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THE
DASTUR HOSHANG MEMORIAL VOLUME



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SHAMS-UL-ULAMA SARDAR DASTUR HOSHANG JAMASP, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

THE
DASTUR HOSHANG MEMORIAL VOLUME

BEING

PAPERS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS

WRITTEN BY

VARIOUS SCHOLARS

IN HONOUR OF

The late Shams-ul-Ulama Sardar
DASTUR HOSHANG JAMASP, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

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FOREWORD

The Gatha Society of Bombay undertook to publish a Memorial Volume in honour of Shams-ul-'Ulama Sardar Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. soon after his death in order to commemorate the important services rendered by him to the Iranian languages and literature. Eminent Iranian Scholars of the East and the West answered to the call and sent to the Secretaries of the Society their contributions. It is to be regretted that owing to reasons which need not be mentioned the Volume remained unpublished for a long time and the Managing Committee of the Society take this opportunity publicly to express to the contributors their regret for the delay which has been caused in the publication of the Volume.

Whilst presenting the volume to the public, it will not be out of place to give here a short sketch of the eventful career of the late Dastur Hoshang who had devoted practically his whole life to the study of Oriental languages, and who has left behind him an extensive literature as the outcome of his pen.

Born of a family of renowned Dasturs who hailed originally from Navsari, the late Dastur in his youth received a liberal education and acquired very early a taste for the study of various languages. Before he succeeded to the *gâdi* of the Dasturs of the Deccan, he was employed in State service where he acquitted himself very honourably. His assistance to the British Government during the great Indian Mutiny was warmly appreciated by Government. Whilst in State service, he made the acquaintance of the late Dr. Martin Haug, and with his assistance he learnt the Latin and German languages and also gained a smattering of Hebrew. The companionship of Dr. Haug was chiefly remarkable, however, for the travels to Gujarat in which Dastur Hoshang joined that professor, for the purpose of making researches in the Zoroastrian Scriptures. Soon after, his scholarship received recognition from Government who appointed him Professor of Persian at the Deccan College.

But although he was thus all the time engaged in service, he spent his leisure hours in scholarly activities. Besides his mother tongue, he was acquainted with two other vernaculars of the Presidency, *viz.*, Marathi and Urdu, and he also made a special study of Persian and Arabic as well as of the Sanskrit, Avesta, Pahlavi, Pâzend, Latin, German and Hebrew languages. And he did not rest content with the mere study of these languages. He utilised them for the purpose of elucidating the Zoroastrian Scriptures in various works which now began to see the light of day. The Government of Bombay were pleased to extend their patronage to him, and all his works were published by them at the expense of the State. In this manner the late Dastur published "An Old Zend-Pahlavi Glossary" which was followed up by "The Pahlavi-Pâzend Glossary." Dr. Haug was his collaborator in both these works. Then came the publication of the *Arîâ Virâf Nâma*, the *Gosht-i Fryân* and the *Hâdôkht Nask*, which were published in one volume containing the text, transliteration and translation, and a glossary of the same, which was published in a separate volume. In the preparation of these volumes the late Dastur was assisted both by Dr. Haug and by Dr. E. W. West. With the assistance of Dr. West again, he prepared the "*Shikand Gûmânîk Vijâr*" with the text, transliteration, translation and glossary.

These works were all published many years ago. The late Dastur then conceived bigger projects. Since the publication of the complete Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the *Yasna* and the *Vendîdâd* by the late Dr. Spiegel about half a century ago, there were no other works of the kind in existence, and even these works have by this time gone out of print. The late Dastur set to work to prepare these works with collations of various MSS., with a comprehensive glossary of words. It is said that he completed the *Vendîdâd* about 20 years before its publication and sent it on to Dr. West for the latter's perusal. After various vicissitudes, that great work was brought out very shortly before the death of the late Dastur. It need hardly be said that the two volumes in which the work is issued supply a badly needed want.

The late Dastur is said to have prepared similarly the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the *Yasna* and the *Khurdah Avesta* with translations, notes and complete glossaries, a similar work dealing with

the "Contents of the Dinkard," and a Dictionary of the Pâzend language. We hope that these works will be now placed in the hands of some capable scholar and published as soon as possible. The kind patronage which the Government of Bombay was pleased to extend to the works of the late Dastur in his lifetime will, we trust, be extended to these works. Nothing can commemorate the name of the deceased more than the publication of these works under the editorship and supervision of some careful and capable scholar.

Besides the preparation of these works, the Dastur performed all the duties of his priestly office. He rightly perceived that the high-priest's work does not end with the performance of ceremonials, but that it is his duty to improve the moral tone of the community whose leader he is in all religious matters. He was thus instrumental in founding the *Bazm-i Râz-i Behrâm* at Poona, of which he was the President from its very inception till his death, and on every single festive occasion, after the performance of the Jashan ceremony, he was ready with a sermon which he delivered in a fluent and persuasive style which was characteristically his own. The number of sermons which he thus delivered in public through the *Bazm* is said to have been about 500. His was an unassuming way of doing things, and at the same time he was fearless in all that he said. Dastur Hoshang was truly a Dastur—a leader of his flock. Imbued with liberal ideas, in his sermons he impressed his audience with the excellence of his religion.

The great scholarship of the Dastur received full recognition at the hands of the British Government who, besides encouraging him in his literary activities, have heaped titles of honour on him. He was elected a Fellow of the Bombay University in 1866. The title of Khan Bahadur was bestowed on him in 1878. He was appointed a first class Sardar of the Deccan in 1885, created *Shams-ul-'Ulama* in 1890 and in 1906 he was admitted as a Companion of the most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. And honours came to him not only from the Government of India. His scholarly abilities were appreciated throughout the continent, and the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon him by Francis Joseph I. of Austria. The diploma recounts his many services to the cause of Oriental research and says: "The rights and privileges of a Doctor of Philosophy have been conferred

upon this illustrious person, who is a scholar both in that ancient learning which for many years flourished in India and also in modern philosophy as founded in Germany, and who has remarkably and in a distinguished manner earned reputation in illustrating and explaining the literature and language of Zend and Pahlavi."

The Parsi community has suffered a really heavy loss in the death of such a great scholar. Endowed with sterling common sense, possessing a sound intellect and an eloquent and persuasive tongue the late Dastur fearlessly expressed his opinions on all matters. The community is badly in need of more such Dasturs now, who might lead the masses, instead of being led by them. All the Societies in the presidency, whose aim and object it is to study and to propagate the teachings of the Zoroastrian Scriptures, unanimously passed resolutions recording their sense of loss at the death of the great Scholar and Divine and their appreciation of the services rendered by him to scholarship.

The Committee of the Gatha Society beg to tender their sincere thanks to the accomplished scholars and savants of the East and West who have co-operated to bring about such a unique collection of contributions as a lasting tribute to the memory of the great scholar, and to the Bazm-i Rûz-i Behrâm and Mr. Dînshâ Mehrwân of Poona for their handsome donations during the course of preparation of the work, and whilst presenting this Memorial Volume to the family of the deceased and to all the friends and relatives of the eminent Divine they hope that the appreciating public will overlook the faults if any in the publication of the work.

23rd April 1918.

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION.

The question of the advancement of religion is one of vital importance to theologians in general and in particular to the students of a religion which, having had to undergo evil times, has parted with much of its primeval ideas — I mean, a religion of the type of Zoroastrianism, the mighty religion propounded by the great seer of the East, Zarathushtra Spitama. The theme must suffer greatly, if a weak interpretation were attached to the phrase "advancement of religion". There are some who believe that the advancement of a religion consists in proselytising as many aliens as possible into its fold. There are others who say that religion is advanced by increasing the bulk and number of rites and ceremonies. But really speaking, the advancement of a religion does not consist in admitting into the faith converts from other religions, nor in augmenting the number of ceremonies without meaning, but in improving the excellence and intrinsic elements of the religion, so as to subscribe in the case of a religion that has remained inviolate from evil influences, to the pristine object its promulgator may have had in view, or so as to restore a degenerated religion to its original purity.

WHAT IS ADVANCEMENT ?

Let us see, in the first place, what notion is conveyed by the word "advancement," for on that depends the solution of the difficulty. The word "advancement" has got a more restricted meaning than its synonym, "progress." "Progress" simply implies forward motion, whereas "advancement" denotes the idea of approximation to some object. An "advance" is made to some limited point or object in view, whilst "progress" has no specific termination. Webster explains the word "advance" as "gradual progression, improvement, as an advance in religion or knowledge". The term "advancement" he likewise interprets as "the act of moving forward, promotion in rank or excellence." What notion

can then be conveyed by "advancement" in theology is rendered intelligible from Webster by the addition of the words "an advance in religion". Without doubt, therefore, the term "advancement" conveys but one idea, and the more so with reference to theology, and that is the notion of promoting the excellence of a religion.

ETYMOLOGY OF "RELIGION".

Let us now see what the term "religion" means. We find that Cicero divided the word etymologically into *re* and *legere*, "to re-gather", and so defined it as "having a care or regard for the gods". Lactantius splitted up the word into *re* and *ligare*, so as to mean, "to bind or hold back". Religion thus implied, according to him, a link between mankind and the gods. Webster gives both these derivations, showing his preference for the latter. Skeat explains the derivation of the term as follows: "Allied to *religens*, fearing the gods, pious *Religion* and *neglect* are from the same root LAG." Under the word "reck" he gives the Teutonic root *rak*, Aryan *rag*, which is a phonetic equivalent for LAG, given above, and which he takes to denote the idea of "to have a care, heed, reck". Prof. Max Müller, after discussing the two derivations, gives this verdict: "Cicero's etymology is, therefore, decidedly preferable as more in accordance with Latin idiom." The word "*religio*" in Latin underwent various shades of meaning. It conveyed at first, the idea of *care, attention, reverence* and *awe*. It was then used to denote the moral sense of scruple and conscience and eventually it came to be applied exclusively to the *inward feeling of reverence* for the gods and to the *outward manifestation* of that reverence in *worship and sacrifice*. With some writers "*religio*" conveyed the same idea as the English word "faith".* If we turn to Sanskrit, we would seek in vain for a word which could correspond exactly to "religion" in sense. The word "*dharma*" from the root "*dhri*", to hold, conveys more the sense of law, binding us to one definite path. As Prof. Legge informs us, there seems to be no near equivalent of "religion" also in the Chinese language. Hence it would be futile to seek a definition of religion in these languages. In Arabic, according to Lane, the word "*ḍīn*" implies *obedience and*

* Natural Religion : p. 35.

* Ibid., p. 39.

submission to the law, and so Prof. Max Müller refuses to regard it as a real equivalent of "religion." Although generally taken to belong to the Arabic language, the word "*din*" has got much in common with the Avestâic word "*daenâ*", and, if this similarity is accepted, the Arabic language cannot be said to be as barren as the Sanskrit and Chinese languages of a word equivalent in sense to "religion". That must depend, however, on the affinity in meaning between the Latin "*religio*" and the Avestâic "*daenâ*".

ETYMOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF RELIGION IN THE AVESTA.

The Avestâic word "*daenâ*" derives its origin from the rt. "*dî*" Sk. "*dhyai*," *to see, to observe, to perceive, to have an insight into*. Thus, from the standpoint of the Avestâ, the etymological definition of the word "*daenâ*" would be, in brief, an *insight*, or *perception* which would range from the "infinitely small", on the one hand, to the "infinitely great", on the other; or, in other words, "*daenâ*" signifies an *insight into the infinite*.

DOGMATIC DEFINITIONS OF RELIGION.

Leaving now the restricted sphere of etymological definitions, we shall turn to what Prof. Max Müller designates "dogmatic definitions". Here we have an unlimited field, for there is nothing that could assign a limit to the fleeting fancy of a fanciful dogmatist. The definitions proposed for "religion" are almost as varied in character as they are numerous. To a certain extent, this is due to the two-fold aspect presented by religion, *viz.*, the theoretical and the practical. It will not be expedient for us to give all possible definitions that have been propounded. It will be sufficient to note in passing that like the Sanskrit and Chinese languages, the Egyptian and Babylonian literatures are devoid of a term corresponding to the word "religion".

The attitude of ancient thinkers towards religions other than their own was characterised by extreme indifference. As far as their own religion was concerned, they took it as an established fact requiring no explanation. Owing to this, and probably also because they were alive to the uncertainty of an accurate philosophical explanation of the term "religion", neither Aristotle nor Plato seems to have made any attempt at a philosophical analysis of it. According to Schleiermacher, "religion" consists in our consciousness of absolute dependence on something

which, though it determines us, we cannot determine in turn. To Hegel, religion was the knowledge acquired by the finite spirit of its essence as absolute spirit. According to Prof. Caird, religion is the surrender of the finite will to the infinite. With Fichte, religion was conscious morality which, in virtue of that consciousness, is mindful of its origin from God. To Spinoza, religion was the love of God founded on a knowledge of His divine perfections. In the Hibbert Lectures, Max Müller defines religion as "a mental faculty which, independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables men to apprehend the infinite under different names and under varying disguises."¹ He found the presence in all religions of what he termed, "a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God". But, apprehending that too exclusive a stress might thus be laid upon the speculative side of religion, he modified the definition as follows: "Religion consists in the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man."² In the latter definition, Max Müller gives recognition also to the practical side of religion by restricting it to those perceptions of the infinite that influence the moral character of man. But, nevertheless, the first part of his definition is highly speculative, and the second implies only a restriction without any connection with what goes before it to show how an approach could be made from the theoretical to the practical side, from the religious sentiment to the ethical principle.

Dr. Morris Jastrow Jun. defines religion as "the natural belief in a Power or Powers beyond our control, and upon whom we feel ourselves dependent; which belief and feeling of dependence prompt to organisation, to specific acts, and to the regulation of conduct, with a view to establishing favourable relations between ourselves and the Power or Powers in question."³ It will be seen from this definition that Dr. Jastrow seems to make amends rather profusely for the drawback we noticed in Prof. Max Müller's definition. But the definition of Dr. Jastrow could hardly be said

¹ Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India (1880) : p. 28.

² Natural Religion : p. 188.

³ The study of Religions : 171-172.

to be so elastic as that of Prof. Max Müller, in spite of the shortcomings of the latter definition which we have above pointed out. For people in the highest stage of religious culture, Dr. Jastrow's definition of religion would not be quite appropriate, though it would suffice for a comparatively depressed stage of religious development.

THE CENTRAL IDEA OF RELIGION.

Differences must exist in the definitions of religion as propounded by different scholars, but in none of them ought its root-meaning to be lost sight of. Any appendages that may be added to explain our concept of the term should be clustered round its root-sense. For, to speak volumes on a word without giving due recognition to its primary idea, would be tantamount to calling the servant a master. Difference of opinion will also exist as to preferring Cicero's or Lactantius's etymology of the word "religion"; but so far as the Avestâic word "*daenâ*" is concerned, our ground seems secure, and the only controversy that could arise would be in case some one attempted to draw a hair-splitting distinction between the Avestâic word "*daenâ*" and the English "religion". The central idea of religion must, therefore, be one of *insight* or *perception*, and with a view not to allow any limitation to be attached thereto, in defining the term we say that it is an *insight into* or a *perception of the Infinite*.

This must, therefore, be the primary idea in religion. But religion is essentially for man to guide him in his conduct on earth, and placed as he is in the society of his fellow-creatures, towards whom he is constantly drawn in the performance of his duties by feelings of love, honour and generosity — feelings innate in all men, irrespective of their mental and moral culture, — the ethical sentiment forms as essential a part of man's disposition as the religious sentiment. The ethical spirit consequently begins to be infused into the religious concept — the perception of the Infinite — and a close link is forged connecting religion and ethics, which, though of independent source, unite together never to separate. To speak of religion as isolated from ethical ideas becomes thereafter an impossibility. Religion stimulates ethical ideas, and these, in turn, exert an influence on the strength of the perception of the Infinite.

In this manner, an affinity between religion and life is also established.

THE TWO-FOLD ASPECT OF RELIGION.

This leads us to consider the two-fold aspect of religion — the theoretical and the practical. To say that every religion must have these two prominent factors as its constituents would make one liable to be misunderstood, if under the practical aspect of religion, were reckoned merely the superficial ceremonies or superstitious observances. The two elements are otherwise termed *ideas* and *acts*. The more elaborate the ideas and the more ethical the acts, the more advanced in culture must the religion be. These *ideas* and *acts* jointly form the religious code which enables man to maintain the idea of the perception of the Infinite, or to use the phraseology of Dr. Jastrow, to preserve the belief in a higher power.

IDEAS.

People in a primary stage of mental culture require commonplace ideas and insignificant conceptions, just easy enough to be grasped by their infant-like brains, to meditate on and digest, and to stimulate them to an insight into the Infinite. Elaborate ideas and highly abstract notions would be quite beyond the sphere of their understanding, and would fail entirely to produce that stimulating effect in the absence of which, with the stunted development of their mental faculties, religion is to them nothing more than a chimera. On the other hand, for a man in the highest stage of mental culture, a commonplace idea or a vague conception would not come up to his mental requirements,— nay, would contribute greatly to weaken the sense of religion in him, as he would not find it based on sufficiently noble ideas to appease his thirst for the superior in knowledge. Hence it is that in different religions, we commonly find *ideas* in different proportions, both as to quality and quantity. In the midst of numerous religious systems, therefore, that religion would be reckoned as the best and highest, which meets the requirements of the people in the highest stage of their mental development. Religious *ideas* may consist of gross notions, vague conceptions, concrete myths, precise dogmas, elaborate sentiments or significant thoughts of a highly philosophical tenor, according as the system of religion obtains among men in lower or higher degrees of mental culture.

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION

ACTS.

But besides the theoretical, every religion has also a practical aspect; besides the religious *ideas*, every religion is characterised by its rites and institutions. These rites assume, in religions of a lower type, various forms of superstitious usages, and they are often the main constituents of such religions, even predominating over the *ideas*. But in the higher phases of religious growth, the rites include moral precepts; and in a still higher phase of development, they contain ethical principles which are brought into conformity with the *ideas* expressed in the particular system of religion. The theoretical and practical elements are thus brought into close union and assimilated to such an extent, that it is difficult to draw any distinction between the two, and to say definitely which is the theoretical and which the practical aspect of the religious system.

AFFINITY BETWEEN IDEAS AND ACTS.

The *ideas* expressed in the theoretical part afford an intellectual food to be digested and assimilated within ourselves. They give rise to, maintain and strengthen the sense of perception within us, and thus imbue with life the main idea of religion. But when these *ideas* are used as a code of moral teachings of the profoundest type, and give expression to abstract conceptions based on highly ethical principles, the practical part of the religion is well borne out by transforming those doctrines into practice, by leading a life in thorough conformity with those principles,—in short, by acting the religion in life.

AFFINITY BETWEEN RELIGION AND LIFE.

A link is thus forged between religion and life. The stronger the bond between the two, the greater is the influence of the one over the other. Religion makes life pure, renders the mode of living righteous; and the mode of living, in its turn, renders religion a possibility and gives it colour. A sober life makes a man careful of his surroundings and provident for the future, and habituates him to trace an effect back to its cause and to look seriously into the heart of things. He secures an insight into the Infinite, and formulates his religious ideas with seriousness. His ideas prove strong enough to impress him with a fervour for his religion, and he seriously endeavours to keep his conduct in harmony with the

dictates of his religion. On the other hand, a loose sort of life leaves no serious thought for the past or the future. All ideas concentrate on the present, which constitutes a religion that deserves to be designated better as "*no-religion*".

CLASSIFICATION OF RELIGIONS.

This brings us to the question of the classification of religions. We shall study the question in relation to the different stages of human culture and progress. As is the case in almost all questions pertaining to religion, there is a great divergence among theologians as to the proper classification of the world's religions. Raoul de la Grasserie summarises as many as twenty-two attempts made to arrive at a satisfactory classification. Prof. Tiele in his learned article on "*Religions*" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, hits upon a new division. But so far as the two extreme divisions are concerned there can be little diversity except in name: they may be termed the lowest and the highest religions, or the religions of the savage and the philosopher, or again, primitive naturalism and the universal, or the lowest nature-religions and ethical religions.

THE STAGE OF PRIMITIVE CULTURE.

For our purposes, we shall start with the consideration of the religious sentiment in people living in a state of primitive culture. It is now generally conceded that the idea of religion is denied to none on the face of this earth. Records of globe-trotters and stationed settlers go to show that even the savage, although, to a great extent, at the mercy of emotions, is not entirely devoid of the religious sentiment. Nevertheless, it remains an open question whether the meagre religious sentiments he is found to give expression to, are not due to the inroads of civilization. For there is now hardly any known district where one could encounter primitive culture in its pristine state, unmodified by foreign influence.

THE SAVAGE.

Whatever may be the real situation, religion, in the life of the savage, undoubtedly plays an insignificant part. His loose mode of life renders all relation between life and religion impossible. As a creature of emotion, he is moved to action by things that are extraordinary or unusual to his experience. A pang of

hunger drives him instantaneously to devour whatever his hands can lay hold on. A thunderbolt in the sky wholly engulfs him and he remains in mortal dread of it. This thunderbolt becomes *pro tem* his God, and his prostrating himself through fear at the very sound of it, his religion.

FETICHISM, ANIMISM ETC.

In the next stage of religious culture, we find prevalent the ideas of fetichism, totemism, tabooism, and such other *isms*. In a still more advanced stage, man becoming more conscious of the superiority of the spirit over the body, tries to account for the phenomena of nature. All things, living and moving, or striking him as something unusual and extraordinary, and of which he does not know the natural causes, he ascribes to the working of mighty spirits. Animism predominates, whereby conscious life is ascribed to whatever manifests vitality or force in nature. The bond between life and religion is still meagre.

VOCATION-GODS AND IMAGE-WORSHIP.

In the next phase of religious development, the life being based on better principles than in the preceding stages, man begins to inquire into the mystery of the Universe. But in accordance with the limitations by which he is restricted, he formulates his religion and adapts it to the life he leads. He begins to have a perception of the Infinite, but he restricts that perception to the limited sphere of his own walk of life. His own calling is his world, and so he has the bias of interpreting the Infinite as belonging exclusively to his own vocation. An agriculturist sees in his God a great cultivator; a shoe-maker's God is a great shoe-maker, and nothing beyond that. So far, the bond between religion and life becomes manifest. But, to strengthen his perception, he takes recourse to symbolising his God by an image. Idol-worship is the result, and different aspects of the Deity become prominent, varying with the number of vocations prevalent at any particular point of time.

ELEMENT-WORSHIP ETC.

In a higher degree of religious culture, a still closer affinity between life and religion may be detected, but we are unable to see anything like a complete union of the two. Numerous popular practices are still maintained, to which, though they may not have

the sanction of the religion, and may not have been recognised by the cult, an important significance is attached by the mass. Images and symbols are no longer needed to maintain the sense of perception of the Infinite, but element-worship, ancestor-worship, periodical ceremonies and such other shifts are not easily dispensed with. The mental calibre of the people in this stage is such that the idea of the religion with most of them centres in the performance of ceremonies and the recital of prayers. Remove these props and religion has no meaning with them. Greater attention is paid to the practical part than to the theoretical, and even in the practical part, very great importance is attached to the performance of ceremonies, all the noble ideas connected with religion being inadvertently neglected, and comparatively scanty attention being spared for highly ethical principles.

MONOTHEISM BASED ON ABSTRACT CONCEPTIONS.

We shall now turn to the highest stage of religious culture. The mental calibre of the people in this stage does not require the props of religious rites and ceremonies for the maintenance of the religious sentiment, but is strong enough to preserve that sentiment with deeper faith without their aid. It entertains higher ideas, and abstract conceptions appeal to it. The theoretical part of religion comprises highly philosophical ideas based on abstract notions, whilst ethical principles form the nucleus of the practical part, and the two parts conform so closely together that the distinction between the two is one only in name. It is in this stage of human culture that a complete union exists between religion and life. All religious *ideas* are translated into active life, and the people literally act the religion in life.

RESUME.

It will be seen from the preceding remarks that the more advanced in intellectual attainment individuals grow, and the higher the stage in religious culture they attain to, the more manifest becomes the influence of religion on their life in producing a certain attitude of mind which can do without any external props of religious observances, or if such observances continue to exist, they are reduced to a minimum. It is true, as we see from experience, that the great majority of mankind, in spite of all human progress, feel

the necessity of some religious ceremonies or recitals, at any rate, to maintain and strengthen the religious spirit within them. But, for all that, to seek the advancement of religion merely in the performance of ceremonies and the observance of religious rites, is to fall into a dangerous pitfall. True advancement of religion, as said above, is to improve the excellence or intrinsic elements of the religion, and so it consists in elevating a religion from a lower to a higher and higher scale, until it reaches, *par excellence*, the highest and most advanced form mentioned above in the classification of religions, and moreover, in cultivating the human mind to a sufficient degree, to enable it to grasp higher notions, and to preserve the religious sentiment without the aid of religious rites and ceremonies, or, as far as possible, with the least number of such ceremonies, and, simultaneously, to act the religion in life, — in other words, to act one's part in life entirely in accordance with the genuine spirit of the religion.

ZOROASTRIANISM.

The Zoroastrian religion has been with fairness recognised as a mighty religion — mighty not only in the sense that it once influenced a mighty nation, but mighty in its doctrines, mighty in its social characteristics, and mighty essentially in its highly ethical principles. Nature-religions are generally the precursors of ethical religions, or, in other words, ethical religions are an improvement on nature religions. As an ethical religion, Zoroastrianism aims at a very lofty ethical ideal, an ideal not merely co-ordinated with religion, but conceived as God's own will, or, to say the same thing in the abstract language of philosophy, an ideal turned objective and reflected in and projected into the conception of God. The old nature-religions do not totally die out in this religion, but their naturalistic elements are subordinated to the ethical principles. The old nature-gods survive, and though in the *Gâthâs*, the oldest of the Zoroastrian Scriptures, they are neglected and thrown into the background by the ethical ideal and abstract divine attributes, they manage to come to the front again, after a lapse of time, in the later Avestan Scriptures, *e.g.*, the *Yashts* and *Niyâishnas*. However, the idea of a plurality of gods no longer exists, and the old nature-gods reappear as mere serving spirits, ministers or angels. Nevertheless, the abstract notion still remains attached

to some of them in their root-meanings, e.g., Mithra, Arshtât, Fravashi etc.

ZOROASTRIANISM BELONGS TO THE HIGHEST SCALE OF RELIGIONS.

Let us now turn to the question as to under what head in the classification of religions, the Zoroastrian religion would fall. Prof. Tiele says, "The religion of Zoroaster certainly belongs, in my opinion, to the ethical religions. None of the characteristics of a spiritualistic-ethical-revelation-religion (which long phrase Prof. Tiele uses for what we call an ethical religion) are lacking here. It is certain that, although he (Zoroaster) belongs to a legendary period and is extolled as a supernatural being, he constitutes a concrete summary, or the eponym, of a definite reformation effected by the promulgation of a new and systematic doctrine." Now, if we turn to the classification of religions given by Prof. Tiele, we find that his scale of classification runs from the lowest nature-religions and ends with ethical religions. Thus he ranks Zoroastrianism among religions of the highest order.

A MONOTHEISM BASED ON ABSTRACT CONCEPTIONS.

According to the classification we have given above in the preceding pages, monotheism based on abstract conceptions stands at the head, and appeals most to men in the highest stage of mental development. The idea of the priority, unity and indivisibility of the Supreme Being has been forcibly expounded in the Gâthâs. He is unprecedented, the mighty Discerner and Keeper of reckoning. He is the first Thinker, Creator through wisdom, the First, the Father of good-mindedness, the true Source and Father of purity, the Leader in authority, the most Bountiful and the Greatest of all.

Next after Him, come what are generally known as the *Ameshâ-Spentâs*, the Bountiful Immortals, represented as being identical with each other in thought, word and deed, as having a common father and teacher, the Creator Ahura Mazda. Their names are *Vohu Managh*, *Asha Vahishta*, *Khsathra Vairya*, *Spenta Armaiti*, *Haurvatât* and *Ameretât*, and etymologically they signify respectively, "good mind", "best purity", "wilful authority", "bountiful righteous-thinking", "perfection" and "immortality". They re-

¹ Elements of the Science of Religion : Vol. I., p. 122.

² Cf. Farvardin Yt. : §. 88.

present abstract conceptions of a significant type, and form highly ethical principles. The Gâthâs are replete with such notions. Appeals are made to these ideas, and as such they stand personified, though at the same time their abstract notion and ethical tinge is kept entirely in consonance with the context, and harmonises with the high level of thoughts expounded therein. When translated into practice, these ideas have the effect of elevating the character of man. The theoretical part thus conforms with the practical which consists in the enjoinder to act the religion in life, *i.e.*, to act in private life in accordance with the true spirit of the religion; and a complete union of religion and life is the consequence. The prophet's own view of the greatness of the religion he promulgated, is thus expressed : "The religion which is the best among existing things, which, based on purity, prospers my settlements, (and which) by means of words of righteous-thinking renders the actions pure."¹ This explains in a nutshell the bearing a religion has on the building of the character of its adherents; it teaches us how religious doctrines may best serve the practical aspect of the religion, and points out the close union that exists between religion and life. Elsewhere, the divine tenets are characterised as "best for mortals to hear"; and again, "Whoso maintains his mind, O Mazda, in a better and purer (state), himself (upholds) the religion through (his) word and deed".³ As we have said before, the mental calibre of a people formulates and gives colour to the religious sentiment, and the religion takes its form accordingly. This very notion is conveyed by the last quoted Gâthic verse. It is, in the first place, the mental calibre that enables a man to maintain the religion, and it is through action and speech in life that the religion receives its strength. Thus the three cardinal principles of good thought, good word and good deed, are brought into play for the maintenance of the religion.

With reference to the union between religion and life, says Dr. Jastrow, "Obscure as the origin of Zoroastrianism is, one feature of it at least is clear, its strong emphasis of the tendency to bring religion and life into consistent accord, to wipe out all distinctions between an official and an unofficial cult, to regulate

¹ Yasna, XLIV., 10. ² Yasna, XLV., 5. ³ Yasna, XLVIII., 4.

the entire field of conduct by deductions from certain leading religious principles Zoroastrianism (is)..... characterised by the purpose to so extend the scope of religious influence as to make religion, instead of an incident in life, its controlling factor."

Unfortunately, these nobler conceptions have lost most of their force in the present times, and the religious sentiment has dwindled down from its pristine purity into pure religiosity. Religion is commonly regarded as consisting mainly in the performance of ceremonies, comparatively little attention is paid to the study of the noble ethical principles that originally formed the nucleus of the religious doctrines, and no serious attempts are made to translate those principles into practice. The recital of the *Niyâishnas*, as at present in vogue, drives one more easily to the idea of element-worship, though a considerable section of the community, thanks to the education they have received, conceive that the noble idea of worshipping Ahura Mazda through His creations is attached to the recital of the *Niyâishnas*. In the *Yasht* literature, foreign influence is at times visible, a fact which mars the true Zoroastrian standpoint. The idea with which the masses recite the *Yashts* is generally not very dignified. It often savours of polytheism and ancestor worship. In any case, the tone of the *Yasht* literature falls greatly short of the high level of thoughts expounded in the *Gâthâs*.

DEGENERACY IN RELIGIOUS WRITINGS.

A close study of the different parts of the Avestan literature enables one to trace in the later writings a gradual descent from the noble ideas expressed in the *Gâthâs*, to ideas which are prevalent amongst people of very moderate culture and ability. Add to this the fact that the adherents of the religion have begun to pay little heed to the loftier conceptions of the *Gâthâs*, and have become prone to believe in the comparatively degenerated notions of the later writings, and, in acting their part in life, they do not allow religious doctrines to be the main controlling factor.

Referring to the *Yasna Haptanghâiti*, Dr. Haug observes : "Compared with the *Gâthâs*, they represent the Zoroastrian religion not in its original unaltered, but in a somewhat developed and altered state. The high Philosophical ideas which are laid down

in Zarathushtra's own hymns, are partially abandoned, and partially personified; and the philosophical, theological and moral doctrines have given way to the custom which has lasted to the present time, of addressing prayers to all beings of a good nature, irrespective of their being mere abstract nouns or real objects."¹

This degeneracy has kept up its course, in one form or another, till we have now arrived at a stage when religion is believed to consist mainly in the performance of certain ceremonies, and when the highly ethical principles based on abstract conceptions, that constituted the true religion of Zoroaster, are neglected and thrown into the background, and are not taken into account as a guiding factor in our dealings in life. In such a state of degeneracy, the advancement of the religion consists in gradually doing away with the lower ideas adopted to interpret and the weaker methods employed to maintain, the sense of religion, without weakening our sense of perception of the Infinite, and then in gradually improving the ideas and methods, until we attain to that high level of abstract conceptions and ethical principles, which are the prophet's greatest bequest to his followers, and which represent the religion in its pristine purity, as we find it beautifully concentrated in the Gâthâs. The advancement of religion with the Zoroastrians would thus consist in bringing the religion from its present degenerated state back to its original unblemished condition. May that be the ideal of every Zoroastrian, and may every one seek with a singleness of purpose to bring about that perfection which the prophet has so nobly foreshadowed in his teachings !

B. A. ENGINEER.

PRIESTHOOD IN ISRAEL AND PRIESTHOOD AMONGST PARSIS.

We frequently hear it said in our days — and it is a remark the truth of which it requires no efforts to prove — that the present wavering attitude of the Parsis towards their own religion is due to a large extent to the failure of the priesthood to come up to its ideal functions, to the shortcomings and inadequacies of the priesthood as a class in the performance of its duties. Whether the degeneration in the character of the priesthood amongst the Parsis is brought about by culpable neglect on the part of the priesthood itself, or by the action of far-reaching causes for which it cannot be made responsible, certain it is that one of the causes, if not the sole cause, of religious indifference that is making rapid strides in certain sections of the community is to be sought in the circumstance that those who should by their wisdom and sanctity guide the nation have fallen off from their proper functions. When a community ceases to look with respect and veneration to its spiritual leaders, when it no longer places implicit trust and reverence in the interpreters of its religious traditions, it loses at the same time its naive faith in those traditions. It gradually comes to look with superciliousness on those religious beliefs, which have been sanctified by ages and which embody the highest inspirations of its earliest ancestors, but which lose that sanctity through the indifference of those who should especially cherish them and interpret them to the masses. When the guardians of the laws break them, who would care to obey? When the spiritual guardians of a community slacken in their zeal, is it unnatural if the community itself should display the working of cynical and sceptical tendencies?

Under these circumstances it would not be without interest to note how the ecclesiastical establishment is formed and maintained amongst other nations, and to inquire into the nature of the functions that have been assigned to it by the inspirations of their racial consciousness. And we select particularly the priesthood in Israel for the purpose, as the later history of Israel is in some respects a re-

edition of the later history of Zoroastrianism, and as, above all, the priesthood of Israel manifests a loftiness of functions, and has an importance in the development of the nation, such as have not been equalled, much less surpassed, in the history of ancient and modern times.

To protect the true religion that had been established in the community, so that it may perpetually thrive throughout the entire nation and vitalise all its parts, was the primary function of the priesthood in Israel as in all other religions. The priest was to be entirely devoted to Jahveh, dedicated to him alone, and should own no worldly possessions and property. He was to put off his brothers and sisters, and consecrate himself to the Lord, "even every man upon his son and upon his brother"; to fight unto death for His sake was to be his joy and happiness. The priesthood, therefore, was to be an Israel within Israel, a higher grade within the same community, the chosen race of the Lord. Only when the priesthood performed its stated functions, and laboured upon its true ideal, could its actions be rich in blessings for the rest of the community.

The tribe of Levi, the priesthood of Israel, was accordingly regarded as a holy tribe, holding an intermediate position between the rest of the nation and Jahveh. The impurity and sins of the community could be wiped out in the end only by the sacrifice of the priesthood. Endowed with the task of bearing the guilt of the whole nation, the Levites alone could approach the sanctuary of Jahveh, and they alone could communicate the blessings of the Lord to the rest of the nation.

Such being the office of the priesthood, it would not be surprising if the qualifications of priests were conceived in a rigorous manner, and if stricter injunctions were laid down for the regulation of their lives than were possible for the vast majority of the secular classes. They were to be thoroughly acquainted with the laws and customs of Israel; they were to possess an intimate knowledge of natural objects, since they were the sole interpreters of the commands of God to men; they were, finally, to decide all questions and doubts that might arise with reference to those commands. We find this position distinctly laid down in Leviticus: "that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses". They are the depositaries of the

Sacred Law whom the highest in the kingdom were to respect and obey. Within the priesthood there was a narrower circle of regular priests, the descendants of the house of Aaron. Thus hereditary succession and rights by birth were essential pre-requisites for becoming a regular priest.

No immoral man, even no man who was physically a cripple and unhealthy, was capable of becoming a priest. The priest was in no way to disfigure the hair of his head or beard. He must be neither blind nor lame, disfigured neither at the nose nor ear, neither in foot nor in hand. He was to avoid contact with the dead more scrupulously than an ordinary man. He was to marry none but a pure and undefiled woman.

Yet again, before the priest could perform his proper duties, he was to be solemnly consecrated, in order that he may be fully qualified for his work. The novice was first bathed in front of the sanctuary, then dressed up in the full white and flowing attire of the priest, and solemnly anointed by pouring the sacred oil over his head. In the next place a young bullock was sacrificed for him as an expiatory offering, "a ram as a whole offering and a second ram as the proper consecration offering". After this the novice was sprinkled with the blood flowing at the foot of the altar, and with the sacred anointing oil. The oil was to transform the priest into a sanctified instrument of Jahveh. The consecration sacrifice was to be repeated for seven successive days, in the presence and full view of the whole community. The feelings of religious adoration and incitement to holy works, with which the priest thus consecrated could enter upon his duties, are nowhere so beautifully presented as in Leviticus in the case of Aaron.

It is not unimportant to notice how the priesthood was maintained in Israel. "Levi shall have no inheritance, no earthly property", but "Jahveh shall be his inheritance". The priests were not to cultivate the land: theirs was the task of spreading abroad the glory of the Lord by means of promoting and scattering broadcast the truths He had announced. But on this very account the community was bound to support them, in such fashion that they could pursue their pious avocations without being anxious or covetous of worldly possessions. We find, accordingly, that proper provision was made by law for the priesthood. The custom of con-

secrating the tenth of all annual profit in thankfulness to God, which was a tradition with the Canaanites and the Phoenicians, passed over to Israel. The tithes were, therefore, one of the sanctioned sources of revenue for the priesthood. They were collected by the inferior Levites, in kind or in money; and a part was paid over by them in turn to the superior priests. Another item of revenue was the bringing of *first-fruits*, a custom which prevailed elsewhere as much as in Israel, and which rested on the idea that man can enjoy in happiness the bounties of the soil only when he has offered to the Lord the first shoots and fruits. In Exodus we have the command laid down, "thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits and of thy liquors; the first born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me". There were other perquisites to the priests, arising from consecrated gifts and from military plunder. The gains that might be made by the nation in warfare were to be divided amongst the warriors and the rest of the nation, but a certain portion was to go to the priesthood. Exceptional needs were met by exceptional donations and gifts from the nation. Such were the means of support ensured to the priesthood of Israel, to enable them to carry on their cherished work of infusing the teachings of the Lord into the members of the tribes and of lifting them up into the likeness of their Father in Heaven.

Armed with these weapons, endowed with the spiritual traditions of centuries, and befitted for their work by the strict requirements of the law which weeded out the incompetent, the priesthood of Israel filled the whole nation with the spirit of Jahveh's teachings, and upheld the life of the nation and the kingdom of Israel through the spiritual truths which constituted the firmest bond of national unity. Freed from the ordinary worries of life and the anxiety for subsistence, the ministers of Jahveh, his "inheritance", became the nurseries of holy literature, the models of just and righteous conduct for the nation. The privileged ministers of the Sanctuary did what the Church was to do in later times;— they trained to holiness the sinful children of Israel. Much has been said against the dependent position of the tribe of Levi; but, even supposing for a moment that the priesthood in Israel had failed to answer the purposes for which it was instituted, it is not the regulations of the book of Leviticus and the institutions of the Mosaic dispensation

that would stand responsible for such failure. These institutions received their final vindication, when with the advent of Christianity they were revitalised by the founder of that faith, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus was the high priest of a new, and yet old, religion, anointed at his consecration, like the Hebrew priests, free from blemishes, and, like them, holy, harmless and undefiled, who having offered sacrifice with his own blood had entered the heavenly presence bearing ever the cause of his people in his heart. However it may be, there can be no doubt that the anointed priests of Israel, proud of the consecrated position they occupied, were for a comparatively long time free from the degeneration which in history is found to follow the possession of power and influence, and faithfully performed the task of bringing the children of Israel nearer the Lord than they could have been through their own unaided efforts.

What light does this brief sketch of the priesthood of Israel throw on the present religious history of the Parsis? In the first place it may be observed that there is a strong resemblance between the functions which the tribe of Levi and the Jewish priesthood performed for the Israelites and the functions of the Parsi priests in the early history of the Iranian nation. As in Israel, the office of the priest amongst the Iranians was a sacred position: the priest was the sole interpreter of the commands of Mazda, the depositary of all learning, sacred and profane, before whom kings and nobles were to humble themselves. As in Israel, the priesthood was an hereditary office in Iran, confined by privileges of birth and succession. All the members of the priestly tribe, the "Magi", as they were called, were not undoubtedly practising priests, no more than all the Mobeds are to-day, no more than were all the members of the tribe of Levi among the Jews. But every priest was a "Magus" as every Cohen was a Levite. They alone were the ministers of the *cultus*, they alone could decide on questions of sacred law, they alone could offer sacrifices to the Gods, they alone could announce the future and explain its warnings. As the descendants of the house of Aaron alone could act as intermediaries between the mass of the Jews and their Creator, so in Iran the Magi alone could intercede for the people and interpret the wishes and commands of Mazda to His creatures. And as there was a period in the history of Israel when the head of the tribe of the Levites ruled over

the nation and exercised full temporal sovereignty under the appellation of "judge", so in the history of the Mazdayasnians we are told of a time when the prophet Zarathushtra himself ruled over the people as head of the tribe of the Magi. The power and influence thus possessed by the Magi were used in the cause of righteousness, in furtherance of the spread of religious truths, for the dissemination of those eternal principles which Ahura Mazda had proclaimed through the mouth of Zarathushtra, amongst the followers of the religion as well as amongst the barbaric hordes of nomads that surrounded them.

How is it, then, that in our own days, the descendants of the Magi should have lost their influence over the minds of their co-religionists, should have degenerated from the lofty type which the early priests of Iran exemplified in their lives and in their life-work? For the most part illiterate, ignorant of the philosophical significance of the doctrines and ritual of their religion, inadequately equipped for the maintenance in their own persons and lives of a high standard of morals and piety, the Dasturs, as these modern spiritual leaders of the community are styled, no longer command that respect and willing obedience at the hands of the laity which is so spontaneously and invariably paid to an efficient priesthood. What are the causes which can account for this lamentable decline of corporate efficiency and prestige?

We do not pretend, on this occasion, to examine the question in detail. The cursory glance which we just directed to the institution of the priesthood amongst the Jews may help us to one conclusion amongst others. If the priesthood is to fulfil its lofty task of guiding the nation in its spiritual interests, and if the Parsi priests are to hold the position of divinely appointed instruments for the working out and spreading God's kingdom on earth, it is absolutely necessary that their physical needs should be provided for, and that they should have no occasion to think about the question of maintaining themselves or of acquiring the ordinary comforts of life. These should be already provided for them by the nation ere they enter upon their holy mission; and the course of that mission should not be interrupted by keeping them dependent for the ordinary means of living

and for the comforts of life on the caprice of individuals. As the satisfaction of the ordinary wants of life is an essential preliminary to the leading of a good life, such satisfaction must be necessarily presupposed for the priesthood. This presupposition is in other words only the provision made by the nation by way of law or custom for the maintenance of the clergy. Such provision was amply made amongst the Israelites as we have already seen; and it was largely responsible for the efficiency of the tribe of Levi and for the success with which it performed its spiritual offices.

On the other hand, when owing to adventitious circumstances, a priesthood has been deprived of an assured livelihood, or has been miserably underpaid when its standard of comfort may have risen, as amongst the Parsis in our own days, it can never retain its influence and can never adequately fulfil the sacred functions assigned to it. In a time of culture and progress the crude customs of tithes and first-fruits cannot prevail without creating dissatisfaction: but the tithes and first-fruits of early Israel have been transformed in our days amongst Christian nations into Church benefices and incumbencies which assure the certainty of a livelihood to their holders. The assurance of the comforts of life to the ministers of the Christian Churches, by the provision of fixed incomes, may be said to be one of the causes that have kept up the prestige and usefulness of the corporation. So long as the priesthood amongst the Parsis is not assured of the ordinary comforts of life by a similar provision, so long there can be no hope of betterment. If the priesthood is to regain its old vitality, the Parsis must see their way towards providing a large endowment for the support of priests, which would obviate the necessity of their seeking for their livelihood and free them from all anxiety and thought on that score. Is it not surprising that whilst there should be amongst us so many institutions and so many funds for providing physical necessities to the destitute, medical aid to the ailing, and cheap lodgings to the poor, no thought should have been given to providing for the spiritual welfare of the race, that no institutions should exist for the education and adequate intellectual equipment of the religious guides of the nation, that there should be no endowments securing to them the means of keeping up their physical existence?

There is another observation that a careful student of the early history of the priesthood in Israel might at once suggest: it is necessary that an efficient priesthood must consist of men chosen for their learning as well as for their moral and social status. That the priesthood amongst the modern Parsis consists of men whose qualifications have not been subjected to a rigorous test or examination is a statement too obviously true to be called into question. Just as from amongst the Levites only a few who were qualified for the task were chosen to act as regular priests, so from the priest class of the Parsis, only those who show themselves fit for the work should be chosen to officiate. The prohibition against the lame and the blind, the physical and the moral weakling, which prevailed in the Israelitish institutions, might not inaptly be introduced amongst the Parsis by a consensus of public opinion. The intellectual qualifications required amongst the ministers of the Anglican Church might, in the case of the Parsi ministers of the Lord, be combined with their hereditary organisation. Against a hereditary priesthood as such there is nothing to urge: on the other hand, it has frequently happened, as in the history of Israel, that a hereditary priesthood has kept up the life and vigour of the nation, through its reverence for ancient family traditions and its desire of emulating its ancestors in depth of wisdom and deeds of piety. But at the same time the spiritual guides of a nation should be men who, by an exemplary life of chastity and moral purity and by their erudition and learning in the Scriptures and Commentaries, have rendered themselves fit to be the annointed and consecrated servants of the Lord. And if the traditions of the past have handed down a hereditary priesthood, proud of its ancient prestige, a few such laws, as were known to Israel of old, strictly enforced by the elders of the body corporate, would be quite enough to ensure the efficiency and keep up the prestige of the ministers of God.

History is not without its lessons for mankind, and happy are the individuals and the nations who listen to and obey its warning in time!

PESTONJI ARDESHIR WADIA.

A REVISED LIST OF THE KAIÂNIAN KINGS.

Kai Kobâd, the founder of the Kaiânian dynasty of ancient Irân, had only one son, says the Pahlavi Bûndahishn; whilst Firdusi gives a list of four princes as the royal sons of Kai Kobâd. The Shâh Nâmeh says, that of these Kai Kâus was the eldest, and that he reigned supreme in Irân for such a long period as 120 years. But, according to the Bûndahishn, Kâus was the Crown Prince of Kai Kobâd. In this, the Pahlavi work has the strong support of the Avesta. In the Farvardin Yasht we find many prominent names – names of kings, princes, heroes, righteous men and women of all the then known countries, both Aryan and non-Aryan, Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian,—each one mentioned in succession with words of praise for their meritorious deeds of great renown. In this list, after mentioning the Peshdâdians, the writer of the Yasht eulogises the Farohars of Kai Kobâd and a number of other Kaiânians who are his immediate successors to the throne, or descendants, down to the great Kavi Husravangh, otherwise known as Kai Khosru. These royal names, however, could not have been recounted and praised without good cause and reason. Had they been names of ordinary princes, no doubt, the Yasht would have been silent about them. But along with the well-known names of Kobâd, Kâus and Khosru, there are certain others which, though equally remembered and eulogised, are less known to us, because the Shâh Nâmeh is almost silent about them. The following is a complete list of the names as mentioned in the Avesta and the Pahlavi Bûndahishn :—

NAMES FOUND IN THE AVESTA. NAMES FOUND IN THE BUNDAHISHN.

1. Kavi Kavâta.	Kai Kavât.
2. „ Aipi-Vanghu.	„ Apîvêh.
3. „ Usadhan.	„ Arsh.
4. „ Arshan.	„ Vyârsh.
5. „ Byarshan.	„ Pisân.
6. „ Pisanangh.	„ Kâus.
7. „ Syâvarshan.	„ Sîyâvakhsh.
8. „ Husravangh.	„ Khûsrôb.

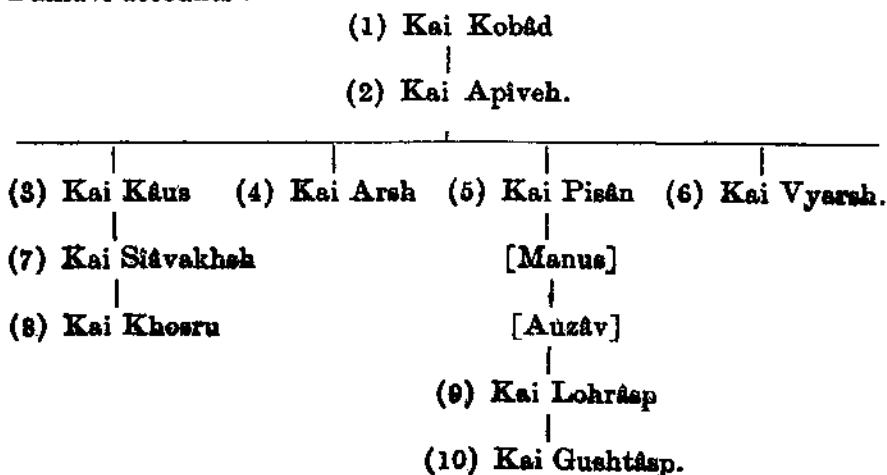
The Farohars of all these eight personages are placed on the same level and almost in juxtaposition in the Avesta. The epithet of *Kavi* is equally applied to them all without any distinction. This must lead us to the conclusion that these personages, to whom one identical epithet is applied, were of equal rank and dignity. If *Kavi* was the epithet of kings, every one of the above list must have enjoyed the kingship. The Avestic, Pahlavi and Mohammadan authorities are all unanimous in saying that Kobâd, Kâus and Khosru were great kings, and had kingly glory (*kharena*) about them; and we must safely infer that the remaining personages in the above list were also rulers of Iran as so many Kaiânian monarchs. What if the Shâh Nâmeh is silent regarding the rule of the intermediate monarchs named second, third, fourth, fifth and seventh in the above Pahlavi list? The Bûdahishn does give them the kingly title of *Kai*, and the Avesta that of *Kavi*. I am induced to conclude from this that the intervening names are names not of mere princes or sons of kings, but of kings themselves.

Another passage in the Avesta supports us in our inference. In the Zamyâd Yasht there is an interesting account of the kingly glory vouchsafed to the Iranian monarchs. This glory Zohâk and Afrâsiâb tried in vain to usurp. It appears, however, that this divine glory was meant to be the heirloom of a number of Kaiânians only, whose names are given in sections 71 and 72 of this Yasht. These are the self-same personages whose names I have mentioned in the above list. Here we are expressly told that from Kobâd to Khosru, each one of the princes was fortunate enough to possess the heavenly glory of kingly sway and authority. We are given to understand that all personages were equally renowned, bold, healthy, glorious, happy and venturous. Now Aipi-Vanghu and his three younger sons could not have been so praised and eulogised in the Avesta, had they been only sons of kings and nothing more. But, as a matter of fact, we find them all placed on a footing of equality with Kobâd, Kâus and Khosru, whose kingship is admitted by all authorities. Hence it appears that the complete list of the Kaiânian kings from Kobâd to Khosru was really a long one, but that Firdusi was not acquainted with it in its entirety.

The great poet-historian is also inaccurate as to the real family-name of some of the kings whom he unwittingly includes in

the Kaiânian dynasty. Kavi Vishtâspa, the great bulwark of the Zoroastrian religion, the Prophet's patron-prince, is mentioned as the last Kaiânian king in the Avesta. The Avesta texts are silent as to the succeeding Kings or Princes or Royal Houses of Iran. Spento-dâta (Firdusi's Isfendyâr) is not mentioned there as a Kavi or as one of those fortunate personages who had received the heavenly glory, for the very reason that he having passed away in his father's lifetime, was not fortunate enough to rule in Iran. Similarly, if the sons and grandsons of Kai Kobâd had not reigned, they, too, would have been left out from the list of the Kavis given in the Zamyâd Yasht. Instead of giving the names of Aipi Vanghu and his three sons and the name of Syâvarsh as the kings who possessed the kingly glory and ruled in Iran for numbers of years, Firdusi not only makes Kobâd and Kâus reign for incredible period, but adds a number of kings of quite a different dynasty as successors of Vishtâspa. And this was the Achæmenian dynasty, whose kings were neither Kavis, nor descendants of Kavis. The conclusion to which I have arrived serves to account for the long spaces of years which Firdusi assigns to the reigns of Kobâd and Kâus, periods which are not quite capable of credit.

Below I give in genealogical order the revised list of the Kaiânian kings, as it suggests itself to me from the Avesta and Pahlavi accounts :—



PALANI B. DESAI.

JAMSHID, MANU AND NOAH.

This paper is intended to point out certain similarities which exist in the description of Jamshid found in Fargard II. of the Vendidad with that of Manu detailed in the Vedas, and of Noah in the Genesis. Westergaard, Darmesteter and other savants divide the second Fargard of the Vendidad into two parts; the first part dealing with the expansion of the earth by Jamshid and the second with the construction of the *vara*. The following is a summary of the contents of the Fargard:—

Ahura Mazda asked Jamshid to propagate His religion, but Jamshid declined to undertake the prophetic function, pleading his inability to do so. Thereupon Ahura Mazda tells him to expand and fertilize the earth. Jamshid agrees to do this by removing all kinds of disease and death from it. He receives the golden seal and the sword as his insignia of royalty and expands the land by a third three times over to meet the wants of the increasing multitudes of the population. Ahura Mazda then forewarns Jamshid of the approach of a strong winter which would destroy all life on earth. Jamshid is ordered to construct a *vara* (i.e., a subterranean dwelling) and there to collect the best specimens of the human species and of all the animal and vegetable creation such as were free from all evil. Jamshid constructs this *vara* and men live there, the happiest of all creatures.

I shall now narrate a short history of Manu. Regarding him the "Century Cyclopaedia of Names" gives the following note:— "Manu, in Sanskrit, MAN, *man*, collectively, "mankind"; the Demiurge; one of a class of fourteen demiurgic beings each of whom presides over a *manvantara* interval, or period of a Manu. The first in order of these is called Swayambhu, the self-existent, identified with Brahma, who divided himself into two persons, male and female, whence was produced Viraj and from him the first Manu. This Manu Swayambhuva is a sort of secondary creator.

He produced ten *Prajâpatis*, lords of creatures, and these again, seven other Manus. Of those the seventh Manu Vaivasvata, the sun-born, is the Manu of the present period and is regarded as the progenitor of the present race of beings. He has been compared to Noah from various legends of his preservation from a deluge by Vishnu or by Brahma in the form of a fish. To Manu Vaivasvata are ascribed the so-called laws of Manu and a work on the Vedic ritual.

JAMSHID AND MANU.

1. Manu was the first law-giver according to the Hindus. Jamshid has also been regarded as a law-giver, one of the legends attributing to him the inauguration of the practice of wearing the Sudra and Kusti. The "Historians' History of the World", speaking of the Code of Manu, says, "The great religious books bore the name of the Vedas and these at a relatively late stage of national evolution — [yet perhaps as early as 800 or 900 B. C. — were gathered into a document which came to be known as Manu's Code, Manu being a name which signified ethnologically the first man, and the Code being, of course, the supposed Divine Revelation delivered to that first man. This Code in its various departments is the chief source on which historians must draw in interpreting the early history of India. At the time when this code was written, society in India had already reached a relatively high grade of civilization, in particular the priests had fixed their firm hold upon the national life, and that strange system of castes which is so typical a feature of Indian life had become firmly established."¹

2. Manu divided the Aryans into four classes: Brahmins or priests, Kshatriyas or kings, Vaishyas or husbandmen, and Sudras or servants. Firdusi states in the *Shâh-Nâmeh* that Jamshid divided the Aryans into four classes, namely, Athornâns or priests, Rathaeshtârs or warriors, Vâstryoshân or husbandmen, and Huto-khshân or artisans. On this point the "Historians' History of the World" says, "The first feature that strikes us in the society described by Manu is the division into four classes or castes: the sacerdotal, the military, the industrial and the servile. In these we are struck with the prodigious elevation and sanctity of the

¹ Vol. II., P. 488.

Brahmins and the studied degradation of the lowest class. The three first classes, though by no means equal, are yet admitted into one pale. They can partake in certain sacred rites to which particular importance is attached throughout the Code. The fourth class and the outcastes are no further considered than as they contribute to the advantage of the superior castes."

3. The name of Manu's father was Vivasvat, that of Jamshid's father was Vivanghan.

4. The Persians have known Jamshid as a king; and Manu also passes for one in Hindu tradition.

5. Both Jamshid and Manu are said to have rendered distinguished services to mankind at large. The *Mâtsopâkhyân* states that, when once upon a time Manu was standing at the shore of the Virini, Brahma came to him in the form of a small fish and asked him to take it away to a place and bring it up. Manu is said to have placed it in a water-pot, then into a river, and finally into a sea for that purpose. The second Fargard of the *Vendidâd* narrates how at the command of Ahura Mazda Jamshid expanded the earth on three occasions to meet the growing wants of the increasing population.

6. Ahura Mazda is said to have forewarned Jamshid of the approach of a dire winter; Brahma, in the form of the little fish, is said to have likewise forewarned Manu of the approach of a flood, destined to destroy everything on earth.

7. Ahura Mazda recommended the building of a *vara* to Jamshid; Brahma desired Manu to build a ship.

8. Ahura Mazda willed that Jamshid should carry into the *vara* the best of men, cattle and eatables; Manu was told by Brahma to carry into the ship the best of men, cattle and eatables.

JAMSHID AND NOAH.

We shall now note the points of similarity which are to be found in the description of Jamshid as detailed in the second Fargard of the *Vendidâd* and that of Noah as we find it in the first Book of Moses. (Chapters VI.—VIII.) Prof. Spiegel has observed that several subjects treated in the Genesis have been borrowed from the *Avesta*. The following correspondences are very significant:—

1. Jamshid lived for 1000 years; Noah lived for 250 years.
2. Noah cultivated the earth; and so did Jamshid.
3. Noah was informed by God of the coming of a flood, and was advised to build an ark; Jamshid had the advice of Ahura Mazda to build a *vara*.

4. Jamshid was told to place windows and doors in the houses he built in the *vara*, for the proper ingress of air and light; and God said unto Noah, "Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it".¹

5. Jamshid was advised to take with him in his *vara* the best of men, cattle and eatables, and God said unto Noah, "But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come unto the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee, and of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, ... of fowls after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, ... and take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be food for thee, and for them."²

6. Jamshid built according to the Bûdahishna, a fire-temple called Adar Frôbâg. "And the fire Frôbâg was established by Jamshid at the appointed place, (*dâd-gâs*) on the Gadman-hômand mountain in Khvârizem."³—Noah built an altar unto the Lord and took of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar. "And God spake unto Noah saying, 'Go forth of the ark, ... bring forth with thee, of all flesh, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth', ... and Noah builded an altar unto the Lord; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar."⁴

I have here shown the similarities that exist in the stories narrated in various accounts of Manu and Noah with those of Jamshid as we find him portrayed in the Avesta and elsewhere. It is

¹ "Genesis", Chap. VI., 14, 16.

² Bûdahishna, Chap. XVII., 2.

³ *Ibid.* Chap. VI., 19-21.

⁴ "Genesis", Chap. VIII., 16-17; 20

extremely probable that the narratives of Manu and Noah were borrowed from the accounts of Jamshid in the Avesta. Jamshid who is called Yima in the Avesta and Yama in the Vedas, was, according to the *Shâh-Nâmeh*, the third king of Persia after Hoshang, the founder of the Peshdâdian dynasty. The epithets of *Khsaeta* and *Hodâthwa* which mean "fair" and "of good flock" respectively, are applied to him. He is so called because he was handsome in appearance and because he was an exemplary "pastor." According to the Avesta, he reigned for 1000 years. According to the *Bândahishn*¹, for 716 years and 6 months, 'out of which he spent 100 years in exile. The *Zamyâd Yasht* says that the *Khôreh*, i. e., the halo of divine glory, was vouchsafed to him, but that it dropped from him, immediately he uttered a falsehood.

A. K. VESAVEVALA.

¹ Chap. XXXIV., 4.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

SOME VERSIONS AS TO THE MOTIVES WHICH LED TO ITS ERECTION.

The Asiatic family of Shem, the son of Noah, long after the waters of the Deluge had subsided, found their way to the plains of Mesopotamia — “the country — between — the — rivers” — as the Greeks called it. Here they began building a tower “whose top may reach unto heaven”¹. According to Eusebius, the work of constructing this tower which commenced 2225 B. C., continued for forty years, and did not end till the reign of Nebuchadnazar. According to another account, the tower was never completed, as the attempt to build it is said to have been frustrated by the confusion of the tongues. Notwithstanding the incomplete state into which it was left, it was considered a huge tower. About 1700 years after its erection, Herodotus is reported to have seen it at Babylon. The one that Herodotus saw was a structure consisting of eight towers, raised one above another, each 75 feet high, the total height amounting to about 600 feet.² This computation of Herodotus of the height of the structure agrees with that of Strabo who puts it down at 606 feet. But whether what Herodotus saw, was the famed Tower of Babel or not, it is impossible to ascertain. Writers and travellers, both ancient and modern, do not seem to agree even as regards the approximate height of the tower, barring only Herodotus and Strabo whose figures are almost the same. According to some orientalists, the Tower was twelve miles in height, while St. Jerome, on the authority of eye-witnesses who had examined the ruins of a tower at Babylon, asserts it to be four miles high. We shall now attempt briefly to bring under review a few versions as to the motives which led to the construction of the Tower.

¹ “Genesis” XI. 4.

² Herodotus, Bk. I.

The first version, then, is to be found in the Bible. "And they said, go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."¹ In this Biblical allusion, "and let us make us a name" etc., we clearly perceive the desire of political centralisation, coupled with the vain hope of leaving to posterity a conspicuous monument of the greatness and perseverance which characterised the race.

Another version attributes the building of this Tower to the people's desire to take a measurement of the distance of the sky from the earth by raising lofty spires one over another. Thus they sought to fathom the heavens and to become acquainted with "what the secret cause betrays and who directs the whole"². This motive has been characterised as sheer human presumption which met with its adequate punishment. The language of the builders was confounded, and hence the failure to complete the scheme of building a tower "whose top may reach unto heaven."

The Koran attributes the building of the Tower to the Chaldean Emperor Nimrod. Abraham, the Jew, broke the images and idols of the Chaldeans while they were abroad in the fields celebrating a great festival; for, as he said, "Verily, both ye and your fathers have been in a manifest error,"³ and "by God, I will surely devise a plot against your idols"⁴. The people burned with rage at the destruction of their gods that spake not, and, according to what commentators have related, Abraham was thrust into the midst of a fire specially kindled at Nimrod's command to bring about his end. But Abraham emerged from the burning pile as safe and sound as when he was thrown into it, the fire having consumed only the cords with which he was bound. This miraculous deliverance from the fire exasperated the emperor more than ever. He put the infidel into confinement for a period of no less than ten years. There, too, did divine aid descend upon Abraham's devoted head. Nimrod, seeing with no little exasperation the miraculous deliverance of his enemy from the various persecutions which the latter was subjected to by the religious intolerance of his oppressors, caused a tower to be built whereby he may be enabled to ascend up to heaven

¹ Atkinson's *Shâh-Nâmeh* (1886), p. 118.
² *Bala's Koran*, Ch. XXI., p. 248.

³ "Genesis", XI. 4.
⁴ *Ibid.*

to see with his own eyes the God of Abraham who had so often rescued him from his manifold troubles.' But, says the Koran, the Tower was overthrown by winds and earthquakes.

A different version* of this story is given in another part of the Koran. It is stated that the Tower was built by Nimrod at Babel with the object of ascending to heaven for the purpose of waging a war with its inmates. This attempt was frustrated. Persisting, however, in his design, the Chaldean Emperor directed himself to be carried to the heavens in a chest borne by four monstrous birds. But this effort brought him to grief. The strength of the birds failed them on the way and Nimrod dropped down on a mountain from a gigantic height†.

Josephus‡, the Jewish historian, says that the Tower was built with the object of affording a refuge and shelter to the people against another flood, should such a contingency ever arise again. The men of the time burned with resentment for the destruction of their fathers in the Deluge, and the Tower of Babel was an act directed for taking vengeance for that grievous wrong. Wide and level as were the plains of Babylon, devoid of all natural barriers, the inhabitants sought to build up a tower which should prevent their being scattered over the earth, and which should be able to hold them together in the event of an emergency like the one that had destroyed their predecessors some two thousand years after the creation.

There are some, however, who aver that in the structure of this Tower there is nothing more than a plausible attempt to account for the diversity of languages as also for the dispersion of mankind on the different parts of the globe. Heeren accounts for the story relating to this Tower in the following words: "There is, perhaps, nowhere else to be found a narrative as venerable for its antiquity or so important in the history of civilization, in which we have at once preserved the traces of primeval international commerce, the first political associations and the first erection of secure and permanent dwellings."

* *Ibid.*, p. 246.

† *Ibid.* Ch. XVI., pp. 196-197.

‡ Compare with this story of the ascent of Nimrod to the heavens, the story of Kaihâs, as detailed in the *Shâh-Nâmeh*, and that of Etâna in the Babylonian legends. In all these cases, the attempts end in a fiasco.

• "Antiquities", I. 4.

• "Asiatic Nations", Vol. II., p. 164.

Another plausible motive which may have led to the construction of this Tower is alleged to be the defenceless position in which Babylon was naturally situated. Living in a plain country, on a low level of ground, without the variety of hills or mountains to charm them in times of peace and to protect them in times of war, the condition of the Babylonians was often very insecure when they had to withstand the attacks of a foreign enemy. As it was naturally situated, the city of Babylon could afford its inhabitants no opportunity of reconnoitering, as from an elevated spot, the position of an advancing enemy—a situation which greatly handicapped them in their preparations for defence or attack. In order, therefore, to remedy this evil, the Babylonians are credited with having conceived the idea of erecting a lofty tower which might enable them to hold themselves in readiness against every hostile movement. This famed Tower of Babel, according to Buckley,¹ served, in the absence of natural barriers, as a faithful sentinel keeping a constant and vigilant eye over the wide expanse that stretched out all around it, and intimating the approach of the invading army before the inhabitants could be taken by surprise.

A further motive is suggested to us as having probably actuated the inhabitants to construct the Tower. We are told that it was their religious feeling and their scrupulous desire to observe all divine rites that led the Babylonians to undertake the raising of the mighty structure. The tendency of early mankind to worship the heavenly bodies from quiet altitudes is manifested and proved by the testimony of such pagan writers as Cicero and others. And the suggestion is made that the motive of the Babylonians in putting up this gigantic structure was none else than their desire to perform their adorations of the gods away from the tumultuous atmosphere of their low-lying land. Dean Graves maintains that the Tower was built not with the object of making its top reach the highest Heaven in attestation of the power and grandeur of its builders, but with the specific object in view that "its top should be sacred to the heavens, the common temple of worship and centre of their idolatrous union". Thus a divine conception is said to have been fondly associated with the construction

¹ Buckley: "Ancient Cities of the World", p. 12.

of the Tower. What hills and mountains were to the people of other countries for the purposes of devotion, the famous Tower of Babel was to the inhabitants of Babylon. It was their common temple of worship and devotion—the centre of their idolatrous union where they could meet together in a congregation, and offer up their prayers and sacrifices. For, like other peoples, they fervently believed that the nearer to the sky or the heavens their temple was situated, the more devout would be their adoration of God. They, therefore, piled spire on spire, in order to be as near the Almighty as they could possibly be;—but with what result? Their action was construed as presumptuous, and before their grand movement could be completed, before the fruit of their patient toil and perseverance could be reaped, we have it that their languages grew as manifold almost as their numbers! They felt as if they were different peoples without the ties of race and kinship which they could no longer recognise and explain to each other; and perforce, they had to disperse in different directions in quest of “fresh homes and pastures new”.

RUSTAMJI NASARVANJI MUNSHI.

EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA.

It is somewhat mortifying to a Briton to find that the best of the old books on Persia was written by a Frenchman. Sir John Chardin — *clarum et venerabile nomen*, as Lord Curzon styles him — produced in the seventeenth century what is still, perhaps, the fullest account of Persia and its people. The only consolation an Englishman can give himself is that though Chardin was a Frenchman, and wrote in French, he found an asylum in England for more than thirty years, when driven out of his own country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In recent times Lord Curzon has written an excellent book on Persia, full of information, and showing a painstaking research which one hardly expects to find in the work of a politician and newspaper correspondent. But Lord Curzon seems to have overlooked the remark of Bacon that "He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school and not to travel". In respect of this kind of knowledge his Lordship's predecessors, Pietro Della Vallé, Olearius and Chardin, had a great advantage over him. Della Vallé, perhaps, was the most thoroughly equipped of them all, for he not only knew the language, but he also married an Eastern lady, a daughter of Bagdad, Madam Mâani by name. She was a Christian, and her mother was an Armenian, and though brought up in Bagdad she was born at Mardin in Mesopotamia, a place according to Reclus, famous for the beauty of its women. She accompanied her husband on his travels, and was a fit helpmate for him. Olearius and Chardin came nearly half a century after Della Vallé, and were probably greater students than he was, for they not only could converse in Persian, but they also read Persian books. Though, however, the three foreigners we have named, and also Thevenot and Tavernier are our best authorities for the Persia of the seventeenth century, there was an Englishman who visited the country many years before them, and who has left a short

account of his travels dated 1564. This was

ANTHONY JENKINSON

a servant of the Russia Merchants Adventurers of London. He sailed down the Volga, and in November 1561 appeared at Casbin (Qazvin) before Shah Tahmâsp. Before entering Persia proper he halted at Schamakhi,¹ on the west of the Caspian, which was the capital of Shirwân, though now in Russian territory, and west of Baku. There he saw, he says, not far from the castle, "a nunnery of sumptuous building wherein was buried a king's daughter named Amalecka² Channa who slew herself with a knife for that her father, would have forced her—she professing chastity—to have married with a king of Tartary, upon which occasion the maidens of the country do resort there every year to lament her death." Evidently Jenkinson had in his thoughts the Bible verse, "It was a custom in Israel that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in the year". It appears from Olearius, (p. 224 of the English translation) that another English traveller, John Cartwright³ speaks of the country maidens visiting the tomb. But Olearius, who was at Schamakhi in 1637, and spent three months there, and saw the vault and the sepulchre of the princess, says that at the time of his visit the custom had become obsolete.

Jenkinson arrived at Casbin at an unlucky time⁴. Tahmâsp was no longer the active prince who had defeated the Uzbeks in 1528, or the generous-minded man who had sheltered Humâyûn. He

¹ The old Schamakhi was on the Caspian. The modern town of that name is several miles S. W. of the old site.

² Qu. Umailah Khanim from *عالمه* *malâh* "The beautiful lady."

³ Cartwright's Travels were published in the first volume of the Harleian Collection of Voyages, 1745, under the title of "The Preacher's Travels." Cartwright is described as formerly a student of Magdalen College. His dedication is dated October 1611, and he seems to have been in Persia about 1605 and the beginning of James I's reign. He was accompanied as far as Kashan by John Mildennall. There they parted company, Mildennall going on to Lahore, and Cartwright proceeding to Ispahan. Cartwright mentions the Nunnery, and Amaleica Canna, but his words are copied from Jenkinson, and it is a little doubtful if he is an independent authority. Âbbâs I. was reigning at the time of his journey, and he has a good deal to say about the two Shirleys. In speaking of Tabriz he says it was called by the people of the country the Sikaz Jinnat, or "The eight Paradise." He has a minute description of Shah Âbbâs's person.

⁴ Before being admitted to the Court Jenkinson had put on sandals which he calls *Basmackes*, i. e., the Turkish *جوشه* *bashmaq*.

had become a bigot, and he was also in great dread of the Turks with whom he had lately made a peace. It would seem, too, that he had been base enough to put to death his guest Bayâzîd, the son of Sultan Solyman, in order to conciliate the latter. The visit of Jenkinson was therefore very unwelcome to him for he was afraid it would embroil him with the Turk. So though Jenkinson brought with him a letter from Queen Elizabeth, Tahmâsp paid no regard to it, and rudely said that he had no need to have friendship with unbelievers. "So he willed me to depart, and I being glad thereof did reverence, and went my way with many of his gentlemen, and after me followed a man with a basanet (small basin) of sand, sifting all the way that had gone within the said Palace even from the Sophy's sight unto the court gate." Jenkinson remained at Casbin till March 1562, but had no other interview with the Shah, though the latter so far relented as to send him a rich garment of cloth of gold. He also did not adopt the advice of his counsellors, which was to deliver up Jenkinson to the Turk.

The next traveller to be noticed is

PIETRO DELLA VALLE.

He travelled in Persia in the second decade of the seventeenth century. He is a picturesque writer, and his travels have been much praised. But probably the most interesting part of them is his account of Goa and other places in India. At that time Jahângir was reigning, and Della Vallé speaks of his queen by her first title of Nur Mahâl. She had not yet been styled Nur Jahân. He says that Jahângir did not absolutely blind his son Khusrau. He only caused his eyes to be sewed up for a time and did not "excæcate" him.

The next traveller is

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER.

He was a jeweller, and was, it is said, but imperfectly educat-

1. Jenkinson says it was the Zieties (?) and the holy men who prejudiced the Shah against him. Possibly the Zieties are the Tratzaku of Olearius (p. 236) who smote their breasts to express their sorrow for the death of Husain. The editor of the Hakluyt Society's edition of Jenkinson thinks that the word may be Tâjik, but this seems unlikely. There is a Shia Sect called Zaidia and it seems most probable that this is the word intended by Jenkinson. Zaid or Zeil was the grandson of Husain, the son of Âli, and his sect was a numerous one.

— He, too, like Chardin, had to quit France on account of his being a Protestant, and settled at Aubonne on the Lake of Geneva, where he built a tower after the model of one he had seen at Erivan. He was the most determined traveller of them all for he made six journeys into Persia and eventually when he was an old and worn out man he went off to Russia and died¹ at Smolensk in or about 1689. He himself tells us that at the age of 22 he had seen the finest parts of Europe, France, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy. His first journey was to England, when James VI (James I.) was then reigning. He served at the defence of Mantua against the Imperialists, and in a sortie, his life was only saved by the goodness of his cuirass, he having been struck twice with bullets which dented his armour. Near Glogau in Silesia he met in with the Colonel Butler² who afterwards took part in the assassination of Wallenstein in 1634. Tavernier speaks of having received much kindness from Butler and from his wife "who loved the French". It was in the end of 1630 that his travels to the East commenced by his journeying to Constantinople and thence to Ispahan. His second journey was in 1638. He went by Alexandretta (in Syria) and Asia Minor, and he mentions that on his way to Aleppo he saw the monastery of St. Simon Stylites, and the portion of his pillar that was still standing. This is a fact that must interest all readers of Gibbon and Tennyson. On his way to Ispahan Tavernier passed the singular rock of Yezdecast which has been an object of wonder to all who have seen it, from Tavernier and Chardin down to Lord Curzon and Mr. Crawshay-Williams. At that time it was famous for producing the best bread in Persia. Tavernier's third journey began in 1643. On this occasion he went by Mesopotamia and passed Mardin which he notes as having been the birth-place of Signora Mâani Giorida, the first wife of Pietro Della Vallé. Della Vallé's second wife was also an Eastern lady being a Georgian. At Cousassar (Kotah Hisar ?) he saw a Bible in the Chaldaic language, written on vellum, and with the capital letters in blue and gold.

¹ The portion of Tavernier's Travels which relates to India has been translated by Valentine Ball. He has given a life of Tavernier founded partly on a monograph by Professor Joret.

² Tavernier and Schiller call him a Scotchman, but he really was an Irishman.

He was told by a Nestorian priest that it was 937 years old.

In his fourth voyage Tavernier entered Persia by sea, sailing down the Persian Gulf from the mouth of the Euphrates to Ormuz. Both Lord Curzon and Mr. Crawshay-Williams make merry over Moore's "Kishma's amber vines"¹ and the latter says, "It is an island as desolate as the Sahara, and one which by no conceivable process could ever be, or have been, transformed by man into anything else." But is the cocksure and glib young traveller so right, and the poet so wrong? A modern Gazetteer says that the northern part of the island contains tracts of black loam on which grapes are raised in sufficient quantities for the consumption of the inhabitants (5000 in number), and Tavernier says that it surpasses in fertility all the islands of the East, and grows much wheat and barley. Indeed, Lord Curzon gives up his case about the "treeless sterility" of Kishm (Vide Vol. I. p. 5, note) when he tells us later on, (Vol. II. p. 410) that the island produces grapes etc., and has large date groves in the interior! Tavernier had a better opportunity of judging of the island than either Lord Curzon or Mr. Williams, for he landed on it, and stayed there for some hours. Mandelslo also speaks of Kishm or Kishmish as supplying Gombroon with all sorts of fruits. Tavernier's fifth journey was in 1657, and his sixth and last in 1663. It ended in 1667 and his account of Persia terminates with an account of how the Dutch at Gombroon celebrated their victories over the English and their triumphant entry into the Thames by burning Charles II. in effigy. Chardin was present on this occasion.

The next traveller in point of time is

ADAM OLEARIUS²

the secretary to the embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein to the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and the king of Persia. According to Chardin, though the Embassy was ostensibly a political one, and purported to be dispatched by the Duke of Holstein, it really was a commercial venture on the part of the merchants of Hamburg. One Brugman had persuaded the merchants that it would be profitable to bring Persian silk to Europe *via* Russia. This was a

¹ The two travellers are not even verbally correct on this quotation. Moore does not speak of "amber vines" but of "Kishmee's golden wine". D'Herbelot speaks of the gardens of Kis or Kisch as being very beautiful.

² His vernacular name was Oelschläger and he was born in 1599.

futile project, and Brugman behaved so badly in Persia that he is said to have been put to death on his return.

Olearius was a good scholar, and his account of Persia contains much that is interesting. Among other things, he tells of the Embassy's meeting a certain Prince or Mirzâ Polagi whom he describes as being the son of Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Jahângir, and consequently, the nephew of Shah Jahân. This can be no other than the Bolakî or Dawar Bakhsh who was, for political purposes, made a mock-king by Nur-Jahân's brother, on the death of Jahângir. All the native authorities say that Bolakî was shortly afterwards put to death, but Olearius's story is very precise (see pp. 256-57 and 268). He states that Shah Jahân sent an ambassador to Persia for the express purpose of getting possession of his nephew's person. The king of Persia at that time was Shah Safi, the grandson of Abbâs I. Neither Olearius, nor any other writer has much good to say of this king, and therefore one is glad to hear that he behaved well on this occasion, and "generously made answer that it was a breach of the laws of hospitality to deliver up a Prince who, out of assurance of his friendship had taken refuge in his kingdom". It is to be noted that Olearius's statement about Polagi, or Bolakî's presence in Persia is corroborated by Tavernier who says in his second volume that Bolakî made his escape, and long wandered in India as a faquir but eventually took refuge in Persia where he was magnificently received by Shâh Safi who granted him a pension. "He enjoys it now," adds Tavernier, "and I had an opportunity of speaking to him during my Persian travels, and I have eaten and drunken with him".

Here is a pretty story which Olearius tells about a Schamakhi schoolmaster. Olearius had gone to see the Madressa there and "While we were viewing the structure, one of their Mudris or Regents, who read public lectures, entreated us to come near him, and perceiving that I had caused to be graven upon a cane I walked with, these words in Arabic: Bismillâh - ar - Rahmân - ar Rahîm, (*i. e.*, in the name of the Merciful, the Compassionate) he desired me to bestow it on him, upon a promise that he would give next day; but finding I made some difficulty to part

¹ But Tavernier contradicts himself; for at Vol. II., p. 51 of his edition of 1678, says that Sultan Boulakî was strangled by his uncle Shah Jahân! See also Ball's translation, Vol. I, p. 81.

with it, he cut out the word Allāh and put what he had cut off in a piece of clean paper, very gently and carefully, and told me the name of God ought not to be written upon a walking stick, which was many times thrust into the dirt". This may remind us of Dr. Johnson's first putting on his watch the Greek words of "For the night cometh" and then removing them.

JEAN THEVENOT.

He travelled in India and Persia, departing for the latter country for the second time from Surat in February 1667. He died in Miāna in November of that year. He is regarded as a highly judicious and trustworthy traveller, and moreover it seems that he had no axe of his own to grind. He was not like Tavernier and Chardin, a merchant first and a traveller afterwards, but made his voyages merely to acquire and communicate information. I have, however, only read the fifth volume of his Travels viz., that which relates to India. In it he has an interesting description of Sivaji. "He is little and swarthy," he says, "and with bright eyes which show much spirit. He generally eats only once a day and in 1664 when he pillaged Surat he was only 35 years of age". Tavernier mentions (p. 63) that Thevenot had collected a number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, and that the Cadi of Miāna confiscated the best of them when he died.

SIR JOHN CHARDIN.

Like Tavernier, Chardin began his travels at an early age, for he was born in 1643, and he set off for the East in 1664. His object was mercantile and he had a partner, viz., M. Raisin of Lyons. He returned in 1670, and published his first work "The Coronation of Solyman III." It is a meagre book, and can hardly have led the public to anticipate the amount of instruction contained in his second work. On his first visit he had been graciously received by Shah Âbbās II., and he and his partner Raisin were commissioned to return to Europe and to purchase jewels and curiosities for the Shah. A translation of the Commission is given in Vol. II. of the Travels (p. 168 of the edition of 1723), and it is noticeable that in it the name of Raisin precedes that of Chardin. Probably the former was the older man of the two. In the translation, Âbbās's seal bears the date 1059 A. H. (1649) so that

apparently the Shah did not change his seal every year. The date of execution given in the translation is Shawâl 1077, but evidently this is a mistake for 1076 as Shawâl 1077 is equal to March 1667, and Âbbâs died either in August or September 1666. That 1077 is a misprint is also shown by the fact that the recommendatory letter of the officer whom Chardin calls the Grand Maître de son Hotel, and which is printed at page 178 of the volume, is dated Shawâl 1076. Tavernier gives a copy of a similar Commission which he received, — apparently, in the beginning of 1665. It also bears Âbbâs's seal of 1059, though this has been incorrectly translated as 1509. The author of the notice of Chardin in the Dictionary of National Biography has incorrectly stated that Chardin got his commission from Solymán III. On the contrary, Chardin on his return from Europe found that things had been altered by 'Âbbâs's death, and that there was neither the same disposition nor the same ability to buy jewellery etc., that had existed in Âbbâs's time.

Chardin, speaking of his own qualifications as a traveller, says with truth that he knew more Persian than any one of his predecessors who had written an account of the country, that he was more familiar with Ispahan than with London, though he had lived in the latter city for twenty six years, and that he spoke Persian as well as he spoke English, and almost as well as he spoke French. His second journey occupied as much time as his first, for he did not return till 1677. His "Travels" occupy ten volumes, but the first deals with countries outside of Persia, and the seventh is an elaborate account of the Muhammadan religion. The second, third, ninth* and tenth are an account of his Travels in Persia. The fourth, fifth and sixth are a description of Persia and its people, and the eighth is a detailed description of Ispahan. It is a defect in Chardin's work that he is too detailed and prolix. The account of his troubles in Mingrelia (the ancient Colchis) in the first volume is wearisome, and the same may be said of the account of his squabbles with the Shah's Nazir about the value of his goods. The dis-

1 Chardin made a third voyage to the East, for he says at p. 131 of the tenth volume, that he was at Surat in the end of 1678. He also says at p. 124 of the same volume that he or his partner, was in the Indies from 1674 to 1681. Apparently his third voyage was only to India, and he has left no record of his doings there. At p. 126 he gives a translation of a curious Portuguese passport issued by John Nonio de Cunha the Viceroy, in 1668,

* This volume contains an elaborate account of the ruins of Persepolis.

sertation on the Muhammadan religion is a digression, and though it shews much patient enquiry it has been superseded by other treatises. His description of Persia in the fourth volume contains elaborate chapters on the natural productions of the country, and on the characteristics of the Persians and on their progress in the arts and sciences. In the chapter on plants and drugs he distinguishes the two kinds of "Mumie" (mummy) viz., that which comes from embalmed bodies, and the mummy which is a precious gum which exudes from a rock. This is the mummy of which wonderful tales are told in Jahângir's Memoirs and elsewhere about its being a cure for broken bones. He is enthusiastic about Mâzandarân which, he says, is one flower-bed (*parterre*) from September to April. Professor Browne in his preface to the history of Tabaristan (Gibb-Trust, 1905) is equally laudatory of this "strange and interesting country" which, however, is, I fear, very unhealthy during several months of the year. Chardin says that the best melons come from a town in Khurasan called Craguerde near Little Tartary. Perhaps this is the place which Jahângir in his Memoirs (ninth year) calls Kariz and which, he says, produces the best melons of Khurasan. When he received them, it seemed, he says, as if he had never had a melon before. In the description of the sciences cultivated by the Persians Chardin enters into great detail, and shows a large amount of reading. In the chapter on Poetry he says that "Poetry is the special talent of the Persians, and the department of literature in which they excel. They have a great propensity of nature for it, their genius is gay and free, their imagination lively and fertile, their manners refined, their temperament amorous, and their language has the sweetness suitable for verse." He mentions Firdûsi, Hâfiz and Sâadi, but naturally he says nothing of Omar Khayyam who was quite unknown in those days. He has a long description in his fourth volume (p. 137) of a famous feat of running which was performed on 26th May 1667 by a candidate for the office of the king's courier, or *shâtir*. Apparently this runner quite surpassed the runners in the Marathon Race of the present year, though he had no one to contend against. His task was to run twelve times a distance of three leagues bringing back an arrow each time. He accomplished this in less than fourteen hours. He is, however,

said to have been surpassed by a *shâtir* of Shah Sâfi's time who performed the feat in twelve hours. The trial of the *shâtirs* is also described by Tavernier who says that they have to run from sunrise to sunset 36 leagues which is more than the distance from Paris to Orleans (given in the Imperial Gazetteer as 68 miles).

Chardin adds that the *shâtirs* are also accomplished dancers, and that the grandees make them dance for their amusement. "For in the East dancing is disgraceful, or, if you prefer the phrase, infamous. I remember in connection with this that during the minority of the King of France, (Louis XIV.) a Persian came to Paris, whom the Shah had sent along with a French merchant to sell silks, and to bring back European rarities. They showed everything to the Persian, who did not know a word of any European language. Among other things they took him to a ballet where the king danced. They pointed out His Majesty to him, and asked if the king did not dance well. "In God's name", said he, he is an excellent *shâtir*".

Voltaire tells us that after hearing four lines of Racine's *Britannicus*, Louis gave up dancing in public. This was in 1670, and when he was 32. If the minor king was Louis XIV., Chardin's story must refer to a period previous to 1659, for Louis was born in 1638. But I have not found the passage referred to by Voltaire, in the *Britannicus*.

There are many other early travellers in Persia, as shown in the list in Lord Curzon's Introduction. The earliest mentioned by him is MARINO SANUTO who travelled in 1300-06. LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA is an early traveller, his date being 1503 or 1504. But he has not much to say about Persia, and only refers briefly to the three cities of Ormuz, Herat and Shiraz. His travels were published by the Hakluyt Society in 1863. According to Lord Curzon, the last really good book that has been written on Persia is that by R. B. Binning, written in 1851. It is a good book, though Binning is rather an unsympathetic traveller, and his advice to persons desirous of visiting Persia is in the spirit of Punch's advice to young men about to marry, that is, "Dont". Binning's book is certainly no longer the last really good book on Persia, for Lord Curzon's is a better one.

entraîné une transcription sûrement inexacte.

Toutefois, pour des mots très employés, on rencontre les deux formes dans le texte; et 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, bien attesté par le mètre se, lit Yt. XII, 6 et XIII, 44, à côté de 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, qui est fréquent, surtout dans le Vendidad.

Mais le mètre oblige à changer 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 en 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 Yt. XV, 40. La forme 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 est due sans doute à l'influence de plusieurs passages où on la rencontre. Ceci n'est pas, à proprement parler, une correction, mais seulement une rectification apportée à la transcription traditionnelle d'un texte plus ancien qui admettait les deux lectures.

A. MEILLET.

(TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.)

A FALSE READING IN THE AVESTA.

The transcription of the Avesta from the ancient Pahlavi alphabet into the more complicated alphabet in which the extant texts are written has given rise to a great number of small mistakes, as we all know. And one can never be sure that any one form which is traditionally received is just that which was employed by the author, wherever its essential elements were not already written in the ancient text in the Pahlavi alphabet.

If we apply this principle to the forms of the third person singular of the active subjunctive, we find that the choice between 𐬨𐬀- and 𐬨𐬀- is doubtful, wherever the verse does not indicate the number of syllables. In fact, a short vowel like 𐬨 was not likely to be noted in ancient writing; neither would the difference between the ordinary 𐬨 and the special form 𐬨 be marked. If then we read in Yasna XI, 5:--

it is evident that the transcriber from the Pahlavi alphabet into the Avestic alphabet has made a mistake in this case.

1. Although the primary and secondary terminations were admitted in Avesta as in Sanskrit for the third person singular of the active subjunctive, it is hardly credible that the author putting together three subjunctives should have written 𐬨𐬀 - twice and 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 - for the third time.

2. The passage is metrical; and to make up the verse to its usual length of eight syllables, we must read 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 .

We have then to ascertain why the transcriber once used 𐬨𐬀 - and 𐬨𐬀 - on two other occasions. The reason undoubtedly is that 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 was found in other places; we read the form even to-day in Yasna LXV, 11, a passage where the reading is justified by the metre; and what is remarkable is that in Yasna XI, 5, as in Yasna LXV, 11, inferior manuscripts have the variant 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 undoubtedly following some other passage, (e. g., Westergaard, Frag. VIII, 1,) where this reading was in fact justified. The preconceived idea of unifying the text has dominated the whole transcription; in this case it has surely led to an incorrect transcription.

However, as an example of words often employed, we find the two forms in the text; and 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 which is in keeping with the metre is found in Yt. XII, 6, and Yt. XIII, 44, side by side with 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 which is very common, particularly in the Vendidad.

But the metre obliges us to change 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 into 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 in Yt. IV, 40. The form 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 is undoubtedly due to the influence of several passages where it is to be found. Properly speaking this is not a correction, but only a rectification of the traditional transcription of a very ancient text which allowed of two readings.

THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE GATHIC TERMS, 'BENDWA,' 'MAGA,' 'VAEPYO,' AND 'GAO'.

The following is an attempt at a correct explanation of four out of the very large number of important Gathic terms which stand in need of a critical examination to have their meanings determined. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the necessity of showing the correctness of the meanings given by applying those meanings in every passage where those terms occur.

BENDWA (=ILLNESS).

The word 'bendwa' occurs twice in the Gathas (Y.49,1.2). It is a noun formed from the root 'ban' (with the suffix 'dwa') or the root 'band,' an extended form of 'ban' (with the suffix 'wa'). This root 'ban' is the same which occurs in 'bānayan' of Y. 30,6 and 'bantāi' of Yt. 13, 24.40, and which means 'to feel pain', or 'to cause pain', *i.e.*, 'to afflict or sicken'. The word 'bantāi' of Yt. 13, 24. 40 is understood by scholars to contain the idea of one who is in a state of physical affliction, *i. e.*, a sick person, the idea in the sentence there being that the Fravashis give strength and health to the sick (dāthris bantāi drvatâtem) (see also Vend. 22,5). Thus 'bendwa' as an abstract noun means 'physical pain or affliction,' *i.e.*, 'illness.' In Y. 30, 6 we read of the Daevas afflicting or sickening the human world (bānayan ahûm maretânô), that is, they were inflicting sufferings on the people which may be both physical or relating to the external circumstances of life. We have also got the noun 'banda' in Vend. 3,41 where the Mazdayasnian Religion is spoken of as "throwing off or removing the 'banda' of its adherents; but I am not sure whether 'banda' there means 'affliction' or 'bond': if the latter, it should be derived from 'band' = to bind. The existence of the root 'band' = 'to bind' in the Avesta may perhaps lead some to derive the Gathic 'bendwa' from the root, 'band' = to bind, understanding 'to bind' in the sense of 'to tighten,' and as a tightened or straitened condition is quite the opposite of a condition of

comfort, the word 'bendwa' according to this derivation, too, would bring the idea of 'discomfort,' 'distress' or 'affliction.' The first line in which the word 'bendwa' occurs stands thus : at mâ yavâ bendwô pafrê mazistô. 'Mazistô bendwô' means 'the greatest or strongest, *i. e.*, the most serious, illness,'—with which idea see also 'mazistô merethyâus' of Y. 53, 8 = 'the greatest or the most dreadful death or death-producing disease.' The verb 'pafrê' occurring in the line is a reduplicated form of 'par,'—that 'par' which has its English equivalent in the word 'fall,' the letters 'f' and 'l' of 'fall' being the same as 'p' and 'r' of 'par.' This idea of 'falling' here signifies not falling in point of space, but falling to a person, *i. e.*, befalling a person or coming to a person. This will be seen also from the use of the root 'par' in the sense of 'to come' or 'to go' in such instances as 'parâiti' of Vend. 13, 8, 'pârayantu' of Yt. 13, 157, etc. Thus the verb 'pafrê' in the Gathic line expresses exactly the idea of the Gujarati verb "પાડી વસી." The word 'yavâ' occurring in this line means 'always or every time' as it also means 'at any time' in Y. 29, 9. Thus the whole line means:—"The most serious illness is always befalling me." For the idea of 'affliction befalling a person or persons,' see also in Y. 53, 8—'may strong affliction befall them' (iratû is dwafshô derezâ) and in Y. 65, 8—'may afflictions come unto, or befall, him' (tem avi tbaeshâo paityantû), and in Yt. 8, 16—'afflictions or calamities will always come to the Iranian people' (hamatha airyâbyô danghubyô vôighnâo jushâonti), and in Yt. 11, 5—'affliction shall never come unto him (noit yava tbaêshô frâshnuyât). In the last of all these instances we have also got 'yavâ' as in the Gathic line, but there 'yavâ' means 'at any time' (noit + yava = not at any time, *i. e.*, never) while in the present line it means 'at every time, *i. e.*, always,' (note the use of the English word 'ever' also in both these senses). In the instance of Yt. 8, 61 quoted above, the idea of 'always' is expressed by 'hamatha,' not by 'yava.' With the idea of suffering always befalling a man, contrast that of 'continual or permanent happiness' in "yavôi vispâi â hvanghevîm" of Y. 53, 1 and 'vispâyâm ustatâtem' of Visp. 18, 2.

Now the above explained signification of 'bendwa' can also be proved from the following :—In the fourth line of the same

Gathic stanza (Y.49, 1) —‘ahyâ vohu aoshô vidâ mananghâ’—the pronoun ‘ahyâ’ stands for the noun ‘bendwô’ of the first line. ‘Ahyâ aoshô’ means ‘its death or destruction’: but when the allusion is to the destruction of illness, it is not wrong to render ‘aoshô’ by ‘remedy’ because the remedy of a disease is nothing but that which destroys that disease. Thus the fourth line means—‘let me find out or obtain its destruction or remedy by good mind’. The idea of ‘the destruction of affliction,’ though not bodily affliction i.e., illness, is also found in ‘dwaeshâo taurvayâmâ’ of Y. 28,6 : see also ‘vitarânzô’ and ‘vitare tbaesha’ of Y.68, 13 and Visp. 11, 13. For the use of ‘aoshangh’ to express the idea of the destruction of a thing as well as the death of a person see Y.32, 14, where it is the lamentation roused by the wicked Kavis among the people that is called ‘dûraosha,’ that is, that lamentation will not cease but continue for ever or for a long time and this idea of lamentation expressed by ‘avô’ there belongs to the same category as the idea of affliction or illness, because lamentation takes place only in a condition of affliction. For the idea of Good Mind or wisdom being the means of destroying affliction, see also ‘khratûm âzô-bûjem’ of Vend. 18, 6 = ‘wisdom which relieves a man from distress.’ Note that the words ‘ahyâ aoshô vidâ’ of the Gathic stanza also occur in Vend. 19, 3 in the form ‘hê aoshô vindâma’ (=we shall obtain his death) where the pronoun ‘hê’ stands for a person, Zarathustra, whereas ‘ahyâ’ of the present stanza stands for a thing. See also ‘hê aoshô pairi-vaenâmi’ of Vend. 19, 3.

The above-explained signification of ‘bendwa’ can also be appropriately applied to the next stanza in which that term occurs, in the sentence—“ahyâ mâ bendwahyâ mânayeiti thaeshô dregvâo,” which means—‘the wicked law-giver or priest causes me to think of this illness.’ Here Zarathustra says that his staunch foe, the teacher of the false and wicked religion, was drawing the attention of Zarathustra to, or causing him to think seriously of, his recurring illness, with the object of impressing on his mind the fact that it was the consequence of his too enthusiastic persistence in his work of spreading his own religion and that therefore he would do better if he renounced his position as a prophet. It can also be understood as a sort of warning, given by that enemy of his, that the same serious illness would befall him again if he

continued his activity. (Or was it that that enemy, in causing Zarathustra to think of that illness, was threatening to bring about the same illness on him, if we imagine him to be one of the so-called 'yâtûkân' (=sorcerers), or was reminding him of that illness brought on Zarathustra's person by that foe of his?) It is either a warning or a threat unto Zarathustra of a fresh illness to befall him : or it is a taunt unto Zarathustra for an affliction that has already befallen him.

Now as regards the Pahlavi translation of the word 'bendwa' it should be remembered that it has been rendered in two different ways in the two above-noted stanzas (Y. 49, 1 & 2), in the first by 'bêtûm zamân' which has been explained in the commentary by 'tan-i-pasin' = the final condition of existence, while in the second by 'Vimârih' = 'illness.' The first of these seems to be entirely imaginary. The second is the correct equivalent, for which see also the rendering of 'bânayen' of Y. 30, 6 by 'vimârinîtan' (= to sicken). By this illness, of course, the Pahlavi translator does not understand the sick condition of Zarathustra's body, but the afflicted condition of Zarathustra's Religion, that is, a condition in which the adherents of his Religion were being afflicted by their enemies so that his Religion had not yet gained strength and force.

Scholars have wrongly understood 'bendwa' as the name of some particular person, probably for three reasons, viz., (1) the masculine form of the words 'Mazistô bendwô' (2) the existence in the Avesta of a root 'par' meaning 'to fight or oppose,' and (3) the use of the word 'Aoshô.' also for the death of a person.

MAGA (= WISDOM ; WISDOM OF RELIGIONS ; RELIGION ; THE POSITION OF A MAN WHO HAS ADOPTED THE WISDOM OF RELIGION *i.e.*, OF A PROPHET OR OF A PRIEST ; PRIESTHOOD ; PROPHETSHIP).

The word 'Maga' occurs seven times in the Gathas, and its concrete form 'Magavan' twice in the same. In the non-Gathic Avesta it occurs only twice in the forms 'Magavô' and 'Moghu.' The word is supposed by some to be derived from 'Maz' = 'to be great,' and thus to mean 'greatness' or 'great work' or 'great cause.' There is one reason, however, that is sufficient to show this explanation to be a wrong one, viz., that the word 'Maga'

in Y.29, 11 and Y.46, 14 is qualified by the adjective 'Maza' = great (mazôî magâî) and this adjective is entirely superfluous to be applied to 'maga' if this word too has the idea of 'great' contained in it.

'Maga' is derived from 'mag' or 'mach' or 'maj' = 'to know, to see or to learn,'—that 'mach' or 'maj' whose modified form 'mûch' or 'muj' is contained in the Persian verb 'âmûkhtan' = 'to learn or teach'. We have not got this root 'mach' or 'mûch' in this sense anywhere in the extant Avesta; but it seems to me that the root 'mâ' occurring in 'âmâtô' of Yt. 10, 122 is the same of which 'mach' or 'maj' is an extension, as mention is made there of one who has become learned in the laws of Staota yânya. Secondly, there is also a root 'mi' in Sanskrit, as pointed out by Erwad Kanga in his Dict. (p. 405), which means 'to see or know,' and which can rightly be a modified form of 'mâ' noted just above. Thirdly, the 'Masti' occurring in Yt. 5, 87, &c., is understood by some scholars at least to mean 'wisdom or knowledge,' and if this is correct, its root 'math' should only be a modified form of 'mach' or 'maj' of 'maga.' From this I conclude that 'maga' etymologically means 'knowledge or wisdom.' And just as the word 'daêna' too etymologically means 'knowledge,' and is used to denote the religious law or religion because true knowledge lies in Mazda's Religious Law alone, and as 'Chisti' also meaning 'wisdom' is used for the wisdom lying in the religion—in the same way 'maga' too is used in the sense of the religious law or of wisdom embodied in the word of Religion. Thus the word 'magavan' denoting a person expresses primarily the idea of 'one who adopts and practises the wisdom of Religion,' and thus the 'Magavans' form the morally and mentally most advanced class of society. Hence it is that this term seems to have been reserved for the priestly class. On this, note Yt. 5, 86 where the priestly class are spoken of as seeking wisdom (mastim jaidhyâontê), though the word there denoting the priestly class is not 'magavan' but the more well-known word 'Âthravan.' So also the word 'moghu' of Y.65, 6 seems to be used for the class of men of learning who were priests. At two places in the Gathas we have got the phrase 'mazôî magâî.' The signification of this phrase can be seen from the sentences in which it occurs,

— ' who, O Zarathustra ! is thy true friend in, or for, the great 'Maga' ? (Y.46,14) and ' Do you, O Mazda ! recognise us for, or in, the great 'Maga' (Y.29,11). Here 'Maga' requires to be understood in the sense of the prophetship associated with a man who has got the wisdom of Mazda's religion and who spreads the same wisdom amongst human beings. The first of these two instances shows that King Vishtasp was a friend, and therefore, a great assistant of Zarathustra in his great prophetic work of spreading Zarathustra's religion amongst human beings ; while in the second instance, Zarathustra and his immediate associates beseech Mazda to recognise them in the great prophetic work, they had undertaken, by giving them those gifts, mental and material, which were necessary for accomplishing that work. See in Y.33,7 Zarathustra expressing his desire to be " the greatest of the Magavans," *i.e.*, the greatest priest in the position of a prophet, which position, as he means to say there, he can realise, if Mazda with his Asha and Vohu Managh meets him and shows His True Person to him ; the ordinary priests are not required to have their claim to the priestly position established by affirming that they had a personal conference with God and a vision of God. Again, in Y.51,15 we find the authority of King Vistasp described as " the authority of 'maga' " which can be understood either in the sense of " religious authority " or in that of " priestly authority," there being one idea common in both, *viz.*, that he was exercising his authority according to the laws of Mazda's true Religion. Or can it mean " apostolic or prophetic authority " ? So also in Y.51,11 Vistasp is spoken of as 'Magâi ereshvô' which can mean either (1) " upright in his Religion," or (2) " worthy of a priestly position."

Now, just as the term 'daêna,' which as I have shown before, is like a synonym of 'Maga' sometimes, is used for the religious law of the wicked as well as that of the righteous (in 'dregvatô daênâ' of Y.49,4), the term 'Maga' too is sometimes used in a bad sense, as in Y.48,10 we read of " the filthy or wretched, or abominable 'Maga' in which the wicked Karapans were feeling great delight and pride" (*mûthrem abyâ magahyâ yâ angrayâ karapânô urupayeinti*) and which 'maga,' as we read there, required to be destroyed. The idea here is

that of destroying that wretched religious law of which the Karapans were masters, or that wretched priestly position which was enjoyed by the Karapans. In Y.53,7 too allusion is made to that bad 'maga' which was associated with men in an unmarried condition, who were leading either an incontinent life or a life of "self-defilement." This point leads us to the passage of Vend. 4,47 where married men are spoken of as superior to, or better than, the "magavô fravâkhshôit." The contrast here undoubtedly implies that the magavans, or at least some of them, were leading an unmarried life. But it is not the word "fravâkhshôit" that means 'unmarried.' This signification adopted by scholars has been attached to that word first by the Pahlavi translator. The word 'fravâkhshi' of which 'fravâkhshôit' is the ablative form, occurs also in Yt. 13, 11 in the form 'fravâkhsha', and this word is understood to mean 'the sexual organ.' It is impossible to see how the idea of an unmarried condition can arise from a word having such a meaning. It seems to me, therefore, that the words "magavô fravâkhshôit" mean the Magavans who, being unmarried, were giving vent to their passion either by what is called "self-defilement" or by leading a life of illicit sexual intercourse. And thus the above sentence of the Vendidad should be understood to contain, not the idea that a married man is better than, or superior to, an unmarried man, but that a married man is better than, or superior to, that unmarried man who is either "self-defiling" or indulging in illicit sexual intercourse. (Note that in Y.53, 7, where, too, a word having the like meaning—'hakhtyâo'—occurs, we find not only 'maga' but also 'âzhu' (the spirit of lust).

The Pahlavi translator of the Gathas understands the word 'maga' always as meaning 'avizakih' = a pure condition, and it is explained in the commentary by 'avizak shapirih' (=pure good) or 'avizak saritarih' (=pure evil) according as it is used in a good or bad sense. We do not, however, find in the Avesta a root 'maoh' or any of its possible modifications, meaning 'to be pure' or 'to purify.'

ВАЕРҮО (=OFFSPRING).

The word 'Vaêpyô' occurring in Y. 51, 12 is the nom. sing. form of 'Vaêpya' which is derived from 'Vip' = to emit seed, and

which therefore expresses the idea of 'one who is born of a seed' i.e., 'an offspring, a son, or a descendant,' just like the word 'ohithra' in Y. 32, 3 and Yt. 13, 87. Thus 'Vaêpyô' means exactly the same as 'hunu' occurring in the preceding stanza but one (Y. 51, 10—drujô hunu). 'Vaêpyô' comes with 'kevinô,' the form of which word can be understood in both the ways without bringing any difference in meaning.—viz., (1) as the nom. sing. of 'Kevina,' an adjectival form from 'Kavi' thus meaning 'belonging to the Kavi clan,' i.e., 'a Kavian' (see such adjectival forms with the suffix 'na' in Yt. 13, 104, 108, 112, 113); or (2) as the gen. sing. of the base 'Kavin,' another form of 'Kavan' which is a noun, thus meaning 'of the Kavi or Kavan.' Thus the two words 'Vaêpyô Kevinô' together mean 'the son or offspring or descendant of the Kavi' or 'a member of the Kavi clan,' just as 'the son of Adam' signifies 'a human being,' the Pers. 'mardum nezâd' = 'born of man,' 'divzâd' = 'born of the devil,' 'khusrav nezâd' = 'born of a royal family, &c. &c. Scholars have translated 'Vaêpya' by 'one who commits an unnatural crime' according to the signification of the words 'Vaêpyô,' 'Vipta,' and 'Vifyoiti' occurring in Vend. 8, 32 and 26. In connection with this point we should remember that the root 'Vip' does not necessarily express the idea of unnatural intercourse alone, but also that of sexual intercourse, as will be seen from the word 'narô-vaêpyô' in Vend. 1, 12. The very fact that the word 'narô' (=male) is put there with 'Vaêpya' in order to express the idea of unnatural crime, shows that 'Vip' alone by itself can express both the ideas mentioned above, otherwise the occurrence of 'narô' with 'Vaêpya' is superfluous. And when 'Vip' can be used for sexual intercourse, it can thereby also be used for the production of beings by that intercourse. Thus 'Vaêpya' can also mean 'an offspring born of a seed.'

Gao (=EARTH, WORLD, COUNTRY).

The word 'gao' occurs about twenty-five times in the Gathas. It is derived from 'Gu' which is only another form of 'ju' = to live, and it expresses the comprehensive sense of 'the living world,' or 'the world or earth,' (note Latin 'Ge' = earth). Thus 'Gao' is only a synonym of 'gaêtha' and 'anghu', the former meaning 'world' (when it is in the plural number) or 'land' or 'farm', the

latter 'world' or 'life'. The restricted meaning of 'Gao' in the sense of 'cattle' is only a secondary meaning of that word. In the Gathas it is never used for 'cattle', the word for 'cattle' being 'pasu' (mark 'pasu' and 'vira,' i.e., cattle and men, together in Y.31,15 and Y.45,9). The following are some of the ideas connected with 'Gao' occurring in the Gathas, which will bear out the above signification :—

(1) The crying or complaint of "Gêus urvan" to God in Y.29, 1 and 9, is the crying of the soul or heart of the world, which is nothing but a poetic representation of the idea that the Personified world or Earth lifts up its voice to God from its heart without any articulate utterance, just as a man in his suffering sometimes complains to God from the heart, i.e., "by the voice of his spirit" (see Y.32,9) without speaking any word by mouth. The word 'urvan', because it means 'soul', does not necessarily show that the 'Gao' whose 'urvan' is mentioned here is a living being. This stanza tells us plainly that it was on account of a state of violence and war raging on the earth or world, that the earth or world was undergoing destruction, and it was to stop this process of destruction that "the soul of the world cried out unto Mazda." Zarathustra's mission too was to improve the condition of the world by bringing human beings on the path of a wise and peaceful mode of life: he was not sent to take care of the cattle species.

(2) The phrase 'Gêus Vâstra' (Y.33,4, etc.) signifies 'the work of cultivating land' exactly as in 'Gêus verezênê' (34,14) and 'gavôi verezyâtâm' (Y.48,5). 'Gêus Vâstra' should be remembered together with 'Môi Vâstrâ' (Y.29,1) where the first person 'Môi' stands for 'Gao', the idea in the latter being that of God who takes care of the land or earth (by ordering the people to avoid violence and war and adopt good wise works such as agriculture).

(3) In the expression 'Gãm azim rân̄yo skeretim,' the word 'Azi' means 'vast or extensive' which can be seen from the following: The root 'az' means, among other things, also 'to go, to walk', its other form being 'ash'. Now the idea of 'going' leads also to the idea of 'moving or spreading', the spreading of something being nothing but causing a thing to go far and wide,

and the greater or lesser the room for motion or spread, the greater or lesser is the extent or vastness of that thing. Thus 'az' can also mean 'to spread or to be spread'. It is in this very way that the word 'perethwi' meaning 'vast or extensive'—which is applied as an adjective to 'Zām' (=earth) in the phrase 'Zām perethwim'—is also derived from a root, *viz.*, 'par' which primarily means 'to go' and can also express the idea of 'being spread or spreading.' So also in the words 'Vispayāo gaēthayāo fravōis', Y. 57,15, which should mean 'the whole vast world or country or earth', the word 'fravi' meaning 'broad or vast', is derived from 'fru' which is only a modified form of the root 'par' of 'perethwim.' Thus the non-Gathic expressions 'Zām perethwim' and 'gaēthayāo fravōis' signify exactly the same thing as the Gathic "Gām Azim."

The other adjective of 'gām,' *viz.*, 'rānyō-skeretīm' is a compound of 'rānya' and 'skeretī,' the first part of which is from 'ran' or 'rā,' which is another form of 'ram' or 'rap'=to rejoice or to please, and 'skeretī' is from 'skere,' an extended form of 'kere' = 'to make, produce or cause.' Thus 'rānyō-skeretīm' means 'joy-producing or joy-giving.' The earth (gām) is called 'joy-giving,' because it is full of things which give pleasure to man, *e.g.*, its beautiful scenes, its tasteful products, and other things giving enjoyment to man's life. The application of this epithet "joy-giving" to the earth reminds us of the non-Gathic words "asō rāmō-dāitīm" of Vend. 1.1 meaning 'the joy-giving land or place,' which words occur before mention is made of the different geographical divisions of the Iranian world.

(4) We should note the occurrence of the term 'Vohu Manangh' with 'Gao' in more than one place in the Gathas (33,3 ; 34,14 ; 47,3 ; &c.). It is a well-known fact that tradition regards 'Vohu Manangh' as the angel, as it were, presiding over 'Gao' when 'Gao' is understood in the sense of 'cattle.' It is the application of a restricted signification to 'Gao,' *i.e.*, 'cattle' that makes it impossible for any one to explain the presiding power of Vohu Manangh over Gao. It is Vohu Manangh, *i.e.*, Good or Wise Mind, or Wisdom belonging to Mazda Ahura that keeps the whole living world, and not only cattle, from entire destruction. In other words, Vohu Manangh presides over the

whole world and especially the human world. In the same way it is that 'Āramaiti' is sometimes mentioned with 'Gao' because this word in its abstract signification (= High-mindedness or Wise-mindedness) is only a synonym of Vohu Managh. (See 47,3 ; 48,5 ; &c.). Tradition has rightly spoken of Āramaiti as the angel presiding over the earth.

(5) We find in some places in the Gathas mention made of 'Gao' together with the law or path destined by God for its existence, as in Y. 31,9 we read of 'Mazda' prescribing a path, *i.e.*, an appointed function, unto or for Gao' (akhyâi dadâo pathâm) and in 29,7 Mazda is said to have "made the Mānthra of prosperity for Gao", *i.e.*, He has given a moral law or commandment unto Gao which will secure its prosperity. The same is the idea in 'tashô Gaêthâoscha daênâoschâ' of 31,11 (eto.) the word 'Gaêthâ' being, as I have pointed out before, only a synonym of Gao. The law appointed by God was not simply for the care and welfare of cattle but for the maintenance and prosperity of the whole world, and especially for the human world.

(6) The proper word for 'cattle' in the Gathas is 'pasu' which occurs twice in conjunction with 'Vira' = men (Y. 31,15 and 45,9). In the non-Gathic Avesta, of course we find not only 'pasu' with 'Vira' or 'Mashya' (see 'pas-vira,' and 'pasvascha mash-yâcha), but sometimes also 'Gao' with 'Vira' (see 'gêuscha vānthwa viranāmcha pourutâs')—which shows that 'Gao' was understood by some people or at certain times to mean the same as 'pasu'.

(7) In Y. 48,6 we find the sentence—'at akhyâi ashâ Mazdâo urvarâo vakhshat.' This sentence has been translated by scholars thus : 'God caused trees or vegetation to grow for the sake of cattle.' Besides the absurdity of speaking of all the vegetation as created only for cattle and not chiefly for human beings, the correct rendering of this line should be—'In (or, on) the earth, or due to the earth, has God caused trees or vegetation to grow.' The idea here is that it is not in the air or anywhere else but on the land or earth that God has caused trees and plants to grow, and that therefore a man is obliged to the existence of the earth (brought about by the hand of God) for all the food that sustains his body in his earthly life. Note that this sentence occurs

immediately after the sentences—'the land or earth is our good abode or our good property' and 'the land gives vigour and strength to us (by its production of food).' All these lines occur in praise of the indispensable utility of land for the existence and welfare of human beings when the speaker calls on the people to engage themselves in the occupation of agriculture. The word 'akhyâi' is undoubtedly dative in its form, but the dative case is used also in the genitive or locative sense: see the dative 'gaêthayâi' of Y. 9, 3 which is undoubtedly used to denote the locative sense, and this noun 'gaêthâ,' is, as I have pointed out before, only a synonym of 'gao'. But even by keeping its very dative sense the word 'akhyâi' can bring the above idea, provided we render this dative form by 'due to.'

(8) Besides the above main points, I here put down other Gathic expressions connected with Gao which will bear out the above-explained signification of that word:—

(1) 'Gâus jidyâi (32, 14) = to destroy the world (for which idea see also 'gaêthâo merenchainti' of 31,1 and 'ahum merengeidyâi' of 46, 11);

(2) 'Gavôi ârôis âsendâ' (51, 14) = perfect destroyers of the world;

(3) 'Gâm hvarechâ (32, 10) = the earth and the sun (for which joint mention of the earth and the sun see also Nyâish 1, where the light of the sun is spoken of as essential for earthly existence);

(4) 'Gêus jyôtûm' (32,12) = the life of the world, i.e., the living beings of the world;

(5) 'Gêus verezâna' (34,13) = the work of cultivating the land (for which see 'Gêus Vâstra' noted above);

(6) 'Gâm âeshmâi dâtâ' (44,20) = deliver the world or land over to violence and war;

(7) 'Gâo frôretôis' (46,4) = moving about in the land;

(8) 'Gâm Vidât' (51,5) = obtain or conquer the land or country;

(9) 'Gêus tashâ' (29,2) = the maker or creator of the world;

(10) The 'Kshâhman' of 'Gâo' (29,9) = the afflicted or ruined condition of the world (as distinguished from the healthy and prosperous condition of the world);

THE HUMAN SPIRIT: ITS ORIGIN, AIM AND ... END, ACCORDING TO THE AVESTA.

Whence come, O firmament, those myriad lights?
Whence comes thy juice, O vine in yonder heights?
Whence comes the perfume of the rose and whence
The soul that with this flesh for ever fights.—Abu'l Ala.

The question of the nature and origin of the human spirit has more or less occupied the thoughts of the world's best thinkers and philosophers. Poets of all ages have sung of the divine origin of man, and expounders of various schools of philosophy have tried to form some conception of his existence as a conscious individuality. The atheist and the scientist, the agnostic and the materialist has each thought of the solution of the great problem of the why and wherefore of man. Each has piled up his little mound of criticism; each has his own way of thinking; each finds consolation in his pet theory. Meanwhile the bewildered reader feels that the germ of truth has long since been lost, buried deep beneath the divergent opinions with which it has been overlaid.

Give us details— details of the origin of life, the meaning of life and the end of life—is the constant appeal of the thoughtful mind. Whence does the spirit come? Was it created or evolved out of nothing? Does it exist before birth, and if so, where? Death is fast approaching. Whither do we go? What is our end? These are the ever recurring questions we ask ourselves. These the questions we attempt and desire to solve.

The days of laughter and ridicule have gone past. The days of agnosticism are over. With all the spread of knowledge and the great discoveries which have changed so much the face of nature, has come a revelation—a glorious revelation of the existence of a Divine Presence—God.

So far we merely believed without knowledge. We now believe from experience. We were asked to believe and we believed, anchoring our belief on faith in religion. We were

enshrouded in a mist and could see through it but darkly. We have wandered in darkness. Our faith was our only consolation. With the advance of the world and the spread of knowledge, the mists have rolled away, the darkness dispersed. A light has shone on the world. We have once more caught glimpses of this light, gleams of which got through the inspirations of our prophets. The deeper we go, the more clearly it shines, until like a lightning flash it becomes an abiding splendour with us, and faith becomes fruition.

To get at the prime root, the first principle of things, it is desirable to begin as near as possible to the root-principle, God. The teachings of the Avesta constitute a beautiful belief in One, Living, Personal God. Ahura Mazda, the most bountiful spirit is the keynote of the Avesta. He is the Creator of the physical and the spiritual world (Yas. XXXI, 11, and I, 1). He is the Creator of the vegetable kingdom (Yas. XLIV, 4; XXXVII, 1, Vend. XIX, 35); the Creator of the animal kingdom (Yas. XXIX, 1-2; Yt. IX, 1); and every part of the world teeming with life—beasts and birds, fishes and insects—(Yt. VIII, 48). He is the Creator of man (Yas. I, 1). He has fashioned man's body (Yas. XXX, 11) and endowed him with understanding. He is the source of man's innate and acquired wisdom and knowledge (Yas. XXII, 25; XXV, 6). He has bestowed upon mankind the power of intelligence—Vohu Mano (Yas. XXXI, 8); the highest righteousness—Asha Vahishta (Yas. XXXI, 8); the power of excellence—Kshathra Vairya (Yas. XXXIII, 12 and XLV, 9); bountiful humility—Spenta Armaiti (Yas. XLIV, 6-7; XLV, 4); bodily and spiritual health and welfare—Haurvatât (Yas. XLV, 10; XLVII, 1); prolonged life in this world and everlasting life hereafter—Ameretât (Yas. XLV, 10; XLVII, 1).

The Fravashi—spirit of man, was created thousands of years before his birth. The birth of man is not a new event in the history of creation. The Fravashi was created by God with the creation of the world, and it existed in the form of an angel, or the superior class of beings called angels, helping in the work of creation. With the birth of man it comes into existence in this world, and after his death, it still continues to exist in the spiritual

spheres, progressing on and on. Irrespective of time and space it descends to this world, to comfort, console and help us incarnate spirits, when piously invoked by the living. (*Vide*, Farvardin Yasht).

Every individual personage has a separate existence, not only in this world, but also in the next world, after death. (Yas. XLV, 8; XLVI, 2; XLIX, 11; L, 4; XIX, 28, 34; and Vend. IV, 49, 55). Innumerable passages in the Avesta treat of the immortality of the spirit, and Zoroastrians ever chant hymns of Ahura Mazda's "Home of Song" which is beyond the mask of death, the land of justice and of right, the home where they hope to abide hereafter in everlasting purity and peace :

"The spirit of the righteous implores blessings in the everlasting life, immortality — Ameretâiti."— Yas. XLV, 7.

"He (Ahura Mazda)...has appointed in his kingdom happiness and immortality".— Yas. XLV, 10.

"Gladly pass the spirits of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda ... to the abode of His holy beings".— Vend. XIX, 32.

"May I bring my soul to Garonmâna, through good-mindedness, knowing well the blessings and rewards of actions, prescribed by Ahura Mazda."— Yas. XXVIII, 4.

Man's life does not become extinct after the separation of his spirit from his body. "May they give us rewards after the separation of our consciousness from our bodies..." (Yas. LV, 2). After death, the material body becomes dust and mingles with earth (Vend. VII, 50); whereas the spirit which is immaterial goes to the imperishable, undecaying world to live and advance there for ever and ever.— Vend. XIX, 31; Yas. XXII, 16 and 34.

Man's future destiny depends upon the proportion in which he discharges his duties towards God, towards his fellow-creatures and towards himself. The reward or punishment depends upon the life he leads. Though heaven is spoken of as a beautifully constructed, brightly illumined, magnificent palace, and hell as an abode of utter darkness, the material terms are only used figuratively to express the ideas better. The terms are more relative than real. Future life differs from the present, in the states immediately

succeeding this in a very slight degree. It is a life of continued progress in which the sin-stained spirit is compelled to remedy in sorrow and shame the acts of conscious transgression done in the body.

Punishment is not the vindictive act of an angry God, but the inevitable consequence of the conscious transgression of known laws. The retribution laid upon the transgressor consists in his being made to see the results of his own sins. There is no escape from just and deserved punishment. "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." The spirit of the righteous tastes "as much felicity and joy as the entire living world can taste". (Yt. XXII, 1, 8). The spirit of the wicked tastes "as much of misery as the entire living world can taste". (Yt. XXII, 19, 28). "Unto the good, good, unto the evil, evil". (Yas. XLIII, 5). "For the holy the best mind, for the wicked the worst life". (Yas. XXX, 4).

Good and evil deeds are all reflected in the abode that man builds for himself while on earth, in material body. "Their works do follow them", and the consciences of both the virtuous and the sinful are set before them in "fulness and reality". (Yt. XXII, 8, 13, 26, and 35.) The "beautiful maid", and the "ugly woman" face man on the fourth day after death. The sinner is made to bear the misery of his earthy, base, sensual passions. This is his punishment. This the hell, the "abode of darkness." This the fruit of conscious sin. The sinner is given opportunities of mentally developing and cultivating his unused faculties, and neglected talents. The knowledge he has failed to gain is imparted to him. He is made to progress and advance and thus fitted to associate with the more advanced spirits of higher orders.

The entry of the human spirit in the higher spheres after bodily death on earth is very graphically portrayed in the Vishtâsp Yasht, 55-64. (*Vide* translation in S.B.E., Vol. XXIII, pp. 342-345.)

The moral of Zoroastrianism is, then, the belief in One, Loving, Almighty Father, Ahura Mazda, the Creator of the world, the Creator of everything in the world, the Creator of the Human Spirit. The dominant note of the Avesta is Truth; the highest ideal that man can attain to is Truth; the guiding principle of the human spirit is Truth—Truth in thought, word, and deed. The

philosophy of Zoroastrianism teaches man to live a pure, unselfish, devout life; to help and comfort the poor and the needy, to enlighten the depressed. It is eminently calculated to make man a good, loyal citizen; to make him a better man in all his relations, domestic, social, and civil, and to fit him for advancement and progress. It teaches that man in his deepest conscious inmost is a child of God. A triune being, constituted of a physical body, a soul body, and a conscious, invisible, immortal spirit—which spirit is a God-begotten entity. It teaches that the spirit of man is created by God; that it pre-exists its birth in this world through the material body of a woman; that this life is a stage in the evolutionary progress, which stage every spirit must pass through to attain perfection; that the spirit longs after a return to its Father's "Home of Song"; that this world is a wayside inn, where we tarry for a season, throwing off our sandals, and presently resume our onward march.¹ It teaches that death does not end all; that the spirit exists after death in a spiritual form; that it is given opportunities to unfold and develop mentally and morally; that it advances on till perfection is reached; that death, or what we in our blindness call death, is birth into a more refined state of existence, with superior conditions of progress; that death is but a passage to higher life; that it is necessary for the human spirit to pass through this door of death, to attain that higher life; that there is no death. The so-called dead are the most alive.—WE ARE THE DEAD. It teaches that justice is the law of God; That the good and the bad deeds of man are very minutely discerned; that the wheat is separated from the tares, the good from the evil, the righteous from the wicked; that man is a moral actor, and so far as his knowledge extends, he is a responsible being, reaping "anguish from vice, and enjoyment from virtue"; that everything is weighed in the balance,

¹ Wordsworth sings :

" Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
 The soul that rises with us, our life's star
 Has had elsewhere its setting
 And cometh from afar —
 Not in entire forgetfulness
 And not in utter nakedness,
 But trailing clouds of glory do we come,
 From God who is our home."

everything taken into account, so much so that we are told that Ahura Mazda makes due allowance for all circumstances, motives and causes, which may have influenced man's conduct in life; that he is judged according to his merits and demerits (Yas. XXXI, 13; Vend. III, 36, 40; V, 26; and VI, 4, 25); that justice is rendered to him according to his thoughts, words and deeds; that the rich and poor, high and low, are all alike in God's eye; that there are no different codes for different classes of people; that equal justice is dispensed to all.

The materialistic teachings of Reincarnation and Karma find no place in the teachings of the Avesta. Fate is unknown. Everything is done according to God's will. Ahura Mazda does what he thinks best for man. With humility and with entire submission has man to accept the working of God. He is to have unlimited confidence in the doings of his Creator. "Let this or that be done according to the will of Ahura Mazda". (Yas. XXIX, 4). He has to work earnestly, and success will be his reward. His success in life depends upon his efforts. He is not to be daunted by obstacles. He may devoutly appeal for help to Ahura Mazda and help will be forthcoming if devoutly asked. Character is put before creed and the old doctrine "Help yourself and God will help you" is reasserted. Man can attain that perfection after which he longs only through co-operation with Ahura Mazda.

"O Thou, most bountiful Spirit, Ahura Mazda, come to my assistance; through my piety give me power; through my holy offerings and my righteousness give me great strength, and through my mental goodness give me thrift law." (Yas. XXIII, 12).

The pseudo-atheist, the nihilist, the sceptic, the materialist, the agnostic, the sardonic scoffer at religion, find no foothold in the Avestan philosophy to base their fads on. Let them follow in the rear if they choose. Let them hug their philosophy (!) which is sufficient for their wants. We may speak unto them as "unto the children of Israel" that they may go forward. Timid souls, they dare not, although they may fain go on. Doubting casuists, they are hampered with difficulties in reasoning. Why should they be hurried? "He that has ears, let him hear".

The Avesta preaches that there is "joy eternal and universal for the righteous; that there is joy for him in life; that there is

joy in desiring and striving to do his duty; that there is joy in desiring and striving to grow rich in spirit; that there is joy in death; that there is joy after death". It teaches that death alters our place but not our character; it cannot alter our self. If we have been good and pure before death, we shall be good and pure after death. If we have built a heaven on earth by thinking heavenly thoughts, by speaking heavenly words, by doing heavenly deeds, we shall enjoy that heaven hereafter. This will be our Heaven; this the state of beatific blessedness.

Finally, the teachings of the philosophy of Zoroastrianism are in harmony with the great laws of evolution; they are in agreement with pure reason, in accordance with the heart's sweetest hopes, and in consonance with the soul's brightest inspirations. They teach man to believe in the Divine, to believe in the reality of spirit life, to believe in inspiration, the divine inflowing of life and truth to the human soul; to believe in justice and judgment, to believe in prayer and the power of prayer, to believe in immortality. The Zoroastrian sings:—

"In order that our minds may be delighted and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Mazda, go likewise (unto heaven) as the best world of the saints, as devoted to Ahura And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching, come round about Thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee!" (Yas. LX, 11,12).

"Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve, for now with (mine) eye, I see him clearly, Lord of the good spirit, of word and action, I knowing through my righteousness, Him who is Ahura Mazda. And to him (not here alone, but) in his house of song, His praise we 'shall bear." (Yas. LV, 8).

"A friend, a brother or a father to us, Mazda, Lord." (Yas. XLV, 11).

THE SIXTEEN SANSKRIT SHLOKAS RECITED BEFORE KING JADI RANA.

In order to escape the persecution and fanaticism of the Arab conquerors of Iran, the Parsis having placed their wives and children on board, left for ever the land of their forefathers and arrived at the port of Diu in Kathiawar in the eighth century after Christ. Having stayed there for about 19 years, they set sail towards the south and landed at Sanjan which was then under the sway of a liberal and sympathetic king, named Jadi Rana. Before allowing them to enter the city, the king made inquiries about their religion, manners and customs. They gave their response in the 15 well known Sanskrit verses or *Shlokas*, which form the subject of this paper. The king granted the permission which is embodied in the sixteenth verse. These *shlokas* contain the most important tenets of the religion, manners and customs of the Parsis. It is a great pity that they have suffered a good deal at the hands of reckless copyists.

The verses are written in the *Sragdhara* metre consisting of 21 syllables, which may be symbolically represented thus:—

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My friend Ervad Manekji Rustomji Unwala lent me a few Mss. which I have utilised for the purposes of this paper. But they are for the most part grossly incorrect, as regards both prosody and grammar. One Ms. however, that came to my hands through Shamsh-ul-Olma Ervad J. J. Mody was much better than all the others. I have chiefly relied upon this for the text adopted in this paper. I have, however, made certain emendations of my own for which I am alone responsible. Besides giving a literal translation of my own, I give three other translations, one in English, another in Gujarati, and the third which is a redaction of the original into Sanskrit prose with a commentary. The English translation is one contained in a rare work of Dr. Drummond who does not seem to have clearly understood the Sanskrit original.

L.

Commentary.— ये पुरुषाः न्यासमंत्रैर्जिसंख्याकाले त्रिभुवनसदनं त्रिभुवनगृहं सूर्यं ध्यायन्ति वै अथ
 कार्यः । न्यासमंत्रैर्जिसंख्यं हुतवहं आग्निदेवं तथा अनिलं वायुं तथा भूमिं पृथ्वीं आद्यं आकाशं तथा तोयः जलं
 संपंचतत्त्वं सध्यकम्पंचतत्त्वं ये ध्यायन्ति । त्रिभुवनसदनं पंचतत्त्वस्यापि विशेषणं । श्री होर्मिजदं श्री होर्मिजदसंज्ञकं

सुरेशं देवेशं आहुः । किं लक्षणं श्री होर्मिज्दं बहुगुणपरिमाणं बहवो अनेके च ते गुणाश्च बहुगुणाः बहुगुणैः गरिमा गुह्यत्वं कस्यासी बहुगुणपरिमाणं चिदानंदरूपतत्त्वाद्नेकगुणयुक्तमित्यर्थः । तस्मै पुरोद्व्यमाणं सकलव्यापकमित्यर्थः । पुनः किं लक्षणं कृणुं कल्यायुक्तमित्यर्थः । एवं विभं श्री होर्मिज्दं ईश्वरं आहुः । ते वयं पारसीकाः । पारसीदेशे भवाः पारसीकाः । किं लक्षणाः पारसीकाः गौराः गौतवर्णाः क्षीराः सुवीराः सुतरां वीराः बाह्वाः अतिप्रकाशितपराक्रमाः इत्यर्थः । दर्शितपराक्रमाः वीराः संभावितपराक्रमाः भवाः इति वचनात् । पुनः किं लक्षणाः बहुबलानां प्रचुरबलानां नित्याः आश्रयाः एव विधाः ये ते वयमिति रक्षां पृष्टे सति उक्तवन्तः इति तात्पर्यं ।

Translation of Commentary.— Those men who think of the sun which is the abode of the three worlds, three times a day, with Nyāish prayers, who think of the angels of fire, wind, earth, the first sky, and water together with the five elements thrice a day with Nyāish prayers, who pray to the Lord of the Angels named Hormazd, Whose greatness is due to many virtues (i. e., Who is possessed of several virtues, such as intelligence, happiness, and inherent essence), and Who is visible before us (i. e., Who pervades everything), Who is full of mercy (Hormazd possessed of such attributes);— those are we Parsis, (i. e., people born in the country of Parsis), who are white in colour, courageous, very bold, (of fighting spirit) and whose heroism is well known.

Notes.— Drummond takes the word ध्यायति in the sense of adoring. I think it only means, “to believe in,” “think highly of,” “praise,” as suggested by the Gujarati translator.— It is difficult to follow the commentator when he suggests that त्रिभुवनसद्वन् is an adjunct of the “five elements” also. Drummond translates the expression thus: “who exist in the three worlds”. I think it simply refers to the Zoroastrian doctrine of the three worlds, heaven, hell and *hamestag/tn*.— The Gujarati translator has correctly understood the sense.— The commentator has followed the reading तस्मै कृणुं.— गौराः has not, I submit, been correctly translated, in the three versions. It cannot mean “white”, firstly, because the king could easily see for himself whether the Parsis were white or not; secondly, because it would be a sort of invidious comparison with the Hindus; and thirdly, because the same word occurs in the ninth verse, where it is quite clear that the Parsis were गौराः on account of their graceful conduct.

