitamenes, and we are reminded of the fact that he was an Eastern Irānian! Cf. Sp. I, pp. 8-9.

origin of the Avesta, Prof. Harlez alleges the words of foreign origin, which only found their way at some later period into the language. I have already discussed this question above, and, with the assistance of M. Halévy, more fully in fact than Prof. Harlez himself has done.

In conclusion I have to make two more observations.

It might perhaps strike the reader that I have not here touched upon the theory which supposes the Vishtāspa of the Avesta to be merely identical with the father of Darius Hystaspes. I did not mention it, not because it has found scarcely any supporters, but because of another reason which is, indeed, a very simple one. There are not two opinions as to the identity of the two names, Vishtāspa and Hystaspes; but such an identity cannot, therefore, be used as a proof in determining the question of the age of the Avesta, since it does not at all involve any identification of the personages to whom the names belong. History tells us of several Hystaspes. But that the father of Darius must have been the very prince named in the Avesta, who embraced the doctrine of Zarathushtra, is by no means proved. It is merely a possibility, an hypothesis, which requires to be independently proved. Moreover, a proof in support of it could only be supplied by first endeavouring to determine the date of the Avesta from internal evidence. This theory, therefore, cannot form a link in the chain of arguments for or against the great antiquity of the Avesta, for this reason, that it is only an assumption. It is more likely that, according to the result arrived at from those arguments, the question as to the relation of Vishtāspa to Hystaspes might open out a new field for investigation. In my opinion, it is evident that the Vishtāspa of the Avesta has nothing in common with the father of Darius but the name, which both may have shared with several other Irānians.

Finally, it is sometimes asserted that the Avesta can be of no great antiquity, because the doctrines and ideas

contained in it are too noble and elevated to have been developed among the Avesta people, who had not passed the primitive stage of civilization. Such general assertions cannot of course be proved or contradicted. It is more or less a question of taste. Moreover, I believe, that such assertions would lead one to overestimate the sublimity of the Avesta conceptions as regards the Spirit. The æsthetic value of the Avesta is generally supposed to be far below that of the Rig-veda. But it must be remembered that the Vedic Arians were as conspicuous for their poetic ideas and artistic taste, as the Irānians were distinguished for their profound moral virtues. This might also easily be explained from the physical condition of the Irānian soil, which necessarily accustomed its inhabitants to a rigid ideal of life, to hard work and industry, which, though it probably restrained the flight of fancy, nevertheless ennobled human nature.

Who, again, can say how far the personal influence of the founder of the Avesta religion may have reached? The intellectual development of man cannot be regulated at will. If it seems to stagnate for centuries, it often, on the contrary, makes gigantic strides in one single generation, and that, too, owing to the personal influence of a single individual.

The question as regards the home and age of the Avesta is at present the standing difficulty of Irānian Philology, and will, I surmise, remain so for a long time. I shall be content with what little I can contribute towards the legitimate solution, which must eventually discover the truth.

So long as no new and convincing reasons are adduced on the other side, so long as the arguments I have striven to bring together in my work remain unrebutted, I repeat, in concluding this treatise, the convictions with which I set out, namely, that:—

1. The home of the Avesta civilization was really Eastern Irān, the

land of the Syr-daryā westward towards the frontiers of Media and southward to the deserts of Gedrosia.

2. The Avesta civilization dates from a very remote antiquity. It is fruitless to specify a particular century. But there is no doubt that it is older than Medo-Persian history.

[This opinion of Dr. Geiger has been ably supported by the accomplished Avesta scholar, Dr. Karl Geldner, in his dissertation (*vide* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed. vol. XVIII. p. 653) on the old Irānian languages and literature, from which I extract the following:—

Persian (Irānian) Languages.

"Zend is the language of the so-called *Avesta*,¹ the holy book of the Persians, containing the oldest documents of the religion of Zoroaster. Besides this important monument, which is about twice as large as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* put together, we only possess very scanty relics of the Zend language in medieval glosses and scattered quotations in Pahlavi books. These remains, however, suffice to give a complete insight into the structure of the language. Not only amongst Irānian languages, but amongst all the languages of the Indo-European group, Zend takes one of the very highest places in importance for the compa-

¹ As was said above, this, and not *Zend-Avesta*, is the correct title for the original text of the Persian Bible. The origin of the word is doubtful, and we cannot point to it before the time of the Sassanians. Perhaps it means "announcement," "revelation."

rative philologist. In age it almost rivals Sanskrit; in primitiveness it surpasses that language in many points; it is inferior only in respect of its less extensive literature, and because it has not been made the subject of systematic grammatical treatment. The age of Zend must be examined in connexion with the age of the Avesta. In its present form the *Avesta* is not the work of a single author or of any one age, but embraces collections produced during a long period. The view which became current through Anquetil Duperron, that the *Avesta* is throughout the work of Zoroaster (in Zend, *Zarathushtra*), the founder of the religion, has long been abandoned as untenable. But the opposite view, which is now frequently accepted, that not a single word in the book can lay claim to the authorship of Zoroaster, also appears on closer study too sweeping. In the Avesta two stages of the language are plainly distinguishable, for which the supposition of local dialectic variation is not sufficient explanation, but which appear rather to be an older and a younger stage in the development of the same language. The older is represented in but a small part of the whole work, the so-called *Gāthās* or songs. These songs form the true kernel of the book Yasna;¹ they must have been in existence long before all the other parts of the *Avesta*, throughout the whole of which allusions to them occur. These *Gāthās* are what they claim to be, and what they are honoured in the whole Avesta as being—the actual productions of the Prophet himself or of his time. They bear in themselves irrefutable proofs of their authenticity,

¹ The Avesta is divided into three parts; (1) Yasna, with an appendix, Visparad, a collection of prayers and formulas for divine service; (2) Vendidad, containing direction for purification and the penal code of the ancient Persians; (3) Khordah-Avesta,

bringing us face to face not with the Zoroaster of the legends but with a real person, announcing a new doctrine and way of salvation, no supernatural Being assured of victory, as he is represented in later times, but a mere man, often himself despairing of his final success, and struggling not with spirits and demons but with human obstacles of every sort, in the midst of a society of fellow-believers which was yet feeble and in its earliest infancy. It is almost impossible that a much later period could have produced such unpretentious and almost depreciatory representations of the deeds and personality of the Prophet; certainly nothing of the kind is found out of the *Gāthās*. If, then, the *Gāthās* reach back to the time of Zoroaster, and he himself, according to the most probable estimate, lived as early as the 14th century B.C., the oldest component parts of the Avesta are hardly inferior in age to the oldest Vedic hymns. The *Gāthās* are still extremely rough in style and expression; the language is richer in forms than the more recent Zend; and the vocabulary shows important differences. The predominance of the long vowels is a marked characteristic, the constant appearance of a long final vowel contrasting with the preference for a final short in the later speech.

Sanskrit.	<i>Gāthā</i> .	Later Zend.
<i>abhi</i> (near)	<i>aibi</i> .	<i>aiwi</i> .
<i>ihá</i> (work)	<i>īshá</i>	<i>isha</i> .

"The clearest evidence of the extreme age of the language of the *Gāthās* is its striking resemblance to the oldest Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic poems. The *Gāthā* language (much more than the later Zend)

or the Small Avesta, containing the Yasht, the contents of which are for the most part mythological, with shorter prayers for private devotion.

and the language of the *Vedas* have a close resemblance, exceeding that of any two Romanic languages, they seem hardly more than two dialects of one tongue. Whole strophes of the *Gāthās* can be turned into good old Sanskrit by the application of certain phonetic laws; for example:—

“ *Maṭ · vāo · padūish · yā · frasrūtā · īshayāo.*
Pairijasāi · Mazdā · ustānazastō.
Aṭ · vao · ashā · aredrahyāchā · nemanghā.
Aṭ · vāo · vanghéush · mananghō · hunaretātā,”

becomes in Sanskrit—

“ *Mana vah padūih yū praçrutā īhūyāh*
Parigachāi medha uttānahastah.
Āt va ṛtena radhrasyacha namasā.
*Āt vō vasor manasah sūnṛtayā.”*¹

¹ “With verses of my making, which now are heard, and with prayerful hands, I come before thee, Mazda, and with the sincere humility of the upright man and with the believer's song of praise.”

CHAPTER II.*

GUSHTĀSP AND ZOROASTER.

WE can hardly treat of Gushtāsp[†] and his reign, without previously speaking of Zoroaster, not merely because the appearance of the Prophet is the most important event of that reign, but also because a great part of the incidents to be presently described would be unintelligible, if the acceptance of the religion of Zoroaster were not considered as a previous fact. For the first time we meet in these obscure ages with a personality of which we can ask, whether the historical character does not outweigh the mythological and legendary. Zoroaster is, further, a personage frequently named not only by Oriental, but also by Western authors. We are, therefore, obliged not to be contented regarding his career with the testimony derived from those sources, which we have before designated as the only Irānian traditions extant; but we must here add a few supplementary remarks on the authorities for our knowledge of the life of Zoroaster.

The name of Zoroaster was known to the Greeks and Romans, and is often mentioned by them as that of the founder of the Magian religion. If we approach the matter more closely, and enquire what those Greeks and Romans knew regarding him, we only find in each case notices which are not at all sufficient for a sketch of Zoroaster's life and work. Much less can we

* Dr. F. von Spiegel, *Irānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I. bk. II. chap. II. pp. 668-716.

[†] It is well known that this name takes the form *Vīstāspa* in Old-Persian and Old-Bactrian, and is identical with the Greek form *Vystaspes*.

expect from the classical writers a description of those remote times wherein Zoroaster is said to have lived. There are, on the whole, only three writers of whom we can avail ourselves with regard to this question, namely, Herodotus, Berossus, and Ktesias. The two first are trustworthy authors and justly deserve to be relied upon; but Herodotus has not named Zoroaster at all, and Berossus, of whose writings we have only a few fragments, has perhaps mentioned him by name, but this cannot be affirmed with certainty. As regards Ktesias, his accounts are generally considered to be unreliable. So much may here be sufficient by way of preliminary remark concerning those writers of whom we shall speak more fully later on.

Our Oriental sources are far more complete than the Western ones, and also deserve to be described somewhat more in detail. In the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions the name of Zoroaster is nowhere mentioned; and, even if it be probable that he was already known in the time of Darius, such a belief will have to be proved from internal evidence. So frequently does the Avesta mention the founder of the *Mazdayasnān* religion, that it is self-evident that the accounts given in this book, respecting the Irānian founder of religion, have for us a peculiar significance. With these accounts are linked those notices, partly also valuable, which are given in later Parsi writings on the life of Zoroaster, and which must be at least partially based on more ancient accounts. The information afforded by Mahomedan writers, hitherto availed of, like Hamza and the author of *Mujmil*, is indeed not very copious, though not without some value. The same may also be said respecting the account of Shāhrastāni, who has noticed Zoroaster to some extent in his work on religious parties and philosophical schools.

Special attention, however, respecting this period must be paid to the Book of Irānian Kings, viz., the *Shah-nāme*. It must be observed that the particular section, which

describes the work of Zoroaster and a portion of the reign of Gushtāsp, does not belong to Fīrdūsi, but to the more ancient poet Dakiki, who had commenced to write this portion of the Book of Kings, but, owing to his violent death, was cut short in his work, before he had yet finished more than a thousand couplets. Now Fīrdūsi states that Dakiki appeared to him in a dream, and requested him to embody his unfinished work in the Book of Kings, with which request Fīrdūsi complied. This entire portion of the Book of Kings (which extends from page 1065 to 1108 of M. Macan's edition), cannot, therefore, be regarded as proceeding from Fīrdūsi. However, as Fīrdūsi does not express himself very enthusiastically regarding Dakiki in the concluding words to that part, it can hardly have been his veneration for the deceased poet, which prompted him to enlarge his work. The true reasons are not, however, difficult to penetrate. The secure position which Mahmud of Gazni had conferred upon the poet Fīrdūsi to enable him to finish undisturbed his great work, proved a source of envy to the courtiers. They attempted to raise suspicion against the poet in the mind of his patron, and especially maligned him by saying that his great enthusiasm for the traditional lore of the nation was due to his inclination towards the old religion of the country. The suspicion of not being an orthodox Moslem would have appeared monstrous in the eyes of so fanatical a king as Mahmud was, and for a poet made thus suspect a description of the life and acts of Zoroaster was an extremely delicate task. Fīrdūsi, by ostensibly taking up the work of his predecessor, which directly treated of that very life of the Irānian Prophet, evaded all difficulties. While he fully secured himself by that device, it cannot be denied that he also did his best for us.

As is well known Dakiki was never converted to Islāmism. He belonged to the old religion of the country, and had not the least reason to describe the life and the exploits of his

Prophet otherwise than they were known to him. Consequently, we can believe ourselves entitled to consider the account of Zoroaster in the Book of Kings as a true representation of the view which people had at that time in Irān of the work of the Prophet, at all events a truer one than that which Fīrdūsi would have been able to offer or justified in offering. The peculiar features of this description by Dakiki are the Buddhistic elements, which appear to have found a place in the Zoroastrian belief, and then again the hostile feeling against the religion of Zoroaster, which we shall treat of more fully in due course. It is as easy to explain the one as the other. We know that, in the period after Alexander, Buddhism was powerful in Eastern Irān, and that it counted its confessors as far as Taberistān. It is especially certain that many Buddhist priests were found in Bactria.¹ This state of things, which began perhaps in the first century before Christ, lasted till the seventh century A. D., when the appearance of Islāmism alone cut short the development of Buddhism in Kābul and Bactria; and it is in that period that we will have to place the rise of the Zarathushtra-legend in the form in which it is presented to us by Dakiki. It is natural enough that the adherents of the doctrine of Zoroaster did not regard with favour the astonishingly rapid progress which the Buddhist religion made in Bactria and the adjoining countries; but it is also obvious that in spite thereof they were inclined to accept several peculiarities of the new religion, when they found it convenient to do so. All these circumstances show that the Oriental legend of Zoroaster is throughout transmitted to us in its Bactrian form.

If we now consider more closely this remarkable character, who was destined to play so important a part in

¹ Vide the proofs in Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 1075.

Irānian intellectual life,¹ we shall have to say a few words first with reference to his name. Among the ancients he usually appears under the name *Zaróastros*, and from this form has originated the current form Zoroaster, which name we have also here retained as thus generally intelligible. Only Diodorus calls him by the name of *Zaróastros*,² probably on the authority of Ktesias. Among the later writers we also find the name-forms *Záros*, *Zaróros*, and *Zaratos*; but M. Windischmann appears to me to have proved that by the latter names is meant, not Zóroaster, but an Assyrian, who is said to have been the so-called teacher of Pythagoras. The most ancient Irānian form that we know of his name is pronounced *Zarathushtra*, and with it the Greek *Zaróastros* does not quite harmonize. It must be presumed that the Western nations had a somewhat different form of the name, which may perhaps have sounded *Zarashtra*, and from this we may trace its Greek version. All the Oriental forms of the name go back to the original *Zarathushtra*, by which the Armenian *Zardasht* may be accounted for. In Huzvarešh the forms are *Zertusht* and *Zartuhsht*; in Modern Persian the most usual are *Zardusht* and *Zarduhast*. Other less common variations have been collected by M. Windischmann.³

It has been found not less difficult to arrive at the precise meaning of the name than it has been to fix its original form. The explanation transmitted to us by the ancients, which, it is presumed, proceeds from Deinon, and according to which the word signifies the same as

¹ For the following, compare Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien*, p. 44.

² According to Lagard (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 47), it might be read *Xaothraustes* in Diodorus.

³ *Zärtusht*, *Zarāduhasht*, *Zärtuhsht*, *Zārhusht*, *Zarātusht*, *Zarādusht*, *Zertusht*, *Zardusht*, *Zarāduhasht*, *Zarāhtusht*, *Zarāhusht*, even *Zārdisht*, *Zardisht*, (*Zor. Studien*, p. 45).

ἀστροδάρης, which Bochart supposed to be *ἀστροδεύρης*, has long been rejected as untenable. With regard to the explanation of the native form *Zarathushtra*, to which all attempts at interpretation are now entirely confined, no one has hitherto come to any conclusion, not even concerning the language according to which the name should be explained. Mr. George Rawlinson, however, has very recently attempted to explain it by means of the Semitic languages; assuming *Ziru Ishtar* as the original form, *Ziru* might be the Semitic זֵרִיָּע, 'seed, descendant,' *Ishtar* the name of the planet Venus. Of course the explanation is nearer and more probable if one endeavours to interpret it through the Irānian languages, but, even with the aid of interpretations based on them, one cannot lay claim to absolute certainty. The explanation of Dr. F. Müller appears to me to be the most probable, according to which *Zarathushtra* would mean "possessing courageous camels."¹ The word should, on this suppo-

¹ [F. Müller, *Zendstudien*, part I., Vienna, 1863, pp. 3-7 :—

"The name of the great prophet of the Iūnians, whom we commonly call Zoroaster, according to the Greek form *Ζωροάστρης*, is pronounced *Zarathushtra* in the language in which he himself spoke. Its true etymological meaning is a matter of conjecture only.

"The modern adherents of the Prophet interpret the name, according to the modern Persian form *Zardusht* or *Zartusht*, (زرتشت — زردشت) as meaning 'a gold star'. Should this explanation be traced to Old-Bactrian, in which *zairi* corresponds to the first part *zar*, 'gold,' while the name of the star *Tishtar* (تیشتر) must stand for the second part *tusht*, *dusht*, 'a star,' we must substitute for *Zartusht*, a different form, *zairitishtrya*, which bears but little resemblance to the real form of the name *Zarathushtra*.

"An etymology based on the form *Zarathushtra* itself, is given by Burnouf, the founder of Zend studies, (*Comm. sur le Yasna* XII.), who analyzes the word into *sarath* and *ushtra*, and explains it by '*fulgos uinclos habens*.' Of these component parts

sition, be altered to *Zaratushtra*—the change of a *t* into *th* is likewise witnessed in the Gūthās in some other examples, especially in such words in which *u* follows *t*. Besides, other names also prove that the Irānians made use of the word *ushtra*, "camel," in the formation of proper names (for instance *Frashaostra*). As already said, even this interpretation is not perfectly reliable.

As regards the age in which Zoroaster probably flourished, we shall hardly be able to arrive at more certainty than in the case of his name and its meaning

the second can now be shown to have the meaning 'camel' in the stock of the Old-Bactrian language, and can also be compared with the second part 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 'horse' in analogous proper names, such as *Vishlāspa*, *Kercsūspa*, *Pourushaspa*, *Ilacchatuspa*. However, as regards the first part *zarath*, Haug justly remarks that it cannot bear the meaning 'yellow' (for, as is well known, 'yellow' is denoted in Old-Bactrian by *zairīta*, and in modern Persian by *zard*); but it must be the form of a present participle, (Old-Bactrian *zarat* = Skr. *harat*, *jarat*). Thus the meaning suggested by Burnouf is likewise inadmissible, on account of the objections to the first part of the compound name he suggests.

"Another meaning, which, if I mistake not, is suggested by Roth, is that of *Zarathushtra* as 'a goldsmith.' But a two-fold objection, phonetic as well as practical, might be urged against it. If we adopt this meaning, we must divide the word into *zara* and *thushtra*, and explain *zara* to be 'gold.' However, this form cannot be proved to exist in Old-Bactrian, where the word for 'gold' is invariably pronounced *sañi* = Skr. *hari*. Again, the second part, *thushtra*, pre-supposes a violent contraction as well as a lengthening of the suffix, of the word 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (*thworeshtare*); both these forms, moreover, have nothing analogous to them in Old-Bactrian. Now, as regards the practical objections, I believe, they are still weightier. As is well known the Avesta everywhere speaks only of three orders: priests (𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕), warriors (𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕), and husbandmen (𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕); but we do not find any mention of handicraftsmen in the oldest fragments, still less of artists who devoted themselves to the manu-

To what period Zoroaster belongs, according to the view of Oriental authorities, is already known from our previous inquiries concerning the chronology of the legendary history regarding him. According to these authorities, Zoroaster belongs to the middle portion of the duration of the world since the creation of the human race, or 9,000 years after the creation of the world. We also know that, according to Irānian dogmatics, a thousand years

facture of such an article of luxury as gold [?]. Now if we suppose Zarathushtra to have received this name either on account of his own vocation or of that of his father, we shall have to make an assumption which is inconsistent with the sacred writings and external evidences, and which could only be based upon the etymology above proposed. We must, therefore, also reject this etymology, which identifies Zarathushtra as a goldsmith.

"A derivation founded on the analysis of the word into *zarath* and *ushtra* is proposed by Haug in his *Gāthās*, vol. II. p. 246. The first part admits of three significations: (1) 'growing old,' (Skr. *jarat*), which is rejected as being evidently inappropriate; (2) 'heart,' (Skr. *hṛd*); (3) 'praise-singing,' (Skr. *garat*). The second part *ushtra*, however, is not rendered by 'camel,' but explained to be a contraction of *uttara*, 'excellent.' Zarathushtra, therefore, is either 'he who has an excellent heart,' or what seems better—'the excellent panegyric poet or singer,' according as we determine upon the one or the other meaning of the word *zarath*.

"Both these etymologies also present phonetic as well as practical difficulties. If we regard the former, the identification of *zarath* with *zarad*, and also of the latter with *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀* (*zeredhaēm*), is striking; for its identity with Skr. *hṛd* is disputed in the passages cited by Haug (Yasna XLIII. 11; XXXI. 1; *sāš · mashyāēshu · zarazdūtish*;—*yoi · zarazdāq · aīhen · Mazdāi*), wherein *zaraz* occurs as the first part of a composite word. We might suggest *haras* with the same, if not with greater justice (Bensley, *Glossar zum Samaveda*, p. 206). Again the identity of *th* with *d* still remains doubtful, even if we concede that *zaraz* and *hṛd* are identical.

"In just the same way it is difficult to identify *ushtra* with *uttara*; because, even if we allow the elimination of *a*, for which, indeed, there is no authority,—since this change is never witnessed in the suffix *tara*,—we should also expect the form *uṣtra*, just

cannot yet have fully elapsed since his death, for otherwise a new prophet should have already appeared.¹ That we cannot with such *data* undertake to describe chronologically the life of Zoroaster, needs no further proof. Let us see whether the accounts of our Western writers help us to any better result.

The age of Zoroaster has been of late the object of searching inquiries.² The oldest Western writer, who

¹ Some Christian writers, like Abul Faraj (Histodynast. ed. Pococke, p. 33), and Eutychius (Annal ed. Selden, p. 262), affirm that Zoroaster lived under Smerdes and Cambyses. This opinion seems to originate from the Mahomedans, in which case perhaps 1,000 years might have elapsed before the appearance of Muhammed, perhaps the prophet whom the Iñānians had expected at that period.

² Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, pp. 270, 274, 279, 285, 291, 302; Rapp, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* vol. XIX. p. 22.

as *basta* = *bad* + *ta*, and *dasta* = *dath* + *ta*. It happens, however, that the form *zarathushtra*, as against the faulty *zarathustra*, is on the one hand attested as the correct one; while, on the other, it is only the former, and not the latter, that can be the result of new forms with *sh* or *t*.

“ Besides these phonetic difficulties, there is also a practical one with reference to the name. When Haug interprets the name as ‘an excellent praise-singer,’ and therewith observes that the chanting of hymns in the Gāthās plays an important part, and that Zarathushtrā appears himself as a poet, he of course speaks of the Prophet and of the religious founder. It must then be assumed that Zarathushtra was not the *real* name, but only a *title of honour* given to the founder of the Parsi religion; but this assumption is not confirmed by the sacred writings. If the name is not a mere title of honour but a real name which belonged to the Prophet from his childhood, such a supposition cannot be supported by any analogy; for, if we examine the old Persian proper names occurring in the Avesta and elsewhere, we do not find among them any which could have been formed in a similar way, especially taking into consideration Zarathushtra’s high spiritual excellence.

The interpretation of the name Zarathushtra as ‘the most excellent panegyric poet,’ was later on abandoned by Haug

mentions Zoroaster, is Xanthus of Sardis, who is said to have placed Zoroaster 600 years (according to others 6,000 years) before the fall of Xerxes. Should the first of these statements be correct, Zoroaster must have flourished about 1080 years before Christ. As Pliny (*H. N.* XXX.

himself, (Essays, 1st ed. 1862, p. 252, Note), who adopted another instead. According to this view the name may be supposed to mean 'the most excellent director or guardian.' In this case we have the first part *zarath* = Skt. *jarat* 'old,' whilst the second part bears the same meaning as above. Against this explanation the same difficulties may be urged as before; and we should certainly again set forth the same objections, were it not that Haug regards the name Zarathushtra as, indeed, only an appellation, perhaps denoting 'a high-priest.' But, according to this assumption, the proper name of the founder of the Parsi religion would then be quite unknown, which is plainly inconsistent with the testimony of the sacred writings and the oldest tradition of the Parsis on the one hand, and the history of different religions on the other. Again, the existence of several Zarathushtras will have to be proved, a point which could neither be supported by the scriptures nor by the legends.

“My opinion is that in order to give a correct interpretation of the name, we must first analyze it into its elementary parts, and then try to justify our explanation by proper analogies. If we now examine the name, which is no doubt a compound word, we must unquestionably divide it into *zarath* and *ushtra*. The latter word can in this case, as elsewhere, only denote a ‘camel,’ while the form *zarath*, as Haug has already correctly observed, cannot but be a present participle.

“Thus the question is only one regarding the correct meaning. The simplest way would be to trace *zarath* to the Old Indian root *har* ‘to take, to gain anything as booty,’ and the word would then mean, just as *bharad-vāja* and *jumad-agni*, ‘obtaining camels as booty’ (cf. *ḥarāḥ* ‘having horses won or conquered’).

But I prefer to take *zarath* as a present participle from the root *har = ghar*, from which also comes the word *haras*, ‘glowing fire,’ then ‘wrath’ (*haras krodhanāma*). Accordingly, *Zarathustra* must mean ‘possessing courageous camels,’ (compare *ṣṇḥṛṣṭha* ‘having lean horses,’ *ṣṇḥṛṣṭha* ‘having shaggy

1, 2) informs us, Eudoxus and Aristotle place Zoroaster 6,000 years before the death of Plato (*i. e.*, 6350 B. C.), while Hermodorus, who was a disciple of Plato, following Eudoxus and Aristotle, fixes upon 5,000 years before the Trojan war (*i. e.*, 6100 B. C.). With the latter statement Plutarch also agrees (the "*Isid.*" ch. 48), as well as Hermippus, according to the testimony of Pliny. Whether Berossus has named this Zoroaster must remain doubtful, and even if the name Zoroaster really occurred in his writings, he may not have meant thereby the founder of the Irānian religion, but, as I believe, a king of the same name. M. Windischmann has already fully discussed¹ the statement of Porphyrius, that Zoroaster was probably the teacher of Pythagoras, and might be placed, therefore, in the sixth century before the Christian era. The same writer has also proved that Ζάβπαρος named by Porphyrius cannot be our Zoroaster. Agathias tells us that Zoroaster lived under a king Hystaspes, but it is not clear whether the latter was the father of Darius or not. Naturally, Agathias here means Vishtāspa or Gushtāsp; he may even have had before him the same legend respecting Zoroaster which we read at the present day. Suidas even distinguishes between two different Zoroasters, one of whom is said to have lived 500 years (5,000 years may be read) before the Trojan war; the other is said to

¹ Windischmann, *Zoroast. Studien*, p. 261.

horses'). This simple explanation is also intelligibly supported by the constant occurrence in Greek as well as in Persian, of such names as contain *ἵππος* 'horse' in the second part. That the camel was a domestic animal like the horse, among the ancient Persians, appears most clearly from Vend. XV. 68 *seq.*; it was even regarded as a more costly animal than the horse. (Comp. Vend. XIV. 50-53).

"Now as regards the epithet 'courageous' applied to camels, I refer my readers to the excellent description of them in Tarafah Maallaghah, verses 11 *seq.*"]

have been an astronomer, who lived in the age of Ninus. On these statements of Suidas very little reliance can be placed. One here sees clearly that he found in his sources of information different statements respecting Zoroaster, which he was unable to reconcile with one another, and which he endeavoured to bring into harmony by distinguishing in this manner between two persons of the same name. How one should act on these contradictory testimonies, it is not difficult to indicate. Dr. Rapp¹ has justly remarked that the accounts which place the age of Zoroaster about 6,000 years back, are of little importance, since it is incredible that at that time chronicles could have been available, which safely followed up the history of the past five or six thousand years. These statements can thus prove no more than that even at the time when they were made, Zoroaster was not known to be a historical personage. As regards the statements of Xanthus, their accuracy has been questioned, and though the reasons, which caused this doubt are not solid,² so much is indeed certain, that his chronology is not reliable. As Xanthus places Zoroaster 6,000 years before the expedition of Xerxes, we need not waste time on his statement; but more than this, even when he places him only 600 years before this period, it is still more than doubtful whether his historical proofs extended even so far back. There remains only Ktesias, according to whose statement Zoroaster seems to fall into the same period with Ninus. But, leaving aside the fact that the testimony of Ktesias is generally not much to be relied upon, we must also doubt whether he really meant the Irānian founder of religion by the Bactrian king Zoroaster, of whom he may have spoken, or only a king of that name. After a review of the different statements recorded in Western writings, it will not surprise any one, if we give it as our opinion that neither Occidental nor Oriental

¹ Rapp, *Zddm.G.* vol. XIX: p. 25.

² Windischmann, *Zoroast. Studien*, pp. 268-275.

testimony yields us any sure ground on which to fix the age of Zoroaster. In this view MM. Gutschmid¹ and Rapp² have already preceded us.

Still more material than the question regarding the name and the period of Zoroaster, is that concerning his native country, on account of the important conclusions which can be drawn from the answer to the latter. However, it will scarcely be ever possible to arrive at quite a certain result on this point. We begin our review of the several notices which lie before us of the native land of Zoroaster, with the Westerns and especially with Ktesias, not only because he is one of the most ancient historians, but also because he has a certain importance from the fact that a number of other writers have followed him. According to the historical account of Ktesias, which Diodorus has preserved for us, Ninus is said to have, with 1,700,000 foot and 210,000 horse, invaded Bactria, where the king of the land, Oxyartes, awaited him with 400,000 men. Victorious in the beginning, the Bactrian king had in the end to give way to superior power, and was obliged to retire to his capital, where he was then defeated by Ninus with the assistance of Semiramis. In the account of Diodorus there does not at all occur, as we find, the name of Zoroaster. It is true, the name of the Bactrian king does not everywhere appear as Oxyartes; several manuscripts also give instead *Εξαόπρης*, other *Χαόπρης* and *Ζαόπρης*, but in none do we meet with *Ζωροάστρης*. Nor is it less probable that the name may have been thus pronounced originally. We still possess fragments of a historiographer, Kephalion,³ who has

¹ *Beiträge Zur Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 90.

² Rapp, *ZdmG.* vol. XIX. p. 26.

³ Kephalion in Eusebius *Chron. arm I*, 43 ed. Ancher:—
“I proceed to write of matters which others also have treated, especially Ellanicus the Lesbian and Ctesias the Chidias, and also Herodotus of Halicarnassus.” The Assyrians first ruled Asia. Among them was Ninus, son of Belus, during the time of whose

confessedly made use of Ktesias concerning the same story, and he expressly gives the name of king Zoroaster, in a tradition at least, to him who is called by Diodorus, Oxyartes. With him Eusebius¹ and Theo² agree. After them Arnobius³ and finally the Berosian Sibyl, whom we shall mention hereafter, also place Zoroaster in Bactria.

As all the reports just enumerated associate Ninus with a king Zoroaster, it appears, indeed, as though the name of Oxyartes had been erroneously substituted for that of Zoroaster in the text of Diodorus. That even Ktesias could have meant by the Zoroaster named by him the founder of the Irānian religion, can by no means be confidently asserted, as the entire narrative has evidently undergone transformation in a later age. This becomes extremely clear when we compare the text of Diodorus with that of Arnobius; they both refer to the same facts;

reign the most numerous exploits were achieved and the most glorious virtues displayed. Next after these he mentions also the generations of Semiramis, and describes the rebellion against Semiramis of Zoroaster, the Magus king of the Bactrians. He says that the term of Ninus's reign was fifty-two years and speaks of his death. Semiramis reigned after him, and surrounded Babylon with a wall exactly as described by most authors, by Ctesias in particular, by Zeno and Herodotus and others after them. He moreover describes the preparations of Semiramis for the war against the Indians, her defeat and flight, &c." This event is also recorded by Syncellus in quite a similar manner.

¹ Eusebius, *Chron. IV. 35 ed. Aucher*:—"Zoroaster the Magus, king of the Bactrians, against whom Ninus fought, is considered famous." *Praep. Ev. X. 9.* "Over whom (the Bactrians) Zoroaster reigned."

² *Progymnast*:—"Zoroaster was the king of the Bactrians...."

³ *Cf. Arnob. adv. gent. I. 5.*:—"Has this feud of ours been like the war between the Assyrians and the Bactrians under Zoroaster and Ninus, in which strength and arms were not only used but also incantation and the mystic arts of the Chaldeans?"

but whilst, according to the story of the first, two kings fight against each other with overwhelming forces, according to the second, Ninus appears as the representative of the Chaldean, Zoroaster as that of the Bactrian Magi. Since, however, in the account of Diodorus there is no allusion to Zoroaster's religious character, in spite of its being really the most complete report, it appears to me very probable that the mention made by Ktesias was only with reference to a king Zoroaster, and that the same was changed later on into the Magus. Besides, there is to a certain degree an inconsistency in calling anybody a Magus and at the same time a Bactrian. Hence I am inclined to doubt whether we can quote Ktesias as an authority for the opinion that Zoroaster had his home in Bactria. We must, however, admit that we are in no case inclined to rely much on the assertions of this historian.

Besides those already cited, there still remain some ancient authorities who regard Zoroaster as a Bactrian, without allowing one to affirm that they, too, have borrowed their statements from Ktesias. But such authorities belong to a late period. One of these is Agathias (L. II., 24 ed. Nieb.), another Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII. 6. 32). Both these writers recognize in Zoroaster not a king but the founder of a religion; both place him under a king Hystaspes. The former observes that we cannot tell whether this Hystaspes was the father of Darius or not, the latter on the contrary explicitly calls him the father of Darius. It appears to me very probable, not to say certain, that both these authors had the knowledge which we still possess at the present day as to the life of Zoroaster, namely, the fact that he flourished under a *king* *Vish.āspa* or Gushtāsp. If Ammianus recognized in this *Vishtāspa*, Hystaspes the father of Darius, who was alone known to him, we think such recognition very natural, but ~~just~~ as incorrect as his representing Zoroaster as a Bactrian, because he heard that the latter had worked in Bactria.

Besides, it is not at all the general view of antiquity that Zoroaster was a Bactrian; a whole series of authorities look upon him as a Mede or a Persian. In support of the view that Zoroaster was a Mede the authority of Berossus may perhaps be cited. This writer has composed a work, which is mentioned by the ancients under the title of Χαλδαϊκά or Βαβυλωνιακά. In estimating the value of this work of Berossus ancient authors are full of praise, in which modern writers also participate. An unfortunate fate has followed the book, not only in that it is lost, but also in the fact that the few fragments preserved are not transmitted to us in their original form, but have passed through several hands before reaching us. With justice does the latest publisher,¹ therefore, observe:—

“Fairly large fragments have been preserved, especially by Josephus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Syncellus. But not one of them seems to have examined Berossus’ original works.² Syncellus has borrowed from Eusebius, or like Eusebius from Africanus, Africanus from Alexander Polyhistor, and he apparently from Appolodorus. Josephus must have made use of the same Polyhistor, although he has omitted to mention his authority. Clemens Alexandrinus had before him Juba, the Mauritanian, who seems to have quoted from the book of Berossus in his Assyrian histories. As, therefore, the fragments which survive have passed through so many hands, it is not to be wondered at that the words of Berossus have been mutilated in various ways, and care must be taken not to ascribe to Berossus what should be imputed to those who quote him.”³

It also appears that from this particular Berossus a Sibylla Berosiana, who ranks far lower than the former, is to

¹ Vd. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* II. p. 496.

² Cf. Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assyrs*, p. 12.

³ C. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* II. p. 495.

be distinguished. Upon this our authority speaks as follows :—

“ There is scarcely any doubt that Justin has confounded with the historian some other Berossus, the father of Sibylla.¹ This error can easily be excused, if it be true, as seems indeed most probable, that Berossus himself has in his history made mention of that Sibylla, daughter of Berossus. What Alexander Polyhistor borrows from Sibylla, concerning the building of the Tower of Babylon, could scarcely have been collected from other sources than the books of our Berossus.”²

Much more severely does M. von Niebuhr express himself :—“ The extract concerning the Sibyl of the Tower ought to be strictly separated from those taken from Berossus, since it is not cited as a Berossian one. Nor should we allow ourselves to be deceived when Moses Chorenensis says, whilst quoting a similar passage, that the same is to be found in the Berossian Sibyl. Besides the confused legends, which connect Berossus with a Sibyl, there is no indication that the so-called Chaldean had any other than a Jewish origin.”³

Now amongst the fragments which originate from the genuine Berossus, there is one in particular that must attract our attention. It is preserved for us in a two-fold, but somewhat contradictory, form, first in the Armenian translation of Eusebius, and again in Syncellus. I quote here the passage in question as given in Petermann's translation :—

“ From Xisuthros and from the Deluge and until the Mareans (Mediaus) took Babylonia, *Polyhistor counts on the whole 86 kings, and makes mention of every ðæ by name from the works of Berossus, and the years*

¹ Cf. *Justinus Martyr Cohort*, c. 39.

² M. von Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assyriens*, p. 470.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 491-494.

of all these kings he comprises in a period of 33,091 years. After these kings, *according to those writers*, the Medians, as they were so powerful, collected an army against Babylon, in order to capture it, and to set up as rulers tyrants of their own. *Then he determines also* the names of the Median tyrants numbering 8 and their years 224, and again 11 kings and years 4, then also the tyrants of the Chaldeans, 49 kings and 458 years."¹

The author mentioned by Syncellus differs from this on several essential points. While there are 49 Chaldean kings according to Eusebius, Syncellus only mentions two of them and names 84 Median kings, then Zoroaster and 7 Chaldean kings. Hence M. C. Müller says:—

"The eight tyrants found in Eusebius answer in number to Zoroaster and his seven successors."

The number of years, however, does not correspond. Syncellus assigns to his Medians only 190 years, while Eusebius gives 224 to his eight Median kings. On this point M. von Niebuhr remarks as follows²:—"As regards the statement of Syncellus, that Polyhistor has called only the two first kings Chaldean and the remaining 84 Medians, the version of Eusebius is clearly the genuine one. Syncellus has evidently not transcribed from Eusebius, but from another chronographer, probably Africanus. The author may, like Syncellus, have passed over the second dynasty—Syncellus in that passage mentions the first dynasty as being followed by Zorbaster and a Chaldean dynasty—and may have brought the Medians into the first dynasty in the place of the 84 kings whose names Eusebius has not given. However, this

¹ The italicized words are not those of Berostus, but of Eusebius. They are given in Klammer as additions of the translator.

² Cf. Müller, *Hist. Graec. F.* II. p. 503.

author, mentioned by Syncellus, may also have been honest, (which we would so much the more willingly believe, as he could scarcely have been anybody else than Africanus), and the Medians may have originated merely in a misunderstanding." Further on M. von Niebuhr says regarding the reciprocal relation of the two accounts¹:—"Evidently he (Syncellus) also admits in the place of the second Median dynasty of Berossus his 84 Median kings of the first dynasty, and Zoroaster and his second dynasty of 7 Chaldean kings with 190 years' interval, in the abovementioned passage, in the place of the third and fourth dynasties of Berossus." This view appears to me, likewise, the most probable; yet there is no doubt, that we can also understand this matter, as M. C. Müller, in the passage quoted above, and after him Dr. Rapp² have done, *viz.*, that Zoroaster and the 7 Chaldean kings stand in the place of the 8 Medians of Eusebius. As we have nothing to do with Babylonian history, this question has little importance for us. What principally interests us is the name Zoroaster; no matter whether Berossus meant by it a Median or a Babylonian king. It is proved at all events that the name Zoroaster already occurred at a very early period, and certainly in Media itself or westward of Media.

But the question now arises, whether we have a right to affirm that Berossus has mentioned the name Zoroaster. M. von Niebuhr believes, that Berossus has not done so, but I see no ground at all for this assumption. On the contrary, it appears to me quite possible that Africanus (or whoever else may have been the chronographer consulted by Syncellus) found the name Zoroaster in his evidently very hasty review of the notices of Berossus, introducing the same in his report, since Eusebius

¹ *Vide* Müller, *Hist. Græc. Fr.* II. p. 493.

² Rapp, *ZdmG.* vol. XIX. p. 28.

explicitly remarks, that Berosus has given the names of the Median kings. This is my principal ground for regarding the Zoroaster mentioned here as a Median, because it is nowhere stated that Berosus has also given the names of the Chaldean kings. On the contrary, this Median king, likewise the founder of the Irānian religion, named by Berosus, need not necessarily have been any other than the Bactrian king of the same name mentioned by Ktesias. In opposition to Berosus, the Berosian Sibyl, referred to by Moses of Khorni, actually places Zoroaster in Bactria, but it has been already remarked, that very little importance should be attached to that authority.

The remaining accounts by Western writers of the native country of Zoroaster may be briefly mentioned. The Greek writer Clemens Alexandrinus calls Zoroaster sometimes a Persian and sometimes a Mede, whilst Suidas calls him a Perso-Median. The Armenian Moses of Khorni, who has chiefly consulted Greek writers in his historical works, makes him a contemporary of Semiramis, and calls him "the Magus and sovereign of the Medes." ¹ According to his statement, Semiramis is said to have appointed him a satrap (governor) over Nineveh and Assyria; later on they became enemies and Semiramis was obliged to flee from him to Armenia, where she was plundered and killed by one Ninyas of the Empire. Yet, in another passage, Moses corrects the Berosian Sibyl and observes that Zoroaster was not a king of Bactria, but of Media. According to the statements of Pliny the Elder, who must have obtained his materials from Hermippus, we should search for Zoroaster's native country still further West, that is, in Prokonnesos. An account, which is handed down to us by Clemens Alexandrinus, mentions Zoroaster

as having been born in Pamphylia, and says that he was identical with Her, the son of Arminius.

This much will be clear from these statements, *vis.*, that even with the help of the ancients we cannot arrive at a certain knowledge of the native land of Zoroaster. If we now turn to the accounts furnished by Oriental writers, we indeed find in them greater harmony, but scarcely any historical facts. They unanimously place the native land of Zoroaster in Western Irān; but most of them state that he had worked at least for some time in Bactria. From the searching inquiries which M. Windischmann has devoted to this subject,¹ it follows that Zoroaster is often called in the Avesta "the renowned in *Aryana-vaija*"; according to another idea, it is even said that he was in the celebrated *Aryana-vaija*. The dwelling of Pourushaspa, the father of Zoroaster, was situated, according to Vendidad, XIX. 15, near "*drejya paiti sbarahē*" (*sbarahi*), and we shall hereafter find that it cannot be at all doubted that this designation also may denote *Aryana-vaija*, for, according to Yt. V. 104, IX. 25, XVII. 45, the Prophet there offers sacrifices to several *yasatas*. In the passage Ys. XIX. 51, 52, Zoroaster is mentioned in connection with the town of *Ragha* (in Media); however, it should not be hence inferred that he was also born there.

The Bundeshesh expresses itself more unequivocally than the Avesta. It asserts that Zoroaster was born near the river *Darya* (51, 3; 79, 9) and this river is situated (53, 5) in *Aryana-vaija*. In a passage further on (58, 5) this river is the largest of the *Bāra* rivers; I conjecture that by *Bāra* may be here understood the same as by *sbarā* in the Vendidad. Further on, again, the Bundeshesh (70, 8) informs us that *Aryana-vaija* lies southward of *Ātropātene*, and may thus well be

the territory which the medieval geographers call Arran, and which extends as far as the country of Tiflis. Taking this position into consideration, the Huzvareh Commentary to Vd. I. 60 evidently explains Ragha by Atropātene, but admits that others understand under that name Rai, where Zoroaster probably dwelt for some time. Yaqut, like Abulfeda, points to the town of *Urumia* as the birth-place of Zoroaster. Two less-known Mahomedan historians, who are quoted by Hyde (*Hist. Vet. Pers.* p. 318, ed. 2nd), adduce the so-called authority of Tabari to prove that Zoroaster was born in the land of the Philistines. One calls him a disciple of Esra, the other of Jeremiah. If we now collect the results of all these conflicting statements, we can arrive at no certainty as regards the native land of Zoroaster, the majority of writers endeavour, however, to place it altogether in the West, and not in the East.

After disposing of these preliminary questions, we now turn to the history of the life of Zoroaster himself. Nobody will be surprised to find that the narrative of the life of a man, whose age and native land cannot be ascertained, is very legendary. For most of the legends even a foundation is wanting; most of them are to be traced to modern sources, and some of them even to very late writers. Neither the Avesta, nor antiquity, nor the Sassanian period, nor lastly Fīrdūsi, has bequeathed to us a complete description of Zoroaster's career, and we are hence obliged to rely upon the more modern legends, and to point for greater confirmation to the isolated passages which have been preserved to us here and there in more ancient writings; e.g. in the Avesta.¹ The entirely legendary character of the narrative of Zoroaster's life may be perceived from the mere fact, that his biography

¹ The principal authority for the circumstances of the life of Zoroaster is the *Zarthusht-name*, the text of which was published

does not begin with his birth, but actually long before it, not only in the later legends but also in the Avesta itself. And it is true that this part of his life is not without importance. For the confessor of the *Mazdayasnā* religion the birth and the works of Zoroaster are unquestionably the most important historical events. All the great exploits of the heroes of yore, of whom we have hitherto heard, have taken place mostly for this purpose, *vis.*, to help to diminish to such an extent the sum total of evil, as to allow the good event following to take place. So early as after the death of the Primitive Bull, to the *Geush-urva* or *Goshurun*, that is, the "Soul of the Bull," (*vide Eran Alterthums-kunde*, vol. I. p. 510) is shown Zoroaster, and the hope is held out to it that the Prophet will appear in future on the earth. For it was not possible to make Zoroaster proclaim the Law at any time on earth. Only after the marks of the equipoise had come to rule, and the forces of the good and the evil principles were balanced, could it be ordained to send Zoroaster into this world. How important Zoroaster was to Ahura Mazda and His plans is also perceived from Yt. V. 17.