II.

स्नाने ध्याने सुपाठे हुतवहवने माशने मारयमौभे
शास्त्रोक्तं सप्तमौनं निदधति नृवराः सर्वदा सर्वदा नः ।

नानाधूपैः सुपुष्पैर्वरफलबहुलैः पूजयन्तीह धेनौ
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—The best of men who always observe the seven kinds of silence mentioned in the Scriptures, (namely), at the time of bathing, praying, reading holy Scriptures, making offerings to fire, taking meals, secreting faeces, and making water; who in this world perform ceremonies with incense of several kinds, good flowers and plenty of best fruits;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong.

Drummond's Translation.—The Parsis observe silence in seven situations, viz., bathing, contemplating Divinity, reading divine Scriptures, making holy offering, eating victuals, secreting the contents of the alimentary canal, item versicæ urinæ. The affluent among them are liberal to their fellow-creatures. In sacrifices to the Cow the Parsis make scented wood smoke and offer flowers diffusing fragrance.

Gujerati Translation.—स्नानं कर्तुं ध्यानं कर्तुं अनन्तं अग्निं हवनं कर्तुं श्राद्धं कर्तुं भोजनं नमस्ते येसाय कर्तुं पाण्डुरङ्गीं सुभी नन्तं शासनं अरथे सात-वातनीं भोजनं असज्जितं नरति तिनखिं ये वातनीं सुनं. नानां पञ्चरत्नां धूपं कर्तुं इति जातनां धूपे करि धूप्यां इति इति करि तिष्ठे करि आय्येने पुण्ड्रं छै. तिष्ठे करि अयो गौरा तेवा अयो पारसि छै.

Commentary.—ये पुरुषाः स्नाने निमज्जने ध्याने परमात्मानं चिंतने यस्तपाठे आत्रादिसम्यक्पठने तथा हृतवह—हवने वह्निप्रचुरहोमे तथा प्राशने फलादिभक्षणे तथा मक्षभोज्ये अन्नादिभोजने शास्त्रोक्तं सप्तमौन्यं सप्तप्रकारकं मौन्यं विदधति । ये नृवराः पुरुषश्रेष्ठाः सर्वदा निरंतरं सर्वं वै दानं सर्ववस्तुप्रदानं निदधते । तथा ये नानापुष्पैः धूपैः नानाजाति-अमुल्लोवानादिधूपैः तथा सुपुष्पैः मालतीचंपकादिसमीचीनकुसुमैः तथा वरफलानां श्रेष्ठफलानां बहुलैः प्राचुयैः श्रेष्ठनानाफलैः इत्यर्थः । अग्निं पूजयन्ति ये आर्याः पुणर्वन्तः गौराः धीराः सुवीराः बहु-बलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः । सर्वत्र प्रश्नोत्तरं ॥

Translation of Commentary.—Those men who observe the seven kinds of silence mentioned in the Scriptures,—while taking a bath, thinking of the Almighty, reciting the Yasht (i.e., carefully reading verses etc.), offering the great Hôṃ prayer to fire, eating fruits etc., and taking food etc.; those best men who always give away everything in charity and who pray to fire by means of fragrant substances, of several kinds, such as aloe, frankincense etc., and by means of good flowers like jasmine, champak etc., and by means of many best fruits of different kinds; those who are possessed of noble qualities etc.;—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—The second line of this verse has been greatly corrupted. In one Ms. we have मलयीने शाबोक्तं etc.; in another मलयीने altogether disappears, and instead we have महामोजे. I have tried to set the verse right without marring the sense or the metre.—मन्त्र is an abstract noun from the adjective मन्त्र.—One Ms. gives the last word of the third line as धेनो; Drummond and the Gujarati translation are wrong in supposing that this word refers to the worship of the cow. There is not the slightest reference to the worship of the cow in the Zoroastrian Scriptures, nor can we point to any such custom in the past. To get rid of this difficulty one Ms. reads नानाधुने: सुपुष्पैर्वरफलबहुलैः पूज्यन्त्यग्निभार्याः meaning “who noble-born pray to the fire with flowers etc”. धेनु does not mean the cow here, but the earth. If we adopt the reading धेनो: the meaning would be that the Parsis worship the earth with flowers etc. I prefer to adopt the reading धेनौ and इह धेनौ would mean इह लोके “in this world”.—William Burder in his book named “Religions, Ceremonies, and Customs” says at p. 418, “While they (Magi) washed themselves or sat at meals, they observed the most strict silence, no person being permitted to speak a word.” In Sanskrit there is a motto मौनं सर्वार्थसाधनं “silence accomplishes everything”, which the ancient Parsis seem to have carried out into actual practice.

III.

रम्यं वस्त्रं पवित्रं कवचगुणमयं कंचुकं नित्यमपे
 युक्तामूर्णसिकुट्टीमहिमुखसमताबंधनां चैव कद्र्या ।
 मूर्धानं वस्त्रगुप्तं पटयुगलतले रक्षणं कुर्वतो ये
 गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनित्यास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who always put on the body a clean sacred garment (Sûdra) which has the virtues of a coat-of-mail, who put on the waist a woollen Kûshti which is fastened (on the Sûdra), (each end of) which is like the mouth of a serpent and which is tied into knots at equal distances; and who cover their head with turban underneath which is put a cap made of two pieces of cloth;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong.

Drummond's Translation.—The parsis always wear a fine jacket (Sûdra) in the place of a coat-of-mail and instead of the mouth of a serpent, a woollen tape (Kûshti) tied round the loins

and a small cap of two folds of cloth covering the crown of the head.

Gujerati Translation.— સુંદર સર્પુ પવિત્ર વસન પેહેરવું સહસ્રેનાં શર્પુ તેને સદૃશ કહીએ. નેત્ર અંગમહિ યુક્ત રિહિ છે. ઉનની કુસતિ શાપના અખજેવું તેવું ગાંઠ તે કમરની નાભે બાંધવિ. માથાની વીધે યુગ્મ વસન રાખવું. પાગડી હિંદલ કુલેશ રાખવી તેવા અંગે પારસી છે.

Commentary.— રમ્યં રમણીયં વર્ણ પવિત્રં કવચગુણમયં સંનાહગુણસ્વં કંતુકં તદરાસક્રમં અંગ-વર્ણં યે પુરુષાઃ નિત્યં નિરતરં વ્રજે દર્શતિ । ચ પરં કટ્યાં કટિવિષયે યુક્તાં નિયમયુક્તાં ઝર્ગાસકુસ્તીં ઝર્ગરક્તિકુસ્તીં દર્શતે । કિં લક્ષણં કુસ્તીં મૃદુમુલસમતાવંધનાં મૃદુમુલસમતયા કોમલમુલતુલ્ય તયા વંધનં યસ્યાઃ સા તાં મૃદુમુલસમતાવંધનાં યે પુરુષાઃ પટયુગલત્તે દ્વિપદનિર્મિતટોપિકામલ્યે દ્વલ્યથઃ વજ્રગુપ્તં પટવેષ્ટિતં મૂર્ધનં મસ્તકં રક્ષણં રક્ષાં કુર્વંતઃ તે વર્ણ પારસીકાઃ ॥

Translation of Commentary.— Those men who always wear on their body a shirt called Sûdra which is delightful and pure, and which is like a coat-of-mail possessing all the qualities of an armour, and who put on Kûshti of cotton tied according to religious rites (or tied always as a rule on the waist).— Kûshti of what sort? Kûshti, the soft hanging parts of which are of equal length (*lit.*, the tying of which is attended with equalness of the soft ends); those men who protect their head with a turban underneath which there is a pair of cloths (i.e., with a two-folded cap within);— those are we Parsis.

Notes.— Instead of અહિમુલ્લ one Ms. reads મૃદુમુલ્લ; and for સવત્, સમંતં which would improve the sense but which mars the metre.— I would prefer to read પ્દ instead of પ્ત so that the line would be construed thus: મૂર્ધનં વજ્રગુપ્તં (કુર્વંતો) પ્દયુગલત્તે રક્ષણં કુર્વંતો “who cover their head with cloth and protect the soles of their feet (with shoes)”. *Aemāk dōbârishna* or moving without the shoes on, was a sin according to the Patet. Herodotus expressly refers to the fact that the Parsis always covered their heads.

IV.

યદ્ગામલ્યે વિવાહે કથિતથુમદિને સુસ્વરં ગીતવાદ્યં

શ્રીસ્વપ્નં ચંદનાચં વપુષિ યુવતયો ધારયન્તીહ વેર્ષાં ।

સ્વાચારાથે પવિત્રા બહુગુણવિષયો રમ્યશાસ્ત્રાર્થયુક્તાઃ

ગૌરા ધીરાઃ સુવીરા બહુબલનિલયાસ્તે વર્ણ પારસીકાઃ ॥

Translation.— Whose females cause melodious songs to be sung and music (to be played) at auspicious marriage

ceremonies, which are performed on the lucky days mentioned (to them); whose females apply sandal, fragrance etc. to their bodies who being pure in their dealings perform ceremonies of various qualities; and who act up to (*lit.*, are attached to) the delightful Scriptures;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong.

Drummond's Translation.— On occasions of marriages and feasts, the Parsis rejoice with song and the sound of instruments. Their wives then anoint them with paste of sandal and sweet scented oils; nor does mirth make them exceed or forget the excellent ordinances of their law.

Gujerati Translation.— જે માંગલને વિષે વિવાહને વિષે કહેલા એવા શુભદિન તેને વિષે ગીતવગ્નતર આત્મશ્રવ કરવું. શુભપદ્યદિન અસનિ પોતાના શરીરને વિષે લગાડિને ગીતનાદ વગ્ન કરે. આચાર પવિતર જે ધણાં યુનનું વિધી છે. રમ્ય શાસ્ત્રનેથે જુએ છે. એવા અમે પારસી છીએ.

Commentary.—યદમાંગલ્યે યેષાં માંગલ્યે વિકાહે પાણિમહણે કથિતશુભદિને ઉક્તશુભદિવસે યુવતયઃ સ્ત્રિયઃ સોસંગ સવસહિતં (?) યથા ભવતિ તથા ગીતવાદ્યં ગીતયાનાનિ ચ વાદ્યાનિ તુર્યાદીનિ ચ.....નિધારયંતિ । તથા યુવતયઃ વપુષિ ગાત્રે ચંદનાદ્યં કર્પૂરાદિયુક્તં શ્રીષંઘં ચંદનાદિ ધારયંતિ । ચ પરં રૂઢ અસ્મિન્ પ્રદેશે યેષાં યુવતયઃ સ્વાચારાઃ સ્વકીયા-ચારનિઘ્નઃ વિહિતસ્વકીયચારપરાઃ इत्यर्थः । यत् यस्मान् पवित्राः स्वच्छाः बहुगुणनिधयो अतिगुणवत्यः । च परं रम्यशास्त्रार्थं युक्ताः रमणीयाश्रिताः शास्त्रार्थयुक्ताश्च स्वशास्त्रविहितमार्गाचारिण्यः इत्यर्थः । ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation of Commentary.— Those at whose auspicious ceremonies and marriage ceremonies, which are performed on the auspicious days mentioned to them, the women betake themselves to singing and music of several kinds, such as the band etc.; and whose women apply to their bodies and limbs fragrance of sandal, camphor etc.; and whose women delight in performing their own legitimate functions in this country; whose females are pious and possessed of many virtues; and whose females are conversant with the delightful Scriptures and their meanings (i.e., who regulate their conduct according to the Scriptures);—those are we Parsis.

Notes.— One Ms. reads સોશલં ગીતવાદ્યં. As it is difficult to make out what this is, I have suggested सुखरं. I may also suggest सुखं which means "good hearings, pleasant talks".— For श्रीषंઘ we have also the reading श्रीषંઘ which is practically the same word.

V.

येषां गेहे सुरम्यं मधुररसमयं चाभदानादि नित्यं
कासारं कूपवापीजलपुलरचनं दानमेभिः प्रकारैः ।
वस्त्राद्यं द्रव्यदानं ददति गुणवतां सर्वदा याचकानां
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—In whose house there is the giving away (in charity) of food etc. which is sweet and full of pleasant taste; who do such charitable acts as the building of lakes, wells, reservoirs and bridges on rivers, (*lit.*, waters); who always give presents of money, clothes etc. to deserving petitioners;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong.

Drummond's Translation.—They entertain guests with plenty of food and that which is pleasing to the taste. They excavate for the public convenience pools and wells. They give to deserving objects gratis, cloth and other articles, which they stand in need of.

Gujerati Translation.—इहां अेषां भेता अहे भोही जप्पानी योवनार.... अन्नतुं दान नित्य करि. कुअे वापथी पवित्र पाणी जरी लावी. पाडा (= आडा) भोहिथी नहीं अस्तुं. हर प्रकारतुं दान करि. वस्त्रतुं द्रव्यतुं दान करि. ते सर्वे गुणवता ज्ञानकेने आपे. तेवा अमे पारसी छौ.

Commentary.—येषां गेहे गृहे नित्यं निरंतरं सुरम्यं अतिस्वच्छं मधुररसमयं माधुर्यरसप्रचुरं राजिकास्थले राजिकाप्रक्षेपः (?) क्वचित् मरिच्यादिचूर्णप्रक्षेपः क्वचित् आम्लप्रक्षेपादिरसयुक्तमित्यर्थः । एवं विधं अन्नदानं नित्यं निरंतरं वर्तते । च परं येषां गेहे कासारं सरोवरं कूपवापिजलप्रविचरणं.....मच्छादिदानं एभिः प्रकारैः वर्तते । च परं वस्त्राद्यं वस्त्रपूर्णं द्रव्यदानं रुप्यादिद्रव्यदानं गुणवतां गुणयुक्तानां याचकानां सर्वदा निरंतरं ददति । येषां दानं गुणव्याप्तिरेकेण नास्ति इति भावः । एवं विधा ये ते वयं पारसीकाः इत्यर्थः ।

Translation of Commentary.—Those in whose house always takes place the giving away of food, pure and full of delicious taste, sometimes seasoned with mustard, sometimes with pepper and other fragrant powders, sometimes with the juice of tamarind etc.; in whose house there is the giving away in these manners, of fish moving in the waters of wells (?); who always give to deserving applicants rupees (silver), money, clothes etc., in charity, i. e., who do not give in charity to the non-deserving, (*lit.*, to those devoid of merits)—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—For अन्नदानादि one Ms. reads अन्नदानं हि.—One Ms. reads कूपवापीजल प्रविचरणं which besides marring the metre is not quite clear. पुल is the Pahlavi word *pukal*, and persian *pul*.

VI.

यादृग् हर्षो विषादः सुखमसुखमहोद्भानमौने च यादृक्
धर्माधर्मौ च यादृग् विमलकुलसत्तौ यादृगारोग्यरोगौ ।
ऊर्धाधस्तौ च यादृग् द्युतितिमिरमयौ सृष्टिसंहारकारौ
येषामुक्तौ मते द्वौ नरविधिपुरुषौ ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Among whom joy (becomes victorious) over sorrow, happiness over affliction, knowledge over silence, righteousness over unrighteousness, pure birth over malady, creation full of light over destruction full of darkness; in whose speech and thought (the motto is) “as the man, so the reward (in the next word)”;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The Parsi women as well as their men are presumed capable and permitted to contemplate the causes and effects of joy and grief, pleasure and pain, wisdom and folly, virtue and vice, health and disease, which mortals experience and to admire altitude and profundity, light and darkness, creation and chaos, and all the works of the Almighty.

Gujerati Translation.—इत्ये नि शोड, सुख नि असुख, अधिकज्ञान ने शोड-ज्ञान, धर्म ने अधर्म, धुनिआद, ने येधुनिआद, शोख ने नरोख, अण्वाधुं येहेरत ने अधारं दोण्ण. सरेष्ट पेदा थाये ने सिंहर थाई. नृविधिपुरुष. येवा इदानीं भूदा येहु मार्ग समजेआ जेधये. येवा अमे पारसी छै.

Commentary.—येषां पुरुषाणां इत्यादिप्राप्तौ यादृक् यादृशः हर्षः उत्साहः तथा इत्यादिनाहो विषादः तादृशः येषां हर्षविषादौ समौ इत्यर्थः । येषां सुखं आत्मनि आनंदः असुखं दुःखं समं । अहो आश्चर्यं । येषां कांतादि विषयेः यादृशं सुखं विषयभावे तादृक् दुःखं तुल्यमिति भावः । तथा येषां ज्ञानमौन्यं समं वा ज्ञानानि च मौन्यानि च ज्ञानमौन्यं एकवदिति भावः । ज्ञानानि प्रचुराणि मौन्यानि बहुलानि इत्यर्थः । वा यादृक् ज्ञानानि तादृक् मौन्यानि । तथा येषां धर्माधर्मौ यादृक् यादृशः धर्मः तादृशः अधर्मः तथा तेषां अधर्मकृतत्वं आयाति अतः नकारस्य अन्वहारः । धर्माधर्मौ यादृक् नेत्यर्थः । यादृक् धर्मः तादृक् अधर्मो नास्तीति भावः । तथा विमल-कुलसत्तौ विमलकुलनिर्मितौ आरोग्यरोगौ स्वस्ततागदौ यादृक् यादृशम् आरोग्यं तादृशो रोगोपि पीडापेदे तुल्ये इत्यर्थः । तथा येषां ऊर्ध्वं उपरि अधः अधोभागः यादृक् ऊर्ध्वं तादृक् अधः स्वर्गभूमिभागे तुल्यौ इति भावः । तथा द्युतितिमिरमयौ कांत्यंधकाररूपौ तुल्यौ यादृक् द्युतिस्तादृक् अंधकारमयस्तौ तुल्यौ इत्यर्थः । तथा येषां सृष्टिसंहारकारौ उत्पत्तिसंहरणकारकौ समौ यादृक् सृष्टिकारकस्तादृशैकसंहारकारकः तौ तुल्यौ इत्यर्थः । तथा येषां मते नृविधि पुरुषौ द्वौ समौ यादृक् पुरुषस्तादृक् पुरुषविधस्तौ तुल्यौ इत्यर्थः । ते वयं पारसीकाः ।

Translation of Commentary.—Those men with whom as is the joy on the obtaining of wealth etc., so is the sorrow at the loss of wealth etc., (i.e., joy and sorrow are equal); with whom happiness of soul and pain are equal and that is wonderful (i.e., with whom

as is the happiness in matters of love, so is sorrow equal in the absense of such matters); also whose knowledge and silence are equal (*i. e.*, silence in whom is full of knowledge and is profound). (Or "as is the knowledge, so is the silence"); also with whom as is righteousness, so is unrighteousness (*i. e.*, from whom unrighteousness departs.) Hence the particle of negation is absent; the meaning is not that "righteousness and unrighteousness are equal", but that "as is righteousness, so unrighteousness is not"; also happiness and pain in a noble family are equal (*i. e.*, as is happiness, so is also pain); also with whom as is the upper world, so the lower world (*i. e.* with whom heaven and earth are equal); also light and darkness are equal; also with whom creation and destruction are equal; also with whom (the motto is) as is the man, so the act, *i. e.*, both are equal);—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—This is a difficult verse. Neither Drummond nor the Gujarati translator seem to have correctly understood it. The writer wanted to convey that the Parsis preferred to seek merits and reject demerits.—One Ms. reads विमलकुलकृतौ which is prosodially better than विमलकुलकृतौ. The latter reading might be objected to on the ground that the क renders the ल preceding it long, and thus vitiates the metre. But in Sanskrit by a sort of poetical license, vowels preceding consonants remain short.—In the fourth line, we have also the reading मर्गे for उक्तौ.—अहो is, I think, merely used as an expletive.—Francis Power Cobbe in his "Hopes of the Human Race" says at p. 143, "The Parsis have among their prayers in the Zend-Avesta the direction that every believer should say every morning as he fastens the girdle, 'Hell will be destroyed at the Resurrection and Ormuzd shall reign over all for ever.' Not amiss, I think, was their ritual devised to make the first thought of each opening day one of moral encouragement and of hope assured in the final victory of Light over Darkness, Virtue over Vice, and Joy over Sorrow and Pain".—The fourth line seems to refer to the important doctrine taught in Yasna XLIII., 5, namely, that "a man will be rewarded in the next world according to his actions in this."

VII.

गोमूत्रैर्वैश्वपूतैः शिरवदनमिताः स्त्रीपयःपानशुद्धाः
बाह्यतस्मान्मुक्तं तदनुपरिवृता मध्यदेशे च मुद्रा ।

मुद्राबाह्यं न निद्रा जपनवमनसा स्वादुपूजादिकार्यं
येषां मार्गे हि तत्त्वं सततमभयनं ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who, applying the cow-urine, consecrated by prayers, to the head, face (etc.), perform ablution, external and internal, mentioned in the Scriptures), and become pure with water brought by women; who afterwards tie the badge (Kûshti) round the waist; among whom there is to be no sleep without the badge; who engage themselves in delightful prayers, with mind made fresh by the muttered hymns; the principle in whose conduct is, invariably, undauntedness;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—With Gomut affusion on the body and by inward prayers, the Parsis being purified at early dawn, attend to their necessities and avocations; without the tape tied round their loins, they must not sleep nor pray nor make offerings nor sacrifices.

Gujerati Translation.—गाम्मेनू भूतमन्त्रेने ज्ञेयते करे. शगलि सरिरे लगडि. सनि पाय्मे तु सुधि थाय्मे. ज्येक ठांवाङ् सनान ने ज्येक दांपिठ सनान तेज्येखि करि पवित्र थाय्मे. सुंदरा जलभाळि पिढरे. कांछ पावुं ने पदवुं पुणवुं काम जपन् काम ते सदरा अगरे नडी थाय्मे. ज्येवे इडे भारग धर्मने ज्येधुवे. तेवा अमे पारसि छै.

Commentary.—मंत्रपूतैः मंत्रपवित्रैः गोमूत्रैः श्वेतुमूत्रैः कृत्वा शरदवनं ऋतुचर्म इताः प्राप्ताः। स्त्रीपयःपानशुद्धाः दुग्धपानवत् पवित्राः भवन्ति यद्वा दुग्धपानं कारणीयं एवं स्त्रीणां गोमूत्रैः वाशस्तनानमुक्तं तदनुपिरवृत्ता एवंकृते पश्चात् पवित्राः । न परं मध्यदेशे कटिदेशे मुद्राकुस्तिकबन्धनं । मुद्राबाह्यं निद्रा न कुस्तीबन्धनं विना निद्रा न कार्यं । जपनवमनसा जपनिष्ठनूतनचित्तेन स्वादु रमणीयं पूजादिकार्यं कुस्तीं विना न । येषां पुरुषाणां सततं सदा निरंतरं इत्थं पूतादेशः मार्गः अभिमतः मान्यः ते वयं पारसीकाः ।

Translation of Commentary.—Those who become pure as the milk (by taking a bath) with cow-urine purified by incantations when they get perspiration due to hot weather (or “a bath should be taken with milk”). This ablution with cow-urine is spoken of as internal and external. If this is done, they become pure; and they tie the Kûshti badge on the region of the waist; without the badge there is to be no sleep (*i. e.*, one must not sleep without the Kûshti). Without the Kûshti there is not to be the worship etc., which is delightful on account of the cheerful mind engaged in incantations;—those men among whom the ways of good counsel are highly esteemed;—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—One Ms. reads शरदवनमितैः स्त्रीयते पानशुद्धैः The commentator seems to have adopted the reading शरदवनं which is not quite

clear. जीवयः पानशुद्धाः has been translated by the commentator thus : "who have become pure as the milk of women". The Gujarati translator seems to understand that the Gômaz (cow-urine) is to be given for drink by women. It would have been much better if we had a reading like जीवयः पानशुद्धाः "who became pure by thrice washing with water"; but this would vitiate the metre.—चरित्ताननुक्तं seems to be a parenthetical clause.—The third line may also be read thus : मुद्राबाधं न निद्रा न तु जरकणं देवजुष्टिरुच्यै "who do not sleep, nor say prayers, nor worship God without the badge on".—For अनयत् we have also the reading अभिमत् which might mean "firm thought". I do not like this reading because it might be taken to mean "pride or self-conceit".—In a printed book where this verse has been quoted, the last line is found thus : येषां मायं हिततमं सर्वं मयिष्ठितं ते वयं पारसीकाः. This is greatly incorrect from the standpoint of prosody. Another reading, येषां मायं हिततमं सर्वं मयिष्ठितं is equally bad.—I think the word बदन in शिरवदन is the Persian word *badan*, the body. Many foreign words are met with in these *Shlokas*.

VIII.

काष्ठैः षट्मासशुष्कैरगुरुमलयजैः काष्ठकर्पूरधूपैः
होमः स्यात् पंचकालं प्रतिदिनमुदितैरक्षरैर्व्रतयुक्तैः ।
निर्वाणाग्निस्तु सूर्यादृतघनरुचिरैर्नो युतातिपि येषां
ससन्ध्यायैः कुनिष्ठा न च श्रुवतिरतास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who perform the Hôṃ (Fire prayer) five times every day, reciting sacred incantations and putting (on the fire) aloë and sandal wood, which is dried for six months, and wood fragrance and camphor ; among whom the Hôṃ does never take place with the fire extinguished by putting (thereon) wood made wet by clouds spread by the sun ; who being attached to their wives by the laws of truth are not wrongfully devoted ;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—With fuel, six months dried, of the wood of Mallag (sandal) and with fragrance of camphor the Parsis perform the Hôṃ five times a day. Where the sun shines or rain falls, fires must not be lighted. They abjure hypocritical avocations and affections fixing on another's wife.

Gujarati Translation.—काष्ठ (= काष्ठ) भास इनां सुखां ज्ञेयये. येषां (= येषां) भरीआगना ज्ञेयां ज्ञेयये. काष्ठ अगार साथे धूपे. पंच कालवेसे होम होयये.

दिनपते अग्निने ज्ञेयते भगवने ज्ञेयते होय. सुते वडेती सत्तुय था. ५२ वजे ते
 क्षी यथा होमे. ये ज्ञेयते करीने करे. ते धर्म. ॥ याया न्याय की. नयाय (?) शोचन
 शरयो (= शरणी) जेत भवे. तेवा अमे पास्सी छै.

Commentary.—वट्यासशुष्कैः अगुलमलयजैः काष्ठैः सुला काष्ठकर्पूरधूपैः पंच-
 कालं प्रतिदिनं होमः स्यात् । कैः सुला मंत्रयुक्ताः उदितैः उच्चरितैः अक्षरैः । समंत्रतः बाणागुहकर्पूरादिभिः
 वह्निहोमः स्यादिति भावः । तथा वह्निसूर्यवृत्तचनक्षत्रैः अग्नेःसूर्यवृत्तनिबिडछायाविषयैः युगांतेपि निर्वाणं विरामः न
 स्यात् । यद्वा यवत् सूर्यवृत्तिस्थितिस्तावत् पर्यंतं एतद्वर्माविनाशो नास्तीत्यर्थः । तथा सत्यं न्यायैकनिष्ठाः न्यायमार्ग-
 स्थिताः नवयुवतिरताः स्त्रीकृतौ न्यायप्रवर्ताः यद्वा युवतीनां सत्यादिप्रवर्तकाः इत्यर्थः । ते वयं पारसी काः ॥

Translation of Commentary.—Those among whom is performed
 the Hôṃ (Bôya) prayer five times a day with camphor and frag-
 rant substances and with wood of aloe and sandal, which is dried
 for six months, and who pray with incantations; (i. e., the Hôṃ
 of the fire is performed with Bina wood, aloe, camphor etc.), and
 the extinction of the fire never takes place in thickly shaded places
 exposed to the sun (or “so long as the sun and fire exist, so long
 the destruction of this religion will not take place”); also who are
 devoted to the paths of justice and are devoted to young wives
 (who act judiciously in the affairs of their wives) (or “they observe
 the vows of truthfulness towards their wives”);—those are we
 Parsis.

Notes.—It is difficult to find out what texts Drummond and
 the Gujarati translator have followed, especially so far as the third line
 is concerned. The third and fourth lines are also read thus in one
 Ms. निर्वाणं वह्निसूर्ये वृत्तचनक्षत्रैर्मे युगांतेपि येषां । सत्यन्यायैकनिष्ठा नवयुवतिरतास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥
 In this the third line is incorrect in point both of grammar and
 prosody. I have tried to improve the line so as to bring it into
 conformity with the requirements of the metre. The fourth line
 given above is correct in every way, and means: ‘Who are at-
 tached to their young wives with a singleness of devotion accord-
 ing to the laws of truth’.—I have taken निर्वाणमि and चनक्षत्रैः as
 adjectives qualifying होम and काष्ठैः respectively.

IX.

येषामेवांगना या ऋतुसमयदिनाः सप्तरात्राभवेयुः

पूताः सूताश्च मासे प्रसवनसमयाद् देहयुद्धास्तथैव ।

न्याचारेण गौरा नवकनकनिभा वीर्यवन्त्यो बलिष्ठाः

पूतात्मानोपि निखं विकसितवदनास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Pure hearted men, whose females in menstrual period become pure on the seventh night ; (and when) delivered of a child become pure in body after a month from the day of delivery ; (whose females) are noble on account of their graceful conduct, shine with golden ornaments, are powerful and strong and have always laughing faces ;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The wives of the Parsis are held pure on the 7th night from the commencement of the menstrual flux and on the 40th day from childhood.

Gujerati Translation.—જે વારે સત્રિ જ્ઞાતિ થાએ રતૂના સમય આવે તે વાર સમ દિવસની રાત્રે લગિ વગલી રહે. પુત્ર જાણુ તે વારે માથ ૧ ને દન ૧૦ લગે વેગલી રહે. તે વાર પછી તે અસત્રી પોતાની દેહે શુધ કરે. તેહુવિ દેહે શુધ કરિ તેના પુતર શોભાવંત હોએ. જિમ શોવન આતશમાહિથી કાડે તે વાતે જવંત હોએ. વીરજવંત ધણી બલવંત હોએ. નિત્યે પોતાનો આતમા પવીત્ર રહે. મુખ હસતુ સોક નહી કરવો. તેવા અમે પારસી છી.

Commentary.—યેષાં નૃણાં ંગનાઃ યાઃ સ્ત્રિયાઃ ઋતુસમયદિનાત્ ઋતુદર્શનસમારમ્ય સપ્તરાત્રી સપ્તરજન્યાં સ્ત્રિયઃ પૂતાઃ પવિત્રાઃ ભવેયુઃ । ચ પરં પ્રસૂતાઃ જનિતાઃ પત્ન્યઃ સ્ત્રિયઃ પ્રસવનસમયાત્ પ્રસૂતીસમયમારમ્ય એકમાસે સતિ દેહશુદ્ધાઃ ભવેયુઃ શરીરશુદ્ધાઃ ભવેયુઃ । તથૈવ રમ્યાચરોણ રમણીયાચારોણ ગૌરાઃ ગૌરવર્ણાઃ નદકન-ક્વનિભાઃ નૂતનસુવર્ણતુલ્યાઃ વીર્યવંતઃ કેન્દર્પપ્રચુરાઃ બલિષ્ઠાઃ બલયુક્તાઃ તથા પૂતાત્માનાઃ પવિત્રાઃ । નિત્યં વિકસિતવદનાઃ પ્રતિદિનં પ્રફુલ્લમુખાઃ હસ્તાભ્યાં સુસ્તમાર્જનં કુર્વાણાઃ ર્શ્વર્યઃ । યે એતાદશાપતે વયં પારસીકાઃ ॥

Translation of Commentary.—Those whose women become pure on the seventh night after menstruation ; and (whose women) delivered of a child become pure in body after one month, from the time of delivery ; (whose women) are noble on account of graceful conduct ; whose women are (*lit.*, shine) like new gold ; whose females are full of love, are strong and of pure soul, and have always laughing faces (and wash their faces with their hands) ;—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—In one Ms. we have the reading કીચક્ત્નો in the third line. If this were adopted, the third and fourth lines would become wholly applicable to males instead of to females. I prefer to read it in the feminine form, as I think that the whole verse refers to females.—પૂતાત્માનો is in the Mas. gender ; I have, therefore, taken it as an adjunct of પારસીકાઃ. The reading પૂતાત્માનાપિ would be better, but it offends the metre. I suggest નિત્યં પૂતાત્માના ચૈ etc.—અપિ has little meaning ; it is one of the many expletives occurring in these verses.—Both Drummond and the Gujarati translator assume that females become pure 40 days after delivery. No doubt that must

have been the old custom, as we clearly read in the eleventh strophe, but the text before us speaks only of one month.—The expression *सव्याचारेण गौरा*: clearly suggests that *गौरा*: cannot refer to the white colour.

X.

वेद्यास्त्रिभिर्न संगः पितृषु शुचिमुखं श्राद्धमग्निश्च धेयो
नो मासं यज्ञबाह्यं स्वपिति महिधराशयहो पुष्पनारी ।
वैवाह्यं लग्नशुद्धिर्न हि भवति शुचिर्भर्तृहीना पुरंध्री
येषामाचार एवं प्रतिदिनमुदितास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who do not attach themselves to concubines; who perform sacred ceremonies in honour of their Fravashis; who protect the fire; who do not use flesh except in (Jashna) sacrifices; whose females whilst in menstruation do not sleep on the earth; (among whom) marriage is purity of devotion; whose married females are not (looked upon as) pure if devoid of husband; who daily rejoice in (abiding by) such observations;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The Parsis hold it immoral and impure to live with women not their own; they keep holy the anniversaries of their ancestors; they do not use flesh but in sacrifices; their females lately delivered or those flowering are not allowed to move about and defile the territorial element nor offend with their mind the more sublime. At nuptials contracted in happy year no widows are allowed to be present.

Gujerati Translation.—वेद्या स्त्रि साधे संग नहि करवा. प्रज्जेली होअ्ये ते अग्नेने सुधि. आधपशुने वेवे यत्त इवुं मांस होअ्युं. रतुवन्ती असत्रिने धरमां न राअवि. तेने शांभवेड नहि लेअय्ये. प्रज्जेला वना शुध नहि थाअ्ये. ते असत्रि भरतारनी शुधि होअ्ये. जेवा आचार इस धरमने दिनअते भूहेत क्षगि राखवे (= राअवे). तेवा अग्ने पारसि छी.

Commentary.—येषां पुरुषाणां वेद्यास्त्रिभिः वारंगनाभिः सह संगः न भवति । च परं पितृषु मातापितृषु विषये शुचिमुखं निर्मलमुखं मातापितृसेवकाः इत्यर्थः । तथा श्राद्धं च परं अग्निः धेयः तेव्यः । च परं यज्ञबाह्यं यज्ञविना मासं नो भक्षणीयं अन्यथा नो ग्राह्यं इत्यर्थः । प्रसूतिमती प्रसवयुक्ता स्त्री तथा पुष्पनारी रजस्वला स्त्री धराशयहो पृथ्वीशायिनी भवति । तथा लग्नशुद्धिः वैवाह्यं लग्नशुद्ध्या विवाहकर्मकरणं इत्यर्थः । तथा भर्तृहीना स्वाभारहिता पुरंध्री स्त्री शुचिः न पवित्रा न । येषां आचारे एते धर्माः प्रतिदिनं दिनं दिनं प्रति उदिताः उक्ताः ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation of Commentary.—Those men who do not attach themselves to harlots, and who are of pure face towards their mother and father (i. e., who serve upon, or are devoted to their

parents); and who pray to the fire and perform the Shrâdha ceremony; and who do not eat flesh except in sacrifices (*i. e.*, who do not use it); whose females delivered of a child and (whose females) in menstruation sleep on the earth; and with whom the marriage ceremony has to be performed on account of the sacredness of the bond; and with whom married females devoid of husbands are not regarded as pure; in whose dealings such are the laws (mentioned) to be followed every day;—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—This verse is simple enough, but in the absence of a good text, we are left in doubt as to the real meaning of the author. विवृषु दुचिमुक्तं आदं might also mean as suggested by the commentator : “among whom there is pious reverence towards their parents”. But the reading in one of the Mss. आदकालेति विताने (which, however, is bad in metre) clearly suggests that the author wanted to allude to the आद or *Muktâd* or *Farrardegân* ceremonies in honour of the *Pitris* or *Fravashis*. Drummond translates *Pitris* by the word “ancestors” which is not satisfactory. It is possible that the word आद may have been meant for all ceremonies including the *Muktâd*.—From the second line it seems that the Parsis of the time did not eat flesh and that the use of it was restricted to the जश्ना or *Jashna* ceremonies.—Instead of स्वर्गति महिषराश्वी there is also the reading प्रभुलीमती वराश्वी which would mean that “neither a woman in menses nor a woman delivered, slept on the earth”. But as this reading does not conform with the requirements of the metre, I have not accepted it.—पुरेयी means “an elderly married woman or a woman whose husband and children are living”. The author seems to suggest that married women who refuse to live with their husbands are not looked upon as pure. Drummond, however, seems to understand by this line that widows were not allowed to be present on matrimonial occasions. That meaning is also possible, if we read वैवाह्ये instead of वैवाह्यं, though a slight difficulty arises on account of the connotations of the words पुरेयी and मर्तुदीना, the former implying that the husband is alive, the latter that he is dead. The sentence would stand thus in prose : वैवाह्ये मर्तुदीना पुरेयी दुचि संसृष्टिर्न भवती, *lit.* “on marriage occasions a husbandless woman is not pure sanctity of marriage”, *i. e.*, “the sanctity of marriage is destroyed by the presence of widows”. Even to-day Parsi widows consider it inauspicious to take part in marriage ceremonies.

XI.

चत्वारिंशदिनानि प्रचरति न बधुः पाककार्ये प्रसूता
 मौनाद्यस्वल्पनिद्रा जपनविधिरता ज्ञानसूर्यार्चनेषु ।
 ध्यायन्ते चैव निसं मरुदनलधरातोयचंद्रार्कयज्ज्वा
 येषां वर्णे विदीनाः सततमभियतास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Whose wives do not get engaged in the work of cooking etc., (but) remain quiet and take complete rest for 40 days (i. e., after delivery ; (whose wives) after ablution are engaged in silent prayers and in (singing) the praises of the sun ; who always think highly of (i. e., praise) the wind, fire, earth, water, the moon and the sun and other Yazads ; in whose caste men of different religion are always forbidden (to be taken) ;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—Till a Parsi woman, who has brought forth a child shall have passed 40 days, she cannot cook victuals. She should keep silence nor sleep much, but bathe often, pray and think of the fire. She ought to admire the existing 5 elements and the moon.

Gujerati Translation.—जिआर दादाजनी सात दहाजनी खुवती होजे. देहे पाक कीधाने कांठ करण नही करि.....मनमां हि मौन राखिने अने थोडी नीदरा करी. मनमांही जपना राखि. सनान कीधा वनां सुरण नहि ओवे. अभिनिने वायुने जलने अग्निने सुर्य नेत्य ओ थडी शरीर दुर राखवुं. ओवा पारसीना ३५ धर्म राखने गलवेउं. तेवा अभो पारसी छै.

Commentary.—येषां प्रसूता बधुः प्रसवन्ती स्त्री चत्वारिंशदिनानि ४० दिनपर्यन्तं पाककार्ये पवन-क्रियायां न प्रचरति न प्रसरति । ४० दिनपर्यन्तं पाकं न करोतीत्यर्थः । तथा ज्ञानसूर्यार्चनेषु निमज्जनसूर्यज्वादिषु मौनतया मौनयुक्ताः स्वल्पनिद्राः अल्पनिद्राः जपनविधिरताः जपनविधियुक्ताः नित्यं निरंतरं मरुद् वायुः अग्नः अग्निः धरा पृथ्वी तोयः जलं चंद्रार्कयज्ज्वाः चंद्रसूर्यपरमेश्वराः एतान् नित्यं निरंतरं ध्यायन्ते ये च पंचत्वं भजन्ते । येषां वर्णे ज्ञात्या एवं अभियताः नियमाः अवदीनाः उक्ताः ते वयं पारसीकाः ।

Translation of Commentary.—Those whose wives, if delivered of a child, do not engage themselves in the work of cooking for 40 days ; (i. e., do not cook for 40 days) ; (whose females) are silently devoted to the worship of the sun after ablution ; (whose females) sleep little, are engaged in offering prayers and ceremonies and always pray to the wind, fire, earth, water, moon, sun and the other Yazads (i. e., who pray to the five elements) ; in whose caste the rules are maintained thus ;—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—All the translators seem to understand that women took little rest (अल्पनिद्रा) during the 40 days after delivery ;

whereas the author's idea is just the opposite. I have, therefore, adopted the reading अलक्ष्मि, "not little sleep, muchrest".—The third line is almost the same as the first and second lines of the first strophe.—The Mss. read वदिना. I have adopted the reading विरीना: made up of वि+रीन. The Parsis often change the initial वि into व; cf. वन instead of विन. Here वि has the same sense as in विषय and व्यु; दीन is the Avesta word *daēni*; thus विरीना: means literally "those who are without the Zoroastrian religion"; hence "those of a different religion".—Some might dispute the proposition that it was forbidden to convert aliens and adopt them into the Zoroastrian fold. My personal opinion is that neither the Gāthās nor the later Avesta preached the doctrine of conversion in the sense in which we understand the term to-day. No doubt there is some historical evidence that some of the kings did convert a few aliens; but that can be easily explained on the principle that the king's will was law. He could, for instance, marry even his own sisters. This my contention is amply supported by § 55 of the sixth book of the Dinkard which is clear beyond all doubt and which runs thus: "Wāchak val aūstūbārān gūbishna va daēna dēn ham-daēnān hūskārishna va kirfak va bazak val koḷā adash gūbishna", i. e., "sermons should be delivered to the faithful, and the religion should be taught to the co-religionist; and virtue and vice should be mentioned to every person". But apart from the question whether the doctrine of conversion is found in our Scriptures or not, one can easily imagine that the most important piece of information which king Jadi Rana would like to receive from the foreigners would be as to whether they preached and practised the doctrine of conversion. It is impossible to believe that people who became fugitives after the Arab conquest to preserve their religion could ever have thought of converting aliens under a foreign away.—One Ms. reads येषां वर्णं वदीणाः सततमभीयमाः which according to the commentator means, "in whose caste, such religious duties are always spoken of". But अवद् means "to split or divide".

XII.

पानीयं व्योम चंद्रं हुतवहमनिष्ठं भूमिमोदितेभवं
भीरोर्भिज्जं च दातारमचलमपरं चेतसा चिन्तयन्ति

नितं ये न्यासपाठं विदधति जयदं वयदं कामदं च
आहारे मौनमादौ तनुधुचिकरणे ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who thus by the mind think (highly) of water, sky, moon, fire, wind, earth and sun, and of Hormazd the all Bountiful, Immutable and Immortal; who always recite the Nyâishna prayer which is the giver of victory, righteousness and desire; and who maintain silence while eating and washing the body; those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The Parsis venerate water, air, ether, earth, fire, sun, moon and Hormazd as all bountiful, not transient but immortal; and ever attending to life's necessary wants and fulfilling lawful desires. They should repeat every day their prescribed prayers for attainment of triumph, grace and glory. In eating they should be silent and their persons ought to be pure.

Gujerati Translation.—पांतीने आग्रशने यद्माने अग्रनीने वायुने भूमिने सूर्यने प्रथम येने मान्. श्री होमिज्दे हाताने अग्रस ने अग्र तेने नित्य चितपुं छुं. तेने निपास्ते करि धर्मस्ते करि वरिहादे येवे अग्रवे करि आराधुम. ते यथा अग्रोने अन्याः होय्ये धर्म करि गाधने पुण्य छुं. पातां (=पातां) मोक्षपुं नहि. तिष्ठि करि अग्रतान पवित्र धर्तुं. तेवा अग्र पावसि छै.

Commentary.—पानीयं जलं व्योम आकाशं चंद्रं हुतावहं वह्निं अनिलं वायुं भूमीं वृष्णीं आदित्यं सूर्यं ये पुरुषाः न्यायन्ति । च परं दातारं असीष्टकलदं अवलं अविनाशं तथा अमरं देवस्य एवं विधिं श्रीहोमिज्दं ईश्वरं चेतसा मनसा नित्यं निरंतरं चितयन्ति न्यायन्ति । ये पुरुषाः जयदं जयदातारं वयदं कामदं मनोरथदं एवं विधिं न्यासपाठं विदधति कुर्वन्ति । ये नराः आहारे भोजने च परं तनुधुचिकरणे काले मादौ प्रथमं मौनं विदधति । ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation of Commentary.—Those who think highly of water, sky, moon, fire, wind, earth and the sun; and who by their mind always think of Hormazd, the giver of the desired object, the Indestructible, the Immortal; who recite the Nyâish prayer which is the giver of victory, righteousness and desire; and who before eating and washing their bodies, say the *Bâj* (*lit.* maintain silence or recite the silence prayer in the commencement before eating and washing bodies);—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—The last syllable in चितयन्ति ought to be taken as long for the purposes of the metre; similarly in the third line. The rule of prosody is given thus: सातुस्वारस्य दीर्घस्य स्विर्गी च पुनर्लघेत् । कर्णः संयोगपूर्वञ्च तथा चर्ततगोपि च ॥ “A short vowel becomes long when it is followed by

an *anuswara* or *visarga* or by a conjunct consonant or when it is the last syllable of a *pāda* (line)."

XIII.

ऊर्णामय्यां घृतायामतिफलबहुलां जाह्नवीज्ज्ञानतुल्यां
येषां निसं नराणां धनगुणरचितां हेमवर्णां च रम्यां ।
योगाकारां विशालां गुरुजनवचनैर्मैखलां धारयन्ति
शास्त्रोक्तैः श्रोणिदेशेऽहृतकवचमिदं ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who, in accordance with the direction of elderly persons, always put on the *kūṣṭhi* made of cotton, which is productive of great merit, which resembles the performing of ablution in the Ganges, which is made of thickly set strings, which is of golden colour, and which is delightful and long and which is like a yoke; who put on, on the region of the waist, this coat-of-mail (*Sûdra*) which is (preserved) whole, in accordance with the teachings of the Scriptures;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The advantages of wearing a *Kūṣṭhi* or a string of wool round the waist are many and equal to ablution in the Ganges. It is directed to be preserved whole and clean and forms a part of their dress, as well as the *Sûdra*, or fine shirt of both the sexes.

Gujerati Translation.—ઉનની કુસ્તી આંધીએય. તેનો ગાંઠ શાપના મૂખ સરખુ પડે છે. અતિશે ધણુ ફલ તેનું હોએ. જુલ્ય સ્નાન અમોને કુસ્તી આંધ્યાથી હોએ. નિત્ય અહમોને પાપકી નરાજા રાખે. કુસ્તી આંધ્યાથી ધણુ યુન એનો ધુઈ. કુસ્તીની શાવન શરીરો વણું છે. જેવા સરખુ સરખુ તે વારની છે (?). યુરને વચને કરી સાશલ માફક નવરાત કરે તે વાર સદા પેહુરે. તે ઉપરિ આંધરી. તેવા અમો પારસી છી.

Commentary.—ऊर्णामय्यां ऊर्णमुद्ररचितां कुस्ती घृतायां सत्यां येषां नराणां नित्यं निरतरं जाह्नवी-ज्ञानतुल्यफलं अति भवति गंगज्ज्ञानतुल्यफलं भवतीत्यर्थः । किंविधां कुस्तीं धनगुणरचितां बहुसुत्रनिर्मितां पुनः किंविधां हेमवर्णां सुवर्णवर्णां पुनः किंविधां रम्यां मनोहरां तथा योगाकारां योगाकारसदृशां तथा विशालां विस्तीर्णां । कैः कृत्वा शास्त्रविहितैः गुरुजनवचनैः गुरुज्ञाकथैः यज्ञोपवीतवत् इति भावः । कस्मिन् श्रोणिदेशे कटि-प्रदेशे इदं दृढकवचं कवचतुल्यं । “केणे (= केडे) शदरा उपर धरडं” इति तात्पर्यं । येषां एवं ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation of Commentary.—When a penance is performed on account of (injury) to cows, bullocks etc., then the five products of the cow are considered the purifying agents (*i. e.*, when sin is committed on account of injuries to the cow and other animals, the cow-urine etc., is what brings about purity). The cow-urine is said

to be the precursor of ablution; (*i. e.*, the ablution with the cow-urine should be performed for many days). And in order to wash off the sin, the good counsels of the preceptors are always followed;—among whom by such observances, purity is said to be obtained after many days (*i. e.*, among whom such religious laws are always maintained);—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—This verse seems to refer to the Navzot ceremony. शास्त्रोक्तैः गुरुजनवचनैः श्रेणिदिशे कवचं मेखलां (च) आचरन्ति might also mean “those who are made to put on, on the waist, Sûdra and Kûshti (accompanied) with recitations, (recited) by priests, mentioned in the Scriptures”. The Gujerati translator seems to adopt अक्षी (instead of मय्या) which may be an adjective from अहि “serpent”.—योगकरा seems to refer to the fact that the Kûshti is put on the Sûdra, just as the yoke is put on the neck of a bullock. The comparison is, however, not very clear.—As regards the word preceding कवच the Mss. are not satisfactory; one reads ऊरु, another हृदकवच. I have suggested अस्तकवच, where अस्त means “not torn”, it being well known that a Sûdra must not be torn in such a manner that the Kûshti comes into direct touch with the body. I may also suggest रमकवच “delightful Sûdra” which expression is almost the same as the one in the third strophe, and suits the requirements of the metre.

XIV.

प्रायश्चित्सं पवित्रं पशुमपि सहसा हन्ति चेत्पञ्चगव्यं

गोमूत्रं स्नानपूर्वं घनतरदिवसैः शुद्धिरेवं मनोऽज्ञा ।

निस्सं निस्सं गुरुणां सुवचनकरणं कल्पवृक्षालनार्थं

येषामाचारं पश्यं प्रतिदिनमुदितास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who if they accidentally (happen to) kill even a beast, perform holy penance of (*lit.*, attended with) the Baresh-nûm (ablution) with the cow-urine and the five products of the cow, and thus become completely pure after many days; who always follow the good sayings of (their) ancestors for the washing off of sin; who daily rejoice in abiding by such observations; those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The Parsis solicit ablution of sin after heartily repenting thereof by besmearing the body with the five products of the cow (milk, curd, butter, *mootra* and *gohar*), one after another and washing off each with water.

Gujerati Translation. — पापधर्मी पवित्र था, जेवां प्रकानां पशु आहरेन अत्रलुं सनान तेनुं करपुं. निस भाधनां भ्रतलुं सनान पिहिलुं नित्यं धरुं दिवस के तिथि करे तु भन शुध थाये. शुशनां के इडा वचन ते नित्य धरवी. तेजे कशी पापने ईहू. धरम आचार दिन अभाने करपुं. तेवा अभाने पारसी छै.

Commentary. — पशुप्रकृतिभवे धेनुवृषभादिजाते प्रायश्चित्ते सति पंचगव्यं गोमूत्रादि पवित्रं शुद्धं समतं मान्यं गोपशुद्यादादिपापे समुत्पन्ने गोमूत्रादिशुद्धिकरणं इत्यर्थः । गोमूत्रं ज्ञानपूर्वं उक्तं बहुदिनपूर्वं गोमूत्रज्ञानं कर्तव्यं इत्यर्थः । अ परं नित्यं नित्यं निरंतरं गुरुणा उपदेशकानां सुवचनकरणं समीचीनवचनकरणं । किमर्थं कर्मवशात्कर्मार्थं पातकक्षालनार्थं येषां घनतरदिवसैः बहुदिनैः एवंकृते आचारे सति मनोज्ञा सुंदरा शुद्धिः पवित्रता उक्ता । येषां आचारे एवं धर्माः उदिता उक्ताः निरंतरं ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation of Commentary.—When a penance is performed on account of (injury) to cows, bullocks etc., then the five products of the cow are considered the purifying agent (*i. e.*, when sin is committed on account of injuries to the cow and other animals, the cow-urine etc., is what brings about purity). The cow-urine is said to be the precursor of ablution (*i. e.*, ablution with the cow-urine should be performed for many days). And in order to wash off the sin, the good counsels of the preceptors are always followed;—among whom by such observances purity is said to be obtained after many days (*i. e.*, among whom such religious laws are always maintained);—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—One Ms. reads प्रायश्चित्तात् पवित्रं पशुप्रकृतिभवात् संपंचगव्यं by which the commentator seems to understand that slaughtering cows, bullocks and other animals was a sin, the expiation for which was the purificatory ablution with the *gomūtra*.—The words घनतरदिवसैः clearly indicate that the ablution referred to is the “nine nights’ *Barashnūm*”.—पंचगव्यं consists of क्षीरं दधि तथा चान्नं मूत्रं गोमयमेव च (milk, curds, clarified butter, urine and cow-dung). This पंचगव्यं penance is unknown among the Parsis ; it is exclusively a Hindu institution.

XV.

पूर्वाचार्यप्रभवे विरचितरुचिरै र्मोक्षमार्गप्रदातैः
संस्कारैः संस्थितानां विकसितविधिना कथ्यते व्योम दार्ढ्यं ।
सर्वेषां च त्रयाणां दहनवसुमतीभास्कराणां च पूजा
शुद्धे रम्या य एवं प्रगदितमहिमास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Of whom it is said that they attain lofty heaven if they act according to the religious observances which are laid down by ancient preceptors, which are composed in graceful language,

and which point out the path of salvation ;—and (also) if they act up to the revealed commandments ; who delight in purity and who are such glorious men ;—those are we Parsis.

Drummond's Translation.—The sage inspired, who instituted these religious observances for the conduct of mankind, predicted eternal bliss to those who walked in the way of them. And it is believed that their supporters have found habitation in heaven. To their blessed memories, devout Parsis strew sandal and pulse upon the land.

Gujerati Translation.—પુરવના જે આચારી તેણે બાંધ્યાં. જે એવા પુરતક તેમાં સંસ્કાર રૂડા છે. એવા મોક્ષમાર્ગ ન આપે. કવિ જે તેણે વિદાસ જે કહેઆ મારગ સરવને એ માર્ગથી રવર્ગ પ્રાપ્તિ થાઇ: ત્રણ પ્રકારનાં જે પાપ ની મત તેને ખાલ. એવો રૂડો ધર્મ પારસીના સરવને પુષ્કાલ (?) કરિને કરવું. તેવા આમો પારસી છે.

Commentary.—યેવાં સર્વેણાં પૂર્વાચાર્યપ્રબંધે: પ્રાચીનાચાર્યપ્રબંધર્થોક્તયૈ: વિકસિતવિધિના પ્રકટિતમા-
ર્ગેણ દાર્બે જ્ઞેય ઉદારં વ્યોમ આકાશં મોક્ષમાર્ગપ્રદાતા મુક્તિમાર્ગદાતા કથ્યતે । કિં લક્ષણે: પ્રબંધે: વિરચિતશ્ચિરૈ:
રચનમનોદ્યૈ: । કિં વિધાનાં યેવાં સંસ્કારે નાનાવિધાને સંસ્થિતાનાં । ચ પરં દહનવસુમતી વહ્નિપૃષ્ઠીત્રયાણાં અધ્યેપુષ્પ-
ક્ષતાનાં શુદ્ધિ: રમ્યા મનોહરા કથિતા । એવં ચ પ્રગદિતા: પ્રકાશિતજ્ઞાના: તે વ્યં પારસીકા: ॥

Translation of Commentary.—Among all of whom, it is said that the lofty heaven becomes the giver of the final beatitude, if they act up to the writings of the preceptors of old (*lit.*, by means of the ways made manifest by the writings of the preceptors of old).—What sort of writings? Writings which are beautiful in construction.—Those men who are devoted to the performance of ceremonies of various kinds, and are also devoted to the offering of prayers to fire, earth, and the three (other) elements; and who use beautiful flowers in ceremonies and whose knowledge is thus well known ;—those are we Parsis.

Notes.—સંસ્કારૈ: સંસ્થિતાનાં વ્યોમ દાર્બે કથ્યતે literally means “ of those who live according to the religious observances, the heaven is said to be lofty ”.—One Ms. reads મોક્ષમાર્ગપ્રદાતા which is construed thus : દાર્બે વ્યોમ મોક્ષમાર્ગપ્રદાતા કથ્યતે. “ lofty heaven is called the giver of the path of salvation ”.—In one book the second line is read thus: સંસ્કારૈ: સતાં કર્વાનાં વિરચિતવિધિના ક્રિયતે વ્યોમદૃષ્ટિ: । This is very bad metre. The meaning would be that “ pious persons turn their eyes towards the sky ” etc.—Instead of ચ ત્રયાણાં we have also the reading ચતુરાણાં. We have also °દહનવસુમતી અર્થપુષ્પક્ષતાનાં which, besides being metrically incorrect, is difficult to understand.—The fourth line also commences thus: પુષ્પપદૈ: સંપ્રદિદ્ય: etc.

XVI.

श्री होर्मिज्जमुखं सकलविजयकृत्पुत्रपौत्रादिबृधै
दाता श्री आतशोर्यं स भवतु भवतां पापनाशाय नित्यं ।
श्री सूर्यः स्वानुकूलो बहुतरफलदा न्यासजाप्याय पंच
हे सर्वे पारसीका असुरविजयिनो यांतु मान्यं च नित्यं ॥

Translation.—O ye all Parsis, may the countenance of the all powerful Hormazd be for the prosperity of (your) sons and guardians. May this beneficent fire ever be for the destruction of your sins. May the favourable sun and the five (elements), the givers of great blessings, be worthy of the Nyāishna prayers. May you be victorious over the demons. And may you always achieve great respect.

Drummond's Translation.—The king's reply.—Be joy to those who walk faithfully in the way of Hormazd. Be the increase of their generations. May their prayers obtain the remission of sins and the smile of the sun. May likewise abundance of wealth and the measure of their desires, flow from the liberty of Luxmi, and lastly, let the beauties of person and mind, which now adorn, continue up to distinguish them among nations to the end.

Gujerati Translation.—श्री होर्मिज्ज ने मुझ ते सर्वाने अंतुं करुणाहर. पुत्रतुं धनुं आपनाइ. नीत्य श्री आतस पाप ते तेने नासनुं करता हर ने भागीध ते आपे. सूर्यनी अंभानी आतसनी पांशुनी क्षुमिनी अंवां पांयनी अकती अथम पारसीने करवी. अभांरां अंजमननि सदा अंतुं होअे.

स्वत १८७४ भागसर सुदि २) ने शुध शके १७४० शेर श्री मुपारक अमेरदाद अं दानके पुस्तक अंभेत, अंरवद अंभरदे अंरवद भाषिके अं इस्तम अं ते पुस्तके पारसिहाति अं धर्मचै शोबस सलोक वने संमपुनं कर्तुं.

Commentary.—हे सर्वे पारसीकाः भवतां-बुध्माकं श्रीहोर्मिज्जमुखं श्रीपरमेश्वरवक्त्रं पुत्रपौत्रादिबृधै पुत्रपौत्रादिबृधै भवतु । किंविधं मुखं सदा निरंतरं विजयकृत् जयकारि । च परं सोयं आतशः बहिर्देवः भवतां पापनाशाय पातकशालनार्थं भवतु । च परं सानुकूलः प्रसन्नः श्रीसूर्यः भवतां न्यासजाप्याय भवतु । किंविधः सूर्यः बहुतरफलदः प्रभुरफलदः तथा दाता सर्वप्रदः । ते प्रसिद्धाः पदार्थाः पंच भूम्यादयः भवतां नित्यं मान्यं माननीयतां यांतु गच्छंतु । यद्वा मान्यं कुर्वन्तु । किंविधाः पारसीकाः । असुरविजयिनः दुष्टानां जयं कुर्वन्नाः ते सर्वे भवतां विजयन्तु लक्ष्मीं दधतु इत्यर्थः ।

इति पारसीकश्लोकः सममर्थेन लिखिताः । लेखकः... दस्तुर जमशेदजी जामासजी आशाजी फरेदुनजी । अंतः नागमंडल नवसारीके लिखिताः शोबसश्लोकः आकाशज्यायकृतसममर्थेन संस्कृतेन संवत् १८२३ वर्षे शके १६८९ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणायनमाने (? दक्षिणायने) श्री सूर्ये वर्षान्तर्गतौ मासोत्तमभाद्रपदे सेधलपक्षे (? शुक्लपक्षे) चण्डीतिथौ विचित्रसरे..... श्रीरत्नरोजे श्रीवेङ्कटमनसासे लिखितं समाप्तकृतं । शुभं भवतु कल्पयणं अस्तु सततं शुभं

अस्तु सदा विजयः आतु । श्रीश्री ॥ अदृष्टभावात् सतिविभवात् च यदर्थहीनं लिखितं मया अत्र तत् सर्वं
भायैः शोभनीयं कोपं न कुर्यात् कष्टं लेखकस्य ॥

Translation of Commentary.—O ye all Parsis, may the face of Hormazd which always confers victory, be for the multiplicity of your sons and grandsons. May this fire be for the washing off of your sin. And may the beneficent sun, the giver of great benefit, and the giver of every blessing, be worthy of your Nyâish prayer. May those well known elements, the earth etc., be always respected by you (or “ may they create good opinion ”). May all of you become victorious over evil spirits and be prosperous.

Thus the verses composed by the Parsis have been written. The writer is Dastur Jamshedji Jamsapji Asâji Faredunji. The sixteen verses have been written and completed in Navsâri with the Sanskrit meaning given by the priest Akâ in the Samvat year 1823, Shâke 1689,..... in the rainy season, on Sud 6th of the month Bhadrapad on Sunday, on the day Rashne of the month Behman. May there be good fortune and prosperity (in the world). May there be always happiness and victory.

If through oversight or miscomprehension (mistake), I have written anything that does not convey any sense, the same should be diligently found out by the learned readers. They should not be angry with the writer.

Notes.—The metre requires that होरमिन्द should be spelt as given above. Instead of पाप्माशाय we have also साधनाशाय.—I have preferred to read स्वानुकूले instead of सानुकूले, and असुरविजयिने instead of स्वसुरविजयिने. Here असुर is used in its Sanskrit sense. बहुतरफलदो is also another reading.—The commentator seems to have adopted the reading बहुतरफलदो. I prefer बहुतरफलदा so that it might be applicable to the sun as well as to the five elements.

SHAPURJI KAVASJI HODIWALA.

THE DRESS OF ARDVI SÛRA, AND THE "TOILETTE OF THE HEBREW LADY".

"Costly thy habits as purse can buy ;

-Rich, not gaudy, for the apparel oft proclaims the man".—

Shakespeare.

The "Toilette of the Hebrew Lady" forms one of the subjects of historical essays written by De Quincey. Dr. Mason, the able editor of De Quincey's works, styles it as an "independent paper of mere digested or compiled information of the archæological kind, with little or nothing of speculative interfusion".¹ There is a great resemblance between this "Toilette" and the dress of Ardvī Sûra as it is described in the Abân Yasht, and a comparison of the two offers many points of interest.

First, as regards the *head-dress*: Ardvī Sûra puts on a crown 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 (*pusâm*)² on her head, made of gold, having eight corners, of the shape of a chariot, having a small fringe, beautiful and of moderate size.³ The Hebrew ladies are described as putting on three different kinds of head-dresses. They are (1) a network cap, (2) a special kind of turban, and (3) a helmet "in imitation of those worn by Chaldean generals".⁴ These are all adorned with ribbons and golden threads interwoven within the texture.

Then comes the *veil* of the Hebrew lady, which is thrown over the head. It was used only at the time when "she was unexpectedly surprised, or when a sudden noise gave reason to expect the approach of a stranger".⁵ As a parallel to this we have the 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 (*paiti-dâna*) of Ardvī Sûra, and the veil of the Hebrew lady would tempt us to believe that this Avesta word has the same significance as the veil. But the context and the close connection of the *padân* of modern times with certain religious ceremonies prevent us from taking this view.

Next come the *ear-rings*, the use of which still exists among

¹ "Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey", Vol. VI., p. 4 of the editor's preface. ² Abân Yasht, 126. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 172.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

various nations on the earth. Ardvi Sûra has a hanging, golden ear-ring, which is four-cornered.¹ The Hebrew lady is described as putting on ear-rings of "gold, silver, inferior metals, or even of horn". Even their gods were adorned with this ornament. "In a later age, as we collect from the Talmud (Part VI., 43), Jewish ladies wore gold or silver pendants, of which the upper part was shaped like a lentil, and the lower hollowed like a little cup or pipkin".² They are also said to have got the upper parts of their ears bored, in order to adorn completely their ears with jewelry. The value of the ornament can be estimated from the following simile occurring in the Bible:—"As an ear-ring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, so is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear".³

We come now to the *necklace*, an ornament which seems to have a great charm for ladies of all ages and nations. On their necklace, the Hebrew lady, like her sisters of other races, "lavished the greatest expense; and the Roman reproach was sometimes true of a Hebrew family, that its whole estate was looked up in a necklace".⁴ Ardvi Sûra, too, puts on a necklace, but we are not furnished with any information about this ornament. Among the sculptures of the Sâssânian and Pârthian times, we find even male figures decorated with an ornament on the neck;⁵ and we may conclude from this that the use of the necklace was not restricted to ladies only.

Held in equal favour by the Hebrew ladies, and perhaps equally valued, was the *bracelet*. This ornament, like its twin, the necklace, has kept up its importance and dignity even in our own times, and scarcely will a lady be seen anywhere, without some ornament round the wrist, unless she is a widow. The Hebrews made use of gold, silver or ivory for their bracelets, and "it was not unusual for a series of them (bracelets) to ascend from the wrist to the elbow"—a custom still in vogue among several classes of people in India. It is said that "those worn by the Hebrews were never jewelled".—Males also made use of this ornament, and even during Sâssânian times, as can be seen from the sculp-

¹ Abân Yasht, 127.

² "Proverbs", 25, 12.

³ Cf. "Persia, Past and Present" by Prof. Jackson, p. 211; and "Parthia" (Story of the Nations series) p. 338.

⁴ "Collected writings", Vol. VI., p. 158.

⁵ "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 180.

belonged. (Ch. XII., 2)".¹

One more peculiarity remains to be mentioned, and it is the use of *pigment* amongst the Hebrews. "No fashion of the female toilette is of higher antiquity than that of dyeing the margin of the eyelids and the eye-brows with a black pigment. It is mentioned or alluded to in 2 Kings, IX, 30; Jeremiah, IV, 30; and Ezekiel, XXIII, 40, to which may be added Isaiah III, 16." *

Presumably the dress which Ardvî Sûra is depicted to wear is an idealised picture of the dress of the typical Iranian lady of the time in which the *Abân Yasht* was composed, and the various elements of similarity detailed above, point out a comparison between the dress of the ladies of the two civilized races of antiquity,—the Israelites and the Iranians. One cannot assert with any certainty, whether any one nation influenced the other, or whether the dress was the natural evolution from the primeval dress of *Mashyâ* and *Mashyôî*, and of Adam and Eve respectively. However that may be, this much is certain that the love of making a display of her dress and ornaments is a remarkable trait in the nature of women and hence the judgment for the pride of women forecast in the Bible:—"In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets and the ornaments of the legs and the headbands, and the tablets and the ear-rings, the rings and the nose jewels." *

R. P. UMRIGAR.

* "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 159.

* *Ibid.*, p. 157.

* "Isaiah" III., 18-21.

THE LOCATION OF THE AIRYANA-VAEJO, THE IRANIAN PARADISE.

The question of the original Aryan home is being much discussed of late. Though opinions with regard to its location differ, yet, of late, the theory of its situation in the far north and the migrations therefrom to the regions watered by the Oxus, the Jaxartes or the Indus, seem to have been put forth in a manner which entitles the subject to be investigated further and looked into better than has hitherto been done.

Various passages in the Vendidad support the theory that the original home of the Aryans was in or about the Arctic regions. The first Fargard of the Vendidad enumerates the sixteen good lands created by Ahura Mazda, and the counter-creations of Angra Mainyu who, by introducing plagues and evils in various shapes into the good lands, placed obstacles in the way of their enjoyment by the creations of Ahura Mazda. The best of these regions, as we find Ahura Mazda made to speak in the Vendidad, is the Airyana Vaejô.

Thus speaks Ahura Mazda :—"The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created was the Airyana Vaejô by the good river Dâitya. Thereupon Angra Mainyu who is all death, (he) counter-created by his witchcraft the serpent in the river, and winter, a work of the Daevas. There are ten winter months there, two summer months and those are cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees. Winter falls there with the worst of its plagues".¹

The name of this best region signifies that it was the birth-land (*Airyana*, Aryan, and *Vaejô*, seed, cf. Sanskrit *Bija*) of the Aryans or Iranians. Where, then, was the Paradise,² as Dr. Haug called it, of the Iranian race located? There are some Avestan scholars who locate this happy land in Western Iran. This opinion is based chiefly on the Pahlavi Bûdahishn, which places

¹ S. B. E., Vol. IV. Pt. I., Vendidad F. I, 3-4, p. 5.

² Haug's "Essays on the Parsis" (1878) p. 227.

Airyana Vaejô near Adarbâijan. This opinion was shared by the late Professors Darmesteter, Justi, Spiegel and others. There are, however, other savants who with Dr. Geiger,¹ have arrived at the conclusion that the Airyana Vaejô, the home of the Avestan people was in Eastern Iran. We shall, in this paper, attempt briefly to point out the feasibility of the new suggestion that the Airyana Vaejô, the original home of the Mazdayasnians, was situated in the far north.

The second chapter of the Vendidâd here comes to our aid. Prof. Darmesteter divided it into two parts,² in the first of which King Yima, son of Vivanghat, and ruler of the Airyana Vaejô, is represented as having declined to accept the function of a preacher and bearer of the law from Ahura Mazda on the plea of his inability for the task. He, however, promises to keep his people happy and to make them thrive and increase.³ From what we see in the second part, Yima faithfully performs what he had pledged to do. The second part of the chapter opens with a reference to a meeting convened by Ahura Mazda at which Yima is present. In this congregation Yima is warned by Mazda of the advent of a severe winter and snow into the happy land under his charge and supervision. It is at the same meeting where the celestial gods have gathered, that Yima is advised by Ahura Mazda to build a *vara* or enclosure for the preservation of the seeds of all kinds of animals and plants from this calamity.

The holy One thus spake unto Yima:—"O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Upon the material world the fatal winters are going to fall, that shall bring the fierce, foul frost; upon the material world the fatal winters are going to fall that shall make snowflakes fall thick, even an *aredvi* deep on the highest tops of mountains".⁴ Besides this warning, Yima receives these instructions to build a *vara*:—"Therefore make thee a *vara*, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds and of red blazing fires.—Therefore make thee a *vara*, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a *vara* long as a riding-ground

¹ "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times", Vol., II., p. 88.

² S. B. E., Vol. IV., p. 10.

³ S. B. E., Vol. IV., Fargard II., 1-20.

⁴ S. B. E., Vol., IV., F. II, 22, p. 16.

on every side of the square, to be a fold for flocks".¹ Further on in the chapter Ahura Mazda is represented as saying, "There the stars, the moon, and the sun are only once (a year) seen to rise and set and a year seems only as a day".²

From the passages of the Vendidâd we have just quoted, we gather (1) that of the sixteen good lands created by Ahura Mazda the Airyana Vaejô was the first created; (2) that it was the best of all; (3) that Angra Mainyu introduced into it a severe winter and snow; (4) that the Airyana Vaejô enjoyed after the invasion of the evil spirit, only two months of summer against ten of severe winter and snow; and (5) that to the inhabitants of the *vara*, which Yima, the ruler of that happy land, was advised to have recourse to, the stars, the moon and the sun seemed to rise and set only once a year and a year seemed only as a day.

It goes without saying that the ancient Iranians could never have located what is termed their paradise³ in a place buried in snow. The conception of a paradise should necessarily carry with it thoughts of the most pleasant environments and surroundings unclouded by miseries and affliction, like what the Vendidâd acquaints us with as having descended on the first best land of Mazda's creation. The subsequent snow-fall and winters that set in the good region of the Airyana Vaejô were nothing but the direct outcome of Angra Mainyu's counter-creations. How, then, could such a sudden change in the climate of a country, once quite mild and teeming with paradisaical life, be accounted for? Let us then suppose that the site of the Airyana Vaejô, this cradle of the Iranian race, is in the far north and that that is the place where ten months of long summer and two of short winters once prevailed. This genial climate which we have supposed to have obtained in these very cold regions, undergoes, through the instrumentality of Angra Mainyu, a sudden change resulting in a ten months' winter and a two months' summer. But the second chapter of the Vendidâd gives an actual description of the real advent of ice and snow that subsequently destroyed the Airyana Vaejô, thus doing away with the necessity of justifying our hypothetical assumption of such a change.

¹ S. B. E., Vol. IV., F. II, 25, pp. 16 17. ² S. B. E., Vol. IV, F. II, 40, p. 20.

³ Haug's *Essays*, p. 227.

That such a change did take place in the climatic conditions of the regions in the far north towards the Pole, where we suggest was the place called Airyana Vaejô, is fully demonstrated by the latest geological and archaeological researches. This statement or proposition which might have been deemed irrational a few decades ago does not appear as such when viewed in the light of the present advanced knowledge and the progress of scientific investigations. There is now ample evidence to show that at one time even within the Arctic Circle there existed a mild climate, and that life there was not impossible. Prof. Nicholson¹ attempts to show that the plants and vegetation of the temperate regions at the Miocene period flourished within the Arctic Circle and that the temperature was warmer than that now enjoyed by the northern hemisphere. But the language of Croll² is more emphatic. He says, "The Arctic regions probably upto the North Pole were not only free from ice, but were covered with a rich and luxuriant vegetation." Grant Allen says that a warm and genial climate was the characteristic of the Poles, "till a very recent period" and that its vegetation was of much the same type as is now found in the Tropics. Discussing the state of the climate of former geological periods, Sir Charles Lyell³ says, "In the greater part of the Miocene and the preceding Eocene epochs, the fauna and flora of Central Europe were sub-tropical, and a vegetation resembling that now seen in Northern Europe extended into the Arctic regions as far as they have yet been explored, and probably reached the Pole itself." He further speaks of "a warm climate and an absence of frost between the 40th parallel of latitude and the Pole, a large ichthyosaurus having been found in lat. 77° 16' N."⁴

It is thus a settled scientific fact that the Arctic regions once had a genial and warm climate and for this result we are indebted to the recent scientific researches. In the face of such proved results, how some of the Zend scholars should have hesitated to locate the Airyana Vaejô in the far north is a matter of won-

¹ "The Life-History of the Globe", p. 327.

² "Climate and Time"

(1875) p. 7.

³ "Principles of Geology" (11th ed.), Vol. I., p. 231.

⁴ For further testimony of prehistoric climatology see Dr. Warren's interesting and able work, "Paradise Found: a study of the prehistoric world".

der. Mr. Tilak¹ has thus explained the reasons of this hesitation :—

“The geological knowledge of the time was not sufficiently advanced to establish the existence of a mild climate round about the North Pole in ancient times. It was probably this difficulty that stared Zend scholars in the face when they declined to place the Airyana Vaejō in the far North, in spite of the plain description clearly indicating its northernmost position”. But this difficulty has now been removed by the recent discoveries in geology and archæology which have scientifically proved “the existence of a warm and genial climate near the North Pole in inter-glacial times”,² and that “the polar regions were invaded, at least twice, by glaciation which destroyed their genial climate”.³ The sudden change in the climatic conditions of the happy land of the Airyana Vaejō described in the Vendidad as having been introduced by Angra Mainyu, is precisely what from a geological point of view would be ascribed to the glacial epoch.

We have seen above that to the subjects of Yima residing in the *vara* the sun, the moon and the stars seemed to rise and set only once a year, and a year seemed only as a day. This is a distinct reference to the year-long day-and-night. At no place on the surface of the globe except at the Pole is such a phenomenon to be obtained. This clearly shows the northernmost position of the *vara*, and points out that the knowledge of the year-long day and night and of a single rising of the sun during the year was acquired by the remote ancestors of the Iranian race, not, as has been supposed, merely by an exercise of imagination, but from the personal experience of these phenomena in their primitive home at the North Pole. The author or authors of the Vendidad, which so vividly describes the advent of the ice-age, it is possible, may not have personally witnessed the climatic changes, but the facts they have stated must necessarily have been handed down to them from tradition.

Both the Vendidad⁴ and the Minoe-i-Kherad⁵ place the *vara* of Yima in the Airyana Vaejō. When the inhabitants of the *vara* are known to have experienced phenomena such as are only charac-

¹ “The Arctic home in the Vedas”, (1903) p. 368.

² *Ibid.*

³ Vend. II., 21—26.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Chap. LXII., 15.

teristic of the North Pole, one is bound to locate Airyana Vaejô in the Arctic regions. In the light of the inquiries conducted within the last half a century on strictly scientific lines, we fail to understand on what grounds the theory of locating the Airyana Vaejô in the Arctic regions should be discarded. A few Zend scholars may have arrived at a particular conclusion at a time when geological science had not made such rapid strides as it has now done, and hence they could not have dreamt of locating a home with which the happiest associations alone could be connected, in the ice-bound polar region. That does not mean, however, that their conclusion should not be revised in the light of new scientific research.

In conclusion, we must acknowledge our indebtedness to Sir Charles Lyell, Dr. E. W. West, Mr. B. G. Tilak, Dr. Wm. Warren and others, whose works have been of material assistance to us in the preparation of this paper.

RUSTAMJI NASARVANJI MUNSHI.

THE GATHIC LITERATURE AND KANT.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the sacred books of the Zoroastrian religion were as unintelligible to the European scholars as Greek and Hebrew are to Parsi schoolboys. The European researches into the golden mines of the Avesta began with that zealous and assiduous French savant Anquetil Du Perron, who, after six years' stay in India translated portions of the texts into French, and published in the year 1771 his famous book in French "Zend-Avesta, the work of Zoroaster". Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher, whose name was at the moment on the lips of the majority of thinking people in Germany, went through Anquetil's work carefully and found no trace of any philosophical idea in the Zend-Avesta. It is indeed disappointing to note that such a great philosopher and a "Second Messiah", as he was named by Baggesen, the Danish poet, could not find even the rudiments of philosophy in it, but it must be remembered that it was not his fault. Anquetil's translation of the Gāthās was inaccurate and incorrect, and it was, therefore, an uphill task for the German philosopher to lift up the veil which shrouded the philosophy of the great philosopher and prophet—Zoroaster. Had Kant lived in this century to dip into the volumes of the translation made by Haug, Mills and Kanga, he would have noticed many passages full of deep philosophy and would have admired the great ancient Iranian philosopher and his philosophy. But Kant was gathered to his fathers in the year 1804 when a few Oriental scholars in Europe had but just begun to decipher the ancient Avesta philologically and to unravel the knotty passages of Zoroaster's philosophy. Kant is dead and gone, but his memorable works are still extant. A careful study of his books will enable one to find out how the few theological, philosophical and ethical ideas introduced into the world by Zoroaster are re-echoed and re-invigorated by the German philosopher.

The prominent feature of Zoroastrian theology is Monotheism. From the Avesta we learn to give up polytheism (Yasna

XXXII. 3) and to acknowledge only one God—Ahura Mazda, the Living Lord, the Great Creator, who is the Mainyu to be conceived only in thought. He is the Wisdom Consummate and the 'All-knowledge'. He is the Holy one, the Perfect Being possessed of Good mind, Health, Immortality and Piety. He is Mighty, Sublime, Bountiful and Ever-lasting. Let us read some of the verses of the Gâthâs and observe Zarathushtra's conception of God :

"Therefore, as the First (Primeval Spirit) did I conceive of Thee. O Ahura Mazda! as the One to be adored with the mind in the creation, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, when I beheld Thee with my eyes as the veritable maker of our Righteousness, as the Lord of the actions of life".¹

"I believe Thee to be the best Being of all, the source of light for the world. Every one shall choose Thee as the source of light, Thee, O Mazda, most Beneficent Spirit".²

"So I conceived of Thee as Bountiful, O Great Giver, Mazda! when I beheld Thee as Supreme in the generation of life, when as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil and happy blessings for the good, by Thy (great) virtue (to be adjudged to each) in the creation's final change".³

If we take up Kant now we find that he believes in the existence of God. He considers God as the unity of reality and possibility, Being and Thought. He asserts that the Absolute being must be conceived as a Spirit endowed with absolute power, absolute wisdom and absolute goodness. God is the Being of all beings, the Infinite Mind and the Self-subsisting Wisdom; He is the necessary Being with the "ens realissimum". God, according to Kant, accounts for the unity of the world, and he argues: "Since therefore, the mere existence of substances is plainly insufficient to account for their mutual connection and reciprocal influence, and an external nexus of things independent, implies a common principle through which their existence is determined with relation to each other, and since without such a common principle, no general bond of union can be conceived, we have here a most evident proof of the existence of God and indeed of the existence of one God, a proof which is far more convincing than

¹ Yas. XXXI, 8 S. B. E., p. 44 (Mills).
Essays, p. 155.

² Yas. XLIII, 2, Haug's
³ Yas. XLIII, 5 S. B. E., p. 100 (Mills)

the common argument 'ex contingentia mundi'".¹

On grounds of speculative reason, philosophers have based the existence of God. Kant would find defects in the physico-theological, cosmological and ontological arguments used by them in proving the existence of God and would set forth his *argument from design* for the existence of God. "There is God", says Kant, "because nature, even in chaos could not proceed otherwise than with regularity and order".² In the Gâthâ Ushtavaiti we observe the same succinct and terse arguments used some centuries ago by the ancient Iranian Sage:

"This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright: Who by generation was the first father of the Righteous order (within the world)? Who gave the (recurring) sun and stars their (undeviating) way? Who established that whereby the moon waxes and whereby she wanes, save Thee? Who from beneath hath sustained the earth and the clouds above that they do not fall? Who made the waters and the plants? Who to the wind has yoked on the storm-clouds, the swift and fleetest two? Who, O Great Creator, is the inspirer of the good thoughts? Who as a *skilful artisan* hath made the lights and the darkness? Who, as thus *skilful* hath made sleep and the zest (of waking hours)? Who (spread) the Auroras, the noontides and midnights"?³

We thus find that the Zoroastrian theology is strictly based on monotheism; but the speculative philosophy of Zoroaster which has been misinterpreted by some carping critics is based on Dualism. According to Zoroaster, Ahura Mazda is the only Supreme Being, and He employs two contrary but united principles—one good, the other Evil—"to make the opposing phenomena of life and its absence, of Heaven and of Hell".⁴ These two principles are named "Spenta Mainyu—the "Bountiful Spirit" and "Angro Mainyu", the "Destroying Spirit". The former is the author and propagator of all that is good, noble, beneficent and useful; the latter is the author of all that is base and evil and the destroyer of all that is good and useful in nature. Anglo Mainyu teaches men to disregard the dictates of reason and

¹ Caird, (Kant's Critical Philosophy) Vol I. p. 113.
William Wallace p. 109.

² Kant by

Yasna XLIV, 3, 4, 5 S. B. E. p. 113 (Mills).
Yasna XXX, 4 S. B. E. p. 30 (Mills).

morality and tempts them to grovel in idleness and vice, whereas Spenta-Mainyu exhorts men to obey the dictates of reason and morality, tries to lift them from the mire of wickedness and incites them to stick to Righteousness. "Let the wise choose one of these two. Be good, not base".¹ Such is the admonition of Zoroaster.

This doctrine of Dualism solves the difficult problem of the Discrepancies in life, of Good and Evil, of the existence of evil and its supposed origin from the Beneficent Being. The tenor of this doctrine is that God who is all good cannot be responsible for permanent evil. The dualism of the two principles corresponds not only with the laws of modern science,² but with the dualism of Phenomena and Noumena, of Practical Reason and Desire, expounded by Kant. According to him, there is a radical rift in human nature, an antithesis between a sensuous self and an intelligible self—a phenomenon and a noumenon. "There is a distinction", as Kant says, "of the motive which arises from our consciousness of ourselves as subjects from the motives that arise from our nature as objects".³ Further Kant finds the essential antagonism of Spirit and nature in the moral life. He observes: "Man's will is for harmony; but nature knows better what is good for his species: her will is for dissension. He would like a life of comfort and satisfaction, but nature wills that he should be dragged out of idleness and inactive content and plunged into labour and trouble, in order that he may be made to seek in his own prudence for the means of again delivering himself from them. The natural impulses which prompt this effort—the causes of unsociableness and mutual conflict, out of which so many evils spring—are also in turn the spurs which drive him to the development of his powers. Thus they really betray the providence of a wise Creator and not the interference of some Evil Spirit which has meddled with the world which God had nobly planned, and enviously overturned its order".⁴

The idea of the immortality of the soul pervades the Gâthâs. It is said in Yasna XLV, 7 that the soul of the Righteous attains to eternal Immortality. Further in Yasna XXXIV it is distinctly

¹ Yasna XXX, 3. ² Vide 'A modern Zoroastrian' by Samuel Laing p. 170

³ Caird, Vol II., p. 181.

⁴ Caird, Vol II., p. 550.

expressed that "Immortality, Righteousness and the Kingdom of welfare will be granted to these men in consequence of pious deeds, words and devotion." According to Kant, the existence of God and the immortality of the soul are the postulates of pure practical reason. To read Kant's elaborate argument for the immortality of the soul, which the great Iranian Philosopher has not openly expressed, is indeed interesting. He writes: "This substance (soul) taken simply as the object of the internal sense, gives us the concept of *immateriality*: and as simple substance that of *incorruptibility*: its identity as that of an intellectual substance gives us *personality*, and all these three together *spirituality*: its relation to objects in space gives us the concept of *commercium* (intercourse with bodies), the pure psychology thus representing the thinking substance as the principle of life in matter, that is, a *soul* and as the ground of *animality*: which again, as restricted by spirituality, gives us the concept of *immortality*".¹

If we accept the translation and interpretation of Yasna XLIV, 19, made by Haug, we would find other notions of Zoroaster's speculative philosophy: "Two intellects", the 'first' and the 'last'. The 'first' is innate wisdom and the 'last' is that which is acquired by experience. These notions seem to be conformable with Kant's notions of *Intellectus archetypus* and *Intellectus Ectypus*.

The moral philosophy of Zoroaster is, as we know well, based on the triad of Thought, Word and Deed. According to Zoroaster there must be "effective righteousness in every particular, negative and positive, passive and active, as to thought, as to word and as to deed." "Good thought, word and deed lead to Asha"—Righteous Perfection, and "Righteous Perfection is the Highest Good,—it is Happiness. Happiness is for the sake of Righteousness, the Best." Asha is thus the Divine Law of Righteous Perfection and the Categorical imperative of the Zoroastrian ethics is: Every Zoroastrian must pursue Asha—the Highest Good,—and "think of the welfare of the creation"² and happiness shall follow of itself as the final result. He who "follows Asha both in

¹ Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, translated by Max Müller, p. 281.

² Yasna XXXIII, 2: Haug's Essays, p. 153.

his words and his actions shall be the most helpful and vigorous being to Ahura Mazda".¹ From this we can conclude that the Zoroastrian Ethics is compatible with the Ethics of Transcendentalism as well as with the Ethics of universalistic Utilitarianism.

Kant is well-known for his transcendental ethics. In his ethics "the notion of duty must lead to ends and must on moral principles give the foundation of maxims with respect to the end which we ought to propose to ourselves".² Kant lays great stress on conformity to *Moral Law* which declares the *sine qua non* of morality. With this preliminary indispensable condition the moral law obliges every one to promote the welfare of the world and of himself, and thus to attain to the final goal of happiness. Kant is thus in complete accord with Humanitarianism or Universalistic Utilitarianism.

In conclusion, we repeat that had Kant lived to read the translation of the Gâthâs, made by Haug, Mills, and Kanga, he would have spoken of Zoroaster's theology as well as of his speculative and moral philosophy in terms of high commendation and would not have penned the following words: "Amongst all the public religions that have ever existed, the *Christian alone* is moral".³ Kant divides all religions into two classes: "favour-seeking" religion (mere worship) and "moral" religion, that is, the religion of a good life. The profoundest philosophers and the most eminent savants of modern times admit that the Zoroastrian religion also which teaches its followers to lead a good pious life and to become better members of society, is a moral religion. Dr. Geiger is quite right when he says: "The character of these (Zoroastrian ethics) is so personal and individual that we are involuntarily forced to assume that it is the product of an individual super-eminent spirit which, endowed with special moral gifts of nature, has attained to such keenness and preciseness in the conception of moral laws."

D. N. PAVRI.

¹ Yaena XXXI, 22. ² Kant's Theory of Ethics, translated by Abbott p. 293.

³ Kant's Theory of Ethics by Abbott p. 360.

A GLANCE AT THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARIES.

It is an oft repeated remark that the Avesta literature once possessed 21 nasks or books, embracing various subjects, theological, philosophical, astronomical, mathematical, geographical, medicinal, etc. It is useless to lament over the calamitous destruction of this rich lore by Alexander the Great, the Greek invader of Persia. But it is pleasing to note that the Evil Genius that instigated the Greek warrior to burn down in a drunken frolic the library at Persepolis, wherein were kept all Zoroastrian writings, was partly foiled in his wicked aim, for, despite the most ruinous ravages perpetrated by Alexander, the literature of the Zoroastrians has not been totally lost in oblivion, but at least a portion of it has been preserved and handed down to us in a more or less intelligible condition, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of such princes as Valkhash, Ardeshir Papākān, Shāpur Ardeshir, Shāpur Hormazd, Khusro Kobād and Noshirwān, aided zealously and enthusiastically in their work of collecting the scattered time-honoured fragments of the Avesta by such learned priests as Tansar, Virāf, Adarbād Mahrospand and others. These protectors of the religious writings of Zarathushtra and his disciples did not content themselves by merely collecting together the fragments of the literature, but they also translated the same into Pahlavi, elucidating the more obscure and difficult passages by means of explanations and commentaries. But even these were not destined to remain undisturbed. The same evil star seemed to hover over the already oppressed and afflicted faith of the Zoroastrians who had to pass through a very trying and crushing persecution at the hands of their Mohammadan conquerors well known for their religious fanaticism. But even these devastators of Persia and of Persian literature left to the followers of Zarathushtra some remnants of the Scriptures of their faith, namely, some scattered portions of the Avesta, and a handful of Pahlavi writings. Considering the vicissitudes through which the Zoroastrian Scriptures have passed, no Parsi will hesitate to remember with feelings of

Hitherto we have dealt with the merits of the commentaries. Let us now cast a passing glance at the other side of the shield, and look at their obvious defects. It is not amiss to say that the commentators were not infallible. Among their demerits may be mentioned their carelessness of syntactical structure, the occasional confusion of persons in grammar, the use of the singular for the plural, of the masculine for the feminine, and vice versa. But these are merely linguistic shortcomings due, to some extent, to the incompleteness of the Pahlavi grammar, and they have reference more to the translation than the comment. In some cases, these shortcomings are the creation of the modern student who fails to comprehend the Pahlavi writer on account of the difficulty of deciphering the

Pahlavi writings. There are, however, genuine defects for which the commentators are themselves responsible.

We have given above an example of the cleverness with which the commentators explain the inconsistencies of the Avesta texts. Now let us give an example of the inconsistencies that appear in the Pahlavi commentary where none exist in the Avesta. In the Pahlavi redaction of Yasna IX., 3, it is said that Zarathushtra knew Haoma and yet he is at the same time represented as questioning Haoma as to who he was, and Haoma as introducing himself to Zarathushtra as 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 and 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀. This is inexplicable, and leads us to believe that the interpretation of the original in Pahlavi is incorrect. There appears no need for all this ceremony, if according to the commentator,

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀

i. e., "Zarathushtra recognised Haoma, for this reason that at that time he (Zarathushtra) had been (i. e., used to be) much (in contact) with the Yazatas."

The Pahlavi commentaries also throw a side-light on contemporary events. The commentaries cannot be expected to disclose the political, social and scientific conditions of the time, but they enable one to form at least a rough estimate of the religious, philosophical, and, to some extent, the literary condition of the times.

In the first place, the fact that we find comments on the simplest passages in the Avesta, leads us to believe that either the people of the time must have been entirely unable to comprehend Avestic ideas or that the commentators were not very confident that their translation by itself would be intelligible to the people. Indeed, we must not overlook the fact that the commentators had to deal with the sublime poetry of the Gâthâs, and the more or less poetical character of the rest of the Avesta. It was on account of this linguistic difficulty that they had to resort to glosses on even very simple expressions in order to avoid ambiguities.

An estimate regarding the notion of charity prevalent during that age can be formed from the words

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬭𐬀

occurring in Yasna IX., 49:—"Thou dost give a thing unto him to

whom it should be given." This shows that the people of the time knew that charity was not to be practised without discrimination, and that it was a virtue only if it went to help the deserving.

An obvious mistake of the Pahlavi commentators consists in their attributing a physical body *ē* to the abstract idea of the Avestic word *daeua*. Nowhere in the pure philosophy of the Gāthās is a *daeua* understood to have a body like that either of a man or of a beast. This Pahlavi notion and others of the kind about the Zoroastrian philosophy mars our appreciation of the excellence and utility of the commentaries; for if we were to read the commentaries alone, without the original Avesta texts, our estimate of the philosophy of the Zoroastrian teachings would not be very high.

However, it will not be justifiable to condemn the Pahlavi commentaries merely because they contain, scattered here and there, a few uncouth and wrong ideas about the sublime philosophy of Zarathushtra's teachings. Before pronouncing, therefore, a condemnation, one has only to imagine through what difficulties the commentators had to clear their unaided way.

In their time, they had no opportunity of studying comparative philology, and there was no science like that of comparative philosophy and theology, as we have to-day. Modern civilization affords us an invaluable assistance in our studies, which the learned Dasturs of old did not possess. And yet they have achieved so very successful results, although they are deficient in many respects. Their efforts have been so very successful that a close study of the Pahlavi redaction is now indispensable for a satisfactory study of the Avesta. For, although, at one time, the Pahlavi writings were relegated to the background as so much of traditional literature which only hampers a scientific study of the original Avestic texts, a reaction has now set in, and even those savants who were the loudest in decrying the bestowal of any attention to the Pahlavi commentaries, have now begun judiciously to utilise those works in their endeavours to unfold the old Avestan lore in a strictly scientific spirit.

BEHRAM D. ASLI.

MAZDAK, THE IRANIAN SOCIALIST.

I

INTRODUCTION.

Socialism is one of the most important questions of the day in almost all the states of Europe. As a recent writer¹ on Socialism says, "There are good and true elements in socialism.... There are also bad and false elements in socialism." Socialism or communism has been tried on some practical basis several times. To students of Political Economy, the systems of St. Simon and of Fourier are well known.* But the trials of these systems have failed.

The word "Socialism" is said to be not more than 80 years old. But some of its tenets—its "bad and false elements"—are very old. The object of this paper is to give the version of Firdousi and of other oriental writers, on the tenets of Mazdak, an Iranian socialist, who lived in the early part of the sixth century after Christ.

As said by Gibbon, the people of Irân were "deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism" of this socialist, "who asserted the community of women, and the equality of mankind, whilst he appropriated the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use of his sectaries".*

Rawlinson, referring to his communistic views, calls him a "Magian reformer", and says that he "presented the spectacle of an enthusiast who preached a doctrine of laxity and self-indulgence, not from any base or selfish motive, but simply from a conviction of its truth,"* and asks us to compare his case with that of "Eudoxus,* the predecessor of Epicurus, as reported by Aristotle".* At least, as far as his views about marriage are concerned, from what we read of him in the oriental authors, we are not disposed to

¹ "Socialism" by Robert Flint.

² Fawcett's "Manual of Political Economy" (1869) pp. 102-104.

³ Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (1844) Vol III p. 116.

⁴ Rawlinson's "Seventh Great Monarchy" (1876) p. 343.

⁵ *Ibid.*, note 3

⁶ *Ibid.*, note 3.

exempt him from bad motives. Gibbon's views, as given above, seem to portray him in his true colours. Malcolm estimates him in his proper character when he calls him a "religious impostor".

Before describing the tenets of Mazdak, as given by Firdousi and other Mahomedan authors, we shall give here in brief, the references to him in the Pahlavi books.

II.

REFERENCES TO MAZDAK IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

1. **The Pahlavi Vendidad.**—The oldest Pahlavi writing, where-in Mazdak is referred to, is the Pahlavi Vendidad.¹ In the fourth chapter of the Vendidad,² it is enjoined that a poor Zoroastrian, who seeks knowledge (i. e. wants education) or who seeks a wife (i. e. wishes to be married) or who wants some material or monetary assistance, may be helped. Then follows instructions about the best time for seeking knowledge, i. e., for studies.³ Then follows a passage which advises that the deserving poor may be helped with things wanted by them.⁴ Lastly comes the passage which recommends a married life.⁵ Therein it is said that a married person is better able to withstand difficulties and afflictions and to fight against evil-minded persons than one who is unmarried.⁶ In the list of such evil-minded persons is mentioned the class of the impious starving heretics (*ashemaoghem anashavanem anguharestâtem*). As an instance of such an "impious starving heretic", the Pahlavi translator and commentator gives the name of Mazdak. It gives the following words as a commentary:—*Chêgûn Mazdak-ê Bâmdâdân mînash nafshman sir vashtmûnt aeshân pavan sîg va marg dâd*,⁷ i. e., "like Mazdak (son) of Bâmdâd, who, while he himself eats to satiety, gives up others to hunger and death".

This is an allusion to his imposture, that by his new creed he pretended to be an unselfish person but in the end he made himself

¹ Malcolm's "History of Persia" (1829): Vol. I., p. 104.

^{*} Fargard IV., 49.

² *Ibid.* 44.

³ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47-49.

⁶ Cf. "To tell the truth, however, family and property have done more to support me than I have to support them. They have compelled me to make exertions that I hardly thought myself capable of; and often, when on the eve of despairing, they have forced me, like a coward in a corner, to fight like a hero, not for myself, but for my wife and little ones"—Tyronne Power.

⁷ Dastur Darab Peshotan's text, p. 64, notes 4 and 5. Vide Darmesteter's "Zend-Avesta", Vol. II., p. 62, note 39.

rich at the cost of others. We shall see later on, on the authority of historians, that such was thought to be the case.

2. **The Bahman Yasht: a Dream of Zoroaster.**—The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht speaks of a dream of Zoroaster wherein he saw a tree with "four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one mixed up with iron".¹ The dream, when interpreted, indicated that the tree was the great millenium after the revelation of the religion by Zoroaster and that the four branches were the four important epochs of that millenium, when four great personages appeared and important events happened. The third branch of the tree, viz., that of steel, indicated "the reign of the glorified (*anôshak-rubân*) Khûsrô, son of Kevâd (Kobâd)"* (A. D. 531-578), who suppressed the heresy of Mazdak. The Bahman Yasht says: "During this time, the accursed Mazdâk, son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God. And he, the glorified one, summoned Khûsrô, son of Mâhdâd, and Dâd-Auharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg, the undecitful (*akadbâ*), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to his presence...."

According to the Persian version of this subject, "Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately".² As we shall see later on, Firdousi refers to this priestly assembly mentioned in the Bahman Yasht. That Khûsrô (*Noshirwân*) held such priestly assemblies for various purposes appears from the Epistles³ of Mânuschehar.⁴ Nishâpûhar, who is

¹ Chap. I. 1. S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, Chap. I., 5.

³ *Ibid.*, Chap. I., 6-7. West, S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 194.

⁴ West, S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 194, note 2.

⁵ Epistle I, Chap. IV., 15-17; S. B. E., Vol. XVIII., p. 297.

⁶ Various references to these priestly assemblies in the Epistles of Mânuschehar and elsewhere, throw a side-light on the Ecclesiastical hierarchy of ancient Irân, especially in the Mahomedan times after the downfall of the Sassanian empire. (a) They say that the high-priests of principal centres, like Pars and Kirman, had a council to advise them on principal ecclesiastical questions. (b) These high-priests even maintained a number of troops. (c) When the head priests became very old, their affairs were looked after by a committee of four learned priests (Vide S. B. E., Vol. XVIII., Introduction, p. XXVII).

often referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidad and the Nirangistân as a commentator, was a prominent member of these priestly assemblies of Noshirwân.' As Dr. West* says, it is possible that the above-mentioned priest Dâd-Auharmazd of Nishâpur, referred to in the Bahman Yasht as taking a part in the priestly assemblies to discuss questions with Mazdak, is the priest Nishâpur of the court of Noshirwân referred to in the Epistles.

Another Dream of Zoroaster.—The Bahman Yasht speaks of another dream of the prophet wherein he saw a tree with seven branches.* In the interpretation of the dream, it is said of the sixth branch, which is that of steel, that it "is the reign of King Khûsrô, son of Kêvâd, when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox".†

The Dream of Zoroaster as given in the Persian Zarthosht-nâmeh.—The Persian Zarthosht-nâmeh written by Zarthusht Behrâm in 647 Yazdagardi (A. D. 1278) also gives the second dream* of Zoroaster as referred to by the Bahman Yasht. It says that the sixth branch viz., that of steel, refers to the time of Noshirwân in whose reign the evil-minded Mazdak appeared but failed.

The Dream of Zoroaster and the Dream of Daniel.—The dreams of Zoroaster have been pointed out as resembling the vision of Daniel,† who saw that "the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea and four great beasts came up from the sea".‡ One of the beasts which [Daniel saw had "great iron teeth".§ The four beasts of the Vision of Daniel were, like the four branches of the dream of Zoroaster, interpreted to mean "four kings which shall arise out of the earth".||

3. The Dinkard.—The Dinkard** refers to Noshirwân as one smiting apostasy. This apostasy is that of Mazdak. According to Dr. West, the reference in the Dinkard†† to the arrival of the fiend

* Epistle I., Chap. IV., 15. Vide S.E.E., Vol. XVIII., p. 297, notes 1 and 2.

† Ibid. § The Bahman Yasht, Chap. II., 14. ¶ Ibid., 21.

‡ "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht Nâma) de Zartusht-i-Bahrâm Ben Fajdu" publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg. Vide for the Persian text pp. 68—69; for the French translation, pp. 67—68. ¶ Daniel, chap. VII.

§ Ibid., Chap. VII., 2—3. ¶ Ibid., 7. ¶ Ibid., 17.

|| Dinkard Bk. IV., 28; S.E.E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 415.

** Bk. IX., Chap. XXXII, 17; S.E.E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 237, note 4.

and his evils in the ninth century after "the coming of the religion" seems to be an allusion to the creed of Mazdak. Similarly the reference to "some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy", may be an allusion to the triumph of Noshirwân and his party of priests over Mazdak and his followers. Again when the Dinkard¹ refers to an "organisation of the religion by the glorified Khûsrôî, son of Kêvâd," the allusion is to the assembly of priests summoned by him as referred to in the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, and described by Firdousi.

From the fact of the heretical teachings of Mazdak, apostasy in general has latterly come to be known at times as Mazdakih.²

III

FIRDOUSI'S VERSION.

Firdousi speaks of Mazdak as an eloquent, wise, thinking and ambitious person. He had endeared himself to king Kobâd and had become his Dastur or minister, and his treasurer.

It was a famine that led him to, or gave him an opportunity to give expression to, socialistic views. A great famine spread over Irân and the poor populace collected at the palace of the king to ask for relief. Kobâd who was the king's minister went to the king and put to him the following question:—

"Suppose a person is bitten by a snake and is on the point of losing his life, and suppose that another person has an antidote for snake-poison but he does not give it to the snake-bitten man. Then what punishment does the person, who refuses to give the antidote, deserve?"

King Kobâd replied: "The man who possesses the antidote is a murderer (*kâni*). He must be killed for bringing about the death of the snake-bitten person."

Mazdak then went to the people who assembled at the gate of the palace and said to them that he had consulted the king, and that he would show them the way of relief the next morning.

The people assembled again the next morning. On seeing

¹ Dinkard, Bk. IX., Chap., LIII., 3; S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 328 note 3.

² Bk. VII., Chap. VII., 26; S.B.E., Vol. XLVII., p. 89, note 2.

³ Vide Dinkard Bk. VII., Chap. VII., 21; S.B.E., Vol. XLVII., p. 88.—Of Machiavellism from Machiavel, and Pers. *Karsivâzi* کرسوازی from Karsivâz, the wicked brother of Afrâsiâb.

them Mazdak ran to the court of the king again, and said: "Suppose there is a person who is imprisoned and not being given any food he dies. What punishment is due to the person who possesses bread but does not give it to the person imprisoned?"

The king said, "He is a murderer of that poor man to whom he has refused food."

Having heard this, Mazdak took the two replies of the king as justifying what he was going to do to relieve the distress of the famine-stricken people. He went to the people and said, "Go, and wherever you see grain, take a part of it for yourselves. If they ask for money plunder them." Thus he advised ravage and plunder to the poor famished people. He gave away his granary also to be plundered. They plundered also the king's granary.

When news of this state of affairs was conveyed to king Kobâd, he sent for Mazdak and asked for an explanation. He said that he relied upon the answers given by the king in reply to his questions. The grain was to the famine-stricken people what the antidote was to the snake-bitten man. He added, "Oh king! If you are just, think well that the grain in the granaries (of the rich) is of no use if people die of hunger."

The argument of Mazdak seemed plausible to the king and he began to think over the matter. In the meantime, a large crowd assembled round Mazdak who propounded to them his socialistic ideas. He said: "The rich and the poor are equal. No one should possess more than what he actually wants. The relationship between the rich and the poor should be like that between the warp and the woof (*i.e.*, one cannot do without the other in the fabric of society). The world must be just. If a rich man possesses more than he wants, it is unlawful (*karrân*) for him to have it. Women, property and other things must be equally divided. The poor and the rich are equal. I want to put in order these inequalities, so that purity (*i.e.*, justice) may appear and noble things may be distinguished from base ones. He who does not become one of this faith, (*i.e.*, this new socialistic teaching) would, like a demon, be cursed by God."

Firdousi then proceeds to say that Mazdak "treated all the poor, whether old or young, as one. He took away things from one person and gave them to another. The Mobads were depressed at this

sight. When Kobâd heard his teachings, he adopted them and he was pleased with his words. The king made him sit on his right hand and the army did not know where the Mobad (i. e., the usual adviser of the king) was. All the poor who gained their bread by their toil went to him. His teachings flourished in the world and nobody dared to oppose him. The rich turned away from the path of virtue. They had to give away to the poor what they had."

The Mazdakians, i. e., the followers of his teachings, soon numbered about 30000. Once a large meeting of these followers was held on an open *maidân*, as the king's palace was not large enough to contain them. The king himself was present at the meeting. Mazdak there represented to the king that as his prince Kesra (Chosroes, i. e., Noshirwân) had not as yet joined his new faith, he ought to be asked to pass a writing adopting the faith. He added that there were five evils which led men away from the path of righteousness. They were (1) jealousy; (2) anger; (3) revenge; (4) penury; and (5) *divs* (demons); and a man would follow the path of God if he would keep away from these. Wealth and women were the causes that generated these five evils. So these two, *viz.*, wealth and woman, should be common property.

Having said this, Mazdak caught hold of the hand of Noshirwân, who had gone to the meeting, with a view to ask him to accept his new teachings. Noshirwân indignantly freed his hand from the grasp of Mazdak. Kobâd asked his son why he did not accept this new faith. Noshirwân said in reply that, if the king would give him time, he would prove the falsity of Mazdak's teachings. Mazdak asked the period of time he wanted to be prepared to discuss the question. Noshirwân asked for a period of five months and he was given that time. Noshirwân then sent messages to different parts of Persia to call together learned persons who could thoroughly examine the *pros* and *cons* of the question. Among those that came there was one Hormazd from the city of Kurreh-i-Ardashir and one Meher-Âzar from the city of Istakhar. The latter had brought with him 30 other *savants*. They all consulted together and resolved upon a plan to meet the arguments of Mazdak. Noshirwân then went to the court of his father and said that a day may be appointed to meet Mazdak. He proposed that,

* These are the priestly assemblies referred to in the Pahlavi books. — *Vide* above, p. 118

if Mazdak succeeded in proving the validity of his faith, he (Noshirwân) would accept his creed. If otherwise, Mazdak and his associates may be given up to Noshirwân to be punished for their false creed. Razmeher, Kharrad, Farrâhin, Bendui, and Behezâd stood as witnesses to this stipulation.

They all met the next day at the court of the king to discuss the question of Mazdak's teachings. One of the Mobads, who accompanied Noshirwân, opened the debate by putting these questions to Mazdak :

1. " You say that wealth and women must be common property for all. Then in the case of women how could it be possible for a father to say that such and such person is his son, and for a son to say that such and such person is his father ?

2. Again, in the case of wealth, if all—the great and the small—are equal, who will be the servants and who masters? Who will serve you and who will serve me ?

3. Again, when a man dies, who will inherit his property,—the king or the citizen,—both being in your eyes equal?

4. If all would be masters, who would be the labourers? If all were to possess wealth, who would be the wealthy persons (lit. treasurers) ? "

The Mobad then added that such a state of affairs would devastate the whole of Irân. No religion in the world has ever pronounced such a doctrine of equality.

This line of argument advanced by the party of Noshirwân was not successfully met by Mazdak and his party. Firdousi says that king Kobâd approved of the line of arguments advanced by Noshirwân's party, and he, in the end, was convinced that Mazdak's creed was faulty and likely to bring ruin to Irân. So, he gave up Mazdak and his 30000 accomplices into the hands of Noshirwân, who thereupon put Mazdak to death.

Firdousi adds, on the authority of a learned man, that Mazdak, having won the heart of the king by his seemingly plausible arguments, had once tried to put his creed into practice, and on the plea that women and wealth were common property for all, had once asked the king to entrust to him his daughter and his throne. This exasperated the king and he turned away from the creed of Mazdak.

Thus we learn from the above-mentioned version of Firdousi that it was Noshirwân who saved Irân from the evils of the false elements of Mazdak's socialism. As said by Gibbon, "It was the first labour of his reign to abolish the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions: the lands and women which the sectaries of Mazdak had usurped, were restored to their lawful owners; and the temperate chastisement of the fanatics or impostors confirmed the domestic rights of society".¹

IV.

OTHER MAHOMEDAN AUTHORS.

We shall supplement our version from Firdousi with that from some other known Mahomedan authors like Maçoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond.

Maçoudi.—Maçoudi's references to Mazdak are brief. He calls him a Zendik.² He says that Mazdak had formulated a revolt against Kobâd. The result was that Mazdak was dethroned. He regained his throne after some time. On coming to the throne, Noshirwân killed Mazdak and 80000 of his followers.

Tabari.—Tabari gives a separate chapter³ on the teachings of Mazdak. According to this author he came from Nishâpur in Khorâsân. He pretended to be a prophet, but he was really not so. He taught the old religion of Persia, with this exception that he abolished marriage and ownership in property, saying "that the God of the Universe has given these (women and wealth) equally to all men." This doctrine pleased most young men, the debauched and the common individuals, and many adopted it. Kobâd, in the twelfth year of whose reign Mazdak declared this new creed, sent for him and inquired about it. Kobâd was licentious and fond of women. So, he was inclined to the teachings of Mazdak who attached no importance to the sacred tie of marriage. The people with the help of the chief Dastur dethroned and imprisoned

¹ Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (1844): Vol. IIL, pp. 117-118.

² الزنديق. I do not understand, why M. Barbier de Meynard (Maçoudi par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 195) translates here the word as Manichéen. Though there may be some traits common to the Zendiks and to the Manichéens, yet the sects seem to be, to a great extent, different.

³ Part II., Chap. XXIX.—Tabari par Zotenberg, Tome II pp. 148-52.

⁴ همه جهان را بیکدیگر بغواستم و زنان را مست با شد

(Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text, p. 313 ll. 2-8.)

him, and put his brother Jâmâsp on the throne. One of his sisters went to his prison and wrapped him in beddings and blankets, and passed the bundle out of the prison under the pretence that it belonged to her. She said to the jailor, who wanted to seduce her, that she was in her monthly illness, and that, as, according to the Persian custom, people did not come into contact with the body and clothings of women during such illness, Kobâd had directed her beddings and clothing to be removed. Kobâd, who was concealed in the bundle of the beddings, after being thus released from his imprisonment fled from Persia. He then returned after some time with foreign assistance and regained his throne. He then renounced the company and the teachings of Mazdak, who, later on, was killed by Noshirwân.

Mirkhond.—Mirkhond, in his *Rozatus-safa*, says that Mazdak won over king Kobâd to his new creed by a stratagem. He pretended that his new faith was revealed to him by God and imposed upon the king by showing him a so-called miracle. He got a subterranean communication to be made with the vault of a fire-temple, and hid an accomplice under the ground below the vase of the Sacred Fire. Then he took the king with him to the fire-temple and offered to converse with the Sacred Fire. The man, who was hid in the ground under the fire vase, talked with him freely. The king took this to be a miracle and was converted to the new creed.*

According to Mirkhond, the following were the teachings of Mazdak :—

1. Wealth and the sexes were common property.*
2. Intercourse with the next of kin (lit. those prohibited) was good.*
3. The slaughter of animals and eating their flesh was unlawful.* He permitted the use of eggs as food while prohibiting meat diet.

* Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text, Vol. I., p. 232. Silvestre de Sacy's *Mémoire sur Divers Antiquités de la Perse*, pp. 354-356.

* اموال و فرج خلایق را بریکدیگر مباح گردانید

(Munshi Nawal Kishore's text, Vol. I., p. 232, l. 22.)

* جمع شدن با محارم از مستحکات شمرده

* ذبح حیوانات و اکل لحوم و دسوم آنها را برخلاق حرام ساخت (Ibid.)

4. The putting on of coarse cloth and living a kind of austere life.

The result of these teachings was, according to Mirkhond, this: "He drew to his faith the lowest classes of people. They committed rape on women of the highest classes. Children could not say who their fathers were and nobody was certain about the possession of his property." Mazdak, says Mirkhond, had, at one time, the audacity to demand from his royal disciple, king Kobâd, his queen. The king was prepared to grant the demand, but Noshirwân saved the honour of his royal mother by requesting Mazdak with great importunities to withdraw his demand. The ministers of the king were so much displeased with his conduct that they dethroned and imprisoned him and placed his brother Jâmâsp on the throne. Kobâd being released from his prison by a stratagem of one of his sisters, regained his throne after some time with foreign assistance and had by that time given up his liking for the teachings of Mazdak. Noshirwân, on coming to the throne, killed Mazdak. Mirkhond says that various different accounts of Mazdak and his party were known during his time.

Alberuni.—Alberuni includes Mazdak in the list of his pseudo-prophets. He attributes bad motives both to Mazdak for introducing his new creed and Kobâd for encouraging and adopting it. He says :

"Kobâdh, too, believed in him. But some of the Persians maintain that his adhesion was a compulsory one, since his reign was not safe against the mass of the followers of Mazhdak. According to others, again, this Mazhdak was a cunning sort of man, who managed to concoct this system, and to come forward with it simply because he knew that Kobâdh was charmed by a woman who was the wife of his cousin; and that for this reason Kobâdh hastened to adopt it. Mazhdak ordered him to abstain from sacrificing cattle before the natural term of their life had come. Kobâdh said: 'Your enterprise shall not succeed until you make me master of the mother of Anûshirwân, that I may enjoy her.' Mazhdak did as he wished, and ordered her to be handed over." *

* Gibbon on the authority of Pocock who refers to an Arab historian for his authority says that Kobâd himself offered his queen to Mazdak. (Gibbon III p. 116 n. 4 Chap XLII.

* Alberuni's "Chronology of Ancient Nations," translated by Dr. Sachau, p. 192.

According to Albiruni, there was another pseudo-prophet named Almukanna, who declared himself as an incarnation of God and made obligatory "all the laws and institutes which Mazhdak had established." This was about 200 years after Mazdak.

The Dabistan.—The Dabistân has a special section (section 16) treating of the teachings of Mazdak. According to this work, Mazdak had written a special book on his new creed. It was known as Desnad. The author of the Dabistân quotes a number of passages from this book. His version of the tenets of Mazdakism gives a good deal more than what we read in Firdousi, Maçoudi, Tabari, Mirkhond and Alberuni. The addition contains some elements which are common to Zoroastrianism, for example, the subject of the so-called dualism.

As to the special tenets of Mazdak, the Dabistân represents Mazdak as justifying them on two grounds. The first is that of justice referred to by Firdousi. The second is that of the removal of a fertile cause of quarrels prevalent in the world. Wealth and woman are two sources that are a frequent cause of dissensions in this world. If both of these were possessed equally by men, it was alleged, there would be no cause of quarrel. We shall give here in the words of the author of the Dabistân the tenets and the grounds on which they were supposed to have been based.

"It is also stated in the same volume (Desnad): 'Whatever is not according with the light and agrees with darkness, becomes wrath, destruction, and discord. And whereas almost all contentions among mankind have been caused by riches and women, it is therefore necessary to emancipate the female sex and have wealth in common: he, therefore, made all men partners in riches and women; just as they are of fire, water, and grass.' In the same volume we find: 'It is a great injustice that one man's wife should be altogether beautiful, whilst another's is quite the contrary; it therefore becomes imperative, on the score of justice and true religion, for a good man to resign his lovely wife for a short time to his neighbour, who has one both evil and ugly; and also take to himself for a short time his neighbour's deformed consort.'

1. Alberuni's "Chronology" translated by Sachau, p. 194.

2. "The Dabistan, or School of Manners", translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer (1843): Vol. I, pp. 372-379.

"Mazdak has also said: It is altogether reprehensible and improper that one man should hold a distinguished rank, and another remain poor and destitute of resources: it is therefore incumbent on the believer to divide his wealth with his co-religionist; and so taught the religion of Zardusht, that he should even send his wife to visit him, that he may not be deprived of female society. But if his co-religionist should prove unable to acquire wealth, or show proofs of extravagance, infatuation, or insanity, he is to be confined to the house, and measures adopted to provide him with food, clothing, and all things requisite; whoever assents not to these arrangements is consequently a follower of Ahriman's, and they get contributions from him by compulsion."¹

From what follows in the Dabistân it appears that Mazdak's tenets were preserved and followed long after him and they prevailed in later Mahomedan times even upto the time when the Dabistân was written.

V.

THE SOURCE OF MAZDAKISM.

Mazdak's teachings have been run down by Parsee books as being foreign to Zoroastrianism. The question may be asked where they came from. Did they arise in Irân itself, from the fertile but mischievous mind of Mazdak himself, or were they imported into Irân from a foreign country? They seem to have come to Irân from a foreign country.

Mr. Simcox in his "Primitive Civilizations"² thinks that in his teachings Mazdak was a disciple of Mencius,³ a Chinese sage. At the end of the fifth and at the commencement of the sixth centuries, several embassies had been sent to China from Persia. In 461 and 466 A. D., two embassies were sent. In 509 A. D., Kobâd had sent another embassy to China. Mr. Simcox thinks that this frequent intercourse between China and Persia had brought about the introduction of the teachings of Mencius from China into Persia.

¹ "The Dabistan" of Shâh and Troyer, pp. 377-378.

² "Primitive Civilizations or Outlines of the History of Ownership in Archaic Communities", by E. J. Simcox (1894): Vol. II., pp. 128-129.

³ Mencius is the Latinised form of Meng-tse. He is said to have lived from 371 to 289 B. C. (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVI., p. 3.)

We have seen above, in Firdousi's version of Mazdak's teaching, that he won king Kobād to his socialistic view by some ingenious questions. The method of the Chinese moralist Mencius also was in, what Simcox calls, "the form of Socratic interrogation".¹ He is described as having the following conversation² with king Hway of Seang :—

Mencius.—"Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword?"

King Hway.—"There is no difference."

Mencius.—"Is there any difference between killing a man with a sword and with bad government?"

King Hway.—"There is no difference."

Mencius.—"In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stable there are fat horses. Your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not know to make any restrictive arrangements.³ There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know to issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, 'It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year.' In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying, 'It was not I, it was the weapon'?"

We thus see that there is a good deal of similarity between the form and the substance of Mazdak's interrogatories to the Irā-

¹ Simcox: "Primitive Civilizations" Vol. II, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ The restrictive arrangements referred to in the Chinese "Book of Rites" are thus described by Mr. Simcox: "The Book of Rites contains some striking provisions expressly designed to prevent the State charges from becoming an oppressive burden on the cultivators. The amount of rice consumed per head of the population was estimated at about 1½ lbs. per diem in an average year. With a beautiful harvest it might rise to 2 lbs., and in a bad year it might fall to 1 lb.; but it was the duty of the officers in charge of the public granaries to watch the harvest and the state of the public stores, and when the lower limit of consumption was reached, to import grain from adjoining provinces, to remove the people to more productive regions, and to warn the sovereign to reduce the expenses of the state. In times of famine the king had no great feast, and all other optional items of expenditure were curtailed.... The general rate of expenditure ought, it was held, to be determined upon the average revenue for thirty years,—a period long enough to allow good and bad years to balance each other. A thriving State was one in which a surplus had been accumulated sufficient to provide for a series of six bad years; a State that had not a surplus sufficient for three years was doomed to prompt extinction." *Ibid.*, p. 35).

nian king Kôbâd and Mencius's interrogatories to the Chinese king Hway, and it appears probable that Mazdak took his teaching from the Chinese Mencius. Simcox says that "Chinese radicalism, it seems, lost some of its sweet resemblances and temperance in the course of transmission, and the communistic element in Mazdak's doctrine is a purely Persian addition."

According to Mirkhond, he also prohibited the use of meat as food and by his example of putting on coarse cloth and by his retired devotion, recommended, as it were, an ascetic life. The Parsee books and Firdousi do not refer to this part of his teachings. It is Mirkhond who refers to them. According to Alberuni, there was no complete prohibition. The prohibition was against the slaughter of animals, but when the animals died of natural death, their flesh was, though that is not said in so many words, permitted to be eaten.

These teachings also may have come from China, where they had spread with the Buddhistic faith from India. Or possibly they were imported direct from the Buddhism of India. We know that Buddhism had gone to the very borders, nay, in some cases, had even crossed the frontiers, of Irân.

According to the above-quoted passage of the Dabistân, Mazdak, while preaching his tenets of wealth and women being common property, pretended to take "the religion of Zardusht" for his authority. It is like our modern saying of the Devil quoting the Scripture. We do not know, on what authority, the Dabistân bases its statement, when it makes Mazdak say "So taught the religion of Zardusht". But if the statement is correct, and if Mazdak rested—however wrongly—on the authority of the teachings of Zoroaster, let us see what that writing was. I think it is the passage of the Vendidad above referred to (IV, 44). The passage speaks of a *hâmo-daêna* (co-religionist) going to another co-religionist, and asking for help. According to the Dabistân, Mazdak also speaks of a *ham-dîn* هم‌دین, i. e., a co-religionist sharing his wealth and wife with another *ham-dîn*. Again in the Pahlavi commentary of a passage * (Vend. IV, 49)

* Simcox : "Primitive Civilizations," Vol. II., p. 129.

* Bombay Lithographed edition of 1262 Hijri, p. 114, l. 2.

* Vide above p. 117.

which follows, and the subject of which arises from, this passage, Mazdak is referred to by name. So, I think that, if, as mentioned by the Dasâtir, Mazdak pointed to any passage in the Avesta, it was this passage of the Vendidad. He misrepresented the passage, and twisted its sense to serve his purpose. The Vendidad recommended Zoroastrians to help their poor co-religionists who asked for money and who desired to marry and to be educated. Mazdak twisted the meaning and said that it meant that they were to share their wealth and women with other co-religionists.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

THE LAW AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES IN PERSIA.

The object of this article is to compile all that is to be found in Sa'di's *Bustân* and *Gulistân* concerning the law and its representatives.

The references to pages are made to the following works:—

Le *Boustân* de Sa'di: Texte persan avec un commentaire persan publié sous les auspices de la société orientale d'Allemagne: par Ch. H. Graf. Vienne, 1858.

The *Gulistan* of Shaikh Muslihu'd din Sa'di of Shirâz. By John Platts. London, 1874.

The two expressions for "law" in Sa'di are *شرع* *shar'a* (Gul. V. 19, p. 118, and VII. 17, p. 135) and *فقه* *fikh* (Bus. IV. 108, p. 241).

The law of legacy *وصیت* *vasiyat* (last will) is treated in Gul. VI. 1, p. 120. Cf. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Islam*, I. 540, p. 534. It is worthy of note that the ruling prince often seized the property of a merchant dying within his dominions.—Bus. I. 272, p. 58.

As regards *وقف* *waqf*, i. e., religious bequest, the rule is that "it has no owner".—Gul. II, 13, p. 52.

The law of debt among the Persians was far more rigorous than, for instance, among the pre-Islamic Bedouins.¹

A variety of pledges *گرو* *girav* is mentioned. They are the saddle-cloth *نمد زین* *namad-i-zîn* (Gul. I. 14, p. 26) and the clothing *مرقع* *murakk'a* which the Sûfis used to pawn for wine.*—Bus. VII. 128, p. 339.

تواین صوفیان بین کم می خورده اند
مرقع بسبکی گرو کرده اند

¹ Cf. Jacob, *Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, p. 216.

² Hafiz pawns for wine the dervish-mantle (*Khirqa*), a praying-carpet (*sejjide*) and a hook (*âstâr*). Cf. Jacob, *Das Weinhaus nebst Zubehör nach den Gesellen des Hafiz in "Orientalische Studien"*. Theodor Noeldeke gewidmet. Giessen, 1906.

"See thou these Sûfis who have drunk wine.
They have pawned their mantle for wine."

If a debtor was unable to discharge his liabilities, he was sent to prison, and was released only when the debt was paid off, or if some other person stood surety for him.—Bus. II. p. 154. If, however, the debtor failed to keep his engagement, the surety had himself to pay the amount or go to jail.

One of the commonest offences was theft: of money (Bus. VII. 8, p. 327); of blankets *galim* (Gul. II. 13, p. 52); of articles of clothing *baghiltâk* (Bus. IV. 272)¹; of turbans *dastâr* (Bus. IV. 410, p. 272); and of caskets *durj* (Gul. II. 5, p. 48). The thief used to force an entrance into the house from the roof on to which he swung himself by means of a rope (Bus. IV. 410, p. 271; Gul. V. 19, p. 118). Night watchmen *pâsbân* (Bus. I. 833, p. 121; Gul. I. 17, p. 28), and *asas* the night-patrol; (Bus. II. 189, p. 503²) are appointed as a protection against thieves. If the thief was caught red-handed, he was sure to receive a good thrashing. He was then handed over to the judge, with his hands tied behind his neck (Bus. V. 73, p. 294). The usual punishment for thieves was that their hands were cut off. (Gul. III. 29, p. 85; II. 13, p. 52; VII. 19, p. 139.) Sometimes, but more rarely, their heels were pierced. (Gul. VII. 19, p. 139).

Loss of tongue was the retribution for slander or libel. (Gul. I. 35, p. 42; Bus. I. 793, p. 117.)

In other cases, the punishment of fine and confiscation of property was inflicted; e. g., if a *khvâjah* did something which was displeasing to the king. (Gul. I. 25, p. 35; Gul. I. 6, p. 20; Bus. I. 66, p. 35). If the fine remained unpaid, an alternative sentence of imprisonment was passed. (Gul. I. 25, p. 35).

Gul. I. 41 tells us that a Negro who had ravished a Chinese girl, was ordered to be precipitated from the roof of the palace into the moat.

¹ Cf. Barbier de Meynard: Chez les Tartares le *baghiltâk* est une espèce de justaucorps en coton qui se porte sous la cuirasse; chez les Persans c'est une tunique de toile légère et transparente qui se met sous le justaucorps nommé *anfari*; c'est ce que les Ottomans nomment *sadeh*, ou *ak-sadeh*.

² Cf. Jacob, Das Weinhaus nebst Zubehör nach den Gesellen des Hafiz, p. 4.

The offence of pederasty was punishable by death. (Gul. V. 19, pp. 117-118).

The rack شکنجه *shekanjah* was also employed. For instance, a faithless official is recorded to have actually given up the ghost during the torture. (Gul. I. 21, p. 33).

Vicarious punishment is very interesting. In Gul. VII. 10, p. 132, it is related that the son of a dervish having drunk wine, created a disturbance, killed a man, and fled away from the city. His father was seized in his place, a chain put round his neck, and fetters on his feet. We also find that the wife and children of a criminal were disgraced. (Bus. I. 268, p. 58).

The treatment in the prisons depended greatly on the warders, (Gul. I. 25, p. 35) and was often very cruel. Instead of jails, occasionally wells were made use of. We have it mentioned in Bus. I. 943, p. 134, that

کسی بندگان را بود د سنگیر
که خود بوده باشد ببندی اسیر

“ That person helps captives,
Who himself may have been a captive in bondage.”

The prisoners were, however, sometimes allowed to see the outside world, e. g., they were visited by their friends. (Bus. I. 776, p. 115).

Capital punishment was mostly carried out in the following manner. The executioners, جلاد *jullâd* (Bus. VII. 34, p. 33) who seem to have been recruited from the Turkish tribes (Bus. II. 449, p. 184) laid the condemned criminal on a carpet known as the decapitation carpet نطمی *nut'atî* (Bus. I. 563, p. 9) which was made of leather. The head of the criminal was severed from the body by the sword, and, after the execution, enveloped in the نطمی *nut'atî*. People thronged in numbers in the streets, collected at the gates and even climbed up on the roofs of houses to witness the execution (Bus. II. pp. 183-184). Another method of carrying out the sentence of death was to throw the criminal into a pit چاه *châh* (Gul. I. 22, p. 33) or into a ditch خندق *khandak* (Gul. I. 41, p. 44).

The trial of minor offences was carried on before the مستسب *muhtasib*. His duty was also to superintend the streets, and “to

prevent public wrong-doing of any kind." Drunkards were also under his supervision (Gul. II. 19, p. 55), but he had no jurisdiction over offences of this nature committed indoors. (Gul. II. 1, p. 46). He had, besides, also to keep an eye on prostitutes (Gul. I. 17, p. 28), and to see that merchants and dealers used accurate weights and measures. (Bus. I. 224, p. 52).

The execution of punishment was in the hands of the head of the police, *شکنه* *shaknah*. (Gul. VIII. 110, p. 170).^{*} He had to settle more important matters than the *muhtasib*, such as matrimonial quarrels, like the Kâzi (Gul. VI. 8, p. 125), cases of assault, murder and manslaughter (Gul. VIII. 108, p. 149), and was greatly feared on account of his rigour (Gul. VIII. 110, p. 170).

The Kâzi whose turban was made of 50 yards of stuff (Bus. IV. 121, p. 262) sat on his judgment cushion *مسند قضا* *masnad-i-kozâ* (Gul. V. 19, p. 116), wrapped up in his *طاق* *tâk* (Bus. IV. 116, p. 341),^{*} surrounded by the jury, and pronounced his sentence *فتویٰ* *fatwâ* (Bus. I. 265, p. 57). A written decree *سجل* *sijl* (Bus. I. 147, p. 45) in which were recorded the sentence and the reasons of the judge, was also handed over to the parties concerned.

Concerning disputes themselves, we do not find much to learn in Sa'di. According to Gul. VIII. 108, p. 169, a Kâzi exists for the purpose of correcting pick-pockets, *طراران* *tarrârân*. We see from Gul. VI. 8, p. 125, that the Kâzi, like the *shaknah*, had also to settle matrimonial quarrels. The Kâzi who was addressed as *مولا* *maulâ* or *صدر کبیر* *sadr-i-kabîr* (Bus. IV. 122, p. 242), and before whom the whole of the audience kissed the ground as a sign of homage (Gul. V. 19, p. 116), was not always an unobjectionable personage, but one easily accessible to bribery. (Gul. VIII. 109, p. 170).

همه کس را دندان بفرشی کند گردد
مگر قاضیا را بشیرینی
قاضی که بر شوت بخورد پنجه خیار
ثابت کند از بهر تو صد خربزه زار

^{*} On the functions of the Muhtasib, cf. Behnauer, *Journal Asiatique* 1860: II. 119-190, 347, 392; 1861: I, 1-76.— Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* I. 250, according to which the surveillance of public demonstrations of grief were within the sphere of the Muhtasib.— Cf. further: *Raph du Mans, Etat de la Perse en 1660*, p. 36.

^{*} Cf. Jacob, *Das Weinhaus nebst Zubehör nach den Gaselen des Hafiz*, p. 5.

^{*} *طاق* *une robe ordinairement d'indienne, ouverte par devant; c'est à peu près le feredje et le caftan des Turcs; quelquefois aussi ce mot désigne le turban à chaperon (tailleurin).*— Barbier de Meynard.

"The teeth of every one are blunted by sourness,
 Except the Kâzi's which are affected by sweetness.
 The Kâzi who takes five cucumbers as a bribe
 Will substantiate thy claim to a hundred melon fields."

Cf. Bacher, *Sadis Aphorismen und Sinngedichte* p. 48:

تیری از در قاضی چو اندر آورده
 دیانت از در دیگر بیرون شود ناچار

"When a perquisite is made to enter through one door of the Kâzi, honesty being helpless departs through the other door."

We also find a case mentioned (*Gul. V. 19*, pp. 117-118) of a Kâzi giving himself up to the pleasures of wine and love with a handsome youth. The latter offence was punishable by death.¹

There were often lively scenes on the occasion of trials of cases, as we learn from *Bus. IV*, p. 240. There was an outburst of words, such as *lima* لِمَ, *lâ Nusallim* لَا نُسَالِّمُ, *balâ* بَلَا, and *n'am* نَعَمْ. Sa'di compares lawyers *fakiûn* فُقِهَان (Bus. IV. 93, p. 239), with furious cocks falling on each other with beak and claw. This one behaved like a drunken man, that one beat the ground with his hands.

Cases were compounded in the presence of the Kâzi by parties kissing each other on the head and the face. (*Gul. VII. 19*, p. 143). If the Kâzi was incapable of performing the duties of his office, he was obliged to surrender the *tâk* and the turban, which were the tokens of his dignity.—Cf. *Bus. IV. 116*, p. 241, where he resigns voluntarily.

The *mu'arref* (Bus. IV. 94, p. 239 and Bus. IV. 119, p. 242), or *nakîb* نَكِيب,² (Bus. IV. 142, p. 244), acted as usher of the court.³

CARL PHILIPP.

¹ This reminds me of the story "Qâzi we dervish". A dervish who is the defendant in five cases, surprises the Kâzi with a boy in a compromising situation. To secure the silence of the dervish, the Kâzi lets him win all the five cases. But he himself takes from each of the plaintiffs one hundred "dinars" as costs.—Cf. further, Veit, *Gräf Platens Nachbildungen aus Hafis' Diwan in: Studien Zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, 1908, p. 425.

² Barbier de Meynard: Le mot *nakîb* qui désigne ordinairement un chef de communauté ou un gouverneur, un magistrat spécial, est expliqué par Soudi comme l'équivalent de *mouzhir*, c'est-à-dire de l'*huissier* chargé d'appeler les causes et d'introduire les plaideurs. Cette signification est omise par les dictionnaires.

³ On the activity of the *mu'arref* as a matrimonial agent, cf. *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, par Raph Du Mans, p. p. Schefer (Publ. de l'école des langues orient. viv. 2^e série 30) p. 38.

the fundamental or the derived forms (modified by a particular change, as for instance of *s* into *h*), so the forms themselves when placed side by side suggest a question which has its foundation in the distinction we necessarily, or rather, inevitably, make between what is essential and what is not, what is an intrinsic feature and what is an accidental one. We are not by any means permitted to suppose that two or more variations of forms are equally original, unless we can point out or suggest one still older. So we have to distinguish between (1) forms absolutely identical; (2) forms modified (a) phonetically, (b) by a formative element; (3) forms absolutely different, e. g., -वा: -ह (-वः - -हः) but with identity of function.

My present object is to point out a remarkable instance of identity of form which had hitherto escaped notice until I discovered it in 1896, when I published a short remark on it in the Reports of the Royal Society of Sciences of Bohemia. However, that article does not seem to have attracted the attention of the public. As I may, therefore, consider its contents as generally unknown (or wilfully disregarded), and unlikely to be appreciated henceforth, I should like to direct the public attention to it anew, the more so because the contents of the passage in question are of great importance in connection with certain liturgical views prevalent in ancient India.

In a very remarkable chapter in the Mahābhārata XIII, 93, called विस्तारन्यस there occurs a spell (यजुः), which stands apparently in no connection,—at least in no intelligible connection,—with the context, but quite intelligible by itself, highly remarkable in point of grammar and phraseology. Viewed superficially, it looks rather uncouth, in the very sense of the word, but the difficulties are easily overcome. The यजुः in question, for such it is, in spite of its having been preserved among the texts of the great epic, runs thus :

जाजम अथ जजाने ह्य । जिजाहीहा जिजायिषि ॥

The last word is at once clear; it is a Vedic form of the first sing. med. of a mixed mood, at once precative and desiderative, of जायते, instead of जिजायिषीय, “I would be born”; “I wish I might be born”. Though जिजाहि - ह्य is no regular form, it is

natural to refer it likewise to the root यज (to beget) as a form of the third conjugation, यजामि ("beget here; I would be begotten").¹ Various corrections might be tried, but one could not obtain any more plausible results.

The first half of the verse requires little help; the initial य stands often even in the oldest texts for य, so that यजम अय यजने इम would signify exactly what the first half of the verse above-mentioned does. "My will is to sacrifice to-day"; (beget now, I would be begotten).

In a word, we find here expressed clearly and directly the mystic view, that the sacrificer यजमानः for the purpose of his sacrifice is specially, i. e., in a spiritual way, begotten by the अश्वरु. Such a clearness of expression is scarcely ever met with in similar instances.

It is, no doubt, a matter of great wonder that among the mass of liturgical texts this यजुस is nowhere to be met with, at least so far as I am aware of, although its fundamental importance cannot for a moment be doubted, and that it should have been preserved amongst a farrago of texts of rather doubtful value and interest. Now there are, as we all know, people who will not worship the Lord if the Devil bid them. The learned may, instead of directly understanding the text, raise a number of questions which it will be impossible to answer, and declare that they will not accept the text above cited as a यजुस until their questions are answered in a convincing and satisfactory manner. Such people may best be left to themselves, and to their own "gründlichkeit".

यजम यजने is an emphatic form for the simple यजने, the first sing. med. of the imperative, which in all other instances is superseded by the subjunctive यजानि. Seeing the affinity of the two moods it is no wonder that the imperative of the medial term should have vanished, and that just in the verbal root यज it should have been preserved. It is evident, however, that it has never been recognised as the regular form of a paradigm:

यजानि	यजाने
यजः	यजस्व

¹ The view expressed in this *yajus* is no doubt one of high antiquity, perhaps already growing out of date at the time when our literary monuments originated.

यजतु	यजतां
यजाव	यजावहाह

and it remained unknown to Pānini. Before the discovery of the यजुस् in the *visastânyam* we could not but conjecture that the form अने was an especial development of Avestic grammar as there was no particular necessity for a first sing. imperat. med., and as the subjunctive might have sufficed in this as in other instances. But the यजुस् explained above proves that the Avestic *𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀* had a corresponding form in the Indian यजने, which, as it was required and used in liturgical texts, maintained its place in the language, though, no doubt, its significance was not understood for many hundreds of years. In order to make my point clear, I should like to remark that the medial term यजते is especially used of the sacrificer.

A. LUDWIG.

DANTE E FIRDAUSI.

Ecco due dei maggiori poeti del mondo, simili l'uno all'altro nelle opere, simili nello spirito e nella sorte; italiano il primo, persiano il secondo.

Furono simili nelle opere, perchè ambedue hanno dato principio alla letteratura nazionale, ambedue hanno dato forma alla loro lingua, aggiungendovi e splendore e bellezza. L'uno e l'altro hanno rappresentato e incarnato nelle loro opere i sui nobili sentimenti del tempo, amanti, come erano, delle gloriè nazionali. Dante sognò il rinnovamento del Sacro Romano Impero, e Firdusi celebrò la gloria dell'Impero Persiano utraendone gli eroi che combattevano per la causa di Dio e della giustizia in terra.

Furono simili nello spirito, perchè nessuno dei due cedette mai ad un sentimento di vitta. Dante sterzò i nemici d'Italia e i malvagi; nè volle ritornare dall'esiglio a cui era stato condannato, a troppo umili condizioni; e Firdusi, offeso dal Sultano Mahmud di Ghazna, seagliò contro di lui la celebre invettiva che ha eternatol' infamia e la vergogna dell' avaro principe.

Furono simili nella sorte,, perchè ambedue andarono in esiglio e joffrivono igualmente nel tempo del loro esiglio. Ambedue scamparono con gran stento ad ima sentenza di morte, e dovettero mendicare il pane giornaliero.

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(TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.)

DANTE AND FIRDAUSI.

These are two of the greatest poets of the world, similar to each other in their works, similar in spirit and in fortune; the former an Italian poet, the latter a Persian.

They were similar in their works, for both have been the initiators of their national literature, both have formed their national language, to which they gave much splendour and beauty. They both have represented and incorporated in their works the noblest sentiments of the time, loving, as they have been, of their national glories. Dante dreamed the renovation of the Sacred Roman Empire, and Firdausi celebrated the glory of the ancient Persian Empire with the description of his heroes, championing the cause of God and of justice over the earth.

They were similar in spirit, for they both never yielded to a sentiment of cowardice. Dante whipped the enemies of Italy and the reprobates; neither would he return from the banishment to which he was subjected, on humiliating conditions; and Firdausi, injured by Sultan Mahmoud of Ghazni, flourished against him the famous invective which has eternalised the infamy and dishonour of the covetous king.

They were similar in fortune; for both went into exile and suffered similar miseries during the period of their exile. Both avoided with the greatest pains a death sentence; and both in their exile had to beg their daily bread.

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THE LAST KABISEH.

A good deal of controversy is raging in the Parsi Community for over a century and a half as to the different year commencements of the Zoroastrians living in Persia after the Mahomedan conquest and of those that came down to India to escape from the Mahomedan persecution with the object of preserving their religion. As far as the tradition goes, the band of the fugitives to India had brought with them the calendar they had been observing in their motherland during the last days of their Empire, and this calendar they followed with peace and content during their residence in India for nearly eleven centuries, until a number of persons from amongst them discontinued the old reckoning on the advice and persuasion of a learned Dastur named Jâmâsp and a Behedin named Jamshed. These people arrived¹ from Persia in the years 1090 and 1105 of the Yezdezardi era,² and, observing a month's difference in the calendar of the Iranian Zoroastrians and the Indian Parsis, induced a number of their Indian co-religionists to adopt the Calendar in vogue at the time amongst the Persian Zoroastrians. It was at this period, after eleven centuries of residence in India, that the Indian Zoroastrians divided themselves into the Kadmi and the Shahanshâi sects, the former commencing their year exactly one month in advance of the latter.³ After

¹ *Vide* quotation from the "*Avizeda*" of Mulla Feroz given by Mr. K. R. Cama in his "*Yezdezardi Târikh*", Appendix, p. 45.

² *Vide* "*Yezdezardi Târikh*", Appendix p. 45.

³ "In the year 1090 of Yezdezard, 1720 of the Christian era, Jamasp, a learned Zoroastrian from Persia, arrived at Surat to undertake the instruction of Mobads or priests. He is said to have been the first to discover that his co-religionists in India differed from their brethren in Persia in their chronology; but no importance was then attached to the fact. In the year of Yezdezard 1114, corresponding with the Christian year 1744, Jamshed, an Iranian, attaching to himself a few Dasturs, Mobeds (priests), and Behdins (laymen), inhabitants of Surat, adopted the view imported by Jamasp and formed the Kadmi sect. The bulk of the people, however, continued to hold the former view. Jamasp corrected the calendar by striking out one month from the year 1745, reckoning the day Mahârospend of the

this schism a very acrimonious controversy seems to have been carried on by learned men and Dasturs^{*} on both sides, some books were published by them and the Mahomedan learned men in Persia were written to and consulted on the subject.^{*} The Shahanshâi Dasturs, in explanation of this difference, urged that the ancestors of the Zoroastrian fugitives to India had, before leaving their motherland, accomplished a month's *Kabiseh*, that was already due, in the mountains of Khurâsân, where a number of pious Zoroastrians had already retreated a little before the Mahomedan invasion of their country.^{*} It is said that in their mountainous homes those pious Zoroastrians had regulated their religious year by marking the last intercalation as enjoined by their religion, which their other co-religionists living in Persia proper or in large towns could not accomplish on account of the disturbed condition of their country.^{*} Again, owing to the hardships, troubles and inabilities which the fugitives to India had to put up with even in their adopted country, they could not get any opportunity of accomplishing future intercalations that had become due, after the one they had added before leaving Persia, and hence their year has been one of 365 days only since their arrival in India. It was on this account that a month's difference was observed by Dastur Jâmâsp and by the Behdin Jamshed on their coming to India from Persia. On the other hand, the Kadmi Dastur Mullan Feroz maintained that no *Kabiseh* was enjoined in their religion, and none were practised for religious purposes in Persia during the Persian Empire, but that it was only for political and revenue purposes that the incomplete year of 365 days was intercalated after certain intervals, and that the Shahanshâi assertions were groundless.

month Abân as the same day of the month Adar in the 1114th year of Yezdezard, corresponding with 6th June 1745 of the Christian era."—p. 29. Cowasji Patell's Chronology.

^{*} Dastur Mullan Feroz on the Kadmi side and Dasturs Aspandiarji Kamdinji and Edulji Sanjana of the Shahanshâis.

^{*} Vide Mobad Dossabhoy Sorabji Munshi's "આવેશની કીર્તી અને શાહાંશાહી સુલ્કની કીર્તી" on the Shahanshâi side and "રેશુરે ઉતરે સુલ્ક" on the Kadmi side in which their replies are published.

^{*} Vide Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji's કલિમ દારીજ પારસીશાહી સમર ઇમાને કબીસાની હકીકત. p. 19. ^{*} Vide p. 19 of Dastur Aspandiarji's book mentioned before.

With the present knowledge of the Avesta and Pahlavi works amongst the Parsis the Kadmi Dastur's contention is no longer taken to be a fact in any way worthy of serious consideration, and the Kadmi savant, the venerable Mr. K. R. Cama, has now definitely satisfied the intelligent portion of both the Kadmi and the Shahanshâi sects, that a system of intercalating the incomplete year of 365 days, followed by the ancient Persians, was not only in vogue, but that it was a religious enjoinder on the Zoroastrians, which was scrupulously observed by them in the days of their Empire. But, notwithstanding the correctness of the Shahanshâi Dastur's view as to the necessity and observance of intercalation for religious purposes, their assertion that the last *Kabiseh* was made by their ancestors in the mountains of Khurâsân, before leaving their motherland, has neither been proved nor supported by any historical or documentary evidence, direct or indirect, either from the writings of Zoroastrian, or any other alien author or authors, or from any available authentic dates of events after the fall of their empire. It is true that many of the Mahomedan writers of Persia have recorded that the Persian nation used to intercalate their year of 365 days by adding one whole month every 120 years, as enjoined by their religion, during the days of their empire,—a practice given up by them after the fall of their last King Yezdezard bin Shahriâr in 651 A.D. But none of these writers, so far as their works are now known, refer to the last *Kabiseh* as having been accomplished by the Zoroastrians during or after the reign of their last King Yezdezard and, as stated above, the Shahanshâi Dasturs in India who have taken part in this controversy have not been able to prove the accomplishment of this last *Kabiseh* by their ancestors in the mountains of Khurâsân, during or after the last days of their empire. However, Mr. K. R. Cama, a Kadmi by birth, has pointed out in his learned treatise, "*Yezdezardi Târikh*", that the date¹ of consecration of the firetemple at Navsari proves that there was a month's difference between the Indian and Persian Zoroastrians at least three centuries before the Indian Zoroastrians divided them-

¹ The firetemple from Bansda was brought to Naosari on Wednesday, Ashâd Sud 5, Samvat 1475, Roj 29th of Mah 6th, 788 Yezdezardi. Vide "*Yezdezardi Târikh*" pp. 39 and 40.

selves into two sects.

So far this is the only recorded date of the Indian Zoroastrians that supports, according to Mr. Cama's views the Shahanshâis' claim about the month's difference having existed long before the arrival of Dastur Jâmâsp into India. However, as Shamsh-ul-Olma Ervad J.J. Modi points out, the year of the date of this firetemple is given in Dastur Shâpurji Mânekji Sanjânâ's poem "*Kisseh-i Atash Varharâm kedar Sheher-i Naosâri Nao sakhte*" as 785 of the Yezdezardi era. In an original rough manuscript of this *Kisseh* in the possession of Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desâi, the Hindu and the Yezdezardi years given are Samvat 1472 and 785 respectively. In the "*Parsi Prakâsh*" Vol. I., p.8., note 2, the year given is 1475 Samvat, and the same year is given on the margin of a fair copy of the above *kisseh*, in the Dastur Meherji Rana Library¹ "સંવત ૧૪૭૫ રોજ ૨૯ મેં માસ ૬ દિ અશ્વિન ૫ ને ગુરુ સને ૭૮૮ દીર્ગરી (?)" Mr. Modi himself wants to take this year as 885 Yezdezardi, because, as he shows from the *Revayets*, Chângâ Shâ who is said to have taken the lead in the removal of the firetemple from Bansda must have flourished between 1440 and 1520 A. D., and the fire must have been brought from Bansda to Naosari sometime between 1511 and 1520 A. D.

So far, then, we have three different years in which that great event in the history of the Indian Parsis must have happened. However, on calculation we find that in all these three different years, 785*, 788* and 885* of the Yezdezardi era, the *Rôj Mâh* given along with the Hindoo *Tithi* and the month were actually the Shahanshâi *Rôj Mâh*, one month behind those of the Kadmis as calculated from the first day of the Yezdezardi era.

¹ *Vide* Mr. Modi's articles in Zartoshti Volume II. pp. 91-92, "A few events in the early history of the Parsis and their dates".

* This is perhaps the source of Mr. Cama's date.

* In the 785th year of Yezdezard, the 29th day of the 6th month of the Shahanshâis was on Ashad 'Sud 5th Monday, Samvat year 1472, the Kadmi day and month being 29th day of the 7th month at the time.

* The Shahanshâi Roj 29th of the 6th month was on the above Hindu *Tithi* and month of the Samvat year 1475, on Wednesday as given in the Meherji Rana Library manuscript quoted by Mr. Cama, the Kadmi month being the 7th.

* The Shahanshâi Roj 29th of the 6th month was on Ashad 'Sud 4th of 1572 Samvat, Wednesday, the Kadmi month being the 7th.

Thus, we find that, notwithstanding the disagreement as to the correctness of the year in which the fire was removed, the *Parsi Rôj Mâh* recorded with the corresponding Hindoo *Tithi* and the month of all these three different years show that the Shahanshâis, or rather the Indian Zoroastrians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era, were following the *Rôj Mâhs* that differed from those of their co-religionists in Persia, by a complete month.

The other date supposed to be the date of the landing in Sanjan of the fugitives to India, quoted by Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji ¹ in support of the Shahanshâi claim is also examined by Mr. Cama in his above treatise, and he finds the Parsee *Rôj Mâh* and the Hindu date do not correspond in the Yezdezardi and the Samvat years given in that date. Believing this date to have been miscopied from some ancient manuscripts, Mr. Cama suggests some alternative readings, and from calculation he arrives at the conclusion that the date, in the form it is given by Dastur Aspandiarji, cannot be taken to be the accurate date of the first landing of the Indian Zoroastrians in Sanjan and does not in any way support the Indian tradition of the last intercalation. For on Shravan Sud 9th of the Samvat year 772 would fall the 9th day of the 2nd month of the Persian (Kadmi) Zoroastrians. But it may be pointed out that there were two months of Shravan in the year 772, and according to the Hindu custom an intercalated month is always mentioned by them as *adhik* and the real or the second month ² which is the ordinary month, is only mentioned by its proper name either with or without the prefix *nija*. As in the date quoted by the Dastur the Hindu month Shravan is only given by its ordinary name without any prefix, it must be the second Shravan in the Samvat year 772 and on the 9th Sud of that month, corresponding with the 2nd August (O.S.) 716 of the Christian era, fell the 9th day of the third month of the Kadmi Parsis and not the 2nd month as arrived at by Mr. Cama who seems to have taken the *adhik* or the first Shravan only in his calculation.

¹ Vide his book "કબીસાની કસર" p. 149. શરાવત્રી શુદ્ધ ૯ ને વાર શુકર સને ૭૭૨ શેઠ ૨ જે અહમદ, માહિ ૪ થો તીર.

² Vide "The Indian Calendar" by Messrs. Robert Sewell and Sankar Balakrishna Dixit. pp. 26-29.

It is this confusion about the *adhik* and the *nija* or ordinary Shra-
van, that has created the impression that the *Roj Mâh* corres-
ponding to the Hindoo *Tithi* and the month mentioned in the date
in question, could not but be the Kadmi *Roj Mâh* and that, therefore,
the Shahanshâis' claim in support of which the date had been quoted
by the Dastur could not be maintained. But from the fresh light
we receive from Alberuni's writings on this subject, which we treat
of in the following pages, we find that the date in question, with a
slight modification, apparently necessitated by careless copying,
not only supports the Shahanshâi claim, but tends to prove the
accuracy and correctness of Alberuni's account and references of
the festive calendar of the Zoroastrians living in Persia, Khvâri-
zem and Khurâsân in his time.

From the writings of Alberuni¹, which are now available to the
Parsi community through the English translation of Dr. Sachau,
it will be seen that in the time of the Arabic author, *i.e.*, in 1000
A.D., the different Zoroastrian communities still lingering for exis-
tence in Persia proper and the surrounding districts of Sogdiana,
Khurâsân and Khvârizmia had a difference in their calendar, the
Zoroastrians of Khurasân and Khvârizmia being a month behind
those living in Persia proper, and references supporting this view
from Alberuni's writings, as I have elsewhere shown,² can be taken
to support the Shahanshâi tradition about the last intercalation
having been accomplished by their ancestors in the mountains of
Khurâsân before they left for India. In this last intercalation, as
alleged, very probably, their co-religionists, living in the towns and
cities of Persia, could not participate on account of the disturbed
condition of their country, and hence the difference of a month
in the calendars of the two portions of the followers of the
ancient faith, observed by the Persian Dastur Jârnâsp, as stated
above, in the seventeenth century. It was perhaps on this
account that, as now seen from Alberuni's references about the
Khvârizmian and Khurâsânian festivals, this difference was in

¹ Arabic texts of the *Athâr-ul-Bakiya* of Alberuni.—"The Chronology of
Ancient Nations" published A. D. 1879.

² *Vide* my articles on "The Ancient Iranian Calendar as described by
Alberuni"—with notes and comments, published in the "Zartoshti" Vol. IV.
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existence in the tenth century A. D., long before which time the fugitives from Khurâsân are supposed to have taken shelter under the Indian skies.

In describing the calendars of the Persian, Sogdian and the Khvârizmian Zoroastrians of his time, Alberuni observes that all these three groups of Zoroastrians living in different parts of Persia commenced their religious year from the first day Hormazd of the month Farvardin. There was no other difference in their months or the year length except that the latter two groups, the Sogdians and the Khvârizmians, added the five Gâthâ days at the end of their last month "Ispandarmaji" while the Persians added them at the end of their eighth month Abân Mâh, as fixed on the occasion of the last intercalation accomplished by them in the reign of their King Yezdezdard bin Shâpûr, and thus there was a difference of five days between the Persian year, on the one hand, and the Sogdian and Khvârizmian year on the other, but which difference disappeared from the Adar Mâh after which month the year of the three groups ran concurrently as regards the *Rej Mâh*. However, in describing the festivals of the Zoroastrians of Khvârizmia, he refers to the 15th day of their fourth month "Ciri" (Tir) as under:—

"Ciri. The 15th is called Ajghar..... In bygone times it was the beginning of the season when people felt the need of warming themselves at the fire, because the air was changing in autumn. *In our time it coincides with the middle of Summer.*"¹

Now if the 15th day of the fourth month of the Khvârizmian year coincided in Alberuni's time with the middle of summer, which day must be taken to be the last day of July or the first day of August, according to Alberuni's description of the Greek calendar given in his above work, wherein he has stated that the Summer Solstice day used to be 16th June (O. S.) in a leap year and 17th in a common year, then the first day of the first month of the Khvârizmian year must have been 105 days prior to 31st July or 1st August. Thus counting backwards we find that the day Hormazd of the month Nausarji (Farvardin) of the Khvârizmians must have coincided with the 18th or 19th April (O.S.) at that time.

¹ The Italics are mine. See Alberuni p. 224.

Also Alberuni's reference to the eleventh day of the tenth month of the Khvârizmians leads us to the same conclusion. Speaking about this day he says: "This day has been advancing beyond its proper time to such a degree, that nowadays people consider it as the middle of winter."¹

As we have observed above, when the fifteenth day of the fourth month coincided with the middle of summer, that is 31st July or 1st August, the eleventh day of the tenth month should have fallen on 24th or 25th January which is nearly the middle of winter, although the actual middle day of winter would be 31st January,* and, therefore, Alberuni does not say that it *coincided* with the middle of winter as in the case of the fifteenth day of the fourth month which, he says, *coincided with the middle of Summer*. This definite phraseology of the author greatly helps us in fixing the Zoroastrian *Roj Mâh* with the Christian dates.

Taking these two days as our starting point, if we count backwards, as shown above, we have to fix the beginning of the Khvârizmian year in Alberuni's time on the 18th or 19th of April (O.S.), i. e., a month later than the Vernal Equinox.

But when we remember that the first day Hormazd of the first month Farvardin of the Persians coincided with the Vernal Equinox in Alberuni's time, as stated by him,² the inevitable conclusion is that there was a difference of exactly one month between the Zoroastrians living in Persia proper and those residing in Khvârizmia.

Again, Alberuni, referring to the first day of the sixth month Shahrivar of the Persians, says:—*In our time the people of Khurâsân have made it the beginning of autumn.*"³ If the first day of the 6th month were to commence with the autumn i. e., the 16th or 17th of September (O.S.), according to Alberuni,⁴ the beginning of the year would fall on the 19th or 20th of April. Thus we find that the Zoroastrians of Khurâsân as well as of Khvârizem, provinces both situated to the North and South of each other, commenced their year a month later than their co-religionists of Persia proper in Alberuni's time.

¹ Alberuni, p. 224.

² The winter solstice day being then on the 17th December (O. S.): See Alberuni p. 238.

³ See Alberuni, p. 207.—The Italics are mine.

⁴ Vide Ch. IX., p. 207.

⁵ Alberuni, p. 266.

The following table will clearly show how the Persian, Khvârizmian and Khurâsânian months stood in the days of Alberuni in the year 1000-1001 A. D. :—

Christian dates old style.	First day of the Persian months.	First day of the Khvâriz- mian and the Khurâsânian months.	Christian dates Old Style.
1000 A. D.			1000 A. D.
16th March.	Farvardin.		
15th April.	Ardibehsht	Farvardin	20th April
15th May.	Khurdâd	Ardibehsht	20th May
14th June.	Tir	Khurdâd	19th June
14th July.	Amerdâd	Tir	19th July
13th August.	Shahrivar	Amerdâd	18th August
12th September.	Mihir ¹	Sharivar	17th September (Autumn)
12th October.	Abân	Mihir	17th October
11th to 15th. November.	5 Gâthâ days		
16th November.	Adar	Abân	16th November
16th December.	Dae	Adar	16th December
1001 A. D.			1001 A. D.
15th January.	Behman	Dae	15th January
14th February.	Aspandâr mad	Behman	14th February
.....		Aspandârmad	16th March
.....		5 Gâthâ days	15th to 19th April

From this list it is evident that the Khurâsânian and Persian months began on different dates of the Christian calendar, maintaining a distance of 35 days,—not five days only as recorded by Alberuni,—up to the end of the Abân Mâh, and thereafter ran

¹ "On the Hormazd Roj of this Mihir Mah falls the second autumn, a feast for the common people." *Vide* Alberuni, p. 207.

concurrently on the identical Christian dates with a month's difference, till, again, the addition of the five Gâthâ days at the end of the Aspadârmad Mâh by the Khvârizmian and and the Khurâsânians increased the difference from 30 to 35 days. Alberuni's information about this difference of five days between the Persians and the Khvârizmians and Khurâsânians being due to the system of the former adding the five Gâthâ days at the end of the Âbân Mâh since the time of the last intercalation, is borne out by other independent testimony of various dates from 505 A. D. to 977 A. D. discussed and calculated by Dr. M. B. Davar M. A., Ph. D. in his Gujerati monograph, "Which is the first month of the Zoroastrian calendar?" Beginning with the earliest date in 505 A. D. supplied by Mr. M. P. Kharegat on the authority of the Indian Astronomer and Astrologer Vahrâmîhr¹, and ending with the date in 977 A. D. obtained from the German works of Ideler, Dr. Davar has confirmed not only our author's statement regarding the position of the five Gâthâ days at the end of the Âbân Mâh but also similar statements of the Mahomedan historians like Maçoudi and others who have mentioned this Persian practice of putting the five Gâthâ days at the end of the eighth month Âbân.

The apparent reason for doubting the statements of the Mahomedan writers was that the practice in vogue, amongst the Indian Zoroastrians, has been found to be consistently that of placing the five Gâthâ days at the end of the twelfth month Aspadârmad. Thus the statements of the historians came into direct conflict with the actual practice of the Indian Zoroastrians, and in the absence of authenticated information in the shape of dates, previous to or after the reign of their last king Yezdezard bin Shahriâr, the matter was left in uncertainty. But now that the doubtful point has been solved by the light of these dates which have become available to us, both from the writings of Alberuni, and through the efforts of Dr. Davar, the question now remains as to how and when the Zoroastrians of India adopted the practice of putting the Gâthâ days after the twelfth month Aspadârmad, when the Iranians are found to put them after the Âbân Mâh from, at least, a century before the fall of

¹ Vide his paper in the Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX.

their Empire.

As Alberuni¹ tells us, in his time there were two groups of Zoroastrians living in Sogdiana and Khvârizem and Khurâsân, who adhered to their original practice of putting the five Gâthâ days at the end of their last month Aspadârmad, even after the time when the Persians adopted the system of putting them at the end of the month which they had last intercalated.* Hence it may safely be concluded that the pious Zoroastrians that came to India must have formed a part of the Khvârizmian and Khurâsânian group, observing the exact calendar they were following in their motherland where the Gâthâ days were added after the last month Aspadârmad. This view has also the direct support of the tradition recorded in the earliest account of this band of refugees to India preserved in the "*Kisseh-i-Sanjân*", wherein it is distinctly stated that these Indian immigrants were a portion of the pious people* who had taken shelter in the mountains of Khurâsân, just before or soon after the Mahomedan conquest of Persia, simply for the preservation of their religion and that, when these Zoroastrians built their first Fire-temple on the Indian soil they had sent for, from Khurâsân, the *âlât* (i.e., religious requisites such as the *varesa*, *barsam* etc.), and that with these materials there came to India a further batch of pious Zoroastrians from the same place to help their co-religionists in the work.*

Two of the old Persian dates quoted by Mr. Cama in his "*Yezdehvardi Târikh*" also confirm Alberuni's account of this ancient Persian system of placing the five Gâthâ days after the

¹ Alberuni, p. 221.

* Alberuni, p. 56 and 221. Referring to these groups Alberuni says, "Now I shall mention the months of the Magians of Transoxiana, the people of Khvârizm and of Sughd. Their months have the same number as the Persians. Only between the beginning of the Persian and the Transoxianian months there is a difference because the Transoxianians append the five Epagomenæ to the end of their year and commence the year with the 6th day of the Persian month Farvardin, Khurdad rōz. So the beginning of the month is different until Adhūr Māh; afterwards they have the same beginning."

The Khvarizmians, although a branch of the great tree of the Persian nation, imitated the Sugdians as to the beginning of the year and the place where they add the Epagomenæ." P. 57.

* Alberuni terms them "Magians". See p. 56.

* Vide *Kisseh-i-Sanjân* passages, referred to in *Shamsh-ul-Olma Ervad* Modi's articles in the *Zartosthi* Vol. I. pp. 247, *et seq.*

last month Aspadârmad having been adhered to. These dates denote that in the 24th and the 177th year of the Yezdezardi era, there was a large number of Zoroastrians living in Persia, who added the five Gâthâ days at the end of the twelfth month Aspadârmad although, as we have noted above, from Dr. Davar's dates, the bulk of the Persian nation used to place them at the end of the Âbân Mâh from 505 A. D. to 1000 A. D.

Mr. Cama's first quotation is, ' તા ૮ મી જુન મહિનાની સને ૩૫, હીજરી ને વાર શુધને દીને ધરાવી લેકેના નેરોજ હતો.' ¹ Now Mr. Cama has shown from calculation that the eighth day of the Mahomedan month Zil-hijja of the 35th year Hijri fell on 11th June (N. S.) and 8th June (O.S.) 656 A. D., the day of the week being Wednesday, and the Naoroz or the first day of the Farvardin Mâh of the Persians of their 25th year of the Yezdezardi era fell on 13th June (N. S.) and 10th June (O.S.) 656 A. D., from which Mr. Cama concludes that "the fourth Gahmbâr of the persians has been referred to in that date by the Mahomedan writer as Naoroz, because the days preceding and following the Naoroz are considered as auspicious as the Naoroz day". Here it may be remarked that this was the fifth Gahmbâr which fell on the Mahomedan date cited by Mr. Cama. The Mahomedans count their days from sunset to sunset and the Persians from sunrise to sunrise. Hence the sunset of 11th June (N. S.) and 8th June (O. S.) 656 commenced on the 8th day of the Mahomedan twelfth month Zil-hijja, and lasted upto the sunset of 12th June (N. S.) and 9th June (O. S.), the sunrise of which began on the 5th Gahmbâr of the Persians and termed "Naoroz" as is also commonly done by us in India on account of this confusion. Thus in the 24th year of Yezdezard the five Gâthâ days were added after the Aspadârmad Mâh and before the Farvardin month.

The second date quoted by Mr. Cama from the Kadmi "Resâle Iste shâhdat" is 26th Jamad'lawwal 193 Hijri, corresponding to 17th Azar 1120 of the Seleucidan era and the 19th of the Behman Mâh of the 177th year of Yezdezard. According to his calculation, on the above Mahomedan and Roman dates, the Persian 19th day of Behman Mâh of the 177th year of Yezdezard fell on 21st March (N. S.) and 17th March (O. S.)

¹ "Yezdezardi Tarikh" p. 32, quoted from Dastur Mullan Feroz's "Adalefee".

809 A. D., and the first day of the Farvardin month of the 178th Yezdezardi year fell on 7th May (N. S.) or 3rd May (O. S.) 809 A. D. Now it will be seen that the interval between 21st March and 7th May is 47 days and that between the 19th day of Behman Mâh and the first day of Farvardin Mâh is also 47 days, counting the five Gâthâ days after the Aspadârmad Mâh, 12 days of Behman + 30 days of Aspadârmad, and the 5 Gâthâ days. We thus find that long before Alberuni's time, *i.e.*, 1000 A. D., there were Zoroastrian communities in Persia who placed the five Gâthâ days at the end of the twelfth month and their descendants were sufficiently numerous in Alberuni's time to give him an opportunity of describing their calendar in his work. This, then, must clear the doubt of those who believe that the Indian Zoroastrian system of putting these days after Aspadârmad Mâh originated after the 10th century when the Farvardin Mâh coincided with the Vernal Equinox. In the absence of any definite information, and observing that the Persian nation used to place the Gâthâ days at the end of the Abân Mâh they conjectured that the ancestors of the Indian Zoroastrians must have adopted this system after the Persians must have accepted the system of putting these Gâthâ days at the end of the twelfth month when the month Farvardin came to coincide with the Vernal Equinox in 1000 A.D. In attempting to substantiate this theory, they had not only to stultify the Shahanshâi tradition which claimed to have brought the old calendar with them into India in the seventh century of the Christian era, but they had to take the period of the composition of the Bûdahishn and the Dinkard to a time much later than the tenth century A. D., because these books record the ancient practice of the Gâthâ days being added after the Aspadârmad Mâh. But thanks are due to our Arabian historian, as we now find a confirmation not only of the Shahanshâi tradition but also of the authenticity and early age of these two books. No doubt the two above quoted dates do not take us beyond corroborating Alberuni's information about the Sogdian and Khvârizmian practice relating to the observance of the Gâthâ days, and probably they are the dates corresponding to the Roj Mâh of those Zoroastrians who must have formed the Sogdian group. It is, therefore, natural that the month's intercalation said to have been accomplished in the mountains of Khurâsân by

the ancestors of those who came down to India had not been observed by the other group, and hence in the account of the festivals of this Sogdian group given by Alberuni, no reference is found to show that their year also commenced a month later than the Persian, as in the case of the Zoroastrians of Khvârizem and Khûrâsan. On the contrary, we find that the seventh Sogdian month commenced on the sixth day of the Persian month Mihir in 1000 A.D., as referred to by Alberuni.¹

So far, then, if the Indian Zoroastrians can be taken to have originally belonged to the Khvârizmian and the Khurâsânian group, as Alberuni's information leads us to believe, the alleged date of their first landing in Sanjan, above referred to, materially helps us not only to substantiate this view, but to prove the correctness of the date subject to slight modifications evidently due to bad copyists. As noted above, Dastur Aspandiarji has given the date as "Saneh 772. Shravan Sud 9 Friday, Roj 2nd, Mâh 4th.

This date has been examined, as stated before, by Mr. Cama in his "*Yezdezardi Târîkh*" and he has shewn that on that Hindu *tithi* the given Parsee Roj Mâh cannot fall, and probably, therefore, there is some mistake in the date in its present form. He, however, suggests that owing to the carelessness of later copyists who may have transcribed this date from some older manuscripts, the *Mâh* may have been written for the *Roj* and the *Roj* for the *Mâh*. He, therefore, takes the fourth month Tir mentioned in the date as the thirteenth day Tir of the second month and by calculation he arrives at the 13th Sud of the (*adhik*) Shravan of the Samvat year 772. But, as this is four days later than the ninth day of the Hindu month given side by side, he rejects the whole date as incorrect. The second alternative reading he takes as Samvat year 992, when the given *Roj Mâh* tally with the given Hindoo *Tithi* and month, in the Yezdezardi year 305. But such a result is also arrived at by Dr. Davar in the Yezdezardi year 219, by taking the Saneh 772 as Shâke 772.* No doubt both the above alternative readings of the Hindu year given in the date are plausible, because they help us to keep intact the Hindu *tithi* and

¹ Vide English Translation, p. 221.

* Vide Appendix to his Gujarati monograph, "The first day of the Parsi Calendar".

month and the *Parsi Roj Mâh*. But the *Parsi Roj Mâh* thus arrived at turn out to be the *Kadmi Roj Mâh* in the above conjectural years, although the date is ostensibly cited to prove the Shahanshâi claim of a month's *Kabiseh*. Besides, these years throw back the time of the arrival of the Parsis in India two centuries later than the Kisseh-i-Sanjan tradition. There is no doubt that that date in its present form is not correct, but the elements of any alternative reading, owing to careless copying only, need not be fundamentally destructive to the claim in support of which it is tendered. The date must not be supposed to have been manufactured or recently inserted in its place by some artful or clever brains to support the Shahanshâi claim. In that case it could not have disclosed the incorrectness in some parts as it now does. The date seems to have been honestly, though rather carelessly, copied from some older records, either by Dastur Aspandiarji or some of his previous informants. And now when we are in a position to see that there was a difference of one month between the Persian (*Kadmi*) and the *Khurâsânian* (*Shahanshâi*) calendar, long before the 369th year of the *Yezdezardi* era, in which year the Zoroastrians of *Khvârizmia* are described by *Alberuni* to have been in such a condition that they could not have undertaken any religious or social reform, in conflict with the major portion of their co-religionists the Persians, we are tempted to consider whether the above date could not be found to be the date of those who separated from the *Khvârizmian* Zoroastrians and came down to India in the early days of the fall of the Persian Empire.

Shravan ' Sud 9th of the Hindu *Samvat* year 772 fell on 2nd august 716 A. D. (O. S.) Sunday, and 26th May (O. S.) in that year fell on the first day of the *Farvardin Mâh* of the Persian Zoroastrians (*vide* *Cowasji Patel's Chronology*); while, the *Khvârizmians* and *Khurâsânians* must have commenced their year on the sixth or *Khordâd Roj* of that *Farvardin* month, as stated by *Alberuni*. So 30th June 716 A. D. (O. S.) must have been the

¹ *Alberuni* pp. 223. "..... do not particularly care for their religion, they know nothing of it except its outward forms and they do not enquire into its spirit or real meaning. In consequence they regulate their festivals by their knowledge of their distances from each other."

² The *Shravan* month next to the "*Adhik Shravan*", as shown in the foregoing pages.

date of the beginning of the Khurâsânian year 85 of the Yezdezardi era as they must have intercalated a month before that time, when a portion of their group probably left for India. If 30th June was the first day of their first month, 30th July would be the first day of their second month, and 2nd August 716 A. D. (O. S.) would be the fourth day of their second month in the Yezdezardi year 85.

Again, if the Khvârizmian year began on 30th June (O. S.) in 716 A. D., it would begin on 31st May (O. S.) in 836 A. D., and on the 1st May (O. S.) in 956 A. D., and on the 20th April (O. S.) in 1000 A. D., *i. e.*, after an interval of 120 years, for want of a *Kabiseh* or intercalation. And, as we have seen in the preceding pages, this was actually the case.

Thus we find that the date of the first landing of the Zoroastrians to India, in Sanjan, quoted by Dastur Aspandiarji must be Shravun Sud 9th in the Samvat year 772 corresponding to the Shahanshâi *Roj* fourth and *Mâh* 2nd (not *Roj* 2nd and *Mâh* 4th as wrongly quoted or copied) in the Yezdezardi year 85. This slight interchanging of the *Roj* *Mâh*, which is very common in the transcription of old manuscripts, as Mr. Cama himself admits, proves the correctness of the Shahanshâi date, as it tallies in all details, except the day of the week which also must have been wrongly copied as "Friday" in Dastur Aspandiarji's quotation. Even as regards that, as we are told by the compilers of the Indian calendar, Messrs. Robert Sewell and Shankar Balkrishna Dixit, we cannot be sure of the accuracy of the day of the week of a Hindoo *tithi*, *nakshatra* or *yoga* unless we know the "*sidhânta*" by which the *tithi* etc. was calculated. "A *tithi* sometimes extends over three natural days." So this discrepancy about the week day can also be explained as a mistake in copying,¹ in so far as the years, months and days all correspond as quoted in the date. It is thus clear that the Indian Zoroastrians were a part and parcel of the group that continued to live in Khvârizmia and Khurâsân in Alberuni's time, and followed exactly the same calendar that their forefathers had determined for them before leaving their motherland. These descendants of

¹ Vide Indian Calendar, pp. 18-20.

² In some manuscript the week day of the Sanjan date is given as Wednesday. Vide Mr. Modi's articles above referred to.

the first fugitives to India were living in a very deplorable state of ignorance about their religion, as observed by Alberuni, but still in possession of the calendar their forefathers had left for them after the last intercalation. Had it not been for the existence of this section of the Zoroastrians, the Shahanshâi tradition of the last intercalation could not have been proved.

To sum up, we may state that Alberuni's account of the festive calendars of the Zoroastrians in Persia, Sogdia and Khvârizem, has helped us to come to the following conclusions :—

1. That the Zoroastrians who came down to India after the Mahomedan conquest of the Persian Empire were a part and parcel of the Khvârizmian and Khurâsânian groups referred to by Alberuni.

2. That they must have arrived in India from the mountains of Khurâsân as stated in the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* and landed in Sanjan on the fourth day of the second month of the Yezdezdardi year 85 corresponding to Shravan Sud 9th of the Samvat year 772 as quoted by Dastur Aspandiarji, and the 2nd August (O. S.) 716 A. D. of the Christian era, corresponding to the above mentioned Yezdezdardi year 85.

3. That these Indian Zoroastrians had accomplished a month's intercalation before leaving their native land in the mountains of Khurâsân, which their other co-religionists had not or could not accomplish on account of the disturbed condition of their country.

4. That these Indian Zoroastrians had brought the calendar in which the Gâthâ days were added after the twelfth month Aspadârmad, while the bulk of the Persian nation used to put them after their eighth month Âbân Mâh.

5. That this revised calendar was brought by them from Persia in the seventh century of the Christian era, and their descendants scrupulously followed the calendar in India until Dastur Jâmâsp and the Behdin Jamshed caused a schism and persuaded some of them to follow the Persian calendar that was current in the eighteenth century A. D. These two Iranecs were either ignorant of the existence of the Khvârizmian or Khurâsânian calendar or thought that their Persian calendar, as last arranged in the fifth century of the Christian era, in which the Gâthâ days were fixed after the Âbân Mâh was the correct one, and hence these reformers

made the 29th day of the Shahanshâi Âbân' Mâh the 29th day of the Kadmi Âdar Mâh, because the apparent difference of five days between the Persian and the Khurâsânian calendars, as observed by Alberuni, would disappear in the beginning of the Âdar Mâh. It was for this reason, perhaps, that the clever reformers must have made the change at the time of the Âdar Mâh and put the Kadmis a month in advance of the Shahanshâis and thus nullified the month's *Kabiseh* accomplished by their ancestors before coming down to India.

5. That the Shahanshâi calendar now in vogue is what was brought by their ancestors from Persia in the 7th century A. D., and that no change has been made in it, nor does there appear to be any weight in the argument that the system of putting the five Gâthâ days after the Aspandârmad Mâh must have originated after 1000 A. D., when the month Farvardin came to coincide with the Vernal Equinox. This view had a semblance of truth in it in the absence of any dates previous to the above year, so long as the Sanjan date was found to be incorrect, but now that that date has been shewn to be correct, in the light of Alberuni's account and information, the Shahanshâi tradition and claim to the performance of a month's intercalation by their ancestors in the mountains of Khurâsân before leaving Persia must be admitted to be a just one.

DHUNJEEBHoy NAOROSJI COORLAWALLA.

GAJASTAK ABALISH.

This is a Pahlavi treatise which gives an account of a theological controversy carried on between the saintly Âdar Farnbag Farokhzâd and the heretic Abâlîsh who was an apostate from Zoroastrianism, the religion of his birth. This religious disputation was held in the court of the Âbbâside Khalif Mâmoon who flourished in the ninth century. Firdousi makes mention of such controversies having taken place in Persia when heretics like Mâni and Mazdak sprang up under the Sâssânides, and tried to shake the faith of the Persians in Zoroastrianism. We know from this treatise that Abâlîsh proposed seven questions and was confuted on every point by his distinguished adversary. Mâmoon was greatly pleased with the answers given by Âdar Farnbag and Abâlîsh was driven away. We give below the seven questions with their answers.

1. The accursed Abâlîsh asked : " O priest, who has created water and fire ?" The priest answered : " Auharmazd". Abâlîsh said, " Then why do they both kill and destroy ?" The priest answered, " Know that there is nothing whatever created by the Lord Hormazd to which the accursed and wicked Ahriman has not brought antagonism. (Antagonism has been brought) to the water and fire. (There is) humidity in the water and heat in the fire. When they come in contact, the demon which is with the fire encounters the water. This is like a father and his son who have each an enemy whom they have imprisoned. When they meet, the enemy who is with the father strikes the son. It cannot be said that the father has struck his own son." (cf. Vend. V., §§ 8-9).

2. The second (question) the accursed Abâlîsh put thus : " Is it a great sin to strike (*i.e.*, to pollute) the water and the burning fire by carrying dead matter to, and putting it on them ?" The priest replied, " The water and the fire are like a bull and a horse who, if they are conveyed out of their own herds to a flock of sheep, find amongst them grass and fodder and are taken care

of; but when they carry dead matter to water and fire, it is like leading them on to a pack of lions and wolves who strike and kill and devour them."

3. The third (question) he put thus: "Is it Hormazd or Ahriman who orders sufferings and punishments for men? For when the kings punish and kill and torture and chastise men for their sins and cut their hands and bastinado them, it is the order of Ahriman which they execute, but it is said that men are punished by Hormazd: how is this to be believed? Or, if Hormazd prescribes the penalty, then evil does not proceed from Ahriman." The priest answered, "This is the law: this is like (the case of) a child whose finger is bit by a serpent. The father in order that the poison does not go over the whole body and that the child may not die, cuts off the finger of the child. The father is not to be regarded as ignorant and inimical but as wise and friendly. The same is done by the priest, the high priest and the judges. When men commit sins, their souls are punished and the way to heaven is shut up on this account that their souls may not fall into the hands of the demons and fiends. The punishment is inflicted on them in this world. They (the priests) are not to be regarded as ignorant and inimical but as friendly and inspired with a desire for good."

4. The fourth (question) he put thus: "Which is purer: To wash the hands with *gômêz* (bull's urine) or with water? For if *gômêz* is purer, it is not proper to wash (the hands) a second time with water." The priest answered, "Do you yourself cleanse your house of rubbish and other stinking and polluted things therein, or order your servants to carry them away?" Abâlîsh, and Mamoon, the Commander of the faithful and the Cadi, cried out, "Nothing of the kind; we order our servants to cleanse (the house)." The priest said, "When, during the night, the *druj nasrusht* (demon of decomposition) reaches our bodies, we first drive it away by the *gômêz* or with the juice of plants, not with water, pure and simple, so that the *nasrusht* which is in the body of every person goes out of it. All are agreed (as to this point): Do not the Jews, the Christians and the Mahomedans, on getting out of bed in the morning, wash their hands and face, and do they not then pray to God and other angels? Is it not the case that they do not lay their hands on any food (before washing their hands and face), and if they do, are they

not regarded as sinners and ignorant persons?"

5. The fifth (question) he put thus: "(Why should you) pray to the fire Behrâm and ask favours of it thus: 'Give me this, (your) friend, O son of Hormazd, speedy glory, speedy nourishment, speedy 'livelihood', since it is evident that fire in itself is so weak, powerless and poor that if men do not supply it with food and fuel, it will be extinguished? It is not proper to ask a favour of that which in itself is powerless (to bestow it).'" The priest replied: "This is the law. This (case) can be compared to a town where are to be found (people following) all sorts of professions: blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, &c. The shoemaker says to the blacksmith, 'Blacksmith, make me a tool so that I may make you fine shoes'; and the shoemaker sews the shoes for the tailor and the tailor makes garments for the shoemaker. In the same way, the fire, in its bodily form, expects *zôhar* (holy water), perfume and fuel as we expect it (to aid us) in the spiritual action of demolishing the invisible demons, such as sickness, fever, pestilence and wrath. Thus are masters in need of their servants and servants in need of their masters."

6. The sixth (question) he put thus: "This is clear and evident and every one is unanimous on it that the (dead) bodies of the pious, the doers of righteous deeds, are purer than those of the wicked, the doers of wicked deeds. You say that the dead bodies of the wicked, the non-Iranians and the sinners are purer than those of the righteous. This is quite preposterous and unreasonable". The Mobad replied, "The similitude of this case is not such as you think, for, when the wicked die, the *druj* which was with them in this life, takes hold of them (their souls) and drags them to hell before Ahriman, and the dead bodies, now that there is no *druj* with them, become purer. Again, when the righteous, the doers of good deeds, die, the Amshâspands seize their souls, welcome them and carry them before the Lord Hormazd, and the *druj nasrusht* (the demon of decomposition) which was with their dead bodies resides in this tabernacle (house of the body) and makes it impure. The same is done by an enemy when he invades a town. If the king of that country falls into the hands of the enemy, that enemy seizes, binds and drags him to his own king; but when he (the enemy) cannot seize the king of that

country, he enters the same country in despair and devastates it".

7. The seventh (question) he put thus : " What is the cause of tying on the Kusti (the sacred thread-girdle) ; for, if it is a meritorious work to bind the Kusti, then will the asses and camels and horses who, day and night, have [cords] tied tight round their bellies seven times, go sooner to paradise?" The priest replied, " This is not void of reason. This appears unreasonable to the ignorant and the ill-informed, *i.e.*, those who are not educated and those who do not (care to) know the reason of it. I will unfold what is not quite clear to you. We say this : 'As we believe in duality, (the Kusti) tied on our body explains this duality. Light and heaven are from Hormazd. Of the same sort are those things which are above the upper half of the body, such as the senses of hearing, sight and smell, the seat of wisdom, of the soul, of life, thought, intellect, memory, innate wisdom, and wisdom acquired by the ear. These are the seats of God and the Amshâspands. When men know that this upper half (of the body) belongs to heaven (and that the lower half belongs to Ahriman) then the unreasonableness of this principle (of duality is explained away). The lower half (of the body) is the seat of stench, pollution, the receptacle of urine and putrefaction like the burrows (of demons). This is the seat of Ahriman and the demons. If men understand this well, then they understand (*vakhdûnd*) this principle (of duality) and know the reason (*vahânak*) of it. The Kusti is the limit (of the division) of the body. It is called Kusti for the reason that it divides the body into two parts. Thus, then, when you sit in a place and void urine, this (Kusti) in the middle (of the body) is a wall of separation (of what is pure from what is impure)'."

MINOCHEHR DASTUR JAMASPJI JAMASP ASA.

ANCIENT CEREMONIES: ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN THEM.

On a close scrutiny of the implements used by Parsi priests in the performance of ceremonies, we find that they are not at all very ancient, but that in course of time various changes and variations have been made in their use.

At present we have been taught one use of these implements by Oriental and Occidental scholars. But this our knowledge is incomplete, for we find from the internal evidence of Avestan writings that these implements were formerly put to a twofold use. I have here tried to give the correct translations of the texts to show this double use; and in some cases I have tried to prove the correctness of my translations by giving illustrations from actual ceremonies as they are performed.

I have also tried to show how the original purity of ancient ceremonies has been revived by changes and improvements which had to be made on account of an undesirable mixture which, in course of time, was engrafted on innocent ceremonials. This desirable improvement is due principally to the Parsi Sâssânian rule. The learned men of those later days seem to have exercised great discretion in the changes they introduced, for whilst they have made changes in the ceremonial implements and in the ceremonies themselves, they have not trifled with the language. I crave the attention of readers to several instances of this fact, which will be found interspersed in various parts of this essay.

What specially attracts our attention here is the striking parallel between the religious ceremonies performed by Parsi Mobeds and Hindu Brahmins. This proves the early origin of these ceremonies. Some ceremonies originated when the Parsis and the Hindu Aryans lived as one nation in Central Asia. Afterwards, although the Aryan races separated, and divided themselves into two branches, *viz.*, the Parsis and the Hindus, and were known as two different nationalities, yet some ancient ceremonies have still been preserved in common by both these races, with

slight modifications. For instance, the ceremony of the *Haoma* or *Saoma* existed amongst the Aryans before the time of Zaratrustra — a fact clearly proved by various references in the Rig-Veda and the Avesta. The *Haoma* plant is as old as the time of its discoverer, *Haoma Frâshmi*, who first utilised it by pounding it in a mortar (*hâvana*) and drinking its juice. Similarly other ceremonial implements also appear to be very old. The use of the branches of certain trees, and of a mat made out of some kind of grass, the stone or iron mortar, the sieve made of the hair of some animal, and the like, of which we find mention made in connection with ceremonies, impress us with the simplicity of remote generations. The implements date as far back as the times when minerals were not discovered in sufficient quantities. In later generations, after the discovery of minerals, an improvement was made on the old implements in this respect that the implements were prepared out of metal instead of other ruder materials. For the branches of trees, we find the *barsam* made of brass or silver; for the mat of grass we find the *âlât-gâh* or *zôt-gâh* of stone; for the stone or iron mortar we find the *hâvana* of copper or some other mixed metal; for the sieve of hair, we find substituted the *tashta* with bores made of some metal; and various other metal substitutes are to be seen in the modern ceremonial implements. Those changes will be described in greater detail, later on.

A list of ceremonial implements is given in various passages of the Vendidad, the Visperad and the Yasna. Some of these have gone out of use, and other new ones have been added to the original list. I shall deal here only with those that offer remarkable suggestions. Amongst these, the names of the most important implements used in extant ceremonies, are the *Haoma-Zâiri*, the *Varesa*, the *Baresma*, the *Aiviâonghan*, the *Hadhânaepata*, the *Darun*, and the *Gaoshudo*. The charge made by some people that these are all inventions of modern Dasturs and Mobeds is untenable, for their use dates from the time of our remote ancestors. It is true that they have not been preserved in their original shape; for they have assumed another aspect with the change of time, place and circumstances.

With the march of times, changes are made not only in the ceremonial implements, but various modifications and additions

in the position and status of the priests also become noticeable. I have briefly touched on them here.

HAOMA-ZÂIRI — THE GREEN HAOMA PLANT.

Haoma-Zâiri means the green haoma. It is a plant or shrub. Different epithets are applied to it in the Avesta ; *e. g.*, *Zâiri*, *i. e.*, green ; *Zairi-gaona*, *i. e.*, of a yellow colour ; *Nâmyâsu*, *i. e.*, with bending branches ; *Hûbaoidhi*, *i. e.*, well-scented ; *Huiti*, *i. e.*, juicy. From this it follows that the dry Haoma twig which is now in vogue, could not have been used originally, but that it is a mere imitation. Originally, the green plant was itself used, but as the plant does not grow in India, the dry Haoma twig, called *Hôm-sali*, is substituted for it. This dry twig does not possess the properties of the green plant. The *Hôm-sali* now used has taken the place of the original *Haoma-Zâiri*.

ANOTHER USE OF THE HAOMA : HOUSEHOLD MEDICINE.

According the Avesta, this plant possesses some effective properties. Therefore, it was used also for the purposes of household medicine, in addition to its use in ceremonies. We are told of Iranian ladies deriving benefits from its use, just as the officiating priests did.* We also find the expression of a wish that the mortar for pounding the plant may be used widely in houses and streets, cities and countries.* From this it appears that the haoma plant was used as a medicinal shrub. Dr. Atchison says that the people of Afghanistan and Baluchistan even now use a shrub which they call *Hûm*, for medicinal purposes.

The Haoma shrub grows abundantly on the mountain ranges and valleys of the Albûrz. Its noble properties became manifest for the first time to *Haoma Frâshmi* and hence its name, *Haoma Zâiri*,* from its discoverer, Haoma. The first to use it and to promulgate its use was this same celebrity.*

THE AVESTIC HAOMA AND THE VEDIC SAOMA.

The parallel between these two was first pointed out by European scholars. In both religions the name is used in the double significance of a material noun and of a *Yazad* or *Devâ* presiding over the material substance. Just as the health-giving juice of

* Yasna I, 15.

* Visperad XII, 5.

* Mihir Yt., 90.

the Haoma was, and is, utilised by Zoroastrian priests as a sacrificial drink, so was the drink of the Saoma common amongst the ancient Brahmins. Modern Brahmins call it *Saoma-valli*, though they do not use it in drink. According to the Hindu *Shâstras*, the other meanings of Saoma are the Saoma-juice, liquor and the moon. Many points of similarity are, as in the present instance, to be seen in the ancient ceremonies of the Brahmins and the Mobads.

HAVANA : THE MORTAR FOR POUNDING THE HAOMA.

There were, at first, two kinds of the *hâvana* which is the second ceremonial implement. One was the *Asmana-Hâvana*, i. e., the two stone mortars, and the other the *Ayanghaiena-hâvana*, i. e., the two iron mortars. The dual was used to express the mortar with its pestle. The mortar described in the Avesta was distinct from the *hâvana* now in use. In the present *hâvana*, copper or some other mixed metal is used, and that is made specially to give out a ringing sound. The modern *hâvana* is utilised for the double purpose of producing a ringing sound and of pounding the haoma. Formerly, two *hâvanas* were used at the same time : that of stone for pounding the Haoma and that of iron for producing the sound. The modern *hâvana* of copper, used as it is for both these purposes, is thus an improvement on the old stone and iron *hâvanas*.

VARESA-HAOMO-ANGHAREZANA : THE SIEVE FOR STRAINING THE JUICE OF THE HAOMA.

A sieve is used in ceremonials for straining the Haoma. It is made of a plate of copper, brass, or other metal with nine holes. It is, therefore, called the *tashta* with holes. There is no name found in the Scriptures for the nine holes or for any vessel with holes. The word for sieve which we find is *Varesa*,¹ which means "hair". This shows that the sieve was originally made of hair. Whose hair was this? Was it the hair of men or of animals? Though nothing is stated about this in the Avesta, we find in the Pahlavi Nirangistân that the hair was taken from the mane of the horse or the tail of the bull. The hair of the one animal now utilised in ceremonies is that of a milk-white unemasculated bull. The hair is taken from the bull's tail for ceremonial purposes

¹ Visperad, I, 2.

in a prescribed manner, and it is tied round a ringlet of metal wire. It is then called the ring of the *varesa*. From the practice of using the hair (*varesa*) of the bull, the consecrated bull for the purpose is called the *varesyâ*. It becomes clear from this that originally the sieve was woven out of the hair of a bull, and that it was used to strain the juice of the Haoma.

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXISTING CEREMONIAL.

Another argument in support of the statement that the sieve was made of the hair of the bull is this that the ring of the *varesa* now in use in the Haoma ceremony recalls to us the old usage of employing the sieve of the bull's hair for the same purpose. The details of the ceremony are as under :—

In order to prepare the Haoma juice, three things are necessary — the pounding, the squeezing and the straining. There are three different recitals for those three functions. The formulæ “*Yathâ tu Mazdâ at môi tu*” and “*Airyamâ ishyô*” are recited three times whilst pounding the Haoma. Then with the words “*Haoma pairi-hareshyante arshukhdhanâmcha vachâm*”, the pounded Haoma is pressed. After this, once again the *Hôm-sali* is pounded, for, to prevent any portion, however slight, of the Haoma remaining unpounded, the Haoma is pounded four times during the recital of four *Ahunavars*. Then the process of straining commences, and whilst reciting the words “*Ye sevishtô us môi ujâreshwâ, humata, hukhta, hwarshata*”, the juice is separated from the pounded substance.¹ In this way, after the *Hôm-sali* is pounded and squeezed, and the final ceremony of straining it commences, the ring of the *varesa* is specially placed in the plate with holes. And then the liquid obtained on the pounding of the Haoma which is collected in two pots, is poured on to the sieve with the ring of the *varesa* in it, and is strained through it. Here ends the ceremony of straining the Haoma. The special use of the ring of the *varesa* in the last part of the Haoma ceremony shows that the sieve was originally woven out of bull's hair, and that the Haoma juice was

¹ This kind of ceremony is always performed twice. The Juice of the Haoma is first prepared with due ceremony before the commencement of the *Yajishna*, and it is used by the Zaothra as drink. The juice which is prepared during the performance of the *Yajishna* ceremony is dedicated in the end as a pious offering to water, and this act is styled the getting up of the *Zaothra*.

strained through that implement. As a relic of that time-worn practice this ring is now placed in the plate with nine holes. We find many instances like this, in which, in spite of changes having been made in the essential implements used for ceremonial purposes, traces of the original implements are still preserved. It appears that formerly a ringlet must have been prepared of some substance, and that the sieve was prepared by weaving the hair of a white bull with such a ringlet. The modern metal plate with holes is an improvement on the old uncouth sieve.

THE BARSAM : THE CONSECRATED MAT, THE DAIS AND THE BUNDLE.

The use of the Barsam was originally twofold or threefold. Its one use was as an *âlât-gâh*, i. e., as a mat for placing the ceremonial implements; another as a *Zôt-gâh*, i. e., as the dais for the *Zaotar*, the officiating priest; and the third as a *bundle* held in the hand. In modern ceremonies the two first uses of the Barsam are absent. There is no trace or relic of the mat or the dais. The epithet of *fstara* is to be found in the Avesta with reference to its original usage. The root of this epithet is *stere*, to spread, and the meaning of *Baresma frastareta* is "the nobly spread Barsam" or "the valuable mat of the Barsam".

We find an illustration of the double use of this consecrated mat in the Visperad, where we have a small list of ceremonial implements, and with the words *Baresma frastareta* we find the name of another implement named *stereta* which is a bed, a seat or a mat. ¹ This latter implement is distinct from the former. They are both pointed out as ceremonial implements placed before the officiating priest with the demonstrative adjective *im*, i. e., this. Anyhow, both these implements were in use in ceremonies as materials for spreading, and they were utilised for placing on them in order, the ceremonial implements, or as two consecrated mats for the officiating priest to sit on. ²

We find two historical instances of the Barsam. Herodotus

¹ Visperad XI, 1.

² We find the word *stereta* used in many places in the Avesta to denote a bed and from this word we have the vernacular name *sadro* to denote the bedding of the priest undergoing the Barashnum. We get from its Sanskrit equivalent *star* the Gujarati word સ્તાર, a mat. From this also it appears that the proper meaning of *baresma frastareta* was the mat of Barsam or the bed of Barsam—these two being originally ceremonial accessories used as the *alat-gâh* and the *zot-gâh*.

says that a certain kind of grass was spread in the ceremony of sacrificing animals; on that grass the flesh of the victim was placed, and on it the Magian recited prayers for some time. Strabo says that the flesh of the victim was placed on the leaves of a certain tree which were spread out in a particular way and that the Magians there recited certain prayers, holding the twigs of a certain tree in their hand.

These two instances are evidence of the usage of the Barsam described in the Avesta as something—grass or leaves—spread out for putting thereon ceremonial implements. Besides, we see here the use, at one and the same time, of two things—grass and the twig of a tree. This recalls to us the double usage of the Barsam, the one of having it spread out, the other of its being held in the hand.

We find the words "*Urvarâ baresmanaya*" to denote the Barsam-dais, and this shows that it was prepared out of some tree. That material is none else than the leaf of the date tree which is now wound round the Barsam. The reasons of this are remarkable. The leaf of the date tree is interwoven in a particular manner, and then wound round the Barsam. And, as a relic of the old usage of preparing a mat woven out of the same fabric, we have now the practice of winding it round the Barsam. The so-called "*Aivîdonghan*" which is wound round the Barsam reminds us of the Barsam-dais which was a fabric woven out of the same or a similar substance—the leaf of the date tree—which now forms the "*Aivîdonghan*". This leads us to the inference that the stone bench called the *âlât-gâh* on which the ceremonial implements are placed, and the stone dais which is the seat of the officiating priest, are the modern substitutes for what were formerly the mat woven out of the fibres of the date leaf.

THE DAIS OF THE MOBAD AND OF THE BRAHMIN.

Just as we find a special seat at ceremonial functions reserved for the Mobad, so is there a consecrated dais mentioned of the Brahmins. This dais was specially reserved originally for the "*Sandhyâ karma*" and the "*l'agna*" ceremonies. The material from which this was made was called "*Darbhâ*". This is the name of a species of grass. The Brahmins of to-day prepare a mat of deer-skin or of wool, or of a grass called *dâbhdâ*. This is called

the *darbhâsan* or the dais of the *darbhâ* in imitation of the original *darbhâsan*. There are some Brahmins who say that the *dâbhâ* out of which the mat is prepared was originally called the *darbh*.

BUNDLE.

Just as we have the words *baresma frastareta* for the Barsam which is spread out, we have the words *Baresmô-zasta* for the Barsam held in the hand, although, to be sure, the former phrase is found much oftener than the latter. Indeed, after the practice of spreading out a Barsam had ceased, the words *Baresma frastareta* were used likewise to denote the Barsam held in the hand. Thus the third signification of the Barsam is that of a bundle which the Mobads hold up in their hands during the recital of their prayers. There is a difference in the materials used now and formerly for the bundle. At present the Barsam is made of pieces of metal wire called *tâe*, but, originally, it consisted of the twigs of some tree. Although the name of no particular tree is found in the Avesta, the words *urvarâ baresmanaya* show that, like the Barsam-dais, the bundle of the Barsam must have been formed out of some tree, and, according to later books, it consisted of the twigs of the pomegranate tree. The number of these twigs is 3, 5, 7 and 9, and the measure of their length is given as "reaching up to the knee and the middle of the leg."¹ The number and the measure mentioned in the Avesta do not agree with what we find in modern practice, with the exception of the numbers 5 and 7. At present the bundle is made of 35, 23, 15, 7 and 5, and its length is never greater than a span.

That the Barsam was obtained from a particular tree is directly proved from a passage in the Vendidad. In answer to a question of Zarathushtra addressed to Ahura Mazda as to how the good creation should be praised, he is advised to cut off the Barsam from a "beautiful, living and strong tree" in the act of reciting certain prayers." Although, at present, the use of the Barsam got out of the twigs of a tree has ceased, yet we find even in comparatively recent works a description of the ceremony, in which the Barsam is to be cut from the tree. It is stated in those books that the leaves and knots of as many slender twigs as are required

¹ Yasna LVII, 6.

² Fargard XIX, 18.

for the Barsam should be cleared off from the pomegranate tree, and thereafter, the twigs should be cut off with proper ceremony. The texts which are enjoined to be recited as part of the ceremony in those books are the same as the recitals enjoined in the Vendidad.

The verb used with the term *baresmô-zasta*, i. e., the Barsam held in the hand, is *hishta*, to stand. This shows that the bundle of the Barsam was held up *erect* in the hand.

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY EXTANT CEREMONIES.

The words *baresmô-zasta* are found also in Yasna LXII, which deals with the praise of the fire. This shows that prayers were formerly addressed to fire and other natural objects with the Barsam in hand. The practice of consecrating some one or other natural object as a holy emblem has been preserved unchanged to this day. Although in the great *Yajishna* and other *pâv-mehel* ceremonies, the Barsam is usually kept on its seat called the *Mâhârue*, yet immediately before the recitals of those texts which deal with the praise of the fire, the sun and the waters, the priest takes the Barsam in his hand, stands up from the *Zôt-gâh*, and, in a standing posture, turning towards that particular natural object whose praise he recounts, he celebrates its praise. This celebration over, he replaces the Barsam in its place and resumes his seat. Just as we have the words *baresmô-zasta* to indicate this act of holding the Barsam in hand, so we have the words *aesmô-zasta*, *gao-zastô*, *gaomata-zasta-vastravata*, and *hâvanô-zastô* to indicate that fuel, milk, cloth, and the mortar are to be held up in the hand at particular times in the course of the performance of the ceremony.

The practice of making up the Barsam from the twigs of a tree is very old. Strabo says that the Magians held a bunch of twigs in their hands whilst reciting their holy prayers.

TWIGS USED IN CEREMONIES BY MOBADS AND BY BRAHMINS.

The twigs of trees which the Brahmins use in the *yagna* ceremony are called *samidha*, a word which corresponds with the Avestic *hamidha*. In the Farvardin Yasht, the *Mânthra-vâka* i. e., the reciter of the *Mânthras*, is called an *aethra-paiti*, and a *hamidha-paiti*,¹ i. e., an Ervad and "Lord of the Barsam". In the

¹ Sec. 105.

Avesta we find the word *yakhshti*¹ for twig, which corresponds with the Sanskrit *ishika*. The number of twigs mentioned in Brahmin Scriptures is 8, 28, and 108, and the measure of length is said to be twelve fingers' breadth which is about the size of a span. There is a wide difference in the use made of these twigs by Mobads and by Brahmins. Whereas the latter throw the branches into the fire, the Mobads hold them up in their hand without destroying them. Again, the Brahmins throw into the fire, in addition to the *samidha*, ghee, barley and other substances which they call *âhuti*, a word which corresponds with the Avestic *âzuiti*. We see from all this that the Barsam of metal wire now in use is an improvement on the original Barsam of twigs.

AIVIAONGHAN : THE DAIS AND THE TYING MATERIAL.

This implement had originally a twofold use. It was used firstly, as the Barsam-dais, and secondly, as the means of tying up the Barsam bundle. From the etymology of the word we find that one of its meanings is a *seat* from the root *âongh*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *âs*, to sit. The suffix *ana* being added to the root in both the languages, we get in the Avesta the word *âonghana* and in Sankrit *âsana*, a seat. The prefix *airi* being superadded to the Avesta word, an idea of dignity or exaltation is attached to the *airiâonghan*. The winding of the fibres of the date leaf round the Barsam in a peculiar manner, is called *airiâonghan*. It appears that originally the Barsam-dais was made by interweaving the fibres of the date leaf, and, in order to preserve a reminiscence of that usage, it is now wound round the Barsam.

THE TYING MATERIAL.

In extant ceremonials, another use of the *airiâonghan* is as a tying material. The substance from which it is obtained is the date leaf which is first divided into six fibres. These fibres are formed into two parts, and their ends being twisted into each other by turns, a knot is added at both ends. This method of weaving the fibres around the Barsam bundle is called the *airiâonghan*. An explanation of this use of the word can be obtained from its root *âongh* which has also the signification of tying. We have in the Avesta its opposite, the word *bûj*, Sanskrit *bhûj*, which means to

¹ Yasna LVII, 6.

unite. In the Hormazd Yasht we find “ *aiviðonghanem vâ aiviðonghayamno aiviðonghanem vâ bujayamnô, i. e.,*” tying the *aiviðonghan* and untying the *aiviðonghan*. We thus see that this word is a homonym having the double meaning of a “ dais ” and a “ tying material ”. Its use as a dais has now ceased, but its use as a tying material is still in vogue.

AIIVIAONGHAN AND THE WAIST-GIRDLE CALLED THE KUSHTI :
A COMPARISON.

The word *aiviðonghan* is also interpreted to denote the Kushti by our Dasturs. The suggestion is very plausible. The connection of these two materials is remarkable. We notice a good deal of correspondence in the prayers and the ceremonies relating to the *aiviðonghan* of the Barsam and the Kushti :—

(a) Just as the ceremony of tying or winding the *aiviðonghan* is performed *round* the Barsam, so is the ceremony of tying the Kushti performed *round* the waist.

(b) Just as *three* knots of the *aiviðonghan* are tied round the Barsam, so are *three* knots of the Kushti tied round the waist.

(c) Just as the front knots of the *aiviðonghan* are tied whilst reciting the word *shyothnanâm* in the two *ahunavars* that are recited, so are the front knots of the Kushti tied with the recital of the same word.

(d) There is a difference in the recital of the texts repeated whilst tying the hind knots of the Kushti and of the *aiviðonghan*, and there are reasons for the same. The hind knot of the *aiviðonghan* is tied with the recital of the word *shyothnanâm* of the two *ahunavars* of Yasna XIII, and the hind knot of the Kushti is tied during the recital of the *Ashem Vohû*. The two chapters of Yasna XII and XIII are *Frasereti Hiti*, i. e., chapters relating to the confession of faith. That is why after tying the last knot of the Kushti with the *Ashem Vohû*, a portion of that chapter relating to the confession of faith, and beginning with the words *jasa me avanghe Muzda* is recited at the end.

(e) Just as the ends of the *aiviðonghan* are twisted round one another, so are the ends of the Kushti twisted into each other.

(f) Just as after the hind knot of the *aiviðonghan* is tied, two ends are left visible, so the two ends of the Kushti are also left visible.

(g) Just as the leaf of the date tree is torn into six fibres in order to interweave them for the purposes of the *aivîdonghan*, so the 72 threads of the woolen Kushti are first divided into six parts of 12 each, before the two ends are woven up.

Many other points of similarity, though rather remote, are to be seen in the ritual pertaining to these two. The agreement of the *aivîdonghan* with the Kushti affords an indirect support to the meaning of the word as a "tying material".

HADHANAEPATA: THE ROOT OF THE POMEGRANATE TREE AND FUEL.

This substance also had originally a twofold use — one as the root of the pomegranate tree which was dedicated as an offering to water, and the other as a sweet-scented fuel to be offered to the fire. The word *hadhânaepata* is, like the names of many other implements a bone of controversy amongst Avestan scholars. The late Ervad Kanga and other scholars do not assign it any meaning, only transcribing it as a proper noun. The late Prof. C. D. Harlez translated it as "the twigs of the 'Hadhânaepata'."

This substance is the name of an implement of two ceremonies having different aims. The word *urvarâ* is found with it, and from this we can say without doubt that it belongs to the class of trees. It is, in fact, the name of the famous pomegranate tree. For in the Avesta the name is often used especially in connection with the Haoma plant and *Jivâm*, i. e., milk. As a common epithet applied to the three, we have the word *uzdâta* which signifies a rising or a raising up. Just as in the Avesta we find the names of these three substances used in juxtaposition, so we notice in the extant ceremonials that the object used with the Haoma plant and milk to give force to the beverage after the Haoma is pounded and squeezed, is the root of the pomegranate tree. The Mobads call it *urvarâm*. The word is used only once as a proper noun in the Vendidad.¹

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT CEREMONIAL.

That the root of the pomegranate tree is the *urvarâ* of *hadhânaepata* is seen from the extant ritual of the Haoma and Yasna ceremonies. In both these ceremonies, at the time of reciting certain words from Yas. XXIV, the Zastar has to keep his eyes fixed on certain implements placed before him. In reciting

¹ Fargard'XVIII, 3.

the words *imâmchâ urvarâm hadhânaepatâm ashaya uzdâtâm* the eye is fixed on the root of the pomegranate tree which is present there. Again, whilst reciting certain words from Yasna XXV, certain implements are lifted up from their place, and the ceremony of placing them in the mortar for the purpose of pounding, squeezing, and straining them is gone through. Reciting the identical sentence just quoted, the priest lifts the root of the pomegranate known as *urvarâm* and places it in the mortar. These two examples from extant ceremonies show that the *hadhânaepata* is the root of the pomegranate tree, which was, and is, used in ceremonials.

THE SWEET-SCENTED FUEL.

The second use of the *hadhânaepata* was as a sweet-scented fuel. In the Vendidad it is recommended that as a penance for certain offences, sweet-scented fuel should be presented as an offering to the fire, and we find the names particularly of the trees *Urvâsna*, *Vohûgaona*, *Vohûkereti*, and *Hadhânaepata*.¹ According to the explanation we have given above, the last is the pomegranate tree. From the Vendidad its twofold use becomes clear. Two different reasons for the two uses are also given. It is a substance to be presented as an offering to objects in nature, and it is used as an object of offering to the fire and the waters. When the name is used in connection with the words *haoma*, *gaoma* in the sense of the root of the tree, it is in reference to the offering to the waters, and when used with *urvâsna* etc., it has reference to the fire offering.² Therefore, according to this explanation, when the term *hadhânaepata* occurs in connection with the *haoma* and *gaoma*, it must be translated as the root of the pomegranate tree; and when it occurs with *urvâsna* etc., it must be translated as sweet-scented fuel.

Like the date tree the pomegranate tree is held important in the religious books. When yet green, the juice of its root serves the purpose of a drink for the Zaothar, and is also used as an offering to the waters in the Yasna and other important ceremonials. Besides, in the Bareshnûm, the Navzot, and other ablution ceremonies, the juice of its leaves is given for drink. When the tree withers away, its dry wood was used as a sweet-scented fuel. Thus in ancient times the *hadhânaepata* received a twofold and

¹ Farg. XVIII, 71.

² Farg. XIV, 2-4.

even a threefold use. At present, the root of this famous tree and its foliage is made use of for ceremonial purposes in Persia. But the use of the dry wood of the tree as a sweet-scented fuel is entirely forgotten.

HAURVATA-AMERETATA, GAUSH-HUDHAO, DARUN, AND GOSHUDO.

In the Avesta we find the two words *draona* and *draonangha* for *darun*. The corrupted form of the Avesta is the Pahlavi and modern Persian *darun*, and although it is now used as an important element in ceremonials, yet this word is not to be found in all the places in the Avesta where the names of ceremonial implements are given. We find the names of the principal ceremonial implements in Chapters 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 of the Yasna, but we do not find any such name as *darun*. I believe that the words *Haurvata-Ameretâta* are used for the *darun*. These names are Gâthic concepts, which, later on, have been taken as Amshâspends presiding over the waters and vegetation. According to the Patet Pashimâni, the latter name is "*Amerdâd urvar urvar sardegân*", i. e., the Amshâspend Amerdâd presides over all kinds of trees. According to this idea, the two words are used for the *darun* made out of corn and water. Here and elsewhere in the Avesta we often find these abstract words used for concrete materials. The words which precede and follow these names in Yas. III, VII, and VIII, are respectively "*Kharethem myazdem*" and "*Gâush-hudhâo*". These are names of eatables. The abstract terms used between them may, therefore, without fear of mistake, be taken to represent the *darun*.

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT CEREMONIAL.

In support of this explanation, we have an important example in an extant ceremony performed by the Mobads. Before the commencement of the *Yajashne* and other *pâv-mehel* ceremonies, the complete accessories of the ceremonies are kept in preparation. If the *darun* and the *goshudo* are not kept ready on the *âlât-gâh* with the other accessories, from the very beginning, these must be necessarily kept ready after the completion of the recital of the first two *Hâs* of the Yasna. There are four principal reasons for this. Firstly, in these two *Hâs* the names *darun* and *goshudo* do not occur, so that nothing improper happens if they are absent. Secondly

in the third *Hâ* the words *Haurvata*, *Ameretâta* and *Gâush-hudhâo* are recited with the names of other ceremonial implements. Hence the *darun* and *goshudo* are kept in readiness before the commencement of the third *Hâ* because the names have to be recited in the presence of the objects. The Zaotar sits quiet if necessary, until these things are produced on the *âlât-gâh*. Thirdly, so long as these things are kept in front, the words *Haurvata ameretâta gâush-hudhâo* continue to be recited in Yasna 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 ; but at the end of the eighth chapter when they are removed from the *âlât-gâh* after the Zaotar has tasted of them, these words are no longer recited. Lastly, during the recital of Yasna 22, 24, and 25, these conjoint words are not recited with the names of other ceremonial implements, because the implements to which they refer are absent. These weighty reasons from the extant ritual show clearly that the expressions *Haurvata ameretâta Gâush-hudhâo* are used for *darun* and *goshudo*. These abstract words are found also in the *Gâthâs* to denote food, as angels presiding over eatables :

At tôi ube haurvâoschâ Kharethâi â Ameretatâoschâ, i.e., "Really, thine two, Khordâd (water) and Amerdâd (vegetation) are for eating."¹ Again, in another passage in the *Gâthâs*, these abstract words are found used with the very word *draono*, i. e., *darun* : "*Dât ve Ameretatâoscha utauiti haurvatâs draono*," i. e., "Give ye the strong *darun* of Khordâd (entirety) and Amerdâd (immortality)".²

Although the direct meaning of this sentence may not be the *darun* of Khordâd and Amerdâd, and although, to be sure, there may be underlying in it some deeper and higher idea, yet its ordinary meaning is not widely different from the expression I have given. From the two *Gâthic* sentences we can see, at least, this that there is authority for the use of the words *Haurvata Ameretâta* for *darun* in the *Avesta*.

In the *Hâdokht Nask* the recital of one *Ashem Vohu* in season is considered equal to the recital of the same formula numerous times on other occasions. There, the above abstract words are used with reference to eatables to denote the principal object of food, and the angel presiding thereon. Although the idea sought to be expressed is that of ordinary food, still these words are used to ex-

¹ Yas. XXXIV, 11.

² Yas. XXXIII, 8.

press pure and excellent ideal food: "*Yô nâ franghuharena Haurvatya Ashem staoiti*", i.e., "Whoso praises *Ashem* whilst taking food and drink."¹ Just as here these words are used to represent the best food, so in this same Nask pounded haoma is given an importance as the type of another kind of holy food. There an *Ashem* recited after partaking of the haoma food is held of great value.*

These two examples lend great support to the Zoroastrian practice of saying grace before and after meals in thanksgiving to Ahura Mazda. Besides, we find in the Zamyâd Yasht that as the angels contending against hunger and thirst, and the *Daevas* presiding over the distresses consequent thereon, the names of Khordâd and Amerdâd are given.*

The learned scholar Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha has given a weighty explanation regarding the *darun*. According to him, it was, at first, a holy liquid like the juice of the haoma. For we find in the Vendidad "*Haomahe, hutahe, dadhâite usefritinâm vâ myazdanâm*, i.e., "The pounded haoma or *aostofarid* gives the *Myazda*." The literal translation of this is found in the Patet Pashimâni thus: "*Hôm, darun, Aostofarid, myazdân, nehâdeh*". The Avestan words *haoma huta* have been translated as *hôm darun* in the Pazend sentence. In the

* Sec. 6. * Sec. 9. * Sec. 96. * Farg. XVIII, 12.

* I think it necessary to comment here on this sentence occurring in the Vendidad and the Patet Pashimâni. In all the books of the Khordeh Avesta this Pazend sentence is wrongly printed as "*Hôm darun hosh farid yazdan nehâd*, i. e., "the *darun* of the haoma and the things prescribed for the adoration of the Yazads". As the sentence is incorrect, its original meaning is changed. The mistake is owing to the difficulty of deciphering and reading the Pahlavi characters which admit of several readings at one and the same time. The word *Yazdan* stands for the word *Myazdan* as we see from the corresponding sentence in the Vendidad. The Pahlavi word *Myazda* is written in two ways thus: 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 and 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀. When the *m* of the word is removed the word exactly agrees with *Yazdan*. The Avesta *haoma huta* becomes *darun* in the Pazend, *dadhaiti* becomes *nehâd*, *usefriti* becomes *aostofarid* and *Myazdanam* becomes not *Yazdan* but *mya-zan*. So that the correct version in the Pazend of this sentence should be, "*hôm darun aostofarid myazdan nehâdeh*", i.e., "the *darun* of the haoma, and the appointed *aostofarid* and *myazda*." In the passage in the Patet Pashimâni where this sentence occurs, six duties are enjoined, and one of them is regarding the *myazda*. Similarly in the corresponding passage in the Patet Irani we find the duty relating to the *myazda* coupled with that regarding the *aostofarid* and the *darun*. From this it appears that what was before a "holy offering" has been converted by mistake into something pertaining to the Yazads.

extant ritual the haoma is used as a liquid and the *darun* as a solid element of food. But on an examination of the root of the words *huta* and *darun*, it appears that they were at first both liquid substances. The root of the former *hu* in the -Avesta, corresponding with the Pahlavi *hûmidan*, means, to squeeze, to press out the juice. The latter is the Avestic *draona*, corresponding with the Vedic *drônas* from the root *dru*, to flow, to melt. From this it appears that a change has come about in the signification of the word *draona* which was at first some liquid substance. At present it is the name of the holy cake, unseasoned by any effervescing liquid. It is consecrated in honour of Ahura Mazda and the angels and thereafter partaken of.

GAUSH-HUDHAO : GOSHUDO.

The word quoted above with the word *darun* was *gâush-hudhâo* from which we derive the name of the well known ceremonial implement, the *goshudo*. It is the name of a dainty prepared from the ghee made of the milk of the cow, and it is always placed on the *darun*. Just as we always find the use of the *darun* and the *goshudo* together in ceremonials, so in the Avesta we always find the words *Haurvata Ameretâta* placed in juxtaposition with *gâush-hudhâo*. Nowhere in the Avesta are the names *Haurvata Ameretâta*, when used in the sense of the *darun*, separated from the term *gâush-hudhâo*. But when they are found alone, they do not signify the *darun* or the *goshudo*. The mutual connection of these two objects proves beyond doubt that the words *Haurvata Ameretâta* represent the *darun*, and the words *gâush-hudhâo*, the *goshudo*.

The term *gâush-hudhâo* admits of several meanings, and there is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding its exact meaning. The name is met with twice in Yasna IV, where it is rendered as *gospend-i-hûdânâk* by the Pahlavi translator. Ervad Kanga translates both these nouns as *goshudo*. But Spiegel and Harlez give the two different meanings of "oxen of good breed" and "flesh meat", and that is, in my opinion, a proper way of interpretation. Again, both Kanga and Harlez translate the same word as *goshudo* where it occurs in Yasna XXIV, but that meaning does not suit the context. It should there be taken as "cattle of good breed". For we do not find the conjoint phrase *Haurvata Ameretâta*, i. e., *darun*, used with it. The plain meaning of this

becomes clear from the modern ritual.

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT CEREMONIAL.

During the recital of Yasna XXIV, both the *darun* and the *goshudo* are not present before the priest, as at the end of the eighth *Hâ* the Zastar tastes thereof, and after that they are removed from the *âlât-gâh*. Therefore, it is not proper to translate the words *gâush hudhâonghem* as *goshudo*. This principle is found clearly joined with the prayers recited at ceremonials, that the names only of those implements are mentioned which are present on the *âlât-gâh*, and those that are not present are not named. For instance, in the ceremonial for straining the haoma, when the abovenamed *Hâs* XXIV and XXV are recited, the phrase *imâmchâ gâm jiviâm ashaya uzdâtâm* is omitted. That is because the *jiviâm* (milk) is not present at the time. But when these chapters are recited in the *Yajashne* ceremonial, this phrase is also recited, because milk is present at the time.

From all these facts we can prove beyond doubt that it is only when those conjoint words occur side by side, are they to be translated as *darun* and *goshudo*. But when they occur separately, the first phrase does not signify *darun*, but *Khordâd* (entirety) and *Amerdâd* (immortality); and the second denotes not *goshudo* but "cattle of the good creation".

ANIMAL SACRIFICE : THE CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN IT.

The ancient Iranians used to offer innocent creatures as a sacrifice to the Yazads. The *gâush-hudhâo*, i. e., ghee, and the *gâm jiviâm*, i. e., milk, and the other implements now in vogue in the *yajashne* ceremonial are only an improvement on the cruel practice of sacrificing four-footed animals. As a consequence of this improvement, it was found necessary later on, and especially in the Sâssânian times, to change the root meaning of the names of certain ceremonial implements and other proper nouns, whilst the names themselves were retained. Principal amongst these are the *yasna*, *zaotira*, *myazda*, *goshudo*, *jivâm*, etc.

THE YASNA : OFFERING.

The Avestic Yasna corresponds with the Vedic *Yagna* which is the name of the sacrificial ceremony which was in vogue among the Brahmins. We find in the Avesta and the Vedas a description of many such *Yagnas*. There is, for instance, the *Ashwamegha*

the name for the horse sacrifice which was common amongst the Brahmins. In a similar way, the ancient Iranians used to offer horses, bulls and goats as a sacrifice to the Yazads. ' The representative of the Avestic *Yasna* in the Pahlavi and modern Persian is *Yajishn*. Its root meaning is that of *worship*, yet, later on, the original name being retained, an improvement is made in this respect that it is used in the good sense of adoring and praising. It may be noted that to represent the idea of adoring and praising we have in the Pahlavi and modern Persian the word *setâishn* from the Avestic root *stu*, as well as the word *niyâyishn* from the same root as *Yasna* with the prefix *ni* superadded, and we have also the word *zbâyishn* from the root *zbe*.

ZAOTHA : CEREMONIAL IMPLEMENTS.

The Avestic *zaotbra* corresponds with the Sanskrit *hotra*. Its root meaning is that of sacrifice, and it is frequently found used in the Avesta in connection with the ceremony for sacrificing animals. ' The original name being retained, its meaning has been changed at a later stage, and the word now signifies the innocent ceremonial implements and holy offerings, like ghee, milk, food, water etc. Especially in the *Yajishna* ceremony, the holy water prepared from the juice obtained by pounding, squeezing and straining the haoma with the *hadhânaeputa* to which juice some milk is added, is called by the special appellation of *Zor* or *Zaotbra*. This beverage *Zor* is held in great importance especially in the Pahlavi books. It is found collected in the first pot on the *âlât-gâh* to the right of the Zaotar.

MYAZDA : GREEN AND DRY FRUIT.

Philologists translate the Avestic *myazda* as flesh-meat, and we find in the Vendidad the sentence "*myazdem.....gaomantem madhumantem*" which means "the *myazda* of flesh and liquor". ' In the *Yasna* this noun is used in the sense of a holy offering for the *darun*, the *goshudo*, the *haoma*, and the *para-haoma*. Although we find in the Avesta the word *bara* for fruit, yet the original meaning of *myazda* has been changed to denote the innocent offering of green and dry fruits, such as we find used in the *Afringân* and *bâj* ceremonies.

' Vide Aban Yt.

' Tishtar Yt. 56, etc.

• Farg. VIII, 22.

GOSHUDO : GHEE.

The Avestic *gâush-hudhâo* means literally "cattle of the good creation". Harlez and other scholars interpret it as the "flesh of the cow." Under the belief that the word denotes flesh-meat there has originated the custom of preparing minced meat balls which are placed as an offering in the *bâj* ceremony, in place of the *goshudo*. Although this gives an idea of the old, old times when the custom of offering animal sacrifices was prevalent, we now find only ghee used in modern ceremonies. We do, indeed, find the word *raoghna* in the Avesta, corresponding with the Pahlavi and modern Persian *roghan*, to denote ghee, yet the word *goshudo* is now interpreted to mean ghee, which is all that is now used where *goshudo* is mentioned in the old books.

JIVAM : MILK.

The literal meaning of the Avestic *gâm jivîâm* is "live cattle". Prof. Harlez and other translators have interpreted it as "fresh cut meat". *Jivâm* comes from the root *ji*, to live, and it is an adjective used as a noun. Although we find the word *payangh* in the Avesta corresponding with the Sanskrit *payas* to denote the milk of an animal, yet the word *jivâm* is now interpreted to mean milk as a precious object of nutrition for life.

THE RASHNU YASHT AND THE BRAHMANIC YAGNA CEREMONIAL :
A COMPARISON.

In the Avesta different objects are named as fit offerings to different Yazads. The sacrifice offered to Âbân and Drvâsp consisted of animals and cattle; to Haoma was offered a specific portion of an animal; a similar offering was made to Fire and Water; and to Tishtar and Behrâm was offered a small, fine animal. Just as offerings of animals were made to some angels, so to others corn preparations were dedicated. In the Yasht literature we find a description of the delicious corn preparations offered to the Yazads Rashnu, Vayu, Âdar and Âbân. Although nowadays no particular offerings are made to particular Yazads, the recital of the *Satûm* in the presence of flesh and corn dishes, now in vogue, recalls to us the ancient practice of offering flesh and corn dishes to the Yazads.

A description is found in the Rashnu Yasht of the special offerings of corn preparations made to Rashnu. We are given there the names of four distinct objects, *varô-uzdâtem*, *perenâm*-

vighzhârayeintim, raoghnyâm-varanghem and *âzuitim urvarâm*. A good deal of difference of opinion exists among scholars regarding the meaning of these terms. Prof. Darmesteter considers the term *varô varanghem* to mean "an ordeal". Dr. Haug says that adorations to Rashnu were made in accompaniment with fruit and ghee placed before the fire. I believe that these terms are the names of the particular objects which the ancient Irânians used to offer to the Yazads, and they correspond to the objects sacrificed to the Dævas in the *yagna* ceremonials of the Brahmins. They are the dainty dishes called *dudhpâk*, *puri*, *vadân*, *bâkrâ* and *shrifal*, which were poured into the fire at the end of the *Yagna* ceremony. We have the following passage in point in the *Rasnu Yasht* :

*Aetat tê jasânî aranghê azem yô Ahurô Mazdâo
 Ari imat varô uzdâtem ari âturemcha baresmacha
 Ari perenâm-vighzhârayeintim ari raoghnyâm varanghem
 Âzuitimcha urvaranâm.*

i. e., "I who am Ahura Mazda will come to thee for assistance towards (the offering of) the *vadi* seasoned with an effervescing substance, towards the fire and the Barsam, towards the overflowing *dudhpâk*, towards the *vadân* fried in oil, and towards the *shrifal* of trees."

PERENA-VIGHZHARAYA — DUDHPAK (PURI).

On examining the etymology of the term *perena-vighzhâraya* we find that it is the name of a delicacy prepared out of milk. The root of the Avesta *ghzhâraya* is *ghzhar* or *khshar*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *kshar*, to flow or to curdle, and from that root we derive the modern Persian *shîr*, milk. The Avesta *ghzhâraya*, then, must mean, "made of milk", or "a preparation from milk". Again, from the Persian word *shîr* we have the Gujerati *khîr* which is the name given to a preparation from milk which is not sweetened with sugar. Anyhow, *ghzhâraya* appears to be the name of some delicacy, and that is clearly proved from the Vendidad. The name is there found in the midst of a list of objects for dedication to the fire, and it is there explained as *kharetha*, "eatable", or rather, as "*khâsta kharetha*", "a delicious eatable".¹ We

¹ Vide Vendidad, XIX, 40: *Khasta Kharethao frabaroish perenam vighzhârayeintim*, *i. e.*, "Thou shalt carry the delicious dainty of plenty of *dudhpak*".

find with the name we are discussing, the adjective *perena*. If we take it as a noun, we may interpret it as *puranpoli* or *puranyân* or *puri*, all names of delicious eatables, and *perena-vighzhârâya* would then mean *puri dudhpâk* or something like it. We find *perena* named in the Vendidad as one of the delicious eatables to be dedicated to the fire, and the now prevailing custom of making offerings of delicious eatables to the fire and water amongst Parsis, lends support to my humble attempt to interpret the Avesta phrase as I do. The dedications to fire and water are technically called by the names of *fulâru* and *patli* respectively.

RAOGHNYA VARANGHA — VADAN FRIED IN OIL.

Another object of dedication is *raoghnya varangha*. *Varangha* may be compared to the *radân* of the Brahmîns. *Radân* is an eatable prepared from the flour of certain kinds of grain and fried in oil. As the eatable has to be fried, we have in the Avesta the term *raoghnya*, equivalent to the Pahlavi and Persian *raoghun*, one of whose meanings is "oil". That is why I suggest that *raoghnya varangha* denotes "*radân* fried in oil".

We find an enjoinder to prepare *radân* during the Gahmbârs in the same way as the eatable was, of old, dedicated to the Yazad Rashnu. We have in the *Afrîngân-i-Gahmbâr* the phrase *garemô varanghem dasti antare Mazdâ yasnâish*, which suggests that the faithful should partake of hot *radân* after they are consecrated. Although, at first sight, it appears to be a new thing to count such an article of food as an object of dedication, yet we are as ignorant of the antiquity of the custom which is now in vogue amongst us, as we are about the significance of the phrases. During the Far-vardegân days, it is a common practice to prepare cakes of rice flour in oil, and to place them together with other eatables before the reciter of the *Satôm* prayer.

VARANGHA UZDATEM — SEASONED VADI.

The name of the third offering is *varô* which is the same as *varangha*. The former is neuter, the latter masculine. We have the *radân* and *vadi* as names of two different delicacies among Hindus. *Vadi* is a preparation made of the flour of gram seasoned with pepper and the like, in various shapes, resembling the pawns of chess. It is common to season the preparation, before it is fried, with some effervescing substance, and we have in the Avesta the

term *uzdâta* coupled with *varô* to give expression to a similar practice of seasoning the preparation. *Varô uzdâtem*, then, would signify *vadi* seasoned with an effervescing substance.

AZUITI URVARA — THE URVAR OF A TREE.

The name of the fourth offering is *âzuitim urvaranâm*. The former of these two words denotes fat and the like, but its use here with the noun *urvarâ* shows that it is something pertaining to trees. I compare it with the *shrifal* used in the *Yagna* ceremonial of Brahmins. The Brahmins cast *shrifal* into the fire at the end of the *Yagna* ceremony, and this act is called *purnâhuti*. Parallel to this term in the *Rashnu Yasht* is the term *âzuiti*. The two terms are quite alike. The only difference lies in the additional prefix *purna* in the former word, which points to the completion of the ceremony. But that prefix is not coupled with the *Avesta* word, because the offering does not come at the end of the ceremony, as in the Hindu custom. In the *Yasna* ceremony the last offering is that made to water, and it consists of the strained juice of the *haoma* and *hadhânaepata* mixed with milk. I suggest, therefore, that the meaning of *âzuiti urvarâ* is "fruit of trees" or dry fruit.

There is a difference in the use made by Mobads and by Brahmins of the things dedicated in the *Yasna* and *Yagna* ceremonials. Whereas the Brahmins cast most of them in the fire, the Mobads use them as holy food to be partaken of after consecration. For there is the strongest prohibition against burning in the fire anything but dry wood and fuel of sweet scent.

THE NUMBER OF MOBADS: THEIR RANK: CHANGES IN THEM.

At present only two Mobads perform the *Yasna* ceremony. But internal evidence from the *Avesta* shows that formerly there were eight priests who officiated in the ceremony. They had different functions, and each one did his work according to his rank.

The titles of the eight Mobads and their functions were as under :—

1. The *zotar* was the head officiating priest.
2. The *hâvanân* was in charge of the *haoma* ceremonial.
3. The *âtarevakhsha* kept the fire burning.
4. The *fraberctar* had to bring in and take away ceremonial implements.
5. The *âheretar* brought in and carried away the *zôr*, i. e.,

the water prepared ceremoniously.

6. The *âsnâtar* washed and cleansed the ceremonial implements.

7. The *rathvishkara* arranged and placed the ceremonial implements in proper order.

8. The *sraoshâvareza* was the chastiser who corrected mistakes.

THE SEATS OF MOBADS.

Different seats were assigned to these eight Mobads, according to their rank, and they used to be in their proper seats which were arranged thus:—

SOUTH

(8) *Sraoshâvareza*

(5) *Âheretar*



(3) *Âtarevakhsh*

EAST

(7) *Rathvishkara*

(6) *Âsnâtar*

(4) *Frabretar.*

(2) *Hâvanân*

(1) *Zaotar.*

NORTH

ANCIENT CEREMONIES

THE NEED OF THE PRESENCE OF EIGHT MOBADS.

The necessity for eight officiating priests is evidenced from the third chapter of the Visperad. There the head officiating priest, the *zotar*, takes, as it were, the roll-call of his seven assistant Mobads. In modern times, with the exception of the *âtarevakhsha* there is no one present, and hence, in the course of the ceremonial, he leaves his seat and assuming different positions, one after another, he answers, "I am here". For instance, the *zotar* says, "*hâvanânem âstâya*", i. e., "Is the *hâvanân* here?" The *âtarevakhsha* immediately appears at the place marked (2) above, and says, "*azem risâi*", i. e., "I am here". It is clear from this that the other positions are meant to be occupied by other officiating priests. But in their absence, in modern ceremonies, it is the *âtarevakhsha* who jumps about from one place to another and answers the roll-call for himself and his six absent confrères.

DIFFERENT TEXTS TO BE RECITED BY THE DIFFERENT PRIESTS.

Eight Mobads were elected for the ceremony, and different texts were fixed for their recital. The seven parts of Yasna LVIII in the Visperad have to be recited by the seven assistants of the *zotar*. But they are not present in modern ceremonies. Hence the *âtarevakhsha* alone recites them all. His own portion he recites from his proper place, (3) in the above table, and the other portions he recites severally from the other six positions for his absent confrères. This shows that the other six seats are meant for the other six officials of the ceremony, and that the texts recited from those positions by the *âtarevakhsha* were meant to be recited by them severally. The *zotar* sits quiet after reciting in Yasna LVIII abovenamed, the passage from *tat shôidhish* upto *charekeremahi*, and then the *âtarevakhsha* recites the seven portions of the rest of the chapter from different places, for himself and the absent officials, as given in the following table, where the figures show the order in which the texts are recited:

(3) <i>Shraoshâvareza : Ilê châ.....thrâzhidâm.</i>	
(6) <i>Âberetar : Haurvafshvô..... Ameretatâo.</i>	(7) <i>Âtarevakhsha : Haurvâm... avâchi.</i>
(4) <i>Ratheishkara : Thrâzhidâm .. thrâzhidâm.</i>	(5) <i>Âsnâtar : Pûiri.....dadema-hi.</i>

(2) *Fraberetar*: *Haithyô.....cha-* (1) *Ilâvanân*: *Hê ptâ.....stâish.*
rekeremahi.

Similarly in the Visperad ceremony, the text *vanghu ... hvarshô* in Yasna LIX is recited by the *âtarevakhsha* from the place assigned to the *fraberetar* by whom the text is to be recited. In the same *Hê* the *âtarevakhsha* recites from the *hâvanân*'s place to the right of the *zaotar*, the text *yêngê ... vantâ*. Again, thereafter, the *âtarevakhsha* recites from the place of the *fraberetar* the text *yêngê .. yazamâidê* as a substitute for the absent official. In the same *Hê* for the *sraoshâvareza* the *âtarevakhsha* recites an *Ashem Vohû* from the position assigned to the former, a text which the *sraoshâvareza* ought to recite. We find in the Avesta many other passages of this kind, where the different Mobads have to recite certain texts severally from their own individual posts, but which texts are in modern ceremonies all recited for them by the *âtarevakhsha* who changes his seat during the recital of the several texts.

RANK OF MOBADS ACCORDING TO QUALIFICATIONS.

The *zaotar* and his associate, the *âtarevakhsha* are often found speaking of their functions in ceremonies. A certain portion of the sublime text of the *ahunavar* is used for this purpose. The first of the three parts of the *ahunavar* is considered the seed of all texts for recital, and numerous texts sing of the excellences of this first part. Undoubtedly this part has an excellence which deserves all weight and consideration. At every moment we find the *zaotar* and the *âtarevakhsha* speaking of their respective functions and singing the excellence of this text. It is as follows:—

1. *Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê.*
2. *Yathâ ahu vairyô yô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê.*
3. *Athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha frâ ashava vidhvâo mraotâ.*

Of these three sentences, the first speaks of the appointment of the head officiating priest, and invariably, the *zaotar* alone recites it. The second sentence which contains the relative pronoun is recited to speak of some particular official and of his functions. The pronoun is not used to point out with any gestures the official referred to, but it is used with the title of the official. We have an example of such titular designations, thus described in the Avesta. They are: *yô zaotâ*; *yô âtarevakhshô*, *yô fraberetô* and *yô sraoshâvarezo*. Thus we find what particular functionary is intended to

be spoken of. The second sentence above cited is recited both by the *zaotar* and the *âtarevakhsha*, but when it is recited by the latter, he does it in speaking of the *zaotar* and his functions, and when recited by the *zaotar* it is done to designate other officials and their functions. The third sentence with the *athâ ratush* is recited to denote the acceptance of their particular functions by the different officials. We shall try to understand the meaning of these sentences by examining them separately.

The *zaotar* first tells the *âtarevakhsha* to appoint a head of the ceremonial in these words: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrâtê*", i. e., "Let me be declared the *zaotar* (for the recital of) the *Yathâ ahu vairyô*". Upon this, the *âtarevakhsha*, pronouncing not his own, but the *zaotar's* high dignity says: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô yô zaotâ frâ mê mrâtê*", i. e., "Let he who is the *zaotar* declare the *Yathâ ahu vairyô* to me. Now the *zaotar* taking charge of his post says: "*Athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha frâ ashura vidhrâo mraotâ*", i. e., "The pious learned *zaotar* declares *athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha*."

We find in the third chapter of the *Visperad* a passage where the *âtarevakhsha* takes the name of the *zaotar* and directly declares his authority, and in reply to this, the *zaotar* accepts the post with the titles. The only difference is this that, there instead of the *ahunavar*, the text referred to is that of the *staota yasna*, which is the name given to the collective group of the *yathâ*, *ashem* and *yênghê*, *hâtâm* texts. The *âtarevakhsha* says: "*tum nô âthraom zaotastê*", i. e., "O priest, thou art our *zaotar*." The *zaotar* says: "*Azem aeta zaota visâi staotanâm frasraothremcha, framarethremcha, frajâthremcha frâyêsthimcha*", i. e., "As a *zaotar* I accept the hearing, remembrance, recital and offering of the *Staota Yasna*."

EVIDENCE AS TO THE POSITION OF MOBADS FROM THE RITUAL.

The ceremony of preparing and straining the haoma juice gives us a real idea about the appointment of a head officiating priest for the *Yasna* and other important ceremonies. In that ceremonial, when the officiating priest, having completed the ceremony, is sitting on the *zôt-gâh*, another Mobad enters the *Yajishna-gâh*, and declaring his candidature for the post of *zaotar*, says: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrâtê*", and immediately rising from the *zôt-gâh*, the other official makes room for him. Now the *zaotar* who is installed in his place recites the text "*Athâ ratush ashâtchit*

hacha frâ ashavâ vidhrâo mraotû", and with the word *shyaothnanâm* of the second of the two *ahunavars* he recites thereafter, he takes his seat and proceeds with the ceremony as head priest. Here we see the *zaotar* recognised as head for denoting the excellence of the ritual. The *âtarevakhsha*, too, has some position and dignity, and so the *zaotar* says: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtû*", i. e., "Let the *âtarevakhsha* declare the *yathâ ahu vairyô* to me." The *âtarevakhsha* accepting this task, says: "*Âthâ ratush ashâtchit hacha frâ ashavâ vidhrâo mraotû*."

These two examples illustrate the position of the *zaotar* and the *âtarevakhsha*. Here when the *zaotar* asks the *âtarevakhsha* to describe the excellence of any particular ritual, the latter does it immediately, as he is present, there and then; and so likewise does the *zaotar* at the request of the *âtarevakhsha*. The principle is well observed with reference to these two functionaries, because they are both present in person. But it is not so observed in other cases. In the same way as the *zaotar* asks the *âtarevakhsha* to carry out his functions, he calls on the other officials of the ceremony to do theirs. These are the *fraberetar* and the *sraoshâvareza*. In their absence it is the *âtarevakhsha* who, in modern ceremonials, does their task. This is to be seen in the *Visperad*, in the recital of *Yasna LXV*; where the call to the *fraberetar* and the *sraoshâvareza* is answered by the *âtarevakhsha*.

We shall close our theme here. We notice from what we have seen in this essay, the antiquity of our ritual, and also the changes and improvements made therein with the change of time, place and circumstances. These changes and improvements are due mostly to the Sâssânian regime. The Zoroastrian religion has passed through many ups and downs since its first promulgation. It has seen many changes of Empires. A few improvements have been made in the ceremonies during the ascendancy of the Empire, and with the downfall of the Empire it has suffered from many evil influences.

A RECIPE FOR CONTENTMENT.

The following interesting extract from a Pahlavi treatise may be allowed to speak for itself :—

— ۱۰ —

[illegible][illegible]

TRANSLITERATION.

Dârûk-i Khûrsandîh pavan mandavam-i chârîk lâ bâkht yekvimûnêt va zakich-i chârîk darmân âsânîh denâ jahêt. Dârûkî yehvûnêt hanâ diram sang. Mînashnik âmîkhtan dâneshtîkîhâ shanâkhtan khûrsandîh dâng-i sang. Amat denâ lâ vabidunam mâ vabidunam dângî. Min lidenâ yôm vad fartâk shapîr shâyêt yehevuntan dâng-i sang. Al at min denâ salîtar shâyêt bûtan dâng-i sang. Pavan denâ i mat yekvimûnêt khûrsand bûtan li âsântar dâng-i sang. Va amat khûrsand lâ yehevûnam pavan kâr lâ shapîr li dushkhvârtar dâng-i sang.

Denâ dârûkîhâ baen hâvan-i shakîpâyîh kartan pavan hâvan dastak-i niyâishnih kûstan va pavan parnikân-i bitvarîh vikhtan va ko/â yôm avîr bâmdât II kapchak pavan kapchak-i afastân yacdân val pûmâ remîtûntan va mayâich-i shâyêt kartan. Min âkher khûrtan âkher avîgmânîhâ khûrsand yehevûntan mâ pavan tan va rûbân avîr sûtîmandtar.

TRANSLATION.

The medicine for contentment is not created as one of the curative drugs, yet the comfort produced by the curative drugs arises from it. It is the medicine of the weight of one *diram*. Take one-sixth¹ part of 'the mindful mixture, with its wise recognition, of contentment';² one-sixth part of 'if I do not do this (my allotted task in this world), what shall I do?';³ one-sixth part of 'one should be good from to-day till to-morrow';⁴ one-sixth part of 'one should not become worse than this' (the present condition); one-sixth part of 'I am more comfortable on being contented with what has reached me (my present lot)';⁵ one-sixth part of 'I am ill at ease when I am not contented, which is detrimental to my work'.⁶

Put these drugs in the mortar of patience, pound them with the pestle of prayer, sift them with a silken sieve, and every day,

¹ *dâng*: one-sixth part of anything; a grain.

² *i. e.*, of the knowledge of contentment.

³ *i. e.*, of industry and perseverance.

⁴ *i. e.*, of continual progress.

⁵ *i. e.*, of the comfort of contentment.

⁶ *i. e.*, of the discomfort of discontent.

just at day-break, put two spoonfuls of them in the mouth with the spoon of prayer to the Sacred Beings, add a little water and then swallow (the mixture). Afterwards be contented without entertaining any doubt because it is more advantageous to both the body and the soul.

BAMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR.

ZRAVANA AKARANA — BOUNDLESS TIME.

In the Sâssânian period there were various beliefs current in Irân regarding the nature and manifestations of the Supreme Being, and other important questions relating to religion. Owing to the doctrine of the two Principles, whose actions were represented in later Zoroastrianism as essentially hostile in every respect, some of the thinkers of those times sought to subordinate this pronounced Dualism to some Being higher than the two Principles, which were represented to have emanated from *Zravâna Akarana*, or "Boundless Time."

In the later Avesta are found the following expressions:—
"We praise *Zravâna Akarana* (Boundless Time.) We praise *Zravâna Daregho Khadhâta* (the self manifesting Time of the long period'."

Anquetil Du Perron, according to the teaching of the Dasturs, in ignorance of the grammatical inflections, as Dr. Haug points out, translated the words "*Zravâne Akarne*" (occurring in Vendidâd XIX. 9,) as if they were in the Nominative case, when in reality they are in the Locative, and the passage was rendered as if *Zravâna Akarana* had created Spenta Mainyu. The correct translation of the words is, however, as follows:—"*Spenta Mainyu* (Ormazd) made (the *Ahuna Vairya*) in Boundless Time."

In Yasna XIX., the question is asked:—"Which was the word, O Ahura Mazda, that Thou spakest, before the heavens, before the water, before the earth, before the animals, before the trees, before the fire, before the pure man, before the *Daevas*, before the whole material Universe?" and Ahura Mazda answered:—"It was the parts of the *Ahuna Vairya* that I spoke before the Heavens, before the waters, before the earth &c." Yasna XIX. contains a commentary on the *Ahuna Vairya*, a text looked upon as the *Verbum* or *Creative Word* of Ahura Mazda, before he formed the Universe. Now what is to be understood by the sentence in the Vendidâd, that Ahura Mazda made (spake) the *Ahuna Vairya* "in Boundless Time"! It was uttered before the creation of the Universe, and the beginning of a

Universe marks the commencement of Time, as we understand Time. There was nothing but Eternal Duration before the Universe was called into being.

We read in the *Dinkart*: "It is said in the good religion that that which rejoins its source by its progression, is Time; and that which leads from the lowest to the highest is the Path of Wisdom. As to Time, it is said, that it is in accord with the force of the motion proceeding from the Primal Source, and it moves in regular succession. The first work of the Creative Power of the Universe began with Time, and the end of such work pertains to the completion of the Limited Time of celestial Revolution. The end of Time is in the completion of planetary motion. All have to regenerate themselves by their own efforts in (reaching) Boundless Time. At the period of the Renovation, those that are in communion with the Deity will not have to journey again.

"The Dasturs assert that Time was originally Unlimited, but subsequently it came to have a limit. When this limit is reached, it will again act in Boundlessness. This is explained by saying that when the planetary bodies reach the end of their course, Time becomes lost in Limitlessness, and after the course of the planets is completed, there is again an effort to bring about a limit in Boundlessness. The Creative Power, it is said, is Unlimited in His wondrous Wisdom and by His abiding Force, He exists Eternally in Boundless Duration."

This passage is a most important one, and contains singularly suggestive and correct ideas. In the *Gâthâ ahînavaiti*, Zarathushtra prays:—"Teach Thou me, O Mazda Ahura! from what the world first arose" (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the Ormazd Yasht, 26, the answer to this question is given: "From my knowledge and my Wisdom the world first arose, and so will the world be to the end."

That the world had a beginning, and will have an end, and that it was brought into being, and is maintained by the Power and Wisdom of Ahura Mazda, is very clearly expressed in the Avesta. But how can the world come to an end, except by the withdrawal of the Power that gave it birth? This indrawing

¹ Rendered into English from the Gujarati translation of Dastur Peshotan Sanjana: "Dinkart", Vol. VI, p. 379.

of the Divine Power, dissolves the manifested world, all the principles and elements of which, having lost their polarity, subside into quiescence; cyclic Time ceases, and everything rests in *Limitlessness*—that mysterious state, of which a very faint notion is conveyed by the much misunderstood words *Zravâna Akarana*.

In the Avesta, *Zravâna* is viewed in two different aspects: first as *Zravâna Akarana* or Boundless Time, and secondly as *Zravâna Daregho Khadhâta*, or, the self emanating Time of the long period. According to the passage in the Dinkart, "Limited Time" which would more properly be called a cycle, an Age, or a Yuga, is the period during which a certain planetary revolution continues. The beginning and end of Time is no other than the commencement and the cessation of a planetary course. "Time", it is said, "was originally unlimited, but subsequently it came to have a limit", and when the end of that limit is reached, "it again acts in Limitlessness, and again there is an effort to bring about a limit." This statement in the Dinkart is a general outline of the law of successive cycles by which one Universe after another is called into being, completes its course, is dissolved, and after a period of rest, another Universe comes into existence. A universe lives during a *Zravâna Daregho Khadhâta*. It has its beginning in, and disappears into *Zravâna Akarana*. Unlimited Time, as also limitless Space are the aspects of the One Eternal, invisible, yet Omnipresent Divine Life, which is without beginning or end. This Divine Life is periodical in its regular manifestations, and in the period of rest between two such cyclic Manifestations, the conflict of duality is at an end. During these long periods of quiescence, subject and object, positive and negative, I, and Thou, are one. Universal life reigns supreme and Unbounded. Time in such a state is *not*. Limited cyclic Time has ceased to be. It is merged in Unlimitedness. There is, in such a state, no limited self-conscious existence to cognize Time. The sequences of events and phenomena, which help to produce the consciousness of Time, have ceased.

The One Infinite and Divine Essence exists eternally and is the All. It puts forth its manifestations—the Universes—in regular succession, with intervals of repose. As there is day and night, waking and sleeping, life and death, flow and ebb, so is it with the great cosmic manifestations. The Law of Periodicity is

Universal. It is the Law of the very existence of the Divine Essence. Every period of activity is followed by an equal¹ period of rest. There are major and minor periods of activity and of repose, and arrested manifestation re-begins its course — at the point where it had left off — in a new Universe. The One Eternal imperishable Spiritual Substance which underlies all manifestations and dissolutions, has been spoken of indifferently as either Space, Time, Matter, or Motion, but in reality it is incomprehensible in its essence. When the term *Zravâna Akarana* is discussed, some of our students become nervous, lest the *Zervanite* doctrine be found to have some basis of truth in it. It is true that in the later Avesta where the term occurs in a few places, "*Zravâna Akarana*" is not given any prominence; nevertheless, the words suggest a most profound idea, which has occupied the minds of the thoughtful in all ages.

Arising from the One Infinite Essence, which cannot be described, Ahura Mazda, marking out in Infinite Space the range of his activity, evolves a Universe, all the currents and energies in which proceed from His life. He pervades the whole of the Universe, and remains the God thereof. The Universe, however vast it may be, is limited in extent, and cannot fill the whole of Infinity, otherwise there would be two Infinities, which would be an absurdity. Ahura Mazda is *in relation* with the Universe and does not represent the Absolute in which there is *no relation*. Ahura Mazda may be looked upon as the personal God of the Universe, and this idea will satisfy the large majority, but those who carry their thoughts to their logical consequences, will ask the question — where is Ahura Mazda when the Universe has ceased to exist, and there is only the One Absolute All? At the end of a cosmic Cycle, the consciousness of the Lord thereof, is expanded and becomes one with the All. Matter, — so called — losing its qualities, vanishes, while all experience gathered up as memory, remains as potential modification in the expanded consciousness of the once Ahura, who will again become manifest, after a period of cosmic rest. Let each thoughtful student seeking knowledge, answer the question for himself, keeping an open mind, refraining from speaking prejudiciously of profound religious philosophies, which carry him beyond his preconceived notions.

It is said in the above-quoted passage from the *Dinkart* that "That which leads from the lowest to the highest is the Path of Wisdom, and all have to regenerate themselves by *their own efforts*, in reaching Boundless Duration (*Zravâna Akarana*), and at the time of the Renovation those that are in communion with the Deity will not have to journey again. "True Mazdean philosophy, does not hold out hopes to any one of the bestowal of special gifts. The "Path of Wisdom" excludes all narrow dogmatism and requires a receptive and tolerant mind that is ready to seek for knowledge wherever it may be found. The Path of Wisdom leads to an understanding of the laws of God, as they work on the higher planes, whether such laws be expounded in any particular religious book or not. Every man has, by personal effort, to win his upward progress towards spirituality, and nature gives the human Ego not only one, but numerous opportunities to further his development. It has been very characteristically said that "those who at the time of the Renovation are in communion with the Deity will not have to journey again". But what of those who unfortunately are not in such communion at the time? Evidently it seems to be suggested that such unprogressed ones will again have to journey through another cycle of Time, to gain that which they failed to obtain during the previous cycle.

At the beginning of cosmic evolution, the Universe lies concealed in the Divine thought, which has relation with the unaccomplished energies and activities of the past manifestation, and especially with the unfinished efforts of human Egos. *Causality* is as Infinite as *Time* and *Space*, and these three are different aspects of the Unlimited all-consciousness. Many minds are puzzled with the unending relations of all things and existences. To such, Ralph Waldo Emerson, speaking of "Time", very ingeniously says: "It will not be dissected, nor unravelled, nor shown. *This* refers to *that*, and *that* to the *next*, and the *next* to the *third*, and everything refers. Thou must seek to know the cause, in another mood. Thou must feel it, and love it, thou must behold it, in a spirit as grand as that by which it exists, ere thou canst know the Law."

N. D. KHANDALVALA.

ON THE SYMBOLISM OF THE DARUN.

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[illegible]

The odoriferous herb (the basil) is like a forest near the ocean and represents the spiritual crown. Other eatables, *i.e.*, things put on the *darun* are for the ceremonial of, and liberal offerings to, the angels and for the propitiation of the pious and reverential man. The three-fold *aesam* and *bôî* (sandal-wood and frankincense) represent *humata* (good thoughts), *hukhta* (good words) and *hvarshita* (good deeds), by practising which, the souls of the righteous have gone to the best existence (paradise). For every person (who participates in the *myazda* ceremony), there should be two-fold *urvarâm* in the *Urvarâm-gâh* (place for the *Urvarâm*).¹ He who takes the *Vâj* (*i. e.*, he who consecrates the *darun*) should offer him (the person participating in the *myazda*) the *châshni* (tasting) of the *darun* from the *Urvarâm*.² He who puts *Urvarâm* in the *myazda* (sacrificial repast) should not have, that day, the slightest fear of the *margarfân* sin (sin worthy of death).

The *châshni* (tasting) of the *darun* is a great meritorious deed and participation in a *myazda* (sacrificial repast) of the pious co-religionists is also a meritorious deed. When one wishes to consecrate *darun*, the place for the *darun* ceremony should be washed and (then) made use of. The place where one wishes to consecrate the *darun*, if it is pure, should be made use of and it (the *darun*) should be placed on a stand. The striking of the demons and fiends and the worship, propitiation and invocation of the angels is on account of the proper ceremonial formulas (*nirang*), and the power, great strength and exaltation of the spiritual (angels) arise from the protection of the creatures of Hormazd. This is also evident that every day, after sunset, the demons and fiends come out of hell to this earth like hair on the mane of a horse to harass the creatures of Hormazd. When they come as far as Mount Alborz, the spirit of the *darun* goes out to meet all these demons and fiends, annihilates them and such havoc is made among them that they fall down like hail and are withheld from coming to the earth and injuring

¹ Pahlavi: *Sapram*; P. اسپریم. This *asparam* represents the vegetable kingdom, otherwise known as *Urvarâm*. A pomegranate or a date is essential, now-a-days, for the representation of the vegetable kingdom in the *darun* ceremony.

² Cf. the legend about Zarathushtra, who, on finishing the *darun* ceremony, offered the pomegranate (*Urvarâm*) to Asfandiyar, son of Gushtasp, who, on tasting it, became invulnerable.

the creatures of Hormazd. Had it not been for the spirit of the *darun* all the demons and fiends would have made the creatures of Hormazd imperceptible and powerless. This is, therefore, owing to the power of the *darun* which is consecrated lawfully and completely and with proper religious formulas by a pious man. It is also evident that whoever consecrates an eatable thing, however little in quantity, in the name of (a person) however insignificant, the least meritorious deed (done by him in this case) is of 550 (stirs). This is also evident that a *myazda* for the great God and for the joy of the good symbolises the spiritual (repast), in as much as Hormazd sits therein with the archangels, as nothing proceeds from the archangels alone.

KAIKHUSRO DASTUR JAMASPJI JAMASP ASA.

MACARONICS AND BILINGUAL VERSES IN PERSIAN.

Macaronic verses, properly so called, are verses in which, along with Latin, words of other languages are introduced with Latin inflections. But the name has also been applied to verses which are merely a mixture of Latin and English, and by a further extension of meaning, to verses, mostly humorous, in which there is a mixture of any two languages.

In Persian poetry, even of the serious order, there are frequently to be met with lines that are purely Arabic, as such admixture of the two languages is not considered a defect. Occasionally Persian poets indulge in a species of poetical composition called the *مطلع* in which Persian and Arabic verses alternate. When, however, a language other than the Arabic is used along with the Persian, the medley is generally humorous. Specimens of such verses are occasionally to be found in the Persian poetry of India.

Amir Khusro, however, was the inventor of another description of bilingual verses in which the words could be read as Persian as well as Arabic, and at times Hindi, and in each case they could make sense. As this species of composition, styled by Amir Khusro himself as *ذو روینین* ("the owner of two faces)," and by some rhetoricians as *متفهم اللغتين* ("comprehending two languages") is one of the most difficult, the ideas expressed are, as may be expected, wanting in beauty and perspicuity. In fact, but for the art employed the verses might, not unjustifiably, be classed as '*Nonsense Verses*'.

The following is a specimen of Amir Khusro's art:

بہای خانہ داری بابہاکن ہواداری و نادانی رہاکن

If read as Persian, the lines mean: "Settle with Bahû (a person so named) the cost of house-keeping. Give up affection and folly."

The lines as *pronounced* are also Arabic, in which they make a different sense. Thus:—

بہا = My Bahâ.

خان داری = Was dishonest in my house.

بابہا = Be at the door of that house.

روادری = He came down to my house.

و نادانی = And he called out to me.

رہا کن = Be at the back (of the house).

In the following specimen of Amir Khusro, the verses when spoken, can be taken either as Persian or Hindi:—

ای ندیم بہا جان کسی ہم مولک دور جای بسی

If taken as Persian, the lines mean:—

“O companion of Bahâi, in every direction, (is) some one's soul but the places (are) very far off.”

To understand what the lines mean in Hindi, it would be better to transcribe them in Nâgari characters first:—

अर नदीमे बहाए जाने कसे ।

हमसु, लेक दूर जाय बसे ॥

The verses mean:—

“He strives with us to go away floating in this river, but he goes and lives afar.”

In both the above specimens the meaning, it will be observed, is bordering on nonsense.

There is, however, another variety of composition, called *ملحون* in which not the whole line but only a part can be read in two languages, and then the sense can be made elegant and witty, as in this further specimen from the same poet:—

دی روز برقم بگذار جویی دہم بہ آب زن ہندوئی

گفتم صنما بہا ہویت چہ بود فریاد برآورد کہ دَر دَر ہوئی

“Yesterday I went to the river bank, and saw close to the water a Hindu woman. I said, ‘O idol, what is the price of thy hair!’ She exclaimed, ‘Every hair a pearl's worth!’”

¹ Not as *written* because there is a slight difference of spelling.

² It should be noted that Persian writers of India make a distinction between the two sounds of *ی* viz., *e* and *i*, which those of Persia do not,

If the words underlined are read as Hindi हूँ हूँ मूँ, they mean, "Be off, be off, thou villain!"

Here is another specimen from an unknown writer:—

گفتم که درین خانه ما مور تو باشم گفتا که درین خانه بلا نیست ممانی

"I said, 'I want to live in this protected house of yours'; she replied, 'In this house there is a curse, do not stay'."

If the underlined words are read as Hindi the sense is:—

"I said: 'I want to live in the house of your maternal uncle'. She replied, 'In this house there is a curse, namely, the aunt'."

A combination of Persian with English has not, to my knowledge, been attempted before. The following lines, of the صالح type, are presented as an essay in this new direction. If interpreted as Persian altogether the lines suggest a state of things not to be found outside 'Alice in Wonderland'. It is only when the underlined words are taken as English words that the ordinary meaning is made clear. In the translation appended, the first column gives the former meaning, and the second the latter.

ماند در آن شهر او چندین زمان	1. ناجری از قَم باندن شد روان
پیش یاری زان زبان فریاد کرد	2. چون زبان اهل آنجا یاد کرد
اسپ چابک بر سر هر کار هست	3. گفت کینجا <u>مور</u> را گفتار هست
ملک می بخشد بچاه مردمان	4. گاو بر هر طرف می باشد چران
نی عجب کز تن جدا بی خون بود	5. ری بدینجا بین که گوناگون بود
لیک باشد ماست خوردن بس دژم	6. قوت مردم میل هست و شیر هم
پیل بسیار افکند ناله خوار	7. می گماران را بود با بار کار
شیر دلان در مکان دارند بیم	8. جامه بر شخص باشد پر ز بیم
گاه گفتن تنگ می گردد جهان	9. لنگ باید هر نفسی باشد روان
وزن ده کسی کمتر از یک تن بود	10. عاقلان را گوش بر سر تن بود
می فروشان خمر را در تن کنند	11. فصل تابستان سمر می زن کنند
چار مرجان را ببوسه پرورد	12. تیرزن قابل شود بر برب زنده
باری پی در تیره زاری دمه	13. کاردان طبّاح بین بالین پزد
زن چو خانه اش گشت آن که دم زن است	14. گلاب اینجا به لها در گلشن است

15. دین مردم می بود محتاج زر
مرف کن کسی نیست جز دریا مگر
16. پاس داران را بود هر جای بار
باربر را مونواشی گشت کار
17. فارس اینجا می توان دیدن میان
روم هم پیدا است اندر هر مکان
18. درد پیشی را مفید است آب دل
ماچیان را کار باشد آب و گل
19. می فروش از رم کنده ساکن بود
مرد پر سن غالبا خائن بود
20. رند چون بر نار باشد حاجب است
طول اگر دارد دروگر واجب است
21. در مشقت مرد شد بی کام و جست
عاقبت کم فرط می آید بدست
22. درس نم بر نف بود اطفال را
لک بود قسمت همایون فال را
23. در وفا باید دم شمشیر کین
با هم حقار باید اسب و زین
24. از دهان توپ زاید بوم و پیل
خوش بود سر بر زبان در قال و قیل
25. چون که نغمه سنگ گردد آن زمان
ورد دلخوش بر می آید از دهان
26. هم گراز بزم طرب خیزد سرود
بی گمان مرمر شود آن گاه رود
27. هر طبیبی کو ترا بخشد شفا
رود کوبه تا کزان سازد دوا
28. بست بیند مرد خیاطت اگر
شرط کرده کف نماید در نظر
29. گر بفر شخصی بگوید سینه پیچ
آن سوال از مپوه دان بیخی پیچ
30. هم مهار از کارد اندر دست بای
نیست آن جز رقععه در زیر خاک
31. نیم بخته گوشت گر اندر دن است
غم مخور هر چیز بهر خوردن است
32. چون بگور اندر سپید پست شد
می توان گفتن کمان در دست شد
33. گر بخوام یار را دعوت کنم
لازم است آن که سخن گفتن دو کم
34. لای کان خیزد ز فن خرم دلست
با کسی گفتن نشاید می و بدست
35. باده شه انگور چون که گشت مست
تبع را صیقل نکردی مست رست
36. کاربین در کار زار آید بکار
چون که شه نون شمس گردد تابدار
37. پولس گردد در بدست است استوار
نردبان بی رنگ نی آید بکار

38. شهرسواری بین که در مرکب بود عاشقانرا ذوق پسندی بس بود

39. گر بخوابی بیشتر زین داستان بار ما کوا بنر گوید عیان

TRANSLATION.

1. A merchant went from Kâm to London and in that city he stayed for some time.

2. When he learnt the language of the people of that place he complained about that tongue to a friend.

3. Said he: Here the ant is endowed with speech, and the active horse is at the lead of affairs!

4. The cow grazes in every direction, and bestows property on all men.

5. See, the veins here are of diverse colours, and, no wonder, they are separate from the body, and devoid of blood.

6. The food of men is skewers and also milk, but the drinking of whey is very difficult.

7. Wine-drinkers have to do with loads, and the orange-eater overthrows many elephants.

8. Every man has his garment full of silver. Lion-hearted men feel afraid in the house.

9. The lame man must be moving about every moment! At the time of speaking, the world becomes narrow, (*i. e.*, one feels miserable.)

3. Said he: Here the Moor is endowed with speech, and the active horse is in the front of every car.

4. The cow grazes on every turf, and gives milk to all men.

5. See, the rugs here are of diverse colours, and, no wonder, they are separate from the body, and devoid of blood.

6. The food of men is meal, and also milk, but the eating of a mast is very difficult.

7. Wine drinkers have to do with the bar, and the orange-eater throws away many peels.

8. Every man has his garments full of seams. Lion-hearted men have beams in their houses.

9. The lung must be in motion at every breath; at the time of speaking, it is the tongue that jumps about.

10. Wise men have on the head ears (weighing) one maund! The weight of ten persons is less than that of a single individual!

11. In the hot season thirty women engage in gossip, and vintners make wine in their bodies!

12. When the archer becomes expert, he plays on the harp, and he nourishes four coral pieces with a kiss.

13. The expert cuisinier cooks pillows, and the fat often grows in a kitchen-garden.

14. Here the rosebush is an ugly sight in the parterre. When a woman becomes silent, she boasts.

15. The peoples' Religion is in need of money, and no one does spending except the sea.

16. Those who keep vigils gain admittance everywhere. The work of porters has become that of hair-cutting.

17. One can plainly see Fars (even) here, and Rome also is visible in every house.

18. The water of the heart is a specific for the gripes. Fishes have need of water and clay.

19. The wine seller is stationary (even) if he takes to flight. A man full of years is generally dishonest.

20. When the profligate is

10. Wise men listen to sermons. The weight of ten persons is less than a ton.

11. They make summer season of the hot days. Vintners make wine in tuns.

12. When the archer becomes expert he hits the butt. The 'Charmer' nourishes life with a kiss.

13. The expert cuisinier cooks beans with the lean (of meat). Peas often grow in kitchen-gardens.

14. Here the rosebush in the parterre displays buds. When a woman becomes silent, she is a dumb woman.

15. The dean of the people is in need of money. None but the sea can make surf.

16. Those who hold a pass can gain admittance everywhere. The occupation of barbers is that of hair-cutting.

17. A farce can be easily witnessed here; also in every building is to be seen a room.

18. Dill-water is a specific for the gripes. Fishes have need of water and gills.

19. If the wine seller makes rum he is stationary. A man full of sins is generally dishonest.

20. When the rind is on the

in hell-fire he is a curtain-keeper. It is but proper that a carpenter should possess length.

21. In trouble the man became listless and he jumped up. In the end, abundance is less obtainable.

22. Children are taught 'Moisture on Heat'. A lac (of rupees) falls to the lot of the fortunate.

23. In battle is needed the edge of the sword of vengeance ; all the people present should have with them horse and saddle.

24. From the mouth of the cannon are born the owl and the elephant. In discussion it is pleasant to have the head on the tongue !

25. When a tune becomes petrified, a charming rose issues from the mouth at that time.

26. Also when music is struck up in a festive assembly, the river, no doubt, becomes marble at the time.

27. Every physician, who cures thee, pounds thy face to make medicine thereof.

28. If the tailor sees thee bound, he makes terms, and shows his palm.

29. If a person say to thee, 'Twist thy breast', know it to be nothing more than a query about a fruit.

pomegranate it serves the purpose of a curtain-keeper. It is but proper that a carpenter should possess tools.

21. When in trouble a man should be calm and just ; ultimately he will attain comfort.

22. The learning of numbers is tough for children. Luck is the lot of the fortunate.

23. In battle is needed the edge of a keen sword ; all the Hussars should be possessed of horse and saddle.

24. From the mouth of the cannon spring the boom and the peal. In discussion it is nice to have " Sir " on the tongue.

25. At the time that a tune is sung, charming words issue from the mouth.

26. Also when music is struck up in a festive assembly, no doubt a murmur at the time would be rude.

27. Every physician, who cures thee, pounds a root to make medicine thereof.

28. If the tailor sees thy bust, he makes a shirt, and shows the cuffs.

29. If a person say to thee, " Seen a peach ? " know it to be nothing more than a query about a fruit.

30. Also, thou needest not be afraid of a knife in the hand—it is nothing but a piece of paper under the dust.

31. If half-cooked meat is in the vat, do not grieve, as everything serves for food.

32. When a commander is laid low in the grave, it may be said that he passed off bow-in-hand.

33. When I want to invite a friend, it is essential for me to say two words less.

34. Boasting which springs from Science is merry-heartedness. One should never say to another, "thirty and two".

35. Grapes, when they become intoxicated, become wine; if the sword is not polished by thee, the intoxicated one escapes.