The family from which a personage like Zoroaster

in lithograph at Bombay. I use the English translation of that book by Eastwick, which is found printed in the book of Dr. J. Wilson, "*The Parsi Religion Unfolded*," p. 477. A *Vie de Zoroastre* (Life of Zoroaster) is given by Anquetil (*Zend Avest.* I. 2, pp. 1-70), another by J. Mönant: *Zoroastre, Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de la Perse* ("Essay on the Religious Philosophy of the Persians") 2nd edition, Paris, 1857; both of these works are based on the above-named legend of Zoroaster. An unfinished sketch of the life of Zoroaster is given by Windischmann (*Zoroast. Studien*, pp. 44-56) and myself (*Sitzungsberichte der K. bayr. Academie der Wissensch.* Jan. 1867). A life of Zoroaster by Dastūr Z. Behram (Bombay 1864), in Gujarati, is a translation of the *Zarīshht-nāme* with some annotations [by Dastūr Peshotanji Behramji Sanjānā.]

spring is of no less importance than the circumstances of his birth. As we shall shortly observe, Zoroaster is of kingly descent, and has, therefore, every right to be celebrated in the Irānian hero-legends, for, from his birth, he stands second to none of the early heroes of royal lineage; and a hero too he is, though of a different kind from his predecessors, but not, therefore, of lesser importance, since his agency is spiritual. To these heroic attributes we have to ascribe the fact that, according to Yt. XVII. 17-20,¹ *Angrô Manyu* runs away at his birth, and acknowledges that none of the *yasatas* have the power to supplant him, save Zoroaster alone, who smites him with the *Ahuna-vairya* as his weapon. Hence his father *Pourushaspa*, according to Ys. IX. 42, is named together with such great heroes as *Yima*, *Athwya* and *Kereshāspa*, for the heroes already named and others have only taken the lives of some of the evil

¹ Ashi Vanguhi spoke thus:—"Who art thou who dost invoke me, whose voice is to my ear the sweetest of all that invoke me most?"

"And Zarthushtia said aloud! 'I am Spitama Zarathustia, who, first of mortals, recited the praise of the excellent Asha and offered up sacrifice unto Ahuna Mazda and the Amesha-Spentas; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creation cried out, Hail!'

'In whose birth and growth Angra Mainyu rushed away from this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and he, the evil-doing Angra Mainyu, who is all death, said:—All the gods together have not been able to smite me down in spite of myself, and Zarathushtra alone can reach me in spite of myself. He smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house; he burns me with Asha-Vahishta, as if it were melting brass. He makes it better for me that I should leave this earth, he, Spitama Zarathustia, the only one who can daunt me.' *—Hilde Darmesteter.*

monsters. But Zoroaster has, by the promulgation of the Law, brought it to pass, that all those demons, who, at an earlier period, had been roving bodily about this world, had to hide themselves together under the earth. The Huzvāresh Commentary says in Ys. IX. 46.—

“He broke the body of everyone who could make his body invisible; whoever could not do this, broke it himself. —The breaking of the body implies the fact that no more sin can be henceforward committed in the body of a demon, though in the body of a beast or of a man such beings are still able to commit sin”

After this it may be said that Zoroaster marks the close of the mythical age. For, since he came into this world, the appearance of demons with supernatural bodies and powers is no more possible, thus, therefore, ends the necessity for the heavenly powers to develop such special strength; the world may follow its regular course. These remarks sufficiently show what an important personage Zoroaster is, and that the race may be deemed highly respectable which is entitled to count him amongst its members. We also know that his father Pouushaspa was allowed to enjoy the honour of being called the father of Zoroaster for this special reason that he belonged to the most zealous adorers of *Haoma*. Besides this, the *Zartusht-nāme* traces the descent of Zoroaster from Faridūn. We know, however, that from this king not only Eraj, but also Sefūm and Tūr together with their descendants derived their origin, so that this lineage is in itself not specially significant. Of greater importance is the fact that Zoroaster's descent is not merely traced from Faridūn, but also from Mānushchehr; he, therefore, indisputably belongs through this extraction to the royal family of Irān. The genealogical table is given us in the Bundehesh (76, 5), and in a later prayer called the Dhup-nireng or Fumigation.

prayer, and lastly by Masudī. According to these sources, the genealogical table may be exhibited in the following manner:—

<i>Bundehesh</i>	<i>Dhup-nīreng</i>	<i>Masudī</i>	
Manoshchih	Mīnochehr	Menouchehr	(مدوچههر)
Durāsrān	Durānsroun	Dourshrin	(دورشرین)
[Dūrāsrob]			
Rajan	Rezeshné	Irej	(ارج)
Ayazem	Ezem	Haizem	(هایزم)
Vīdast	Vedest	Wandest	(واندست)
Spetāmān	Sepetaméhé	Espimān	(اسپیدامان)
Hardār	Herdaré	Herdār	(هردار)
Harshn	Herdereshné	Arhadas	(ارحدس)
[Hardarshn]			
Paitarasp	Petarasp	Bātīr	(باندر)
Chasnush	Chakhshenosh	Hakhish	(خخیش)
[Chakhshnush]			
Iacchadasp	Hechedasp	Iejdasf	(هجدسف)
Spitairasp	Orouedasp	Arikdasf	(اریکدسف)
[Auvadasp]			
.. . . .	Peterasp	Federasf	(فدراسف)
[Paitirasp]			
Purushasp	Poroshasp	Bourshasf	(بورشسف)
Zaitusht	Zaitusht	Zarādusht	(زرادشت) ¹

¹ [This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the *Dinkard*, bk. VII., as well as in the text of the *Vajātkarde-dini* (pp. 28, 29) published by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana in 1848 (Cf. "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 141, by Dr. West):—

"Pōrūshasp son of Paītīrītrāsp, son of Uru-gadasp (Urvadasp), Iacchadasp, Chikhsh-nush, Paetrip (Paretirasp), Arejadarshne (Hardarshn), Hardār, Spītāmān, Vaedeshta, Nyāzem, Aiiij (Razishn), Dūrāsrōban, Mā-nūshchih ruler of Iiān, Mānūshkhūrñār, Mā-nūshkhūrñāk, Nēiōsang, Valzidedin, Vizāk,

Whilst the first row from Zoroaster to Mānoschihr counts 13 members, the second one represents 14, the name Orouedasp (*Aurvat-aspa*) being there inserted. We also observe that the second row contains the name Peterasp twice, once in the usual place corresponding with that which it holds in the Bundeshesh, and the second time immediately before Purushasp in the place where the Bundeshesh reads Spitarasp; the latter reading may be the correct one. Masudi agrees with the second table. M. Windischmann has already proved that the Avesta gives to Zoroaster the same line of ancestors. It is true that, though not all, yet several names of the ancestors do occur, most frequently *Spitama*, next *Chakhshni* (Yt. XIII. 114), *Haechat-aspa* (Ys. LII. 3), while *Pōrushasp* also is frequently called the father of Zoroaster. We can here even point out, as far as is needful, his collateral relations. The Bundeshesh informs us (79, 8) that Paitirasp or Spitarasp had two sons—the one was Pourushasp, the father of Zoroaster, the second was Āiāsta from whom a son Maidhyōmāh descended, and this account is confirmed by Yt. XIII. 95, where we find mention made of *Maidhyōmāh*, son of *Ārāsta*. The mother of Zoroaster, according to the Bundeshesh and the Zartusht-nāme, is named Dughdha,¹ and her parents, according to the book first-named, Frabi and Mrava, names which

Airyāk, Ithritāk, Ibitāk, Frazishāk, Zishāk, Frasizāk, Izāk, Airij, Faiedun lord of Qaniras, Pūrtōrā Āspigān, Nevaktōrā Āspigān, Sōgtōrā Āspigān, Gefartōrā Āspigān, Vanoi-fravashn Āspigān, Yima lord of the seven regions, &c.”]

¹ [This name is written somewhat differently in the *Dinkard*, bk. VII:—*Va ajash goft Pōrūshasp val Dugdubān*, “And so, Pourushasp said unto Dākduban.”]

are not to be found again in the Avesta. By this genealogy the royal descent of Zoroaster is at all events established beyond question.

Not merely a kingly, but to a certain extent a divine, origin is ascribed to Zoroaster in an account which we find in *Shāhrastāni*.¹ God, as it is therein said, had placed the spirit (the *frōhar* or *fravashī*) of Zoroaster in a tree (*Haoma*?), which He had caused to grow on the uppermost heaven, and which He afterwards transplanted to the summit of a mountain in Ādarbaijān, which is called Ismuvicār.² There, it is also said, God had mixed the personality (here the *frōhar* is likely again meant) of Zoroaster with the milk of a cow, which the father of Zoroaster had drunk; out of this was afterwards formed the seed, and then a piece of flesh in the womb of Zoroaster's mother.³ Be that as it may, the legend affirms that the importance of her son was previously announced to the mother in a dream, a circumstance which we have often noticed in the Liānian traditions. When Dughda was in the fifth month of her pregnancy, she saw a terrible apparition in her dream. It appeared to her as if a thick cloud was raining on her house tigers, lions, wolves, dragons, serpents, and other noxious beasts, and amongst these wild animals one, that was larger and more frightful than the rest, appeared as if it were tearing the child out of her womb in order to kill it. While the mother gazes on this scene in great amazement, her child raises its voice to console her: demons of the above description are unable to injure it.

¹ Vol. I. 281 of Haahrücker's Translation.

² I consider the name Ismuvicār to be erroneously written for a more ancient Asnavandgar, and believe that the Savelan is here meant.

³ [Similar facts relating to Zoroaster's miraculous birth are also narrated in the *Dinkard*.]

such extraordinary behaviour drew at once upon him the attention of the whole district. Such is the *first marvel* in his history. The demons, who naturally knew very well the object of Zoroaster's mission, and who, in order to thwart it, endeavoured to destroy the author of their fear, employed every means to annihilate him, and more than once opportunity seemed to favour them. The province, in which Zoroaster was born, belonged to a king Durānsarūn, of whom we know not whether he was identical with the Durāsrūn mentioned above in the table of Zoroaster's genealogy. This king was an unbeliever and the chief of all vicious magicians (*yātu*), for every one then dealt in magic according to the statement of the *Zartusht-nāme*. The powers of darkness often carried on intercourse with men, and confirmed them in their wicked purposes; even the father of Zoroaster did not hold himself entirely aloof from such dealings.¹ Now, when Durānsarūn heard of Zoroaster's birth, and feared that the power of sorcery might come to an end if the child grew up to strength, he speedily hastened towards the dwelling of Pōrushaspa, where he found the child lying in its cradle. Fiercely he drew his poniard to murder the child, but before he could inflict the fatal blow his hand was paralyzed, and he was compelled to withdraw without having effected his object. Such was the *second wonder*. The evil spirits, however, did not yet abandon their game so tamely; they long hoped that their evil designs might prevail in the end. They soon formed a design for stealing the child from his mother, and brought Zoroaster into the desert, where they piled up a heap of burning materials around him and set them on fire. Thus they confidently expected to annihilate him, but they were again deceived; the child slept calmly

¹ Especially according to the legend extant. But Dastur Peshotanji Behramji here justly remarks that the Avesta itself does not support that opinion.

in the fire, and the mother hastening into the desert in search of her lost child found him again. This is the *third wonder*. Not long after this vain attempt, the sorcerers made a fresh effort. By the command of Durānsarūn they took the child and laid it on a narrow path, over which had to pass a herd of oxen under whose feet they hoped that it would be trampled to death; but, when the herd approached, the largest of the bulls took the child between his feet, and prevented any injury being done to it. This is the *fourth wonder*. The *fifth wonder* is really a mere repetition of the preceding. What the oxen had refused to do, was tried again with horses. The child was, therefore, again laid on a narrow path and a herd of wild horses driven over it, but this time a horse protected the child from the hoofs of the others. Next, as domestic animals could not be made to do any harm to Zoroaster, Durānsarūn strove to do so by means of wild beasts. He ordered a den of wolves to be discovered, and the young ones thereof to be slain during the absence of the old ones, and Zoroaster was laid in their place in the hope that the old wolves might in their first fury tear the child to pieces. These children of darkness did, indeed, show a great inclination to do so, but God closed their jaws, so that they could not hurt the child. On the contrary, there came two celestial cows which gave their udders to the child and suckled it. Such was the *sixth wonder* through which the life of Zoroaster was preserved.¹

After these fruitless endeavours all plans to destroy Zoroaster's life had to be given up as hopeless. The latter now gradually grew up in age, and his father found it necessary to have him educated. He selected as teacher a man who led a pious life in the midst of magicians and whose name was Barzīnkarūs. When Zoroaster was

¹ Vide the *Dīnkard*, bk. VII.

seven years old, the sorcerers made a fresh attempt against him. They hoped that he would not be insensible at least to fears and terrors; and, therefore, they, by means of hellish witchcraft, brought forth terrible apparitions, at which all were startled and took to flight, with the exception of Zoroaster, who remained perfectly calm in his firm confidence in the protecting power of God. Thus he also passed through this trial, which is usually reckoned as the *seventh wonder*. Not long after this Zoroaster fell sick, and now the magicians hoped to destroy him. Instead of medicine they brought him some drink prepared from poisonous drugs; but Zoroaster immediately detecting its dangerous nature rejected it, and was again preserved. This may be regarded as the *eighth wonder*. It may have been in the fifteenth year of Zoroaster's life, that his father gave a sumptuous banquet at his house to which King Durānsarūn and Burāntarūs, the most noted magician of the time, were also invited. Here Zoroaster took the opportunity of openly expressing his hatred of magic, and of proclaiming war against it. Henceforth the magicians trembled in his presence, and watched him attentively. His further deeds are, however, not handed down to us, still it is self-evident that his life was entirely blameless. It is only said that the period of his trials lasted up to his thirtieth year, after which his piety began to bring forth fruit.

Of all the wonderful incidents which are recounted in the legend drawn from the history of Zoroaster's youth, we are able to quote only for one the evidence of earlier antiquity, namely, the circumstance that Zoroaster laughed at his birth, which is related already by Plinius and Solinus.¹ By this it is not naturally proved that all

¹ Plinius, *Hist. nat.* VII. 16:—"*Risisse eodem die, quo gentus esset, unum hominem acceptus Zoroastrem. Eidem crebrum ita palpitasse ut impositam repelleret manum, futurae praesagio sapien-*

the rest of the wonders were also known to the ancients; however, it is at least probable that such may have been the case with one or the other of them. The Avesta relates very little concerning the history of Zoroaster's youth. It is true M. Anquetil affirms that he has found in Ys. XLII. 8 an allusion to the hardships endured by the Prophet in his younger days; but we believe that the passage referred to should be understood differently. So also with regard to the 19th chapter of the Vendidād, which could here be cited with much probability, but which we would rather appeal to for another and later exploit. The later narratives of Mahomedans show a partial knowledge of these events; thus the writer Shāhrastāni, already quoted, who has related the previous wonders of the horses and the wolves, also asserts that Zoroaster cured a blind person in Dināver by means of a herb which he caused to be pressed upon the eyes of the patient. The laughing at the time of birth was likewise known to Shāhrastāni as well as to the historian Mīrkhond; the latter also knew of the wonderful dream which had visited Zoroaster's mother. Finally, a passage in a scholion to Plato's "Alcibiades,"¹ makes it very probable that the importance of the numbers seven, fifteen, and thirty in the history of Zoroaster's youth was recognized even in ancient times.

We now turn to the continuation of Zoroaster's biogra-

tiae." "Zoroaster is the only man of whom we have heard that *he laughed on the very day of his birth*. His brain also is said to have throbbled so violently that no hand could be laid upon his head—a presage of future wisdom." Similarly Solinus, c. 1.: "*Itaque unum novimus eadem hora risisse, qua erat natus, scilicet Zoroastrem mox optimarum artium peritissimum.*" "And so we know that one man laughed at the very hour in which he was born, namely, Zoroaster, afterwards most highly skilled in the best arts."

¹ For the passage referred to, vide Windischmann, *Zoroaster Studien*, p. 275, note.

phy after his thirtieth year, and to his real prophetic career. But here our legend appears to be somewhat incomplete. It is manifestly concerned only with the work of Zoroaster in Bactria, and is silent concerning his activity in other parts. At this point the Bundeshesh (79, 12), expressly tells us that Zoroaster promulgated his religion first of all in Aryana-vaija, and hence it becomes still more probable that, according to the view of the Avesta-followers, we should look in that country for the birth-place of Zoroaster; for, if he had been born in Urumia or even in some other region, we should have been told that the Prophet had travelled to Aryana-vaija. Of an immigration to Aryana-vaija the narrative knows nothing, while it probably speaks of an emigration from that country. The Bundeshesh further relates that the first man, who accepted the Law of Zoroaster, was his uncle Maidhyōmāo,¹ and this statement is also confirmed by the Avesta (Yt. XIII. 95). In other respects, however, we may presume that his doctrine did not find any great sympathy in Aryana-vaija, since he determined to emigrate with his true adherents. This removal is now described more in detail by the legend, according to which Zoroaster and his followers, after having travelled for some time, came to a sea which had to be crossed; but no vessel could be found anywhere, and Zoroaster thought it indecent that his companions, amongst whom there were also females, should undress themselves. A miracle helped to overcome this difficulty. As Zoroaster stretched forth his hands in prayer the water divided of itself, and the faithful marched through it dry-shod. MM. Anquetil and Ménant believe the sea here alluded to to be the Araxes, and this is quite possible, assuming, as is indeed the case, that large rivers

¹ *Yo · paōiryō · Zarathushtrāi māthremcha · gushla sāsānoscha,*
 "who first listened unto the Sacred Word and Teaching of Zoro-
 ashtra."

In the Irānian country are described as seas. We, however, prefer to understand thereby Lake Sevān, that is, in case this expedition of the legend should prove to be an old one, for which there is no particular evidence yet available. Even after the sea abovenamed was crossed Zoroaster and his followers did not yet find themselves within the limits of Irān; he still marched onward for the whole month of Spandārmāt, the last month of the year, and first reached the Irānian borders on the day of Anórān, the last day of the aforesaid month. There a festival was being celebrated at the very time, and Zoroaster was amongst the partakers in the feast. M. Anquetil believes this festival to have been that of Farvardyān; but that festival is an institution of Zoroaster, and we are unable to believe that it could have been already solemnized by the Irānians before they professed the *Masdayasnān* religion. I believe, therefore, with M. Ménant, that the New-Year Festival is the one referred to.

During the night after this feast Zoroaster had a dream full of the most auspicious intimations of his future success in Irān. It appeared to him as though he saw in the East a countless host moving towards him with hostile intent. It surrounded him on all sides, and did not leave him any room for escape. Then suddenly another army appeared coming from the South, which put the eastern one to flight. The interpretation of this dream is tolerably simple: the magicians and the followers of the Aḡrō Mainyu will take all pains to hinder the dissemination of Zoroaster's doctrine; but the latter will triumphantly overcome all obstacles. Only, it is striking that the relieving army appears from the South, since the South is, according to the general notion of the Irānians, a region which pertains to the evil beings. Should this portion of the legend be ancient, the friendly army must have been regarded in the earlier ages as having come from the West. At the close of the festival Zoroaster continued his march, and

came again to a large river, the Dāitya, on the day *Dai-pa-mihr* after the beginning of the year. This name does not in any case designate the Caspian Sea as M. Anquetil supposes, but the Araxes or Kur.¹ It must, therefore, be assumed that a part of the country on the left bank of that river was at an early period regarded as belonging to Irān, because Zoroaster found himself already within the limits of that country when he had reached the banks of the Dāitya. But, perhaps, the crossing of the Dāitya is wholly to be omitted in the passage in question, and this river is identical with that sea of whose miraculous crossing we have already heard.

Now, on the soil of Irān, begins the real prophetic career of Zoroaster, his communion with heaven, and the revelations imparted to him. There appears to him the Ameshaspent Vohu-manō who introduces him to Ahura Mazda, from Whom Zoroaster obtains permission to submit certain questions. The first question which is put by Zoroaster is: '*Which of God's creatures is the best on earth?*' Whereto he receives the answer: '*He is the best of all men who is pure of heart.*' Then he inquires about the names and duties of the angels, about the nature of Aḡrō Mainyu, which evil spirit is then shown to him in hell, and is reported to have spoken on that occasion the words contained in Vd. XIX. 21.² Thereupon Zoroaster is favoured by God with various miraculous signs. He sees a fiery mountain and is commanded to pass through the fire. He does so and suffers not the slightest hurt thereby, not a hair of his head is singed. After this his body is opened and the entrails taken out; these are then replaced in the body which is again closed and Zoroaster is alive as before [?]. At last melted ore is poured

¹ Vide Justi, *Beiträge* I, 12. 18. 2, 22 and *Iran. Alterthums.* bk. I. p. 200.

² "Do not slay my (wicked) creatures, O pure Zarathushtra!"

over his breast without his feeling any pain. Zoroaster forthwith learns the allegorical import of these acts. He is enjoined to explain to men that those who turn towards Ahriman (Agrō Mainyu), must wander in a fire as large as the one through which he himself has passed, that just as his body was opened so also will streams of blood flow from their bodies. That melted ore was poured on Zoroaster's breast without his being injured by it is said to have been a prophecy respecting Āderbāṭ Māhrespand, on whom the same trial was inflicted without his thereby suffering any injury.

After this Zoroaster receives the Avesta from God, with His order to go to the court of king Vishtāspa (Gushtāsp), and to proclaim it there. When Zoroaster receives God's permission to depart, the different Ameshaspends approach him in order to communicate their respective counsels. These are the same commands and prohibitions as are also given in the *Rivālets* and *Palats*. Vohu-manō commands him to bid mankind take great care of domestic animals and especially not to kill lambs without any need. Asha-vahishta recommends the tending of the fire and fire-altars. Khshathra-vairya orders the care of metals, lest they grow rusty. Spentā-Ārmaiti forbids the pollution of the earth with blood and other impure substances, and recommends on the contrary its cultivation. Haurvatāt entrusts Zoroaster and his adherents with the care of water, Ameretāt with that of plants and trees.

No point in Zoroastrian legend can be better attested from ancient sources than the dialogues between Zoroaster and Ahura Mazda. One of the principal passages is Ys. XIII. 20, where mention is expressly made of their meetings; in other places it is only hinted that Ahura Mazda announced certain doctrines to Zoroaster, which the latter proclaimed to the rest of men, (*vide* Vsp. II. 3, XIII. 2, Ys. LXX. 65). Properly speaking, the whole Avesta is a proof of this statement, for it is therein mentioned, in

connection with any matter in any way important, how Zoroaster questioned Ahura Mazda upon it, and what precise answer he received in return. From the Gāthās I might here cite Ys. XLII., XLIII., where Zoroaster is represented in converse with Ahura Mazda.¹ According to the *Zartusht-nāme*, the conferences took place in Heaven—hence in the *Garōnmāna*—but M. Anquetil has already pointed to Vd. XXII. 53, as if their conversations had been held upon a mountain. The same is also reported by later writers, and among others by Mirkhond,² who says that Zoroaster retired to a mountain in the vicinity of Ardebil, from which place he returned with the Avesta. This mountain seems to be the Savelon.³ Of the retreat of Zoroaster into solitude the ancients also had some knowledge to record; they even admit his sojourn upon a mountain,⁴ which is said to have afterwards burst into flames, and whither the king of Persia approached with the most select portion of the Persian nobility, but Zoroaster came out of this fire unhurt, and gracefully conversed with those people, and enjoined them to be of good cheer, and to make certain offerings. Thenceforth he did not hold further communication with the people, but only with those who were most susceptible of truth and competent to deal with questions regarding the Deity. The statements of other ancient

¹ Dastur Peshotanji Behnamji refers to the passage Ys. XLIII. 7 as treating of the conference of Zoroaster with Vohu-manō before his conversation with Ahura Mazda.

² Vide p. 286 in Shea's Translation.

³ Vide Lagarde, *Ges. Abhandlungen*, p. 171.

⁴ *Chrysost. Orat. Beryst.*, p. 448 [A similar narrative is found besides in the Old Testament, Exodus, XIX. 3-18, where it is said that when "Moses went down from the mount (Sinai) unto the people . . . and it came to pass on the third day in the morning that there were thunders and lightnings, and

chroniclers are of similar import.¹ In them the legend of Zoroaster appears to be marred by a long *hiatus*; probably a multitude of deeds were related in earlier times, which Zoroaster was supposed to have accomplished in Media. The Zoroastrian legend, as we possess it, even in its oldest form, is founded on the appearance of Zoroaster in Balkh at the court of Gushtāsp, and passes over the former narratives as unimportant.

When Zoroaster, holding the Sacred Volume (*viz.*, the Avesta) in his hand, returns from his consultation with Ahura Mazda, the evil spirits and the sorcerers hazard yet one last attempt against him in order to divert him, if possible, from the right path. Now he is too powerful to be defeated by them, nevertheless they beseech him to renounce the Avesta. Zoroaster listens to them with perfect contempt, and begins to recite the Avesta, whereupon the evil spirits are forced to fly and some of them are destroyed. This is, according to my view, the event alluded to in the 19th chapter of the Vendidād. According to the Zartusht-nāme, Zoroaster received the order while in heaven to present himself at the court of Gushtāsp, whither he now departs after defeating the demons and the magicians. This order to go to the court of Gushtāsp is also confirmed by the Avesta, as we may observe from Ys. XV. 14; but, according to Chaps. XLIV., XLV. of the same book, it appears as though Zoroaster had made an effort even at an earlier period in some other provinces of the

a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, ... and the mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire."]

¹ *Plin. Hist. N.* XI. 42, 97. "*Tradunt Zoroastrem in desertis caseo vixisse annis XXX, ita temperato ut vetustatem non sentiret.*"

"They say that Zoroaster lived thirty years in the desert on cheese so preserved as not to feel the effect of time."—*Plutarch, Quaest. Symp. IV. I.* p. 660.

Iranian empire. With the Avesta we must also believe that Zoroaster had formed his resolution in Aryana-vaija to go to the court of king Vishtāspa, for it is shown by Yt. V. 104, 105, that he had already offered sacrifices to Ardivi-sūrā in the same district to induce the latter to assist him in his alliance with Vishtāspa. Elsewhere also Vishtāspa and his whole family are well known to the Avesta, as M. Windischmann¹ has sufficiently proved. However, it does not altogether follow, that the legend always regarded Gushtāsp as dwelling in Balkh. Hamza and Qazvini would rather place their meeting in *Ātropātene*.² Khondemir affirms that Gushtāsp dwelt in Istakhr. The ordinary belief, however, is that Zoroaster repaired to Balkh, and that there he was received in a solemn council by Gushtāsp.³ The wise men who were present at the king's court endeavoured to refute him. Thirty on his right hand and thirty on his left were all compelled to withdraw in confusion, and had to confess that a foreigner had conquered them in argument. This mental superiority disposed the king from the very beginning to favour the Prophet, and in consequence increased the envious desire of those who had previously shone in court through their wisdom still to uphold their former position. But Zoroaster also proved victorious in the second and the third day's discourse. Now when none of the sages could maintain their ground against Zoroaster, the latter made himself known as a prophet; the Avesta began to receive favour in the eyes of the king, and claimed acceptance. But the king, having listened to some

¹ *Zoroast. Studien*, p. 55.

² Hamza, p. 36, ed. Gottw. *آثار زردشت آذربایجان*, Qazvini II. 267 ed. Wüstenf.

³ That Zoroaster entered by the roof into the council hall of Gushtāsp in a supernatural manner is not mentioned by the *Zartusht-nām*, but probably by Qazvini. Comp. also Hyde, *Historia vet. Pers.* p. 320, 2nd ed.

portions of the Book, was not convinced as yet of the truth of its contents, and willing to consider the matter more maturely, he demanded that Zoroaster should remain at his court until further orders; and the latter was content with this preliminary success. However, even at this court his persecutions were not at an end. The wise men, once so highly esteemed, could not console themselves in their discomfiture, and endeavoured to raise suspicions against the Prophet in the mind of the king. They bribed the porter of his house and (during his absence) dragged therein unclean things, such as heads of dogs, cats, &c., whilst they also concealed some under his clothes. Then they alleged before their king that Zoroaster was nothing better than an impure sorcerer. The king was very angry, when, on more minute inquiry, these impure things were found in Zoroaster's dwelling, and he ordered him to be imprisoned. The time had now come for the Prophet to prove his divine mission by a miracle. The king had a black horse which he used to ride almost always, and which was also very dear to him. When, after these events, the keeper entered the stall, he observed with terror that the horse had lost his four feet, which had gone back into the body[?]. He informed the king at once of this occurrence, and the latter having convinced himself of the truth of the report, called in all the wise men; but they were unable either to advise or to help. In the meantime Zoroaster lies in his prison, and knows nothing of these events; but on this day of general distress the jailor forgets to bring him his dinner, which causes him in the evening to inquire what has taken place. As soon as he is made aware of the accident, he prevails upon the waiter to go the next morning before the king, and to announce to him that Zoroaster is ready to help under certain conditions. The king, who is helpless, suffers Zoroaster to be called, and inquires as to his conditions. The Prophet proposes four, so that on the fulfilment of

each of them depends the re-appearance of one of the horse's feet. The first condition is that Gushtāsp shall firmly believe in the Prophet Zoroaster, and the divinity of his doctrine; as soon as this is done the first foot of the horse re-appears. The second condition is that Isfandiār,¹ the son of Gushtāsp, shall devote himself entirely to the defence of the Zoroastrian faith; as soon as Isfandiār has given the necessary assurances the second foot also shows itself. The third condition is that the wife of Gushtāsp shall also accept the Law; this is at once proclaimed in the queen's chambers and she professes belief;² whereupon the third foot of the horse makes its appearance. Lastly, the fourth condition Zoroaster stipulates for on his own behalf; the circumstances which led to his imprisonment are to be minutely inquired into. This inquiry proves favourable to Zoroaster, for the door-keeper now confesses having been suborned by the Prophet's enemies to introduce the unclean things found in Zoroaster's house. The Prophet is forgiven, while the instigators are punished. Now the fourth foot of the horse also re-appears, and Zoroaster attains to merited reverence.

The *Mazdayasnān* Law is now in such great honour with Gushtāsp, that the king does nothing without consulting the Prophet. The miracle of the horse is also narrated by

¹ The name Isfandiār is also not unknown to the Avesta, but it occurs there in its strictly altered form, *Spentodāta* (Yt. XIII. 103).

² In the Avesta also the wife of Vishtāspa appears as a patroness of Zoroaster. She is therein called *Hutapsa*, a name which might perhaps be compared with the Greek *Atossa*. In Yt. IX. we find Zarathushtra praying that she may co-operate with him in his meditation upon the Law. In Yt. XV. 53, she herself appears supplicating for the love of Vishtāspa. She must be identical with the *Kātūyūn* of the *Shāh-nāme*; but as the whole of the latter narrative is based on a weak foundation, it is not impossible that the author of the Avesta, as the earlier one, should ascribe to her another origin.

Shāhrastāni. Mirkhond¹ relates it quite in the same manner, though more briefly. One day Gushtāsp declares to his Prophet his intention of praying to God for four things: Firstly, that he may be shown the place which he will occupy in Paradise. Secondly, that his body may become invulnerable in war. Thirdly, that he may participate in the knowledge of all things which have already taken place or are yet to happen in the world. Fourthly and lastly, that his soul shall not be separated from his body until the resurrection. Zoroaster replies that those four requests may indeed be granted but not to one and the same person, that the king should, therefore, choose which of the four requests he would desire for his own person; the three remaining wishes might be distributed amongst three different individuals. Gushtāsp thereupon selects the first of the wishes for himself. There appear before him four existences of the spiritual world, *Ādār Khordād*, *Ādār Gushasp*, and the two Ameshaspends, *Bahman* and *Ardibihisht*. They exhort the king not to fear; but the latter is so terrified by the appearance of the celestial beings, that he falls down from his throne, and cannot recover himself for a long time. Then Zoroaster performs the *Darūn-offering* with wine, fragrant flowers, milk, and pomegranates. He gives some of the wine to Gushtāsp to drink, who directly falls asleep and beholds in a dream Paradise and the place which is there destined for him. Peshotan receives the milk, and becomes thereby immortal. Jāmāsp receives the perfumes, and to his lot falls wisdom, which Gushtāsp had before desired for himself. Finally, Zoroaster gives some grains of the pomegranate to Isfandiār, and his

¹ Shāhrastāni, vol. I. p. 283 of the German translation, speaks only of the fore-feet of the horse, which again became free when Zoroaster was released from prison. Mirkhond (in Shea, p. 287) narrates the wonder as above, only more briefly.

bodily becomes thereby invulnerable. By these successive miracles the belief of Gushtāsp becomes more and more strengthened, and at this time the event narrated in Ys. IX. 46 is said to have happened, namely, the disappearance of the demons underground. At this time also Gushtāsp is said to have erected the first fire-temple. Inconsistent as these legends do appear at the first glance, there is every probability that they are in the main very ancient. We have previously had occasion to mention Peshotan as the spiritual guide of Isfandiār; as son of Vishtāspa and as immortal he is also known to the Bundeshesh (p. 68). The Shāh-nāme also informs us that Isfandiār became invulnerable through Zoroaster, though in a somewhat different manner, by means of a chain which he had received (Shāh-nāme 1134). Jāmāsp is also represented in the Avesta as very wise. In the *Jāmāsp-nāme*, which is certainly modern, he appears, quite as in the Avesta, in the possession of the knowledge of the past and of the future. The narrative of the erection of the fire-temple seems to follow the account given in the 17th chapter of the Bundeshesh. Even in the Book of Kings Dakiki also relates that Gushtāsp erected a temple to the Fire *Móhr-burzin* or *Burzin-méhr*,¹ and that this fire has since burnt without smoke. It is this fire which we know from the Bundeshesh to be the third of the holy fires, the fire of husbandmen; and it is said to have settled during Gushtāsp's reign on the mountain Raevānta in Khorāsān, after it had travelled throughout the world without any permanent resting-place. But, according to the same authority, the Fire *Frobā*, the Fire of priests, which had its temple until then on a mountain in Khuārizm, is also said to have been brought thence into Kābulistān. Shāhrastānī² indeed differs here. He

¹ Not to be confounded with the Fire *Burzin*, which was worshipped by Lohrasp.

² I. 299. On the other hand, Hamza says that Gushtāsp built a city in the district of Dānābgerd, which he named رام و شازسان

affirms that this Fire of Khuânizm was carried to Dārūbgard in Persepolis. The transference of this Fire of the priesthood from West to East may perhaps not have been universally believed in Irān, but can only stand in connection with the Bactrian conception of the Zoroastrian legend which we have before us. As Zoroaster emigrated from his native country and met with a hospitable reception from Gushtāsp, so also the Fire of the priests, who belonged to him and from whom they had emanated, must have travelled with him towards the East.

The Zartusht-nāme, our principal source of information for the history of Zoroaster, does not relate his biography, but the history of Gushtāsp's conversion; it therefore breaks off at this point. We shall further on treat of the few chapters that still follow. Regarding the stories of miracles, which we have reported, we believe we have shown that they must be considerably ancient, at least in their main features. Yet we observe from the different statements of Mahomedan authors, that a number of other miracles of Zoroaster, of which we know nothing at present, were recorded in earlier times. Thus Mirkhond¹ narrates that Zoroaster had a fire which he could hold in his hand without injuring himself, and that the Fire of the Magi (the above-named Âdar Fīr) originated from it. The same historiographer further relates that Zoroaster suffered molten metal to be poured on his breast without being burnt thereby. More important than the above is the statement of Fīrdūsi, that Gushtāsp planted a cypress-tree in Kishmir, which in the course of years grew to such an enormous height, that no lasso could reach it, and that over the tree he had caused a magnificent temple to be erected, calling upon all his subjects to go to the

(properly read رَام و شَتَا سَبَا), may be the present city of Fāsā (Hāmza, p. 37, ed. Gottw.).

¹ Mirkhond, (ed. Sfeea) pp. 286 seq.

temple, and to offer their worship to the tree, which they accordingly did. Later accounts assert that when the Khalif Muttavakkel caused that miraculous tree to be felled, no less than 2,000 sheep and bullocks could find room underneath it, and that 300 camels were required for its removal.¹ It is evident that this enormous tree cannot have been a cypress, for though there may have been large cypresses, still they cannot grow to the size which is supposed in that account. To this it may be added that it cannot be proved that the cypress is esteemed in the religion of Zoroaster as a sacred tree, though there are some traces which show that such may have been the case further to the West of Irān. However, all this is easily explained if we assume that Buddhism is here mistaken for Zoroastrianism. The Indian fig-tree, the *ficus religiosa*, which sends new roots out of its branches into the earth, does indeed extend itself to a circumference as large as that described by the legend. This tree is regarded as sacred, especially by the Buddhists, for they believe that under its shadow the founder of their religion was invested with the dignity of Buddha. They have also the custom of sending sprigs of that holy tree to converted countries, and of erecting temples by their side.² We have a detailed description of the transportation of the sacred tree to Ceylon, and we can as well assume that such twigs were also sent to Bactria after Buddhism had spread in that country. Where, too, we have to look for Kishnūr and the so-called cypress, has already been said above. Far later than the legend above cited is another one respecting the contest of Zoroaster with the wise Chengrenghācha, an Indian Brāhmin, who went to Irān with the design of conquering Zoroaster; but as soon as he had listened to the Avesta, was turned from an enemy

¹ Vuller's *Fragmente über die Religion Zoroasters*, pp. 71, 113.

² Comp. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.* 1. 237.

into a zealous adherent of the Prophet. This episode in the legend of Zoroaster was accepted in earlier times, because it was believed to be confirmed by the *Avosta*. However, this is erroneous, and M. Bréal has strikingly proved,¹ that Chengrenghācha was no other than Sankara-āchārya, who was renowned in India, and to whom a *Digvijaya*, i.e. a conquest of different territories was ascribed. Besides, this famous Brāhmin lived in the eighth century of our era; he could not, therefore, have met Zoroaster.

All that now remains for us to speak of concerns the personal circumstances of Zoroaster in the court at Balkh. M. Anquetil has collected the necessary materials on this point, and later on M. Windischmann has so fully treated the subject, that I shall have to recall only what is already known. Besides the royal family, the frequently-named king Vishtāspa or Gushtāsp and his wife Hutaosa, Zoroaster also enjoyed friendly intercourse with the minister of the king, Jāmāspa, of the family of Hvōgva or Hvōva. We find him named in *Ys.* XIII. 24, XLV. 17, XLVIII. 9, L. 18, and *Yt* V. 68 *seq.* In the last passage is described his victory over the demons. He stood on similar good terms with Frashaostra, the brother of Jāmāspa, (*vide* *Ys.* XIII. 24, XXVIII. 8, XLV. 16, XLVIII. 8, L. 17, LII. 2.) . . . We learn from the *Bundehesh* (80, 1 *seq.*) that Zoroaster had three wives, one after another. By his first wife, whose name is not mentioned, he had a son Isatvūstra, and three daughters—Freni, Thriti, and Pouruchistā; by a second wife were born two other sons Hvarechithra and Urvatatnara. From these three sons the three orders of priests, warriors, and husbandmen are said to have originated.² All

¹ *Vide Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497.

² Though great pains have been taken to place the legend of Zoroaster in harmony with the heroic tradition, this passage, which

these names are also known to the Avesta, (*vide* Ys. XXIII. 4, XXVI. 17, Yt. XIII. 98, 139). The third wife of Zoroaster, being descended from the family of Hvôva, is generally named Hvôvi, (*vide* Yt. XIII. 139). Her children are not mentioned. In the Bundeshesh (80, 7 *seq.*), it is said that Zoroaster thrice coupled with Hvôvi, thrice his seed fell over the earth, the *yazata* Nairyosagha preserved it, and entrusted it to the protection of Anāhita, until the time shall have come when there shall spring therefrom the three future Saviours: Oshédar, Oshédar-mâh, and Soshios. The mother of the last one is called in Yt. XIX. 92, Vîspa-taurvi. These posthumous sons are also familiar to the Avesta, as clearly appears from Yt. XIII. 62, 128, 129.¹

The accounts of Zoroaster's death shew little uniformity. Here we must again make a distinction between Occidental and Oriental accounts. The former reports are considerably more modern. Only Suidas and the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* give any information of the event, and assume that Zoroaster was consumed by a supernatural fire and received back into heaven.² Amongst Oriental

entirely contradicts the earlier accounts given by us, appears to me to prove that the legend originally assumes a different genesis of the world than the Irānian heroic legend does, and consequently has no connection with the latter.

¹ The *Vajarkard*, which is indeed apocryphal, (in p. 21, 22, ed. Bombay), agrees with the rest of the statements, with the remark that the mother of Isatvâstra and the three daughters was called Uvij, that the second wife was a widow, named Arnij Baredâ, whose first husband was called Matunaibâr (Mihryâr).

² *Quôd Zoroastres precatus est, ut moriturus fulmine ictus interiret: et Persis denuntiavit, ubi me ignis caelestis consumserit, ossium meorum crematorum cineres servate, et quamdiu hoc facitis, regnum a vobis non auferitur: quod fecerunt. Ille autem, invocato Orione, a caelesti flamma depastus interiit.* "For Zoroaster prayed that when his hour approached, he might die by lightning; and he said to the Persians: 'When the heavenly fire has consumed

above-mentioned invasion. The latter account does not seem to be old; on the contrary, the Sadder Bundelesh, to which we are already indebted for many important statements, asserts that Zoroaster at least did not die in Balkh, but returned to Aryana-vaija after Gushtāsp's conversion.¹ The same book also raises the question why such a distinguished character, as Zoroaster was, should have died at all? We are informed that when Zoroaster asked immortality from God, the latter replied that if Zoroaster were to remain immortal, the wicked Tūrbarātūr would also remain immortal, the resurrection would then be impossible and mankind without hope. Then Ahura is said to have granted omniscience to Zoroaster for one moment,² when the latter beheld the delights of Paradise and the miseries of Hell, and was satisfied with the dispensations of Providence.

¹ The passage (to which Anquetil draws our attention) occurs in Sadder Bundelesh, fol. 140:—

واکزون بپایه دانستن که آنگاه که زراتشت آسفندمان انوشهر
روان باد دین در جهان روا بکرد و شاه گشناسب دین بپذیرفت
و در جهان روا و آشکاره بکرد و دیگر بهفت کشور زمین برسد
و مردمان بر دین استوار و پیغمبران شدند و زراتشت انوشهر روان باد
برخواست که به ایران و بیج شود

² [Compare West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 194: "In the Vohūman Yasht Commentary (*sand*) it is declared that Zaratūst asked *immortality* from Aūharmazd a second time, and spoke thus:—'I am Zaratūst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O Creator! when Thou shalt *make me* immortal as the tree opposed to harm, and Gōpatshāh, Gōshti-Pryān, and Chūrōkmyān, son of Vishtāsp, who is Pēshyōtanū, were made. When Thou shalt make me immortal, they in Thy good religion will believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aūharmazd this pure and good religion of the *Mazdayasnān*, will become immortal; then those men will believe in Thy good religion.' Aūharmazd spoke thus:—'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratūst the Spitāmān! then *Tūribrādaiyakhsh* the Karap will become immortal, and when *Tūribrādaiyakhsh* the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection and future existence

Now, after we have become acquainted with the circumstances of Zoroaster's life, as they are related, a question forces itself upon us, to which it is necessary, owing to the importance of the man, to find, if not a definite, at least a conditional answer. We mean the question whether Zoroaster was a mythical or a historical character. Nobody is likely to consider the accounts, which we have transcribed, as historical. We could obtain no clear knowledge concerning the interpretation of the name, nor the age, nor even the native country of Zoroaster, and all this indeed least of all from Western narratives, though these are in point of time the more ancient ones. The Oriental reports are, it is true, more in harmony. . . As the most solid nucleus might, perhaps, remain the statements, that Zoroaster was descended from a royal race, that he had given proofs of his surpassing genius already in his fifteenth year, and that with his thirtieth year he had commenced the promulgation of his religion in the different provinces of Iṛān, and especially in Arrān and Ādarabaijān, but above all at the court of Gushtāsp in Bactria. Such are the particular items derived from Eastern sources, with which those of Western origin also are not incompatible. Now the question is whether we are to regard all these events as mythical, so that no historical nucleus is to be found in all these narratives; or whether Zoroaster is a historical character, whose life was reduced to a bare tradition by

are not possible.' Zaratūst seemed uneasy about it in his mind; and Aūharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratūst the Spītāmān with the righteous spirit, and He took hold of Zaratūst's hand. And He, Aūharmazd the Propitious Spirit, Creator of the material world, the Righteous One, even He put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water on the hand of Zaratūst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.' And Zaratūst devoured it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratūst, and seven days and nights Zaratūst was in the Wisdom of Aūharmazd.']

means of legends. Both these views have found their advocates. The mythical view has been lately represented by M. Kern, who, relying especially upon etymology, translates the name Zarathushtra, according to a supposition of M. Windischmann, into "a gold star," and who finds in the names Pourushaspa (many horses, *i. e.*, possessing beams of light) and Maidhyomāo (the middle-moon), a reference to the original sidereal power, and comes to the conclusion that Zoroaster was originally identical with Mithra, but did not signify the morning-star but the evening-star. At all events, the import of Zoroaster must have been utterly forgotten already at the time when the ancients wrote regarding him, and in the age when the Avesta was put together, because there the position of Zoroaster is evidently different. We can follow this view no more than Drs. Justi and Tiele, not because we are opposed in principle to a mythical conception of Zoroaster, but because we do not believe that sufficient proofs are at hand to confirm such a theory. Besides, in accordance with our entire comprehension of the Irānian epic, we would only be able to look upon a *mythus* of Zoroaster as the later-reflected myths, and not as the original ones. For, as we have shown, Zoroaster is indeed most appropriately inserted in the Irānian heroic legend, and even in a comparatively early period, though he does not belong to it originally. We find it, therefore, better, along with most inquirers, to compare Zoroaster rather with the Semitic prophets or with Sakyamuni, than with the Indian Rishis, and to consider the reports of his life as disfigured through their legendary form. But now the question will be asked: "What is legend, and what is truth?" We divest the accounts of Zoroaster of all mythical adjuncts; we believe that he was of royal blood; that in his thirtieth year he preached his doctrine in his native country; that the little approbation which they met with at the beginning induced him to emigrate to Bactria;

and that he succeeded there in securing adherents by the help of a king (Gushtāsp; and we find that in all these statements there lies nothing which is not credible, but unfortunately we cannot also prove that they must have so happened. It is possible that Zoroaster proclaimed his religion in Bactria; but it is also possible that the Bactrian Magi merely asserted for some reason or another the ancient connection of Zoroaster with that city, just in the same manner that the Buddhists cause their Sakyamuni to appear in Ceylon, etc., where he never set foot. In general, if we compare the above-mentioned plain circumstances of Zoroaster's life with those of other like characters, we are inclined to doubt even the latter. Especially in the history of Sakyamuni does there appear to me to exist some similarity. Zoroaster has in common with him royal birth, remarkable supernatural talents displayed in his youth, and lastly the circumstance that he enters upon his vocation of teacher in his thirtieth year. On the other hand, the assumption of his prophetic dignity, and his immediate intercourse with the Deity remind one of Moses and the Semitic laws, that is, in the form in which the narrative has been transmitted to us in Chrysostom. Nay more, some analogy has even been discovered between the 19th chapter of the Vendidād and the history of the temptation by Mathew; even here a Buddhistic parallel may also be found, namely, in the temptations to which Sakyamuni was exposed by Mara, and here Buddhism, indeed, seems to be the borrowing party. We can here, of course, merely allude to such points of contact; but in our opinion they would well deserve a closer study. After all this, the only thing certain that we can extract from the whole of Zoroaster's biography, is that he really did live. The proof for this assumption lies in the internal evidence, which will be fully discussed later on, that is, in the strict and thoroughly well-considered method which is displayed throughout the whole religion, and which necessarily shows that a single

individual at least put his finishing hand to it, whatever may have been his name.