36. The inspector of works is of use in the battle. When the Sun becomes fish, it becomes hot.

37. If the bridge has many doors it is firm. A ladder without paint is of no use.

38. Look at the bold horseman who has some one in the head. The joy of existence is sufficient for lovers.

30. Also, thou needest not be afraid of a card under dust; it is nothing but a piece of paper beneath the dust.

31. If half-cooked meat is underdone do not grieve, for every kind of cheese serves for food.

32. When a commander is laid low in the grave, it may be said that the commander has become dust.

33. When I want to invite a friend, it would be proper for me to make use of the words, "Do come."

34. Laugh which arises from fun is merry-heartedness. One should never say to another "See, O boast!"

35. Grapes become wine when they become must.¹ If you polish not the sword it must rust.

36. The carbine is of use in the battle. When it is noon, the sun becomes hot.

37. The bridge has many girders, and is firm. A ladder without wrungs is of no use.

38. Lo, bold horsemanship is in the circus. A buss is the joy of existence to lovers.

¹ Wine or juice pressed from the grape but not fermented.

39. If you want more of this
account, our friend Kuka will
give it to you in plain words.

MEHRJIBHAI NOSHERWANJI KUKA.

AVESTA TEXTS.

I

၆၁၁၁၁. The adjective ဆုလေး in connection with the genitive is

² Altiranisches Wörterbuch, p. 1566; S. V.—~~...~~

* The Vendidad. A new edition, prepared by E. K. ANTIA, Bombay, 1901.

* Vendidad, Avesta Text with Pahlavi Translation and Commentary, and Glossarial Index, edited by Dastoor Hoshang JAMASP. Vol. I. The Texts. Vol. II. Glossarial Index. Bombay 1907.

* Kavāsji Edulji Kanga, A complete Dictionary of the Avesta Language in Guzerati and English, Bombay 1900, S. V. *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀*, p. 107, *𐬵𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀* p. 210. Cf. likewise his Guzerati Translation of the Vendidad, 2nd. ed., Bombay, 1894.

* HUEBSCHMANN. Zur Casuslehre, München 1875, p. 272.

* The Dīnā Ma'nū-i Khrat or The Religious Decisions of the Spirit of Wisdom, ed. by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay 1895. The passage runs thus: (Chap. 44, 18-20): «
 दधमसां धीतकलः द्वितीयो च उज्यकलः । तयेषु द्व्येमांसयोः उज्यकामिययोः शीतलं पय शीतला भूमिः
 शीतले वनस्पतिः ॥ (Vide SPIEG.) Commentar über das Avesta, I pp. 15-16, SPIEGEL die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, II, 63.

strange. Therefore, SPIEGEL considered 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 and 𐬀𐬀𐬎 to be *accusative pluralis* and accepted the reading 𐬀𐬀𐬎 , in conformity with the preceding words. This accusative of relation is not rare in the younger Avesta; Cf. SPIEGEL, *Altbaktr. Gram.* § 252, *Vergl. Gram. der altérân Sprachen* § 309. I shall compare as a parallel passage Vd. III, 110 = Westerg. Geldn. III, 32, 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎 . BARTHOLOMÆ (*AltWb*) p. 1657 takes 𐬀𐬀𐬎 as locative singular. This accusative of relation occurs sometimes also in Old Persian in such passages as Bh. I, 28: *Kambujiya nâma Kuraush putra*; II, 29: *Dâdarshish nâma Arminiya*. I see with SPIEGEL, GAEDICKE (*Der Accusativ in Veda* 19, Anm. 2, 216-218) and W. Foy¹, in *nâma* not an adverb, but an accusative of relation. In Greek the accusative *onoma* is applied in like manner. SPEIJER (*Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden, 1886) says with reference to this at p. 42: The accusative of the subst. नाम (name) is used as a particle in the sense of "namely", sometimes also it answers to the Greek *onoma*, "of name". Nala I, आसीद्राजा नलो नाम. With Lucian (Timon I, 2) the supreme god Zeus is called *psychros ten orgen*, literally: cold as to wrath, i.e., phlegmatic.

I am inclined to prefer the reading 𐬀𐬀𐬎 , not only having regard to the rules of syntax, but also on account of the metre. For if we read the passage thus, and insert a little above, the word 𐬀𐬀𐬎 , we have a strophe of four lines composed in the common octosyllabic metre of the younger Avesta.

𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎
 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎
 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎
 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎

I am firmly convinced that the first Fargard of the Vendidad contains likewise metrical pieces from the Irânian myth of the creation, as Fargard II, a chapter of mythical Irânian history, has many

¹ Cf. Indogerman. Forschungen 12, 172-178. W. FOY disputes the correctness of L. W. GRAY's opinion who in his article (*Ibid.* 11, 307-313) endeavoured to prove that in the Indo-German construction: proper name + *AI. nâma*, *Av. nâma*, *A.-P. nâmâ*, *Gr onoma* etc., the last word stood originally as an apposition to the first and that therefore it was not at all necessary to conceive it as an accusative of construction. FOY observes rightly that it is another question whether our accusative of relation (historically existing in various languages), originated pre-historically from an appositional position. The literature quoted by GRAY for this purpose is completed by FOY. BARTHOLOMÆ (*Alt. Wb.* p. 1064) is of opinion that this question is not yet solved.

note. I am of opinion that *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* is here the correct reading. Whether it may be brought together etymologically with N.P. *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* as the Pahlavi translator thinks, is questionable, but neither can I agree with the derivation of the word which JAMASP gives, who says: "I am inclined to suppose that the word here must originally have been *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* (root *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* to wane, to decline : hence meaning, a shade or shadow)". I ask, how is it possible that Ahura Mazda who creates only good things is to create "Vaêkereta of the evil shadows", be it that the mountains there give evil shadows or that the shadow of the trees is of bad influence to the human body by occasioning fever? (*Vide* DARMESTER, *Zend-Avesta* II, p. 10, note 22). By *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* we have to understand the "hedgehog", which, according to DARMESTER, is meant by *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* in Vendidad XIII, 2. On account of its prickles it used to be called facetiously *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎*. Cf. HUEBSCHMANN, *Armenische Grammatik* I, 142, 495; BARTHOLOMÆ *Air Wb.*, p. 755: *dush + aka*, having evil or bad prickles (?). Popular language has perhaps tried to express by this denomination a certain contrast to the name "*vangâpara*" in the religious code, because the first part of the compound was imagined to be the adjective *vangha*, good. Also JAMASP, *Vend.* II, Glossarial Index, says: "*vanghâpara*, comp. of *vangha*, good and *para*, wings;— of good wings." Therefore men who use the name *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* are called bad men (*Vend.* XIII, 3 *Spieg.* = XIII, 2., West. Geld: *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* . . . *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎*). In the same Fargard (4-9 Sp. = 2-1. W.G.) the hedge-hog is called a creation of Spenta Mainyu and a high punishment is decreed on any one killing it. It is the best known and from an anatomical point of view perhaps the most characteristic of the Insectivora. For it extirpates not only noxious insects as the evil fly etc., but even reptiles, as frogs, toads, and even venomous snakes do him no harm. It is indeed quite comprehensible, that in a country suffering much by the molestation of insects, the hedge-hog was early fostered and valued. I do not doubt, therefore, that in our passage we must understand by *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎* *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎*, a country—it is not certain which—

¹ Cf. HUEBSCHMANN, *Persische Studien*, Strassburg 1895. p. 72, No. 687. P. HORN, *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung* Bd. 33, 437 says: Auf einer lautangleichung an das zweite beruht das erste z in npers. *zâze*, gabri *fužik*, phlv. *zâzak*, aw. *duzaka* (schimpfname des igels wol mit volkeetymologischer anknüpfung an *dush*, *duz* "schlecht, übel"), statt *duzaka* "Stecher", vgl. nps. *dôzten* "durchbohren" *dôzene* "nadel".

where the hedge-hog was at home and perhaps even held as a domestic pet. Therefore, referring here to an *animal* it is very conveniently said 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 which is derived from *si*, to lie, for the hedge-hog lies in its hiding-place, while in the two other passages of this Fargard we find the equally fitting term 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 (from *shi*, to dwell), because it is the question of a country inhabited by *men*, by Sogdians and Hyrcanians. If we see even now in Europe after two thousand years of civilization, in spite of the knowledge of nature being propagated by the best writings accessible to every one, that an animal so useful as the hedge-hog is wantonly persecuted and killed, we must the more praise those ancient times and the wisdom of the precepts of the Vendidad for recommending the protection of this animal. DARMESTER says (Zend-Avesta II, p. 194; S. B. E. Vend., 2nd. ed., p. 156, note): "The hedge-hog, according to the Bund. XIX, 28, is created in opposition to the ant that carries off grain, as it says that the hedge-hog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants (Bund. XIX, 28; cf. Sad-dar 57). When the Arabs conquered Seistân, the inhabitants submitted on the condition that hedge-hogs should not be killed nor hunted for, as they got rid of the vipers which swarm in that country. Every house had its hedge-hog (YAQOUT, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 303). Plutarch (*Questiones Conviviales* IV, 5, 2) counts the hedge-hog amongst the animals sacred to the Magi."

III.

Vend. I, 49 (Spieg.)=I, 13 (Geldn.) Most of the Mss. with translation have 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 which is accepted by SPIEGEL, WESTERGAARD, ANTIA, and JAMASP (I, 14); only F gives 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 but all the Vendidad-sâdes give 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, which GELDNER has. Vend. V, 87 (Spieg.)=V, 28 (Geldn.) the Mss. with translation give 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 which SPIEGEL prefers; the Vendidad-sâdes again give 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, which GELDNER, ANTIA and JAMASP adopt; but, WESTERGAARD reads 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀.—Vend. XIV, 40 (Spieg.)=XIV, 9 (Westerg., Geldn.) the Mss. with translation have 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 with the exception of A, where we find 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, which WESTERGAARD and ANTIA have in their text, but the Vendidad-sâdes have again 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀. This is approved by GELDNER and JAMASP, while SPIEGEL prefers 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀. KANGA in his dictionary reads Vd. XIV, 9 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, I, 14 and V, 18 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀. From all this, it fol-

lows that the readings 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 which GELDNER has adopted in the quoted passages, are preferable. They are likewise confirmed by the Yashts. Also K. E. KANGA (Grammar of the Avesta language, p. 137) and JACKSON (Avesta Grammar, p. 108) give only the ordinal 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , while SPIEGEL (Vergleich Gramm. I. alter. Sprachen, p. 310) gives both forms 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 as equally well founded.

IV.

Vend. I, 72 SPIEGEL reads 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and likewise does GELDNER (I, 18). WESTERGAARD (I, 19) reads 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and says in a note that it is a correction. Also ANTIA and JAMASP read 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 . All the Mss. have 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 ; so has even K 9; only JP 1, P 10, J6 have 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 . In the gloss to this passage we find a quotation that by mistake came to be inserted also into the text of several Vendidad-sâdes. K 9 justly omits it, and so do GELDNER and JAMASP. SPIEGEL gives it as follows: $\text{𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀}$. Here the two best Mss. have 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , an unimportant one 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , another equally unimportant one 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , but the Vendidad-sâdes have 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , the last word varying in the Mss. between 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 .

This word occurs again in Yasna LVĪ, 11, 6 (Spieg.)=LVII, 29 (WESTERG. GELDNER). There the old Ms. has 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , but others 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 or 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and K 4 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 . In a fourth passage, Yt. X, 104 GELDNER reads with most Mss. 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 which is so corrected pr. m. in K 15 from 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 ; two Mss. have 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , P 13 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 . Likewise, GELDNER has in Yt. VIII, 32 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 with J10, whereas most Mss. have 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , K 12 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and K15 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 . Accordingly the readings 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 seem to be the best confirmed, but so is also 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 . Something may be said in favour of each of these three readings. In favour of 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 we have (1) the Old Persian *Hindush* as Darius writes, and the Greek *India*; (2) the Neo-Persian هند (coll. هند and هند), کهند , سهند ; (3) the Ind. सिन्धु . In favour of 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 we have the Hebrew הַיְדוּ (from הַיְדוּ), which can only have originated from this form.¹ It occurs

¹ Among the Aramean words from the Targumim quoted by DALMAN, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* 1901, with the Avestic 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 agree the words הַיְדוּ , הַיְדוּ , Indian, הַיְדוּ , Est. II, 8, 33, הַיְדוּ , India, but analogous to the Pahlavi words 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 , we have

in the Old Testament: Esth. I, 1; VIII, 9. As to *hendu*, the reading is not only recommended by the authority of the Mss., but also by the circumstance that often in the Avesta before a nasal + consonant we find *t* for *j*. It is not without interest to know these cases, as in the following words; Yt. VIII 23. *hendu* (GELD.), but J10 has *hendu*, K15 corrects *hendu* into *hendu*, Yt V, 95 *hendu* for *hendu*, Yt. V, 130 GELDNER reads *hendu*, J10 has *hendu*. Vend. VI, 1—4. GELDNER, ANTIA, and JAMASP read *hendu*, SPIEGEL gives *hendu* Yasna XXIII, 2 (Spieg.)=XXIII, 1 (Geldn.) SPIEGEL and GELDNER read *hendu*. Also Vend. II, 17 (GELDNER)=II,30(Spieg.) the Mss. vary between *hendu* and *hendu* and *hendu*. More examples are given by BARTHOLOMÆ (Air.Wb. p. 1814, s.v. *hindar*, *hendar*). The change between *t* and *j* in Avesta and in other languages has been copiously treated by me in my article: Contribution à l'interprétation de l'Avesta pp. 591-96 in the Review: Le Muséon III. pp. 574-600 and in the CAMA Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1900, pp. 43-44.

For these reasons I believe that OLSHAUSEN (1829) and, later on, SPIEGEL and GELDNER (Vend. I, 18) were right in adopting in their texts the well founded reading *hendu*. The Syrians likewise write *hendu*. But I am very far from believing these forms so variable with regard to their vowels to be mere grammatical fictions. They are certainly as old as our manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from 1323 A.C. I am of opinion that they had their origin in the dialectical conditions under which they were written, and in this circumstance lies to a certain degree their right of existence. The Vendidad-sâdes written in India have for example *hendu*, where the Ms. K9 written in Persia has *hendu* like the Mss. with translation. May it not be that forms like *hendu* (Yas. LVII, 29) might have arisen in a similar way as to-day in Bombay the vowel which in the Parsee prayers is pronounced as *u* by the Shahanshâhs and as *ee* by the Kadmis? (Cf. Dosabhai Framji KARAKA, History of the Parsis, Vol. I, p. 116.) As the spelling varies in the Mss. in details and is not always fixed, so the pronunciation likewise used to vary. The same is the case even to-day in the Irânian dialects. With regard to

the Aramean words *hendu*, *hendu*, Koh. 2, 5, *hendu*, Jonathan Targumim Genes. 1, 10, 10.) *hendu* Est. II, 1, 14: Indian and India.

euphony, orthoëpie and orthography. But one may well ask whether forms like *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀* which must be conceived in Vend. III, 12, and VIII, 14 as *nominativi pluralis*, and in III, 8, 36 as *accusativi pluralis*, deserve to be adopted into the text. For the properly constructed current forms occurring, e.g., in Vend. VI, 1 and elsewhere in the Avesta are *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀* *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*. A. MEILLET has recently discussed this question in the *Journal Asiatique* (Mai-Juin 1908: *Une fausse lecture de l'Avesta*, pp. 520-521). I agree entirely with his deductions. It might be argued that the forms in question are constructed analogously to the flexion of the demonstrative pronouns, but this is, as MEILLET justly thinks, an arbitrary supposition. He believes these forms to be erroneous and endeavours to prove from the ancient Pahlvi letters, that the form *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀* owes its existence to a very early confusion of two very similar letters. I believe that he has succeeded in proving this. But I should like to point out here, that the so greatly differing, and sometimes such strange readings of the Avesta Mss. are due, not only to the ignorance and carelessness of the copyists, but often also to their incorrect hearing. This has been already proved by R. ROTH¹ for the Veda Mss. We must suppose, that like these, also the Avesta Mss., were written down as they were dictated.

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¹ Cf. *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, XXV, pp. 229-231. A. WEBER: *Indische Studien*, X, 128-135. H. ZIMMER: *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin 1879, p. 210. A. Ludwig, *Rigveda III*, 70-99. Max Müller, *Vorlesungen über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Religion*. Strassburg 1880, pp. 183-191. ZDMG. Bd. 48. ZVgl. 26, 45.

ASTVAT ERETA.

Among the theological names of Zarathushtra's three future sons, the second; UKHSHYAT-NEMAH, admits no doubt as to its meaning which is that of "The Increaser of prayer (or worship)". The Pahlavi translation of the name of the first one, UKHSHYAT-ERETA, confirms the supposition that the first part of this name *Ukhshyat* has the same signification as in the second name. The Pahlavi text gives *Vakhshîntâr-i âharâyih*, "The increaser of Righteousness", *ereta* in UKHSHYAT-ERETA being an Irânian equivalent of the Sanskrit *rita*, and identical with the Avestan *Asha* or *Arta*.¹

It is not likely that *ereta*, in the third name ASTVAT-ERETA should have another meaning than in the first one. Accordingly, M. Bartholomæ translates: "Der das leibhaftige Recht ist". But the three names being evidently fashioned after the same scheme, one expects in the first half, *astvat*, of the third name a verbal form analogous to *ukhshyat* and not the well known adjective *astvant*, "corporeal", which is supposed also in the Avestan explanation of the name ASTVAT-ERETA in the Farvardin Yasht, § 129. One is tempted, indeed, to connect this *astvat* with *staomi* and to translate "praiser of Righteousness", or in a causative sense, "The one that causes Righteousness to be praised". I am aware that the initial *a* ought in that case to be long. But that objection could not be said to be necessarily fatal to the etymology I have suggested. Thus the three expected saviours should be called respectively:

The Increaser of Righteousness,
The Increaser of Prayer,
and The Praiser of Righteousness.

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¹ See my book, "*La vie future*" d'après le Mazdéisme, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, *Bibl. d'Etudes* IX, p. 252 f., and Chr. Bartholomæ, *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, p. 10 ff.

VERMIN AND HOLINESS.

Mahavira endured gnats with patience, although they tormented his body. According to the Acharanga Sutra, 8, his disciples, the Jaina monks, were not allowed to kill crawling animals that ate their flesh and blood, or even to rub the wound made by them. Although vermin destroy the body, the monk must not change his position. In the Majjhima-Nikaya 12, Buddha says that dirt and filth clung to his body for years during his ascetic period before falling away. It is not asceticism but mercy that makes the Bodhisattva shake off the fleas before jumping in the fire, in order to prepare meat for the hungry. Amongst modern Sannyasins, the Saivas are renowned for tolerating dirt and vermin. The great Farid ad din Attar¹ in the excuse of the second bird makes a pious Sufi regard fleas and flies that disturb him day and night as sent by the divine friend.

In the Græco-Roman world, the Cynics were the foremost representatives of holy filth. But the asceticism of the Middle Age in Europe surpassed them. The monks of the murdered Thomas à Becket in the cathedral of Canterbury, marvelled at the sight of the vermin swarming on the haircloth, which "was boiling over with them, like water in a simmering caldron". They did not know that he was such a Saint. St. Francis, according to the *Speculum Perfectionis*, "was no enemy of these insects, but he carried them on himself and considered it an honour to have those heavenly pearls in his dress". Suso, in his autobiography, tells how terribly he was tortured by insects, wriggling like a worm night and day. But he tied his hands to prevent himself from trying to get rid of them in his sleep. Cardinal Bellarmine showed his patience in letting vermin bite. But his argument was very different from any Indian *ahimsa* or from the belief in Transmigration. We shall have heaven as a reward for our sufferings, but these poor beings are restricted to the joys of this life.

These few instances of the revolting but significant chapter on

vermin and holiness may illustrate the *khrafstra*-killing holiness of the Avesta (Vendidâd XIV, etc.)

NATHAN SÜDERBLOM.

THEOPOMPUS AND THE AVESTAN AGES OF THE WORLD.

Plutarch, writing in the first century after Christ, quotes Theopompus, the historian of Philip of Macedon, from about 300 B. C., concerning the "Magian" conception of the history of the world :

Θεόπομπος δὲ φησὶ κατὰ τοὺς μάχους ἀνὰ μέρει τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἅλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἑτεροντίλος δὲ πολεῖσθαι τὸν "Διὸν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῇ δεομένους μήτε σκιάν ποιούντας, τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανασόμενον θεὸν ἡρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον καλῶς μὲν οὐ πολὺν τῇ θεῷ, ὥσπερ δ' ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον.

The idea attributed by Theopompus to the Magians may be rendered in this way:—

"1. One of those gods reigned and the other was under his dominion during three thousand years. 2. During another three thousand years they battle and fight and destroy each other's works. 3. At the end, Hades (=Angra Mainyu, originally, probably, a god of the lower regions) succumbs, and men shall be happy, needing no food and throwing no shadow.—The god who has brought about these things (=the defeat of Angra Mainyu and the happy state of mankind) keeps still and reposes himself during a period not very great for the god, as (it would be) moderate for a sleeping man."

The last words are bad Greek, and must have been corrupted in some way. But no one of the various conjectures, made in order to correct them, seems very satisfactory. As to the repose of Ahura Mazda after the consummation of the destiny of the world, such an idea is not necessarily inconsistent with the opposition of the *Shikand Gúmanik Vijár* to the Jewish doctrine of a rest of the Creator after the Creation. But we know nothing of a divine repose after the *Frashôkereti*. Has Theopompus confounded Ahura Mazda with Keresâspa sleeping on the plain of Peshyansâi, or with Saoshyant, yet lingering in the Prophet's holy seed in the lake Kânsava, or with Yima preserved in his *vara* from the great winter ?¹

It is quite conceivable that some misunderstanding was per-

¹ Then one would read καλῶς μὲν οὐ πολὺν instead of καλῶς μὲν οὐ πολὺν : "a rather considerable time, but moderate for a god as well as for a man who is sleeping".

petrated by Theopompus or by Plutarch in quoting him. But as far as I can see, the context excludes the introduction of a *third* god, after the two superhuman rivals spoken of.

In an able treatise on *La Religion des Perses*, published in the *Revue biblique* in 1904, Father Lagrange ingeniously suggests that the god, "*qui a combiné cela*" (μηχανησάμενον), means Yima, who has taken a rest in his *vara*. But there is no question of rest or repose in the Iranian legend of Yima. And no attentive reader of this passage can understand τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεόν otherwise than as meaning one of the two gods τὸν μὲν . . . τὸν δὲ . . . τῶν θεῶν mentioned above.

M. Lagrange who, by the way, evidently takes Bernardaki's reading ἄλλος instead of καλῶς for the text, understands the first part of Plutarch's quotation from Theopompus in a way contrary to the Zarathushtrian doctrine of the history of the world. He understands ἀνὰ μέρος in the beginning of the quotation as indicating *two* periods, one with Ahura Mazda as ruler, another with Angra Mainyu as ruler, and translates: "Théopompe dit que, selon les Mages, l'un des deux tour à tour domine et l'autre est vaincu pendant trois mille ans; pendant trois autres mille ans on lutte et on se fait la guerre" It is possible to translate ἀνὰ μέρος in that way, which should indicate (1) 3000 years of Ahura Mazda's government, (2) 3000 years of Angra Mainyu's government, (3) 3000 years of fight, before the defeat of Hades (Angra Mainyu) and the happiness of mankind. But, as the phrase runs, it is more natural to apply the two "turns" to the two different trimillenniums mentioned. Ἀνὰ μέρος belongs to both the following statements. The first "turn" of the two gods' relation is indicated by τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατῆσθαι: one of the two gods was ruling and the other (Angra Mainyu) was under his dominion during three thousand years.¹ The second "turn" comes in with μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν: they fight in another 3000 years.

According to the well-known scheme of the Būdahishn, another trimillennium is added to those two, the epoch beginning with Zara-

¹ M. Lagrange, *La Religion des Perses*, *Revue biblique*, 1904, p. 35, note 3, writes: "Söderblom (*La Vie Future*, p. 244) a fait un véritable contresens ou négligeant cette période contenue dans les mots ἀνὰ μέρος." I hope, he will find now, that I have not neglected his second period, but that the more natural interpretation of ἀνὰ μέρος which excludes it, seems not to have occurred to him.

thushtra and designated as the triumph of God. It corresponds to Theopompus' words: *ταύτας δ' ἀπολείπεισθαι τὸν "Αἰδον"*, etc. With Theopompus it is not an epoch but an end. A Greek writer, as well as a modern writer, would rather understand the actual age as a fight between the Good and the Evil one, than as the triumph of God. But the passage shows us that the three last periods of the four, mentioned in the Būndahishn, were generally accepted as a Mazdayasnian doctrine already about 300 B. C. An extant Avesta fragment quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad II, 20 runs: "How long time lasted the holy spiritual creation, *mainyava stish ashaeni*"? Thus the complete Sāsānian Avesta knew also the first one of the four great ages of the universe.

Theopompus' statement agrees with the general view of the other records about Mazdayasnian chronolgy. Only the final rest of the god remains a puzzle.¹

UPSALA.

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

¹ For further discussion, see my article on "Ages of the World, Zoroastrian", in Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics", Vol. I.

ARDAE VIRAF AND HIS TRANCE.

In an age of reason people expect to have a rational explanation for every phenomenon that occurs in this world. Psychology and kindred sciences which try to explain and assign a reason for all the supramundane phenomena which occur at the present time in different parts of the world, as they have occurred again and again in the past, are however, still in their infancy. Still, as regards particular kinds of phenomena there is a strong consensus of opinion that they are genuine, and that they cannot be explained on the supposition of the action of any of the five senses. But when they come to assign a reason for the same as to how they occur, there is a difference of opinion, and two theories have been put forward as to their possible solution. One is that they are the result of the working of the hitherto unmanifested powers of the soul, or, as Myers has termed them, the subliminal consciousness of man. (See "The Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death.") It is there stated that our work-a-day consciousness is only a part of the larger consciousness that generally lies hidden below the threshold, as it were, but which at times spontaneously manifests itself above it, and at others has been artificially made to so rise up. The other theory is that these phenomena are due to the spirits of the dead or of "other intelligences" which are said to inhabit the universe.

It is not necessary to enter in detail into these two theories, but it will be enough to say that the phenomena of telepathy or thought transference and hypnotism have been almost unanimously vouched for as genuine. "These two subjects, Telepathy and Hypnotism", says Mr. Edward T. Bennett, a former Assistant Secretary to the Society for Psychical Research, in his "Twenty Years of Psychical Research", "have been rescued from the outside wilderness, and brought within the circle of scientific investigation as real and legitimate branches of enquiry." He goes on to say that "a result of this will be that the rising generation of literary and scientific students will grow up in the mental attitude towards

Telepathy and Hypnotism that they are problems to be faced, not superstitions or myths to be ignored."

For the purpose of the present paper we have to deal in the main with hypnotism, and we shall therefore try to understand it from that epoch-making work of Myers, already quoted above. Hypnotism proper is a state in which the "Subject" or hypnotised person is insensible to pain, and is not able to make any voluntary use of any part of his body. This state is brought about by means of suggestion on the part of the hypnotiser. And, as Myers explains, suggestion from without resolves itself into suggestion from within. That is, unless there is some telepathic or super-normal influence at work between hypnotiser and patient, the hypnotiser can do nothing merely by his word of command. He thus defines suggestion as "successful appeal to the subliminal self".

But, although the nervous system, on the one hand, is in this state unfit for its usual work and renders the hypnotised person incapable of pain, yet, on the other hand, it is quite as active and vigorous as ever,—quite as capable of transmitting and feeling pain—although capable also of inhibiting it altogether. The hypnotic subject is, as he says, above pain instead of below it.

It will be seen that Mr. Myers thus opens a wider question, namely of the possibility in this state of a greater display of the subliminal consciousness of the self—of the subliminal processes of thought. While the ordinary or the supraliminal consciousness is deprived of its activities, room is opened for the development of higher powers inherent in the soul, that is, of telepathy, tælesthesis, and ecstasy. It is in states of trance or ecstasy that the soul is said to have knowledge of things distant or things hidden, can foretell the future and read the past as an open book. It is true that in some cases the body in the trance state is said to be "invaded" by another personality, and then whatever in that state is said or written is ascribed to the influence of that personality.

But in this connection it must be remembered that it is by no means true that every body who enters into the hypnotic state has thereby been suddenly turned into an angel, and that whatever is written or uttered by him in that state or thereafter is to be

taken as gospel truth, or that it represents the true state of affairs.

The human mind is generally very prone to the miraculous, and it is necessary that in investigations of this kind, the greatest care is taken at every step, especially to guard against fraud or deception. How very necessary this is for the untutored mind, will be evident from the following weighty words of Myers. "I propose to indicate in Appendices (923 A and B) some of the work which the Society for Psychical Research has done in exposing and guarding against fraud and credulity ; and I further refer my readers to a forthcoming book by my friend and colleague, Mr Podmore, in which the imposture which has dogged so called "Modern Spiritualism" from its inception will be exposed with a distinctness which needs must be salutary." And a perusal of that book styled "Modern Spiritualism : a History and a Criticism" in two volumes will go a great way in convincing the reader of the truth of the above remarks by Myers.

But even where there is no evidence or possibility or even necessity for fraud or deception, there is still the same necessity to be on one's guard against a possible source of error, which, if admitted, will vitiate the whole proceedings and render the result worthless in the eyes of thinking men. That error consists in a belief that whatever is received in that state comes from without and from sources other than one's own mind or that of the hypnotiser, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is in most cases a reproduction, in a more or less amplified form, of whatever has been read, heard or seen by the recipient. It is said that whatever has thus been received by the mind, even when it has not taken up a definite place in the normal consciousness, but has been forgotten, is always stored and hidden in one or other of the different strata of consciousness, till such time as on occasions of stress or under certain unusual circumstances, as the hypnotic state, it has been heaved up again, and becomes once again the acknowledged property of the waking consciousness.

It will thus be seen that every information which has been once received by the soul, has its use either now or in the near or distant future, in this or in the other life, and it shows the necessity of acquiring knowledge from every possible source, side by side with the development of one's own moral nature. This is

expressly enjoined in the Zoroastrian religion. Mere "dry piety", as the Persians would call it, is not of much avail.

VIRAF AND HIS TRANCE.

We now come to the subject proper of our paper. It is stated in Chapter I. of the *Viráf Námáh* that the Zoroastrians of that period were very shaky in the matter of their religious beliefs, and that it was therefore deemed necessary to bring them round to their former faith by means of a miracle, if possible. A preliminary council of some thousands of Zoroastrian priests from all parts of Irán was called in the fire-temple of Ádar Fróbâg, and they finally selected from among them Ardâs Viráf to take up that responsible task. That task consisted in exploring the spiritual regions in order to find out whether their popular beliefs were justified by what he saw there. Viráf, after performing certain ceremonies, and having taken a draught of wine and *many* (a kind of intoxicating drink), fell into a trance, and remained in that state for seven days and nights, apparently as one dead. In that state, his soul traversed the spiritual regions. This trance seems to have been induced by self-suggestion from himself, and accelerated by the drink of wine and *many*. Instances of such self-induced hypnotic state have been recorded by Mr. Myers in Chapter V. of his famous work. "Who could have thought", says he, "that a healthy under-graduate could by an effort of mind throw his whole body into a state of cataleptic rigidity, so that he could rest with his heels on one chair and head on another, and remain suspended in that condition? or that other healthy young persons could close their own eyes so that they were unable to open them, and the like?"

So far, then, even as regards Viráf, we have been on safe ground, on ground that falls legitimately within the sphere of scientific investigation. But when we come to the result we are thoroughly disappointed.

VIRAF AND HIS EXPERIENCES IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.

We have already alluded to a possible source of error that enters into such psychic phenomena. We have referred to the law of suggestion operating and vitiating the whole proceedings and thus rendering any attempt at finding out the truth, abortive. This is so in many cases, and it is therefore necessary that indivi-

dual cases must be judged on their own merit. Many of the trance utterances that proceed from the subliminal consciousness, or that purport to come from discarnate spirits, have, on analysis, been found to be a mere reflex, in a more or less amplified state, of the previous knowledge on the part of the recipients. The writings of Swedenborg, for instance, have been quoted as having been vitiated by his own pre-conceived ideas and fancies in favour of particular doctrines. As Myers has put it, "the spiritual meaning which Swedenborg draws from every word of the Old Testament by his doctrine of correspondences is not only a futile fancy, but a tissue of gross and demonstrable errors. And yet, on the face of it, was not all this error more amply accredited than any of the utterances of possession or the recollection of ecstasy which I shall be able to cite from modern sensitives?..." Mr. Podmore also in his "Modern Spiritualism" gives a whole list of such writings with extracts from them, and shows how they, purporting to represent things as they obtain in the spiritual world, are merely a reproduction of the prevalent ideas on the subject. We shall not refer here to the writings produced before a gaping multitude by means of fraud or deception, as we are not concerned with them here.

On the seventh day Viráf's soul is said to have re-entered his body, and Viráf himself stood up as if nothing had happened, showing no signs of worry or fatigue. One peculiarity about his trance is its long duration of seven days. There has been perhaps no other instance recorded of a trance lasting for such a long time. Was it not possible for Viráf to have seen what he saw in much less time? The experiences recorded in the book are not of such a character as would require such a long period. This is the initial difficulty. But the difficulty may perhaps be explained away on the supposition that the people had to be impressed with the idea that his soul had actually to pass through so many material heavens and hells. It may be that the people of those days were beginning to lose their faith in such material heaven and hell, rewards and punishments, and to think that they should be rather of a subjective than an objective nature, and that it was the object of the learned Dasturs to prop up their waning faith in the popular ideas about heaven, hell, resurrection etc. (See Chap. V). If this surmise be correct, then the matter assumes quite a different aspect

altogether, and the whole affair then might appear as a kind of a pious fraud perpetrated with an object in view, and that, a good one. But we cannot merely on this ground throw the whole case away. We have seen that trance cases are genuine; and if Viráf passed into that state in the presence of a whole multitude, as related in the Viráf-Nâmâh, we have no reason to doubt that statement, unless we consider that all the observers were made dupes of a daring fraud.

When the seven days' trance was over, Viráf called an amanuensis by his side, who took down in writing, in the presence of all, his experiences of the other world. Here again appears another difficulty of a kind, but which can be explained away. Generally, trance utterances are made or automatically written while that state lasts. But Viráf's experiences were dictated after the trance in his waking state by his conscious self. This indicates a higher stage of development, where one is able to remember in the waking state his experiences in the trance, unlike others who, on waking, recollect nothing of what had happened in the other state. This has to be explained. It is an acknowledged fact that suggestions made during the hypnotic state by the hypnotiser have been faithfully carried out by the hypnotised in the waking state. For instance, if it is suggested to the hypnotised that on a particular date he should open a particular room, sit in a chair and read a given book, he will do all that in the same sequence at the appointed time and place without fail. Working upon this peculiarity of the hypnotic state, we might say that just as Viráf had by means of self-suggestion produced on himself the hypnotic state, so also he had further suggested that he should on waking recollect all that had happened during that state. If Viráf was able to do that, it re-supposes a high order of development.

But unfortunately, as said above, when we look to the result of all this, we are thoroughly disappointed. No new laws, no new mysteries have been brought to light and explained, as prevailing in the spiritual world, nothing to which we can give a moment's consideration, except a re-iteration of the oft-quoted saying that as you sow, so shall you reap. It is not necessary to enter in detail into his experiences. They are, for the most part an account of rewards and punishments after death of an objective rather than of a subjective

kind. And the one gratifying feature of these experiences is that these rewards and punishments are generally in due proportion to good or evil deeds, and mostly of a corresponding nature. For instance, a wicked woman was seen with her tongue hanging out from her neck, instead of from the mouth, because she was while on earth in the habit of quarrelling with, and otherwise ill-treating her husband. A wicked man was nourished with human flesh mixed with blood, hair and other impurities, as he was in the habit of throwing human hair and other impure things in the midst of fire and water.

Among his other experiences may be mentioned the famous Chinvat Bridge, which according to popular belief the souls of the pious dead have to cross before entering heaven, but which the wicked ones are unable to cross and consequently they fall into the hell below. The souls of the former were heard repeating the famous Gâthic text *Ushtë Ahmâi Yahmâi Ushtë Kahmâichit*, meaning "Happiness to him from whom happiness is unto all": while those of the latter were heard uttering in despair the *Kâm Nemâi Zâm* asking as if in bewilderment, "to what lands" shall they turn. Virâf also saw the *Kerdâr* of a pious soul in the form of a beautiful maiden who, as she said, was made more beautiful by his good thoughts, words and deeds as also that of a wicked one in the form of an ugly looking woman. He further saw the golden scale in the hands of Rashnu the Just, in which the good and evil deeds of the dead were weighed; also the three stages of heaven and the fourth, the Garothmân Behesht — the *Garô-Demâna* of the Gâthâs — the abode of Ahura Mazda. Not unlike the furniture of Swedenborg's heaven were to be seen in Virâf's heaven, golden chairs, rich carpets, beautiful cushions etc., for the souls of the pious to rest, in perfect happiness and in light, whereas, on the other hand, the darkness in hell was so dense and thick that it could even be grasped by the hand, and the unfortunate inmates though so close to one another, could not see each other's faces. They, moreover, felt so lonely that a day appeared to them as if nine thousand years had passed, — the period after which resurrection of the dead is supposed to take place. Ahriman, the supposed author of all the mischief in this world, while we alone are to blame for it on account of our ignorance or want of knowledge, was also seen gloating over

the fall of man and his miseries in hell.

It may be granted that in publishing these experiences the central idea was to convey a moral, but it is none the less true that they were given out in such a garb as would strengthen the popular belief in material heaven and hell, and in rewards and punishments of an objective rather than of a subjective nature.

Before being allowed to return to the earth, Viráf was allowed a sight of Ahura Mazda who appeared to him not in the form of a person but as an orb of light. And as if to remind us of Zarathustra's allegorical mention of the "tongue of His mouth", we are told that a voice was heard issuing from that light, and commanding him to tell the people of the world that there was "Only one Path—the Path of Righteousness, and that all the other paths were false". It also told him to exhort the people to remain firm in the Zoroastrian faith.

We have come to the end of our paper, and here we naturally ask the question whether Viráf's soul really exploited the spiritual regions, or was it that he simply entered into a real hypnotic state, and there the matter ended, and what followed was simply a reproduction of his own ideas on certain matters of religious faith? Judging from the result, I am inclined to believe that the latter was the case. No new laws of nature have been brought to light, and no new mysteries have been solved. Looked at from this point of view, the result is a huge failure; though, if we can transport ourselves to those far off times, and bring ourselves in unison with their hopes and fears, and the urgency of their needs and wants, we can safely say that it was a grand success, and must have brought many of the wavering souls back to their faith in the Zoroastrian religion. All honour, then, to those concerned, for bringing about this happy result.

SORABJI NAOROJI KANGA.

ZOROASTRIANISM IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE.

It is often urged that religion and science are two conflicting things, one requiring blind belief, whereas the other, reasoning and logic. A true religion, however, should in no way be opposed to the established principles of Science, but on the contrary, should be a complete embodiment of scientific principles, in the form of religious precepts, intelligible as far as possible to the great masses of the people. Such a religion would at once be acceptable to the philosophic brain of a Mill or a Tolstoy or to the scientific turn of mind of a Kelvin or a Huxley. At the same time, it would not fail to bring the greatest good to the greatest masses of the people, by initiating them into practising, perhaps unconsciously, the great hygienic principles of modern science. It is the object of this essay to discuss, to what extent the religious philosophy, explained and propagated by Zoroaster, in its purest and most beneficial form, can approximate to our ideal of truly scientific theology.

When we examine the Zoroastrian Scriptures, we find in them important hygienic and sanitary principles laid down as religious precepts in a very early period of the evolution of modern civilization, — principles which were absolutely unknown even to the scientists of the first half of the nineteenth century. We find in them, for example, a severe condemnation of the pollution of rivers and flowing streams, which is going on even at present, in the most civilized parts of Europe and America, and which, according to the report of the River Pollution Commission of England, is the cause of very frequent outbreaks of epidemic diseases and immense human sufferings. We find in that very early part of history, when people knew next to nothing of hygiene, Zoroastrian tenets vigorously impressing upon the mind of people, the supreme necessity of keeping flowing waters free from any sort of contamination. We cannot properly realise the full significance of this precept, till we remember that in a civilized country like England, it was so late as 1876, that the River Pollution Act became law. We

find in the Vendidad, a severe condemnation of people who would pollute flowing waters and in the Ardvisur Nyâish, we find Ahura Mazda, the Omniscient Creator, depicted as saying that the flowing waters were for the *prosperity* of cities and countries.

But what strikes us most is the full knowledge and firm grasp, in those days, of the famous "Germ theory of diseases" which is so clearly expressed in the Vendidad, but which was not even well understood by the leading medical men of the nineteenth century. In the Avesta we find Ahura Mazda, the Creator, distinctly saying that the pollution of rivers gives rise to the development and *multiplication* of poisonous *germs* and thereby to the spread of diseases. (Vendidad VII, 26.) Now the modern "Germ theory" says that micro-organisms of infectious diseases, possessing independent existence and having the power of enormously multiplying themselves under favourable conditions, are given off from all diseased and dead bodies. These germs get introduced into healthy bodies by direct contact or by some other means. On this point, we find most stringent precepts in the Zoroastrian Sanitary Code. When a Zoroastrian touches a dead body, he is strictly enjoined not to mix with society, until he goes through what is popularly known as the "*Rîman Barashnum*" ceremony, which is nothing but a sort of disinfection. Till he gets disinfected by the above ceremony, he cannot come in direct contact with a flowing stream, nor with any trees or agricultural farms. (Vendidad VIII, 104-107). All this was done simply to secure perfect cleanliness, because, as Dr. George Reid points out, "Filth, in its broad sense — foul air, foul water and foul surroundings — is the chief essential to their (germs') existence, and cleanliness is the weapon to be used against them. Although, to the naked eye, the actual organism of the disease is not visible, the conditions upon which its growth and development depend, are; and it is to these, that our attention must be directed in order to successfully prevent the ravages of the invisible foe. Given a perfect state of cleanliness, in the broad sense of the term, most diseases of the contagious class would become things of the past."

That the Zoroastrians tried to secure this perfect state of cleanliness is likewise apparent, when we find that the adherents of

the religion were forbidden to come in contact, after touching a dead body and before getting themselves disinfected, with things of certain materials, *e.g.*, wood, cotton, etc. We are struck with amazement, when we find that the materials so forbidden in the Vendidad to be touched are precisely those which are recognised by modern scientists as not impervious to these infectious germs. Iron and compact stones are not forbidden materials, and now we know that these materials are almost impervious to, or are such as can easily get rid of, infectious germs.

It will now be quite evident from the above, that it was on this ground that the Zoroastrians are forbidden to place their dead bodies on beds of any material except iron or stone. We also now understand why the follower of Zoroaster has to keep fire burning in his house, within a few feet from the place where the dead body is lying, till it is removed to the resting-place. The idea is evidently to burn up the infectious germs emanating from the dead body. We now find sanitary authorities recommending this practice during the outbreak of an infectious disease. All the precautionary measures, all the preventive means, so strongly recommended at present by our modern scientists, were set down as religious precepts in Zoroastrian writings, hundreds of years before the germ theory was expounded in Europe.

When we turn from this to another important branch of science, *viz.*, Astronomy, we find most of the great religious systems of the world distinctly at war with science. Scientists have established, beyond doubt, the fact that the form of the earth is an oblate spheroid and not flat, and Galileo has triumphantly conformed the heliocentric theory, with its rotating and revolving earth. It is very much gratifying to note in this connection, that Zoroastrian Scriptures do neither speak of a "flat" world, nor anything that would clash with the heliocentric theory. On the contrary, we meet with distinct suggestions about the globular form and rotation of the earth. In Vendidad XIX. 4, we find the earth styled as "this broad, round and vast earth"; and in the Gâthâs it is spoken of as "this rotating earth" (Yasna XLVI, 19). Truly was it said by a European scholar that the Parsee had no reason to tremble for his faith, if a Galileo invented the telescope or a Newton discovered the law of gravity.

Nor do we find the Zoroastrians ignorant of Geology, a science which is in the process of being developed at present. We find in Vendidad II, 22-24, a short description of the famous Glacial Epoch, which took place in the Pleistocene Period of the evolution of the earth, when, according to the latest discoveries, man appeared for the first time on it. We find a brief but very interesting description of large masses of glacial ice "creeping downwards from high mountains to the valleys of the River Ardisur". We also read there how the sub-tropical animals were driven southwards by the Arctic conditions of the climate and how their place was taken by cold-loving forms. We have here to remember that till only fifty years ago, geologists believed in the "Noah's flood" theory, and it was only the latest discoveries which clearly established the "Glacial Drift" theory, an account of which is so concisely but clearly given in Vendidad II.

From all this, it is quite clear that the Zoroastrians had attained a very extraordinary level of intellectual and scientific accomplishment in a most remote period of history. As regards their scientific knowledge and many-fold activities, Prof. Jackson of the Columbia University, says : "The records of antiquity imply that the Zoroastrian books, by their encyclopædic character, stood for many sides of life. Some of the original 'Nasks' of the Avesta are reported to have been wholly scientific in their contents, and the Greeks even speak of books, purported to be by Zoroaster, on physics, the stars, and precious stones."

Now let us compare the Zoroastrian solution of the problem of the Origin of Evil, with that put forward by science. This question is, beyond doubt, a very thorny one. Here, more than in any other case, the gap between Science and most of the great religions is difficult to be bridged up. The solution, offered by Zoroaster, though in striking conformity with the teaching of modern science, differs from it in one important item; and in that important item, I shall endeavour to show, in what follows, that the Zoroastrian idea affords a better solution.

The chief question is about the Source of Evil. To what power can we ascribe the daily human sufferings? Whatfor is imperfection, with its miseries, pains and agonies found in Creation? Is God, the supremely Omnipotent Being, directly responsible for this

imperfection, this flaw in the universe? Three distinct theories have been put forward for the solution of this complex question, and to trace the origin of Evil.

The first is the Manichean theory of an independent, uncreated Evil Power like God Himself. It is Dualism pure and simple, and leads to immense mischief. We cannot be sure who will ultimately prevail. The theory was strenuously opposed by the Zoroastrian rulers of Persia, and Mâni himself was killed by the order of a Sassanian king.

The second theory, known as the "Evolution theory of Evil," is the accepted belief of our modern scientists. The theory, at the very outset, assumes that our life is a training and a preparation for something higher in future. It says that man, as he exists at present, is imperfect, and that human sufferings are simply dispensations of the Divine Will, for the development and perfection of man, that God is gradually evolving harmony and concord out of chaos and confusion, that nature is incomplete, and evil is merely the result of this imperfection, that right adjustment will gradually be brought about by evolution, and when that will finally be attained, there will be an end of Evil. But, till then, there will be a necessary and inevitable polarity of good and evil, worked by the Supreme Being Himself. Here lies the main difference between Science and Zoroastrianism.

The idea of polarity of good and evil is the first and the fundamental principle of Zoroaster ; but nowhere, in his writings, does he regard, as Science does, God responsible for evil. He could not reconcile to his mind the Supreme Omnipotence of God with the imperfection of the universe. Zoroaster never believed that though God was Omnipotent, He could not produce perfection ; or that God was the most Beneficent and yet He purposely created imperfection, and hence Evil with its associated miseries, cruelties, injustice and sufferings due to pestilence, earthquakes, floods, famines and innumerable other evils, over which man has no control. That our minds are not perfect, that human nature is not infallible, and that, as a natural consequence, we often succumb to evil temptations in our way, and then be victims to tremendous human sufferings, are all due to the fact that God did not create perfection, but preferred for us a slow process of evolution, extend-

ing over immensely long periods of time, and passing through plague, famine, slaughter, ruin, wreek, misery and endless sufferings. If He did this, knowing perfectly well that He could have attained the same object, both material and spiritual, without all this severity, then how shall we be able to reconcile it with His Supreme Benevolence?

If, on the other hand, the creation of an absolutely perfect man and an absolutely perfect world, without the existence of evil, was not possible, then He is no longer Omnipotent. In short, if God could not create perfection, He is not Omnipotent. If He could, but did not, then surely He is not supremely Beneficent.

Thus we see how the evolution theory of science falls flat. It says that a most Beneficent God has planned an immensely grand scheme, "the very mainspring of which is cruelty in every conceivable form". "It makes us believe", says a European scholar, "that a Being of omnipotent power, of infinite wisdom and pure benevolence has put together a machine, so full of mal-adjustments, that, every now and again, it makes the world a charnel-house, life a burden to untold millions, and death at once a horror and a release." This theory, in its consequences, is as mischievous as the Manichean theory, for, as Mr. Samuel Lang observes: "The fact remains, and it is difficult to over-estimate the amount of evil which has resulted in the world from this confusion of moral sentiments, which has made good men do devils' work in the belief that it has Divine sanction."

When we turn from Science to Zoroastrianism for the solution of this problem, we find Zoroaster speaking on this subject in his first speech which is preserved in the Gâthâs, the most sacred portion of the Zoroastrian literature. It should be said here that the Gâthâs are a sort of relic of Zoroaster's many writings. They are fragmentary in character and incomplete in substance. Often do we find, to our disappointment, a subject abruptly broken off at the end of a stanza, and a new topic opened in the next one. The inevitable inference is that some lines are missing. Thanks to the fanaticism of the Mahomedan conquerors of ancient Persia and their relentless opposition to any form of science and philosophy other than that of Mahomed, we find to-day most of the writings of Zoroaster destroyed partially, and in some cases totally. Of

these partially destroyed works, the Gâthâs, the purest and the most sublime work, partially of Zoroaster himself, have been handed over to posterity in a fragmentary form. It is in these Gâthâs that we find Zoroaster's famous speech, explaining the origin of Evil.

In this memorable speech, Zoroaster speaks of the existence of the First Cause, whom he generally calls "Ahura Mazda", the Omniscient Creator. He then explains the creation of "*Anghêush Mainyû*", i. e., two Spirits of the World, whom he calls "Spenta Mainyu" and "Angra Mainyu". (Yasna XLV, 2). Now we find, in Yasna LVII., the angel Sraosha worshipping first the Supreme Being and the Archangels, and then these two Spirits. This shows that the position of *both* these Spirits was at one time very high and supreme. If now we turn to another important book, the "*Bândahishn*", we find there the keynote of subsequent events. We find there (Chs. I—II) the Supreme Being creating all the "*Fra-vashis*" of the whole creation and then granting them free-will which of course entailed full responsibility. This free-will asserted itself in antagonism to the Supreme Being and one of the two first-created Spirits revolted. For the first time in the heavens discord reigned. A very striking resemblance will now be seen between Zoroaster's Angra Mainyu and Milton's Satan. Both are grand, majestic, and powerful, but not omnipotent. Angra Mainyu, who was once worshipped by the Angel Sraosha, but who is now opposed by him, as we learn from Sraosh Yasht §12, now began to work against Spenta Mainyu and thus became the chief destructive power and the main source of evil (Y. XXX. 5). Hence we find Zoroaster speaking of these two Spirits as agreeing "neither in purpose, nor in policy; neither in ideas nor in methods; neither in words nor in deeds; neither in conscience nor in souls" (Y. XLV. 2).

We now find the Supreme Being bitterly opposed to Angra Mainyu and hence to all forms of evil. Zoroaster's God is the very incarnation of benevolence, righteousness, mercy and sympathy. We again see that Spenta Mainyu, the faithful of the first-created Spirits, falls in the background, and the Creator throws his whole influence in favour of righteousness as against the evil of Angra Mainyu, and finally establishes the law, as we learn from the Gâthâs, that "the souls of the righteous shall be

entitled to happy immortality, whereas those of evil, severe punishments." (Y. XLV. 7).

There is not a single line either in the Gāthās or in other writings of the Avesta, where the existence of evil is justified. On the contrary, its existence is deplored, and everywhere it is attributed to Angra Mainyu. Angra Mainyu himself is strongly denounced as a traitor and the author of all evil on the earth, in the Gāthās and in other writings. It will now be quite clear, that it is on this account, that in later writings, we find the Supreme Being Himself depicted as in constant conflict with Angra Mainyu, and Spenta Mainyu placed in a secondary position, and, therefore, we often find no distinct mention of Spenta Mainyu in many of the later writings. It is the ignorance of this important fact, and the misconception of this theory, that led some critics to charge Zoroastrianism with Dualism.

Thus Zoroaster solves the problem of the Origin of Evil by attributing it to Angra Mainyu, a powerful Spirit who, by some inscrutable chances, revolted and whose existence God cannot put an end to, because of the free-will. If God directly intervenes, the free-will is of no use, and the natural consequence is that no longer any responsibility would lie on any being. We are, however, assured that evil is a temporary and vanishing cause, that ultimately good will prevail over evil, and that the fight between the two opposite polarities, Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu, will result in the final triumph of right over wrong, of good over evil. We are further assured that finally, all the sinners will be won back to love, liberty and allegiance. In the meantime, every person is strongly enjoined, in the words of Mr. Samuel Lang, "To keep by his efforts in this life, the balance of polarities, somewhat more on the side of good, both in his own individual existence and in that of the aggregate units, of which he is one, which is called society or humanity."

In conclusion, we see that Zoroaster's idea about the two opposite polarities is a truly Scientific notion, and is the accepted belief of modern scientists. It will also be quite clear that he and his followers possessed a most marvellous knowledge of Science, when the world was in a semi-civilized condition, and when European Science was an unknown thing. It should also not be

forgotten that it was the philosophical and scientific writings of the Zoroastrians of old, which for hundreds of years after them, moulded the minds of many eminent Scholars and Divines. According to the Greek historians, Aristotle and Plato, Socrates and Pythagoras, Theopompus and Hermippus and many first-rate classical scholars, had carefully studied the scientific and philosophical writings of the Zoroastrians. In the writings of these scholars, we find many instances of ideas drawn from the writings of the great Bactrian Sage and of his followers.

As regards the Zoroastrian religion, it requires no blind belief, as it is founded on the sound bed-rock of reasoning, logic and science. The precepts of this religion are nothing but fundamental scientific principles, that can be practised upon by men of any creed or profession, with advantage and without any difficulty. Indeed Zoroastrianism, as Mr. Samuel Lang justly observes, "in its fundamental ideas and essential Spirit, approximates wonderfully to those of the most advanced modern thought, and gives the outline of a creed which goes further than any other, to meet the practical wants of the present day, and to reconcile the conflict between Faith and Science."

K. SANJANA.

**IS ZOROASTRIANISM PREACHED
TO ALL MANKIND OR TO ONE
PARTICUAR RACE ?**

This is an interesting question which has lately engrossed the minds of the Parsi community. The late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria has collected in a Gujarati pamphlet, evidences, both direct and indirect, from Zoroastrian writings to prove that the religion of Zoroaster enjoins the admission of *all men* into its fold. In this short monograph I shall content myself with the citation of only a few select, authentic and authoritative passages bearing on the subject from the Avesta, Pahlavi-Pazend and Persian sacred Zoroastrian recitals, as well as from the Shâh-nâmeh and the last Persian Revâyet of 1778.

(1)

YASNA xxx, 11.

Zoroaster preaches in his first sermon :

[illegible]

is a synonym of *ṣṭubh*. (Compare the phrases *ṣṭubh* *ṣṭubh* *ṣṭubh* and *ṣṭubh* *ṣṭubh* *ṣṭubh*. Also compare *ṣṭubh* *ṣṭubh* and *ṣṭubh* *ṣṭubh* where *ṣṭubh* appears as the synonym of *ṣṭubh*). I derive the word *ṣṭubh* from Rt. *ṣṭubh*, as a transposition of Avesta *ṣṭubh*, Sk. *ṣṭubh*, from which Sanskrit *ṣṭubh* (verse, metre) is derived.

* शिक्षयतु for शिक्षतु , imperative second person plural from the root $\text{शिक्ष} = \text{Sk. शिक्ष}$ to learn.

* $\text{ગુણ} = \text{ગુ} + \text{ણ}$; literally, good (way of) going, good conduct, morality, from the root गु , to go. Compare Gujarati ગુણ ગુણ, ગુણિત; Pahlavi 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥, Persian خوش رو etc.

⁴ अगति = अ + ग + ति : literally, not going, conduct which must not be followed; bad conduct, immorality. Compare Sk. अनिति.

* 𐭪𐭫𐭮 Suffering, torment, from the root 𐭪𐭫𐭮 akin to 𐭪𐭫𐭮 to wound. Also compare Pahlavi 𐭪𐭫𐭮, Persian 𐭪𐭫𐭮 suffering.

of Zoroaster, the prophet, while appointing his apostles and successors in matters of the religion preached by him, enjoins thus :—

၁. နေ့စဉ်အားဖြင့်၊ နေ့စဉ်အားဖြင့်၊ နေ့စဉ်အားဖြင့်၊ နေ့စဉ်အားဖြင့်၊
 ၂. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၃. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၄. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၅. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၆. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၇. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၈. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၉. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊
 ၁၀. အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးအားဖြင့်၊

“ The best wish of Zarathushtra, the descendant of Spitama, is made heard (*i. e.*, announced as follows) :—If (or when) Ahura Mazda should bestow upon him (Zarathushtra) (in reward) for his righteousness the gifts, *viz.*, a blissful life for all eternity (*i. e.*, heaven after his death), Gushtâsp, the Kayânian, Frashaoashtra, and any descendant (or successor) of Zarathushtra himself, and (from time to time) the Saoshyants (the holy benefactors of the world, the propagators of religion, *i. e.*, the Zoroastrian priests), who may be well versed in the Right Ways, namely, the Religion which Hormazd has given (*i. e.*, sent to mankind), shall give instructions about thoughts, words, and deeds, so as to make one faithful as regards the worship, praises, and propitiation of Hormazd ; (they shall give instructions) to him (*i. e.*, to any person) who may wish to learn and remove the doubts (of his mind) as regards the sayings and actions of the Good Religion.”

¹ နေ့စဉ်အားဖြင့်, Pahlavi 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭, the state of blissful life. This word is equivalent to 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 ; Pahlavi 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 ; Persian 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭.

² 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭. I take the root 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 as akin to 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭, 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭, doubt, and the root 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 as the desiderative of 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 to learn; the reduplicative syllable being dropped and 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 transposed to 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭.

³ 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 is equivalent to 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 rejoicing, propitiation.

⁴ 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭. Abverb; present participle, accusative singular of the root 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 + 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 akin to 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭, 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭, etc.

⁵ 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭. Nominative plural of 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭 knower, one who knows: Nominative singular 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭, accusative singular 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭭.

(7)

[illegible]

The belief here expressed is that the Zoroastrian religion was sent by God for *all mankind*, and not for any particular tribe or race.

(8)

[illegible]

In this confession of faith every person at the time of being invested with Sudra and Kusti is made by the initiating priest to acknowledge that the religion which he or she embraces is sent by God for *all mankind*. In the face of this recital and acknowledgment would it not be absolutely wrong to deny the right of every man of the world to embrace the religion of Zarathushtra; and when a person applies to a Zoroastrian priest to admit him into his religion, how can he refuse him? Surely, if he does, it would be dereliction of duty on his part.

(9)

In the *Shâh-nâmeh* of Firdousi we find the following couplets describing the propagation of Zoroaster's religion in all countries of the world.

موران بزرگ از همه کشوران
پزشکان دانا و گنداوران
همه سوی شاقه زمین آمده اند

ببستند کُستی به دین آمدند
 ره بگهرستی پراگنده شد
 و یزدان پرستی پراگنده شد
 پراز نور ایژه بشد دخمها
 وز آلودگی پاک شد نخمها

"Mighty chiefs of all countries, physicians, wise men, and warriors, all came to the king of the world (Gushtâsp), and girded themselves with Kusti (i.e., were invested with Sudrâ and Kusti), and accepted the religion. The path of idolatry was forsaken and its place was filled by the worship of God. There were erected Towers of Silence which received the full heavenly light of the sun, and the seeds of pollution and contamination were cleared out."

(10)

THE REVAYET OF SEVENTY EIGHT QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, § 13.

پرسش میزدیم اینک در اینجا بیهیدان پندوستان اکثر پسران و دختران پندوانرا بغلامی و کنیزی خرید نموده در کار و خدمت خانگی خود نگاه میدارند و آنها را اوستا آموخته کستی و سدره بائین دین زرتشتی بمیان آنها بسم از دست آنها درون گنبار و غیره طیار کنانیده می یزند و هم خوردنی و آب هم موبدان و بیهیدان پند از دست آنها میخورند و هرگاه که آنها ودیعت حیات می سپارند موبدان و بیهیدان مزکور لاشه آنها را در دخمه نمیگزارند و میگویند که آنها بچه دروند هستند استخوان بیهیدان و اینها یکجا شود خوب نیست چون در زندگی آنها هم کارهای دین از دست آنها میگردند و بعد مردن در دخمه گذاشتن را منع می کنند لهذا التماس اینست که لاشه در دخمه گذاشتن شاید بانه اینمعنی را واضح کرده مرقوم فرمایند.

پاسخ میزدیم آنکه در باب پسران و دختران چه دین خرید نمودن موبدان و بیهیدان را باید که اول نگاه بدین و آئین و جان و مال خود کردن که هیچ نقصان نمیرسد ثواب عظیم است که فرزندان چه دین خرید نموده باویشان اوستا یاد دهد و در دین و مازدیسنان در آورد اما این معنی بسیار ناپسندیده و بعید نزد اهل مردمان دین بهی است که موبدان و بیهیدان پند در زندگی بدست جهان پسران مزکوره خوردنی میخورند و وقتی که ایشان ودیعت حیات نموده برحمت خدا میروند بر لاشه های ایشان مسکین بچهاره سخن ناسزا می گویند و بحث بیجا می کنند که این فرزندان زاده چه دین است نباید که لاشه آنها و بیهیدان در دخمه یکجا کردن خوب نیست این سخن ناسزا بی بهره از کرمه دین زراعت و جادیه حقت و برین معنی هرکس که حرکت کند و لاشه آنها بدخمه نمی سپارد آنکس در دین مرکزانت و پیش مهر و سروش رو میآید بلکه موبدان و بیهیدان را میباید که بفرزندان مزکوره حرمت زیاده تر نگاه دارند و لاشه آن و درده را بقاصده دین بهی بدخمه گزارند که

باعث خوشنودی اور مزد و امشاسفندان بوده باشد تا با اینچنان بزرگان بلاغت بنسبند
دستور زاده دستور کاروس خلف جنت مکانی دستور رستم مسموع شد که بعضی دستوران
و موبدان و بهدینان در اکثر ولایت مانع و مزاحم باشند و بدو بست نمودند که پسران
مذکور را اوستا یاد نمی دهند و در دین و مازدیسنان نمی آرند اینمعنی بعید از
عقل و غریب از نقل است عزیزان من سلامت در میوم پرکرد جددپرداد^۱ دادار
جهان استم بومندان اشو بهضرت زراثشت اسفندگان انوشه روان فرموده است که
جمیع مردمان را بدین بهی بشا برآید هدایت نموده از مستفیض خود مفتخر و مایه
سازند و دویم اینکه در زمان بشیهر ماه و بشدر ماه و سیوشاس جمیع جد دینان را
در دین بهی می آرند پس ازین حجت و برهان در دین بهی واجب و لازم است
که پسران مذکور را در دین بهی آوردن کوفه عظیم و ثواب مستقیم پس آنگسانیکه
از بنمعنی مانع و متعوض باشند گویا که در دین جد دینان اهداد مینمایند و از مبداء
و معادهم خبر ندارند و بشا برآید ضلالت و بطالت میورند آنها را بهدین گفتن در دین
محال است هرگاه بهدین باشد دین بهی را زیاده کند

QUESTION 13TH: "Here the Behdins of Hindustân having purchased mostly sons and daughters of Hindus as slaves and slave-girls, keep them in their own service and household work, and having taught Avesta to them, and having invested them with the Sudrâ and Kusti according to the rules of the Zoroastrian religion, employ them to prepare the *Daruns* of Gahambâr and other holy festivals to consecrate those things; and also all priests and laymen of India eat and drink food and water touched by them. But when they die, the said priests and laymen do not allow their corpses to be placed into the Towers of Silence. They say that these were born of non-Zoroastrian parents, and, therefore, it would not be well that the bones of Behdins (*i. e.*, born Zoroastrians) should mingle with theirs. Since they allow the performance of all the works of religion by them in their life-time, but after their death prevent them from being consigned to the Towers of Silence, it is requested to know from you whether it is allowable or not to place

^۱ These Avesta and Pahlavi sentences are written on the margin of one of the most authentic manuscripts containing this Revâyet.

سپاسش دادار جد دینان بهی را زیاده کند
سپاسش دادار جد دینان بهی را زیاده کند

سپاسش دادار جد دینان بهی را زیاده کند
سپاسش دادار جد دینان بهی را زیاده کند
سپاسش دادار جد دینان بهی را زیاده کند

their corpses into the Towers of Silence? Kindly write this subject clearly."

ANSWER 13TH: "In the matter of purchasing sons and daughters of people of other religions it is necessary for priests and laymen at first to take care of their own religion and custom and of the safety of their own lives and properties, so that (by doing it) no harm¹ should befall them. It is a deed of great merit to purchase children of other religions, and having taught them the Avesta, to admit them into the fold of the good religion of Mazda-worshippers. But this is very much to be disliked and is very strange to the minds of the people of the good religion that the priests and laymen of India eat food touched by the hands of the above-said children in their lives, and at the time when they depart from life and obtain the grace of God, they utter very unworthy words about the remains of these poor, helpless persons, and import an element of perversity which is out of place, (saying) that these were the children born of aliens, and, therefore, it is not fit that their corpses and those of the Behdins (born Zoroastrians) should mingle together in the Towers of Silence;— and to do so is not good. These unworthy utterances are depriving them of the profit of a meritorious deed of the religion of Zarthosht and of the path of Truth. He who interferes in this matter and does not allow their corpses to be consigned to the Towers of Silence, that person is "*margarsân*" (a great criminal) according to religion, and he shall be disgraced before Meher and Sarosh (while giving account of his deeds after death in the heavenly tribunal). Rather it is the duty of priests and laymen that they should give more respect to the above-said children and consign their corpses to the Towers of Silence according to the rule of the Religion, so that it may be a cause of pleasing Hormazd and the Amshâspands (archangels). Secondly, we have heard here from the mouth of the accomplished Dastur-born Dastur Kâus, the son of Dastur Rustam, a denizen of heaven, that in most of the towns some of the high priests, and

¹ This caution seems to have been given in those days on account of the jealousy and consequent riots, tumults, and disorders prevalent among different nationalities of India owing to the almost anarchical state of our country at the time. By the grace of God, at present, the powerful protection of the British Government being predominant in the whole empire, there is no reason for us to entertain the fear of any harm.

Moreover, the Mâzdayasnian religion is said in the Vendidad, X, 18-19, to be Purification itself, and that Purification is stated there to be open for *any man of the world*—*ḡarəmanəm asənušēd*. Hence to purify unclean persons by the sacred rites of that religion is its primary function; and that rite is nothing else but the initiating ceremony of the Navzot which can be performed by a priest on *any* human being of the world.

A careful study of the Avesta leads us to the conclusion that the tie of religious connection is considered therein superior to all other connections, even to family relations. In the fourth Fargard of the Vendidad, §§ 44-45, it is enjoined on every faithful Zoroastrian to help his *co-religionist* in monetary, matrimonial, and educational matters. Also in the twelfth Fargard of the Vendidad, §§ 21-24, where directions are given for the observation of mourning for the death of near relations, we find that no direction is given regarding the death of that relation who may have become of alien belief and alien religion, even though he may have been the nearest relative. In the former case, a man is recommended to be helped on the ground of his being a co-religionist, though he may or may not be of the same blood with a Mazdayasnian; while, in the latter case, even a blood relative is discarded and renounced, because he is no longer bound by the common bond of religion. From this it is clear that in the Avesta the idea of the rights of co-religionship of all mankind is paramount over the rights of all other relations or connections, and, therefore, it would be un-Zoroastrian and erroneous on the part of true Zoroastrians to look down, through conceited pride of blood, upon aliens, who may, out of sincere conviction and faith, wish to embrace their good religion, and seek to be admitted as members of their community.

SHERIJJI DADABHAI BHARUCHA.

THE PERSIAN DANTE.

For the last hundred years the study of the "sources" of Dante's *Divina Commedia* has been a favourite subject of research and discussion both with Dantologists and with students of comparative literature. The investigations of Cancellieri at the beginning of the last century, followed by those of writers like Mustafia, Corazzini, Kopitsch, Labitte, Ozanam, and, in our own times, by many distinguished scholars, have been ably and succinctly summed up in a small and scholarly volume by Prof. Marcus Dods published in 1903 ("Forerunners of Dante", Edinburgh, Clark). The author has gone wide afield and ransacked literatures, Eastern and Western, ancient and modern, for analogues of Dante's Vision and his survey ranges from the Babylonian Gilgamesh and the Egyptian Setne down to the Irish Tundal and the English Thureill. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that in this extensive survey not even an allusion is to be found to what is, at least in my estimation, one of the most striking and interesting of oriental apocalyptic compositions, bearing an unmistakable likeness to the immortal Vision of the great Florentine poet. This fact must be my excuse for presenting an essay upon a subject which is not altogether a novelty and which may be found treated with considerable fulness by some English writers, even though in works not very accessible to the general public.

The short Pahlavi religious tractate known as the *Artâ Virâf Nâmak*, or Book of *Artâ Virâf*¹ has for centuries been a favourite work with all classes of the Parsi community. It was sometimes read before large assemblies, with the effect thus described by its learned editor, DASTUR HOSHANGJI:—"It speaks volumes both for the effective style of the *Artâ Virâf Nâmak* and for the implicit faith which the Parsis placed in what was written therein, that a few years ago, when the book used to be read before them, overpowered by consciousness of guilt,

¹ As we might say, "Saint Viraf".

the punishment for which was so terrifically described, they, but especially the gentler sex, used to weep. It was a most affecting spectacle to witness the awakening conscience exhibiting itself in trickling tears." This popularity of the Vision is shown by the fact that, besides the original Pahlavi text, which exists in two or three considerably divergent recensions, translations exist into both Sanskrit and Gujerâti, besides several Persian versions, both in prose and poetry. These poetical versions are quite modern and were composed respectively in A. D. 1530-31, 1532-33 and 1679. One of these Persian verse translations was evidently known to the celebrated English scholar, Thomas Hyde, whose famous work "*Veterum Persarum Religionis Historia*" first appeared in 1700. (See Prof. E. G. Browne's "Literary History of Persia", Vol. I., p. 43). The work itself was first made known to Western readers in 1816, however imperfectly, by J. A. Pope's English translation from one of the Persian versions published in 1816. The first edition, however, of the original text and the first reliable and scholarly translation was that prepared by DASTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI ASA, and most elaborately edited with notes, translation and introduction by Drs. Martin Haug and E. W. West in 1872. A French translation by M. Barthélemy appeared in 1887; and a new edition of the Pahlavi text by a native scholar, Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji was published at Bombay in 1902.

From the appearance of Pope's version, it has been a commonplace of writers on Persian literature that the story of Artâ Virâf presents striking points of similarity with the Vision of Dante recorded in the *Divina Commedia*. The subject of the present essay is, therefore, nothing new, and is merely an attempt to offer, in a somewhat recast form, what may be found with little difficulty in various preceding writers. Before any attempt to determine what historical relationship, if any, exists between the Persian and the Italian Visions, it will be necessary to say a word as to the date of the former. In the very careful introductory essay prefixed to his edition, Haug comes to the conclusion that the author, whoever he may have been, must have lived after the time of the celebrated Zoroastrian theologian Âdarbâd Mâhraspand, the Minister of Shâpûr II. (A. D. 309-379), but before the downfall of the Sâssânian dynasty in the seventh century, for the book

undoubtedly belongs to Sâssânian times.¹ Thus its composition might fall in the fifth or sixth century A. D.

This date is of some importance, as the early Irish Vision literature which appears to have played so important a part among the sources of Dante's great poem, belongs to a considerably later period. Thus the Vision of Adamnan, which in so many points resembles the *Divina Commedia* that it has been thought that Dante must have used it, though ascribed to the famous ninth Abbot of Iona who died A. D. 704, is believed by Dr. Whitley Stokes to be at least three centuries later than his time. The other Irish legends of the kind, such as the Vision of Fursey, the legend of Owain Miles and the Vision of Tundal are all much later.*

The principal early Christian writing of the kind is the Ascension of the Prophet Isaiah, which has been preserved in an Ethiopic Version in Abyssinia and which is very probably of a more ancient date. Spiegel, the great Avestan scholar,² believed the Artâ Virâf Nâmak to be dependent on the *Ascensio*. Haug argues strongly in favour of the complete independence of the two works, even though a certain number of coincidences can be discovered between them. He comes to the same conclusion with regard to the remarkable Jewish production entitled "The history of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi", which professes to describe a journey through Heaven and Hell undertaken by the said Rabbi in the third century of our era. A more striking analogy is that of the Hebrew Revelation of Moses, first translated by Dr. Gaster in 1903 (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society), which seems anterior to R. ben Levi. Dr. Gaster considers all these Hebrew Visions as pre-Christian in date. If this be true, they would assuredly be anterior to the Artâ Virâf Nâmak by some centuries. But this view is very doubtful.

Apocalyptic literature of this kind, however, has been so common for centuries from even pre-Christian times, that it is very hazardous to deny the possibility of some influence of ideas and even of diction percolating from one literature to another. To

¹ E. W. West, however, is not altogether satisfied on this point and thinks that it contains no certain indication of time when written.—"Grundriss der Ir. Phil." II, II, 57.

² See Miss Eleanor Hull's "Text Book of Irish Literature", Part I, pp. 137-140, Dublin, Gill, 1906.

³ "Trad. Lit. der P". II. 121.

us it is of little importance whether or not the anonymous writer of the Artâ Virâf Nâmak was influenced, however distantly, by the early Christian and Jewish Visions above referred to, or, even by the still earlier echoes from the Greek and Latin literatures; but it is of interest to determine its priority of date to the Irish Legends, and to speculate whether it might possibly have exercised at least a remote influence either upon them or upon the Italian poet of the thirteenth century.

The general course of the Artâ Virâf Nâmak,—the trance and vision of the Zoroastrian seer and his visit under the guidance of the Spirits Srôsh and Âtaro,—over the Chinvat Bridge, to the World beyond the Tomb; first to the four Heavens, thence by command of Aûharimâzd through the horrors of the “Inferno”, finally back to the Divine throne in Garotmân,—is too well known to my readers for any need to recapitulate the contents here.

Some remarks of a general nature, however, naturally occur to the reader, and will rightly lead up to a closer comparison between the Irânian and the Italian Visions.

It will be observed, in the first place, how very large a proportion of Artâ Virâf’s vision, no less than 83 out of the total 101 chapters, is devoted to the description of the *Inferno*, whilst the description of Heaven occupies only nine chapters. On the other hand, in the vision of Heaven, as compared with that of Hell, there is a certain orderly arrangement observable, whilst an entire want of order prevails in the long roll of the various crimes and their punishments in the infernal regions:—literally, “*Ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat*.” It will be interesting, therefore, in order to give some idea of this Persian Hell to summarise under one or two heads its chief characteristics (after Haug and West).

Some *sins and crimes* punished in this hell may be said to be against the natural order to be condemned by all religious systems. Among these occur: murder (at least of a Zoroastrian); adultery; unnatural crime; infanticide; disobedience and undutifulness of wives and children; neglect of children; poisoning; sorcery; use of false weights and measures; breach of promise; all

kinds of falsehood, perjury, slander and calumny ; dishonest appropriation of wealth ; taking bribes ; defrauding labourers of their wages ; mal-administration and fraud ; misappropriation of religious property ; cruelty on the part of rulers ; avarice ; illiberality and egotism ; envy ; apostasy and heresy ; rebellion. The analogy between this list of sins and those condemned in Dante's *Inferno* must strike every reader.

Then there are sins strictly against the special precepts of the Zoroastrian religion. These specially concern the various ceremonial impurities of the Mazdean law, in many respects recalling those of the Jewish law ; also neglect or pollution of the sacred elements, fire and water ; the ill-treatment of cattle, sheep, dogs, and other useful animals ; destruction of bridges ; disregard of the poor and of travellers ; talking whilst eating ; using public warm baths ; useless lamentation and weeping ; beautifying the face and wearing false hair ; walking without shoes ; and, of course, idolatry and unbelief in the true religion of Aôharzmaôd.

With reference to the various *chastisements* so graphically detailed, two remarks may be made. One is that in a considerable number of cases there is an evident attempt to indicate a *lex talionis*, in other words, 'to make the punishment fit the crime'. For example, liars and slanderers have their tongues cut out or gnawed by serpents ; those who cheated in weights and measures are continually measuring out dust and ashes ; those who ill treated cattle are trampled under their feet ; the unjust judge is obliged to slay his own child ; adulterous women have their bodies gnawed by noxious animals ; the woman who gave no milk to her child is punished in her breasts, etc. A second remark is that some of the extremely cruel and almost grotesque tortures described by Artâ Virâf are in all probability not the offspring of the writer's imagination, but reproduce actual tortures inflicted in ancient Persia, and even, to a large extent, practised there in modern times. Such are the hanging head downwards, cutting out the tongue, putting out the eyes, the breaking and tearing of limbs, being torn by dogs, roasting alive, plunging in mud and filth, etc.

It is a curious fact that all the sufferers in Artâ Virâf's Hell are anonymous, with the single exception of the lazy man, whose name seems to have been *Davânos* and who is punished like Dives,

the rich man in the Gospel, solely because of his laziness, since when "he was in the world, he never did any good work". Yet whilst his whole body was being gnawed by *khrafstras*, his right foot alone was untouched, "for that he once with this right foot cast a bunch of grass before a ploughing ox", so that his solitary good deed went not unrewarded.

The first obvious contrast between the two works is that whilst the *Divina Commedia* is one of the greatest poems, replete with all the wealth of the sublime and beautiful in poetic thought and diction, the book of Artâ Virâf is written in prose, and that generally of the baldest and most monotonous character.

The second obvious difference is in the order of the respective visions. Dante visits first Hell, then Purgatory, lastly Heaven. Artâ Virâf's first visit is to Heaven and the souls of the just, afterwards to Hell and its torments. As we shall see, there is no Purgatory so-called in the Mazdean system.

Again, the various inhabitants of Dante's *Inferno* and *Paradiso*, the degrees of sanctity and kind of crime for which there are respectively allocated their places of reward or punishment, are arranged in the strictly philosophical and carefully considered order and plan. The punishments of the wicked in the Artâ Virâf Nâmak, as we have just seen, appear in no particular order, and at least as regards Hell, "there is nowhere any system or plan preceptible", in the words of Haug.

A fourth very striking difference between the two visions is the anonymity already referred to of the Persian *Inferno*. In Heaven this is somewhat different, as the Fravashis of a few eminent individuals are met with, though even here the anonymous treatment, on the whole, prevails.

It is perhaps unnecessary to call attention to the absolute difference of the motive, if I may be allowed the expression, of the two Visions. In the Persian one, as we have seen, the journey to the world beyond is undertaken deliberately by the seer as an envoy from, and on behalf of, the whole religious community. Dante's great journey to the same world is essentially the experience of an individual soul. And though, as a matter of fact, these experiences are really recorded for the guidance and benefit of all his fellow-men, particularly of his countrymen, yet the poet's art records the

whole vision as a personal history leading to the poet's own individual regeneration. Yet this difference is really only one of the *mise-en-scène* of the two compositions.

A further, not unimportant, difference is to be found in this that Dante is supposed to visit the World of Spirits in his actual living body, so that it is noted by the spirits as a marvel that his body casts a shadow. On the other hand, Artâ Virâf's soul leaves his body whilst in the trance induced by *mang*, and thus disembodied makes the journey through Heaven and Hell. Here we have a striking analogy with the legend of Er, the son of Armenius, the Pamphylian, in Plato's *Republic* (lib. X. Chap. XIII.), whose soul similarly leaves his body on the funeral pyre and goes forth to view the Spirit World, but eventually (like that of Artâ Virâf) returns to his body still lying on the pyre. (*Ibid.* Chap. xvi.)

A last difference to be recorded is that the author of the Artâ Virâf Nâmak, in spite of the general use of the first person in his narration, is absolutely unknown, and even his date is exceedingly doubtful. The author of the *Divina Commedia* is one of the most famous and best known characters of history.

We may now turn to the more interesting task of collecting the points of resemblance and analogy which occur in the two works so strangely different in style and character, and yet so strikingly akin in many essential features. In this task I shall largely follow the suggestive essay of the distinguished Parsi scholar, Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1892.

Both Artâ Virâf and Dante have the guidance of two celestial beings in their wonderful journeys. In the case of Dante, the poet Vergil, and afterwards Beatrice, accompany and direct him through the spirit world. With Artâ Virâf it is the archangel *Srôsh* (the Avestic Sraosha, the spirit of obedience, *i.e.*, to the Divine law) and the Genius of Fire, *Âtaro*, who together act as guides through the realms of Heaven and Hell. As they enter Hell, Artâ Virâf remarks: "*Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro the angel took hold of my hand and I went thence onwards unhurt. In that manner I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, to such a degree as I never saw nor heard of in the world. And when I went*

further, I also saw the greedy jaws of Hell, like the most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place; in darkness so gloomy that it is necessary to hold by the hand; and in such stench that every one into whose nostrils that air ascends, will struggle and stagger and fall; and on account of such close confinement no man's existence is endurable."—Artâ Virâf Nâmak, XVIII, 1-9.

With this passage Modi well compares Dante's statement at the entrance to the gate of Hell :

"E poichè la sua mano alla mia pose,
 "Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai,
 "Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose.
 "Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
 "Risonavan per l' aer senza stelle,
 "Perch' io al cominciar ne lagrimai.

"Facevano un tumulto, il qual s' aggira
 "Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta."—Inf. III. 19-29.

Immediately after the words just quoted from the Artâ Virâf Nâmak, the narration continues :—

"I came to a place and I saw a great river which was gloomy as dreadful Hell; on which river were many souls and *fravashis*; and some of them were not able to cross, and some crossed only with great difficulty, and some crossed easily, and I asked thus, 'What river is this? and who are these people who stand so distressed?' Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro the angel said : 'This river is the many tears which men shed from the eyes, for the departed. They shed those tears unlawfully, and they swell this river. Those who are not able to cross over are those for whom, after their departure, much lamentation and weeping were made; and those (who cross) more easily, are those for whom less was made. Speak forth to the world thus : 'When ye are in the world make no lamentation and weeping unlawfully, for so much harm and difficulty may come

And after that he had laid his hand on mine
 With joyful mien, at which I took comfort,
 He led me in among the hidden mysteries;
 Here sighs, lamentations and loud cries of woe
 Resounded through the starless air, whereto at first I wept.....
 They made a tumult for ever whirling on.

to the souls of your departed.' "—A. V. N. XVI, 2-12.¹

Here I should like to point out two remarkable analogies : In the *Inferno*, almost immediately after the lines just quoted above, the poet with his guide arrives at the banks of the great river Acheron, crowded with unfortunate souls waiting for the coming of Charon's boat, (Inf. III. 70 s. q.) whilst in Canto XIV, the fourfold river of Hell is described.

" Ciascuna parte, fuor che l'oro, è rotta

" D' una fessura che lagrime goccia,

" Le quali accolte foran quella grotta."—Inf. XIV. 112, 114.*

Though perhaps it may be doubted whether these *lagrime* really represent human tears.

The crossing of a river as the means of entrance into the Spirit World, is, of course, a commonplace of literature. We find it in Homer and Vergil, from whom Dante has borrowed his four infernal rivers, Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus. It is also a commonplace of Irânian eschatology, as in the Avestic description of the adventures of the soul after death, which have been borrowed wholesale in the Qorân. In the old Irish vision literature also, we come across rivers in the nether world.

There is this difference between the Irânian and the Western rivers, that whereas these latter are crossed by boat, or some other means of conveyance, the Irânian river is spanned by the celebrated Chinvat bridge, broad and easy to the just, narrow and difficult, if not impossible, to the wicked.

It will be remembered that, after passing through the portals of Hell, Dante first meets with a number of unfortunate souls in the vestibule of the infernal regions, whom he describes with great bitterness of contempt as those

" Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.

" Misciate sono a quel cattivo coro

¹ *Evil Effects of Weeping for the Dead*.—A gentleman, who heard my paper on this subject read before the Manchester Dante Society, afterwards wrote me : "On returning home from the funeral of my father, in the County Kerry, 30 years ago, my brother and I, by common impulse, feeling our loneliness, burst out crying ; but my uncle reproved us, saying that *our crying was hindering my father's soul from going to heaven*". A curious parallelism of belief in Ireland and Iran !

* Each part, except the gold, is rent with a fissure that *drips tears*, which, when collected, force a passage through that cavern.

" Degli angeli che non furon ribelli

" Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per se foro.

" Cacciarli i Ciel per non esser men belli :

" Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve."—*Inf. III. 36-41.*¹

It is characteristic of Dante that he treats these indifferent souls, who were neither good nor bad, with a fierce bitterness :—

" A Dio spiacenti ed ai nemici sui".—*Ibid. 63.*²

Correspondingly, Artâ Virâf, immediately after passing the great river, says :—

" I came to a place and saw the souls of several people who remained in the same position. And I asked the victorious Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro, the angel, ' Who are they ? and why remain they here ? ' Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro the angel said : ' They call this place Hamistagân, and these souls remain in this place till the Resurrection; and they are the souls of those men whose good works and sins are equal,.....for every one whose good works are three scruples more than his sins, goes to Heaven; they whose sin is in excess, go to Hell; they in whom both are equal remain among these Hamistagân till the Resurrection. Their punishment is cold or heat from the revolution of the atmosphere, and they have no other adversity ! "—A. V. N., Chap. VI.

This doctrine of the Hamistagân is curiously like the Irish conception of limbo in the Vision of Adamnan (*Fis Adamnain*) as the place " at the hither side of the lightless land for those whose good and evil have been equal". Many writers, including Mr. Modi, see in the Hamistagân the analogue of the Christian Purgatory. This is, however, scarcely tenable. It is true that, as in the Christian Purgatory, the sufferings of these souls will eventually come to an end, but there is no idea of purgation by suffering, as in Dante's *Purgatorio*. The Pahlavi name is a plural of the adjective *hamistak*, meaning ' ever stationary ', and is no doubt derived from the idea of a balance, in which the two scales are exactly balanced, and so stationary. These spirits, therefore, in both the

¹ Who lived without infamy and without praise. They are mingled with that caitiff choir of the angels who were not rebellious nor were faithful to God, but were for themselves. Heaven drove them forth that its beauty should not be impaired nor does Hell receive them.

² Displeasing to God and to His enemies.

Irânian and the Irish vision, would seem more akin to those neutrals: "Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo."¹

Among the punishments, often ghastly and disgusting, depicted by both the Persian and Italian writers, Mr. Modi has pointed out several which are identical.

(i) *The gnawing of human skulls and brains.*—In Artâ Virâf this horrible punishment is inflicted on fraudulent traders who use false weights and measures (LXXX), upon the dishonest rich who have stolen the property of others (XVI), and upon the unjust judge (XCI). We are at once reminded of the dreadful picture of Count Ugolino and Archbishop Ruggieri:—

"E come il pan per fame si manduca,

"Così il sopran li denti all' altro pose

"La, 've il cervel s'aggiunge colla nuca."—Inf. XXXII. 127-129.*

(ii). *Suspension head downwards.*—In Artâ Virâf, dishonest judges and traders, those who unlawfully slaughter cattle, and men and women guilty of sexual immorality, are suspended head downwards in Hell and otherwise tortured at the same time. (LXIX, LXXIV, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXVIII.). In the *Inferno* similar suspension head downwards is inflicted upon Simoniacs and upon traitors. (XIX, and XXXIV.)

(iii). *Tearing and jlaying.*—Artâ Virâf saw the souls of the wicked torn, seized and worried "as a dog a bone" by the *Khrafstras* or noxious creatures (XVIII). In the *Inferno*, Cerberus, "fiera crudele e diversa", not only barks over the unfortunate gluttons in the third circle, but:—

"Graffiagli spiriti, scuoià [al. ingoia], ed isquatra".—Inf. VI. 13.*

(iv). *Crushing beneath metal.*—The hypocrites in the eighth circle of Dante are crushed beneath cowls of heavy lead.

"O in eterno faticoso manto!"—Inf. 23. 67.

The faithless wife in Artâ Virâf Nâmak is similarly crushed beneath an iron coating, (*Pôst-i âsînîn*) (LXXXV, 2.)

¹ Who lived without infamy and without praise.

* Just in the way that bread is devoured from hunger, so the uppermost one fastened his teeth on the other, at the place where the brain joins the nape.

* Claws the spirits, seizes them in his mouth [or flays them] and rends them limb from limb.

(v.) *Serpents*.—The second *bolgia* of Dante in which robbers are punished, is that which is full of serpents :—

“ E vidi entro terribile stipa
 “ Di serpenti, e di sì diversa mena,
 “ Che la memoria il sangue ancor mi scipa.

“ Con serpi le man dietro avean legate :
 “ Quelle ficcavan per le ren la coda
 “ E il capo, ed eran dinanzi aggroppate.
 “ Ed ecco ad un, ch'era da nostra proda,
 “ S'avvento un serpente, che il trafisse
 “ La dove il colle alle spalle s'annoda.”—Inf. XXIV, 82, 99. ¹

Punishment by snakes and serpents is fairly frequent in Artâ Virâf. Compare :—“ I saw the soul of a man through the fundament of which soul a snake, as it were like a beam, went in and came forth out of the mouth and many other snakes ever seized all his limbs”. (XIX. 1-3.) A wicked ruler is flogged with darting serpents (XXVIII). Snakes and scorpions and other noxious creatures, (*Khrafstras*) gnaw men and women who neglect or contaminate the sacred elements of fire and water (XXXVII). Those who have defrauded or misappropriated the things belonging to God and to religion are ever stung and gnawed by serpents (LVI.), and like punishment is meted out to slanderers, (LXVI.), lustful men (LXXI.), liars (XC.), etc.

(vi.) As a general description, Modi well quotes the following parallel passages from the Persian and the Italian seers :—

“ In that manner I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, to such a degree as I never saw nor heard of in the world. And when I went further, I also saw the greedy jaws of Hell, like a most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place ; in darkness so gloomy that it is necessary to hold by the hand, and in such stench that every one into whose nostrils that air ascends, will struggle and stagger and fall, and on account of such

¹ And I saw within it a fearful swarm of serpents, and of such variety of species that the recollection of them even now makes my blood run cold.....They had their hands bound behind with serpents ; these through their loins thrust their tail and head and in front were twisted up in knots. And lo ! upon one who was on one side darted a serpent that transfixed him there where the neck is knotted to the shoulders.

close confinement no man's existence is endurable. Everywhere even the lesser *Khrashtas* stand up mountain high and they so tear and seize and worry the souls of the wicked as a dog a bone."

—A. V. N. XVIII.

And this of Dante :

" Io sono al terzo cerchio della piovra

" Eterna, maledetta, fredda e greve :

" Regola e qualità mai non l'è nuova.

" Grandine grossa, e acqua tinta e neve

" Per l'aer tenebroso si riversa :

" Pute la terra che questo riceve.

" Cerbero, fiera crudele e diversa,

" Con tre gole caninamente latra

" Sopra la gente che quivi è sommersa.

" Gli occhi ha vermaigli, la barba unta ed atra,

" E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani ;

" Graffia gli spirti etc."—Inf. VI, 7-13¹

The employment of the *forces of nature*—cold, rain, snow, wind, heat etc., is so common in each vision as not to need special quotation.

But perhaps the most striking feature in the *Inferno* of each vision is the position assigned to the Evil Spirit, the Arch-Enemy of God and the dominant ruler of Hell. The climax of Dante's *Inferno* is the vast figure of Lucifer frozen in the lowest depths of nether Hell at the apex of the inverted cone in which it is formed. In the Artâ Virâf Nâmak, Aharman (Angro Mainyush) (or *Ganrâk Minôî*) is similarly found in the darkest hell, which apparently is fixed in the very centre of the earth. Here the Evil Spirit ridicules and mocks the unfortunate sinners. And just as after beholding the horrors of Lucifer, Vergil leads Dante at once out to the Southern Hemisphere and the serener atmosphere of purgatory, so Srôsh and Âtaro took hold of Artâ Virâf's hand at the same juncture and led him forth "from that dark, terrible, fearful place",

¹ I am in the third circle of the rain, eternal cursed, cold and heavy ; measure and quality in it is ever unchanging. Thick hail and black water and snow come teaming down through the murky air: stinketh the earth that this receives. Cerberus, monster fierce and terrible, with triple throat, barks dog-like over the people who are plunged therein.....He claws the spirits, slays them [or seizes them in his mouth] and rends them limb from limb.

back to the eternal light of the presence of Aûharmazd.

In the descriptions of Heaven there are also some points of resemblance between the two works. It is true that Dante's *Paradiso* contains ten heavens, whilst the Heaven of Artâ Virâf is fourfold. Dante's first eight heavens are called respectively after the seven planets of the ancients,—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—and the Fixed Stars; after which come the Crystalline Heaven, and finally the Empyrean containing the throne of the Trinity. Artâ Virâf's three first heavens are those of the Stars, the Moon and the Sun; whilst the fourth and last is the all glorious Garôtmân, wherein is the throne of Aûharmazd. Brilliant light and glory are the characteristics of the Heavens of both the Persian and the Italian seers, and adorn the blessed souls who inhabit them. Both Dante and Artâ Virâf behold in their respective Paradises the soul of the first progenitor of the human race,—Adam in the case of Dante, Gayômarâd in the case of Artâ Virâf. Other analogies will no doubt occur to readers.

That the vision of Artâ Virâf was in point of date anterior by some centuries to Dante, and even apparently to the composition of the earliest Irish Vision Poems, is, we may take it, beyond doubt. Dare we suppose that any influence can be traced from the Persian Vision to that of the Italian poet, such as may almost certainly be attributed to the Irish poems of the same kind?

I need not here enter into the question so ably discussed by Dr. Gaster in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1893) as to the indebtedness of the Artâ Virâf legend to older Hebrew Vision literature of the same kind. That the central idea of describing the secrets of the Other World under the allegorical form of a journey undertaken by a living man, guided by supernatural beings through the realms beyond the tomb, and even no inconsiderable part of the details of the description, may have been borrowed by a Persian writer from some Jewish original, is by no means unlikely, especially when we remember that most characteristic tendency of the Irânian mind, towards the adaptation and assimilation of outside theories and ideas, which has been so marked through the whole course of its history.

Nevertheless W. Bousset writes: "Es scheint mir der Beweis erbracht, dass wir in der iranischen Religion die Heimat

jener bunten Phantasien und jener ekstatischen Mystik zu suchen haben."—Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.—IV. p. 169.*

Even the Artâ Virâf Nâmak may derive from some more ancient Irânian original now lost. To me the greater elaborateness and the grotesque exaggerations of description in the Hebrew visions, as compared with the relative sobriety of the Artâ Virâf Nâmak are in favour of the originality of the latter.

And the fact remains as true to-day as when Haug asserted it that the Vision of Artâ Virâf, in its minutest details, is essentially Zoroastrian in thought and diction, and certain passages, such as the adventures immediately after death of the just and the wicked soul, and possibly, the strange story of the rich man *Davânos*, are clearly derived from an Avestic origin.

We have no means of knowing whether the story of Artâ Virâf ever became known in mediæval Europe. But I for one have a strong belief in a much more extensive 'percolation' of ideas, stories, legends and other intellectual wares from Eastern to Western nations in both ancient and mediæval times than is commonly admitted or at least recognised.† We cannot forget the extraordinary activity of commercial intercourse between the Italian trading republics and the great civilised nations of the East, precisely during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Italian traders visited Eastern lands, bringing back with them undoubtedly not only material merchandise, but also "travellers' tales", among which may not impossibly have been included some such legends as the one I have been describing. Dante was a man who absorbed every possible kind of knowledge and information from every source and person with which he came in contact. It is never safe, therefore, to deny that the Florentine poet may have come to a knowledge of almost any kind of religious or philosophical speculation existing before his time. If I were asked to point out what particular features in the *Divina Commedia* appear most reminiscent of the Persian Vision, and, therefore, may possibly be a distant echo of the Artâ Virâf Nâmak I should be inclined to

* It seems to me it is proved that it is in the Iranian religion we have to seek for the home of these motley fantasies and this ecstatic mysticism.

† Bousset (*loc. cit.*) thinks that these Iranian ideas may have been diffused by means of Mithraism, so widely extended through the West.

point to the gruesome and often grotesque *penalties* described in the *Inferno*, which seem, as has been remarked, to have had their origin in the sight of actual barbaric tortures inflicted in an ancient Persian court. Perhaps I might venture to add the prevailing idea of *celestial light* as a leading feature of the *Paradiso*, just as we know it to be not only in the heaven of Artâ Virâf, but also in the celestial scheme of the Mazdean religion.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

YASNA HĀ XXIX. 1.

The Gatha Society proposes, as one of its main functions, to elucidate the Holy Gathas, and that being the case, the interpretation of a strophe out of the self-same Gathas might perhaps be said to be a proper contribution to the literary undertaking of a society as this, which also bears the name of the same sacred texts. This paper, we hope, would, none the less, be regarded as a fit tribute to the memory of one who spent his life in the study and interpretation of the religious lore of his race.

The Gathic passages have been variously interpreted by different savants; but so far as the strophe, which we propose to consider on this occasion, is concerned, there is no great difference of opinion in the up-to-date translations which, to our mind, seem still inaccurate. This passage is Yasna Hā XXIX. 1, and we propose to determine its correct meaning with accuracy, so far as it is possible on general philological considerations.

The strophe runs as under :

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THE TEXT.

The text admits of no great variations. Several variants are, as usual, to be found for different words, but they are immaterial, or mere capricious ones. However, one word requires attention. Dr. Geldner, following fifteen of the MSS. collated by him, admits in his laborious text the form Prof. Westergaard and Dr. Spiegel suggest the form, which Ervad K. E. Kanga follows in his Gujarati text but which is not to be found in any of the MSS. collated by Geldner. The form adopted in the text, given above, is L.₁₂'s (.) or K.₁'s (.) with a slight necessary modification.

METRE.

From the stand-point of metre, which is one of three lines of sixteen syllables each with a cæsure after the seventh syllable, the first line, to be quite regular, requires the word 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 to be pronounced as one syllable. The reason is not far to seek. The general termination for the sixth case (genitive) singular is 𐬀𐬭, but instead of that, probably because of the weak case, only 𐬀 is attached to the crude form 𐬭𐬀 and so the vowel-sound being elided, 𐬀 coalesces with 𐬭𐬀 into one syllable 𐬭𐬀𐬀, 𐬭𐬀𐬀 or 𐬭𐬀𐬀. The form 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 is the phonetic variant of 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 and so 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 is to be pronounced as one syllable, 𐬭𐬀𐬀 being here an equivalent of the monosyllabic 𐬭. In the second line, to let the cæsure fall after a finished word, the dissyllabic 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 is adopted in the text above in place of the trisyllabic 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 followed by Geldner and others, which unnecessarily leaves the first part of eight, instead of seven, syllables. For a like reason, the three-syllabic 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 is followed in lieu of the four-syllabic 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬀 to be found in Geldner, who having felt, in the second part of this line, the obvious necessity, probably left undetected in the first part, of reducing one syllable, observes in a foot-note that "Acc. to the metre 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 should be restored." He thus favours the omission of the prefixial 𐬀 and the retention of the intermediary 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀, as a changed form of the original 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀, 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀, 𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 (𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀), is dissyllabic. The third line is a regular one.

EXPLANATION OF WORDS.

We shall now examine how far the text, corrected as above from the stand-point of metre, harmonizes with or mars the requirements of grammar. The second line requires close study inasmuch as it purports to consist of words which do not necessarily convey a bad notion as they have been hitherto understood to do. We shall take up the necessary words only.

Khshmaibyâ,—2nd per. pro. 𐬭𐬀, *bya* being the general termination for 𐬀. Cf. Y. XLVI. 15 [dual, regarding Haechataspian and Spitamides as two distinct families; however, see *vê* in the pl.], Y. LIII. 5 (dual, referring to marriageable couples). Cf. also *yâshmaibyâ* in Y. XXXII. 9, where it applies to Mazda and Asha in the dual sense. Most of the translators think it to be a pl. of honour

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applied to Ahura, or as a pl. form referring to Ahura and the archangels.* In its dual sense, the pronoun applies to the two Spirits (*mainyû*), Spenta and Angra, who formed the creations.² Generally, an appeal is made by an inferior in rank to his immediate superior. In Y. I, where in a certain order occurs a list headed by Ahura, *Géuṣ Urvan* is immediately preceded by *Géuṣ Tashan*, in other words, the *Soul of the Universe* follows the *Moulders of the Universe*, who are Spenta and Angra.* In Y. LVII 2, the order given is Ahura, Amesha Spentas and the Two-Protectors and Moulders, where it stops, but so far, this order is the same as the one given in Y. I 1-2. We might also compare the term *thwarôzhdûm* of the present strophe to the similar terms *thwôrêstâra* and *thwôrêsatô* employed in the sense of 'moulding' with reference to Spenta and Angra.* Besides, in the succeeding strophe (§ 2), *Géuṣ Tashâ* is depicted to refer, in his turn, to Ashâ the appeal made in the first strophe. This almost proves to the hilt that the party addressed to in § 1 — in the dual number, or, at least, in a higher number than the singular — is the one who conveys onward the appeal in § 2, i. e., *Géuṣ-Tashâ*, who, according to Y. I. 2, stand one rank higher than *Géuṣ Urvan*.

Gêrêzdâ, impf. $\frac{3}{4}$ âtm.; rt. *gêrêz* (Sk. *grij*), "to emit a sound." Looking to the context, it need not necessarily be interpreted as 'complained' or 'lamented'. The idea of 'appealing' is not distantly connected therewith; cf. *gêrêzé* in Y. XXXII. 9: "O Mazdâ and Asha! unto you-two I *appeal* with the utterance of my spirit;" also cf. Y. XLVI 2: "I *beseech* unto Thee, O Ahura!, look to it." Again cf. Y. L. 9: "as a man-of-good-wisdom, I may be an aspirant and a *beseecher*."

Kahmâi (Sk. *Kasmai*), inter. pro., not mas. $\frac{4}{1}$ but neuter $\frac{4}{1}$: whatfor. The reply to this query is given in § 6. l. 3., viz., *fshuyantaechâ vâstryâichâ*: 'for progress and industry.'

Thwarôzhdûm is an Aorist form.

Tashat, future imperfect $\frac{3}{4}$ from rt. 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬀 .

Aeshmô, rt. *ish* (sk. *ish*), 'to strive', 'endeavour': gunated form

* It is not quite correct to speak of the Archangels in relation to the Gathas. The Avestic term *Amesha Spenta*, whereby are ordinarily meant the Archangels, is absent in the Gathas.

² Y. LVII 17; Yt. XIII (Farvardin) 76.

³ Y. LVII 2.

⁴ Y. LVII 2; XLII 2.

aesh + *ma*; a suffix: 'striving', 'endeavouring'. The word likewise stands as the name of an adverse spirit, an opponent of Sraosha, as a demon of wrath, though the root-meaning is that of 'wish'. In Y. XLVIII. 7, the word is modified by the prefixial 'ni', meaning thereby 'low desires'. The context requires us to interpret the word in a good sense.

Hazaschâ, *hazô* ($\frac{1}{2}$ of *h*-stem) + *châ*, 'and'; cf. Sk. *sahas*, which is employed in the Vedas in the good sense of 'power', 'strength'. Also cf. Sk. *sahasâvat* (Ved.) 'powerful', 'mighty'. It is indeed difficult for one to understand why the Vedic sense of the word should not be followed. All languages abound in cases where a derogatory sense comes to be attached to words originally conveying a good idea. Cf. the English words 'despot' and 'knave'. Also cf. Av. *du*, 'to speak', used in the Gathas in the good sense, whereas in the later Avesta, the same root is restricted to the speaking of the evil creatures.* Similarly, in the later Avesta, the word *hazangh* stands in a derogatory sense, as, in Zamyât Yasht (§ 80), it signifies the strength of the *daeva*†. In interpreting words in the Gathas, the Vedic meanings of the corresponding Sanskrit words stand us in good stead inasmuch as, in point of time, the Vedas occupy the same position with respect to what may be termed Sanskrit literature as the Gathas do in relation to the Avestan literature. Let us further see in what light the same word is used in the Gathas. In Y. XLIII. 4, *hazé* (strength) of the Good Mind is spoken of; likewise, in Y. XXXIII. 12 'powerful strength (*hazô*)' is sought for. Thus, out of the only three contexts in the Gathas, where the word *hazô* is used, the two, *sine dubio*, admit of a good sense and as the corresponding word *sahas* is also to be met with in the Vedic literature employed likewise in a good sense, we are justified, *a fortiori*, in interpreting the word in this context as well, in a favourable light, as 'strength' and not as 'plunder', 'spoliation' etc.

Rēmô, $\frac{1}{2}$ of *a*-stem; rt. *ram* (Ved. *ram*), 'to tranquilize', 'to calm'. The same root conveys also the notion of 'to please' or 'to rejoice'. The only other Gathic context, Y. XLVIII. 7, has

* Y. XXIX 5 (*dvaidd*); LIII 1 (*dabên*); XXXII 1, 13 (*dâta*, 'envoy,')

† *Adavata*, *davata*: Vend. XIX 1, 6, 8, 44, 45 etc., 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀 Yt. XIX 47.

* Also cf. Vend. IV 1; Y. XII 2.

the form *paiti-rēmēm*, 'counter-wish,' 'contra-wish.' Usually, the word is interpreted in the sense of 'strife', 'cruelty' and so on. But the Vedic sense of the word does not admit of that interpretation. Strange enough, this notion of 'tranquilizing' is handed down even to the Yasht literature. In Farvardin Yasht (§ 95), where Mithra is spoken of as tranquilizing the risings, the word *rāmayeiti*, from the same root *ram*, is used.¹

*Āhishyā*². Strictly-speaking, the form ought to be *āhishyā* in $\frac{1}{1}$,³ as the five words used by its side all stand in that case and number. We would take the analogy of *āhita* in *anāhita*. *Āhita* and *āhisha*⁴ are similar in form. *Āhita* is made up of *a*, 'not' + *ā* + rt. *hi*, 'to bind, + *ta*, i. e., not-bound, contaminated. *Āhisha* is likewise to be explained as made up of *a*, not + *ā* + rt. *hich* (Lt. *siccare*; Fr. *sécher*), to become dry + *ha*, a suffix⁵, meaning thereby 'non-drying', i. e., 'fertility.'

D'rēščā, $\frac{1}{1}$ of *z*-stem;⁶ rt. *d'rēčz* (Sk. *drih*), 'to make strong'; also 'to increase,' 'to prosper'. The word is not used elsewhere in the Gathas in the substantive form.⁷

Ti viščā, $\frac{1}{1}$ of *sh*-stem (rt. *tu*, 'to be efficient'); cf. Vedic *tavas*, 'powerful,' 'efficacious,' 'energetic'. Also cf. Ved. *tavisha*, in the same sense. Let us examine the use of the word elsewhere in the Gathas. In Y. XXXIII. 12 (*Ārmaiti tēvišm dasvā*) it means 'strength' 'efficiency'.⁸ The word is used seven times in the Gathas and out of that in as many as six places, it is used only in the good sense. There could be no reason, therefore, to attach to the word when it is used in the seventh context, viz., the present one, any other meaning but that so consistently attached thereto in the Gathas.

¹ Also cf. 'pacifies Mithraic mind' in Meher Yt. § 109. See Khordād Yt. § 9.

² Dramesteter interprets the word to mean 'prey'; Justi 'drought'; Mills 'desolation'; Spiegel 'impure'.

³ Dr. Mills in his 'Five Zarathushtrian Gathas', 1894 observes on p. 411 "I would prefer a nominal form in the adverbial instr."

⁴ *Āhishya* is but a derived form from *Āhisha*.

⁵ For *hisha* from rt. *hich*, cf. *hasha*, 'a friend' from rt. *hach* 'to follow'.

⁶ cf. *hvarēz* nom. sing. *hvarēz*.

⁷ For the verbal sense cf. Y. XLIV 15: XLVIII 7; XLIX. 2. The Sanskrit word '*drih*' conveys the notion of 'increase' and 'prosperity.'

⁸ So also in Y. XXXIV 11, XLIII 1, XLV 10, XLVIII 6 and LI 7.

Vāstā, $\frac{1}{2}$ of *r*-stem; rt. *vangh* (Sk. *vas*), 'to fix', 'to regulate'; regulator.

Sāstā, Aorist $\frac{2}{3}$ parasm. or $\frac{3}{4}$ atm.; rt. *sangh* (Sk. *śas*), 'to show', 'to teach.'

TRANSLATION.

Unto-you (two) Geush-Urvan appealed (thus): 'Whatfor (have) you-created me? who shall-chisel me?' (who may-be)* to-me (full of) endeavour, strength, tranquility, fertility, prosperity and-efficiency. There is no regulator for-me but Thee *(that) may thus teach" me the good industry.

K. E. PUNEGAR.

* The replies to these two inquiries are to be found in § 6. Ahura is depicted there to say that on the score of purity no *ahu* or *ratu* was known to him and that the universe (Geush-Urvan) was produced for 'progress' and 'industry.'

* cf. closely *ke mā* (*tashat*) and *ā-mā*. This shows that the first interrogative phrase has a relative clause following it. Had the six adjectives in line 2 conveyed bad ideas, instead of *ā-mā*, the text would have had *yāt-mā* ('since to me').

* Alternative, 'so you-teach me'.

A FEW IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE AVESTAN GRAMMAR.

The following monograph is the result of the inquisitiveness to dissect Avestan words with a view to learn in detail the literary anatomy thereof. When many instances of words presenting a certain common trait of grammatical idiosyncrasy could be culled out, they go, *a posteriori*, to formulate a distinct rule of grammar, rather than be regarded as exceptions. For our purposes, we shall rather adopt an *a priori* method to facilitate the elucidation, substantiating the statements with examples, which do not however claim to be exhaustive in number.

I. ADDITION OF و TO THE ROOT.

A redundant و will be found added to the root without altering its meaning. The inflected form of the root thus arrived at is generally conjugated as the first class of roots. In several instances, such inflected forms of roots have been already detected, but, instead of being recognised as inflected, they have been regarded as distinct roots.

1. The root 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, 'to increase', is of the third class: cf. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Vd. IV. 48). The inflected form of it is 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀, which also means 'to increase', and it is conjugated according to the first class of roots; e. g., 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. XLVI. 13), 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. XLIV. 10) etc.

2. √ 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, 'to give'; e. g., 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. XXVIII. 8), (Y. XI. 18). I. F. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀, 'to give' (1st cl.); e. g., 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. XXXIII. 2), 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. LI. 6).

3. √ 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, 'to give' etc. (3rd cl.); e. g., 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (redup. weak + 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀) (Y. XXXIV. 1). I. F. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (1st cl.); e. g., 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Yt. XIX. 11), 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Vd. XVIII. 29; Yt. V. 19, 23, etc.), 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. XXIX. 9), 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Y. XLVI. 15) (See II. 8; p. 283), etc. The examples given here as being of the 1st cl.

* Changeable to 𐬀 or 𐬀.

* I. F. = Inflected form.

might possibly be objected to on the ground that 𐬀𐬀𐬌 or 𐬀𐬀𐬌 is the reduplicated form of the $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$ which is of the 3rd cl. But in the conjugated forms, we generally find the weak base of the reduplication employed. However, the nominal form 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀 (Y. X. 9), *sine dubio*, points to the fact that 𐬀𐬀 is an inflected root to which the substantive suffix 𐬀𐬌 is directly added; cf. 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀 from the $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$ etc. The infinitive form 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀 equally requires 𐬀𐬀 to be an inflected root.

4. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to be crude, cruel, hard' (2nd cl.); e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀 pres. part. (Yt. XXII. 17, 35). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 (1st cl.); e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Y. LI. 13).

5. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to think' (4th cl.); e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Yt. X. 71, 105, 139). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 ; cf. $\text{𐬀𐬀} + \text{𐬀𐬀} = \text{𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀}$, the first 𐬀 whereof could be explained by the inflexional 𐬀 only; 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Y. XLIV. 8) seems to us made up of 𐬀𐬀𐬌 with the infinitive suffix 𐬀𐬀𐬀 attached to it.*

6. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$ (Sk. 𐬀𐬀), 'to sleep'; e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀 past part. (Vd. XVIII. 46). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 , 𐬀𐬀𐬌 (1st cl.); e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Vd. IV. 45), 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Y. LVII. 16; Yt. X. 103).†

7. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to go' (4th cl.); e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Yt. XV. 53). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 ; e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Yt. XVII. 55).

8. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to flow'; e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Yt. VIII. 31). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 ; e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Yt. VIII. 31).

9. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to follow'; e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Y. XXXIV. 2). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 , 𐬀𐬀𐬌 ; cf. the nominal form 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Y. LXII. 9), which is possible from the I. F. only, as the substantive suffix 𐬀𐬌 is applied to the root.

10. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to bathe' (10th cl.); e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Vd. XIX. 22). I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 ; e. g., 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (Vd. VII. 14, 15, etc.).

11. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬀}}$, 'to see'; cf. 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 . I. F. 𐬀𐬀𐬌 , 𐬀𐬀𐬌 ; cf.

* When two dentals come together and if the second of the two be 𐬀 or 𐬀 , the first dental is changed into 𐬀 or 𐬀 ; e. g., $\text{𐬀𐬀} + \text{𐬀𐬀} = \text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$.

† After the root a redundant 𐬀 is inserted: q. v. IV. 3; p. 283.

‡ This word is usually explained as an instance of compound verbs. It may better be explained as above, as otherwise with 𐬀𐬀 which is a root of the 3rd class, the compound root here employed would be said to stand in the second class.

§ With the transposition of 𐬀 and 𐬀 .

where 𐭮𐭩𐭥 is added to the I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XLIV. 5).

12. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to deceive' (10th cl.); *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XLIII. 6). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; cf. 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 where the infinitive suffix 𐭮𐭩𐭥 is added to the I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 .

13. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to thrive'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Yt. XIII. 146). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 imperative 2/3 âtm. from 𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXXIV. 7; LVIII. 5).

14. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to dig'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Vd. XVII. 5, 7). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Vd. II. 32).

15. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to hold'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XI. 17). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Visp. XVII. 1; XXI. 1; Y. LXII. 11).

16. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to become'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXXIII. 10). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; cf. infinitive 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 .

II. ADDITION OF > TO THE ROOT.

In a few instances > appears to have been added without any definite reason to the gunated form of the root.

1. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to protect'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XIX. 10). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. LVII. 16; Yt. X. 103).

2. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to repel'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Yt. VIII. 8, 39). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXVIII. 6).

3. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to fill'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Vd. IV. 17). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; cf. 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 where the abstract suffix 𐭮𐭩𐭥 is added to the root' with an 𐭮 (see IV. 2 below).

4. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to put faith in' *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXXI. 3). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXXI. 2). Cf. 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXX. 11).

5. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to live'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXXIX. 1). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; cf. 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 .

6. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to deceive'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XLIII. 6). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXXI. 17), 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXX. 6).

7. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 , 'to know'; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXVIII. 10; XXXIV. 7, etc.). I. F. 𐭮𐭩𐭥 ; *e.g.*, 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥 (Y. XXIX. 3; XXXI. 5; XLIV. 3). This is not an infinitive form as is hitherto explained, but a Pres. âtm. 1/1 with > added to the root 𐭮𐭩𐭥 . For

phonetic purposes, *w* is inserted between *y* and *n*; cf. *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*.

8. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to give' *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (Y. XXXIV. 1). I. F. *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (cf. I. 3 above; p. 280), *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (Y. XLVI. 15). (for further explanation, see the preceding word).

III. INSERTION OF *w* IN THE BODY OF THE ROOT.

In the Avesta a few pairs of roots may be named differing from each other by an internal *w*, without materially affecting their significations.

1. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to seek' etc.; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (Y. XXXIII. 6); and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, 'to seek' etc.; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀* (Y. XXXII. 3). Cf. *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀* (Y. XXXIII. 4).
2. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to wish, desire'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵* (Y. L. 1); and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, 'to wish, desire'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀* (Y. LIII. 6).
3. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to endeavour'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵* (Y. XXVIII. 4; XLIII. 9); and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀* (Y. XLIII. 16).
4. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to rise'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵* (Vd. XXI. 5, 9, 13, 17); and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, 'to rise'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (Yt. VIII. 5, 42).
5. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to go'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵* (Y. XLVI. 16); and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, 'to go'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀* (Yt. X. 95).
6. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to grow'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (Y. XLIV. 3); and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, 'to grow'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀* (Y. XXXI. 6).¹

IV. INSERTION OF A REDUNDANT LETTER AFTER THE ROOT.

Before the abstract and infinitive suffixes, which are attached directly to the root, a redundant letter is sometimes found inserted.

1. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$. Inflected form = *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*, from which the abst. noun is *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀𐬀* (Y. XXXIV. 1), where before *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵* an *w* is inserted.
2. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$. Inflected form = *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*, from which comes the abstract noun *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀𐬀* (Y. XXXIII. 14) with an *w* inserted before *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵*.
3. $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$. Inflected form = *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀*, from which is formed the

¹ As an instance of a root not employed in the verbal form but such as could be ascertained from its nominal form, may be named $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵}}$, 'to reverse'; *e.g.*, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* (Y. XLVI. 9) and $\sqrt{\text{𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀}}$, *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀* employed in the nominal form *𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬀*.

infinitive ḥmḥ (Y. XLIV. 8) where ḥm is preceded by
an w.

4. $\sqrt{\text{ś}}$, 'to hear' forms its abstract noun $\sqrt{\text{ś}}\text{-ś}$ (Y. XXXIII. 4; XLIV. 13) with a ś before $\sqrt{\text{ś}}$.

5. √ 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 'to love'. Infinitive form = 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 (Y. LXXI. 13) with an *a* before the inf. termination.

6. √*s*_b, 'to carry'. Inf. form = *sawus-s*_b (Vd.
II. 24) with an *w* added after the root.

7. $\sqrt{\text{ru}^{\text{h}}\text{is}}$, 'to destroy'. Inf. form = $\text{ru}^{\text{h}}\text{is}$ (Y. XLVI. 11) with an u inserted.

8. ṣṭṭ, 'to do'. Inf. form = ṣṭṭ (Y. XXXIII. 6; XLIII. 11) with u added.

V. SYNTACTIC PECULIARITIES.

The Zamyât Yasht, section 81 runs as follows :

[illegible]

It is evident that the reciter of the Ahuna Vairya is the Holy Zarathushtra, although, strangely enough, in the above sentence, the Avestan words for the Holy Zarathushtra stand in the accusative case, whilst the thing recited, viz., the Ahuna Vairya, stands in the nominative case. However, the word *ahunō vairyō*, which is an adjective qualifying *Ahunō Vairyō*, stands correctly in the accusative. In Yasna IX. 14, the same idea is expressed but in that context no such inaccurate construction occurs.

In Visperat II. 7, a sentence runs as under :

[illegible]

The intransitive verb is, 'is' cannot have any objects. In the above sentence, is and as as appositionals to is should have stood in the nominative case, but, as the sentence runs, they stand in the accusative, which is evidently a mistake.

K. E. PUNEGAR.

A MITHRAS LITURGY.

(Translated from the text of A Dieterich: Leipzig:
Trübner 1903.)

Be propitious to me, Providence and Fate, as I write these first traditional mysteries. But to my child alone grant Immortality, for he is an initiate worthy of our power, that power which the great God, Helios Mithras bade that I should receive from his archangel, that I alone an eagle, might soar to Heaven and all things see.

This is the prayer of invocation:—

First origin of my origin, first beginning of my beginning, first spirit of the spirit which is in me, God-given fire for the mixing of what is mixed in me, type of the fire in me, type of the water in me, earth-substance, type of my earth-substance, complete body of me, the man (or woman), cunningly moulded by a glorious arm and an imperishable right hand in a lightless world illumined by the Ray, in a soul-less world infused with a Soul. If it seemed good to you, hand me over, me held by immortal birth, to the nature which lies beneath me, that after the necessity which circumvents me and presses on me sore, I may see the immortal Beginning with the immortal spirit, with the immortal water, with the dry land and the air; that I may be born again in spirit, that I may be dedicated and that the holy spirit may breathe in me, that I may marvel at the holy fire, that I may behold the abyss of sunrise, that dire flood, and that the life-breathing encompassing air may bear me, since I shall behold to-day with immortal eyes, I, mortal born from a mortal womb, bettered by a mighty power and by the imperishable right hand with deathless spirit the deathless Aeon and the Master of the crowns of fire, I, made holy by holy purification, since beneath me the power of men's souls stands as nothing. And this I shall take on myself again after the bitter and toilsome necessity which encompasses and presses sore upon me, I, (man or woman), according to the decree of God which changeth not. For I cannot reach being mortal born the heights where the immortal lamp burns with golden flames. Stand still then, imperishable nature, and let me free at once to escape from the necessity which heeds no prayer and presses sore. I am the son.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INITIANT.

Draw breath from the rays, breathing them in three

times as powerfully as possible. Then thou wilt perceive thyself made light and striding upwards. Thou wilt imagine thyself suspended in air. Thou wilt hear no voice of man or beast, but neither wilt thou see any mortal thing of earth at that hour, but thou wilt see every immortal thing. For thou shalt see the divine arrangement of that day and hour, the gods of day going up to heaven and others descending; and the path of the gods which you see will appear through the Disk, my father. Similarly the Flute will be visible, the origin of the wind that doeth service. For thou shalt see as it were a flute hanging on the Disk, unending in the regions towards the west, as it were an east wind. If the other points to the region of the east, in that direction the vision will turn. Thou shalt see the gods gazing at thee and moving toward thee. Lay then the finger of silence on thy mouth and say, "*Silence Silence Silence*", the sign of the living imperishable God. "*Protect me, Silence.*" Then pipe a long piping, then whistle and speak, and then shalt thou see how favourably the gods look upon thee, and move toward thee no longer, but proceed to their individual order in the scheme.

When thou seest the upper world pure and solitary with neither God nor angel moving therein, wait to hear the crack of a great thunder overwhelm thee. Say again "*Silence, Silence*".

PRAYER.

I am a star, your fellow wanderer, shining from the deep.

When thou hast said this, the disk will at once unfold.

After thou hast prayed this second prayer, "*Silence*", and the rest, pipe twice and whistle twice, and at once thou shalt see stars coming from the sun's disk, five rayed, very many, filling the whole air. Say then again, "*Silence, Silence*", and when the Disk has opened thou wilt see an immeasurable circle, and fiery doors, shut. Then close thy eyes and repeat this following prayer:—

THIRD PRAYER.

Hear me, hear me, (man or woman), Lord who hast barred with thy breath the fiery portals of heaven, Twy-bodied, Fire-wielder, Light-creator, Fire-breathing, Fire-bold, Ghostly Light, Joy of Fire, Fair Radiance, Lord of Radiance, Fire-bodied, Radiance-giving, Fire-sowing, Fire-dispensing, Life-radiance, Fire-whirling, Radiance-moving, Lightning-dispenser, Fame of

Radiance, Radiance-increaser, Star-conqueror. Open unto me so that (on account of bitter ineluctable necessity that urges me sore) I may call upon those names that never took upon themselves human shape nor have been clearly fashioned by human speech or voice, the immortal, living precious names EEÖ, IOÖ etc.

Say all this with fire and spirit, finishing the first, then beginning the second, till thou hast said to the end the seven undying gods of the world. When thou hast said this, thou wilt hear thunder and noise in the surrounding air, and thou wilt feel thyself shaken. Say then again "*Silence*" (Prayer.) Then open thine eyes and thou wilt see the doors open and the world of the gods that is within the doors, so that thy spirit will run together and ascend with joy and pleasure at the sight.

Then stand and draw in a great breath of the divine. And when thy soul is at rest again, say:

Come hither, Lord, archandara photaza periphotaza buthix etimenmerophoratheneriëprothriphorathi.

When thou hast said this the rays will turn towards thee, and thou wilt be in the midst among them. When thou hast done this, thou wilt see a god rather young, beautiful, with fiery hair, in a white chiton with a clamys of purple, crowned with flame. At once greet him with the Fire-greeting :

Lord, of great power and might, Helios, Lord of Sky and Earth, God of gods, mighty is thy Breath, mighty thy power. Lord, if it seem good to thee, herald me to the greatest God who engendered thee and made thee, that, a mortal, I, son of the woman...born of the mortal womb of ...and of the spermatichor and to-day born again by thee, I, called to immortality from among so many myriads in this hour in accordance with the will of the God supremely good strive and desire to worship thee as a mortal may.

When thou hast done this, he will come to the Pole and thou wilt see him striding round as one on a journey.

But do thou gaze upon him and give forth a long bellow as though with a horn, with the whole power of thy breath, torturing thy side, and kiss thy amulets and say first of all towards the right "*Protect me, Prosëmuri*". And when thou hast said this, thou wilt see the doors opened and seven maidens coming from the Deep in linen robes, having the faces of snakes. They are called the Fate-Goddesses of heaven, holding golden sceptres. When thou seest this, greet them thus:

Greeting ye seven Fate Goddesses of heaven, holy and good maidens, re-

vered ones sharing in the communion of *Minimirphor*, most holy guardians of the four Pillars, Hail the first *Ohrepsenthaēs*, Hail the second *Monescheēs*, Hail the third *Meshran*, Hail the fourth *Ararmachēs*, Hail the fifth *Echommiē*, Hail the sixth *Tichnondaes*, Hail the seventh *Erouombries*.

Then come seven more gods forward having the faces of black bulls, with linen girdles and seven diadems of gold. These are they who are called the Lords of the Pole of heaven, whom thou must greet in similar wise, each by their own name,— Hail guardians of the Axis, sacred and strong young men, who under one command turn the circling hub of the wheel of heaven and send down thunder and lightning and shocks of earthquake and thunderbolt against the tribes of the impious, but upon me, who am pure and God-fearing, health and integrity of body and strength of hearing and sight, and a peaceful soul in the good hours of this present day, O my Lords, O gods of great power. Hail the first *Aieronthi*, Hail the second *Mercheimeros*, Hail the third *Achrichiour*, Hail the fourth *Mesargiltō*, Hail the fifth *Chichrōalithō*, Hail the sixth *Ermichthathōps*, Hail the seventh *Eorasichē*.

When they take their places here and there in the order, look into the air and thou shalt see lightnings descending and the light glowing and the earth shaken, and the overmighty God descending, having a countenance all light, young with golden hair, robed in white linen, crowned with gold, his legs clad with a white clothing, holding in his hand the golden shoulder of a bullock. This shoulder is the great Bear that moves the heaven and turns it back, wandering hour by hour up and down. Then wilt thou see lightning springing from his eyes and stars darting from his body. Then do thou bellow a long bellowing, till thou canst do no more, torturing thy belly, that thou mayst move together thy five senses, kissing thy amulets again, and saying

Mokrimopherimophererizōn over me, abide with me in my soul, forget me not, for *Euthophenenthropioth* bids thee.

And with a long bellow look the god in the face and greet him thus:—

Hail, Lord Master of water, Hail Lord Founder of earth, Hail Lord of spirit. Lord, born anew I depart in that I am exalted, and in that I am exalted I die. Born in the birth that engenders life, freed from death I go on the way thou hast created, ordained and made a Sacrament.

JAMES ELBOY FLECKER.

GREEK AND LATIN ALLUSIONS TO THE RELIGION OF XERXES.

INTRODUCTION.

The subject of the religion of the ancient Persian Kings, and the question whether the line of the Achæmenidæ were true Zoroastrians is a matter that has received considerable attention among Irânian scholars, as will be clear from a glance at the partial bibliography given by Jackson in *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 21, p. 161, note. A general summary of the topic in its various bearings has been given by the same writer in his chapter on the religion of the Achæmenians in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, vol. 2, pp. 687-693. The Avesta itself makes no mention of the Achæmenidæ. The sources of information on the topic are therefore the Old Persian inscriptions, certain non-Irânian inscriptions, allusions in the Pahlavi literature and in Firdausi's *Shâh Nâmah*, the Old Testament, and other oriental sources, as well as a considerable body of references in the Greek and Roman classics. It is from the classical side that I have taken an interest in this theme, and since there are several passages in Greek and Roman classical writers that throw light on the religious beliefs and practices of Xerxes, I have thought it worth while to review these passages briefly, with the idea of presenting for others the opportunity of judging whether the statements that they contain, viewed alone by themselves, will warrant us in placing this Persian monarch among the followers of Zoroaster. In collecting my material, I have received help from my friend and teacher, Professor Jackson, who had gathered a number of references bearing on the religion of Xerxes while making his researches into the general question of the religion of the Achæmenidæ. I would add as a foreword that I purpose merely to give an objective treatment of the material found in these classical writers, whatever its value may or may not be. No synthetic treatment either by comparison with data taken

from inscriptions or from the Avesta, is attempted, with the exception of a few references given in passing.

DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

In treating this question my aim has been to determine whether the conduct of Xerxes, so far as we know it, was in keeping with the well-known tenets and practices of Zoroastrianism, and under this general head I have sought to draw inferences from the following particular considerations: his treatment of the elements, earth, fire, and water; his adherence to the Magi and their priestly sway; his attitude towards other religions; and the identification or non-identification, with Avestan deities, of certain gods whom classical writers mention as worshipped by Xerxes.

XERXES'S TREATMENT OF THE ELEMENTS.

(a) FIRE.—The first point for consideration is Xerxes's treatment of the elements, fire, earth and water. We shall discuss these in the order mentioned. The fact that fire was used by the Persians to destroy the temples and cities of the Athenians and their allies during the Græco-Persian War is proved by the testimony of many writers. The most complete and interesting description of Xerxes's victorious march on Athens is given by Herodotus (*History*, 8.32 seq.) and that account is supplemented and supported by statements of Plutarch, Pausanias, Nepos, Justin and Quintus Curtius Rufus. We learn, for example, from Plutarch (*Themis*, 1) that the family chapel of Themistocles at Phyla in Attica, was burnt by the Persians under Xerxes. The oracle and sanctuary of Apollo, at Abæ in Phocis, was also destroyed by fire (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10, 35, 2), and the torch was successively set to the cities and temples of the Haliartians (*Ibid.* 9, 32, 5), to Hyampolis, (*Ibid.* 10, 35, 6) and other Phocian towns (Plutarch, *Themis*. 9; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 3, 10, 9; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10, 33, 8), together with their sanctuaries, to Thespiæ, Plataæ, and at last to hated Athens and its shrines. (Justinus, *Hist.* 2, 12; Nepos, *Themis*. 4). Even sacred Delphi was assailed, but was saved by a thunderstorm which frightened away the attacking party. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10, 7, 1; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9; Justinus, *Hist.* 2, 12).

BURNING BY XERXES OF THE GREEK TEMPLES IN HELLAS.—It may not be amiss to quote from the account of Herodotus as given

in his *History* (8, 32-38, 50): "The barbarians (Persians) overran the whole land of Phocis.....and delivered both the cities and the temples to the flames. They destroyed the city of Drymos by fire and also the following places: Charadra, Erochos, Tethronion, Amphikaia, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi, and Abæ. At the last-named place there was a temple of Apollo, rich and furnished with treasures and votive offerings in profusion, and the seat of an oracle was there at that time as well as now. This temple they plundered and burnt;.....and they set fire to Panopeus and Daulis and Aiolis".....and Delphi was attacked.....and Attica was laid waste with fire... "and he (Xerxes) burnt Thespiæ and Plataæ because he was informed by the Thebans that these cities were not taking the part of the Medes."

BURNING OF THE GREEK TEMPLES IN ASIA MINOR.—In Asia Minor, among those Greeks who refused submission to Persia, there was likewise a similar record of destruction, for, as we learn from Strabo (*Geog.* 14, 1, 5; cf. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 7, 5, 28), all the temples there were burnt with the single exception of the famous seat of worship at Ephesus, the gigantic fane of Diana. Thus a fiery vengeance was wreaked upon the allied Ionians and Athenians, who at the beginning of the Ionic revolt had set fire to Sardis, its temples, and its sacred groves. (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.8; 7.11.)

SACRED FIRE AT DELPHI GOES OUT.—But this use of fire by Xerxes as a means of destruction can hardly be called a desecration of the sacred element, for the temples and houses were built of stone and of wood which are products of earth. The mingling of one pure element with another pure element, or of fire and its natural affinity, wood, was in a technical sense no real act of desecration. Besides, the ascendancy of fire over the power of the Greek divinities was thus typified and proved. And yet it is important and interesting to note that Delphi, where the sacred fire of Apollo was ever kept burning, was attacked by a division of the Persian army, and, according to the statement of one ancient author (Plutarch, *Numa*, 9,) the sacred flame was, on that occasion, allowed to go out. One cannot help wondering what would have been the Persian king's attitude toward the ever-blazing hearth-

stone of the Italic goddess Vesta, had he come in contact with the Roman nation.

USE OF FIRE-ARROWS BY XERXES.—Furthermore we know that the Persians did not hesitate to use fire as a weapon of offence, for we are told by Herodotus (*Hist.* 8.52) that when the remnant of the Athenians who had tarried in Athens barricaded themselves on the acropolis and built a wooden palisade across the entrance, "the Persians put tow around their arrows, lighted it, and then shot them against the palisade".