That Zoroaster left behind him some manuscripts is the opinion generally held by the ancients. The opinion of Hermippus on the writings of Zoroaster is well known, and proves the existence of such writings, as are ascribed to him, in the third century before Christ.¹ Even Western authors admit that Zoroaster left behind him his revelations in writing, the original text indeed being named according to Masudi (T. H. 126. ed. P.) Bestā (Avesta), and that, as an aid to its right understanding, he afterwards wrote a commentary under the name Zend, and later on a second commentary under the name Pāzend. After Zoroaster's death the theologians of the Zoroastrian religion wrote a fresh explanation of the earlier commentaries under the name Barida. It is not our purpose to enter here into this subject, which must be more fully discussed further on; only we shall here remark that the Book of Kings also is familiar with this Avesta and Zend and often mentions them. But, though the Book of Kings distinctly teaches us that Zoroaster first taught the Avesta and Zend during the reign of Gushtāsp, and that consequently these books could not have been in existence before, still it commits the inconsistency of supposing their existence in an earlier period. Kaikhosrao especially is very often represented as reciting the Avesta and Zend (Shāhnāme, p. 964, ll. 11 *seq.*; (Vul. ed. p. 981); p. 985, ll. 3 *seq.*) According to one passage (p. 910, l. 5), even Frēdūn deposited in Baikend the Avesta written in golden characters. Such inaccuracies seem to me to prove that the artificial arrangement, according to which Zoroaster is placed at the close of the mythical period, had not yet entirely come into vogue.

Now, after we have made the necessary remarks upon

¹ Comp. Windischmann, *Zoroast. Studien*, pp. 288 *seq.*

the personality of Zoroaster, we may turn to the reign of Gushtāsp, and consequently to the promulgation of the Prophet's religion. Lohrāsp, having entrusted the kingdom to his son before his own death, retired to a fire-temple at Balkh. According to Fīdūsi a religious war follows very close upon Gushtāsp's embracing the Zoroastrian Law. The demons are anxious that the intelligence of the great revolution, which has taken place in Irān, should soon reach the ears of Arjāsp, king of Tūrān. The latter at once determines not to tolerate the innovation. He sends an embassy with a letter to Gushtāsp, wherein he admonishes the latter not to listen to the allurements of Zoroaster but to return to the path of justice. Should Gushtāsp comply with his demands he promises to give him rich presents; but should he not take his admonition to heart, he threatens to come with an army in a few months and to desolate Irān. Gushtāsp communicates the message received to his confidential friends, Zarir, Isfandiār, and Jāmāsp, and these undertake to give the proper reply to the king of Tūrān, in which they particularly warn him not to approach Irān with an army, as they themselves intend to march with their forces towards his country. Then preparations are made on both sides and the hostile armies meet near the Oxus. This battle, however, differs materially from earlier ones in the fact that Gushtāsp knew its result beforehand; for he had on his side Jāmāsp, the Wise, who, as we already know, was cognizant of the past as well as of the future, and who then told Gushtāsp that the battle, though it would turn out a very bloody one, would surely end in his favour. What Jāmāsp had foretold naturally happened. In the single combats which took place, Ardashir, Sheru, and Shedasp, the three sons of Gushtāsp, fell. Then Kerāmi, the son of Jāmāsp, forced his way into the fight. The imperial banner, which the Irānians had abandoned in the general tumult, was recaptured by Kerāmi, and when the Tūrānians cut off

one of his arms he held the banner firmly between his teeth, while he fought with the other arm. But at last he also fell under the blows of overwhelming numbers. Several others among the most valiant Irānians also perished; but in the end Zarir, the commander-in-chief and brother of the king, came on the scene and caused great destruction amongst the Tūiānian heroes. Thus affairs went on for two weeks, and Arjāsp promised a handsome reward to whosoever amongst his heroes would vanquish Zarir; but nobody dared undertake the task. At last Biderefsh undertook it. But even he did not venture to meet Zarir in open combat, and shot him dead with an arrow fired from an ambushade. The death of Zarir produced great terror in the hearts of the Irānians, and king Gushtāsp, having failed in animating his heroes to avenge the death of Zarir, made a vow that in case he should succeed in his battle with Arjāsp, he would resign his crown to Isfandiār and his army to Peshotan, whilst he himself would retire into solitude after the example of his father Lohrāsp. This vow was naturally a stimulus to Isfandiār to distinguish himself. He threw himself into the thickest of the fight, slew Biderefsh and brought back the arms and the horse of Zarir to the Irānian camp. In a short time no man dared risk a combat with him. Arjāsp finally gave up the battle as lost and fled. The deserted army offered to accept the true Faith and was pardoned by Gushtāsp.

This battle between Gushtāsp and Arjāsp, which we have just narrated, is in its principal features also current in the Avesta. There, too, we find Vishtāspa frequently praying that he may conquer Arcjat-aspa, (Yt. V. 109; IX. 30; XVII. 50; XIX. 87). Arcjat-aspa himself also once (Yt. V. 116) appears praying that he may be granted a triumph over Gushtāsp.

Gushtāsp then commissioned Nestūr, the son of Zarir, who had fallen in battle, to invade the kingdom of Arjāsp

and to press further his victory, while he himself returned to his country and sent his son Isfandiār all over the world to propagate the Zoroastrian Law. The latter nowhere met with opposition. The Kaiser of Rūm and all princes showed themselves willing to embrace the new religion and requested him to forward the religious books. *Isfandiār was then soon able to inform his father, that the faith of Zoroaster had been accepted throughout the world.* Gushtāsp, however, did not appear to remember a word of his former vow to cede his throne voluntarily to Isfandiār after his successful return. On the contrary, circumstances assumed quite a different aspect, and showed the pious Gushtāsp in altogether a peculiar light. Kerzem, a kinsman of the royal house, who hated Isfandiār, calumniated the latter to his father, affirming that he had collected an army to dethrone Gushtāsp. The king readily believed the calumniator and despatched Jāmāsp with a letter ordering Isfandiār to return forthwith to the court. Jāmāsp, as well as Isfandiār himself, knew that evil days awaited the prince if he should answer the summons. Nevertheless, both were of opinion that the commands of his father must be obeyed. They regarded the whole affair as manifestly a trial which had come over the Hero of the Faith, and which the latter had to meet with courage. Gushtāsp, indeed, caused heavy fetters to be laid on Isfandiār on the ground of high treason, and ordered him to be carried to the stronghold of Kenbedan,¹ there to be bound fast to four iron stakes. How foolish such a proceeding was, Gushtāsp was soon to learn. Some time after this event the king went to Zābul in order to pay a visit to Rustem. The visit lasted very long, fully two years. Meanwhile the news of Isfandiār's imprisonment spread abroad, and the king, who had no need of being

¹According to the author of Muǰmil the fortress of Kenbedan is identical with Girdkōh, which is supposed to lie in Mūzenderān.

afraid any longer of that hero, almost abandoned Zoroaster's religion. Arjāsp also heard this intelligence with delight, as it offered him some prospect of vengeance, for the army, which Isfandiār had placed under the command of his son Behman, had in part disbanded itself, and in part marched to the vicinity of Kenbedan, in order not to be far distant from its beloved commander. As soon as Arjāsp received certain information of these events, and particularly of there being no troops in Balkh,¹ he levied an army, and gave his son Kehrem orders to advance against that city, he himself following soon after with a second army. The project succeeded, and Balkh was taken by surprise, no garrison being found there excepting Lohrāsp and other pious men who adored the sacred fire in retirement. It is true that Lohrāsp immediately took up arms and placed himself at the head of the effective burghers; but, though he sold his life dearly, he was unable to prevent the taking of the town. After his death the fire-temple was invaded and the remaining pious priests were slain. With their blood the sacred fire was extinguished, and both the daughters of Gushtāsp, Humāi and Behāfrīd, were taken into captivity. Still it was fortunate that it occurred to one of the wives of Gushtāsp to steal away from the town in Turkish costume, and to go to Sajistān in order to communicate the important intelligence to Gushtāsp. The latter, thereupon, speedily levied an army; but no sooner had he approached Balkh,² than Arjāsp came with a second force to the assistance of Kehrem. It is remarkable enough that Rustem should have let his guest depart, when his position was so desperate, without rendering him any

Indeed, Melgunof (*das nördliche Ufer, etc.*, p. 134), mentions a mountain-peak Girdkōh, which lies in the vicinity of the road leading from Asterābād to Shāhrūd.

¹ ² Here end the portions of the Book of Kings composed by Dakīkī.

assistance. The battle between Gushtāsp and Arjāsp was a very fierce one, in which many heroes fell on both sides. Thirty-eight sons¹ of Gushtāsp, who took part in the struggle, all perished. Gushtāsp, losing hope, took to flight and was closely pursued by the Tūrānians, who attempted to capture him. Fortunately the flying Irānians came to a steep declivity, the approach to which was only known to Gushtāsp, who led thither his army in safety.² Now the Tūrānians who pursued him, could not find any way up the mountain and were forced to remain content with blockading the Irānian army on all sides. In this embarrassed position Gushtāsp was now completely helpless, and turning to Jāmāsp, asked him whether he could find any means of escape. Jāmāsp replied that nobody except Isfandiār was able to deliver him from danger. So Gushtāsp determined to address himself to his heroic son, whom he had

¹ The names of these sons seem to be partly mentioned in Yt. XIII. 101. [*Zairi-vairi, Fūkhta-vairi, Sīraokhshān, Keresakhsan, Vanūa, Varāsa, Būjīsravah, Berēzayāshiti, Tīzayāshiti, Perethuāshiti* and *Vīzayāshiti*. These names, I suppose, belong to the brothers of Gushtāsp rather than to his sons. *Zairi-vairi* is identical with the Persian *Zair*, the son of *Lohrāsp (Aurvat-aspa)*. Vide Yt. V. 112. Among other names West believes *Būjīsravah* to be possibly the same with *Pāt-Khosrav*, a brother to *Vishtāspa* in the *Yadkārī Zariān*. (Comp. Darmesteter, Yt. XIII. p. 205, n. 5.)]

² I have no doubt that this mountain is the same with that mentioned by the Bundehesh, and named *Maṭ-ō-friyād* ("if came to help"). According to the view of the Bundehesh this mountain appears to have been severed from the extensive range to which it belonged at the time of Gushtāsp's flight, and to have offered a refuge to that religious king. [West reads *Madōfiyād* ("come-to-help"), and renders the passage in which this name occurs as follows:—"From the same *Padashkhvārgar* mountain unto Mount *Kūmis*, which they call Mount *Madōfiyād*—that in which *Vishtāspa* routed *Arjāsp*—is Mount *Mīyānidasht* ('mid-plain'), and was broken off from that mountain there." Vide 'Pahlavi Texts,' *Bundehesh*, chapter XII. 32.]

so deeply offended, and Jāmāsp was again the bearer of his message. Again did Gushtāsp declare his resolution to renounce the throne and to retire into solitude, in case he were rescued from his present danger, and offer to make Isfandiār his successor. Should the latter refuse, the empire of Irān was undone. Jāmāsp dressed as a Tūrānian stole through the ranks of the enemy and succeeded in reaching Kenbedan, where he communicated to Isfandiār the proposals of Gushtāsp, but found Isfandiār very little disposed to consent. At last, however, the persuasions of Jāmāsp induced him to forget his personal grievances, and to render the desired help to his father. Isfandiār then forced his way through the hostile army, killed many Tūrānians and revived the courage of the Irānians; whilst Arjāsp on the contrary became despondent, for he had trusted that he would be able to bring the war to an end without the interference of Isfandiār. And, indeed, in the ensuing battle Isfandiār achieved great feats of heroism; he captured Kergesar alive, who alone ventured to fight with him. Besides, he killed so many Tūrānians, that Arjāsp once again abandoned his army intent only upon safely regaining Tūrān.

APPENDIX.

THE IRĀNIAN ALPHABETS.

THE ancient Persians made use of two distinct characters. So early as in the Inscriptions of Darius the term *dīpīs* denotes an inscription ; and this word may be derived from a verbal root *dīp*, which has been preserved also in other Irānian languages in different derivatives. To this root we might especially trace the Greek word *διφύερα* which was employed by Ktesias and other Greek writers as a name for the Persian Annals ; but which, as may be gathered from the testimony of Herodotus (V. 58), was used at an early period to denote a book or a manuscript. Herodotus seems to believe that the word was originally Greek, and perhaps derived from *δέφω* ; but this opinion is distinctly erroneous, for the word is strictly Persian and comes from *dīp* ; even to the present day the Persian word *defter* means a book. From the same root we have the words *dibistān*, "a writing-room, a school" ; *dōvān* or *divān*, which means "a writing book, or chamber" in the Armenian archives, and the Mod. Persian word *diwēr*, Arm. *dpīr*, "a writer." As regards the original meaning of the root *dīp*, I suppose it to be identical with the Skr. *lip*, "to besmear," and, therefore, also contained in the words *lipi* ("spreading over, writing") and *lipikara* ("white-washer, writer"). This supposition is not contradicted by the fact that the inscription, which Darius calls *dīpīs*, is cut on rocks, since we know that the engraved letters were also overlaid with gold or painted. On the contrary, this view is confirmed by the Mod. Persian words دیوار *dēwār*, "wall," and دپه *dēpē*, "brocade,"

which must be traced to the same root. Another Old Persian expression for writing is *ni-pish*, which is also used by Darius and contained in the Mod. Persian *nivishtan*. It seems to have migrated further westward and to have found a place in the Slavonian dialect, wherein words like *pismo*, "writing," &c., point to the existence of a root *pish*, to which might also belong the Old Prussian words:—*peisaton*, "written"; *peisalei*, "writing." Accordingly, we are able to point to the use of two distinct terms for the art of writing among the Southern Irānians. However, the case is different with respect to Northern Irān. Here we find a name for a written document only in the word *naska*, which may be identified as a word borrowed from the Arm. ܢܫܬܐ, "to transcribe." But this etymology is uncertain, and no other name for writing exists. Wherever books are referred to, allusion is frequently made to memory (*darethra*) and recitation (*marethra*). This circumstance shows beyond doubt that the sacred lore was originally impressed on the memory of scholars by tradition and oral instruction. It would be rash to infer from this circumstance that in olden times the use of writing was unknown to the Northern Irānians; whereas Herodotus states that Darius, after his accession to the throne, caused most of the events of his reign to be recorded in writing. The fact, however, is that even at the present day we can only put forth conjectures as to the character of the Northern Irānian writing.

On the other hand, our knowledge regarding the style of writing in Southern Irān reaches as far as the beginning of the Achaemenian monarchy, especially if we ascribe, as we probably may, the small inscription in Murghāb to the founder of that dynasty. The earliest form of Southern writing known to us is found in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae; consequently we have the advantage of its having been transmitted to us in the very form in which it was originally inscribed. It is a variety of the so-called cunei-

form writing, but one differing considerably from all others, which it surpasses in simplicity. This circumstance gives strength to the theory of the comparatively later origin of the Old Persian cuneiform writing, which is locally the most Eastern species of its kind. A more intricate system of cuneiform writing is found in translations standing side by side with the Old Persian texts. In Northern Irān we meet with inscriptions following this intricate cuneiform system, engraved by kings still unknown to us, in Media as well as in Armenia. Western Irān, the land of the Euphrates and the Tigris, however, is specially famous for such specimens of cuneiform writing. On the contrary, not a single line in cuneate letters has yet been discovered eastward of Persis. Although M. Ferrier thought he had met with such inscriptions in Balkh and Farah, his belief has not been confirmed by later research, and it must, therefore, be regarded as erroneous. That the cuneate writing was confined to the western part of the Irānian kingdom, is sufficient proof that it could not have been derived from the East. It would be more reasonable to give it a northern origin; but the most probable view is that it came from the West. In dealing with this subject we need not be struck by the dependence of the Southern Irānian kingdom upon Northern and Western Irān, for we have lighted upon similar facts in other parts of our study of Irānian civilization. We repeat that the use of cuneiform writing throughout Persia proves that the latter country, as well as the whole western frontier of Irān, was more or less familiar in ancient times with the civilization of Babylon and Niniveh. Yet the specific identification of the Old Persian cuneal system with the more ancient systems, presents no insignificant difficulties. The Old Persian cuneiform writing is the only system which really deserves to be called an alphabet; all other varieties are mere syllabaries. Several peculiarities in the Old Persian writing make its identification with the *Amerian* systems

impossible. There are signs which merely stand for the vowels *i* or *u*, but none for *a*. The letter, which must be followed by *a* in reading, denotes at the same time certain vowel-less consonants. These are some of the characteristics considerably differing from the earlier systems, which contain certain signs for syllables, e.g. *ru*, *ri*, &c. The letters *m* and *v* are distinguished in the Old Persian alphabet, but not in the earlier cuneiform systems. Assyrian writing has no signs for aspirates, while the Old Persian carefully distinguishes the hard aspirates at least. These peculiarities do not allow us to connect the Old Persian alphabet either with the *Ananian* or the Assyrian syllabary: on the contrary, they exhibit some points of contact with the Babylonian. The ideographic sign for king (which would formerly have been read *naga*) is taken from the Babylonian, and lately M. Oppert has found altogether nine such signs corresponding to the Babylonian ones.¹ This circumstance supports the theory which ascribes a Babylonian origin to the Old Persian alphabet; and M. Oppert (p. 244) supposed that it was for the first time systematized by Cyrus or at his command, after the occupation of Babylon, by the Persians. For this purpose the Old Persians seem to have fixed on 36 words which were represented in Babylonian by ideograms, to each of which they attached the value of a single character. The alphabet was rendered still simpler by bringing into the new system only angular and single cuneal signs—the latter being horizontal as well as vertical—from three to five of which fundamental elements the different letters were formed.² In this way we may account for the change from the syllabic systems to the method of writing in letters;

¹ Cf. Oppert, "*Sur la formation de l'alphabet perse*," *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, pp. 238 seq.

² In Oppert (*ibid*, pp. 242 seq.) we find a table of Babylonian characters from which the Old Persian alphabet is supposed to have been developed.

However, we are at a loss for any explanation of the high proficiency attained by the Persians, which led to their invention of an alphabet to replace the cumbrous mode of writing in syllables. Besides, it is scarcely possible to assume that the cuneiform writing was the only method which people could make use of during the rule of the Achaemenidae. It is true that it has many advantages for monumental inscriptions; nevertheless, its incongruities must have been felt in the ordinary intercourse of life. It is impossible to suppose that letters, edicts,¹ or literary works, for instance the royal annals mentioned by Ktesias, were written in cuneal letters. It is more probable that, along with the cuneiform alphabet, another system of writing was in use for epistolary or literary purposes. What this system was and whether it sufficiently corresponded in principle to the former, we cannot of course state, for we know nothing about it. But since a regular alphabet was known in the countries west of their own, besides the cuneiform system,² it is likely that the Old Persians may have borrowed a similar mode of writing from Babylon or Assyria and adapted it to their own language. In any case, however, it could not have been perfectly suitable for employment in the Old Persian dialect, owing to the natural want of harmony between an Indo-Germanic language and a Semitic alphabet. But such inconsistencies have lasted to the present day through the whole of Irānian history; while the inconvenience arising from the use of a Semitic alphabet need not have been insuperable, since it was used only by natives, whose knowledge of the spoken language must have made up for the deficiencies of the written alphabet.

The period of the Achaemenidae was followed by the empire of the Parthians; and we have already stated that

¹ Herodotus I. pp. 124, 125.

² Comp. Schrader, *Die Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilschriften*, p. 167.

the Arsacidæ stamped their coins with Greek legends in Greek characters. But, on the other hand, a number of coins are still preserved, which owe their origin to the age of the Arsacidæ, probably to the satraps (viceroys), and which are inscribed in the native language and character. Upon these coins M. Levy has based an elaborate and admirable treatise—his “History of Irānian Writing in the Parthian Period.”¹ Most of the coins alluded to in this work belong to Hamadān, Sherāz, and Kermān,² *i. e.* to the South and West of the kingdom. That they owe their origin to the Irānians can be clearly demonstrated, since they exhibit the device of a fire-altar and a man standing before it in prayer. On several of them we observe also the image of Ahura Mazda himself, similar to the symbol of Hīm found on earlier monuments. The effigy of the king also supports this view. Indeed, he does not wear the high tiara of the Great King, but he has an Irānian head-dress, which on the later coins is evidently the *Patidūna*. On one of these coins, however, the king is shown holding a sceptre, a flower, and a goblet, as on the monuments of Persepolis. All these circumstances evince the correctness of M. Levy's theory that these coins must be ascribed to the Irānian satraps. This seems to have been indicated also by the position of the king's face, looking towards the right, whereas the image of the Great King always looks towards the left. The coins bear legends in indigenous characters; the letters belong to the Aramaic alphabet of the fourth and third century B. C., as it was used on monuments in Asia Minor, as well as on the coins, seals, monumental columns, and papyrus fragments discovered in Egypt.³ Hence it might be inferred that

¹ Cf. Levy, *Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Irāns und zur Kunde der älteren Pehlevischrift*, *ZdmG.* vol. XXI, pp. 421 seq. Cf. also Franc. Lenormant, *Études sur l'alphabet Pehlvi*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, vol. II, pp. 180 seq.

² Levy, *ibid.*, p. 438. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

the Persian satraps, to whom the coins belonged, caused them to be struck, if not under the sovereignty of Alexander, then under the Seleucidae and throughout the whole period of the Arsacidae; and during this epoch a species of Aramaic writing may have been naturalized in Irān. Inscriptions with traces of a similar character have been found also in Holvan and Khuzistān.¹ They seem to have been akin to the Nabataean and Palmyrene alphabets, but the samples of them now existing are not quite sufficient to allow of any definite opinion being formed regarding them. The question as to the origin of those inscriptions will, therefore, remain undetermined until solved by further research. Another group of coins has a bearing on the history of Irānian writing. The more modern ones are like those described above; yet they must be placed before the beginning of the Sassanian dynasty. These coins are divided into two classes. The greater number of those included in the first class must be assigned on numismatic principles to the time of Phraates I. and Mithridates I., while some of the remaining ones may perhaps belong to the reign of Phraates IV.² To these coins M. Levy traces the so-called Parthian writing, which he is inclined to call Western Pahlavi. It is found on the monuments ascribed to the first Sassanidae, but not on their coins; and after their time it becomes quite extinct. The coins comprised in the other class must, according to M. Levy,³ be ascribed to the time of Vologeses II. (130-149 A.D.). The alphabets on the coins of both these classes are now regarded as the forerunner of the species of writing current under the first of the Sassanidae. It follows, then, that the latter cannot have been developed from the former,

¹ Levy, *ibid*, p. 445.

² *Vide* tablet II. Nos. 1-10 in Levy, who places the coins numbered 8 and 9 in the time of Phraates IV.

³ *Ibid*, p. 455.

but that both must have sprung at the same time from the Aramaic alphabet, which ought to be considered as their common parent, and which is found on weights, seals, and gems belonging to the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Achaemenian monarchies. From the same alphabet first arose what has been styled the Southern Pahlavi writing, which M. Levy would call Eastern Pahlavi;¹ while the alphabet, which is known as the Parthian or Persian Pahlavi, must be distinguished as Western Pahlavi, which dies out after the inscriptions of the first two Sassanidae. Eastern Pahlavi, on the contrary, remained in use and developed gradually into the form in which we find it on the later Sassanian coins and in the Parsi manuscripts. We quite agree with this view of the development of the history of Irānian writing; only we admit that we cannot exactly account for the names Eastern and Western Pahlavi. Although I concede that this species of writing may have been current already at a very remote period in Eastern Irān, where the oldest Indian character (the so-called Arian, the use of which for an Irānian language cannot be proved), may have existed with it, and that the Eastern Irānians may have possibly employed it whenever they wrote anything, still we must hold to our supposition that there are no facts before us to show that this alphabet was first introduced precisely into Eastern Irān, and thence gradually extended to the West. According to our opinion, we can here, again, distinguish between North and South. The so-called Western Pahlavi was chiefly current in the North, in the territory belonging to the Parthians. It died out after the fall of the Arsacidae, since, as the power of the Sassanidae grew in the South, the style of writing there current prevailed. The most important point here is that no essential difference ever existed between these two alphabets, and that both of them owed their origin unques-

¹ Levy, p. 456.

tionably to Western-Semitic. Hence it is that vowels are imperfectly distinguished in all such alphabets, since they contain only three vowel-signs, *viz.* those for *a*, *i*, and *u*. Such a deficiency must have been very inconvenient in an Indo-Germanic language, as all the vowels could not have been accurately indicated by those three signs as in the Semitic languages. So the alphabet became in course of time more and more developed, as, from the time of Kōbad I., writers began to employ an increasing number of new combinations consisting of two or more consonants linked together. I do not entirely dissent from the opinion expressed by Prof. Westergaard¹, that among these compound consonants are also found some arbitrary characters; but I believe that their origin may be regarded as on the whole regular and natural. It was a current style, which, though hastily written, was not disagreeable to the eye; and to the natives, who understood the language, its difficulties may not have been so hard to surmount as they appear to us.²

According to our view, M. Levy is on the right path when he traces the so-called Zend alphabet, that in which the Avesta is written in our oldest MSS., to the Southern Irānian writing (Eastern Pahlavi).³ Several of the characters of both these alphabets are quite similar; but there is a number of signs peculiar to the Avesta alphabet, *viz.*,

¹ *Zendavesta*, vol. I. p. 20.

² The variety of writing which we have here designated as Southern Irānian, is also called *Uzvarsh* or *Huvvāresh*. A much quoted passage of a Parsi book (*Cf.* my *Huvv. gramm.* page 22) expressly names *Uzvarsh* as an alphabet, and, indeed, as the writing of Sevād. This statement can easily be reconciled with the arguments adduced above.

³ *Cf.* his *Beiträge*, p. 460. A different view, however, is held by Lepsius, who, in the second edition of his *Standard-alphabets*, p. 120, is inclined to regard the Avesta alphabet as older, from which, he supposes, the ordinary Pahlavi alphabet was first reduced in the time of the Sassanidae.

those of the aspirates, which cannot easily be proved to have been developed from the Southern Irānian writing. The distinctive feature of the Avesta alphabet is in the vowel-signs. It not only comprises the *matres lectionis*, (i.e., the vowel-signs for *a, i, u*); but all the vowels, even the shortest ones, are represented in it and set down in the same line with the consonants, just as is the case in our European alphabets. This peculiarity distinguishes the Avesta alphabet from all the other alphabets of Irān and of Asia in general. For, not only is this characteristic absent in the Old Parthian and Sassānian systems, but, likewise, in the cuneiform as well as Arian characters, since the former only represents the *matres lectionis*, whilst the latter does not place the vowels on the same footing with the consonants, but merges them in the consonants themselves. A single Asiatic alphabet, the Armenian alone, possesses such characteristics. According to our conviction the Avesta alphabet does not seem to be older than the Armenian; perhaps, to a certain extent, it may be contemporaneous with it. . . .

In systematizing the Avesta alphabet the object which the people endeavoured to obtain could only have been to enable the reader to peruse the Sacred Texts as accurately as was necessary. It is probable that it was specially intended for particular individuals who had to read the Sacred Books to the people and who might be liable to commit slight errors in haste owing to the defects of the writing in use; but it is less probable that the object in view was to help the general reader by means of a clear or lucid alphabet. I believe, therefore, that the inventor of the Avesta characters chiefly studied the requirements of the public readers of the Irānian Scriptures, for much, in fact, depended on accuracy in reading them aloud (Comp. *Yasna*, XIX. 6). We should, however, err, if we assumed that such was the exclusive object of the Avesta alphabet; nothing indicates that it

was ever regarded as sacred. Firstly, we find that the majority of the Parsis do not strictly believe that the Avesta was originally written in the Avesta characters that we now possess; in fact, they have sometimes employed the modern Persian alphabet, and in modern times all the fragments of the Avesta, but most frequently the Khorda-Avesta, have been printed in Gujarati. Secondly, the Avesta-writing has not seldom been found also in Pahlavi works in the rendering of certain isolated words, mostly such as could not be made out by any other means. Just in the same manner do we find the Avesta characters frequently used in Pahlavi glossaries to show the pronunciation of certain Pahlavi expressions. Thirdly and finally, we may add that the Avesta alphabet probably contains more signs than are required to exhibit the Avesta Text. The writing in the oldest MSS. of the Avesta, as well as in the later Indian MSS. copied from them, differs somewhat from the characters used in the MSS. that were transcribed in Yezd and Kermān.¹ This difference is, however, unimportant, and, except in minor points, is perhaps due to a taste for elegant penmanship.

So far we have traced the history of Irānian writing from the earliest times to the more recent period, by the help of coins, inscriptions, and written works that are still in existence. Moreover, there are some notices upon Old Irānian alphabets by some Mohammedan scholars, who have written on the antiquities of Irān. Amongst these writers the learned author of the *Fihrist* occupies a pre-eminent position. The majority of these notices refer evidently to the modern Sassānian period and furnish no incomplete survey of the alphabets then current. It must not be supposed that the various specimens of writing, which they describe,

¹ These will be found in my *Altbaktrischen Grammatik*, pp. 728. The slight difference in them seems also to contravene the theory that our oldest MSS. came from Yezd.

represent quite as many systems; several of them may be supposed to be distinct merely in the apparent shape of the characters, just in the same manner as in the later styles Taaliq and Shikest may be distinguished. Nevertheless, we ought to assume a variety of systems in a few cases,¹ where a great difference exists in the number of letters. It is certainly not accidental that the author of the *Fihrist* fixes upon seven as the number of alphabets; the Parsis also believe that *Tahmurath* was gifted with the knowledge of seven descriptions of writing,² which was after him transferred to Yima. Elsewhere, too, the number seven is regarded as the most sacred amongst the Irānians.—First of all is to be mentioned the alphabet of Māni, which is probably one of the oldest in the series of alphabets named in *Fihrist*. Since there are several evidences to prove that Māni systematized a particular alphabet, this fact must be considered as beyond all doubt. It is probable that Māni did not wish that his books should be accessible to unqualified readers, and consequently wrote them in an alphabet which was only known to his disciples. This alphabet must have been distinguished from other Irānian alphabets more by the shape of the characters than by its intrinsic nature. As to the number of letters, our authorities are, however, disagreed. While Epiphane affirms that the alphabet of Māni contained 22 symbols,² after the manner of the Syriac alphabet, the author of the *Fihrist* asserts that it was made up of a larger number of characters than the Arabic alphabet, *i.e.*, of more than 28 signs. One single specimen of that writing would be sufficient to remove all doubts.—A second important alphabet is that which is called by the author of the *Fihrist*, the *Din-defterih* (دين دفتره), which, as its name also denotes, served for writing the Avesta.

¹ Cf. my *Parsi-grammatik*, p. 139.

² Epiphane, *Adv. Hæres.* II, p. 625, ed. Patav.

Masūdi, who tells us somewhat more on the subject, mentions that this alphabet had 60 letters and was not employed exclusively for the Avesta.¹ It might be regarded to a certain extent as identical with our Avesta alphabet, which exhibits only 48 different signs, granting the assumption that several characters, which were originally in existence, are now no longer distinguished in our Texts.² Or we may attach some credit to Masūdi's opinion that this alphabet not only served for transcribing the Avesta; but that the remaining 12 letters were employed in writing other works, which were beyond the pale of the Avesta literature.—A third species of writing, which the author of the *Fihrist* names *Kashtaj* (کشتج), is believed to have been composed of 28 signs and adapted to seals and coins. It was, perhaps, almost identical with the earlier writing of the Sassanidae, which contains only 24 signs including the ordinary compounds,³ and of which it is quite possible that some of the characters may still be unknown to us.—The fourth species is styled *Half-Kashtaj* (نیم کشتج) in the *Fihrist*, and was employed in works on medicine and philosophy. This alphabet differs but slightly from the third. Here the number of signs is the same; probably the difference was due only to the materials used in writing books.—Much more unlike the third is the fifth kind of writing, which the *Fihrist* designates *Vesh-debirih* (وېش دېرېر), i.e., "much-writing," since it contained no less than 365 signs, in which, the author says, the mysteries of physiognomy were written. As it was a cryptography we must of course believe in the existence of a great multitude of

¹ Cf. Lepsius, *Das ursprüngliche Zendalphabet* (Berlin, 1863), p. 338. Masūdi, II. p. 124. The *Fihrist*, I. 13th ed. Flügel.

² This view of Lepsius is, no doubt, supported by the Pāsi traditional writings.

³ Cf. Mordtmann, *Zend G.* vol. VIII. table 5.

characters, even if we do not regard the number 365 as authentic. What the shape of these letters was we should like to know; however, the brevity of the author's statement does not admit of any conclusion. It is possible that the author of the *Fihrist* meant such contractions as are to be found in the Huzvaresh writing described above; but it is also possible that the style of writing in syllables, akin to the more complicated species of cuneal letters, survived from the earliest times to the period of the Sassanidae.—A far simpler alphabet is the sixth *Rāz-sahrīh* (رازسهریه) (?), i.e., cryptography. It was a twofold species comprising 25 as well as 40 signs, about which we can say very little in particular, because in all probability Ibn Muqaffa himself never saw it. The same may be said regarding the style of writing which he calls *Shāh-debirīh* (شاه دبیریه), or "royal writing," and which must have been very much like the foregoing.—Finally, the seventh and last species bears the appellation of *Nāntch-debirīh* (نام دبیریه), i.e., the "writing of letters or books." Besides, it is also stated that some books were written in the old Syriac language and read in Persian. This is somewhat analogous to what the same author says regarding *Zevāreshn*. Nevertheless, this alphabet is said to have been formed of only 33 simple characters without any contractions whatever.



THE AGE OF THE AVESTA

AND

ZOROASTER

From the German

OF

DR. WILHELM GEIGER

AND

DR. FR. VON SPIEGEL,

BY

DARAB DĀSTŪR PESHIOTĀN SANJĀNĀ, B.A.,

SIR JAMSHEDJEE FELLOW (AVESPA AND PĀDLAVI), PĀHLAVI

AND GERMAN TEACHER, SIR JAMSHEDJEE JIJIBHAI

ZARTHOSHTI MADRESSA, BOMBAY.

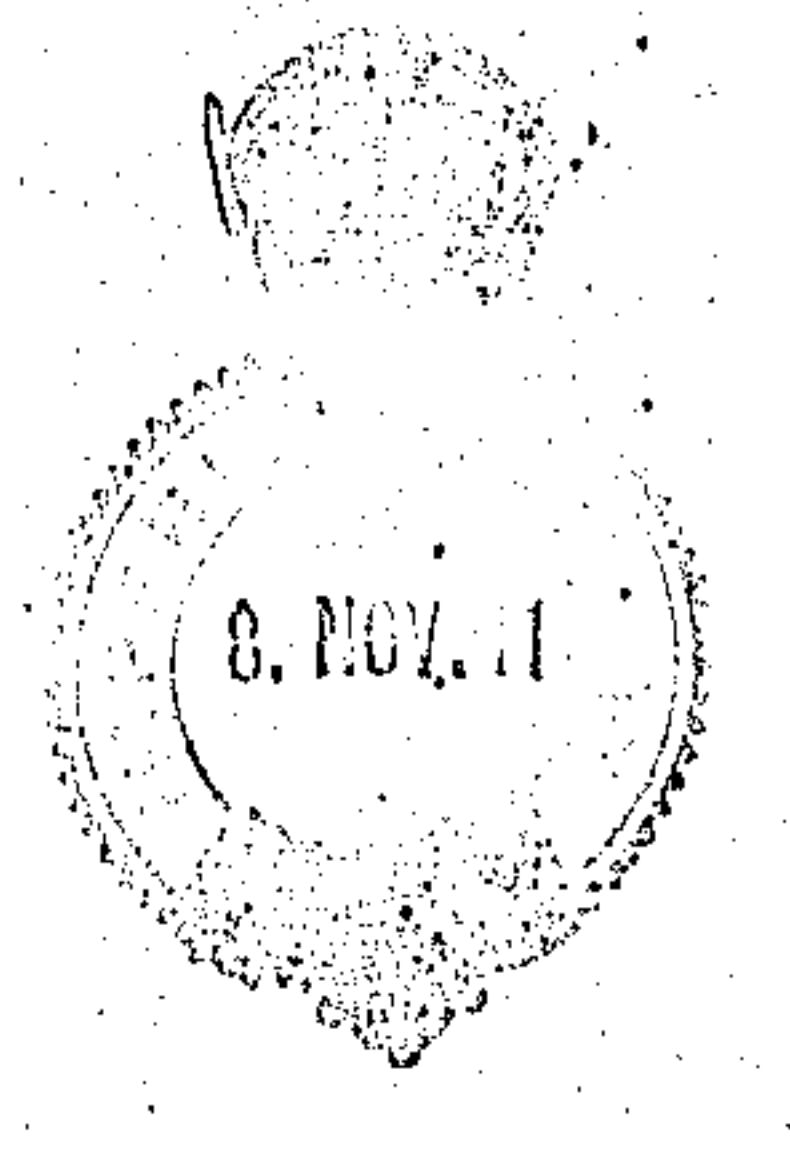


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THE AGE OF THE AVESTA

AND

ZOROASTER.

I.

ON THE HOME AND AGE OF THE AVESTA.

General Remarks.

IN writing my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians in Ancient Times," I did not devote a separate section to the question respecting the home and age of the Avesta. I believed that the list of geographical names occurring in the Avesta would suffice to show its Eastern Irānian origin, and that a description of the state of civilization it depicts would be enough to prove its great antiquity.

I have since been charged by my reviewers—with the exception of the criticism of M. Tomaschek, (*Ausland*, 1883, No. 42)—with over-estimating the age of the Avesta, and disregarding the important arguments in favour of its Median origin. I am, therefore, compelled to go more fully into the subject, in order to justify the view I have adopted. I shall begin with the two following statements:—

- (1) The country in which the civilization of the Avesta people took its rise, was really Eastern Irān.
- (2) It is a civilization of great antiquity, and dates back at least to a time antecedent to the Median and Persian kings.

I shall now make it my task separately to verify these two statements, and meet the arguments adduced on the opposite side.¹ I shall also endeavour not to overlook any of those arguments, claiming at the same time similar attention to all the reasons I may bring forward on my own side.

A few preliminary remarks before I begin—

1. The expression, "Home of the Avesta," is not quite precise. It may be asked whether it is meant to denote the territorial extent of Zoroastrianism and the home of the Avesta people, or the province to which the Avesta owes its origin. I take the expression in the former sense; for it is not evident whether the Avesta was originally composed in Sogdiana, Merv, or Ragha.² Even if we were to identify the home of Zarathushtra, the place where the Avesta was written would still remain uncertain. The

¹ I shall make use of the following abbreviations in quoting from writers to whom I shall have to refer often:—

1 Sp. 1. For Spiegel, *Vishtāspa oder Hystaspes und das Reich der Baktrer*; *Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. VIII. pp. 1 seq.

2 Sp. 2. For Spiegel, *Ueber das Vaterland und das Zeitalter des Avestā*; *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXXV. 1881, pp. 629 seq.

3 J. 1. For Justi's Review of my *Ostirān. Kultur*, "Civilization of the Eastern Iānians"; *Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 25th November 1882, No. 47.

4 II. 1. For C. de Harlez, *Avestā traduit*, 2nd ed. Paris, 1881; especially the "Introduction."

5 II. 2. For C. de Harlez, *Le calendrier Persan et le pays originaire du Zoroastrianisme*; *Bulletin de l'Athénée Oriental*, 1881, pp. 79-97, 159-183.

6 H. 3. For C. de Harlez, Review of my *Ostirānische Kultur im Alterthume*; *ibid*, 1883, pp. 217-225.

7 H. 4. For C. de Harlez, *Origine de l'Avesta et son interprétation*; *Le Muséon*, vol. I. 1882, pp. 494-505.

² I shall speak especially of Ragha at greater length further on.

question as to whether we can at all speak of an Eastern Irānian civilization is more practical. The difficulty lies in discovering whether the territory occupied by the Arians of the Avesta differed from that held by the Medes and Persians in historical times.

2. As regards the age of the Avesta, we cannot merely speak of it as "over-estimated." (J. 1, Sp. 1477). The question is simply this:—Is the Avesta of greater antiquity than Medo-Persian history? Is it of more recent date, or contemporary with it?

3. Dr. Spiegel (Sp. 2, pp. 639-640; *cf.* also Sp. 1, p. 11) says: "Now, as regards the theory of a Bactrian origin for the Avesta, only indirect proofs can be brought in support of it, for once only is Bactria directly mentioned by name." Again, Prof. C. de Harlez, (II. 1, p. xlv.): "*On affirme généralement que ce (i.e. the home of the Avesta) fut Bactriane.*" For my own part, as I have suggested in my first remark, I do not believe that the Bactrian country was the special home of the Avesta. I am much more inclined to be guided by the general contrast between Eastern and Western Irān, which appears to me inherent in the nature of the country, and which is so prominent a feature to this day in Persian history.

4. Finally, let me observe that, naturally, I do not look on the Avesta as it now exists as identical with the original Avesta. I entirely agree with Dr. Spiegel, who says (Sp. 2, 638):—"Our Avesta is a prayer-book abridged from the great Avesta for liturgical purposes." But what conclusion must we draw from this? Probably no more than that the Avesta, as we have it, is incomplete, and has even in many instances undergone much alteration; nevertheless its substance is entirely derived from the original. However, it is by no means certain, (though not impossible, or rather very probable, and in some cases evident), that in the compilation of this "Manual of Liturgy," much was

inserted in the text [*as mere explicative words or commentary*]. In order to distinguish the matter inserted we must discover certain signs. Let me point out some of them. If any phrase disturbs the metre, which would be otherwise regular, it may be regarded as an interpolation. Now the question also arises, whether such phrases are composed by the compiler, or are extracts from some other genuine texts of the Avesta. All isolated passages, and especially such words and expressions as have no proper connection with the context, must be carefully examined. They should only be brought to bear generally on questions concerning the history of civilization, where they in no way contradict the other statements of the Avesta. Above all, we must beware of attaching too great importance to brief and isolated observations. On the contrary, we must be always careful that any passage brought forward as proof can be supported by others. As a rule, the evidence of language is not to be relied on. We do not even know how far the language of the original sacred books was familiar to the compilers of the "Liturgy." That the time which elapsed between the writing of the original Avesta and the compilation of the "Liturgy," was a period of transformation of language, is, so far as I am aware, generally accepted. At best, it is only when grammatical and material evidences coincide, that we may fitly attach importance to the latter.

The Home of the Avesta.

After what I have said in my opening statement (1) the question may take this form: "What were the places inhabited by the Avesta people? In what country did the civilization represented in the Avesta take its rise and"

develop itself?" Every one will allow that the answer to these questions must be sought in the first place in the Avesta itself.

Dr. Spiegel (Sp. 3, pp. 639-640) says: "Moreover, it is incorrect to assert that the Avesta makes no reference at all to Western Irān; for not only is Lake Urumia (*Chai-chasta*) mentioned but also Babylon (*Bawri*). Thus it is familiar with the land west of the borders of Irān. Among the arguments in favour of an Eastern Irānian origin for the Avesta, particular stress is generally laid on the evidence of the register of lands in the first Fargard of the Vendidād, where only names of Eastern Irānian places occur. Without taking into consideration the fact that Ragha and Varena cannot be regarded as Eastern Irānian districts, and leaving out of account *Airyanem vaējaēh*, we must nevertheless recollect that in Vendidād, I. 81, it is expressly stated that other places and towns existed whose names did not appear on the register. Besides this, I must confess that I consider the age of this first Fargard to be greatly over-estimated."

Prof. C. de Harlez agrees with the writer quoted above. (H. 3, p. 222):

"Puis nous considérerions le pays de l'Avesta comme l'Eran septentrional et non comme oriental. Une région qui s'étend jusqu'au Sud de la Mer Caspienne, ne peut être prise pour l'Orient de l'Eran."

As regards the latter remark it must be admitted that Ragha does not belong to Eastern Irān; it lies close to the natural bridge connecting Western and Eastern Irān. Now, if all the other places mentioned are in Eastern Irān, then surely, in spite of Ragha being mentioned, we are justified in speaking of an "Eastern Irānian civilization." It must also at the same time be accepted as a known fact that at this one point only it extended beyond the frontiers

of Eastern Irān. The very nature of the country sufficiently explains this circumstance ; for, when the Irānian people had reached the " Bridge of Khorāsān," they must necessarily have gone further westward, for deserts prevented their expansion towards the North and South.

At all events, it will be allowed that the name Eastern Irān is more appropriate than Northern Irān would be. To the latter must, however, belong Ātropātene, while it could never have included such places as *Haitumat*, *Harahvati*, *Pisana*, *Vaikerta*—pure Avesta names—which belong to modern Afghānistān.

Northern Irān, moreover, has no existence as a geographical division. Between the North and the South, whether towards the West (Media, Susiana, Persia), or towards the East (Afghānistān, Baluchistān), there is no natural boundary ; but the central desert of Persia divides the plateau of Irān into Eastern and Western districts. A line drawn from Asterābād, through Tebbes to Kirmān, nearly marks the division ; but North and South of the Persian desert the two halves meet again.

The main point of my argument is this:—that, in spite of the reference to Ragha in the Avesta, the greater part of Media, all Ātropātene, Susiana, and Persia, were outside the pale of the Avesta people. But these were the very countries, which, in historical times, were especially the nurseries of the civilization of nations.

Hitherto I have confined myself entirely to meeting the objections of Prof. C. de Harlez to the term " Eastern Irānian Civilization," on the ground that Ragha is mentioned in the Avesta. Let us now consider Dr. Spiegel's remark, against which a great deal may be urged.

1. Besides the register of countries in the Vendidad, I also base my theory of an Eastern Irānian origin for the Avesta on the juxtaposition of all the names of places

occurring in it, and on the very interesting passage, Yt. X.^o 13-14, where, speaking of Mithra, the *yazata* of the rising sun, it says :—

“ Who first, decked with gold,
Grasps the bright mountain-tops ;
Thence he looks over the whole land
Of the Arians, the glorious one where
navigable waters,
Broad with swelling waves, flow
To *Ishkata* and *Poruta*,
To *Moru*, *Haraiiva*, and *Gava*,
To *Sughdha* and to *Qārizem*.”¹

Dr. Spiegel does not refer to this passage ; and yet it is of special significance, for in it the name *airyō-shayana* is expressly used for the “Land of the Arians.” Of the seven names of places it mentions, two, viz., *Ishkata* and *Poruta*,² are unknown ; the others, without exception, are in Eastern Irān, and four of them appear also in the list of countries named in the Vendidad.

Here, then, we have a very important passage, analagous to the register of places often quoted, which indisputably adds to its value.

2. I do not see what arguments can be adduced to disprove the antiquity of the first Fargard of the Vendidad. This document need not be regarded only as an enumeration of tribes, but as a part of the Avesta itself ; and that it is of later

¹ Should any one be inclined to consider the words *ā ishkatem* to *qān izemcha* as an interpolation, the passage would in that case prove even more useful to my argument. The insertion would, of course, be of later date than the original text itself, and would serve as an additional proof that, even during a period later than that in which the Hymn of Mithra, (Yt. X. 13-14), was composed, the *airyō-shayana* was still confined to Eastern Irān.

² Haudez also situates them in Eastern Irān (II. 1, p. 448, note 1). *Ibid.* pp. xxiv. and xlv. with reference to the passage cited above from the Mithra Yasht.

date than any other part cannot be proved with certainty. If this were so, it would be even more striking, that, with the exception of Ragha, only names of Eastern Irānian places occur in it. Again, we must not be misled by the frequent use of the modern forms of these names, for this is sufficiently explained by the various revisions of the Avesta, during which it is easy to conceive the revisers would have preferred to exchange obsolete names for such as were popularly current, or which at least nearly resembled those in common use.

I may further observe that I do not ascribe to the transcribers of the Avesta the alteration of the names, which was doubtless the work of the revisers, to whom the old terms were, indeed, no longer familiar. Again, the loose grammar of many passages in the Avesta must not be ascribed to careless copying of the manuscript, but rather to the ignorance of editors adapting their own language to the text.

3. The concluding passage, "There are also other places, &c.," proves next to nothing. The places could equally well have been in Eastern Irān, so far as may be inferred from the tone of the writer. At all events it would seem very singular that a Zoroastrian of Western Irān should look on the districts of Eastern Irān only as God-created, thus entirely ignoring the claims of his own country.

4. Bawri cannot be mentioned by way of proof. So far as the question relates to the home of the Avesta people, we must confine ourselves to those districts only which are included in Irān. But Bawri was the home of the Dahāka, and therefore situated in a foreign country according to the Avesta. The power of Babylon may probably have been known to the old Irānians, but this is no reason for supposing that it was within the territory of the Avesta people.

5. It is by no means impossible that Chaichastā is Lake Urumia. If so, it forms a singular exception to the numer-

ous other localities mentioned in the Avesta. Perhaps, as in the case of Bawri, we may assume that it was situated beyond the district inhabited by the old Irānians, lying, as a matter of fact, at a considerable distance to the West of their territory. Perhaps it was at some later period that the name Chaichasta was given to Lake Urumia. But upon this I shall dwell further on.

I must now discuss the question in detail.

As regards the geographical names occurring in the Avesta, I must refer to the list of mountains given in Yasht, XIX. 11 *seq.* It is to some extent of no value, since their exact positions cannot be assigned to these mountains. With the help of the Bundehesh some information can be gathered concerning the following names. The *Ushidāo* and the *Ushidarna* stand in Segestān, and therefore in Eastern Irān, as does also *Upari-saina*.¹ The *Antar-kangha* and *Sichindava* are to be looked for in Kandiz, *i.e.*, on the frontier between Irān and China; *Syamaka* and *Vafraka* in Kābul. *Raiva* lies in Khorāsān and near it stand *Spentodhāta* and *Kadrva-aspa*, which, according to the Bundehesh, are situated near Tus (Meshed). Only the *Asnavāo* is situated in Ātropātene. Of the other mountains mentioned, the *Arsura*, *Mainakha*, *Vāti-gaisa*, and *Taira*, are well-known, and to these I shall revert further on. Finally, we must mention *Kauriva*, which is supposed by the Vedas to be situated in Irān.

To the geographical statements of the Bundehesh I attach little importance, since it sets up a world-system of which no trace is to be found in the Avesta. Nevertheless, if we rely on its authority, all those mountains, the geographical positions of which we can trace with its help, must be in Eastern Irān, with the single exception of the Asnavant.

The following are the other geographical names

¹ Cf. West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. pp. 36-37 note.

occurring in the Avesta:—*Aryana-vaija*; the rivers *Dātya* and *Darja*; *Sughdha* and *Gava*; *Qārixem*; the rivers *Rangha* (with the *Gaudha* or *Gudha*) and *Ardvi-sura-Anāhita*; the mountains *Hara-berzati* with the *Taira* and *Hukarya*; *Kangha*, *Vaiska*, and *Khshathrō-sauka*; the lake *Voru-kasha*; *Moru*; *Bākhdi*; *Nisaya*; *Haraiwa* (*Vāti-gaisa*); *Vaikerta*; *Urva*; *Harahvati*; *Haitūmat*; *Vehrkāna* (*Khñenta*); *Varna*; *Chakhra*; *Ragha*; *Pisina*; *Hapta-hindavo*; the lakes *Kansu*, *Chaichasta*, *Fraxdānava*, *Husrava*, *Vanghazda*, and *Awzhdānava*; the mountains *Ushida* and *Ushidarna*, *Arzura*, *Mainakha*, and *Erzifya*, and also the river *Vītanghvati*.

I need not here mention again *Bawri* and *Kvirinta*, since I have already stated my opinion regarding them; as also *Ishkata* and *Poruta*. Of *Ragha*, too, I have spoken already. Here the point in question only refers to those parts of Eastern Irān over which the Avesta people extended themselves. *Chakhra* and *Varna* mark the period of transition and are to be sought for, according to general belief, in *Tāberistān*. If, apart from this district, Eastern Irān was the scene of the civilization of the Avesta, are we not then amply justified in speaking of an Eastern Irānian civilization?

We may still further simplify our task. We may pass over the names *Vanghazda*, *Awzhdānava*, and *Vītanghvati*, as there is no means whatever of forming an opinion as to their situation. The same may also be said of the mountains *Mainakha*, *Erzifya*, and *Arzūra*. The *Aryana-vaija* forms a group with the *Dātya* and *Darja*. Therefore, wherever the latter were situated the *Aryana-vaija* must have been near them, and its position is never distinctly described; but the description includes that of the *Dātya* and *Darja*. The same is the case with the *Kangha*, *Vaiska*, *Khshathrō-sauka*, and *Hara-berzati* which includes the *Taira* and *Hukarya*. Again the *Sughdha* and *Gava*, the *Vehrkāna* and *Khñenta* form one group.

The Rangha, the Ardvi-sura, and the Voru-kasha, are generally considered by my critics to be mythical places, and, as far as I know, no one has been able with any certainty to locate them in Western Irān. Therefore, they are also useless for purposes of evidence.¹

As regards the remaining names, nine of them belong indisputably to localities in Eastern Irān (Sughdha, Qārizem, Moru, Bākhdi, Haraiva, Harahvati, Haitumat, Vehrkāna, Pisina), since they exist there to the present day. The remaining eight, namely, Nisaya, Vāti-gaisa, Vaikerta, Urva, Hapta-hindavō, Kansu, and the mountains Ushida and Ushidarna,² are now generally recognized, even by my opponents, as having been situated in Eastern Irān. On four of the names or groups of names (Aryana-vaija, Ilara-berzati, Kangha, Frazdānava), no unanimous decision has yet been arrived at; nevertheless most writers, at least in the case of the two last mentioned, are inclined to locate them in Eastern Irān. Only two localities, viz., the Lakes Chaichasta and Husrava are looked for in Western Irān, and this without any definite reason.

He must be very hard to satisfy who is not convinced by the arguments set forth above. In my opinion they point so decidedly to Eastern Irān as the home of the Avesta people that further confirmation seems hardly necessary. Nevertheless, I hope to be able to prove that Aryana-vaija and Ilara-berzati should be sought in the East, or at least to show the insufficiency of the arguments

¹ In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians," pp. 34 *seq.* and pp. 45 *seq.*, I have explained the theory of the Rangha being the Jaxartes (Syr-daryā), the Ardisura the Oxus (Amu-daryū), and the Voru-kasha Lake Aral or the Caspian Sea. Besides, this view is also shared by others.

² Doubts might certainly be raised as to the district of Nisaya, which means only "a settlement," nevertheless we have a passage in the Vendidad (I. 8), where its situation is described. Cf. also M. Tomaschek, *Ausland*, 1883, pp. 822-823.

on which the theory of their situation in the West is based. Lake Chaichasta we must deal with later on.

In the first place, as regards Frazdānava, no one has as yet assigned it to Western Irān, but the whole testimony of tradition agrees in locating it in the Eastern province.¹ Dr. Spiegel's latest remark on the subject is indeed somewhat diffident:—"Frazdānu or Frazdānava is, according to the Bundehesh, a lake in Segestān; but M. Lagarde has (not unreasonably) traced its name in that of the Armenian river Irazdan, *which is possibly correct*" Every one will surely allow that the similarity between an Armenian and an Irānian name proves nothing at all as regards the identity of the places named, but rather renders such identity improbable. The Avesta mentions a river Haravati and the Rīg-veda a Sarasvati, but no one will venture to assert that these rivers were, therefore, identical.

Until quite recently, no difference of opinion existed concerning Kangha, Vaiska, and Khshathrōsauka. The Avesta places Kangha evidently in Tūrān,² which is always understood to be the country north of the Oxus. The testimony of the Bundehesh, the Minokhired, and of the "Book of Kings" by Firdūsī, agrees with that of the Avesta. Kangha is always referred to as a district in the far North-East. *Here we surely have a firm footing, which we should not fail to make good, unless we wish to*

¹ Cf. especially *Bahman-yasht*, ch. III. 13, West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 220. Aūharmazd spoke thus: "O Zaratūst, the Spitāmān, when the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of wath, comes into notice in the Eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hūshēdār, son of Zaratūst, is born near lake Frazdān." Again, Bundehesh, ch. XXII. 5 (*ibid.* p. 86).

² Yt. V. 53-54, 57-58. Cf. *O. K. A.* pp. 52-54, 198-199. Windischmann, Bréal, Justi, De Harlez, are all agreed in locating Kanga in the East.

cut away the ground from under our own feet. And yet Dr. Spiegel starts a theory that Kangha was in the West, (Sp. I, p. 20); but apparently without any authority, and in direct opposition to the evidence of tradition which he at other times values so highly. His line of argument runs as follows:—Kangha was the home of the Hunus, the enemies of Vishtāspa. The Hvyāunas and the Vardhakas appear elsewhere in the Avesta as the foes of Vishtāspa. The latter may be identified with the Chionitae and Vartae, who dwell on the western shores of the Caspian. But this is not possible, if Eastern and not Western Irān was the scene of Vishtāspa's career. So Dr. Spiegel thinks fit to locate Kangha, too, in the West and to look there also for the Hunus, though at the same time acknowledging that "there is much evidence to show that it was in Eastern Irān," adding, however, "but the possibility always remains, that there were Hunus also on the western shores of the Caspian."

But Dr. Spiegel, who laboured after a "historical" explanation of the Avesta with so much determination and achieved his object with so much success, makes the following statement:—"The fact ought to be admitted that, as far as we can gather from native sources, Kangha was situated in the East." He ought certainly not to have sacrificed this fact for the sake of etymology. If it will not agree with the Chionitae, well and good; we must not try to identify the Hvyāunas with the latter, or else we must concede that Vishtāspa's activity extended to Eastern as well as to Western Irān. Can we not with justice use Dr. Spiegel's own words:—"The possibility remains that there were Hvyāunas (Chionitae) also on the western shores of the Caspian"?

Let us now consider the Chionitae and Vartae, whom Dr. Spiegel (Sp. I, pp. 16 *seq.*) would identify with the *Hvyāna* and the *Varedhaka* of the Avesta. The identity is purely etymological and not historical. Does the identity of

peoples follow from the identity of their names? The Mardoī, for instance, are said to have lived both in Persia and Hyrcania, and the Daai on the eastern shores of the Caspian, but at the same time beyond the Tanais-Jaxartes and in Persia.¹ Is it not rather probable that this similarity of names is only apparent? Even in external form the two words *Vardhaka* and *Vartae* are not alike. Dr. Spiegel² derives the word *Hvyaona* or *Ilyaona* from the *haṇa* of the Avesta and from the Middle Irānian word *hayūn*. Dr. Geldner,³ on the contrary, is of opinion that the word should be derived from *hva-yaona*, meaning "one who goes his way, a wanderer, a vagabond." According to him it is not generally a proper, but a generic name. If this etymology be correct—and the passages in the Avesta seem to support it—then the identification of the Chionitae with the Hvyauna loses all value as historical evidence.⁴

But, now what do we know of the Chionitae? Ammianus says of them:—"*Datiano et Cereali consulibus cum universa per Gallias studio cautiore disponerentur formidoque praeteritorum barbaricos hebetaret excursus rex Persarum in confinis adhuc gentium extimarum, iamque cum Chionitis et Gelanis omnium acerrimis bellatoribus pignore icto societatis rediturus ad sua, Tamsapōris scripta suscepit, pacem Romanum principem nuntiantis poscere precativum.*" (17. 5. 1.)

¹ Cf. vol. I. pp. 38, 40-41, *O. K. A.* pp. 203-204, 200-201.

² Dr. Spiegel's reference to the *hayūn rūi* in Firdūsī, which might be explained by the change of meaning from the Old Irānian *haṇa* to the Middle Irānian *hayun*, is very ingenious. But the Syriac *hveenai* with its initial *hv* does not entirely suit this interpretation.

³ *Avestāstudien*, p. 83.

⁴ Spiegel's etymology of the names, Chionitae and Hvyauna, might of itself mark them as generic terms. As such *haṇa* is often enough employed in the Avesta, (*vide* vol. I. pp. 28-29; *O. K. A.* pp. 191-192.).

If we add to this another passage from Ammianus (18. 6. 22) to which Dr. Spiegel does not refer and wherein Grumbates, the king of the Chionitae, is mentioned with the king of Albania, we have the sum total of our knowledge of the Chionitae. From the latter being named with the Gelans, who must of course be understood to be the inhabitants of Gilan, and with the Albanians, it is indeed more probable that they dwell on the western shores of the Caspian. On such an uncertain basis, or at all events on the mere identification of the names Hvyana and Chionitae, does Dr. Spiegel ground his theory that Vishtāspa had his home in the West. Again, from the words, "This conquest of two nations¹ by Vishtāspa, in which Shapur II. was concerned " we gather that he assigns the origin of the Vishtāspa legend to the reign of King Shapur or still later. Now what can be his object in thus connecting it with Shapur? By so doing he deprives his argument of the last vestige of evidence. At least he cannot venture to assert that the original Avesta was written in the fourth century after Christ! If so, his conclusion would amount to this:—"The Vishtāspa legends of the Avesta bear a striking resemblance to the history of Shapur II., therefore, they are productions of that time." Thus, then, they would lose all value as evidence for determining the home of the Avesta people and the antiquity of their civilization; and we should have gathered only one argument in proof of the spuriousness [?] of a portion of the book, especially of the passages quoted by Dr. Spiegel from the Yashts.

Accordingly, the theatre of Vishtāspa's wars was

¹ " *Diese Besiegung zweier Völker durch Vishtāspa, mit welchen Schāpur II. zu thun hatte* " The second nation refers doubtless to the Vertae of Ammianus, i.e., the Vardhaka, but as far as I know we have no authority for supposing a conquest of the Vertae by Shapur; on the contrary, they appear to have been allies of the Persians (Amm. 19. 2.3).

in the East; in the East we must endeavour to find the country of Kangha; and it was in the East that he fought with the Iivyaunas and Vardhakas, and, likewise, with the Huns. With regard to the latter I am inclined to draw attention to a paper of M. Tomaschek's (*Ausland*, 1883, vol. LVI. p. 824), according to which the Finnish accounts of the invasions of the Northern Hiin-yô from the Gobi date back to 1750 B. C. The mention made of them in the Avesta strengthens rather than weakens the claims of that book to a high antiquity.¹

If, in the last few pages I have been now and then, compelled to digress into matter that pertains to the second part of my treatise, I shall now confine myself to purely geographical questions in discussing the Hara-berzati.

I believe I may refer, in entering upon this subject, principally to my "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," (pp. 42-45), in which I locate that mountain-range in the East, since the Avesta itself does so. When the Avesta says of Mithra, that he rises before the sun, as well as the moon and the stars over the Hara-berzati, it clearly proves that, for the author of such a passage, the Hara-berzati must have been situated in the East.² It is, therefore, impossible to identify that range with the Alburz mountains, lying on the southern shores of the Caspian, in spite of their names being identical. The Alburz lay exactly to the

¹ As, for instance, Justi, (J. 1, Sp. 1476), has done: "He hesitates to recognize this people (the Huns) in the Hunu, because they belong to a time more modern than the writing of the Avesta"; he should rather have concluded that the passage, in which the Huns are mentioned, was of comparatively recent insertion. In my opinion Tomaschek has now arrived at the right conclusion, and dispelled my doubts.

² Again, it necessarily follows hence that the important part played by the Alburz in the world-system of the Bundesh, is entirely unknown to the Avesta.

West as regarded Moru and Bākhdi, &c., and to the North with respect to the inhabitants of Ragha; but never with regard to any of the territories, in the East or South-East, mentioned in the Avesta.

Facts point the other way. I believe Hara-berzati to have been more than a local name. To such a range of mountains as those mentioned above, it is quite suited on account of its general meaning of "High Mountains." The conjecture is also confirmed by the fact that the name was not merely confined to the Alburz of the Caspian, but extended also to the Caucasus. The name Alburzond given by the Ossetes to the Elbrus, is evidently the same old Avesta word.

Since we have found the name Hara-berzati applied to two quite distinct mountain-ranges, may it not possibly have belonged likewise to a third? In the last we must, of course, recognize the great central highland of Asia, the Pāmīr, the Phianshan, and the Alai, which must have seemed to the Irānians of the Avesta to coincide exactly with the eastern boundary of their world.

Finally, we come to Aryana-vaija and the rivers Dātya and Darja.

It is now, I believe, generally agreed that Aryana-vaija is known to the Avesta itself only as a semi-mythical land. This I have never denied; on the contrary, I have laid some stress upon it.¹ Hence two results may be deduced:—

¹ Cf. my *O. K. A.* p. 30: "As to the Irānians of the Avesta, Aryana-vaija had already, so far as they were concerned, passed out of the domain of history into the region of legend." Cf. also p. 32, where the reasons are given for its having been chosen by the Avesta as the home and dwelling of Zoroaster. Like Ahura Mazda and Yima he is called *srūō-airyonē-vaōjahī*, (Ys. IX. 14); and the place of his birth is pointed out on the Darja, (Vd. XIX. 4. 11), where the house of his father Pourushaspa stood. Zarathushtra, therefore, belonged to the East, if, as I hope to

firstly, that from the references to Aryana-vaija we must draw no elaborate historical conclusions; secondly, that it must have been a country beyond the true frontiers of the Irānian people, known to them more by tradition, verbal or written, than by personal experience, bearing almost the same relation to them as the *Rasā* did to the Arians of the Rīg-veda. We must satisfy ourselves, therefore, with a somewhat general indication of the situation of Aryana-vaija.

The semi-mythical character of Aryana-vaija is revealed by the fact that in the Avesta it is reputed to be the "home of Ahura Mazda."¹ There he makes known to Anāhita his will that Zarathushtra shall remain faithful to Him, and think, speak, and act according to His commandments. There, too, Ahura Mazda holds his meeting with the legendary king Yima; and Zarathushtra is likewise spoken of as the "renowned one in the country of Aryana-vaija."²

The Avesta is, and must always remain, the "earliest

be able to prove, Aryana-vaija must be assigned to that quarter. We need not be hampered by the comparatively modern evidence to the contrary. All the best Occidental testimony also goes to prove that Eastern Irān was the home of Zoroaster. "By far the majority of the old writers, moreover, describe Zoroaster as a Bactrian If against their statements it should be remarked that they are all modern, we might respond by saying that the accounts which call Zoroaster a Mede, are proved to be still later and less numerous." (Sp. I, p. 3.)

¹ [This fact does not necessarily prove the admixture of any mythical element in the Avesta description of Aryana-vaija; it rather confirms the Zoroastrian belief that the primitive land of the early *Mazdayasna* was the abode of all piety and blessings, where man was himself a spiritual power exulting in the glorification of the divine government, and, inspired with supernatural thoughts, was, in the moments of intense devotion, in communion with the Creator and the good genii.]

² Yt. V. 17-18; cf. Yt. XV. 2; Vd. II. 21; Ys. IX. 14. Hauma, too, offers up his prayer to Anāhita in Aryana-vaija. (Yt. V. 104).

source of information, and it is a help to us in ascertaining the position of Aryana-vaija; and here again we have to consider the evidence afforded by the register of countries in the Vendidād. If the antiquity of the register is disputed, at any rate no one will deny that it is of earlier date than the traditional Parsee writings, than the Bundesh or the Minokhired; and at the time of its translation it was even regarded as an integral portion of the Parsee Scriptures and was translated, commented on, and interpreted in the same way as every other fragment of the great Avesta.

Again in Vd. I. 3 we find:—

“As the first of the lands and as the best dwelling-place, I, Ahura Mazda, created the *Aryana-vaija* (the country) situated on the good Dātya. Thereupon Angra Manyu, who is full of death, counter-created the water-serpents and a winter produced by the demons.”

From this we gather two conclusions:—that Aryana-vaija was on the Dātya, and that it suffered from very severe winters. But more important still is the order in which the countries are enumerated in the Vendidād and the positions which each of them holds. Aryana-vaija heads the list, and is followed by Sughdha, Moru, Bākhdi, Nisaya, Haraiva, indisputably following the course from North to South. Hence it follows almost certainly that Aryana-vaija was further North than Sughdha. No objection can, therefore, be taken, *if we locate it in Upper Ferghanāh.*¹

¹ Even Justi is forced to admit that Aryana-vaija is represented by the Vendidād as the country furthest to the North-East (J. 1, Sp. 1473), and I have as yet never come across any attempt to account for the extraordinary interpretation of the sequence in the register, which would be necessary if we were to identify Aryana-vaija with Arzan! I might once more refer to the attempt

But, then, is this supposition at variance with the rest of the evidence afforded by the Avesta? By no means. I have collected all the passages in which Aryana-vaija is mentioned, *but in none* (with the exception of Vd. I. 4) *is there any direct evidence as to the situation of that country.* Hence I cannot find any warrant for what Dr. Justi says: "Other traditions of the Avesta and of more modern works *positively locate in the West* the primitive land of the Avesta people, and thus probably also the home of Zoroaster." As far as Aryana-vaija and the Avesta are concerned, it is an assertion without any convincing evidence.

Again, the Avesta never alludes to the geographical situation of the Dātya. We only know that on its banks Zari-vari and Vishtāspa offered their prayers for success in battle.¹ Besides, it is only mentioned in the register of countries side by side with Aryana-vaija.

I have made in my *O. K. A.* pp. 3-6, 76-78, to explain this order of names, which has met with the approval of Dr. E. W. West, who says: "It appears from these details (given by Dr. Geiger) which are illustrated by a carefully-drawn map of the whole region described, that the apparent irregularities in the arrangement of the names of these lands are quite consistent with the assumption that they are mentioned in the order in which their inhabitants accepted the Avesta religion. And as half the names are readily identified with the names of places mentioned by Darius in his Cuneiform Inscriptions, or by Greek writers, and still in use, it seems most probable that the other half are also old names of lands still existing on the earth's surface, and are mythic only in so far as our present knowledge is insufficient to identify them with absolute certainty." (*Vide the Indian Antiquary*, Dec., 1882, pp. 349-350). It is not proper to plead simply the geographical ignorance of the author. How is it then possible that we can attach importance to the very regular sequence in isolated groups?

¹ Yt. V. 112; IX. 29; In the same way, the two passages in the Avesta in which the Darja is mentioned (Vd. XIX. 4 and 11), are of less value in determining its distinct geographical situation.



But, now, what has led Dr. Justi¹ to identify *Aryana-vaija* with the country of Arran on the Lower Araxes near *Ātropātene*? A passage in the Bundehesh, which says: "Aīrān-vēj lies at the side of Atrōpatkān."² He professes to find this confirmed by another passage: "The Dāitīk river (Dātya) rises in Aīrān-vēj and flows through Gurjistān (Georgia)." But Gurjistān is simply a conjecture of his own, elegant though it may be. The latest translator, Dr. West, retains the manuscript reading, which is simply an inaccuracy in the Pāzand transcription of the word meaning generally "mountain-land" (Kohistān).³ Nor should any importance be attached to the name Arrān. The ancient *Airyana* corresponds rather with the Middle and Modern Irānian *Ērān* or *Irān* than with *Arrān*. Only compare *Airyaman* of the Avesta with the Pahlavi and Modern Persian *Ermān*.

Accordingly, I have set the scattered references of the Bundehesh side by side with the Avesta, and I do not think that it will be difficult to decide between the two.⁴ Here I may remark that the obscurity of the statements of the Bundehesh with regard to Aryana-vaija and the country belonging to it, may also be proved. That the Vara of Yima was situated close to Aryana-vaija is shown by the second chapter of the Vendidād and expressed in clear

¹ *Beitrage zur alten Geographie Persiens*, "Contributions to the Geography of Ancient Persia," p. 18.

² *Bdh.* XXIX. 12 (Justi, p. 70. 10). By-the-by, I must observe that it is impossible that Ariān should have been regarded as a mythical place during the last centuries before Christ, in which, according to the view of my opponent, the Avesta must have been composed; since at that time it lay exactly within the pale of Irānian history and civilization.

³ West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 79, note 1.

⁴ Again, Duncker says (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. IV. p. 24, note 4): "It still appears to me advisable to look for Aryana-vaija in the country lying near the sources of the Oxus."

words in the sixty-second chapter (para. 15) of the Minokhired.¹ Yet the Bundeshesh locates it in Pars.²

But our view is further confirmed by the fact that the Minokhired,³ which is at least not less trustworthy than the Bundeshesh, looks for Aryana-vaija in the East, and locates it on the borders of Kandiz, which belongs to the "country of the East," and which Dr. Justi himself describes as being in the far North-East.

1. Thus we have now arrived at the conclusion that all the geographical testimony of the Avesta points to Eastern Irān, save that Ragha is near the western frontier, and that there is no other place known to the present day, which lay further than Ragha to the West or South-West.

We must now turn to Lake Chaichasta. There is no doubt that, according to the Bundeshesh, this lake was situated in Ātropātene, and, therefore, it can only be identified with Lake Urumia.⁴ But it might be asked whether we have not here again another instance of the transfer of a name to a later period. • Of course this view can be nothing more than a conjecture; but, nevertheless, something may be said in its favour.

¹ *Vide* West, "Pahlavi Texts," part III. p. 109, "(12) The spirit of wisdom answered (13) thus: 'Kangdez is entrusted with the eastern quarter, near to Satavāyūs, (14) on the frontier of Airān-vêgō.'" The Minokhired contains no such references to the rule of the Arabians in Persia, as are to be found in the Bundeshesh. Thus the former seems to lay claim to a higher antiquity than the latter.

² *Bdh.* XXIX. 14, (following West's Translation).

³ *Mkh.* LXII. 13-14. Here we are only struck by the statement: "Near to Satvās," since the Star Satavaisa is elsewhere described as the ruler of the West.

⁴ West ("Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 85, note 4), states that Lake Urumia is called Khejest or Chechest by Hāmdullāh Mustāfi.

It was near Lake Chaichasta, that Frangrasyan (Afrāsīāb) was defeated and taken prisoner by Husrava.¹ Moreover, that the scene of the struggle between the Irānians and Tūrānians was the North-Eastern frontier of Irān, can scarcely be disputed. The Oxus forms the boundary between the two kingdoms, and, according as the one or the other gained the supremacy, so Khorāsān on the rivers Kūse and Shehd, Khvārizem (Khīwa), Dighistān, Soghd on the Gulzarriūn, or Kang-bihisht became the scene of conflict. The fact, that at this time the residence of the Irānian kings was placed by Firdūsī in Istakhr or in some other western town, is absolutely unimportant. This would be an anachronism. Here the whole question is only concerning the great opposition between Irān and Tūrān, which occupied all the early legendary epoch, and this hostility found vent in North-Eastern Irān.

We would, therefore, feel inclined to seek Chaichasta in the North-East. Anyhow, we must not admit that the history of the end of Afrāsīāb, related in the "Book of Kings," along with the abovementioned wars, wherein the Tūrānian king was driven to the North-East, appears inconsistent. If the name Chaichasta was transferred to Lake Urumia in the time of Firdūsī, then the story of Afrāsīāb's wanderings and of his discovery is easily explained. The later localizing of this legend on the shores of Lake Urumia, would have necessitated its being brought into harmony, for better or for worse, with the other narratives which place the scene of conflict exclusively in the North-East. The conclusion best in accord with the most ancient accounts, and certainly the simplest and most trustworthy one, would be that Afrāsīāb, after he had been driven further and further away by Khosraw, at length fell into the hands of his enemies near Lake Chaichasta.

¹ Yt. IX. 18, 21; XVII. 41. Cf. Yt. V. 49.

Is it not possible that it may have been Lake Issyk-kul? This conjecture—for naturally it is nothing more—was suggested to me by M. Tomaschek.¹

2. That such a transference of names, as I would assume in the case of Lake Chaichasta, occurred in some instances, is not to be disputed. No one will maintain that the Rangha of the Avesta meant the Tigris, and yet this river is meant by the Arang of the Bundesh. Dr. Spiegel has already directed our attention to the migration of the names, Kur and Araxes. The transference of the name Hara-berzati I have pointed out above. Now the question arises whether, in these cases, a migration from East to West or one from West to East is the more probable. When we consider that we can prove almost to a certainty that all the Indo-Irānian tribes lived in territories lying to the North and South of the Hindu-kush, we may at once admit the fact of a migration of the Irānian names of places westward, concurrently with the extension of that tribe in that direction, just as we may observe a southeasterly advance of Indian names. The theory of a migration of geographical designations from West to East would presuppose a perfectly artificial conformation of the many streams of migrating tribes opposed to one another.

3. I would now draw attention to the numerous names of places mentioned in the Avesta. Without exception they all lie within the boundary indicated by the (Avesta) register of countries. None of them, as we have observed, leads us further westward than Ragha. Can this be a mere accident? Should we then make an exception in the case of Chaichasta, an exception by no means authorized by the Avesta, (which contains no

¹ *Ausland*, 1883, p. 824. In determining the position of Lake Chaichasta we determine also that of Lake Husrava. If the former is the Issyk-kul, the latter is doubtless the Sson-jöl. If, on the contrary, the former is Lake Urumia, then the latter must be Lake Van.

allusion to its geographical position), but only founded on a far later application of the name? Will not this *only* name be overborne, so to speak, by the weight of the rest? Does not the complete picture presented by all the geographical references in the Avesta concerning the home of the ancient Irānians, compel us to place Chaichasta also within the limits of Irān?

Fewer definite results are to be obtained from an examination of the ethnographical statements of the Avesta than by determining the geographical names. Here I may confine myself to a brief recapitulation of what I have already said on the subject in my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians," (*vide Ostîrân. Kultur*, pp. 193 seq).

I have already observed that the reference to the Hunus points to Central Asia and not to Western Irān. Similarly, I have discussed the names, Hvyāuna and Vardhaka. Again, we must look for the Tūra in Central Asia, since the Oxus is actually mentioned as the boundary between their territory and that of the Irānians. The Dāhas, too, were divided from the Irānians by the Oxus. Indeed, Herodotus mentions a tribe of the Daai as inhabiting Persis, as well as the Mardoï and Sajartae. Moreover, we must assign the country of this nomadic tribe to the eastern shores of the Caspian, that is to say, the land of the Turcomans of the present day. Here their name is also preserved in the Middle Irānian expression *Dāhistān*.¹ Little need be said regarding the Sarima and the Sāni, since neither word seems to be a proper name, but rather a generic term. Thus Sarima might be traced in the modern Sarmatia without justifying any supposition as regards an identity or relationship between the two tribes. I would adhere to my explanation of *Maredha* = the Mardoï and *Derwika* = the Derbikes, although Dr. Justi opposes this

¹ Besides, the word *Dāha* meaning simply "enemy" may well have been applied to quite different races.

view. Again, the identification of *Barvara* with the appellation *Barbar* for the Hindu-kush tribes is not quite improbable. However, from these names we cannot infer anything that will help us to determine the home of the Avesta, as they are invariably spoken of as the plague of special districts, viz., Moru, Haraiva, and Bākhdi.¹

We must now turn to the question of the age of the Avesta.

On the Age of the Avesta.

I.

We begin with a *documentum e silentio*. The Avesta must have been in existence in a pre-Achaemenian, most probably in a pre-Median epoch. I.—Because the Avesta does not speak of any of the towns famous during the latter period, with the exception of Ragha, the high antiquity of which is thereby established. II.—The Avesta does not mention any of the names of nations that were commonly known at a later period. Neither does it allude to the Persians, Parthians, nor Medes, but simply to the Arians. III.—The Avesta contains no historical statement concerning the battles between the Medes and the Babylonians, the rise of the Persians, the prosperity and downfall of the Persian empire under the Achaemenian dynasty, the invasion of Alexander the Great, which agitated and reorganized the whole of the Orient, the states which rose on the ruins of the empire of Alexander, and the dominion of the Arsacidae.

Who will believe that a work so copious as the Avesta could thus ignore all contemporary (or antecedent) events

¹ Vd. I. 6, 9, 7.

and circumstances? This would be conceivable, if it were merely a book of laws and ritual. But the Avesta frequently treats even of external events. It speaks of the inroads of hostile troops. The Yashts describe the battles waged with foreign nations. Attention is constantly drawn to the national antagonism between Arians and non-Arians, and likewise to the economic antagonism between the nomads and the agriculturists. The tribal constitution pre-eminently appears from the testimony of the Avesta. Princes ruling over the separate districts and particularly powerful personages unite the different Arian kingdoms under their own sovereignty—of whom Kavi-Husrava is especially remarkable. Is it possible that there could have been not even a single event of sufficient importance to induce the writers of the Avesta to make mention of kings among the Achaemenidae or the Arsacidae, who possessed still greater power? ¹

One can search the Avesta through and through, without finding a single statement to which all that we possess of Irānian history would give a clue. What is more natural than the assumption that it dates from a time in which there was no other trustworthy history of Irān. *As a matter of fact, by such a supposition, I think, much less is imposed upon our "faith" than by the assertion that this utter absence of historical allusion is purely "accidental."*

Such an accident is quite incredible, indeed, if we regard Western Irān as the home of the Avesta; but it is equally inconceivable if we place it in Eastern Irān. Read, for instance, Prof. Max Duncker's *Outlines of the History of the Kingdom of Bactria*² at the time of the Achaemenidae

¹ I have here only recapitulated, in order not to repeat myself, the several points which I have already treated at length in my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 176-210, pp. 425 seq.

² *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. IV. pp. 15 seq.

and of the Greco-Bactrian Princes: "At no time was the Eastern part of the kingdom so shut off and isolated that it would have remained untouched by events passing round it."

Dr. Spiegel writes:—"Following the example of Prof. Rhode, it (*i.e.*, the first Fargard of the Vendidūd) has often been compared with the list of tribes in Genesis; and, as a proof of its great antiquity, the fact has been adduced of the absence in the Vendidūd of the name Ekbatana, which, therefore, was probably not built when the Fargard was written. This is surely a proof of a peculiar nature.* May we not equally well conclude that Ekbatana had already lost its early importance." The proof would be singular, indeed, if it were confined to Ekbatana. But the question here refers, not merely to the Median capital, but also to all the important towns which were famous after the Median period. Not only is Ekbatana ignored but also Susa, Pasargadae, Persepolis, Istakhr, Hecatompylos and Seleucia. The several Alexandrias and such towns as Markanda, Cyropolis, &c., are not even once mentioned. How significant, therefore, is the fact that, of all the cities of the West, only ancient Babylon is named in the Avesta! The renown of that powerful city spread even to the rugged highlands of Eastern Irān.

To the second reason also, which I have adduced in proof of the great antiquity of the Avesta—namely, the absence of all names of nations, such as Medes, Persians, Parthians, &c.,—we may attach no small importance, since they are in fact the names by which the Irānian races were universally known in historical times. It must seem doubly striking to those who endeavour to identify the Āthravans of the Avesta with the Magi of the Medes; for the religious and political conflict between the latter and the other tribes belonging to the Irānian empire, particularly the Persians, must inevitably have caused that name to be mentioned at least once. Let us see what

evidence Herodotus furnishes and consider the passage in which he says: "The Medes were also called Arians." Even this statement supports my argument. It runs as follows: ἐχάλεοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοί. Thus in πάλαι they were called "Arians." In the time of Herodotus, *i.e.*, in the fifth century B. C., the name was already antiquated, or at least its use was restricted. In the Avesta, on the contrary, *airya* is the only recognized and universal designation of the people.¹

It must not, however, be inferred that by the name "Arian" the Avesta people are brought into close connection with the Arians of the Rig-veda. In the case of the latter also, and especially in all ancient writings, the name *Ārya* is an ethnographical designation, which, in later times, when the conquest of the habitable territory was finally accomplished, sank to the level of a mere class-name comprising the members of the three higher castes. In Irān, likewise, we find the name *Ārya* used only in the Avesta; but in later times, when the original nation had broken up into distinct tribes, the name entirely disappeared, giving place to the names of individual tribes.

In endeavouring to find positive proofs of the great age of the Avesta, we must look chiefly to internal evidence.

Here I refer principally to the economic conditions of the Avesta people, a feature of their civilized life to which I have devoted particular attention in my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians," but which unfortunately has not as yet been sufficiently studied.

The existence, at every period of history, in Irān, and particularly in Eastern Irān, of nomadic tribes, side by side with those who pursued agriculture, and the continuance of this discordant feature down to the present day, are explained by the nature of the country. We need not, therefore,

¹ Cf. my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 168-169.

deduce the great age of the Avesta from the traces of nomadic life we may find in it. But the fact assumes quite a different aspect, when the Avesta takes us back to a period, wherein parts or sections of the people in general make a first attempt to change their wandering life for a settled one, to a period in which the discordant element, which afterwards became historical, makes its first appearance. It makes an immense difference whether primitive economic conditions appear only incidentally or whether they occupy the whole life and form the highest and essential interests of the people; whether, in short, religious and economic reforms go hand in hand.

I would here ask those who seek to identify the *Āthravans* of the Avesta with the *Magi* of the Achaemenian and pre-Achaemenian periods, whether they can discover in those periods that warm interest on the part of the priests in agricultural matters, that eager support and encouragement of agriculture and cattle-breeding which are so prominently displayed in the Avesta? For my part, I cannot imagine such a thing; for it hardly seems possible that, at a time when political feeling and party spirit ran so high, the *Magi* should have earnestly busied themselves with the laying out of fields, the planting of trees, and the digging of wells and canals. If we bear in mind the intrigues with which they were concerned after the death of Cambyses, we can no longer recognize in them the spirit of a simple and homely tribe, of herdsmen and peasants, such as are the people described in the Avesta, which we are asked to regard as the Sacred Code of these very *Magi*!

This matter, however, requires to be somewhat more closely studied, in connection with the highly important question of the age of the *Gāthās* and the relation they bear to the rest of the Avesta.

II.

While I hold the Gāthās to be by far the oldest part of the Avesta, I do not entirely ground my belief upon the evidence of their language. Although it bears many marks of great antiquity, still it is not quite free from later and more polished forms of expression. Again, the language of the Gāthās is essentially a distinct dialect, the difference of which from that of the rest of the Avesta may be easily explained by its having belonged to a different country.

Nor do I lay stress upon the fact that the Gāthās are quoted in other parts of the Avesta; for these quotations may, as I believe, have been inserted in later revisions. They testify more to the great reputation than to the great age of these sacred hymns. At the same time it is not improbable that their reputation may have been due to their priority in point of time.

This assumption is corroborated by another fact. The metre of the Gāthās, although not so simple as that of the later books of the Avesta, has evidently remained comparatively undisturbed. Like the rest of the Yasna, the Gāthās have not during their revision been, so to say, remodelled; they were rather inserted in the Avesta as a book complete in itself. The Vendidūd was handled in the same way, but was at first somewhat violently recast and varied with copious insertions. Evidently, therefore, the Gāthās were considered as more sacred than the Vendidūd; the reason of which was probably that they were attributed to Zarathushtra himself or his immediate disciples. There must have been some ground for such a belief. I am not quite ready to accept the theory entirely as it stands; however, it has always appeared to me to bear some marks of probability.

We have more valuable evidence of the age of the Gāthās, in the fact that the personages who speak and act in them appear as the contemporaries of the poet, whilst in the rest of the Avesta they are represented as belonging to a remote past. I do not know why this feature has been so long ignored. This circumstance, which gives, so to speak, its present and actual character to the Gāthās, constitutes the chief difference between them and the other parts of the Avesta, and necessitates the theory of a great difference in age.

For instance, Zarathushtra is addressed in person in the passage, (Ys. XLVI. 14):—

“O Zarathushtra, who is thy pious friend
In thy great work? Who is it, that wishes to announce it?
It is he himself Kavi Vishtāspa, the armed-for-battle,
And whomsoever, O Ahura Mazda, Thou chooseth
from the settlers:
Them will I extol with the holy sayings of the pious mind.”

And Zarathushtra himself utters the words, (Ys. XLVI. 19):—

“Whoever in piety shows me truly good deeds,
To me, Zarathushtra, to him shall be granted
As a reward yonder next world, of all worlds the most
worthy to be aspired to.”

In a similar manner Frasha-ushttra, (Ys. XLVI. 16) and Jāmāspa, (Ys. XLVI. 17; XLIX. 9), who belong to the race of the Hvogvids, are personally addressed in the Gāthās. In other passages Frasha-ushttra or Vishtāspa is placed side by side with the poet who says: “To Vishtāspa and to me,” “For Frasha-ushttra and also for me.” (Ys. XXVIII. 8 and 9; Ys. XLIX. 8; cf. also, Ys. LI. 16-18). Likewise, Poruchistā, the daughter of Zarathushtra, is personally addressed (Ys. LIII. 3).

This personal character is common to all the Gāthās. They seldom refer to Zarathushtra's work as a reformer. The poet mostly explains his own views, himself reveals the truth of his religion to the people and utters maxims of worldly wisdom or biology. The teaching of Zoroaster does not yet appear as a complete creed, but it is in course of forming and developing. The poet also frequently dwells upon the events—of which I shall speak further on—passing around him, as, for instance, the persecution of the Zoroastrian community.

It is, I believe, incorrect to suppose that in the Gāthās we have only to deal with purely imaginary personages who utter or listen to the words of the Prophet. Why should we make such an assumption only regarding the Gāthās and not the rest of the Avesta? The former are subjective poems, the latter on the contrary is merely a later compilation, wherein we only meet with the words of Zarathushtra and his teaching as quoted on his authority. *

I now come to the main point.

Whoever studies the historical and economical conditions of the old Irānian people, as they are described in the Gāthās and in the other parts of the Avesta, must necessarily perceive that a substantial difference existed between the two. This has been already pointed out by me; but it is necessary that I should do so here again, as hitherto all the facts have not been entirely considered. ¹

In the Gāthās the cow is the central object of Irānian economy. How important a part this animal plays in the sacred hymns, every one knows who has read even a few lines of them. This can only be satisfactorily explained by assuming that the cow was probably esteemed and cared for by the Irānian people in the age of the Gāthās, just as

¹ Cf. my *Ostiranische Kultur*, pp. 177-179; 403-406; 465-468.

it was by the Arians of the Rig-veda, and that great and special attention was paid to its breeding and rearing.¹

The fruits of agriculture, the ploughing of the land, the sowing of seed and the harvest are all, indeed, mentioned in the Gāthās; nevertheless they are treated as subordinate to the care of the cow.

We thus find the people of the Gāthās in a particular phase of civilization, which will be recognized by every one who is familiar with the laws of the early economic development of nations. I mean the first transition from the life of the nomad to that of the settler, which is so closely bound up everywhere with the breeding of cattle. A people who have devoted themselves to cattle-breeding and have experienced how much more difficult it is to keep herds of large cattle than flocks of sheep and goats, become naturally inclined to greater stability and more permanent settlements in one place. Stronger and more lasting dwellings are erected; fields are cultivated with greater care and more systematically than by nomads, who support themselves only by reckless *raubbau*.²

That I am drawing a real, and not merely a fanciful picture of the economic conditions of the Gāthā people, may be demonstrated by innumerable passages. It is asserted, in express terms, that it is the cow which is the giver of permanent homes; which means that by cattle-breeding lasting settlements are occasioned and developed, (Ys. XLVIII. 6). And, since continuous dwelling in one and the same place must naturally lead to a systematic tilling of the soil, the breeding of cattle is accompanied with the development of agriculture. This is expressed in the Gāthās (Ys. XXXI. 10) in the following wise:—'The cow decides in favour of the active labourer; among agriculturists alone she finds the care and attention she requires. This explains

¹ Cf. Ys. XXVIII. 1; XXIX. 4-10; XXXI. 9-11, 15; XXXII. 12, 15; XXXIII. 3, &c.

what Dr. Roth has already remarked:—"The two verses, 9 and 10, express the singular idea that the cow, the creation of which was a sign of God's special favour towards mankind, has, despising other masters, allowed herself to be as it were the property of the peasant."

We observe a difference in the later books of the Avesta. Herds still play an important part; but here agriculture and cattle-breeding are held in *equal* honour. Let us read only the third Fargard of the Vendidad, which is devoted entirely to inculcating the duty of cultivating the land, of raising cattle and attending to all things connected therewith, and we are at once struck by this fact, that agriculture had at least become equal in importance to cattle-breeding. One need only compare the list of the meritorious works which delight the Spirit of the Earth:— I.—Piety and a law-abiding course of life. II.—The founding of a permanent household. III.—The cultivation of grain, of fodder for cattle, and the planting of trees. IV.—The breeding of sheep and cows (Vd. III. 1-5). Agriculture has, likewise, reached a comparatively high state of technical development. The land is artificially irrigated and drained. Ditches, wells, and canals are made; in short the Old Irānian knows how to assist sparing nature by means of art.