(b) EARTH: BURIAL.—On the treatment of earth by the Persian monarch we have several references. His demand from the Greeks of earth and water (*Herodotus, Hist.* 7.32; *Polybius, Hist.* 9.38; *Plutarch, Themis.* 6), is hardly significant from a religious point of view, being merely typical of the surrender by the Greek to the Persian of the sovereignty over land and sea. More significant is his attitude toward burial. *Herodotus (Hist.* 1.140) tells us that the Persians in their own day buried (*gi krupousi*) their dead, but "the body of a Persian man", he says, "is not buried until it has been torn by a bird or a dog; (the Magians, I know for a certainty, have this practice for they do it openly.) However that may be, the Persians cover the body with wax and then bury it in the earth." It is worthy of notice that the direct pollution of the earth by the corpse was thus avoided by the covering of wax about the body. There are two passages, however, in which *Herodotus* gives accounts of burials that were authorized and sanctioned by *Xerxes*. In one case, the burial of *Artachaies*, a favorite general and a member of the *Achaemenian* family, who died as the result of sickness; in another, the burial of the dead at *Thermopylae*. Of the former incident he writes (*Hist.* 7.117); "*Xerxes* considered his loss a great misfortune, and carried him forth and buried (*thápsē*) him with great honor, and the whole army joined in throwing up a mound for him." Of the latter incident he says (*Hist.* 8.24): "For all those of his army who were lying dead at *Thermopylae* (there were as many as twenty thousand in all) with the exception of about one thousand whom he left (unburied), he dug trenches and buried, laying over them leaves and heaping earth upon them, so that they might not be seen by the men of the fleet." Here the leaves perhaps served,

as did the wax, to prevent actual contact between the earth and the dead body, and we must remember that in time of war many a religious tenet doubtless had to receive a more liberal interpretation.

. DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD BY DOGS.—Apropos of this general point regarding burial, it was a fact according to Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.187), that multitudes of Indian dogs (*kunôn Indikôn*) accompanied the host that invaded Greece, but whether their presence in the army had anything to do with the Magian method of disposing of the dead according to Zoroastrian custom, or whether they were used as draught-animals, can hardly be definitely determined.

BURIAL ALIVE OF NINE CHILDREN.—Most important, if it have any religious bearing, which is denied by Rapp (*Zeitschrift der Morgenländische Gesellschaft* 20.83-84), is the following statement of Herodotus (*Hist.* 7, 114) relative to a certain action of Xerxes in Greece: "and having heard that the place was called 'nine roads' they buried there alive nine boys and girls of the inhabitants. Burying alive is a Persian custom, as I have learned that even Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she had grown old, buried fourteen children of the Persians, of distinguished parentage (*eontôn epiphaneôn andrôn*), to propitiate (*kâtâchâritzessthâi*) on behalf of herself the god who is said to be under the earth (*tô upo gin legomenô einâi theô*). The "god below the earth" is perhaps Ahriman; and it may be argued that we have in this act an allusion to demon-worship, like the human sacrifices in India to Kâlî or Durgâ.

INVOKING THE CURSE OF AHRIMAN.—As a support to this latter conjecture as to Ahriman, we have the story told by Plutarch (*Themis.* 28) that when Themistocles as an exile from Athens, came for asylum to the Persian court, the king,—either Xerxes or Artaxerxes (there is some doubt which of the two is intended: see below)—rejoicing that one who had been Persia's bitterest foe had now come to him, "spoke as though this were the greatest possible piece of good fortune, and, in his prayers begged *Arimānios* (Ahriman) to make his enemies ever continue to banish their ablest men." He is said to have offered a sacrifice to the gods and to have drunk wine at once, and during the night in his sound-

est sleep he thrice called out: "I have got Themistocles the Athenian". But regarding the identity of this Persian monarch who received Themistocles, the ancient historians themselves were divided. Some, like Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, and Heraclides said that it was Xerxes (Plutarch, *Themis*. 27), but others, including Thucydides, and Charon of Lampsacus maintained that it was Artaxerxes, his son (Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.137; Nepos, *Themis*. 9; Plutarch, *Themis*. 27). Still, whether it be the father, or the son, it is clear that *Arimanios* or the Avestan Ahriman, was a being with whose function this royal Persian family was familiar, and whom they did not hesitate to refer to when invoking a curse.

(c) WATER: THE HELLESPONT LASHED.—Very curious is Xerxes's treatment of the third element, water. In Herodotus (*Hist.* 7. 35) we read the following account of his action when a storm had destroyed his first bridge-of-boats over the Hellespont: "When Xerxes heard it, being incensed at the Hellespont, he gave command that three hundred blows should be applied with the lash and that a pair of shackles should be lowered into the sea. And I have recently heard that he also sent branders to brand the Hellespont. And he ordered the beaters, moreover, to say brutal and arrogant things: 'O bitter water, thy master inflicts this punishment upon thee, because thou didst dishonor him, though thou hadst suffered nothing unworthy at his hands. And King Xerxes will cross thee whether thou art willing or not. And no one of men will justly offer sacrifice to thee, on the ground that thou art a stream muddy and briny.' He bade them punish the sea by such means and he bade them to cut off the heads of those who had supervised the bridging of the Hellespont."

ATONEMENT FOR THE INSULT TO THE HELLESPONT.—Quite in contrast to this scene is the picture which the Greek historian draws when the army was about to cross the bridge after its restoration. Describing this event Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.54) says: "During one day, then, they were making preparations to cross over, and on the next day they waited for the sun, desiring to see him rise, and in the meantime offered all kinds of incense upon the bridges and strewed the way with branches of myrtle. Then, as the sun was rising, Xerxes poured a libation from a golden cup into the sea, and prayed to the sun that no accident might befall

him such as should cause him to cease from subduing Europe until he had come to its farthest limits. After having thus prayed he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and with it a golden mixing-bowl and a Persian sword which they call *âkinâkis*; but whether he cast them into the sea as an offering dedicated to the sun, or whether he had repented of his scourging of the Hellespont and desired to present a gift to the sea as amends for that, I cannot certainly say."

LASHING OF THE HELLESPONT INEXCUSABLE.—Viewed from the distance of the twentieth century, the scourging of the sea seems like the act of a petulant child, and the Persian ruler's claim to sovereignty over the ocean recalls a similar claim which the servants of Canute, the Danish King of England, made for their master. But if Xerxes had any real religious veneration for this one of the elements, it is difficult to see how he could have been led to such an act of sacrilege. Even the claim that the Hellespont was salt and therefore not the element of pure water, could hardly serve as an excuse, inasmuch as the Avestan *Vouru Kasha* and *Chaechasta* are usually identified with the Caspian Sea and Lake Urumiah respectively, both of which are extremely saline. (Cf. Jackson : *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 70, 71).

ZOROASTRIAN FEATURES IN THE WORSHIP OF XERXES.—It should be noted here that the worship of the sun, to whom, by the way, Xerxes also offered a libation before the battle of Thermopylae (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.223), is genuinely Mazdean and Zoroastrian, while the perfume and myrtle strewed by the Magi recall the *hadhânaepata* and *urvarâ* of the Avesta. Nor is it without interest that perfume and myrtle were put to a similar use in Susa, when the Persians of that city first received word from Xerxes of the destruction of Athens. This we know from Herodotus (*Hist.* 8.99) who says: "The first message which came to Susa, announcing that Xerxes had Athens in his possession, so greatly rejoiced the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and offered incense perpetually, and continued in sacrifices and feasting."

SUMMARY OF XERXES'S TREATMENT OF THE ELEMENTS.—It would seem therefore, in consideration of all the facts, that Xerxes's treatment of water would tend to prove that he was not a strict

Zoroastrian. The evidence, however, with regard to his treatment of earth reveals a more orthodox care, especially in the burial of the dead, who, as we have seen, were probably covered with wax or leaves to prevent actual contact with, and hence pollution of, the soil. In the case of fire he did not scruple to use it as a weapon of offence and a medium of revenge. On the whole, in his treatment of the elements, he seems to have been under the influence of policy or momentary impulse rather than to have been guided by any deep-seated religious convictions or laws.

XERXES'S ADHERENCE TO THE MAGI.

XERXES AN ADHERENT OF THE MAGI.—There is no doubt at all that Xerxes was an adherent of the Magi, for there are numerous references to these priests in the classical accounts of the Grecian expedition. For example, the Magi conducted sacrifices for him at Ilion (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 43), on the coast of Thessaly (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 191), and at the river Strymon where a horse-sacrifice took place (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 113). They were consulted by the King also to explain the meaning of an eclipse (Herodotus *Hist.* 7. 37), and it was perhaps at their instigation that the Greek temples were fired, as the Roman orator Cicero (*De Leg.* 2. 10. 26) believed. We are also told that the Persian king to whom Themistocles came, if it indeed were Xerxes, had that famous Athenian instructed in the arts of the Magi. (Plutarch, *Themis.* 29).

SIGNIFICANCE OF XERXES'S ADHERENCE TO THE MAGI.—Still it is by no means certain that a Magian was necessarily a Zoroastrian, and yet, since the question is here being treated from the standpoint of classical references only, it should be noted and emphasized that the Greeks and Romans, either because of tradition, or for some other reason, believed Zoroaster to be a Magian, and even the founder of the sect of the Magi and of the Magic art. The *pros* and *cons* of the question have been fully discussed by Professor Jackson, in his book *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, (pp. 6, 138, 141, and appendix 5), and need not be repeated here, since only the classical view is sought.

In support of this view, however, it may be pointed out that according to Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.140), the Magi had their dead torn by a bird or by a dog, which is a Zoroastrian custom, and

there may be some slight significance in the fact that the Roman writer Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 30. 2. 8) calls one of the prominent Magi of Xerxes's time the "second Zoroaster" (*alium Zoroastren*). If we consider only the classical evidence adduced on this point we are inevitably led to the conclusion that Xerxes, by the mere fact of his association with the Magi, made open acknowledgment of at least a formal adherence to the religion of Zoroaster.

XERXES'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER RELIGIONS.

XERXES TOLERANT OF THE HEBREW RELIGION.—I realise that any argument based on the question of religious tolerance can have but slight weight, and yet I cannot but feel that if Xerxes were *in spirit* a true Zoroastrian we ought to find him tolerant of the religions of other nations. Classical writers give us glimpses of him in his relation to the religious systems of the Jews and of the Greeks. From Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century A.D., who wrote in Greek the annals of his own people, we have the following passage (*Antiq.* 11.5.1): "Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes, his son, took the kingdom; and, as he inherited his father's kingdom, he inherited also his piety towards God and honour of Him; for he followed his father's example in all matters relating to divine worship and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews." The historian then goes on to say that Xerxes sent Esdras, the priest, to Jerusalem with powers plenipotentiary and with money sufficient for completing the building of Jehovah's temple, which had been begun and continued during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis. And in his letters patent to the Jewish priest, the Persian king orders sacrifice to be made for himself and the royal family to the god of the Hebrews at Jerusalem, and provides money for the purpose. The letter, according to Josephus, reads: "I have written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia that they take care of those affairs that Esdras, the priest and reader of the laws of God, is sent about, and, that God (*to theion*) may not be at all angry with me or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God according to the law, as far as a hundred *cori* (1500 bushels) of wheat." This generous attitude, which accords also with the positions taken by Cyrus and Darius according to the Bible (*Ezra*, 1-6), is surely more than tolerance, but it should be noted that the parallel account as given in the

Bible, (*Ezra*, 7.11) ascribes both the particular action and the letter, not to Xerxes, but to Artaxerxes. I would also add here that I do not forget that Ahasuerus, the Persian King mentioned in the book of *Esther* in the Bible, is commonly identified with Xerxes, but I omit the discussion of inferences that may be drawn from the tale of his persecution of the Jews, because the book of *Esther* is outside of the sphere of classical references to which this paper is confined.

XERXES INTOLERANT OF THE GREEK RELIGION.—Quite in contrast to Xerxes's liberal attitude towards the Jewish religion is his intolerant and almost fanatical treatment of the temples of the Greeks. At Jerusalem he had built up the Temple of Jehovah, following out the policy of his father Darius and of Cyrus the Great; but in the land of the Hellenes he destroyed to their foundations the habitations of the gods by fire. To this, as was said above, many writers testify, and it will be remembered that all the temples and shrines in Asia Minor, except that of Diana at Ephesus, and, on the mainland of Hellas, the oracles of Abæ and of Delphi, the cities and sanctuaries of Phocis, of Plataeæ, Thespiae and Athens were successively burned to the ground by the soldiers of the Persian invading army.

TRADITIONAL REASON ASSIGNED FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GREEK TEMPLES.—The Roman orator Cicero gives the explanation which was currently employed in his day to account for this wanton destruction. In his book *De Legibus* (2.10.26), he writes: "I think there ought to be shrines in cities and I do not agree with the Magi of the Persians, at whose instigation Xerxes is said to have set on fire the temples of Greece, because they shut up within walls the gods for whom all things ought to be open and free, and whose temple and dwelling is the entire world."

By way of comment it may be said that Cicero evidently accepted the current view, given by Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.131), that the Persians had no temples. That they had no temples in the strict Greek sense of the term, is doubtless true, but there must have been buildings of some sort in which the sacred fire was kept burning. The *Shâh Nâmâh* and other works that give traditional accounts of Zoroaster mention how the prophet established throughout Irân many *pyræa* for the sacred fires (Jackson: *Zoro-*

aster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, pp. 80.98), and several scholars, like Ker Porter, Justi and Jackson, would identify as such a fire-temple the stone building of Achæmenian architecture which stands among the ruins of Persepolis and which the natives to-day call *Ka'bah-i-Zardusht*, or the "Shrine of Zoroaster". A similar, but ruined, structure at Cyrus's capital, Pasargadæ, is also regarded as one of these *pyræa*. (cf. Jackson: *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 302; 281).

If, however, Cicero is correct in attributing such a sentiment to the Magi, it must be acknowledged that Xerxes held very un-Magian religious views when he authorised the reconstruction of the temple at Jerusalem.

XERXES CLAIMED AS AN ADHERENT OF THE JEWISH RELIGION.—A different explanation of this war of Xerxes against the gods of Greece may be given, if there is claimed for this Persian monarch a decided leaning towards Judaistic religious belief. For it may be said that in destroying the Greek temples, Xerxes was but carrying out the divine injunction against idolators as given in *Deuteronomy* (7. 5): "But thus shall ye deal with them: ye shall destroy their altars and break down their images, and cut down their groves and burn their graven images with fire." But in this connection it must not be overlooked that although Xerxes carried out pretty consistently the command to destroy the altars, he was not enough of an iconoclast, or perhaps too much of a dilettante in art to sacrifice the graven images. For we have it recorded of him that he carried to Persia two cult-statues of Greek divinities. One of these images was that of Brauronian Artemis which he carried off from Attica (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 8. 46. 3); the other was the bronze Apollo which he plundered from the famous oracle of that god at Branchidæ near Miletus (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 8. 46. 3; 1. 16. 3.). As proof, too, that it was probably love of art or of trophies that led to the carrying off of these statues, we know that he also removed from Athens the famous sculptured group of the two tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which was afterwards sent back by Alexander the Great (Pliny, *N. H.* 34. 8. 70; Arrian, *Anab.* 3. 16. 8; cf. Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* 2. 10. Ex. 1; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1. 8. 5), and besides, a bronze "Water-Carrier", which Themistocles had caused to be made, and which, when in exile, he saw again in Sardis adorning

the temple of the Mother of the Gods in that famous city. (Plutarch, *Themis*, 31.)

Again, in contradistinction to Xerxes's treatment of the temples of the Greeks, stands the testimony of Herodotus to the effect that he paid worship to the divinities of the Greeks. According to that historian (*Hist.* 7.43), Xerxes, when on the way to Greece, went up into the citadel of Priam at Ilion, and sacrificed there "a thousand kine to Athene of Ilion, and the Magi poured oblations to the 'heroes' (*toisi hirōsi*)". On another occasion when the advance of the fleet was delayed by wind and storms, the Magi sacrificed to the wind, to Thetis and to the Nereids, for favoring breezes (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.191). Here, however, there is a question whether Xerxes was really sacrificing to Greek gods, or whether Herodotus is not rather attempting to describe Persian deities by the names of their supposed Greek counterparts. This question will be more fully discussed below.

NOTHING PROVED BY TOLERANCE OR INTOLERANCE.—It would seem that an impartial judge would have to decide that Xerxes in his tolerance or intolerance of the religions of other nations was guided by policy rather than by interested religious fervor. In the matter of the temple at Jerusalem it is at least probable that he was influenced by the original decree of Cyrus relative to the restoration of that building (*Ezra*, 1. 1-4), a decree which he perhaps felt obliged to carry out because of "the law of Medes and Persians that changeth not". In the matter of the Greek temples, it must be borne in mind that he was but the agent of a national feeling of revenge—revenge for the interference of the Athenians in the Ionic revolt. His father Darius had long planned vengeance, but had been prevented by death from carrying out his plans. Under the influence of such a national feeling, Xerxes's own personal views of tolerance or intolerance might have to give way. Perhaps it is not going too far to say that his conduct was subject to no regulation save that of his own royal pleasure, for it should never be forgotten that kings are a law unto themselves, and must not be judged by the same standard as individuals. Especially was this true of the Persian Kings, for the student of history will recall how Cambyses was informed by the priests that they "had found a law to the effect that the King of the Persians might do whatso-

ever he desired" (Herodotus, *Hist.* 3. 31). We conclude that the evidence to be drawn from this point is entirely negative. It cannot be said that Xerxes was not a Zoroastrian, merely because he showed himself intolerant of the Greek religion but tolerant of the Jewish faith.

GREEK GODS AND AVESTAN DEITIES.

WORSHIP OF GREEK GODS BY XERXES.—Now, as has been already mentioned, there are several passages in which Herodotus appears actually to ascribe to Xerxes the worship of Greek deities, and the thought naturally arises whether he was really worshipping Greek gods, or Persian gods to whom Herodotus has given the names of their supposed Greek counterparts. I confess I am inclined to adopt the former view—that Xerxes really did pay homage to Grecian deities, just as he similarly offered sacrifice, according to Josephus, to the Hebrew Jehovah at Jerusalem, and, as we learn from other sources, (Jackson: *Religion of Achæmenian Kings, Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol 21, p. 178), the Achæmenian kings often did in the case of the gods of conquered nations. The references are as follows:—

RECOGNITION OF ZEUS.—At the head of the great army as it marched out of the Greek city of Sardis, came a thousand horsemen and a thousand footmen; then came ten sacred horses and behind these the sacred chariot of Zeus. Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.40) gives the following account: "Behind these ten horses, the sacred chariot of Zeus was appointed to go, which was drawn by eight white horses, and behind the horses followed a charioteer on foot, holding the reins, for no human creature mounts upon the seat of that chariot. Then behind this came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nessian horses."

If this Zeus whom Herodotus is describing were a Persian deity, he may perhaps be identified with Ahura Mazda, but it seems more likely that it was a Greek god to whom Xerxes thus paid court, perhaps as a matter of policy in order to entrench himself and his cause more strongly in the affections of his Ionic allies. Confirmation of such a view seems to be found in the later history of this chariot and horses, for after crossing into Greece, they were left in the charge of Macedonian allies (Herodotus, *Hist.* 8. 115); and when Xerxes, on his flight from Hellas, demanded the return

of his horses, he was told that they had been stolen. It is hardly likely that the Magi would have permitted a chariot and horses, sacred to Ahura Mazda, or to any other Persian deity, to be consigned in trust to Hellenic care. Such at least is my view, though others may hold a different opinion.

SACRIFICE TO ATHENE.—For a second and more convincing instance of the worship of Greek gods by Xerxes, we must refer to the statement concerning his sacrifices on the site of ancient Troy (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 43). "When Xerxes arrived at this river (the Scamander)", says the historian, "he went up into the citadel of Priam, being desirous of seeing it. And having seen and found out about everything, he sacrificed a thousand kine to Athene of Ilion (*tî Athenâi tî Iliadi*) and the Magi poured oblations to the 'heroes' (*toisi hîrôsi.*)"

Here, it is true, the offering of a thousand kine recalls the sacrifice of King Vishtâspa in the Avestan Yashts, but it is difficult to indentify with any Avestan deity the Athene of Ilion, who might be *Anâhitâ*, or possibly *Ashî Vanuhî*, for it will be remembered, Vishtâspa and the other heroes of Zoroastrianism sacrificed to the latter the thousand kine. The "heroes" are perhaps the *fravashis*, or guardian genii of the land, to whom Cyrus also offered oblations. On the other hand, if Herodotus had meant by Athene of Ilion a Persian goddess, whose Greek counterpart he was naming, he would probably have prefixed to her name the adjective "Persian", as a later Greek writer, Pausanias, did, who refers to "the temple of the Persian Artemis" (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 7. 6. 6). The qualifying phrase "of Ilion" localises and makes distinctly Greek this goddess. Similar localisations of one and the same Greek deity are seen in the well-known appellatives, Delian Apollo, and Apollo of Delphi, Zeus of Dodona, and Olympian Zeus, the Argive Hera, and Athene of Lemnos. If this hypothesis be correct, the "heroes" would be, not the *fravashis*, but the Manes of the Greek and Trojan warriors who fought and perished on the plains of Troy during the famous siege of that city, and who would naturally by Xerxes's day have become the object of local worship. The tomb of Achilles, it will be recalled, stood in the Troad, where it was visited by Alexander the Great.

WORSHIP OF THE WIND AND OF THETIS.—Another sacrifice

made by Xerxes was in connection with the advance of his fleet. While off the coast of Thessaly, a storm of wind arose, destroying several hundred ships, and delaying further progress. The king had the Magi offer sacrifice and prayers for calmer weather. Herodotus describes the incident with his customary detail (Hdt. 7. 191): "Finally the Magi, after offering victims and singing to the wind with shouts (*kaî kateidontes boîsi ôhi Magoi tô anemô*) and in addition to these things, sacrificing both to Thetis and to the Nereids, caused it (the wind) to cease on the fourth day, or it went down of its own accord for some other reason. But they sacrificed to Thetis, because they had heard from the Ionians that she had been taken from this place by Peleus, and that the whole shore of Sepia belonged to her and the rest of the Nereids." The "singing with shouts" was probably the chanting of the Magi, and there can be little doubt that the sacrifice to the Wind is genuinely Mazdean and also Zoroastrian, if we are to distinguish between the two. But it is no less certain that sacrifices to the wind were as genuinely Greek, and although it may be said that in Thetis and the Nereids we are to recognize the goddess of the heavenly stream, Anâhitâ and the waters (*apô-ahurânîš*), the daughters of Ahura (cf. Yas. 38.3; 68. 10), it seems much more probable to regard this act of worship as a concession to local divinities like the sacrifice to Athene of Ilion.

ATHENIANS ORDERED TO WORSHIP IN THEIR OWN MANNER.—Yet again, we see Xerxes's attitude toward Greek divinities reflected in a certain action of his after he had destroyed the Acropolis of Athens (Hdt. 8.54). "For", says the historian, "on the next day, Xerxes, after sending a herald, called together the exiles of the Athenians who were accompanying him, and bade them go up to the Acropolis and sacrifice victims after their own manner; (*tropô tô spheterô thusâi ta hira*) perhaps he had seen some vision of a dream which caused him to give this command, or perchance he had a scruple in his mind because he had set fire to the temple (on the Acropolis). The Athenian exiles did accordingly what was commanded them."

Although Herodotus's ascription of remorse to Xerxes must be taken *cum grano salis*, this act of the Persian king is at least indicative of the fact that he countenanced the Greek religion.

MARDONIOS CONSULTS GREEK ORACLES.—As is the master, so is the servant, and as Xerxes did not disdain to recognize Greek divinities, neither did his general, Mardonios, for we read that after the retreat of the King, Mardonios, who succeeded to the command of the Persian forces in Greece, sent to all the oracles of Hellas, desiring doubtless to find out what would be the outcome of the war (Hdt. 8.133), and before the battle of Plataeæ, Herodotus states (9.37), he consulted a Greek diviner, Hegesistratos the Eleian, to see whether the omens were favorable for fighting.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

We may now proceed to draw deductions, so far as that may be possible. It seems reasonable, from what has been said in the preceding paragraphs to come to the conclusion that Xerxes, in his attitude towards the religions of other nations, was tolerant or intolerant according to the policy of the moment, for he stooped at times to worship other gods than those of Persia; but when he was prompted by a spirit of revenge, which was fomented perhaps by a feeling of national hatred, as in the case of the Athenians and their allies, he ruthlessly destroyed the temples of the gods.

In his treatment of the elements, while he seemed to have some regard for the orthodox Zoroastrian observances in regard to earth, he had little if any concern for fire, and he sacrilegiously lashed and abused water as he would a disobedient slave, and the burial alive of the nine children, with which he is charged by Herodotus, also militates against the theory that he was a good Zoroastrian.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that certain facts related of Xerxes such as invoking the curse of *Arimanios* (Ahriman), if Xerxes — and not his son Artaxerxes — really was the King to whom Plutarch refers, his adherence to the Magi, their chanting worship, their myrtle and perfume, and the worship of the sun at sunrise, are indications of a probable outward observance of Zoroastrian tenets and practices.

To reconcile these seeming contradictions we may conclude that Xerxes had perhaps acknowledged Zoroastrianism as the state religion of Persia, just as Constantine the Great acknowledged Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire; but just as

Constantine was probably not truly at heart and in practice a real Christian, so Xerxes was not in spirit and action a real Zoroastrian, but fell away from the teachings of the Avesta when policy, the necessities of war, or the whim of the moment prompted him so to do. His conduct, on the whole, harmonises with the principles that "the king can do no wrong", and that "the King of the Persians may do whatsoever he desires". His general character would also seem to confirm such an estimate, for though he was generous to a fault in his treatment of Pythios, to whom he gave a large sum of money, (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 29) and showed himself very forgiving in the case of those Spartans who voluntarily offered themselves to atone by death the killing of Persian ambassadors in Sparta (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 136), his acts of wanton and revolting cruelty, such as the beheading of the engineers (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 35) who constructed the bridge across the Hellespont, the cutting in two of the body of the son of Pythios (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 39) and the decapitation and impaling of the dead body of Leonidas (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 238), were hardly the deeds of a true Zoroastrian, nor can a king who, as Justin says (*Hist.* 3. 1), was "once the terror of the nations round him", and the record of whose latter years is an uninterrupted course of debauchery and licentiousness (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 5. 7), be said to have earnestly followed the teachings of him who made the rule of life "good thoughts, good words and good deeds".

G. PAYN QUACKENBOS.

THE PERSIAN ORIGIN OF THE MAGI.

AS INDICATED BY PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

Nothing better illustrates the closer bonds of sympathy, the more cordial and intimate relations which are happily coming to exist between the Orient and the Occident, than the scholarly life of the late Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, with its tale of valuable exchange of comment, criticism, and point of view with his famous fellow workers, Dr. Martin Haug and Dr. Edward W. West. The open-minded manner in which the wise Dastur turned his face toward Europe, seeking further light himself, although bringing it with him, may be not unworthily paralleled, perhaps, by a journey made nearly two thousand years ago by the so-called Magi, or the Wise Men of the East.

In the course of an article entitled 'The Magi, according to the Christian Fathers, with special reference to their Persian origin', written for the Indo-Iranian Department of the School of Philosophy of Columbia University in 1904, but not accessible in print, the writer undertook an investigation of the existing writings of the Greek and Roman Church Fathers; (edition of Migne, Paris, 1844-1880, 382 vols.) a remarkable uniformity was found to prevail among nearly all the writers with regard to the provenience, or original country, of the three Magi. The few passages relating to Egypt, Chaldea, and other countries, as I have shown in the course of the above article, are all vague and uncertain in character and therefore far from convincing. A few passages likewise which relate to the Magi deal with topics other than the country of the Wise Men, for example with the special significance of the symbolic gifts, with the character of the star that guided them to the birth-place of Christ, etc.; passages of this sort have no special value or appropriateness for this Hoshang Memorial Volume, and I have included, therefore, only the passages which refer in some way to the country of Persia.

An interesting narrative from a comparative standpoint is

that of Arator, fl. 540 A. D. (cf. Migne, Vol. 68, §47): 'The Magi were to the Persians what the *gymnosophistae* were to the Indians, the Chaldeans to the Assyrians, and the Etruscan soothsayers to the Romans, as Strabo says, adding "Such were Moses and his successors":

The following poetical extract from M. Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, (vol. 59, §380) who flourished in the first half of the fifth century, says that the Magi were Persians:

*'En Persici ex orbis sinu,
Sol unde sumit januam,
Cernunt periti interpretes
Regale vexillum magi.'*

The following words of M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, 468-568 A. D., (vol. 69, §66), seem to indicate that the Magi were a priestly caste among the Persians, a fact also to be supported by the writings of Herodotus, (Book. I, §101), if we are to understand the Medes and Persians to be akin: 'Since the Magi were accustomed to devote their time to the worship of the most powerful gods of the Persians, their vanity came to increase so much that they professed not only to predict the movement of the stars by observation, but also by certain evil arts to know everything, and to be able to do everything.'

In commenting on the following words of Isaiah, 18, 7, which read in the Authorized Version: 'In that time shall a present be brought to the Lord of Hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meeted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the Place of the name of the Lord of Hosts, the Mount Zion.' Isidorus (about 600 A. D.) (vol. 83, §367) says in comment: 'These words the prophet says about a most hardy tribe of the Persians, who at that time were incomparably more powerful than any other people; the Magi coming from this people gave Christ gifts.'

A rather confused account of the same people is the following from the Venerabilis Hildebertus, writing early in the twelfth century (vol. 120, §§121-126): "'All shall come from Saba offering Gold and frankincense and announcing their praise to the Lord" (Isaiah, 60, 6). The Magi were not

The reader will notice that this last writer states that the Magi were Chaldeans, and that they came from Persia. This fact, it seems, to me, shows clearly that the Magi were really not a nation, but a tribe or caste within a nation. The Persian location given to the name Saba is somewhat remarkable. Saba is generally, I think, identified with Sheba, and the historic Queen of Sheba is usually thought to have come from the region of Arabia.

Another reference to Saba, or Sheba, is made by Photius, (820- 891 A. D.,) (vol. 101, p. 1147), in these words: 'Why did the Magi come from the East and Persia, and not from some other region and nation, to the birth-place of the Master? First, I think, because they fulfilled the prophecy which said: "The kings of Arabia and Saba shall offer gifts (Isaiah LX, 6)", and then because God, our God, whose temple was at Jerusalem, inspired the Persians to worship the king of Israel.'

Throughout many of the works of the Christian Fathers there occur very many scattered and isolated sentences, or even phrases, merely saying that the Magi were Persians or that they came from Persia, and stating nothing further about them. An oft-recurring and typical phrase is "Magi apud Persas, or Magi Persae sunt, Magi vero ex Perside". Still others are "Magi eruditiores apud Persas, Magi ex Perside, Magi Persorum", etc. The different authors in whose writings such phrases are often found are Clemens, Constantine, Origen, Cyrillus, Nicephorus, Callistus, Theophylactus, Glucas, etc. Attention is called to these writers merely to show that by far the majority of the Fathers state that the Magi came from Persia. Quantity of authority, so to speak, is greatly on the Persian side of the scale.

An ecclesiastical calendar, the *Menologium Basilianum*, (Migne, vol. 117), of the end of the tenth century, says that the

Magi were Persians and experienced astronomers.

In the Georgius Codinus (vol. 157), the statement is made twice that the Magi were kings of the Persians. Another writer who states that the Magi were a kind of clan, or tribe, among the Persians, is Nicephorus Callistus (vol. 147, § 472): 'For the Persians worship fire as a god, and they call Magi those who include the elements among the gods.'

Pascatius Radbertus, who died toward the end of the ninth century, (vol. 120 §§121-126) cites a line of Juvenecus, which is not indexed in the Migne edition of the latter's writings, which reads as follows: *Tumque jubet Persas extendere gressus.*

But even all these do not exhaust the references to Persia. The following notes of D. Hugonus Menardus, 1585-1644, (vol. 76, §§1468-70), a Benedictine monk, are very interesting:

'Suidas of the eleventh century, as Gregorius records, writes that the Magi are *philosophous kai philotheous* among the Persians. Hesehios interprets *Magus* as meaning *theologian*. Saint Epiphanius in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith, says that these Magi, who worshipped the infant Christ, were descended from the sons of Cettura; since gold, frankincense, and myrrh were obtainable in Magodia, a district of Arabia, they offered these gifts to the infant Christ'.

Diodorus Tharsensis writes toward the close of the fourth century that they were Persians and were taught by the Chaldeans concerning a star which would announce the birth of a Saviour of all mankind, according to the ancient prophecy of Balaam.

An isolated sentence in Rabanus, says concerning the Magi: 'This tribe of divination is said to have been brought from Persia.'

As will by this time have been noticed from the foregoing pages, the references to the Magi are always to Magi up to the time of Christ. But of course there was no reason why the tribe should have gone out of existence all at once at the time of the rise of Christianity; and it need not surprise us, therefore, when we find in several writers the statement that this tribe resided in Persia as late as the reigns of Chosroes and Sapor, which of course was natural under the Sassanians who were Zoroastrians.

For example, Nicephorus Callistus who died in 1350 A. D., (vol. 145, p. 639) says that Magi in Persia during the reign of

Sapor I (240-271 A. D.) helped the Jews to raze Christian churches to the ground. 'The Magi roamed through Persia and slew bishops and priests.'

This same subject is further elaborated by M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, 468-568 A. D. (vol. 69, p. 626), as follows: 'Then, as time went on, the Christians began to grow in numbers, and to have churches, priests, etc. But this fact perturbed the Magi in no small degree, for these Magi are known to have been instructed with the care of the Persian Religion, by inheritance from very early times. For this reason they accused Simeon, then archbishop of the regal states of Seleucis and Ctesiphon in Persia, in the presence of King Sapor calculating that he was a friend of the Roman Emperor, and would reveal to him, therefore, the affairs of the Persians. Sapor believed these slanders (*derogationibus*), and at first burdened the Christians with great tribute. Later on he menaces ministers and officers of God with the sword, and overthrows churches. Even the Magi as well, assisted by the Jews, destroyed sacred churches with great rejoicing.'

One more reference to the later history of the Magi in Persia, is by the Historian Georgius Pisida writing toward 600 A. D., (vol. 92, p. 1303), in his work entitled 'Concerning the murder of Chosroes, last King of the Persians', in these words: 'Where now is the madness of the ever lying Medes (or Magi)?'

Summing up, then, we may say in conclusion that, although several of the Christian Fathers state that the Magi came from Egypt, Chaldea, Saba, or other countries, the number of these writers is very markedly less than those that name Persia as the country of the Wise Men. In this matter the evidence to be found in the classical writers of Greece and Rome is almost always that, Persia was their home. All the subsidiary information we can glean as to the manners and customs of these three famous travelers, tends also to indicate that they came from Persia. So that although we do not possess positive proof, we at least have historical evidence of good quality and of fairly large amount to warrant us in believing that the land of Zoroaster both nourished and inspired long ago three seekers of light, the three never-to-be-forgotten Wise Men of the East.

JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE.

BUDDHIST PARALLELS TO HUMATA- HUKHTA-HUVARSHTA.

"His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man."

Commenting on this verse of the Pali DHAMMAPADA, Max Müller proceeds to show that "this very natural threefold division, thought, word and deed, the *trivulha-dvâra*, or the three doors of the Buddhists, was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to the Brâhmans", and somewhat lukewarmly adds that "similar expressions have been shown to exist in the Zend-Avesta". (S. B. E., X, 28.)—(The reference to Hardy's Manual will be found at page 513 of the second edition. Max Müller's p. 494 refers probably to the first ed.)

That good thought, word and deed are of the essence of Zarathushtrianism is a commonplace of comparative religion, and the Parsis rightly glory in this tenet of paramount ethical importance. What I would call attention to is that it is possible to exaggerate the value of this doctrine as an ethical asset peculiar to the Parsis and confined more or less to the doctrines of the Avesta alone. On the contrary, it is inculcated with almost equal insistence in the younger Vedic literature and the Brâhman scriptures and the Buddhist writings. (A. Weber: *Indische Streifen* I, 209. Brunnhofer: *Urgeschichte der Arier* I, 192 seq. Tiele: *Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum* II, 330).

It seems to me that the frequency with which this triad is alluded to, and the wealth of variety of manner in which it is emphasised in the Buddhist sacred books, deserves to be better studied by those who are misleading the Parsis that their Avestaic *humata hukhta huvarshta* is a spiritual monopoly all their own.*

I will only premise that the citations here produced are but a fraction of what can be produced and that they were ticked off in a fresh hurried re-reading of a few Pali and Sanskrit Buddhistic

* Vide Koppen: *Religion des Buddha*: 1,445.

works. I have quoted the setting and the context at certain length so as not to deprive the originals by truncation of their rugged unconventional attractions. It would be easy to compose quite a charming little anthology of Buddhism merely by stringing together those passages which are instinct with the spirit of thought, speech and act that are good.*

Him I call indeed a Brahman who does not offend by body, word or thought, and is controlled on all these three points. —

DHAMMAPADA : 391.

Even if he commit a sinful deed by his body or in word or in thought he is incapable of concealing it; for to conceal is said to be impossible for one that has seen the state of Nirvâna. This excellent jewel is found in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation.—SUTTANIPATA, CHULAVAGGA : 11.

He who is not opposed to any one in word, thought or deed, who after having understood the Dharma perfectly longs for the state of Nirvâna,—such a one will wander rightly in the world.—

SUTTANIPATA, SAMMAPARIBBAJANĪYASUTTA : 7.

And in which way is it, Siha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama denies action; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples?” I teach, Siha, the not-doing of such actions as are unrighteous either by deed or by word or by thought; I teach the not-bringing about of the manifold conditions of heart which are evil and not good. In this way, Siha, one speaking truly could say of me “The Samana Gotama denies action”..... I teach Siha, the doing of such actions as are righteous by word or by thought.—

VINAYA PITAKA MAHAVAGGA : VI, 31, 6.

I deem, Siha, unrighteous actions contemptible whether they

* I have limited my references to a few Buddhist works with which I am more or less familiar; but that the Jaina Scriptures also inculcate the same principle is equally remarkable. See Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*: 1, XXVI and p. 260: “Henceforth the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was houseless, circumspect in his walking, circumspect in his speaking, circumspect in his begging, circumspect in his accepting anything, in the carrying of his outfit and drinking vessel; circumspect in his thoughts, circumspect in his words, circumspect in his acts: guarding his thoughts, guarding his words, guarding his acts.. . .

For the doctrine of the three Guptis, as they are called by the Jainas, see S. B. E. XLV, 50, 130, 160, 98 and 107.

be performed by deed or by word or by thought ; I proclaim the doctrine of the contemptibleness of falling into the manifold conditions of the heart which are evil and not good.—**MAHAVAGGA :**
VI, 31, 7.

I teach, Siha, that all the conditions of heart which are evil and not good, unrighteous actions by deed, by word and by thought must be burnt away.—**MAHAVAGGA :** VI, 31, 8.

And what is it that gives rise to legal questions of offence ? There are six origins of offence that give rise to legal questions of offence. There is an offence that originates in deed, but not in word nor in thought (and so on till all the possible combinations are exhausted with mathematical precision after the approved Buddhist method).—**CHULLAVAGGA :** IV, 14, 6.

A Bhikshu who warns another should, Upali, when he is about to do so consider thus : “Am I pure in the conduct of my body, pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck ? Is this quality found in me or is it not ?” If, Upali, the Bhikshu is not so, there will be some who will say to him : “Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to the body”—thus will they say. (The same exhortation is repeated separately with reference to speech and mind.)—**CHULLAVAGGA :** IX, 5, 1.

And was not Shariputra the Elder, O king, the best man in the whole ten thousand world systems, the Teacher of the world, himself alone excepted ? And he who through endless ages had heaped up merit and had been re-born in a Brahman family, relinquished all the delights of the pleasures of senses, and gave up boundless wealth, to enter the Order according to the teaching of the Conqueror, and having restrained his actions, words and thoughts, by these thirteen vows became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling on the royal chariot-wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.—**MILINDA PINHA :** end of Ch. IX.

Through the merits of good theories virtuous men who understand noble knowledge go to heavenly worlds from their self-restraint as regards body, speech and thought.—**BUDDHACHARITA :**
XVI, 25.

But all they who do good with their body, who do good with their voice, who do good with their mind, they love themselves.

And although they should say thus : " We do not love ourselves", nevertheless they do love themselves. And why do I say so? Because, whatever a man would do to one whom he loved, that they do to themselves. Therefore they love themselves.—SAMYUTTA-NIKAYA : iii, 1, 4.

Suppose, O Monks, one does evil with his body, does evil with his voice, does evil with his mind.....—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : iii 35.

Permit me, Lord, give me absolution from all my faults committed in deed or word or thought.—PORTION OF BUDDHIST CONFESSION.

So it appears, O Monks, that ye are distressed at, ashamed of, and loathe the idea of life in heavenly beauty, heavenly happiness, heavenly glory ; that ye are distressed at, ashamed of and loathe the idea of heavenly power. But much more, O Monks, should ye be distressed at, ashamed of and loathe doing evil with the body . . . with the voice . . . with the mind.—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : iii, 18.

As everything he did in thought, speech and action was purified by his love, most of the animals given to wickedness were like his pupils and friends. — JATAKAMALA : VI, 3.

But the lack of mercy is to men the cause of the greatest disturbance, as it corrupts the action of their minds and words and bodies no less with respect to their families than to strangers.—JATAKAMALA : XXVI, 40.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought. It is founded on our thoughts ; it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.—DHAMMAPADA : 2.

From thought, I say, proceeds deed ; after having thought, a man puts into effect a noble speech or act.—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : Vol. iii, 415.

In deed was I well-behaved, so in words, so in thoughts ; all thirst is finally quenched : extinguished I am ; all put out.—UTTARA'S SONG : THERIGATHA.

Those who weary of the three perfections (pradhâna) and their accompaniment, become hermits and (take up) cool dwelling places, their bodies, speech and minds all well controlled, knowing the proper way to comport themselves ; — they are truly Bhikshus.—BUDDHIST SUTRAS FROM THE TIBETAN INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1883, p. 308.

Steadily observing the tenfold way of virtuous action in body, speech and thought, and turning away from spirituous liquors, you will feel a sincere joy in this virtuous life.—THE SUHRILLEKHA, the epistle of Nāgarjuna to king Udayana, (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886).

Since then you must die in this manner (in uncertainty as to your fate) take the lamp of the Three merits to give you light, for alone you must enter their endless darkness which is untouched by sun or moon.

Commentary: The three kinds of merits are those of body, speech and thought.—SUHRILLEKHA: p. 21.

A monk kills a wild goose and is reprimanded with a sermon ending in "A Brother ought to hold himself in control in deed, word and thought."—JATAKA: No. 276.

Le Buddha a enonce comment du corps, de la bouche, et des pensees decoulent les trois sortes de Karmans.—Huber's French translation of the Chinese version of KUMARJIVA'S SUTRALAMKARA from the original Sanskrit of ASHVAGHOSHA.

Tinimani bhikkhave moneyyani. Katamani tini?

Kayamoneyyam vachimoneyyam manomoneyyam.—

ITIVUTTAKA 64, quoted by Minayeff in his *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*^{h. e.}; see also his next note from the ABHIDHARMA-KOSHA VYAKHYA.

त्रिविधम् का यिकं कर्म वचसा च चतुर्विधम् ।

मनसा त्रिप्रकारेण तत्सर्वं देशया म्यहम् ॥

कायकृतं वाचकृतं मनसा च विचिन्तितम् ।

कृतं दशविधं कर्म तत्सर्वं देशयाम्यहम् ॥

CIKSHASAMUCCAYA, p. 163.

It is not possible, O Monks, it is without a foundation that one with good thoughts, words and deeds should have a fortune undesirable, joyless and cheerless.—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA: EKA-NIPATA: 20.

Les trois occupations sont celles du corps (kaya-karma), de la bouche (vag-karma), et de la pensee (citta-karma).—CHAVANNES: *Voyages des pelerins Bouddhistes*: p. 171.

Samanna-phala Sutta, etc. translated by Rhys Davids in his "Dialogues of the Buddha", pp. 57-8, 72, 103, 202, 221, 269, 279.

Seydel notes this "astonishing similarity" and refers to Lalita Vistara, Chap. 5, and to the Chinese Sutra of the 42 Articles.—

SEYDEL : *Evangelium von Jesu in seinem verhalt nissen zu Buddhasage und Buddha-Lehre*: pp. 202, 213.

And I know that those beings possess of good conduct in body, speech and mind, not upbraiding the elect ones, but right believers, incurring the karma of right belief, rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death—some in the world of weal and paradise, and some among the human; while those beings possess of bad conduct in body, speech and mind, upbraidors of the elect ones, false believers, incurring the karma of false belief, do rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, either in the realm of ghosts or in the wombs of brutes, or in the damnation, woe and perdition of hell.

"O soul, through thoughtlessness thou didst not right in body, speech and mind. Verily, O soul, they shall do to thee according to thy thoughtlessness. Moreover, this wickedness was not done by mother or father, brother or sister, friends or companions, relatives or kinsfolk; neither by philosophers, Brahmins or spirits: by thee the wickedness was done, and thou alone shalt feel its consequences."—MAJJHIMA NIKAYA: 130.

RANGOON.

G. K. NARIMAN.

THE PARTHIANS.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF PROF. DR. EUGENE WILHELM.)

1. THE NAME.

We find a perfectly trustworthy reference to the Parthians, as Olshausen ¹ rightly says, in the Inscriptions of Darius. There the word *Parthava* is in most cases employed to designate the country; but the same name is also given to its inhabitants and it is highly probable that in Bh. II, 92, this word has to be taken as designating the Parthians, the inhabitants of the country of Parthia. This double signification of the term becomes still more evident from the non-Aryan translation. In NR. 17 of this version, *Parthava* is, according to Oppert's reading, rendered by *Parçuva*; in Bh. II, 3, however, by *Parçuvap*, *p* being the sign of the plural, and in Bh. II. 69, 71, 75, 78 by *Parçuvas* which form has mostly a sign prefixed before geographical names; whilst finally there is one instance in which it is rendered by *Parçuvaspe*, the suffix *pe* again expressing the plural. Thus it will be seen that *Parçuvas* is not the exact equivalent of *Parthava* but rather of a form like *parthwa* or *perethwa* in the Avesta. The Assyrio-Babylonian version has, according to Von Bezold, mostly the form *Pa-ar-tu-û*, and in one instance also *Par-tu-û* (NR. 12). The Greeks more or less adopted the Persian form. Herodotus, however, employs the shorter form *Parthoi* (Parthians), just as the Romans called them *Parthi*. As to how Ctesias has written the name, we cannot conclude with certainty from the extant fragments of his work. On p. 14 of C. Müller's edition of these fragments (Diod. II, 2), we find the form *Parthnaïôn*; on p. 42 (Diod. II, 34), however, *Parthsys*, while on p. 47 of the extracts of Photius there occurs the form *Parthiûy*. Strabo again writes *Parthyatoi* as also *Parthoi* (XI, 524), while Ptolemaeus has *Parthai*. However, all these differences of form found in foreign writings need not trouble us; for we may well regard them as variations of the Iranian form *Parthava* to which we have to stick.

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

Oppert was, to my knowledge, the first to speak on the etymology of the word *parthava* (Inscr. of the Achæmenides, p. 29 of the separate edition). He traces it to the Avestan *perethu*, Greek *plâtys* (broad, spacious) whose equivalent in Old Persian must have been *parthu*. The meaning which he assigns to *parthava* is "fort, hero, prince". I am, however, unable to see how he can arrive at this meaning. The Indian *Pârthiva* (warrior, prince, king) is derived from the Sans. *prithivî* (breadth, earth). But neither the word nor its meaning can be traced to the Iranian language. Olshausen suggests the root *pareth* (to fight), from which *Parethu* (the fighter) might be derived. Spiegel (Iran. Alterthumsk. III, 746 seq.) is of opinion that *parthava* signifies "emigrants" or "transmigrators". I still doubt if this is the meaning of the word (cf. Z. D. M. G., Bd. 42, S. 96, where I have discussed the word *perethwa*; also Lagarde, Lexikographie, p. 57, Ges. Abh. p. 221). I am of opinion that *Parthava* is, according to its form, nothing but the patronymic of a word *Parthu* which I take to be a proper noun, and which might be compared to the Sans. *prithu*, although in Indian literature *Pârthava* occurs (RV. 468, 8).

The non-Aryan form *Parçuvās* suggests various other words which closely approach the form *Parthava* and differ only in this that they have *ç* instead of *th*. Olshausen who has treated these words, in the first place calls attention to the *Parsvas* who are mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions and whom one might be inclined to take as the ancestors of the *Parthavas*. However, he does not omit to point out the grounds on which this assumption might be rejected; for the *Parsuas* that are mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions are not to be looked for in the regions inhabited by the *Parthavas*, but farther north towards Atropatene, as Schrader has shown (Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung, p. 168 seq.) It is not necessary to discuss in this place the question with regard to the place of residence of the *Parsuas* which Olshausen already started and answered in the negative, viz. whether the *Parsuas* are identical with the Persians who are mentioned in the Cuneiform Inscriptions under the name of *Pârsas*; for it is evident that this is not the case. But the close resemblance of the Indian *parçu* to *Parthva* and *Pârsa* and the non-Aryan forms, *Parçuvās* and *Parsua* deserves our notice. In RV. 626, 46 *parçu* is used as the name of a man. In the trans-

lation of the term *prīthu-parçavas* in RV. 599, 1, Ludwig wishes to abandon the ordinary interpretation "carrying broad crooked swords", "broad-hatcheted", and to render it by "Parthians and Persians". (cf. Commentary on the Translation of RV. II, p. 547.) According to Pân. V, 3, 117 the words *pârçavah* in the singular, *pârçavau* in the dual and *parçavah* in the plural, are taken as the name of a warrior tribe—the last of the three forms suggesting the singular *parçu*. With it must be connected also the word *pâraçava* which is the name of a people in the south-west of Madhyadeça and also of a mixed caste of Brahmin sons and Sudra women. Lassen has spoken of a certain *Parthia* (in Ptol. VI, 18, 4 and 5) situated in the country of the Paropanisads, and he believes the place to be identical with the modern Persch. Also *Parsiana*=Nadgil on the Alingar should be noted (Lassen 1. 1. p. 136). Hence it follows that the names like *parçavas*, *pâraçava*, *Parthia* resembling *Pârsa* occur also in the east of Iran and even beyond that region; nor is it improbable that in different parts of Iran, tribes or subdivisions of tribes had the same, or at least, almost identical names.

2. THE COUNTRY.

The boundaries of ancient Parthia are not very accurately defined, especially towards the west. From the Cuneiform Inscriptions, Bh. II, 92 and seq., where the Parthians are mentioned together with the Varkânas or Hyrcanians, it may be inferred that they might have been the neighbours of the latter. Herodotus mentions them in various passages of his work as being united with other peoples, but united only for the object of refusing to pay taxes (as in III, 93) or as belonging to the same division of the army (as in VII, 66). From this, of course, it cannot be inferred that their boundary was adjoining that of the peoples together with whom they are mentioned. Of the greatest importance is the remark that the river Aches flowed through the territory of the Parthians. Since that is the river Etrek, as Lassen has shown, it is evident that at least a portion of their territory must have been situated to the east of the Caspian Sea. Arrian says in Anab. III, 20, 2 that Alexander had reached Ragha, when Darius in his flight had arrived at *Pylai tōn Kaspiōn*, the Caspian Gates, which were a day's journey distant from Ragha. In the same work (Anab. III, 20, 4) we read: *aútōs thē ūs epī Parthyaious ēge kai kē men prōtē prōs tais Kaspiais pylais*

astratopedouse. From this passage, I think, we may safely infer that the Caspian Gates belonged to Parthia, and probably formed its western boundary. According to Arrian (Parth. 8.), the Parthians emigrated from Scythia under Sesostris into their later home. In the passages of the Anabasis where Arrian speaks of the Parthians, he evidently refers only to that tribe which Darius calls Parthava; and I think that also in the latter passage he speaks of that particular tribe which he regards as having emigrated from Scythia. Whether he is justified in this, or whether he is mixing up things, I am no longer in a position to decide; nor am I able to make out whether Arrian is looking for the original home of the Parthians in Scythia with a view to represent them as Turanians.

However that may be, this much is certain that some writers distinguish this tribe of Parthava from the Parthians. Curtius who calls this Parthian tribe by the name of *Parthieni*, writes (IV, 12, 17): "*Parthienorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, clauderant agmen.*" According to Isidor of Charax, there is a province of Parthyene on the other side of the Caspian Sea which seems to form a much smaller territory than the ancient Parthava possessed. This is the country of Delhistân extending upto the boundaries of Margiana, between Jâjerm, Kabûcân and Meshhed. According to a passage of Isidor where the text is unfortunately somewhat corrupted, there lay in this district Parthaunisa, where stood the royal graves. The meaning of this name can be no other than "settlement of the Parthians". The old Persian form *parthava-nisâya* would correspond to an Avestan form like *parthao-nisâya* (cf. *rao-ratha*). *Nisa*, that is, *nisâya*, N. P. simply denotes "settlement", and hence it occurs also before different parts of Iran. It is in this Parthyaia that Strabo says of Arsaces: *pheugonta thé tèn auxêsin tîn peri Diothoton apostêsai tèn Parthyaian*, whence it follows that the boundaries of the Parthian empire were in the east, in the vicinity of Bactria.

3. ORIGIN.

It is very difficult to say anything with certainty about the origin of the Parthians. Still after the discussions of the last few years, especially after the statements of Droysen,¹ Alfred A. Gutschmid,²

¹ *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. Gotha 1877, III, * 358 seq.

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

Lassen¹ and Spiegel¹ on the subject, it will not be out of place to re-examine the question.

According to Arrian's statement (Parth. 8) to which we have referred above, the Parthians emigrated to Iran from Scythia at the time of King Sesostris of Egypt. From this it would follow that the Parthians were of Scythian and not of Iranian origin; and this would be true even of those Parthians whom we meet with as early as the time of Darius and who under the name of "Parthia" inhabited his empire. Now the first question which arises here is whether this statement is meant to imply that the Parthians, being Scythians, were of a different origin from the Iranians, or whether they originally belonged to the Turanian tribes which we find in the north of Iran. The opinion that these Turanian tribes had settled down in antiquity in the north of Iran, has of late become very doubtful. For now it is generally assumed that also the nomadic tribes in the north of Iran originally belonged to the Iranian peoples and that only in the second century B. C., the Turanians had crossed the Jaxartes and taken permanent possession of the steppes in the north of Iran. Hence it might well be that

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

² *Erärische Alterthumskunde*, 3 Bde. Leipzig 1871-78.

The oldest works of more recent writers on Parthian History are:—I. Foy Vaillant, *Arsacidarum imperium* (Paris 1728.8°), L. Du Four De Longuerue, *Annales Arsacidarum*. (Strassburg 1732.4°), G. E. T. Guilhem De Sainte Croix *Memoire sur le gouvernement des Parthes* (Mem. de l' Acad. des Inscr. L. 48 seq. 755 seq.) Die Münzen erläutern geschichtlich die Werke von E. Q. Visconti *Iconographie Grecque* III. p. 58 seq; V. Bartholomæi, *Recherches sur la numismatique Arsacide* (Mem. de la soc. d'archéol. II, p. 1 seq.); A. de Longperier *Memoires sur la chronologie et l' iconographie des rois Parthes Arsacides* (Paris. 1853, 4°); E. Drouin, *Onomastique Arsacide, essais d'explication des noms des rois Parthes* (Revue Numism. 13. p. 360-88. 1895). Important are also the coin-Catalogues: Le C^{te} Prokesch-Osten, *Les monnaies de rois Parthes* (Paris 1874-75, 4°) and Percy Gardner, *The Parthian Coinage* (London 1877, 4°). Compare I. Lindsay, *Ueber parthische Numismatik*. Besides, in more recent times the following works on the history of the Parthians have been published: Schneiderwirth, *Die Parther oder Das neupersische Reich unter den Arsaciden*, Heiligenstadt, 1874; G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, or Geography, History, etc., of Parthia*, London 1873, Demselben, *Parthia in the "Story of Nations,"* London 1893; and Ferdin. Justi, *Geschichte Irans von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sāsāniden in "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie"*, II, 480 seq. 1897.

the Parthians notwithstanding their immigration from Scythia had always belonged to the Iranian stock. Besides, it may also be asked whether great importance is to be attached to Arrian's statement about the original immigration of the Parthians and whether he does not follow a groundless tradition based on the fact that Arsaces really migrated with the Parnians into Parthyaia and there founded a dynasty. At the time of this event the Turanian tribes might have already crossed the Jaxartes and settled near the boundaries of Iran. Hence it is quite possible that the Parnians who had helped Arsaces to establish his power, belonged to the Turanian stock. As to Arsaces himself, there are two opinions about him. While Strabo goes so far as to call him simply *anēr Skythys* a Scythian man, (a Scythian), yet he does not omit to mention that others considered him to be a Bactrian. From these uncertain data various inferences may be drawn. Either first, Arsaces was a Turanian just as the Parnians with whose help he established himself in Parthyaia; or secondly, Arsaces was an Iranian, but was helped by the Turanians; or thirdly, Arsaces was a Turanian while the Parnians were a tribe of nomadic Iranians; or finally, Arsaces as well as the Parnians were Iranians. Of all these four possibilities the first seems to me to be the most probable one. As for the rest, there is no doubt that at least the royal family very soon adapted itself as closely as possible to the language, manners and customs of the Iranians, while on the other hand, the Parnians must have been allowed to settle down in the vicinity of the king, partly with a view to reward them for their past services, and partly with a view to gain them as faithful allies for the future. If so, a similar relation must have existed between Arsaces and the Parnians as we find it in our days between the Cadjar dynasty and the Afshar tribe.

4. THE PAHLAV.

It would, indeed, be very desirable to know how long the name "Parthian" was used in Iran and the adjoining districts. Undoubtedly, throughout the rule of the Achæmenides "Parthava" was used as the name of an Iranian tribe, and has most likely survived them. But if Greek authors in subsequent centuries constantly speak of "Parthian", they follow, I presume, an older custom rather than a firmly established tradition. In Oriental writings the latter name ceases to appear from that time onwards, except in the works of Armenian

authors who, I am inclined to think, have taken it from the Greeks. Besides, we have absolutely no key to the confusion prevailing among the historians of the West. To call the new Iranian empire Parthian is as admissible as to call the empires of the older dynasties Median and Persian. However, we do not know at all whether in this new empire, the tribe of the Parthians had gained such a prominent position as in former times the Medians and the Persians had done. It rather seems that the Parthians were considered as strangers, that is, a foreign dynasty or even as a foreign tribe that had usurped the power over Iran and had only gradually coalesced with the inhabitants of the country. Unfortunately, the information about this dynasty which we receive from our native writers is as scanty as that about the name of the Parthians, and the few data which they give, they seem to have drawn from foreign sources. The dynasty is called Ashkanian, a name which is identical with the name Arsacid. This name is perfectly intelligible, if we know that the founder was Arsaces. But whatever opinion one may hold as to the origin of the Arsacids, this much, I think, is certain that their founder Arsaces was not a descendant of the royal family of the Achæmenides; but it is easily understood that in the later period the dynasty sought to establish such a connection. According to the words of Synkellos (I, 539 ed. Bonn.) the name Arsaces seems to have been used to establish a relationship with Artaxerxes II. who, as Ctesias maintains, had this name before his accession to the throne. The later Oriental writers pass over this relationship in silence and try to connect the house of the Arsacids with the rulers of the mythical times by representing them as the descendants of Kai Arish, the Kava Arshan of the Avesta, that is, of the second son (or grandson) of Kai Kôbâd. According to them, the line of the first-born son ends with Kai Khosrav; his successor is Lohrâsp who is curiously enough represented as the descendant of Kai Pishin, the third son of Kai Kôbâd, evidently with a view to reserve Kai Arish for the later Arsacids.

As regards the question which now engages our attention, Armenian writers mention one thing which is highly important and is not to be overlooked. It is true that they are not contemporary writers; however, they stand one step nearer the Parthians than our other authorities; for most of them lived under the Sassanides, whereas more recent Iranian writers lived in later periods, and, at most,

used works which would take us back to the time of the Sassanides. In the first place it must be remarked that it is wrong to assume that the Parthians and the Pahlavs are identical. Moses of Khorni, in several passages, mentions the Parthians and the Pahlavs side by side, so in II, 71 and 72, and especially in C. 90 where he clearly separates them as two entirely different peoples or as different branches of the same family. About the Pahlavs, Moses says (II, 28) that King Arshavir had three sons, Antashes, Kâren and Suren, and a daughter Goshm whom he had married to his Aspahapet (commander-in-chief). According to the proposal of Abgar it was settled that the eldest son Artashes and his descendants should be the rulers, and that the other two sons should assume the title "Pahlav" with the right of succession, in case the elder line were to die out. The same was to hold good also in the case of the descendants of the sister whose husband was to bear the title "Aspahapet Pahlav". Also in C. 91 he clearly distinguishes Parthia — the empire, from Pahlav, — a district of the empire. In the same manner Koriun distinguishes the Pahlavs from the Parthians (p. 95 of the French Translation).

According to Moses of Khorni, the Parthians themselves are to be traced back to Arshak who descended from Abraham and Qetûra. It was Arshak who founded their dynasty and ruled in Bahl, that is, in Bactria, in the land of the Kushan. Agathangelos, too, mentions the Kushans as the friends and kinsmen of the Parthians (p. 28), as also Faustus of Byzanz (V., 37). Elisaeus (p. 21) considers these Kushans as Huns, hence they were non-Aryans. The Armenian writers (Mos. Khor. II, 72) are of opinion that the main branch of the family, which calls itself Vehsajan Pahlav, remained in the east of Iran and resided at Balkh, the capital of the province of Pahlav. It is this their original home which, according to Moses II, 74, Ardashir Bâbegân promised to restore to the Arsacids; that is, Pahlav, their fatherland, Bahl, the capital, and the entire country of Kushan. Certainly, Zenobius does not intend to insinuate anything differing from this by using the word Partav.

Very much different are the data which Mohammadan writers supply from sources which reach back to the time of the Sassanides and the majority of which have already been collected by Olshausen. While the Armenian authors most definitely place the province of Pahlav in the east, and mention Balkh as its capital, the Mohammadan

authors maintain that the country of Fahla lies in the west of Iran. Thus the matter is stated by Fihreshte (p. 13) who based his statement on Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa who was so admirably versed in these matters, and who comprised under the name of Fahla the territories of Ispâhân, Rai, Hamadân, Mâh-Nehâvand and Âdarbaijân. Less acceptable is another statement (Olshausen, p. 20) according to which the country of Fahla extended still farther towards the west while it excluded Rai and Ispâhân. But it may be that this latter restriction refers to a later period of the Parthian empire.

Now the question is how to combine these apparently contradictory statements. I am of opinion that they have nothing unintelligible in them, if we take the peculiar stand point of every individual author into consideration. We are used to look at the Parthian empire as one commonwealth, united under and ruled by one single dynasty which was in no way inferior to the older dynasty of the Achæmenides and to which the different tribes of Iran bore the same relation as to the King of Kings at an earlier period; and thus also the Romans and the Greeks seem to have taken a view of the matter. However, quite different is the view of the Oriental writers, as it was stated principally by Hamzâ of Ispâhân and others. They allow the Arsacids only a certain degree of priority over the rest of the tribal kings, and call the period of the Arsacids the time of the tribal kings, in opposition to that of the Sassanides who formed one compact dynasty. And as a matter of fact a good reason may be adduced for this opinion of the Oriental writers. It is true that the coins of the Parthian Kings which are preserved to us, show that the Arsacids as well as the Achæmenides claimed to be the kings of kings; but there are also coins found in Bactria, whose bearers set up the same claim. Along with many strange names we find on them genuine Parthian ones like Arsaces and Vonones which, however, are not identical with those that we knew hitherto by these names. Indeed, another series of Bactrian coins which must be of the time after the extinction of the Greek Kings from Azes onward bear unknown names; but, as Sallet rightly observes, they may be Parthian as well as Scythian. These documents force us to the conclusion that at the time of the Arsacids there existed two rival empires, both of which pretended to possess the supreme power in the state. The Greeks and the Romans as well as the writers who draw their materials from the

accounts of the Sassanide period, speak only of the western branch of the Arsacids, whereas the Armenian writers speak only of the eastern branch. The latter do not seem to have given up their claim to Iran even under the Sassanides, and hence the frequent wars of the Sassanides with the Kushans who are distinctly reckoned among the Huns by Elisaeus, as I have remarked above. From all this it seems to me to follow with no small degree of certainty that the Armenian writers trace the origin of the families which they call Pahlav to the east of Iran, that is, to Balkh, and that they assume the original home of their family which was non-Iranian to lie in this territory. The opinion of the later Mohammadans differs from this ; but their accounts date back to the earliest times of the Sassanide period.

5.— PAHLAVI.

This name is first found in the writings of the Armenians in the form *Pahlavik*, and is unquestionably related to the noun Pahlav or Pahlau which is a district in Eastern Iran, as we have seen above. *Pahlavik* should, therefore, signify "one belonging to that province". We find, however, that the Armenian writers use the word in a more restricted sense, meaning Arsacid, one belonging to the royal house of the Arsacids. Thus Moses (II 80) calls Tiridates a Pahlavik. Again in III, 34 mention is made of a Pahlavik Alanaozan, a kinsman of Arshak, the Arsacid king of Armenia. Again, in III, 51 we read that Catholicus Isaac was honoured, because he belonged to the illustrious family of the Pahlavik and descended from the family of Suren Pahlav. In the same sense the word is found in Faustus IV, 32 and IV, 38.

In a far wider sense these words are employed by Firdausi, the oldest writer to whom we can have recourse. The word پهلوی which he uses, we must trace back to پهلو which still occurs often first in the sense of "royal castle", "capital city", and secondly in that of "hero". In the former sense, it occurs in Sh. (ed. Turner Macan) 237, 14= Vull. 325, 5 :

چو زال مهبود ز پهلوی بریت
دما دم سپهر روی بفهاد نقت

Also in Sh. 298, 12= V. 410, 8 ; Sh. 402, 7= V. 558, 13. That in the above-mentioned passages the word پهلو occurs in the sense of "capital" has been conclusively shown by Rückert in "Zeitschrift

der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft " Bd. X, 242 and seq. In the sense of "hero" the word occurs very often, as for instance, in Sh. 169, 1 = V. 232, 4:

رمیدند از آن پهلوانان
دلاور بیامد بنزدیک در

Compare also Sh. 170, 8 = V. 238, 18; Sh. 173, 2 = V. 237, 9; Sh. 174, 10 = V. 239, 3; Sh. 577, 15 = V. 809, 5. Hence پهلوان would signify: "descending from heroes", "heroic". Firdausi uses this word very often also to denote various things. We find it employed Sh. 708, 7 = V. 994, 7 to denote "region" district:

ز چینی و شکنی و از هندوی
ز سقاپ و هروی و از پهلوی

We often meet with the expression جامه پهلوی "heroic garment", as for instance, in Sh. 217, 6 = V. 297, 6; Sh. 478, 15 = V. 668, 6; Sh. 772, 16 = V. 1093, 13; in the same sense also بر پهلوی as for instance, Sh. 543, I, from below = V. 759, 10. The "heroic horse" is called in Sh. 1142, 3 = V. 1606, 19 پهلوی بارگی. Several times the word is used to denote the religion of the ancient heroes as in Sh. 1070, II, from below = V. 1503, 16 پهلوی کیش and 1248, 1 = V. 1756, 3 دین پهلوی. But mostly the term پهلوی is used for "language" or "writing"; by the phrase خط و پهلوی both "language" and "writing" are meant. Compare for this Sh. 22, 10 = V. 28, 9; Sh. 552, 1 = V. 772, 1; Sh. 636, 5 = V. 891, 13; Sh. 910, 6 = V. 1283, 10; Sh. ed. Turn. Mac. 1386, 13; in the sense of "writing" alone it is used in Sh. ed. Turn. Mac. 1397, 12; 1561, 7 in the same way in the different passages where Pahlavi letters (پهلوی نامه) are spoken of. پهلوانی differs in no way from پهلوی. Thus both words are used as equivalents in Sh. 1750, 11, 13. Compare ابر پهلوانی in 2041, 6, from below (Khosrav II's time) where the language is meant; further پهلوانی سخن 1766, 5 from below دفتر پهلوانی 1766, 4 from below and پهلوانی زبان Sh. 39, 11 = V. 51, 9; 39, 3 from below = V. 52, 5; 432, 9 = V. 602, 5; compare 921, 6 = V. 1283, 10; Sh. 2134, 13. According to the statement of Firdausi, Pahlavi or Pahlavāni was spoken in the ancient heroic period, as for instance, by Shiyāvakhsh and also later on under the Sassanides. It is evident that it was the old language as it was spoken before the invasion of Islam; no other difference is known to Firdausi. This language must come pretty near the modern Persian, as Olshausen has pointed out. Whether

we should take this Pahlavi as it was spoken and written, for the language which we find employed in the writings of the Parsis in the translation of their old texts, and which, as is well known, is mixed with Semitic elements, does not appear to me so clear as is usually supposed. Certain it is that the Pahlavi words cited by Firdausi are all Indo-Germanic, as the following list will show.

In Sh. 22, 10 (Turner Macan)=V. 28, 9 we read the Pahlavi numeral **دور** and the royal name **دورس** both the constituents of which are traceable to the Avestan words **دورس** "ten thousand" and **دور** "horse". In Sh. 39, 11=V. 51, 9 Firdausi explains the Pahlavi word **دور** which is nothing else than the word **دور** "swift, strong" so often used in the Avesta, by the Arabic word **دجلة** which is the name of the river Tigris. In Sh. 39, 3 from below=V. 52, 5 we have **دور** **دور** the name of a place. These Pahlavi words Firdausi renders by the Arabic **بيت المقدس**, Beit-ul-muqaddas "the sacred house". To an older form **دور** occurring in the Minôkhrat, Spiegel refers in his *Parsi Grammar* p. 138, 169. In the first part of this name we recognise **دور** occurring in the two passages of the Avesta (Yt. V, 54 and 57) and often in the Bûdahishn. It must be identical with the Kañdizh of the Minôkhrat and the Gangdiz of the Shâhnâmah and must be sought in the north of Iran where also the Chinese locate a kingdom known to them as Khañkiu. The word **دور** is certainly to be derived from the Avestan root **دور** "to heap up", "to throw up"=Skr. *dih* "to lead". In old Persian the noun form *didâ* "fortress" shows the root as does **دور** *arx* (...castle), in modern Persian. Finally it is quite evident that **دور** = **دور** is nothing else than the Avestan word **دور** "good word". Moreover in Sh. 910, 6=V. 1288, 10 the city **دور** which is a later form of the name and which, I presume, must be taken as identical with Kañdizh, is mentioned as identical with the city of Baikand in the vicinity of Bokhârâ. Finally let me call attention to a Pahlavi gloss to the combat of Rustam with Kak, an episode which is not taken from Firdausi; in this gloss the Pahlavi word **دور** is explained by the Arabic **locus munitus** (a fortified place).

The terms **پارسی** and **پهلوی** I have found only once occurring together as designations of two languages, namely, Sh. 2029, 10 where the watchman of Khosrav II is commanded that he should allow

people to speak with the Shâh either in Pahlavi or in Pârsi :

اگر پارسی گوید از پهلوی

Indeed this passage seems to show that at that time both the languages were indiscriminately spoken at the Persian court. Thus in Sh. 1798, 7, Firdausi makes mention of a letter written by the hand of Khosrav I in the Pârsi language. But there is no statement in any of the Persian writers from which it can be inferred that Pahlavi was anything else than an Iranian language.

RASTAMJI EDULJI DASTOOR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

SOME REMARKS ON GRAPHIC AND OTHER CORRUPTIONS IN PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY.

We commonly find creeping about in all languages some corruptions of graphology and others of a like nature. But such corruptions are more common in Mahomedan countries where the consonantal Arabic alphabet is adopted with all the difficulties of an unvocalising writing,—difficulties which are augmented by the similarity of different letters of the alphabet which are marked and distinguished only by diacritical points. It is a common thing to find a careless or a hasty copyist placing these points quite wrongly, with the result that the whole word is disfigured and corrupted. I propose to notice here a few mistakes of that kind which are found in authoritative works of great merit and repute.

In the well-known "*Lexicon Persico-Latinum*" by Vullers, Vol. II, p. 273^b, we find a sentence or *lemma* which is copied bodily from the rich and celebrated Persian dictionary "*Burhân i Qâti'*", without critically noticing the contents. It runs thus :

سَرْدَابَه نام جزیره است از جزایر اندلس

Literally translated, it means, "Serdâbeh is also the name of an island of the islands of Andalos (*i.e.* Spain)". In the above Persian sentence the word سَرْدَابَه (*Serdâbeh*) is, undoubtedly, a mistake and corruption for the word سَرْدَانِه, *i. e.*, Sardânia, Sardinia, Sardegna, Sardaigne. We have to substitute for the former word the name of the great island of Sardinia, for the impossible nonsense سَرْدَابَه (*Serdâbeh*), in order to get at the real meaning of the sentence. The mistake is made by mixing up the letter و (*w*) which forms part of the correct word with the letter ه (*h*)—these two letters being written alike, and distinguished only by different diacritical points, and by dropping the letter ی (*y*) before ه (*h*).

Similarly, the great geographical dictionary of Yâqût "*Mo'-jam al buldân*" 4, 57 has an impossible blunder which is copied verbatim in the "*Marâşid al Ifîlâ'*" II, 392, 2. It states that

قرشافة موضع ببلاد الروم, i. e., "Qarshafa is a locality in the lands of the Râm." The word قرشافة (*Qarshafa*) stands for قرشقة (*Qorshiqā*—Corsica). The mistake is due to confounding the letter ق (*f*) with ق (*q*), and to wrong vocalisation. This is shown by me in my contribution "*Analecta Italo-Arabica*" to the Memorial Amari (now in the press at Palermo).

Then, again, we have in Vullers I, 101^a " (3) nomen urbis in regione سميد Aegypti" and " (4) nomen montis, e ejus parte australi Nilus fluvius oritur." Here the word اسوار (*Aswār*) ought to be changed into اسوات (*Oswân* or *Aswân*) which is the only correct word, and also the word سميد (*Sa'id*) stands for سميد (*Sa'id*) i. e., Upper Egypt. In the word *Oswân* the letter ر (*r*) is mixed up with و (*n*), and in the word *Sa'id* the letter س (*s*) is mistaken for م (*s*).

In Vullers' Lexicon 11I, 0^b " (3) Nomen oppidi in peninsula Arabiae نام زعمی در بلاد عرب" ought rather to be read نام زعمی در بلاد عرب and translated: "Name of a country in the lands of the West." The proper word is غرب *Gharb*—west, not عرب 'Arab, 'Arabs'. But Vullers seems blindly and wrongly to follow the *Burhân-i-Qâṭi* and the *Shams-al-Lughât*, both which works have read the letter ع (*u*) instead of the letter غ (*gh*).

In Vullers' Lexicon, II, 1146 and 1147, the pronunciation *Mukhtill* مَحْتَل is wrong for *mukhtall* مُحْتَل.

Ibidem 1278a نامقاد has wrongly become a proper name "nomen loci aut districtus" in the *Ferheng i Shu'ûri* and is blindly adopted as such by Vullers, cf. already Teufel in Z. D. M. G. 38, 247 :
نامقاد = نامقاد.

Corruptions of this type are very common in technical terms of all sciences borrowed from foreign languages, which are so often dressed in a corrupted form. I shall give a few instances of botanical names which have been thus marred. The Greek *ampelitis* is wrongly transcribed as اماليطوس instead of انباليطوس. The word اسماميس which stands for *anthemis* should be corrected and written انثاميس. The word مالىون (1), which designates *selinon* ought to be transcribed as مالون (1). The two forms امفطس and امفطس derived from the Greek *asphaltos* have to be corrected into امفطس. Numerous other examples of this type could be cited.

I have noted down an immense number of corrections of this kind, during the course of the last 25 years, in my interleaved copy of Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* for a future standard Persian dictionary. Such striking mistakes and blunders ought now to cease, and they must be cast off as useless ballast instead of being repeated *in infinitum*, and thus marring the grace of the richest, most abundant and fine Persian language.

C. F. SEYBOLD.

THE PAHLAVI 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 OR 𐬀𐬎𐬀.

In Volume 21 of the German Journal "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", pp. 7-10, I made an attempt to ascertain the proper and original sense of the Pahlavi 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 or 𐬀𐬎𐬀, and, for that purpose, I cited there all the text which I could lay hold on at the time, in which the word was found. Since then, I have come across several other instances of its use, the communication of which is, in my opinion, not superfluous, on account of the peculiarity and rarity of the term. I give below the several passages with their reading and translation, to which I have added also a few critical notes.

1. *Dēnkart*, Vol II.

In Vol. II. of the *Dēnkart*, published by Dastur Peshotan Sanjana at Bombay we have the following sentence at p. 87, ll. 4-6 :

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀
𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

Vahmân mart i pârsîk apâk duet u x'ah adâr mâtir i vahmân arûmây vahmân kâr kartan kâmêt.—"Any man, a Persian, wishes to do *any* business with the daughter and sister or the mother of *any* Roman."

2. *Dēnkart*, Vol. IX.

In Vol. IX. of the same work, we have the following at p. 462 ll. 8-9 :

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀
U ast pa būmîkîh ayâft ârurtakîh chûyôn hach vahmân šahr.

It seems to me impossible to give a correct translation of this text which appears to be corrupted. The translation given by Dastur Sanjana at p. 587 in the same volume is : "What the produce of a certain city is, or what grows up in its lands is understood by a knowledge of (the city)." I am unable to make this translation agree with the text. The concluding phrase with the word in question is certainly to be translated "from any city".

3. *Mâtikân i hazâr Dâtastân*, p. 31.

At p. 1. 31, ll. 4-5 of this text published by J. J. Modi in

Bombay [1901] we read :

[Ku]m x'âstak : man x'eš frâch hach man ô vahmân mart dât.—“My money is given away from me to anybody.”

Instead of *regu* the manuscript offers *u regu*.—It is permitted to translate “such and such” in the place of “anybody”. The difference is small as will be seen below in nos. 5, 6 and 7.

4. *Mâtikân i hazâr Dâtastân*, p. 36.

At p. 36, ll. 10-12 of the same work we read :

[illegible]

Ka mart ô duzt i x'êš gôwét ku 'šav u stûrîh i vahmân kas kun' duzt pâtixšâh ka né kunét che éncîh ângôn barét chigôn kaš gôwét ku 'šav u zhanîh i vahmân mart kun' u ka né kunét pâtixšâh.—"If the man speaks to his daughter: 'Go away and make reception (of thyself) by anybody', the daughter is right to do it not; for it is quite as if he would speak to her: 'Go away and make cohabitation with any man', and she is right to do it not."

As to *stūr*, my transliteration of the word by *stūr* is founded exclusively on the Pāzend reading *sturash* of the Bundahishn (p. 80, l. 5). The sense of the word is "reception", especially "adoption". In the work from which we are quoting, the word is to be found frequently; no less than *stūr*, from which *stūr* is derived; e. g., p. 19, l. 13; p. 20, l. 1; p. 21 ll. 11 *et seq.*; p. 36, ll. 6 *et seq.*; p. 41 *seq.* In other texts *stūr* and *stūr* occur rarely. I cite the *Dēnkard*, Vol. IX. p. 487, l. 3, and p. 450, l. 24 (Cf. West, S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. xxxii) and *Shāyast-nē-shāyast*, Chapter XII., 14 (Cf. West, S.B.E., Vol. V., p. 344). Needless to say, the writing *stūr* permits of many other readings than *stūr*. Is the word a compound stem, and to be divided *stūr*? (Cf. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Vol. I, p. 282; Vol. 1 a, p. 188 *seq.*) The editor of our text reads *satvar*, *satvarīh*, p. x *seq.* I do not understand what is *sat*. The phrase *stūr ka kunēt*, *pātixšāh ka kunēt*, "he is right, is allowed to do" and *stūr nē kunēt*, *pātixšāh ka nē kunēt*, "he is right, is allowed to do not" occurs often in this work. Instead of the sentence with the conjunction *ka*, we find also the "infini-

tivus apocropatus": 𐭠𐭥𐭥 [𐭠𐭥𐭥] 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥: *pâtixšâh* [nē] *kart*; cf. *Freiman*: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 20, p. 264, footnote.

5. *Mâtikân i hazâr Dâstân* p. 54.

In the same work at p. 54 ll. 4-5 we have the following:

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
*ka farrox*¹ *apâk mihryôn*² *patmân kart*, *ku* 'ôzinam vahmân'.—
 "If *F.* has made the agreement with *M.*, viz., 'We shall hurt such and such (deprive such and such of his property)'."

I have put 𐭠𐭥𐭥 instead of 𐭠𐭥𐭥 of the manuscript. On the tenth line of the same page the first sentence is repeated, and there we find the correct writing 𐭠𐭥𐭥.

The ideogram (or the mask) 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ôzitan* (cf. Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, 241) has not been noticed by me anywhere else in Pahlavi literature. But the Farhangs make mention of it, especially that of C. Salemann, published at St. Petersburg. *Vide* p. 80, l. 15 *seq.* with the footnote *f.* Here we find the "*uzvârîšn*" 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥, the correctness of which is confirmed by the writing 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 of the text given above with the same 𐭠𐭥, *in*. Mostly, the copists of the Farhangs have written 𐭠𐭥𐭥 instead of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥, confounding the verb 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ôzitan*, 'to hurt', with the verb 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ôzatan*, 'to kill', the '*uzvârîšn*' of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; cf., the Farhang of Petersburg, p. 81, ll. 13-16.

The custom, observed in other law-books, e. g., the *Corpus Juris*, to illustrate a case of law by giving fixed names to the agents of the case, is found adopted several times in the text of the *Mâtikân i hazâr Dâstân*, e. g., p. 6, ll. 2-3:

¹ Pers. *farrux* 𐭠𐭥𐭥. The editor of the text reads (p. xii) *fabîn*, i.e. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *fulân*, 'such a one'. This word, an Arabic (!) one, would be understood as the ideogram of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥. But, in fact, the mask of the word is 𐭠𐭥. *Faldn* is found quoted at first in very recent Pazand texts, e.g., *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XXXII. p. 217 ff. in the autographed text, p. 13, l. 1, and p. 17, l. 1 (written 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥, *fân*).—For the o of *farrox* cf. Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 47. In the Turfan texts, the word is written *frvx* = *far(v)ox*. The Pazand writing is 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *farox* and also 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *frârv*.

² The editor reads *matvîn*, p. xii. I do not understand his reading.

³ For the meaning and etymology of the word 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *uzvârîšn*, settled by the Turfan texts, cf. Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 36.

LAW, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL, IN ANCIENT IRAN.

Law, as the world-renowned Western jurists, Bentham and Austin, say, is "a command issued by a Sovereign to his subjects, imposing an obligation or Duty, attended by a penalty, or sanction in case of breach or disobedience". Law, then, if we put it in common phraseology, is a rule for man's conduct in various circumstances of life, circumvented partly by the connivance at, and partly by the resentment of, his acts, on the part of the state, having in view at all times the common good of society at large. It has been from times immemorial the magic wand which has tended to keep intact the common ties of human society, and bound it in peace, harmony, protection and good will. Had it not been for the magic spell of all-conquering Law, the ship of human progress and civilization, would have dashed itself long since, against the ugly rocks of disorder and chaos, and would thus have put human life on no better footing than that of lower animals. It is really speaking at the fountain of Law that Science, Literature, Politics, and the other arts derive their inspiration.

Law, as is commonly known, is divided into two main parts, Civil and Criminal. Civil Law deals with the rights of persons, and the withholding and the forfeiture of them, from one another. Criminal Law, on the other hand, deals with the breach of the rules of good conduct and mutual trust, and with the harm and injury done to the bodies of men. It guards the peace and safety of the subjects. In short, it is the custodian of their property, their lives, and their liberty.

Every man ought to understand Law according to his own measure, and to venerate it where he is not able presently to comprehend. Hallam writes: "No unbiassed observer who derives pleasure from the welfare of his species, can fail to consider the long and uninterruptedly increasing prosperity of a nation as the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind". It is Law, which gives the powers ascribed to the Crown; some of these are in reality

exercised by the Government of the country, whilst others do not in truth belong either to the King or to his ministers.

I shall in this essay confine myself to a few striking points of comparison between the law as it stands at present, and the old Iranian Law. As now in the British Constitution, so in the ancient Iranian times, the King could do no wrong, and was not responsible for any act of his. Obedience by a man to administrative orders is no defence to an action or prosecution for acts done in excess of legal authority. Sir Edward Coke says, "the power and jurisdiction of the British Parliament is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime or criminal." All these inherent powers which lie now in the British Parliament, were then centered fully and solely in the King in ancient Iran, who was all in all, and the only predominating figure in the Empire, tempered only to a certain degree by the opinions and advice of the figure-heads of the different departments, namely, the *Dastur* (the High-Priest and Prime-Minister), the *Sapehsâlâr* (the Commander-in-Chief) etc.

What De Lolme says of the British Parliament can most fittingly be said as well of the Ancient Iranian King, the fountain of Iranian Justice. He says, "It is a fundamental principle with English lawyers, that Parliament can do everything but make a woman a man, and a man a woman." In Ancient Iran the King, and he alone of all, had the legal means of initiating, sanctioning and repealing the legislation of the country.

Moralising on the word Law, and expounding it in its best light, Blackstone says in so many words that the "law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all that force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."

The working of the constitution of a nation is greatly and markedly affected by the rate at which the will of the political sovereign can make itself felt. The paradoxical and inaccurate asser-

tion made so often nowadays, that one particular country is more democratically governed than another, contains a certain element of truth in it. The actual exercise of authority by a sovereign, whosoever he may be, is bounded or controlled and weighed in the scales of national estimation by two limitations, one the external, and the other the internal limitation.

The external limit to the real power of a sovereign depends on the possibility or certainty that his subjects will disobey or defy his laws. The authority even of a despot depends, and that very greatly, upon the willingness of his subjects to obey his precepts.

The internal limit to the exercise of sovereignty arises from the nature of the power itself which a particular sovereign possesses. It is the coincidence between the wishes of the sovereign and the wishes of the subjects, which tends to bring about happy relations between the ruler and the ruled, backed up by the popular law. For the want of this coincidence there would cease to exist that much beloved feeling between the sovereign and subjects, which tends so much, to establish peace and happiness in the realm. A sovereign, in order to make his laws popular, should rather go with his people in all their moods than that he should at all times be wholly untouched by their opinions, feelings and sentiments.

Whoever examines the constitutions of the present civilized countries, will find that the legislative assemblies of great nations are, or have been, in many instances legislative, without being constituent bodies. The constitutions of different countries may well be divided into "Flexible" and "Rigid" constitutions. A "flexible" constitution, according to Prof. Dicey, is that in which every law of every description can legally be changed with the same ease and in the same manner by one and the same body. A "rigid" constitution, according to him, is one under which certain laws generally known as fundamental laws, cannot be changed in the same manner as ordinary laws. Now we may safely say that the constitution of Ancient Iran of which the King himself was, to all intents and purposes, the only and real fountain-head, was "flexible" rather than "rigid" in so far as the King himself could make and unmake his own laws at his pleasure, without experiencing the least difficulty in doing so. The "flexibility" or "rigidity" of a particular constitution, may be qualities which,

according to the judgment of different critics, deserve either admiration or censure. The endeavour on the part of any one country nowadays, to create laws which cannot be changed, is an attempt to hamper the exercise of a sovereign's power. The rigidity of a constitution tends, undoubtedly, to check gradual innovation. Whatever the constitution of a country may be, it must definitely enjoin that the elementary principles of justice, freedom of trade, and the rights of individual property shall be absolutely respected throughout the length and breadth of the country. England, of all the countries of the world, is the proud possessor of an almost perfect system of laws, which presents a profitable lesson to other countries, with regard to a constitution. Tocqueville, in a curious passage which compares the Switzerland and the England of 1836 in respect of the spirit which pervades their laws and manners, writes: "I am not about to compare Switzerland with the United States but with Great Britain. When you examine the two countries, or only if you pass through them, you perceive, in my judgment, the most astonishing differences between them. Take it all in all, England seems to be much more republican than the Helvetic Republic. The principal differences are found in the institutions of the two countries, and especially in their customs." Tocqueville's language points in the clearest manner to the rule, pre-dominance or supremacy of law as the distinguishing characteristic of English institutions. But if we turn to the Europe of the twentieth Century, we may justly say that in most countries of Europe the supremacy of the law is now nearly as well established as it is in England. In England, every official, from the Prime Minister down to a constable or a collector of taxes, is under the same responsibility for every act done without legal justification, as any other citizen. Of course, it has to be admitted that under the complex conditions of life, in modern times, no Government can in times of disorder or war, keep the peace at home, or perform its duties towards foreign nations, without the occasional use of arbitrary power.

Prof. Dicey says, "The law operates in two different ways. It inflicts penalties and punishment upon law-breakers, and it enables law-respecting citizens to refuse obedience to illegal commands. It legalises passive resistance." Commenting on the right of self-defence that the law of a country must afford to its citizens, Dicey justly remarks: "Discourage self-help, and loyal subjects become the slaves

of ruffians". For the advancement of public justice, every man is legally justified in using, and is sometimes bound to use, force, which may, under certain circumstances, amount to the infliction of death. Thus a loyal and true citizen may justifiably interfere to put an end to a breach of the peace, which takes place in his presence, and use such force as he deems reasonably necessary for the purpose.

The "Martial Law" of our times which ought to conduce to the public welfare and peace, was centred at all times in Ancient Iran in the all-powerful King and in him alone. Sir. J. Campbell and Sir R. M. Rolfe write that "Martial Law is merely a cessation from necessity of all municipal law, and what necessity requires it justifies."

Now coming to the really crucial point of my subject in connection with the law as expounded in Ancient Iran, I cannot refrain from remarking that the real key-stone of the faithful fulfilment by an Iranian of the strictest demands of the Iranian Law, especially the Civil side of it, was his most confirmed belief in the three important words of Zoroaster's message to the world — *Humata, Hukhta and Huvarshta* — good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. The ancient Iranian, before he entered into any contract, thought of these noble words. That is to say, once an Iranian gave his word to bind himself to a particular contract, he preferred death, so to say, to being compelled to go out of his contract. Even if there was any necessity for the intervention of a third party to set matters right, it was the King they looked up to for assistance. There were no distinct courts of justice and judges attached to them, as in modern times. The king himself sat in judgment together with his learned courtiers, and distributed justice to his subjects. The King himself presided at the meeting of his learned courtiers, when they sat in judgment to try issues between subject and subject, and thus earned for himself the title of the Chief Justice of his own realm. The parties trusted him implicitly for the solution of their differences. They revered him as their benefactor.

So, as I said above, it was the very firm hold that *Humata, Hukhta* and *Huvarshta*, the three most dazzling jewels of the ancient Iranian religion that helped the Civil Law of Ancient Iran to stand out so prominently before the eyes of its votaries, and made it so much respected and dreaded by them. Going unfairly and unwarrantably out of one's own contract or agreement, even if it may be verbal and not written, was tantamount to telling a lie. And as I observed above,

to be branded a liar and a turn-coat was more than could be endured by an ancient Iranian. It would be a great stain on the family reputation. Again it was the great moral exhortation in general imparted to the Iranian children from their tenderest age, that made the idea of doing a wrong, or telling a lie, extremely repugnant to their feelings and sense of shame, and to their family pride and honour. Another great feature of the preliminary instruction of an Iranian child was the deep impression made on its mind from its earliest days by the precepts regarding the objectionable practice of borrowing. An idea was inculcated in the mind of the child that to borrow something of another, was a great wrong, nay an unpardonable sin. What was the consequence? It was this, that the child grew up to be a man, with the idea in his head, that he would be doomed to everlasting misery; and that if ever he tried to borrow, he would incur the danger of dragging himself and his family to shame and ignominy. So having once been impressed with the idea of what difficulties and troubles borrowing would entail upon him, an ancient Iranian would always shirk such a repugnant idea, even if he were induced by circumstances to take to it. An ancient Iranian having thus been born an avowed enemy of borrowing, naturally kept himself quite clear of the evil consequences that are necessarily suffered by those who practise it. Being an enemy of borrowing, he practised thrift. And never being in the unfortunate position of a debtor he was practically never at cross purposes with his neighbours and fellow workers. Being a votary of thrift, he kept himself quite safe from the clutches of the Civil Law. Because, after all said and done, what does the Civil Law deal with mainly? It deals with the claims of one man against another, whether they arise from ordinary verbal agreements or written contracts.

With a view to substantiate my remarks about the integrity and veracity of the ancient Iranians, I may profitably quote the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson who says: "Among moral qualities, we must assign to the Persians as their most marked characteristics, at any rate in the earlier times, courage, energy, and a regard for truth. The Persian love of truth was a favourite theme with the Greeks, who were, perhaps, the warmer in their praises from a latent consciousness of their own deficiency in the virtue." Lying, according to the Zend Avesta, was regarded by the ancient Persians as most disgraceful

act of which a man could possibly be guilty. The Persian, according to Herodotus, was careful to avoid debts. The Persian, he says, had a keen sense of the difficulty with which a debtor escapes subterfuge and equivocation — forms, slightly disguised, of lying.

With regard to the characteristic surrender by the ancient Iranians of their will to that of their sovereign, as observed above, the learned remarks of Sir. H. Rawlinson on the subject would not be out of place. He says among other things: "The feeling of the Persian towards his King is one of which moderns can with difficulty form a conception. In Persia the monarch was so much the state, that patriotism itself was, as it were, swallowed up in loyalty; and an absolute unquestioning submission, not only to the deliberate will, but to the merest caprice of the sovereign, was, by habit and education, so engrained into the nature of the people that a contrary spirit scarcely ever manifested itself. In war the safety of the sovereign was the first thought, and the principal care of all" etc. In times of peace the decisions of the monarch were uncomplainingly acquiesced in. The voice of remonstrance, of rebuke, and of warning was never heard at the Persian Court.

As to the Persian King being the fountain of Law and Justice, Rawlinson remarks: "The Persian King held the same rank and position in the eyes of his subjects which the great monarch of Western Asia, whoever he might be, had always occupied from times immemorial. He was their lord and master, absolute disposer of their lives, liberties and property; the sole fountain of law and right, incapable himself of doing wrong, irresponsible, irresistible — a sort of God upon earth; one whose favour was happiness, at whose frown men trembled, before whom all bowed themselves down with the lowest and humblest obeisance." While speaking of some of the most important duties of a Persian monarch, Rawlinson's words are:—"Among the more serious occupations of the monarch were the holding of councils, the reviewing of troops, the hearing of complaints, and the granting or refusing of redress, the assignment of rewards, perhaps in some cases, the trying of causes, and, above all, the general direction of the Civil administration and Government of the Empire."

One cannot help noticing the most noteworthy remarks of Rawlinson with regard to the extreme contempt which the Persians expressed for

trade and commerce, with the result that the provisions of the Civil Law hardly ever came into use. There were not many contracts, and consequently not many suits either. Rawlinson says : " For trade and commerce the Persians were wont to express extreme contempt. The richer classes made it their boast that they neither bought nor sold, being supplied (we must suppose) from their estates, and by their slaves and dependents, with all that they needed for the common purposes of life. Persians of the middle rank would condescend to buy, but considered it beneath them to sell. The reason assigned for this low estimation of trade was that shopping and bargaining involved the necessity of falsehood."

Amongst the different crimes that came under the Criminal Law of ancient Iran, some are quoted by Rawlinson himself. He says " Coming into the King's presence unsummoned was a capital crime, punished by the attendants with instant death, unless the monarch himself, as a sign that he pardoned the intrusion, held out towards the culprit the golden sceptre which he bore in his hands. It was also a capital offence to sit down, even unknowingly, upon the royal throne ; and it was a grave mis-demeanour to wear one of the King's cast-off dresses." Again capital punishment, according to Rawlinson, stared that man in the face, who, sharing the pleasures of the chase with the King on the condition that he never ventured to let fly his arrow before he (the King) had drawn the bow, disregarded the royal rule.

Theoretically, it is said, the Persian was never to be put to death for any one crime. At least he was not to suffer the sentence of death until the King himself had reviewed the whole tenor of his life and struck a balance between his good and evil deeds to see which outweighed the other. Rawlinson says in one place : " Noble Persians were liable to be beheaded, to be stoned to death, to be suffocated with ashes, to have their tongues torn out by the roots, to be buried alive, to be shot in mere wantonness, to be flayed and then crucified, to be buried all but the head and to perish by the lingering agony of the " boat " (which consisted in placing the sufferer's body between two boats in such a way that only his head and hands projected at one end and his feet at the other, and keeping him in this position till he died miserably from the loathsome effects of the confinement). If they escaped these modes of execution, they might

be secretly poisoned, or they might be exiled, or transported for life. Their wives and daughters might be seized and horribly mutilated or buried alive, or cut into a number of fragments."

In the Criminal Code of ancient Iran, death was made the penalty for murder, rape, treason and rebellion, and even for such offences as accepting bribes, for deciding a case wrongfully, intruding on the King's privacy, approaching near to one of his concubines, seating oneself, even accidentally, on the throne etc. Poisoners were punished by having their heads placed upon a broad stone, and then having their faces crushed, and their brains beaten out by repeated blows with another stone. Ravishers and rebels were put to death by crucifixion.

Xenophon tells us, as a proof of the good Government maintained by the younger Cyrus in his satrapy, that under his sway it was common to see along all the most frequented roads numbers of persons who had their hands or feet cut off, or their eyes put out, as a punishment for thieving and rascality. Other writers relate that similar mutilations were inflicted on rebels and even on prisoners of war.

With regard to the Criminal Law of ancient Iran, I may say that the only Parsi religious book which deals mainly with the Law of Crimes as it existed in ancient Iran, is the Vendidad, which has come down to us intact, from remote antiquity. The very existence of the Law of Crimes in ancient Iran, proves that Iran in those days was not far below the modern standard of civilization. The word "Vendidad" comes from *ویندیگد* meaning literally "against the Law of Ahriman, i.e., the Devil." That is a Law or teaching or Code of Ahriman. The Vendidad which is supposed to have been written about 3000 years ago, mentions some offences known to the ancient Iranians, and the penalties prescribed for them. The Vendidad claiming to be a strictly religious book, as is proved by its very etymology, deals with offences against religion and morality in particular.

Unlike the Vendidad, the Dādistān-i-Dīnī (precepts of religion), besides dealing with religious and spiritual subjects, also deals with the sins of drunkenness, unlawful lust, adultery etc. The Ardā Virāf Nāmāh, which graphically narrates the vision of a very pious and renowned Iranian priest, contains the different varieties of tortures and punishments which the sinful souls have to suffer in Hell for

their offences in this world. All the sins, in those days, were considered to be transgressions and defiances more against the dictates of religion than against anything else. So, no wonder, that a transgression against religion was visited by far greater punishment than any other ordinary offence. This partiality towards religion is quite manifest from the disproportionate punishment even in such offences as caused serious bodily wounds and homicide, as compared with a mere unintentional transgression against religion. The offence of doing a serious bodily injury is punished with only 50 *upâzanas*, whereas 400 *upâzanas* are to be administered to the man who throws away the bone of an arm, and 800 *upâzanas* for killing a shepherd's dog ; death is the punishment for him who carries a dead body alone. *Upâzana* literally means a stripe or a blow. It is derived from Avesta *𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀*, to strike. The number of *upâzanas* for different crimes ranges from 5 to 10,000. Death is prescribed expressly as a punishment for two crimes only : namely, (1) one who cleanses the unclean or those infected with a pestilential disease without his being conversant with the rites of cleansing in accordance with the Law of Mazda (Vendidad Chap. 9, sec. 47) ; and (2) one who carries a corpse alone (Vendidad Chap. 3, sec. 14). The spirit of the Zoroastrian religion is that the world is for the benefit of all, and not one or two individuals ; and thus it is that so heinous a crime as homicide is let off comparatively cheaply, while the other two last mentioned, though seemingly trifling, are visited with the strictest of punishments.

Mr. Motiwala in his scholarly essay on "The Criminal Law of Ancient Iran", says, "There are certain offences which are unattonable, (*anâpêrêtha*), such as the cremation and burial of dead bodies, unnatural offence, and others. There is no suitable punishment for such offenders in this world. They are considered unclean for ever and ever, and it is only after death that they are punished with the torments of Hell." It is said that such offenders as the burner of a corpse, and the committer of an unnatural offence, if caught red-handed, may be killed on the spot with impunity, by any man. Chapter 3, sec. 40, 41, and Chap. 8, sec. 28, 29 of the Vendidad say that if the man who buries a corpse, and the man who commits an unnatural offence are non-Zoroastrians, and are not aware that the acts they are committing are sins according to the spirit of the religion of Mazda, then their sins are wiped off by their being converted into that

religion, and undertaking never to commit such acts again in future.

Falsehood and dishonesty are put in the same category as a breach of contract. According to the Vendidad (Chap. 4, sec. 55), a deliberate falsehood is visited by a punishment of 700 *upâzanas*. Chap. 4, sec. 11-16 of the Vendidad make different breaches of contract punishable with as many as 300, 600, 700, 800, 900 and 1000 *upâzanas*. A man, by such ignoble breaches of conduct not only debases himself, but brings his whole family into disrepute. According to the Vendidad, not returning borrowed property is tantamount to theft.

Vendidad, Chap. 4, sec. 17, mentions three such offences as can be found only in modern books on the Law of Torts and Crimes. They are (1) If a man rises up to smite a man, he commits an "Agerepta". (2) If a man flies at another, he commits an "Avaorish". (3) If a man maliciously smites a man, he commits an "Aredash". All these three offences are punishable with a graduated scale of *Upâzanas*, according to how often they are knowingly and persistently repeated. Vendidad, Chap. 4, sec. 30-32, makes the causing of a sore wound to another, liable to a punishment of thirty *upâzanas*, if the wound is caused for the first time. If a blow given is so severe as to break a bone, the punishment is seventy *upâzanas*. (Vendidad, Chap. 4 sec. 37, 38). If the blow renders the injured man senseless, the punishment for it is ninety *upâzanas*. (Vendidad, Chap. 4, sec. 40, 41).

It is remarkable how the ancient Iranians were particular in laying down different punishments for different crimes, in proportion to their heinousness, whereas they utterly neglected to lay down any definite and easily workable rules to judge of the rights of one man against another. In fact, it leads one to believe that there was no definite Civil Law, in the right sense of the word, in ancient Iran. That shows how dearly they loved freedom of the person, because we note that the slightest injury to the human body was strictly prohibited.

In ancient Iran sheep and cattle, perhaps the only movable property of any value, were usually placed under the watch of strong dogs for fear of wolves and other ferocious animals. So it was that any one who killed a shepherd's dog and thus deprived a flock of sheep or cattle of its protector, committed a serious offence and was punished with eight hundred *upâzanas*. (Vendidad, Chap. 13, sec. 12.) The punishment for killing a street dog was seven hundred *upâzanas*

(Vendidâd, Chap. 13, sec. 13). According to the spirit of the Vendidâd, not only killing dogs but even giving them bad food was considered an offence. Hence it is that, even in modern times, the dog plays a very important part in some of the ceremonies of the Parsis in India, such as the Bareshnum ceremony. In fact, the sanctity of the dog among Parsis is traceable from very remote antiquity. Why, even among the different nations of modern Europe the dog is taken to be the most favourite of all animals excepting the horse. As an English poet says :—

“ With eyes uplift his master's look to scan,
The guide, the solace, and the aid of man,
The rich man's guardian, the poor man's friend,
The only creature faithful to the end.”¹

The Vendidâd (Chap. 16, sec. 17) says that cohabitation with a woman in menses is strictly prohibited, as it is injurious to both the parties. The act is considered as sinful as the act of a man who burns his own son in fire. The Vendidâd (Chap 16, sec. 14-16) prescribes the punishment for this offence to be from thirty to ninety *upâzanas*. The Vendidâd (Chap. 15, sec. 8) considers the offence of cohabiting with a pregnant woman to be a *tanâfâr*. It is because such cohabitation would result in injuries to both the mother and the embryo.

It is so remarkable to note that the ancient Persians left no stone unturned to keep their morality and national pride, which, by the way, is almost intact upto the present day, at their highest water-mark. The Vendidâd is quite at one with the modern Criminal Law in that they both punish very strictly, offences of adultery and abortion. The Vendidâd (Chap. 15, sec. 9-14) lays down that if a man by sexual intercourse with a maiden makes her quick with child, and if the girl causes miscarriage by some drugs, to hide her unchastity, both of them are equally guilty. If the parents of that girl acquiesce in the causing of abortion, they are also liable ; and the man who procures some poisonous drugs for

1 Really the dog is the most faithful of animals, so much so, that very recently he has been handed over to the police forces of France and America, only with the idea that he would be a great help to a policeman in the detection of crimes, and a good and able communicator of the news of grief that the unfortunate policeman comes to at the hands of a formidable thief and burglar.

causing abortion, is guilty of wilful murder. The Vendidad (Chap. 15, sec. 18) says that a man who thus begets a child on a maiden is in duty bound to maintain his bastard child. The Vendidad (Chap. 8, sec. 31-32 and Chap. 1, sec. 12) say that the committing of an unnatural offence is unatoneable. The Vendidad (Chap. 1, sec. 17) considers the offence of burning a dead body as an unatoneable sin. The Vendidad (Chap. 4, sec. 47-54) enjoins married life upon all Zoroastrians.

As I am on so very fascinating a subject as Law, I feel much inclined to discuss the origin of the word "client" which is so very commonly used by lawyers. It seems that the Avestan word "*srutar*" and the English word "client" have much in common between them. The word "client" is one amongst several of the words given to the English language, which have had their origin from the Aryan root "*sru*" which is in Avesta *sru*, Sanskrit *shru*, Pahlavi *ashnûtan*, Persian *shanûdan*, to hear. The word "client" is, as it were, the later form of the Avestan word, *sruta* or *srutar*, Sanskrit *shrôtar*, meaning a hearer. Thus the Avestan word is found in the compound *zavanô-sruta*, i.e., the listener of prayers, applied to the Yazata Meher (Yasht X, 61), and to the star *Satavaêsa*, which is Antares (in Scorpio), according to Dr. West, and Vego according to Dr. Geiger (Yasht XIII, 43, 44). The "l" in the word "client" is the "r" in the ancient root *sru*.¹ So, the word "client" literally means "a hearer". A person is a lawyer's "client" because he has "to hear" his advice. The word "client" has come down to us from ancient Rome in a Latinized form of the ancient Aryan root *sru*. While so doing, it has gone through a great change in its signification. A client's relationship with his lawyer nowadays is far better than that in which the "clients" of ancient Rome stood, not to their lawyers, but to their patrons. In ancient Rome a "client" was "the faithful follower and even confidant of his patron who protected

¹ We find the same change in the English word "celebrate" wherein "cele" is the later form of *sru*. To celebrate is *sru-bar*, i.e., to carry (*bar*, English bear) from place to place what is heard of a man, i.e., his praises. A celebrated man is one whose praises are heard and carried from place to place. The English word "Laudation" is originally "claudation" wherein "clau" is similar to the Aryan root *sru*. The Romans like some other nations, not pronouncing "r" well changed it into 'l'. They say that the Chinese speak of "Europe" as "Eulope".

him."¹ Latterly he sank in position and became "an ill-paid attendant in his lord's or King's retinue."²

I have now come to the end of what I wished to say on a subject, so interesting and yet so vast and inexhaustible. There is no limit to human progress, and to-day the standard of Western civilization, with all the materialistic tendencies it has brought in its train, may be far different to that of our olden days; but even if we roll back the historic current three thousand years into the past, we shall find much to admire and no little to imitate in the laws and institutions of Ancient Iran. There is a certain romance about that distant land which can never die, and so long as the Parsis of to-day keep their religion and its precepts alive in their hearts, guided by the divine teachings of the Bactrian Sage, their memories will always take them to the scenes of the fatherland where their ancestors lived and died for a faith which still illumines the world.

RUSTAM JIVANJI MODI.

¹ "Roman Life and Manners under the Roman Empire" by Ludwig Friedländer, translated by Leonard A. Magnus, p. 195.

² Ibid.

PURIM AND FARWARDIGAN.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Book of Esther is to me as a Parsi the most deeply interesting of all the historical books of the Old Testament. It gives such a lifelike picture of the court of one of the greatest of our ancient Persian kings, Xerxes, who here appears surrounded with truly Oriental magnificence. It reads like an Oriental Romance or like one of the Arabian tales. Indeed M. de Goeje, of Leyden (b. 1836) a great Arabic scholar of our day, seriously traces its story to the Arabian Nights, and compares Esther with Sherazadé, the heroine of the Thousand Nights and One.

The late Dr. Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885), nephew and biographer of the poet, and Bishop of Lincoln, describes the main scenes of *Esther* in picturesque language: "On opening the Book", says he in his valuable introduction to this Book, "we behold a scene which may remind us of the glowing imagery of a fairy tale. The Garden or Park of the royal palace of Ahasuerus at Susa is thrown open before us; and we see a vast assemblage there of Eastern Princes and Potentates in festal attire, gathered together from every province of the empire of Persia"—from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces, to use the very words of the first verse. "We see couches of gold and silver, ranged under canopies 'of white, green and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble,' and placed on pavements of porphyry and marble and alabaster, and tables before them which dazzle the eye with vessels of gold. This royal banquet is continued day after day for nearly half a year; and the greatest Empire of the world seems to be forgetting the cares of the state, in this six months' gala day, and to be beguiling away the time in the jovial glee of an universal holiday. If we proceed further, we listen with feelings of wonder to a narrative of strange incidents, coloured we may deem with a strange tinge of the marvellous, and borrowed from the realm of fiction. A Queen is divorced by her royal consort, and is degraded from her high

estate, on account of her refusal to comply with an arbitrary summons issued on a sudden impulse in an hour of revelry; an edict is committed to writing on the spot, which proclaims that her dignity is forfeited; a royal mandate is sent forth to every province of the Kingdom, that every one should bear rule in his own house. These are some of the occurrences which are here presented to the view. Next follow the extraordinary events which resulted in the elevation of a Jewish maiden to be a partner of the throne of Persia; and the scarcely less wonderful exaltation of Haman, probably a stranger and an Amalekite, to be Grand Vizier of the Persian Empire. We are astounded by the lavish prodigality with which the great King squanders in a moment a large portion of the population of his empire and surrenders them with reckless indifference to the vindictive passion of a haughty favourite. Next comes an unexpected catastrophe; the fall of that proud favourite, not less sudden than his rise, and the no less marvellous succession of Mordecai, a Jew, whom he had doomed to destruction, to be Prime Minister in his room; and the execution of Haman on that very cross which he had set up for Mordecai. Then follows the deliverance of the Jews by a marvellous providential interposition when on the very brink of destruction." (The Holy Bible with Commentary, Vol. III, p. 358).

This marvellous and providential deliverance is related at length in this book and is indeed the real motive for its composition. The deliverance of the Jews from the sanguinary intentions of Haman, their Amalekite enemy, was celebrated by the institution of the feast of Purim; and in order to popularise and perpetuate this feast among later generations, this Book was evidently written. It has succeeded in this object. The Jews have always venerated it, and they call it by an honourable distinctive epithet, the Megillah or Roll; and it is read every year to the present day in their Synagogues at the feast of Purim.¹ But in Christian times the Book of Esther seems to have been depreciated. "It was not undisputed", says the late Prof. Robertson Smith (1846-

¹ "It has always been regarded by the Jews as an authentic account of the great deliverance which they celebrate annually by the Feast of Purim, and has been placed by some of them in an exceptional position of honour. The saying is attributed to Maimonides that 'in the days of the Messiah the prophetic books and the Hagiographa will be done away with, excepting only Esther, which will endure together with the Pentateuch.'" Rawlinson, in 'Speaker's Commentary', Vol. III, p. 472.

1894) in his well-known work *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, "in the early Christian Church, and according to Eusebius, Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the middle of the second century, journeyed as far as Palestine to ascertain the Jewish Canon of his time, and brought back a list, from which Esther was excluded" (p. 171; 2nd ed., p. 184). It has, however, been admitted into the Canon of the Church, though somewhat grudgingly, by the Protestants, who however do not allow the canonicity of a part of the Book, but have placed it among the Apocrypha, where it is called "Rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther", since these chapters are supposed to have been interpolated. Luther (*De Servo Arbitrio*, p. 118) expressed the wish that the whole of the Book of Esther were excluded from the Bible. He is said however to have modified this opinion later in life. The Catholic Church does not think so slightly of the Book and in a recent number (July 1905) of the *Dublin Review*, Father Pope, O.P., discusses "Why does the Protestant Church read the Book of Esther?"

Dr. Theodore Nöldeke of Strassburg (b. 1836) gives expression to the ultra-critical view of some Protestant scholars when in the recently published *Encyclopædia Biblica* he says that 'the whole narrative is fictitious', and that 'the story is in fact a tissue of improbabilities and impossibilities.' (Vol. II, Cols. 1421-2. Art. ESTHER). Another critic, Dr. Henry Smith, thinks that the story is certainly uncritical. "It was written to justify the adoption of a Gentile festival, which seems to have been the New Year of the Babylonians or Persians. The matter of the book is taken from Babylonian mythology, though it has been wholly judaized." (*Old Testament History*, in Clark's International Theological Library, 1903, p. 436.) "Certain critics", as the late Dr. Karl F. Keil of Dorpat (1807-1888) well observes, "from the second half of the last (18th) century and onwards, have thrown doubt upon the historical character or the credibility of its contents, and have even rejected them altogether. They have done so owing to their want of capacity for transferring themselves into the spirit and character of the oriental circumstances and historical relations without which they cannot be rightly estimated; and consequently they have turned what was astonishing to us, and contradictory to our manners and relations, into a criterion for rejecting the truth of the history. All their objections either proceed from the ignor-

ance of the manners of the ancient Persian Empire, and of the modes of thinking and acting common among its despotic rulers ; or else they are rooted in misinterpretations of the narrative in the book. Yet the substance of it not only does contain a historical kernel, since the feast of Purim unquestionably originated in Persia, and had its occasion in some such event ; it also manifests itself to be credible and historical in all its individual details, the more we carefully ponder the manners of Persia and thoughtfully consider the character of Xerxes." (*Introduction to Old Testament*, Vol. II, p. 122).

It is safer and sounder to follow the conservative view of the Anglican divine, the late Canon Rawlinson (1815-1902) who was in a special position to judge, as he was at once a Biblical critic and a historian of the Persians (*Cf. Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, 3 vols.). "The chronological notices in the work also exactly fit Xerxes' history ; and the entire representation of the court and kingdom is suitable to his time and character. Had the work been composed by a Jewish romancer at the distance of a century and a half or two centuries from the events, and been merely based upon traditional recollections of a great danger and a great deliverance, it is inconceivable that the character of Xerxes should have been so exactly hit off, and that the picture of Persian manners should have been at once so vivid and so correct ; it is also highly improbable that no mistakes would have been made with respect to dates, circumstances and persons, such as those which at once condemn as unhistoric the apocryphal books of Tobit and Judith. 'Esther' is in fact the sole authority for the period and circumstances of which it treats. No profane writer treats of the time in such a way as to admit of comparison with it ; and thus at any rate no contradiction is to be found between it and the established facts of history. On the contrary, the narrative is in harmony with those facts ; completes very happily the portraiture of Xerxes and his court ; agrees with, but goes beyond, the descriptions of Persian life and manners which have otherwise come down to us ; has the air of being by a contemporary ; and if untrue, might easily have been proved to be untrue at the time when it was published, by reference to the extant 'Book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia' which it quotes." (*Esther*, in 'Speaker's Commentary.' Vol. III. p. 472). It may be observed in passing that there are

some further quotations from this "book of chronicles" in the Apocryphal additions to Esther which are extremely interesting from the point of view of history and throw some light on the government of the Persian Empire, *e. g.*, the letter of Artaxerxes in Chap. 12 (*vide* Canon Fuller in 'Speaker's Commentary on the Apocrypha' Vol. I. p. 376).

That the Jewish festival of Purim whose origin and introduction among the Jews in Persia under King Ahasuerus is commemorated and explained in a striking narrative in the Book of Esther in the Old Testament, is connected with and has some resemblance to the ancient Persian festival called "Farwardigân", kept up to this day by the descendants of these Persians, the modern Parsis of India, has been noted by some scholars, especially the learned Orientalist Paul de Lagarde (1827-1891), Ewald's successor at Göttingen. But not being intimately acquainted with Persian antiquities and religion, and especially owing to a want of knowledge of the Parsi Calendar—for as will be seen in the sequel, the question is one mainly connected with chronology and the peculiar observances of the Parsi Religion—these scholars have not made their argument in favour of their thesis that the Jewish is taken from the Persian or Parsi festival, so strong as we could wish, and have left something to be desired in the matter of proof. In the present paper an attempt is made to supply to some extent this defect by bringing my knowledge as a Parsi, of Parsi chronology and religion to bear on this subject.

The eminent Dutch Orientalist and Biblical critic Dr. Abraham Kuenen (1828-1891) in his great work on the *Religion of Israel*, says, "my objection to the interpretation of *purdegan* (or *furdigan*) as a spring feast nevertheless retains its full force, since the five intercalary days which always belonged to this feast, were not inserted at the end of the 12th month (*i.e.*, towards the beginning of spring) till later, and at first were placed after the 8th month (*Âbân*)"; and he specially refers to Lagarde who gives proof of the fact that in A.D. 565 the intercalary days still followed the month *Âbân*. (*Religion of Israel* Vol. III. p. 151.) Now it will be seen that this is written under a misapprehension. I shall show that though the five intercalary days during which this festival of 'farwardigân' was celebrated followed the eighth month of the Parsi year called *Âbân*, in A.D. 565, this fact does not preclude it from being a spring feast in the time of Ahasuerus when the Jews modelled Purim on it. In fact it will be seen that at the

time mentioned in the Book of Esther, the five intercalary days or 'epagominae' came at the end of the twelfth month and just before the beginning of the Parsi year which commenced in spring at the vernal equinox.

Dr. Kuenen again rejects presumably on the same ground an etymology of the Hebrew word *purim* from the Persian word, 'bahar' meaning 'spring'. Now of course we know that 'farwardigân' does not come from *bahar* but this does not prevent *purim* coming from this root suggested by E. Meier, (*Dict. of Hebrew Roots* p. 716), though the other suggestion, now commonly accepted, seems to be the right one that it comes from a Persian word *pareh* meaning 'part, portion' (Rawlinson, in *Speaker's Commentary* Vol. III, p. 499). But there is nothing intrinsically against it, though Kuenen says, "the resemblance in sound between the two words is much too slight for us to consider them to have originally been identical" (*Ibid.* p. 149), as both 'Purim' and 'Farwardigân' were originally spring-feasts.

Again Lagarde denies that 'furdigân' has anything in common with 'Farvardian' and 'Farwardin'. (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen* p. 162 note 2 and p. 163). And Kuenen remarks on this as follows : "Farwardin is the name of a Persian month, the first of the year : it is true *furdigân* cannot be connected with this, for although the five intercalary days were afterwards placed at the end of the twelfth month, they were never reckoned with the first. But in new-Persian *Farvardian* or *Farwardigân* are the five intercalary days themselves, so called because on those days *hymns* (or prayers) were offered up to the *Fervers* (the spirits of the dead): (Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, I. 671). Is there then no connection between *furdigân* (a feast of ten days including five intercalary days in honour of the dead) and *farwardigân* (also *farvardigân*), the five intercalary days dedicated to the *Fervers* or *genii*?" (*op. cit.* p. 150 n.)

There is great blundering here owing to ignorance of the Parsi

¹ Ewald, (1803-1875) a high authority as an Orientalist under whom the famous Avesta scholar Haug (1827-1876), as well as other eminent scholars like Dr. Nöldeke, learnt at Göttingen, leans towards this derivation. "The Persian *bahr* *bahre* (connected with the Lat. *pars*) might be pronounced dialectically *bire* or *pire*, and this in the plural form according to Hebrew usage, might easily pass into Purim. In the majority of Mss. of the LXX, the word is transformed into the semi-Greek *Phourai* out of which Josephus makes *Phouraiot*." (*Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr., Vol. V, p. 231 n.)

festival 'Farwardigan'. Both Lagarde and Kuenen seem not to be aware that this festival is kept up to the present day by the Parsis in India. The time when I am writing this is the time of Farwardigan among us in the earlier half of September. Lagarde is acquainted with it only through its mention by the Byzantine historian Menander Protector in the reign of Chosroes the great or Noshirwan. He is certainly mistaken in denying that 'furdigan' has anything in common with 'Farwardian', for they are the same. The name of the month 'Farwardin', the first in the Parsi year, is also connected with 'Farwardigan' as they are both derived from 'fravashi' or 'spirits of the dead'. 'Furdigan' is only the Greek name given by Menander to the somewhat longer Persian word 'Farwardigan', very likely a mistake in hearing.

As to the comment of Kuenen, it is to be said that the feast of ten days in honour of the dead is the 'Farwardigan' including the five intercalary days 'dedicated to the *Ferwers* or genii', i.e., to the Ferwers or Fravashis of the dead. "During these ten days", says Dr. Haug, (1826-1876) "the *frohars* (*fravarshi*, *fravarti*) or spiritual representatives, of the deceased are believed to come to the houses; and the days are therefore called *Fravardigan*." (*Essays on the Parsis*, 2nd ed. p. 129 n.) He elsewhere thus explains these Fravashis or 'Frohars': "The 'Frawardin Yasht' is dedicated to the praise of the Frohars, *Fravashi* in the Avesta (preserved in the name *Phraortes* which is *Fravartish* in the ancient Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions) which means 'protector'. These Frohars or protectors, who are numberless, are believed to be angels, stationed everywhere by Ahura Mazda for keeping the good creation in order, preserving it, and guarding it against the constant attacks of fiendish powers. Every being of the good creation, whether living, or deceased, or still unborn, has its own Fravashi or guardian angel who has existed from the beginning. Hence they are a kind of prototypes and may be best compared to the 'ideas' of Plato who supposed everything to have a double existence, first in idea, secondly in reality. Originally the Fravashis represented only the departed souls of ancestors, comparable to the *pitares* 'fathers', of the Brahmans and the *Manes* of the Romans." (*Ibid.* p. 206). Dr. Wilhelm Geiger of Erlangen (b. 1856) develops this latter view in his *Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum* in the section on the cult of the *Manes*. "The Avesta

people speak of the *Manes* of the dead as the *Fravashis*. Taken strictly, we must understand by the *Fravashi*, that divine part in men which, existing from eternity to eternity, unites itself only for a limited time with the body. Consequently there are *Fravashis* of such as are dead, of such as are at this time living, and of such as are yet unborn. As regards the veneration of the *Manes*, naturally those of the first class (of the dead) only are meant." (Vol. II., p. 113). Now it will be seen how the festival 'in honour of the dead' is the same as that 'dedicated to the ferwers or genü', a fact not known, or but dimly suspected by Biblical scholars like Kuenen who are conversant with the Jews and their customs alone.

The fact that the 'farwardigan' festival in honour of the dead lasted for ten days according to Menander — who is very curiously known in history and Byzantine literature as Menander 'Protector' (cf. Prof. Bury in his edition of Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 512) that is, translated into Avesta, 'Fravarshi' or 'Phraortes' which is the surname of some Median and Parthian monarchs also — whilst the five intercalary days were alone dedicated to the 'fravashis' seems to have been a stone of stumbling in the path of these Biblical scholars. But to one who is acquainted with Parsi antiquities and the history of our religious and other customs, this would present no difficulties at all. This festival has been one of varying length and duration, and in our own times many Parsis in India have extended it to seventeen or eighteen days; and for some time past a controversy has been raging as to the proper number of days it should extend. It is a matter of history that in early times it lasted for only five days, the intercalary days at the end of the year, the season of 'Hamaspauthmaedha' mentioned in Farwardin Yasht, § 49. Then in course of time the preceding five days, the last days of the twelfth month were added to it, to form a festival of ten days' duration. As to why this was done we have an account by Alberuni (971-1039), the most scientific and reliable of early Arab writers. His celebrated work in Arabic called *Athar-ul-Bakiya*, now rendered accessible to English readers in the translation by Dr. Sachau of Berlin (b. 1845), has thrown a most valuable light on ancient and mediæval Parsi chronology, and several points which were formerly obscure are now elucidated with its help. I am enabled to write this paper chiefly owing to the help given by Alberuni's work. Making a somewhat close study of this book

some twelve years ago as a member of the committee formed in our community for the reform of our calendar, I was struck with the fact, which I have endeavoured to make clear in the present paper, that additional arguments could be brought forward in support of the view that 'Purim' is nothing else than a modification of 'Farwardigan' adopted by those of the Jews who still continued to reside in Persia, even after the Captivity was over under the great Persian monarch Cyrus. Since that time Dr. West (1824-1905) has published in the forty-seventh volume of the Sacred Books of the East, his remarks on the original establishment of the present Parsi Calendar which confirmed my view originally formed with the help of Alberuni.

Alberuni, writing at the close of the tenth century, thus explains how the Parsi festival came to be extended to ten days. "Regarding these days there has been among the Persians a controversy. According to some, they are the last five days of the Aban, according to others they are the Andergah, *i.e.*, the five Epagominæ which are added, between Aban and Adar Mah. When the controversy and dispute increased, they adopted all (ten) days in order to establish the matter on a firm basis, as this was one of the chief institutes of their religion, and because they wished to be careful, since they were unable to ascertain the real facts of the case. So they called the first five days the first Farwardigan, and the following five days the second Farwardigan; the latter however is more important than the former. The first day of these Epagominæ is the first day of the sixth Gahambar in which God created man. It is called Hamaspatmaedhaem gah." (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau, p. 210). Thus originally the Farwardigan festival was one of five days only. This assertion of Alberuni is confirmed by a sentence in a well-known Parsi religious book of the Sassanian times the Mainog-i-Khirad. There the Spirit of Wisdom in answer to the enquiry of the Sage who throughout this book questions him about various spiritual and other matters, says that there are 'five days devoted to the guardian spirits — Farwardigan' (*vide* West's transl., S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, p. 100). From internal evidence Dr. A. D. Mordtmann supposes that the 'Mainog-i-Khirad' was composed towards the close of the sixth century, A. D. 580-590 (*cf.* West, *ibid.*, p. xvii). But it must have been earlier, for already in the reign of Chosroes the Great (531-579), Menander says that this festival of the *manes* was of ten days' duration as the Byzantine

envoys were kept waiting for that period, because the great Sassanian king was then engaged in celebrating this festival. Therefore the date of the 'Mainog-i-Khirad' must be put earlier than the year of which Menander wrote. And the allusion in this book to some wars on which Mordtmann relies is, as Dr. West rightly says, 'too obscure to be relied on' (*Ibid* p. xvii.). But it cannot be put much earlier.

Thus it will be seen that the Farwardigan originally, at the time when the Purim festival is said by the author of the Book of Esther to have been instituted, lasted only five days. Purim lasts for two days, the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar, the last month of the Jews. Farwardigan lasted for the five days which were placed at the end of the last month of the Persian year. The Persian days were days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another and gifts to the poor (*Esther* IX, 22). The modern Parsis do what the ancient Persians did; during the Farwardigan they distribute gifts to the poor and send portions or presents to one another. There is much feasting also, although in its origin it is a solemn festival being in honour of the spirits of the dead. But the Parsis believe that the spirits of the departed or 'Fravashis' have power to aid in all good works and that they revisit during these days specially their earthly haunts. In the Yasht called Farwardin, dedicated to the Fravashis, it is said that they come to the village in the season called Hamaspathmaedha. "They roam about there during ten nights, wishing to learn what assistance they might obtain, saying : Who will praise us? Who will worship (us)? Who will adore (us)? Who will pray (to us)? Who will satisfy (us) with milk and clothes in his hand, with a prayer for righteousness? Whom of us will he call here? Whose soul is to worship you? To whom of us will he give that offering in order to enjoy imperishable food for ever and ever?" (Haug's transl. in *Essays*, p. 210) The Farwardin Yasht like most other Yashts is a poem and we have here a highly poetical account of what the Fravashis say and do. They are personified, and all the attributes of persons are predicated of them here, which, of course, are not to be interpreted literally, as that would be against the spirit of true Zoroastrianism. Yet the simple-minded ordinary people from early times, took all this literally, and made preparations in their houses for the reception of these personified Fravashis, and put food and drink and raiments for them. Alberuni says : "During this time people put food in

the halls of the dead and drink on the roof of the houses, believing that the spirits of their dead during these days come out from the places of their reward or their punishment, that they go to the dishes laid out for them, imbibe their strength and suck their taste. They fumigate their houses with juniper, that the dead may enjoy its smell." (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 210). The Book of Esther called 'Megillah' or roll, is read and recited by the Jews during the Purim festival: while during the Farvardigan the favourite recitation is that of the part of the Avesta called Farokhshi dedicated to the Fravashis, though both Esther as well as Farokhshi are read at other times also.

Now to come to the main point that both Purim and Farwardigan were spring festivals. That Purim is a spring-festival is evident. It occurs about the middle of Adar, the last month of the Jewish Calendar which corresponds to March. But Farwardigan is not a spring festival now, as it occurs in the earlier part of September. But as will be shown presently, this Persian festival did occur in spring at the time when Purim was instituted under the circumstances so strikingly narrated in the Book of Esther. Our Parsi year is not strictly a solar year, but a little in advance of it. Hence in its march through the ages it fails to correspond with the seasons, as there is no mode now of keeping the two together by intercalating at certain periods the number of days it has run in advance of true solar time. But it was not always so. In the days of our power, we had a system of intercalation which was regularly adhered to, and the neglect of which after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire when we became fugitives who knew not their own country again, has caused the present confusion in our calculations and reckoning, and has caused what is really spring to be autumn, and summer to be winter. We had in former times not the leap year and did not intercalate every fourth year the extra day that we ran in advance. We allowed this extra day to accumulate for 120 years, when it grew into a month and then eliminated it from our calculations by the intercalation of a whole month. The name of this intercalary month was taken from the names of the twelve months in succession, so that there was a second Farwardin (the first month of the Parsi year) after 120 years, a second Ardihehesht (the second month) after 240 years, and so on till there was a second Spendarmad (the twelfth month of our year)

after 1440 years. To mark which month had its turn to be counted again when the intercalary period came round at the end of 120 years, they put the five supplementary or rather complementary days required to complete the year of 365 days divided into 12 months of 30 days each — days called after the five Gathas — at the end of this intercalary month. There they remained for 120 years till the next period of intercalation, when they were removed to the end of the succeeding month.

This intercalation was an imperial affair with the Persian monarchs and was made with great solemnity. The remarks of Alberuni on this intercalation are extremely interesting as well as helpful. "The quarter of a day", says he, "beyond the 365 days, they neglected in their computation, till these quarters of a day had summed up to the days of one complete month, which happened in 120 years. Then they added this month to the other months of the year, so that the number of its months became thirteen. This month they called Kabisa (intercalary month). And the days of this additional month they called by the same name as those of the other months. In this mode the Persians proceeded till the time when both their empire and their religion perished. Afterwards the day quarters were neglected and the years were no longer intercalated with them, and therefore they did not return to their original condition, and remained considerably behind the fixed points of time (*i.e.*, real time). The reason was this that intercalation was an affair settled under the special patronage of their kings at a meeting of the mathematicians, literary celebrities, historiographers, and chroniclers, priests and judges, — on the basis of an agreement of all those regarding the correctness of the calculation, after all the persons I have mentioned had been summoned to the royal court from all parts of the empire, and after they had held councils in order to come to an agreement. On this occasion, money was spent profusely to such an extent, that a man who had made a low estimate said, the cost had sometimes amounted to a million denars. This same day was observed as the most important and the most glorious of all festivals; it was called the Feast of Intercalation, and on that day the king used to remit the taxes to his subjects. The reason why they did not add the quarter of a day every fourth year as one complete day to one of the months or to the *Epagominae*, was this

that according to their views, not the days, but only the months are liable to be intercalated, because they had an aversion to increasing the number of the days; this was impossible by reason of the prescription of the law regarding the days on which *zemzema* (whispering prayer) must be said, if it is to be valid. If the number of the days be increased by an additional day, the order of the days of *zemzema* according to the law is disturbed."

As to the intercalary month Alberuni says: "People relate that when Zoroaster arose and intercalated the years with the months, which by that time had summed up from the day-quarters, time returned to its original condition. Then he ordered people in all future times to do with the day-quarters the same as he had done, and they obeyed his command. They did not call the intercalary month by a special name nor did they repeat the name of another month, but they kept it simply in memory from one turn to another. Being, however, afraid that there might arise uncertainty as to the place where the intercalary month would have again to be inserted, they transferred the five Epagominæ, and put them at the end of that month, to which the turn of intercalation had proceeded on the last occasion of intercalating. And, as this subject was of great importance and of general use to high and low, to the king and to the subjects, and, as it is required to be treated with knowledge, and to be carried out in conformity with nature (*i.e.*, with real time) they used to postpone intercalation, when its time happened to occur at a period when the condition of the empire was disturbed by calamities; then they neglected intercalation as long, until the day-quarters. Or on the other hand, they anticipated intercalating the year at once by two months, when they expected that at the time of the next coming intercalation circumstances would distract their attention therefrom, as it has been done in the time of Yazdajird bin Sapur, for no other motive but that of precaution. That was the last intercalation which they carried out, under the superintendence of a Dastur called Yajdajird Alhizari. Hizar was an estate in the district of Istakhar in Fars from which he received his name. In that intercalation the turn had come to Aban Mah; therefore the Epagominæ were added at its end, and there they have remained ever since on account of their neglecting intercalation." (*op. cit.* pp. 54-56.)

Here we have definite historical information about the time when the last intercalation was performed. Elsewhere Alberuni repeats this : " We are informed by traditions, the correctness of which is proved by their mutual agreement, that the last intercalation was carried out at the time of Yazdajird ben Shapur and that the Epagominæ were put at the end of that month, to which the turn of intercalation had come, *viz.*, the eighth month (Aban Mah)" (p. 121). Now who was this Yazdajard bin Shapur who is mentioned here ? There was no king of this name who can be literally *bin* Shapur or the son of Shapur. Yazdajard I. was the son of Varahan or Bahram IV and grandson of Shapur II. But he could not have been the king who made the last intercalation, because he was not a staunch Zoroastrian and 'his memory is branded with the well-deserved epithet of *Al-Athim*, the Wicked', as Canon Rawlinson (1815-1902), the historian of these Sassanide monarchs, says. He was so favourably inclined during a part of his reign towards the Christians that he even contemplated seeking admission into the Church by the door of Baptism.' (*Seventh Oriental Monarchy* p. 274). He also 'convinced of the truth of Christianity, commenced a persecution of the Magians and their most powerful adherents which caused him to be held in detestation by his subjects and has helped to attach to his name the epithet of the harsh and the wicked.' He afterwards, it is true, persecuted the Christians also ; but thus gave both parties reason to hate him, and he 'earned and acquired a unanimity of execration which has but seldom been the lot of persecuting monarchs.' (*Ibid*, p. 276). He could thus hardly have been the monarch who performed the great religious ceremony of intercalation.