Moreover, along with the economic change, a religious revolution is plainly observed in the Gāthās, and the most noteworthy feature is, that they are both intimately connected. The new doctrine is often represented as being oppressed and endangered. At first it is slowly gaining ground among the Arian people. The teaching of Zarathushtra finds followers among the peasants, while the nomads keep aloof from it. It recommends the keeping of herds and extols the founding of permanent settlements, and Zarathushtra is described in the twenty-ninth chapter of the Yashna, as the one chosen by the Almighty and His Amesha-spands to protect the cow from the oppres-

sion of the wicked.¹ Zarathushtra then, perhaps a name representing an entire epoch in the history of the civilization of the Avesta people, appears before us as the reformer equally of the economic and of the religious life.

We turn to the later Avesta and quite a different view unfolds itself before us. While the Gāthās exhibit an *ecclesia militans* (a church militant), here, on the contrary, we find the church firmly established. The direction of the people is in the hands of a favoured class. The Āthravans, whose name never occurs in the Gāthās,² form the first order. The religious struggle for existence has ceased. There are, it is true, the wicked ones, the unbelievers and the false prophets. These are cursed, denounced, punished, but not feared. The doctrine of Zarathushtra is finally established. Sacrifices, ceremonies, customs, laws, and also such precepts as relate to daily life occupy considerable space.

But, although from what was simple in the beginning a mature system has developed, the later parts of the Avesta still deal with the simple and homely lives of peasants and shepherds. Here also religion is quite inseparable from the punctual fulfilment of the professional duties of the peasantry.³ But at the same time other passages are not wanting, in which the meritoriousness of cattle-breeding and agriculture is extolled, where the divine agencies are implored to grant the possession of happy homesteads and innumerable herds of horned cattle and horses.⁴

¹ Moreover, this hymn must have been composed at the time of some specially grievous disaster; for the Soul of the Cow even doubts the possibility of its protection by Zarathushtra. The other passages, which point to the struggle for existence of the new religion and its close connection with the economic revolution, are Ys. XXVIII. 6; XXX. 2; XXXI. 1, 11-12, 18; XXXII. 3-7, 10; XLIV. 9; XLV. 1; XLVI. 14, &c.

² Comp. my *Ostirān, Kultur*, p. 465.

³ Let us read only Vd. III. 23-33.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Ys. LX. 2-3; Ys. XI. 1-2; Yt. VIII. 19; X. 3, 18; V. 86, 98 and *passim*.

Finally, I refer in this place to Dr. Roth's excellent paper on the "*Calendar of the Avesta and the Gāhanbars*,"¹ which, I believe, safely expounds the theory that the Avesta calendar was intended for a nation composed of agriculturists and herdsmen, whose annual feasts coincided respectively with the incidents of a farm life. Besides the festivals celebrated at the summer and winter solstices, there were also other feasts at the seasons of mowing, gathering the harvest, and driving the herds into summer-quarters. Moreover, the Avesta calendar, as I have already shown, bears the character of an essentially lunar chronology, which could only be conceivable in a highly primitive stage of civilization.²

Two conclusions may be deduced from the above facts:—

I. The character of the entire Avesta shows clearly that the civilization it describes was simply a civilization of agriculturists and herdsmen. It cannot be supposed that under a mighty empire, such as that founded by the Achaemenides, the priesthood could have maintained such close relations with rural affairs, and that religious duty and the fulfilment of *agricultural* pursuits could have had such intimate reciprocal action, as even to be regarded as identical.

II. In the Avesta itself we find clear proofs of domestic and social progress. The Gāthās carry us back to a very early epoch, when portions of the Avesta people made the first attempts to introduce cattle-breeding together with

¹ *ZdmG.* vol. XXXIV. p. 698.

² This seems to me to be a very important argument in favour of the great age of the Avesta. It is impossible to conceive that a primitive rural calendar could have found a place in the writings of the priests at the time of the Achaemenidae or even later, when the Iranians were in the closest communication with the Chaldeans. As specially archaic traits of the calendar I note the following:—1.—Time was reckoned simply from one lunar phase to another. 2.—The week consisted, therefore, of fifteen days, as we may gather clearly from the intervals between

the formation of permanent settlements. In the later Avesta, agriculture and cattle-breeding go hand in hand, and it even seems that prominence is given to the former. Again, in the Gāthās, we see Zoroastrianism struggling for existence, while in the rest of the Avesta it appears victorious and firmly established. The Gāthās, therefore, were composed earlier than the other portions of the Avesta.

III.

The primitive and antique conditions of the Avesta people, however, are revealed by a series of particular facts, which seem deserving of special notice.

I.—The Avesta people do not seem to have yet known of salt and its uses.

II.—Glass was unknown.

III.—Coined money was not in circulation. Payment was made in kind.

IV.—The working of iron was unknown.

The Avesta nation is still in the bronze period.

If I succeed in establishing these four points, or even one of them, it must, I believe, be admitted that we can no longer think of assigning the composition of the Avesta to the latest centuries before our era.

the periods of the festivals. 3.—The variability of the synodic month was compensated by the insertion of an additional or 15th day in each half, which could evidently be omitted at the beginning if required. Comp. *Ostirān. Kultur*, pp. 314 seq. Prof. C. de Harlez is of opinion that the calendar of the Avesta was simply an invention of the priests (II. 2, pp. 165 seq.). This, however, is only true of the names of the days and months. Dr. Roth has pointed out how, in the same way, the Gāhānbars are intimately connected with the life of the citizen (*Ziādm G.* vol. XXXIV. pp. 698 seq.).

On the first point I may be brief; for in support of our view, we can adduce an argument, than which none can be better, namely, the fact that salt is nowhere mentioned in the Avesta. However striking this must appear—for in the lists of eatables there would have been many opportunities for mentioning this most important of condiments—it cannot be supposed that this absence of any reference to salt is to be attributed to a mere accident. I should have left this subject almost untouched, had it not been worth while to give prominence to the curious coincidence that in the Rig-veda, too, salt is never mentioned.¹ The question, therefore, forces itself upon us, whether in this point, as in many others, we should not recognize a close analogy in the conditions of the Vedic and the Avesta Arians during the progress of their civilization. Allowing this to be only a possibility, or, at most, a probability, it must, at any rate, serve to strengthen other arguments. If we can otherwise prove that the civilization of the Avesta bears marks of great antiquity, we can no longer look upon this absence of any name for salt as a mere accident, but a highly characteristic mark of the nature of that civilization.²

That glass was unknown to the Avesta people can be proved with almost absolute certainty.

¹ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 54.

² Cf. my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 149-150. [It is, indeed, very curious that salt and its use were not well known to the Avesta people as well as to the Arians of the Rig-veda, notwithstanding the existence of salt lakes and salt-steppes in Central Asia and near the Indus. It seems, therefore, that the Indo-Irānian people made little or no use of salt, but that, according to M. Hehn (*Das Salz*, p. 17), its uses became known to the European section of the Indo-Germanic tribe after its emigration from the fatherland? That there were salt lakes in Irān does not necessarily argue in favour of Prof. de Harlez's theory that salt was not unknown to the Avesta nation.]

In the eighth Fargard of the Vendidad we find an enumeration of manufactures in which fire is employed. In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,"¹ I have rendered the expressions *Khumbat-hacha-Zemaini-pachikūt* and *Khumbat-hachat-Yāmo-pachikūt* "the burning of tiles," and "the burning of pottery." Dr. Spiegel has, in the first volume of his "Commentary on the Avesta," (p. 264), identified *yāma* with *jām* and translated it "glass." Dr. Justi also writes in his Review of my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,":—"In page 390 our author translates *yāma* by 'crockery,' to distinguish it from 'earth' or 'clay' (Av. *Zemaini*) of the preceding sentence. The Pahlavi translation does not throw any light on the meaning, since the same words are somewhat erroneously used in rendering both the passages. But to the second passage there is added a gloss which we might read *dōsīnkarān* and translate 'plaster-worker,' (Mod. Pers. *dos* 'flowers worked in plaster,') while the gloss on the first passage is obscure. The Riwāyets give for *Zemaini*, the Mod. Persian word *khum* ('earthenware vessel, tile-work'), whilst for *yāma* they give tile-furnace.' Dr. Geiger is right in his identification of this word with the Mod. Persian *jām*, but *jām* does not mean an earthen vessel, but a glass-bowl, a glass. He is of opinion that glass was unknown to the early Irānians; nevertheless glass slag must have been familiar to the potters and bronze-workers. Glazed tiles were made in Mesopotamia long before the time of Zarathushtra, and we have an Egyptian glass bottle of the seventeenth century before Christ, showing that the art of glass-painting and the use of the grinding-wheel were already known. Again we have the celebrated picture of the glass-blower on the grave of Beni-Hasan. It is a remarkable fact that the Persian word *abacacīn* (Mod. Pers. *ābgīnāh*) was known to the Copts, and that the

¹ Vide *Ostirānische Kultur*, p. 390.

Abha-stone is mentioned under Thothmes III. Although the Avesta may be a very old record, yet it is inconceivable that such a valuable substance as glass should have been unknown to the people it describes."

If we consider the question concerning the identification of the word *yāma* with the Mod. Pers. *jām*, the difficulty lies probably in the meaning "goblet." The particular rendering "glass-bowl" is only a secondary development. The authority of tradition, as Dr. Justi has justly remarked, is uncertain; however, it is generally admitted that tradition has never recognized either *semāni* or *yāma* as glass. From the glass slag familiar to the potter and the bronze-worker to the fashioning of glass vessels is a considerable step. As regards the knowledge of glass-making among the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, it cannot supply any argument as to the acquaintance of the Avesta people with that art.

It will be conceded to me that Dr. Justi's whole argument rests on this truth, that, if it were possible from the Avesta to show that as a fact glass was unknown, the great antiquity of this record together with the isolation of its people and the seclusion of their trade, would be proved beyond question. But such a proof can be actually adduced.

Wherever the Avesta treats of the purification of polluted vessels, it enumerates the materials of which the vessels used are made. They are—1, gold; 2, silver; 3, brass; 4, copper; 5, stone; 6, clay; 7, wood.¹ Here glass is not named. Moreover, it is clear that, had there been vessels of glass, they would have been subject to cleansing and would have required cleansing just as much as vessels of metal, stone, or earthenware.

We now come to the question respecting the use of coined money.

Again Dr. Justi differs from me, saying:—"Also in

¹ Vd. VII. 73-75.

In the eighth Fargard of the Vendidād we find an enumeration of manufactures in which fire is employed. In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,"¹ I have rendered the expressions *Khumbat-hacha-Zemaini-pachikūt* and *Khumbat-hachat-Yāmo-pachikūt* "the burning of tiles," and "the burning of pottery." Dr. Spiegel has, in the first volume of his "Commentary on the Avesta," (p. 264), identified *yāma* with *jām* and translated it "glass." Dr. Justi also writes in his Review of my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,"—"In page 390 our author translates *yāma* by 'crockery,' to distinguish it from 'earth' or 'clay' (Av. *Zemaini*) of the preceding sentence. The Pahlavi translation does not throw any light on the meaning, since the same words are somewhat erroneously used in rendering both the passages. But to the second passage there is added a gloss which we might read *dōsīnkarān* and translate 'plaster-worker,' (Mod. Pers. *dos* 'flowers worked in plaster,') while the gloss on the first passage is obscure. The Riwāyets give for *Zemaini*, the Mod. Persian word *khum* ('earthenware vessel, tile-work'), whilst for *yāma* they give tile-furnace.' Dr. Geiger is right in his identification of this word with the Mod. Persian *jām*, but *jām* does not mean an earthen vessel, but a glass-bowl, a glass. He is of opinion that glass was unknown to the early Irānians; nevertheless glass slag must have been familiar to the potters and bronze-workers. Glazed tiles were made in Mesopotamia long before the time of Zarathushtra, and we have an Egyptian glass bottle of the seventeenth century before Christ, showing that the art of glass-painting and the use of the grinding-wheel were already known. Again we have the celebrated picture of the glass-blower on the grave of Beni-Hasan. It is a remarkable fact that the Persian word *abacaein* (Mod. Pers. *ābgināh*) was known to the Copts, and that the

¹ Vide *Ostirānische Kultur* n. 200.

Abha-stone is mentioned under Thothmes III. Although the Avesta may be a very old record, yet it is inconceivable that such a valuable substance as glass should have been unknown to the people it describes."

If we consider the question concerning the identification of the word *yāma* with the Mod. Pers. *jām*, the difficulty lies probably in the meaning "goblet." The particular rendering "glass-bowl" is only a secondary development. The authority of tradition, as Dr. Justi has justly remarked, is uncertain; however, it is generally admitted that tradition has never recognized either *semaini* or *yāma* as glass. From the glass slag familiar to the potter and the bronze-worker to the fashioning of glass vessels is a considerable step. As regards the knowledge of glass-making among the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, it cannot supply any argument as to the acquaintance of the Avesta people with that art.

It will be conceded to me that Dr. Justi's whole argument rests on this truth, that, if it were possible from the Avesta to show that as a fact glass was unknown, the great antiquity of this record together with the isolation of its people and the seclusion of their trade, would be proved beyond question. But such a proof can be actually adduced.

Wherever the Avesta treats of the purification of polluted vessels, it enumerates the materials of which the vessels used are made. They are—1, gold; 2, silver; 3, brass; 4, copper; 5, stone; 6, clay; 7, wood.¹ Here glass is not named. Moreover, it is clear that, had there been vessels of glass, they would have been subject to cleansing and would have required cleansing just as much as vessels of metal, stone, or earthenware.

We now come to the question respecting the use of coined money.

Again Dr. Justi differs from me, saying:—"Also in

¹ Vd. VII. 73-75.

consequence of over-estimating the age of several passages in the Avesta, our author is led to doubt the existence of money. Even supposing that *shaeta* does not mean 'money,' but only 'possessions, wealth,' yet the expression *asperena*, which means a *dirhem*, according to the Pahlavi Translation and the Zend-Pahlavi Farhang, points to the fact that in Mesopotamia a system of regular coinage and weights was not unknown."

According to Dr. Justi's representation, it appears that I treat the great age of the Avesta as a kind of dogma, and on the ground of it reject entirely the possibility of coined money having existed in its time. In my "Civilization of the Eastern Irānians,"¹ I have pursued a diametrically opposite course. The basis of my argument is the text itself, and I quote three passages from the Avesta, all of which, as far as I know, treat of the question of payments, and which Dr. Justi never mentions. But in all these passages cattle (asses, oxen, horses, camels, sheep) are expressly mentioned as the medium of payment.

These passages occur in the following connections:—

(a) Where the Avesta speaks of the payment of fees by a patient to a doctor. Here it is noteworthy that the very smallest fee is to be paid in kind, viz., in bread or milk, (Vd. VII. 41-43).

(b) In treating of the atonement for a broken promise, or of the giving of a pledge on settling an agreement (Vd. IV. 2 *seq.*)²

(c) Where reference is made to paying down the appointed fees to a priest after the ceremony of purification has been performed (Vd. IX. 37-39).

Is it at all possible for anybody to believe seriously that the Magi of the later Achæ-

¹ *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 396-397.

² For explanation *cf. ibid.*, pp. 454-455.

menian period or even of the Seleucian or Parthian epoch, would have consented to receive payments in sheep, oxen, or horses?

On the authority of these three passages, we are, I believe, justified in forming an opinion as to money transactions among the Avesta people; and thus it only remains to explain the terms *shaeta* and *asperena*.

M. Tomaschek is of opinion that *shaeta* may possibly have designated also coined money, since in the Persian language we find the feudal term *shait* used for a rouble.¹ This hardly seems to me to be a valid argument. The etymology of the word *shaeta* or *khshaeta* and its use in different passages prove that in the Avesta language the word signifies nothing more than "fortune, possessions." With *shaeta*, (*i.e.*, with cows, sheep, or horses), a deed of blood is expiated.² A warlike hero protects his *khshaeta*, that is, his goods and chattels from thieves and robbers.³ Ardvi-sura grants prosperity to the *shaeta*. She multiplies the possessions of her adorers.⁴ I will return further on to the passage in which *shaetavat*, "the opulent man," is contrasted with the *ashaeta*, "the pauper."

So in every case *shaeta* has only a general meaning; and, if we hold firmly to the view that the word means "possessions," it becomes quite easy to explain how in later times, after coined money had come into use, the name *shaeta* came to be applied to it. A change of meaning perfectly analogous is exemplified in the Latin word *pecunia*, which originally meant simply "the possession of cattle," then came to mean "fortune"

¹ *Ausland*, 1883, p. 825, (rouble = '86 shilling).

² Vd. IV. 44. Cf. my *O. K. A.* p. 396, note 3, and p. 452, n. 2.

³ Yt. XIII. 97. Cf. *hush-hām-beretem-shaetem* in Yt. XVIII. 1.

⁴ *Shaetō-frādhana* occurring side by side with the somewhat synonymous expressions *vāthvō-frādhana* and *gaethō-frādhāna* in Yt. V. 1; XIII. 4.

generally, and finally, in spite of its etymological signification, strictly denoted "coined money."

With respect to the meaning of *asperena* I must express myself somewhat more fully, since we here come to a point which is of paramount importance in determining the age of the Avesta.

As a matter of course I admit that *asperena* is used to express "value," and that a very trifling one. The word occurs twice in our text. We first find, in the fourth Fargard of the Vendidād (48), the expression, *asperenō-mazō*, "anything that has the value of an *asperena*," in a rather obscure context, in connection with the terms *anumayō-mazō*, *staorō-mazō*, and *vīrō-mazō*. The second time it occurs, in the fifth Fargard of the Vendidād (60), in a prohibition against the throwing away of a piece of old clothing, even if it be only of the value of an *asperena* or of an *avachina*. Besides, I also admit that *asperena* has the appearance of being a borrowed word introduced into the Avesta language and might be traced, according to Prof. C. de Harlez,¹ to the Semitic root *saphar*, or, according to Prof. Halóvy, to *ἀσπερον*. Dr. Justi seems to suggest the Turkish word *asper*.

Now what conclusion may we deduce from what has been said above? The three passages quoted by me from the Avesta—and they are the only ones which directly refer to payments—show clearly that cattle served the Avesta people as a standard of value, and as a medium of barter. If then *asperena* really denotes a coin,¹ those passages should not, on that account, be ignored in explaining the text. They retain their value and significance, and we

¹ But it is also possible that the *asperena* were small rough pieces of metal or some other kind of money (rings or the like), used in barter to make up differences in value. So it is well known that in ancient Rome, when people were still wont to make payments in kind, small pieces of copper were for the same purpose weighed out and circulated.

must own that we are here face to face with a paradox, which it is our task to solve. However, we would not be warranted in basing an argument on the expression *asperena* alone, and therefore assigning a recent date to the Avesta; for, it would be quite surprising that this mode of payment in kind should have been preserved as a regular practice side by side with payment in current money. It would, likewise, seem strange that the *asperena* should have been the only coin in use, and that we should hear nothing as to other coins, viz., Dariks and Drachms. At least there is not sufficient ground here to speak of a system of coinage, since such a system must necessarily comprise various coins of different values. Even if we agree to what Dr. Justi believes concerning the word *asperena* and its meaning, yet the passage (48) in the fourth Fargard of the Vendidad, most certainly proves that the *asperena* was used only along with cattle, as a standard of value.

The inconsistency, therefore, does not lie in the employment of cattle as a medium of payment, but in the mention of the *asperena* in the Avesta. If this word is really as modern as it is supposed to be, may we not assume that it was perhaps inserted in the text in a later revision of the Avesta? The motive is easy to understand. In making payments in cattle, the smallest measure of value, the sheep, was after all considerably high. People, therefore, thought it necessary to introduce articles of smaller value, and adopted not only foreign coins, but also their foreign names. This may probably have happened also in old times. The word *asperena*, I believe, must therefore be traced to *sāphar*. Thus we have in *asperena* an instance of a civilized custom adopted by the Irānians from their Semitic neighbours which was almost similar to the old Indian *manā*.¹ Although this idea, which had of course its origin among the Semites, is mentioned in the Rig-veda, it has never occurred to anybody

¹ Comp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 50-51.

to doubt for that very reason the antiquity of the civilization of the Vedic Arians. Moreover, if relations may be proved to have existed between the Babylonians and the Vedic Indians, it is not to be wondered at if similar relations also existed with the Irānians, who had pushed their way into the district of Ragha.

However that may be, the term *asperena* must not at all be allowed to interfere with the type of civilization, which otherwise appears so conspicuously in the Avesta. If, in this respect, some authors have deduced conclusions of too sweeping a kind, it only indicates how dangerous it is to rely upon an isolated word, ignoring all undoubted passages which afford an unquestionably authentic explanation.

We may also observe that neither of the passages, in which the word *asperena* is found, occurs in a succinct context. In both cases, the word or expression might be struck out, without in any way affecting the sense of the whole. The suspicion of a recent insertion is here much more justifiable than in any of the three passages, Vend. IV. 2 *seq.*; VII. 41 *seq.*; and IX. 37 *seq.*

I must now discuss another matter which seems to be important. Other foreign words have been discovered in the Avesta, some of which are supposed to be Aramaic, and some of Greek origin. Prof. Halóvy has been kind enough to communicate to me his views on this point, explaining briefly the ideas expressed in his paper read before the *Société de Linguistique*, wherein he refers to the following expressions:—

I. Words of Aramaic origin:	<i>Tanūra</i>	= תנורה
	<i>Naska</i>	= נוסחא
	<i>Gudha</i>	= גידא
	<i>Guñda</i>	= גונדא
II. Words of Greek origin:	<i>Gaəsu</i>	= γαῖσον
	<i>Asperena</i>	= ἄσπερον
	<i>Danare</i>	= δανάριον
	<i>Khwasa</i>	= χως

Surprising as this list of foreign words may appear, its significance diminishes considerably on closer scrutiny.

In the first place, the word *gudha*—occurring only once in Yasht, XV. 27—seems to be a proper name in the Avesta. Moreover, it belongs apparently to the river district of the Rāgha, the Jaxartes. Hence it seems unwarrantable to assert that this word owes its origin to the Semites. Again, some of the manuscripts give the form **gaodha*, instead of *gudha*, which could not be derived from גודא. I am inclined to trace the etymology of the word to the root *gudh*, “to hide.”¹ It is most probable that the name would then designate a river which loses itself entirely in the sand, as occurs very often in Eastern Irān.

The origin of the word *naska* is, likewise, not so well ascertained as would at first sight appear. Its derivation from the Semitic is on the authority of Dr. Spiegel or Dr. Haug.² M. Burnouf, on the contrary, would derive the word from the root *nas*, “to annihilate,” or, better still, from *naz*, “to unite, to sew.” In the latter case we can compare it in meaning with the Sanskrit word *sutra*. So we have here one hypothesis opposed to another, and nobody will assert that the one has greater authority than³ the other. The same may be said respecting the word *guṇḍa*. Dr. Fr. Müller assigns to it the meaning

¹ The Eastern Irānian words *guz* and *gud* would then be related to the Sanskrit *guh*, just as *vaz* and *vad* to *vah*. That the modern *h* was originally a dental, is proved by the Greek *χυδ*, *χρύδω*. The latter can be traced to its primary form *kudh*, which Fick, too, considers to be identical with *guh* (*Wtb.* vol. I. p. 30). Moreover, it should be remembered that the word *gudhra*, “hidden,” is preserved in the Zend-Pahlavi Glossary (Fick, *ibid*, p. 315).

² Comp. Fr. Justi, *Handbuch der Zend-sprache*, *sub voce*.

³ *Naska* occurs only once in the compound form *naskō-frasañh*, but in a passage where it is essential to the metre (Ys. IX. 22). Thus it can, no doubt, be proved from the original text of the Avesta.

"plenty," and identifies it with the Armenian *gound*. Prof. Halévy relies on Dr. Müller's theory. But this meaning of "plenty" does not agree with the context. We, therefore, adhere again, as I believe is generally done, to the explanation given by Dr. Spiegel (*Comm.* vol. I. p. 102), who compares it to the Modern Persian words *ghund* and *ghundah* "*massa farinaria*." Thus with this etymology of *guñda*, too, we may rest confidently within the pale of the Irānian languages.

The identity of *tanūra* with the Hebrew תנור and the Arabic *tannūr*, is beyond question. But must we, on the ground that this word occurs in our text, assign a later origin to the Avesta itself? Certainly not, on any account. It is as difficult to find a satisfactory derivation of the word in Semitic as in Irānian. I, therefore, believe that it is a word as foreign to the one as to the other stock of languages. When we consider that before the progress of the Arian and Semitic civilization, a so-called Turānian one had developed in Anterior Asia, and that these Turānian tribes possessed peculiar skill in the art of working metals, we are justified in assuming that the expression *tanūr*, meaning originally a "smelting furnace," owed its origin to their language and was inherited as a technical term, together with the art of smelting itself, as well by the Irānians as by the Semites. Even granting that *tanūra* can only be explained as a Semitic word, we have still no reason to doubt the great antiquity of the Avesta; for it is not impossible that some civilized intercourse may have existed, though in no considerable degree, in pre-Median times between Mesopotamia and the plateau of Irān.

We must now turn to the words of Greek origin. Of the identity between ἀσπερον and *asperena* I have spoken already. The comparison between *khvasha*, or rather I believe *khavsha* or *khavsha*, and χῶς, is at least very daring. Since, as a rule, every foreign word retains its original form, we should rather expect *khūshā*. Moreover, an apparent etymology

for this word is found in the Arian language, and one which, I believe, is universally adopted by Zend scholars. In Sanskrit *khubja* means "crooked." *Khavsha*, then, must have originally meant "the crooked vessel." That this is the correct derivation is proved by the Mod. Persian words *kāz* and *kūzah*, which still mean "crooked" and at the same time mean "can," "jug," or "bowl."¹

The word *gaesu* has already been very often discussed. Let me refer to Dr. Justi's *Handbuch* as well as to M. Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, pp. 327-328. The Greek term γαῖσον is itself a loan-word of Celtic origin; but it cannot, therefore, be shown that, as a foreign word, it has again passed from the Greeks to the Irānians. It is more probable—and this view is held by no less an authority than M. von Hehn²—that the word *gaesu* is originally Irānian; but at the time of the Celtic migration to Asia Minor, it passed from the Irānians to the Celts and may have, finally, been introduced into Greece at the time of the expedition of Brennus. In support of the priority of this Irānian word one might adduce the fact that M. Tomaschek has discovered an equivalent to *gaesu* in the Sirikuli dialect, in the word *gisk* meaning "club," "cudgel," and that, according to M. Bickell, that word may be akin to the Latin *vern*.³ By no means, then, does it bear the character of a foreign word; on the contrary, it seems to have belonged to the old Irānian language from remote antiquity.

The assumption that the Avesta word *danare* is a paraphrase of *δηνάριον* and *denarius*, may also be questioned. The very form of the word might rouse suspicion, when we consider that in Modern Persian the last word appears as *dīnār* which, I believe, was originally *dīnnār*. We

¹ Cf. Spiegel, *Commentar*, vol. I. p. 252; Justi, *Handbuch*, *sub voce*; Vulleis, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, *sub voce* *kuz*.

² Vide *Culturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 352.

³ Tomaschek, *Pamirdialekte*, p. 65; Bickell, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. XII. pp. 438 *seq.*

would expect *dīnūra* or *daēnūra*, rather than *danare*. But the Denar is nevertheless a coin, and, as far as I can gather from Dr. Vullers, the Mod. Persian word *dinār* is also used only in this sense. As a measure of weight it never occurs, as is the case with Dirhem. In the Avesta, however, *danare* must designate a dry measure, or perhaps also a weight; and it is only once mentioned in the Vendidād, XVI. 7. In this passage we find the rule laid down that a menstruating woman shall receive (daily) *dva danare tāyūininām aeva danare khshāudranām* as food. Dr. Spiegel has latterly noticed (*Comm.* vol. I. p. 363) the similarity between *danare* and *δηνάριον*, but he, at one time at least, rejected it. He reminds us of the fact that this word is naturally allied to *dāna*, "corn," "wheat," and equivalent to the Sanskrit *dhāna*, Mod. Pers. *dānah*.

Thus we observe that in all cases, where a Greek or Aramaic derivation is assigned to any word, the result is hypothesis opposed to hypothesis. In some instances weighty objections may be raised against the assumption of such derivations. This I must here regard as the principal question. Granted that it were possible to establish an indubitable etymology, still it would constitute no proof against the great age of the Avesta as a whole. Since our record has frequently undergone revisions, all we can do is to draw a special conclusion as to the age of the isolated passages in question. I have already suggested this occasionally in discussing the question concerning the word *asperena* as well as under my fourth preliminary remark; and it is surely of peculiar importance when the words concerned are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, as is the case, e.g., with *gudha*, *guṇḍa*, *khwaṣha*, and *naska*. But, even if these words denote measure or weight, we must not ignore the possibility of their having been intentionally altered and adapted to the later conditions of things. I repeat, then, that we ought to be careful not to draw elaborate conclusions as to the history of Irānian civilization from

isolated words or passages alone ; but we should always see that they do not disagree with other passages in the text.

Now, as regards our last point, that iron was unknown to the early Irānians. So far as I know, none of the scholars who doubt the antiquity of the Avesta, have touched upon this subject. None of them seem to have considered how close an affinity it indicates between the civilization of the Avesta and that of the Rig-veda, between the civilization of the Eastern Irānians and that of the Indians of the Panjāb. And yet the importance of the subject must be evident to all.

The word employed in the Avesta for the metal most commonly in use is *ayaǵh*, corresponding to the Old Indian *ayas*, to the Latin *aes*, and to the Gothic *aiz*. Dr. Zimmer has proved in his *Altindisches Leben* (pp. 51 seq.), that the Vedic *ayas* denotes "brass," i.e., copper-brass, bronze; and, as I believe I have already proved,¹ the corresponding word in the Avesta must have had the same meaning. This is quite apparent from the appellations in which *ayaǵh* is used, and which are strikingly in accord with the Homeric epithets applied

¹ *Vide Ostirānische Kultur*, p. 148 :—"The mountain-ranges lying in Central Asia are rich in iron mines, which, according to the testimony of the Avesta, existed, likewise, within the *IIara*. From the fact that the metal called *ayaǵh* in the Avesta, was in use for making weapons and chattels, we are not to conclude that here iron alone was meant; rather copper-brass or bronze, which is an alloy of copper and zinc, is referred to. That epithets such as 'brilliant' or 'yellow,' 'flame-coloured,' nay even 'golden,' would ever have been applied to iron or steel, is, indeed, scarcely possible; on the contrary, these appellations are quite appropriate in the case of bronze. Likewise, the corresponding word *ayas* in the Rig-veda does not denote iron, but copper-brass, which was far more in use among the Vedic Arians. Copper was also in favour with the Achilians of the Homeric period. Their weapons and vessels were also made of brass which is described, just as in the Avesta, as red and glittering." •

to χαλκός. Names of metals are constantly alluded to in the Avesta, but among them all none, except *ayañh*, could possibly be taken to mean iron. The working of this metal, therefore, was unknown to the Arians of the Avesta. But, is it possible for anybody to maintain that in the latest centuries before Christ the Irānians used as weapons, swords, helmets, clubs, and arrow-heads made of bronze?

IV.

Let me now recapitulate the reasons which seem to me to prove the great antiquity of the Avesta.⁶ It must be conceded that these are only special arguments, based on isolated passages. But then these are not such passages as do not at the same time form an integral portion of the whole text, and such as might possibly be considered to be a gloss. The majority of my arguments are based upon the Avesta as a whole, and I do not think that the etymology of an isolated word can ever afford sufficient evidence, from which to draw conclusions as to the history of the civilization of a people.

1. The Avesta does not contain any historical description whatever.
2. None of the names of tribes, otherwise in general use, are to be found in it.
3. It contains no allusion to any of the cities of Eastern or Western Irān, celebrated in historic times properly so called, with the exception of Ragha.

4. The economical conditions of the Avesta people are those of a pastoral tribe and of a rural population; and even the priests shared in agricultural pursuits. That such conditions were most highly characteristic of the entire civilized life of the Old Irānian, may be gathered from the general tenor of the Avesta, especially from that of the Gāthās, and more particularly from the nature of the calendar.
5. The primitive character of the Avesta people is evident from their ignorance of the use of (*a*) salt, (*b*) glass, (*c*) coined money, and (*d*) iron.

Finally, I must now notice some other arguments, from which it might perhaps be inferred that the Avesta was composed in a late period. Of these, the most noteworthy have been adduced by Prof. C. de Harlez in his excellent "Introduction" to the second edition of his translation of the Avesta (H. 1, pp. cxcii. seq.; cf. H. 4, pp. 494-495):¹

I. The modern forms of the names of places mentioned in the first Fargard of the Vendidad. Here we find *Bākhdi* for *Bākhtri*; *Mouru* for *Marghu*. Prof. Harlez also refers to *Bawri* for *Babiru* and *Raji* for *Ragha*. As regards the last two, Bawri need not be taken into account, for, being a name, it is quite possible that it may have

¹ This book is unfortunately very little known in Germany. In size and contents, it forms a work by itself, an encyclopædia of the Avesta. I only regret that I did not make use of it while writing my *Ostiranische Kultur*.

been incorrectly written.¹ *Rajōit* occurs only in Yasna, XIX. 18. Since, without exception, we meet with the regular form *Ragha* in other passages, and since even in the passage quoted it immediately follows *Rajōit*, I believe I am right in conjecturing that this form is an appellative, possibly meaning "kingdom, dominion"; otherwise, its spelling should be altered.

However, an argument based on the modern character of forms of geographical names occurring in the Avesta, is not very cogent. In its general aspect the Avesta, as few have it, does not seem to be the work originally written by some of the first Zoroastrians, but a transcript bearing very plain traces of revision. What, therefore, is more probable than that, in such a revision, the geographical names in the original should have been adapted to the forms of those names then current?²

Even Dr. Spiegel says: "I have often had occasion to remark that I attach no importance to any linguistic proofs; for, even granting that we can prove that its language is primeval, one might nevertheless endeavour to find an expedient and must assume that the book was written after the language had ceased to be used, since internal evidence obliges us to ascribe to the book a comparatively later date." We may certainly say with equal justice: since the internal evidence of the Avesta is in favour of its high antiquity, while the language often exhibits some modern forms, we must assume a revision of the Avesta after its language had ceased to be spoken.

¹ Halévy informs me through a letter that *Bawri* might correspond to the Aramaic *בבלי*. In that case this word, like *Mouu*, must be regarded as an adaptation of the old to the modern form of the name due to a later revision of the Avesta.

² *Bākhāzi*, at least, must be regarded as a corrupt form, since there was no period in the history of Irānian languages, when the *r* could have dropped out of the name *Baktra*. Even to the present day the city is called Balkh.

II. In the fourth Fargard of the Vendidād (47 seq.) abstemiousness, homelessness, celibacy, and prohibition against eating flesh are inveighed against. This passage must have been directed against the gradual encroachments of Buddhism, the representative of which is the Gautama mentioned in Yasht, XIII. 16.

Now, let me request Zend scholars to examine the passage which bears upon this question. Nobody will assert that we can with certainty regard it as a polemic against Buddhism. We could at best, and with all due reservation, consider this view as a mere conjecture, on the basis of which it would be quite dangerous to form any conclusion as to the history of Irānian civilization.

The text runs thus:—

*Adhacha · uiti · nāirivaitē · zi · tē · ahmāt · pourum · fram-
raoimī · Spitama · Zarathushtra · yatha · maghavo-fra-
vākhshōi, vīsānē · ahmaī · yatha · evīsāi, puthrānē · ahmaī ·
yatha · aputhrāi, shaētavatō · ahmaī · yatha · ashaētai, hāucha ·
ayā · narā · vohu · manō · jāgerebushtarō · aēhat · yō · gēush ·
uruthware · hāmpafrāitī · yatha · hāu · yō · nōi · itha.*

Prof. Harlez himself translates it:—¹

“Je proclame pour toi qui a une épouse, ô saint Zoroastre, la priorité sur celui qui n'en use point; pour le chef de maison, sur celui qui n'en possède point; pour le père de famille, sur celui qui n'a pas d'enfants; pour le possesseur de terres sur celui qui n'en a point. Celui qui

¹ *Avesta traduit*, 2nd ed. p. 48: “I proclaim for you who have a spouse, O holy Zoroaster! the priority over him who has none; for the head of a household, over him who possesses none; for the *pater-familias*, over him who has no offspring; for the owner of land, over him who owns no piece of ground. He who nourishes and develops (his body) by eating meat, acquires the good mind, far better than he who does it not.” (Vd. IV. 47-48).

nourrit et developpe (son corps) en mangeant de la viande, obtient le bon esprit bien mieux que celui qui ne le fait pas."

First let me remark that the whole passage, and especially the connection with what follows, is obscure. Prof. Harlez has certainly translated the concluding portion of the passage incorrectly. According to his opinion, *geush* ought to be considered as instrumental; however, it is not possible. It could often be rendered "he who fills the body of the cattle," i.e., whoever feeds them.¹ This passage, therefore, implies a meaning common in the Avesta, viz., that cattle-breeding is a meritorious work. And such is the clear interpretation of the passage:—"Such a man possesses more of the good-mind (*vohu-manō*) than one who does not do it." *Vohu-manō*, the genius of the good-mind, is, according to the Zoroastrian teaching, also the protector of herds.

Again, the beginning of the passage, which contains the antithesis, *nāirivat* and *maghavō-fravākhshi*, is not quite clear. At all events this much seems to be manifest, that the man, who lives in lawful marriage, should be preferred to any one who satisfies his desires in other ways. According to the whole tenor of the Avesta, it cannot seem strange that a man who lives in a village community, who brings up children, makes for himself a household and becomes the possessor of fields and herds, is more deserving in the eyes of a Zoroastrian than one who fails to do so. Let us only bear in mind how the possession of children is always looked upon as a direct blessing of God,² and compare therewith what I have already said with reference

¹ *Uruthware* translated "body, stomach." If, according to Harlez, this word signifies "growth," the passage implies: "Whoever furthers the growth of cattle." Thus the meaning is not changed. Here Geldner agrees with me (*Kide Studien zum Avesta*, p. 5).

² Cf. my *O. K. A.* pp. 234-236.

to the meritoriousness of a settled country-life according to the testimony of the Avesta.

What conclusion, then, must we draw from Vendidād, IV. 47-48, without doing violence to its meaning? Simply this, that the Avesta frequently alludes to the contrast between civilized and uncivilized life, especially between the life of settled herdsmen and peasants and that of nomads. That this is the correct interpretation is emphatically shown by the use of the antonymous words *vīsānē* and *evīsāi*. The peasant and the herdsman live in permanent villages (*vīsō*), the nomad on the contrary knows no settled life.

Moreover, as regards *Gaotama*, who is supposed to be the representative of Buddhism, which forced its way into Irān, the name only occurs once in Yt. XIII. 16. Prof. Westergaard, however, reads *gaotema*, and gives also the variant *gaotuma* in two other MSS., but never *gaotama*. This is important, since Prof. Harlez expressly says:—*La forme gaotama est le produit d'une transcription faite à l'ouïe et non d'une dérivation naturelle.*¹ Thus *gaotama* might certainly be regarded as a simple misspelling of the Indian name, *Gaotama Buddha*; but *Gaotema* is purely Irānian.²

To this it is to be added that the passage cited above is obscure. Prof. C. de Harlez himself observes (*Avesta Traduit*, 2nd ed. p. 481): "*phrase entièrement obscure.*" Again, the translations of the passage do not at all agree. Passing over Dr. Spiegel's, I shall quote here Prof. Geldner's version (*Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, pp. 80-81): "Through their power and greatness a man is born

¹ "The form Gaotama is due to a transcription based on sound and not to any indigenous derivation."

² As far as I know, it was Haug who first started the theory that Yasht, XIII. 16 contained an allusion to Buddhism (cf. "Essays on the Parsis," 2nd ed. by West, p. 208, note).

skilled in counsel, an adviser, whose words are heard with willingness, who is looked to for instruction, who hears complacently the request of his weaker proteges."

But, if, in spite of the "*phrase entièrement obscure*," we were to regard Prof. Harlez's translation: "*L'homme né, intelligent, manifestant ses pensées, entendant bien ce que l'on dit, en qui est déposée l'intelligence, qui échappe aux questions de méchant Gaotama*,"¹ as correct, what could we reasonably gather from the passage? This certainly, that the Fravasis will allow one to be born, who is to be a match for a certain Gautema in argument. Now, if we consider that learned controversies were evidently not unknown to the Avesta priests—for instance in the legend of *Yāsta Fryāna* and his dispute with *Akhtyā* in Yt. V. 83;—if we, again, consider that the name *gaotema* is purely Irānian and can be clearly traced to the remotest Arian period, since the Rig-veda, too, speaks of a singer *gotama*, the passage is divested of all possible reference to Buddhism.

III. In Yt. XIX. 18, Ragha is called a city, in which the Athravans were possessed of temporal power. But such a sovereignty of the Magi existed in Irān only after the close of the dominion of the Selcucidae. Consequently, this passage must have been written only at that period.

This brings us to a very important question. There is no doubt that even Dr. Spiegel (Sp. 1, pp. 9-10, Sp. 2, pp. 629-635), has, on the authority of this passage, formed a peculiar theory concerning the home as well as the age of the Avesta, the only ground for which lies in the fact that the passage has been variously interpreted so as to lose its original meaning.

¹ "The man is born intelligent, manifesting his thoughts, well understanding what is said, in whom is placed the intelligence that solves the questions put by the perverse Gaotama."

I must here consider Prof. Harlez's Introduction, which thoroughly explains the relation of the Avesta *Āthravans* to the Magi known to us from history.

This learned translator of the Avesta maintains, in the first place, that the Achaemenian kings were not familiar with the Avesta religion. On the contrary, all that we know about the Magi allows us to assert that their doctrines and their customs were perfectly identical with those which we find recorded in the Avesta. To this must also be added that Khosru Parviz (531-579 A.D.) in a proclamation given in the Dinkard, says:—"*que Vishtāspa fit réunir tous les ouvrages écrits en la langue des Mages pour acquérir la connaissance de la loi mazdéene.*"¹ Since it seems hardly possible that a country of so little importance as Bactriana should have given to the West a sacred language and religion, Prof. C. de Harlez concludes: "*La solution la plus simple et la plus naturelle serait d'attribuer l'Avesta aux Mages et à la Médie.*"² (H. I, p. xlvi.)

The assertion that Bactriana was "*toujours soumise et peu important*"³ can hardly be correct. The large revenue obtained from this province in the time of the Achaemenian kings, proves at least that it was highly prosperous.⁴ That its population formed no inconsiderable

¹ "That Vishtāspa caused all the works written in the language of the Magi to be collected in order to acquire the knowledge of the Mazdian law."

² "The solution would be the simplest and most natural if we should ascribe the Avesta to the Magi and to Media."

³ "Always subject to a foreign ruler, and of little importance."

⁴ Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. IV. ch. 5, pp. 18-19. *Vide* Eng. ed. bk. VII. ch. II. pp. 23-24: "The nations and condition of Eastern Irān can be ascertained more clearly from the inscriptions of Darius. According to his inscription at Behistun, his empire in that direction comprised the Parthians, Sarangians, Arcians, Chorasmiāns, Bactrians, Sogdiani, Gandarii, Sattagydae, Arachoti, and Sacae; and to these the Idhus, *i.e.*, the

part, but rather the main portion, of the Irānian people, is most clearly proved by the energetic opposition offered to Alexander the Great precisely in the North-Eastern provinces of the Persian empire. Moreover, I must here repeat that, in determining the home of the Avesta religion generally, the question is not one respecting Bactria alone but the whole of Eastern Irān.

Again, we cannot attach much value to the statement that Khosru Parviz characterizes the Avesta language as the language of the Magi. There is no doubt that under the Sassanidae the Magi were the representatives of the Zoroastrian priesthood; but by this time the Avesta language had long been dead and had been succeeded in general use by the Middle Irānian. If, then, the Magi alone still understood this language, if they used it in their daily ceremonies, prayers, and recitations, and if it completely swayed the *cult* upheld by the Magi, it might well be called, for the sake of convenience, the "language of the Magi." Consequently, it is characterized as the language

Indians on the right bank of the upper course of the Indus, are added in the inscriptions of Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam. Further information is preserved by Herodotus with respect to the tribute imposed by Darius on these nations. As these statements are undoubtedly derived from Persian tribute-lists, they serve to throw a side-light on the state of civilization existing in the East of Irān at the division of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The Bactrians, the twelfth satrapy of the empire, paid (yearly) 360 (Babylonian) talents into the treasury of the king. These sums, which do not include the whole of the burdens of the provinces, but are only the land-taxes which they had to pay—in addition tolls were levied and contributions in kind to the court of the king and the satraps, as well as for the maintenance of the army—show that at the time of Darius agriculture and wealth had proceeded far beyond the earliest stages in the eastern districts of Irān. The Babylonian silver talent amounted to more than 2,000 thalers (6,000 shillings)."

of a single order, not as that of a nation, just as Latin in the Middle Ages might be called the language of *literati* or Modern French the language of diplomacy.

Moreover, I generally accept the view of Prof. Harlez: The Achaemenian kings, and for the most part the Persian nation itself, did *not* profess the Zoroastrian religion. It is represented in historical times by the Median Magi, through whose influence it strove to gain ground among the majority of the Persians under the sovereignty of the Achaemenidae. But hence it has been inferred only of late, that the Magi composed the Avesta known to us, and that Zarathushtra himself was a Magus. This is only one of three possibilities. Besides this there are two other credible suppositions:—(a) The Magi adopted the doctrine of the Zoroastrian priests, thus representing a later phase in the development of the Avesta religion. (b) The Zoroastrian priests are the heirs of the Magi.

The last possibility we may briefly dismiss. We can trace the history of the Magi down to the Sāssānian period. But nowhere do we find any reference to a belief that they had delegated their peculiar office to another religious corporation, which revered the Zoroastrian doctrine and perhaps only transferred the scene of their labours to a different field.

As regards Prof. Harlez's theory that the Avesta was composed by the Magi and in Media, a very important fact seems to contradict it. The Avesta priests are not strictly called *Maghu* but *Āthravans*. In all passages where the priests are mentioned, they invariably bear this name; and such passages are not few in number. Their testimony would lead us to infer that "*Āthravan*," and in fact this title exclusively, served as the official designation of the priesthood. Why then should the Magi in their own writings have given to themselves any other name than that by which they were universally known to the world?

Now, in a passage in the Avesta (Ys. LXV. 6) there, indeed, occurs the expression *moghu-tbīsh* and this must be taken into consideration.¹ But what does it prove? At the very most, only this, that, at the time when this passage was composed, the term *Maghu* was not unknown and perhaps was almost synonymous with *Āthravan*. The fact that *Āthravan* was the *real title* of the Avesta priesthood, is not in the least affected by the use of the term *Maghu*. Had the Magi really been the authors of the Avesta, their own title, instead of appearing only in a single isolated passage, and that the least important, would have been used throughout the work.