The person, I think, was Yazdajard II., the son of Varahan V. The '*bin* Shapur' of Alberuni means, as it sometimes does, not the actual son but the descendant of Shapur, whose name is connected with him as that of an illustrious ancestor. This Yazdajard was a very zealous Zoroastrian and a consistent but bitter and successful persecutor of Christianity, which he for a time stamped out in his dominions and in Armenia. He was exactly such a monarch as could have carried out the intercalation enjoined by religious practice. He reigned from 440 to 457 A.D. If we count backwards from the time of Yazdajard II., intercalating the extra month at its proper period of 120 years — though it is evident from Alberuni that this was not always done at its exact time but sometimes sooner and sometimes later — we find that

at the time when Purim is said by the Book of Esther to be instituted — 'in the twelfth year of King Ahasuerus', (*Esther* III. 7.) — the five Epagomenæ during which the festival of Farwardigan, as we have seen, occurred, were placed at the end of Spendarmad, the twelfth or last month of the Persian year. Consequently, the Farwardigan festival was immediately before the vernal equinox when the Persian year commenced. This is confirmed by the somewhat different calculation of Dr. West, according to whom the Persian calendar was established by Darius Hystaspes, about the year 505 B. C. From that date till 120 years afterwards, the Epagomenæ were placed at the natural end of the year, that is, after Spendarmad the twelfth month. 120 years after, that is to say in 385 B. C., Farwardin being the first intercalary month, the Epagomenæ were placed at its end, till they were removed after the next 120 years, *i. e.*, 255 B. C., to the end of Ardibehesht, the second intercalary month, and so on till the time of Yazdajard, when Alberuni says, they came to be placed at the end of Aban, the eighth month.

King Ahasuerus mentioned in *Esther* is, by almost common consent among Biblical scholars, taken to be Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius Hystaspes. On this point we may quote the view of Dr. Samuel Davidson (1807-1898), one of the acutest and soundest of Biblical critics, as given in his valuable Introduction to the Old Testament: "The only probable opinion is that which identifies Ahasuerus with Xerxes; as Joseph Scaliger, Drusius, Pfeiffer, Daunhauer, Carpzor, Justi, Jahn, Eichhorn, Gesenius, and most modern critics believe." (Vol. II. p. 156).¹ He well says that what

¹ Dr. Davidson thus disposes of the various other identifications of Ahasuerus proposed by other scholars:

"Great difference of opinion has existed respecting the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther. He was not Cambyzes, because the length of his reign forbids; nor Darius the Mede, who after subduing Babylon and enlarging his territories lived no more than two years. Nor was he Astyages, Darius' son-in-law, because the extent of Ahasuerus' empire does not agree with the small dominion belonging to Astyages. Nor does Artaxerxes Longimanus suit; though Josephus, Petavius, Lightfoot, Le Clerc, Prideaux, Hales, and others fix upon him. The favour shown to the Jews by him, above all other kings that reigned in Persia, is not a proof that they had in his days, such an advocate as Esther to intercede for them. In the book of Nehemiah it is never hinted that his queen was a Jewess, though she is mentioned (ii. 6), and the character of Artaxerxes does not accord with that of Ahasuerus in this book. Still less will any other Artaxerxes agree; whether Mnemon as Jerome and Eusebius suppose; or Ochus as L. Capellus conjectures. The name Artaxerxes is always written in Scripture *Artachshashta*

most favours the identity of Xerxes with Ahasuerus is similarity of character. On this similarity of character Canon Rawlinson who was, as we have already said, both a Biblical scholar as well as the historian of these Persian kings, has some pertinent remarks in his Bampton Lectures: "We are at once struck with the strong resemblance which his character bears to that assigned by the classical writers to the celebrated son of Darius. Proud, self-willed, amorous, careless of contravening Persian customs; reckless of human life, yet not actually bloodthirsty; impetuous, facile, changeable, the Ahasuerus of Esther corresponds in all respects to the Greek portraiture of Xerxes, which is not the mere picture of an Oriental despot, but has various peculiarities which distinguish it even from other Persian kings." (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 186). Moreover, Ahasuerus, as Vaux says, is the natural Hebrew form of the Persian Khshayarsha (*Ancient History from the Monuments : Persia* p. 50) which the Greeks represented by Xerxes, (cf. Rawlinson, *Speaker's Comment*. Vol. III 422). Xerxes reigned for twenty years from 486 to 466-5 B.C. and consequently the twelfth year of his reign would be 474 B.C. In that year and for many years after, as we have seen, the Epagomenæ, the five days of the Farwardigan, were placed at the end of Spendarmad, the last month of the Persian year; and consequently they just preceded the vernal equinox, in March, when the New Year commenced. Hence both the Farwardigan and Purim were at their origin spring festivals, held about the time of the vernal equinox in the reign of Xerxes. Moreover, just as Spendarmad was the last month of the Persians, Adar in which Purim

not Ahasuerus. Besides, chronology does not allow of the hypothesis. Others think that Darius Hystaspes is meant, and identify Esther with his wife Atossa. But no Darius is ever called Ahasuerus in Scripture, though the name often occurs. Atossa had four sons by Darius, all born after he had ascended the throne; and therefore she could not be queen Vashti whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign. It is true that Ahasuerus is said to have laid a tribute on the land and the isles (Esther x.) and that the same is said of Darius Hystaspes by Herodotus; but Strabo ascribes this to Darius Longimanus; and it seems that Darius is there put by mistake of the transcribers for Artaxerxes. Neither Darius Hystaspes' character, nor his conduct towards the Jews, corresponds with what the book of Esther relates of Ahasuerus. The names of his counsellors in Herodotus are not the same as the names of them here. We cannot therefore assent to this view, though it is held by Ussher, Dupin, F. Spanheim, Luther, and others. Nor was he Cyaxares, the son of Phrartes as Nickses tries to show. The only probable opinion is that which identifies Ahasuerus with Xerxes." (*Introduction to Old Testament*, Vol. II. 155-6.)

occurred, was the last or twelfth month of the Jews, whose year at that time also commenced in spring about the time of the vernal equinox with the month Nisan. "Moses appointed" says Josephus, "that Nisan should be the first month for their festivals because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God." (*Antiquities of the Jews*, I. iii. 3.) The Jews began their civil and ecclesiastical years at either spring or autumn at various periods of their history. From the sixth to the first century B.C. this year began in spring under Babylonian and Persian influence (K. Marti in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. IV, col. 5368). This was the case at the time of Esther, and we distinctly see the Persian influence. Purim and Farwardigan both fell then in March and were separated by only a few days. Purim was on the 14th and 15th of the twelfth month, while Farwardigan was during the five days which followed the twelfth month.

Dr. Zimmern traces the origin of Purim to the Babylonian New Year's festival celebrated with great pomp and mirth in the opening days of Nisan. (M. Clymont in Dr. Hasting's *Dict. of the Bible*, Vol. IV, p. 175). But we need not seek for Babylonian influence in this, for here too we can explain this by direct Persian influence under which many of the Jews were at the time of Esther. The Persian New Year's festival of the Navroz was famous for its pomp and magnificence, and it immediately followed the Farwardigan. This festival began when the five days of the Farwardigan were over, and it was an occasion of great mirth and joy as it symbolised the renovation of creation by the death of winter and birth of spring. If some scholars must needs find a legendary origin for Purim, they need not go to Babylon in search of such a legend. If in the celebration of this feast, some see a Babylonian mythical assembly of the gods, supposed to be held in a mysterious spot in the Far East, which again has its prototype in a convivial assembly of the gods on the eve of creation, at which Marduk (cf. Mordecai of Esther) will overcome the rival power Tiamat (cf. Haman of Esther) and carry out the work of creation, similar legends can be found in Persian mythology also to suit their fancy. But if an obvious explanation can be found on the surface, why go deeper?

R. P. KARKARIA.

SOME NOTES ON PERSIAN MELODY-NAMES OF THE SASANIAN PERIOD.

It is a well-known fact that music has played a very prominent part in the Sásanian Empire. According to Mas'údí (Barbier de Meynard II, p. 153), Ardeshr Pápakán, the founder of the Sásanian dynasty, divided the ministers and other dignitaries of the Empire into seven classes, of which the fifth was made up of "the singers, virtuosos and all who pursued the art of music". Bahrám Gór made some alterations in the class of musicians, but Khusraw Anósharwár re-established the organisation of Ardeshr. When the king received his favourite attendants in private, the keeper of the curtain, the so-called "khurram-básh" had the charge of inviting the present courtiers to sing or play such and such a song or air. (Mas'údí, Barbier de Meynard II, p. 158.) In a bas-relief from the Sásanian period (Flandin et Coste pl. 10), which represents a scene from the wild boar-hunting of the king, we see several boats containing harp-playing women.

Probably this cultivation of music was not confined to court-life, but generally characteristic of the Iranian people. Unfortunately, we have but very little knowledge about that feature of Old Iranian art. Hammer, Kiesewetter, Land and others have written about the Perso-Arabian musical system, which, though variously altered in the course of time, has certainly its roots in the Sásanian civilisation. But 'musical system' is merely the skeleton. Only the living melody makes that branch of mathematics a popular art. It would be very interesting, if some one were to gather and examine the popular melodies which are still living in Persia, and to state the names of these melodies, so that we might compare them with the old names of melodies preserved in literature. It would be interesting, too, to compare such Persian melodies with music from other parts of the Orient, wherever the influence of Persian civilisation has made itself felt. Certainly the mediæval Perso-Arabian music has not disappeared; nowhere have traditions maintained themselves more stubbornly than in the Orient.

For want of a notation-system the teachers of music of the Islamic Orient have faithfully transmitted their art to each other from generation to generation. And there is no doubt that the music of the Abbasid Caliphate, that refined music about which Ibn Khordádhbeh (*Mas'údí*, Barbier de Meynard, VIII, 90 sqq.) makes so fine a speech before the Caliph Mu'tamid, dates back, essentially, to the old Persian kingdom. Thus I think it would be possible in many places in the Islamic Orient to find remnants of Sásánian music, if an orientalist who should be a good scholar equally in oriental languages and in music, were to take up such investigations.

Most of the Sásánian melodies, the names of which are preserved by Arabian and Persian writers, are ascribed to Bárbadh or Pahlbadh, the famous court-musician of Khusraw Parvéz¹. Like many court-musicians from the later Islamic period, Bárbadh was at the same time a poet, a compositor and a performer. For the banquets of the king he had, as the "*Tárikh-i-guzída*" of Hamdulláh Mustawfí informs us, 360 melodies, one for each day in the year², but the "*Guzída*" does not give us the names of these 360 melodies. Another Arabian author, Ath-Tha'álibí (d. A. D. 1038) relates how Bárbadh, as yet unknown to the king, gains the king's highest favour by performing three airs; the *Yazdán áferídih*, the *Partaw-i-farkhár*, which "gives a delight as that of wealth after poverty", and the *Sabz andar sabz*, which he executes

¹ Mr. E. G. Browne has gathered in the J. R. A. S., 1899, p. 54 sqq., the most important notices about Bárbadh given by Arabian and Persian writers. A fuller list is presented in Browne's "Literary History of Persia", vol. I., p. 14, n. 2.

² The old Persian year consisted of 12 months of 30 days each=360 days plus 5 'epagomenæ' which were added to the last month and did not count in popular reckoning. The idea "as many as days in the year" was very common in ancient Persia when the year was always reckoned to 360 days. Artaxerxes II. and Darius III. are said to have possessed 360 wives each (Plutarch: Artaxerxes 27, 2 and Curtius III, 3, 24). Strabo mentions a Persian song in which 360 ways to use the palm-tree are enumerated. The Syriac version of the romance of Alexander of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which is translated from a Pahlavi version no longer extant, mentions some large silver globes, each of which would hold 360 measures of wine (Budge: Alexander the Great, being the Syr. version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, p. 133). In the Arabian romance of 'Umar an-Nu'mán, which is inserted in some editions of the Arabian Nights, 'Umar is said to have had 360 concubines, one for each day in the year; the motive has certainly been borrowed from Persia, as Arabs themselves have a lunar year of 354 days.

in such a manner that he "fascinates all the audience by the plaintive sounds of the strings and by his gentle modulations". (Ath-Tha'álibi: *Hist. des Rois des Perses*, publ. et trad. p. Zotenberg, p. 694 sqq.). According to Firdawsí, the melodies performed by Bárbadh on that occasion were *Khusrawání* (see later on; in other texts, *Pahlawání*), *Dádh áferídh* (i. e., Yazdán áferídh), *Peikar-i-gurd* ("the fight of the hero", "so called owing to the accompanying words") and *Sabz dar sabz*. The descriptions given by Tha'álibi and Firdawsí prove that the names in question signify song-melodies and not keys, as the '*Ushsháq*', the *Nowrúz* and other musical terms from a more modern period.

Of the above-mentioned airs, one — the Sabz [an]dar sabz — is to be found among the thirty melody-names enumerated by the author of the "*Burhán-i-qáti*" under the heading "*sí lahn*".¹ The thirty airs in question were composed by Bárbadh for the King Khusraw, and their names are arranged alphabetically as in the "*Burhán-i-qáti*".

نخست — باغ شیرین — اورنگی — آئین جمشید — آرایش جهان or آرایش خورشید
سروستان — سبزد رسبز — رامش جهان or رامش جان — راج روح — حقه کاوس — طاقدبسی
کین — قفل رومی — فرخ شب or شب فرخ — شب دیز — شادروان مروارید — سرو سہی —
مروای — مہ بر کوہان — گنج کاو — گنج سوخته — گنج باد آورد — کین سیاوش — ایرج
نوبہاری — نخچیرگانی — ناقومی — مہرگانی — مشکمالی — مشک دانہ — نیک
نیمروز — بادہ نوشین or نوشین بادہ —

The author adds that Nizámí mentions these airs in his "*Khusraw we Shírín*", but that he omits three names, viz. آئین جمشید, راج روح and نوبہاری, and introduces instead of them the four names: کیندروی and فرخ روز, فنچہ کبک دری, ساز نوروز: but then there would be 31 names, while the "*lahn*" are commonly known as being 30 in number.

Under the heading "*Khusrawání*", the author of the "*Burhán-i-qáti*" says that that name signifies one of Bárbadh's airs (*lahn*) which was composed in rhythmical prose, and which contained good wishes and praise of Khusraw. That air could not be placed with the ordinary *lahn*, because these were only 30 in number, and the name "*Khusrawání*" was not among them.

¹ In these 30 melodies we have evidently one for each day of the ancient Persian month.

This notice in the "Burhán-i-qāṭi" is probably not quite exact. There must have been several "Khusrawánis". Ath-Tha'ālibí says that Bárbadh is the compositor of the "Khusrawánis" which "are executed often, still in our days, in the banquets of kings, and other great men". 'Awfi calls them نواذ خسرواني, and no doubt we have here what Mas'údi in a very important passage calls الطروق الملوكية "the royal melodies". The text of Mas'údi runs as follows: "...And from them (the Persians) come the keys, the rhythms, the use of codas and the royal melodies. These are seven in number". The first is *Sekáf*, which is commonly used, when connections are established between canals; ...is most expressive from its codas, and most energetic; offers the greatest abundance of beauties in its modulation and has the greatest extent in its ascending and descending scales; *Mádhárúsnán* is the most grave; *Sáigádh* delights the souls; *Sisum* is touching and grave, and حوبران (in other texts حوبران) is composed with shakes and in a single key.

Two of the seven names are lost, and the others are more or less corrupt. Only one of them is mentioned elsewhere, viz., *Sisum* which appears twice in the *Díwán* of Minúchihri as *Shíshum*. *Sáigádh* (سایگاد) might possibly be a misrepresentation of an original *Sháigín* (شایگان); this word is used, according to the "Burhán-i-qāṭi", to signify one of the treasures of Khusraw Parvéz, and, as we shall see, several of the treasures of that king are celebrated in the airs of Bárbadh. The dictionaries know a word *Sekáf* with the signification "a clew of silk, as taken from the cones", and a word *Sukáfe* that signifies a musical plectrum or bow. The signification of *Mádhárúsnán* is entirely obscure.⁵

¹ See the paper of Browne in the J.R.A.S., 1899.

² Ed. Barbier de Meynard VIII, p. 90.

³ Evidently one for each day in the week.

⁴ It is quite possible that the solemn opening of a new canal was celebrated with music. See the notice of Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 304) to the effect that Khusraw Parvéz convoked the musicians in order to celebrate the completion of a dam.

⁵ Al-Bayhaqí gives us the names of some minstrels of the Sásanian period. These names, as cited by Browne, (Lit. Hist., I, p. 18) are: Afarín, Khusrawání and Mádhárastání. Might not the names be misunderstood musical terms? *Afarín* which signifies "praise, blessing", would be a very intelligible melody-name, *Khusrawání* is, as we have seen, the designation of each of the seven royal airs, and *Mádhárastání* looks very much like a variant of *Mádhárúsnán*.

In the *Díwān* of Minúchihri, the Ghaznawid court-poet, we find a great number of old Persian melody-names. Among them is, as above-mentioned, one of the seven "royal songs", and further four of the 30 lahn of the "*Burhān-i-qāṭi*" (*Servistān*, *Serv-i-sehī*, *Ganj-i-bādh*[*āward*], *Ganj-i-gāw*) and one of those of the list of Nizāmī ([*Ghunche-i*] *Kabk-i-darī*). It is noteworthy, too, that we find here the name *Rāst*, which signifies also the fourth of the twelve *Maqāmāt* or principal keys in the Arabian musical system. As a great many names of keys in the Arabian and later Persian systems remind us of — even if they are not identical with — the Sāsānian melody-names which have come down to us, it is a very tempting theory that the keys are named after such of the old airs as were composed in those keys.

The melody-names mentioned by Minúchihri are the following :

Díwān 1, 31 : قالور

2, 5 : ساده — راست

7, 51 : گل نوش

11, 10 : گنج باد — گنج گاو

12, 26 : آزاده وار — نرروز کیقباد — میزه بهار

16, 18 : آزاد وار — پالیزبان

17, 39 : سبز بهار

18, 5 : نخت اردشیر (or rather اردشیر, see 40, 14 and 66, 65.) — باغ شهیار

40, 18-17 : نخت اردشیر — زیر قیصران — اشکنه — سروستان

دیفرخش — گنج گاو — هفت گنج — بسکنه — نرروز بزرگ

گاوزنه — روشن چراغ — سرو صهی — پالیزبان — ارچنه

باروزنه — سرومناه — کیک دری — میوار تیر —

55, 36 : [سر] شیشم — (or more correctly, خسرو, [سر] گسری)

لیلی — سرکش (This name, as alluding to an Arabian legend, must be post-Sāsānian.)

56, 14 : انسر سگزی — شیشم

58, 30 : شکر نوین

63, 69 : گنج فریدن

66, 65-66 : میهدان — مهرگان خردی — نخت اردشیر

68, 16-18 : سروستان — باغ میاوشان — نوش لپینان — وستا

Finally, I shall try to arrange the whole of that material of Sāsānian melody-names in categories, adding explanatory notes where I can.

I.

THE SEVEN KHUSRAWANIS OF BARBADH.

(Khusraw-airs or royal airs).

1. *Sekáf*. Commonly used, when connections are established between canals.
2. Expressive and energetic.
3. Containing beauties of modulation and a great extent in its ascending and descending scales.
4. *Mádhárisnán* (?) Grave.
5. *Sáiyádh* or perhaps *Sháigán*. Delighting the souls.
6. *Shishum*. Touching and grave.
7. *حوربران* or *حوربران* (?) Composed with shakes and in a single key.

II.

THE THIRTY LAHN OF BARBADH AND OTHER MELODIES

(among which are perhaps some of Bárbadh's 365 melodies for the days of the year.)

1. *Religious hymns or airs.*

To this category belongs probably :

Yazdán áferídh. "God has created".*Vesta*. i. e. "Avesta".2. *Royal hymns, or airs in praise of the king, his queen Shírín and his treasure.**Khusraw*. The *كوسرى* of Minúchihri.*Bágh-i-shahriyár*. "The garden of the king".*Bágh-i-shírín*. "The garden of Shírín".*Aurangí*. "The throne-air".

Takht-i-Táqdís. "The air of the throne Táqdís". This throne has been described in great detail by Tha'álibí and Firdawsí. It was constructed by Jahn Berzín in the time of the legendary king Ferídún and destroyed by Alexander, and it was only the king Khusraw Parvéz who succeeded in rebuilding the throne from the remaining fragments. The Táqdís was of ivory and teak-tree, adorned with silver and gold, 180 cubits long, by 130 cubits broad, by 15 cubits high, surmounted by a canopy of gold and lapis-lazuli, on

which were represented the vault of heaven and the stars, the Signs of the Zodiac and the seven *kishwoers*, (parts of the world), and further, the "former kings" amidst scenes of festivals, battle, and hunting. A special mechanism indicated the hours of the day. The throne was entirely covered with four carpets of brocade, embroidered with gold and adorned with pearls and rubies, each of those carpets symbolising one of the four seasons.

Shabdéz. *Shabdéz* was the name of Khusraw Parvéz's favourite horse. Khusraw loved this horse with such passion, that he swore that whosoever should bring the tidings of its death, should die. *Shabdéz* died, and the Master of the Horse prayed *Bárbadh* to make it known to the king in a song. The singer did so, and Khusraw divined the purport and cried: "Woe unto thee! *Shabdéz* is dead!" *Bárbadh* answered: "It is the king who sayeth it." (See Browne, *Lit. Hist.* I, p. 17 and the article of the same author in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 54 sqq.).

Haft ganj. "The seven treasures." Khusraw Parvéz had seven treasures, whose names are given by Firdawsí¹.

Three of these treasures have their special airs, viz :

Ganji-bádhward. The treasure that the wind has brought. The history of this treasure, according to *Tha'alibí*, runs as follows: When *Shahrbaráz*, the general of Khusraw Parvéz, advanced against Egypt and despatched an army against Constantinople, the Emperor prepared for flight and put his treasures on board a ship, amongst which was a cross said to be that of Christ. The ship was brought by the wind into the hands of *Shahrbaráz*, who sent the treasure to the king.

¹ Ed. of Mohl. In some oriental editions of Firdawsí, eight treasures are enumerated, and that version is followed by the author of the "*Burhán-i-qáfi*" (see the article *هشت گنج*). The melody-name "*Haft ganj*" by *Minúchihri* proves that the text of Mohl has the older and better reading. Probably the eighth treasure *گنج باد آورد* is only a misreading and a doubling of *گنج باد* which is often called simply *باد*.

Ganj-i-gāw. "The treasure of the ox". A merchant ploughing with two oxen, his plough-share struck against the ear of a jar. He reported the affair to the king who ordered an investigation, by which a hundred jars full of gold, silver and jewels were found. This treasure had been buried by Alexander and carried his seal. Having presented the finder with one of the jars, Khusraw built for the others a treasury called "Ganj-i-gāw". (Tha'álíbí.)

Ganj-i-súkhte. "The weighed treasure", according to the explanation of the "Burhān-i-qáṭi". I have found no further information about this treasure.

Takht-i-Ardešhír. "The throne of Ardešhír". Ardešhír Bábakān was the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty.

3. *Compositions on motives from the legendary history, and heroic airs.*

Ayín-i-Jamshédh. "The law of Jamshédh". Jamshédh, the fourth king from the beginning of human history, was the greatest civilizer among the legendary kings.

Ganj-i-Farídún. "The treasure of Farídún," who conquered the foreign usurper Dahák.

Kín-i-Iraj. "The vengeance for Iraj." Iraj, the son of Farídún and his heir as king over Iran, is murdered by his brethren Túr and Salm, but later on avenged by his daughter's son Minúchihr.

Nowrúz-i-Kaī Qobádh. "The New Year festival of Kaī Qobádh", first king of the Kaīānian dynasty.

Huqqe-i-Káwus. "The cup of [Kaī] Káwus", son and successor of Kaī Qobádh. The use of the Arabic word *huqqe* shows that the name is corrupt.

Siyáwushán. "The air of Siyáwush." The tragic fate of Siyáwush, son of Kaī Káwus, must have been an excellent theme for a compositor.

Kín-i-Siyáwush. "The vengeance for Siyáwush" as executed by his son Kaī Khusraw.

Kaī Khusrawi. "The air of Kaī Khusraw."

Díf-i-Rakhsh. "The word *díf* is obscure. Rakhsh is the name of the celebrated horse of Rustam, the national hero of

Iran and subject king of the province of Sejestán.

Afsar-i-Segzi. "The crown of Sejestán," perhaps with reference to Rustam and his ancestry.

Peikar-i-gurd. "The fight of the hero."

Azādhuār. "The nobleman."

Sarkash. "The proud man."¹

Spahbadhān. "The air of the general."

4. *Airs in praise of nature, specially the spring.*

Now-bahārī. "The new spring air."

Nowrúz-i-buzurg. "The great New Year festival."

Sáz-i-Nowrúz. "Preparations for the New Year festival."

Also called simply "Nowrúz", the second of the lahn according to Nizāmī.

Mihrgānī. "The autumn festival air."

Mihrgān-i-khurde. "The little autumn festival."

Sabz dar sabz. "Green upon green."

Sabz-i-bahār or *Sabze-i-bahār*. "The verdure of spring."

Gul-nūsh. "The sweetness of the rose."

Sarvistān. "The cypress-garden."

Sarv-i-sehī. "The straight cypress."

Sarv-i-sitāh. "The silver cypress."

Kabk-i-darl. "The heath-cock" (*Tetrao-gallus Caspius*).

Pālkzān. "The gardener."

A'rāyish-i-khurshēdh. "The beauty of sunshine."

Māh-bar-kūhān. "The moon upon the mountains."

Arjane. "Arjane" is the name of a desert in Fārs.

5. *Wine-air*s.

Rah-i rūh. "The wine of the soul." The words *rah* and *rūh* being Arabic, the name must be corrupt, if it is not a translation of a Pahlavi name. The "Burhān-i-qāṭi" mentions *Rāh* as a melody-name.

Nūshān-bāde or *Bāde-i-nūshān*. "The sweet wine."

6. *Airs in praise of enjoyment of life in general, some of which had probably an erotic character.*

Rūshan-cherāgh. "The resplendent lamp."

Shādurwān-i-marvāridh. Bārbadh had given this melody the

¹ Or perhaps to read "Sargash", and so called after the minstrel of Khusraw Parvéz eclipsed by Bārbadh.

name *Shádurwán*, because he had composed it below the "*Shádurwán*" (the curtain at the door of the royal palace). One day, the master performed the air before the king, who was much pleased and offered to *Bárbadh* a dish full of pearls (*marvárid*). After that event, the air was called *Shádurwán-i-marvárid*. (*Burhán-i-qáti*).

Mushk-dáne. "The grain of musk".

Mushk-máli. "Rubbing with musk".

Partaw-i-Farkhár. "The splendour of *Farkhár*". *Farkhár* is the name of a legendary city famous for the beauty of its inhabitants, and has also the signification of an idolatrous temple.

Núsh-lebindán. "The [beloved] ones whose lips are sweet as honey".

Farrukh-rúz. "The happy day".

Farrukh-shab or *Shab-i-farrukh*. "The happy night".

Rámish-i-ján or *Rámish-i-jehán*. "The joy of the soul", or "The joy of the world".

Marváy-i-ník. "The good omen".

7. *Melodies whose motives cannot be defined.*

Nimrúz. "Midday", also a name of *Sejestán*.

Náqúsi. "The air of the rattle". The *náqús* is a sort of rattle used by the Eastern Christians instead of a bell. The name of this air is probably post-Sásánian.

Qafl-i-rúmi. "The Greek padlock" (?). The word *qafl* being Arabic, the name must be corrupt.

Rást. "The right".

Máddeh. "Subject", "Material" (Arabic word).

Zir-i-Qaisarán. "The treble of the Cæsars." (?)

Gáwízane.

Shwár-tir.

Shakkar-tawín.

Qátús.

Ashkane.

Beshkane.

Bárúzane.

} Signification obscure or doubtful.

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF THE ORMAZD YASHT.

(EDITED FROM FIFTEEN ANCIENT MSS.)

Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's life-long work was in the domain of Pahlavi literature which still offers a wide field of active work for Iranian scholars. From the time of the publication of his *An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary* in , in 1870 collaboration with Dr. Martin Haug, to the day of the issue of his last work, the *Vendidad*, which appeared shortly before his death, Dastur Hoshang's interest in Pahlavi research was unflagging.

In response, therefore, to the invitation of the enthusiastic members of the Gatha Society to contribute something to the volume compiled to commemorate the memory of the learned Pahlavist, I have thought it appropriate to do some work in the line to which the distinguished Dastur had devoted many fruitful years of his long and studious life.

I have made use of the same manuscript material in the production of this text, as I have done in my *Nyaishes*. But I give here only the Pahlavi text and reserve the result of the collation of the various manuscripts, and the translation of the same for the second part of my series of the Khordah Avesta, which will shortly appear as the ninth volume of the Indo-Iranian series of Columbia University, edited by my friend and teacher Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

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[illegible]

[୩୭] ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଗାଥା-୧୫ ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣାୟ ନମଃ ॥୧॥ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର (4)

[illegible]

(5) ମୃତ୍ୟୁର ପରେ ମନୁଷ୍ୟର ମନୁଷ୍ୟତା ଶୂନ୍ୟ ହୋଇଯାଏ ।

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[၁၂] သုတေသန သုတေသန အဖွဲ့- ကော်မီတီ ၁၅၆ (၆)

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[illegible]

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५५

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

REMARKS ON "DĀTASTĀN I MĒNŪK I XRAT" 393

has: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 (1) 'a porcupine'; (2) 'a serpent'. How can all this be understood?

Probably we must distinguish two words:—

(1) 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, signifying perhaps: 'a snake',—according to the author of the Pahlavi Dictionary, vol. IV, p. 971, only a mis-writing of: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, — if at all this word does not mean: 'a porcupine'.

(2) 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 signifying: 'inclination,' to be read: *han-grād*.¹

As regards the first:

That 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 has the meaning of a creature of Ahriman, you may see Dk. B. I., p. 20. The text of the whole 12th *pursišn* can — like that of other *pursišns* — scarcely be understood. The English translation is not in a strict philological sense, but is merely a paraphrase. We have:

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎
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 'u *ruvân i drvandân andar dōzax* frōch n *zdičkîh* i *dēvân*, *awiš ast i kirm*, *ast i vazag ast i gazdom*,² *ast i 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎*, *u ast i 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎*, *u ast i gō* —

¹ In the word 'grād' and its compositions 'd' always means 𐬔 in its older Persian or Arabian signification.

² Pāz. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 for Pahlavi: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎.

³ In the *Book of Arda Viraf*, Bombay, 1872, we read on p. 101:

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎
 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎

'*Ušân vas vaku gazdom u mâr u môr u makas u kirm u apârk xrafstarân pa zafar u venik u gōš u kîn u gyāk i gât andar šut mât.*

And many frogs and scorpions and snakes and ants and flies and worms and other Ahrimanian creatures came entering into their jaws and noses and ears and posteriors and sexual parts.' (Cf. *Barthelemy: Livre d'Arda Viraf*, 1887, p. 97). The tradition of the Parsis is right in taking: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, as 'frog' (Dk. B. I. p. 15 of the English translation) for 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 is Av. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 cf. *Bartholomae: Air. Wörterbuch* 1389. If 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 is not miswritten for: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, meaning: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, it is perhaps a mask or ideogram for *vazag*.

⁴ Pāz. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎: *dō* from Av. *daēva* [like 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 *hamē* from Av. *aēva*: *Bartholomae Zum Air. Wörterbuch*, p. 137] is not very probable. I prefer to read *gō* i. e. *gō* of the *frahang* i *ōm*.—Dk. B. I. p. 19 we read:— 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎

'*Andar zamk frōt dōrītan i pa gō karp i š'pik apastāk gōwēt chim.*' 'to go into the depth of the earth, having the harlot-figure of a viper (wherefrom) the Avesta says the reason.' Cf. Ya. 9, 16: 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 'Thou hast made hide into the earth all devs, O Zarathushtra.'

karp padtâk ...

'And to the souls of unbelievers in the hell, quite near to the Dêvs is manifested, how to be a worm, a frog, a scorpion, a porcupine, and how an ichneumon (?) and the harlot-body (of a viper).'

If this interpretation is right, we are allowed to take 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 as an ideogram meaning perhaps: *sukurr*, Avestan 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀.

As regards the second:

It is self-evident that we cannot make use of the abovementioned meaning of 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲 as 'porcupine' in our 'Dāstastān'. But if the same writing also means: *han-grād* (or *hu-grād*, which is not so probable) and is akin to Persian: گرابستان, it would be a fit etymology. It happens that we have our word two times in the DK.B., vol. 9, p. 491. I do not dare to give a transcription or even a translation of the text, for it seems wholly barbaric, either written or reproduced. The learned 'Dastur gives': 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲. in his Pāzand transcription. I read this last word: *hangrādih* (or *hugrādih*) according to DK.B. I. Glossary of Select Terms, p. 17 and p. 19 of the Pahlavi text where: 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭲 is *grād*.

Therefore we must read the above mentioned: *and* of the "Dāstān i Mēnūk i Xrat" as *hangrād* 'inclination, favour' and translate: "On the balance of the Spirits, that does not make favour on either side."

II.

At p. 12 of the same edition we have:—

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

The MS. of Westergaard has ... which, however, is not noticed by the Dastur. It is, after all, the right reading, for ... corresponds to the Avestan *ašya* (cf. *Bartholomae: Air. Wörterbuch.* 264). ... is old *artiyaka*—which would be Phl. *ahrēk* or perhaps: *ahryak*, if it is a 'mot savant'.

We should, therefore, have: *adaḥ Srōṣ i ahrēk ḥ ān i ahrav
ruvān patvāchēi*: 'Then Srōṣ the righteous replies to that righteous
soul.'

III.

On the same page we read : —

[illegible]

the latter has thought *ahrâm'hêt* to be a special term of the Mânichæan doctrines and has repeated this later on. But the occurrence of the word in question in the 'Dâstân' proves it to be a rarely used, but yet a well-known Pahlavi word without technical sense.

STRASSBURG.

H. JUNKER.

ART YASHT (YT. XVII) 54-56.

[illegible]

The passage 54-56 in Yasht XVII which is devoted to Ashi, the goddess of "wealth earned by piety" has upto now been misunderstood by every commentator. And the cause of this has been chiefly that the passage was not rightly translated, especially with regard to the verb *pazdaya*—, which Goldner (Drei Yasht ii, 8) translates by 'persecute' ('plagen') and Darmesteter (the Sacred Books of the East vol. XXIII, 280), by 'run after'. But as Bartholomae has shown in

his dictionary, 884 seq., this verb signifies rather 'banish' or 'drive away', and is connected with the root *hūd*— 'sit' or 'set'. If we make this alteration in the passage, the meaning is at once clear.

"And the great Ashi Vanuhi said: 'None of these shall partake of the offerings, which are brought unto me, neither the man whose seed is dried up, nor the woman who seeth blood no more, nor the youth of tender age, nor the maiden, who hath not known a man. When the Turanians and the Naotaras with their swift horses banished me, then did I hide myself under the foot of a bull¹ . . . ; but the youths of tender age and the maidens, who have known no man, drew me from out of my hiding-place. Even when the Turanians and the Naotaras with their swift horses banished me, then did I hide myself under the throat of a ram, whose flock is an hundred sheep; but the youths of tender age and the maidens who have known no man, drew me from out of my hiding-place.' "

If we adopt this translation, we see at once that there is here an allegory. The continual warfare between the Turanians and the Naotaras drives wealth from the land. The goddess of wealth therefore flees to the bull and the ram, who symbolise the source of all wealth, to people in a low state of civilisation. But the people who are compared to inexperienced youths and maidens, do not understand the meaning of her flight, that wealth is to be found in the peaceful pursuit of cattle breeding, and draw her from her hiding-place by taking delight in continual warfare.

GIessen.

HANS REICHELt.

¹ The following word *barəmdyaonahe* is obscure.

ALLUSIONS TO WITCHCRAFT AND OTHER PRIMITIVE BELIEFS IN THE ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE.¹

INTRODUCTION.

The last two or three decades of the past century have witnessed a remarkable rise in the interest evinced, by scholars and laymen alike, in the study of primitive beliefs and customs. From one corner of the world to the other, people are busily engaged in collecting accounts of superstitions and magic practices of savage and civilized races. Societies are being established for this special purpose; scientific publications on the subject are being edited by the tens and hundreds; new books dealing with this interesting field of research are being presented almost every day to the general reader; and the Science of Folk-Lore,² so long underestimated in value and even ridiculed by many, is gradually gaining recognition as an important source for the understanding of the spiritual environment of our pre-historic, savage ancestors. It is surprising, however, that among the numerous works on primitive beliefs of the various races, so few are devoted to the allusions to magic among the ancient Iranians and to certain other primitive traits in the Iranian people;³ and yet it is to the

¹ This article was suggested to me by my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University, to whom I am indebted for many valuable suggestions bearing both on its subject matter and on its style.

² For general information on this subject the reader is referred to works such as:

A. Lang. *Magic and Religion*. London, 1901.

M. R. Cox. *Introduction to Folk-Lore*. London, 1895.

F. T. Elworthy. *The Evil Eye*. London, 1895.

J. G. Frazer. *The Golden Bough*. 3 vols., 2d. ed., London, 1900.

Lehmann. *Aberglaube und Zaubererei von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*. Stuttgart, 1898.

W. Mannhard. *Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, 2 vols., 2d. ed., Berlin, 1904-05.

L. F. Maury. *La Magie et l'astrologie*. Paris, 1877.

E. B. Tylor. *Primitive Culture*. 2 vols. 3d. ed. New York, 1889.

E. B. Tylor. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 2d. ed., London, 1870.

³ The author knows of only the following contributions to the study of ancient Iranian primitive beliefs:

A. V. Williams Jackson. *On some Avestan Superstitions and their parallels elsewhere*, JAOS, 18, 59-61., New Haven, 1885.

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. *Charms or Amulets for some Diseases of the Eye*. J.B.A.S. 8, No. 6., Bombay, 1894.

J. J. Modi. *Two Amulets of Ancient Persia*. Bombay, 1901.

J. J. Modi. *The Ouck as a Sacred Bird in Ancient Iran*.

Iranians that we owe the general designation for magic. The word " Magic", as is well known, is derived from the Old-Persian *magav*¹, and denotes " the (pretended) art of controlling occult forces and of producing effects contrary to the known order of nature".²

The purpose of this article is to gather all the more important allusions to Sorcery and Witchcraft and other practices included in the general term magic, contained in the Zoroastrian literature³, and to present also a concise exposition of certain other primitive beliefs prevalent among the ancient Iranians. The aim is merely to supply, for the time being, the need of a more general and exhaustive work ; and for that reason, and because of limitations of space, this monograph is not intended to be comparative in its character. Only in cases where it seemed desirable to bring out a point more clearly, have I drawn attention to analogies among other races.

For the sake of convenience, the matter to be discussed has been divided into the following subdivisions : (1) Sorcery and Witchcraft; (2) Wizards, Witches, Kavis and Karpans ; (3) The Evil Eye ; (4) Nail-Paring and Hair-Cutting ; (5) Noxious Creatures ; (6) Miscellaneous Beliefs ; (7) Spells and Exorcisms. A short discussion on the nature of these categories will precede each subdivision.

1. SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT.

The belief in sorcery and witchcraft is one of the most universal and deep-rooted beliefs in the heart of man. It is found spread over such a vast area and has penetrated so deeply into the very soul of every people that, as John Wesley, the noted English divine, has said, " To give up the belief in witchcraft would be to

¹ The etymology and original meaning of this word are unknown. For a discussion see Bartholomae, *Air.Wb.* col. 1111 under *Magav*.

² *The New International Encyclopedia*, ed. by Gilman, Peck and Colby, 12. 678, New York, 1908.

³ To this end the author has examined the contents of the Zoroastrian literature, as far as they were accessible through translations, printed texts and transliterated editions of manuscripts. The references include the Avesta proper, the Pahlavi commentaries and translations of Avestan texts, the other Pahlavi writings, both on religious and on non-religious subjects, and some specimens of the so-called Modern-Persian Zoroastrian literature of the Parsis, notably the *Sad-dar* and *Zartusht-Nâmâh*, those two latter books being sequels to the Pahlavi *Dinkart* and *Zât-spâram*.

give up the Bible".¹ The names under which this belief is known, vary according to the extent to which it occurs among the different races, and the designations are often chosen arbitrarily by the writers. The most frequent terms assigned to it are: Magic, Enchantment, Demonology, Satanism, Divination, Sorcery, Witchcraft and Phallicism. In Avestan the term usually employed is *yâthwa*, literally "sorcery".

The attitude which the ancient Iranians took towards the practice of sorcery and witchcraft was wholly hostile in its character. In this they coincided with the other races of remote ages, for no ancient race is known to have furthered or even to have tolerated the practice of sorcery and magic—using that term in the sense of Black Magic.² Consequently, a spirit of hostility permeates in the highest degree the sacred books of the Zoroastrians, which is in perfect accordance with the doctrine of two supreme principles of this religion. To a worshipper of Ahura Mazda there is nothing more hateful and heinous than Ahriman and his creation. And we have the authority of the *Vendidad* (I. 14.) for the statement that Angra-Mainyu "who is all death, counter-created the evil work of witchcraft (*ugha-yâtava*)", and of the *Bândahishn* (28. 40.) that "of the Evil Spirit are the law of vileness, and the religion of sorcery".

As a product of Ahriman's wicked creation, the sin of witchcraft is anathematized by the Iranians as an abominable crime. In the Pahlavi book *Dinât-i Mainâ-yi Khirat* (36. 17.), for example, the Sage asks the Spirit of Wisdom, which sin is the most heinous, and the answer is given: "The practice of witchcraft (*ke jâdui* or *zandîkî kuned*)" and in the *Khvâtak-das*, witchcraft is called the most grievous sin of all.³ How much the Iranians loathed sorcery

¹ Farrar, in Smith's *Dictionary of Bible*, s.v. "Divination", 1.445.

² "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." *Exodus*, 22.18.

"A man, also a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death." *Leviticus* 20.27.

"For all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites with roots and for various kinds of sorcery a fine of 200 panas shall be inflicted." *Manu* 9.290.

The ancient Babylonians seem to be an exception to this rule, for, according to Sayce, witchcraft and necromancy flourished in Babylonia. The state religion was compelled to recognize it and to lend it its sanction and control.—A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 319. Edinburgh, 1902.

³ E. W. West, *The Meaning of Khvâtak-das*, *SBE*, 18.417.

is shown clearly by a passage in *Dinkart* 8. 35. 13., where this practice is compared to the sin of unnatural intercourse "for which there is no atonement".¹ This passage asserts that those who perform unnatural intercourse are merged in sinfulness as the serpent *Srôbâr* (*Av. aži sravara*) is in witchcraft.

Terrible punishments hereafter await those who have resorted to sorcery. According to the *Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak* they lacerate their breasts with their hands and feet; their feet stand on hot iron and dogs gnaw their bellies;² their tongues are cut away and their eyes are gouged out; snakes, scorpions, worms and other noxious creatures devour their brain, and from time to time they themselves seize upon their own body and gnaw their own flesh,³ until at last they are forced to devour their own dead refuse.⁴

This attitude of the Irinians towards sorcery finds its justification in the disastrous consequences which were brought about by witchcraft. "Its nature, by which it is known and seen at once", says *Vendidad* 1. 14., in the words of Darmesteter's rendering, "is such that wheresoever they (the wizards) go forth and raise a cry of sorcery (*yâtuməntəm*), there (in the Haëtumant region) the most deadly works of witchcraft (*yâtumastəma*) go forth; from there they come and kill and strike at heart and they bring locusts⁵ as many as they want".⁶ "Through sorcery" (*yâthwa*), states *Yasna* 8. 3., "the world of Righteousness is ruined", and the *Selections from Zâtsparam* (II. 7.) assert that destruction and injuries to mankind are due to it, while the *Bahman Yasht* (2. 26.) claims that "through witchcraft (*yâtâkîh*) the race of wrath rushes into the countries of Iran and everything encounters annihilation, direst destruction and trouble." Witchcraft is furthermore a source of apostasy, for according to *Bândahishn* 28. 4., *Ahriman* seduces men "into affection for himself and to disaffection for *Ahuramazd*" by their belief in witchcraft (*yâtâk-dînôh*), and, according to *Dinkart* 7. 4. 72., mankind came to idolatry through the sorcery performed by *Dahâk* in Babylon. Sorcery is

¹ Vd. 1.11.

² AV. 76.

³ AV. 81.

⁴ AV. 85.

⁵ See below under Noxious Creatures.

⁶ "Le fléau créé contre le Baistân est l'abondance de sorcellerie; et ce caractère paraît par ceci que tous les hommes, qui viennent de ce lieu exercent l'astrologie; ces magiciens font venir.....la neige, la grêle, l'araignée et le sauterelle." Darmesteter, *LeZA*. 2.13.n.32.

also the cause of many a quarrel, as shown by a passage in *Dinkart* 8. 17. 6., which states that there are six modes of engaging in conflict: "through assault, false teachings.....and through speaking with wizards' spells (*yâtâk govishnuhâ*)".¹

The demons in particular are said to have practised sorcery. Nôktargâ who was anxious to obtain the glory of Feridûn, is reported by the *Bândahishn* (31. 32.) to have created by magic a cow and to have fed her with the reeds on which the Glory had settled in the hope that by giving her milk to his sons they might come into possession of the much coveted prize of the divine splendor. The serpent Srôbâr, as already mentioned, was also skilled in this art.² The monster Azhi Dahâka of Babylon was another demon whose fame as a sorcerer seemed to have been world-wide. He was well-versed in witchcraft,³ being the first one to glorify it,⁴ and to introduce into the world "many ways of sorcery (*jâlmî*) and evil doing."⁵ The *Dâtistân-i Dênîg* (37. 97.) relates that he had once escaped from the fetters of Feridûn and became through witchcraft a powerful demon, until Keresâspa, the Sâman, crushed his fiendishness with a cypress-club and "brought him back to the just law of the sacred beings". "His evil deceits done in Bâpêl" through witchcraft were a surprise to everyone.⁶ Dûrâsrôbô, one of the five Karpan brothers, who were inimical to Zoroaster, was the fourth demon renowned for sorcery,⁷ although his greatness in occult sciences does not compare to that of his predecessor Dahâk. It is related by the *Dinkart* (7. 3. 8.) that after the birth of Zaratusht,⁸ this foul Dûrâsrôbô through his witchcraft cast such a fear into the mind of the child's father, Pôrûshâspo, that he asked the wizard to kill Zaratusht.⁹ On another occasion, says *Dinkart* (7. 3. 32.) when the young child was playing with other infants, he and his brother Brâtrôk-resh terrified the children through sorcery in order to injure Zaratusht. The second of the five Karpan brothers, named Brâtrôk-rêsh, was likewise a magician. He was "the most far-

¹ For an explanation of this phrase see below p. 406.

² Dk. 8.35.13.

³ Dk. 9.10.8.

⁴ DD. 72.3.

⁵ Ag. 66.

⁶ Dk. 7.4.72.

⁷ Dk. 7.3.4.; ZN. 202.

⁸ When quoting Pahlavi writings I use Zaratusht for the Zarathushtra form of the Avesta.

⁹ For an exhaustive discussion of the miracles preceding and following Zoroaster's birth, see

seeing as to witchcraft in his district",¹ and a powerful chief of the magicians".² Afrâsyâb, the Turk, is said by the *Aogemadaeçhâ* (65.) to have vainly tried to escape through witchcraft (*yâtu-sâri*) the onslaught of Astôvidhâd, the demon of death. The whole Turanian race was accused of sorcery, for a legend says that on seeing the partiality of the Holy Ox in settling their land-disputes with the Iranians, the Turanians proceeded to destroy by witchcraft the object of their anger.³ Another demon well versed in magic was Akht, the wizard, who asked thirty-three enigmas of Yôsht-i-Fryânô,⁴ and the same ill repute was borne by Vidrafsh, the magician, who with a weapon forged by witchcraft killed in the battle of Vishtâspa against the Hyaonians the commander-in-chief of the Iranians, Zair.⁵ Mahrkûsha was the last male demon to be accused of witchcraft, it being stated in the *Dînkart* (7. 9. 3.) that "most of mankind perished through the winters and witchcraft of Mahrkûs".

The harlot as a personification of lustfulness is also connected with sorcery, as shown by the following Avestan prayer contained in Yasna 9. 32. "O Haoma, hurl thy mace against the body of Jahi devoted to magic—(*yâtumaityâi*)". Even Zoroaster's own mother, Dûktaub (Av. Dugdhâvâ), the most pure of maidens, did not escape this terrible accusation of using enchantments. Tradition relates that when the demons realized the futility of their attempts to kill Zaratusht's mother, they caused Winter, the Demon of Pestilence, and Oppressive Enemies to invade the district, and claimed that Dûktaub, through her witchcraft, brought these disasters upon her tribesmen.⁶ How susceptible people were in those days to this accusation is clearly demonstrated by the fact that no persuasions or proofs could clear Dûktaub in the eyes of her countrymen. The people demanded that she leave the district, and Dûktaub was forced to submit.⁷ In like manner, Zoroaster, the prophet himself, had on one occasion to suffer from the consequences of such an accusation. The Zartusht-Nâmah (895-940) relates that the wise men of king Gushtâsp, jealous of Zaratusht's success at court, accused him of

¹ Dk. 7.8.21.

² YF. 4.10.

³ Dk. 7.2.9.

⁴ ZN. 380.

⁵ YZ. 74.99.

⁶ Dk. 7.2.63.

⁷ Dk. 7.2.67.

practising sorcery. All proofs being against him, the prophet was cast for a time into prison, but finally released by a miracle.

The inference that the Evil-Spirit, Ahriman, practised sorcery can be drawn from the nature of the technical term for the verb "to create" that is used to denote the act of "creating" by Ahriman. The Avesta uses in such cases the expression *frakərəntat*, which is usually rendered by "counter-created" or "mis-created". In an article which appeared in the Spiegel Memorial Volume¹ I have shown that this expression has a derogatory meaning and that it is used to differentiate the "act of creating" by Angra-Mainyu, which is unlawful and pernicious, from that of Ahura Mazda, which is lawful and beneficial. The nature and character of Ahriman as well as that of his creatures are so heinous and horrible that they warrant the assumption of a creation by magic and witchcraft. It is therefore permissible to translate *frakərəntat* by "created through witchcraft", as was done by Darmesteter² in his first translation of the Vendidad. Of the many Ahrimanic creatures, the most important for our consideration are the serpent in the river, the locusts, ants, the Pairikâ Khnâthaitî, the evil work of witchcraft, menstruation, and the evil-eye, all of which are mentioned in the sacred books of Zoroastrianism.³

The struggle against witchcraft and its adherents forms a very interesting part of the Zoroastrian belief in sorcery. Ahura Mazda is said by the Selections from Zâtsparam (I. 4.)⁴ to have been engaged in a conflict with Ahriman in order to keep away the arch-fiend from his territory and that he accomplished this "through pure words that confounded the witchcraft (*yâtâtîg startako karto*) of the enemy", and the same source states in another connection (Zsp. II. 7.) that the supremely-benefiting Fire struggles, as an assistant to Srôsh, with the spiritual fiend, and watches — especially at night — the "celebration of witchcraft". Zaratusht has, according to Dinkart 7.5. 8., disclosed to mankind the rites of driving out pestilence and of disabling sorcery and witchcraft,

¹ Leo. J. Frachtenberg, *Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanic words in Avestan*, pp. 269-289, Bombay, 1908.

² Z.A. SBE. 4, Oxford, 1890.

³ Vd. I.2.4.6.9.13.17; 20.2.6.7.9.

⁴ E. W. West. *The Selections of Zâd-spâram in Avesta, Pahlavi, etc. Studies in Honour of D. P. B. Sanjana*, First Series, p. 44., Strassburg, 1904.

and a Vendidad passage calls the Mazdayasnian law "a good remedy against the slaying by witchcraft (*yâtughnîm*)".¹

The horror of the crime of sorcery made the true Zoroastrian anxious to avoid it and actuated him to repent it even in cases where no offence took place. The *Patits*, for example, the Zoroastrian confessional formulæ, contain invariably the following phrase: "I repent with thoughts, words and deeds all my sins belonging to the grade Âgeret.....Yâtu etc."² or "I repent the utterance of magical spells,³ the practice of magic, the worshiping of sorcerers,⁴ and the teaching of witchcraft"⁵. Even at the moment when the Mazda-worshipper is to enter into matrimonial life, he is reminded of the crime of sorcery, as we know from the Nikâh, or marriage-prayer, which closes with the words, "Let one praise the Pure and drive away Sorcery".⁶

It is to be greatly regretted that so many *Nasks* of the original Avesta were lost or destroyed. From the short extracts of them given in the *Dinkart*, we can infer that they contained highly valuable information on the practice and nature of witchcraft, which is not to be found in the *Nasks* that escaped destruction. The *Nikadûm Nask*, for instance, gave an exposition of the existence of many kinds "of speaking with wizards' spells",⁷ and it contained also a discussion of the possibility of "inflicting the death penalty upon children for speaking with wizards' spells when in company of their guardians, and also upon a woman, when she is her own guardian".⁸ The "speaking with wizards' spells" (Av. *yâtuxtay*, Phl. *yâtûk govishnîhâ*) as noted above, was classified as one of the six modes of engaging in conflict and was looked upon as a very grave offence⁹. The form of such a spell, as preserved in the Pahlavi book *Farhang-i Ôim aêvak* (Reichelt's ed. 25a; Hoshangji and Haug's ed. 34. 3:72. 10.) was: (*ka gôvet ê kut*) *paê yâtûkih ape murnjinêm* which West translates: "(When one

¹ Vd. 3.41, ed. N. L. Westergaard, p. 360. For a discussion of *yâtughnîm* see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1284.

² *Patet Qod* 3; *Patet Erânf* 10; *Patet Aderbat* 5, in Spiegel, *Khorda-Avesta* 207-229.

³ "Paroles de sorcellerie", Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 3.178.

⁴ "Enseigner la magie," loc. cit.

⁵ "S'enquérir de magie," loc. cit.

⁶ Fr. Spiegel, *Khorda-Avesta.* 3.238.

⁷ Dk. 8.17,6; 19.2.; 20.39.

⁸ Dk. 8.20,83.

⁹ See above, p. 403.

says) I will destroy thee by witchcraft"'. The '*Nask* from which this quotation is taken treated also the subject "of evidence of witchcraft, of the infliction of the death penalty on account of entertaining fondness for witchcraft and for laughing at it"'. It contained likewise a summary of the practice of witchcraft "as far as the moderate and justifiable production of mutual afflictiveness thereby was concerned"'. The *Sakâdum Nask*, moreover, is reported to have given a discussion of the "manifest indications of witchcraft and ordeals" whereby a person accused of witchcraft could be incriminated or acquitted on such a charge; and finally, the *Spend Nask* contained "a collection of different opinions about sorcery"'. We must not neglect, moreover, to state in conclusion that there is a gloss: *yâtusta* = *yâtûk gorishnâhâ* found in the *Farhâng-i-Ôim-âvâk* (Reichelt's ed. 25a; Hoshangji and Haug's ed. 34. 3 : 72. 10'. This completes the list of practically all passages in the Zoroastrian literature that allude to the practice of sorcery and witchcraft.

From what has been said above, it can be seen that the Iranians (as they appear to us from their religious writings) were confronted with the primitive belief in sorcery and witchcraft from the earliest times. They held it, however, in accordance with the pure principles of their lofty religion, in extreme abhorrence, putting it on an equal footing with the three great sins, which the Mazdayasnian religion deems inexpiable". The practice of sorcery undoubtedly existed in ancient Iran, being present subconsciously in the minds of the people even in the days of Zoroaster. It did not, however, play as important a rôle as among the other races, owing to the strict adherence of the Iranians to the Mazdayasnian religion and to its sound and simple teachings. But, later on, when the influence of Zoroastrianism began to decline, the belief in sorcery assumed larger proportions, and became a powerful factor in the everyday life of the Iranian. This latter point is substantiated by the fact that in the Avesta proper the allusions to sorcery and witchcraft are quite scarce, whereas in the Pahlavi and other post-Zoroastrian writings there are numer-

1. E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, *SBE*, 37 40. n. 4.

• Dk. 8.19.64.65,

• Dk. 7.8.8,

• Dk. 8.20.99.

• Vd. 1.11.12.16 ; Dk. 8.85.13.

• Dk. 8.42.1.3.

ous references to it, showing thereby that the Iranians too — as so many other races — had finally become the victims of the mysterious fascination of Magic.

2. WIZARDS, WITCHES, KAVIS AND KARPANS.¹

The belief in wizards and witches, that is to say, in individuals who exercise some mysterious dread power over others, has sufficiently been indicated in the preceding chapter to require any further introduction. A belief in such beings has existed at different times among every people, and the nature attributed to the idea of them has varied only according to the individual conceptions of magic. The Iranian sorcerer (Av. *yātu*, Phl. *yâtak*, Persian *jâdû*) differs in no respect from his compeer in the other races. He is a human being whose mind is bent solely upon harming his fellow-creatures. The witch (Av. *pairika*, Phl. *parîk*, Persian *parî*)² is the feminine counterpart of the wizard, and has a somewhat different nature in ancient Persia from that usually assigned to her. She corresponds more to the idea of an enchantress, and is represented as a beautiful, supernatural female, whose rancor is aimed chiefly at seducing the Mazdayasnian from the true religion by means of love-artifices.³

The Kavis⁴ and Karpans, who are commonly associated with this evil company in the formulaic anathema of the Avestan texts, hold a somewhat different position than the two preceding in the Zoroastrian hierarchy of malignant creatures. These names were originally applied to the priests and kings of the non-Zoroastrian faith.⁵ They afterwards became the enemies both of the people and the Mazdayasnian religion, and they evinced an exceptional hatred

¹ Of the vast number of demons only such are considered in this paper as are expressly alluded to as wizards or witches.

² Her name appears still in Modern Persian as *Peri*, a kind of fairy, and is familiar through the lyric in Moore's *Lalla Rookh*: "There stood a Peri at the Gate."

³ A. V. Williams Jackson, *Die Iranische Religion in Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2, 665. Strassburg, 1896-1904; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 864 under *pairikd*.

⁴ It must be borne in mind that the Avesta makes a distinction between good and wicked Kavis. The good Kavis like Kavi Vishtâspa, Kavi Usan are mentioned in Ys. 13.7.; 46.14.; 51.16.; 53.2.; Yt 5.45.108.; 13.132.; 19.71.; etc.

⁵ Ys. 61.3.; Vd. 13.1.; 21.1. See also Darmesteter, *LeZA*, 1. 264.; Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis*. 3d. ed. (edited by E. W. West) p. 289. London, 1894.; and Bartholomae, *AirWb.* cols. 454, 666.

towards the prophet and his immediate family.¹ Tradition renders these two names as "blind and deaf" (to the teachings of Zoroaster).

In accordance with the vicious nature of the wizards and witches, the Zoroastrian writings represent them as creations of Angra-Mainyu. The Pahlavi *Dinkart* (9.24.16.) relates that the Evil-Spirit once roared thus: "I have produced for the annoyance of any upholder of that (Ahuramazdian) religion 99,999 wizards". Another passage, in the *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (37.55.) says that "the fiend of the gloomy race produced affliction of many, (namely) the witches of nature", and, according to *Vendîdâd* 1.9., Angra-Mainyu created the witch Khnâthaitî, who clave unto Keresâspa. The *Shatrôihâ-i-Airân* refers to Ahriman as a sorcerer full of destruction, who built the city of Amui, the home of Zaratusht, the Spitama;² and in addition to these references, the *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (39. 11.) mentions the fact that as soon as Ahriman came upon the creatures, demons and witches rushed upon the earth.

The nature of the witches is partly described in the holy books. According to Yasht 8. 8., they fly in the shape of falling stars between the earth and heavens, and the later writings depict them as "overspreading the light and glory of the shining luminaries",³ as "opposing the celestial sphere and the constellations of the Zodiac",⁴ and as trying "to cut and break up the road and passage of the sun, moon and stars".⁵ Another Pahlavi tradition, contained in the *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (24. 5.), says that they collect the crimes and sins of a person that are unatoned for, and bring them to the accounting on the third night of one's death. To the wizards was ascribed the faculty of killing persons⁶, of bringing diseases upon them⁷, and of using the nail-paring which was thrown away without performing the prescribed rites, as deadly weapons against the bird Ashôzushita, as described below.⁸ These wizards were renowned as physicians, and their medical prowess was often resorted to. *Dinkart* (7. 2. 53.) narrates that when Dûktaub, the mother of Zaratusht, was rendered sickly by the demons, she went

¹ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 37. 111. n. 4.

² J. J. Modi, *Shatrôihâ-i-Airân* translated with notes, p. 59, Bombay, 1899.

³ DD. 37.66.

⁴ MKh. 49.16.

⁵ MKh. 49.13.14.

⁶ Vd. 7. 8.

⁷ Dk. 8.42.1.

⁸ Vd. 17.10. ; Bd. 19.19. ; Bd. 14.10. See also p. 426.

to consult a wizard-physician, named, Storko.¹ Fortunately, she was deterred by Ahuramazd, who warned her that the medical treatment by a wizard would mean destruction to her. The *Selections from Zât-spâram* (18. 1.2.5.) relate that when Zaratusht was declared by the Karaps to be foolish, senseless and secretly corrupted, his father went with him to a wizard to have him cured. The wizard, as the story goes on, urinated into a cup and offered it to Zaratusht in the hope that by drinking this potion the prophet would become really polluted.

Wizards were known also as astrologers and interpreters of signs. The *Selections from Zât-spâram* (14.16.17.) tell that Zaratusht laughed aloud at his birth. The father wished to know the reason of this uncommon phenomenon, and he asked a wizard who answered him thus: "He who laughs during his birth does so, because he sees Righteousness as his end". In another passage Pôrtushâspô is said to have asked a Karap wizard for an explanation of the marks and specks on Zaratusht's body.² The *Vâthâr-i Zarîrân* (35-39) describes how King Vishtâsp asked Jâmâsp, the foreteller, to foretell from the stars the probable results of his battle with the magician Arjâsp of the white Hyaxnas. The prophecy did not please the King, and he angrily exclaimed: "You magician, you deceitful slave, you are not right, since your mother was a sorceress and your father a liar".³

Wizards and witches were especially dreaded for their malicious vindictiveness towards pregnant women and newly-born children. Thus the *Dînkart* (8.38.6), *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (12. 12.) and the *Sad-dar* (16. 1-4.) are unanimous in advising the maintenance of a fire for at least three days and nights in a house that shelters a pregnant woman, or a woman recently delivered of a child and of a newly-born child, "in order that the wizard and witches may not do any harm unto them".⁴

The Iranian wizards and witches, like those believed in by other races, give birth to various noxious creatures. We are told by the *Bândahishn* (23. 1.) that when Yima lost the glory of his

¹ See also Zep. 14.3.4.

² Zep. 16.2.

³ YZ. 51.

⁴ The custom of burning a light day and night for the protection of a newly-born child is quite universal. See Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 425f.

sovereignty, he fled with his sister Yimak from the country. A witch and a demon who were sent by the demons to overtake the fleeing couple, won their confidence, and the four continued the journey together. After a certain period the wizard married Yimak, while Yima espoused the witch. Various noxious creatures, such as the bear, Gandarep, Gôsâbar, the tortoise, frog, and others were said to have been the offspring of these unions. The terrified Yimak wished to divorce the demon, and one day when Yima and the wizard were intoxicated, she changed garments and places with the witch and lay down with Yima, performing thereby the *Khvêtûk-das* (Av. *xvâetvadutha*), the next-of-kin-marriage, which was looked upon, later on, as a powerful means of smiting wizards and witches.¹

It is interesting to note that, according to the Zoroastrian belief, the negro owes his origin to such a union. The Pahlavi tradition relates that, during the reign of Azhi Dahâka, a young woman was admitted to a demon and a young man coupled with a witch. On seeing each other, they had sexual intercourse and "owing to this one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose".²

The sacred books of the Zoroastrians mention many individual wizards and witches whose names are handed down to posterity through some great malicious deed. Mahrkûsha, mentioned above, was one of these. The *Dinkart* (7. 9.3.) states that he was a powerful wizard who brought awful winters into the world, so that within three such winters a greater part of men and animals perished miserably. Another famous wizard, according to *Dinkart* (2.6.8., 7.1.38.39., 9.23.5.), was Frasiyâv or Frangrasiyak, the Tûr, (equivalent to *Franrasyan* in the Avesta), who tried to obtain the glory of Kai Khosru. Of world-wide fame was also Akht, the sorcerer, called by *Zât-sparam* (23.10.) *Kâbed-ûs spâv*, who killed many inhabitants of the City of Enigma-Expounders (*Shatrô-i Frashnô-nujârâno*) for not being able to answer his thirty-three questions and who was in turn slain by Yôsht-i-Fryânô, the pious³. The same Akht was known likewise as "the enemy of good men", and as one who "refused to practise the *Khvêtûk-das*".⁴ Not

¹ E. W. West, *The Meaning of Khvêtûk-das SBE*, 18,418-420.

² Bd. 23.2.

³ YF. 1.2. etc.

⁴ E. W. West, *The Meaning of Khvêtûk-das, SBE*, 18,411.

inferior in iniquitous practices, according to the *Yâtkâr-i Zarîrân* was the sorcerer Vidrâfsh. It is related that he was sent by Arjâsp, the king of the Hyaxas, at the head of a large army against the Iranians. In the battle that took place, he killed by means of a magic weapon, the Iranian general, Zurir, and many other noble Iranians, until he met death at the hands of Bastâr, the youthful son of the Iranian chief¹. The demon Kundak is called by *Bîndû-hishn* (28.42.) "the steed of wizards" and Nâmûn, the grandfather of Âzôbô, is spoken of by the same book (31.35.) as sorcerer, although no spiteful deed is recorded of him.

Of the witches, whose names the Zoroastrian writings handed down to us, the most harmful was the enchantress *Khnâthaiti*, who, according to *Vendîdâd* (1.9. ; 19.5.) clive unto Keresâspa. Another famous witch, so *Yash* 8. 51, 53, 54. tells us, was the Pairikâ Duzhyâirya, an embodiment of famine, who waged eternal war against the material world of Ahura Mazda and who was successfully opposed by the rain-star, Tishtrya. The third and not the least in this trio, according to the Pahlavi romance *Artakhshir-i Pâpakân*² (9.17.), was the daughter of Ardavân, who attempted to poison her husband at the suggestion of one of her brothers.

In some instances, the special names of witches have not come down to us. The *Selections from Zât-sparram* (12.17-25), for example, relate that when Sritô out of compassion refused to slay the Holy Ox, Kai-Us sent him to a jungle "in which there dwelt many chiefs of witches". These witches hardened his feelings and he killed the ox. But afterwards a feeling of remorse seized upon him and he begged the King to have him put to death. Kai-Us sent him to a jungle inhabited "by a witch in the shape of a dog". Sritô killed this witch, but she divided herself into two. He then constantly slew these witches, "until there were a thousand of them, and this hoard finally killed Sritô".

Some idea of the nature of the Kavis and Karpans, who belong to the ribald crew, can be gained from the Zoroastrian Gâthâs. According to Yasna 32.12., 44.20., they are evil creatures, whose "curse has slain the King's life", and who "love Grehma above Righteousness". They unite themselves with power in order to

¹ YZ. 3, 22, 48, 73, 74, 99-107.

² D. D. P. Sanjans. *The Karmad i Artakhshir-i Pâpakân*. Bombay, 1896.

destroy the life of men by their evil deeds.¹ They crush mankind, and "their inspiration enables the tyrants of the provinces to continue their pernicious rule".² "They are enemies of creation", says Yasna 51.14., "they do not grant complete harvests from the fields", nor do they give "perfect pasture to the Kine", and they diffuse woe by their teachings.

The later Zoroastrian writings, in which their names are mentioned merely formulaically, know nothing more detailed about the malignant disposition of the Kavis and Karpans towards mankind. An exception, however, is found in a passage in the *Selections from Zât-spâram* (15.2.) which states that "the Karaps and Aûsikshesh were the devastation of Iran". Otherwise these beings, especially the Karpans, are represented by them as spiteful creatures, whose harmful deeds are aimed solely at Zoroaster and his mother. The above mentioned canon (*Zsp.* 15. 3.) relates that the leaders in this struggle against the prophet were five brothers belonging to the same Karpan family, and it mentions their names as : Brâdrûksh, Brâdrôyish, Brâdrêsh, the Târ, Hazân, and Vadast. Other versions, when narrating the iniquitous deeds of the individual brothers, give their names as : Dûrâsrôbâ, the wizard,³ Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karap, "who was great in destroying the righteous," Brâdâvakhsh, "the heterodox wizard, who put to death the best of men,"⁴ Vaêdvoist, "the enemy of all sacred things,"⁵ and Zâk.⁶

There are many passages in the sacred books that deal with the animosity of the Karpans against the Spitama family to which Zarathushtra belonged, and they seem to echo some distant note of priestcraft and reform. The *Dinkart*, for example, according to its own statement in the introductory chapter (*Dk.* 5.2.3.), tells "about wizards, witches, tyrants, Kigs and Karpans, who have produced outrage for Zuratusht during his birth and childhood with a desire for his destruction". We know from the same canon (*Dk.* 7.2.9.) that first his mother was chiefly exposed to their rancor. They accused her of witchcraft and induced her countrymen to banish her from the district. As soon as she became pregnant they afflicted her with a painful fever so that she

¹ Ys. 48.11.

² Ys. 48.10.

³ *Dk.* 2.42-44. ; 7.3.4.5.7.32. ; *Zsp.* 19.1.

⁴ *Dk.* 7.3.21.32. ; 8.85.13

⁵ *DD.* 72.8.

⁶ *Dk.* 7.4.31.

⁷ *Dk.* 7.4.64.

might have to seek medical treatment from a wizard.¹ When they saw that they could not prevent the birth of the child, the wizards at once concentrated their attacks upon the infant. The *Selections from Zât-spāram* tell us that during the mother's parturition seven Karpan-wizards sat at the foot of the bed.² After the child's birth, thus the tradition goes on, the father Pôrûshâspô, whose kinsmen were wizards, according to *Dînkart* 5.2.4., invited Dûrâsrôbô to inspect the marks and specks on the infant's body. The Karap then started to twist with his paws the tender head of the child, but had to desist from this vicious action, because his hands began to wither.³ On another occasion, we are told, the Karap persuaded Pôrûshâspô, that Zaratusht ought to be killed. The father consequently surrendered his son to the wizard, who at first attempted to burn him alive.⁴ But as the wood did not catch fire, he cast him before oxen, in the hope that the beasts might trample the youth to death. But here again Providence saved the boy.⁵ He then placed the helpless infant on a narrow path, leading to a drinking-pool for horses⁶; and as the horses carefully avoided the infant, he cast it into a wolf's lair whose cubs were killed before, so that the enraged wolf might surely revenge the death of its cubs upon the innocent child. The sorcerer was again foiled in his designs.⁷

Seeing that they could not destroy the life of Zoroaster, the Karaps strove to attack his soul. The *Selections from Zât-spāram* (18.5.) relate that Pôrûshâspô brought his son to the wizards to cure him from his alleged foolishness and they gave him a foul potion with the hope of contaminating his nature. Another interesting encounter between Zarathushtra and the Karaps is told by *Dînkart* 7.3.34-35, and *Zât-spāram* 19.1-3. The sorcerer Dûrâsrôbô one day visited Pôrûshâspô's house and was asked by the latter to consecrate a bowl of mare's milk. Zaratusht objected to this and with the sagacity of a child intentionally spilled the milk. The enraged Karap thereupon threatened to destroy the boy, and not succeeding in this he left the house in disgust and despair.

¹ Dk. 7.2.53.; Zep. 14.2.

² Zep. 14.3. Cf. also ZN. 184. *Dînkart* 7.3.2. substitutes mid-wives (*dâyâ*) for witches.

³ Dk. 7.4.7.; Zep. 16.2-4.; ZN. 215.

⁴ Dk. 7.3.8-11.; Zep. 16.7.; ZN. 220ff.

⁵ Dk. 7.3.11.12.; Zep. 16.4-6.; ZN. 222ff.

⁶ Dk. 7.3.13.14.; Zep. 16.8.; ZN. 226ff.

⁷ Dk. 7.3.15.; Zep. 16.8.; ZN. 223ff.

The attempt made by Dûrâsrôbô and Brâtrôk-rêsh to injure Zaratusht while he was playing with other children has been mentioned above.¹

The *Dinkart* (7.4.64.67.) tells us that through revelation the prophet was aware of the plotting by the Karaps against his life. This, however, did not prevent him from attempting to proselyte them. From the *Dinkart* (7.4.2.6.14.), furthermore, we know that by the command of Ahuramazd, Zaratusht recited the prophecy of his religion before an assembly of Kîgs and Karaps, and that when they heard those words, the Karaps rushed upon him striving to bring about his death. The prophet, however, did not lose his courage; he continued to give his prophetic message and to exhort his adversaries to embrace the religion of Ahura Mazda.

That the sorcerous Karaps had sufficient reason to hate and fear Zoroaster is a well established fact. According to Brâtrôk-rêsh's own admission, they hated the son of Pôrûshâspô, because "owing to his action, the demon and fiend, the wizard and witch, will become buried below the earth and fall paralyzed back to hell"; and "because he will break every enchantment and destroy every work of the Deys"². A further recitation of the passages in which Kavis and Karpans are alluded to as wicked beings, would take too much space.³ From the examples already cited, the reader will be able to judge sufficiently the Zoroastrian conception of their malicious nature.⁴

As a consequence of their vicious character, the wizards, witches, Kavis and Karpans were extremely dreaded,⁵ and their fate was held out as a warning to every faithful Zoroastrian. Thus, among the very first things seen in hell by Artâ-Vîrâf, according to the well known Pahlavi treatise *Artâ-Vîrâf Nâmak* (5.8.) was "the distress and pain and evil stench in the punishments of various

¹ See above p. 408.

² Dk. 7.3.27-30; Zsp. 17.4.

³ ZN 261ff.; 339ff.

⁴ Those who wish further information are referred to the following additional passages: Ya. 51.12; 33.14,15; Dk. 3.20.24.26.28.34.41.50; 7.2.45; 8.26.60; 9.29.3.4; 39.1.9; 44.14,15; Zsp. 23.5; *Farhang-i Oim avestâ* (Reichelt's ed. 4f., Hoshangji and Haug's ed. 15.55); and the *Zaratusht Nâmak*.

⁵ There is still a third class of wicked beings, devoted to magic, whose nature does not seem transparent. These are the Kahvaredhas, Kayndhas and Zandas mentioned in Ya. 61.2.3; Vd. 18.55; 21.17; *Farhang-i Oim avestâ* (Reichelt's ed. 20., Hoshangji and Haug's ed. 30.9; 70.3) Cf. also Bartholomae, *Air Wd.* cols. 462,1622.

⁶ Ya. 3.4 calls any Mazdayasanan not adhering to the true religion a magician.

kinds which the demons and sorcerers and sinners have to undergo." The killing of wizards is recommended by *Dinkart* (8.20.98.) as a good means of penance for sins.

The fear and terror with which the followers of Ahura Mazda looked upon these creatures is best exemplified in the prayers of the faithful. Very few prayers do not contain a supplication to the benevolent spirits to crush the sorcerers and to protect the pious from their rancor. "May the much-desired Airyaman" — prays the believer with *Vendidad* 20.10.12 — "smite all manner of diseases and deaths, all the Yâtus and Pairikâs, and all the wicked Jainis"; or according to Yasht 2.11: "Let the Yâtus be crushed, O Zarathushtra, both Daēvas and men"; and "grant, O Mithra, that I may smite the malice of Yâtus and Pairikâs, the Kavis and Karpans"¹. The reciter of Yasna 9.18. supplicates Haoma thus: "I make claim to Thee, O Haoma, that I may overwhelm the angry hate of the sorcerers and witches, of the Kavis and Karpans". He furthermore begs: "Let not our good waters help a sorcerer"²; and concludes with the assurance: "Off do I abjure the Daēvas and all possessed by them, the sorcerers and all that hold to their devices, and every being of that sort"³. A still further prayer contains the ringing appeal: "May we be free from the wretched Kuro and the Tarewani and the Karpan"⁴, or, "May Ahriman be smitten and the deceiver cursed, he with the demons, sorcerers and Pairikâs"⁵. In his daily prayer, moreover, when the pious believer ties the sacred girdle (*kusti*) around his body and holds it in a certain prescribed manner, he recites in Pâzand: "May Ahuramazd be lord and Ahriman, unprevailing, keeping far away, smitten and defeated. May Ahriman, the demons and fiends, the wizards and wicked, the Kigs and Karaps, the tyrants and apostates, the impious enemies and witches be smitten and defeated"⁶.

Sacrifices and libations were offered and still are offered to the various Ormazdian creatures for the destruction of sorcerers and witches. The Yashts (5.22.24.26.50.; 19.26.28.29.31.) tell us that Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, Yima Khshaeta, Kavi Usa and Husravah offered a sacrifice to Aredvi Sâra Anâhita for the

¹ Yt. 10.84.59.

² Ys. 85.8.

³ Ys. 12.4.

⁴ Str. 2.2. Cf. J.J. Mod. *Two Amulets*, p. 12.

⁵ Barthélemy, *Gujastak Adâbiyât* 9.9.

⁶ E. W. West, *The Nirang-i Kusti*, *SBE*, 18.384.

"overpowering of the Yâtus and Pairikâs, Kavis and Karpans." In the same manner Takhma-Urupa is reputed to have asked and obtained from Vaya, the power of destroying the Yâtus and Pairikâs.¹ Zarathushtra himself is reported by Yasht 1.5.6.10.11. to have asked Ahura Mazda: "Reveal unto me Thy names, O Ahura Mazda, that I may afflict all the Yâtus and Pairikâs and that neither Yâtu nor Pairikâ may afflict me." The Zoroastrian of to-day sacrifices unto the *Haptôiringas*, or constellation of the Great Bear, in order to oppose the Yâtu and Pairikâ,² and he chants the Ahuna-Vairya, the Asha-Vahishta and the Yenê Hâtâm as a means of combating and overcoming.³ He offers up a sacrifice to the Sun,⁴ to Tishtrya,⁵ and to Thraêtona,⁶ and pronounces the praise of Sraosha⁷ for the same purpose. He worships the Fravashis of the holy king Hushyaothna⁸ and Husravah⁹ "to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikâs, the Kavis and Karpans" and he believes that by performing a sacrifice to Vaya¹⁰ and by exalting the milk-offering and libation,¹¹ he will be exempt from the onslaughts of Yâtus and Pairikâs.

Besides these prayers and oblations the Mazda-worshipper performs other rites and ceremonies which, according to his belief, will help him in his struggle against these vicious creatures. Thus he follows the commandment of *Vendidad* 8.80. by offering sweet-smelling wood unto the Fire, in the belief that "wheresoever the wind will carry the perfume of the fire, there Âtar, the son of Ahura-Mazda, will go and kill thousands of Daêvas, fiends and couples of Yâtus and Pairikâs", and he purifies a faithful man by reciting the following formula contained in *Vendidad* 11.9. 12.: "I drive away the Pairikâ, that comes upon the fire, water, earth, cow and tree." Finally, the truly orthodox perform the Khvêtûk-das in order to destroy wizards and witches.¹²

Numerous are the elements and persons that have the power of smiting wizards and witches. The *Dâtistân-i-Dênig* (38.32.) states that all sacred ceremonies of the earth, the light, rains and angels vanquish wizards and witches, and Yasna 4.3. asserts that "every heavenly Yazata will free men from the Yâtus and

¹ Yt. 15.12.

² Str. 2.13.

³ Ya. 61.68.

⁴ Yt. 6.4.

⁵ Yt. 3.44.

⁶ Str. 2.2.

⁷ Yt. 11.6.

⁸ Yt. 13.104.

⁹ Yt. 13.135.

¹⁰ Yt. 15.56.

¹¹ Ya. 16.8.

¹² E. W. West, *The Meaning of the Khvêtûk das*, SBE. 18.420

Pairikâs." According to *Dînkart* 7.5.8., Zaratusht disclosed the rites of overpowering demons and witches, and opposed successfully many wizards and demon-worshippers.¹ The priest, says *Dînkart* 7.8.29., are "producing the destruction of harm and of the wizards"; and Yasht 3.5.9.12.16., claims that the Airyaman prayer "smites down the strength of the Yâtus and Pairikâs and of the Jahi, addicted to the Yâtu". The mere names of the Amesha-Spentas, according to Yasht 4.8. smite "the seed and kin of the Karpans". *Aredvi Sûra Anâhita* is said in the same Yasht to "crush down the hates of all Yâtus and Pairikâs, Kavis and Karpans"², and Mithra is spoken of by Yasht 10.26, as "breaking the skulls of the Daêvas and punishing the Pairikâs".

The Haptôiringas, or the seven stars of the polar constellation, are renowned for opposing the Yâtus and the Pairikâs,³ and, according to Yasht 8.39., the star Tishtrya is a destroyer of the witches. Verethraghna, the personification of Victory, crushes the malice of the Yâtus and Pairikâs, Kavis and Karpans⁴, and the hero Tâkhmôrup is credited with the smiting of wizards and witches and with removing them from among men.⁵ Keresâspa became famous through the killing of Pitaona "attended by many Pairikâs"⁶, and Jamshêd is glorified by the *Jâmâsp-Nâmak* (4) for having given the demons and fiends into the power of men; he is likewise extolled for having deprived of sight seven vicious fairies. We are informed by the *Dînâ-î Mainôg-î Khirat* (57.27.) that Zaratusht threatened Ahriman to shatter the bodies of his demons "through the Hôm, the sacred twigs and the good religion", and we know from *Dînkart* (7.4.61.) that when the prophet chanted the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô* formula, the fiend was annihilated and Cheshmak, the Karap, rushed away. Even the animals take part in the eternal struggle against these spiteful creatures of Angra-Mainyu. In the *Bûdahishn*, so often alluded to, we find a passage (Bd. 19.33.) which states that the cock was created in opposition to the wizard, and this highly interesting statement is corroborated by the Pahlavi *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (10.30.) and the Persian *Sad-dar* (32.1-5.).

From what has been shown it is clear that the ancient Iranian

¹ Dk. 5.2.8.

² Yt. 5.15.

³ Yt. 9.12; Mkh. 49.15.

⁴ Yt. 14.4.63.

⁵ Dk. 7.1.19, and J. J. Modi, *Pârsend Jâmdâpi*, 4.

⁶ Y

populated his corporeal world with various creatures of a malignant disposition, whom he feared and hated, dreaded and despised. In his struggle against these enemies of organized society he invoked the aid of all creatures, both of heaven and earth, and assisted himself by sacrifices and holy spells against the powers. In that respect the Zoroastrian conception of sorcerers and witches differed little or not at all from that of the other races. There is, however, one very interesting feature in the Mazdayasnian attitude towards enchanters, which occurs nowhere else and which marks their religion of the East as a religion of forgiving indulgence and ultimate hope for all, even for the greatest sinners. In the final day of Resurrection, when all sinners will be called to account for their deeds, "then" — says *Dinkart* 7.8.40. — "even a Karap and Kaî will be mingled again with the good, after having expiated their crimes by allotted punishments." This passage illustrates clearly the great forbearance of the Zoroastrian faith for the unhappy sinners, and it forms a beautiful appendix to the legendary story of King Dâvânôs, whose whole body, according to tradition, was gnawed by a noxious animal as a punishment for his evil actions, with the exception of his right foot, because with this limb he had once kicked a bundle of hay within the reach of a ploughing ox.¹

3. THE EVIL-EYE.

The belief that there is a power of working evil by a glance of the eye has existed in all times and in all countries. Thomas Elworthy says: "It is found in the literature of every people in every land, since history began to be written. No science, no religion, no laws have been able to root out this fixed belief; and no power has ever been able to eradicate it from the human mind";² and Bacon calls it "the most importunate and continual affection."³ The possibility of thus working injury was accepted as an allowed fact alike by the Fathers of the Church, by mediæval physicians, and all writers on occult sciences, while in our own day it still exists among all savage nations and even in our very midst.⁴ We all know what the *ophthalmos Baskanos* meant to the Greeks, and the *fascinatio* to the Romans, and we

¹ *Sls.* 12.12; *Av.* 32.

² Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 6.

³ Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 8.

⁴ Bacon, *Essay "On Envy"*.

may well comprehend the dreadful fear with which the English peasant still utters his "*He is overlooked*". We also know what a terrible predicament it was in the Middle Ages to be accused of casting the evil glance ; and all those who travel through Italy will bear witness to the extent of the superstitious fear attached by the children of the sunny land to the *Malocchio* or *jettatura*. We see evidence of this belief in the power of the eye in the very beginnings of Egyptian Mythology. The supreme Ptah is said to be the father of gods and men. He brought forth all the other gods from his eye, "which goes to show", says Elworthy, "that of all emanations those from the eye were the most potent".¹

The ancient Iranians likewise believed in the existence of this dread power² and they connected it closely with the practice of witchcraft. Aspendiârjî's translation of the *Vendidad*, in speaking of witchcraft, states that it is exercised either by the eye or by the voice. According to Zoroastrianism the evil-eye is a creation of Angra-Mainyu³ himself and its power was frequently exercised by the arch-fiend. *Vendidad* 22.2. says that Ahura Mazda spoke to Zarathushtra thus : "When I made this mansion, the ruffian looked (*âkasat*) at me and created against me 99,999 diseases." In translating the word *âkasat* Darmesteter⁴ amplifies it by the phrase "jeter le mauvais œil", and in addition quotes a passage from Eznig's *Refutatio Hæresiarum* which states that "Ahriman corrupted the good creatures of Ormuzd by casting upon them the evil eye." The Pahlavi canonical books also ascribe to Ahriman the faculty of harming people by a glance. The *Dâtistân-i Dênig*, for example, (37.75.) in speaking of the contrast between Ahura Mazda and Angra-Mainyu says that Ormazd, the Creator, "is a manager with omniscient wisdom, while the contention of the fiend of perverted glance (*tar-nûjirishn*) is through lust of defilement" ; and the *Bundahishn* (28.2.) claims that the eye-sight (*cashm micishn*) of Ahriman "does not refrain from doing harm to the creatures."

Ahriman was not the only demon feared because of the power

¹ Elworthy. *The Evil Eye*, p. 6; cf. also the following biblical injunction : "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil-eye." *Prov.* 23.6.

² The "*Injunctions to Beh-dîn*," according to West, relate among others "to the evil-eye, the killing of Noxious Creatures, and the use of a tooth-pick." E. W. West, *Pahlavi Literature*, p. 11

³ *Vd.* 20 36,7,9.

⁴ *LeZ.A.* 2,289.

of his evil-eye. The *Bāndahishn* (28.14.33.35.36.) mentions three other fiends who possessed the faculty of fascination. One of them is Arask, called the spiteful fiend of the evil eye (*dush-cashmīh*), the second is Aigash, spoken of as the malignant-eyed fiend, who smites mankind with his eye; and the third is Astō-vīdhād, the demon of the malignant eye (*sur-cashmīh* — read *dush(?)-cashmīh*) “who spoils anything which men look at without saying: “In the name of God”, and whose glance drives away life.” Another demon who could exercise the power of fascination, according to *Dinkart* 7.3.39., was Brādrōk-rēsh, one of the famous Karpan-brothers, who was to kill Zaratusht with a glance of his eye.

The glance of the eye of a woman during her menstruation period was extremely dreaded by the Zoroastrians, and the sacred books repeatedly warn those women not to look at certain objects. This fear of a menstruous woman's glance is of wide-spread occurrence, being prevalent even to-day among the inhabitants of Spain.¹ The Zoroastrians had special reasons thus to regard the glance of a menstruous woman, for, according to their belief, menstruation was created by Angra-Mainyu², and it polluted everything that came in contact with it.³ Mazdayasnism with its watchful anxiety over the bodily and spiritual welfare and purity of its believers, forbade them to associate with a woman during this period or to remain in her vicinity;⁴ and in order to assure the observance of this religious law, declared the touch and the look of a menstruous woman to be harmful.

There are numerous passages in the Zoroastrian literature dealing with this injunction. The *Vendidad* (16.2.), for example, directs that the half, or the third, or the fourth, or even the fifth part of a house, that shelters a woman having an issue of blood, should be isolated “lest she look (*paīti-dīdhāt*) upon the fire;⁵ and

¹ Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 22f.

² Vd. 1.17.18.; Bd. 3.67.

³ Vd. 16.

⁴ The ancient Iranians looked upon a menstruous woman as exercising contamination and she was therefore kept during that period in absolute isolation from her fellow-creatures. This custom is of a very early origin and was prescribed likewise in the Levitical Code. 15 19ff. We find a similar institution among the American Indians. See Leo. J. Frachtenberg, *Traditions of the Coos Indians of Oregon*, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 22.25-42. Boston, 1909 (January-March). Cf. also Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 7.18.

⁵ That the “looking” of a menstruous woman was different in character and consequences from that of other beings is also shown by the nature of the verb *paīti-dīdhāt* as a compound. The prefix *paīti* is an adverb implying adversity and the whole verb therefore means “to look against, to look with a hostile intention, to look with envy”. Cf. *sand-* “to work, to accomplish,” and *paīti-senda*, “opposing”.

the *Dinkart* (8.31.22.) speaks of sickness due to the work of an evil eye or the proximity of a menstruous woman, and it states that "a menstruous woman or those possessing the evil-eye are exceedingly harmful." The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (3.10.) claims that a person's hands which have been sprinkled in ceremonial ablution, become unclean by the look of a menstruous woman, and the Pahlavi *Vendidad* (16.2.) further confirms this statement. The later Zoroastrian writing, the *Sad-dar*, (41.6.) asserts that anything looked at by a menstruous woman, diminishes in glory.

Of a specially detrimental consequence is the look of *Jahi*, the female fiend of menstruation. The *Vendidad* (18.63.64.) states that when Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda to mention the name of the one that grieved him most, the Deity answered thus: "It is the *Jahi*, O Zarathushtra, whose look (*paiti-diti*) dries up one-third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains, whose glance withers one-third of the beautiful, golden-hued, growing plants, whose sight withers one-third of the strength of Spenta-*Armaiti*, and whose touch dries up in the faithful one-third of his good thoughts, good words, good deeds, and one-third of his strength, fiend-killing power and holiness". This assertion is again substantiated by the following passage taken from the *Sad-dar* (67.3-4.): "If *Jahi* looks at running water, it diminishes; if she glances at trees or shrub, the fruit becomes scanty; and if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and holiness are withered by it".¹ And the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (3.28-29.), in restraining menstruous women from looking at beasts, plants, water and stars, justifies this restriction by stating that "*Jahi*, the fiend of menstruation, is so violent, that where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (*akhsh*) she destroys with a glance". As a natural consequence, a menstruous woman is forbidden to look even inadvertently or against her will at fire, water, beasts, plants and stars. A woman with an issue of blood who glances or comes in contact with fire or water, commits, according to the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (3.27.28.) a sin of one *Farmân*, of which she can repent by paying a fine of twelve dirhams;² and if she repeatedly trans-

¹ Cf here the following passage from the Code of Manu, 4.57.: "Converse not with a menstruating woman".

² 84, 68.1-2.

gresses this restriction she will be punished in after-life by being forced to devour her own menstrual discharge.¹

In a similar connection I may note that it is a universally known fact that many persons are believed to possess the power of fascination acting against the will of the possessor. In Polish folk-lore, for example, there is a remarkable story of an unhappy man who, in spite of a most loving heart, was affected with the evil-eye and who at last blinded himself in order that he might not be the means of injury to his children.² The same superstition existed among the Zoroastrians and it is clearly demonstrated by the following ordinance, contained in *Bāndahishn* (28.35.36.) and *Sad-dar* (15.1.2.) : "When one sees anything that is welcome to the eyes, it is necessary to say 'In the name of God'. For if a person does not do it and an injury happens to that object or a disaster occurs, the person becomes a sinner."³

Like the Egyptians, Babylonians and other races, both ancient and modern, the Zoroastrians also believed in the existence of remedies against the power of the evil-eye. For example, according to Yasht 3.8.11. 15., the Airyaman prayer is a powerful spell against the workings of the evil-eye (*dush-dôithra*) and according to Yasht II. 5., he who pronounces the praise of Sraosha is well protected against the fiend tormenting him with a glance of his eyes (*ashibya*) ; and the *Vendidad* (20.3.6.7.9.) states that Thritha asked and obtained from Khshathra-Vairya some remedies, "so as to withstand the evil-eye (*agha-shay-*)" : it fails, however, to say what these remedies were. There is evidence in the Zoroastrian literature which tends to show that even those who belonged to the good creation could exercise the power of fascination, if they so desired. The opening chapter of the Yashts (Yt. I.29.) tells us that Zarathushtra shouted to Ahriman thus, "I shall throw thee back into the earth", whereupon the ruffian was made powerless "by the eyes (*dôithrâhyô*) of Spenta-Ârmaiti." The *Selections from Zât-spāram* (19.6.) relate that during the encounter between the prophet and Dûrâsrôbô⁴ the former answered thus the threat

¹ AV. 72.

² Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 251.

³ Cf. the following passage from Heliodorus, *Theagenes and Chariclea* 1.140, quoted by Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 8. : "When any one looks at what is excellent with an envious eye he fills the surrounding atmosphere with a pernicious quality, and transmits his own venomous exhalations into whatever is nearest to him."

⁴ See above p. 414.

of the Karap : " With complete mindfulness I will look upon thee with both eyes and will utterly destroy thee ". The *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (3.7.) claims that a friend can subjugate " by a look, which is a contender with the enemy ", and the *Ganje Shâyagân* 152.¹ admonishes the pious man thus : " You should also know, that the boundless harm done by the infernal Ghanâmîno is prevented by not exercising the three injurious faculties, which are : the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the demon of contention ".

No exposition of the Iranian belief in the evil-eye, not even the briefest, could be complete without the allusion to the counter-belief in the Good-Eye, that is to say, in the influence of a steady glance upon all living creatures. The Zoroastrians had a special genius, named *Saoka*, to whom they alluded as the " Genius of the Good-Eye ". Zarathushtra, for instance, is reported by *Vendîdâd* 19.37. to have invoked the good *Saoka* " whose glance is far-reaching ; " and the *Sirôzâhs* speak of him as " the good *Saoka*, with the eyes of Love ".² Besides the above-quoted citations and that from the *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (3.7.)³ the existence of this belief is furthermore demonstrated by passages from the *Zamyâd Yasht*, *Dâtistân-i Dênig* and *Farhang-i Ôim âvâk*. According to the prophecy contained in the *Zamyâd Yasht* (Yt. 19.94.), *Saoshyant* " will look upon the whole living world with the eyes (*dôithrâbyô*) of plenty, and his look (*darês*) will deliver to immortality the whole living creation ". The *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (3.8.) narrates that when " the unwavering look of the Creator which was upon the coming of the Evil-Spirit, was unmingled with the sight of an eye, he made . . . etc. " ; and the *Farhang-i Ôim âvâk* (Hoshangji and Haug's ed. 23. 11 : 64.1.) has a fragment *ushtutâtîm ashîbya*, which Darmesteter translates : " le bonheur avec ses yeux ".⁴

In conclusion I may be permitted to mention the Zoroastrian belief that the *Sag-dîd*, the gaze of a dog, destroys the *Nasus* that rush upon the dead body⁵ and it prevents those who carry a corpse from becoming polluted.⁶

¹ Peshotan D. B. Sanjana, *Ganje Shâyagân*, Bombay, 1835.

² See also Vd. 22.3.4.

³ Sir. 1.8. : 2.5. etc. Cf. Darmesteter; *Le ZA.* 2.272n, 99.100.

⁴ See above, on this page.

⁵ *Le ZA.* 8.24. (fragment 54).

⁶ Vd. 7.8. (Westergaard's ed. p. 387) ; Fhl. Vd. p. 289 ; Sis. 2.1-4.

⁷ Sis. 2.56.63.66.71.84.85. ; 10.10.12.32.38.

4. NAIL-PARING AND HAIR-CUTTING IN CONNECTION WITH PRIMITIVE BELIEFS.

The custom of burning or burying the nail-parings and hair-cuttings was widely in vogue among the more primitive races, and has its foundation in the peculiar belief in Sympathetic Magic. As is well known, the main principle of Sympathetic Magic is, that an effect may be produced upon a particular subject by merely imitating it. Innumerable accounts of this belief are given by Frazer, Tylor, Lubbock, Dawson and others.¹ The superstition is prevalent among savage and primitive races that an evil-disposed person can harm another by obtaining possession of some part of that person's body. This belief owes its origin to the peculiar conception of the soul. Primitive man conceives of the soul as a small entity which can be present in any of the separate parts of his body, such as the nails, hair, teeth, fingers and even in his name.² Believing, therefore, that injury to a single part of his body may mean destruction to his soul, primitive man is very anxious to prevent any portion of his frame from coming into the possession of wicked persons, especially witches and sorcerers.

There is hardly a race on the globe which does not believe in this superstition in some form or other, and which does not possess thrilling tales of the harm wrought by witches through the instrumentality of a person's hair or the parings of his nails. We find this superstition among the early Romans. "Unguium Dialis", says Gellius, "et capilli segmina subter arborem felicem terra operiuntur".³ (The cuttings of nails and hair of a priest of Jupiter must be buried under a tree of the auspicious kind). In the same manner, the Dutch believed in early times that hair-cuttings should never be thrown into the street, for fear that they may be picked up by witch, who by this means can bewitch the person to whom it belonged.⁴ The early Danes, likewise, burned

¹ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*; E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*; Sir John Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881.

² I am inclined to believe that the ancient Hebrew law forbidding the Jews to pronounce the real name of Jehovah is a direct consequence of this superstition, which finds its parallel in the German Lohengrin Saga, where Lohengrin may remain among men only as long as his real name is not known.

³ Aulus Gellius, *Noctae Atticae* 10.15.15.

⁴ B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* 3.33, London 1851, 1852.

or buried the cuttings of their hair and nails, lest evil-disposed persons should exercise enchantment with them upon the person who had borne them.¹ The lower classes in Ireland believe that human hair should not be burnt, but be buried, in the superstition that its owner will claim it at the Resurrection.² The orthodox Jew of to-day always burns his nail-parings, in order that no other person may take possession of them and prevent him from appearing with complete finger-nails on the day of Resurrection. In England there was a time when the nails were cut off by knives or scissors and thrown into the fire, for fear a witch might get them.³

A similar custom of burying the nail-parings and clippings from the hair exists among the Zoroastrians, past and present, and its origin is explained in the *Vendidad*, *Bundahishn*, *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast*, and the *Sad-dar*.

A large portion of the seventeenth Fargard of the *Vendidad* is devoted to this subject, and we find there the statement that a man who combs his hair or pares his nails and drops the parings into a hole or crack, commits a deadly sin "whereby he offers up a sacrifice to the Daêvas". The Zoroastrian is, therefore, urged to bury his hair or nails in a hole dug especially for this purpose and to recite certain prayers over them. The explanation given is that the nails or hair clippings may otherwise become "spears, knives and weapons in the hands of the Daêvas against the bird Ashô-zushta".⁴ In translating this Fargard, Darmesteter⁵ adds a note to the effect that the nails are usually cut in two and the fragments are put in a hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Daêvas.

In another canonical book, the *Bundahishn* (19.19.20.), the question of nail-paring is incidentally dealt with. We find there a passage relating to this subject, which E. W. West renders as follows: "A nail-paring, when not prayed over, is seized by the

¹ Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* 3.272f. London.

² Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 224, 225, 416, 437. Cf. also the following passage from *Comedy of Errors* 4.3. Sr. Dromio: "Some divels aske but the parings of one's nails, a ru-h, a hire, a drop of blood, a pin, a nut, a cherrie-stone."

For further examples see S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, 3 vols. London, 1891-1898.

⁴ Vd. 17.1.11; Pahlavi *Vendidad* 17.1.11; and Cf. Jackson, *On some Avestan Superstitions*, JAOS. 18.59-61,

⁵ SBE. 4.192, n. 2, (2d. ed.)

demons and wizards and shot like an arrow at the Ashô-zusht bird, which is killed. Therefore the bird seizes and devours a nail-paring, when prayed over, so that the demons may not control its use. When the spell is not uttered, then the bird does not devour the nails and the demons are able to commit an offence with it." The *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast* (12.6.) treats this matter by stating that no nail-paring can be left unprayed over, for in that case it turns into weapons and equipments of the *Mâzanân* demons ; and the *Sad-dar* (14.1-11.) contains the following statement : "When the nails are pared according to the custom, it is necessary to put the parings into a paper. And it is further necessary to take the *Srôsh-bâz* inwardly and to recite three *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô's*. Afterwards one completes the *Bâz* in the manner.....etc. For Hormazd, the good and propitious, has created a bird, which they call Ashô-zusht. And they call it the bird of Bahman ; they also call it the owl. And it eats the nails.¹ It is altogether necessary that they do not leave them unbroken, for they would come into use as weapons of wizards. And if they fall into the midst of food, there is danger of pulmonary consumption."

The above quoted passages show clearly that the Zoroastrians did not throw away their nail-parings and hair-cuttings, but buried them. And even though the reasons assigned for this custom and the ceremonies accompanying it are totally different from those of other races, there can be little doubt that this custom goes back eventually to the universal belief in Sympathetic Magic.

5. NOXIOUS CREATURES.

A recognition of the animal kingdom plays a conspicuous part in the savage beliefs of all races. Animals are either feared or worshipped. As a rule, they are revered on account of the fear with which they imbue the mind of primitive man. The mythology and folk-lore of every race on the globe is full of horrible, hideous creatures who, by their demoniacal character, seem to exercise a peculiar power of fascination upon the minds of

1 Prof. O. C. Trowbridge of Columbia University, who is a close observer of the life of the owls, tells me that these animals are in the habit of spitting out in the shape of balls all the indigestible parts of food, such as the feathers and bones. These balls when washed by the weather become snow-white and, mixed with the black fur, look like finger-nails. Does not the fact that the ancient Iranians assigned to the owls the eating of fingernails, indicate that they too had observed this peculiarity of the owl pellet ?

men. Every race has its inimical creatures, legendary or real, upon whom it looks with that same sort of physical shrinking. Among the many mythical monsters, the ancient Hindu-Aryans feared their Rakshasas and Sarvaras, the Greeks dreaded their Chimæræ, Hydræ, Harpies and Sirens, the Anglo-Saxons and Slavs dreaded the were-wolf, the Arabs abhorred the Jinns, and among the beasts supposedly inimical to mankind, the Hebrews fear the serpent, the modern Hindu holds the tiger in superstitious awe, the Slavs fear the vampire, and the Arab dreads the mere sight of a wolf.

In the same way the Iranian has, besides the mythical *Srôbar*, the *Gandarep* and the *Gôsâbar*, his real noxious creatures, called *Khrashtas*, whom he dreads and strives to extirpate. Of the entire animal kingdom the following, according to the testimony of the Zoroastrian writings, were classified as noxious creatures: the mouse, the weevil, the tortoise, the frog, the lizard, the scorpion, the snake, the worm, the ant, the locust, the spider, the gnat, the toad, and the louse; associated with them are: the bear, the ape, the cat, the wolf and the hawk.¹ These creatures were said by *Bânda-hishn* (20.13.) to dwell chiefly in the Dâitik river, and their existence, according to the *Jâmâsp Nâmak* (3), was to last until the very day of Resurrection. In many instances, as in the case of the mouse, spider and the louse, the aversion of the Zoroastrians to these creatures is shared by the other races.² The instinctive

¹ Vd. 1.2.4.6.; 7.36.; 14.5.6.; 17.3.; Bt. 3.15.; 19.2.25.28.; Dk. 7.5.9.; MKh. 62. 30.; Sls. 8.10., 8d 43. 1-10. etc.

² Frommand, *Traité des Fascinations*, p. 18. quoted by Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 15. Frommand relates that the Romans were very much afraid of grasshoppers. He says: "Mantis locustæ genus, quæ in stipulis nascitur, si quod inopexerit animal protinus, illi quippiam prodeest mali.—Hinc Proverbium: Mantis te vidit". They also, simultaneously with the Greek, regarded the wolf with a superstitious fear, as is shown by the following passages quoted from Theocritus, Virgil, and Pliny:

"On phthagzê: lukon eides;

Epaize tis ka sophos epie."

Theocritus, *Idyl.* 14.22.

"Vox quoque Moerim

Iam fugit ipsa; lupi Moerim videre priores."

Virgil, *Eelogue* 9.

"In Italia quoque creditur lporum visus esse noxius; vocemque homini, quem contempletur, adire ad præsens", Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 8.34. The Latin proverb: "Lupus tibi visus est", commonly used when a person becomes suddenly silent, may be traced back to this superstition.

dread of the snake and the scorpion among most nations is too well known to dwell upon.

According to the Zoroastrian conception, the *Khrafstras* or noxious creatures were created by Angra-Mainyu, and their origin is of such a character that it involves sorcery and witchcraft. The *Bundahishn* (3.15.), for instance, relates that Ahriman created and diffused deadly creatures over the earth, such as snakes, scorpions, frogs and lizards, "so that", in the words of West's rendering, "not even as much as the point of a needle was free from them", and the same book states on another occasion (Bd. 18.2.) that the Evil Spirit formed in the ocean a lizard "in order to injure Hom". The *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (37.52.) relates "how the fiend made as leaders noxious creatures of gloomy places for producing stinging and causing injury", and the *Vendidad*, while recounting the creations of Angra-Mainyu, says that he also created the serpent in the river, the locust "that brings death unto cattle and plants", and the ants.¹ According to a different tradition, the *Khrafstras* were the offspring of sorcerers and witches. The *Khvêstûk-das*, which was cited above, relates that when Yima and Yimak married a witch and demon respectively, they gave birth to the bear, ape, Gandarep, Gôsâbar, the tortoise, cat, hawk, frog, weevil and many other noxious creatures².

These creatures were said to be of a wicked disposition and extremely harmful. According to *Vendidad* (17.3.) some of them eat up the corn in the fields and the clothes in the wardrobe; and this statement gives an idea of the nature of these pests. The *Dinkart* (7.5.8.) calls them "the terrors of corn and adversaries of animals". Their existence is so painful to the earth that, according to *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (13.19.), "the fourth discomfort of the earth is from the holes of noxious creatures", and, in the words of the *Dînâ-i Mainôg-i Khirat* (5.8. ; 6.10.) "the land from which the burrows of noxious creatures are extirpated, is happier". The *Bundahishn*, finally, (19.7.) attributes to them vile corruptions of every kind. How much the Zoroastrians feared and abhorred these unclean creatures is demonstrated by the fact that they were said to be used as instruments of punishment in after-life. "Everywhere in

¹ Vd. 1.2.4.6.

E. W. West, *The Meaning of Khvêstûk-das*, SBE. 18.418-419.

hell", says the *Artâ-Virâf Nâmak*, "even the lesser noxious creatures are as high as mountains, and they so tear, seize and worry the souls of the wicked, as would be unworthy of a dog".¹

As a consequence of the deep aversion which the ancient Irauians had for noxious creatures, they tried to destroy them and regarded the killing of *Khrafstras* as an act of religious merit. The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (20.5.), for example, states that in order to perform good works, one must kill noxious creatures. Consequently the extirpation of *Khrafstras* became a commonly accepted means of repenting and atoning for sins and offences. The *Vendîdâd* (14.5.6.) says that he who commits the sin of slaying a water dog, shall atone for it by killing ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly", ten thousand *Kahrpus* (cats?), ten thousand tortoises, ten thousand land-frogs, ten thousand water-frogs, ten thousand corn-carrying ants, ten thousand ants "of the small, venomous, mischievous kind", ten thousand worms and ten thousand raging flies. The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, moreover, advocates the killing of a lizard or scorpion as an act of penance for a sin committed against water,² and it recommends that a menstruous woman, who washes her hands with a liquid other than the urine of a bull, shall destroy two hundred noxious creatures³. The *Sad-dar* (43.1-10.) dwells at length upon the necessity of destroying *Khrafstras* and it tabulates a detailed list showing the respective value attached to the slaying of different noxious creatures. Thus the killing of a frog is equal to the payment of two hundred dirhams, that of a snake or scorpion is equal to the slaying of an apostate; the smiting of a flying ant equals the reciting of prayers for ten days, the killing of a common ant equals the recitation of the *Hôrmuzd Yasht*, and the extirpation of a mouse is an equivalent for the slaying of four lions. In what high esteem the exterminators of *Khrafstras* were held, is described to us by the *Artâ-Virâf Nâmak*. "I saw", says the pious *Virâf*, "the souls of those who killed many noxious creatures in this world, whereby the prosperity of the waters, and sacred fires and trees was increased, and they were exalted and adorned".⁴

¹ AV. 18.12.13. Cf. also AV.19.1-4; 24.1-7; 25.1-6; 28; 29; 32; 34; 37; 45; 47; 56; 69; 71; 73; 81; 86; 89; 90.

² Sls. 8.19.

³ Sls. 3.21.

⁴ AV. 18.11-13.

Mortal man is not the only participant in the eternal struggle against noxious creatures.¹ The *Dînâ-i Mainôg-i Khirat* (62.35.36.) relates that by pouring holy water into the sea the mythical Gopaitoshah killed many noxious creatures, and, according to other testimonies, the stars Tishtrya and Vanant destroyed many *Khrafstras*.² Even beasts were arrayed in this struggle against their fellow-creatures. The *Bândahishn* (19.21-28.) states that certain beasts and birds were created in special opposition to noxious creatures. The white falcon, for example, was against the winged serpent, the mag-pie counteracts the locust, and the hedge-hog destroys corn-carrying ants by voiding urine into their nests.³ "The mere horn of the three-legged ass", says *Bândahishn* (19.7.9.17.) "vanquishes and dissipates the corruption due to the efforts of noxious creatures; and his cry, like that of the ox-fish, makes *Khrafstras* cast their young." According to the *Dînâ-i Mainôg-i Khirat*, furthermore, the Kar-fish struggles with the frog and other noxious creatures, in order to keep them away from the lake *Varchash* (Av. *Vouru-Kasha*).⁴ It was also believed that certain spells were able to extirpate noxious creatures, but they will be treated below as I have reserved a special chapter for the discussion of spells and exorcisms.⁵

6.—MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS.

Besides the above discussed Zoroastrian traditions and customs that are connected in some form or other with the practice of witchcraft, the followers of the prophet of Iran have a number of beliefs which may seem peculiar to those who are not familiar with the principles of folk-lore and origins of primitive faiths. These beliefs, expressed by Mazdayasnism in the form of sacred laws and commandments, are explained to be of a religious character; there can be little doubt, however, that their origin goes back to the superstitious practices of primitive man. The more surely

¹ Dk. 7.5.8, moreover, says that Zaratusht disclosed to mankind the rites of counteracting wolves and other noxious creatures and of confining hail, spiders and locusts

² B.I. 7.5.; Yt. 21.1.; Zsp. 6.4.5.9.14

³ Cf. also Sla. 10.31; 12.20 and Bd. 57.1.

⁴ MKh. 62.80.; Cf. Bd. 18.2-6.

⁵ For further references to noxious creatures see: Ys. 19.1.; 34.5.9.; 35.14.; Vd. 18.11. Bd. 3.9.; 7.18.; 13.16.; 28.1.; Dk. 7.4.60.; DD. 17.18.; 18.3.; SG. 3.21.; 5.79.; 14.17-22. 55.; Sla. 12.9.; 20.13.; Zsp. 2 2.; *Patit-i Irânig* 7.; *Jamâsp Nâmak* 7.9; etc.

is this the case, since some of them are prevalent among races that are neither linguistically nor culturally related to the Iranians.

By far the most interesting of these beliefs is the conviction held by every true believer of Zoroastrianism, that libations and offerings are not to be performed at night-time, and that after sunset no food is to be cast away towards the north without reciting certain prayers. The sacred books of the Parsis contain a number of references to this belief. *Vend'âdâd* 7.79. claims that he who offers up libations in the dead of night, sins against righteousness, and the *Nirangistân* upholds this contention by stating that "he who offers libations to the Good Waters after sunset or before sunrise does no better deed than if he should cast them downright into the jaws of venomous snakes".¹ The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (9.8.; 12.17.18.) warns the faithful not to cast away after sunset to north, wine, aromatic herbs, nor any other food without reciting one *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*, and it forbids the pious even to draw water from a well at night-time or to eat in the dark. The *Sad-dar* (30.1 2.) claims that it is not proper to pour away water at night to the north without reciting the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*.

In justifying these restrictions imposed upon the followers of the Zoroastrian creed, the sacred writings give them a religious coloring, and this is all the more natural in a religion in which the sun and light hold so prominent a place. They explain that demons may benefit by these actions, owing to the fact that their quarters are in the northern regions, where hell is situated,² and that their power is greater at night-time.³ The texts commonly cite the case of Mashyâni, the first woman, who was also the first to pour liquid matter to the north.⁴

If we dispense with this explanation prompted by purely religious tendencies, and look somewhat deeper into the probable origin of this belief, we can hardly fail to see its primitive origin. Apart from the fact that it contains the perfectly common-sense point that something unclean may be drunk, if the water be drawn

¹ Darmesteter, *LeZA.* 3.111, (§. 48).

² Jackson, *On Some Avestan Superstitions*, JAOS, 13.59-61.

³ Vd. 19.1.; Bd. 12.9.; Dk. 9.19.1-2.; Sls. 10.7.; Sd. 30.3.

⁴ Bd. 15.19.

in the dark, it also exemplifies a very old and wide-spread superstition, characteristic of every primitive race — namely, the natural and childlike dread of the dark. This superstition actuated many races, all over the world, to prevent their members from performing certain actions at certain periods of the night, lest they meet with harm. The Aryan Code of Laws, for example, forbids the partaking of food at twilight;¹ and this regulation, similar in character and purpose to the Zoroastrian commandments, vividly suggests the idea that their enactment must have antedated the establishment of Hinduism and Mazdayasnism in these two countries, and must consequently have been prompted by the above-mentioned superstitious belief.

That the Zoroastrian laws of a seemingly religious nature are superstitious or natural in their origin, is further demonstrated by the frequent command, voiced in the sacred writings, to ignite and burn a fire at night in the house that shelters a pregnant woman or a newly-born child. The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (12.4.7.11.12.) recommends the keeping up of a fire or light in the house of a pregnant woman or newly-born child, and even forbids, in the words of West's rendering, "labour of child" at night, except by the reflexion of the stars, moon, or a fire, explaining that the evil spirits, demons and witches, who exercise a greater power in the dark, are kept away by the radiance of a burning light. The same sentiment is expressed by the *Dînkart* (8.38.6.) and the *Sad-dar* (16.1-4.); and in order to enforce the observance of this law the sacred books state that when Dûktaub, the mother of the prophet, became pregnant, one hundred and fifty demons tried each night to enter her house intent upon injuring her and her embryo, but were always kept away by the light and fire maintained in that house.

This anxiety of the Iranian law-makers to keep a continual fire in the house of a pregnant woman or a newly-born child,² was actuated by the knowledge gained from the experience of their more savage ancestors, that at night-time the fire was a good substitute for the broad daylight. Every man, no matter how primitive he may be, knows very well that light and fire are terrifying and abhorrent to many animals and wild beasts. If we add to this the

¹ Manu 4.55.

² See above, p. 410.

universally established fact that all evil spirits of a deadly nature are assigned by primitive man the shape of beasts or monsters, we will see at once that the Ahuramazdian law of protecting pregnant women and their young offspring against the machinations of ill-natured beings by means of fire, is another trace of the savage, pre-Zoroastrian beliefs.

Another remnant of the primitive faith, probably found by Mazdayasnism in ancient Iran and adopted in its religious system, is the holiness accorded to certain animals. As an illustration of this, we may note that Zoroastrianism holds the cock¹ in sacred veneration. The *Vendîdâd* (18.15.) calls him the bird of Sraosha, and says that he lifts his voice against the mighty dawn. According to *Bûdahishn* (19.33.) he was created in opposition to demons and wizards, warning men against the seduction of the demoness of lethargy. His crowing is said to protect the house from wizards and witches, and consequently the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (10.30.) and the *Sad-dar* (32.1-5.) forbid the killing of a cock "that crows unseasonably", and even "the slaying of a crowing hen".

By forbidding the slaying of a crowing hen Zoroastrianism strikes at a very wide-spread superstition, according to which the crowing of a female fowl, or rather the attempt at it, is a foreboding of ill luck to the owner. Consequently a hen that crows, is quickly killed, the idea being that taking her life will avert the impending danger.² On the other hand, Mazdayasnism upholds the ancient belief in the sacredness of the cock prevalent among many ancient and modern races. It is a peculiarity of the mind of primitive man, easy to explain, to worship certain animals (or trees) above others, and to elevate them to the position of gods. This high veneration has two sources. Either primitive man, as is in the case of many savage races, dreads the animal exceedingly, and, in order to propitiate it, accords to it great esteem by choosing it

¹ — "he who sees first." Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* col. 859. See also Jackson, *On Some Avestan Superstitions*, JAOB, 18.59-61 and J. J. Modi, *The Cock as a Sacred Bird in Ancient Iran*.

² A certain traveller relates the following interesting story. "On entering a farm-house in Somersetshire recently, I saw on the table a beautiful, plump fowl, all picked and trussed ready for cooking; the farmer's wife explained to me that her husband on seeing the hen in the yard in the act of crowing, caught her at once and killed her without delay."—Wellington, *Weekly News*, June 13.1869, quoted by Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 95f.

as his totem or worshipping it as sacred, like Moses' Serpents ; or else he appreciates its good qualities and services, and accords it excellent honors, as in the case of Apis among the Egyptians, or the goose among the Romans.

Among the ancients the cock was regarded as a sacred animal, being especially consecrated to Sun-deities like Osiris, Serapis, Jupiter and Apollo. Among the Romans he was also the symbol of Mercury, denoting vigilance. They also believed that the lion is terrified on seeing the crest or hearing the crowing of a cock.¹ In the Middle Ages, and even to-day, the cock was regarded as a watchful guardian, who drives away the fiercest beasts and even ghosts,² and it soon became a very appropriate symbol on Amulets like the *Cimaruta*³ and *Mano Pantea*.⁴ Many races of to-day believe that the cock's eye is very powerful as an amulet, and that all demons with lions' heads vanish instantly, when the cock or his image is presented to them.⁵ Even Christianity recognizes the universal belief in the singular power of the cock. Many churches still have a so-called weather-cock on their highest tower, and although the explanations offered to-day for this peculiar custom differ widely, it is highly probable that they were originally placed there with the intention of keeping away malicious creatures from the sacred buildings.

That the ancient Iranians, as other primitive races, held certain animals in sacred veneration, is further demonstrated by a number of passages in the Zoroastrian scriptures which bear on this subject. The *Vendidad*, for example, accords great reverence to the four kinds of dogs — the house-dog, the shepherd-dog, the hunting-dog, and the so-called *Vohunazga* or blood-dog — and it imposes heavy penalties for the slaying of these animals.⁶ The *Bândahishn*

¹ "Atque hoc tale, tam sacrum animal, rotarum orbes circumacti, currasque inanes et gullinaceorum cristas, cantusque etiam magis terrent, sed maxime ignes".—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 8.19.

² *Handet* 1.1, 147.

³ The *Cimaruta* or more properly the *Cima di ruta*, "sprig of rue," is an amulet used to-day in Naples for the protection against the fascination of mothers and new-born infants. It usually consists of a crescent, a hand, a key, a serpent, a fish, a lotus and a cock.—Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 844-855.

⁴ The *Mano Pantea* is an ancient Roman amulet of the same character and purpose as the *Cimaruta*.—Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 343.

⁵ Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 354.

⁶ Vd. 13.1-82. ; Cf. also AV. 48. ; Sd. 33.1-8. and above p. 430.

(19.35.) says of the dog, that "his barking destroys pain and his flesh and fat are good remedies against pain and decay". The *vanghâpara* (the hedge-hog ?) too was regarded as a sacred animal. The *Vendîdâd* (13.3.) states that he who kills a *vanghâpara* slays his own soul for nine generations, and cannot find a way over the Chinvat bridge of judgment hereafter, unless he has atoned, while alive, for this sin ; and the *Bûdahishn* (19.28.), the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (10.31. ; 12.20.), and the *Sad-dar* (67.1.) forbid the slaying of this animal "because he is very beneficent to the creation of Ahura Mazda by destroying the corn-carrying ants."

Another sacred animal was the raven. The following quotation from Yasht 14. 34ff., in Darmesteter's rendering, will at once convince us of this fact : "Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda : If I have a curse thrown upon me, a spell told upon me by the many men who hate me, what is the remedy for it ? Ahura Mazda answered : Take thou a feather of that bird (the raven) and with that feather thou shalt rub thy own body, with that feather thou shalt curse back thy own enemies..... If a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird, no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man. The feather of that bird of birds brings him help ; it brings unto him the homage of men, it maintains in him his glory. All tremble before him who holds the feather ..."etc.

Sacredness was also accorded to the legendary three-legged ass,¹ "whose cry", according to *Bûdahishn* 19.19., "makes all female water-creatures of Ahura Mazda pregnant, and whose bray makes all pregnant noxious creatures cast their young". The same effective quality is attributed to the cry of an ox and (Kar-) fish. The cries of these two animals, as well as the voice of a righteous man who was struck accidentally, according to *Bûdahishn* 28.41., keep away the evil spirit.

There are a few traditions among the Zoroastrians which the present writer is at a loss to explain from any other stand-point than that taken by the holy scriptures themselves. One of them is the importance attached to the cutting of a tooth-pick without

¹ Bd. 19.17. For other sacred animals see the rest of Bd. 19.

retaining the bark.¹ The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (10.20. ; 12. 13.) says that " a tooth-pick is to be cut out clear of bark, because when a pregnant woman puts her foot on it, she is apprehensive about its being dead matter", and the *Sad-dar* (17.1-2.) amplifies this passage by making the following statement : "When they cut a tooth-pick, they should not retain the bark ; for if a small piece of bark cast away after having been applied to the teeth, is tread upon by a pregnant woman, the child in her womb might come to harm." All that the student of primitive culture can gather from these two passages, apart from the natural conclusion that bark would be annoying in a tooth-pick, is the dimly conveyed idea, that the bark of a tree, after having been once applied to the teeth, becomes a means of contamination. Why the bark only assumes such a negative quality, and why pregnant women alone ought to avoid stepping on such matter, is not evident. I know of no other custom resembling in the least this Zoroastrian injunction, and am inclined to believe that this peculiar usage goes back to some primitive Iranian custom not understood, and consequently misinterpreted by Mazdayasnism.

Another curious ordinance in the Zoroastrian religious system is the injunction imposed upon every true believer not to void water or evacuate fæces while standing or walking. The *Vendidad* attaches great importance to this law. In discussing this subject (Vd. 18.40.41. ; Phl. Vd. 18.98.) it puts the following words into the mouth of the Druj : " He is the second of my males, who making water lets it fall along the upper forepart of his foot. That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed." As a remedy against this danger, the same passage further on (Vd. 18.43.) enjoins that "the offender shall rise, and stepping forth three paces further off shall say three *Ahûna-vairyas*, two *Humatanâm*, three *Hukhshathrôtemâm*, then chant the *Ahûna-vairya*, and finally offer up one *Yeshê Hâtâm*." The *Dinkart* (9.19.1.) similarly forbids the voiding of urine while standing and the *Dînû-î Maînôg-î Khirat* (2.39.) warns the faithful that "by this action the demons will drag him to hell." The *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (10.5.) and the *Sad-dar* (56. 1.) mention the same

¹ Cf. the following passage from Strabo 15.3.14. : "The Persians sacrifice differently to fire and to water. To fire by putting on it dry logs without the bark."

restriction, and *Artâ-Vîrâf Nâmak* (25.1-6.) says that "those who walk without shoes, run about uncovered, make water on the foot, and perform other demon-service, are gnawed in after-life by noxious creatures.

This restraint is commonly explained to have been prompted by a desire to avoid polluting a larger space of ground than was absolutely necessary,¹ and is consequently one of the many laws proving the Zoroastrian conception of the holiness of Mother Earth. The same custom was practised among the Indian Aryans who were forbidden by the Code of Manu (4.47.) "to void fæces and urine while walking or standing." Although the earth, as the producer, was looked upon as sacred by quite a number of other races, notably the ancient Greeks and the South African Zulus, none of them practised a custom similar to that of the Indo-Iranians, who therefore seem to hold a unique position in this respect.

An additional odd restriction imposed upon the Parsis is the prohibition of "walking with one boot" or "walking barefoot."² The *Bândahishn* (28.13.), for instance, calls the walking in one boot a sin, whereby the demon *Taprêv* is propitiated;³ and the *Dînâ-i Maînôg-i Khirat* (2.35-37.) claims that "it is possible to maintain prosperity of the body without injury to the soul by not walking with one boot." In the same manner, the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (4.12; 10.12.) states that walking without boots constitutes a *Tanâpûhar* sin, which ought to be avoided "because the boot prevents a person who had stepped on dead matter from becoming polluted". The *Sad-dar* (44.1-2.) also forbids putting the foot bare upon the ground, "because injury might happen to the angel *Spendarmad* (the personification of the earth)". This custom, although its meaning is not very clear, seems to have the same object in view as the preceding one — the desire, sacred to every Zoroastrian, to keep the earth uncontaminated and pure. It also had an important hygienic aspect, as plague in India (and doubtless also in Iran) is so frequently transferred through the bare foot.

¹ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 34.12.n.1, ; 37.207.n.2.

² Some Pahlavi commentators, notably Dastur Hoshangji, translate the passage referring to this practice as "walking without boots." They claim that the Pahlavi word *ae-muk*, "one boot," is a mistake for *arimuk*, "without boots." See E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 5.288.n.5.

³ Cf. also Dk. 9.9.1,

Superstitious in origin is also the sacred tradition, adhered to by every believer of Mazdayasnism, of wearing the sacred girdle and the shirt, the visible tokens of one's allegiance to the teachings of Zarathushtra. The sacred girdle, *Kusti*, is a hollow cylindrical string, the warp of which consists of 72 threads and the weft of one unbroken thread, and it should encircle the body three times. The shirt, *Sudrah* or *Sadarâ*, is a muslin tunic with short sleeves that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt, the so-called *giribân* or *kissâi karfa*, "the pocket for good deeds".¹ According to tradition, any one who transgresses the law of wearing these two garments, commits a sin known as the sin of *vishûd-dûhârishnih*, "the walking about uncovered". The *Vendidad*, for example, states that the man (or woman) of more than fifteen years of age, who walks without the sacred girdle or shirt, is the fourth male to make the Druj pregnant, committing thereby a sin "for which there is no means of undoing it",² and the same work states on another occasion that "he who for three springs does not wear the sacred girdle brings in the power of death".³ The *Dînû-i Maînôg-i Khirat* (2. 35.) warns the faithful not to commit the sin of running about uncovered, and the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (4. 10. ; 10. 13.) says that running about uncovered constitutes a *Farmân* or *Tanâpûhar* crime. The *Sud-dar* (10. ; 46. 1.) claims that "it is incumbent on all those of the good religion, men or women, who have attained to fifteen years, to wear the sacred thread-girdle", and that "those who do this are out of the department of Ahriman and in the department of Hôrmuzd". The *Dînkart* (9. 9. 1.) says that by walking about ungirdled one propitiates the demons *Andar* and *Sôvar* (who according to *Bûndahishn* 28. 29. oppose the wearing of the *Kusti* and *Sudrah*); and the *Dâtistân-i Dênig* devotes an entire chapter (39.) to the explanation of the necessity of wearing these two garments. The *Sudrah* and *Kusti* are explained by Dastur Jamaspji Asana⁴ as designed to protect the body and to benefit the soul of the person who wears them, and by

¹ Dastur J. M. Jamaspji Asana, *The Navjot Ceremony*. Bombay, 1887. Cf. also Darmesteter *LeZA*, 2.348.n.18.

² Vd. 18.54,57. ; Phl. Vd. 18.115.

³ Vd. 18.9. ; Phl. Vd. 5.167. ; 7.48.

⁴ *The Navjot Ceremony*, p. 5.

the *Sad-dar* (10.) to make him a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zoroastrian world.

One cannot help comparing the Zoroastrian sacred girdle and shirt in certain respects with the "Four-cornered garment," and the "Prayer shawl" of the Hebrews. The "Four-cornered garment", *Arba 'Kanfot*, is a rectangular piece of cloth with an aperture sufficient to let it slip over the head, so that a part of it falls in front and a part behind the body. To its four corners there are attached fringes (*zizit*), consisting of four threads of white wool, and four threads of blue wool. It is worn to-day as an under-garment and in the Mediæval Ages it was looked upon as some kind of badge whereby the Jew was recognized and distinguished from the Gentile. In some countries, notably in Russia, it is believed that this garment averts the evil eye.¹ The second of these vestments just mentioned is the "Prayer shawl", or *Tallit*. It is likewise a mantle with fringes on the four corners, but it is worn over the garments. It is used by men after they are married, and, in modern times, it is donned by boys after their confirmation. The Cabbalists considered this mantle as a special garment for the service of God intended to inspire awe and reverence for God during the prayers.² In our own days, many an orthodox Jew, when questioned about the reason for wearing the *Tallit* and *Arba 'Kanfot*, will unhesitatingly answer that they are worn as a protection against *Shedim*, "ill-disposed demons", voicing thereby unconsciously the probable reason for adding the fringes to these garments. It is a known fact, dealt with extensively by Otto Jahn, that coloured threads play an important part in the belief in sorcery. Who is not familiar with the universal device of mothers tying threads of different colors around the fingers, wrists or necks of infants in order to protect them against the power of fascination? May we not regard the Zoroastrian *Kusti*, the girdle consisting of many threads, as another example of the Iranian superstitious belief in fascination, even though the girdle is made of white threads only?

The last of the Zoroastrian peculiar beliefs which I wish to

¹ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2.75. New York, 1902.

² *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11.678.

³ *Über den Aberglauben des Bösen Blicks bei den Alten*, p. 42. in *Ber. d. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Classe*. Leipzig, 1856.

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mention is that associated with the sin usually called *drâyân-gâyishnâh*, or "the eagerness for chattering", and which is committed by talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a murmured prayer has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out. The sinful part arises from breaking the spell of the inward prayer (*vâj*).¹ There are many passages referring to this transgression. The *Dinkart* (9.9.2.; 9.19.1.; 8.43.37.), for example, says that "he who eats or drinks chattering, commits a sin toward Khârdad and Amârdad and delights the demons by making them pregnant." The *Dînâ-i Mainôg-i Khîrat* (2.33.34.) advises not "to indulge in unseasonable chatter, so that no serious harm may happen unto the arch-angels Horvadâd and Amerodâd"; and the *Dâtistân-i Dênig* (79.8.) calls "the chattering meal a very grievous sin".² Finally the *Artâ-Vîrâf Nâmak* (23.) states that he who devours talkatively will always be hungry and thirsty in the world hereafter, and that he will constantly tear his own hair and beard, devour blood, and cast foam from his mouth.

This Zoroastrian law against talking while eating or drinking is obviously of a purely sanitary origin and substantiates the statement made in one of the previous chapters, that Mazdayasnism gave as much attention to the bodily welfare as to the spiritual well-being of its followers.³ The mere fact that a transgression of this law meant some injury to Horvadâd (A.v. *haurvatât*, the personification of Health) shows it to have been prompted by a desire to prevent the possibility of some physical danger, incurred by persons who talk while eating or drinking. It may be interesting to note that the same custom is observed by the East-European Jews, who regard talking while eating fish, for example, as a semi-religious sin. On the other hand, the law against talking while praying, is of a religious character and is universally observed. The Jews, for example, are strictly forbidden to chatter before and after certain prayers during their long religious services.

The above discussed Zoroastrian beliefs and customs prove distinctly that Mazdayasnism, as the other great religions, was subject to the universal necessity of respecting and reckoning with

¹ E.W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 24.11.n.1.

² Cf. also *Sta.* 4.9.; 5.

³ See above p. 421.

primitive beliefs. Just as Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism did not find it expedient to destroy utterly some of the savage practices and superstitions of the aboriginal Kanaanites, Romans, Teutons and Arabs respectively, so also Zoroastrianism had to yield to many primitive Indo-Iranian beliefs, only modifying and adopting them to the high spiritual standard of its religious conceptions.

7. SPELLS AND EXORCISMS.

The belief in the power of magic awakened everywhere a desire to counteract and diminish its injurious effects. The desire, common to all races and ages, soon culminated in an intricate system of protective arts, which may be divided into two distinct classes : first, the written formulas of many sorts ; and second, the spoken words or actions, all tending to the same end. Of the first kind, known as written formulas, the Zoroastrian literature gives no evidence whatsoever ; the second group, however, is well represented and very often alluded to. Besides the general statement of the *Dinkart* (8.42.1.) that the Varistan section of the *Sakâdâm Nask* contained "particulars about bringing remedies to a person who had been rendered sickly by a wizard", there are other references showing the existence of spells and charms and other protective means among the ancient Iranians. According to the Pâzand treatise *Jâmâspi*, for example, the hero Faredun learned from God certain charms, mystic formulas, remedies, etc.¹ With this passage we may compare the following reference in *Vendidad* 20.3.: "Thrita asked and obtained from Khshathra Vairya remedies to withstand the diseases, rottenness and infection, which Angra-Mainyu had created against the bodies of mortals." According to the canonical texts, Zarathushtra himself is said to have been familiar with remedies against sorcery and witchcraft. *Dinkart* 7.5.8.9., for instance, states that he disclosed to mankind the rites "of driving out pestilence, overpowering the demon and witch, of disabling sorcery and witchcraft and curing diseases, of counteracting wolves and other noxious creatures, of liberating rain and of confining hail, spiders, locusts and other terrors of corn and plants, and adversaries of animals."

¹ J. J. Modi, *Jâmâspi* 4.114.