Moreover, it seems quite possible that, in the passage referred to, *Maghu* bears a purely generic meaning. If we compare it with the Sanskrit *maghavan*, the word can be translated "protector, or feudal lord, prince, nobleman." *Moghu-tbīsh* occurs especially in Ys. LXV. 6, side by side with *hashē-tbīsh*, *varesānō-tbīsh*, *nāfyō-tbīsh*, "the hatred of friends, free commoners or countrymen, and of relations." These expressions are all generic terms, and we must of course admit that the context does not compel us to adopt the rendering of "priest" for *Maghu*, which is possible, though not always exclusively appropriate.

But we may ask, which of the two designations *Maghu* or *Atharvan* (*Āthravan*) seems to be the older one? *Atharvan* admits of a direct connection with the Vedic civilization. In the Rig-veda, too, we find the word *Atharvan* used to mean "a fire-priest," as well as the name of a mythical character, the Prometheus of the Indians, who brings down fire from heaven, and is thus the prototype

¹ Cf. H. 2, p. 171; also my *O. K. A.* pp. 489-492. It will be observed that I have altered the views expressed in my *Ostirānische Kultur*, since I have there attempted to adopt a middle course.

of all fire-priests on earth.¹ The title *Atharvan* may, consequently, be traced to the remote Arian period; at the same time we can only discover Indian words, indeed analogous to *Maghu*, but not quite identical with it.

Thus all evidence goes to show that *Atharvan* was the oldest and most original title of the Zoroastrian priesthood. Gradually, as the centre of gravity of the Irānian nation moved from East to West, as the Indian tribe of the Magi assumed the direction of religious matters, its name, which had an ethnographical significance at first, became at the same time the title of the priesthood formed by that tribe.

The Avesta, therefore, does not recognize the term *Maghu* as the title of the Zoroastrian priests; it never designates them by any other name than that of *Āthravans*. On this point, even at the present day, a futile attempt is made to urge another passage from our text in support of the Median and Magian origin of the Avesta. This much-disputed passage (Ys. XIX. 18) runs as follows² :—

“Who are the chiefs? The master of the house, the lord of the village, the president of the tribe,

¹ Comp. my *Ostirānische Kultur*, pp. 464-465. It cannot, however, be proved that the title *Āthrauan* is strictly meant by the name *πύραιδοι* by which, according to Strabo (p. 733, where also the Cappadocians are specially mentioned), the Magi are supposed to have called themselves. Nevertheless, it does not do away with the fact that *Maghu* is unknown to the Avesta as the title of its priesthood (H. 2, p. 171).

² Spiegel has discussed this passage in his *Irānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III. p. 563; also Sp. 1, pp. 9-10; Sp. 2, pp. 630-632. But, I believe, he is wrong, when, in connection with this passage, he quotes the epithet *thrizañtu*, which Ragha receives in Vd. I. 16. *Zañtu* cannot possibly mean “order.” It means always “tribe, race,” and *thrizañtu* must imply that three Irānian tribes had settled in the district (*dañhu*) of Ragha.

the country-prince, the fifth is the *Zarathushtra*. (So it is) excepting the *Zarathushtrian Ragha*. Who are (here) the chiefs? The master of the house, the lord of the village, the president of the tribe, the fourth is the *Zarathushtra*."

What we may safely infer from the above passage is, that, at the time it was written, a kind of Zoroastrian papacy existed in Irān. To the High-priest was then assigned a rank higher than that of the country-princes. In Ragha he evidently possessed temporal as well as spiritual dignity. The High-priest of Ragha was at the same time its prince.

In the first place, however, it may be observed that the passage contains no personal reference to Zarathushtra; accordingly, it cannot serve as an argument in support of the theory that the Avesta was composed by the Medes. Apparently, *Zarathushtra* here is not a proper name but a generic term; it is the title of the head of the Zoroastrian priesthood. In the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta we find *Zaratushtum*, "the highest Zarathushtra."

Secondly, we must not bring the contents of the passage in Yasna, XIX. 18, to bear on the whole period of the civilization of the Avesta people. Moreover, there are many other passages¹ besides this, which enumerate the different lords, but in none of them is the *Zarathushtrōtema* directly mentioned.² The superiority of the priesthood over the two other orders of warriors and farmers appears so

¹ Cf. Yt. X. 18, 83; Vd. X. 5; Vsp. III. 2, &c.

² Gāh, IV. 6-7. Here we meet with the following expressions in invocations and hymns of praise:—*Zarathushtrōtema*, *sarathushtra*, *āthravan*, *rathaeshtar*, *vāstrya-fshuyās*, *nmānō-paiti*, *vīspaiti*, *zañty-paiti*, *dañhu-paiti*. From this we should gather that *Zarathushtra* as well as *Zarathushtrōtema* was a priestly title.

very conspicuously throughout the Avesta, and so much attention is drawn to it by its author, that it is hardly possible he could have failed to emphasize the rank of the high-priest of Ragha beyond that of the tribal chiefs and the country-princes.

But it is quite unwarrantable to identify the temporal power of *Zarathushtra* in Ragha with the dignity of the Grand Magus in Rai, (Sp. 2, pp. 629-630). Such a theory fails in the most important point of our argument; the Avesta speaks only of the *Āthravans* and not of the Magi. It calls the high-priest of Ragha, *Zarathushtra* or *Zarathushtrōtema*, a title which is never given to the *Masmaghāns*. To this it must be added that the only authorities for the dignity of the Grand Magus in Rai, are Albērūnī and Yāqūt, and that the period in which it originated cannot, therefore, be ascertained. In determining the age of the Avesta, the reference to the *Masmaghān* must, in any case, prove of little value. For, if the Magi were the heirs and successors of the Zoroastrian *Āthravans*,—a fact which must at least be generally admitted as possible—the *Masmaghān* to a certain extent would be a later development of the *Zarathushtrōtema* whose dignity might then be traced probably to the pre-historic epoch.

But I believe that we are not justified in laying too much stress on the passage, Ys. XIX. 18. We must not suppose that during the greatest part of the Avesta epoch, there existed any such half-spiritual, half-temporal power in Ragha. Who knows when this isolated passage was composed and when it was introduced into the text? Had Ragha really played so important a part in the Zoroastrian commonwealth, it is strange that this city is named only in two passages in the whole Avesta, viz., (1) in the passage cited above, and (2) in the list of countries enumerated in the Vendidad. *Haitumat* is mentioned three times; *Haraiva* and *Moru* twice; whilst such places as *Aryana-vāija*, the *Hara-berzati*, the *Ārdōi-sura*, and also the *Rangha*,

are frequently mentioned. Surely nobody will be inclined to assert that in the Avesta opportunities could not have offered themselves for mentioning Ragha and the high-priest residing in it.¹

IV. The Avesta commends next-of-kin marriage as a meritorious institution. But this practice, according to Herodotus, III. 34, was only introduced by Cambyses. The Avesta, therefore, cannot have been composed until after Cambyses.

I believe that we should not press too far this assertion of Herodotus, which has the air of an anecdote. It is of course improbable that such an institution could have been introduced, in an age of relatively high civilization, by the mere edict of a single individual, and even obtain recognition as a moral law. How could the Median Magi have reconciled themselves to the thought of adopting such an innovation, in opposition to their usual practice, at the time when, as Prof. Harlez assumes, they were opposed to the Persians? It is, however, far more probable that they would have used such an innovation as a ground of opposition to the king. The statement of Herodotus has, apparently, no other object than to give an explanation of some kind or other for an existing custom naturally unfamiliar to him. It certainly has no historical value. Moreover, it must be added that Herodotus expressly says :—*οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώδεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικεῖν Πέρσαι.* At the most we can only consider the innovation of Cambyses as affecting the Persians, a fact which cannot in the least influence the question whether the Median Magi had

¹ Other passages of the Avesta have been pointed out (*cf.* *O. K. A.* pp. 489-490) from which we can infer that the Āthravans "came from afar" and led a wandering life. This may be true even of several districts, and of certain portions of the Zoroastrian priesthood; but it does not follow hence that the Āthravans were identical with the Magi and had emigrated from West to East.

already in olden times recognized and approved of the marriage of relations.

I can dispose with equal ease of the next objection set forth by Prof. Harlez.

V. The fifth Yasht could not have been written before the introduction of the *cult* of the *Anaiti* by Artaxerxes Mnemon. The description which comprehends the outward figure and garments of that *yasata* in the Yasht, seems to be exactly that of a statue of *Anaiti*.

This conclusion is evidently erroneous. Granted that Artaxerxes II. (404-361) had actually introduced the cult of the *Anaiti*, his action could have reference to Persia alone. Again, the Median Magi, who, according to Prof. Harlez, endeavoured during the sovereignty of the Achæmenidae to propagate their religion over the whole of Irân, might have worshipped their *Anāhita* many centuries before. But, as far as I know, it is nowhere asserted that Artaxerxes II. first instituted this cult. Berosus alone relates that Artaxerxes II. was the first to set up images of the Aphrodite *Anaiti* in different towns, and that before this the divine beings were never represented in Irân in any shape whatever.¹ Thus we have here only a question of the erection of statues and especially of that of Aphrodite *Anaiti*, that is, of a female deity in whose worship the old Irânian conceptions were blended with Semitic ideas.

Then, as regards the description of *Anāhita* given in the fifth Yasht (par. 126-129), it is more probable that the later images of *Anāhita* were adapted to such frequent delineations, than the reverse. Every image must, however, first exist in the mind before it can receive material expression. Again, Prof. Harlez's theory is not justified by the opening words *yā hishtaiti* "which stands in a certain place." This is sufficiently manifest from the

¹ Clemens Alex. *Admonit. Adv. Gentes*. Comp. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II. p. 56, note 1.

glowing character and internal evidence of the whole description, which is an effort to describe in life-like terms the form of that *yazata*.

VI. I have already spoken briefly of the linguistic evidence adduced by Prof. Harlez in the sixth passage. Dr. Spiegel, too, admits that we are not justified in laying any stress upon it. We should also reject it on the ground that the Avesta, as we have it, cannot be supposed to be exactly in its original condition. And, in fact, this is confirmed not merely by the Zend Grammar in which many forms adapted from modern dialects may be often observed, but also by the mere form and spelling of the words.¹

VII. The persecutions alluded to in the Gāthās refer to the persecutions of the Magi by king Darius.

This view is opposed by the whole tone and tenour of the Gāthās. Prof. Harlez has overlooked the fact that the opposition here described does not merely imply the conflict between two different religious factions or sects, but at the same time that between two different epochs of the economic history of the Avesta people. On the dispute between Darius and the Magi hinged, however, the question of legal power and not that of economical grievances. Let us only read the twenty-ninth chapter of the Yasna. In fact, I do not understand how the cow can become the representative of the Magi and pray for them to Ahura Mazda for their deliverance from the oppressions of Darius. Nor can I conceive how the appearance of Zarathushtra could be the promised help they had in view. That would be true, however, for the

¹ In this respect the circumstance that the Avesta, as it seems to be assumed generally, was originally written in a different and ambiguous alphabet, similar to the Pahlavi, must have had a peculiarly injurious effect on the form of the text. We may thus account for the vagueness in the nature and constitution of the vowels, for the different ways of writing the *guna* forms, and the interchange of long and short vowels, &c.

Magi of the Achaemenian period *tempi passati*. Moreover, all this is easily explained on the supposition that the hymn in question relates to the herdsmen and agriculturists of Eastern Irān, who were oppressed by the nomads of the steppes, and was composed in the age of Zarathushtra.¹ The Prophet may have been honoured as the principal defender of the menaced peasantry or country-people.

How can we account for the absence of all historical references in the Gāthās which allude to so many incidents of real life? Are we to suppose that the author must have taken special care to avoid every hint which might enlighten the reader or the hearer as to what is particularly referred to? The names of opponents, however, could not have been omitted, nor the honourable mention of the most faithful of the Magi. But the reverse is the case in the Gāthās. Here there is only a general record of the opposition between what is good and what is evil, between the believing and the unbelieving, so that we can obtain no definite knowledge of the personages concerned; or, where the narrative treats of real life, the object of all enmity, all care, prayers and apprehensions is nothing else than the cow.

As the last argument in support of the modern

¹ I cannot at all conceive why Zarathushtra should not be regarded as a historical personage; historical, of course, in the sense in which Lycurgus is historical. Much less can I believe in a "mythological" connection with the Rig-veda, which Dr. Spiegel believes he has established by deriving the name *Spitama* from the root *spīt*, and by identifying it with the Vedic *ṣvītā*. But all this proves only an etymological affinity, as well as the use of the root *ṣvīt* by Indians and Irānians in the formation of proper names; but certainly nothing more. The name Spitama can be traced historically in Irān. Let us only consider the name Spitamenes, and we are reminded of the fact that he was an Eastern Irānian! Cf. Sp. I, pp. 8-9.

origin of the Avesta, Prof. Harlez alleges the words of foreign origin, which only found their way at some later period into the language. I have already discussed this question above, and, with the assistance of M. Halévy, more fully in fact than Prof. Harlez himself has done.

In conclusion I have to make two more observations.

It might perhaps strike the reader that I have not here touched upon the theory which supposes the Vishtāspa of the Avesta to be merely identical with the father of Darius Hystaspes. I did not mention it, not because it has found scarcely any supporters, but because of another reason which is, indeed, a very simple one. There are not two opinions as to the identity of the two names, Vishtāspa and Hystaspes; but such an identity cannot, therefore, be used as a proof in determining the question of the age of the Avesta, since it does not at all involve any identification of the personages to whom the names belong. History tells us of several Hystaspes. But that the father of Darius must have been the very prince named in the Avesta, who embraced the doctrine of Zarathushtra, is by no means proved. It is merely a possibility, an hypothesis, which requires to be independently proved. Moreover, a proof in support of it could only be supplied by first endeavouring to determine the date of the Avesta from internal evidence. This theory, therefore, cannot form a link in the chain of arguments for or against the great antiquity of the Avesta, for this reason, that it is only an assumption. It is more likely that, according to the result arrived at from those arguments, the question as to the relation of Vishtāspa to Hystaspes might open out a new field for investigation. In my opinion, it is evident that the Vishtāspa of the Avesta has nothing in common with the father of Darius but the name, which both may have shared with several other Irānians.

Finally, it is sometimes asserted that the Avesta can be of no great antiquity, because the doctrines and ideas

contained in it are too noble and elevated to have been developed among the Avesta people, who had not passed the primitive stage of civilization. Such general assertions cannot of course be proved or contradicted. It is more or less a question of taste. Moreover, I believe, that such assertions would lead one to overestimate the sublimity of the Avesta conceptions as regards the Spirit. The æsthetic value of the Avesta is generally supposed to be far below that of the Rig-veda. But it must be remembered that the Vedic Arians were as conspicuous for their poetic ideas and artistic taste, as the Irānians were distinguished for their profound moral virtues. This might also easily be explained from the physical condition of the Irānian soil, which necessarily accustomed its inhabitants to a rigid ideal of life, to hard work and industry, which, though it probably restrained the flight of fancy, nevertheless ennobled human nature.

Who, again, can say how far the personal influence of the founder of the Avesta religion may have reached? The intellectual development of man cannot be regulated at will. If it seems to stagnate for centuries, it often, on the contrary, makes gigantic strides in one single generation, and that, too, owing to the personal influence of a single individual.

The question as regards the home and age of the Avesta is at present the standing difficulty of Irānian Philology, and will, I surmise, remain so for a long time. I shall be content with what little I can contribute towards the legitimate solution, which must eventually discover the truth.

So long as no new and convincing reasons are adduced on the other side, so long as the arguments I have striven to bring together in my work remain unrebutted, I repeat, in concluding this treatise, the convictions with which I set out, namely, that:—

1. The home of the Avesta civilization was really Eastern Irān, the

land of the Syr-daryā westward towards the frontiers of Media and southward to the deserts of Gedrosia.

2. The Avesta civilization dates from a very remote antiquity. It is fruitless to specify a particular century. But there is no doubt that it is older than Medo-Persian history.

[This opinion of Dr. Geiger has been ably supported by the accomplished Avesta scholar, Dr. Karl Geldner, in his dissertation (*vide* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed. vol. XVIII. p. 653) on the old Irānian languages and literature, from which I extract the following:—

Persian (Irānian) Languages.

"Zend is the language of the so-called *Avesta*,¹ the holy book of the Persians, containing the oldest documents of the religion of Zoroaster. Besides this important monument, which is about twice as large as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* put together, we only possess very scanty relics of the Zend language in medieval glosses and scattered quotations in Pahlavi books. These remains, however, suffice to give a complete insight into the structure of the language. Not only amongst Irānian languages, but amongst all the languages of the Indo-European group, Zend takes one of the very highest places in importance for the compa-

¹ As was said above, this, and not *Zend-Avesta*, is the correct title for the original text of the Persian Bible. The origin of the word is doubtful, and we cannot point to it before the time of the Sassanians. Perhaps it means "announcement," "revelation."

rative philologist. In age it almost rivals Sanskrit; in primitiveness it surpasses that language in many points; it is inferior only in respect of its less extensive literature, and because it has not been made the subject of systematic grammatical treatment. The age of Zend must be examined in connexion with the age of the Avesta. In its present form the *Avesta* is not the work of a single author or of any one age, but embraces collections produced during a long period. The view which became current through Anquetil Duperron, that the *Avesta* is throughout the work of Zoroaster (in Zend, *Zarathushtra*), the founder of the religion, has long been abandoned as untenable. But the opposite view, which is now frequently accepted, that not a single word in the book can lay claim to the authorship of Zoroaster, also appears on closer study too sweeping. In the Avesta two stages of the language are plainly distinguishable, for which the supposition of local dialectic variation is not sufficient explanation, but which appear rather to be an older and a younger stage in the development of the same language. The older is represented in but a small part of the whole work, the so-called *Gāthās* or songs. These songs form the true kernel of the book Yasna;¹ they must have been in existence long before all the other parts of the *Avesta*, throughout the whole of which allusions to them occur. These *Gāthās* are what they claim to be, and what they are honoured in the whole Avesta as being—the actual productions of the Prophet himself or of his time. They bear in themselves irrefutable proofs of their authenticity,

¹ The Avesta is divided into three parts; (1) Yasna, with an appendix, Visparad, a collection of prayers and formulas for divine service; (2) Vendidad, containing direction for purification and the penal code of the ancient Persians; (3) Khordah-Avesta,

bringing us face to face not with the Zoroaster of the legends but with a real person, announcing a new doctrine and way of salvation, no supernatural Being assured of victory, as he is represented in later times, but a mere man, often himself despairing of his final success, and struggling not with spirits and demons but with human obstacles of every sort, in the midst of a society of fellow-believers which was yet feeble and in its earliest infancy. It is almost impossible that a much later period could have produced such unpretentious and almost depreciatory representations of the deeds and personality of the Prophet; certainly nothing of the kind is found out of the *Gāthās*. If, then, the *Gāthās* reach back to the time of Zoroaster, and he himself, according to the most probable estimate, lived as early as the 14th century B.C., the oldest component parts of the Avesta are hardly inferior in age to the oldest Vedic hymns. The *Gāthās* are still extremely rough in style and expression; the language is richer in forms than the more recent Zend; and the vocabulary shows important differences. The predominance of the long vowels is a marked characteristic, the constant appearance of a long final vowel contrasting with the preference for a final short in the later speech.

Sanskrit.	<i>Gāthā</i> .	Later Zend.
<i>abhi</i> (near)	<i>aibi</i> .	<i>aiwi</i> .
<i>ihá</i> (work)	<i>īshá</i>	<i>isha</i> .

"The clearest evidence of the extreme age of the language of the *Gāthās* is its striking resemblance to the oldest Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic poems. The *Gāthā* language (much more than the later Zend)

or the Small Avesta, containing the Yasht, the contents of which are for the most part mythological, with shorter prayers for private devotion.

and the language of the *Vedas* have a close resemblance, exceeding that of any two Romanic languages, they seem hardly more than two dialects of one tongue. Whole strophes of the *Gāthās* can be turned into good old Sanskrit by the application of certain phonetic laws; for example:—

“ *Maṭ · vāo · padūish · yā · frasrūtā · īshayāo.*
Pairijasāi · Mazdā · ustānazastō.
Aṭ · vao · ashā · aredrahyāchā · nemanghā.
Aṭ · vāo · vanghéush · mananghō · hunaretātā,”

becomes in Sanskrit—

“ *Mana vah padūih yū praçrutā īhūyāh*
Parigachāi medha uttānahastah.
Āt va ṛtena radhrasyacha namasā.
*Āt vō vasor manasah sūnṛtayā.”*¹

¹ “With verses of my making, which now are heard, and with prayerful hands, I come before thee, Mazda, and with the sincere humility of the upright man and with the believer's song of praise.”

CHAPTER II.*

GUSHTĀSP AND ZOROASTER.

WE can hardly treat of Gushtāsp[†] and his reign, without previously speaking of Zoroaster, not merely because the appearance of the Prophet is the most important event of that reign, but also because a great part of the incidents to be presently described would be unintelligible, if the acceptance of the religion of Zoroaster were not considered as a previous fact. For the first time we meet in these obscure ages with a personality of which we can ask, whether the historical character does not outweigh the mythological and legendary. Zoroaster is, further, a personage frequently named not only by Oriental, but also by Western authors. We are, therefore, obliged not to be contented regarding his career with the testimony derived from those sources, which we have before designated as the only Irānian traditions extant; but we must here add a few supplementary remarks on the authorities for our knowledge of the life of Zoroaster.

The name of Zoroaster was known to the Greeks and Romans, and is often mentioned by them as that of the founder of the Magian religion. If we approach the matter more closely, and enquire what those Greeks and Romans knew regarding him, we only find in each case notices which are not at all sufficient for a sketch of Zoroaster's life and work. Much less can we

* Dr. F. von Spiegel, *Irānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I. bk. II. chap. II. pp. 668-716.

[†] It is well known that this name takes the form *Vīstāspa* in Old-Persian and Old-Bactrian, and is identical with the Greek form *Vystaspes*.

expect from the classical writers a description of those remote times wherein Zoroaster is said to have lived. There are, on the whole, only three writers of whom we can avail ourselves with regard to this question, namely, Herodotus, Berossus, and Ktesias. The two first are trustworthy authors and justly deserve to be relied upon; but Herodotus has not named Zoroaster at all, and Berossus, of whose writings we have only a few fragments, has perhaps mentioned him by name, but this cannot be affirmed with certainty. As regards Ktesias, his accounts are generally considered to be unreliable. So much may here be sufficient by way of preliminary remark concerning those writers of whom we shall speak more fully later on.

Our Oriental sources are far more complete than the Western ones, and also deserve to be described somewhat more in detail. In the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions the name of Zoroaster is nowhere mentioned; and, even if it be probable that he was already known in the time of Darius, such a belief will have to be proved from internal evidence. So frequently does the Avesta mention the founder of the *Mazdayasnān* religion, that it is self-evident that the accounts given in this book, respecting the Irānian founder of religion, have for us a peculiar significance. With these accounts are linked those notices, partly also valuable, which are given in later Parsi writings on the life of Zoroaster, and which must be at least partially based on more ancient accounts. The information afforded by Mahomedan writers, hitherto availed of, like Hamza and the author of *Mujmil*, is indeed not very copious, though not without some value. The same may also be said respecting the account of Shāhrastāni, who has noticed Zoroaster to some extent in his work on religious parties and philosophical schools.

Special attention, however, respecting this period must be paid to the Book of Irānian Kings, viz., the *Shah-nāme*. It must be observed that the particular section, which

describes the work of Zoroaster and a portion of the reign of Gushtāsp, does not belong to Fīrdūsi, but to the more ancient poet Dakiki, who had commenced to write this portion of the Book of Kings, but, owing to his violent death, was cut short in his work, before he had yet finished more than a thousand couplets. Now Fīrdūsi states that Dakiki appeared to him in a dream, and requested him to embody his unfinished work in the Book of Kings, with which request Fīrdūsi complied. This entire portion of the Book of Kings (which extends from page 1065 to 1108 of M. Macan's edition), cannot, therefore, be regarded as proceeding from Fīrdūsi. However, as Fīrdūsi does not express himself very enthusiastically regarding Dakiki in the concluding words to that part, it can hardly have been his veneration for the deceased poet, which prompted him to enlarge his work. The true reasons are not, however, difficult to penetrate. The secure position which Mahmud of Gazni had conferred upon the poet Fīrdūsi to enable him to finish undisturbed his great work, proved a source of envy to the courtiers. They attempted to raise suspicion against the poet in the mind of his patron, and especially maligned him by saying that his great enthusiasm for the traditional lore of the nation was due to his inclination towards the old religion of the country. The suspicion of not being an orthodox Moslem would have appeared monstrous in the eyes of so fanatical a king as Mahmud was, and for a poet made thus suspect a description of the life and acts of Zoroaster was an extremely delicate task. Fīrdūsi, by ostensibly taking up the work of his predecessor, which directly treated of that very life of the Irānian Prophet, evaded all difficulties. While he fully secured himself by that device, it cannot be denied that he also did his best for us.

As is well known Dakiki was never converted to Islāmism. He belonged to the old religion of the country, and had not the least reason to describe the life and the exploits of his

Prophet otherwise than they were known to him. Consequently, we can believe ourselves entitled to consider the account of Zoroaster in the Book of Kings as a true representation of the view which people had at that time in Irān of the work of the Prophet, at all events a truer one than that which Fīrdūsi would have been able to offer or justified in offering. The peculiar features of this description by Dakiki are the Buddhistic elements, which appear to have found a place in the Zoroastrian belief, and then again the hostile feeling against the religion of Zoroaster, which we shall treat of more fully in due course. It is as easy to explain the one as the other. We know that, in the period after Alexander, Buddhism was powerful in Eastern Irān, and that it counted its confessors as far as Taberistān. It is especially certain that many Buddhist priests were found in Bactria.¹ This state of things, which began perhaps in the first century before Christ, lasted till the seventh century A. D., when the appearance of Islāmism alone cut short the development of Buddhism in Kābul and Bactria; and it is in that period that we will have to place the rise of the Zarathushtra-legend in the form in which it is presented to us by Dakiki. It is natural enough that the adherents of the doctrine of Zoroaster did not regard with favour the astonishingly rapid progress which the Buddhist religion made in Bactria and the adjoining countries; but it is also obvious that in spite thereof they were inclined to accept several peculiarities of the new religion, when they found it convenient to do so. All these circumstances show that the Oriental legend of Zoroaster is throughout transmitted to us in its Bactrian form.

If we now consider more closely this remarkable character, who was destined to play so important a part in

¹ *Vide* the proofs in Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 1075.

Irānian intellectual life,¹ we shall have to say a few words first with reference to his name. Among the ancients he usually appears under the name *Zaróastros*, and from this form has originated the current form Zoroaster, which name we have also here retained as thus generally intelligible. Only Diodorus calls him by the name of *Zaróastros*,² probably on the authority of Ktesias. Among the later writers we also find the name-forms *Záros*, *Zaróros*, and *Zaratos*; but M. Windischmann appears to me to have proved that by the latter names is meant, not Zóroaster, but an Assyrian, who is said to have been the so-called teacher of Pythagoras. The most ancient Irānian form that we know of his name is pronounced *Zarathushtra*, and with it the Greek *Zaróastros* does not quite harmonize. It must be presumed that the Western nations had a somewhat different form of the name, which may perhaps have sounded *Zarashtra*, and from this we may trace its Greek version. All the Oriental forms of the name go back to the original *Zarathushtra*, by which the Armenian *Zardasht* may be accounted for. In Huzvarešh the forms are *Zertusht* and *Zartuhsht*; in Modern Persian the most usual are *Zardusht* and *Zarduhasht*. Other less common variations have been collected by M. Windischmann.³

It has been found not less difficult to arrive at the precise meaning of the name than it has been to fix its original form. The explanation transmitted to us by the ancients, which, it is presumed, proceeds from Deinon, and according to which the word signifies the same as

¹ For the following, compare Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien*, p. 44.

² According to Lagard (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 47), it might be read *Xaothraustes* in Diodorus.

³ *Zärtusht*, *Zarāduhasht*, *Zärtuhsht*, *Zārhusht*, *Zarātusht*, *Zarādusht*, *Zertusht*, *Zardusht*, *Zarāduhasht*, *Zarāhtusht*, *Zarāhusht*, even *Zārdisht*, *Zardisht*, (*Zor. Studien*, p. 45).

ἀστροδάτης, which Bochart supposed to be *ἀστροδεάτης*, has long been rejected as untenable. With regard to the explanation of the native form *Zarathushtra*, to which all attempts at interpretation are now entirely confined, no one has hitherto come to any conclusion, not even concerning the language according to which the name should be explained. Mr. George Rawlinson, however, has very recently attempted to explain it by means of the Semitic languages; assuming *Ziru Ishtar* as the original form, *Ziru* might be the Semitic זֵרִיָּע, 'seed, descendant,' *Ishtar* the name of the planet Venus. Of course the explanation is nearer and more probable if one endeavours to interpret it through the Irānian languages, but, even with the aid of interpretations based on them, one cannot lay claim to absolute certainty. The explanation of Dr. F. Müller appears to me to be the most probable, according to which *Zarathushtra* would mean "possessing courageous camels."¹ The word should, on this suppo-

¹ [F. Müller, *Zendstudien*, part I., Vienna, 1863, pp. 3-7 :—

"The name of the great prophet of the Iūnians, whom we commonly call Zoroaster, according to the Greek form *Ζωροάστρης*, is pronounced *Zarathushtra* in the language in which he himself spoke. Its true etymological meaning is a matter of conjecture only.

"The modern adherents of the Prophet interpret the name, according to the modern Persian form *Zardusht* or *Zartusht*, (زرتشت — زردشت) as meaning 'a gold star'. Should this explanation be traced to Old-Bactrian, in which *zairi* corresponds to the first part *zar*, 'gold,' while the name of the star *Tishtar* (تیشتر) must stand for the second part *tusht*, *dusht*, 'a star,' we must substitute for *Zartusht*, a different form, *zairitishtrya*, which bears but little resemblance to the real form of the name *Zarathushtra*.

"An etymology based on the form *Zarathushtra* itself, is given by Burnouf, the founder of Zend studies, (*Comm. sur le Yasna* XII.), who analyzes the word into *sarath* and *ushtra*, and explains it by '*fulgos uinclos habens*.' Of these component parts

sition, be altered to *Zaratushtra*—the change of a *t* into *th* is likewise witnessed in the Gūthās in some other examples, especially in such words in which *u* follows *t*. Besides, other names also prove that the Irānians made use of the word *ushtra*, "camel," in the formation of proper names (for instance *Frashaostra*). As already said, even this interpretation is not perfectly reliable.

As regards the age in which Zoroaster probably flourished, we shall hardly be able to arrive at more certainty than in the case of his name and its meaning

the second can now be shown to have the meaning 'camel' in the stock of the Old-Bactrian language, and can also be compared with the second part 𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿 'horse' in analogous proper names, such as *Vishlāspa*, *Kercsūspa*, *Pourushaspa*, *Ilacchatuspa*. However, as regards the first part *zarath*, Haug justly remarks that it cannot bear the meaning 'yellow' (for, as is well known, 'yellow' is denoted in Old-Bactrian by *zairīta*, and in modern Persian by *zard*); but it must be the form of a present participle, (Old-Bactrian *zarat* = Skr. *harat*, *jarat*). Thus the meaning suggested by Burnouf is likewise inadmissible, on account of the objections to the first part of the compound name he suggests.

"Another meaning, which, if I mistake not, is suggested by Roth, is that of *Zarathushtra* as 'a goldsmith.' But a two-fold objection, phonetic as well as practical, might be urged against it. If we adopt this meaning, we must divide the word into *zara* and *thushtra*, and explain *zara* to be 'gold.' However, this form cannot be proved to exist in Old-Bactrian, where the word for 'gold' is invariably pronounced *sañi* = Skr. *hari*. Again, the second part, *thushtra*, pre-supposes a violent contraction as well as a lengthening of the suffix, of the word 𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿 (*thworeshtare*); both these forms, moreover, have nothing analogous to them in Old-Bactrian. Now, as regards the practical objections, I believe, they are still weightier. As is well known the Avesta everywhere speaks only of three orders: priests (𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿), warriors (𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿), and husbandmen (𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎿); but we do not find any mention of handicraftsmen in the oldest fragments, still less of artists who devoted themselves to the manu-

To what period Zoroaster belongs, according to the view of Oriental authorities, is already known from our previous inquiries concerning the chronology of the legendary history regarding him. According to these authorities, Zoroaster belongs to the middle portion of the duration of the world since the creation of the human race, or 9,000 years after the creation of the world. We also know that, according to Irānian dogmatics, a thousand years

facture of such an article of luxury as gold [?]. Now if we suppose Zarathushtra to have received this name either on account of his own vocation or of that of his father, we shall have to make an assumption which is inconsistent with the sacred writings and external evidences, and which could only be based upon the etymology above proposed. We must, therefore, also reject this etymology, which identifies Zarathushtra as a goldsmith.

"A derivation founded on the analysis of the word into *zarath* and *ushtra* is proposed by Haug in his *Gāthās*, vol. II. p. 246. The first part admits of three significations: (1) 'growing old,' (Skr. *jarat*), which is rejected as being evidently inappropriate; (2) 'heart,' (Skr. *hṛd*); (3) 'praise-singing,' (Skr. *garat*). The second part *ushtra*, however, is not rendered by 'camel,' but explained to be a contraction of *uttara*, 'excellent.' Zarathushtra, therefore, is either 'he who has an excellent heart,' or what seems better—'the excellent panegyric poet or singer,' according as we determine upon the one or the other meaning of the word *zarath*.

"Both these etymologies also present phonetic as well as practical difficulties. If we regard the former, the identification of *zarath* with *zarad*, and also of the latter with *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀* (*zeredhaēm*), is striking; for its identity with Skr. *hṛd* is disputed in the passages cited by Haug (Yasna XLIII. 11; XXXI. 1; *sāš · mashyāēshu · zarazdūtish*;—*yoi · zarazdāq · aīhen · Mazdāi*), wherein *zaraz* occurs as the first part of a composite word. We might suggest *haras* with the same, if not with greater justice (Bensley, *Glossar zum Samaveda*, p. 206). Again the identity of *th* with *d* still remains doubtful, even if we concede that *zaraz* and *hṛd* are identical.

"In just the same way it is difficult to identify *ushtra* with *uttara*; because, even if we allow the elimination of *a*, for which, indeed, there is no authority,—since this change is never witnessed in the suffix *tara*,—we should also expect the form *uṣtra*, just

cannot yet have fully elapsed since his death, for otherwise a new prophet should have already appeared.¹ That we cannot with such *data* undertake to describe chronologically the life of Zoroaster, needs no further proof. Let us see whether the accounts of our Western writers help us to any better result.

The age of Zoroaster has been of late the object of searching inquiries.² The oldest Western writer, who

¹ Some Christian writers, like Abul Faraj (Histodynast. ed. Pococke, p. 33), and Eutychius (Annal ed. Selden, p. 262), affirm that Zoroaster lived under Smerdes and Cambyses. This opinion seems to originate from the Mahomedans, in which case perhaps 1,000 years might have elapsed before the appearance of Muhammed, perhaps the prophet whom the Iñānians had expected at that period.

² Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, pp. 270, 274, 279, 285, 291, 302; Rapp, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* vol. XIX. p. 22.

as *basta* = *bad* + *ta*, and *dasta* = *dath* + *ta*. It happens, however, that the form *zarathushtra*, as against the faulty *zarathustra*, is on the one hand attested as the correct one; while, on the other, it is only the former, and not the latter, that can be the result of new forms with *sh* or *t*.

“ Besides these phonetic difficulties, there is also a practical one with reference to the name. When Haug interprets the name as ‘an excellent praise-singer,’ and therewith observes that the chanting of hymns in the Gāthās plays an important part, and that Zarathushtrā appears himself as a poet, he of course speaks of the Prophet and of the religious founder. It must then be assumed that Zarathushtra was not the *real* name, but only a *title of honour* given to the founder of the Parsi religion; but this assumption is not confirmed by the sacred writings. If the name is not a mere title of honour but a real name which belonged to the Prophet from his childhood, such a supposition cannot be supported by any analogy; for, if we examine the old Persian proper names occurring in the Avesta and elsewhere, we do not find among them any which could have been formed in a similar way, especially taking into consideration Zarathushtra’s high spiritual excellence.

The interpretation of the name Zarathushtra as ‘the most excellent panegyric poet,’ was later on abandoned by Haug

mentions Zoroaster, is Xanthus of Sardis, who is said to have placed Zoroaster 600 years (according to others 6,000 years) before the fall of Xerxes. Should the first of these statements be correct, Zoroaster must have flourished about 1080 years before Christ. As Pliny (*H. N.* XXX.

himself, (Essays, 1st ed. 1862, p. 252, Note), who adopted another instead. According to this view the name may be supposed to mean 'the most excellent director or guardian.' In this case we have the first part *zarath* = Skt. *jarat* 'old,' whilst the second part bears the same meaning as above. Against this explanation the same difficulties may be urged as before; and we should certainly again set forth the same objections, were it not that Haug regards the name Zarathushtra as, indeed, only an appellation, perhaps denoting 'a high-priest.' But, according to this assumption, the proper name of the founder of the Parsi religion would then be quite unknown, which is plainly inconsistent with the testimony of the sacred writings and the oldest tradition of the Parsis on the one hand, and the history of different religions on the other. Again, the existence of several Zarathushtras will have to be proved, a point which could neither be supported by the scriptures nor by the legends.

“My opinion is that in order to give a correct interpretation of the name, we must first analyze it into its elementary parts, and then try to justify our explanation by proper analogies. If we now examine the name, which is no doubt a compound word, we must unquestionably divide it into *zarath* and *ushtra*. The latter word can in this case, as elsewhere, only denote a ‘camel,’ while the form *zarath*, as Haug has already correctly observed, cannot but be a present participle.

“Thus the question is only one regarding the correct meaning. The simplest way would be to trace *zarath* to the Old Indian root *har* ‘to take, to gain anything as booty,’ and the word would then mean, just as *bharad-vāja* and *jumad-agni*, ‘obtaining camels as booty’ (cf. *ḥarāḥ* ‘having horses won or conquered’).

But I prefer to take *sarath* as a present participle from the root *har = ghar*, from which also comes the word *haras*, ‘glowing fire,’ then ‘wrath’ (*haras krodhanāma*). Accordingly, *Zarathustra* must mean ‘possessing courageous camels,’ (compare མཚན་བློ་གྲོས་ ‘having lean horses,’ སྒྱིད་ལྟོགས་ ‘having shaggy

1, 2) informs us, Eudoxus and Aristotle place Zoroaster 6,000 years before the death of Plato (i. e., 6350 B. C.), while Hermodorus, who was a disciple of Plato, following Eudoxus and Aristotle, fixes upon 5,000 years before the Trojan war (i. e., 6100 B. C.). With the latter statement Plutarch also agrees (the "*Isid.*" ch. 48), as well as Hermippus, according to the testimony of Pliny. Whether Berossus has named this Zoroaster must remain doubtful, and even if the name Zoroaster really occurred in his writings, he may not have meant thereby the founder of the Irānian religion, but, as I believe, a king of the same name. M. Windischmann has already fully discussed¹ the statement of Porphyrius, that Zoroaster was probably the teacher of Pythagoras, and might be placed, therefore, in the sixth century before the Christian era. The same writer has also proved that Ζάβπαρος named by Porphyrius cannot be our Zoroaster. Agathias tells us that Zoroaster lived under a king Hystaspes, but it is not clear whether the latter was the father of Darius or not. Naturally, Agathias here means Vishtāspa or Gushtāsp; he may even have had before him the same legend respecting Zoroaster which we read at the present day. Suidas even distinguishes between two different Zoroasters, one of whom is said to have lived 500 years (5,000 years may be read) before the Trojan war; the other is said to

¹ Windischmann, *Zoroast. Studien*, p. 261.

horses'). This simple explanation is also intelligibly supported by the constant occurrence in Greek as well as in Persian, of such names as contain *ἵππος* 'horse' in the second part. That the camel was a domestic animal like the horse, among the ancient Persians, appears most clearly from Vend. XV. 68 seq.; it was even regarded as a more costly animal than the horse. (Comp. Vend. XIV. 50-53).

"Now as regards the epithet 'courageous' applied to camels, I refer my readers to the excellent description of them in *Tarāfah Maallāqah*, verses 11 seq."]

have been an astronomer, who lived in the age of Ninus. On these statements of Suidas very little reliance can be placed. One here sees clearly that he found in his sources of information different statements respecting Zoroaster, which he was unable to reconcile with one another, and which he endeavoured to bring into harmony by distinguishing in this manner between two persons of the same name. How one should act on these contradictory testimonies, it is not difficult to indicate. Dr. Rapp¹ has justly remarked that the accounts which place the age of Zoroaster about 6,000 years back, are of little importance, since it is incredible that at that time chronicles could have been available, which safely followed up the history of the past five or six thousand years. These statements can thus prove no more than that even at the time when they were made, Zoroaster was not known to be a historical personage. As regards the statements of Xanthus, their accuracy has been questioned, and though the reasons, which caused this doubt are not solid,² so much is indeed certain, that his chronology is not reliable. As Xanthus places Zoroaster 6,000 years before the expedition of Xerxes, we need not waste time on his statement; but more than this, even when he places him only 600 years before this period, it is still more than doubtful whether his historical proofs extended even so far back. There remains only Ktesias, according to whose statement Zoroaster seems to fall into the same period with Ninus. But, leaving aside the fact that the testimony of Ktesias is generally not much to be relied upon, we must also doubt whether he really meant the Irānian founder of religion by the Bactrian king Zoroaster, of whom he may have spoken, or only a king of that name. After a review of the different statements recorded in Western writings, it will not surprise any one, if we give it as our opinion that neither Occidental nor Oriental

¹ Rapp, *Zddm.G.* vol. XIX: p. 25.

² Windischmann, *Zoroast. Studien*, pp. 268-275.

testimony yields us any sure ground on which to fix the age of Zoroaster. In this view MM. Gutschmid¹ and Rapp² have already preceded us.

Still more material than the question regarding the name and the period of Zoroaster, is that concerning his native country, on account of the important conclusions which can be drawn from the answer to the latter. However, it will scarcely be ever possible to arrive at quite a certain result on this point. We begin our review of the several notices which lie before us of the native land of Zoroaster, with the Westerns and especially with Ktesias, not only because he is one of the most ancient historians, but also because he has a certain importance from the fact that a number of other writers have followed him. According to the historical account of Ktesias, which Diodorus has preserved for us, Ninus is said to have, with 1,700,000 foot and 210,000 horse, invaded Bactria, where the king of the land, Oxyartes, awaited him with 400,000 men. Victorious in the beginning, the Bactrian king had in the end to give way to superior power, and was obliged to retire to his capital, where he was then defeated by Ninus with the assistance of Semiramis. In the account of Diodorus there does not at all occur, as we find, the name of Zoroaster. It is true, the name of the Bactrian king does not everywhere appear as Oxyartes; several manuscripts also give instead *Εξαόπρης*, other *Χαόπρης* and *Ζαόπρης*, but in none do we meet with *Ζωροάστρης*. Nor is it less probable that the name may have been thus pronounced originally. We still possess fragments of a historiographer, Kephalion,³ who has

¹ *Beiträge Zur Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 90.

² Rapp, *ZdmG.* vol. XIX. p. 26.

³ Kephalion in Eusebius *Chron. arm I*, 43 ed. Ancher:—
“I proceed to write of matters which others also have treated, especially Ellanicus the Lesbian and Ctesias the Chidias, and also Herodotus of Halicarnassus.” The Assyrians first ruled Asia. Among them was Ninus, son of Belus, during the time of whose

confessedly made use of Ktesias concerning the same story, and he expressly gives the name of king Zoroaster, in a tradition at least, to him who is called by Diodorus, Oxyartes. With him Eusebius¹ and Theo² agree. After them Arnobius³ and finally the Berosian Sibyl, whom we shall mention hereafter, also place Zoroaster in Bactria.

As all the reports just enumerated associate Ninus with a king Zoroaster, it appears, indeed, as though the name of Oxyartes had been erroneously substituted for that of Zoroaster in the text of Diodorus. That even Ktesias could have meant by the Zoroaster named by him the founder of the Irānian religion, can by no means be confidently asserted, as the entire narrative has evidently undergone transformation in a later age. This becomes extremely clear when we compare the text of Diodorus with that of Arnobius; they both refer to the same facts;

reign the most numerous exploits were achieved and the most glorious virtues displayed. Next after these he mentions also the generations of Semiramis, and describes the rebellion against Semiramis of Zoroaster, the Magus king of the Bactrians. He says that the term of Ninus's reign was fifty-two years and speaks of his death. Semiramis reigned after him, and surrounded Babylon with a wall exactly as described by most authors, by Ctesias in particular, by Zeno and Herodotus and others after them. He moreover describes the preparations of Semiramis for the war against the Indians, her defeat and flight, &c." This event is also recorded by Syncellus in quite a similar manner.

¹ Eusebius, *Chron. IV.* 35 ed. *Aucher*:—"Zoroaster the Magus, king of the Bactrians, against whom Ninus fought, is considered famous." *Praep. Ev.* X. 9. "Over whom (the Bactrians) Zoroaster reigned."

² *Progymnast*:—"Zoroaster was the king of the Bactrians..."

³ *Cf. Arnob. adv. gent.* I. 5.:—"Has this feud of ours been like the war between the Assyrians and the Bactrians under Zoroaster and Ninus, in which strength and arms were not only used but also incantation and the mystic arts of the Chaldeans?"

but whilst, according to the story of the first, two kings fight against each other with overwhelming forces, according to the second, Ninus appears as the representative of the Chaldean, Zoroaster as that of the Bactrian Magi. Since, however, in the account of Diodorus there is no allusion to Zoroaster's religious character, in spite of its being really the most complete report, it appears to me very probable that the mention made by Ktesias was only with reference to a king Zoroaster, and that the same was changed later on into the Magus. Besides, there is to a certain degree an inconsistency in calling anybody a Magus and at the same time a Bactrian. Hence I am inclined to doubt whether we can quote Ktesias as an authority for the opinion that Zoroaster had his home in Bactria. We must, however, admit that we are in no case inclined to rely much on the assertions of this historian.

Besides those already cited, there still remain some ancient authorities who regard Zoroaster as a Bactrian, without allowing one to affirm that they, too, have borrowed their statements from Ktesias. But such authorities belong to a late period. One of these is Agathias (L. II., 24 ed. Nieb.), another Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII. 6. 32). Both these writers recognize in Zoroaster not a king but the founder of a religion; both place him under a king Hystaspes. The former observes that we cannot tell whether this Hystaspes was the father of Darius or not, the latter on the contrary explicitly calls him the father of Darius. It appears to me very probable, not to say certain, that both these authors had the knowledge which we still possess at the present day as to the life of Zoroaster, namely, the fact that he flourished under a *king* *Vish.āspa* or Gushtāsp. If Ammianus recognized in this *Vishtāspa*, Hystaspes the father of Darius, who was alone known to him, we think such recognition very natural, but ~~just~~ as incorrect as his representing Zoroaster as a Bactrian, because he heard that the latter had worked in Bactria.