Of the many spells believed by the Zoroastrians to counteract magic, the most powerful are unquestionably the Airyaman Prayer (*Airyama Ishyô*), the fifty-fourth *Hâ* of the Yasna, and the Asha-Vahishta. The Ardibehsht Yasht (Yt. 3.) calls the *Airyama Ishyô* "the greatest, the best of spells, the very best of spells; the fairest of spells, the very fairest of spells; the fearful one among spells, the most fearful of all spells; the firm one amongst spells, the firmest of all spells; the victorious amongst spells, the most victorious of all spells; the healing one amongst spells, the best healing of all spells", and it says of the Asha-Vahishta and the Airyaman Prayer that they "smite down the strength of all the creatures of Angra-Mainyu, of the Yâtus and Pairikâs, of the brood of the Snake, of the brood of the Wolf, and of the brood of the Two-legged. They smite Pride, Scorn, Hot-Fever, Slander, Discord and the evil eye. They smite the most lying words of Falsehood, they smite the Jahi, addicted to Yâtu and others".¹ The Ashi Yasht (Yt. 17.20.), in speaking of the Asha-Vahishta, says that it burns Angra-Mainyu as if it were melting brass, and Yasna 61.1-3. states that the Asha-Vahishta (and the *Yenghê Hâtâm*) smite the fiends, the Kahvaredhas and Kahwardhis, the Kayadhas and the Kayadhis, the Zandas and Yâtus. So much for the power of these texts as spells.

Another efficacious formula is the Ahunavar (Ahuna-Vairya prayer, the Ahunaver or Honovar), which is the most sacred formula of the Mazda-worshippers.² As is well known, it consists of twenty-one words, forming three metrical lines of sixteen syllables, and begins with the words *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*. The Srôsh Yasht Hâdokht (Yt. 11.3.) speaks of the Ahuna Vairya as "the best fiend-smiter among all spells". Vendidad 9.27. terms its composition "the victorious, most healing words" and the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (19.14.) says that it is "greater and more powerful than everything in the Avesta as to rivers, wholesomeness and protection". Its origin is divine, for Yasna 19.3. relates that Ahura Mazda was the first one to recite the Ahuna Vairya "before the sky, waters, land, cattle, plants and fire, before the Holy man and Daêvas", pronouncing it as the best spell and

¹ Yt. 3.5 ff. 13 ff.; Cf. also Vd. 20.9 13.; 21.18 ff.; 22.20 ff.

² E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 24.65. n.3.

causing it to have its effects.¹ Both the *Bûndahishn* (1.21.22) and the *Selections of Zât-spâram* (1.20.) relate that when Ahuramazd recited this prayer "the Evil Spirit became confounded and fell back to gloomy darkness". Angra-Mainyu himself is reported to have complained that Zarathushtra smites him with the Ahuna Vairya "as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house"², and the *Dînkart* mentions other fiends that were destroyed by a mere recitation of this formula. The statement of *Dînkart* 7.4.38. is that when Zarathushtra chanted the Ahunavar, "the demon Bûd, the secret moving pestilence, and the Deceiver were confounded and rushed away", and it states on another occasion (Dk. 7.4.61.) that the Ahunavar, when uttered aloud by the prophet, annihilated the fiend and caused Cêshmâk, the Karap, to rush away. In the words of Yasna 61.1-3., the Ahuna Vairya was a good spell against the Kahvaredhas and Kayadhas, Zandas and Yâtus.³

There are many other beliefs associated with the idea of the protective power of the Ahuna-Vairya. According to the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (19.9.), for instance, nine *Yathâ-ahu-vairyô*s recited by the ploughman while sowing corn, diminish the mischief of the noxious creatures, while the *Dînkart* (7.1.12.) claims that two Ahunavars are sufficient to keep away from the corn the demons and fiends. Reciting the *Ahu-vairyô* while casting away towards north, wine and food after sunset prevents the demons from benefiting by this action,⁴ as they otherwise would according to the superstition discussed above, and in the words of *Vendîdâd* 17.6.7. the uttering of a certain number of Ahuna Vairyas in connection with another formula⁵ while putting the hair-cuttings or nail-parings into a hole, prevents the demons from using these parings as a weapon against the bird Ashô-zushta.⁶ Lastly, "five *Yathâ-âhû vairyô*s", says the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* (19.5.), "are used in order to expel a fiend".

The third of the powerful Zoroastrian spells is the uttering of the many names of Ahura Mazda. Yasht 1.1-4., relates that one day Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda thus: "What of the Holy Word, O Ahura, is the strongest? What is the most victorious?

¹ Ys. 19.15.

² Yt. 17.20.; Cf. Vd. 19.9.

³ See also above p. 416.

⁴ Sd. 80.1,2.; Sls. 9.8.; 10.7.; 12.18.; Dk. 9.19.1-2. See also p. 432 above.

⁵ See below p. 447.

⁶ See also Sls. 12.6.

What is the most glorious? What is the most effective? What is the most fiend-smiting? What is the most healing? What destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men? What maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes? What freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart?" Whereupon Ahura Ma da is reported to have answered: "Our name, O Spitama Zarathushtra, who are the names of the Amesha Spentas, that is the strongest part of the Holy Word." And a little later, the same Yasht (Yt. 1.10-11.; 17.20.) makes Ahura Mazda say: "If you want to withstand the malice of the Yâtus and Pairikâs, Kavis and Karpans, of the two-legged ruffians and of the two-legged Ashemaoghas, of the four-legged wolves and of the hordes with wide fronts and many spears, then recite these my names every day and night."

The names of the Amesha Spentas are likewise considered to serve as a protective medium against the power of witchcraft. The *Khordâd Yasht* (Yt. 4.7.) distinctly says that the names of the Amesha Spentas smite men turned to *Nasus* by the *Drujas*, and the seed and kin of the Karpans, and it seriously warns the believer not to disclose this spell to anyone who is not a member of the immediate family. Of the six Amesha Spentas, the name of *Haurvatât*, in particular, is regarded as an especially good spell. According to Yasht 4.2. "he who against the thousands of thousands of Daêvas, against the ten thousands of ten thousands, against their numberless myriads, invokes the name of Haurvatât, he will smite the Nasu and the demon Hasi, Basi, Saêni and Bugi." The same potent quality is attributed to the *Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht*, for it is said that he who pronounces the praise of Sraosha, becomes exempt from the injury that emanates from the evil eye of the fiend, and is able to withstand the malice of the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas, the Yâtus and Pairikâs.¹

In many instances, the Mazdayasnian religion itself is considered the most powerful means of protection and exorcism, and is regarded as all-sufficient to counteract magical influences that might harm its follower. The *Dinkart*, for example, relates that the witchcraft of Dahâk was dissipated and disabled by the triumphant words of the religion which Zaratusht proclaimed,² and the

¹ Yt. 11.4.6.

² Dk. 7.4.72.; See also ZN, 719.

Selections of Zât-spāram (I.4.) narrate that when Aharman, accompanied by other demons, came forth to the struggle with Ahura-mazd at the beginning of the world, the Creator cast the arch-enemy back to gloom "through pure words confounding witchcraft". Lastly, the *Dînâ-i Mainôg-i Khirat* (57.27-29.) tells that Zaratusht spoke once to Aharman: "I will shatter and cause to run and make down-cast for thee the bodies of thy demons and fiends, wizards and witches, through the Hôrn and sacred twigs and the true good religion", and it adds that at these words the fiend became confounded and rushed to hell.

A spell peculiarly fit for driving away diseases and infections is the *Mântrâ-Spenta*. The *Ardibehsht Yasht* (Yt. 3.6.) while enumerating the different modes of healing diseases, says that "among all remedies this one is the most healing one, that heals with the Holy Word, this one it is that will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful, for this one is the most healing of all remedies",¹ and *Vendidad* 7.44. gives the following advice to the true believer: "Let one select as a healer the one who heals with the Holy Word; for he who heals with the Holy Word is the best healer; he drives away worst sickness from the body of the faithful". Another spell or means for driving away the demon of disease, according to *Vendidad* 20.7., is the prayer contained in the twentieth Fargard, beginning with the words: *yâskēm thwām paiti-sanghâmi, mahrkēm thwām paiti-sanghâmi, dâzu thwām paiti-sanghâmi*. (To thee, sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, death, I say avaunt! to thee, pain, I say avaunt! etc.)

Besides the above-quoted spells, the Zoroastrians have a number of other mystic formulas which they utter on different occasions for the purpose of staving off the supposed injurious effects of witchcraft and other magical arts. It is related, for example, that when Zarathushtra asked the Creator by what means the faithful is able "to part and turn from the way of the wicked" he received the following answer:—"It is when a man pronouncing my spell, either reading or reciting it by heart, draws three furrows and hides there himself by saying: 'I will smite thee, O Druj, whosoever thou art, whosoever thou art amongst the Drujas, that come in an open way, by hidden

¹ See also Yt. 11.3.

ways, that defile by contact ! Whatsoever Druj thou art, I smite thee away from the Aryan countries ! Whatsoever Druj thou art, I bind thee, I smite thee down, O Druj, I throw thee down below, O Druj !"¹ Kindred protective spells of the same type are the two formulas recited by every Zoroastrian while casting away his nail-parings and hair-cuttings. Both formulas are quoted by *Vendîdâd* 17.7ff. and, as translated by Darmesteter, mean : "For him as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow" (recited while throwing away the hair-cuttings), and "the things that the pure proclaim through Asha and Vohumano" (uttered while casting away the nail-parings)². The *Nîrang-i Kusti*, the Kusti formula, is likewise regarded as a powerful spell against the mischief of the Evil-Spirit, for, according to the *Bândahishn* (30.30.), "the resources of the Evil-Spirit and Az, defeated by the Kusti spell, act most impotently and they rush back into gloom and darkness." This formula recited by the faithful in Pâzand, every time they put on the sacred girdle, is quoted by E. W. West, who gives the following rendering of it : "May Ahurmazd be Lord, and Aharman unprevailing, keeping far away, smitten and defeated. May Aharman, the demons and the fiends, the wizards and witches, the Kigs and Karaps be smitten and defeated".³ Another spell which drives away the fiends, is the formula *nâmascâ yâ Ârmaitish izhâchâ* contained in *Vendîdâd* 9.12-13. The same is recited during the ceremonies accompanying the purification of a faithful, and is so effective that in the words of the *Vendîdâd*, "the Druj becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are a weapon to smite the fiend Angra-Mainyu, to smite Aeshma of the murderous spear, to smite the Mâzainya fiends, and to smite all the fiends." A similar efficiency is attributed to the mere uttering of the phrase "In the name of God". The *Bândahishn* (28.35.), as stated above, describes Astôvidhâd, the demon of the evil eye, as the fiend who spoils anything that men see "when they do not say 'in the name of God'" and the *Sad-dar* (15.1-2.) assures us that "saying 'in the name of God' when one sees anything that is pleasant to his eyes, prevents that thing from meeting with injury". Finally, the last spell resorted to by the Zoroastrians as

¹ Yt. 4.5-6.

² See also above p. 425ff.

³ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE, 18,384.

a shield against magical influences is the so-called *Nirang-ê Kharfatar zadan*, "an incantation for the destruction of vermin", quoted by Dastur Hoshangji and translated by Martin Haug.¹

In the preceding pages, the author has dealt only with such exorcisms as are exemplified by means of magical formulas uttered whenever the occasion arose. Besides these spoken spells, however, there are a number of protective means employed by the Zoroastrians, which involve an action on the part of the abjurer. These charms consist mostly of sacrifices and libations offered to the different angels. The *Râm Yasht* (Yt. 15.56.), for example, states that if any one worships Vaya with a sacrifice, "to him neither Yâtus nor Pairikâs can do any harm." Another Yasht (Yt. 8.44.) claims that "he who offers to Tishtrya, him neither Angra-Mainyu nor the Yâtus and the Pairikâs can deliver unto death", and *Vendidâd* 8.80. asserts that "when a man piously brings unto the fire sweet-smelling wood, wheresoever the wind brings the perfume of the fire, thereunto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, shall go and kill thousands of Daevas and fiends, and couples of Yâtus and Pairikâs." In the same manner, sacrifices to Aredvi Sûra Anâhita, to Verethragna, Mithra and to the Fravashis are believed to enable the performer to withstand Yâtus and Pairikâs, Kavis and Karpans.² According to Yasna 16.8.; 68.8, milk-offerings and libations "defeat and arrest the Pairikâ and the malice of Ashemaoga", and lastly, a sacrifice to Vanant, according to Yt. 20.1., is a sure safeguard against the noxious creatures of the most abominable Angra-Mainyu.

An "acted" charm of the same type as the sacrifices and offerings, is the *Khvêtûk-das*, the law of Next-of-kin-Marriage, regarded by the Zoroastrians as a powerful spell against demons and witches. The Pahlavi canon dealing with this custom calls it "the preservation of the most grievous sin, such as witchcraft", and gives the following elaborate estimation of the relative value of this observance: "If one perform the Khvêtûk-das for the first time, a thousand demons and two thousand wizards and witches will die; if the person observes it twice, then two thousand demons and four thousand wizards and witches will perish; if this rite be

¹ Hoshangji and Haug, *An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, pp. 23-24,

² Yt. 5.13.; 10.26.; 13.104, 135.; 14.45.

performed for the third time, then three thousand demons and six thousand wizards and witches will die, and if it be observed for the fourth time, then the man and the woman, performing it, will become righteous".¹

There is still a third class of protective means that serve as charms or safeguards. These are neither spoken spells, nor do they involve any action on the part of the abjurer. They are mostly superstitious beliefs in the efficacy of certain objects as charms against witchcraft and diseases. The Parsi, for instance, believes with the *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast* (10.30.) and the *Sad-dar* (32.1-5.) that the crowing of a cock, both male and female, will keep away wizards from his dwelling place.² He believes likewise that the barking of a dog destroys pain, and regards the flesh and fat of this animal as remedies for driving away decay and diseases from men.³ In his opinion, the urine of a *vanghâpara* kills innumerable ants,⁴ and the cries of the three-legged ass and of the Kar-fish, as already noticed (Bd. 19. 9. 17. ; 28.41.) have a peculiar effect upon demons and noxious creatures. A very powerful exorcism of a similar type, according to Yasht 14.34-35., is the feather of the raven. We are told that when Zarathushtra asked for a remedy against the curses and spells of the many men who hate him, the Creator replied : " Take thou a feather of the Varengana bird and with that feather thou shalt rub thy own body and curse back thy enemies", and Yasht 14.45.46. states that " whosoever, preparing for battle, invokes the name of Verethraghna and throws four feathers of the raven either way, on his side victory will be, because this is a powerful, victorious, awful and healing spell; this spell saves the head that was lost, and chants away the uplifted weapon." The conviction held by every Mazdayasnian that fire wards off danger at night from pregnant women and newly-born children,⁵ has been previously discussed. Mention was also made of the belief voiced in the *Dînâ-i Maînôg-i Khirat* (62.35.36.) that holy water kills noxious creatures. As the last of these Zoroastrian exorcisms, we may regard the Glory or Destiny, so often alluded to in the *Dinkart* as a means of slaying demons, wizards and mons-

¹ E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 18.417-418.

² See above p. 434.

Bd. 19.35.

⁴ Sls. 10.51. ; 12.20. Sd. 57.1.

⁵ Dk. 8.33, 8. ; Sls. 12.11, 12. ; Sd. 16.1-4. ; Cf. also p. 410.

ters. "When the Destiny came to Tâkhmôrûp, the well armed", says the Pahlavi canon, "he smote through it the demon, the wizard, and the witch".¹ According to *Dînkart* 7.1.39., Kai-Khûsroi vanquished through it Frangrâsiyâk of Târ and his fellow-miscreation, Kêrsêvazad of Vakgir, and lastly we know from the same source (Dk.7.1.32) that Kerôsâspa was enabled by the Glory to successfully combat the serpent Srôbâr, the golden-heeled demon Gandarep, and other demoniacal monsters.²

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I wish to sum up briefly the main results which appear to have been reached in the course of our discussion on witchcraft and other primitive beliefs among the ancient Zoroastrians.

Sorcery seems to have been practised by some of the inhabitants of Iran, although we are not wholly clear as to the conception of what constituted the crime of witchcraft. The sacred books held it in extreme abhorrence and they inflicted horrible punishments upon those who were accused of this practice. The aversion to the belief in wizards and witches seemed to play an important part in the religious and even social life of the Zoroastrians.

Among the other primitive beliefs recognized by the Zoroastrians was a belief in the evil-eye, the good-eye, and in the custom of burying the nail-parings and hair-cuttings, and in a tendency, shared by the other races, to abhor or to esteem certain animals. They furthermore accorded a special sacredness to the Earth, they dreaded the dark of the night, and they believed, like so many other races, in the efficacy of spells and exorcisms.

All these primitive customs, however, were pre-Zoroastrian, and were practised long before the appearance of the great reformer and the establishment of Mazdayasnism as the state religion of Iran. It may be safely said that if Zoroastrianism was unable wholly to eradicate these superstitions and customs from the minds of the Iranians, it at least modified them and gave them a religious character.

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¹ Dk. 7.1.19.

² Cf. also E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, SBE. 18.371 ff.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Air. Wb.	= Altiranisches Wörterbuch.
Aog.	= Aogemadaêchâ.
Av.	= Avestan.
AV.	= Artâ-Vîrâf Nâmak.
Bd.	= Bûndahishn.
Cf.	= Compare.
DD.	= Dâtistân-i Dêvîg
Dk.	= Dînkart.
ed.	= edited, edition.
JAOS.	= Journal of the American Oriental Society.
LeZA.	= Le Zend-Avesta.
MKh.	= Dînâ-i Maînôg-i Khirat.
Phl.	= Pahlavi.
SBE.	= Sacred Books of the East.
Sd.	= Sad-dar.
SG.	= Shikand-Gûmânîk Vîjâr.
Sir.	= Sirôzah.
Slk.	= Shâyast lâ-shâyast.
Trans.	= translated.
Vd.	= Vendidad.
WZKM.	= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
YF.	= Yôsht-i Fryânô.
Ya.	= Yasna.
Yt.	= Yasht.
YZ.	= Yâtkâr-i Zarîrân.
ZN.	= Zartusht Nâmah.
Zsp.	= Selections of Zât-sparam.

ALLEGED ZOROASTRIAN OPHIOMANCY AND ITS POSSIBLE ORIGIN.

One of the most curious superficial phenomena of the Zoroastrian faith is its intense horror of the serpent, a fact too well known to need demonstration or proof; yet side by side with this aversion there is found clear evidence of an elaborate system of divination from snakes. In 1893 Shams-ul-Ulma Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Modi made accessible the very interesting *Mâr-Nâmah*, which he dates about the fifteenth century, but the system there set forth for taking omens from the appearance of a snake on any one of the days of the month is carried back at least to 1000 A. D. by the similar list given by al-Birûnî in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (tr. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 218). The principle of these two lists is the same, but the details occasionally diverge, as may be seen from the following comparison.

Day.	<i>Mâr-Nâmah.</i>	al-Birûnî.
1	Increase of wealth and honour.	Sultân (if seen before noon).
2	Great sorrow.	Illness and disease.
3	Death of a relative.	Death or any loss in the family.
4	Speedy return of an absent friend.	Something useful, help from the people of the place.
5	Happy issue of affairs.	Reputation and praise.
6	Long journey, with speedy and successful return.	Very useful journey.
7	To look at a snake brings regret.	Illness and disease.
8	Desires satisfied in every way.	Coming to the Sultân.
9	Great boon from Providence.	Coming to the Sultân.
10	Immediate fulfilment of wishes.	Matchmaking and marrying.
11	Approaching happiness.	Money without exertion.

Day.	<i>Mâr-Nâmah.</i>	al-Birûnî.
12	Ruin of affairs.	Good before noon, evil after noon.
13	Coming into possession of property.	Increase of wealth.
14	Speedy prospect of a journey.	Nourishment from quadrupeds only.
15	Divine gratification of wishes.	Illness followed by convalescence.
16	Speedy prospect of a journey.	Acquisition of something new.
17	Go home and change clothes.	Journey and return.
18	Increase of defects and failure.	Journey and illness during it [the journey].
19	Increase of joy and merriment.	Increase of wealth.
20	Evil omen.	Death in the family.
21	Warfare and quarrelling.	Journey and victory over enemies.
22	Destruction of property.	Suspicion of theft.
23	Trouble and loss.	Illness and disease.
24	Fulfilment of wishes.	Acquisition of money.
25	Unexpected cause for sorrow.	Bad and blamable.
26	All joy for day and night.	Building a new house.
27	Grave accusations before long.	Being accused of lying.
28	The obtaining of divine justice.	Calamity in property and family.
29	Kill snake to escape trouble.	A short journey in prospect.
30	Grief and anxiety.	Punishment for fornication.

Besides these two lists of snake-omens according to the day of the month, there are at least two other alleged Zoroastrian calendars of a similar nature, one according to the days of the week, and the other according to the signs of the zodiac. Both these are contained in a Parsi manuscript in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg, which received it as part of the Dolgoruki collection presented in 1859. The manuscript in question, in which the two brief lists of snake-omens occupy fol. 57 *verso*, has been elaborately discussed by Salemann ("Ueber eine Parsenhandschrift

der Kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg", in *Travaux du troisième congrès des orientalistes*, St. Petersburg, 1879, ii, 493-592), who concludes (pp. 502-503) that it was written in Kirmân about the beginning of the nineteenth century, though containing ancient material. The two *mathnavîs* on omens from serpents are as follows (ed. Salemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-498, who, however, does not translate them):

د بدن مار از خوب و بد هفته	
رسد بر آسمان قصر و ایوان	به شنبه مار بینی روز کیوان
به بینی مار را می کشی ثوابست	به یکشنبه که روز (ز) آفتابست
چو دیدی مار را دلخواه باشد	دو شنبه روز روز ماه باشد
بکن بنیاد اژدر را تراز بیخ	سه شنبه روز باشد روز مریخ
ترا امروز میش و عشرت آرد	چهار شنبه که باشد از عطارد
چو دیدی مار کشنی کشتی ابایس	پنج شنبه که باشد روز برجیس
ترا امروز میباید کنی عید	بود آدینه روز زهره ناهید

"The sight of a snake according to the good and bad of the week.

On the Sabbath, the day of Saturn (Kaiwân), (if) thou seest a snake, there cometh to thy heaven a palace and balcony.

On the day after the Sabbath, which is the day of the Sun, (if) thou seest a snake, draw not forth thy recompense.

Two days after the Sabbath,— 'twould be the day of the Moon—when thou seest a snake, the wish of thy heart should come to pass.

Three days after the Sabbath—the day of Mars (Mirrikh) 't would be—(if thou seest a snake,) dig up by the root the serpent's foundation.

Four days after the Sabbath, which would be from Mercury ('Utârid), (if thou seest a snake,) this day bringeth thee pleasure and society.

Five days after the Sabbath, which would be the day of Jupiter (Birjis), when thou seest a snake, thou killest Satan's ship.

(If) it be Friday, the day of Venus (Zuhrah, Nâhid), this day (if thou seest a snake,) thou shouldst keep festival."

دوازده برج که ماه باشد	دهدن مار را از خوب و به
به بینی مار را بسیار نیکوست	چو در برج حمل باشد مه ایدوست
ترا از مار نیرو مینماید	به برج ثور نیکو مینماید

سرش در زیر سنگ و چوب باشد	مه اندر برج جوزا نیک باشد
طمع از مال و جان خود بریدی	چو در خرچنگ مه تو مار دیدی
فزاید دولت و محنت سر آید	چو در برج اسد بدر اندر آید
چو دیدی مار میخور در سفالی	به برج سنبله باشد هالالی
بود پشت و پناه زور بازو	چو بینی مار را اندر قرازو
دکشتن ازدها باشد همایون	چو در عقرب تمر گردد نمایاچ
بآئین بینی دولت از نو	چه مه در برج قوس انداخت پرئو
میدین بر ازدها نمای رخسار	چه در جدی تمر گردد بدیدار
ستم بسیار بینی و جفارا	ببرج دلو مه شل اشکارا
به بینی بگذرانی پادشاهی	به برج حوت مه در برج ماهی
خدا مرزی رسانی بر ضعیفی	اگر هشیار اگر خوشحال و کیفی

"The sight of a snake according to the good and bad of the twelve (zodiacal) signs, (according to) what moon it is.

When the moon should be in the sign of Aries (Hamal), friend, (if) thou seest a snake, much good it is.

In the sign of Taurus (Thaur) good doth it (the moon) show ; for thee from a snake strength doth it show.

The moon in the sign of Gemini (Jauzâ), should be good, his (the snake's) head should be under stone and stock.

When the moon (is) in Cancer (Kharcang), (if then) thou seest a snake, thou cuttest off hope of thy wealth and thy life.

When the full moon entereth the sign of Leo (Asad), (if then thou seest a snake,) good fortune increaseth and calamity waxeth.

When the new moon is in the sign of Virgo (Sunbulah), when thou seest a snake, eat not on earthenware.

When thou seest a snake in Libra (Tarâzû), the might of thine arm is thy protector and asylum.

When the moon appeareth in Scorpio ('Aqrab), one would be fortunate in the killing of a serpent.

When the moon darteth his ray in the sign of Sagittarius (Qaus), herewith (if thou seest a snake,) dost thou see wealth anew.

When the moon doth make appearance in Capricornus (Jadi), look not on a serpent, show not thy face.

In the sign of Aquarius (Dalv) (if) the moon become visible, (if then thou seest a snake,) thou seest much oppression and cruelty.

(If) the moon (be) in the sign of Pisces, in the sign of the Fish, (if then thou seest a snake,) thou seest the passing of sovereignty.

If (thou art) cautious, if (thou art) fortunate and intoxicated, thou dost bring the Divine compassion to weakness."

It is self-evident that, in their present form, these omen-lists are Muhammadan; neither the names of the days of the week nor the "vengeance of heaven" concept expressed in the closing verse can be supposed for a moment to be Zoroastrian. The question accordingly arises as to the provenance of this most un-Zoroastrian category of omens from serpents. This is not the place to enter upon the much-discussed subject of the basis of ophiolatry, a theme which has evoked more insane hypotheses and distorted theories than almost any other. It may, however, be stated, in view of the wide-spread worship of the serpent in Asia, Europe, America, and elsewhere, that the uncanny and sudden appearance of the snake, its fixed gaze, its annual slough and subsequent new and shining coat, its frequent power of inflicting serious and often mortal injury, its zigzag motion, and its habit of living in holes in the ground, have all contributed to the ascription of marvellous, and often seemingly contradictory, attributes to it. Thus, among the Hopis of Arizona and many other North American Indian stocks, the serpent personifies the lightning, and plays a prominent part in ceremonies for making rain. Among the Indo-Germanic peoples, the snake, as living in holes, is a frequent representative of deceased ancestors. Thus, among the pagan Lithuanians, many of the rustics as late as the sixteenth century, according to Guagnini (*Sarmatiæ Europææ descriptio*, Speyer, 1581, fol. 52b), "viperas item atque serpentes deos esse credesant, eisque cultum præcipuum exhibebant, et singuli patres familias, cives, coloni, et nobiles singulos serpentes domi asservare solebant, quos pro penatibus et laribus familiaribus adorabant, lacque et gallos gallinaceos eis immolabant, eratque inauspicatum et exitiabile toti familiæ quempiam ex eis violasse dehonorassee, aut domi non fovisse tales enim vel bonis omnibus privabantur vel crudeliter lacerati interibant". (Cf. also Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 31.) All this can imply only that, as with the household snake of the early Romans, the

serpent was held to be the representative of a deceased ancestor, a belief which also prevailed in Greece (cf. Miss Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1908, pp. 325-331; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1906, pp. 807-808; Miss Mary Hamilton, *Incubation: or, The Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, London, 1906, pp. 22, 26-27, 30-31).

This, however, by no means explains the phenomenon of ophiomancy, even though the souls of the dead might readily be supposed to give warning of coming events to the living, good if the dead were propitiated and were benevolent, bad if they were displeased or malevolent (cf. in general, the admirable discussion of serpent-cults in India in Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, Westminster, 1896, ii, 121-145). Ophiomancy is, moreover, rare as compared with ophiolatry, and while it is connected in general with other forms of divination, especially from living creatures, and particularly from birds, almost nowhere does divination from snakes develop into a formal branch of augury. Sporadic instances of snake-omens are not, however, uncommon. In Burmah "if in going to war or to prosecute a lawsuit a person . . . meet a serpent, the affair will be long" (Sangermano, *Description of the Burmese Empire*, . . . translated from his MS by William Tandy, Rangoon reprint, 1885, p. 116). The Melanesians of Saa Island believe that if a certain rare species of snake about ten inches long and of a golden colour, called *Mati sato*, "is seen in a house it is a sign of death; if running, of violent death; if quiet, of death by sickness. If the venomous snake *a'u* is seen in a house it is a sign of death by fighting or misfortune; if coiled up it is a sign of quiet death; if running, there will be violence" (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 221). In the Panjab it is a sign of good luck to see a snake on the left when beginning an undertaking (Temple, *Legends of the Panjâb*, Bombay, 1884-1900, i, 161). The Greeks considered the snake a mantic animal (Schwartz, *Ursprung der Mythologie dargelegt an griechischer und deutscher Sage*, Berlin, 1860, pp. 55-56), the scholiast of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, 508, specially mentioning such a serpent at the temple of Trophonius in the Boeotian town of Lebadeia. According to Ælian (*Historia animalium*, xi, 2)

moreover, omens were drawn from the serpents kept at Apollo's shrine in Epirus. Here, if the snakes ate the food given them by their virgin priestess, it was an omen of good; but if they drove her away and refused to eat, it was a portent of evil, a belief which is closely paralleled for Lanuvium, in Italy, by Propertius, V, viii, 3-14. Another parallel is afforded, at least superficially, by the serpents in the ancestor-cult of the Slavic Samogitians, of whom Guagnini says (*op. cit.*, fol. 60b): "Sunt etiam nunc illic inter agrestes idolatrae complures qui serpentes quosdam quatuor brevibus lacertarum instar pedibus, nigro obesoque corpore, giuoiptos [Lithuanian *gyvūte*, "serpent"] patria lingua dictos, tanquam penates domi suae nutriunt, eosque domo lustrata certis diebus ad appositum cibum prorepentes, cum tota familia, quoad saturati in locum suum revertantur, timore quodam circumstantes venerantur. Quod si adversi illis quid acciderit, serpentem deum domesticum male acceptum ac saturatum esse credunt." The mantic character of the serpent among the Greeks, to which allusion has already been made, receives a striking confirmation in a gloss of the lexicographer Hesychius, who expressly gives "omen" as equivalent to "serpent" (*oiónos* : *ophis*. *epieikós gar legetai eis tas manteias tous ophéis echein, hous kai oiónous elegon*); and among the Romans, according to Festus (ed. Müller, Leipzig, 1839, p. 244), there was a class of omens termed "*pedestria* : a vulpe, lupo, serpente, equo, ceterisque animantibus quadrupedibus fiunt." Two folk-beliefs recorded in the *Cyclopædia of Superstitions, Folk-Lore, and Occult Sciences* (Milwaukee, 1904, ii, 693 seq.), but without any hint of the locality in which they are held, state that to walk on a snake without being bitten is an omen of future wealth; but that accident is portended by finding a serpent's slough; also adding that it forebodes luck to have a serpent come towards one.

Turning to the Semites, the Jews held, according to the Talmudic tractate *Sanhedrin* 65b, that a serpent on the right was an evil omen¹. Among the early Arabs, though they held the

¹ The exact relation between the Hebrew נָחָשׁ, "serpent", and the *piel* נָחַשׁ, "to practise divination, observe signs", has often been discussed (cf. the literature cited by Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of*

snake to be a *jinn*, there seems to have been no serpent-cult (Nöeldeke, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, i, 421-426; for references to other literature on the supernatural character of snakes among the Arabs see Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1906, p. 638).

the *Old Testament*, Oxford, 1906, p. 638). Despite the authority of Robertson Smith (*Journal of Philology*, xiv, 113 seq.), however, it seems to me that the evidence afforded by the *Old Testament* is insufficient to warrant the view that נחש is a denominative of נחש, thus meaning primarily "to serpentise, draw omens from serpents." In Arabic, as he notes (p. 114), "forms of the corresponding root نَحَس are ordinarily used of bad luck and unlucky things and signs" (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1887, p. 201, note.) In Syriac נחשא denotes "augur" and נחשא "augury" (without reference to snakes), while the *pa'el* (corresponding in force to the Hebrew *piel*)

"to prophesy." Before reading Baudissin's "Symbolik der Schlange im Semitismus" (in his *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1876, i, 257-292), to which Professor Jastrow kindly called my attention, I had come independently to a view somewhat similar to his own, in which (pp. 281, 287) he connects נחש with the *piel* לחש, "to whisper, charm", לחש "whispering, charming" (as of snakes: cf. Psalm lviii, 6 [English version, lviii, 5], Ecclesiastes x, 11, Isaiah iii, 3, Jeremiah viii, 17; cf. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 538). As we shall see, what we know of Arab paganism would seem to militate against the derivation of a verb for "divining" from a noun for "serpent"; and while it is true that in Babylonia ophiomancy played a part, yet even here the rôle was a minor one, too unimportant to make snake-omens the form of divination *par excellence*. If, as Brown, Driver, and Briggs suggest, the ultimate root of both נחש and נחש was "to hiss", then נחש would seem to mark the serpent as the "hissing creature", and נחש, "to divine", would primarily signify "to make a deal of hissing". In reply to my inquiry on this etymology, Professor Jastrow writes me (March 2, 1908): "In Arabic also *whispering* is one of the synonyms for "placing under a charm" and the connexion between

Hebrew נחש and לחש would also speak in favour of your view that the starting point is the hissing sound of the serpent. It might also be noted as illustrating the ideas connected with the serpent that both in Arabic and in Hebrew the stem underlying *serpent* also means *life*. The original meaning of the stem was probably *to wriggle*, but at all events it developed into the general indication of *life*. In this connexion it should also be noted that divination was frequently conducted in a voice intentionally difficult to understand (cf. Old Church Slavonic *vlāsnāti*, "to stammer", *vlāhuū*, "soothsayer", *vlāshūba*, "magic" [Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*, Vienna, 1886, p. 380]).

The only people, however, who developed ophiomancy into a regular system seem to have been the Babylonians. They had, indeed, like the peoples already mentioned, certain general superstitions, as that a snake crossing one's path was usually an ill omen, that a serpent falling to a man's left or behind him was a presage of the realisation of his wish, but if falling to his right or on his shoulder a foreboding of death, and if falling in his bosom a portent of the death of his sons, etc. (Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne*, i, 1-2, Geneva, 1905). But the Babylonians had more than these casual omens, since they formulated regular omen-calendars, in which the prognostications to be drawn from various sorts of phenomena were set forth with the minutest detail, and often with special reference to the day of the month on which they were observed. (On this omen literature in general see Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 373-406, and Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 556-563; full translations of the omens to be drawn from snakes, scorpions, sheep, dogs, locusts, ravens, etc., are promised by the same scholar in future instalments of his German revision and enlargement of his *Religion*, now in course of publication at Giessen.) Pending the appearance of Professor Jastrow's researches, the best source of information concerning Babylonian omen-literature on serpents is contained in Bezold's *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (London, 1889-99). This work lists the following tablets of note in this connexion (the abbreviations being those used by Bezold): omens from the appearances, movements and other actions of scorpions and snakes, KK 2870, 13888, 14029; omens from the appearance, movements, etc. of snakes, KK 743, 1908, 2128, 2136, 2149, 2935, 3674, 3731, 5642, 6071, 6294, 6530, 6940, 7154, 8038, 10449, 10576, 10668, 11563, 12002, 12868, 12869, 13317, 13981, 13983, 14014, 14017, 14023, SSm 532, 936, 1980, D. T. 155, 79-7-8 nos. 319, 321; omens from snakes and other animals KK 3953; omens from the appearance of snakes at temple doors KK 11668; omens from the appearance of a snake in a man's house KK 13965. From these mere lists little detailed information can be gained, but Bezold comments as follows on the tablet KK 2128: "The lines begin

almost throughout with . . . (' if a man sees a snake and . . . '). On obverse [text = 30 lines on obverse and 42 on reverse], lines 11 ff., the events of their appearance are confined to a certain period. . . . By this link, the 'omen-texts' are closely connected with the 'astrological forecasts'. And, finally, the tablet 79-7-8, no. 158 is an omen text on the appearance of snakes in certain months. In other words, we would here seem to have a Babylonian analogue to the *Mâr-Nâmâh* edited by Modi and also recorded, in varying form, by al-Bîrûnî.

In view, then, of the facts that omens from snakes cannot be explained as Zoroastrian, and that, while sporadic portents are drawn from serpents among Hebrews, Hindus, Burmese, Melanesians, Romans, Greeks, and Lithuanians, there is no systematic development of ophiomancy among any of these peoples, there seems to me but one possible derivation for the Persian *Mâr-Nâmâh*, for only among the ancient Babylonians was there at once a perfected ophiomancy and a regular calendar form for it. Speaking, then, with the reserve and caution becoming to a non-Assyriologist in touching upon matters strictly Babylonian, I would tentatively suggest that the alleged Zoroastrian ophiomancy is, in reality, a survival of Babylonian lore on the same subject. Whether this knowledge was transmitted orally, or how it received its recrudescence, of which the first trace known to me at present is al-Bîrûnî's record, is a problem I cannot touch. I believe, however, that more than one element in Zoroastrianism, even as recorded in the Avesta, will ultimately prove to have Babylonian influence as at least a factor. The West of Asia has been for milleniums a fusing-furnace of religions; Sumerians and Babylonians, Jews and Persians, Gnostics, Mandæans, and Manichæans, Muhammadan sects, and Nestorian Christianity have all contributed their share. In this snake-calendar, perhaps, is one indebtedness of the later Parsis to Babylonia.

In at least one other instance Babylonian influence in divination seems to have penetrated to the Aryan world both in substance and in form. The sixth century Byzantine writer Johannes Lydus preserves, in his *De Ostentis*, 27-38, a calendar giving the omens to be drawn from a thunder-clap on each day throughout the year, stating, for instance, under July 17, *Eân brontêsê dia-*

dochên megâlou archontos dêloi "if it thunders, it shows the accession of a great ruler". This Greek version of Johannes purports to be a translation from the Latin of P. Nigidius Figulus, prætor in 58 B. C. (cf. concerning him Teuffel-Schwabe, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 5th ed., Leipzig, 1890, pp. 300-301), who had in his turn made his version from the Etruscan of the more or less mythical Tages (cf. Teuffel-Schwabe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, and the legend told by Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii, 23). Whatever be the source of this Tegetic brontology, it does not seem to be Indo-Germanic; and here once more the only tentative explanation I can offer is that of Babylonian origin, especially as the Babylonians drew distinct omens from thunder and lightning according to the month and day of the month during which these phenomena were observed (Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1900, ii, pp. lxiv-lxxv, lxxix-lxxxii, xc [nos. 181, 235, 253-262, 274]; cf. also Lenormant, *La Divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1875, pp. 67-75). Many mediæval Greek "thunder-books", or brontologies, still lie unedited in the libraries of Europe (Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1897, p. 630); and in Bombay itself there is at least one interesting calendar, also pseudo-Zoroastrian, the *Burj-Nâmâh* "in 26 couplets, stating what the appearance of the new moon portends in each sign of the zodiac" (West, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 128).¹ It is earnestly to be hoped that some Parsi scholar will investigate more fully this general field of omen-literature, considerable fragments of which must still exist either in manuscript or in oral tradition.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

¹ Since these lines were first written, I have received, through the kindness of Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, a transcript of the *Burj-Nâmâh*, on which I hope to publish a brief study in the near future.

THE RISE OF CYRUS THE GREAT, AS DESCRIBED BY NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS.

Cyrus the Great, like other founders of empires, has not failed to be transfigured by popular and literary tradition. Within a century after his death he had become a national hero, and legend had gathered especially about his earlier and obscurer years to such an extent that Herodotus could say (*Hist.* 1. 95) that there were "three pathways of story" besides the one he himself preferred to relate. Our knowledge of Persian history from the Greek side is, however, so incomplete that we are reduced to collecting these divergent accounts either from sources that hardly claim historical authority, such as the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, or from the fragments of writers whose works have not survived.

It is the object of the present paper to give in translation one such account of the rise of Cyrus, which we happen to possess almost entire. This is the work of Nicolaus Damascenus (Nicholas of Damascus), a contemporary of the Emperor Augustus. Though a Syrian, as his name implies, he wrote in Greek a *Universal History* in one hundred and forty-four books, in the seventh of which he narrated the overthrow of the Median Empire. The original work is lost, but in Byzantine times a number of excerpts from the first seven books were included in an epitome of general history composed by order of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The fragment with which we are here concerned is found in the section "Concerning Conspiracies", usually known by its Latin title *Excerpta de Insidiis*, and was first published by Müller (*Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, 3. 397-406, Paris, 1849) from the unique manuscript in the Library of the Escorial at Madrid. Of subsequent editions, the most important are those by Dindorf (*Historici Græci Minores*, 1. 50-64, Leipzig, 1870), and De Boor (*Excerpta de Insidiis*, pp. 23-38, Berlin, 1905).

The account of Cyrus given in this fragment is interesting not only because of its divergence from that of Herodotus, but especially because it is very probably derived from the lost work of Ctesias, a Greek who was physician at the court of Artaxerxes II, and who wrote

a history of Assyria, Media and Persia under the general title of *Persica*.¹ The credibility of this author has often been impugned by critics, both ancient and modern; but in the present state of our knowledge the fragments of his work cannot be disregarded in any investigation concerning the early history of Persia. The evidence for the dependence of this particular passage upon Ctesias is, indeed, circumstantial; but as Nicolaus is known to have followed him elsewhere in Assyrian and Persian matters, we may well conclude that he did so in this instance, at least in the main features of the narrative. (For a discussion of the relation of Nicolaus to Ctesias, see Bauer, *Die Kyros-Sage und Verwandtes*, in *Sb. Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, 100 (1882) pp. 518ff.; Tietz, *De Nicolai Damasceni Fontibus*, Marburg, 1896). On the other hand, his story, although taken from a Greek source, has preserved much that seems genuinely Persian, as is shown both in the details of life and customs and indirectly by its resemblance to the "Kîrnâmê-i Artakhsîr-i Pâpakân", the Pahlavi account of the exploits of the first Sassanian king. (On this point, see especially Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, 3. 133-134, Leipzig, 1892).

For these reasons the fragment of Nicolaus seems worthy to be made accessible to those who are without the limited circle of classical studies and who are interested in the history of ancient Persia and Cyrus the Great. I therefore offer a translation in the following pages, since none, so far as I can ascertain, has yet appeared in English. The text, unless otherwise stated, is that of De Boor. In the matter of style, the translation aims to follow the original as closely as is compatible with English idiom, so as neither to abridge the customary diffuseness of Nicolaus nor to smooth over the occasional abruptnesses that are doubtless to be ascribed to the unskilful hand of the epitomator.

TRANSLATION

"[The author says] that in Asia after the death of the king of the Medes, his son Astyages succeeded to the throne. This prince, according to tradition, was the bravest after Arbakes. In his reign there occurred the great revolution, by which the supremacy passed from the Medes to the Persians, through the following causes.

¹ I am now engaged in translating the fragments of the *Persica* into English for the first time, under the direction of my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, to whom I am also indebted for many suggestions and criticisms in regard to the present

There was a law among the Medes that any poor person who should go to a wealthy man and give himself up to be fed and clothed, should be considered the same as his slave; but if the man who had taken him did not furnish him support, he was allowed to go off to some one else. Now a certain boy named Cyrus, a Mardian¹ by race, came to one of the king's servants, who was in charge of those who cleaned the palace. This Cyrus was the son of Atradatae,² who was a robber because of his poverty, and whose wife, Cyrus's mother, named Argoste, lived by tending goats. Cyrus bound himself over to the officer to receive support and used to clean the palace and was a care-taker. The overseer therefore gave him better clothes and transferred him from those outside to those inside, who cleaned near the king's presence, and put him under their overseer. This man was severe and often whipped Cyrus, who went over to the torch-bearer. The latter was kind to him and brought him close to the king to be one of his torch-bearers. Gaining favour in this position also, he was transferred to Artembares,³ who was chief of the cup-bearers, and who handed in person the cup to the king to drink.⁴ Cyrus was heartily welcomed by him and was ordered to pour wine for the king's table-companions.

Not long afterwards, as Artembares was watching Cyrus serve with skill and alertness and present the cup in a graceful way,⁵ the

¹ The Mardians are mentioned by Herodotus, *Hist.* 1. 125, as being a nomadic tribe of Persians. Strabo, *Geogr.* 11. 13. 6, following Nearchus, terms them *Istrikoi*, 'marauders', and places them east of Media and adjoining the Persians. The modern German Orientalist, Marquardt, however, *Die Assyriaka des Ktesias*, in *Philologus*, *Supplementband*, 6. 642-649, localizes the story in the north of Iran and would identify these Mardians with the Amardians near the Caspian. For the situation of the latter, see Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, 1. 1729-1733.

² The Ms. has here *tosatradaton*, but elsewhere the correct form *Atradatae*. For the signification of the name, 'fire-given', compare *Ataredāta* in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 48. Strabo makes the interesting statement, *Geogr.* 15. 3. 6, that the original name of Cyrus himself was Agradates. Nicolaus here agrees indirectly with Ktesias, who declares, *Fragments* 33 (2), ed. Gilmore, p. 122, that Cyrus was not related to Astyages by ties of blood.

³ In Herodotus, *Hist.* 1. 114-116, the name Artembares is given to the father of the boy whom the youthful Cyrus chastises.

⁴ On the use of wine among the ancient Persians, see the brochure by J. J. Modi, *Wine Among the Ancient Persians*, Bombay, 1888.

⁵ The language of this passage agrees closely with Xenophon, *Oxyropædia* 1.3.8-9, where Astyages says of his cupbearer Sakas: 'Do you not see how properly and gracefully he pours out my wine?' Cyrus then, Xenophon continues, took the cup, rinsed it, and 'settled his countenance so gravely, and brought and presented the cup to his grandfather so prettily

king asked him where the youth was from, remarking how well he poured the wine. Artembares replied: 'O master, he is your slave, a Persian by race, of the Mardian tribe, and has given himself to me for the sake of his support'.

Artembares was an old man, and on one occasion when he fell ill with a fever, he asked the king to let him go home until he should recover. 'This youth', said he, mentioning Cyrus, 'whom you praise, will pour wine in my place, and I, who am a eunuch, will adopt him as my son, if you, his master, should be pleased with him as cup-bearer.' Astyages approved of this, and Artembares took his leave, after giving many commands to Cyrus, and showing affection to him as to a son. So Cyrus stood at the king's side, giving him the cup and pouring wine by night and by day, and displayed great modesty and manliness.¹ Artembares died from his disease, having previously adopted Cyrus. Astyages gave the entire estate of Artembares to him as son and heir in addition to many other gifts. Cyrus was powerful, and his name was spread abroad everywhere.

Astyages had a daughter of beautiful person and noble character, whom he gave in marriage to Spitamas² the Median, with all Media as a dowry. Cyrus sent for his father Atradates and his mother Argoste from Mardia, and they came to him in his high position.³ His mother narrated to him a dream that she had while sleeping in the temple during her pregnancy, at the time when she was a goat-herd among the Mardians. 'It seemed to me', she said, 'that when I was pregnant with you, O Cyrus, I made so much urine that it was like the stream of a great river and overflowed the whole of Asia and

as to afford much laughter to his mother and Astyages'. It seems likely that Nicolaus has been influenced in his language by Xenophon (see Bauer, *Die Kyros-Sage und Verwandtes*, in *Sb. Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, 100 (1882) p. 522); but the incident is so closely connected with the general course of the narrative that we cannot ascribe it to an alien source. Hence it is not improbable that Xenophon borrowed in part from Ctesias, as Marquardt maintains in *Philologus*, 55. 229-232; *Philologus, Supplementband*. 6. 603-605.

¹ The original has *nôphronounên kai andreian*, a characteristically Greek expression, which indicates the good behaviour of Cyrus in its negative and positive aspects respectively.

² The Ms. here has *epistama*, but Spitamas (cf. Avestan *spitama*) is mentioned as the son-in-law of Astyages by Ctesias, *Fragments*, 33 (2), ed. Gilmore, p. 127.

³ The text here, *hoi de hikon ep' autô megalôi ontî*, has often been suspected of being corrupt, and the undeniable harshness of the phrase is probably due to the epitomator's abridgment.

ran down to the sea.¹ Cyrus's father, hearing of the dream, told him to communicate it to the Chaldeans in Babylon. Cyrus summoned the most learned man among them and related it to him; and he replied that the good fortune which was foretold would be great and would bring him the highest rank in Asia; but that he must keep the matter secret in order that Astyages might not hear. 'Otherwise', said he, 'he will kill most miserably both you and me, the interpreter of it.' So they swore to each other that they would not reveal to anyone this great and singular vision. Thereafter Cyrus, increasing in influence, made his father satrap of the Persians and his mother the foremost of the Persian women in wealth and power.

Among the enemies of the king at that time were the Kadusians,² whose commander, Onaphernes,³ was false to his people and took the part of the king. Through a messenger he asked him for a trustworthy man with whom he might arrange the details of the betrayal. Astyages despatched Cyrus to help in effecting the whole scheme, and appointed the fortieth day thereafter for his return to Ekbatana. The interpreter of the dream also encouraged him to go to the Kadusians and inspired him with confidence. Cyrus, having a noble and aspiring nature, conceived the idea that he ought, with God's help, to make the Persians revolt and try to depose Astyages, relying on the Babylonian as best understanding the will of heaven. Each then roused the other's courage, the Babylonian by telling Cyrus that he was marked by fate to overthrow Astyages and seize his kingdom, adding that he himself was the best judge of this. Cyrus in turn promised the Babylonian that if these things came true, and he should become king, he would bestow great rewards upon him. He also had in mind how Arbakes had previously deposed Sardanapallos⁴ and seized the throne. 'And yet', he thought, 'the Medes, on whom he relied, are no braver than the Persians, nor was Arbakes more sagacious than I am; and fate and fortune beckon me on, just as they did him.'

¹ Compare the similar dream of Astyages as related by Herodotus, *Hist.* 1. 107.

² The Kadusians were a tribe on the south shore of the Caspian, cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 11. 8. 1 and 11. 8. 8. Their enmity to the Medes is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 2. 33. 6, in a passage derived from Otesias.

³ Old Persian **cam-fram*, 'winning glory', cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 233.

⁴ The legendary account of the overthrow of the Assyrian empire by the Medes, which is referred to here, is found in Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 2. 24-28; Athenaeus, *Dipnosophists*, 12. 38; Nicolaus, *Fragments*, 8 and 9, ed. Müller, *FHG.* 3. 357-359, also in Gilmore, *Fragments of Otesias*, pp. 79-81.

When Cyrus, busy with these thoughts, reached the territory of the Kadusians, he chanced to meet a man showing the marks of the lash and carrying manure out in a basket. Taking this circumstance as an omen, he communicated it to the Babylonian, who bade him ask who the man was and of what nationality. To his questions the man replied that he was a Persian, named Hoibaras.¹ Cyrus was greatly delighted; for 'Hoibaras' is equivalent to 'bringer of good tidings' in the Greek language.² The Babylonian said to Cyrus that the other tokens also were very favorable, because the man was a Persian and his fellow-countryman, and was carrying horses' manure, which betokened wealth and power, as the name also signified.³ Cyrus at once took the man with him and bade him remain in his service, to which proposal Hoibaras consented.⁴

Thereafter Cyrus came to Ouaphernes among the Kadusians, exchanged pledges with regard to the betrayal, and turned back to Media. He honored Hoibaras with the present of a horse, a Persian robe⁵ and a retinue, and kept him near his person, observing that he had good judgment, and because he was urged by the Babylonian to

¹ This Hoibaras, according to Ctesias, played an important part in the later history of Cyrus, cf. *Fragments*, 33 (2), 35 (4), 36 (5), ed. Gilmore, pp. 122-132. Herodotus, however, *Hist.* 3. 85-87, applies the name to the groom who by a clever device assisted Darius to win the throne.

² This etymology, which seems to be genuine, points to an Old Persian **va(h)u-bara*. See Marquardt, *Philologus, Supplementband*, 6. 638, who explains the unusual *hai* for *va(h)u*, which is regularly represented in Greek by *ó* or *ou*, as the result of Phrygian influence.

³ There seems to be here a fancied connection between *Kúros* (Old Persian *Kurush*) and the Greek *to Kúros*, 'power'.

⁴ Compare Justinus, *Historia Philippica*, 1. 6. 1-3, in Watson's translation, p. 8, Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1876, which I have revised in accordance with the edition of the text by Rühl, Leipzig, 1886. The passage reads: 'Cyrus, after reading the letter [of Harpagus], was exhorted in a dream to make the same attempt; but was also admonished to take the first man that he should meet on the following day, as a companion in his enterprise. Commencing his journey to the country, accordingly, before it was light, he met a slave named Sybares, coming from the slave-house of a certain Mede. Having questioned him as to his birthplace, and hearing that he was born in Persia, he knocked off his fetters, took him with him as his companion, and returned to Persepolis.'

⁵ These were among the customary presents given by the Persian king, especially the so-called Median or Persian 'robe', concerning which see Herodotus, *Hist.* 3. 84; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1. 2. 27; and *Cyropædia*, 1. 3. 3. The custom still obtains in Persia, where the *khi'l'at*, or robe of honor, is given by the Shah to his governors or others as a present of distinction; see S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, p. 254, New York, 1895; Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*, 2. 92-93, London, 1818.

talk with him. Then, through having him as a companion, he gradually made him an adviser also.

On a certain occasion Cyrus came to speak of how he grieved to see the Persians oppressed by the Medes, and that too when they were not naturally inferior. Hoibaras answered: 'Why, Cyrus, there is at present no man who is great both in character and in resolve, who would be willing to stop the Medes from assuming to rule over their betters.' Cyrus said: 'How is it, Hoibaras, that there is none?' 'There is one perhaps, but like a coward he gives way to faint-heartedness, which prevents him from doing anything, although he could.' Cyrus to test him asked: 'But if a daring man should arise, how could he bring this about?' He replied: 'First by winning over the Kadusians, who are willing; for they like the Persians, and thoroughly hate the Medes; then also by rousing the courage of the Persians and putting them under arms. There are about four hundred thousand of them, and they would gladly volunteer on account of their sufferings under the Median rule. Their country also is very well adapted for the attempt, as it is rocky and mountainous¹ and if the Medes should wish to march against it, they would come off badly.' Cyrus asked: 'If a man should arise to do this, would you share the risk with him?' 'Would to Zeus,' answered he, 'that you above all might be the man to make the attempt, since your father rules over the Persians, and you yourself have the most secure position² and the greatest power; otherwise let it be whoever it may.'

Thereupon Cyrus revealed to him the whole scheme and took him as adviser, seeing that he was a man of sense and courage, and that he had centered all his hopes in him. Hoibaras approved and urged him on and suggested good ideas, that he ought to send to his father, Atradata, and bid him arm the Persians, that they might be ready ostensibly for the king to use against the Kadusians, but in reality for a revolt. Furthermore, that he should ask Astyages for time and go himself to Persia, as if to offer votive sacrifices in behalf of the king and the king's safety as well as in behalf of his own father, who was suffering from a disease. 'If you bring this about',

¹ According to Müller's conjecture *oreind* for *thrand* of the Ms.

² So *enaulótatos* of the Ms. must be rendered, but the passage shows evidences of being corrupt.

Hoibaras added, 'you must boldly undertake the whole enterprise. Surely, Cyrus, for one who is attempting great deeds, there is nothing dreadful in risking one's life and in suffering, if needs be, the fate that awaits him even if he should do nothing.' Cyrus was pleased with the man's high spirit and at the time, by way of encouragement, narrated his mother's dream and the interpretation given by the Babylonian. Thereupon the keen Hoibaras spurred him on all the more and urged him to keep watch over the Babylonian, in order that he might not tell the dream to the king, if, indeed, Cyrus would not yield to killing him, as was best. Cyrus replied : 'That would be an abominable thing.'

From this time forth, both Hoibaras and the Babylonian ate with Cyrus and were close to him. The Persian, fearing that the Babylonian would inform Astyages about the dream, pretended that he was going at night to perform a sacrifice to the moon after the custom of his country¹ and asked Cyrus for oblations, wine, servants, rugs, and the other things that were needed. He also requested Cyrus to order the attendants to do his bidding. So Cyrus gave the orders, but did not take part in the sacrifice through the contrivance of Hoibaras. The latter made ready at night among other things thick mattresses on which they were to feast, and he dug a very deep pit in his tent. When he had made his preparations and had feasted the Babylonian and made him drunk, he spread a bed for him over the pit and pushed him into it as soon as he had lain down. He also cast his² servant in along with him.

At daybreak, when Cyrus broke camp, Hoibaras journeyed in his company. After they had proceeded a short distance, Cyrus missed the man. Hoibaras at first said that he had left him behind sleeping off the effects of drink ; but finally, when Cyrus showed anger, he made known the truth, that he had killed him, since only in this way did he see any hope of safety for Cyrus and the latter's children. Cyrus was deeply grieved at what had been done and became still more incensed, so that he would no longer admit Hoibaras to his presence ; but afterwards he changed his mind and received

¹ For sacrifices to the moon in Iranian religion, see Yasht 7 and the *Mâh Nyâish*, ed. Dhalla, *Nyâishes or Zoroastrian Litanies*, pp. 82-111, New York, 1908. Cf. also Jackson, *Grundr. Iran. Philol.* 2. 642.

² Probably the reference here is to the servant of the Babylonian, but the narrative has been so much abridged at this point that the details cannot be made out.

him, taking him as his adviser in the plans he had already formed. When the wife of the Babylonian inquired about her husband, he¹ said that the man had been killed by robbers, and that he himself had buried him.

After this, when Cyrus had arrived at the court, Hoibaras renewed his proposals and urged him to carry out the plans on which they had already decided; namely, to send to Persia and put those of suitable age under arms, and also to ask Astyages to give Cyrus some days' leave that he might offer the sacrifices and tend his sick father. Cyrus assented and, the arms being now ready, asked the king's permission for his journey to Persia, in order that he might offer sacrifice for him and at the same time see his own father, who was in poor health. The king, however, out of his liking for Cyrus, wished to keep him near and would not grant his request. Cyrus was disheartened and declared to Hoibaras that he had failed. Hoibaras encouraged him and told him to ask for the same thing after an interval of a few days, and that he would obtain it. Meanwhile he ought to serve the king even more zealously than before, and when he should make his request, he must do it through someone else and not in person.

Cyrus then went back to the court and entreated the most trusted eunuch to ask the king at the right time for the leave of absence. So, seeing the king on one occasion disporting himself and carousing deeply, he nodded to the eunuch to address him thus: 'Your slave Cyrus asks you to allow him to offer the sacrifices he once vowed in your behalf so that you might be gracious towards him, and at the same time to care for his sick father.' Astyages called Cyrus and with a smile gave him the term of five months, but directed him to return in the sixth. Cyrus, making obeisance, appointed Tiridates² as cup-bearer to the king in his place, until he should return. He came in great joy to Hoibaras, who told him to get together his servants and set out at once. By taking charge himself he made everything ready during the night, and at dawn they started on their journey to Persia.

The wife of the Babylonian who had interpreted the dream for Cyrus had heard from her husband in his lifetime about the vision,

¹ Hoibaras is meant.

² This person is not mentioned elsewhere.

which Cyrus had communicated to him. After his death she had married his brother, and that same night, while resting with her husband, she heard from him that Cyrus, who had become a great personage, had left for Persia. She thereupon narrated to him the dream and her husband's interpretation of it, that Cyrus would be king of the Persians. At daybreak the man came quietly to Astyages and, having sought an audience through a eunuch, disclosed the whole matter, saying that he had heard from his wife that the diviner now dead had declared to Cyrus that he would be king according to his vision, and it was on this account that Cyrus had just left for Persia. The man said that he had recently heard this himself from his wife, and gave a clear account of all the details of the dream and the interpretation.¹ Astyages in great anxiety asked the Babylonian what ought to be done. He replied: to kill Cyrus immediately on his return, and that this was the only safe course.

After dismissing the Babylonian, Astyages gave further thought to his words. Towards evening, while drinking, he summoned his concubines who were dancers and players on the lute. One of these in her song said thus: 'The lion when he had the boar in his power let him go to his lair, where he will grow more powerful and give him much trouble and in the end, though he is the weaker, he will overcome the stronger.' Astyages took the words of the song to heart as applying to himself, and immediately dispatched three hundred horsemen after Cyrus, with orders to call him back, and if he should not follow them, to cut off his head and bring it.

¹ So Müller, reading *τῆς κρίσεως*, 'of the interpretation', for the Ms. *τῆς* 'of the oracle'.

* Compare the parallel account of Dinon, a historian of the fourth century B. C., which is preserved in an imperfect quotation by Athenæus, *Dipnosophista*, 14. 33 (also in Müller, *FRG.* 2. 90-91), as follows: 'The singers certainly foresaw the bravery of Cyrus the First and his coming war with Astyages. For, as he [Dinon] says, when Cyrus asked permission for his journey to Persia (he had previously been in command of his [i. e. Astyages'] staff-bearers, and afterwards of the men-at-arms) and went away... as Astyages was feasting with his friends, Angares, who was the most renowned of his singers, was called in and sang the customary songs. At the close he said that a great beast, fiercer than a wild boar, had been let loose in the swamp, and if it became master of the places round about, it would soon fight with ease against great numbers. When Astyages asked what sort of beast it was, he said it was Cyrus the Persian. So Astyages thought the suspicions of the singer correct and sent for [Cyrus]. .. but accomplished nothing.'

The men set out and, when they came to Cyrus, gave him the message from Astyages. But he, like a quick-witted man, or perhaps at the suggestion of Hoibaras, replied: 'Why should I not go when my master summons me? But now take dinner, and early in the morning we will go to him.' The men approved this plan. Cyrus, after the Persian fashion, had a number of sacrificial victims and cattle roasted and carved, and proceeded to feast the soldiers and to make them drunk. Previously, however, he had dispatched a messenger to his father to tell him to send one thousand horsemen and five thousand foot soldiers to Hyrba, another¹ city, which lay on the line of march. He ordered him to put the rest of the Persians under arms at once, declaring that this was the king's command; for he did not disclose the actual reason. After the banquet, when the soldiers had gone to sleep, he himself and Hoibaras mounted their horses just as they were, rode off, and came to Hyrba while it was yet night. Cyrus armed the people and drew up the troops that had come from his father in battle array, taking his own position on the right and stationing Hoibaras on the left.

Meanwhile those who had come from Astyages in the morning recovered from the effects of the wine, and, recognizing what had happened, pursued Cyrus. They reached Hyrba and, finding him with his forces marshalled, they joined battle. Then for the first time Cyrus displayed his great bravery and with the help of three² Persians slew about two hundred and fifty of the horsemen. The remainder escaped to the king and brought him word of the disaster. Then, smiting his thigh, he exclaimed: 'Ah me! how often have I recognized that one ought not to do good to the base, and yet I am caught by fair words, in that I took Cyrus, a Mardian, from many ills³ and made him such a plague to myself! But now he shall not rejoice in that which he desires.'

¹ *Ms. epi Hurban heteran polin*. This Persian town seems not to be mentioned elsewhere in Greek literature, and the name is perhaps corrupt. The word *heteran*, 'other', makes no sense as the text stands, but something may have fallen out. Müller conjectured *hetairan* 'allied', or *echuran* 'strong'. Herzfeld, however, in his article *Pasargadae* in *Klio*, 8. 1-68, identifies (p. 28) Hyrba with the modern town Dehbid, twenty-five miles north of Meshad-i Murghab.

² So the *Ms.*, and in view of the generally romantic character of the narrative, the disparity of numbers is not a ground for questioning the text.

³ Instead of *pollón kakón* of the *Ms.*, Dindorf would read rather plausibly *aipolón kakón*, 'a vile goat-herd'.

Thereupon Astyages summoned his generals at once and ordered them to muster their forces. When there had been assembled one million foot-soldiers, two hundred thousand horsemen, and three thousand war-chariots, he marched against Persia. But there an opposing army had already been raised by Atradata, who was in the plot. This force consisted of three hundred thousand light-armed men, fifty thousand horsemen, and one hundred scythe-bearing chariots. When the troops had been gathered together, Cyrus made an address to them. . . .¹

Thereupon both Cyrus himself and his father drew up their army and appointed as general the shrewd and energetic Hoibaras. He occupied the narrow passes and the highest mountains with garrisons, transferred the body of the people from the unfortified towns to those that were well-walled, and built forts where there was occasion. Not long afterwards, Astyages came with his army and burnt the deserted towns. He sent messengers to Cyrus and to Atradata, his father, uttering many threats and taunting them with their former beggary, and he ordered them to come back to him, as he would merely chain them with heavy fetters. 'If you wait to be captured', he added 'you shall perish most miserably.' Cyrus replied : 'It seems, Astyages, that you do not recognize the power of the gods, since you are unaware that it is by them that we goat-herds have been impelled to this undertaking, which we shall pursue to the very end. For yourself, inasmuch as you treated us well, we give you this advice, that if the gods will put it into your mind, you lead away your troops and leave the Persians, who are better men than the Medes, in possession of their freedom, lest in trying to enslave them you lose the rest of your subjects.'

Such was the reply that the messenger brought back. Astyages in rage led his troops out to battle and drew them up in line, taking a conspicuous seat on an eminence with a bodyguard of twenty thousand men about him.' Cyrus in his turn advanced, having put Atradata in command of the right wing and Hoibaras in charge of the left, while he himself with the bravest of the Persians was in the

¹ The Ms. has here the note ZETEI EN TO PERI DEMEGORION, 'look for the continuation in the chapter on Harangues', i.e., a reference to another division of the *Historical Encyclopædia*.

* So at the battle of Salamis Xerxes watched the contest from an elevated position; see Aeschylus, *Persians*, 466-467; Herodotus, *Hist.* 8. 90; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, c. 13.

centre. A fierce battle ensued, in which Cyrus and the rest of the Persians killed great numbers, so that Astyages, seated on his throne, exclaimed in indignation : ' Out upon those terebinth-eating¹ Persians, what brave deeds they accomplish !' He thereupon sent to his generals and threatened them with what would happen to them unless they overcame their antagonists.²

The Persians succumbed to the numbers of the enemy, as one body after another advanced, and breaking their line, they retreated to the city in front of which they were fighting. When they were inside, Cyrus and Hoibaras encouraged them by showing that they had killed greater numbers than the enemy had killed, and advised them to send the women and children to the lofty mountain of Pasargadai³ and to sally forth themselves on the morrow and make their victory complete. Death awaited them all if they were defeated ; it would therefore be better to meet it, if needs be, in the hour of victory after they had freed their country.

At these words, all were filled with anger and hatred towards the Medes and, opening the gates, they sallied forth at dawn under the lead of Cyrus and Hoibaras, while Atradates and the old men defended the wall. The phalanxes of Astyages advanced to meet them in full force with both infantry and cavalry. While they were fighting, one hundred thousand men made a flank movement, as Astyages had ordered, and took the city. Atradates, who had received many wounds, was brought to the king. Meanwhile Cyrus's men, after contending nobly, fled to Pasargadai, where their wives and children were.

Astyages, when Cyrus's father was brought to him, said : ' So, you excellent satrap of mine, whom I honoured, this is the thanks

¹ By terebinth is meant here either the fruit of *Pistacia terebinthus* (so Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien*, ed. 7, p. 418, Berlin, 1902), or perhaps the fruit of *Pistacia vera*, the pistache nut. The usual Greek name for this is *pistakion*, itself probably a Persian word ; see Hehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 411, 605. It was, however, known also as *terebinthos* or *terminthus* (Athenæus, *Dipnosophistæ*, 14. 6t), and seems to be mentioned under this name by Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 4. 4. 7, as growing in Bactria. The Persian custom of eating these nuts is referred to by Strabo, *Geogr.* 15. 3. 18 ; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, c. 3 (where the old translators render incorrectly ' turpentine ') ; and by Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, 3. 39.

² Diodorus, in a fragment, *Hist.* 9. 23, mentions the severity of Astyages towards his troops after their defeat.

³ Pasargadai is in fact situated in a plain, and the surrounding hills can hardly be called ' lofty mountains'. See Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 279-280, New York 1906 ; and Herzfeld in *Klio*, 8. 1-28.

that you and your son have rendered me.' The old man, with his last breath, replied: 'Master, I do not know which of the gods brought this madness on my son; but do not you maltreat me, for as I am now, I shall soon breathe my last.' The king took pity on him and said: 'I will therefore not maltreat you, for I know that if your son had listened to you, he would not have acted thus; and I will even give orders that you receive burial,' since you did not share this madness with him.' So Atradata, who died shortly afterwards, received honorable burial in due form.

Astyages advanced upon Pasargadai through narrow passes. On either side were smooth rocks and rugged and lofty mountains.¹ The way through the pass between was blocked by Hoibaras with ten thousand heavy-armed men, so that there was no hope of getting through. Astyages, recognizing the situation, ordered one hundred thousand men to make a flank movement around the mountain. These found a way of ascent and climbed up and seized the heights. Hoibaras and Cyrus fled by night with their entire force to another mountain, which was lower than the former. The army of Astyages, which was already between the mountains, followed in pursuit upon their track.

Thereupon the army of Astyages advanced and ascended the mountain, which had cliffs on every side and was covered with woods and wild olive groves.² Here they fought with courage, but the Persians showed the greater valor. Cyrus charged on one wing and Hoibaras on the other, bidding them remember their children and wives and aged fathers and mothers, whom it would be a disgrace to leave for the Medes to slaughter and dishonor. On hearing these words, they took heart and rushed down with a shout, and by hurling immense stones in the absence of weapons, they drove the enemy down from the mountain.

It happened by some chance that Cyrus came to his father's house, where he had dwelt as goat-herd when he was little. There he offered a sacrifice of wheat flour, kindling a fire with cypress-wood

¹ The Greek word *thaptein* is broad enough to refer to any one of the various modes of disposing of the dead which were in use under the Achæmenian kings; cf. Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, 3. 708-709.

² The pass from the north, through which Astyages would have entered, is rough, but not so difficult as Nicolaus makes out. See Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

³ These hills are now quite treeless.

and laurel,¹ like a man worn out and without resource. Immediately it lightened and thundered on the right. Cyrus prostrated himself, and some birds of good omen, which lighted on the house, indicated to him that he should go to Pasargadai.

After [the Persians] had taken their dinner, they slept on the mountain, and next day, relying on the omens, they came down to meet the enemy, who were already climbing the mountain, and they fought manfully for a long time. Astyages posted fifty thousand men at the base of the mountain and commanded them to kill those who feared the ascent or who fled down again. So, forced by necessity, the Medes and their allies came up against the Persians. The latter, yielding to numbers, fled to the summit of the mountain, where the women were. These drew up their clothes and cried out: 'You cowards, where are you running to? Is it till you go into the place from which you were born?' (On this account, whenever the

* Compare Strabo's description of the sacrifices of the Persians, *Geogr.* 15 3. 14, in Falconer's translation, 3.136-137, Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1857. He says: 'But it is to fire and water especially that they offer sacrifice. They throw upon the fire dry wood without the bark, and place fat over it; they then pour oil upon it, and light it below; they do not blow the flame with their breath, but fan it; those who have blown the flame with their breath, or thrown any dead thing or dirt upon the fire, are put to death.'

'They sacrifice to water by going to a lake, river, or fountain; having dug a pit, they slaughter the victim over it, taking care that none of the water near be sprinkled with blood, and thus be polluted. They then lay the flesh in order upon myrtle or laurel branches; the Magi touch it with slender twigs, and make incantations, pouring oil mixed with milk and honey, not into the fire, nor into the water, but upon the earth. They continue their incantations for a long time, holding in the hands a bundle of slender tamarisk twigs.' (Falconer incorrectly translates *rhabdôn myrīkīnōn* as 'myrtle rods'.)

* We possess three other accounts of the decisive battle between Cyrus and Astyages, in all of which the incident of the Persian women has a prominent place and is related in almost the words of Nicolaus.

Justinus, *Historie Philippica*, I. 6. 10-15, gives the fullest account, and refers to the severe measures of Astyages. I quote the passage in Watson's translation, p. 9, as follows: 'Astyages, hearing of this occurrence [the treachery of Harpagus], and collecting troops from all quarters, marched against the Persians in person. Having vigorously renewed the contest, he posted part of his army, while his men were fighting, in their rear, and ordered that those who turned back should be driven on the enemy with the point of the sword; telling them that, unless they conquered, they would find men in their rear not less stout than those in their front; and they were therefore to consider whether they would penetrate the one body by fleeing, or the other body by fighting. In consequence of this obligation to fight, great spirit and vigor was infused into his army.'

'As the Persian troops, therefore, were driven back, and were gradually retiring, their mothers and wives ran to meet them, and besought them to return to the field. While they hesitated, they took up their garments, and showed them the secret parts of their persons,

Persian king comes to Pasargadai, he presents gold to the Persian women, giving each of them the equivalent of twenty Attic drachmas.[†] Put to shame by what they saw and heard, the Persians turned back upon the enemy, and making an assault with one dash, they drove them from the mountain and killed not less than sixty thousand. In spite of all that, Astyages did not desist from the siege. . . .[‡]

After many things had intervened, Cyrus went into the tent and sat on the throne of Astyages and took his sceptre. The Persians hailed him, and Hoibaras put the kidaris[§] on him, saying : ' You are

asking them if they would shrink back into the wombs of their mothers or their wives. Checked with this reproach, they returned to the battle, and, making a vigorous assault, compelled those from whom they had fled to flee in their turn.'

Plutarch, *Mulierum Virtutes*, p. 246A (in *Plutarchi Moralia*, ed. Bernardakis, 2. 206, Leipzig, 1889), agrees very closely with Nicolaus. His version is as follows : ' Cyrus, after he caused the Persians to revolt from King Astyages and the Medes, was defeated in battle. As the Persians fled into the city, with the enemy so close behind as almost to enter along with them, the women met them in front of the city, and said, lifting up their clothes from their lower parts : ' You greatest of all cowards, where are you running to ? Surely you cannot in your flight go into this place, from which you were born.' The Persians, feeling shame at the sight and the words, and reproaching themselves, turned about and, renewing the fight, routed the enemy. Hence a law was established that when the king entered the city, every woman should receive a piece of gold. This law was made by Cyrus.'

Polyænus, *Strategemata*, ed. Woelfflin and Melber, 7. 45. 2, Leipzig, 1887, tells the story more briefly thus : ' The Persians were engaged in battle with the Medes, Cyrus was the leader of the Persians. Oibares, the satrap of Cyrus, started to retreat, and all the Persians under his command fled with him. Then the Persian women, meeting the fugitives, drew up their dresses and said : ' Where are you fleeing ? Are you seeking to re-enter the place from which you came forth ? ' The women's speech made the Persians ashamed, and, returning to the battle, they routed the Medes.'

[†] This custom is alluded to by Plutarch, *Alexander*, c. 69 ; see also Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, 8. 5. 21, where it is said that Cyrus gave ' to all the Persians, both men and women, such presents as the king still makes when he comes into Persia.' Strabo, *Geogr.* 15. 3. 8, says that ' Cyrus honored the Pasargadai, because there he conquered in the final battle Astyages the Mede, and transferred to himself the empire of Asia.'

[‡] A lacuna is indicated here by the Ms. note ZETEI EN TO PERI ANDRAGATHEMATON KAI STRATEGEMATON, i.e., ' look for the continuation in the chapters on Deeds of Bravery and Generalship.'

[§] The ' kidaris,' which is often mentioned by the Greek and Roman historians as one of the insignia of Oriental royalty, was a high cap, which only the king was allowed to wear upright, and which was surrounded by the diadem, or band of blue and white. See especially Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* 3. 3. 19. In the present passage, as often, it seems to be not different from the tiara, with which some ancient authors identified it; cf. Herychius, *Lexicon*, s. v. *kidaria*. Another and earlier form of the word is *kitaris*, which is found in Ctesias, *Fragments* 78 (47), ed. Gilmore, p. 168. It is most natural to connect it with the Hebrew *keter*, ' crown,' which, however, occurs for the first time in the late book of Esther, 1. 11 ; 2. 17 ; 6. 8. As it is there used of the Persian royal head-dress, Gilmore, in his note on the fragment of Ctesias cited above, and Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 207,

more worthy than Astyages to wear this, since God gives you this privilege as a reward of your valor and ordains that the Persians shall rule over the Medes.' They carried off all the treasure to Pasargadai under the supervision of Hoibaras and the officers whom he had appointed. The booty that the Persians gained by going through the tents of the private soldiers was likewise immense.

Within a short time the rumour was spread abroad generally that Astyages had been defeated and had fled, and that he had been deprived of his power by some god. Individuals and nations began accordingly to revolt. First Artasyras¹, the ruler of Hyrkania, came to Cyrus with an army of fifty thousand and did homage, saying that both this force and another much greater were ready at his command. The rulers of Parthyaia, of the Sakai, of Baktria, came next, and then all the rest, each eager to get the start of the other, until Astyages was finally left with only a few companions. He was attacked shortly afterwards by Cyrus, who easily worsted him in battle, and was left captive before him."

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Leipzig, 1866, suppose it to be derived from the Persian, but do not give any satisfactory etymology. Gilmore's suggestion of Old Persian *khshath(r)am* seems impossible for linguistic reasons. On the other hand, we may refer *keter* either to the Hebrew verb **kltar*, 'to surround', or perhaps to the Assyrian *kudurrû*, meaning a sort of crown; so Hommel Lewy, *Semitische Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, p. 90, Berlin, 1895. An additional testimony for the Semitic origin of *kideros* is afforded by the citation in Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s. v. *kittaris*, of the latter form as belonging to the dialect of Cyprus, an island which was in close contact with Phœnicia.

¹ This is doubtless the Artasyras from Hyrcania whom Ctesias, *Fragments*, 40 (9 ed. Gilmore, p. 138), names as the most powerful personage at the court of Cambyses.

[illegible]

۱۱۳	۱۱۴	۱۱۵	۱۱۶	۱۱۷	۱۱۸	۱۱۹	۱۲۰
۱۱۳	۱۱۴	۱۱۵	۱۱۶	۱۱۷	۱۱۸	۱۱۹	۱۲۰

[illegible]

TRANSLATION.¹

The duties of the children [concerning] school, which are instituted by God. Every day, get up before sunrise; wash your

As the text is corrupted, the translation does not lay any claim to exactness.

hands and face, wipe them with a towel and immediately, as it ought to be, go to school and there do your duty(?) ; in school give all your sight, hearing, mind and tongue to learning ; when you are freed from school, go decently home ; bow kindly to the good and wise men you meet on your way ; whatever you do at home, do it carefully according to the precept. Do not offend your father and mother, do not fight with your brothers and sisters, neither with slave, servants and cattle ; on the contrary, behave well to them, as is becoming. Do not be invidious but benevolent.

Before you are allowed to eat bread, blow your nose, wash your hands, put the bread before you, sit down, say *yathâ*...till *yazamaidê*, *ašəm vohu* thrice, and eat the bread When you have eaten the bread arrange the place and wash your hands with water If you find wine, drink it ; if not, do not drink.¹ Your prayer must be : *ašəm vohu* thrice, *yathâ ahû vairjô* twice Clean your teeth (?) put on the right place sit according to the precepts sleep well, rise up healthily, see the school with pleasure ² Children I shall give you some good precepts : going back from the *êhrpatistân*, go your way ; do not beat nor offend either dogs, birds or cattle. A good learned man you meet with, greet gently, and kindly salute him. When you go out from the house, stand before your parents obediently — with hands on your breast. Whatever you are commanded to do, do attentively, according to the precepts. Do not sit down before you receive permission. When you are told to eat, blow your nose, wash your hands, put the bread before you, say *yathâ* till once, *ašəm vohu* thrice and eat the bread.

When you have eaten bread, clean your teeth, say *ašəm vohu* four times, *yathâ*...twice, put...on the place... sleep well. The next day rise up healthily before sunrise, wash your hands and face thrice well with water and [wipe] with a towel... Do not offend your teacher, so that there may not result a punishment for you. When you miss a school-day, you will be (?) When you are 20 years old, appear before the learned dastoores....., and they ask you a wise word.³

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¹ It means : be sober.

² Here it seems the second fragment on the same subject commences.

³ Examen (?)

A NOTE ON THE BREACH OF TREATY BETWEEN GUSHTASP AND ARJASP.

The purpose of this note is to supplement in a small point the account of the war between Gushtâsp and Arjâsp, which is given in Professor Jackson's volume, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (pp. 105-107), by making accessible in English a passage that was not included in it at the time of publication.

The causes of the war between Gushtâsp and Arjâsp were either religious or else the question of tribute as noted by Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 106, where references to the "Dinkart" and "Yât-kâr-i-Zarîrân" are given. There was still another reason for the outbreak of hostilities according to Tabari (A. H. 311 = A. D. 923), the well-known Arab historian and chronicler, as given in his brief notice of Zoroaster (Tabari, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1881, 1.676). It was connected in a way with the tribute but had also a special import of its own. The contents of the passage by Tabari were copied, perhaps with slight variations, by Ibn-i-Miskawaih (the Persian historian who died A. H. 421 = A. D. 1030) in his historical work entitled "Tajârib-al-Umam", and now accessible in a lithographed facsimile, reproduced by Caetani in the Gibb Memorial Series, 7.54. There is a rendering of Tabari's original quotation, moreover, by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 2.6, in *Sb. Wien. Akad.* 126, *Abhandl.* 13, and by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster, in Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 37, New York, 1894. As the Tabari passage is one of interest, I give here the original Arabic text, adding a translation and making a comment on the point at issue.

وكان بشقاسف في أيامه تلك مهادنا لخرزاسف بن كى مراض اخى فراميل
ملك القرى على ضرب من الصلح وكان من شرط ذلك الصلح ان يكون لبشقاسب بباب
خرزاسف دابة موقوفة بمنزلة الدواب التي تقبض على ابواب الملوك فاشار زرادشت
على بشقاسب بمفارقة ملك القرى فقبل ذلك منه وبعث الي الهاتية والموكل بها فصرخا
الاله واطهرا لخرزاسف فغضب من ذلك وكان ساعرا قائما فاجمع على قتل زرادشت

بشناسب وكتب اليه كتابا فليظا منيفا اعلمه فيه انه احدث حدثا عظيما وانكر قبوله ما قبل من زرادشت وامره بتوجيهه اليه واقسم ان امتنع ان يغزو حتى يسفك دمه ودماء اهل بيته فلما ورد الرصول بالكتاب على شناسب جمع اليه اهل بيته وعظما اهل مملكته وفيهم جاماسب عالمهم وحاصيهم بن لهراسف فكتب بشناسب الي ملك الترك كتابا فليظا جواب كتابه اذ انه فيه بالسرب واعلمه انه غير شمسك عنه ان امسك فصار بينهما على بعض مع كل واحد منهما من المقالة ما يصح كثرة

" Bishtâsp (Gushtâsp) in his days was under an arrangement for a sort of peace with Kharzâsp (Arjâsp) son of Kai Suâsp (Shawâsp), the brother of Frâsiât (Afrâsiâb), King of the Turks.¹ It was one of the conditions of this peace that Gushtâsp should have an animal (a horse) standing at the gate of Arjâsp, in the station of the animals (horses) which stood guard at the gates of the kings. Zaradusht² counselled Gushtâsp to break the tie of friendship with the King of the Turks. He (Gushtâsp) accepted it (the advice) from him and sent for the horse and the man in whose charge it was, and brought them back to him. When this became known to Arjâsp, he became angry. He was an arrogant Sorcerer³. He resolved to make war with Gushtâsp and wrote to him a rough letter. In it he informed him that he (Bishtâsp) had made a great innovation, and that he disapproved his having accepted the teaching of Zaradusht.⁴ He commanded Bishtâsp to send Zaradusht to him, and swore that, in case he refused, he would make war upon him until he should have spilt his blood and the blood of his family. Now when the messenger had brought the letter to Bishtâsp, the latter gathered about him his family and the nobles of his people; among whom were Zâmâsp, (Jâmâsp, their wise man and their arithmetician, and

¹ I have here and throughout followed Tabari's direct phraseology which differs slightly from Miskawaih. Tabari is more explicit; he mentions, for example, the persons by their names, while Miskawaih mentions them only in pronouns, which is so puzzling to the reader.

Miskawaih does not mention Gushtâsp as the only object of this treaty of peace, but he speaks of it in a general way, as if it was his custom that every tributary ruler should furnish also a horse for his gate.

For other references on the proper names consult Justi, "Altiranisches Namenbuch," p. 21. s. v. Arejadaspa.

² Miskawaih has it Zardusht.

³ This sentence is omitted by Miskawaih.

⁴ This sentence is omitted by Miskawaih in this connection

Zarin, (Zarir) the son of Luhrâsp¹. Then Bishtâsp wrote as an answer a threatening letter to the King of the Turks, proclaiming war, and informing him that he (Bishtâsp) would not desist from (fighting) him, even if he (Arjâsp) should desist. So they set out one against the other, each one with a countless number of soldiers."

In reading this account, my attention was arrested by the expression — 'an animal (or horse) at the gate of Arjâsp' — as a condition of the treaty. The point of the stipulation is not clear at first sight, nor do I recall having met with such an expression elsewhere in Oriental literature. But doubtless to the writer himself it was too obvious or familiar to require him to add anything by way of explanation. As a suggestion by way of explanation, I would propose the following idea drawn from the Arabs:—

The horse at times was practically a sign of peace and fealty or a guarantee of safety.² For example, under circumstances when a man has to pass through a country that is hostile to his own, he may ride with safety, if mounted upon the horse of a chief or an officer who is friendly to the hostile tribe. Such a horse, furthermore, is kept with its attendant or is allowed to remain with another tribe as a security or pledge of peace. In some instances, it was virtually the equivalent of a hostage, and served to prevent an ill-disposed tribe from committing depredations, whenever a cause for breaking off relations arose. The horse and the man in its charge depart as a sign of ruptured friendship and probable war. In international diplomacy to-day, this would be equivalent to the withdrawal of an ambassador or minister resident in a foreign country.

It seems to me, therefore, that when Gushtâsp was obliged to pay tribute to Arjâsp, he perhaps followed a common custom in demanding that the tributary ruler should furnish a horse, with an attendant, to stand guard at his gate, ready for service or as a guarantee. The horse, although ostensibly a sign of comity between the two nations, was actually an acknowledgment of

¹ According to Miskawaih, Gushtâsp wrote this letter without consulting his people whom Tabari refers to.

These and similar variations of small import suggest the idea that perhaps Miskawaih had another copy of this account before him with or without that of Tabari.

² I might add that in 1512 Sultan Ahmad of Turkey, when fleeing in disguise, was recognized through the trappings of his horse, and was slain.

superiority on the one side and of submission on the other. In the same connection, perhaps, we may recall the part played by the *Aśvamedha* horse in ancient India, when it roamed over territory that was tributary.

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YŪNĀN DASTŪR'S EPISTLE TO KHUSRŪ KAVĀTĀN.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

As a fitting tribute to the memory of my revered predecessor, give a short and unique Pahlavi text, as yet unedited, with transliteration and translation. I have found only one MS. of the text, and no notice seems to have been taken of it as yet. The text seems to be an historical fragment written in very imperfect Pahlavi. It is possible that it is reproduced from some Neo-Persian writing. I have tried to keep the text intact, giving my amendations at the foot of the pages, and have introduced the amendations in my transliteration.

The subject matter of the fragment may be shortly explained thus. According to the *Shāh-Nāmāh*, Pīrūz, son of Yazdagard, went against Khūshnavāz, the king of the Turks, taking with him his brother Hormuz and his eldest son Kobād as leaders of the army. His younger son Palāsh remained in the capital to govern the kingdom. There was a very famous 'Pārsī' whom the king used to call Sar-khvān (cf. Yūnān), who stayed with Palāsh as a holy leader (Dastūr). Seven princes including Pīrūz fell into a trench, which Khūsh-navāz had prepared, out of whom only Kobād could be saved. Several Iranians were made captive and Kobād was put under heavy fetters. The nobles of the realm elected Palāsh as king. There was a hero named Sūfzāē (cf. Sēvar) who was appointed to watch and protect the realm during the absence of Pīrūz from Irān. He belonged to Shirāz and was 'Sipehbad' and 'Marzbān' of Zābulistān, Bast, Gaznīn and Kābulistān. He went to war against Khūshnavāz for the release of Kobād, the Mūbadān Mūbad Dastūr Ardashīr and other Iranian captives; he returned victorious bringing the released captives to Irān in his train. Palāsh ruled for five years and two months. Thereafter Sūfzāē persuaded him to abdicate the throne in favour of his elder brother Kobād. During the first

twenty-three years of Kobâd's rule, the kingdom was under the 'Dastûrî' of Sûfzâê, whereafter he returned to Shirâz. At the instigation of secret advisers, Kobâd sent Shâpâr Râzi (of Râc) descendent of Mehrak against Sûfzâê who was taken prisoner and brought to Kobâd. All his property in Shirâz was confiscated and brought to Ctesiphon and he was killed. At this act of ungratefulness, the Iranian soldiers and citizens were excited; they fettered Kobâd and delivered him over to Zar-mehr, son of Sûfzâê, to wreak his father's revenge upon him, and elected Jâmâsp, Kobâd's younger brother, as king. Kobâd was able to win over Zar-mehr by persuasion and promises. Zar-mehr released him from fetters, and the two with five confidantes deserted Ctesiphon and took their way to Haitâl. On the way, Kobâd married the daughter of the 'Dahkân' of Ahvâz, and when he reached Haitâl, he asked the king of the Haitâlians for help. The king of the Haitâlians sent with him 40,000 gallant soldiers of his. On his way back Kobâd learnt the good news of the birth of his son, whom he at once named 'Kasrâ'. The great men of Irân set aside Jâmâsp who was only ten years old, and again elected Kobâd as ruler of the realm. Kobâd died after having ruled for forty-three years.

From this short account I gather that the Yûnân Dastâr of the Pahlavi text seems to be the Dastâr Sar-khvân of the Shâh-Nâmah, and that the Palâsh referred to in the Pahlavi text is the younger brother of Kobâd, who ruled for five years and two months during the absence of his father Pîrâz and his elder brother Kobâd. The Sêvar Dastâr of the Pahlavi text must be the Sûfzâê of the Shâh-Nâmah. The episode of the Yûnân Dastâr referred to in the Pahlavi text seems to be wanting in the Shâh-Nâmah.

TEXT.

حدیث فرخ نامہ کہ یونان دستور بہ انوشیروان نوشتہ بود۔

۱۰۰ و ۱۰۱

॥८॥ ५॥ ५॥ ५॥

[illegible][illegible]

॥ १३९ ॥ ॐ ॥ ५५६ ॥ ॐ ॥ ५५६ ॥ ॐ ॥ ५५६ ॥

[illegible][illegible]

॥१॥ १०९१ । ५-२३ ॥ ३ ॥ ३०६७ ॥

مسلموں سے - رسول اللہ - اس آیت اور اس سے کہ مسلموں سے

اس آیت سے کہہ رہے ہیں کہ اگرچہ یہ سب لوگ اللہ کے ہاتھ میں ہیں مگر ان کے لیے جو فیصلہ ہوگا وہ ان کے اعمال کے مطابق ہوگا۔

[illegible]

ਸ੍ਰੀ ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

५५-५६ १६ वा ० वासा १६ ॥ १६ ॥ ५५-५६

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

॥ अथ १ ॥ नमः शिवाय ॥ सुखं भवतु मे ॥ १ ॥

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

1 -பெரிய. 2 -மேல். 3 -பெரிய. 4 -மேல். 5 -மேல். 6 -மேல்.
7 -மேல். 8 -மேல். 9 -மேல். 10 -மேல். 11 -மேல்.
12 -மேல். 13 -மேல். 14 -மேல். 15 -மேல். 16 -மேல். 17 -மேல்.
18 -மேல். 19 -மேல்.

TRANSLITERATION

[NEO-PERSIAN]—Hadith-i farrokh nâmah kah Yûnân Dastûr
bah Anûshîravân nawishtah bûd.

[PAZEND]—I'a nâm-i Yazdân.

[PAHLAVI]—Pavan shem-i Dâdâr Aûhrmazd.

1. Aêdûn yema/elûnd aigh amat Khûsrûb Anûshak-rûbân pavan pâtaekhshâêih yetibûnast, bavîhûnast aigh anshûtâân râê dûsh-kh'âr vabîdûnêd, shekipt-ich vabîdûnêd, chîg'ûn ab-i valman Kavât hamâi kard, va kin ab min mardûmân kh'âst.

2. Meman Kavât râê berât-i yehevûnt mûn-ash shem Palâs yehevûnt, va Kavât gabrâ-i dûsh-him yehevûnt. 3. Âkhar mardûmân ayibârih-i Palâs vabîdûnt (hômând), va Kavât râê min shatr birûn vabîdûnt (hômând), va Palâs râê pavan pâtaekhshâêih barâ nishâst hômand.

4. Kavât pavan bûm-i Tûrk sâtûnt pavan nazdikih-i Khâkân, va rôzgâr-i zak jivâk ketrûnt, va khânak pavan kôp dâsht mûn(-khân) Kôp-i Kavâtân yema/elund va karitûnd. 5. Âkhar min zak, amat Palâs barâ yemitûnt, Kavât min Khâkân asôbârân bavîhûnast, va barâ yâtûnt, va Airân-shatr yensegûnt, va kin-i mardûmân-i Pârs baen dêl dâsht, va sâi min Yûnân Dastôbar va min kofâ aish bâj bavîhûnast, va gabrâân-i chand barâ zektelûnt.

6. Yûnân min valman barâ varikûnt, va mardûmân-i Pârs min valman ranjûr yehevûnt ; xl shant pâtaekhshâêih kard ; âkhar barâ yemitûnt.

7. Âkhar min zak Khûsrûb-i Anûshak-rûbân pavan pâtaekhshâêih barâ yetibûnast, va bavîhûnast aigh levatman mardûmân-i Pârs ham-gûnak vabîdûnêd aigh ab-i valman (barâ) vabîdûnt, va pavan hamâk-jivâk gabrâân barâ yâityûntan-i Yûnân shedûnit, vad valman râê lakhvâr pavan yadman âvurêd, va kin-i ab min valman avâz vakhdûnêd.

8. Yûnân pavan Âtâsh-gâs-i Âtar-Gadman varikûnt yehevûnt ; va Yûnân mard-i sakht zirak va dânak akhtar-mâr yehevûnt. 9. Chîgûn barâ vashammûnt aigh Khûsrûb-i Anûshak-rûbân pavan pâtaekhshâêih barâ yetibûnast, zloh-i kh'êsh barâ vakhdûnt : denman âninak ayâft aigh nazdik-i Anûshak-rûbân vazlûnêd va valman râê mas va rabâ gêrâmik yekhsenûnêd.

10. Âkhar Yûnân nâmak-i barâ yektûbûnt barâ (va) Khûs-

rûb-i Anûshak-rûbân, va gûft : aigh denman nâmak aît, Malkâân Malkâ-i gêtân ! (barâ) setân.

11. Khûsrûb-i gêhân ! barâ khavitûn aigh kherad min hamâk gêhânîkân shapirtar aît. 12. Barâ khavitûn, Malkâ ! aigh kherad shapirtar min hamâk gêhân aît va kolâ memân baên gêhân ; barâ nazdik-i khûdî shapirtar mindavam madam pâtakhsâê kherad aît.

13. Âkâs yehevûnâsh, Malkâ ! min bahar zak zê-sh pâtakhsâêih lâ pavan âninak hamâê kard. 14. Âkâs yehevûnâsh aigh pâtakhsâêih pavan n mindavam patâyidâr yehevûnêt.

15. Ab-i lak bârd-bârih nèvakîh lû kard, va khûpih avâz vakhdânt, va pavan jivâk-i bârd-bârih (sar)-kashîh kard, va pavan jivâk-i khûpih sakhtîh. 16. Zak aîsh, min chigûn (denman) vadîdînêd, hat lak valman râê dûst yekhsenînih, vad mardâmân-ich dûst yekhsenînd !

17. Kanî amat pâtakhsâêih bavîhûnîh kardân, dûst yekhsenûn aigh dûshmin (barâ) sâtûnd, aêdûn aigh dûshmin-i kûchak vazôrg hōmanêd.

18. Chigûn Vishtâsp malkâ yehevûnâsh, mûn-ash 12,000 saklûn dânakân pavan karitûntan râst kard va barâ yektibûnast : 4,000 baên Shâest-lâ-Shâest va frahâng Din-i avîzak-i Aîhrmazd Khûdâê ; va 4,000 baên chand masâtarih va gêhândârih va nikâs dâshthan-i shatr va shatristân, âvâdînih-i matî mardûmân va nikâs dâshthan dâmân-i Aîhrmazd ; 4,000 baên frahâng andâzak va akhtar-mârih va khavitûntan-i tib sâkhtan-i rûdîhâ va âvgînihâ va mindavam-i aigh pâtakhsâyîn râê pavan kêr yâtûnêt. 19. Va baên zak hanbâm gîrg va mish levatman nèvak dadîgar mayâ barâ vashtamûnt.

20. Va âkhar chigûn Vohîman Spend-dâtân yehevûnâsh, mûn-ash masân va kasân . . . yehevûnt va gêhân râê âvâdân dâsh; Jond-i Dûshhâkht râê âvâdân kard va Arûmâikân râê vosâr kard hōmand va âtâsh pavan Tûrkastân, Arûm va Sistân yebrûnt, va Âtâsh-gâs-i Kayân kard hōmand—12,000 kard hōmand va baên Aîrân-shatr 12,000 pâhal ribât kard.

21. Chigûn Dârê yehevûnâsh, mûn-ash Fagfûr-i Chîn râê pavan bandakîh yâityûnt, XII shatristîn kard Âtar Gûshaûsp zahbâin kard, va 12,000 bandak Fagfûr vakhdânt yehevûnt min band âzâd kard, va ganj-i vazôrg hanakhtûnt baên gōmbad-i

Âtarân.

22. Chigûn Artakhshir-i Pâpakân yehevûnâsh, mûn-ash xcvi sipâh pavan bandakih-i benafshman kard, va min yadman-i benman-i Khâkân barâ vashtamînt, va bentman malkâ-i Arûm levin-i khûd yâityûnt, hamâk mardûmân min Khîrâsân vad Khôrbarân baen bandakih dâsht, va nihâd min dêrham kard, Yânân matâân kard, va baen khûdâcih-i valman min hamâk gêhân aevak gabrâ-i daryôsh bavihûnast hômand lâ yehevûnt; nêvakân pavan avê-bimih va khûsh-dêlih zivast hômand va saritarân pûr tars va bim yehevûnt.

23. Chigûn Pîrûz yehevûnâsh, mûn-ash baen khûdâcih vii shant tang-sâlih yehevûnt, va min tangih hich aish lâ yemitûnt min mardûmân va chihârpâyân, min zak ganj-i nafshman pavan hamâk gêhânikân kard; yôm-shapân nesadman val Dâdâr Âthrmazd kard vad zak tangih barâ sâtûnt.

24. Chigûn Vahârâm Gîr yehevûnâsh, mûn-ash min dâd nihâdak-i pêshinikân mardûmân parvard va gêhân avê-bim dâsht va pavan shâdih yekhsenûnt.

25. Ab-i lak, amat pavan pâtakshshâcih yâmtûnt, levat man Palâs lâ tôbân kôshid, va brêl-zâdagân râe barâ aityûnt, va madam sar-i âzâdagân pâyak kard, va Sevar kherad Dastôbar râe mekhîtûnt mûn baen hamâk gêhân dânak-i chigûn valman lâ yehevûnt; min anâk-kerdârân barâ varikûnt va pavan shatran-airânakân aiftâd.

26. Denman âninak aish dûst yekhsenûnih vad mardûmân-ich dûst yekhsenûnd. 27. Min bandak kherad gir, hat kherad-aûmand hômanêd, va sakhûn bandagân mitr-pânakân vashammûn. 28. Va kin min dêl birûn vabîdûn, meman pâtakshshâcih nêk kin-i kahôbûn vijôyêd?

29. Âkâs yehevûnâsh aigh pâtakshshâcih mûn pavan kherad levit zûd barâ levitih yâmtûnêd, va amat sakhûn-i dânakân lâ vashammûnêd zûd tapâh yehevûnêd, va amat stahambakih vabîdûnêd zûd pashimân yehevûnêd.

30. Aêdûn yemaêdûn i aigh kolâ pâtakshshâcih mûn gadman-i Kayân yekhsenûnt, zak gadman valman-râe min hamâk a-sazâkiha lakhvâr yekhsenûnêd, va dûr vabîdûnêd min hamâk a-dakyâih, ham aêdûn chigûn âtâsh hamâe tam va târikih min âsîm va zahbâ drêk vabîdûnêd vad avêtâr vartêd va vatûnêk yehevûnêd.

TRANSLATION

[NEO-PERSIAN] — Tradition of the auspicious letter which Yûnân Dastûr had written to Naoshîrwân.

[PAZEND] — With the name of God.

[PAHLAVI] With the name of the Creator Aôhrmazd (I begin).

1. It is related that when Khûsrûb of immortal soul sat on the throne, he wished to ill-treat the people and be harsh (towards them) just as his father Kavât used to do; and he sought after his father's revenge from the people.

2. For Kavât had a brother whose name was Palâs, and Kavât was a man of vicious disposition. 3. Consequently, the people helped Palâs, banished Kavât from the country and placed Palâs on the throne¹.

4. Kavât went to the land of the Turks near the Khâkân, remained there for a period and took up (his) abode on a mountain which is called and named 'Kavât's mountain.'² 5. Thereafter, when Palâs died, Kavât, having asked the Khâkân for troops, came over and took possession of the country of Îrân, harboured in (his) heart revenge against the people of Pârs, demanded subsidy from Yûnân Dastûr and tribute from all persons, and killed several men.

6. Yûnân fled away from him, and the people of Pârs were tired of him; he ruled for forty years, and then he died.

7. Thereafter, Khûsrûb of immortal soul sat on the throne, wished to deal with the people of Pârs just as his father had done, and he despatched men to all parts (of the country) to fetch Yûnân, so that he may again get hold of him, and wreak (his) father's revenge upon him.

8. Yûnân had fled to the Fire-temple of 'Âdar-Khûrah'; and Yûnân was a very "cunning" man and wise astrologer. 9. When he heard that Khûsrûb of immortal soul had sat on the throne, he cast his own horoscope, and predicted in this manner that he should go to (Khûsrûb) of immortal soul, and that he (the latter) would

¹ According to the Shâh-Nâmâh, it was the youngest brother Jâmâsp and not Palâsh, who was elected king on the banishment of Kobâd. See *Introductory Remarks* above, p. 495.

² According to Firdausi, Kobâd went to Haitâl and returned from Haitâl with an army of 40,000 to regain the throne.

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hold him great, noble and beloved.

10. Thereafter, Yûnân wrote an epistle to Khûsrûb of immortal soul and addressed (him) thus : " This is (my) epistle, take (it), O Emperor of the earth !

11. King of the earth ! Know that wisdom is the best of all earthly (things). 12. Know, king, that wisdom is superior to the whole world and to whatever is in the world ; moreover, in the presence of the sovereign, wisdom is the best thing, the supremely sovereign.

13. Be warned, O king ! by that (one) who ruled not with propriety. 14. Know that sovereignty remains permanent by means of two things.

15. Thy father did not practise forbearance and goodness, and he withheld beneficence ; in place of forbearance he practised haughtiness, and, in place of beneficence, he (practised) severity.

16. If you befriend him, (*i. e.*,) the person who does the like, would people, too, befriend him ?

17. Now, if you desire to rule, befriend (the people), so that foes might disappear, in as much as an insignificant enemy becomes (a) formidable (foe).

18. Be thou like King Vishtâsp who prepared by heart and transcribed 12000 sayings of the sages : 4000, consisting of " The Proper and the Improper," and the instruction of the holy Religion of Aûhrmazd, the Lord; and 4000, consisting of several (things), justice and governance of the realm, preservation of cities and provinces, prosperity of the subjects of the country, and preservation of the creatures of Aûhrmazd ; 4000, consisting of the science of Mathematics and Astrology, the knowledge of the construction of rivers and canals, and things useful to kings. 19. And at that period, the wolf and the lamb used to drink water with one another.

20. And, then, be thou like Bahman, son of Spend-dât, who was (just to) the high and the low, and kept the kingdom prosperous and he fertilized *Jond-i Dûsh-hûkht*, and (his subjects) scattered the Arûmans, and carried the Sacred Fire to Tûrkastân, Arûm and Sîstân, and prepared Kayânian Fire-temples; —they prepared 12000 ;—and he constructed 12000 bridges, and inns in the country of Irân.

21. Be thou like Dârâs who brought the Fagfûr of Chîn in captivity, and populated twelve provinces, and established Âdar Gûshaûsp (in) the golden (altar), and released from fetters 12000 captives (whom) Fagfûr had taken, and deposited great treasure in the vaults of the Fire-temples.

22. Be thou like Artakhshir son of Pâpak, who kept 96 soldiers in his attendance, and used to eat from the hands of a son of Khâkân, and brought with him a daughter of the king of Arûm, and had all mankind from the East to the West under (his) obedience. And during his reign, (if) they sought one beggar in the whole kingdom, he was not (to be found). The good lived without fear and with joyful hearts; and the wicked were full of dread and fear.

23. Be thou like Fîrûz, in whose reign there was a scarcity for seven years, and no one from among men and beasts died of want; as he made over his own treasure to all the subjects. For days and nights he prayed to the Creator Aûhrmazd, until the famine passed off.

24. Be thou like Vahârâm Gûr, who cherished mankind according to the law and usage of the ancients, and (who also) kept the people without fear and with tranquility.

25. When thy father came to the throne, he could not live in peace with Palâs and he brought his nephews, and appointed them over the head of nobles, and killed Sêvar, the leader of wisdom, like whom there was no sage in the whole world; he fled from the avengers and fell off in a foreign country.

26. In this way do thou befriend a person, that mankind may befriend thee. 27. Acquire wisdom from thy servant, if he is wise, and listen to the advice of kind servants. 28. And remove malice from (thy) heart; for, should a new king seek after old revenge?

29. Know that when the king has no wisdom, (he) soon comes to nothingness, and when he does not listen to the admonitions of the wise, he is soon ruined, and if he practises oppression, he soon repents.

30. It is so said that every king who has the Kayânian glory,— that glory withholds him from all improper actions, and

makes him far from all impurities in the same way as fire cleans silver and gold of all their dross, so that they become without dross and are appreciated.

KAIKOBAD ADARBAD DASTUR NOSHIRVAN.

PERSIAN BUDDHIST TRANSLATORS IN CHINA.

It is interesting to know that the Buddhists of China and Japan owe much to eminent scholars of ancient Persia. After the introduction of Buddhism into China in 67 A.D., there were many Buddhist monks and laymen from India, Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan coming to China for missionary work. Most of them translated valuable Buddhist books into the Chinese language, and left us authentic sources for investigations, though some works were already lost a thousand years ago. Ancient Persia sent a number of Buddhist missionaries to China in the early part of the history of Chinese Buddhism. We do not know exactly how many Persian Buddhist missionaries came to China, but from memoirs of eminent monks, such as No. 1490 in Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese "Tripitaka", and various catalogues of the Chinese Buddhist books, we learn that there were at least five Persian Buddhist translators in China in the period between the middle of the second century and the beginning of the fourth. Even in the seventh century there were several hundred Buddhist monks in the dominion of Persia. Hsuan Tsang, a great Chinese pilgrim, while travelling in the western frontier of India near Beluchistan in 644 A.D., was told by the native people about the Persian Buddhism of that time. This information is contained in a short note on Persia in his *Si-yu-ki*, chapter 11, in which he says that "there are two or three Buddhist monasteries (in Persia) with several hundred monks by whom the Hinayāna doctrine of Sarvāstivāda was followed."

Foreign Buddhist missionaries in ancient China often translated their names into Chinese with a particular word in the beginning to denote the native country of each one. An Indian missionary Dharma-raksa translated his name into *Fa-lan*, with *Chu* in the beginning to represent his native country *T'ien-chu* (India), so that he has been generally known in China and Japan by the name of *Chu Fa-lan*. In the same fashion, Loka-raksa, a monk of the

country of Yué-chi (northern India and part of Afghanistan) transliterated his name into *Chi Lou-chia-ch'an*, or *Shi Lo-ka-shen*, as the Japanese pronounce it. Sangha-varman, a monk of the country of K'ang-chü (Sogdiana) rendered his name into *K'ang Sêng-k'ai*. Parthia was called *An-si* (Japanese *An-sok*) in early historical records of China, such as *Chen-han-shu*, or "History of Former Han Dynasty" (202 B.C.—24 A.D.), and *Hou-hanshu*, or "History of Latter Han Dynasty" (25—219 A.D.) *An-si* is the Chinese transliteration of *Arsak*, another form of *Arsakidæ*, the name of an ancient Persian dynasty. The ancient Chinese had no sound like *ar*, and used *an* to transliterate *ar* in a foreign sound. In the fashion just mentioned, ancient Persian Buddhists in China should have *An* in the beginning of their names. The five Persian Buddhist translators are: An Shi-kao, An Hsüan, T'an-wu-ti, An Fa-hien and An Fa-ch'in. They have a word *An* prefixed in their names, except the third monk.

1. An Shi-kao.—An Shi-kao, sometimes called An Tsing, was a son of the queen, and the crown prince of An-si. He learned thoroughly various branches of art and science, and was interested in religious books of foreign countries. When his father, the king, died, he was deeply impressed with sorrow and the unreality of the world. So he gave up his kingdom to his uncle, and becoming a monk, studied the doctrine of the Buddha. He understood "Sûtra-pitaka", was well versed in "Abhidharma", and often recited sûtras on meditation. Sometime later, he left his country, and wandered about in foreign lands until he came to China and arrived at Loyang, the capital of China, in 148 A. D. He soon mastered the Chinese language, and worked at translation till 170 A. D. Chinese catalogues of Buddhist books differ in numbering his works.

Catalogue to Buddhist books	Number of work	Number of fasciculus
<i>K'ai-yuan-lu</i>	87	88
(Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1485)		
<i>I-ching-t'u-chi</i>	176	197
(Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1487)		
<i>Nei-t'ien-lu</i>	176	197
(Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1488)		

According to "R'ai-yüan-lu," chapter 1, two works out of eighty-seven were lost before 730 A. D. Many of these works are only sections or chapters taken from "Digha-", "Majjhima-", "Samyutta-", and "Anguttara-nikâya." This caused a difference in the counting of his work in various catalogues.

In the last two catalogues we find ascribed to An Shi-kao three noteworthy translations, "Fa-chü-ching" ("Dhammapada") in 4 fasciculi, "Wu-liang-shü-ching" ("Amitâyus-sûtra") in 2 fasciculi, and "Tao-ti-ching" ("Mârgabhûmi-sûtra") in 1 fasciculus. An Shi-kao's "Fa-chu-ching" is the earliest Chinese translation of "Dhammapada", but unfortunately it was lost a long time ago. At present we have in the Chinese "Tripitaka" four later translations of the "Dhammapada". They are as follows: Vighna's version in 39 chapters (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1365), Fa Chü's version in 39 chapters (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1353), Sanghabhûti's version in 33 chapters (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1321), and T'ien-si-tsai's version in 33 chapters (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1439). An Shi-kao's *Wu-liang-chu-ching* ("Amitâyus-sûtra") is the earliest Chinese version of "Sukhâvati-vyûha". Originally there were in China twelve different translations of "Sukhâvati-vyûha." Seven of them were lost long ago, and the remaining five are still in the Chinese "Tripitaka" (cf. Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 10). According to I-ching-t'ü-cni, An Shi-kao's version was lost before 664 A.D. The original Sanskrit text of "Sukhâvati-vyûha" was published by Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio in "Anecdota Oxoniensia", Aryan Series, vol. I, part 2, and an English translation by Max Müller is in the Sacred Book of the East, vol. 49. In the Chinese "Tripitaka" we have "Tao-ti-ching" ("Mârgabhûmi-sûtra") in 1 fasciculus (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1326), and a later translation "Sü-hing-tao-ti-ching" by Dharma-raksa (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1325). Both "Wu-liang-shü-ching" ("Amitâyus-sûtra") and "Tao-ti-ching" ("Mârgabhûmi-sûtra") are Mahâyâna texts. From this fact we may conclude that An Shi-kao had the original books of both the Hinayâna and Mahâyâna schools. His translation of "Sukhâvati-vyûha" is especially noteworthy, for a later version by Sanghavarman is one of the most popular and most widely read sûtras in China and Japan.

2. An Hsüan.—An Hsüan was a prince and an upasaka of the country of An-si. He was a gentleman of amiable character, learned in secular and religious literature. When he came to China, the Emperor Liang honored him with the rank of the first colonel in the Chinese cavalry division. So he was often known in China by the name of Prince An or Colonel An. With the assistance of a Chinese scholar Yen Fo-t'ao, he translated the following two works into Chinese at Lo-yang in 181 A.D. :

(a) *Shi-urh-yin-yuan-ching* (Dvādasāṅga-pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra) in 1 fasciculus (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1339).

(b) *Po-ching-ching* (Ugra-paripicchā) in 2 fasciuli (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 33).

The former is the demonstration of the twelvefold chain of causation¹ which was thought over by the Buddha both forward and back, soon after the attainment of Buddhahood, and the latter belongs to the Vaipulya class of the Mahāyāna school (cf. *K'ai-yüan-lu* chapter 1, "I-ching-t'u-chi" chapter 1, and "Nei-t'ien-lu", chapter I).

3. T'an-wu-ti.—T'an-wu-ti, or Dom-mu-tai, as the Japanese pronounce it, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-satya or the Pāli Dhamma-sacca. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He translated important passages taken from Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school in White Horse Monastery at Lo-yang in 254 A. D. His work (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1146) exists in the Chinese "Tripitaka" in the name of "T'an-wu-to-che-mo" (Dharmagupta-karman).²

4. An Fa-hien.—Fa-hien may be the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-bhadra. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. We do not know the date of his arrival in China. He is said to have translated "*Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra*" in 2 fasciuli, and "*Rāmaka-sūtra*" in 3 fasciuli. According to "*K'ai-yüan-lu*" chapter 4, the former is a translation of the first few sections of the "*Mahānirvāna-sūtra*" of the Mahā-

¹ For parallel Pāli passage see *Mahā-vagga*, i. 1.2-3 and Warren's Buddhism, p. 83.

² Cf. "*K'ai-yüan-lu*", chapter 1, "I-ching-t'u-chi", chapter 1, and *Nei-t'ien-lu* chapter 1.

³ No. 113 in Nanjio's Catalogue is a later translation of "*Mahānirvāna-sūtra*" of the Mahāyāna school.

yāna school, and the latter a partial translation of "Avatamsaka-sūtra", (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 87). We have a later version of "Rāmaka-sūtra" (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 106), an incomplete translation of chapter 34 of "Avatamsaka-sūtra", and An Fa-hien's version may be the earlier translation of the same original. Unfortunately two works of An Fa-hien were lost before 730 A. D. Anyway An Fa-hien was a Mahāyānist, for both works belong to the school of the Greater Vehicle.

5. An Fa-chin.—Fa-chin was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He came to China, and translated five works in 6 fasciculi at Lo-yang in the period between 281 and 306 A. D. Chinese Buddhist catalogues mention names of these works, but three of them were lost before 730 A. D. At present we have the following two works in the Chinese "Tripitaka".

(a) *O-yu-wang-chuan* (Life of King Ashoka) in 7 fasciculi (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1459).

(b) *Tao-shan-tsu-ching* (Sūtra on the supernatural footsteps) in 4 fasciculi (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 148).

The former may be a Chinese version of "Ashokāvadāna" (Catalogue of the Hodgson Manuscripts, v. 23, vi. 12, vii. 3). A later version is "O-yu-wang-ching" ("Ashoka-rāja-sūtra" translated by Sanghapāla in 512 A. D. (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1343). The latter is a traditional record of Buddha's sermon for his mother in Tusita heaven. A similar translation was made by Dharma-raksa in about 270 A. D. (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 153).

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PERSIAN ALLUSIONS IN PAUSANIAS.

In the celebrated guidebook of the ancient Greek traveller, Pausanias, there are several references to Persia, which are of interest not only as a corroboration of the statements of Herodotus and Strabo but also as throwing, perhaps, some additional light on the antiquities and religion of ancient Iran. In view of the fact that Pausanias was engaged primarily in writing a description of Greece, in which the Persian allusions are only incidental, it is not to be expected that the amount of information derived from him would be very great. Where such allusions do occur, however, they appear to be worthy of special consideration, first, because Pausanias himself is believed to have been a Lydian by birth¹ and hence probably acquainted with Persian civilization at first hand, and second, because his general trustworthiness, in spite of the attacks of Scaliger and later critics, is now generally admitted.²

The significant passages in Pausanias relating to Persia are the following.

1. ALLUSION TO THE HORSE SACRIFICE.

In *Periegesis*, 3.20.4, Pausanias incidentally alludes to the sacrifice of horses as a custom common in the Persian sun-worship. The reference reads as follows (cf. Frazer's translation p. 166 f.). 'Above Bryseæ rises mount Taletum, a peak of Taygetus. They call this peak *sacred to the sun* and amongst the sacrifices which *they here offer to the sun*, are horses. The same sacrifice, I am aware, is offered by the *Persians*.'

This feature of the religious worship of the ancient Persians, corresponding to the *asvamedha* of the early Hindus (cf. *Rigveda* 1. 162-163), is mentioned several times in the Zoroastrian scriptures as observed by heroes and kings (e.g. *Yasht* 5; 9; 14). The horse-sacrifice is not directly referred to by either Herodotus or Strabo

¹ Cf. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. 1. p. xix.

² *ib.*, p. lxxvi f.

in their special descriptions of the Persian rites, but Herodotus does speak of this custom in connection with the Massagetae, of whom he says (1, 216): 'The only god that they worship is the Sun, to whom they sacrifice horses. The idea of this sacrifice is that they offer the swiftest of all creatures to the swiftest of the gods. With this latter attribute of swiftness we may compare the Avestan epithet *aurvat-aspa*, 'swift-horsed', in Yt. 6 1; 23. 6; Sirozah 1. 11; 2. 11. and on the position of the horse among the early Persians in general we may refer to the monograph by Modi, *The Horse in Ancient Irân*.

2. THE PERSIAN FIRE-WORSHIP.

In Periegesis 5.27 there is an interesting religious allusion, which is to be added to the well known passages in Herodotus and Strabo. I quote it in full. 'The Lydians who are surnamed *Persian*, have sanctuaries in the cities of Hierocæsarea and Hypaepa, and in each of the sanctuaries is a chapel (*oikyma*) and in the chapel there are *ashes on an altar*, but the color of the ashes is not that of ordinary ashes. A Magian, after entering the chapel and piling *dry wood* on the altar, first places a *tiara* on his head, and next chants an invocation (*epadei*) of some god in a barbarous and, to a Greek, utterly unintelligible tongue; he chants the words from a book (*ek bibliou*). Then, without the application of fire the wood must needs kindle and a bright blaze shoot up from it'. (See Frazer, p. 280).

This account is practically the same as that given by Strabo (15. 3. 14-15), though it is evident that we have in Pausanias an independent authority, whose statements are based on personal observation (*theasamenos*) Pausanias's 'chapel' (*oikyma*) is doubtless the same as the fire-temple (*pusai theion*) of Strabo and the *âtash-gâh* of the Zoroastrians. The tiara, described in fuller detail by Strabo, is the *penom* worn by the Magi to keep their breath from polluting the fire. The invocation chanted at the sacrifice (*epadei*) is also mentioned by Herodotus and Strabo, but Pausanias alone tells us that the words were actually read from a book — a clear reference to the hymns of the Avesta.

3. STATUES OF PERSIANS USED AS COLUMNS.

The practice of using statues of Persians as supports or

columns in sculpture and architecture is referred to in two passages of Pausanias's work. In *Perieg.* 1.18.8 we read : ' There is also [at Athens] a group in Phrygian marble, of *Persians supporting a bronze tripod* : the figures and the tripod are both worth seeing'. (Frazer p. 26). With this compare 3.11.3, which runs as follows : ' The most striking ornament of the market-place [at Sparta] is a colonnade which they name the *Persian Colonnade*. Built originally from the spoils of the Persian war, it grew in course of time into the spacious and splendid edifice which it now is. On the pillars are *figures of Persians* in white marble : one of them is *Mardonius*, son of *Gobryas Artemisia*, daughter of *Lygdamis*, and queen of *Halicarnassus* is also represented. They say she voluntarily joined *Xerxes* in his expedition against Greece, and distinguished herself by her prowess in the sea-fight at *Salamis* (Frazer, p. 149).

It is interesting to compare with this a passage in the *De Architectura* of Vitruvius in which the architectural feature here exemplified is explained. In the chapter to which I refer Vitruvius, after enumerating the various branches of knowledge with which the ideal architect should have some acquaintance, continues in the following manner (*De Arch.* 1, 5, 6). ' The architect must also have considerable knowledge of history, because architects, in designing buildings employ many ornaments which they should be able to explain to those who desire an explanation. Take, for example, those marble statues of women in long robes, which are called *Caryatides*. If they are introduced in a building to support the mutules and cornice, the architect may explain them, in case of inquiry, as follows. *Carya*, a state of the Peloponnesus, sided with the Persians in their war against Greece. Hence, when the Greeks had put an end to that conflict by a glorious victory, they all, by common consent, declared war on the *Caryates*. In this way they captured the city, put the men to death and pronounced a curse upon the state. The matrons they led away into slavery, without, however, permitting them to lay aside their robes and the adornments of their sex. Instead of being led once for all in triumph they were made a perpetual example of servitude, loaded with scorn and suffering, the punishment of their state, by the fact that the architects of that time *used their statues as columns to support the weight of buildings*, that the memory of their

crime and also of its punishment might be handed down to posterity. In a similar manner, when a small band of Laconians, under the leadership of Pausanias, son of Agesipolis, had defeated the countless host of the Persians in the battle of Plataea, they first celebrated a splendid triumph with the booty and plunder, and then employed the proceeds of the spoils in erecting the *Persian Colonnade* — a building which was at once an incentive to glory and valor among the citizens and trophy of victory to later generations. They there set up images of the captives in barbaric garb to support the roof, thus punishing arrogance with the contempt that it deserved, so that their enemies might be terrified through fear of their bravery and that the citizens, gloriously inspired by beholding this example of courage, might be prepared to defend the liberty of the state. Hence, from that time forward, many have erected *statues of Persians to support* the epistylum and its ornaments, and, by this idea, have introduced a striking variety into their works. There are likewise other historical facts of the same character, which architects ought to know.'

As a Persian parallel to this Grecian idea we might, perhaps, refer to the sculptured figures of the twenty-eight conquered nations which Darius caused to be represented as supporting his throne; see the inscription about his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam, and compare Weissbach and Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, (Leipzig, 1893,) pp. 36, 37; Spiegel, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 56, 57; also the illustrations in Dieulafoy, *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, 3, pl. 1, 2, 3, and Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis*, 2, 108-110.

4. THE PERSIAN LAW.

In Pausanias 9, 32, 10 there is an allusion to the Persian attitude toward wealth, which is quite at variance with what is found elsewhere on that subject in the literature of Greece and Rome. The passage to which I refer occurs in connection with the description of the tomb of the Spartan Lysander at Haliartus in Bœotia. As one of the discreditable features of Lysander's career Pausanias mentions the fact that it was he who first introduced the love of money among the Lacedaemonians. The passage may be rendered thus: 'Although, warned by an oracle that the love of

money alone would prove the ruin of Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were not accustomed to amass wealth, Lysander, nevertheless imbued them with a strong desire for it. In my own opinion, *following the Persians and judging by their law* (*Persais te epomenos* [*kai dikachon nomu ge to ekeinon*]), I believe that Lysander did more harm than good to Lacedaemon.'

Frazer's note on this passage (Vol. 5. p. 167) furnishes no further information concerning the custom which is here referred to. He simply remarks that 'the Persian law or custom to which Pausanias refers would seem to have been one which forbade or discouraged the accumulation of wealth.' But no such law seems to be known from either Persian or classical sources. Quite the contrary, both the Greeks and the Romans were so deeply impressed by the wealth and luxury of Persia that the Persian King came to be regarded as a type of great riches and the adjective 'Persian' was used as synonymous with 'splendid' or 'magnificent.'

The only explanation of Pausanias's words which I can offer is that he may have been thinking of the simple life of the early Persian mountaineers. If so, we may compare Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, 1.3.4-5, where the youthful Cyrus, at the court of his grandfather, Astyages, praises the frugal fare of the Persians as contrasted with the sumptuous banquets of the Medes.

5. THE PERSIAN SHIELD.

We find also in Pausanias two passages which are interesting as affording some additional evidence with regard to the shape of the Persian shield. The first of these occurs in *Perieg.* 8.50.1, where, speaking of Philopœmen, the leader of the Achæans, he says, in the words of Frazer (p. 438): 'He was thus enabled to change the equipment of their infantry. Hitherto they had carried short javelins and *oblong* shields, like the Celtic targes and the *Persian bucklers* (*tâ gerra ta Persôn*), but Philopœmen induced them to don breastplates and put on greaves, and, further, to use Argolic shields and long spears.' The second passage to which I wish to

¹ Cf Plato, *Alcib* 122 C; Plutarch, *Moralia* 230 EF; Horace, *Odes*, 1, 38, 1; 3, 9, 4; Statius, *Silvæ*, 1, 3, 105. See also Liddell and Scott, s. v. *Persikos* and Lewis and Short s. v.

call attention is found in the description of the temple of Apollo at Delphi in *Perieg.* 10.19.3 and reads as follows (Frazer p. 527) : ' On the architrave are golden shields : some of them were dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils of the battle of Marathon ; but the shields at the back and on the left are Gallic shields, dedicated by the Aetolians ; in shape they closely resemble the *Persian bucklers* (*ton Persikon gerrôn*).'

It is evident from both of these passages that the shields of the Persians must have been quite similar in appearance to those of the Celts, and that both were essentially different from the round shield (*aspis*), which formed part of the equipment of the Greek peltast. It was pointed out by Professor Merriam in a note in the volume of *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 124, that the oblong Galatian shields represented on the portico erected by Eumenes II at Pergamum might be taken as an indication of the shape of the Persian *gerron*. In this connection I would refer to *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique* 18. p. 176, where it is reported that a metope, which was found near the south-west corner of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, bore the imprint of a large, oblong shield, more than a meter in length. If this was one of the golden shields mentioned by Pausanias, the discovery may be taken as a further confirmation of Professor Merriam's theory. In that case, however, we must suppose that Pausanias's account is not entirely accurate, as he says that he saw the shields on the architrave of the temple but does not make any particular mention of the metopes.

The shields represented in Persian works of art are somewhat oblong in shape but much less elongated than either the impression on the metope at Delphi or the shields of the portico at Pergamum. See, for example, the illustrations in Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse, Perse Ancienne*, vol. 2. pl. 100, 101 ; vol. 3. pl. 154. On the subject of the shield in Iranian literature see the article on ancient Persian armour by A. V. W. Jackson in the Drisler Memorial Volume referred to above.

IRVING C. DEMAREST.

ALLUSIONS TO THE PERSIAN MAGI IN CLASSICAL LATIN WRITERS.

The religion of ancient Iran, with its great founder Zoroaster, has been a fruitful topic for study by Western scholars, and among the interesting themes for consideration is naturally that of the Magi, its priestly caste. In dealing with this question the Latin classics have a certain value as adding extra information from outside and it seems worth while to present their more important items in a single article devoted to this subject.

Valuable collections of classical references, both in Greek and Latin, to the general subject of the ancient Iranian religion are already accessible in the works of such scholars as Hyde, Brisson, Kleuker, Rapp, Windischman and Jackson,¹ but the aim of the present essay is to take a single aspect of the topic and treat it solely from the Latin side.

The references to the Persian Magi here given have been gathered after making a careful examination of the indexes to practically all the well known Latin authors and many of the minor writers. They have a peculiar interest also of their own because they show how one phase of the teachings of the Magi, namely the Art of Magic, became a factor in the social life of Ancient Rome. This occult science appealed to the Romans in the days of their degeneracy because it could minister to their passions. About the actual faith and exalted doctrine of the Magi, which Ammianus Marcellinus calls "the purest worship of divine beings", they knew little and cared less. The result was an utter confusion in the use of the terms *Magus*, *Chaldeus*, and *Mathematicus*.

¹ Hyde: *Religio veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700.

Brisson: *De Regio Persarum Principatu*, Paris, 1590.

Kleuker, *Zend-Avista*, Auhang, Z. 2tn, Bd., 3ter, Theil, Leipzig, and Riga, 1783.

Rapp, *De Religion der Perser und der übrigen Iranier nach d. Griechischen und Römischen Quellen*, in ZDMG. 19. p. 4. seq. 20, p. 49 seq.

Windischmann. *Zoroastriische Studien*, pp. 260-273, Berlin, 1863.

Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-273.

The material on the subject in question may be conveniently discussed (1) with reference to the word "Magus" as relating undoubtedly to the Persian Magi, and (2) as associated and confused with diviner, magician and the like. I shall take these up in due order.

I.

MAGUS IN THE SENSE OF PERSIAN PRIEST.

The ease with which the passages quoted below can be paralleled from the Greek, shows at once their ultimate origin. The two classical authors whose writings yield the fullest and most accurate returns, Cicero and Ammianus Marcellinus, were in close touch with Greek learning. It is to be expected, moreover, that Cicero, who occasionally dealt with such subjects as divination and the nature of the gods, would examine the religious beliefs of different nations, and there is the barest possibility that he may have had other than Greek sources. Ammianus Marcellinus, we know, was a native of Antioch and it is not unlikely that he may have come into personal contact with the Magi.

The citations which relate definitely to the priesthood of Ancient Iran make up a not inconsiderable number of facts descriptive of this sect. This material includes the following points which may be grouped as follows :—

1. Etymology of the word Magus.
2. Zoroaster, the Founder of the Magian Faith.
3. Location of the Home of the Magi.
4. The Magi, a Tribe — their Independence, and the Esteem in which they were held.
5. Burial customs of the Magi.
6. The Wisdom and Learning of the Magi.
7. Pythagoras reputed to have studied under the Magi.
8. The Magi as a Priesthood.
9. The Use of Fire in Magian Worship.
10. Temples and Shrines of the Magi.
11. Skill of the Magi in Divination and Magic.
12. Overthrow of the Magi by Darius.
13. Miscellaneous Allusions to the Magi.

1. ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD MAGIA.

A praiseworthy attempt is made by Ammianus Marcellinus to give the etymology of the word *magia*; but unfortunately he does so by referring us to a strange term *machagista*, which is more difficult to account for than the original word. Plato is cited as his authority. The passage is as follows :—

Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century) *Rer. Gest.* 23.6.6.32. remarks : “ Plato who is the author of so many wise sayings affirms that *magia* is derived from a mystic word *machagista*, the purest worship of divine beings.”

2. ZOROASTER, THE FOUNDER OF THE MAGIAN FAITH.

The Latin writers Ammianus, Justin, and Pliny, unite in saying that Zoroaster was the founder of the Magian faith. The statement of Ammianus is noteworthy because he speaks of the great Eastern sage as a native of Bactria, whether correctly or incorrectly scholars are not agreed.¹ The identification of Hytaspes with the father of Darius is erroneous.² What he says regarding Brahmanical influences on Zoroaster is interesting perhaps in the light of the natural affinities which the religion of Persia has with the ancient faith of India.

Ammianus, 23.6.32, observes : (a) “ This knowledge of the worship of divine beings was in former ages added to by Zoroaster, the Bactrian, who learned many things from the sacred rites of the Chaldæans. After him Hytaspes, the father of Darius, did the same.” Zoroaster boldly penetrating to the secret place of upper India came to a shady solitude where the Brahmanas, men of sublime genius, enjoy the tranquil silence. Here he learned from their teachings all that he could about the motions of the world and of the stars and the pure rites of sacrifice. This knowledge he infused into the system of the Magi, and it was handed down from father to son through succeeding ages.³

(b) Justinus (second century A. D. ?) *Hist. Philip*, 1.1.9-10,

¹ See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 183-205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³ This injunction concerning the handing down from father to son is directly in accord with the command in the Avesta.

writes as follows : "Afterward Ninus waged war with Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians, who is said to have invented magic arts."

(c) Pliny the Elder (first century, A. D.) *Nat. Hist.* 30.2.1, has the following: "Writers agree that magic originated in Persia from Zoroaster."

3. LOCATION OF THE HOME OF THE MAGI.

Only one writer, Ammianus, makes any attempt to give the exact geographical location of the Magi. Ammianus Marcellinus *Rer. Gest.*, 23.6.32, states definitely in his account of India: "In those regions (Media) are the fertile fields of the Magi."

4. THE MAGI, A TRIBE—THEIR INDEPENDENCE, AND THE ESTEEM IN WHICH THEY WERE HELD.

The following statements would lead us to believe that the Magi like the Levites among the Hebrews, were a tribe and not a family. Originally small in number, they grew in power and enjoyed a high degree of independence and security even to the extent that their towns were not protected by walls and they made their own laws.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rer. Gest.* 23.6.35, is the authority for these facts: "In ancient times their numbers were few..... Gradually they increased until they became a strong tribe. They dwelt in towns unguarded by walls, made their own laws and were venerated because of their religion."

5. BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE MAGI.

The peculiar manner in which the Magi disposed of the bodies of the dead by exposing them on dakhmas to be devoured by dogs and birds, as enjoined in the Avesta, (e.g. Vd. 6, 44, 51;) was well known to Herodotus who described it¹ and is mentioned by Cicero in the following: Cicero, (first century B.C.) *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 45, 108. "The Persians cover their dead over with wax and then bury them that they may preserve their bodies as long as possible. It is customary with the Magi to bury none of their

¹ Herodotus, *Hist.* 1, 140.

order unless they have first been torn by wild beasts".

This statement seems to be taken almost verbatim from Strabo, 15, 3, 20, but the reason assigned for the peculiar custom is wrong. It was really a concession to the well-known Zoroastrian injunction to prevent the earth from being defiled by a corpse as found in the Vendidad 1. 13; 3. 36-41; 6. 44-51.

6. THE WISDOM AND LEARNING OF THE MAGI.

(a) That the Magi were justly famed for their learning and wisdom seems well established by allusions in the Greek and Roman writers. Cicero was definite on the point when he says: (*De Divin.*, 1, 23, 46). "The Magi, an order deemed wise and learned by the Persians".

(b) Cicero also states (*De Divin.* 1, 41, 90) that "none can be king of the Persians who has not yet acquired the doctrine and learning of the Magi."

7. PYTHAGORAS REPUTED TO HAVE STUDIED UNDER THE MAGI.

Several passages in this connection lend color to the supposition that the philosopher Pythagoras himself studied under the Magi.

(a) Valerius Maximus (first century A.D.) *Exem Memor* 7. 6. 2. unhesitatingly writes: "Pythagoras went to the Persians and gave himself up to the teachings of the Magi from whom he learned the courses of the planets, the movements of the stars, their power and peculiar nature."

(b) Pliny the Elder (first century A.D.) *Hist. Nat.* 30, 12, is likewise explicit: "At least Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus and Plato went away to learn this art (magic)."

(c) Cicero too seems to have no doubts when he asks, *De Fin.* 5, 29, 57: "Why did Pythagoras himself travel in Egypt and visit the Persian Magi?"

(d) Apuleius Madaurensis (second century A.D.) *Florida*, 2, 15, is less decided in his statement that "there are those who say that Pythagoras had studied under the Magi and especially under Zoroaster."

(c) It may be of interest in connection with the above references to Pythagoras to compare the isolated statements to two Pythagorean Magians found in a couple of fragments from the books of Suetonius (second century A.D.). The first, *Frag.* p. 301, 1, 19, ed. Teubner, Leipzig, 1886, reads: "Nigidius Trigulus, a Pythagorean and Magian died in exile." A similar sentence, *Frag.*, p. 301, line 24, states: "Auxilaus Larissaeus, a Pythagorean and Magian was driven out of Italy by order of Augustus."

8. THE MAGI AS A PRIESTHOOD.

That the Magi were a priesthood is affirmed by two Latin writers, Apuleius Madaurensis and Ammianus Marcellinus. Apuleius having been accused of winning the affections of a wealthy widow by the use of magic arts finds it very much to his interest to define clearly and unmistakably the term *magus*. He appears to have been acquitted at the time of his trial, but his reputation for being magus and enchanter grew with succeeding centuries. Augustine, who wrote in the fifth century A.D., refers to him as one highly skilled in magic art.¹ Ammianus in his general account of the Magi emphasizes the sacerdotal character of the sect.

(a) Apuleius Madaurensis (second century A.D.) *Apologia*, 25-26, asks with some asperity: What is a Magus? For if, as I read among many writers, a Magus is in the language of the Persians, what we call a priest, then is it a crime to be a priest and to know and be skilled in religious usages, sacred rites, and the laws of the divine? Remember the words of the great Plato—*Mayeio esti de touto theon therapeia*. "Magic, this is the holy worship of the gods....." Have you heard that magic, which you so rashly find fault with, is an art received from the immortal gods, the knowledge of their worship and a pure and divine science?

(b) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rer. Gest.* 23, 6, 34, 35, has again something cogent: "From this time (i.e., from the time of Zoroaster) to the present they have been dedicated to the service of the gods..... The Persian kings made use

¹Augustin, ep. 138, 18 (2, p. 633 a ed. Gaumer, Par. 1838).

of their holy ministry in solemnizing divine rites.¹ It was a sin to approach the altar or touch the victim until a Magus had first offered prayer and poured out the preliminary libation."²

9 THE USE OF FIRE IN MAGIAN WORSHIP.

Fire as an important element in connection with the worship of the Magi is alluded to by a number of Latin writers. This fire cult³ of the Persians serves as a reminder that the Romans likewise jealously guarded the sacred fire which Roman maidens kept burning in the temple of Vesta.

The general statements on the subject of the Magian worship of fire⁴ by Roman authors are the following :

(a) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rer. Gest.* 23, 6, 34, has : " They say, if it is worthy of belief, that a flame which descended from heaven among them is still burning upon their altars ; a small portion of the fire, it is stated, once carried before the Persian kings to bring good fortune."

(b) Julius Firmicus (first half of fourth century) *De Error prof. Rel.* I, 1, c. 5, makes this statement : " The Persians and all the Magi who inhabit Persia, place fire before all other elements and think that it ought to be preferred to the other substances."⁵

(c) Vitruvius Pollio (first century, A.D.) 4, *Praef.* declares : " Thales believed that water was the origin of all things ; Heraclitus, fire ; the Magian priests, fire and water."

(d) Curtius Rufus (first century A.D.) *Hist. Alex.* 3, 3, 8, gives a picturesque allusion to fire and in connection with the march of Darius Codomannus : " It was the custom of the

¹ For a similar statement compare Strabo, *Geog.* 15, 68.

² For a fuller description see Herodotus, *Hist.* 1, 132. The statement that the Magi poured out libations to the heroes slain at Troy when Xerxes was at the Pergamon of Troy is also found in the same writer, *Hist.* 7, 44.

³ Strabo, *Geog.*, 15, 3, 15, describes a body of Magi called Pyrathi (those who kindle fire) who dwelt in Cappadocia.

⁴ An account of the sacred fires of Iran together with numerous references to Mahommedan and other writers, is given in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 98.

⁵ For a tradition about a miraculous flame which Zoroaster is supposed to have held in his hand when he appeared before Vishtasp, see the statement of Ibn al Athir and Mirkhond in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 60.

Persians to march at sunrise. The signal was given by the trumpet from the king's tent on which there blazed an image of the sun enclosed in crystal so dazzling that it could be seen throughout the camp. Their order on the march was as follows: the fire which they call holy and eternal was carried on silver altars; next came the Magi singing the songs of their country."

(e) Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 4. 13. 48, furthermore associates the sacred fire with the sun and with Mithra as the personification of light and truth. He says: "Darius with his leaders and kinsfolk went among his soldiers as they stood armed for battle and invoked the sun and Mithra¹ and the sacred eternal fire that they might inspire in the Persians a courage worthy of their former glory and the deeds of their forefathers."

(f) Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* 4. 14, 54, has still another allusion in connection with an invocation by Darius: "Ye gods of our forefathers and eternal flame which burns on our altars and thou glory of the sun shining in my empire of the East... avenge the name and kingdom of the Persians."

10. TEMPLES AND SHRINES OF THE MAGI.

We have an interesting group of allusions to temples and shrines of the Magi in Latin writers.

(a) Cicero, in one of three references on the subject, remarks, (*De Divin.* 1. 41, 90): "The Magi among the Romans meet in a temple for the purpose of discussion and the interchange of ideas."

(b) Cicero again, *De Republica*, 3. 9. 14, has something to say about the Persians and the use of temples. He comments on the destruction of Greek temples by Xerxes in this wise: "It is said that Xerxes ordered the temples of Greece to be burned because he thought that it was wrong for the gods whose home is this whole universe to be confined and imprisoned by walls. Afterward the war which Philip planned and Alexander carried on in Persia was declared for this reason, that they might avenge

¹ For a list of Greek and Latin passages relating to Mithra, see Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, 2. 5-73.

the temples of Greece. Even the Greeks did not believe that the shrines should be restored so that they might be before the eyes of the succeeding generations as a reminder of the crime of the Persians."

(c) In a third statement from Cicero's pen we have the expression of what the great Roman himself thought about the use of temples, for he asserts, *De Legibus*, 2. 25: "I believe that there should be temples in the cities nor do I agree with the Persian Magi at whose instigation Xerxes is said to have burned the temples of Greece because they shut in the gods who ought to be free and unrestricted and whose temple and home is the universe."

By way of supplement to Cicero we may refer to the discussion of the same topic by the Greek historian Herodotus, in which he explains the feeling of the Persians as to temples. Herodotus writes (*Hist.* 1. 130): "It is not according to the Persian tenets to have idols made, temples built and altars erected; they even upbraid those who do. I can account for that only from their not believing that the gods are like men as the Greeks do."

11. SKILL OF THE MAGI IN MAGIC AND DIVINATION.

The Latin writers frequently allude to the Magi as prophets, magicians and interpreters of dreams, arts familiar to the Romans through the Etruscan soothsayers. That this power of the Magi and their possible abuse of magic rites should have become exaggerated in Roman eyes is not strange when we remember that Zoroaster was accused of magic practices by some of the early writers inimical to his faith. Indeed, Zoroaster's name is mentioned in connection with such rites.

(a) Pliny the Elder, *Hist. Nat.* 30. 2. 1, remarks: "Without doubt magic originated in Persia. Its founder was Zoroaster, as it is agreed among writers."¹

(b) A kindred statement is made by Justinus, *Hist. Phil.* 1. 1. 9. 10, who writes: "Zoroaster, who is said to have invented magic."

¹ Compare with this the citations quoted above in regard to Zoroaster, 1, a. b. and c.

(c) With regard to the Magi themselves as diviners, Cicero has the following : *De Divin.*, 1. 41. 90, " In Persia the Magi take auguries and prophesy."

(d) Curtius Rufus (first century, A. D.) *Hist. Alex.* 7. 48, evinces some scepticism when he says : " There was at the feast a certain Cobares, a Median, who in the art of magic (provided it is an art and not the most vain of deceptions) was more noted for his profession than for his knowledge."

(e) Lucan, *Pharsalia*, (first century, A. D.) 6. 431, seems to be of much the same opinion. The verse runs : " He (Sextus, son of Pompey) had known the secrets of the cruel Magi, secrets hated by the gods of heaven." A few lines further on, 6. 440, he expresses again the same feeling : " Rocks that can hear the Magi when they chant their deadly spells."

(f) Arnobius (third century, A. D.) *Adv. Gentes*, 1. 5, affirms the use of magic in the war between Zoroaster which he says " was fought not only with weapons but likewise by means of the hidden art of the Magi and the Chaldæans."

(g) Several instances of the skill of the Magi in divination are found in Latin writers.¹ Cicero, *De Divin.* 1, 23. 46-47, makes the query : " Shall I relate from the Persika of Dino what the Magi interpreted for the famous king Cyrus? In his dream the sun seemed to be at his feet. When he strove three times in vain to touch it with his hand the heavenly body sank and disappeared. The Magi.....said that his three attempts to grasp the sun² portended a reign of thirty years. This came to pass."

(h) Velleius Paterculus, (first century, A. D.) *Hist. Rom.*, 2. 24. 3. relates that when ambassadors from Parthia had come to Sulla, among them were certain Magi who from marks on his body foretold that his life would be glorious and his memory immortal."

¹ A Christian writer of the third century, Lactantius, *Firmianus Inst.* 7. 16, relates the strange fact that Hystaspes, king of the Medians, handed down to posterity, the wonderful dream. In the interpretation of the dream the fall of the Roman Empire was predicted. This prediction was therefore made before even the Trojan people existed.

² Possibly we may compare with this (as did Andreas once) the threefold attempt of Franzysän (Afrasiab) to seize *havarenah* a " Kingly Glory " in *Zamjäd Yasht*, 56.

12. OVERTHROW OF THE MAGI BY DARIUS.

A number of Latin authors recount the rebellion led by Darius against the Magi in connection with the usurpation of the Persian throne by the False Smerdis. The alleged despotism of the priesthood is strongly emphasized.

(a) Seneca (first century, A. D.) *Dial.* 5. 16, 3. mentions "Darius, who after the overthrow of the Magus held sway over Persia and a great part of the East."

(b) Valerius Maximus, *Exem. Mem.* p. 340. 9, in his narration of how Darius won the Persian kingdom by the whinneying of his horse refers to Darius as "having put an end to the evil dominion of the Magi."

(c) Valerius Maximus, *Exem. Mem.* p. 332. 6, gives an account of the strange oath sworn by Darius in these words: "Ochus, who was afterward called Darius, swore by the most sacred oath of the Persians that he would not kill any of the Magi whom he had overthrown by poison, iron weapon or any kind of force."

(d) Valerius Maximus in still a third passage, p. 125. 25, again referring to the great King, extols the courage of "Darius, who while freeing the Persians from the cruel tyranny of the Magi urged on a comrade in his pursuit of a Magus. The Persian's fear that in striking the enemy he might slay Darius too was made light of by Darius: "Do not hesitate to use your sword because of my danger." ¹

13. MISCELLANEOUS ALLUSIONS TO THE MAGI.

(a) Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 8. 220, refers to the Magi in connection with the Parthians, and intimates that their priestly sanction was required in the making of treaties. The poet puts in Pompey's mouth the command: "Declare my distress to Parthia's monarch, if our former treaty holds, a treaty confirmed by your Magi, sworn upon our altar."

(b) Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 5. 1. 22, in describing Alexander's entry into Babylon, distinguishes between the Magi and

¹ This statement follows directly that given by Herodotus, *Hist.* 3, 78, in his account of the overthrow of the Magi by Darius.

the Chaldæans. This is rather a contrast to the habit of most of his countrymen, who confuse the two terms. He says of the order of the procession, that after the wild beasts which were offered as presents, came the *Magi* singing their songs as was their custom. After these came the Chaldæans, whose duty it was to declare the motion of the planets and the revolution of time."

(c) With this distinction in the use of the terms *Magus* and Chaldæan, compare the lines of a fifth century writer, C. Claudianus in his *Panegyric*, 8. 145, "Youth's Delphic oracle speechless so long, broke its silence, the Persian *Magi* prophesied your coming, the Etruscan augur knew you, the Babylonian shuddered when he gazed at the stars, the Chaldæan old men were amazed."

The material thus far given completes the list of passages that have to do with the Persian *Magi*. By way of supplement, or rather to complete the data, I bring together here certain of the Latin statements in which the term *Magus* has a derogatory significance.

II.

MAGUS IN THE SENSE OF MAGICIAN, DIVINER, OR SOOTHSAYER.

The tenor of several passages found in three Roman writers, Tacitus, Paulus and Suetonius point to the conclusion that the word *Magus* had, under certain circumstances, a base rather than a religious connotation, being at times employed as a synonym for magician, diviner, or soothsayer. The material, given below, makes very plain the fact that the use of magic, sorcery and necromancy, had become a menace to social morality,¹ during the first three centuries A. D. These references may be grouped under three heads :

1. The Laws Relating to Magic.
2. Instances of persons being accused of the practice of magic.
3. Penalties inflicted for magic practices.

1. THE LAWS RELATING TO MAGIC.

The attitude of the Law towards magic art is clearly stated

¹ A line from Cato's *De Agri Cultura*, in which, however, the word *magus* does not occur, is interesting as giving a glimpse of a similar condition of theory in the second century B. C. Cato says: "Let the steward curb his desire to consult a soothsayer, diviner, prophet or Chaldæan."

by Julius Paulus, a Roman jurist of the third century, A. D., in his *Sententiae ad Feilium*, 5. 24. 17. He says: "It is the law that the most severe penalty be meted out to persons skilled in magic art, i. e., they may be thrown to beasts or crucified. The magicians' themselves shall be burned alive. No one is permitted to have books dealing with magic in his possession. If any books of this character are found they shall be burned. The owner, if of noble birth, shall be deported to an island; if they are of a more humble origin, they shall suffer capital punishment."

2. INSTANCES OF PERSONS BEING ACCUSED OF THE PRACTICE OF MAGIC.

Instances of persons being accused of the practice of magic are found in the works of Tacitus, the great historian of the first century A. D. Only those passages have been selected which contain the words *magus* or *magi*. A much larger number might be gathered from this writer if the terms *Chaldaeus* and *Mathematicus*, synonyms of *Magus*, were included.¹

(a) Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 72. 2, describes the case against a well-known character of the day: "Liber Drusus of the family of the Scribonii was accused of revolutionary schemes.....Firminus Catus, a senator and intimate friend of Drusus, prompted the young man, who was thoughtless and an easy prey to delusions, to resort to the promises of astrologers (Chaldaeans) and the rites of the Magi and interpretus (interpreters) of dreams."²

(b) Another allusion from the same writer explains a case in which women are concerned. He writes: "Agrippina planned an accusation through an informer who was to tax her enemy with having consulted astrologers, the Magi and the image of the Clarian Apollo, about the imperial marriage."

(c) Two passages relate to the case of the daughter of a certain Soranus. In the one passage, *Ann.* 16, 80. 1, the accusation

¹ In part II the word *magus* is everywhere translated *magician*.

² For a collection of such material from Tacitus and a number of other writers consult Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 3, p. 101. Also J. E. B. Major, *Journal*, 2, p. 325.

³ See 11, above.

runs : " She had lavished money on magicians." In the other reference *Ann.* 16. 32. 2, " She was asked by her accuser whether she had sold her bridal presents to raise money for the performance of magical rites."

(d) In *Ann.* 12. 59. 2, Tacitus informs us that " Priscus charged Taurus with a few acts of extortion but particularly with magical and superstitious practices."

(e) Suetonius (first century A. D.), whose allusions to the Pythagorean Magians have been quoted above,¹ mentions the crime of magic, and accused Nero of dealings in necromancy. Suetonius, p. 186. l. 32, writes : " He (Nero) even attempted to summon and converse with the dead through the offices of the magicians."

3. PENALTIES INFLICTED FOR THE PRACTICE OF MAGIC.

Tacitus and Suetonius describe the penalties meted out to those convicted of the practice of magic.

(a) Tacitus mentions a decree of the Roman senate expelling all magicians from Italy and adds examples of summary punishment. The passage, *Ann.* 2. 32. 5, reads: " Decrees of the senate were also passed to expel from Italy astrologers and magicians. One of their number, Lusius Pituanus was hurled from the Rock. Another, Publius Marcius, was executed by the consuls, according to ancient custom, outside the Esquiline Gate after the trumpets had sounded."

(b) In mentioning Pythagoras above, I have already given two statements¹ citing exile as a punishment imposed and there is no need to repeat the statements again.

CONCLUSION.

I summarize now in brief the material that has been presented. In the Roman writers an attempt is made to explain the word *magia* by referring it back to the Greek *machagista*, but the explanation is of no real value. The Latin authors are agreed that Zoroaster was the founder of the Magian doctrines. The Magi, a tribe in Media, dwelt in towns without walls and made their own laws. The bodies of their dead were exposed to birds

1. See 7, (e).

and beasts. They were the learned class in Persia and the instructors of the Persian kings. The belief was current that Pythagoras had studied under the Magi. As priesthood they were held in great veneration by the Persians. Neither king nor subject might offer sacrifice without the aid of a Magus. Fire was a very important element in their worship. They believed that the whole universe should be the home of the gods and refused to put their images in temples. In divination their skill was evidenced by instances in which their prophecies and interpretations had turned out to be true. The overthrow of the Magi by Darius was a fact well known among the Romans.

More material is available in the *patristic* writers, and this will be found treated by another contributor in the present Volume.

M. FRANKLIN.

NOTES ON ANCIENT PERSIAN GEOGRAPHY

One of the earliest names with which I became acquainted in my Iranian studies was that of the learned Dastur to whose memory this volume is dedicated. Hoshangji's name, associated with those of Haug and West, forms the third member of a group of Pahlavi pioneers—a kind of triad like Srosh, Mitro, and Rashnu, *kēšān rūšāni ō rūšānih khūršēd hāmānāk ast*—and to his memory these brief geographical notes are inscribed, as they relate largely to Parthia, the territory that gave its name to Pahlavi, the language in which the Dastur's special studies lay.

1. THE LOCATION OF PLINY'S PAREDON NEAR THE CASPIAN GATES.

In 1907, on a second journey through Persia, I traversed the route that must have been taken by Alexander the Great when pursuing Darius Codomannus, the last of the Achæmenian kings. It was natural, from the historic standpoint, to become interested in identifying the stages of the conqueror's march and to join in the attempts that have been made to locate the places probably then existing along the route, particularly in connection with the Caspian Gates. [In 1910, on a third journey, I re-traversed the same route twice again.—*Proof sheet addition*].

The classical sources on this particular part of the subject consist in the accounts of Alexander given by the Greek historian Arrian (*Anab. Alex.* 3. 20-21) and the Latin writer Quintus Curtius Rufus (*Hist. Alex.* 5. 12. 1-23), augmented by Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (*Philipp.* 4. 15. 1). These data are further supplemented by allusions in Pliny and elsewhere to the Caspiæ Pylæ, and by information to be gleaned from the itineraries of Arab Persian geographers as well as from the special studies of European travellers who have gone over the territory, or from writers who have discussed the location of the Caspian Gates through which Darius fled.

A detailed examination of all that relates to the subject in general will be found in a volume, now in preparation, which is to be entitled *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*.

In the present notes, however, I wish to take up two or three phases of the matter, the first being the probable location of the place Paredon occupied by a people adjacent to the Caspian Gates.

Pliny the Elder (1st cent. A. D.) *Historia Naturalis* 6. 14-15, §§ 43-44, gives a somewhat detailed description of the Caspian Gates and the territory around this pass, which corresponds to the modern defile of the Sar-Darrah Kuh. Turning eastward from Assyria toward Parthia he mentions in succession (§44) the tribes of the Adiabeni, Carduchi (or Cordueni), and Pratitae, who are called Paredon. The passage reads thus :—

‘ Adjoining the Adiabeni are the Carduchi, formerly called so, but now called Cordueni, in front of whom the Tigris flows ; and next to them are the Pratitae, called P a r e d o n, w h o h o l d t h e C a s p i a n G a t e s. On the other side of these lie the deserts of Parthia and the ridges of Cithenus. Directly after the same (i. e., Mt. Cithenus ?) there is the most delightful place of all Parthia; it is called Choara.’

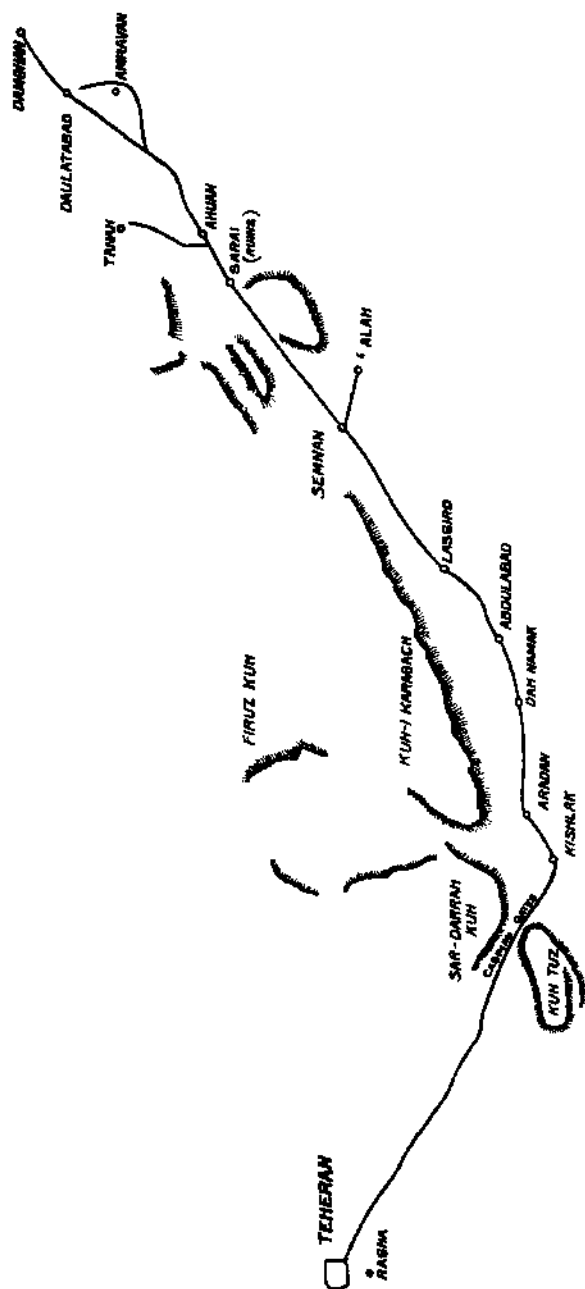
The identification of the two peoples first named is already fairly certain. The Adiabeni belong to the Assyrian region of Nineveh and Arbela, the capital of Adiabene¹; the Carduchi are familiar through Xenophon’s *Anabasis* and correspond, under their later name Cordueni, to the district of Corduene, or Gordyene, (Aramaic *Beth Kardûk*, Armenian *Korduk*²) verging on Atropatene or Media Minor.³ The difficulty lies in identifying the tribe that is met with before passing the Caspian Gates and to whom Pliny gives the name Pratitae, adding that they are called Paredon.

It is a well-known fact that the delightful place called Choara by Pliny and traversed before one entered upon ‘ the deserts of Parthia,’ is the fertile plain of Khvâr, directly to the east of the pass of Sar-Darrah Kûh, or Caspian Gates.⁴ ‘ The ridges of Cithenus’ (*juga Citheni*) answer to the chain of the Sar-Darrah Kûh itself or the adjacent Kûh-i Karagach, both of which form a part of the great system of Albûrz that runs eastward along the nor-

¹ See Marquart, *Erânshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* Berlin, 1901, pp. 170, 173.

² See Marquart, *op. cit.* pp. 25, 114, 305, 306.

³ Full references on this subject will be found in *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*; consult also the memoranda below.



ROUGH SKETCH-MAP OF ALEXANDER'S ROUTE.

thern border of Persia. But what of Pratita — Paredon? The former name with its *pr* (for which we should expect *fr* in Iranian) looks as if imperfectly reproduced by Pliny and is therefore somewhat uncertain; but for Paredon I have a suggestion to offer.

The majority of the Pliny manuscripts read in this place *paredon* or *parodon*. For this the Latin scholar Pintian (Pintianus, *Observationes*, Paris, 1844) conjectured a Greek reading *Pâr odon* (see Ansart, *Plin. Hist. Nat.* 2. 1. 622, n. 12) although Ansart himself reads *Paredonii*. I believe that the text *Paredon* should be kept unchanged, and I offer the explanation that *Paredon* preserves the older form, **Parêdhûn* in Pahlavi or Parthian times, of the station which is called *Afrîdhûn* in the geographical itineraries of the Arab-Persian writers Ibn Rûstah (903 A.D.), Istakhri (951 A.D.), and Ibn Khurdadhbah (864 A.D.), and which was situated nine farsakhs from Rai (ancient Raghâ) on the way to the Sar-Darrah Pass and Khvâr (see Ibn Rûstah, ed. De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* 7. 169. 5; Istakhri, *ibid.* 1. 215. 3; Ibn Khurdadhbah, *ibid.* 6. 22. 12; and compare also Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 27-29, 33). The name *Afrîdhûn*, *Parêdhûn*, *Paredon* thus preserves the designation of Pliny's people 'who hold the Caspian Gates', just as the station *Kesp*, or *Kesp*, placed by the Arab-Persian geographers near the Sar-Darrah Pass, preserved the name of the tribe of the Caspii whom the classic writers locate in this region. Such, at least, is the suggestion I would make for identifying Pliny's allusion.

2. THE PLACE WHERE DARIUS CODOMANNUS WAS PUT IN CHAINS BY BESSUS

One of the interesting problems of the route through Khûrâsân is that of locating approximately the place where Darius was taken prisoner by his traitorous general, Bessus, and the fellow-conspirators, before Alexander could overtake the fleeing monarch. As to the name of the village where this occurred we have a statement made by Justin (second cent. A.D.) in his abstract of Pompeius Trogus (about the beginning of the first cent. A.D.). It reads as follows (*Philipp.* 11 15 1):

'Darius was confined in golden fetters and chains' in a village of

1 Chains such as the Persian nobles wore; cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* 1. 5. 8. Curtius (5. 12,

the Parthians called Thara'—*in vico Parthorum, Thara* [v. l. *Tanea*].

From the historic narrative of Arrian, supplemented by that of Quintus Curtius, we gain the information that this traitorous outrage took place on the second day after Alexander left Raghâ (whose ancient ruined site lies close to the modern Teheran),¹ and that Alexander did not reach the scene until the fourth day of his pursuit of Darius.²

A great deal of uncertainty exists in regard to the location of Thara, particularly because of the difficulty of finding any name that would answer to it along the route that leads through that part of ancient Parthia which corresponds to modern Khûrâsân. Various attempts — in fact no less than seven or eight — have been made to identify Thara, or its site, with one or another of the villages or towns now occupying an ancient location, even if differently named to-day. I shall first present these several conjectures and then suggest a new possibility, operating with the received reading *Thara*, but adding a suggestion as a corollary if the reading *Tanea* be insisted upon as representing Justin's text.

Actual manuscript material for Justin is not accessible to me, so I am obliged to refer to the critical apparatus in the various editions. As already stated, the accepted reading appears to be *Thara*, although the oldest editions which I could consult have *Tanea*. Thus I find in the edition of Justin by Sabellico, Venice, 1497, fol. xiv, the reading *in vico spartanorum Tanea vincitur*. The Aldine edition of Pompeius Trogus, 1522, p. 54, likewise has *Tanea*. In an edition in the Columbia University Library, lacking its title page, but listed as belonging early in the seventeenth century, the reading *Tanea* (*in vico Parthorum Tanea*) is similarly given on page 82. All the later editions appear to read *Thara*, with or without an explanatory comment in the way of suggesting some identification. I give in chronological order the references

20) likewise says that they bound Darius in golden fetters, *aureis compedibus*. Similarly Artaxerxes had bound his rebellious brother, Cyrus the Younger, 'with golden fetters', according to Justin (5. 11. 2). The employment of golden chains was intended to mitigate somewhat the disgrace for a person of royal rank.

¹ See the description of Raghâ (Rai) in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 237-245, and in *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 428-441.

² Details of the pursuit will be found in my forthcoming book *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*.

that are accessible to me.

Voss, *Justini Historiorum*, Amsterdam, 1656, p. 97, reads *Thara*, and on p. 313 suggests the explanation *Dara*, as given in the next paragraph.

Gronovius, *Justini Historiae Philippicae*, 2 ed., Leyden, 1760, p. 296, mentions the reading *Tanea*, but states that he can say nothing about it except that it is found in some editions, thus merely repeating the expression of his predecessor, Glaren, whose words he quotes: '*de Tanea vico nihil dicere possumus, apud alios lectorum auctores.*' He therefore rejects *Tanea* and follows Voss with *Thara*, which he associates with *Dara*. Gronov bases this connection upon the *Etymologicon Magnum*, a Greek lexicon of the Byzantine age, assigned to the tenth century. The entry in this thesaurus (see *Etymologicon Magnum*, recens. Th. Gaisford, Oxford, 1848, §248, l. 20) reads as follows:—*Darae*: Παρά τ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χορίῳ συλληφθέναι Δαρεῖον 'ὕπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 'ὕπο δὲ 'Αναστάσιον κτισθὲν ἐκλέθε 'Αναστασιούπολιν. '*Dara*: from the fact that Darius was captured in the same place by Alexander. But it was called Anastasiopolis after it was founded [i.e. refounded] by Anastasius.' The latter part of this entry, namely the designation from Anastasius, is certainly erroneous, being due to a confusion with *Dara* 2 in Mesopotamia (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopadie*, 4, col. 2150) and may therefore be disregarded. The former part of the entry, associating *Dara* with the name *Darius*, is so far correct, but is erroneous in stating that it was so named from being the scene of his seizure, as will be made clear in the next division (3) of this article, nor is it to be connected with *Thara*, presuming that reading to be accurate.

Gutschmid (according to Ruhl, *Justini Epitome*, p. xxviii) has sought to identify *Thara* with *Tabah* (or *Thabas Gilaki*) on the extreme western border of *Kuhistân*; but the position is entirely off Alexander's route and the identification itself is improbable.¹

¹ Ruhl *Just. Epit.*, Leipzig, 1886 has simply in the critical prefatory material, p. xxviii, '*Thabu* Gutschmid, *Dara* Vossius, without any mention of any variant reading for *Thara*. I have searched in vain through Gutschmid's published articles to find the precise reference where he suggests *Tabah*; I imagine it was in the *Marginalia* or notes which he supplied Ruhl to use at choice in the edition.

M o r d t m a n n, *Hekatompylos*, p. 526 (in *Sb. Kgl. bayer. Akad. Wiss. zu Muenchen*, 1869, Bd. 2), believed that Darius was seized at Semuan, and that Thara was an old name for that place, seeking to support his view by quoting a sentence from Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 62: 'The Persians called Semnoon, Darab, or Darius after their ancient king.'¹

T o m a s c h e k, *Zur hist. Topog. Pers.* p. 223 (in *Sb. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 102, Vienna, 1883) assumes that Thara is the same as 'Alah, a few miles south-east of Semnan. This village, which is sometimes called Kahlah, lay on the ancient route to Hecatompylus, according to Houtum-Schindler (*Beschreibung einiger Routen in Chorassan*, in *Zt. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, 12, 217-218), but Houtum-Schindler himself, so far as I can see, makes no attempt to identify Thara with 'Alah.

D r o y s e n, *Geschichte Alexanders*, Hamburg, [1834], p. 259 n., long ago observed on the ground of a fancied similarity, that Thara might possibly be identical with Pliny's Choara, the modern Khvar (called 'Kara' by Van Mierop in Jonas Hanway's *Travels*, p. 387), the place and district lying just beyond the Sardarrah Pass, or the Caspian Gates of antiquity. He rejected the idea, however, for the reason that Thara must have been more remote from the Caspian Gates because, according to Arrian, it took Alexander two days after leaving the Caspian Gates where he had learned of the seizure of Darius to reach the place where the informers had set out directly after Darius was put in chains. Droysen accordingly looked for Thara in the neighborhood of Abdulabad, beyond Dah Namak.

Z o l l i n g, *Alexanders Feldzug*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 97, 105, 106, for reasons similar to Droysen's, removes the location still farther eastward to the region of Amravan and Akhuri, or Akhurin.²

M a r q u a r t *Untersuch. zur Gesch. von Eran*, in 10. 37, evidently reverts to a theory somewhat similar to that which Droysen had abandoned, as noted above. The contention of Marquart is that the romantic account of the seizure of Darius (as

¹ I Do not know of any substantiation of Ferrier's statement.

² The position of Amravan is indicated on Napier's map in *Journ. Royal Geog. Soc.* 46, 62. London, 1876.

represented by Justin and earlier by Curtius) simply confused the name of the place, Choara, Khvara, where Alexander was when he received the news, with the place where Darius was seized. Accordingly Marquart maintains that Justin's source, Pompeius Trogus, actually had CHARA (not THARA) Cf. Orosius 1. 2. 16 (Charrae)¹ and this is the name of the village and district called Choara by Pliny, *Choara*, *Choarenè* by Ptolemy, Strabo, and Isidor of Charax, corresponding equally to Khvarih in the Bundahishn (12. 1) and to Khvar of mediæval and modern times. This proposal to explain the difficulty as being due to misunderstanding and confusion seems reasonable, even if still another proposition may be made.

The conjecture which I might offer to add to this series of eight attempts to solve the riddle of Thara, or Tanea, the village where Darius was seized, may now be given. We know that Alexander reached the village in question on the fourth day of his march from Rhagae, or the second day of his advance from the Caspian Gates. If we accept the view that is generally held, and which I have discussed elsewhere, namely, that Alexander's route carried him by way of Lasgird, Semnan, and Damghan, it is possible (judging from the presumable length of his quick marches) to locate this particular station at Sarai, halting place 25 miles north-east of Semnan, or a forced day's march of 47 miles from Lasgird, which apparently was Alexander's station on the day before. Sarai is marked on the Stanford *Map of Persia* as having 'ruins,' and it is undoubtedly the 'ruined caravanseraï' of Fraser, *Journey into Khorasan*, p. 308, and 'the ruins of caravanseraï' mentioned by Clerk, *Journ. Royal Geog. Soc.* 31. 40, as being passed before Ahuan is reached. The stages of Alexander's march, at least as far as I can make them out, would have brought him approximately to Sarai, with which I would suggest identifying Thara, if the prevailing reading of the editions be correct.² If,

¹ The passage in Orosius reads: *a fonte Tigridis usque ad Charvas civitatem inter Massagetas et Parthos mons Ariobarbanes; a Charis civitate usque ad oppidum Catippi inter Hyrcanos et Bactrianos mons Mermuli.*

² If there were not grave philological difficulties in the way it might be tempting to see in Thara (through the early interchange of Iranian *th* and *s*) a form of the later Persian *sardî* preserved in *caravân-sardî*, and of Judæo-Pers. *sardî* (Is. 62, 9), *isammush* as Harn,

on the other hand, the reading *Tanea*, which is given in the oldest printed editions, has veritable manuscript authority, which I can not at present prove, then a plea might be entered in behalf of the village of north Tanah, of Ahān on a more roundabout route to Daulatabad (see Stanford, *Map of Persia*). The distance, however, of Tanah from Lasgird seems to me too great to lend much credence to such a claim; nor would its position off the more direct route be in its favor. I mention it merely as having some conceivable pretensions, if manuscript evidence should be found to be really on its side.

[On my later journey in 1910 I re-traced for a second and a third time, stage by stage, this portion of Alexander's march in pursuit of Darius. It seemed to me absolutely clear that his fourth day's march from Ragha, or this particular section of the chase, must have carried him a good stage beyond Semnan, as already stated. But, as noted above, on this special subdivision of the route there are two different, though convening trails; that is, an upper, or slightly hilly trail *viâ* Sarai and Semnan, which is the shorter route and is still used to-day for the post; and a lower or plain-trail *viâ* 'Alah, somewhat longer in distance and time but without any mentionable elevations. Both trails come together a day's journey, or so, beyond Semnan. As already shown, I had favored the upper course as Alexander's route; but I talked with General Houtum-Schindler on my return to Teheran, and his view favors the lower course. Such an authority, as is his, would lend weight to the plea for 'Alah as against my own conjecture regarding Sarai. In any case it seems to me appropriate to add this piece of information for the benefit of the student as I read these pages in proof at Bombay in 1911.—A. V. W. J.]

3. DARA AND APAVORTENE

As implied above, there were at least two places called Dara; for Tomaschek (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclop.* 4. 2150) has rightly distinguished Dara² in Mesopotamia from Dara¹, a

Grundr. der Neu pers. Etymol., Straassburg, 1893, p. 161, connects *sardi* with Avestan *thrdya* (or, with anaptyxis, *thardya*) from the root *thrd*—, 'protect, shelter, keep.' Yet this would be very doubtful on phonetic grounds, especially as *sardi* is derived from a presumable **ard-da*—, according to Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 74 (where he criticizes Horn's etymology); see also Horn himself (later) in *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.* 2. 2. p. 96.

strongly fortified and fertile place in Apavortene. But he is wrong, I believe, when he suggests, though hesitatingly, that the district of Apavortene itself is to be sought in the region of Kalat and Darrah-Gaz, far north of Nishapur and bordering upon Transcaspia and Turkistan (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclop.* 1. 2682, s.v. Apavortene; and cf. 1. 2681, Apavarktike).¹

Justin (41. 5. 1-2) speaks of Dara as a 'city, Dara by name, in Mount [Z] Apaortenon (in monte Apaortenon, v.l. Zapaortenon)',² though he probably erroneously attributes its founding to Seleucus. He describes its impregnable position as follows: 'He (Seleucus) founded a city, called Dara, in Mount [Z] Apaortenon, of which the situation is such that no place can be more secure or more pleasant; for it is so encircled with steep rocks that the strength of its position needs no defenders; and such is the fertility of the adjacent soil that it is stored with its own produce. Such, too, is the plenty of springs and wood that it is supplied with streams of water and abounds in all the pleasures of the chase.'³

This is manifestly the same place that is referred to by Pliny, under the name Dareium, in the following terms (*Hist. Nat.* 6. 46. 16, 18): 'There is a region east of the Caspian (Gates) called Apavortene, and in it Dareium, a place of celebrated fertility. Directly after that are the tribes of the Tapyrians, Anaricans, Staurians, and Hyrcanians'—*a Caspiis ad orientem versus regio est, Apavortene dicta, et in ea fertilitatis inclytæ locus Dareium. Mox gentes Tapyri, Anaricae, Stauri, Hyrcani*. The mention of the Caspian (Gates) and the Caspian people (cf. *Caspiæ Portæ* and *gens Caspia* in the paragraph of Pliny that immediately precedes) and the naming of the neighboring tribes (*Tapyri, Hyrcani*) make clear the approximate position of the district Apavortene. It was near Tabaristan (Tabyri) and not in the distant region of Kalat and Darrah-Gaz.

¹ This view was apparently erroneously accepted by Justi, *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.* 2. 483.

² Such is the reading sanctioned by Noldeke. The Mss. read variously *apavorteno*, *apaortenno*, *apartenno*, *zapaortenno*, *zapaorten*, *zapaorte*. The conjecture by Gutschmid of *Apartanos* or *Apaortenos* for the manuscript reading *areas of spa* (t (h) a) nos in Justin 41. 1. 10, seems to me unwarranted.

³ Justin, *Hist. Philipp.*, tr. Watson, London, 1876, pp. 6275-77.

It is equally certain that Dara or Dareium, located in it, is identical with 'Dara, a stronghold in the mountains of Tabaristan,' which is referred to by the Arab-Persian geographer Yakut in 1220 A. D. (See Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géog. de la Perse*, p. 221). It is furthermore the same citadel as that mentioned by Ibn Isfandiar in 1216 A.D., who refers to it as 'Diz-i Dara, Fortress of Darius, near the sea' in Tabaristan where Darius took refuge from Alexander, according to the same writer (see Ibn Isfandiar, *History of Tabaristan*, ed. Browne, London, 1905, pp. 35, 255).

The description and location of this strong position would seem to answer to the modern Firuz Kuh, as I have indicated in the forthcoming work on Khurasan, already referred to. The name Dara is undoubtedly connected ultimately with that of Darius, just as Dara in Mesopotamia and Darab-gird near Shiraz are so connected. But there is no more reason for assuming that the place was so called because Darius Codomannus was seized there than in the case of the other places similarly named. There are, moreover, sufficiently strong grounds for excluding any attempt to identify this Dara with Justin's Thara, as I have shown in the volume already mentioned, especially as we have just now established the location both of Dara itself and of the region of Apaortene. We must also avoid an attempt to confuse Apaortene with the more distant Apavarktike and Apavartikene, between Parthyene and Margiana, in Isidor of Charax (*Mans. Parth.* c. 13).

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extensive signification in the Avesta. The word *juu* comprises both the spiritual and material existences : cf.

•အမျိုးသမီးများ •အမျိုးသားများ •အမျိုးသမီးများ •အမျိုးသားများ •အမျိုးသမီးများ •အမျိုးသားများ

"We extol the entire existence of the pure, the spiritual and the material" (Y. XXXV. 1).¹ It is not restricted in sense but extends to the entire creation both of the good and bad principles: cf. *אנשי צדקה ורשעים* — "the friends of the entire existence of the pure" (Yt. XI. 17)²;

•ဗဟိုဌာန •နယ်လုံးကျယ် •အထွေထွေ •အထူးပြု •အထူးအကူအညီ

"To withstand and drive away the entire existence of the wicked" (Y. LXI. 5).³ In point of time, it covers the past, present and future ages, and is not limited to one period; cf.

[illegible]

"Homage unto the entire existence of the pure, which is extant, has been, and is to be." (Y. LXVIII. 22). On the material world, the word *yas* applies to the animal creation; in other words, to corporeal existence; cf.

ကျေးဇူး - နှစ်ဆယ် - ဆယ်စုအဆယ် - နှစ်ဆယ် - နှစ်ဆယ် - နှစ်ဆယ်

"who first of the corporeal existence praised Asha" (Yt. XIII. 89).⁵ According to the Tir Yasht, § 48, 𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀 comprises the 𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀 "animals of five classes" of the Farvardin Yasht §§ 10, 43, 44, which are enumerated there *in extenso*.

ਅੰਤਰ-ਮੁਲ

The word 𐬨𐬀 is thus found employed in a very extensive sense in the Avesta. On the other hand, the word 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 seems to have been restricted to the sense of the material existence as opposed to the spiritual.⁶ As such, it indicates also the terres-

¹ Vp. II. 4. *အသိဗျာပါး* "of the spiritual existence", *မူလသတ္တဝါ* *အသိဗျာပါး*, 'of the material existence'; Y. XLIII, 3. *အသိဗျာပါး* *အသိဗျာပါး* *အသိဗျာပါး*. *အသိဗျာပါး* *အသိဗျာပါး*, "The manifest existences where Ahura dwells".

² Also cf. Yt. XI 22; Vd. X, 6, 6; Y. LV, 3; Y. VIII, 6.

Also of. Y. VIII. 8.

* Also cf. Y. XIX. 9; Y. LII. 1.

CL Yt. XIII 90.

• Cf. Y. XXXV, 1.

the entire living HUMAN CREATION'. The fact of the pious eventually vanquishing the wicked will be, according to Y. XLVIII. 2, "reckoned verily as a good achievement OF THE HUMAN CREATION."² In the order of creation, human beings were created the last of all³ and, according to Yt. I. 26 they were the result of Ahura's wisdom and cognition, and that being the case, in the same section, we are told that uniformity would be observed with respect to human existence from beginning to end⁴. Similarly, from the phrase *... ..*,⁵ it may be shown that in as much as an inquiry is made of Ahura by Zarathushtra with respect to His doctrine, it is "with a view to attain to the perfection of HUMAN EXISTENCE through Asha" and not of any other existence. The words *... ..*, and *... ..* used in the masculine and feminine genders in Y. XXXII. 11, clear up, *a fortiori*, the sense of human beings.

So far, we have seen the proper signification of the word *ṛi-*, in its general aspect. But like the word *ṛi-*, this word has also a sub-division of *ṛi-*, 'corporeal human creation'. There are various passages in the Avesta containing the phrase *ṛi-*, which can further substantiate the meaning we have above attached to *ṛi-*. For the sake of explanation we shall give only a few typical examples.

[illegible]

¹ သုတ္တံ၊ နိကာယ၊ မူလ၊ နိကာယ၊ နိကာယ၊ နိကာယ၊

[illegible]

• Vp. VII. 4; Y. XIX. 8.

⁶ According to Y. XXVIII 11, the beginning of the human existence was owing to Ahura's commandments; (*-u-j-^u*) has its antecedent in line 1, in *-u-j-* which refers to *gəwəda-*, the last word of the preceding section).

Y. XLIV. 6.

Vend. VIII. 50 an enjoinder is given to Zarathushtra to induce *ušt* to level down the tombs, and in this context too by *ušt* corporeal human beings are evidently referred to inasmuch as they alone could bring about the demolition of tombs. In Vend. VIII. 100-102 it is enjoined that the man who has got defiled by dead matter in a jungle, should on his way address any corporeal human being he meets with about his intention of getting purified. In this context also, our interpretation of *ušt* holds good. Vendidad IX. opens with an inquiry as to how men should seek out of the corporeal human creation, those who can purify the defiled. Here too, the purifier could be but a human being, and therefore the idea of the corporeal human creation can be consistently deduced from the phrase *ušt*. Vend. XIX. opens as under : *ušt* This phrase proves very clearly that *ušt* cannot but mean the corporeal human creation, as human beings among all creations, are alone capable of performing deeds.¹

But, besides the *ušt*, there is another division of *ušt* termed *ušt*, which means "mental", derived from the root *ušt* to think — a feature peculiar to *ušt* only and not to *ušt*. This distinction is not difficult of explanation. With respect to human beings, the mind forms a more essential and responsible part than the body. They act through the mind with the help of their faculty of reasoning, which is denied to other animate creations that act mainly by instinct. This being the case, a distinct mental existence is assigned to human beings together with the corporeal existence which they share with all animate creations. It is because of this reason that in relation to human beings we find mention made in the Avesta of *ušt*, "another human existence"² and that is nothing else but the "mental existence" spoken of above. And so long

¹ For other instances of *ušt* of Y. XIX. 2, 6, 10; Vd. I. 1; Vd. II. 22, 24; Vd. III. 83; Vd. IV. 50-54; Vd. V. 4, 7, 39; Vd. VIII. 34, 81; Vd. IX. 52; Vd. X. 19; Vd. XIII. 20, 28; Vd. XVII. 2, 4; Vd. XVIII. 16, 24; Vd. XIX. 27, 29; Yt. VI. 2; Yt. XIII. 12, 20, 46; Yt. I. 16; Afringan III. 7. (7).

² Vd. IX. 44; Vd. XIII. 8; Y. LV. 2; Aogemdascha 69.

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎. ¹ In Vend. XVIII. 76, these two conditions of human life are called 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 "the human existence which is of the pious" and 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎, "the human existence..... which is of the wicked",² and the latter is characterised in Vend. XIX. 47, as 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 "human existence of darkness."

We have thus seen the proper signification of the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 with its different epithets. Its general signification is that of human existence or vitality.³ But this sense is extended further, and a new meaning, not inconsistent with the spirit of the word, is attached to it.

In the Avesta, the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 conveys besides the notion of *conscience* as does the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎, which is derived from the root 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎, "to see". These two words seem to represent the two functions of the conscience, namely, of perceiving, and of conceiving or forming conceptions from those perceptions. Consequently, in the Avesta, these words stand as synonyms.⁴

We shall now see the use of the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 in this sense, in the Avesta. In Y. XXVI. 4 and Yt. XIII. 149, are enumerated the five spiritual parts in man, namely, 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 (conscience), 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 (perception), 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 (sensibility), 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 (soul) and 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 (spirit). That these parts are spiritual and survive after death may be shown from the same sections, since these parts which are extolled therein are of the Poiryôtkaeshas etc. who had fought for the sake of purity in the past.⁵ This being the case, to interpret the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 in this context in the sense of life would be beside the mark, as life is but evanescent and ceases with the death

¹ Vd. III. 35; Vd. V. 62; for 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 see Y. LXXI. 16; Y. XLIV. 3 "Home is the beginning of the best human existence."

² 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 Y. XXXI. 20.

³ The English word "animate" which signifies vitality, derives its origin from the Lat. *animare*, "to fill with breath." The word "aspiration" which finds its abode in conscience is likewise derived from a root which means "to breathe", namely, the Latin *spiro*, "to breathe."

⁴ Cf. Vd. X. 18, 19.

⁵ Cf. Y. XXVI. 5. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 survives after death (Y. XXXI. 20; Yt. XXII. 9), and so do the last three parts (Vd. XIII 50, Vd. XIX 29; Yt. XXII. 1-2, etc.; Yt. XIII. 17).

which cogitates over the choice."¹

We shall now take up the first part of the Ahunavar formula and see the force of the word 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎. The first line of this formula runs thus : 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 The word 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 is an adjectival form form 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎, 'choice'. Taking 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 in the sense, above indicated, of "conscience", the line may be translated as under :

“As conscience (is) approvable, so (becomes) Ratu on account of (his following the laws of) Asha.”

This interpretation paves the way for the proper understanding of the terms *ahura* and *ratu* so constantly met with in the *Avesta*. *ahura* and *ratu* are two dignitaries in the religion. According to the first line of the Ahuna Vairya formula, translated above, the main idea is of *ahura* "conscience" being *ahura* "approvable" and of the *ratu* likewise becoming so by following Asha². Zarathushtra being of an "approvable conscience" and having followed the laws of Asha is termed *ahura ratu* "Ahu and Ratu of the animate existence", in Farvardin Yasht section 91, and *ratu* "Ratu of the corporeal animate existence" in section 41 of the same Yasht.³ Lastly, we shall refer to Y. XXIX. 6, which contains Ahura's reply to the queries of Gush Urvâ made in the first section. The reply runs thus : "No one is known as an Ahu⁴ nor as a Ratu following the laws of Asha". Ahura failed to find one worthy of being appointed an *ahura* and a *ratu* of the material world. Zarathushtra later on attained to this dignified post.

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¹ Yt. X, §. 51.

* The phrase "holy and the lord of holiness" is commonplace. Here also the Ratu is designated as being of Asha.

* Cf. Vp. II. 4; Vp. XVI. 8; Ahura Mazda is also reckoned as Ahu and Ratu *par excellence* in Y. XXVII. 1 and as Ahu and Ratu of the spiritual existence in Vp. II. 4. Cf. Yt. I. 92. 103 for Mithra and Y. LVII. 15 for Sraosha.

⁴ "Of an approvable conscience", according to the Ahuna Vairya formula.

IRANICA

H. Winckler said as pioneer in 1889 on page 128 of his "Researches into Old Oriental History" in the Essay on "Median and Early Persian History": "...Perhaps, by the way, the whole relationship of the Achæmenides and Cyrus, which Darius emphasized so strongly, existed more in tradition than in reality. If, however, the genealogical tree which Darius claimed (!) was really (!) the right one, then the affair is simple enough for us: Teîspes (sic) was one of the Aryan conquerors, one of his sons became king in Anairan, while the other, the founder of the branch line, from which Darius sprang, founded for himself another small kingdom; in case, that is, that such a kingdom had ever existed, for which, however, we find no proof in our explanation of the questionable place in the Behistun-inscription

This is probably owing to the erroneous interpretation of the second part of the early Persian *duvitâ-taranam* (Bâg. I, 10) which is still incorrectly read, and which he interprets as "for a long time". This interpretation was in accordance with the opinion of those scholars in whom that deeper knowledge of the Indo-Germanic or Iranian languages was wanting, and who were probably well-versed only in the semitic languages.

Among others who took up these observations was P. Rost who in 1897 published his "Researches into Early Oriental History—Communications of the Anterior Asiatic Society" in the paper entitled: "The so-called kingdom of the Medes and the uprising of the Persians." He enlarged the theory of H. Winckler, the student of Semitics, who has probably brought from his Assyrian annals, little belief in the credibility of the assertions of Iranian princes, and Iranians and Indo-Germans generally,—the theory of the non-relationship of Cyrus I. and Darius I., into a monstrous bogie of his own imagination. He thinks that Weissbach was probably right in his opinion that the inscription of Murghâb probably originated with Cyrus the Younger, and conjectures among other things that: "The whole story of the pseudo-Smerdis is

simply an invention of Darius for the purpose of overthrowing the Bardija, and of placing himself in the foreground: to see in Barzia (!) a usurper from the people is but slightly probable...." (p. 107). And before this (p. 106) he says: "... . This supposition (that the genealogical tree claimed by Darius.....had nothing to do with Cyrus' genealogical tree), I consider to be the most probable..... This thing looks very artificial. The royal historians of Persia had probably thought it necessary afterwards to deepen the halo surrounding the person of their king by connecting him with the great emperor.... Such an artificial combination of genealogical trees is nothing uncommon in the Orient...." Then P. Rost writes: "... The Persians have been, for ages, masters in lying (in spite of Herodotus)", and in so doing attributes the lie to a good witness,—“and very clever inventors of fairy tales....” In addition to this, he proceeds (p. 109): “.....Darius's inventions (!) are probably not limited to the artificial genealogical tree and the fable of the pseudo-Smerdis... . Darius is not very careful about the truthfulness of his statements....”

In Helmut's "General History" III, 1901, "Early Western Asia," H. Winckler expresses himself even more plainly, now very likely misled by Rost. He says: "It seems that the Achæmenian tradition, and with it, that of Herodotus, which depends on it, lied consciously, when they termed Cyrus an Achæmenide. The motive for such an invention is clear: Cyrus and Cambyzes were considered lawful kings of Persia. Darius gives the genealogy referred to in his great Behistun inscription... . Cyrus names this Teispis (!) as his ancestor also in the inscription composed in Babylon, shortly after his conquest of that place. In this he gives his ancestors as Cambyzes and Teispis, but not Achæmenes. There probably existed no relationship between the two families; it was simply invented by the royal historian to establish Darius as the lawful descendant of Cambyzes. Monuments erected later (Cyrus's grave in Murghâb!) with the inscription 'I am the king Cyrus, the Achæmenide,' had probably the same purpose. Cyrus probably knew nothing about his ancestor Achæmenes." Winckler says again (p. 138): "We have already made up our minds that Darius was not related to Cyrus and his house, i. e., that the former was not an Achæmenian (cf. p. 106). The reason why he

and the legends told in his name, nevertheless maintain this is clear : he wishes to be considered the lawful heir of the old royal house ; this is not to be wondered at, when one remembers how Cyrus was really the creator of the great Persian Kingdom..... The upstart (!) Darius, however, in addition to the support given him by the nobility, who were bound to him through his prosperity, needed a tradition which would win for him the veneration of the common people. What David had been to the Israelitic legends, Cyrus had to be to the Persian ; and as the first effort towards the re-establishment of Judah after the exile could not do without a descendant of David's lineage, so a ruler of the Persian kingdom had the right to ground his claim in Cyrus, whose house was considered to be the bearer of dominion in the new world kingdom..."

No student of Semitics could, in my opinion, speak in this way, except one who can find no trace of honesty and fidelity in the people whose languages and literatures he is studying Persia of to-day, with its motley and confused population, has no relationship with the early Iran It has taken on much that is Semitic, has been since 400 A. D. almost wholly Aramæan, and it could indeed be said to be Judaized. And the Persians of the present day are treated by one scholar, as also by others who blindly follow him and are thus misled, as the same as the early Iranians. But between the early Persians and the Persians of to-day — the early Persians and the Semites — there is all the difference in the world — " distance as great as between heaven and earth." I have dealt with this question in my article in " Neue Preuss" of 12th August 1908.

Winckler makes many other insinuations about the Iranians in Helmot's " General History " (Vol. III, p. 140) : " The name Wischtäpa (of the protector of the Zarathushtra Spitama) is scarcely by chance the same as that of Darius' father ; this is probably here but the expression of the splendour and importance of the Persian kingdom to the Far East, when the people there came to know the origin of the Avesta, to let the father of the head of the Persian dynasty rule." — These last words show plainly that Winckler considers the Iranians liars, and that he takes them to have consciously published untruths. By what means does this student

of history, otherwise so excellent, arrive at the conclusion that the early Iranians were given to lying? He does not even believe in the racial difference, and will hear nothing of Indogermans etc. It would appear as though he had never troubled himself about anything apart from Semitic languages and history. He need not do it. But we expect that, in that case, he and other Semitic scholars are not entitled to pronounce an opinion about Indogermans and Aryans. Winckler is also fundamentally mistaken in reference to the Persian Cuneiform characters (*Vide* Helmut's History, Vol. III. p. 154): "The Persian Cuneiform characters", says he, "are for once really invented in obedience to a royal mandate, in order to enable the inscriptions of the old kings to be transcribed in that language also. The Persian Cuneiform characters, which were clearly introduced first by Darius, in order to give expression to his national policy, in opposition to that of a Cyrus or Cambyses, has had no history, and has fulfilled no mission of culture."

Winckler has thus shown himself incapable of passing a judgment on the subject of Iranian history. It is a pity that calumniations of the character I have pointed out — not to speak of serious mistakes — are to be found in text-books destined for wide circulation. Research of this kind means an undermining of our national feeling, of the Germanic consciousness which is of equal worth with the Iranian. I should like to point out from the Bâgistân inscription the utter absurdity of these mistaken notions and insinuations. I do not wish to discuss at greater length the "way in which Andreas was sold." (Cf. Andreas' lecture at the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists, 1902, transactions published 1904, p. 93) or Hommel's connection with Winckler and Rost. (Cf. Hommel's "Outlines of the History and Geography of the Orient", 1904, S. 197, where Hommel speaks of a "small falsification.")

In Bag. I. 4, Dârajavusch says: ".....My father (is) Wieh-tâspa, the father of W. (is) Arschâma, the father of A. (is) Arijâ-ramna, the father of A. (is) Tschischpisch..." and (I. 9.) ".....Eight of my family, who were formerly kings; *I am the nin'th we are nine two-fold kings.*" The form "Teïspis" found in Herodotus, must be entirely done away with. According to the inscriptions the

name is *Tschischpisch* or *Schischpisch*. The Greek *Teispes* may probably have stood for *Teispes* (Cf. *sespis*), that is with *te* instead of with a simple *e*, as in *Aspāthines* — *Aspāchina*: *Skysai* — *skutscha*: *skolos* etc. (Cf. *Orient. Lit.—Ztg.* 1908; July No. 7, p. 319 in the article entitled "The names of the kings of Anchan" by G. Hüsing; *Philologus*, 1907, II.; "Iranisches" by A. H.-K., at pp. 176, 178, 180 — *skysāi*; *Philol. Novitates*, 1907, II. s. 65: "Sakisches": *sakai*, *skysāi* by A. H.-K.; *Orient. Lit.—Ztg.* 1906, August, Sp. 440: "Persian Proper Names" by A. H.-K.)

Geldner translates in "The culture of the Present", 190, under "The Oriental Literatures," I, 7, s. 219: "..... The father of Ariyārāmna (was) Caishpi (sic)... I am the ninth; in 2 lines we are kings..." and omits the 9 after *navama*, "the ninth". The early Persian word which I have rendered as "twofold" was formerly read *duvitātaranam* or *duvitātarnam* and translated as "since past ages" or "following after one another for a long time". (Cf. Foy, Z. D. M. G.; Bartholomae in "Early Persian Dictionary"; Justi in "Outlines of the Iranian Philology" II., and "History of Iran", p. 417, note. Among other things, however, Justi correctly keeps the two branches of *Tschischpisch* — *Chishpish*. (Cf. Index p. 416). But the word is to be read, according to the King-Thompson edition of "The Sculptures and the Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia" (London, 1907), at pp. 3, 86, 94 and 95, as *duvitā-parnam*, "in two lines". Weissbach tried to explain the word in the Z. D. M. G., 1907, II. p. 725 by the early Indian *parna*, "wing, row". And I on 9th October 1907 in the *Neue Pruss. (Krewz-)Ztg.*, connected the *parnam* with the Lat. *plenus*, and Gr. (ἀ-), (di) *plous*, Ger. *full* + *fulna*, and thus recognised the word *folded*. I have always, unlike other investigators, clung to the idea of *two* in *duvitā* and have never thought it possible for the word to mean "long" or "old". In April 1905, when the King-Thompson edition was yet unknown to me, I interpreted the word *duvitātarnam* as *twofold* in the *Philologus*, II. p. 189, and I have never been able fully to believe in a *tarnam*. In *Philologus*, 1907, II. pp. 188-189, I compared the "two lines" of the *Achāmenidæ* with the expression from the Avesta *Naotairja*, i.e., descendants of Naotara, "the" (Cf. Gr. *neoteror*: *nautara*), as Ariāramna, the second

of Tschischpiach was called. And it will be readily admitted that if the Wischtâspa-Dârajawausch line was called "the younger", there must have been "two lines". I did not think it necessary to say in so many words what to me was perfectly clear, namely, that with "in 2 rows" and "younger line" it was always plain that Cyrus and Cambyzes were the elder line of the Achæmenidæ.

In Philol. Novitates : III-IV., 1907, pp. 101-102, and 108, I repeated my rendering of *duvitâparnam* as "twofold". (Cf. Neue Preuss. (kreuz-)ztg., May 24, 1908, No. 243 under "Iranisches" by A. H.-K.; and "Zeitfragen" July 12, 1908, No. 28, in "The importance of the Medes and Persians in the history of the world".) Herodotus is perfectly correct in his assertion about the relationship between Darius and Cyrus-Cambyzes, and Winckler and his adherents are equally mistaken. Tolman in "The Behistan inscription of king Darius" (1908, Leipzig, Harrasowitz) renders *duvitâparanam* (which he gives instead of *-parnam*) as "long aforetime", mixing up *duvitâ* with *du-ra*, "long". This does not injure my rendering "in two rows", "twofold". I hope, however, too great a weight ought not to be attached to the judgments of Tolman and other non-Iranists in their explanation of Iranian words (Cf. Weissbach-Bang: "The Early Persian Cuneiform-Inscriptions", 1908: "Assyriolog. Library", X. 2, pp. XI and XIV.)

I have already mentioned Hüsing's paper on "The Names of the kings of Antschan" (Orient. Lit.-ztg. 1908, July Nr. p. 318 *et seq.*), where he expresses a doubt as to the names *Chišpiš* and *kambujija* being Iranian. *Chišpiš* would be the Persian *chiša-pišja*, and holds the same relation to the Median *chitra* as *miša* to *Mitra* *chschaša* to *chstra* etc., and *Kambujija* could comprise in it the name of the Iranian people *Kambuja*, as Sogdianos, Sugda etc. Compare, Marquart's "Researches into the History of Iran", 1905, II., p. 137, note; Spiegel, "Iranian Archæology" p. 442: "The original Aryan form (of the name of rivers etc.) must have read *Kāmbuja*, and the proper name *Kambujija* can scarcely have meant anything else than 'he who descended from *Kamboja*'". Windischmann, "Treatise on the Science of the Orient" (1859) p. 79, note, says: "The identity of the names *Kāmbuja* and *Cambyzes* proves that their language was related to the Early

Persian and Bactrian." Compare also E. Kuhn in "Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies", (1904). *Kamboja* is the name of a river which is so often used : *kamboja* : $\sqrt{\text{camb}}$, "the crooked".—Hüsing, however, retains the relationship of *Arija-ramna*, *Arschâma*, *Wischtâspa* and *Cyrus-Cambyses* (Sp 321, 322); and he is to be recommended, although he will be found difficult to understand.

I ask Hüsing how the name of a prince (*Kambujija*) could have had reference to a bodily ailment. What does Hüsing mean by this? Of what root-word was he thinking? The name of a colour *kamboja* which has something of the idea of *kapota* (dark-blue-grey), and which could be related to this word, . . . (Hüsing, column 321) could not be the root of *Kambujija*, either apart from a form *kamboja* instead of *kapota* (Osteranisch. *Kapocha*, which might be possible; compare : *spinta* : *sipech*, *sipej*; Lehman-Haupt's *Klio*" 1908, III-IV, p. 493 which contains an article "Darius and the Genealogical Table of the Achæmenides", which I have discussed in the *Neue Preuss.*) *Kreuz-ztg.* of Aug. 11, 1908, Beilage zu Nr. 373, as mentioned above, is also to be considered—even though it was occasioned by my articles on the early Iranians,—and discusses only the old well-known material of mine and others, the meaning of *duvitâparnam* and *Naotairja*. The opinion or the fact that Darius' statements are to be taken earnestly is advocated not only by Hüsing and Lehmann-Haupt, but also by Prâshek and Marquart, and by both in very eloquent words. From Marquart we shall quote here only "Researches into the History of Iran", 1905, II. p. 194, note) : "It must be perfectly clear to every unbiassed person in the face of the facts (the derivation of the early Persian Cuneiform character writing from the Medes, which is older than Darius) how very ridiculous those persons have made themselves, who believed that they must disentitle Cyrus and his kin of Persian nationality..." Further at p. 196 : "...A produce so frivolous, or better still, so vicious, could only then be understood and believed, if this king, who exhorted his subjects to honesty in worthy and earnest words, and who is conscious of having conquered over lies, insurrection, and violence, and of having restored the kingdom founded by his forefathers to righteousness through Ahura Mazda's help

and through a mighty struggle ; if this king had been himself nothing better than a vile hypocrite and liar, as Winckler and his consorts would like to make us believe." And Marquart says further on p. 197, where he first mentions that Darius I. had duplicates of the Bagistan inscription made and erected in the principal cities of the provinces which had rebelled as a constant warning. "...But in Pars the people certainly had the dates of the uprisings in these provinces still in mind, and Darius would scarcely have wanted to run the danger of being caught as a liar by his own countrymen. In closing, it is to be noticed that it is quite another thing, when the king of Asia announces to his people his victory over the upstart who had arisen against him, in the languages of the three most important kingdoms of his domain — at a place much more easily seen on the great military thoroughfare — than when an Armenian monk, translating Greek works into Armenian, translates and changes the names of the months of the stationary Roman or Macedonian-Roman calendar into those of the Armenian changeable year. This will, I hope, be enough to establish the conviction that the inscription of Darius in all three languages is to be, and must be taken seriously by all those persons to whom the investigation of the truth is important, and who are not trying to out-trump each other with daring, would-be sagacious conjectures, and have themselves talked about, or demanded unconditional belief in their own hypotheses as though they were a new gospel."

Marquart is right in feeling and speaking thus against the fantasies of Winckler, Rost and Andreas; and Prášek's opinion practically coincides with his. Prášek says in his "History of the Medes and Persians" ("Handbooks of early History" I, 1906, Gotha pp. 264-265): "...When one considers that a Hekataeüs, Charan or Dionysius were living at the time of Darius's ascension of the throne, and that the great Behistun inscription was written during the first period of its originator while the direct impression of the events was still fresh, and at the very latest in the eleventh year after the death of Cambyses, it will not do to assume that a condition of facts, alleged to be the correct one, was completely hidden from the contemporaries; and that an inscription placed in the heart of the kingdom on the much frequented high-

way of war and commerce which connected two royal residences, was meant to radically remodel the true state of affairs in the minds of the people, and to replace it by a trumped up official description, and to give all the inhabitants of the Kingdom the conviction that Darius, who had done away with the lawful heir of the founder of the kingdom (Bardiya-gomata? Winckler, Rost), was from now on to be looked upon as the legitimate successor of Cyrus."

Meyer in his "History of Antiquity" (I, 1884, p. 607, "Gravestone of Cyrus at Murgab-Pasargadæ") on p. 613 says: ".....Even the nearest heir to the throne (after Cambyeses) Vishtaspa, a grandson of Teispes, seems not to have dared to lay claim to his inheritance" and recognises thereby that the relationship really existed; he believes too the Persian and Grecian annals; but is it not to be feared that the new edition will prove the absurdity of Winckler and Rost. E. Herzfeld has an excellent work in the "Klio" (1908, I) which, however, only proves the absurdity of several of the investigators' theories and brings but little new material — since I with Hüsing, Marquart and others have never doubted that the grave of Cyrus in Pasargadæ belonged to the Great king Cyrus, and that Darius was not the originator of the Cuneiform characters. (Cf. Philol. Novitates, 1907, I., pp. 7-8: "Pasargadæ and Persepolis", by A. H.-K.) Herzfeld says on page 60:—"... According to Weissbach's idea, Parysatis has raised this monument to her favourite fallen son, Cyrus the Younger; this is therefore of no account." Further on page 65:—"That relief of Pasargadæ is therefore older than the art of Persepolis ..."; and on page 68:—"The quick decay of the Cuneiform character-writing after Darius points towards its having been superseded by alphabetical writing, as E. Meyer has shown. Against the Cuneiform character-writing having been invented by Darius, Marquart ("Researches," 1905, II. p. 193) sets up the most important philological, epigraphical, and historical objections. Hüsing (O. L. Z. 1900, col. 401) has also shown that the Persians must have taken the Cuneiform characters from the Medes..."

I took sides with Hüsing relative to the origin of the Cuneiform characters (in Philol. Novitates I, in 1907 "Pasargadæ and

Persepolis," p. 8). On reading Herzfeld's paper one would probably be inclined at first to believe that the Persian Cuneiform characters are older than Darius, that the tomb of Cyrus in Pasargadæ belonged to Cyrus II, the Great, father of the famous Cambyses, and that Darius, as one of the Achæmenidæ, had put to death an usurper, Gomâta, the real Pseudo Bardija, and not that he himself, as usurper, had put the lawful heir, Bardija, to death, as Winckler and people of his opinion would have it.

E. Meyer says, by the way, in his "History of Antiquity", (III, 1901, p. 38): "...King Darius in his epitaph exhorts the people not to place themselves in opposition to Ahura Mazda's commands, not to leave the straight way, not to be unjust; he impresses on his successors to keep themselves away from lying, and to punish the liar heavily if they wished to keep their kingdom unimpaired (Bag. IV) ..." Then at page 39:—"But he had not shunned fraud in the murder of the Magus and the conquest of Babylon according to tradition, and a sophism of his in vindication of lying in cases of dire necessity is even handed down (Herodotus, III. 72). Not seldom does the Persian history like that of Sparta and Rome offer the spectacle of a distinguished man's seemingly keeping his word, but really committing the most despicable breach of promise...."

It is not necessary to examine here to what extent certain politically wise and necessary measures, and rules of conduct were changed and coloured, and given a slightly different meaning to by the Grecians or representatives of other races. Reports prepared by others and tinged by their national consciousness often contain untruths; and as we have statements about ethics etc., in Iranian documents we do not need to place our confidence entirely in the foreign Grecian sources.

Forcibly and in a like connection, says, for example, L. F. Lehmann Haupt in the *Klio* "(1908 III-IV, on p. 493 in "Darius and the Achæmenian Genealogical table") :—"In determining the eight ancestors who, according to Darius's words on the entrance to the Behistun inscription, were kings before him, the same mistake is always made, that suppositions are always taken into consideration, which are directly opposed to the representations of Darius; while surely the only right way can be to endeavour first to

restore the genealogical tree as Darius presented it, and then to try to see how the items which differ from it are to be explained or to be credited."

After reading passages like Bag. I, 30-31: "Kambyzes had there Bardija (Smerdis), from the same mother and the same father killed", and before that, (Bag. I, 28): "Kambyzes, the son of Kyros, of our family...." Further, (Bag. IV, 44-45) "I call Ahura Mazda to be a witness, so true is this..." (Bag. IV, 47-48): "It has not been written down for this purpose (what I have done besides), so that not anyone who may read this inscription later, may consider it too much, what has been done through me, not believe it of me, consider it untrue..." (Bag. IV, 63-64): "Ahura Mazda.....has helped me because I was neither an unjust man nor a liar, nor an evil-doer, neither I nor my family; I lived according to the law; neither to a poor man (hireling) nor to a master (freeman) did I do violence..." To doubt these words at all, not to believe these majestic, honest, warning words of the great king without any further proof means to be devoid of every sensibility and feeling for Aryan and Indogermanic culture, gives evidence of animosity and envy, and would lead to the conclusion that the Aryans and Germanic peoples, the Indogermans as a whole, had reduced the rest of the world and its culture to ashes.

If then, as is granted, the Cuneiform writing and much else that is Persian originated with the Medes (Cf. Philol. Novitates, 1907, I, p. 8, opposed to Weissbach, from A. H.-K., etc.) why do we not excavate on the ruins of early Iran, so as to obtain possession at last of the inscriptions of the early Iranian kings and Great kings?

We surely could and should have inscriptions from an Aschtu-wega and a Chwachscha (h)ra from Chschat(a)rta (Kashtārta), the two Kurush's, the two Kambujija's, and other princes of Iran.

Then we could, partly at least, prove and verify the Indogermanic Archaeology with documents older than the early Indian ones. Then at last Iran would be granted her full valuation; where she is now so unjustly forced to take her place backwards from early India, which surely has and must have had much less that is original than has Iran. Early India is still, however, the first to be

consulted on questions of comparative philology, the early Aryan religion, and so forth; and this has led students in many cases to very false conclusions. Only the finding of new early Iranian documents, which are awaiting their resurrection and utility by the thousand, will bring to light the many mistakes in our consideration of comparative philology, which is still not quite perfect (Cf. *Neue Preuss. Kreuz-Ztg.*, August 20th 1908, Supplement to Nr. 389, article entitled *Indogermanisches* by A.H.-K. Concerning the myth of the *golden nts*, "*Neue Pr. Kreuz-Ztg.* October 8, 1908, Nr. 473 and *Indogermanisches*," *Neue Pr. Kr.-Ztg.*, 28. October 1908, Nr. 507, A.H.-K.)

The Aryans of India wandered through Iran, and through them (1) the Elamitic culture, which is older than the Eranian, (2) the Iranian culture of the time of the Achæmenidæ and (3) the culture of the middle Persians, all had their effect on India. On this account a great deal of the early Indian culture is to be explained by the Iranian culture.

In conclusion I should like to refer once more to Justi's introduction to the "History of Iran" (*Outlines of the Iranian Philology* II, p. 398 ff.):—Just as ungrounded as the reproach of cowardice is that of falsehood.....Through many witnesses above reproach it has been satisfactorily ascertained that the handshake was the safest security among the old Persians..... The same thing is true of the Parthians, and it is well enough known of the present day Parsees that their handshake to a businessman has the security of an oath....."

Regarding the trustworthiness of the Parsee tradition, which Ed. Meyer in "*Journal of Comparative Philology*", 1908, I, p. 1 ff. is trying to pull down, Cf. *Orient. Lit.-Ztg.* 1908, Aug. Nr. Col. 357 ff in "Also a sign of the times", Col. 379, 399-400; *Orient. Lit.-Ztg* 1908, Sept. Col. 444 under "Rectification." In addition to this Justi gives (in *Outline of the Iranian Philology*, II, p. 398) from B.W. Leist, "*Altarisches Jus civile*," I, Jena 1892, p. 56 :—"Written down in the teachings of Zarathustra in the commandment about purity as in those about truth is a beautiful direction towards a deeper examination of moral problems, which is essentially wanting in the Brahman religion in India, with all its mass of purifications through fasting and other practices",

From the words of Count de Gobineau Justi quotes:—"The God of the Bible is surely great and sublime; but His people, compared with those people whom one hears here instructing (the Iranians in the Vendidad III. 2, 6-10; III. 25-27, etc.) are very low; and one understands the special earnestness and the kind of wonder, with which Herodotus talked about old, and even at the time he lived, almost dead Persians who held bravery and truthfulness high above everything else. Even the Grecians of old never accustomed us to such a Language".—Count de Gobineau by Justi.

Note:—Concerning Vishtaspa's kingship which E. F. Lehmann-Haupt denies in the Klio 1908, III-IV, pp. 493 *et seq.* in "Darius and the Achæmenidian Genealogical-tree", Cf. Ed. Meyer, "History of Antiquity" I: "But Achæmenes is not king; therefore Vishtaspa must be king. Further G. Husing, Orient. Lit.-Ztg. 1908, July nr. col. 318, in "The names of the Kings of Anshan", p. 321: "There is, however, no reason for considering (1) Hachamanish as unhistorical; (2) him as king; (3) Ariaramna, Arshama, and Vishtaspa not as kings; (4) and the last-named not as descendants of Hachamanish." (p. 322) "The text mentions 8 kings, not 8 great-kings. It was superfluous acumen which made him (Darius) a lying inventor of a few more great-kings as ancestors or contended with the great Cyrus about his descent from Hachamanish."—Concerning Vishtaspa as king, compare further "Philologus", 1907, II; "Iranica" by A. H.-K., pp. 188, 189. For the dates of the lifetime of Zohrawastra (Zarathushtra) Spitama, who lived under Vishtaspa, compare p. 188; Zohrawastra is title, not name; cf. Avesta Vâstrô-fshuyss *Astrapsychos* pp. 181-182; further Orient. Lit.-Ztg. 1906 Aug. nr. col. 439 "Persian Proper-names" by A. H.-K.; Nov. nr. col. 605 "Nachtrage"; Neue Preuss. Kreuz-Ztg. 9 Oct. 1907, Nr. 473, "Iranisches"; 24 May 1908, Nr. 243 (supplement) "Altpersisches," as well as "Zeitfragen" July 12, 1908, Nr. 28 "The importance of the Medes and the Persians in the History of the World" by A. H.-K.

A. HOFFMANN-KUTSCHKE.

THE REVAYETS ON "FIRE".

Among the products of nature, fire, water, vegetation and the earth are held with sanctity in the Zoroastrian religion, and in Zoroastrian works we find numerous passages giving injunctions against defiling these objects. Especially in the *Vendidad*, we find in great detail ordinances for maintaining water, earth and vegetation in a pure state with a statement of the disadvantages and the sins accruing from a disregard of those injunctions. As these objects are held sacred, restrictions are imposed against bringing them into contact with dead or putrid matter in any way. As regards fire, we find various writings in all parts of the *Avesta* pointing out its great utility in the world's commerce. Great factories, mills and railways indispensably need fire, and even man depends for his life on the fire in his body. Hence is the praise and the elevated place assigned to it in our holy books. Much has been written on the subject in the *Avesta* and *Pahlavi* books, but it is worth knowing what our ancestors of three or four centuries ago thought on the subject, and with this object I give here in detail from the *Revâyet* of Darab Hormazdiar the views regarding the utility of fire, its many virtues and properties, and the disadvantages of an improper use thereof.

Fires have been differentiated and named from the several uses made of them. One is the *Berezishvangh*, the ever-burning fire in the vicinity of the Creator Ahura Mazda. *Vohu Fryâna* gives heat to human and animal life. *Urvârishta* is the name of the fire which constitutes the heat in vegetable matter. *Vârishta* is the fire of lightning. *Spenishta*, the fifth, is the fire generally used in the world¹. The *Revâyet* speaks in the following manner of fire.

It has been enjoined in the religion that care should be taken of fire, and it should be kept apart from water. For there is a demon that dwells in fire, and another in water. When these two

¹ Yasna XVII.

fall together they cause harm. Fire must not be exposed to sunshine, for that would be a sin. Fire should not be touched with the hand, or blown upon with the breath of our mouth. Putrid matter or the Nasu should be kept away from it, and green wood should not be burnt on it, and no kind of offensive smelling article should be placed on it. For the purpose of cooking food, large utensils should be used, in order to prevent the boiling and bubbling water from overflowing from the cauldron and dropping on to the fire. After having done with the cooking, the fire ought to be removed to and deposited in the *Ātash Kadeh* (house of fire). Fire should not be kept in houses where there is no human habitation, or else damage would accrue. The holy Creator has entrusted fire to the Amshâspend Ardibehesht, and has enjoined that Ardibehesht should not admit into heaven the soul of any one who causes injury to it. In placing wood on the fire, treble care must be taken to see that no putrid matter, or hair or any objectionable matter is attached thereto. Whoso burns wood without taking this precaution, commits a grave sin. Good wood and pleasant scent-giving articles should be burnt on fire, and one *Yathâ ahû vairyô* and one *Asâem vohû* should be recited when placing them on the fire.¹

Fire should not be extinguished but should be maintained ever bright and burning, and great care must be taken to see that the fire in the hearth is not extinguished. The menstrual woman ought to keep three paces away from the fire, and her eye ought not to rest on it.² If the fire of the hearth is maintained with care, all the fires on the seven regions of the earth rejoice, and if proper care is not maintained, all the fires moan, and the man responsible therefore is unable to have his wishes gratified. If the fire of the hearth is extinguished and even if a hundred *dinârs* of gold are sent as an expiation to the *Ātash-Kadeh*, the sin is not thereby atoned.

It is enjoined in the religion that to the Amshâspend Ardibehesht has been consigned the sovereignty of heaven, and the Almighty God has directed him not to allow heaven to any one from whom he has not received delectation. It has also been ordained

¹ *Ātash Niyâish* and *Ardâi Virâf Nâmak*.

² *Vendidad*, XVI.

that there will be a blight of progeny in the house where fire is not cared for, no male offspring takes birth therein, and the householder is not respected by men, and his words carry no weight.

The harm of extinguishing ceremonial fires is this that the force of the Avesta that may have been recited goes to the demons and the strength of the Yazishn reaches not unto the angels, and by the increase in the strength of the demons, evil is inflicted in the world.

Precautions must always be taken to see that dead matter does not reach water or fire. It has been enjoined in the religion that the soul of the man who throws dead matter on to fire or water is never rescued from hell, and it is also said that by that action mosquitoes and other noxious little insects breed most, and the oppressiveness of winter and cold increases.¹ If a man takes care to keep dead matter away from fire and water, his soul enjoys the happiness of heaven with delight.

The punishment of relegating dead matter to fire and water is this that the perpetrator of the offence becomes polluted on earth; he is unhappy on earth and heaven and feels great chastisement at the hands of the demons. The creator Ahura Mazda directs the prophet thus : "Inform my servants of the punishments described in the Vendidad for bringing dead matter to fire and water, so that they may abstain from that sin, or else they will have to experience the heavy tortures of hell."

Fire and water kill no man. The Creator Ahura Mazda said unto the prophet Zarathushtra as is said in the Vendidad.² And Noshirwan Murzban has composed verses in Persian in accordance with the spirit of the Avestan writings. The Creator Ahura Mazda said to Zarathushtra : "I have created fire and water on earth, which smite no man; but the unholy Ahriman has created a demon, the worst of all demons, whose name is 'Astôgo-wâd' and who is also known as 'Vâô-vatar', which demon brings scepticism into the hearts of men, and casts them into water, and tries what he can to see that they may die in water and lose their life in it by any means. It is this demon that kills a man or-

¹ Vendidad, VII. 26-27.

² Vendidad, V. 8-9.

dinarily in water, and then it is pretended that the man was drowned in the water. The same must be said of fire. This wicked demon makes man mad and ties up his legs in such a way that when a man falls on the fire, the red burning fire consumes the man. O Zarathushtra, know this and inform mankind about it, that no harm can reach man from anything that I have created in the world, and that none of my creations cause pain to men; but the demon 'Vâê-vatar' deceives men and smites them, and drives life out of their bodies."

It is proper to consecrate Âtash-Beherâms at all places where men of the good religion reside. It is said in the religion that if there were not the support and the strength of Âtash-Beherâms, not one man of the good religion could live in the world. Two Dasturs with the great "*khôb*" should serve fire in them, and keep the Âtash-Beherâm bright all night, and if keeping it bright at night they perform the *Bôe* ceremony, a hundred thousand demons and drujas are destroyed by its power, and twice that number of sorcerers and *paris* meet with death. And if there are not the means of consecrating Âtash-Beherâms at all places, Âtash Âdarâns should be consecrated. The fire of the Âtash-Beherâm must be taken great care of in every city. It should be specially made bright once in the night, and twice by day, and sweet-smelling scents placed thereon. Thieves and highwaymen are in great consternation through the power of Âtash-Beherâms, and hence it behoves men to bring scents and fuel to the Âtash-Beherâm and to supply food and vestments and other expenses to the server of the Âtash-Beherâm. When at midnight the fire is resuscitated and sweet scent placed thereon, 99,999 demons perish by the force of it, and so many demons are the less for causing devastation in the world. At night *Bôe* should be performed at the Âtash-Beherâm and sweet scents placed on the fire, and for 1000 yards further from where the wind carries the sweet scent, 1000 demons and drujas perish, and twice that number of sorcerers and *paris* meet with death. Such is the greatness and efficacy of

It is a highly meritorious act to spend money for the maintenance of the Âtash-Beherâm. Zarathushtra Spitama asked Ahura Mazda thus: "Is it good to spend money at home, or to give

it to a pious person, or to spend it on an Âtash-Beherâm?" Then Ahura Mazda replied: "It is better to spend money after an Âtash-Beherâm." Sweet scents ought to be placed on that fire, for regarding Âtash-Beherâms it is said in the religion that wherever there are men of the good religion girding the Kusti, Âtash-Beherâms should be consecrated; Âtash-Beherâms ought to be in existence wherever there are men of the good religion girding the Kusti. For Âtash-Beherâms are watch-keepers, and guard the city against peril and calamity, and watch over all. If in serving an Âtash-Beherâm, by a mistake the fire is extinguished, then the man who does it is a *marqarjân* sinner and must meet with hell, even if he has done a hundred meritorious deeds. Hence proper care must be taken of the Âtash-Beherâm with full watchfulness.

A Niyâish ought to be daily performed in honour of the Âtash Beherâm. If it is not possible to do so daily, it should be done at least five days in every month, on the days Hormazd, Ardibehesht, Âdar, Sarosh and Beherâm. It is a duty to perform the Niyâish in honour of the Âtash-Beherâm on these days.

It is said in the religion that when the prophet Zarathushtra brought his religion from the court of God, he had brought down with him a vase of fire. In one hand he held the Zend-Avesta, and in the other a vase of fire, and the name of the fire was Âdar-Bûrzîn-Meher. There was such a divine property in that fire that it needed no fuel or anything else to sustain it. Without fuel, it remained ever-burning and bright. Then the King built a golden dome (*gûmbaj*), and enthroned therein the Âdar-Bûrzîn-Meher. When the accursed and impure Arjâsp made war on Irân, and defeated Lohrâsp and captured the land of Irân, he tried what he could to extinguish the fire Âdar-Burzin-Meher, but he was quite disappointed, and the fire, by the force of its own nature, disappeared from there. There is a place called *Kâipôst-i-Vishtâspân* where the fire Âdar-Burzin-Meher went and lodged, and there it remains till this day. The place is called *Dast-i-kai-Vishtâspân*, for this reason that the corpse and the *Dakhma* of Gustâsp is there. The corpse of Kersâsp and that of Sârnârimân are also there, and there is a vast forest of grass there, and hence the fire also dwells in that forest.

The fire *Ādar-Goshasp* is like a king. It is the lord of Irân, and the support and protection of the Iranian kings. This fire is on Mount *Ashnavand*. This *Ādar-Goshasp* had assisted king *Kaikhosru*, when *Kaikhosru* took the *Der-i-Behman*. The story is this that when king *Kai-Kâus* grew old, and no one was fit for sovereignty, the *Yazad Sarosh* inspired *Godrez* in a dream saying: "The King has grown old, and in the world affliction, famine, plague and the superiority of *Afrâsiab* are on the increase. All this will be banished only in case a son of *Siâvaksh* who is on *Turanian* soil, will come here and mount the throne of Irân. His name is *Kaikhosru*, by whose powers all the evils will vanish. But no one can fetch him here, except thy own son *Gêv* who can bring him, if he goes there." The story is a long one. At last *Gêv* went there alone, and wandered about the *Turânian* soil for seven years, and finally brought *Kaikhosru* away. Then *Pirân*, the minister of *Afrâsiab* went in pursuit after them with 1,000 mounted soldiers. *Gêv*, however, confronted them, took the minister alive as his prisoner, and having pierced his ears, he tied both his hands. At last he came to his pathway by the sea *Jihûn* which is famous among seas. That sea pointed out the way, and by that way did *Kaikhosru* come to Irân. Then *Tûs* became jealous at the idea that *Gêv* and *Gôdrez* should come to the forefront when *Kaikhosru* came to the throne. So *Tûs* said: "I do not like this arrangement. *Fribôrz*, son of *Kâus*, is fit for sovereignty; then why should a grandson fill the throne? And this boy is the son of *Afrâsiab*'s daughter; hence he is unfit for the sovereignty of Irân." Upon this there was a dispute between *Gôdrez* and *Tûs*, and half the army took the side of *Tûs*, and half that of *Gôdrez*. And the two parties met on a plain to fight it out on the understanding that the party who by the grace of God won in the battle, should take the sovereignty. Then *Tûs* sent word to *Kâus*: "We have come to a fight on this point, and I want to inform you that many Irânians will be slain in the battle, and a new cause of strife will be engendered amongst ourselves, when an enemy like *Afrâsiab* is threatening us." On hearing this, *Kâus* summoned to his presence *Tûs* and *Gôdrez*, and *Fribôrz* and *Kaikhosru*, and in the presence of the king, a strong discussion took place between *Tûs* and *Gôdrez*. Then king *Kâus* gave the following

judgment:—"In my eyes, the two sons are equal. One is a son, and another is a grandson. If I bequeath my sovereignty to one, the other will be sorry. Therefore I decide thus. There is a place called *Dêz-i-Behman*, where many demons and sorcerers dwell. Nobody ventures to go thither. The place is so unapproachable that no one has been able to vanquish the fortress. Hence I shall assign the sovereignty to that one of the two who will conquer that fortress." This decision pleased all. Then Tûs and Fribôrz marched on with a large army to storm *Dêz-i-Behman*. But when they went near it, they experienced burning vapours on all four sides of it, as if there was a fire there. The earth and the sky became warm. For seven days they moved round the fortress and returning thence, challenged Kaikhosru to march on the fortress. Then Kaikhosru and Gêv and Gôdrez prepared themselves and marched towards *Dêz-i-Behman* with some soldiers. And Kaikhosru got the following words written out: "I, the servant of God, am a worshipper of Yazdân, and all those who are demons and sorcerers must quit this place." This writing he fixed on to the point of a lance, and instructed Gêv to drop the letter on the gates of the fortress. As soon as the letter was read, there came such a noise of thunder from the sky that the whole earth shook, and darkness fell on the earth. Then a flash of glory descended from the sky and settled on the ears of Kaikhosru's horse. This was the fire Gôshasp. Then the demons and sorcerers took fright at the thunder and the glorious fire, and the gates of the fortress being opened, all the demons and sorcerers vanished therefrom. Thus Kaikhosru took the *Dêz-i-Behman*. Having mastered the fortress with the miraculous aid of the fire, Kaikhosru halted there for a year, and built there a golden dome, and enthroned the Âdar-Gôshasp there on a jewelled throne. Then when Kaikhosru attained to the sovereignty of Irân, it was again with the miraculous assistance of this fire.

The fire Khordâd is the lord of all Dasturs, and the preserver of all Dasturs. This fire dwells on the hill of Kângdâ in Hindustan. The Hindus call it a volcano. They never place fuel on this fire; it is ever-burning without fuel. The fire Khordâd is also called Âdar Khôreh and Âdar Frâhâ. The fire Bûrzin-Meher is lord over agriculturists. By the grace of that fire, corn is grown for the agriculturist. This fire resides on Mount *Rævand-dast*.

and is also known as *Vishtāspān Minō Karkō*.

All these three fires are burning vapours. They need no fuel or fumigating substances. They remain ever-burning without fuel or fumigating substances. They are not extinguished even by pouring water on to them. Just as vapours would arise from other fires when ghee or fat is placed upon them, so would vapours rush forth from these fires when water is poured on them, and they only increase in splendour when rain falls on them. Is is then that they illumine most.

A question was asked as to what was the enjoinder for the case where one cooked his meal or bread or flesh, or anything else in a cauldron on fire on which a corpse or other dead matter had been burnt. The answer is that in case the dead matter was completely burnt off, and no hair or nail-paring or skin or matter was left on the ashes, then if one trode on the ashes or touched them, no harm would be done thereby, and if one cooked his meal on that fire on which dead matter was burnt and partook of that meal, or if he placed a cauldron and roasted meat thereon, it was allowable, and he did not get impure by such action. It is no sin to eat anything that is cooked on such fire. But every precaution must be taken to see that no hair or nail-paring or matter of any sort or any putrid dead substance has remained there. In such a case no pollution comes to one who touches the fire. Fire has such a purity in it that it purifies everything that is placed on it; hence no pollution comes to one who cooks his meals on it. If a corpse is burnt on the fire, and if thereafter one removes that fire after proper straining to the *Ātash-Gāh* it is highly meritorious. But if one knowingly causes a corpse to be burnt he becomes polluted and a deadly sinner fit for hell, for the sin of burning and causing dead matter to be burnt is the same. Besides it is considered a meritorious act to remove the fire of factories to the *Ātash-Gāh*, and it is specially meritorious to remove the fire from the factories of people of an alien faith.

At the time of consecrating a new *Ātash-Beherām*, the following sixteen fires are collected and put together after diverse purificatory devices. In the *Vendidad* it is enjoined as a merit to remove sixteen kinds of fires to the *Ātash Dād-Gāh*, and several of these kinds of fires are known to be employed in the consecration of a

new Atash-Beherâm. The fires so used are the corpse burnt fire, the dyer's fire; the fire of public baths; that of potters; that of bricklayers; that of coppersmiths; that of alchemists; that of mints, that of blacksmiths; that of armouries; that of taverns; that of distilleries; that of a military camp; that of a shepherd; that of lightning; and that of the hearth of a Zoroastrian. Enjoinments are given in the eighth Fargard of the Vendidad to remove all such fires as give out noxious vapours in the air by the burning in them of impure articles, to a proper place for fires, after performing different ceremonies in regard to them. The respective merits for the act of such removals are also detailed therein.

Regarding the way in which the fires are to be selected or purified before taking them to the *Dar-i-Meher* we find this writing. The prophet Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: "Tell me, O Ahura Mazda, what I ask thee. If men of another religion burn a corpse, and the fire after such burning lies exposed in some place where one happens to see it by day, how should the man take it without getting contaminated by the act?" Thereupon the Creator Ahura Mazda replied; "Listen, O holy Zarathushtra to my directions. If a man of the good religion sees fire on which *Darvands* have burnt a corpse, and performs the proper ceremony thereon, his merit will be as great as that of one who has treated 10,000 fires with proper ceremony or has awakened 10,000 fires. As recompense for this meritorious action I cause rejoicing to his soul, and bestow heaven on him. The man who, seeing a corpse-burnt fire does not treat it with proper ceremony, and moves on to his work, leaving the fire where he found it, does what is equivalent to extinguishing 10,000 of my fires. As retribution for that sinful act, I consign his soul to the demons and to Ahriman, for him to meet with torture at their hands. Now listen to my instructions for the treatment of fire on which a corpse has been burnt. Inform all men in regard thereto. Let the man who treats the fire stand at a safe distance from the fire on which corpse has been burnt, and hold a long stick of fuel over it. When the stick begins to burn, let him remove it to the distance of a span, and allow it to burn out. When the flame thereof is extinguished and the fire is about to run cold, the man should take another stick and light one end of it in this fire. When this stick begins to

burn and the other fire goes out, he should place the new burning stick at the distance of two hands from the last, and he should continue a similar process until he makes use of nine sticks which, when they respectively begin to burn, are to be placed at the distance of two hands from the fire from which they are lit. The fire on the ninth stick is to be considered pure and to be removed to a fireplace and the other fires are to be allowed to remain and run cold where first deposited. The merit of placing fuel and incense on the fire of the ninth stick after its removal to the proper place is as great as that of properly treating 10,000 of my fires. The merit of properly treating an individual fire is one 'firman' and hence the merit is 10,000 'firmans'. A thousand demons are annihilated by the act, and the merit of the act is as great as that of placing fuel and incense and thus continuing to keep 10,000 fires burning, and of performing 10,000 *niyâishes* and prayers. The soul of the purifier gets rejoiced by all this act of merit. If one sees a corpse-burnt fire and moves on to his business leaving the same there, he commits a sin equal in greatness to the act of extinguishing 10,000 of my fires, and his soul will experience unlimited toil and pain at the hands of the demons and Ahriman. Such is the merit of disposing of this fire, and the sin of neglecting it. But in taking this fire, care must be taken to sift it nine times as directed and holding the *paevand*. The *paevand* consists in keeping connected with the fire by holding one end of the stick on the fire and the other in the hand."

In another place it is written that during the process of sifting the corpse-burnt fire, two males should hold the *paevand* and recite the *Srosh Bâj* upto the word *ashahê*, and should hold an iron pan with bores in it on to the fire, the pan bearing on it some sawdust obtained from sandalwood, and should take on it the flame of the fire until the dust begins to burn, and then dispose of this new fire by placing it at a distance, as explained above. Then the pair of males should stand aside. Another pair should then take a pan with bores in it and similarly obtain a fire of saw-dust from the fire thus deposited by the first pair. In this way nine pairs should repeat the process, and finally the fire prepared by the last pair may be taken to the proper place for fire. If some *Darvand* has burnt dead matter (*nasê*) on the fire, it is a duty

to sift the fire as aforesaid by this ninefold process, and the fire should then be taken to its proper place. Whoso does this, performs an act worthy of the same merit as that deserved by one who cleans 1,000 fires, and obtains 1000 "firmans" of merit. The burning of dry impurity on fire, whether in a jungle or in a desert place necessitates a similar treatment for the fire. Whoso sifts that fire as directed above is worthy of the same merit as one who enlivens 500 fires, and Providence gives him a great reward. In the same way there is a proportionate merit in treating all the other fires, namely those of potters and the rest, above detailed. All these injunctions have been given by God himself, and no one should cast any suspicion thereon. It has been enjoined by the Creator Ahura Mazda that if the fire of the hearth of the Zoroastrian is not sifted in manner aforesaid, a *firmāni* sin attaches to the Zoroastrian every time he places a cauldron on the fire for cooking his meals. If once every year, the household fire is not sifted and food continues to be cooked thereon then certainly the "*firmāni*" sin attaches to the party in default.

The burning of green or wet wood on fire is equivalent to the pouring of water thereon. It is a great sin to place wood in that manner. Great care must also be taken to preserve all or any fires, and if any fire is found lying anywhere uncared for, it must be at once taken to its proper place. God has enjoined this in the eighth Fargard of the Vendidad, and has thus warned the prophet: "Zarathushtra, do thou inform my servants of this that they should take care of fire. Tell them to deem the 10,000 fires of which the merit has been above detailed, as my 10,000 children." A versifier puts the matter thus and says that it behoves men to execute this command of God. If one acts according to the divine behest his soul feels rejoicings, and meets with heaven. Dastur Noshirwan Murzban has composed verses to the effect that the guardian of fire finds a place in the Garothmān, for this reason that fire is the son of the Creator Ahura Mazda, and hence must be properly preserved. And the Creator Ahura Mazda has given the key of heaven to the Amshāspend Ardibehesht, and has ordered him not to let any one who has neglected fire to move in its vicinity. Hence whoso belongs to the religion of God must look well after fire, and must

take any fire wherever found to its proper place, observing the process defined above.

NOTE.—The above writing has been reproduced here from the original Persian not to treat the readers with any grand philosophy or enlighten them with any deep esoteric learning, but to give an idea of the way in which expounders of the faith attempted to shed light on religious problems in the "Dark Ages" of Zoroastrian learning. The style itself would be a sufficient index to the merit of the ideas attempted to be conveyed by these apostles of learning. The prolixity of detail and the frequency of the repetitions will convey at once to the critical reader an idea of the moderate brilliancy of the intellect of the writers, and the still greater intellectual dulness of those whom the writings were meant to enlighten. We shall leave the reader to judge for himself about this typical specimen from the *Revâyet*s.

EDULJI KERSASPJI ANTIA

QUATRAINS PERSANS INEDITS

En Dialecte De Hamadan

I

Çabrî Derdjêzîni

Derdjêzîni (ainsi orthographié dans le manuscrit original,) en l'ethnique arabisé de Der-gozîn, chef lieu du canton d'Alèm, entre Hamadân et Zendjân, à deux journées de la première de ces villes. C'est un point où la doctrine de Mazdak s'est longtemps maintenue, d'après les autorités citées par Yâqoût ; mais au temps de Hamdullah Moçtaufi les habitants étaient devenus Châféïtes.

Mètre : — vv — | v—v— | —vv— | v—v— .

Au 3e hémistiche, lire *îchêttê*.

منگدلا هلي چرا عاشق زار امين بدی — زو بدو بدوفا امين ياري و بار امين بدی
خار د و کون میمی ایشتم ممن عذارا — خارو ولم بهم خوشي اي که بغار امين بدی

Ô cœur de pierre ! donc, pourquoi, amant plaintif, avais-tu confiance ? Confiance en ces deux infidèles, l'amitié et l'amie ? L'épine qui est la préoccupation que causent le monde d'ici-bas et celui de la vie future.....pour la belle à la joue de jasmin ? L'épine et la rose vont hier ensemble, ô toi qui avais confiance dans l'épine ?

Cette pièce a été extraite d'un *djong* ou album ayant appartenu à Mirzâ Habib İsfahâni et contenant des variantes des quatrains de Bâbâ Tâhir 'Uryân.

II

Auteur inconnu

Les deux quatrains qui suivent sont placés, dans le manuscrit dont j'ai entretenu les lecteurs du *Spiegel Memorial Volume* p. 211, no 1, à la suite de ceux de Bâbâ Tâhir et en sont séparés par l'indication "d'un autre [auteur]."

بیگو تلواصه دارن بوره بوین — زبرد کاسه دارن بوره بوین
هم خون ولهم ساقی نامه مطرب — صحبت خاصه دارن بوره بوین

Sans toi, je reste dans l'abrutissement : viens, et vois. J'ai du poison dans ma coupe, viens, et vois. L'échanson.....
.....et le musicien gémit. Je tiens une conversation particulière : viens, et vois.

Mètre: — u — — ju — — i u —

Sur la première personne en *u*, voyez *Nouveaux quatrains*, p. 212 et 213.— *Bûrè* a été expliqué dans les notes du no. XII des *Quatrains de Bâbâ Tâhir* et du no. XI des *Nouveaux quatrains*.

چرا بازا عفت در کمین — نه چاره بر کبک و بر نیو نشین
ودش دی برکه در عالم ودش کر — مکه و د مکه تا ود نه بین

O faucon mâle ! un aigle te guette ; jusques à quand continu-
eras tu de poursuivre la perdrix et le francolin ?

Celui qui fait le mal dans le monde, trouvera son châtiment :
ne fais pas de mal, pour n'en pas éprouver.

Même mètre.—Lisez *vad-se di*, et à la fin *vad-sch kar*, ce dernier mot étant le participe passé, à moins qu'il n'y ait là une faute de copiste.—Sur *mè-kè* (sans redoublement); voir *Quatrains*, no. XXXI.

III

Noûr-'Alî Châh

Vers extraits d'un album ayant appartenu à Mirzâ Habib Içfahâni—Mètre *hazadj*.

ز عشقت دیدم نمای دهم — ز بهرت سینم فینای دهم
چو گل تا گیرمت رمزی در آفوش — که مو تا و دامون چاک دهم

J'ai l'œil humide par suite de l'amour que tu m'inspires, ma
poitrine est pleine de soucis de te savoir si loin de moi.

Pour pouvoir te prendre secrètement sur mon sein comme une
rose ; J'ai déchiré ma volonté jusqu'au pan de la robe.

Did-om est déjà attesté dans *Quatrains*, no. XIII, XXVI,
XXIX. Sur le pronom personnel *mou*, voir *Quatrains* no V.

بره آو بهر از گل منبلی وین — خط به خون دمیده دره گلش وین
چو چتر نسترن بر طوی گلش — پریشون و مساحل کاکش وین

1 MS. *تا چنه*, contra metrum.

2 MS. *وی* 3 MS. *ود که* 4 *نشینم* 5 *ز گل*

Vieux, vois son duvet, semblable à des jacinthes, suspendu à de roses, vois l'écriture *rihân* qui a poussé au milieu de ton visage.

Comme une tonnelle d'églantines au bout du buisson de roses, vois ses cheveux épars et crépés.

Sur les images *gol* = visage, voir l'*Anis el-'ochchaq*, de ma traduction p. 40 et *sombol* = duvet, p. 47. Sur la sorte de chevelure dite *kâkol*, dont le qualificatif est précisément le participe *mosalsal*, voir le même ouvrage, p. 10. L'écriture *rihân* est décrite dans *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, par Cl. Huart, p. 35.

ز دل گر شمع آبی بر فروزم — چو پروانه چهره‌ی را بسوزم

چو میپرسم ز مهر از روی و مویش — که روزم کرده شو شو کرده رویم

Si j'allume, en guise de flambeau, les soupirs qui s'élèvent de mon cœur, je mettrai le feu à tout un monde, qui brûlera comme un single papillon.

Lorsque tu m'interrogeras sur son visage et ses cheveux, [je te répondrai] : Elle a transformé mes jours en nuits et mes nuits en jours.

Le manuscrit a *روزم*, *روزم*, *روزم* et seulement *روزم* à la fin du 4ème hémistiche ; mais le maintien de cette dernière forme, que le copiste a laissé subsister, prouve que c'est la forme originale.—Sur l'image *nuit* = *cheveux*, voir l'*Anis-el-'ochchâq*, p. 16.

مواون دل داده ولد می پرستم — که دایم از می وصل تم مستم

کشیدم باذلی از جرم عشقت — وسط زهرا در هم شکستم

Je suis ce débauché, adorateur du vin, qui a donné son cœur ; je suis éternellement enivré de ton vin, de la liqueur que tu me verses.

J'ai supporté.....par la faute de ton amour j'ai ; mis en pièces le tapis de l'ascétisme.

J'ignore ce que signifie باذلی (ainsi vocalisé) est une prononciation dialectale pour جرم .

مواون مستم که پای از سر ندویم — سراپا کی بجز دلبر ندویم

دلارامی کز او کرده دل آرام — بجز از ساقی کوثر ندویم

Je suis cet homme ivre qui ne distingue plus ses pieds de sa tête ; Je ne connais plus rien, sauf ma bien aimée.

Cette tranquillité qui ramène le calme dans le cœur, Je ne la trouve plus qu'auprès de l'échanson qui me verse l'eau celeste du Kauther.

خوشا روزی که دیدار نه بینم — گای از گلشن وصلت بچینم

نشینم با نه [و] برخیزم از جون — زجون برخیزم و وانه نشینم

Oh ! le beau jour où je verrai ton visage, où je cueillerai une rose sur le buisson de l'amour couronné !

Je m'assiérai en ta compagnie et me lèverai hors du *comment* ; Je quitterai le *comment* et pourtant je dirai que je reste assis !

مراون دردی کشی پیمونه نوشم — که شد عشقت چو ختم می بجوشم

وچینم نا گلی از باغ وصلت — چوبلبل روزو شراندر خروشم

Est-ce pour tirer toute cette lie que je bois la coupe ? Ton amour est, en effet, devenu pour moi comme une cendre de vin qui fermente.

Je cueillerai une rose dans le jardin de tes délices, et comme le rossignol, je pousserai des cris.

IV

Bâbâ Tâhir 'Uryân

Seconde version de son *ghazâl* publié dans les *Nouveaux quatrains*, d'après l'appendice aux poésies de Maghrébi, lithographiées par le Cheikh 'Asd-al-Wahhâb à Téhéran, année 1300 hég., imprimé de Habib-ollâh.—Mètre *hazâdj*.

به سوچم به سوچم به سوچ — بگرمی چون فروزان [اخ] گورسم

چو شمع گرم اندازند صد بار — فروزنده تر و سوزان تر صم

یکی نخچیر هستم زیر خورده — که در دام زمانه مضطربم

نه خورنه خواب دیرم بی تو گویی — بتن بر یک سرمو خنجرستم

بیک لاله بسوچم بر دو عالم — که از سوز چگر خنیا گورسم

نه کار آخرت سازم نه دنیا — یکی بی صابر فطرت بی برسم

اگر روزی دوسه بارت بوینم — بجز مشاقق بار دیگرستم

منم آن بار ورنه دل صحت — که صحت پشاید و حسرت بر منم
 من آن دوزخ دل و آتش مزاجم — که دوزخ جزئی از خاکسوزم
 ز درمان بهره فیرو جدم درده — که روح از روح دیگر بدو منم
 نه یلم را فر شاهي نه نظري — که این ژولیده مورا افسر منم
 بسان کافرم در مؤمنان — بسان صومن اندر کافر منم
 نمیگرد کمم هرگز بهیزي — درین کشور زهر کم کمتر منم
 بجز مهر تو تر اندر دلم بی — بهفتاد و دو ملت کافر منم
 ز بالینم همه الماس روئی — همه خار و خشک در بستر منم
 در این دلم چنان مهوم و مغوم — نو پنداری که مرغ بی پر منم
 درین دنیا بهیچم بی نو کوی — چه طفل بی پدر بی مادر منم
 بمانک عشق روح بی نشانم — بشهر دوست بیک بی بر منم
 من از روز ازل طاهر بزام — از انور نام بابا طاهر منم

Je brûle tout entier, je suis tout brûlures—la chaleur qui m'étouffe me fait ressembler à de la braise ardente.

Si l'on me coupait la tête cent fois, comme on le fait à une chandelle en la mouchant, je n'en serais que plus enflammé et plus brûlant.

Je suis un gibier dont une flèche a traversé le corps, je suis aux abois dans les filets de la fortune.

Sans toi, je ne puis ni manger ni dormir ; on dirait que sur mon corps la pointe de chaque poil est comme un glaive acéré.

D'une seule plainte, je brûle les deux mondes (celui d'ici-bas et celui de la vie future), car par la brûlure de mon cœur, je suis le musicien [des incantations].

Je ne m'occupe des affaires ni de la vie future, ni de la vie présente ; je suis un palmier sans ombre et sans fruits.

Si, même en un jour je te voyais deux cents fois, je n'en désirerais pas moins te voir encore une autre fois !

Je suis ce fardeau qui surcharge le palmier de l'amour, car je distille les tourments et je cultive les regrets.

Je suis cet homme au cœur infernal, au temperament de feu, car l'enfer n'est plus pour moi qu'un peu de cendre !

[Mets moi] sur ma blessure un peu de baume, car je suis plus mal de jour en jour.

Il n'y a ni gloire royale, ni orgueil à mon....., car je suis la couronne de ces cheveux emmêlés.

Je suis comme un infidèle dans le pays des vrais croyants, comme un musulman dans la contrée des infidèles.

Personne ne me considère comme quelque chose ; dans cette région, je suis au dessous des moindres.

S'il y avait dans mon cœur autre chose que ton amour, je serais infidèle aux soixante-douze sectes.¹

Des pointes de diamant croissent de mon oreiller ; mon lit est tout entier épines et broussailles.

Dans ce Déilem, je suis tellement préoccupé et triste, que tu me prendrais pour un oiseau sans ailes.

Dans ce monde, je ne suis rien, et l'on dirait que je suis comme un orphelin sans père ni mère.

Dans le royaume de l'amour, nous sommes une âme sans marque ; dans la ville de l'amie, je suis un..... sans fruit.

De toute éternité je suis du race pure, et voilà pourquoi l'on m'a appelé Bâbâ Tâhir.

V

Maghrébi

Molla Mehammed Chirîn, surnommé Maghrébi, né à Nâin dans la province d'Ispahan vivait dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle.² Il était l'ami de Kemâl Khodjendi ; c'était un çoufi, qui avait eu pour maître le Cheikh Isma'il de Sennân.³

Le dialecte de cette ville a été étudié par A. Querry⁴ et a été rangé dans les dialectes du centre par W. Geiger⁵.

1 Dont se compose la religion musulmane, selon un hadith apocryphe du prophète c'est-à-dire je serais même rejeté du sein de la communauté musulmane.

2 Rien, *Catalogue Pers. Mus. British Museum*, p. 623 ; Eché, dans le *Grundriss iranischen Philologie*, t. II, p. 305 ; Djâmi, *Nafahât ol-Ons*, p. 713 ; Khondemir *Habib-ol-Sigar*, III, 391.

3 Rizâ-Qouly-khan, *Medjma'-ol-fostha*, t. II p. 30.

4 Dans les *Mémoires de la Société linguistique*, t. IX, 1896 p. 110.

5 *Grundriss* t. I. p. 391.

Le texte du quatrain suivant est tiré d'un manuscrit de ma collection, daté de l'an 854 de l'hégire, copié par conséquent quarante-cinq ans après la mort de l'auteur (809 hégire - 1406-07) à Tébriz.

وايضاً له في الفلويات

بدريا ار رسم دريا تم وينم — بصحرا ور رسم صحرا تم وينم
بجز نه هج كنجي ني بگيتي — ازان هريا رسم هريا تم وينم

Si J'atteins la mer, c'est toi que j'y vois ; si j'arrive au désert, c'est toi que j'y vois.

Il n'y a d'autre être que toi dans l'univers ; c'est pourquoi où que j'aïlle, je te vois en tout lieu.

يا — کسی par le contexte, paraît répondre au persan *کسی* pour nous fait remonter à un stade de développement historique où la semi-voyelle n'était pas encore devenue consonne : cf. *yavan* 'djévân, *yavaêtat* 'djâvid, *yava djou*, *yâtu* 'djâdû, *yâma djâm*, etc.

CLEMENT HUART.

A PERSIAN MUNĀJĀT

Among the manuscripts, some of them very precious, of my lamented predecessor, Dastur Shams-ul-Ulama Sirdar Dr. Hoshang Jamasp, to whose memory this volume is dedicated, I chanced to find a *munājāt* composed by the late Dastur himself, in the Yazdajardi year 1220.

I have thought it desirable to have the little composition printed in this volume, with the object of giving publicity to a composition of the late Dastur which would otherwise have remained unknown. I append to the text, which is in the metre *hazaj* of the measure *Mafa'ilun Mafa'ilun Mafa'il*, a literal translation of it.

TEXT

- مناجات المعررة في البحر الهزج ارکانہ مفا میدان مفا عیان مفا عید
 ۱ خداوند اثوبخش کن وقارم — پذیرا عرض من چون عرض دارم
 ۲ خداوند! کریم واجب دخی — علیم و عالم الغیب ہمہ شی
 ۳ ہمہ دان ظاہر و باطن شفای — قدیم فیضان روشن قیاسی
 ۴ شہ شایان و پانا راحت داور — قدیم مینوان مینوی خاور
 ۵ خفی و ہم جلی را تو بدانی — تو ذره را بغورشیدی رسانی
 ۶ تو آگاه از مزاجی و حقیقی — ز ہر باریکی و از ہر دقیقی
 ۷ کہ بخشد کان تن را جوہر جان — بدرج دل کہ آرد دُر ایمان
 ۸ کند کاغذ دماغ آن طالع از مقل — زخمس و نسیم معقولات از عدل
 ۹ تو دادی قوتی با مقل بالا — کہ داند اوز ادنی تا باعلی
 ۱۰ توئی واجب و عالم جمہ ممکن — نہ این قولم محالست بلکہ ممکن
 ۱۱ تو نوی را ز جنسی وصل کردی — پس آنکہ اشرفی بر فصل کردی
 ۱۲ چون نوع الس را از جنس جان داور — بکردی فصل و بعدش کردی ہر دار
 ۱۳ بعشق خود سرفرازی نمودی — بعرفان تدار رتبہ اش فرودی
 ۱۴ تو پیدا سازی از صفی و کبری — نتیجہ از تو ہدایم ہمہ را
 ۱۵ کسی از کلمہ ذات نیست بایر — ازین قصہ کسی ناگشتم بایر

- ۱۶ بی‌امداد و بغیض آری نورنگی — بهرامی که خواجه بی‌درنگی
 ۱۷ صحن را تو چنان دادی بلند می — که پایه زو سفندان ارجمندی
 ۱۸ صحن را تو بمعنی ره سپردی — تو این راجه هر آن را عرض کردی
 ۱۹ صحیح مطلق است این قول حکما — که اول آفریدی عقل کلد را
 ۲۰ پس از آن عقل اول پاک و برتر — جمیع قوت بفعل آوردی بهتر
 ۲۱ پیولا را بصورت آوردی زو — کنی چندی زامتعاله اش نو
 ۲۲ در آن انسانرا اشرف نمودی — درجات سبق اش درج کردی
 ۲۳ تویی علت همه معلول نو اند — تویی عامل کین مفعول از او اند
 ۲۴ ندای خویش را تو خوب دانی — بهر وصفیکه خوالم به از آنی
 ۲۵ تویی خالق و خلاق دو عالم — تو بیرونی ز هر و هم و خپالم
 ۲۶ خدایا تو بهانی جمله عالم — جدا داری ز هر ابتر فعلم
 ۲۷ الهی قوت نظم مطا کن — به نفس ناطقه نیک آتھا کن
 ۲۸ بخشیدی چو مومن ده زبانم — بوصف خویش کن معزز بیانم
 ۲۹ بذکر خود چنان مشغولیم بخش — که آنرا برنگین دل کنم نفس
 ۳۰ بفضل خویش فرما هر زمانی — ز نفس مطمئن اطمینانی
 ۳۱ نوازی برمزدای دادار یزدان — ربانی ده ز دست نفس و شیطان
 ۳۲ که این پرده و مریس در کین اند — چو اهلان دشمن و اعدای دین اند
 ۳۳ ز لطف خود هدایت کن چنانم — که تا بر نفس اماره نمانم
 ۳۴ مرا از نفس لوازم مده بخش — از و امداد و عن بیمه بخش
 ۳۵ چو آن لایم شده باوی صلیزد — ملایم گشته این از وی گریزد
 ۳۶ ببنده از ز گشتی وقت کستی — هم گشتی نیارد چیر دستی
 ۳۷ نظر دار پیش نفس رهزن من — ز رهزن کمتر آمد آبرمن
 ۳۸ چو زور نفس من نابود گردد — هم آبرمن زمن مردود گردد
 ۳۹ تو ای حافظ حصار قلب مارا — مده ره لشکر حرم و پوارا
 ۴۰ دل از پنه پوسها گشته آزاد — مده قانع و با ذکر تو آباد
 ۴۱ بکن مضروب خود مارا ز رحمت — که از من دور گردد جمله زحمت
 ۴۲ بکنه نکتہ خود کن سزافراز — ز عرفان خود و از رموز افراز
 ۴۳ گشای بر من در عالم و ادب را — جدا داری زمن چهل و چوبهارا
 ۴۴ ز هر علم و عمل پر کن دلم را — بهمه فرسنگ دور کن افکلم را

- ۳۵ مرا تود ربلافت کن چون سبحان — بدو و هم نصیحت کن ای سبحان
- ۳۶ بنای و چنگ صرف ساز رویم — بهنگ خود نگهدار آبرویم
- ۳۷ گران سازیم از شور گران تو — ز خود خود خود ده مغز را بر
- ۳۸ بکن ثابت مرا بر دین و ایمان — بنار عشق خود جانم بهوزان
- ۳۹ تو چشم را ببخشی نور الطاف — ز اوام دولی کن باطنم صاف
- ۴۰ خودی گفتن که بحث از قسم قرا — ز درد توئی منمائی میرا
- ۴۱ خدانها به بخشی آرام مارا — بکن از بنه گی پر کام مارا
- ۴۲ ز حکمتهای خود آگاه نمائی — به معقول و منقولم فزائی
- ۴۳ بکن اقبال و جا هم را فزاید — بران دارم مراد آنهم بر آید
- ۴۴ دو چشم را بکن تو راستی بین — چو چشم کن زبان من نوشین
- ۴۵ همیشه بر زبانم ذکر خود کن — سمع ام چون سمع روشن از آکن
- ۴۶ ز شکر مال شکرانه زبانم — رطیب و عذب سازی با بیانم
- ۴۷ بکن بر روح بنده روح از مهر — که از مهرت شیر روشن اوچون مهر
- ۴۸ سبحان مرا ای راستی به — خوشا و شاد فرمان دارو به زمین
- ۴۹ بهاری بر قناعت شاد و خرمند — بچراست مثل رستم کن ظفر منده
- ۵۰ عطا کن راستی از مهر و رحمت — بکن بختاورم با عز و راحت
- ۵۱ بکن یکسان بباطن هم بظاهر — دل و جان و قلم را ساز ظاهر
- ۵۲ بکن ذکر جمیلم شهره شهر — بهایون ساز مال و پوم با شهر
- ۵۳ چون مرغ جان ز قفس آن بر آید — با استقبال ما اشوان بیاید
- ۵۴ ببخشی زینتم در جنب جنت — که افزولست احسانت و منت
- ۵۵ زوی سعه و زوی بخت نیکوام — که در دین زراشت اشوام
- ۵۶ که بحث آن برتر از وصف کلام — بروج طیبی پدیدر سلام
- ۵۷ ز جبروت و ز ملکوت و ملکه — گذشته بر سر عرش و فلکه
- ۵۸ بغیض ذات پاکش بحث ظاهر — که گردد ناموت از لا موت باهر
- ۵۹ خصوصاً این جمیع مخلوق را حق — نموده از بهر ذات پاک و عطا
- ۶۰ بر این لازم یقین ایمان عطا — که بادی بود آن و غشور برحق
- ۶۱ خداها مستجاب کن مناجات — توئی قاضی حاجاتی و دعوات
- ۶۲ چون پر شکفت کن فرمان پاک قادر — به برش و شکفت و پر کار فاخر
- ۶۳ تبارک اسم تو زائع ستار — که خاتر الزبونی پاک دادار

قطعه

تاریخ الحلقام این مَناجات

۷۴ شده ختم این چه دعوات بهتر -- بروز اورد بیهشت و مالا لشکر

۷۵ بفکر سال یزدجرد بودم — دران دم ره نما این ره نمودم

۷۶ سروش پای گفتم این مَناجات — برب واصل شود ادعیه و دعوات

یزد جردی

۱۲۲۰

ذمت تمام شد

TRANSLATION

A Munājât written in the metre *hazaj*, the
feet being *Mafâ'ilun Mafâ'ilun Mafâ'il*.

- 1 Oh God, do Thou grant me dignity! accept My request,
as I beseech Thee.
- 2 Oh generous Lord, Whose Revelation is necessary,
Knower of the invisible in all things (that exist)!
- 3 Thou dost recognise all knowledge, open and concealed,
Oh Thou Oldest, and knowing the mysteries of en-
lightened judgment!
- 4 Oh King of Kings, Protector and just Judge, Oh
ancient Lord, most Invisible amongst the Invisible!
- 5 Thou knowest the Hidden as well as the Manifest;
Thou exaltest an iota to the position of the Sun.
- 6 Thou art cognisant of the unreal and the real; of all
subtlety and minutiae.
- 7 Who bestows the jewel of life to the mine of the body?
Who brings the pearl of faith into the closet of the
heart?
- 8 Through His Wisdom, He makes the mansion of the
brain a house of Fortune; through His Equity
He makes reasonable words with the five senses and
the nine intelligences.
- 9 Thou endowest (the mind) with strength and superior
intelligence, by which it knows the low and the high.
- 10 Thou art the Necessary (Existence) and the whole
creation is the possible (Existence); my assertion
is not impossible, nay it is possible.

- 11 Thou hast connected the species with the genus; thereafter Thou hast decided its superiority.
- 12 As Thou hast separated the class of man from the genus of animate beings and then madest him the chief.
- 13 By Thy own Love Thou hast exalted him, with Wisdom and Power Thou hast exalted his dignity.
- 14 Thou canst distinguish between the low and the high; I know that all have emanated from Thee.
- 15 No one is aware of the substance of Thy nature; no one has become experienced in this matter.
- 16 Without contradiction and with grace, Thou dost give colour to every affair which Thou desirest, without any hesitation.
- 17 Thou hast given such an exalted rank to utterance that he who knows the value of utterance derives excellence thereby.
- 18 Thou hast endowed utterance with meaning; Thou hast made the latter the substance, and the former the form.
- 19 This statement of the sages is absolutely correct (when they said) "Thou didst at first create Universal Wisdom."
- 20 Thereafter from that Universal Wisdom, pure and sublime, Thou well didst bring forth all potentiality into actuality.
- 21 Thou bringest matter into form thereby; Thou dost render it new by several changes.
- 22 In this Thou hast made Man the noblest (of beings), and Thou hast preserved his foremost rank.
- 23 Thou art the Prime Cause, all else are caused by Thee; Thou art the Doer by whom these deeds are achieved.
- 24 Thou knowest Thy own praises well; Thou art above all praises that I may recite.
- 25 Thou art the Creator and the producer of both the worlds; Thou art beyond all my imagination and fancy.

- 26 Oh God, Thou knowest the whole world; Do Thou
separate me from all evil deeds.
- 27 Oh God, grant me the power of speech; Do Thou
present me with the pure breath of eloquence.
- 28 Thou hast bestowed me with ten tongues like unto
the lily; Do Thou render my narration precious
in praise of Thee.
- 29 Do thou grant me such devotion to Thy adoration
that I may engrave it on the signet-ring of my
heart.
- 30 By Thy grace, give me at all times comfort with a
peaceful conscience.
- 31 Do Thou, Oh Hormazd! Oh Creator! Oh Yazdân, re-
lease me from the clutches of passion and of Satan.
- 32 Because both these are always lying in ambush for me,
as they are the enemies of Faith and the foes of
Religion.
- 33 By Thy favour guide me in such a way that I may not
dwell upon wicked desires.
- 34 Help me, with a self-censuring conscience, give with
it immense help and support.
- 35 When, having become censor, the Conscience fights with
Satan, reproached the latter flees from the former.
- 36 I will overthrow him by wrestling at the time of
reciting "the prayer of the sacred thread"; so that
he cannot overpower me in the wrestle.
- 37 With a glance at my waylaying passion, Ahriman
proved inferior to the waylayer.
- 38 When the strength of my (evil) passion will be an-
nihilated, Ahriman too will be subdued by me.
- 39 Oh Thou Protector of the bulwark of our hearts; do
not give way to the army of greed and lust.
- 40 The heart, freed from the bonds of desire, becomes
contented and replete with Thy praise.
- 41 Make me Thy protégé with mercy, so that all troubles
may be far from me.
- 42 Raise me with Thy exalted nature, with Thy spiritual
knowledge, mystic lore and secrets.

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- 43 Open unto me the door of knowledge and instruction;
separate from me ignorance and dissension.
- 44 Fill my heart with the love of knowledge and work.
Drive away severity at a distance of a hundred
leagues.
- 45 Do Thou make me like Subhān the orator in eloquence.
Make me an eloquent orator, Oh Subhān!
- 46 Do Thou keep me in tune with the flute and the harp
of Divine knowledge; do Thou preserve my dignity
in Thy grasp.
- 47 Do thou make me great with heavy applause; perfume
my brain with the aloes of Thy fragrance.
- 48 Make me steadfast to my religion and faith; kindle my
soul with the fire of Thy love.
- 49 Give to my eyes the light of kindness; purify my heart
from the suspicions of Dualism.
- 50 It is a kind of vanity to talk of self; do test me with
the pain of Thy Self.
- 51 O God, give me tranquility, make me prosperous by
Thy service.
- 52 Make me cognisant of Thy wisdom; increase all my
understanding and knowledge.
- 53 Increase my good fortune and rank, and fulfil all the
wishes that I have.
- 54 Make both my eyes right-discerning; make my tongue
as sweet as a stream.
- 55 Do Thou always cause Thy praises to proceed from my
tongue, and with them enlighten my ears just as a
candle does.
- 56 I have a tongue full of thanksgiving owing to the
gratitude for bounties; Thou makest it eloquent and
melodious in my narration.
- 57 Do Thou breathe into the Soul of (Thy) servant with
love, so that by Thy love it may become shining like
the Sun.
- 58 Oh Discerner of Truth, keep my friends happy, cheerful
and gay, nay even better than that.

- 59 Keep me happy and pleased with contentment ; make me victorious with boldness like (the hero) Rûstam.
- 60 Do Thou grant truthfulness with love and mercy ; make me fortunate with glory and tranquility.
- 61 Make me uniform inwardly as well as outwardly ; purify my heart, soul and body.
- 62 Do Thou make my good name famous in the city ; make my years, days and months auspicious.
- 63 When the bird of life leaves the cage of the body, the Holy Spirits will come forward to receive me.
- 64 Do Thou grant me a decoration in the proximity of Paradise, because Thy favours and obligations are many.
- 65 Hail Happiness ! Hail Good Fortune ! that I belong to the religion of the holy Zarathushtra,
- 66 Which is above the description of my speech. My salutations on the holy soul of him the Prophet !
- 67 He has passed from 'Jabarût,' (a degree in mystical life,) and 'Malakût', the invisible world, and the angels, to the top of the throne of God and the Heavens.
- 68 By the grace of his holy nature it is evident that humanity becomes manifested from Divinity.
- 69 Truth is especially shown to all the creatures by means of his pure and absolute nature.
- 70 I have perfect faith and belief in this religion, as that true prophet was my guide.
- 71 Oh God, accept my prayer (for) Thou art the Judge of the necessities (of mankind) and of (their) prayers.
- 72 Make my glory pure like that of Hûshang, the Pish-dâdian; Oh omnipotent Lord ! make me distinguished with intelligence and distinction in all works (that I undertake).
- 73 Owing to this is Thy name exalted, Thou Veiler of the sins of the heretic ! Thou art the forgiver of the helpless, Oh Holy Creator !

STROPHE

DATE OF COMPLETION OF THIS MUNAJAT

- 74 All these good benedictions were completed on the day
Ardibehešt and month Tishtar.
- 75 I was thinking of the Yazdajardi year when the Guide
(Sarosh) showed me this way :
- 76 The Holy Sarosh has recited this Munājāt, " May
these prayers and invocations be accepted by the
Almighty !"

1220 Yazdajardi

COMPLETED.

KAIKOBAD ADARBAD NOSHIRWAN DASTUR.

CORRIGENDA

Page		Line	Incorrect	Correct
33	Ft. note	1	(Note No.) 1	(Note No.) 2
"	"	2	(Note No.) 2	(Note No.) 1
34		25	thereis	there is
"		29	as	so
"	"	1	Ibid., p. 246	Sale's Koran, Ch. xxi, p. 246
35		21	ty	to
"		26	tbe	the
72		21	it	is
73		22	शास्त्रादिसम्बन्धे	शास्त्रादिसम्बन्धे
75		24	पत	पट
"		25	बलाशुप्तं	बलाशुप्तं
"		33	बहुगुणविषयो	बहुगुणनिधयो
77		21	माधुर्यरसप्रभुरं	माधुर्यरसप्रभुरं
78		24	विषये:	विषये
"		31	उत्पत्तिसंहरणकारकौ	उत्पत्तिसंहरणकारकौ
79		31	Virture	Virtue
80		20	धेनुमूत्रै	धेनुमूत्रै:
81		5	श्रीपयः	श्रीपयः
84		29	निर्मल मुक्त	निर्मल मुक्तं
87		33	अवध	अवधू
		36	भूमिच्छेदिलोमव	भूमिच्छेदिलोमव
89		25	नचरेत	नचरेत
91		21	पवीत्रं	पवित्रं
93		7-8	guard-ians	grand-sons
97		14	~~मस्त~~	~~मस्त~~
106		24	mnst	must
109		15	whlch	which
120		19	Kob&d	Mazdak

125	Ft. note	1	Mnnahi	Munahi
126	Ft. note	2	tnat	that
129	Ft. note	12	exexpenditure	expenditure
130		33	aco-	co-
131		3	Dasâtir	Dabistân
133		14	410	294
"	Ft. note	1	unespèce	une espèce
136		6	نهری	نهری
"		6	آورد	آوردی
"		7	بروت	بروت
136	Ft. note	5	Zur	zur
147		28	datequoted	date quoted
153	Ft. note	10	Pesian	Persian
158		16	Shravun	Shravan
160		4	begiuning	beginning
"		10	5.	6.
"		15	concide	coincide
187		4	URVAR	FRUIT
200		6	again. "	again."
"		6	philosophy,	philosophy
"		28	all-consciousness	All-Consciousness
"		28	puzled	puzzled
207		29	دَر دَر مَوْنِی	<u>دَر دَر مَوْنِی</u>
208		4	ما مَوْنِی	<u>ما مَوْنِی</u>
"		4	مَما نِی	<u>مَما نِی</u>
"		25	د لَان	موردان
"		29	بَرِیْط	بَرِیْط
209		20	لای	<u>لای</u>
213		18	merry-heartednes	merry-heartedness
"		19 col 1	two."	twenty."
215	Ft. note	12	وی	وی
217		27	Westerg. Geldn.	(Westerg. Geldn.)
231		34	nd	and

253		33	ܐܢܝܡܝܢ	ܐܢܝܡܝܢ
261		1	anonymous	anonymous
263		24	preceptible",	perceptible",
269		21	misappropriated	misappropriated
308		11	seems,	seems
328		27	ܐܝܬܐ	ܐܝܬܐ
360		9	be	omit
378		6	in, in 1870	in 1870, in
391	folio		361	391
"		6	ܐܝܬܐ	ܐܝܬܐ
404		1	a	"a
417		16	performinga	performing a
418		3	priest,	priests,
430		12	that	"that
457		6	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ
482		13	pupils,—	pupils,"—
485		1	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ
"		2, 8, 10	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ
487		2, 10	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ
"		8	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ
"		19	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ	ܐܬܝܠܡܢܐ
491	Ft. note	12	Misawakih	Miskawaih
494		5	give	I give
502		23	kard	kard
503		9 & 11	kard	kard
"		10	yehevûnêt	yehevûnêd
"		23	âvâdânih-i	âvâdânih-i
"		27	nêt	nêd
"		30 & 31	âvâdân	âvâdân
504		10	bim	bim
"		17	avê-bim	avê-bim
"		34	yemalêlûn	yemalêlûnd
"		38	avêtâr	avêtâr