Besides, it is not at all the general view of antiquity that Zoroaster was a Bactrian; a whole series of authorities look upon him as a Mede or a Persian. In support of the view that Zoroaster was a Mede the authority of Berossus may perhaps be cited. This writer has composed a work, which is mentioned by the ancients under the title of Χαλδαϊκά or Βαβυλωνιακά. In estimating the value of this work of Berossus ancient authors are full of praise, in which modern writers also participate. An unfortunate fate has followed the book, not only in that it is lost, but also in the fact that the few fragments preserved are not transmitted to us in their original form, but have passed through several hands before reaching us. With justice does the latest publisher,¹ therefore, observe:—

“Fairly large fragments have been preserved, especially by Josephus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Syncellus. But not one of them seems to have examined Berossus’ original works.² Syncellus has borrowed from Eusebius, or like Eusebius from Africanus, Africanus from Alexander Polyhistor, and he apparently from Appolodorus. Josephus must have made use of the same Polyhistor, although he has omitted to mention his authority. Clemens Alexandrinus had before him Juba, the Mauritanian, who seems to have quoted from the book of Berossus in his Assyrian histories. As, therefore, the fragments which survive have passed through so many hands, it is not to be wondered at that the words of Berossus have been mutilated in various ways, and care must be taken not to ascribe to Berossus what should be imputed to those who quote him.”³

It also appears that from this particular Berossus a Sibylla Berosiana, who ranks far lower than the former, is to

¹ Vd. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* II. p. 496.

² Cf. Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assyrs*, p. 12.

³ C. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.* II. p. 495.

be distinguished. Upon this our authority speaks as follows :—

“ There is scarcely any doubt that Justin has confounded with the historian some other Berossus, the father of Sibylla.¹ This error can easily be excused, if it be true, as seems indeed most probable, that Berossus himself has in his history made mention of that Sibylla, daughter of Berossus. What Alexander Polyhistor borrows from Sibylla, concerning the building of the Tower of Babylon, could scarcely have been collected from other sources than the books of our Berossus.”²

Much more severely does M. von Niebuhr express himself :—“ The extract concerning the Sibyl of the Tower ought to be strictly separated from those taken from Berossus, since it is not cited as a Berossian one. Nor should we allow ourselves to be deceived when Moses Chorenensis says, whilst quoting a similar passage, that the same is to be found in the Berossian Sibyl. Besides the confused legends, which connect Berossus with a Sibyl, there is no indication that the so-called Chaldean had any other than a Jewish origin.”³

Now amongst the fragments which originate from the genuine Berossus, there is one in particular that must attract our attention. It is preserved for us in a two-fold, but somewhat contradictory, form, first in the Armenian translation of Eusebius, and again in Syncellus. I quote here the passage in question as given in Petermann's translation :—

“ From Xisuthros and from the Deluge and until the Mareans (Mediaus) took Babylonia, *Polyhistor* counts on the whole 86 kings, and makes mention of every ðæ by name from the works of Berossus, and the years

¹ Cf. *Justinus Martyr Cohort*, c. 39.

² M. von Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assyriens*, p. 470.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 491-494.

of all these kings he comprises in a period of 33,091 years. After these kings, *according to those writers*, the Medians, as they were so powerful, collected an army against Babylon, in order to capture it, and to set up as rulers tyrants of their own. *Then he determines also* the names of the Median tyrants numbering 8 and their years 224, and again 11 kings and years 4, then also the tyrants of the Chaldeans, 49 kings and 458 years."¹

The author mentioned by Syncellus differs from this on several essential points. While there are 49 Chaldean kings according to Eusebius, Syncellus only mentions two of them and names 84 Median kings, then Zoroaster and 7 Chaldean kings. Hence M. C. Müller says:—

"The eight tyrants found in Eusebius answer in number to Zoroaster and his seven successors."

The number of years, however, does not correspond. Syncellus assigns to his Medians only 190 years, while Eusebius gives 224 to his eight Median kings. On this point M. von Niebuhr remarks as follows²:—"As regards the statement of Syncellus, that Polyhistor has called only the two first kings Chaldean and the remaining 84 Medians, the version of Eusebius is clearly the genuine one. Syncellus has evidently not transcribed from Eusebius, but from another chronographer, probably Africanus. The author may, like Syncellus, have passed over the second dynasty—Syncellus in that passage mentions the first dynasty as being followed by Zorbaster and a Chaldean dynasty—and may have brought the Medians into the first dynasty in the place of the 84 kings whose names Eusebius has not given. However, this

¹ The italicized words are not those of Berostus, but of Eusebius. They are given in Klammer as additions of the translator.

² Cf. Müller, *Hist. Graec. F.* II. p. 503.

author, mentioned by Syncellus, may also have been honest, (which we would so much the more willingly believe, as he could scarcely have been anybody else than Africanus), and the Medians may have originated merely in a misunderstanding." Further on M. von Niebuhr says regarding the reciprocal relation of the two accounts¹:—"Evidently he (Syncellus) also admits in the place of the second Median dynasty of Berossus his 84 Median kings of the first dynasty, and Zoroaster and his second dynasty of 7 Chaldean kings with 190 years' interval, in the abovementioned passage, in the place of the third and fourth dynasties of Berossus." This view appears to me, likewise, the most probable; yet there is no doubt, that we can also understand this matter, as M. C. Müller, in the passage quoted above, and after him Dr. Rapp² have done, *viz.*, that Zoroaster and the 7 Chaldean kings stand in the place of the 8 Medians of Eusebius. As we have nothing to do with Babylonian history, this question has little importance for us. What principally interests us is the name Zoroaster; no matter whether Berossus meant by it a Median or a Babylonian king. It is proved at all events that the name Zoroaster already occurred at a very early period, and certainly in Media itself or westward of Media.

But the question now arises, whether we have a right to affirm that Berossus has mentioned the name Zoroaster. M. von Niebuhr believes, that Berossus has not done so, but I see no ground at all for this assumption. On the contrary, it appears to me quite possible that Africanus (or whoever else may have been the chronographer consulted by Syncellus) found the name Zoroaster in his evidently very hasty review of the notices of Berossus, introducing the same in his report, since Eusebius

¹ *Vide* Müller, *Hist. Græc. Fr.* II. p. 493.

² Rapp, *ZdmG.* vol. XIX. p. 28.

explicitly remarks, that Berosus has given the names of the Median kings. This is my principal ground for regarding the Zoroaster mentioned here as a Median, because it is nowhere stated that Berosus has also given the names of the Chaldean kings. On the contrary, this Median king, likewise the founder of the Irānian religion, named by Berosus, need not necessarily have been any other than the Bactrian king of the same name mentioned by Ktesias. In opposition to Berosus, the Berosian Sibyl, referred to by Moses of Khorni, actually places Zoroaster in Bactria, but it has been already remarked, that very little importance should be attached to that authority.

The remaining accounts by Western writers of the native country of Zoroaster may be briefly mentioned. The Greek writer Clemens Alexandrinus calls Zoroaster sometimes a Persian and sometimes a Mede, whilst Suidas calls him a Perso-Median. The Armenian Moses of Khorni, who has chiefly consulted Greek writers in his historical works, makes him a contemporary of Semiramis, and calls him "the Magus and sovereign of the Medes." ¹ According to his statement, Semiramis is said to have appointed him a satrap (governor) over Nineveh and Assyria; later on they became enemies and Semiramis was obliged to flee from him to Armenia, where she was plundered and killed by one Ninyas of the Empire. Yet, in another passage, Moses corrects the Berosian Sibyl and observes that Zoroaster was not a king of Bactria, but of Media. According to the statements of Pliny the Elder, who must have obtained his materials from Hermippus, we should search for Zoroaster's native country still further West, that is, in Prokonnesos. An account, which is handed down to us by Clemens Alexandrinus, mentions Zoroaster

as having been born in Pamphylia, and says that he was identical with Her, the son of Arminius.

This much will be clear from these statements, *vis.*, that even with the help of the ancients we cannot arrive at a certain knowledge of the native land of Zoroaster. If we now turn to the accounts furnished by Oriental writers, we indeed find in them greater harmony, but scarcely any historical facts. They unanimously place the native land of Zoroaster in Western Irān; but most of them state that he had worked at least for some time in Bactria. From the searching inquiries which M. Windischmann has devoted to this subject,¹ it follows that Zoroaster is often called in the Avesta "the renowned in *Aryana-vaija*"; according to another idea, it is even said that he was in the celebrated *Aryana-vaija*. The dwelling of Pourushaspa, the father of Zoroaster, was situated, according to Vendidad, XIX. 15, near "*drejya paiti sbarahē*" (*sbarahi*), and we shall hereafter find that it cannot be at all doubted that this designation also may denote *Aryana-vaija*, for, according to Yt. V. 104, IX. 25, XVII. 45, the Prophet there offers sacrifices to several *yasatas*. In the passage Ys. XIX. 51, 52, Zoroaster is mentioned in connection with the town of *Ragha* (in Media); however, it should not be hence inferred that he was also born there.

The Bundeshesh expresses itself more unequivocally than the Avesta. It asserts that Zoroaster was born near the river *Darya* (51, 3; 79, 9) and this river is situated (53, 5) in *Aryana-vaija*. In a passage further on (58, 5) this river is the largest of the *Bāra* rivers; I conjecture that by *Bāra* may be here understood the same as by *sbarā* in the Vendidad. Further on, again, the Bundeshesh (70, 8) informs us that *Aryana-vaija* lies southward of *Ātropātene*, and may thus well be

Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 47.

the territory which the medieval geographers call Arran, and which extends as far as the country of Tiflis. Taking this position into consideration, the Huzvareh Commentary to Vd. I. 60 evidently explains Ragha by Atropātene, but admits that others understand under that name Rai, where Zoroaster probably dwelt for some time. Yaqut, like Abulfeda, points to the town of *Urumia* as the birth-place of Zoroaster. Two less-known Mahomedan historians, who are quoted by Hyde (*Hist. Vet. Pers.* p. 318, ed. 2nd), adduce the so-called authority of Tabari to prove that Zoroaster was born in the land of the Philistines. One calls him a disciple of Esra, the other of Jeremiah. . . . If we now collect the results of all these conflicting statements, we can arrive at no certainty as regards the native land of Zoroaster, the majority of writers endeavour, however, to place it altogether in the West, and not in the East.

After disposing of these preliminary questions, we now turn to the history of the life of Zoroaster himself. Nobody will be surprised to find that the narrative of the life of a man, whose age and native land cannot be ascertained, is very legendary. For most of the legends even a foundation is wanting; most of them are to be traced to modern sources, and some of them even to very late writers. Neither the Avesta, nor antiquity, nor the Sassanian period, nor lastly Fīrdūsi, has bequeathed to us a complete description of Zoroaster's career, and we are hence obliged to rely upon the more modern legends, and to point for greater confirmation to the isolated passages which have been preserved to us here and there in more ancient writings; e.g. in the Avesta.¹ The entirely legendary character of the narrative of Zoroaster's life may be perceived from the mere fact, that his biography

¹ The principal authority for the circumstances of the life of Zoroaster is the *Zarthusht-name*, the text of which was published

does not begin with his birth, but actually long before it, not only in the later legends but also in the Avesta itself. And it is true that this part of his life is not without importance. For the confessor of the *Mazdayasnā* religion the birth and the works of Zoroaster are unquestionably the most important historical events. All the great exploits of the heroes of yore, of whom we have hitherto heard, have taken place mostly for this purpose, *vis.*, to help to diminish to such an extent the sum total of evil, as to allow the good event following to take place. So early as after the death of the Primitive Bull, to the *Geush-urva* or *Goshurun*, that is, the "Soul of the Bull," (*vide Eran Alterthums-kunde*, vol. I. p. 510) is shown Zoroaster, and the hope is held out to it that the Prophet will appear in future on the earth. For it was not possible to make Zoroaster proclaim the Law at any time on earth. Only after the marks of the equipoise had come to rule, and the forces of the good and the evil principles were balanced, could it be ordained to send Zoroaster into this world. How important Zoroaster was to Ahura Mazda and His plans is also perceived from Yt. V. 17.

The family from which a personage like Zoroaster

in lithograph at Bombay. I use the English translation of that book by Eastwick, which is found printed in the book of Dr. J. Wilson, "*The Parsi Religion Unfolded*," p. 477. A *Vie de Zoroastre* (Life of Zoroaster) is given by Anquetil (*Zend Avest.* I. 2, pp. 1-70), another by J. Mönant: *Zoroastre, Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de la Perse* ("Essay on the Religious Philosophy of the Persians") 2nd edition, Paris, 1857; both of these works are based on the above-named legend of Zoroaster. An unfinished sketch of the life of Zoroaster is given by Windischmann (*Zoroast. Studien*, pp. 44-56) and myself (*Sitzungsberichte der K. bayr. Academie der Wissensch.* Jan. 1867). A life of Zoroaster by Dastūr Z. Behram (Bombay 1864), in Gujarati, is a translation of the *Zarīshnī-nāme* with some annotations [by Dastūr Peshotanji Behramji Sanjānā.]

spring is of no less importance than the circumstances of his birth. As we shall shortly observe, Zoroaster is of kingly descent, and has, therefore, every right to be celebrated in the Irānian hero-legends, for, from his birth, he stands second to none of the early heroes of royal lineage; and a hero too he is, though of a different kind from his predecessors, but not, therefore, of lesser importance, since his agency is spiritual. To these heroic attributes we have to ascribe the fact that, according to Yt. XVII. 17-20,¹ *Angrô Manyu* runs away at his birth, and acknowledges that none of the *yasatas* have the power to supplant him, save Zoroaster alone, who smites him with the *Ahuna-vairya* as his weapon. Hence his father *Pourushaspa*, according to Ys. IX. 42, is named together with such great heroes as *Yima*, *Athwya* and *Kereshāspa*, for the heroes already named and others have only taken the lives of some of the evil

¹ Ashi Vanguhi spoke thus:—"Who art thou who dost invoke me, whose voice is to my ear the sweetest of all that invoke me most?"

"And Zarthushtia said aloud! 'I am Spitama Zarathustia, who, first of mortals, recited the praise of the excellent Asha and offered up sacrifice unto Ahuna Mazda and the Amesha-Spentas; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creation cried out, Hail!'

'In whose birth and growth Angra Mainyu rushed away from this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and he, the evil-doing Angra Mainyu, who is all death, said:—All the gods together have not been able to smite me down in spite of myself, and Zarathushtra alone can reach me in spite of myself. He smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house; he burns me with Asha-Vahishta, as if it were melting brass. He makes it better for me that I should leave this earth, he, Spitama Zarathustia, the only one who can daunt me.' *—Hilde Darmesteter.*

monsters. But Zoroaster has, by the promulgation of the Law, brought it to pass, that all those demons, who, at an earlier period, had been roving bodily about this world, had to hide themselves together under the earth. The Huzvāresh Commentary says in Ys. IX. 46.—

“He broke the body of everyone who could make his body invisible; whoever could not do this, broke it himself. —The breaking of the body implies the fact that no more sin can be henceforward committed in the body of a demon, though in the body of a beast or of a man such beings are still able to commit sin”

After this it may be said that Zoroaster marks the close of the mythical age. For, since he came into this world, the appearance of demons with supernatural bodies and powers is no more possible, thus, therefore, ends the necessity for the heavenly powers to develop such special strength; the world may follow its regular course. These remarks sufficiently show what an important personage Zoroaster is, and that the race may be deemed highly respectable which is entitled to count him amongst its members. We also know that his father Pouushaspa was allowed to enjoy the honour of being called the father of Zoroaster for this special reason that he belonged to the most zealous adorers of *Haoma*. Besides this, the *Zartusht-nāme* traces the descent of Zoroaster from Faridūn. We know, however, that from this king not only Eraj, but also Sefūm and Tūr together with their descendants derived their origin, so that this lineage is in itself not specially significant. Of greater importance is the fact that Zoroaster's descent is not merely traced from Faridūn, but also from Mānushchehr; he, therefore, indisputably belongs through this extraction to the royal family of Irān. The genealogical table is given us in the Bundehesh (76, 5), and in a later prayer called the Dhup-nireng or Fumigation.

prayer, and lastly by Masudī. According to these sources, the genealogical table may be exhibited in the following manner:—

<i>Bundehesh</i>	<i>Dhup-nīreng</i>	<i>Masudī</i>	
Manoshchih	Mīnochehr	Menouchehr	(مدوچههر)
Durāsrān	Durānsroun	Dourshrin	(دورشرین)
[Dūrāsrob]			
Rajan	Rezeshné	Irej	(ارج)
Ayazem	Ezem	Haizem	(هایزم)
Vīdast	Vedest	Wandest	(واندست)
Spetāmān	Sepetaméhé	Espimān	(اسپیدامان)
Hardār	Herdaré	Herdār	(هردار)
Harshn	Herdereshné	Arhadas	(ارحدس)
[Hardarshn]			
Paitarasp	Petarasp	Bātīr	(باندر)
Chasnush	Chakhshenosh	Hakhish	(خخیش)
[Chakhshnush]			
Iacchadasp	Hechedasp	Iejdasf	(هجدهسف)
Spitairasp	Orouedasp	Arikdasf	(اریکدسف)
[Auvadasp]			
.. . . .	Peterasp	Federasf	(فدراسف)
[Paitirasp]			
Purushasp	Poroshasp	Bourshasf	(بورشسف)
Zaitusht	Zaitusht	Zarādusht	(زرادشت) ¹

¹ [This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the *Dinkard*, bk. VII., as well as in the text of the *Vajātkarde-dini* (pp. 28, 29) published by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana in 1848 (Cf. "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 141, by Dr. West):—

"Pōrūshasp son of Paītīrītrāsp, son of Uru-gadasp (Urvadasp), Iacchadasp, Chikhsh-nush, Paetrip (Paretirasp), Arejadarshne (Hardarshn), Hardār, Spītāmān, Vaedeshta, Nyāzem, Aiiij (Razishn), Dūrāsrōban, Mā-nūshchih ruler of Iiān, Mānūshkhūrñār, Mā-nūshkhūrñāk, Nēiōsang, Valzidedin, Vizāk,

Whilst the first row from Zoroaster to Mānoschihr counts 13 members, the second one represents 14, the name Orouedasp (*Aurvat-aspa*) being there inserted. We also observe that the second row contains the name Peterasp twice, once in the usual place corresponding with that which it holds in the Bundeshesh, and the second time immediately before Purushasp in the place where the Bundeshesh reads Spitarasp; the latter reading may be the correct one. Masudi agrees with the second table. M. Windischmann has already proved that the Avesta gives to Zoroaster the same line of ancestors. It is true that, though not all, yet several names of the ancestors do occur, most frequently *Spitama*, next *Chakhshni* (Yt. XIII. 114), *Haechat-aspa* (Ys. LII. 3), while *Pōrushasp* also is frequently called the father of Zoroaster. We can here even point out, as far as is needful, his collateral relations. The Bundeshesh informs us (79, 8) that Paitirasp or Spitarasp had two sons—the one was Pourushasp, the father of Zoroaster, the second was Āiāsta from whom a son Maidhyōmāh descended, and this account is confirmed by Yt. XIII. 95, where we find mention made of *Maidhyōmāh*, son of *Ārāsta*. The mother of Zoroaster, according to the Bundeshesh and the Zartusht-nāme, is named Dughdha,¹ and her parents, according to the book first-named, Frabi and Mrava, names which

Airyāk, Ithritāk, Ibitāk, Fiazishāk, Zishāk, Frasizāk, Izāk, Airij, Faiedun lord of Qaniras, Pūrtōrā Āspigān, Nevaktōrā Āspigān, Sōgtōrā Āspigān, Gefartōrā Āspigān, Vanoi-fravashn Āspigān, Yima lord of the seven regions, &c.”]

¹ [This name is written somewhat differently in the *Dinkard*, bk. VII:—*Va ajash goft Pōrūshasp val Dugdūbān*, “And so, Pourushasp said unto Dākduban.”]

are not to be found again in the Avesta. By this genealogy the royal descent of Zoroaster is at all events established beyond question.

Not merely a kingly, but to a certain extent a divine, origin is ascribed to Zoroaster in an account which we find in *Shāhrastāni*.¹ God, as it is therein said, had placed the spirit (the *frōhar* or *fravashī*) of Zoroaster in a tree (*Haoma*?), which He had caused to grow on the uppermost heaven, and which He afterwards transplanted to the summit of a mountain in Ādarbaijān, which is called Ismuvicār.² There, it is also said, God had mixed the personality (here the *frōhar* is likely again meant) of Zoroaster with the milk of a cow, which the father of Zoroaster had drunk; out of this was afterwards formed the seed, and then a piece of flesh in the womb of Zoroaster's mother.³ Be that as it may, the legend affirms that the importance of her son was previously announced to the mother in a dream, a circumstance which we have often noticed in the Liānian traditions. When Dughda was in the fifth month of her pregnancy, she saw a terrible apparition in her dream. It appeared to her as if a thick cloud was raining on her house tigers, lions, wolves, dragons, serpents, and other noxious beasts, and amongst these wild animals one, that was larger and more frightful than the rest, appeared as if it were tearing the child out of her womb in order to kill it. While the mother gazes on this scene in great amazement, her child raises its voice to console her: demons of the above description are unable to injure it.

¹ Vol. I. 281 of Haahrücker's Translation.

² I consider the name Ismuvicār to be erroneously written for a more ancient Asnavandgar, and believe that the Savelan is here meant.

³ [Similar facts relating to Zoroaster's miraculous birth are also narrated in the *Dinkard*.]

such extraordinary behaviour drew at once upon him the attention of the whole district. Such is the *first marvel* in his history. The demons, who naturally knew very well the object of Zoroaster's mission, and who, in order to thwart it, endeavoured to destroy the author of their fear, employed every means to annihilate him, and more than once opportunity seemed to favour them. The province, in which Zoroaster was born, belonged to a king Durānsarūn, of whom we know not whether he was identical with the Durāsrūn mentioned above in the table of Zoroaster's genealogy. This king was an unbeliever and the chief of all vicious magicians (*yātu*), for every one then dealt in magic according to the statement of the *Zartusht-nāme*. The powers of darkness often carried on intercourse with men, and confirmed them in their wicked purposes; even the father of Zoroaster did not hold himself entirely aloof from such dealings.¹ Now, when Durānsarūn heard of Zoroaster's birth, and feared that the power of sorcery might come to an end if the child grew up to strength, he speedily hastened towards the dwelling of Pōrushaspa, where he found the child lying in its cradle. Fiercely he drew his poniard to murder the child, but before he could inflict the fatal blow his hand was paralyzed, and he was compelled to withdraw without having effected his object. Such was the *second wonder*. The evil spirits, however, did not yet abandon their game so tamely; they long hoped that their evil designs might prevail in the end. They soon formed a design for stealing the child from his mother, and brought Zoroaster into the desert, where they piled up a heap of burning materials around him and set them on fire. Thus they confidently expected to annihilate him, but they were again deceived; the child slept calmly

¹ Especially according to the legend extant. But Dastur Peshotanji Behramji here justly remarks that the Avesta itself does not support that opinion.

in the fire, and the mother hastening into the desert in search of her lost child found him again. This is the *third wonder*. Not long after this vain attempt, the sorcerers made a fresh effort. By the command of Durānsarūn they took the child and laid it on a narrow path, over which had to pass a herd of oxen under whose feet they hoped that it would be trampled to death; but, when the herd approached, the largest of the bulls took the child between his feet, and prevented any injury being done to it. This is the *fourth wonder*. The *fifth wonder* is really a mere repetition of the preceding. What the oxen had refused to do, was tried again with horses. The child was, therefore, again laid on a narrow path and a herd of wild horses driven over it, but this time a horse protected the child from the hoofs of the others. Next, as domestic animals could not be made to do any harm to Zoroaster, Durānsarūn strove to do so by means of wild beasts. He ordered a den of wolves to be discovered, and the young ones thereof to be slain during the absence of the old ones, and Zoroaster was laid in their place in the hope that the old wolves might in their first fury tear the child to pieces. These children of darkness did, indeed, show a great inclination to do so, but God closed their jaws, so that they could not hurt the child. On the contrary, there came two celestial cows which gave their udders to the child and suckled it. Such was the *sixth wonder* through which the life of Zoroaster was preserved.¹

After these fruitless endeavours all plans to destroy Zoroaster's life had to be given up as hopeless. The latter now gradually grew up in age, and his father found it necessary to have him educated. He selected as teacher a man who led a pious life in the midst of magicians and whose name was Barzīnkarūs. When Zoroaster was

¹ Vide the *Dīnkard*, bk. VII.

seven years old, the sorcerers made a fresh attempt against him. They hoped that he would not be insensible at least to fears and terrors; and, therefore, they, by means of hellish witchcraft, brought forth terrible apparitions, at which all were startled and took to flight, with the exception of Zoroaster, who remained perfectly calm in his firm confidence in the protecting power of God. Thus he also passed through this trial, which is usually reckoned as the *seventh wonder*. Not long after this Zoroaster fell sick, and now the magicians hoped to destroy him. Instead of medicine they brought him some drink prepared from poisonous drugs; but Zoroaster immediately detecting its dangerous nature rejected it, and was again preserved. This may be regarded as the *eighth wonder*. It may have been in the fifteenth year of Zoroaster's life, that his father gave a sumptuous banquet at his house to which King Durānsarūn and Burāntarūs, the most noted magician of the time, were also invited. Here Zoroaster took the opportunity of openly expressing his hatred of magic, and of proclaiming war against it. Henceforth the magicians trembled in his presence, and watched him attentively. His further deeds are, however, not handed down to us, still it is self-evident that his life was entirely blameless. It is only said that the period of his trials lasted up to his thirtieth year, after which his piety began to bring forth fruit.

Of all the wonderful incidents which are recounted in the legend drawn from the history of Zoroaster's youth, we are able to quote only for one the evidence of earlier antiquity, namely, the circumstance that Zoroaster laughed at his birth, which is related already by Plinius and Solinus.¹ By this it is not naturally proved that all

¹ Plinius, *Hist. nat.* VII. 16:—"*Risisse eodem die, quo gentus esset, unum hominem, acceptus Zoroastrem. Eidem crebrum ita palpitasse ut impositam repelleret manum, futurae praesagio sapien-*

the rest of the wonders were also known to the ancients; however, it is at least probable that such may have been the case with one or the other of them. The Avesta relates very little concerning the history of Zoroaster's youth. It is true M. Anquetil affirms that he has found in Ys. XLII. 8 an allusion to the hardships endured by the Prophet in his younger days; but we believe that the passage referred to should be understood differently. So also with regard to the 19th chapter of the Vendidād, which could here be cited with much probability, but which we would rather appeal to for another and later exploit. The later narratives of Mahomedans show a partial knowledge of these events; thus the writer Shāhrastāni, already quoted, who has related the previous wonders of the horses and the wolves, also asserts that Zoroaster cured a blind person in Dināver by means of a herb which he caused to be pressed upon the eyes of the patient. The laughing at the time of birth was likewise known to Shāhrastāni as well as to the historian Mīrkhond; the latter also knew of the wonderful dream which had visited Zoroaster's mother. Finally, a passage in a scholion to Plato's "Alcibiades,"¹ makes it very probable that the importance of the numbers seven, fifteen, and thirty in the history of Zoroaster's youth was recognized even in ancient times.

We now turn to the continuation of Zoroaster's biogra-

tiae." "Zoroaster is the only man of whom we have heard that *he laughed on the very day of his birth*. His brain also is said to have throbbled so violently that no hand could be laid upon his head—a presage of future wisdom." Similarly Solinus, c. 1.: "*Itaque unum novimus eadem hora risisse, qua erat natus, scilicet Zoroastrem mox optimarum artium peritissimum.*" "And so we know that one man laughed at the very hour in which he was born, namely, Zoroaster, afterwards most highly skilled in the best arts."

¹ For the passage referred to, vide Windischmann, *Zoroaster Studien*, p. 275, note.

phy after his thirtieth year, and to his real prophetic career. But here our legend appears to be somewhat incomplete. It is manifestly concerned only with the work of Zoroaster in Bactria, and is silent concerning his activity in other parts. At this point the Bundeshesh (79, 12), expressly tells us that Zoroaster promulgated his religion first of all in Aryana-vaija, and hence it becomes still more probable that, according to the view of the Avesta-followers, we should look in that country for the birth-place of Zoroaster; for, if he had been born in Urumia or even in some other region, we should have been told that the Prophet had travelled to Aryana-vaija. Of an immigration to Aryana-vaija the narrative knows nothing, while it probably speaks of an emigration from that country. The Bundeshesh further relates that the first man, who accepted the Law of Zoroaster, was his uncle Maidhyōmāo,¹ and this statement is also confirmed by the Avesta (Yt. XIII. 95). In other respects, however, we may presume that his doctrine did not find any great sympathy in Aryana-vaija, since he determined to emigrate with his true adherents. This removal is now described more in detail by the legend, according to which Zoroaster and his followers, after having travelled for some time, came to a sea which had to be crossed; but no vessel could be found anywhere, and Zoroaster thought it indecent that his companions, amongst whom there were also females, should undress themselves. A miracle helped to overcome this difficulty. As Zoroaster stretched forth his hands in prayer the water divided of itself, and the faithful marched through it dry-shod. MM. Anquetil and Ménant believe the sea here alluded to to be the Araxes, and this is quite possible, assuming, as is indeed the case, that large rivers

¹ *Yo · paīryō · Zarathushtrāi māthremcha · gushla sāsāoscha,*
 "who first listened unto the Sacred Word and Teaching of Zoro-
 ashtra."

In the Irānian country are described as seas. We, however, prefer to understand thereby Lake Sevān, that is, in case this expedition of the legend should prove to be an old one, for which there is no particular evidence yet available. Even after the sea abovenamed was crossed Zoroaster and his followers did not yet find themselves within the limits of Irān; he still marched onward for the whole month of Spandārmāt, the last month of the year, and first reached the Irānian borders on the day of Anórān, the last day of the aforesaid month. There a festival was being celebrated at the very time, and Zoroaster was amongst the partakers in the feast. M. Anquetil believes this festival to have been that of Farvardyān; but that festival is an institution of Zoroaster, and we are unable to believe that it could have been already solemnized by the Irānians before they professed the *Masdayasnān* religion. I believe, therefore, with M. Ménant, that the New-Year Festival is the one referred to.

During the night after this feast Zoroaster had a dream full of the most auspicious intimations of his future success in Irān. It appeared to him as though he saw in the East a countless host moving towards him with hostile intent. It surrounded him on all sides, and did not leave him any room for escape. Then suddenly another army appeared coming from the South, which put the eastern one to flight. The interpretation of this dream is tolerably simple: the magicians and the followers of the Aḡrō Mainyu will take all pains to hinder the dissemination of Zoroaster's doctrine; but the latter will triumphantly overcome all obstacles. Only, it is striking that the relieving army appears from the South, since the South is, according to the general notion of the Irānians, a region which pertains to the evil beings. Should this portion of the legend be ancient, the friendly army must have been regarded in the earlier ages as having come from the West. At the close of the festival Zoroaster continued his march, and

came again to a large river, the Dāitya, on the day *Dai-pa-mihr* after the beginning of the year. This name does not in any case designate the Caspian Sea as M. Anquetil supposes, but the Araxes or Kur.¹ It must, therefore, be assumed that a part of the country on the left bank of that river was at an early period regarded as belonging to Irān, because Zoroaster found himself already within the limits of that country when he had reached the banks of the Dāitya. But, perhaps, the crossing of the Dāitya is wholly to be omitted in the passage in question, and this river is identical with that sea of whose miraculous crossing we have already heard.

Now, on the soil of Irān, begins the real prophetic career of Zoroaster, his communion with heaven, and the revelations imparted to him. There appears to him the Ameshaspent Vohu-manō who introduces him to Ahura Mazda, from Whom Zoroaster obtains permission to submit certain questions. The first question which is put by Zoroaster is: '*Which of God's creatures is the best on earth?*' Whereto he receives the answer: '*He is the best of all men who is pure of heart.*' Then he inquires about the names and duties of the angels, about the nature of Aḡrō Mainyu, which evil spirit is then shown to him in hell, and is reported to have spoken on that occasion the words contained in Vd. XIX. 21.² Thereupon Zoroaster is favoured by God with various miraculous signs. He sees a fiery mountain and is commanded to pass through the fire. He does so and suffers not the slightest hurt thereby, not a hair of his head is singed. After this his body is opened and the entrails taken out; these are then replaced in the body which is again closed and Zoroaster is alive as before [?]. At last melted ore is poured

¹ Vide Justi, *Beiträge* I, 12. 18. 2, 22 and *Iran. Alterthums.* bk. I. p. 200.

² "Do not slay my (wicked) creatures, O pure Zarathushtra!"

over his breast without his feeling any pain. Zoroaster forthwith learns the allegorical import of these acts. He is enjoined to explain to men that those who turn towards Ahriman (Agrō Mainyu), must wander in a fire as large as the one through which he himself has passed, that just as his body was opened so also will streams of blood flow from their bodies. That melted ore was poured on Zoroaster's breast without his being injured by it is said to have been a prophecy respecting Āderbāṭ Māhrespand, on whom the same trial was inflicted without his thereby suffering any injury.

After this Zoroaster receives the Avesta from God, with His order to go to the court of king Vishtāspa (Gushtāsp), and to proclaim it there. When Zoroaster receives God's permission to depart, the different Ameshaspends approach him in order to communicate their respective counsels. These are the same commands and prohibitions as are also given in the *Rivājets* and *Palats*. Vohu-manō commands him to bid mankind take great care of domestic animals and especially not to kill lambs without any need. Asha-vahishta recommends the tending of the fire and fire-altars. Khshathra-vairya orders the care of metals, lest they grow rusty. Spentā-Ārmaiti forbids the pollution of the earth with blood and other impure substances, and recommends on the contrary its cultivation. Haurvatāt entrusts Zoroaster and his adherents with the care of water, Ameretāt with that of plants and trees.

No point in Zoroastrian legend can be better attested from ancient sources than the dialogues between Zoroaster and Ahura Mazda. One of the principal passages is Ys. XIII. 20, where mention is expressly made of their meetings; in other places it is only hinted that Ahura Mazda announced certain doctrines to Zoroaster, which the latter proclaimed to the rest of men, (*vide* Vsp. II. 3, XIII. 2, Ys. LXX. 65). Properly speaking, the whole Avesta is a proof of this statement, for it is therein mentioned, in

connection with any matter in any way important, how Zoroaster questioned Ahura Mazda upon it, and what precise answer he received in return. From the Gāthās I might here cite Ys. XLII., XLIII., where Zoroaster is represented in converse with Ahura Mazda.¹ According to the *Zartusht-nāme*, the conferences took place in Heaven—hence in the *Garōnmāna*—but M. Anquetil has already pointed to Vd. XXII. 53, as if their conversations had been held upon a mountain. The same is also reported by later writers, and among others by Mirkhond,² who says that Zoroaster retired to a mountain in the vicinity of Ardebil, from which place he returned with the Avesta. This mountain seems to be the Savelon.³ Of the retreat of Zoroaster into solitude the ancients also had some knowledge to record; they even admit his sojourn upon a mountain,⁴ which is said to have afterwards burst into flames, and whither the king of Persia approached with the most select portion of the Persian nobility, but Zoroaster came out of this fire unhurt, and gracefully conversed with those people, and enjoined them to be of good cheer, and to make certain offerings. Thenceforth he did not hold further communication with the people, but only with those who were most susceptible of truth and competent to deal with questions regarding the Deity. The statements of other ancient

¹ Dastur Peshotanji Behnamji refers to the passage Ys. XLIII. 7 as treating of the conference of Zoroaster with Vohu-manō before his conversation with Ahura Mazda.

² *Vide* p. 286 in Shea's Translation.

³ *Vide* Lagarde, *Ges. Abhandlungen*, p. 171.

⁴ *Chrysost. Orat. Beryst.*, p. 448 [A similar narrative is found besides in the Old Testament, Exodus, XIX. 3-18, where it is said that when "Moses went down from the mount (Sinai) unto the people . . . and it came to pass on the third day in the morning that there were thunders and lightnings, and

chroniclers are of similar import.¹ In them the legend of Zoroaster appears to be marred by a long *hiatus*; probably a multitude of deeds were related in earlier times, which Zoroaster was supposed to have accomplished in Media. The Zoroastrian legend, as we possess it, even in its oldest form, is founded on the appearance of Zoroaster in Balkh at the court of Gushtāsp, and passes over the former narratives as unimportant.

When Zoroaster, holding the Sacred Volume (*viz.*, the Avesta) in his hand, returns from his consultation with Ahura Mazda, the evil spirits and the sorcerers hazard yet one last attempt against him in order to divert him, if possible, from the right path. Now he is too powerful to be defeated by them, nevertheless they beseech him to renounce the Avesta. Zoroaster listens to them with perfect contempt, and begins to recite the Avesta, whereupon the evil spirits are forced to fly and some of them are destroyed. This is, according to my view, the event alluded to in the 19th chapter of the Vendidād. According to the Zartusht-nāme, Zoroaster received the order while in heaven to present himself at the court of Gushtāsp, whither he now departs after defeating the demons and the magicians. This order to go to the court of Gushtāsp is also confirmed by the Avesta, as we may observe from Ys. XV. 14; but, according to Chaps. XLIV., XLV. of the same book, it appears as though Zoroaster had made an effort even at an earlier period in some other provinces of the

a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, ... and the mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire."]

¹ *Plin. Hist. N.* XI. 42, 97. "*Tradunt Zoroastrem in desertis caseo vixisse annis XXX, ita temperato ut vetustatem non sentiret.*"

"They say that Zoroaster lived thirty years in the desert on cheese so preserved as not to feel the effect of time."—*Plutarch, Quaest. Symp. IV. I.* p. 660.

Iranian empire. With the Avesta we must also believe that Zoroaster had formed his resolution in Aryana-vaija to go to the court of king Vishtāspa, for it is shown by Yt. V. 104, 105, that he had already offered sacrifices to Ardivi-sūrā in the same district to induce the latter to assist him in his alliance with Vishtāspa. Elsewhere also Vishtāspa and his whole family are well known to the Avesta, as M. Windischmann¹ has sufficiently proved. However, it does not altogether follow, that the legend always regarded Gushtāsp as dwelling in Balkh. Hamza and Qazvini would rather place their meeting in *Ātropātene*.² Khondemir affirms that Gushtāsp dwelt in Istakhr. The ordinary belief, however, is that Zoroaster repaired to Balkh, and that there he was received in a solemn council by Gushtāsp.³ The wise men who were present at the king's court endeavoured to refute him. Thirty on his right hand and thirty on his left were all compelled to withdraw in confusion, and had to confess that a foreigner had conquered them in argument. This mental superiority disposed the king from the very beginning to favour the Prophet, and in consequence increased the envious desire of those who had previously shone in court through their wisdom still to uphold their former position. But Zoroaster also proved victorious in the second and the third day's discourse. Now when none of the sages could maintain their ground against Zoroaster, the latter made himself known as a prophet; the Avesta began to receive favour in the eyes of the king, and claimed acceptance. But the king, having listened to some

¹ *Zoroast. Studien*, p. 55.

² Hamza, p. 36, ed. Gottw. *آثار زردشت آذربایجان*, Qazvini II. 267 ed. Wüstenf.

³ That Zoroaster entered by the roof into the council hall of Gushtāsp in a supernatural manner is not mentioned by the *Zartusht-nām*, but probably by Qazvini. Comp. also Hyde, *Historia vet. Pers.* p. 320, 2nd ed.

portions of the Book, was not convinced as yet of the truth of its contents, and willing to consider the matter more maturely, he demanded that Zoroaster should remain at his court until further orders; and the latter was content with this preliminary success. However, even at this court his persecutions were not at an end. The wise men, once so highly esteemed, could not console themselves in their discomfiture, and endeavoured to raise suspicions against the Prophet in the mind of the king. They bribed the porter of his house and (during his absence) dragged therein unclean things, such as heads of dogs, cats, &c., whilst they also concealed some under his clothes. Then they alleged before their king that Zoroaster was nothing better than an impure sorcerer. The king was very angry, when, on more minute inquiry, these impure things were found in Zoroaster's dwelling, and he ordered him to be imprisoned. The time had now come for the Prophet to prove his divine mission by a miracle. The king had a black horse which he used to ride almost always, and which was also very dear to him. When, after these events, the keeper entered the stall, he observed with terror that the horse had lost his four feet, which had gone back into the body[?]. He informed the king at once of this occurrence, and the latter having convinced himself of the truth of the report, called in all the wise men; but they were unable either to advise or to help. In the meantime Zoroaster lies in his prison, and knows nothing of these events; but on this day of general distress the jailor forgets to bring him his dinner, which causes him in the evening to inquire what has taken place. As soon as he is made aware of the accident, he prevails upon the waiter to go the next morning before the king, and to announce to him that Zoroaster is ready to help under certain conditions. The king, who is helpless, suffers Zoroaster to be called, and inquires as to his conditions. The Prophet proposes four, so that on the fulfilment of

each of them depends the re-appearance of one of the horse's feet. The first condition is that Gushtāsp shall firmly believe in the Prophet Zoroaster, and the divinity of his doctrine; as soon as this is done the first foot of the horse re-appears. The second condition is that Isfandiār,¹ the son of Gushtāsp, shall devote himself entirely to the defence of the Zoroastrian faith; as soon as Isfandiār has given the necessary assurances the second foot also shows itself. The third condition is that the wife of Gushtāsp shall also accept the Law; this is at once proclaimed in the queen's chambers and she professes belief;² whereupon the third foot of the horse makes its appearance. Lastly, the fourth condition Zoroaster stipulates for on his own behalf; the circumstances which led to his imprisonment are to be minutely inquired into. This inquiry proves favourable to Zoroaster, for the door-keeper now confesses having been suborned by the Prophet's enemies to introduce the unclean things found in Zoroaster's house. The Prophet is forgiven, while the instigators are punished. Now the fourth foot of the horse also re-appears, and Zoroaster attains to merited reverence.

The *Mazdayasnān* Law is now in such great honour with Gushtāsp, that the king does nothing without consulting the Prophet. The miracle of the horse is also narrated by

¹ The name Isfandiār is also not unknown to the Avesta, but it occurs there in its strictly altered form, *Spentodāta* (Yt. XIII. 103).

² In the Avesta also the wife of Vishtāspa appears as a patroness of Zoroaster. She is therein called *Hutapsa*, a name which might perhaps be compared with the Greek *Atossa*. In Yt. IX. we find Zarathushtra praying that she may co-operate with him in his meditation upon the Law. In Yt. XV. 53, she herself appears supplicating for the love of Vishtāspa. She must be identical with the *Kātūyūn* of the *Shāh-nāme*; but as the whole of the latter narrative is based on a weak foundation, it is not impossible that the author of the Avesta, as the earlier one, should ascribe to her another origin.

Shāhrastāni. Mirkhond¹ relates it quite in the same manner, though more briefly. One day Gushtāsp declares to his Prophet his intention of praying to God for four things: Firstly, that he may be shown the place which he will occupy in Paradise. Secondly, that his body may become invulnerable in war. Thirdly, that he may participate in the knowledge of all things which have already taken place or are yet to happen in the world. Fourthly and lastly, that his soul shall not be separated from his body until the resurrection. Zoroaster replies that those four requests may indeed be granted but not to one and the same person, that the king should, therefore, choose which of the four requests he would desire for his own person; the three remaining wishes might be distributed amongst three different individuals. Gushtāsp thereupon selects the first of the wishes for himself. There appear before him four existences of the spiritual world, *Ādār Khordād*, *Ādār Gushasp*, and the two Ameshaspends, *Bahman* and *Ardibihisht*. They exhort the king not to fear; but the latter is so terrified by the appearance of the celestial beings, that he falls down from his throne, and cannot recover himself for a long time. Then Zoroaster performs the *Darūn-offering* with wine, fragrant flowers, milk, and pomegranates. He gives some of the wine to Gushtāsp to drink, who directly falls asleep and beholds in a dream Paradise and the place which is there destined for him. Peshotan receives the milk, and becomes thereby immortal. Jāmāsp receives the perfumes, and to his lot falls wisdom, which Gushtāsp had before desired for himself. Finally, Zoroaster gives some grains of the pomegranate to Isfandiār, and his

¹ Shāhrastāni, vol. I. p. 283 of the German translation, speaks only of the fore-feet of the horse, which again became free when Zoroaster was released from prison. Mirkhond (in Shea, p. 287) narrates the wonder as above, only more briefly.

bodily becomes thereby invulnerable. By these successive miracles the belief of Gushtāsp becomes more and more strengthened, and at this time the event narrated in Ys. IX. 46 is said to have happened, namely, the disappearance of the demons underground. At this time also Gushtāsp is said to have erected the first fire-temple. Inconsistent as these legends do appear at the first glance, there is every probability that they are in the main very ancient. We have previously had occasion to mention Peshotan as the spiritual guide of Isfandiār; as son of Vishtāspa and as immortal he is also known to the Bundeshesh (p. 68). The Shāh-nāme also informs us that Isfandiār became invulnerable through Zoroaster, though in a somewhat different manner, by means of a chain which he had received (Shāh-nāme 1134). Jāmāsp is also represented in the Avesta as very wise. In the *Jāmāsp-nāme*, which is certainly modern, he appears, quite as in the Avesta, in the possession of the knowledge of the past and of the future. The narrative of the erection of the fire-temple seems to follow the account given in the 17th chapter of the Bundeshesh. Even in the Book of Kings Dakiki also relates that Gushtāsp erected a temple to the Fire *Móhr-burzin* or *Burzin-méhr*,¹ and that this fire has since burnt without smoke. It is this fire which we know from the Bundeshesh to be the third of the holy fires, the fire of husbandmen; and it is said to have settled during Gushtāsp's reign on the mountain Raevānta in Khorāsān, after it had travelled throughout the world without any permanent resting-place. But, according to the same authority, the Fire *Frobā*, the Fire of priests, which had its temple until then on a mountain in Khuārizm, is also said to have been brought thence into Kābulistān. Shāhrastānī² indeed differs here. He

¹ Not to be confounded with the Fire *Burzin*, which was worshipped by Lohrasp.

² I. 299. On the other hand, Hamza says that Gushtāsp built a city in the district of Dānābgerd, which he named رام و شاسفان

affirms that this Fire of Khuânizm was carried to Dārūbgard in Persepolis. The transference of this Fire of the priesthood from West to East may perhaps not have been universally believed in Irān, but can only stand in connection with the Bactrian conception of the Zoroastrian legend which we have before us. As Zoroaster emigrated from his native country and met with a hospitable reception from Gushtāsp, so also the Fire of the priests, who belonged to him and from whom they had emanated, must have travelled with him towards the East.

The Zartusht-nāme, our principal source of information for the history of Zoroaster, does not relate his biography, but the history of Gushtāsp's conversion; it therefore breaks off at this point. We shall further on treat of the few chapters that still follow. Regarding the stories of miracles, which we have reported, we believe we have shown that they must be considerably ancient, at least in their main features. Yet we observe from the different statements of Mahomedan authors, that a number of other miracles of Zoroaster, of which we know nothing at present, were recorded in earlier times. Thus Mirkhond¹ narrates that Zoroaster had a fire which he could hold in his hand without injuring himself, and that the Fire of the Magi (the above-named Âdar Fīr) originated from it. The same historiographer further relates that Zoroaster suffered molten metal to be poured on his breast without being burnt thereby. More important than the above is the statement of Fīrdūsi, that Gushtāsp planted a cypress-tree in Kishmir, which in the course of years grew to such an enormous height, that no lasso could reach it, and that over the tree he had caused a magnificent temple to be erected, calling upon all his subjects to go to the

(properly read رَام و شَتَا سَبَا), may be the present city of Fāsā (Hāmza, p. 37, ed. Gottw.).

¹ Mirkhond, (ed. Sfeea) pp. 286 seq.

temple, and to offer their worship to the tree, which they accordingly did. Later accounts assert that when the Khalif Muttavakkel caused that miraculous tree to be felled, no less than 2,000 sheep and bullocks could find room underneath it, and that 300 camels were required for its removal.¹ It is evident that this enormous tree cannot have been a cypress, for though there may have been large cypresses, still they cannot grow to the size which is supposed in that account. To this it may be added that it cannot be proved that the cypress is esteemed in the religion of Zoroaster as a sacred tree, though there are some traces which show that such may have been the case further to the West of Irān. However, all this is easily explained if we assume that Buddhism is here mistaken for Zoroastrianism. The Indian fig-tree, the *ficus religiosa*, which sends new roots out of its branches into the earth, does indeed extend itself to a circumference as large as that described by the legend. This tree is regarded as sacred, especially by the Buddhists, for they believe that under its shadow the founder of their religion was invested with the dignity of Buddha. They have also the custom of sending sprigs of that holy tree to converted countries, and of erecting temples by their side.² We have a detailed description of the transportation of the sacred tree to Ceylon, and we can as well assume that such twigs were also sent to Bactria after Buddhism had spread in that country. Where, too, we have to look for Kishnūr and the so-called cypress, has already been said above. Far later than the legend above cited is another one respecting the contest of Zoroaster with the wise Chengrenghācha, an Indian Brāhmin, who went to Irān with the design of conquering Zoroaster; but as soon as he had listened to the Avesta, was turned from an enemy

¹ Vuller's *Fragmente über die Religion Zoroasters*, pp. 71, 113.

² Comp. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.* 1. 237.

into a zealous adherent of the Prophet. This episode in the legend of Zoroaster was accepted in earlier times, because it was believed to be confirmed by the *Avosta*. However, this is erroneous, and M. Bréal has strikingly proved,¹ that Chengrenghācha was no other than Sankara-āchārya, who was renowned in India, and to whom a *Digvijaya*, i.e. a conquest of different territories was ascribed. Besides, this famous Brāhmin lived in the eighth century of our era; he could not, therefore, have met Zoroaster.

All that now remains for us to speak of concerns the personal circumstances of Zoroaster in the court at Balkh. M. Anquetil has collected the necessary materials on this point, and later on M. Windischmann has so fully treated the subject, that I shall have to recall only what is already known. Besides the royal family, the frequently-named king Vishtāspa or Gushtāsp and his wife Hutaosa, Zoroaster also enjoyed friendly intercourse with the minister of the king, Jāmāspa, of the family of Hvōgva or Hvōva. We find him named in *Ys.* XIII. 24, XLV. 17, XLVIII. 9, L. 18, and *Yt* V. 68 *seq.* In the last passage is described his victory over the demons. He stood on similar good terms with Frashaostra, the brother of Jāmāspa, (*vide* *Ys.* XIII. 24, XXVIII. 8, XLV. 16, XLVIII. 8, L. 17, LII. 2.) . . . We learn from the *Bundehesh* (80, 1 *seq.*) that Zoroaster had three wives, one after another. By his first wife, whose name is not mentioned, he had a son Isatvūstra, and three daughters—Freni, Thriti, and Pouruchistā; by a second wife were born two other sons Hvarechithra and Urvatatnara. From these three sons the three orders of priests, warriors, and husbandmen are said to have originated.² All

¹ *Vide Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497.

² Though great pains have been taken to place the legend of Zoroaster in harmony with the heroic tradition, this passage, which

these names are also known to the Avesta, (*vide* Ys. XXIII. 4, XXVI. 17, Yt. XIII. 98, 139). The third wife of Zoroaster, being descended from the family of Hvôva, is generally named Hvôvi, (*vide* Yt. XIII. 139). Her children are not mentioned. In the Bundeshesh (80, 7 *seq.*), it is said that Zoroaster thrice coupled with Hvôvi, thrice his seed fell over the earth, the *yazata* Nairyosagha preserved it, and entrusted it to the protection of Anāhita, until the time shall have come when there shall spring therefrom the three future Saviours: Oshédar, Oshédar-mâh, and Soshios. The mother of the last one is called in Yt. XIX. 92, Vîspa-taurvi. These posthumous sons are also familiar to the Avesta, as clearly appears from Yt. XIII. 62, 128, 129.¹

The accounts of Zoroaster's death shew little uniformity. Here we must again make a distinction between Occidental and Oriental accounts. The former reports are considerably more modern. Only Suidas and the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* give any information of the event, and assume that Zoroaster was consumed by a supernatural fire and received back into heaven.² Amongst Oriental

entirely contradicts the earlier accounts given by us, appears to me to prove that the legend originally assumes a different genesis of the world than the Irānian heroic legend does, and consequently has no connection with the latter.

¹ The *Vajarkard*, which is indeed apocryphal, (in p. 21, 22, ed. Bombay), agrees with the rest of the statements, with the remark that the mother of Isatvâstra and the three daughters was called Uvij, that the second wife was a widow, named Arnij Baredâ, whose first husband was called Matunaibâr (Mihryâr).

² *Quôd Zoroastres precatus est, ut moriturus fulmine ictus interiret: et Persis denuntiavit, ubi me ignis caelestis consumserit, ossium meorum crematorum cineres servate, et quamdiu hoc facitis, regnum a vobis non auferitur: quod fecerunt. Ille autem, invocato Orione, a caelesti flamma depastus interit.* "For Zoroaster prayed that when his hour approached, he might die by lightning; and he said to the Persians: 'When the heavenly fire has consumed

above-mentioned invasion. The latter account does not seem to be old; on the contrary, the Sadder Bundelesh, to which we are already indebted for many important statements, asserts that Zoroaster at least did not die in Balkh, but returned to Aryana-vaija after Gushtāsp's conversion.¹ The same book also raises the question why such a distinguished character, as Zoroaster was, should have died at all? We are informed that when Zoroaster asked immortality from God, the latter replied that if Zoroaster were to remain immortal, the wicked Tūrbarātūr would also remain immortal, the resurrection would then be impossible and mankind without hope. Then Ahura is said to have granted omniscience to Zoroaster for one moment,² when the latter beheld the delights of Paradise and the miseries of Hell, and was satisfied with the dispensations of Providence.

¹ The passage (to which Anquetil draws our attention) occurs in Sadder Bundelesh, fol. 140:—

واکزون بپایه دانستن که آنگاه که زراتشت آسفتتمان انوشهر
روان باد دین در جهان روا بکرد و شاه گشناسب دین بپذیرفت
و در جهان روا و آشکاره بکرد و دیگر بهفت کشور زمین برسد
و مردمان بر دین استوار و بیگمان شدند و زراتشت انوشه پروان باد
برخواست که به ایران و بیج شود

² [Compare West, "Pahlavi Texts," part I. p. 194: "In the Vohūman Yasht Commentary (*sand*) it is declared that Zaratūst asked *immortality* from Aūharmazd a second time, and spoke thus:—'I am Zaratūst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O Creator! when Thou shalt *make me* immortal as the tree opposed to harm, and Gōpatshāh, Gōshti-Pryān, and Chūrōkmyān, son of Vishtāsp, who is Pēshyōtanū, were made. When Thou shalt make me immortal, they in Thy good religion will believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aūharmazd this pure and good religion of the *Mazdayasnān*, will become immortal; then those men will believe in Thy good religion.' Aūharmazd spoke thus:—'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratūst the Spitāmān! then *Tūribrādaiyakhsh* the Karap will become immortal, and when *Tūribrādaiyakhsh* the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection and future existence

Now, after we have become acquainted with the circumstances of Zoroaster's life, as they are related, a question forces itself upon us, to which it is necessary, owing to the importance of the man, to find, if not a definite, at least a conditional answer. We mean the question whether Zoroaster was a mythical or a historical character. Nobody is likely to consider the accounts, which we have transcribed, as historical. We could obtain no clear knowledge concerning the interpretation of the name, nor the age, nor even the native country of Zoroaster, and all this indeed least of all from Western narratives, though these are in point of time the more ancient ones. The Oriental reports are, it is true, more in harmony. . . As the most solid nucleus might, perhaps, remain the statements, that Zoroaster was descended from a royal race, that he had given proofs of his surpassing genius already in his fifteenth year, and that with his thirtieth year he had commenced the promulgation of his religion in the different provinces of Irān, and especially in Arrān and Ādarabaijān, but above all at the court of Gushtāsp in Bactria. Such are the particular items derived from Eastern sources, with which those of Western origin also are not incompatible. Now the question is whether we are to regard all these events as mythical, so that no historical nucleus is to be found in all these narratives; or whether Zoroaster is a historical character, whose life was reduced to a bare tradition by

are not possible.' Zaratūst seemed uneasy about it in his mind; and Aūharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratūst the Spītāmān with the righteous spirit, and He took hold of Zaratūst's hand. And He, Aūharmazd the Propitious Spirit, Creator of the material world, the Righteous One, even He put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water on the hand of Zaratūst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.' And Zaratūst devoured it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratūst, and seven days and nights Zaratūst was in the Wisdom of Aūharmazd.']

means of legends. Both these views have found their advocates. The mythical view has been lately represented by M. Kern, who, relying especially upon etymology, translates the name Zarathushtra, according to a supposition of M. Windischmann, into "a gold star," and who finds in the names Pourushaspa (many horses, *i. e.*, possessing beams of light) and Maidhyomāo (the middle-moon), a reference to the original sidereal power, and comes to the conclusion that Zoroaster was originally identical with Mithra, but did not signify the morning-star but the evening-star. At all events, the import of Zoroaster must have been utterly forgotten already at the time when the ancients wrote regarding him, and in the age when the Avesta was put together, because there the position of Zoroaster is evidently different. We can follow this view no more than Drs. Justi and Tiele, not because we are opposed in principle to a mythical conception of Zoroaster, but because we do not believe that sufficient proofs are at hand to confirm such a theory. Besides, in accordance with our entire comprehension of the Irānian epic, we would only be able to look upon a *mythus* of Zoroaster as the later-reflected myths, and not as the original ones. For, as we have shown, Zoroaster is indeed most appropriately inserted in the Irānian heroic legend, and even in a comparatively early period, though he does not belong to it originally. We find it, therefore, better, along with most inquirers, to compare Zoroaster rather with the Semitic prophets or with Sakyamuni, than with the Indian Rishis, and to consider the reports of his life as disfigured through their legendary form. But now the question will be asked: "What is legend, and what is truth?" We divest the accounts of Zoroaster of all mythical adjuncts; we believe that he was of royal blood; that in his thirtieth year he preached his doctrine in his native country; that the little approbation which they met with at the beginning induced him to emigrate to Bactria;

and that he succeeded there in securing adherents by the help of a king (Gushtāsp; and we find that in all these statements there lies nothing which is not credible, but unfortunately we cannot also prove that they must have so happened. It is possible that Zoroaster proclaimed his religion in Bactria; but it is also possible that the Bactrian Magi merely asserted for some reason or another the ancient connection of Zoroaster with that city, just in the same manner that the Buddhists cause their Sakyamuni to appear in Ceylon, etc., where he never set foot. In general, if we compare the above-mentioned plain circumstances of Zoroaster's life with those of other like characters, we are inclined to doubt even the latter. Especially in the history of Sakyamuni does there appear to me to exist some similarity. Zoroaster has in common with him royal birth, remarkable supernatural talents displayed in his youth, and lastly the circumstance that he enters upon his vocation of teacher in his thirtieth year. On the other hand, the assumption of his prophetic dignity, and his immediate intercourse with the Deity remind one of Moses and the Semitic laws, that is, in the form in which the narrative has been transmitted to us in Chrysostom. Nay more, some analogy has even been discovered between the 19th chapter of the Vendidād and the history of the temptation by Mathew; even here a Buddhistic parallel may also be found, namely, in the temptations to which Sakyamuni was exposed by Mara, and here Buddhism, indeed, seems to be the borrowing party. We can here, of course, merely allude to such points of contact; but in our opinion they would well deserve a closer study. After all this, the only thing certain that we can extract from the whole of Zoroaster's biography, is that he really did live. The proof for this assumption lies in the internal evidence, which will be fully discussed later on, that is, in the strict and thoroughly well-considered method which is displayed throughout the whole religion, and which necessarily shows that a single

individual at least put his finishing hand to it, whatever may have been his name.

That Zoroaster left behind him some manuscripts is the opinion generally held by the ancients. The opinion of Hermippus on the writings of Zoroaster is well known, and proves the existence of such writings, as are ascribed to him, in the third century before Christ.¹ Even Western authors admit that Zoroaster left behind him his revelations in writing, the original text indeed being named according to Masudi (T. H. 126. ed. P.) Bestā (Avesta), and that, as an aid to its right understanding, he afterwards wrote a commentary under the name Zend, and later on a second commentary under the name Pāzend. After Zoroaster's death the theologians of the Zoroastrian religion wrote a fresh explanation of the earlier commentaries under the name Barida. It is not our purpose to enter here into this subject, which must be more fully discussed further on; only we shall here remark that the Book of Kings also is familiar with this Avesta and Zend and often mentions them. But, though the Book of Kings distinctly teaches us that Zoroaster first taught the Avesta and Zend during the reign of Gushtāsp, and that consequently these books could not have been in existence before, still it commits the inconsistency of supposing their existence in an earlier period. Kaikhosrao especially is very often represented as reciting the Avesta and Zend (Shāhnāme, p. 964, ll. 11 *seq.*; (Vul. ed. p. 981); p. 985, ll. 3 *seq.*) According to one passage (p. 910, l. 5), even Frēdūn deposited in Baikend the Avesta written in golden characters. Such inaccuracies seem to me to prove that the artificial arrangement, according to which Zoroaster is placed at the close of the mythical period, had not yet entirely come into vogue.

Now, after we have made the necessary remarks upon

¹ Comp. Windischmann, *Zoroast. Studien*, pp. 288 *seq.*

the personality of Zoroaster, we may turn to the reign of Gushtāsp, and consequently to the promulgation of the Prophet's religion. Lohrāsp, having entrusted the kingdom to his son before his own death, retired to a fire-temple at Balkh. According to Fīdūsi a religious war follows very close upon Gushtāsp's embracing the Zoroastrian Law. The demons are anxious that the intelligence of the great revolution, which has taken place in Irān, should soon reach the ears of Arjāsp, king of Tūrān. The latter at once determines not to tolerate the innovation. He sends an embassy with a letter to Gushtāsp, wherein he admonishes the latter not to listen to the allurements of Zoroaster but to return to the path of justice. Should Gushtāsp comply with his demands he promises to give him rich presents; but should he not take his admonition to heart, he threatens to come with an army in a few months and to desolate Irān. Gushtāsp communicates the message received to his confidential friends, Zarir, Isfandiār, and Jāmāsp, and these undertake to give the proper reply to the king of Tūrān, in which they particularly warn him not to approach Irān with an army, as they themselves intend to march with their forces towards his country. Then preparations are made on both sides and the hostile armies meet near the Oxus. This battle, however, differs materially from earlier ones in the fact that Gushtāsp knew its result beforehand; for he had on his side Jāmāsp, the Wise, who, as we already know, was cognizant of the past as well as of the future, and who then told Gushtāsp that the battle, though it would turn out a very bloody one, would surely end in his favour. What Jāmāsp had foretold naturally happened. In the single combats which took place, Ardashir, Sheru, and Shedasp, the three sons of Gushtāsp, fell. Then Kerāmi, the son of Jāmāsp, forced his way into the fight. The imperial banner, which the Irānians had abandoned in the general tumult, was recaptured by Kerāmi, and when the Tūrānians cut off

one of his arms he held the banner firmly between his teeth, while he fought with the other arm. But at last he also fell under the blows of overwhelming numbers. Several others among the most valiant Irānians also perished; but in the end Zarir, the commander-in-chief and brother of the king, came on the scene and caused great destruction amongst the Tūiānian heroes. Thus affairs went on for two weeks, and Arjāsp promised a handsome reward to whosoever amongst his heroes would vanquish Zarir; but nobody dared undertake the task. At last Biderefsh undertook it. But even he did not venture to meet Zarir in open combat, and shot him dead with an arrow fired from an ambuscade. The death of Zarir produced great terror in the hearts of the Irānians, and king Gushtāsp, having failed in animating his heroes to avenge the death of Zarir, made a vow that in case he should succeed in his battle with Arjāsp, he would resign his crown to Isfandiār and his army to Peshotan, whilst he himself would retire into solitude after the example of his father Lohrāsp. This vow was naturally a stimulus to Isfandiār to distinguish himself. He threw himself into the thickest of the fight, slew Biderefsh and brought back the arms and the horse of Zarir to the Irānian camp. In a short time no man dared risk a combat with him. Arjāsp finally gave up the battle as lost and fled. The deserted army offered to accept the true Faith and was pardoned by Gushtāsp.

This battle between Gushtāsp and Arjāsp, which we have just narrated, is in its principal features also current in the Avesta. There, too, we find Vishtāspa frequently praying that he may conquer Arcjat-aspa, (Yt. V. 109; IX. 30; XVII. 50; XIX. 87). Arcjat-aspa himself also once (Yt. V. 116) appears praying that he may be granted a triumph over Gushtāsp.

Gushtāsp then commissioned Nestūr, the son of Zarir, who had fallen in battle, to invade the kingdom of Arjāsp

and to press further his victory, while he himself returned to his country and sent his son Isfandiār all over the world to propagate the Zoroastrian Law. The latter nowhere met with opposition. The Kaiser of Rūm and all princes showed themselves willing to embrace the new religion and requested him to forward the religious books. *Isfandiār was then soon able to inform his father, that the faith of Zoroaster had been accepted throughout the world.* Gushtāsp, however, did not appear to remember a word of his former vow to cede his throne voluntarily to Isfandiār after his successful return. On the contrary, circumstances assumed quite a different aspect, and showed the pious Gushtāsp in altogether a peculiar light. Kerzem, a kinsman of the royal house, who hated Isfandiār, calumniated the latter to his father, affirming that he had collected an army to dethrone Gushtāsp. The king readily believed the calumniator and despatched Jāmāsp with a letter ordering Isfandiār to return forthwith to the court. Jāmāsp, as well as Isfandiār himself, knew that evil days awaited the prince if he should answer the summons. Nevertheless, both were of opinion that the commands of his father must be obeyed. They regarded the whole affair as manifestly a trial which had come over the Hero of the Faith, and which the latter had to meet with courage. Gushtāsp, indeed, caused heavy fetters to be laid on Isfandiār on the ground of high treason, and ordered him to be carried to the stronghold of Kenbedan,¹ there to be bound fast to four iron stakes. How foolish such a proceeding was, Gushtāsp was soon to learn. Some time after this event the king went to Zābul in order to pay a visit to Rustem. The visit lasted very long, fully two years. Meanwhile the news of Isfandiār's imprisonment spread abroad, and the king, who had no need of being

¹According to the author of Muǰmil the fortress of Kenbedan is identical with Girdkōh, which is supposed to lie in Mūzenderān.

afraid any longer of that hero, almost abandoned Zoroaster's religion. Arjāsp also heard this intelligence with delight, as it offered him some prospect of vengeance, for the army, which Isfandiār had placed under the command of his son Behman, had in part disbanded itself, and in part marched to the vicinity of Kenbedan, in order not to be far distant from its beloved commander. As soon as Arjāsp received certain information of these events, and particularly of there being no troops in Balkh,¹ he levied an army, and gave his son Kehrem orders to advance against that city, he himself following soon after with a second army. The project succeeded, and Balkh was taken by surprise, no garrison being found there excepting Lohrāsp and other pious men who adored the sacred fire in retirement. It is true that Lohrāsp immediately took up arms and placed himself at the head of the effective burghers; but, though he sold his life dearly, he was unable to prevent the taking of the town. After his death the fire-temple was invaded and the remaining pious priests were slain. With their blood the sacred fire was extinguished, and both the daughters of Gushtāsp, Humāi and Behāfrīd, were taken into captivity. Still it was fortunate that it occurred to one of the wives of Gushtāsp to steal away from the town in Turkish costume, and to go to Sajistān in order to communicate the important intelligence to Gushtāsp. The latter, thereupon, speedily levied an army; but no sooner had he approached Balkh,² than Arjāsp came with a second force to the assistance of Kehrem. It is remarkable enough that Rustem should have let his guest depart, when his position was so desperate, without rendering him any

Indeed, Melgunof (*das nördliche Ufer, etc.*, p. 134), mentions a mountain-peak Girdkōh, which lies in the vicinity of the road leading from Asterābād to Shāhrūd.

¹ ² Here end the portions of the Book of Kings composed by Dakīkī.

assistance. The battle between Gushtāsp and Arjāsp was a very fierce one, in which many heroes fell on both sides. Thirty-eight sons¹ of Gushtāsp, who took part in the struggle, all perished. Gushtāsp, losing hope, took to flight and was closely pursued by the Tūrānians, who attempted to capture him. Fortunately the flying Irānians came to a steep declivity, the approach to which was only known to Gushtāsp, who led thither his army in safety.² Now the Tūrānians who pursued him, could not find any way up the mountain and were forced to remain content with blockading the Irānian army on all sides. In this embarrassed position Gushtāsp was now completely helpless, and turning to Jāmāsp, asked him whether he could find any means of escape. Jāmāsp replied that nobody except Isfandiār was able to deliver him from danger. So Gushtāsp determined to address himself to his heroic son, whom he had

¹ The names of these sons seem to be partly mentioned in Yt. XIII. 101. [*Zairi-vairi*, *Fukhta-vairi*, *Strakhsan*, *Keresakhsan*, *Vanūa*, *Varāsa*, *Būjiravah*, *Berezayashiti*, *Tizyashiti*, *Perethuashiti* and *Vizyashiti*. These names, I suppose, belong to the brothers of Gushtāsp rather than to his sons. *Zairi-vairi* is identical with the Persian Zair, the son of Lohrāsp (*Aurvat-aspa*). Vide Yt. V. 112. Among other names West believes *Būjiravah* to be possibly the same with *Pāt-Khosrav*, a brother to Vishtāspa in the Yaddkārī Zariān. (Comp. Darmesteter, Yt. XIII. p. 205, n. 5.)]

² I have no doubt that this mountain is the same with that mentioned by the Bundehesh, and named *Mat-ō-friyād* ("if came to help"). According to the view of the Bundehesh this mountain appears to have been severed from the extensive range to which it belonged at the time of Gushtāsp's flight, and to have offered a refuge to that religious king. [West reads *Madōfiyād* ("come-to-help"), and renders the passage in which this name occurs as follows:—"From the same Padashkhvārgar mountain unto Mount Kūmis, which they call Mount Madōfiyād—that in which Vishtāspa routed Arjāsp—is Mount Mīyānidasht ('mid-plain'), and was broken off from that mountain there." Vide 'Pahlavi Texts,' *Bundehesh*, chapter XII. 32.]

so deeply offended, and Jāmāsp was again the bearer of his message. Again did Gushtāsp declare his resolution to renounce the throne and to retire into solitude, in case he were rescued from his present danger, and offer to make Isfandiār his successor. Should the latter refuse, the empire of Irān was undone. Jāmāsp dressed as a Tūrānian stole through the ranks of the enemy and succeeded in reaching Kenbedan, where he communicated to Isfandiār the proposals of Gushtāsp, but found Isfandiār very little disposed to consent. At last, however, the persuasions of Jāmāsp induced him to forget his personal grievances, and to render the desired help to his father. Isfandiār then forced his way through the hostile army, killed many Tūrānians and revived the courage of the Irānians; whilst Arjāsp on the contrary became despondent, for he had trusted that he would be able to bring the war to an end without the interference of Isfandiār. And, indeed, in the ensuing battle Isfandiār achieved great feats of heroism; he captured Kergesar alive, who alone ventured to fight with him. Besides, he killed so many Tūrānians, that Arjāsp once again abandoned his army intent only upon safely regaining Tūrān.

APPENDIX.

THE IRĀNIAN ALPHABETS.

THE ancient Persians made use of two distinct characters. So early as in the Inscriptions of Darius the term *dīpīs* denotes an inscription ; and this word may be derived from a verbal root *dīp*, which has been preserved also in other Irānian languages in different derivatives. To this root we might especially trace the Greek word *διφύερα* which was employed by Ktesias and other Greek writers as a name for the Persian Annals ; but which, as may be gathered from the testimony of Herodotus (V. 58), was used at an early period to denote a book or a manuscript. Herodotus seems to believe that the word was originally Greek, and perhaps derived from *δέφω* ; but this opinion is distinctly erroneous, for the word is strictly Persian and comes from *dīp* ; even to the present day the Persian word *defter* means a book. From the same root we have the words *dibistān*, "a writing-room, a school" ; *dōvān* or *divān*, which means "a writing book, or chamber" in the Armenian archives, and the Mod. Persian word *diwār*, Arm. *dīr*, "a writer." As regards the original meaning of the root *dīp*, I suppose it to be identical with the Skr. *lip*, "to besmear," and, therefore, also contained in the words *lipi* ("spreading over, writing") and *lipikara* ("white-washer, writer"). This supposition is not contradicted by the fact that the inscription, which Darius calls *dīpīs*, is cut on rocks, since we know that the engraved letters were also overlaid with gold or painted. On the contrary, this view is confirmed by the Mod. Persian words دیوار *dēwār*, "wall," and دپه *dēpē*, "brocade,"

which must be traced to the same root. Another Old Persian expression for writing is *ni-pish*, which is also used by Darius and contained in the Mod. Persian *nivishtan*. It seems to have migrated further westward and to have found a place in the Slavonian dialect, wherein words like *pismo*, "writing," &c., point to the existence of a root *pish*, to which might also belong the Old Prussian words:—*peisaton*, "written"; *peisalei*, "writing." Accordingly, we are able to point to the use of two distinct terms for the art of writing among the Southern Irānians. However, the case is different with respect to Northern Irān. Here we find a name for a written document only in the word *naska*, which may be identified as a word borrowed from the Arm. ܢܫܬܐ, "to transcribe." But this etymology is uncertain, and no other name for writing exists. Wherever books are referred to, allusion is frequently made to memory (*darethra*) and recitation (*marethra*). This circumstance shows beyond doubt that the sacred lore was originally impressed on the memory of scholars by tradition and oral instruction. It would be rash to infer from this circumstance that in olden times the use of writing was unknown to the Northern Irānians; whereas Herodotus states that Darius, after his accession to the throne, caused most of the events of his reign to be recorded in writing. The fact, however, is that even at the present day we can only put forth conjectures as to the character of the Northern Irānian writing.

On the other hand, our knowledge regarding the style of writing in Southern Irān reaches as far as the beginning of the Achaemenian monarchy, especially if we ascribe, as we probably may, the small inscription in Murghāb to the founder of that dynasty. The earliest form of Southern writing known to us is found in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae; consequently we have the advantage of its having been transmitted to us in the very form in which it was originally inscribed. It is a variety of the so-called cunei-

form writing, but one differing considerably from all others, which it surpasses in simplicity. This circumstance gives strength to the theory of the comparatively later origin of the Old Persian cuneiform writing, which is locally the most Eastern species of its kind. A more intricate system of cuneiform writing is found in translations standing side by side with the Old Persian texts. In Northern Irān we meet with inscriptions following this intricate cuneiform system, engraved by kings still unknown to us, in Media as well as in Armenia. Western Irān, the land of the Euphrates and the Tigris, however, is specially famous for such specimens of cuneiform writing. On the contrary, not a single line in cuneate letters has yet been discovered eastward of Persis. Although M. Ferrier thought he had met with such inscriptions in Balkh and Farah, his belief has not been confirmed by later research, and it must, therefore, be regarded as erroneous. That the cuneate writing was confined to the western part of the Irānian kingdom, is sufficient proof that it could not have been derived from the East. It would be more reasonable to give it a northern origin; but the most probable view is that it came from the West. In dealing with this subject we need not be struck by the dependence of the Southern Irānian kingdom upon Northern and Western Irān, for we have lighted upon similar facts in other parts of our study of Irānian civilization. We repeat that the use of cuneiform writing throughout Persia proves that the latter country, as well as the whole western frontier of Irān, was more or less familiar in ancient times with the civilization of Babylon and Niniveh. Yet the specific identification of the Old Persian cuneal system with the more ancient systems, presents no insignificant difficulties. The Old Persian cuneiform writing is the only system which really deserves to be called an alphabet; all other varieties are mere syllabaries. Several peculiarities in the Old Persian writing make its identification with the *Amerian* systems

impossible. There are signs which merely stand for the vowels *i* or *u*, but none for *a*. The letter, which must be followed by *a* in reading, denotes at the same time certain vowel-less consonants. These are some of the characteristics considerably differing from the earlier systems, which contain certain signs for syllables, e.g. *ru*, *ri*, &c. The letters *m* and *v* are distinguished in the Old Persian alphabet, but not in the earlier cuneiform systems. Assyrian writing has no signs for aspirates, while the Old Persian carefully distinguishes the hard aspirates at least. These peculiarities do not allow us to connect the Old Persian alphabet either with the *Ananian* or the Assyrian syllabary: on the contrary, they exhibit some points of contact with the Babylonian. The ideographic sign for king (which would formerly have been read *naga*) is taken from the Babylonian, and lately M. Oppert has found altogether nine such signs corresponding to the Babylonian ones.¹ This circumstance supports the theory which ascribes a Babylonian origin to the Old Persian alphabet; and M. Oppert (p. 244) supposed that it was for the first time systematized by Cyrus or at his command, after the occupation of Babylon, by the Persians. For this purpose the Old Persians seem to have fixed on 36 words which were represented in Babylonian by ideograms, to each of which they attached the value of a single character. The alphabet was rendered still simpler by bringing into the new system only angular and single cuneal signs—the latter being horizontal as well as vertical—from three to five of which fundamental elements the different letters were formed.² In this way we may account for the change from the syllabic systems to the method of writing in letters;

¹ Cf. Oppert, "*Sur la formation de l'alphabet perse*," *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, pp. 238 seq.

² In Oppert (*ibid*, pp. 242 seq.) we find a table of Babylonian characters from which the Old Persian alphabet is supposed to have been developed.

However, we are at a loss for any explanation of the high proficiency attained by the Persians, which led to their invention of an alphabet to replace the cumbrous mode of writing in syllables. Besides, it is scarcely possible to assume that the cuneiform writing was the only method which people could make use of during the rule of the Achaemenidae. It is true that it has many advantages for monumental inscriptions; nevertheless, its incongruities must have been felt in the ordinary intercourse of life. It is impossible to suppose that letters, edicts,¹ or literary works, for instance the royal annals mentioned by Ktesias, were written in cuneal letters. It is more probable that, along with the cuneiform alphabet, another system of writing was in use for epistolary or literary purposes. What this system was and whether it sufficiently corresponded in principle to the former, we cannot of course state, for we know nothing about it. But since a regular alphabet was known in the countries west of their own, besides the cuneiform system,² it is likely that the Old Persians may have borrowed a similar mode of writing from Babylon or Assyria and adapted it to their own language. In any case, however, it could not have been perfectly suitable for employment in the Old Persian dialect, owing to the natural want of harmony between an Indo-Germanic language and a Semitic alphabet. But such inconsistencies have lasted to the present day through the whole of Irānian history; while the inconvenience arising from the use of a Semitic alphabet need not have been insuperable, since it was used only by natives, whose knowledge of the spoken language must have made up for the deficiencies of the written alphabet.

The period of the Achaemenidae was followed by the empire of the Parthians; and we have already stated that

¹ Herodotus I. pp. 124, 125.

² Comp. Schrader, *Die Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilschriften*, p. 167.

the Arsacidæ stamped their coins with Greek legends in Greek characters. But, on the other hand, a number of coins are still preserved, which owe their origin to the age of the Arsacidæ, probably to the satraps (viceroys), and which are inscribed in the native language and character. Upon these coins M. Levy has based an elaborate and admirable treatise—his “History of Irānian Writing in the Parthian Period.”¹ Most of the coins alluded to in this work belong to Hamadān, Sherāz, and Kermān,² *i. e.* to the South and West of the kingdom. That they owe their origin to the Irānians can be clearly demonstrated, since they exhibit the device of a fire-altar and a man standing before it in prayer. On several of them we observe also the image of Ahura Mazda himself, similar to the symbol of Hīm found on earlier monuments. The effigy of the king also supports this view. Indeed, he does not wear the high tiara of the Great King, but he has an Irānian head-dress, which on the later coins is evidently the *Patidūna*. On one of these coins, however, the king is shown holding a sceptre, a flower, and a goblet, as on the monuments of Persepolis. All these circumstances evince the correctness of M. Levy's theory that these coins must be ascribed to the Irānian satraps. This seems to have been indicated also by the position of the king's face, looking towards the right, whereas the image of the Great King always looks towards the left. The coins bear legends in indigenous characters; the letters belong to the Aramaic alphabet of the fourth and third century B. C., as it was used on monuments in Asia Minor, as well as on the coins, seals, monumental columns, and papyrus fragments discovered in Egypt.³ Hence it might be inferred that

¹ Cf. Levy, *Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Irāns und zur Kunde der älteren Pehlevischrift*, *ZdmG.* vol. XXI, pp. 421 seq. Cf. also Franc. Lenormant, *Études sur l'alphabet Pehlvi*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, vol. II, pp. 180 seq.

² Levy, *ibid.*, p. 438. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

the Persian satraps, to whom the coins belonged, caused them to be struck, if not under the sovereignty of Alexander, then under the Seleucidae and throughout the whole period of the Arsacidae; and during this epoch a species of Aramaic writing may have been naturalized in Irān. Inscriptions with traces of a similar character have been found also in Holvan and Khuzistān.¹ They seem to have been akin to the Nabataean and Palmyrene alphabets, but the samples of them now existing are not quite sufficient to allow of any definite opinion being formed regarding them. The question as to the origin of those inscriptions will, therefore, remain undetermined until solved by further research. Another group of coins has a bearing on the history of Irānian writing. The more modern ones are like those described above; yet they must be placed before the beginning of the Sassanian dynasty. These coins are divided into two classes. The greater number of those included in the first class must be assigned on numismatic principles to the time of Phraates I. and Mithridates I., while some of the remaining ones may perhaps belong to the reign of Phraates IV.² To these coins M. Levy traces the so-called Parthian writing, which he is inclined to call Western Pahlavi. It is found on the monuments ascribed to the first Sassanidae, but not on their coins; and after their time it becomes quite extinct. The coins comprised in the other class must, according to M. Levy,³ be ascribed to the time of Vologeses II. (130-149 A.D.). The alphabets on the coins of both these classes are now regarded as the forerunner of the species of writing current under the first of the Sassanidae. It follows, then, that the latter cannot have been developed from the former,

¹ Levy, *ibid*, p. 445.

² *Vide* tablet II. Nos. 1-10 in Levy, who places the coins numbered 8 and 9 in the time of Phraates IV.

³ *Ibid*, p. 455.

but that both must have sprung at the same time from the Aramaic alphabet, which ought to be considered as their common parent, and which is found on weights, seals, and gems belonging to the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Achaemenian monarchies. From the same alphabet first arose what has been styled the Southern Pahlavi writing, which M. Levy would call Eastern Pahlavi;¹ while the alphabet, which is known as the Parthian or Persian Pahlavi, must be distinguished as Western Pahlavi, which dies out after the inscriptions of the first two Sassanidae. Eastern Pahlavi, on the contrary, remained in use and developed gradually into the form in which we find it on the later Sassanian coins and in the Parsi manuscripts. We quite agree with this view of the development of the history of Irānian writing; only we admit that we cannot exactly account for the names Eastern and Western Pahlavi. Although I concede that this species of writing may have been current already at a very remote period in Eastern Irān, where the oldest Indian character (the so-called Arian, the use of which for an Irānian language cannot be proved), may have existed with it, and that the Eastern Irānians may have possibly employed it whenever they wrote anything, still we must hold to our supposition that there are no facts before us to show that this alphabet was first introduced precisely into Eastern Irān, and thence gradually extended to the West. According to our opinion, we can here, again, distinguish between North and South. The so-called Western Pahlavi was chiefly current in the North, in the territory belonging to the Parthians. It died out after the fall of the Arsacidae, since, as the power of the Sassanidae grew in the South, the style of writing there current prevailed. The most important point here is that no essential difference ever existed between these two alphabets, and that both of them owed their origin unques-

¹ Levy, p. 456.

tionably to Western-Semitic. Hence it is that vowels are imperfectly distinguished in all such alphabets, since they contain only three vowel-signs, *viz.* those for *a*, *i*, and *u*. Such a deficiency must have been very inconvenient in an Indo-Germanic language, as all the vowels could not have been accurately indicated by those three signs as in the Semitic languages. So the alphabet became in course of time more and more developed, as, from the time of Kōbad I., writers began to employ an increasing number of new combinations consisting of two or more consonants linked together. I do not entirely dissent from the opinion expressed by Prof. Westergaard¹, that among these compound consonants are also found some arbitrary characters; but I believe that their origin may be regarded as on the whole regular and natural. It was a current style, which, though hastily written, was not disagreeable to the eye; and to the natives, who understood the language, its difficulties may not have been so hard to surmount as they appear to us.²

According to our view, M. Levy is on the right path when he traces the so-called Zend alphabet, that in which the Avesta is written in our oldest MSS., to the Southern Irānian writing (Eastern Pahlavi).³ Several of the characters of both these alphabets are quite similar; but there is a number of signs peculiar to the Avesta alphabet, *viz.*

¹ *Zendavesta*, vol. I. p. 20.

² The variety of writing which we have here designated as Southern Irānian, is also called *Uzvarsh* or *Huvvāresh*. A much quoted passage of a Parsi book (*Cf.* my *Huvv. gramm.* page 22) expressly names *Uzvarsh* as an alphabet, and, indeed, as the writing of Sevād. This statement can easily be reconciled with the arguments adduced above.

³ *Cf.* his *Beiträge*, p. 460. A different view, however, is held by Lepsius, who, in the second edition of his *Standard-alphabets*, p. 120, is inclined to regard the Avesta alphabet as older, from which, he supposes, the ordinary Pahlavi alphabet was first reduced in the time of the Sassanidae.

those of the aspirates, which cannot easily be proved to have been developed from the Southern Irānian writing. The distinctive feature of the Avesta alphabet is in the vowel-signs. It not only comprises the *matres lectionis*, (i.e., the vowel-signs for *a, i, u*); but all the vowels, even the shortest ones, are represented in it and set down in the same line with the consonants, just as is the case in our European alphabets. This peculiarity distinguishes the Avesta alphabet from all the other alphabets of Irān and of Asia in general. For, not only is this characteristic absent in the Old Parthian and Sassānian systems, but, likewise, in the cuneiform as well as Arian characters, since the former only represents the *matres lectionis*, whilst the latter does not place the vowels on the same footing with the consonants, but merges them in the consonants themselves. A single Asiatic alphabet, the Armenian alone, possesses such characteristics. According to our conviction the Avesta alphabet does not seem to be older than the Armenian; perhaps, to a certain extent, it may be contemporaneous with it. . . .

In systematizing the Avesta alphabet the object which the people endeavoured to obtain could only have been to enable the reader to peruse the Sacred Texts as accurately as was necessary. It is probable that it was specially intended for particular individuals who had to read the Sacred Books to the people and who might be liable to commit slight errors in haste owing to the defects of the writing in use; but it is less probable that the object in view was to help the general reader by means of a clear or lucid alphabet. I believe, therefore, that the inventor of the Avesta characters chiefly studied the requirements of the public readers of the Irānian Scriptures, for much, in fact, depended on accuracy in reading them aloud (Comp. *Yasna*, XIX. 6). We should, however, err, if we assumed that such was the exclusive object of the Avesta alphabet; nothing indicates that it

was ever regarded as sacred. Firstly, we find that the majority of the Parsis do not strictly believe that the Avesta was originally written in the Avesta characters that we now possess; in fact, they have sometimes employed the modern Persian alphabet, and in modern times all the fragments of the Avesta, but most frequently the Khorda-Avesta, have been printed in Gujarati. Secondly, the Avesta-writing has not seldom been found also in Pahlavi works in the rendering of certain isolated words, mostly such as could not be made out by any other means. Just in the same manner do we find the Avesta characters frequently used in Pahlavi glossaries to show the pronunciation of certain Pahlavi expressions. Thirdly and finally, we may add that the Avesta alphabet probably contains more signs than are required to exhibit the Avesta Text. The writing in the oldest MSS. of the Avesta, as well as in the later Indian MSS. copied from them, differs somewhat from the characters used in the MSS. that were transcribed in Yezd and Kermān.¹ This difference is, however, unimportant, and, except in minor points, is perhaps due to a taste for elegant penmanship.

So far we have traced the history of Irānian writing from the earliest times to the more recent period, by the help of coins, inscriptions, and written works that are still in existence. Moreover, there are some notices upon Old Irānian alphabets by some Mohammedan scholars, who have written on the antiquities of Irān. Amongst these writers the learned author of the *Fihrist* occupies a pre-eminent position. The majority of these notices refer evidently to the modern Sassānian period and furnish no incomplete survey of the alphabets then current. It must not be supposed that the various specimens of writing, which they describe,

¹ These will be found in my *Altbacktrischen Grammatik*, pp. 728. The slight difference in them seems also to contravene the theory that our oldest MSS. came from Yezd.

represent quite as many systems; several of them may be supposed to be distinct merely in the apparent shape of the characters, just in the same manner as in the later styles Taaliq and Shikest may be distinguished. Nevertheless, we ought to assume a variety of systems in a few cases,¹ where a great difference exists in the number of letters. It is certainly not accidental that the author of the *Fihrist* fixes upon seven as the number of alphabets; the Parsis also believe that *Tahmurath* was gifted with the knowledge of seven descriptions of writing,² which was after him transferred to Yima. Elsewhere, too, the number seven is regarded as the most sacred amongst the Irānians.—First of all is to be mentioned the alphabet of Māni, which is probably one of the oldest in the series of alphabets named in *Fihrist*. Since there are several evidences to prove that Māni systematized a particular alphabet, this fact must be considered as beyond all doubt. It is probable that Māni did not wish that his books should be accessible to unqualified readers, and consequently wrote them in an alphabet which was only known to his disciples. This alphabet must have been distinguished from other Irānian alphabets more by the shape of the characters than by its intrinsic nature. As to the number of letters, our authorities are, however, disagreed. While Epiphane affirms that the alphabet of Māni contained 22 symbols,² after the manner of the Syriac alphabet, the author of the *Fihrist* asserts that it was made up of a larger number of characters than the Arabic alphabet, *i.e.*, of more than 28 signs. One single specimen of that writing would be sufficient to remove all doubts.—A second important alphabet is that which is called by the author of the *Fihrist*, the *Din-defterih* (دين دفتره), which, as its name also denotes, served for writing the Avesta.

¹ Cf. my *Parsi-grammatik*, p. 139.

² Epiphane, *Adv. Hæres.* II, p. 625, ed. Patav.

Masūdi, who tells us somewhat more on the subject, mentions that this alphabet had 60 letters and was not employed exclusively for the Avesta.¹ It might be regarded to a certain extent as identical with our Avesta alphabet, which exhibits only 48 different signs, granting the assumption that several characters, which were originally in existence, are now no longer distinguished in our Texts.² Or we may attach some credit to Masūdi's opinion that this alphabet not only served for transcribing the Avesta; but that the remaining 12 letters were employed in writing other works, which were beyond the pale of the Avesta literature.—A third species of writing, which the author of the *Fihrist* names *Kashtaj* (کشتج), is believed to have been composed of 28 signs and adapted to seals and coins. It was, perhaps, almost identical with the earlier writing of the Sassanidae, which contains only 24 signs including the ordinary compounds,³ and of which it is quite possible that some of the characters may still be unknown to us.—The fourth species is styled *Half-Kashtaj* (نیم کشتج) in the *Fihrist*, and was employed in works on medicine and philosophy. This alphabet differs but slightly from the third. Here the number of signs is the same; probably the difference was due only to the materials used in writing books.—Much more unlike the third is the fifth kind of writing, which the *Fihrist* designates *Vesh-debirih* (وېش دېرېر), i.e., "much-writing," since it contained no less than 365 signs, in which, the author says, the mysteries of physiognomy were written. As it was a cryptography we must of course believe in the existence of a great multitude of

¹ Cf. Lepsius, *Das ursprüngliche Zendalphabet* (Berlin, 1863), p. 338. Masūdi, II. p. 124. The *Fihrist*, I. 13th ed. Flügel.

² This view of Lepsius is, no doubt, supported by the Pāsi traditional writings.

³ Cf. Mordtmann, *Zend G.* vol. VIII. table 5.

characters, even if we do not regard the number 365 as authentic. What the shape of these letters was we should like to know; however, the brevity of the author's statement does not admit of any conclusion. It is possible that the author of the *Fihrist* meant such contractions as are to be found in the Huzvaresh writing described above; but it is also possible that the style of writing in syllables, akin to the more complicated species of cuneal letters, survived from the earliest times to the period of the Sassanidae.—A far simpler alphabet is the sixth *Rāz-sahrīh* (رازسهریه), *i.e.*, cryptography. It was a twofold species comprising 25 as well as 40 signs, about which we can say very little in particular, because in all probability Ibn Muqaffa himself never saw it. The same may be said regarding the style of writing which he calls *Shāh-debirīh* (شاه دبیری), or "royal writing," and which must have been very much like the foregoing.—Finally, the seventh and last species bears the appellation of *Nāntch-debirīh* (نام دبیری), *i.e.*, the "writing of letters or books." Besides, it is also stated that some books were written in the old Syriac language and read in Persian. This is somewhat analogous to what the same author says regarding *Zevāreshn*. Nevertheless, this alphabet is said to have been formed of only 33 simple characters without any contractions whatever.

